To what extent are Nornour's Roman votive finds indicative of Roman religious activity on the Isles of Scilly?

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2409710
Dissertation submitted to the University of Wales Trinity Saint David for the degree of
MA Ancient Religions
September 2026



Figure 1: An impression of the Nornour shrine in AD 200 *(courtesy of Peter Dunn, English Heritage Graphics Team, Historic England, https://images.historicenglandservices.org.uk/heritage/reconstructing-past-romans-illustrations/shrine-nornour-isles-scilly- j010101-472257.html)*

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Acknowledgements

My thanks extend to a number of people in relation to the preparation of this dissertation. Firstly, Dr Tom and Lis Greeves, published historians, who first took me to Nornour on 17 June 2004 sparking my interest in the site and for responding to my many emailed queries. Next to Michael Gage, assistant on the first excavations at Nornour, for insight, photographs and encouragement. Also to, Katharine Sawyer for her talk on the archaeology of Scilly 17 June 2004 at the Museum and her presentation at the Roman altar on Tresco, 08 April 2025, and Amanda Martin for her guidance around the Museum, 16 June 2004. Likewise, to Cathy Parkes, Pete Herring, Sean Taylor, Charlie Johns, and Win Scutt, archaeology experts in Cornwall. To the staff at the Isles of Scilly Museum, particularly Jo Hathway and Xavier Duffy, for the images of the Nornour artefacts, and Tilia Cammegh for unpublished documents on the Peninnis Head fogou. My thanks also go to experts who have shared their research with me and allowed me to copy their images, to Ben Sumpter, Ben Roberts and Alan Williams for information on the Cornish tin trade, Mark Lewis for information on the Segontium altar, and the following museums and organisations for permitting my usage of their images of Roman Mithraic altars and information: Amgueddfa Cymru, Great North Museum, National Museums Scotland, and the websites: Roman Inscriptions of Britain and Pearse's Tertullian. To stone carving contact Andrew Langdon for his insight, and Cornish historian and language expert, Dr Oliver Padel, for sharing knowledge of the etymology of Cornish place names. Finally, but most importantly, my thanks go to my lecturer, dissertation supervisor and tutor Matt Cobb, Alastair Walter and Ian Showell, I could not have achieved this without your patient assistance.

Abstract

This dissertation will examine the finds revealed in a settlement on Nornour, a deserted island in the Isles of Scilly archipelago 28 miles (45km) off the tip of Land's End, Cornwall. The aim is to contribute to their interpretation. Are they votive in nature? Previous interpretations of the site will be considered, in conjunction with aspects of a settlement at Halangy Down and a fogou at Peninnis, both on St Mary's, and an altar on Tresco, in an overview of evidence for religious activity on Scilly between the first and fourth centuries AD.

After the last glaciation, Scilly was one large island. By the end of the Mesolithic, around 5,000 BC, the westernmost land of Scilly (now Agnes, Annet and the Western Rocks) was separated by the sea; saltmarsh had developed north of St Mary's in the Road, a major shipping channel in historic times.

Roman activity in the seaways around Scilly will be illustrated, drawing on classical writings referring to Phoenician tin trading and Roman archaeology from Scilly and Cornwall. The potential for Roman shipping frequenting Scilly and landing near Nornour will be shown using a modern survey of the seabed.

Storms in the 1960s exposed archaeology on Nornour, one of the present-day Eastern Isles, off the eastern end of St Martin's. Excavations uncovered the largest quantity of Roman period votive artefacts yet recorded west of Exeter, situated in and around a cluster of houses of Bronze Age origin.

Four previous interpretations of Roman period activity on Nornour will be reviewed. Was this a centre for brooch manufacture or a shrine? Were the artefacts votive offerings to *Sillina*, or hoarded spoils from shipwrecks? Through appraisals of site reports and scientific data, including metallurgical analysis using X-ray Fluorescence and Atomic Absorption Spectroscopy, carbon and magnetic dating, and petrology, the timeline of the site will be re-evaluated. Using this timeline, the site interpretations will be examined to see if they remain tenable.

Interpretations will be examined with reference to archaeology from other sites in Scilly, Cornwall and Britain. Through this assessment, the use of the site as a shrine will emerge as the likeliest explanation of the evidence.

Halangy Down settlement will be reviewed here, and the brooches from its remodelled courtyard house, in a pattern suggestive of a Roman domestic shrine. This will generate the conclusion of the site being of Roman occupation at that time not Romano-British or Romano-Scillonian.

Possible meanings of a Roman altar on Scilly will also be explored, in particular evaluating that its carvings resemble iconography used in the Roman cult of Mithras and rejecting its origin as discarded ballast from a ship. The evidence for fogous having served a religious function rather than as storage or refuge will be reviewed. The association of Mithraistic worship with caves and subterranean buildings will be noted and the possibility raised that such practices took place on Scilly.

The conclusion will be made that there was significant Roman religious activity on Scilly using the shrines, Mithraic altar and fogou.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Aims and objectives

The aim of this dissertation is to assess a Roman shrine on Nornour, Isles of Scilly, (Historic England, 1015674), and pursue the thesis that the finds were votive in nature. This material will be examined alongside that coming from an interpreted domestic shrine on Halangy Down (St Mary's) (Historic England, 1013273), a Roman altar reportedly from St Mary's (Historic England, 1000427), and the Romano-British fogou at Peninnis Head (St Mary's), (Historic England, 1020142), to determine if this combined evidence can inform us about the nature and scope of religious activity on the islands.

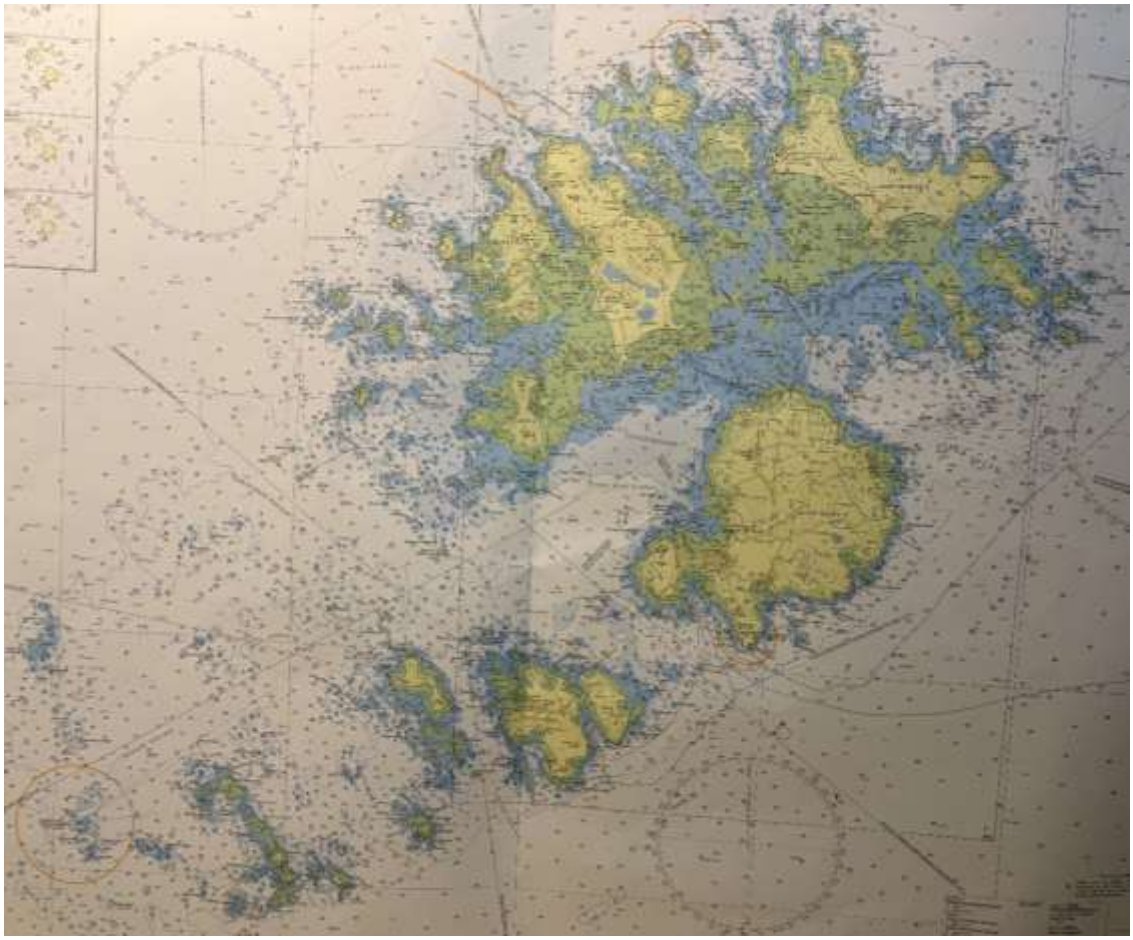


Figure 2: Navigational chart of the modern-day Isles of Scilly archipelago *(UK Hydrographic Office, 2019, licence granted to author for reproduction 23 January 2026)*

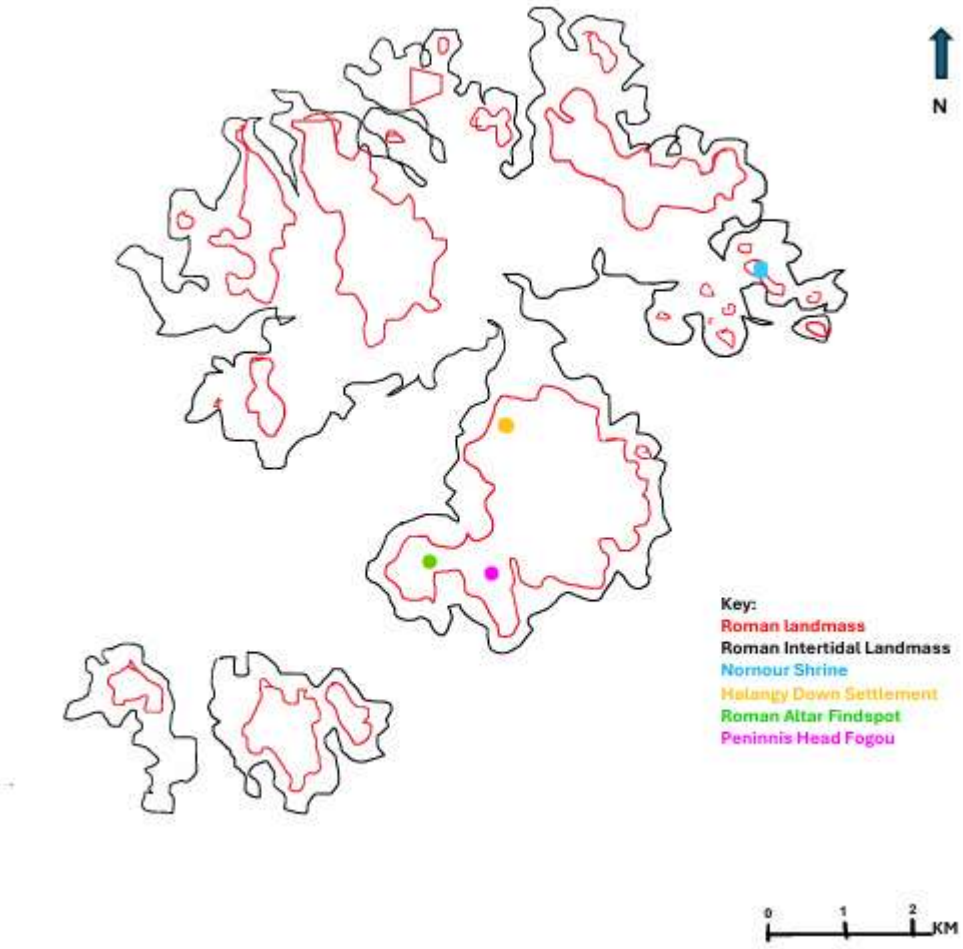


Figure 3: Position of Roman sites under consideration *(author's own drawing adapted from Charman et al., 2016, p.216)*

It is argued in this dissertation that this material - when viewed in the context of wider evidence for Roman activity on Scilly and in mainland Cornwall - suggests a picture of Romans peaceably trading rather than occupying this area (Whitley, 1903, p.300). The term 'Romans' in this context refers to members of the Roman Empire, citizens and non-citizens, military personnel and officials serving the Roman State, not just inhabitants of the city of Rome in Italy. For instance, a centurion commander from Spain is therefore classed as Roman under this definition, as is a non-Roman citizen serving in an auxiliary unit. To facilitate this study, the following empirical objectives are employed:

	Empirical Objectives
1	Reviewing the original site reports, scientific data, and related academic publications.
2	Seeking and consulting surviving archaeologists from the excavations.
3	Sourcing new experts' opinions on stonemasonry, using their experience carving granite using historic techniques.
4	Critically assessing pre-existing theories about the use of the Nornour and Halangy Down settlements, Roman altar and Iron Age/Romano-British fogou.
5	Determining if there is sufficient evidence to prove a Roman presence on the island and if a presence consisted of administrative officials and Roman military personnel or Roman and Romano-Gaulish citizens.

Table 1: Empirical objectives employed in this study of potential Roman religious activity on the Isles of Scilly

1.2 Key theories under assessment

Using the theoretical perspectives of information processing and cognitivism to review the classical literature on the Isles of Scilly and Cornwall, *Dumnonia*, it seems likely that the Romans knew of their existence; Bronze Age tin trading routes to the Mediterranean[1] have been identified and indicate that the Romans knew of the Cornish tin deposits and would have sought it to replace dwindling supplies from Iberia (Borlase, 2020, p.30), and classical literature seems to allude to this.[2]

[1] The Southwest (Britain) to the Levant (the Mediterranean) was an approximate journey of 4,700km, 2,920.445m (Powell *et al.*, 2026, p.1).

[2] The earliest text to mention tin producing regions in the far west of Europe is Herodotus in 440 BC (Histories, III:115). A later, more specific text, by Strabo at the start of the first century AD, describes the river routes through Gaul to transport Cornish tin to the Mediterranean (Geography, 4:1:14). Tacitus (AD 56-c.120) refers to gold, silver and other metals being known in Britain (Agricola, 12:6). More examples are to be found in Section **1.4.3** (Ancient authors).

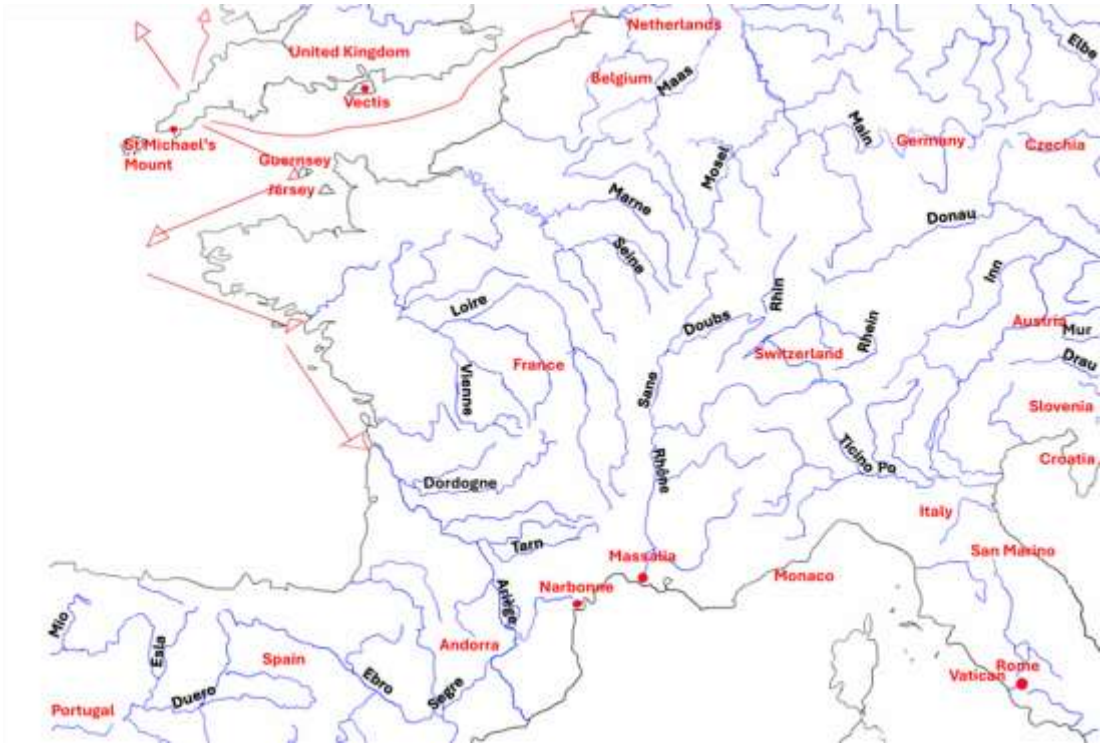
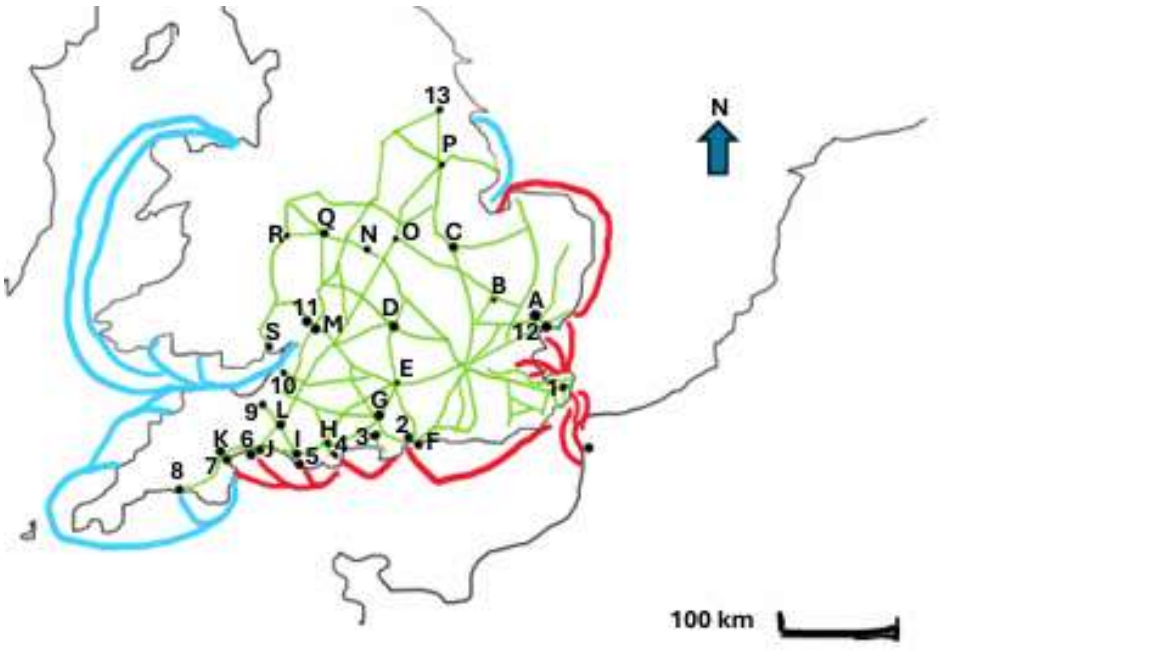


Figure 4: Trading routes via river passages to and from Britain *(author's own drawing adapted from Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026, email copyright permission 27 May 2025; Williams and Roberts, 2024; Williams et al., 2025, p.2)*



Key:
Legionary bases: A Colchester **B** Great Chesterton **C** Longthorpe **D** Alcester **E** Silchester **F** Chichester **G** Winchester **H** Wimborne **I** Dorchester **J** Axminster **K** Exeter **L** Ilchester **M** Kingsholm **N** Mancetter **O** Leicester **P** Lincoln
Military ports: 1 Richborough **2** Fishbourne **3** Bitterne **4** Poole Harbour **5** Weymouth **6** Seaton **7** Topsham **8** Plymouth **9** Bridgwater **10** Sea Mills **11** Kingsholm **12** Fingringhoe **13** Winteringham

Figure 5: Roman military ports, legionary bases and sailing routes *(author's own drawing adapted from Mason, 2003, p.80)*

The long-held notion that the Romans had limited direct contact with Cornwall,[3] due to a lack of archaeological evidence (Taylor, 1916, p.30),[4] has been shown to be mistaken through recent discoveries of archaeological evidence for Roman military sites, settlements and artefacts (Smart, 2014, p.12).

1.2.1 Nornour

This shift in understanding of the nature and extent of Roman presence in the landscape as well as the seaways (of what is now Cornwall) has informed the present review of the different theories that have previously been presented about the "Roman" remains on Nornour. Interpretations of the Roman period re-use of the Bronze Age structures unearthed there as a result of post-storm rescue excavations in the 1960s include (in chronological order of advancement):

	Theories relating to the Roman use of existing structures on Nornour
1	Manufacturing and finishing workshop for brooches, drawing on the large quantity discovered (Dudley, 1967, pp.1-64).
2	Roman shrine, with the brooches and other objects interpreted as votive offerings (Butcher *et al*., 1978, pp.29-212).
3	Roman shrine dedicated to *Sulis Minerva* (Thomas, 1986), combining the Celtic goddess *Sulis* with the Roman *Minerva* (Ziminski, 2020, p.70).
4	Tradesperson's salvage store for items rescued from shipwrecks, given the suggested similarity of items (Fulford, 1989, pp.245-249).

Table 2: Theories relating to the use in Roman times of the Bronze Age roundhouses on the island of Nornour *(Butcher, 1978, pp.29-212;Dudley, 1967, pp.1-64; Fulford, 1989, pp.245-249; Ziminski, 2020, p.70)*

[3] Only having one Roman fort and no Roman roads, scholars like Craig Weatherhill, concluded that in Cornwall the way of life was little affected by the Romans, referring to the Roman period as the *Roman Iron Age* (Weatherhill, 1985, p.9). Also, R.G. Collingwood concluded tin was mined at Tregear, Bodmin, under Vespasian's rule and no other evidence of occupation had been seen (Collingwood, 1924, p.101). Also see Camden (1722) and Gibson (1932) for proponents of this theory.
This opinion was still widely held and taught in living memory to the author of this dissertation and to the local historian, broadcaster and author of *Buried at the Crossroads* (2025) Elizabeth Dale (2016, https://cornishbirdblog.com/roman-roadtrip-in-cornwall/; personal communication (via email), 08 January 2026).

[4] Thomas Taylor used the presence of the Roman milestone at St Hilary in far west of Cornwall to assert his belief that the Romans had direct contact with the county (Taylor, 1916, p.30).



Figure 6: Aerial view of roundhouses on Nornour *(adapted from eOceanic, 2025, https://eoceanic.com/map.php?latitude=49.9654503&longitude=-6.2704334&zoom=16)*

The Romans governed the Southwest from Exeter, *Isca Dumnoniorum*, focused on Cornwall's mineral mines.[5] There is some evidence of Roman influence pervading domestic life in indirect and localised ways,[6] such as through the development of courtyard houses with their structural provision of spaces for individual specialised uses such as dwelling, livestock shelter, deadstock storage, manufacture and the processing of materials for personal use or as trading items (Dudley, 2011, p.37). Similarly, there are some indications of the spread of some Roman ways rather than colonisation in Scilly. Courtyard houses evolved from earlier roundhouses at Halangy Down, and imported pottery has been found in small quantities at the following tabulated sites, though too few domestic finds to indicate Roman occupational sites (Butcher, 2000-01, p.8). In contrast, the excavations in a small area on Nornour produced Roman brooches in extraordinary quantity and concentration. They

[5] A lack of typical Roman infrastructure, like military camps, villas, temples and roads, has been used to propose the theory that the Romans did not conquer Cornwall, and, by the same notion, Scilly. The example of their holding off rather than occupying Scotland is used. Although no large walls were erected by Hadrian southwest of Exeter, *Isca Dumnoniorum*, as a border to protect against the *Dumnonii* tribe, a pattern of forts near the border in Cornwall (four have now been discovered) is likened to that of the military zone around Hadrian's Wall (Papworth, 2020). The distribution of four forts and thirty-two villas in Dorset contrasts with that of forty forts in Devon, positioned at intervals of 5-8 miles (8-13km), and six villas, and that of Cornwall with its four forts, two marching camps at Tehidy Barton (HER, MCO56605) and Respryn (HER, MCO67360), and only one villa (HER, 26553). These patterns may imply the first area, Dorset, was quickly settled, whilst the latter two, Devon and Cornwall, resisted the Roman army more strongly (Papworth, 2020).
Theories are posited that the Romans visited and traded with Cornwall, rather than invading the area (Haverfield, 1906, p.211), to access the rich tin and other mineral deposits that were becoming depleted in Iberia (Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026). This is advanced to include trade with Scilly for their tin deposits (Borlase, 1756, p.45,72). Identifying rows of tin-pits, costean shafts and a vein of ore on *Trescaw*, Tresco, and two on St Mary's, Borlase determined there was not enough remaining evidence of tin on Scilly to support long-term production, concluding tin may have been washed down the hills, and out of the cliffs by the waves, onto the seashore. He utilised the Old Cornish *Guêl,* 'Working for Tin', as an indication there may have been tin on *Guêl-Hill Brehar*, Bryher, and *Guêl Island*. Counter theories persist, due to a lack of tin on Scilly and few examples of coinage (Ratcliffe and Johns, 1992, pp.11-13), that no trade took place there.
[6] A lack of perceived evidence in Cornwall and on the Isles of Scilly of largescale change in Roman times led to the periods 500 BC – AD 50 and AD 50 – AD 400 being referred to as the Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age respectively (Thomas, Pool and Weatherhill, 1980, p.16).

represented the largest assemblage of their kind known west of Exeter, one of the largest in Britain at the time of Butcher's report (2000-01, p.14).

Samian ware on Scilly			
Quantity	**Place**	**Origin**	**Reference**
Scraps	Teän		(Thomas, 1985, p.183)
1 sherd	Nornour	Gaulish	(Butcher, 2000-1, p.8)
1 sherd	Hillside Farm, Bryher		(Quinnell, 2002-3, p.44)
2 sherds	May's Hill, St Martin's		(Ashbee, 1974, p.184; O'Neil, 1961, p.11)
12 sherds	Halangy Down, St Mary's	Gaulish	(Ashbee, 1996, p.88)

Table 3: Samian ware found on Scilly *(adapted from Ashbee, 1974, p.184; 1996, p.88; Butcher, 2000-01, p.8; O'Neil, 1961, p.11; Quinnell, 2002-3, p.44; Thomas, 1985, p.183)*

The kinds of artefacts, and their contexts, were indicative of votive offerings. Prehistoric miniature vases were found in the hearth in the Roman layer and thought to have been used as votive offerings. Brooches and other objects of value had been placed on the stone-built central feature and also pushed into the wall crevices of structures one and two, or lay in the upper layers. These two roundhouses consisted of a main room accessed through a second which featured a double-doored outer entrance, a blocked-off entrance to structure one was identified on the south-eastern side (Butcher, 1978, p.51). With benches encircling the central stone slab 'table' and hearth, and eaves-height spurs reaching in from the wall defining separate compartments with some contrasting fills, likened to Punds Water, Shetland, and North Uist, Hebrides, a strong sense of enclosure could have been experienced by visitors to the site in the first centuries AD.



Figure 7: Image of structure one, Nornour, showing eaves-height spurs, hearth and central stone slab 'table' features in 1963 (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage)*



Figure 8: Wheelhouse structure, North Uist, showing similar alcove constructions to structure one, Nornour (no scale) *(author's own photograph of Dudley, 1966, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*



Figure 9: Image of structure two, Nornour, with archaeologist Helen O'Neil in 1963, indicating its enclosed nature (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage)*

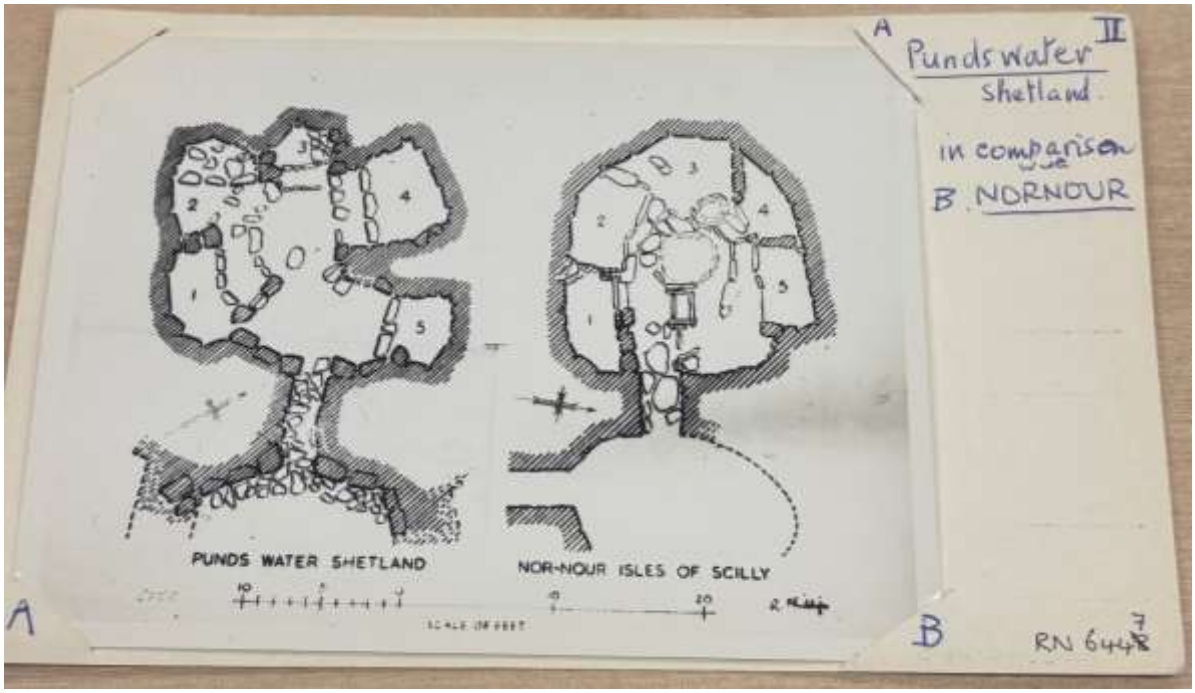


Figure 10: Plans of Punds Water, Shetland structure in comparison with structure one, Nornour *(Calder in Dudley, 1962a, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*

Showing a continuation of use into and through the Roman period, datable finds were:

Roman finds on Nornour				
Artefact	**Quantity**	**From**	**To**	**Comments**
Brooches	315	1st c AD	3rd c AD	
Coins	91	AD 69	AD 383	Vespasian to Gratian, largest quantity from House of Constantine AD 275 - AD 361
Glass	fragments	1st c AD	2nd c AD	
Glass beads	24	AD 50	AD 350	
Miniature pots	9	Early Bronze Age	Late Bronze Age	
Copper alloy objects:				
Finger rings	35	2nd c AD	3rd c AD	
Bracelets	10	2nd c AD	3rd c AD	
Spoons	2	2nd c AD	3rd c AD	
Ornamental mounts		2nd c AD	3rd c AD	
Sheet bronze		2nd c AD	3rd c AD	
Clay figurines	6	AD 140	AD 160	From French Allier region
Pottery	sherds	AD 50	AD 350	

Table 4: Roman finds on Nornour *(Butcher, 1978, pp.29-112; 2014, 1-80; Dudley, 1967, p.1-64)*

Representational brooches like the sea-leopard, a companion of Bacchus (Butcher, 2000-01, p.10), horse-with-rider, eagle and shoe-sole brooches are all known from excavations at religious sites as votive offerings. Shoe-sole brooches, for example, are associated with the Roman god Mercury, protector of travellers (Crummy, 2007, p.226), symbolised as such due to the god having winged sandals. Some fifty shoe-sole brooches have been found in Britain, some of these were deposited in temples and shrines to Mercury, as at Uley, Colchester and Walbrook. The largest concentration known is that from Nornour where eight were recovered (Crummy, 2007, p.227).



Figure 11: Sea-leopard brooch from Nornour, Isles of Scilly (10cm scale) *(author's own photograph, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*



Figure 12: Sea-leopard brooch from Hayling Island (30mm scale) *(author's own photograph of museum image courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*



Figure 13: Shoe-sole brooch from Nornour, Isles of Scilly (10cm scale) *(author's own photograph, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*

Other brooches are not demonstrably intended to seek the help of specific deities but may still represent a personal kind of sacrificial offering. The diagonal crosses on the heads of many of the bow brooches on Nornour have been found on bow brooches and other objects in religious contexts elsewhere (Woodward and Leach, 1993, p.157). Forty-five brooches without religious symbolism were found at Uley temple (Woodward and Leach, 1993, pp.149-159) and other religious sites (Woodward and Leach, 1993, p.157). Jewellery of limited intrinsic value but strong personal associations is often seen as votive (Puttock, 2002). The Gallic clay figurines in the form of a nursing mother and a Venus goddess, occurring at Nornour, are also found at many temple sites and shrines (Butcher, 2000-01, p.15-16).

The variations of material components, techniques used, artisanship complexity, and dating, show the brooches came from Britain and over the Roman Empire. The very high proportion of brooches in structures one and two on Nornour stands out.



Figure 14: Structure one, Roman shrine, Nornour (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 15: Structure two, Roman shrine, Nornour (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph)*

Butcher concludes:

> The variety of places of production of the main groups is consistent with the suggestion of occasional visits by ships on passage between various Continental and British ports. The unusual number of Continental brooches compared with most British sites indicates that they are unlikely to have come by way of British suppliers, while the large numbers of 'south-western' brooches probably manufactured in the Mendip area may have come from a Bristol Channel port (Butcher, 2014, p.68).

Viewing all the evidence from the site on Nornour, despite Dudley's conclusion after excavating structures one and two that they represent a manufacturing site (Dudley, 1967, pp.16-18; Western Morning News, 1962),[7] the later theory of Butcher's, of a Roman shrine (Butcher, 1978, p.65), fits more convincingly with the evidence from the site as a whole. The theory of a store for shipwrecked artefacts (Fulford, 1989, p.248) is not consistent with the evidence from the excavations, they showed deposition of a range of votive-type artefacts over a long period, from the later first to the third centuries AD, in structures with unusual features consistent with interpretation as a shrine.

1.2.2 Halangy Down

Halangy Down, excavated from 1935 to 1971 (Ashbee, 1955, pp.187-198), may be interpreted as a later Iron Age and Roman period (Romano-British, or Romano-Scillonian) settlement. A collection of brooches in one of the structures has been taken to signify a domestic shrine. Whilst this practice was adopted by the native population, it is likely to have been copied from the invading Romans, however, this adoption would

[7] Dudley concluded this interpretation of the site during the first year of her excavations referring to the site as "almost certainly a workshop dating from the time of the Roman occupation" and that "it is probable that the brooches found in these earlier excavations [Porthcressa and Hugh Town] were made at a workshop on Nor Nour" (Western Morning News, 1962).

not have happened immediately. The dating of the types of brooches found, all from around AD 50 onwards and one dating from AD 43 to AD 54, makes it less likely to be a Romano-British or Romano-Scillonian settlement.[8] A granite mould for casting pewter dishes makes this a high-status site, with such items being found at or near shrines. Limpet middens indicate settlement and are taken to imply, in conjunction with Roman brooches and pottery, the export of, possibly dried or brined, sea-fish to Roman Britain and Gaul (Ashbee, 1996, p.140); trade with Gaul may have brought Roman customs to Scilly earlier than the invasion of Britain, thus raising the possibility of the adoption of these practices by Scillonians.

It would seem likely, given the early date of the brooches, that the settlement was inhabited by Romans, whether citizens, administrative officials or military personnel.

1.2.3 Roman altar

A Roman altar was reportedly discovered at the base of Garrison Hill in Hugh Town, St Mary's (Hencken, 1932, p.195), down a well (Smith, 1962, fig.1) or shaft (Schwarz, 1962, beilage 4), similar to an opening in an enclosure at Bosence in St Erth, Cornwall, where metal and stone votive offerings were found (Haverfield, 1924, p.8; Iago, 1891, pp.239-241) and then taken in 1870 to Tresco by Augustus Smith, who leased the island (O'Neil, 1949, p.10). No inscription is seen, however, using tooled work to create shadows and

[8] With the adoption of Roman religious practices by the native Britons, the adaption of the interior of their houses to accommodate an area for a shrine may have occurred. This will have happened over a period of time and is unlikely to date to the invasion of Britain in AD 43. Gaulish Celts fleeing in the wake of the advancing Roman army could have sought refuge in Cornwall and on Scilly and may have been aware of the Roman domestic shrines, introducing the idea sooner to the native Britons.
A practice introduced by Romano-Britons to Scillonians may have been accepted quicker than one introduced by the Romans themselves. This again would have begun over a period of time, potentially over a longer span if the practice came through Romano-Britons who in turn influenced the native Scilly Islanders. For a settlement including domestic shrines to be of native inhabitation on Scilly, it is likely, once more, to be of a later date during the period of the Roman Empire in Britain.

highlights (Cramb, 1992, p.127), a carving of a cleaver or knife is chiselled in relief on one side and a ceremonial axe on the other (Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921, p.239); these symbols are seen in the Roman mystery cult of Mithras, with other examples in Britain (RCHM(E), 1962, pl.44; Wright and Richmond, 1955, pls.1,9) and Europe (Espérandieu, 1931, p.217, no.348).

Discarded on Scilly from the ballast of a ship is one theory of the origin of the Roman Mithraic granite altar;[9] another is that it was left purposefully on Scilly or carved *in situ*, the latter requiring a skilled stonemason such as were part of the Roman army.

However, the discarding of such a rare object found in Britain like this, would seem to imply this was not the case, rather that it was on Scilly by intent and carved on Scilly by the Roman army who were aware of the Mithraic imagery or brought to Scilly pre-made would appear to be the more logical explanation for a valuable piece that would have taken many weeks to create.

1.2.4 Peninnis Head

An Iron Age fogou is situated on Peninnis Head, St Mary's, these structures were still in use throughout the Roman period. Fogou, 'cave' from the Cornish *fogo*[10] (Weatherhill, 2009, p.36), are underground chambers with, an often curved or 'S'-shaped, long, stone passage (Historic England, 2001, p.2) and low, narrow creep for an entrance; they are unique to the Southwest of Britain. Their function is alternatively hypothesised by

[9] Site visit by author, presentation at Roman altar on Tresco by Katharine Sawyer (Isles of Scilly archaeologist), 08 April 2025.

[10] The form of the original Cornish word for fogou, meaning cave or artificially constructed hole, is debated as coming from *fow*, *vooga* and *ogo* (Oliver Padel, personal communication (via email), 11 February 2026). These place-names, however, may apply also to natural clefts in rock, coastal caves or constructed underground holes, such as mining adits, and not just refer to these specific souterrains.

academics as storage, refuge, or ritual (Maclean, 1992); it has been suggested that having removable entrance stones to the passageway could have allowed the summer and winter solstice sunrise to enter the chamber (CASPN). Followers of the Roman cult of Mithras worshipped in *Spelaeum*, caves, (Rüpke, 2011, p.394) or constructed underground rooms (Jones and Mattingly, 1990, p.285); the underground caves being accessed by a winding passage-way (Collingwood, 1923, p.136), it is possible that they used the similarly constructed Peninnis Head fogou for Mithraic ritual practices.

1.2.5 Summation

The more detailed understanding of the "Roman" presence in Cornwall, as a result of archaeological discoveries in recent decades, makes it an ideal time to critically reassess many of the theories that have been proposed regarding the structures and material remains discovered on Nornour. It is proposed in this study that there was, in fact, a diversity and spread in religious activities on Scilly during the Roman period.

1.3 Structure

This dissertation is set out across five chapters:

Chapters	Content
Two	Will assess the available evidence coming from statements made by historians and archaeologists of the structural and material remains that were unearthed during excavations in the twenty-first century at the Roman shrine on Nornour, the domestic shrine at Halangy Down, the Roman Mithraic altar from St Mary's and the Iron Age to Romano-British fogou at Peninnis Head; considered alongside this are advances made thanks to new analysis and data processing techniques.
Three	Presents the methods and approaches used here to evaluate the site interpretation theories.
Four	Reports the results of these examinations and data collection and discusses the interpretation of those results.
Five	Draws final critical conclusions from all the research carried out.

Table 5: Content of dissertation chapters

The discussion will review wide-ranging data comprehensively and a new picture will be presented of the religious activity on Scilly by the Romans. Using the outlined theoretical framework from Chapter three, from an empiricist perspective, new insights will be provided on the extent and nature of this religious activity. Critical discussion concerning the use of votive objects on Scilly will be developed from the data gathered and the interpretation thereof. These will show an emergent pattern of Roman presence, trade or other influence in Cornwall and on Scilly, with religious sites identified on Nornour, The Hugh, Halangy Down, Peninnis Head and Mount Holles on Scilly and artefacts interpreted as votive offerings.

There are geographical and chronological limitations imposed onto this dissertation with the main area studied being that of Scilly, this is set into context with the neighbouring landscape of Cornwall, and into Britain and the Continent. The period of time under investigation here being that of the Roman Empire in Britain, AD 43-409. This delimits the research parameters to a geographical and chronological space and time. The Nornour site developed from a complex of at least eleven roundhouses of Bronze Age origin and the settlement on Halangy Down was in use prior to the Roman invasion, likewise the fogou on Peninnis Head was an Iron Age construction that continued its usage into Roman times, however, the only time in history being examined here is that of the Roman period.

Activity Period of Sites		
Site	**Activity Start**	**Activity End**
Nornour	1970 BC	AD 383
Halangy Down	2500 BC	AD 800
Roman Altar	AD 43	AD 409
Fogou	800 BC	AD 409

Table 6: Activity period of sites *(adapted from Nornour: Butcher, 1970a, pp.77-81; 1971, p.94; 1972, p.58-59; 1978, pp.29-112; 2000-01, pp.5-44; 2014, 1-80; Dudley, 1963b, p.57; 1964, p.87; 1965b, pp.65-66; 1967, p.1-64; HER, 7247 Halangy Down: Ashbee, 1955, pp.87-198; 1970, 69-76; 1996, pp.1-201, HER, 7442, 7442.02, 7447 Roman Altar: Ashbee, 1982, pp.174-175; HER, 7325; Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921, p.239 Fogou: HER, MCO58697)*

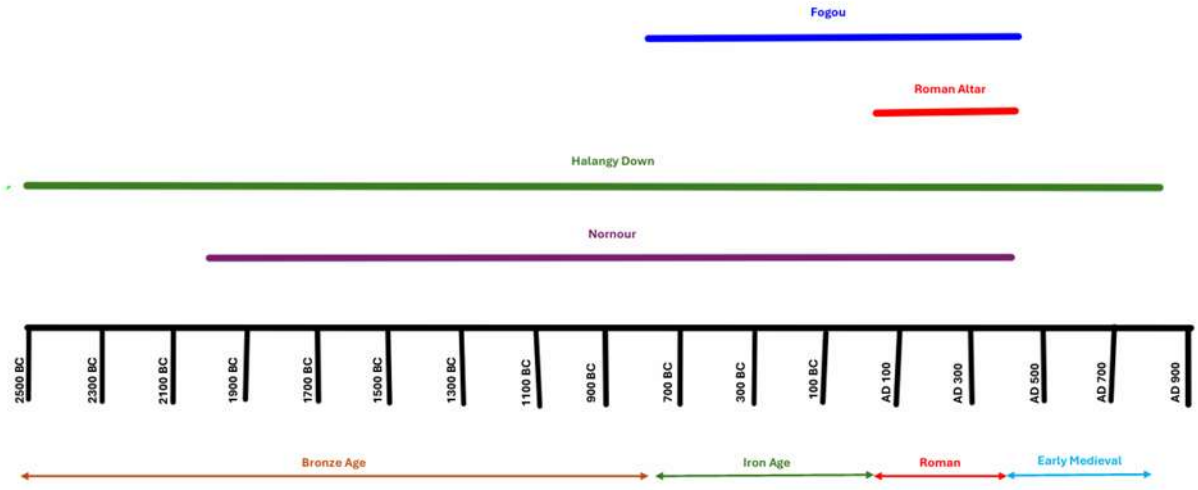


Figure 16: Timeline of site activity *(adapted from Nornour: Butcher, 1970a, pp.77-81; 1971, p.94; 1972, p.58-59; 1978, pp.29-112; 2000-01, pp.5-44; 2014, 1-80; Dudley, 1963b, p.57; 1964, p.87; 1965b, pp.65-66; 1967, p.1-64; HER, 7247 Halangy Down: Ashbee, 1955, pp.87-198; 1970, 69-76; 1996, pp.1-201, HER, 7442, 7442.02, 7447 Roman Altar: Ashbee, 1982, pp.174-175; HER, 7325; Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921, p.239 Fogou: HER, MCO58697)*

1.4 Geographical and chronological context of the dissertation

1.4.1 Geography and topography

The situation of the Isles of Scilly, 28 miles (45 kilometres) off Land's End, the tip of the Cornish mainland (Baring-Gould, 1912, p.229), between the Atlantic and Celtic seas gives a certain degree of separation both physically and culturally, bestowing an importance on the archipelago as both a hazard and refuge for ships.

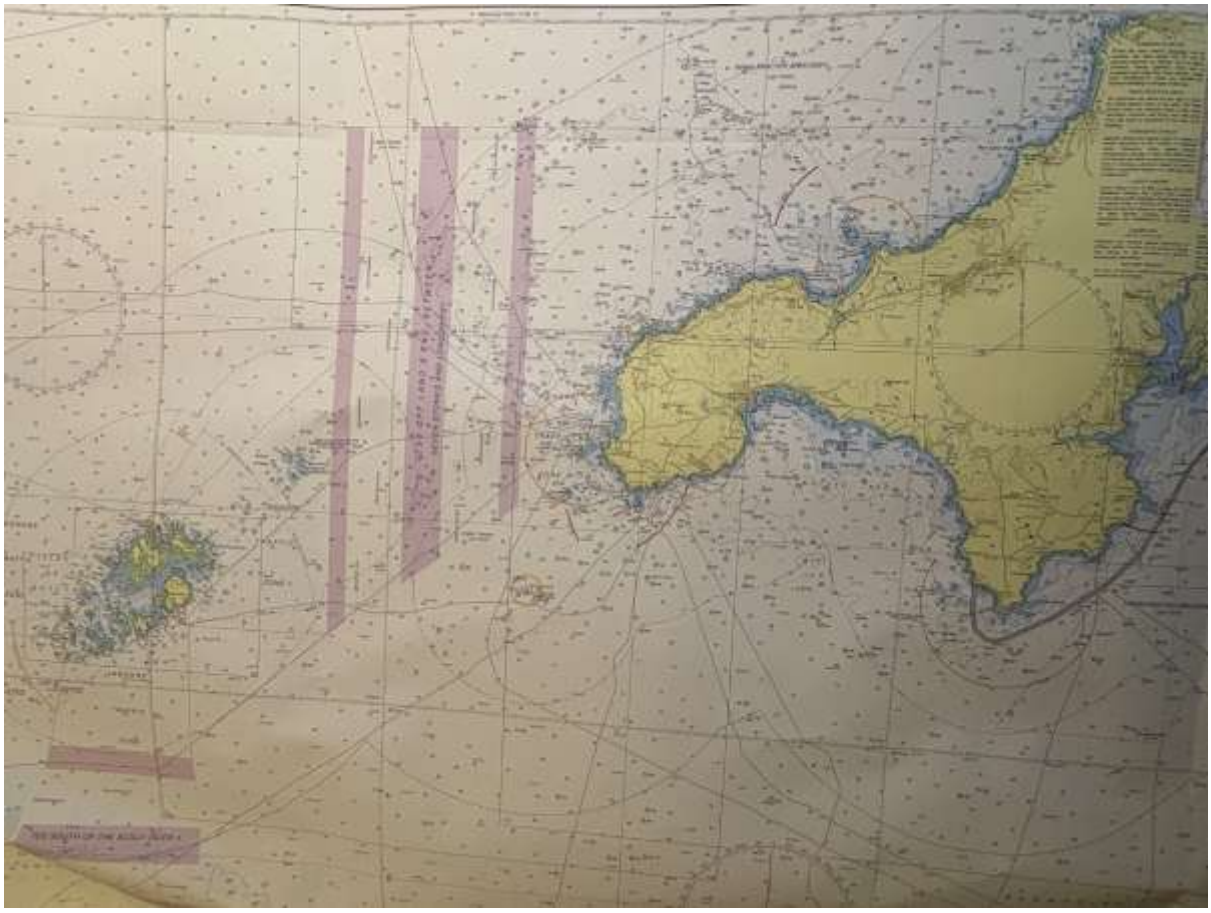


Figure 17: Navigational chart showing the positioning of the Isles of Scilly archipelago off the southwest peninsula of the Cornish mainland *(UK Hydrographic Office, 2021, licence granted to author for reproduction 23 January 2026)*

At the time of the Romans in Britain, Scilly had become two individual islands with St Agnes to the southwest having separated from the main island, on which there were intertidal areas (Tangye, 1970, p.5).



Figure 18: Deep channel of St Mary's Sound between St Mary's in the foreground and St Agnes, opened before the Roman period (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

Nornour was a large raised hillock with three carns (natural rock formations) on top (Dudley and Butcher, 1970, p.2) (**Fig.19**), these were sometimes ritually significant places in the Bronze Age and may have been the reason for the positioning of the original Bronze Age roundhouses (Ashbee, 1974, p.221). A deep-water inlet just to the north between the eastern tip of modern-day St Martin's and Nornour may have been the site of the Roman port;[11] a possible worked stone daymark on the northern tip of Nornour may have indicated the entrance to the port (**Figs.22,28**),[12] it may be a naturally weathered phenomenon though.[13]

[11] Different theories are put forward for the positioning of the port on the Isles of Scilly in Roman times. One has it in St Helen's Pool (Lewis, 1945, p.12), to the west of St Martin's, whereas another places it just to the north of Nornour and Great Ganilly (Thomas, 1985, p.167-9). The pattern of temples, shrines and beacons being situated beside ports in the Roman period is put forth by Thomas (1985, p.167), hence the siting of a port next to Nornour has an effect on the interpretation of that site. Also having an impact is the provenance of the statue on Chapel Down, as a Romano-Celtic idol, a minor god from the *Vestaeum*, it could positively influence the interpretation of Nornour as a shrine site, whereas a Neolithic or Early Bronze Age dating would not.

[12] Cathy Parkes personal communication (via email), 09 September 2025.

[13] Granite bedrock was formed by magma rising then cooling and solidifying below ground, during this process it set with inclusions of localised rocks and minerals. The Isles of Scilly granite, including largely white quartz, black biotite mica and white feldspar rather than the tin and copper in the veins in Cornwall (Wakefield, 2016). Granite outcrops may fracture along these softer veins from weathering leaving natural regular lined fissures that resemble artificially worked shapes (see **Appendix 1**).



Figure 19: Carns on Nornour (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 20: Inlet between St Martin's and Nornour, potential Roman port (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 21: Daymark on St Martin's with Romano-Celtic idol to Nornour (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 22: Potential carved daymark on Nornour, in possible alignment with Irishman's Ledge and Hanjague (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage, 1962)*

No freshwater supply is present on Nornour today; however, a source may have been located on the now submerged land around it. When the Bronze Age settlement of roundhouses were constructed, the land above sea level extended further; this, now lost, area may have provided the inhabitants with grazing, cultivation and freshwater springs (Butcher, 1993, p.3).

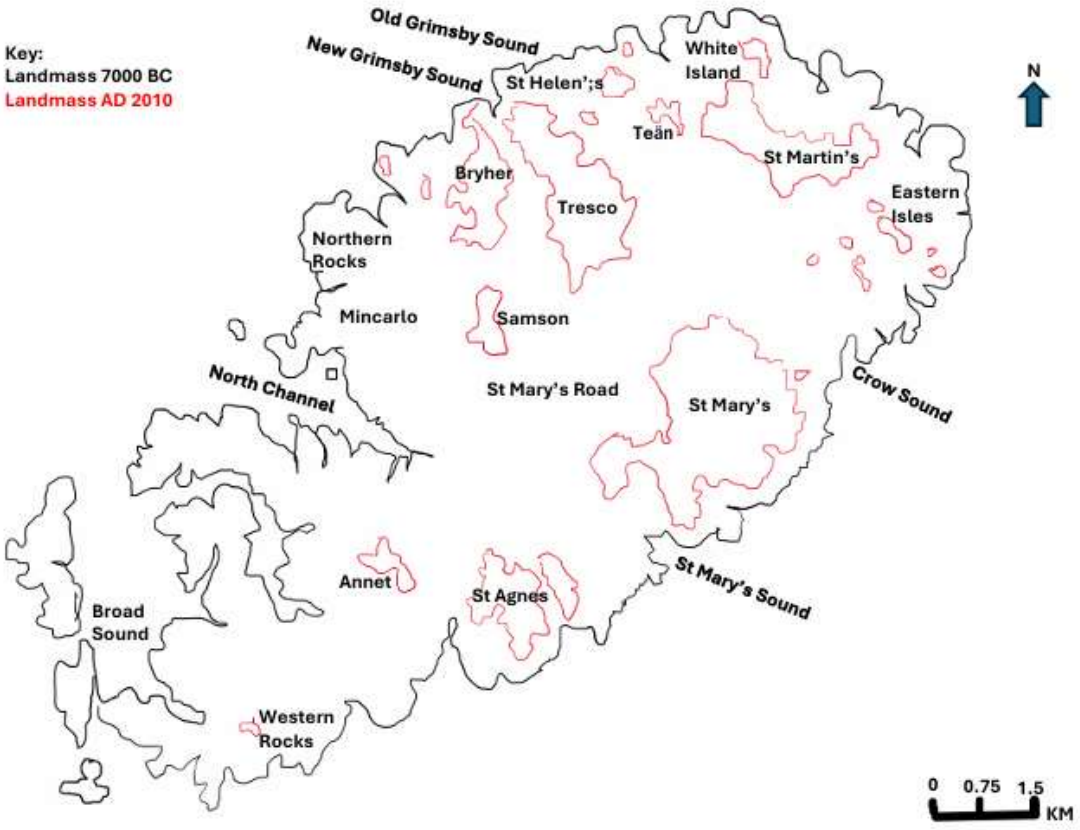


Figure 23: Landmass of Scilly in 7000 BC *(author's own drawing adapted from Charman et al., 2016, p.197)*

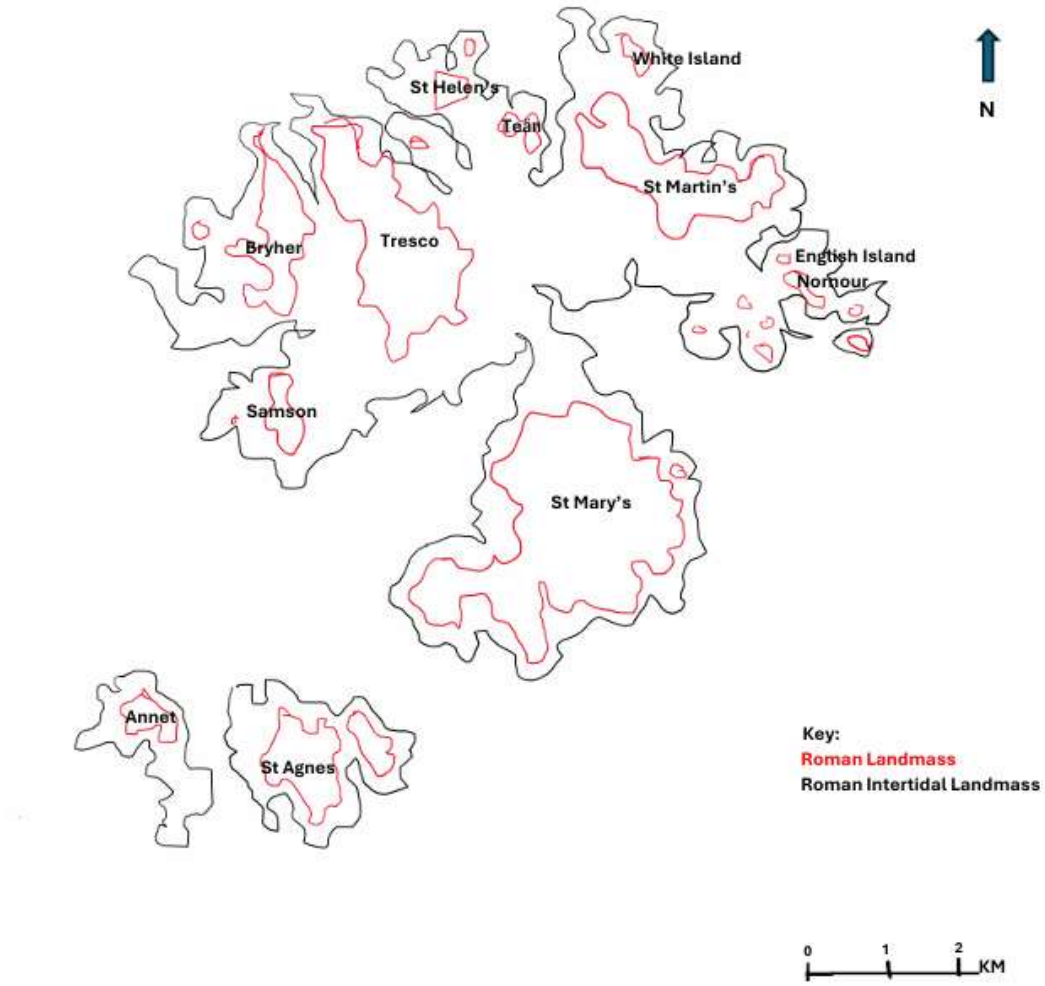
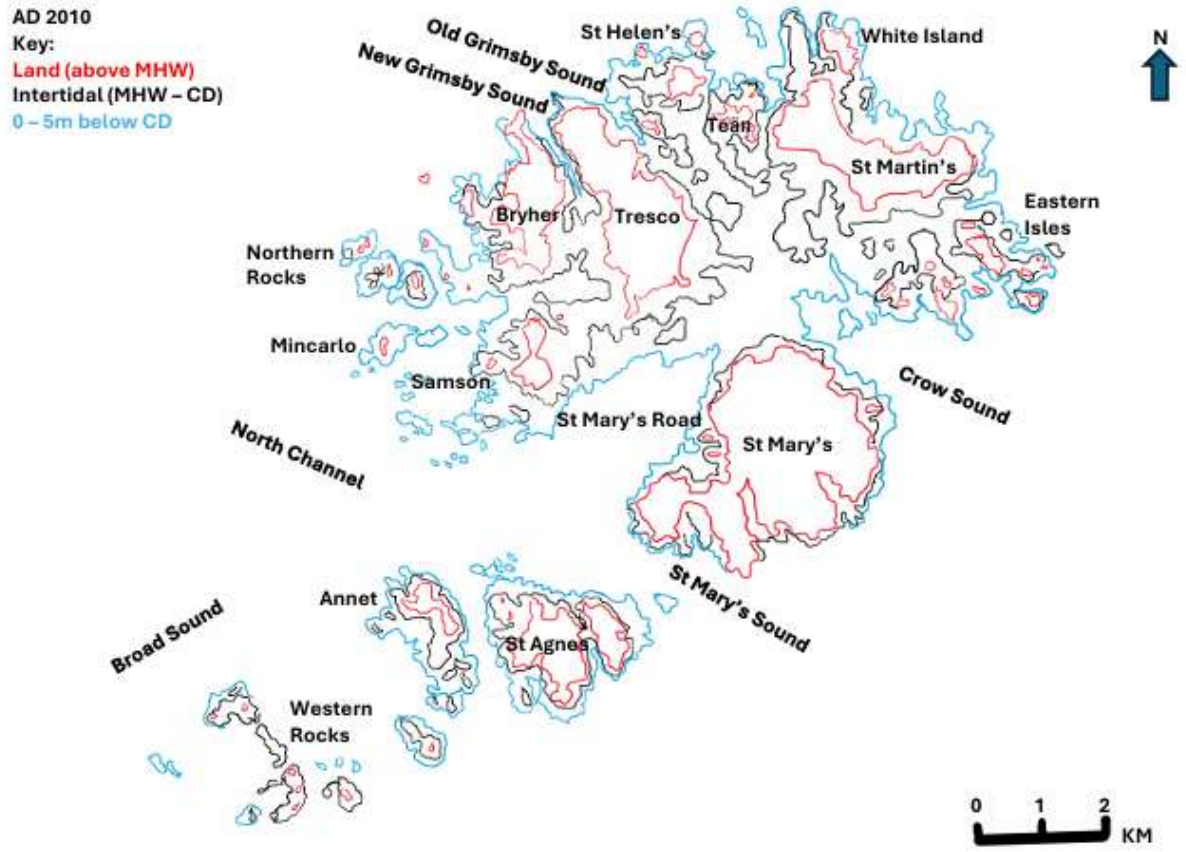


Figure 24: Landmass of Scilly in AD 0 *(author's own drawing adapted from Charman et al., 2016, p.218)*



CD Chart Datum – the reference level above which heights of tides are predicted and below which charted depths are measured. Chart Datum is -2.9m relative to OD St Mary's. **MHW** – Mean High Water **OD Ordnance Datum** – present day Mean Sea Level calculated from Newlyn, Cornwall, and used as the official basis for height calculations on British maps.

Figure 25: Landmass of Scilly in AD 2010 *(author's own drawing adapted from Charman et al., 2016, p.250)*



Figure 26: Image of the Isles of Scilly from the International Space Station showing sandbars and shallow rock formations *(courtesy of NASA, 2021, https://science.nasa.gov/earth/earth-observatory/rocking-the-isles-of-scilly-149079/)*



Figure 27: Wider image of the Isles of Scilly from the International Space Station showing shallow water in and around the archipelago *(courtesy of NASA, 2007, https://science.nasa.gov/earth/earth-observatory/isles-of-scilly-uk-7593/)*

1.4.1.1 Nornour

Nornour has enjoyed different names and spellings including *Knolworth*, *Knollmore Iland* and *N:nore* from 1573 (Harrison, p.60), 1652 (edited by Pounds, 1984, p.139) and 1655 (Godolphin map) respectively; Dr Oliver Padel, Cornish history and language published expert (1985, 1988), attributes *Knolworth* to Harrison, *Knollmore Iland* to the Parliamentary Survey of the Scillies and *N:nore*, possibly meaning *Nornore*, to the Godolphin map, however, he is of the opinion that this may have more of an English language derivation than a Cornish one due to knoll being an English word for hillock.[14] Amongst other names are *Ar Nor* in Old Cornish, 'facing the mainland' (English Monarchs, 2006; Weatherhill, 1995, p.189), and *Ar-en-nor* (Thomas, 1985, p.46). Whilst Padel supports Thomas' Cornish translation of *Ar* – facing or beside, *en* – the, *nor* – earth, ground (an irregular form of *dor*) (Padel, 1988, p.116), he remains doubtful that this derivation is supported by the old spellings. With the main landmass of modern-day St Mary's being known as *En-nor* – the earth or the ground, Padel is of the opinion that 'earth', 'ground' or 'mainland' would have referred to the greater Scillonian landmass and not the Cornish mainland, citing examples of the larger islands of the Orkney and Shetland archipelagos also being named 'mainland' (**Appendix 2**).[15]

Nornour is now a small uninhabited island of four acres (1.62 hectares) rising at its summit to 21 metres (68ft 10.77in) above sea-level (Admiralty, 2019); it is sixth highest of the twelve islands that make up the Eastern Isles and shorter than the modern-day five main inhabited islands plus Samson and Gugh (Admiralty, 2019) as shown in the graphs and tables below.

[14] Oliver Padel, personal communications (via email), 19 January 2026.
[15] Oliver Padel, personal communications (via email), 19 January 2026.

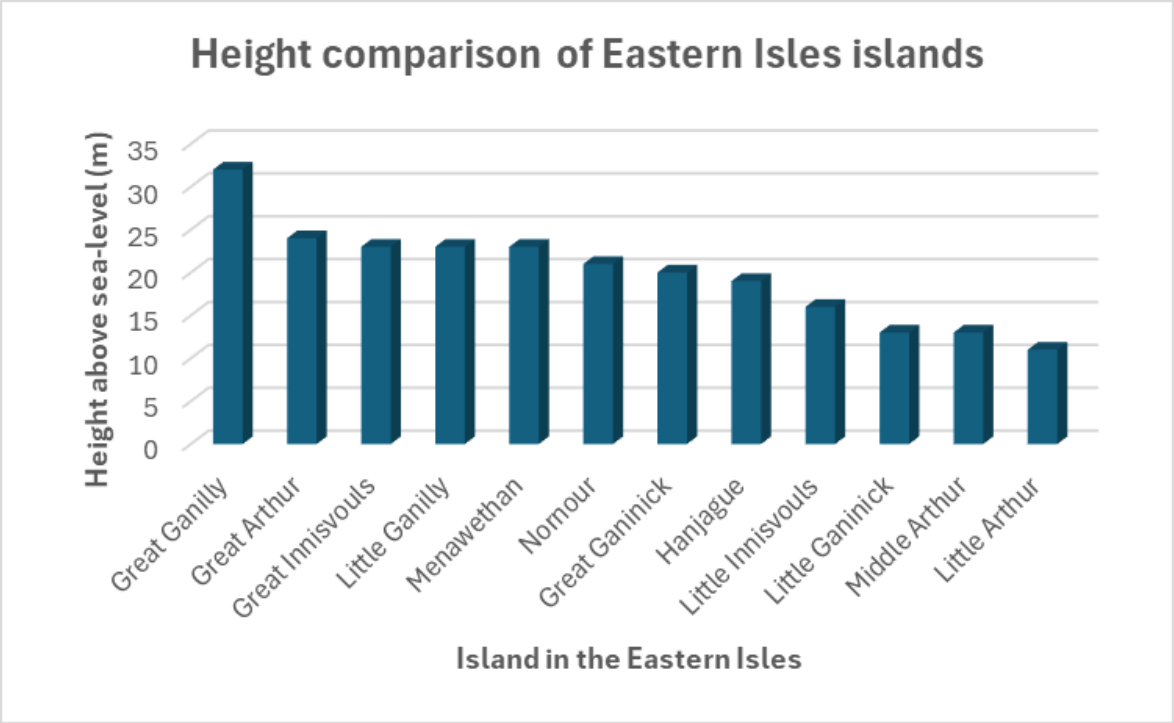


Table 7: Graph depicting the height above sea-level of the individual islands in the Eastern Isles, Isles of Scilly *(UK Hydrographic Office, 2021, licence granted to author for reproduction 23 January 2026)*

Height above sea-level	
Island	**Metres**
Great Ganilly	32
Great Arthur	24
Great Innisvouls	23
Little Ganilly	23
Menawethan	23
Nornour	21
Great Ganinick	20
Hanjague	19
Little Innisvouls	16
Little Ganinick	13
Middle Arthur	13
Little Arthur	11

Table 8: Table listing the height above sea-level of the individual islands in the Eastern Isles, Isles of Scilly *(UK Hydrographic Office, 2021, licence granted to author for reproduction 23 January 2026)*

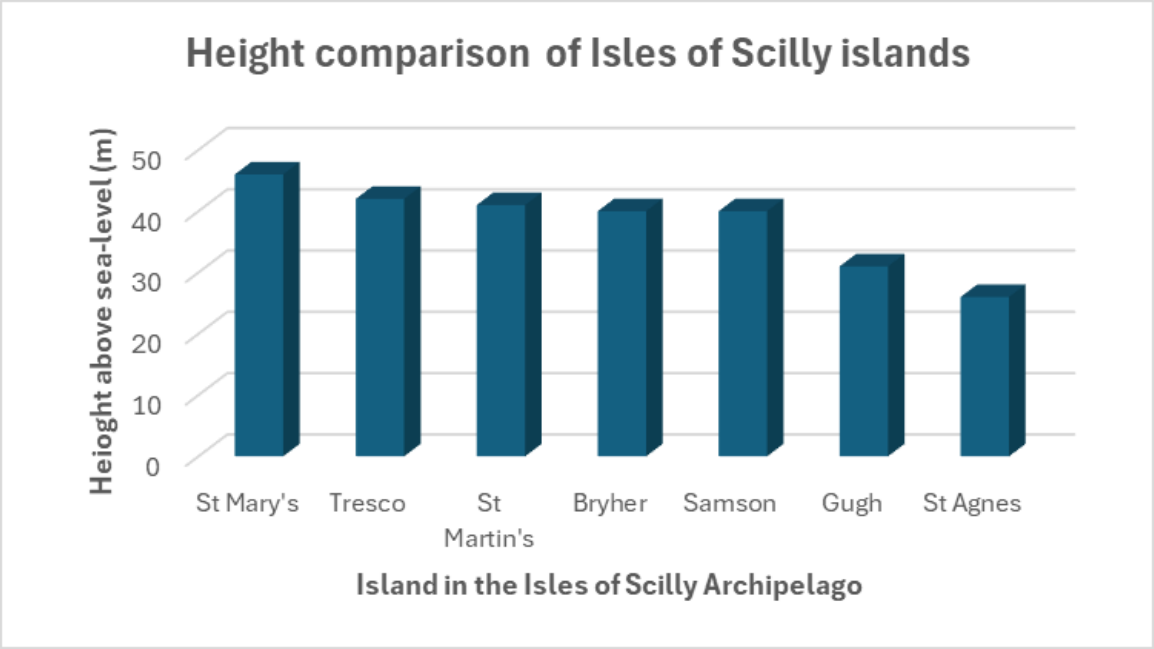


Table 9: Graph depicting the height above sea-level of the larger individual islands in the Isles of Scilly archipelago *(UK Hydrographic Office, 2021, licence granted to author for reproduction 23 January 2026)*

Height above sea-level	
Island	**Metres**
St Mary's	46
Tresco	42
St Martin's	41
Bryher	40
Samson	40
Gugh	31
St Agnes	26

Table 10: Table listing the height above sea-level of the larger individual islands in the Isles of Scilly archipelago *(UK Hydrographic Office, 2021, licence granted to author for reproduction 23 January 2026)*

One of the modern-day Eastern Isles, Nornour lies to the east of the larger inhabited St Martin's. Its closest neighbour, Great Ganilly, is still joined at low tide by a rocky ledge. During Roman times much of Scilly was one island, *Insula Sillina*, with modern-day Nornour a large grassy hillock (English Monarchs, 2006).



Figure 28: Image of Nornour from the east showing the height contours of the modern-day island, 1963 (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage)*

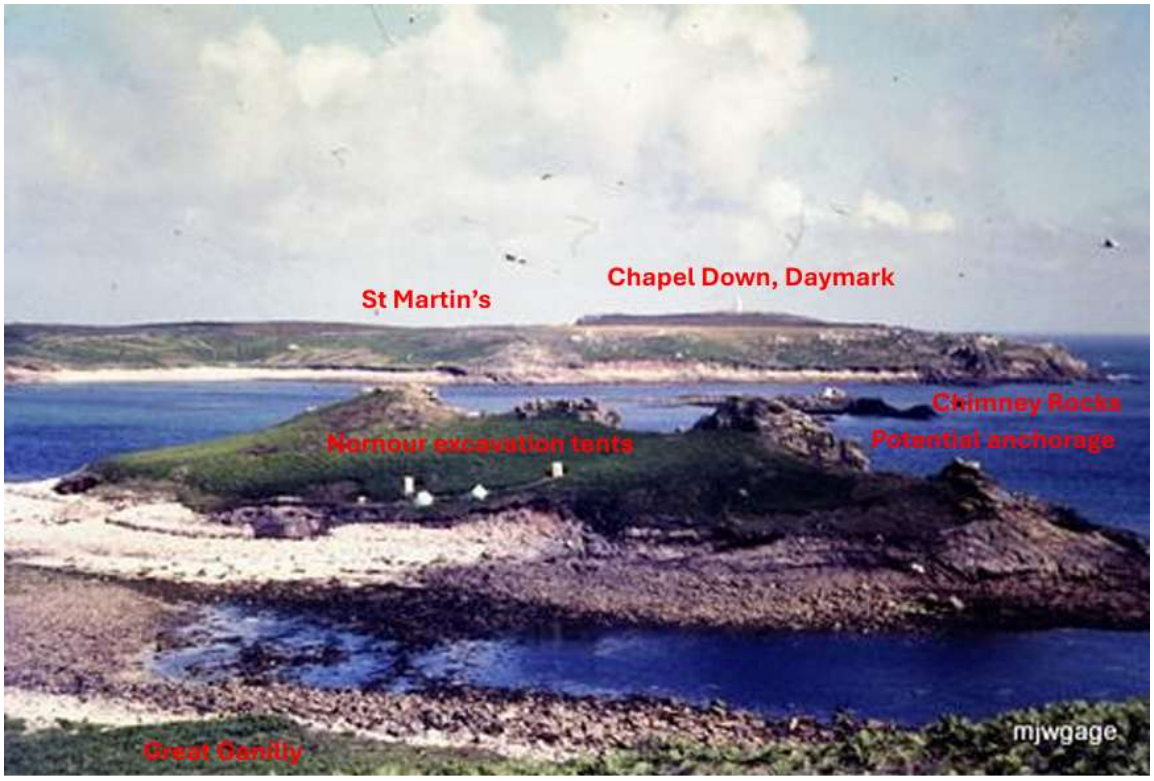


Figure 29: Image of Nornour (with excavation tents) from Great Ganilly, looking north, across the potential anchorage area towards Chimney Rocks, St Martin's and Chapel Down daymark, 1963 (no scale) *(adapted from Gage)*

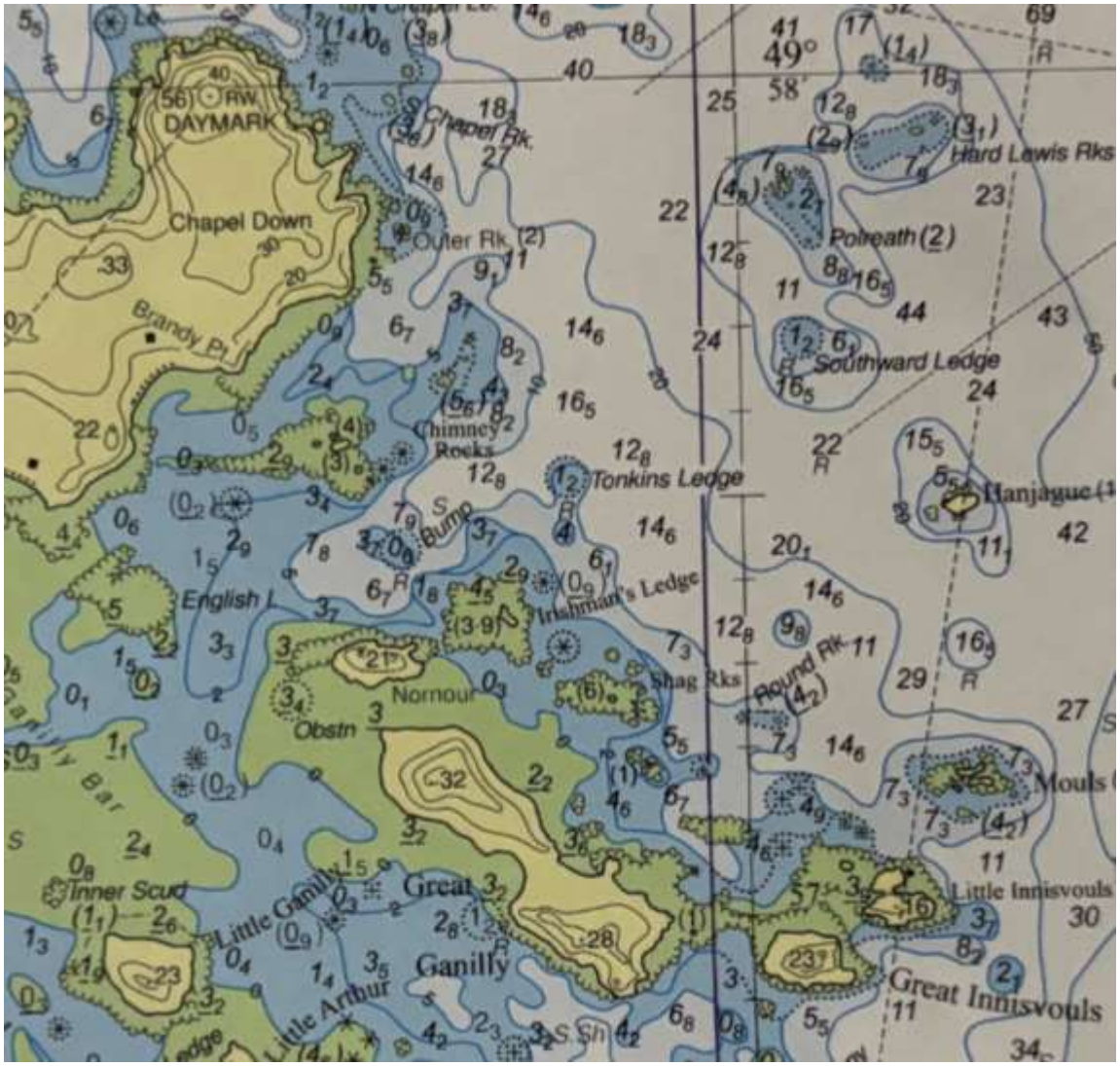


Figure 30: Navigational chart showing depth and height from sea-level of the area around Nornour *(UK Hydrographic Office, 2019, licence granted to author for reproduction 23 January 2026)*

The Roman port is believed to be north of Nornour (Thomas, 1985, p.165).[16] Thomas marked the place names in Old Cornish for 'port', *porth* (personal translation using *The new standard Cornish dictionary An Gerlyver Kres* – (George, 1998)).[17]

[16] Thomas used the believed projected Roman landmass, from low and high-water levels, as calculated in his day. This has been subsequently superseded and redrawn by *The Lyonesse Project* (Charman *et al.*, 2016).

[17] These are distinguished from later English place names which favour an adjective/noun construction, Pitch Porth, as opposed to the Old Cornish construction of noun/adjective, Porth Pitch.

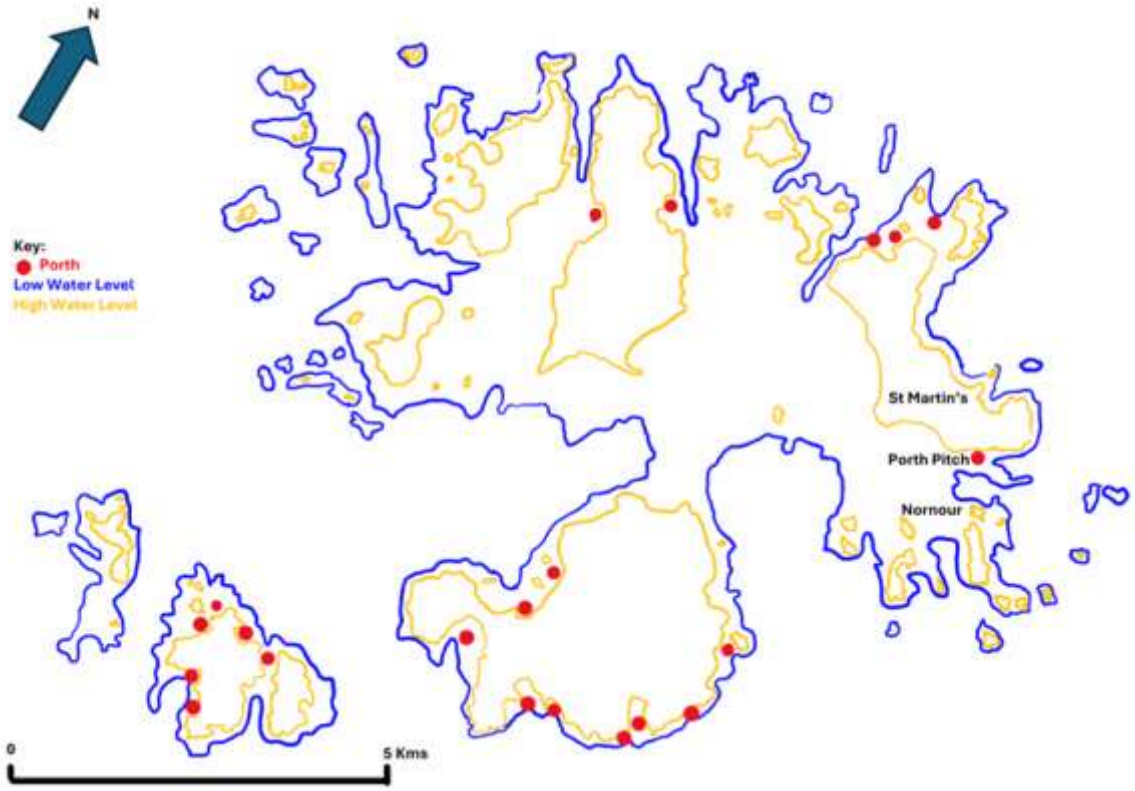


Figure 31: Ports in the Roman period from the Old Cornish 'Porth' *(author's own drawing adapted from Thomas, 1985, p.39, figs.a b)*

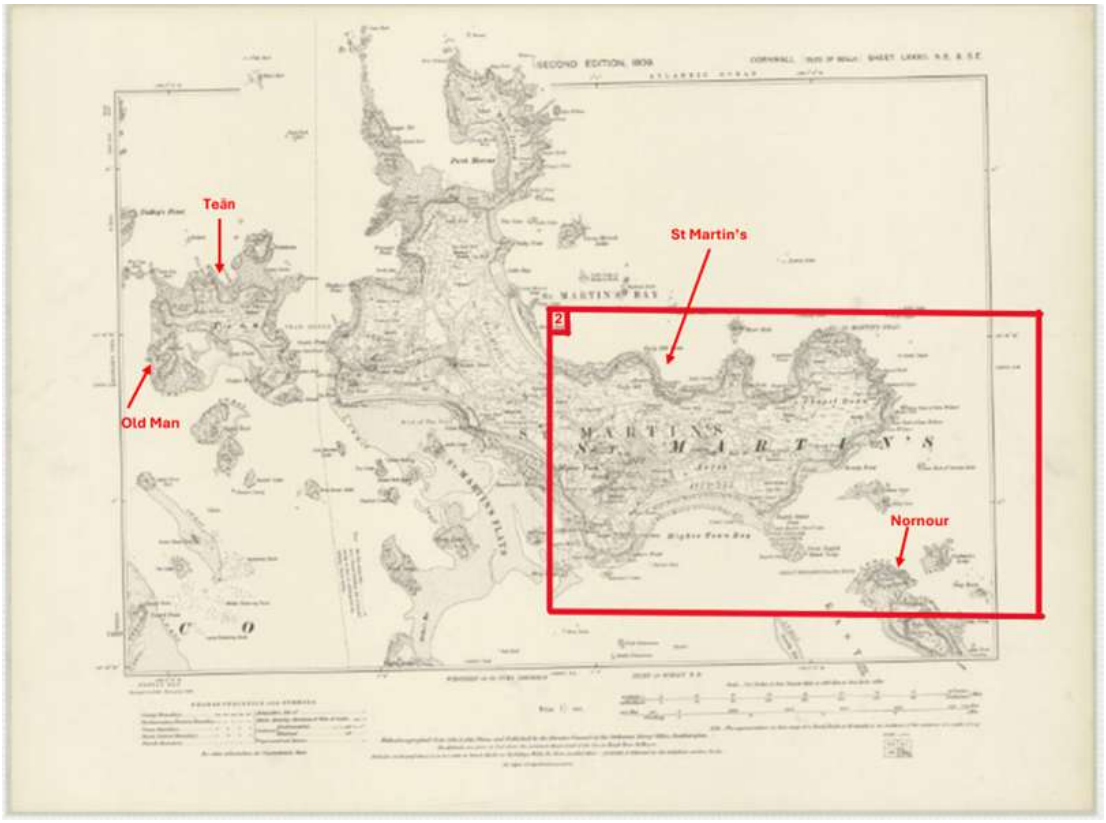




Figure 32: Port of Porth Pitch between St Martin's and Nornour *(adapted from 1909 Ordnance Survey map Cornwall Sheet LXXXII, National Library of Scotland, available at https://maps.nls.uk/view/101439713)*

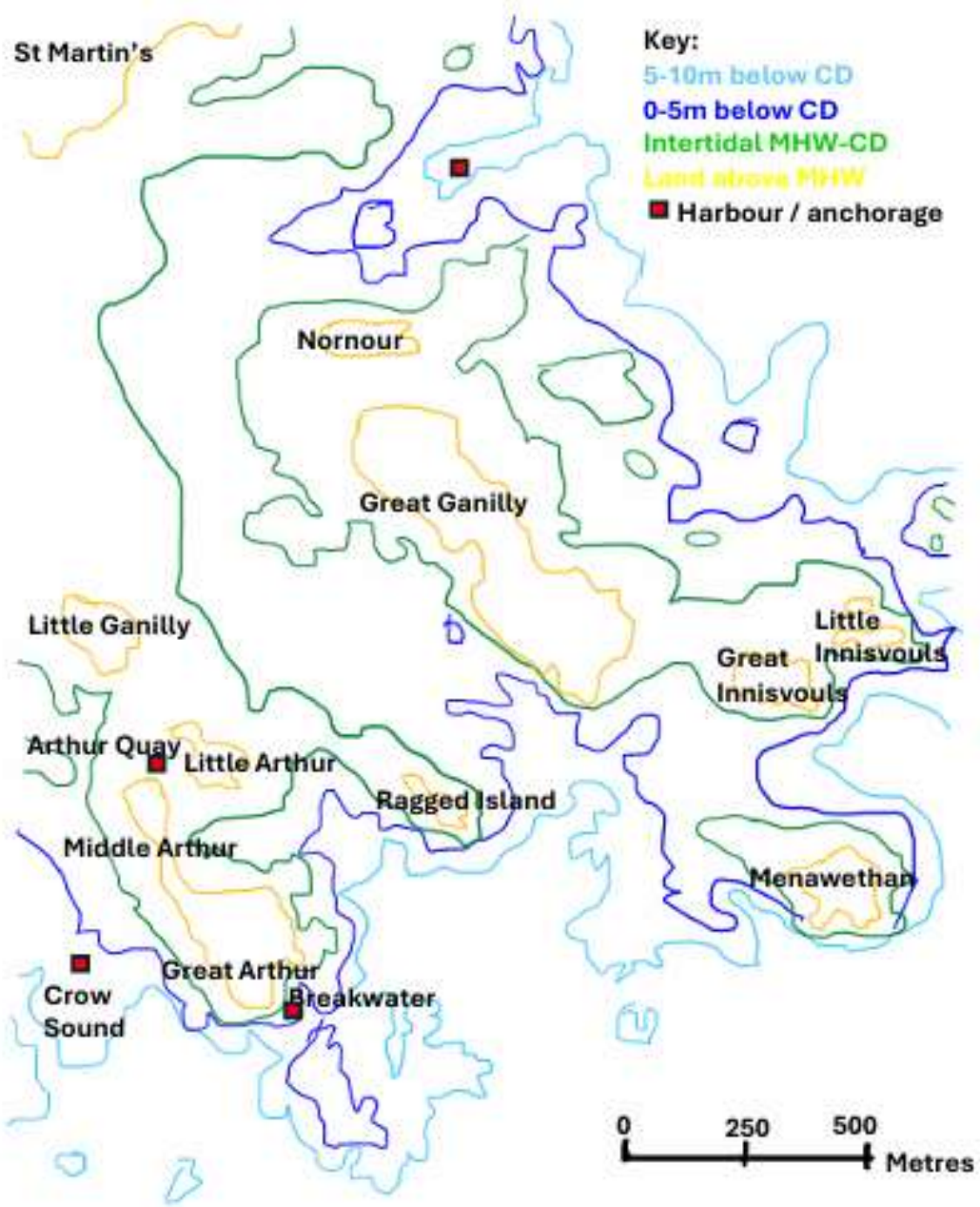


Figure 33: Porth Pitch, St Martin's to Nornour (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

Recent scientific analysis of seabed samples (Charman *et al.*, 2016, p.220) showed the following land and water levels in the Roman period and proposed harbour and anchorage positionings.

Potential sites of anchorage in the Phoenician and Roman periods on modern-day navigational chart			
Anchorage site	**Depth to seabed at low tide**		
	Metres decimetre	Metres centimetres	Feet inches
North of Nornour	6m 7dm	6m 70cm	21ft 11.78in
Arthur Quay	3m 6dm	3m 60cm	11ft 9.73in
Breakwater	14m 2dm	14m 20cm	46ft 7.06in
Crow Sound	22m 0dm	22m 0cm	72ft 2.14in
St Helen's Pool	**1m 5dm**	**1m 50cm**	**4ft 11.06in**

Table 11: Depths to seabed on modern-day navigational chart at the lowest astronomical tide at potential sites of Roman and Phoenician anchorage *(Charman et al. 2016, p.220; UK Hydrographic Office, 2019, licence granted to author for reproduction 23 January 2026)*



CD Chart Datum – the reference level above which heights of tides are predicted and below which charted depths are measured. Chart Datum is -2.9m relative to OD St Mary's. **MHW** – Mean High Water **OD Ordnance Datum** – present day Mean Sea Level calculated from Newlyn, Cornwall, and used as the official basis for height calculations on British maps.

Figure 34: Suggested locations of Roman harbour on Scilly *(author's own drawing adapted from Charman et al. 2016, p.220)*


St Martin's
Little Ganilly
Middle Arthur
Arthur Port
Little Arthur
Great Arthur


St Martin's
Deeper channel to port
Nornour
Great Ganilly





Figure 35: Potential positions of Roman port (no scale) *(author's own photographs)*

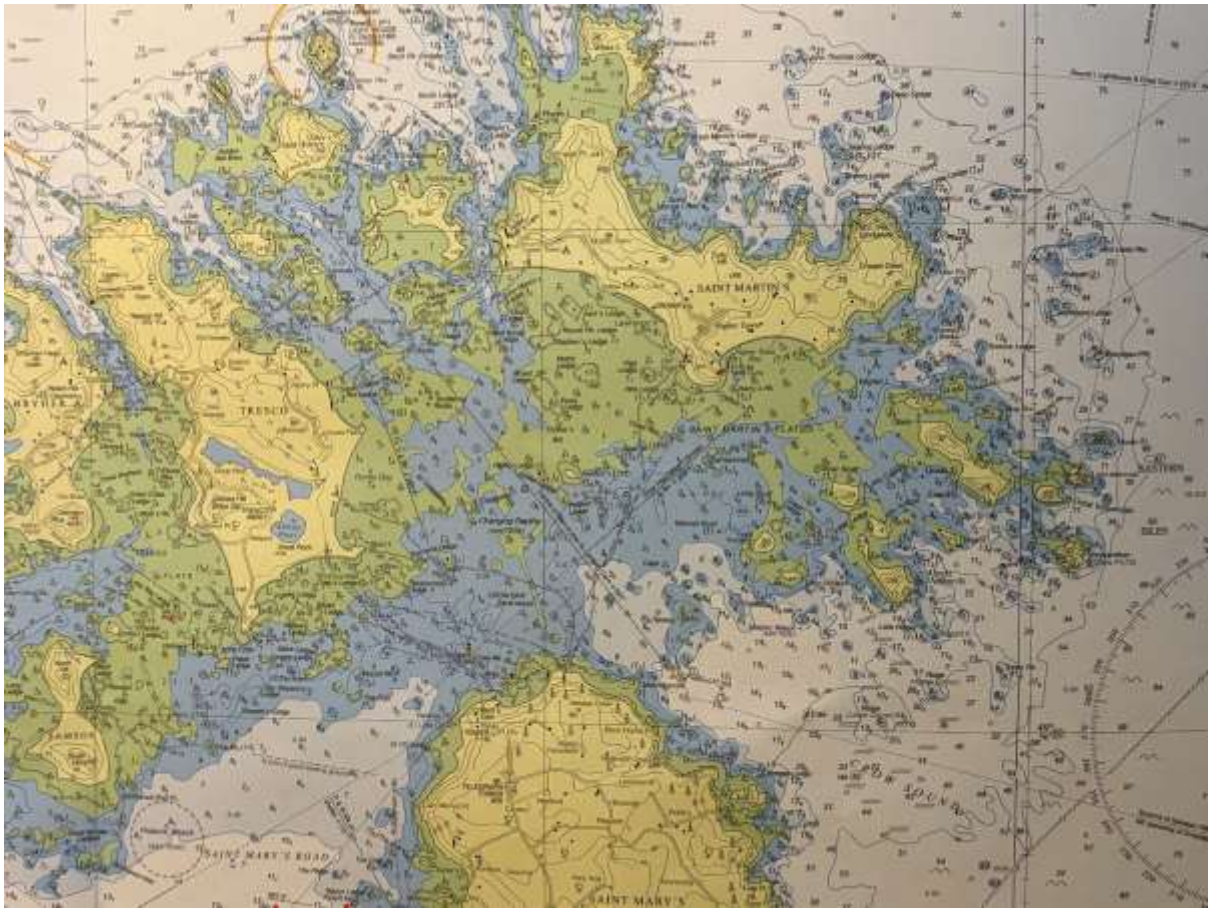


Figure 36: Navigational chart of the Isles of Scilly showing depth to seabed for potential modern-day anchorage
(UK Hydrographic Office, 2019, licence granted to author for reproduction 23 January 2026)

The shrine was on the low sand south of the ridge; to the north of the ridge, at the southern side of the Roman port, are stone foundations of a rectangular feature,[18] this could be put forward as the possible temple site (Cooper, 2004, p.11). The rocky ledge is a band of greisen, mica quartz rock, shaped to make stone bowls, mortars, oil lamps (Cooper, 2004, p.11). The high rocky crest would have been visible all over Scilly; such high spots, venerated in ancient times, were a desirable place for rituals and habitation (Ashbee, 1974, p.221; Ratcliffe and Johns, 1992, p.7). Nothing was known of the site

[18] This feature measured between five and six metres long (16' 4.85" and 19' 8.22") by three metres wide (9' 10.11") (Cooper, 2004, p.11).

until violent storms in 1962 eroded sand dunes and revealed stone walling (Butcher, 1993, p.1; Western Morning News, 1962).



Figure 37: Nornour site after the storms had revealed artefacts in the bank, pre excavations (no scale) *(author's own photograph, Dudley, 1962a, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*

Excavations showed a settlement of ancient stone roundhouses positioned on the island's southern slope just above, now submerged, flat pasture cultivated land (Butcher, 1993, p.3).

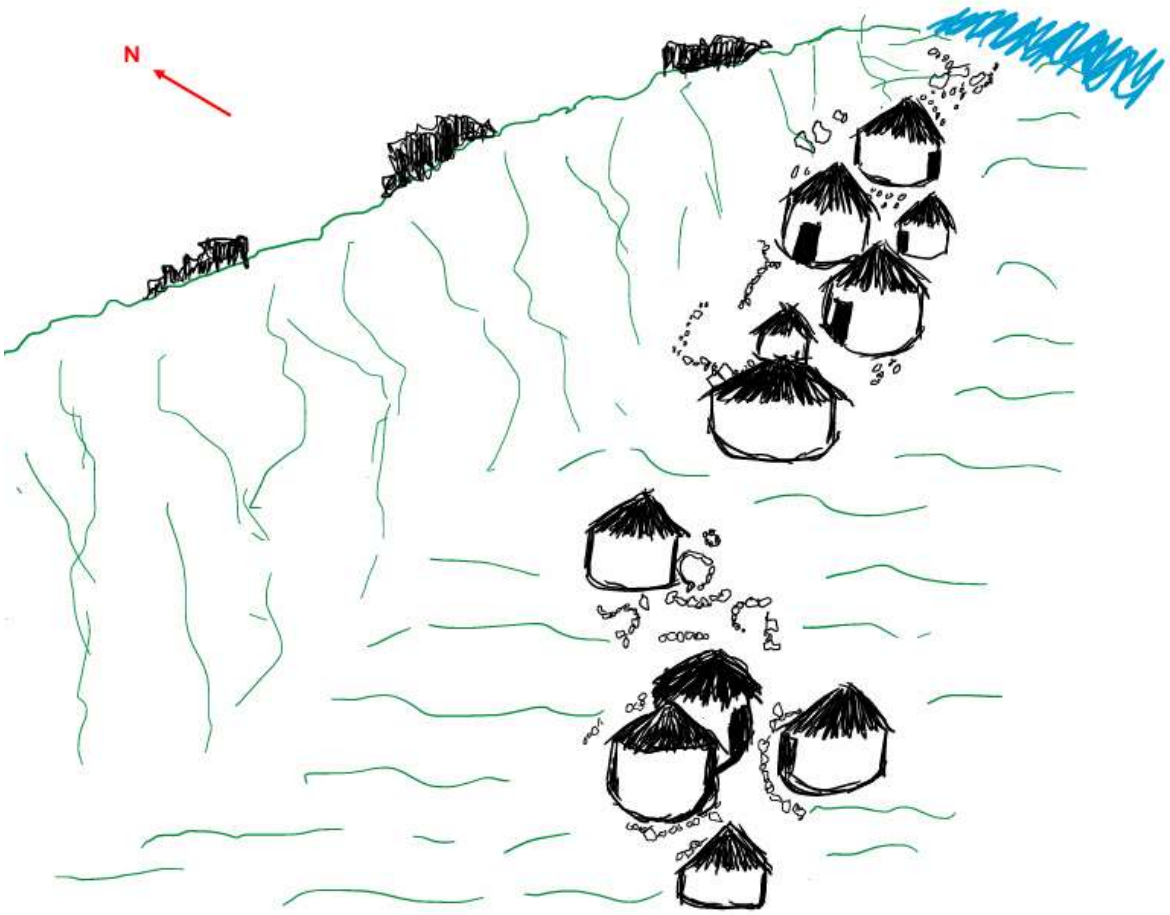


Figure 38: Sketch reconstruction of the settlement at Nornour *(author's own drawing adapted from author's own photograph; Butcher, 1978, p.32)*

This would have been a good, sheltered position in the hollow of the hillside, with the main slope to its north and rocky outcrops both to its east and west. No current water supply is visible on the present island but there may have been springs on the now submerged land (Butcher, 1993, p.3).

The site covers approximately 160 feet (48.77m) east to west, with eleven structures recorded. Upon excavation, it was found that not all of the structures were in use at the same time; they were stone walled roundhouses, with rebuilding, additions and alterations made over a lengthy period of time (Butcher, 1993, p.5).

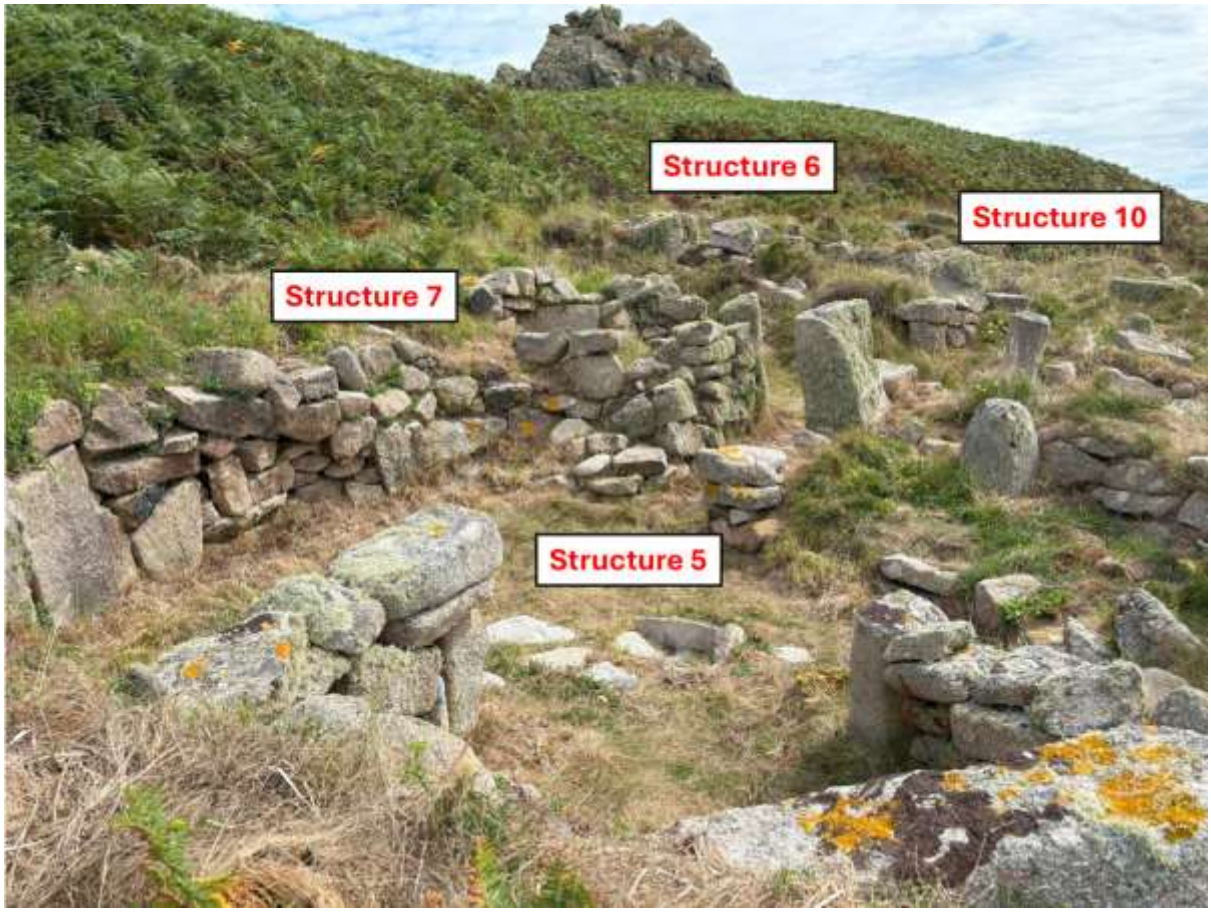


Figure 39: Bronze Age settlement, Nornour (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

The occupants were assumed to be settlers and their descendants, a familial group rather than diverse families (Butcher, 1993, p.3). By the Roman period only three structures were in use, others of the site's Bronze Age roundhouses having fallen into disrepair or subject to subsidence and erosion. The abandonment of the site in post-Roman times could be due to the loss of good farming land to ever-increasing encroachment by the sea from rising water levels, if it was a farming settlement.

1.4.1.2 Halangy Down

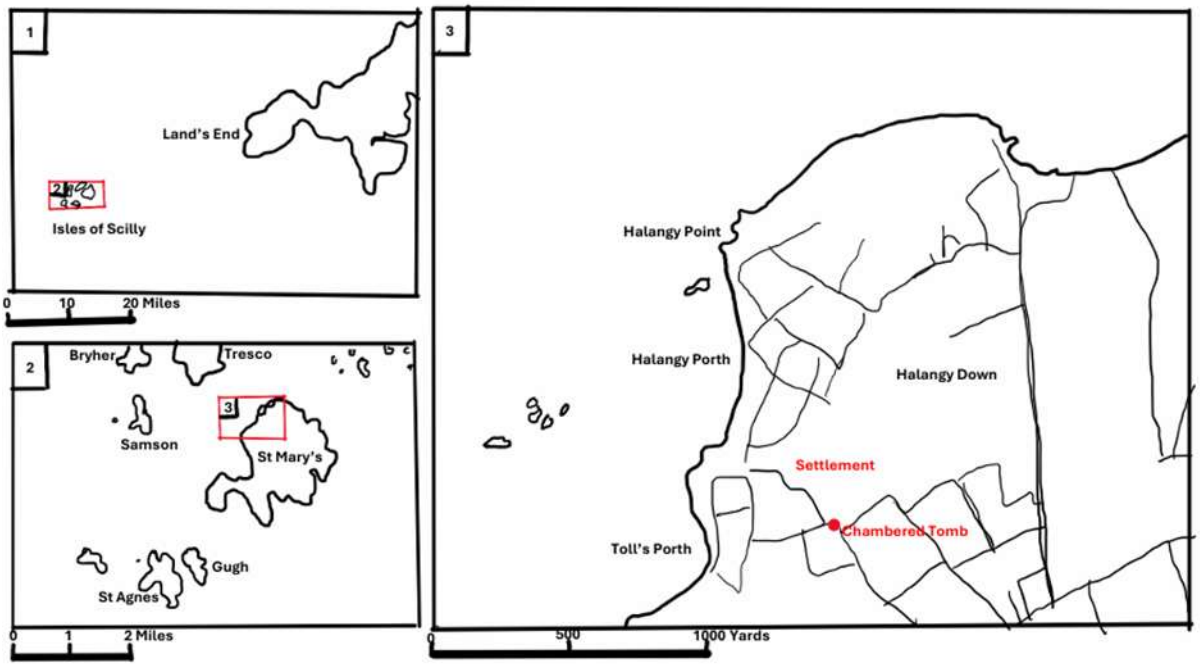


Figure 40: Position of Halangy Down *(author's own drawing adapted from Ashbee, 1955, p.188)*

The settlement on Halangy Down[19] is positioned towards the eastern tip of modern-day St Mary's, graduating down a north facing slope from a hilltop; overlooking the low lying and intertidal land, it is in close proximity to the then hillock of Nornour. With a Bronze Age entrance grave, Bant's Carn, at the top, the settlement was constructed on a moderate slope and set within farmed land.

[19] Different suggestions for the meaning of the place-name *Halangy* in old Cornish incorporate 'the moor house' with 'hal' meaning *moor*. Padel dismisses this translation, arguing that 'hal' would be positioned at the end of Cornish words; hence, 'the moor house' could be *Chynhale* (Padel, personal communication (via email) 22 March 2026). Charles Thomas suggested the original spelling may have been *heyl*, 'an estuary', at the time when Scilly was mostly still one large island; however, Padel continues, arguing that *hal* could also be translated as 'a marsh', uncertain in his opinion, or *hel* as 'a hall', which he deems to be the least likely attribution. With no known spelling predating the 1887 OS six-inch map, it is difficult to determine an accurate origin of the place-name.



Figure 41: Halangy Down Settlement and Bant's Carn burial chamber (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

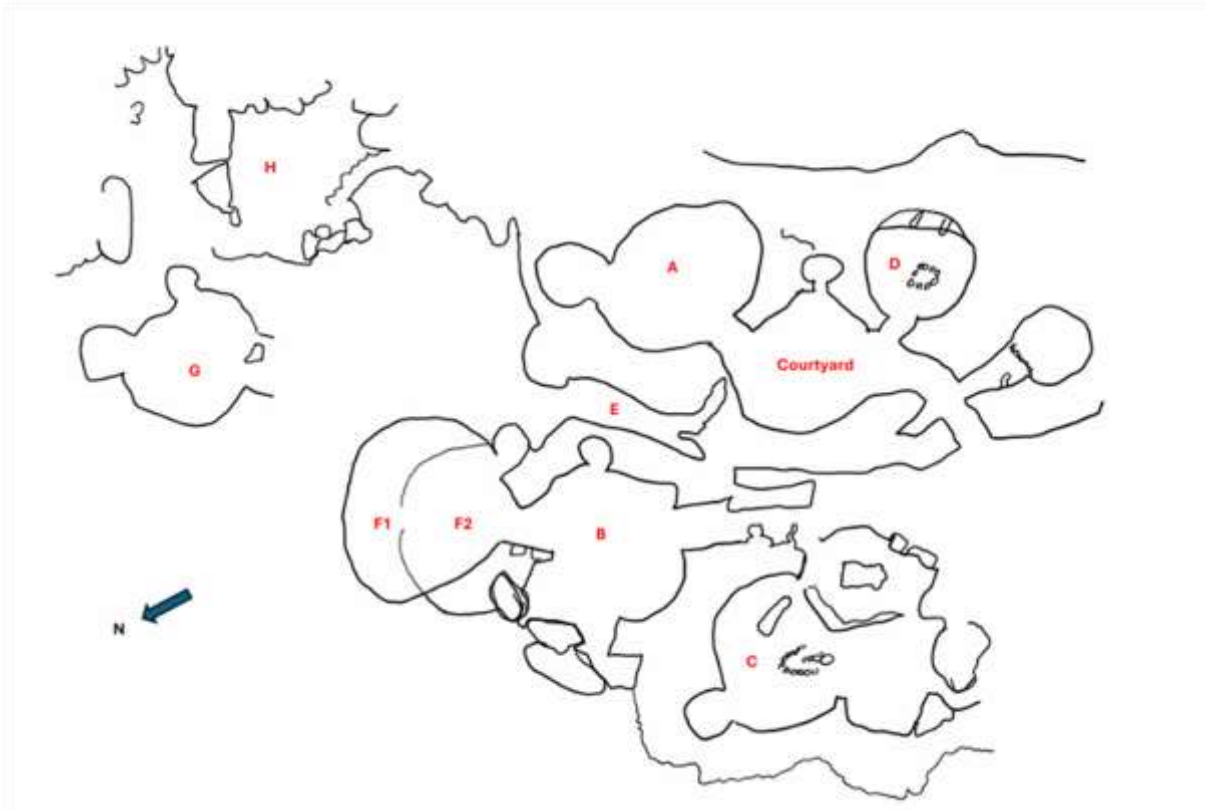


Figure 42: Plan of Halangy Down settlement, St Mary's *(author's own drawing adapted from Ashbee, 1996, p.24)*

1.4.1.3 The Hugh

The altar stone, carved with a Mithraic design, was found down a well on the north facing slope on the Hugh,[20] at the western end of modern-day St Mary's. Sitting in close proximity to Mount Holles, a round hillock, this is speculatively suggested to be the site of a possible temple or shrine where the altar was used (Ashbee, 1974, p.218).[21] Granite pillars in Hugh Town are thought to originate either from this site or as belonging to St Maudut's (a maritime saint) church (Ashbee, 1982, p.174), which stood, it is thought, on the south side of Bank Square (Thomas, 1979, p.37,8). Both the well and the hillock are now lost underneath modern development (Thomas, 1985, p.163).





Figure 43: Development on site of well where Roman altar was found (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

Figure 44: Development on site of Mount Holles where the temple was believed to be sited (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

[20] *The Hugh* is thought to relate to a 1585 place-name of 'The Hew', potentially deriving from an English word *hóh*, 'a heel' or 'spur of land' (Padel, 1988, p.98).

[21] Previous sites on the island are put forward as theories for original positioning. Bonsor has it as coming from Old Town, on the southern outside edge of St Mary's, where a sea channel had opened up to St Agnes before the Roman period, citing the old capital of the island as the place where Roman artefacts originate (Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921, p.239).



Figure 45: Granite pillars, possibly Roman on St Mary's: Top row left to right 1 & 2 private garden, Hughtown (no scale); 3 Porthcressa (2m folding rule); Bottom row left to right: 4 & 5 The Parade, Hughtown (2m folding rule); 6 private garden, Rocky Hill (no scale) *(author's own photographs)*



Figure 46: Roman Mithraic altar findspot, St Mary's *(author's own drawing adapted from HER, 7325)*

1.4.1.4 Peninnis Head

Also geographically close is the fogou at Peninnis Head[22] on St Mary's; identified in 2000 there is limited information available on the site. Similar to post-medieval storage hulls (AD 1540-1900), a possible evolution of this concept (Tangye, 1973, p.40), and other cave dwellings, the fogous have a distinct structure of their own. Only found in the far southwest of Britain, they are dug into the earth where possible with few examples being semi-subterranean or above-ground fogou, such as North Bosporthennis, Lower Boscaswell and Pendeen Vau. These non- and semi-submerged structures were found to sit on granite and thus unable to be sited lower (Hirst, 1934, p.48-49). Above-ground examples were positioned with large hedges constructed on top, potentially to conceal them.

[22] Peninnis is derived from the old Cornish word *pen* meaning 'head', 'headland' or 'promontory' (Padel, 1985, p.177).



Figure 47: Field at Peninnis Farm underneath which the fogou is located (no scale) *(author's own photographs)*

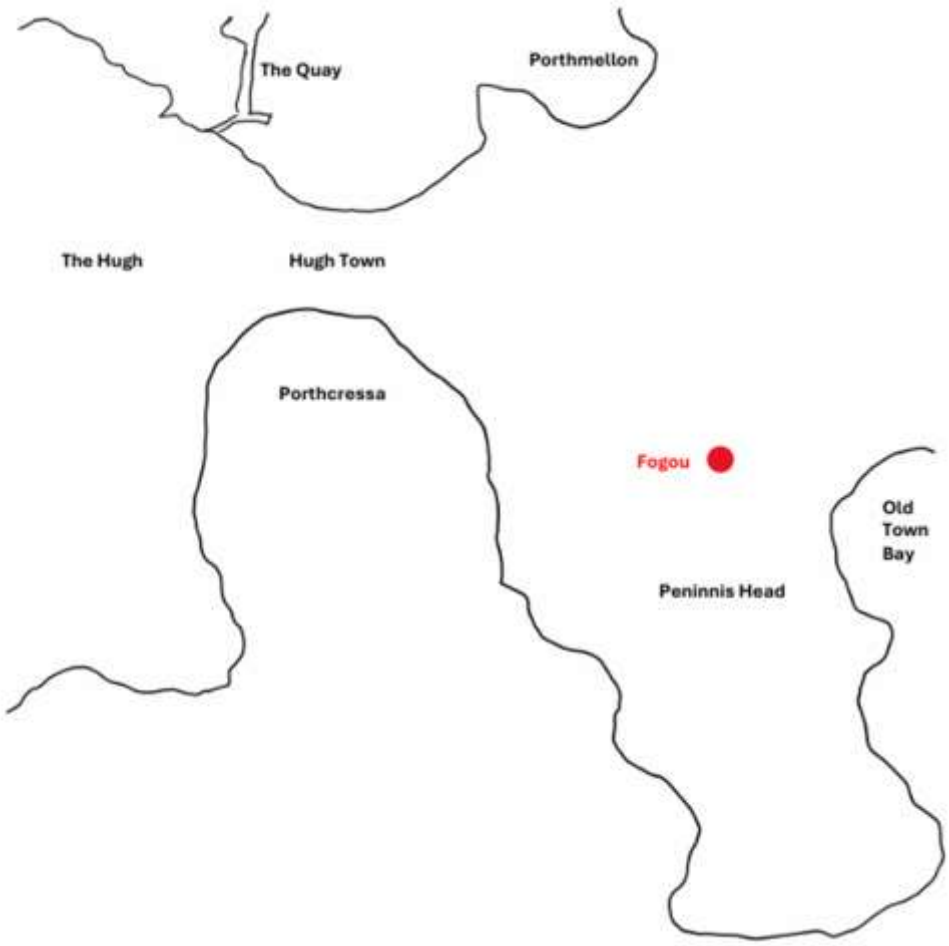


Figure 48: Romano-British fogou on Peninnis Head, St Mary's *(author's own drawing adapted from HER, MCO58697)*

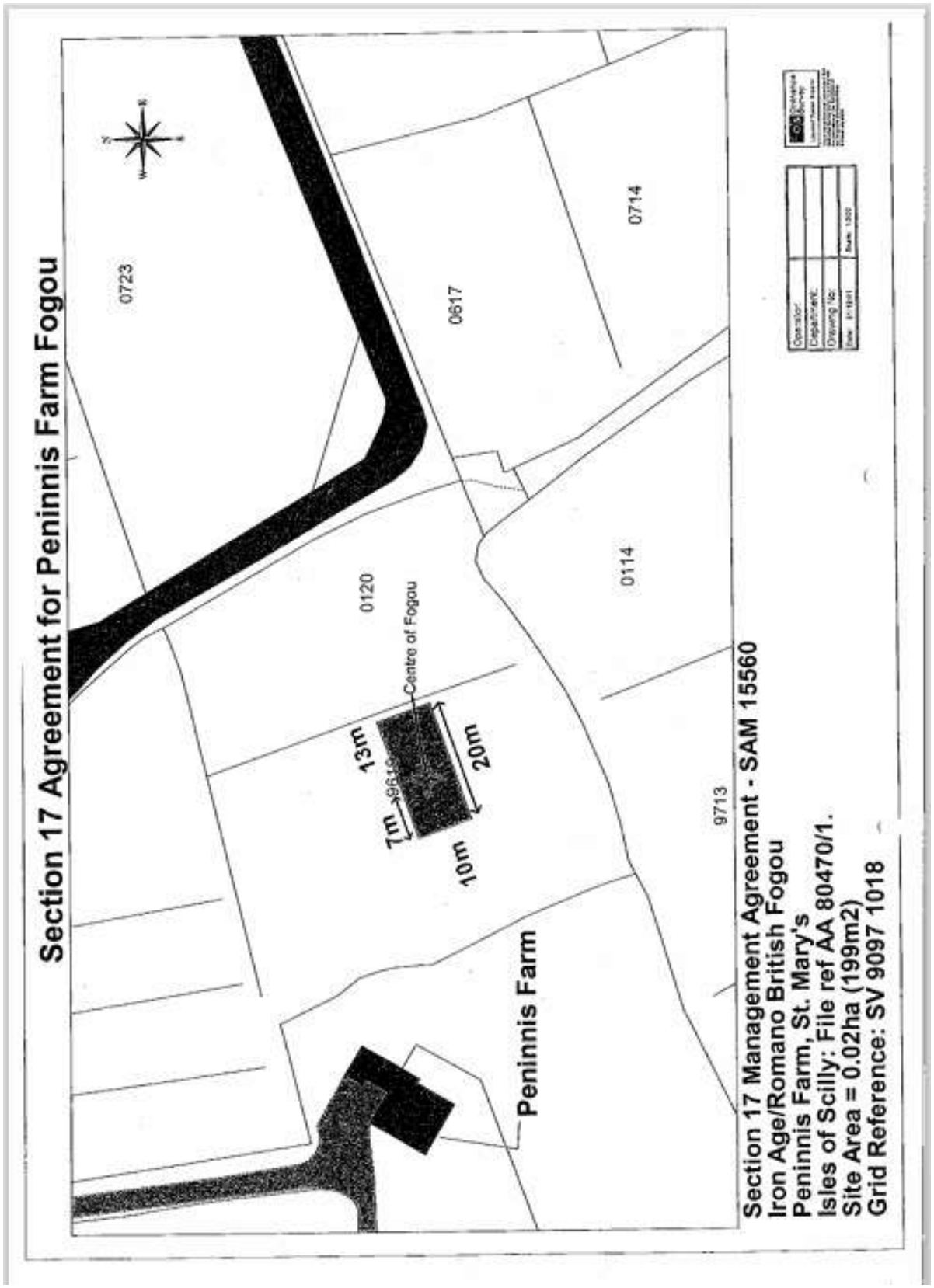


Figure 49: Map of Peninnis Head fogou *(Historic England, 2001)*

1.4.2 Chronology

There are limits to the period being explored here, first to fourth century AD, with little or no classical literary references to Scilly. Where Land's End is mentioned in texts it is called in Latin *Velerium*, seat of storms, or *Belerion* in Greek, the shining land. Some information can be gleaned from the accounts of Caesar (58-50 BC), ancient geographers such as Strabo (7 BC-AD 23), and the author Pliny (AD 77), amongst others, though their content is by no means exhaustive. Herodotus mentions the *Cassiterides*, which have been interpreted as Scilly (Borlase, 1754, p.4), in his *Historiae* (The Histories) from 440 BC. Polybius, around 168 BC, refers to a lost work by Pytheas from 325 BC where he refers to Britain, and Tacitus records the metal ores present in Britain around AD 98. The knowledge being transcribed may have been written with biased objectives in mind. For instance, Caesar as he sought to justify the subjugation of other peoples by describing them as uncivilised. Additionally, for authors like Claudius and Ptolemy, it is highly likely they never visited the site and compiled information about it from afar and via secondary sources.

A scarcity of written accounts leads to a greater dependence upon interpreting those artefacts which have been discovered, as well as any surviving epigraphic and iconographic evidence. Epigraphy is evidenced in the Roman coins found on Nornour dating from Vespasian (AD 69-79) to Gratian (AD 367-383), although, unfortunately, the original inscription on the Roman altar is no longer visible. Amongst the artefacts from the Mithraeum at *Segontium*, in the north of Wales (Boon, 1960, pp.136-178), four stone altars also without an epigraphic dedication to Mithras were found in 1958. The smooth surface on one is suggested to have displayed a painted dedication (Boon, 1960, p.153); this is also suggested for a faded epigraphic inscription on the St Mary's altar

along with weathering (Ashbee, 1982, p.174). The *Segontium* altar is commented on as being similar to the Scillonian altar.[23] No Mithraic epigraphic inscriptions or iconography was discovered at the Welsh site (Boon, 1960, p.155); whereas iconography is present in the *pseudo-Venus* and *Dea Nutrix* statues and the carved symbols of the Roman cult of Mithras on the altar. Modern scientific data imparts much information, for instance the last burning of a hearth through carbon dating, or the composition of a brooch through metallurgical testing;[24] carbon dating showed date ranges from 1970-1280 BC to AD 90-240 across the site, whereas the brooches returned dates from AD 75-275.

1.4.3 Ancient authors

Tin was produced by the Cornish and mentions of this trade are found in the Classical writings, the earliest being Herodotus' *Historiae* (The Histories) from about 440 BC.[25]

Reviews of the literature ought to acknowledge that not all classical writers agreed with one another; according to Strabo, Polybius refers to Pytheas of Massalia,[26] as having "the hardihood to tell all those falsehoods about Britain" (Strabo, *Geography*, II.4.2). However, without a surviving text, it is hard to evaluate, suffice to note potential bias of authorships, a view echoed by Strabo in his *Geographica* (Geography), early first century AD, who favours Euhemerus the Messenian (Strabo, Geography, II.4.2). Strabo, when producing a map of Britain, also commented on the river routes used through

[23] Mark Lewis, personal communication (via email), 04 September 2025.
[24] Metallurgical analysis - the study of metal artefacts and waste products to determine their material source, manufacture techniques and technology, and uses (Bahn, 2001, p.291).
[25] Concerning the farthest western parts of Europe I cannot speak with exactness … nor have I any knowledge of *Cassiterides*, whence our tin is brought … This only we know that our tin and amber come from the most distant parts. (Herodotus, Histories, 3.115)
[26] Pytheas of Massalia was the first Greek to navigate to Britain and who wrote *On the Ocean*, a lost work of around 325 BC.

Gaul, connecting Cornwall's tin to the Mediterranean trade (Strabo, *Geography*, IV.1.14). The crossings would have likely been made by currach,[27] a masted hazel or willow frame covered with hide, or a masted dugout log canoe as found at Tolcarne, Newlyn, opposite Scilly, dated by a Roman coin (HER, 18771).

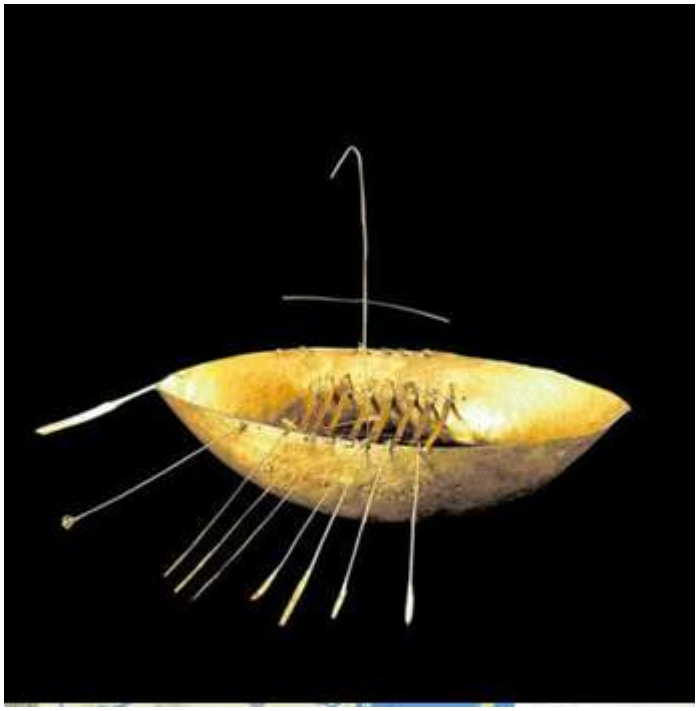


Figure 50: Gold model of a currach *(Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026, email copyright permission 27 May 2025)*

Diodorus Siculus wrote *Bibliotheca Historica* (The Library of History) around 60-30 BC, in which he referred to *Iktin*, the tin trading island (Diodorus, *Library of History*, 5.22.2). *Iktin* was noted as part of the *Cassiterides*, a group of ten tidal islands (Strabo, Geography, IV.1.14). Pliny the Elder, in his *Historia Naturalis* (The Natural History),

[27] Currachs were inland and sea-going vessels, a long thin craft used from Neolithic times and built at a general ratio of 5:1 (Deady, 2003). Julius Caesar is thought to refer to a currach or similar vessel, "ships of the kind that his experience in Britain in previous years had taught him to make. The keels and the first ribs were made of light timber, the rest of the hull was wattled and covered with hides" (Caesar, *Civil Wars*, 1.54). Larger sea-going craft were thought to house seven cross benches and carry fifteen people (Newgrange, 2010).

around AD 77, quoted Timaeus, from his lost *Histories* of around 264 BC, as referencing the island as *Mictis*:

> an island called Mictis is within six days sail of Britannia, in which white lead [tin – cassiterite (Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.47.158)] is found; and that the Britons sail over to it in boats of osier, covered with sewed hides (Pliny, *Natural History*, 4.30).

Pliny also records lead as being excavated in Spain and Gallic provinces, though plentiful in surface-stratum in the British Isles (Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.49.164), and a prized commodity to Imperial Rome; silver, gold and other minerals are noted as present in trading quantities in Britain (Tacitus, *Agricola*, 12.6).

Ικτιν	Iktin	1st c BC	->
	Vectis	AD 77	->
	Vectis	AD 121	->
Ουηκτίς	Ouiktís	AD c.170	->
	Vecta	3rd c AD	->
	Vectis	8th c AD	->
	Vectis	AD 731	->
	Gueith	AD 829	->
	Wit	AD 1086	->

Table 12: Proposed toponymic evolution of the island name Iktin (*adapted from Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026, email copyright permission 27 May 2025)*

Case	**Meaning**	**Greek m./f.**	**Translit**
Nominative	Subject	’Ικτις	Íktis
Accusative	Object	’Ικτιᾰ / ’Ικτιν	Íktiă / Íktin
Genitive	Of	’Ικτιος	Íktios
Dative	By, with, to, for	’Ικτι	Íktii

Table 13: Declension of Iktin *(adapted from Dobson, 1992, p.50; Perschbacher, 1990, p.xiii; Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026, email copyright permission 27 May 2025)*

Ptolemy's *Geographia* (Geography), AD 150, included a map of Britain (Ptolemy, *Geography*, II.2) where the detail in *Dumnonia*, Cornwall, includes the Roman forts of *Tamara,* Calstock, *Voluba,* Carvossa and *Uxella*, Nanstallon or Restormel. These forts, constructed in AD 55-75 (Roman-Britain, 2025) before the II Augusta were transferred to Wales (Farnell, 2010, p.10), are located near rich lodes respectively of lead and silver, tin and iron (Hirt, 2010, p.191; Smart, 2009, p.2), and were on navigable estuaries (Jennings, 1903, p.310; Taylor, 2025).

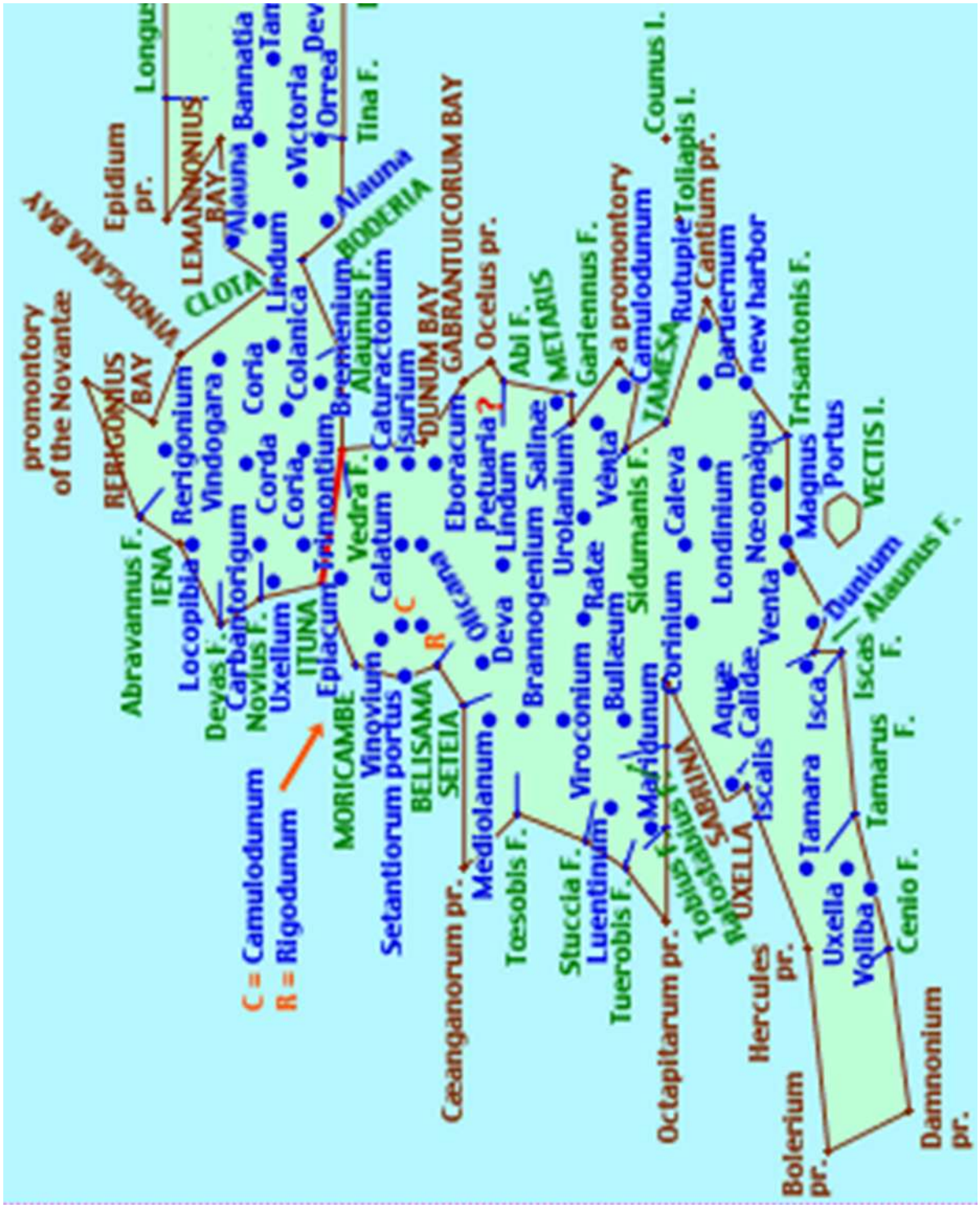
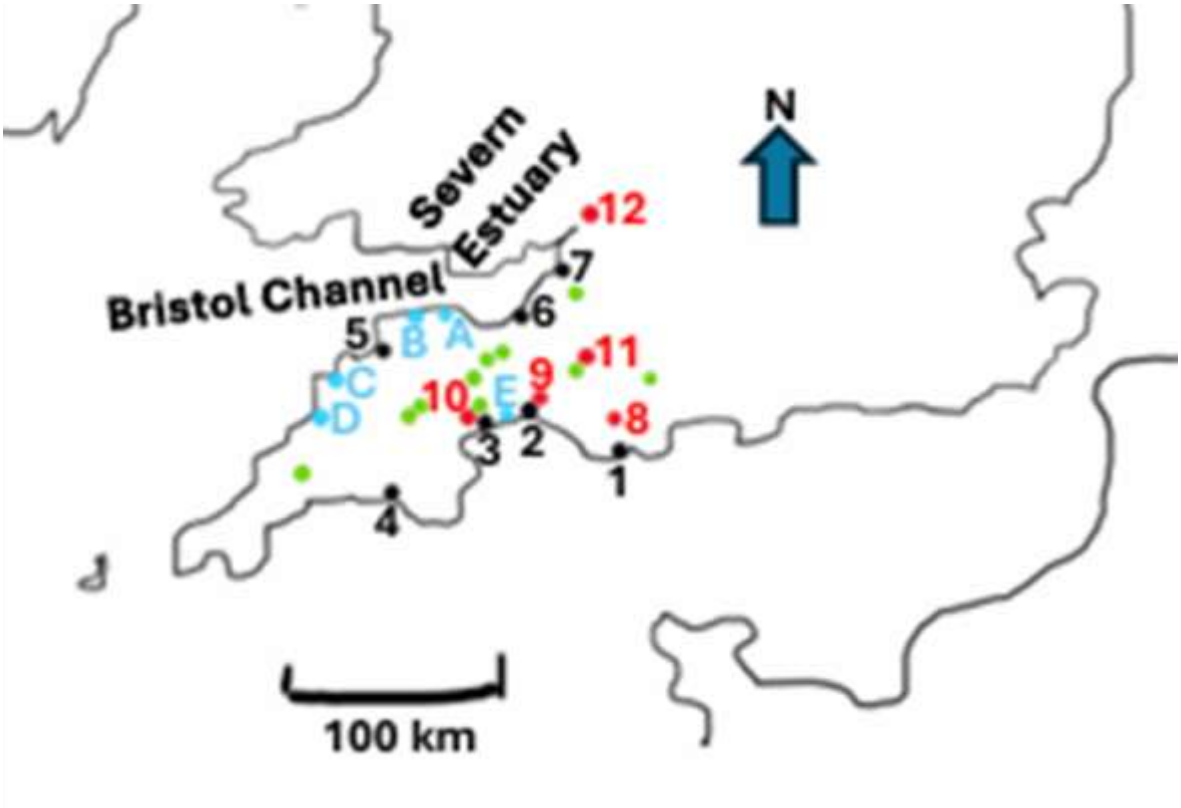


Figure 51: Ptolemy's map of Britain *(adapted from University of Chicago, https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Periods/Roman/_Texts/Ptolemy/2/2*.html#ImageMapLocation)*



Key:
Military harbours: 1 Weymouth **2** Seaton **3** Topsham **4** Plymouth **5** Barnstaple **6** Bridgwater **7** Sea Mills
Signal stations: **A** Old Burrow **B** Martinhoe **C** Morwenstow **D** St Gennys High Cliff **E** High Peak
Legionary bases: 8 Dorchester **9** Axminster **10** Exeter **11** Ilchester **12** Kingsholm
Auxiliary forts

Figure 52: Map of the south-west and the Bristol Channel showing location of early military bases and lookout / signal stations *(author's own drawing adapted from Mason, 2003, p.89)*

Roads were constructed at this time too, which have been identified using the latest LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) technology[28] by Chris Smart and Ryan Smith's images.[29]

[28] LiDAR technology measures distance and elevation by timing reflected light from emitted pulses of laser, generating a detailed plan of the topology of landscape thus highlighting unseen geographical features (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2024).
[29] A short stretch of unverified Roman road was recorded near Rocky Hill Lane, St Mary's, (Iago, 1891, p.243), where potential Roman pillars (**45**) are now sited (Thomas, 1978, p.37).

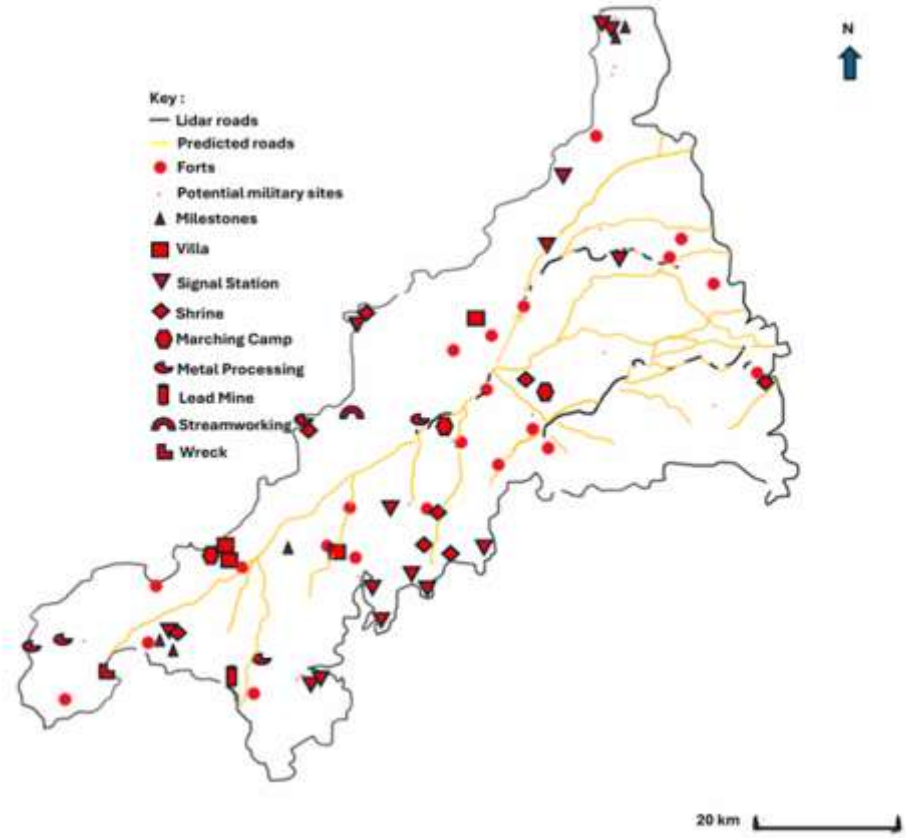


Figure 53: Roman roads and sites in Cornwall *(author's own drawing adapted from HER database, : https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results.aspx; Johnson and Rose, 1990 & 2003; Parcero-Oubina, Smart and Fonte, 2023, . http://doi.org/10 .5334/jcaa.109 https://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/338676; Pearse, p.48; Rippon, 2025, p.500)*

Diodorus, paraphrasing the previously maligned Pytheas, described the characteristics of the country as "cold in climate and thickly populated by autochthonous tribes practising ancient ways of farming and living peaceably" (Diodorus, Library of History, V.21.5,6). Going on to describe the Celt's nature by writing:

> The inhabitants of Britain who dwell about the promontory known as Belerium [the modern area of Land's End, Cornwall] are especially hospitable to strangers and have adopted a civilized manner of life because of their intercourse with merchants of other peoples. They it is who work the tin, treating the bed which bears it in an ingenious manner (Diodorus, Library of History, V.22.1).

Having examined the ancient writings on Britain, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, the Roman votive offerings at the shrine on Nornour[30] will become the principal focus of this dissertation.

[30] *Sil* or *Sul* was the name for the god of water. It was used to name modern-day Bath, *Aqua Sulis,* and, most likely, in naming the Isles of Scilly. This could have made Celtic sacred natural groves (Aldhouse-Green, 2021, p.41-42; Larsen, 2024, p.59) into sites for pilgrimage where homage was paid to this particular god with votive offerings left, such as bronze figurines from the Iron Age recently uncovered in Culver Hole Cave, the Gower (Aldhouse-Green, 2021, p.4). A roughhewn stone idol, of possible Romano-Celtic origin (**Figs.104,105**) (Ratcliffe and Johns, 1992, p.35), was found on St Martin's, Isles of Scilly (Ratcliffe and Parkes, 1989, p.259), which may give credence to this theory, along with the hundreds of votive offerings at the shrine on Nornour.

Chapter 2 Literature review

Scilly first began to be studied by historians and naturalists from the 1500s by William Camden. Modern scientific data, archaeological literature and subsequent discussions focussing on the tin trading island of *Ictis*, variously claimed to be Scilly (Borlase, 1756, p.76-78)[31] (Troutbeck, 1794, p.2),[32] St Michael's Mount (Aldhouse-Green, 1996, p.276; de Beer, 1960, pp.160-167; Borlase, 1756, p.76; Williams, 2024),[33] Mount Batten (Aldhouse-Green, 1996, p.276; Cunliffe, 1983, pp.123-6), the Isle of Wight[34] (Penhallurick, 1986, p.145)[35] (Reid, 1905, p.281)[36] (Taylor, 1916, p.141,142),[37] and, most recently, the islands by the Isle of Wight (Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026), demonstrate

[31] Borlase (1756, p.78) interprets Pliny the Elder's reference to the island of *Mictis* as Scilly, being six day's sail from Gaul (Pliny, Historia Naturalis IV.16.104), also, Diodorus referring to an adjoining British Isle to *Belerium*, Land's End, to which tin is taken at low tide to be traded (Diodorus, V.22.2) is interpreted as Scilly (Borlase, 1756, p.76).

[32] Troutbeck takes the Greek *Cassiterides,* Latin *Sigdeles, Sillinæ, Silures,* Dutch *Soilings*, and English *Silly*, *Sulley* and *Scilly* to all refer to the same tin trading isles.

[33] Project Ancient Tin, under Dr Ben Roberts and Dr Alan Williams of Durham University, carried out an archaeological dig on St Michael's Mount in May 2025 searching for evidence of Bronze Age tin processing. After discovering ancient stone tools with a high density of crushed tin ore residue on a flattened surface, identified through a handheld X-ray Fluorescence (XRF) device employed onsite followed by subsequent examination by Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) (Roberts and Williams, 2026), the Mount was hypothesised as a site of tin processing and interpreted as likely to be the ancient tin trading island of *Ictis* ('A Cornish Legend and an Ancient Wishing Well', 2026, 11:36). These results were presented in Exeter to The Society of Antiquaries by Roberts and Wood (19 March 2026) (Roberts personal communication (via email), 12 January 2026; Williams, personal communication (via email), 04 February 2026) and printed online in the national daily press (Blakely, 2026).

[34] The Isle of Wight was a known trading port to Gaul in the Iron Age (Trott and Tomalin, 2003, pp.161) with trading from Gaul and Armorica to the Isle of Wight by the *Venti* (or *Veneti*) tribe (Dale, 2023) being noted by Caesar (Gallic War, III.8) and Strabo (Geog.IV.4.1).

[35] Due to the similarity of *Ictis* to the Isle of Wight's Roman name *Vectis*.

[36] Clement Reid, a geologist, reported his findings in 1905 in the journal *Archaeologia*, stating his theory that around AD 0 the Isle of Wight was a tidal island and St Michael's Mount was "an isolated rock rising out of a swampy wood" (Reid, 1905, p.281).

[37] Thomas Taylor, historian, examined the hypotheses of *Ictis* being identified as the tidal island of St Michael's Mount, the peninsula of West Penwith and the Isle of Wight. He concluded that the most widely accepted theory at the time was of the Isle of Wight being the ancient island of *Ictis* (Taylor, 1916, p.141,142).

knowledge of the ancient kingdom of *Dumnonia*, Cornwall, by the Phoenicians (Smith, 1863) and then the Romans.





Figure 54: Isles of Scilly (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

Figure 55: St Michael's Mount (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*





Figure 56: Mount Batten (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

Figure 57: Isle of Wight from mainland (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 58: Islands on edge of mainland from Isle of Wight (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

Roman sites on the Isles of Scilly, are considered through archaeological excavation reports and their scientific testing, which have yielded differing interpretations of their nature and purpose over the years.

2.1 Historical references

2.1.1 Modern writers

William Camden[38] was the first to study the ancient texts referring to the *Cassiterides*, his findings were published in *Britannia* (1586; 1722) and widely promoted by Queen Victoria. The theory abounded that the tin and other precious metals like gold and silver were subject to bartering rather than monetary exchange, hence little Phoenician coinage being found (Penhallurick, 1994, p.286) in Cornwall or on Scilly; a bartering system of manufactured items or livestock has been posited as a theory (Deacon, 2024, p.28). Richard Carew,[39] known to his contemporary antiquary Camden (Carew, 2004, p.3), produced a manuscript in the early seventeenth century of a detailed history and description of Cornwall (Carew, 1602; 2004), which held little mention of Scilly's features, excepting the 1593 Garrison fort (HER, 7902) on The Hugh, St Mary's (Carew, 1602, p.85r). Rev. William Borlase,[40] travelled around his native Cornwall and to the Isles of Scilly, in 1752, and published three works of importance.[41] His work on the parishes of Cornwall remained in manuscript form and was incomplete at the time of his death. Nonetheless, these publications are invaluable to any study of the history of

[38] William Camden, 1551-1623, an historian.
[39] Richard Carew, 1555-1620, an historian.
[40] William Borlase, 1695/6-1772 (Pool, 1986, p.x), a Fellow of the Royal Society, was known as a naturalist, geologist and Cornish antiquarian.
[41] Works by William Borlase: *The Natural History of Cornwall* (1753); *Observations on the Antiquities Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall* (1754); *Observations on the Ancient and Present State of the Islands of Scilly* (1756).

Cornwall and Scilly, and for this particular dissertation, due to the detailed descriptions and drawings of sites and artefacts now lost or more ruinous.

Identification of Scilly as the *Cassiterides*, and *Ictis*, is still debated today, with the islands near the Isle of Wight being the most recent suggestions due to the intertidal nature of *Ictis* (Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026).[42]

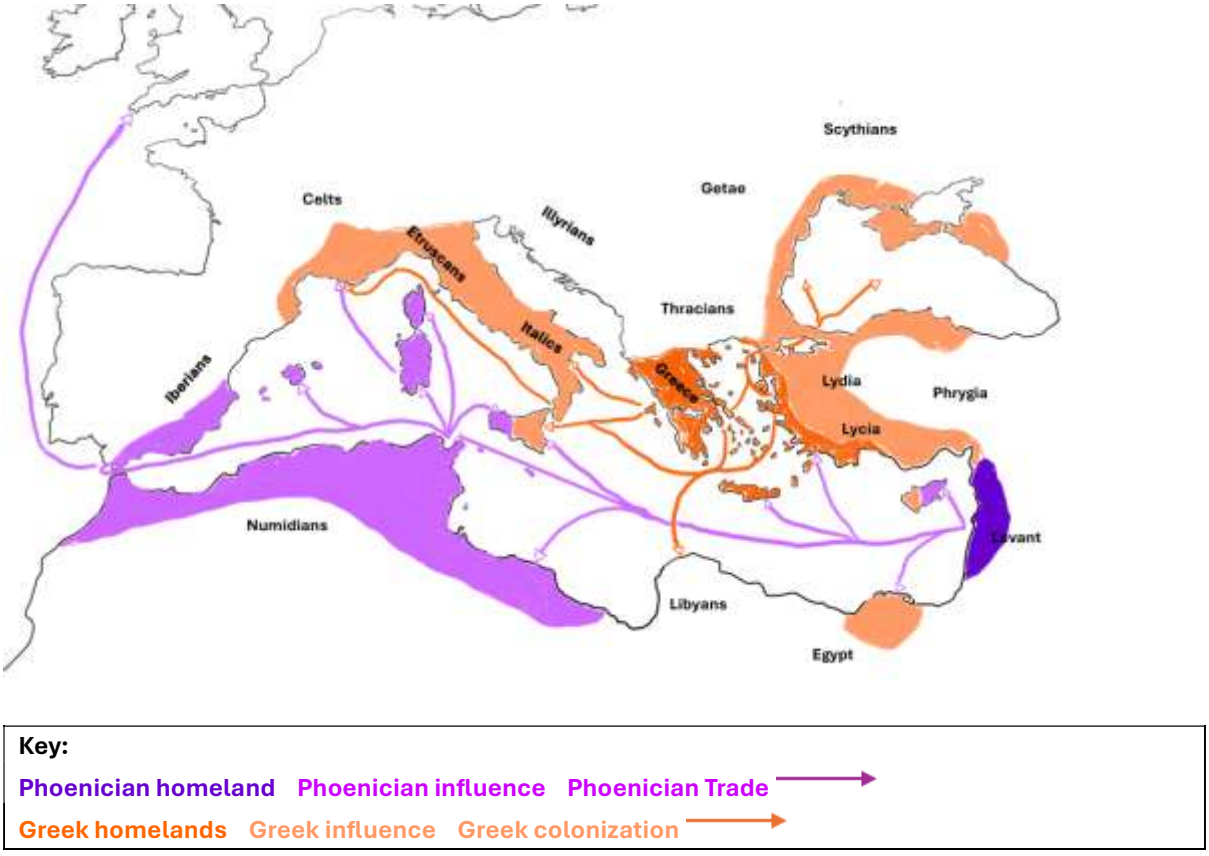


Figure 59: Greek and Phoenician colonisation ca. 800-550 BC *(author's own drawing adapted from Champion, 2001, p.453; Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026*, email copyright permission 27 May 2025*)*

[42] The Phoenicians were only believed to have traded as far as the tin mines of Iberia, not the tin streams of Cornwall, with Scilly itself not now thought to have been a major source of tin mining but rather of tin trading (Robinson, 2007, p.138; Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026), contrary to George Smith's previous statements in his *The Cassiterides* (1863) and Troutbeck's account whereby:

> The Romans to find out their place of trade, employed some of their vessels to follow a Carthaginian or Phænician [*sic*] in his voyage thither, who perceiving their design, rather than put into Scilly, and discover to what place he was bound, ran his ship ashore near the Land's End (Troutbeck, 1794, p.190).

No references are supplied by Troutbeck to show from whence this information was gathered, and, therefore, it is unable to be verified today. Phoenician trading with Cornwall has been explained as a seventeenth century myth (Thomas, 1954, p.2).

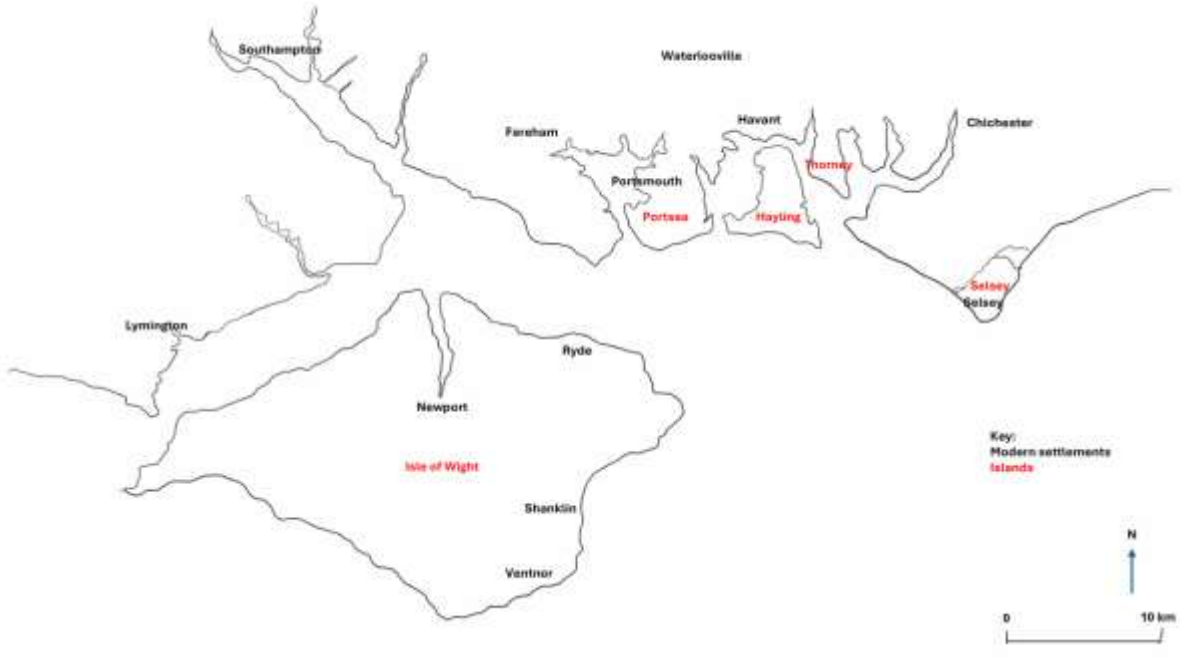


Figure 60: Cassiterides – Tidal islands on the Isle of Wight hinterland *(author's own drawing adapted from Sumpter, 2024, 2025, 2026*, email copyright permission 27 May 2025*)*

Roger Penhallurick[43] is considered to have written a more modern seminal tome on the matter, *Tin in Antiquity* (Penhallurick,1986), and isotopic analyses of tin ingots found in Mediterranean Bronze Age shipwrecks have been reported on.[44] Borlase's previously mentioned works inspired his great grandson, William Copeland Borlase, to inveigle himself in the same field.[45]

[43] Roger Penhallurick, 1940-2004, Curator at Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro (1964-2000).
[44] Shipwrecks such as the Cape Gelidonya and Uluburan off the coast of Turkey excavated and reported by George Bass (1961; 1967; 1986; 1989) then Cemal Pulak (1988; 1989; 1998), being contradictorily assigned to Cornwall or Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and the Taurus Mountains in Turkey (Berger *et al*., 2019, 2023; Powell *et al*., 2022, 2026; Roberts, personal communications 28 January – 10 February 2025; Williams and Roberts, 2024; Williams, personal communication (via email), 04 February 2026; Williams *et al*., 2025).
[45] William Copeland Borlase published *Naenia Cornubiae, a Descriptive Essay, Illustrative of the Sepulchres and Funereal Customs of the Early Inhabitants of the County of Cornwall* in 1872.

Similar work is undertaken by John Troutbeck[46] in his 1794 publication of *Survey of the Ancient and Present State of the Scilly Islands*. Whilst the archaeological sites and finds of Nornour, Halangy Down and the Roman altar, having not been found, consequently are not mentioned, a description of Nornour is recorded.[47]

More contemporary scholarship studied includes Paul Ashbee's *Ancient Scilly* (1974), Scilly archaeologist Katharine Sawyer's *Isles of the Dead? The Setting and Function of the Bronze Age Chambered Cairns and Cists of the Isles of Scilly* (2015).[48]

2.1.2 Roman altar

A granite carved Roman altar was recorded briefly in the *Antiquaries Journal* (Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921, p.239). A more exploratory article by Paul Ashbee[49] was published in *Cornish Archaeology* (1982, pp.174-6). Whilst short, this piece gave detailed descriptions of the altar and its carvings; no damage is seen on the altar in the illustrations, apart from recent weathering due to the elements, water having a corrosive effect (Daniels, 2015, p.16), implying a careful setting down of the heavy stone object.

[46] John Troutbeck, 1718/9-1792, an historian.
[47] "About one hundred and fifty yards [137.16 metres] N. from Great Ganilly is an island, called Little Noreneur, which is about one hundred and fifty yards [137.16 m] long, and near a quarter of a mile [402.34 m] round, with three high rocks upon it, and in a line with each other; this island contains about four acres [1.62 hectares]." (Troutbeck, 1794, pp.116-7).
[48] Katharine Sawyer's *Isles of the Dead? The Setting and Function of the Bronze Age Chambered Cairns and Cists of the Isles of Scilly* (2015) which amongst comprehensive site and finds analyses includes 'Extracts from the notebooks of George Bonsor' as an appendix (Sawyer, 2015, pp.158-166). Bonsor was an Anglo-French archaeologist who excavated many Scillonian sites which he recorded in his notebooks from 1899-1902. He published one paper where he "noted the absence in the archaeological record of a Phoenician presence in the Scilly Isles" (Herrera-Delgado, 2024, pp.372-3) without exploring an explanation.
[49] Paul Ashbee, 1918-2009, an eminent archaeologist.



Figure 61: Roman Mithraic altar showing iconographic carving of cleaver, 2008 (no scale) *(courtesy of Greeves)*

Figure 62: Roman Mithraic altar showing weathering effect on iconographic carving of cleaver, 2025 (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

Ashbee's considerable research showed in comparisons to other altars in Britain and abroad.[50] Recording the site of discovery for the Scillonian altar as a well or shaft on The Hugh, the bottom of Garrison Hill in Hugh Town, it is noted that this could have been associated with a nearby shrine where the altar had stood (Ashbee, 1982, p.174). A close by early church, St Maudut's, may have been positioned near to a pagan cult site where this altar was used (Thomas, 1979, p.37, fig.5).

[50] Altars were compared at Carrawburgh (Smith, 1962, p.60), York (RCHM(E), 1962, pl.44), Bowes and Chester (Wright and Richmond, 1955, pls. 1,9), and in Karlsruhe, Germany (Espérandieu, 1931, p.217, no.348).

These considerations by Ashbee are well researched, thought-out and presented, however, although the side carvings are of “an axe and a cleaver” (Ashbee, 1982, p.174), the mention of the cult being the Roman cult of Mithras due to this carved imagery, is not alluded to. This symbolism could have been explored and similarities to other Mithraic temples that arrived in Britain with the Roman army, the London Mithraeum being one, been drawn out and this artefact placed in a wider context. No hypotheses are expounded here as to how the altar came to be on Scilly, whether it was brought as ballast on a boat and discarded or carved *in situ*, for instance, the latter requiring a longer layover in port. More could have been written on this subject although it may have been word count constraint imposed on the journal article that prevented such discussion or Ashbee not wanting to address it with this audience.

2.1.3 Halangy Down settlement

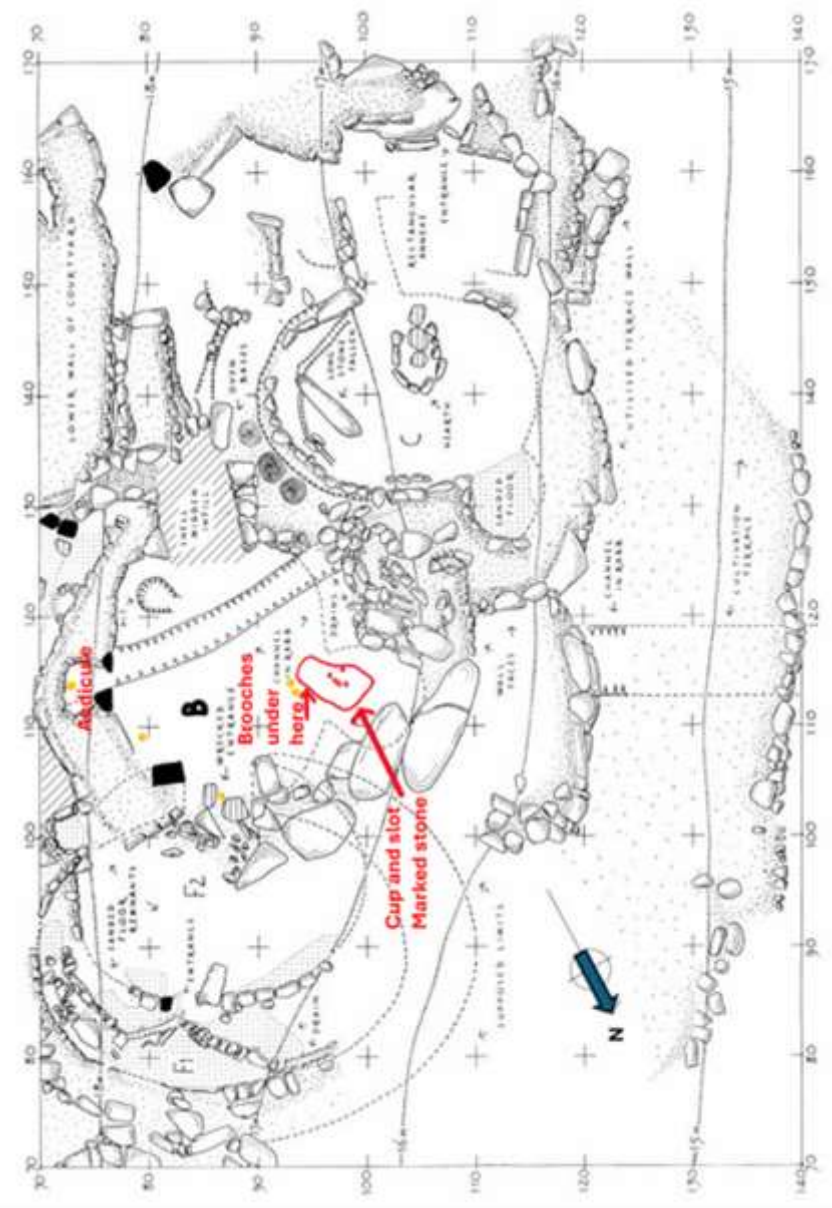


Figure 63: Halangy Down settlement, structure B showing aedicule, domestic shrine, and positioning of Roman brooches *(adapted from Ashbee, 1996, fig.11, p.36)*



Figure 64: Structure B, Halangy Down Settlement (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 65: Cup and slot marked stone (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph)*

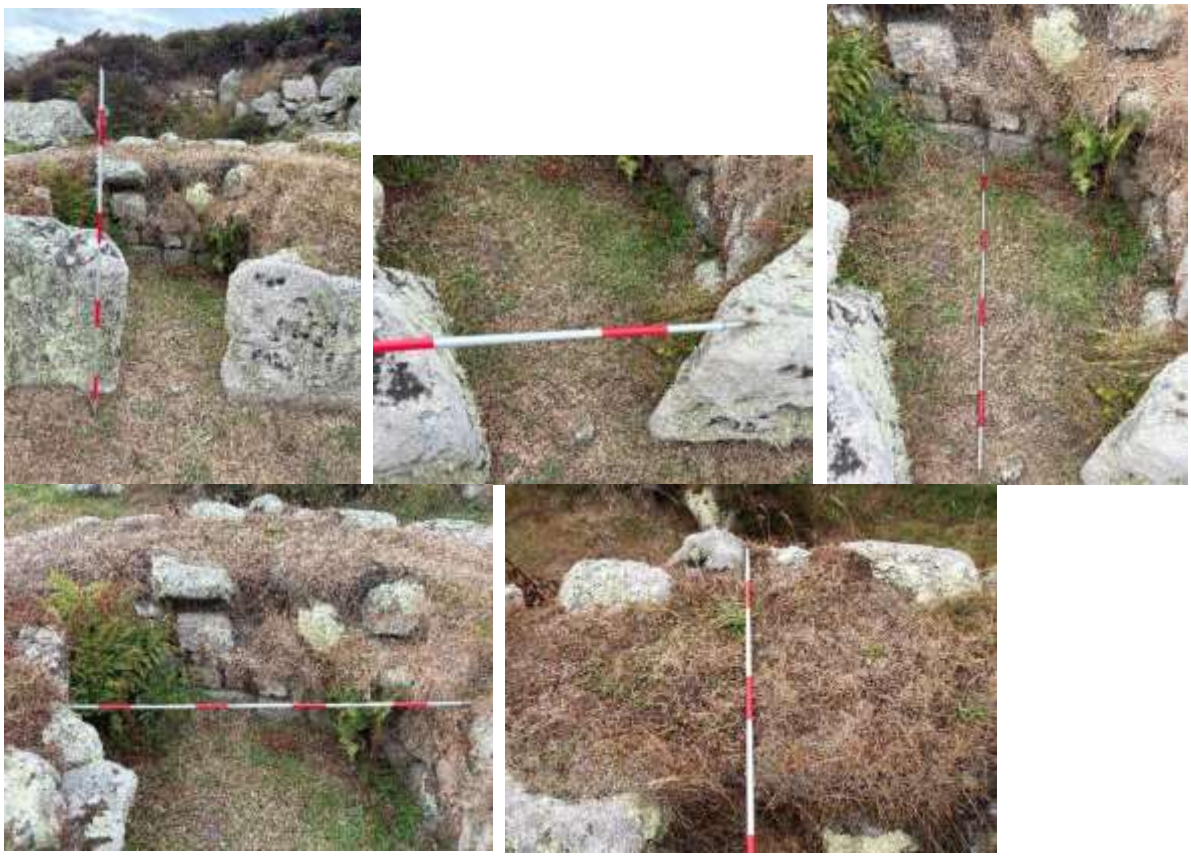


Figure 66: Aedicule in structure B, domestic shrine (1.2m scale) *(*author's own photographs*)*

A report of the 1950 excavation of a 'Roman homestead' was published by Ashbee in the *Antiquaries Journal* (1955, pp.187-198) including maps, archaeological plans and photographs. Whilst this is a comprehensive study for the time, the courtyard house[51] in its village cluster is recorded as unique in Scilly with only a possibility of another on the beach at Teän being mentioned (Ashbee, 1955, p.198), the structures on Nornour not having been sighted at this time. Also remaining unmentioned were the Roman

[51] A structure resembling a Roman commandant's house or villa, found here on Scilly, chronologically following those at Chysauster and Carn Euny, amongst others, in Cornwall (Baskott, 2009, p.21). Between twenty and thirty villages of courtyard houses had been identified in the Land's End area of Cornwall by 1954 (Thomas, 1954, p.15), this had increased to a confirmed thirty by 1980 (Thomas, Pool and Weatherhill, 1980, p.28) and sixty reported by Todd in 1987 (p.171). An illustration as to the speed at which the archaeological landscape and thus the interpretation of Roman activity in the Southwest can be changed.
Courtyard houses were typically oval in shape, encircled an area up to 100 ft (30.48m), the size of the Chysauster example, however, is double that of all other examples found to date (Thomas, Pool and Weatherhill, 1980, pp.28-30). The courtyard is alternately believed to have been unroofed (Thomas, Pool and Weatherhill, 1980, p.28) and roofed (Peters, 2005, p.103).

brooches, found later on the site, similar in design and provenance to the collection of Roman brooches found on Nornour from 1962.

The Halangy Down excavations of 1964-77 were extensively published by Ashbee in *Cornish Archaeology* (1996, pp.4-201). Placement of the site in its landscape, detailed measurements, drawings and photographs are included along with studies of the environmental finds, including C14 testing, whereby radiocarbon (Carbon-14) is measured for its decay to nitrogen (Augustyn, 2025), on the charcoal of gorse for dating purposes, brooches, pottery, including Roman Samian ware and Rhenish beaker sherds, flint, quartz and stone equipment. The brooches, as on Nornour, are here recorded as forming a votive deposit (Ashbee, 1996, p.141), though, being only five brooches found near the Roman addition of the aedicule of structure B's upper wall's interior, this is described as a likely domestic shrine[52] (Ashbee, 1996, p.11) with votive deposit (Ashbee, 1996, p.67). Translated as 'small temple', deriving from the Latin *aedicula* (Smith and Lockwood, 2020), it is an architectural structure for religious practices built to house statues of deities and related votive offerings.[53]

[52] The practice of worshipping in a domestic shrine, *Lararium*, was typical in Roman houses; household gods, *Lares*, or other chosen deities such as *Janus*, god of doorways and beginnings, *Vesta*, goddess of ritual and hearth fire, and the *Penates*, spirits of the pantry, were amongst those venerated in these personal spaces with statues and votive offerings like brooches (Rüpke, 2011, p.199). This practice had not been seen in native British or Scillonian households prior to the arrival of the Romans.

[53] No artefactual potentially votive finds have been recorded from the aediculae on the other housing structures of the Halangy Down settlement.

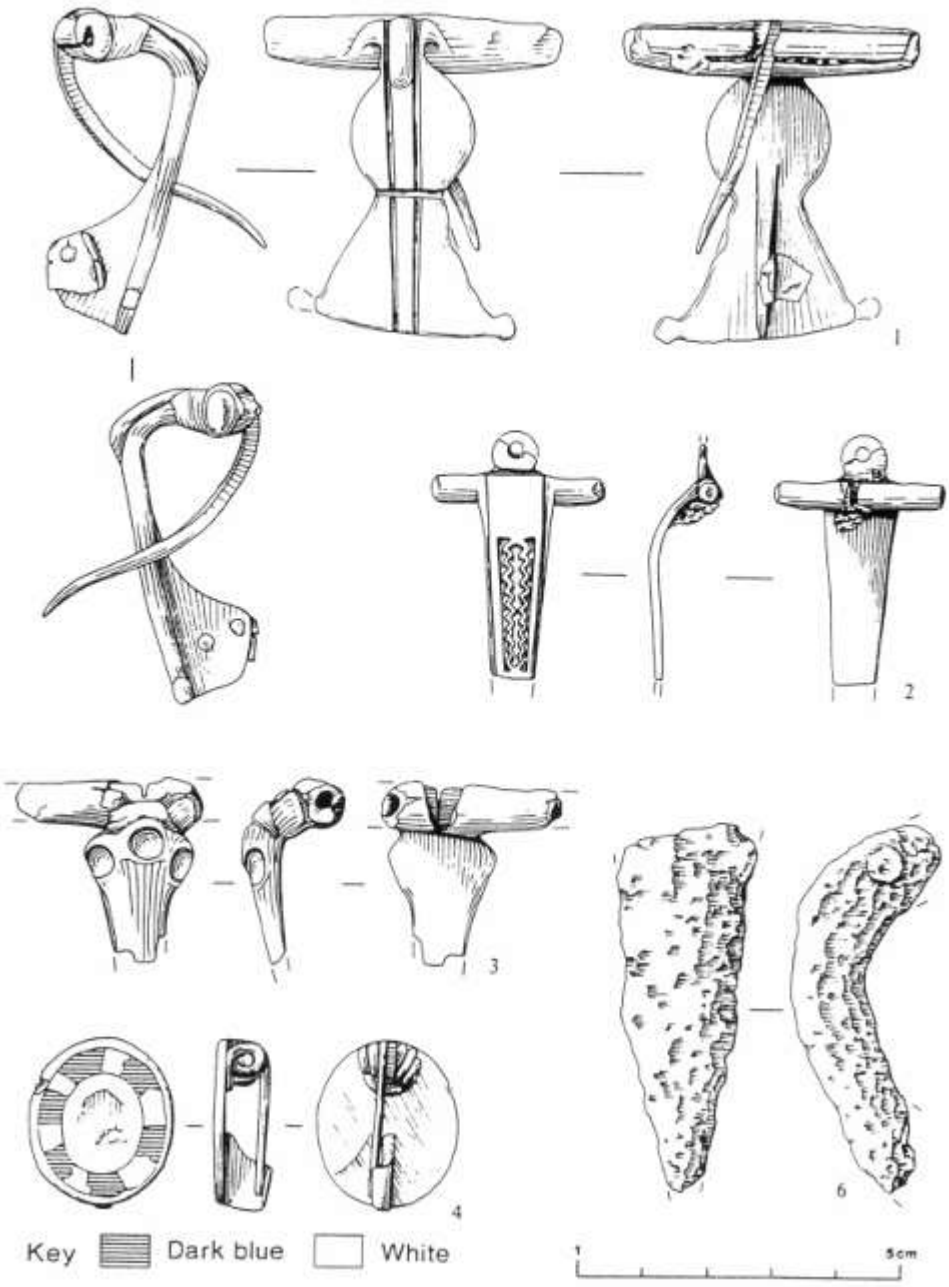


Figure 67: Halangy Down Roman brooches *(Ashbee, 1996, p.68)*

Ashbee's later report (1996) is wholly comprehensive in its consideration of building structure, topography, finds, testing of pollen samples and charcoal, also in its relation to new structures found on Scilly and in Cornwall. However, the opportunity to compare the brooches to the Nornour collection and report on similarities of structure in order to

more closely date them, and consequently the domestic shrine, does not seem to have been taken.

2.1.4 Roman Shrine on Nornour

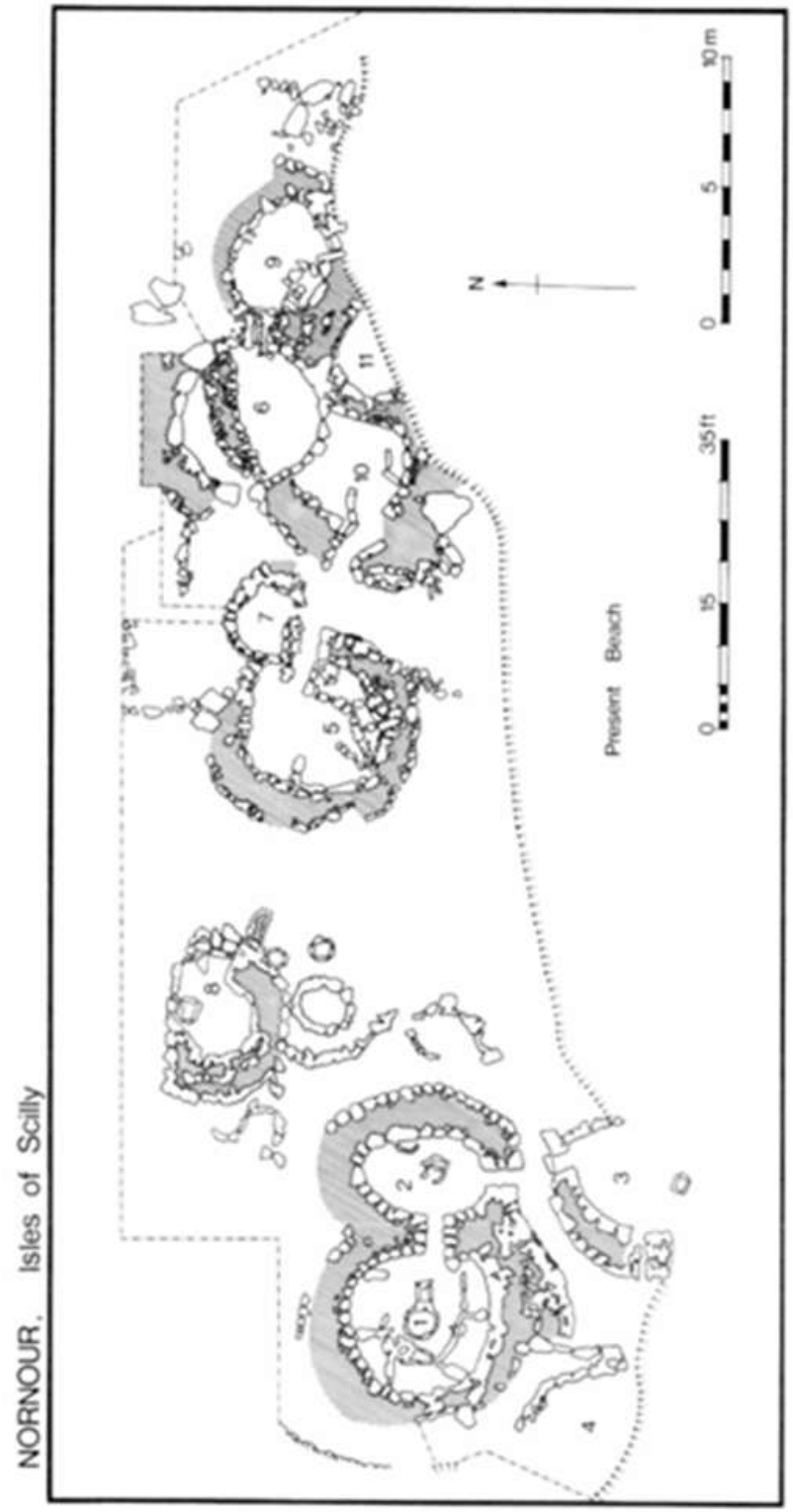


Figure 68: Outline plan of all phases of Nornour site *(Butcher, 1978, p.32)*

2.1.4.1 Dorothy Dudley

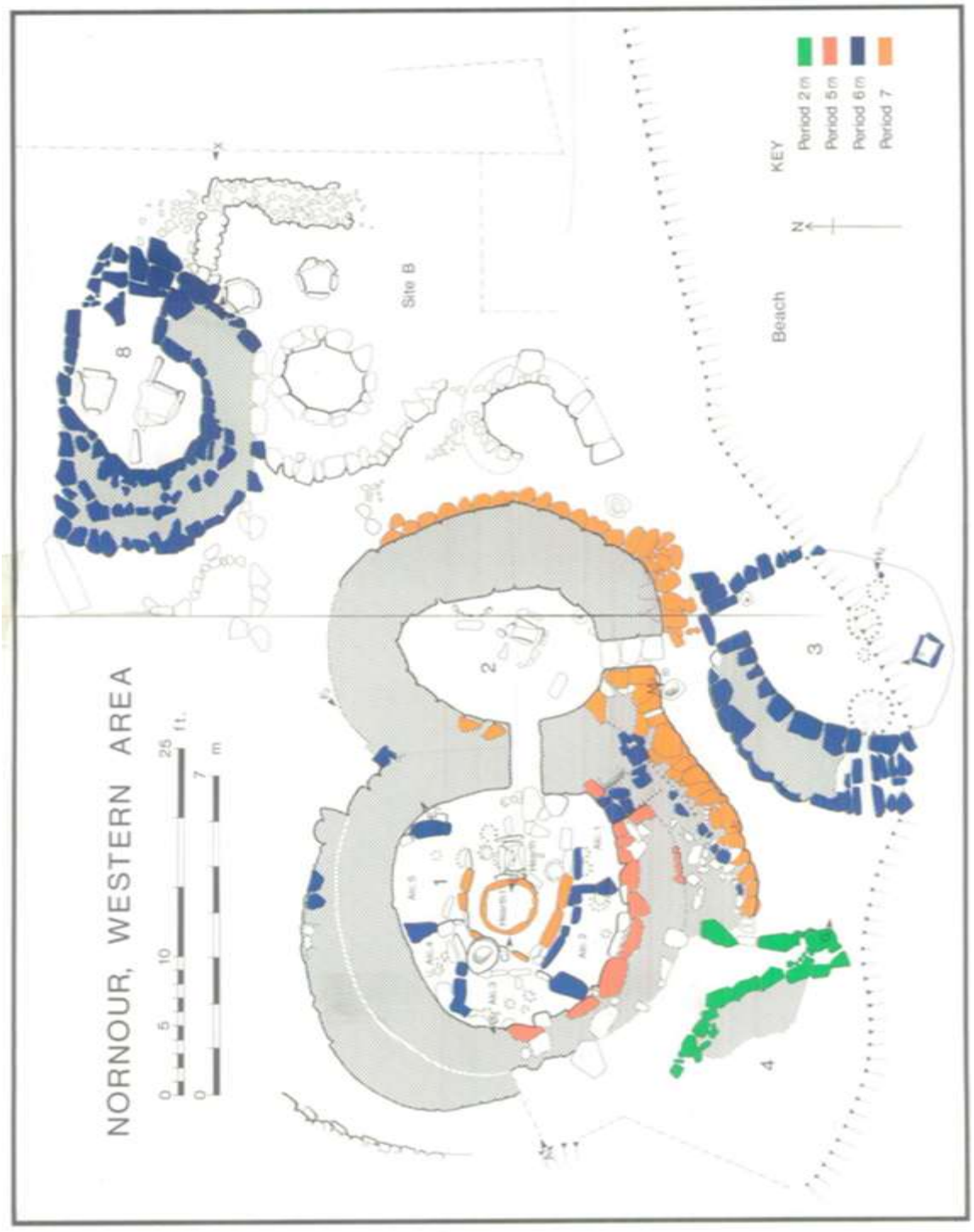


Figure 69: Area of Nornour excavated by Dudley *(Butcher, 1978, fig.B)*

The first archaeological excavations on Nornour, carried out by Dorothy Dudley (1885-1975), 1962-66, were written up in *The Archaeological Journal* (Dudley, 1967, pp.1-64).



Figure 70: Dorothy Dudley at the Nornour excavation (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage, 1962)*

In this article, Dudley analyses and describes the site concluding that the Bronze Age houses were repurposed for brooch manufacture in the Roman period. The finds experts, detailed below, wrote reports pertaining to their specialisms, additionally, specific independent publications by some of these experts have been consulted in the research for this dissertation (Hull, 1987; Jenkins, 1957, 1958, 1962; Penhallurick, 2009).

The clay figurines were examined by Frank Jenkins (in Dudley, 1967, pp.19-21) who identified the white clay as natural deposits from Gaul and the designs as Roman *dea nutrix* and *pseudo-Venus*, the first to be discovered in Southwest Britain (Jenkins, 1957, pp.38-46; Jenkins, 1958, pp.60-76; Jenkins, 1962, pl.CLXXIV, fig.6, pl.CLXXVI, fig.11). Declaring these statues to be religious votive offerings found in temples to deities, in tombs to the dead and in household shrines, a plausible opinion is concluded by Jenkins whereby positioned close to the findspots would have been a shrine or temple,

or, the roundhouse itself could have been the shrine (Jenkins in Dudley, 1967, p.20), as noted in records of the 1962-1964 excavations (Dudley, 1964b, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association).[54]



Figure 71: Venus figurine from Nornour (10cm and 20cm scale) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN340)*



Figure 72: Dea Nutrix figurine from Nornour (10cm and 20cm scale) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association database, RN332)*

[54] Jenkins, after viewing the miniature pots for Dudley, entertained the theory that there may have been a workshop area adjacent to a temple; thus the brooches, rings, bracelets, coins and figurines were votive offerings manufactured and sold to "devotees who frequented the shrine", stating that "such objects are usually numerous on sites of temples eg. [*sic*] Woodeaton and many in Germany and France (Jenkins in Dudley, 1962b).

Elsewhere, the miniature Bronze Age urns were declared by Dudley (1967, pp.5-7) to resemble votive pots for oil excavated at *Verulamium*[55] in the Triangular Temple. Surprisingly however, the pots on Nornour were decided to have been used in the enamelling process (Dudley, 1967, p.6), though no residue was present.[56]



Figure 73: Bronze Age miniature pot from Nornour (10cm and 20cm scale) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum, RN4648)*

[55] The settlement at *Verulamium* (St Albans), on the Roman road of Watling Street, represented a sophisticated Roman society comprising as it did of a temple, forum with a basilica, public baths and a theatre (Raddato, 2015; Rodgers, 2004, p.127).

[56] Jenkins commented that enamel residue fused to the interior of the pots would have been expected following a firing at 680 degrees Centigrade, and that the fragility of the pots would deem the process unviable (Jenkins in Dudley, 1962b).

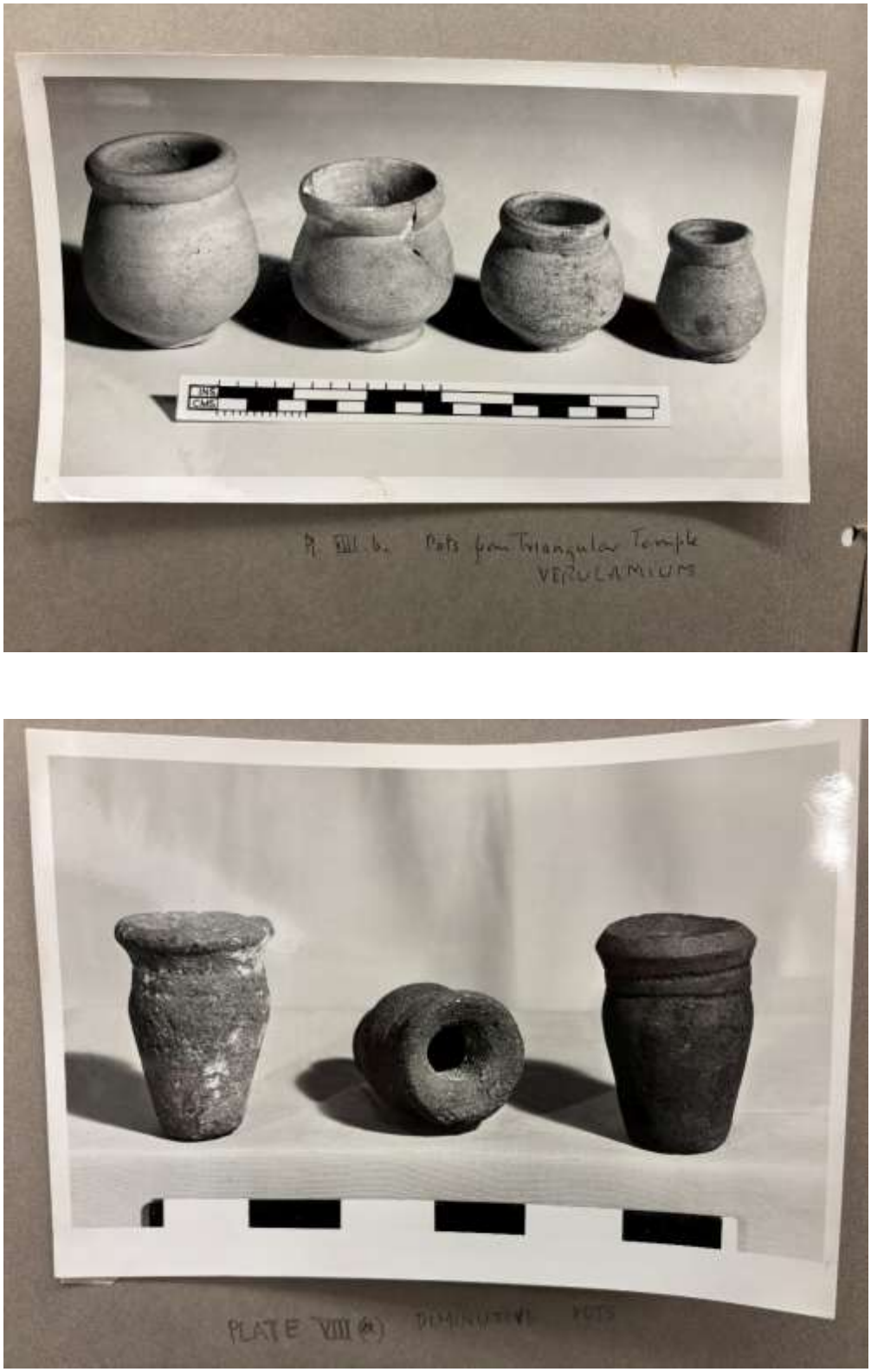


Figure 74: Pots from Verulamium compared to pots from Nornour in Nornour archives *(author's own photograph of Dudley, 1966, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN6447)*

Finger rings were listed by Sarnia Butcher (in Dudley, 1967, pp.21-25), archaeologist and editor of *Cornish Archaeology* vols. 31-33 (Quinnell, 2015, p.288), and illustrated, but critically no discussion of purpose or origin is entertained. Offering a date range of second to third century AD, Butcher (in Dudley, 1967, p.22) chose second century for the enamelling thus mirroring the date proffered by Rex Hull (in Dudley, 1967, p.29) for a large quantity of the brooches.



Figure 75: Finger ring from Nornour (1cm tape) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association database, RN1063)*

Glass beads, studied by Margaret Guido (in Dudley, 1967, pp.26-27), were described and dated to the Roman period. Again, disappointingly, no discussion of their purpose is offered and therefore no comparison to beads as votive offerings at other sites is entered into.



Figure 76: Glass beads from Nornour (20cm scale) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum, RN1027)*

From a ceramic perspective, the pottery, discussed by Dudley (1967, pp.10-16), was noted as varying from poorly made and fragmentary Bronze Age examples, to well-made, complete and almost complete, imported Breton Roman ware (Dudley, 1967, p.10). Drawings and descriptions are included throughout this site report with detailed comparisons, a well-written section within the main body of work, however, it is lacking in comment on relation to the site.



Figure 77: Romano-British pottery from Nornour (20cm scale) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN509)*



Figure 78: Early Iron Age pottery from Nornour (20cm scale) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN475)*

Glass, examined by Dorothy Charlesworth (in Dudley, 1967, pp.25-26), dated to the first and second centuries AD, is commented upon briefly and‚44' due to the large quantity of fragments, a conclusion of bead manufacture or inlay into metal objects is drawn (Charlesworth in Dudley, 1967, p.26). Dudley furthers the manufacturing theory, hypothesising the purchase of the fragments was to provide an ingredient for enamelling (Dudley, 1967, p.26), complimenting Hull's opinion of Roman brooch manufacture on site (Hull in Dudley, 1967, p.28).



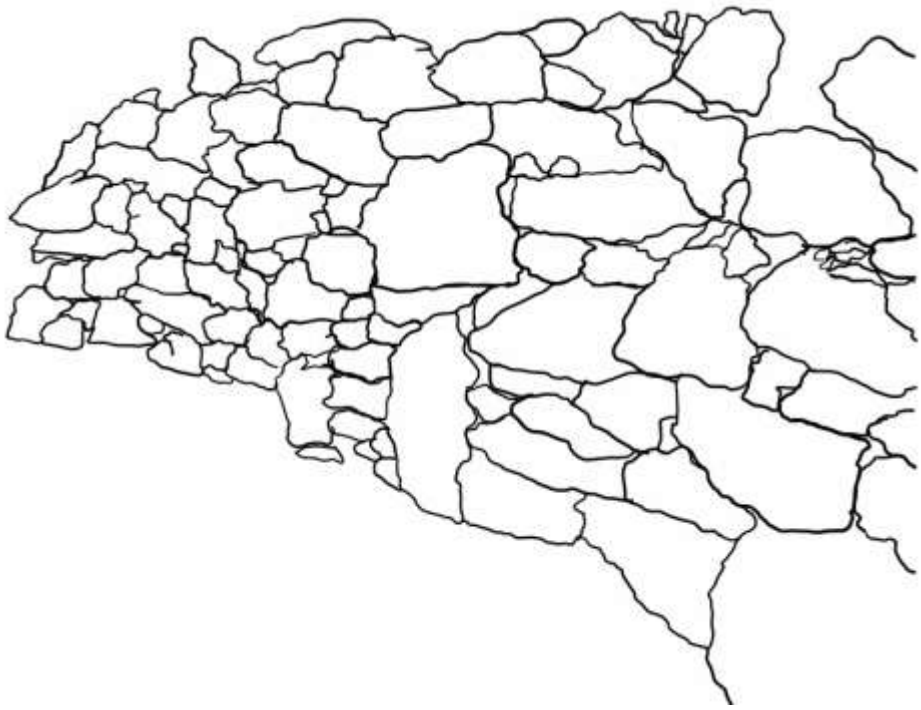
Figure 79: Glass bottle rim fragment from Nornour (1cm tape) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN366)*

Coins were recorded and identified by numismatist Robert Carson (in Dudley, 1967, pp.27-28) with their quantities listed chronologically by Emperor: Vespasian AD 69-79 to Gratian AD 367-383. Again, like the finger rings, no comment, description or reason for their presence is offered.



Figure 80: Antoninianus coin of Postumus from Nornour (1cm tape) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN305; Penhallurick, 2009, p.263)*

Hull was the expert tasked with examining the 265 brooches found in crevices and around structures one and two (Hull in Dudley, 1967, pp.28-64).[57]



[57] The bulk of the brooch and coin finds, after studying the original finds records, were seen to have been recovered during the 1962 excavation season (Dudley, 1962c, 1962d, 1962e, 1963a, 1964a, 1965a).

Figure 81: Internal wall of structure one in which Roman brooches were placed *(author's own drawing adapted from author's own photograph)*

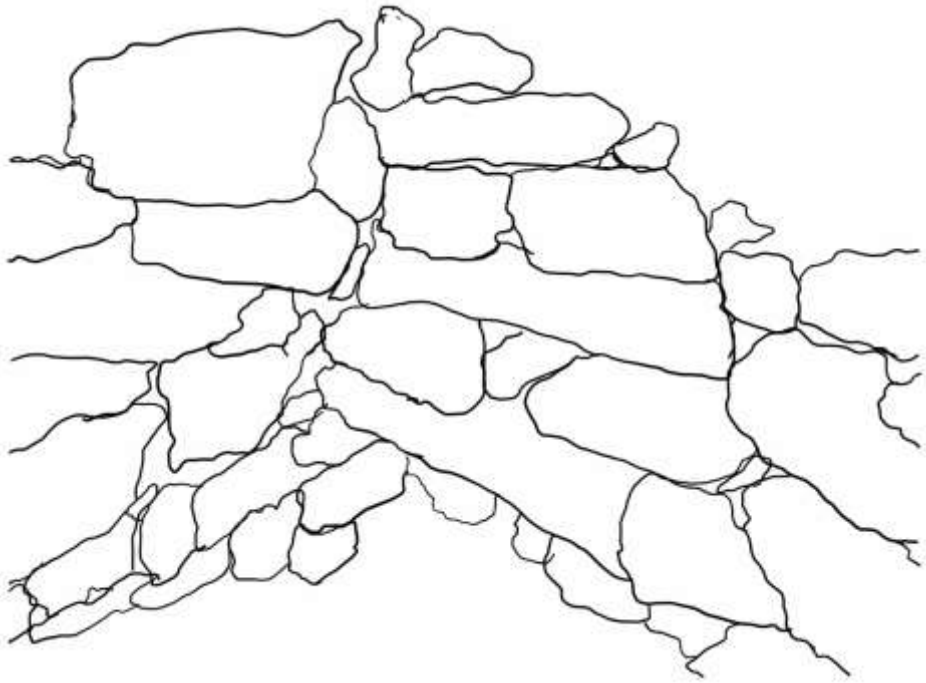


Figure 82: Internal wall of structure two in which Roman brooches were placed *(author's own drawing adapted from author's own photograph)*

Referring to a 'homogenous technique' (Hull in Dudley, 1967, p.28) in design and manufacture of the brooches, a conclusion was reached of manufacturing or finishing on site (Hull in Dudley, 1967, p.28). A shrine housing votive offerings is dismissed by Hull as less believable (in Dudley, 1967, p.28), however no evidence is produced to support this interpretation. The technique of comparison by eye to Continental and British examples to diagrams and descriptions is employed (Hull in Dudley, 1967, p.28), however metallurgical testing was not used as these initial excavations were too early for Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry and X-ray Fluorescence techniques to have been available. Moreover, where a design is unique, this method fails, a category of brooches is created by Hull of previously unseen varieties, named 'Nornour' by Hull (in Dudley, 1967, p.44). Lack of metallurgical testing renders geographic origin and technical ability in production and decoration unable to be examined.



Figure 83: Sea-leopard zoomorphic plate brooch from Nornour (1cm tape) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN130; Butcher, 2014, p.55, NN130)*



Figure 84: Shoe-sole representational plate brooch from Nornour (1cm tape) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN217; Butcher, 2014, p.54, NN217)*



Figure 85: 'Nornour' type brooch from Nornour (1cm tape) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN281; Butcher, 2014, p.28, NN92)*



Figure 86: Wheel plate brooch from Nornour (1cm tape) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN205; Butcher, 2014, p.43, NN205)*

Jenkins (in Dudley, 1967, p.20) is the only expert to favour the shrine theory, significantly, this was acknowledged but discounted by Dudley (1967, pp.16-18) and Hull (in Dudley, 1967, p.28) in favour of one of manufacture; despite noting that no slag or metal working waste was present (Dudley, 1967, p.17), manufacturing was the

interpretation chosen (Dudley, 1967, pp.16-18). It will be made clear in this dissertation that the latter theory cannot stand against a holistic review of the evidence. Concluding a trade store for Western European goods and brooch finishing workshop, Dudley summarises her interpretation of the purpose of the Nornour site (Dudley, 1967, pp.16-18); nonetheless, the more compelling archaeological evidence, however, seems to suggest a Roman shrine as the interpretation.

It will be noted in the findings and subsequent discussion (**Chapter 4**), that this was the first published work on the site and contained excavation reports and informative item descriptions. Site maps, history and data are valuable inclusions in Dudley's report, whilst, now acknowledged, is the limited scientific testing processes available in the 1960s.

2.1.4.2 Sarnia Butcher

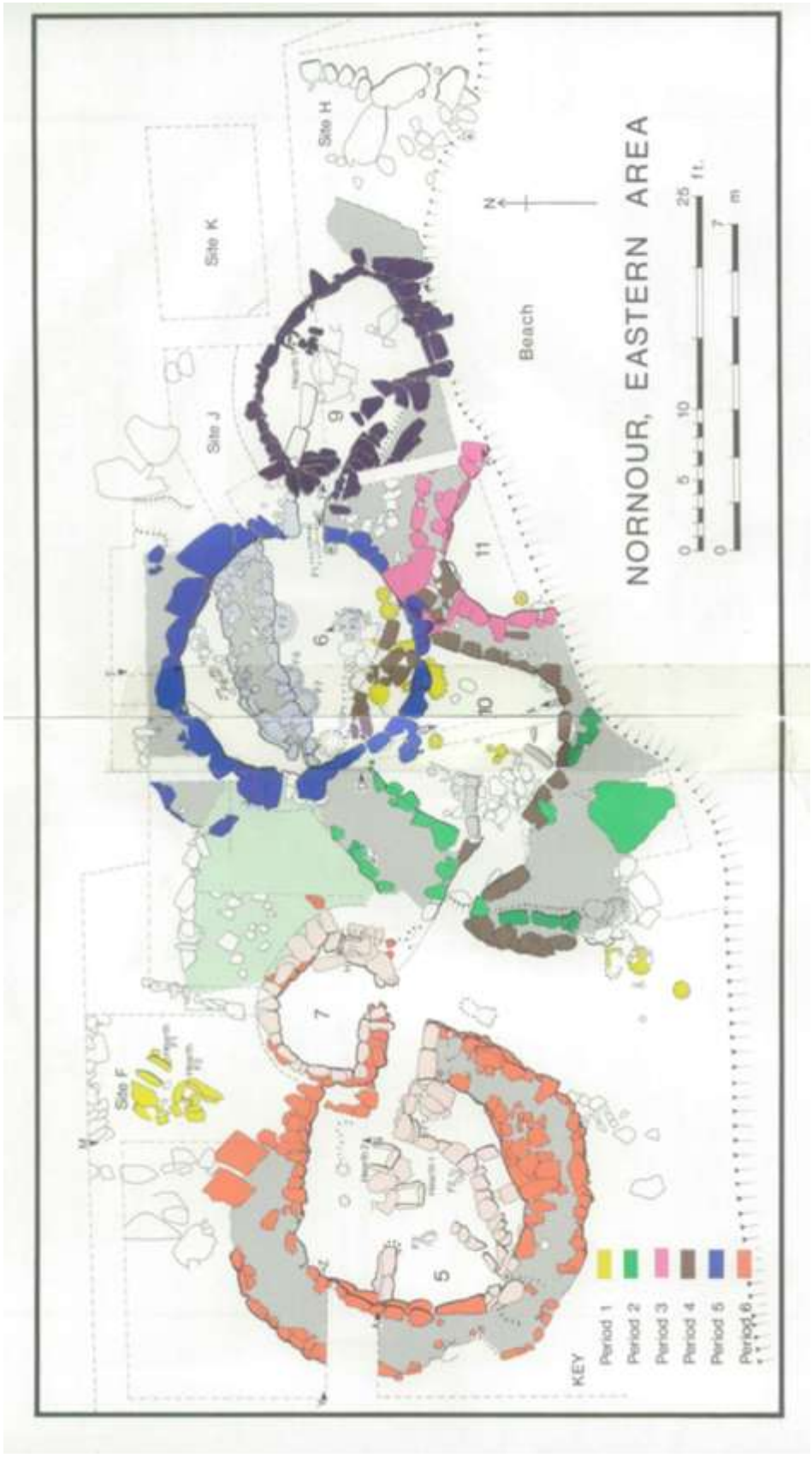


Figure 87: Area of Nornour excavated by Butcher *(Butcher, 1978, fig.A)*

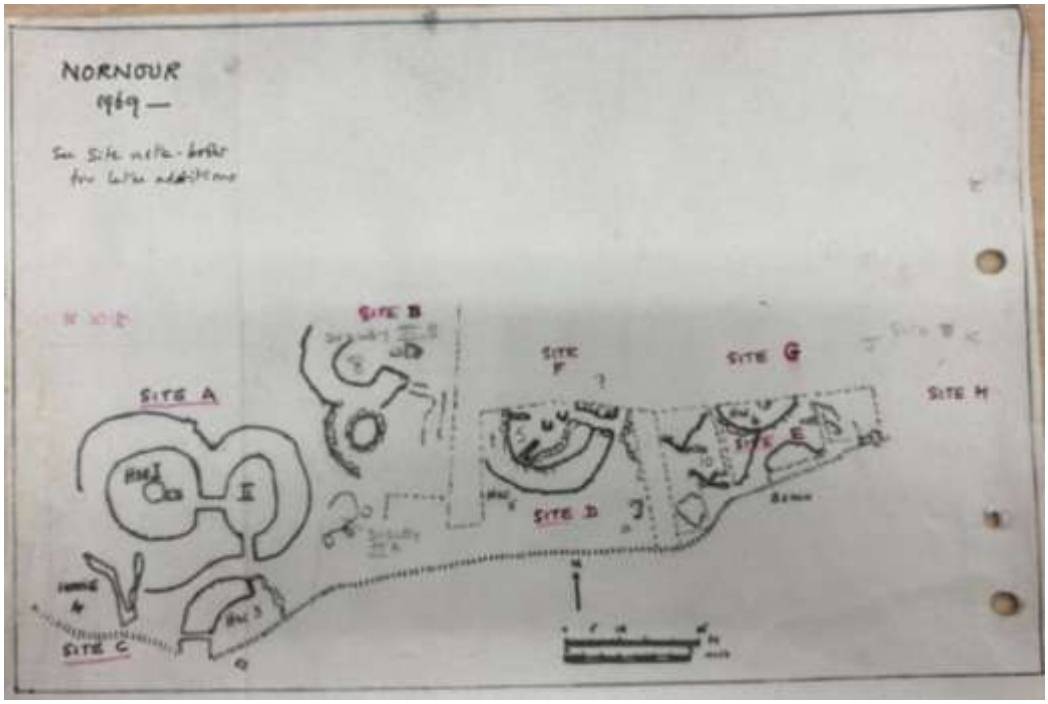


Figure 88: Sketched plan of known site on Nornour, 1969 *(Butcher, 1969, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*

Subsequent excavations, undertaken by Butcher (1930-2016) 1969-73, were reported in *Cornish Archaeology* (Butcher, 1978, pp.29-112), this included reinterpretation of Dudley's previous excavation (Butcher, 1978, pp.51-62) to present a picture of the entire site.



Figure 89: Sarnia Butcher in structure one on Nornour (no scale) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, Evelyn Palmer; Johns, Isles of Scilly Community Archaeology Group, 2020; Martin and Johns, 2015, p.285)*

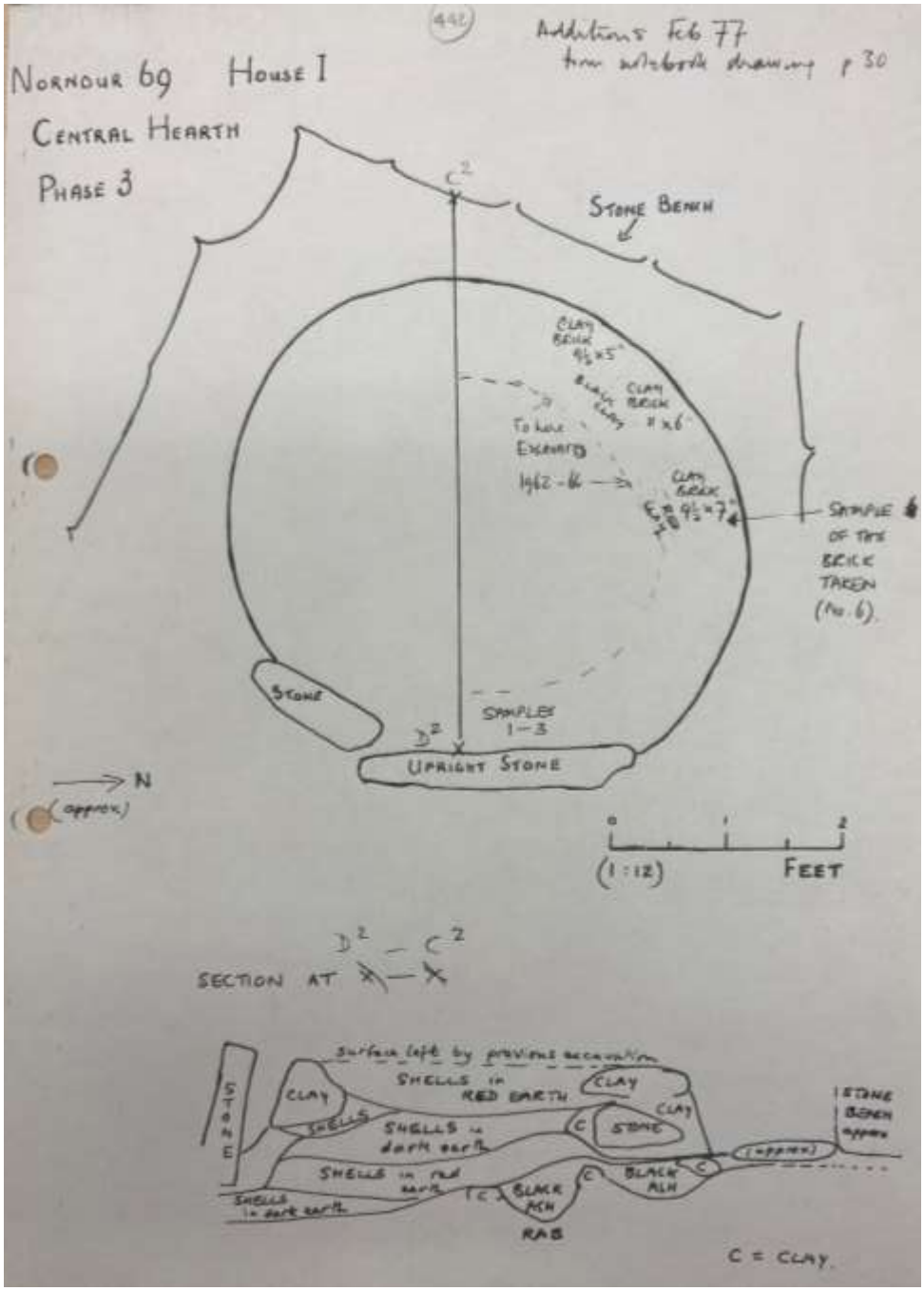


Figure 90: Sketched plan of structure one in 1969 *(Butcher, 1969, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*

In this piece specialist finds experts, below, provided analysis along with radiocarbon dating on charcoal for the structures by Anthony Clark (in Butcher, 1978, pp.66-67).[58] A data driven analysis, seemingly well-concluded. Charcoal was also analysed by Carole Keepax and Graham Morgan (in Butcher, 1978, p.98) providing a detailed picture of the landscape at the time of burning.[59]

Pollens and soils, examined by James Grieg and Helen Keeley (in Butcher, 1978, pp.97-98, pp.106-112), further enhanced the picture with occupation and burning being indicated, some intense (in Butcher, 1978, p.97), and the levels of pollen suggesting when woodland and forest were cleared and farming became more prevalent (in Butcher, 1978, p.111).[60]

Other experts (in Butcher, 1978, pp.66-67,73,86-87,87-104,106-112) reported on animal bones, pottery, glass, copper alloy objects and flint and stone objects (**Appendix 3**). The results crucially determined no evidence of metal working or enamel production (Butcher, 1978, p.97), important for refuting Dudley (1967, pp.16-18) and Hull's (in Dudley, 1967, p.28) brooch manufacturing and finishing hypothesis.

[58] Spread over the site, date ranges of 1970-1280 BC to AD 90-240 were returned; magnetic testing may produce more than one date range per sample due to multiple periods of magnetic direction (Butcher, 1978, p.67), results showed (Butcher, 1978, p.66): House six 20 BC – AD 60, 2300-2200 BC or 1600-1300 BC; House seven AD 150-200, 2500-2300 BC or 1700-1600 BC. Occupancy periods for these eastern houses is decided as 1600-1300 BC and 1700-1600 BC respectively taking into consideration the radiocarbon date of 1450-1130 BC from the adjoining house nine (Butcher, 1978, p.67).

[59] Charcoal analysis showed the predominant fuel source as Leguminosae, *Ulex europaeus L.*, gorse, being the most likely. Other species detected were the non-native field maple, elm and a softwood likely to be larch, all presumed to be driftwood, and native ash, hawthorn and oak (Keepax and Morgan in Butcher, 1978, p.98).

[60] Methods used to gather this empirical scientific data were varied, acetolysis not being employed due to the leeching of cellulose materials from the soil; processes were: cleansing in cold water; boiling and firing with a 10% warm solution of warm sodium hydroxide; washes of alkali; applied centrifugal forces; hydrofluoric acid. (Butcher, 1978, p.107)

This analysis section by finds specialists seems overall to be data driven and authoritative, although some lack discussion on their purpose within the site. The radiocarbon and magnetic dating showed no Roman occupation, Ancient Monuments Laboratory confirmed hearths were fired at too low temperatures for metal working, no waste products or slag present (Butcher, 1978, p.54; Dudley, 1967, p.17), and, Dr Paule Spitaels' results on brooch analysis (Spitaels cited in Butcher, 1978, p.65) summarised origins in Britain and the Continent; this new scientific data from all these results on finds and of organic matter and soil are used to present the hypothesis of a Roman shrine being present in the Bronze Age roundhouses (Butcher, 1978, p.65), refuting Dudley (1967, pp.16-18) and Hull's (in Dudley, 1967, p.28) theory of the manufacture or finishing of brooches. Dudley is quoted in a personal comment as remarking upon the brooches seeming to have been positioned deliberately in the crevices of structure one's walls (Dudley cited in Butcher, 1978, p.65), an explanatory theory not subsequently chosen by Dudley but supported in this dissertation.

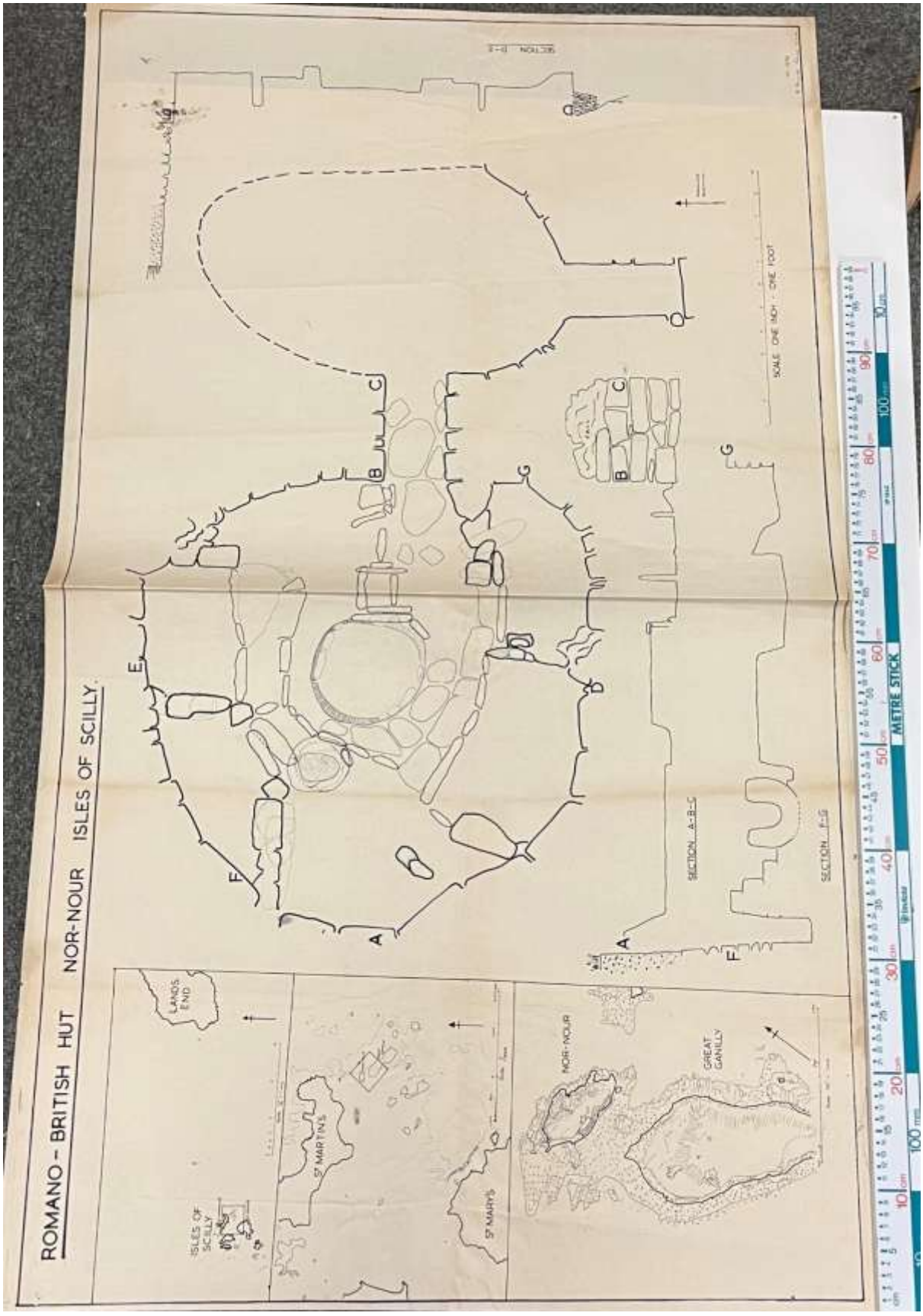
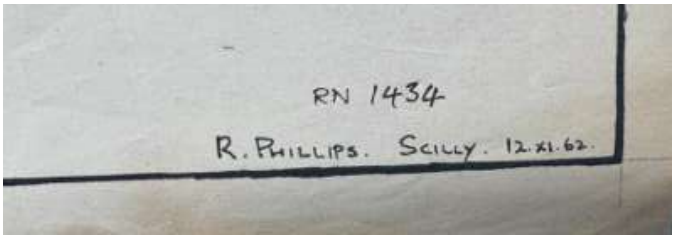


Figure 91: Plan of structure one, Roman shrine, Nornour, by R.Phillips 12 November 1962 *(author's own photograph of original plan, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN1454)*



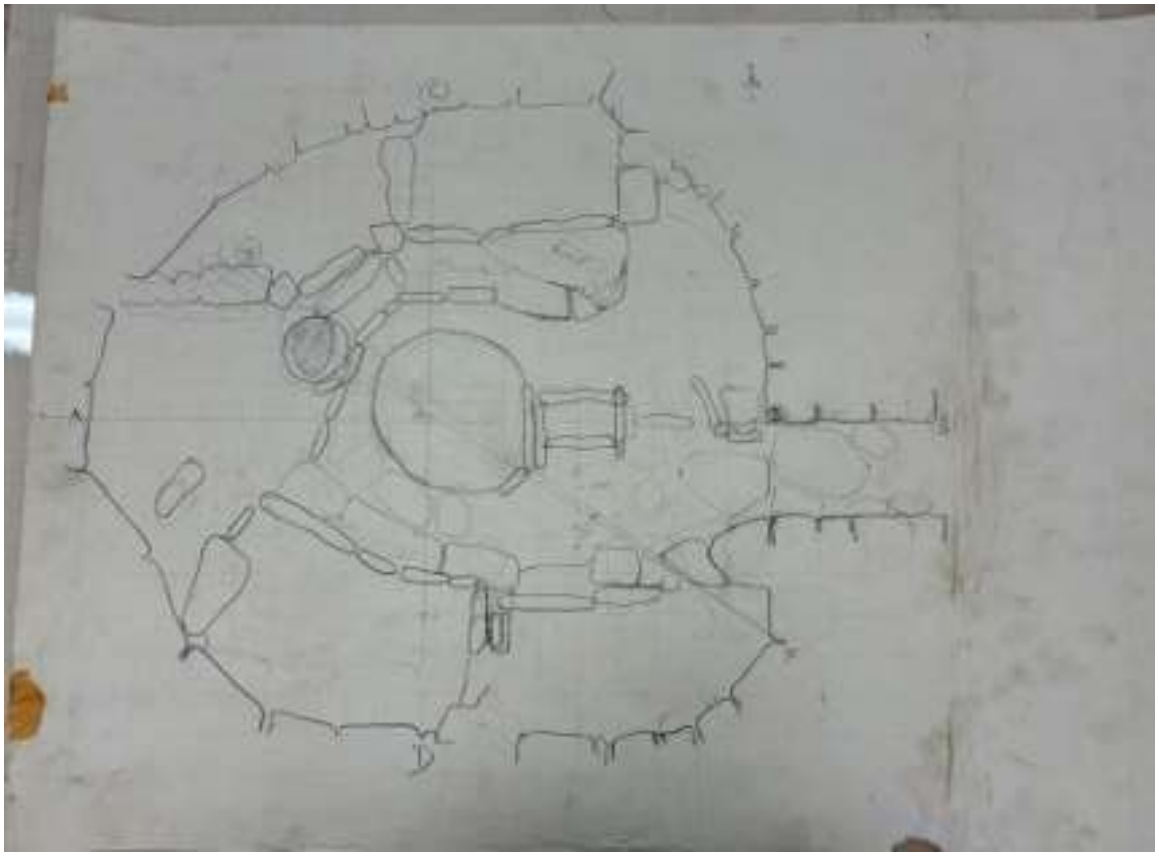


Figure 92: On site sketch of structure one, Roman shrine, Nornour, by R.Phillips 12 November 1962 *(author's own photograph of original sketch, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association, RN1434)*



Figure 93: Sketch of structure one, Roman shrine, Nornour, by H. Quick *(author's own photograph of original sketch, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*

Butcher proposes religious usage for the miniature Bronze Age urns as lamps (Butcher, 1978, p.54), vessels for ritual burnings of material or oil, contrary to Dudley's utilisation of Turk's hearth firing only at a low temperature in the formulation of her enamelling theory (Dudley, 1967, p.5). These analyses and data provide the evidence for Butcher's interpretation of a Roman shrine used by Gaulish ships sailing the trading routes to the west and north of Britain bringing votive offerings (Butcher, 1978, p.65).[61] This was

[61] It was advanced by Dudley (1962-3, p.27) that seafarers from the Continent sailing to the Neolithic Stanydale 'temple' on Shetland would either have approached the Scottish Isles across the English Channel or North Sea then through the lochs to the west coast, or through the Western Approaches, from

vigorously refuted by Michael Fulford (1989, pp.245-249), who noted Butcher had not published analysis results on the brooches (Fulford, 1989, p.247), and posited his own theory of the contents of two shipwrecks being gathered (Fulford, 1989, p.249) and stored by an itinerant salesperson (Fulford, 1989, p.248) (Section ***2.1.4.4***).

2.1.4.3 Charles Thomas

Charles Thomas,[62] in his *Exploration of a Drowned Landscape – Archaeology and History of the Isles of Scilly*, wrote sections titled 'Nornour' and 'A Harbour of Roman Scilly' (1985, pp.163-172) which examined reasons for the excavations, the finds and interpretations of the site, offering his considered opinions.

Three arguments by Thomas (1985, p.164) to refute the manufacturing and finishing workshop theories (Dudley, 1967, pp.16-18; Hull in Dudley, 1967, p.28) are the non-existence of archaeological evidence of metalworking, doubt over Scillonian knowledge and skills being advanced enough, and the assertion that other experts would concur with these opinions. From the site reports this appears accurate.

Commencing by describing the finds (Thomas, 1985, p.164), Thomas first examines the clay figurines, placing the *pseudo-Venus* and *Dea Nutrix*[63] as hailing from Gaul. Adding this with the miniature Bronze Age clay pots and 315 Roman brooches, an assertion of votive offerings is made (Thomas, 1985, p.164).[64] With a submerged natural harbour to

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the Mediterranean, via the Atlantic, to the Shetland. Dudley hypothesised that the sailors may have put into Scilly and built similar tombs and temples there (Dudley, 1962-3, p.29).

[62] Charles Thomas, 1928-2016, an archaeologist and historian, Professor of Cornish Studies at Exeter University and Director of the Institute of Cornish Studies from 1971.

[63] *Dea Nutrix* was a sculpted image of a seated mother figure nursing an infant.

[64] Thomas refers to Ptolemy's inference of a Roman *Vestaeum*, temple, on Scilly by the second century AD publication of his *Geographia* (Thomas, 1985, p.165); remarking this to be contemporaneous with the dates of the finds from Nornour.
Ashbee, in his article 'Ancient Scilly: Retrospect, Aspect and Prospect' (1986, p.187-219), contributes to a discussion on the term *Vestaeum*, taking *Antivestaeum Promontorium* as Graeco-Roman for Land's

the north of Nornour the conclusion is understandably reached that a lost temple or shrine is close by (Ashbee, 1986, p.206), mentioned here further on by Thomas (1985, p.165). On Chapel Down there is a carved statue of debated provenance, being either a Bronze Age statue menhir or a Romano-Celtic idol (Ashbee, 1986, p.206; Ratcliffe and Johns, 1992, p.35; Thomas, 1985, pp.170-172).





Figure 94: Romano-Celtic idol (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph)*

Figure 95: Romano-Celtic idol drawing *(Ratcliffe and Parkes, 1989, p.260)*

End, *Belerium* in native British, Latinised to *Velerium* (Ashbee, 1986, p.206). With *anti* meaning opposite and *vesta* being the root for burning or beacon, Ashbee theorises that Land's End, *Antivestaeum Promontorium*, is opposite, *anti*, a beacon, *vesta*, on Scilly, with the highest point closest to Land's End being Chapel Down on St Martin's where the more modern Day-Mark now stands (Ashbee, 1986, p.206; Thomas, 1985, p.170).

Due to its location the statue is argued to be a god from the *Vestaeum* (Thomas, 1985, p.172) with similar worked stones in Britain being found in Roman settings at Lanchester and Corbridge, *Corstopitum* (Ross, 1967, pls.16,23).[65] A later article in *Cornish Archaeology* (Ratcliffe and Parkes, 1989) assigns a Neolithic or Early Bronze Age origin to the Chapel Down statue.

With a Roman harbour having a temple and a shrine at a higher elevation overlooking it, the placing of the harbour between the eastern end of St Martin's and Nornour's western tip, would strengthen the argument for the archaeological site's interpretation being a shrine. Adjacent, and also strategically positioned on the highest point, would have been a distantly visible fire beacon or sacred hearth; Thomas proposes the site of the current seventeenth century Day-Mark on Chapel Down at St Martin's eastern tip as the likely position (Thomas, 1985, p.170). Thomas uses this (1985, p.165), like the aforementioned Ashbee (1986, p.206), and the depth of the seabed to assert this as the harbour site and thus the shrine in the Nornour structure. The siting of the Roman port on Scilly is debated amongst scholars, Thomas (1985, p.167) positioned it to the north of Nornour, in the deeper water between there and St Martin's.[66]

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[65] Standing at a height of 0.6 metres (1' 11.62"), 0.4 metres wide (1' 3.75") and 0.2 metres thick (7.87"), the granite idol on Chapel Down, St Martin's, is carved into what is believed to be a now very weathered, humanoid head reset atop shoulders (Ratcliffe and Parkes, 1989, p.259).
The over 300 apotropaic sculptures found at the Gallo-Roman Temple de la Forêt d'Halatte, whilst Neolithic in style, date from the mid first century AD with the temple being constructed during the reigns of Claudius (AD 41-54) or Nero (AD 54-68) (Ross, 1967, p.97).
Thomas turns to etymology to further his arguments, suggesting *Sil-* as a maritime goddess, to whom the shrine or a separate temple may have been dedicated, and the root of the name Scilly for the Islands (Thomas, 1985, p.165). This could be conjecture as nothing further is offered to support this deity. Place names are then employed to discover the nature of the landscape with the area around the Eastern Isles, in which Nornour lies, being *Guenhely* in old Cornish and in Sennen Cove on Land's End a place named *Porth Gone Hollye* or *Goonhilly*, *Porth* being 'port', and, being named the 'landing site from …'; Roscoff Dock as the name for Millbay at Plymouth is cited in the text (Thomas, 1985, p.167). This form of geographical deduction can prove valuable.

[66] Whilst this would be the closest position on approach from Cornwall, the deep water could render sea conditions quite rough in an easterly wind. Crow Sound may have presented a larger anchorage with

St Helen's Pool, off the western edge of Teän, was hypothesised as the pre-Roman, Phoenician port, where legend has the tin-trader Joseph of Arimathea may have landed with his nephew, Jesus of Nazareth (Lewis, 1945, p.12).[67]



Figure 96: St Helen's Pool, suggested Phoenician anchorage (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

more protection from gales of a westerly and south-westerly nature, this too could have been made inaccessible in strong winds from the east (Dixon and Mason, 2011, p.72). A natural arrangement of rocks providing a breakwater on the shallower water approach to Arthur Quay, between Little Arthur and Middle Arthur, could have formed a harbour for smaller boats (Charman *et al.*, 2016, p.221). Another possible site was the southern end of Great Arthur, an 'antique pier' was identified by Rev Whitfield through visitation and interviewing locals (1852, p.114). The area was investigated in 1962 by the Guilford British Sub-Aqua Club who reported a 30 yard [27.4m] promontory, not connected to the mainland of Great Arthur, levelled across the top with 15 foot vertically cut sides to the seabed; Phoenician harbours are designed with a gap to the mainland, suggested as a means to maintain waterflow to prevent silting (Kingsford-Curram, 1963, fig.8.25).

[67] However, Borlase (1756, p.36) records the sea breaking through at St Helen's Gap in March AD 30. Modern study by the Lyonesse Project (Charman *et al.*, 2016, p.223) concludes, from seabed and soil sampling, the sea breach of St Helen's Gap to St Helen's Pool occurred in the early-medieval period. This is unlikely, therefore, to have been a Phoenician or Roman port. Determining function through historical seascape and landscape can prove useful, the Lyonesse Project has conducted extensive surveys of the seabed to determine sea level and depth throughout history (Charman *et al.*, 2016), these results were not available to Thomas.

Bringing together knowledge of Roman ports, an understanding of old Cornish and place names, Roman sea levels on Scilly as he knew them at the time, along with research for previous lecture tours and publications, the depth of Thomas' expertise in the subjects is palpable. Pertinent information relating to the site and its history, geography and purpose is conveyed though a fresh perspective of discussion, however, links to a maritime goddess[68] remain unproven.

2.1.4.4 Michael Fulford

Fulford's[69] *Britannia* article (1989, pp.245-249) challenges previous theories of Nornour and presents his unique interpretation of a store for shipwrecked artefacts; whilst shipwrecks were commonplace[70] due to the archipelago being:

> composed of many Islands [*sic*] and Rocks [*sic*] ... These Rocky Islands spread broad lye in ye way of ships falling in with the land; by which meanes a multitude of men ships and vhast treasure hath been shipwrecht thereon (Yonge, 1657, in Worth, 1878, p.137)

However, shipwrecks seem unlikely to explain the presence of the Roman artefacts on Nornour (see below). Studied now, with the benefit of later published metallurgical testing (Butcher, 2014), Fulford's interpretation appears less likely. Commencing with a summary of the site and its finds, the article asserts the Roman artefacts are from secondary contexts in and around the structures, with only the miniature urns being situated in the hearth (Fulford, 1989, p.246). The urns are determined as having a

[68] Thomas (1985, p.165) proceeded further with the shrine interpretation supposing a link to the maritime goddess *Sil* and suggesting this as the etymology of Scilly, the name attached to the islands. This theory encompasses the site of *Aqua Sulis*, Bath, and its dedication to the Roman goddess Sulis Minerva (connected with fire and water) as evidenced by the inscribed Roman altar found there (Thomas, 1985, pp.154-5; Weatherhill, 1995, p.154). Clay figurines found in the shrine have been interpreted as votive offerings to a local maritime deity identified with Venus in her guise as a sea goddess (Peters, 2005, p.107).

[69] Michael Fulford, 1948-present, Professor of Archaeology at Reading University.

[70] A boiler from the 1872 wreck of the passenger steamship *Earl of Arran* is still visible on the foreshore of Nornour at low tide (Lettens, 2015, https://wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?81673).

“prehistoric date” (Fulford, 1989, p.246) and stated as unused in the Roman period, an unsubstantiated comment with no scientific data analysis. Fulford’s interpretation (1989, p.247) dismissed Dudley’s likening of the urns to votive vessels found in the Triangular Temple at *Verulamium* (Dudley, 1967, p.5).

Dudley (1967, pp.16-18) and Hull’s (in Dudley, 1967, p.28) theory of metalworking is disregarded due to no supporting archaeological evidence (Fulford, 1989, p.246) and correctly noted are no indications of conversion to a Roman shrine in the Bronze Age houses (Fulford, 1989, p.247). Butcher’s refuting of a shipwreck being the source of the artefacts (Butcher, 2000-01, p.7) is remarked upon twice, also that her complete finds report had not been published, only that from Dudley’s 1962-66 excavations (Fulford, 1989, p.247,248).

Taking the coins as reliable dating evidence from Vespasian, 69-79 AD, to the late fourth century AD, Fulford notes a composition of 45% bronze to Commodus, AD 180-192. Also noted is the typical larger quantity of coinage pertaining to the late third century on Romano-British sites missing from this collection, instead the highest quantity relates to the House of Constantine, AD 307-346. This forms Fulford’s argument that the coins were from two conjoined hoards (1989, p.247), a seemingly doubtful proposition (Penhallurick, 2009, pp.17,18) as they would likely have been disturbed or more widely distributed if they were not votive offerings and therefore significant ritual objects.

Comparing the coins to the dating of the other artefacts, Fulford notes the majority of the brooches being attributed to the second century AD by Hull, Butcher the rings to the same period, glass to the first or second century AD, beads from the first century BC to the third or fourth century AD, clay statues to the second century AD and pottery from the third to the fourth century AD; Fulford concludes the majority of finds relate to the second century AD (1989, p.247), an accurate summary.

Fulford proposes a theory of the artefacts being washed ashore from a shipwreck in the second century AD, then collected and stored by an "itinerant craftsperson" or "travelling-merchant" (Fulford, 1989, p.248). Hull's assertion of the homogeneity of the brooches (Hull in Dudley, 1967, p.28) is used to propose the brooches being bought from one manufacturer and held as stock (Fulford, 1989, p.248); however, none of this appears likely as shipwrecked items could be found all over Scilly and not just in one structure on Nornour (Penhallurick, 2009, p.18).

Fulford opines (1989, pp.248-249) that a higher diversity of artefacts would have been present in a temple, the cargo of a boat more limited (refuted by Penhallurick in 2009, p.17,18), and votive offerings difficult to distinguish from secular detritus at known temples; no discussion is given to the fact that all the items would have arrived on Scilly by boat. Fulford attributed the later Roman coins to a second shipwreck (1989, p.249). Whilst Roman sailors traversing the seas around Land's End to Wales and the northern frontier is plausible, a hoard from another wreck being stored a century later in the same structure would appear highly improbable.

2.1.4.5 Scholarly experts

Supporters of the shrine theory are many and varied, including the following personal communications with Michael Gage,[71] a member of Dudley's excavation team from the 1960s, archaeological talks and site visits by Dr Katharine Sawyer[72] and Dr Tom Greeves[73] respectively, presentation at the Isles of Scilly museum by Amanda Martin,[74] and published books by archaeologist Paul Ashbee (1974), Cornwall Archaeological Unit's Charles Johns (1992) and Roger Penhallurick (2009, p.18). These experts do not adhere to the following theories highlighted in **red**:

	Theories relating to the Roman use of the Nornour structures not adopted by the above named experts
1	**Manufacturing and finishing workshop for brooches, drawing on the large quantity discovered (Dudley, 1967, pp.1-64).**
2	Roman shrine, with the brooches and other objects interpreted as votive offerings (Butcher, 1978, pp.29-212).
3	Roman shrine dedicated to *Sulis Minerva* (Thomas, 1986), combining the Celtic goddess *Sulis* with the Roman *Minerva* (Ziminski, 2020, p.70).
4	**Tradesperson's salvage store for items rescued from shipwrecks, given the suggested similarity of items (Fulford, 1989, pp.245-249).**

Table 14: Theories of use in Roman times of structures on Nornour rejected by the above named experts highlighted in red *(adapted from Butcher, 1978, pp.29-212; Dudley, 1967, pp.1-64; Fulford, 1989, pp.245-249; Thomas, 1986; Ziminski, 2020, p.70)*

The National Heritage List for England also describes the site as a Roman shrine (Historic England, 2024, 1015674). The negligible monetary value attributed to the brooches and rings would render them unlikely to make up a hoard and more likely to be used as votive offerings at shrines such as at Uley, Gloucestershire (Puttock, 2002).[75] Again, shipwrecked bounty could more likely have a larger geographical spread

[71] Personal communication (via emails), 2025 and 2026.
[72] Isles of Scilly archaeologist, evening talk at Isles of Scilly Museum, 17 June 2004.
[73] Published historian and archaeologist, talk at site visit on Nornour, 17 June 2004.
[74] Curator of Isles of Scilly Museum, presentation at tour of Isles of Scilly Museum, 16 June 2004.
[75] Buckspool promontory fort (thought to date from the Iron Age) on military training land in Pembrokeshire was excavated in 2025 under senior archaeologist Richard Osgood. No small finds were uncovered pertaining to the Iron Age, however, over 160 low denomination Roman coins, including

than the westernmost structure on Nornour, Fulford's theorem does not necessarily appear to fit all the evidence comfortably, neither does Dudley (1967, pp.16-18) and Hull's (in Dudley, 1967, p.28) manufacturing theory.

2.1.4.6 Site report analysis categories

For the Nornour site, Butcher's reconsideration site report in *Cornish Archaeology* (2000-01, pp.5-44) was followed by an in-depth presentation of the comparative and metallurgical testing data on the 315 brooches (Butcher, 2014, pp.1-80). The brooches have been examined in this dissertation in five different categories:

	Categories in which brooches examined
i.	Structural design
ii.	Metallic content
iii.	Enamel content
iv.	Technique
v.	Unusual design features and imagery

Table 15: Categories in which Roman brooches from Nornour are examined

These methods of investigation served to provide a detailed review of all these finds.

2.1.5 Peninnis Head fogou

Fogous have been excavated and written about over the years (Borlase, 1769; W.C.Borlase, 1868; Clark, 1961; May, 1989), one of the latest is an article in *Cornish Archaeology* 'The Fogou: An Investigation of Function' (Maclean, 1992, pp.41-64). This article seeks to explore the theories surrounding the purpose of the structures,[76] that of

minims (a rare find due to their small size), from Claudius to Constantine (AD 41-54 and AD 306-337 respectively) and a large quantity of broken pottery was excavated. The Ministry of Defence archaeologists hypothesised that the site was reused by the Romans who made votive offerings of low value items to the gods for good fortune in the dramatic clifftop setting ('A Cornish Legend and an Ancient Wishing Well', 2026). The positioning of this potential Roman shrine demonstrates striking similarities to the Roman shrine on Nornour, also reminiscent to the Welsh site are the moderate value of the items seen at the Nornour and Uley shrines.

[76] Fogous are subterranean structures built most often underground, though partially submerged or at ground level where the granite layer prevented further excavation. They consist of a long passage blocked

a place for storage, of refuge and of religious activity, analysing them fully. Use of the large chamber may have been as a storage facility and larder, stone walls and a capped roof lining the structure (Maclean, 1992, p.41).

at both ends, a chamber and a low, narrow creep entrance way. Often, but not exclusively found at settlement sites, it must be noted that only single fogous have been discovered per site (Hirst, 1937, p.83); this would appear to suggest that one fogou was sufficient for the inhabitants of a settlement village.

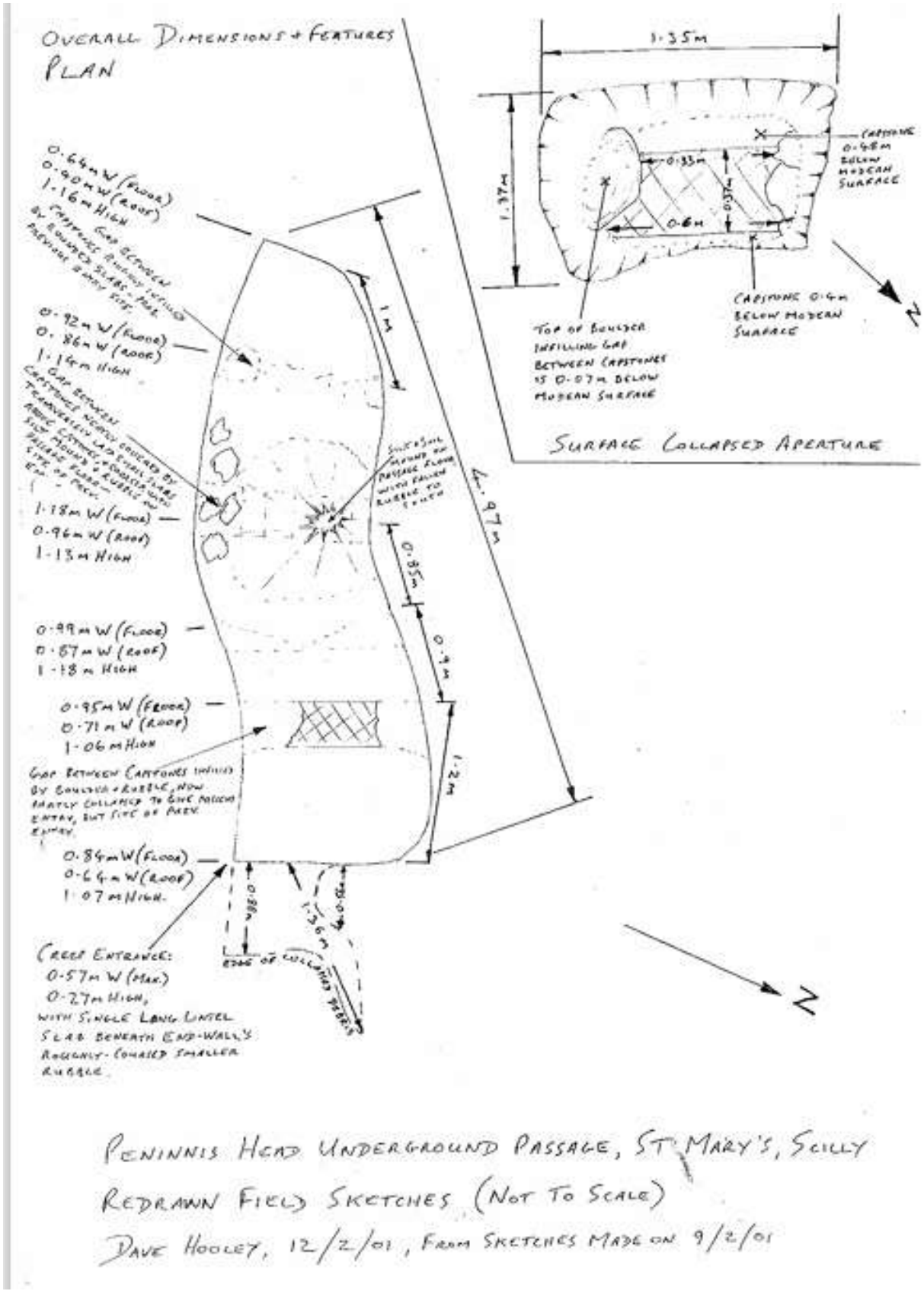


Figure 97: Plan of Peninnis Head fogou *(Historic England, 2001)*

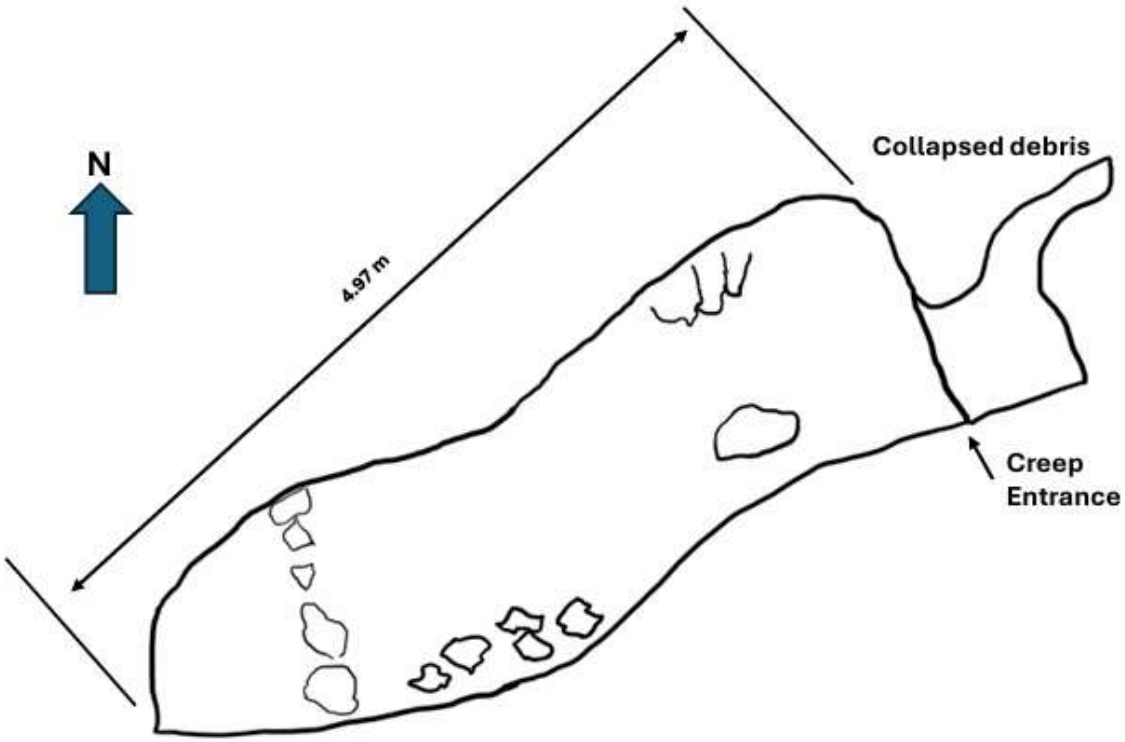


Figure 98: Plan of Peninnis Head fogou *(author's own drawing adapted from Historic England, 2001)*

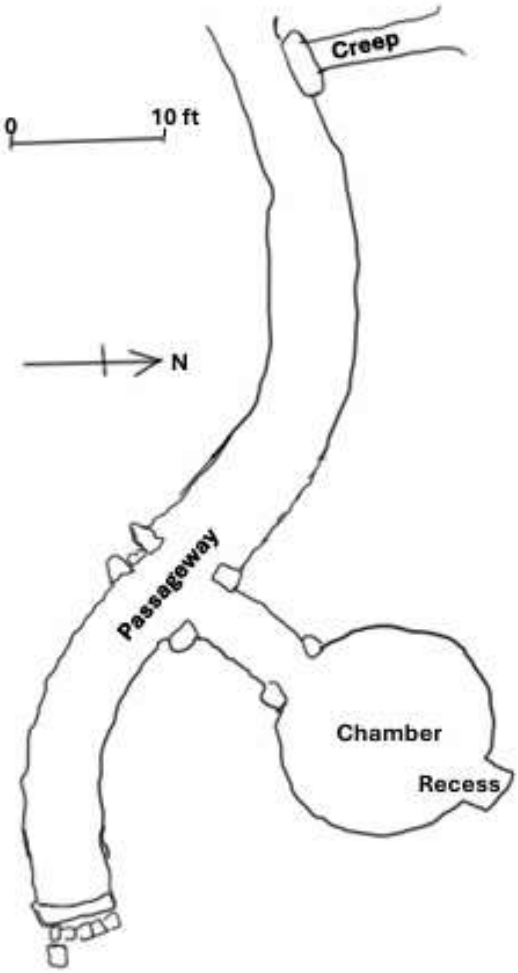


Figure 99: Plan of Carn Euny fogou *(author's own drawing adapted from Clark, 1961, p.37; Thomas, 1966, p.79)*



Figure 100: Photograph of the passage-way of Peninnis Head fogou by K.Sawyer *(Straffon, 2024, p.17)*



Figure 101: Sketch of Halliggye fogou interior *(Vyvyan, Blight, and Iago, 1885, pl.4)*



Figure 102: Sketch of Halliggye fogou low passageway *(Vyvyan, Blight, and Iago, 1885, pl.3)*

These constructions were cool but damp, causing most produce to spoil, and the narrow entrance through the creep could have made access with produce difficult (Maclean, 1992, p.44,136).[77] An alternative function could have been as a refuge for local inhabitants from outside attack (Maclean, 1992, p.51), however, the small creep entrance, although defendable, is likely to have made any escape route difficult.[78] If the long passageway had moveable stones at the ends, then this would lead to easier, alternate ways to evade attackers; the alignment of the long passageways is such that, if the ends had moveable stones, the midsummer and midwinter sunrise at the solstice could shine in.[79]

[77] The floor lined with stone was deemed to provide a dry base for such storage (Clark, 1961, p.136), however, these stones were due to the collapse of the interior dry-stone walls (Maclean, 1992, p.44). The long passageway, if not blocked by stone at either end, is said to have provided a through draft to keep the goods aired (Tangye, 1973, p.40). Harvested grain, then as now, needs to be dry and a sealed storage pit is an ideal environment (Pyke, 1968, p.40). Likewise, a root cellar for vegetables such as wild parsnips, found growing on the slopes of contemporary hillforts (Percival, 1980, p.49), or clamp, a technique still used today, is seen as the better way for storage by self-sufficiency experts (Seymour, 1973, p.197). A vault to store valuable commodities, such as tin, is a posited theory (Gossip, 2026), though no traces have been discovered upon investigation.

[78] The need for defence and protection in Iron Age Britain when the fogous were constructed is used as the reason for the design. Again, the narrow access of the creep entrance, measuring (0.7m)2' 3.56" wide by 0.4m (1' 3.75") high at the Pendeen Vau fogou (HER, 29880), restricts the ability to escape if needed; the long passageway, if not blocked by the stones found at the ends, would provide other means of escape making this a more plausible option.

[79] The alignment of the passageways of the fogous is noted as being aligned to the midsummer sunrise, with it shining on their northern end, two aligned to the sunset at midsummer, and mostly the southern ends being aligned to the midwinter sunset (Norfolk, 2020). This is often seen as significant in Prehistoric and Celtic cultures and would need the main passageways to be opened on those occasions. The topographical positioning of West Penwith, where a number of fogous were constructed, is a hilly peninsula (20km by 8-12km / 12.43m x 4.97-7.46m) with the sea on three sides and the Hayle estuary to the east; thus the arc of the sun rises and sets over water at the times of the solstice, this could have been ritually significant in Iron Age culture (Tilley, 2010, pp.427-428).

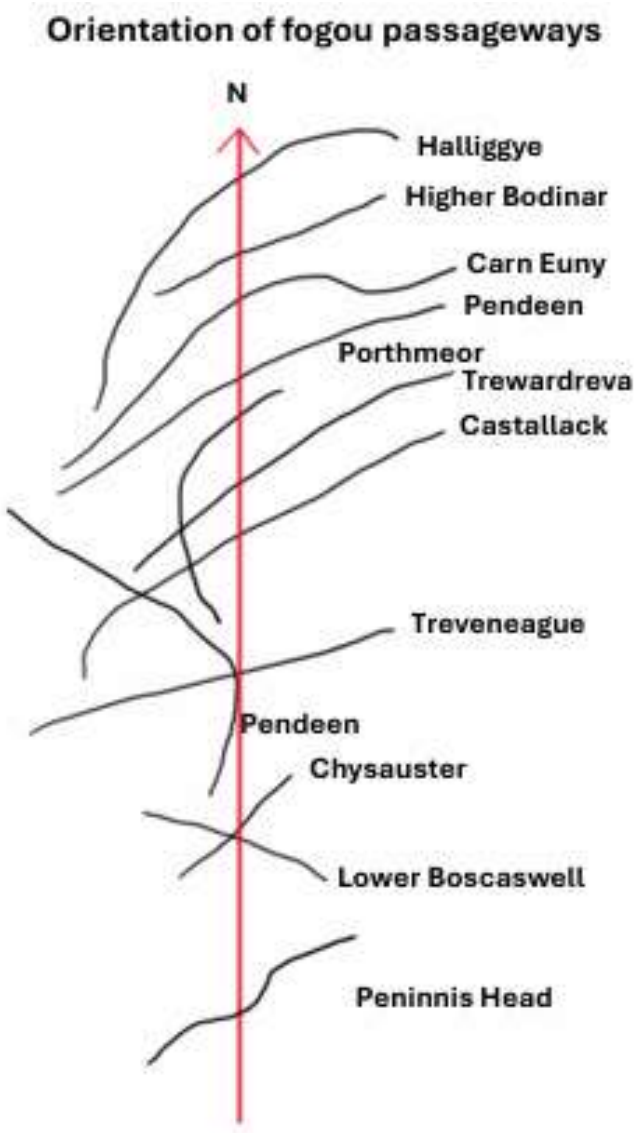


Figure 103: Orientation of fogou passageways *(author's own drawing adapted from Cooke, 1991, p.25, Startin, 1981, p.219)*

This leads to the suggestion of religious, ritualistic practices (Maclean, 1992, p.47); a hearth with charcoal was found in the Treveneague fogou which could have been from votive offerings (HER, 29033.10). This interpretation is hard to conclude upon due to a lack of epigraphic and iconographic evidence. The carving of a statue on the Boleigh

fogou is the only recorded carving and was suggested to be a fertility symbol (Clark, 1961, p.62) or an image of a god (Weatherhill, 1985, p.7).[80]

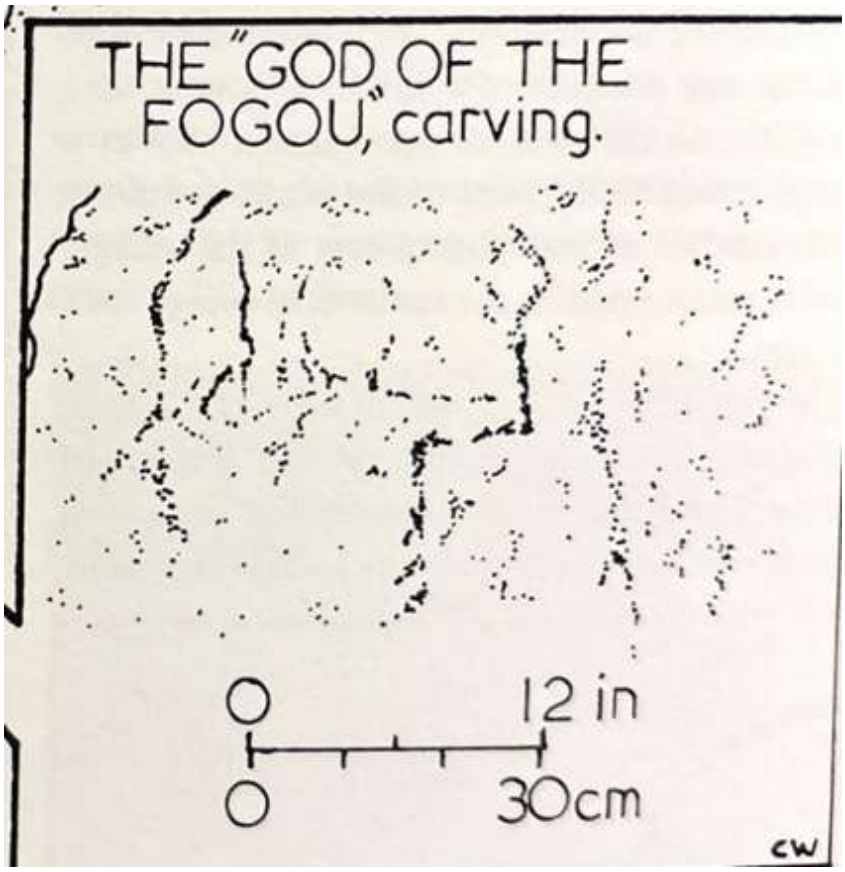


Figure 104: Drawing of Boleigh fogou deity carving *(Weatherhill, 1981, p.36)*

[80] Carved on an orthostat of granite positioned by the main entrance on the western side, Clark interpreted the fogou's curved end, resembling an apse, to be a shrine dedicated to the carved deity (1961, p.62). The figure was described as being hooded (Weatherhill, 1985, p.7), almost invisible (Maclean, 1992, p.47), as no conclusive marks of carving on examination (Young, 2001, p.138) and as indistinct and worn by Clark at the time (Clark, 1961, p.60) who went into further detail: a (presumably) male figure, apparently full-faced, with long hair around the head, the left side of the face being flecked away. The right arm, raised from the elbow, supports a spear; the left is held horizontally to the elbow, the forearm being lifted vertically, the hand grasping a lozenge-shaped object, which may be pierced to resemble a maskel of heraldry; or is possibly the head of a serpent, one of the coils of which being dimly suggested round the wrist. (Clark, 1961, p.60). It is hard to see the level of detail described by Clark in either her photograph or Weatherhill's sketch above, this leads commentators to say the existence of a carving is subjective (Maclean, 1992, p.48).



Figure 105: Photograph of Boleigh fogou deity carving *(Clark, 1961, pl.11)*

Mithraic temples being underground, like fogous, could have been a use for the Peninnis Head fogou[81] as it was not far from the findspot of the Mithraic altar stone.

Using detailed knowledge of excavations, landscape and the writings of archaeologists and historians, Maclean brings all the sources of information together to formulate her arguments. This systematic approach of dissecting each theory one by one is done well and a conclusion reached in favour of refuge as a function, however, this dissertation will assert religious activity as the function.

[81] Sited on Scilly close to the find of the Roman altar carved with Mithraic symbols, the Peninnis Head fogou could be seen as a temple used by members of the Roman cult of Mithras, however the entrance would seem unlikely to be through the creep, it being only 0.57m wide (22.44”) by 0.27m high (10.63”), the passageway would be more likely to have open ends to facilitate easier access.

2.1.6 Recent publications

The most recent publications and literature reviewed for this research were the 2012 *Isles of Scilly Historic Environment Research Framework* (Johns, 2012) for the summaries of the interpretations of Scilly's history and *The Lyonesse Project* (Charman *et al*., 2016) with *Neolithic Stepping Stones: Excavation and Survey within the Western Seaways of Britain 2008-2014* (Garrow & Stuart, 2017). These last two publications present the data from new surveys and conclusions of the rise of the sea levels on Scilly through history, amending through scientific study the previously held mapping by the likes of Ashbee (1974, pp.44-5,52-69). These synthetic historiographic surveys are utilised here to produce a more accurate map of the landmass and depth of seabed in Roman times to allow a more accurate geographical view of the position of the sites being focused on in this dissertation within the historic landscape; however, not all current scholars agree with the interpretation of the data.[82]

2.2 Limitations and opportunities

The limitations of these sites are differing being geography, the degradation of finds, site disturbance and lack of excavation. For the Nornour shrine the sea-levels having risen will undoubtedly have submerged the Roman landmass upon which archaeological evidence could have been situated. Storms and coastal erosion cause the site to be washed away, sitting as it does now, partly on the foreshore. As a direct result, artefacts and structures may have been lost, and consequently, the excavated finds may not provide a true reflection of the items originally deposited; also, the remaining finds may have suffered damage and corrosion rendering identification and

[82] David Parsons, personal communication (in person), 23 February 2026.

scientific testing difficult. A few conclusions regarding origin and date are able to be drawn where some examples of an item remain.

At the Halangy Down settlement, the encroachment of the sea has flooded and eroded Halangy Porth and any evidence of remains further down the slope.[83] Stones have been robbed from the structures, presumably for building elsewhere on Scilly in following years. The Roman altar was found in a well in what is now Hugh Town, the site has been built upon since, likewise the potential shrine or temple at Mount Holles is now underneath modern development. Its new position, on Tresco, is open to the elements and the altar and its Mithraic carvings are being worn away. The fogou on Peninnis Head was only discovered in 2000 after a partial collapse of the infill and has been made safe but left unexcavated, potential archaeological evidence remains, for now, undiscovered.

Opportunities arise from all the sites; the scientific data gleaned to date from the artefacts on Nornour and at Halangy Down has provided progressively more information as new techniques have been utilised. This data has provided valuable composition and dating, therefore placing the origin for some of the finds, mainly on the over three hundred brooches from the Roman shrine, and carbon and magnetic dating on charcoal along with soil and pollen analyses. These results furnish opinions of the status of the material and allow new conclusions to be drawn of the purpose of the artefacts and thus usage of the site. For the Roman altar, opportunities arise as Roman

[83] A possible Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age domestic plainware jar (35cm (13.780in) high, 23cm (9.055in) at its widest), was recovered from the cliff-face at Halangy Porth 17 March 2026 (W. Scutt, personal communication (via email) 22 March 2026). Three were recovered from the cliff-face after storms in 2014 (C. Johns, personal communication (via email) 23 March 2026), and an earlier one in 1936 by Alec Grey (Grey, 1972, p.34).

mithraea are discovered, and comparisons can be drawn from a larger pool of data. The fogou at Peninnis Head provides the most opportunities as it remains at present unexplored, an archaeological excavation would provide valuable information, being the only one of its type so far discovered on Scilly.

2.3 Methods for analysis

Methods for analysis are to read through the site reports from Dudley's 1962-66 (1967) and Butcher's 1969-1973 (Butcher, 1978; 2000-01; 2014) excavations on Nornour, Ashbee's on Halangy Down (1955; 1996), Ashbee's detail on the Roman Mithraic altar (1982) and the HER database for the Peninnis fogou (HER, MCO58697). Utilising these documents the following methods are analysed here:

	Methods
i.	**Comparative study** on the brooches from Nornour, conducted by Hull (in Dudley, 1968, pp.28-64) and Butcher and Justine Bayley (Butcher, 2014, 1-80), in this dissertation being amalgamated with those from the domestic shrine on Halangy Down (Ashbee, 1996, pp.1-201), examining the collection and the geographical position of the site. Each brooch is compared individually to examples on the sites, on the wider landmass of Scilly, in Cornwall and further afield, and the classifications present along with the quantities therein are tabulated here (**Appendix 9**). This comparison enabled the determining of possible sites of manufacture and quality of fabrication to show whether the artefact was a high quality original or a lower quality copy thus likely to have been made more locally. The metal objects were inspected closely through scanning techniques, x-rays and magnification, this comparison technique providing information on fine detail with the potential to show whether items have been made by the same mould or nuances of tools.
ii.	**Metallurgical alloy composition**, used by Bayley (in Butcher, 2014, pp.58-60, 69-76) for quantitative chemical analysis to determine the exact composition of the chemical elements present in each artefact tested, provided elemental percentages of the makeup. High-grade metal is studied by Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry, however, the surface of thin or corroded, lower-grade metal is analysed qualitatively with X-ray Fluorescence; this identifies elements but not the quantities in the metal artefacts.
iii.	**Enamel composition** of the brooches from Nornour is tested by Bayley and Sarah Paynter, examining opacifier compounds, colourant and relative enamel colour (in Butcher, 2014, pp.60-76); this is obtained by: ▪ dissolution of the opacifiers ▪ colourants being added to glass ▪ then oxidised, producing a colour glassy and bright in nature (Bayley and Paynter in Butcher, 2014, p.61) Studying the range of colourants enables traditions of enamelling to be identified. In relation to the Nornour brooches, manufacturing uniformity was seen and a conclusion of few enamelling sites in the Roman Empire was drawn (Bayley and Paynter in Butcher, 2014, p.61). The spread of finds showed certain colours of enamel were used more in certain geographical localities. Studying many examples from Britain and the Continent, Bayley and Paynter concluded the following: translucent, pale enamelling colours of green, turquoise and brown are more typically found on British made brooches; whereas black, white and dark green are more frequently found on brooches from the Continent (Bayley and Paynter in Butcher, 2014, pp.61-62).
iv.	**Technique** is a method whereby certain geographical areas of manufacture can be determined; particular styles and clasps are seen more in certain areas and countries. This is seen by the quantity and geographic spread of the artefacts, leading conclusions to be made regarding trade and techniques being passed on by examination of the quality of production.

Table 16: Analysis methods

2.4 Further analyses

Further analysis can be carried out by studying decorative design[84] and comparing finds from different Roman sites on Scilly.

Butcher's 2014 article (pp.1-80) did not place the brooches within the context of the site or amalgamate them with the contemporary finds such as the ninety-one Roman coins spanning the period from Emperor Vespasian, AD 69-79, to Gratian, AD 367-83, the *Dea Nutrix* and *pseudo-Venus* votive figurines or the thirty miniature votive cord-impressed gabbroic clay pots, a unique find in Cornwall (Dudley and Butcher, 1970, p.7). However, this was covered in detail in the previous site reports (Butcher, 1978; Dudley, 1967) and reconsideration report (Butcher, 2000-01, pp.5-44).

Roman sites and artefacts on Scilly, whilst excavated, studied and reported on individually, have not been looked at as a whole to examine potential religious practices on the island in Roman times or placed in context with Roman activity in Cornwall.[85]

[84] Decorative design is a method examined whereby commonality can be traced geographically to certain locations; decorative embellishments, enamelling techniques and specialised designs may lead to a point of probable manufacture when a spike in results is located. Low-quality copies also point to their point of manufacture, with intricate techniques shown by microscopic and visual analysis can identify the areas.

[85] Whether the Romans visited Scilly and for what purpose has not been explored by looking at the votive finds, these have the potential agency to illuminate Roman behaviour and show the passage of time being spent on Scilly by the Romans. The presence of a carved altar may show a more settled, organised and well used cultic site, whilst the shrine may show passing Roman visitors giving votive offerings for safe passage at sea and the possible votive deposit may show a domestic shrine, thus allowing a view of Roman or Romano-Scillonian daily religious practice. By looking at the contexts of all these sites together a fuller picture of religious practices in Roman times can emerge.
The studying of the Roman artefacts from Nornour has provided invaluable dating and place of manufacture evidence through the metallurgical composition, design and manufacture techniques of the brooches, along with the collection of coins, and known votive brooch shapes and votive pots and figurines from other shrines and temples elsewhere. Thus providing the emergence of an illustration of Roman activity whereby they brought the brooches and coins to Scilly in presumed frequent visits from the Continent and from Southwest Britain from the brooches' provenance.

Chapter 3 Methodology and approaches

3.1 Overall approach

With the aim of exploring the little researched topic of religious activity in Roman times on the Isles of Scilly, a number of different areas required investigation and research. The presence of brooches in votive designs on Nornour and elsewhere on the Islands, metallurgically tested and stratigraphically dated to the Roman period, with origins in Britain and on the Continent, required further evaluation to ascertain the activities potentially undertaken with each of the objects.

Votive offerings at known temple and shrine sites were looked at (**Appendix 4**) in order to undertake a comparison of the objects, the coins in particular (**Appendix 5,6,7**), the miniature pots and brooches (**Appendix 8,9**). Once determined to be votive in nature the sites themselves required a degree of study to facilitate further hypotheses upon the nature of the usage of the objects *in situ*. The positioning of the objects, with regard to the brooches and other small finds, potentially revealed the nature of their usage. Find positions yield insight into whether the object is amongst grave goods, a single findspot, multiple finds in a concentrated area on a site can indicate burial for safekeeping if below general floor level in a structure, whereas scattered in a small area could allude to certain activity in that area. The number of small finds also has the potential to illuminate whether the activity was frequent or infrequent, with the dating of the objects indicating the possible amount of time over which the activity took place. Comparison to other finds on Scilly and in Cornwall needed to be carried out.

With the carved altar, comparison to other Roman altars was required to be conducted to solidify the link to the Roman mystery cult of Mithras and how often these are found in Cornwall and further afield in Britain. Where the altar came from needed to be investigated and whether it was part of a temple on Scilly. If it was carved *in situ* different inferences can be taken as to the importance of the usage as compared to it having been carved elsewhere, used as ballast on a ship and discarded on the Isles of Scilly. These theories lead into whether a Roman spent a long time on the island carving the item, not just a quick lay over for a sheltered harbour, or a short time, as fashioning the pillar and carving it with Mithraic symbols (**Appendix 10**) were quick and simple in practised hands; the Roman army contained trained stonemasons to facilitate professional carvings wherever they were stationed (Davidovits, 2025), army personnel also being the worshippers in the Mithraic cult. This is where stonemasonry and experimental archaeology potentially enhance the theories.

The record of the Peninnis Head fogou warranted examination in order to formulate an opinion on its potential religious usage and possibility as a Mithraic place of worship. Other fogous, unique to southwest Britain, necessitated exploration to compare structures and conclusions on their function. A potentially related object, interpreted as either a Bronze Age statue menhir or Romano-Celtic idol, generated a need to be investigated to see if conclusions of religious activity could be drawn.

3.2 Data collection method

Primary source material was sought from a surviving member of the 1960s' archaeological excavation team via correspondence.[86] This enabled the accessing of data and information not currently in the public domain, including previously unpublished in site reports and reviews, grey literature. Original documents and material from the archaeologists and teams who carried out the different excavations have been obtained from the museum[87] and the Archaeology Data Service[88] where they are held. Likewise, access to the finds themselves held in the museum was applied for. The sites were visited on the now separate islands that make up the Isles of Scilly archipelago, this phenomenological approach was employed to comprehend the complexity of the landscapes through amalgamated synaesthetic experiences (Tilley, 2010, p.28).

Therefore, it has been possible to incorporate this unpublished information and grey literature alongside personal engagement with published scholarly resources, including site reports in journals and related books and articles that provide general information on these sites and connected finds. Current archaeologists, Dr Tom Greeves,[89] Cathy Parkes[90] of the Cornwall Archaeological Unit and Tilia Cammegh[91] of the Historic Environment Record, were contacted to ascertain the current position on hypotheses and prospective future conservation and excavation works. The Historic

[86] Michael Gage, personal communication (via email), 2025 and 2026.
[87] Specifically, archaeologist Sarnia Butcher's unpublished notebooks, grey literature, held at the Isles of Scilly Museum, St Mary's.
[88] Archaeology Data Service (ADS), an accredited digital repository for published and unpublished archaeological reports, https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk.
[89] Dr Tom Greeves, personal communication (via email), 20 July 2025.
[90] Cathy Parkes, personal communication (via email), 09 September 2025.
[91] Tilia Cammegh, personal communication (via email), 28 April 2025 and 14 July 2025.

Environment Record database[92] was searched for Roman artefacts and sites, first on Scilly and then in Cornwall.

Experts in stonemasonry were sought to provide specialist knowledge regarding Roman granite carving techniques and potential timescales involved in the different aspects of the process, notably Andrew Langdon[93] an expert on carving of Cornish granite crosses. The author personally employed an experimental archaeological approach, using hand tools,[94] albeit modern, on granite to gain some personal insight into the level of difficulty involved and effort required to complete the task. The experimental archaeology and expert data information was collected and put together, then data analysis was used to produce likely scenarios for timescales. Judgement was then employed to interpret the data into the most likely fit.

An expert in Cornish history and language was sought to provide the etymological derivation of the name of the island of Nornour from Dr Oliver Padel.[95]

[92] The Historic Environment Record (HER), accessed at https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/, holds information on historic buildings and sites throughout England.
[93] Andrew Langdon, personal communication (via email), 26 March 2025.
[94] Wooden and stone mallets along with wooden handled chisels were the hand tools used, however the chisels sported modern blades.
[95] Oliver Padel, personal communication (via email), 19 January 2026.

Visiting the sites allowed for the photographing and measuring of the remaining structures.[96] This in turn was converted into personal drawings of the sites, structures and altar.[97] In the case of Nornour, personal visitation permitted the comparison of the existing site plans to the remains now seen after further encroachment of the sea and storm damage. Further finds could have emerged, as on a previous personal visit.[98]

Specific site interpretation theories of Nornour as a site of brooch manufacture by Dudley (1967, pp.16-18) and Hull (in Dudley, 1967, p.28), a shrine by Butcher (1978, p.65) and a shipwreck by Fulford (1989, p.248), along with Ashbee's (1955, pp.187-198; 1996, pp.4-201) Scillonian or Romano-British inhabitants of Halangy Down, and interpretations of the fogou (Maclean, 1992, pp.41-64) and findspot of the Roman altar (Ashbee, 1982, pp.174-6; Society of Antiquaries of London, 1921, p.239), were examined within the topography of the landscapes in order to provide further insight into the likelihood of each. This was achieved by personally visiting each individual site in question and perceiving what it felt like to be in the environment. A degree of imagination needed to be employed to picture the lower sea levels, joined landmass and complete structures rather than today's ruins. The activity of placing oneself in a landscape in order to study the experience of a first-person perspective is a philosophical discipline known as 'phenomenology'. This methodological approach has the potential to provide a deeper understanding and appreciation of an historical site,

[96] To achieve detailed perspective in the personal photographic images an aluminium, four sectioned, ranging pole was used (measuring 1.2m, with the individual coloured sections being 10cm), also a 2m folding wooden rule and 10cm and 20cm scales of 1cm divisions.
[97] A metal rule and technical drawing equipment was used to make the drawings, along with a wooden folding rule, a metal rule and a 30m surveyor tape for taking measurements on site.
[98] The tip of a Bronze Age sword or dagger was found by the author on the foreshore of Nornour whilst on an archaeological guided visit by Dr Tom Greeves on the 17th of June 2004. The artefact is on loan to the Isles of Scilly Museum on the island of St Mary's. Also, the latest Roman brooch found on the site was in 1995 (unpublished brooch description report courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association).

whereby, in this instance, possible ports and anchorage sites, ground in the lee of prevailing weather systems, and higher ground vantage points were able to be identified and the conditions consciously absorbed.[99]

3.3 Methods of analysis

Research obtained through the reading of journals, academic papers and books was collated and arranged to a chronological structure. The Historic Environment Record, having been searched for Roman finds and sites, were sorted into the specific type of object or site. These were drawn onto a map of Cornwall and a map of the Isles of Scilly according to their groups, structures; for example, forts were plotted on a map together, likewise, villas, settlements and military camps were plotted in their groups. Finds, such as the brooches, were plotted on the Cornwall map and on the Scilly map, similarly the other small finds received the same treatment. These maps were then able to be analysed for geographical spread and intensity in datasets of Roman artefacts, such as coins and brooches, or overlaid into one overall map.

Comparing other votive offerings and sites, such as brooches, pots, coins and other artefacts found at the temple at Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993), to these under discussion here, allowed a picture to emerge of similarities and differences to be evaluated and tabulated in the following chapter.

[99] A modern practitioner of phenomenology is Christopher Tilley, whose works include *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (1994) and *Interpreting Landscapes: Geologies, Topographies, Identities: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology 3* (2010).

3.4 Review of analysis methods

Communication with the archaeologists who examined the sites on the different excavations was in this case not possible excepting one original team-member, due to passage of time and relative ages, other members had all passed away. Accessing the archaeologists' records in the museum also proved problematical, only Butcher's records were held and, after travelling were found not to be in place, no digital copies were held. After subsequent rediscovery, a further journey to the archipelago ensued whereby the grey literature, invaluable to this research, was viewed. The finds in the museum remained inaccessible due to the closure and rehousing of the collections into unfinished new premises; this resulted in the artefacts all being boxed in storage. The museum database held many images of the finds and their descriptions; these were transmitted for study and use in this dissertation. Some of the finds are not drawn in the site reports and are noted as subsequently lost before metallurgical testing could be performed and the results recorded.

Examining the HER database for Roman sites in Cornwall generated 6,381 records alone, the PAS database 711 artefacts, a large amount of data to correlate. Searching the journal *Cornish Archaeology* from its inception in 1962 to the present day proved to be a very effective tool in enabling the overview of sites being excavated and showing an emerging pattern of activity.

Comparing the objects to other known votive offerings at shrines and temples was a good method to demonstrate which of the finds on these sites could be considered as such. Looking at the sites together proved invaluable to discussing the presentation of religious activity as a whole on the Isles of Scilly in Roman times.

Chapter 4 Discussion

These analyses support the theory of the presence of a Roman shrine on Nornour, Isles of Scilly, complete with votive offerings dating from the first century AD to the fourth century AD. Also shown through the data was the presence of Romans on Scilly and in Cornwall in structures and artefact finds, with the largest collection of brooches being on Nornour. The Roman altar stone was expertly viewed as a time-consuming construction requiring weeks to carve the granite shape and its Mithraic carvings. The presence of only fifteen others found in Britain confirms the rarity of the object. These votive and ritual artefacts show there was religious activity taking place on Scilly in the Roman period. Personal visitations to all of the individual Scillonian sites and viewing of all the artefacts studied in this research enabled different perspectives to be attained; these provided degrees of phenomenological understandings of the landscape of Scilly as experienced by the Romans.

4.1 Literature

The ancient textual references to *Belerium*, Land's End (as was seen in Section **1.4.3** from Diodorus), *Vestaeum* and *Antivestaeum* (noted in **2.1.4.3** Thomas), the suggestion of Scilly being the *Cassiterides* (in **1.4.2** from Herodotus and Borlase), *Ictis* (see **2**), and the plotted Bronze Age tin trading routes (in **1.2** and **2.1.1**) through isotopic analysis (see **2.1.1**) have shown that the Romans knew of the position of Cornwall, *Dumnonia*, and its tin and other mineral deposits. The Roman Imperial court may have been particularly interested in Cornwall for its valuable resources. Structures, such as forts, military camps, roads and finds such as coins and brooches throughout Cornwall and Scilly show that far from being left alone by the Romans, as often believed, trade

occurred, and the Romans were present along with the Celtic *Dumnonii* tribe (Carew, 2004, p.8r).

4.2 Votive offerings

Research was undertaken to ascertain whether the finds on Nornour could be deemed to be votive offerings and what could be learnt from this and the other sites and objects to further understanding of Roman religious activity on the Isles of Scilly.

Studying the objects from Nornour and comparing them to similar objects found at shrines and temples on the Continent showed a high crossover of items, as seen in the table below. The artefacts as votive items were confirmed.

Viewing the brooches and other artefacts firsthand served as a medium whereby the items themselves were able to be envisioned in the act of being offered to a deity.

Votive Finds from Roman shrine at Uley	
Artefact	**Uley - Shrine**
Coins	
to AD 41	3
41-54	2
54-69	1
69-96	3
96-117	2
117-138	8
138-161	8
161-180	12
180-192	3
192-222	5
222-238	1
238-259	1
259-275	163
275-294	199
294-317	23
317-330	37
330-348	501

348-364	1190
364-378	426
378-388	20
388-402	262
Uncertain	126
Total	**2996**
Statues	
Head	
Head & Shoulders	
Mercury with ram and cockerel	1
Fragments	Yes
Dea Nutrix and Venus figurines	
Dea Nutrix	
Venus	
Sol	Bust leaded bronze
Mercury	Figurine leaded gunmetal
Mercury	Figurine copper/bronze
Mercury	Figurine brass
Bacchus	Figurine leaded gunmetal
Jupiter	Bust brass
Cupid or Victory	Figurine leaded bronze
Wing	Sphinx support bronze
Goat	Figurine leaded bronze
Cockerel	Figurine leaded bronze/gunmetal
Altar	
Carving	Mercury, ram & cockerel
Inscription	Maker and sponsor
Stone	Limestone
Quantity	3
Marble relief	Fortuna; Bacchus
Brooches	
Nauheim Derivative	3
Rosette	1
Simple One Piece	
Applied Hook	
Strip-bow	1
Beaked Bow	
Hod Hill	2
Colchester	1
Fantail	
Polden Hill	1
Southwestern	6
Headstud	2

Bow	1
Trumpet	3
Representational	1
Knee	1
Sheath-footed	3
Plate-on-bow	
Disc	5
Plate	
Pennannular	4
Fragments	3
Unclassifiable	7
Total	**45**
Pottery	
Samian	Yes
Black Burnished	Yes
Flagon	
Rhenish	Yes
Reddish Sandy	
Romano-British coarse	
Sandy oxidised	Yes
Belgic	Yes
Oxidised Severn Valley	Yes
Reduced Severn Valley	Yes
Romano-British colour-coated	Yes
Oxfordshire	Yes
Romano-British shell-tempered	Yes
Amphora	Yes
Miniature Pots	94
Rings	58
Necklaces	5
Earrings	5
Bracelets	43
Beads	89
Spoons	14
Sword	1
Mould for Pewter	

Votive Finds from Roman contexts on the Isles of Scilly						
Artefact	Nornour shrine	Halangy Down	Mount Holles Altar	Teän Cist	Porthcressa Cists	St Martin's Chapel Down
		Domestic shrine				
Coins						
to AD 41						
41-54						
54-69						
69-96	12					
96-117	16					
117-138	4					
138-161	8					
161-180	5					
180-192	3					
192-222	1					
222-238						
238-259						
259-275	8					
275-294						
294-317	7					
317-330	2					
330-348	11					
348-364	12					
364-378	1					
378-388	1					
388-402						
Uncertain						
Total	**91**					
Statues						
Head						
Head & Shoulders						1
Mercury with ram and cockerel						
Fragments						
Dea Nutrix and Venus figurines						
Dea Nutrix	3					
Venus	3					
Sol						
Mercury						
Mercury						
Mercury						
Bacchus						
Jupiter						
Cupid or Victory						
Wing						
Goat						

Cockerel						
Altar						
Carving			Cleaver/knife, axe			
Inscription						
Stone			Granite			
Quantity	0		1			
Marble relief						
Brooches						
Nauheim Derivative				2		
Rosette						
Simple One Piece	1					
Applied Hook	4					
Strip-bow						
Beaked Bow	1					
Hod Hill						
Colchester	9					
Fantail	1	3				
Polden Hill	5					
Southwestern	133	1				
Headstud	11					
Bow		1			6	
Trumpet	3					
Representational	15					
Knee	10					
Sheath-footed						
Plate-on-bow	11					
Disc	37	1			1	
Plate	72					
Penannular	2				2	
Fragments						
Unclassifiable						
Total	**315**	**6**	**0**	**2**	**9**	**0**
Pottery						
Samian		Yes				
Black Burnished						
Flagon						
Rhenish		Yes				
Reddish Sandy					Yes	
Romano-British coarse						
Sandy oxidised						
Belgic						
Oxidised Severn Valley						

Reduced Severn Valley						
Romano-British colour-coated						
Oxfordshire						
Romano-British shell-tempered						
Amphora						
Miniature Pots	9					
Rings	35			1		
Necklaces						
Earrings						
Bracelets	10					
Beads	24	4			1	
Spoons	2					
Sword	1					
Mould for Pewter		1				

Votive Finds from two sites in Cornwall		
	Cornwall	
Artefact	**Calstock Domestic shrines**	**Castle Gotha Round**
Coins		
to AD 41		
41-54		
54-69		
69-96	1	
96-117		
117-138		
138-161		
161-180		
180-192		
192-222		
222-238		
238-259		
259-275		

275-294		
294-317		
317-330		
330-348		
348-364		
364-378		
378-388		
388-402		
Uncertain		
Total	**1**	**0**
Statues		
Head		1
Head & Shoulders		
Mercury with ram and cockerel		
Fragments		
Dea Nutrix and Venus figurines		
Dea Nutrix		
Venus		
Sol		
Mercury		
Mercury		
Mercury		
Bacchus		
Jupiter		
Cupid or Victory		
Wing		
Goat		
Cockerel		
Altar		
Carving		
Inscription		
Stone		
Quantity		
Marble relief		
Brooches		
Nauheim Derivative		
Rosette		
Simple One Piece		
Applied Hook		
Strip-bow		
Beaked Bow		
Hod Hill		

Colchester		
Fantail		
Polden Hill		
Southwestern		
Headstud		
Bow		1
Trumpet		
Representational		
Knee		
Sheath-footed		
Plate-on-bow		
Disc		
Plate		
Penannular		1
Fragments		
Unclassifiable		
Total	**0**	**2**
Pottery		
Samian		Yes
Black Burnished		Yes
Flagon		Yes
Rhenish		
Reddish Sandy		
Romano-British coarse		
Sandy oxidised		
Belgic		
Oxidised Severn Valley		
Reduced Severn Valley		
Romano-British colour-coated		
Oxfordshire		
Romano-British shell-tempered		
Amphora		
Miniature Pots		
Rings		
Necklaces		
Earrings		
Bracelets		
Beads		

Spoons		
Sword		
Mould for Pewter		

Table 17: Votive finds from Uley, Scilly and Cornwall *(Ashbee, 1954, pp.1-25; Ashbee, 1982, pp.174-176; Ashbee, 1996, pp.1-201; Butcher, 1978, pp.29-112; Butcher, 2000-1, pp.5-44; Butcher, 2014, pp.1-80; Dudley, 1967, pp.1-64; Ross, 1967, pp.96-97, pls.16a,23a; Saunders and Harris, 1982, pp.109-153; Smart, 2014; Tebbutt, 1934, pp.302-304; Thomas, 1985, pp.1720-172; Woodward and Leach, 1993)*

The coins found at the Nornour shrine were studied and tabulated in detail, this confirmed the dates of the shrine as first to fourth century AD, no coins from other periods were found. A summary of the results is provided here (further detail in **Appendices 4,5,6**):

Summary of Coins from Nornour Shrine			
Emperor	**Reign**		**Quantity**
	Start	**End**	
Vespasian	69	79	7
Vespasian or Titus	69	79	1
Domitian	81	96	4
Late first century	50	99	3
Trajan	98	117	13
Trajan or Hadrian	98	138	1
Hadrian	117	138	3
Antonius Pius	138	161	3
Faustina I	140	140	3
Marcus Aurelius	139	180	5
Faustina II		175	2
Commodus	177	192	1
Crispina		183	1
Lucilla		183	1
Julia Domna		217	1
Postumus	259	268	1
Claudius II	268	270	2
Tetricus I	270	274	1
Tetricus II	273	274	4
Constantine I	275	300	7
Commemorative	330	340	5
Crispus	317	326	2
Constantine II	317	340	4
Constans	337	350	5

Constans or Constantius II	337	361	1
Constantius II	323	361	3
House of Constantine	307	361	3
Magentius	350	353	1
Decentius	350	353	1
Valens	364	378	1
Gratian	367	383	1
			91

Table 18: Roman coins found on Nornour *(adapted from Butcher, 1978, pp.29-112; Butcher, 2000-1, pp.5-44; Dudley, 1967, pp.1-64)*

4.3 Roman shrine

Contradictory interpretations had been suggested of the Nornour site. Firstly, after examining the context and finds from Dudley's 1960s' excavations, Hull argued it was the site of a workshop for manufacturing or finishing the brooches, using his comparisons with other Roman brooches to assert that the homogeneity of design indicated a single manufacturing point (Hull in Dudley, 1967, pp.28-30). Dudley's site, along with Butcher's later excavations, found no slag or waste from metal-working or high-temperature burning (Butcher, 1978, p.54; Dudley, 1967, p.17). Butcher's interpretation of the site included the bronze artefacts, coins, beads and clay figurines as votive offerings in the Roman shrine (Butcher, 1978, p.65). This was formulated from particular designs of brooches and other artefacts being present at known shrines and temple sites (Glicksman, 2012; Harvey, 1970, pp.103-106; HER, 29392.10; Woodward, 1992), and from the scientific analysis of the metallurgy (Butcher, 2014, pp.1-80). Structure two's design is recorded as rectangular and hence noted that this "emphasises the 'monumental' nature of the building" (Butcher, 1970a, p.3).

The third theory (Thomas, 1985, p.65) was a continuation of the shrine theory with the artefacts being offerings to *Sillina* or *Sulis* in the shrine, from whence the name Scilly is suggested to have derived from (Straffon, 1995, p.3). Fulford reached a different conclusion for the site (Fulford, 1989, p.249), hypothesising the finds related to a shipwreck from the late second or early third century AD, attributing the later coins to a second shipwreck. His theory included an itinerant craftsperson or salesperson gathering the items and storing them in the Bronze Age roundhouses (Fulford, 1989, p.248). Fulford dismissed the miniature pots as not Roman, without discussion, and the clay figurines of a goddess as mass produced in Gaul and only found in this same quantity at manufacturing sites (Fulford, 1989, p.248), thereby he overstated the number that was found at this site.

The interpretations of the site were based in the main on the analysis of the brooches, being the most prolific items excavated, they had the most information to proffer. Time periods were focused using techniques of analysis and these were compared to the site contexts, with advances in scientific practices the hypotheses were reevaluated.

The following testing (**6.2.3** and **6.2.4**) was carried out by Butcher in 1978, and the confirmational metallurgical testing data results were published by Butcher in 2014 (pp.1-80).

4.3.1 Topology



Figure 106: LiDAR image of Nornour *(adapted from Archimaps, 2025, available at: https://www.archiuk.com/cgi-bin/build_lidar_map.pl?map_location=Exe,%20Cornwall,%20SX2294,%20SX%2022%2094&point_title=Exe,%20Cornwall,%20SX2294,%20SX%2022%2094&ngr=&is_sub=&pwd=freesearch@freesearch.com&point_lat=50.718297&point_long=-4.522925&postcode=)*

LiDAR has shown no other structures, any cist burials, or activity on Nornour needing investigation. Landscape topology, pollen and soil analysis illuminate the time period and usage of the landscape of Nornour, samples stratigraphically taken allow the data to be allocated correctly to the context. Analysis of the soil involved:

	Soil Analysis Stages
1	Wash in cold water
2	Raise temperature to boiling point, ignite

Table 19: Stages of soil analysis technique *(Butcher, 1978, pp.97-98)*

Pollen was analysed using:

	Pollen Analysis Stages
1	Sodium hydroxide warm solution of 10%
2	Washes of alkali
3	Centrifugal forces
4	Hydrofluoric acid
5	Acetolysis

Table 20: Stages of pollen analysis technique *(Butcher, 1978, p.107)*

These processes enabled the use of land through the ages to be displayed through the site sample's composition, showing when, for example, cereal grain and livestock replaced wild animals and dense forest (Turk, 1971); this provided a timeline for the settling of Hunter Gatherers and their transition into farming on Scilly (Ratcliffe and Johns, 1992, p.5). Analysed by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, the samples of soil taken from the hearths returned the result that the temperatures of burning were too low for metalworking (Butcher, 1978, p.54).

The topology of the landscape is also taken into account with the geographical positioning of the *Vestaeum* on Chapel Down, the possible Romano-Celtic idolic statue sited there seems to enhance this theory. Comparative examples of the statue from Roman contexts at Lanchester and *Corstopitum* in Britain and in abundance at *Temple de la Forêt* in Oise (Ross, 1967, pls.16a,23a, p.97) allude to its Roman provenance. Conclusions of the statue alternatively being Neolithic or Early Bronze Age in origin (Ratcliffe and Parkes, 1989, p.259) do not detract from the theories of a shrine on Nornour or a *Vestaeum* on Chapel Down. More investigations need to be made into the statue for it to be of true diagnostic value to the question of Roman religious activity on Scilly.

The embedding of oneself in the landscape of the now deserted island of Nornour provided a perspective of the social aspect of the cluster of roundhouses and their relative positioning to a potential port and other Roman sites and items of religious significance such as the potential Chapel Down statue and the Mithraic altar.

4.3.2 Osteoarchaeology

Animal remains from middens were studied (Dudley, 1967, p.9; Turk in Butcher, 1978, pp.96, 99-103) and provided data on the inhabitants' diet, livestock management, hunting wild creatures and their abundance. Dating in one area of Scilly showed calves being slaughtered before wintertime and being pastured on the seashore at other times; this practice is known on Hebridean islands and on Scilly (Turk in Butcher, 1978, p.99). Wild boar changing to farmed domestic pigs was identified as were the mammal varieties, birds and fish making up the diets (Turk in Butcher, 1978, p.100); fishbones, relating to types from shallow water suggested fishing was not done from boats (Turk in Butcher, 1978, p.102), were also seen at Halangy Down where their fish was considered as being traded with the Romans (Ashbee, 1996, p.140).

4.3.3 Radiocarbon and Magnetic testing

Radiocarbon and magnetic testing showed the probable span of dates of the firing of hearths in the Bronze Age roundhouses making up the settlement on Nornour.

4.3.3.1 Radiocarbon testing

Radiocarbon samples were taken from charcoal remains or shells, organisms formerly alive. Absorbing carbon whilst alive, levels drop over a period of time, allowing a comparison of the quantity of carbon in a living organism to be compared with a decayed sample; through this the time elapsed since death is calculated by a formula:

$R = A \exp(-T/8033)$
where R is $^{14}C/^{12}C$ ratio in the sample, A is the original $^{14}C/^{12}C$ ratio of the living organism and T is the amount of time that has passed since the death of the organism.
By measuring the ratio, R, in a sample we can then calculate the age of the sample:
$T = -8033 \ln(R/A)$
(University of Oxford, 2024)

In order to test charcoal, inorganic carbon is removed from the sample by:

	Charcoal Test Stages
1	Washing with acid, alkali and acid
2	Sample is then placed in a quartz silica boat
3	Sample is placed into a combustion tube into which oxygen is fed
4	Carbon dioxide released on combustion is purified chemically and measured
5	Lithium and carbon dioxide are heated to produce lithium carbide
6	Lithium carbide produces acetylene gas when reacted with distilled water
7	Acetylene gas is converted into liquid benzene by use of a vanadium-based catalyst column, butyl-PBD
8	A scintillator chemical is added
9	Benzene PBD in a silica glass vial undergoes processing in the liquid scintillation spectrometer to provide the radiocarbon age by measuring the decay events
10	This result is compared to known aged samples using a calibration curve to calculate the sampled item's calendar age

Table 21: Test stages of charcoal *(Higham, 2017)*

To further narrow the time period, different items within the same deposit were sampled and tested; structure nine on Nornour produced charcoal and shells in a sealed midden, on testing, these produced date ranges of 1450-1130 BC and 1450-1220 BC respectively (Clark in Butcher, 1978, pp.66-67).

4.3.3.2 Magnetic testing

Magnetic testing and radiocarbon testing were used in conjunction with one another. The process requires samples to be encapsulated in plaster of Paris housed within PVC cylinders, this was measured at the time of excavation in a Digico computerised fluxgate spinner magnetometer to determine the Nornour samples' directional reading of the magnetic field (Clark in Butcher, 1978, p.66). To provide an archaeomagnetic date the information required is obtained by a threefold process:

	Archaeomagnetic Analysis Stages
1	Measurements are taken to ascertain the NRM (Natural Remanent Magnetism). This comprises of the viscous component, magnetic particles of lower stability, and the archaeological signal.
2	Thermal or alternating field demagnetisation is carried out to determine the point at which the viscous component is removed.
3	The sample is taken to that point and the viscous component is removed. The remaining stable magnetic particles in the archaeological signal are measured again to ascertain the magnetic direction.

Table 22: Stages of archaeomagnetic analysis *(University of Bradford, 2024)*

Widely varying results are produced by this means of testing, as the position of the Earth's magnetic poles can be in the same position at different times, other dating evidence is then required to ascertain the most likely date range.

Structures six and seven on Nornour were tested archaeomagnetically with six producing the date range of 20 BC – AD 60, however, a Loch Lomond site's measurements indicate 2300–2200 BC or 1600–300 BC (Clark in Butcher, 1978, p.67). The charcoal radiocarbon date of 1450-1130 BC from structure nine with the shell radiocarbon date of 1450-1220 BC (Clark in Butcher, 1978, p.66), along with dating of the structural archaeological evidence, infers the corresponding date for structure six would be 1600-1300 BC (Clark in Butcher, 1978, p.67). Structure seven generated a time period of AD 150-200 or, from the Loch Lomond data, 2500-2300 BC or 1700-1600 BC (Clark in Butcher, 1978, p.67). If 1600-1300 BC is thought reasonable for structure six, then the latter date of 1700-1600 BC for seven would seem appropriate (Clark in Butcher, 1978, p.67).

The technique of magnetic dating may appear at times to be contradictory, however, coupled with additional site evidence the relevant period may be clarified; combined with radiocarbon dating, magnetic dating progresses from an indicatory tool to one enabling further clarification of an activity timeframe thus permitting the activity in the shrinal structures on Nornour to be dated to the Roman period.

4.3.4 Metal alloy testing

Metal alloy testing was carried out on the over 300 Roman brooches from Nornour, over 260 from Dudley's 1962-66 excavations and the remainder from Butcher's 1969-73 excavations, after storm damage exposed the site on both occasions. Hull compared the brooches by eye to over 7,800 examples illustrated by descriptions and drawings (Hull in Dudley, 1967, p.28), concluding the Nornour examples were of a homogeneous type (Hull cited in Dudley, 1967, p.17) attributable to the second century AD, being manufactured or finished on Nornour in a workshop was the site interpretation offered after rejecting the possibility of a Roman shrine with votive offerings as too implausible (Hull in Dudley, 1967, pp.28-30).

After Butcher's later excavations the alloys of the brooches and decorative enamelling were analysed by experts Bayley (in Butcher, 2014, pp.58-60) and Bayley and Paynter (in Butcher, 2014, pp.60-68) respectively, at Portsmouth's then Ancient Monuments Laboratory. The copper alloying metals used were tin, lead and zinc, with bronze being an alloy of copper and tin, brass being copper-zinc and gunmetal being bronze-zinc; the metal's composition was studied using quantitative and qualitative chemical analysis, with Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry (AAS) and X-ray Fluorescence (XRF) being

used, the latter when the metal of the artefact was too corroded or thin for the more detailed quantitative testing (Bayley in Butcher, 2014, p.58).

Both testing techniques provide the breakdown and name of the particular metal alloy, this allows for an indication of geographical positioning of manufacture per brooch as different regions used different alloy compositions (Butcher, 2014, p.3). Brass compositions were typically from northern Britain with lead being added to create leaded bronze more usually in the west and southwest of Cornwall (Butcher, 2014, p.67). This metallurgical analysis showing the content of the metal has the ability therefore to position geographically the manufacturing region, with some shown to originate from all over Britain and the Continent, refuting Dudley (1967, pp.16-18) and Hull's (in Dudley, 1967, p.28) hypothesis of a manufacturing site on Nornour; seemingly, the remaining plausible option being, the brooches' arrived by sea.

4.3.4.1 Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry

Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry (Drawell, 2023) weighs the metal sample, then dissolves it in aqua regia to analyse the solution with a double beamed instrument, this passes a light beam through, split between a control solution and the sample. Comparison of the beams provides the absorption figure of the sample, the concentration of which provides the result when it is compared to a calibration curve. 129 of Nornour's brooches were tested in this way (Bayley in Butcher, 2014, p.58) and demonstrated a favourability for the Southwest's alloy of leaded bronze with leaded gunmetal second (Bayley in Butcher, 2014, pp.69-75, app.1).

4.3.4.2 X-ray Fluorescence

X-ray Fluorescence (Wirth and Barth, 2007) leaves the artefact whole and places it underneath the machine to analyse by illumination with an X-ray beam which excites electrons and their resultant release of energy is measured, providing an accurate reading of the elements present (Bayley in Butcher, 2014, p.58). X-ray Fluorescence, unlike Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry, cannot determine the quantities of each element. Fifty-two of Nornour's more corroded brooches were sampled and tested in this way, the remainder being either too corroded or too thin to be able to produce a viable sample (Bayley in Butcher, 2014, p.58).

4.3.5 Summation of discussion on Nornour

The results of these analysis techniques provided clarity as to whether the brooches were similar enough to have been manufactured in a workshop on Nornour. On studying drawings, descriptions, and scientific data, the theory of the Nornour site being a Roman shrine was asserted over manufacturing or storage for shipwrecked items.

To determine the origin of the brooches from Nornour they were compared to examples of known date and manufacturing origin from Cornwall, Britain and the Continent. Employing all of these methods showed the brooches' origins as Britain and the Continent between the first and third centuries AD, with the Roman coins extending the time period into the fourth century AD. This, and the lack of archaeological evidence to show slag, metalworking waste and high enough firing temperatures on the site and its environs allowed for rejection of the manufacturing hypothesis.

These analytical methods have their benefits and limitations, with the results of multiple methods being needed to respond to posed questions and unravel the nature of the site.

Radiocarbon dating provided data showing when organic matter was alive and magnetic dating supplied potential time periods when at different times the magnetic poles were in the same position. Using both together, with archaeological evidence of the buildings' construction, a more accurate timeframe for activity on the site was achieved.

Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry was used successfully to provide quantitative analysis of the metal elements in the composition of the brooches, and X-ray Fluorescence was applied to more degraded specimens but only able to show the elements present and not the quantities thereof. The data was used to position the geographical manufacturing areas of the individual brooches; applying this disproved the manufacturing and finishing workshop theory on Nornour. Viewed in conjunction with data on brooches found elsewhere from the Roman period, the accuracy of the picture of manufacturing origin can be increased.

The methods of analysis used and samples studied, whether grains of pollen, pottery inclusions, ancient building techniques, metal alloy compositions and more, all supply data into the picture of the site; this has allowed a view of the site as a whole to be viewed and a timeframe and nature of activities illuminated, showing Nornour's place in the wider world community. This has consequently demonstrated that Nornour, far from being part of an inconsequential island archipelago off the end of Britain, was

indeed a site frequently visited for around three centuries by Romans, the dominant Empire at that time.

The erosion that instigated the first excavations in the 1960s has continued with the further loss of structures.[100] Previously whole, structures one and two were reduced to semicircles and flooring details obscured and lost by 2025 with the remains of structures three and four having been washed away, the walls of one and two were breached by 2013.[101] This scheduled monument will inevitably be taken by the sea.[102]

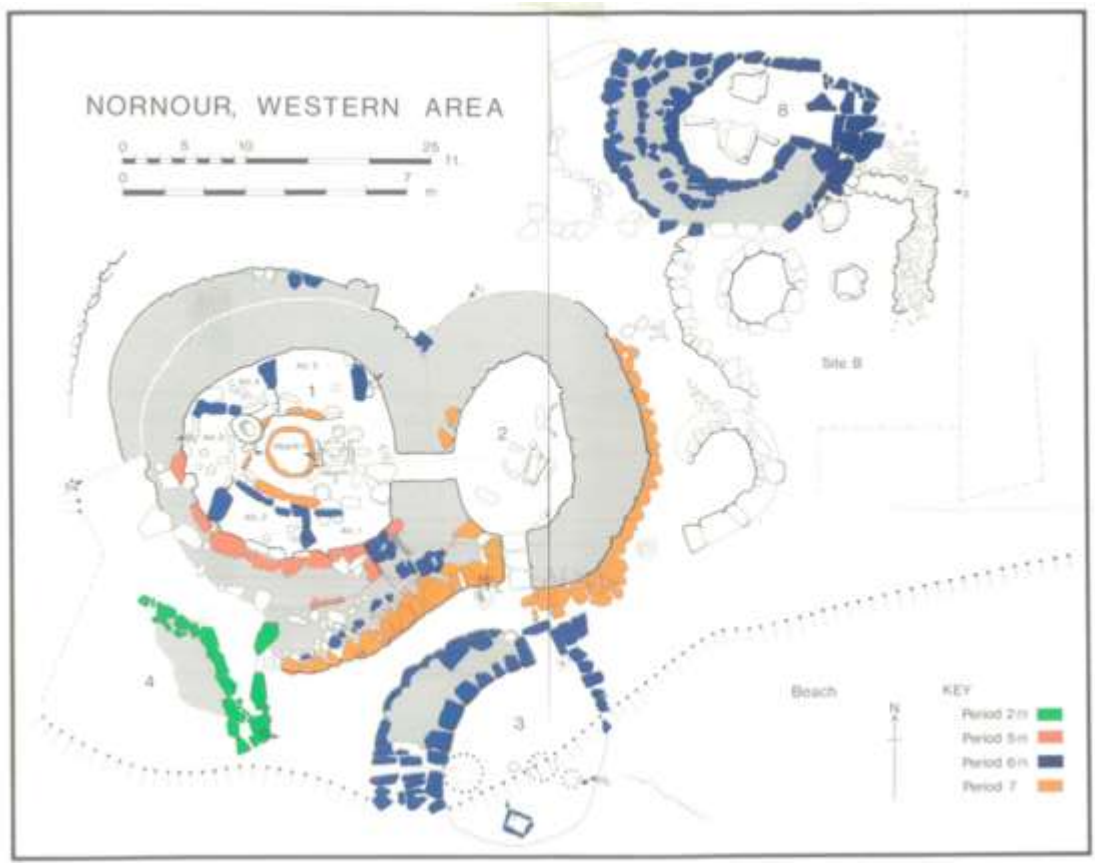


Figure 107: Plan of structures one, two, eight and site B, showing the line of the beach at the time of the excavations running through structures three and four *(Butcher, 1978, fig.B)*

[100] The occurrence of erosion was noted during the excavations of Butcher, in the winter of 1969 / 1970 (Butcher, 1970b, p.444, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association).
[101] Greeves, personal communication (via email), 20 July 2025.
[102] A proposal of works to secure the site was put forward by archaeologists Charles Johns, Sarnia Butcher and Katharine Sawyer, and museum curator Amanda Martin; however, the project was not supported with funding from the council of the Isles of Scilly or English Heritage (Johns, 2005, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association).

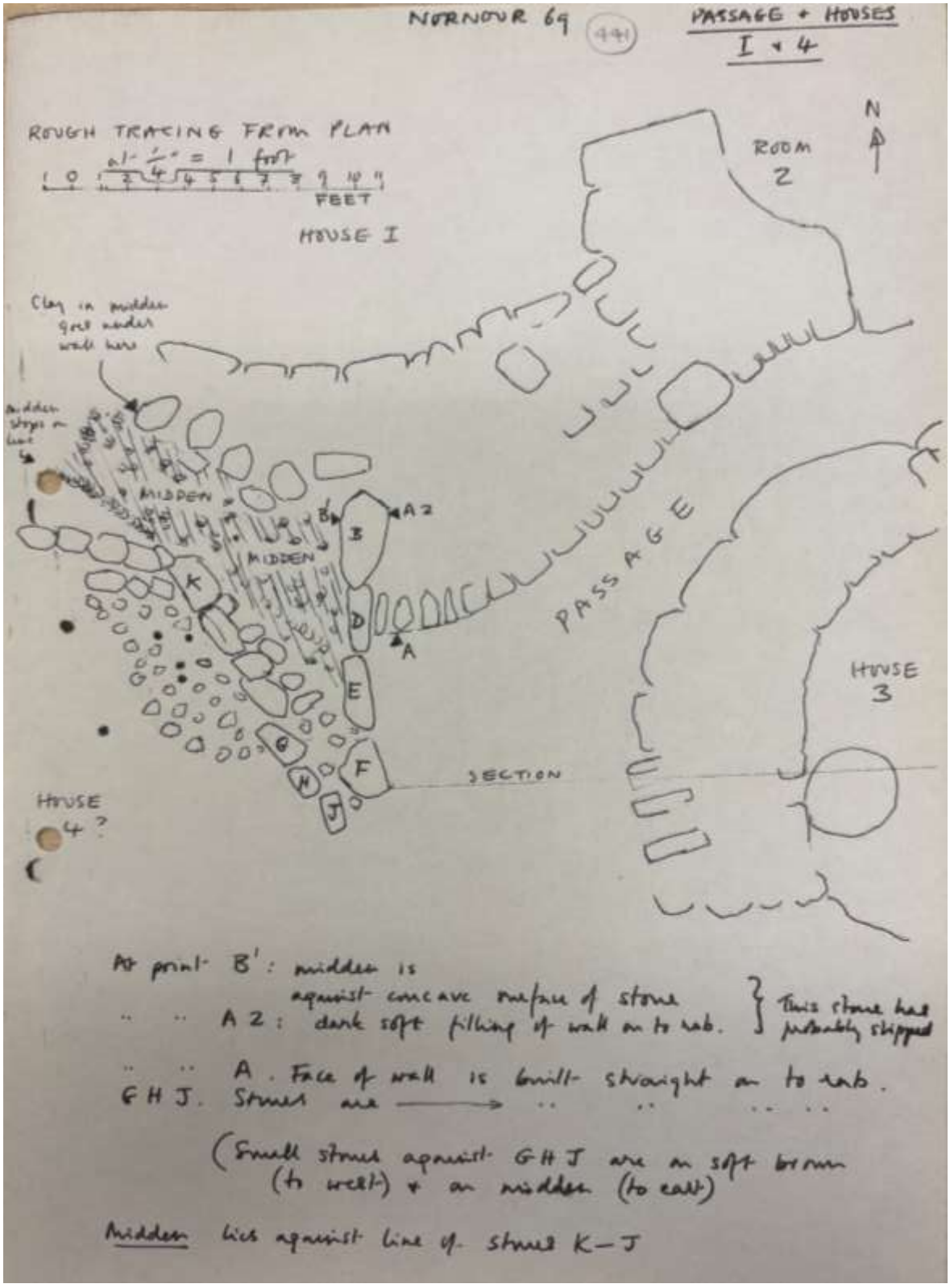


Figure 108: Plan of walls of structures one and three in 1969 *(Butcher, 1969, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*



Figure 109: Structure one on the edge of the beach (no scale) *(author's own photograph, 2025)*



Figure 110: Structure one not yet eroded onto the beach (no scale) *(author's own photograph, 2004)*



Figure 111: Wall of structure one eroded by the sea (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph, 2025)*



Figure 112: Structures a distance from the shore (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage, 1978)*



Figure 113: Floor of structure one, details lost and obscured with boulders by the sea (no scale) *(author's own photograph, 2025)*



Figure 114: Floor of structure one from original 1960s' excavation (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage, 1963)*



Figure 115: Structure one eroded onto the beach (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph, 2025)*



Figure 116: Adjoining corridor between structures one and two being eroded and covered with boulders by the sea (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph, 2025)*



Figure 117: Structure two adjoined to structure one from original 1960s' excavation (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage, 1965)*



Figure 118: Structures one and two, present day (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph, 2025)*



Figure 119: Structure one from original excavation (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage, 1962)*



Figure 120: Structure two from original excavation (6ft scale) *(courtesy of Gage, 1962)*

Some artefacts have been rescued from the structures on Nornour, for instance, the stone bowl found in structure one in the 1960s' excavations was rescued later and housed at the Isles of Scilly Museum;[103] whereas other items, like the stone bowl from site B outside structure eight, remain *in situ,*[104] thus are likely to be eroded by the elements. As the internal dividing walls of structure one are no longer extant, so the similar design of structure five and its associated stone artefacts will likewise be lost.



Figure 121: Stone bowl, bottom right of image with stone capping, in situ in structure one, 1963 (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage)*

[103] Xavier Duffy, personal communication (via email), 29 January 2026.
[104] Personal observation during site visit 2025.



Figure 122: Stone bowl still in situ in structure one, with archaeologist Sarnia Butcher (no scale) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*



Figure 123: Stone bowl from structure one, Nornour, rescued and preserved at the Isles of Scilly Museum (no scale) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*



Figure 124: Stone bowl or trough in site B, in front of structure eight, in 2025, likely to be destroyed by the elements as the sea encroaches upon the scheduled monument (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 125: Stone artefact in situ in structure five, 2025 (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 126: Structure five showing internal projecting dividing walls and hearth features discernible in 2025 (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 127: Entranceway to structure five with extant walling and upright stone doorway features in 2025 (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

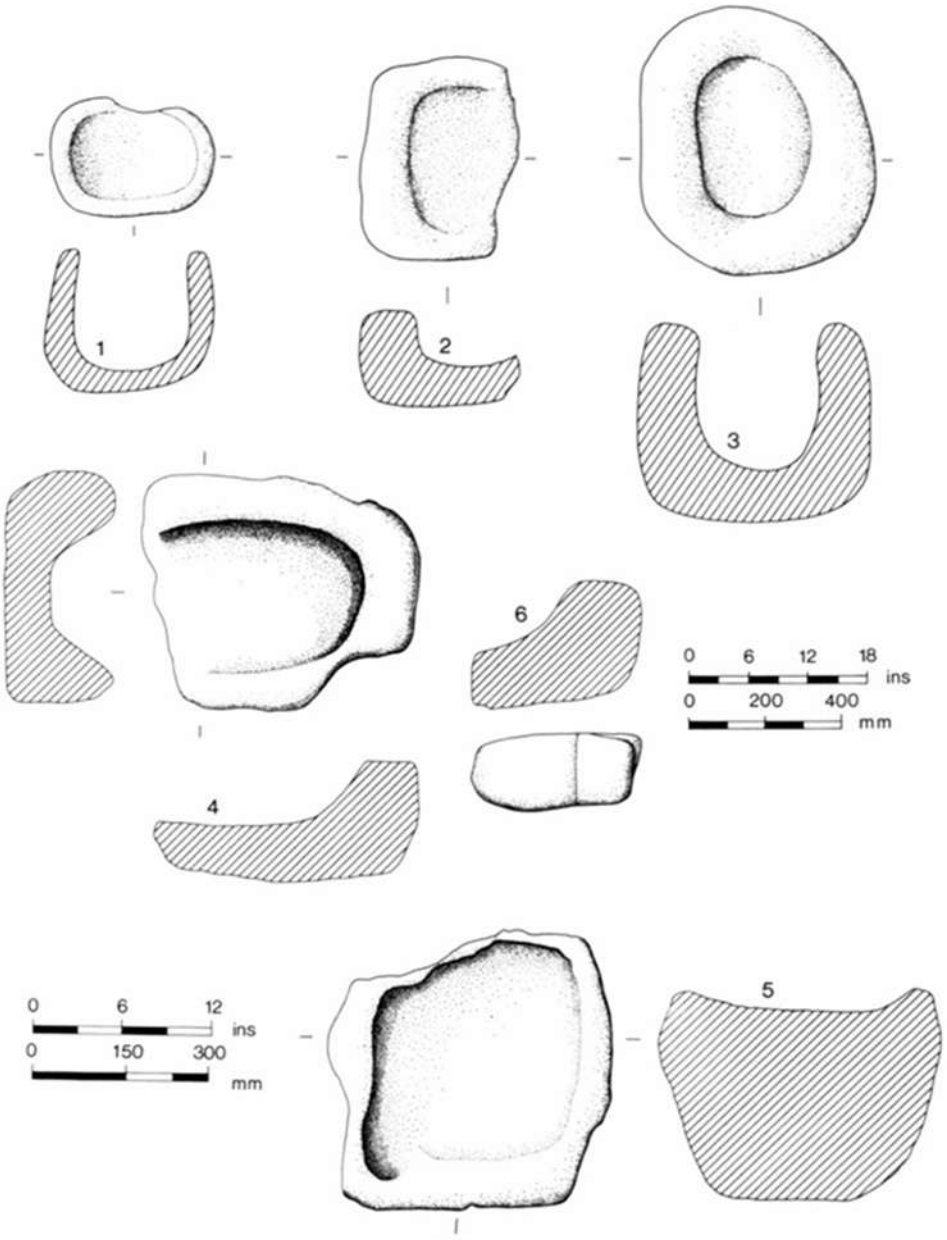


Fig. 40
Nornour: Objects of stone. Nos 1-6. All 1/3.

Fig. 40 Stone bowls or troughs
1. Stone bowl from entrance to Building 2; resting on paving (period 7).
2. Bowl found outside entrance to Building 5 (period 6 +).
3. Bowl found in rubble in Building 1 (period 7 +).
4. Bowl from rubble outside Building 7 (period 6 +).
5. Bowl from wall between Building 6 and 11 (period 5).
6. Bowl from soil over Building 5 (period 6 +).

Figure 128: Drawings of stone bowls and troughs from Nornour, rescued bowl from structure one removed for preservation to the museum being bowl three in the illustrations *(Butcher, 1978, p.93)*

4.4 Domestic shrines

Courtyard houses and villages like Halangy Down on St Mary's, Isles of Scilly, were occupied during Roman times, dated by finds of Samian ware and brooches. These brooches, found in a particular position by an inner wall, have been concluded as domestic shrinal offerings (Ashbee, 1996, p.11), a practice often seen in Roman houses, but not as often in Romano-British or Romano-Scillonian houses of this time. Construction and building alteration can be seen on the site and the confirmed courtyard house is unique on Scilly, the aedicule shrine being one such addition (Ashbee, 1996, p.11). Quern stones of Roman design were present, as was a granite mould in which pewter bowls for tableware may have been cast, thus implying a certain level of civilisation (Ashbee, 1996, p.137); pewter bowl moulds are also present at temple and shrine sites for the manufacture of votive receptacles, such as at the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire (Wedlake, 1982, pp.67-74, pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX). Similarities are noted in Ashbee's later article to other large circular houses on Par Beach, St Martin's and Nornour, and to Stannon Down, Cornwall (Ashbee, 1996, p.132). The limpet mounds that were found in abundance prompted the theory of sea-fish trading with Roman Britain and Gaul (Ashbee, 1996, p.140). This activity, if it took place, would have brought Scillonians into contact with Roman practices earlier than by means of the invading army from AD 43 marching through Britain to Cornwall and Scilly.

The uniqueness of this large dwelling, within this settlement and on Scilly, with its domestic shrine, granite mould for casting pewter and the early adoption of the Roman design of quern stones, leads to the hypothesis that this courtyard house in the settlement was likely populated by Romans; its situation between Nornour and the

Roman Mithraic altar, with sea-fish trading in business, could have resulted in a Roman overseer residing here.

Experiencing the slope of the landscape and being able to walk around the layout of the structures, especially to stand in structure B's aedicule, where the proposed domestic shrine was situated, fostered a feeling of what it may have been like to experience life there in Roman times, to look over the landscape towards the shrine on Nornour.

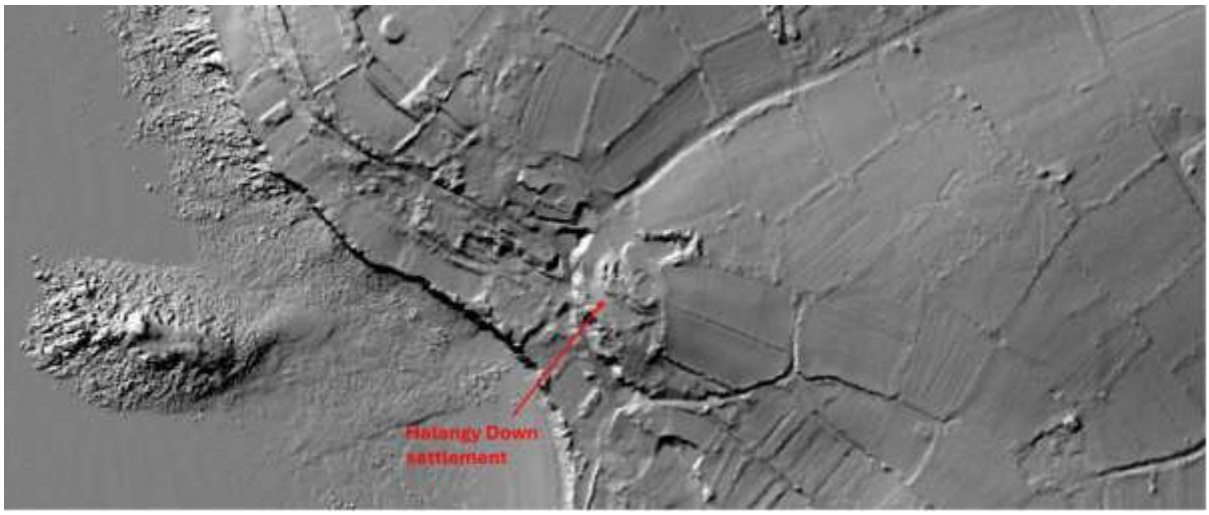


Figure 129: Lidar image of Halangy Down settlement *(adapted from Archimaps, 2025, available at: https://www.archiuk.com/cgi-bin/build_lidar_map.pl?map_location=Exe,%20Cornwall,%20SX2294,%20SX%2022%2094&point_title=Exe,%20Cornwall,%20SX2294,%20SX%2022%2094&ngr=&is_sub=&pwd=freesearch@freesearch.com&point_lat=50.718297&point_long=-4.522925&postcode=)*

LiDAR images of the area show no other remains on the surrounding Down or in the field patterns requiring investigation.

4.5 Roman altar

The presence of the Roman altar with its Mithraic carvings is a rare find, being one of only sixteen found in Britain, and therefore one of great importance in the country. The Roman cult of Mithraism spread throughout the Empire with the Roman army, not being practised often in civil districts (Collingwood, 1923, p.136), this leads to a possibility of

a small presence of army personnel on Scilly which could have been tasked to protect the valuable tin trade route with Cornwall and the passage around Land's End to Wales with troops and Ireland to trade. Roman civilisation is suggested to have influenced the west of Cornwall due to its position on the Roman sea trading route around Britain and to Ireland, though not as a trading destination in its own right (Peters, 2005, p.94); this theory is expanded to infer that Hengistbury Head, Dorset, was the main Roman trading port in southwest Britain, not a Cornish site (Peters, 2005, p.96). It is alternatively held that Roman civilisation is evidenced from Exeter to the east whereas the Southwest shows more native occupation (Deacon, 2024, p.40).

Such a rare object as the Mithraically carved altar seems unlikely to be discarded ballast from a ship and more likely to have been either brought there specifically for the worship of Mithras or carved *in situ* by the Roman army's specialist stonemasons. Taking into account the length of time needed to carve such a block of hard granite,[105] as opposed to soft sandstone, the implication can be drawn of a prolonged stay on Scilly by the carver rather than being the product of a short layover seeking shelter from a storm. The adoption of the pediment shape in Britain with a large *focus*-mount and fascia between the bolsters left a flat central profile, this simplification reduced the overall carving time, however, it remained at weeks (Kewley, 1974, p.55). Granite was split from rock formations from the 1800s using the tare and feather technique in Cornwall and the plug and feather technique by Scillonians;[106] possibly a similar technique was employed by the Romans.

[105] Andrew Langdon, personal communication (via email), 26 March 2025. See **Appendix 11**.
[106] Greeves, personal communication (via email), 20 July 2025.



Figure 130: Bedrock and surface rock from which granite blocks could have been split, Top Rock Hill, St Martin's (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 131: Plug and feather technique in granite boulder, Turfy Hill, St Martin's (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 132: Closeup of plug and feather (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 133: Granite extraction pit of quarried bedrock, between Peninnis Head lighthouse and pulpit rock, St Mary's (1.2m scale) *(author's own photograph)*



Figure 134: Buzza Hill granite quarry, St Mary's, later form of granite extraction (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

The earlier technique employed involved chiselled slots into which iron wedges were inserted and struck, leaving a scallop pattern to the edge and half of the slot remaining (Greeves, 2006/7, pp.127-30); examples of this are seen across Scilly at Halangy Down, Lower Inisidgen, St Mary's, Blockhouse and Cromwell's Castle, Tresco, natural bedrock near Fraggle Rock, Bryher, amongst others.







Figure 135: Images of cut marks on granite bedrock at Halangy Down, St Mary's (1.2m scale, 10cm scale) *(author's own photographs)*



Figure 136: Granite rock near Fraggle Rock, Bryher with extant quarrying marks (no scale) *(author's own photograph)*

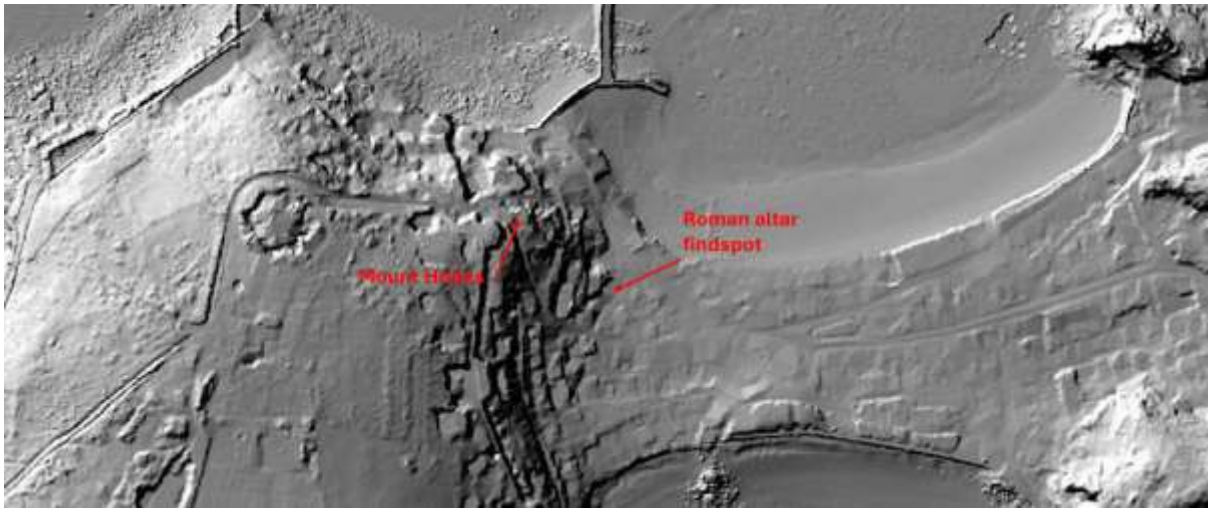


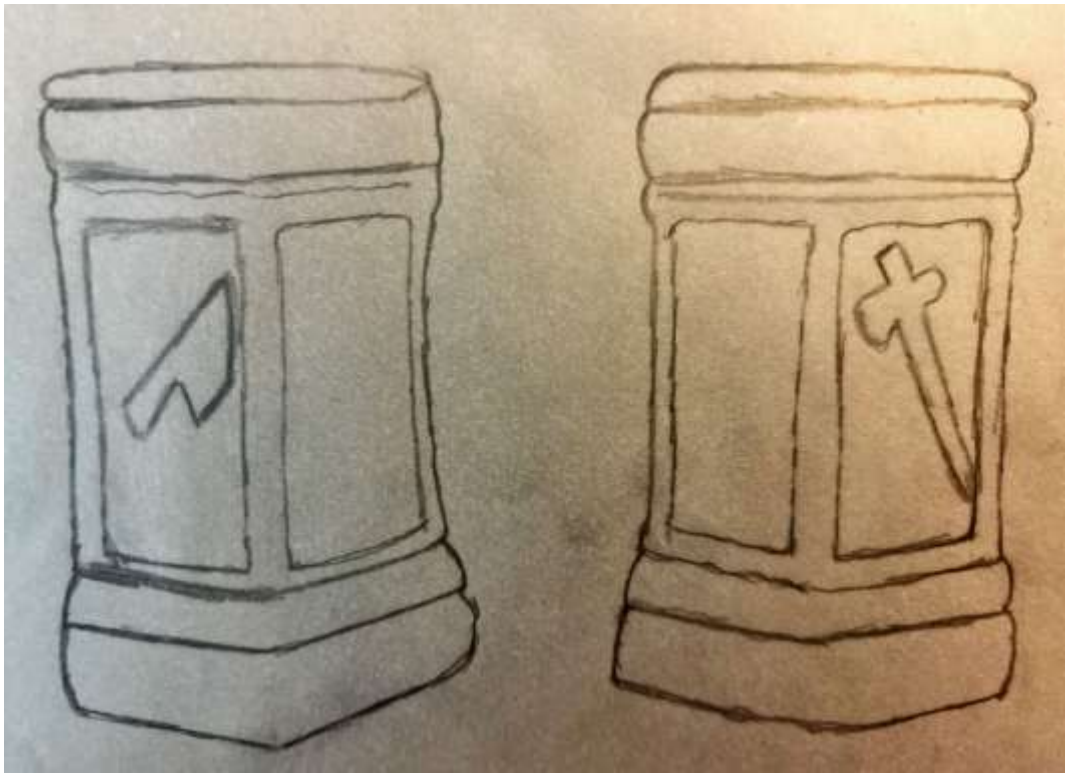
Figure 137: LiDAR image of Roman altar findspot and Mount Holles potential temple site *(adapted from Archimaps, 2025, https://www.archiuk.com/cgi-bin/build_lidar_map.pl?map_location=Exe,%20Cornwall,%20SX2294,%20SX%2022%2094&point_title=Exe,%20Cornwall,%20SX2294,%20SX%2022%2094&ngr=&is_sub=&pwd=freesearch@freesearch.com&point_lat=50.718297&point_long=-4.522925&postcode=)*

LiDAR technology, used on Scilly, shows no evidence of the well the altar was found in or any surviving imprint of a structure; Mount Holles, the site of a possible temple, shows no areas around it warranting archaeological excavation where any modern development may not have already destroyed the stratigraphy.

4.5.1 Iconography

Looking at carvings relating to the Roman cult of Mithras (Pearse, 2025)[107] showed those of an axe and cleaver or knife on Scilly's to be in harmony with Mithraic symbols from the time. Viewing this iconography, created in Roman times, supplied a deeper understanding of the length of time and difficulty involved in producing the altar stone; also, an appreciation of the experience of looking upon the carved religious symbols, so important to Mithraism, was gained.

[107] Pearse, https://mithras.tertullian.org/display.php?page=selected_monuments; personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 07 June 2025



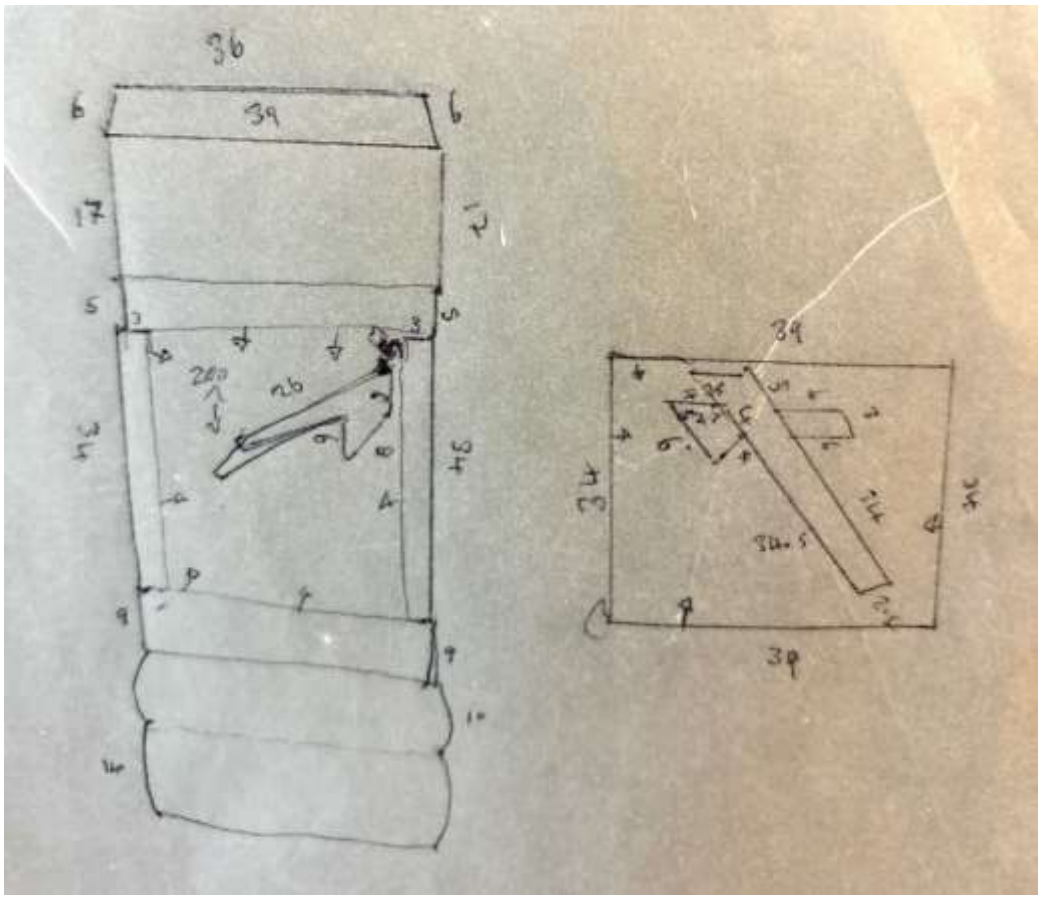


Figure 138: Drawings of Roman altar on site by author (1cm metal rule) *(author's own drawing adapted from Gibson, 1932, p.126; site visit)*

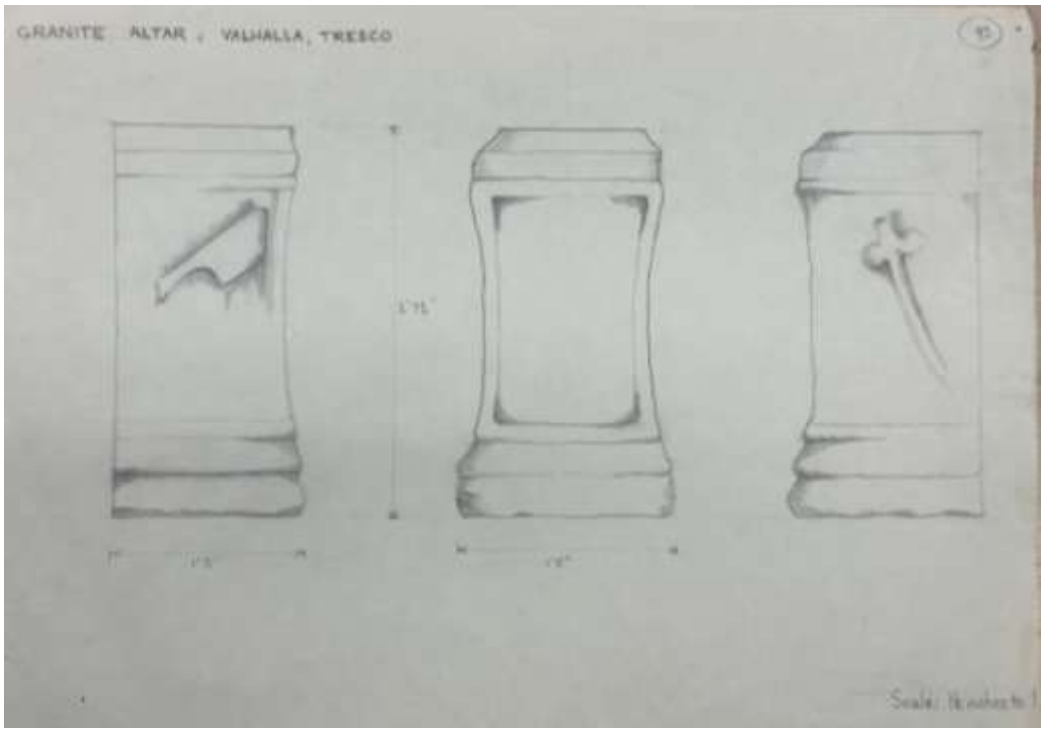


Figure 139: Sketch of Roman Mithraic altar *(author's own photograph of Dudley, 1966, 93, courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum Association)*

Mithraic monumental carvings show these symbols (further description and examples in **Appendix 10**).



Figure 140: CIMRM 353 - Mithras rock birth*. Square marble relief. Rome, Italy. (Pearse, https://mithras.tertullian.org/display.php?page=selected_monuments, personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 07 June 2025)*



Fig. 32 – Mon. 83

Figure 141: CIMRM entry 83 – Cautes statuette with axe. *Sidon. In the Louvre, Paris. (Pearse, https://mithras.tertullian.org/display.php?page=selected_monuments, personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 07 June 2025)*

4.5.2 Stonemasonry

After discussion with different stonemasons, one expert provided detailed analysis:

- Time to process the stone up to the finished article today, two or three days.
- Time to split granite from surface rock, many weeks.
- Time to carve altar details onto rectangular block, one week.[108]

Tools used were hammers and punches for roughing out, finer work used mallets and chisels (O'Connor, 2013, p.69). The experimental archaeology, with the caveat of modern bladed hand tools being used, showed the rate of progress at shaping the granite to be very slow. In experienced Roman hands, the time spent carving would

[108] Andrew Langdon, personal communication (via email), 26 March 2025. See **Appendix 11**.

understandably have been less, however, the hardness of the granite made their progress relatively slow in comparison to rocks of softer compositions.

4.6 Romano-British fogou

Whilst usage in the Roman period of the Peninnis fogou is believed, it cannot be concluded with any certainty whilst it remains archaeologically intact (HER, MCO58697), that a connection to Mithraistic worship and the nearby Mithraic altar existed. The passageways are typically 1.8-2m high (5'10.87"-6'6.74"), 1.5-1.8m wide (4'11.06"-5'10.87") and 9-12m long (29'6.33"-39'4.44"), with a low creep entrance on the side, the main chambers can be over 1.83m (6') in height. Some fogous, Boleigh in particular, are used for vigils and ritual assemblies today, housing around thirty-six people (Norfolk, 2020), a comfortable size for Mithraic assemblages. Iron Age and Roman ritualistic religious practice is a posited theory of fogou usage along with a place of refuge or storage (Maclean, 1992, pp.41-64). With the conditions of storage showing that in the dampness only milk and beer could be held untainted for a short period of time and grain only if sealed (Maclean, 1992, p.58), usurping the previous grain storage hypothesis (Clark, 1961, p.136; Fowler, 1983, p.185); therefore, as a main function, this is unlikely.

Refuge was considered as a theory of usage for community or produce, with the long passageway sealed at both ends and access only being through a long, narrow creep passage (Christie, 1979, p.210). However, the idea of concealment in the landscape has been challenged, in particular at Halliggye (Startin, 1982, p.186), where the passage is suggested to have been visible above ground as a low mound. A popularly posited hypothesis until the second half of the twentieth century (Weatherhill, 1985, p.24), this

is once again currently being adopted by academics (Maclean, 1992, p.59). The possible lack of escape routes could have rendered entrapment and danger to smoking-out a risk (CASPN, 2025), coupled with visibility above ground, calls this into question. However, if the stones at the end of the passages were removable, escape could have been possible.

The third theory, a ritualistic function, owing to the alignment of the passage to the rising and setting of the solstice sun at extant fogous (Gossip, 2026; Norfolk, 2020), and, the carving at Boleigh of a potential fertility symbol (Clark, 1961, p.62), which Radford dated to the Roman period (Clark, 1961, p.60), is unproven but remains a possibility.[109] In examination and excavation in 1995 (Young, 2001, pp.129-145), the Boleigh carved figure (**Figs.104,105**) (May, 1989; Weatherhill, 1981, p.36) and photograph (Clark, 1961, pl.11), was too weathered to be distinguished. The 'squeeze' technique, employed by archaeological illustrator Rosemary Robertson, whereby wet paper was wrapped around the stone to produce a hardened impression of the surface, produced no conclusive signs of extant relief carving (Young, 2001, p.138).

[109] Gossip suggests (Gossip, 2026) fogous may have been used in an ancient lost religion and its worship, referring to Halliggye fogou as an example of an extant structure where the placing of oneself in the darkness of the interior could evoke phenomenological spiritual experiences.

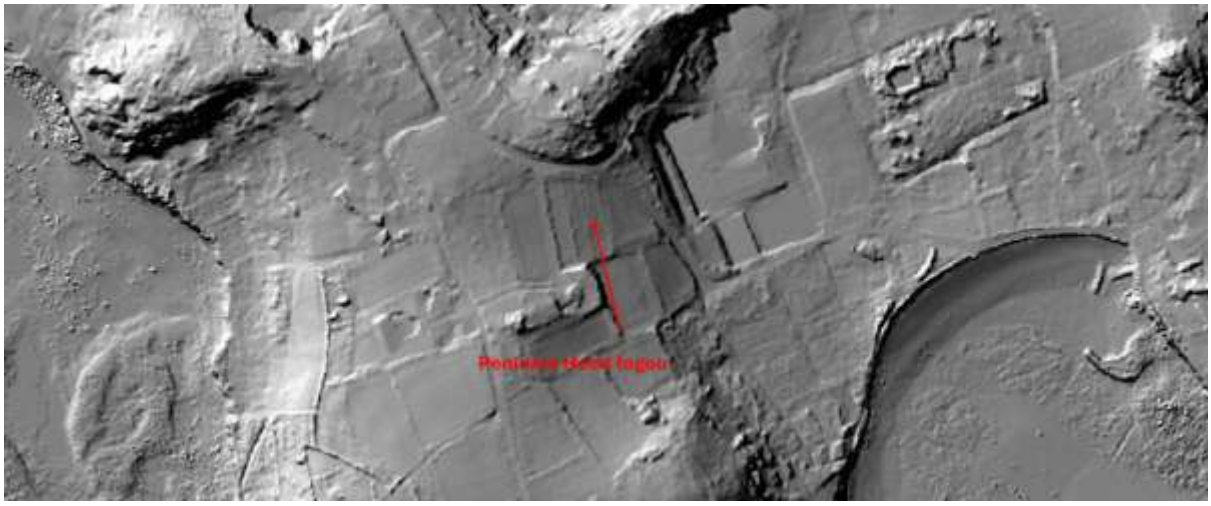


Figure 142: LiDAR image of Peninnis Head fogou *(adapted from Archimaps, 2025, available at: https://www.archiuk.com/cgi-bin/build_lidar_map.pl?map_location=Exe,%20Cornwall,%20SX2294,%20SX%2022%2094&point_title=Exe,%20Cornwall,%20SX2294,%20SX%2022%2094&ngr=&is_sub=&pwd=freesearch@freesearch.com&point_lat=50.718297&point_long=-4.522925&postcode=)*

LiDAR maps show no extant remains of the fogou in the field on Peninnis Head where it was discovered, no other structures requiring archaeological investigation are evident, however, this fogou is not visible therefore others may be present but as yet unseen.

The phenomenological experience gained from being by the fogou on Peninnis Head offered a sense of expert concealment within the landscape by the construction workers and an enhanced ability to visualise different ancestral potential uses of the structure.

4.7 Geographical spread of finds

The Historic Environment Record and archaeological journals, searched on Roman artefacts and sites in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, produced the mapped and tabulated results below for type of site and geographical spread. This showed Roman activity through artefacts, buildings and highway infrastructure spread throughout Scilly and Cornwall. The densest concentration of brooches remained the collection on Nornour. Coin finds were higher in Cornwall and denser in some hoards than on

Nornour and Scilly as a whole. Buildings were also found in higher numbers in Cornwall, spread throughout the County and not just around known tin producing areas. These results were as expected and may be skewed due to the land loss of Scilly from rising sea levels and coastal erosion causing evidence to be lost. The lack of any other Roman altar stones in Cornwall, and there being only very few examples in the whole of Britain (**Appendix 12**), was surprising. This confirmed the altar as a rare item and that there was Roman activity throughout the county of Cornwall. The numbers of fogous were confined to the southwest of Britain, predominantly the west of Cornwall, with, surprisingly, only one on Scilly.[110]

[110] The fogou in a field at Peninnis Head on St Mary's, Isles of Scilly, was discovered in 2000 (HER, MCO58697).

Place	HER Number	Brooch	Coin	Bead	Metal	Pottery	Altar	Stone
Bryher								
Green Bay	7315					•		
Hillside Farm	MCO74005					Bowl		
Nornour	7247	315	91	24	10 bracelets 35 rings 2 spoons	Pottery Urns Statues		
Samson								
North Hill	7068.1				Statue			
Samson Flats?	7080					•		
St Agnes								
Higher Town	7034	1						
Lighthouse	7614.02							Mortar
Porth Killier	7029.02					•		
Tamarisk	MCO73926					•		
St Helen's								
St Elidius Chapel	7115.02					•		
St Martin's								
Chapel Down								Idol statue
Churchtown Farm	MCO57053	1						
May's Hill	7144.02					Pottery Plate		Lamp Spindle whorl
Yellow Rock Carn	7165			•				
St Mary's								
Atlantic Hotel	7576							Columns
Buzza Hill	7586.02					•		
Halangy Down	7442	6		4		•		Cup mark Quern Mould
Mount Holles	7428 7325						•	
Old Town	7564					•		
Parson's Field	7591.02	9		1		•		
Pendrathen Quay	7479							Scraper Weight
Porthcressa	7575							Column
Poynter's Garden	7590							Quern
Rocky Hill	7526.02							Columns Millstones
Seaways Farm	MCO67733					•		
Star Castle	7817					•		
Telegraph Tower	7506		•					
The Parade	7552.05							Columns
Teän								
Old Man	7104	2			1 ring			
East Porth	7111		•		Buckle	•		
Tresco								
Cliff Fields	7313					•		
Dial Rocks	7357				Slag	•		Borer Scraper
Dolphin Town	7791					•		
Stores	7383.01							Mortar Quern Bowl

Table 23: Roman finds on Scilly *(HER, 2025, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Application.aspx?resourceID=1020; Thomas, 1978, p.37)*

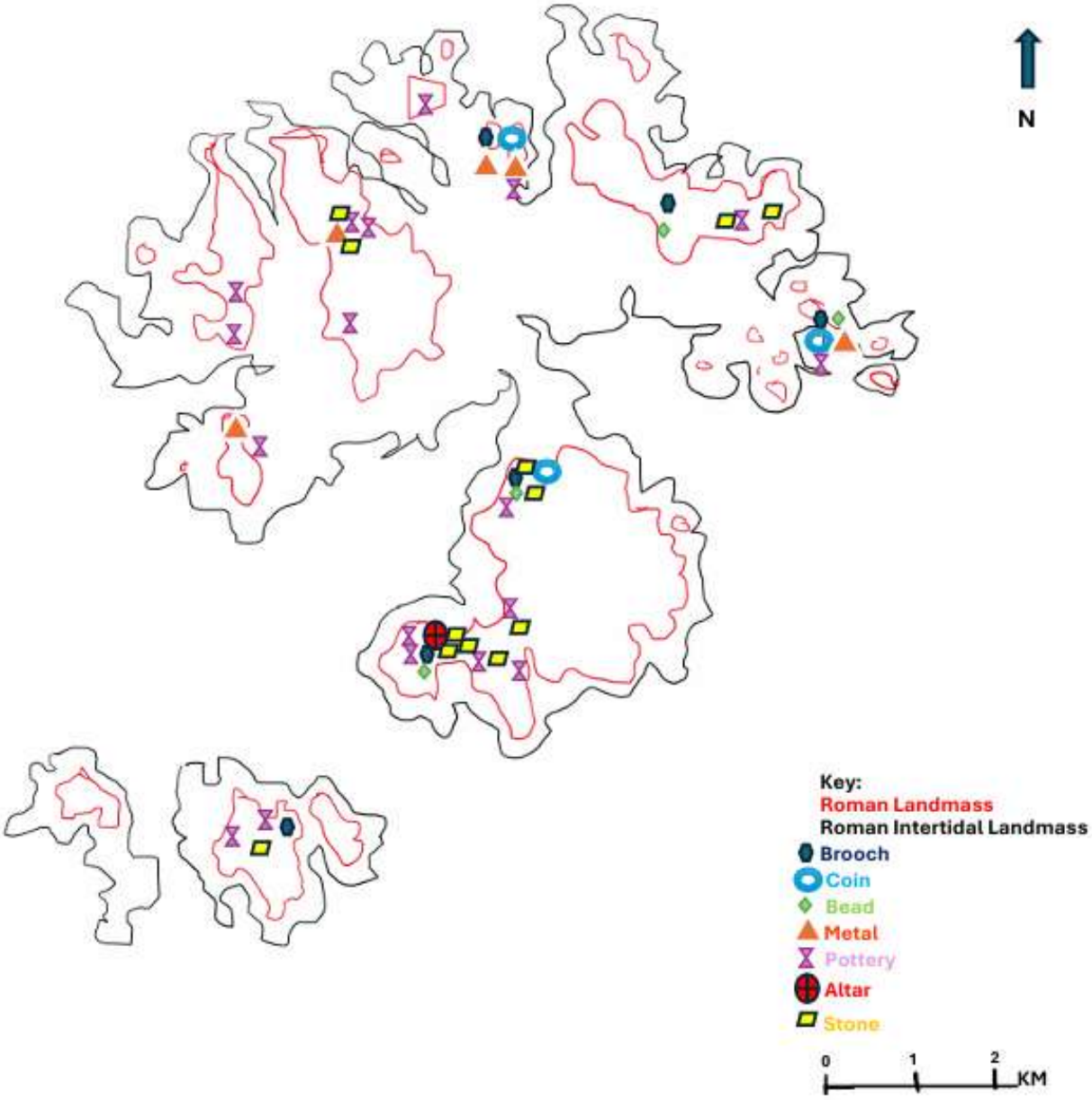
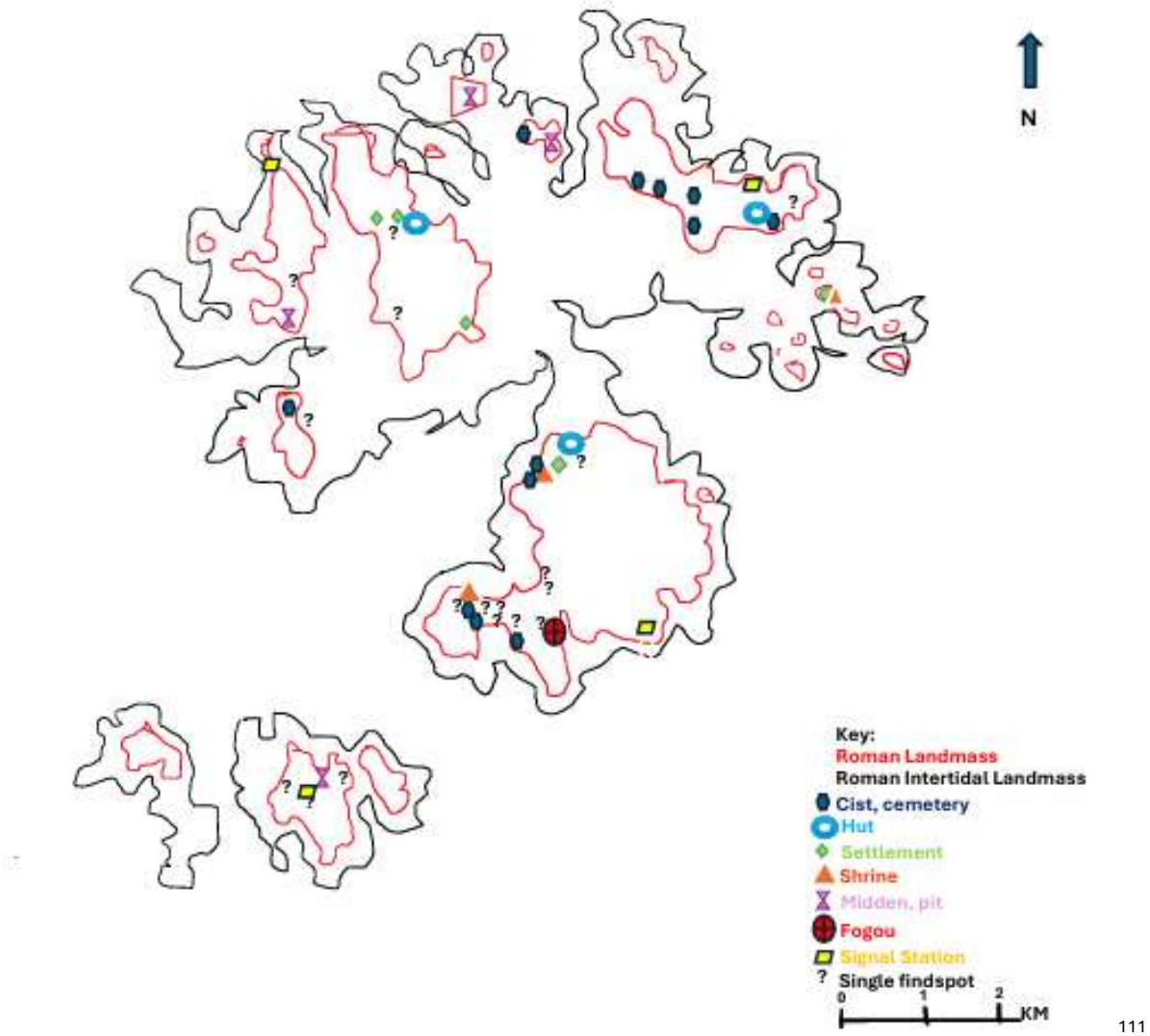


Figure 143: Roman finds on Scilly *(author's own drawing adapted from Charman et al., 2016, p.216; HER,2025, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results.aspx)*

Place	HER Number	Cist, Cemetery	Hut	Settlement	Shrine	Midden, Pit	Fogou	Signal Station	Single findspot ?
Bryher									
Green Bay	7315								•
Hillside Farm	MCO74005					•			
English Island	7151	•							
Nornour	7247			•	•				
Samson									
North Hill	7068.1	•							
Samson Flats?	7080								•
St Agnes									
Higher Town	7034			•		•			
Lighthouse	7614.02								•
Porth Killier	7029.02								•
Tamarisk	MCO73926								•
St Helen's									
St Elidius Chapel	7115.02					•			
St Martin's									
Chapel Down									•
Churchtown Farm	MCO57053	•							
May's Hill	7144.02		•						
Neck of pool	7129	•							
Par Beach	7148	•							
Yellow Rock Carn	7165	•							
St Mary's									
Atlantic Hotel	7576								•
Buzza Hill	7586.02								•
Halangy Down	7442			•	•				
Halangy Porth	7447	•							

Mount Holles	7428 7325				•				
Mount Todden Down	7434.04							•	
Old Town	7564								•
Parson's Field	7591.02	•							
Pendrathen Quay	7479		•						
Peninnis Head	MCO58697						•		
Porthcressa	7581.07	•							
Porthcressa	7575								•
Poynter's Garden	7590	•		•					
Rocky Hill	7526.02								•
Seaways Farm	MCO67733								•
Star Castle	7817								•
Telegraph Tower	7506								•
The Parade	7552.05								•
Toll's Porth	7452	•							
Teän									
Old Man	7104	•							
East Porth	7111			•		•			
Tresco									
Blockhouse	7375.01		•						
Cliff Fields	7313								•
Dial Rocks	7357			•		•			
Dolphin Town	7791			•					
Pentle Bay	7321			•					
Stores	7383.01								•

Table 24: Roman sites on Scilly *(HER, 2025, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Application.aspx?resourceID=1020; Thomas, 1978, p.37; Parkes, personal communication (via email), 06 October 2025; Ratcliffe and Johns, 1992, p.10)*



[111]

Figure 144: Roman sites on Scilly *(author's own drawing adapted from Charman et al., 2016, p.216; HER, 2025, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results.aspx; Parkes, personal communication (via email), 06 October 2025; Ratcliffe and Johns, 1992, p.10)*

[111] Additional Roman signal stations to the HER database list are recorded at Shipman Head on Bryher and potentially at Burnt Hill on St Martin's by the Historic Environment Unit (Ratcliffe and Johns, 1992, p.10); and a further one at Middle Town on St Agnes by Cornwall Archaeological Unit (Parkes, personal communication (via email), 06 October 2025).

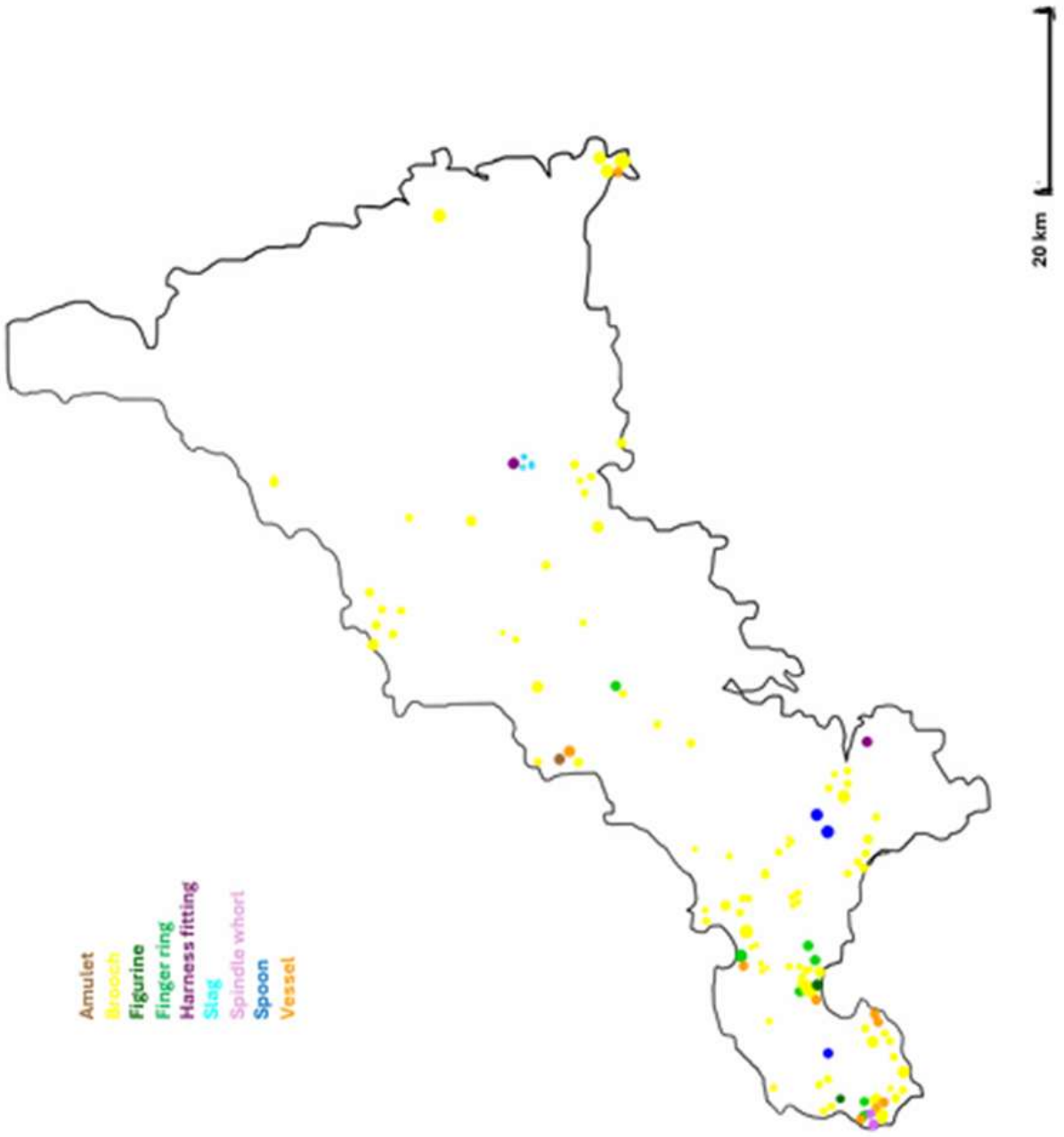


Figure 145: Roman finds in Cornwall *(author's own drawing adapted from Portable Antiquities Scheme https://finds.org.uk/database/search/map/periodFrom/21/periodTo/21/countyID/43750; Nowakowski and Quinnell, 2011, p.357)*



Figure 146: Roman coins in Cornwall *(author's own drawing adapted from Portable Antiquities Scheme https://finds.org.uk/database/search/map/periodFrom/21/periodTo/21/countyID/43750)*

Roman sites in Cornwall												
HER Number	Place	Fort	Marching Camp	Mile stone	Villa	Signal Station	Shrine	Metal Processing	Lead Mine	Stream works	Wreck	Fogou
50142	Beechcroft	1										
MCO78437	Boden					1						1
29392	Bosence					1	1					1
28779	Boskennal	1										
28938.1	Breage			1								
176023	Calstock	1					1+					
177253	Camelford					1						
MCO66672	Carnegga	1										
171162	Carvoda	1										

23028	Carvossa	1										
26022	Castle Killibury				1							
30256.2	Grambla							1				
25207	Gwarnick Castle	1										
50491	Hay	1										
17784	Hengar	1										
658	High Cliff					1						
24708	Higher Trenower					1						
611	Hill Down Camp	1										
9041	Hugus				1							
MCO67243	Kea	1										
21205.1	Lanivet						1					
20663	Lanjeth	1										
140942	Lelant	1										
75737	Little Quoit Farm							1				
50152	Lower Croan	1										
26671	Lower Rosewarne				1							
26553	Magor				1							
26644	Mount Whistle	1										
19282	Mynheer Farm			1								
26088	Nanstallon	1										
168334	Newbridge							1				
170366	Oldwalls					1						
24016	Pabyer Point					1						
22705	Pendower					1						
MCO67379	Penpont Water					1						
MCO66584	Porth Kea	1										
50418	Porthcothan					1						
MCO67360	Respryn		1									
6693	Restormel	1										
MCO78025	Roche		1									
MCO78534	Roscommon							1				
50705	Rosecressa					1						
18669	St Anthony Head					1						
29395	St Hilary			1								
MCO66606	St Michael Caerhays						1					
70552	Stanbury					1						
MCO56605	Tehidy Barton		1									
23093.1	Tintagel			1								
18771	Tolcarne										1	
MCO67721	Trecerus						1					

57752	Tregays	1										
MCO75443	Tregellas					1	1					
MCO56254	Tregony						1					
51485	Tregoose	1										
17580	Treguddick	1										
22161	Treloy									1		
23107	Trethevy			1								
29159	Trevabyn	1										
4127.42	Trevelgue Head							1				
MCO67324	Veryan					1						
30033	Wheal Penrose								1			

Table 25: Roman sites in Cornwall *(Adapted from Cole, 2003, 2005; Dale, 2020; Gossip, 2012; HER,2025, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results.aspx; Lawson-Jones, 2003; Parcero-Oubina, Smart and Fonte, 2023, https://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/338676; Preston-Jones, 2011)*

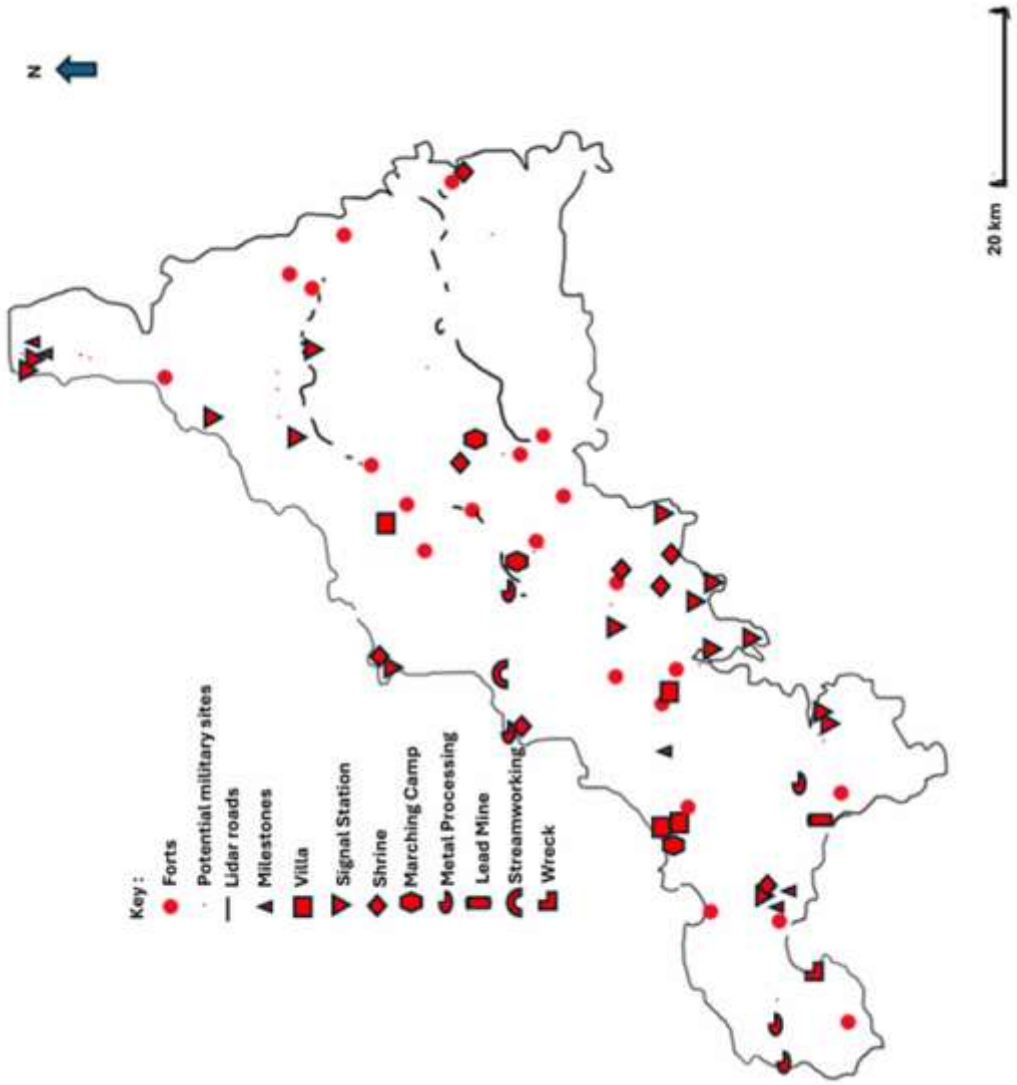


Figure 147: Roman sites in Cornwall *(author's own drawing adapted from HER Database: https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results.aspx ; Parcero-Oubina, Smart and Fonte, 2023, http://doi.org/10 .5334/jcaa.109 https://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/338676)*

Mithraic Roman altars found in Britain			
Number	**CIMRM**	**Place**	**Site**
1	**809**	Caerleon	Legionary fortress
2	**837**	Lanchester	
3	**839**	Rudchester, Hadrian's Wall	Mithraeum
4	**841**	Rudchester, Hadrian's Wall	Mithraeum
5	**842**	Rudchester, Hadrian's Wall	Mithraeum
6	**843**	Rudchester, Hadrian's Wall	Mithraeum
7	**845**	Carrawburgh	Mithraeum
8	**846**	Carrawburgh	Mithraeum
9	**847/8**	Carrawburgh	Mithraeum
10	**858/9**	Housesteads	Fort
11	**864**	Housesteads	Fort
12	**871**	Haltwhistle	
13	**872**	Birdoswald	Fort
14		Inveresk	Mithraeum
15		Inveresk	Mithraeum
16		Isles of Scilly	

Table 26: Mithraic Roman altars in Britain *(Adapted from Pearse, https://mithras.tertullian.org/display.php?page=selected_monuments, personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 07 June 2025)*

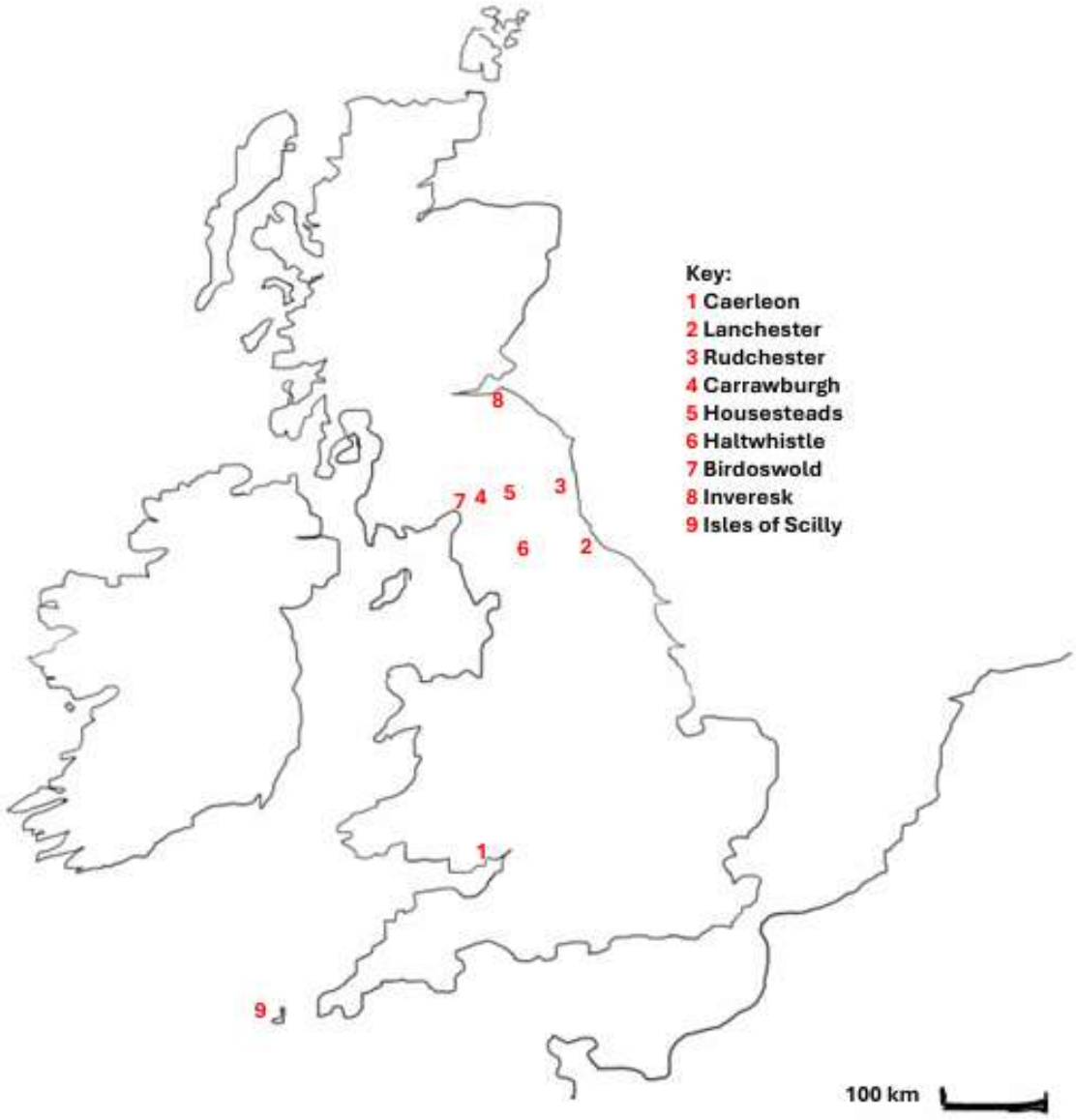


Figure 148: Map of Roman Mithraic altars in Britain *(author's own drawing adapted from: Google maps, available at: https://www.google.com/maps/@54.3373093,-5.3067997,977170m/data=!3m1!1e3?entry=ttu&g_ep=EgoyMDI1MDYyMy4yIKXMDSoASAFQAw%3D%3D, accessed: 02 June 2025; Pearse, https://mithras.tertullian.org/display.php?page=selected_monuments, personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 07 June 2025)*

Fogous in Cornwall and Scilly				
HER Number	Intact Present	Remains Present	Remains Past	Name Implies
10947				Arrowan
28916.1	Boleigh			
28916.2			Boleigh	
29567.01				Borthog
MCO76767				Borthog
28808		Boscawen Un		
30701.3			Bosigran	
30702.1			Bosigran	
30472		Boskednan		
MCO64961		Bosoljack Farm		
30446.17		Bosullow Trehyllys		
6885.2			Bottonnet	
163625			Carbis Bay	
MCO58172		Carloggas		
28920.14		Carn Euny		
18760			Castallack	
31041				Chy An Gweal
16174			Chygwidden	
36008.13			Chysauster	
36008.11		Chysauster		
18735				Chywoone
28562			Crows An Wra	
22708.1			Dingerein Castle	
MCO76094			Dower	
9013				Fenton Goose
24693	Halliggye			
29913				Hellesvean
31153				Hellesveor
3501			High Moor	
MCO56309		Higher Boden		
16178.04			Higher Bodinnar	
29714				Keigwin
28841			Kerris	
29700		Lower Boscaswell		
10545			Mullion	
16110.06		Nanjulian		
30728.2		North Bosporthennis		
29880	Pendeen Vau			
MCO55529		Penhale		
MCO58697	Peninnis Head			
29193				Perranuthnoe
18380	Piskie Hall			
10539			Poldhu Cove	
24811			Polkernogo	
24079.3			Polrudden	
30724.92		Porthmeor		
172461			Raginnis	
24720				Rosuick
29938				St Ives
178503		Tolmennor		
31040				Tregenna
24314			Tregony	
24856				Trevalso
30661.6		Trevean		
29033.1		Treveneague		
28975				Trew
MCO56994		Trewardreva		
30525				Trewern
29063				Trewinnard
31024				Trink
1515.1			West Carne	

Key: Isles of Scilly Neolithic Iron Age Iron Age / Romano British

Table 27: Fogous in Cornwall and Scilly *(Cole, 2003; Dale, 2018a,b,c; Gossip, 2012; HER, 2025, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Application.aspx?resourceID=1020; Johns, 2005)*

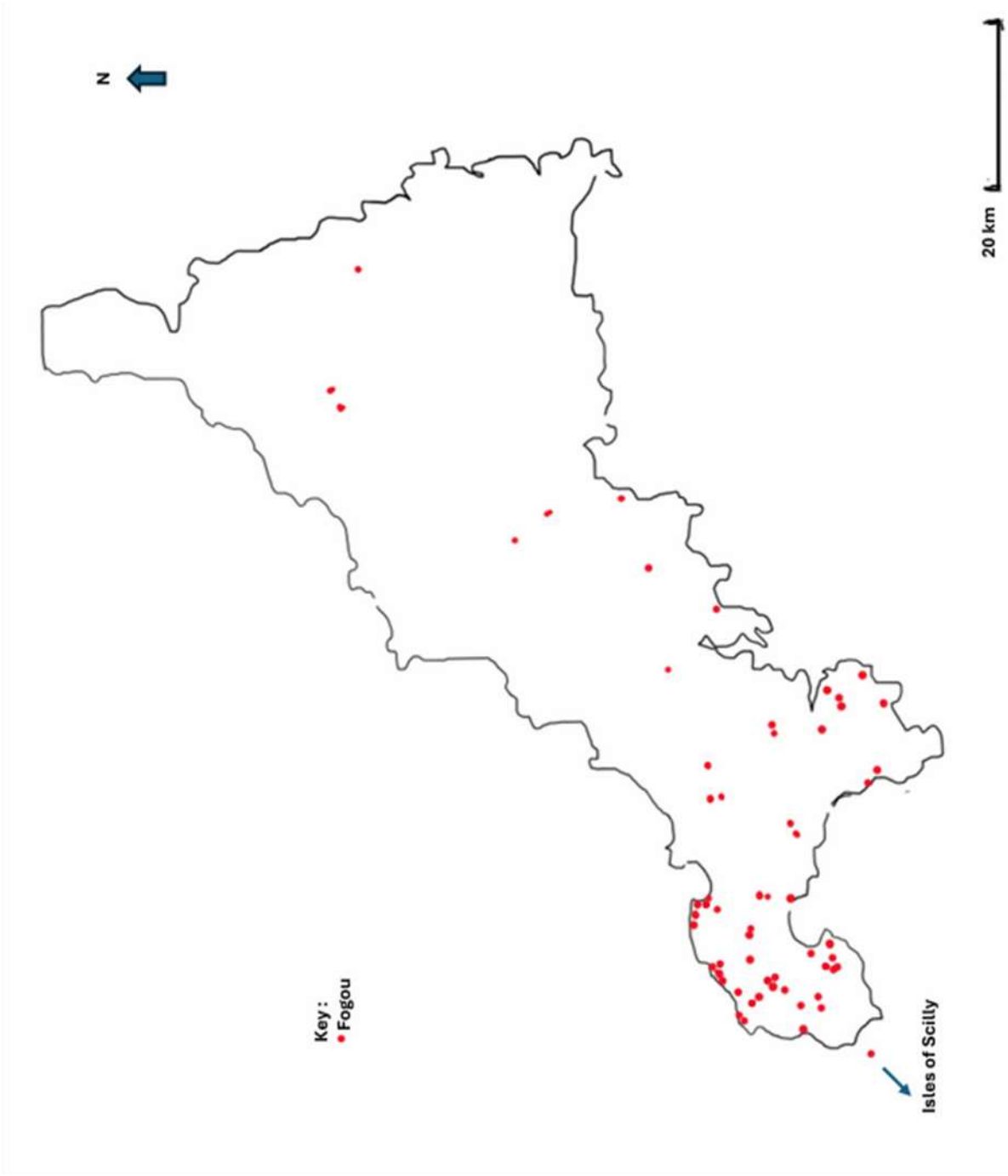


Figure 149: Map of fogous in Cornwall *(author's own drawing adapted from Clark, 1957; HER, 2025, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results.aspx)*

(For list of Portable Antiquities Scheme Roman finds in Cornwall see **Addendum 4.1**).

4.8 Brooch types

Comparison of the types of brooches found on Nornour and elsewhere on Scilly and in Cornwall yielded the following results with examples noted where they were previously known at temple and shrine sites (further detail of brooches in **Appendix 8** and **9**). Noted for type and nature of site of their discovery, the brooches showed, as expected, the only identifiable shrine and domestic shrine currently found on Scilly. Similarities within the search area's brooches was noted and the presence of continentally produced brooches surprisingly only showing on Nornour. The composition, techniques used, complexity of artisanship, and dating, show the brooches came from Britain and the Roman Empire. Almost all of the bow brooches were from a site of unknown British origin, the plate brooches were from a variety of different origins. The largest group of enamelled brooches were of Continental origin, dating from the second century AD to the early third century AD, again, from an unknown site, but most likely in the Rhineland area. The Halangy Down collection was dated to the first century AD, shortly after the Roman invasion of Britain.

4.8.1 Structural design

Dated to AD 75-275, through carbon dating of stratified contextual samples, comparing style and metallurgical testing, the brooches vary significantly in structural design (Butcher, 2014, pp.2-58). These design variations are specific to geographical regions, changing over time, and allow for the area of manufacture to be determined to the Continent and different parts of Britain; fixing of the brooches' pins are a fundamental design that evolved over time, along with shaping and decoration. The main grouped categories of brooches found on Nornour are Bow, Southwest Bow and Plate, these are subdivided into two further classification layers.

Description of brooches		
Category	**Origin**	**Description**
Bow	SW Britain	Arched rod and sprung pin which fastened into a catch
Applied Hook		Hinge or spring held in place by a riveted plate and the crossbar turning back
Colchester	Britain	Pin fixing in the centre of the crossbar
Beaked Bow	SW Britain	Outward projection taking a downward turn to a flattened plate
Fantail		Outward projection taking a downward turn to a widened, flattened plate at the base
Polden Hill	Cumbria	Spring attaching through a crest at the head of the bow and the axial bar holding the crossbar
Headstud	N Britain	Hinged pin in a moulded head but the head of an arched bow holding a decorative stud
Trumpet	W Britain	Sprung or hinged pins and a widened bow head with flat plate behind, later versions were modelled with cast head loops
Pseudo-trumpet	Britain	As 'Trumpet' with variations on mouldings of the foot
Plate on Bow	Continent	Enamelled on a wide rectangular plate positioned on the upper section of the bow
Knee and P-Profile	Britain and Continent	'Soldier's Brooches', had a two stranded split upper bow section, and were S-shaped in profile
South-Western	SW Britain	T-shaped and mimicked the spring attachment of the 'Polden Hill'
Nornour		No foot-moulding and two studs on the bow, cast loop or headtab, pin hinged in narrow short crossbar
Plate	Continent	Flat decorated section positioned on the bow, sub-divisions: Rhomboid, Equal-Ended, Wheel, Disc and Complex
Representational Plate	Britain and Continent	Wide-ranging and eclectic, varying sizes of shaped shoe-soles and zoomorphic images, including sea-leopard, mounted horses and eagle
Openwork Plate	S Britain	Pin hinge fixed between two lugs with transverse catchplate
Penannular		Round wire, flat ends reversed over ring

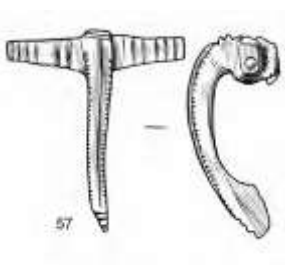
Table 28: Design details of brooch categories *(adapted from Butcher, 2014, pp.2-58)*



Bow



Applied Hook



Colchester



Beaked Bow



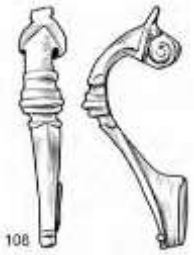
Fantail



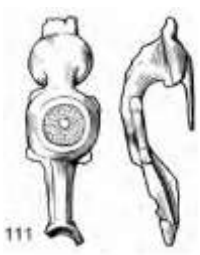
Polden Hill



Headstud



Trumpet



Pseudo-trumpet

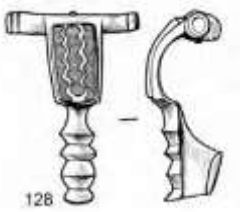
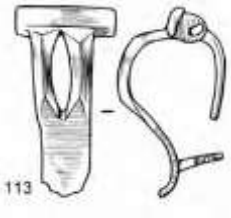
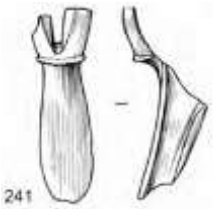


Plate on bow



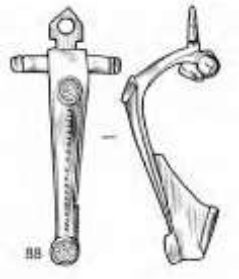
Knee



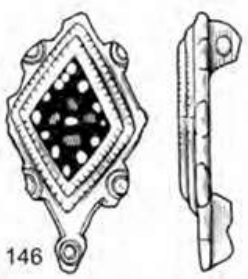
P-profile



South-western



Nornour



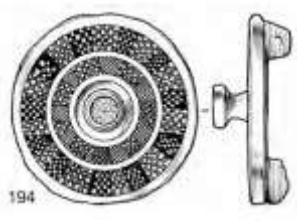
Rhomboid



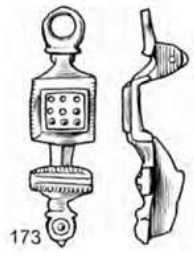
Equal-ended



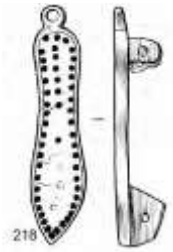
Wheel



Disc



Complex



Shoe sole



Sea-leopard

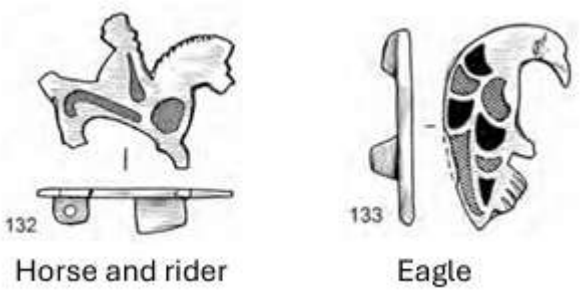


Figure 150: Drawings of brooch types *(adapted from Butcher, 2014, pp.2-58)*

4.8.2 Metallic content

The brooches' metallic content varies, from Dudley's 1960s' excavations they were examined by Hull by eye (in Dudley, 1967, pp.28-64) and by metallurgical testing following Butcher's 1960s'-1970s' excavations (Butcher, 2014, pp.69-75). Alloys of copper can be datable and yield their place of manufacture due to compositional variations of tin, zinc and lead.

Metal Alloys	
Name	**Composition**
Bronze	Copper + Tin
Brass	Copper + Zinc
Gunmetal	Zinc + Tin + others
Leaded Bronze	Copper + Tin + Lead
Leaded Gunmetal	Zinc + Tin + others + Lead

Table 29: Composition of metal alloys *(adapted from Butcher, 2014, p.59)*

Significant metals in the Nornour collection were silver in one 'Bow', NN1 (Butcher, 2014, p.3-4), brass and a leaded bronze alloy in an 'Applied Hook', NN33 and NN52 (Butcher, 2014, p.4), northern British 'Headstud' of brass, NN235 (Butcher, 2014, p.7-8), and western British 'Knee and P-Profile' of leaded bronze or bronze, NN241 (Butcher, 2014, p.13), and leaded bronze 'Plate on Bow' from the Southwest, NN124-9 (Butcher, 2014, p.11).

4.8.3 Enamel content

Enamel content is of a reasonably uniform composition rather than regionally specific, suggesting the enamels were manufactured in few places across the Roman Empire and traded to brooch makers (Bayley and Paynter in Butcher, 2014, p.61), some colours are more typically found on certain designs. The complexity on Continental brooches of enamelling technique is diagnostic as the techniques were not so accomplished on British made pieces (Bayley and Paynter in Butcher, 2014, p.63). Continental 'Plate on Bow' on Nornour unusually displayed an enamel cell pattern attributed to Britain, NN124-9 (Butcher, 2014, p.11).

4.8.4 Technique

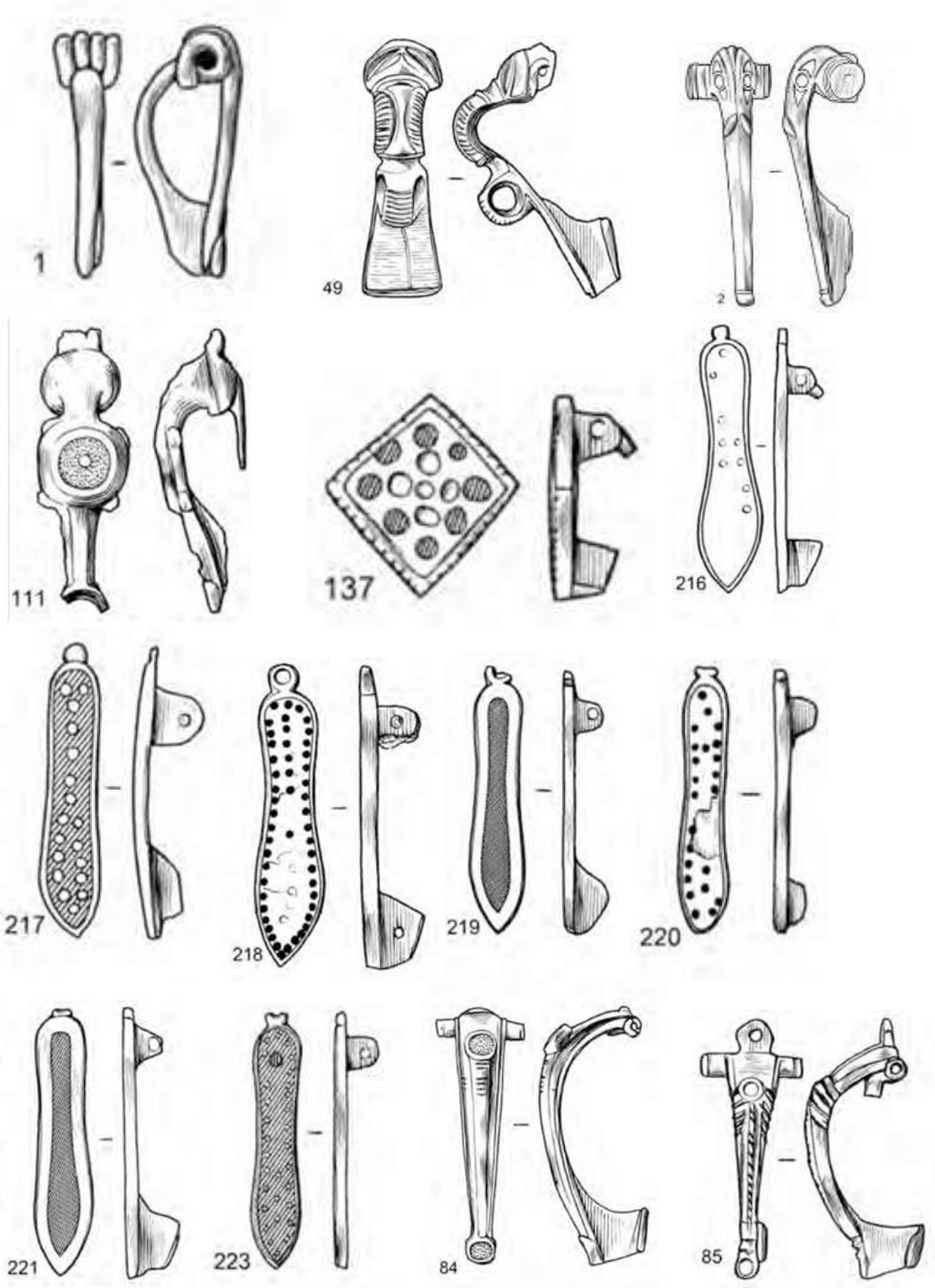
Technique, when studied, can show where an item was made and date it to a certain period. Some techniques were perfected by certain manufacturers and not copied with sufficient proficiency, or at all, in other geographic areas. Well-made artefacts of the same design can be grouped together as a category, likewise, less well-made artefacts can also be grouped.

4.8.5 Unusual design features and imagery

Of the brooches in the Nornour collection, many display unusual design features and imagery.

Brooch Number	Unusual Detail
NN1	Unusually made from silver, was a peculiarly diminutive 'Bow' brooch with oversized catchplate.
NN49	Unique example of a 'Beaked Bow' from leaded bronze with double eyed motif decoration, hinged fixings to 'Polden Hill' examples on Nornour are an unusual deviation from the standard sprung construction and one.
NN2	Has an unusual eye decoration flanking its head.
NN111	'Pseudo-trumpet' with soldered silver decoration is rarely found outside of Britain.
NN137	'Plate Brooch' of 'rhomboid' sub-division was unparallelled elsewhere, a hinged pin, small, flat brooch coated in white enamel with knurled edges and five central pale spots in a central quincunx with eight dark spots encircling.
NN216-223	'Representational Plate' shoe sole brooches are unusual for the quantity found where the sizes and designs differ and herald from different countries, more usually found together are artefacts in a batch from the same mould.
NN84-92, NN232, NN254, NN270, NN278, NN281, RN1371	Placed in their own 'Nornour' category of Southwestern Bow brooches due to not being found elsewhere throughout the whole of the Roman Empire.

Table 30: Unusual design details of Nornour brooches *(Butcher, 2014, pp.2-58)*


1
49
2
111
137
216
217
218
219
220
221
223
84
85

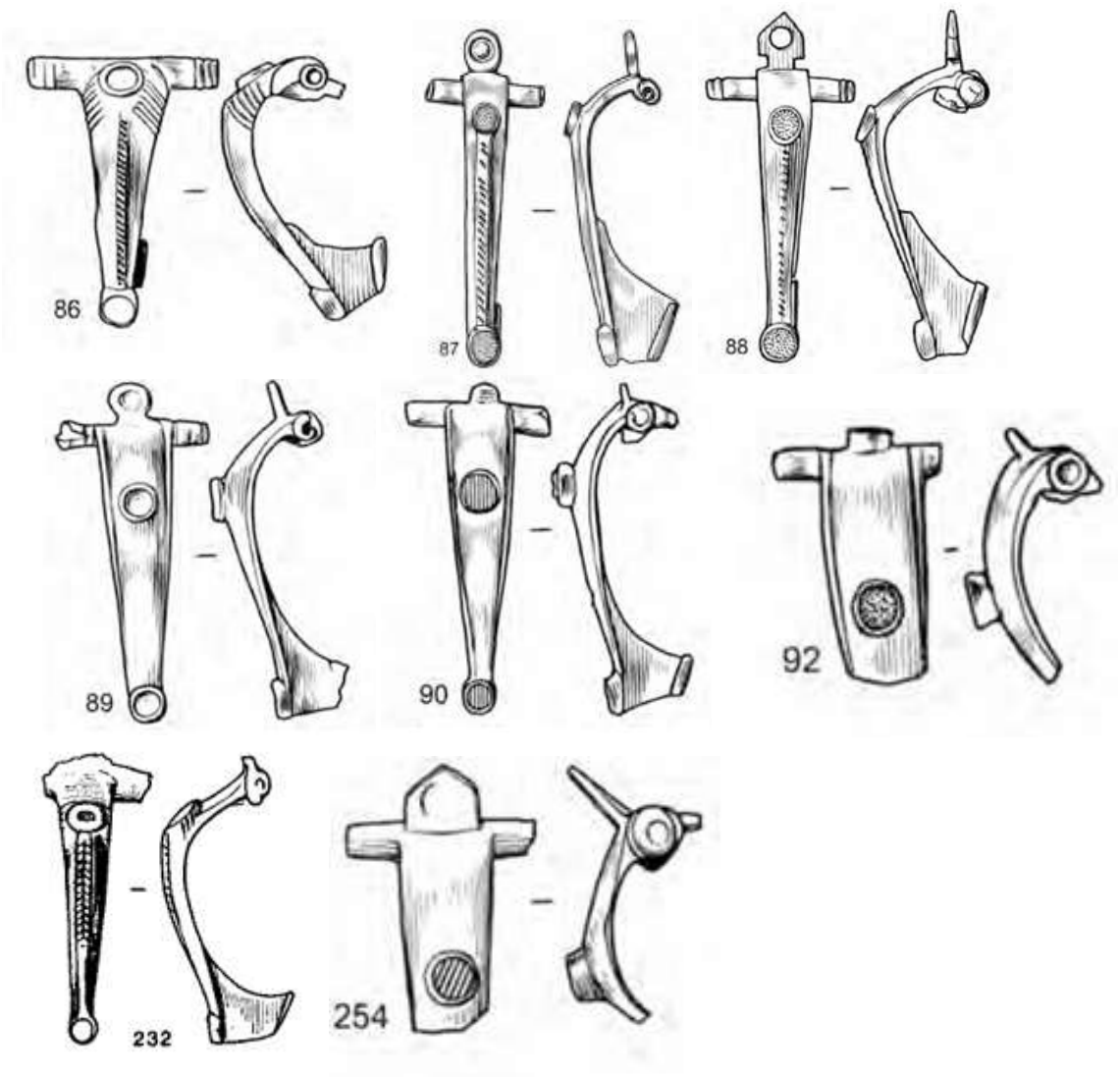


Figure 151: Drawings of unusual brooches *(adapted from Butcher, 2014; Dudley, 1967, p.61)*

(For summary of brooches found on the Isles of Scilly see **Addendum 4.2**).

4.9 Summation of site discussions

The results as a whole supported the theories of votive natured finds being present on Nornour, Romans living on Scilly and Cornwall, and a rare Roman Mithraically carved altar stone, which would have taken an expert being present on Scilly for up to three weeks to carve if starting from a rectangular block of granite. This supports the hypothesis that Romans were living on Scilly for weeks at a time, if not longer, and had votive items with which to pay homage at a shrine and an altar with which to engage in

religious activity. Placing oneself on the islands permitted a fuller sense and understanding of the positioning of the sites within the landscape as a whole, their relative distance and view of one another, and what it may have felt like for a Roman, or Scillonian in Roman times, to live within that setting.

The manufacturing theory of Hull and Dudley has been discredited here, along with Fulford's two shipwrecks theory, by later archaeometric testing, Thomas' dedication to a specific deity remains unproven either way, leaving Butcher's theory of a Roman shrine the logical conclusion fitting all the data. Comparing the finds with those from other religious sites, and the position of this site overlooking the proposed Roman port, formulated the conclusion that the purpose of the site on Nornour was of a Roman shrine housed in a pre-existing Bronze Age house. The domestic shrine at Halangy Down and the altar stone further illuminate the picture of religious activity on the Isles of Scilly by Romans and, more likely later than earlier, by Romano-Scillonians. The fogou, used in Roman times, could have been of a religious and ritualistic nature, and, whilst similar to the enclosed caves used by Mithraic worshippers, no definite archaeological evidence has been found to link the Peninnis site to their cult.

Addendum 4.1

Portable Antiquities Scheme Roman Finds in Cornwall					
ID	Object	From AD	To AD	Ruler	Date Found
941989	Amulet	50	400		2019
1048405	Bracelet	100	300		2020
794133	Coin	-211	-145		
730455	Coin	-150	-150	Republic	
1035832	Coin	-138	-161	Antoninus Pius	
759486	Coin	-119	-119	Republic	
889148	Coin	-100	-27	Republic	
86898	Coin	-85		Republic	
86899	Coin	-79		Republic	2023
890358	Coin	-75	-75		2024
127750	Coin	-63	-63	Republic	
928966	Coin	-55	-55	Republic	
936239	Coin	-51	-51	Republic	
86897	Coin	-37		Republic	
998503	Coin	-32	-31	Republic	2023
86896	Coin	-32	-31	Republic	2023
1112784	Coin	-18	-16	Augustus	2023
1040758	Coin	1	117	Uncertain - 1st/2nd Century AD	2023
797244	Coin	41	54		
196789	Coin	41	54	Claudius	2023
87326	Coin	41	68	Claudius	
989567	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2023
985984	Coin	41	250		2023
906936	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2023
906931	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2023

894671	Coin	41	250		2019
838346	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2023
838335	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2023
838328	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2023
802277	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2021
797558	Coin	41	250		2023
797348	Coin	41	250		2023
797345	Coin	41	250		2023
797253	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2023
797236	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2023
776710	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	
773869	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2022
773833	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2022
771253	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2022
757937	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2022
745186	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2022
724772	Coin	41	250		2022
611608	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2022
611604	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2022
611602	Coin	41	250	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	
1091071	Coin	41	260		2021
1084650	Coin	41	260		
1054312	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st/2nd Century AD	2021
1054178	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st/2nd Century AD	
866987	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2022
838330	Coin	41	260		2022

817420	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	
812542	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	
811950	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2021
808994	Coin	41	260		2021
797346	Coin	41	260		
745185	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2020
745184	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2020
745181	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	
705685	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2020
704265	Coin	41	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2020
1172893	Coin	41	317	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2020
1126998	Coin	43	200	Uncertain - 1st/2nd Century AD	
1126977	Coin	43	200	Uncertain - 1st/2nd Century AD	2021
1121824	Coin	43	200	Uncertain - 1st/2nd Century AD	2020
1090670	Coin	43	260		2020
1036467	Coin	43	260	Uncertain - 1st-mid 3rd century	2020
1115145	Coin	64	66	Nero	2019
890372	Coin	64	68		2020
86769	Coin	64	68	Nero	2020
73549	Coin	64	68	Nero	2020
87335	Coin	65	65	Nero	2020
52857	Coin	66	67	Nero	2020
901143	Coin	66	68	Nero	2020
289257	Coin	68	69	Galba	2020
965971	Coin	69	69	Vitellius	2020
998423	Coin	69	79	Vespasian	2019
987527	Coin	69	79	Vespasian	1980
987353	Coin	69	79	Vespasian	1980
812636	Coin	69	79	Vespasian	1980
797344	Coin	69	79		1980
776724	Coin	69	79		2019

722373	Coin	69	79	Vespasian	2019
975634	Coin	69	81	Flavian (uncertain)	2019
611603	Coin	69	192	Uncertain - 1st/2nd Century AD	2019
830999	Coin	70	70	Vespasian	2019
797350	Coin	71	71		2019
773896	Coin	71	71	Vespasian	2019
56572	Coin	71	79	Vespasian	2019
890374	Coin	72	72	Vespasian	2019
866792	Coin	72	72	Vespasian	2019
779607	Coin	72	96	Domitian	2019
751027	Coin	75	75	Vespasian	2019
939792	Coin	75	76	Vespasian	2019
797251	Coin	77	78		2019
771226	Coin	77	78		2019
776728	Coin	79	81	Titus	2017
1039174	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
952046	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2018
877961	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
863450	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
812626	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
797352	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
797351	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
776712	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
776711	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
771303	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
759530	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
759524	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
759521	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
759518	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
758988	Coin	81	96		2019
758987	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2019
631271	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2017
142262	Coin	81	96	Domitian	2017
987320	Coin	81	138	Uncertain - 1st/2nd Century AD	2019
757873	Coin	82	82	Domitian	2019
802279	Coin	85	85	Domitian	2019
609187	Coin	85	89	Domitian	2019
997737	Coin	85	96	Domitian	2018
866796	Coin	85	96	Domitian	2016
758997	Coin	85	96	Domitian	2017
284245	Coin	85	96	Domitian	2015
758986	Coin	86	86	Domitian	2015
86772	Coin	86		Domitian	2017

997712	Coin	87	87	Domitian	2018
738500	Coin	87	87	Domitian	2018
797541	Coin	92	93	Domitian	2018
1148276	Coin	95	96	Domitian	2018
790423	Coin	96	96	Nerva	2018
1040757	Coin	96	97	Nerva	2018
998436	Coin	96	98		2017
989554	Coin	96	98	Nerva	2018
866983	Coin	96	98	Nerva	2018
797354	Coin	96	98	Nerva	2018
783356	Coin	96	98	Nerva	2018
1112709	Coin	98	117	Nerva	2018
998504	Coin	98	117	Trajan	2018
928978	Coin	98	117	Trajan	2018
928939	Coin	98	117	Trajan	2018
866797	Coin	98	117	Trajan	2018
832473	Coin	98	117	Trajan	2017
797248	Coin	98	117	Trajan	2018
776709	Coin	98	117	Trajan	2018
735751	Coin	98	117	Trajan	2018
611610	Coin	98	117	Trajan	2018
985983	Coin	100	200		2018
1036837	Coin	103	111	Trajan	2018
905923	Coin	103	111	Trajan	2017
829730	Coin	103	111	Trajan	2018
611607	Coin	103	111	Trajan	2018
998390	Coin	104	111	Trajan	2018
997731	Coin	104	111	Trajan	2018
808975	Coin	104	111	Trajan	2017
901105	Coin	106	106	Trajan	2018
1092405	Coin	107	109	Trajan	2018
784503	Coin	112	114	Trajan	2017
784493	Coin	112	114	Trajan	2017
757901	Coin	112	114	Trajan	2017
890375	Coin	114	117	Trajan	2017
890367	Coin	114	117	Trajan	2017
826822	Coin	114	117	Trajan	2017
776708	Coin	115	116	Trajan	2017
213300	Coin	115	117	Matidia	2017
1148278	Coin	117	124	Hadrian	2017
1172896	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
1121833	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
1039169	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2016
987531	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
982366	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
900249	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017

877936	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
866982	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
866791	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
866189	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
836858	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
817418	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
797543	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
797349	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
797347	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
796436	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
778897	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
777276	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
771248	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
758984	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
723247	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
723047	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
611594	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
90179	Coin	117	138	Hadrian	2017
609191	Coin	117	161	Uncertain - 2nd century	2017
611597	Coin	117	192	Antonine (uncertain)	2017
611595	Coin	117	192	Uncertain - 2nd century	2017
611589	Coin	117	192	Uncertain - 2nd century	2017
609189	Coin	117	192	Uncertain - 2nd century	2017
38687	Coin	117		Hadrian	2017
847749	Coin	118	118	Hadrian	2017
773935	Coin	119	121	Hadrian	2017
607688	Coin	119	121	Hadrian	2016
938727	Coin	119	138	Hadrian	2017
722369	Coin	119	138	Hadrian	2017
66978	Coin	120	121	Hadrian	2017
778900	Coin	125	128	Hadrian	2016
853570	Coin	128	137	Sabina	2016
722371	Coin	128	137	Sabina	2016
611609	Coin	132	134	Hadrian	2016
892849	Coin	134	138	Hadrian	2016
1182126	Coin	136	136	Hadrian	2016
58906	Coin	136	136	Hadrian	2016
187291	Coin	138	141	Faustina the Elder	2016
1191178	Coin	138	161	Antoninus Pius	2016
1109655	Coin	138	161	Antoninus Pius	2016
1036775	Coin	138	161	Faustina the Elder	2016
1036457	Coin	138	161	Faustina the Elder	2016

928944	Coin	138	161	Antoninus Pius	2017
848000	Coin	138	161	Antoninus Pius	2017
817424	Coin	138	161	Antoninus Pius	2017
763736	Coin	138	161	Antoninus Pius	2010
757940	Coin	138	161	Faustina the Elder	2010
757899	Coin	138	161	Antoninus Pius	2010
611611	Coin	138	161	Antoninus Pius	2016
611606	Coin	138	161	Antoninus Pius	2016
1119251	Coin	138	180	Antonine (uncertain)	2016
1108437	Coin	138	180	Antonine (uncertain)	2016
1102313	Coin	138	180	Antonine (uncertain)	2016
1096380	Coin	138	180	Antonine (uncertain)	2016
773879	Coin	138	180	Antonine (uncertain)	2016
982367	Coin	138	192	Antonine (uncertain)	2016
911925	Coin	138	192	Uncertain - 1st/2nd Century AD	2016
758985	Coin	138	192	Faustina II	2016
739553	Coin	138	192		2016
611605	Coin	138	192	Antonine (uncertain)	2016
611601	Coin	138	192	Antonine (uncertain)	2016
987530	Coin	139	139	Antoninus Pius	2016
954107	Coin	139	139	Antoninus Pius	2016
1109640	Coin	139	161	Faustina the Elder	2016
985977	Coin	140	144	Antoninus Pius	2016
960552	Coin	140	144	Antoninus Pius	2016
797234	Coin	141	160	Faustina the Elder	2016
791968	Coin	141	160	Faustina the Elder	2016
757907	Coin	141	160	Faustina the Elder	2014
962407	Coin	141	161	Faustina the Elder	2015
838342	Coin	141	161	Faustina the Elder	2016
825492	Coin	141	161	Faustina the Elder	2016
817403	Coin	141	161	Faustina the Elder	2016
773887	Coin	141	161	Faustina the Elder	2016
765808	Coin	141	161	Faustina the Elder	2016
739552	Coin	141	161	Faustina the Elder	2015
510232	Coin	141	161	Faustina the Elder	2016
916738	Coin	143	144	Antoninus Pius	2016

817410	Coin	145	160	Marcus Aurelius (as Caesar)	2015
941948	Coin	145	161	Antoninus Pius	2015
919940	Coin	145	161	Antoninus Pius	2016
846854	Coin	145	161	Faustina II under Antoninus Pius	2016
833981	Coin	145	161	Antoninus Pius	2016
722368	Coin	145	161	Antoninus Pius	2016
871819	Coin	145	175	Faustina II	2016
116878	Coin	147	161	Faustina II under Antoninus Pius	2016
1043133	Coin	147	175		2016
962356	Coin	147	175	Faustina II	2016
865144	Coin	148	149	Antoninus Pius	2016
722366	Coin	148	149	Marcus Aurelius (as Caesar)	2016
662298	Coin	148	149	Antoninus Pius	2016
751006	Coin	150	151	Antoninus Pius	2016
417745	Coin	153	155	Antoninus Pius	2016
849403	Coin	154	155	Antoninus Pius	2016
803163	Coin	154	155	Antoninus Pius	2016
273682	Coin	154	155	Antoninus Pius	2016
273498	Coin	154	155	Antoninus Pius	2016
1090083	Coin	155	156	Antoninus Pius	2016
931812	Coin	158	159	Antoninus Pius	2016
798237	Coin	161	162	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
776713	Coin	161	162	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
802278	Coin	161	169	Lucius Verus	2016
795032	Coin	161	169	Lucius Verus	2016
1107975	Coin	161	175	Faustina II	2016
1078831	Coin	161	175	Faustina II	2016
1039171	Coin	161	175	Faustina II	2016
985979	Coin	161	175	Faustina II	2016
797246	Coin	161	175	Flavian (uncertain)	2016
739995	Coin	161	175	Faustina II	2016
611600	Coin	161	175	Faustina II	2016
607593	Coin	161	175	Faustina II	2016
987526	Coin	161	176	Faustina II	2016
757943	Coin	161	176	Faustina II	2016
1119168	Coin	161	180	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
1085242	Coin	161	180	Antonine (uncertain)	2016
866985	Coin	161	180	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2012

865088	Coin	161	180	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
817411	Coin	161	180	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
801249	Coin	161	180	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
797535	Coin	161	180	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
769916	Coin	161	180	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
609183	Coin	161	180	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2015
773882	Coin	161	182	Antonine (uncertain)	2015
611596	Coin	161	192	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
823024	Coin	162	163	Lucius Verus	2016
739551	Coin	162	163	Lucius Verus	2016
973713	Coin	164	165	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
973709	Coin	164	165	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
778894	Coin	164	165	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
987533	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2016
954106	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2016
897544	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2016
865561	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2015
836477	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2015
825518	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2015
817414	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2015
798243	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2015
757908	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2015
743544	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2015
109558	Coin	164	169	Lucilla	2015
1071592	Coin	166	168	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2015
1081857	Coin	168	169	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2015
609178	Coin	168	171	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2015
836509	Coin	169	170	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016
982648	Coin	170	171	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2015
797667	Coin	171	172	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2016

1082324	Coin	175	180	Faustina II	2015
848005	Coin	175	180	Commodus under Marcus Aurelius	2016
1121756	Coin	177	179	Marcus Aurelius (as Augustus)	2015
817413	Coin	180	192	Commodus	2015
797250	Coin	180	192	Commodus	2016
797353	Coin	181	182	Commodus	2015
866187	Coin	183	183	Commodus	2015
987528	Coin	183	184	Commodus	2015
871818	Coin	186	186	Commodus	2016
722370	Coin	186	189	Commodus	2016
854835	Coin	187	188	Commodus	2015
844422	Coin	191	191	Commodus	2015
849365	Coin	196	197	Caracalla	2015
745177	Coin	196	197	Septimius Severus	2015
718497	Coin	196	197	Septimius Severus	2015
611598	Coin	196	211	Julia Domna	2015
724880	Coin	197	197	Septimius Severus	2015
742905	Coin	200	200	Septimius Severus	2015
607602	Coin	202	210	Septimius Severus	2015
611591	Coin	217	218	Macrinus	2015
791969	Coin	231	231	Severus Alexander	2015
752360	Coin	232	232	Severus Alexander	2015
523103	Coin	236	237	Maximinus	2015
1152547	Coin	238	238	Pupienus	2015
866984	Coin	238	244	Gordian III	2015
759532	Coin	238	244	Gordian III	2015
854828	Coin	240	240	Gordian III	2015
784551	Coin	240	243	Gordian III	2015
866986	Coin	241	241	Tranquillina	2015
928888	Coin	241	243	Gordian III	2015
854829	Coin	251	253	Trebonianus Gallus	2015
992921	Coin	253	260	Gallienus (Joint reign)	2015
563942	Coin	253	260	Gallienus (Joint reign)	2015
992904	Coin	256	257	Valerian I	2015
992886	Coin	256	258	Valerian II	2015
989597	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2015
966747	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2015
960550	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2015

895826	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2015
804078	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2015
792775	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2015
784444	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2014
758956	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2015
612132	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2014
612131	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2015
67012	Coin	260	268	Gallienus (sole reign)	2015
797556	Coin	260	269	Postumus	2015
722367	Coin	260	269	Postumus	2015
758952	Coin	260	275	Radiate (uncertain emperor)	2015
724773	Coin	260	275	Victorinus	2015
919939	Coin	260	296	3rd century radiate	2006
919938	Coin	260	296	3rd century radiate	2015
836862	Coin	260	296		2015
802276	Coin	260	296	3rd century radiate	2015
759531	Coin	260	296	Radiate, Uncertain Ruler 260-296	2015
745187	Coin	260	296	3rd century radiate	2015
626878	Coin	260	296	3rd century radiate	2015
187290	Coin	260	296		2015
1083953	Coin	260	402	Uncertain (AD 260 - 402)	2015
1071805	Coin	260	402	Uncertain (AD 260 - 402)	2015
776727	Coin	260	402		2015
1117111	Coin	262	263	Postumus	2015
992914	Coin	262	266	Postumus	2015
1172919	Coin	263	263	Postumus	2015
795033	Coin	268	270	Claudius II	2015
794065	Coin	268	270	Claudius II	2014
782672	Coin	268	270	Claudius II	2014
56574	Coin	268	270	Victorinus	2014
993531	Coin	268	271	Victorinus	2015

925156	Coin	269	271	Victorinus	2015
884056	Coin	269	271	Victorinus	2015
803230	Coin	269	271	Victorinus	2015
776725	Coin	269	271	Victorinus	2015
758941	Coin	269	271	Victorinus	2015
730452	Coin	269	271	Victorinus	2014
1116754	Coin	269	274	Radiate (uncertain emperor)	2014
797547	Coin	269	274	Victorinus	2015
854830	Coin	270	270	Quintillus	2015
989616	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2015
938624	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2014
938609	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2014
925155	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2015
925154	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2015
833983	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2015
758950	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2015
756553	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2015
612129	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2015
55057	Coin	271	274	Tetricus I	2015
903121	Coin	272	274	Tetricus II	2015
838356	Coin	272	274	Tetricus II	2015
838354	Coin	272	274	Tetricus II	2015
776726	Coin	272	274	Tetricus II	2015
758953	Coin	272	274	Tetricus II	2014
758946	Coin	272	274	Tetricus II	2015
755644	Coin	272	274	Tetricus II	2014
284247	Coin	275	276	Tacitus	2014
987532	Coin	275	285	Radiate (Barbarous)	2014
959341	Coin	275	285	Radiate (Barbarous)	2014
938640	Coin	275	285	Radiate (Barbarous)	2013
612130	Coin	275	285	Radiate (Barbarous)	1994
612128	Coin	282	282	Probus	1994
759485	Coin	286	293	Carausius	1994
404486	Coin	286	293	Carausius	1994
925425	Coin	294	303	Diocletian	1994
1146991	Coin	296	402	Uncertain - 4th century	1994
70991	Coin	297	298	Tetrarchic Ruler (uncertain issuer)	1994
987333	Coin	300	400	Uncertain - 4th century	1994

797534	Coin	300	400	Uncertain - 4th century	1994
722372	Coin	300	400	Uncertain - 4th century	1994
90178	Coin	301	303	Constantius I	1994
921358	Coin	302	303	Constantius I	1994
533614	Coin	303	305	Diocletian	1994
1007918	Coin	306	308	Maximian I	1994
84439	Coin	307	310	Constantine I	1994
774008	Coin	312	315	Constantine I	1994
933833	Coin	313	314	Licinius I	1994
55102	Coin	313	315	Constantine I	1994
769923	Coin	313	316	Constantine I	1994
829806	Coin	317	326	Crispus	1994
865089	Coin	317	348	House of Constantine	1994
1052088	Coin	318	324	House of Constantine	1994
724769	Coin	320	324	Crispus	1994
263800	Coin	321	321	Crispus	1994
100713	Coin	321	321	Constantine I	1994
55103	Coin	321	321	Constantine I	1994
635355	Coin	322	324	Crispus	1994
609177	Coin	323	324	Constantine I	1994
612148	Coin	326		Constantine I	1994
724888	Coin	330	330	Constantine I	1994
829762	Coin	330	331	Constantine II	1994
797343	Coin	330	331	House of Constantine	1994
609173	Coin	330	331	Constantine II	1994
726145	Coin	330	333	House of Constantine	1994
724771	Coin	330	333	Constantine I	1994
1039238	Coin	330	335	House of Constantine	1994
869454	Coin	330	335	Constantine II	1994
782673	Coin	330	335	House of Constantine	1994
609170	Coin	330	335	House of Constantine	1994
178840	Coin	330	361		1994
612133	Coin	332	333	Constantine I	1994
966729	Coin	335	335	House of Constantine	1994
725675	Coin	335	337	Constantine I	1994
740560	Coin	337	340	Constantius II	1994

771254	Coin	337	361	House of Constantine	2013
959339	Coin	341	342	Constans	2012
866988	Coin	343	348	House of Constantine	2011
847990	Coin	343	348	House of Constantine	2010
938437	Coin	347	348	Constans	2010
784394	Coin	347	348	Constantius II	2009
756556	Coin	347	348	Constantius II	2010
758980	Coin	348	350	Constans	2009
987529	Coin	350	353	Magnentius or Decentius	2008
797252	Coin	350	353	Decentius	2009
758983	Coin	350	353	Decentius	2008
1120551	Coin	351	352	Magnentius	2007
757902	Coin	351	353	Decentius	2009
901134	Coin	353	353	Constantius II	2008
844701	Coin	353	360	Constantius II	1994
795698	Coin	354	361	Constantius II	2007
758975	Coin	355	360	Constantius II	2007
723246	Coin	355	361	Constantius II	
101766	Coin	355	361	Julian	2006
494016	Coin	360	367	Jovian	2006
756554	Coin	364	375	Valentinian I	2005
1052089	Coin	364	378	House of Valentinian	2005
816145	Coin	364	378	House of Valentinian	1998
811715	Coin	364	378	House of Valentinian	1998
612213	Coin	364	378	House of Valentinian	2005
612190	Coin	364	378	Valens	2005
609182	Coin	364	378	House of Valentinian	2004
803982	Coin	367	375	Valentinian I	2004
778490	Coin	367	375	Valentinian I	2004
724770	Coin	367	375	House of Valentinian	2004
612150	Coin	367	375	Valens	2004
882793	Coin	375	378	Valens	2004
922156	Coin	378	387	House of Theodosius	2004
612234	Coin	378	402	House of Theodosius	2004

612225	Coin	378	402	House of Theodosius	2004
612222	Coin	388	402	House of Theodosius	2004
56744	Coin	395	408	Honorius (emperor)	2004
1123108	Coin	397	402	Honorius (emperor)	2003
1206255	Coin				2003
1191184	Coin			Antoninus Pius	2002
1191180	Coin			Vespasian	2003
1191176	Coin				2003
1189305	Coin				2003
1177206	Coin			Domitian	1999
1146990	Coin				1999
1146412	Coin			House of Constantine	1999
750948	Coin			Crispus	2003
742915	Coin			Trajan	2002
876102	Coin hoard	54	217		2019
760437	Coin hoard	69	96		2017
714438	Coin hoard	69	261		2017
270751	Coin hoard	117	192		2016
955365	Coin hoard	138	211		2015
814024	Coin hoard	253	274		2015
865200	Coin hoard	260	276		2015
746148	Coin hoard	260	282		1995
980486	Figurine	43	410		2019
865121	Figurine				2017
1049295	Finger ring	1	150		2019
608659	Finger ring	43	100		2014
607727	Finger ring	43	100		2024
52740	Finger ring	43	200		2021
987534	Finger ring	43	410		2019
747317	Finger ring	43	410		2017
1156988	Finger ring	100	400		2017
974886	Finger ring	100	400		
862062	Finger ring	100	410		2015
877806	Finger ring	200	400		2006
613743	Finger ring				1999
1173409	Finger ring				2003
515328	Harness fitting	43	200		2012
1161882	Harness fitting				
910091	Hoard	-49	209		2019
617207	Hoard	161	200		2018
965969	Hoard	260	283		1758
3116	Hoard				2014

993191	Mould	43	500		1960
863448	Plate armour	50	100		2017
177935	Potsherd	200	400		2007
938599	Ring	200	325		2016
892845	Seal box	100	400		2018
106031	Slag	1	410		2005
106030	Slag	1	410		2005
106029	Slag	1	410		2005
846785	Spindle whorl	43	400		2016
288237	Spindle whorl	100	400		2009
844617	Spoon	43	400		2018
844600	Spoon	43	400		2017
907124	Spoon	43	410		2017
814858	Spoon	100	410		2016
1180120	Steelyard weight	43	400		
1083574	Stud	43	410		
176811	Vessel	1	410		2005
177945	Vessel	43	200		
1038800	Vessel	43	410		2009
705321	Vessel	75	150		2009
179547	Vessel	100	300		2007
994109	Vessel	100	300		
1088280	Vessel	100	400		2007
566429	Vessel	200	400		2014
566389	Vessel	200	400		2019
954688	Vessel				
723545	Vessel				
718467	Vessel				
701122	Vessel				2007
737674	Weight	43	410		2015
177920	Whetstone	1	400		2007

Table 31: Roman finds in Cornwall *(British Museum, Portable antiquities scheme, https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/periodFrom/21/periodTo/21/countyID/43750; Nowakowski and Quinnell, 2011, p.357)*

Addendum 4.2

Summary of brooches found on the Isles of Scilly						
Findspot	**Site**	**Type**	**Sub-Type**	**Sub-Sub-Type**	**Date**	**Quantity**
Normour	Shrine	Bow	Simple One Piece		75	1
Normour	Shrine	Bow	Applied Hook		50-100	4
Normour	Shrine	Bow	Colchester		50-100	9
Normour	Shrine	Bow	Beaked Bow			1
Normour	Shrine	Bow	Fantail			1
Normour	Shrine	Bow	Polden Hill		65-105	5

Nornour	Shrine	Bow	Headstud		70-86	1
Nornour	Shrine	Bow	Headstud		100	4
Nornour	Shrine	Bow	Headstud		50-100	6
Nornour	Shrine	Bow	Headstud or Trumpet		50-100	1
Nornour	Shrine	Bow	Trumpet Chester		75-125	1
Nornour	Shrine	Bow	Pseudo-trumpet		138-161	1
Nornour	Shrine	Bow	Plate-on-bow		100	11
Nornour	Shrine	Bow	Knee and P-profile		160-230	10
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Simple T-shaped		75-125	13
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Simple T + crest			18
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	T-shaped waist			3
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Trumpet/Headstud	T-shaped	75-100	3
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Trumpet Related		69-130	2
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Trumpet Headstud Related		50-70	3
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Developed			43
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Developed		75-125	12
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Developed		130-160	5
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Single unparalleled		75-100	17
Nornour	Shrine	SW Bow	Bow fragments			14
Nornour	Shrine	Plate			50	2
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Shoe sole		50	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Rhomboid			22
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Rhomboid		100	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Rhomboid		155-160	3
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Rhomboid		200	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Small complex			4
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Small equal-ended			12
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Fragments			3
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Small equal-ended B			6
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Large equal-ended		150-175	3
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Wheel			1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Disc Continental			8
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Disc Continental		130	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Disc Continental		200	2
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Disc Continental		190-260	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Disc Continental probably			1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Disc scalloped rim			1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Buckler			2
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Buckler		69-150	2

Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Disc British			4
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Gilded central glass		260	3
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Small flat probably British		210-250	5
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Umbonate disc		80-100	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Disc applied plates			6
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Unusual		175-225	8
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Fusiform			5
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Representational	Shoe sole		8
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic		3
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic	50-275	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic	150	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic	275	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Open plate		140-200	1
Nornour	Shrine	Plate	Penannular			2
						315
Teän	Cist	Bow	La Tène III	Nauheim Derivitive	75	2
						2
Halangy Down	Domestic Shrine	Bow	Fantail	Thistle	43-54	1
Halangy Down	Domestic Shrine	Bow	Aucissa		43-80	1
Halangy Down	Domestic Shrine	Bow	T-shaped		50-150	1
Halangy Down	Domestic Shrine	Plate	Disc		50-190	1
Halangy Down	Domestic Shrine	Bow	Fantail	Iron	50-150	2
						6
St Agnes	Pit	Bow	Fibula		50-200	1
						1
Porthcressa	Cists	Plate	Disc		200	1
Porthcressa	Cists	Plate	Pennannular		50	2
Porthcressa	Cists	Bow	Aucissa		50	1
Porthcressa	Cists	Bow			0-50	5
						9
					Total	**333**

Table 32: Brooches found on Scilly *(Adapted from Butcher, 1978, pp.29-112; Butcher, 2000-1, pp.5-44; Dudley, 1967, pp.1-64)*

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Very little Roman occupational evidence is found on Scilly. The stone roundhouses maintained the same style of construction throughout this time and very few examples of Samian ware have been found; Halangy Down settlement and courtyard house with its domestic shrine of Roman brooches and fragments of Samian ware is an exception. Roman military forts in Cornwall possess a higher quantity of artefacts than these non-military sites on Scilly, such as metalworking tools and domestic pottery. The granite Roman Mithraic altar stone likewise suggests some form of Roman presence and religious activity was taking place, as does a possible Romano-Celtic idol. The Romans referred to here were not limited merely to inhabitants of Rome but included Roman subjects and citizens from throughout the Roman Empire, connected to the material culture and possibly serving in the military or as state officials. Positioning oneself geographically at the sites critically examined was a valuable tool which enhanced the studying of the archaeological site reports.

5.1 Roman presence

Taking the tin trade routes from the Mediterranean, and the possible seafood trading from Scilly to Armorica, it seems apparent that the Romans were aware of Scilly and Cornwall and their deposits and resources. With Roman passage to Ireland and Wales, for trade and with troops respectively, passing between Land's End and the Isles of Scilly, coupled with literary references by Roman writers and geographers, there looks to be little room for doubt that the Romans knew of the southwest of Britain. Structures in Cornwall and on Scilly, dating to the Roman period, of forts, villas and military camps have shown dwelling by Roman soldiers, officials and elites (foreign and local who

adapted elements of “Roman” culture) in those areas beyond Exeter, *Isca Dumnoniorum*, that had previously been thought to represent the limits of Roman encroachment.

5.2 Votive offerings

Having compared the artefacts found on Scilly with those at the known temple and shrines at Uley in Gloucestershire, striking similarities of content and quantities are seen. These appear to be of a likely votive nature.

5.3 Roman shrine

On the island of Nornour, a Bronze Age family settlement of eleven roundhouses in total, not all in use at the same time, was found to be repurposed in Roman times. Only three of the roundhouses were in use by then. The island’s port at that time is concluded here as likely being close to the shrine, as the Eastern Isles and St Martin’s were still one large island, along with Tresco, Bryher and St Mary’s at this point. The finds in the shrine, of 315 brooches, clay votive figurines, miniature votive pots and other coins and objects, have been shown to be votive offerings. From their disparate origins, styles, age and techniques they were not manufactured on Scilly. Examination of the make-up of the objects, and the materials, along with comparison to other examples by specialists, has proven these were not from a shipwreck. With the name of Scilly being derived from the god *Sul / Sulis*, the Roman dating of the finds from around the Empire, the lack of Roman domestic finds and the known tin trade route to Cornwall, the conclusion has been drawn here that passing ships were placing offerings in a shrine on Nornour possibly for a safe voyage across the sea, this is in opposition to Dudley, Hull and Fulford.

Positioning of temples, beacons and shrines near ports in Roman times is a repeated pattern at this time and, with the proposed Roman port being just north of Nornour, the *Vestaeum* and beacon being on the adjacent tip of modern-day St Martin's, along with a proposed Romano-Celtic humanoid statue of a *Vestaeum* god found there, Nornour would seem to fit the geographical positioning of the shrine.

5.4 Halangy Down

The settlement at Halangy Down, dated by the Roman brooches to soon after the invasion of AD 43, would seem to suggest that this domestic shrine was in a Roman house; with the presence of the pewter mould implying a high standard of living and Roman style quern stones reflecting Roman rather than Scillonian practices. Possible trading with Roman Britain and Armorica in sea-fish may have given rise to a Roman overseer taking up residence in the dominant courtyard house, the site being positioned between the Roman shrine on Nornour and the Roman Mithraic altar stone at the possible temple on Mount Holles.

5.5 Roman altar

Carvings on the Roman altar are iconographically relational to those on known Mithraic examples, thus confirming the Roman nature of the religious object. The cult of Mithras is not indigenous to Britain and may have spread through the Roman Empire by military and administrative personnel, being found particularly on the Britanno-Rhine-Danube frontier (Chalupa *et al.*, 2021, p.110). With the scarcity of the item in Britain shown, and the expert's[112] testimony regarding the length of time it might take to create the finished product, it seems unlikely that it would be discarded and more probable that such a

[112] Andrew Langford, personal communication (via email), 26 March 2025.

valuable object would have been positioned in a temple or shrine on Scilly, possibly at Mount Holles, and used in religious activities. The use of Mithraic altars by the Roman army, is borne out in the archaeological data with the majority being found in Britain around the military sites of Hadrian's Wall. The Scillonian example may have been brought specifically to Scilly or perhaps was being transported around Land's End to Wales with the Roman army, the Caerleon example at a Roman fortress may have been sailed around the coast on this route.

5.6 Romano-British fogou

The close proximity of the Roman Mithraic altar to the fogou, whose usage was confirmed into the Roman period, and similarity to the cave and subterranean worship sites in Mithraism can be seen, however, no further archaeological evidence has yet been discovered to link the Roman mystery cult to Scilly.

5.7 Final critical summation

The combination of these Roman sites and finds have built up a picture from an individual shrine for passing sailors, an individual domestic shrine, and a possibly deposited or carved *in situ* Roman altar, along with a possible ritualistic and religiously employed fogou, into one of Roman religious activity across Scilly. The geographical spread and lack of multiple long-term military camps speak to Roman activity throughout Cornwall, showing a pattern of peaceful trade rather than harsh occupation. Further excavations on Scilly and in Cornwall need to be carried out, especially of the fogou on Peninnis Head, in order to ascertain a fuller picture of Roman religious activities here, however, the conclusion is reached, based on the evidence so

far, of ritualistic, religious activity with votive offerings by Romans being demonstrated on the Scilly archipelago.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Granite on the Isles of Scilly

Granite was formed by magma rising then cooling and solidifying below ground, during this process it set with inclusions of localised rocks and minerals (Le Boutillier *et al*, 2002, p.312). There are three main types of granite, classified by its predominant petrographic and geochemical characteristics: biotite granites; tourmaline granites; and topaz granites (Symes, 2026, https://geoguide.scottishgeologytrust.org/p/gcr36/gcr36_chapter7southwestengland).

The Isles of Scilly granite, dated to 29 million years ago (Wakefield, 2016, http://naturalhistoryofscilly.info.websitebuilder.prositehosting.co.uk/geology), includes mainly white quartz, black biotite mica and white feldspar rather than the metallic elements of tin and copper that are seen in the veins of the granite on the Cornish mainland. Granite with tourmaline [schorl] (Le Boutillier *et al*, 2002, p.312) inclusions has been identified as an ingredient in pottery attributed to the Iron Age excavated at the Carn Euny courtyard house settlement in Cornwall (Butcher, 1978, p.73; Williams in Christie, 1978, p.406).

Examples of granite from the Isles of Scilly:











Figure 152: Images of granite specimens from the Isles of Scilly (10cm scale) *(author's own photographs of author's own collection)*

Examples of granite from the mainland of Cornwall:



Figure 153: Images of granite specimens from Cornwall (10cm scale) *(author's own photographs of author's own collection)*

The granite outcrops can split along the lines of these softer veins due to weathering leaving regular lined fissures that resemble an artificially worked shape. The potential granite daymark on the northeastern edge of the island of Nornour, adjacent to the proposed siting of the Roman port, may have been formed by the weathering of a vein of inclusions and not by deliberate carving.



Figure 154: Image of potential carved daymark on the northern tip of Nornour (no scale) *(courtesy of Gage, 1962)*

Photographic images show carved granite blocks at structure number one (the Roman shrine) on Nornour, Isles of Scilly, with a layer of quartz, feldspar and black tourmaline inclusions on the split edge of the granite:









Figure 155: Images of carved granite blocks at structure number one, the Roman shrine, on Nornour, showing layers of granite inclusions (1.2m scale) *(author's own photographs)*





Figure 156: Images of carved granite blocks at the courtyard house, Halangy Down, St Mary's, showing layers of granite inclusions (1.2m scale) *(author's own photographs)*

Appendix 2: Etymology of the name *Nornour*

From personal communications (via emails), 19 January 2026, with Dr Oliver Padel, an expert in Cornish history and the Cornish language. Details in square brackets [ ] entered by author.

> "Any attempt at a derivation is hampered by the lack of early spellings. At present the earliest spelling that I know for the name is **Knolwort**h [*sic*] about 1573 (Harrison [, p.60]), followed by **Knollmore Iland** 1652 in the Parliamentary Survey of the Scillies (edited by Pounds, 1984, p. 139), and **N:nore** 1655 (Godolphin map; meaning *Nornore*?). That makes it look like an English name, rather than a Cornish-language one; but I wouldn't be confident about that. Unnervingly the Parliamentary survey also has something called **Nornouer Iland or Rock** ([edited by Pounds, 1984,] p. 134), but that (unless it is a mistake by the surveyors) is in the Northern Rocks, not in the Eastern Isles.
>
> Greenvile Collins in 1689 [Sea Chart, Office of Lord High Admiral of England] spelt the name as **Nornour**, just as today; but Joel Gascoyne ten years later [map - Gascoyne, 1699], who mostly followed Collins, gives **ye two Nunvers** instead. Charles Thomas (*Drowned Landscape*, 1985, p. 46) gives the spellings N:nore (meaning Nornore?) 1655, and Nornuer 1689, but I don't know the sources for those spellings."
>
> (Padel, personal communication (via email), 19 January 2026, 15:49).

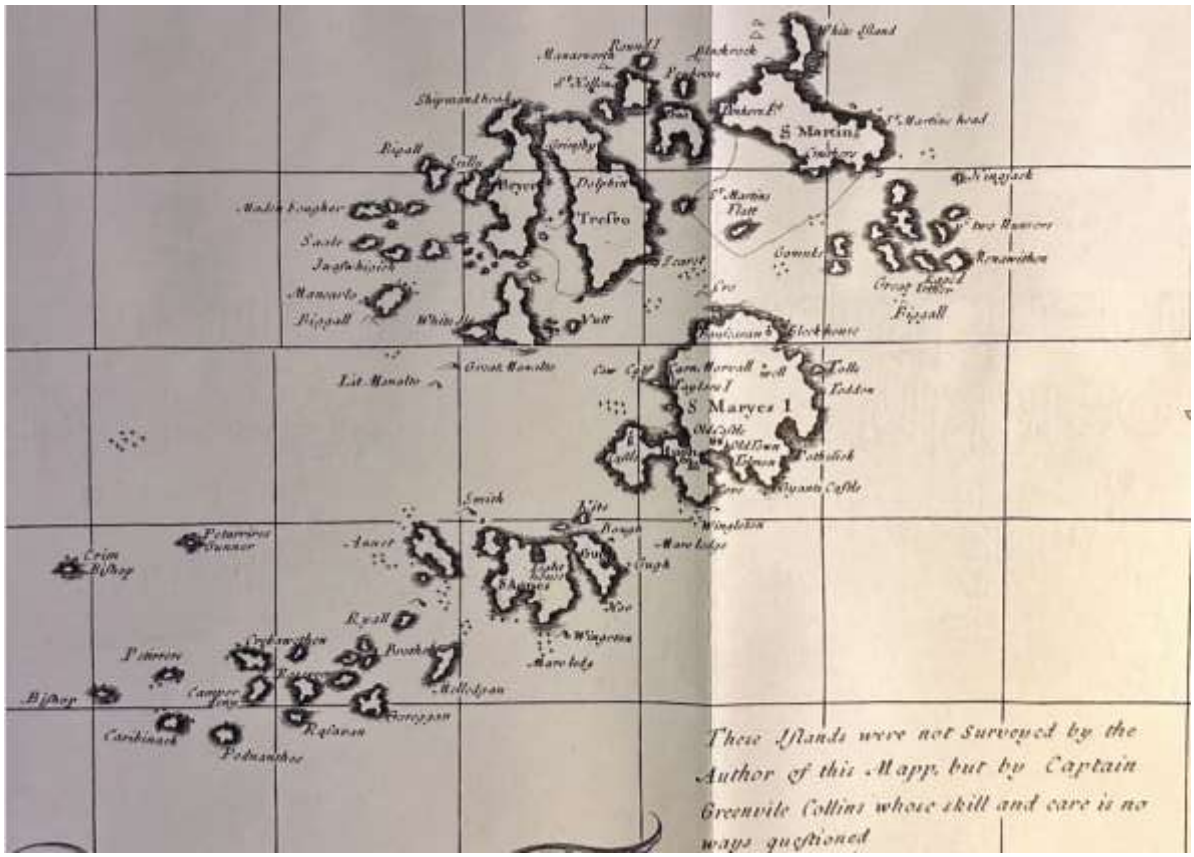


Figure 157: Map of the Isles of Scilly 1699, Nornour shown as 'Two Nunvers' *(Gascoyne, 1699, 4a)*

"The first person, as far as I know, to suggest the derivation that you cite for the name, Old Cornish **Ar-en-nor**, was Charles Thomas in his *Drowned Landscape* (1985), p. 46. I'm far from convinced that the early spellings support that derivation. But if we accept it, there is still uncertainty about the meaning. The Cornish word **dor** 'earth, ground' (which irregularly becomes **nor** after the definite article **en**, later **an**, 'the', thus **en-nor** 'the earth, the ground') seems to have been used (again Charles Thomas's suggestion, this time one that I do find convincing) for the large pre-submergence island of Scilly, and then for the main island of St Mary's after the submergence resulted in the separate islands known today. (You'll know that Charles Thomas's date for the submergence has been questioned; but the matter is currently being reconsidered, and for the time being I'm more inclined to accept something around Charles Thomas's date rather than the much earlier one that has subsequently been suggested, though I can't myself judge the scientific evidence.)

With a name **En-nor** meaning 'the mainland' (of the Scilly archipelago), even if we accept the derivation of Nornour as 'facing, beside, **en-nor**', I think the meaning of that name is much more likely to refer to En-nor the Scillonian mainland, rather than 'the world', although that is another possible meaning of the Cornish phrase **en-nor**. The on-line derivation that you have found seems to attribute that alternative meaning to the

name, as if the Scilonians [*sic*] didn't consider themselves part of the 'world' but that it began when one departed from Scilly. It is theoretically possible that **en-nor** in such a name could mean 'the Cornish mainland', but I think a reference to the main island is more likely. Therefore 'beside the main island'. However, as mentioned above, I'm not convinced that the name must be that at all. **Knolworth** or **Knollmore** looks as if it could contain the English word **knoll** meaning 'hillock'. I'm not sure what the second part of such an English name would be — the conflicting spellings -worth and -more make it not possible to hazard a guess.

I'm sorry that is all necessarily so uncertain. It's a problematical name."

(Padel, personal communication (via email), 19 January 2026, 15:49).

"I am confident that 'mainland' (of Scilly) is what Charles Thomas meant in his suggested derivation of the name (Drowned Landscape, p. 46), and although I'm not convinced by the derivation itself, I agree with his interpretation of it, ***if*** we follow that derivation."

(Padel, personal communication (via email), 19 January 2026, 17:36).

"...in both the Orkney and the Shetland archipelagoes [*sic*], the main island is called Mainland."

(Padel, personal communication (via email), 19 January 2026, 17:50).

Appendix 3: Analysis of further finds from Nornour

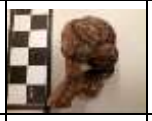
Expert Frank Turk analysed the animal bones (in Butcher, 1978, pp.99-104), showing varieties of birds, molluscs, large and small mammals, fish, crustacea, and species from the two main groups of marine mammals, pinnipeds and cetaceans, seals and whales respectively. These remains were deemed to concur with the timeline elsewhere reflected (Turk in Butcher, 1978, pp.99-104).

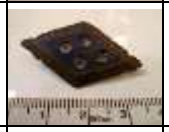
With the pottery illustrated, catalogued and systematically reviewed by Butcher (Butcher, 1978, pp.67-86), petrological analysis on nine sherds was undertaken by David Williams (in Butcher, 1978, p.73); macroscopic examination and thin sections under a petrological microscope were the methods used, these generated results of local granite inclusions typical of Scilly and gabbroic clay from the Lizard Head, Cornwall (Williams in Butcher, 1978, p.73).

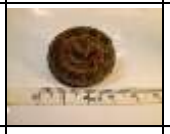
Stratified glass dating to the structures only was included in this publication, analysed by Dorothy Charlesworth (in Butcher, 1978, pp.86-87). Identifiable fragments, numbering sixteen, were reported to mostly be Roman first to third century AD blue-green bottle glass, two AD 60-130 square bottle, one window glass, one decorated second century bowl and three amber coloured (in Butcher, 1978, p.86). Whilst no conclusion of acquisition or purpose was able to be reached here, similar collections were noted on frequent sites in Scotland (in Butcher, 1978, p.86); no suggestion of use in enamel production was forthcoming.

Prehistoric, stratified copper alloy objects were listed by Butcher (Butcher, 1978, p.87) with provincial Roman examples being left for future publication with brooch analyses. Flint and stone objects were analysed and illustrated by Henrietta Miles (in Butcher, 1978, pp.87-96).

Appendix 4: Nornour excavated artefacts

Museum Number	Object Name	Museum Description	Images			
Pottery						
4648	Pot; part	NORNOUR 1962-66 MINIATURE POT				
345	Crucible	CRUCIBLE FROM HEARTH. Ministry No. 620976				
509	Sherd	POTTERY, RIM, (red, joined). Romano-British				
Figurine						
332	Figurine	Fragment, Dea Nutrix Knee.				
335	Figurine	Fragment, chin.				
336	Figurine	Fragment, neck.				
338	Figurine	Fragment, Venus head.				
340	Figurine	Venus.				
Bead						
1027	Bead	ROUND GREEN BEAD. 208A 7mm				
Pendant						
1061	Jewellery; necklace; pendant	BRONZE PENDANT. Found at Nornour 1963, No.185				
Ring						
1063	Jewellery; ring	RING. (very small). No.87.				
Ornament						
1367	Ornament	LARGE BRONZE/ENAMEL WHEEL-SHAPED ORNAMENT. 620599				

Museum Number	Object Name	Museum Description	Images			
Brooch						
130	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Plate Brooch', sea animal. 620624'				
137	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. N.N.1962. Diamond shaped, small white enamel with dots.				
138	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze blue enamel, diamond shape				
139	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze diamond shape with black inserts. 621074				
140	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Lozenge shaped with enamel. 621144				
143	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Lozenge, trefoil lugs, raised centre. 621150				
145	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze and blue and white enamel, diamond shape.				
150	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, central stud, lateral lugs. 620626				
158	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, transverse bars.				
159	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze square.				
161	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Circular plate with enamel. 621077				
170	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Oblong, zoomorphic ends, round lugs. 620631				
173	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, central white enamel, black spots, hoop. 620637				
176	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze. Maltese Cross.				

Museum Number	Object Name	Museum Description	Images			
178	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, round centre, mottled enamel.				
179	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Disc, trefoil ends, round lugs, raised stud. 620613				
182	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, scalloped, red enamel. 620622				
187	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, round, blue and white enamel.				
190	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, round, red/black/white check enamel.				
191	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. S.I.70. Round, red and white enamel, zig-zags and dots. 620605				
192	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, round. Enamelled star.				
193	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, round, green Triskele, blue ground. 620607				
194	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, circular, red enamel and Boss.				
196	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze oval, red and green enamel.				
197	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze oval				
200	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, round, red and blue enamel.				
201	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze disc with enamelled lugs. H6733				
204	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Discfour lugs, outer band with bronze spots. 620612'				

Museum Number	Object Name	Museum Description	Images			
205	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, wheel, enamel.				
206	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, round, (pin) red and blue enamel.				
209	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, painted oval with lugs. 620625				
211	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Six pointed star, small, blue enamel, white dots. S.II.14 621075				
212	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, egg shaped.				
216	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Foot shaped.				
217	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Foot shaped.				
218	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Sandal shaped, orange, black studs. 621090				
219	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Sandal shaped , red enamel with bronze margin. 621115				
221	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze sandal shaped enamel.				
223	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze sandal, fragments.				
224	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze shamrock.				
225	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze, penannular with loose pin.				
228	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze T shaped.				

Museum Number	Object Name	Museum Description	Images			
229	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze T shaped (2 bits), separate decoration.				
231	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze T shaped.				
237	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Gilded bronze, oval with black STONE.				
247	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. H7940. T shaped fragment, red enamel.				
253	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Diamond, white domino.				
262	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. Bronze T shaped.				
281	Brooch	NORNOUR BROOCH. T Bar.				
3610	Brooch	Nornour brooch 317 Rhomboid plate brooch, enamelled. Nornour 1969 SF 22. AML 733356. Cornish Archaeol 39-40 p 26				
3614	Brooch	Nornour brooch 321 Large enamelled equal-ended brooch. Nornour 1969 SF 24. AML 733358. Cornish Archaeol 39-40 p 27				
6375	Brooch	NORNOUR 1966. NOT PREVIOUSLY RECORDED? FOUND AMONGSt BRONZE FRAGMENTS ACCESSIONED AS				

Table 33: Archaeological finds from Nornour, details and sample images (10cm scale, 20cm scale, 1cm tape) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum database)*

Appendix 5: Roman coin abbreviations

B.M.	British Museum
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage, 10 vols., some revised, Spink and Son, London, 1926-1994.
l.	left
r.	right
hld	holding
std	standing
f	front facing
sed	seated
lr	laureate
dr	draped
cr	cuirassed
b.r.	bust right
h.r.	head right
dd	diademed

Table 34: List of abbreviations in descriptions of Roman coins *(Penhallurick, 2009, pp.19-20)*

Appendix 6: Detail of coins from Nornour shrine

Number	Find Ref	BMC Ref	BMC Plate	Mint Year Start	Mint Year End	Mint Place	RIC	Archaeologist	Emperor	Reign Start	Reign End	Denomination	Obverse	Reverse	Ex.
1	CAT 298	604		71		Rome		DD	Vespasian	69	79		[IMP CAE]S VESPASIAN AVG CO[S III]. Lr, h. r.	IVDAEA [CAPTA]. Oblong shield behind palm tree; Judea r. (as mourning captive), sed at base of tree to r., head propped o n l. arm which rests on her knee. Celebrates the success of Vaspasian and Titus in quelling the first Jewish revolt when the temple in Jerusalem was destroyed in AD 70.	S C.
2	CAT 1408	661	26/8	73				DD	Vespasian	69	79	Dupondius	IMP [CAE VE]SP AVG [P M T P COS IIII CENS]. Rd, h. l.	[FELICITAS PVBLICA]? Felicitous std l. hld cornucopia in her l. hand. S - C low in field.	
3	1969 SF 42							SB	Vespasian	69	79	Dupondius	B. r. (Vespasian confirms at B.M.)		
4	1970 SF 7							SB	Vespasian	69	79	Dupondius	Illegible. Rd, b. r.	Illegible. Standing female figure.	
5	CAT 1400							DD	Vespasian	69	79	Sestertius	Lr, h. r. (Heavy brow suggests Vespasian)		
6	CAT 1405	828	40/2	77	78	Lyons		DD	Vespasian	69	79	Dupondius	[IMP CAE]S VESPASIAN AVG CO[S VIII P P]. Lr, h. r.	FIDES PVBLI[CA], S - C in field. Forteana std. l., hld patera in her l. jand and cornucopia in her r. hand.	
7	CAT 1404							DD	Vespasian	69	79	As	Illegible	Lr, h.r.	
8	CAT 1056							DD	Vespasian or Titus	69	79	As	Illegible. Lr, h. r.	Illegible; possibly figure of victory.	
9	CAT 1057	386	76/2	86				DD	Domitian	81	96	As	[IMP CAES D]OM[IT AVG GERM COS XII CENS PER P P]. Lr, b. r.	[FORTVNAE AVGVSTI[, S - C in field close to figure. Forteana std l., hld cornucopia in her l. hand and anchor in r. hand.	
10	CAT 1059			83 +				DD	Domitian	81	96	Dupondius	[IMP CAES DOM]IT [AVG GERM COS XII CENS PER P P]. Rd, h. r.		
11	CAT 1388			83 +				DD	Domitian	81	96	Dupondius	[IMP CAES] DOMIT AVG GERM [COS XII CENS PER P P]. Rd, h. r.		
12	CAT 1410							DD	Domitian	81	96	As	Illegible. Lr, h. r. (Domitian confirmed at B.M.).		
13	CAT 1391							DD	Late first century	50	99	Dupondius or As	Illegible, perhaps Domitian.		
14	CAT 1392							DD	Late first century	50	99	As	Illegible, perhaps Domitian.		
15	CAT 1375							DD	Late first century	50	99	As	Illegible.		
16	1969 SF 20	719	25.6	98	99			SB	Trajan	98	117	Dupondius	IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GER[M P M]. Rd, b. r.	TR POT [COS II]. Justitia sed l. on throne with cornucopias as arms, hld vertical sceptre in her r. hand, l. hand resting on lap; fold of drapery falling over side of chair.	
17	1962 1			101	102			EM	Trajan	98	117	Dupondius	IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM P M. Rd, b. r.	TR PO[T - COS] IIII (?) [P P]. Justitia or Securitas (?).	

18	1970 SF 10	781	28.5	103	105			SB	Trajan	98	117	Sestertius	[IMP CAES NERV(A)€ TRAIA]NO AVG GER D[AC P M TR P COS V P P]. Lr, b. r.	Illegible [S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI]. S - C in field close to figure. Perhaps Annona, dr, std l., hld two corn-ears in r. hand over modius containing corn-ears, and hld cornucopia in l. hand; prow of ship to r.	
19	CAT 299	914	35/2	103	111		569	DD	Trajan	98	117	As	[IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P] COS [V P P]. Lr, h. r; dr. over l. shoulder.	[S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI]. Single-span covered bridge with six vertical bars; tower at each end. A boat beneath. Said to symbolise the Danube bridge completed in 105.	[S C]
20	CAT 1373	991	39/3	103 +				DD	Trajan	98	117	Dupondius	[IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V P P]. Lr, h. r.	[FELICITAS - AVGVST]. S - C in field. Felicitas, dr, std l., hld caduceus in r. hand and cornucopia in l.	
21	1969 SF 16		34.8	103	111		538-9	SB	Trajan	98	117	Dupondius	[IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V P P]. Rd, dr, b. r.	[S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI]. Trajan, bare-headed, in military dress, his cloak floating behind him, on horse prancing r., his r. hand brandishing javelin at Dacian falling forward in front of horse and hld his hands and looking back at Trajan.	S C
22	1969 SF 41	885	33.9	103	111		494	SB	Trajan	98	117	Dupondius	[IMP CAES] NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER [DAC P M TR P COS V P P]. Rd, b. r. drapery on his l. shoulder.	[S P Q R OPTIM]O PRINCIPI. S - C in field. Abundantia (or Annona) std l, hld two corn-ears in r. hand over modius at feet, and cornucopia in l. hand; prow of ship to r.	
23	CAT 1379	ii	37/10	112	114			DD	Trajan	98	117	As	[IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO]O AVG GER DAC P [M TR P COS VI P P]. Dr(?), b. r.	[DACIA AVGVSTA]. Dacia sed l. on pile of arms; trophy to l.	[PROVINCIA / S C].
24	1974		40.9	114	115				Trajan	98	117	Sestertius	[IMP CAES TRAIANO] OPTIMO AVG GER [DAC P M TR P COS VI P P.] Lr, dr, b. r. Drapery suggests COS VI.		
25	CAT 1401	1046	43/1	114	117			DD	Trajan	98	117	Sestertius	IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PARTHICO P M TR P COS VI P P. Lr, dr, b. r.	[REX PART]HIS DATVS. Trajan, bare-h. in military dress, sed l. on chair set on platform to r., hld parazonium (symbol of valour) upright in l. hand, and with r. hand places diadem on h. of King Parthamaspates who std l. before him, his r. hand raised. To l., Parthia, dr, r., wearing pointed cap, kneels and holds out both hands. Officer std behind Trajan.	S C
26	1969 SF 45							SB	Trajan	98	117	Dupondius	Illegible.	Illegible.	Trajan
27	CAT 1376							DD	Trajan	98	117	As	Illegible.	Illegible.	
28	CAT 1387							DD	Trajan	98	117	Dupondius	Illegible.	B. r., suggestion of rd. crown.	
29	1969 SF 3							SB	Trajan or Hadrian	98	138	Dupondius	Illegible.	Rd, b. r.	
30	1969 SF 25							SB	Hadrian	117	138	Sestertius	Illegible. Lr, b. r.	? Standing female.	

31	CAT 1058							DD	Hadrian	117	138	Dupondius	Rd, h. r.		AD 119-128, confirmed at
32	CAT 300	1341	82/13	119 +				DD	Hadrian	117	138	As	[HADR]IANUS - AVGVSTVS. Lr, h. r.	C[OS III]. Perhaps Salus, dr, std r., feeding from patera in l. hand a snake in her r. hand.	
33	CAT 301	1947	47/8	153	154			DD	Antonius Pius	138	161	Sestertius	[ANTONI]NVS AVG [PIVS P P TR P XVII] Lr, h. r.	[LIB]E[RTAS COS IIII] Libertas std f., h. l., hld pileus (cap of Liberty) in extended r. hand, and vertical sceptre in her l.	
34	1969 SF 33	1730	39.16	145	161			SB	Antonius Pius	138	161	Dupondius	Illegible. Rd, dr, b. r. Beard suggests Ant. Pius.	ANN(?)[ONO - AVG]. Annona std front, head r., hld corn-ears in her r. hand over modius, and cornucopia in her l.	
35	CAT 1389							DD	Antonius Pius	138	161	Dupondius	[ANTONI]NVS ABG [PIVS P P TR P XVII]. Rd, h. r.	Illegible. Female figure std f., r. hand raised, l. hand hld transverse sceptre?	Irregular issue, confirmed at B.M.
36	1969 SF 36	1458 or 1460					1163a	SB	Faustina I	140	140	Dupondius	DIVA FAVSTINA - AVGVSTA B. r. hair elaborately waved and piled in bun on top of head with band of pearls.	AETER[NITAS] S - C in field. Aeternitatis std l. hld globe in her r. hand and sceptre in her l. hand.	Struck by Antoninus Pius after her death, 141.
37	CAT 302	iv	37					DD	Faustina I	140	140	As	DIVA FAV-STIN[A]. Dr, b. r., hair coiled on top.	[AE]TER-[NITAS], S - C in field. Aeternitas, dr, standing l., hld globe in l. hand (? In r. hand).	
38	1970 SF 11							SB	Faustina I	140	140	? As	Female dr, b. r.		Illegible.
39	CAT 1395	1407	34/1	140	144			DD	Marcus Aureilus	139	161	Dupondius	[AVRELI]V[S] CAE-SAR AVG [PII F COS]. Bare-h. r.	[IVVEN-TAS], S - C in field. Juventus dr., std l. dropping incense from r. hand onto candelabrum to l., and hld patera downwards in l. hand. S of S - C to l. of candelabrum.	
40	CAT 1398	1800	43/6	145	160			DD	Marcus Aureilus	139	161	Dupondius or As	[AVR]ELIVS CAE-SAR A[VG PII F COS II]. Bare-h. r.	S - C in field. Minerva, helmeted, dr, std r. hld shield in l. hand and brandishing spear in raised r. hand.	
41	CAT 1384	1318		166	167		948	DD	Marcus Aureilus	161	180	Sestertius	[M ANTONINVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX]. Lr, h. r.	[TR POT XXI IMP IIII COS III], S - C low in field. Winged victory adv. L., hld wreath in extended r. hand, and palm sloped over l. shoulder.	
42	CAT 1378	1392	82/11	171	172			DD	Marcus Aureilus	161	180	Dupondius	[M ANT]ONINVS AVG [TR P XXV]. Rd, h. r.	[SALVTI AVG COS III], S - C in field (S between snake and Salus). Salus, dr, std f., head l., feeding out of patera in r. hand a snake arising from altar to l.; vertical sceptre in l. hand.	
43	CAT 1377	1639	88/6	176	177			DD	Marcus Aureilus	161	180	Sestertius	[M ANT]ONINVS [AVG] GERM [TR P COS ...]. Lr, b. r.	VOTA [PVBLICA IMP VIIII COS III P P]. S - C in field. Emperor, veiled, dr, standing f., head l., sacrificing over lighted tripod-altar to l.; l. hand hld scroll at side.	Illegible.
44	CAT 1381	2187					1395	DD	Faustina II		175	Dupondius	FAVSTINA AVG PII [AVG FIL]. Dr, b. r., hair in bun at back.	FEL[ICI]-TAS, S - C low in field. Felicitas, dr, std f., head l. hld caduceus in raised r. hand, and l. hand at her side.	

45	CAT 1055	2203	50/10				1390	DD	Faustina II		175	Dupondius	[FAVSTINA AUGUSTA]. Dr, b. r., hair in bun low at back.	[AUGUSTI PII FIL], S - C. Concordia, std. f., head l., hld patera in r. hand and cornucopia in l.	
46	CAT 1385	880		186			468b	DD	Commodus	177	192	Sestertius	[M COMM]ODVS ANT [P FELIX AVG BRIT]. Lr, h. r.	[P M TR P XI IMP VII COS V P P]. Commodus in military dress, std on raised platform to l., r. hand raised addressing four soldiers.	[FI]D EXERCIT.
47	CAT 304	433	102/14				680	DD	Crispina		183	Dupondius	[CRISP]INA - [AVGVSTA]. Dr, b. r. hair in chignon at back.	[IVNO LVC]INA, S - C in field. Juno standing l., hld patera in r. hand and long sceptre in l. (no peacock).	
48	CAT 303	1167	76/12				1763	DD	Lucilla		183	Sestertius	[LVCIL'LAE AVG AN[TONINI AVG F]. Dr, b. r, hair in chignon low at back.	[VENVS], S - C in field. Venus, dr, standing f., head l., hld apple in r. hand and vertical sceptre in l.	
49	1970 SF 8			196	211		855	SB	Julia Domna		217	Sestertius	[IVLIA] - AV[GVSTA] Dr, b.r.	probably [HILARITAS] [S - C] in field. Hilarity's std between two children.	
50	CAT 305			263		Trier?		DD	Postumus	259	268	Antoninianus	IMP C POSTVMAS P F AVG. Rd, dr, b. r.	P M TR P IIII COS III P P. Mars, helmeted, adv. R., hld spear pointed forwards in r. hand, and trophy over l. shoulder.	
51	CAT 306						48	DD	Claudius II	268	270	Antoninianus	IMP C CLAVDIVS A[VG]. Rd, cr?, b. r.	GENIV[S EX]ERCI. Genius standing l. hld cornucopia in l. hand and patera in r.	
52	CAT 307						104	DD	Claudius II	268	270	Antoninianus	[I]MP C CLAVDIVS AVG. Rd, cr, b. r.	[VI]CT[OR]I-A AVG. Victory std. l. hld wreath is raised r. hand, and palm in l.	
53	CAT 1393						121	DD	Tetricus I	270	274	Antoninianus	[IMP TETRICVS P F AVG] or similar. Rd, cr, (dr?), b. r.	[SALVS AVG]. Salus std. l. feeding from patera in r. hand a snake arising from altar (and hld anchor in r. hand?).	
54	CAT 1390							DD	Tetricus II	273	274	Antoninianus	[C] P[IV] ESV T[ETRICVS CAES]. Rd, dr, b. l.	SPE[S AVGG]. Spes adv. L. hld flower in r. hand and raising robe with l.	
55	CAT 309						271	DD	Tetricus II	273	274	Antoninianus	[C P ES (V) TETRICVS CAES]. Rd, dr, b. r.	S[PES - A[VG]G. Spes as above.	
56	CAT 308						274	DD	Tetricus II	273	274	Antoninianus	[C P E] TET[R]ICVS CAES. Rd, dr, b. r.	S[PES] PVBLICA. Spes as above but std.	
57	CAT 1399						277 or 278	DD	Tetricus II	273	274	Antoninianus	[C P(IV) E (SV) TETICVS CAES]. Rd, (dr?), b. r.	[VICTORIA AVG]. Victory std (or adv.) l. hld wreath in r. hand and palm in l.	
58	CAT 311			309	313		281	DD	Constantine I	275	300	Follis	IMP CONSTANTINVS P AVG. Lr, cr, b. r.	SOLI INV-IC-TO COMITI. Sol, re., std., r. hand raised, l. hand hld globe.	PLN. London
59	CAT 1394			320	321	Trier	249 pl4/264	DD	Constantine I	275	300	AE3	[CONSTA-]NTINVS AVG. Helmeted, cr, b. r.	[VIRTVS EX]ERCIT. Two captives, sed back to back; trophy between them.	[P or S] TR.
60	CAT 313			323	324	Trier	427 or 435	DD	Constantine I	275	300	Follis	CONSTAN-TINVS AVG. Lr, b. r.	SARMATIA-DEVICTA. Victory adv r. hld olive-branch in l. hand and trophy in r.; captive sed to r. under her l. foot	STR crescent.

61	CAT 314			324	330	Trier		DD	Constantine I	275	300	Follis	CONSTAN-TINVS AVG. Lr, h. r.	PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG. Camp gate with two towers; star above.	PTR dot in crescent.
62	CAT 315			330	335	Trier		DD	Constantine I	275	300	AE3	CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG. Lr, with rosettes, dr, cr. r. Mis-struck; part of reverse on top of head.	GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS. Two soldiers std facing each other, each hld in outer hand a reversed spear and resting inner hand on shield; two standards between; . Between standards.	[TRP?].
63	CAT 324			335	337	Arles		DD	Constantine I	275	300	AE4	CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG. Dd with rosettes, cr, b. r.	[GLOR-IA] EXERC-ITVS. Two soldiers as above, but one standard between inscribed with chi-rho.	[P] CONST.
64	CAT 316			335	341	Arles		DD	Constantine I	275	300	AE3	[CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG], as 315.	[GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS]. As 324, but standard inscribed X.	Missing.
65	1970 SF 4			330	335	Trier		SB	Commemorative	330	340	AE3/4	CONSTAN-TINOPOLIS Helmeted, cr, b. r.	Constantinopolis std l. on prow hld transverse spear in r. hand and resting l. hand on shield.	TRST.
66	CAT 1386			330	335	Trier		DD	Commemorative	330	340	AE3/4	[C]ONSTAN-TI[NOPOLIS]. Helmeted b. of Constantinopolis l., wearing imperial mantle and hld sceptre over l. shoulder.	As above.	[TR]P[*?].
67	CAT 1364			330	335	Trier		DD	Commemorative	330	340	AE3/4	[VRBS ROMA] Roma, helmeted, dr, b. l.	She-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. Two stars above.	TRS.
68	CAT 1406			330	335			DD	Commemorative	330	340	AE3/4	VRBS - ROMA. As above.	As above.	S[...].
69	CAT 1382			330	335			DD	Commemorative	330	340	AE3/4	Two tiny fragments, the larger probably showing hind-legs of she-wolf; if so, as above.		
70	CAT 317			321		Trier	308	DD	Crispus	317	326	AE/3	IVL CRISPVS NOB [CAES]. Lr, cr, b. l., hld spear over l. shoulder, shield at r. shoulder.	BEATA TRAN-QVILLITAS. Altar, surmounted by globe, inscribed VO/TIS/XX. Three stars above	PTR.
71	CAT 1396			323	324		291	DD	Crispus	317	326	AE3	IVL CR[ISP]-VS NOB C. Lr, h. r.	CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Wreath enclosing VOT/X.	[PL]O[N crescent].
72	CAT 312			323	324		286	DD	Constantine II	317	337	AE3	CONSTANTI-NVS IVN N C. Helmeted, cr, b. r.	BEAT TRA-NQLITAS. Globe on altar inscribed VOT/IS/XX, three stars above.	PLON.
73	CAT 321			335	337	Lyons		DD	Constantine II	317	337	AE3/4	CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C. Lr, cr, b. r.	[GLOR-IA EX]ERC-ITVS. Two soldiers stg. Facing one another, inner hand resting on shield, outer hld spear; one standard between.	Crescent PLG.
74	CAT 1415			335	337	Arles		DD	Constantine II	317	337	AE3/4	CONSTANTI-[NVS IVN C]. Lr, cr, b. r.	GLOR-IA EXE[R]C-ITVS. As above; standard inscribed O.	[PCONST]. Confirmed at
75	CAT 320					Arles		DD	Constantine II	337	340	AE3/4	Indistinct, perhaps [IMP CON]STA-NTINTVS [AVG]. Dd-rosettes, (dr?), cr, b. r.	[GLOR]IA EXERC-ITNS. As above; standard inscribed with a crescent.	Missing.
76	CAT 322			347	348	Trier		DD	Constans	337	350	AE3/4	CONSTAN-S P F AVG. Rosette-dd, dr, cr, b. r.	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN. Two Victories stg facing one another, each hld up a wreath. D between them.	TRP.

77	CAT 323			347	348	Trier		DD	Constans	337	350	AE3/4	CONCTAN-S P F AVG. Pearl-dd, dr, cr, b. r. Straight-backed C instead of S after first N.	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN. Two Victories as above. D(?) between them.	TRS. Irregularities a 'die-clog'
78	CAT 318			347	348			DD	Constans	337	350	AE3/4	[(D N) CONSTA]-NS P F AVG]. Pearl-dd, dr, cr, b. r.	[VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN]. Two Victories type with branch-like device between them.	Illegible.
79	NO NUMBER			347	348				Constans	337	350	AE3/4	Illegible, bust r. Probably Constance.	[VICTORIAR DD AVGGQ NN]. As above.	Illegible.
80	CAT 1407			348	350	Rome		DD	Constans	337	350	Centenionalis	D N CONSTA-NS P F AVG. Pearl-dd, dr, cr, b. l., hld globe in r. hand.	FEL TEMP REPA-RATIO. Virtus, helmeted, head turned back, hld spear in l. hand adv. r., leading with his r. hand a small barbarian from hut beneath tree at l.; spear points down between soldier's legs.	RɕS.
81	CAT 1403			341	346			DD	Constans or Constantius II	337	361	AE3/4	Illegible.	[VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN]. Two Victories stg facing one another, each hld a wreath up to centre.	Illegible.
82	CAT 1409			330	335	Rome		DD	Constantius II	323	337	AE3	FL IVL CONSTANTINVS NOB C. Lr, dr, cr, b. r.	GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS. Two soldiers stg facing one another, each resting inner hand on shield, and hld spear in outer hand; two standards between them.	RFT.
83	CAT 319			330	335	Arles		DD	Constantius II	323	337	AE3/4	FL IVL CONSTANTINVS NOB C. Lr, dr, cr, b. r.	GLOR[IA] EXERC-ITVS. Two soldiers as above; mark between standards a wreath with or without central dot.	SCONS[T]. Confirmed at the British Museum.
84	CAT 1380			341	346	Trier		DD	Constantius II	337	361	AE4	Probably CONSTANTI-VS P F AVG. Dd, cr, dr, b. r.	[VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN]. Two Victories stg facing one another, each hld a wreath up to centre.	Illegible.
85	CAT 1402			335	341			DD	House of Constantine	307	361	AE3/4	Illegible.	[GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS]. Two soldiers, one standard between.	
86	CAT 1372			335	341			DD	House of Constantine	307	361	AE3/4	Illegible, b. r.	[GLORIA EXERCITVS]. As above.	
87	CAT 1374			335	341			DD	House of Constantine	307	361	AE3/4	Illegible.	[GLORIA EXERCITVS]. As above.	
88	CAT 326			350	351	Trier		DD	Magentius	350	353	Centenionalis	[IM CAE MAG]NENTIV-[S AVG]. Bare-headed, dr, b. r.	[FELICITAS - REIPV]BLI[CE]. __I__II (= A). Magnentius standing f., head l., hld Victory in r. hand and labarum inscribed with chr-rho in l.	Illegible.
89	CAT 325			352	353			DD	Decentius	350	353	Centenionalis	D N D[ECENTIVS NOB C]AES. Bare-h, cr, b. r.	[SALVS DD N]N AVG E[T CAES]. Large chi-rho flanked by A - ω (alpha - omega).	Missing.
90	CAT 327			364	367			DD	Valens	364	378	AE/3	D N VALEN-S [P F AVG]. Dd with rosette, dr, b. r.	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLICAE. Victory std l., hld wreath in l. hand; palm-branch sloped over r. shoulder.	[ɕ?] SMAQP. Aquileia.
91	CAT 310			367	375	Arles		DD	Gratian	367	383	AE3	[D N GRATIA]NVS AVGG AVG. Pearl-dd, dr, cr, b. r.	GLORIA NO-VI SAECVLI. Emperor std f., head l., l. hand resting on shield, and r. hand hld labarum inscribed with chr-rho. OF I I.	[CON].

Table 35: Details of the Roman coins from Nornour *(Penhallurick, 2009, pp.257-267)*

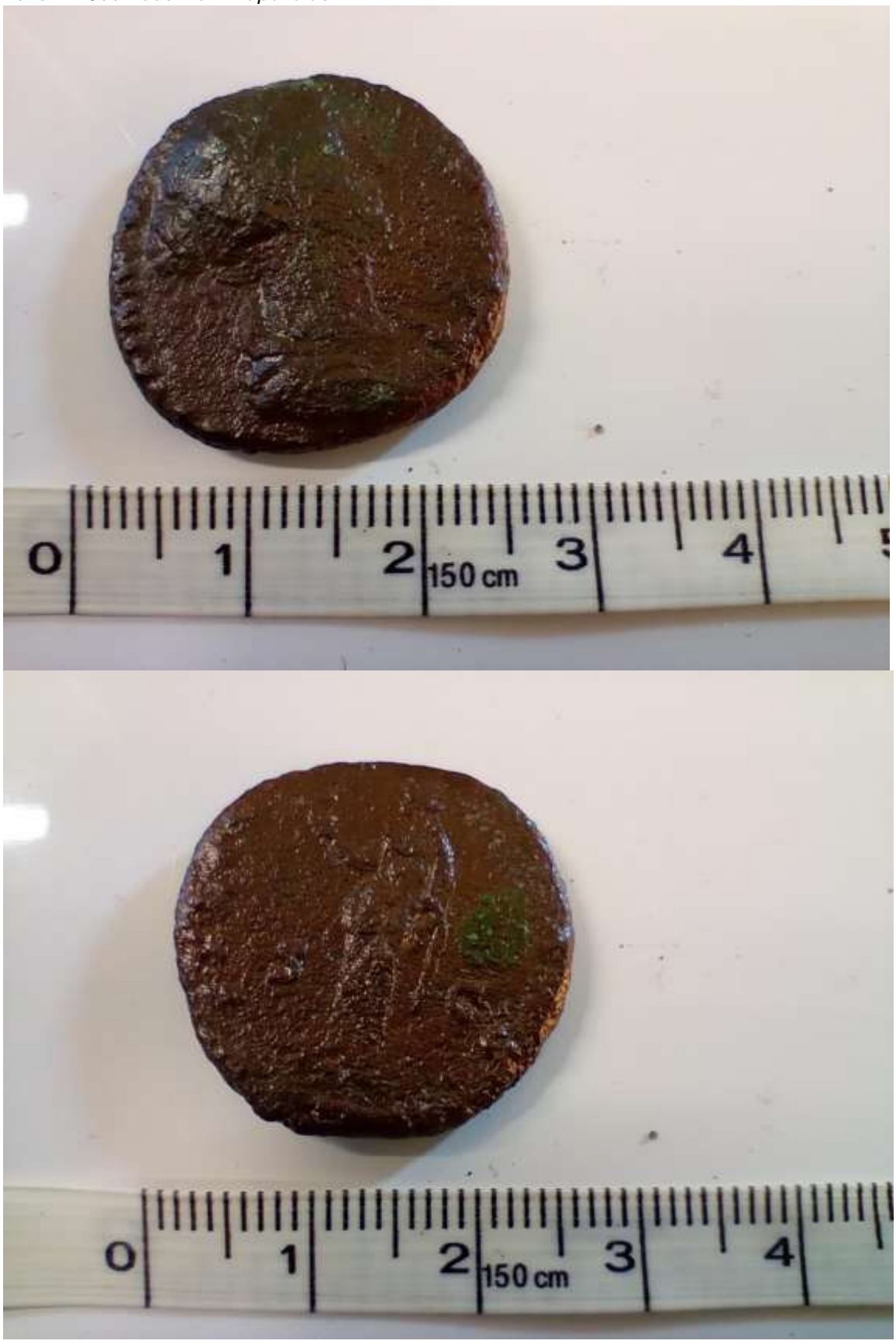
Appendix 7: Roman coins from Nornour

42 CAT 1378 Marcus Aurelius *Dupondius*





45 CAT 1055 Faustina II *Dupondius*



50 CAT 305 Postumus *Antoninianus*



67 CAT 1364 Commemorative *AE3/4*





71 CAT 1396 Crispus *AE3*



73 CAT 321 Constantine II *AE3/4*



Figure 158: Images of Roman coins from Nornour (1cm tape) *(courtesy of Isles of Scilly Museum database)*

Appendix 8: Period of usage in Britain of brooches in the Roman period

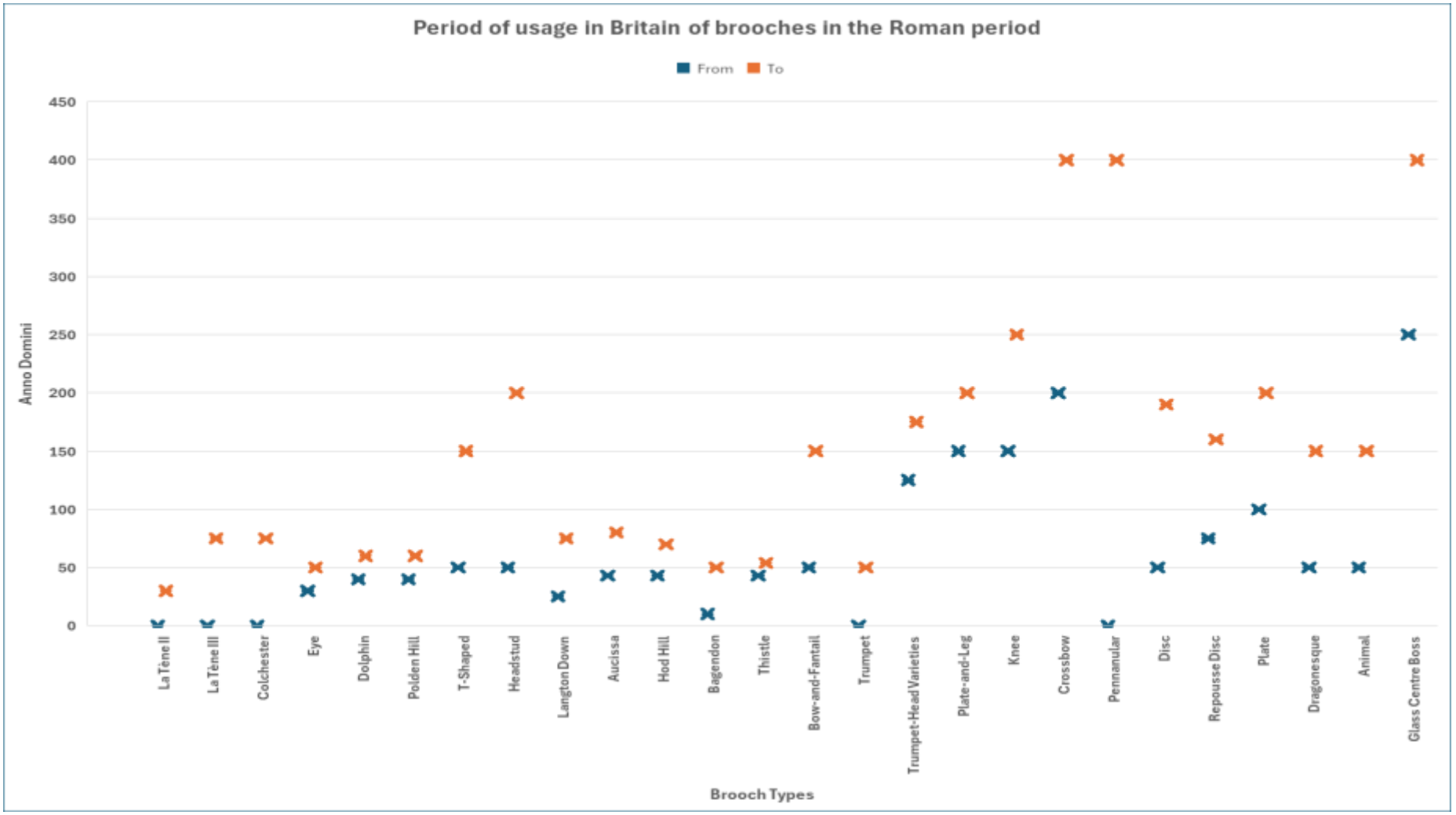


Table 36: Graph showing the periods of usage of Roman brooches by type *(author's compilation adapted from: Bayley and Butcher, 2012; Bayley, Freestone and Jackson, 2015; Butcher, 1977, pp.41-70; Hattatt, 1982, pp.56-168; Hattatt, 1989)*

Appendix 9: Roman brooches on the Isles of Scilly

No.	Reference	Hull	Type	Sub-type	Sub-sub-type	Metal	Enamel	Origin	AD	Findspot	Setting	Also At	Religious Site
1	NN 1	T 11 C	Bow	Simple one piece		Silver			75	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill Fishbourne	
2	NN 33	T 117	Bow	Applied hook		Brass			50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
3	NN 246	T 117	Bow	Applied hook					50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
4	NN 52	T 117	Bow	Applied hook		Leaded bronze			50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
5	NN 54	T 117	Bow	Applied hook					50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
6	NN 50		Bow	Colchester		Leaded bronze			50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
7	NN 55		Bow	Colchester		Leaded bronze			50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
8	NN 57		Bow	Colchester		Leaded bronze			50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
9	NN 58		Bow	Colchester		Leaded bronze			50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
10	NN 59		Bow	Colchester		Leaded bronze			50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
11	NN 60		Bow	Colchester		Leaded bronze			50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
12	NN 311		Bow	Colchester		Leaded bronze / gunmetal			50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill	
13	NN 4	T 104	Bow	Colchester		Leaded bronze		Western	50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Camerton Wookey Hall Chew Usk Caerleon	
14	NN 5	T 104	Bow	Colchester		Leaded bronze		Western	50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Camerton Wookey Hall Chew Usk Caerleon	
15	NN 49	T 88	Bow	Beaked bow		Leaded bronze		South-Western		Nornour	Shrine	Dragonby	
16	NN 48		Bow	Fantail		Bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Halangy Down St Mawgan Hod Hill	
17	NN 262	T 103	Bow	Polden Hill		Leaded bronze			65-105	Nornour	Shrine	Camerton Verulamium Uley	Temple
18	NN 243	T 100 C	Bow	Polden Hill		(Leaded) bronze/gunmetal			80-120	Nornour	Shrine	West Midlands	
19	NN 300		Bow	Polden Hill		Leaded bronze			80-120	Nornour	Shrine	West Midlands	
20	NN 2	T 100 A	Bow	Polden Hill		Leaded gunmetal			80-120	Nornour	Shrine		
21	NN 3	T 100 B	Bow	Polden Hill		(Leaded) bronze			80-120	Nornour	Shrine	Kirkby Shakenoak Midlands	
22	NN 235	T 148 C	Bow	Headstud		Brass		Britain	70-86	Nornour	Shrine	Yorkshire Northumberland Cumbria	
23	NN 314		Bow	Headstud		Bronze			100	Nornour	Shrine	Roman-occupied Britain St Mawgan	
24	NN 103	T 149 B	Bow	Headstud		Leaded bronze		Britain	100	Nornour	Shrine	Roman-occupied Britain St Mawgan	
25	NN 104	T 149 B	Bow	Headstud		(Leaded) bronze		Britain	100	Nornour	Shrine	Roman-occupied Britain St Mawgan	
26	NN 105	T 149 B	Bow	Headstud		(Leaded) gunmetal		Britain	100	Nornour	Shrine	Roman-occupied Britain St Mawgan	
27	NN 99	T 149 B	Bow	Headstud		Leaded bronze		South-Western	50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Henley Wood	
28	NN 101	T 149 B	Bow	Headstud		Leaded bronze		South-Western	50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Henley Wood	
29	NN 102	T 149 B	Bow	Headstud				South-Western	50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Henley Wood	
30	NN 100	T 149 B	Bow	Headstud		Leaded bronze		South-Western	50-100	Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Henley Wood	
31	NN 106		Bow	Headstud		Leaded bronze			50-100	Nornour	Shrine		
32	NN 107		Bow	Headstud					50-100	Nornour	Shrine		
33	NN 266		Bow	Headstud or trumpet					50-100	Nornour	Shrine		
34	NN 108	T 154 B	Bow	Trumpet Chester		Leaded bronze		Western	75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Uley Camerton Wroxeter Whitton Alcester	Temple
35	NN 111	T 166 C	Bow	Pseudo-trumpet		Leaded bronze / gunmetal			138-161	Nornour	Shrine	Cumbria Verulamium Scole Wallbrook Waasmunster (Belgium)	
36	NN 124	T 181	Bow	Plate-on-bow		Leaded bronze		Continent / Britai	100	Nornour	Shrine	Saalburg Nijmegen Verulamium	
37	NN 125	T 181	Bow	Plate-on-bow		Leaded bronze		Continent / Britai	100	Nornour	Shrine	Saalburg Nijmegen Verulamium	
38	NN 126	T 181	Bow	Plate-on-bow		Leaded bronze		Continent / Britai	100	Nornour	Shrine	Saalburg Nijmegen Verulamium	
39	NN 127	T 181	Bow	Plate-on-bow		Leaded bronze		Continent / Britai	100	Nornour	Shrine	Saalburg Nijmegen Verulamium	
40	NN 128	T 181	Bow	Plate-on-bow		Leaded bronze		Continent / Britai	100	Nornour	Shrine	Saalburg Nijmegen Verulamium	

41	NN 129	T 181	Bow	Plate-on-bow				Continent / Britai	100	Nornour	Shrine	Saalburg Nijmegen Verulamium	
42	NN291		Bow	Plate-on-bow		Leaded bronze		Continent / Britai	100	Nornour	Shrine	Saalburg Nijmegen Verulamium	
43	NN 116		Bow	Plate-on-bow		Leaded bronze		South-Western		Nornour	Shrine	Straubing	
44	NN 117		Bow	Plate-on-bow		Leaded bronze		South-Western		Nornour	Shrine	Straubing	
45	NN 122		Bow	Plate-on-bow						Nornour	Shrine		
46	NN 315		Bow	Plate-on-bow		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y	Continental		Nornour	Shrine		
47	NN 113	T 175 B	Bow	Knee and P-profile						Nornour	Shrine	Uley	Temple
48	NN 114	T 175 B	Bow	Knee and P-profile						Nornour	Shrine	Uley	Temple
49	NN 115	T 175 B	Bow	Knee and P-profile		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Uley	Temple
50	NN 316	T 175 B	Bow	Knee and P-profile		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Uley	Temple
51	NN 112	T 174	Bow	Knee and P-profile						Nornour	Shrine	Woodeaton Lydney	
52	NN 239	T 174	Bow	Knee and P-profile						Nornour	Shrine	Woodeaton Lydney	
53	NN 259	T 171	Bow	Knee and P-profile					160-230	Nornour	Shrine	Caerleon	
54	NN 260	T 171	Bow	Knee and P-profile					160-230	Nornour	Shrine	Caerleon	
55	NN 258		Bow	Knee and P-profile					160-230	Nornour	Shrine	Caerleon	
56	NN 241	T 187 B	Bow	Knee and P-profile		Leaded bronze		South-Western	175-250	Nornour	Shrine	Vindolanda Rhineland	
57	NN 72	T 130	SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Chevron	Leaded bronze			75-125	Nornour	Shrine		
58	NN 73	T 130	SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Chevron	Leaded bronze			75-125	Nornour	Shrine		
59	NN 74	T 130	SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Chevron				75-125	Nornour	Shrine		
60	NN 78	T 130	SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Chevron				75-125	Nornour	Shrine		
61	NN 75		SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Variants				75-125	Nornour	Shrine		
62	NN 51		SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Variants	Leaded bronze			75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa	
63	NN 77		SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Variants	Leaded bronze			75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse	
64	NN 61	T 125	SW Bow	Simple T-shaped			N			Nornour	Shrine	Lowbury Catsgore Dorchester Wanborough	
65	NN 62	T 125	SW Bow	Simple T-shaped			N			Nornour	Shrine	Lowbury Catsgore Dorchester Wanborough	
66	NN 304	T 125	SW Bow	Simple T-shaped		Leaded bronze / gunmetal	N			Nornour	Shrine	Lowbury Catsgore Dorchester Wanborough	
67	NN 63		SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Variants		N			Nornour	Shrine		
68	NN 271		SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Variants		N			Nornour	Shrine		
69	NN 294		SW Bow	Simple T-shaped	Variants		N			Nornour	Shrine		
70	NN 96		SW Bow	Simple T + crest		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
71	NN 97		SW Bow	Simple T + crest						Nornour	Shrine		
72	NN 35	T 120	SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Rib triangle		Y			Nornour	Shrine	Purbeck	
73	NN 36	T 120	SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Rib triangle		Y			Nornour	Shrine	Purbeck	
74	NN 80	T 131	SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Fine line cell	Leaded bronze		Southern		Nornour	Shrine	Seaton Exeter	
75	NN 81	T 131	SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Fine line cell			Southern		Nornour	Shrine	Seaton Exeter	
76	NN 82	T 131	SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Fine line cell	Leaded bronze		Southern		Nornour	Shrine	Seaton Exeter	
77	NN 95	T 131	SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Fine line cell			Southern		Nornour	Shrine	Seaton Exeter	
78	NN 234	T 131	SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Fine line cell			Southern		Nornour	Shrine	Seaton Exeter	
79	RN 16		SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Fine line cell					Nornour	Shrine		
80	NN 306		SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Fine line cell	Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
81	NN 83		SW Bow	Simple T + crest	Variants	Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
82	NN 70	T 129	SW Bow	Simple T + crest		Leaded bronze	N			Nornour	Shrine		
83	NN 71	T 129	SW Bow	Simple T + crest		Leaded bronze	N			Nornour	Shrine		
84	NN 65	T 126	SW Bow	Simple T + crest			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore	
85	NN 66	T 126	SW Bow	Simple T + crest		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore	

86	NN 67	T 126	SW Bow	Simple T + crest			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore	
87	NN 68	T 126	SW Bow	Simple T + crest		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore	
88	NN 94	T 120	SW Bow	T-shaped waist		Leaded bronze	N			Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Wilsford Priddy	
89	NN 34		SW Bow	T-shaped waist		Bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
90	NN 307		SW Bow	T-shaped waist		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
91	NN 231	T 143 T 145	SW Bow	Trumpet/headstud	T-shaped	Leaded bronze	Y		75-100	Nornour	Shrine	Lydney Dorset Exeter	
92	NN 261	T 143 T 145	SW Bow	Trumpet/headstud	T-shaped	Leaded bronze	Y		75-100	Nornour	Shrine	Lydney Dorset Exeter	
93	NN 312	T 143 T 145	SW Bow	Trumpet/headstud	T-shaped	Leaded bronze	Y		75-100	Nornour	Shrine	Lydney Dorset Exeter	
94	NN 109	T 158 F	SW Bow	Trumpet related		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
95	NN 286		SW Bow	Trumpet related					69-130	Nornour	Shrine	Dorchester Ilchester Exeter Rotherley	
96	NN 110		SW Bow	Trumpet headstud related		(Leaded) bronze	Y		50-70	Nornour	Shrine	Baldock	
97	NN 9	T 108	SW Bow	Trumpet headstud related		Leaded bronze	Y		100	Nornour	Shrine	Chew Whitton Caerwent	
98	NN 10	T 109	SW Bow	Trumpet headstud related		Leaded bronze	Y		100	Nornour	Shrine	Chew Whitton Caerwent	
99	NN 6	T 106	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
100	NN 7	T 106	SW Bow	Developed						Nornour	Shrine		
101	NN 8		SW Bow	Developed			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
102	NN 93		SW Bow	Developed			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Caerleon Exeter Bristol Usk	
103	NN 7 A	T 105 B	SW Bow	Developed			Y	South-Western		Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Caerleon Gadebridge	
104	NN 11	T 110 A	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze			75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Warwick Farley Heath Croft Ambrey	
105	NN 12	T 111 A	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Woodeaton Chichester Whitton Verulamium Wanborough	
106	NN 13	T 111 A	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Woodeaton Chichester Whitton Verulamium Wanborough	
107	NN 14	T 111 A	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Woodeaton Chichester Whitton Verulamium Wanborough	
108	NN 15	T 111 A	SW Bow	Developed						Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Woodeaton Chichester Whitton Verulamium Wanborough	
109	NN 301	T 111 A	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Woodeaton Chichester Whitton Verulamium Wanborough	
110	NN 17	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed			Y		130-160	Nornour	Shrine	Caerleon Charterhouse Usk	
111	NN 19	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y		130-160	Nornour	Shrine	Caerleon Charterhouse Usk	
112	NN 20	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed			Y		130-160	Nornour	Shrine	Caerleon Charterhouse Usk	
113	NN 21	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y		130-160	Nornour	Shrine	Caerleon Charterhouse Usk	
114	NN 24	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y		130-160	Nornour	Shrine	Caerleon Charterhouse Usk	
115	NN 263	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed						Nornour	Shrine		
116	NN 25	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed						Nornour	Shrine		
117	NN 273	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
118	NN 29	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
119	RN 2963	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
120	NN 28	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
121	NN 227	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
122	NN 27	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse	
123	NN 32	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse	
124	NN 18	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
125	NN 23	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed			Y			Nornour	Shrine		

126	NN 31	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		(Leaded) bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Wanborough Caerwent	
127	NN 22	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Barnwood	
128	NN 247	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Charterhouse Barnwood	
129	NN 26	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Wanborough	
130	NN 30	T 111 B	SW Bow	Developed			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Wanborough	
131	NN 37	T 122	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
132	NN 38	T 122	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
133	NN 39	T 122	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
134	NN 40	T 122	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
135	NN 41	T 122	SW Bow	Developed			Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
136	NN 42	T 122	SW Bow	Developed			Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
137	NN 43	T 122	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
138	NN 44	T 122	SW Bow	Developed			Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
139	NN 45	T 122	SW Bow	Developed			Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
140	NN 46	T 122	SW Bow	Developed			Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
141	NN 302	T 122	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y		75-125	Nornour	Shrine	Carvossa Charterhouse Uley	Temple
142	NN 297	T 122	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
143	NN 242	T 122	SW Bow	Developed		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
144	NN 85	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour	Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
145	NN 86	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour					Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
146	RN 1371	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour					Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
147	NN 84	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour	Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
148	NN 87	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour	Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
149	NN 88	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour	Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
150	NN 232	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour	(Leaded bronze)				Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
151	NN 89	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour					Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
152	NN 90	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour					Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
153	NN 254	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour					Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
154	NN 92	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour					Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
155	NN 91	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour					Nornour	Shrine	Catsgore Ham Hill	
156	NN 270	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour		Y			Nornour	Shrine		
157	NN 278	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour		Y			Nornour	Shrine		
158	NN 281	T 132	SW Bow	Developed	Nornour		Y			Nornour	Shrine		
159	NN 47	T 123	SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
160	NN 238		SW Bow	Single unparalleled						Nornour	Shrine		
161	NN 53	T 135	SW Bow	Single unparalleled		(Leaded) bronze			75	Nornour	Shrine	Rock Plymouth	
162	NN 233		SW Bow	Single unparalleled						Nornour	Shrine		
163	NN 98		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
164	NN 244		SW Bow	Single unparalleled			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
165	NN 245		SW Bow	Single unparalleled					75-100	Nornour	Shrine		
166	NN 229		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Porth Godrevy	
167	NN 119		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Leaded copper	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
168	NN 120		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
169	NN 118		SW Bow	Single unparalleled			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
170	NN 228		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
171	NN 69		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
172	NN 64		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		(Leaded) bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
173	NN 303		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		

174	NN 305		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
175	NN 313		SW Bow	Single unparalleled		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
176	NN 121		SW Bow	Bow fragments			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
177	NN 295		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
178	NN 123		SW Bow	Bow fragments			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
179	NN 269		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
180	NN 272		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
181	NN 274		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
182	NN 275		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
183	NN 279		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
184	NN 280		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
185	NN 283		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
186	NN 284		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
187	NN 288		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
188	NN 289		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
189	NN 290		SW Bow	Bow fragments						Nornour	Shrine		
190	NN 183		Plate					Continental	50	Nornour	Shrine		
191	NN 226		Plate					Continental	50	Nornour	Shrine	Titelsberg Bolards temple	Temple
192	NN 325		Plate	Shoe sole		Leaded gunmetal		Continental	50	Nornour	Shrine	Hufingen	
193	NN 139		Plate	Rhomboid		Leaded gunmetal	Y	Continental		Nornour	Shrine	Aveyron Theux Syria Colchester Exeter	
194	NN 253		Plate	Rhomboid		(Leaded) brass/gunmetal	Y	Continental		Nornour	Shrine	Aveyron Theux Syria Colchester Exeter	
195	NN 136		Plate	Rhomboid		Leaded gunmetal?	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
196	NN 142		Plate	Rhomboid			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Szentes-Kistoke Colchester	
197	NN 151		Plate	Rhomboid		(Leaded) brass/gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Nijmegen Pannonia London Carvossa	
198	NN 144		Plate	Rhomboid			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
199	NN 152		Plate	Rhomboid		Brass	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Titelberg Ellezelles Barentin	
200	NN 153		Plate	Rhomboid		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
201	NN 147		Plate	Rhomboid			Y		155-160	Nornour	Shrine	Verulamium	
202	NN 148		Plate	Rhomboid		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y		155-160	Nornour	Shrine	Verulamium	
203	NN 154		Plate	Rhomboid			Y		155-160	Nornour	Shrine	Verulamium	
204	NN 181		Plate	Rhomboid			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Flavion Augst Cirencester Silchester	
205	NN 252		Plate	Rhomboid			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
206	NN 149		Plate	Rhomboid			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Titelberg Mandeure Hucclecote Farley Heath Richborough	
207	NN 146		Plate	Rhomboid		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Lowbury Hill Augst Javols Brigetio Ellezelles	
208	NN 255		Plate	Rhomboid		(Leaded) brass/gunmetal?	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
209	NN 138		Plate	Rhomboid			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Straubing Gadebridge	
210	NN 140		Plate	Rhomboid		(Leaded) brass/gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
211	NN 134		Plate	Rhomboid			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Tongeren	
212	NN 137		Plate	Rhomboid		Leaded gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
213	NN 141		Plate	Rhomboid		(Leaded) gunmetal?	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Wincheringen Saalburg	
214	NN 155		Plate	Rhomboid			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Madrano Pannonia Titelberg Blicquy Charterhouse Needham	
215	NN 143		Plate	Rhomboid		(Leaded) bronze/gunmetal	Y		200	Nornour	Shrine	Nismes Caruntum	
216	NN 145		Plate	Rhomboid		Leaded gunmetal	Y		100	Nornour	Shrine	Augst Neckarbuken Bolards temple Charterhouse	
217	NN 150		Plate	Rhomboid		Brass	Y			Nornour	Shrine		

218	NN 317		Plate	Rhomboid		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
219	NN 135		Plate	Rhomboid		Gunmetal?	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
220	NN 173		Plate	Small complex		(Leaded) brass/gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
221	NN 174		Plate	Small complex		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Flavion Bovigny	
222	NN 175		Plate	Small complex		Gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
223	RN 1076		Plate	Small complex			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Flavion Bovigny	
224	NN 157		Plate	Small equal-ended		Leaded gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
225	NN 158		Plate	Small equal-ended			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
226	NN 319		Plate	Small equal-ended		(Leaded) bronze/gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
227	NN 320		Plate	Small equal-ended		Leaded gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
228	NN 164/285		Plate	Small equal-ended		Leaded bronze/gunmetal?	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Verulamium Kidlington Liberchies Dalheim Rossum Montmaurin	
229	NN 165		Plate	Small equal-ended		Gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Stonea Monceau-sur-Sambre Ellezelles Amay Beausaint Villers-deux-Eglises	
230	NN 161		Plate	Small equal-ended		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Hufingen	
231	NN 162		Plate	Small equal-ended		Leaded gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Hufingen	
232	NN 166		Plate	Small equal-ended		Leaded gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Hufingen	
233	NN 318		Plate	Small equal-ended		Leaded gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Hufingen	
234	NN 167		Plate	Small equal-ended		Gunmetal?	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
235	NN 168		Plate	Small equal-ended		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Mandeure	
236	NN 169		Plate	Fragments		(Leaded) gunmetal?	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
237	NN 256		Plate	Fragments			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
238	RN 1360		Plate	Fragments		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
239	NN 159		Plate	Small equal-ended B			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Flavion	
240	NN 160		Plate	Small equal-ended B		(Leaded) bronze/gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Flavion	
241	NN 171		Plate	Small equal-ended B		Leaded gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
242	NN 172		Plate	Small equal-ended B		Leaded bronze/gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
243	NN 156		Plate	Small equal-ended B		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Verulamium Charterhouse Augst Bolards	
244	NN 170		Plate	Small equal-ended B			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Straubing	
245	NN 179		Plate	Large equal-ended						Nornour	Shrine	Augst Vienne London Farley Heath	
246	NN 180		Plate	Large equal-ended		?	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Luxembourg Heddernheim Saalburg	
247	NN 321		Plate	Large equal-ended		Leaded bronze	Y		150-175	Nornour	Shrine	80 Continent 4 UK	
248	NN 205		Plate	Wheel		Gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Koln Blicquy	Romano-Celtic sky god
249	NN 194		Plate	Disc Continental		Gunmetal	Y		130	Nornour	Shrine	Berzee Lavacherie	
250	NN 202		Plate	Disc Continental		(Leaded) bronze/gunmetal	Y		200	Nornour	Shrine	Trier Theux Stonea Milton Keynes Chichester	
251	NN 203		Plate	Disc Continental			Y		200	Nornour	Shrine	Trier Theux Stonea Milton Keynes Chichester	
252	NN 190		Plate	Disc Continental			Y		190-260	Nornour	Shrine	Flavion Blicquy Saalburg Stonea Niederbieber	
253	NN 189=287		Plate	Disc Continental		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
254	NN 200		Plate	Disc Continental		Brass	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Berzee	
255	NN 198		Plate	Disc Continental			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Arentsberg Thetford Kenchester	
256	NN 251		Plate	Disc Continental			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
257	NN 187		Plate	Disc Continental		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Saalburg Bonn	
258	NN 188		Plate	Disc Continental		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
259	NN 324		Plate	Disc Continental		Leaded bronze/gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		

260	NN 240		Plate	Disc Continental			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
261	NN 201		Plate	Disc Continental probably		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Flavion Swindon Hill Caerwent Wanborough Tetbury	
262	NN 182		Plate	Disc scalloped rim			Y	Continental		Nornour	Shrine	Neuss Haulchin Dalheim	
263	NN 207		Plate	Buckler			N		69-150	Nornour	Shrine	Augst Blicquy Straubing Titelberg St Remy de Provence Syria Charterhouse Caerleon Verulamium	
264	NN 249		Plate	Buckler			N		69-150	Nornour	Shrine	Augst Blicquy Straubing Titelberg St Remy de Provence Syria Charterhouse Caerleon Verulamium	
265	NN 248		Plate	Buckler			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
266	NN 267		Plate	Buckler			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
267	NN 204		Plate	Disc British		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Norfolk	
268	NN 196		Plate	Disc British		Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Hants Wilts Berks	
269	NN 195		Plate	Disc British			Y	Britain		Nornour	Shrine		
270	NN 199		Plate	Disc British		Gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
271	NN 237		Plate	Gilded central glass		Brass/gunmetal		Britain	260	Nornour	Shrine	Fishbourne Nettleton Augst Zugmantel	
272	NN 197		Plate	Gilded central glass		Bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine		
273	NN 296		Plate	Gilded central glass		Bronze				Nornour	Shrine		
274	NN 191		Plate	Small flat probably British			Y	Britain	210-250	Nornour	Shrine	Utey Wilts Richborough Vindolanda Newstead 0 Continent	Temple
275	NN 192		Plate	Small flat probably British			Y	Britain	210-250	Nornour	Shrine	Utey Wilts Richborough Vindolanda Newstead 0 Continent	Temple
276	NN 298		Plate	Small flat probably British		Bronze	Y	Britain		Nornour	Shrine		
277	NN 193		Plate	Small flat probably British		Gunmetal	Y	Britain		Nornour	Shrine	Vincennes Nettleton Lowbury Hill Old Penrith	
278	NN 257		Plate	Small flat probably British		(Leaded) bronze	Y	Britain		Nornour	Shrine	Vincennes Nettleton Lowbury Hill Old Penrith	
279	NN 206		Plate	Umbonate disc		Copper	Y	Britain	80-100	Nornour	Shrine	Nijmegen Charterhouse Woodeaton Wiriterton Usk	
280	NN 184		Plate	Disc applied plates		Leaded bronze				Nornour	Shrine	Kidlington	
281	NN 185		Plate	Disc applied plates						Nornour	Shrine		
282	NN 186		Plate	Disc applied plates						Nornour	Shrine	Kidlington	
283	NN 186 A		Plate	Disc applied plates						Nornour	Shrine		
284	NN 322		Plate	Disc applied plates		Leaded gunmetal				Nornour	Shrine		
285	NN 323		Plate	Disc applied plates		Leaded gunmetal				Nornour	Shrine		
286	NN 210		Plate	Unusual		Gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Farningham Cirencester Besancon	
287	NN 211		Plate	Unusual			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
288	RN 1072		Plate	Unusual			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
289	NN 176		Plate	Unusual			Y			Nornour	Shrine	Vechten Flavion	
290	NN 208		Plate	Unusual			Y	Continental		Nornour	Shrine	Trier Eastern Yorkshire	
291	NN 178		Plate	Unusual			Y	Continental	175-225	Nornour	Shrine		
292	NN 209		Plate	Unusual		(Leaded) gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	East Anglia Otford Vienna	
293	NN 177		Plate	Unusual			Y			Nornour	Shrine		
294	NN 212		Plate	Fusiform			Y	Britain		Nornour	Shrine	Nettleton Charterhouse Alveston Needham Rouen	
295	NN 213		Plate	Fusiform			Y	Britain		Nornour	Shrine	Nettleton Charterhouse Alveston Needham Rouen	

296	NN 214		Plate	Fusiform			Y	Britain		Nornour	Shrine	Nettleton Charterhouse Alveston Needham Rouen	
297	NN 250		Plate	Fusiform			Y	Britain		Nornour	Shrine	Nettleton Charterhouse Alveston Needham Rouen	
298	NN 215-282		Plate	Fusiform						Nornour	Shrine		
299	NN 216		Plate	Representational	Shoe sole		Y			Nornour	Shrine	Pannonia Low Countries Augst Verulamium Chichester Caerleon	
300	NN 217		Plate	Representational	Shoe sole	Leaded bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Pannonia Low Countries Augst Verulamium Chichester Caerleon	
301	NN 218		Plate	Representational	Shoe sole	(Leaded) bronze	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Pannonia Low Countries Augst Verulamium Chichester Caerleon	
302	NN 219		Plate	Representational	Shoe sole	Leaded bronze/gunmetal	Y			Nornour	Shrine	Pannonia Low Countries Augst Verulamium Chichester Caerleon	
303	NN 220		Plate	Representational	Shoe sole		Y			Nornour	Shrine	Pannonia Low Countries Augst Verulamium Chichester Caerleon	
304	NN 221		Plate	Representational	Shoe sole		Y			Nornour	Shrine	Pannonia Low Countries Augst Verulamium Chichester Caerleon	
305	NN 222		Plate	Representational	Shoe sole		Y			Nornour	Shrine	Pannonia Low Countries Augst Verulamium Chichester Caerleon	
306	NN 223		Plate	Representational	Shoe sole		Y			Nornour	Shrine	Pannonia Low Countries Augst Verulamium Chichester Caerleon	
307	NN 130		Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic	Leaded bronze	Y		150	Nornour	Shrine	Hayling Island temple Augst Mandeure Titelberg	To Isle of Blessed
308	NN 131		Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic					Nornour	Shrine		
309	NN 265=293		Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic		Y	Continental		Nornour	Shrine	Richborough	Votive
310	NN 133		Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic	Brass/gunmetal	Y	Britain	50-275	Nornour	Shrine	Henley Wood Woodeaton Colchester Aldborough York Midlothian	Ritual Jupiter
311	NN 132		Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic	Leaded bronze?	Y	Britain	275	Nornour	Shrine	Norfolk Somerset East Anglia Wessex Hayling Island	All at temples
312	NN 236		Plate	Representational	Zoomorphic	(Leaded) gunmetal	Y	Continental		Nornour	Shrine	Nettleton	
313	NN 224		Plate	Open plate					140-200	Nornour	Shrine	Winchester	
314	NN 225		Plate	Penannular						Nornour	Shrine	Hod Hill Camerton Porthcressa Castle Gotha Carvossa St Mawgan	
315	NN 227		Plate	Penannular						Nornour	Shrine		
316			Bow	La Tène III	Nauheim Derivitive				75	Teän	Cist		
317			Bow	La Tène III	Nauheim Derivitive				75	Teän	Cist		
318			Bow	Fantail	Thistle	Bronze		Continental	43-54	Halangy Down	Domestic shrine	Nornour St Mawgan Hod Hill	
319			Bow	Aucissa		Bronze		South-Western	43-80	Halangy Down	Domestic shrine	Porthcressa	
320			Bow	T-shaped		Bronze			50-150	Halangy Down	Domestic shrine	Dover London	
321			Plate	Disc		Bronze	Y	Continental	50-190	Halangy Down	Domestic shrine	Nornour Porthcressa	
322			Bow	Fantail		Iron			50-150	Halangy Down	Domestic shrine		
323			Bow	Fantail		Iron			50-150	Halangy Down	Domestic shrine	St Mawgan	
324	1		Plate	Disc				Continental	200	Porthcressa	Cist		
325	2		Plate	Penannular					0-50	Porthcressa	Cist		
326	3		Bow	Aucissa					50	Porthcressa	Cist		
327	4		Plate	Penannular				Iberia	0-100	Porthcressa	Cist		
328	5		Bow						0-50	Porthcressa	Cist	Rotherley Ham Hill	
329	6		Bow			Bronze			0-50	Porthcressa	Cist		
330	7		Bow						0-50	Porthcressa	Cist		

331	8		Bow						0-50	Porthcressa	Cist		
332	9		Bow			Bronze			0-50	Porthcressa	Cist		

Table 37: Details of the Roman brooches from the Isles of Scilly *(Ashbee, 1954, pp.1-25; Ashbee, 1996, pp.1-201; Butcher, 2014, pp.1-80; Hattatt, 1982; Tebbutt, 1934, pp.302-304; Tyacke, Bayley and Butcher, 2011, p.14)*

Appendix 10: Mithraic carvings



CIMRM 353 - Mithras rock birth. Square marble relief. Rome, Italy.
Fourth century AD square marble relief.
Birth of Mithras from a rock; figure visible from knees upwards. The juvenile god is wearing a Phrygian cap with a knife raised up in his right hand and a lit torch in his left hand.

Figure 159: Carving of the rock birth of Mithras *(Pearse, https://mithras.tertullian.org/display.php?page=cimrm353; personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 07 June 2025)*



Saturn sitting on top of a rock, holding a knife upright in his right hand

Figure 160: Sketch of carving of Saturn holding a knife *(Pearse, https://mithras.tertullian.org/display.php?page=imgs_vermaseren_secret_god; personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 07 June 2025)*



CIMRM 1247 - Two-sided relief on pivot with side-panels. Dieburg, Germany
A red sandstone relief with 11 panels around a central image.
The image bottom left depicts an unclothed man, Saturnus, sat atop a rock. His left hand supports his head whilst he holds a knife vertically in his right hand.

Figure 161: Carved image including Saturn holding a knife *(Pearse, https://mithras.tertullian.org/display.php?page=cimrm1247; personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 07 June 2025)*



Fig. 32 – Mon. 83

CIMRM entry 83 – Cautes statuette with axe. Sidon. In the Louvre, Paris.
Parian marble statue of the torchbearer, Cautes, wearing boots and a long mantle. He stands next to the stump of a tree, upon which a quiver has been strapped. His lowered right hand is holding the torch whilst his raised left hand holds an eight-shaped double-headed axe.

Figure 162: Image of Mithraic statue of Cautes holding an axe *(Pearse, https://mithras.tertullian.org/display.php?page=cimrm83; personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 07 June 2025)*

Appendix 11: Detail from stonemason

From personal communications (via emails), 26 March 2025, with Andrew Langdon, an expert in the granite crosses of Cornwall.

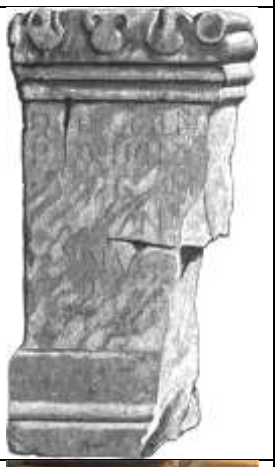
> "It is difficult to estimate the amount of time it would have taken to carve the altar stone, today a stonemason with modern equipment would perhaps complete it in 2 or 3 days.
>
> Granite is a much more difficult stone to carve than limestones and sandstones and any Roman would have needed to be skilled in working with granite. Perhaps, a Roman would commission a local stone sculptor to carve his altar stone, someone use[d] to carving in granite?
>
> Obviously, one would have to source a piece of granite, and this would have involved finding a suitable outcrop of rock and splitting a block of granite from it, this would take time. One would have used a piece of surface rock, and a quarryman would have to split it with metal tools, it is difficult to estimate the time this could have taken, perhaps many weeks [to] achieve.
>
> Once they had a rectangular block of stone, a stonemason may take a week or two to carve the altar stone and perhaps another week to carve the symbols on it. However, this all depends on the skill of the craftsman, quality of the stone and metal chisels available at the time. The tools the Romans would have had, would be similar to those stonemasons use today, but wouldn't have had hardened tips and would have needed constant re-sharpening while carving the granite."

Appendix 12: Mithraically carved altars in Britain

Number	CIMRM	Place	Site	Image
1	**809**	Caerleon Amgueddfa Cymru – Museum Wales	Legionary fortress	
2	**837**	Lanchester Great North Museum		
3	**839**	Rudchester, Hadrian's Wall Great North Museum	Mithraeum	

4	**841**	Rudchester, Hadrian's Wall Great North Museum	Mithraeum	
5	**842**	Rudchester, Hadrian's Wall Great North Museum	Mithraeum	
6	**843**	Rudchester, Hadrian's Wall Great North Museum	Mithraeum	
7	**845**	Carrawburgh Great North Museum	Mithraeum	

8	**846**	Carrawburgh Great North Museum	Mithraeum	
9	**847/8**	Carrawburgh Great North Museum	Mithraeum	
10	**858/9**	Housesteads Great North Museum	Fort	

11	**864**	Housesteads Great North Museum	Fort	
12	**871**	Haltwhistle Whereabouts unknown		
13	**872**	Castlesteads Private collection	Fort	
14		Inveresk National Museums Scotland	Mithraeum	

15		Inveresk National Museums Scotland	Mithraeum	
16		Isles of Scilly		

Table 38: Roman altars in Britain with Mithraically carved symbols or inscriptions (no scale) *(Images and copyright:- Personal communications (via email): Amgueddfa Cymru – Museum Wales 02 and 04 September 2025, Great North Museum 01 and 02 September 2025, Hunter (Inveresk) personal communication (via email) 10 September 2025, National Museums Scotland 10 September 2025; Tullie House Museum 22 September 2025; author's own photograph; Roman Inscriptions of Britain, available at: https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/1993, https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/Brit.42.5#edition, https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/Brit.42.6, Vanderbilt personal communication (via email) of copyright permission 20 September 2025)*