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The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall

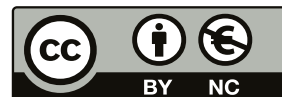
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Chapter 2

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).

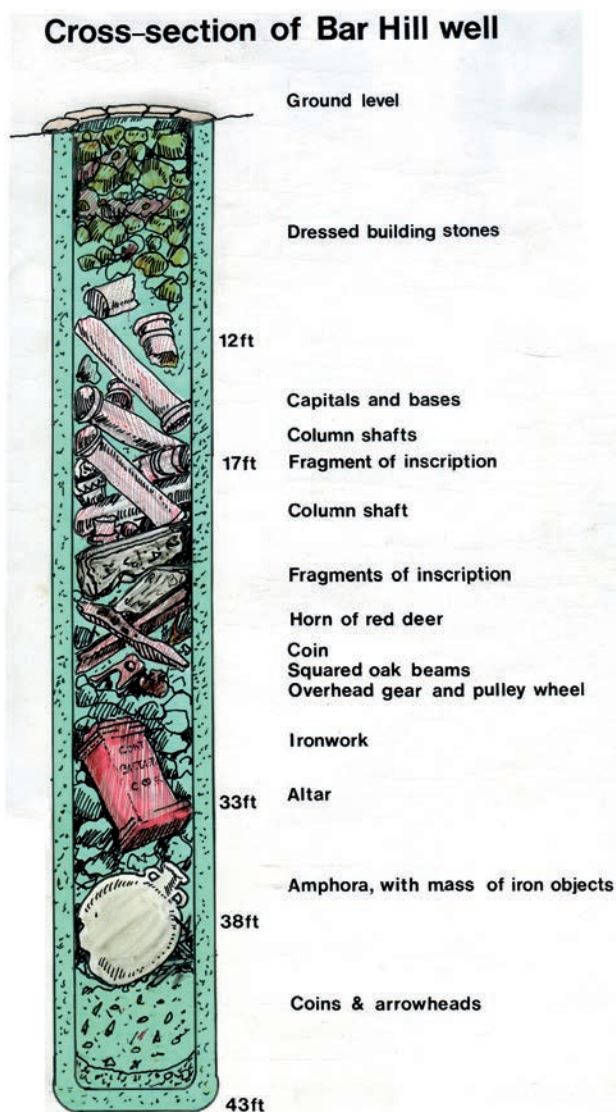


Illustration 15

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 testify 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).

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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 Pengual (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 Drumry⁴¹ 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).

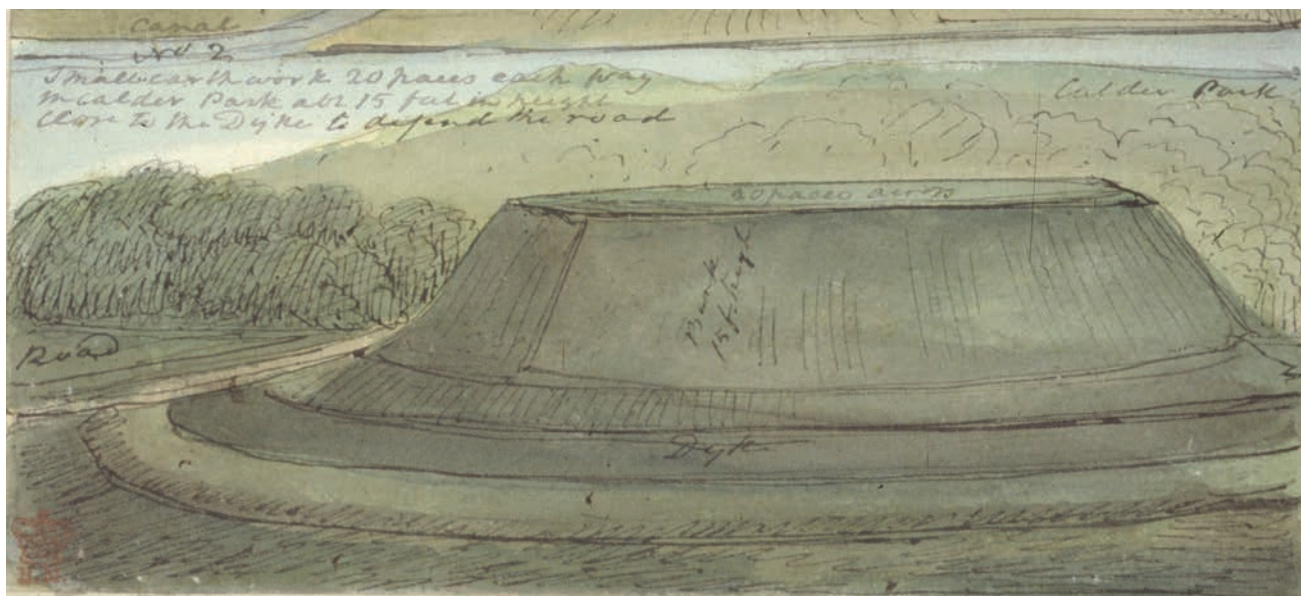


Illustration 18

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.

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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 Douglasses, 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 Cawder⁶¹ 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 Auchenvole⁶⁶ 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.

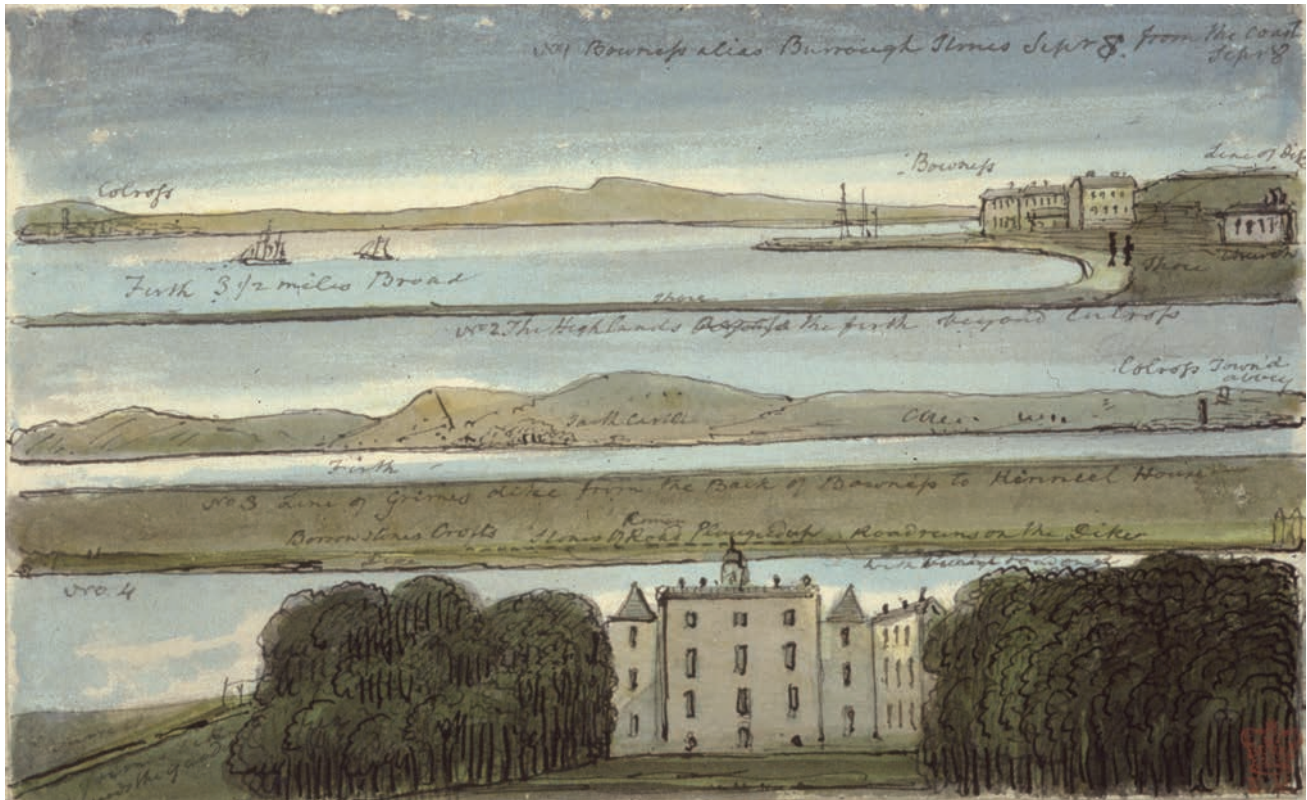


Illustration 21

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,

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the O'on remained all but intact, though the exterior was roughened by age and weather.⁸² Its demolition in 1743 caused a *furor* (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,

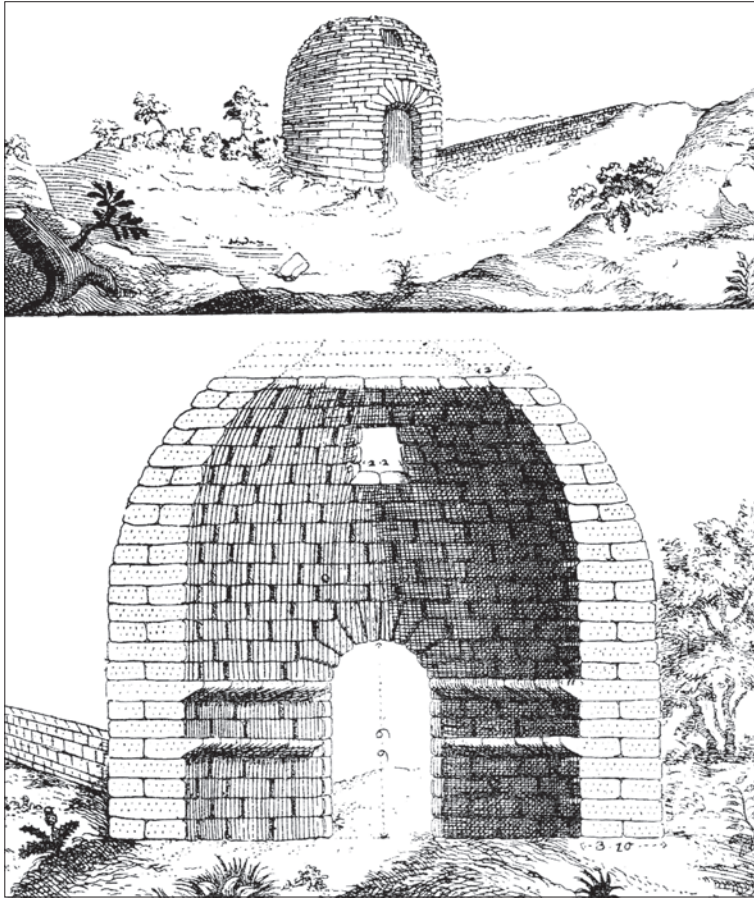


Illustration 22

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

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

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 *ferè 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.

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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 Kirkintilloch¹³² 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.’

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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 Kirkpatrick [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 garrisons 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 devait¹⁵² 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 big¹⁵⁷ 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 our 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 fail 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



Illustration 25

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

this wise more truly copied [it] forth'.¹⁶⁹ The discovery was communicated to scholars across Europe.¹⁷⁰

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 (ill. 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 Scotticarum 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.

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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 *vousoirs* 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.' (Blau 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 Scotticarum 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 Blau 1654: 72 = Blau 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.

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- 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 Scotticarum 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 xlvi.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 Julius* 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 & Grymsdike 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.