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of Scotland

The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall

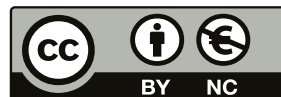
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Chapter 5

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Bt

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

Clerk's many surviving family papers enable us to see the world of a comfortably well-off landowner



Illustration 47

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

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

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

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

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

Itinerarium Septentrionale :
O R, A
J O U R N E Y
Thro' most of the COUNTIES of
S C O T L A N D,
And Those in the
N O R T H of E N G L A N D.

In Two P A R T S

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

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

The Whole Illustrated with Sixty-six Copper Plates.

By ALEXANDER GORDON, A. M.

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

Statius ad Crispinum.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the AUTHOR;

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

Illustration 48

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

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

Alexander Gordon, the singer

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

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

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

Alexander Gordon (1692?–1754), son of a merchant in Aberdeen,¹¹ and a graduate of one of the two colleges there, was a man of little means but wide ambitions, who travelled to Italy in 1716–19, visiting Venice, Rome, Naples and Sicily; thus he was familiar with standing Roman monuments outside Britain. Musically gifted, he sang in opera houses at Messina and Naples, and later in London and Edinburgh.¹² At various times customs-house clerk, bookseller, language tutor, artist, composer, secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of London and Egyptologist, he

never quite fulfilled his potential in any of the many avenues he followed, and eventually got into financial difficulties. Gordon was a prolific and versatile writer, but not all his projects came to fruition. One could view him as just a gifted amateur, but this is to understate his achievements. The *Itinerarium* was for its day a highly original piece of work (illus 48). Gordon was prompted towards antiquarian endeavour in northern Britain by reading Stukeley's *Account*, wherein its author had bemoaned the lack of Scottish interest in the Roman antiquities of the country.¹³ In addition he had recently had the opportunity to handle a supposed Roman sword from Carriden, preserved at the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, unaware that it was a Bronze Age weapon.¹⁴ 'The Gladius I had to my joy in my hand', he exclaimed to Sir John Clerk, all but swooning with the excitement.¹⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

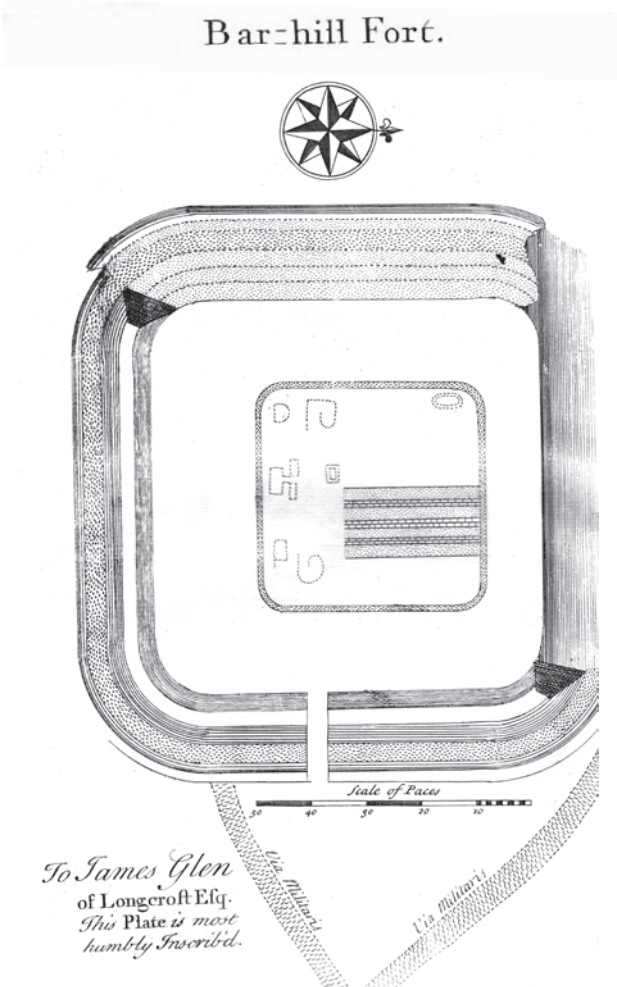


Illustration 49

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

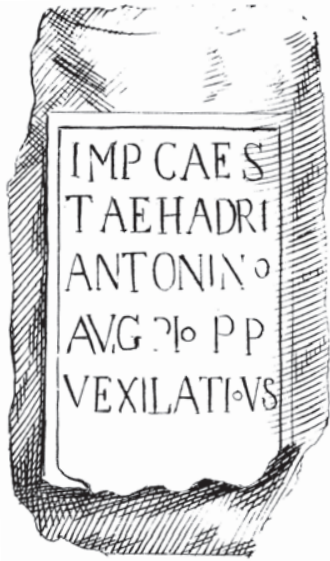


Illustration 50

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

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

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

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

he had recently seen to Sir John Clerk, evidently to facilitate their removal to Penicuik.³⁵ Sir John Clerk's annotations confirm his intention to secure them.

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

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

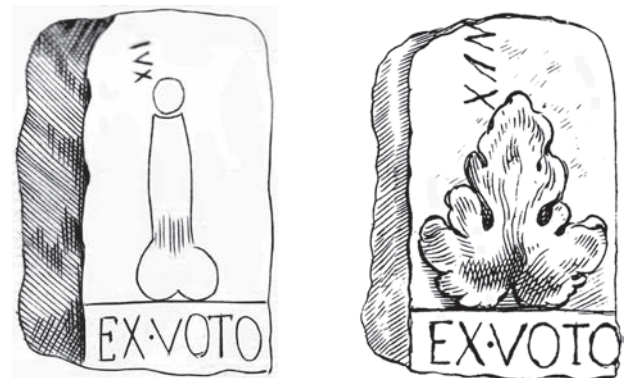


Illustration 51

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

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

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

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

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

which Gordon saw for the first time. Clerk purchased stones at Housesteads fort and wrote up an account of the visit in his journal.⁴⁶

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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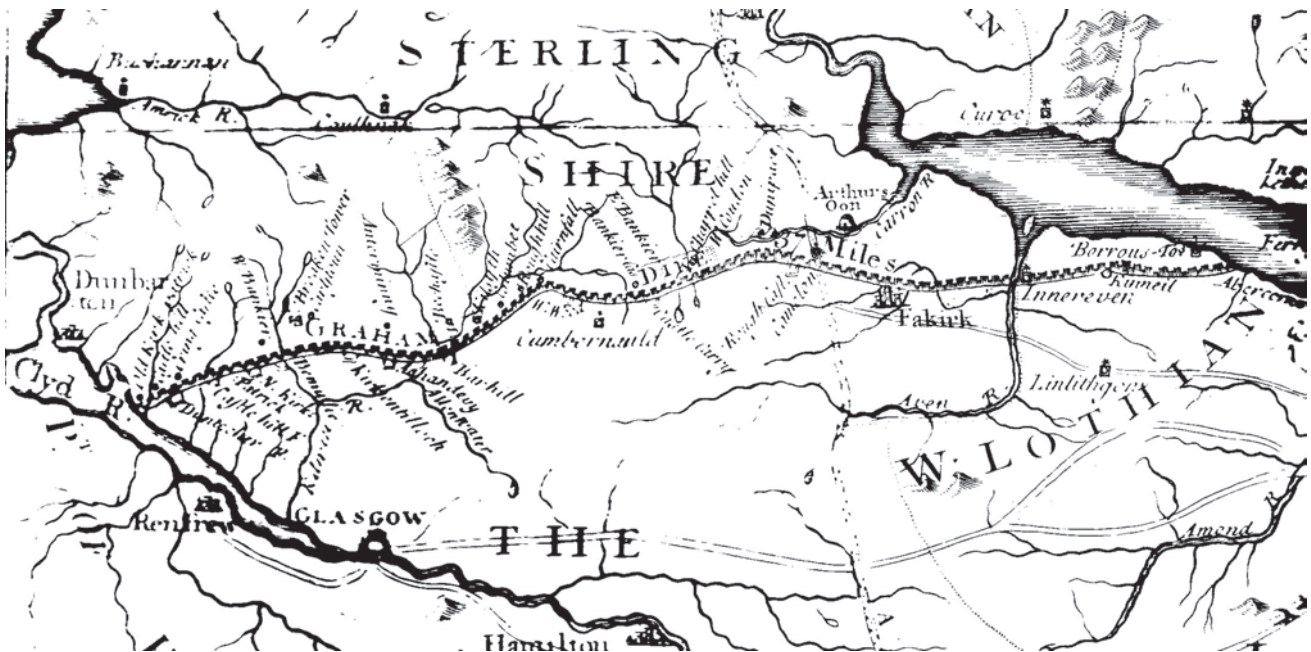


Illustration 52
Alexander Gordon's map of the Antonine Wall, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726.

At the end of the *Itinerarium* Gordon returned to the matter of his projected large-scale map (see p. 75) which was to comprise 'a Compleat View of the Roman Walls in Britain, ... viz. those of the Emperors Hadrian and Severus, in Cumberland, and Northumberland, near 14 Foot in Length and 6 in Breadth; and that of Antoninus Pius in Scotland, in another Map of about 6 Foot in Length and 4 in Breadth⁶⁷ ... as taken by an actual Geometrical Survey of both, last Summer, with great Labour, and Expence ... The Whole will be adorned with exact Draughts of all the Inscriptions, and Altars, ever found upon these Walls ... according to exact Mensuration, with a Scale, and Correction of former Publications. To all which, at the Foot of each Map, will be engrav'd a large Dissertation in English, and in Latin, for the Use of Foreigners'.⁶⁸ He also intended to depict on it the smaller installations seen along both Walls.⁶⁹ It never appeared. Gordon's published map is disappointing, and the forts on both Walls are cursorily marked on it (illus 52).

Gordon may have taken the idea of a large-scale map from John Adair, who had announced similar intentions 30 years before (see p. 49). Certainly there has long been suspicion that Gordon lifted from Adair's papers notes on a survey for a canal to link the Forth and the Clyde, which he was commissioned in

1726 to undertake by the government in London (see p. 93).⁷⁰ As Clerk wrote to Roger Gale on 29 August of that year, 'Mr Gordon is soon expected here with his head full of a project to make a communication between Clyde and Forth by a Canale'.⁷¹

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

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

Wodrow's later testimony

Robert Wodrow had left Glasgow College in 1703 on appointment as Minister of the parish of Eastwood, Renfrewshire, south of Glasgow (illus 53). He was to devote many years to compiling a magisterial account of the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restauration to the Revolution*,⁷⁵ in which he lamented the decline in religious fervour among the Scots, which followed the removal of any threat to their freedom of worship.⁷⁶ Though the antiquarian pursuits of his youth fade from view, he had not forgotten them entirely. An entry among his *Analecta* ('Leftovers') under June 1729 offers an informed observer's account of the constituent elements of the Wall.⁷⁷ 'This moneth I was at Dougalstoun, throu whose ground the old Roman wall goes. I had the pleasure to see that old vestige of the Roman greatnes.⁷⁸ The wall is levelled with the ground, or fill'd up with every year's growth and dust many hundred years since. Houever the tract of it is very plain; from Kilpatrick⁷⁹ to Kirkentilloch it runs all along on an eminency. [John Graham of]



Illustration 53

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



Illustration 54

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

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

John Horsley, the nonconformist minister

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

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

Horsley's interest in antiquities can be traced back to about 1715, if not earlier, perhaps whetted by

his relative proximity at Morpeth to Hadrian's Wall and to its outpost forts along Dere Street.⁹⁰ By the mid-1720s he had turned his attention fully to the Roman occupation of Britain. Correspondence with Sir John Clerk, Roger Gale, William Stukeley and Robert Cay at Newcastle (see p. 83) sheds light on Horsley's fieldwork and on progress towards publication. As the surviving letters rarely allude to either Hadrian's Wall or the Antonine Wall, it must be presumed that active fieldwork along both was already completed. Rather, Horsley was by then preoccupied with his comprehensive publication of the Roman inscribed and sculptured stones found in Britain; more material was continually coming to light, with the result that some had in the end to be included in his Preface as addenda. Much time and effort were devoted to interpreting the Latin texts, often difficult to read.⁹¹ As Thomas Blackwell (the Younger) of Marischal College, Aberdeen, noted in December 1728 in a letter to Clerk, 'He [Horsley] has sent to this college to have our stone drawn anew with the Height, Breadth and Distance of every Letter etc.'⁹²

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gordon was quick to take offence at the threat posed to his reputation as an antiquary by Horsley's intended monograph. Already by June 1727 Horsley was aware of Gordon's hostility. As he entreated Robert Cay, 'I beg the favour of you not to take notice to any body and particularly not to Mr Gordon of

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

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

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

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

In June 1731 further discoveries were made on the Wall at Shirva. Alexander Gordon himself, then in London, contacted Clerk in search of details. ‘I saw a letter from Mr McLauren directed to Mr Faus [Folkes] of the Royall Society, about a new Inscription and a Monument sepulchral found on Graham’s Dyke’.¹¹¹ Colin Maclaurin (1698–1746) was the distinguished Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh College. Gordon asked Clerk to make some enquiry ‘at Mr Mclaren abt it and please let me know the particulars, that with the inscription thereof I may put it in the Addenda of the new Latin edition of my Itinerarium’ (cf see p. 83). The Revd James Robe (1688–1753), Minister of Kilsyth on the opposite flank of the Kelvin Valley,¹¹² had provided Maclaurin with valuable details. ‘As to the *Roman Tumulus* discover’d in Mr. *Cathen* of *Schervy’s* Ground,¹¹³ it was found by some illiterate Country People digging Stones for a Park-Wall; what is found, lies from West to East; Upon the West-side lies an exact half Round, each End of the Diameter running out to the East in a Wall built of about seven or eight Courses of hewn Stones, many of them of rais’d Diamond-work. There are several Pillars, but how or where situated is not known; and some Pedestals with a square Hole in the Top very

well cut. Upon the Wall on the South-side near the Bottom, was found a large Stone with the Image of a Man carv’d upon it, leaning on his left Arm, a *Roman Toga* covering him to the Feet, and seem’d to be ty’d with a Belt over the left Shoulder, his Tunic appearing to his Middle; there is the Figure of a Dog standing on his Gown, with his Tail erected; all is admirably well carv’d.¹¹⁴ Before this Stone was another, covering the Image close to it; upon the North-wall, opposite to the carv’d Stone was another Stone, much the same

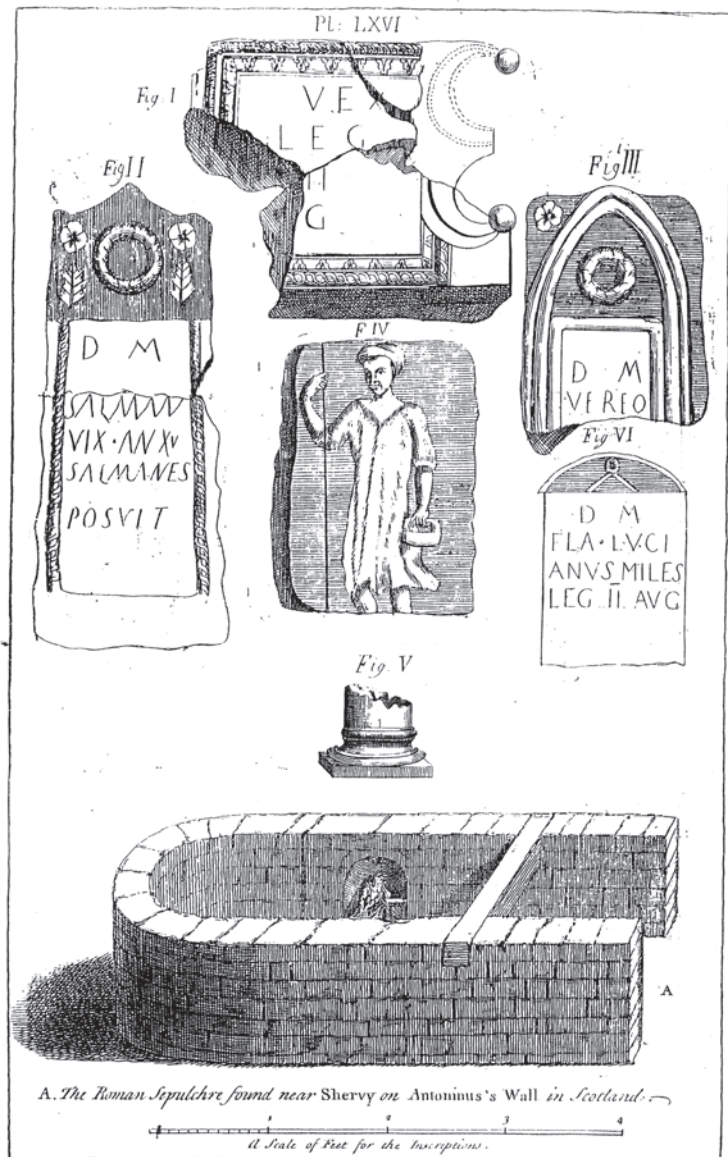


Illustration 55
Inscribed and sculptured stones from Shirva, 1726–31, illustrated in Alexander Gordon, *Additions and Corrections by Way of Supplement to the Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1732.

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

The schematic drawing of the 'sepulchre' published by Gordon depicts a neatly built masonry structure, seven courses high, with one end open and the other

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

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

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

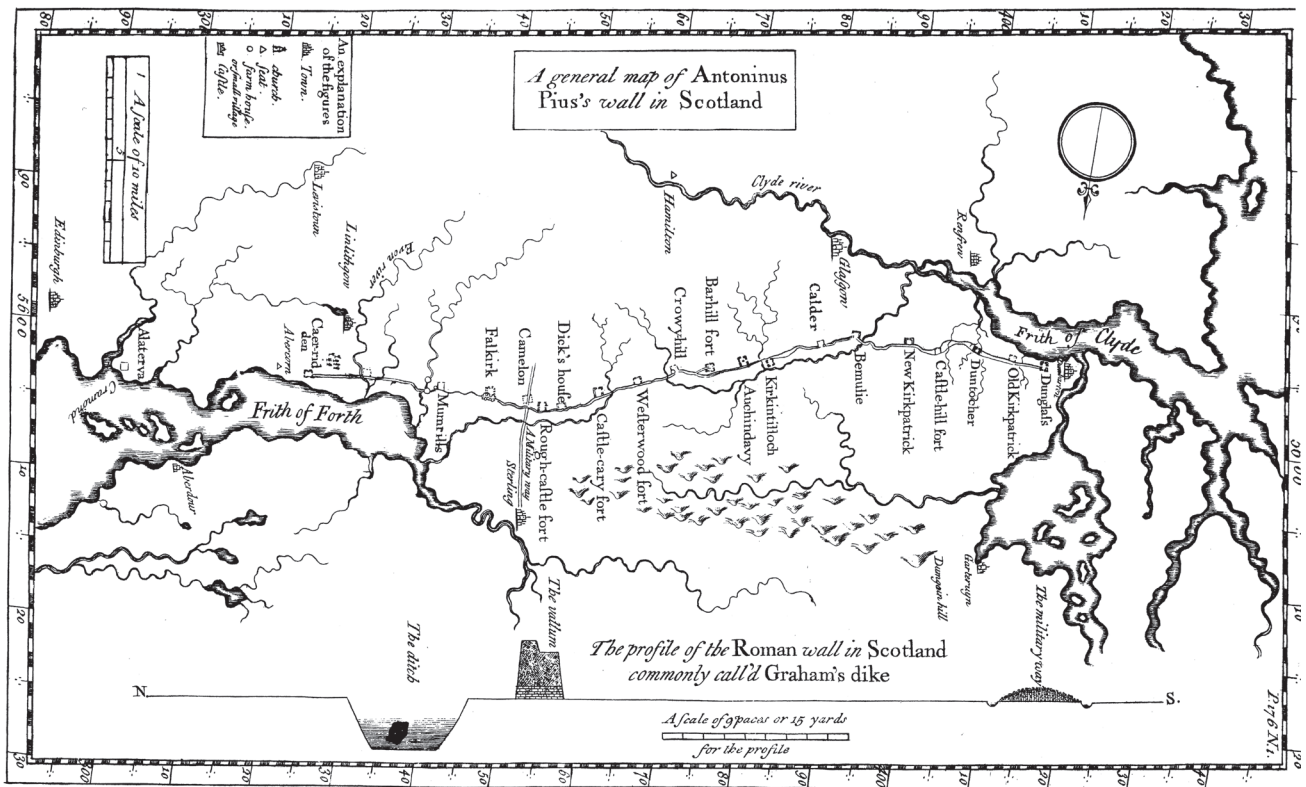


Illustration 56
John Horsley's map of the Antonine Wall, in his *Britannia Romana*, 1732.

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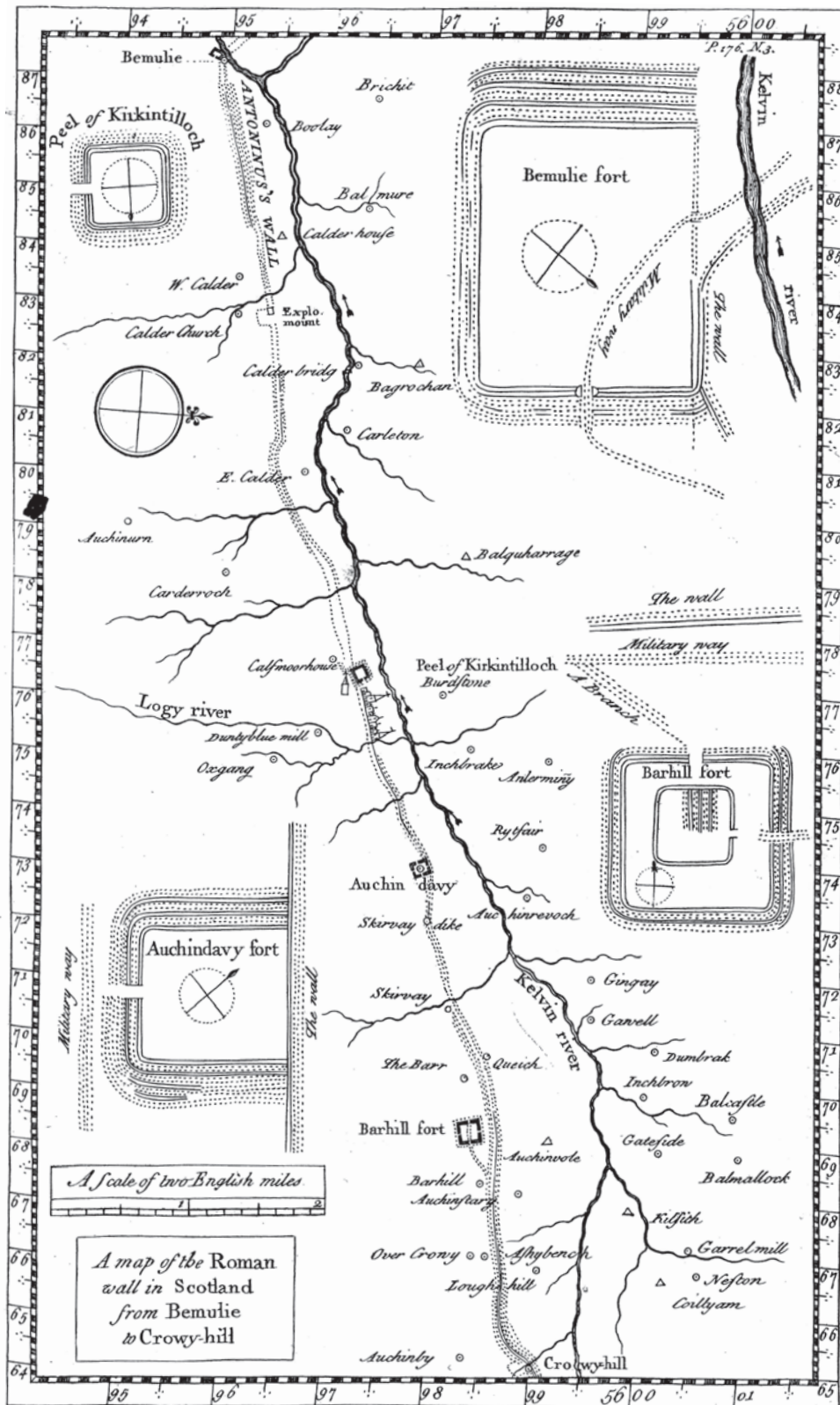


Illustration 57

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

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

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

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

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

what he had ... I would not miss sending these away tomorrow, though they are not so perfect as wished by your humble servant John Horsley’.¹³²

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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