



Society of Antiquaries
of Scotland

The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall

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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



Illustration 31

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

inaugural Professor of Medicine at Edinburgh College (illus 31).²

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 *Scottish [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 Prodomus 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

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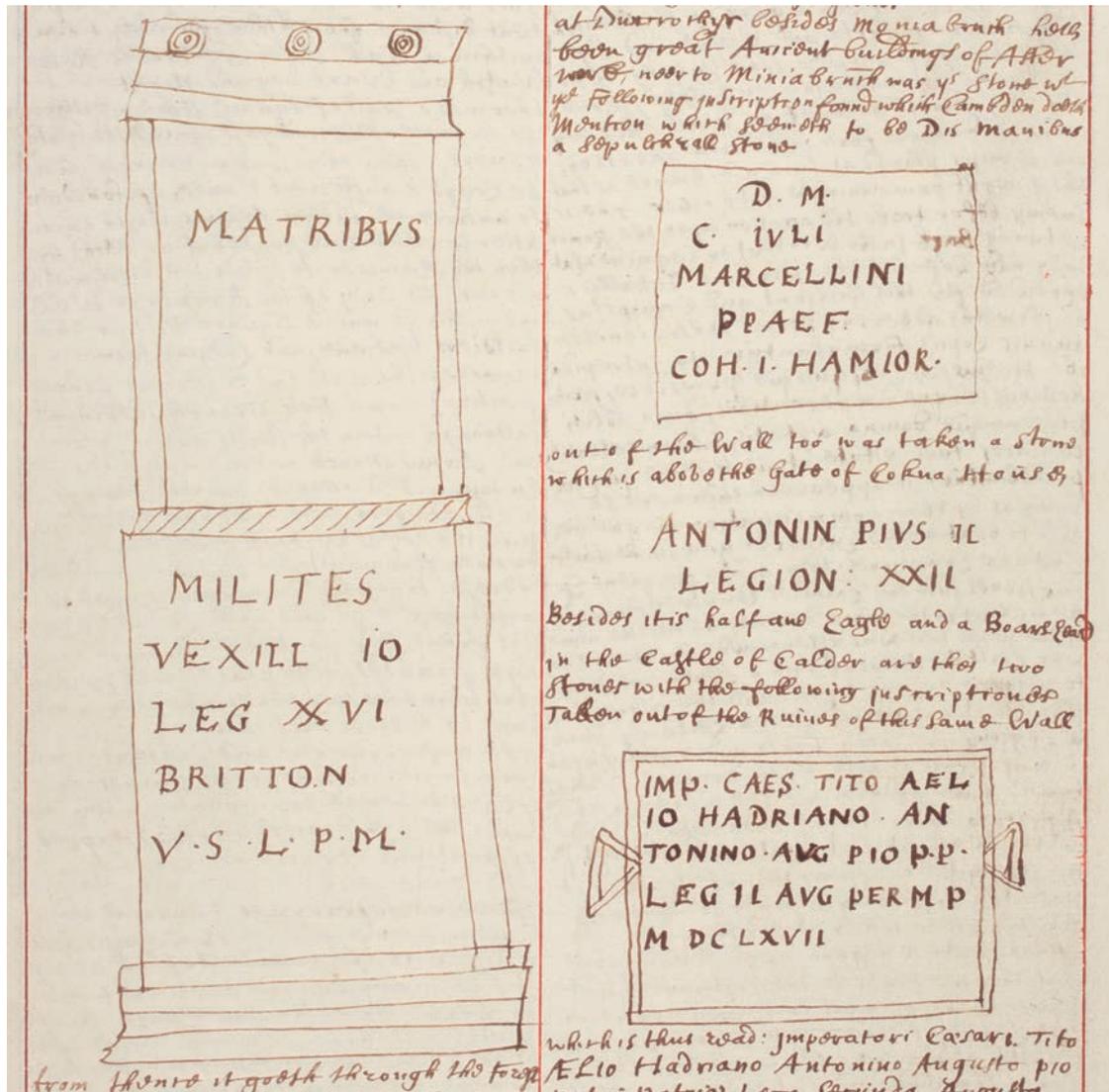


Illustration 32

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 inscriptions 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

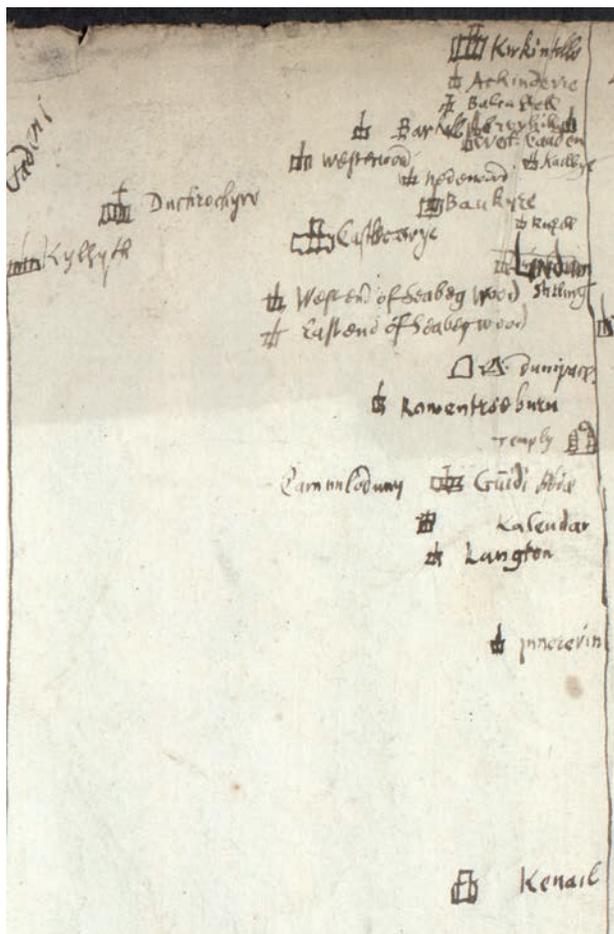


Illustration 33

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

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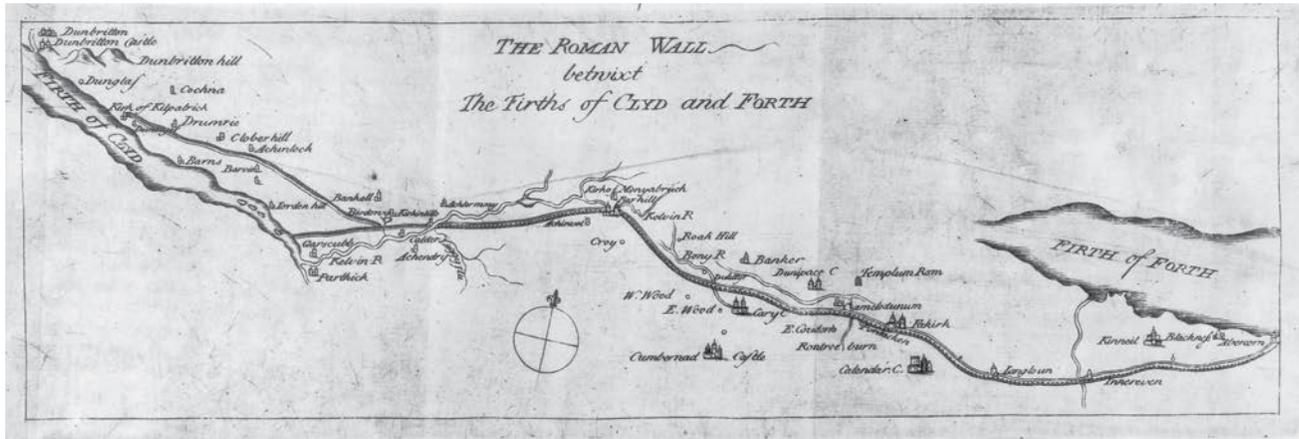


Illustration 34

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, Artificial 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

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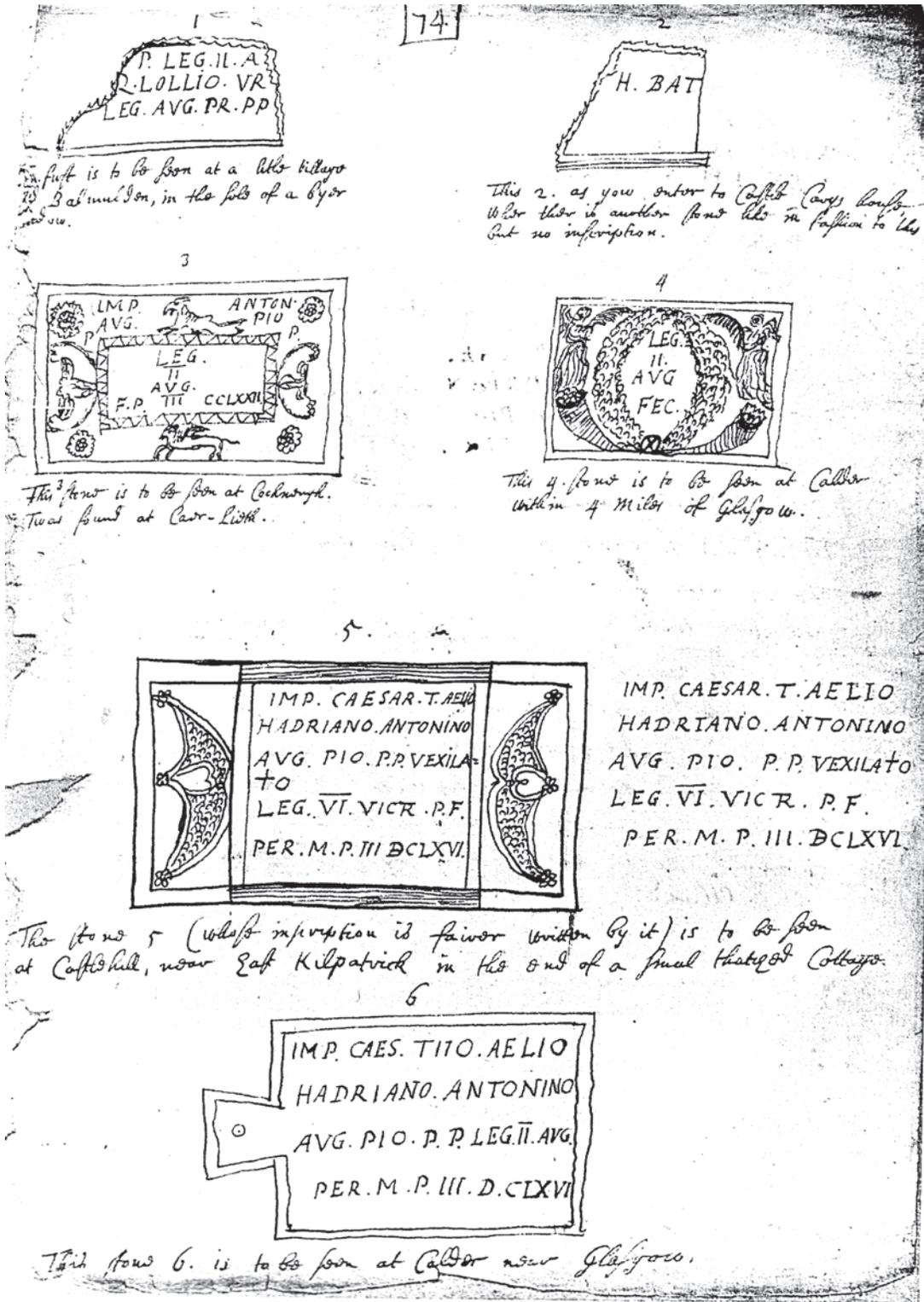


Illustration 38

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 town since I received yours) fallen upon a person 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 which 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 which I shall, when they come to my hand, give you an account. There 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 Glasgow 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

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another with Mr Charles Maitland and got 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 17th⁸² 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. Lhwyd 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 unspecified cohort of auxiliaries, was long known only from a

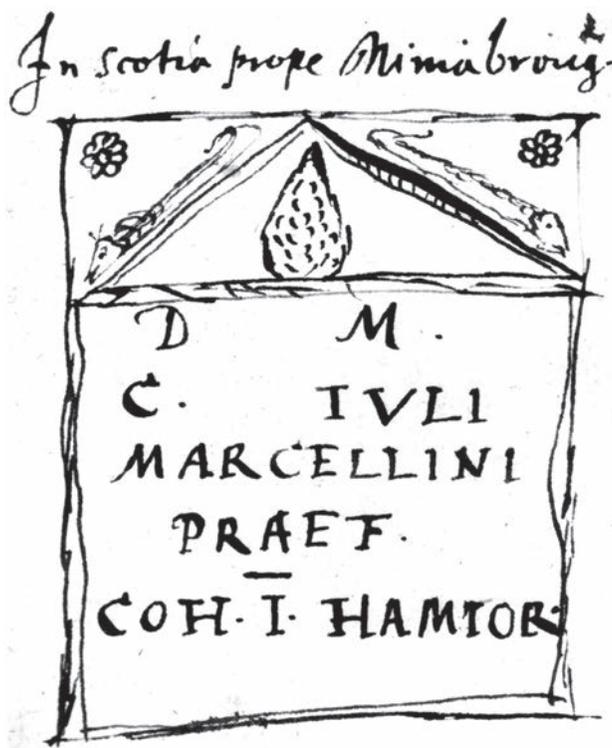
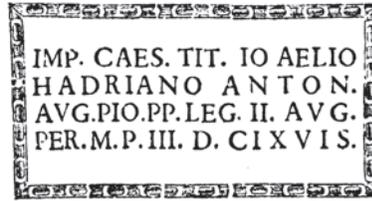
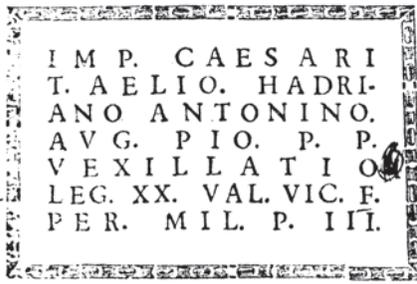


Illustration 40

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).

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Handwritten notes in the right-hand margin of the page, including the number '42' and some illegible scribbles.

Ad *Cædix*, vbi hæc posterior extat, etiam alter ostenditur lapis in quo intra coronam lauream duabus victoriolis sustentata legitur:



*DEO
SILVANO
L. TANICIUS
VERUS
PRAEF V S L L M*

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 dugged 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

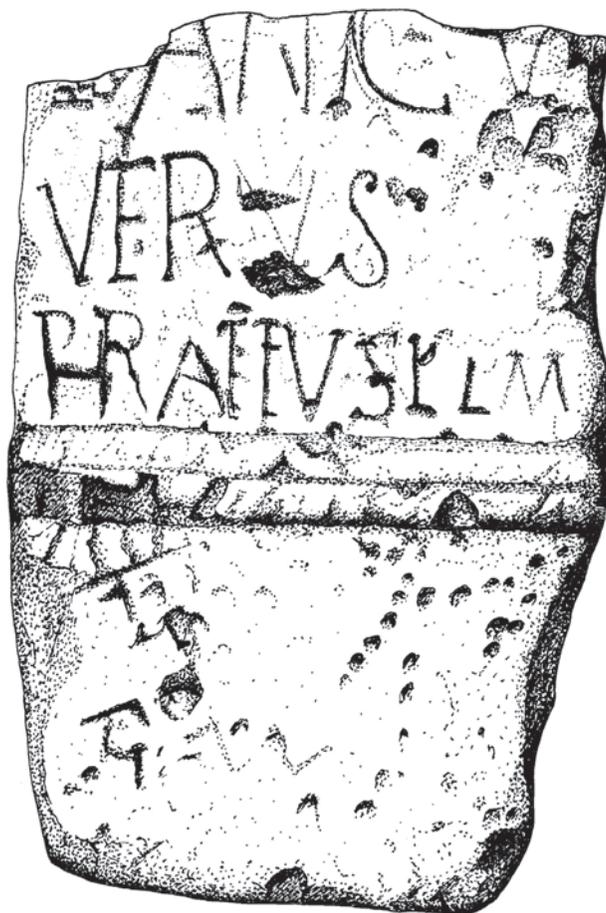


Illustration 42

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).

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

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

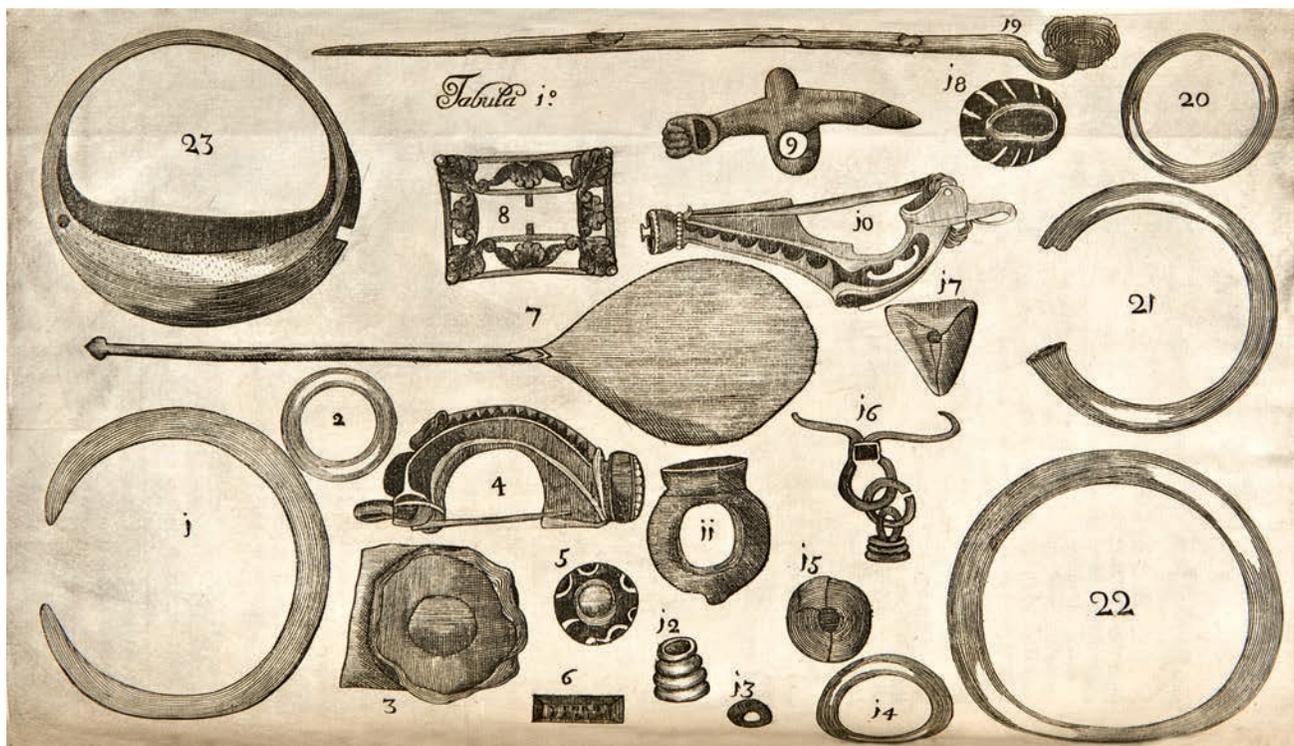


Illustration 44

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

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‘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.

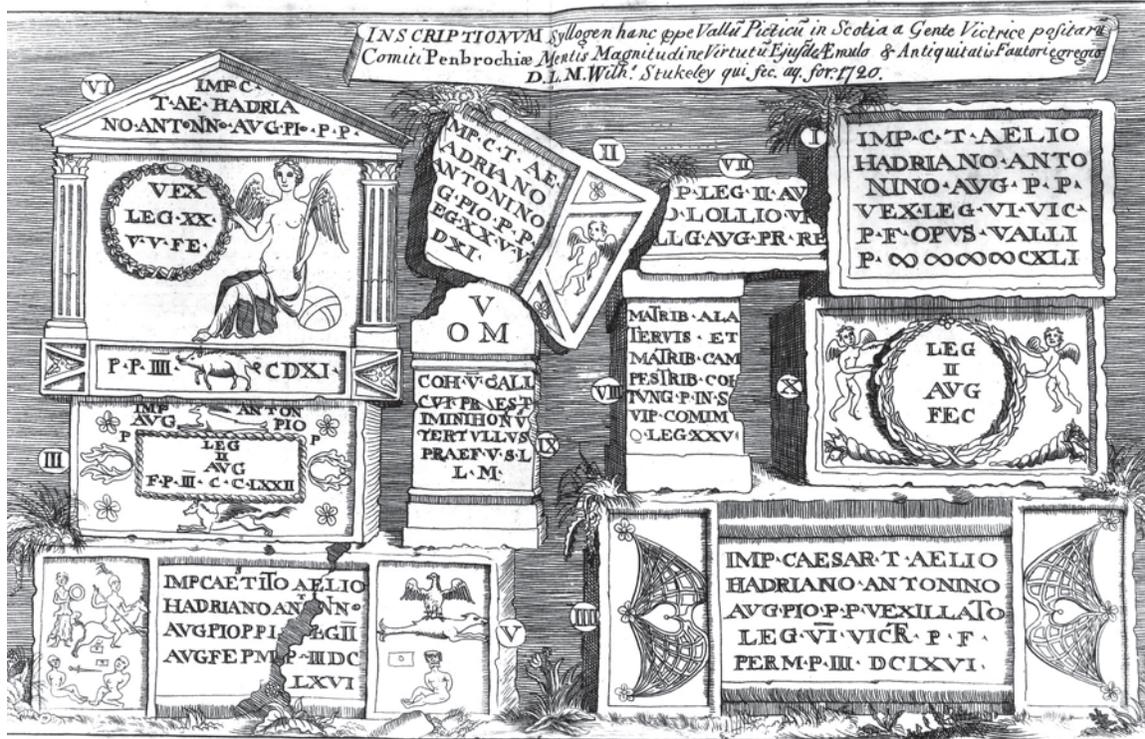


Illustration 45
Frontispiece of William Stukeley’s *Account of a Roman Temple*, 1720, showing Roman inscribed stones, mostly from the Antonine Wall.

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

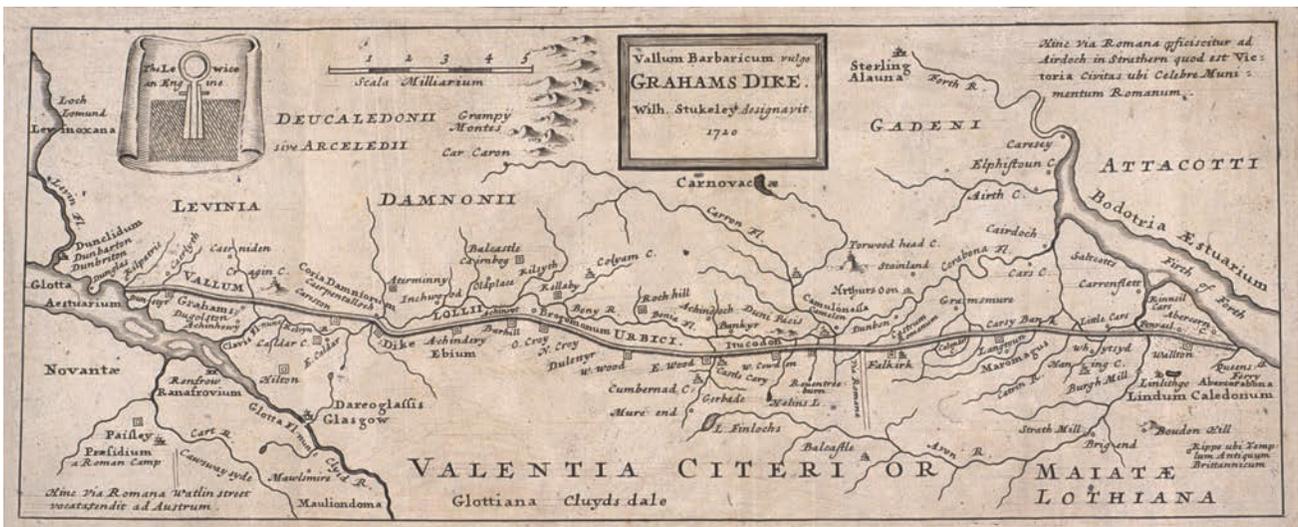


Illustration 46
William Stukeley’s map of the Antonine Wall, in his *Account of a Roman Temple*, 1720.

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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 colleague ... 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 meet 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.

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- 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 colour [Lhwyl] 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.