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Roman Camps in Scotland

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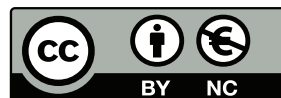
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Dating and conclusions

10.1 Dates of camps in Scotland

There are essentially four ways in which it is possible to assign or propose dates for temporary camps. Firstly, the historical context enables us to allocate dates on the basis of probability given the geographic location of the camps: for example, most camps north of the Forth and Clyde isthmus are usually allocated to the Flavian or Severan campaigns because these are the two main recorded incursions into this area. In southern Scotland, however, Antonine campaigns must also be attested. There are tantalising clues in the literature to campaigns in Scotland outwith these three main phases (see Chapter 8), but as yet there has been limited work to try and gain any tangible evidence for other campaigns (Daniels 1970; Hanson 1978a). Secondly, a camp can be assigned to a period on the basis of association, perhaps because it is located outside a fort dated to a particular period or has a relationship with a Roman road. Thirdly, ground survey and excavation can help to determine the relative sequence in which camps (and other sites) were constructed, and, finally, radiocarbon dating programmes and stratified artefacts may supply an indication of absolute date.

The allocation of a date to a particular camp in a series enables us to propose likely dates on the basis of analogy for the other camps that share morphological similarities and form part of a coherent spatial pattern, such as the series discussed in Chapter 9. However, the picture is undoubtedly more complex, with several camps demonstrating signs of reuse and occasionally artefacts and/or radiocarbon dates suggesting different dates to one another. Nevertheless, it is possible to propose likely dates for several camps through the application of one or more of the four criteria outlined above, particularly in recent years through the last two categories (Jones 2009b).

The so-called Stracathro-type camps do appear, on balance, to belong to campaigns in the 1st century AD, along with most other camps in Scotland that possess *claviculae* at their entrances (see section 7b). Dating evidence is minimal,

but sufficient to be confident that *claviculae* in Britain date to the later 1st and early 2nd centuries AD (Jones 2009c), and in a Scottish context this means probably the Flavian period of campaigning.

Dating camps is fraught with problems (Jones 2009b). Recently, Hunter has undertaken an assessment of all finds found in the vicinity of camps (forthcoming), but very few have been recovered from secure stratigraphic contexts and many lie close to Roman roads raising questions over their provenance and associations. Yet, looking at the various series of camps identified in Chapter 9, potential dates and contexts can be suggested for these and others. The most northerly group, (44ha/110 acres – *illus* 64), has been attributed to both the Flavian and Severan campaigns by various scholars (St Joseph 1973: 232; Maxwell 1981: 40; Breeze 1982: 133). The camp at **Ythan Wells I** was demonstrated on excavation to be later than its Stracathro-type neighbour (**Ythan Wells II** – *illus* 17) (St Joseph 1970a: 175–7). But the key site in this group is the recently extensively excavated camp at **Kintore**, which has yielded considerable archaeological evidence in terms of internal features, artefacts, and radiocarbon dates from ovens (see section 7f). While work is ongoing, the evidence suggests that the camp was primarily occupied in the 1st century AD, but there may have been a secondary occupation in the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD (Cook in prep). This strengthens the contention of a Flavian date for the 44ha camps, but its later possible reoccupation also allows for potential Severan usage, although large-scale trenching of the perimeter ditch revealed no evidence for any recutting. It is, of course, possible that any refurbishment of the perimeter resulted in a larger ditch which obliterated all traces of its predecessor. Whether or not the other camps in this group also display a similar level of complexity can only be ascertained by further work at these camps. **Ythan Wells I** revealed a ditch of similar width to that at **Kintore**, although shallower, but the two camps have had differing agricultural regimes in the intervening centuries, and it is not currently known whether **Ythan Wells I** was

reoccupied in the way that has been mooted for **Kintore**, and therefore any comparison of the ditches of the two camps will not currently resolve this question.

The large camp at **Logie Durno** (illus 169), lying midway between the camps at **Kintore** and **Ythan Wells I**, is some 15ha (35 acres) larger than the 44ha camps, enclosing some 58.6ha (145 acres). This, combined with Tacitus' comment that Agricola split his army into three divisions in his sixth season (*Agricola* 25), promoted pursuit of a '30-acre' series to link the two, but this cannot be sustained by the evidence (Chapter 9). **Logie Durno**, lying at the foot of Bennachie, has been proposed as the camp hosting the Roman army at the battle of Mons Graupius, fought in Agricola's seventh season. In order to fit the archaeological and literary evidence to one another, it was proposed that the force operated in at least two divisions which gathered at this site (St Joseph 1978a: 280). (That Tacitus makes no mention of the army being split does not matter because its division into separate forces does not appear to have been an uncommon facet of ancient campaigning and is recorded in other classical sources (eg Josephus *Bellum Iudaicum* V.68).)

Logie Durno, like the 44ha camps, is tertiate in form, with six gates defended by *tituli*. But its size sets it apart from its neighbours and it remains an enigma in the archaeological record. The forces at Agricola's disposal at the battle of Mons Graupius probably numbered between 17,000 and 26,000, and 21,000 has been proposed (Breeze 1988: 8–10). The 44ha camps could have held this entire army, even using the most generous allowance of space when calculating the density of occupation in the camp (Jones 2006). **Logie Durno** could have held a much larger army, unless there was a specific and unique reason for enclosing the additional space. The primary construction of the 44ha camps probably relates to a specific army and campaign in the Flavian period, but trying to fit **Logie Durno** on the grounds of size and a non-existent '30-acre' series is unjustified. Unless there is a series of currently unidentified extremely large camps in north-eastern Scotland, special circumstances must have dictated the need for such a large camp in this location, possibly to house captives, but in which case they must have been dispersed after being gathered in this camp. The evidence for more than one occupation at **Kintore** demonstrates that there was reuse of some of the northern camps in the Flavian period as well as significantly later.

The distance between **Kintore** and the next 44ha camp to the north (**Ythan Wells I**) is reasonably long, at 25km, with **Logie Durno** located roughly midway between the two. However, 25km need not be excessive, with long

distances also separating **Normandykes** and **Kintore**, and **Ythan Wells I** and **Muiryfold** (Jones 2006). Vegetius refers to the army training by marching some 20 Roman miles (*c* 30km) on manoeuvres (*Epitoma* I.27) and up to 24 miles (*c* 35km) at a faster pace (*Epitoma* I.9). Furthermore, Breeze has calculated that Agricola's marching column could have been at least 15.2km long (1988: 12), over 10 Roman miles. Therefore, the camp at **Logie Durno** is not required in order to make the spatial distribution of the 44ha group work. Indeed, the 44ha series is a coherent group, with similar morphology and dimensions as well as consistent spatial distribution. In order to fit **Logie Durno** into the sequence, a contemporary group of *c* 14ha (34 acre) camps is required, unless a further 14ha was laid out within this particular camp for other activities which were not required at the other camps. If it were the site of the battle of Mons Graupius, Tacitus offers no reason why additional space within the camp might have been needed, and it could have held Agricola's army with space to spare. There was no apparent taking of hostages at the battle, although Tacitus tells us that afterwards Agricola's army marched into the territory of the Boresti where he did proceed to take hostages (*Agricola* 38). While there are health warnings over the use of Tacitus as an archaeological guide (eg Hanson 1991; Hoffmann 2004), the taking of hostages would require a series of larger camps returning from somewhere beyond the unlocated Mons Graupius back to the more permanent bases. The territory of the Boresti is unknown, with proposed locations ranging from Strathmore to the Moray plain (Breeze 1982: 31; Hanson 1991: 140). However, even if space was given over in **Logie Durno** to hostages (and this camp is by no means necessarily Flavian in date), this still does not explain the discrepancy between this camp and the 44ha camps nearby. Trying to fit the archaeological remains of the camps into such a framework runs the risk of substituting one unsubstantiated dogma for another.

The 25ha (63-acre) series (illus 62) is the most cohesive group of camps north of the isthmus, excepting the lone southern example at **Kirkpatrick-Fleming I**. These have been proposed as both Flavian and Severan in date (St Joseph 1958: 93–4; 1969: 116–18), the latter owing to the presence of a possible camp at **Carpow**, the site of a known Severan fort (Dore & Wilkes 1999), although the presence of a 25ha camp at this site is only suspected and not yet confirmed. The potential dating of these camps hinges on the relationship and similarities between these camps and those of *c* 54ha (130 acres) in size; there is a morphological likeness between the two groups (both comprise tertiate plan camps with six gates protected by *tituli*) which also

follow a similar line of march through Strathmore (illus 62 & 66). However, this geographical relationship could be due to the use of maps and itineraries rather than temporal proximity. The camps at **Ardoch II** and **Innerpeffray West** intersect their larger *c* 54ha neighbours (**Ardoch I** and **Innerpeffray East**); at the latter site the annexe of the West camp probably intersects the East camp (illus 148).

At **Ardoch**, the 25ha camp not only intersects its larger neighbour, but also three other camps on the plain north of the Flavian and Antonine fort (illus 77). Excavations to determine the sequences between the camps have taken place on several occasions (St Joseph 1970a: 167–9; 1976: 14–19; Hanson 1978a: 146–9). These have concluded that the 25ha camp (**Ardoch II**) is probably the earlier of the two large camps. The relationship between the two camps at **Innerpeffray** has not been tested by excavation, but it is likely that the East camp is the later of the two, following the pattern at **Ardoch**. **Innerpeffray West** appears to lie astride the Gask Ridge Roman road. Excavations at this intersection in 2007 recorded that the road was later, although this need not have been of Roman origin (it could, for example, represent the route of the medieval road in the area). But its route does line up with the known stretches of Roman road in this area (Woolliscroft & Davies 2002; Woolliscroft 2005a). The road is conventionally assumed to be Flavian in date, owing to its association with the watchtowers along its route, which have produced fragmentary dating evidence (eg Hanson & Friell 1995; Glendinning & Dunwell 2000; Woolliscroft 2002a); but the dating of the road is unproven and an Antonine date is also not implausible. If the road is indeed Roman in date, this suggests that the camp would date to the early Antonine period at the latest, and seriously questions the attribution of the 25ha series to Severus (which was, itself, based on supposition and inference).

No dating evidence has been recovered from any of the camps in the 54ha group (illus 66) (except a stray Trajanic coin from **Grassy Walls**), other than the establishment of the sequence between **Ardoch I** and its neighbours, which suggests that is one of the latest camps to be occupied at this location (see gazetteer). The relationship between **Ardoch I** and the ‘Procestrium’, the annexe north of the fort, has been disputed: that the camp is the later of the two features is argued by St Joseph (1977: 135), but Roy drew the Procestrium overlying the camp (1793: Pl. X) at their western intersection. The evidence still visible on the ground at their eastern intersection suggests that the camp is later, and later field boundaries obscure the relationship

at the western intersection. The dating of the annexe is not confirmed, but there is no evidence for occupation of the fort (and by analogy the annexe) later than the Antonine period, providing a *terminus post quem* for the camp.

St Joseph’s excavations at **Ardoch** led him to pronounce that it was ‘inescapable’ that **Ardoch I** and **II** were separated by a short interval of time (1970a: 171), but this argument was dependent on the amount of silt that had accumulated in the bottom of the ditch of **Ardoch II** before deliberate infilling, and assumptions about rates of ditch silting are difficult to sustain. **Ardoch II** may have been Flavian or early Antonine, whereas **Ardoch I** appears to be post-Antonine, and thus here we have potentially the first evidence for camps this late north of the isthmus. It was observed by St Joseph that **Kair House**, the most northerly of the 54ha series, lies close to where the edge of the highlands approaches the sea (1969: 233), and therefore could represent the ‘furthest point of the island’ as noted by Cassius Dio in relation to Severus’ campaigns (LXXVI.13), although there could be further undiscovered camps to the north. Alternatively, the army could have been reduced in size, potentially owing to the loss of troops if Dio is to be believed (LXXVI.13), and reoccupied the 44ha camps such as **Kintore**.

There seems to be a general consensus amongst several historians and linguistic scholars that the area occupied by the Caledonian tribes was not in northern Scotland, but was located as far south as Perthshire (eg Hind 1983: 377; Fraser 2005: 33–5). Therefore, the army occupying these camps may have already passed through Caledonian territory once they had reached **Kair House**, and be in the territory potentially controlled by the Venicones or Vacomagi, although the detail provided by Cassius Dio as to the geographic location of the Caledonians is limited (LXXVI.12). The ‘furthest point’ to which he refers (LXXVI.13) could refer to the area beyond the Caledonians rather than the northern extremities of Scotland, which would mean that the 54ha camps could represent Severan campaigns which invaded and ‘passed through’ Caledonia (LXXVI.13). Later campaigns are attested in the literature, but the Severan conquest of Scotland does seem the most likely time frame for these camps on present evidence. The camp at **Raedykes** (*c* 39ha), north of the 54ha camps and south of the 44ha camps, remains an anomaly.

Another apparent series of tertiary camps with six gates is the so-called 67ha (165-acre) series on Dere Street in south-eastern Scotland (illus 67). St Joseph proposed a Severan date for these camps on the basis of the size of the army that must have been operating and also because the camp at **Newstead V** (1969: 118–19) avoids intersecting

with the fort, although it does intersect with its southern annexes. It has been argued that the visible cropmark, which probably represents the northern side of the camp, relates to field-systems around the fort or further annexes (R F J Jones pers comm), but the excavated evidence is ambiguous (Clarke & Jones 1994), and the ditch identified by the excavators could yet be the northern perimeter of the camp. Although we do not know the size of some of the camps in this group, **St Leonards** and **Newstead V** do represent the largest known camps in Britain, with a potentially vast holding capacity. Even using the most generous figures for space allowance within the camp and the presence of a large baggage train, **St Leonards** could have held at least 40,000 men, surely the largest army that ever took to the field in Britain, excepting perhaps the Claudian invasion army (Peddie 1987: 23–5, 180–4). Despite very limited excavation and no dating evidence thus far, the most likely scenario for such a large force from the available textual evidence is the Emperor Septimius Severus' campaigns in the 3rd century AD, where the presence of the Emperor and one of his sons would have necessitated such a large force and baggage train. This does seem to be the period when the size of the northern garrison was at its greatest (Breeze 1984a: 268), and the line up Dere Street marks an obvious route for Severan armies to the Severan coastal fort at Cramond (Holmes 2003).

Following St Joseph's work on 'series' of camps, Maxwell also undertook assessments of various groupings. His reasoning on the dating of temporary camps in Scotland has broadly followed that of St Joseph, although he admitted the difficulty in distinguishing between camps constructed by Agricola and those of later Flavian armies (1981: 28), where St Joseph had tried to tie some of his series into individual campaigns by Agricola; such a distinction is currently not possible in the archaeological record without an over-reliance on Tacitus. Nevertheless, Maxwell attempted to assign some camps to Flavian campaigns (1981), and others to the Antonine occupation (Hanson & Maxwell 1986: 65–8). The former were allocated on the basis of proximity to, and relationships with, dated permanent Flavian military installations and roads, as well as similarity to other camps, a squarish plan, and general distribution (Maxwell 1981: 37–41). The latter were allocated on the basis of a tendency to tertiate plan and a relationship with adjacent roads when it could be suggested that the road was the earlier of the two (Hanson & Maxwell 1986: 65–8).

Some of the dates given by Maxwell to particular camps have stood the test of time. For example, at Rey Cross in

County Durham, excavations on the camp and Roman road demonstrated, on excavation, that the camp was the earlier of the two thereby supporting a Flavian date, although it probably had later occupation owing to the presence of pottery from the 3rd and 4th centuries AD pottery in the interior and also in the upper fill of the ditch (Welfare & Swan 1995: 57–60). Crackenthorpe and Plumpton Head (both in Cumbria) are frequently associated with Rey Cross on the basis of similar morphology, multiple gates and spatial positioning (Maxwell 1981: 39).

Excavations at the camp at **Carey** revealed a small fragment of South Gaulish samian from the late 1st century AD in the ditch, but did not report any recutting of the perimeter (St Joseph 1973: 220). However, at **Dunning**, which is similar in both size and morphology, excavations revealed evidence for reuse at its northern and western entrances. Several sherds of Black-Burnished ware probably dating to the Antonine period were recovered from the fill of the western *titulus* ditch (Dunwell & Keppie 1995). But it is possible that these artefacts may date to a secondary use of the camp, indicating the level of complexity in these structures, which is belied when trying to pigeonhole them into single time frames for occupation.

The possible Upper Clyde to the Pentlands group that Maxwell & Wilson identified (1987: 32–4) (illus 69) was proposed as Flavian in date, because of the likelihood that several of the camps (**Carlops Spittal**, **Kirkhouse** and **Wandel**) pre-dated the Roman road which intersects their perimeters. This seems likely, particularly with the addition of **Wandel** to this group, because it enclosed a small Antonine fortlet and therefore probably pre-dated its construction (illus 208). Although this does not automatically demonstrate that the camp at **Wandel** is Flavian (because an early Antonine camp could pre-date this fortlet), its size suggests that it intersected the road and was probably the earlier of these two structures. Thus, the camps in this group could date to an early conquest phase of activity from Clyde to Lothian in the Flavian period.

The three large Stracathro-type camps in south-western Scotland (**Castledykes I**, **Dalswinton Bankfoot I**, **Beattock Bankend**, see Chapter 9 & illus 21) were proposed as Agricolan in date (Maxwell & Wilson 1987: 31), but their attribution to Agricola's army is unproven. Furthermore, the complexity of the Flavian occupation attested in south-west Scotland, supported by the early date of the fort at Carlisle, could be used to argue that they pre-date the arrival of Agricola in the province. Although a Flavian attribution seems likely, further refinement is currently not possible.

The allocation of camps in Scotland to the Antonine period is, at first glance, not a straightforward task. However, a number of camps along the Antonine Wall have been, quite successfully, linked with the construction of the frontier barrier (Feachem 1958; Hanson & Maxwell 1986: 117–19; Jones 2005b; see Chapter 2.2), and two have yielded finds which confirm their Antonine attribution (**Dullatur** and **Little Kerse**).

When assessing camps away from the Antonine Wall, concentration has been placed on those lying north of the isthmus, and most have been attributed to the Flavian and Severan campaigns. St Joseph made only throwaway remarks about possible Antonine camps, apart from noting in his earliest paper on possible series of camps that those that were probably post-Flavian could be Antonine or Severan, but he later opted for Severan (1958: 93; 1969: 118–19). Hanson & Maxwell picked up the challenge and proposed a number of camps of possible Antonine date (1983: 65–8). They noted that Antonine camps had a tendency to tertiate plan (1983: 65–8), but this is not absolute, with many probable Flavian and Severan camps also demonstrating this morphology.

The camp at **Beattock Barnhill I** was initially proposed as Flavian largely on the basis of its almost square shape (illus 85). Following small-scale trenching which demonstrated that it overlay a probable fortlet of unknown date, a date in the latter part of the 1st century AD was proposed (Maxwell & Wilson 1987: 21, 25), but an Antonine date remains a possibility. **Beattock** is a key site in south-western Scotland. It is assumed that the Stracathro-type camp of **Beattock Bankend** is probably Flavian, although no dating evidence to confirm this was recovered during excavations (Speller & Leslie 1995). But a study of the environmental history and fluvial deposits of the Evan Water concluded that the camp of **Beattock Barnhill II** (and its later phases, III and IV) was constructed across gravel deposits and palaeo-channels that could only have formed after construction of the camp at **Beattock Bankend** across the river (Tipping 1997: 25). Therefore it seems probable that **Beattock Barnhill II** is Antonine or later in date and this dating can, by analogy, be proposed for **Torwood** and **Crawford II**, which appear to be in the same group of camps running from Annandale to the Upper Clyde Valley (illus 69). A sequence can therefore be identified at this complex, with **Beattock Bankend** representing a Flavian occupation of the area and quite possibly all four camps at **Beattock Barnhill** relating to campaigns in the Antonine and later periods. Their location a little distance from the fort at Milton, which demonstrated occupation in the Flavian and Antonine

periods (Clarke 1951), suggests that lack of proximity between camp and fort site need not necessarily be an indicator of non-contemporaneity. The likelihood that at least four camps at **Beattock** date to the Antonine period, or possibly even later incursions into Annandale, whereas only one is likely to be Flavian, suggests that many of the camps known in south-western Scotland could also date to the 2nd century AD or later, and indicates a significant amount of campaigning and troop movements in these periods (Jones 2009a).

The majority of forts in southern Scotland with camp gathering grounds in their vicinity were occupied in both the Flavian and Antonine periods, although some forts had a more limited date range. Evidence of short-lived or temporary occupation beneath Flavian forts is recorded at **Milton** and possibly **Castledykes**, both forts also with probable Flavian camps in their vicinity. At **Milton**, the excavator recorded a possible temporary camp under the fort and entertained the possibility that there had been an earlier occupation in the field to the south (Clarke 1951), although this site was never fully published. A possible camp was also recorded under the Hadrianic fort at **Birrens** during excavations in the 1960s, with Flavian finds located in the ditch fill (Robertson 1975: 73–5). Recent excavations at Carlisle have indicated one or two large ditches under the forts, which may represent the remains of temporary camps (M McCarthy pers comm). It appears, therefore, that temporary precursors to more permanent forts and fortlets were not uncommon, with the possible enclosure under the later fort of **Castledykes** perhaps also joining this group (Hanson 1991: 103–4, after Robertson 1964a). With several Flavian phases attested at Loudoun Hill, it is not surprising that various Flavian phases have also been proposed at the pivotal site of **Castledykes**. Several phases have also been suggested at Dalswinton, where the fort at Bankhead had two Flavian phases (Richmond & St Joseph 1957) and, although the presumed fort on the haughland at Bankfoot may have been more temporary in character (Hüssen *et al* 2009a), the likelihood remains that much of the occupation of the area was in the 1st century AD.

The indication of multiple Flavian occupations at Dalswinton, and possibly at Milton, suggests that Roman penetration of Annandale and Nithsdale may have been earlier than would be suspected from a reading of Tacitus (Hanson 1991: 61–8), particularly if there are also several Flavian phases at forts as far north as Loudoun Hill. The suggestion of an early penetration of the western routes into Scotland is reinforced by the dating of the timbers at the Carlisle fort to the time of the Governor Petillius

Cerealis in AD 72 (Frere 1990: 320; Caruana 1992: 101–3), which demonstrates how far north the army had established occupation in the early Flavian period.

The first phase of the fort at Milton (illus 180), lying above the possible camp, demonstrates an unusual T-shaped plan reminiscent of the staggered outline and in-turned gateways recorded in the first fort at Newstead, with which it is occasionally grouped (eg Hanson 1991: fig 14; Maxwell 1989: fig 4.8). The **Newstead** fort, lying at the point at which Dere Street crosses the Tweed, has been dated to the early AD 80s based on coins from the site (Richmond 1950: 5–7; RCAHMS 1956: 312–14) and is surrounded by up to ten camps now known or suspected within a kilometre (illus 183). Immediately east of the fort lies the ‘Great Camps’ area (after Curle 1911: 15–20), a succession of camps that overlap each other and intersect the east annexes of the fort. Although recent work by Bradford University has suggested that none of the camps currently recorded appears to be earlier than the fort, at least one had two phases of use (R F J Jones pers comm) and others may yet be earlier than the fort. If the Newstead fort does represent the first consolidation of newly invaded territory, then it is probable that some of the camps would pre-date its foundation, because the strategic importance of the site would have been long recognised. These camps currently await recognition. While at least one of the camps in this area may be early in date, this is not confirmed, and the final publication of the recent work at Newstead is eagerly awaited. But troops need not necessarily be quartered in a different location to the fort they were engaged in constructing, although use of the fort area would only be the case if those troops required the same or a smaller area.

The fact that **Newstead** was one of the first stopping points during the conquest of southern Scotland is surely indicated by the longevity of occupation of the site and the number and complexity of forts, annexes and camps. Therefore, a temporary camp housing reconnaissance troops prior to the decision to build the fort (and therefore any construction force) would be expected. The camps in the ‘Great Camps’ complex demonstrate repeated use of the area of land east of the fort for temporary occupation (Jones forthcoming 2011). This has parallels at **Lochlands** (illus 167), where camp III has produced evidence for up to three phases of use (Maxwell & Wilson 1987: 39). At this latter site, the same location was also used for **Lochlands IV** and **V**, with **Lochlands VI** likewise probably overlapping these and also **Lochlands I** and **II**. Thus both **Lochlands** and **Newstead** appear to have been favoured gathering grounds near the forts, to the

extent that earlier remains may have had to be slighted, if they had not been already. This is despite the fact that other suitable locations were available, as evidenced by the positions of **Newstead IV**, and **Lochlands I, II** and the **Lochlands Three Bridges** camps.

However, unlike the camp sequences at **Ardoch**, little work has taken place on camp intersections in southern Scotland and northern England, despite a certain amount of trenching by St Joseph and Maxwell on individual camps, and an increased level of small trenching by commercial archaeological units since the introduction of NPPG5 and other planning legislation (see Chapter 1). Bradford University’s work at Newstead focused on the area as a whole and the evidence for Roman and Native interaction, and was not concerned with the chronology and sequence of the temporary structures at the site. However, work did take place at Chew Green in Northern England in the 1930s, providing a sequence for that site (Richmond & Keeney 1937). Although reappraisal of the site following detailed topographical survey resulted in an alternative sequence to that proposed by the original excavators (Welfare & Swan 1995: 88–9), it did not change the basic premise that Chew Green I pre-dated Chew Green III. Chew Green I was the earliest Roman structure at this site high in the Cheviots and is almost square in form, has *claviculae* gates and encloses some 7.7ha (19 acres). This reinforces Maxwell’s contention that square camps tend to be earlier in date (Maxwell 1981: 28–9).

If Chew Green I is early in the sequence, then we might expect a line of similar camps up the marching route of Dere Street, which have yet to be found (Jones forthcoming 2011). Yet, the approximate distance from Chew Green to **Newstead** is about 35km, the 24 Roman miles that Vegetius observed that soldiers could march in a day, so an intermediate stop need not be necessary for the army. The plethora and complexity of the remains at **Newstead** are such that we cannot determine the sizes of several of the camps and possible camps outside the fort.

That there was a route west of **Newstead** across to the major gathering ground at Castledykes with intermediary stations at **Lyne** is clear, thanks to the location of camps and fortlets. But only **Innerleithen** and **Lyne I** can be grouped on this route, and may be Antonine in date: **Lyne I** lies outside an Antonine fort, whereas its Flavian precursor, Easter Happlew, lay on the opposite side of the river (illus 172). **Lyne II**, just to the east, was also proposed as possibly 2nd century and therefore Antonine (Greene 1999), but recent reassessment of the

finds suggests a Flavian date for this camp (Wallace pers comm).

Across in the Upper Clyde Valley, the fort of **Crawford** is surrounded by four camps, two north of the fort and two to the south across the river. The fort was occupied in both the Flavian and Antonine periods (Maxwell 1972) and thus can give us no clue as to the dates of the camps, although the location of the two immediately to the north (illus 72 & 108) suggests that they might have been occupied when the fort was in use. **Crawford II** to the



Illustration 72

Aerial view of camps III and IV at Crawford, lying just to the north of the Roman fort (visible in top left of image). The reuse of part of the perimeter of III by IV is clearly visible. Taken from the north-east in 1984. © Crown copyright: RCAHMS. SC1164050. Licensor www.rcahms.gov.uk.

south could be Antonine or later if it is part of the group with **Beattock Barnhill II** and **Torwood**, but could not have been occupied contemporaneously with **Crawford I**, which it overlaps. But if either of these camps dates to a period when the fort was not in use (their size is unknown owing to the partial nature of the cropmark evidence), then they could represent early Flavian or early Antonine troop movements in the area prior to the occupation or reoccupation of the fort. However, without dating evidence from the camps at **Lyne I** or **Crawford**, this

suggestion that camps a little way from forts, potentially across rivers, might not be contemporary with the forts remains supposition. Further corroborating evidence might come from **Househill Dunipace** (illus 144). This camp, grouped with the 54ha camps, could potentially be Severan in date (see above), and is assumed to be post-Antonine because of the relationship established at **Ardoch**. Although it lies close to the Flavian and Antonine forts at Camelton, it is across the River Carron, reinforcing the suggestion that the camp and fort were not occupied simultaneously. However, the fort at **Milton** in Annandale was also occupied in the Flavian and Antonine periods and, apart from a single small camp located to the south of the fort and a possible structure underneath it, the main camp cluster lies on the lower lying ground at **Beattock**, 1km to the north-west.

The fort at **Crawford** marks the point where the two Roman routes running up Nithsdale and Annandale converge. No obvious groupings can be discerned in Nithsdale, although again there is a camp (**Islafoot**) on the opposite side of the river from the fort at **Drumlanrig** (illus 114). This is located where the Nithsdale road splits into two, with one branch crossing the river and the other passing **Islafoot** en route to the Upper Clyde Valley. **Drumlanrig** fort is Antonine in date (Hunter 2005: 401–2) with suspected Flavian occupation (Maxwell & Wilson 1987: 19–20); two probable camps lie in the haughland to the south, but that across the river at **Islafoot** appears to be square in form. Whether or not the camp was occupied at a time when the fort was in use is unknown, but again, its position across the river when there was space on the haughland for a camp of this size would suggest that the fort was not the focus of the camp, or that the haughland south of the fort was already occupied or was not suitable. Its square shape suggests that it could be Flavian, following Maxwell's proposal (1981: 37–41), although this is not an absolute measure of date.

The cluster of camps around **Castledykes** facing the fort demonstrates the importance of this site as a gathering ground, but excepting the likely Flavian date for **Castledykes I** (with Stracathro-type gates), their dates are unknown (illus 101). Keppie & Maxwell suggested that **Castledykes IV** might be Flavian because of its potential overlap with the nearby fort (1991: 69), but this dating is unconfirmed. Some 2.5km to the north-west lies the camp at **Cleghorn**, where field walking has produced Trajanic and Hadrianic coins (Bateson 1989: 167). These finds were unstratified and although it might be tempting to propose an Antonine occupation of the camp on the basis of the coins, this cannot be confirmed. Farther west

from **Castledykes**, the presence of a Roman road leading towards Loudoun Hill attests to a routeway running west towards the coast, possibly near Ayr or Troon. A probable camp is recorded at **High Cauldcoats** on this road, with a further possible camp at **West Newton**, and it is likely that more camps were located in this area, but it has not been subject to as much detailed aerial survey as the eastern part of the country.

In the last twenty to thirty years since the publication of St Joseph's overviews and summaries, and also those by Maxwell, only a few more camps have come to light through aerial survey. More significantly, however, there has been a considerable amount of excavation on Roman camps. Indeed, Leslie's doctoral thesis highlighted the importance of excavation on temporary Roman structures (1995). While frequently being artefactually barren, excavations have provided some dating evidence, sometimes from stratified contexts, and field walking and metal detecting have produced occasional unstratified finds (a detailed discussion can be found in Hunter forthcoming), even if it is unwise to transfer the date of a stray find to the nearby site without stronger archaeological evidence of contemporaneity. Radiocarbon dates have been taken where the excavator has deemed this possible, although the general nature of these often precludes detailed chronological interpretation as few help narrow down the dates of features, beyond indicating a date in the Roman period or not (eg **Carronbridge**). However, the large-scale excavations at **Kintore** and the reasonably comprehensive radiocarbon dating programme undertaken at this site did produce a cluster in the Flavian period.

The majority of artefactual evidence recovered is usually dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, with only a fleeting indication of activity in the 3rd century AD or later, although this generalisation is based on an extremely small number of finds.

The availability of occasional stratified artefacts and the establishment of relationships and sequences between camps mean that it has been possible to infer basic dates at a handful of sites and, by analogy, propose likely dates for other sites of similar morphology with coherent spatial distribution, even though the picture is undoubtedly more complex. This relies on the assumption that the dating of the artefacts will be accurate and relate to the date of the occupying army (and not, for example, represent relict finds), and that the army in turn was responsible for their deposition, rather than any activity by the local Iron Age tribes. The dangers of such assumptions are well known, along with the problems of dating sites on the basis of single artefacts. However, with the absence of a

plethora of finds from Roman camps, such exercises are not invalid.

In addition to the information that stratified and stray finds can provide, an increasing number of excavations on camps are furnishing evidence for reuse, whether indicated by a recutting of the perimeter ditches, entrance changes, repair of the rampart, or, at **Kintore**, radiocarbon dates and artefacts indicating a range of dates. These add up to a more complex picture of military activity than has hitherto been acknowledged by pigeonholing the remains into the various series and giving these specific dates linked to an historical framework. This complexity is also hinted at by the results from **Dunning** and its comparison with its neighbour at **Carey**. The camp at **Dalginross** also revealed evidence for recutting of the eastern Stracathro-type gate (Rogers 1993: 277–86), but St Joseph's notebooks give no clues as to whether evidence of recutting was observed elsewhere during his excavations on the perimeter ditch.

With the exception of the 25ha camps, which almost form an elliptical distribution (illus 62), the camp groupings outlined above are linear (illus 64, 66, 67 & 69). It is therefore assumed that the army must have reoccupied the same camps on its return from campaign. It has already been observed that the army does not appear to have deliberately dismantled many of its camps, owing to the survival of the remains. (Evidence from the Roman fort at Bearsden suggested that the ramparts may not have been slighted on departure, although the timber breastwork appears to have been pulled down and burnt (Breeze 1984b: 62–3).) While a timescale of a few weeks or months between outward and return marching and camp reoccupation is impossible to prove archaeologically, it does seem likely that the army would have saved labour and reoccupied their camps on the return journey rather than start again from scratch. This assumes that a camp was not originally used for such a prolonged period that it was left in a state unsuitable for immediate reuse. Certainly reoccupation of a camp, perhaps with a slightly different internal layout, might help to explain the irregular distribution of Roman ovens and pits within the camp at **Kintore**, and the reuse of some oven pits on a differing alignment. However, the internal (unexcavated) features visible on air photographs within **Dalginross** are on a far more regular alignment (illus 53 & 109), even though there was also apparent reuse of that camp, or at least recutting of the gate, possibly suggesting that any reoccupation was on the same layout as the earlier phase. It is perhaps likely that when an army reoccupied one of their earlier camps, they conformed to the same layout,

even though they would presumably have been marching in the opposite direction, and therefore the orientation of the camp would not have faced the direction of march. However, if a slightly different army reoccupied a camp, then it would probably opt for a different layout, and this is one possible explanation for the largely erratic interior arrangement of pits and ovens at **Kintore**. Furthermore, an army could conceivably be a different size on return from campaigning, owing to, for example, potential losses of troops and/or the addition of prisoners. St Joseph suggested that **Kintore** was constructed during Agricola's seventh season (1973: 232; 1978a), but the excavated remains demonstrate complexity and the camp could have been originally constructed and/or reoccupied at any time in the Flavian period.

Such complexity in the archaeological record demonstrates the caveats that must be placed on any dating evidence obtained from camps, as noted with the camps at **Carey** and **Dunning**, which morphologically and spatially do appear to be related. Nevertheless the few datable finds and radiocarbon assays from camps are starting to build up and reinforce an archaeological picture previously largely constructed on the basis of camp associations, site sequences, geography and the overall likely historical context. Further artefacts have been identified at a number of camps, such as fragments of amphorae or storage jars in the pits at **Inchtuthil**, and tiny fragments of mortaria and coarseware at **Ardoch**, but these were too small to be precisely identified and dated (Frere 1985b: 230; St Joseph 1970a: 167–9).

Owing to the lack of dating evidence from camps, other features such as morphology, gate-type and location relative to dated forts, fortlets, watchtowers and roads, are regularly used to help assign dates to camps. Our knowledge of campaigns in the 2nd century AD in northern Britain is comparatively rich when it comes to the more permanent installations, but poor when it comes to marching camps. With the exception of **Dunning**, few 2nd-century finds have been recovered north of the Antonine Wall, except for sporadic stray finds found in unstratified contexts (Hunter forthcoming). For example, a coin of Hadrian has been found near **Forteviot** (Bateson 1989: 166) and one of Trajan at **Grassy Walls** (Macdonald 1918: 232–3), and finds from the 1st to 3rd century AD have been found at **Dalginross** (Macdonald 1918; 1924; Woolliscroft 2002c) and **Carpow** (eg Dore & Wilkes 1999: 483–4), although at the latter two sites the finds probably relate to the nearby forts rather than to any temporary occupation of the area. Along the Antonine Wall, unsurprisingly, 2nd-century finds have been located (at **Dullatur** and **Little Kerse**).

South of the Antonine Wall, datable finds at camp sites are few and far between.

The camp at **Girvan Mains West** is unusual in that a fragment of glass dating to the late 1st century AD was recovered from its ditch during excavations (Maxwell & Wilson 1987: 34–5). This camp intersects its eastern neighbour, but the relationship between the two is unknown (illus 136). The discovery of the glass in **Girvan Mains East** has been used to give weight to the theory that the site relates to Agricola drawing up his troops and contemplating an invasion of Ireland (Tacitus *Agricola* 24; Maxwell & Wilson 1987: 35). However, a site farther south on the Rhins, or possibly Loch Ryan, would make a more suitable departure point for any potential offensive across the Irish Sea, and yet again the attribution to Agricola is unproven. Nevertheless, the site is a good location for the meeting of land and sea forces on the west coast.

Indeed, there are a number of camps in south-western Scotland which appear to face the coast or guard important river estuaries. The **Girvan** camps lie close to where the Girvan Water meets the North Channel. Similarly, several camps lie on both sides of the Solway Firth and some could relate to sea-based operations and/or supply of the bases in Dumfriesshire, such as that on the Annan at Dalswinton. Tacitus referred to Agricola crossing with his fleet somewhere in south-west Scotland (*Agricola* 24), but there is debate about what the translation of the Latin actually means because of a suggested emendation of the text (Ogilvie & Richmond 1967: 235; Wellesley 1969: 267; Mattingly & Handford 1970: 146–7; Birley 1999: 82). It is possible that the phrase '*nave prima transgressus*' refers to either a crossing of the Solway ('Itunam') or the Annan ('Anavam') and need not have been referring to the fleet but to a land crossing of either river farther upstream (Wellesley 1969: 267). That a land route from Carlisle was also used is clear by the presence of several camps at **Kirkpatrick-Fleming**, **Birrens** and **Middlebie Hill**. But one or more phases of conquest could have used the fleet in their operations. Along the south side of the Solway coast, camps are recorded at Brackenrigg and Knockcross (Welfare & Swan 1995: 32–4, 40) and on the north side they are known at various points including two, one either side of the mouth of the River Annan, at **Hillside Annan** and **Annanfoot**. Both these camps have been subject to small-scale excavations, but have as yet revealed no indication of function or date, despite claims of an association with Agricola (Maxwell & Wilson 1987: 35). Farther west, coastal camps are sited overlooking river mouths: **Ruthwell** close to the Lochar

Water and **Ward Law** on a high point above the entrance to Nithsdale. We might, therefore, expect to find camps at the mouths of other rivers, such as the Dee, but more aerial survey in dry years coupled with ground-based fieldwork is required. There are one or two antiquarian accounts of camps along the coast, but these either remain unconfirmed or have been disproved. **Glenluce** is on the route of a Roman road, visible as a cropmark, and is also at the crossing point of the Water of Luce. Presumably more camps wait to be found near an elusive fort at Loch Ryan, the direction in which the Roman road appears to be heading (illus 21).

The camps at **Ruthwell** and **Ward Law** lie only 7.5km apart and, although only three sides of **Ruthwell** are known (illus 194), its cross dimension is the same as at **Ward Law**. The camps could represent successive bases on a campaign along the southern coast, but they are sited rather too close together to be part of a sequence. They could have been contemporary storage bases or formed another function relating to the meeting of land and sea forces. **Ward Law** demonstrated a rock-cut ditch on excavation, which suggests a level of permanency and certainly an extreme amount of labour for a temporary structure. It also has a series of outworks which appear to attach the camp to a local hillfort, and four *tituli* outside one of the camp entrances (illus 39 & 209). The reason for such multiple gate protection is unclear, Maxwell & Wilson suggesting that the camp may have been used by troops on manoeuvres (1987: 24). If this camp were involved in the training of troops, this might be one explanation for the strange outworks south of the camp, which also display an additional gap protected by a *titulus*. However the strategic nature of the site on a hill overlooking the confluence of the Nith and Solway should not be overlooked. The Roman fortlet of Lantonside lies on lower ground just over 1km to the west, and this fortlet was provided with two large annexes. The fortlet has been suggested as Antonine in date (Maxwell & Wilson 1987: 23), but whatever the date of **Ward Law** and Lantonside, they could represent successive garrisoning of the estuary at a point where supplies could be transported to the forts of Carzield and Dalswinton lying farther up the Nith. It is possible that **Ward Law** (and possibly **Ruthwell**) relates to the Flavian occupation of the area and Lantonside to the Antonine garrisoning. This is purely hypothetical, but if **Ward Law** and Lantonside performed the same function at different periods, perhaps here we have an indication of apparently different structures with differing morphology and modern-day classification performing essentially the same function for the Roman army (Jones

in prep). **Ward Law** and **Ruthwell** and other coastal camps look like temporary camps, but it may well be the case that they, and other camps elsewhere, had a more prolonged occupation, although partial geophysical survey at **Ward Law** in 2009 failed to reveal any evidence of internal features (Hüssen *et al* 2009b).

North of the isthmus, other coastal camps are recorded at **Dun** and **St Madoes** and possibly **East Haven**. Only part of **St Madoes** is known (illus 197), but its morphological characteristics suggest that it may have been similar in size and proportions to the camp at **Dun**, which lies on the north shore of the Montrose Basin (illus 117). This latter camp has been suggested as a stores depot for Flavian operations up the east coast (St Joseph 1973: 225–6; Maxwell 1981: 45), when Tacitus records that Agricola pushed forward by land and sea in his sixth season, with infantry, cavalry and marines often meeting in the same camp (*Agricola* 25). Maxwell discounted **Dun** as a meeting place for such a force because of its small size, but suggested that it was involved in the supply of garrisons in the forts after the battle of Mons Graupius (1981: 45), although Hanson has commented that it could either have been a defended stores dump (1978a: 149n) or provided temporary accommodation for elements of the fleet (1991: 126–7). A fragment of samian found in small-scale excavations suggests a Flavian date for this camp (St Joseph 1973: 225–6). Certainly some link between land and sea campaigns seems a likely function because of its shore side location at the most convenient nearby sheltered embankment for bringing supplies from the coast to the fort at Stracathro (9.5km to the north-west) and potentially some of the other forts in Strathmore. If **St Madoes** belongs to the same period of campaigning as **Dun**, owing to its possible similar size and morphology, then an identification of the former as a bridgehead fort of the 3rd century AD could come into question unless the site was reused. A cropmark, visible at **East Haven** just to the south of Arbroath, could be another coastal camp between those at **St Madoes** and **Dun**, but this cannot yet be confirmed.

If these northern coastal camps also represent stopping places for the fleet and the supply of the army, then more camps at suitable coastal points should be expected. However, land campaigns on the east side of Scotland rarely seem to have followed coastal routes, with the exception of the Carse of Gowrie on the north side of the Tay estuary. This is in contrast to the south and west of Scotland, with a few camps recorded along the Solway and Clyde Firths. This is due partly to the geography of Scotland, with the south-west dominated by considerable areas of upland,

whereas Strathmore is lower lying. **Girvan** is the first point on the west coast, north of Loch Ryan, where it would be feasible to site a camp. It seems likely that Agricola, and no doubt his predecessors and successors, deployed the fleet in tactical support during their conquests of northern Britain, and, indeed, Agricola is credited with sending the fleet on a circumnavigation of the island (Tacitus *Agricola* 38). Concrete archaeological evidence for the presence of the British fleet is lacking, but it seems likely that the Roman forces would have deployed the fleet in tactical support in areas where the terrain rendered the supply of land campaigns difficult.

Most coastal camps appear to be relatively small, with the exception of the two at **Girvan Mains** (illus 136) (and at **Carpow** and **Invergowrie** on the Tay – illus 97 & 151). However, there are a number of relatively small camps of between 0.5–2ha in size known across southern Scotland. At **Kirkpatrick-Fleming**, excavations revealed a ditched structure to the west of the large camp. This structure has the appearance of a very small annexe to **Kirkpatrick-Fleming I** or possibly a further small camp (**Kirkpatrick-Fleming III**), extending only 60m from the western perimeter of its larger neighbour, although its north or east sides could not be located (illus 162). Pottery was recovered from the ditch of this feature, dated to AD 100–50 and probably Hadrianic rather than Antonine in date (Leslie forthcoming). No clear link between this annexe-type feature and the camp could be identified, and, therefore, the dating of the pottery in its ditch cannot be extended to the dating of the 25ha camp of **Kirkpatrick-Fleming I**. However, if this additional ditch does represent a feature contemporary with the occupation of the main camp, possibly even housing a detachment of troops who arrived to join the main force after the construction and layout of the camp or arrived on site before the main army, then this could have implications for the dating of the 25ha group as a whole. However, the excavator considers that this additional feature could be a further camp rather than an annexe, and therefore not necessarily contemporary with its neighbour (A F Leslie pers comm). Although **Kirkpatrick-Fleming I** has similar dimensions to the 25ha group, it is geographically removed from the others. Similar size need not necessarily mean the same army on the same campaign, but merely adherence to the same rules of castrametation. It would be curious if an entire series of camps between the English border and the Forth–Clyde isthmus still awaits identification, but not impossible. Nevertheless, it seems that the 25ha camps north of the Forth–Clyde isthmus do represent a coherent group, but possibly one that assembled on the

isthmus, perhaps at **Lochlands**, before moving forward to Strathmore and the Carse of Gowrie. This scenario would therefore exclude **Kirkpatrick-Fleming** from this series or campaign group, while noting its morphological likeness, and this seems the most likely state of affairs at present.

The pottery recovered from the excavations of **Kirkpatrick-Fleming III**, is intriguing. It could be the remains of an enclosure which housed a small detachment of troops travelling between Hadrian's Wall some 20km to the south-east and the Hadrianic fort of Birrens, less than 8km to the north-west. Although its overall dimensions are unknown, it seems likely that it enclosed between 0.36–0.6ha, and similar sized camps are also recorded in south-west Scotland at **Ellisland** (across the Nith from **Dalswinton** – illus 112), **Carronbridge**, **Crawford IV** and **Gallaberry** (illus 98, 108 & 132). While camps of this small size could just fit in amongst the larger probable practice camps recorded in Wales (Stafford Common and Rhyd Sarn II, Davies & Jones 2006: 175, 186–7), they are not proposed as such and probably represent small units undertaking reconnaissance and manoeuvres. It has already been noted that **Inchtuthil I** (illus 145) probably represents a small reconnaissance force on the plateau, possibly the earliest camp at that location (section 7e) and the number of small camps now recorded across Britain, and indeed on the continent, demonstrates that small detachments were moving around regularly, but their function probably ranges from troops undertaking reconnaissance moving between bases, to those on manoeuvres. Maxwell has commented on the similarity between the size of camp annexes and the small camps which cluster around the legionary bases at York and Chester (2005), and it does seem likely that small units were operating around the country constructing defensive perimeters for their encampments. The small potential camp at **Boghall** (illus 215) near Edinburgh lies a short distance from the camp at **Carlops Spittal**, which exhibits a small annexe or attached camp (illus 70 & 96). It is possible that the camp at **Boghall** and the annexe at **Carlops Spittal** may have been linked or performed similar functions.

It is often assumed that a small camp which reused the perimeter of a larger camp is likely to be the later of the two, and indeed at **Ellisland I & II** and **Crawford III & IV** there is evidence for two camps sharing part of the defences. **Beattock Barnhill IV** reuses part of **Beattock Barnhill II**, and therefore must be Antonine or later, given the palaeo-environmental evidence discussed earlier (illus 85). That at **Kirkpatrick-Fleming III** may relate to troop movements in the Hadrianic or early Antonine

period, but very few dates can be attributed to these small camps, several (eg **Crawford IV** and **Castledykes III**) located outside forts which had occupation in both Flavian and Antonine periods. Only Flavian dates have been proposed for the forts at Dalswinton, and the two small camps at **Ellisland** lie opposite, across the River Nith. Elsewhere possible small camps are recorded at **Murder Loch** and **Shawhead**. But their distribution is also not confined to south-western Scotland, with a number of small camps known on Dere Street (eg **Oxton II** – illus 189 and **Lugton** – illus 171) and the Gask Ridge (**Easter Powside** – illus 122), and others in various parts of England (but with a notable cluster along Hadrian's Wall), and indeed on the continent (eg Horn 1987: 333; Scollar 1965; Kuzma *et al* 1996; Visy 2003: 34–8).

There is no reason to add any further classifications to those proposed in Chapter 2.2 because it seems likely that these small camps represent troops on the march, but whether they were engaged in the conquest of new territories, exploration or policing of occupied territories, movement between permanent bases and/or general manoeuvres is not currently possible to say, and no doubt they performed a mixture of these functions (Jones *in prep*). However it is interesting to note that, although small groups of men were clearly moving around the country on a regular basis, very few represent groups of troops beyond the frontier areas, the main exception being the annexes to the 25ha camps in Strathmore (eg illus 73 & 128). If these did perform a similar function to the small camps located to the south, then it is possible that they housed a small force that travelled with the main army but required their own camp. One likely force would be the scouts or *exploratores*, which are regularly attested in the literature (Austin & Rankov 1995; Jones 2009a). These could have been sent out in advance of the main force to assess suitable camp sites and gather intelligence and, in the case of the 25ha camps, they may have set up camp some time prior to the arrival of the large army who then proceeded to camp alongside. It is possible

that the relationship between the so-called annexes and larger camps could be established through excavation, thereby indicating whether these may have held scouts. Smaller camps elsewhere would represent small units potentially scouting around the country independently of a larger army, or policing occupied territory. Austin & Rankov proposed that units or detachments may have been temporarily assigned to scouting duties, but that standing units of *exploratores* may have existed from the 2nd century AD (1995: 191). There is also evidence from the Vindolanda Tablets for troops being stationed away from their main base (Bowman & Thomas 1991; *Tab. Vindol.* II.154). It seems probable that we have a hint of



Illustration 73

Aerial view of the SSW side and attached annexe at Forteviot, taken from the south-east in 1984.
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the activities of some of these detachments in some of the smaller camps.

Therefore, it can be observed that there is a plethora of small camps in the territories within Britain that were conquered and held by the Roman army, but they tend to be grouped with larger armies when operating in areas beyond the frontiers, such as north of the Antonine Wall. While the annexes to the 25ha camps lie in Strathmore in an area that was garrisoned by the army in the 1st century AD, the camps may be later in date and therefore relate to

an army that was moving through an area that was not conquered or held at that point in time. It is evident from the remains in southern Scotland that the army still needed to construct perimeter defences around their camp sites in areas that were presumably garrisoned and controlled by the Roman forces south of the isthmus. This hints at a lack of stability in the relationship between the Roman forces and local peoples (Hodgson 2009).

10.2 Conclusions

There does appear to be a difference between the camps within the conquered part of the province and those beyond the Antonine frontier, although admittedly this is a generalisation based on the currently known distribution of camps, which is largely biased by the programmes of aerial survey conducted by Cambridge University and the Royal Commission, which have, until very recently, focused more on eastern and north-eastern Scotland than the south-west. However, it is easier to discern patterns of troop movements in terms of ‘series’ of camps north of the Forth–Clyde isthmus than it is to the south. The camps in southern Scotland are more varied in terms of size than those in the north, which is why only a few groupings can be discerned. Only 30% of camps north of Hadrian’s Wall lie north of the Antonine Wall, and that figure is reduced to 24% if those on the isthmus at **Lochlands** are removed. Yet 46% of these northern camps can be allocated to three of St Joseph’s groups (25ha/63 acre, 44ha/110 acre and 54ha/130 acre). By contrast, south of the isthmus, but north of Hadrian’s Wall, less than 10% of the camps have been tentatively grouped into some form of series. One reason for this probably relates to the distribution of the permanent garrisons that were stationed in conquered territory. While no doubt there would have been groups of camps representing early penetration of the territory in each conquest phase, the length of occupation and density of garrison forces thereafter would have resulted in more examples of smaller groups of men travelling between the permanent stations and, moreover, potentially moving on in groups of different sizes after arriving at a permanent fort. The two groups identified on Dere Street (illus 67) travel past a major base at **Newstead** and the Annandale–Upper Clyde group pass **Milton** before arriving at **Crawford** (illus 69), but there are no major lines demarcating the route of armies such as those proposed north of the isthmus.

This difference between the camps north and south of the Antonine Wall could be explained by a variety of factors, not least topography and the numbers of camps that have not yet been identified. But the diversity visible

in the southern Scottish and northern English camps does suggest that the army might have grouped and regrouped into forces of varying size, potentially at the major gathering grounds, when moving around garrisoned territory. This diversity is less visible north of the Antonine frontier, where the armies clearly campaigned in large forces, and where lines of march can be identified. The numbers of camps north of Hadrian’s Wall, along with the number of forts and fortlets, demonstrates the continued threat that this area was seen to have in the eyes of Rome, and the large number of forces that were required to travel through and garrison the country. Many of the camps probably relate to policing and scouting activities by the conquering army. The distribution of camps must give some indication not only of the areas of resistance to Rome, but also supply lines (particularly clustering along Roman roads south of the isthmus) and the availability of provisions and fodder for the army.

Indeed, information which is now being gleaned from the excavations at **Kintore** has started to build up a picture of a campaigning army, providing clues as to the layout of a camp, its function, the garrison housed, the length of occupation, army supply and provisions, the Roman military diet while on campaign and other details about a Roman force in the field (Cook & Dunbar 2008; Jones 2009a). Although it might have been argued that a significant amount of material from the interior of **Kintore** would be more suggestive of permanent rather than temporary occupation, with the quantity of artefactual remains reflecting longevity of habitation, there can be no doubt from its size and location that its occupation was temporary in nature, and that what we do indeed have here is a marching camp. It seems likely from the length of occupation indicated by the number of oven firings that some marching camps, such as **Kintore**, were in use for several days or weeks. The notion that all marching camps were brief one-night-only structures should be dismissed. While some camps will have had a very short occupation period, the length of time will depend on the purpose of the camp and the orders being followed by the troops housed within its perimeter. Furthermore, construction and siege camps, by their very nature, will have been occupied for as long as was necessary to complete the building or siege (or until the decision was taken to abandon the project). It would be expected that longer occupation would result in more internal features being created, such as ovens and pits, and in more rubbish being generated, producing artefactual remains. Whether or not **Kintore** represents an army on active campaign or moving through territory, liaising with the local tribes and

potentially collecting hostages and slaves, is not currently possible to ascertain.

The finds from **Kintore** indicate the range of items that the army carried on the move, from equipment for gathering fodder to wagons, carts and containers. The survival of metal items in the ovens at **Kintore** may indicate that these were originally attached to wooden objects scrapped for use as a fuel with the metal fixings still attached (Hunter & Heald 2008). One of the metal hinges recovered during the excavations was probably from an upright door rather than the lid of a chest (Hunter & Heald 2008). The possibility that the Romans carried prefabricated structures such as domed oven roofs while on campaign has been suggested in Germany (Gechter & Wentscher 1988, quoted in Hammer 2003: 25). While this seems an unlikely scenario, particularly the transportation of an oven dome which could easily be produced on site, only further work in terms of excavation and artefact analysis will ascertain whether some of the basic elements to enable, for example, the construction of a frame for a building, were actually transported by the army on wagons while in the field. Although the suggestion that the army transported or reused timbers for the building of forts has been dismissed (Hanson 1978b: 298–302), the presence of the **Kintore** hinge and also two wall hooks (Hunter & Heald 2008) does suggest some form of upright construction. Whether or not such fixtures were used to enable the quick erection of a basic timber frame for a high-status building such as the camp headquarters, perhaps with some timber transported en route, or came from a large Roman wagon with a hinged door is not possible to say, although the evidence from forts (Hanson 1978b) would favour the latter option. Trajan's Column illustrates elaborate tents, rather than buildings, for officers' accommodation and the headquarters building (illus 3).

We have little information as to how the Roman soldier viewed the temporary camp; presumably he did not expect to occupy the structure over a long period of time, although Vegetius informs us that the camp was a 'walled city', which the army carried about everywhere (*Epitoma* I.21). The regularity of camp layout would have provided continuity for an army on the move, with units presumably occupying the same part of the camp at each stop, although flexibility in overall camp design is apparent. Housing units and groups together would reinforce solidarity and community (Goldsworthy 1999: 202). Furthermore, its layout was designed 'to provide a battle drill of operational and administrative behaviour which melded efficiently with the excellent Roman qualities of high military training and discipline' (Peddie 1994: 60).

Marching camps were placed in land that was occupied and farmed by the local communities prior to the Roman invasion, their very size reflecting the extent to which the landscape had already been cleared. The relationship between the Roman army and these peoples is an area for ongoing and future exploration. On the assumption that land in Scotland, particularly the good land preferred by the army for their bases, was already in some form of ownership by the Iron Age tribes, then negotiations or possession of land by force must have come into play. Certainly negotiation and diplomacy are attested to in the Roman world, with treaties established and gifts and bribes exchanged (Campbell 2001). It is reported that Lupus bought off the Maeatae in around AD 197, presumably through some form of treaty negotiations (Cassius Dio LXXV.5.4), and that Lupicinus probably negotiated peace in AD 360 (Ammianus Marcellinus XX.1.1). However, it seems unlikely that much in the way of negotiation took place to arrange to occupy land during a period of armed conflict, the evidence from the location of camps indicating that they were sited in the most suitable places for the army, and any concerns by the population regarding the location of military halting grounds in their vicinity would have been ignored. The army must have relied on the local communities for at least some of its supplies in the form of taxation, although it could have carried basic foodstuffs and supplies to last for a certain period of time. Goldsworthy argued that the army 'existed to wage war' (1996: 11), but it also would have existed to self-sustain, and if this sustenance and domination of the local tribes could be achieved without actual warfare and the loss of expensively trained troops and animals, then so much the better. Previous research, such as excavations at the fort at Elginhaugh, indicates taxation of the local population in kind through the provision of animals, with the final phase at this fort serving as an enclosure for animal collection (Hanson 2007).

The position of Roman marching camps might give a clue as to the density of the local population and the areas of resistance to Rome. Identification of contemporary Iron Age settlement is problematic, but recent surveys of settlement densities in south-east Perth (RCAHMS 1994) and eastern Dumfriesshire (RCAHMS 1997) provide a basis for comparanda. However, in neither case can it be observed that the Roman army deliberately placed marching camps, nor indeed forts, in obvious centres of population. The river valleys of eastern Dumfriesshire were clearly areas that saw a considerable amount of later prehistoric settlement (RCAHMS 1997: 128, 148), and,

although there was a significant Roman presence in this area, not all valleys saw the passage of the Roman army. A similar situation can be observed in south-east Perth, where, although lines of march can be observed on both sides of the Sidlaw Hills, there does not appear to be an obvious correlation between Iron Age settlement and Roman military activity (RCAHMS 1994: 49, 62). In both these cases, the army tended to site its camps on relatively low-lying terraces close to water sources, the main exception being those which flank the Roman road north-west from Carlisle which cross over the watershed to Annandale. The main strategic concerns for the location of a camp does appear to be the availability of a suitably sized area of level ground and proximity to water sources.

Yet the campaigning armies had an impact on the landscape of Scotland. Considering the large area taken by some of the camps, it is surprising that more features of Iron Age date (whether pre- or post-Roman) cannot be identified in their interiors, although this observation is largely based on the aerial evidence. Possible souterrains can be identified within the camps at **Inverquharity** and **Battledykes, Oathlaw**, but the evidence is not conclusive. Furthermore, **Newstead V** has at least three enclosed settlements within its interior, but again the dating of these is unknown and further information is awaited (illus 167). That there was interaction between the Roman army and the local peoples is evidenced by occasional finds and hoards on Iron Age sites. For example, recent excavations at Birnie on the Moray Plain have uncovered two coin hoards alongside numerous other Roman artefacts, and suggested that the site was of considerable status and importance (Hunter 2002). The nearest suspected camp to Birnie is that at **Bellie** (illus 214), but the dating and indeed location of this camp (or camps) is uncertain. The latest date from the coin hoards at Birnie is AD 196 (FHunter pers comm), which fits into the historical context of a 'buy off' of the local tribes under the Governor Virius Lupus (Cassius Dio LXXV.5.4). However, how this material reached Birnie is unclear, with no current evidence for a late-2nd-century army marching this far north, suggesting that the local community brought the material to the Moray Plain. The indications that Birnie may have been a high-status site are not apparent from the cropmark record; it is indistinguishable from the many unenclosed settlements in the Moray Plain.

A hint at the attitude of the local population to the Roman invaders could be seen in the survival of the monuments. The number of camps that survived to be recorded as earthworks or partial earthworks in the modern era is relatively high, with more removed by ploughing and land improvements from the medieval period onwards. Yet it would have been possible for the local population to force the rampart of the camp into the ditch if they wished to obliterate the evidence of the occupation. The visibility of the camps in the landscape was a testament to and reminder of the presence of the Roman army. The apparent absence of settlement in the immediate vicinity of the camp at **Kintore** in the first half of the 1st millennium AD could be due to a number of factors, ranging from fear of the return of the army or some form of land ownership to the perception that the land was 'tainted' by association with the Roman invaders.

The potential number of Antonine temporary camps in south-west Scotland could belie the notion that this was an area conquered with relative ease. Even if many of the camps relate to policing and movement around the territory while the Antonine Wall was in operation as a frontier, there may still have been the need for the Roman army to flex its muscles as a result of continued hostility towards the Romans present in the Iron Age tribes that lived in this part of Britain. The dense network of fortlets in Annandale and Nithsdale might imply that the army needed to keep a close watch on difficult territory, and it has been observed that many had unusually strong defences (Symonds 2008). Hodgson has proposed that there was trouble in south-west Scotland in the 150s (2009) which may have precipitated the return of Roman forces to the Tyne–Solway isthmus. Perhaps this can also be hinted at through number of fortlets and camps. Further work is required on Iron Age sites in southern Scotland to try to determine what the relationship was between the two groups, although a start was made through the excavations at **Carronbridge** and **Newstead**. An army which constantly moved around the territory must have had an effect on the local population, even though some of the camps would have represented an army on manoeuvres which generally adopted a policing role rather than making blatantly hostile incursions into foreign territory. Further assessment of the artefactual evidence and excavation of sites like **Carronbridge** will provide more depth to the picture.