Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall

Lawrence Keppie

ISBN: 978-1-908332-00-4 (hardback) • 978-1-908332-24-0 (PDF)

Keppie, L 2012 *The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. https://doi.org/10.9750/9781908332240

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a registered Scottish charity number SC 010440. Visit our website at www.socantscot.org or find us on Twitter @socantscot.

The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall

The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall

LAWRENCE KEPPIE

Edinburgh 2012
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND

Jacket image (front): Emperor Antoninus Pius (AD 86–161)
Vatican Museums and Galleries, Vatican City/Alinari/The Bridgeman Art Library

Jacket image (back): Members of the Glasgow Archaeological Society at Castlecary fort excavations, September 1902
(artist W A Donnelly, *Illustrated London News*, 4 October 1902; © Illustrated London News Ltd/Mary Evans)

Published in 2012 in Great Britain by Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
National Museum of Scotland
Chambers Street
Edinburgh EH1 1JF
Tel: 0131 247 4115
Fax: 0131 247 4163
Email: administration@socantscot.org
Website: www.socantscot.org

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a registered Scottish charity no SCO10440.

ISBN 978 1 908332 00 4

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland gratefully acknowledges funding towards the publication of this volume from Historic Scotland, the British Academy and the Jennie S Gordon Memorial Foundation.

Design and production by Lawrie Law and Alison Rae
Typesetting by Waverley Typesetters, Warham, Norfolk
Manufactured in Spain by Graphycems

Contents

Acknowledgements

For their assistance and advice I should like to thank former colleagues at The Hunterian, University of Glasgow; and the staffs of Glasgow University Library; University of Glasgow Archive Services; Society of Antiquaries Library, London; Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn; Falkirk Archives; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS); Historic Scotland; National Library of Scotland; National Records of Scotland; Aberdeen University Library; Trinity College Library, Dublin; National Museums Scotland; William Patrick Library, Kirkintilloch; Glasgow City Archives; Edinburgh University Library (Special Collections); University of Strathclyde Archives; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Sackler Library, Oxford; Leiden University Library; Royal Society Library, London; Somerset Heritage Centre, Taunton; North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton; and the Wellcome Library, London.

For their help on detailed points, I am glad to mention Geoff Bailey, Professor David Breeze, Dr Iain Gordon Brown, Dr Tom Brown, Dr Margaret Collin, Trevor Cowie, Morag Cross, Chris Fleet, Dr Sally Foster, Dr P W M Freeman, Imogen Gibbon, Professor Roger Green, Dr Martin Henig, Professor Richard Hingley, Nick Holmes, Dr Fraser Hunter, Dr Rebecca Jones, the Revd Tom Davidson Kelly, Don Martin, James Mearns, Dr Graham Piddock, Professor James Russell, Dr Simon Taylor, James Walker, Colin Wallace, Patricia Weeks, Dr Jean Whittaker and Professor Roger Wilson. Elizabeth Bell uncomplainingly pursued countless lines of enquiry on my behalf. Margaret Robb has endured this project for more years than she may care to remember.

The complete text was read, to my advantage, by Professor David Breeze and Geoff Bailey, by Roderick McCullagh and Dr George Findlater (for Historic Scotland) and by the Society's anonymous referee. Shorter sections were read by Dr Iain Gordon Brown (who has contributed so much over many years to our understanding of 18th-century antiquarianism), Morag Cross, James Mearns and Dr Simon Taylor. An appointment to an Honorary Professorial Research Fellowship at The Hunterian enabled me to continue my long association with it and to have access to its Roman Scotland Archive.

The award of a Small Research Grant by the British Academy enabled me to undertake additional research in Oxford, London, Newcastle and Edinburgh. Generous financial support towards publication came from Historic Scotland. A grant from the Jennie S Gordon Memorial Foundation covered many of the costs of obtaining illustrations and of reproduction fees. I am also grateful to Erin Osborne-Martin and her colleagues at the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for their encouragement and support throughout.

Unpublished archival sources are prominent in the following pages. The original spelling and punctuation in the passages quoted have been retained wherever possible. For permission to cite documents in their care, I am grateful to Sir Robert Clerk of Penicuik Bt who generously allowed the use of the Clerk of Penicuik papers on deposit at the National Records of Scotland; and to the Keeper of the Records of Scotland; the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; the National Library of Scotland; National Museums Scotland; Falkirk Archives; the Director of Archive Services, University of Glasgow; the Glasgow Archaeological Society; Glasgow University Library; Somerset Heritage Centre; the Society of Antiquaries of London; University of Strathclyde Archives; the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; the Sackler Library, University of Oxford; the Trustees of the Haverfield Bequest, University of Oxford; Professor James Russell, University of British Columbia, Vancouver; and BRB (Residuary) Ltd, successor in title to the British Railways Board. Images were kindly made available by a number of organisations and copyright holders; they are individually acknowledged in the captions.

List of illustrations

Chapter 1

Introducing the Antonine Wall

This monograph aims to provide a history of the Antonine Wall from the moment the Roman army abandoned it in the later 2nd century AD down to the early years of the 20th century, and to chart developments in our knowledge about it. The cut-off date is 1911, the year in which Dr (later Sir) George Macdonald published the first edition of his magisterial *Roman Wall in Scotland*, which summarised knowledge of the frontier to that date.[1]

The subject of the following pages is the barrier of stone and turf constructed by the Roman army across the narrow waist of Scotland (illus 1, 12), from Bo'ness (Borrowstounness) on the Forth to Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde, a distance of 60km (37 miles). It takes its familiar modern name from the emperor Antoninus Pius, in the opening years of whose reign (AD 138–61) it was constructed.[2]

For the greater part of its length the Wall consisted of a stack of neatly laid turves to an estimated height of some 3m (10 feet), set on a single course of stonework at least 4.3m (14 feet) wide (illus 2–3). At intervals the latter was crossed by stone-capped culverts, to assist drainage. Eastwards from Watling Lodge (Falkirk), the superstructure consisted of earth revetted by clay or turf cheeks.[3] Whether on not there was a breastwork on top, or indeed a duckboard walk for patrols, remains quite uncertain. In front, on the north side of the Wall itself, was a broad Ditch (illus 4–5), up to 12m (40 feet) wide and 3.5m (12 feet) deep, which was cut into the natural sand, gravel, clay or even, on occasion, the living rock. The lips of this ditch were sometimes marked by large stones set at regular intervals.[4] Material dug out of the Ditch was thrown up on its northern side, to create an upcast mound, serving to increase the depth of the Ditch.[5] The flat berm between Wall and Ditch was between 6 and 9m (20 and 30 feet) wide; in places it was provided with regularly set sequences of subrectangular pits, some of them probably containing sharpened, upright wooden stakes, in the manner observed long ago north of the fort at Rough Castle (see illus 93, 99).[6] Behind the Wall ran an east–west road which we now term the Military Way (illus 6); a branch road split off from it to pass through the Wall heading northwards to Camelon and the forts lying beyond.

Attached to the Wall were a series of forts of which 17 are known and another two proposed. Regiments of Roman auxiliaries, or, in the smaller forts, part-units, were stationed in them. Sometimes detachments of legionaries, outstationed from their permanent fortresses at Chester, York and Caerleon in South Wales, were placed as garrisons, either by themselves or in conjunction with auxiliaries.[7] In addition there were a number, perhaps a regular series, of fortlets attached to the Wall, closely matching in size and spacing the milecastles on the recently completed Hadrian's Wall, and a few minor structures, some equivalent in size though not demonstrably in purpose to the turrets on Hadrian's Wall.[8]

Many forts had fortified annexes, and at Carriden there is testimony to the formal existence of a *vicus*, a civilian community (illus 7),[9] which is likely at some of the other forts too. Field systems and cultivation plots have been revealed by aerial photography at Carriden,[10] by excavation at Westerwood, Croy Hill and Auchendavy,[11] and through fieldwork at Rough Castle.[12]

The Antonine Wall's construction was commemorated on-site by inscribed 'distance slabs' which detailed the contributions made to building it by detachments of the three legions of Britain's Roman garrison, II *Augusta*, VI *Victrix* and XX *Valeria Victrix* (illus 8–9; see also illus 28, 54, 59). So far as we can determine, care was taken to divide up the work equally among the three legions. Remarkably, nearly 20 distance slabs survive out of the 40 or 50 that may once have been erected.[13] Some 20 temporary camps have been identified through aerial survey from the 1940s onwards, adjacent to, and mostly lying behind, the Wall; their distribution suggests most are linked to the building sectors indicated by the distance slabs.[14]

A 4th-century AD biography of Antoninus Pius records Roman successes in Britain at this time, in a single sentence. 'He [the emperor Antoninus]

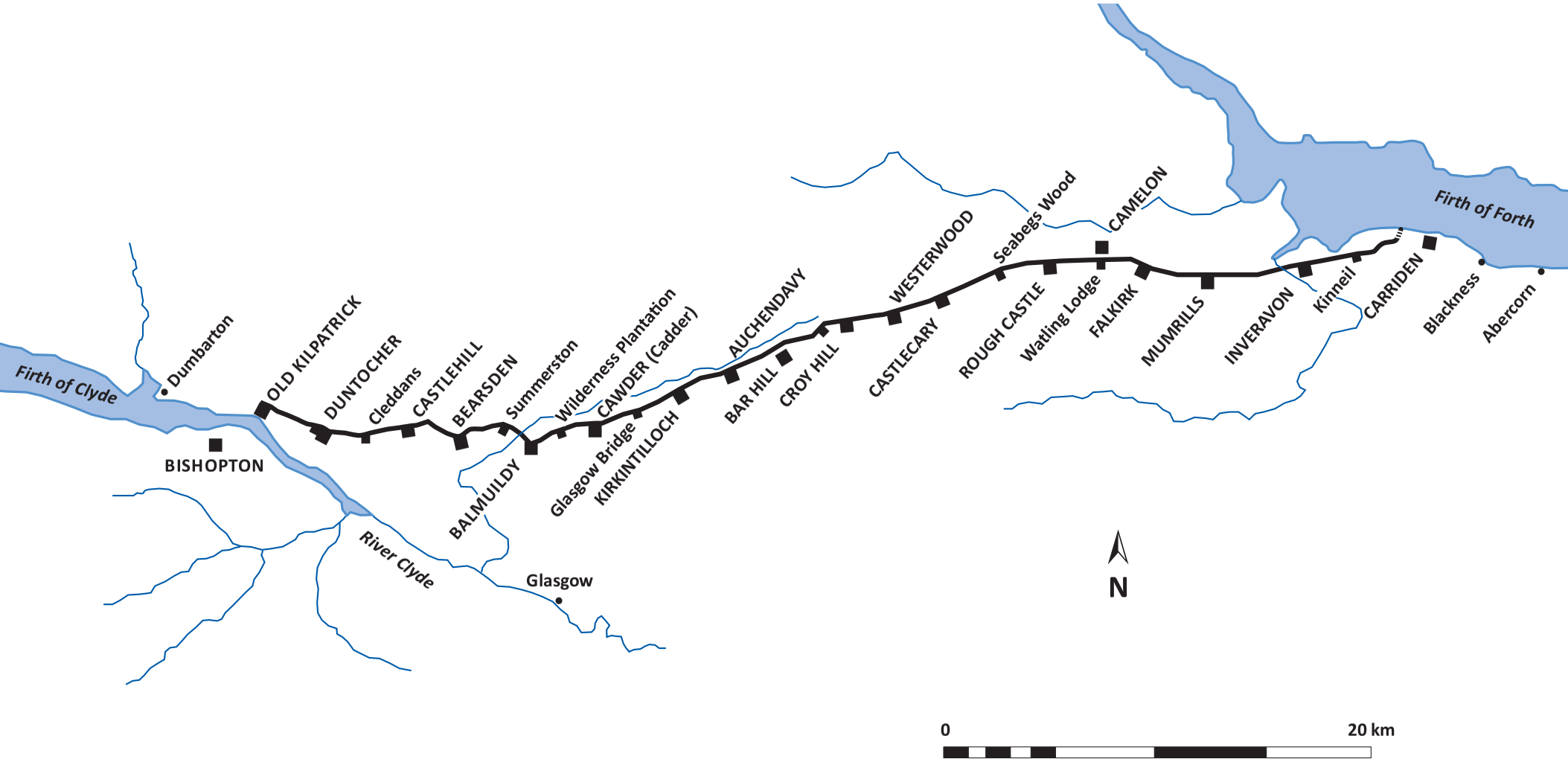


Illustration 1

The Antonine Wall: forts and fortlets (drawn by L Keppie).

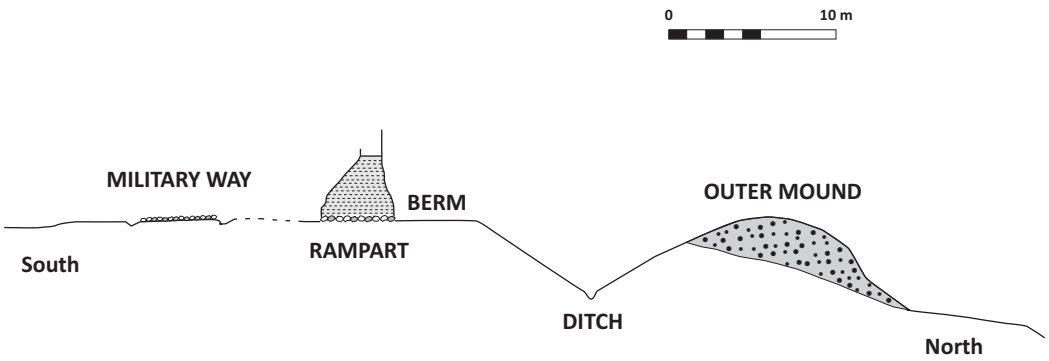


Illustration 2
The Antonine Wall: section through the military way, rampart, ditch and upcast mound (drawn by L Keppie).

registered a victory over the Britons through Lollius Urbicus his legate, having built another wall, this time of turf, after pushing back the barbarians.'[15] We know that Antoninus had taken a salutation as *imperator* (victorious commander), probably to commemorate successes in Britain, by 1 August AD 142.[16] Two inscriptions from Balmuildy fort on the Wall record building work under Lollius Urbicus, known to have been governor of the province in 139–42,[17] and coins issued at Rome in 142–4 celebrate unlocalised military victory in Britain (illus 10–11); there is no specific reference to the building of a wall.[18]

Illustration 3
Section through the Wall at Tentfield Plantation east of Rough Castle, looking north, showing the stone base and the turf superstructure; vertical scale in feet (© Crown copyright. Reproduced by courtesy of Historic Scotland).

Illustration 4
The Antonine Wall and Ditch in Seabegs Wood, looking west (© L Keppie).

Illustration 5
The Ditch at Watling Lodge, Falkirk, looking west, with the former stable block silhouetted in the Ditch-hollow (© L Keppie).

Illustration 6
The Military Way in Seabegs Wood, looking west (© L Keppie).

Modern research has suggested that the forts were built in two phases, the first in AD 142–43 involving just six widely spaced forts, at intervals similar to those on Hadrian's Wall, and the second phase somewhat later, which saw the number of forts tripled, presumably to provide much closer surveillance along its line.[19] Forts were also built in Antoninus' reign throughout much of Southern Scotland and north of the Wall at least as far as Perth, linked by a network of roads. The occupation was essentially military; no towns were established, and we lack any evidence of formal settlement by colonists from Southern Britain, or from farther afield.[20] Inscribed altars and gravestones, and a wealth of small finds and pottery, unearthed especially as a result of organised excavation from the 1890s onwards, bring before us the lifestyle of the garrisons on this remote northern frontier, very far from Rome.

How long the Antonine Wall served as the northern frontier of Roman Britain is not altogether clear, but at many forts there was only a single phase of occupation, and no inscriptions found along its line refer to any emperor later than Antoninus himself who died in AD 161.[21] Modern opinion prefers to see it abandoned *c* 163, early in the reign of Antoninus' successor, Marcus Aurelius, when the Roman army withdrew to the southern side of the Cheviots.

In AD 208 strong Roman forces, led personally by the emperor Septimius Severus, invaded Scotland from the south and penetrated at least as far as Aberdeenshire. A small number of permanent military installations were constructed and briefly

Illustration 7
Altar to Jupiter dedicated by the villagers (*vikani*) residing at *castellum Veluniate*, Carriden (© National Museums Scotland).

held, but there is no real evidence that the Antonine Wall or any forts along its line were brought back into use. Severus and his army were soon gone, and the Roman army subsequently settled to the defence of Hadrian's Wall which henceforward was to form the main barrier between that part of the island of Britain which was within the Roman Empire and that part which lay beyond, the latter loosely described by Roman writers as Caledonia.[22] However, Roman artefacts continued to circulate in Scotland, within and beyond the one-time Roman province, and occasional forays by emperors or their legates may subsequently have brought Roman troops once more into the north of Britain.[23]

The contemporary Iron Age population in Central Scotland is harder to document,[24] though we are aware of settlement types which included timber round-houses, souterrains, crannogs and brochs. The environs of Camelon were the site of a sizeable Iron Age community, whose timber roundhouses have been revealed north of, and partly underlying, the north annexe of the Antonine fort there;[25] a fortified native site just to the north, protected by a palisade and multiple ditches, was in use during or between the Roman occupations of the adjacent fort.[26] Crannogs in the Clyde would have been visible from the terminal fort at Old Kilpatrick, and from Roman ships in the estuary.[27] The tribal territory of the Damnonii, believed to have occupied Central Scotland and Stirlingshire at this time, may have been cut in two by the new barrier, which followed a strictly geographical course between Forth and Clyde.

Illustration 8
Ceremony of purification preceding the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus, as depicted on the right-hand side-panel of the distance slab from Bridgeness, Falkirk (© National Museums Scotland).

The value of the antiquarian record

We know a lot about the Wall, but our knowledge is not complete and presumably never will be. It is easy to suppose that the only way of learning more is to undertake further work, whether by excavation or aerial survey, to which can now be added employment of geophysical and other scientific techniques.[28] However, in any effort to enhance our knowledge of the monument, attention should also be paid to antiquarian reports and descriptions which survive in greater quantity than is often supposed. The ignorance and misunderstandings of these antiquaries are more often highlighted than their invaluable observations on installations which may have disappeared completely,

or been much degraded, since they wrote.[29] Where antiquarian reports have been deployed at all in recent times, it is regularly the few works of synthesis which are cited, rather than the treasure chest of primary sources.

By the time that Hector Boece, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, was writing his *Scotorum Historiae* in the early years of the 16th century (see p. 28), scholars had become aware, by the rediscovery of

Illustration 9
A tall female figure, perhaps *Britannia*, presenting a laurel wreath to the eagle-standard of the Twentieth Legion held by its bearer, the central scene on a distance slab from Hutcheson Hill, west of Bearsden (© L Keppie, courtesy of The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

manuscripts of classical authors in the monasteries of continental Europe and, later, through the invention of the printing press, of Caesar's *Gallic War*, Tacitus' *Agricola* and *Annals*, and the *Lives* of emperors in the *Historia Augusta*, including that of Antoninus attributed to 'Capitolinus', in which the Wall is briefly noticed (see p. 1). For the first time the antiquaries

Illustration 10
Coin (*sestertius*) of Antoninus Pius, obverse showing the emperor's profile, minted at Rome AD 143–4 (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

discovered the correct historical context of the various walls built in Britain and the place of Scotland in the history of the wider Roman Empire. However, although these literary texts reported that walls had been built in Britain under Hadrian, under Antoninus and under Severus, there long remained, as we shall

Illustration 11
Coin (*sestertius*) of Antoninus Pius (reverse of illus 10), minted at Rome AD 143–4, showing the winged goddess Victory holding a laurel wreath, with the letters BRITAN (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

see, considerable disagreement over where they were located.[30]

The construction of the Antonine Wall was assigned at different times to Agricola in the 1st century, Hadrian in the 2nd, Severus in the early 3rd, Carausius in the late 3rd, Magnus Maximus in the late 4th, and even Honorius in the early 5th (see p. 19).[31] Our fundamental text, a sentence in the *Historia Augusta* biography of Antoninus (see p. 1), is translated nowadays as the emperor 'built a second wall, this time of turf'.[32] But many antiquaries did not interpret it this way – for them the earliest wall in Britain was the earthen and turf 'Vallum' between Tyne and Solway,[33] so that the Antonine Wall was the 'second turf wall' built in Britain, prior to the stone wall between Tyne and Solway, which many believed was constructed during the reign of the emperor Severus.[34]

The correct attribution of the Forth–Clyde barrier to Antoninus was first made by William Camden in the 1607 edition of his *Britannia*, after he had become aware of inscribed stones recovered along its line naming that emperor.[35] Camden's conclusion was not universally accepted. The attribution by the historian George Buchanan in 1582 of the Antonine Wall to the emperor Severus was stubbornly maintained down to the end of the 17th century, until the discovery in 1696–8 of an inscribed stone at Balmuildy naming the governor Lollius Urbicus (see p. 59; illus 43) put the matter entirely beyond doubt.[36] The stone wall from Tyne to Solway was finally attributed conclusively to Hadrian in the early 19th century.[37] The dating of archaeological sites by coins or even by pottery and other finds has been a relatively recent development.

For the most part there was little impulse to dig, for which we should perhaps be thankful. Participation in fieldwork or excavation by university or college students was unheard of, as was any State involvement; until the early 20th century, the Wall and the installations along it lacked any legal protection (see p. 121). Much depended on the goodwill of landowners towards it, when they were even aware of its existence; often their employees continued the process of levelling the rampart and filling up the Ditch hollow in the course of agricultural 'improvement'. Stonework from the forts and from the Wall's stone base was a perennial source of building material. In 1743 there was effectively no way of preventing Sir Michael Bruce of Stenhouse from dismantling Arthur's O'on north of Falkirk; contemporary antiquaries resorted to 'naming and shaming' the culprit (see p. 88).

Some antiquaries, puzzling to disentangle reports by Late Roman writers on the various walls built in Britain, believed that there were two lines of defence between Forth and Clyde, one following the southern flank of the River Kelvin and River Carron (ie the Antonine Wall), the other on the northern flank of the valleys in the foothills of the Kilpatrick, Campsie and Kilsyth Hills (see pp. 38, 75). Alexander Gordon in 1726 professed to have identified another barrier running south-west from the Tweed Valley to the Dumfriesshire Esk.[38] Following on the rediscovery of Tacitus' biography of Agricola, the antiquaries pondered over whether he too had built a wall across the narrow waist of Scotland in the late 1st century, but soon accepted that Tacitus' narrative implied that he had built a series of forts rather than a continuous barrier.

If there was uncertainty over the date of the visible barrier running across Scotland from Forth to Clyde, there was for even longer a debate over where it began and ended. The Wall was long supposed, on the authority of Bede (see p. 19), to have started near Abercorn on the Forth and to have extended to the vicinity of Dumbarton on the Clyde, a distance of about 70km (45 miles). In more recent times it has been established that it began at or near Bridgeness on the Forth and terminated at Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde, a distance of about 60km (37 miles).[39]

The antiquaries identified as Roman many sites which subsequent research has demonstrated were of prehistoric or medieval date. Similarly they were quick to claim small finds of much earlier periods, such as Bronze Age axes, rapiers and swords, as Roman, the latter being the only historical period with which they were familiar, the knowledge of prehistory being in its infancy, if recognised at all. Many of these scholars were interested indiscriminately in a wide variety of historical, scientific, ethnographic, philological and genealogical studies, of which the Roman episode in Scotland's past was merely one element and for them by no means the most significant.

Sir Robert Sibbald, writing in 1707, emphasised the primacy of personal observation of the visible remains, in words that could have been written in almost every generation since. 'The surest way to determine the Controversies about [the Wall], seemeth to me, to be the observing the Vestiges which yet remain of it … I viewed some part of it my self; so I shall set down the Tract of it, and the Vestiges of it from these fore-mentioned Remarks.'[40] Fieldwork remains important even today in turning up pottery, coins and small finds,

clues to the location of sites hitherto unsuspected. Organised scientific excavation has been underway for more than a century, since sections across the Wall and its Ditch were cut by the Glasgow Archaeological Society in 1890–3 (see p. 123), and large-scale exploration at forts undertaken in 1899–1903 by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (see p. 127).

The early visitors did not, for the most part, travel alone, but with servants, and some had local guides. They generally progressed westwards from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, then via Falkirk, Kilsyth, Kirkintilloch and Cawder to Glasgow.[41] None made any use in their travels, so far as I can determine, of the canals which existed across Central Scotland from 1790, despite the similarity of route. From the 1840s they might travel by train to convenient local stations.

Those who travelled along the Wall and recorded its remains were sometimes members of the landed gentry, or ministers of the Scottish or English churches. Several university professors played leading roles during the 18th century, but none were archaeologists by training or profession. Indeed it is only at the very end of the story that any specialists come on the scene. The committee formed by the Glasgow Archaeological Society in 1891 to investigate its surviving remains (see p. 124) comprised a solicitor, an architect, a landowner who was an amateur geologist, and an estate factor, under the chairmanship of an inspector of schools. Francis Haverfield, Britain's first professional Romano-British archaeologist, who was Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford (1907–19), was a classicist by training; archaeology was necessarily only one of his areas of expertise (see p. 124). Sir George Macdonald, the leading authority in the early 20th century, achieved a knighthood as a senior civil servant, not as an archaeologist (see p. 133).[42]

Private collections of artefacts were formed, for example by Sir Robert Sibbald and the Revd Robert Wodrow (see p. 61). Some items unearthed long ago have simply disappeared. In cases where the inscribed and sculptured stones found their way to institutions, these were chiefly Glasgow University, Edinburgh University, and (later) the museum of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.[43] Sir John Clerk of Penicuik acquired inscribed stones and other material for display at Penicuik House near Edinburgh (see p. 69). Much later, Glasgow banker John Buchanan recovered finds made along the Wall for his own collection in Glasgow, when its University was apparently disinterested (see p. 117). We owe a great debt to them all.

The Antonine Wall would have been visible to the antiquaries as a prominent grassy mound, with the very substantial hollow of its Ditch in front. At intervals, rounded or rectangular hillocks marked the various types of installation. Such features would have been much more obvious then than they are now. By the time that the story being told here draws to a close, the landscape had been disfigured and in places blackened by industry and the countryside long since changed by agricultural 'improvement'. New communities had sprung up in the wake of coal extraction and iron-smelting. Canals had been built and were in decline, and railways cut across the countryside, with their embankments, viaducts and deep cuttings. A countryside through which the Wall passed all but unhindered had given way to a landscape where it has sometimes struggled to survive.

The landscape of the Wall corridor

The Wall followed the natural land corridor across Central Scotland from the Forth to the Clyde. This was not a straight line – the Wall was positioned on the southern crests of the valleys of the Rivers Carron and Kelvin, so that it enjoyed frequently extensive views northwards to the Kilsyth and Campsie Hills. The west end was overlooked by the adjacent Kilpatrick Hills and towards its east end it looked out across the carse of Falkirk towards the Firth of Forth.[44] The role of Camelon near Falkirk as a north–south staging post in Roman times, as well as a likely port and stores base, is demonstrated by the many temporary camps in its vicinity.[45] The Falkirk area has always been pivotal to communications, as reflected in battles fought hereabouts in 1298 and 1746, and in the canal, railway and road networks. The same east–west route along the valleys of the Carron and the Kelvin was followed in the later 18th century by the Forth & Clyde Canal and in the mid-19th century by the railways.

The Wall was not the earliest man-made archaeological feature in the landscape it traversed. Its Ditch cut through Mesolithic shell-middens at Inveravon above the River Forth, datable to the 7th millennium BC.[46] It overlay Neolithic activity at Mumrills and Bantaskin,[47] Bronze Age burials at Old Kilpatrick[48] and at Bo'ness,[49] passed enigmatic cup-and-ring marked stones at Cochno and Carleith,[50] and cut the defences of an Iron Age hillfort at Castle Hill above Twechar.[51] Contemporary or near contemporary habitation sites were swept away or rendered unusable.[52]

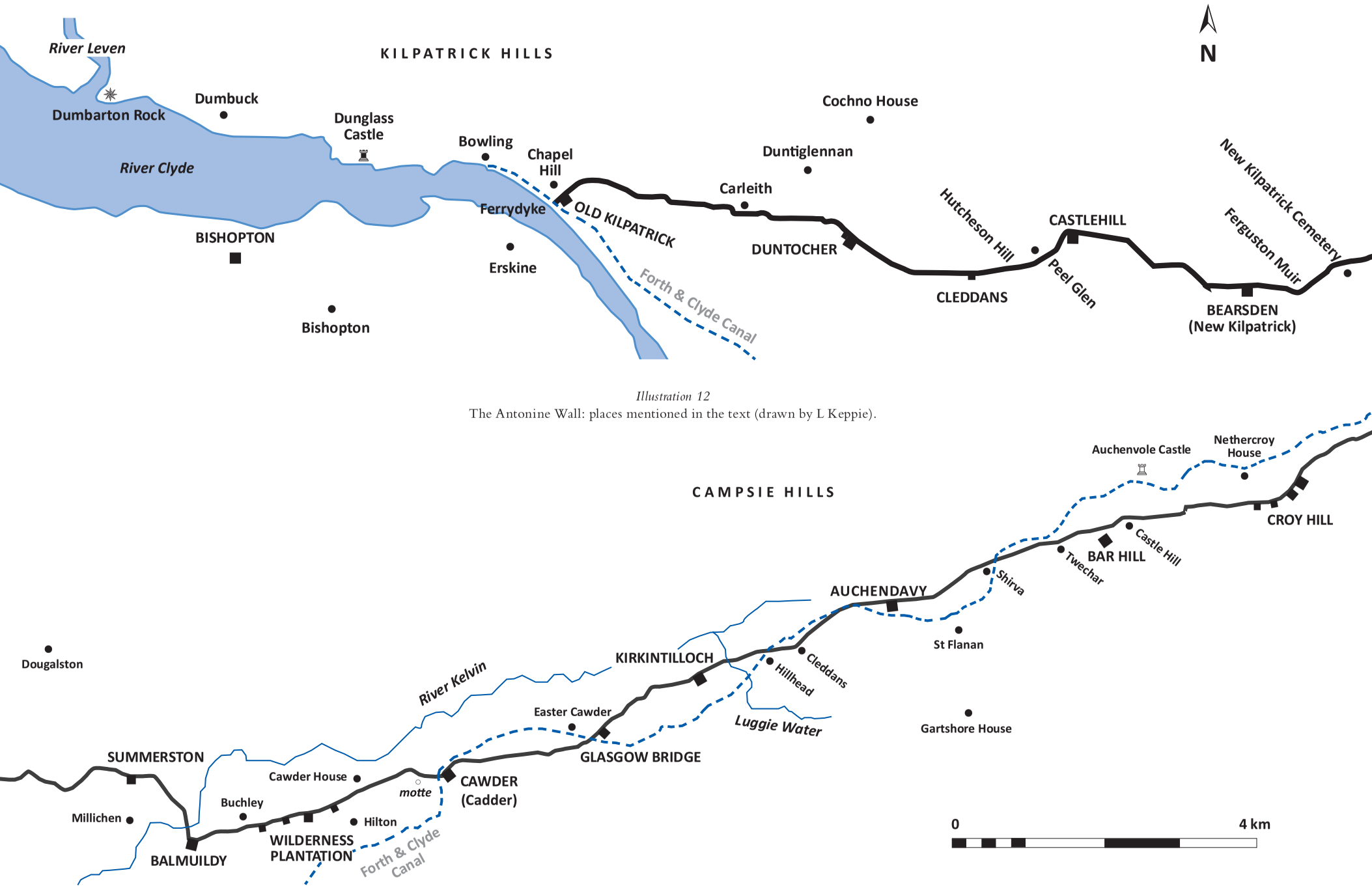


Illustration 12
The Antonine Wall: places mentioned in the text (drawn by L Keppie).

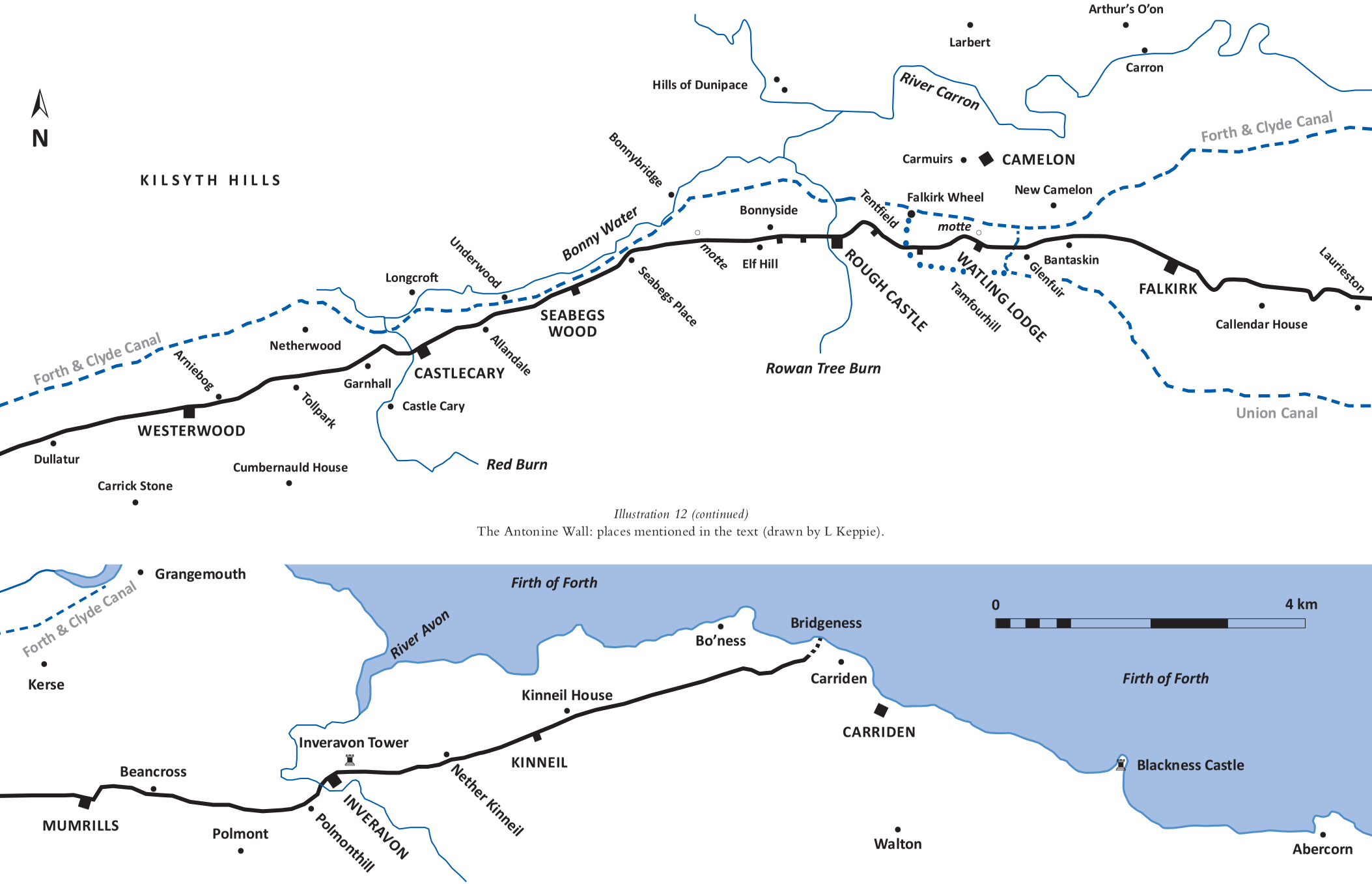


Illustration 12 (continued)
The Antonine Wall: places mentioned in the text (drawn by L Keppie).

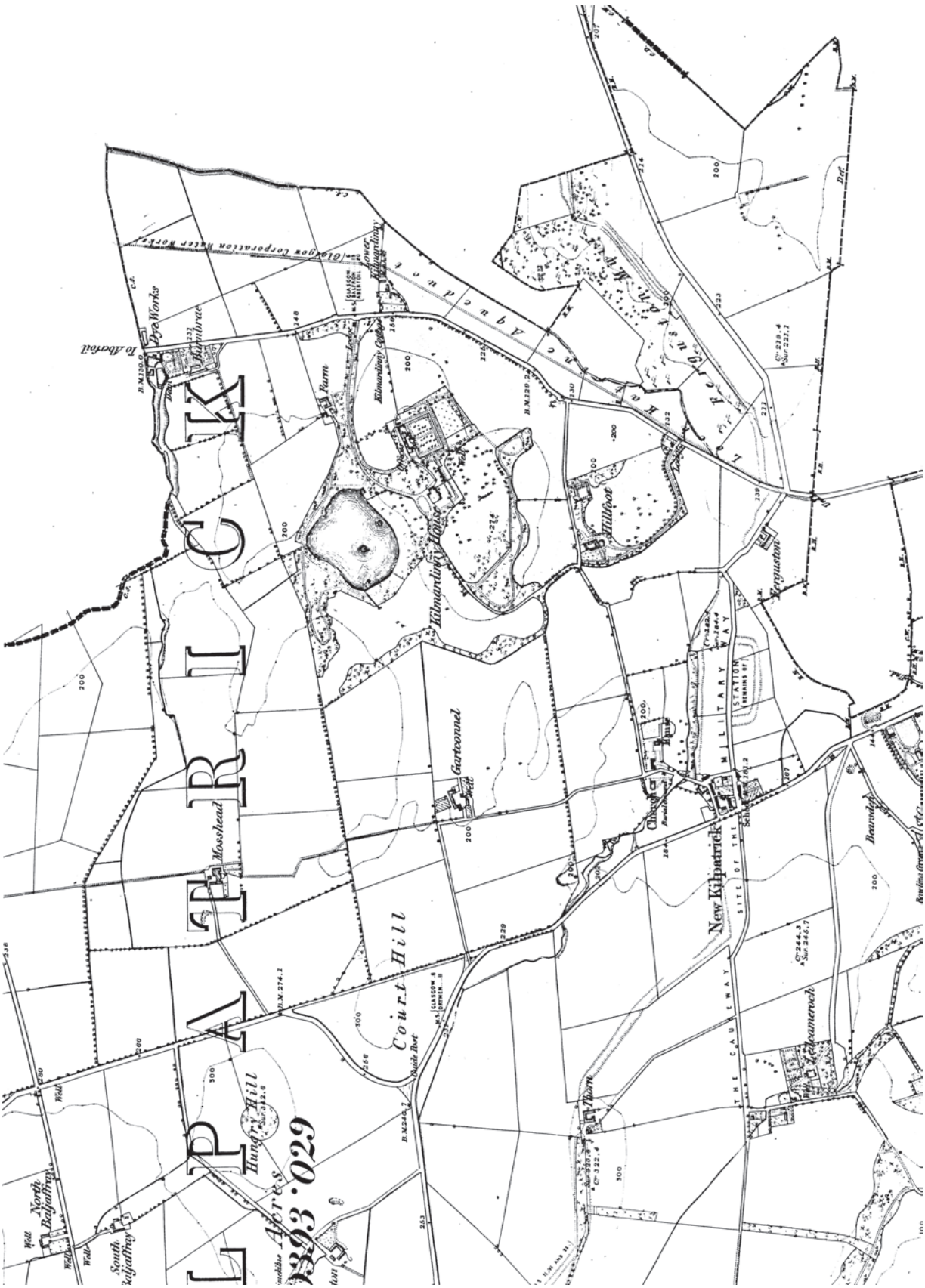


Illustration 13

Detail from a first-edition Ordnance Survey map (*Dumbartonshire* sheet XXII), showing the Wall west and east of New Kilpatrick (Bearsden), at a scale of six inches to one mile (Reproduced from the 1861 Ordnance Survey map, with permission).

The Wall in turn was to be built on in the centuries that followed.

The environment of the Wall in Roman times has been closely studied.[53] The countryside was then partly wooded but more often open, long since given over to crops and cultivation, and to pasturing of animals. The low-lying valley-bottoms of the Kelvin and Carron rivers may easily have been marshy and sometimes impassable in Roman times, as they continued to be until comparatively recently;[54] repeated reference is made by antiquaries to the Dullatur Bog below Kilsyth.

Several modern towns and villages sit astride the Wall, a few close to or even on the sites of forts, but in no case can we directly attribute their growth to the former presence of a Roman fort or of a civilian settlement outside its defences. The forts were placed at set intervals on a fixed line for purely military purposes and advantage. With a few exceptions, those on Hadrian's Wall likewise lost their raison d'être.

Up to the 20th century, the Wall lay almost entirely in farmland. Successive editions of Ordnance Survey large-scale maps, from the 1860s onwards, chart the expansion of built-up areas, with the creation of commuter suburbs such as Bearsden and Dullatur linked to the railway network, mining communities such as Twechar and Croy, mill-towns such as Duntocher, and industrial premises such as brickworks and limeworks. The Wall featured on these maps as an earthwork, as did the visible forts (illus 13). The OS *Name-Books* compiled in tandem recorded local knowledge about locations along the Wall, often retaining value 150 years later.[55]

The place-name evidence

The estuaries of Forth and Clyde are named on the 'map' compiled at Alexandria in the mid-2nd century AD by the geographer and astronomer Claudius Ptolemaeus, his name Anglicised as Ptolemy.[56] One or two of his inland place-names could belong on the Forth–Clyde isthmus, but we cannot link them conclusively to known forts. In any case the information was gathered at the time of Agricola's campaigns in the Flavian period of the later 1st century AD, not in the Antonine age. We can also envisage itineraries or route-maps in the hands of military planners, prepared at the time of Agricola's campaigns, and preserved in archives for potential future use.[57] Related to such route-maps is the much later compilation known as the *Ravenna Cosmography*, datable to the early 8th century AD. The *Cosmography* lists communities 'linked one to the other by a straight track, at a point where Britain is recognised to be at its narrowest from sea to sea', which is very clearly the Forth–Clyde isthmus.[58] They are named in sequence as *Velunia*, *Volitanio*, *Pexa*, *Begesse*, *Colanica*, *Medionemeton*, *Subdobiadon*, *Litana*, *Cibra* and *Credigone*.[59] As many of the Latin place-names in the *Cosmography* are given in the ablative case, the source was perhaps a road map with distances from one place to the next marked on it.

The discovery of an inscribed altar at Carriden in 1956 revealed to a rather surprised archaeological community that this was *Velunia*, the name with which the list began, thus showing that the sequence ran from east to west.[60] No other names can be linked to specific forts, assuming that forts alone are covered by the *Ravenna* listings. Neither *Velunia* nor any others of these place-names survived into the Middle Ages.

With the exception of a few possibly pre-Celtic place-names, the earliest tranche of names attested across the Forth–Clyde isthmus are in the Brythonic (or Cumbric) language of the Britons, current during the Roman occupation and for centuries thereafter.[61] Names such as Caerpentalloch (Kirkintilloch), Penfahel (Kinneil) and Kaer Edyn (Carriden) can be assigned to this period, as well as Alcluith, which is the Gaelic Dùn Breatann, the 'fort of the Britons' (Dumbarton). From the late 9th century Brythonic was supplanted by Gaelic, the language of the Dalriadan Scots as they expanded from their heartland in Argyll. Gaelic was spoken throughout Central Scotland up to the later 12th century, when it began to be supplanted by Old Scots (closely related to Old English).[62] Place-names in all these languages have endured in the Wall corridor. On occasion we can chart the changes in name-forms of the same place over a long period.

The present-day names of several fort-sites, and of other locations along the Wall, reflect their Roman origins, or at least the former presence of some fortification. Some include the word 'castle', in either its Brythonic (Caer) or Gaelic (Cathair) or Old English (Keir) forms. Castlecary fort is named after the nearby Castle Cary (see p. 22), 'the castle at Cary', the latter name concealing a reference to 'caer', so referring back to the Roman fortification.[63] Carriden may be 'the fort on the slope'.[64] The site at Camelon lay on an estate called Carmuirs, 'the great fort'.[65] Kirkintilloch, despite its apparent 'kirk' prefix, is in fact Kir-kinn-tilloch, 'the fort at the end of the ridge', a Gaelic adaptation of the Brythonic Caerpentalloch.

Duntocher is 'the fort on the causeway', a name considered to reflect its siting astride the Military Way. Rough Castle is presumably named for the Roman fort there.[66] The name Castlehill west of Bearsden is noticed by Sir Robert Sibbald in 1707, but no medieval castle is known.[67] The castle at Kirkintilloch has long been known as The Peel, the name implying a palisaded enclosure, and perhaps therefore antedating the stone castle on the site.[68]

Other fort names are rooted in the local topography: Camelon ('the crooked pool'), from the meandering River Carron, Inveravon ('mouth of the Avon'), Bar Hill ('top of the hill'), Croy Hill (perhaps 'hard, firm ground'), Mumrills ('the rounded or breast-shaped hill'), Cawder ('the stream'), and Seabegs ('the little hill)'. Balmuildy includes the Gaelic word 'bal', a village or settlement; Auchendavy is made up of 'auchen', a field, and 'davaich', a measure of land. Kilpatrick, now Old Kilpatrick, gets its name from a pre-Reformation church to St Patrick; the Roman fort was lost to agriculture early. New Kilpatrick (now generally known by a much more modern name, Bearsden) acquired its name after a church was built there soon after 1649 to serve the newly created parish of East Kilpatrick.[69] The fort at Westerwood lay within the 'Great Forest' of Cumbernauld (see p. 22). The place-name Falkirk, which has been much discussed, is generally understood to mean 'the speckled church', evidently from the external decoration or type of stone employed in its fabric;[70] but other interpretations have been advanced.[71]

Along the Wall's course we find locations whose names reflect its presence as a feature in the landscape. Some include Old Welsh 'guaul' (Gaelic 'fàl'), a palisade or wall.[72] The Wall's presence as a 'dyke' (a Scots word) is reflected in the names Dick's House, Shirva Dyke, Swine's Dyke, Castlehill Dyke House, Ferrydyke (see below), and many others.[73] The name Kinneil, attested in Brythonic, Gaelic and Old English forms, is 'wall's end', without any allusion to a fort.[74] Cleddans, a name attested three times along the Wall, means a 'little ditch'. Other names are geographical without any Roman allusion or remain unexplained.[75]

Many of the place-names around Cumbernauld reflect the extensive woodland thereabouts in the Middle Ages and later (see p. 22). Tamfourhill, to the west of Falkirk, means in Gaelic the 'knoll of the cropland', perhaps recalling the motte once placed atop the upcast mound (see p. 21), in the location now known as Watling Lodge, a name given only in 1894 (see p. 122).[76] A study of field-names could yield evidence of the Wall's presence, but regrettably few are known.[77]

By contrast, some names are relatively modern. Tentfield Plantation, east of Rough Castle, derives from the tented city associated with the Falkirk Trysts, the cattle market of the 18th century (see p. 94).[78] Ferrydyke at Old Kilpatrick alludes to the ferry-crossing of the Clyde there.[79] The 'planned village' of Laurieston took its name from the 18th-century landowner Sir Lawrence Dundas (see p. 93).[80] Factories, bars and streets are nowadays termed 'Antonine' or 'Roman', and modern house-names can individually reflect the Roman Wall or its forts.

Notes

1 Macdonald 1911; a revised edition was published in 1934. Other important assessments are by Robertson 1960 (and subsequent editions); Hanson and Maxwell 1983a; Breeze 2006a. For surveying of its route see now Poulter 2009.

2 In the following pages the Antonine Wall is generally referred to as 'the Wall', the adjective 'Antonine' added only where some confusion might otherwise arise.

3 Macdonald 1925: 281.

4 Keppie & Breeze 1981: 238.

5 Macdonald 1934: 94.

6 Bailey 1995a; Bidwell 2005; Woolliscroft 2008.

7 Hanson & Maxwell 1983a; Keppie 2009a.

8 Gillam 1975; Hanson & Maxwell 1983a: 93; Hanson & Maxwell 1983b.

9 Richmond & Steer 1957; Salway 1965: 161; *RIB* 3503.

10 Dunwell 1995.

11 Hanson 1979: 20; Keppie 1995; *Britannia* 31 (2000): 383; Sneddon & Murtagh 2009. Scattered evidence of extramural settlement has been found at other forts.

12 Máté 1995.

13 Keppie 1979; 1998. The distance slabs are themselves not precisely datable within the reign of Antoninus Pius.

14 Hanson & Maxwell 1983a: 117; Jones 2005; Jones 2011. Though Macdonald (1911: 23; 1934: 61) discusses the layout of Roman camps generally, none were then known on the Antonine Wall.

15 *Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro caespiticio summotis barbaris ducto* (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Capitolinus, *Vit. Ant. Pii* 5.4). For an alternative English translation of this sentence see p. 8.

16 Birley 2005: 137. It was the only salutation he took in the course of his 23-year reign.

17 *RIB* 2191, 2192. See also illus 43.

18 Robertson 1975: 369.

19 Gillam 1975; Keppie 2009a.

20 Maxwell 1983.

21 Hanson & Maxwell 1983: 137; Hodgson 1995.

22 Hanson & Maxwell 1983a, 193; Mann 1974. On the *loca* reported by the *Ravenna Cosmography*, sometimes interpreted as 'meeting places' of the tribes of northern Britain in the 3rd or 4th centuries AD, see Rivet & Smith 1979: 212.

23 Robertson 2000; Hunter 2007.

24 Hingley 1992.

25 Breeze, Close-Brooks & Ritchie 1976; McCord & Tait 1978; Bailey 2000b; G B Bailey pers comm.

26 RCAHMS 1963: 80 no 82; Proudfoot 1978.

27 Hale 2000: 538; Hale & Sands 2005.

28 Maxwell 1989a; Jones & Sharp 2003; Stephens, Jones & Gater 2008.

29 For assessments of antiquarian sources for the Wall, see Macdonald 1911: 36; 1934: 32; Maxwell 1989: 1; Hingley 2010. In relation to Roman Britain more generally, see Todd 2004; Sweet 2005; Hingley 2008.

30 For example, Sir Robert Sibbald located Hadrian's Wall in East Lothian (Sibbald 1706: 120).

31 For discussion of the originators of walls in Britain, see especially Camden 1607: 649; Richardson 1627: Book IIII, p. 7; Robert Gordon of Straloch, in Blaeu 1654: 3 = Blaeu 2006: 43; Burton 1658: 97; Camden 1695: 837; William Nicolson [1699] in Whittaker 2005: 54; Dalrymple 1705: iii, 18; Sibbald 1706: 119–22; Stukeley 1720: 3; Gibson 1722: 1051; Clerk [1724–30] in Clerk 1993: 36; Gordon 1726: 43, 111; Horsley 1732: 98, 116, 158; Maitland 1757: 170; Gough 1789: 211; Roy 1793: 148; and in more recent times Collingwood 1921, Birley 1961: 48; Maxfield 1982; Breeze 1982; Breeze 2007.

32 Macdonald 1911, 7; 1934, 8.

33 The 'Vallum', a flat-bottomed ditch flanked by turf-revetted mounds, ran parallel to the contemporary Hadrian's Wall on its south side. See Breeze 2006b: 84.

34 Dalrymple 1705: 7; Gordon 1726: 49, 86; Horsley 1732: 116; Roy 1793: 149.

35 Camden 1607: 698.

36 William Nicolson [1699], quoted in Whittaker 2005: 54; Gordon 1726: 63; Horsley 1732: 197 no (*Scotland*) 8.

37 Hodgson 1840: 309; Birley 1961: 59; Whitworth 2000: 45. On Severus as a wall-builder see also Hassall 1984: 242; Hornshaw 2000.

38 Gordon 1726, 102. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik jocularly entitled it the 'vallum Gordonianum' (NRS GD18/5023/4). This is the Catrail, the date and purpose of which remain uncertain (RCAHMS 1956: 479; Brown 1987a: 125 fn 46.

39 Macdonald 1925; Bailey & Devereux 1987; Dumville 1994.

40 Sibbald 1707: 27.

41 Cadder, Bishopbriggs. The spelling Cawder is preferred in the following pages as it is the name-form regularly used by antiquaries.

42 Macdonald was Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, 1922–8.

43 In the following pages I have chosen to refer to Glasgow College and Edinburgh College, the names by which Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities were long known.

44 On post-Roman changes to the shoreline in the valley of the Forth, see Tatton-Brown 1980.

45 Crawford 1949: 10; RCAHMS 1963: 107 no 122.

46 RCAHMS 1963: 59 no 1.

47 RCAHMS 1963: 20.

48 Callander 1933; the burials are not mentioned in the report on the excavation of the overlying Roman site (Miller 1928).

49 Callander 1924; Bailey & Devereux 1987; Cowie 2001.

50 Bruce 1893: 318; Morris 1981: GLW no 29.

51 A ring-ditch site at Garnhall, immediately to the south of the Wall, is suggested as a Roman signal-tower of the 'Gask' type (Woolliscroft 2008).

52 On the impact of the Roman occupations on the contemporary Iron Age tribes, see Hingley 1992; 2004; Hanson 2004.

53 Boyd 1984; Whittington & Edwards 1993; Dickson & Dickson 2000; Tipping & Tisdale 2005.

54 Gordon 1726: 20; Roy 1793: 152; Galloway 1868.

55 Davidson 1986; Linge 2004.

56 Rivet & Smith 1979: 138.

57 Austin & Rankov 1995: 112.

58 *Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia recto tramite una alteri conexa, ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angustissima de oceano in oceano esse dinoscitur* (Ravenna Cosmography v.31).

59 Bates 1898; Feachem 1969; Rivet & Smith 1979: 210; Hanson & Maxwell 1983a: 215; Mann 1992.

60 Richmond & Steer 1957. *Medionemeton* ('The sacred grove in the middle') might be at or near Bar Hill or Croy Hill; others have seen in the name a reference to Arthur's O'on.

61 Barrow 1983; Taylor 2001.

62 Watson 1926; Nicolaisen 1976. Older county-based studies are generally unreliable. See now Taylor 2001; Taylor 2006; Reid 2009.

63 Information from Dr Simon Taylor. See also Watson 1926: 370; Reid 2009: 37. The names Chastel Cary, Castelcary, Castilcarry, Castelcaris, Castelcarrey and Castellcarrie are all attested in medieval documents. A steading immediately to the south of the fort bore the name Walls.

64 Other interpretations are possible, see Watson 1926: 369; Dumville 1994. The forms Kair Eden and Karreden are recorded in the 12th century. For Kair Eden as a *civitas antiquissima* ('a very old town') in a gloss on the text of Gildas (see p. 18), see Dumville 1994: 296.

65 Gibb 1903; Reid 2009: 31.

66 Nimmo 1817: 10; Reid 2009: 302. The name Castle Hill above Twechar is of no great antiquity. Note Castle-towrie at Mumrills (Maitland 1757: 172).

67 No castle was revealed on the hilltop by a recent geophysical survey (Jones, Huggett & Leslie 2009).

68 Neilson 1896a. The glen below Castlehill, Bearsden, is called the Peel Glen.

69 McCardel 1949. Earlier it was called Hay Hill (Sibbald 1707: 27).

70 Nicolaisen 1969.

71 Pont has a place called Cast Kerig Lion, lying below Kinneil, claimed as deriving from the Latin words *castrum legionis* ('The fort of the legion'). See Sibbald 1710a: 18; Mackenzie 1845: 129; Watson 1926: 383; Macdonald 1934: 192 fn 2.

72 Bede has Penfahel for Kinneil; Alexander Gordon (1726: 53) mentions Procterfaal east of New Kilpatrick (Bearsden). There are no grounds for supposing that the name Falkirk could mean 'the church on the Wall'.

73 Jackson 1953: 227; Reid 2009: 191. 'Wal' in the name Walton near Castlecary and east of Carriden indicates the presence of a well, not a wall.

74 None of the known mile-fortlets bears a name reflecting its Roman origins, but the site of one putative fortlet, Carleith, means 'the grey fort'.

75 On the name Callendar see Watson 1926: 106; Reid 2009: 62. No convincing etymology has so far been advanced for the name Bearsden, which supplanted New Kilpatrick in the later 19th century.

76 Reid 2009: 69, 131. Alternatively the name may allude to the upstanding earthwork of the adjacent mile-fortlet (on which see p. 122). Sibbald uses the names 'stony hill' and 'Stoniefourhill.'

77 Field-names occasionally appear on estate plans of the 18th and 19th centuries.

78 RCAHMS 1963: 433 no 535; Reid 2009: 313.

79 Maitland 1757: 183; Bruce 1893: 30; Macdonald 1911: 154; 1934: 333.

80 Allandale east of Castlecary is named after Allan Stein, son of a nearby brickworks owner, who built cottages there for his workers in the early years of the 20th century (Reid 2009: 252).

Chapter 2

The Wall after the Roman withdrawal

When the Antonine Wall was abandoned in the second half of the 2nd century AD, the fate of the Roman forts and the buildings inside them varied. At Bar Hill demolition parties dismantled the stone buildings and tipped woodwork, tools and architectural stonework into the convenient repository of the deep well in the courtyard of its headquarters building (illus 14–15), thus rendering it useless (see p. 133).[1]

Some of the distance slabs were taken down from their positions against the turf stack and carefully buried; others were left to fall in due course.[2] At Old Kilpatrick a large altar to Jupiter was tipped from an annexe or civil settlement beyond the fort-defences into the outermost of the fort's four ditches on its east side where it was found again by chance in 1969.[3] A massive stone tablet at Balmuildy recording the construction of its North Gate under Lollius Urbicus fell, or was pushed, from its position on to the surface of the road below; but no effort was made to remove the fragments, some of which were discovered there in 1912.[4] At Auchendavy, building stones, a commemorative slab, column shafts and bases, gravestones and funerary monuments evidently remained on view after the garrison departed (see p. 81). At other sites sculpture was left in the bath-houses.[5] Post-Roman occupation of any kind remains elusive at the forts themselves, even allowing for the possibility that the evidence for it could have been overlooked by early excavators.[6]

Illustration 14
The well-head at Bar Hill (© L Keppie).

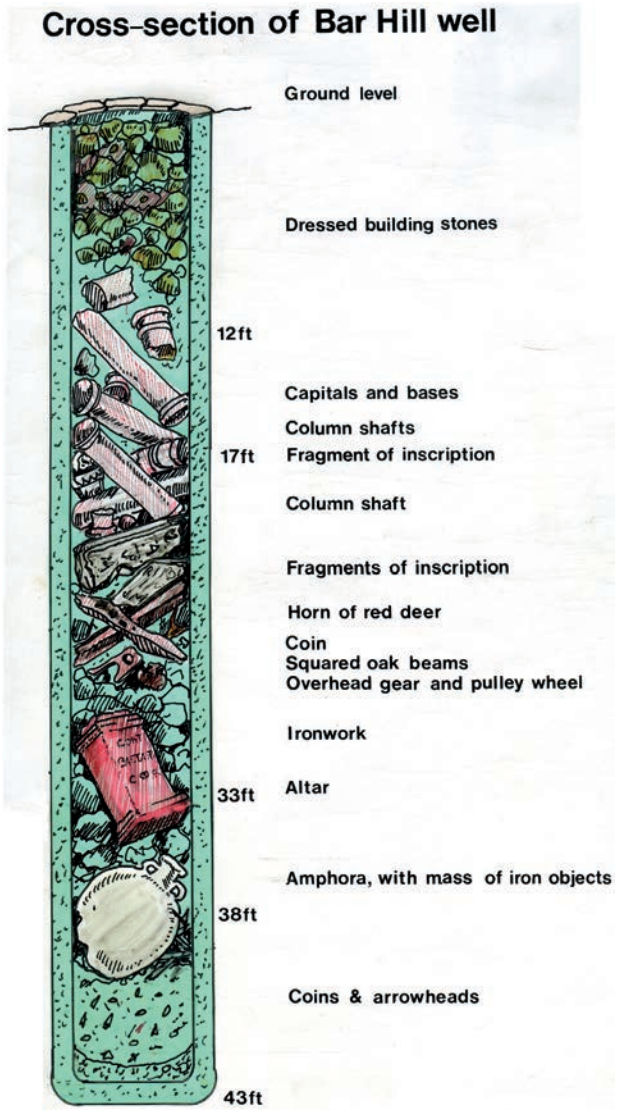


Illustration 15
Cross-section of the well in the headquarters building at Bar Hill fort, showing material deposited at the close of the Roman occupation, as found by excavation in 1902 (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

However, the annexe of a temporary camp at Little Kerse, Polmont was utilized for long-cist burials of likely early medieval date, its defences effectively creating a ditched enclosure for them.[7]

The centuries following the Roman withdrawal from Scotland were marked by migrations, the spread of Christianity and the establishment of native kingdoms. Archaeological evidence generally remains sparse, in contrast to the well documented decades of Roman occupation.[8] However the early historians (see below) record events and places, for example Alcluith (Dumbarton), capital of the Kingdom of Strathclyde and Abercorn on the south bank of the River Forth (see p. 19). Excavation at the east end of Callendar Park, Falkirk in 1989–90 unexpectedly revealed a Dark Age timber hall just north of the Military Way and aligned on it; the structure has been dated to the 9th century and interpreted as the residence of the historically attested thanes of Callendar.[9]

The Military Way long continued to serve local communities, and in places still underlies a modern road, for example the A808 (Roman Road, a 19th-century naming) in Bearsden and the B8023 through the fort at Auchendavy. Other stretches survive as minor roads,[10] or as farm tracks, for example through the fort at Westerwood. The Roman road leading north from Watling Lodge to Camelon fort and beyond was long a distinctive feature in the landscape.[11]

The Wall in the early written sources

Several Late Roman historians, from Aurelius Victor onwards, report a single wall built in Britain, 132 miles long, which they ascribed to the emperor Severus in the early 3rd century AD.[12] Orosius writing in the 5th century had additional details, that it was accompanied by a ditch, with frequent watch-towers along its length.[13] Clearly it is Hadrian's Wall that is being described; as we shall see, constructional details were regularly transferred by authors from it to the Antonine Wall.

Several accounts of walls are given by early British-born historians. Their reports on the barrier between Forth and Clyde are generally dismissed summarily as unreliable and derivative, copying information that really applied only to Hadrian's Wall, but it is important to consider what they may preserve for us.[14] Lacking the statements in the *Historia Augusta* on the originators of both walls, they preferred to date the barriers much later, to a time when the province of *Britannia* was under serious threat from the tribes of the North.

The earliest known British-born author who offers us an account of the Roman frontier lines in Britain is Gildas, writing sometime in the early 6th century.[15] 'By the advice of their protectors they now [AD 383] built a wall across the island from one sea to the other, which, being manned with a proper force, might be a terror to the foes whom it was intended to repel, and a protection to their friends whom it covered. But this wall, being made of turf instead of stone, was of no use to that foolish people, who had no supervisor to guide

them.'[16] At a later, ill-defined date the Romans, before they left the island, built a proper stone wall from sea to sea, joining up the existing settlements along its line.[17] Thus two barriers were distinguished, one of turf and the other of stone. Though Gildas localises neither, it is all but certain that he was describing the 'Vallum' between Tyne and Solway, then the stone wall on the same alignment.[18] Gildas knew nothing of any walls built by Hadrian, Antoninus or Severus.

We reach firmer ground with Bede, who wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica* around 731 at the monastery of Jarrow on the south bank of the Tyne, in close proximity to Hadrian's Wall which he knew from personal inspection. Bede was aware of three barriers erected by the Romans across Britain: an earthen rampart (ie the 'Vallum') from Tyne to Solway, which he ascribes to Severus; a rampart between Forth and Clyde built in the later 4th century; and finally a stone wall from Tyne to Solway constructed in the early 5th.[19]

Bede tells us that the northern half of the island of Britain was separated from the Roman province by two deep firths, the estuaries of Forth and Clyde: 'Half way along the eastern branch there is the city of Guidi; on the western branch, that is on the right bank, is the town of Alcluith, which signifies in their language Clyde Rock, for it is close to the river of that name'.[20] The 'city of Guidi' may be the rocky outcrop surmounted by Stirling Castle, though other places including Camelon and Inchcolm island in the Firth of Forth have been suggested.[21] Alcluith was long an important stronghold on the Clyde, identifiable as Dumbarton Rock, the capital of the British kingdom of Strathclyde. After appealing to and receiving help from Rome, 'the islanders, constructing a wall as they had been ordered to do, but making it of turf not of stone blocks, inasmuch as they lacked any competent artificer to undertake such a large endeavour, achieved nothing by it. They made it between the two firths or inlets which we have talked about [Forth and Clyde], over a distance of many miles, so that, where the protection afforded by water was lacking, they might defend their territory by means of a rampart against the attacks of their enemies. The clearest traces of this very broad and high rampart are visible right up to the present. It begins about two miles west of the monastery of Aebbercurnig [Abercorn], at a place which is called Penfahel in the speech of the Picts, but Peneltun in the English tongue; and extending to the west it terminates close to the town of Alcluith [Dumbarton].'[22] Bede is thus the earliest author to testifiy to a barrier from Forth to Clyde, for which he provides termini on the two firths.

Illustration 16
A detail from the map of Britain prepared by Matthew Paris *c* 1250, showing the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall (© The British Library Board, MS Cotton Claudius D.VI, fol 12v).

In Bede's time Abercorn was an important ecclesiastical centre, thus well known to him.[23] Penfahel is identifiable as Kinneil, in fact 10km (6 miles) west of Abercorn. The Kinneil estate later covered a wide area extending to the line of the Forth; its parkland is depicted in Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1654, deriving from a map by Timothy Pont (illus 30). Bede does not mean that the Wall began there in open countryside, on high ground, but on the coast somewhere nearby. Dumbarton is some 6km (3.5 miles) west of the actual western terminus at Old Kilpatrick. There is no clear indication that Bede had ever seen the Antonine Wall, though he had certainly received information on the impressive state of its standing remains.[24] Bede's influence on Antonine Wall studies was long-lasting, and his phraseology was repeated or paraphrased, not always accurately, by later historians, especially his statements on its eastern and western termini.[25]

The 9th-century *Historia Brittonum*, ascribed to 'Nennius', tells us that 'Severus was the third [emperor] who crossed the straits to Britain, where, in order to make the provinces safer from barbarian incursion, he drew a wall and rampart mound from sea to sea across the breadth of Britain, that is over a distance of 132 miles, and it is called in the British speech Guaul.'[26] A lengthy gloss expands upon Nennius' text at this point. 'For 132 miles, that is from Penguaul (which town is called in Scots Cenail, but in English Peneltun), to the mouth of the River Clyde and to Caerpentalloch, where the wall ends.[27] The foresaid Severus made it of rustic work, but it was to no avail. Afterwards the emperor Carutius rebuilt it and fortified it with seven forts between the two estuaries, and he constructed a round house of well-polished stones on the bank of the River Carun, which took its name from his erecting it as a triumphal arch as a memorial to his victory.'[28]

Carutius was identified by the antiquaries with the usurper Carausius who ruled Britain, in defiance of the imperial government in Rome, between AD 286 and 293.[29] The legend of Carausius had a long history in Scotland, to be reflected later in Ossian's poems of the 18th century (see p. 101). Whoever added the gloss supposed that Nennius intended the Antonine Wall, whereas it is more probable that he meant the line between Tyne and Solway, where he credits Severus with building both an earthen rampart (*agger*) and a stone wall (*murus*). It is easily seen how confusion arose in the minds of antiquaries faced with such testimony.

Matthew Paris, a monk who lived and worked at St Albans, Hertfordshire, in the 13th century and the author of *Chronica Maiora*, in effect a world history from the Creation down to his own time, offers a recognisable map of Britain with the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall marked on it.[30] Several versions of the map, drawn it seems by Matthew himself, have come down to us. The most detailed (illus 16) is held by the British Library, on which two crenelated walls appear,[31] the more southerly (ie Hadrian's) described as *murus dividens anglos et pictos olim* ('the wall that once separated the Angles and the Picts'), and the more northerly described as *murus dividens Scotos et Pictos olim* ('the wall that once separated the Scots and the Picts'). His text, deeply indebted to Gildas and Bede, mentions just one wall, which though not localised must be Hadrian's between Tyne and Solway.[32]

The Middle Ages: chapels, mottes and towerhouses

A number of churches standing on or near the line of the Wall were established in medieval times. Those which endure have been reconstructed, and no Roman stonework has ever been detected in their fabric. Such Pre-Reformation churches existed at Carriden,[33] Kinneil (illus 17),[34] Polmont,[35] Falkirk,[36] Bonnybridge,[37] south-east of Auchendavy,[38] Kirkintilloch,[39] Cawder,[40] Drumry[41] and Old Kilpatrick, the latter associated with Saint Patrick, long believed to have been born thereabouts.[42] Several

Illustration 17
Twelfth-century chapel at Kinneil, with associated graveyard, seen from the west (© G B Bailey).

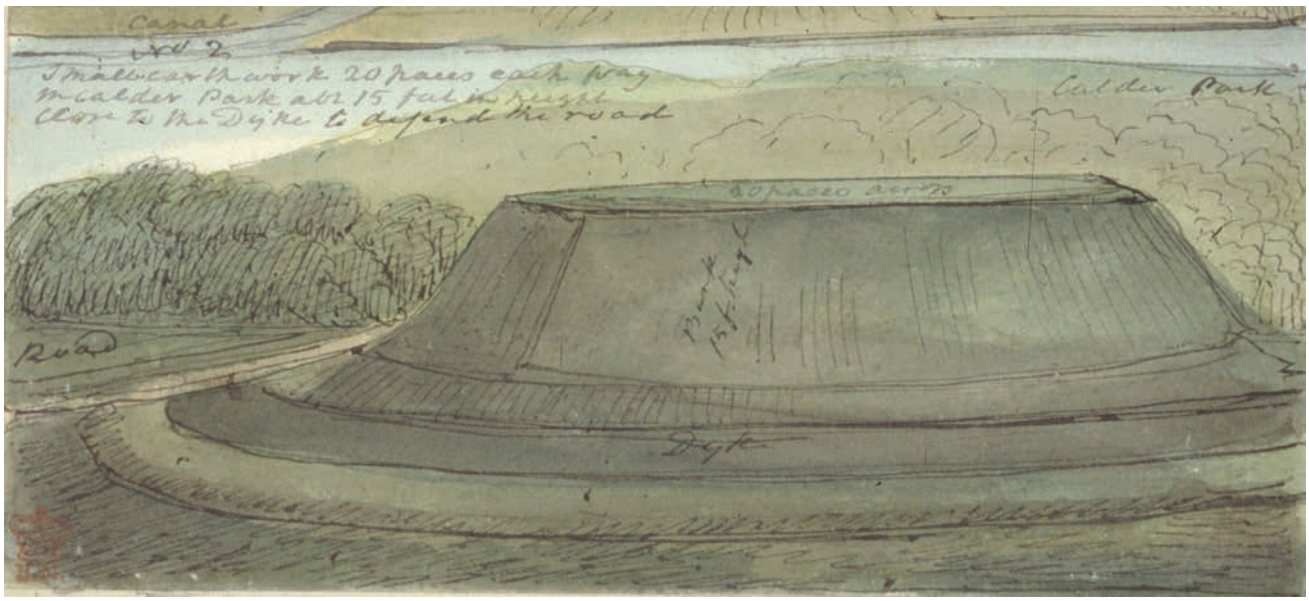


Illustration 18
The motte at Cawder, as sketched by the Revd John Skinner, 1825 (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fig 382). The motte was quarried away in the early 1940s.

of these churches may well have been founded in the early medieval period; we are hampered by lack of excavations at most of them. The church and churchyard at Kinneil were enclosed by a defensive ditch revealed by aerial survey, suggestive of an early date.[43] At Carriden a church lay within the Roman fort, a sequence paralleled in Scotland, for example at Cramond, Inveresk, Ardoch and Stracathro, but not, so far as we know, elsewhere on the Antonine Wall.[44]

Families with substantial landholdings across Central Scotland in the Middle Ages included the Grahams (Marquesses, later Dukes of Montrose), the Flemings (Earls of Wigton), the Livingstons (Earls of Callendar and Viscounts of Kilsyth),[45] to whom can be later added the Dukes of Hamilton at Kinneil, the Stirlings of Keir at Cawder, the Edmonstones of Duntreath, the Hamiltons of Barns at Cochno and the Lords Blantyre around Old Kilpatrick.

Landowners of Lowland Scotland in Anglo-Norman times regularly built as their strongholds the earth and timber castles which we know as mottes, from the 12th century onwards.[46] Essentially these were timber structures set atop an earthen mound, with an outer court (or bailey), defended by a ditch. Often natural knolls and hillocks were chosen to accommodate them, thereby increasing their defensibility. Along the Wall such mottes were constructed at Cawder (illus 18),[47] at Seabegs,[48] and

Illustration 19
The motte at Watling Lodge (Tamfourhill), west of Falkirk, photographed before its destruction in 1894, reproduced from G Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, 1934.

at Tamfourhill (the 'Maiden Castle', a location since 1894 known as Watling Lodge; illus 19).[49] Very likely, though we lack secure evidence, mottes may have stood along the Wall corridor also at Kirkintilloch (see below) and Castlecary;[50] others are suspected. At Seabegs and Tamfourhill, the mottes were built atop the upcast mound of the Wall, utilising the Ditch as an element in their southwards defence. At Cawder the motte lay south of the Wall, but it is conceivable that the latter formed part of the defences of an attached bailey. Sometimes a motte was interpreted later as a Roman fort, an element in the defences of the Antonine barrier (see p. 43).[51]

The Peel Park in the centre of modern Kirkintilloch, with its fine northward views over the Kelvin Valley, is nowadays dominated by the flat-topped mound of the Peel, defended on all four sides by a ditch.[52] This is traditionally held to be a motte.[53] However, John Horsley in 1732 observed that the Peel was a stone structure with thick mortared walls, and this was confirmed by excavation in 1899 (see p. 129).[54]

Dressed Roman stonework was used in its construction.[55] Documentary sources suggest the castle was built in the 12th or 13th centuries and that it went out of use after the Wars of Independence in the 14th century.[56] We could easily suppose that the Wall and its Ditch were incorporated in its northern defences.

A substantial stone castle atop the Wall at Inveravon, built in the course of the 15th century, enjoyed fine prospects northwards towards the mouth of the River Avon and over the Firth of Forth.[57] A stronghold of the Douglases, it was besieged and then demolished by King James II in 1455. The castles at both Inveravon and Kirkintilloch, already in ruins at a relatively early date, were later identified by visiting antiquaries as built by the Romans themselves, Sibbald describing the latter as 'the greatest fort of all'.[58]

In the 15th and 16th centuries many landowners constructed stone towerhouses, some as replacements for earth and timber mottes, built on occasion by the same families where land had been passed down through many generations. Towerhouses were built on or close to the Wall at Kinneil,[59] Callendar,[60] Cawder[61] and Castlecary (illus 20),[62] as well as on the fort-site at Carriden beyond the Wall's eastern terminus,[63] to the west of it at Dunglass,[64] farther to the south at Cumbernauld,[65] and to the north at Auchenvole[66] and Kilsyth.[67] Many of these towerhouses will recur in the following pages as repositories of inscribed or sculptured stones found along the Wall.

Towerhouses could be the centres of extensive parkland and forest. Pont's maps of the 1590s depict fenced woodland, for example at Kinneil,[68] and at Cumbernauld, the former extending northwards to the Firth of Forth and the latter spreading widely over the line of the Wall as far east as Castlecary. Antiquaries remarked on the extent of this 'Wod of Cummirnalde' and many local place-names testify to it (see p. 14); remnants of it still survive.

As time passed, towerhouses were extended to provide additional living accommodation or service wings, of greater comfort and to suit current tastes. Alternatively an adjacent site was chosen for a mansion in the modern style and the towerhouse dismantled for building materials, or abandoned to the elements. At Callendar and Kinneil towerhouses were incorporated into successor mansions (illus 21), but others have disappeared completely, so that only archival references may attest to their very existence. The Wall has outlasted them. The populations of the medieval village at Kinneil, which overlay the Wall's course, and at Carriden, which overlay part of the fort, were in due course decanted to new locations, to create unencumbered vistas for the landowners.[69]

The countryside was dotted with small agricultural communities, generally called fermtouns,[70] with

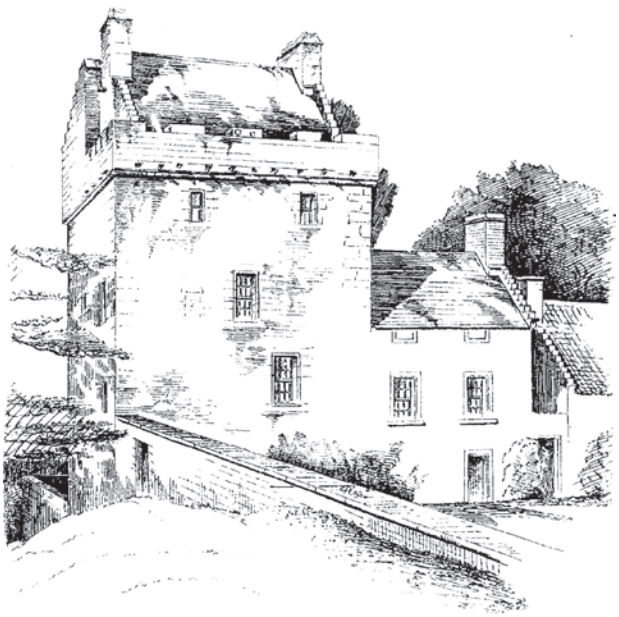


Illustration 20
Castle Cary, reproduced from D MacGibbon and T Ross, *The Domestic and Castellated Architecture of Scotland*, 1889, volume 3.

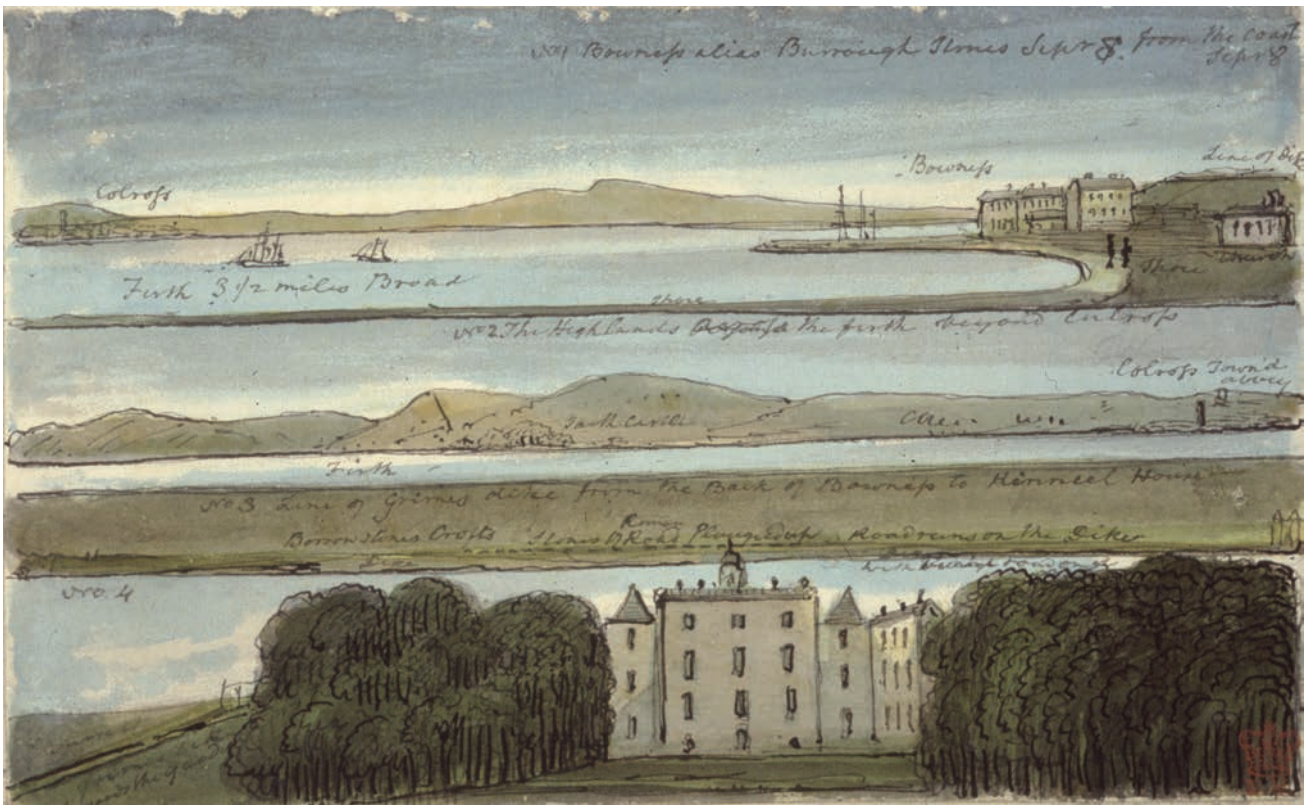


Illustration 21
The course of the Roman frontier between Bo'ness and Kinneil House, as sketched by the Revd John Skinner, 1825 (© The British Library Board Add MS 33686, fig 339).

common pasture and strip-fields, and scattered individual stone or timber-built or turf-walled cottages, their occupants engaged in agriculture, herding and, along the rivers, in fishing.[71] Rig-and-furrow systems, the commonest agricultural method down to the 18th century, are mentioned by antiquaries,[72] and can still on occasion be seen along the Wall's course;[73] they have also been revealed by excavation.[74] The maps in Johan Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1654, deriving from fieldwork by Timothy Pont in the 1590s (see p. 40), provide us with a distribution of villages, castles and mansions along the line of the Wall in the later 16th century.

The Wall in Scottish myth and legend

The Wall long had the popular local name of Graham's Dyke, from a mythical Scottish king said to have broken through its defences near Elfhill, west of Rough Castle, in the early 5th century AD.[75] 'Graham's Dyke' is still present in modern street names.[76] Other explanations were offered, for example that the word *Grym* was the equivalent of the Latin adjective *severus*, confirmation that it was the emperor Severus' wall.[77]

Closely linked to early traditions about the Romans in Scotland was the enigmatic stone structure near Larbert, overlooking the junction of the River Carron with the Firth of Forth, known as Arthur's O'on (ie Oven) from its distinctive shape (illus 22).[78] The domed structure is depicted on one of Timothy Pont's maps,[79] by John Adair and by Sir Robert Sibbald, and was described in an account of Larbert parish in 1723 as 'in the form of a sugar loaf'.[80] Modern scholarship has preferred to suppose that the O'on was a 'victory monument', dated variously to the Flavian, Antonine and Severan periods. The O'on is first mentioned in a gloss on a passage in Nennius' 9th-century *Historia Brittonum* (see p. 20). Already by 1200 it had given its name to the estate on which it stood, Stenhouse.[81] Early historians ascribed its construction to Julius Caesar or to King Arthur. When antiquaries came in the 17th and 18th centuries to draw and measure it,

the O'on remained all but intact, though the exterior was roughened by age and weather.[82] Its demolition in 1743 caused a furore (see p. 88).

The nearby Hills of Dunipace near Larbert were long regarded as artificial mounds, the one erected by the Romans, the other by the Caledonian tribes, to mark some peace concluded between them. The name Dunipace, attested from the late 12th century onwards, was adjudged a version of the Latin *Duni Pacis*, the 'Hills of Peace'.[83] Another view was that the hills were burial mounds for the dead of both armies killed in a battle.[84] Now they are accepted as natural knolls, formed geologically, though one had its summit subsequently flattened in the 12th century to accommodate a motte.[85]

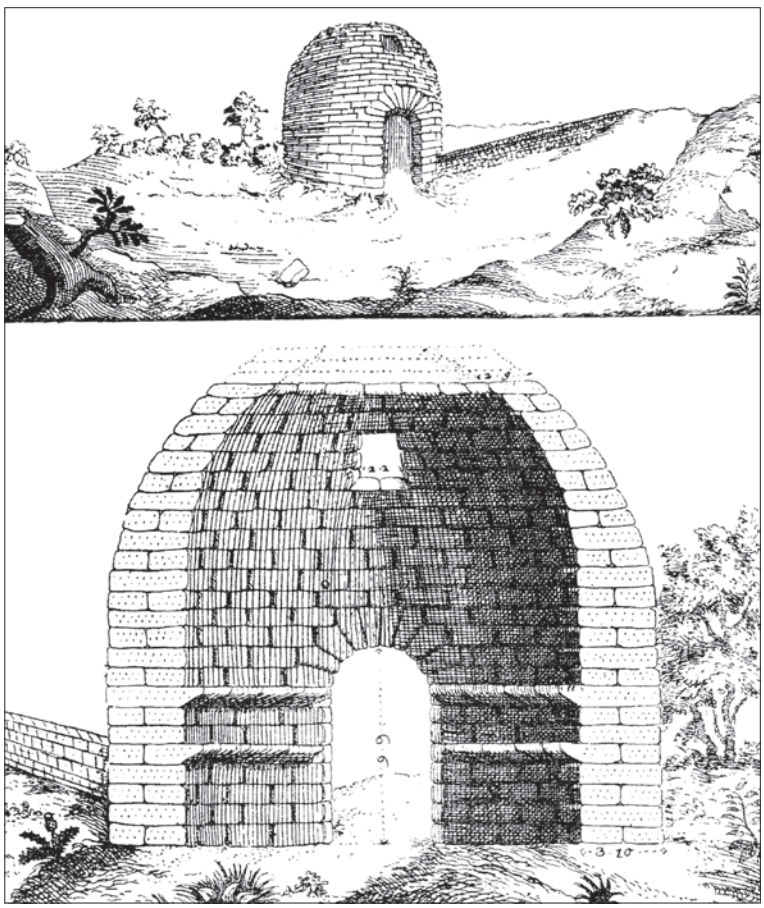


Illustration 22
Arthur's O'on, as depicted by William Stukeley, *An Account of a Roman Temple*, 1720.

The Roman fort at Camelon, lying 1.3km north of the Wall, was the first in Central Scotland to be reported by antiquaries in any detail; ruined buildings and subterranean vaults were reported.[86] At first interpreted as a 'Pictish City', the site was finally accepted as Roman in the 18th century. Camelon was at times linked to King Arthur's Camelot, and later identified as *Camulodunum* (actually Colchester in Essex), by historians anxious to associate local places with names attested from antiquity. Alexander Gordon considered that the remains at Camelon illustrated the urban development of Britain which we are told occurred during the governorship of Agricola in the later 1st century AD.[87]

The legend that the Wall was equipped with 'speaking tubes' through which trumpet calls could be sent to alert its garrisons to an impending threat was current in the 18th century.[88] Adopted from a similar tradition about Hadrian's Wall, it became intertwined with reports of signal towers close enough for trumpet calls to be transmitted between them.[89] One version had the Wall as hollow, so that the sound of a trumpet blown at one end was heard at the other.[90] The legend, as applied to the Antonine Wall, sometimes involved terracotta tubes,[91] so that it could be linked to the discovery of tubular box-flues from hypocausts at, for example, Bar Hill or Rough Castle. David Buchanan, writing *c* 1650, provides an interesting variant. 'There is a story told that from one fort to the next there were underground paths, through which soldiers went secretly and communicated plans, as the situation demanded.'[92] Alexander Gordon was told of underground vaults between the Kelvin at Balmuildy and 'the broken Tower' 4km to the north-east, close to the modern village of Torrance, where he had observed 'a large square encampment'.[93] At Castlehill in 1825 the Revd John Skinner (see p. 106) was informed by an old farmer 'who was very intelligent for one in his line of life', that 'the Romans communicated their signals from fort to fort by striking chains, or long rods with large mallets, which conveyed intelligence by sound'.[94]

Roman bridges on the northern frontier line have been identified at Balmuildy (see p. 43 for the 'steps of Balmilly'),[95] and, less certainly, across the River

Carron near Camelon.[96] Alexander Gordon identified such a structure at the Peel Glen west of Castlehill fort.[97] The superstructures were probably of timber, set on solid stone piers, though the possibility of more elaborate structures is not to be ruled out.[98] A number of medieval bridges were willingly believed Roman, or even ascribed to the Druids.[99] Such traditions prove hard to dispel. For example, the so-called 'Roman bridge' over the Red Burn at Castlecary was constructed in the late 17th century. A bridge across the Duntocher Burn similarly belongs in the 17th century though it is held to incorporate stonework from a Roman predecessor (illus 23).[100] When it was broadened in 1772 at the expense of the landowner, Lord Blantyre, an inscribed slab was erected nearby commemorating in Latin reconstruction of the old bridge *fere collapsum*,[101] a text locally considered to date from the reign of Antoninus himself.[102] At Kinneil the piers of an old bridge to either side of the Gil Burn, south of Kinneil House, were long pointed out to visitors as Roman.[103]

The survival and re-use of Roman stonework

The extensive robbing of Hadrian's Wall between Tyne and Solway and of stone from forts along its length is well documented.[104] On the Forth–Clyde line there is also considerable evidence. In 1582 George Buchanan wrote of Camelon that 'the remains of a small city are yet visible, but the foundation of the walls and the direction of the streets are now rendered indistinct'.[105] He also commented on squared stones 'which the owners of the land in the vicinity use in the erection of their houses'.[106] To Sibbald in 1695 the ruins of Camelon presented 'a confused appearance of a little ancient city'.[107] Some moulded stones remained built

Illustration 23
The 'Roman' bridge at Duntocher, drawn by Joseph Farington, engraved by James Basire, published in General William Roy, *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, 1793, plate xxxvii.

up into houses in its neighbourhood until the close of the 19th century.[108]

The buildings at Balmuildy fort were likewise well preserved. 'On the south side of Kelvin, the great Ruins of Bemulie begin to appear, and shew it originally to have been a very magnificent Place … Within the *Area* of these Ditches are great Foundations of Stone Buildings, but so embarrassed with the Cottages now built upon them, that one cannot form a right Idea of the whole.'[109] The defensive ditches remained a significant obstacle at the beginning of the 19th century, but they were soon degraded.[110] There were no surface traces by the time of excavation in 1912–14.[111]

The hilltop fort at Bar Hill attracted early attention because of the fine preservation of the defences and of some internal buildings. Sibbald mentions 'divers Sepulchres covered with large Stones'.[112] In 1726 Gordon could describe the fort as 'very large and well preserved;' his plan shows several Roman buildings inside the defences (illus 49).[113] William Maitland in 1757 mentions many Roman stones built into 'houses in Old-kirkpatrick and park-walls in its neighbourhood', at a time when the fort there remained unlocated.[114] In 1825 the Revd John Skinner noted Roman stonework in farm buildings and stone dykes at many of the forts.[115]

Stonework from the forts was a source of building material for towerhouses. The stone walls and gates at Castlecary provided a convenient quarry in late 15th century for builders of the nearby Castle Cary.[116] In the 1750s William Maitland observed stones being dug out of the fort to construct outbuildings there.[117] Not long afterwards the fort was conveniently available as a source of building material for the Forth & Clyde Canal (see p. 94). Vestiges of the internal buildings too remained visible.[118] In almost every subsequent generation antiquaries lamented the continual depredations of the fort walls there (see pp. 116, 121).

Though the forts mostly did not become the sites of substantial medieval and post-medieval settlements (see p. 13), farm buildings constructed within them are frequently alluded to in the written accounts

Illustration 24
Farm steading at Westerwood, seen from the south-west, 1996. The line of trees from left to right marks the position of the Ditch. The farm buildings occupy the north-east quarter of the fort (© L Keppie).

of Alexander Gordon (who had observed them in 1723–5) and John Horsley (observed 1727–8), and are shown on General Roy's map (1755). Among the hamlets individually mentioned by Alexander Gordon are 'Westerwood town' inside the fort ramparts, 'Nethertown of Seabegs',[119] 'the Croe-hill town', and 'Bar Hill town', and 'villages' at Auchendavy, Balmuildy, Shirva and Netherwood.[120]

Farm buildings, though not currently in active use, remain inside the fort at Westerwood, to either side of an east–west track which follows the line of the Military Way (illus 24). The steading within the fort at Auchendavy stood until 2003, when it was demolished, to be replaced by modern housing.[121] The farm buildings atop Croy Hill, inside the fort, have now all but completely disappeared.[122] However, at some fort-sites there is no evidence, archival, archaeological or pictorial, for buildings ever being constructed within their ramparts.[123]

Squared Roman stones from the forts were re-used in farm buildings. The Revd John Skinner in 1825 reports Roman stones dug up at Westerwood by the farmer;[124] some can still be seen built into the steading there. Others were long visible at Croy Hill,[125] and at Auchendavy,[126] though none have been noted by any recent visitors. In 2002 a worn sculptured slab, hitherto unnoticed, was observed by the writer built into a circular 'wheelhouse' at Castlehill farm west of Bearsden, doubtless deriving from the Roman fort on the adjacent summit.[127] Similarly Roman stonework was visible in the 1750s 'in the walls of the miller's house and gardens at Duntocher-mill'.[128] A cowshed on the site of the fort at Mumrills may incorporate some Roman stonework.[129] Such finds may on occasion testify to otherwise unattested stone structures within a fort,[130] or to an extramural bath-house.

Individual building stones having an outer face decorated with distinctive diamond-broaching have been recovered over the centuries from field dykes at Westerwood,[131] Kirkintilloch[132] and Bar Hill.[133] At Cawder they were observed in the revetment of the Forth & Clyde Canal (see p. 122). Alexander Gordon saw diamond-broached stones in a bridge at the Peel Glen Burn, below the fort at Castlehill (see p. 25), 'but most of them taken away for building the Houses in the Neighbourhood'.[134] John Horsley witnessed such stones being extracted from the Peel at Kirkintilloch.[135] Diamond-broached stonework was incorporated in the souterrain uncovered at Shirva in the 1720s (see p. 80), perhaps deriving from Auchendavy fort, and in 1757 Maitland records 'many Roman chequered stones' dug out of the fort at Mumrills.[136] Though diamond-broached stonework is usually restricted to buildings, in 1727–8 Horsley noticed examples in the Wall base at Ferguston Muir east of Bearsden.[137] Building stones were also convenient material for the construction of field-dykes in the 18th century and later. 'To this day, great numbers of stones which had been prepared by the Roman pickaxe may be distinguished by their chequered appearance in the walls which line the high road between the bridge over the canal and the viaduct at Castlecary.'[138]

The stonework forming the base of the Wall was less easy to extract until levelling of the ground by agricultural activity over many centuries made it more accessible (see p. 92), sometimes too accessible, as ploughing can still turn up its stones. Near Bo'ness in the early 1700s Sibbald 'saw some foundation stones taken up, which they made use of in the Buildings of the neighbourhood'.[139] In 1729 Robert Wodrow was informed by John Graham of Dougalston east of New Kilpatrick that 'all the country houses thereabouts are built of the stones of the Roman wall' (see p. 78).

The bath-house at Castlecary, revealed in 1769 (see p. 91) and planned soon after by General William Roy, had mostly vanished by the time that the site was again exposed in 1902 (illus 63, 91).[140] The bath-house at Duntocher, uncovered in 1775–8, was quickly dismantled (see p. 103). The practice continues. The writer remembers how shaped kerbstones, left untouched during a rescue excavation of the Wall's stone base at Bantaskin, Falkirk in 1976, mysteriously disappeared overnight, presumably into gardens, as soon as the dig was over, and before the Wall itself was swept away in the construction of Falkirk's 'southern relief road'.[141]

The Wall in the early Scottish historians

John of Fordun was the author of the 14th-century *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* which retailed the story of the country from mythical beginnings to the death of King David I in 1153.[142] Fordun's chronological account of Roman involvement with Scotland began with Julius Caesar who encamped on southern shore of the River Forth.[143] 'Before hastening across the sea to Gaul, and uncertain whether he would be returning, he ordered the construction of a round cottage from large and smoothed stones,[144] without the use of mortar, just like a doocot, close to the mouth of the River Caroun.'

It had no use except as a marker, according to people who saw it. He intended to construct the little house [ie Arthur's O'on] as a landmark at the farthest point of the Roman dominion, more or less at the limit of the world in the west-north-west, as a lasting symbol of his famous military campaign, just as Hercules put up pillars as Europe's western limit to perpetuate the memory of his own eternal fame and his far-distant labours. An alternative belief especially in the popular mind is that Julius Caesar ordered the little house to be carried around with him by his soldiers in individual stone blocks, in order that, after it was put together again wherever he was, he could sleep more securely in it than in a tent.[145]

Fordun, who was familiar with a range of classical authors, generally follows the chronological sequence established by Bede. 'Therefore, when they [the Scots and Picts] had been driven in flight out of the Roman province of Britain, the Britons, having the upper hand in war, built, as they had been instructed, the above-mentioned wall between the two oceans, completed at a very great cost. It was strengthened with a large number of towers, close enough for a trumpet's blast to be heard from one to the next. On the east it begins on the south shore of the *Mare Scoticum* [Firth of Forth], close to the town of Karedin [Carriden], then, stretching for a distance of 22 miles across the island, it has its western terminus on the bank of the River Clyde near Kirkpatrik [Kilpatrick], passing to the north of Glasgow.'[146] Thus another familiar name makes an appearance in our narrative.

The wall did not however prove an effective barrier against the northern tribes. Soon it was overthrown by Grym who, 'gathering people to help him from all sides, came to the aforesaid wall in great strength, and having ordered up siege machines, completely overthrew it, with the defending garrions either forced to flee or killed. The remains of that ditch or wall are clearly visible, and genuine traces are seen until now; it takes its modern name from his, the local people calling it Grymisdike'.[147]

Hector Boece

In the *Scotorum Historiae* of Hector Boece, which covered the period from mythical origins to the accession of James V in 1527, we encounter a historian who gives weight both to the traditional myths and the newly available classical texts, including Tacitus' *Agricola* and *Annals,* and some at least of the biographies in the *Historia Augusta*.[148] According to Boece, Julius Caesar was the earliest Roman to reach the Forth–Clyde isthmus; he came to 'Callendare Wood', at that time equated with the Caledonian forest, and 'kest down Camelon, the principall ciete of Pichtis' and built 'ane round hous of square stanis'.[149]

A century later, according to Boece, the emperor Vespasian campaigned in Scotland, capturing Camelon.[150] Soon after, Julius Agricola won a great victory over the 'Pichtis', defeating Galdus (Calgacus) at the foot of the Grampians, with very high casualties on both sides.[151] The first to construct a barrier in Britain was Hadrian who built 'ane huge wall of fail and devait[152] richt braid and hie in maner of ane hill', 80 miles long, between the Tyne and the Solway.[153] In the early 3rd century the emperor Severus campaigned north of the Tyne–Solway line, and his son 'Anthonius' (Caracalla) rebuilt 'the wall of Adriane … with mony strang touris and bastailyeis rising in it; ilk toure na farrar fra uthir than the sound of trumpat might be hard'.[154] In relation to Severus' campaigns in Scotland, Boece valuably adduces two recently found coin hoards as evidence of subsidies paid to the tribes at that time.[155]

Boece had no awareness of a barrier erected under Antoninus Pius. Rather, the Forth–Clyde isthmus was fortified only in the Late Empire, with what Boece (following Bede) describes as the 'wal of Abircorne', which stretched westwards from the Forth to 'Dunbritaine' on the Clyde. The Roman governor of Britain at this time, named as Victorinus, 'commandit the Britonis, be general edict, to big[157] the wal betwix Abircorne and Dunbritane, with staik and rise,[156] in their strangest maner, to saif thaim fra invasion of Scottis and Pichtis; and to big this dike war assemblit mony craftismen out of al partis, with sindry weirmen,[158] to saif thaim quhil the dike was biggit'.[159]

Subsequently the 'King of the Pichtis … promittit, be publik edict, to geif the capitanry of Camelon to him that first past ouir this wal of Abircorne … The Britonis … come arrayit, in their best maner, to defend this wal afore rehersit; and put ane gret nowmer of weirmen in the bastailyeis and touris thareof.' Finally the emperor Valentinian, in response to the Britons' pleas, sent Gallio of Ravenna with an army who 'gart repare,[160] haistely, the wal afore rehersit, betwix Abircorne and Dunbritane, with gret expensis; and rasit the samin, with faill devit and stanis, xii cubitis of hicht and viii cubitis of breid, with mony strang touris rising on all sidis'.[161] However they could not hold it against the assault of 'the vailyeant Grahame', and fell back to the refurbished 'wal of Adriane'.[162]

George Buchanan

In April 1565 word reached the Court of Queen Mary at Holyrood House in Edinburgh that a Roman altar had been found at Inveresk, which we now know to have been the site of a Roman fort.[163] This is the earliest report of an inscribed Roman stone found in Scotland. The town's magistrates were instructed by the Queen 'to take diligent heid and attendance that the Monument of Grit Antiquitie new fundin be nocht demolisit nor brokin down'.[164] The well-educated Mary was alert to the historical importance of antiquities in her own country.[165] The English Ambassador wrote to the Earl of Bedford and to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, to tell them.[166] The contemporary mathematician John Napier of Merchiston, publishing the text in 1593, gleefully recorded that the idolatrous relic had been 'utterlie demolished'.[167] It represented pagan religion, whose rightful destruction Napier admiringly reports.[168] By 1607 William Camden had become aware of the text, having received a communication from Sir Peter Young, 'teacher and trainer of King James VI in his youth', who 'hath in this wise more truly copied [it] forth'.[169] The discovery was communicated to scholars across Europe.[170]

Illustration 25
George Buchanan, oil on canvas by John Scougall, 1693
(© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

The distinguished poet and playwright George Buchanan (1506–82), who was a professor successively at Bordeaux, Paris and Coimbra (Portugal), Principal of St Andrews University,[171] and later tutor to the young King James VI (illus 25), celebrated the marriage in 1558 of Mary Stuart to the Dauphin François with a Latin poem in which he claimed that the Romans, content with their worldwide conquests, built a wall between Forth and Clyde to fence out the wild axe-wielding Scots, constructing the dome-shaped Arthur's O'on as a temple to the god *Terminus*, as marking the northern limits of their Empire.[172]

Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, published at the end of his life in 1582, is his most influential work.[173] The Roman wall between Forth and Clyde is described twice over, firstly as an element in his geographical description of the kingdom, which is subdivided according to Ptolemy's *Geography* (a commonly used framework), and later in the chronological sequence of historical events.[174] In Buchanan's account the Wall, the construction of which he ascribes to Severus, began on the Forth at its confluence with the River Avon (ie at Inveravon) and terminated on the Clyde.[175] Buchanan's confident assignment of the Forth–Clyde barrier to the emperor Severus was to bedevil Scottish historical writing for many generations thereafter. Rather later, in the early 5th century, Buchanan has a lengthier stone wall constructed between Forth and Clyde on Severus' old line. It was 'eight feet broad and twelve feet high, divided by castles, some of which resembled small towns', running from the Clyde in the west to Abercorn in the east, and was supplemented with watchtowers along the coast.[176] Arthur's O'on and the supposedly man-made Duni Pacis (see p. 24) were both linked by Buchanan to some Roman victory.

Buchanan's is the earliest account of the Wall to be based on knowledge of the standing remains. He appreciated the significance of the fort at Camelon which he firmly associated with the Wall as a Roman garrison town, identifying it with Bede's Guidi.[177] Walls, ditches and streets, were, Buchanan writes, visible there just a few years ago. In addition Buchanan knew of inscribed stones found along the Wall. 'Many … are dug out, on which are engraved, either the record of some deliverance experienced by tribunes or centurions, or some monumental epitaph'.[178] He was aware therefore of inscribed altars and tombstones.

Notes

1 The 8m-deep well in the headquarters building at Old Kilpatrick was found on excavation to contain building debris, roofing tiles, wood, a length of rope, and other material, but did not appear to have been deliberately infilled (Miller 1928: 23).

2 Keppie 1998: 51, 67.

3 *RIB* 3509.

4 *RIB* 2192. See Miller 1922: 57; Keppie 1976a.

5 See Steer 1966; Rees 2002, 328, 346; Maxwell 2007 for re-use in nearby long-cist burials of stone *voussoirs* from a bath-house at the Flavian fort at Elginhaugh, Midlothian.

6 For later use of fort sites on the Wall see Roy 1793: 161 for Castlecary; Keppie 2004: 181 for Duntocher. Cf Pitts and St Joseph 1985: 247 for Inchtuthil; Keppie 1981: 66 for Bothwellhaugh; Hanson 2007: 143 for Elginhaugh.

7 McCord & Tait 1978.

8 Much useful information on this period is gathered in Maldonado 2011.

9 Bailey 2007.

10 For example at Cleddans (Duntocher), Thorn Road (Bearsden), Hillhead (Kirkintilloch) and Beeches Road (Duntocher). Macdonald mentions that the stone base between Nether Kinneil and Inveravon served as a road until 1842 (1911: 142; 1934: 111). The Military Way at Laurieston was said to have been dug up by villagers for building stones in the mid-19th century (Gillespie 1879: 267), but the stone base of the Wall seems a more likely target. The upcast mound and the line of the Ditch were also on occasion overlain by later roads.

11 RCAHMS 1963: 112 no 124; Keppie 2003: 212; 2006: 182.

12 Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 20.18; idem, *Epitome* 20.

13 Orosius, *Contra Paganos* 7.17.7. Both *vallum* (earthen rampart) and *murus* (masonry wall) are used by the Late Roman historians to describe walls in Britain, terms which Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica* i.15) was careful to distinguish.

14 Texts of the relevant passages of the Late Roman historians and of Gildas, Bede and 'Nennius' are conveniently collected in Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 16.

15 Thompson 1979.

16 Gildas *De Excidio* 15. I use here the translation published by Giles 1841a.

17 Gildas *De Excidio* 18.

18 Higham 1991. A series of *capitula* (rubrics) added further details which we can see were drawn from Bede, to the effect that this earthen wall ran from Kair Eden (Carriden) to Alcluith (Dumbarton). See Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 17; Watson 1926: 369; Stevens 1941; Jackson 1969: 77; Dumville 1994.

19 *Historia Ecclesiastica* i.5, i.12. Macdonald 1934: 28. Hence Fordun, *Scotichronicon* ii.37–38; iii.6.

20 *Historia Ecclesiastica* i.12.

21 Gordon 1726: 23; Graham 1959; Jackson 1981.

22 *Historia Ecclesiastica* i.12. On the place-names Penfahel and Peneltun, see p. 13. Bede's reference to Kinneil may indicate a settlement there in the 8th century, perhaps an ecclesiastic site. For the Pre-Reformation chapel there see p. 20 and illus 17.

23 Thomas 1984.

24 On Bede's use of classical sources, see Laistner 1935; Miller 1975.

25 Many of the antiquaries wrongly state that the Wall began at (not near) Abercorn, citing Bede as their source.

26 *Historia Brittonum* 23. For Guaul see above p. 14. The translation here is based on that by George Neilson in Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 25, with amendments. The figure of 132 miles occurs in the Late Roman historians Eutropius, St Jerome, Orosius and Cassiodorus. Other translations of the *Historia Brittonum* are by Giles 1841b; Morris 1980; on Nennius see also Dumville 1976.

27 Cenail equates to Kinneil and Caerpentalloch to Kirkintilloch (see p. 13). William Roy (1793: 150) attractively transposed the last two clauses, to read 'to the River Clyde where the wall ends, by way of Caerpentalloch'. Similarly Dumville 1994: 295.

28 ie Arthur's O'on. On the place-name Carron, see Reid 2009: 46. Cf *Severall Proceedings in Parliament* November 1650: 846 (Thomason Tracts 119: E.780).

29 For his historically attested activities in Britain, see Birley 2005: 371.

30 Connolly 2009, 186.

31 BL MS Cotton Claudius D.VI, fol 12v. See Harvey 1992; Shannon 2007.

32 Luard 1872, 181. For walls shown on others of his maps see Shannon 2007, plates 3–5.

33 Dumville 1994: 296; Bailey 1997.

34 RCAHMS 1929: 190 no 300; Hunter 1967.

35 RCAHMS 1963: 154 no 142.

36 Hunter 1936; RCAHMS 1963: 150 no 140.

37 Macdonald 1934: 131 (St Helen's Chapel).

38 St Flanan's. Information from Morag Cross. A small Pre-Reformation wooden statue of St Flanan is now in the Auld Kirk Museum, Kirkintilloch.

39 Rorke et al 2009: 17.

40 On medieval Cawder, see Durkan 1998.

41 Bruce 1893: 302.

42 Bruce 1893: 100; Taylor 2006.

43 Glendinning 2000: 511. Bailey 1996: 364, illus 15.

44 At Kirkintilloch the church lay on sloping ground east of the fort, perhaps within an annexe.

45 For the great feudal families in Stirlingshire, see RCAHMS 1963, 10.

46 Talbot 1974; Higham & Barker 1992, 66. See RCAHMS 1963: 40 for mottes in Stirlingshire.

47 Gordon 1726: 54; Horsley 1732: 168; Roy 1793: 159; Macdonald 1911: 251 with pl liv.1–2; 1934: 347 with pl lviii.2.

48 Sibbald 1707: 30 (then known as Caledonie Hill). Cf Gordon 1726: 57; Horsley 1732: 171; Roy 1793: 161; Smith 1934; RCAHMS 1963: 172 no 160 with fig 62; Keppie & Breeze 1981: 237; Keppie 2006: 183. On a recent excavation there see *Britannia* 28 (2007): 256.

49 Macdonald 1934: 344; RCAHMS 1963: 178 no 188. On early OS maps these and other medieval sites are designated *castellum* (fort), without any presumption of a Roman date.

50 Reid 2009: 307.

51 Of the known mottes along the Wall, only one now survives for inspection, at Seabegs, those at Tamfourhill and Cawder having fallen victim to development, the former in 1894 (see p. 122) and the latter to quarrying during the Second World War.

52 Horne 1910: 32 with photo; McBrien 1995: 651 illus 33; Leslie & Rennie 2006; Rorke et al 2009: 56.

53 Smith 1934: 59; Breeze 1974: 174.

54 Horsley 1732: 168; Macdonald 1925: 290.

55 BL MS Stowe 1024: fol 111 (which can be dated to 1699) depicts 'Roman Stones in ye Old Building of Pill in Karkyntylacta' (the Peel, Kirkintilloch), with diamond broaching. See also Horsley 1732: 168.

56 The construction of a motte within the defences of a Roman fort has numerous parallels, the best known being at Tomen-y-Mur ('the motte on the wall') in Merionethshire, Wales (Bowen & Gresham 1967: 230; Nash-Williams 1969: 111 no 34 with figs 59–60; Frere & St Joseph 1983: 107, fig 61), with other examples in both Wales and England. The construction of a stone castle atop a motte mound can be paralleled, for example at Duffus and Rothesay in Scotland, Clifford's Tower at York, and in Wales at Cardiff, the latter within the defences of a Late Roman fort (Nash-Williams 1969: 70 no 13).

57 RCAHMS 1929: 190 no 299.

58 Gibson 1695: 959; cf Sibbald 1707: 29.

59 Glendinning 2000.

60 It is known as Castle Cary. See RCAHMS 1963: 348, no 203.

61 See Anon 1845: 407; Thompson 1956: 21 no 65 for an associated coin hoard.

62 RCAHMS 1963: 243.

63 RCAHMS 1929, 192 no 302.

64 Bruce 1893, 215. Timothy Pont places a Roman fort there (see p. 38).

65 Disused after the building of the adjacent mansion in 1731, it was destroyed by fire in 1745–6 (Watson 1845: 143).

66 Later part of a Victorian mansion, now demolished (Dennison et al 2006: 18).

67 Miller 1976; Miller 1980: 64; Dennison et al 2006: 17.

68 Sibbald 1710a: 18; Keppie 2006: 180.

69 For Kinneil, see Glendinning 2000: 512, 522.

70 Smout 1969, 111; Dodgshon 1981; Dixon 2001.

71 Agricultural activity, above all ploughing, has been turning up inscribed and sculptured stones since at least the later 17th century.

72 The Revd John Skinner observed rig-and-furrow near Bar Hill in 1825 (Keppie 2003: 218).

73 For rig-and-furrow cultivation on the slopes of Croy Hill see Sneddon & Murtagh 2009.

74 Keppie 1995: 87, 98.

75 Gordon 1726: 58; Horsley 1732: 171; Macdonald 1934: 130, 352.

76 Maitland 1757: 184; Stuart 1844: 281; Chalmers 1807: 118; Reid 2009: 301; 'Wester Grames Dyke' and 'Easter Grames Dyke' appear as field-names on maps of the Callendar estate at Falkirk.

77 David Buchanan (*c* 1650): 'Through this region of ours [Stirlingshire] was taken the famous Wall of Severus, which we in the vernacular call by translation Graham's Dyke, since Graeme is to us what Severus is to Latins, and our Syke is their Wall.' (Blaeu 2006: 80).

78 Sibbald 1707: 42; Stukeley 1720; Gordon 1726: 24; Horsley 1732: 174; Crawford 1949: 150; Steer 1958; 1976; RCAHMS 1963: 118 no 126; Brown 1980: 32; Brown & Vasey 1989.

79 Pont sheet 32 (see p. 35).

80 Johnstoun 1906: 330.

81 Reid 2009, 96. Hence the modern village and Scottish League football team, Stenhousemuir.

82 No Roman installations are known nearby. However, a fragment of an earthenware bowl was picked up there in 1699 by Edward Lhwyd (see p. 55), and part of a small Roman altar was recently found re-used in adjacent, late-medieval pottery kilns (information from G B Bailey, Falkirk Museum).

83 Johnstoun 1906: 330; Reid 2009: 39.

84 Foulis 1792.

85 Crawford 1949: 149; RCAHMS 1963: 446 no 575.

86 Lesley 1578: ii.15; George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582) i.21; Sibbald 1707: 33, 41; Gordon 1726: 23; Horsley 1732: 172; Maitland 1757: 206; Walker 1770; Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901: 330; Keppie 2006: 182; Reid 2009: 89.

87 Tacitus *Agricola* 21; Gordon 1726: 23.

88 Nimmo 1777: 38.

89 Camden 1607: 652.

90 Wilson 1797: 110.

91 'Mr Cambel informed him [Alexander Gordon] likewise of an earthen tube of reddish clay baked, which is lett into the wall all the way, for communicating an alarm from one tower to another' (William Stukeley, in own copy of Stukeley 1720, Sackler Library, Oxford). For the 'ingenious mathematician George Campbell', see p. 75.

92 Blaeu 1654: 72 = Blaeu 2006: 80. See p. 42 for 'a secret Convoy under the ground'.

93 Gordon 1726: 21; RCAHMS 1963: 107 no 121. The site has been suggested as a Roman temporary camp.

94 Keppie 2003: 226.

95 Davidson 1952; *Discovery & Excavation in Scotland* 1982: 29.
96 RCAHMS 1963: 112 no 124.
97 Gordon 1726: 52.
98 Bidwell & Holbrook 1989: 116.
99 For the 'Roman' bridge at Bothwellhaugh, Lanarkshire, see Chambers 1827: 358; Macdonald 1896.
100 Keppie 2004: 193, with figs 9–10.
101 'which had fallen into near ruin'.
102 Keppie 2003: 226 illus 20. Following bomb damage to the bridge in 1941, an addendum in English recorded further repairs, at which time the slab was moved to a less striking setting in the bridge parapet itself, where it remains.
103 Nimmo 1880: 41; Keppie 2003: 210.
104 Crow 1995: 97; Eaton 2000; Whitworth 2000; Wilmott 2001: 121. For re-use of stonework from the fort site at Birrens, Dumfriesshire, at a monastic site at Hoddom, Dumfriesshire, 6km to the south-west, see Lowe 2006: 174, 195.
105 Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* i.21.
106 Buchanan, ibid i.21; iv.37.
107 Gibson 1695: 921; cf Sibbald 1707: 34; Sibbald 1710a: 33; Gordon 1726: 23; Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901: 329; Keppie 2006: 182.
108 Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901: 378 with figs. For a fragment of walling still visible in the early 19th century see Chambers 1827: 38.
109 Gordon 1726: 53. For the 'Town' at Balmuildy see also p. 43.
110 Stuart 1852: 320 fn; Mothersole 1927: 65; Keppie 2003: 225.
111 Miller 1922: 1.
112 Sibbald 1707: 29.
113 Gordon 1726: pl 22; Macdonald & Park 1906, 43. Cf Horsley 1732: 169; Maitland 1757: 177; Roy 1793: 160.
114 Maitland 1757: 183.
115 Keppie 2003: 213.
116 RCAHMS 1963: 243. In its garden are a column shaft and a feathered building stone; another, decorated with a phallus (*CSIR* 82), was set into the garden wall, but is not currently visible.
117 Maitland 1757: 174.
118 Gordon 1726: 57.
119 Close to the later Underwood Lockhouse.
120 Gordon 1726: 53.
121 The writer looked in vain for Roman building stones at the steading there, prior to its dismantling. Much of the stonework was subsequently re-used in replacement housing on the site.
122 See Stuart 1852: 340 fn for continuing use of the Military Way at the steading on Croy Hill.
123 A substantial 'township' still exists inside the stone walls of the Roman fort at High Rochester, Northumberland, utilising the plentiful stonework.
124 Keppie 2003: 214.
125 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 60; Macdonald 1911: 204; 1934, 258 pl xlvii.3).
126 Keppie & Walker 1985: 33.
127 *Britannia* 34 (2003): 304.
128 Maitland 1757: 182. Thomas Garnett writes in 1800 that the village of Duntocher was built of stones from the fort (Garnett 1800: 9).
129 Mothersole 1927: 98.
130 For example the column capital found in 1847 on the slope of Castlehill west of Bearsden (Wilson 1851: 377 with fig; *CSIR* 147).
131 Two stones decorated with diamond broaching were rescued from a field-dyke in the 1970s and are now in the Hunterian Museum.
132 Two examples are held at the Auld Kirk Museum, Kirkintilloch where Peter McCormack arranged for me to view them.
133 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 61, 94.
134 Gordon 1726: 52; Horsley 1732: 165.
135 Horsley 1732: 168; Waldie 1883: 53. In July 1877 Canon J T Fowler picked up in the 'moat' of the Peel two building stones which are described as 'fine examples of cross-hatching' and carried them off to Durham (Macdonald 1925: 291). I have been unable to trace them.
136 Maitland 1757: 172; cf Waldie 1883: 25.
137 Horsley 1732: 167. Possibly he mistook for diamond-broaching the diagonal chisel marks found on the facings of some of the kerbs of the stone base. Diamond-broached stonework can currently be seen in the visible bath-house at Bearsden.
138 Stuart 1845: 338 fn; cf Baird 1864: 12. For diamond-broached stonework found during excavation at Castlecary in 1902, see illus 94. For a fragment of an altar found in 1967 in a field dyke near Camelon, see *RIB* 3150; for a sculptured stone in a roadside dyke near Mumrills, see *CSIR* 71.
139 Sibbald 1710a: 20.
140 Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1903: 314 fig 22.
141 Keppie 1976b.
142 Macdonald 1911: 37; 1934: 32; Boardman 1997; Watt 1997. The English translation offered is based on the expanded version (*Scotichronicon*) of Fordun's work by Walter Bower in about 1444–5 (Watt 1987–98).
143 *Scotichronicon* ii.16.
144 *Politis lapidibus*, a phrase repeated from Nennius.
145 A likely reminiscence of the prefabricated mosaic floor which the historian Suetonius tells us was taken by Julius Caesar on his campaigns (*Divus Jul*ius 46) to impress native chieftains in Gaul.
146 *Scotichronicon* iii.4. For this distance see also Sibbald 1707: 30 (see p. 48).
147 *Scotichronicon* iii.5. For Grim & Grymisdike see p. 23.
148 Duncan 1972; Withers 2001: 41.

149 Bellenden 1821, iii.4. I here use the splendidly atmospheric translation of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* into Scots published in 1536, which had been commissioned by King James V from John Bellenden.

150 Bellenden 1821: iii.13.

151 Bellenden 1821: iv.11–17.

152 'Sods of earth and thin blocks of turf.'

153 Bellenden 1821: v.4. He is describing the earthen and turf 'Vallum'.

154 Bellenden 1821: v.15. In this context 'bastailyes' (bastles) means milecastles.

155 Bellenden 1821: v.16; Robertson 2000: 428 no 1869, 429 no 1886.

156 'Wattles.'

157 'Build.'

158 'Soldiers.'

159 Bellenden 1821: vii.6.

160 'Took measures to repair.'

161 Bellenden 1821: vii.13. Gallio of Ravenna, though mentioned by many antiquaries from this time onwards, appears not to be a genuine historical figure.

162 Bellenden 1821: vii.14. For 'Grahame' see p. 23.

163 *RIB* 2132; *RIB* I *Addenda*: p. 796.

164 RCAHMS 1929: p. xxx.

165 See Williamson 1979 and Lee 1990 for the intellectual and religious context, and Guy 2004: 70 on Mary's education in Scotland and France.

166 Chalmers 1821.

167 Napier 1593: 210 chapter 17, verse 3. However, it did survive, to be last seen in the churchyard at Inveresk by Sir Robert Sibbald (1707: 41).

168 Conversely Napier presented an inscribed Roman building stone to his in-laws at Cawder Castle (see p. 57).

169 Holland 1610: *Scotland* p. 13.

170 By 1598 Scottish humanist Thomas Seget of Seton in East Lothian (*c* 8km east of Inveresk) had informed Abraham Ortelius at Antwerp (*RIB* I *Addenda*: p. 796). William Camden sent details to Janus Gruter at Heidelberg (Keppie 1998: 5).

171 McFarlane 1981: 416; Hingley 2008: 85.

172 Buchanan, *Silva* iv, *Epithalamium*, lines 200–1; McGinnis and Williamson 1995: 126–45; see also Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* i.21, iv.38.

173 It is cited here according to the edition prepared by J Aikman in 1827–9.

174 Ibid i.22, iv.37–8.

175 Ibid i.22. Buchanan knew of the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus, though he located them too far south.

176 Ibid v.6. The measurements derive from Bede's description of Hadrian's Wall. Regrettably Buchanan does not locate any of these watchtowers. The only known sites are on the south bank of the Firth of Clyde, at Lurg Moor and Outerwards, both located in the mid-20th century.

177 Ibid iv.37.

178 Ibid i.22.

Chapter 3

Timothy Pont and his maps

The Revd Timothy Pont, who lived from about 1566 until about 1614, when he 'was unhappily surpriz'd by death, to the inestimable Loss of his Countrey',[1] is rightly celebrated for his comprehensive series of detailed maps of Scotland, a feat achieved on limited resources under King James VI in the years between 1583 and 1596.[2] In addition to the maps themselves, Pont prepared accompanying texts, many of which have been recognised in later compilations.[3] Pont, as we shall see, was a pioneer in fieldwork and observation of the surviving remains of the Antonine Wall, but his role remains largely unappreciated.

Illustration 26
Timothy Pont, detail from Sheet 32 ('East Central Lowlands'), showing the line of the Wall (*dotted*) between Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld. The Latin caption (*centre left*) was probably added by Robert Gordon of Straloch *c* 1640 (© National Library of Scotland, Adv MS 70.2.9, Pont 32; CC-BY).

The Wall is marked as a dotted line on one of Pont's original maps, sheet 32 (conventionally named 'East Central Lowlands'), which covers a wide swathe of central Scotland from Dumbarton in the west to the River Avon (close to Bo'ness) in the east (illus 26).[4] The route of the Wall is not entirely accurate, especially west and east of Kirkintilloch, and no forts are specifically identified along it, though many familiar fort-names such as Bar Hill, Croy Hill and Westerwood are given a symbol regularly used by Pont to denote 'settlements'. There is a prominent caption which reads *Vestigia valli Romanorum quod videtur Agricolam aut Adrianum primum posuisse* ('Traces of the Romans' rampart which, it seems, Agricola or Hadrian was the first to erect.'). Here we have further testimony to the uncertainty among early antiquaries over who built walls and where. The caption and the dotted line are additions to the map, both almost certainly added in the 1640s by Robert Gordon of Straloch (see p. 40).

Our knowledge of Pont's interest in the Antonine Wall owes much to remarks made more than a century later by Sir Robert Sibbald. 'Mr Timothy Pont was at the most Pains in tracing [the vestiges of the Wall], when he made the Survey of that part of the Country, through which it runs … Mr Timothy Pont made his Remarks near a Hundred Years ago,[5] when the Vestiges of it were more remarkable, and in many places the surface of the Ground was not so much altered, as it hath been since by Tillage and building upon it; yet he observeth, that even then, many Stones had been removed, and the inscriptions upon some Stones were outworn by time.'[6] Pont's testimony was recoverable from 'the Papers he left, many of which I have of his own hand-writing, with Draughts of the places, and remarks upon them. And I have also the Copies taken from his papers by [Robert Gordon of] Straloch and his son, in whose hands they were put, to draw the maps out of them. I have the Maps, the Originals done by T. Pont and these which were drawn out of his Papers. So I have the Form of the Wall drawn by him, and his accounts of the Roman Forts and Camps.'[7] We can go some way towards identifying the Pont materials upon which Sibbald based such an appreciative verdict, since his own listing of them includes a surviving text, 'Timothy Pont's notes on the vestiges of Agricola's rampart',[8] and 'Notes on Julius Agricolas wall and upon severall plans from Timothy Pont his papers 3 sheets'.[9]

In his *Historical Inquiries* of 1707 Sibbald alludes to Pont's written work, that he 'observeth likewise, that there were upon the Tract of the Wall beside the Watch Towers, and the square Forts for Guards, some Royal Forts, capable to lodge a Legion or more, these were placed at competent distances, as the opportunity of the Ground served'.[10] 'Royal Forts' I take here to be equivalent to forts, rather than large temporary camps. Pont thus distinguishes three categories of installation, based on personal inspection.

Pont had, Sibbald writes, drawn the outlines of individual forts. 'Mr Timothy Pont had more Designments of Forts, and thereby it appeareth that the Forts were more discemable in his time, and parts of them more entire, and he seemed to have viewed them more accurately than did those who came after him.'[11] Unfortunately none of these 'Designments' survive, and none were included by Sibbald in any of his published treatises.

Sibbald published a sketch-plan of the constituent elements of the Wall, presumably 'the form of the Wall' mentioned above, which he specifically tells us derived from Pont through the medium of Robert Gordon.[12] It is headed 'the Form of the Wall which divided the Scots and the Picts from the Roman province, which began about Abercorn'. Two versions are known, the first published in Sibbald's contribution to Edmund Gibson's 1695 revision of Camden's *Britannia* (illus 27) and the second in his own *Historical Inquiries* of 1707. His explanatory text reads as follows:[13]

A.A.A.	A ditch of twelve Foot wide before the Wall, towards the Enemies Country.
B.B.	A Wall of squared and cut Stones, two Foot broad; probably higher than the wall to cover the Defendants, and to keep the Earth of the wall from falling into the Ditch.
C.C.	The Wall it self, of ten foot thickness; but how high, not known.
D.D.	A paved way close at the foot of the wall, five foot broad.
E.E.	Watch-towers within a call one of another, where Centinels kept watch day and night.
F.F.	The wall of square stone going through the breadth of the Wall, just against the Towers.
G.G.	A Court of guard, to lodge a sufficient number of soldiers, against all sudden Alarms.
I.I.	The body of the Rampire, with an outer-wall of cut stone, higher than the Rampire, to cover Soldiers.
K.	The void within for the Soldiers Lodgings.

The diagram thus depicts the Ditch (A) 12 feet (3.6m) wide, the rampart itself (B–C) which Pont regards as having a north kerb 2 feet (0.6m) wide and the main

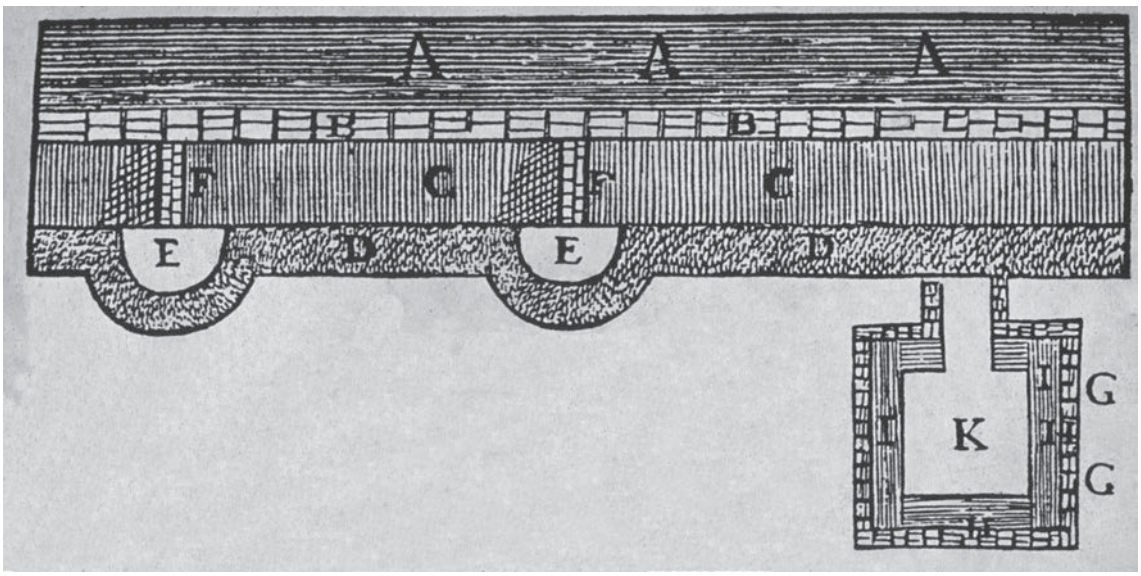


Illustration 27
Timothy Pont's drawing of the constituent parts of the Wall, as published in Edmund Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1695.

body 10 feet (3m) wide, to which we might think to add a further kerb of 2 feet (0.65m) on the south side, to make up the standard width of 14 feet (4.3m). Narrow stone-lined channels (F) run north–south through the wall, which are clearly culverts. Immediately to the south he records a 'paved way' 5 feet (1.65m) broad (D), a feature which has never been confirmed by excavation.[14]

More significant are the ground plans of two types of small installation, firstly 'Watch-towers within a call one of another' (E), semicircular in shape and attached to the back of the rampart, and secondly a square 'Court of Guard' (G). Older authorities were perplexed. William Maitland in 1757 remarked that 'by comparing this pompous account with the three late actual surveys of the Wall and its concomitants,[15] it will appear to consist scarcely of any thing but falsities'.[16] According to George Neilson (see p. 124), the principal author of the Glasgow Archaeological Society's *Antonine Wall Report* (1899), Pont's diagram 'is certainly calculated to convey impressions which are not in any degree confirmed by an inspection of the actual remains'.[17] Sir George Macdonald was rather less dismissive: 'Absurd as that sketch looks in the shape which it finally assumed, it may be that its most curious features are not purely imaginary, but have rather developed naturally out of an initial misapprehension as to the meaning of some of the actual phenomena.'[18] A century later, after the discovery of various categories of minor installation, in part through the medium of aerial photography, Pont's diagram seems far less fantastic than once it did.[19]

Sibbald provides some imperial measurements in his caption on one version of the diagram and a helpful scale on the other,[20] from which it is tempting to suppose that he is illustrating, first, two closely spaced semicircular 'enclosures', of the type noted on aerial photographs and subsequently plotted by excavation to either side of Wilderness Plantation;[21] and secondly the square platform of what is now known as an 'expansion'. However, the 'Court of Guard', with a gateway to the north, must surely equate to a fortlet. This hierarchy of sites is one that was not appreciated again by modern archaeologists until the second half of the 20th century.

It is startling to find such features already drawn in detail before the close of the 16th century. Was it deliberate excavation or chance clearance of the stone base of the Wall that made these remains visible at such an opportune moment? The sketches cannot have been prepared by Pont on the basis of observation of the upstanding turf-covered remains, but on measurement or pacing out of exposed stonework. Where Pont saw them, or indeed if in a single location, eludes us. Though Sibbald is fulsome in his praise of Pont's attention to the Wall, the latter's maps show no

Roman sites such as Inchtuthil or Ardoch though a small number of prehistoric and Early Historic sites are depicted.

Most of Pont's writings about the Roman sites he saw are lost to us. One surviving text, in the handwriting of Robert Gordon, is entitled *De Vestigiis Valli Agricolae et postea Adriani* ('On the Traces of the rampart of Agricola and afterwards of Hadrian'), the title reflecting Robert Gordon's dating of it.[22] The Latin text is, I suggest, a version prepared by Gordon for inclusion in Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum vel Atlas Novus*, published at Amsterdam in 1654 (see p. 41), which he decided in the end not to use; 'because it consists of barbarian names, and does not allow Latin's natural grace, I have given it in our native tongue'.[23] The version printed in Blaeu's *Theatrum* reads: 'The trace of this fortification beginneth betwinx Abircorn and the Queens ferry,[24] besyd the rampier and the ditche, with the rownds stoff[25] all along it and many squar fortifications in form of a Roman camp, it went west from Abircorn towards Kinneil, then to Inner-ewin, at Langtoun a myl be-east Falkirk a fort, at ye Rountree-burnehead a fort, at wester Cowden above Helin's Chapell one, at Croyhill one, at Cailly-bee, that is the Dick wood ovir against the Croyhill, on the top of the Bar-hill a great one, and at Balchastel over against the Bar-hill, at Achindevy, at Kirkintillo, at East Caldar, at Hilltown of Caldar, at Bal-muydie, at Simmerstoun, and ovir Kalvin river, at Carreston, at Achter-minnie, at the Roch-hil ovir agains the Westerwood, at Bakir over agains Castel Cary, at Dunvass.'[26]

Some of the sites mentioned here are well known as Roman forts and fortlets,[27] others are medieval fortifications.[28] In addition Pont lists sites lying to the the north across the Kelvin valley on the edges of the Kilsyth Hills, now known to be a mix of Iron Age, medieval and post-medieval settlements.[29] Pont's list finishes with 'Dunvass', to be identified with Dunglass west of Old Kilpatrick. Robert Gordon was aware that the list was incomplete, and supposed that more forts existed west of Summerston as far as Dumbarton; he judged himself too old to travel to see them.[30]

Pont's written notes encompassed other forms of ancient evidence. 'He [Pont] observeth that several Stones bore the Record and Memory of the Work of two legions, beside their *Auxilia* which were employed there and lay in Guard upon this Wall, the one *Legio Secunda Augusta*, the other *legio Vicesima Valens Victrix*.'[31] In the 1770s the Edinburgh bibliophile George Paton (see p. 99) collated the surviving maps, sending details to his correspondent Richard Gough who observed, presumably on Paton's testimony, that 'Pont took notes of all the Roman coins, inscriptions, and other monuments he met with'.[32]

We might think therefore that Timothy Pont would have an honoured place in the development of our understanding of the Wall and installations along it, but this is not so. Despite Sibbald's eulogies, a complimentary report in 1702 by Bishop Nicolson,[33] and a brief notice by William Stukeley,[34] Pont's contribution was soon forgotten, overshadowed by the major compilations of the 18th century.

The 17th century: William Camden and his legacy

Early visitors to the line of the Antonine Wall often came in search of inscribed stones which they might set in the context of similar finds farther south in Britain and in continental Europe. Crispin Gericke from Elbing (then in West Prussia, now in Poland) and Servaz Reichel from Silesia (formerly in East Prussia, now in Poland)] were travelling in Scotland soon after 1600. We can reconstruct something of their itinerary (or itineraries, since strictly speaking it cannot be shown that they travelled together), seemingly in the company of others, on an epigraphical Grand Tour encompassing 'France, Britain and Scotland'.[35] Described by the schoolmaster Reginald Bainbrigg of Appleby, Westmorland (see below), as 'German noblemen', we otherwise know nothing of Reichel, but Gericke is attested as a lawyer in his home town.[36] They travelled along part at least of the line of the Wall, including to Cawder and Kilsyth, and knew of inscriptions 'at the River Carron', perhaps therefore at Camelon.[37] They also penetrated into the north-east of Scotland, to inspect the distance slab by then immured at Dunnottar Castle, Kincardineshire (see p. 59), about which they must surely have been informed of in advance of such a laborious excursion. This slab recorded the construction of 3,000 paces of the Wall by the Twentieth Legion (illus 28).[38] The travellers found it in the porch or gateway of the Castle, with the lettering gilded (see p. 97). On their southwards journey, of which we know a little more, they recorded inscribed stones at Carlisle, Birdoswald and Penrith. Reichel, with others, visited the schoolmaster Reginald Bainbrigg who had gathered inscribed stones at his house in Appleby.[39] Bainbrigg recorded their visit to him and supplied Camden with a text of the distance slab at Dunnottar, which

Illustration 28
Distance slab of the Twentieth Legion, recording the completion of 3,000 paces of the Wall, as engraved at Glasgow College, 1768. The stone was presented to the College by the 10th Earl Marischal in 1761.

Bainbrigg deduced had been erected to commemorate the construction there by the Twentieth Legion of a wall 3 miles in length 'for repelling the barbarian nations', at the time when Agricola on his campaigns had reached the distant regions of Scotland.[40] In the 1607 edition of his *Britannia* Camden correctly assigned the stone to the reign of Antoninus, thanking Reichel for its text.

Gericke and Reichel remain shadowy figures, but were sufficiently part of the European network of scholarly exchange to communicate their discoveries to the foremost continental authorities of the day. Gericke sent texts of three stones from the Wall to Joseph Scaliger at Leiden who published them in his *Thesaurus Temporis Eusebii Pamphili* of 1606,[41] and to Janus Gruter who had been the author of a wide-ranging corpus of inscriptions of the Roman world published in 1602 at Heidelberg.[42] Gruter's corpus already contained one epigraphic text from Scotland, the altar from Inveresk, communicated by Camden (see p. 39).[43] Thus discoveries made between Forth and Clyde came to the notice of a wider European readership.

William Camden

The foundations for the comprehensive academic study of British antiquity were laid in the later 16th century by William Camden (1551–1623), whose *Britannia* in Latin was published in 1586.[44] The book was reprinted several times soon after and, later again, in 1607 in a larger format.[45] Timothy Pont was aware of an early edition of it.[46] A translation into English by Philemon Holland brought it to the attention of a wider audience,[47] and subsequent, much enlarged editions appeared as late as 1806.[48]

Camden, who had read widely in the Latin literature now available as printed books, adopted a geographical coverage of the island according to the tribal areas mapped out by Ptolemy.[49] He travelled extensively to visit historical sites and view standing remains, and pored over manuscripts, charters and archaeological evidence including inscriptions and coins.[50] In 1599 he and fellow antiquary Sir Robert Cotton journeyed to Hadrian's Wall;[51] but Camden never crossed the Border into Scotland, then a separate country, which was at first only briefly surveyed. Camden concluded that Agricola fortified the Forth–Clyde line, and that Severus and later Gallio of Ravenna built barriers between Tyne and Solway, the former of turf and the latter of stone.[52] However by the time of his 1607 edition he knew of five inscribed stones (see p. 57),[53] from which he was able to deduce, correctly, that Antoninus' wall, built by Lollius Urbicus, ran from Forth to Clyde. Camden's *Britannia* was to exercise a profound influence over antiquarian studies throughout the 17th century and later.[54] In Scotland the book came to be viewed in the context of the political consequences of the recent unification of the kingdoms.[55]

An antiquary of whom we know little more than his name was David Drummond, surely from the same family as the (later) 4th Earl of Perth, Sir Robert Sibbald's patron. His papers were known to Robert Gordon of Straloch.[56] David Drummond is referred to frequently as a source by Sibbald; he had 'traced the wall' and 'made remarks on it'.[57]

Sir William Brereton

In 1636 the Wall was traversed from east to west by Sir William Brereton Bt of Handford, Cheshire, in the course of a visit to Scotland (illus 29). His journal records how, after leaving Edinburgh on 30 June 1636, he and his party of seven journeyed westwards across the isthmus via Linlithgow, Falkirk and Kirkintilloch to Glasgow, which he reached on the evening of 1 July. Brereton has several interesting observations, for example on Cumbernauld Castle, residence of the Earl of Wigton, with its surrounding woodland, and on Glasgow College where he saw the library; there were not as yet any Roman stones preserved in it.[58]

Illustration 29
Sir William Brereton, engraving reproduced from J Ricraft, *England's Champions and Truth's faithfull Patriots*, 1647 (© Glasgow University Library).

Brereton's account of the Wall is brief but informative. 'Here was (about seventeen hundred years since) a great stone and earth wall, called Grahames Wall, leading from Forth, six mile below Leith, over the main land to Dumbarton, which is upon the West Sea; which wall was thirty-two miles long, and gave bounds to the kingdoms of the Scots on the south and Picts on the north; at every mile's end was there erected a tower for the watchmen, and a castle at every two miles' end, wherein was a strong garrison.'[59] This is by far the earliest reference to a regular system of forts and the fortlets at regular intervals between them. The much travelled Brereton, memorably described in a contemporary source as 'a notable man at a thanksgiving dinner, having terrible long teeth and a prodigious stomach',[60] subsequently rose to prominence in the Parliamentary interest in the English Civil War, and took charge of its forces in Cheshire.[61]

The afterlife of the Pont Maps

After Timothy Pont's death his maps were purchased from his heirs by Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, the historian and Lyon King-of-Arms. Subsequently the judge and cartographer Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet was instrumental in having them sent to Amsterdam for inclusion in Johan Blaeu's comprehensive *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum sive Atlas Novus* (1654), which resulted in their becoming widely known and has in no small way been responsible for Pont's high reputation.[62] Some of the maps were returned to Scotland for further work to be undertaken prior to publication, Blaeu at this time obtaining the help of Robert Gordon of Straloch in Aberdeenshire (1580–1661) and the latter's son the Revd James Gordon (1617–86), Minister of Rothiemay in Banffshire, both geographers of experience and achievement.[63] The original Pont maps appear to have remained thereafter in Scotland and were subsequently passed by James Gordon to Sir Robert Sibbald, to be acquired after the latter's death by the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.[64] They are now held in the National Library of Scotland, which has recently showcased the Pont maps and drawn attention to their international significance.[65] The precise contribution of the Gordons has been variously assessed.[66] Essentially they were sedentary, not field investigators, except in their native north-east. Sir John Scot endeavoured to provide for Blaeu introductory texts to accompany each map. Contributors pressed into service by him included Robert Gordon and David Buchanan (on whom, see p. 42). Other texts were reprinted verbatim from Camden, *faute de mieux*.

Pont's sheet 32 became the basis of one of Robert Gordon's maps, *Sterlinshyr and Lennox*, prepared in the 1640s for despatch to Johan Blaeu at Amsterdam.[67] Unlike Pont's sheet 32, Gordon's map shows the Wall on its correct alignment; close scrutiny reveals that it is depicted there with crenelations. Johan Blaeu split Robert Gordon's map into two parts, publishing them as *Levinia* (Lennox) and *Sterlinensis* (Stirling); on both the Wall appears as a continuous stripe, without crenelations. At the right-hand edge of Blaeu's *Sterlinensis* (illus 30) the Wall ends in full flow at Kinneil (about 2 miles west of its likeliest terminus on the Forth at Bridgeness), but on the adjacent sheet to

Illustration 30
Johan Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1654. Detail from his map of *Sterlinensis praefectura* (Stirlingshire), showing the course of the Wall between Castlecary and Kinneil, with extensive woodland at Cumbernauld and Callendar (© National Library of Scotland; CC-BY).

the east (*Lothian and Linlitquo*), its course is not shown at all. This is regrettable since, more than 400 years later, we are still uncertain where exactly the Wall terminated on the River Forth.[68]

Robert Gordon's own opinions on the originators of the Wall are very clearly stated in essays which prefaced the maps in Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1654.[69] His 'Notes on the barriers, walls and ramparts which separate the Scots from the provincials',[70] ie from the population of Roman Britain, review, with Camden's *Britannia* as the starting point, the builders of walls in Britain, from Agricola in the later 1st century to Gallio of Ravenna (see p. 28) in the early 5th, in the context of the scholarly debate of the time. Gordon has Latin texts of the tablet of the Second Legion at Cawder House and the distance slab of the Twentieth Legion at Dunnottar Castle, the latter it would seem from personal inspection.[71] But he does not offer any description of the Wall's course. A second essay by Robert Gordon, without the epigraphic testimony, reprises the same historical framework, to which are appended notes taken from Camden.[72] Gordon also penned a short essay with the title 'Notes to the Map of Old Scotland', including a detailed assessment of Ptolemy's *Geography*.[73]

Sibbald had at his disposal two maps of 'the Countrie betwixt the Firth of Clyde and Forth with the tract of the Roman Wall betwixt the two firths', which might to go back ultimately to Pont,[74] as well as 'ye plan of ye Roman Wall done by Stralough'.[75] None survives; however, Sibbald's own map of the Wall (illus 34) presumably drew upon these as well as on Pont's sheet 32.

A longer account, entitled 'The Relation of Grahames Dike with the Forts and Fortifications that are upon it', is based on Pont, but with extra details and exhibiting local knowledge. As it tells us something more about the Wall, it is here given in full.[76] 'Imprimis Grahames Dike begins betwixt the Queens Ferry & Abercorn and goes along West by the Grange & by Kinneil and comes to Innereven in West Lothian, and from Innereven to the Falkirk there is a Town quilk has been of old a great Town called Camelon. And from Camelon the Dike goes directly to the Forrest of Commernald, and there is a great Fort and great building called Castle Kaeney.[77] And from this Fort the Dike goes through the Forrest, till it come to another great fort with a building called the Barhill, where there has been many fine stones with pictures and superscriptions on them, quilk My

Lord of Kilsyth has to shew.[78] And from the Fort of the Barhill the Dike goes along west to the Peel of Kirkintilloch where has been the special Fort and Castle of all, with a great Building, and great Fousses, with Rampires and all thir Forts with the Buildings, are in the bounds of the E[arl] of Wigtoun in a Barony of land called the Barony of Leinzem [Lenzie] and within the Shirre of Lennox. And from Kirkintilloch this Dike goes along West to the West sea-bank at Dumbarton and there it ends at the entry of the River of Clide, that enters into the sea. But there are no Forts upon the Dike but thir; only there is a great Ditch that goes over the northside of the Dike hard by it, and there is from the beginning of the Dike at the East sea-bank to the West sea-bank some 36 miles; and as the report speaks, that between Castle Kaney & Barhill is some five miles. There was a secret Convoy under the ground that made them acquaint, if there was any treason begun at the first Fort to the next quilk was the Barhill, and from the Barhill the like sound went to the Peel and Castle of Kirkintilloch being other five miles betwixt one sound under the ground. Here is all that I can shew you in this business.' The emphasis here is on central sector, on the lands of the Livingstons of Kilsyth and the Flemings, Earls of Wigton, and the account shows awareness of surviving earthworks. The account is unattributed, but some input from Robert Gordon, David Buchanan and Christopher Irvine (below) could be suspected; there is some overlap in phraseology with Sir Robert Sibbald's treatises.

In 1649 some parish boundaries originally established in the 12th century under King David I were redrawn by the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh. The Wall's existence as a visible landmark at that time led to it serving as the southern boundary of the parish of Bo'ness,[79] when Kinneil was subdivided to create the parishes of Bo'ness and Carriden, and as the southern boundary of the parish of Kirkintilloch, when the parish of Lenzie was split into Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld.[80]

In 1650 Oliver Cromwell was in Scotland, then largely a royalist stronghold, at the head of sizeable army, with a devastating impact on towns and countryside alike. His forces blew up the towerhouse at Kilsyth, a stronghold of the Livingstons.[81] Two Roman inscribed stones built into, or preserved at, the towerhouse were lost (see p. 57).[82]

David Buchanan (*c* 1595–1652), a relative of George Buchanan, and a writer on philosophical, religious, geographical and historical subjects,[83] had worked with Robert and James Gordon on the preparation for the publication of Pont maps by Johan Blaeu (see p. 40), contributing some of the Latin geographical and historical texts which accompanied the maps.[84] In his 'New Description of the Prefecture of Stirling' the Wall ran, Buchanan wrote, from near Abercorn to Dunglass, a distance of 36 miles, his measurement itself being more or less correct.[85] In relation to the fort at Bar Hill he noted that 'not long ago in this place were dug up several elegantly carved stones with Roman inscriptions; some of these are preserved by neighbouring noblemen'.[86] This statement offers a useful terminus ante quem of *c* 1650 for the discovery of the unfortunately unspecified inscriptions. David Buchanan's papers came into the hands of Sir Robert Sibbald,[87] and were known to Bishop Nicolson of Carlisle (see p. 53), but were subsequently lost.[88]

In 1682 Michael Livingston of Pantaskin [Bantaskin], west of Falkirk, published a poem entitled *Patronus redux: or our Protectour is return'd safe again*.[89] It celebrated in 176 stanzas the safe return to Falkirk of his kinsman, Alexander Livingston, 2nd Earl of Callendar, who had travelled to England, 'when Critic *Health* him quickly call'd abroad'.[90] The Earl's home, Callendar Castle, is warmly lauded:

> His *Palace*, bord'ring with the common Rode
> Seems hospitably, for its guests to call;
> And, by his pains, repaired alamode,
> Outbraves the Shadow of the *Roman* Wall.[91]

A footnote by the author offers words of explanation, that this was 'The Rampier built by the Emperour Severus betwixt Abercorn and Dumbarton or Alcluith … The Earl made this Dyke level with the ground, upon which his Palace is built; about 200 and odd paces distant upon the south side of the wall.'

In another stanza we learn that:

> He means his Dwelling publicklie to shew,
> Removing lets, which might obstruct the eye;
> So Drusus House was built in open view
> That all the City might his life survey.[92]

The implication is that the Earl had comprehensively flattened the Roman earthwork, but demolition was in fact confined to a narrow cut immediately north of the Castle.[93]

Christopher Irvine

The antiquarian activities of the physician Christopher Irvine *(c* 1620–93), appointed Historiographer Royal for Scotland by King Charles II, are known largely through Sir Robert Sibbald, into whose hands his

papers fell. As Sibbald recalled, 'the West part of [the Wall] from Dumbarton to Falkirk was accurately traced by Doctor Irvine, who told me he had travelled several times alongst it. The Forts he observed upon the Tract of it, as I found them in his Papers, are these, with the Distances of each set down.[94]

1. At Dumbarton a great Fort.
2. The Castle half a Mile from it.
3. A Mile thence, at the foot of Dunbuck Hill, a Fort
4. A Mile thence, at Dunglass, a Fort.
5. A Mile thence to Chaple-Hill, above the Town of Kirkpatrick, a Fort.
6. From Kilpatrick Fort over Cressak Water at Duntocher Mill, to Golden Hill, a Mile, where there was a great Fort upon the South-side of that Hill.
7. From thence a large Mile over Cladden Hill and Hucheson Hill, and the Peil Glen, upon Castlehill a Fort.
8. From thence over the Mossfaldhill of Led Carmmock, by the New Kirk of Kilpatrick a Mile, at the Hay Hill a Fort.
9. From thence a Mile over Fergusons Moor, over Bullay Hill, Mutican Hill, to Summerstone, where there was a great Fort.
10. Two Miles from thence, crossing Kelvin River at the Steps of Balmilly,[95] and going through that Town, there was at Balmuidy a great Fort.
11. At Hilltown of Calder there was a Fort.
12. From thence, a Mile to Easter Calder, there was a great Fort.
13. At the Mannor of Calder [Cawder] several Inscriptions were found mentioning Antoninus Pius, and the Legio I.I.
14. From Easter Calder over Parkburn there is a Mile to Kirkintillo, at Kirkintillo there was a great Fort.
15. From Kirkintillo, a Mile to Achindavie, where there was a great Fort cross Chizva Burn [Shirva], half a Mile.
16. From thence a large Mile to Barhill, where there was a great Fort, which hath had large Entrenchments, the ruins of Buildings were traced there, and many Stones have been found there with Inscriptions, and some with Figures upon them,[96] which are kept at the Houses of the Nobility and Gentry in the Neighbourhood, there is a fresh Spring there and a Fountain, and amongst the Rubbish of the Fort, heret [*sic*] was found a large Iron Shovel of a vast weight, and divers Sepulchres covered with large Stones, were found there upon digging the Ground.[97]
17. From thence a large Mile to the East-side of Croyhill, where there was a great Fort.
18. Along the Dilatyr a long Mile to the Wester-wood, where there was a great Fort.
19. Besouth the Nether-wood, a quarter of a mile, there was a small Fort.
20. From thence a Mile to Castle Cary (near to Comernauld) where there was a great Fort, with much building, and an altar is seen there with an Inscription MATRIBUS etc.[98]
21. From thence a Mile to the West end of Seabegwood, where is a fort.
22. From thence a Mile to St Helen's Chappel to the South-west, about the fourth part of a Mile, there was a great Fort at the East end of Seabegwood.
23. Half a Mile from Seabeg, at the Rowentree Burn-head a great Fort.
24. From that to the Stoniefourhill, a Castle bewest upon the South-side of the Wall, and another at the West-side of the House of Calendar.

These are the Forts upon the Tract of the wall observed by Doctor Irvine … Doctor Irvine continueth in his Papers the Tract of the Wall thus.[99] In the Park of Calendar the Wall appeareth closs by the high Way passing the North-side of the Park. From thence it runneth a little way straight East, and then it turns down upon the Northside of the Gallow-Syke, then it runneth streight to the Mumrels, from whence it goeth to the Cadger Bray, and runs down to Milnhill, and from thence runs up the Hill, called The Hill, and from thence it runs down to the Water of Evin, and crosseth there, and goeth up to Innerevin where there hath been a Fort, and the ruins of Buildings remain yet.'[100]

Christopher Irvine, who adhered to the view that the Wall was the work of Severus,[101] follows George Buchanan in supposing the the Wall ended on the River Avon. He subdivided the sites he saw into 'great Forts', 'Forts' and 'small Forts', together with a few 'castles'. The distinction was presumably made on the basis of the impressiveness of the visible remains. Among his 'Forts' and' great Forts' are the known fort sites at Duntocher (no 6), Castlehill (no 7), Hay Hill, New Kilpatrick (no 8), Balmuildy (no 10), Auchendavy (no 15), Bar Hill (no 16), Croy Hill (no 17), Westerwood (no 18), Castlecary (no 20), and Rough Castle (no 23). In other cases he has identified as Roman the medieval sites at Cawder (no 12), and Seabegs (no 22), at Kirkintilloch (no 14) and Inveravon. At Old Kilpatrick his 'fort' (no 5) is placed on Chapel Hill, west of the actual Roman site, which was only located in 1913. We know of no fort at Summerston (no 9), just a marching camp and a fortlet thereabouts; none seems likely there on grounds of spacing, so that duplication with Balmuildy could be suspected.[102]

Irvine's forts at 'the West End of Seabegwood' and at 'Hilltown of Calder' can be equated with the fortlets of Seabegs Wood and Wilderness Plantation, the former located in 1977 by excavation and the latter through aerial photography.[103] Also perhaps to be counted among unlocated fortlets are Irvine's 'castle' at the west side of the House of Callendar' (no 24) and his small fort 'besouth the Nether-wood (no 19).[104] Particularly intriguingly are the sites at Dumbuck (no 3) and Dunglass (no 4) west of Old Kilpatrick, as well as the 'great Fort' at Dumbarton (no 1), evidently west of the Castle.[105]

Notes

1 Nicolson 1702: 25.

2 Cash 1901; 1907; Moir & Skelton 1968; Stone 1989; Cunningham 2001; Fleet et al 2011.

3 See NLS online resource for Pont Maps.

4 NLS Adv MS 70.2.9, Pont 32. Keppie 2011 reviews mapping of the Antonine Wall from Pont's time down to the mid-18th century.

5 In fact nearer 120 years. Sibbald may have copied out the figure from one of his predecessor antiquaries; cf. Sibbald 1710a: 32.

6 Sibbald 1707: 27.

7 Sibbald 1710b: 20. Notice that he distinguishes Forts and Camps.

8 *Adnotata Timothy Pont de vestigiis valli Agricolae et postea Adriani* (NLS Adv MS 34.2.8, fol 41), for which see p. 38.

9 NLS Adv MS 33.5.15, fol 360.

10 Sibbald 1707: 27.

11 Sibbald 1707: 27. They are likely to include David Buchanan and Dr Christopher Irvine (below p. 42).

12 Sibbald 1707: 27.

13 Gibson 1695: 959; Sibbald 1707: 52.

14 It may be supposed he is referring to the Military Way; but see p. 78.

15 Presumably he means those of Gordon, Horsley and his own, since he claimed to have measured it afresh (1757: 185). General William Roy's survey of 1755 was as yet unpublished.

16 Maitland 1757: 185.

17 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 36.

18 Macdonald 1911: 85; 1934: 74.

19 As noted by Steer 1964: 2 fn 7.

20 Gibson 1695: 959; Sibbald 1707: 52.

21 Hanson & Maxwell 1983b.

22 NLS Adv MS 34.2.8, fol 41; see Cunningham 2001: 46 fig 33.

23 Blaeu 1654: 4 = Blaeu 2006: 44.

24 He thus seems to place the terminus east rather than west of Abercorn.

25 The meaning of this phrase is unclear.

26 For other versions see Mitchell 1907: 368; Haverfield 1910: 323.

27 Rountree-burnehead (Rough Castle), Croy Hill, Bar Hill, Auchendavy and Balmuildy; Hilltown of Caldar equates to Wilderness Plantation fortlet. Pont seems (improbably) to omit Westerwood and Castlecary except as reference points. Langtoun is perhaps Mumrills. For Summerstoun see p. 43.

28 Wester Cowden equates to Seabegs motte, East Caldar to Cawder motte, and at Kirkintilloch he is describing the castle. Sir George Macdonald believed, wrongly in my view, that at Seabges Irvine was alluding to a Roman fort, a still-missing element in the regular sequence of such sites between Forth and Clyde (1911: 220; 1934: 240).

29 Cailly-bee, Balchastel, Carreston, Achter-minnie, Roch-hill and Bakir (Bankier). In the early 18th century Alexander Gordon (1726: 20) interpreted these sites as forts built by Agricola in preparation for a northwards advance.

30 Blaeu 1654: 5 = Blaeu 2006: 44.

31 Sibbald 1707: 27. Presumably Pont knew of *RIB* 2172, 2173, 2186, 2209.

32 Gough 1780: 589 fn.

33 Nicolson 1702: 25.

34 Stukeley 1720: 8.

35 BL MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fol. 351.

36 Haverfield 1911: 372; cf Keppie 1998: 5.

37 BL MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fol 351. See also p. 57.

38 *RIB* 2173; see BL MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fols 295, 311, 351 on which see Haverfield 1911; Keppie 1998: 72 no 1.

39 Hepple 1999: 8; Edwards 2001.

40 BL MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fol 351. This is despite a clear reference on the stone to Antoninus Pius.

41 *RIB* 2172, 2186, 2209; Scaliger 1606: *Animadversiones* p. 175; Keppie 1998: 5.

42 Leiden University Library MS Papenbroekianus 6, fol 110r.

43 Gruter 1602: p. xxxvii no 12.

44 Piggott 1951; Kendrick 1950; Levy 1964; Kunst 1995; Herendeen 2007.

45 Edwards 1998.

46 Stone 1989: 204.

47 Holland 1610; 1637.

48 Nurse 1993, and see pp. 69 and 99.

49 Boon 1987; Rockett 1990.

50 Hepple 1999; 2003a; 2003b; 2004.

51 Davies 1997; Hepple 1999.

52 Camden 1586: 461; 1607: 699.

53 *RIB* 2132, 2172, 2173, 2186, 2209.

54 Piggott 1951; Wright 1997; Hepple 1999; 2003b.

55 Williamson 1979: 126; Griffiths 2003.

56 NLS Adv MS 34.2.8, fol 135.

57 Sibbald 1707, p. iii.

58 Brown 1891: 153 ('the library is a very little room, not twice so large as my old closet').

59 Brown 1891: 148.

60 As cited in *European Magazine and London Review* 53 (1808): 434.

61 Dore 1953.

62 Blaeu 1654; Blaeu 2006.

63 Stone 1981; Blaeu 2006: 11.

64 As Sibbald remarked to Robert Wodrow on 11 November 1711, 'I have all the originall mapps and surveys and descriptions of Mr Pont, the Gordons, and others who have laboured that way, and severall maps never printed' (Maidment 1837: 147 no 13).

65 Cunningham 2001.

66 Mitchell 1907: p. xv; Stone 1989: 5.

67 NLS Adv MS 70.2.10, Gordon 50.

68 Bailey & Devereux 1987.

69 On the scope and significance of Blaeu's work, see the papers gathered in *Scottish Geographical Journal* 121 (2005), 235–320.

70 *Adnotata ad praetenturas, muros, valla quae Scotos a provincialibus distinguebant* (NLS Adv MS 34.2.8, fol 40); see Blaeu 1654: 3 = Mitchell 1907: 336 with English translation.

71 *RIB* 2173, 2186.

72 *Adnotata de praetenturis et muris qui provinciam Romanam a reliqua Britania separabant* (Mitchell 1907: 369 with English translation).

73 Blaeu 1654: 7 = Blaeu 2006: 47; Mitchell 1907: 355 (with English translation).

74 NLS Adv MS 33.3.16, fol 11. See Sibbald 1707: 28.

75 NLS Adv MS 33.5.15, fol 356.

76 Mitchell 1908: 124.

77 Castlecary.

78 If 'My Lord of Kilsyth' is accepted as a chronological indicator, the text as we now have it postdates 1661, when the Livingstons of Kilsyth were erected into the Scottish peerage.

79 'From ye kirk of Kynneill in all tymecomeing q' of it was ance ane part. And ordaines and Declaires Grahame's Dyk to bound ye samyn on the south the Sea on ye north Thirlstane on ye east' (Macdonald 1911, 149; 1934, 102).

80 'To the eist syd of Martin's bank, and betwixt the same and Morrice bank, southward to Graham's Dyke, and from thence eist along Graham's Dyke to the march of Auchindavie callit the Chapman's Slack' (Watson 1894: 151). East of Bar Hill the east–west Ditch served as the boundary between two estates (Macdonald 1911: 124; 1934: 148). Kilpatrick parish was also split at this time into Old Kilpatrick and New Kilpatrick.

81 Livingston 1920: 230.

82 *RIB* 2172, 2187.

83 Nicolson 1702: 16; Sibbald 1707: Preface, 38.

84 'Next to the Gordons, the Father and the son, their friend David Buchanan commeth to be mentioned, who … wrott severall Latine descriptions of some Shyres' (NLS Adv MS 33.3.16, fol 22; Mitchell 1907: p. xxxvii).

85 Blaeu 1654: 72 = Blaeu 2006: 80. There is also a brief notice of the Wall in David Buchanan's *New Description of Lennox* (Blaeu 1654: 66 = Blaeu 2006: 76).

86 Presumably at the nearby castles of Auchenvole and Kilsyth.

87 Sibbald 1706: 61; 1707, p. iii.

88 Nicolson 1702: 16.

89 Livingston 1682.

90 Livingston 1920: 177, 364, 456.

91 Livingston 1682: stanza 133.

92 Livingston 1682: stanza 135. The allusion is to the house of Livius Drusus, Tribune of the Plebs at Rome in 91 BC (Plutarch, *Moralia* 800F).

93 The cut is also noted by the Anonymous Traveller in 1697 (see p. 52 and Keppie 2006: 180). Much later it was erroneously associated with Queen Victoria's fleeting visit to Callendar in 1842 (see p. 109).

94 Sibbald 1707: 28. The numbering here follows Sibbald, but I have excluded some comments which seem likely to be Sibbald's own, including references to material found only after Irvine's death.

95 Cf Maitland 1757: 179; Haverfield 1910: 324.

96 Here as elsewhere 'figures' means sculptural adornments.

97 We might think to assign this lengthy statement to Sibbald himself, though we do not know he ever visited the site; cf Gibson 1695: 959.

98 *RIB* 2147/2152; see Irvine 1682: 121; Keppie, in prep. By 'there' Irvine means at Cumbernauld Castle.

99 Conceivably this was a separate document in which the route was described in a continuous narrative.

100 Irvine must mean the medieval Inveravon Tower, not the small Roman fort identified by excavation in 1969 and 1991 on low ground beside the Avon.

101 Irvine 1682: 122.

102 Pont too listed a fort there (see p. 38).

103 The nearby farmstead of Hilton preserves the name.

104 'Netherwood' is perhaps identical to the 'E(aster) Wood' marked thereabouts by Pont.

105 No Roman fort is known at Dumbarton, but one has been proposed there as marking the western end of the 'Highland Line' of forts established in the Flavian period (Maxwell 1989b: 94).

Chapter 4

Sir Robert Sibbald, the king's geographer

For over 30 years the physician and geographer Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722), who had studied in Edinburgh, Paris and Leiden, occupied a premier position in Scottish historical and antiquarian studies, which were only one of his manifold preoccupations.[1] Returning from Holland to Edinburgh in 1662, he practised medicine and devoted himself to natural history. In 1682 he was appointed Physician-in-Ordinary to King Charles II, and made Geographer Royal for Scotland. Two years later he was elected President of the fledgling Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, which he had helped to found, and inaugural Professor of Medicine at Edinburgh College (illus 31).[2]

Illustration 31
Sir Robert Sibbald, engraving by W H Lizars *c* 1721, after a painting by J Alexander (© Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh).

His publication plans were laudable and multi-disciplinary. In 1682 he circulated 'General Queries' which included: 'What Ancient Monuments, Inscriptions, graved and figured Stones; Forts and ancient Camps?'[3] Much was expected of his *Scotish* [*sic*] *Atlas, or the Description of Scotland, ancient and modern,* advertised in 1683*,* which heralded a wide-ranging work on Scottish history and geography;[4] a manuscript text survives, in Sibbald's own hand, but the work was never published (illus 32).[5] Similarly the *Scotia Illustrata, sive Prodromus Historiae Naturalis* (1684) was feted as the precursor of a magnum opus on Scotland's natural history, but again it did not achieve publication. However, the written material he assembled went towards several treatises, in English or Latin, describing the antiquities and geography of various counties including Fife, Linlithgow (West Lothian), Stirling, Orkney and Shetland,[6] with a considerable degree of overlap in subject-matter and phraseology. In 1703 Sibbald formed a short-lived Antiquaries Club in Edinburgh, matching the then dormant Society of Antiquaries in London, with the aim of publishing historical manuscripts.[7]

Sibbald's account of the Wall in his *Historical Inquiries concerning the Roman Monuments and Antiquities in the North-Part of Britain called Scotland* (1707) emphasised his debt to earlier generations of scholars, especially Timothy Pont and Christopher Irvine, whose papers he had acquired (see pp. 36, 42) and were beside him as he wrote, and on whose wording he drew heavily. His personal observations on the Wall are generally confined to the stretch in his own county, Linlithgowshire (West Lothian), an area he knew well, within easy reach of his country seat at Kipps Castle near Torphichen.[8] Sibbald's accounts can thus reflect knowledge of up to a century earlier.

In relation to the Wall, Sibbald claimed to have 'viewed part of it my self' and otherwise he had information from 'these who had often ridden along the Tract of it'.[9] 'Betwixt Bauderstoun and Borrowstounness' (Bo'ness), he had observed 'some

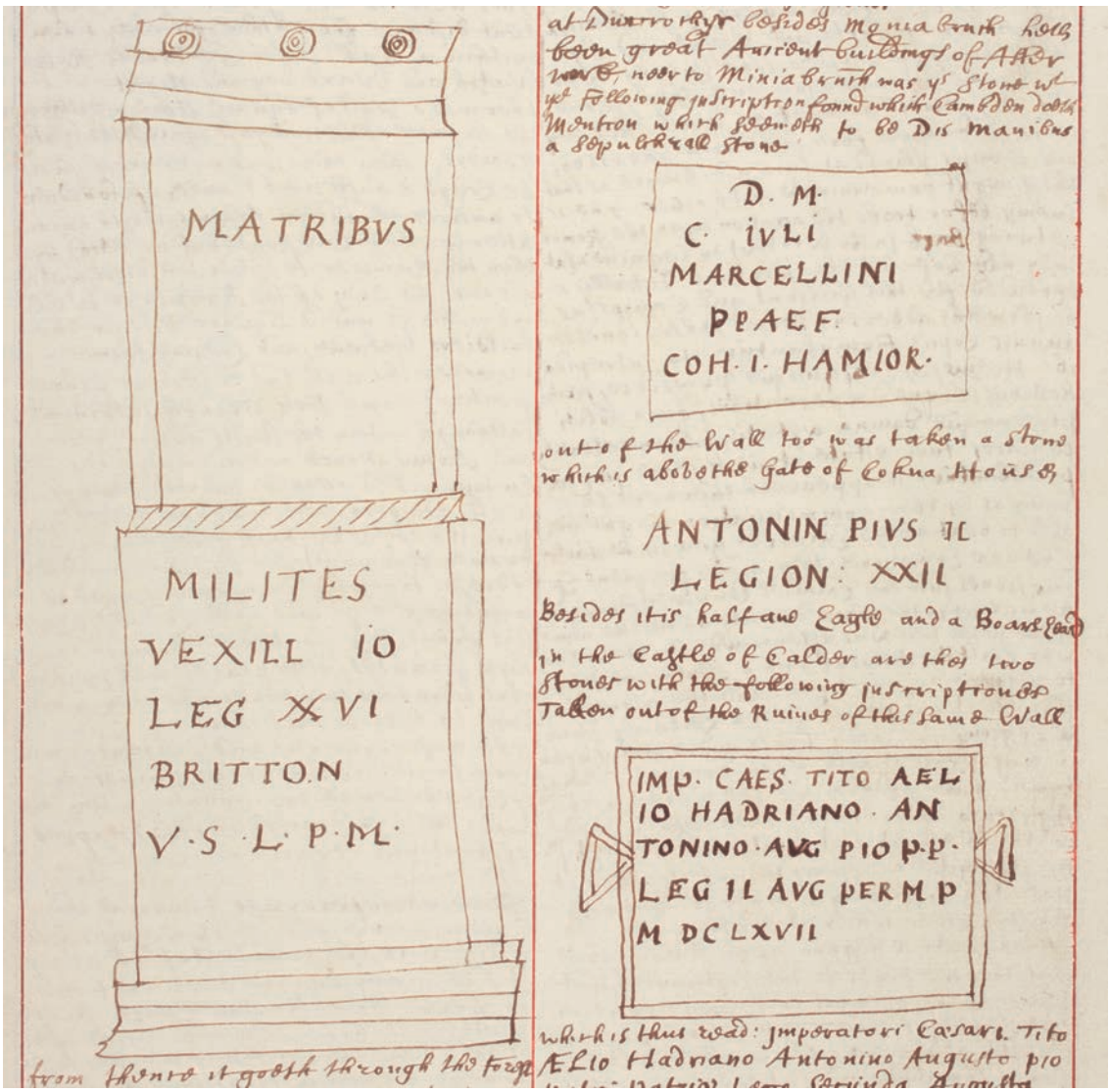


Illustration 32
Page from Sir Robert Sibbald's manuscript text of his *Atlas Scoticus* (*c* 1683), showing inscribed stones from the Wall (© The National Library of Scotland, Adv MS 15.1.1, fol 58v).

of the Foundation Stones of the Wall being taken up (for some building)', and noticed 'the vestige of a fort' at Bridgeness.[10] 'At Carin [Carriden] it may be traced yett as Mr Milne the laird told me who heth some stones with inscriptiones and figures was taken up ther.'[11] Following Pont, he conceived of the Wall as beginning at Abercorn, as his published map confirms (illus 34).[12] Sibbald's knowledge of its western half was much less detailed, and there is no clear evidence that he had ever seen it.[13] Noting Fordun's description of the Wall as 22 miles long (see p. 27), Sibbald supposed that only that part which he himself believed involved any stonework, ie from Carriden to Kirkintilloch, was meant.[14]

Of particular interest among Sibbald's surviving papers is a sketch-map of the environs of the Wall in his own hand (illus 33).[15] The information on it derived ultimately from Pont. The word 'map' is perhaps an unhelpful designation. In fact what we have is an attempt to represent on a single sheet all the known or likely sites of installations along the Wall, and some to either side of it. The places are listed in approximate order, in two vertical columns, from west to east, firstly from Dumbarton to Cawder and

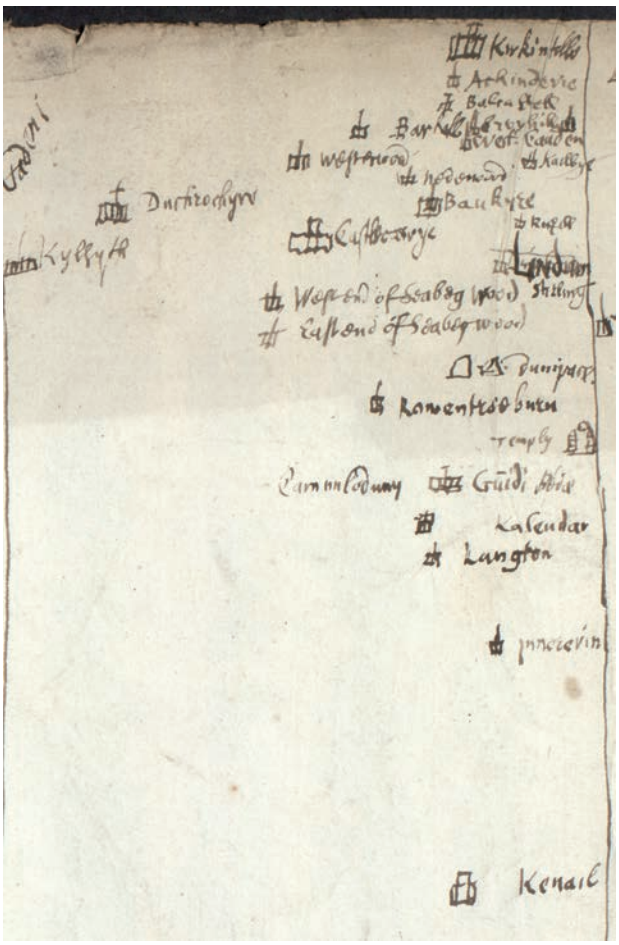


Illustration 33
The Wall corridor between Kirkintilloch (*top*) and Kinneil (*bottom*), in the handwriting of Sir Robert Sibbald (© National Library of Scotland, Adv MS 81.1.21, fol 24).

secondly from Kirkintilloch to places in East Lothian, well beyond the supposed eastern terminus of the Wall near Abercorn. On the left of the two main columns Sibbald marks the Firth of Clyde and lists some sites to its south, and on the right the Firth of Forth and some sites to its north. Beside each name is a symbol in the Pont manner. The places comprise modern towns along the line of the Wall and the names of individual Roman forts. A beehive-shape, designated 'Temply', represents Arthur's O'on, and the twin Hills of Dunipace are shown, one with a pointed summit and the other, correctly, with a flattened top (see p. 24). Sibbald has added some suggested linkages (all erroneous) to Latin place-names preserved in the geographical work of Ptolemy of Alexandria. Like many the compiler of a rough sketch after him, Sibbald has left too little space on some parts of his sheet, and too much at others, resulting in gaps and in excessive crowding of place-names as the sheet filled up.

Among several engravings included by Sibbald in his *Historical Inquiries* (1707) was a map of the Antonine Wall (illus 34). 'I have caused Grave the Draught of the Wall, as Mr Timothy Pont hath it in the map of the Country through which it run, drawn with the pen, from the Kirk of Kilpatrick upon the Firth of Clyde to Abercorn, with the forts remaining upon it, as they were observed by the Gentleman above-mentioned.'[16] The map was surely based on those he had acquired from the Gordons, together with Pont's sheet 32, since his alignment of the Antonine Wall is similarly misplaced in the central sector. Rather oddly he depicts a separate track for the Wall running southwestwards from the vicinity of Balmuildy direct to the Clyde. A similar splitting of its course is faintly visible on one of Robert Gordon's own maps.[17]

Instead of pointing up Sibbald's inadequacies we should rather compliment him on stressing the importance of personal observation and fieldwork,[18] though he carried out little himself, and on the acquisition of papers of the principal antiquaries of the previous century. 'I have kept by the Vestiges of the Walls, and of the Forts, and I found my Opinion for the most part upon the Vestiges of the Camps and Buildings, and the Inscriptions found in the Place, or near to it'.[19] Sibbald stood, as he appreciated, at the dawn of the science of 'Archaeologie, that is the Explication and Discovery of Ancient Monuments … Certainly in these times, of which Records are not found, the only sure way to write History, is from the Proofs may be collected from such Monuments. And accordingly the best Historians in the Age, lately elapsed, have followed that way in writing of Ancient Times. In Imitation of them I have written this Essay of Historical Inquiries'.[20]

John Adair

The cartographer John Adair (1660–1718), an influential figure sometimes seen merely as an adjunct to Sibbald's enterprises, is justifiably remembered for his comprehensive surveying of the Scottish coastline.[21] He also mapped several counties. Adair was hired by Sibbald to undertake surveys;[22] drawings intended to ornament Sibbald's projected compendium of natural history were to include 'a plan of the Roman fort at Airdoch,[23] of the Antonine Wall with its monuments, a drawing of a Roman altar, of certain monuments with their inscriptions and sculptured ornaments, and

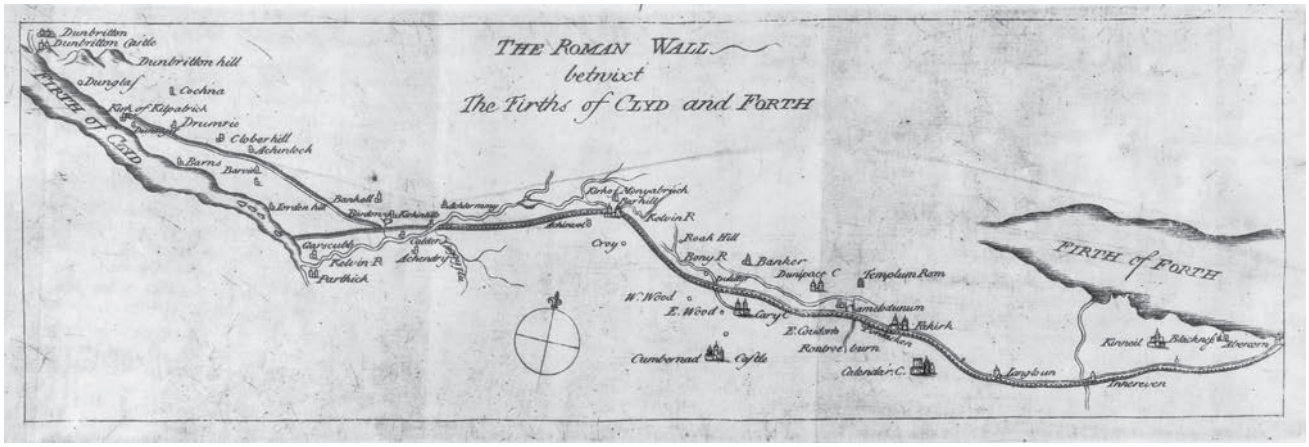


Illustration 34
Sir Robert Sibbald's map of the Antonine Wall, published in his *Historical Inquiries*, 1707 (© Glasgow University Library).

various inscriptions taken from stones'.[24] John Adair was an early proponent of a canal to link Forth and Clyde (see p. 93).

Adair's interest in Roman antiquities is well attested.[25] He drew many of the inscribed stones preserved at Glasgow College, and others which he had presumably seen in journeys along the Wall, as well as Arthur's O'on.[26] An 'album' of his drawings came later into the possession of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik.[27] In 1694 Adair distributed a questionnaire, seeking 'Information … about the old Camps, Forts, Artifical Mounts, Cairns, or Heaps of Stones, up and down the Country … and what Beacons, Stones set on end, either in order, or out of order, or other Monuments of Antiquity are to be seen … If any Ancient Coins, Urns, Lamps, Instruments, Amulets, Chains, Rings, Seals etc, have been found, where and in whose Custody … If any Inscriptions, Letters, Figures etc are to be seen, on Buildings, Crosses, or other Stones.'[28] In 1702 his 'Historical and Mathematical Account of their famous Roman Wall' was described by William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, as being in 'a good forwardness'.[29] Soon after, Adair advertised an intention of publishing maps of the Clyde and Forth estuaries, encompassing the route of the Wall. 'In these two last the exact tract of the famous Roman wall will be laid down, and there will be added to them a large Description of it with the Camps, Castles, Forts etc, and an account of the Inscriptions, Coins, Instruments of war, and other remains of Antiquity, that have been found thereabout. As also, the Antient state of Britain the time that the Romans were in it.'[30] This ambitious project was never completed.[31]

After the Revolution of 1688

In 1688 the reign of King James VII in Scotland (James II in England), and with it the Stuart dynasty, was brought to an end by the 'Glorious Revolution', which ushered in the rule of King William and Queen Mary. In this pre-Enlightenment era there was more openness of thought, less restricted by theological rigidities. Many protestant theologians in exile, who had chosen to reside outside Scotland, often in Holland, returned to their native country.

The closing years of the 17th century were marked by a flurry of activity by antiquaries and travellers, some visiting Scotland from the Continent, or from England, in particular from the Oxford colleges (see p. 52), which undoubtedly stimulated native-born scholars.[32] This was a time when Sir Robert Sibbald was gathering records of the Wall and the German-speaking Capt John Slezer was preparing his *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693), a visual record of Scotland's townscapes and its principal monuments, to which Sibbald contributed the accompanying texts.[33] Thanks to the survival of much closely dated correspondence, it is possible to reconstruct some of the scholarly exchanges of the time, involving Sibbald, William Nicolson, Archdeacon and later Bishop of Carlisle, Edward Lhwyd, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum Oxford, and Robert Wodrow, the young librarian at Glasgow College.

William Dunlop

Attention shifts to Glasgow College (illus 35), soon to be the repository of many recent finds of Roman inscribed stones from the Wall, long before the foundation of its Hunterian Museum (see p. 107). William Dunlop (*c* 1653–1700), Principal from 1690 until his sudden death at the age of 46, came from a family which produced several Ministers and Professors in a single generation (illus 36). Dunlop, who had earlier emigrated to the Carolinas but returned after the Revolution of 1688, was immediately presented as Minister of his native Paisley. However, this appointment was overtaken by events, through the influence of his brother-in-law William Carstares, likewise newly returned to Scotland, who was made Minister of Greyfriars, Edinburgh, and later Principal of Edinburgh College.[34] It was during Dunlop's tenure at Glasgow that several Roman inscribed stones arrived to form the nucleus of the collection, and since some of the donors were from landowning families which sent their sons to be educated there, it is tempting to conclude that Dunlop prevailed upon them to hand the stones over to the College.[35] Dunlop also compiled a treatise on his native county, Renfrewshire, which included a description of a supposed Roman fort at Oakshawhead in Paisley.[36] In 1693 he was appointed King's Historiographer in Scotland, again through his brother-in-law's influence, in succession to Dr Christopher Irvine (see p. 42).[37] Wodrow called him 'one of the greatest antiquaries this nation ever produced',[38] but nowadays he is known mainly through the correspondence of others, not from his own words and writings. He was frequently absent from the College, lobbying the Scottish Parliament, often on financial matters. Another preoccupation was as a Director of the Darien Company, in which Glasgow College, like almost everyone of property in Scotland, had invested.

Robert Wodrow

The Professors at Glasgow regularly favoured their sons for academic posts in the College, often as their

Illustration 35
Outer quadrangle of Glasgow College, built 1658–90, photographed *c* 1870 by Thomas Annan, reproduced from W Stewart (ed), *The University of Glasgow Old and New*, 1891.

Illustration 36
William Dunlop, Principal of Glasgow College, 1690–1700, oil on canvas by an unknown artist (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

successors in the chairs.[39] One such appointment was particularly fortunate for the study of Roman archaeology: on graduation in 1697 at the age of 17, Robert Wodrow (1679–1734), son of the Professor of Divinity, was made under-keeper of the Library, and its regular keeper from 1699 until 1703 (illus 53).[40]

The young Wodrow engaged in a regular correspondence with scholars and antiquaries, who included men of such eminence as Sir Robert Sibbald, William Nicolson and Edward Lhwyd, all of whom were to visit him in Glasgow, as well as with Glasgow graduates, many of whom had been his fellow students. Wodrow's letters offer a vivid insight into the preoccupations of the scholarly community at this time, which included numismatics, history, theology, philology and genealogy. Wodrow hoped, for example, that Scottish colonists soon to sail to Darien in Panama might return with examples of the handicrafts of the native peoples, which would be placed in the College's Library under his care. In this he was of course to be disappointed.

Another of Wodrow's correspondents was Alexander Edward (1651–1708), a graduate of St Andrews and one-time Episcopalian minister at Kemback in Fife.[41] Edward was dispossessed of his charge in 1689, but made a new career as an architect and landscape gardener to the Scottish aristocracy.[42] Drawings of two distance slabs, sketched on the back of a letter to him dated 20 February 1700, show that Edward had visited Glasgow College and Castlehill west of Bearsden, where he observed the outlines of a 'Tour', perhaps to be interpreted as a fortlet.[43]

The New Britannia

In the early 1690s Edmund Gibson (1669–1748), a recent graduate of The Queen's College, Oxford, undertook a revision of Camden's magisterial *Britannia*.[44] He had the existing Latin text carefully translated afresh into English, and assembled a group of distinguished contributors to update the various chapters, under his editorship. This roll-call of the great and good included the diarist John Evelyn for Surrey, Thomas Tanner for Wiltshire, William Nicolson for Northumberland and Cumberland, and Ralph Thoresby for the West Riding of Yorkshire. The section on Wales was greatly enlarged by Edward Lhwyd.[45] For additions to the hitherto brief account of Scotland, Gibson turned to Sibbald, whose leanings towards natural history are evident in his contribution. Sibbald also composed an *Appendix* entitled 'The Thule of the Ancients', as part of the section on islands, its content more wide-ranging than the title suggests and including some drawings of inscribed stones and of Arthur's O'on.[46]

John Urry

John Urry (1666–1715), Student of Christ Church, Oxford, born in Dublin but of Scottish descent (illus 37), was in Scotland in successive years 1696–8 and sent drawings of inscriptions he had observed along the Wall to his Oxford colleagues Professor David Gregory,[47] and Dr Thomas Tanner, the latter forwarding information on those which were new discoveries to Edmund Gibson, describing Urry as 'a very curious Gentleman, and therefore I believe you may safely depend on their being exactly taken'.[48] It is to Urry that we owe the initial reporting of the significant Lollius Urbicus stone at Balmuildy (below).

I have argued elsewhere that Urry is probably identifiable with the 'Anonymous Traveller' who, as we know from his manuscript account, rode in July 1697 on horseback from Edinburgh, first to Linlithgow, then along the line of the Wall.[49] The Anonymous Traveller was no casual visitor. He appreciated that

Illustration 37
John Urry, engraving by N Pigné, reproduced from J Urry, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1721 (© Glasgow University Library).

the Wall was built of 'Stone and Turff', the earliest antiquary to report the latter.[50] His itinerary took him to Kinneil, Inveravon, Callendar and Falkirk, next to Arthur's O'on and Dunipace, back to the Wall via Camelon, then to Rough Castle and Castlecary. The manuscript breaks off at this point but, assuming the link with Urry, we can reconstruct the second half of his journey from the known locations of stones he recorded; they included Cawder, Balmuildy, Castlehill, Old Kilpatrick and Glasgow College (illus 38).[51]

Both the Anonymous Traveller in 1697 and Edward Lhwyd two years later (see p. 55) met the owner of Castle Cary, Alexander Baillie, whom Sibbald describes as 'a learned Gentleman well seen in the Antiquities'.[52] Baillie had some medieval manuscripts at the castle and Roman finds from the nearby Castlecary fort, from which numerous building stones had been carried to construct the castle itself more than 200 years earlier (see p. 22). The Traveller was shown 'a lamp and two coyns which were dug up here'.[53]

William Nicolson

In the early summer of 1699 William Nicolson (1655–1727), Archdeacon of Carlisle (later Bishop, from 1702), made a 'ramble into Scotland', and a much briefer second trip to Edinburgh not long after.[54] His primary purpose was to consult manuscripts and printed books in preparation for his *Scottish Historical Library* (1702), a companion to the *English Historical Library* (1696–9). 'At Glasgow [they] have some Roman Altars lately digg'd out of the Remains of their Grahame's Dyke; which are not mention'd in ye last Edition of Camden and which I brought the first news of to Sir Rob Sibbald himself … The Gentleman that shew'd me them was persuaded that they were irrefragable proofs of Adrian's Wall being built in Scotland. Whereas in truth they mightily confirm Mr Campden's opinion (in opposition to Buchanan's) that this was the proper work of …'[55] The 'gentleman' was surely Wodrow, thus confirming the latter's self-admitted weakness in historical matters (see p. 55).[56] Nicolson was disappointed not to have met Principal Dunlop, the likely prime mover in the acquisition of these and other inscribed stones for the College. 'It was my great misfortune that his occasions called him abroad,[57] when I made it my business (too late) to wait on him'.[58]

Soon Nicolson was in Edinburgh to meet Sibbald, whom he described as 'the great Pillar of Learning (in all kinds) in that Kingdome'.[59] He viewed Sibbald's collection of manuscripts and Professor James Sutherland's coins and natural history specimens (see p. 59). Nicolson's revelations to Sibbald about newly found inscriptions brought the latter hotfoot to Glasgow. Following his visit there, Sibbald wrote on 29 August 1699 to Wodrow: 'I shall intreat the favour yow may send me a copie of the inscriptions,[60] and gett some who heth skill to draw the figures that are upon them, and give me your conjectures about them … yow will be pleased to gett me a copie of the inscription the Principal heth, and give my service to him, I am sorrowfull I saw him not.'[61] Wodrow

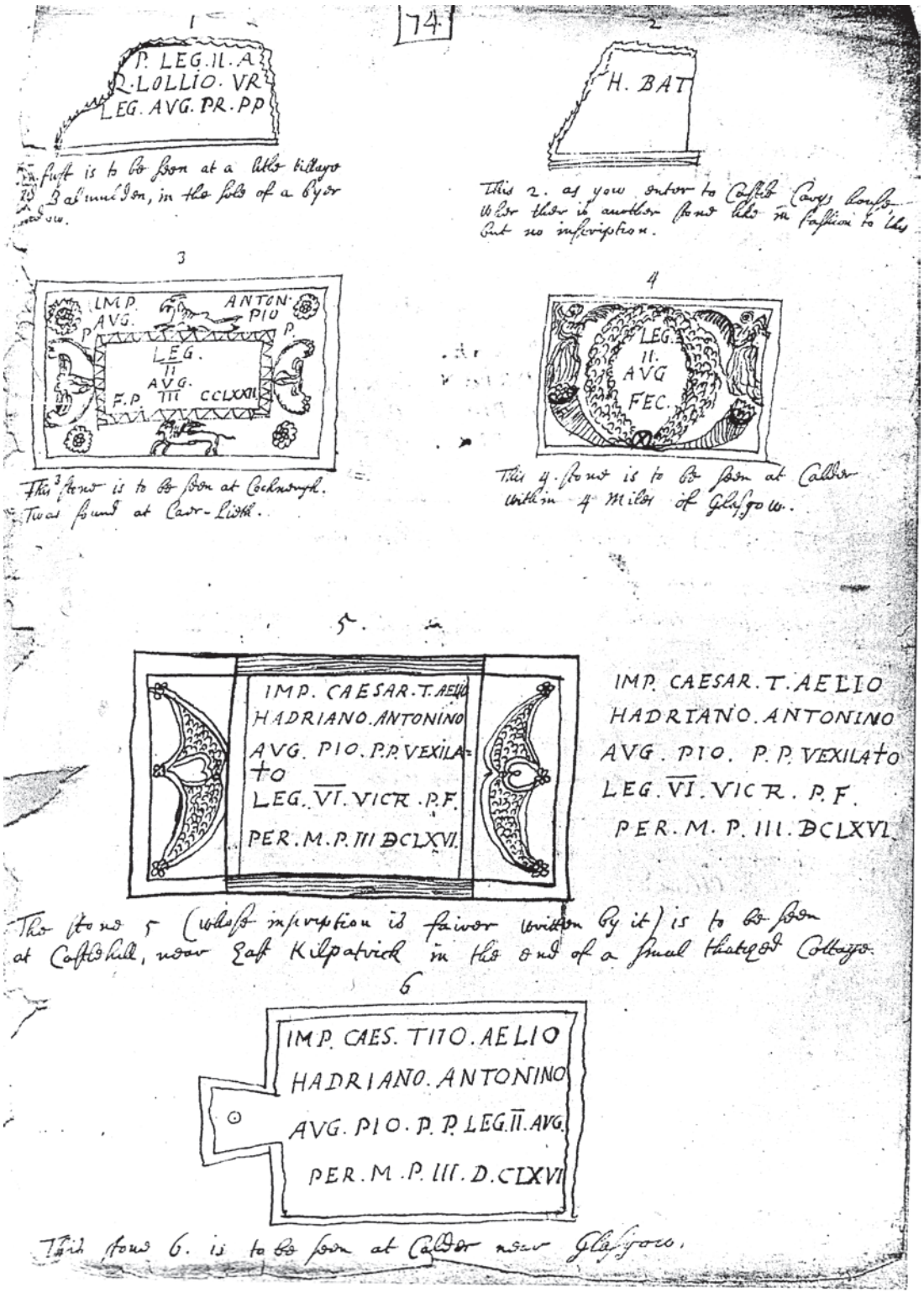


Illustration 38
Drawings of stones seen by John Urry, 1696–8 (© Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, MS Dk.1.2, Quarto A74, fol 99).

replied on 8 September promising to enclose a copy of its text, but noted that 'I have not as yet (having been much out of toun since I received yours) fallen upon a persone that would undertake to draw the figures that are on them'.[62] Sibbald wrote again the following day: 'I would gladly have your thoughts upon them, particularly the first [line] and latter end of the 3rd about quhich I am not as yet satisfied.'[63] This was the fragment mentioning Lollius Urbicus.[64] The exchange helps us pinpoint the exact moment of the arrival of this important stone in the College, the gift of Mr Charles Maitland at Cawder House. The stone was evidently at the College but inaccessible, in the Principal's absence; perhaps therefore it was then in his adjacent lodging. On 28 September 1699, in the course of a long letter, mostly given over to manuscripts but alluding also to the recently found Anglo-Saxon coin hoard from Port Glasgow (see p. 60), Wodrow informed Nicolson of its discovery: 'I have a prospect of getting some mo[r]e Roman Inscriptions on stone for our Library, of quhich I shall, quhen they come to my hand, give you an accompt. Ther is one already come to my hand, but is miserably broken.'[65] Nicolson was quick to grasp the significance of the find which settled once and for all the question of the Antonine Wall's location. 'Your Roman Inscription proves that Lollius Urbicus was sometime near the place where this Monument was found; and may be some help towards the determining the grand Controversy (which [has] so long been bandy'd betwixt the Antiquaries of both Kingdoms), [who] were the founders and restorers of the two famous Walls, that betwixt your two Friths and other on our Borders near Carlisle.'[66] Ever the diffident correspondent, Wodrow acknowledged the helpful information on the historical context, since 'I am soe unskilled and need soe much help in these matters'.[67] For Wodrow's benefit Nicolson copied out some of his own notes on the literary evidence for the various Roman walls in Britain, from Camden and other authorities, listing eight separate occasions for Roman incursions into North Britain, from Agricola in the later 1st century to Gallio of Ravenna in the early 5th.[68]

Sibbald's requests to Wodrow for information became more insistent and wide-ranging as his own work on Roman antiquities, the *Historical Inquiries*, progressed towards publication. On 31 August 1700 he asked Wodrow to pay particular attention to 'all the ancient monuments, the inscriptions, medalls or other pieces of antiquity found along the Roman wall, near the tract of it, or the Roman Garrisons in your parts, and let me be acquainted with what you meet with'.[69] Similarly in 1702: 'I beseech you try at all may informe you anent Roman inscriptions: wee shall have need of them.'[70] From Sibbald's letters to Sir Hans Sloane in London we know that the publication of the *Historical Inquiries* was repeatedly delayed. Though by November 1703 it was finished,[71] publication did not occur until 1707 or even the early months of 1708.[72] Wodrow's relations with Nicolson cooled on publication in 1702 of the *Scottish Historical Library*,[73] and their careers were to take different directions, Wodrow as a Minister of the Church of Scotland (below p. 77) and Nicolson as Bishop of Carlisle, then of Derry and latterly Archbishop of Cashel, Co Tipperary.

Edward Lhwyd

The naturalist and philologist Edward Lhwyd (1660–1709), 'Keeper of the Ashmolean Closet'[74] (ie the recently founded Ashmolean Museum at Oxford), visited Glasgow in December 1699. He was then engaged on a lengthy tour which had already taken him to Wales and Ireland, in preparation for an intended multi-volume work, *Archaeologia Britannica*, of which only the first volume, on philology, achieved publication. Again we are in a position, thanks to the survival of correspondence with Wodrow and others, to document in detail the stages in his itinerary. Crossing over from Ireland to Kintyre, he went immediately into the West Highlands, reaching Mull and Iona, and returned through Inveraray. By early December he was at Glasgow where he met Wodrow,[75] who took him 'lithoscoping' at his favourite fossil-site exposure beside the Auldhouse Burn outside the city to the south.[76] Lhwyd (or rather his draughtsman David Parry) drew the College's collection of Roman stones, drawings which were later utilized by William Stukeley in his 1720 publication on Arthur's O'on (see p. 62). 'The Principal of the college shew'd us stones, he had lately procured for the Library; having Roman inscriptions. These we copied, and several others likewise of the same date … They keep these stones at Glascow very carefully in the Library; and the Principal was daily expecting two or three more that had been promised him.'[77]

By about 12 December Lhwyd had reached Edinburgh, travelling eastwards via Stirling. It was possibly on this eastward leg of his journey he took in Cawder, Kirkintilloch, Cumbernauld and Castle Cary.[78] As Wodrow noted a few weeks later, 'he was a night with Castlecary [ie Alexander Baillie, the owner], who gave him two Roman fibulae, and

another with Mr Charles Maitland and gote the inscription at Calder [ie Cawder House], quhich you have in Dalrymples Cambden'.[79]

In Edinburgh Lhwyd was entertained by Professor James Sutherland whose splendid coin collection he inspected, and by Sibbald who showed him artefacts he had recently donated to the College Museum there.[80] Furthermore Sibbald, in advance of Lhwyd's visit to Edinburgh, or while he was there, wrote out 'Directions for his Honoured friend Mr. Llwyd how to trace and remarke the vestiges of the Roman wall betwixt Forth and Clyde'.[81] This was a *vade mecum* for an expedition along the Wall, westwards, which Sibbald envisaged as taking Lhwyd via Cramond and Kirkliston. He could continue via Abercorn, Blackness, Bridgeness and Kinneil to Falkirk; alternatively he could strike southwards to Linlithgow, with a halt, if he wished, at Sibbald's own country seat at nearby Kipps Castle, so as to spend several days in the fossil-rich Bathgate Hills.

The 'Directions' are useful in determining Sibbald's awareness of sites in 1699 and confirm that his knowledge of the western end of the Wall was largely derivative. Some paragraphs were, it would seem, added by Lhwyd to Sibbald's memorandum while in Edinburgh, including a longer account of Arthur's O'on. The document ends with a list of fossils he had found at Bathgate and which he despatched forthwith to Sibbald.

On 14 December Lhwyd set out westwards, following (as it is clear from his own letters) Sibbald's 'Directions'. He was at Bathgate on the 15th, at Linlithgow by the 17th,[82] and at Falkirk on the 18th, a route which gave him the opportunity to visit Camelon and Arthur's O'on, if he had not already done so on his journey southwards from Stirling a week earlier, before reaching Glasgow on the 20th.[83] The following day he departed for Argyll, but not without meeting Wodrow again, who was disappointed that Lhwyd had made 'noe neu discoveries' along the Wall.[84] However, Lhwyd presented Wodrow with a 'patera', ie a pottery bowl, which he had picked up at Arthur's O'on.[85] 'The curiose Mr Ed. Lhuyd has been heer this day … He will be at Oxford at July, laden with curiose rarities.'[86] It was probably on his journey west from Glasgow through Dunbartonshire that

Illustration 39
Cawder House, Bishopbriggs, seen from the south-east, as sketched by the Revd John Skinner, 1825, with the Antonine Ditch at left (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fol 383).

Lhwyd halted at Castlehill west of modern Bearsden to record the distance slab built into a cottage there, promptly publishing it in *Philosophical Transactions*, with an accompanying drawing.[87] From Kintyre Lhwyd crossed over into Ireland, after some weeks' delay owing to bad weather.[88]

The recording of inscribed and sculptured stones

Roman inscribed or sculptured stones could be found built into the fabric of country mansions along the Wall by owners as evidence of antiquarian credentials, and which they displayed to travellers. The practice was underway before the end of the 16th century. In 1572, or soon after, the Stirlings of Keir at Cawder Castle near Bishopbriggs acquired a square slab, on which Cupids supported a laurel wreath containing the name of the Second Legion.[89] It was gifted to them by their son-in-law John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms;[90] except that it was presumably not found on the Keir estate, its provenance remains unknown.[91] Soon built into the fabric of the towerhouse, it was moved in 1624 to the successor mansion, Cawder House (illus 39), where it was seen by John Adair, by John Urry and by Edward Lhwyd.[92] In 1723 Alexander Gordon saw it 'within the court'.[93] John Horsley confirms the location, 'in the wall, on the right hand side, within the court, as you enter the house, too high to be come at, without the help of a ladder'.[94] Now set indoors in the wall of a locker-room, it is noticeably worn. A distance slab was similarly built into the towerhouse at Cawder before 1603;[95] on the latter's demolition, the slab was transferred to the outer west wall of the replacement Cawder House.[96]

Gordon in 1726 speaks of the preservation by the Stirling family at Cawder of several stones. 'At this Place [Balmuildy] likewise have been dug up several Inscriptions and engraved Stones, shewing, that the second Legion *Augusta* lay there. Most of these Stones are now brought from thence to Calder-House, belonging to Mr Stirling of Kier, on whose Ground are the ruins of Bemulie. The Predecessors of this Gentleman built them within the walls of Calder-House, for preservation.'[97] Some confusion has arisen, since neither of the two stones preserved at Cawder in the early 18th century derived from Balmuildy.

Two inscribed stones were by the mid-17th century at Kilsyth Castle, the residence of a branch of the Livingston family. The first was a tombstone commemorating C Julius Marcellinus, prefect of the First Cohort of Hamii, known to have been the garrison at Bar Hill, from which this stone presumably came.[98] One of the German visitors (above, p 38) saw it at Kilsyth and sent a drawing to William Camden, among whose papers it is preserved (illus 40). This is the earliest representation of an inscribed stone found on the Wall, especially valuable as the stone itself was subsequently lost (see below). The drawing depicts an upright slab with a pine cone in the pediment and rosettes at the top corners, symbolism regularly used on Roman tombstones. Camden states (1607) that it had recently been transferred from the Minister's house at Kilsyth to a Nobleman's house then abuilding,[99] where it was seen lying in the courtyard.[100] When Camden came to depict this and other stones in his 1607 edition of *Britannia*, he rendered them all in a uniform, stylised format, lacking any decorative details (illus 41).

The second stone at Kilsyth, an altar erected to Silvanus by L Tanicius Verus, prefect of an uspecified cohort of auxiliaries, was long known only from a

Illustration 40
Tombstone of C Julius Marcellinus, as sketched 'in Scotland near Miniabrough' [Kilsyth], by a German traveller, *c* 1600 (© The British Library Board, MS Cotton Julius F.VI fol 323).

Illustration 41
A page from William Camden's own copy of the 1607 edition of his *Britannia*, featuring three stones from the Wall, and with the text of an altar erected by L Tanicius Verus to the god Silvanus in the right-hand margin (© Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Smith 1, p. 699).

marginal note in William Camden's own copy of the 1607 edition of his *Britannia*,[101] and assigned to Cawder (illus 41).[102] However, the lower half was rediscovered during excavation at Kilsyth Castle in 1976, so that the provenance was probably Bar Hill (illus 42).[103] It must have been on view there before October 1650, when Cromwell blew up the towerhouse and burned the rest of the buildings.[104] The Julius Marcellinus tombstone and the upper half of this altar could well await rediscovery if further archaeological investigation is ever undertaken at the site. A third stone at Kilsyth is first reported by John Strachey in 1719 'in the garden house of Kilsyth', by which he means a mansion house of the Livingstons in the town, successor to the castle (see illus 50).[105] Traditionally held to be a milestone recording work by legionary vexillations in the reign of Antoninus Pius,[106] it may rather have been a column shaft, brought there from the headquarters building at Bar Hill fort.[107] It is easy to imagine that other inscribed and sculptured stones remain undetected in the fabric of towerhouses such as Castle Cary, and in the mansions at Kinneil and Callendar, or were lost when the castles at Kirkintilloch and Inveravon went out of use.

A small inscribed building stone was found at Carriden House in 1682 by Alexander Milne, the proprietor. 'While he was building there a stone was digged up with an Eagles head graven upon it.'[108] Later the stone was built into the fabric of the house which sits atop the fort;[109] it is now lost. Alexander Gordon in 1726 reports an uninscribed altar standing within the garden there.[110] A distance slab from Carleith was placed above the gateway leading to Cochno House, a few miles north of Duntocher, where it was seen by Gordon and Horsley;[111] by 1759 it had been presented to Glasgow College.[112]

A distance slab found at or near Old Kilpatrick was transferred to Erskine Castle on the opposite (south)

bank of the Clyde, the home of William Hamilton of Orbiston who donated it, and another then recently found, to Glasgow College in 1695.[113] It was perhaps its presence at Erskine that led David Buchanan (see p. 42) into supposing that there had been an outpost fort of the Wall there.[114]

Inscribed stones from Castlecary fort were taken to the nearby Castle Cary. In 1697 the Anonymous Traveller (see p. 52) 'saw none but a broken one, which is in the side of the outward gate, as you enter to Mr Baylys house of Castle Cary'.[115] Another repository was Cumbernauld Castle, the seat of the Earls of Wigton, 2km south-west of Castlecary Roman fort. In or before 1682 Christopher Irvine saw an altar there dedicated to the mother goddess (*matres*),[116] a stone which Sibbald states soon after was found 'near Castle Kery'.[117] Another altar seen at Cumbernauld is recorded only by Sir Thomas Munro of Lindertis (1761–1827), a graduate of Glasgow College, later Governor of Madras, in his own copy of the College's 18th-century catalogue of its Roman stones (see p. 87).[118] The Earl of Wigton's estate did not encompass Castlecary fort itself, but stretched westwards from the Red Burn (west of Castlecary and currently the local-authority boundary between Falkirk and North Lanarkshire). We could wonder whether a shrine had stood on the west bank of the Red Burn, within easy reach of the garrison at Castlecary.

By 1684 a distance slab of the Twentieth Legion, likely to have been found at Old Kilpatrick, had migrated to the then seat of the Marquesses of Montrose at Mugdock Castle, 6km north of the Wall (illus 59).[119] One stone was carried much farther. In the later 16th century a distance slab of unknown provenance (illus 28) was taken northwards by George 5th Earl Marischal to his seat at Dunnottar Castle near Stonehaven, Kincardineshire, where it was seen by Servaz Reichel, with its lettering gilded (see pp. 38, 98). It was placed at first in a porch, and later in a niche in the most prominent hall of the Castle.[120]

Inscribed and sculptured stones were also built into farm buildings and cottages along the line of the Wall. The important Lollius Urbicus slab (see p. 55; illus 43) was first seen at Balmuildy in 1696–8 in 'the sole of a byer window' (illus 44).[121] At Castlehill west of Bearsden a distance slab was first reported in 1698 'in the end of a small thatched cottage', which another visitor soon after called 'Castlehill Dyke House'.[122] In or before 1723 a stone allegedly bearing the letters N E R O was observed built into the miller's house at Duntocher; it is now lost (see p. 112 n 70).[123]

Illustration 42
Lower part of the altar erected by L Tanicius Verus (see illus 41) rediscovered in 1976 at Kilsyth Castle, drawn by Margaret Scott (Courtesy of The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

The collecting of coins and small finds

It was at this time that attention began to be paid to small finds. Coin collecting was in vogue, and some substantial collections were formed, for example by the botanist Professor James Sutherland at Edinburgh and Principal William Dunlop at Glasgow. Duplicate specimens were exchanged, with no thought as to their provenance or potential historical importance as dating evidence. Most of these holdings were dispersed after their owners' deaths; others went to become part of larger collections and cannot now be individually recognised within them.[124]

Illustration 43
'The most invaluable Jewel of Antiquity that ever was found in the Island of Britain'. Fragment of a building record naming Quintus Lollius Urbicus, first seen at Balmuildy, 1696–8, here restored to show the titles of the emperor Antoninus Pius (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

Archdeacon William Nicolson of Carlisle described Sutherland's numismatic collection in July 1699 as 'the richest Collection of Medals and Coins that is perhaps in any private hand in the King's Dominions. He has near 700 Roman Denarij, Consular and Caesarean,[125] with different Reverses; sometimes above twenty of the same Emperour. He has few pieces in Copper and Brass; and the reason he gave me, was, because (in Scotland) there are forty silver ones to be found for one in either of those metals', the opposite of Nicolson's own experience in Cumbria.[126] The description implies locally found Roman coins, many probably from hoards, but we are unable to associate any with specific sites.[127]

William Dunlop at Glasgow built up a substantial collection of coins, some at least of them found locally, but none can now be traced. In 1699 William Nicolson was disappointed not to have met him (see p. 53): 'I was told of a good collection of old coins in the hands of ye Principal of ye College; but he being unhappily gone abroad when I went to wait on him, I miss'd the satisfaction of seeing them. I have endeavour'd to procure an account of [them].'[128]

As librarian at Glasgow College from 1699 Robert Wodrow (see p. 51) was active in seeking out coins, but he did not appreciate their historical significance.[129] He exchanged 'doubles' with his correspondents, especially with James Sutherland at Edinburgh College.[130] Matthew Craufurd, a fellow student with Wodrow at Glasgow, and later Professor of Church History at Edinburgh (see p. 79), was described by Wodrow in a letter to Sutherland as 'curiose and will count himself happy in a veu of your [Sutherland's] collection of coins and curiosityes at any spare hour you will appoint'.[131] Edward Lhwyd too was keen to learn of small finds, in particular 'any coin, fibula or other old brasse, silver etc. utensile'.[132] John Adair formed a 'vast collection of Scots shells', presumably assembled during his coastal surveying.[133]

The discovery of a hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins and silver at Port Glasgow in or about July 1699, after a landslip, aroused the interest of several of Wodrow's correspondents, who strove to secure specimens from it. Principal Dunlop obtained '5 or 6 for the library'.[134] Sutherland visited Glasgow College in September 1699, on his way to or from Port Glasgow in search of coins

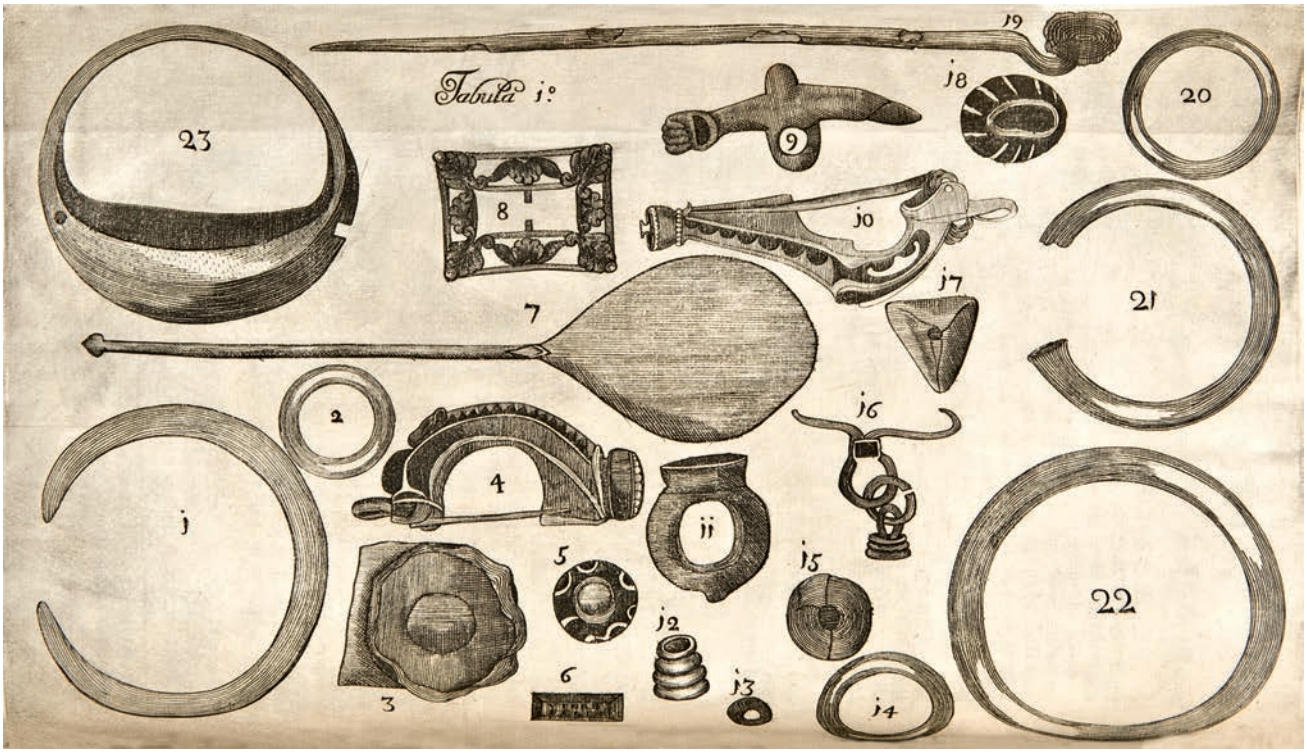


Illustration 44
Small finds including a phallic pendant (no 9), a silvered bronze brooch (no 10) and a bronze arm-purse (no 23), as illustrated in Sir Robert Sibbald's *Roman Ports, Colonies and Forts*, 1711 (© Glasgow University Library).

from the hoard.[135] Wodrow himself went rather tardily (he was never a keen traveller) to visit the findspot in September 1700 and searched unsuccessfully for more.[136] Wodrow's correspondence also identifies individual Roman coins acquired by Sutherland,[137] and by Wodrow himself, with his tentative attempts at identifying them.[138]

When Wodrow left the College to be Minister of the parish of Eastwood south of Glasgow in 1703 (see p. 77), he took his collection with him to his manse where he established a small museum. In 1710 he sent items from it to Edinburgh, at Sibbald's request, for possible inclusion in the latter's treatise on *Roman Ports, Colonies and Forts*, published in the following year;[139] they were presumably returned. In 1724 Wodrow evidently declined to send them to Edinburgh when asked on Alexander Gordon's behalf (see p. 74); the latter subsequently visited Wodrow at Eastwood and presumably drew them at the manse. Archaeological material in the collection included the 'patera' from Arthur's O'on given to him by Edward Lhwyd (see p. 56),[140] part of an Anglo-Saxon fibula in silver from the Port Glasgow hoard, a cornelian sealstone and a 'Gothish ring'.[141] After Wodrow's death in 1734, the collection was dispersed and, to my knowledge, none of the items are now traceable. Much later, in 1760, one of Wodrow's sons, the Revd Patrick Wodrow, lent his father's list of its contents to Professor John Anderson (see p. 96) at Glasgow College for copying.[142]

In his many treatises Sir Robert Sibbald exhibits an awareness of a range of small finds, even if some can now be recognised as not Roman, and of their place in any assessment of the Roman episodes in Scotland's past. In his *Historical Inquiries* (1707) Sibbald reports coins found along the wall, in gold, silver and brass, of emperors from Augustus to Severus and his sons, and itemises the types of artefacts encountered.[143] He was aware too of 'stones with Inscriptions, Altars, pieces of Pillars, Chists made of square stones, Urns, and other Vessels of potter work; Medals, and Swords and Lances, Fibulae or buckles of several sorts, Amulets, Ornaments of sundrie sorts and instruments of diverse figures'.[144] The pottery included examples

'of fine work with figures upon them; these are of a red colour and of this Colour and fine work some paterae are found'.[145] A number of these are valuably illustrated in his *Roman Ports, Colonies, and Forts* (1711). Several were then in Wodrow's collection, others later in Sir John Clerk's at Penicuik. Some are described in accompanying brief captions, but others go unmentioned and are given no provenances (illus 44). The latter included an intact arm-purse and a phallic pendant.[146] Sibbald's diagram of installations on the Wall, in its 1707 manifestation, features two artefacts, one of them a silvered bronze brooch 'found near the River Forth and not far from the Wall' (so presumably one which Sibbald with his local knowledge had heard about).[147] Sibbald himself presented his natural history specimens, antiquities and coins to Edinburgh College, together with a fragmentary Roman milestone from Ingliston west of Edinburgh;[148] they went to augment the material recently bequeathed to it by his cousin, the physician and botanist Sir Andrew Balfour.[149]

William Stukeley and friends

After some false starts and brief flowerings from 1585 onwards, a Society of Antiquaries in London began to hold regular meetings in 1707.[150] Its first Secretary was William Stukeley (1687–1764) who had trained as a doctor and practised in London and Lincolnshire, but soon took holy orders as a vicar, and ministered first in Stamford and later in London.[151] Stukeley was an inveterate traveller, tireless fieldworker and assiduous correspondent, from whose writings we can reconstruct a close network of scholarly exchange. Stukeley had hoped as a young man to undertake a Grand Tour, visiting Rome, 'the place I have ever had the most earnest desire of seeing';[152] but he was prevented by a crisis in family fortunes following the deaths of his father and uncle. In the end he never travelled outwith England and Wales, though he was aware of continental Roman monuments including the Pantheon in Rome, the Pont du Gard in Provence and the city of Palmyra in Syria.

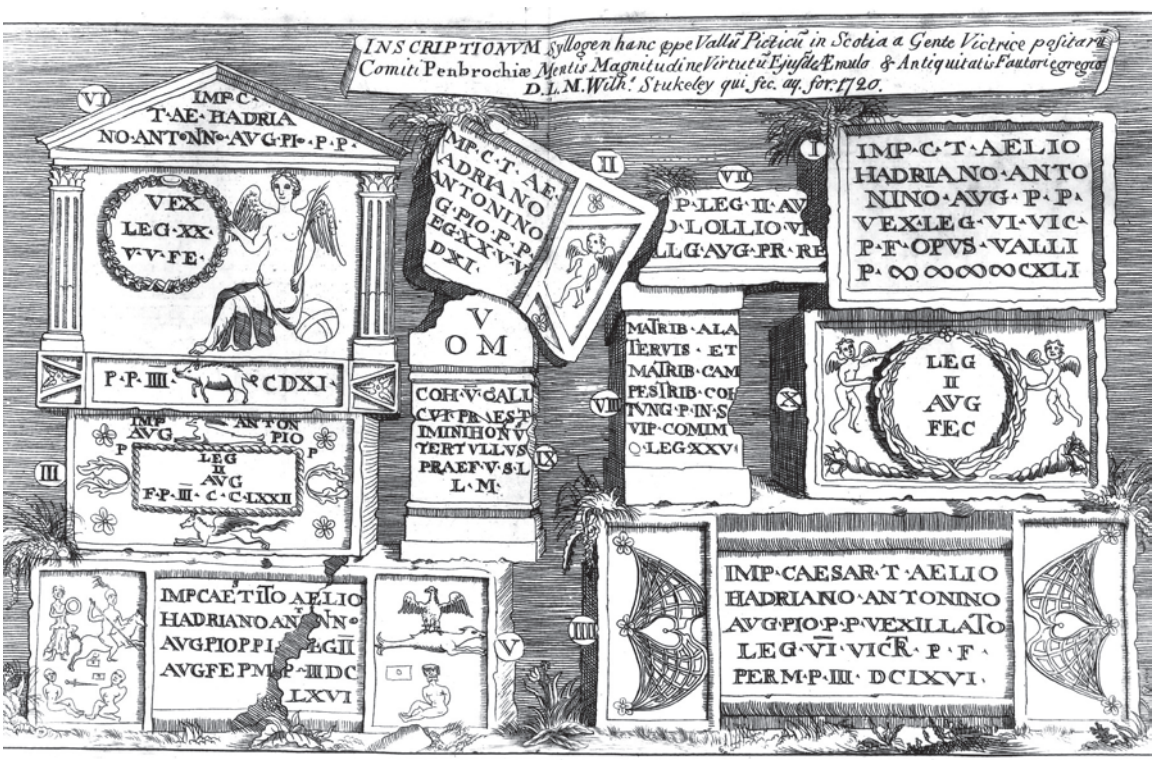


Illustration 45
Frontispiece of William Stukeley's *Account of a Roman Temple*, 1720, showing Roman inscribed stones, mostly from the Antonine Wall.

In 1719 the Essex-born architect Andrews Jelfe, a friend of Stukeley, was appointed by the government as 'architect and Clerk of the Works of all Buildings erected or to be erected in the several garrisons, forts, castles, fortifications etc belonging to the Office of Ordnance in Great Britain'.[153] His remit north of the Border was to design and oversee the building of barracks to house government soldiers.[154] He halted long enough around Falkirk, at Stukeley's request, to visit Arthur's O'on, of which he made carefully measured drawings in a pocket-book.[155] Stukeley saw the occasion for a short monograph on the O'on, a monument then largely unknown to his English contemporaries, with illustrations based on Jelfe's drawings (illus 22). In it he gathered together antiquarian references and took the opportunity to list and illustrate inscribed and sculptured stones from the Wall (illus 45). The drawings were chiefly those made in 1699 by Edward Lhwyd, as well as two made at Glasgow in 1714 by the physician Dr James Jurin (see see p. 64).[156] The resulting treatise, only 22 pages long, is an important statement of knowledge about antiquities found along the Wall, before the monographs by Alexander Gordon (1726) and John Horsley (1732) made them much better known.

Though Stukeley never saw the Wall or the countryside through which it passed, his accompanying map 'of its whole Extent from Sea to Sea' is a recognisable and very clear depiction, with hollow squares attached to its rear to designate the forts, a method still in use (illus 46). He shows it extending from Abercorn in the east to Old Kilpatrick in the west. Stukeley names no source for the information on the map, which he claims to have 'designed' himself. However, we can see in it something of Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1654, of Sibbald's map of 1707, an awareness of the *Ravenna Cosmography* (which had become widely known to scholars in Britain only in 1709), together, regrettably, with the recently published *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum* ('Glossary of British Antiquities') of the Welsh philologist William Baxter, from which Stukeley took numerous, totally implausible Latin place-names.[157] Stukeley himself annotated, at different times over the following 30 years, an interleaved copy of the book, perhaps with a view to a revised edition, with discoveries and information on subsequent finds.[158] The sources of his annotations included the Anonymous Traveller (see p. 52), John Strachey and Alexander Gordon (see pp. 64, 71).

In 1722 Stukeley established a Society of Roman Knights, encompassing his aristocratic patrons, fellow antiquaries and several ladies.[159] Its members included Lords Pembroke, Hertford and Winchelsea, and later Sir John Clerk and Alexander Gordon. Each member bore the Latin name of a famous Roman or a British hero. Stukeley himself was Chyndonax, a supposed Druid priest whose grave had been found

Illustration 46
William Stukeley's map of the Antonine Wall, in his *Account of a Roman Temple*, 1720.

in 1598 near Dijon, France; Pembroke was Carvilius Maximus, a consular of the Middle Roman Republic; Alexander Gordon was Calgacus, the war leader of the Caledonians at Mons Graupius in AD 83; Sir John Clerk was Agricola. Not all the Latin names are as familiar nowadays as they must once have been.[160]

James Jurin

Among Stukeley's correspondents was the physician and mathematician, James Jurin (1684–1750), Secretary of the Royal Society 1721–7, editor of its journal, the *Philosophical Transactions*, and a pioneer in smallpox inoculation.[161] In 1720 Jurin was described by Stukeley as 'My worthy friend and collegue … who travelled along [Hadrian's Wall], and took all the Inscriptions he met withal'.[162]

On a visit to Glasgow around the beginning of 1715, Jurin dined with Professor Robert Simson (see p. 87), with whom we know he corresponded on mathematical questions.[163] That they also conversed on antiquarian matters seems certain. While in Glasgow Jurin transcribed two stones in the College's collection, presumably shown to him by Simson, texts of which he passed to Stukeley (see p. 63). 'The last two', Jurin says in a letter to Bishop Nicolson – the obvious correspondent for a young antiquarian – 'I met with at Glasquo, having been lately brought thither from the Roman Wall in their Country [ie Scotland]. I transcribed them because I did not find that they had been taken notice of by any body else, and because I judged they might be of use in the clearing the History of the Wall in Scotland.'[164] We shall meet Jurin again (see p. 78).

John Strachey

Another of Stukeley's correspondents was the Somerset landowner and geological pioneer John Strachey (1671–1743),[165] best known to prehistorians for his recording of standing stones, especially the circle at Stanton Drew in Somerset, which he and Stukeley viewed together in 1723.[166] In 1721 Strachey was hired by the York Buildings Company to report on the properties it had acquired cheaply in the aftermath of the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion.[167] These estates included Dunnottar, Callendar and Kilsyth. His surviving travel journal charts his visits to them.[168] He and a companion journeyed northwards to Aberdeen via Dunnottar Castle, returning southwards via Stirling, turning westwards across the isthmus to Glasgow, and then eastwards via Linlithgow to Edinburgh.

His duties took him along parts of the Antonine Wall, or within sight of it, but he did not undertake any comprehensive inspection of its line. At Kilsyth he observed 'a Roman milliario or milestone w[ith] ye Inscription', the earliest known record of it (illus 50).[169] Among those he met were the Revd James Robe and Baillie James Stark at Kilsyth (see pp. 73, 80) and Provost Alexander Glen, father of Alexander Gordon's later travelling companion (see p. 72), at Linlithgow. At Glasgow College he viewed the 'Library and picture gallery, with a great many Roman inscriptions from ye old Wall'. In May 1722 Stukeley read to the Antiquaries in London a letter from John Strachey, 'now in Scotland, of several circles of stone and other remarkable antiquities there'.[170] Some of the annotations in Stukeley's own copy of his *Account of a Roman Temple* (see p. 63) derived from Strachey.

Foremost among Stukeley's regular correspondents were the brothers Roger and Samuel Gale (1672–1744 and 1682–1754). Sons of a Professor at Cambridge, who became Headmaster of St Paul's School, London, and latterly Dean of York, both were prominent early members of the revived Society of Antiquaries of London, Samuel as its Treasurer and Roger as Vice-President (see p. 88).[171] Stukeley married their sister Elizabeth as his second wife in 1739.

In 1725 Stukeley travelled north with Roger Gale to Hadrian's Wall.[172] Sir John Clerk was sorry he did not met them; had he known of their itinerary he would have waited upon them at Carlisle.[173] Roger Gale visited Scotland in 1739, and in advance of his arrival in Edinburgh Clerk sent him an itinerary for travel from east to west along the Wall, like Sibbald had for Edward Lhwyd 40 years earlier (see p. 56).[174] Gale could, he wrote, expect to see its remains to the south of Falkirk,[175] over Croy Hill and Bar Hill (to be viewed from Kilsyth across the valley), as well as the 'fort' at Kirkintilloch; he means the medieval Peel there. Clerk also advised going to Glasgow College to see the collection of inscribed stones. In the event Gale did not traverse the Wall or make a visit to Glasgow, but from Edinburgh headed south-westwards towards Carlisle.[176]

Notes

1 Simpson 1982; Mendyk 1985; 1989: 213; Emerson 1988; Withers 1996; 2001; Hingley 2008: 103.

2 Following his short-lived conversion to Catholicism in 1685, Sibbald resigned the former after a year and never took up latter.

3 *Bannatyne Club Miscellany* 3 (1855): 373; Withers 2001: 78.
4 Sibbald 1683.
5 NLS Adv MS 15.1.1.
6 For a useful bibliography of Sibbald's publications see Simpson 1982: 87.
7 EUL Dc.8.35, fol 33. See also Whittaker 2005: 115.
8 RCAHMS 1929: 238 no 382.
9 Sibbald 1707: 8, 27.
10 Sibbald 1707: 30. Bauderstoun lies well to the south of Bo'ness.
11 NLS Adv MS 15.1.1, fol 58r.
12 Sibbald 1707: 31. In 1699 Sibbald drew Edward Lhwyd's attention to a 'deep and broad ditch' at Abercorn, which he asserted was 'some part of the wall drawn eastward' (Haverfield 1910: 321).
13 See Sibbald 1707: 8.
14 Sibbald 1707: 31.
15 NLS Adv MS 81.1.21, fol 24. The handwriting was kindly identified by Chris Fleet, NLS.
16 Sibbald 1707: 28.
17 NLS Adv MS 70.2.10, Gordon 50.
18 Sibbald 1707: 27.
19 Sibbald 1707: p. iii.
20 Sibbald 1707: p. ii.
21 Inglis 1918; Moore 1985; Withers 2001: 91.
22 Sibbald 1932: 75; Simpson 1993.
23 Adair's 'Mapp of Strathairn' (NLS Adv MS 15.1.1, fol 144) depicts Ardoch.
24 Sibbald 1684: *Catalogus*.
25 Vasey 1993.
26 Brown & Vasey 1989.
27 NRS GD18/5077.
28 Adair 1694: Queries 11, 12, 14.
29 Nicolson 1702: 22; cf Dalrymple 1705: 19.
30 *Bannatyne Club Miscellany* 2 (1836): 384. They were then among 'maps doing but not perfected'.
31 Sibbald's *Historical Inquiries* (1707) contained, uncredited, several of Adair's drawings.
32 Harmsen 2000.
33 Cavers 1989. Slezer also planned a book on 'The ancient and present State of Scotland', which was to include a chapter on 'the Walls built by the *Romans* in *Britain*' (Cavers 1993: 73; Withers 2001: 94).
34 Coutts 1909: 167. The impact on scholarship of the political upheavals of this time is well described by Simpson 1982.
35 Keppie 1998: 7.
36 Sibbald 1707: 36; Hamilton 1831: 142; Dennistoun 1836.
37 Sharp 1937: 63 no 26.
38 Sharp 1937: 60 no 25.
39 Emerson 1995; Emerson 2008.
40 Durkan 1977.
41 Colvin 1994: 332.
42 Lowrey 1987.
43 NRS GD45/26/140; see Keppie 1980; Maxwell 1989b: 6, fig 1.2. For Edward's interest in Roman antiquities see also Sibbald 1707: 51.
44 Gibson 1695; Sykes 1926.
45 Parry 1995: 331.
46 Camden 1695: 1104.
47 EUL MS Dk.1.2, Quarto A74, fols 99a-b. See Vasey 1993; Keppie 1998: 9.
48 EUL MS La.II.644/7, fols 19–21.
49 Keppie 2006.
50 Keppie 2006: 180.
51 Keppie 2006: 190 with fig 7.6. He obtained drawings of them from John Adair.
52 Sibbald 1710a: 49.
53 Keppie 2006: 183.
54 James 1956: 87; Whittaker 2005: 30.
55 Bod Lib MS Rawlinson D.377, fol 25, with drawings; *RIB* 2205, 2206 (Keppie 1998: nos 14–15). Presumably the word lost here is 'Antoninus'.
56 He was probably misled by the occurrence of the name *Hadrianus* on the distance slabs in his care.
57 'Abroad' here as elsewhere means that he was not at home, rather than engaged on foreign travel.
58 NLS MS Wod. Lett. Qu. i, fols 86–7.
59 Bod Lib MS Rawlinson D.377, fol 46.
60 *RIB* 2205, 2206.
61 Maidment 1837: 133 no 2.
62 Sharp 1937: 21 no 8.
63 Sharp 1937: 22 no 9.
64 *RIB* 2191 (Keppie 1998: 94 no 22).
65 Sharp 1937: 24 no 11.
66 NLS MS Wod. Lett. Qu. i, fols 86–7; Sibbald 1707: 49. As Alexander Gordon memorably noted, the stone was relatively small, 'yet it is the most invaluable Jewel of Antiquity that ever was found in the Island of *Britain*, since the Time of the *Romans*' (1726: 63).
67 Sharp 1937: 26 no 12.
68 For the text see Whittaker 2005: 54. This was in contrast to Sibbald's more focused assessment of the few genuine Roman interludes in Scotland's past.
69 Maidment 1837: 135 no 4.
70 Maidment 1837: 142 no 8.
71 'The essay upon the Roman wall … is allreadie printed, two hunder copies of it' (EUL MS Dc.8.35, fol 45).
72 EUL MS Dc.8.35, fols 47, 49. The printing presses in Edinburgh were then taken up with papers relative to the Union of the Parliaments.
73 Whittaker 2005: 112.
74 Sharp 1937: 93 no 43. On Lhwyd see Emery 1969; Roberts 1980; MacGregor 2001: 22.
75 NLS MS Wod. Lett. Qu. i.168.
76 Maidment 1834: 377 no 108; Gunther 1945: 418–26 nos 213, 215.

77 Gunther 1945: 425 no 215.

78 TCD MS 1369, fols 108–9. See Campbell & Thompson 1963: p. xx.

79 Dalrymple 1695: 99; Sharp 1937: 36 no 19; *RIB* 2186.

80 Gunther 1945: 418 no 213.

81 Bod. MS Carte 269, fols 129d–35; see Haverfield 1910.

82 Gunther 1945: 423 no 215.

83 Gunther 1945: 418 nos 213–14; cf Sharp 1937: 34 nos 17, 19; Haverfield 1910: 326.

84 Sharp 1937: 36 no 19.

85 Maidment 1837: 151 no 4; see also Sibbald 1711: fig 1 no 3 ('a Piece of a patera of Earth').

86 Sharp 1937: 30 no 15.

87 *RIB* 2196; Lluyd 1700. The inscription had already been published by Rafaele Fabretti (1699: 756), who had been alerted to it by Gottfried Christian Götz of Leipzig; the latter had recently been travelling in Scotland (Keppie 1998: 9, 78 no 6).

88 Gunther 1945: 426 no 216. The antiquary James Brome, author of a treatise on the Romans in Kent, was long believed to have travelled in Scotland at this time and to have observed Camelon (Brown 1891: 248). However, it now seems that he made no such journey (McConnell & Larminie 2004).

89 *RIB* 2209 = *CSIR* 128.

90 See Macdonald 1911: 293; 1934: 371. The death of Napier's wife in 1579 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the presentation.

91 Macdonald 1911: 312 at no 19 suggests New Kilpatrick; idem 1934: 404 at no 26 suggests Auchendavy, where the Second Legion is several times attested. However, we need not assume that it derived from the Wall.

92 Cawder House is now a golf clubhouse.

93 Gordon 1726: 54.

94 Horsley 1732: 198. Cf Stuart 1844: 313; Mothersole 1927: 68; Macdonald 1934: 404 no 26. It can be seen in this position on Fraser 1858: pl at p. 79, and on early photographs.

95 *RIB* 2186.

96 Gordon 1726: 54; Horsley 1732: 198 no (*Scotland*) 10.

97 Gordon 1726: 54.

98 *RIB* 2172 = *CSIR* 101.

99 A datestone of 1605 was found during excavation at the Castle in 1976 (Millar 1976: 21). The then Minister was a kinsman of the landowner.

100 BL MS Cotton Julius F.VI, fols 295, 323; hence Camden 1607: 699.

101 Bod Lib MS Smith 1 (at p. 699).

102 *RIB* 2187. The stone is now in the care of North Lanarkshire Council, and held at Summerlee Industrial Museum, Coatbridge.

103 Keppie 1978; *RIB* I *Addenda*: p. 798.

104 Cromwell dated a letter from Kilsyth Castle on 10 October 1650 (Abbott 1939: 352).

105 Somerset Heritage Centre DD/SH/5/382, p. 41; *RIB* 2312.

106 Gordon 1726: 55 pl 9.4; Horsley 1732: 200, pl (*Scotland*) xvi.

107 Robertson, Scott and Keppie 1975: 34 no 7; Keppie 1983: 397 no 10, hence *RIB* I *Addenda*: p. 799.

108 Sibbald 1707: 31; *RIB* 2138.

109 Sibbald 1710a: 19; Gordon 1726: 60 with pl 10.6; Horsley 1732: 202 with pl (*Scotland*) xxiv.

110 Gordon 1726: 61.

111 Gordon 1726: 51, pl 10.1; Horsley 1732: 195, pl (*Scotland*) ii. Nothing is known of a castle on this site; perhaps it lies below the successor mansion.

112 *RIB* 2204 (Keppie 1998: 85 no 13).

113 *RIB* 2205, 2206 (Keppie 1998: 85 nos 14–15). The castle, of which nothing is known, was replaced by a mansion, the predecessor of the present Erskine House, now a war veterans' hospital.

114 Sibbald 1707: 29.

115 *RIB* 2154. Keppie 2006: 183. For 'another Stone like in fashion to this, but no Inscription' at Castle Cary, see Keppie 2006: 189 fig 7); *RIB* 2153 may be meant.

116 *RIB* 2147/2152; Irvine 1682: 122.

117 NLS Adv MS 15.1.15, fol 58v**.**

118 University of Glasgow 1792 (GUL Special Collections 3039). Interestingly, Munro in India worked closely with his friend Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, who had been born and brought up at Cumbernauld House.

119 *RIB* 2208 = *CSIR* 156 (Keppie 1998: 87 no 16).

120 *RIB* 2173. As it goes unmentioned by John Strachey, who inspected Dunnottar in 1719 (see p. 64), this stone had perhaps already passed to Marischal College, Aberdeen, where it is attested in 1723. Keppie 1998: 72 no 1 has further details.

121 *RIB* 2191.

122 *RIB* 2196 (Keppie 1998: 78 no 6).

123 *RIB* 2202; Keppie 2004: 210. Cf Garnett 1800: 9.

124 Sutherland later sold his coin collection to the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, in return for a lifetime annuity (Stewartby 1996: 90).

125 Roman Republican and Roman Imperial respectively.

126 Bod Lib MS Rawlinson D.377, fols 46–7; see also Brown 1989: 159; Whittaker 2005: 40.

127 Sutherland's collection is now in NMS, together with a partial written record of its contents. Cf Sibbald 1707: 51.

128 Bod Lib MS Rawlinson D.377, fol 25.

129 Sharp 1937: 179 no 88; 189 no 95; 230 no 119.

130 Sharp 1937: 132 no 66.

131 Sharp 1937: 185 no 92.

132 Sharp 1937: 33 no 16.

133 Sharp 1937: 97 no 46.

134 Sharp 1937: 24 no 11.

135 Sharp 1937: 21–4 nos 8, 9, 11; Maidment 1837: 133 no 2.

136 Sharp 1937: 113 no 55. Nevertheless he seems later to have acquired some of its coins (Maidment 1837: 151).
137 Maidment 1837: 361.
138 Sharp 1937: 179 no 88; 189 no 95; 231 no 119.
139 Maidment 1837: 152 no 41.
140 Maidment 1837: 151 ('by the shape and collour [Lhwyd] was peremptory it was Roman').
141 The ring and the sealstone were also drawn by John Adair, on a sheet which came into the possession of Sir John Clerk (NRS GD18/5077).
142 SUA OA/5/1. The catalogue itself is dated 1703, the year in which Wodrow left Glasgow College for the parish of Eastwood.
143 Sibbald 1707: 51.
144 Sibbald 1711: 17.
145 *Ibid* 18. The pottery is samian ware; by *paterae* he means earthenware bowls.
146 Sibbald 1711: Tab 1. The latter was also drawn by Alexander Gordon (1726: pl 50 no 3).
147 Sibbald 1707: pl; Sibbald 1711: Tab 1 no 10; Gordon 1726: pl 50.9; Robertson 1970: 218 no 7. The brooch came later into the possession of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. It is now in NMS Edinburgh.
148 *RIB* 2313; *RIB* I *Addenda*: p. 800.
149 Sibbald 1697. In 1722 Charles Mackie was made Professor of History at Edinburgh, 'and of the Greek, Roman and British Antiquities in the College of this city' (Sharp 1962; Piggott & Robertson 1977: no 25). In 1739 we find him consulting Sir John Clerk on the meanings of the Latin terms *vallum* and *fossa* (NRS GD18/5050).
150 Gough 1770; Evans 1956; Sweet 2004: 81.
151 Piggott 1968; Haycock 2002; Hingley 2008: 110.
152 Bod Lib MS Eng.misc.c.533, fol 16v.
153 See Colvin 1995: 542.
154 Piggott 1986: 58. In March 1720 Stukeley exhibited drawings by Jelfe at the Society of Antiquaries in London (SAL MS 268, fol 1).
155 Stukeley 1720: 1.
156 Stukeley 1720: 9.
157 Baxter 1719.
158 Preserved at the Sackler Library, Oxford.
159 Piggott 1985: 53; Brown 1987a; Ayres 1997: 91; Haycock 2002: 116; Sweet 2004: 164.
160 For Stukeley's later preoccupations see p. 100.
161 Rusnock 1996.
162 Stukeley 1720: 4.
163 GUL MS Gen 1096.
164 Wellcome MS 6145; Rusnock 1996: 63 no 3. Both stones (*RIB* 2191, 2196) had in fact already been published. No transcriptions or drawings survive with the MS at the Wellcome Library, London.
165 McGarvie 1983.
166 Piggott 1985: 67.
167 Anton 1892: 169; Murray 1883: 45.
168 Somerset Heritage Centre DD/SH/5/382.
169 *RIB* 2312. See also Stukeley, in own copy of Stukeley 1720 (Sackler Library, Oxford): 'On a Pillar brought from old Place. In Kilsyth Garden house probably a milliary stone for upon some road.' See illus 50.
170 SAL Minute Book vol 1, p. 62.
171 Evans 1956: 47; Clapinson 1988.
172 Piggott 1985: 73.
173 NRS GD18/5029.
174 Lukis 1887: 413.
175 He presumably intends the well preserved length of Wall and Ditch in Callendar Park, to the east of the town.
176 Lukis 1887:415.

Chapter 5

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Bt

Sir John Clerk (1676–1755), whose father had enhanced the family fortunes by exploiting coal reserves on his lands at Penicuik, Midlothian, studied at Glasgow College for two years,[1] before being despatched to study law at Leiden; he afterwards spent a further two years abroad in Paris, Vienna and Rome, where he developed an enthusiasm for music and for Roman antiquities.[2] A commissioner for the Treaty of Union in 1707, Clerk was closely bound up with political attachment to it, after which he was appointed a baron of the court of exchequer in Scotland; hence he is regularly called Baron Clerk (illus 47).[3]

Clerk's many surviving family papers enable us to see the world of a comfortably well-off landowner indulging his passion for archaeology. He deeply admired what the Romans had achieved in extending their Empire so widely, while at the same time extolling Scotland's proud past. Clerk corresponded with the leading antiquaries of the day and was among the Roman Knights recruited by Stukeley to his Society (see p. 63). Despairing of antiquarian studies in Scotland, Stukeley described Clerk in June 1725 as 'the only Atlas and Hercules too, that sustains the cause of polite literature beyond the Vallum'.[4]

Illustration 47
Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 2nd Baronet, oil on canvas by Sir John de Medina, *c* 1700 (© Sir Robert Clerk of Penicuik, Bt).

Clerk comments scathingly in 1734 on members of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh: 'as for the faculty they are noe great lovers of Antiquities of any kind … tho' most of them pretend to have read the civil law and consequently ought to know and regard the Roman Antiquities, yet I'll adventure to pick out at least 50 of there number, who if they found a Roman Altare wou'd thinke they had got a prize of a large Stone to be a Lintle or Rebet to a Stable or house of Office'.[5] They viewed the stones as handy building material not as valuable historical evidence.

At Penicuik House Sir John assembled and displayed a substantial collection of antiquities, some from his continental Grand Tour. Several items were in his study, others in his garden. 'You may see there certain ancient bronze and marble statues, altar-pieces, inscriptions, and that sort of thing, as far as the slenderness of my fortune permitted. There are also in the Museum a number of Greek and Roman coins, incised vases, traces of a picture of ancient workmanship.'[6] The local material included inscribed and sculptured stones from the Wall, from Birrens fort in Dumfriesshire and from Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall, as well as Bronze Age metalwork. We must not think of Clerk merely as an uncritical accumulator of antiquities. He was an acute observer of archaeological remains, as his sketches of Hadrian's Wall and of Burnswark in Dumfriesshire reveal.[7] Clerk encouraged Alexander Gordon in his various enterprises (see p. 71), and received at his house antiquaries on tour.

In 1722 Edmund Gibson, soon to be Bishop of London, published a revised version of his 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia* (see p. 52). In his preface Gibson

Itinerarium Septentrionale :

OR, A

JOURNEY

Thro' moſt of the COUNTIES of

SCOTLAND,

And Thoſe in the

NORTH of *ENGLAND.*

In Two PARTS

PART I. Containing an Account of all the MONUMENTS of *ROMAN ANTIQUITY,* found and collected in that Journey, and exhibited in order to illuſtrate the *Roman Hiſtory* in thoſe Parts of *Britain,* from the firſt Invaſion by *Julius Cæſar,* till *Julius Agricola*'s March into *Caledonia,* in the Reign of *Veſpaſian.* And thence more fully to their laſt abandoning the Iſland, in the Reign of *Theodoſius Junior.* With a particular Deſcription of the ROMAN WALLS in *Cumberland, Northumberland,* and *Scotland* ; Their different *Stations, Watch-Towers, Turrets, Exploratory Caſtles, Height, Breadth,* and all their other *Dimenſions* ; taken by an actual Geometrical Survey from Sea to Sea : with all the *Altars* and *Inſcriptions* found on them : As alſo a View of the ſeveral Places of *Encampment,* made by the *Romans,* their *Caſtles, Military Ways,* &c.

PART II. An Account of the *DANISH* INVASIONS on *SCOTLAND,* and of the *Monuments* erected there, on the different Defeats of that People. With other curious REMAINS of ANTIQUITY ; Never before communicated to the Publick.

The Whole Illuſtrated with Sixty-ſix Copper Plates.

By *ALEXANDER GORDON,* A. M.

Quanta Caledonios *attollet Gloria Campos,*
Cum tibi longævus referet trucis Incola Terræ,
Hic ſuetus dare jura Parens, hoc Ceſpite Turmas
Affari ; nitidas Speculas, Caſtellaque longè
Aſpicis : Ille dedit, cinxitque hæc Mœnia Foſſa.
Belligeris hæc Dona Deis, hæc Tela dicavit.
Cernis adhuc Titulos, hunc Ipſe vacantibus Armis
Induit, hunc Regi rapuit Thoraca Britanno. Statius ad Criſpinum.

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR;

And ſold by G. STRAHAN, at the *Golden-Ball,* in *Cornhill* ; J. WOODMAN, in *Ruſſel ſtreet, Covent Garden* ; W. and J. INNYS, in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard ; and T. WOODWARD, at the *Half-Moon,* near *Temple-Bar.* M.DCC.XXVI.

Illustration 48
Title page of Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726.

bewailed, much as Stukeley had done, the lack of antiquaries active north of the Border.[8] For Scotland there was little in the book that was new; no further communication came from Sibbald who died that year at the advanced age of 81. However, the 1722 printing contained notices of several recently found stones, some of which we know that Gibson had obtained from Dr Thomas Tanner (see p. 52) in the wake of John Urry's travels.

Alexander Gordon, the singer

The 1720s saw two visitors to the Wall whose intention from the first was to write about it at length: Alexander Gordon whose *Itinerarium Septentrionale* was published in 1726 and the Revd John Horsley whose *Britannia Romana* appeared, shortly after his death, in 1732. Both closely studied the Wall's course on the ground, made plans of forts along its length, and drew the inscribed stones from it.

The proximity in time, as well as the closeness of the subject-matter, has led to comparison between the two authors, generally to Gordon's detriment, and he stands accused of pirating Horsley's insights.[9] However, Horsley in turn drew heavily on Gordon's published monograph.[10] Both accounts are useful for a picture of farms and villages along the Antonine Wall, preserving the names of settlements not otherwise known; some were to be swept away during the construction of the Forth & Clyde Canal.

Commentators in earlier generations have discussed Gordon and Horsley on the basis, largely, of their published monographs. However, the Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, on deposit in the National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, together with the MacKenzie of Delvine papers, Horsley's letters to his friend Robert Cay in Newcastle (see p. 83), and of both Gordon and Horsley to William Stukeley, Roger Gale and others, allow us go some way towards reconstructing their schedules.

Alexander Gordon (1692?–1754), son of a merchant in Aberdeen,[11] and a graduate of one of the two colleges there, was a man of little means but wide ambitions, who travelled to Italy in 1716–19, visiting Venice, Rome, Naples and Sicily; thus he was familiar with standing Roman monuments outside Britain. Musically gifted, he sang in opera houses at Messina and Naples, and later in London and Edinburgh.[12] At various times customs-house clerk, bookseller, language tutor, artist, composer, secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of London and Egyptologist, he never quite fulfilled his potential in any of the many avenues he followed, and eventually got into financial difficulties. Gordon was a prolific and versatile writer, but not all his projects came to fruition. One could view him as just a gifted amateur, but this is to understate his achievements. The *Itinerarium* was for its day a highly original piece of work (illus 48). Gordon was prompted towards antiquarian endeavour in northern Britain by reading Stukeley's *Account*, wherein its author had bemoaned the lack of Scottish interest in the Roman antiquities of the country.[13] In addition he had recently had the opportunity to handle a supposed Roman sword from Carriden, preserved at the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, unaware that it was a Bronze Age weapon.[14] 'The Gladius I had to my joy in my hand', he exclaimed to Sir John Clerk, all but swooning with the excitement.[15]

In 1723 Gordon made the crucial friendship of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, a fellow lover of music, who remained an important patron thereafter.[16] Gordon's original intention was to report in his monograph only on the Roman, Pictish and 'Danish' antiquities of Scotland, but he expanded the remit, probably in 1724 (see p. 74), to include Hadrian's Wall. Gordon spent the years 1723–5 collecting information and recording Roman camps, forts and inscribed stones, and Pictish sculptured stones, 'having made a pretty laborious Progress through almost every Part of Scotland for Three years successively'.[17] Though he realised that actual excavation of sites would be advantageous, he lacked the funds to undertake it.

In the spring or summer of 1723 Gordon borrowed from an Edinburgh antiquary, James Anderson, a copy of Sibbald's *Historical Inquiries*, for which he had subsequently been vainly searching in bookshops. On 19 August he asked Anderson if he could to retain it for a little longer, since he had an 'Indispensable necessity of having that Book of Sibalds along with me in my Antiquary peregrination', and trusted he could retain it 'till I come back from the virtuoso Tuer which can be no farther than Glascow, Sterling and Perth this summer'. The book was 'absolutely necessary for my designes seeing it directs me to 50 or 60 places I knew nothing about. Besides am to trace the Vallum [the Antonine Wall] according to the stages set down in [Sibbald's] draught.'[18] Thus Gordon signalled his intention of undertaking a comprehensive survey of archaeological sites. Very probably he made his first visit to the Wall in August, identifying a number of inscribed stones, for example at Croy Hill and at Duntocher.[19]

In September 1723 Gordon again travelled westwards along the Wall on horseback, this time in the company of James Glen of Linlithgow, soon to be a youthful Provost of that town.[20] This was by prior arrangement, made before he became aware that Clerk himself was also seeking out inscribed stones. From their start-point at Linlithgow Gordon and Glen went together to Glasgow, following the 'low road'.[21] They journeyed as far west as Dumbarton, and on the return leg visited Duntocher, Auchenvole Castle, Kilsyth, Bar Hill (illus 49) and Castlecary. Gordon found time for 'drawing and measuring all the most considerable and conspicuous forts'. He also drew the inscribed stones at Glasgow College, 'with as much Exactness as I could'.

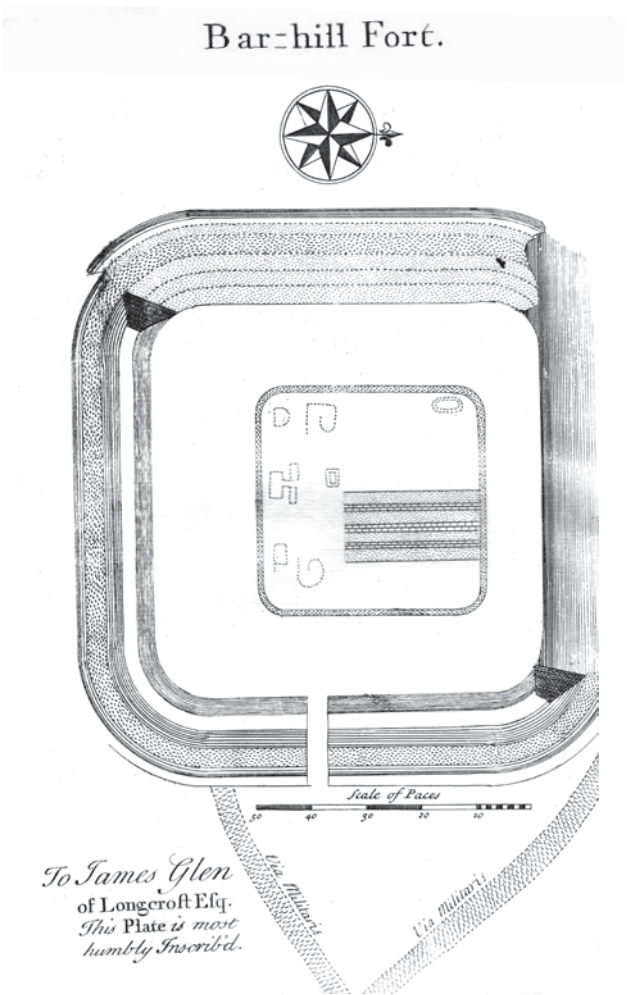


Illustration 49
Ground plan of Bar Hill fort, reproduced from Alexander Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726. The dedication is to James Glen, Gordon's travelling companion on the Wall in 1723.

After he and Glen returned to Linlithgow, Gordon on 19 September wrote a lengthy report to Clerk, as the latter had requested, which enables us to recreate the itinerary.[22]

Knowing of James Glen's interest in forming his own collection of antiquities, Gordon had taken care on the westwards journey to follow a route where he expected the opportunity of acquiring any stones would be minimized. Nevertheless Glen bought an 'obliterate altar' at Bar Hill,[23] and 'the head of another broaken altar not worth one farthing'. Gordon sought to play down in his letter to Clerk the loss to him thereby incurred.

Close to Linlithgow on their return journey eastwards, the pair encountered farmer Richard Burn who had, it seems, already been tasked by Clerk to obtain stones for him,[24] something Gordon knew. Clerk and Gordon must have compared notes in advance, since the westwards route chosen along the Wall (the 'low road') had been intended to give Burn time to uplift stones but, when Gordon and Glen eventually passed by, they were still in situ. Burn himself carried a 'memorandum' from Clerk, detailing the locations of stones to be collected.

Burn took the opportunity of the unexpected meeting near Linlithgow to ask Gordon about stones at Duntocher and Auchenvole, 'which blew me quite up with Glen'. Indiscreet remarks made earlier by Burn's wife had already led to friction between Gordon and Glen who 'upbraded me as if all had been my Contrivance'.[25] Gordon engaged the various farmers and factors 'by whispers and looks', to prevent the stones falling into Glen's hands. The correspondence thus reveals the politics of stone acquisition, with Gordon an uncomfortable intermediary, attempting to satisfy all parties.

The relationship with Glen on the journey unsurprisingly became 'somewhat chilly' (Gordon in his letter to Clerk used the Italian 'aliquanto freddo'), but in print he described his companion as 'my curious and honoured friend James Glen Esq., present Provost of Linlithgow', and dedicated to him the Plate showing Bar Hill fort from which Glen had secured one of his stones (illus 49).[26] The travellers remained on good terms, as later events were to show (see p. 83).

In the course of the 10-day journey, which Gordon describes as 'my western peregrination',[27] he was able to record several stones for the first time and endeavoured to secure them for Clerk. In general these were small building stones,[28] but they also included a sizeable altar and an inscribed pillar (illus 50), both from Bar

Illustration 50
Inscribed column shaft, first reported at Kilsyth in 1719 as drawn by Alexander Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726.

Hill fort.[29] Gordon's account is valuable testimony to their provenances. Those already in hands of major landowners were beyond his capacity to secure.

In his letter to Clerk of 19 September Gordon castigated Burn for not having been 'as active as you expect'. However, it should still be possible to secure the stones; but there was a need to act quickly, before Glen tried again for them. Gordon had reserved for Clerk the 'two new ones' at Castlecary,[30] for which he had secretively given James Stirling, the likely factor, a shilling, when the latter was holding his horse's bridle.

On 28 September Richard Burn wrote to Clerk to say that he had called on Thomas Baird, an innkeeper at Cumbernauld, and, though he offered half a crown for the stone deposited with him for safekeeping,[31] Baird would not hand it over until he could acquaint 'My Lord' [the Earl of Wigton].[32] Next Burn had travelled to Kilsyth, to seek out two stones earlier left at 'Maxwells', an innkeeper in the town. However, the stone at Duntocher Mill – the 'Nero', mentioned here for the first time – 'was not come that length.[33] I mised balie Stark being at Glasgow and left a leter for him with Yor landledie his Stepmother who favours that you shall have the ston per fass awl nefas';[34] he handed over a shilling for it to be brought to his house at Clerkstoun. Burn's letter mentions neither Gordon nor Glen. Gordon passed drawings of stones he had recently seen to Sir John Clerk, evidently to facilitate their removal to Penicuik.[35] Sir John Clerk's annotations confirm his intention to secure them.

Reacting to Gordon's censure of Burn, Clerk evidently rebuked the latter for having been insufficiently forceful in his negotiations. A second letter from Burn, dated 18 November, recounts a further journey along the Wall: he had gone first to Castle Cary, where he had spoken with James Stirling who, 'upon hearing that such stones were in esteem, stole the ston … which had been found by a Mr Graham in his 'yearddirk' [yard dyke] … but I have it now'.[36] The stone in the garden at Kilsyth 'I got by flatory, drinking and other methods of the Factor and Gardner'.[37]

In addition Burn 'was at Robt Lishmans [the tenant of Westerwood] and saw that stone in his byar Gabell [byre gable] and would have got it, but could not get a Mason to take it out and put another in its place'.[38] This was a building stone depicting 'a priapus or penis'.[39] Horsley saw the stone at Penicuik and described it but briefly in his text, since 'decency forbids the saying any more on this subject, as it obliges me to conceal the figure' (illus 51).[40]

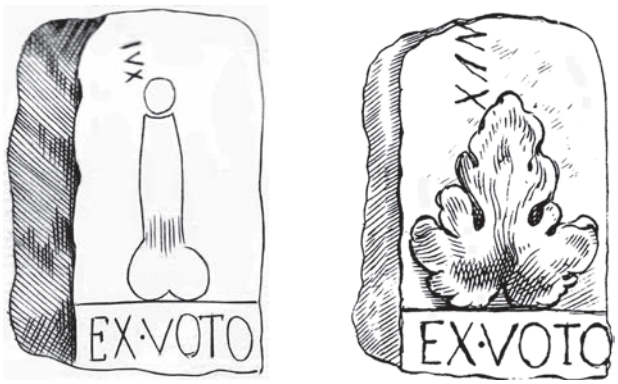


Illustration 51
The 'Priapus stone' from Westerwood fort, as illustrated (*left*) by Alexander Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726, and (*right*) by John Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, 1732.

A difference of view emerged in that the shilling Gordon had paid James Stirling at Castle Cary was, according to the latter, 'not upon account of the Stone but for his pains in showing him some places about, and giving all the horses corn'. Stirling, it seems, was not altogether honest! By this time Burn had spent all

his money on sweeteners so he asked Clerk to 'send me out some money or some paper'. The acquisition of these inscribed stones by Clerk for the most part ensured their preservation, at least in the short term; some cannot now be located.[41] John Horsley, when he was in Scotland in 1728, drew them at Penicuik House (see p. 79).

Gordon now travelled northwards, through Stirlingshire, Perthshire and Angus, to Aberdeen where he lodged with his father and earned some money by working over the winter in the town's customs-house. He promptly called upon Thomas Blackwell the Elder, Principal of Marischal College, to raise the matter of the distance slab, formerly at Dunnottar Castle, recently presented to the College by the 10th Earl Marischal (see p. 59), which Clerk evidently cherished hope of obtaining. 'On my arrival here I emediatly went and visited Mr Blackwell but did not broach my design nor commission from you till after I have seen the Stone which this morning I did & send you its rough draught. It is very curious entire & legible & about 3 feet & a half Square. Next visit to Blackwell I shall do what lies in the compass of mine or relations power to gett yow it.'[42] Two weeks later Gordon was able to report that 'having promised to Solicite Mr Blackwell to procure you that Stone in our Library, having spoke to him I found him Extreamly inclined to indulge my Sute for your getting it. Only tells me a meeting of the other Masters must be called to procure their consent … however he him self is willing since I told him you would give the College some of your Natural Curiosities in lisse [*sic*] of it and by the by I think you have opportunity to make sure Work of it if it sutes your inclination to favour and speak (as We say) to my Lord Justice Clerk or who has the disposing of the post: Vacancy of regent in our College, seeing Mr Blackwells son is a Candidate.'[43]

In March 1724 Richard Burn called upon James Glen in his house at Longcroft outside Linlithgow, presumably at Clerk's bidding, in the hope of persuading him to relinquish his recent acquisitions, to no avail, regrettably since both these stones are now lost. 'As to what you wrot me anent Mr Glen he had nothing from me bot what ever Commands you pleas'd lay on me I wold obey them. He answer'd if yow wanted the Stons he had you should command them.'[44] In April 1724 Gordon travelled with Clerk on a visit to Northumberland, whither the latter went 'in order to understand my coal affaires'.[45] Next they journeyed together westwards along Hadrian's Wall, which Gordon saw for the first time. Clerk purchased stones at Housesteads fort and wrote up an account of the visit in his journal.[46]

While at Aberdeen in the winter of 1724–5 Gordon persuaded David Verner, Professor of Philosophy at Marischal College, to write a letter of introduction to Robert Wodrow (see p. 77) in his manse at Eastwood. In it Verner described Gordon as 'the famous singer, who has travelled Italy severell times, and has view'd all our Scots remains of Roman antiquities which are to be seen in the fields, and most of those which are in private custody … He graves all the plates himself from the draughts which he himself has taken upon the places where he found the antiquities; so if you have any coins or fibulae, of both which I think I have seen some in your custody, I know I need no argument to persuade you to contribute to so curious a design, by allowing the author draughts of them; the work is prettie far advenced, so be pleased to favour me with an answer, with ane inventar of your Roman curiosities, as soon as your convenience will allow.'[47] A letter from Gordon himself to Wodrow was enclosed, 'to intreat you would permitt me to make a draught of them at Edinburgh, where I purpose shortly to be'. Wodrow must have declined to despatch his collection to Edinburgh, since on 6 August 1725 Professor Robert Simson (see p. 87) wrote to him from Glasgow College to recommend Gordon and asking that Wodrow allow Gordon, who 'is come to this country to take an exact survey of the Roman Wall', to visit Eastwood, in order to make drawings there.[48]

In the manner of the times, Gordon advertised his intended monograph in *Proposals*, in search of subscribers who were invited to pay one guinea, half in advance, the remainder on delivery.[49] A list of 231 subscribers is prefaced to the *Itinerarium*. As outlined in his *Proposals*, the work was to have three parts, the first to comprise a historical account of the Romans in North Britain, including the two walls, the second a detailed survey of 'Pictish and Danish' monuments, and the third a full account of 'Curiosities of Art and fine Taste that are to be seen in the Cabinets and Collections of the Curious in North-Britain';[50] but this third part was never written.

In the *Itinerarium* Gordon makes clear his intention with regard to a detailed survey of the Antonine Wall. 'I shall now proceed to shew, how the Track, Vestiges, and Circumstances of this Wall of Antoninus Pius, commonly called Graham's Dike, appear, on the Ground, to this Day, having taken

an actual Survey thereof, for that Purpose, with a Mathematical Instrument, and measured its Track with a Gunter-Chain, the whole Way, from Sea to Sea. I have exhibited an imperfect and diminutive Sketch thereof in a Map bound up in this Book, which serves only to point out its Situation (illus 52); but have more particularly illustrated the same, in another great Map, made on six large Sheets. This I design, very soon, to publish by itself, it being impossible that any Book whatsoever should contain it.'[51] The 'mathematical instrument' which Gordon employed was probably a small circumferentor, an angle-measuring device.[52] The Gunter-Chain, the invention of Edmund Gunter (1581–1626), Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, London, consisted of a series of metal links, 100 in all, their lengths totalling 66 English feet (20m).[53] It could be condensed into a small bundle, but would still have needed two people to use it, Gordon was the first to measure the length of the Wall and to draw its forts in sequence.

Gordon's survey work on both Walls was undertaken in 1725, in March of which year he asked Sir John Clerk if he could borrow from his stable a horse which he describes as 'my old brown Pegasus'. He also begged 'the lend of a pair of old riding baggs … in order to hold my drawing utinsels'.[54]

In 1725 Gordon followed the Antonine Wall's course on the ground from west to east. No traces remained at Old Kilpatrick, 'they being levell'd by the Plough, and quite defaced; nor did I see any plain Vestige till I came near half a Mile further east' to Carleith, where he viewed the Military Way and, soon after, the Ditch,[55] which he found to be the most conspicuous and ubiquitous feature. The rampart was indeed of turf, as Capitolinus had stated (see p. 1). There are numerous personal observations of the Wall and delight at what he saw. 'Beyond this [ie eastwards of Bonnyside House, close to Rough Castle fort], I stay'd a pretty while, to measure every Part of the Wall which offered to my View; all appearing here, as I judg'd, in its greatest Beauty and Perfection.'[56] On Carriden he had information from 'the ingenious mathematician, Mr George Campbell', whose grandfather had been 'Proprietor of this Place'. Little is known of Campbell's life, either in Edinburgh or later in London, where Gordon might have met him.[57] George Campbell told Gordon of 'a vase found near Lollius's ditch. On of the bottom of it this Inscription ANTACLIPV'.[58] No provenance is given, but Carriden may be suspected.

Gordon's powers of observation have generally been denigrated. He candidly confesses to not noticing that there was a rampart mound on the south side of the Ditch until his inspection was more than half-way finished. 'A Circumstance, belonging to the Wall, from *Kirk-Patrick* where it began, to this Place [Bonnyside, near Rough Castle], I could never observe before; namely the Vestige of a great *Agger* or Rampart placed to the South of the *Fossa*.' It was here too that he first observed the stone base of the Wall. 'At the Place, now mentioned, I was astonished to meet with another Circumstance which I very little expected, namely the Foundation of a Freestone Wall, at the Bottom of the South Rampart, about 14 Foot broad.'[59] Site-plans of 10 forts were included in the *Itinerarium*, Gordon having measured them out in paces.[60] He was the first to conjecture a fort at Mumrills, on the basis of 'Quantities of *Roman* Vessels' and 'hollow square Conduits' of earthenware he observed there, 'very thick and hard'.[61] In addition he noted a number of smaller installations, described in the monograph as 'watch towers' and 'exploratory turrets'.[62] As well as charting the progress of Roman arms, Gordon revelled in Caledonian success in repelling the invaders.

Gordon also viewed and described suspected forts on the north flank of the Forth–Clyde isthmus (see p. 8), which he credited to Agricola, their setting indicative, he argued, of the latter's planned forward advance into northern Scotland.[63] Gordon recorded them in a sequence from west to east, starting on the Clyde near Dumbarton and progressing to Camelon and Arthur's O'on.

The *Itinerarium* contained two plates of small finds, some in Sir John Clerk's collection at Penicuik, others in Robert Wodrow's at Eastwood. Importantly the artefacts were linked to individual sites, where their provenances were known. Gordon accords prominence in the text to artefacts then at Penicuik, many of which their owner considered Roman, but we can now see belong in the Bronze Age.[64]

Clerk did not abandon his quest for inscribed stones. From a letter to Roger Gale on 2 June 1726 we learn that he had 'got lately a piece of a stone with these letters coh BAT', about 0.2m long, and which 'has been at first a square and about 2 inches thick'.[65] This was the fragmentary altar at Castlecary seen by Urry (1697) and Lhwyd (1699), which reported a *cohors Batavorum*.[66] From a rough sketch in Clerk's copy of the letter, we may conclude that it had been further broken before it reached Penicuik. Horsley failed to locate it in 1728; it is now lost.

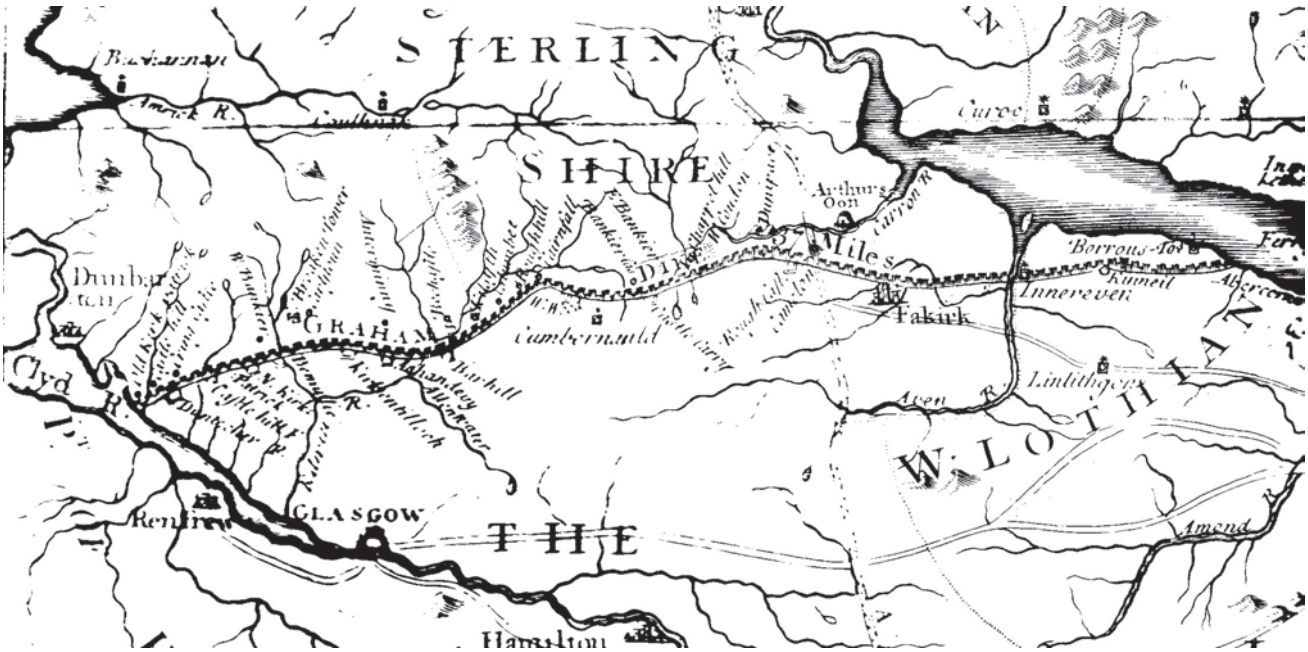


Illustration 52
Alexander Gordon's map of the Antonine Wall, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726.

At the end of the *Itinerarium* Gordon returned to the matter of his projected large-scale map (see p. 75) which was to comprise 'a Compleat View of the Roman Walls in Britain, … viz. those of the Emperors Hadrian and Severus, in Cumberland, and Northumberland, near 14 Foot in Length and 6 in Breadth; and that of Antoninus Pius in Scotland, in another Map of about 6 Foot in Length and 4 in Breadth[67] … as taken by an actual Geometrical Survey of both, last Summer, with great Labour, and Expence … The Whole will be adorned with exact Draughts of all the Inscriptions, and Altars, ever found upon these Walls … according to exact Mensuration, with a Scale, and Correction of former Publications. To all which, at the Foot of each Map, will be engrav'd a large Dissertation in English, and in Latin, for the Use of Foreigners'.[68] He also intended to depict on it the smaller installations seen along both Walls.[69] It never appeared. Gordon's published map is disappointing, and the forts on both Walls are cursorily marked on it (illus 52).

Gordon may have taken the idea of a large-scale map from John Adair, who had announced similar intentions 30 years before (see p. 49). Certainly there has long been suspicion that Gordon lifted from Adair's papers notes on a survey for a canal to link the Forth and the Clyde, which he was commissioned in 1726 to undertake by the government in London (see p. 93).[70] As Clerk wrote to Roger Gale on 29 August of that year, 'Mr Gordon is soon expected here with his head full of a project to make a communication between Clyde and Forth by a Canale'.[71]

It was while engaged on this task that Gordon heard in September 1726 of discoveries made during agricultural work at Shirva east of Auchendavy. He hurried to the site, and excitedly reported the findings at once to Clerk. 'I was directed to see a place on Grahams Dike which the plough has discovered viz. a hollow mausoleum within the very fossa where stones with inscriptions were found about 6 weeks I think ago. On one is the legio 2da [secunda] Augusta Eligantly Engraven but the Stone broke in 3 parts & part of it where the noble ornaments are is still lying in the ground undugg.'[72] With his customary exuberance, he termed it 'one of the largest and most Noble Stones that has been as yet found in our Island' and continued: 'I beg of you Baron see if you know any body that knows the Proprietor Mr Calder of Shervey, merch[an]t in Glasgow, and endeavour to procure one or more of them in time. I saw the place where they were dug and God knows how many noble antiquities may be found. Three or four of us have appointed to go with the Proprietor and dig up the rest carefully.'[73] We

might reasonably have expected that Gordon would have ensured that these went to join the burgeoning collection at Penicuik House, and Clerk must surely have been keen to acquire them, but in fact they were donated in 1728 by the proprietor to Glasgow College.[74]

Wodrow's later testimony

Robert Wodrow had left Glasgow College in 1703 on appointment as Minister of the parish of Eastwood, Renfrewshire, south of Glasgow (illus 53). He was to devote many years to compiling a magisterial account of the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restauration to the Revolution*,[75] in which he lamented the decline in religious fervour among the Scots, which followed the removal of any threat to their freedom of worship.[76] Though the antiquarian pursuits of his youth fade from view, he had not forgotten them entirely. An entry among his *Analecta* ('Leftovers') under June 1729 offers an informed observer's account of the constituent elements of the Wall.[77] 'This moneth I was at Dougalstoun, throu whose ground the old Roman wall goes. I had the pleasure to see that old vestige of the Roman greatnes.[78] The wall is levelled with the ground, or fill'd up with every year's grouth and dust many hundred years since. Houever the tract of it is very plain; from Kilpatrick[79] to Kirkentilloch it runs all along on an eminency. [John Graham of]

Illustration 53
Robert Wodrow, 'Mi[ni]ster att Eastwood', late 19th-century collotype from an 18th-century miniature portrait in watercolour, artist unknown (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

Illustration 54
Distance slab of the Second Legion from Summerston, recording completion of 3666½ paces of the Wall, presented to Glasgow College in 1694 by John Graham of Dougalston (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

Dougalston gets all his stones for a large park dyke from it, and the people just digg under a foot of earth and find them in plenty for raising. At the place where they wer digging, the heuen stone with inscription, gifted by Dougalston, 1694, to the College, was turned up (illus 54).[80] No other freestone has been gote. The workmen are bound doun to care, by the promise of a croun,[81] for every figured and lettered stone they find. I sau the vestige of a ditch on the north side of the wall, then the wall itself, which, in as farr as can nou be guessed, has been about twelve feet thick. The hight cannot nou be knouen; and on the south side of the wall, from its root for about twelve or fourteen foot southward, there is a causie of small stones about half a foot or therby diameter, gravell among them.[82] The wall itself has large stones at the sides of it, and the body of it is made up of smaller stones of smaller size, without any lime we can perceive, but just earth or sand nou turned to earth among them. It has been faced with these large stones on both sides of the wall, north and south … This dyke is just nou a kind of loose quarry to the gentlemen throu whose lands it runns. Dougalston tells me that all the country houses thereabouts are built of the stones of the Roman wall.'[83]

John Horsley, the nonconformist minister

Alexander Gordon was soon followed into Scotland by the Revd John Horsley (1685–1732), nonconformist minister at Morpeth, Northumberland.[84] Horsley had entered Edinburgh College in the autumn of 1698, to read for the standard four-year MA degree, but was excused the first year of study, in Greek and Latin languages, because of his proficiency in them.[85] He graduated in 1701, and spent a further four years at the College, presumably in theological studies.[86] By 1709 Horsley was established at Morpeth. A high reputation as a natural philosopher and mathematician was what distinguished him during his lifetime; in 1729 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.[87]

Horsley was no stranger to Scotland. Among his correspondents was Dr James Jurin (see p. 64), to whom Horsley wrote as follows on 20 January 1726. 'I often drank your Health lately with Mr Robert Simpson Professor of mathematics at Glasgow who was often blaming himself for not having wrote to you … I intend to set out for Glasgow tomorrow.'[88] Horsley was to deliver a 'Course of Experimental Philosophy' there; Jurin offered moral support.[89]

Horsley's interest in antiquities can be traced back to about 1715, if not earlier, perhaps whetted by his relative proximity at Morpeth to Hadrian's Wall and to its outpost forts along Dere Street.[90] By the mid-1720s he had turned his attention fully to the Roman occupation of Britain. Correspondence with Sir John Clerk, Roger Gale, William Stukeley and Robert Cay at Newcastle (see p. 83) sheds light on Horsley's fieldwork and on progress towards publication. As the surviving letters rarely allude to either Hadrian's Wall or the Antonine Wall, it must be presumed that active fieldwork along both was already completed. Rather, Horsley was by then preoccupied with his comprehensive publication of the Roman inscribed and sculptured stones found in Britain; more material was continually coming to light, with the result that some had in the end to be included in his Preface as addenda. Much time and effort were devoted to interpreting the Latin texts, often difficult to read.[91] As Thomas Blackwell (the Younger) of Marischal College, Aberdeen, noted in December 1728 in a letter to Clerk, 'He [Horsley] has sent to this college to have our stone drawn anew with the Height, Breadth and Distance of every Letter etc.'[92]

'The whole bears', as Horsley wrote about his monograph to Lord Oxford in February 1731, 'the title of Britannia Romana, and consists of three books. In the first is contain'd a compleat history of all the Roman transactions in Britain, with the chronology, and a large account of the Roman walls in England & Scotland … The second book contains a compleat collection of all the Roman inscriptions and sculptures in Britain cut on copper plates with the readings at large set under each inscription. I have discover'd & inserted in this collection above a hundred originals which never have been publish'd before, and by a careful examination cleard such as have been made public already from an infinite number of errors … The third book is purely geographical, and contains the originals (as far as relates to Britain) of Ptolemy, Antonine's Itinerary, the Notitia, Ravennas etc, with essays on each of these authors, and maps proper for them.'[93] Horsley saw Roman Britain in a wider historical context than Gordon, and had a much better grasp of the written and epigraphic sources.

The first part cost Horsley 'much labour and time in my study;' the second 'was the most expensive and tedious. Several thousand miles were covered on this account, to visit antient monuments … I omitted no care nor pains, that was necessary to copy these with the greatest exactness'.[94] The third part stressed the importance of geography in the study of ancient

history, the relevant sources recently augmented by the publication in 1709 of the *Ravenna Cosmography*.[95]

Horsley's peregrination of the Antonine Wall belongs at latest in 1728. He began at Dunglass on the Clyde, and ordered his description from west to east. Like Gordon, he was a horseman, of necessity as a country clergyman. Horsley wrote with Gordon's monograph beside him on his desk and took pains frequently to correct the latter's defective readings and epigraphic interpretations.[96] There are close similarities between their written texts, especially when dealing with the east end of the Wall, suggesting that Horsley was fleshing out his own notes.

Horsley accurately describes the constituent elements of the frontier line between Forth and Clyde: the stone base, the great Ditch, and the well-preserved Military Way. He remained unconvinced that an outer mound had ever existed continuously on its north side. Some similarities have been detected between Gordon's fort-plans and Horsley's, but for the most part they are recognisably different, not least in that Horsley includes the Wall as their north ramparts, whereas Gordon had not realised it existed before he reached Rough Castle (see p. 75). Horsley was the first, if we exclude Pont (see p. 37), to observe on the ground a regular sequence of culverts set into the stone base.[97] The Ditch, he believed, was flat-bottomed, perhaps in this merely copying Gordon.[98] Rather oddly Horsley's general map gives the Wall a five-course high stone foundation.

It is Horsley's clear-headed scholarship in relation to what he observed that places him in the forefront of the 18th- and 19th-century antiquaries. Importantly he calculated that the forts lay at two-mile intervals, and looked with care at the apparent gaps in such a sequence, for example at Cawder. Horsley was the first to recognise that the *Ravenna Cosmography* gave a list of forts on the Wall.[99] He observed the Military Way extending westwards from Old Kilpatrick, at least as far as Dumbuck, where he believed there had been a fort, and perhaps as far as Dumbarton.[100] Even in the few years between Gordon's visit and his own, the countryside could change, inscribed stones become more or less accessible, and the remains of the Wall be damaged or destroyed.

Gordon was quick to take offence at the threat posed to his reputation as an antiquary by Horsley's intended monograph. Already by June 1727 Horsley was aware of Gordon's hostility. As he entreated Robert Cay, 'I beg the favour of you not to take notice to any body and particularly not to Mr Gordon of my being busy about anything of this nature.'[101] As Professor Thomas Blackwell of Aberdeen in a letter dated 17 December 1728 remarked to Clerk about Gordon, 'there's still another mortification abiding him,[102] viz. that some person, an Englishman I'm told, now at Ed[inburgh], is resolving to publish the brittish antiquities after a more accurate manner than hitherto has been done'.[103] Clerk felt distinctly uneasy about the developing rivalry, as we can see from a letter he wrote to Professor Matthew Craufurd at Edinburgh College on 6 January 1729, soon after Horsley's visit to him at Penicuik: 'All the favour I desire of [Horsley] is he be discreet to poor Mr Gordon if he thinks he has mistaken any thing in the account he has given of our Antiquities. This gentleman has done better than any body who went before him and indeed considering his education he has done much better than anybody cou'd expect. Mr Horsley will not I hope differ with him about trifles, tho' most of the disputes which happen between Criticks and Antiquaries are of this kind.'[104] Clerk seems to have urged them to cooperate, but Gordon reacted negatively.[105]

In October 1728 Horsley was at Edinburgh. Despite earlier correspondence he did not venture to approach Clerk direct; Professor William Hamilton at Edinburgh College wrote for him a letter of introduction, which Horsley carried to Penicuik.[106] 'This comes by the Revd Mr John Horsley of Morpeth to introduce him to your Lordship and recommend him to your favourable reception. He has been long of my acquaintance. You will find him a person worthy of your esteem. He excels in polite learning, is a great master in natural philosophy and the Mathematicks, and for some years has turned his thoughts much upon Antiquities, especially the Roman that are to be found in Brittain.' Horsley had learned of Clerk's collection 'and is very desirous of the honour of being admitted to converse with you and to see your pieces of Antiquity'. Clerk showed him his collection of inscribed stones in his garden and in his study.[107] By 30 December 1728 Professor Matthew Craufurd at Edinburgh had received a letter from Horsley 'at present in London about it', asking him to contact Clerk concerning 'some of the Roman monuments your Lordship was pleased to show him'; he was seeking 'particular information of them'.[108]

In a letter of 15 February 1729 to Roger Gale, Clerk recalled Horsley's recent visit to Penicuik. 'Mr Horseley has been in this countrey and did me the favour of a visitt. He was, it seems, very well known to some of our university professors some years ago,

and acquired a great reputation for the mathematics, and his knowledge in all parts of philosophy.' They discussed the readings on various stones from Scotland and Northern England, especially those at Penicuik. 'He told me his design was to print an entire collection of the Roman-British antiquitys, and I hear from some of our masters in this university, that he is just now setting about [it] in London … He affects now and then a singularity in his readings and opinions, but this I did not wonder at, for the poor man writes for bread and must have something new to entertain his readers. He lived at Morpeth for many years, and taught there in a private academy with the benefitt of a meeting-house for his support. This is all I know about him.'[109] The long gestation of Horsley's monograph filled Gordon with apprehension. 'As for Mr Horsley's Leviathen, it has not shewen its head as yet', he wrote in June 1731, 'but I am prepared to defend my System of Antiquity nor will I yield to any thing but truth.'[110]

In June 1731 further discoveries were made on the Wall at Shirva. Alexander Gordon himself, then in London, contacted Clerk in search of details. 'I saw a letter from Mr McLauren directed to Mr Faus [Folkes] of the Royall Society, about a new Inscription and a Monument sepulchral found on Graham's Dyke'.[111] Colin Maclaurin (1698–1746) was the distinguished Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh College. Gordon asked Clerk to make some enquiry 'at Mr Mclauren abt it and please let me know the particulars, that with the inscription thereof I may put it in the Addenda of the new Latin edition of my Itinerarium' (cf see p. 83). The Revd James Robe (1688–1753), Minister of Kilsyth on the opposite flank of the Kelvin Valley,[112] had provided Maclaurin with valuable details. 'As to the *Roman Tumulus* discover'd in Mr. *Cathen* of *Schervy*'s Ground,[113] it was found by some illiterate Country People digging Stones for a Park-Wall; what is found, lies from West to East; Upon the West-side lies an exact half Round, each End of the Diameter running out to the East in a Wall built of about seven or eight Courses of hewn Stones, many of them of rais'd Diamond-work. There are several Pillars, but how or where situated is not known; and some Pedestals with a square Hole in the Top very well cut. Upon the Wall on the South-side near the Bottom, was found a large Stone with the Image of a Man carv'd upon it, leaning on his left Arm, a *Roman Toga* covering him to the Feet, and seem'd to be ty'd with a Belt over the left Shoulder, his Tunic appearing to his Middle; there is the Figure of a Dog standing on his Gown, with his Tail erected; all is admirably well carv'd.[114] Before this Stone was another, covering the Image close to it; upon the North-wall, opposite to the carv'd Stone was another Stone, much the same

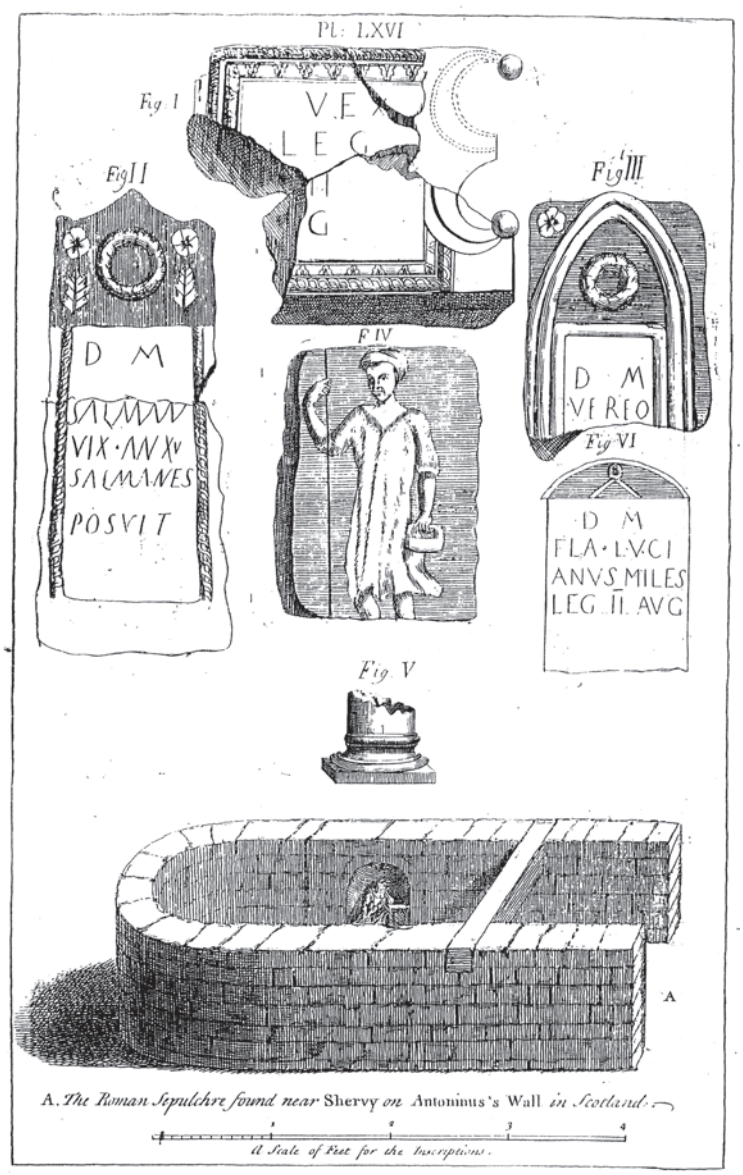


Illustration 55
Inscribed and sculptured stones from Shirva, 1726–31, illustrated in Alexander Gordon, *Additions and Corrections by Way of Supplement to the Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1732.

Dimensions, with a Man carv'd upon it also, with a Quadruped towards his Back where he reclines, but of what Kind I know not, the Head being much broke.[115] … There was a good deal of Ashes found, and a Piece of an Urn; there was also a Stone with this Inscription, *Flavius Lucianus, Miles Leg. secundae Aug.* in *Roman* Letters and Figures;[116] there are also other Stones, which of only Parts are found, having D. M. for *Diis Manibus*;[117] but the remaining Parts are not yet found; I judge only a Part of this Burying-place is found, so that the Masters of the University of Glasgow have a Design to cause dig this ground after Harvest. The whole was in the Fossa, close by the Wall; the Faces of both carv'd Stones looked north.'[118] From the presence of urns and ashes Robe concluded that the place had been a 'sepulchre', a place for burials, though he noted there were no niches to contain them.[119] The Faculty Minutes of Glasgow College lack any reference to an excavation subsequently undertaken by the 'Masters'.

The schematic drawing of the 'sepulchre' published by Gordon depicts a neatly built masonry structure, seven courses high, with one end open and the other rounded (illus 55). One of the two sculptured reliefs is shown; the other on the opposite wall is out of view. A single large slab set at right angles across the top of the structure was said to be 'five feet and a half long' (1.67m), an indicator of the width. Horsley had received two letters from Robe, of which the second provided further details about the find, viz. 'a stone on the ground within the semicircular building, brown with ashes, and as if fire had been much upon it; a wall discovered four or five years ago, running out to the north from the east end of the northern wall', and other details.[120]

The 'burying place' can be interpreted as a souterrain,[121] constructed in immediately post-Roman times, out of material carried to Shirva from one or more forts on the Wall, most probably Auchendavy.[122] and positioned in the convenient hollow of the evidently still-visible Ditch. The wall running northwards was perhaps part of the access passageway.[123]

The exact location of the structure is nowhere precisely fixed and it has never been rediscovered, or any associated settlement identified at ground level.[124]

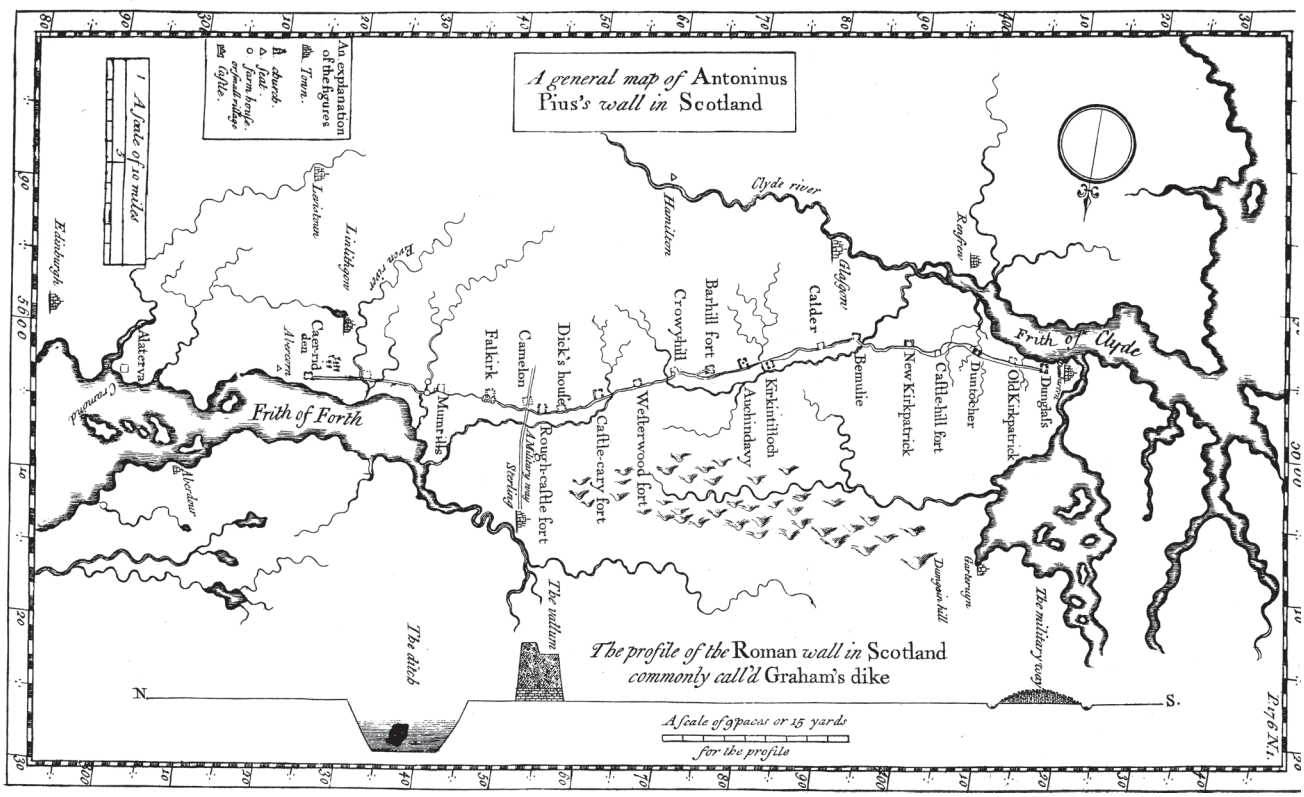


Illustration 56
John Horsley's map of the Antonine Wall, in his *Britannia Romana*, 1732.

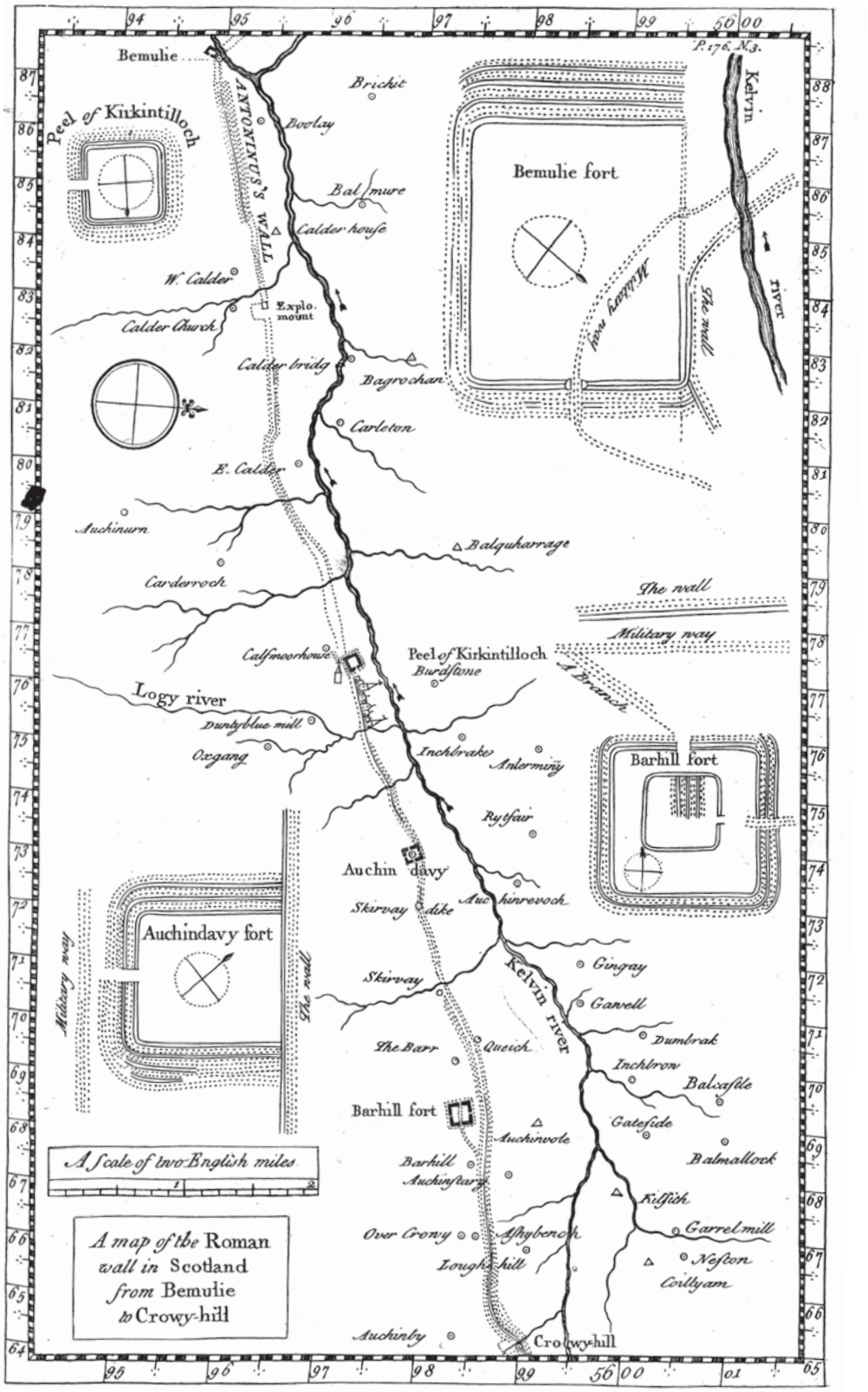


Illustration 57
John Horsley's sectional map showing forts between Balmuildy (*top*) and Bar Hill (*bottom*), in his *Britannia Romana*, 1732.

In a letter to Clerk Robe placed it 'about a mile to the westwards of the Kirk of Kilsyth … in the mid way between the forts of Barhill and Achindavy'.[125] He promised subsequently to secure for Clerk's collection any other stones found 'in barns or houses up and down the Roman wall … if it can be had either by stealing, robing or purchase'.[126] However, the Shirva material soon went to join earlier finds at Glasgow College, and when in 1733–4 an altar was noticed by Robb 'in the wall of a country house, hard by the fort on Barhill', perhaps therefore at Auchenvole Castle,[127] he likewise presented it to the College.[128]

Horsley included a general map of the Antonine Wall (illus 56) supplemented by a series of four sectional maps, on which the course of the Wall was accompanied by outline plans of the individual forts (illus 57). The easternmost sectional map is much less crowded with detail, in the absence of available fort plans; the depiction on it of parkland at Kinneil matches that in Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1654.

While Gordon did his own drawing and measuring, Horsley delegated such work to George Mark who, it has been suggested, may have ordinarily served as his assistant in the parish school at Morpeth.[129] Sir George Macdonald argued that George Mark travelled with Horsley on his journey along the Antonine Wall, since there were many points where the latter's judgement on the visible remains would have been crucial to the accuracy of the maps;[130] but we have no sure evidence. The misplacing on two maps of Camelon behind instead of in front of the Wall may derive from Horsley's own text which is ambiguous and might easily have misled his friend Robert Cay, who had undertaken to see the project through to publication on Horsley's behalf.

From a letter of 26 March 1730 to Clerk we learn that, surprisingly, Horsley had not at first intended any maps of the Antonine Wall. 'My friends in London seem to think an actual survey of your Wall in Scotland to be absolutely necessary. If they persist, I shall be oblig'd to send one [map] over immediately for that purpose; though I should have been better pleas'd if an agreement could have been made with Mr Gordon.'[131] Perhaps he had considered using Gordon's unpublished large-scale maps (see p. 75). Some time later he was expecting, in an undated letter to Robert Cay, to 'send you the Scotch maps by the next occasion if I have done with them. You may keep the profile of the walls. I wish you could find time to redraw the view of the walls etc, for I take it for granted Mr Mynde has lost what he had … I would not miss sending these away tomorrow, though they are not so perfect as wished by your humble servant John Horsley'.[132]

The book became an ever-increasing financial burden: 'the expences of the bookseller, and my own time and labour, are fully triple our first computation'.[133] In October 1729 Clerk raised with Horsley the possibility of a professorship at one of the Scottish universities, in particular at Edinburgh. At first Horsley was reluctant to intrude himself, even though he had 'studied at that seat of learning for seven years with great application'.[134] However, 'I must now look upon myself as past my prime; so I have reconciled myself to this corner & to a state of Obscurity'.[135] On 11 January 1732, Horsley died suddenly of apoplexy at the age of 46, worn out by his labours, not living to see the *Britannia Romana* in print; all of it was by then printed except the indexes and the preface.[136]

Early in 1732 Gordon brought out *Additions and Corrections by Way of Supplement* to his *Itinerarium*, updating the latter with information on new discoveries, but without any reference to Horsley. Gordon had hopes of a Latin version of the *Itinerarium* to be printed in Holland. Reference is made several times to it, and publication in tandem with his *Additions and Corrections* was envisaged.[137] Despite Gordon's confident statement it has been doubted that any such a volume ever appeared.[138]

In 1741, evidently keeping one step ahead of his creditors, Gordon sailed for America as secretary to his one-time travelling companion on the Wall, James Glen, the former Provost of Linlithgow, who had been appointed by the government in London as Governor of South Carolina.[139] Gordon ended his days there in some prosperity, maintaining an interest in art and in Egyptology but not, so far as we can judge, in the Roman antiquities of northern Britain.[140]

Notes

1 Clerk 1892, 12.
2 Brown 1977; 1980.
3 Brown 1987b; Clerk 1993; Whatley 2006; Hingley 2008: 118.
4 NRS GD18/5027/3. See Brown 1977: 204. Stukeley here means 'beyond Hadrian's Wall'.
5 NRS GD18/5031/5/6, p. 5. See Brown 1980: 22; 1989: 168; Keppie 1998: 68.
6 Clerk 1892: 237.
7 Prevost 1960; Birley 1962; Brown 1977. See also p. 84 fn 45.
8 Gibson 1722: p. viii.

9 Macdonald 1933: 32.
10 Birley 1958.
11 Wilson & Laing 1874; Brown 1987a; Hingley 2008: 122.
12 Morey 1965.
13 Gordon 1726: preface.
14 Gordon 1726: 61, 118, pl 51.3; Cowie 2001.
15 NRS GD18/5023/3/14. See p. 90 for the similar impact of Roman material on the young Robert Melville.
16 Brown 1977: 204.
17 Gordon 1726: Preface.
18 NLS Adv MS 29.1.2 (iv), fol 75 (printed in Wilson & Laing 1874; cf Piggott & Robertson 1977, no 22, contributed by I G Brown).
19 Though Gordon claims in his letter to Anderson that 'the Baron and I probably go out of town tomorrow', it is by no means clear from later correspondence that, even if Clerk and Gordon left Edinburgh in company, they made any joint visit to the Wall.
20 Robinson 1996.
21 For the reason see below. I assume here that Gordon means that on their outward journey they did not climb up on to the high ground over Croy Hill and Bar Hill.
22 NRS GD18/5023/3/1. He also kept Stukeley informed of his activities at this time 'in searching out and measuring and drawing such an immeasurable parcel of Antiquitys' (NRS GD18/5023/2).
23 Gordon 1726: 55 pl 13.3; *CSIR* 96.
24 NRS GD18/5023/3/1. Richard Burn farmed at Clerkstoun near the Wall east of Polmont. We could easily suppose him a tenant of Clerk's, and the tone of his letters is deferential, but no Clerk lands in the area are known. The place-name Clerkstoun is marked already by Pont. Burn and his activities go unmentioned by Gordon in the *Itinerarium*.
25 NRS GD18/5023/3/1.
26 Gordon 1726: 55, with pl 22. See illus 96.
27 NRS GD18/5023/3/1.
28 *RIB* 2137, 2153, 2157, 2161, 2162.
29 *RIB* 2165 = *CSIR* 92; 2312.
30 *RIB* 2153, 2154.
31 *RIB* 2147/2152.
32 NRS GD18/5024/1; cf 5024/3.
33 Keppie 2004: 210.
34 Burn presumably intended *per fas aut nefas*, 'by fair means or foul'.
35 NRS GD18/5068.
36 *RIB* 2153.
37 *RIB* 2312. John Strachey had seen it there in 1719 (above p. 64).
38 *RIB* 2157. Regarding this stone, Gordon claimed in print that he 'procured [it] and gave it to … Baron Clerk', without any reference to Burn (1726: 56). Long missing, the stone was rediscovered at Penicuik House in 1976 (*RIB* I *Addenda*: 1996, p. 797); see now Brown 2011b: 67.
39 Gordon 1726: 56, pl xv.3.
40 Horsley 1732: 201, pl (*Scotland*) xix.
41 *RIB* 2153, 2154, 2312.
42 NRS GD 18/5023/3/2.
43 NRS GD18/5023/3/3. Thomas Blackwell the Younger was appointed Professor of Greek soon after. For further details see Keppie 1998: 15. The stone (*RIB* 2173) remained at Aberdeen until 1761 when it was presented to Glasgow College.
44 NRS GD18/5320/7. The tone suggests that Clerk had not eased up on his critical remarks.
45 As they travelled southwards from Edinburgh, Clerk noted the defences of a large temporary camp at Ginglekirk (now Channelkirk), and a nearby 'Roman castle', presumably the fortlet at Oxton (NRS GD18/2106, fol 1v). The discovery of the former is ascribed by William Roy to Robert Melville in 1755 (1793 p. vi, pl vi), and the latter was otherwise first noted from the air in the 1950s. See also Jones 2011: 171.
46 NRS GD18/2106, on which see Birley 1962.
47 Maidment 1837: 219 no 82.
48 Anon 1848.
49 Gordon 1725.
50 Gordon 1725: 3.
51 Gordon 1726: 49.
52 As Chris Fleet, NLS, kindly advised me.
53 By contrast a 'Scotch chain' was 74 ft (22.5m) long.
54 NRS GD18/5023/3/7. He did not undertake the survey on foot as averred by Macdonald 1911: 88; 1934: 76.
55 Gordon 1726: 50.
56 Gordon 1726: 58.
57 For Campbell as mathematician, see Weeks 1991. No Campbell is known among the owners of the Carriden estate, so the connection was presumably on his mother's side.
58 Stukeley, in own copy of Stukeley 1720, Sackler Library, Oxford. Dr Peter Webster suggests a stamp on the inside of the base of a samian vessel; the name is otherwise unknown.
59 Gordon 1726: 58.
60 Duntocher, Castlehill, New Kilpatrick, Balmuildy, Kirkintilloch, Auchendavy, Bar Hill, Westerwood, Castlecary and Rough Castle (Gordon 1726: pls 16–25).
61 Gordon 1726: 60. His 'hollow square conduits' can be identified as box-flues from a bath-house or heated apartments of the commanding officer's house.
62 What we now term 'expansions'. However, neither he nor Horsley noticed the two such sites on the west side of Croy Hill (Macdonald 1911: 260; 1934: 352).
63 Gordon 1726: 20.
64 Gordon 1726: pls 50–1. Clerk's own copy of the *Itinerarium* has recently been located (Brown 2011b).
65 NRS GD18/5029; EUL MS La. II 644/7, fol 20**.** See Stukeley 1720: 12; Gordon 1726: 57 with pl 15.4; Horsley 1732: 202 no (*Scotland*) xxii; Keppie 2006: 183.
66 *RIB* 2154.
67 Perhaps at a scale of one inch equals two miles.
68 Gordon 1726: 188.

69 Gordon 1726: 58, 188.
70 On 22nd March 1727 Gordon exhibited a large-scale plan of the proposed canal, 'surveyed by himself', at the Society of Antiquaries in London (SAL transcribed Minute Book, vol 1, 1727).
71 NRS GD18/5029.
72 *RIB* 2180.
73 NRS GD 18/5023/3/36; cf Gordon 1732: 5.
74 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 26635, p. 31. These were *RIB* 2180, 2182, 2183, *CSIR* 111 (Keppie 1998: nos 21, 49–51).
75 ie from 1660 to 1688. See Starkey 1974.
76 Wodrow 1721: Preface.
77 Wodrow 1843: 66.
78 John Graham of Dougalston must have taken Wodrow to see the Wall where it passed across his land, well to the south of Dougalston House.
79 He means New Kilpatrick (Bearsden).
80 *RIB* 2193 (Keppie 1998: 77 no 5). The stone had been presented by the current laird's father.
81 Assuming English money is meant, this was a five-shilling silver coin.
82 See above p. 37.
83 See also Horsley 1732: 163.
84 Hodgson 1832; Hinde 1865; Hodgson 1918; Macdonald 1932; Macdonald 1933; Birley 1958; Birley in Horsley 1974; Levine 1987.
85 EUL, EUA-A-769, p. 159.
86 NRS GD 18/5038/10.
87 Macdonald 1933: 10.
88 Royal Society *Early Letters* H.3.109; printed in Hepple 2003a: 163.
89 Rusnock 1996: 323 no 174.
90 Macdonald 1933: 45.
91 NRS GD18/5038/1; Hodgson 1831: 122 no 10; Lukis 1887: 135; NRS GD18/5038/7.
92 NRS GD18/5036/4.
93 Bosanquet 1933: 74.
94 Horsley 1732: Preface p. i.
95 Gale & Gale 1709.
96 Hodgson 1831: 115 no 6.
97 Horsley 1732: 163.
98 Gordon 1726: pl 48; Horsley 1732: 163 pl at p. 175.
99 Horsley 1732: 505.
100 Horsley 1732: 159; Macdonald 1934: 188.
101 Birley 1958: 9.
102 His baby daughter had recently died.
103 NRS GD18/5036/4. In September 1728 Gordon reacted sharply to Horsley's unfavourable comments on his fieldwork at Dalginross, Perthshire (NRS GD18/5023/3/41).
104 NRS GD18/5033.
105 NRS GD18/5023/3/45.
106 NRS GD18/5034. Horsley was using his Edinburgh contacts, as Gordon had his in Aberdeen.
107 NRS GD18/5038/1.
108 NRS GD18/5035.
109 Lukis 1887, 390; cf. NRS GD18/5033.
110 NRS GD18/5023/3/53; cf GD18/5023/3/45.
111 NRS GD18/5023/3/53.
112 Anton 1893: 121.
113 Thomas Calder of Shirva.
114 *CSIR* 112.
115 *CSIR* 113.
116 *RIB* 2181 ('Flavius Lucianus, soldier of the Second Augustan Legion').
117 One stone had the letters D M, another only the letter D (NRS GD18/5041/1). These gravestone fragments were presumably left at the site.
118 Gordon 1732: 7.
119 Further details in Keppie 1998: 16.
120 Horsley 1732: 339.
121 Richmond & Steer 1957: 5. Souterrains were stone-built subterranean structures of Iron Age date, nowadays interpreted as serving for storage.
122 Keppie & Walker 1985.
123 Welfare 1984: 308.
124 Conceivably it was destroyed in 1771 when the Forth & Clyde Canal was being constructed in the vicinity (see p. 94). More probably, however, the stonework was soon removed to form dykes round Shirva House. A search there in the 1980s proved negative (Keppie & Walker 1985: 35)
125 NRS GD18/5041/1. Keppie 1998, 18 fn 23 says 'southwards', an error in his transcription. Shirva House lies 3.5km south-west of the 'Kirk of Kilsyth'.
126 NRS GD18/5041/4.
127 *RIB* 2166; Keppie 1998: 99 no 30.
128 For further details see Keppie 1998, 18. Robe was a graduate of the College.
129 Horsley 1732: 121, 160; Hodgson 1918: 63, 77. On the method of survey used see Roy 1793: 155.
130 Macdonald 1933: 20.
131 NRS GD18/5038/5.
132 Hodgson 1831: 29. James Mynde was a well-known London engraver.
133 Horsley 1732, Preface, p. i.
134 NRS GD18/5038/10.
135 NRS GD18/5038/3.
136 Lukis 1887, 407.
137 Gordon 1732, p. iii, 5; NRS GD18/5023/3/53.
138 Macdonald 1933: 36; Brown 2011a. The bibliographer John Nichols writes (1815: 336 fn) that it was published in Holland in 1731.
139 NRS GD18/5850/3.
140 For letters written by Gordon in his capacity as Glen's secretary, see McDowell 1958, and for Gordon as slave-owner, see Rutledge 1949: 641. He died in September 1754 (Wilson & Laing 1874: 364).

Chapter 6

The early 18th century: rebellion and aftermath

At Glasgow College, Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics from 1712 to 1761 (illus 58),[1] was a correspondent of Jurin, Gordon, and Horsley (see pp. 64, 74, 78). In 1744 Alexander 'Jupiter' Carlyle, then a student at Glasgow and later Minister of Inveresk, recorded in his journal that Simson 'liv'd entirely at the small Tavern opposite the College Gate, kept by a Mrs Millar ... and paid no Visits but to Illustrious or Learned Strangers, who wish'd to see the University.[2] On such occasions he was always the Cicerone. He shew'd the Curiosities of the Colledge which consisted of a few Manuscripts, and a large Collection of Roman Antiquities from Severus's Wall or Grahams Dyke in the Neighbourhood, with a Display of much Knowledge and Taste'.[3]

Illustration 58
Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics at Glasgow College, engraving by A Baillie, 1776, after a portrait by Peter de Nune (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

Simson was instrumental in expanding the College's collection of inscribed stones by the acquisition of material from Shirva, Ardoch, Kirkintilloch and Dunnottar.[4] It was surely Simson who initiated a project to engrave them.[5] Under 9 June 1767 its Faculty recorded that: 'The meeting orders the Inscriptions and Ornaments upon the Roman Stones to be engraved on Copper under the Direction of Dr Simson and Mr Muirhead [the professor of Latin]; the Copper Plate is to be kept by the Clerk and no Copies to be sold without an Order from the Meeting.'[6] There were 20 plates in all, engraved by the College's printers, the Foulis Press (illus 59). A small number of sets were bound up and presented to benefactors and distinguished visitors.[7] In 1788 the College decided to print more copies, augmented by the new discoveries, making a total of 32 plates. Unlike its predecessor this was intended from the first as a bound volume, entitled *Monumenta Romani Imperii* ('Memorials of the Roman Empire'). The College's financial records detail the costs involved in drawing, engraving, and in binding the print-run of 102 copies.[8]

William Maitland

In the 1740s and 1750s William Maitland was assembling materials for a comprehensive study of the *History and Antiquities of Scotland*.[9] He began by distributing 'a large set of queries, with a general letter, and transmitted both to every clergyman in Scotland. However, the return fell so very far short of his expectation, that he laid aside his design in disgust'.[10] In fact he persevered, himself undertaking extensive fieldwork. Roger Gale hoped that Maitland would prove to be a second Camden;[11] but according to Richard Gough he was 'self conceited, credulous, knew little, and wrote worse',[12] and this verdict has been endorsed by subsequent commentators.[13]

Maitland traversed the Wall from east to west, taking copious notes. He was pernickety in his

Illustration 59
Distance slab of the Twentieth Legion from Old Kilpatrick recording construction of 4,411 feet of the Wall, presented before 1684 to Glasgow College by the 3rd Marquess of Montrose, as engraved in 1768. The slab shows Victory reclining in the manner of a river-god, surely an allusion to the adjacent River Clyde.

comments on his predecessor antiquaries,[14] but the account remains valuable for its picture of the Wall corridor at a fixed date. We learn from Maitland of the continued dismantling of stonework at the forts, for example at Mumrills, Castlecary and Balmuildy, and the presence of Roman building stones in farms and houses along its route (see p. 26). He saw stonework in the River Kelvin at Balmuildy, perhaps of piers of the Roman bridge, which people were using to cross the river.[15] More attention has attached to his comment, on a stretch of Ditch uncut through hard dolerite on Croy Hill, that 'I am for certain reasons (too long to be inserted in this place) of opinion that rocks vegetate, the rock here, by its form, must have sprung up since the making of the said ditch; which is the only mean I can think of, to secure the wall at this place without a fort'.[16]

The destruction of Arthur's O'on

The enigmatic domed structure which had stood since antiquity overlooking the River Forth near Larbert north of Falkirk, on the land of the Bruces of Stenhouse, was abruptly wakened from its sleep in 1743 when the then baronet, Sir Michael Bruce, dismantled it, to use its building stones in a mill-dam. This act of wanton vandalism sent the antiquaries into paroxysms of rage, reflected in the correspondence of Sir John Clerk, William Stukeley and Roger Gale.[17]

The matter came before the Society of Antiquaries in London, drawn to their attention by Sir John Clerk in a letter of 22 June 1743 to its Vice-President, Roger Gale. 'I believe you may have heard of a heavy shock that Antiquaries in this country have received, by Sir Michael Bruce, proprietor of the grounds about

Arthur's Oven, for he has pulled it down, and made use of all the stones for a miln-dam, and yet without any intention of preserving his fame to posterity, as the destroyer of the Temple of Diana had.[18] No other motive had this Gothic knight, but to procure as many stones as he could have purchased in his own quarrys for five shillings. There was no cement in the work, so he found it easy to pull down and carry off the stones; we all curse him with bell, book, and candle, but there is no remedy, except what we have from some accurate descriptions given thereof by Dr Stukeley and others.'[19]

On 5 August Clerk penned a second letter to Gale, providing for us some details not otherwise reported. 'In pulling those stones asunder, it appeared there had never been any cement between them, though there is lime-stone and coal in abundance very near it. Another thing very remarkable is, that each stone had a hole in it,[20] which appeared to have been made for the better raising them to a height, by a kind of forceps of iron, and bringing them so much the easier to their several beds and courses. First it was given out that a tempest had over-turned this fabrick; but in a week or two after, the very foundation stones were raised; and thus ended so far as I can conjecture the best and most entire old building in Britain.'[21]

In September 1743 Stukeley wrote to Gale about Sir Michael, that he 'would propose in order to make his name execrable to all posterity, that he should have an iron collar put about his neck like a yoke; at each extremity a stone of Arthur's Oon to be suspended by the lewis in the hole of them; thus accoutred, let him wander on the banks of Styx, perpetually agitated by angry daemons with ox-goads, Sir MICHAEL BRUCE wrote on his back in large letters of burning phosphorus'.[22] Stukeley drew an accompanying cartoon (illus 60).[23]

Much later George Paton in Edinburgh observed to Richard Gough that 'the late Engineer and Surveyor the Master of Elphinston[24] made it a rule if within a few miles of the Place to compel all the people he met to accompany him to the Spot where the Building stood, there forming a Circle on their bare knees, he in the midst solemnly pronounced a heavy Malediction on Sir Michael Bruce'.[25] The 'milldam' did not long survive. In the summer of 1748 it succumbed to the force of the River Carron amid thunder and lightning.[26] As Thomas Pennant later remarked, 'the *Naiades* [water nymphs], in resentment of the sacrilege, came down in a flood and entirely swept [it] away'.[27]

Illustration 60
Sir Michael Bruce as 'stonekiller' of Arthur's O'on, drawn by William Stukeley, reproduced from *The Antiquarian Repertory* iii, 1780 (© Glasgow University Library).

The antiquarian leanings of the Clerk family did not come to an end with the death of Sir John at an advanced age in 1755. His eldest surviving son Sir James Clerk, the 3rd baronet, remodelled Penicuik House on Palladian principles in 1761, and in 1767 built a replica of the O'on to surmount the stable block; it functioned as a doocot (illus 61).[28] The existence of the antiquarian collection at Penicuik House was well known locally, but attitudes to it were not always positive. In March 1779 a mob demonstrating against the repeal of anti-Catholic laws threatened to burn the House down; their reasons according to John Clerk of Eldin, Sir James' brother, included the presence of 'many Roman altars in his house, and therefore he must either be a papist or a favourer'.[29]

Illustration 61
Doocot built in 1761 by Sir James Clerk, 3rd Baronet, set atop the stable block at Penicuik House, Midlothian, replicating Arthur's O'on (© L Keppie; courtesy of Sir Robert Clerk of Penicuik, Bt).

General Robert Melville

Much of Scotland had keenly felt the tumult and dislocations caused by the Jacobite Rebellions in 1715 and 1745–6. Their aftermath brought to Scotland career military officers tasked with establishing firm control over the Highlands and improving the communications network needed to link the new garrison posts. Many had served with distinction in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–8) and during the suppression of the Jacobites in 1746. These officers carried with them to Scotland knowledge of Roman authors, military institutions and tactics, which gave them an advantage in locating ancient sites and assessing the campaigns attested by the Roman historians.[30]

Robert Melville of Monimail in Fife (1723–1809), long-serving officer and colonial governor, was an avid enthusiast of Roman history.[31] In 1751 he was inspired by the sight of a supposed Roman sword in the collection of Sir John Clerk at Penicuik to make, while on duty in Scotland, a special study of Agricola's campaigns north of the Forth, identifying on the ground the upstanding remains of marching camps in Angus, which he associated with these campaigns.[32] His work was used by William Maitland and had a place in Richard Gough's revised edition of Camden's *Britannia*.[33] In 1754 Melville walked the length of the Wall, tracing it 'with all its castella', in the company of two of Sir John Clerk's sons, John Clerk of Eldin and Lt Matthew Clerk who was to die four years later in the assault on Fort Ticonderoga, New York State.[34] Well versed in classical authors, Melville wrote a treatise on the Roman Legion,[35] and on a much later visit abroad in 1774–6 attempted to trace Hannibal's route through the Alps.

In 1779 while en route from Fife to Carron, Melville encountered at Bo'ness a son of the mining engineer Dr John

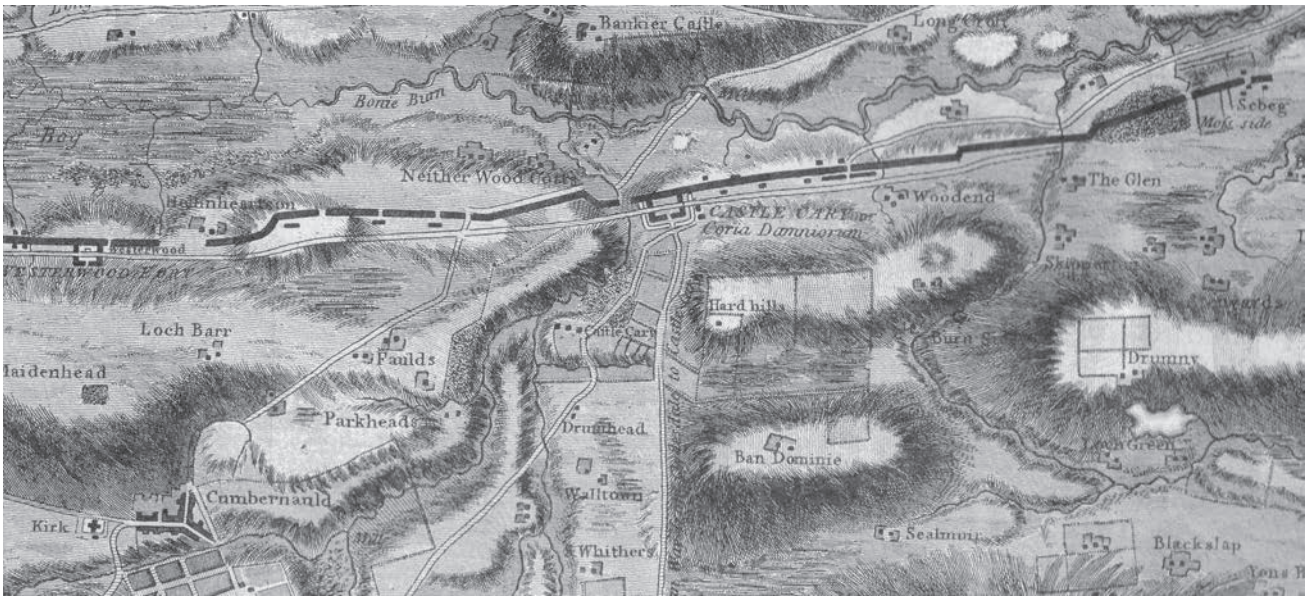


Illustration 62
Detail from General William Roy's map of the Wall showing its line between Westerwood and Seabegs, published in his *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain,* 1793.

Roebuck, travelling in a post-chaise. Melville's party was persuaded to visit the Roebuck home at nearby Kinneil House, where they were entertained by the family to 'music, singing etc'. Roebuck showed Melville the Roman Ditch in the grounds of the House.[36]

General William Roy: the great surveyor

Among Melville's protégés was William Roy (1726–90), from Carluke in Lanarkshire, who was taken on the staff of Lieutenant-Colonel David Watson in 1747 to assist in the comprehensive mapping of Scotland, which resulted in his *Great Map*.[37] In 1755 Roy had a fresh survey made of the course of the Wall, with 'more accurate drawings of such stations as formerly had been only slightly sketched'.[38] The resulting large, fold-out map at a scale of 1:36,000 valuably supplies a detailed picture of settlement patterns and road networks between Forth and Clyde in 1755, before some of them were swept away, or interrupted, by the Forth & Clyde Canal (illus 62).

Over many years Roy worked on preparing a monograph, *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*. The text was complete by 1773 but, with Roy constrained by increasingly onerous duties in the south of England, the volume was not published until 1793, three years after his death, by the Society of Antiquaries of London.[39] Roy's chapter on the Wall began with an assessment of its geographical setting, a critique of earlier investigators and the methods employed to survey it anew 'by running a suite of stations along its whole course'. The relatively short description of its actual remains is clearly based on personal observation, from a military perspective.

In 1769 Roy was able to examine and draw the newly exposed bath-house at Castlecary (see p. 94), which he describes as 'a very elegant plan of a house, in the style of Palladio, with a sudarium, or warm bath, belonging to it' (illus 63).[40] From the discovery in it of 'human bones', and of burnt wheat outside the fort to the north-west, found during quarrying of stone for the Canal, Roy concluded that the fort at Castlecary had 'been taken by storm', at the hands of the Caledonians. Among the *Appendices* to his monograph was a report by Professor John Anderson (see p. 96) on inscribed stones found as a result of construction works on the Canal, which he had sent to Roy and was preserved among his papers.

Another officer in Scotland in this period was General Sir Adolphus Oughton (1719–80), who had served in Flanders, and later in battle at both Falkirk (1746) and Culloden (1746). In 1767 he became Deputy Commander-in-Chief for North Britain,

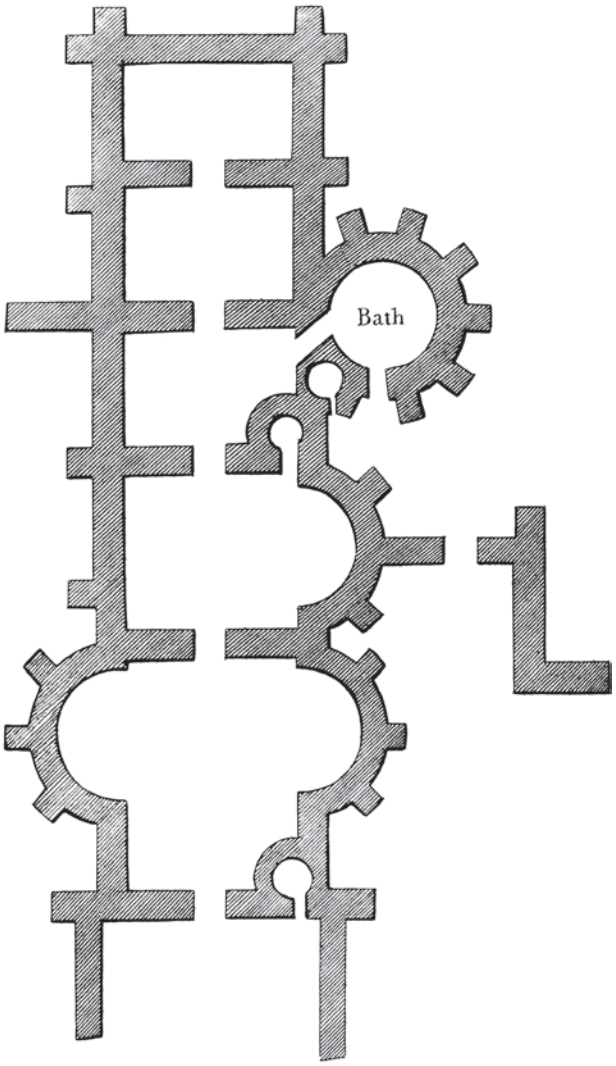


Illustration 63
'A very elegant plan of a house, in the style of Palladio.' The bath-house at Castlecary fort, drawn in 1769 by General William Roy, published in *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, 1793.

and then Commander-in Chief from 1778 until his death.[41] A classical scholar in his youth, he composed simple Latin inscriptions set into newly built bridges in the Highlands. He was the recipient of one of the few bound copies of the engravings of its Roman stones prepared in 1768 by Glasgow College.[42]

Agricultural improvements and industrial revolutions

General William Roy's map of Scotland shows the countryside as it was in the mid-18th century, with narrow strip-field cultivation using the rig-and-furrow system (see p. 23). However, this was an era of agricultural 'improvement', during which strip-fields were being combined and enclosed by hedges or stone dykes.[43]

The landowning families of central Scotland did not all endure the buffetings of political events in the 17th and 18th centuries. Sometimes land and titles were forfeit to the Crown, to be bought up by new proprietors. The Livingstons of Callendar and of Kilsyth lost their lands. Nouveaux riches merchants and industrialists arrived on the scene. Sir Lawrence Dundas of Kerse (1712–81), 'The Nabob of the North', who had made a very considerable fortune as a contractor supplying the British army, first in Scotland then on the Continent during the Seven Years War (1756–63), came to own swathes of land along the Wall's course between Bo'ness and Castlecary. In 1783 a copper merchant, William Forbes, bought the one-time Livingston estate at Callendar.

The central belt of Scotland was found to harbour, below its surface, vast reserves of iron ore and coal. A group of entrepreneurs initiated the development of the Carron Ironworks to the north of Falkirk. Communities established to house workers engaged in the new industries included 'New Camelon, which hath lately been reared up',[44] and Laurieston east of Falkirk, named after Sir Lawrence Dundas. Laurieston overlay the Wall; one street mirrors its alignment.[45]

The building of ironworks and the sinking of mineshafts was to impact on the Scottish countryside between Forth and Clyde, especially in the valley of the River Carron. The Wall lay luckily just to the south of the worst excesses. Farther west William Dunn established textile mills along the Duntocher Burn below the fort on Golden Hill. Much later, the Gartshore family at Twechar gave way to the steelmaking Whitelaws who sank numerous coal-pit shafts on their lands around Bar Hill. Refuse tips from such workings are on occasion still present, though the associated colliery buildings have disappeared.

We rarely gain any insight into the attitude of such entrepreneurs to the Wall on their lands. However, in August 1787, when William Forbes of Callendar sent from London minute instructions to his brother Robert to ensure the most efficient use of the workforce on the estate, he advised: 'In trenching and delving the Roman Wall I would wish you to consider it as common Land for the purpose of producing Grass only, and therefore not to bestow any extra Labour in order to give it a smooth-like surface … In joining

the Meadow to the Walk at the Foot of the Roman Wall it will also be proper to have no extra work.'[46] This could suggest a benevolent attitude to the Roman earthwork, but in another letter soon after he instructed his brother: 'In clearing the surface of the Roman Wall and other Grounds I suppose you will get as many Stones as will compleat our Works. If this is so, the sooner you set the quarriers off work from the quarry in the Wood the better.'[47]

From sea to sea: the Forth & Clyde Canal

The idea of linking the estuaries of Forth and Clyde by a navigable canal had long been mooted.[48] In the 1680s John Adair worked on such a survey (see p. 56), and in 1719 John Strachey saw clear economic benefits.[49] It was when engaged on a survey in 1726 that Alexander Gordon learnt of the discoveries at Shirva (see p. 76). From the depiction on Clement Lempriere's map of Scotland (1731) of what is likely to be Gordon's proposed route, we can see that it involved a sequence of long straight stretches and sharp turns, from the mouth of the River Carron in the east to the vicinity of modern Clydebank in the west. The scheme was not implemented; dissenting voices viewed it as lacking obvious economic advantages. In 1741 we find Sir John Clerk inviting the architect William Adam, who had gone over the ground with Gordon in 1726, to comment on a new proposal.[50]

As the Industrial Revolution gathered pace, the impetus returned, led by the iron- and coal-masters of the Forth Valley, who aimed to speed the westwards movement of raw materials to the Firth of Clyde, and of manufactured goods to new markets in North America. In 1763 the route was surveyed afresh by John Smeaton.[51] Finance was raised by subscriptions and landowners were assuaged by promises of monetary compensation. Sir Lawrence Dundas, whose estates at Kerse (Grangemouth) and Castlecary (including Seabegs) lay conveniently along its route,[52] became chairman of the Committee overseeing the construction work.[53] John Smeaton was appointed Engineer-in-chief, Robert Mackell Engineer Resident,[54] and Mr Laurie Surveyor.[55]

Construction began at Grangemouth on the Forth, where in June 1768 Sir Lawrence Dundas dug out the first spadeful of earth.[56] The Minute Books of the Committee provide a closely dated commentary on

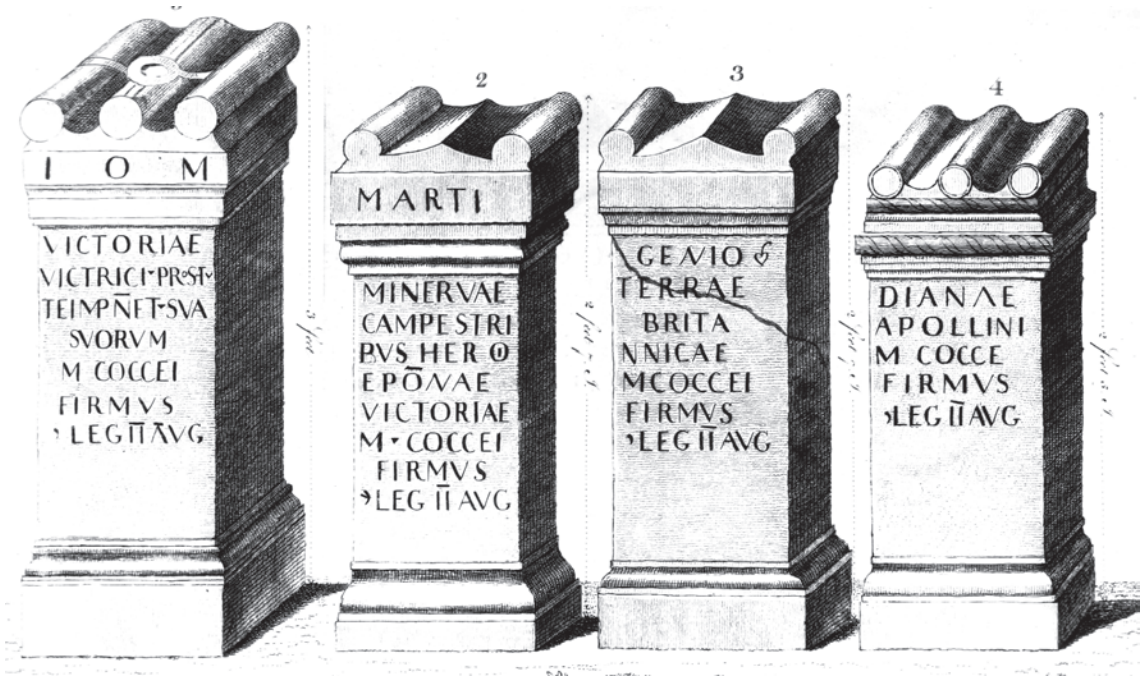


Illustration 64
Altars found at Auchendavy fort in 1771, during construction of the Forth & Clyde Canal, engraved by James Basire, published in *Archaeologia* iii (1775).

progress which was beset with difficulties over physical obstacles such as the Dullatur Bog and by landowning disputes. In July 1790 its completion was marked by a ceremony at Bowling, where the then chairman of the Committee emptied into the Clyde a hogshead of seawater filled at Grangemouth.[57] Building the canal involved a number of locks, basins and viaducts, with associated buildings for lock- and bridge-keepers and the stabling of horses.[58]

The canal crossed the Forth–Clyde isthmus from sea to sea (illus 12), as the Wall had done 1,600 years earlier, interrupting north–south communications. Swing-bridges were installed, and a number of 'pends' permitted pedestrians and animals to pass under it, the latter often en route southwards from the Highlands for the great cattle market known as the Falkirk Tryst.[59] The route chosen closely mirrored that of the Antonine Wall, especially in the central sector, coming close to it at Seabegs, Twechar, Auchendavy and Cawder, and cutting through it several times, as well as severing the north–south causeway linking the fort at Camelon to Watling Lodge.

The discovery of Roman antiquities in the course of the work is recorded several times in the Minute Books of the Committee. At Castlecary the canal passed across low ground some 300m north of the fort, but the quest in 1769 for building materials included the robbing of stonework from it. 'On the night of Friday the 20th [October] Mr Clerk having been informed that a party of the Companys men who were ordered to look for Stone Quarries had fallen upon some Roman Buildings or Walls near Castlecary Bridge [over the Red Burn], he went there with Mr Mackell on Saturday morning, and having observed that they had discovered and were pulling to pieces some fine Buildings, he ordered them to take down no more of the Walls, But to continue to remove the rubbish above till the sense of this Committee should be known. The Stones in this Building are very proper for the purpose of the Canal and easily got. But it would be great pity to pull them to pieces till they are seen by the Curious and Sir Lawrence Dundas the proprietor wrote to on the subject.'[60] It was a decision that allowed General Roy to draw a plan of the structure soon after.[61] Finds included 'vessels of Terra Cocta which are as beautiful as our modern Stafford-shire tea pots,[62] and not far from them a number of bones which are plainly the tusks of boars'. The Revd William Nimmo saw pillars standing erect in one of the rooms, about 0.6m long with marks of fire, evidently the basement of a hypocaust system. Buildings in the centre of fort were also revealed. In August 1771, burnt wheat, iron wedges and hammers were found while workmen were quarrying for stones near the fort.[63]

In May 1771, at Auchendavy east of Kirkintilloch, 'in the very middle of the tract' of the canal,[64] workmen chanced upon what had been a large pit, 2.6m deep, with a diameter of 2.1m at ground level tapering to 0.9m, from which a number of altars were recovered (see p. 96), just outside the fort to the south (illus 64).[65]

At Cawder the canal, which had been following the east–west line of the Wall, a little to its north, turned sharply southwards at right angles across it, along the west side of the as yet unrecognised fort. 'The top of an altar together with an upper and the half of a nether milnstone' were found in 1773 'several feet under ground' and soon presented to Glasgow College.[66] Stones decorated with diamond-broaching,

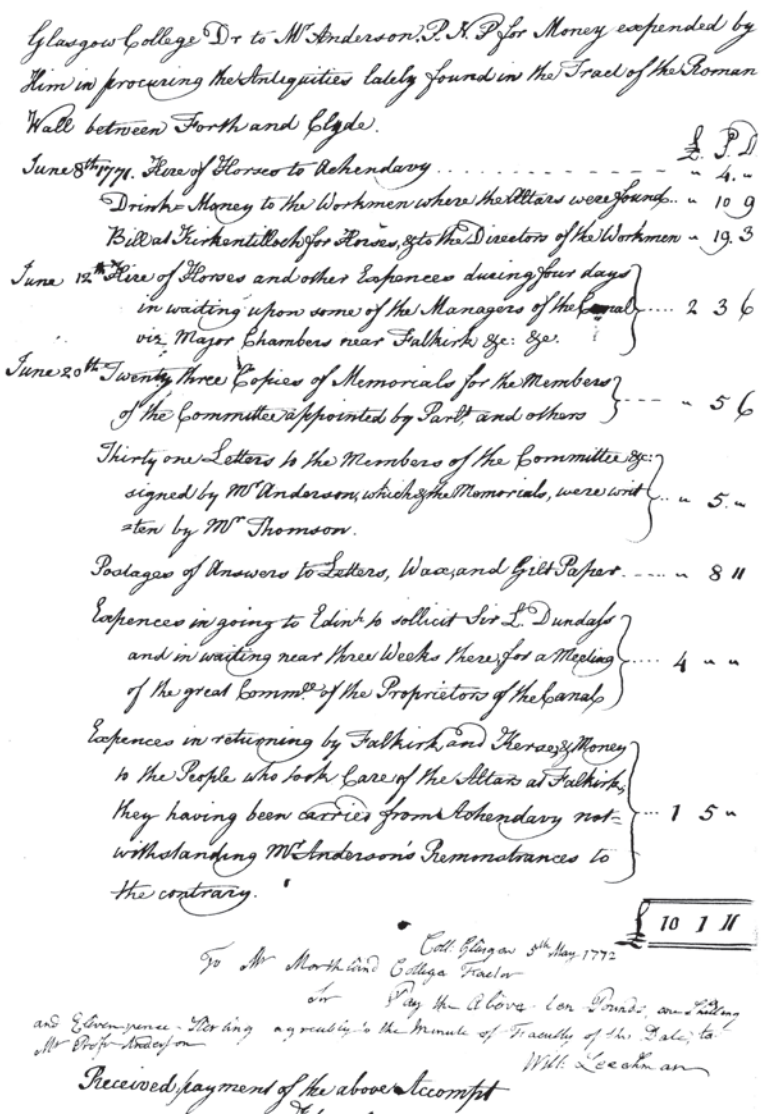
Illustration 65
Professor John Anderson with some of his inventions. Engraving by William Kay, 1792 (© University of Strathclyde Archives).

presumably from one or more buildings at the adjacent fort, were used to revet the horse-path on the north side of the canal.[67]

In 1790 the canal cut through the Wall at Ferrydyke, between what we now know was the site of the fort at Old Kilpatrick and the River Clyde, in one of the last stretches to be completed before it reached its western terminus at nearby Bowling. The workmen encountered a stone-built structure whose discovery, which goes unmentioned in the Minutes of the Committee, was recorded some years later by John Millar Morison, a local tenant farmer.[68]

'In the year 1790 when they were cutting the Great Cannal at the South end of the Sufield park the property of the right Honrbl Lord Blantyre between Portpatrick and the Ferry Dyke Drawbridge they fell in with A subteraneous Building surrounded with A wall Built with freestone and Lime. In the inside they were a good many partitions about two feet Sundrey and arched above with Brick about Nine inches Long and as Broad and covered above with flat brick about Inch and a half thick of the same Size. In the inside and at the bottom there was found a good many pieces of Silver coin with the Figure of a crowned head on the one side & a proper inscription on it perfectly legible, but I have omited to set it Down. There was nothing in the inside of the urns but earth. Mr Davison then mi[ni]ster got a good Deall of the Coin and Sir Archbald Edmeston being then at the maunse got a good many of them and Mr Colquhoun Suptenit of the Cannal Got a good many of them which I suppose is still in the Great Cannal office. I got one of the coin which I gave to my uncle the celbrated John Knox, which he Said to me afterwards that he Deposited into the Scots Antequirian Sosoitey London.[69] Mr John Clerk overseer of the Canal has told me since that him and some of the boys in Kilpatrick went to the place after the men had give over work and Diged and got a good many of them, which he told me afterwards. There is one of the pieces of coin In the cochney house. I think I know within a few yards wher the building was found.'

The recipients of coins included the Revd John Davidson, Minister of Old Kilpatrick, Sir Archibald Edmonstone, a local landowner, Mr Colquhoun, Superintendent of the canal, and John Hamilton of Barns at Cochno House near Duntocher (see p. 58). The 'celbrated John Knox' was a native of Old Kilpatrick, and later a bookseller in London, who wrote extensively on the need to develop the Scottish economy, especially through fisheries.[70]



Glasgow College Dr to Mr Anderson P. P. for Money expended by Him in procuring the Antiquities Lately found in the Tract of the Roman Wall between Forth and Clyde.

£ s. d

June 8th 1772. Hire of Horses to Auchendavy ..... " 4. "
Drinkt Money to the Workmen where the Altars were found ... " 10 9
Bill at Kirkintilloch for Horses &c to the Directors of the Workmen " 19 3
June 12th Hire of Horses and other Expences during four days in waiting upon some of the Managers of the Canal viz. Major Chambers near Falkirk &c: &c: 2 3 6
June 20th Twenty three Copies of Memorials for the Members of the Committee appointed by Parl. and others ..... " 5 6
Thirty one Letters to the Members of the Committee &c: signed by Mr Anderson, which & the Memorials, were writ=ten by Mr Thomson. ..... " 5. "
Postages of Answers to Letters, Wax, and Gilt Paper ..... " 8 11
Expences in going to Edinr to solicit Sir L. Dundas and in waiting near three Weeks there for a Meeting of the great Commrs of the Proprietors of the Canal ..... 4 " "
Expences in returning by Falkirk and Horses & Money to the People who took Care of the Altars at Falkirk, they having been carried from Auchendavy not=withstanding Mr Anderson's Remonstrances to the contrary. ..... 1 5 "

£ 10 1 11

Coll. Glasgow 5th May 1772

To Mr Northland College Treasr

Pay the Above Ten Pounds one Shilling and Eleven=pence Sterling agreeably to the Minute of Faculty of the 5th Inst. to Mr Prof. Anderson

Wm Leechman

Received payment of the above Accompt

Illustration 66
Travel and subsistence claim submitted in 1772 by Professor John Anderson for 'procuring the Antiquities lately found' at Auchendavy fort (UGAS, The University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 58282).

The discovery came at a time when the fort at Old Kilpatrick had yet to be pinpointed, antiquaries then believing that it lay some distance farther west, on Chapel Hill. The navvies had evidently uncovered the basement of a hypocaust with brick-built pillars and covering tiles. That the building was a bath-house was not understood. The canal must also have cut through the Wall and its accompanying ditch, and the ditches of any annexe enclosing the area between the fort and the River Clyde.[71] The coins, which were surely from a hoard and presumably contained originally in the aforesaid urns,[72] have been adjudged medieval and thus unconnected with the function of the building in Roman times.

The financial records of the canal company provide the useful detail that John Millar Morison was a tenant of Sir Archibald Edmonstone, and farmed on the line of the canal, probably between Old Kilpatrick and Duntocher;[73] we know that he received compensation for damage caused. The Revd Davidson, whose manse and glebe lay next to the canal, was also the recipient of several sums, for fencing, the cutting of a drain and building a stone dyke.[74]

John Anderson: 'Jolly Jack Phosphorus'

An ebullient figure in the politics of Glasgow College in the second half of the 18th century, John Anderson (1726–96) had served in the government cause in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745–6.[75] In 1754 he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages (Hebrew) and in 1757 transferred to the chair of Natural Philosophy (Physics) which he held until his death (illus 65). Cantankerous but visionary, Anderson entertained Benjamin Franklin on the latter's visits to Glasgow in 1759 and 1771.[76] Exactly how or when Anderson became interested in the Wall is unknown, but he was in effect the worthy successor to Robert Simson in cherishing and augmenting the College's collection of inscribed stones, newly engraved by the Foulis Press (see p. 87).

In May 1771 when a group of altars was found at Auchendavy during the construction of the Forth & Clyde Canal (see p. 94), Anderson was tasked by the Professors with procuring them. 'They appoint Mr Anderson to go and endeavour to obtain these Stones for the College, or any other antiquities that may be found in carrying on that Work.'[77] Subsequently he submitted a 'travel and subsistence' claim to the College which illustrates the practicalities of acquisition and retrieval of the stones (illus 66):

Glasgow College Dr [= debit] to Mr Anderson P N P [Professor of Natural Philosophy] for Money expended by Him in procuring the Antiquities lately found in the Tract of the Roman Wall between Forth and Clyde.

	L. S. D.
June 8th 1771	
Hire of Horses to Achendavy	0–4–0
Drink-Money to the Workmen where the Altars were found	0–10–9
Bill at Kirkentilloch for Horses, & to the Directors of the Workmen	0–19–3
June 12th	
Hire of Horses and other Expences during four days in waiting upon some of the Managers of the Canal, viz. Major Chambers[78] near Falkirk, &c., &c.	2–3–6
June 20th	
Twenty three Copies of Memorials for the Members of the Committee appointed by Parl[iamen]t, and others	0–5–6
Thirty one Letters to the Members of the Committee &c. signed by Mr Anderson, which & the Memorials were written by Mr Thomson.	0–5–0
Postages of Answers to Letters, Wax, and Gilt Paper	0–8–11
Expences in going to Edin[burg]h to sollicit Sir L. Dundass and in waiting near three Weeks there for a meeting of the great Comm[itt]ee of the Proprietors of the Canal	4–0–0
Expences in returning by Falkirk and Kerse,[79] & Money to the People who took Care of the Altars at Falkirk, they having been carried from Achendavy notwithstanding Mr Anderson's Remonstrances to the contrary.	1–5–0
	£10–1–11

The document, signed by Anderson and endorsed by the College's Principal,[80] provides, together with another account submitted in 1774 (below), a valuable picture of his work in the field. That he could recover his expenses at all might be a surprise, and that he could spend three weeks in Edinburgh awaiting a decision of the 'Great Committee' in June 1771 gives an insight into the duties of Glasgow Professors at the time, whose lecturing commitments each year finished in April.

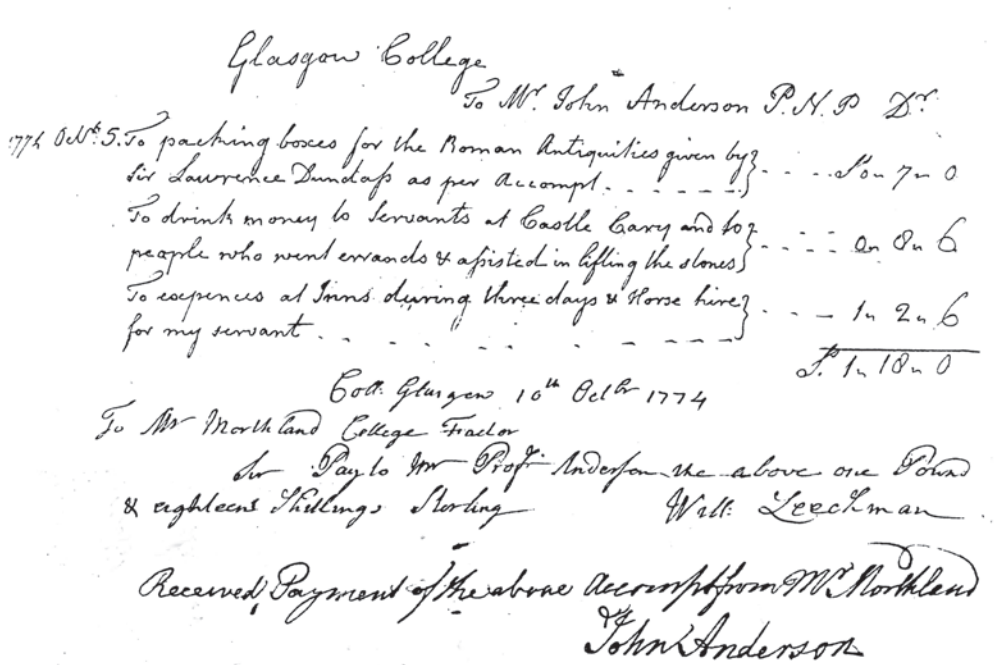
In 1770–3 Anderson delivered a series of 'Discourses' under the title *Of the Roman Wall between*

the Forth and Clyde, and of some Discoveries which have been lately made upon it.[81] Anderson is the earliest antiquary known to have lectured about the Wall, not to students at Glasgow College but in the context of the Glasgow Literary Society, to which most of the Professors belonged. The first lecture, as we know from that Society's Minutes, was delivered in December 1770; drawing heavily on Gordon and Horsley, it provided an historical outline.[82] 'The low ground between the Forth and the Clyde has been destined for great Works. A few years ago some very noble manufacturing Machines were erected upon it, and in all probability their number will increase very fast. At present a Canal with Locks is carrying on, which in beauty and workmanship will be superiour to every one of the same extent in Europe. And about sixteen hundred and seventeen years ago,[83] a military Bulwark was made in the same place, which was so magnificant that a minute Survey of it will not diminish the high Idea which is commonly entertained of Roman greatness.'[84] Anderson proposed to restrict himself to discussing the 'uncouth Objects of Sculpture among the Antient Romans', their 'Religious Principles of Toleration', their 'Modesty with regard to the Sexes', and their 'great Vallums or Lines of Posts, as a branch of the military Science'.

Anderson had a map to hand with which to illustrate his talks. 'There is no having a complete Idea of this Wall but by riding upon its tract from Clyde to Forth or by studying Gordon and Horseley [*sic*] with Accuracy. To such as have done neither I will now describe it by means of this map … The map was made by Mr Laurie for the Proprietors of the great Canal and to it I have added the Roman Vallum.'[85] The manuscript description of the Wall, from west to east, is profusely annotated, as Anderson became more familiar with its course.

At Shirva he observed in section a cut across the Antonine Ditch. 'As it is not difficult for Workmen to distinguish earth that has been moved from Natural Earth even after many Centuries, I endeavoured to get the exact size.' He records the Ditch there as being 60 feet [18m] wide and 30 feet [9m] deep.[86] At Castlecary he viewed the 'the base of the [fort] Rampart, which the Country people are just now pulling down for building Walls and houses'.[87]

The lectures also include an account of the Roman inscribed stones at the College. Regarding the distance slab long preserved by the Earls Marischal at Dunnottar Castle and later held at Marischal College, Aberdeen (see pp. 38, 59),[88] which had recently been presented to Glasgow College, Anderson observed


Glasgow College

To Mr. John Anderson P.N.P Dr.

1774 Octr. 5. To packing boxes for the Roman Antiquities given by Sir Lawrence Dundas as per Accompt. - - - - - £0 7s 0

To drink money to Servants at Castle Cary and to people who went errands & assisted in lifting the stones - - - - 0s 8s 6

To expences at Inns during three days & Horse hire for my servant - - - - - - - - - - - - 1s 2s 6

£ 1s 18s 0

Coll. Glasgow 10th Octr 1774

To Mr Northland College Factor

Sir Pay to Mr Prof. Anderson the above one Pound & eighteen Shillings Sterling Will. Leechman

Received Payment of the above Account from Mr Northland

John Anderson

Illustration 67
Travel and subsistence claim submitted in 1774 by Professor John Anderson for retrieving inscribed and sculptured stones found at Castlecary fort (UGAS, The University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 58284).

that 'the [5th] Earl Marischall being an Admirer of such remains of Antiquity had caused the Letters to be gilded (see pp. 38, 59). It is proper to take notice of this lest it should be imagined that this foppery was added to it since it came into Glasgow College, which in the eyes of a true Antiquarian is as great a blunder tho' in a different way as the scouring of a shield or Medal'.[89] This is followed by a description of the new epigraphic finds, whose Latin texts are discussed.

A supplementary lecture, describing the newly found material at greater length, was delivered in the last quarter of 1773, wherein Anderson expounded his views on Roman military institutions, including training, weaponry and morale, with examples drawn from contemporary armies, especially those of Frederick the Great of Prussia and Marshal Saxe of France.[90] He took the opportunity to defend the Wall as an effective military barrier against contemporary detractors: 'it is fashionable at present not only for Antiquarians and other literary men to ridicule this wall, but even for soldiers and for those who have made lines of posts their particular study'.[91]

In 1774 Anderson secured for the College inscriptions and relief sculptures found at Castlecary in 1764–9.[92] Again we have his 'travel and subsistence' claim, illustrating once more the practicalities of stone acquisition (illus 67).[93]

Glasgow College. To Mr. John Anderson P.N.P., Dr. [= debit]

1774 Oct. 5th	
To packing boxes for the Roman Antiquities given by Sir Lawrence Dundas as per Accompt	£0–7–0
To drink money to Servants at Castle Cary and to people who went errands & assisted in lifting the stones	0–8–6
To expences at Inns during three days and Horse hire for my servant	1–2–6
	£1–8–0

In the manner of the times Anderson established a museum in his house at the College.[94] It contained natural history specimens and a substantial number of coins.[95] In the *Descriptive Catalogue* published in 1831 to coincide with the opening to the public of a building to display the collection, Case 3 is stated as containing 'Roman coins, exhibiting specimens of the great, middle and small brass, consular and imperial denarii and aurei. Several of these coins were discovered at Bar Fort, near Kilsyth, and purchased from the country people by Professor Anderson'.[96] He also possessed a 'beautiful gold coin of Antoninus Pius found on Grames Dyke'.[97] Regrettably the best pieces were stolen in 1877 and never recovered.[98]

In his later years Anderson became increasingly embroiled in disputes with his academic colleagues, whom he found lacklustre and unadventurous. The antipathy is reflected in his will, dated 7 May 1795, which banned the Professors from attending his funeral and detailed fixtures to be removed from his house, if they could not be proved to be the property of the College.[99] Anderson bequeathed his possessions to found an alternative, populist university in Glasgow which continues to this day, incorporated into the University of Strathclyde which celebrates him as its founder.[100] In his will Anderson specified that chairs at his College should include a Professor of Roman Antiquities, the intended postholder named as John McEwen, a Glasgow lawyer.[101]

A Codicil to his will included the instruction, 'To get from Mr Gartshore of Gartshore my Essay on Roman Antiquities and any other stones he may have found.'[102] The 'Essay' is presumably some or all of the lecture texts described above. The implication is that John Gartshore, landowner at Bar Hill, had recently discovered an inscribed or sculptured stone,[103] and that Anderson had loaned him his Essay for background reading.

The Forth & Clyde Canal was not the only waterway built across Central Scotland. The Union Canal, so-called because it linked Edinburgh to Glasgow, was begun in 1818, this time to bring the coal supplies of north Lanarkshire to the city of Edinburgh. Delayed by arguments over the route and its precise eastern terminus, it was finished in 1822.[104] The junction between the Union Canal and the lower-lying Forth & Clyde Canal west of Falkirk was achieved at the Wall's expense: a sequence of 11 locks, interspaced with basins, cut across its line at Glenfuir, immediately east of Watling Lodge, facilitating a drop of 33m from south to north.

Fast passenger boats cruised the canals between Edinburgh and Glasgow, which were judged preferable to uncomfortable stagecoaches. Facilities on board might include a small library, and the pleasures of alcohol, gambling, dining and dancing to musical accompaniment were to be enjoyed. There were even overnight 'sleepers'.[105] A slim booklet, *The Canal Passengers Companion*, published in 1823 soon after the Union Canal opened, described the scenery between

Edinburgh and Glasgow and several times took notice of the Wall running parallel.[106]

The productive life of the canals lasted until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.[107] Thereafter, pleasure craft remained active along their routes, but eventually both canals were closed. The locks at Glenfuir were infilled in 1933 and later built over. When the two canals were reopened to regular traffic by a 'millennium project' in 2000–1, a new link between them farther west at Tamfourhill involved a north–south tunnel below the Wall. The Falkirk Wheel, which lowers and raises boats from the Union Canal to the Forth & Clyde Canal, in succession to the locks at Glenfuir, is justifiably lauded as a remarkable feat of engineering and is an admired local landmark.

From the rational to the romantic

Richard Gough (1735–1809), who owned an estate at Enfield, Middlesex, corresponded with other antiquaries during preparation firstly of his *Anecdotes of British Topography* (1768),[108] and later his editions of Camden's *Britannia* (1789 and 1806).[109] Gough's surviving correspondence allows us a uniquely full picture of antiquarian contacts in these years. From 1771 to 1797 he was Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and founded its journal *Archaeologia*, to facilitate publication of antiquarian research.[110]

George Paton (1721–1807), the son of an Edinburgh bookseller, was a long-serving clerk in the Customs House, Leith, a position from which he finally retired in 1801 at the age of 80. A sociable member of Edinburgh's literary scene in the latter half of the century, he amassed a sizeable library, though on limited funds, and cherished a wide circle of correspondents to whom he commended himself by his promptness and reliability. He also built up a small collection of antiquities including Roman pottery and tiles from recent excavations at Inveresk, Midlothian. He was memorably described in 1785 by the Earl of Buchan as 'the modest and industrious George Paton who is one of a little flock in Scotland who resemble learned men in England'.[111]

In the summer of 1771 Richard Gough made a visit to Edinburgh where he met Paton, and travelled to Glasgow to see the collection of inscribed stones at the College, shown to him by John Anderson; he was presented with a set of the recently prepared engravings.[112] Gough promptly read a paper on the newly found altars from Auchendavy to the Society of Antiquaries of London, which was soon published in *Archaeologia*.[113]

Paton's correspondence with Gough, covering the years between 1771 and 1804, is preserved at the National Library of Scotland.[114] They corresponded on a variety of topics, at times on an almost daily basis. The subject-matter was generally historical and bibliographical, with Paton seeking out and despatching to Gough books and engravings. Paton put in order some of Timothy Pont's and John Adair's maps in which Gough was interested,[115] and kept him informed of recent archaeological discoveries. Paton's letters are lengthy and closely written. Gough's replies are generally brief, in an untidy hand. Paton wrote to Gough about discoveries on the Wall at Duntocher (see p. 102), Auchendavy,[116] Castlecary[117] and Camelon,[118] as well as at Cramond[119] and Inveresk.[120] Paton was aware that much more must remain hidden from view, as he lamented to Richard Gough in November 1783. 'Were attentive Searches made, especially, alongst the course of the Roman Wall here, many similar Remains might be opened, but most of these thro' the ignorance of day Labourers and want of attentive superiors.'[121] Gough sent to Paton some proofs of the second edition of his *British Topography* for his scrutiny and correction.[122]

Thomas Pennant, the traveller

The naturalist Thomas Pennant (1726–98) is chiefly remembered for his travelogues of extended visits to Scotland in 1769 and 1772. The narratives were intended from the first for publication as a travel guide for visitors.[123] After distributing questionnaires to Ministers in the time-honoured fashion,[124] he rode in 1769 from Newcastle to Edinburgh, then into the Highlands, subsequently down the Great Glen via Argyllshire to Glasgow. This was, he later wrote, 'a journey to the remotest part of *North Britain*, a country almost as little known to its southern brothers as *Kamtschatka*' in Siberia. As a result of his describing Scotland, 'it has ever since been *inondée* with southern visitants'.[125] At Glasgow he was presented with a set of the engravings of the College's Roman inscribed stones.[126] Thereafter he proceeded to Edinburgh via Stirling, the site of Arthur's O'on, and Falkirk, where he viewed the Wall in Callendar Park.

However, aware that the Hebrides had escaped his attention in 1769, he set about planning a second tour, undertaken in 1772.[127] In advance he distributed a questionnaire 'to every Gentleman desirous to promote the Publication of an Accurate Account of

the Antiquities, Present State, and Natural History of Scotland'. He asked for information on 'mounts, intrenchments, druidical circles, pillars, or stones, crosses, grave-stones, monuments, inscriptions', as well as 'ancient weapons, stone or iron; adder-stones, or glass-beads, brotches or the like'.[128] From the survival of his correspondence with Richard Gough, and, separately, with George Paton, we can establish his reading list, identify explanatory notes he carried with him on the journey and document his progress. Pennant corresponded with Paton on a regular basis before, during and after his second *Tour*, on natural history, on obtaining views of the principal medieval monuments which might illustrate his book, on Highland customs and while preparing his manuscript text for publication.[129]

Pennant's itinerary in 1772 took him northwards through Dumfriesshire and Clydesdale to Glasgow, where he described some of the Roman stones preserved at the College, after which he inspected Duntocher fort and Old Kilpatrick, before turning northwards into Argyll. On his return journey southwards through Perthshire, he viewed Roman forts and noted the survival of the north–south Roman road at Torwood, north of Falkirk, before passing the site of Arthur's O'on. After again observing the Wall at Callendar Park, he headed east to Cramond, then to Edinburgh in September or early October, where he met Paton. He did not visit Camelon, surprisingly perhaps, but subsequently hoped that Gough could give him an account of it.[130] As he did not follow the line of the Wall across the waist of Scotland, he did not see the central forts. In 1774 he was able to tell Paton that he had been in touch with 'Colonel William Roy [who] has behaved to me with great politeness and has been very communicative'; Pennant was hoping to get a sight of some of Roy's maps before their publication.[131]

In later life William Stukeley became engrossed with Druidism and succumbed to the blandishments of the counterfeit *De Situ Britanniae et stationum quas Romani ipsi in ea insula aedificaverunt,* translatable as 'On the situation of Britain and the stations the Romans built in that island',[132] supposedly written in the 14th century by a monk, Richard of Westminster, soon renamed Richard of Cirencester after the well known medieval chronicler.[133] In fact the work of schoolmaster Charles Bertram at Copenhagen, it was

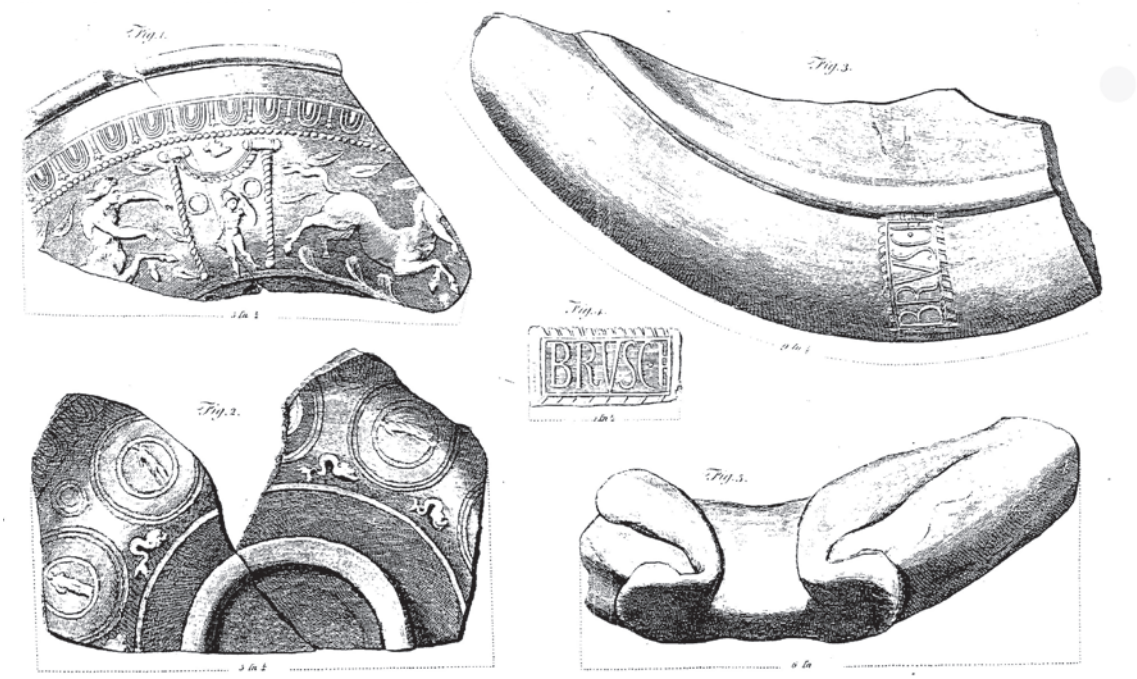


Illustration 68
Pottery found at Duntocher, 1775–8, engraved by James Basire, as published in Richard Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1789, volume 3.

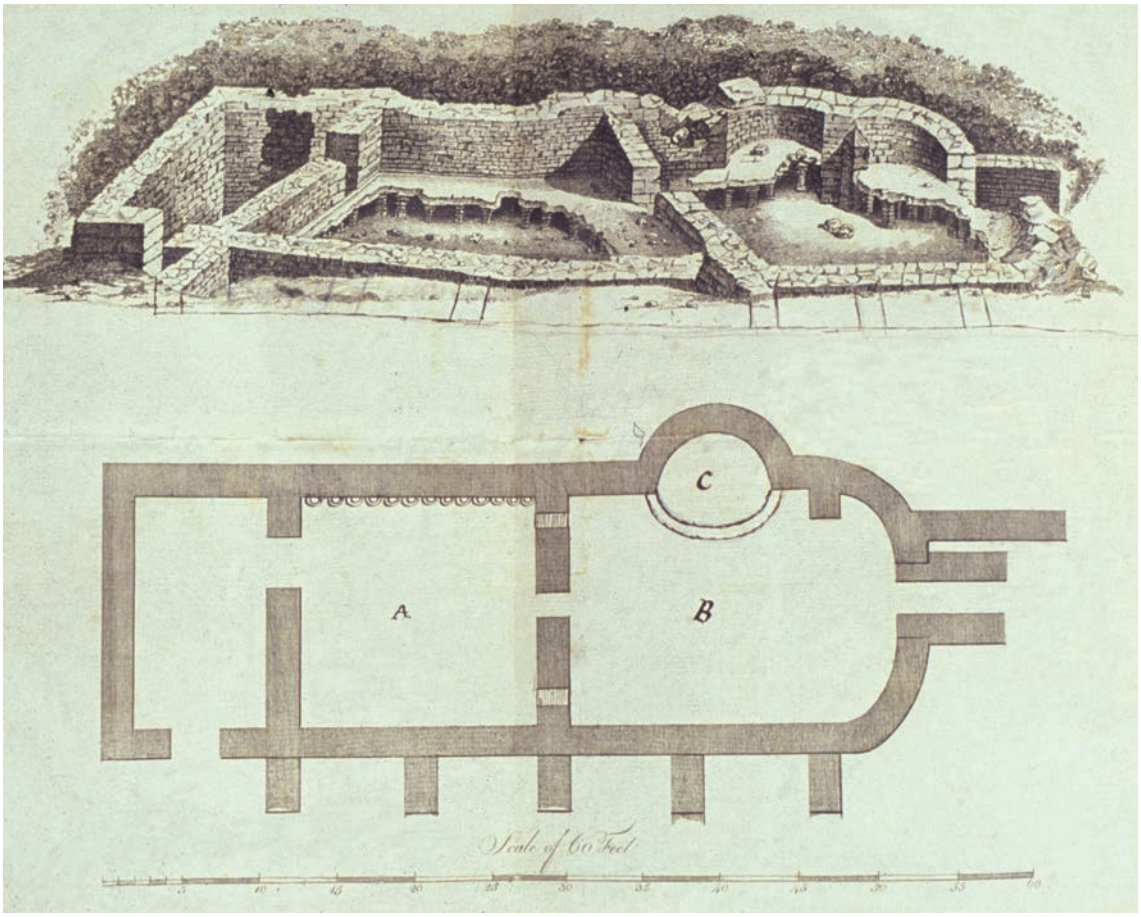


Illustration 69
The bath-house at Duntocher fort, engraved *c* 1778 by an unknown artist (© The Society of Antiquaries of London, Minute Book XVI).

to bedevil antiquarian studies for nearly a century. It drew upon the place-name sources, with liberal additions by its author. Stukeley promptly published a commentary on it.[134] The treatise was believed genuine by William Roy, who devoted a lengthy chapter to assessing what he believed was Richard's significant contribution to knowledge,[135] by Richard Gough,[136] and by George Chalmers in his multi-volume *Caledonia*.[137] Stukeley also enthused over the Ossianic poems of James Macpherson on their publication in the 1760s.[138] Ossian's 'War of Caros' described the exploits in central Scotland of Caros, 'King of Ships',[139] evidently the usurper Carausius, who took refuge behind the 'gathered heap' of the Antonine Wall.[140]

Pennant's volumes were much used, and several times reprinted; descriptions in it were paraphrased in subsequent guidebooks. Travellers published many accounts of visits to Scotland, which often included brief notices of the Wall. 'Here we see the Caledonian trampling upon the ruins of Roman ambition' wrote one author, 'and unfettered commerce occupying the seat of imperious usurpation'.[141] Not all visitors found the remains impressive or memorable. Travellers included John Loveday in August 1732,[142] the peripatetic Bishop Richard Pococke in 1747 and 1760,[143] and Henry Penruddoke Wyndham in July 1758.[144] The Polish Princess Izabela Czartoryska records in her diary under August 1790 that 'Then [after Linlithgow] we go to Carron where there is a gigantic manufacture of iron. On the way we passed the ruins of the ramparts made by Antoninus'. At Glasgow College she saw the collection of inscribed stones and met 'the Professor

of Physics, a fat and very humorous man, who looked at my feet a lot', easily identifiable as Professor John Anderson (see p. 96).[145]

The compilation of county histories was much in vogue in England at this time; Scottish manifestations included a *General History of Stirlingshire,* by the Revd William Nimmo, Minister at Bothkennar on the Forth north-east of Falkirk,[146] which was published in 1777. His is a full account in an age when the Wall and its forts were under threat from new industrial enterprises. The Wall was also depicted on general maps in Scotland produced in the 18th century,[147] as well as those prefixed to the works of Thomas Pennant and William Nimmo.[148] Its course can also be found marked, on occasion, on estate maps.

Francis Grose (1731–91) a former army officer who had served in Flanders, travelled in Scotland in 1788–90; his well illustrated two-volume *Antiquities of Scotland* concentrated on medieval castles and abbeys.[149] Though there is no evidence in his published work of an interest in the Wall, a surviving drawing credited to him depicts two otherwise unknown 'Brazen Horns found in the Roman Wall, Scotland'.[150]

A bath-house at Duntocher

In the summer of 1775 a Roman bath-house was accidentally discovered on the south-west slope of Golden Hill, Duntocher, west of Glasgow.[151] The economist John Knox (see p. 95) reported that 'some professors in the University of Glasgow, and other gentlemen, having unroofed the whole, discovered the appearance of a Roman hot bath'.[152] Presumably the removal of *opus signinum* flooring had revealed the basement of a hypocaust. The discovery came to the attention of Charles Freebairn, an architect and leadmine owner on the island of Islay, who had the remains cleared at his own expense over the next three years. George Paton in Edinburgh (see p. 99), learning of the find through newspapers, kept Richard Gough informed of progress, obtained several site-drawings from Freebairn, and had the few small finds despatched to London where they were exhibited at

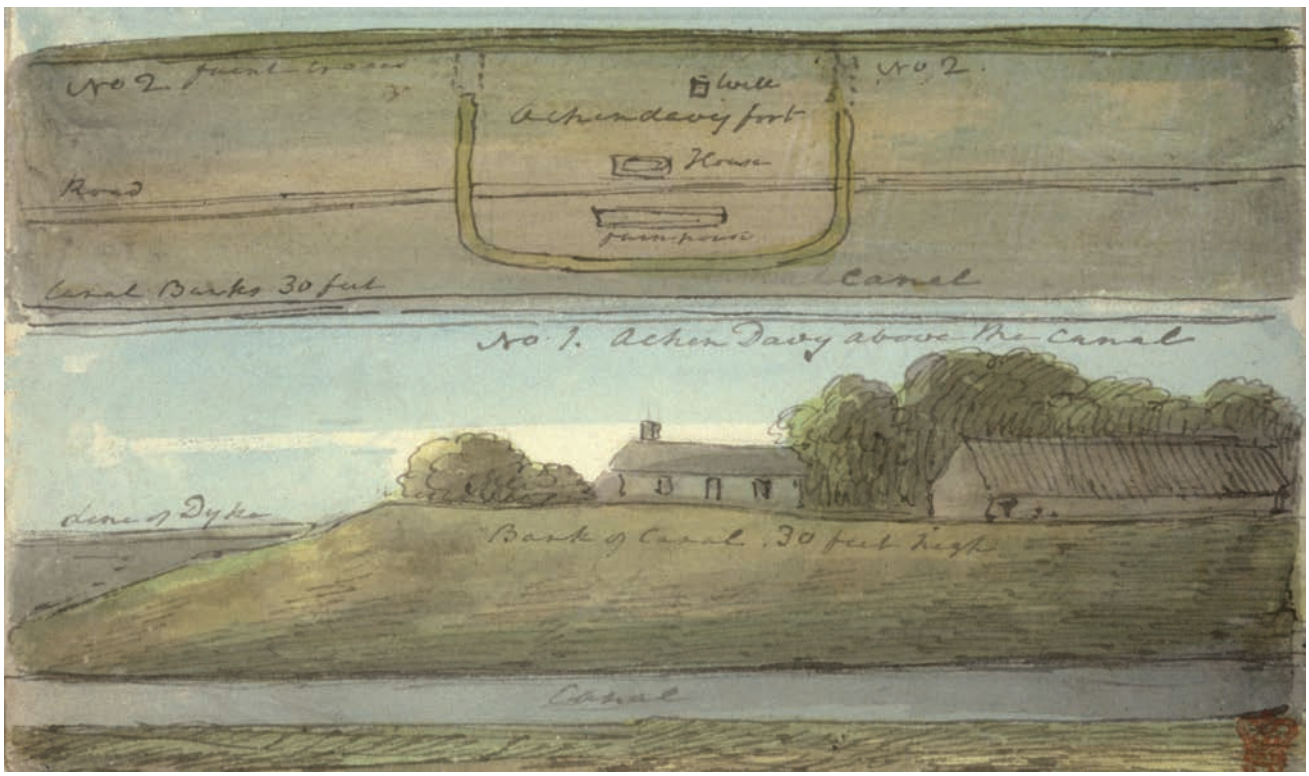


Illustration 70
Auchendavy fort, seen from the south side of the Forth & Clyde Canal, as sketched by the Revd John Skinner, 1825 (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fig 372).

the Society of Antiquaries (illus 68).[153] But for Paton's perseverance in obtaining details about the work from reluctant correspondents, we should know very little. An unknown artist was engaged to draw the excavated bath-house, which was engraved on copper. One of the prints from it was sent to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and bound in with its Minutes, where it lay unrecognised until recently (illus 69). It provides a graphic image of the newly excavated site.[154] Some thought was given to enclosing it for public viewing, but the cost of a fence and a gate was considered prohibitive. In his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1789) Richard Gough included a report on the site and reproduced several of the Freebairn's simple sketches, thus bringing the discovery to a wider audience. He did not include the engraving itself, as Paton had advised him of its shortcomings, and he chose to wait, in vain, for a better visual record. Paton tells us that the copper plate itself had come into the possession of John Anderson (see p. 96),[155] who must surely have been among the Professors involved in 'unroofing' the building in 1775,[156] and who seems to have intended to publish the results of the work.[157] Freebairn himself died soon after, and the building faded from public consciousness. By 1800 'the stones which composed this bath, as we were informed, were removed by the tasteless decree of the owner of the ground, to build a miserable cottage'.[158] What little remained was found again by chance in 1978.[159]

Foundation of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

In Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in its early days variously titled in contemporary notices, came into being in 1780–1, the result of lobbying by David Stuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan (1742–1829).[160] Early members included John Anderson, the economist John Knox, General Robert Melville, George Paton and Thomas Pennant. Papers sent to

Illustration 71
Part of an inscribed slab, and a small sculptured stone 'in the wall of the barn', as sketched at Auchendavy by the Revd John Skinner, 1825 (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fig 373).

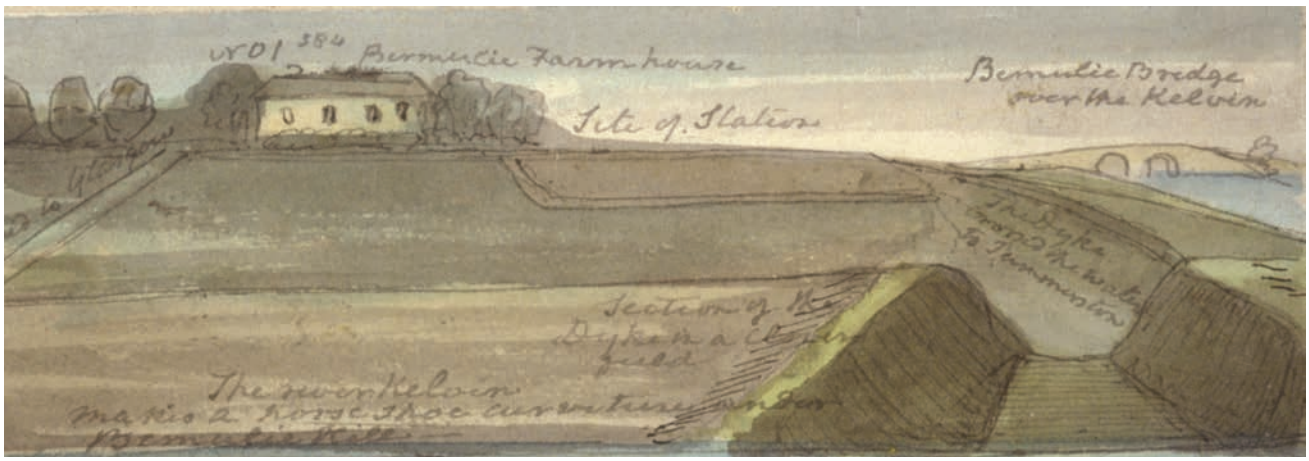


Illustration 72
Balmuildy fort and the Ditch at Summerston seen from the north, as sketched by the Revd John Skinner, 1825 (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fig 385).

its Secretary were published in *Archaeologia Scotica* (1792–1890) and, later, in the *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (from 1851 to the present day). The Wall is absent from the early volumes, an indication of changing fashions and new enthusiasms. However, donations to the Society's fledgling museum included in 1782 a 'Roman cinereal urn with the ashes in it which was dug up without injury in the Tract of the Roman Wall between the two Firths'.[161]

From his own correspondents: Sir John Sinclair and The Statistical Account

Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster in Caithness, landowner and agricultural improver, conceived in the 1780s the idea of gathering together a comprehensive account of Scotland's economic resources and population, arranged by parishes.[162] The project was advertised in the Press, and a lengthy questionnaire sent to every Minister. Among Miscellaneous Questions were 'Are there any Roman, Saxon, Danish, or Pictish castles, camps, altars, roads, forts, or other remains of antiquity? And what traditions or historical accounts are there of them? Have there been any medals, coins, arms, or other pieces of antiquity dug up in the parish? When were they found? And in whose custody are they now?'; and 'Are there any barrows or tumuli? Have they been opened? And what has been found therein?'[163]

As might have been expected, some responses were sent in more expeditiously than others, and were of varying lengths. The Wall was a feature in nine parishes, from Carriden in the east to Old Kilpatrick in the west. In some cases the reports were valuable and up-to-date assessments of what could be seen; in others the Ministers merely recited long-held traditions. The account of Old Kilpatrick was contributed by the Revd John Davidson who had recently acquired coins from the bath-house revealed during the construction of the Forth & Clyde Canal (see p. 95); he makes no mention of the discovery, though he was aware of the traditional site of a Roman fort on nearby Chapel Hill (see p. 43) and alludes to the bath-house found at Duntocher in 1775–8.[164]

Sir Walter Scott and the romance of Scotland

The 18th century was the great era of the antiquary and the pre-eminence of his passion for Romano-British antiquities.[165] With Pennant we find the rational giving way to the romantic.[166] The tradition of scholarly antiquaries at Glasgow College fades; Professor John Anderson had no virtuoso successors. The Wall was but one of many attractions featured in the burgeoning genre of travel guides, their authors often repeating outdated information.[167] Edinburgh and Glasgow acquired new roles as staging posts in an extended tour of the mysterious Highlands. Many travellers, especially from Europe in the aftermath of the Napoleonic War, were inspired by the novels of Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) to visit localities featured in his manifold works.[168] In his house at Abbotsford, overlooking the Tweed with the Eildon Hills rising behind, Scott assembled a wide-ranging

Illustration 73
Small sculptured slab from Croy Hill fort, showing three legionaries (© National Museums Scotland).

collection of antiquities,[169] many gifted by admirers, including the famous Torrs chamfrein (pony-cap), Bronze Age weapons, an Etruscan ash chest, knick-knacks of Scottish heroes including William Wallace and Rob Roy, and even some ethnographic material from the South Seas. Scott's antiquarian interests were wide-ranging, as reflected in his many novels.[170] Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns, in Scott's novel *The Antiquary*, treasured his copy of Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium*.

While posted at Kirkintilloch and subsequently at Falkirk in 1820–4, the exciseman Joseph Train sent Scott a supposed Roman iron tripod-pot, in reality a medieval Scottish cooking utensil, 'turned up by the plough in a field immediately adjoining Grames Dike at Croye', as well as a sword from 'the Peel at Kirkintilloch', and a 'brass plate found in the ruins of Castlecary about the year 1775 [*sic*], by one of the labourers in cutting through the ruins of that Roman fort to make part of the bed of the great canal which passes that way'.[171] Built into the garden wall at Abbotsford are a series of sculptured panels from the Roman fort at Old Penrith, Cumbria,[172] and a reworked building stone recording construction work by the legion XXII *Primigenia*, long based on the Rhine frontier at Mainz but known to have sent a detachment to Britain, on perhaps more than one occasion, during the 2nd century AD.[173] This stone had been on view at Callendar House, Falkirk, in the 1790s, presumably taken from a fort on the Wall, but how it reached Abbotsford is a mystery.[174] Additionally a small inscribed altar of unknown provenance sits atop a mantelpiece in one of the rooms at Abbotsford.[175]

George Chalmers, the author of the multi-volume *Caledonia* (1807), considered the Wall and its forts only briefly, in the context of Roman occupation of Scotland and the road network.[176] The narrative was

Illustration 74
Nethercroy farmhouse, as sketched by the Revd John Skinner, 1825, showing two Roman stones (including illus 73) built into its facade (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fig 363).

chiefly based on wide consultation with interested individuals whose responses to his queries are often cited in the footnotes.[177]

Of particular value in providing a detailed picture of the Wall in the early 19th century is the journal of the Revd John Skinner, Anglican vicar at Camerton in Somerset.[178] The much travelled Skinner walked the length of the Wall, from east to west, over a five-day period in September 1825, as part of a tour of Scotland which saw him journey into the Highlands. He wrote up his notes nightly at inns along his route, and invaluably made numerous pencil sketches of what he saw, providing for us a visual record of the Wall at a fixed date, in an era preceding the invention of photography. Later he worked up the drawings as watercolours (illus 70, 72, 74; see also illus 18, 21, 39). Skinner noted several otherwise unknown inscriptions and sculptures at farmhouses en route (illus 71).[179]

In 1832 a proposal to compile a new *Statistical Account of Scotland* was adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; the resulting essays were published in 1834–45.[180] For most parishes along the Wall the reports were at greater length than their predecessors of 40 years before. The accounts reflect the impact of agricultural and industrial changes, and sometimes preserve details of recent finds.

The bound volume of Professor John Anderson's manuscript lectures (see p. 96) contains an eight-page written record of the Wall, signed and dated 1834, by a certain John Hart who had access to Anderson's written accounts by virtue of his post as a long-serving Trustee and Manager of Anderson's College in Glasgow from the 1820s onwards.[181] 'It is perhaps not proper to take the liberty of writing any remarks on the blank leaves of one of our venerable Founder's own essays, but as I am a native of that particular part of the Country where he seems to have been little acquainted and where he has had erroneous information respecting this part of the wall, I thought I could not do better than insert my own observations here to put the reader to right on this subject but least it should be wrong I have wrote it in pencil so that it can be rubbed out.'[182]

Hart discussed the course of the Wall east of Falkirk and the enduring problem of its eastern terminus. He also noted an otherwise unrecorded cut across its line at Kirkintilloch; the ditch there had a width of 18 feet (5.5m) and a depth of 14 feet (4.3m). Hart observed the layering of its fill. Despite his avowed intention of filling gaps in Anderson's account of the Wall, Hart is more informative about other periods, including Bronze Age burial cairns recently opened in the Kinneil–Bo'ness area.

The growth of institutional collecting

In earlier generations inscribed and sculptured stones were generally retained by landowners (see see p. 57), or passed into the hands of acquisitive collectors or to the colleges in Glasgow or Edinburgh where they might be put on show in libraries, along with other curiosities. Pottery and small finds were reported, but few survived. It was some time before formal museums evolved. In Edinburgh the Faculty of Advocates was long the home to a small collection;[183] rather later, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland received numerous donations.[184] In the course of the 19th century the Society's holdings developed into a national collection, funded by the state, with a much wider remit. In 1857 Sir George Clerk of Penicuik, 6th baronet, donated to it the stones held at Penicuik House.[185] The Hunterian Museum at Glasgow College, housing the bequest of former student William Hunter, which comprised anatomical and natural history specimens, artworks, ethnography and coins, opened to the public in 1807 (illus 78). The College's existing collection of Roman stones was soon transferred to a room in the new museum's basement. Numerous accessions accrued to it in subsequent decades, but few were of Roman date.[186]

William Richardson (1743–1814), the popular Professor of Humanity (Latin) at Glasgow College, published in 1811 a short handbook for his students entitled *Heads of Lectures on Roman Antiquities, and Roman Literature, delivered in the Humanity Class*; the content demonstrates that his interests extended beyond language and literature. The Roman army and its institutions featured strongly; among 'Preparations for waging War', Richardson, clearly aware of the College's collection of material from the Wall, observed that 'the subdivisions [of legions] were called "Vexillationes", as appears by the inscriptions on Roman stones, dug out of the track of the Canal between the Forth and the Clyde, in the course of the Roman Forts erected by Agricola, or rather of the wall erected in the reign of the Emperor Antoninus'.[187]

Illustration 75
Modern inscriptions cut on one face of the Carrick Stone, a Roman altar near Cumbernauld (© Margaret J Robb).

Individual inscribed or sculptured stones continued to turn up along the Wall during agricultural activity. Not all were to survive. In 1803 a distance slab was found on the farm of Low Millichen, between Balmuildy and Bearsden, 'in the formation of a deep drain'.[188] The stone 'was long in the possession of a Glasgow schoolmaster named James Reekie … After his death the tablet passed into the hands of his relative, a weaver in Calton, Glasgow, in whose loom-shop it lay for many years as a foot-rest. Thence it was rescued about 1824, by the good taste of James Ewing, Esq. … who placed it carefully in a conspicuous part of his mansion-house, Queen-Street, now the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Station [at Glasgow], where it long formed a well-known object to the citizens.'[189] The stone was subsequently taken to his country house, Levenside near Dumbarton.[190]

Illustration 76
Plaster cast of a distance slab found in 1865 at Hutcheson Hill, west of Bearsden, made before it was shipped to the United States. The colouring is modern (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

A small sculptured panel showing three legionaries and an inscribed slab, both taken from farm buildings on Croy Hill about 1802, were walled up in nearby Nethercroy House (illus 73); in 1825 the Revd John Skinner (see p. 106) needed a ladder to view them (illus 74).[191] An inscribed altar from the same fort was then standing in its garden.[192] In 1825 a fragmentary slab with an inscription set within a laurel wreath was seen 'thrown and neglected in the farm yard' at Auchendavy by Skinner who drew it, the only record we have (illus 71);[193] it was soon lost sight of.[194]

A small altar found in 1829 while cutting drains on the farm of Easter Duntiglennan north of Duntocher fort was placed in the gable-end of the miller's house at Duntocher.[195] In 1849 Lord Blantyre refused the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland permission to remove it; however, after the demolition of the house shortly after, the altar was acquired by the Glasgow antiquary John Buchanan (see p. 117),[196] who presented it to the Hunterian Museum in 1871.

A large Roman Altar, on which no Latin lettering can now be discerned, standing on what appears to be its original stone base, was first reported in 1845 on high ground at Carrickstone, now a suburb of Cumbernauld,[197] 1.3km south of the fort at Westerwood. It remains there, in the corner-angle of a field; presumably it was found close by (illus 75).

A distance slab ploughed up on Hutcheson Hill, west of Bearsden in 1865 was acquired for £2 from the farmer, and briefly placed on view at a solicitor's office in Glasgow, but soon sold on to Professor Joseph Henry McChesnay, US Consul at Newcastle (illus 76).[198] Despite the remonstrances of John Buchanan and others, McChesnay promptly shipped the stone to Chicago where it was destroyed in the great fire which engulfed that city in October 1871.[199] Fortunately a number of casts had been made in Newcastle by J Collingwood Bruce (see p. 120). The bizarre story is testimony to contemporary indifference and the absence of any legal protection.

Illustration 77
Sculptured stone found at Arniebog near Westerwood fort, 1868, showing a bearded Triton and a bound captive (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

In 1868 two fragments of a finely carved commemorative tablet found on the line of the Wall between Castlecary and Westerwood were reported in the press (illus 77). 'An interesting relic of antiquity was, on Friday 12th instant, discovered on the farm of Arniebog in the parish of Cumbernauld on the line of the old Roman Wall of Antoninus which runs across that farm. On the day mentioned, the farmer, Mr William Chalmers, and several of his family, were collecting and removing the stones from a field under potatoes, bounded on the north by "Grim's Sheugh" as it is colloquially called,[200] which at this spot appears to be in the state in which it was left by the Romans 1,500 years ago and on the very top of the agger, or "gathered heap" as Ossian the Caledonian bard contentiously called it [see p. 100]. One of the daughters turned over a large stone which had been loosened by the plough for the purpose of getting it lifted into the cart, when she discovered something upon its undersurface which excited her curiosity, and after scraping away the adhering earth, she called out to her father that she had found a man. The stone, on being removed to the farm and cleaned, proved to be part of an ancient altar stone on which was beautifully and most artistically sculptured in *alto relievo*, within a square moulding, the naked figure of a Caledonian hero in captivity, bending on one knee in a suppliant attitude, with his hands tied behind his back. ... We trust that a photogram will be taken of the figure.'[201] A second, adjoining fragment was found soon after. The stones, which may well be part of a distance slab, were kept for a while in the milk-house at Arniebog farm before being donated to the Hunterian Museum in 1872.[202]

Royal Visitors: Victoria and Albert

In September 1842 Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, travelling by carriage southwards from Perthshire en route to Edinburgh, passed Ardoch,[203] their brief halt permanently commemorated on a stone tablet beside the public road. Prince Albert described Ardoch fort as 'this interesting memorial of the "Mother of Dead Empires" '.[204] Farther south, they halted for four minutes in the grounds of Callendar House, Falkirk, the home of William Forbes, MP for Stirlingshire, the son of the copper merchant, for a change of horses, to the acclaim of cheering crowds and much pageantry.[205] Subsequently the cut through the Wall directly in front of the House, which we know was made about 1680 (see p. 42), was ascribed in local tradition to this William Forbes, allegedly to

Illustration 78
Façade of the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow College, which opened to the public in 1807, photographed *c* 1870 by Thomas Annan, reproduced from W Stewart (ed), *The University of Glasgow Old and New*, 1891.

enable the Queen to view his house from the public road.

In August 1849 Victoria and Albert made a visit to Glasgow College, with very little advance notice given. A committee was formed to make the necessary preparations. 'The Committee could not lose sight of the possibility of Her Majesty, or of Her Royal Consort, extending their inspection somewhat farther, and particularly of the possibility of their paying a visit to the Museum. Here, likewise, therefore, some preparations required to be made, particularly in the way of cleaning, of laying down a stair carpet, and of having the chairs and settees in the Cupola room renovated. The Roman Stones were also taken out, thoroughly washed and arranged around the Museum Court, as an object likely to interest the Prince Consort should he pay a visit to the Museum' (illus 78). However, it was all to no purpose. The royal couple spent only a few minutes at the College before continuing to Queen Street railway station, for the onward journey by rail to Balmoral.[206]

Notes

1 Trail 1812; Coutts 1909: 194.
2 One such visitor was Bishop Richard Pococke in 1747 (Pococke 1887: 3).
3 Kinsley 1973: 41.
4 Keppie 1998: 18.
5 University of Glasgow 1768.
6 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 26643, p. 225. Some of the copper plates survive.
7 Keppie 1998: 22.
8 University of Glasgow 1792. See Keppie 1998: 30.
9 Maitland 1757.
10 Gough 1780: 572; Emery 1959.
11 NRS GD18/5030/88.
12 Gough 1780: 572.
13 Macdonald 1934: 78.
14 For example, on its course east of Bar Hill and at Castlehill (Maitland 1757: 177, 181). On the other hand he was correct to highlight the incorrect siting of Camelon on two of Horsley's maps (Maitland 1757: 173).
15 Maitland 1757: 179. For the 'steps of Balmilly' see above p. 43.
16 Maitland 1757: 176.

17 Brown 1974; 1980: 32. The O'on stood only about 200m from the towerhouse built by Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse in 1622. We must be grateful that this earlier Bruce did not then dismantle the adjacent O'on for building materials.

18 In 356 BC Herostratus set fire to the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

19 *Antiquarian Repertory* 3 (1780): 74. See also SAL Minute Book IV, p. 16 (meeting of 21 July 1743).

20 A lewis hole.

21 *Antiquarian Repertory*, loc cit. See SAL Minute Book IV, p. 171 (meeting of 27 October 1743).

22 *Antiquarian Repertory* 3 (1780): 75.

23 *Antiquarian Repertory* 3 (1780): opposite p. 75. The Latin quotation, taken from Virgil (*Georgics*, iii.38), spells out the severe punishments Bruce would endure in the Underworld.

24 John Elphinstone (1706–53), the mapmaker, who lived at Airth north of Falkirk.

25 NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (iii), fol 59. For accounts of the O'on postdating its destruction, see Maitland 1757: 208; Gough 1780: 721.

26 For the date see NRS GD18/5027/7. In popular tradition destruction followed almost immediately, rather than after an interval of five years.

27 Pennant 1774a: 243.

28 Brown 1987b; 1987c; 1995; Colvin 1995: 255. George Clerk, the third son, then a Commissioner of Customs and later fourth baronet, identified Roman sites at Milton and Torwood in Dumfriesshire, after being asked by William Roy in 1754 to make a search of the area (Roy 1793: p. viii fn; Macdonald 1921: 90).

29 NRS GD18/4213/1. In 1729 the Revd John Horsley had observed to Roger Gale that the antiquary Dr Christopher Hunter of Durham 'told me pleasantly he would threaten the people of Corbridge with a prosecution from the spirituall Court for keeping a pagan altar in their churchyard' (Lukis 1887: 97).

30 Roy 1793: p. v.

31 Balfour-Melville 1917; Macdonald 1939.

32 Gough 1789: 414*; Balfour-Melville 1917: 122; Jones & Maxwell 2008. In the 1720s Alexander Gordon was inspired by a supposed Roman sword at the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh (above p. 71).

33 Gough 1789: 414*.

34 Macdonald 1917: 169.

35 Melville 1773.

36 NRS GD126/30.

37 Roy 2007.

38 Roy 1793: p. vi; Macdonald 1917: 171; Adamson 1977; O'Donoghue 1977; MacGregor 2003; Hingley 2008: 139.

39 Roy 1793.

40 Roy 1793: 161, pl xxxix; cf Macdonald 1917: 186.

41 For his burdens and responsibilities in these years, see Prebble 1975: passim.

42 Keppie 1998: 23.

43 Graham 1812; McGuire 1988; Gibson 2007.

44 Nimmo 1777, 11; Roy 1793, pl xxxv.

45 Roy 1793: 162; Macdonald 1911: 138; 1934: 120; RCAHMS 1963: 318 no 267.

46 Forbes of Callendar Papers, Falkirk Archives, A727.271/5.

47 Ibid A727.271/7.

48 Nimmo 1777: 468; Wilson 1797: 88; Vasey 1992.

49 Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/SH/5/382, p. 40.

50 NRS GD18/4736; cf NRS GD18/5850, 5851.

51 Smeaton 1768. The 'Roman Wall' features on Smeaton's general map.

52 *Apollo* 86 (1967): 168.

53 Port Dundas in Glasgow, Dundas Cottages near Castlecary and Laurieston near Falkirk take their names from the family, as did the *Charlotte Dundas*, the world's first working steam tug, built in 1800 for use on the Canal.

54 Lindsay 1968b.

55 On Laurie see p. 97.

56 Wilson 1797: 89. See Scott 1994: 80.

57 Pratt 1922: 106; Lindsay 1968a: 32.

58 RCAHMS 1963: 436.

59 Haldane 1968: 138; Nimmo 1880: 135; Scott 1994: 68. The environs of Rough Castle served for a time as a gathering ground for the cattle; hence the place-names Achnabuth (field of tents) west of Rough Castle, and Tentfield Plantation eastwards from it (Reid 2009: 313). A plan dated 1786 shows a pend near Camelon leading south to a cattle market just south of the Wall at 'Grames Dyk' (Original held at Falkirk Archives, A727.4292). Later the Tryst moved to Stenhousemuir north of the Canal.

60 NRS BR/FCN/1/2, p. 115. One of Sir John Clerk's sons viewed the 'ground opened' there (NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (ii), fol 233).

61 Roy 1793: pl xxxix.

62 SUA OA/5/5 fol 44; Anderson 1793: 200. Presumably samian ware is meant.

63 Nimmo 1777: 6. The quarry is shown on an estate plan of the later 18th century (*c* 1784) now held by Perth Museum and Art Gallery; copy at NMRS (STD/13/6 P).

64 SUA OA/5/5 fol 45.

65 NRS BR/FCN/1/2, p. 182; Keppie 1998: 25.

66 SUA OA/5/5, unpaginated; NRS BR/FCN/1/2, p. 344; Keppie 1998: 29.

67 Ireland 1881: 10.

68 Soc Antiq Scot MS 626. See Macdonald 1911: 154; 1934: 333. I have inserted some punctuation but have otherwise left the spelling and grammar unaltered. John Bruce, the Helensburgh antiquary (see p. 131), subsequently had custody of the manuscript which he later presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

69 Otherwise unknown.

70 In 1775 Knox carried off to his house in Richmond, Surrey the 'Nero' stone from Duntocher (above p. 73); it is now lost (see Knox 1785: 611; RIB 2202; Keppie 2004: 181, 210 with fig 21).

71 Macdonald 1934: 338, fig 50. Stuart 1844: 290 writes that a 'length of base was removed'.

72 Bruce 1893: 36 states this as a fact.

73 NRS BR/FCN/1/96, p. 146.

74 NRS BR/FCN/1/96, pp. 147–54.

75 Muir 1950; Wood 1995; Butt 1996.

76 Murray 1927: 55; Nolan 1938: 74, 190.

77 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 26690, pp. 29–30; cf NRS BR/FCN/1/2, p. 182: See Keppie 1998: 25.

78 Major Chalmers of Camelon.

79 The home of Sir Lawrence Dundas near Grangemouth.

80 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 58282.

81 SUA OA/5/5.

82 Minute Book of the Glasgow Literary Society (now in the Royal Faculty of Procurators, Glasgow; transcription in Glasgow University Library (MS Murray 505, p. 37).

83 Actually 1,628 years.

84 SUA OA/5/5 fol 1.

85 SUA OA/5/5 fols 21–22. For Laurie see above p. 93. The map does not appear to survive.

86 SUA OA/5/5 fol 21. His measurements probably included the upcast mound, as so often in antiquarian accounts.

87 SUA OA/5/5 fol 27.

88 *RIB* 2173.

89 SUA OA/5/5 fol 40.

90 SUA OA/5/5, unpaginated.

91 For such criticism see Roy 1793: 156.

92 *RIB* 2146, 2150, 2155 = *CSIR* 80; *CSIR* 76 (Keppie 1998: nos 18, 27, 28, 54).

93 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 58284.

94 Butt 1996: 62; Hamilton 1996: 24.

95 SUA OB/1/1/5, p. 373.

96 Anon 1831: 15. As the coins go unmentioned in his lectures of 1770–3, perhaps Anderson acquired them subsequently.

97 Minute Book of the Managers and Trustees of Anderson's Institution (SUA OB/1/1/1, p. 122).

98 SUA OB/1/1/5, pasted in at p. 376.

99 Muir 1950: 153.

100 It was known as Anderson's College or Anderson's Institution. Muir 1950: 129 has the text of Anderson's will.

101 Marjory Stewart, Librarian of the Royal Faculty of Procurators, Glasgow, kindly supplied details of his life.

102 Muir 1950: 157.

103 It can be identified as *RIB* 2171 (Keppie 1998: 32, 91 no 19).

104 Baird 1813; Pratt 1922: 155; RCAHMS 1963: 438 no 553; Lindsay 1968a: 66; Bailey 2000a. As William Forbes of Callendar would not allow his house to be visible from it, the Canal was rerouted to the south-west and tunnelled below Prospect Hill.

105 Massey 1983: 21.

106 Anon 1823.

107 Lindsay 1968a: 49; Dowds 2003: 72.

108 An enlarged edition was issued in 1780 under the title *British Topography*.

109 Badham 1987; Sweet 2001; Sweet 2004: 61.

110 Gough 1770.

111 Bod Lib MS Gough Gen.Top. 46, fol 71; cf NLS Adv MS 29.5.8 (iv), fol 100.

112 The engravings are preserved among the Gough papers at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Bod Lib MS Gough Maps 40, fols 10–12).

113 Gough 1775.

114 NLS Adv MS 29.5.6, 29.5.7. The letters are originals on both sides of the correspondence.

115 Gough 1780, 576, 589; NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (ii), fols 52, 80, 83.

116 NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (i), fol 8.

117 NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (i), fol 147.

118 NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (i), fols 16, 36.

119 NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (iii), fols 2, 14.

120 NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (iii), fol 227.

121 NLS Ad. MS 29.5.7 (iii), fol 227.

122 Doig 1971; Piggott & Robertson 1977: no 52.

123 Moore 1997.

124 Emery 1959. For two of the responses, see Pennant 1774a: 269.

125 Pennant 1793: 11.

126 Pennant 1774a: 232.

127 Pennant 1774b.

128 *Scots Magazine* April 1772: 173.

129 NLS Adv MS 29.5.5 (i), fols 10. 14, 16, 29, 31; Bod Lib MS Gough Gen.Top. 43, fols 194, 243.

130 Bod Lib MS Gough Gen.Top. 43, fol 223. Gough asked Paton to supply Pennant with the necessary information (NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (i), fol 36).

131 NLS Adv MS 29.5.5 (i), fol 90; see Walters 1976: 123.

132 Piggott 1935; 1937; 1985: 126; Sweet 2004: 175.

133 Bertram 1757.

134 Stukeley 1757.

135 Roy 1793: 91.

136 Gough 1780: 561.

137 Chalmers 1807: 126, 132; cf Stuart 1844: 97, 147.

138 Piggott 1985: 149.

139 Caros was viewed as having given his name to the River Carron. See also Nimmo 1817: 18.

140 For the text see Stafford 1988.

141 *Travellers Guide* 1798: 156.

142 Loveday 1890: 119.

143 Pococke 1887: 52, 60, 209.

144 'Tho' I had now pass'd the Roman wall twice, and had diligently search'd for the remains of it, yet I saw none' (Sher 1991: 153).

145 Czartoryski Library, Cracow, MS XVII/607, translated by Agnieszka Whelan; see Keppie 1998: 31.

146 Maclaren & Bain 1980.

147 By Clement Lempriere (1731), Herman Moll (1745) and John Elphinstone (1745).

148 Pennant 1774a; Nimmo 1777, the latter from a survey by William Edgar who had been serving in the Duke of Cumberland's army in 1745–6.

149 Piggott & Robertson 1977: no 60; Farrant 1995.

150 NMS MS 476, fol 40. They belong to the Late Bronze Age (information from Trevor Cowie, NMS).

151 Keppie 2004.

152 Knox 1785: 611.

153 Gough 1789: 362, pl xxvii; Keppie 2004: 190, 212 fig 22. They are now lost.

154 SAL Minute Book XVI, pp. 330–37; Keppie 2004: 197 fig 13.

155 NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (iii), fol 68.

156 It does not seem to have been among Anderson's possessions at his death.

157 Keppie 2004: 189.

158 Garnett 1800: 9.

159 Keppie 2004: 202.

160 Smellie 1792; Cant 1981; Piggott & Robertson 1977: nos 48–50. For an earlier attempt at the formation of a national body, see above p. 47.

161 NMS Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Minute Book 22 January 1782, p. 150. The urn, presumably from a Bronze Age burial cairn, was presented by Mr Hamilton of Orbiston, who owned land around Old Kilpatrick; the urn is not now identifiable (information from Trevor Cowie, NMS).

162 Geddes 1959; Mitchison 1962; Broadie 1997: 558.

163 Withrington and Grant 1983: 46, Questions 146–8.

164 Davidson 1793.

165 Sweet 2004.

166 Piggott 1978: 44; Piggott 1989: 123.

167 Cruttwell 1801: 268; Chapman 1812: 212. De Buzonnière 1832: 216; Anon 1838: 51; Durie 2003.

168 Gold & Gold 1995; Grenier 2005.

169 Cheape, Cowie & Wallace 2003.

170 For Scott as the youthful excavator of an Iron Age vitrified fort at Fettercairn, Kincardineshire, see Cheape, Cowie & Wallace 2003: 54.

171 NLS MS 3277, p. 132; Macdonald 1911: 179; 1934: 294; Cheape, Cowie & Wallace 2003: 66.

172 *CSIR*, Appendix (a).

173 *RIB* 2216 = *CSIR* 72; cf *RIB* 3486.

174 A gift of it to Scott by William Forbes of Callendar is most likely, *pace* Macdonald 1934: 406 fn 3. If the stone is not from the fort at Falkirk, it might have come from either Mumrills or Camelon; both lay within Forbes' extensive landholdings. Scott had, in local tradition, enjoyed the hospitality at Falkirk of the Minister, the Revd James Wilson (Love 1908: 55), who had reported the stone in his account of the parish in *The Statistical Account* (Wilson 1797: 110); perhaps Wilson alerted Scott to its presence. On Wilson see Scott 1994: 73.

175 *RIB* 3489. However, it is worth noting that John Buchanan (see p. 117) alludes to an altar from Auchendavy, which he was told had long since been taken off to Edinburgh by Sir Walter Scott 'and is, I believe, in the Antiquarian Museum' (*Glasgow Herald* 3 March 1858); no such item can now be traced.

176 Chalmers 1807: 118; Cockcroft 1939: 179, 201.

177 See also NLS Adv MS 16.2.17.

178 BL Add MS 33686. Keppie 2003 published the text and a selection of his sketches.

179 He wrote a paper on the new epigraphic and sculptural finds for the journal *Archaeologia* (Skinner 1827).

180 Geddes 1959.

181 Hamilton 1996: 24. His brother Robert Hart was prominent in the Glasgow Archaeological Society in its early years.

182 SUA OA/5/5, unpaginated. Hart may have belonged to a Bo'ness family (information from G B Bailey).

183 Brown 1989.

184 See the various papers in Bell 1981.

185 *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 3 (1857–60): 37.

186 Laskey 1813; Keppie 2007: 68. Before 1900 its Roman collections consisted solely of stones, quernstones and a bronze jug found at Lesmahagow in 1807.

187 Richardson 1811: 7. In fact only one inscribed stone (*RIB* 2146) with the term *vexillatio* was found in the course of that work.

188 Macdonald 1911: 298 no 13; 1934: 376 no 7; *RIB* 2194 = *CSIR* 138.

189 Stuart 1852: 315 fn; Keppie 1979: 7.

190 Stuart 1844: 309. It is now in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove.

191 *CSIR* 90; *RIB* 2163 = *CSIR* 91. Skinner believed that the former depicted the emperor Severus and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, who had campaigned in Scotland in the early 3rd century (see Skinner 1827) The stone was presented to the then National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1910.

192 *RIB* 2160. The stone was presented to the then National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1922.

193 *RIB* 2179 = *CSIR* 116. See Davies 1976; Keppie & Walker 1985.

194 Stuart 1852: 332 fn.

195 *RIB* 2201; Keppie 1998: 108 no 42.

196 Stuart 1852: 300 fn.

197 Watson 1845: 141; Donelly 1897. The stone bears several barely discernible modern inscriptions, in English. See also *Britannia* 34 (2003): 303.

198 *RIB* 2198; see Buchanan 1883a; Macdonald 1911: 280 no 8; 1934: 383 no 10; Keppie 1998: 35.

199 In 1872 Daniel Wilson penned a short article for the *Toronto Daily Globe*, which confirmed that the stone had indeed been destroyed, and is not currently lurking in any of the present-day museums in Chicago (Wilson 1872). Wilson had been in direct contact with McChesnay who informed him that 'it was with my other collections over Mr Grigg's book store'; he had not totally given up hope, until the moment 'when the debris was removed, that it might be preserved on account of the comparative fire-proof quality of the stone'. (I obtained the text of Wilson's article from Tony Park, through the good offices of James J Walker.)

200 'Sheugh' is a Scots word for ditch.

201 *Glasgow Herald* 15 June 1868; Maclagan 1872.

202 Buchanan 1872; Keppie 1998: 89 no 17.

203 Buist 1842: 203. Queen Victoria recorded the visit in her diary. 'Soon after this we came to a very extraordinary Roman encampment at Ardoch, called the "Lindrum". Unsurprisingly it was Prince Albert who evinced an interest. 'Albert got out, but I remained in the carriage, and Major Moray showed it to him. They say it is one of the most perfect in existence' (Duff 1994: 35).

204 Buist 1842: loc cit.

205 Buist 1842: 219; Duff 1994: 36; Bailey 1993.

206 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 26701, pp. 193, 199; Keppie 1998: 34; Keppie 2007: 73.

Chapter 7

The coming of the railways

In earlier centuries travellers had reached Scotland by road or sea, on horseback or by carriage, and later by stagecoach. The decades from the 1820s onwards witnessed another transport revolution, the coming of the railways, whose construction involved the raising of embankments and the excavation of tunnels and bold cuttings. The railways not only linked Glasgow to Edinburgh via Falkirk, but also Glasgow and the South to Stirling, and Edinburgh

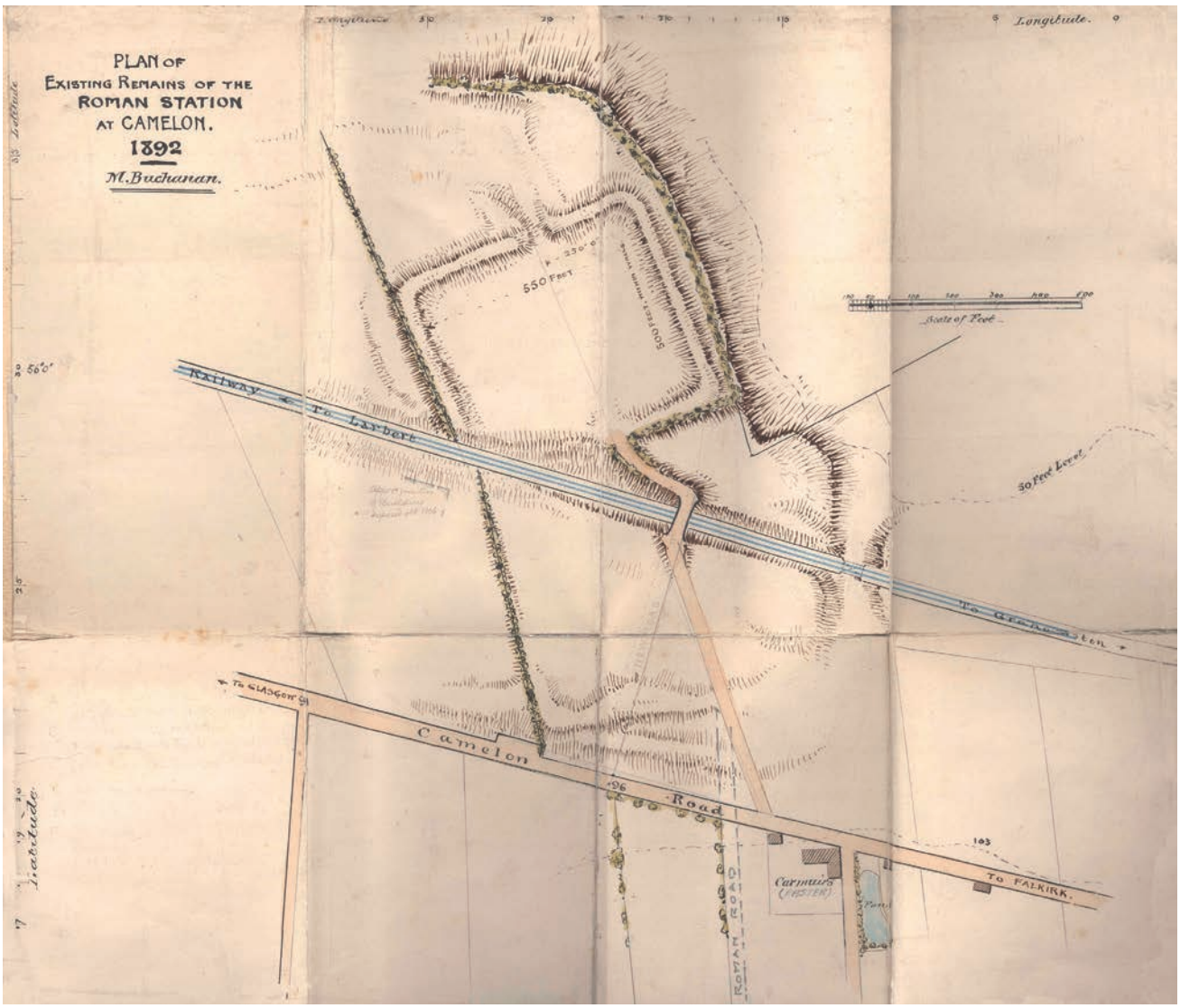


Illustration 79
Earthworks at Camelon drawn by Mungo Buchanan in 1892, prior to excavation of the fort (© Falkirk Archives, A067.011).

to Stirling.[1] Construction in 1839–42 of the line between Edinburgh and Glasgow saw the railway pass directly across the fort at Castlecary. Glasgow antiquary John Buchanan (see p. 117) witnessed the devastation caused. About 3.5m of overburden was removed across the site.[2] 'This soil, if it can be so called, was in many places almost one entire mass of broken stones mingled with fragments of pottery, among which last were many pieces of jars, vases and basins – some of a cream colour, and others of a lively red, elegantly ornamented with flowers and figures.'[3] The description suggests finds of mortaria and samian ware. Buchanan was able to secure some inscribed and sculptured stones, as well as small finds.[4] In 1841 work in progress at Brightons south-east of Falkirk yielded an inscribed altar to the god Hercules Magusanus.[5]

The construction of the Polmont Junction Railway in 1851, which linked Edinburgh to Stirling via Falkirk, involved a cut across the fort site at Camelon, as well as the then-unknown temporary camps lying to its north and west (illus 79).[6] A massive stone-lined and stone-capped drain was revealed.[7] About 1868 the spot was further investigated by the farmer and local antiquaries,[8] in the company of the obstetrician and chloroform pioneer Sir James Young Simpson (1811–70).[9] Sir James had a long-standing interest in archaeology. In 1860 he was elected Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and in the same year Professor of Antiquities at the Royal Scottish Academy.[10] The work at Camelon in 1868 yielded a rich haul of small finds, all now lost, including wood, animal bones, clay bricks, one with the imprint of a dog's paw, and pottery, including a stamped amphora-handle.

In his inaugural address to the Society of Antiquaries in November 1860, Simpson lamented the widespread damage to antiquities caused by the 'rough and ponderous hoof' of the 'iron horse'. From a train he had observed at Castlecary 'the farmer in the immediate neighbourhood of this station busily removing a harmless wall – among the last, if not the very last, remnants of Roman masonry in Scotland'.[11] The modern traveller by rail between Edinburgh and

Illustration 80
Castlecary village from the south-west, showing the railway viaduct (1841) and the modern road system, photographed 1996. The Roman fort lies to the right of the viaduct (© L Keppie).

Glasgow can several times observe the Wall from the comfort of his carriage (illus 80).

Further railways were built as the century progressed. By 1900 the Wall had been crossed by more than a dozen lines, including to Kilsyth, Dumbarton, Milngavie and Bo'ness. A station at Kirkintilloch, on a line leading north to Lennoxtown, was constructed astride the Wall, on low ground east of the Luggie Water. Branches served industrial premises at Nethercroy, Twechar, Bonnybridge and Rough Castle.

The Revd Hugh Baird, secessionist Minister at Cumbernauld, describes in 1864 'the glassy surface of the Forth and Clyde Canal, crossing the country like a great inland river, while now and then sloops and barges dragged by horses, and passenger and other boats propelled by steam, move slowly along the surface. There, close at hand, is the station of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway [at Castlecary], where the warning bell announces a stopping train, whose living crowds are rapidly carried over the very centre of the old Roman fort'.[12]

Two Glasgow antiquaries: John Buchanan and Robert Stuart

A native of Glasgow employed for many years as Secretary of the Western Bank of Scotland in the city, John Buchanan's antiquarian interests developed at an early age, and he soon began to assemble a collection of antiquities (illus 81). Buchanan (1802–78) was active along the Wall over five decades. In 1826 he walked its length 'from sea to sea'.[13] 'He knew every foot of our Roman Wall, and on it and the Roman occupation of Britain he wrote papers whose value was acknowledged in this country and on the Continent.'[14] His contemporaries were fulsome in their praise, Daniel Wilson describing him as 'my indefatigable friend and correspondent';[15] John Collingwood Bruce considered Buchanan the 'guardian genius' of the Northern Wall. 'I know not if there be another antiquary amongst the four hundred thousand inhabitants of Glasgow.'[16] Buchanan's published papers reveal his profoundly romantic approach.

In 1841 Buchanan had remonstrated on-site in a largely vain attempt to rescue material amid the devastation caused at Castlecary by the builders of the Edinburgh to Glasgow Railway (see p. 116). In 1852 while a new manse was being constructed at Cawder, he recovered a fragmentary inscribed stone, a variety of pottery, iron nails, whetstones, 'four unfinished altars' and a 'thin and neatly dressed tablet

Illustration 81
John Buchanan in his robes as an Honorary Doctor of Laws of Glasgow University, 1872, photograph published in J MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*, 1886.

ready for an inscription', finds which securely fixed the location of the hitherto missing fort.[17] Other material in his collection came from Auchendavy, Bar Hill and Kirkintilloch.[18] A selection of coins and small finds from it was exhibited in 1858 at a meeting of the newly formed Glasgow Archaeological Society.[19] When house-building was proposed on the site of the fort at New Kilpatrick in 1873, Buchanan objected strongly to the place-name 'Bearsden' provisionally applied to it; a name such as 'Chesters', reflecting the presence of the Roman fort, would have been better.[20] John Buchanan's collection was in part donated to the Hunterian Museum in 1871;[21] other items remained in the possession of his family, to be sold to the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, in 1893.[22]

In 1841 John Buchanan showed his collection to a young man named Robert Stuart (1812–48), an experience which prompted the latter to embark on the preparation of a book on the Romans in Scotland,

which he adjudged an unjustly neglected field.[23] In 1842 John Buchanan and Robert Stuart together watched the Military Way being 'rooted out' at Inveravon farm.[24]

Stuart's resulting volume, *Caledonia Romana*, comprehensively described sites, roads and small finds throughout Scotland.[25] The Roman invasions were commendably seen against the native background and in the context of Scottish geography. The book was profusely illustrated with drawings by the author, many copied from earlier publications, and supported by maps based on General Roy's but with additions. We could easily be surprised at a substantial book from the hand of someone previously unknown in Scottish antiquarian circles. However, 'he addressed himself to it with zeal, and the most untiring industry. He personally visited, and authenticated by drawings on the spot, almost every object of Roman antiquity in Scotland'.[26] Stuart must surely have neglected his bookselling business, which he apparently found uncongenial.

The book was intended to appeal to a wide audience; it was a popular work, in the modern sense. The style was colourful and verbose, in the flowery manner of the Victorian Age. Robert Stuart was not to enjoy its success for long. 'On the morning of the 23rd December 1848, he was attacked by cholera, then raging with frightful severity in Glasgow, and died after a few hours' illness', at the age of 37, only a few days before his father, leaving a wife and young family.[27] A second edition of the book, prepared for the press by Stuart's brother-in-law, David Thomson, Professor of Natural Philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen, contained a 'biographical sketch of the author', and addenda in the form of lengthy footnotes, supplied by John Buchanan and the multi-talented Daniel Wilson, at that time Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and soon to be Professor of English and History at University College, Toronto.[28]

Sir Daniel Wilson (knighted in 1888 for services to higher education in Canada) was among the most influential archaeological thinkers of the 19th century.[29] His *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851) placed the brief Roman occupations in a wider archaeological context.[30] He also carefully distinguished prehistoric artefacts, many of them hitherto classed as Roman. Wilson was determined not to be mesmerised by the Roman period, 'a mere episode which might altogether be omitted without very greatly marring the integrity and completeness of the national annals'.[31] The subject had, he believed, already been studied to excess. 'When Scottish archaeologists … fall to discussing the weary battle of Mons Grampius … and the like threadbare questions, they are but thrashing straw from which the very chaff has long since been gleaned to the last husk, and can only bring well-deserved ridicule on their pursuits.'[32] Wilson's was not a comprehensive account of the Wall, but an inspirational snapshot. His awareness of it is rarely mentioned by modern commentators on his life and work. Clearly however he was familiar with recent finds.[33]

In 1866 Professor Emil Hübner of Berlin made a brief visit to Scotland during preparation of the British volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Corpus of Latin Inscriptions), which authoritatively drew together the epigraphic texts on stone, pottery and other materials from the Roman province.[34] In Edinburgh, Hübner consulted Sibbald's papers at the Faculty of Advocates, then went by train to Glasgow, noting the Wall on its parallel course. He was warmly received at Glasgow College. In print Hübner acknowledged John Buchanan's helpfulness to him during the visit and after.[35]

The establishment of archaeological societies

The middle and later decades of the 19th century witnessed an explosion of interest in antiquities among professional classes and the public in general, manifesting itself in the foundation of archaeological and historical societies across Britain.[36] Regular programmes of lectures were held and might be published in a society's *Proceedings* or *Transactions*.[37] Group excursions were made to sites and monuments, and later to excavations in progress, by train, horse-drawn carriages and extended walks.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland founded in 1780–1 had long been the country's only such body (see p. 103). In June 1849 a party of its Fellows journeyed by train from Edinburgh to Glasgow, thence in a hired 'omnibus and four [horses]' to Duntocher, where they spent the day excavating a cairn 'on the line of Roman wall at Cochno', very much in the barrow-digging fashion of the day.[38]

In the 1840s an Antiquarian Society came into existence in Glasgow; but it did not long survive.[39] However, in December 1856 the *Glasgow Herald* reported on a meeting held in the city of 'gentlemen favourable to the formation of an Archaeological Society'; the Lord Provost chaired the meeting, and was elected the first President of the resulting

Glasgow Archaeological Society.[40] In September 1867 its members travelled by 'omnibus' to view the impressive remains of the Wall and its Ditch at Ferguston Muir, Bearsden, followed by lunch at an inn.[41] In 1876, on learning that the British Association for the Advancement of Science was to visit Glasgow, the Society prepared information for participants on historical monuments in the area, including on the Wall between New Kilpatrick (Bearsden) and Cawder.[42] At much the same time the writing of county histories and town biographies, very much a feature of antiquarianism in England, became more common in Scotland.

Country walks were a popular feature of an increasingly urbanised society in the mid-19th century. Hugh MacDonald's *Rambles round Glasgow, descriptive, historical and traditional* (1854) provides a picture of a countryside subsequently much altered, before the growth of commuter suburbs. The Wall is noticed several times. Roman stonework was still to be observed in field dykes, and the hollow of the Ditch at Buchley (between Cawder and Balmuildy) was then serving as a horse-pond. At one point MacDonald describes a group of antiquaries examining 'stepping stones' across the River Kelvin at Balmore north-west of Balmuildy, one of which they felt might once have been inscribed. The group were unanimous in the belief that it was a relic of the time of Antoninus Pius. 'One of the party, adjusting his spectacles, proposes to take an accurate measurement of the valuable relic; another, who seems an artist, at once commences sketching it; while a third mutters something about a communication to the Antiquarian Society.'[43] However, they were disabused by a passing damsel, 'for it's jist Redbog's auld cheese-press that I've wrought monie a day mysel, and whilk was cuist aside when they got yon new-fangled machine'.[44] We could suspect that the story is elaborated, but at the very least it reflects current attitudes to antiquarian activity.

In 1883 George Waldie of Linlithgow walked the Wall from east to west, much as the Revd John Skinner had done in 1825 (see p. 106). This was 'a series of walks, for health and recreation and friendly talks, with some associates who formed a sort of informal club'.[45] It was a time when admission to country estates could not be taken for granted, and might have to be negotiated. Waldie was knowledgeable about recent finds, and deprecated developments detrimental to the Wall, for example on Boclair Road, Bearsden where 'The road is lined with the "villas" of Glasgow people, whose minds are not certainly taken up with the Roman wall or any such concerns, as we could not see on any of their gate-posts anything but fine-sounding names, having no reference to either wall or fort'.[46] The expansion of Bearsden at this time obliterated most traces of the Wall and its Ditch; but some remnants were preserved in gardens.[47]

Societies had their high and low points, and not all endured. At first all members of such societies were men, but as the decades passed, ladies too were welcomed. The Glasgow Archaeological Society came close to succumbing, before being resuscitated with renewed vigour in 1877; 'as the rules admit ladies also, it is hoped that some, perhaps many, of them may be induced to take an interest in the Society and its pursuits'.[48] On 28 November 1878 its members travelled by train to Linlithgow, then 'drove over' to Bridgeness on the Forth where Mr Cadell of Grange showed them the findspot of the distance slab recently dug up on his land (illus 8);[49]

Illustration 82
Mungo Buchanan, *c* 1902 (© Falkirk Archives, P05456).

they then walked westwards along the Wall, with George Waldie as their guide, to Bo'ness where they boarded a train for Glasgow.[50]

Societies took over the mantle of reporting new discoveries and protecting monuments, where they could. In January 1884 Alexander McIntyre gave a paper to the Glasgow Archaeological Society on the Carrick Stone near Cumbernauld (see p. 108; illus 75), regretting that 'cattle … use it as a rubbing stone. It is being chipped away by thoughtless passers-bye [*sic*]'.[51] The President of the Society was asked to draw the landowner's attention to this, with the result that a fence was erected to protect it.

The nine-day visit of the British Archaeological Association to Glasgow in September 1888 was the occasion for receptions and lectures. Excursions included an outing by train to Bonnybridge where the participants were met by local antiquaries, before walking eastwards along the Wall via Rough Castle to Bantaskin House where they enjoyed wine and cake. Thereafter they travelled in carriages eastwards to Falkirk for a civic lunch, and afterwards were shown 'a curious sculptured stone which had been found near the Roman wall'.[52]

The Northumbrians: Hodgson and Bruce

Interest in the Wall between Forth and Clyde had in past generations been combined with an awareness of the Hadrianic barrier between Tyne and Solway. Antiquaries wrote about both. From the middle of the 19th century, when the advent of the railways made travel easier, investigators on the southern wall were keen to see more of the northern, and vice versa.[53]

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle was the earliest non-national Society established in England outside London.[54] Its founding co-secretary from 1813 to 1834 was the Revd John Hodgson (1779–1846), vicar successively at several Northumbrian parishes. Hodgson spent many years preparing a multi-volume *History of Northumberland*,[55] in which Hadrian's Wall and its outposts featured strongly; helpfully Hodgson also described the constituent parts of the Antonine Wall, based on the antiquarian sources, and listed inscribed stones found along it.[56] Hodgson does not seem to have visited to see the remains, though we know he made a tour of Scotland in 1834;[57] a correspondent W D Wilson of Glenarbuck near Old Kilpatrick supplied him with information on recent finds.[58] It is to Hodgson that we owe the belated realisation that the stone wall from Tyne to Solway was built in the reign of Hadrian, not under Severus as hitherto supposed (see p. 8).

Hodgson was succeeded as Secretary of the Newcastle Antiquaries by Glasgow graduate the Revd John Collingwood Bruce (1805–92), best remembered for the sequence of Pilgrimages which he organised and led along Hadrian's Wall, from 1849 onwards,[59] and for the accompanying *Handbooks*

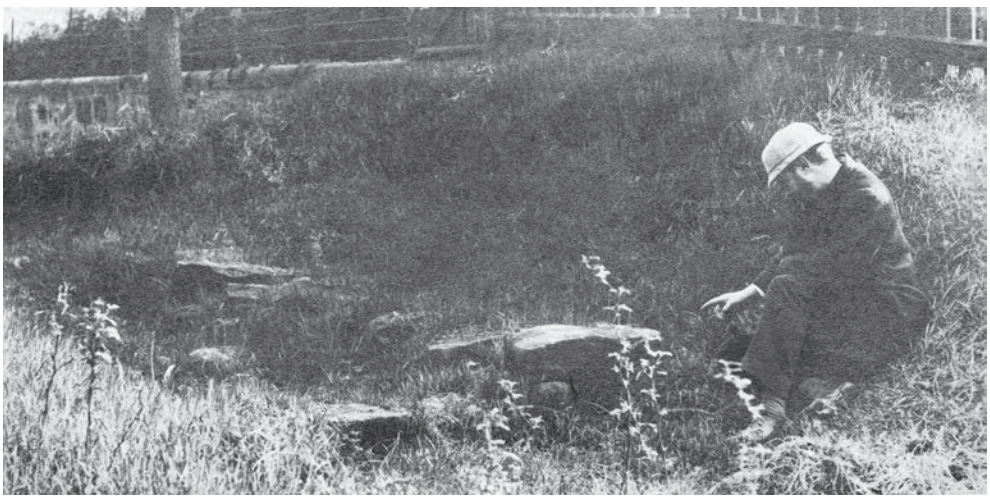


Illustration 83
John MacLuckie examining a culvert across the stone base of the Wall at Tayavalla west of Falkirk, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, May 1891 (© Falkirk Archives, A067.011).

which have continued to be published to the present day.[60] Bruce toured the Antonine Wall in 1856, and was several times welcomed as a lecturer in Glasgow and Edinburgh.[61] In 1883 he delivered the prestigious Rhind Lectures at Edinburgh, under the title 'The Romans in Britain'; one lecture was devoted to the Antonine Wall.[62]

The Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882

Antiquaries had long expressed regret that there was no statutory protection against defacement or wholesale removal of monuments by their landowners. Some of the latter had, we can deduce, a reasonably positive attitude towards it, but many were indifferent. Where it stood in the path of agricultural improvement or financial gain, its fate was often sealed.

The fort walls at Castlecary serve as an example. Among *Notes and Additions* appended in 1817 to the revised edition of William Nimmo's *History of Stirlingshire* by the editor, the Revd William Stirling, Minister of Port of Menteith, is this observation. 'As the late Sir Laurence Dundas (see p. 93) the proprietor was an *ameteur* [*sic*] of classical antiquities, and his successor Lord Dundas had been chosen President of the Society [of] Scottish Antiquaries,[63] [the editor] had concluded that the Roman Castle Cary must be in high preservation. Guess, then, his surprize when … [he] discovered that the august Roman fortress … had been levelled so as to be no longer visible. No other blame, he is confident, can attach to the noble proprietor, than the want of attention to a curiosity which, from his residence in England, he must have seldom had occasion to see.'[64] In fact Lord Dundas had authorised the use of dynamite to remove the fort walls in 1809.[65] As Robert Gillespie, the editor of the third edition of Nimmo's monograph, remarked in 1880: 'Pity that such national heirlooms had not been placed under proper protection. Even within the last twenty years, a considerable proportion of the *castellum* walls [of the fort at Castlecary] has been wilfully razed, and the historical stones carted away for the purposes of steading-buildings and dykes; but it might be a difficult task to convince the utilitarian farmer that such grasping demolition of these real antiquities is something akin to a criminal misdemeanour.'[66]

Finally in 1882 an *Ancient Monuments Protection Act* was passed by parliament in London. Lieut-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers was appointed Inspector of Ancient Monuments, with a country-wide remit.[67] The task of 'scheduling' monuments proceeded at a very slow pace.[68] In April 1894 the Secretary of State for Scotland wrote to the Glasgow Archaeological Society asking which stretches of the Wall were most worthy of protection under the *Act*;[69] but it was not until 1926 that any parts of the Wall were 'scheduled'.[70]

Antiquaries at Falkirk

Another focus of activity centred on Falkirk and Stirling. Solicitor and poet John W Reddoch of Falkirk corresponded with Sir Walter Scott,[71] and sent information on local finds to the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh. Collingwood Bruce mentions the assistance he received, on a visit to the Forth–Clyde line in 1856, from 'Mr Dollar of Falkirk, who from his boyhood has taken a great interest in the Wall'.[72]

Illustration 84
The Military Way on Croy Hill, cut by the track of a newly laid mineral railway, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, June 1891 (© Falkirk Archives, A067.011)

In 1879–80 Dr W W Ireland, a member of the newly formed Stirling Field Club, walked westwards along the Wall from Carriden to Castlecary, a perambulation which he reported on verbally to its

Illustration 85
Antiquaries from Glasgow and Falkirk at Rough Castle fort, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, May 1891 (© Falkirk Archives, P02116).

members.[73] This was followed in 1881 by his 'three days' journey in search of the Roman wall', from Old Kilpatrick eastwards to Castlecary, published in its *Transactions*.[74] Dr Ireland saw the stone base unearthed during digging of foundations for a villa in Boclair Road, Bearsden (see p. 119), chequered building stones in the 'wall of the bank enclosing the canal horse track at Cawder' and similar stones at the Peel Park, Kirkintilloch.

In 1889 the Glasgow Archaeological Society learned that a proposed railway branch-line from Bonnybridge to a chemical works at Camelon could destroy a well preserved stretch of the Wall and Ditch at Tamfourhill, west of Falkirk, which British Archaeological Association members had examined 'with much pleasure' the previous September. Both the Glasgow Archaeological Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland raised objections in writing, invoking the aid of General Pitt-Rivers.[75]

At the end of the 19th century the most prominent antiquary at Falkirk was the draughtsman Mungo Buchanan (1845–1923), a keen photographer (illus 82); some of his output survives. Buchanan's pocket-book, doubtless a treasured possession, has a fold-out plan of the Wall with pasted-in photographs, and notes in small, neat handwriting.[76] He also annotated his own set of OS maps, on one of which he marked an installation at the west end of Seabegs Wood, evidently the fortlet found there only in 1977.[77] Another stalwart was John Reddoch MacLuckie (1839–1907), whom we shall meet in connection with the excavations at Camelon and Castlecary (see p. 131).[78]

In 1891 Buchanan photographed a culvert which had been earlier exposed at 'Tayavalla', a house on the western outskirts of Falkirk at Tamfourhill (illus 83),[79] and a recent section cut across the Military Way on Croy Hill (illus 84). In addition he made a plan of Camelon before its excavation (illus 79), of the culvert at Tayavalla and of one of the sections cut in 1891 by the Glasgow Archaeological Society in Bonnyside Wood (see p. 125).[80]

In 1893 the construction of a house at Tamfourhill west of Falkirk resulted in the destruction of the 12th-century motte (the 'Maiden Castle') which had hitherto sat atop the upcast mound there (see p. 21). The house was given the name Watling Lodge; its stable block nestled in the hollow of the Antonine Ditch (illus 5). Mungo Buchanan was on hand to observe landscaping of the associated garden, which revealed the stone rampart-base of a fortlet guarding the passage of the Roman road ('Watling Street') which branched off from the Military Way northwards to Camelon and beyond.[81] Buchanan made notes and drew a ground-plan.[82]

Soon after, it came to the attention of antiquaries that the then Mr Forbes of Callendar had feued more land in the same area for housing. It was feared that a long stretch of the frontier could be lost.[83] The Glasgow Archaeological Society put its 'extreme regret' in writing a letter to Mr Forbes, published in the *Glasgow Herald*.[84] Copies were sent to other Societies,[85] to the Secretary of State for Scotland, and to General Pitt-Rivers, Inspector under the 1882 Act.[86]

The beginnings of organised excavation: *The Antonine Wall Report*

In December 1890 *The Scotsman* newspaper reported that 'For a considerable number of years it has been supposed that everything of real importance connected with the wall of Antoninus stretching between the Forth and the Clyde has been fully expiscated',[87] and the monument given over to 'that romantic Philistine, the Glasgow pic-nicker'.[88]

However, the construction late in 1890 of a railway spur to link a newly opened mine at Nethercroy with the main Glasgow–Edinburgh line, which involved a cut across the Wall on the eastern flank of Croy Hill, prompted a flurry of activity.[89] Alexander Park, factor to the Whitelaw family on the nearby Gartshore Estate, investigated, at the Glasgow Archaeological Society's request. The Military Way was identified (illus 84); subsequent excavation closer to the Ditch revealed the stone base of the Wall. Initially there was some confusion over what had been found, the stone base being interpreted as another roadway. Soon after, estate workers at Park's disposal made further cuts between Bar Hill and Croy Hill.[90] 'Those who wish to see what has already been done should take the train to Dullatur Station. If they then take a five minutes walk westward in the direction of Croyhill, where the Carron new line crosses the Roman *fossa*, he [*sic*] will find the first trench.'[91]

Illustration 86
Turf rampart reconstructed by James Russell at Bonnyside near Rough Castle fort, as photographed probably by John Annan, 1891; a member of Russell's family is standing in front of it (Courtesy of Professor James Russell).

On 19 March 1891, as a consequence of Park's discoveries around Croy, the Council of the Glasgow Archaeological Society established a Committee 'to visit the Wall together and to report as to what would be collectively agreed as facts disclosed by the investigations'.[92] This was definitively to mark the beginning of systematic study of the Wall by organised excavation and recording of its surviving remains. The Committee consisted of William Jolly, Inspector of Schools (as convener), George Neilson, solicitor and Scottish historian, Peter Macgregor Chalmers, architect and designer of many churches, James Barclay Murdoch of Capelrig, prominent in the Glasgow Geological Society, and Alexander Park. Another early participant was farmer James Russell of Longcroft near Castlecary. None had any prior experience in the excavation or recording of ancient remains. The membership of the Committee is testimony to the wide-ranging backgrounds of the Glasgow Society's members and the absence of professional archaeologists. However, this was a situation about to change. Francis Haverfield (1860–1919) was then putting the study of Roman Britain on a firmer academic footing. In 1892 he left schoolmastering to take up a Fellowship at Christ Church, Oxford; later, from 1907 until his death, he was Camden Professor of Ancient History at Brasenose College.[93]

Between 1891 and 1893 some 20 trenches were cut under the Committee's supervision between Rough Castle in the east and Bar Hill in the west. The actual digging was undertaken by estate workers, particularly those lent by Alexander Whitelaw of Gartshore. James Russell superintended the sections at Seabegs, Bonnyside and Rough Castle.[94] Cuts were also made across the north and west ramparts of Rough Castle fort. Though the ground was mostly restored after the sections had been formally recorded, the locations of several were visible decades later, in some cases presumably as the result of subsidence of backfilled material.[95]

Members of the Committee went several times to inspect and record the features revealed, making effective use of stops on the Glasgow to Edinburgh railway line. It was agreed in advance that 'no fact

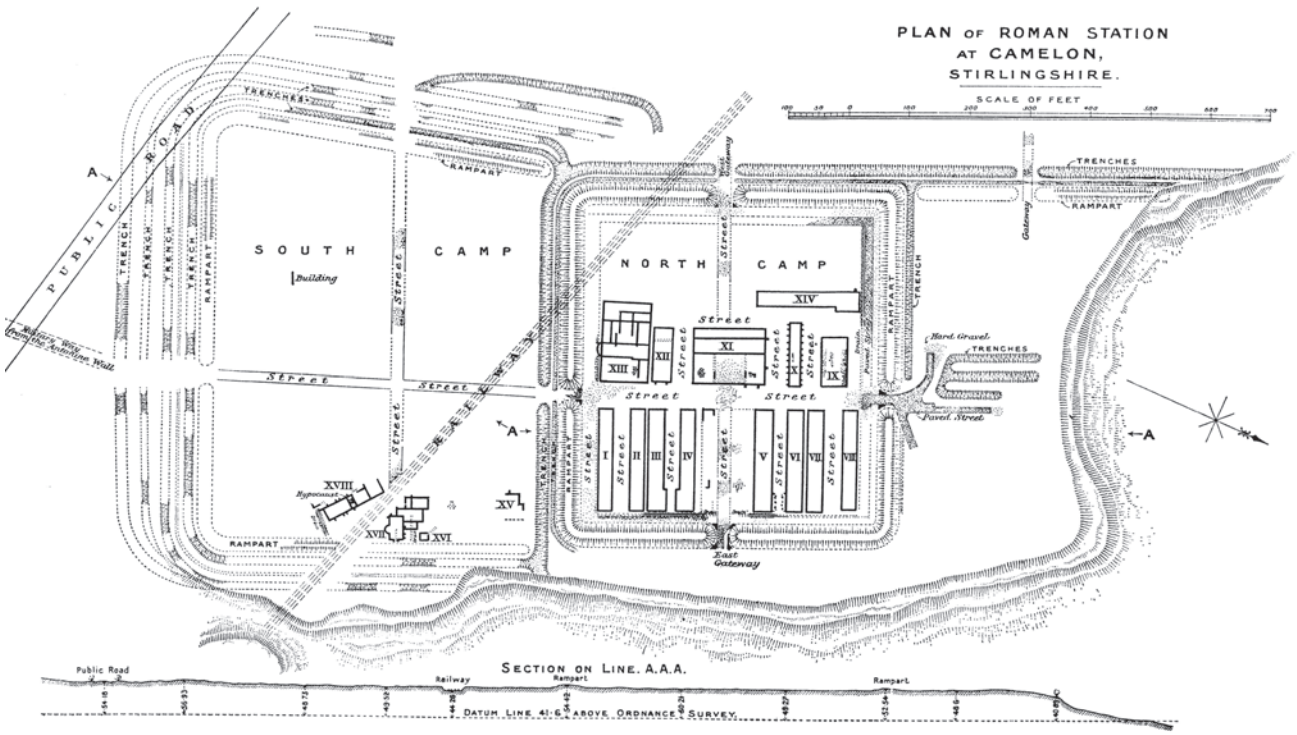


Illustration 87
Ground plan of Camelon fort after excavation in 1901, drawn by Mungo Buchanan, published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 35, 1900–1 (© Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

Illustration 88
Torso of the god Hermes, in buff sandstone
(© National Museums Scotland).

should be set down unless at least two members of the Committee were present and concurred'.[96] In May 1891 members of the Society led by William Jolly travelled by train to Bonnybridge to view the results of the work thus far, their numbers restricted by bad weather; they were joined by some local antiquaries and their ladies.[97] At Rough Castle the group was photographed by Mungo Buchanan sitting atop the rampart mound (illus 85).

Excavation was carried on in the midst of 'wintry weather and railway strikes – alike hostile to antiquarian excursions',[98] and later an influenza outbreak, as well as vandalism.[99] As George Neilson, one of the participants, observed, 'when messieurs the archaeologists were out at the place [Croy Hill, in 1891] … it was a sight to see them, storm defiant, face a merciless rain, and with measuring tapes and note books explore and examine and measure and wrestle with and record the dimensions … There were amongst them septuagenarians, who were foremost in the fray!'[100] Three sections were reopened and another dug specially for the visit on 15 August 1891 of the Royal Archaeological Institute, whose members made a day-excursion from Edinburgh where its Congress was being held.[101] In September 1891 George Neilson made a close study of the Hadrianic 'Vallum' between Tyne and Solway, which offered parallels for the turf rampart between Forth and Clyde; a swiftly published booklet outlined his conclusions.[102]

In the summer of 1891 James Russell of Longcroft (see p. 124) erected a 8m long 'peat stack' in imitation of the Wall, astride its line at Bonnyside west of Rough Castle, which must constitute one of the earliest attempts at archaeological reconstruction (illus 86).[103] The aim was to establish the likely overall height of the rampart. Russell's reconstruction was 3.2m (10 feet 6 inches) high and *c* 2.8m (9 feet) wide at the top. In August 1891 William Jolly asked Russell to 'have the sections ready and your Wall prepared for critical inspection' by the Royal Archaeological Institute.[104] A member of Russell's family was photographed standing in front of it.[105] Set atop the excavated remains of the well-preserved turf rampart, but itself constructed of earth revetted with turf cheeks, it did not long survive the Scottish weather.[106]

Regular reports on progress were given to the Glasgow Society by George Neilson and others, and appeared in the press.[107] At a meeting on 17 December 1891 William Jolly opened the proceedings with a general report and Peter Macgregor Chalmers spoke on 'The vallum, berm and fosse: their correlation',[108] wherein he argued, importantly, that the height of the Wall and the width of the berm were related, so allowing soldiers atop it an uninterrupted view into the accompanying Ditch.[109] In May 1893, when the Glasgow Society learned of a forthcoming visit to Scotland by General Oscar von Sarwey, Military Director of the German *Limes* Commission, who was seeking to compare Roman military installations in Germany with the frontier lines in northern Britain,[110] a subcommittee was formed to ensure that he was suitably welcomed and entertained.[111] Von Sarwey

was accompanied by Francis Haverfield and Professor William Ramsay of Aberdeen, the epigrapher of Asia Minor; reports appeared in the press.[112] One of the sections on Croy Hill was reopened for their visit.[113] The Glasgow Committee was much gratified by this high-powered academic interest.

Illustration 89
Antiquaries including John MacLuckie examining the stone torso (illus 88) at Camelon, 1905 (© Falkirk Archives, P05471).

A detailed record, *The Antonine Wall Report*, was published at the Society's expense in 1899. It opened with a lengthy review by George Neilson of historical references to the Wall and the progress of research along it. The sections were individually described in great detail, accompanied by simple profiles by Macgregor Chalmers. The work showed conclusively that the kerbed stone base of the Wall was a continuous rather than an intermittent feature, and that it was generally 4.3m (14 feet) wide. Several culverts were exposed. The 'stripey layerings' of the turf stack above the stone base were much remarked on, and confirmed its 'caespiticious nature'.[114] It was William Jolly who first drew attention to 'these strange dark pencillings which streak the face of every section', and George Neilson who correctly interpreted them as layers of turf. 'Often they bend and dip suddenly, and make curves and angles in their journey across.'[115] It was the first time that the turfwork had been examined in such detail; up to 19 layerings were observed. The turves were laid grass downwards. The angle of batter was established. The material from the Ditch had not been, as hitherto supposed, used to form the rampart, but had gone to create the upcast mound. The Military Way too was examined and measured. The two 'expansions' on the west side of Croy Hill were established as secondary to the turf rampart;[116] Von Sarwey viewed them as corresponding to the timber towers on the German *limes.* Francis Haverfield contributed an *Appendix* to the *Report* on a recently found altar from Bar Hill, in which he took the opportunity to assess the epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the Wall, thus placing the results in a wider historical context.[117] He also provided a short note on the Hadrianic turf wall in Cumbria, for the sake of comparison. The numerous photographs in the *Report*, probably by John Annan, were the first to be published of the constituent elements of the Wall. As a consequence of the useful work being undertaken, the Ordnance Survey allocated resources for a fresh survey of the line of the Wall; levels were taken and sections drawn at points where the rampart had been exposed by the Society.[118] The results were incorporated in the ensuing publication. The OS survey was directed by Captain Oliver Ruck who subsequently wrote a lengthy paper on the workings of the Wall for the Society's *Transactions*.[119]

The Preface laments slow progress to publication, when everything was 'in type' in 1893, within a few months of the work being completed.[120] Something of the background to the delay emerges from the Minutes

Illustration 90
Tomb of John MacLuckie, Camelon Cemetery, 1907. The flat slab sits on six hypocaust pillars taken from the recent excavations at Camelon fort (© L Keppie).

of the Glasgow Archaeological Society and from press reports.[121]

Excavations at the forts

By the time *The Antonine Wall Report* appeared in 1899, to favourable reviews both at home and abroad,[122] others were in the field. Between 1895 and 1910 the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland undertook excavations, funded by public subscription, at a number of major known Roman sites in Scotland with substantial upstanding remains. Work took place at Birrens (Dumfriesshire), Burnswark (Dumfriesshire), Lyne (Peeblesshire), Ardoch (Perthshire), Inchtuthil (Perthshire), Newstead (Roxburghshire) and on or near the Wall at Camelon, Castlecary and Rough Castle.[123]

A committee was formed in Edinburgh at the Society of Antiquaries, its members choosing the sites to be investigated and raising finance to cover the costs. The physician Dr David Christison, Joint Secretary of the Antiquaries,[124] the engineer J H Cunningham who was its Treasurer, and Joseph Anderson, the long-serving Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities,[125] played leading roles, together with the architect Thomas Ross, a member of the Society's Council. Day-to-day supervision was generally left to a clerk of works, often in conjunction with locally based antiquaries, such as James Barbour, architect in Dumfries and Mungo Buchanan at Falkirk. Each report had a fairly standard format: an account of previous investigations at the site, a description of the visible remains, a report on the excavations themselves and an account of the finds, the latter penned by Joseph Anderson.[126]

The draughtsman Mungo Buchanan (see p. 122) not only prepared sectional drawings of the work at Camelon, Castlecary and Rough Castle for formal

Illustration 91
Remnant of the bath-house at Castlecary fort, as revealed during excavation, 1902, published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 37, 1902-03 (© Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

Illustration 92
A section cut across the Wall, Ditch and upcast mound, looking west, during excavation at Rough Castle fort, 1903, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 39, 1904–5 (© Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

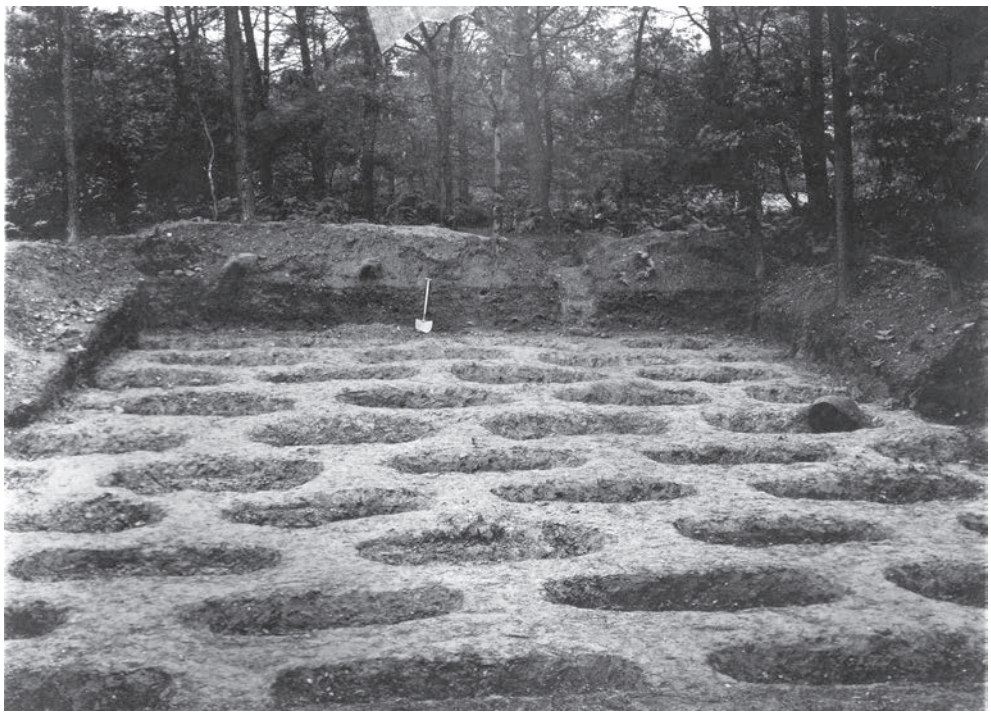


Illustration 93
Defensive pits (*lilia*) at Rough Castle fort, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, 1903, published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 39, 1904–5 (© Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

publication, but contributed the descriptions of the features revealed, which were central to each report. An album of his meticulous drawings, many with colour washes, survives.[127] Increasingly the reports were illustrated with photographs, many by Buchanan himself, with a shovel acting as a scale. Some of his fine photographs, for example of the *lilia* at Rough Castle (see p. 131; illus 92–93),[128] are still being reproduced over a century later. The excavations were generally left open to the elements, to the severe detriment of the exposed stonework; some were not backfilled until the 1990s.

At Kirkintilloch interest in the Wall was stimulated by local discoveries, including a hoard of Roman coins uncovered in 1893 at the Lion Foundry east of the town centre.[129] As a result archaeological investigation of the Peel in the centre of the town was undertaken in 1899 by Peter Macgregor Chalmers who had been one of the members of the Antonine Wall Committee (see p. 124). Stone walling was revealed on one side of the Peel, some of the stones having Roman characteristics, and the ditch was cleaned out. Public meetings were held, and regular progress reports appeared in the local press.[130] Chalmers suggested the laying out of the site for permanent public view, with the stonework consolidated and an iron fence erected; but the cost was deemed too high.

Camelon had been among the earliest Roman forts in Scotland identified by antiquaries (see p. 24). Until the closing years of the 19th century the site lay in farmland (illus 79).[131] However, in 1898 the area of the South Camp (ie the Flavian fort overlain by the Antonine annexe) was feued for two foundries,[132] and has since remained covered by commercial buildings. A railway cutting exposed Roman remains;[133] in response, the Society of Antiquaries undertook extensive excavation (illus 87).[134] Letters to Francis Haverfield from the young George Macdonald (see p. 133), who was principally at this time interested in the numismatic evidence, provide background details.[135] Learning of coins found at Camelon, with which 'foundry workers have been forming private collections', Macdonald went to their homes to see them. The work at Camelon encouraged local forgeries, of a sculptured graveslab,[136] an altar[137] and a 'Hermes' (illus 88–89).[138] Macdonald sent details

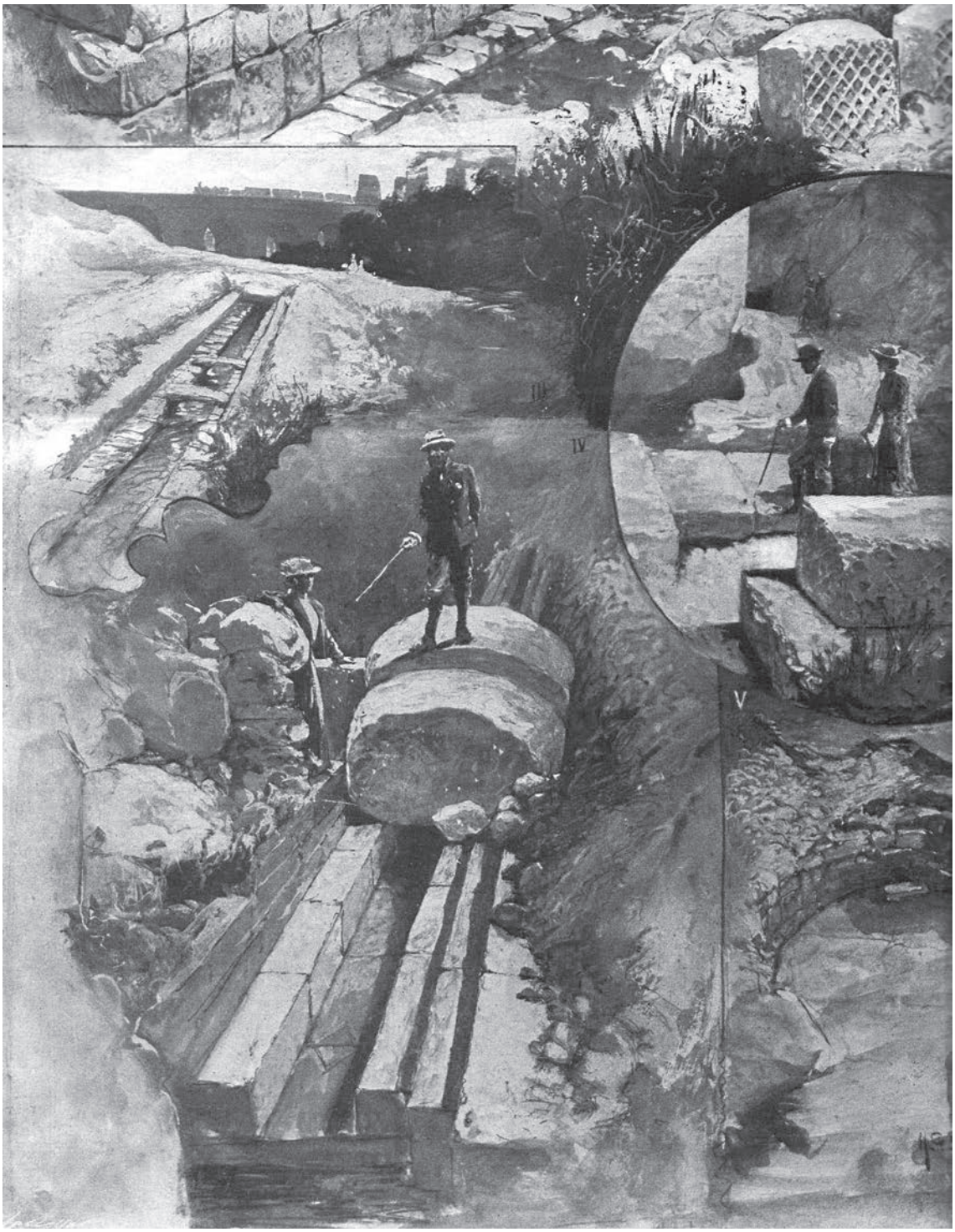


Illustration 94
Visit by members of the Glasgow Archaeological Society to ongoing excavations at Castlecary fort, September 1902, under the guidance of George Macdonald, as sketched on the day by the artist W A Donnelly (*Illustrated London News*, 4 October 1902; © Illustrated London News Ltd/Mary Evans).

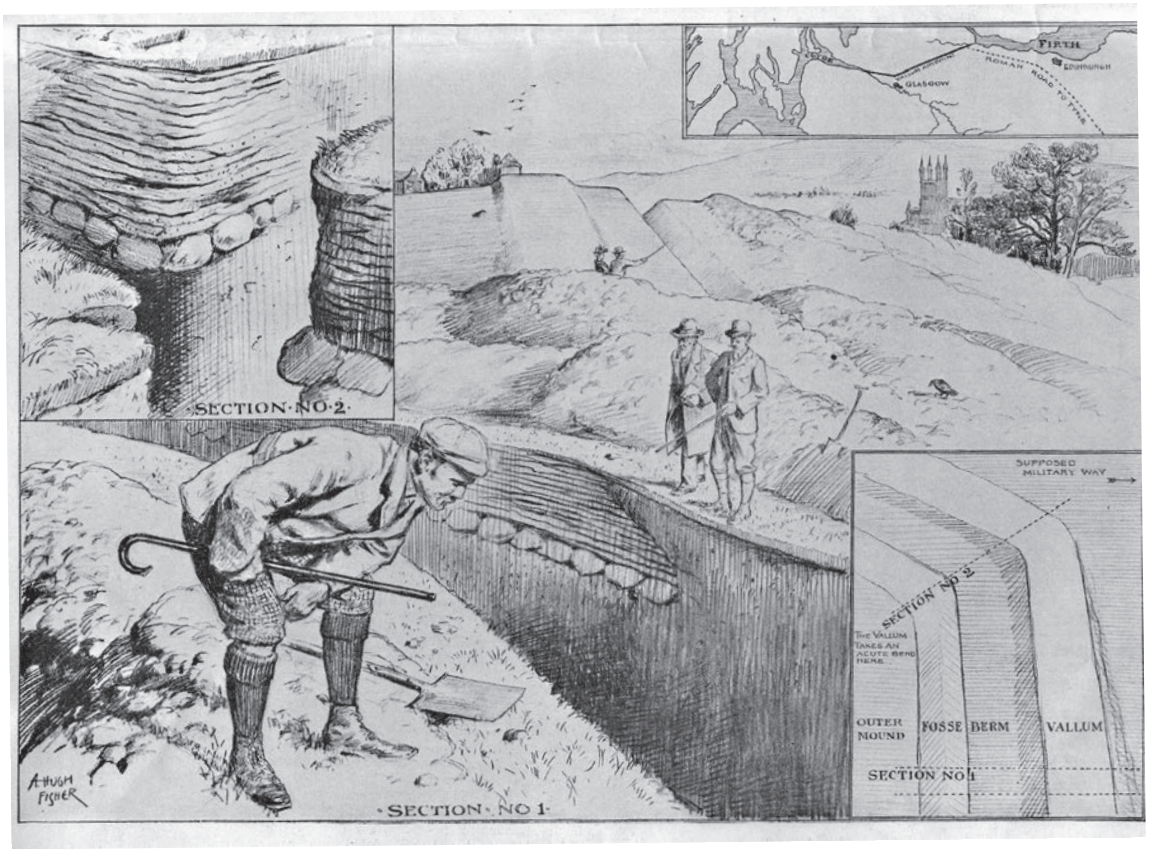


Illustration 95
Visit by members of the Glasgow Archaeological Society to the remains of the Wall newly exposed in New Kilpatrick Cemetery, Bearsden, April 1903, as sketched on the day by the artist W A Donnelly (*Illustrated London News*, 2 May 1903; © Illustrated London News Ltd/Mary Evans).

southwards to Haverfield, including a humorous reference to the 'Camelon workshop' which was imagined as responsible for the forgeries. After the excavation was finished, some of the hypocaust pillars and other stonework from Building 18 in the South Camp were carried off by local antiquary John MacLuckie to his garden in Falkirk.[139] When MacLuckie died in 1907, six of the pillars were utilized to support the flat slab covering his grave in Camelon Cemetery (illus 90).[140]

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland next turned its attention to Castlecary, after learning that 'public works' were to be established close to the site. In 1902–3 comprehensive clearance of its interior was undertaken.[141] The stonework of the bath-house discovered in 1769 (see p. 94; illus 63) had by this time been almost entirely robbed out (illus 91). Macdonald again kept Francis Haverfield in Oxford informed of progress. A party from the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle visited Falkirk in July 1902, with John MacLuckie as their guide, including to excavations in progress at Castlecary.[142] MacLuckie also showed them the stonework in his garden.[143]

Next the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland explored the smaller fort at Rough Castle, long since identified as a site for fruitful investigation (illus 92). Stone buildings in its interior and a bath-house in an annexe to the east were cleared.[144] In front of the fort, north of the Antonine Ditch, a series of oval pits in 10 parallel rows was found (illus 93); they were denominated *lilia* (lilies) from a reference in Caesar's *Gallic War*.[145]

The artist William Donnelly of Bowling, Dunbartonshire, a member of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, took the opportunity of its organised excursions to make sketches and watercolours of local excavations. Already in 1893 he had provided illustrations to enhance John Bruce's *History of West or Old Kilpatrick*,[146] and in 1898 he recorded the excavation of a crannog on the Clyde foreshore near Dumbuck, between Old Kilpatrick and Dumbarton, which he himself had discovered.[147] In September

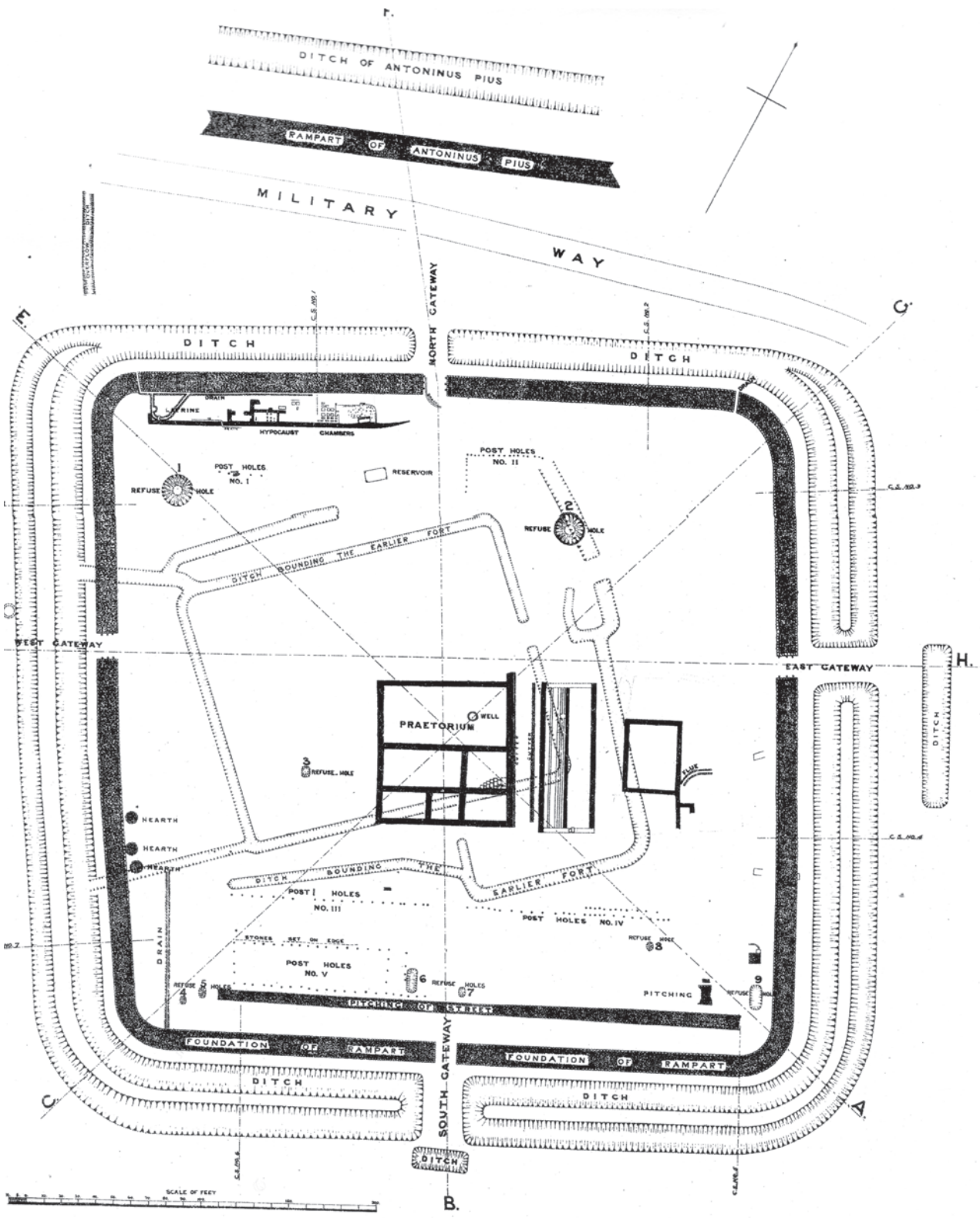


Illustration 96
Ground plan of Bar Hill fort, after excavation in 1902–5 (reproduced from G Macdonald and A Park, *The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, 1906, courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

1902 after members of the Glasgow Society made an afternoon excursion by rail to the on-going excavations at Castlecary,[148] travelling by train to the nearby Castlecary station, Donnelly sent sketches of the event southwards to the *Illustrated London News*. A full-page feature credited him as 'our special artist', reworking his artwork to suit its own house-style (illus 94).[149] Walls, some diamond-broached stonework and a stone-capped drain running through the north wall of the fort were shown.[150] The stonework was magnified in size, like the limbs of a fallen pharaonic statue in Luxor or Karnak. Society members, both ladies and gentlemen, are being shown the excavations by a smartly dressed man in fedora, with a white handkerchief in the breast pocket of his jacket. He can be identified as George Macdonald, who was their guide for the day.[151] As Macdonald confided soon after in a letter to Haverfield, 'I am amused to learn that Donnelly sketches have reached you. I feel that I looked like an Anarchist and that No. 1 [top] should have been subtitled "Before the Explosion" and No. 2 [the circular inset] "After". On no account acknowledge this.'[152] On 25 April 1903 when members of the Glasgow Society visited New Kilpatrick Cemetery, Bearsden, to see the stone base newly revealed when the cemetery was being laid out, Donnelly again drew the scene; sketches sent to the *Illustrated London News* provide valuable testimony to the exceptional survival of the turf stack above the stone base (illus 95).[153]

The success of the large-scale excavations at forts by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland encouraged Alexander Park, factor on the Gartshore estate, who had been a member of Glasgow's Antonine Wall Committee, to persuade the owner, Alexander Whitelaw, to divert estate workers, already experienced in the cutting of sections across the Wall in 1890–3 (see p. 123), to a comprehensive clearance of the hilltop fort at Bar Hill (illus 96). Digging was carried out intermittently between 1902 and 1905, as agricultural tasks permitted.[154] The initiative was amply rewarded. On the first day of the dig the 13.2m (43 foot) deep well in the headquarters building was located (illus 14–15); it had been filled up with debris when the fort was abandoned (see p. 17). The stumps of wooden uprights of the timber-built barracks survived in their post-pits. A large number of leather shoes came from the ditches and the numerous refuse holes. [155]

Francis Haverfield made two visits to Bar Hill while work was in progress, in the company of prominent Edinburgh antiquaries. Alexander Park arranged to have trains specially stopped at a local station and organised transport to bring them to the site. Members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland came by train from Edinburgh on 10 October 1903; at Gartshore House they were treated to 'some sandwiches with whisky and beer'. Members of the Glasgow Society viewed the finds in January 1904; as the Society's Vice-President, Professor James Couper, remarked in his vote of thanks to the absent landowner, 'all felt that this was one of the great days in the history of their Society. It had seldom fallen to antiquarians to see with their own eyes such evidences of a bye-gone age',[156] something which we would now take for granted.

The excavation at Bar Hill was to bring a new personality firmly on to the stage of Roman Scotland. This was George Macdonald (1862–1940).[157] At the time when the dig began, he was lecturer in Greek at Glasgow University; by its end he had resigned from that post on appointment in 1904 as Under-Secretary

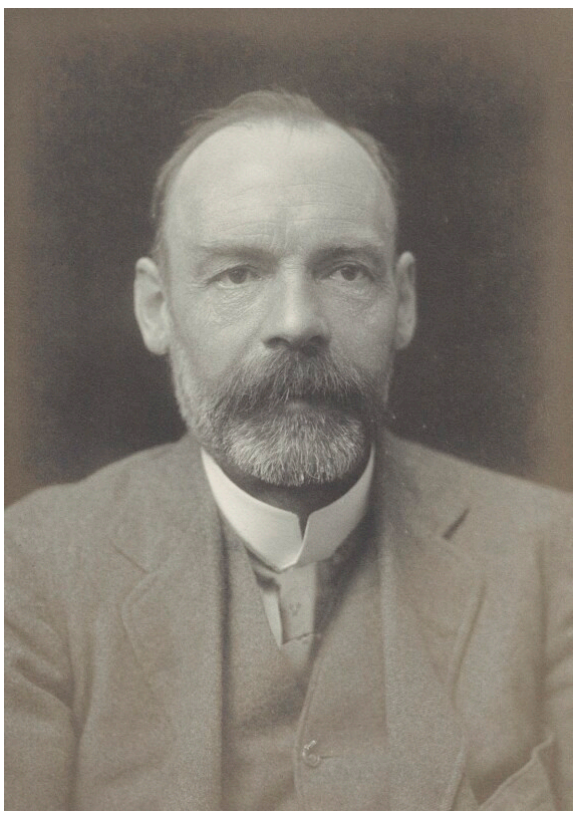


Illustration 97
Sir George Macdonald, photographed by Walter Stoneman in 1917 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

at the Scottish Education Department, with duties in Edinburgh and London (illus 97). George Macdonald's interest in archaeology was surely whetted by his schoolmaster father's involvement with Roman antiquities over many years.[158] That he was not at any time employed professionally as an archaeologist but as a top-level civil servant tends now to be forgotten. Only after retirement in 1928 was he able to devote himself full-time to the subject. Though Macdonald is regularly credited with directing the excavation at Bar Hill, in fact he had been but an infrequent visitor to it. However, towards the end of the dig he was invited by Alexander Park to take the lead role in writing up the results of the work, with which his name has subsequently been closely associated.[159]

In July 1908 members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle made a two-day visit to Glasgow, where they were hosted by the Glasgow Archaeological Society.[160] They made a joint excursion by train and carriages to Camelon and to Rough Castle where the recent excavations were explained to them by Mungo Buchanan using his own photographs, plans and drawings; a visit to Croy Hill had to be aborted because of rain. At Bar Hill fort they were taken round by Alexander Park; finds held at Gartshore House were explained by George Macdonald. One of the sections cut in 1891 by the Glasgow Society on Bar Hill, east of the fort, was reopened specially.[161] On the following day a visit was made to the Hunterian Museum where Macdonald spoke about the collection of Roman inscribed stones.[162] In 1909 a reciprocal visit was made by the Glasgow Society to Newcastle. The sequence of visits was successfully repeated in 2008–9.

In 1910 George Macdonald was invited by the Glasgow Archaeological Society to deliver the annual Dalrymple Lectures, recently endowed by its President, J D G Dalrymple,[163] on the subject of 'the Roman Wall in Scotland'. The invitation allowed Macdonald to present a synthesis of knowledge, which he achieved in exemplary fashion.[164] He walked its route and took advice from agricultural workers he met. The second edition of his book, published in 1934, has eclipsed the first, which, if it is read at all, is only seen as a preliminary exposition. But the 1911 edition, with its many photographs by John Annan, is worthy of study in its own right, as a statement of knowledge in the aftermath of the work of the Antonine Wall Committee and the subsequent explorations of individual forts by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. As such, it is also a fitting end-date for this study.

Notes

1 RCAHMS 1963: 441 no 558; Martin & Maclean 1992: 42; Ransom 2007.

2 Stuart 1844: 341; cf Wilson 1851: 401. For the appearance of the site before this damage to it, see Anon 1813. Spreads of Roman pottery and box-flue tiles were recently found south of the railway embankment during trial excavation by G B Bailey, Falkirk Museum.

3 Stuart 1844: 341.

4 *RIB* 2148, 2149; *CSIR* 78, 79; Stuart 1852: 348 fn.

5 *RIB* 2140.

6 The place-name Three Bridges west of Camelon reflects the rail network created at this time. The railways impacted on Roman sites elsewhere too: Newstead near Melrose was revealed as a Roman fort when the North British Railway gouged through the site in 1846 (Smith 1857).

7 *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 1 (1851–4): 59.

8 Gillespie 1879: 69; Nimmo 1880: 9.

9 Gordon 1897: 152, 223. Piggott & Robertson 1977: no 79; Clarke 1981: 127; McCrae 2010: 187.

10 He wrote papers on Roman military medicine and on oculist stamps found in Scotland (Simpson 1872: vol 2, 197–299).

11 Simpson 1862: 46; Buchanan 1858.

12 Baird 1864: 13.

13 Stuart 1852: 346 fn.

14 Maclehose 1886: 49.

15 Wilson 1851: p. xxiv.

16 Bruce 1857: 185, 185.

17 Stuart 1852: 322 fn; Buchanan 1854; 1883b; Clarke 1933: 1. The 'unfinished altars' were probably hypocaust pillars.

18 Stuart 1852: 324 fn; Buchanan 1883b: 72; Macdonald 1934: 289.

19 *Glasgow Herald* 3 March 1858.

20 NLS MS 2675, fol 38.

21 GUL MR 50/49; Keppie 1998: 36. Shortly afterwards he was awarded an honorary doctorate of laws by the University of Glasgow.

22 In 1906 his daughters presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland pottery from Cawder, Castlecary and New Kilpatrick; see *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 40 (1905–6): 47.

23 Stuart 1852: p. x.

24 Stuart 1852: 361 fn.

25 Stuart 1844.

26 David Thomson, in preface to Stuart 1852: p. x.

27 Stuart 1852: p. xii.

28 A copy of the first edition of *Caledonia Romana* (dated 1845), held by Glasgow University Library (Mu4–b.13), is equipped with interleaved pages on which are manuscript notes by David Thomson, John Buchanan and Daniel Wilson, many of which were incorporated verbatim as footnotes in the second edition. John Buchanan's

own copy of the second edition (1852), annotated with 'many marginal notes', was presented to the Glasgow Archaeological Society by his grandson in 1917; unfortunately it cannot now be traced.

29 Simpson 1963; Ash 1981; Ash 1983; Trigger 1992; Ash 1999.

30 A second, much revised edition followed (Wilson 1863).

31 Wilson 1851: 364.

32 Wilson 1851: 379.

33 Wilson 1851: 369, 377, 402.

34 Hübner 1867; 1873.

35 Hübner 1873, 186.

36 Guy 1883; Young 1883.

37 From the 1880s onwards reports of societies' meetings appeared in a popular magazine *The Antiquary*.

38 Cochno lies some distance north of the Wall. Nothing was found, unsurprisingly since this was a natural mound (NMS, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Minute Book 1849, pp. 183, 283; OS *Dunbartonshire Name Book* 15: 91).

39 *Glasgow Herald* 26 April 1844; 30 December 1844.

40 *Glasgow Herald* 8 December 1856. See Black 1908; Mearns 2008.

41 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/1, p. 18.

42 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/1, 105; Galloway 1912.

43 Probably the Antiquarian Society established at Glasgow in the 1840s (above p. 118).

44 MacDonald 1854: 325.

45 Waldie 1883: 2.

46 Waldie 1883: 57; see also Keppie 2009b.

47 Macdonald 1911: 115.

48 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/1 (press cutting, 1878).

49 *RIB* 2139 = *CSIR* 68. See Cadell 1870.

50 *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 2 (1883): 96.

51 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/1.

52 Duncan and Black 1889: 81; reports in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 45 (1889). See also p. 131.

53 Buchanan 1868; Neilson 1891.

54 Anon 1913.

55 Raine 1857; Hodgson 1918; Birley 1958; Fraser 1996.

56 Hodgson 1840: 260.

57 Hodgson 1840: 270; Northumberland Archives (SANT/BEQ/18/5/03–13).

58 Hodgson 1840: 439.

59 Abbatt 1849.

60 Breeze 2006b is its 14th edition.

61 Bruce 1857; Bruce 1889; Duncan & Black 1889: 52.

62 Bruce 1905: 359, 365.

63 Lord Dundas was its President 1813–19.

64 Nimmo 1817: 635. The same observation was made by the Revd John Skinner in 1825 (Keppie 2003: 214).

65 Stuart 1852: 338 fn; cf Macdonald 1911: 207; 1934: 241, 275.

66 Nimmo 1880: 6. For a description of Castlecary shortly after the removal of the fort's walls, see Anon 1813.

67 Chippindale 1983; Bowden 1991.

68 MacIvor & Fawcett 1983; Breeze 1993.

69 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2 (under 19 April 1894).

70 Information from Professor D J Breeze.

71 Love 1908: 55.

72 Bruce 1857: 183.

73 Dr Ireland was Superintendent of the Larbert Imbecile Institution (later the Royal Scottish National Hospital) near Falkirk.

74 Ireland 1881.

75 *The Antiquary* 19 (1889): 123.

76 Falkirk Archives A067.011.

77 Keppie & Walker 1981.

78 John MacLuckie was a great-nephew of John W Reddoch (above p. 121). For MacLuckie see also illus 83, 89–90.

79 Falkirk Archives A067.011. See Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 128; Cochrane 1906: 15 fig 5. The Gaelic name means 'The house on the wall'.

80 Falkirk Archives A067.011.

81 Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901: 337; for the site see also Breeze 1974.

82 Falkirk Archives A067.011. See Macdonald 1911: 248 with fig 12; 1934: 345 with fig 51. For Mungo Buchanan's written account of events see Bailey 1995b: 664 with illus 39.

83 Scathing comments about William Forbes' negative attitude to the Wall can be found in *The British Architect* 19 January 1894: 37. A plan by Mungo Buchanan shows the location of the villa and the boundary of the land being feued (NMS MS 501, xxiii).

84 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2 (Minutes under 21 December 1893 and 18 January 1894); *Glasgow Herald* 12 January 1894.

85 NMS, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Minute Book 16 December 1893.

86 Pitt-Rivers, in his response to the Society, deplored the landowner's indifference to a monument 'of interest to the whole civilised world', an attitude unparalleled in his experience (*Glasgow Herald* 12 January 1894).

87 'Fished out'.

88 *The Scotsman* 13 December 1890.

89 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 42; Glasgow Archaeological Society *Annual Report* 1890–1: p. 5 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2); *The Antiquary* 23 (June 1891), 147. The embankment of the railway survives, crossing the Ditch on the east side of Croy Hill, and is currently in use as a rough farm-track.

90 *Athenaeum* 3318 (30 May 1891): 707. Cf Anton 1893: 308; Cochrane 1906: 5.

91 *The Scotsman* 13 December 1890.

92 *Minutes* 19 March 1891 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2).

93 Freeman 2007; Hingley 2007.

94 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 100, 109.

95 Some sections were reopened and recorded afresh between 1957 and 1970.

96 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: p. iii; cf Minutes, 19 March 1891 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2).

97 *Glasgow Herald* 27 May 1891.

98 *The Antiquary* 23 (June 1891): 54.

99 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 119.

100 Neilson 1896b: 178.

101 *Athenaeum* no 3334 (19 September 1891): 392; cf *Archaeological Journal* 48 (1891), 458; *Glasgow Herald* 12 August 1891; *Scotsman* 17 August 1891; Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 81, 88.

102 Neilson 1891. He also attended two Hadrian's Wall Pilgrimages.

103 *Glasgow Herald* 10 July 1891. For 'Mr Russell's Structural Experiment' see also Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 109. For its location see Robertson 1956: 103.

104 Letter in the possession of James Russell's great-nephew, Professor James Russell, Vancouver.

105 The photograph, probably by John Annan of the Glasgow firm of T & R Annan and Sons, is held by Russell's great-nephew. Another surviving photograph shows it in its woodland setting (Falkirk Archives, P02074).

106 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 110.

107 *Glasgow Herald* 31 March 1891; *The Antiquary* 23 (June 1891): 250; *Athenaeum* no 3334 (19 September 1891). George Lowson, Rector of Stirling High School, witnessed work in progress (Lowson 1891).

108 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2.

109 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 132; see *The British Architect* 25 December 1891: 520 for additional details.

110 Freeman 2007: 251.

111 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/2/2 (*Minutes of Council*, 16 May 1893); Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 75.

112 *Athenaeum* no 3429 (15 July 1893): 105; *Athenaeum* no 3431 (29 July 1893): 167; *Glasgow Herald* 10 July 1893; Macdonald 1911: 390; 1934: 469.

113 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 75. This section was re-examined in 1967, when the excavation was subjected to 'persistent vandalism' (Robertson 1969: 39). The height of the rampart mound was considerably less than that recorded in 1899. I was glad recently to have George Allan's reminiscences of the dig.

114 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 44.

115 *The Antiquary* 23 (June 1891): 252.

116 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 77; Macdonald 1911: 260; 1934: 350; Steer 1957.

117 Haverfield 1899.

118 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/2/2 (*Minutes of Council* 16 May 1893); Macdonald 1911, 116; Davidson 1986, 12.

119 Ruck 1903.

120 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: p. iii.

121 See *Minutes of Council* between September 1892 and February 1895 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/2/2); *Glasgow Herald* 18 January 1895; *Scotsman* 3 January 1898.

122 Copies are now much sought after. The long-term value of the book was soon recognised (Macdonald 1911: 92; 1934: 80; cf Robertson 1956: 101; 1969: 36).

123 Maxwell 1989b: 13.

124 Karl Schuchhardt, then museum curator at Hanover, later wrote of his impressions of Dr Christison's household and about a visit to excavations at Rough Castle (Schuchhardt 1944: 251; cf Macdonald 1934: 64 fn1).

125 See Clarke 2002.

126 See the various papers in Bell 1981.

127 RCAHMS MS DC 17382–17409.

128 Buchanan, Christison & Anderson 1905: 457 fig 9.

129 Macdonald 1911, 181; 1934, 296; Robertson 2000: no 282.

130 In the *Kirkintilloch Herald*; see also *Northern Notes and Queries* 14 (1900): 112. No formal report was ever published.

131 For its environs in the mid-19th century, see Stuart 1844: 177.

132 John MacLuckie of Falkirk brought the matter to the Society's attention (Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901: 337; Cochrane 1906: 9).

133 NMRS 313 A2(L).

134 Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901; Maxfield 1981. The North Camp (the Antonine fort) is now occupied by a golf course.

135 Haverfield Archive, Sackler Library, Oxford.

136 *CSIR falsa* (e). It was taken to a secure store by 'six policemen in plain clothes' (*Falkirk Herald*, 14 December 1901).

137 *RIB* 2346*.

138 The Greek god of trade, equivalent to the Roman Mercury. The excavation report (Buchanan, Christison & Anderson 1901) makes no mention of such a find. I owe to Dr Fraser Hunter the attractive suggestion that this was the torso in local buff sandstone (*CSIR* 161) which was presented to NMS soon after. It may therefore be identifiable with the 'curious sculptured stone' exhibited by John MacLuckie to the British Archaeological Association in 1888; Macdonald does not actually claim that it had been found recently. Dr Martin Henig kindly

verified identification of the torso, which is of about half life-size, as Hermes.

139 Falkirk Archives, P02128, P02129. For the pillars themselves see Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901: 372 with pl III; RCAHMS 1963: 108 with fig 47.

140 Another four of the pillars stand at the entrance to nearby Arnotdale House.

141 Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1903.

142 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle* 10 (1901–2): 213–32, with a photograph of the visitors at the site.

143 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle* 10 (1901–2): 228 with photo.

144 Buchanan, Christison & Anderson 1905; RCAHMS 1963: 100.

145 Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 7.73.

146 Bruce 1893: 318.

147 Hale & Sands 2005.

148 *Annual Report* 1901–2: p. 2 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/3).

149 *Illustrated London News*, 4 October 1902.

150 Cf Buchanan, Christison & Anderson 1903: 321 fig 26.

151 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/3, letter to members dated 15 September 1902.

152 Haverfield Archive, Sackler Library, Oxford. The allusion is to the Anarchist Movement in Russia. For Macdonald's sense of humour see also Keppie 2002: 38.

153 *Illustrated London News* 2 May 1903; Keppie 2009b: 53 fig 3.

154 Macdonald & Park 1906.

155 Robertson, Scott & Keppie 1975. Robert Blair, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, who visited the Wall several times in 1903–4, sketched the excavations at Rough Castle and drew finds from Camelon in John MacLuckie's garden and from Bar Hill at nearby Gartshore House (Northumberland Archives SANT/BEQ/2/1/20–21).

156 *Kirkintilloch Herald* 27 January 1904.

157 Curle 1940; Freeman 2007: 411.

158 Macdonald 1896; 1897; 1903; and other papers.

159 Macdonald & Park 1906; Robertson, Scott & Keppie 1975: 4; Keppie 2002.

160 Anon 1908; *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (new series) 6 (1916): 185.

161 Anon 1908, 231.

162 See also *The British Architect* 17 July 1908: 52.

163 Formerly James Dalrymple Duncan; see Black 1916; Mearns 2008.

164 Macdonald 1911.

Epilogue

Both the Glasgow Archaeological Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland were subsequently to maintain their close association with the Roman frontier from Forth to Clyde. At the end of his *Roman Wall in Scotland* (1911) Macdonald had urged the need for further work.[1] Major excavations began in 1912 at Balmuildy under the direction of S N Miller, lecturer at Glasgow University,[2] but the work was brought to an end on the outbreak of the First World War (1914–18). George Macdonald himself settled to the task of defining the line of the Wall more precisely by observation of surface traces and by small-scale excavation.[3] On Boxing Day 1913 his workmen conclusively located the hitherto missing fort at Old Kilpatrick.[4] Between the Wars the forts at Old Kilpatrick (1923–4), Mumrills (1923–8) and at Cawder (1929–31) were explored.[5] During the Second World War (1939–45), the Wall suffered damage from aerial bombing between Duntocher and Old Kilpatrick; at the Peel Park, Kirkintilloch, air-raid shelters were dug in the fort's interior.[6] In the early 1940s, at the height of the war, the fort at Cawder, beyond modern Bishopbriggs, was quarried away all but unnoticed. After the return of peace in 1945 excavation resumed, at Duntocher (1947–51), Kirkintilloch (1953–61), Rough Castle (1957–61) and Mumrills (1958–60).[7] In 1969 the OS published a valuable map of the Wall's course, at a scale of 1:25,000 (2½ inches to the mile). More recently comprehensive investigation of New Kilpatrick fort (1973–82) preceded redevelopment in Bearsden of the villas which had occupied the site since the 1880s (see p. 117). Elsewhere, work took place in the South Camp at Camelon (1975–9) in advance of factory redevelopment,[8] on Croy Hill (1975–8) in expectation of quarrying, at Bar Hill (1979–82) with a view to public display, and outside the fort at Westerwood (1986–8) prior to the laying out of a golf course. Two gaps in the sequence of forts were filled, with the discovery of a small fort on low ground at Inveravon beside the River Avon, and of the ditches defending a fort in Falkirk at the Pleasance, an area long since built over.[9] From the late 1940s onwards aerial photography provided valuable information on forts, fortlets and minor installations. The sites of several other fortlets were identified by fieldwork. Much was learnt too from small-scale excavation in advance of road- or house-building.

There are currently two forms of protection accorded to the Wall, under the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979*.[10] Many of the best preserved lengths of Wall and Ditch and parts or all of five forts are in the 'guardianship' of the Scottish Government, which means that no development is permitted. Information plaques have been erected, agricultural activity is controlled, and Historic Scotland sees to their maintenance. Lengths of the Wall and other fort-sites are owned by Falkirk Council, North Lanarkshire Council, East Dunbartonshire Council, Glasgow City Council, West Dunbartonshire Council, the National Trust for Scotland, the Forestry Commission and many private organisations and individuals.[11] Almost all the lengths of the Wall unencumbered by buildings or in open countryside, and many forts, are 'scheduled' under the same *Act*; proposed developments have to be submitted for approval to Historic Scotland, which may impose conditions or reject the proposal outright. Any approved development is likely to be preceded by an archaeological evaluation, possibly followed by an excavation, undertaken at the developer's expense. Even in areas not 'scheduled' in this way, any application affecting the Wall is likely to be closely scrutinised by the appropriate local authority, in line with planning legislation, to ensure compliance with the regulations and with the policies for protecting the Wall and its setting.[12]

As the Wall traverses Scotland from coast to coast, roads and pipelines heading north–south have to cross it somewhere. A long stretch was lost to the M9 motorway at Polmont in the 1960s. More positively the lanes of the newly completed M80 motorway at Castlecary have been aligned to pass neatly through the arches of the railway viaduct of 1841, with minimal disturbance to any archaeology. On very rare occasions, pipelines have been directed below

Illustration 98
The Wall crossing Croy Hill, seen from the east. The trees (centre left) mark the site of the fort. Croy village and a modern quarry lie beyond (© Crown copyright. Reproduced by courtesy of Historic Scotland).

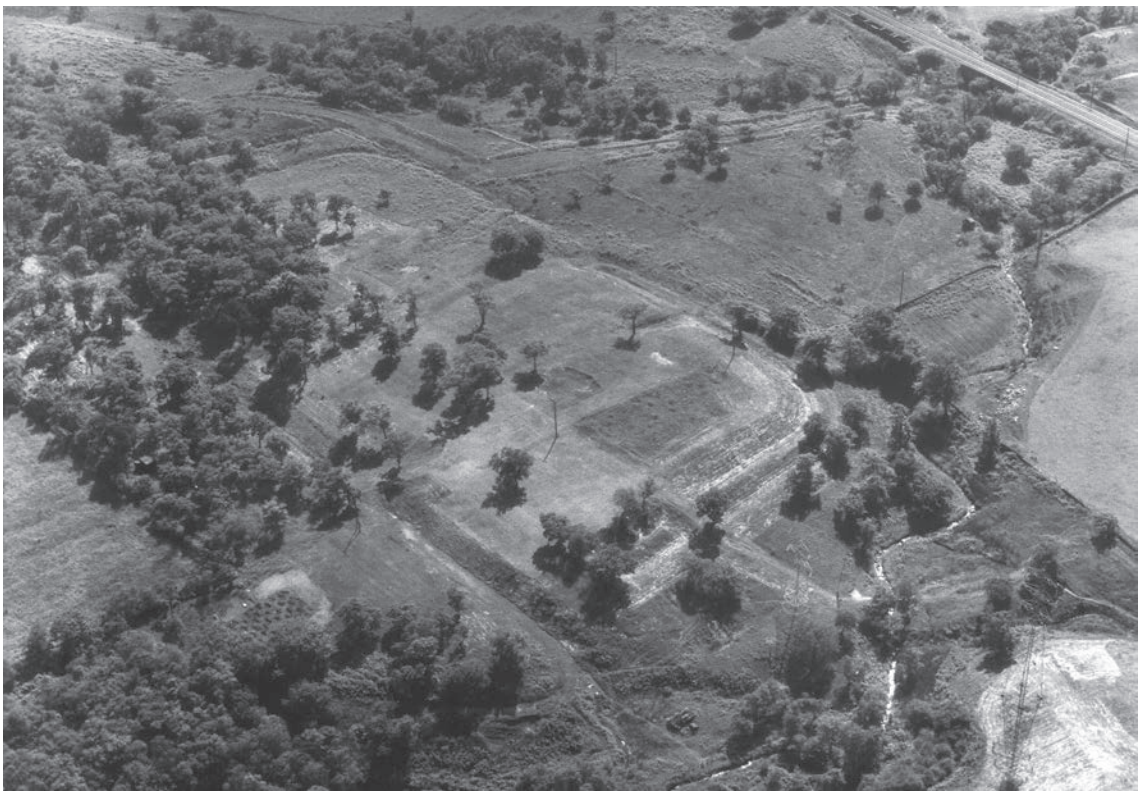


Illustration 99
The fort at Rough Castle, seen from the north-west. The *lilia* pits are at the bottom left (© Crown copyright. Reproduced by courtesy of Historic Scotland).

the Roman frontier line, thus avoiding any loss to its constituent elements.

The Wall's course is nowadays overlain by schools, cemeteries, reservoirs, industrial premises and private homes. Golf courses, bowling greens, football pitches and garden centres, even a ski-slope are all linked to increasing recreational activity. Population growth, especially in the last half century, has seen the expansion of villages, affecting especially the areas east of Falkirk, east of Kirkintilloch, and at Duntocher. The northern suburbs of the 'new town' of Cumbernauld advance remorselessly towards the villages of Croy and Dullatur and seem likely in due course to engulf them. Parts of the forts at Duntocher and Kirkintilloch sit within public parks; Westerwood is hemmed in by the fairways of a golf course. Mumrills survives against the ever-encroaching eastern suburbs of Falkirk, though its western annexe was lost to private housing. The fort at Old Kilpatrick has long since been built over by housing and a bus garage.

Something can still be seen of the remains of the Wall over about half its length, usually in the form of a hollow representing the Ditch; less commonly, a slight ridge marks the position of the turf rampart. At times the Ditch still presents a formidable obstacle, which can be followed on foot over considerable distances. The Military Way is particularly impressive as it passes through Seabegs Wood. The visitor can gain an excellent impression of the geographical setting over Bar Hill and Croy Hill, though the fort atop the latter has been at risk from the quarries which have eaten away the flanks of the hill on which it sits (illus 98). The modern visitor to most forts has to be content with grassy mounds, for example at Rough Castle (illus 99). However, Historic Scotland has consolidated stone buildings at Bar Hill, and the bath-house at New Kilpatrick (Bearsden), saved from housing development, was placed on permanent public view. The outlines of the fortlet at Kinneil have been marked out on the ground by Falkirk Council, following excavation, in what is a pleasant rural setting west of Kinneil House. The stone base itself is, at the time of writing, on view only at New Kilpatrick Cemetery, Bearsden, in Roman

Illustration 100
Plaque commemorating the 'inscription' of the Antonine Wall as a World Heritage Site, 2008, at the Roman bath-house in Roman Road, Bearsden (© L Keppie).

Park, Bearsden and on the western slope of Golden Hill, Duntocher. Even where nothing can now be seen, excavation has often confirmed the presence of the stone base of the Wall barely 0.4m below the modern surface. In cases where the turf rampart and its underlying stone base have been removed, the Ditch will generally endure, even if in a truncated form. The author's own experience in observing and excavating the Wall over a period of more than 40 years has been that its remains can survive tenaciously in the most unlikely circumstances and may all too quickly be adjudged lost.

In 2008 the Wall was 'inscribed' as a World Heritage Site under the auspices of Unesco, as one element in a trans-national 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire' Site.[13] In conjunction with the bid for WHS status, fresh mapping was undertaken by RCAHMS, resulting in the publication of a colourful new map at 1:25,000; the assembled data were made available digitally to local authorities and others. At much the same time an 'EU Culture 2000 Project' funded wide-ranging geophysical surveys, a DVD, and a website.[14] The 'inscription' of the monument has raised awareness of it locally, nationally and internationally. Historic Scotland has appointed a coordinator to promote best practice in the management of the WHS, to liaise with local authorities and other stakeholders, and to increase awareness of it among the public. Commemorative signage has been erected (illus 100). A sandstone replica of the distance slab found at Bridgeness (see p. 119 and illus 8) will shortly be placed at the spot where the original was turned up in 1868. Buffer zones have

recently been designated, to define the immediate landscape setting of the Wall.[15]

We may look back on occasion at antiquarian accounts with some amusement, but it is important to remember that we too stand at an intermediate point along the road to knowledge, and that future generations will continue to add to it. We can make only interim statements, adjusting our assessments as more information comes to light, not only through planned archaeological investigations but also chance discovery. It will always be so.

Notes

1 Macdonald 1911: 402.
2 Miller 1922.
3 Macdonald 1915; Macdonald 1925.
4 Macdonald 1915: 102.
5 Miller 1928; Macdonald & Curle 1929; Clarke 1933.
6 *Kirkintilloch Herald* 5 October 1938.
7 For the results of these and more recent excavations, see Robertson 1960 and subsequent editions of this enduring handbook.
8 Further redevelopment, this time of disused commercial premises east of the South Camp, took place in 2011.
9 The outlines of the fort at Falkirk have been established through the endeavours over many years of G B Bailey, Falkirk Museum. See Bailey 1991 and reports in *Britannia* from 1992 onwards.
10 For earlier forms of protection see above p. 121.
11 Breeze 2007: 41.
12 Breeze 2007: 36.
13 Breeze 2007; Breeze & Jilek 2008. Hadrian's Wall had been 'inscribed' in 1987.
14 Stephens, Jones & Gater 2008; www.antoninewall.org. 15 Supplementary Planning Guidance in relation to the WH S is expected to be adopted shortly by local authorities.

Editorial notes

Abbreviations

CSIR *Corpus of Sculpture of the Roman World (Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani), Great Britain*, Volume 1, fascicule 4, *Scotland*, by Keppie, L J F and Arnold, B J. London: British Academy, 1984.

RIB *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Volume 1, by Collingwood, R G and Wright, R P. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965; Volume 2, by Frere, S S et al (eds). Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1990–5; Volume 1 reprinted with addenda by Tomlin, R S O. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995; Volume 3, by Tomlin, R S O, Wright, R P and Hassall, M W C. Oxford: Oxbow, 2009.

Documentary sources[1]

Abbreviations used in the endnotes:

Bod Lib	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BL	British Library, London
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
GUL	Glasgow University Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NMS	National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh
NRS	National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
SAL	Society of Antiquaries of London
SAS	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
SUA	Strathclyde University Archives, Glasgow
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
UGAS	University of Glasgow Archive Services

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD (GB 161)

MS Gough Gen. Top. 46	Correspondence of Richard Gough, 1757–99
MS Gough Maps 40	Maps and engravings relating to Scotland
MSS Rawlinson D.377	Letters and papers
MS Carte 269	Papers of Edward Lhwyd *c* 1700
MS Smith 1	Annotated copy of William Camden, *Britannia*, 1607
MS Eng.misc.c.533	Memoirs of William Stukeley

BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON (GB 58)

MS Cotton Julius D.VI	Papers of William Camden, *c* 1600
Add MS 33686	Travel journal of the Revd John Skinner, 1825
MS Stowe 1024	Drawings of inscribed and sculptured stones, *c* 1699

CZARTORYSKI LIBRARY, CRACOW, POLAND

MS XVII/607	Journal of Princess Isabela Czartoryska, 1789–90

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (GB 237)

MS Dc.8.35	Letters from Sir Robert Sibbald to Sir Hans Sloane, 1696–1711
MS Dk.1.2, Quarto A74	Papers of Professor David Gregory, 1698
MS La.II.644/7, fols 19–21	Letter of Dr Thomas Tanner to Edmund Gibson, 1699
EUA-A-769	Edinburgh College Matriculation Album, 1623–1704, 1705–62

FALKIRK ARCHIVES (GB 558)

A067.011	Pocket book of Mungo Buchanan, *c* 1890–1920
A727	Forbes of Callendar estate papers, 1531–1960
P 02074, 02128, 02129, 05456, 05471	Photographs, *c* 1890–1905

[1] The coding in brackets after the name of each repository is its ARCHON list number, where applicable.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (GB 247)

MR 50/49	List of donations by John Buchanan, 1871
MS Gen 1096	Letters from Professor Robert Simson to Dr James Jurin, 1723–4
MS Murray 505	Transcribed Minute Book of the Glasgow Literary Society, 1764–79

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

MS Papenbroekianus 6	Communications sent to Janus Gruter, *c* 1600

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, EDINBURGH (GB 233)

Adv MS 15.1.1	Sir Robert Sibbald's MS text of his *Atlas Scoticus*, *c* 1683
Adv MS 16.2.17	Correspondence of George Chalmers, 1799–1803
Adv MS 29.1.2	Correspondence and papers of James Anderson, 1698–1728
Adv MS 29.5.5–8	Correspondence between George Paton, Richard Gough, Thomas Pennant and others, 1762–1804
Adv MS 33.5.15	Papers by Sir Robert Sibbald, 'in order to the description of Scotland', *c* 1682
Adv MS 33.3.16	Lists of MSS belonging to Sir Robert Sibbald
Adv MS 34.2.8	'Topographical Notices of Scotland', collected by Sir Robert Sibbald, *c* 1680–1700, many from the papers of Robert Gordon
Adv MS 70.2.9	Maps of Timothy Pont, *c* 1583–96
Adv MS 70.2.10	Maps of Robert Gordon, *c* 1641–61
Adv MS 81.1.21	Notes by Sir Robert Sibbald on Scottish antiquities and topography
MS 2675	Papers and correspondence of John Buchanan, 1852–66
MS Wod.Lett.Qu.1	Correspondence of Robert Wodrow, 1694–1701

NATIONAL MUSEUMS SCOTLAND, EDINBURGH

MS 626	Account by John Millar Morison of discoveries at Old Kilpatrick, 1790
MS 476	Scrapbook of drawings, mostly by Francis Grose (1731–91)
MS 501 (xiii)	A section across the Wall at Watling Lodge, Falkirk, drawn by Mungo Buchanan, 1894

Minute Books of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

NATIONAL RECORDS OF SCOTLAND (GB 234)

Clerk of Penicuik Muniments

GD 18/2106	Journal of Sir John Clerk's visit to Northumberland and Hadrian's Wall, 1724
GD 18/4213	Letters from John Clerk of Eldin to Margaret Adam, 1779
GD 18/4736	Letters from William Adam to Sir John Clerk, 1741
GD 18/5023	Letters to and from Alexander Gordon, 1723–47
GD 18/5024	Letters from Richard Burn to Sir John Clerk, 1723
GD 18/5027	Correspondence between William Stukeley and Sir John Clerk, 1725–53
GD 18/5029	Sir John Clerk's letter-book, 1725–7
GD 18/5033	Sir John Clerk's letter-book, 1728–30
GD 18/5036	Letters from Professor Thomas Blackwell to Sir John Clerk, 1724–48
GD 18/5038	Letters from Revd John Horsley to Sir John Clerk, 1729–31
GD 18/5041	Letters from Revd James Robe and others to Sir John Clerk, 1731
GD 18/5050	Letter from Professor Charles Mackie to Sir John Clerk, 1731
GD 18/5068	Card wallet with drawings of Roman stones, 1723

GD18/5077	Album of drawings by John Adair, *c* 1680–1718
GD 18/5320	Letters from Richard Burn to Sir John Clerk, 1720–32
GD 18/5850	Letters from William Wishart to Sir John Clerk about a canal between Forth and Clyde, 1741
GD 18/5851	Copies of letters from Sir John Clerk about a canal between Forth and Clyde, 1741

Dalhousie Muniments

GD 45/26/140	Pocket book of Alexander Edward, *c* 1700

Family papers of General Robert Melville

GD 126/30

Records of the British Railways Board

BR/FCN/1/2	Minute Book of Forth & Clyde Navigation Co, 1768–75
BR/FCN/1/96	Minute Book of Forth & Clyde Navigation Co, 1786–99

NORTHUMBERLAND ARCHIVES, WOODHORN (GB 155)

SANT/BEQ/ 2/1/20–21	Robert Blair's drawings and sketches, 1903–4
SANT/BEQ/ 18/5/03–13	Journal of John Hodgson's tour of Scotland, 1834

RCAHMS, EDINBURGH (GB 551)

DC 17382–17409	Pen and wash drawings by Mungo Buchanan, 1900
STD/13/6 P	Copy of estate plan of Castlecary, *c* 1784

ROYAL SOCIETY, LONDON (GB 117)

Early Letters H.3.98–109	Letters from John Horsley to Dr James Jurin, 1722–6

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON (GB 118)

MS 268	Minute Book of the Antiquarian Society, 1720

Minute Books of the Society, vols I, IV, XVI

SOMERSET HERITAGE CENTRE, TAUNTON (GB 168)

DD/SH/5/382	Travel journal of John Strachey, 1719

STRATHCLYDE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, GLASGOW (GB 249)

SUA OA/5/1	Catalogue of the library of the Revd Robert Wodrow, 1703, as copied by Professor John Anderson, 1760
SUA OA/5/5, fols 1–52	Lectures on 'the Roman Wall between the Forth and Clyde', delivered by Professor John Anderson, 1770–1
SUA OA/5/5, unpaginated	Supplementary lecture on the Roman Wall, delivered by Professor John Anderson, 1773
SUA OB/1/1/1	Minute Book of the Managers and Trustees of Anderson's Institution, 1796–9
SUA OB/1/1/5	Minute Book of the Managers and Trustees of Anderson's University, 1864–81

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY, DUBLIN (630)

MS 1369	Edward Lhwyd's vocabulary notebook of Highland Gaelic

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW ARCHIVE SERVICES (GB 0248)

The University of Glasgow Archive

GUA 26635, 26643, 26690, 26701	Minutes of the Faculty of Glasgow College
GUA 58282	Claim submitted by Professor John Anderson, 1772
GUA 58284	Claim submitted by Professor John Anderson, 1774

Glasgow Archaeological Society collection

DC 066/2/1/1, 066/2/1/2, 066/2/1/3, 066/2/2/2	Minute Books of the Society

WELLCOME LIBRARY, LONDON (GB 120)

MS 6145	Correspondence between Dr James Jurin and Bishop William Nicolson, 1714–15

Bibliography

Many of the individuals discussed in the foregoing pages feature in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004: Oxford University Press). Such entries are not individually cited in the Bibliography.

Abbatt, R 1849 *History of the Picts or Romano-British Wall*. London: Bell.

Abbott, W C (ed) 1939 *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*. Volume 2. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Adair, J. 1694 *Queries, in order to a true Description, and an Account of the Natural Curiositys, and Antiquities*. Edinburgh.

Adamson, H C 1977 *William Roy, 1726–1790. Pioneer of Roman Archaeology in Scotland*. Glasgow: Glasgow Art Galleries and Museums.

Aikman, J 1827–9 *The History of Scotland, translated from the Latin of George Buchanan*. Glasgow/Edinburgh: Blackie, Fullarton.

Anderson, J 1793 'Observations by Mr Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, upon the Roman Antiquities lately discovered between the Forth and the Clyde', in Roy 1793, 200–4.

Anon 1813 'Description of Castlecary', *Scots Magazine*, September 1813, 643.

Anon 1823 *A Companion for Canal Passengers, betwixt Edinburgh and Glasgow*. Edinburgh: Aitken.

Anon 1831 *Account of the Andersonian Museum, Glasgow*. Glasgow: Smith.

Anon 1838 *Guide pittoresque du Voyageur en Ecosse*. Paris.

Anon 1845 'Parish of Cadder', *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*. Volume 6, 398–415. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Anon 1848 'Gordon, author of "Itinerarium Septentrionale",' *Scottish Journal of Topography, Antiquities, Traditions, etc* 1, 191.

Anon 1908 'A joint excursion … on the Antonine Wall', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle* (3rd series) 3 (1907–8), 229–35.

Anon 1913 *Records of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, Centenary Volume 1813–1913*. Newcastle: Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle = *Archaeologia Aeliana* (3rd series) 10.

Anton, P 1893 *Kilsyth. A Parish History*. Glasgow: Smith.

Ash, M 1981 '"A fine, genial, hearty band": David Laing, Daniel Wilson and Scottish Archaeology', *in* Bell 1981, 86–113.

Ash, M 1983 '"A past filled with living men": Scott, Daniel Wilson and Scottish and American archaeology', *in* Alexander, J H & Hewitt, D (eds), *Scott and his Influence*. 432–42. Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies.

Ash, M 1999 *Thinking with both Hands. Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New*, ed Hulse, E. Toronto/London: University of Toronto Press.

Austin, N J E & Rankov, N B 1995 *Exploratio. Military and political Intelligence in the Roman World*. London: Routledge.

Ayres, P 1997 *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Badham, S 1987 'Richard Gough and the flowering of Romantic antiquarianism', *Church Monuments* 2, 32–42.

Bailey, G B 1991 'A Roman fort on the Wall at Falkirk', *Calatria* 1, 5–18.

Bailey, G B 1993 'Queen Victoria's visit to Falkirk in 1842', *Calatria* 4, 33–40.

Bailey, G B 1995a 'The Antonine frontier in Callendar Park, Falkirk: its form and structural sequence', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 125, 577–600.

Bailey, G B 1995b 'Watling Lodge fortlet', *in* Keppie et al 1995, 622–6.

Bailey, G B 1996 'Stream crossings on the Antonine Wall', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 126, 347–69.

Bailey, G B 1997 'Excavation of Roman, medieval and later features at Carriden Roman fort annexe in 1994', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 127, 577–94.

Bailey, G B 2000a *Locks, Stocks and Bodies in Barrels. A History of the Canals in the Falkirk Area*. Falkirk: Falkirk Council Libraries.

Bailey, G B 2000b 'Excavations on the Roman temporary camps at the Three Bridges, Camelon, Falkirk', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 130, 469–89.

Bailey, G B 2007 'An early timber hall at Callendar Park, Falkirk', *Calatria* 24, 37–57.

Bailey, G B & Devereux, D F 1987 'The eastern terminus of the Antonine Wall, a review', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 117, 93–104.

Baird, H 1813 *Report on the proposed Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal*. Edinburgh: Prentice.

Baird, H 1864 *Castlecary and the Great Roman Wall*. Falkirk.

Balfour-Melville, E W M (ed) 1917 'A biographical sketch of General Robert Melville of Strathkinness', *Scottish Historical Review* 14, 116–46.

Barrow, G W S 1983 'The childhood of Scottish Christianity; a note on some place-name evidence', *Scottish Studies* 27, 1–15.

Bates, C J 1898 'The distance-slabs of the Antonine Wall and the Roman names of its fortresses', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (new series) 19, 105–14.

Baxter, W 1719 *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*. London: Bowyer.

Bell, A S (ed) 1981 *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition*. Edinburgh: Donald.

Bellenden, J 1536 *The History and Croniklis . . . translatit laitly be Maister Johne Bellenden*. Edinburgh: Davidson.

Bellenden, J 1821 *The History and Chronicles of Scotland written in Latin by Hector Boece, translated into Scots*. Edinburgh: Tait.

Bertram, C 1757 *Britannicarum gentium historiae antiquae scriptores tres*. Copenhagen.

Bidwell, P 2005 'The systems of obstacles on Hadrian's Wall: their extent, date and purpose', *Arbeia Journal* 8, 53–75.

Bidwell, P & Holbrook, N 1989 *Hadrian's Wall Bridges*. London: English Heritage.

Birley, A R 2005 *The Roman Government of Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Birley, E 1958 'John Horsley and John Hodgson', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (4th series) 36, 1–46.

Birley, E 1961 *Research on Hadrian's Wall*. Kendal: Titus Wilson.

Birley, E 1962 'Sir John Clerk's visit to the north of England in 1724', *Transactions of the Architectural & Archaeological Society of Durham & Northumberland* 11, 221–46.

Black, W G 1908 'Jubilee of the Glasgow Archaeological Society', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (new series) 5, 229–33.

Black, W G 1916 'James Dalrymple Gray Dalrymple', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (new series) 6, 148–56.

Blaeu, J 1654 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum vel Atlas Novus*. Part 5. Amsterdam: Blaeu.

Blaeu, J 2006 *The Blaeu Atlas of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Birlinn/ National Library of Scotland.

Boardman, S 1997 'Chronicle propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the "Anonymous Chronicle"', *Scottish Historical Review* 76, 23–43.

Boece, H 1527 *Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine*. Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius.

Boon, G C 1987 'Camden and the *Britannia*', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 136, 1–19.

Bosanquet, R C 1933 'John Horsley and his times', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (4th series) 10, 58–81.

Bowden, M 1991 *Pitt Rivers. The Life and archaeological Work of Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowen, E G & Gresham, C A 1967 *History of Merioneth*. Volume 1. Dolgellau: Merioneth Historical & Record Society.

Boyd, W E 1984 'Environmental change and Iron Age land management in the area of the Antonine Wall, central Scotland: a summary', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 11, 75–81.

Breeze, D J 1974 'Excavations at the Roman fortlet on the Antonine Wall at Watling Lodge, 1972–74', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 105 (1972–4), 166–75.

Breeze, D J 1982 *The northern Frontiers of Roman Britain*. London: Batsford.

Breeze, D J 1993 'Ancient Monuments legislation', *in* Hunter, J & Ralston, I *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK. An Introduction,* 44–55. Stroud: Sutton.

Breeze, D J 2006a *The Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh: Donald.

Breeze, D J 2006b *Handbook to the Roman Wall, by J. Collingwood Bruce*. 14th edition. Newcastle: Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

Breeze, D J 2007 *The Antonine Wall. Nomination for Extension of the World Heritage Site, Management Plan*. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.

Breeze, D J & Jilek, S (eds) 2008 *Frontiers of the Roman Empire. The European Dimension of a World Heritage Site*. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.

Breeze, D J, Close-Brooks, J & Ritchie, J N G 1976 'Soldiers' burials at Camelon, Stirlingshire, 1922 and 1975', *Britannia* 7, 73–95.

Broadie, A (ed) 1997 *The Scottish Enlightenment. An Anthology*. Edinburgh: Canongate.

Brome, J 1700 *Travels over England, Scotland and Wales*. London: Roper, Basset, Turner.

Brown, I G 1974 '"Gothicism, ignorance and a bad taste": the destruction of Arthur's O'on', *Antiquity* 48, 283–87.

Brown, I G 1977 'Critick in Antiquity: Sir John Clerk of Penicuik', *Antiquity* 51, 201–10.

Brown, I G 1980 *The Hobby-Horsical Antiquary*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.

Brown, I G 1987a 'Chyndonax to Galgacus: new letters of William Stukeley to Alexander Gordon', *Antiquaries Journal* 67, 111–28.

Brown, I G 1987b 'Modern Rome and ancient Caledonia: the Union and the politics of Scottish culture', *in* Hook, A (ed), *The History of Scottish Literature*. Volume 2, 33–49. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.

Brown, I G 1987c *The Clerks of Penicuik. Portraits of Taste and Talent*. Loanhead: Penicuik House Preservation Trust.

Brown, I G 1989 '"This Old Magazine of Antiquities": The Advocates' Library as National Museum', *in* Cadell, P & Matheson, A (eds), *For the Encouragement of Learning: Scotland's National Library, 1689–1989*, 149–85. Edinburgh: HMSO.

Brown, I G 1995 'A bibliophile's Bagnio: Sir James Clerk's Pantheon for Penicuik', *in* Gow, I & Rowan, A, *Scottish Country Houses, 1600–1914*, 133–49. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Brown, I G 2011a 'The archaeological book in the first half of the eighteenth century', *in* Brown, S W & McDougall, W (eds), *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*. Volume 2: *Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707–1800*, 510–27. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Brown, I G 2011b 'The Penicuik copy of Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*', *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 6, 56–73.

Brown, I G & Vasey, P G 1989 'Arthur's O'on again: newly-discovered drawings by John Adair, and their context', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 119, 353–60.

Brown, P H (ed) 1891 *Early Travellers in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Douglas.

Bruce, Sir G 1905 *The Life and Letters of John Collingwood Bruce*. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Bruce, J 1893 *History of the Parish of West or Old Kilpatrick*. Glasgow: Smith.

Bruce, J C 1857 'The Antonine Wall', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle* 1 (1856–7), 182–5.

Bruce, J C 1889 'The Wall of Antonine', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 45, 131–44.

Buchanan, G 1582 *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*. Edinburgh: Arbuthnet.

Buchanan, J 1854 'Notice of recent discoveries of Roman remains at Cadder, on the Antonine Wall', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 1 (1851–4), 170–4.

Buchanan, J 1858 'Notice of the barrier of Antoninus Pius', *Archaeological Journal* 15, 25–36.

Buchanan, J 1868 'A visit to the Wall of Hadrian', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 1, 100–23.

Buchanan, J 1872 'Notice of two pieces of Roman sculpture found at Arniebog, Dumbartonshire, in June 1868', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 9 (1870–2), 472–81.

Buchanan, J 1883a 'Recent discovery of a Roman inscription near Glasgow', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 2, 11–28.

Buchanan, J 1883b 'Address to the Glasgow Archaeological Society, at its annual meeting on 2nd February, 1869', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 2, 66–77.

Buchanan, J 1884 'The history of "Graham's Dyke"', *in* 'Senex', *Glasgow Past and Present*. Volume 2, 367–81. Glasgow: Robertson.

Buchanan, M, Christison, D & Anderson, J 1905 'Report on the Society's excavation of Rough Castle on the Antonine vallum', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 39 (1904–5), 442–99.

Buist, J 1842 *National Record of the Visit of Queen Victoria to Scotland in September 1842*. Perth: Perth Printing Co.

Burns, R (ed) 1836 *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, by Wodrow, R. Volume 4. Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton.

Burton, W 1658 *A Commentary on Antoninus, his Itinerary*. London: Roycroft.

Butt, J 1996 *John Anderson's Legacy*. East Linton: Tuckwell.

Cadell, H 1870 'Note of a sculptured Roman slab recently discovered on the estate of Grange, Linlithgowshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 8 (1868–70), 109–13.

Callander, J G 1924 'A short cist containing a food-vessel and human remains at Bridgeness, West Lothian', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 58 (1923–4), 286–94.

Callander, J G 1933 'Prehistoric graves in the Roman fort at Old Kilpatrick, Dumbartonshire', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (new series) 8, 55–61.

Campbell, J L & Thomson, D 1963 *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands, 1699–1700*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Campbell, R H 1961 *Carron Company*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

Camden, W 1586 *Britannia*. London: Newbery.

Camden, W 1607 *Britannia*. London: Bishop, Norton.

Cant, R G 1981 'David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan', *in* Bell 1981, 1–30.

Cash, C G 1901 'The first topographical survey of Scotland', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 17, 399–414.

Cash, C G 1907 'Manuscript maps by Pont, the Gordons, and Adair, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 23, 574–92.

Cavers, K 1989 *John Slezer and the Theatrum Scotiae*. London: author.

Cavers, K 1993 *A Vision of Scotland. The Nation observed by John Slezer, 1671–1717*. Edinburgh: HMSO.

Chalmers, G 1807 *Caledonia, or an Account historic and topographic, of North Britain*. Volume 1. London: Constable.

Chambers, R 1827 *The Picture of Scotland*. Volume 2. Edinburgh.

Chapman, R 1812 *Picture of Glasgow, or, Strangers' Guide*. Glasgow: Chapman.

Cheape, H, Cowie, T & Wallace, C 2003 'Sir Walter Scott, the Abbotsford collection and the National Museums of Scotland', *in* Brown, I G (ed), *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott, the Image and the Influence*, 49–89. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Chippindale, C 1983 'The making of the first Ancient Monuments Act, 1882, and its administration under General Pitt-Rivers', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 136, 1–55.

Christison, D, Buchanan, M & Anderson, J 1901 'Account of the excavation of the Roman station of Camelon, near Falkirk, Stirlingshire, undertaken by the Society in 1900', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 35 (1900–1), 329–417.

Christison, D, Buchanan, M & Anderson, J 1903 'Excavations of Castlecary fort on the Antonine Vallum', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 37 (1902–3), 271–346.

Clapinson, M 1988 'Roger Gale, an Eighteenth-Century Antiquary', *Bodleian Library Record* 12 (1985–8), 106–18.

Clarke, D V 1981 'Scottish archaeology in the second half of the nineteenth century', *in* Bell 1981, 114–41.

Clarke, D V 2002 '"The foremost figure in all matters relating to Scottish archaeology": aspects of the work of Joseph Anderson', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 132, 1–18.

Clarke, J 1933 *The Roman Fort at Cadder*. Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie.

Clerk, Sir J 1892 *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*. (ed) Gray, J M. Edinburgh: Constable.

Clerk, Sir J 1993 *History of the Union of Scotland and England*. (ed) Duncan, D. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society (5th series), volume 6.

Cochrane, R 1906 'Recent researches in connection with Roman remains in Scotland', *The Reliquary and illustrated Archaeologist* 12, 1–18.

Cockcroft, G A 1939 *The public Life of George Chalmers*. New York: Columbia University Press

Collingwood, R G 1921 'Hadrian's Wall, a history of the problem', *Journal of Roman Studies* 11, 37–66.

Colvin, H M 1995 *A biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*. London/New Haven: Yale University Press.

Connolly, D K 2009 *The Maps of Matthew Paris. Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Coutts, J 1909 *A History of the University of Glasgow, from its Foundation in 1451 to 1909*. Glasgow: MacLehose.

Cowie, T 2001 'Bronze Age metalwork from the Falkirk district: some new finds and old', *Calatria* 15, 87–98.

Crawford, O G S 1949 *Roman Scotland North of the Antonine Wall*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crow, J 1995 *English Heritage Book of Housesteads*. London: Batsford.

Cruttwell, C 1801 *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain*. Volume 6. London: Robinson et al.

Cunningham, I C (ed) 2001 *The Nation Survey'd. Essays on late Sixteenth-century Scotland as depicted by Timothy Pont*. East Linton: Tuckwell/National Library of Scotland.

Curle, J 1940 'Sir George Macdonald, K C B, 1862–1940, a memoir', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 74 (1939–40), 123–32.

Dalrymple, J 1695 *A second Edition of Camden's Description of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Anderson.

Dalrymple, J 1705 *Collections concerning the Scottish History*. Edinburgh: Anderson.

Davidson, Revd J 1793 'Parish of Old Kilpatrick', *The Statistical Account of Scotland*. Volume 5, 229–40. Edinburgh: Creech.

Davidson, J L 1986 'The collection of antiquarian information for the early Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 116, 11–16.

Davidson, J M 1952 'The bridge over the Kelvin at Summerston', *in* Miller 1952, 88–94.

Davies, G 1997 'Sir Robert Cotton's collection of Roman stones: a catalogue with commentary', *in* Wright, C J (ed), *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector. Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy*, 129–67. London: British Library.

Davies, R W 1976 'A lost inscription from Auchendavy', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 4, 103–7.

De Buzonnière, L 1832 *Voyage en Ecosse*. Paris: Levasseur.

Dennison, E P, Ewart, G, Gallagher, D & Stewart, L 2006 *Historic Kilsyth: Archaeology and Development*. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, Scottish Burgh Survey.

Dennistoun, J 1836 'Biographical Notice of Principal William Dunlop', in Burns 1836, 521–2.

Dickson, C & Dickson, J H 2000 *Plants and People in ancient Scotland*. Stroud: Tempus.

Dixon, P 2001 *Puir labourers and busy Husbandmen. The medieval Countryside of Lowland Scotland in the Middle Ages*. Edinburgh: Birlinn/Historic Scotland.

Dodgshon, R A 1981 *Land and Society in early Scotland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Doig, R P 1971 'A bibliographical study of Gough's *British Topography*', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* 4, 103–36.

Donelly [*sic*], W A 1897 'Note of a stone on the moor near Dullatur, called the Carrick Stone', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 31, 228–30.

Dore, R N 1953 'The early life of Sir William Brereton, the parliamentary commander', *Transactions of the Lancashire & Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 63 (1952–3), 1–26.

Dowds, T J 2003 *The Forth and Clyde Canal. A History*. East Linton: Tuckwell.

Duff, D 1994 *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals*. Exeter: Webb & Bower.

Dumville, D 1976 '"Nennius" and the *Historia Brittonum*', *Studia Celtica* 10/11, 78–95.

Dumville, D 1994 'The eastern terminus of the Antonine Wall: 12th- or 13th-century evidence', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 124, 293–8.

Duncan, A A M 1972 'Hector Boece and the medieval tradition', in *Scots Antiquaries and Historians*, 1–11. Dundee: Abertay Historical Society.

Duncan, J D & Black, W G 1889 *Report of the Proceedings of the forty-fifth annual Congress of the British Archaeological Association*. Glasgow: Strathern & Freeman.

Dunwell, A J 1995 'Carriden' *in* Keppie et al 1995, 602–6.

Durie, A J 2003 *Scotland for the Holidays*. East Linton: Tuckwell.

Durkan, J 1977 'The early history of Glasgow University Library, 1475–1710', *The Bibliotheck* 8, 102–26.

Durkan, J 1998 'Cadder and environs, and the development of the Church in Glasgow in the twelfth century', *Innes Review* 49, 127–42.

Eaton, T 2000 *Plundering the Past. Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain*. Stroud: Tempus.

Edwards, B J N 1998 *William Camden, his* Britannia *and some Roman Inscriptions*. Maryport: Senhouse Roman Museum.

Edwards, B J N 2001 'Reginald Bainbrigg, *scholemaister*, and his stones', *in* Higham, N J (ed), *Archaeology of the Roman Empire. A Tribute to the Life and Works of Professor Barri Jones*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports international series 940.

Emerson, R L 1988 'Sir Robert Sibbald, Kt, the Royal Society of Scotland and the origins of the Scottish Enlightenment', *Annals of Science* 45, 41–72.

Emerson, R L 1995 'Politics and the Glasgow professors, 1690–1800', *in* Hook & Sher 1995, 21–39.

Emerson, R L 2008 *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Emery, F V 1958 'The geography of Robert Gordon, 1580–1661, and Sir Robert Sibbald, 1641–1722', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 74, 3–12.

Emery, F V 1959 'A "geographical description" of Scotland prior to the Statistical Accounts', *Scottish Studies* 3, 1–16.

Emery, F V 1969 'The best naturalist now in Europe: Edward Lhuyd, FRS (1660–1709)', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1969, 54–69.

Evans, J 1956 *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*. London: Society of Antiquaries.

Fabretti, R 1699 *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio et additamentum*. Roma: ex officina D A Herculis.

Farrant, J H 1995 'The travels and travails of Francis Grose, FSA', *Antiquaries Journal* 75, 365–80.

Feachem, R W 1969 'Medionemeton on the *limes* of Antoninus Pius, Scotland', *in* Bibauw, J (ed.), *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, Volume III, 210–16. Bruxelles: Latomus.

Fleet, C, Wilkes, M & Withers, C W J 2011 *Scotland: Mapping the Nation*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

Foulis, Sir J 1792 'Observations on the origins of the Duni Pacis', *Archaeologia Scotica* 1, 121–4.

Fraser, C M 1996 'John Hodgson, county historian', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (5th series) 24, 171–85.

Fraser, Sir W 1858 *The Stirlings of Keir and their Family Papers*. Edinburgh: privately printed.

Freeman, P W M 2007 *The best Training-ground for Archaeologists. Francis Haverfield and the Invention of Romano-British Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Frere, S S & St Joseph, J K S 1983 *Roman Britain from the Air*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gale, T & Gale, R 1709 *Antonini iter Britanniarum*. London: Atkins.

Galloway, A. 1868 'Notes and conjectures in relation to the old Roman occupation and fortification of the Clyde and Kelvin valleys', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 1, 493–502.

Galloway, A 1912 'Archaeological notes written for the meeting of the British Association in Glasgow, 1876', *Papers on Archaeological and Philological Subjects*, 197–202. Glasgow: MacLehose.

Garnett, T 1800 *Observations on a Tour through the Highlands*. Volume 1. London: Cadell, Davies.

Geddes, A 1959 'Scotland's "Statistical Accounts" of parish, county and nation: *c* 1790–1825 and 1835–1845', *Scottish Studies* 3, 17–29.

Gibb, A 1903 'Carmore or Carmure *versus* Camelon', *Stirling Antiquary* 3, 349–65.

Gibson, E (ed) 1695 *Camden's Britannia*. London: Swalle, Churchil.

Gibson, E (ed) 1722 *Camden's Britannia*. London: Bowyer et al.

Gibson, R 2007 *The Scottish Countryside. Its changing Face, 1700–2000*. Edinburgh: Donald/National Archives of Scotland.

Giles, J A 1841a *The Works of Gildas, surnamed the Wise*. London: Bohn.

Giles, J A 1841b *The History of the Britons, by Nennius*. London: Bohn.

Gillam, J P 1975 'Possible changes in plan in the course of the construction of the Antonine Wall', *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 7, 51–66.

Gillespie, R 1879 *Round about Falkirk*. Glasgow: Dunn & Wright. Revised edition

Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899 *The Antonine Wall Report*. Glasgow: Glasgow Archaeological Society.

Glendinning, B 2000 'Investigations of the Antonine Wall and medieval settlement at Kinneil House, Bo'ness, Falkirk', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 130, 509–24.

Gold, J R & Gold, M M 1995 *Imagining Scotland. Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750*. Aldershot: Scolar Press.

Gordon, A 1725 *Proposals for printing by Subscription a Book intitled Itinerarium Septentrionale*.

Gordon, A 1726 *Itinerarium Septentrionale*. London: Strahan et al.

Gordon, A 1732 *Additions and Corrections, by Way of Supplement to the Itinerarium Septentrionale*. London: Vanderhoeck.

Gordon, H L 1897 *Sir James Young Simpson and Chloroform*. London: Fisher Unwin.

Gough, R 1768 *Anecdotes of British Topography*. London: Richardson, Clark.

Gough, R 1770 'An historical account of the origin and establishment of the Society of Antiquaries', *Archaeologia* 1, i–xxxix.

Gough, R 1775 'Observations on some *Roman* Altars, found in August, 1771, near Graham's Dyke', *Archaeologia* 3, 118–24.

Gough, R 1780 *British Topography*. Volume 2. London: Payne, Nichols.

Gough, R (ed) 1789 *Camden's Britannia*. Volume 3. London: Nichols.

Gough, R (ed) 1806 *Camden's Britannia*. Volume 4. London: Stockdale.

Graham, A 1959 'Giudi', *Antiquity* 33, 63–5.

Graham, P 1812 *General View of the Agriculture of Stirlingshire, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. Edinburgh.

Grenier, K H 2005 *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770–1914*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Griffiths, H 2003 'Britain in ruins. The Picts' wall and the union of the two crowns', *Rethinking History* 7(1), 89–105.

Gruter, J 1602 *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romanae, in corpus absolutissimum redactae ingenio et cura Iani Gruteri, auspiciis Iosephi Scaligeri ac Marci Velseri*. Heidelberg: ex officina Commeliniana.

Gunther, R T (ed) 1945 *Life and Letters of Edward Lhuyd = Early Science in Oxford*, volume 14. Oxford: subscribers.

Guy, J 2004 *My Heart is my Own. The Life of Mary Queen of Scots*. London/New York: Fourth Estate.

Guy, R 1883 'Archaeological societies, and their organisation', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 2, 138–40.

Haldane, A R B 1968 *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hale, A 2000 'Marine crannogs: previous work and recent surveys', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 130, 537–58.

Hale, A G C & Sands, R 2005 *Controversy on the Clyde. Archaeologists, Fakes and Forgers*. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.

Hamilton, L 1996 *Pioneers and Patrons. A celebration of 200 Years of Art Patronage associated with Anderson's Institution and the University of Strathclyde*. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde.

Hamilton of Wishaw, W 1831 *Descriptions of the Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew*. Glasgow: Maitland Club.

Hanson, W S 1979 'Croy Hill', *in* Breeze, D J (ed), *Roman Scotland. Some recent Excavations*, 19–20. Edinburgh: Scottish Development Department, Ancient Monuments.

Hanson, W S 2004 'Scotland and the northern frontier: second to fourth centuries AD', *in* Todd, M (ed), *A Companion to Roman Britain*, 136–61. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hanson, W S 2007 *A Roman Frontier Fort in Scotland. Elginhaugh*. Stroud: Tempus

Hanson, W S & Maxwell, G S 1983a *Rome's North West Frontier. The Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hanson, W S & Maxwell, G S 1983b 'Minor enclosures on the Antonine Wall at Wilderness Plantation', *Britannia* 14, 227–43.

Harmsen, T 2000 *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age. Thomas Hearne 1678–1755*. New York: Lang.

Harvey, P D A 1992 'Matthew Paris's maps of Britain', *in* Coss, P R & Lloyd, S D (eds), *Thirteenth Century England IV. Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference, 1991*, 109–21. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Hassall, M W C 1984 'The date of the rebuilding of Hadrian's Turf Wall in stone', *Britannia* 15, 242–4.

Haverfield, F 1899 'On an altar to Silvanus found near Barr Hill and on the Roman occupation of Scotland', *in* Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899, 153–68.

Haverfield, F 1910 'Sir Robert Sibbald's "Directions for his honoured friend Mr. Llwyd how to trace and remarke the vestiges of the Roman wall betwixt Forth and Clyde"', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 44 (1909–10), 319–27.

Haverfield, F 1911 'Cotton Julius F.VI. Notes on Reginald Bainbrigg of Appleby, on William Camden and on some Roman inscriptions', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society* (new series) 11, 343–78.

Haverfield, F 1924 *The Roman Occupation of Britain*. Revised by Macdonald, G. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Haycock, D B 2002 *William Stukeley. Science, Religion and Archaeology in Eighteenth-Century England*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Henshall, A S 1966 'Second report of cist burials at Parkburn sand-pit, Lasswade, Midlothian', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 98 (1964–6), 204–14.

Hepple, L W 1999 'Sir Robert Cotton, Camden's *Britannia*, and the early history of Roman Wall studies', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (5th series) 27, 1–19.

Hepple, L W 2003a 'John Horsley, James Jurin and the Royal Society meteorological network', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (5th series) 32, 153–70.

Hepple, L W 2003b 'William Camden and early collections of Roman antiquities in Britain', *Journal of the History of Collections* 15, 159–73.

Hepple, L W 2004 '"The Camden connection": revisiting the origins of Romano-British archaeology and its historiography', *in* Croxford, B, Eckardt, H, Meade, J & Weekes, J (eds), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference 2003,* 147–56. Oxford: Oxbow.

Herendeen, W H 2007 *William Camden, a Life in Context*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Higham, N J 1991 'Gildas, Roman walls and British dykes', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 22, 1–14.

Higham, R & Barker, P 1992 *Timber Castles*. London: Batsford.

Hinde, J H 1865 'Notes on the Revd John Horsley', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (new series) 6, 174–82.

Hingley, R 1992 'Society in Scotland from 700 BC to AD 200', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 122, 7–53.

Hingley, R 2004 'Rural settlement in northern Britain', *in* Todd, M (ed), *A Companion to Roman Britain*, 327–48. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hingley, R 2007 'Francis John Haverfield (1860–1919): Oxford, Roman archaeology and Edwardian imperialism', *in* Stray, C (ed), *Oxford Classics, Teaching and Learning, 1800–2000*, 135–53. London: Duckworth.

Hingley, R 2008 *The Recovery of Roman Britain, 1586–1906. A Colony so Fertile*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hingley, R 2010 '"The most ancient boundary between *England* and *Scotland*"; genealogies of the Roman walls', *Classical Receptions Journal* 2(1), 25–43.

Hodgson, Revd J 1831 *Memoirs of the Lives of Thomas Gibson MD, Jonathan Harle MD, John Horsley MA, FRS, William Turner MD*. Newcastle.

Hodgson, Revd J 1832 *History of Northumberland*. Part 2.2. Newcastle: author.

Hodgson, Revd J 1840 *History of Northumberland*. Part 2.3. Newcastle: author.

Hodgson, J C 1918 'Remains of John Horsley the historian', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (3rd series) 15, 57–79.

Hodgson, N 1995 'Were there two Antonine occupations of Scotland?', *Britannia* 26, 29–49.

Holland, P 1610 *Camden's Britannia ... translated newly into English*. London: Bishop, Norton.

Holland, P 1637 *Camden's Britannia ... translated newly into English*. London: Norton, Whitaker.

Hook, A & Sher, R B (eds) 1995 *The Glasgow Enlightenment*. East Linton: Tuckwell.

Horne, J (ed) 1910 *Kirkintilloch*. Kirkintilloch: MacLeod.

Hornshaw, T R 2000 'The Wall of Severus?', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (5th series) 28, 27–36.

Horsley, J 1732 *Britannia Romana*. London: Osborn, Longman.

Horsley, J 1974 *Britannia Romana*, repr with Introduction by Birley, E. Newcastle: Graham.

Hübner, E 1867 'Bericht über eine epigraphische Reise nach England, Schottland und Irland', *Monatsbericht der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 781–806.

Hübner, E 1873 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Volume 7, *Britannia*. Berlin: Reimer.

Hunter, D M 1967 'Kinneil Church', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 15, 189–99.

Hunter, R L 1936 'Notes on (1) the parish church of Falkirk and (2) a food-vessel found at Camelon', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 70 (1935–6), 271–7.

Inglis, H R G 1918 'John Adair, an early map-maker and his work', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 34, 60–6.

Ireland, W W 1881 'Three days journey in search of the Roman Wall', *Transactions of the Stirling Field Club* 1880–1, 7–13.

Irvine, C 1682 *Historiae Scoticae nomenclatura latino-vernacula*. Edinburgh: Schaw.

Jackson, K H 1953 *Language and History in Early Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, Oliver & Boyd.

Jackson, K H 1969 *The Gododdin. The oldest Scottish Poem*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Jackson, K H 1981 'Bede's Urbs Guidi: Stirling or Cramond', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 1(2), 1–7.

James, F H 1956 *North Country Bishop. A Biography of William Nicolson*. New Haven: Yale University Press/Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Johnstoun of Kirkland, A 1906 'Morwenside parish, Slamanna, Falkirk, Bothkennar, Airth, Larbert, and Dunipace, in Stirlingshire, in 1723', *in* Mitchell 1906, 316–33.

Jones, R E, Huggett, J & Leslie, A 2009 *Geophysical and Topographic Survey at Castlehill Roman Fort, Bearsden: A Preliminary Report*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, Department of Archaeology.

Jones, R E & Sharp, L 2003 *Going over old Ground. Perspectives on Archaeological, Geophysical and Geochemical Survey in Scotland*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports British series 416.

Jones, R H 2005 'Temporary camps on the Antonine Wall', *in* Visy, Z (ed), *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIXth international Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, 2003*, 551–60. Pécs: University of Pécs.

Jones, R H 2011 *Roman Camps in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Jones R H & Maxwell, G S 2008 'A horseman riding by: archaeological discovery in 1754', *Tayside & Fife Archaeological Journal* 14, 1–8.

Kendrick, Sir T D 1950 *British Antiquity*. London: Methuen.

Keppie, L J F 1976a 'Legio II Augusta and the North Gate at Balmuildy', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 4, 99–102.

Keppie, L J F 1976b 'Some rescue excavation on the line of the Antonine Wall, 1973–6', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 107 (1975–6), 61–80.

Keppie, L J F 1978 'A Roman Altar from Kilsyth', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 5, 19–24.

Keppie, L J F 1979 *Roman Distance Slabs from the Antonine Wall. A brief Guide*. Glasgow: Hunterian Museum.

Keppie, L J F 1980 'The Roman fort(s) on Castlehill, Bearsden', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 7, 80–4.

Keppie, L J F 1981 'Excavation of a Roman bath-house at Bothwellhaugh, 1975–76', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 8, 46–94.

Keppie, L J F 1983 'Roman inscriptions from Scotland: some additions and corrections to *RIB* I', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 113, 391–404.

Keppie, L J F 1995 'Excavations at the Roman fort of Westerwood on the Antonine Wall, 1985–88', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 19 (1994–5), 83–99.

Keppie, L J F 1998 *Roman inscribed and sculptured Stones in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow*. London: Roman Society, *Britannia* monograph series 13.

Keppie, L J F 2002 'New light on excavations at Bar Hill fort on the Antonine Wall, 1902–5', *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 24.1, 21–48.

Keppie, L J F 2003 'A walk along the Antonine Wall in 1825: the travel journal of the Revd John Skinner', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 133, 205–44.

Keppie, L J F 2004 'A Roman bath-house at Duntocher on the Antonine Wall', *Britannia* 35, 179–224.

Keppie, L J F 2006 'An anonymous traveller on the Antonine Wall in 1697', *in* Wilson, R J A (ed), *Romanitas. Essays on Roman Archaeology in Honour of Sheppard Frere on the Occasion of his ninetieth Birthday*, 177–202. Oxford: Oxbow.

Keppie, L J F 2007 *William Hunter and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, 1807–2007*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Keppie, L J F 2009a 'The garrison of the Antonine Wall: endangered species or disappearing asset?', *in* Morillo, A, Hanel, N & Martín, E (eds), *Limes XX. Estudios sobre la frontera romana*. Volume 3, 1135–45. Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo.

Keppie, L J F 2009b 'The Antonine Wall in New Kilpatrick Cemetery, Bearsden', *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 31, 49–60.

Keppie, L J F 2011 'Early mapping of the Antonine wall', *Scottish Geographical Journal* 127(2), 94–107.

Keppie, L J F in prep 'A lost inscription from Castlecary on the Antonine Wall', to appear in *Acta Classica*.

Keppie, L J F, Bailey, G B, Dunwell, A J, McBrien, J H & Speller, K 1995 'Some excavations on the line of the Antonine Wall, 1985–93', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 125, 601–72.

Keppie, L J F & Breeze, D J 1981 'Some excavations on the line of the Antonine Wall, 1957–80', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 111, 229–47.

Keppie, L J F & Walker, J J 1981 'Fortlets on the Antonine Wall at Seabegs Wood, Kinneil and Cleddans', *Britannia* 12, 143–62.

Keppie, L J F & Walker, J J 1985 'Auchendavy Roman fort and settlement', *Britannia* 16, 29–35.

Kinsley, J (ed) 1973 *Anecdotes and Characters of the Times. Alexander Carlyle*. London: Oxford University Press.

Knox, J 1785 *A View of the British Empire, more especially Scotland*. London: Walter et al.

Kunst, C 1995 'William Camden's *Britannia*: history and historiography', *in* Crawford, M H & Ligota, C R (eds), *Ancient History and the Antiquarian. Essays in memory of Arnaldo Momigliano*, 117–31. London: Warburg Institute.

Laistner, M L W 1935 'The library of the Venerable Bede', *in* Thompson, A H (ed), *Bede, his Life, Times and Writings*, 237–66. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Laskey, J 1813 *A General Account of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow*. Glasgow: Smith.

Lee, M 1990 *Great Britain's Solomon. James VI and I in his three Kingdoms*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Lesley, J 1578 *De origine moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum libri decem*. Rome: Boulter.

Leslie, A & Rennie, C 2006 *Peel Park, Kirkintilloch, geophysical Survey*. Glasgow: GUARD Report no 2181.

Levine, J M 1987 *Humanism and History. Origins of modern English Historiography*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Levy, F J 1964 'The Making of Camden's *Britannia*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 26, 70–97.

Lindsay, J O 1968a *The Canals of Scotland*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles.

Lindsay, J O 1968b 'Robert Mackell and the Forth & Clyde Canal', *Transport History* 1, 285–92.

Linge, J 2004 'The Cinderella service: the Ordnance Survey and the mapping of the Antonine Wall', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 134, 161–71.

Livingston, E B 1920 *The Livingstons of Callendar and their principal Cadets*. Edinburgh: author.

Livingston, M 1682 *Patronus redux, or, our Protectour is return'd safe again*. Edinburgh: Anderson.

Lluyd, E 1700 *'An Account of some* Roman, French *and* Irish *Inscriptions and Antiquities found* in Scotland *and* Ireland', *Philosophical Transactions* 22, 790.

Love, J 1908 *Local antiquarian Notes and Queries*. Volume 2. Falkirk: Johnston.

Loveday, J 1890 *Journal of a Tour in 1732*. Edinburgh: Roxburghe Club.

Lowe, C 2006 *Excavations at Hoddom, Dumfriesshire*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Lowrey, J 1987 *'A Man of excellent Parts.' Alexander Edward, Minister, Architect, Jacobite, 1651–1708*. St Andrews: Crawford Centre for the Arts.

Lowson, G 1891 'A visit to the recent excavations at Croyhill and Barhill on the line of the Roman Wall of Antoninus Pius', *Transactions of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society* 13 (1890–1), 103–7, reprinted as *The Roman Wall of Antoninus Pius, with some Account of the Investigations and Discoveries made upon its Tracks*. Stirling, 1892.

Luard, H R (ed) 1872 *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani = Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland*. Volume 57. London: Longman.

Lukis, W C 1887 *The Family Memoirs of the Revd William Stukeley, MD*. Volume 3. Durham/London/Edinburgh: Surtees Society 80.

McBrien, J H 1995 'Kirkintilloch, Union St', *in* Keppie et al 1995, 650–6.

McCardel, J 1949 *The Parish of New Kilpatrick*. Glasgow: MacLehose.

McConnell, A & Larminie, V 2004 'James Brome', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 7, 810–11.

McCord, N & Tait, J 1978 'Excavations at Kerse, East Polmont, Stirlingshire, July 1963', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 109 (1977–8), 368–72.

McCrae, M 2110 *Simpson. The turbulent Life of a medical Pioneer*. Edinburgh: Donald.

Macdonald, G 1911 *The Roman Wall in Scotland*. Glasgow: MacLehose.

Macdonald, G 1915 'Some recent discoveries on the line of the Antonine Wall', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 49 (1914–15), 93–138.

Macdonald, G 1917 'General William Roy and his "Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain"', *Archaeologia* 68 (1916–17), 161–228.

Macdonald, G 1921 'The Romans in Dumfriesshire', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society* (3rd series) 8, 68–100.

Macdonald, G 1925 'Further discoveries on the line of the Antonine Wall', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 59 (1924–5), 270–95.

Macdonald, G 1932 'John Horsley', *Journal of Roman Studies* 22, 161–4.

Macdonald, G 1933 'John Horsley, scholar and gentleman', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (4th series) 10, 1–57.

Macdonald, G 1934 *The Roman Wall in Scotland*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Macdonald, G 1939 'Miscellanea Romano-Caledonica II.3: General Melville's papers', *Proc Scot Antiq Scot* 73 (1938–9), 246–50.

Macdonald, G & Curle, A O 1929 'The Roman fort at Mumrills, near Falkirk', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 63 (1928–9), 396–575.

Macdonald, G & Park, A 1906 *The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*. Glasgow: MacLehose.

MacDonald, H 1854 *Rambles round Glasgow, descriptive, historical and traditional*. Glasgow: Hedderwick.

Macdonald, J 1896 'Notes on the "Roman" bridge near Bothwell', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (new series) 2, 312–223.

Macdonald, J 1897 *The Roman Stones in the Hunterian Museum*. Glasgow: Annan.

Macdonald, J 1903 'The inscriptions on the distance-slabs of the vallum or wall of Antoninus Pius', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (new series) 4, 49–64.

McDowell, W L 1958 *Colonial records of South Carolina. Documents relating to Indian Affairs, 1750–1754*. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department.

McFarlane, I D 1981 *Buchanan*. London: Duckworth.

McGarvie, M 1983 'John Strachey, FRS and the Antiquities of Wessex in 1730', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 27, 77–104.

McGinnis, P J & Williamson, A H (eds) 1995 *The political Poetry. George Buchanan*. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society (5th series) 8.

MacGregor, A 2001 *The Ashmolean Museum. A Brief History of the Museum and its Collections*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, Horne.

MacGregor, A 2003 'The Antiquary *en plein air*: eighteenth-century progress from topographical survey to the threshold of field archaeology', *in* Anderson, R G W, Caygill, M L, MacGregor, A G & Syson, L (eds), *Enlightening the British. Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century*, 164–75. London: British Museum,

McGuire, D E 1988 *Agricultural Improvement in Strathkelvin, 1700–1850*. Glasgow: Strathkelvin District Libraries & Museums.

MacIvor, I & Fawcett, R 1983 'Planks from the shipwreck of time: an account of Ancient Monumentry, then and now', *in* Magnusson, M (ed), *Echoes in Stone: one hundred Years of Ancient Monuments in Scotland*, 9–27. Edinburgh: Scottish Development Department, Ancient Monuments.

Mackenzie, K 1845 'Parish of Borrowstownness', *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*. Volume 2, 120–49. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Maclagan, C 1872 'Notes of a Roman sculptured stone recently discovered at Cumbernauld, and of an inscribed stone at Stirling', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 9 (1870–2), 178–9.

Maclaren, W B & Bain, A 1980 'Some background notes on William Nimmo (1733–82), the first historian of Stirlingshire', *Forth Naturalist & Historian* 5, 107–13.

MacLehose, J (ed) 1886 *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*. Glasgow: MacLehose.

Maidment, J 1834 *Analecta Scotica*. Volume 1. Edinburgh: Stevenson.

Maidment, J 1837 *Analecta Scotica*. Volume 2. Edinburgh: Stevenson.

Maitland, W 1757 *The History and Antiquities of Scotland*. Volume 1. London: Millar.

Maldonado, A D 2011 *Christianity and Burial in late Iron Age Scotland, AD 400–650*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD thesis.

Mann, J C 1974 'The northern frontier after AD 369', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 3, 34–42.

Mann, J C 1992 'Ravennas and the Antonine Wall', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 122, 189–95.

Martin, D & Maclean, A A 1992 *Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Guidebook*. Bishopbriggs: Strathkelvin District Libraries & Museums.

Massey, A. 1983 *The Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal*. Falkirk: Falkirk District Council.

Máté, I D 1995 Excavations of an enclosure system at Rough Castle', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 125, 483–97.

Maxfield, V A 1981 'The Flavian fort at Camelon', *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 12, 69–78.

Maxfield, V A 1982 'Mural controversies', *in* Orme, B (ed), *Problems and Case Studies in archaeological Dating*, 57–81. Exeter: University of Exeter.

Maxwell, G S 1983 '"Roman" settlement in Scotland', *in* Chapman, J C & Mytum, H C (eds), *Settlement in North Britain 1000 BC–AD 1000*, 233–6. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports British series 118.

Maxwell, G S 1989a 'Aerial reconnaissance and the Antonine Wall', *in* Kennedy, D (ed), *Into the Sun. Essays in Air Photography in Archaeology in Honour of Derrick Riley*, 173–88. Sheffield: University of Sheffield, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory.

Maxwell, G S 1989b *The Romans in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Mercat Press.

Maxwell, G S 2007 'The bathhouse', *in* Hanson, W S, *Elginhaugh, a Flavian Fort and its Annexe*, 246–51. London: Roman Society, Britannia monograph series 23.

Mearns, J 2008 '150 years of Glasgow Archaeological Society', *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 30, vi–xvii.

Melville, R 1773 *A critical Inquiry into the Constitution of the Roman Legion*. Edinburgh: Balfour, Smellie.

Mendyk, S A E 1985 'Scottish regional natural historians and the *Britannia* project', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 101, 165–73.

Mendyk, S A E 1989 '*Speculum Britanniae.' Regional Study, Antiquarianism and Science in Britain to 1700*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Millar, H B 1976 *Kilsyth Castle, second Report. Excavation*. Cumbernauld: Cumbernauld & Kilsyth District Council.

Millar, H B 1980 *The History of Cumbernauld and Kilsyth from earliest Times*. Cumbernauld: Cumbernauld Historical Society.

Miller, M 1975 'Bede's use of Gildas', *English Historical Review* 90, 241–61.

Miller, S N 1922 *The Roman Fort at Balmuildy*. Glasgow: MacLehose, Jackson.

Miller, S N 1928 *The Roman Fort at Old Kilpatrick*. Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie.

Miller, S N (ed) 1952 *The Roman Occupation of South-western Scotland*. Glasgow: MacLehose.

Mitchell, Sir A 1906 *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane*. Volume 1. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society Volume 51.

Mitchell, Sir A 1907 *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane* (Edinburgh), Volume 2. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society Volume 52.

Mitchell, Sir A 1908 *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane* Volume 3. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society Volume 53.

Mitchison, R 1962 *Agricultural Sir John. The Life of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, 1754–1835*. London: Bles.

Moir, D G 1973 The *early Maps of Scotland to 1850*. Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

Moir, D G & Skelton, R A 1968 'New light on the first atlas of Scotland', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 84, 149–59.

Moore, D 1997 'Thomas Pennant's vision of the landscape', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 146, 138–77.

Moore, J N 1985 'Manuscript charts by John Adair: a further discovery', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 101, 105–10.

Morey, C 1965 'Alexander Gordon, scholar and singer', *Music & Letters* 46, 332–5.

Morris, J 1980 *British History and the Welsh Annals. Nennius*. London: Phillimore.

Morris R W B 1981 *The prehistoric Rock Art of Southern Scotland*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports British series 86.

Mothersole, J 1927 *In Roman Scotland*. London: Lane.

Muir, J 1950 *John Anderson, Pioneer of technical Education, and the College he founded*. Glasgow: Smith.

Murray, D 1883 *The York Buildings Company. A Chapter in Scottish History*. Glasgow: MacLehose.

Murray, D 1927 *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow*. Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie.

Napier of Merchiston, J, 1593 *A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John*. Edinburgh: Norton.

Nash-Williams, V E 1969 *The Roman frontier in Wales*. 2nd edition revised by Jarrett, M G. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Neilson, G 1891 *Per Lineam Valli. A new Argument touching the earthen Rampart between Tyne and Solway*. Glasgow: Hodge.

Neilson, G 1896a 'Peel, its meaning and derivation', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 2, 121–53.

Neilson, G 1896b *Miscellaneous Writings, 1884–96* (held at Glasgow University Library).

Nicolaisen, W F H 1969 'Scottish place-names: 31, Falkirk', *Scottish Studies* 13, 47–59.

Nicolaisen, W F H 1976 *Scottish Place-names: their Study and Significance*. London: Batsford.

Nichols, J 1815 *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*. Volume 5. London: Nichols, Son & Bentley.

Nicolson, W 1696–9 *The English Historical Library*. London: Swalle, Childe.

Nicolson, W 1702 *The Scottish Historical Library*. London: Childe.

Nimmo, W 1777 *A General History of Stirlingshire*. Edinburgh: Creech.

Nimmo, W 1817 *The History of Stirlingshire*. 2nd edition revised by Stirling, Revd W M. Volume 1. Stirling: Bean et al.

Nimmo, W 1880 *The History of Stirlingshire*. 3rd edition rev by Gillespie, R. Volume 1. London: Hamilton, Adams, Glasgow: Morison.

Nolan, J B 1938 *Benjamin Franklin in Scotland and Ireland, 1759 and 1771*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Nurse, B 1993 'The 1610 edition of Camden's *Britannia*', *Antiquaries Journal* 73, 158–60.

O'Donoghue, Y 1977 *William Roy, 1726–1790. Pioneer of the Ordnance Survey*. London: British Museum.

Parry, G 1995 *The Trophies of Time. English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pennant, T 1774a *A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXIX*. Warrington: Eyres.

Pennant, T 1774b *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides MDCCLXXII*. Part 1. Chester: White.

Pennant, T 1793 *The literary Life of the late Thomas Pennant, Esq*. London: White, Faulder.

Perthensis, J A 1859 'Alexander Gordon', *Notes and Queries* (2nd series) 8, 279.

Piggott, S 1935 'Stukeley, Avebury and the Druids', *Antiquity* 9, 22–32.

Piggott, S 1937 'Prehistory and the Romantic Movement', *Antiquity* 11, 31–8.

Piggott, S 1951 'William Camden and the *Britannia*', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 37, 199–217.

Piggott, S 1968 'Antiquarian studies', *in* Sutherland, L S & Mitchell, L G (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford*. Volume 5. *The Eighteenth Century*, 757–7. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Piggott, S 1978 *Antiquity Depicted. Aspects of archaeological Illustration*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Piggott, S 1985 *William Stukeley. An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary*. Revised edition. London: Thames & Hudson.

Piggott, S 1986 'William Stukeley: new facts and an old forgery', *Antiquity* 60, 115–22.

Piggott, S 1989 *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Piggott, S & Robertson, M 1977 *3 Centuries of Scottish Archaeology. George Buchanan to Lord Abercromby*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Pitts, L M & St Joseph, J K 1985 *Inchtuthil. The Roman legionary Fortress*. London: Roman Society, Britannia monograph series 6.

Pococke, R 1887 *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760*, Kemp, D W (ed). Edinburgh: Scottish History Society (1st series) 1.

Poulter, J 2009 *Surveying Roman Military Landscapes across Northern Britain. The Planning of Roman Dere Street, Hadrian's Wall and the Vallum, and the Antonine Wall in Scotland*. Oxford: Archaeopress, British Archaeological Reports British series 492.

Pratt, E A 1922 *Scottish Canals and Waterways*. London: Selwyn & Blount.

Prebble, J 1975 *Mutiny. Highland Regiments in Revolt, 1743–1804*. London: Secker & Warburg.

Prevost, W A J 1960 'Sir John Clerk's journey to Carlisle and Penrith, August 1731', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society* 38, 128–39.

Proudfoot, E V W 1978 'Camelon native site', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 109, 112–28.

RCAHMS 1929 *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Midlothian and West Lothian*. Edinburgh: HMSO.

RCAHMS 1963 *Stirlingshire. An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments*. Edinburgh: HMSO.

Rae, T I 1972 'The Scottish antiquarian tradition', in *Scots Antiquaries and Historians*, 12–25. Dundee: Abertay Historical Society.

Raine J 1857 *A Memoir of the Revd John Hodgson MA*. London.

Ransom, P J G 1984 *The Archaeology of the Transport Revolution, 1750–1850*. Tadworth: World's Work.

Ransom, P J G 2007 *Iron Road. The Railway in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

Reid, J 2003 'The baronies of Seabegs and Castlecary', *Calatria* 19, 57–78.

Reid, J 2009 *The Place Names of Falkirk and East Stirlingshire*. Falkirk: Falkirk Local History Society.

Rees, A R 2002 'A first millennium AD cemetery, rectangular Bronze Age structure and late prehistoric settlement at Thornybank, Midlothian', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 132, 313–55.

Richardson, G 1627 *Of the State of Europe, XIIII Bookes*. Oxford: Cripps.

Richardson, W 1811 *Heads of lectures on Roman Antiquities, and Roman Literature, delivered in the Humanity Class, in Glasgow College*. Glasgow: Duncan.

Richmond, I A & Steer, K A 1957 '*Castellum Veluniate* and civilians on a Roman frontier', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 90 (1956–7), 1–6.

Rivet, A L F & Smith, C 1979 *The Place-names of Roman Britain*. London: Batsford.

Roberts, B F 1980 *Edward Lhuyd. The Making of a Scientist*. Cardiff: Cardiff University Press.

Robertson, A S 1956 'The Glasgow Archaeological Society and Roman Scotland, 1856–1956', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (new series) 14, 96–120.

Robertson, A S 1960 *The Antonine Wall*. Glasgow: Glasgow Archaeological Society.

Robertson, A S 1969 'Recent work on the Antonine Wall', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 1, 37–42.

Robertson, A S 1970 'Roman finds from non-Roman sites in Scotland', *Britannia* 1, 198–226.

Robertson, A S 1975 'The Romans in North Britain, the coin evidence', *in* Temporini, H & Haase, W (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II.3, 364–426. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.

Robertson, A S 2000 *An Inventory of Romano-British Coin Hoards*. London: Royal Numismatic Society.

Robertson, A S, Scott, M & Keppie, L J F 1975 *Bar Hill. A Roman Fort and its Finds* Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 16.

Robinson, W S 1996 *James Glen. From Scottish Provost to Royal Governor of South Carolina*. Westport, Conn/London: Greenwood Press.

Rockett, W 1990 'Historical topography and British history in Camden's *Britannia*', *Renaissance and Reformation* 26, 71–80.

Rorke, M, Dennison, E P, Stronach, S & Coleman, R 2009 *Historic Kirkintilloch. Archaeology and Development*. Edinburgh: Council for British Archaeology/Historic Scotland, Scottish Burgh Survey.

Roy, W 1793 *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*. London: Society of Antiquaries of London.

Roy, W 2007 *The Great Map. The Military Survey of Scotland 1747–55*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

Ruck, O 1903 'The Antonine lines as a defensive design: a comparison in ancient and modern principles of fortification', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (new series) 4, 440–76.

Rusnock, A A (ed) 1996 *The Correspondence of James Jurin, 1684–1750*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Rutledge, A W 1949 'A cosmopolitan in Carolina', *William and Mary Quarterly* 6(4), 637–43.

Salway, P 1965 *The Frontier People of Roman Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scaliger, J J 1606 *Thesaurus Temporum Eusebii Pamphili*. Leiden: Basson.

Schuchhardt, K 1944 *Aus Leben und Arbeit*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Scott, I 1994 *The Life and Times of Falkirk*. Edinburgh: Donald.

Scott, W 1816 *The Antiquary*. Edinburgh: Ballantyne.

Shannon, W D 2007 *Murus ille famosus. Depictions and Descriptions of Hadrian's Wall before Camden*. Kendal: Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society.

Sharp, L W 1937 *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698–1709*. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society (3rd series) 24.

Sharp, L W 1962 'Charles Mackie, the first professor of history at Edinburgh University', *Scottish Historical Review* 41, 23–45.

Sher, R B 1991 'Wyndham's letters on Scotland and Northern England, 1758', *Yale University Library Gazette* 65, 146–58.

Sibbald, Sir R 1683 *Nuncius Scoto-Britannus, sive admonitio de Atlante Scotico, seu Descriptione Scotiae antiquae et modernae*. Edinburgh: Lindsay, Kniblo, Solingensis, Colmarius.

Sibbald, Sir R 1684 *Scotia Illustrata, sive Prodromus Historiae Naturalis*. Edinburgh: Kniblo, Solingensis, Colmarius.

Sibbald, Sir R 1697 *Auctarium Musaei Balfouriani e Musaeo Sibbaldiano*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University.

Sibbald, Sir R 1706 *Introductio ad Historiam*. Edinburgh.

Sibbald, Sir R 1707 *Historical Inquiries*. Edinburgh: Watson.

Sibbald, Sir R 1710a *The History ancient and modern of the Sheriffdoms of Linlithgow and Stirling*. Edinburgh: author.

Sibbald, Sir R 1710b *An Account of the Writers Antient and Modern*. Edinburgh.

Sibbald, Sir R 1711 *Portus, Coloniae et Castella Romana, ad Bodotriam et ad Taum,* or *Conjectures concerning the Roman Ports, Colonies and Forts in the Friths*. Edinburgh: author.

Sibbald, Sir R 1833 *The Autobiography of Sir Robert Sibbald*. Edinburgh: Stevenson.

Sibbald, Sir R 1932 *The Memoirs of Sir Robert Sibbald, 1641–1722*, Hett, F P (ed). London: Oxford University Press.

Simpson, A 1982 'Sir Robert Sibbald, the founder of the College', *in* Passmore, R (ed), *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh Tercentenary Congress 1981,* 59–91. Edinburgh: Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

Simpson, A 1993 John Adair, cartographer, and Sir Robert Sibbald's Scottish Atlas', *The Map Collector* 62, 32–6.

Simpson, Sir J Y 1862 'Address on archaeology' *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 4 (1860–2), 5–51 = 'Archaeology, its past and its future work', *in* Simpson 1872, 1–66

Simpson, Sir J Y 1872 *Archaeological Essays*. Ed Stuart, J. Volume 1. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas.

Simpson, W D 1963 'Sir Daniel Wilson and the *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, a centenary Study', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 96 (1962–3), 1–8.

Skinner, J 1827 'Drawings and a dissertation respecting some Roman antiquities, discovered on the line of Antonine's Vallum since the publication of General William Roy's work', *Archaeologia* 21, 455–68.

Slezer, J 1693 *Theatrum Scotiae*. London: Swalle.

Smeaton, J 1768 *The Report of John Smeaton, Engineer and FRS, concerning the Practicality and Expence of joining the Rivers Forth and Clyde by a navigable Canal*. Edinburgh: Balfour.

Smellie, W 1792 'An historical account of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland', *Archaeologia Scotica* 1, v–x.

Smith, J A 1857 'Notices of various discoveries of Roman remains at the Red Abbeystead, near the village of Newstead, Roxburghshire (with an endeavour to localize the site of the Roman station of Trimontium in the neighbourhood of the Eildon Hills)', *Archaeologia Scotica* 4, 422–7.

Smith, S 1934 'Notes on an artificial mound at Bonnybridge', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 68 (1933–4), 59–68.

Smout, T C 1969 *A History of the Scottish People, 1560–1830*. London: Collins.

Sneddon, D & Murtagh, P 2009 *Croy Hill. Archaeological Survey and Assessment*. Glasgow: GUARD Report no 2767.

Stafford, F 1988 *The sublime Savage. A Study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Starkey, A M 1974 'Robert Wodrow and *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*', *Church History* 43, 488–98.

Steer, K A 1957 'The nature and purpose of the expansions on the Antonine Wall', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 90 (1956–7), 161–9.

Steer, K A 1958 'Arthur's O'on, a lost shrine of Roman Britain', *Archaeological Journal* 115, 99–110.

Steer, K A 1964 'John Horsley and the Antonine Wall', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (4th series) 42, 1–39.

Steer, K A 1966 'The Roman stones', *in* Henshall 1966, 209–10.

Steer, K A 1976 'More light on Arthur's O'on', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 4, 90–2.

Stephens, C, Jones, R & Gater, J 2008 'Geophysical survey on the Antonine Wall', *in* Breeze, D J & Jilek, S (eds), *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: the European Dimension of a World Heritage Site*, 79–93. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.

Stevens, C E 1941 'Gildas Sapiens', *English Historical Review* 56, 352–73.

Stewartby, Lord (Ian) 1997 'Scottish coin collectors', *British Numismatic Journal* 66, 87–112.

Stone, J C 1981 'Robert Gordon of Straloch: cartographer or chorographer?', *Northern Scotland* 4, 7–22.

Stone, J C 1989 *The Pont Manuscript Maps of Scotland. Sixteenth Century Origins of a Blaeu Atlas*. Tring: Map Collector Publications.

Stuart, R 1844 *Caledonia Romana*. Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, London: Pickering.

Stuart, R 1852 *Caledonia Romana*. 2nd edition, revised by Thomson, D. Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox.

Stukeley, W 1720 *An Account of a Roman Temple and other Antiquities, near Graham's Dike in Scotland*. London.

Stukeley, W 1757 *An Account of Richard of Cirencester*. London: Hett.

Sweet, R 2001 'Antiquaries and antiquities in Eighteenth-century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34(2), 181–206.

Sweet, R 2004 *Antiquaries. The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London: Hambledon & London.

Sykes, N 1926 *Edmund Gibson. Bishop of London, 1669–1748*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Talbot, E J 1974 'Early Scottish castles in earth and timber: recent fieldwork and excavation', *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 6, 48–57.

Tatton-Brown, T W T 1980 'Camelon, Arthur's O'on and the main supply base for the Antonine Wall', *Britannia* 11, 340–3.

Taylor, S 2001 'Place names', *in* Lynch, M (ed), *Oxford Companion to Scottish History,* 479–84. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, S 2006 'The early history and languages of West Dunbartonshire', *in* Brown, I (ed), *Changing Identities, Ancient Roots. The History of West Dunbartonshire from earliest Times*, 12–41. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Thomas, C 1984 'Abercorn and the Provincia Pictorum', *in* Miket, R & Burgess, C (eds), *Between and beyond the Walls. Essays on the Prehistory and History of North Britain, in Honour of George Jobey,* 324–36. Edinburgh: Donald.

Thompson, E A 1979 'Gildas and the history of Britain', *Britannia* 10, 203–26.

Thompson, J D A 1956 *Inventory of British Coin-Hoards AD 600–1500*. London: Royal Numismatic Society.

Tipping, R & Tisdale, E 2005 'The landscape context of the Antonine Wall: a review of the literature', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 135, 443–69.

Todd, M 2004 'The rediscovery of Roman Britain', *in* Todd, M (ed), *A Companion to Roman Britain,* 443–59. Oxford: Blackwell.

Trail, W 1812 *Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Simson*. London: Nicol.

Trigger, B 1992 'Daniel Wilson and the Scottish Enlightenment', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 122, 55–75.

University of Glasgow 1768 [*Monumenta Romani Imperii*]. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

University of Glasgow 1792 *Monumenta Romani Imperii*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Vasey, P G 1992 'The Forth–Clyde Canal: John Adair, progenitor of early schemes', *Journal of the Railway & Canal History Society* 30, 373–7.

Vasey, P G 1993 'Roman Distance Slabs: two 17th-century drawings based on fieldwork by John Adair FRS and their inter-relationship and context', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 18, 65–72.

Waldie, G 1883 *Walks along the northern Roman Wall*. Linlithgow: Waldie.

Walker, Revd John 1770 'On the ancient *Camelon*, and the *Picts*', *Archaeologia* 1, 230–7.

Walters, G 1776 'Thomas Pennant's map of Scotland, 1777: a study in sources, and an introduction to George Paton's role in the history of Scottish cartography', *Imago Mundi* 28, 121–8.

Watson, J 1845 'Parish of Cumbernauld', *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Volume 8, 135–54. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Watson, T 1894 *Kirkintilloch Town and Paris*h. Glasgow: Smith.

Watson, W J 1926 *The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Watt, D E R (ed) 1987–98 *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.

Watt, D E R 1997 'A National treasure? The *Scotichronicon* of Walter Bower', *Scottish Historical Review*. 76, 44–53.

Weeks, D 1991 'The life and mathematics of George Campbell, FRS', *Historia Mathematica* 18, 328–43.

Welfare, H 1984 'The southern souterrains', *in* Miket, R & Burgess, C (eds), *Between and Beyond the Walls. Essays on the Prehistory and History of North Britain in Honour of George Jobey,* 305–23. Edinburgh: Donald.

Whatley, C A 2006 *The Scots and the Union*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Whittaker, E J 2005 *William Nicolson and the Making of Scottish History*. York: Sessions.

Whittington, G & Edwards, K J 1993 '*Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*: the Romans in Scotland, a palaeo-environmental contribution', *Britannia* 24, 13–25.

Whitworth, A M 2000 *Hadrian's Wall. Some Aspects of its post-Roman Influence on the Landscape*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports British series 296.

Williamson, A H 1979 *Scottish national Consciousness in the Age of James VI*. Edinburgh: Donald.

Wilmott, A 2001 *Birdoswald: 1800 Years on Hadrian's Wall*. Stroud: Tempus.

Wilson, D 1851 *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox.

Wilson, D 1863 *The Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. London: Macmillan.

Wilson, D 1872 'The Romans in Chicago', *Toronto Daily Globe,* 11 March 1872.

Wilson, D 1885 'The so-called Roman heads of the Nether Bow', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 19 (1884–5), 203–9.

Wilson, J 1797 'Parish of Falkirk', *The Statistical Account of Scotland*. Volume 19, 71–113. Edinburgh: Creech.

Wilson, D & Laing, D 1874 'An account of Alexander Gordon, AM, author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 10 (1873–4), 363–82.

Withers, C W J 1996 'Geography, science and national identity in Early Modern Britain: the case of Scotland and the work of Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722)', *Annals of Science* 53, 29–73.

Withers, C W J 2001 *Geography, Science and national Identity. Scotland since 1520*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Withrington, D J & Grant, I R (eds) 1983 'First Circular Letter to the Clergy of the Church of Scotland', *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791–1799.* Volume 1, *General*, 39–48. East Ardsley: E P Publishing.

Wodrow, R 1721 *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restauration to the Revolution*. Edinburgh: Watson.

Wodrow, R 1843 *Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences, mostly relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians*. Volume 4. Edinburgh: Maitland Club 60.

Wood, P 1995 '"Jolly Jack Phosphorous" in the Venice of the North; or, Who was John Anderson?', *in* Hook & Sher 1995, 111–32.

Woolliscroft, D J 2008 'Excavations at Garnhall on the line of the Antonine Wall', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 138, 129–76.

Wright, C J (ed) 1997 *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector. Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy*. London: British Library.

Young, J 1883 'The study of archaeology', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 2, 131–7.

Index