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More than a Roman Monument: A Place-centred Approach to the Long-term History and Archaeology of the Antonine Wall

Darrell Jesse Rohl

ABSTRACT

This thesis offers a critique of currently dominant approaches to the history and archaeology of the Antonine Wall, and develops an expanded place-centred perspective in which this former Roman frontier is reinvested with wider significances that derive from both its Roman past as well as its post-Roman history and archaeology. Part 1 provides a general introduction to the Antonine Wall following the traditional perspective, and draws on interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological developments to outline how this traditional perspective will be challenged through reframing the Wall as a *place* rather than an *artefact* or *monument*. Part 2 offers a critical genealogy of Antonine Wall discourse from the earliest accounts until the present, tracing the development of current reductionist approaches and demonstrating that the Wall has been the focus of wider concerns in the past. Part 3 focuses on particular aspects of the Antonine Wall's post-Roman archaeology and the Wall's role in regional myths and legends to explore alternative themes for future research and wider significances that can be integrated into new understandings of the Antonine Wall's meaning, significance, and value as a place of memory, meaning, and cultural heritage in the present.

More than a Roman Monument:

A Place-centred Approach to the Long-term
History and Archaeology of the Antonine Wall

by Darrell Jesse Rohl

Submitted for the Qualification of Ph.D. in Archaeology

Department of Archaeology

Durham University

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List of Abbreviations

AWMP	*Antonine Wall Management Plan*
AWND	*Antonine Wall Nomination Document*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RIB	*Roman Inscriptions of Britain*
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*
SHA	*Scriptores Historia Augustae*
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHS	World Heritage Site

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For Traci, Austin, Reagan, and Alanna.
I could not have done this without you.

PART 1:
Introduction, Theory and Methods

Chapter One:
Introduction

1.1 Introduction, Aims, and Objectives

This thesis focuses on the Antonine Wall, imperial Rome's one-time northern frontier in central Scotland and—since 2008—an UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) as part of the multi-national "Frontiers of the Roman Empire" WHS (alongside Hadrian's Wall and part of the German *Limes*). While the Antonine Wall possesses a lower profile than its internationally renowned counterparts, it has nevertheless been the object of significant study, and this research tradition has resulted in a number of syntheses (Macdonald 1911; 1934b; Hanson and Maxwell 1983; Robertson 2001; Breeze 2006a). These syntheses emphasise the Wall as an archaeological monument of the Roman military, focusing on its Roman period remains and a wider context centred on Roman military activities elsewhere in Britain and across the Empire. This research tradition has revealed significant details about the Wall's structural anatomy and chronology, as well as the lives of the soldiers who inhabited its various installations. Yet, several questions remain unanswered, and considerably more research is required before we will have a detailed understanding of the Wall—and life upon/near it—in the Roman period. This thesis will explore some of these Roman period questions, but the primary emphasis will be the Wall's larger story beyond the Roman period—a topic that has received far less attention (see, however, Keppie 2012).

The primary aims of this thesis are: to demonstrate that the Antonine Wall is *more* than a Roman monument, that the current research tradition has reduced the Wall to an *artefact* for which its recognised significance is limited to Roman military activities during a twenty year period around the middle of the second century AD, that a number of significant activities and alternative interpretations have been neglected by this research tradition, and to propose a new approach to Antonine Wall research and public outreach that broadens perspectives beyond the Wall's short life as a functioning military frontier of the Roman Empire. These aims will be achieved through the following objectives:

- To reframe the Wall as a *place* rather than a *monument* or *artefact*, drawing on place theories developed in humanistic geography and philosophy, as well as the chorographic tradition (Chapter Two: Theory and Methods).

- To provide a critical assessment of the Wall's story as an object of discourse from written accounts, maps and other depictions, drawing on Foucault's historiographic methods of archaeology and genealogy (Part 2: Historiography/Genealogy).

- To explore possibilities for telling new stories about the Wall by examining the details of post-Roman archaeological evidence, as well as the various myths and legends that have developed around the Wall and its associated remains (Part 3: Grymisdyke).

- To outline proposals for an expanded research, public outreach, and communications agenda that accounts for the Wall's long-term history and wider significance(s) alongside those already present within the current research tradition (Chapter Nine: Discussion and Conclusions).

1.2 Organisation

The thesis is organised into three parts and nine chapters. Part 1 consists of two chapters. Chapter One (i.e. the current chapter) provides a general introduction to both the thesis and the Antonine Wall, establishing aims and objectives, organisational structure, and a brief synthesis of the Wall's historical context and structural details based on traditional approaches to the Wall as an archaeological monument of the Roman military. Chapter Two establishes the theoretical framework and key methods that are used in the remainder of the thesis to develop a new approach that will allow us to move beyond now-traditional ways of viewing the Antonine Wall and its significance.

Chapters Three to Six comprise Part 2: Historiography/Genealogy, which provides a critical genealogy of the Wall's story as an object of discourse from the earliest accounts to the present. This is important for two reasons: first, it reveals a richer range of interpretations and significances than is usually presented in current discussions; second, it demonstrates how the Wall's current research tradition has come to be, highlighting episodes of discovery, loss and recovery, as well as the

repression of earlier ideas that no longer fit accepted interpretations. Chapter Three presents and discusses early accounts from the classical period until the end of the medieval era. Chapter Four offers historical and antiquarian accounts from the Renaissance through to the late nineteenth century. Chapter Five summarises the activities and accounts of modern archaeological investigation from the 1890s until the present. Chapter Six then concludes Part 2 by offering a detailed summary and critical analysis of where Antonine Wall research stands today; this emphasises current themes drawn from recent literature, the Wall's World Heritage Site Management Plan (AWMP 2007), and the currently in-development *Antonine Wall Research Framework*.[1]

Some of the material covered in Part 2 (particularly Chapters Three and Four, but also part of Chapter Five) has recently been summarised by Lawrence Keppie (2012); this has been a valuable aid, but while Keppie provides a primarily linear history of cumulative and progressive knowledge acquisition, I focus on overlooked and under-explored details, as well as the more complex genealogical relationships, including eddies in time (Hingley 2012: 9, 229, 327–33; Witmore 2007: 205–10), disjunctures, moments of rediscovery, and the broader connections and dis-connections between the Wall's various accounts. Chapter Two explains the reasons for such an approach.

Chapters Seven to Nine comprise Part 3: "Grymisdyke," which explores the possibilities for telling a new story about the Antonine Wall by moving beyond Roman frontier-centred themes. Chapters Seven and Eight focus on and elaborate aspects that are generally absent from current research: issues that are now neglected because they relate to the Wall's post-Roman life rather than its functional period as a Roman frontier. While these issues are generally absent from *current themes* in Antonine Wall research, there will be some overlap between details discussed in these chapters and themes that were present in pre-twentieth-century approaches to the Wall. Thus, some of the aspects discussed in Chapters Seven and

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[1] The *Antonine Wall Research Framework* is currently co-ordinated by Dr Rebecca Jones (Historic Scotland). I have contributed material—extracted from early drafts of the present thesis—on the topics of "Early Accounts" and "The Antonine Wall after the Romans."

Eight will be originally introduced in Part 2, but returned to in these chapters in order to discuss them in more detail, elaborating on the argument that the Wall has a richer history and greater significance than its role as a Roman military frontier.

Chapter Seven summarises the available archaeological evidence for activities on or near the Wall in the post-Roman periods, from the earliest years after the Wall ceased its original function until the Industrial Revolution. As much of this archaeology has been un- or under-explored, it will not be possible to present a complete and coherent picture of the Wall's role in these post-Roman centuries, but the available evidence will be historically contextualised and a number of possibilities and opportunities for further research will be offered. Chapter Eight also covers the Wall's post-Roman centuries, exploring less tangible aspects of the Wall's role in a complex mythic landscape, highlighting alternative histories, tales of the common people, and the role of imagination in people's quest to establish their own identities through the stories they tell about the places they inhabit. Also considered is the repression of this mythic landscape in current academic and heritage discourse, as well as its continued relevance in unofficial histories and popular subculture.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis, providing general discussion organised by key questions derived from the aims/objectives and the material considered throughout the thesis. What are the benefits of a *place*-centred approach in contrast to the current *monument/artefact* tradition? What does a broader look at the Wall's historiography/genealogy tell us about its long-term significance, and what are the implications of reintroducing interpretive elements that have been written-out of its traditional biography? How was the Wall's significance discursively reduced to the Frontier>Roman>Military typology and Roman>AD 140–160 chronology, and how has this affected public interest, the Wall's social value, and input by researchers interested in alternative themes and periods? What can non-Roman evidence tell us about the Wall's broader significance in the post-Roman centuries, and how might this evidence be used to fill gaps in our understanding of central Scotland from the immediate post-Roman period until the Industrial Revolution? How has the Wall's materiality—and that of associated remains and natural features—figured in the

development of local knowledge and community identity through traditions of folklore, myth and legend, and what are the implications of neglecting these stories in current presentations? Finally, how can the Antonine Wall's Roman and post-Roman stories and significances be brought together in a more holistic presentation of the Wall, its history and archaeology, and their contemporary importance to the present-day place they have helped to create? Key locations where multiple strands of this story come together will be provided as possible locations for leveraging the Wall's broader significance in public engagement and presentation, with the area around Rough Castle fort and the Falkirk Wheel singled out as perhaps the most promising opportunity for expanded public outreach.

1.3 Historical Summary

The Antonine Wall is first, and perhaps foremost, an ancient and historical monument originating as imperial Rome's one-time northwest frontier in modern Scotland. It was inscribed in 2008 as the third component of the "Frontiers of the Roman Empire" UNESCO WHS, joining Hadrian's Wall (inscribed in 1987) and the German *Limes* (inscribed in 2005). It is, thus, internationally recognised as a frontier and Roman military monument (UNESCO 2009). While its unique qualities are independently considered and the Wall is viewed as an important monument of Roman Britain—and Roman Scotland in particular—it is perhaps because of the Wall's role as just one part of an empire-wide frontier system that has led it to attain WHS status.

This initial historical summary seeks to place the Wall within the context of Roman imperial expansion and the second century establishment of frontier lines across much of the empire; the focus here will be this Roman period context. This context includes all documented Roman incursions into Britain, including the early and limited campaigns of Julius Caesar; while it is certain that Caesar never reached Scotland, his limited activities in Britain mark an important milestone that paved the way for later invasion and expansion. Furthermore, despite Caesar's lack of authentic connections to the territory now called Scotland, he nevertheless figured in the narratives and speculations of medieval and early modern Scottish historians (see Chapters Three and Four) and is especially relevant here. Following this

overview of Rome's invasions of and expansions in Britain, the summary concludes
with a brief overview of post-Roman activities, including non-Roman features and
the Wall's rediscovery and research in the modern era.

1.3.1 Roman invasion(s) of Britain

Roman forces first arrived in Britain in the first century BC. The first documented
invasion, led by Julius Caesar (Caes. *Gal*. 4.20–37), occurred late in the summer of 55
BC. The invasion was part of Caesar's Gallic wars and, according to his
commentaries, was designed to gain information on the Britons, some of whom had
been providing aid to his enemies in Gaul (ibid. 4.20). With a fleet of eighty ships
carrying two legions, Caesar attempted to land at modern Dover but, finding the
location unsuitable due to the defensive potential of the cliffs, landed at an
unknown location about seven miles away (ibid. 4.23). Battle ensued and, although
the Romans were confused and disadvantaged by the unusual experience of a
marine invasion, Caesar's troops secured victory within four days (ibid. 4.28). When
the Britons saw that the Romans were losing ships to storm and tidal damage and
had no food stores, they reneged on their peace treaty and fighting resumed (ibid.
4.30). A second peace was finally agreed, with the Britons promising to send
hostages, and Caesar's remaining fleet returned to Gaul just before the autumnal
equinox (ibid. 4.36).

The following summer Caesar invaded again, bringing five legions and
about 2,000 cavalry (Caes. *Gal*. 5.2–24). This time, rather than remain near the initial
landing site, the Romans immediately marched inland some twelve miles (ibid. 5.9).
Eventually, Caesar led another march inland, all the way to the river Thames, where
battle ensued with the Britons fighting under the command of Cassivellaunus (ibid.
5.18–19). After receiving the surrender and support of several nearby tribes (the
Trinobantes, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi), Caesar finally
marched on Cassivellaunus' capital (ibid. 5.21). Cassivellaunus surrendered, and
Caesar returned to Gaul with a great number of captives, just after the equinox
(ibid. 5.23).

It is important to remember that the account of Caesar's two invasions is
written by Julius Caesar himself, though presented in a relatively objective-

sounding third-person narrative. Caesar's second British campaign is corroborated by references in contemporary letters of Cicero (e.g. Cic. *Att*. 4.15, 4.17, 4.18; Cic. *Q. fr*. 2.15, 3.1), but both of Caesar's invasions remain unconfirmed by clearly datable archaeological evidence (Darvill 1987: 166). Despite the lack of archaeological corroboration, Caesar's two invasions of Britain should be accepted as fact, though the account needs to be understood as part of a work designed to provide personal and political benefits to Caesar himself (Webster 1993: 34–35). Thus, while Caesar seemingly does not hesitate to point out problems with Roman preparedness and tactics, it is reasonable to assume that the account was carefully crafted to paint him in the best possible light (ibid.). While these invasions did not lead to direct Roman administration or the permanent garrisoning of troops in Britain, they opened the island to cultural, diplomatic, and economic exchange, particularly in southeastern Britain (Creighton 2000: 55–79; Millett 1990: 21, 40). They took place during the waning years of the Republic, while Rome was expanding and solidifying its conquest of western Europe, and should be seen as attempts to promote the reputation and wealth of Julius Caesar as much as campaigns intended for the benefit of Rome. Following these activities, it would be almost a century before the Roman military returned to Britain.

It was not until after the AD 43 invasion under the emperor Claudius that we can properly refer to a "Roman Britain." This invasion came after a series of aborted plans, including three by Augustus between c. 34–25 BC (Dio *Hist. Rom*. 49.38, 53.22, 53.25) and one by Caligula in AD 40 (ibid. 59.25; Suet. *Cal*. 44–46). Our primary source for the events of the AD 43 invasion is Cassius Dio (*Hist. Rom*. 60.19–22). The original force was led by Aulus Platius for the purpose of aiding Berikos (probably Verika), an exiled leader of one of the local tribes, and probably a client of Rome (ibid. 60.19). After the initial landing, and Platius' defeat of Caratacus and Togodumnus, Platius sent for Claudius, who arrived in Britain to participate in the capture of *Camulodunum* (modern Colchester, Essex), the capital of Cunobelinus of the Catuvellauni. After *Camulodunum* was taken, the emperor returned to Rome to celebrate a triumph, leaving Platius in command (ibid. 60.21). While the emperor's personal stay in Britain was limited to only sixteen days (ibid. 60.23), with territorial

gains seemingly similar to those achieved in Caesar's 54 BC invasion, a key difference was the decision to keep troops on the island. From this decision, and the activities of the following years, it seems reasonable to conclude that Claudius and his generals planned nothing short of a complete conquest of the island (Millett 1990: 42). This would prove to be a difficult—and ultimately unattainable—task.

The Romans first reached the territories of present-day Scotland in the Flavian period (AD 69–96). Our primary source in this period is the biography of the Roman general and governor Gnaeus Julius Agricola (specifically Tac. *Agr*. 8–40) penned by his son-in-law Publius Cornelius Tacitus. While it is commonly accepted that Agricola (governor of Britain from 77/8–83/4) was responsible for Rome's first conquest of territories in what is now Scotland, there is some (debatable) evidence that this may have actually taken place during the earlier governorships of Marcus Vettius Bolanus (governor from 68/9–71), Quintus Petillius Cerialis (governor from 71–73/4), or Sextus Julius Frontinus (governor from 73/4–77/8) (Breeze 2006c: 33–34; Shotter 2009). Tacitus' *Agricola*, however, along with the bulk of archaeological dating evidence, suggests that even if the Romans were present in Scotland before Agricola's governorship, his campaigns have left a more indelible mark on the landscape, and certainly on historical accounts.

While arguments have been made for pre-Agricolan forts in the north (e.g. Hanson 1991: 61–68, Shotter 2009; Wooliscroft and Hoffman 2006: 175–90), the northernmost certain identification is at Carlisle, where dendrochonological dates of AD 72/3 have been given (Caruana 1992: 104–6; 1997: 40–41). Of Agricola's own campaigns, Tacitus informs us of seven individual seasons, each occurring in a separate year. The first season, with Agricola arriving in mid-summer AD 77/8, was focused on crushing a revolt of the Ordovices in modern Wales (Tac. *Agr*. 18). The following year, Agricola's attentions turned north, conquering several unnamed previously independent states and establishing forts and garrisons (ibid. 20). The third season was one of rapid expansion northward, with Agricola reaching the river Tay and building more forts (ibid. 22). In Agricola's fourth season, he focused on securing the territories already gained, building a line of forts along the Forth-Clyde isthmus (ibid. 23). Undoubtedly, these forts were also linked via newly

constructed Roman roads and, if — as it seems likely — the previous year's advance
had been primarily limited to the east, supplied from Corbridge, this fourth season
also saw some additional campaigning in the west of southern Scotland (Hanson
and Maxwell 1983: 37).
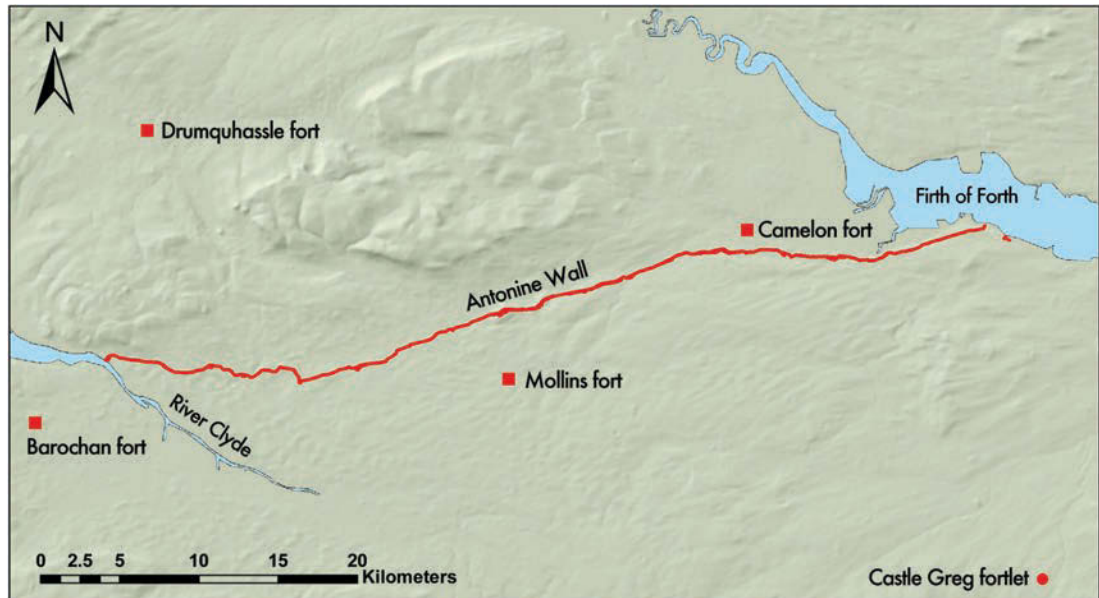
Figure 1.1: Known Agricolan garrisons on the Forth-Clyde isthmus.

Of the Forth-Clyde fort line established at this time (Fig. 1.1), only those at
Camelon and Mollins have been firmly identified, while it is possible that Agricolan
forts were also at Mumrills, Castlecary, and Cadder; these may have been further
supported by known Agricolan forts at Elginhaugh and Barochan Hill (ibid. p. 39).
Agricola's fifth season is unclear: Tacitus tells us that he made a sea passage,
conquering previously independent peoples and lining his troops in the part of
Britain that faces Ireland, possibly intending invasion of that island (Tac. *Agr.* 24).
As Ireland was never invaded, and the context of this passage is entirely
circumscribed by mention of the island, it is likely that this season was focused in
the west, and that the sea passage was probably movement across the Solway or
Clyde estuaries; the peoples conquered in this year may have been remnants in the
far west of southern Scotland, Galloway, that had not been reached in the previous
four years, or less probably, some of those located north of the Clyde in the western
Highlands (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 40–41).

For the sixth season, Agricola turned his sights to the lands north of the Forth, using land and naval forces to secure control over the territories (Tac. *Agr.* 25–28). The fighting was intense and, in one night-time attack, the enemy came devastatingly close to defeating the Ninth Legion at their camp, before Agricola arrived with reinforcements and chased the enemy into the forests and marshes (ibid. 26). The seventh season, AD 83/4, saw the culmination of Agricola's northern campaign and the end of his governorship. Again, using a combination of land and naval units—including both Romans and reinforcements of loyal Britons—he advanced and met a united enemy at *Mons Graupius*, where, while the enemy had been spurred on by a valiant (and most probably invented by Tacitus!) speech from one of their leaders Calgacus, the Romans were victorious (ibid. 29–38). The outcome of this battle was the defeat and dispersal of those who had stood against Agricola's forces, and the chance for the Romans to continue work on securing their place in northern Britain; though the entire island had not been subjugated, for a time the threat of impending attack had been put down. Agricola himself was not able to enjoy the victory for long, and was recalled to Rome. Along with all the forts constructed during this seven-year campaign, Agricola's army also left behind dozens of temporary marching camps, now identifiable through earthwork remains or as crop-marks (Jones 2011).

Following Agricola's recall, the Romans appear to have begun withdrawing from Scotland, though this was not immediate. In fact, there is substantial evidence to indicate that the Romans intended to stay on a permanent basis: a line of forts had been built along the Gask Ridge, Perthshire, probably by Agricola to protect the line of supplies for his campaign, and these were not abandoned with Agricola's recall. Near these, was the legionary fortress at Inchtuthil, probably constructed by Agricola's successor over two years, AD 85–86; further, as Tacitus does not mention fort building during Agricola's sixth and seventh seasons, and as construction of forts was usually delayed until victory was secured in a particular area, it seems likely that no forts were built to the north of the Tay until after the victory of *Mons Graupius*: thus, the forts of Cargill, Cardean, and Stracathro are likely post-Agricolan

or were began just before his recall to Rome (Breeze 2006c: 55–57; see also Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 42).

The late Flavian occupation of northern Scotland was short-lived. The fortress at Inchtuthil was never completed and, while northern forts have produced a fair number of coins dated AD 86, no coins from 87 have been found, despite their relative abundance elsewhere. It is, thus, reasonable to conclude that the Flavian withdrawal began in 86/7, before the coins of 87 had the opportunity to arrive (Wooliscroft 2009: 35). Based on dating of ceramic and numismatic evidence, all Flavian forts north of Newstead were abandoned by AD 90 (Hartley 1972: 13–14). By AD 105, "even the tenuous grip on the Lowlands had gone" (ibid. p. 15) and the Romans appear to have fallen back to the Tyne-Solway line, where the next major development would begin.

1.3.2 The Roman Walls

By the early second century AD, Roman Britain appears to have had a northern limit centred on the Tyne-Solway isthmus. The first emperor in this century was Trajan (reigned AD 98–117), who may have established the so-called "Stanegate" frontier system: a line of forts between the Flavian bases at Corbridge (Roman *Coria* or *Corstopotim*) and Carlisle (Roman *Luguvaliam*).[2] Additional forts, probably constructed early in the second century, were Newbrough, Chesterholm (Roman *Vindolanda*), Haltwhistle Burn, Carvoran (Roman *Magnis*), Throp, Nether Denton, and Brampton Old Church. Along with these forts, there may have been several watch-towers in this period (Birley 1961: 136–50). This system loosely formed the basis for the most famous of Britain's Roman monuments, Hadrian's Wall (Symonds and Mason 2009: 10–33).

The emperor Hadrian (reigned AD 117–38) visited Britain in AD 122 and, according to one of his biographers, he "put many things to right and was the first

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[2] "The Stanegate" was a medieval name for a Roman road that connected several sites between Corbridge and Carlisle. Some of these sites have been shown to pre-date the establishment of Hadrian's Wall, and this line may have been an early "frontier" in the region. Whether this line constitutes a proper "frontier" or was Trajanic in date remain points for debate (see Hodgson 2000; 2009c: 11–15; Symonds and Mason 2009: 10–33). There is no evidence that Trajan was personally responsible for this system.

to build a wall, 80 miles long from sea to sea, to divide the barbarians from the Romans" (*SHA* Had. 11.2). This Wall (Fig. 1.2) largely followed the Stanegate line and stretched from Wallsend on the River Tyne to Bowness on the Solway Firth. Construction probably began in AD 122, and appears to have undergone several changes in plan. Originally, the Wall was to be constructed of stone from Wallsend to the river Irthing, and of turf from there to Bowness, with a regular interval of gates every Roman mile (1.6km), with two towers or turrets located between each gate; no forts were placed on the Wall at this time (Breeze 2006b: 50–51). The plan changed with the addition of forts along the Wall itself, replacement of the turf sector in stone, reduction of the Wall's width for unfinished sections, and the addition of the massive "vallum" earthwork located to the south of the Wall (ibid.).
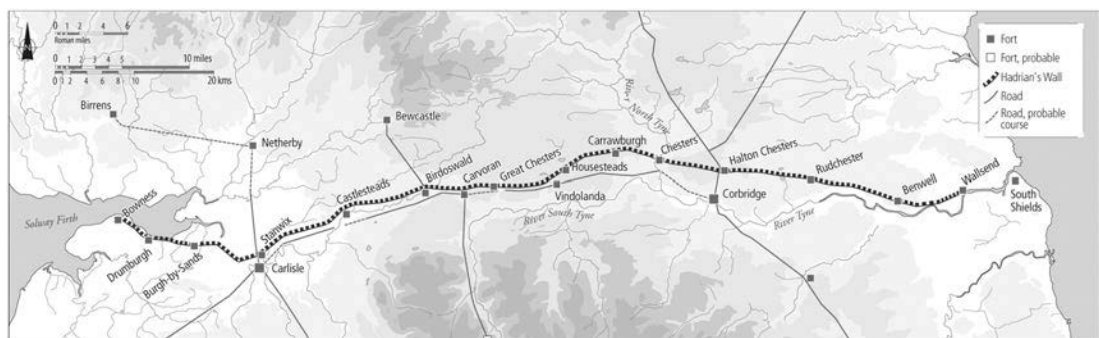
Figure 1.2: Map of Hadrian's Wall (Courtesy of David Breeze).

On Hadrian's death, in AD 138, Antoninus Pius (reigned AD 138–61) succeeded to the throne. A wealthy noble with a good record, he nevertheless lacked military experience. For this reason it has been suggested that, while Hadrian may have chosen him as successor because "he was clearly a man of peace" that would almost certainly follow Hadrian's own non-expansionist policies (Breeze 2006a: 3), Antoninus may have required military credentials to strengthen his new imperial powers, and Britain was chosen as the vehicle by which he could increase his prestige with a military triumph (ibid. pp. 13–14). The invasion took place in AD 139/42, and was commemorated by coins of AD 143 (RIC 113, 719, 732, 743, 745), at which time the emperor was proclaimed Imperator for the victory. The result of this invasion to the north of Hadrian's Wall, and led by the governor Lollius Urbicus, was the establishment of a new frontier line across the Forth-Clyde isthmus, with a

new Wall constructed of turf (*SHA* Ant. Pius 5.4). This has become known as the Antonine Wall (Fig. 1.3), which will be described in more detail below.
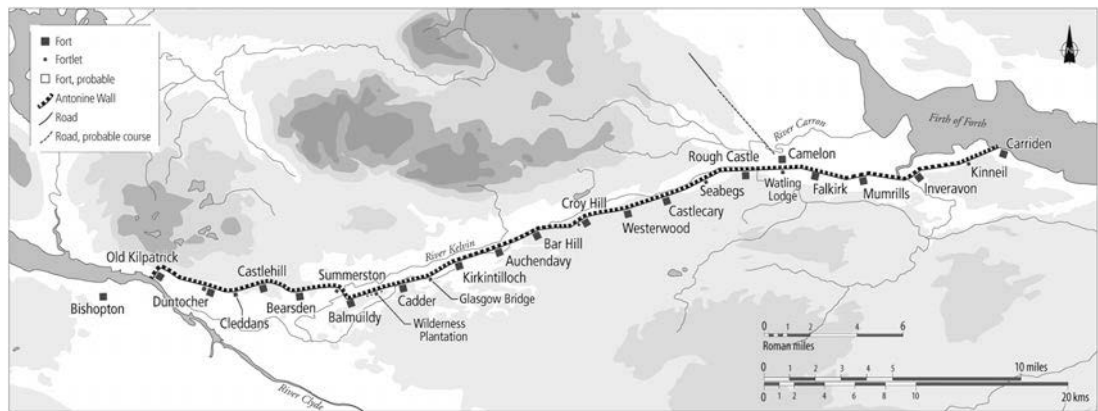
Figure 1.3: Map of the Antonine Wall (Courtesy of David Breeze).

The Antonine Wall was constructed starting around AD 142, and was occupied for about twenty years. It may have taken about twelve years to complete construction and, by the time the decision to abandon the Wall was made—in AD 158—the process of abandonment may have stretched over more than six years to 164 or later (Breeze 2006a: 167). From this point, Hadrian's Wall was restored and would continue to function as the primary frontier of Roman Britain until the early fifth century, when the official Roman occupation of Britain came to an end.

1.3.3 Later periods

After the Antonine Wall's abandonment c. AD 158–64, the Romans returned to Scotland on limited occasions. The best-attested period of such activity was during the reign of Septimius Severus (reigned AD 193–211) who—we are told—campaigned in northern Britain, restoring a Wall (probably Hadrian's), and travelling to the extremity of the island before coming to terms with the enemy (Dio *Hist. Rom*. 77.11–14). Later the Caledones and Maiatai—tribes of northern Britain, probably located north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus (Fraser 2009: 15–20)—revolted and additional battle ensued, during which Severus became ill and died (ibid. p. 15). Shortly after Severus' death, his son Caracalla made peace with the Caledones, and the Romans appear to have abandoned further attempts to conquer Scotland. By AD 411, Rome had abandoned Britain altogether, though material evidence as far north

as Traprain Law demonstrates that contact and trade continued for several centuries (Breeze 2006c: 124).

In the early medieval period it was thought that the Walls belonged to a later point in the history of Roman Britain, with the Antonine Wall ascribed to the handiwork of native Britons and construction placed in the late fourth century, shortly before Rome's final withdrawal (*De Excidio* 15–18; *Hist. Eccles.* 1.12). At some time before the late fourteenth century the Antonine Wall would be given a new name, "Grymisdyke" (*Chron. Gent. Scot.* 3.3), which fits into a growing suite of legends and which aided the development of a mythic landscape in the region. Throughout the post-Roman and medieval periods the Wall and its immediate vicinity also saw continued occupation and the construction of new settlements and structures, including medieval villages and several castles. These issues will be discussed in later chapters.

The history and remains of Roman Britain became an important object of study in the early modern period, with the rise of antiquarianism (Keppie 2012). Recently rediscovered classical texts were combined with the evidence of monuments and remains recovered from the landscape to develop understandings of Britain's development and role during the Roman period. The dominant figure from the late sixteenth until the early eighteenth century was William Camden, whose *Britannia* (1586) set a model for a wide-ranging chorographic approach to Britain's antiquities that would see many imitations and revisions. Knowledge was further advanced through the works of many additional early modern antiquarians, perhaps none more prominently than the works of the eighteenth-century antiquarians and rivals Alexander Gordon (1726) and John Horsley (1732), both of whom provided particularly useful accounts of Roman military remains in northern Britain, and helped to identify many previously unknown sites. Horsley's work would prove to be very influential through its analytical approach, and is considered to be the most important antiquarian work for studies of the Roman military in Britain (Bidwell 2007: 135).

By the late 1800s, antiquarianism was giving way to a more narrowly focused discipline of archaeology, and the study of Roman Britain played an

important role in this process (Freeman 2007). For the Antonine Wall itself, the first modern archaeological work was carried out by the Glasgow Archaeological Society (1899) with excavations between the years 1890–93. Following the beginnings of archaeological investigation by the Glasgow Archaeological Society, the early twentieth century saw the publication, in two editions, of Sir George Macdonald's (1911; 1934b) magisterial account of the Wall's history and archaeology, which remains to be matched. Since this time, the Wall has been the focus of dozens of excavation and survey projects, with a broad array of publications; many of these will feature in the analysis of later chapters.

In July 2008, the Antonine Wall was inscribed as an UNESCO World Heritage Site, joining Hadrian's Wall and the German *Limes* as a component of the broader "Frontiers of the Roman Empire" WHS (UNESCO 2009). This was the result of long and laborious efforts, both to gain international recognition of the Antonine Wall itself, but also to change the way in which UNESCO conceived of WHS's in general (for a partial account of this process, see Breeze 2011).

1.4 General Description of the Antonine Wall

As with many other Roman/ancient frontiers, the Antonine Wall was a complex of various interconnected features. These can be classified as either linear components that stretch along most of the Wall's length, or as additional installations occurring at specific points along this line. While public perception of the term "wall" often revolves around an enclosing structure or rampart—generally of timber, stone, or brick[3]—the term "Antonine Wall" is used by scholars and heritage managers to refer to a collection of inter-related features, of which a rampart, or "wall," is but one. This is similar to Hadrian's Wall, where the monument consists of more than the stone curtain, including the Vallum and its associated mounds, the northern ditch, berm and mound, forts, milecastles, towers, turrets, and other installations (Breeze 2006b).

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[3] See Hanson and Maxwell (1983: 75) for comments on how the term "wall" may not meet public expectations of a stone curtain.

For the purposes of consistency, I will refer to the Wall as stretching from east to west; an east-to-west approach has become the most traditional, with the majority of accounts from the early medieval period until the present describing the Wall in this direction.[4] While the persistence of this east-to-west approach may primarily be attributed to the practice of building upon descriptions of some of the earliest accounts, in more modern times this direction has been solidified by the accumulation of evidence suggesting that "the Antonine Wall was almost certainly built from east to west" (Robertson 2001: 47).

The Wall lies across the Forth-Clyde isthmus in central Scotland. Stretching from Bo'ness in the east to Old Kilpatrick in the west, the Wall is about 60km (40 Roman miles; approx. 37 modern miles) in length. It lies within the Falkirk, North Lanarkshire, East Dunbartonshire, Glasgow, and West Dunbartonshire council areas, with over 16km in public ownership or guardianship (AWMP 2007: 9). The Wall's western terminus at Old Kilpatrick is well known, but the eastern end is debatable, with the Rampart having been physically traced no further than Bridgeness, at the eastern end of Bo'ness on the Firth of Forth.

1.4.1 Linear features

The Antonine Wall was composed of several linear features that ran almost continuously from one end to the other (Fig. 1.4). While these features stretch along the Wall's length east-to-west, defining its breadth, their positions one to another define its depth south-to-north. These include, south-to-north, the Military Way, Rampart, Berm, Ditch, and Outer Mound or glaçis (throughout this thesis references to these linear features will remain capitalised—except in quotations, where original form is maintained—to avoid confusion with site-specific features bearing similar names). One calculation suggests that work on all of these linear features may have been completed in only about eight months (Breeze 2006a: 78), though it is possible that work was spread across several seasons.

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[4] As will be seen in Chapter Four, however, key antiquarian authors (specifically Alexander Gordon and John Horsley) preferred to describe the Wall from west-to-east.
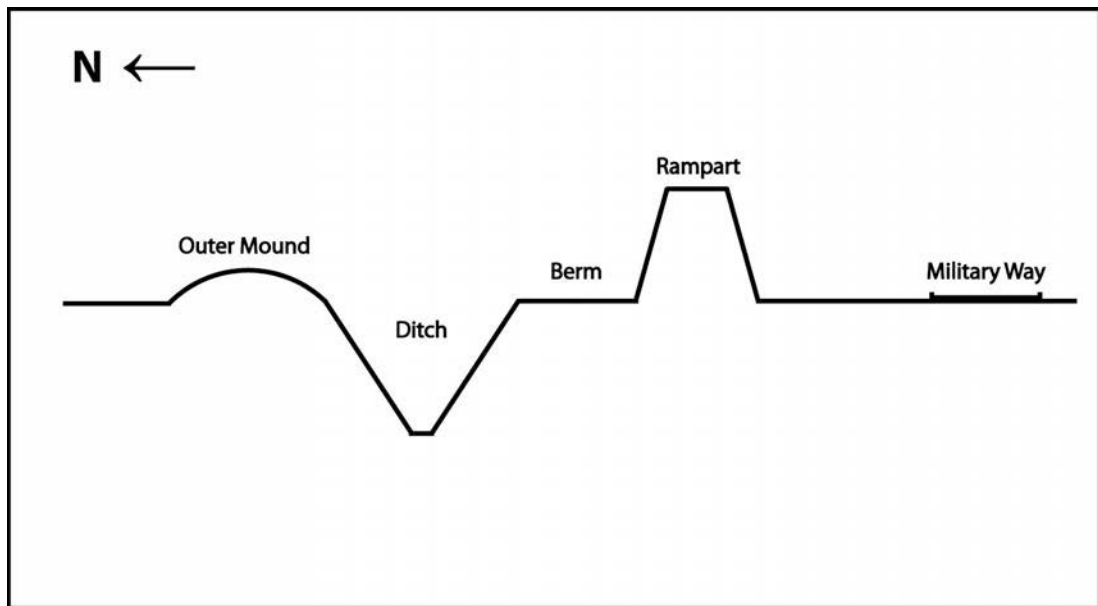
Figure 1.4: The Antonine Wall's Primary Linear Features (exaggerated to emphasise key components rather than scale).

Military Way

The Military Way is the Roman road that largely parallels the Rampart and which lies to the south; the term "Military Way" derives from antiquarian sources (Gordon 1726; Horsley 1732). This road sat at an average distance of 36–46m from the Rampart, was 5–5.4m wide, and was cambered to allow for water drainage into drains set to either side (Robertson 2001: 13). For several of the Wall forts, this Military Way may also have served as *via principalis*, crossing the forts from east to west gates, though it may also have featured a series of bypass loops that allowed travel without the need to enter individual forts along the route (Macdonald 1934b: 81, 92). Evidence has been found of what is thought to be the Military Way passing *through* forts and also for examples of bypass loops *around* forts, but importantly the Military Way has not been traced from beginning to end.

Rampart

The Rampart is the primary component from which the monument receives its name: this is the "wall," described by Antoninus Pius' anonymous biographer as a *murus caespiticus* (*SHA* Ant. Pius 5.4). The use of the Latin *murus*, which is primarily employed in classical texts to denote city walls (Lewis and Short 1879, 'murus'; OLD, 'murus'), suggests that this was more than a mere ditch and bank, but a

properly constructed wall, built to a sufficient height and operating as a form of curtain. The Latin *caespiticus* signifies that the Rampart was constructed of turves, rather than stone; *murus caespiticus* thus means "turf wall." This also fits well with the occasional Latin usage of *murus* to denote a type of "boundary wall," sometimes applied to a turf-dike (OLD, 'murus'; CIL 1.1385; Cic. *Rep*. 4.4), and well-describes the Antonine Wall's Rampart, which for most of its length was constructed of rows of stacked turves, "as was customary in the construction of fort ramparts in Britain during the first century, as well as in the Antonine period" (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 79). For the easternmost 15km, between Bridgeness and Watling Lodge, the Rampart was composed of earth or clay faced with clay or turf cheeks (Robertson 2001: 8); this may be the result of localised turf shortages (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 80). Unsurprisingly, this superstructure of earth/clay or turf has not survived very well and, for most of the length of the Wall, the Rampart is no longer visible.
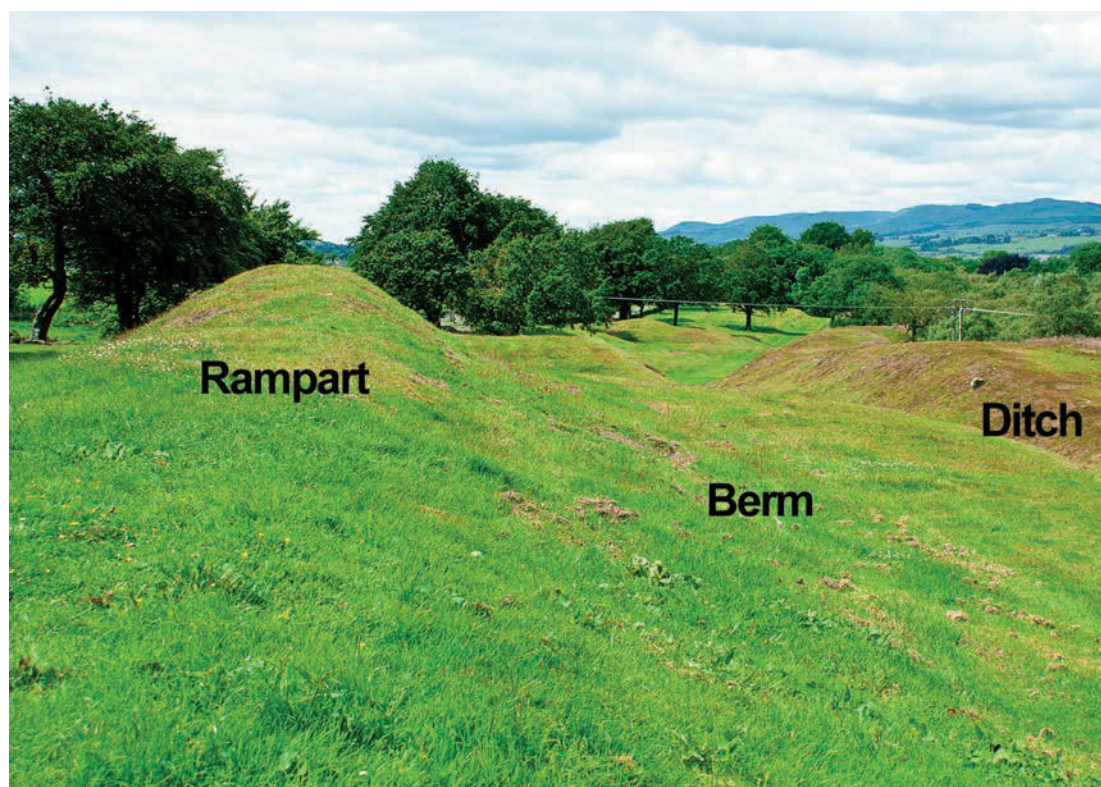
Figure 1.5: The Antonine Wall at Rough Castle, looking westward.

The available evidence reveals that the Rampart was built atop a stone base ranging in width from about 4.3–4.8m; this base was kerbed with square-cut stones

on the outside and rough uncut stones as fill. The turf or earth/clay Rampart was constructed atop this base, rising in a sloped fashion to a height of probably "at least 3m," based on calculations accounting for average base width and estimated slope (Robertson 2001: 9); today, however, the best-preserved Rampart remains (just west of Rough Castle fort) stand to a height of only about 1.5–1.8m (Fig. 1.5). Because of this lack of preservation, how the top of the Rampart was finished remains unknown: it was probably squared flat on top and may have featured stakes set into the top, or "more probably, the flat top was covered by a wooden duckboard walk, and along the north edge […] there could have been a wooden breastwork or palisade" (Robertson 2001: 11); importantly, however, there is no direct physical evidence for either of these possibilities. While there is some evidence that the original plan may have been to build (or eventually rebuild) the Rampart in stone (Breeze 2006a: 73–74; Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 79–80), this was never acted upon.

Berm

The Berm lies just north of the Rampart and represents the space between the Rampart and Ditch. The Berm's width was not consistent throughout, but generally ranged from about 6m to 9m, though it was sometimes narrower and at Croy Hill exceeded 30m (Breeze 2006a: 77–78; Robertson 2001: 12). This variability may be the result of miscalculations caused by different teams working on the Ditch and Rampart, the construction of both features at different times (i.e. the Ditch being dug before the Rampart was constructed, or vice versa), or may have been based on specific decisions to adapt to local topography. Recently, a series of pitted obstacles have been located at several locations upon the Berm; these will be discussed below.

Ditch

The Ditch is a monumental earthwork dug to the north of the Rampart and Berm. Ditch width is not consistent along the Wall's length, and ranges from a rather narrow 4.27m to as wide as 20.73m (Breeze 2006a: 77); in the central sector between Falkirk and Twechar (just west of Bar Hill), Ditch width may have averaged about 12m, with a depth of about 3.6–4m (ibid.; Robertson 2001: 11). The Ditch (Fig. 1.6) was V-shaped with scarp and counterscarp banks each cut at about 30 degrees. In

some places, large stones were set on the Ditch's lips, marking its line or serving as a preventative measure against the subsidence of materials back into the Ditch (Breeze 2006a: 75). While the Ditch is generally continuous along the Wall's entire length, there are some locations where it appears to have been dispensed with. This may have been due to the difficulty of digging through hard rock, or the fact that the Wall's location along craggy outcrops did not require this additional defence; no clear decision-making process can be gleaned from the available evidence, as the Ditch is normally present even in areas where modern analysis would conclude that it would have been superfluous, e.g. between Croy Hill and Bar Hill where steep slopes and crags descend north of the Rampart but the Ditch is often still present (ibid. p. 77).

Figure 1.6: The Antonine Wall Ditch at Watling Lodge.

Outer Mound

The Outer Mound, or glaçis, lies immediately to the north of the Ditch and was sometimes constructed from the materials removed during the digging of the Ditch. This has led some scholars to refer to the Outer Mound as the "Upcast Mound," being composed of earth cast up from the digging of the Ditch; following the

Antonine Wall Committee (Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 138–40) and Robertson (2001), I have adopted the "Outer Mound" terminology throughout this thesis, though both terms continue to be used interchangeably in a range of publications (e.g. AWND; Breeze 2006a). While I (and others, e.g. Breeze 2006a: 71) have also used the term "glaçis" to describe this feature, it has been noted that the Outer Mound was "not a *glacis* in the sense in which that term is understood by military engineers," and that it may actually have placed the Romans at a military disadvantage by—in some places—providing cover to a potential enemy located to the north (Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 140; Macdonald 1934b: 95). In some places the Outer Mound has been so prominent that it appears to have been mistaken by the antiquarian Alexander Gordon for the Rampart itself; Gordon's account reveals that he had travelled about two-thirds of the Wall's length before he was first able to recognise the Rampart itself (Gordon 1726: 58; also noted by Macdonald 1934b: 94).

1.4.2 Installations

In addition to the various linear features already described, the Wall complex featured a wide range of installations. These may not have been continuous along the Wall's entire length, but are represented at various points along its line.

Forts

Forts were the primary non-linear feature of the Antonine Wall (Fig. 1.3). If the fort at Carriden—a disputed possibility for the Wall's eastern terminus, based on a conflict between traditional identification and a lack of physical evidence for the Wall's linear components (see Chapter Six, 6.2)—is included, the number of known forts on the Antonine Wall is seventeen: approximately one per 3.5km. These are summarised in Table 1.1, below. Based on a mean spacing between forts of 3.5km, we may expect to find two or more additional forts, especially between Carriden and Inveravon and between Rough Castle and Castlecary, where the spacing of known forts is substantially larger than elsewhere. To date, no forts have been confirmed in these areas, but late twentieth century discoveries have filled former gaps, lending support to the theory that a relatively rigid plan of regularly spaced

forts can be relied upon. This theory, the so-called "plan" of fortifications along the Wall, and possible locations for missing forts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. The forts themselves were—like the Rampart—primarily constructed of turf, with stone or timber internal buildings, and all but one (Bar Hill—and possibly Carriden if the rampart did not reach that far east) were physically attached to the Rampart; while the majority of forts were defended by turf or clay ramparts, those at Castlecary and Balmuildy featured stone defences (Robertson 2001: 24).

FORT	SIZE IN HECTARES		SIZE IN ACRES		DISTANCE BETWEEN FORTS
	Ext.	Int.	Ext.	Int.	
Carriden	c.1.76	c.1.6	c.4.4	c.4.0	
					8km / 5 miles
Inveravon	--	--	--	--	
					3.2km / 2 miles
Mumrills	2.9	2.6	7.3	6.5	
					3.2km / 2 miles
Falkirk	--	--	--	--	
					4km / 2.5 miles
Rough Castle	0.6	0.5	1.5	1.0	
					5.6km / 3.5 miles
Castlecary	1.56	1.4	3.9	3.5	
					3.2km / 2 miles
Westerwood	0.96	0.8	2.4	2.0	
					2.8km / 1.75 miles
Croy Hill	0.8	0.6	2.0	1.5	
					2.8km / 1.75 miles
Bar Hill	1.4	1.28	3.5	3.2	
					3.2km / 2 miles
Auchendavy	1.2	1.09	3.0	2.7	
					2.8km / 1.75 miles
Kirkintilloch	c.1.3	c.1.4	c.3.2	c.3.5	
					4km / 2.5 miles
Cadder	1.1	1.34	3.35	2.8	
					3.5km / 2.25 miles
Balmuildy	1.72	1.6	4.34	4.0	
					4.2km / 3.75 miles
Bearsden	1.2	0.95	2.8	2.4	
					2.3km / 1.5 miles
Castlehill	c.1.41	c.1.28	c.3.5	c.3.2	
					3.2km / 2 miles
Duntocher	0.26	0.2	0.66	0.5	
					3.5km / 2.25 miles
Old Kilpatrick	1.88	1.7	4.7	4.2	

Table 1.1: Antonine Wall Forts, from east to west (after AWND 2007: 44)

As a general rule, Antonine Wall forts comply with the predominant "playing-card shape" of forts located across the empire: this shape is either square or rectangular, with rounded corners and gates on all four sides (except for Duntocher, which lacked a south gate; see Robertson 2001: 24), and a "T-shaped" interior plan formed by the presence of a major road—the *via principalis*—running from gate to gate along the fort's long side, and secondary roads—the *via praetoria* and *via decumana*—running to the front and rear gates respectively (Bidwell 2007: 19–21). In the centre of the fort lie the headquarters building—the *principia*—which fronted on the *via principalis* and effectively split the other main road into the *via praetoria* and *via decumana*. For Antonine Wall forts, the *via principalis* was essentially the Military Way, as it ran through each fort from east to west gates. Most Antonine Wall forts have also been found to include an additional fortified space, traditionally called an "annexe." The precise purpose and nature of these annexes remains uncertain; in some cases the annexe is significantly larger in area than the fort itself, and these are likely to have been later additions; few of these have been excavated, though several have produced the remains of bath-houses (Breeze 2006a: 122).

In fewer locations, there is evidence for additional activity or settlement outside of the fort and annexe, probably representing the non-military civilian settlements, or *vici* (singular, *vicus*), that are increasingly being discovered outside Roman forts. As the history of archaeological research has traditionally focused almost-exclusively on military remains, it is probable that the number, size, and scope of Antonine Wall *vici* are larger than current evidence is able to confirm. In comparison to other forts throughout Britain and the empire—including those on Hadrian's Wall to the south—the Antonine Wall forts are, on average, smaller than the norm (Bidwell 2007: 36). While the presence of Roman legions is attested at several sites, it is most likely that their role was primarily limited to construction of the Wall (and probably of the forts), while the forts themselves were ultimately manned by auxiliary units recruited from across the empire's provinces.

Fortlets

Fortlets were small enclosures attached to the Rampart, and were first recognised with excavations at Duntocher in 1949 (Robertson 2001: 28). Very much like forts in their playing-card shape and construction, they were essentially miniature forts—measuring about 21m x 18m (ibid.; Breeze 2006a: 86), and are largely synonymous with the "milecastles" on Hadrian's Wall (see Symonds 2007 for a detailed analysis of fortlets and milecastles in the northwestern provinces). Like the Rampart and forts, these were constructed of turf on stone bases, and contained timber buildings, probably small barrack-blocks (Robertson 2001: 28). All known fortlets had a south and north gate, the latter opening through the Rampart, though these northern gates appear to be superfluous because of the lack of causeways across the ditch; it is possible that these were originally used—or intended to be used—for movement north of the Wall, and that any such causeways were later removed (ibid.). Fortlets may have been located at points roughly mid-way between the larger forts, though they have not yet been identified at every interval.

FORTLET	DIMENSIONS	DISCOVERED
Kinneil	18m x 21m (internal)	1978
Watling Lodge	18.5m x 15.5m (internal)	1894
Seabegs	18m x 21.8m (internal)	1977
Croy Hill	18.5m x 22m (internal)	1977
Glasgow Bridge	c. 20m x 20m (internal)	1951
Wilderness Plantation	17.5m x 19.8m (internal)	1965
Summerston	35m x 33m (external)	1961
Cleddans	18m x 17.6m (internal)	1980
Duntocher	c. 18m x 18m (internal)	1949

Table 1.2: Antonine Wall Fortlets, from east to west

To date, a total of nine fortlets have been definitively identified (Table 1.2). The location of some of these in very close proximity—or upon the same location—to full-fledged forts (e.g. Duntocher and Croy Hill) suggests that some forts may have been later additions, perhaps as part of a change in plan. Further, if the overall scheme for the now-orthodox theoretical "plan" is correct, we may expect to find

many additional fortlets, probably spaced about one mile apart (Robertson 2001: 28–30); several locations have been put forward as candidates for some of these prospective fortlets, but they remain unconfirmed by physical evidence.

Expansions

Expansions have been identified structurally at a few places along the Wall, but their function remains inconclusive. These occur in pairs, and so far three such pairs have been identified: one pair to either side of the fort at Rough Castle, and one pair on Croy Hill's western slope. These appear to be small "expansions" of the Rampart, with stone bases and turf superstructures, probably built to the same height as the Rampart itself. These may have served some sort of signalling purpose or, alternatively—but less likely—may have been artillery platforms (Breeze 2006a: 87–88). It is possible that these expansions may have served a similar function to towers, or "turrets" as they are called for Hadrian's Wall; while the traditional form of tower is present on both Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine frontier in Germany, they are conspicuously absent from the Antonine Wall, while the "expansions" appear to be unique to it (ibid. p. 86).

Lilia and Cippi

Lilia and *Cippi* are two types of pitted obstacles that have been identified along the Wall, both taking their names from similar features described by Caesar (*Gal*. 7.73). At Rough Castle, to the north of the Ditch and Outer Mound, are large oval pits termed *lilia* (Fig. 1.7). These were first identified in 1903 (Buchanan et al. 1905: 456–59), and may have served as a type of man-trap, as the first line of defence for threats coming from the north. These have only been identified at Rough Castle, and there is no evidence for their presence at other sites along the Wall. In recent years, however, another type of smaller pitted obstacle has been identified on the Berm; these have been termed *cippi* (Bailey 1995; Bidwell 2005: 56; Dunwell et al. 2002: 260–67), and their presence at a minimum of five locations along the Wall (as well as at several locations on Hadrian's Wall) suggests that they may have been a relatively continuous linear feature on both frontiers (see Chapter Six, 6.5).

Figure 1.7: Lilia at Rough Castle.

Temporary Camps

In addition to these various Wall components, some twenty temporary camps have been identified as probably related to the Wall's construction phase (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 117–19; Jones 2005). Firmly dating Roman temporary camps is difficult, and it is possible that some camps along the Forth-Clyde isthmus may be Agricolan, Antonine, or Severan in date, or may have even been used in multiple periods. The twenty camps that have been suggested as being part of the Wall's building process represent just less than ten per cent of at least 220 Roman camps identified throughout Scotland. Camps will be discussed in a later chapter, but will not receive detailed analysis in this thesis.[5]

1.4.3 Non-Roman features

While the Wall is primarily known as a Roman monument, and for its Roman period remains, there are a variety of non-Roman (both pre- and post-Roman) features along its line or in the immediate vicinity. These include several prehistoric

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[5] For a comprehensive and well-informed analysis of Roman temporary camps in Scotland, see the recent volume by Rebecca Jones (2011).

sites, mottes or castles of medieval date, medieval and post-medieval villages and ecclesiastical structures, as well as a variety of urban and rural developments and activities up to the present day. While the non-Roman nature of these features have led to them being rarely discussed in the context of the Antonine Wall's history and archaeology, a selection of these will be treated in some detail in Chapter Seven.

1.5 Discussion

This chapter has provided a general introduction to both the thesis and the Antonine Wall. The primary aim of the thesis is to demonstrate that the Wall is *more* than a Roman monument by dispensing with the current *monument/artefact* tradition that narrowly defines the Wall in terms of the Roman military and the Wall's original functioning period in the second century, and by reframing it as a *place* that exists in the present, and which has been created as much by later activities as by those of the Roman period. The thesis will explore the Wall's broader story through a new presentation of its historiography/genealogy (Part 2), and will consider the possibilities of new research centred on the neglected areas of its post-Roman archaeology and the Wall's role in a mythic landscape from the early medieval period until the present (Part 3). These various strands will then be brought together in a final discussion/conclusion (Chapter Nine), wherein proposals for a new research and public outreach agenda will be offered. First, however, it is important to establish the theoretical context and methods (Chapter Two).

Chapter Two:
Theory and Methods

> This landscape feels as if it is shaped as much by story as by topography. Like the sediment of a flood plain, layer upon layer of meaning collects around us to form this place. (Bossing 1999: 3)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter establishes the theoretical framework, data sources, and methodologies employed within this thesis. The theoretical framework is given particularly detailed attention, as it is original and complex, draws on a number of disciplines outside of archaeology, and blurs the lines between theory and method.

2.2 Archaeology of Place: Theory

This section develops the theoretical framework adopted in this thesis, outlining key concepts and tracing core developments in multi-disciplinary approaches to place and its role in the study of the past. I begin by drawing on work in humanistic geography and philosophy to provide a detailed definition of "place," then consider the philosophical and historiographic concept of "genealogy," the resurgent pre-disciplinary tradition of "chorography," and how these approaches may be integrated into current archaeological engagements with place.

2.2.1 Defining "place"

Current perspectives on place have been most rigorously developed in the fields of geography and philosophy. Among foundational works are those of the geographers Yi-Fu Tuan (1974; 1977) and Edward Relph (1976) and the philosophers Edward Casey (1993; 1996) and J.E. Malpas (1999). Other writers have elaborated on the ideas of these theorists, creating a rich body of place-centred works across multiple disciplines (e.g. Agnew 2002; 2005; Auburn and Barnes 2006; Cresswell 1996; Devine-Wright and Lyons 1997; Feld and Basso 1996; Hornstein 2011; Massey 1994; Saar and Palang 2009; Sack 1992; 1997; Seamon 1979). There is not always

general agreement, and important differences abound within the works of these various scholars, but several key ideas dominate. Human geographer Tim Cresswell (2004) has provided a succinct and useful summary and introduction to this broad discourse, including an excellent overview of the genealogy of place (pp. 15–51). Drawing on this summary, and some of the individual works included, I will now set out to define place as used within this thesis. This references works from the disciplines of geography and philosophy, where place has been most substantially theorised; the broader relevance and context of this theory in the works of archaeologists will be covered below.

Cresswell (2004: 7) simplifies the concept of place and its emerging discourse by offering what he calls "the most straightforward and common definition of place—a meaningful location." Citing Agnew (2002: 16), Cresswell identifies three key elements of place: *location*, *locale*, and a *sense of place*. Agnew (2002: 16) gives initial definition to each element, as follows:

> *Location* – a "node that links the place to both wider networks and the territorial ambit it is embedded in."
>
> *Locale* – a "setting in which everyday life is most concentrated for a group of people."
>
> *Sense of place* – "symbolic identification with a place as distinctive and constitutive of a personal identity and a set of personal interests."

Cresswell (2004: 7–8) further elaborates these elements. In common usage, the term place usually refers to a *location*: typically a fixed spot that can be mapped at a certain set of objective coordinates on the earth's surface, or in relationship to other fixed objects, e.g. on the table, in the room, etc. "Places are not always stationary," though, and this is illustrated by the example of a ship, which "may become a special kind of place for people who share it on a long voyage, even though its location is constantly changing" (ibid. p. 7). For *locale*, Creswell moves slightly beyond Agnew's initial definition to emphasise that this "means the material setting for social relations" (ibid.). "Places, then, are material things," made up of concrete

objects and a tangible materiality of surfaces, structures, geology, vegetation and other possible forms of biological life, etc. Using the example of the Harry Potter novels' Hogwarts School, Cresswell notes that "even imaginary places […] have an imaginary materiality of rooms, staircases and tunnels that make the novel work" (ibid.). For Agnew's *sense of place*, Cresswell re-states this as "the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place"—this gives place a "relationship to humans and the human capacity to produce and consume meaning" (ibid.).

Much of the work on place since the mid-1970s has centred on moving place from a relatively universal concept of fixed location, as exemplified in the then-dominant spatial analysis approach, and toward a conception that emphasised the roles of human experience and attributing meaning to such locations. In the introduction to the seminal work on contemporary place theory, Tuan (1977: 4) raises two interesting questions: "What is a place? What gives a place its identity, its aura?" Citing a conversation that occurred between the physicists Niels Bohr and Werner Heisenberg during a joint visit to Kronberg Castle in Denmark, Tuan highlights the way in which human experience—and the communication of such experience, even in the form of myth and legend—helps to shape the way in which places are perceived. In the example, Bohr tells Heisenberg:

> Isn't it strange how this castle changes as soon as one imagines that Hamlet lived here? As scientists we believe that a castle consists only of stones, and admire the way the architect put them together. The stones, the green roof with its patina, the wood carvings in the church, constitute the whole castle. None of this should be changed by the fact that Hamlet lived here, and yet it is changed completely […] No one can prove that he really lived, let alone that he lived here. But everyone knows the questions Shakespeare had him ask, the human depth he was made to reveal, and so he, too, had to be found a place on earth, here in Kronberg. And once we know that, Kronberg becomes quite a different castle for us. (Tuan 1977: 4; originally published in Heisenberg 1972: 51)

Tuan uses this example to argue for a new type of geographical approach to place, one that moves beyond the purely spatial methodologies of mapping and measuring of space and place to include consideration of the psychological and sensory experience of human engagement with place. Along with his earlier (Tuan 1974) book *Topophilia*, Tuan's (1977) *Space and Place* is central to many current approaches to place across a variety of disciplines, and served as a focal point for a developing form of humanistic geography.

Experience

For Tuan, the key term is "experience." Tuan (1977: 199) also distinguishes between "space" and "place:" space is abstract and unknown—"lacking significance other than strangeness"—while place is concrete and meaningful. It is the phenomenon of experience that allows space to become place: "what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (ibid. p. 6). Later, Tuan (ibid. p. 136) remarks that "space is transformed into place as it acquires definition and meaning." Tuan also notes that space and place are integral to one another, each requiring the other for definition (ibid. p. 6). While space can be seen as a geometrically bound area that has volume and room for occupancy, places are more localised and—by definition—already inhabited. Space can be *moved through*, while a place is the particular location at which *movement is paused* (ibid.). It is in these pauses that real experience occurs, and place is called into being. This draws on ideas of phenomenology, a philosophical concept that many place theorists (e.g. Casey 1993; 1996; Malpas 1999; Relph 1976; Sack 1997; Seamon 1979; Tuan 1977) draw from the writings of Martin Heidegger (1962) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1996). As demonstrated in Bohr's remarks to Heisenberg, quoted above, place can be "experienced" through first-hand emplacement or vicariously via the reception of written or spoken communication, whereby knowledge, ideas and understanding of a place are gained.

Phenomenology

Before moving on, it may be useful to briefly examine this concept of phenomenology, just mentioned. Phenomenology was primarily developed

throughout the first half of the twentieth century in the writings of Husserl (1963; 2001), Heidegger (1962; 1982), Merleau-Ponty (1996), and Sartre (1956), though the term itself was first used in 1736 by the theosopher Oetinger (Smith 2011). Important differences abound between these authors, and they each provide separate visions of what phenomenology is and how it works. Husserl (1963: 33) defined it as "the science of the essence of consciousness […] in the first person." It is about the way we experience the world, from the perspective of the experiencing subject, and is bound up with *intentionality*, by which is meant "the directedness of experience toward things in the world, the property of consciousness that it is a consciousness of or about something," which serves to establish meaning (Smith 2011). Heidegger, a former assistant to Husserl, developed his own version of phenomenology, which was more existential, as a part of what he described as the essence of human being: "being-in-the-world" (Heidegger 1962). This is a sharp turn away from the Cartesian perspective of much of Husserl's thinking. For Heidegger, we are not, as Descartes (1983) argued, merely thinking things that contemplate the world from some detached perspective but are, rather, active beings who engage with other beings and entities through encounters in a shared world.

Heidegger defined his phenomenology as a method "to let that which shows itself be seen from itself in the very way in which it shows itself from itself" (Heidegger 1962: 58). Despite the often arcane and inaccessible nature of much of his work, Heidegger remains highly influential, and his ideas have been widely adopted within recent theorisations of place. Also influential in this regard has been Merleau-Ponty (1996), who drew on Husserl and Heidegger, but also on work in experimental psychology to develop a form of phenomenology that emphasised the body and its essential role in human experience; this has led to much of the recent literature on "embodied experience," some of which also forms part of the extensive literature on place. As may be evident from this short discussion, phenomenology is a complex topic. While it will recur later in the chapter, we may be able to leave it, for now, with the following summary:

> [Phenomenology] address[es] the meaning things
> have in our experience, notably, the significance of

objects, events, tools, the flow of time, the self, and others, as these things arise and are experienced in our "life-world." […] Basically, phenomenology studies the structure of various types of experience ranging from perception, thought, memory, imagination, emotion, desire, and volition to bodily awareness, embodied action, and social activity, including linguistic activity. (Smith 2011)

Space vs Place

Returning now to the distinction between space and place, Cresswell (2004: 10) notes that the difference between whether areas are perceived as space or place can be relative, citing the example (from Raban 1999) of how colonial explorers in the pacific northwest of America had a different sense of what constituted space and place from the perspective held by native Tlingit peoples. The explorers saw the sea as a barren, open, space, while the Tlingit recognised it as a navigable homeland full of named locations and places with mutually understood characters and associations.

Space, then, has been seen in distinction to place as a realm without meaning—as a 'fact of life' which, like time, produces the basic coordinates for human life. When humans invest meaning in a portion of space and then become attached to it in some way (naming is one such way) it becomes a place. (Cresswell 2004: 10)

While this distinction between space and place is now well-entrenched within the field of human geography (especially following Tuan 1977), the broader literature across disciplines can sometimes cause confusion, as space and place are sometimes used interchangeably. Importantly, much work on the social "production of space" (e.g. Lefebvre 1991) uses the term "space" in a manner that is very similar to the function of "place" in human geography. From the perspective of Tuan (1977) and those who have followed his form of humanistic geography, however, space cannot be *produced*, but is, rather, *transformed into place* through the agency of individual and communal experiences and memories. Thus, if one is situated within this

perspective, it would be preferable to re-state the "production of space" as the "production of place," but even this may be redundant, as the term place, by itself already presupposes a process of production, a process grounded in phenomenological experience.

Scale

"Places exist at different scales" (Tuan 1977: 149), from an armchair or corner in a room to the entire earth (Tuan 1974: 245; 1977: 149). This matter of scale adds greater tension to the relationship between place and space, and raises important problems for purely spatial analysis approaches. This is further complicated by the fact that individual places may be nested, e.g. a chair is located in a particular room, in a particular flat, on the third floor of a building, in a certain area of the city, etc. The relationship between such nested places—as individual locations of particular meaning and significance—may be one of independence, but is more likely to involve inheritance, whereby two or more are defined—at least in part—by the characteristics and meanings of the other(s). Such inheritance may work in either direction: a chair may hold particular meaning and significance because of its location within a certain room, or the room may derive its essential character from the existence of the chair; of course, it could also be argued that the relationship is bi-directional, with both the chair and room depending on one another for meaning and definition.

Static or Dynamic?

If place is pause, as Tuan (1977: 6) notes, it may logically follow that "place […] is essentially a static concept" (Tuan 1977: 179). In his chapter on "Time and Place," Tuan (1977: 179–226) says that "place is an organized world of meaning [… and] if we see the world as a process, constantly changing, we should not be able to develop any sense of place" (Tuan 1977: 179). This view has been challenged by the geographer Allan Pred (1984), who criticised the humanistic geographers' conception of "place as an inert, experienced scene," and offered his own formulation of place as "what takes place ceaselessly, what contributes to history in a specific context through the creation and utilisation of a physical setting" (p. 279).

Building on the ideas of Giddens' (1984) structuration theory—which seeks to understand the relationships between structures and individual agency—Pred's argument is that, while the structures of place (e.g. institutions, ideologies, established routeways, etc.) give meaning to our actions, human agents are responsible for the creation of such structures and, through this agency of action, the structures of place can be overturned, transformed and supplanted by new structures through repetitive practices that may change over time. From this perspective, place cannot be viewed as static but, rather, as a continual process. In this respect, a place is never completed, but is constantly in the process of becoming.

Is it possible, however, to reconcile these contradictory perspectives: can place be both static and dynamic, both pause and action? I think so. If we return to Tuan's original idea of place as a meaningful location constructed by experience, this formula suggests that the meanings we ascribe to a place are based on the *totality* of our experience in and of that location. From this perspective, the place—as a particular combination of location and meanings derived from this totality—is constructed and exists only in the present, for moment-by-moment and experience-by-experience, place gives way to new place. Going back to the previous discussion on phenomenology, whether place exists within our consciousness, following Husserl's (1963; 2001) neo-Cartesian phenomenology, or is a more elemental aspect of our mode of being-in-the-world, as in the existentialist form of phenomenology developed by Heidegger (1962; 1982), it is always perceived and experienced in the present. Thus, place as the comingling of location and experience in the present is static, and provides a type of snapshot image that encapsulates the particularities of that present experience, building on previous iterations.

Time, too, is experienced in the present: while we may have memories of the past and hopes or fears for the future, we can live only in the present. As with place, moment-by-moment and experience-by-experience, each present gives way to new present. This is where the dynamic nature of time and place comes in, not in slight or even substantial changes to the nature of a particular place or a particular present, but in the passing of one for another. This may be illustrated by the notion of *nostalgia*, literally meaning an "aching to return home," that is the emotional

longing for the places and experiences of the past, from which we have become dislocated. Malpas (2011) effectively argues for an understanding of nostalgia as relating to both place and time, and reinvests the term with its original meaning of "suffering and estrangement," rather than the more common idea of nostalgia as thoughts of "familiarity and comfort." While it is possible that the act of remembering, and dwelling on the memories of past places and experiences, may help to soothe the longing for them, the pain of loss can never be fully satisfied because the sought-after places and experiences can never be truly revisited, as they belong to a past-present. With this in mind, we can accept both Tuan's and Pred's notions, as the dynamic "process of becoming" is reframed as an iterative transition from place-to-place and present-to-present. In this reconciliation of the notions of place as static or dynamic, the dynamic nature of place is not one of biography but, rather, genealogy.

Contestation

Places are often loci of contestation, and may be characterised as areas of inclusion, exclusion and, sometimes, both simultaneously. Cresswell (2004: 25–29) summarises this issue with several insightful examples, including works by a variety of feminist and so-called "radical" geographers. While many humanistic geographers have regarded the idea of "home" as the most familiar and ultimate type of place, providing senses of rootedness, security, rest, and nurturing (e.g. Tuan 1991; Seamon 1979), Rose (1993: 55) has called this into question, noting that "to white feminists who argue that the home was 'the central site of the oppression of women,' there seemed little reason to celebrate a sense of belonging to the home." In contrast, the black feminist writer bell hooks (name intentionally uncapitalised) describes her childhood home as a place of refuge, care, and a centre of resistance in a segregated world of white oppression (hooks 1990). Beyond these examples, it is important to acknowledge that the very process of definition, while bringing clarity, is essentially a process of exclusion: by specifying what is included in a term's or place's meaning, many things—or, many people, ideas, etc.—are left out. If places are socially produced or constructed, "these constructions are founded on acts of exclusion" (Cresswell 2004: 26), and from this critical perspective, places are socially

bound up with issues such as power, class, gender, and race. Sometimes places can be means of empowerment and normalisation—as in the case of the incorporation of West Hollywood by the gay community in the 1980s (Forest 1995). Other times, social norms and expectations of what/whom is accepted in certain places may be mechanisms of devaluation and oppression, whereby certain people and practices are viewed as transgressors or transgressions of place, and some people may choose to respond to this through various types of subversive action (Cresswell 1996).

Particular locations may also be at the heart of competing place definitions, where two or more individuals or groups may hold contradictory interpretations, claims, and valuations; sometimes these locations may bear multiple names, depending on which place concept is accepted. Some key contemporary examples include Tawain/Chinese Taipei, Jerusalem/Al-Quds, Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas, and important cultural locations such as Stonehenge. Some of these competing places are parts of disputes over territorial control and access to resources, while others are about historical claims, interpretation, and the ability to have a hand in determining daily activities and the future; all are tangled up in issues of power, politics, ideology, and identity.

Summary

To summarise, places are more than just sets of coordinates or dots on a map and can be seen as a combination of *location*, *locale*, and *sense of place*. These terms, when unpacked, invest place with important ideas of (sometimes) mobility, materiality, memory, and meaning. Places do not exist *ab aeterno* ("from the beginning of time"), but are created, made, and produced—by individuals, communities, and at the national and global levels. Places depend upon experience, and are thus inhabited spaces where human activity occurs and time is spent. Places can also be seen as paradoxically static and dynamic, as forming and existing only in the present, but also participating in an iterative genealogy in which place gives way to place as present gives way to present. Places also exist at multiple scales and are often nested, from a single chair to the room it is in, to the house, town, region, country, etc., and the experience and meaning of sub-places within a larger enclosing place may differ from one another and for different people; there may also be a bi-

directional relationship, whereby nested places depend on one another for definition. Unless an experience of place is shallow and superficial, the meaning and essence of place is often cumulative, with each new activity and experience adding new layers and nuances to the ways in which a place is perceived and valued. Following Foucault's (1972; 1977a; 2002) ideas on the "archaeology" and genealogy of knowledge, ideas and concepts, this process is even more complex through time, with ideas being dislocated, lost, and re-discovered—or re-excavated—rather than being merely cumulative. Taken altogether, this is the conception of place adopted in this thesis.

2.2.2 Genealogy

I have already mentioned genealogy, a theory and methodology developed in the writings of Michel Foucault.[6] Methodological concerns will be discussed later in this chapter, but here I want to provide a short summary of genealogy's theoretical basis and implications. Foucault's development of a genealogical approach centred on the investigation and writing of "history," which will come into play within this thesis, but I want to take this concept beyond the examination of written texts to apply it to broader approaches to place that involve both written accounts and the unwritten engagements people have with place and the ways in which this creates new and multiple meanings.

For Foucault (1977b: 139), "genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times." Foucauldian genealogy, as a new mode of historical writing, rejects linear concepts of time and the evolution of ideas on a preset trajectory; genealogy is, thus, opposed to teleology and "the search for 'origins'" (ibid. p. 140). Such a search, Foucault argues, is a particularly "English tendency" but Foucault's approach is substantially different: genealogists do not assume that words retain their initial meaning, that desires continue to point in a single direction, or that ideas maintain an original logic;

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[6] The term "genealogy" had previously been used by Nietzsche (1887), and Foucault both builds on and deviates from this earlier formulation.

rather, genealogists recognise that "the world of speech and desires has known invasions, struggles, plundering, disguises, [and] ploys" (ibid. p. 139). To understand history and its deeper complexities, Foucault's genealogists must look beyond received knowledge to investigate pluralities and contradictions, and to write new histories that include normally excluded, forgotten, and marginal discourses (Best and Kellner 1991: 49–50). The aim is to develop an understanding of the past that is freed from the limited concerns and sanctioned views of established power structures and "the tyranny of globalizing discourses," or established epistemes (Foucault 1980: 82).

Following Neitzsche (1887), Foucault (1977b) particularly targets the notion of "origins." He challenges the metaphysical view of essential essences, noting that things do not appear with some "primordial truth fully adequate to [their] nature[s]" but, rather, reveal "the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms" (ibid. p. 142). Foucault also attacks lofty views of the solemnity of origins: "we tend to think that this is the moment of their greatest perfection, when they emerged dazzling from the hands of a creator or in the shadowless light of a first morning. The origin always precedes the Fall" (ibid. p. 143). Origins—and the quest for origins—are also closely related to notions of "truth," which Foucault brands an "error," but one which "cannot be refuted because it was hardened into an unalterable form in the long baking process of history" (ibid. p. 144). Thus, while the term "genealogy" has connotations of origins and descent, viewed by many as a linear development that can be traced from one end to another—as in family genealogies—Foucault subverts the term to directly challenge the supposed "truths" of linearity, origins and descent. Importantly, Foucault does not completely reject the idea of descent but, rather, seeks to problematise the complex ways in which knowledge and ideas develop and spread, are detained and submerged, and sometimes re-emerge from obscurity.

While much of Foucault's writing is abstruse and—perhaps intentionally— open to conflicting interpretations, particular aspects of his genealogical approach are sometimes clearly communicated, e.g.:

Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things; its duty is not to demonstrate that the past actively exists in the present, that it continues secretly to animate the present, having imposed a predetermined form to all its vicissitudes. Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations—or conversely, the complete reversals—the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being do not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents. (Foucault 1977b: 146)

A full exposition of Foucault's genealogy is beyond the scope of this thesis, but what is important here is that genealogy provides an alternative approach to the past, and an alternative to standard modes of reading and writing history. This approach seeks to reinvest the past with the people, events, and ideas that typically lie outside of traditional "history," particularly emphasising those aspects that have not necessarily provided a direct contribution to present-day standard interpretations. This will be particularly important for this thesis' re-telling of the Antonine Wall's story as an object of discourse, and I will discuss the methodological issues below. When combined with the concept of "place" defined above, genealogy also provides a valuable framework for the interrogation of places and their meanings, particularly in terms of the noted iterative nature of place, but also its fragmentation and non-linear development as former concepts are re-appropriated to forge new— and sometimes competing or contradictory—concepts of place.

2.2.3 Chorography[7]

A well-established tradition and methodology with demonstrable roots in antiquity and an important role in the development of antiquarian research, regional studies and the establishment of modern archaeology, chorography, I argue, is useful for understanding the history of scholarship and may continue to provide sound theoretical principles and practical methods for new explorations of archaeological monuments and landscapes, and certainly for archaeological approaches to place in the present. In this section, I discuss the historical uses of chorography, beginning with practitioners from classical antiquity, but emphasising the uniquely British chorographic tradition of the 16th–18th centuries. More recent efforts at exploring this tradition by literary scholars, historiographers, and archaeological theorists are also given assiduous attention. Careful analysis of works of—and about—chorography allows for the explication of key theoretical principles, which are presented and elaborated upon. It is argued that chorography offers a coherent, viable and valuable approach to evaluating the long-term significance of landscapes, monuments and regions, crossing conventional disciplinary divides and connecting past and present. When viewed within the context of discourses on place in philosophy and human geography, chorography offers an imaginative approach that addresses interdisciplinary concerns through a concept derived from a predisciplinary perspective.

A short history of chorography

Chorography is rooted in classical antiquity. On etymology, the *Oxford English Dictionary* provides the Greek χωρογραφία as a combination of χώρα (*chora*, "country") or χῶρος (*choros*, "space or place") + γραφια (*graphia*, "writing") (OED 1989: "chorography, n.1"). The discipline is attested to and described in a variety of

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[7] I have previously published two articles (Rohl 2011; 2012b) on chorography. Substantial portions of these articles are reproduced here, along with new material and discussion deriving from feedback received by several scholars, including my supervisors, as well as a July 2012 workshop ("Chorography and Archaeology: Place, Space and Time in current and future approaches in Archaeology") I organized at Durham University and featuring papers/discussion by Professors Michael Shanks, Richard Hingley and Christopher Witmore, Dr David Petts, and myself. Professor Michael Shanks has posted a general summary and response to the workshop on *Archaeolog* (Shanks 2012b).

classical texts, though few explicitly chorographical works have survived from antiquity. Chorographic thinking can be traced as far back as Homer (see Lukermann 1961: 196–98), can be seen in the works of Hippocrates of Cos, Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Pliny the Elder, Arrian, and in a variety of fragments of little-known and now-lost works. Strabo (*Geog*. 8.3.17) refers to his own work as chorography and several writers including Pomponius Mela and Eusebius of Caesarea authored works entitled *Chorography* (Pomp. Mela, *De Chorographia*; Eusebius' *Chorography* is unfortunately lost but mentioned in the preface to Eus. *Onom*.). The best-known surviving descriptions are found in the works of Strabo and Ptolemy, emphasising the distinctions between "geography," "chorography," and "topography," and highlighting chorography's concern with regionality and the production of a "likeness" of a place. Unfortunately, the tradition and its broad classical importance are largely masked by imprecise modern language translations wherein both γεωγραφία and χωρογραφία are commonly given as "geography" (e.g. Strabo *Geog*. 2.4.1, 2.5.17; see also Prontera 2006). Chorography has suffered further erasure from the classical record in a variety of modern English translations; for example, while Diogenes Laertius refers to Archelaus "the chorographer," ὁ χωρογράφος, the Loeb Classical Library edition translates this as "the topographer" (Diog. Laert. 2.4.17). More recently, in what is otherwise an excellent translation and commentary of Ptolemy's theoretical chapters, the translators have largely replaced "chorography" with the misleading "regional cartography" (Ptol. *Geog*. 1.1).

Following the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century, chorography disappears for a millennium, with no known author continuing to use the term until the late fifteenth century. It is then revived and reformulated during the Renaissance, deriving from new readings of rediscovered classical texts, specifically Ptolemy's *Geographia* and Strabo's *Geographica*, each of which had been largely lost to the west since late antiquity. In fact, while copied manuscripts were present in Byzantine libraries, it is probable that they remained obscure in both the east and west. Ptolemy's *Geographia* was probably rediscovered around 1300, when the Byzantine scholar Maximus Planudes credited himself with the discovery and

claimed to have created a series of maps based upon the text (Diller 1940). Ptolemy's work was brought to Italy in 1400 by Palla Strozzi, and then translated into Latin by Manuel Chrysolorus and Jacopo Angelus around 1406; its first real publication was at Vicenza in 1475, without maps (Crone 1953: 68), and soon thereafter editions with maps were printed at Bologna and Rome (ibid. p. 71). The works of Strabo were brought to Italy in 1423 and only fully published around 1469 (Diller 1975: 102, 17, 32). The originals of both Strabo and Ptolemy were probably written in Greek and, despite the rediscovery of Greek copies, they only became widely influential in Latin translations, leading a variety of scholars to rediscover the lost art/science of chorography and to seek to recreate new chorographies that fit classically inspired humanistic perspectives. Prime examples include Flavio Biondo's (1474) *Italia Illustrata*, and Konrad Celtis' (1502) *Germania Illustra*.

The continental Renaissance came late to Britain, but is commonly referred to as "the Elizabethan era," "the age of Shakespeare," or "the English Renaissance," spanning most of the sixteenth century. More recently, these designations have given way to the supposedly more neutral "early modern period." It is here when chorography—at least explicitly referred to as such—most visibly flourished in Britain. In this period also arose the more familiar tradition of British antiquarianism. An examination of these early antiquarian works reveals the close links between antiquarianism and chorography; while I am comfortable saying that British antiquarianism is largely synonymous with chorography, it is more difficult to dispute that chorography was a primary method of British antiquarian work (Mendyck 1986; 1989). Key chorographer-antiquarians include John Leland (1745), William Lambarde (1576), William Camden (1586; 1610), Robert Sibbald (1683; 1684; 1707; 1710), William Dugdale (1656), Alexander Gordon (1726), William Stukeley (1776), Thomas Pennant (1771; 1778), John Wallis (1769), and numerous others. Of these, Camden was the most influential, with his sweeping and much republished/revised *Britannia* setting a model largely followed for more than two centuries, during which it was regularly expanded until Edmund Gibson's final edition in 1722 (Camden 1722).

While many late 17th- and 18th-century antiquarians can fairly definitively be labelled "chorographers," they rarely used the term, though their methods, organisational structure, and principle concerns continued to reflect earlier models that more explicitly stated their chorographic status. In precisely this period, from the mid 1600s through the early nineteenth century, several key chorographer-antiquarians—namely Robert Sibbald, Alexander Gordon and John Horsley—carried out important work on the Antonine Wall (Rohl 2011). By the early nineteenth century, though, the term had generally fallen out of use. It has been argued, however, that the historical novels of Walter Scott qualify as chorographic (Shanks and Witmore 2010), as well as the existentialist emplaced literature of the American Henry David Thoreau (Bossing 1999). Overall, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw chorography displaced by more narrowly focused and concertedly empirical forms of topography and spatial analysis. In the same period, antiquarianism gave way to a more formalised discipline of modern archaeology.

Since the mid-1980s, chorography has become the topic of renewed scholarship across several disciplines, especially in historical and literary research on early modern Britain. Key figures in this field include Helgerson (1986; 1992), Mendyck (1986; 1989), Cormack (1991), Hall (1995), and Withers (1996; 1999; 2001). Bossing (1999) has explored and considered chorography from a specifically American literary perspective, providing good theoretical discussion and retrospectively assigning several works of American emplaced literature to the tradition, while Pettinaroli (2008) has explored chorography and place-making in the early modern Hispanic world. Chorography has also found its way into recent archaeological discussion, with, for example, Hingley (2008) examining its role in *The Recovery of Roman Britain* and using a chorography inspired model to explore the long-term biography and life of Hadrian's Wall (Hingley 2012), and Michael Shanks discussing it in a variety of places, including in collaborations with Witmore (Shanks and Witmore 2010) and Pearson (Pearson and Shanks 2001), as well as his recent book on *The Archaeological Imagination* (Shanks 2012a). The past twenty years

has also seen two very different, but conceptually similar, "exercise[s] in chorography" by Heat-Moon (1991) and Pearson (2006).[8]

Chorographic theory

Despite the many works of and about chorography, its theoretical depths remain insufficiently plumbed. This may be due to chorography's protean nature. Here I use the term "protean" in reference to three essential characteristics: chorography is broad in potential scope, variable in form and content, and constantly changing. Nevertheless, it should be possible to outline the dominant concerns and conceptions of chorographic thought, and several scholars have explored particular aspects of chorographic theory from a variety of perspectives. Here, I summarise some of these previous theorisations and offer a series of personal observations on theoretical principles that may be extracted from the chorographical corpus. These principles will not necessarily be evident in every work, but will be broadly observable across the spectrum from classical works through more contemporary chorographies.

A useful first step is to examine some of the various definitions and descriptions that have been given. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/32356) defines chorography with three senses:

1. The art or practice of describing, or of delineating on a map or chart, particular regions, or districts; as distinguished from *geography*, taken as dealing with the earth in general, and (less distinctly) from *topography*, which deals with particular places, as towns, etc.

2. A description or delineation of a particular region or district.

3. The natural configuration and features of a region (which form the subject matter of its chorography in

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[8] Hingley (2012: 9) also notes that W.G. Sebald's (2002) novel *The Rings of Saturn* offers "a broadly comparable approach."

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sense 2).

John Dee (1570: fol. a4a) notes that:

> Chorographie seemeth to be an underling and a twig of *Geographie*: and yet neverthelesse, is in practise manifolde, and in use very ample. This teacheth Analogically to describe a small portion or circuite of ground, with the contentes […] in the territory or parcell of ground which it taketh in hand to make description of, it leaveth out […] no notable or odde thing, above ground visible. (Quoted in Cormack 1991: 643)

Fussner (1970: 278) defines chorography as "the description of an area too large to come under topography and too small to come under geography […] any combination of descriptive notes which might define an area and its inhabitants." Mendyck (1989: 38) identifies chorography as a limited subset or "version of geography […] restricted […] to impressionistically sketching the nature and identity of an individual region," while elsewhere (Mendyck 1986) referring to it as a "topographical-historical method." Cormack (1991: 642) states that:

> Chorography was the most wide ranging of the geographical subdisciplines, since it included an interest in genealogy, chronology, and antiquities, as well as local history and topography […] unit[ing] an anecdotal interest in local families and wonders with the mathematically arduous task of genealogical and chronological research.

Entrikin (1991: 15) describes the tradition as "being located on an intellectual continuum between science and art, or as offering a form of understanding that is between description and explanation." Bossing (1999) refers to chorography as "place-writing" or as a "literature of place." More recently, Shanks and Witmore (2010: 97) refer to chorography as "the documentation of region," and, along with topography, as part of a "charged field of the representation of region and community." These selected descriptions provide some sense of chorography but,

unfortunately, may leave it too ambiguous for the uninitiated scholar or student, leading to confusion and misunderstanding of the term.

Before I offer my own observations, let us first examine a couple of attempts at a more complete consideration of chorography's characteristics and theoretical concerns. Specific elements of these attempts at theorisation will be included in my own, following, attempt to outline chorography's theoretical bases and implications. Bossing (1999), in a doctoral dissertation focused on American emplaced literature of the 19th-20th centuries, outlines several "essential characteristics" of chorographic writing:

1. "Landscape, both topographic and cultural, is present not merely as setting, but as an essential presence in the text" (ibid. p. 152).

2. "The text […] call[s] places into being, not just by naming topographic features but by dramatizing in the process of revealing the landscape how they matter" (ibid. p. 153).

3. "The text represents a 'native' knowledge of environment that suggests an awareness shaped by frequent interactions and ethical considerations" (p. 153). Even in cases where the chorography is written by "outsiders," they seek to "reflect[] the dynamic relationships between natives and their place" (ibid. p. 154).

4. "The text goes beyond an anthropocentric sense of 'community' to suggest a more inclusive, biocentric orientation [… where] the nonhuman environment plays a role at least as significant as a man-made landscape, and the interdependence of human and nonhuman elements of a specific place is often a central concern" (ibid.).

Michael Shanks has articulated ideas about chorography in a variety of places, most completely in lectures, interviews and web publications. In an

interview with Bailey (2006: 9), Shanks describes chorography as "an old genre of descriptive topography that subsumed geography, archaeology, mapping, travel writing, place-name study, and natural history." Shanks' thinking about chorography has been further elaborated in pages of his Stanford-based Metamedia archaeological lab's website (http://metamedia.stanford.edu/). Here, chorography is introduced with an abstract array of terms: "engagement, description, illustration, ethnography, delineation, cartography." Shanks notes that he is "using the term [i.e. chorography] to raise questions again of the way we conceive and how we relate land and inhabitation, critically. And fundamentally to reconnect place and land with the rhetorical features of 'memorable places.'" For Shanks, chorography has a "temporal and historiographical character," which can be further described by the terms "deep-mapping" and "temporal topography" (Shanks 2010a). No further detail is given for what he means by "temporal topography," but Shanks elucidates the "deep-map"—a term and concept "appropriated" from Heat-Moon (1991)—in his collaboration with Mike Pearson:

> Reflecting eighteenth-century antiquarian approaches to place which included history, folklore, natural history and hearsay, the deep map attempts to record and represent the grain and patina of place through juxtapositions and interpenetrations of the historical and the contemporary, the political and the poetic, the factual and the fictional, the discursive and the sensual, the conflation of oral testimony, anthology, memoir, biography, natural history and everything you might ever want to say about a place. (Pearson and Shanks 2001: 64–65)

Shanks further communicates complex theoretical and practical considerations of the deep-map by quoting the late Clifford McLucas from the experimental theatre company Brith Gof (http://brithgof.org/):

> Deep maps will be big […] slow […] sumptuous […] genuinely multimedia […] will require the engagement of both the insider and outsider […] will bring together the amateur and the professional, the

artist and the scientist, the official and the unofficial,
the national and the local […] they will involve
negotiation and contestation over who and what is
represented and how […] deep maps will be unstable,
fragile and temporary. They will be a conversation
and not a statement. (Shanks 2010b)

While the definitions, descriptions and detailed discussions summarised
thus far have begun to construct a conceptual map of chorography (presented as a
word-cloud in Fig. 2.1), the image may be too complicated, ambiguous and
amorphous, leaving one to wonder where chorography actually stands within a
crowded field of competing theoretical discourses. Are the principles and concepts
of chorography too abstract for contemporary academic scholarship, or can they be
organised into a usable theoretical framework and practical methodology with
relevance for current research needs and agendas? The noted ambiguity may be one
of chorography's particular strengths and, for Shanks and Witmore, leaving the
term open "provides a handle on a more immanent field of practices" (Christopher
Witmore, pers. comm.; see also Witmore 2009 on the importance of ambiguity and
open approaches). While I agree that such flexibility and its relationship to an
ontology of immanence (see Deleuze 1963; 1995; Deleuze and Guattari 1980; 1991) is
indeed powerful, I am also concerned with the need to provide an accessible
introduction from which students and scholars can explore further.

Figure 2.1: Word cloud derived from definitions of "chorography"

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Using the notions articulated in the cited works above, along with examples from a range of works, I attempt to deconstruct and reconstruct a more coherent and explicit theoretical framework for chorography. This is in the form of a series of observations: these are not intended to be prescriptive but, rather, are merely a tentative attempt to outline what I see as (relatively) common guiding principles for chorographies past and present. The ordering of the following observations (save the first, which offers my own simplified definition) should not be interpreted as reflecting rank of importance.

Representation of place

While the term "chorography" is sometimes said to derive from *chora*, "country," I prefer (and am convinced that classical usage supports my position) that it derives rather from *choros*, "space or place." Liddell and Scott (1940: 2016) define *choros* as "a definite space, piece of ground, place." Lukermann (1961: 200) clarifies this further by saying that:

> Choros should never be translated as space (*spatium*) if the connotation of that word is "empty" or "absolute" space, i.e. implies extension or duration without the presence of a body or thing. The Greek word for absolute or empty space was *kenos* (void) or *chaos*. *Choros* literally means "room" and may safely be translated in context as area, region (*regio*), country (*pays*) or space/place—if in the sense of the boundary of an area. *Choros* technically means the boundary of the extension of some thing or things. It is the container or receptacle of a body.

Similarly, while *graphia* is commonly translated as "writing," I prefer the more broadly applicable "representation." This is better aligned with classical descriptions, including that provided by Ptolemy, who says that chorography "requires landscape drawing, and no one but a man skilled in drawing would [or should?]" undertake such a discipline (Ptol. *Geog*. 1.1). In the simplest of terms, then, my basic definition of chorography is "the representation of place."

Multi-media

Following from this simplified definition, it is important to emphasise that representation can come in a variety of forms. Traditionally this has been written prose, cartographic maps and landscape drawings, but place can be represented in a variety of ways and media. There is room for chorographic poetry, drama, painting, 3D digital reconstruction, and more. Theoretically speaking, chorography as "representation" rather than "writing" is incredibly liberating. While Olwig (2008) has argued against the view of chorography as "representation," his critique largely centers on the heritage of Renaissance readings of Ptolemy which over-emphasised cartographic representation in the form of maps and geography as cosmography and spatiality. Olwig seeks to re-emphasise the classical usage of chorography as a concept used to express the essentially "nonrepresentational" character of place, while also allowing for partial representation through "the discourse of a representational [community] assembly" and "the passages of narrative." While acknowledging that the *choros* is "nonrepresentational in the sense of a Platonic ontology, permeating the folds of our maps, that continues to stimulate society's imaginary in general, and the Ptolemaic–geographical imaginary in particular, through the images of the map and the landscape scene"(ibid. p. 1859), expanding our methods of representation to include a variety of written, visual and performative media will provide a more authentic and egalitarian image of place. This fits well with the performance-based chorography attempted by Pearson (2006) for Lincolnshire.

Spatio-historical

Chorography is also spatio-historical or, to say it another way, while it is concerned with time and history, it de-privileges time in preference for place. In the words of Hall (1995: 23), "history, as a progression through time for which place is incidental, is transformed […] becom[ing] instead, temporal depth recognised as a feature of place." Quoting Lippard (1997: 7), Pearson (2006: 4) reveals the importance of this concept in his own performance-centered chorographic work, which is "enthralled by the 'lure of the local', an appreciation of 'historical narrative as it is written in the landscape or place by the people who live or lived there.'" This aspect does not

negate the importance of chronology nor create an essential antagonism between chorography and chronicle, as many Elizabethan and Jacobean authors have been shown to draw upon the chronicle tradition within their chorographic works (Helgerson 1992: 132). Instead, this principle means that while the chronological aspect of historical events remains important, the location of these events within the *choros* is even more significant. From this perspective, the long-term history and material record embedded within the *choros* may represent what Bailey (2007a) has termed "cumulative" and "temporal palimpsests" and "palimpsests of meaning."

Connecting past and present

From the time of Camden, if not before, a key component of chorography has been the bidirectional connection of past and present through the medium of space, land, region or country. This is emphasised by Camden's (1586: preface) stated aim: *ut Britanniae antiquitatem et suae antiquitati Britanniam restituerem*, "to restore Britain to its Antiquity and Antiquity to Britain." In this context, I argue that "Britain" should be read as referring both to the physical country (i.e. the land) and to Camden's own present (i.e. point in time). This aim, Camden explains, was influenced by the geographer Abraham Ortelius, who encouraged him; the words appear to be Ortelius'. Camden (1610: preface) understood this to mean "that I would renew ancientrie, enlighten obscuritie, cleare doubts, and recall home veritie by way of recovery, which the negligence of writers and credulitie of the common sort had in a manner proscribed and utterly banished from amongst us." The "restor[ation]" Camden had in mind, then, was one of enlightenment that characterised much of Renaissance discourse: it was an attempt to use the knowledge gained from rediscovered classical texts (including a revival of the chorographic method rooted in antiquity) and recovered physical remains to dispel the shadows of neglect and mythical narratives in order to reveal and present a more authentic national story with relevance for his contemporary context.

Marchitello (1997: 78) observes that chorography marks out "topography not exclusively as it exists in the present moment, but also as it has existed historically," and Hingley (2012: 8) follows this up by noting that "the approach is based on the idea that the character of the land described in particular places persists through

time." In relationship to Foucault's genealogy, chorography erodes linear concepts of time (ibid. p. 9), and the past and the present are connected by "eddies" that arise through particular engagements with the remains of the past in a particular place (Witmore 2007: 205–10). Such eddies may be the result of intentional archaeological work, in which the rediscovery and exploration of past materials are linked to contemporary concerns and ideas (Hingley 2012: 9), but may also result from everyday experiences by local inhabitants and visitors.

Interdependence of man and environment

Chorography also goes:

> beyond an anthropocentric sense of "community" to suggest a more inclusive, biocentric orientation […where] the nonhuman environment plays a role at least as significant as a man-made landscape, and the interdependence of human and nonhuman elements of a specific place is often a central concern. (Bossing 1999: 154)

This is perhaps most visible in the literary genre of nature writing, "where the tensions of self and environment come together to create place" (ibid. p. 103). It is also evident in the writings of many early modern chorographers. A prime example is found in the work of Sir Robert Sibbald, whose polymathic interests were intended to culminate in a sweeping Atlas, or "Description of the *Scotia Antiqua*, & *Scotia Moderna*, and the Natural History of the Products of His [Majesty's] *Ancient Kingdom* of SCOTLAND" (Sibbald 1682). While Sibbald's *Atlas* never materialised, his plans and published queries to potential contributors reveal a concern with both natural and human aspects at national and local levels; some of this material was published in a variety of publications (e.g. Sibbald 1684; 1707; 1710), with 1684's *Scotia Illustrata* primarily focusing on flora and fauna. Withers (1996: 61) has observed that Sibbald, primarily a physician, was deeply concerned with the usefulness of natural knowledge, and that for him "contemporary survey" served more than the purposes of "current knowledge but also as a means to the future

state of the nation [… and for the benefit of] its health and well-being" (for more on the chorographic nature of Sibbald's work, see also Rohl 2011).

De- and re-centering

Chorography may also challenge traditional views of centre and periphery, de- and/or re-centering perspective. In a typical core-periphery approach (e.g. Champion 1989; Wallerstein 1974), an examination of Roman Britain, for example, would seek to understand the province as it related to Rome and the context of Rome's wider empire. A chorographic encounter with Britain, however, makes it the centre and, from this perspective, Rome and the rest of the empire are understood as they relate to Britain. All roads may lead to Rome, but in a chorographic encounter all the relevant roads (including routes, trackways, etc.) lead to or from the *choros*. I must admit that this aspect has not always been evident, especially in early modern Hispanic chorographies of the New World (see Pettinaroli 2008), but this aspect may allow chorography to be used toward furthering the decolonisation of landscapes. While not using the specific terminology of chorography, Keith Matthews (1999) has argued for a similar re-centering approach to the archaeology of Roman Chester (*Deva*), in which "the history of the Roman North West […] has to be [written] on the region's own terms" (p. 34), rather than those related primarily to the imperial centre.

Authorial voice

A particularly common feature in chorographic works is the clearly present and recognisable authorial or narrative voice, usually in the first-person. This is closely related to the following two aspects. While this may be one of the major points for criticism based on a conventional academic desire for objectivity (see Shanks 1992: 12–37 for a now-classic critique of the "sovereignty of science" in archaeological research), it serves several purposes, including highlighting the personal, immanent, aspect of encounter and engagement with place and establishing a sense of authoritativeness in which the chorographer plays the role of what Lambarde (1576: 7) called the "xenagogus," or guide for guests, strangers and foreigners. I argue that it also serves the aims of a more reflexive approach.

Experience, memory and meaning

Chorography is also about experience, memory and meaning. I have included these together, because I believe that they are intimately connected, with memory and meaning often stemming from personal or shared experience. Bossing (1999: 87) notes that "one advantage chorography […] has over cartography is its ability to represent the inner, subjective landscape within us that is essential to our understanding of place." This is further elaborated when he reflects upon Lawrence, Kansas, where he was writing up his PhD thesis: "this landscape feels as if it is shaped as much by story as by topography. Like the sediment of a flood plain, layer upon layer of meaning collects around us to form this place: environment, architecture, community, language" (ibid. p. 3). Tying this idea to those of chorography's concern with connecting past and present, the spatio-historical perspective and authorial voice, Shanks and Witmore (2010: 104) remark that:

> For Wallis, [Bishop Thomas] Percy and Scott, the intersection of place and event comes primarily through memory. It is what people have done, the events witnessed, stories retold and description made that lie at the heart of memory practices, at the heart of human inhabitation and community. It is precisely the connection between past and present that they foreground in their work; and voice, echoing from past lives, or the presence of the author/editor.

Native knowledge

Lambarde's notion of a *xenagogus*, or "guide for foreigners," suggests that chorography requires and is concerned with a degree of native knowledge. This can be directly related to the concern with experience, memory and meaning, and "suggests an awareness shaped by frequent interactions and ethical considerations." Even in cases where chorography is written by "outsiders," it requires real emplaced experience and seeks to "reflect the dynamic relationships between natives and their place" (Bossing 1999: 154). This aspect can be seen as early as Strabo, who, while writing much of his work from second-hand information, references certain chorographers upon whom he draws (*Geog.* 5.2.7–8, 6.1.11, 6.2.11,

6.3.10) and also remarks on the importance of detailed, local and regional knowledge, saying that it is not remarkable that there should be one chorographer for the Indians, one for Ethiopians and another for the Greeks and Romans (*Geog.* 1.1.16). Strabo's work illustrates that both "natives" and "outsiders" can perform chorographies, but that success depends upon access to inside information based upon real emplaced experience.

Generative (creative)

Chorography is also generative, or creative, by "calling places into being, not just by naming topographic features, but by dramatising in the process of revealing the landscape how they matter" (Bossing 1999: 153). This may also be understood as a "social production of space[/place]," in which chorographers partake in "the practice of place-making, a codification of space with a particular meaning," thereby "interlink[ing] spatial and temporal dialectics in their representations, forming and reforming geographical and historical landscapes, imposing a prescribed logic upon the world" (Pettinaroli 2008: 17). The writing, or presentation in an alternative medium, of chorographic representation, thus serves to generate or create new conceptions of a place's character, meaning and significance.

Transdisciplinary

Chorography is highly inter- or trans-disciplinary. In this case I prefer the term "transdisciplinary" because chorography offers a coherent body of thought and practice that melds concerns and techniques from a variety of disciplines, rather than merely bringing different disciplinary approaches to bear on the exploration, evaluation and description of place. As I have already discussed, the chorographic approach also pre-dates the formulation of most contemporary disciplines, and there is no contradiction in someone being both an archaeologist and a chorographer, an environmental scientist and a chorographer, or a poet and a chorographer. Differing departmental or professional affiliations may very well colour an individual's chorographic work, but chorography can almost always be identified as such.

Qualitatively and quantitatively empirical

Finally, chorography is both qualitatively and quantitatively empirical and critical. It is not usually empirical in a positivistic hypothesis-testing manner, but follows from my observation regarding experience, emphasising chorography's concern with authentic knowledge gained from personal observation and examination; in this regard, chorography's empiricism may also relate to Deleuze's (1995) empiricist philosophy of immanence. As will be seen below, methods of chorographic research also rely upon detailed collection and assessment of minute, quantitative, and qualitative data, as well as a critical reception and consideration of previous accounts. While some scholars consider chorography to be "nonacademic," this view is based on misinformation and a failure to adequately explore the tradition.

Summary

Chorography—as a body of theory developed and practiced in antiquity and reformulated in the Renaissance—appears to anticipate the concerns of recent place theories developed within geography and philosophy. While not directly comparable with work under now-conventional disciplinary groupings (see, however, Petts 2011 on the similarities between chorography and the Situationists' practice of psychogeography), chorography provides a complementary approach that may serve to unite broadly similar concerns across multiple disciplines. As a prediscipinary tradition with a diverse and extensive corpus of practical work, chorography is well suited to bridge the divides imposed by modern academic disciplines. Chorography's mixture of natural and social sciences, arts and humanities, and quantitative and qualitative methodologies offers an attractive meeting-ground for artists and scholars concerned with multiple aspects of place, regions, and the past's significance in the present. The facts that chorography has played a formative role in the development of modern archaeology, and that it has been employed by various antiquaries in their approaches to Britain, the Roman frontiers, and the Antonine Wall heightens its attractiveness.

2.2.4 Archaeological Approaches to Place

Place has long been a central concern in archaeology, though the term has not always been conceived along the lines developed above. Instead, archaeologists have primarily used place in a more general sense, referring to location and individual sites from which archaeological data are extracted through the methods of excavation and survey. As archaeological work commonly focuses on the "site," we can say that there has been an unstated understanding that places—in this case, archaeological sites and monuments—are meaningful locations from which the archaeologist seeks to uncover aspects of those meanings, though this has been relatively under-theorised (in terms of the "place" concept) until recently.

Along with the concept of site, "meaningful location" is also a good definition of another core archaeological concept: context. Context can be viewed as merely physical, and described in three dimensions: X, Y and Z coordinates representing latitude, longitude and elevation. These position sites, monuments and artefacts at particular locations on—or under—the earth's surface, and allow for useful mapping, stratigraphic section plans, and the analysis of relationships between locatable material at several scales. Context can also be viewed more broadly, taking into account environmental, historical and cultural conditions that may not be as visible as physical remains or depositional profiles. Archaeologists engaged in excavation, remote sensing or field-walking practices routinely seek as much contextual information as possible when recording sites and finds. These contexts are integral to the interpretive process and form the basis for scholastic argumentation; often, specific contextual information is used by critical scholars to counter claims and interpretations made by a site's excavator(s). Site and context are not the only ways in which archaeologists approach place, however. In this section, I will summarise a variety of archaeological approaches to place, including recent attempts to integrate the type of place theory developed above.

In order to simplify the task of exploring the broader context of archaeological approaches to place, I will use the following categories: regional archaeological projects, landscape archaeology, spatial science and geographical information systems (GIS), archaeological landscape phenomenology, and emerging

archaeologies of place. This exploration will briefly summarise the emergence of each category, its principal themes and concerns, key practitioners and studies, referring when appropriate to major critiques arising from within or outside that particular mode of practice.[9] The section ends with a summary that draws together elements of these approaches, genealogy, chorography, and place theory to outline a new "archaeology of place" approach for the investigation of the Antonine Wall.

Regional Archaeological Projects

While traditional archaeology is often associated with the excavation of single sites, archaeologists have long been concerned with larger regions. Starting in the nineteenth century, as the discipline was being defined out of its genealogical background in history and antiquarianism, early steps were taken to move inquiry beyond that of single sites. A prime example is Pitt-Rivers' (1887) exploration of the wider context of various sites in Cranborne Chase, on the borders of Dorset and Wiltshire. Later, Cyril Fox (2010, first published in 1923) took a diachronic approach to the archaeology of the Cambridge region, seeking to understand the history of settlements and the relationship of the natural environment to past societies from the Neolithic to early medieval period; this differed from many previous and contemporary studies in its geographic—rather than artefact- or site-based—approach (Forbes 2008: 10).

From the 1950s onward the influence of sociological and anthropological perspectives gave new energy to regional approaches, particularly in work by North American archaeologists. An important example is Willey's (1953) work in Peru's Virú Valley, where regional survey methods were pioneered, providing information on the patterns of settlement and regionally specific trends in the archaeological record. For Willey, the focus was not individual sites of settlement, but the valley as a whole, seeking a holistic perspective of how economy, environment, and social and political factors impacted each settlement and their relations to each other; while individual sites still formed the primary unit of analysis, Willey's innovation

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[9] An early version of this exploration was presented in a paper read at the July 2012 "Chorography and Archaeology" workshop at Durham University.

was a broader interpretive framework in which linkages between sites were identified to provide a regional perspective. This approach remains important in contemporary archaeology, with numerous regional projects across the globe: e.g. the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project in Greece (Alcock et al. 2005), the Madaba Plains Project in Jordan (Clark et al. 2011), and the Lower Mekong Archaeological Project in Cambodia (Stark 2006).

Landscape Archaeology

Landscape archaeology was primarily developed in Britain during the 1970s–90s, drawing on the popular appeal and methods of landscape histories exemplified in the works of W.G. Hoskins (1955). The term "landscape archaeology" was coined by Aston and Rowley (1974; Aston 1985), whose work merged aerial photography, on-the-ground observation of boundaries and field systems, the identification of patterns and sequences, and a concern with understanding the countryside's historical evolution (Hamilton 2011: 264). Importantly, early projects were almost exclusively focused on rural landscapes, much like Hoskins' earlier landscape history, which had been heavily influenced by 18th–19th-century Romanticism. Through Hoskins' (1977: 12–15, 299–303) influence, many landscape archaeologists have adopted a *palimpsest* metaphor, in which the natural environment is viewed as a parchment on which human activities have been written, partially scraped away, and are continually re-written over time (LaBianca and Walker 2007).

Wilkinson (2003: 3–4) notes that "it is assumed that the 'natural landscape' has been reorganized either consciously or subconsciously for a variety of religious, economic, social, political, environmental, or symbolic purposes," and that the role of the landscape archaeologist is "to describe, interpret, and understand the development of the cultural features" present within a given landscape. This approach can be used to explore the configuration and use of an area in a limited chronological period, or to chart changes over the *longue durée*. Landscape archaeology continues to be primarily practiced on rural spaces, though it is frequently employed as a complement to urban excavations in order to contextualise urban activities in relation to the urban core's surrounding "hinterland" (e.g. Baker and Kennedy 2011).

Spatial Science and GIS

While spatial analysis has been an important component of archaeological investigation since the beginnings of the modern discipline (Kroll and Price 1991: 1; Trigger 1989: 76–86; Seibert 2006: xiii), distinctively "spatial science" approaches may be seen as originating in the 1970s, primarily through the work of David Clarke (1977) and his students (Hodder and Orton 1976; Hodder and Okell 1978). This development was a response to the ambiguity, bias and subjectivity of distribution maps that had become increasingly popular with the explosive growth of the "new," or processual, archaeology. Hodder and Orton (1976) championed explicitly scientific and quantitative approaches to spatial patterning, with a heavy emphasis on statistical modelling. As a result, distribution maps and the spatial positioning of material remains became scientific information rather than just illustration, and possibly deceptive spatial relationships were now subjected to mathematically rigorous catchment, viewshed, least-cost-path, and other analyses. While landscape archaeology had investigated the development and patterning of large rural areas, spatial science approaches could operate at multiple scales and in urban and rural settings, from individual context in an excavation trench to an entire site or region. With the advent and increasing accessibility of computerised GIS, spatial science approaches have become ubiquitous within archaeology, and are now viewed as essential elements of many landscape archaeology, regional projects, and intra-site investigations.

Spatial science, traditional landscape archaeology, and the types of regional projects described above have, thus far, represented normative approaches (Seibert 2006: xv).[10] The methods are almost entirely quantitative and focused on distributions of artefacts and feature/site typologies. While possible meanings, significances, social hierarchies, and past experiences are often drawn from these approaches, they typically offer no theorised conception of place but, rather, of space. As social archaeology and post-processual critiques have gained ground in

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[10] While the "new" archaeologists of the 1960s had attacked culture historians for their supposed reliance on "normative theory" (e.g. Binford 1965), Lyman and O'Brien (2004) have effectively demonstrated that normative theory was first explicitly applied in the works of processualists and remains prominent today.

recent decades, scholars have begun to examine less tangible aspects of past societies and experience, focusing on cognitive, cultural, and social aspects that require a more subjective and qualitative approach (ibid. pp. xv–xvi).

Archaeological Phenomenology

Perhaps the best-known post-processual contribution to archaeologies of landscape, place, and regions is a distinctly phenomenological approach that builds—in part—on place theories developed in philosophy and humanistic geography (e.g, Tilley 1994; Bender 1993; Bender et al. 1997). Adopting the general notion of place as a location of meaning, these scholars substitute the term "landscape"—already deeply relevant and well known to archaeologists as part of traditional landscape archaeology and the earlier landscape history tradition in Britain—for what theorists in other disciplines had termed "place." Specifically adopting Heidegger's (1962; 1982) and Merleau-Ponty's (1996) formulations of phenomenology, this perspective has most frequently been employed to understand prehistoric landscapes as an experience of "being-in-the-world." This relies on the practice of embodied experience, wherein the researcher enters the landscape and examines his/her modern-day responses to sensory stimuli of vision and, less frequently, sounds, with the researcher serving as a type of analogue for peoples of the past.

This approach has been the object of much criticism, especially from traditional landscape archaeologists. The main critiques centre on the lack of clearly articulated and rigorous methodologies and the subjective nature of experience, which violate core processual principles of objectivity and scientific, quantifiable and repeatable methods (Hamilton 2011: 32-36). Responding to the phenomenological approaches of Tilley (1994) and Bender et al (1997), the decidedly processual landscape archaeologist John Bintliff concludes that:

> the distribution of fertile agricultural land, ergonomic work constraints on territorial size, social factors affecting the dispersion of communal grounds, and limited location possibilities for settlement micro-location, appear more important than the conscious inheritance of traditional 'senses of place.' (Bintliff

2000: 148; also quoted in Forbes 2008: 19)

In short, the majority of critiques have questioned the very relevance of such phenomenological approaches. For the critics, landscape phenomenology tells us little (or nothing) about the actual past, but only about what the present-day phenomenological archaeologist (thinks s/he) sees and feels within the landscape. From a firmly culture history or processual perspective, this does not qualify as proper archaeology as it is neither objective nor specifically grounded in the physical remains of the past. A phenomenological response may—drawing on more general post-processual critiques of culture history and processualism—be that such views of archaeology are fundamentally flawed, and that all archaeology is really about the present anyway. This is not enough to silence the critics, however, as a number of post-processual archaeologists have also raised their concerns.

Among these other concerns are the problems of back-projection, the re-privileging of the properly trained archaeologists' perspective, a limited range of sensory experience involved in the phenomenological method, as well as serious questions about the particular conception of phenomenology as adopted in archaeological approaches. Forbes (2008: 18–44) provides an excellent "critical overview" of many of these issues and arguments, expanding discussion beyond the more methodologically based arguments of Bintliff (2000) and Fleming (1999; 2005; 2006). And while the classic version of phenomenology adopted in archaeology builds strongly on the views of Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, it has been suggested that a more Husserlian view would be more appropriate and provide a stronger foundation (Eve 2012); Eve (ibid. p. 585) particularly notes that recent archaeological approaches to phenomenology primarily focus on the "feel[ings]" and "emotional responses to experience," rather than the exploration of "*essences* and *relations* of experiences" that form the focus of Husserl's (1963; 2001) more philosophical approach to phenomenology. To these critiques, I add that archaeological approaches to phenomenology continue to emphasise particular pasts—typically prehistory—without accounting for the multiplicity of pasts that have been experienced in a particular location over time. Just as traditional approaches tend to artificially compress—or reduce the significance of—the time

between the present and the period under investigation, phenomenology often perpetuates the reduction of an archaeological landscape's current value to the significance it derives from the narrow parameters of the distant past.

Ethnographic Archaeologies of Place

While the term "archaeology of place" may have originated with Binford (1982), who used the term to describe an examination of "economic zonation" and "site patterning" drawn from spatial science, the term is now being used by a diverse set of researchers to describe archaeological practices that have explicit connections to place theories developed in philosophy and humanistic geography (e.g. Blaisdell-Sloan 2006; Bowser 2004; Evans 1985; Forbes 2008; Harmanşah 2007; King 2003; Meskell 2003; Whitridge 2004). Although the approaches provided thus far are varied, a common characteristic is that place is bound up with meaning, memory and experience. This derives in part from the influence of phenomenological studies, but also from ethnographic approaches developed by American anthropologists (e.g. Basso 1996) who have also drawn on the works of Tuan (1974; 1977), Relph (1976), Casey (1993; 1996), Malpas (1999), and other geographers and philosophers.

While there is a recognisable phenomenological aspect to some of these new archaeologies of place and the overall perspective on place as a phenomenon of experience is shared—and constructed using an almost-identical genealogy—the particular mode by which many of these archaeologists seek to get at and expose the meanings of place is via ethnographic encounter. This preference for ethnography may be the result of the many critiques that have been levelled at phenomenology, but can also be seen as a product of archaeology's sub-disciplinary status within a broader anthropological umbrella in North America. Archaeological phenomenology was developed primarily as a means to understand prehistoric landscapes, but those scholars working under the emerging "archaeology of place" approach appear, more often, to be historical archaeologists working in areas where local communities have demonstrable or claimed connections to the individual places and memories being explored (e.g. papers in Rubertone 2008). While phenomenology seeks to re-create the conditions by which people of the prehistoric

past may have developed meanings and senses of belonging in place through the researcher serving as analogue in the absence of other sources—and in a way that sees the experiencing person as separate from the landscape they are experiencing via particular types of sensory perception—the ethnographic approach seeks a more deeply embedded mode of experience, where the researcher is experiencing the place as a part of it and via all the senses in a more visceral way. Place, in this approach, is seen as being built upon the past but continually redefined within the present through the selective transmission and transformation of memories and meanings by local inhabitants and visitors.

Summary

Archaeology is, for me, fundamentally about the connection of the past, the present, people, and place. Each of the approaches described in this section are useful in achieving this goal, but only the more recent phenomenological and ethnographic approaches in archaeology have substantially engaged with place theory. Both recognise the connections between the past and the present, and acknowledge that places are produced through human experience, whereby space is transformed into place through the attribution of meaning and significance. While regionally focused projects, traditional landscape archaeology, and spatial science can provide deep and broad understandings of an area's physical characteristics, the spatial relationships between sites and objects, and changing strategies of landuse and spatial configurations, they lack a theoretical concern and effective methods for extracting more subjective aspects of how these areas were experienced by people in the past. What is missing from these approaches are informants—or witnesses—to past experiences, and how these experiences were used to ascribe meaning and significance through the process of placemaking.

Phenomenological approaches offer the potential for archaeologists to stand-in as informants, while ethnography based archaeologies of place rely on present-day inhabitants or other connected individuals to draw such meanings and significances from personal and/or collective memories. Both approaches, since they are practiced and rooted in the present, are only able to provide a partial picture, and a particular subset of possibilities, limited by the extent to which present-day

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experiences and preserved memories reflect authentic experiences in the past. Phenomenology is particularly limited by changes that have occurred within the landscape between the period under investigation and the moment of emplaced experience: environmental changes, agricultural "improvement," roads, railways, and other aspects of development that may have arisen in the distant or recent past can render a present-day experience of "being-in-the-world" largely irrelevant to the ways in which past peoples experienced what may have been a substantially different place in their own time.

Ethnographic approaches to place—when possible (i.e. when present-day informants on local practices and memories are available to consult)—may provide a better picture of how modern conceptions of place derive from historical conditions and experiences, as they rely on numerous informants and transmitted knowledge, but the information gleaned from these sources is also limited by the reliability of informants, how far back memories have been preserved, and problems of invention, omission, loss, and transformation in the transmission of memories over time. While both approaches promise to reveal perspectives on how places have been subjectively experienced in the past, they remain inevitably tied to the present; neither phenomenology nor ethnographic archaeologies of place can really offer an authentic reconstruction of places in the past as those past places no longer exist, but have been replaced by—or transformed into—new places in the present (see discussion in section 2.2.1, above).

This thesis adopts a place-in-the-present approach, explicitly recognising that archaeology is not a means of time-travel but, rather, a field of practice in which elements and material remains of the past are explored and interrogated because of their relevance in the present (Shanks 1992). While inspired by, and drawing on elements of, each of the archaeological approaches discussed above, my theoretical framework offers a new type of "archaeology of place" that primarily builds on place theory, genealogy, and the chorographic tradition. I am not attempting to reconstruct the Antonine Wall as it existed in the past, nor as it was subjectively experienced by past peoples; rather, I focus on the Wall as it exists today, as a present-day place that has been physically and ideologically produced, re-

produced, and transformed from the time of its original construction until the present. Contemporary ideas about the Wall, its meaning, and significance are the result of complex historical processes and the ways in which it has been studied and revealed through antiquarian and archaeological investigations.

As a "meaningful location," the Antonine Wall's present-day significance revolves around its role as a Roman military frontier—this official perspective is reinforced by its protection as a scheduled monument, inscription as an UNESCO World Heritage Site, and the characterisations offered in related educational and promotional materials. My archaeology of place seeks to examine this perspective through an investigation of the Wall's material remains and its history as an object of discourse; using archaeology in the traditional sense, but also as a metaphor, I examine the formation processes that have created the Wall as it exists—physically and cognitively—today, excavating and peeling back the layers of material evidence, written accounts, varied interpretations, and antiquarian and archaeological investigations that have been selectively curated to form the basis for the Wall's current significance. Following Foucault's genealogy, this official perspective is challenged, and the Wall's material record and historiography are interrogated to reveal a far more complicated place with multiple meanings and broader significances that have been excised or glossed-over in the formulation of the Wall's current narrow definition.

2.2.5 Emerging Roman Frontier Archaeologies

This thesis is situated within the traditionally conservative field of Roman frontier archaeology, yet seeks to challenge this field's rigid adherence to tightly bound chronological, typological, and thematic parameters by building upon recent critiques (e.g. Elton 1996; James 2002; 2005) and innovative research programmes.

Among the projects that have particularly motivated and informed this thesis is the recent Tales of the Frontier project (2007–13) centred at Durham University. The project's core objective was to explore and communicate associations derived from the afterlife of Hadrian's Wall and its landscape, from the fifth century to the present day, addressing a rich variety of historical and

contemporary values, including tangible and intangible aspects that reflect Hadrian's Wall's long-term past and its significance in the present (Richard Hingley pers. comm.). This agenda communicated a richer range of historical and contemporary meanings for Hadrian's Wall than those conveyed by the traditional idea of it as the relict work of the Roman military. Drawing on ideas developed in cognate areas of human geography, classical reception, and heritage, the project has expanded understanding and appreciation of Hadrian's Wall beyond the values normally associated with its Roman period military function; this included exploration of popular representations of the Wall in the present (Witcher 2010a; 2010b), an historiographic genealogy of the Wall in the medieval and Renaissance centuries (Hingley 2010a), a postcolonial archaeology of race (Tolia-Kelly 2011), and an extensive chorographic biography of the Wall's life from the Roman period to the present (Hingley 2012).

This work has opened up a new research agenda for Roman frontiers that diverges from traditional approaches through the recognition that "heritage is a living, contested, debatable and transforming entity" and that "time is a significant aspect of the heritage of landscape, but linear conceptions of time do not entirely capture the value of places and events" (Hingley 2011a: 58). My research builds on this approach, and moves it beyond Hadrian's Wall by applying similar ideas to the Antonine Wall.

2.3 Archaeology of Place: Methods

This section provides a brief overview of the methods used in this thesis. Methodologically the thesis is mixed, drawing on previous work in antiquarian engagements with place (chorography), human geography, anthropology and archaeology, and employs both quantitative and qualitative techniques, while seeking a middle ground between the objective and subjective. While separated here, due largely to the conventions of recent academic tradition, the methods cannot be viewed as independent from the overall theoretical approach described above. This theoretical perspective has, to some degree, determined the particular methods employed. For convenience, these are divided into the categories of historiographic methods and archaeological materials and analysis.

2.3.1 Historiography: Archaeology/Genealogy

The critical examination of the Antonine Wall's story as an object of discourse (Part 2) relies upon traditional historical methods as well as my own adaptation of an historiographic methodology inspired by Foucault's (1972) "archaeology of knowledge," which was later subsumed into his more explicitly theoretical "genealogical" framework (Foucault 1977a). It is important to note that the actual methodology employed here is not identical to that of Foucault: it is a simplified, yet highly modified, adaptation inspired and informed by his work. Eschewing the jargon and highly philosophical background in which Foucault's work is usually discussed or employed, I have attempted to develop a method that can be applied across a variety of texts and disciplines without advanced training.

My historiography relies on extensive desktop assessment and analysis of written accounts and maps of the Antonine Wall from the end of the Roman period until the present. Initial sources were identified from Macdonald's (1934b: 1–81) literature review, as well as more recent historiographic studies by Keppie (2003; 2006; 2011; 2012). Original sources were examined and, where necessary, modern English translations and/or variant editions were acquired; Greek and Latin sources were read both in the original and in translation (where translations exist). Key objectives were to outline the core content of each account, to establish its context in terms of the wider work (where applicable), authorship, date (of authorship and/or (re)discovery), intended audience and relevant sources, and to consider its short and long-term impact(s).

Following Foucault's archaeological metaphor, I subjected the texts to careful "excavation," identifying individual contexts, sifting and extracting particular statements, detailed descriptions and interpretive claims, and examining their stratigraphic (i.e. through time) and horizontal (i.e. contemporary) relationships. This provided examples of the reuse and reformulation of discursive material, but also examples of details, observations and interpretations that had been discarded or subjected to loss and later recovery. This provided a valuable means to both trace the ways in which developments over time have contributed to current views of the Wall and its significance, as well as to identify alternative

discourses that have been sidelined or suppressed, including—in some cases—the particular contexts in which they were relegated.

2.3.2 *Archaeological Materials and Analysis*

The analysis of archaeological materials (particularly important in Chapters 6–7) rely on detailed desktop assessment of documentary sources and datasets constructed by previous researchers since the 1890s, as well as on physical inspection of the Antonine Wall through a number of individual site visits and two personal journeys along its length (Table 2.1). My first journey along the Wall was a walking tour, following the east-to-west instructions in Robertson's (2001) *Handbook* and taking advantage of further details in RCAHMS' (2008) 1:25,000 scale Antonine Wall map. The second journey attempted to trace the Wall's line via car, stopping at each identified fort and fortlet location; progress was again made from east-to-west, an orientation that has become the most traditional way to describe the Wall (see Chapter Four, 4.6). These visits allowed for a greater understanding of site reports and the nature and condition of the Wall as it remains today.

A variety of published articles, books and reports have been collected, along with unpublished manuscripts and electronic datasets. Sources are both primary and secondary, drawing on the Antonine Wall's extensive bibliography and regional records held by Historic Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). Initial sources have been the major synthetic works of the past century and especially those published since the new millennium. These include Sir George Macdonald's (1934b) magisterial synthesis *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, Hanson and Maxwell's (1983) *Rome's North West Frontier: The Antonine Wall,* Robertson's (2001) *The Antonine Wall: A Handbook to the Surviving Remains*,[11] Breeze's (2006a) *The Antonine Wall*; and the Nomination Document (AWND 2007) and Management Plan (AWMP 2007) prepared for the Wall's UNESCO World Heritage Site bid. Further primary sources were identified through the various bibliographies of these synthetic works.

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[11] First published in 1960 and now in its fourth edition, edited by Lawrence Keppie.

FIELD VISIT DATE(S)	SITES VISITED	TRANSPORT MODE
16/10/2009 – 17/10/2009	Bearsden, Duntocher	Car, and on-site walking at each site
10/04/2010	Kinneil, Callendar Park, Falkirk Wheel, Rough Castle, Kirkintilloch	Car, and on-site walking at each site
29/06/2011 – 02/07/2011	Entire length of Wall, from Carriden to Old Kilpatrick; also walking to/around Stenhousemuir (site of Arthur's O'on) and Camelon	Walking
06/07/2012 – 08/07/2012	Entire length of Wall, from Carriden fort to Old Kilpatrick fort	Car, and on-site walking at each fort and fortlet site
02/11/2012 – 04/11/2012	Castlecary, Croy Hill, Bar Hill, Bearsden	Car, and on-site walking at each site
22/06/2013 – 23/06/2013	Kinneil, Mumrills, Callendar Park, Watling Lodge, Falkirk Wheel, Rough Castle, Camelon, Kirkintilloch	Car, and on-site walking at each site

Table 2.1: Personal Field Inspections

A variety of digital tools were utilised to identify additional sources and gather data, chief among these being RCAHMS' web-based Canmore database (http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/). Additional data, in the form of raster and vector GIS files were kindly provided in July 2010 by RCAHMS; this included files from RCAHMS' Antonine Wall GIS mapping project as well as an extract of Canmore database data in ArcGIS format (provided under license, see Appendix 1 for license details). This data has been primarily used as a spatially organised enhanced database for the interrogation and visualisation of Canmore records, and to generate a variety of maps provided throughout this thesis. Where suitable, I have generated my own ArcGIS files as further extracts from the provided data, and have supplemented the provided data fields with my own notes, dating, and thematic categories. A limited number of basic analyses were performed using standard tools within the ArcGIS software package. The goal was to focus on the available data and to exploit these GIS datasets as a resource for getting at the data through sifting

and sorting, rather than developing a complex explanatory analysis or predictive model.

In addition, I have acquired and performed visual analysis on the limited Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) aerial laser scanning data available for the Antonine Wall through the Environment Agency (this provides low-resolution—2m between points—coverage for the short section between Carriden and just east of Mumrills). Visual analysis of this LiDAR data was carried out for the purposes of seeing if new insights could be attained regarding a long-sought fort in this area (see Chapter Six, 6.4), or whether this data could reveal new information about the under-explored medieval village at Kinneil (see Chapter Seven, 7.3–7.4).

2.4 Discussion

This chapter has established the theoretical context and perspective behind this thesis, along with a general overview of how this theoretical approach will be applied to the Antonine Wall. Important points include an approach in which the practice of archaeology is recognised as being situated in the present and not so much about establishing the facts of an "authentic past" but, rather, of working with what remains of the past in a way that makes them relevant to the present. Archaeology may also be viewed and practised metaphorically, as a type of Foucauldian "archaeology" or genealogy, which seeks to "excavate" and peel-back the layers and intricacies of knowledge, meanings and values. In both types of archaeology, establishing context is key.

The theoretical position adopted here also focuses on the concept of "place" as a meaningful location, drawing on a rich discourse centred in humanistic human geography and modern philosophy. Places are more than mere physical locations, but are ideational constructs in which physical locations and their environmental characteristics comingle with human activities and experiences; this may be seen as a cumulative process in which place gives way to place as new ideas and experiences build upon previous ones, but may also involve discontinuities, loss and rediscovery over time. From this perspective, the places of the past no longer exist but, rather, may be found within the genealogies of present definitions of particular places.

An "archaeology of place," then should seek to explore this genealogy, drawing on a range of evidence in the form of material remains of the past as well as written and oral accounts from both the past and the present. The ancient chorographic tradition, much practised in the works of early modern antiquarians in Britain, has deep resonance with recent attempts to develop archaeologies of place, and may provide a useful quarry from which to draw concepts and methods for the establishment of a new type of archaeology centred on places. While chorography no longer exists "as an institutional form, genre or medium," it "ironically, encompass[es] all of [the] standpoints and agendas" of recent archaeologies of place: from regional research programmes to landscape studies rooted in historical geography, as well as spatial science, archaeological GIS, phenomenology and other humanistic approaches to place, and community and public archaeology initiatives (Shanks 2012b).

My formulation of the archaeology of place, thus, effectively merges place theory, genealogy, and chorography. As with the modern practice of physical archaeological excavation, this starts with the present-day state of place and attempts to peel away its genealogy—or stratigraphy—to reveal how the site/place formed and developed into its current iteration. In practice, however, this is largely presented in chronological order, from the earliest approaches to more recent themes in Antonine Wall research. While my methodology began with current understandings of the Antonine Wall and its significance, and attempted to trace this development backward in time, the nature of discontinuities in the Wall's historiographic genealogy—including the frequently tacit dismissal of previous interpretations and concerns—made it difficult to directly follow and present this development in reverse-chronological order. Thus, as with many archaeological excavation reports, the narrative presented in Part 2 is an attempted chronological reconstruction that does not fully communicate the difficulties of trying to "excavate" the Wall's discursive history.

This approach is necessarily diachronic and wide-ranging, and does not privilege any one period over others, although it may reveal that particular episodes in the past exert greater influence over the present than others, and may help to

expose disparities in the level of knowledge currently possessed for each period due to the biases and agendas of inhabitants, officials, and researchers. Rather than pigeon-hole archaeological sites, monuments, and landscapes into rigidly circumscribed historical periods and functional use categories, such an approach will illuminate aspects that are often overlooked and under-investigated, but which could genealogically contribute to the place as it exists in the present.

PART 2:
Historiography/Genealogy

Introduction to Part 2

Part 2 is composed of four chapters that provide a critical genealogy of the Antonine Wall's story as an object of discourse, drawn from written accounts, maps and other depictions from the earliest sources until the present. These chapters follow a chronological format, tracing accounts in their order of authorship, and culminating in a summary and critical analysis of current themes in Antonine Wall research. This is crucial to the thesis' primary aims, demonstrating the Wall's continued—and changing—significance from the Roman period onward. As the previous chapter defined "place" as "a meaningful location," and outlined a new approach to the "archaeology of place" that attempts to deconstruct and peel back the various layers of activity, experience, and meaning that come together to form a particular place, such a genealogical historiography is an important starting point.

Another telling of the Wall's broader story has recently been developed by Lawrence Keppie (2012), whose primary aim is "to provide a history of the Antonine Wall from the moment the Roman army abandoned it in the later 2nd century AD down to the early years of the 20th century, and to chart developments in our knowledge about it" (p. 1). This is a welcome and significant contribution, providing the first detailed investigation of the Wall's long-term historiography since Sir George Macdonald's (1934b: 1–36) summary review of "the literary tradition." Keppie's treatment surpasses that of Macdonald in both its comprehensiveness and level of detail, particularly for accounts and developments from the early seventeenth century onwards.[12] Keppie's new treatment, however, provides a primarily linear history in which it is tempting to view the Wall's historiography as cumulative and progressive—with new accounts building on previous ones, and a general trend toward more secure (and authentic?) knowledge. While both of these characteristics are arguably present within the historiography included in this thesis, it is also characterised by a number of disconnected

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[12] Macdonald's (1934b: 1–36) literature review ends at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but while he discusses a number of later accounts, these are scattered throughout the remainder of his text in discussion of particular sites and artefacts. Keppie (2012), on the other hand, brings a much wider range of accounts together, in a broad historiographic discussion, effectively expanding and updating Macdonald's abbreviated review.

discourses, accounts that are largely ignored or written-out of current tellings of the Wall's story, as well as the rediscovery of earlier sources and possible depictions that are later interpreted from within a new context.

Keppie's book arrived late in the original timeline for this thesis, raising a number of problems with my original aims and obectives, and requiring a change in approach. While I had been aware that Keppie was writing a book on the Antonine Wall, I was unaware that the volume would overlap so substantially with my original historiographic focus. As a result, my historiographic treatment (particularly Chapters Three through Five) has been reframed as a critical commentary on Keppie (2012), instead of an intensive and comprehensive contextual social historiography. Thus, rather than duplicate Keppie's historical summary, these chapters primarily focus on points of departure, building on Keppie's chronological narrative to emphasise "eddies in time" (Hingley 2012: 9, 229, 327–33; Witmore 2007: 205–10), disjunctures, moments of rediscovery, and the broader connections and dis-connections between various accounts. Particular attention is given to accounts that are absent from Keppie's historiography, or for which Keppie's coverage is more limited; this is most evident in a greater depth of coverage for pre-seventeenth-century accounts (up to Timothy Pont), for which Keppie (2012: 18–29) gives considerably less attention.

This will be both history and historiography, providing a summarised chronological narrative of people, events and accounts of the Wall, but also attempting a form of historiographic "archaeology" or "genealogy" through the careful "excavation" and contextualisation of these subjects and their authors, along with a focus on discontinuities, ruptures, differences, and reversals. Another departure from Keppie are the chronological parameters: while both these chapters and Keppie's volume share a starting point (i.e. Rome's abandonment of the Antonine Wall in the later second century), they end at different dates: Keppie with

the publication of Sir George Macdonald's (1911) first synthesis of the Wall, and these chapters with current themes in Antonine Wall research.[13]

The relevance of each account discussed in these chapters may not be readily apparent. Based on current definitions of the Antonine Wall as a Roman military frontier, some accounts may appear to offer little value to our understanding of the Wall. Some provide no new information or real descriptions of the Roman remains, and may even offer alternative interpretations that are untenable in the light of current knowledge about the Wall's Roman past. While such accounts may not provide direct contributions to our understanding of the Antonine Wall in the Roman period, they remain important from a genealogical perspective. These accounts are not just "interesting, but irrelevant" because they lack valuable details or authentic historical information about the Wall and its Roman remains, but are relevant in understanding the Wall's broader story precisely because they have been discounted, redacted, or branded "irrelevant" in the formation processes of the Wall's current research tradition (Hingley 2011a follows a broadly comparable approach in relation to forms of knowing and "official" knowledge on Hadrian's Wall). As will be seen, this research tradition has developed from a selective engagement with the Wall's broader history of speculation and study. While the current Antonine Wall research agenda is relatively limited in scope, the breadth of accounts covered in these chapters will reveal a richer discursive history.

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[13] Keppie's primary aim was to tell the story of how knowledge of the Wall developed from antiquarian modes of investigation to systematic archaeological research. My aim, on the other hand, is to offer a critique of current approaches to Antonine Wall research, using broader themes from earlier approaches to highlight the potential of wider concerns. For this reason, my historiography extends up to the present.

Chapter Three:
Early Accounts

> The Account the Roman Writers give of the Walls, is very Lame and perplexed, and the Monks in their Writings have made them more confused by their Mistakes. (Sibbald 1707: ii)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on written accounts and depictions of the Wall from the classical period until the end of the medieval; particular accounts range in date from the third century AD to the late fourteenth. The chapter aims to introduce the key details of all known accounts from this period, to investigate the nature of relationships between each account, and to identify areas for future research.

3.2 Classical Accounts

The key account—and the only certain reference to the Antonine Wall—from classical antiquity is the late fourth- or early fifth-century biography of Antoninus Pius found within a work traditionally called the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, but now more commonly known by the name *Historia Augusta*. The Wall is introduced in a short passage:

> Through his legates, he [i.e. Antoninus Pius] waged a number of wars. For instance, through the legate Lollius Urbicus he conquered the Britons [and] built another wall, [this time] of turf, after pushing back the barbarians. (*SHA* Ant. Pius 5.4)

Keppie (2012: 8) correctly notes that this account's phrase *alio muro caespiticio* can also be translated as a "second turf wall," and that this alternative translation was a better fit for the interpretive understanding of many eighteenth-century antiquarians (e.g. Dalrymple 1705: 7; Gordon 1726: 49, 86; Horsley 1732: 116; Roy 1793: 149) for whom there were not two—but three—Roman period Walls in Britain, including two of turf (i.e. the earthen "Vallum" now considered an integral part of

Hadrian's Wall and the turf Antonine Wall). This issue will recur later, and will be discussed in more detail below.

The *Historia Augusta* is a well-known, but problematic and controversial collection of biographies of most of the Roman rulers—including official emperors, Caesars and usurpers—from Hadrian (reigned AD 117–138) to Carinus (reigned AD 282/3–285). Dating and authorship of this work and its individual biographies remain uncertain, and it has long been met with scepticism and outright rejection as an historical source (e.g. Dessau 1889; Mommsen 1890), with an often-heated debate (e.g. Momigliano 1954; Syme 1968) that remains unresolved. I raise this issue primarily because Keppie (2012) does not acknowledge this wider context. Recent discussions (e.g. Birley 2003; Matthews 2007), however, agree that while the *Historia Augusta* is fraught with problems of reliability and authorship, it is nevertheless a source of fundamental importance for the history and historiography of the Roman empire from the second through fourth centuries.[14]

Despite the various problems and fictions within this source, we can now be certain that at least some of the details of its Life of Antoninus Pius are correct, attested by the discovery of inscriptions bearing Urbicus' name along the line of the Wall (RIB 2191, 2192, both found near Balmuildy; Fig. 3.1). Importantly, while this source has pride of place as the earliest-attested documentary evidence for the Antonine Wall, it would remain unknown in Britain for more than a millennium, only resurfacing in the sixteenth century; as will be seen (Chapter Four, section 4.2), even after the *Historia Augusta*'s Renaissance rediscovery, it would take some considerable time before Antoninus Pius' biography would re-enter the discourse on Britain's Roman Walls; when the evidence of inscriptions would play a crucial role.

Keppie (2012: 18) also notes that "several late Roman historians […] report a single wall built in Britain," almost certainly all referring to what we now call Hadrian's Wall (i.e. the stone "curtain"), and ascribing it to the work of Septimius Severus. Specifically mentioned are accounts by Aurelius Victor (*De Caes*. 20.18;

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[14] While Syme (1972: 123) acknowledges that "the larger part is […] fabrication," he notes that, in particular, "for the years [AD] 117–284 it is the sole Latin source of any compass."

Epit. 20) and Orosius (*Contr. Pag.* 7.17.7), but a number of additional texts also report Walls built by Hadrian or Severus (*SHA* Hadr. 11.2, Sev. 18.2; Herod. *Hist*. 3; Eutrop. *Brev*. 8.19; Procop. *De Bello Gothico* 4.20.42–47). These, too, almost certainly describe the monument now known as Hadrian's Wall (a name first used by Hector Boece to describe the Vallum in 1527; *Scot. Hist.* 5.13), with no reference to an additional frontier in Britain.

Figure 3.1: Lollius Urbicus inscription from Balmuildy (RIB 2191), with reconstructed text, discovered 1698. Copyright Hunterian Museum.

Another possible reference to the Antonine Wall—absent from Keppie's discussion—is found in the fragmentary *Roman History* of Cassius Dio:

> There are two main peoples of the Britons, the Caledonians and the Maiatai, and the names by which the others are called have been joined in these. And the Maiatai live near the cross-wall that cuts the island in two, and the Caledonians beyond them. (Dio *Hist. Rom.* 77.12.1)

The context here is a narration of Septimius Severus' c. AD 208–211 military campaigns in northern Britain, and it is not entirely clear from this account whether the "cross-wall" is the Antonine or Hadrian's Wall. Most frequently, scholars consider this passage to refer to the Hadrianic frontier, but Hanson and Maxwell (1983: 203) rightly point out that "all the other evidence points to the home of the Maeatae in Fife," which suggests that this passage refers rather to the Antonine

Wall. Though all available evidence and scholarly opinion suggest that the Antonine Wall was long-abandoned by the time Dio was writing (c. AD 229), his later assertion that Britain's least breadth is 40 miles (Dio *Hist. Rom.* 77.12.5) suggests that he possessed accurate knowledge of the Forth-Clyde isthmus. Unfortunately, almost nothing of his account of Antoninus Pius' reign has survived and we are largely left with fragments describing activities in northern Britain from within a Severan context. The relevant passage here has survived only in an abridgement by the eleventh-century Byzantine cleric Xiphilinus, and this text remained obscure until the publication of its *editio princeps* (in Greek) by R. Stephanus in 1551 (Cary 1914).

Thus far, classical accounts of the Wall have been situated within documents that attempt to provide an historical narrative. The final source to be included in this section is of a different type. This is the *Ravenna Cosmography* (for the standard critical edition, see Schnetz 1940; for general discussion of the British section, see Jones and Mattingly 1990: 29–33), a list-type document compiled from a number of Roman itineraries,[15] maps,[16] and administrative documents[17] by an anonymous cleric in Ravenna around AD 700. Offering more than 5,000 toponyms from across the Roman Empire, the *Cosmography*'s British section includes a list of almost 300 place-names ranging from forts and towns to rivers, islands, and tribal territories. Of direct relevance for the Antonine Wall is a short passage:

> Again in this Britain there are towns [i.e. *civitates*] connected one to another in a straight line where this

[15] Perhaps including the *Antonine Itinerary* (for the standard critical edition, see Cuntz 1929; for general discussion of the British section, see Jones and Mattingly 1990: 23–29), which is important for studies of Hadrian's Wall and Roman Britain south of its approximate line (Breeze 2006b: 38).

[16] Jones and Mattingly (1990: 29) suggest that key sources for the *Cosmography*'s British section may have been three or more maps. Keppie (2012: 13) lends support, noting that, "as many of the Latin place-names […] are given in the ablative case, the source was perhaps a road map with distances from one place to the next marked on it."

[17] Perhaps including the *Notitia Dignitatum* (for the standard critical edition, see Seeck 1876; for general discussion of the British section, see Jones and Mattingly 1990: 33–37), also of much importance to the study of Hadrian's Wall (Breeze 2006b: 36–38).

Britain is recognised as most narrow from ocean to ocean; these are:

Velunia
Volitanio
Pexa
Begesse
Colanica
Medio Nemeton
Subdobiadon
Litana
Cibra
Credigone. (*Rav. Cosm*. 5.31; Schnetz 1940: 434–35)

These ten locations are, it appears reasonable to conclude, the names of towns, forts or communities located along, or very near to, the line of the Antonine Wall. It is not so simple, however, and this may be the most contentious part of the *Cosmography*'s British section. Certainly, no location in Britain matches the general description as well as the Forth-Clyde isthmus, but the source does not explicitly refer to a Wall, and the number of place-names does not correspond with the number of known forts along the Wall or isthmus. Of these locations, only one has been firmly identified; providentially, this happens to be the first in the list, *Velunia*, which we now know from epigraphic evidence (discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five) to be the Roman fort at Carriden (Richmond and Steer 1957). A number of scholars have offered suggestions about the remaining place-name identities. Richmond and Crawford (1949), writing before the discovery of epigraphic evidence at Carriden, erred in presuming that the line was ordered west-to-east and, therefore, their identifications are almost certainly incorrect. Later, Rivet and Smith (1979: 211) offered the following suggestions:

Ravenna Cosmography	Proper Name Form	Identification
Velunia	Velunia	Carriden
Volitanio	Votadini ?	Votadini (tribe name)
Pexa	Pecti ?	Picts (people name)
Begesse	unknown	unknown
Colanica	Colania	Camelon ?
Medio Nemeton	Medio Nemetum	Arthur's O'on ?

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Subdobiadon	unknown	unknown
Litana	Alauna ?	Ardoch ?
Cibra	Coria ?	Barochan Hill ?
Credigone	Creones	Creones (tribe name)

Surprisingly, this reconstruction has only one of the named locations as an Antonine Wall fort. The authors argue that, "among the others not more than four names, two much corrupted, could belong to further forts" (ibid.). Strangely, they also emend three of the names from toponyms to ethnonyms, transforming what appear from the text to be physical places to tribal/people group territories. The identification of other names with sites located off the line of the Wall also deviates from what the compiler claims to be presenting. While we cannot know, based on present evidence, the precise identities of the listed names, helpful interpretive clues may be gleaned from the *Cosmography*'s treatment of places along the other frontier in Britain.

The same formula used to describe places along the Forth-Clyde is also used for Hadrian's Wall. This begins: "again, in this Britain, are towns in a straight line […] from ocean to ocean […]" (*Rav. Cosm*. 5.31; Schnetz 1940: 432–33). The following list contains the garbled names of twelve forts east-to-west, beginning with Wallsend (*Serduno*) and ending with Bowness (*Maio*). While name forms are sometimes corrupted or misspelt, they remain recognisable from other sources (Breeze 2006b: 38). While the *Cosmography* never explicitly mentions Hadrian's Wall or the Antonine Wall by the terms *limes*, *murus* or *vallum*, Dilleman (1979: 69–70) notes that the Walls are implied by the phrases *recto tramite* ("in a straight track/line," used in the text introducing the places along both Walls) and *una alteri connexae* ("connecting one to another," found in the introductory text to the places along the Antonine Wall). We cannot determine if the *Cosmography*'s compiler was aware that these "straight line[s]" were in the form of Walls, but the evidence connecting the mentioned places for Hadrian's Wall to known sites confirms that here, at least, the line is in fact the Wall, and that the list runs east-to-west. We may reasonably assume—but cannot be certain—from this evidence that the line of places mentioned on the Forth-Clyde isthmus is generally the same, representing

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places on the Wall's actual line and likewise running east-to-west. In this light, the lack of correspondence between the number of listed places and known Antonine Wall forts is easier to accept, as this is also true for the *Cosmography*'s Hadrian's Wall list.
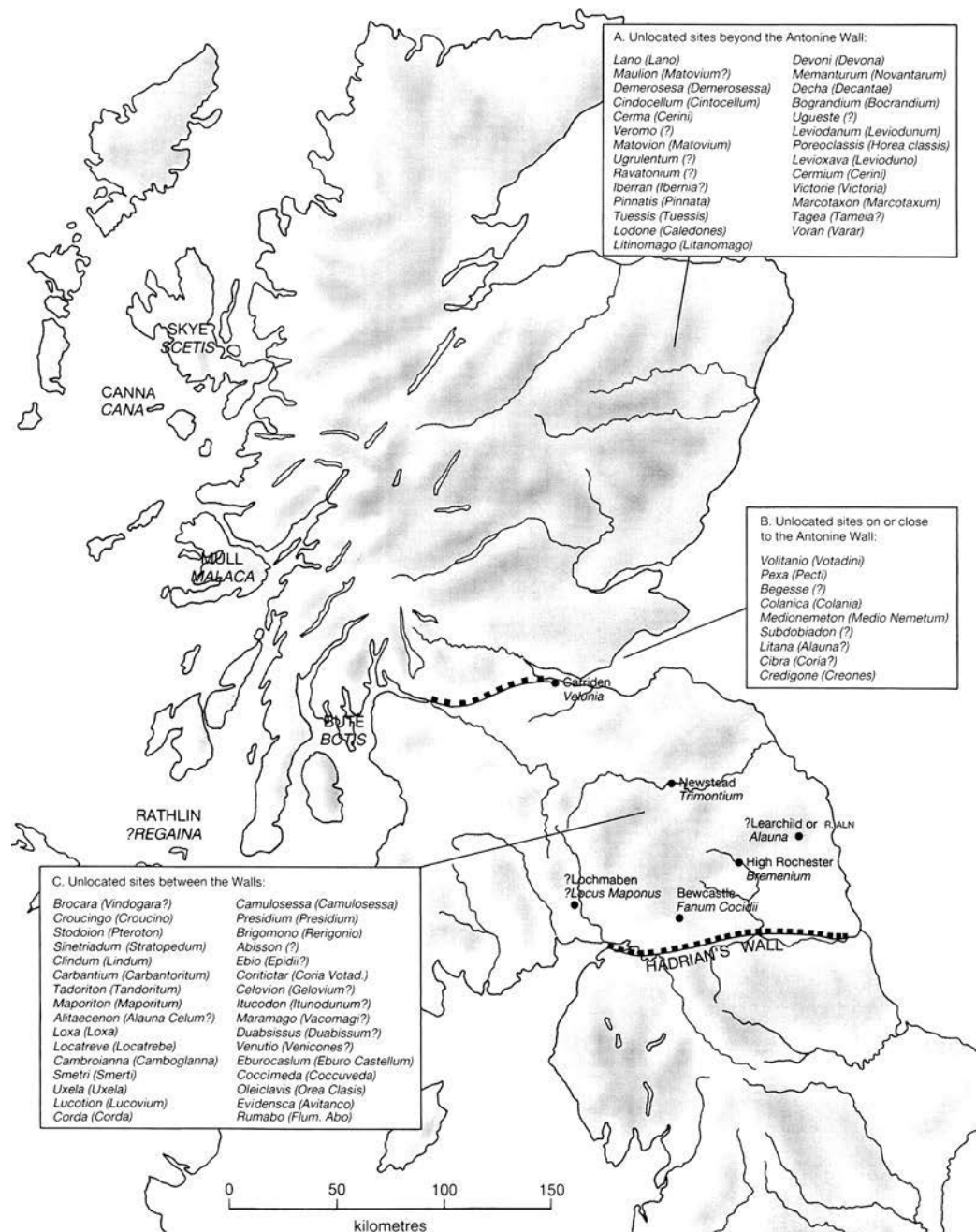
Figure 3.2: "A minimalist view of Scottish evidence of the Ravenna Cosmography"
(Jones and Mattingly 1990: 32, map 2:15).

Among the forts missing from the Hadrian's Wall list are Newcastle, Carvoran, Castlesteads, and Drumburgh, along with the closely associated sites of Corbridge, *Vindolanda* and Carlisle; most of these are mentioned elsewhere in the document, but not in the section that specifically aims to list the Wall stations (Breeze 2006b: 38). Since we know that the Hadrian's Wall list is incomplete and that most of the missing forts are found elsewhere in the *Cosmography*, we should not be surprised that the Antonine Wall list is also selectively abbreviated, and may safely suspect that missing forts from this list are also to be found elsewhere in the document. Jones and Mattingly (1990: 32–33) highlight the poverty of our current knowledge in terms of positive identification of the *Cosmography*'s place-names for Britain north of Hadrian's Wall (Fig. 3.2): not counting the names of the Western Isles, a total of 74 toponyms are listed (37 between the Walls, 10 on the Antonine Wall, and 27 north of the Wall), with only eight percent (6/74) known.

In the absence of clear epigraphic evidence, the remaining sites listed in the *Ravenna Cosmography* will undoubtedly continue to stimulate further debate and speculation as to their modern identities. As with the other accounts discussed so far, the *Cosmography* long remained unknown to writers in Britain, only entering British discourse upon its publication (Gale 1709) in the early eighteenth century (Keppie 2012: 63), and first featuring in discussions of the Antonine Wall via William Stukeley's (1720) map and—more completely—in John Horsley's (1732) account; this is an excellent example of an "eddy in time," with fragments of ancient knowledge lying dormant until they are later recirculated, drawn to the surface, and reconsidered from within a new context.

3.3 Early Accounts from Britain

With little or no access to classical accounts discussed above, the people of post-Roman Britain were left with two key sources of information for the Roman period: oral tradition and the visible remains of the Roman presence. The classical sources known today were primarily those of urban elites or administrative bureaucrats centred within the imperial core. They were unlikely to have been distributed very widely in Britain during the Roman period, and no copies have ever been found within the former province until they were reintroduced at a much later date.

Historiographically, while these sources primarily pre-date the accounts of early authors in Britain, they did not form part of the latter's source materials, and the relationship between classical sources and the early accounts from Britain is one of disjuncture. Thus, while this section follows on from the classical accounts in an attempt to present the materials in rough chronological order, it must be stated that this is somewhat deceptive, and it is important to underline the fact that there is no direct link between the classical accounts and those that developed in Britain following Rome's withdrawal.

This section includes accounts by early authors from post-Roman and medieval Britain, covering a date range from perhaps as early as the late fifth century until the late fourteenth. Only a few accounts belong to this broad period, and only the latest originates in Scotland. As will be seen, these authors would exert significant and lasting influence, despite their introduction of narratives that provide little authentic or corroborative information. These narratives would begin to be unravelled starting in the sixteenth century, but important elements would remain accepted as late as the eighteenth. There are also important episodes of genealogical disconnection, loss and rediscovery associated with these accounts, and the implications of these will be discussed.

3.3.1 Gildas and Bede

The earliest known non-Roman accounts of the Wall are provided by Gildas and Bede, two of Britain's earliest native authors.[18] The basic narrative is first introduced by Gildas (*De Excidio* 15–18), writing sometime between AD 475–575.[19] This account

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[18] For another recent discussion of Gildas and Bede's accounts, particularly in relationship to Hadrian's Wall, see Hingley (2012: 38–50).

[19] In terms of dating the work, Gildas himself provides a single clue. In the final chapter of his "*historia*" (*De Excidio* 26), he says that his own birth was around the same time as the battle of Badon Hill, which took place almost 44 years before his time of writing. Bede later assigned this battle to AD 493, though scholars have argued for a variety of dates across the fifth and sixth centuries. More recently, the composition of *De Excidio* has ranged in date from 479–84 (Higham 1994) to the third quarter of the sixth-century (Dumville 1984: 84). Dates within the first half of the sixth century have dominated the scholarly tradition (e.g. Macdonald 1934b: 24; Morris 1978: 1; Thompson 1979; Jones 1996: 44–46; Fraser 2009: 43–44) and the earlier range suggested by Higham is certainly a revisionist viewpoint that requires further substantiation.

describes the construction of two Walls in northern Britain, but locates them temporally to the period of Magnus Maximus (c. AD 383–88), and has the first Wall constructed by the native Britons rather than the Romans. The context here is one in which the people of southern and lowland Britain, apparently vulnerable due to Maximus' withdrawal of troops for a military campaign on the Continent, request assistance from Rome to help with incursions from the northerly Picts and Scots. After a legion is dispatched to drive back the invaders:

> They [i.e. the Roman legion] ordered the construction of a wall between the two seas, across the island, so that when equipped it would be a terror to ward off the enemy mob and a protection to the citizens. Which [i.e. the wall], having been made not of stone but of turf, was worthless to the stupid and leaderless commoners. (*De Excidio* 15)

The precise location of this turf Wall is not specified, but it is clear that Gildas attributes its construction to the local Britons who, lacking good leadership, foolishly constructed an inferior defence by using turf rather than stone. That the initial idea for the Wall was Roman is also clear, and Gildas later (*De Excidio* 18) explains that the Romans returned to redress this folly by constructing a new Wall of stone themselves—drawing on public and private funds, and conscripting native cooperation in its construction—before leaving Britain for good. This stone Wall, however, was soon overrun and the Britons sent a further plea for help to Rome, but this remained unanswered (*De Excidio* 19). Thus, Gildas was evidently aware of two Walls of Roman date in northern Britain, one of turf and the other of stone. Whether these represent the Antonine and Hadrian's Walls or merely the stone Wall of Hadrian and its Vallum remain matters for debate (see Macdonald 1934b: 26; Keppie 2012: 19; Higham 1991). What is clear, however, is that Gildas' turf Wall predates his stone frontier, that both Walls are dated much later than we now know them to be, that the turf Wall is ascribed to native construction and the stone Wall to the Roman legions, and that both were intended to protect Rome's Brittonic allies against incursions by the Scots and Picts to the north.

Bede's account—completed in AD 731—is broadly comparable to that of Gildas, and it is clear that Gildas served as a primary source. Bede (*Hist. Eccles*. 1.12) copies much of Gildas' account, adjusts dating to the early fifth century, and localises the turf wall to the Forth-Clyde isthmus between Abercorn and Dumbarton, revealing that vestiges of it could still be seen in his day. Among Bede's most important additions are clear geographical pointers to the Walls' locations, and the inclusion of a third Roman period Wall in Britain. His account describes three Walls: in (his) chronological order, a turf or earthen (*fit de cespitibus*) rampart constructed by Septimius Severus in the early third-century (ibid. 1.5), the early fifth-century turf Wall constructed by the Britons on the Forth-Clyde isthmus (ibid. 1.12), and a later Roman-built strong stone Wall (*firmo de lapide*) near the Severan rampart (*ubi et Severus quondam vallum fecerat*) (ibid.). Based on the descriptions and geographical detail provided, there can be no doubt that Bede's three Walls are:

third-century turf Wall built by Septimius Severus: Hadrian's Wall's "Vallum;"[20]
fifth-century turf Wall built by the Britons: Antonine Wall;
fifth-century stone Wall built by Roman legionnaires: Hadrian's Wall.

This new Wall—in Bede's narrative, the earliest—more accurately reflects the evidence on the ground,[21] and Bede appears to be the first writer to have an awareness of these three coast-to-coast linear barriers; here, for the first time in surviving texts, we finally see these three features discussed together. Bede's account also reveals the beginnings of post-Roman British access to some of the classical sources discussed above. This must have remained quite limited, however, as he remains silent on the Wall-building activities of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius,

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[20] In Bede's description of this Severan Wall, he uses the Latin term *vallum* (as opposed to *murus*, which he uses for the other two Walls). Bede (*Hist. Eccles*. 1.5) also carefully distinguishes between a *vallum* and a *murus*, "draw[ing] on Vegitius [to] note[] that a wall [i.e. *murus*] is made of stone but a rampart [i.e. *vallum*] is made of sods cut from the earth" (Hingley 2012: 41).

[21] That is, it more accurately reflects the existence of three physically observable barriers, unlike all previous sources which either mention only one or two at a time. Bede's identification of who was responsible for each—and their chronologies—are not, however, accurate.

but reintroduces the account of Severus' supposed Wall-building; it is probable that he acquired this information through the writings of Orosius (*Contr. Pag*. 7.17.7), from whom he heavily quotes and borrows throughout the text (Lozovsky 2000: 86–94; Shannon 2007: 4).

In terms of the geographical location of the turf Wall, Bede leaves no doubt, informing that it was located between the firths of *Clota* and *Bodotra* (Clyde and Forth), and began "at a place which is called in the Pictish language 'Peanfahel,' but in English 'Penneltun'" near the monastery at Abercorn, and stretched westward to end near Dumbarton (*Alt Clut*). While this account has sometimes been read as placing the Wall's *termini* at Abercorn and Dumbarton, Bede merely uses these well-known sites to give a general impression of where the Wall was located.[22] There has been a particular debate over the Wall's eastern terminus (which will be discussed later), and Bede's account plays a central role.

Both Gildas and Bede have been heavily critiqued as reliable historical sources, and they are "no longer considered histories as such—more complex literary constructions that are in part propaganda and in part myth" (Sarah Semple, pers. comm.; see also Thacker 2010). They contain their own contemporary perceptions of the past, "but these are perceptions rooted within regionalised politicised contexts of the moment" (ibid.). We know very little about Gildas as a person, but substantially more about Bede. In both cases, however, it is clear that they were both agents of the Church, and that their "histories" were primarily designed to provide examples of Christian piety and morals, as well as examples of the consequences of rejecting the Christian faith and its teachings (see, e.g. Gildas *De Excidio* 4, 21; Higham 1991; 1994; Hingley 2012: 40). It is in this light that we must view their narrative of the Roman Walls, which—with the exception of Bede's Severan Wall—were both described as being constructed in a period when (according to both authors) the Romans and Britons were Christians, in need of protection from the pagan Picts and Scots.

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[22] Bede (*Hist. Eccles*. 1.12) specifically locates the eastern terminus of Peanfahel/Penneltun "nearly 2 miles distant from the monastery of Abercorn."

3.3.2 *Nennius*

The ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, traditionally ascribed to "Nennius" (Thornton 2004), provides a somewhat different tradition, as well as complications caused by later additions in the form of *capitulae* and marginal glosses. Importantly, the Antonine Wall is only implicated in a particular set of manuscripts as the result of these additions. Keppie (2012: 20) summarises the key text and acknowledges the relevant glosses, but leaves out important details (particularly modern scholarship on the dating and authorship of relevant manuscripts, and their implications), which I will summarise here.

Importantly, the central text features only one Wall, which is attributed to Severus, "the third emperor who passed the sea to Britain," and which must certainly refer to Hadrian's frontier:

> He drew a wall and a mound from sea to sea across the width of Britain, that is for 82 miles, and in the British language it is called "Guaul." (*Hist. Britt*. 23)[23]

The text then introduces a new figure, Carausius—the usurper who claimed to rule in Britain from about 285–93 (see Casey 1994)—who, it is suggested, followed shortly after Severus, waging a campaign of revenge on the Britons for Severus' death (*Hist. Britt. 24*). No further Wall is mentioned and, while Nennius includes a description of British conflicts and letters requesting help from Rome during the time of Maximus (ibid. 27–31), the text departs from Gildas and Bede, leaving out mention of Walls constructed at this time. The Antonine Wall is, thus, absent from the original version of the *Historia Brittonum*, though it is implicated through later additions.

The key additions are found in a gloss (Fig. 3.3), appended to the margin of three manuscripts: Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 139 f. 169 v; Corpus

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[23] Some manuscripts list the distance of this Wall as 132 or 133 miles (Keppie 2012: 20 uses 132 miles), a figure almost certainly taken from Eutropius (*Brev*. 8.19) or Orosius (*Contr. Pag.* 7.17.7), and which may have been the result of a copying error in which a curved L in lxxxii(i) was misinterpreted as a C.

Christi College Cambridge MS 66; Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.27 (Dumville 1994). The gloss—situated in the left-hand margin adjacent to the main text for Severus and Carausius—attempts to locate Nennius' single Wall at the Forth-Clyde isthmus, noting that it runs "for 82 miles[24] from [the place] called 'Penguaul'—which village [is in] Scottish 'Kinneil,' [and] certainly in English 'Peneltun'—all the way to the opening of the River Clyde and Kirkintilloch, where the Wall ends." Here we can see a clear—yet confused—adoption of part of Bede's narrative, with some additional details. Bede's Pictish *Peanfahel* has been replaced with the Brittonic *Penguaul*, both essentially meaning "the wall's head/end," and while the editing scribe follows Bede in giving an English name of *Peneltun*, he also adds a Gaelic variant, *Cenail*, which survives today in the place-name Kinneil, near—but not at—the Wall's eastern terminus. The latter half of the passage, however, is more bizzare, suggesting that the Wall ends in the west at *Cair Pentaloch*, now known as Kirkintilloch and located some 20km east of the Wall's actual termination. Dumville (1994: 295), probably correctly, notes that this is likely a minor scribal error, and that the text should read *usque ad Cair Pentaloch et ad ostium fluminis Clut*, thereby reversing the order and having the Wall (correctly) pass through Kirkintilloch and then on to its terminus on the Clyde.
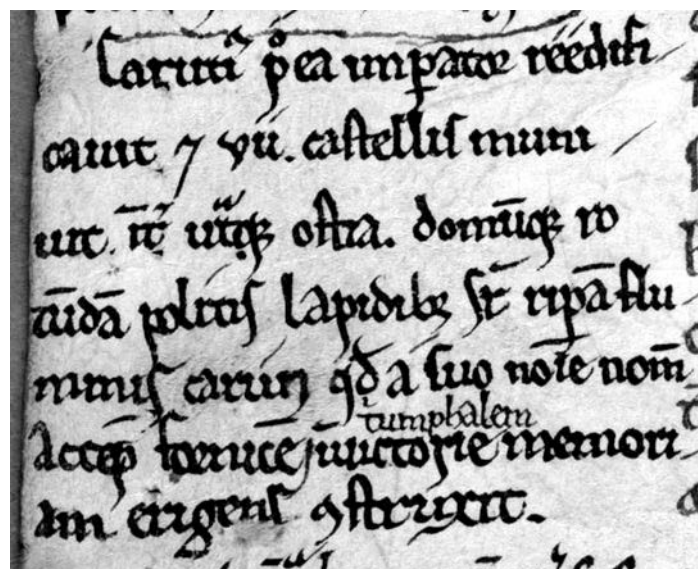
Figure 3.3. Carausius gloss in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 139 f. 169 v.

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[24] Keppie (2012: 20) translates this as "132 miles."

The gloss goes on to tie this to the main text's proceeding section on Carausius, adding that:

> After [attaining] the purple, Carausius rebuilt and fortified seven fortresses. And he built a round house out of smooth stones upon the River Carron, which [i.e. the river] has received its name from his own name, erecting a vault to the memory of [his?] victory. (Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 139 f. 169 v)

The mention of a river "Carron" almost certainly locates this activity along the Forth-Clyde isthmus, with the "round house" probably a reference to Arthur's O'on, a now-destroyed circular stone building that was formerly considered one of the greatest monuments in Britain (Steer 1960b; Brown 1974; Rohl 2009; 2012a), and which will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Eight. In this account, then, we see further confusion regarding which Wall was built by Severus and a new story of significant activity by Carausius. As has been demonstrated, Severus is not new to discussion of the Roman Walls, but this marks the first time that Carausius is implicated with one of them; this connection will recur most significantly in the later eighteenth century (see Chapter Four, 4.6; Chapter Eight, 8.3). Carausius also featured—in a negative portrayal—in Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (5.3–4), but he took on particular significance in medieval Scotland, where "he was credited […] with having validated by treaty the Scottish claims to Northumbria and Cumbria" (Casey 2004).

The three manuscripts to include these additional details have all been associated with manuscript production and editing at the Cistercian monastery of Sawley (Lancashire) in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (Dumville 1994).[25] The Sawley manuscripts are replete with similar glosses, emendations and *capitulae*, suggesting that these may have been notes used in the preparation of the texts for republication (ibid. p. 294). Dumville (ibid. pp. 295–96) highlights two additional relevant *capitulae* posted at the end of a Sawley copy of Gildas in

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[25] The Sawley identification is, however, debatable; see Baker (1975) and Dumville (1990, 1994) for opposing views.

Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.27, pp. 1–14 (also reproduced in Mommsen's edition of Gildas, p. 18). *Capitula* XI primarily focuses on the location of the eastern end of Hadrian's Wall, but then briefly refers to the more distant northern Wall, which was built against *Kair Eden* (Carriden) on the Scottish Sea (Firth of Forth). *Capitula* IX is essentially a summary of Gildas' account, with additional details copied verbatim from Bede, and further specification on the turf Wall's eastern terminus: "the ancient town Kair Eden nearly two miles distant from the monastery of Abercurnig—which is now called Abercorn." While the Sawley manuscripts thus provide seemingly contradictory testimony as to the Wall's eastern terminus (Kinneil in the Nennius glosses, or Carriden in the Gildas *capitulae*), Dumville (1994: 297) has made a strong argument that both are correct, with the physical location being modern Carriden, and the name *Peanfahel/Penguaul/Peneltun/Cenail* shifting westward to modern Kinneil as the name *Kair Eden* "became established and physical evidence for the line of the easternmost sector of the Wall disappeared."

Taken together, this evidence seems to suggest that the original version of the *Historia Brittonum* is completely ignorant of the Antonine Wall, and that it is only in the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century copies from Sawley that a Forth-Clyde location is introduced. Thus, even if the *Historia Brittonum* was originally written by Nennius, it appears likely that he never wrote about the Antonine Wall himself. The document first enters the historiography of the Antonine Wall with the gloss added by the Sawley scribe(s). Scribes here appear to have been engaged in a major programme of manuscript editing and republication, and there is clear evidence that they were familiar with the accounts of Gildas, Bede and Nennius, and the error of placing Severus' Wall on the Forth-Clyde line may have arisen from an attempt to reconcile a confused record with local knowledge deriving from central Scotland. This knowledge included a detailed understanding of local Brittonic and Gaelic place-names, and it is likely that this monastery had informants or other contacts in or from Scotland (Barrow 1973: 200–03; Dumville 1994: 297), which we may perhaps speculate derived from the known ecclesiastical centres at Abercorn, Culross, or one of the other ecclesiastical sites along the Forth-Clyde isthmus during the later medieval period (see Chapter Seven, 7.4.1).

Importantly, while most later authors would reveal an awareness of Nennius, this appears to have been limited to manuscripts that did not include these glosses, and the relevant additions would remain unknown until their re-introduction at the end of the sixteenth century.

3.3.3 Matthew Paris' Maps

Keppie (2012: 20) notes that the thirteenth-century monk Matthew Paris "offers a recognisable map of Britain with the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall marked on it" (Fig. 3.4), presumably the very first cartographic or pictorial representation of the Antonine Wall. This is a popular view (e.g. Breeze 2006a: 24–25), and may very well be correct. There are, however, numerous problems that have not been adequately explored nor fully appreciated, and assigning the map's two Walls to the Antonine and Hadrian's Walls may better reflect current interpretation rather than the cartographer's intent. This is an important issue in understanding the map's genealogical role within Antonine Wall discourse.

Figure 3.4. Matthew Paris' c.1250 Map of Britain, showing two Walls
(British Library Cotton MS Claudius D.vi, f. 12v)

The map most frequently cited is one of four produced by Paris around AD 1250, and which only became widely known with their combined publication in the late 1920s (Gilson 1928). In fact, even after this date, the maps remain absent from Sir George Macdonald's (1934b) comprehensive synthesis, making their entry into Antonine Wall discourse a twentieth-century phenomenon that must be understood in the context of a post-Macdonald interpretive framework. In this framework, based on a long tradition of historical and archaeological investigation, there are only two coast-to-coast Walls in Britain (the Vallum is now considered an integral component of Hadrian's Wall), and it is natural to assume that the two Walls featured on Paris' map directly correspond to those of Antoninus and Hadrian. As has been demonstrated, however, the number and identity of Roman period Walls in Britain was subject to less certainty in the centuries before Paris drafted his maps. While there is considerable evidence that Hadrian's Wall was well known in England during the late medieval period (Shannon 2007), there are fewer examples of similar knowledge of the Antonine Wall. Proper understanding of the Paris maps, then, must rely on careful examination of their content and the context in which they were written, not as an attempt to read thirteenth-century cartographic work from within a modern framework that may not accurately reflect the state of knowledge at the time of its creation. As will be seen in Chapter Four, medieval uncertainty about the number of Roman Walls in Britain would continue to play an important role in the descriptions and interpretations of eighteenth-century antiquaries, who frequently claimed that there were three distinct Walls in Britain (see also Hingley 2012: 102–14).

Among the problems present within the Paris maps themselves are the fact that only one—usually referred to as the "Claudius Map" (Fig. 3.4) from the manuscript in which it is found—clearly depicts two Walls, with another—the "Corpus Christi Map"—showing only tentative traces of a second; the two remaining maps show only one Wall. Importantly, each map is full of errors and vague in several areas (see Lewis 1987: 364–72 for a detailed discussion of the various problems). The northern Wall on the Claudius map is placed in the same location as the single Wall on the others, and it is clearly much farther south than

the Forth-Clyde isthmus. While the space between the Walls rightly includes Melrose, Roxburgh, the Cheviots, the River Coquet and Coquet Island, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Tweedsdale and Galloway are all located to the north of both Walls. The labels, too, are of little help, suggesting that the northern Wall "once divided the Scots and the Picts," *murus dividens scotos et pictos olim*, while the southern Wall "once divided the English and the Picts," *murus dividens anglos et pictos olim*, neither of which accurately reflect current understandings of history or the testimony of previous accounts. There are further unresolved issues regarding the maps' evolution and copying history: they may have derived from a single original or developed through a number of intermediaries (Mitchell 1933: 33–34), and it is unclear if the maps are in Paris' autograph or the work of copyists (Vaughan 1953: 235–50, 393; contra Mitchell 1933). Thus, while it is attractive to view Paris' Claudius map as the earliest-surviving cartographic representation of the Antonine Wall, greater caution is advised, and further research will be necessary before we can arrive at firm conclusions about what Paris intended to represent.

3.3.4 John of Fordun

John of Fordun, a fourteenth-century chronicler whose work is the earliest-surviving large-scale Scottish historical text,[26] provides the first Scottish account (*Chron. Gent. Scot.*), drawing on Gildas, Bede, Nennius, and a number of other sources, including Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* (*Hist. Reg. Brit.*). Fordun's Scottish location is significant, as are a number of new elements in his narrative; many of these elements would persist in later discourse, and long-standing controversy over the sources of later authors have led to recent reconsiderations of Fordun's place in Scottish history, with important implications for Antonine Wall discourse. Examination of Fordun's account, then, must consider both the elements of his narrative, and more recent assessments of his sources. Keppie (2012: 27–28) summarises the key points of Fordun's account, but fails to

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[26] A number of earlier texts, probably originating in Scotland, are less ambitious in scope, and are largely preserved in Irish copies; see Anderson (1922), Woolf (2007), and Fraser (2009).

address more current source-centered debates (e.g. Brown 1988; Royan 2001; Royan and Broun 2007; Broun 2007: 215–63).

In terms of his account of the Wall, Fordun continues to follow the narrative set by earlier British writers, with Severus building a wall that is equated with Hadrian's Wall's Vallum (*Chron. Gent. Scot*. 2.32, 34) and the turf wall of the Forth-Clyde isthmus being constructed by native Britons (ibid. 3.3). Two important additions arise, however: first, Fordun greatly expands the activities of Julius Caesar, having his invasion reach as far as the banks of the River Carron, where he is credited with construction of Arthur's O'on (ibid. 2.16); second, Fordun provides the first surviving reference to a medieval name for the Wall—Grymisdyke—so called because of a legend in which the child King Eugenius' grandfather—and regent—Gryme[27] breaks through or destroys it in between the late fourth- or early fifth-century construction of the two Walls described by Gildas and Bede (ibid. 3.3–5). Both of these stories will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight. The name Grymisdyke has remained popular in the form "Grahamsdyke,"[28] which continued to be the monument's most common name until the now-definitive term "The Antonine Wall" was coined by the Glasgow Archaeological Society (1899).[29] While the Gryme/Graham nominative has been superseded in official and academic discourse, the name continues to live on in local conversation and in a variety of street- and place-names, particularly from Falkirk eastward, but also as far west as Kirkintilloch.

To date, more recent developments in the study of early Scottish history and historiography have failed to have much impact on discussion of Fordun by Wall

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[27] While Fordun clearly calls Gryme the "grandfather" of Eugenius, some eighteenth century antiquarians referred to him as Eugenius' "nephew" (Gordon 1726: 58; Horsley 1732: 171). The reasons for this discrepancy may result from Gordon and Horsley's reliance on mistranslations of Buchanan (1582), see below.

[28] Alternative forms of this name have also included "Grime's Dyke," "Gryme's Dyke," "Grim's Dyke," and "Graham's Dyke."

[29] Several authors from Camden (1607: 699) onward referred to the Wall as "the Wall of Antoninus" or "the Wall of Antonine" (e.g. Bruce 1888), but the modern formulation "the Antonine Wall" is first recorded by the Glasgow Archaeological Society.

scholars, but these may substantially change the Wall's story in this period. Briefly, these developments threaten Fordun's long-standing role as "the father of Scottish history" (e.g. Low 1826: 93; McKerlie 1906: 2), by suggesting that he "had access to a lost work about a century older than *Chronica Gentis Scottorum*, and that much of his scheme of Scottish history […] was moulded at this earlier stage, rather than by Fordun himself" (Broun 2007: 6). Building on earlier investigations (Brown 1988; MacQueen and MacQueen 1989; Royan 2001: 61–62), Dauvit Broun (2007: 216) has begun to unravel this problem through a Foucauldian "textual archaeology as layer on layer of writing and rewriting is identified, sifted and extracted." The result is that it is now possible to see Fordun building on an earlier source identified as "Veremundus" (ibid. p. 253), who has been effectively argued to be Richard Vairement,[30] a Céli Dé (or Culdee) of St. Andrews from c. 1239–67 (Royan 2001; Broun 2007: 236). If this is correct, then it may have been Vairement who introduced much of what appears to be original in Fordun—including the Gryme myth—as part of a "repackaging [of] material from Geoffrey of Monmouth to create a vision of immemorial Scottish freedom" (Broun 2007: 259). As will be seen in the next chapter, Veremundus/Vairement will play a central role in controversies surrounding the Renaissance history of Hector Boece.

3.4 Discussion

This chapter has begun to tell the Antonine Wall's story as an object of discourse, focusing on written accounts and maps from the broad period between the Roman withdrawal and the end of the fourteenth century. Considered accounts can be assigned to two key categories: "classical" sources originating from outside Britain and purporting to relate knowledge of Roman activities, and accounts originating within Britain that attempt to tell the island's history and offer explanations for some of its ancient remains. Importantly, none of these accounts are contemporary with the Antonine Wall's period of construction or initial operational phase, and

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[30] In fact, this identification was suggested as early as the late nineteenth century by Lockhart (1889: 33–34), but has only recently been taken seriously.

there remain crucial questions about each account's original content, transmission, and author's motivations.

While these accounts are most frequently presented in a chronological sequence (as I have, also, done here), this chronology is deceptive in suggesting a linear relationship between the various accounts, when no such relationship existed, particularly between the two categories. None of the classical-period accounts of the Antonine Wall—now frequently forming the baseline on which knowledge of the Wall is built—were known to the early authors from Britain; neither were the inscriptions that mention Antoninus Pius, and which only started to be recognised at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The value of these sources—and their history of loss and recovery—is primarily in the changes they wrought in the interpretive understanding of those who considered the Wall in later periods; for this reason, these sources—and their primary contributions—will recur in the following chapters.

Despite this genealogical disconnect between the classical accounts and those of the early authors from Britain, the latter are often unfairly criticised and judged for their failure to account for information to which they had no access. In the absence of available Roman testimony, these authors relied on knowledge of the presence of the physical remains themselves (primarily the still-visible line of the Wall's Ditch, Outer Mound, and—perhaps—the Rampart), local oral traditions, the testimony of previous sources from Britain (where available, after Gildas), and their own ingenuity, to craft reasonably coherent accounts that furthered their individual aims. It is unclear if any of the medieval writers had direct personal experience with the Antonine Wall, but it is likely that those writing in the later medieval period were aware of a number of settlements, ecclesiastical sites, and secular power centres that developed along the Wall from the twelfth century onward (see Chapter Seven, 7.4 for a summary of available archaeological data for this period).

Importantly, none of the authors considered in this chapter were seeking to provide a definitive account centred on the Antonine Wall or the Roman Walls in Britain, but were merely accounting for them within works designed for broader purposes. These purposes were targeted at audiences beyond the region of the Wall,

and are not necessarily reflective of local knowledge or interpretation; with the exception of Fordun's reference to the local name "Grymisdyke" and the detailed geographic additions to the Sawley manuscripts of Gildas and Nennius, these accounts tell us very little about what the people who lived on—or in the shadow of—the Wall knew or thought about it. Once again, as with the classical sources before them, these available early accounts from Britain largely present a distanced elite perspective—in this case, a particular elite situated within the monasteries of medieval Britain.

A number of issues requiring future research arise from the examination of the Wall's historiography in the period covered by this chapter. Despite the difficulties, work should continue toward gaining a better understanding of the *Ravenna Cosmography*'s coverage of Britain north of Hadrian's Wall, perhaps using patterns in the arrangement of place-names in better-known sections to suggest routes the compiler may have followed when organising the coverage of Scotland. The figure of Gildas—so important to early British history—remains obscured, with a hazy and debated biography, including important confusions about his origins and time/place of writing. If, as is suggested by his various *Vitae* (Williams 1899: 322–413; Kerlouégan 2004), Gildas was the son of the king of *Alt Clut* (i.e., Dumbarton), a number of new questions would arise regarding his account and description of the turf Wall, and the nature of local knowledge amongst the Britons who lived near it in the early post-Roman period.

The figure of Carausius has also been under-investigated, both in terms of his supposed role (via later additions to Nennius) in refortifying the Antonine Wall, but also in terms of the broader history and archaeology of Roman Britain; it would be useful to search for the sources of these additions, and to take a more concerted look at Roman Britain under the late Roman usurpers, as well as the role the Carausius story may have played in later medieval conceptions of British, English, and Scottish identities. Tied to this is the state of knowledge in the long interval between Bede and Matthew Paris: are there missing accounts or were there further developments in the understanding of Roman Britain and the Walls? Rather than readily accept the current interpretation that Paris' maps display the Antonine and

Hadrian's Walls, these maps should be more carefully examined, their problems recognised, and an interpretation based on then-current knowledge—rather than today's understanding—should be developed; Shannon's (2007) investigation is a good start toward better understanding of the state of medieval knowledge in this area.

Finally, there are a number of issues regarding Fordun's account, including the possibility that he relied on an earlier Scottish source—Veremundus/Richard Vairement—and the important matter of his introduction of the name "Grymisdyke" and the new narrative of the Gryme myth: why were neither this name nor story mentioned by previous authors, did they both originate with Fordun (or Vairement), were they both actually current amongst local populations within the vicinity of the Wall, or was Gryme and his narrative introduced to account for an unexplainable name that was already in common use? These problems cannot be resolved through traditional archaeological methods, and we need to attract additional historians and literary scholars to untangle a number of these issues. We should also encourage the search for further accounts via archival research, and the creation of fuller biographies of key authors and sources. The first step in recruiting such assistance is to make these stories and unanswered questions known—which I hope this chapter has helped to achieve.

As will be seen in Chapter Four, early accounts from Britain would continue to influence later historians for some time. Their details and overall veracity, however, would begin to be questioned in the sixteenth century, when recently rediscovered classical texts—including some of those discussed above—were published and disseminated throughout western Europe.

Chapter Four:
Renaissance and Antiquarian Accounts

> We may look back on occasion at antiquarian accounts with some amusement, but it is important to remember that we too stand at an intermediate point along the road to knowledge, and that future generations will come to add to it. We can make only interim statements, adjusting our assessments as more information comes to light, not only through planned archaeological investigations but also chance discovery. It will always be so. (Keppie 2012: 143)[31]

4.1 Introduction

This chapter continues telling the Antonine Wall's story as an object of discourse, covering the period from the early sixteenth century to the latter years of the nineteenth century (i.e. the 1890s) when modern archaeological investigation began. Included are a number of Renaissance and antiquarian authors and cartographers (Table 4.1).[32] This period was dominated by several key figures, but numerous others played more minor roles. Hingley (2008) has provided a broad view of antiquarian activities in this period,[33] which is also the primary focus of Keppie's (2012) recent historiography of the Antonine Wall, and it is from the second half of the sixteenth century onward that Keppie's analysis and attention-to-detail is at its best. As with the previous chapter, accounts and developments are not exhaustively covered, but key figures and accounts are summarised, with particular attention to issues absent—or where my assessment departs—from Keppie's analysis.

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[31] I am ambivalent about this statement by Keppie. While I appreciate and agree with the sentiment that antiquarian accounts should be appreciated on their own terms, and that we should acknowledge the uncertainty of our own interpretive understandings, I am less comfortable with the implication that more authentic forms of knowledge will arise through a linear progression.

[32] All quotations from accounts in this period have preserved the peculiar formatting and spellings of the originals.

[33] Hingley's chronological coverage is slightly shorter, 1586–1906, but geographically more expansive, considering Britain as a whole.

Renaissance and Antiquarian Accounts and Key Editions, 1500–1895

1521	John Mair	*Hist. Maj. Brit.* (Latin)
1527	Hector Boece	*Scot. Hist.* (Latin)
1540	Hector Boece	*Scot. Hist.*, Scots edition by J. Bellenden
1575	Hector Boece	*Scot. Hist.*, expanded edition by G. Ferrerio (Latin)
1582	George Buchanan	*Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (Latin)
1586	William Camden	*Britannia* (Latin)
c. 1600	Timothy Pont	Maps, drawings and notes, later partially preserved/published by R. Gordon of Straloch and Sir R. Sibbald
1607	William Camden	*Britannia*, second edition (Latin)
1610	William Camden	*Britannia*, first English edition, trans. by P. Holland
1636	Sir William Brereton	Travel journals, published by P.H. Brown in 1891
1637	William Camden	*Britannia*, second English edition, trans. by P. Holland
1654	Timothy Pont	Maps published in Blaeu's *Atlas*, poss. courtesy of R. Gordon
1695	William Camden	*Britannia*, expanded edition by E. Gibson
1697	Anonymous Traveller	Account of travels along the Antonine Wall, possibly by John Urry, published by Keppie in 2006
c. 1699	Edward Lhwyd	Manuscript notes, unpublished but drawn on by Stukeley
c. 1700	John Adair	"Historical and Mathematical Account of [the] famous Roman Wall," never completed
1707	Sir Robert Sibbald	*Historical Inquiries*; first major synthesis of the Antonine Wall
1720	William Stukeley	*An Account of a Roman Temple [...] near Graham's Dyke*
1722	William Camden	*Britannia*, second expanded edition by E. Gibson
1726	Alexander Gordon	*Itinerarium Septentrionale*
c. 1730	Rev James Robe	Letters describing a structure at Shirva, quoted by both Gordon and Horsley in 1732
1732	Rev John Horsley	*Britannia Romana*
1732	Alexander Gordon	*Additions and Corrections [...] to the Itinerarium Septentrionale*
1740	John Mair	*Hist. Maj. Brit.*, 2nd edition (Latin)
1747	Gen. William Roy	Beginning of the Military Survey of Scotland
1757	William Maitland	*History and Antiquities of Scotland*
1757	William Stukeley	*The Medallic History of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius*
1755	Gen. William Roy	Completion of the Military Survey of Scotland
1760	James Macpherson	Publication of Macpherson's first "translation" of Ossianic poetry
1765	James Macpherson	*Poems of Ossian*, combined publication with historical commentary
1771	Thomas Pennant	*A Tour in Scotland*
1777	William Nimmo	*General History of Stirlingshire*
1789	William Camden	*Britannia*, new edition by W. Gough
1791	Sir John Sinclair	First volume of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*
1793	Gen. William Roy	*The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*
1799	Sir John Sinclair	Final volume of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*
1806	William Camden	*Britannia*, final edition by W. Gough
1807	George Chalmers	*Caledonia*
1825	Rev John Skinner	Journey along the Wall, with report published in 1827 and full journal published by Keppie in 2003
1844	Robert Stuart	*Caledonia Romana*
1852	Robert Stuart	*Caledonia Romana*, second edition revised by Prof David Thomson
1858	Hector Boece	*Scot. Hist.*, Scots metrical edition by W. Stewart
1888	Rev John Collingwood Bruce	"The Wall of Antonine," published in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
1892	John Mair	*Hist. Maj. Brit.*, English edition by A. Constable

Table 4.1. Accounts and published editions relating to the Antonine Wall from the Renaissance to the 1890s

4.2 Early Sixteenth-Century Accounts

No new accounts are known from the late fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, with the Wall finally re-entering written discourse in the early sixteenth century. The most important account from this period is Hector Boece's (1527) *Scotorum Historiae a Prima Gentis Origine*, "The History of the Scots from Their First Origin." Following Fordun, Boece is often considered Scotland's second major historian, and previous reviews of the Wall's historiography jump from Fordun to Boece (Macdonald 1934b: 33; Keppie 2012: 28). While this may be justified in terms of a focus on accounts that had widespread influence and that provided significant new details, it eliminates the account offered by John Mair (1521) just a few years prior to Boece's publication. As both Mair and Boece represent the transition from the medieval chronicle tradition to a more humanistic Renaissance approach informed by the rediscovery of long-lost classical sources, they should be considered together, particularly due to their contemporaneity and notable differences.

Figure 4.1. Contemporary sketch portrait of John Mair (centre), from the title-page of his book "In Petri Hyspani Summulas Commentaria" (Lyons, 1505)

Mair (also known as John/Johannes Major; c. 1467–1550; Fig. 4.1) was an ecclesiastical historian, philosopher and theologian from Gleghornie, southeast of Edinburgh. Educated at Cambridge and Paris, Mair completed and published his

(1521) *Historia majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae*[34] while serving as Principal of the University of Glasgow (Broadie 2004). The title of this work is almost certainly an intentional play on words, with possible translations including "A History of Greater Britain […]" or "Mair's History of Britain […]." Dedicated to James V of Scotland, the work attempts to trace the history of Britain—but more particularly, modern Scotland—from its earliest origins to the marriage of Henry VIII, compiling its narrative from the available sources, including early accounts from Britain and newly rediscovered classical texts. A second Latin edition—little more than a reprint with minor edits—appeared in the eighteenth century (Mair 1740), and the work was finally translated into English by Archibald Constable in the 1890s (Mair 1892).

Figure 4.2. Hector Boece, engraving based on original painting at King's College, Aberdeen (http://digital.nls.uk/74511206)

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[34] Further references will take the form *Hist. Maj. Brit.* Book.Chapter. All available editions use the same chapter divisions.

Boece (also known as Hector Boethius; c. 1465–1536; Fig. 4.2) was an historian, philosopher and educator from Dundee. Like Mair, Boece was educated in Paris, and in 1497 was invited to teach liberal arts at the newly founded King's College Aberdeen and, when the College was awarded its charter in 1505, he was appointed its first Principal (Royan 2004). While in Paris, Boece moved within the circle of Renaissance humanists, from whom he was introduced to a number of classical texts. These sources would play a crucial role in Boece's understanding of the past, most visibly in his (1527) *Scotorum Historiae*, likewise dedicated to James V, published in Paris and subsequently reproduced in a number of editions and translations, including two in Scots dialect (Boece 1540; and in a metrical version, 1858), a later Latin edition with additions (i.e. the final two books) by the Italian humanist Giovanni Ferrerio (Boece 1575), and—most recently—an hypertext critical edition and modern English translation by Dana F. Sutton based on the 1575 edition (Boece 2010).[35]

Mair's narrative of the Roman period (*Hist. Maj. Brit*. 1.12–2.1) closely follows that developed through Gildas, Bede and Fordun. He is aware, however, that these authors worked without the benefit of many classical sources, and he seeks to integrate aspects of this re-discovered knowledge into his history. He references and frequently quotes, for example, Sallust, Livy, Ptolemy, Horace, Pliny the Elder, Cicero, and Virgil. Mair appears, however, to have been completely unaware of relevant texts by Tacitus, Caesar, and those described in section 3.2 above, leaving him to rely exclusively on early accounts from Britain for his discussion of the Walls. Mair describes two Walls, the first located between the Rivers Tyne and Esk, constructed of "stones and turf," and ascribed to Severus (ibid. 1.14), and the second on the Forth-Clyde, said to be built by the Romans—rather than the Britons as in previous accounts—around AD 403 (ibid. 2.1). Mair notes that the northern Wall is locally called "Gramysdyk" but, while his narrative feature's

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[35] While I have consulted each of these editions, all quotations are taken from Sutton's modern English translation. References to Boece are in the form *Scot. Hist*. Book.Chapter, as divided in Sutton's edition.

Fordun's King Eugenius, the figure Gryme—and his breaking through the Wall (*Chron. Gent. Scot*. 3.3–5)—is absent.

Of further interest is a short passage later in Mair's history, when he clearly lays out the Wall's location in the context of the newly established Anglo-Saxon kingdoms:

> The seventh kingdom was that of the Northumbrians, touching on its eastern side the kingdom of the Mercians, having for its northern limit the Forth, that is, the Scottish firth, as its name at this day bears witness, and as is plain also from the wall which begins at that sea and extends to Kirkpatrick [i.e. Old Kilpatrick], Glasgow, and Dumbarton. Some assert that this wall was built by Bilenus, a king of Britain, who thought he should thus, once for all, put to rest the question of the boundary between his own land and that of the Scots and Picts. Meanwhile this kingdom was divided and the northern part was called the kingdom of the Bernicians. (*Hist. Maj. Brit*. 2.3; translation by Constable)

This passage—which appears to have gone unnoticed by subsequent historians of the Wall—is important for two key reasons: first, it suggests that the Wall continued to serve as an effective frontier (or was, at the very least, clearly visible) in the early medieval period; second, it relates a tale of alternative origins for the Wall. The notion of the Wall's continued frontier-like function will be considered in greater depth in Chapter Seven. Importantly, these elements arise and die with Mair's account, as no later author picks them up; this may be due to the fact that Mair inserts these items in a later—post-Roman—section of his history and that they remained unknown to later Wall scholars who primarily consulted his Roman chapters (wherein they found little new information), or it could be a consequence of Mair's work being quickly overshadowed by the much more elaborate and controversial history developed by Boece. While Mair's account has never been considered an important part of the Antonine Wall's historiographic

legacy, its relevance—in a Foucauldian sense—derives precisely from this marginalisation,

Boece's account—drawing on a larger set of classical texts—is more substantial, and proved to be more influential. Keppie (2012: 28) provides a summary, highlighting Boece's discussion of Caesar, Vespasian, Hadrian, and later Roman activities in Scotland. Keppie rightly mentions Boece's recounting of Caesar's supposed advance to the Forth and construction of Arthur's O'on there, but this is presented as if Boece offered it as a narrative of actual events; in reality, Boece notes (*Scot. Hist*. 3.14) that these stories are from "our popular national annals," and he rejects their veracity, "since none of the learned men who have written about Roman affairs with full accuracy assert that Caesar waged war against the Scots and the Picts." Boece is, thus, attempting to balance the weight of British tradition with rediscovered knowledge from older—Roman—sources on the past. Among his key classical texts are Caesar (*Gal*.), Tacitus (*Agr*.), and selected portions of the *Historia Augusta* (*SHA*). Boece is among the first British authors to reveal knowledge of these sources and, from the *Historia Augusta*, he uses the Life of Hadrian to correctly identify this emperor as the first to construct a Wall in Britain, identifying this with the barrier we now call the "Vallum" of Hadrian's Wall (*Scot. Hist*. 5.13).[36] According to Boece, this wall was later rebuilt by Severus, "which, I imagine, is why our common writers call it the Wall of Severus" (ibid.).

On the Antonine Wall, however, Boece appears to have been unaware of the *Historia Augusta*'s Life of Antoninus Pius, never crediting him with a Wall and largely following the narrative set by Gildas, Bede and Fordun, while adding some significant new details. As the full details of this account are now seldom discussed, representing an important genealogical rupture, I will look at this in some detail.

Boece, following the narrative set by earlier British authors and deriving key details from Gildas, Bede and Fordun, recounts the supposed late-Roman conflicts in the time of Maximus and Honorius, describing the northern Wall as British-built

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[36] This may be the earliest British identification of the southern frontier as belonging to Hadrian, and Boece is the first to call this "Hadrian's Wall" (*Adriani vallum*). Interestingly, he notes that this identification is drawn from the Roman authors and from "Veremundus," one of Boece's controversial sources.

under Roman supervision (*Scot. Hist*. 7.7). In Boece's version of events, while the Wall—which featured "stakes along its top, so that it would serve as a protection for the Britons and Romans against Scottish and Pictish inroads"—was still being finished, the "craftsmen" and "soldiers" were:

> attacked by squadrons composed of an assortment of Scotsmen and Picts under the command of that noble man Graime, the father-in-law of King Fergus, and were killed in large number, together with the garrisons themselves, and a great deal of plunder, consisting both of men and cattle, was driven to Scottish and Pictish territories from the adjoining British provinces. (*Scot. Hist*. 7.19)

Later, the Romans returned to the Forth-Clyde and finally finished the Wall "at public and private expense:"

> The wall was built, not so much of stone as of turf cut from the ground. It was eight cubits wide and twelve high, with sharp stakes planted atop it. Lookouts were stationed along it to stand watches and use bonfires at night, or material that was difficult to burn and produced plenty of smoke during the day, to warn the loyalist inhabitants to take up arms if they saw any hostile Scottish or Pictish movement. It was a capital crime for men to see the fire or smoke and not appear in arms to keep them away from the wall. (*Scot. Hist*. 7.41)

Once again, this Wall would not survive long, as Gryme's exploits had only just begun. King Fergus' son Eugenius issued an edict "stating that the first man to climb the wall would be made mayor of Camelodunum [interpreted here as Camelon, just north of the Wall west of Falkirk], a worshipful position among the Picts at the time, and an office only bestowed on the most outstanding men of the nation" (*Scot. Hist*. 7.42). At this, Gryme and his forces:

> employed missiles, machine-shot arrows, and catapults to clear the walls of its defenders, many

men, acting in accordance with their instructions, used picks, axes, and crowbars to demolish the structure. This was not an especially difficult thing to do, because it was not held together with mortar, but consisted of earthworks filled with stones. So it would collapse as soon as they pitched in, and fighting-bands entered into Pithland through the gaps they opened. (*Scot. Hist*. 7.42)

As the Scots and Picts ravaged central and southern Scotland, "the Britons devoted immense toil to restoring the stone wall built by the Roman emperor Hadrian" (*Scot. Hist*. 7.43). Gryme then completed his destruction of the northern Wall:

which had been penetrated in many places, to the extent that in our days nothing remains to posterity but a few traces remain as evidence of that once-great work. Hence it came about that this wall is commonly called Gramesdyke, that is "The Wall of Graime," in honor of its destroyer. (*Scot. Hist.* 7.47)

After this, Gryme advanced south and, with the assistance of the confederated kings of the Picts and Scots, pulled down Hadrian's Wall, "burned it, and leveled it to the ground" (ibid.). The Britons requested aid from the Romans, which was denied, and further battles continued until a peace was established around AD 436, when the "Scots and Picts took Britain from the Romans and made it their own vassal state" (*Scot. Hist*. 7.54).

While Mair had expunged the Gryme tale, Boece expands upon it and provides what is probably the most complete account of Gryme and his exploits (see also Chapter Eight), along with a more detailed narration of Roman period events. Boece's account, thus, greatly differs from Mair and earlier British authors. Boece is clearly aware of this, and he makes a consistent effort to support the details of this new narrative through explicit references to his sources.[37] Key to this are rediscovered classical texts, which Boece uses to question and correct elements

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[37] While Boece's referencing style does not meet current standards, it is remarkable for his period, and Boece is the first of the sources considered here to attempt such detailed citation.

introduced to British discourse from Gildas onward, but Boece also references a couple of newer sources, most importantly "Veremundus," described as "a Spaniard who became Archdeacon of St. Andrews," and who had "chronicled the events of our nation from its inception down to the reign of Malcolm III" (*Scot. Hist*. §.2).[38] A careful examination of Boece's Roman period account reveals that nearly everything that appears to be new is either the result of Boece's (mis)reading of classical texts, or is directly attributed to Veremundus. In later years, this source would embroil Boece's history in deep controversy, wherein his insistent source-referencing was viewed not as a valuable innovation, but as a type of smokescreen designed to mask Boece's own invention of details by including a non-existent source among what appeared to be a range of authoritative texts.[39]

As discussed above (section 3.3.4), however, Boece's "Veremundus" may have been identified as Richard Vairement (Royan 2001), who provided a now-lost early history of Scotland. Importantly, while Broun (2007) suggests that Veremundus/Vairement was a key source for John of Fordun's chronicle, Veremundus is first explicitly mentioned by Boece, and there are a number of important differences between Fordun's and Boece's accounts. There are, thus, a number of unanswered questions, and this provides a clear opportunity for future historiographical/genealogical research.

Boece's comments about lookouts and night-time bonfires along the Wall appears to be a conflation of Roman and later medieval border practices, perhaps deriving from the "night watch" known along Hadrian's Wall from the later sixteenth century, but with probable earlier origins. While Hingley (2012: 57–62, 81–82) has traced similar thinking to Camden (1586) and the anonymous late sixteenth-

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[38] This reference refers to section two of Boece's dedicatory epistle to James V.

[39] This controversy began in the sixteenth century with source-centered critiques by Humphrey Lhuyd and John Twyne (Royan 2004), and gained further steam with an essay by Thomas Innes (1729: 214–90), who argued that Veremundus and a number of other sources were late forgeries presented to Boece as authentic Scottish histories around 1522–25 (ibid. pp. 248–49). The impact of this controversy caused later authors to refer to aspects of Boece's accounts as having been "invented by that clever romancer" (Christison et al. 1901: 335).

century *Epystle to the Queen's Majestie* (National Archives SP 59/42),[40] identification of these details in Boece's account reveals that similar ideas—and probably border watching activities—were already underway a half-century earlier. This conflation is a good example of how chorographical reasoning can erode linear concepts of time.

4.3 Late Sixteenth-Century Accounts

Toward the end of the sixteenth century a number of important developments arose through the works of George Buchanan, Timothy Pont, and William Camden. Each of these individuals contributed in substantially different ways: Buchanan as a poet (*Epithalamium*, in McGinnis and Williamson 1995) and historian (Buchanan 1582), Pont as a cartographer (1583–96; http://maps.nls.uk/pont/), and Camden as the father of British antiquarianism (Camden 1586).[41] Keppie (2012: 29, 35–39) provides short summaries of these contributions, and they frequently figure in recent discussions of the Wall's early investigation, primarily because they are amongst the first to incorporate evidence that would now be termed "archaeological remains."

Keppie (2012: 29) remarks that "Buchanan's is the earliest account of the Wall to be based on knowledge of the standing remains," noting Buchanan's description of fort features and inscribed stones. Macdonald (1934b: 35) also notes Buchanan's "appreciation of the value of […] inscriptions, now one of our most potent aids," but Macdonald is probably overenthusiastic when he remarks that, "here is the germ of the archaeological method." While Buchanan is the first to mention *inscriptions* in his account, we can reject the notion that "knowledge of the standing remains" begins with Buchanan. Rather, from Bede onward, the traces of the Wall and its composition were frequently described, and Buchanan (Fig. 4.3)

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[40] The *Epystle* drew on knowledge of Hadrian's Wall and accounts by Gildas and Bede to argue for the construction of a new frontier fortification that would link and protect towns from Berwick to Carlisle, creating an environment for a revitalisation of "civil" society to the south of this new wall.

[41] This honour, however, is probably best shared by Camden and his predecessor John Leland (1745; 1907–10).

offers few additional details concerning the nature, state or description of the Wall's physical remains. His reputation as a superior and more reliable historian than Boece (e.g. Macdonald 1934b: 34–35) is equally unfounded.

Figure 4.3. George Buchanan, engraving based on an original at the University of Edinburgh (http://digital.nls.uk/74511212).

In reality, Buchanan primarily offers Boece's history in a condensed format—delivered in an arguably more elegant Latin text befitting his experience as a humanist poet and playwright (Abbot 2004). On the matter of Roman activities in Scotland, and of the Walls, Buchanan's main innovations were his insistence that the northern Wall was initially constructed by Severus (Buchanan 1582: 1.20–22, 4.30), that Arthur's O'on was a temple to the god Terminus (ibid. 4.39), that the Wall was later rebuilt in stone (ibid. 5.7–8), and that Gryme was King Eugenius' uncle (ibid. 5.6) rather than grandfather.[42] Unlike Boece, however, Buchanan was clearly aware of the *Historia Augusta*'s Life of Antoninus Pius and his wall-building activities

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[42] This is, however, probably a translation error, as Buchanan's Latin text is *avus maternus* ("maternal grandfather"); later translations would interpret this as "maternal uncle," which Gordon (1726: 58) and Horsley (1732: 171) would reverse, making Eugenius Gryme's uncle.

through Lollius Urbicus, but this was interpreted as a rebuilding of Hadrian's Wall (ibid. 4.32). In effect, then, despite Buchanan's recognition of the value of inscriptions, and his re-introduction of classical sources testifying to a Wall built by Antoninus Pius, he introduced a number of new confusions, reversed the long-held view that Severus had built (or re-built) Britain's southern Wall, and mis-identified the Wall of Antoninus.

Unlike the earlier maps by Matthew Paris, some of those attributed to Timothy Pont can certainly be said to feature the Antonine Wall. Keppie (2012: 35–38, 40–42) deals with these maps and their "afterlife" in some detail, and it is from this point onward that Keppie's discussion of accounts, their intricacies and genealogical aspects is at its fullest. Keppie notes that while Pont appears to have been a prolific investigator of the Wall, many of his maps, drawings and accompanying texts have not survived, and that "our knowledge of Pont's interest in the Antonine Wall owes much to remarks made more than a century later by Sir Robert Sibbald" (ibid. p. 36), who described Pont's contributions and offered two reproductions of what was presumably one of Pont's diagrams of the Wall's primary elements (Fig. 4.4; Sibbald 1707: plate 2; Gibson 1695: 959).
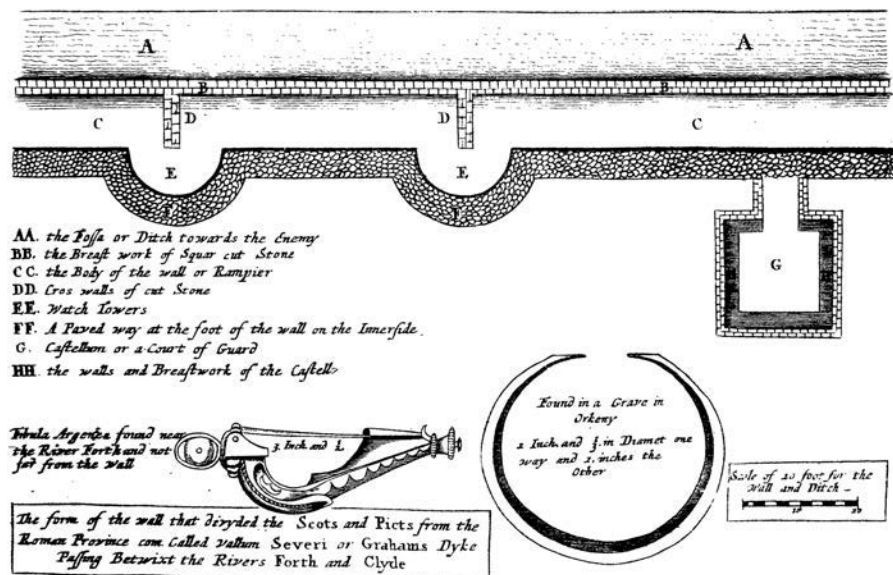
Figure 4.4. Pont's diagram of the Antonine Wall's primary elements (reproduced by Sibbald 1707).[43]

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[43] For the version published in Gibson's (1695) edition of Camden's *Britannia*, see Hingley (2008: 105) and Keppie (2012: 37).

Figure 4.5. Detail of Timothy Pont's map sheet 32, showing the line of the Antonine Wall from Kirkintilloch to Cumbernauld (Copyright National Library of Scotland, National Library Scotland Adv MS 70.2.9, Pont 32; http://maps.nls.uk/pont/specialist/pont32.html).

Where the Wall is visible on surviving Pont manuscripts (Fig. 4.5), however, the dotted-line Wall representation and its accompanying text ("vestiges of the Roman Wall which it seems Agricola or Hadrian first built") are most likely later additions; Keppie (2012: 36) suggests that these are both by Robert Gordon of Straloch, who was later in possession of the maps and through whom some of Pont's maps and derivative versions were later published in Blaeu's (1654; 2006) atlas. Understanding the genealogy of Pont's maps, and particularly his own study of the Antonine Wall, is fraught with complications: some of the maps, almost all of his detailed drawings, and an unknown number of textual commentaries are lost. Further, many of the surviving manuscripts feature numerous additions by several hands—not all of which have been identified—and this makes it difficult to determine whether the materials reported by Sibbald were original Pont productions, or the work of somebody else. The surviving Pont archive (at the National Library of Scotland) is, thus, an enormous opportunity for future research and, if much of the material attributed to him was actually produced by Pont, his role has been grossly under-appreciated. This problem is well-stated by Keppie (2012: 38):

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

Figure 4.6. Frontispiece of Camden's (1586) Britannia.

In the midst of Pont's work, a landmark publication appeared in the form of Camden's *Britannia* (1586; Fig. 4.6), a sweeping chorography that told the story of Britain from pre-Roman times until the Elizabethan period, marshalling a vast array of classical texts, early British accounts, and material evidence—including coins, inscriptions, archaeological sites, and other artefacts (Hingley 2008: 24–43). Among the sources Camden re-introduces in the first English edition of *Britannia* is the glossed version of Nennius: the context here centres on Arthur's O'on, which Camden (1610: 2.28) was inclined to credit to Julius Agricola, "were it not that *Ninius* had already enformed us, that it was erected by *Carausius* for a Triumphall arch;"[44] from this point until the late eighteenth century, the question of Carausius' supposed activities would frequently recur in discussions of the Wall and Arthur's O'on.

Camden's work contributed to a wider Renaissance reformulation of chorography, an approach that had been recently rediscovered through newly available classical texts and already in practice on the continent (e.g. Biondo 1474; Celtis 1502). Camden was not the first British author to adopt a chorographic approach—as previous British authors (e.g. Leland 1745; Lambarde 1576) had already pioneered this genre[45]—but his work would prove to be the most enduring and influential, setting the stage for future British antiquarian approaches, and it was republished in a number of revised editions until the early nineteenth century. The earliest editions, published in Camden's lifetime (1551–1623), reveal the pace of development as the value of physical remains was increasingly recognised, and as Camden became personally acquainted with the remains by, for example, touring Hadrian's Wall in 1599 (Hingley 2008: 37–38). In his first edition, Camden (1586: 461) attributed the northern Wall to Agricola. By 1607, however, he had become

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[44] In this edition, the volume is repaginated after page 822, dividing the description of England from those of Scotland and Ireland. This reference is to page 28 of the repaginated second section.

[45] While Leland's works were not published until the eighteenth century, they were produced during the 1530s–40s, and Camden drew on these in the preparation of his *Britannia* (Hingley 2008: 27).

aware of five inscribed stones (RIB 2132, 2172, 2173, 2186, 2209), from which he was able to provide the first correct identification of the Wall as that of Antoninus Pius (Camden 1607: 699). Despite Camden's extensive influence over the next centuries, however, the strength of Buchanan's Severan identification—as well as the accumulated confusion of so many contradictory interpretations—would leave the matter unsettled until a new inscription (RIB 2191) was found at the end of the seventeenth century.

4.4 Seventeenth-Century Accounts

Few new accounts are known from the early seventeenth century, perhaps as the result of Camden's domination of antiquarian discourse in the period, or simply because "Roman Britain became less relevant as interests in the past changed" (Hingley 2008: 66), a trend that has also been noted for England (Birley 1961: 8–9; Sweet 2004: 159), where Saxon origin myths had become popular as "interest in the development of civility by the southern Britons under Roman tutelage declined" (Hingley 2008: 66).

Of the known accounts, Keppie highlights the continuing legacy of Camden's *Britannia*, more widely spread through Philemon Holland's English translation (Camden 1610), and Pont's maps and their afterlife at the hands of Robert Gordon. Keppie (2012: 40) also reintroduces a brief account by Sir William Brereton, who travelled the Wall from east to west in 1636 (the account is preserved in Brereton's journals), and who recorded that, "at every mile's end was there erected a tower for the watchmen, and a castle at every two miles' end, wherein was a strong garrison" (quoted in Keppie 2012: 40). This is, Keppie notes, "by far the earliest reference to a regular system of forts and the fortlets at regular interval between them" (ibid.); as will be seen, this observation would become a crucial point in John Horsley's interpretation of the Wall a century later, and remains an important element of current reconstructions of the Wall's plan (see Chapter Six).

Perhaps the most important seventeenth century figure was the antiquarian Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722; Fig. 4.7), whose work spanned the latter decades of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth. Sibbald has been too often overlooked and—like Pont—his contributions were to be overshadowed by

those of the antiquarians who would follow shortly after. Keppie (2012: 36–49)
provides what is probably the most complete discussion of Sibbald's contribution to
Antonine Wall research, noting that Sibbald not only provided his own account, but
also preserved a number of previous sources through his reproduction, summary
and citation of accounts by Pont, David Drummond, Christopher Irvine, Robert
Gordon, and others. Sibbald was probably the Wall's most prolific polymath,
contributing to late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century developments in a
number of fields, including medicine, botany, chemistry, geography, natural
history, and antiquities (Withers 2006).[46] Sibbald contributed greatly to Scottish
sections of later editions of Camden's *Britannia*, and was deeply influenced by the
chorographic tradition, as evidenced by his (sadly unfulfilled) plans to provide a
detailed Atlas and "Description of Scotland, ancient and modern" (advertised in
Sibbald 1682; see Withers 1996; Rohl 2011). While this was never realised, Sibbald's
early hand-written text and illustrations survive in manuscript form (National
Library Scotland Adv MS 15.1.1), and many of his original aims are reflected in the
first *Statistical Account of Scotland* (Sinclair 1791–99), completed a century later.

Figure 4.7. Portrait of Sir Robert Sibbald.

[46] For more on Sibbald and his various contributions to intellectual life in early
enlightenment Scotland, see Emerson (1988), Mendyck (1989: 215–19), Withers (1996; 2001),
and Rohl (2011: 7–11, 15–18).

Of the Antonine Wall itself, Sibbald wrote most completely in his *Historical Inquiries* (1707). In considering the merits of previous sources, Sibbald minces few words: "the Account the Roman Writers give of the Walls, is very Lame and perplexed, and the Monks in their Writings have made them more confused by their Mistakes" (ibid. p. ii). A particular problem, Sibbald acknowledges, is uncertainty regarding the Wall's actual line, which is reflected in the variety of terminal points and distances offered by previous authors. Sibbald's solution is to rely on the evidence of physical remains, inscriptions, and coins, as "the Vestiges therefore which remain of the Walls […] or in the Neighbourhood of them, are the surest Marks for determining where they stood" (ibid. p. iii). This approach is described as "the Archeologie, that is the Explication and Discovery of Ancient Monuments" (ibid. p. ii), one of the earliest attempts to describe the modern discipline by name (Hingley 2008: 106). In practice, Sibbald's archaeology includes the critical consideration of relevant historical texts, but primarily privileges evidence acquired through personal observation, whether by Sibbald himself or—more commonly— by trusted informants. He also recognised perennial problems in archaeology, including the difficulties in accurately tracing ancient remains and activities due to taphonomic processes of natural or human agency over "the long Interval of Time, betwixt the time we live in, and that in which the *Romans* were here" (ibid. p. iii).

Regarding the names of the Roman Walls, Sibbald offers for the northern "*Murus Scoticus*[,] the *Scots* Wall" and, for the southern, "the *Pictish* Wall" (ibid. p. 3). On the northern Wall's common name Grymisdyke, which is rendered "*Grames Dyke*" (ibid. p. 3) or "Grahams *Dyke*" (ibid. plate 2), Sibbald offers two alternatives: as deriving from the Gryme tradition, "or else from *Grim*, which in our Language signifieth *Severe*, and so the Name doth import, that it was either Built or Repaired by the Emperour *Severus*" (ibid. pp. 3–4). Based on the evidence of recently discovered inscriptions, Sibbald finally overturned suggestions that the northern Wall was built by Agricola (per Camden) or Severus (per Buchanan), confirming that it was that built by Lollius Urbicus under Antoninus Pius (ibid. pp. 8–9).

Sibbald's account may be considered the first major synthesis of the Antonine Wall, drawing together the chief historical sources, a number of

seventeenth-century accounts and observations that only survive via his citation and quotation, along with the description and illustration of a number of structures, inscriptions, coins, and other small finds. Sibbald carefully acknowledges his debt to Pont, Irvine and Robert Gordon of Straloch, as well as reports by more recent informants who had travelled along the Wall's line. Much of this information was acquired through Sibbald's thirty year quest to complete his planned atlas (Withers 1996: 53). He provided numerous drawings and a map of the Wall (Fig. 4.8), said to be based on one by Pont.
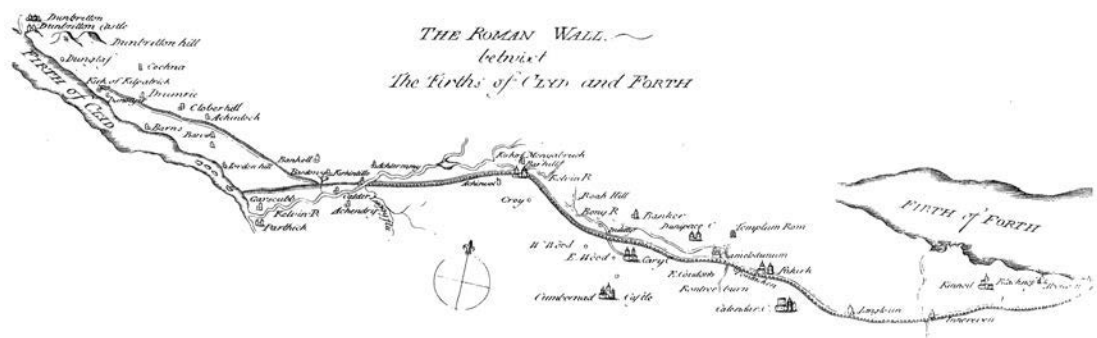
Figure 4.8. Sibbald's (1707) map of the Antonine Wall.

Additionally, Sibbald provided the earliest substantial account and synthesis of Arthur's O'on, based on examination of previous accounts and personal observations made in the course of several visits, along with an interpretation that this was a temple to Caelus built under Septimius Severus (ibid. pp. 42–46). His account also contains numerous problems, including his mistaken identification of Hadrian's Wall, which—in sharp deviation from then-current antiquarian opinion— he suggested was not located on the Tyne-Solway or Forth-Clyde but, rather, in East Lothian as what he described as an eight-mile-long linear feature called "*the long Syke*" (ibid. pp. 4–8).[47] He was also convinced that the Antonine Wall ran from Abercorn westward to Old Kilpatrick, and that the section from Carriden to Kirkintilloch had been constructed in stone (ibid. pp. 30–31). As for the activities of

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[47] It is unclear what feature Sibbald called the "long syke," as this name is not catalogued nor taken up by later authors. It may, perhaps, be the Longcraig Dyke at Port Seton, a dolerite geological formation (http://www.landforms.eu/Lothian/dyke.htm).

Severus, and the Wall on the Tyne-Solway, Sibbald offered arguments that Severus had re-built the Antonine Wall, while his son Caracalla was the initial builder of the southern Wall (ibid. pp. 13–19). Despite these inconsistencies, for its time, Sibbald's reporting and analysis is genuinely sophisticated and he deserves a more prominent position in the history of Antonine Wall scholarship as well as within antiquarianism and archaeology.

Like Pont before him, Sibbald's influence was overshadowed by the highly influential accounts of the 1720s–30s. His marginalisation, however, can be seen to pre-date the important works of Alexander Gordon (1726) and John Horsley (1732), as evidenced by a complete absence of reference to Sibbald's contributions in William Stukeley's (1720) account of Arthur's O'on—which also included a general discussion of the Wall. Stukeley's failure to recognise Sibbald's work may have been a consequence of limited accessibility, as Sibbald had published in Edinburgh, while Stukeley remained confined to a location in southern Britain.[48] However, examination of Stukeley's sources—whom he is careful to acknowledge—reveals that he had been exposed to Sibbald's contributions via at least two intermediaries: William Baxter's (1719) dictionary of British antiquities, and Edward Lhwyd's manuscript notes[49]; further, particular elements of Stukeley's interpretation of Arthur's O'on appear to derive from Sibbald (Rohl 2009: 34–35). Despite Stukeley's almost-certain knowledge that Sibbald had been involved in the examination and interpretation of Roman antiquities in Scotland, he fails—whether by accident or wilful omission—to give him due acknowledgement. Thus, with Sibbald effectively ignored, Stukeley (1720: 2):

> cannot but wonder that Nation [i.e. Scotland], where
> are so many good Scholars, should be so deficient […]

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[48] The limited availability of Sibbald's (1707) *Historical Inquiries* is also evidenced by the Scotsman Alexander Gordon's difficulty in acquiring a copy for his own purposes, as will be discussed below.

[49] Though these notes have now been lost, it is almost certain that they contain reference to Sibbald, as Sibbald had been Lhwyd's chief contact and informant on the Wall, providing a guide and suggested itinerary for Lhwyd's visit in a letter of 1699 (see Haverfield and Macdonald 1910).

> that their Historians should content themselves to
> compile their Works from Invention and fabulous
> Reports, rather than from searching into real Remains
> and undoubted Evidences of former Times.

Sibbald—through both his own work, and those of other seventeenth-century authors preserved in his text—provides a particularly important exception to Stukeley's observation.

In addition to Sibbald, a number of other lesser-known figures were also active in the exploration of the Wall during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and their contributions are ably summarised by Keppie (2012: 49–56). Among these are: John Adair, a cartographer hired by Sibbald for survey and illustration purposes, but who also began—but never completed—his own "Historical and Mathematical Account of [the] famous Roman Wall" (Keppie 2012: 49–56); John Urry, who reported on a number of inscriptions between 1696–98, and who has been convincingly identified as the "Anonymous Traveller" who wrote an account of his journey along the Wall in 1697 (see Keppie 2006); the Welsh antiquary Edward Lhwyd, who visited the Wall following an itinerary suggested by Sibbald, compiled manuscript notes later used by Stukeley—but now lost—and whose observations are primarily preserved in correspondence with Sibbald and others; as well as a number of others who were involved in the discovery and collection of inscribed and sculptured stones, coins, and other small finds (Keppie 2012: 57–62).

4.5 Early Eighteenth-Century Accounts

The early years of the eighteenth century were punctuated by two key political events: the Union of 1707 and the First Jacobite Rising in 1715. Sibbald's (1707) *Historical Inquiries* was published in the same year as the Union, but had been developed over the previous decades while the possibilities of union were being debated and antiquarians in both England and Scotland were seeking to establish clear national identities (Hingley 2008: 101-103). Sibbald later (1711) published a short monograph on the Roman ports, "colonies" and forts along the coasts of the Forth and Tay, north of the Antonine Wall, but it would be a decade before another account of the Wall appeared. No doubt, the Jacobite Rising of 1715 contributed to

this gap, after which the years 1720–40 would be dominated by the contributions of a new generation of antiquaries. These would come to overshadow previous work, remaining the most influential accounts until the beginning of modern excavation in the 1890s. The key accounts are those by Alexander Gordon (1726) and John Horsley (1732), but they must also be considered in the light of efforts by William Stukeley (1720) and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. Stukeley would provide the direct inspiration for Gordon's efforts, and Clerk—while publishing little—was Gordon's primary patron, lending support and encouragement to Horsley, and engaging in a wide correspondence with leading antiquarians. In addition to these, a number of informants and assistants would also contribute, and Keppie (2012: 62–89) provides a detailed discussion of major and minor figures.

Stukeley's account of Arthur's O'on has already been mentioned, and Stukeley is among the better-known English antiquaries, sometimes referred to as "the father of British field archaeology" (cf. Haycock 2004b). This account is Stukeley's earliest-known antiquarian publication, appearing during the years in which he carried out extensive fieldwork at Avebury and Stonehenge. While primarily focused on Arthur's O'on, contributing greatly to this monument's profile in England (Keppie 2012: 63), the 22-page essay also contextualises it within the broader landscape of Roman activities in central Scotland. Stukeley never visited the O'on or Wall himself,[50] but relied on the manuscript notes of Lhwyd's travels, medieval and Renaissance histories, and the drawings and notes of the architect Andrews Jelfe, whom he had commissioned to investigate and survey the O'on while Jelfe was in Scotland to design and construct a number of military garrisons. Stukeley reproduced a number of drawings by Jelfe, Lhwyd and James Jurin, and "designed" his own map of the Wall in its landscape context (Fig. 4.9); this map, as Keppie (2012: 63) points out, appears to combine elements from Blaeu's (1654; 2006) atlas and Sibbald's (1707) map, along with inaccurate speculation of Latin place-names drawn from the *Ravenna Cosmography* (which had only become widely known in Britain via Gale 1709) and Baxter's (1719) antiquarian dictionary. It would

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[50] The nearest Stukeley ever came to the Antonine Wall was a 1725 visit to Hadrian's Wall, in the company of Roger Gale (Keppie 2012: 64).

be some time before Stukeley revisited the matter of the Wall in print (see section 4.6), but for the next 30 years he continued to annotate an interleaved copy of his treatise on Arthur's O'on, including material drawn from Gordon, the Anonymous Traveller of 1697, and other correspondents; this may have been carried out with the aim of a new edition that was never realised (Keppie 2012: 63).
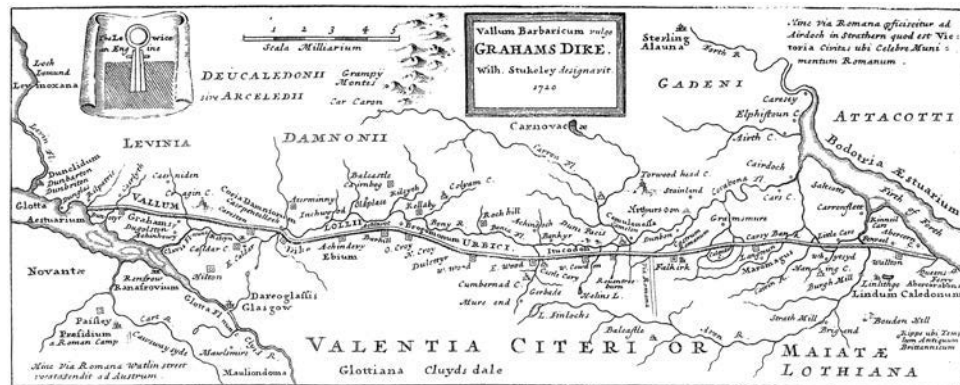
Figure 4.9. Stukeley's (1720) map of the Antonine Wall.

Stukeley's treatise was cited as the direct inspiration for the earliest extensive antiquarian work to come out of Scotland: Alexander Gordon's (1726) *Itinerarium Septentrionale*. Developed over three years, Gordon began his work in 1723 after befriending Clerk and acquiring a copy of Sibbald's *Historical Inquiries*, "for which he had subsequently been vainly searching in bookshops" (Keppie 2012: 71). Gordon was an Aberdeen man of many interests but limited means; as a young man he had travelled in Italy, sang in opera houses there and in Britain, and later served a number of roles, including artist, art critic, language tutor, bookseller, and—following Stukeley—secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Lack of money appears to have been a perpetual problem for Gordon, and his antiquarian work was as much about providing a personal income as it was about his own curiosity or Stukeley's challenge for an evidence-based antiquarian account of Roman Scotland. Through contacts acquired from his involvement in the London Society, Gordon secured an impressive array of subscribers, some of whom ordered several copies of the monograph. Despite this support, Gordon was aware that his (lack of) credentials had raised numerous doubts about his abilities, "because I never appeared to the Publick in this Way before;" to this, Gordon answered: "the

Justice (I own) of this Objection, obliges me to rest content, if the Encouragement (which I expected from several, to an Essay of this Nature) has not answered Expectation" (Gordon 1726: 9). Here, Gordon attempts to project a degree of humility, while also subtly chastising those from whom expected "Encouragement" never materialised.

Gordon acknowledges two additional objections, "by some who may think, that the Accounts already given by *Cambden*, and sundry other Eminent Pens, concerning the *Roman History* in *Britain*, have been so ample, that whatever I can say on this Head, may be thought either a Repetition, or Superfluous," or that Gordon was merely re-presenting a number of antiquities that were already known (ibid.). As it transpired, these various objections were largely unfounded, and Gordon's contribution would become one of the most important in the history of both Antonine Wall scholarship and, more broadly, of Scottish archaeology.

The *Itinerarium Septentrionale* is an impressive work, much larger and more elaborate than either Sibbald's or Stukeley's attempts to examine Scotland's Roman antiquities: the final product was finished at 188 pages, plus an extensive index and 66 copper plates, and was divided into two parts covering, respectively, Roman antiquities from Hadrian's Wall northward (Gordon 1726: 11–145), and "an Account of the Danish Invasions on Scotland, and of the *Monuments*, erected there, on the different Defeats of that People" (ibid. pp. 147–68). Coverage of these two periods is heavily weighted towards the Roman, perhaps reflecting Gordon's own interests, but also those of his contemporaries; the details of Gordon's "Danish" section are beyond the scope of this thesis. A common theme in both parts—reflected also in Gordon's chosen name for the Society of Roman Knights, "Calgacus" (see Sweet 2004: 164–65)—is the freedom and unconquerable nature of Scotland's ancient inhabitants, an angle which he developed in considerable detail (cf. Hingley 2008: 122–33; 2010a).

The Antonine Wall features at various points throughout the work, but is most thoroughly discussed in a chapter devoted to providing "a full Account of its Track, Vestiges, Forts, Watch-Towers, Turrets, and Mensuration" (Gordon 1726: 50–64). Gordon's account follows his own physical journey along the Wall, proceeding

eastward from Old Kilpatrick to Carriden, which he travelled by following visible vestiges of the Outer Mound, Ditch, Rampart, Military Way, or a combination thereof, depending on the state of survival in each stretch. Gordon's method focused on personal observation of remains visible on the surface—or that had been dug up—along with careful measurement, description, drawing, and translation of inscriptions. While similar techniques are hinted at in Pont's earlier surveys, as well as in Adair's unrealised "Mathematical Account," Gordon's is the earliest-surviving account to employ serious survey techniques, providing "the Number of Miles and Paces which I took by an actual Survey, having measured it with a *Gunter* Chain" (ibid. p. 64). This survey was probably begun in the summer of 1723, Sibbald's account in-hand, with additional journeys—by horseback—undertaken later that year and in 1725 (Keppie 2012: 71–75).
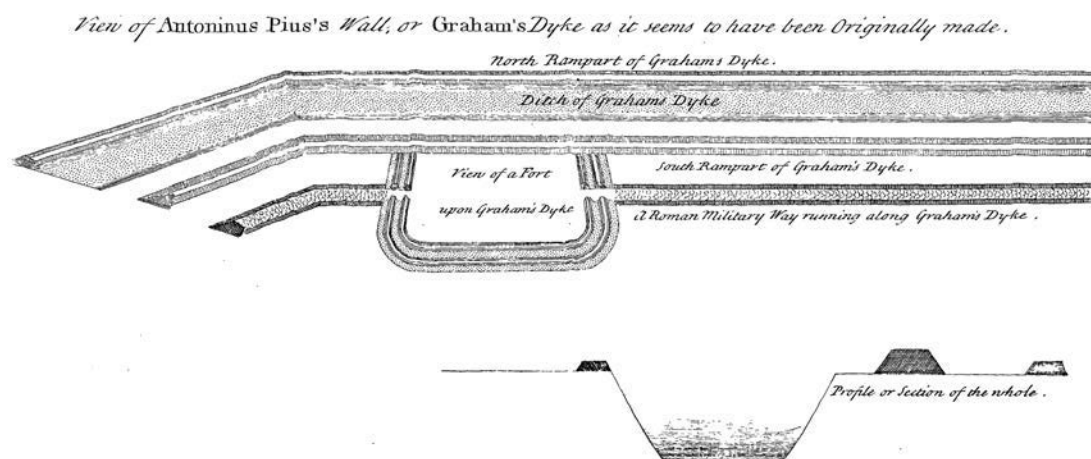
Figure 4.10. Gordon's (1726) plan of the Antonine Wall's key features.

With this account, readers are offered the first opportunity to vicariously travel along the Wall, following in Gordon's paced-out steps. Along the way, Gordon identifies three types of installations (10–14 "Stations," 2 "Exploratory Turrets," and 2–3 "square Watch-Towers"), describes and translates 20 inscriptions and a number of other artefacts, and identifies four key linear features (Fig. 4.10) "running all in a manner Parallel to one another along its whole Track; namely, to the North of all, a great Rampart [i.e., the Outer Mound]; next a Ditch [elsewhere described as a "Fossa"]; then a Rampart to the South of the Ditch; and lastly, a Causeway [i.e. the Military Way] to the South of the Whole" (Gordon 1726: 64). The

Wall's limited survival is readily apparent from Gordon's account, particularly in his inability to recognise the Rampart until he had travelled more than half the Wall's length; when he did recognise the Rampart, however, Gordon rightly noted its stone foundation and *caespiticus* superstructure, and—in a final observation that remains true today—he concludes his description of the Wall by noting that "if any curious Person has a Mind to see this Wall in its highest Perfection, he needs go no farther than three Miles to the West of the said Town of *Falkirk*" (ibid.), a clear reference to the Wall's best-preserved section at Rough Castle fort. Regrettably, what may have been Gordon's greatest contribution to the study of Britain's Roman Walls never materialised: this was advertised at the end of the *Itinerarium* as:

> *A Compleat View of the* Roman *Walls in* Britain, viz. Those of the Emperors *Hadrian* and *Severus*, in *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, in a large Map, near 14 Foot in Length, and 6 in Breadth: and that of *Antoninus Pius* in *Scotland*, in another Map of about 6 Foot in Length, and 4 in Breadth […] The Whole will be adorned with exact Draughts of all the Inscriptions, and Altars, ever found upon these Walls […] To all which, at the Foot of each Map, will be engrav'd a large Dissertation in English, and Latin, for the Use of Foreigners; containing, not only an Abstract of their History, but also an Explanation of all the Inscriptions ever found upon them. (ibid. p. 188)

Keppie (2012: 76) notes that "Gordon may have taken the idea of a large-scale map from John Adair, who had announced similar intentions 30 years before." As with Adair's unrealised plans, the reason that Gordon's map was not produced is unknown. It is possible that Gordon was unable to attain the necessary subscriptions, or that word of a forthcoming rival account halted the endeavour.

If Gordon's contribution marked a major move toward a greatly expanded investigation of the antiquities of northern Britain, it was soon eclipsed by the monumental monograph of John Horsley (1732), a nonconformist minister at Morpeth, Northumberland, who was better known during his lifetime as a mathematician and natural philosopher than as an antiquary (Haycock 2004a).

Horsley's antiquarian work, *Britannia Romana,*[51] published just after his death, aged 46, was both more focused and broader in scope than Gordon's: whereas Gordon had attempted to consider both Roman and "Danish"-related antiquities from the region of Hadrian's Wall northward, Horsley limited his investigation to those of the Roman period (and, more specifically, a focus on the Roman military), but with a much-expanded territorial coverage across the whole area of the British Isles with Roman remains. The final work comprised 520 pages, plus a number of separate indexes, numerous maps, and more than 100 copper plates of drawn inscriptions, artefacts and site plans.

While Horsley's aims were clearly more ambitious than those of Gordon, their significant overlap and near-contemporary publication inevitably led to early comparisons, most often favouring Horsley. The rivalry between Gordon and Horsley has been discussed in considerable detail, drawing largely on unpublished correspondence, and it is clear that before Horsley's work was published, Gordon was fearful of the damage it might do to his own reputation. It is difficult to determine the precise timeline of each man's work, but accusations that Gordon "pirat[ed] Horsley's insights" (Keppie 2012: 71, citing Macdonald 1933: 32) lack sufficient evidence; on the other hand, "Horsley wrote with Gordon's monograph beside him" (Keppie 2012: 79), and just as it is difficult to imagine Gordon's work without Sibbald's earlier contributions, it is unlikely that Horsley's volume would have been as strong without Gordon (Levine 1991: 400).

In his chapter devoted to the Antonine Wall, Horsley (1732: 158–75) primarily describes the remains with reference to Gordon's observations, noting visible changes that had occurred between their respective surveys, but otherwise adding little in the way of new description: Horsley is perhaps the first to note the presence of culverts in the Rampart's stone base, but he rejects Gordon's suggestion that the Outer Mound was a regular feature (ibid. pp. 163–64). Like Gordon, Horsley acknowledged the presence of smaller installations—"square castella, and […] smaller turrets"—but he found these to be too few and far between to suggest a regular sequence (ibid. p. 163) as he had been able to do so for Hadrian's Wall (ibid.

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[51] This title had been previously used by the lesser-known antiquary John Pointer (1724).

pp. 118–21). Horsley also agrees—with only one or two discrepancies—with Gordon on the number and location of clearly visible forts (though his map, Fig. 4.11, is far superior), and is in general agreement regarding the likelihood of several others based on artefactual—rather than clear structural—remains. While Gordon (1726: 50, 63) was still willing to accept a possible factual basis for the long-standing narrative—via Gildas and Bede—of the Wall being (re)built around the end of the fourth century, Horsley (1732: 75) was more sceptical.
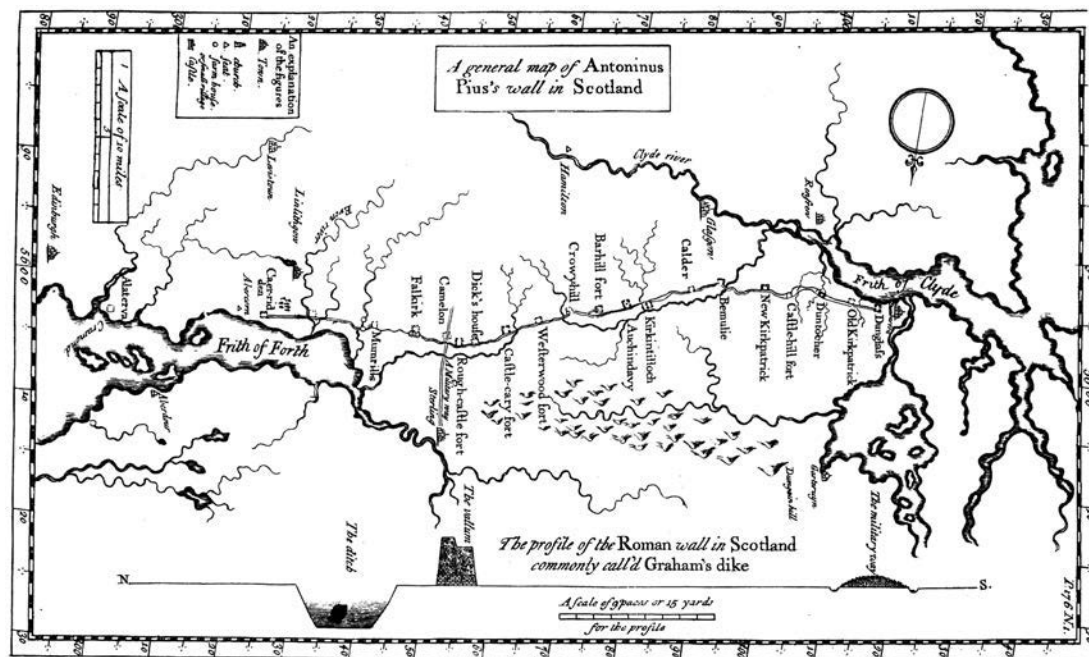
Figure 4.11. Horsley's (1732) Map of the Antonine Wall.

Hingley (2008: 156) has rightly characterised Horsley's approach as primarily descriptive and as an important departure from previous accounts that sought to speculate on the contemporary significance of ancient monuments. For Hingley's purposes this effectively "limits the value of [Horsley's] writings," though for many Roman archaeologists in Britain it is precisely Horsley's largely non-speculative descriptive approach that places him at the forefront of post-Camden antiquarian writers (e.g. Haverfield and Macdonald 1924: 75; Birley 1961: 17; Keppie 2012: 79). Where Horsley's account really stands out, however, is in his ability to move beyond description and simple speculation of visible remains and discoveries to develop an early hypothetico-deductive model (though not using these terms) to

suggest that the Wall originally featured 19 forts at intervals of about two Roman miles (Horsley 1732: 173); since only ten forts were then known with any certainty, this was a bold hypothesis, and has been supported by later discoveries and remains the dominant perspective today.

Shortly after the publication of his *Itinerarium*, Gordon was engaged on yet another survey of the Forth-Clyde isthmus; this time with a commission to draft a proposal for a navigable canal linking the two estuaries. This idea had recurred since at least the 1680s when John Adair had conducted a similar survey, and it is probable that Gordon drew details from Adair's work (Keppie 2012: 50, 76, 93). It was in the course of this new survey that Gordon was alerted to new discoveries on the Wall at Shirva, midway between Auchendavy and Bar Hill. Several inscriptions and sculptured stones (RIB 2180, 2182, 2183, CSIR 111) were found by workmen within a semi-circular stone structure that had been constructed within the hollow of the Ditch. Gordon examined and made drawings of these stones, along with an isometric view of the structure, which he described as a "Roman Sepulchre," and published along with other *Additions and Corrections, by way of Supplement, to the Itinerarium Septentrionale* (Gordon 1732).

The Shirva structure and its stones were also examined—perhaps several years later—by the Rev. James Robe of Kilsyth, who described them in letters sent to "our famous Mathematical Professor, Mr. [Colin] Maclaurin" (published by Gordon 1732: 7) and to Horsley (1732: 339–40). Based on these finds, Gordon (1732: 5) adjusts his previous view on the number and location of Wall forts, suggesting that "not only has [Shirva] been a Station, but one of the most considerable among them." This discovery was made in time for inclusion by Horsley, but Horsley makes no mention of a possible fort here. Both writers interpret the structure as a type of Roman mausoleum, but this is no longer accepted, with an early post-Roman date now considered more likely (see Chapter Seven). Toward the end of Robe's letter to Maclaurin (Gordon 1732: 7), the author communicates that the full structure remained only partially uncovered and that plans were underway for a more complete excavation by the University of Glasgow; these plans seem never to

have reached fruition or, if they did, no record remains, and the site has never been relocated (Keppie 2012: 81).

Two further developments of the early eighteenth century require mention before moving on: these are the destruction of Arthur's O'on and the Second Jacobite Rising. Arthur's O'on was demolished in 1742/3 on the orders of Sir Michael Bruce, on whose lands the monument stood, in order to use the stones for a mill-dam, or weir. This raised the ire of antiquaries across Britain, including Stukeley, Clerk and Roger Gale, who mourned the loss of such a celebrated monument and denounced Bruce in the harshest of terms (Brown 1974); these issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight. The Second Jacobite Rising occurred in 1745, with important implications for the second half of the century, as will be seen below.

4.6 Late Eighteenth-Century Accounts

Important developments at this time include an account by William Maitland, General William Roy's military survey, construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal, and the publication of the *Poems of Ossian*. Also arriving in this period is a new publication—now generally overlooked—by William Stukeley, in which he briefly revisits the matter of the Antonine Wall and Arthur's O'on.

William Maitland (c. 1693–1757) was a Scottish antiquary and hair merchant from Brechin, Forfarshire (Angus), who had been based in London during the 1730s, where he was elected a fellow of both the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries (Baines 2004), and published—by subscription—his *History of London, from its Foundation by the Romans to the Present Time* (Maitland 1739). The critical reception of this work may have been a crucial factor in his sudden resignation from the Society of Antiquaries and return to Scotland, where throughout the 1740–50s, Maitland carried out fieldwork and prepared materials for his (1753) *History of Edinburgh*, a second edition (1756) of his *History of London*,[52] and his (1757) *History and Antiquities of Scotland*, the latter including an account of the Antonine Wall (ibid.

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[52] Further editions would continue to appear, with expansions by others, until 1775, and this work is "still referred to by historians" (Baines 2004).

pp. 171–89). It is possible that Maitland's experience on the receiving end of severe criticism (for his poorly reviewed *History of London*) elicited a similarly hypercritical reaction on his own part, as is evident in his mean-spirited attempts to demolish the reputations and observational aptitude of the historians and antiquaries that preceded him; his (1757) volume—published posthumously—is rife with "pernickety" comments (Keppie 2012: 87) targeted at everyone from Fordun, Boece and Buchanan (Maitland 1757: 52) to Gordon and Horsley (e.g. ibid. p. 177). While Maitland's account has been marred by accusations of poor scholarship and bad writing (e.g. Gough 1780: 572; Macdonald 1934b: 78), there can be little doubt that his own overly critical tone invited such dismissals.

Despite this poor reputation, Maitland's account "remains valuable for its picture of the Wall corridor at a fixed date," noting changes in the exposure and dismantling of remains that had occurred since the time of Horsley's survey (Keppie 2012: 88). Maitland reverses the then-common trend to describe the Wall from west-to-east (as seen in Sibbald, and in Gordon's and Horsley's surveys), returning to a medieval and Renaissance preference for east-to-west description, and prefiguring current practice (e.g. Robertson 2001; Breeze 2006a). Further, while Horsley's account is often presented as arriving with almost-immediate definitive status, Maitland illustrates an important lack of consensus on several issues: he dismisses Horsley's hypothesis of a regular spacing of forts as being based on nothing more than "an imaginary distance between the stations" (Maitland 1757: 172), questions the Wall's eastern terminus at Carriden and suggests that it began just east of Kinneil (ibid. pp. 171, 187), and he provides the first serious argument against the Wall—or Military Way—extending as far west as Dumbarton by describing Horsley's description of the Military Way in this stretch as representing "no other than the natural rock and gravelly soil which abounds in that neighbourhood" and by offering a (previously unreported) local tradition that ancient *Alcluith/Alt Clut* was actually located in the vicinity of Ferrydike, Old Kilpatrick, rather than at Dumbarton (ibid. p. 188). While some of the details of Maitland's arguments or conclusions are rejected today, these issues remain unresolved and opinions

continue to vary. Unfortunately and inexplicably—in stark contrast with other accounts of the eighteenth century—Maitland's account is unillustrated.

Stukeley's (1757b) monograph on the coins of Carausius, in which he briefly revisits the topics of Arthur's O'on and the Antonine Wall, has been consistently overlooked, with no known Wall scholar ever drawing upon this account. Possible reasons are numerous, including the relevant passage's location within an unexpected and otherwise unrelated text, or general scepticism about Stukeley's work from this later period in which he has been portrayed as in intellectual decline (e.g. Piggott 1950; 1985).[53] Importantly, this monograph relied heavily on a work— *De situ Britanniae* (Bertram 1757; Stukeley 1757a)—that had recently appeared and was purportedly a medieval copy of a previously unknown Roman map and itinerary attributed to Richard of Cirencester; Stukeley championed this work and encouraged its publication, which continued to deceive many scholars until it was convincingly shown to be a forgery in 1869 (Haycock 2004b). In this period, Stukeley also offered vocal support of James Macpherson's (1765) *Poems of Ossian* (see Chapter Eight), and was tenacious in his attempts to connect prehistoric Britain, druidism, and ancient mythology to a universal patriarchal religion, which is discussed in great, rambling, detail in the Carausius monograph's preface and early chapters (Stukeley 1757b: vii–57).

In this new account, Stukeley (ibid. pp. 129–38) reverses his earlier assessment and accepts the testimony of the Nennius gloss to credit the construction of Arthur's O'on to Carausius, citing Camden for support (p. 131). In Stukeley's new reading of the Nennius gloss, Carausius "not only reedified the forts, and towers upon the wall: but repair'd, or new-made seven castles, or fortified towns, a little beyond it" (ibid. p. 132); these, Stukeley suggests, were "about four miles distant from each other[:] *Caerdoch*, *Camelon* city, *Rochhill* fort, *Balcastle* [at Kilsyth], *Aterminny* fort [Antermony], *Cragin* castle, [and] *Dunbriton*" (ibid.). Importantly, however, Stukeley continues to maintain that the Wall was initially built by Lollius

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[53] Stukeley's legacy was dealt a critical blow by Piggot's negative assessment. Despite Haycock's (2002) more recent nuanced—even generous—consideration of Stukeley's contributions and faults, his reputation remains rather poor.

Urbicus during the reign of Antoninus Pius (ibid. p. 136), and his new account primarily focuses on Arthur's O'on rather than the Wall. As with Mair's account, while Stukeley's new contribution has not played an important role in the development of the Antonine Wall's historiography, it remains genealogically relevant as an example of reversal and marginalization. This relevance is heightened by the fact that Stukeley had previously been a central figure. As there is much in this publication that is contrary to current interpretations, the fact that this account continues to be written-out of the Wall's story perhaps tells us more about the concerns, interests and values of those who shape the contemporary research agenda than it does about the particular merits of Stukeley's new interpretations.

Figure 4.12. Detail of Roy's "Great Map," showing the Antonine Wall between Castlehill and Summerston.

Following the tumultuous years of the 1745 Jacobite Rising and ensuing suppression, significant efforts were made to bring Scotland—more particularly the Highlands—under firm control. A number of career military officers were responsible for this task, bringing with them knowledge of Roman activities and military institutions and tactics; among these officers were Generals Robert Melville, Sir Adolphus Oughton, and William Roy,[54] each of whom combined their military duties with classical training and an interest in Scotland's Roman remains (Keppie

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[54] During the course of his Military Survey of Scotland, Roy worked in a civilian capacity, only attaining military rank after the survey had concluded, in December 1755; he reached the rank of major-general in 1781 (Baigent 2004).

2012: 90–92). Roy was particularly important, carrying out a detailed survey of Scotland between 1747–55, and producing the most detailed set of maps (commonly called the "Great Map," Fig. 4.12; http://maps.nls.uk/roy/) until the first Ordnance Survey. The Wall itself was examined at the end of the survey, in 1755, and in addition to his maps Roy produced a monograph, *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain* (Roy 1793); the text was completed in 1773, but not published until three years after his death.
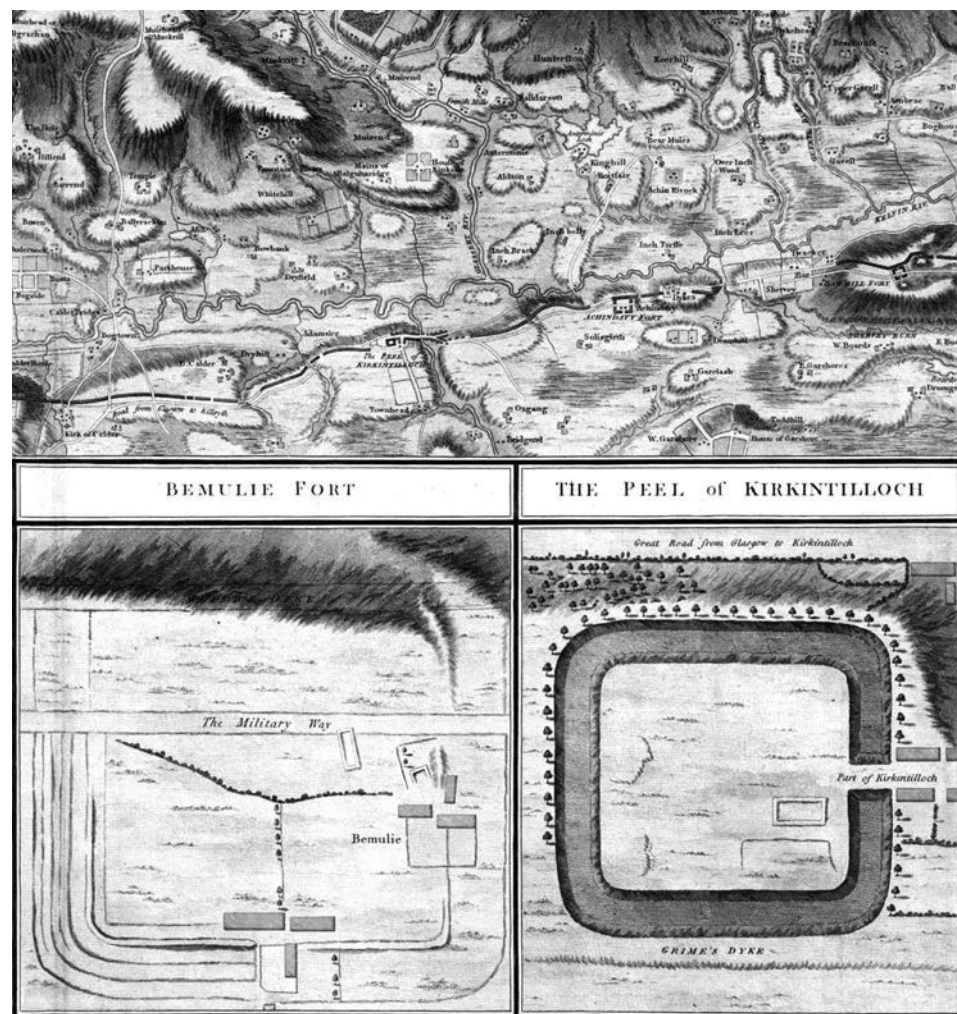
Figure 4.13. Detail of Roy's map of the Antonine Wall, published in The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain.

Roy's approach, like Horsley's, was primarily focused on the Roman military but, whereas Horsley covered this material from a civilian perspective, Roy brought a distinctly military outlook, drawing on comparisons between Roman and Hanoverian military operations "to subdue and control unruly natives" (Hingley

2008: 141–42). The Antonine Wall is described, along with a critical discussion of previous accounts and maps (Roy 1793: 148–67), offering little new information, but clearly revealing considerable deterioration in the 30 years that had passed since Gordon and Horsley surveyed the Wall. Roy also describes and provides a plan of the Castlecary bath-house, which he had examined in 1769, along with several excellent—but overly stylised—illustrations of altars and inscriptions, and a much-improved map of the Wall that included site plans of the ten then-known forts (Fig. 4.13). While Roy followed Stukeley in accepting the fraudulent history of Richard of Cirencester, this did less to damage his reputation; this connection may be part of the noted lack of discussion of "the ideas expressed in Roy's writings and plans" by archaeologists who have primarily focused on his maps/plans of Roman forts, camps, and the Antonine Wall (Hingley 2008: 141), but the long-standing influence of Roy's distinctly military focus and perspective should not be underestimated.

While proposals for a navigable canal connecting the Forth and Clyde had been mooted and rejected since Adair's early work in the 1680s, the discovery of coal and iron ore reserves across central Scotland and the resulting growth of industrial activities eventually assuaged doubts about its economic benefits. A new survey was carried out by John Smeaton in 1763, and construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal began at Grangemouth in June 1768 (Keppie 2012: 93). The project was completed in July 1790, with a course that closely paralleled—but also criss-crossed—the Wall's line; while this effectively opened a new transportation route east-to-west, it also interrupted north-south transport and communication routes, requiring a number of mediating features such as swing-bridges and "pends," which "permitted pedestrians and animals to pass under it" (ibid. p. 94). Where the canal work passed close by—or cut across—the Wall, many archaeological features were regrettably damaged or destroyed, but—on the other hand—this work also led to some important discoveries; important information on these discoveries are recorded in the Committee's Minute Books, summarised by Keppie (ibid. pp. 93–96). Not everything was recorded in the Minutes, however, as evidenced by the 1790 discovery of a buried stone building between the fort at Old Kilpatrick and the River Clyde; this was only recorded several years later by a local tenant and, at the

time, it was not understood that this was probably the fort's bath-house; also discovered within the building was a medieval coin hoard (ibid. pp. 95–96).

A number of additional contributions arose in this period, summarised by Keppie (2012: 96–104). Important examples include Professor John Anderson's efforts—from about 1770—to acquire inscribed stones for Glasgow University and his series of lectures (the earliest known) about the Wall and its inscribed stones, Thomas Pennant's travels and their resulting publications (e.g. Pennant 1771), William Nimmo's (1777) chorographically inspired *General History of Stirlingshire*, and Sir John Sinclair's (1791–99) *Statistical Account of Scotland*. This latter contribution bears a striking similarity to Sibbald's earlier planned *Atlas*, drawing on contributions from ministers in each parish across Scotland, nine of which feature the Wall, but in varying detail. Also important in the century's final years was the establishment of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1780–81.

A final note on the later eighteenth century is required: this revolves around the controversial *Poems of Ossian*, published between 1760–65 by James Macpherson (1765). These were offered to the public as "translations" of a purportedly authentic Gaelic oral tradition representing the preserved poems of a 3rd–4th-century Caledonian bard, along with a detailed historical apparatus of footnotes and commentary drawing on a number of historical sources and antiquarian accounts. These poems, their reception, and an emerging new Ossianic discourse are considered in Chapter Eight. For now, it is sufficient to say that the Antonine Wall features in two of the poems (Keppie 2012: 101 only mentions one), both in the context of Caledonian-Roman warfare during the time of Severus and Carausius. While serious questions about their authenticity were raised almost immediately, and the poems would later be branded fraudulent, they were influential in Scotland and achieved international fame, contributing to the early Celtic Revival and the Romantic Movement. Despite more positive recent reappraisals of the poems' authenticity as a tradition (Gaskill 1986; 2003; Stafford 2003), they remain poorly regarded by scholars situated outside the new Ossianic discourse and are largely unknown to the broader Scottish public—effectively written out of Scottish history. Keppie's brief references to the poems—while lacking detailed discussion—are a

welcome development, marking the first time they have featured in a major publication on the Antonine Wall in more than a century. It would be impossible to fully understand late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century views of Roman period Scotland and the Wall without considering the contents and reception of the *Poems of Ossian* (see detailed discussion, Chapter Eight).

4.7 Nineteenth-Century Accounts and the Rise of Antiquarian and Archaeological Societies

The nineteenth century was a period of transition from antiquarian modes of investigation based on field observation and historical speculation to systematic archaeological excavation. Writings are characterised by tension between Ossian-inspired Caledonian romanticism and the more rational evidence-based approach of most eighteenth-century antiquaries (this tension is particularly evident in the writings of Sir Walter Scott). Increased development and agricultural "improvement" continued to uncover (and destroy) remains, prompting work by a number of antiquaries, and further developing the context for the initiation of modern archaeological excavations at the end of the century. This context was both historical (in terms of the various accounts already described) and also related to contemporary developments locally and further afield, including the rising numbers and activities of antiquarian and archaeological societies (though earlier societies had developed in the eighteenth century, most notably the Society of Antiquaries of London, for which both William Stukeley and Alexander Gordon had served as Secretary); regional railway, housing and industrial developments; national legislation; and archaeological work on Hadrian's Wall and the German *Limes*.

Important contributions from the first half of the century include George Chalmers' (1807) *Caledonia*, the Rev. John Skinner's (1827) report and detailed journal from a journey along the Wall in 1825, the new *Statistical Account of Scotland*, and Robert Stuart's (1844) *Caledonia Romana*. Skinner's (1827) published report provides some useful updates, but it is his detailed journal—which only recently reached a wide audience when it was published by Keppie (2003)—that is most valuable, providing a number of pencil sketches and (later) watercolour paintings,

effectively capturing a visible record of the Wall (e.g. Fig. 4.14). Stuart's (1844) volume was a promising, wide-ranging, and popular contribution by a young antiquary, in which the Wall received substantial attention (pp. 269–361): this was based on Stuart's own observations, but also heavily drew on major accounts from Bede onward, providing a detailed and accessible synthesis augmented by numerous—though largely derivative—illustrations and maps. Sadly, any hopes of future contributions by Stuart were dashed when he suddenly died of cholera in 1848, at 37 years of age (Keppie 2012: 118). A second edition was posthumously published (Stuart 1852), revised by Stuart's brother-in-law Professor David Thomson, and including contributions by John Buchanan and Daniel Wilson.
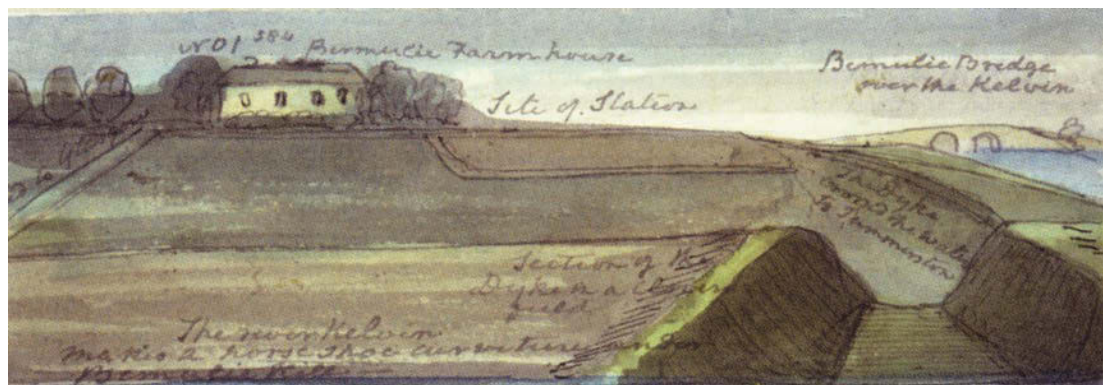
*Figure 4.14. Skinner's sketch of the Antonine Wall and fort at Balmuildy
(reproduced from Keppie 2012: 104).*

The nineteenth century was particularly fruitful in terms of professional and popular interest in antiquities, and a number of societies were founded and active, though not all survived long. The popular writings of the novelist Sir Walter Scott undoubtedly helped to raise interest in Scotland's past, providing a crucial bridge between romantic ideals and systematic approaches. The Glasgow Archaeological Society, founded in 1856 after an earlier attempt at a similar society in the 1840s failed, was on the verge of closure in 1877, when it was reinvigorated by the decision to open its membership to women (Keppie 2012: 118–19). Such societies often organised lectures and excursions, both to sites of local interest, but also further away from home; in 1888 the British Archaeological Association spent nine days visiting Glasgow and touring sites along the Wall (Bruce 1888), while members

of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne also made visits to see more of the northern Wall (Keppie 2012: 120). The great nineteenth-century scholar and "first Pilgrim" of Hadrian's Wall, the Reverend John Collingwood Bruce, also toured the Antonine Wall in 1856 and, while giving the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's prestigious Rhind Lectures in Edinburgh in 1883, devoted one lecture to the topic of the Antonine Wall (ibid. p. 120–21).

Another function of the antiquarian and archaeological societies was the promotion and protection of ancient monuments. The ongoing threats posed by development were carefully monitored by the societies, and their leaders and members raised objections to planned works that threatened to damage recognised monuments and sites, though they were not always successful. Along the Wall corridor, the antiquarians Sir James Young Simpson and John Buchanan lamented and protested against the destruction of remains at Castlecary and Camelon, where rail lines were cut across the forts in 1841 and 1851 (Keppie 2012: 116–17). Concerns about these types of destruction at many sites across Britain led to the passing of the *Ancient Monuments Protection Act* by Parliament in 1882, with Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers as the first appointed Inspector of Ancient Monuments. While this established a legislative system for the protection of ancient monuments, extension and enforcement of this protection to the Antonine Wall was much delayed, leaving protection primarily to the influence of the societies and individual antiquaries.

In 1884, the President of the Glasgow Archaeological Society intervened with the landowner of the Carrick Stone (a Roman altar) near Cumbernauld, which was being rubbed away by cattle and chipped by visitors, leading to the erection of a protective fence (ibid. p. 120). In 1889, a railway branch-line connecting Bonnybridge to chemical works at Camelon was proposed, threatening a stretch of Rampart and Ditch west of Falkirk, and eliciting written objections to General Pitt-Rivers from the Glasgow Archaeological Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (ibid. p. 122; The Antiquarian 1889: 123–24). Further objections were raised in 1893/4, and widely distributed, at the plans for additional housing development near Watling Lodge, where the twelfth-century motte called the "Maiden Castle"

was destroyed in 1893 upon the site of what would later be identified as one of the Wall's fortlets (Keppie 2012: 122–23).

Despite the passage of the *Ancient Monuments Protection Act*, the lack of specific protection through "scheduling" meant that the societies were often limited by the good- (or otherwise) will of landowners, who were not always receptive to their interference. Nineteenth-century railway development alone was so prolific that between 1820–1900, "the Wall had been crossed by more than a dozen lines" (ibid. p. 117). In 1894 the Secretary of State for Scotland finally asked the Glasgow Archaeological Society which sections of the Wall should be protected, but no part of the Wall was scheduled until 1926 (ibid. p. 121), around the same time (1928) that the first section of Hadrian's Wall received similar protection (Breeze 2006b: 23; Mason 2009: xix), though Hingley (2012: 255–61) reveals a more complicated sequence in the legal protection of Hadrian's Wall, with early legislation leaving the monument vulnerable to threats for some time after its initial scheduling.

Amidst this environment of vibrant antiquarian interest, threats from development, and a growing movement to provide legal protection to ancient monuments, the initiation of new archaeological investigation of the Antonine Wall was also influenced by developments on Hadrian's Wall and in Germany. From the 1840s onward, the Victorian antiquaries John Collingwood Bruce and John Clayton presided over "a new era in antiquarian research" on Hadrian's Wall (Hingley 2012: 177–200), with Bruce doing much to popularise and promote the Wall through publications, lectures and the Pilgrimage (e.g. Bruce 1851; 1863; 1885), while Clayton systematically bought up the land, carried out numerous excavations and reconstructed large sections of the stone curtain Wall in its central section (e.g. Clayton 1855; 1876; 1877). A detailed topographic survey of Hadrian's Wall was also carried out and published by Henry MacLauchlan (1857; 1858) in the 1850s at the request of the Duke of Northumberland. In Germany, the scholars Theodor Mommsen and Emil Hübner were in regular contact with Bruce, Clayton and other British antiquaries, and there was some international travel between the frontiers in Britain and Germany (Hingley 2012: 199, 237; Keppie 2012: 118, 25). While working on the British volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL, vol. 7) in the 1860s,

Hübner travelled in Scotland, viewing the Wall by train, consulting Sibbald's papers, and benefitting from the help of John Buchanan (Keppie 2012: 118). Mommsen, in particular, was instrumental in focusing German antiquaries' efforts onto their own Roman frontier, the German *Limes*, from the 1870s onward (Hingley 2012: 199), but earlier interest is evident from the 1820s (Büchner 1822) and further activity and excavation is described throughout the 1850s (Smith 1852: 196–98; Bell 1854; Yates 1858; Hingley 2012: 183). At the end of the century, beginning around 1890, investigation of the Antonine Wall would enter a new era, centred on modern archaeological excavation.

4.8 Discussion

This chapter has provided a continuation of the Antonine Wall's story as an object of discourse, summarising key accounts and developments from the early sixteenth century until just before the initiation of modern archaeological excavations in the 1890s. As this period has been covered in substantial detail by Keppie's (2012) recent historiography, I have not attempted comprehensive coverage here, opting instead for short summaries of the most important developments, consideration of cross-connections between various authors and accounts, and a few sources that Keppie leaves out. Along with Keppie's (2012) historiography, this highlights the under-explored breadth of pre-twentieth-century speculation and scholarship, introduces previously unknown accounts and antiquarians, and will hopefully help to stimulate further research. As is evident from sources cited by (particularly) Boece and Sibbald, there may be numerous late medieval and early modern accounts that have not survived, or remain undiscovered within historical archives and manuscripts. While Boece's preservation of "Veremundus" remains questionable, there is no reason to doubt Sibbald's descriptions and quotations of several seventeenth-century texts. Further archival research will help to expand our understanding.

Key developments in this period include the rediscovery of classical texts, and the increasing recognition that knowledge of the past need not rely on written accounts, but can also develop from the investigation of material remains. Beginning in the early sixteenth century, Mair and Boece began to write new

historical narratives that merged knowledge derived from classical sources with the long-standing British historical tradition that had developed through Gildas, Bede, Nennius, and Fordun. The popularity and influence of Boece and Buchanan—particularly through vernacular translations—cemented a framework in which the Roman Walls in Britain were accepted as originally early Roman constructions, but in which the traditional British narrative of late Roman (re)construction as a response to Scottish and Pictish threats was also accepted as authentic events.

In the eighteenth century, Gordon provided the first detailed survey and examination of the Wall's visible remains, underlining its Antonine origins, but tacitly accepting the historicity of later reconstruction and destruction episodes. Other eighteenth-century antiquaries were largely silent on this traditional narrative, and the Walls were increasingly viewed within the chronological parameters defined by Hadrian and Severus. The story of late fourth- or early fifth-century troubles was excised from the two Walls' new historical treatment, forming a vacuum that was filled between 1757–65 by the controversial contributions of Bertram's "rediscovered" document of Richard of Cirencester and Macpherson's "translation" of Ossianic poetry. Conveniently, these works appeared to provide an ancient corroboration of recent antiquarian interpretations while also introducing exciting new perspectives on the history of late Roman Britain. While these sources were subjected to early scepticism, they remained influential into the nineteenth century, when romanticism eventually gave way to more systematic, scientific, approaches to the past.

In many ways, the first half of the eighteenth century was a critical period in Antonine Wall research, with Gordon's and Horsley's surveys providing the definitive accounts that would not really be superseded until the advent of major archaeological excavation in the 1890s. While important discoveries were made in the course of constructing the Forth and Clyde Canal, and new antiquaries would continue to clarify details and expand the documentation of the Wall from the 1740s onward, key methods and the interpretive framework rested on foundations established by Gordon and Horsley. While Horsley has been better received—in terms of current Roman archaeology—than Gordon, it is clear from an examination

of their works that Horsley's investigation and interpretation of the Antonine Wall owes much to Gordon. Likewise, though they both occupy the most prominent positions in the Antonine Wall's antiquarian historiography, their long shadows obscure the important earlier contributions of Stukeley, Sibbald, Pont, and numerous sixteenth and seventeenth-century antiquaries preserved in Sibbald's pioneering synthesis.

While Keppie has given the period covered in this chapter a great deal of attention, and I have added additional details, these are only beginnings to what may be possible from the study of the Wall's historiography. We need to attract historians and literary scholars to untangle the Wall's role in mythic landscapes from the early medieval period to the aftermath of Macpherson's *Ossian* (though see Chapter Eight). We should also encourage the search for further accounts via archival research, and the creation of fuller biographies of key antiquarians. Broun's (2007) and Royan's (2001) work on early Scottish history, Fordun, Boece, and the issue of Veremundus/Vairement may help to clarify (or further problematise) the later medieval–Renaissance transition. While Stukeley has received two contradictory biographies (Piggott 1985; Haycock 2002), the important figures of Gordon, Horsley and Sibbald still lack detailed biographic investigations, which may put their works and interests into wider context. The activities of the Industrial Revolution, and particularly the relationship between the Antonine Wall and the Forth and Clyde and Union canals, also remains under-explored (see, however, Chapter Seven), and this offers an important opportunity to investigate the complex issues of development, discovery, threat, and protection as the Antonine Wall corridor entered a period of tension between its historical significance and contemporary economic potential from the time of its major antiquarian investigations to the beginnings of modern archaeological excavation.

Chapter Five:
Archaeology and the Antonine Wall

> Today, we are in the ironic position of knowing more about
> the Antonine Wall than any of our predecessors yet at the
> same time appreciating that it has many more secrets to
> yield up. Some of these secrets will only be revealed
> through patient work in the study rather than in the field.
> (Breeze 2006a: 34)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the Antonine Wall's history as an object of scientific

archaeological investigation, bringing my account up to date by introducing key

projects, major figures, and important developments of the past 125 years. By

tracing these developments, and establishing the context and influence of broader

concerns in the study of other Roman frontiers, the chapter illustrates how the

military emphasis pioneered by Horsley and Roy has come to dominate studies of

the Wall. In this process, scientific methods and (what are seen as) logical

arguments have created a form of definitive knowledge that isolates other forms of

thinking about the Wall, and the chapter concludes with some thoughts about the

genealogical relationships between scientific and pre-scientific understandings of

the Wall.

The era of modern archaeological work on the Antonine Wall began with the

efforts of the Glasgow Archaeological Society in the 1890s. By this time,

investigators were faced with two key circumstances: on one hand, much was

already known about the Wall, its general line, and key installations from the

pioneering work of previous antiquaries; on the other hand, the landscape was now

substantially changed in key areas by the ravages of the Industrial Revolution,

urban expansion, agricultural "improvements," and the development of regional

transportation networks. The notion that knowledge of the Wall had reached its

peak is well-illustrated by a statement in *The Scotsman* newspaper, dated 13

December 1890, that, "for a considerable number of years it has been supposed that

everything of real importance connected with the wall of Antoninus stretching between the Forth and the Clyde has been fully expiscated" (The Scotsman 1890).

This would all change in the coming decade, with early excavations by Alexander Park between Bar Hill and Croy Hill, carried out at the request of the Glasgow Archaeological Society in 1890–91—identifying the Military Way and Rampart—and leading to the formation of a Committee to carry out a new systematic investigation (Keppie 2012: 123–24). This would be the first serious and coordinated attempt to systematically excavate, record, and interpret the facts of the Wall in a manner broadly comparable to current archaeological practice. It was followed by a major campaign of individual fort excavations by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, after which efforts became generally less intensive, and the archaeological investigation of the Wall became synonymous with its leading expert, Sir George Macdonald, before entering a new era after the Second World War. This chapter will trace these developments from 1890 to the present, primarily emphasising work up until the Second World War; post-war developments will be summarised briefly, but will be considered in more detail across a range of themes in Chapter Six.

5.2 The Wider Context of Early Archaeological Investigations

The context for the new work of the 1890s was historical, but also related to contemporary developments locally and further afield, including the rising numbers and activities of antiquarian and archaeological societies; regional railway, housing and industrial developments; national legislation; and archaeological work on Hadrian's Wall and the German *Limes*. By the time systematic excavations on the Antonine Wall were begun in the 1890s, both the German *Limes* and Hadrian's Wall had already been subject to some investigative excavation, and the increasing interest of scholars working in England, Germany and Scotland in Roman frontiers outside of their own countries had established an international community that was sharing ideas and information; this has been discussed in Chapter Four. The 1890s, however, would be a major turning point on all three frontiers, with the advent of large-scale systematic, "scientific," archaeological investigation.

In Germany, the Reichs-Limeskommission was founded by Mommsen in 1892, beginning a lengthy campaign of excavation, survey and recording of the Roman frontier in Germany (Breeze et al. 2005: 40). In 1897 another commission was established to study the frontier in Upper and Lower Austria (Breeze 2008: 57). In Britain, "the period of scientific excavation" on Hadrian's Wall has been argued to commence in 1891, with excavations by John P. Gibson and the subsequent (1894–1903) work by Haverfield (Collingwood 1921: 59–66; Mason 2009: xviii). On all three components of the current "Frontiers of the Roman Empire" WHS (the Antonine Wall, Hadrian's Wall, and German *Limes*), then, the 1890s can be seen as the period in which modern scientific investigation began. Full discussion of the activities on Hadrian's Wall and the German *Limes* is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is important to note the wider context, similarities, and shared interests of research on these various Roman frontiers in the period.[55]

5.3 The Glasgow Archaeological Society and the Antonine Wall Report

The Antonine Wall Committee was established by the Glasgow Archaeological Society on 19 March 1891, with a membership of William Jolly, George Neilson, Peter Macgregor Chalmers, James Barclay Murdoch, and Alexander Park, none of whom were experienced or professional archaeologists. According to minutes from the meeting at which the Committee was established, the chief aim was "to visit the Wall together and to report as to what would be collectively agreed as facts disclosed by the investigations" (reported in Keppie 2012: 124). Following on from Park's recent trenches between Croy Hill and Bar Hill, the Committee excavated some twenty trenches (Fig. 5.1) between 1891–93 in the sector between Rough Castle and Bar Hill (approximately 14.5km), with the work primarily carried out by workmen loaned from local estates. The results included clarification of knowledge concerning the Wall's line, confirmation that the Rampart was constructed atop a stone base throughout, overturning of the previous view that the Rampart was built from material cut from the Ditch, identification and disposition of individual turf

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[55] For more information and analysis of nineteenth-and early twentieth-century work on Hadrian's Wall, see Hingley (2012: 137–253). I am unaware of a similar treatment for work on the German *Limes* (see, however, Breeze 2008 for a general introduction).

layers, and establishment of the chronological relationship between the Rampart

and two "expansions" located west of Croy Hill; these were presented in the

Society's (1899) publication, *The Antonine Wall Report*. At the conclusion of each

excavation, most trenches were backfilled, though several were later reopened for

inspection by visiting guests.
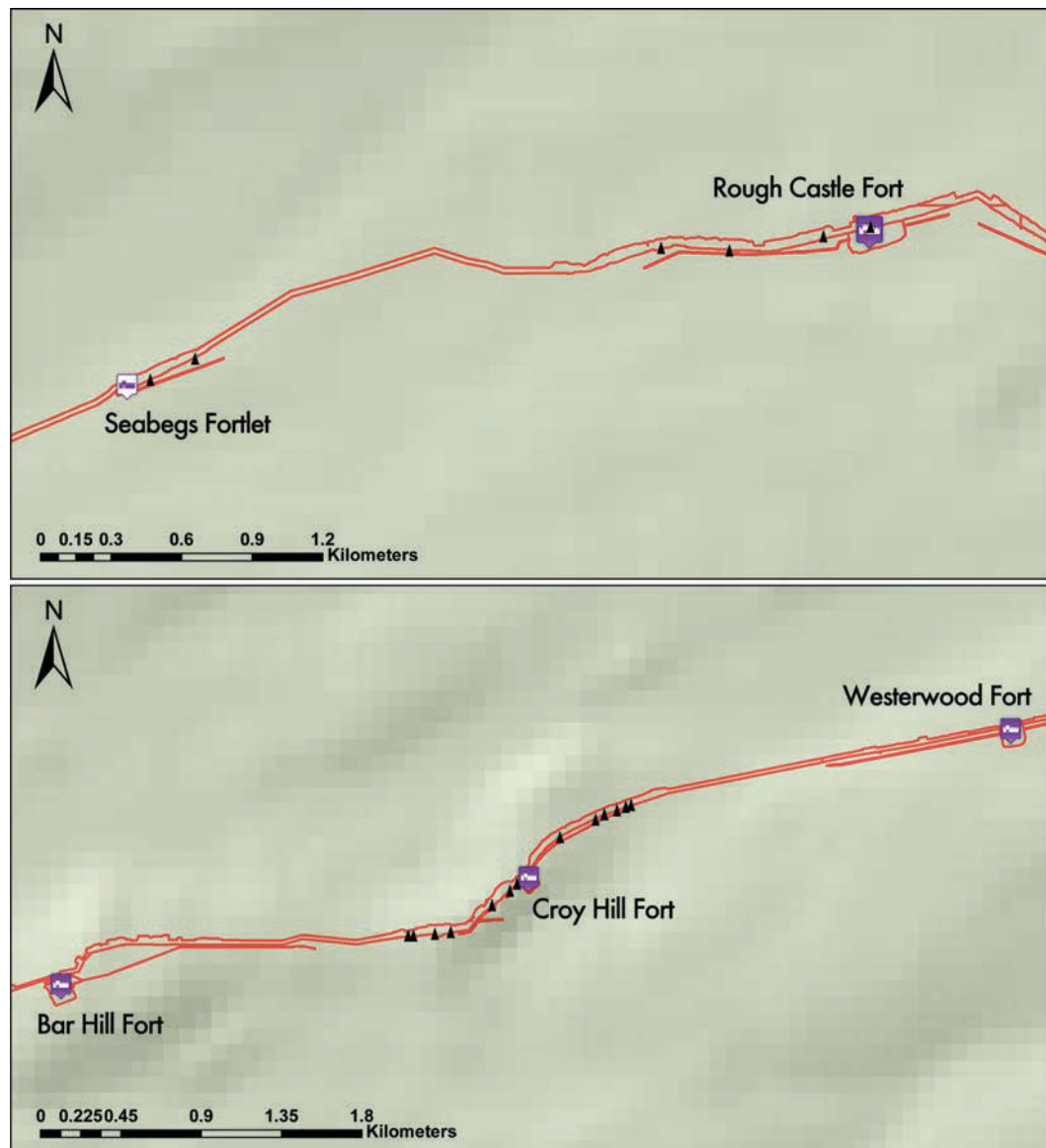
Figure 5.1. Map of excavation trenches (total = 22) by the Glasgow Archaeological Society, 1891–93. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

The Antonine Wall Report was important for several reasons. First, it

provided—in great detail—descriptions of the Wall and its constituent components

as recorded through excavation rather than surface investigation alone. Second,

these descriptions were aptly illustrated by section drawings and photographs, the first to be published for individual Wall elements. Third, the *Report* opened with a comprehensive review of major historical references and antiquarian activities related to the Wall. Fourth, the *Report* included an early example of what may now be called "experimental archaeology" in the form of a section of reconstructed Rampart built by James Russell at Bonnyside (Fig. 5.2).[56] Fifth, despite the Committee's lack of previous archaeological expertise, the *Report* was supplemented by advice and contributions from Francis Haverfield, soon thereafter to become Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford University and, arguably, Britain's first professional Roman archaeologist.[57] Sixth, the project cultivated and generated broad local and international interest even before final publication, through a series of regular reports in newspapers and antiquarian journals, and through organised visits by local antiquaries and their ladies, learned societies, and high-profile guests such as the German *Limes* Commission Director, General Oscar von Sarwey (Keppie 2012: 125–26). Seventh, the discovery of new information uncovered by the project led to work by the Ordnance Survey, who set out to undertake a new survey of the Wall's entire line, some of which are reproduced at the end of the *Report* (Davidson 1986: 12); this new survey would be considered definitive until further work by Sir George Macdonald between 1913–1933 required modifications (Macdonald 1934b: 81, 96). Finally, the Glasgow Archaeological Society should rightly be credited with firmly establishing the monument's current name: the Antonine Wall.[58]

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[56] This reconstruction, built in 1891 by James Russell of Longcroft, measured 8m long by 3.2m high with a width (at the top) of about 2.8m, was constructed of earth with turf cheek revetting, and lay atop an excavated stretch of Roman Rampart. A letter from Antonine Wall Committee member William Jolly, dated August 1891, asks Russell to prepare his reconstruction for inspection by the Royal Archaeological Institute. Unfortunately, this did not survive long and is now completely gone, but a photograph has recently been reproduced by Keppie (2012: 123, illustration 86). For more details, see especially Keppie (2012: 123–25), Glasgow Archaeological Society (1899: 109–10), and Robertson (1956: 103).

[57] For more on Haverfield's life, career and contributions to Roman archaeology, see Freeman (2007) and Hingley (2000; 2007). By this time, Haverfield was already engaged in his own excavations on Hadrian's Wall.

[58] In an early review, however, credit is seemingly given to Francis Haverfield: "It is largely due to Mr. Haverfield's researches that we are now in possession of evidence showing 'that

Figure 5.2. James Russell's reconstructed turf rampart at Bonnyside, 1891
(Keppie 2012: 123).

The *Report* met with positive reviews, no doubt helped by the inclusion of
contributions from Haverfield, though credit for the quality of the work and
publication should be given primarily to the Committee itself. The primary sections,
in which the main evidence is presented, are described in one contemporary review
as:

> deal[ing] with the structure of the Vallum itself in a
> manner so careful, so painstaking, and withal so clear
> in its elucidation of difficult details, as to be a standard
> of the methods of fieldwork and the faculty of
> recording daily observations, by which any society
> might be proud to measure itself. (*The Scottish
> Antiquary* 1900: 222)

The biggest complaint, described by the reviewer as "no slight omission" (ibid. p.
223), is the lack of a general index.

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the whole work was constructed by Pius.' It may therefore rightly be called the Antonine
Wall" (*The Scottish Antiquary* 1900: 222).

In his own contribution to the *Report*, Haverfield (Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 157–66) was confident enough to cite the evidence of classical sources, inscriptions and coins to argue against Mommsen's (1887: 203–04; see also Mommsen 1992: 299) "long occupation" of Scotland in favour of a view that "the whole land north of the Cheviots must have been lost before or about A.D. 180." He remains properly cautious, however, and reminds readers that, despite the great bulk of information gathered by antiquarians and the Antonine Wall Committee's recent excavations, "no fort along the Vallum of Pius has yet been adequately explored, and until that is done, we cannot speak positively of many things." It is this very lacuna that forms the central focus of the next major episode in Antonine Wall archaeology.

5.4 The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and Fort Excavations

Even before publication of the *Antonine Wall Report*, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland initiated a new campaign of archaeological work, specifically aimed at the excavation of individual Roman sites, primarily forts, and only some of which were located along the Antonine Wall. These excavations (Fig. 5.3), carried out between 1895–1910, centred on the sites of Camelon (Christison et al. 1901), Castlecary (Christison et al. 1903) and Rough Castle (Buchanan et al. 1905) on or along the Antonine Wall, and a number of other sites throughout Scotland, north and south of the Wall: Ardoch (Perthshire; Christison et al. 1898), Birrens (Dumfriesshire; Christison et al. 1896), Burnswark (Dumfriesshire; Christison et al. 1899), Inchtuthil (Perthshire; Abercromby et al. 1902), Lyne (Peeblesshire; Christison and Anderson 1901), and Newstead (Roxburghshire; Curle 1911). This section's remaining discussion will be limited to the Society's work at Camelon, Castlecary and Rough Castle.

While publications of the Society's excavations are dominated by Dr David Christison, Secretary of the Society, Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities, and Mungo Buchanan, a trained surveyor and draughtsman, it is clear that of these three, Buchanan played a larger role in the day-to-day work on site. Along with Buchanan, key individuals included:

Thomas Ross — Director at Camelon, Castlecary, Rough Castle

Alexander Mackie — Clerk of Works at Camelon, Castlecary, Rough Castle

J.H. Cunningham — (Co-)Director at Castlecary (and Society Treasurer)

J.R. MacLuckie — Co-Director at Camelon

In addition to these Society fellows, the project employed a number of local workmen, "not more than two or three […] at a time, in order to ensure a strict supervision" (Christison et al. 1903: 217). Further, Christison reports that "an efficient staff was made up, every member having had a large experience in conducting operations of the kind" (ibid.). It is unclear if this is meant to extend to the hired workmen, or merely referred to the core staff of antiquaries, engineers (Cunningham) and architects (Buchanan and Ross).
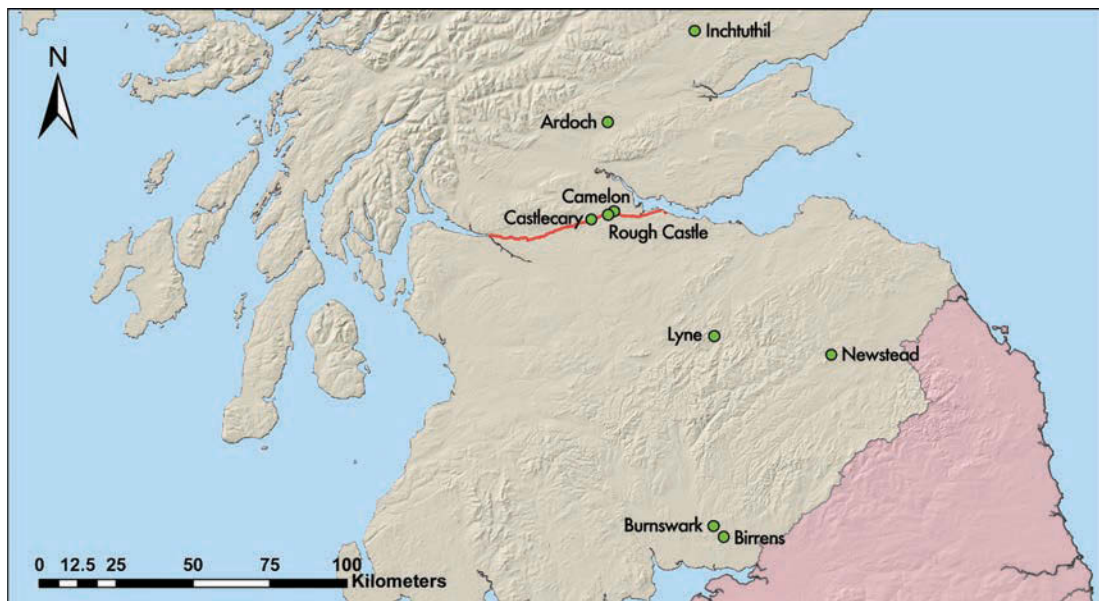
Figure 5.3. Map of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland fort excavations, 1895–1910. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

The Society's work at each site was carried out in swift fashion, and the reports of each excavation were quickly published (within two years, in each case) in the Society's *Proceedings*. These reports followed a standard format in three parts: a general introduction, history and description by Christison; a detailed description of the excavation, with plans, section drawings and photographs by Buchanan; and a descriptive summary of the pottery and small finds by Anderson. The various

plans, section drawings and photographs were usually prepared by Buchanan, a prominent Falkirk antiquary who had begun to document the Wall even before the Glasgow Society's work had commenced (see Keppie 2012: 122).
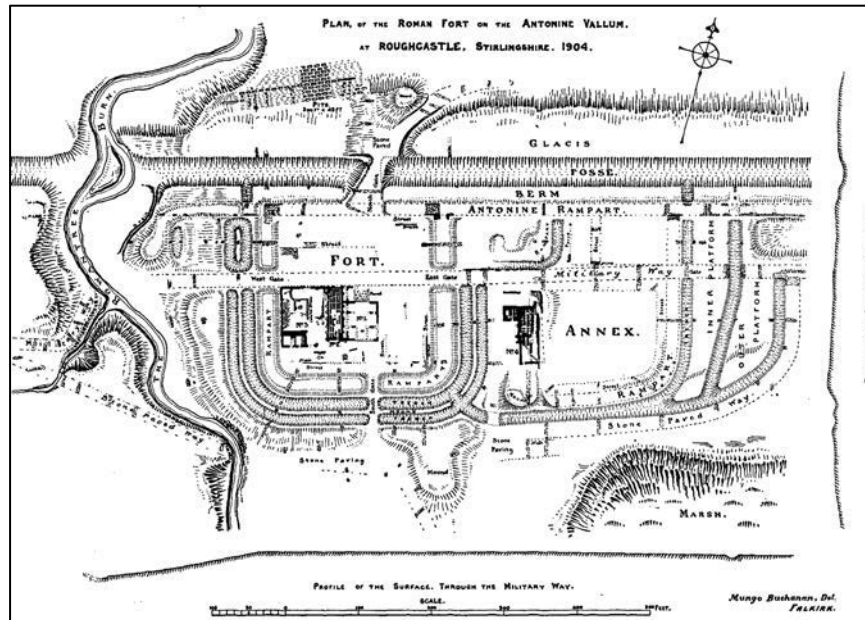
Figure 5.4. Plan of Rough Castle Roman fort (Buchanan et al. 1905: 444).

The Society's fort excavations succeeded in providing the first detailed documentation of forts in the Wall's vicinity, though it must be noted that this was limited to only a small sector of the Wall's line, with the distance between the adjacent forts of Rough Castle and Castlecary measuring just 5.6km and Camelon lying only about 2km east of Rough Castle and just a little north of the Wall. The excavations were criticised for the lack of time spent digging (Macdonald 1934b: 217, 242) and, despite the project's claim of highly experienced staffing, even that was deemed to be insufficient for the problems encountered at Rough Castle, and Macdonald found the reports for both Castlecary and Rough Castle to be "not very satisfactory" (ibid. p. 245) and "disappointing" (ibid. p. 217) respectively. These opinions aside, the Society's excavations revealed the presence of two forts at Camelon, including an annexe and a good deal of information about the internal buildings within the northern fort; tentative confirmation of a stone rampart and a surprise annexe at Castlecary (though this latter feature was not excavated); and the discovery of the now-famous "lilia"—large defensive pits located to the north of the

Ditch and Outer Mound—at Rough Castle (Fig. 5.4), along with the first excavation within an Antonine Wall annexe, fully exposing an L-shaped hypocausted bathhouse.

Figure 5.5. Plans of Castlecary Fort. A) Alexander Gordon (1726), B) John Horsley (1732), C) William Roy (1793), D) Mungo Buchanan (Christison et al. 1903).

Importantly, the Society's choice of excavation sites was at least partially reactive: in the cases of Camelon and Castlecary as a response to recent and impending damage caused by railway cuttings, robbing, and industrial or "public" works, and in the case of Rough Castle in response to the recommendation of the Glasgow Society's (1899: 149) *Report*. While the resulting publications may be somewhat disappointing, the early attempts at "rescue archaeology" helped to preserve "by record" some of the important remains at Camelon and Castlecary, and for Castlecary (Fig. 5.5) continues to serve as the only excavation-based archaeological record. Unfortunately—and despite the noted "large experience" of the campaign's staff—excavation trenches were not back-filled, nor the exposed remains protected, and the sites were left to suffer further degradation (Macdonald

1934b: 219; Robertson 2001: 69, 76). At least one non-Roman structure was also destroyed during this period—a medieval motte called "Maiden Castle," which was later found to have been constructed atop the Outer Mound near the fortlet at Watling Lodge (Macdonald 1934b: 345–46).

Throughout the period of the Society's fort excavation campaign, a young George Macdonald, lecturer in Greek at the University of Glasgow, "who was principally at this time interested in the numismatic evidence" (Keppie 2012: 129), followed developments closely. He would soon thereafter emerge as the principal figure in Antonine Wall scholarship.

5.5 Sir George Macdonald and The Roman Wall in Scotland

Macdonald (1862–1940) was an Oxford-educated second generation member of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, an educator and, later, a civil servant with the Scottish Education Department; for his civil services, he was appointed CB and KCB in 1916 and 1927, respectively (Curle 2004). In addition to his work as an educator and civil servant, Macdonald cultivated his interest in the antiquities and archaeology of Roman Britain, and Scotland in particular. As has already been noted, he closely followed the work of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's fort excavations, and carried on a regular correspondence with Francis Haverfield (Keppie 2012: 129), with whom he would develop a close friendship. His initial interest was primarily numismatic and one of his first publication projects was a multi-volume catalogue of the Greek coins at the Hunterian Museum (Macdonald 1899–1905). Macdonald's first major involvement in the archaeology of the Antonine Wall was with the 1902–1905 excavations at Bar Hill.

Though subsequently strongly associated with the work at Bar Hill, Macdonald (Fig. 5.6) was only infrequently present during the investigation on-site, but accepted Alexander Park's invitation to co-author the project's final publication (Macdonald and Park 1906). This work, funded by Alexander Whitelaw of Gartshore, brought the total of Wall fort excavations to three, and should perhaps be best judged in comparison with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's work at Camelon, Castlecary and Rough Castle. In this regard, it can be assumed that Macdonald thought more highly of the work carried out at Bar Hill (as well as the

report, which he co-authored) than he did of the work at Camelon, Castlecary and Rough Castle, as his later summary (Macdonald 1934b: 271–85) offers no corrections and is primarily extracted directly from the original report.
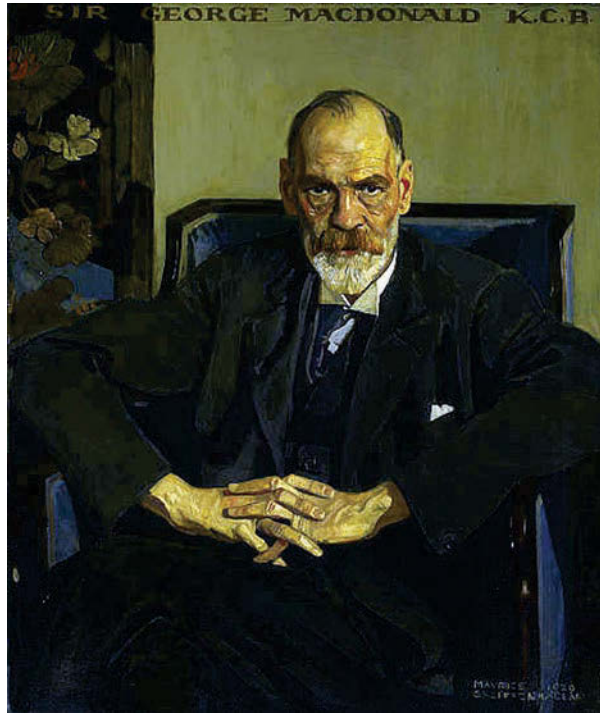
Figure 5.6. Portrait of Sir George Macdonald by Maurice Greiffenhagen, 1929. Copyright Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

This report identifies two forts at Bar Hill (Fig. 5.7), one underlying the other, and the earlier interpreted as one of the *praesidia* constructed by Agricola in the late first century (Tac. *Agr*. 23; Macdonald and Park 1906: 413–17; Macdonald 1934b: 272–73); this interpretation, as we will see, was later rejected. The later fort, "fully six times as large as its predecessor" (Macdonald and Park 1906: 417; Macdonald 1934b: 273), was clearly Antonine in date, though it was strangely situated away from the line of the Rampart, with the Military Way running between the fort's northern rampart and that of the Wall itself. The excavations revealed the fort's defences (a double-ditch on the east, west and south, and a single ditch to the north), four gateways, a number of post holes that may have once held timbers of the fort's barrack blocks, and the central range of buildings, including the *praetorium*

(or *principia*),[59] a "storehouse" or granary, and a workshop building, as well as a set of baths and possible latrine that stretched along the north rampart from the north gate to the fort's northwest corner.
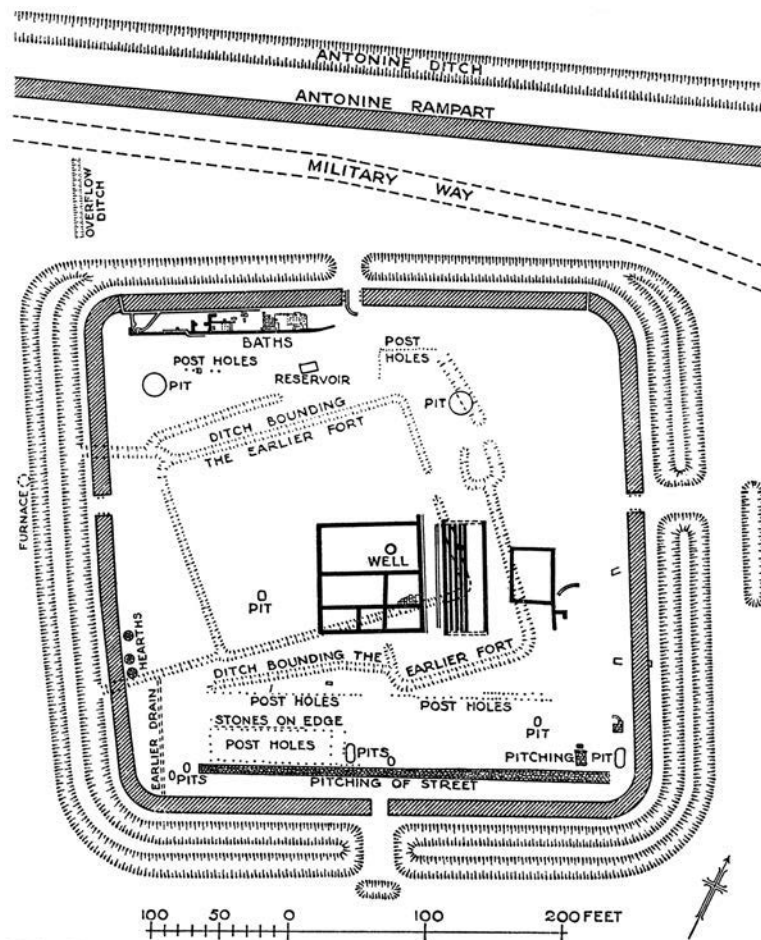
Figure 5.7. Macdonald's (1934b: 274, fig. 36) plan of the fort(s) at Bar Hill.

Perhaps one of the most important discoveries at Bar Hill was that of a well, 4 feet in diameter and 43 feet deep, located during the first day of excavations inside the *principia*. Excavation of the well recovered a wealth of objects (a complete list of

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[59] The report is unsure of which term is appropriate for this building, using *praetorium* throughout, but citing the evidence of a then-recent inscription at Rough Castle (Buchanan et al. 1905: 470,72) to note that "it might perhaps more correctly be termed, the Principia" (Macdonald and Park 1906: 435). Later, Macdonald (1934b: 277–78) opted for a *principia* designation. Hingley (2012: 196–98) provides broader context for the debate on the proper designation of this building at other sites, with Victorian excavators along Hadrian's Wall calling them *fora*, before Haverfield challenged such urban notions and worked through the evidence to relabel them first *praetoria* and, finally, *principia*.

which is included in Macdonald and Park 1906: 535–36), including faunal remains, stone, metal, wood and ceramic artefacts, as well as 21 columns or column portions, 14 bases and 11 capitals, a large altar dedicated by the First Cohort of Baetasians (RIB 2169), and three fragments of an inscribed stone that has been reconstructed as a building dedication stone of the same Baetasian cohort (RIB 2170)[60]. The inclusion of so many broken architectural fragments, apparently deposited in a single operation, provides significant evidence for a deliberate destruction of the fort, probably as part of an organised decommissioning at the time of withdrawal from the Wall.

In 1910, Macdonald was invited to give the Dalrymple Lectures at Glasgow on the subject of the Wall. These lectures would form the basis for his (1911) monograph *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, the first comprehensive synthesis to incorporate the evidence from the previous twenty years of archaeological excavation. While later supplanted as the definitive work on the Wall and, therefore, now seldom utilised by Wall scholars, this edition has been described as "worthy of study in its own right, as a statement of knowledge in the aftermath of the work of the Antonine Wall Committee and the subsequent explorations […] by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland" (Keppie 2012: 134). In his conclusion, Macdonald (1911: 402) noted that the modern work of understanding the Wall remained incomplete and that further work should be carried out. This charge would soon be taken up by S.N. Miller (1922) of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, who began major excavations of the fort at Balmuildy in 1912, but these were cut short by the beginnings of the First World War in 1914.

During this interlude, and after the war, Macdonald (1915; 1925) traversed the line of the Wall to better define its line via surface observation and small trenches (Fig. 5.8). Among the results of this work was the identification of forts at Old Kilpatrick (Macdonald 1915: 102–07), Cadder (ibid. pp. 113–15), Mumrills (ibid. pp. 116–28), and Croy Hill (Macdonald 1925: 288–90), as well the identification of a change in the Rampart's superstructure around Watling Lodge, with the area to the

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[60] The reconstruction of this inscribed stone is somewhat questionable, though, as the available fragments omit the dedicating unit.

east being composed of earth with clay cheeks rather than of turf as evidenced to the west (Macdonald 1915; 1925). Subsequently, each of these sites would be more fully excavated in the period between the World Wars (Clarke 1933; Macdonald 1932; 1937; Macdonald and Curle 1925; 1929; Miller 1928). At Cadder, Macdonald (1915: 108–10) was also able to confirm a medieval motte, which was later completely destroyed by quarrying during the Second World War (Keppie 2012: 21). In the meantime, by the 1930s Macdonald's (1911) synthetic monograph had gone out of print, and all the activities of the intervening years required a substantial revision.
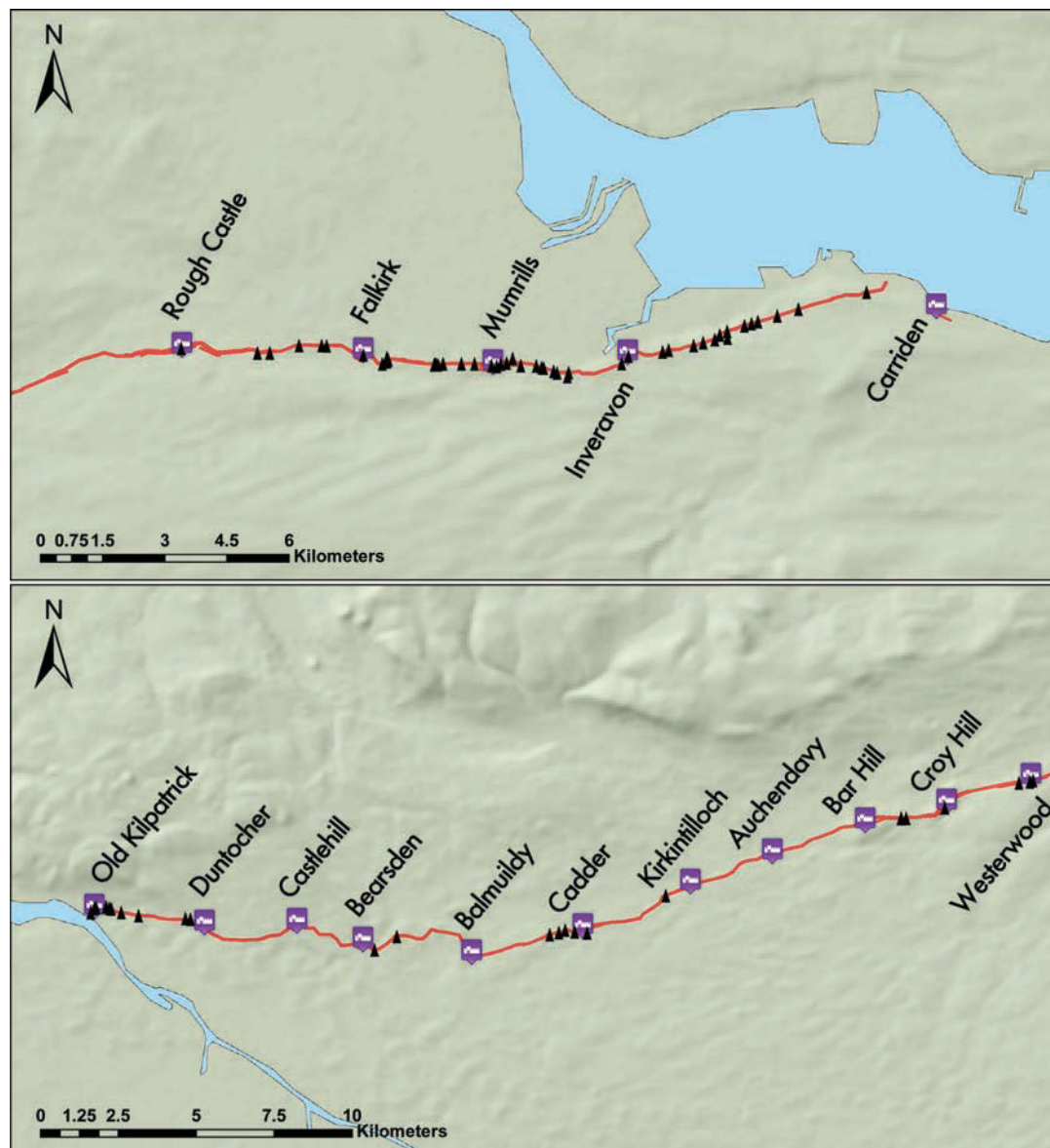
Figure 5.8. Map of sites (total = 77) investigated by Macdonald between 1911–34. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

The second edition of *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (Macdonald 1934b: vii)[61] is described by Macdonald as, "though nominally a new edition, is in reality a new book." Taking into account all the discoveries of the previous 33 years, it brought the previous synthesis to a new level. The volume is copiously illustrated with 57 drawings and 80 plates, including seven fold-out maps tracing Macdonald's identification of the line of the Wall and its various installations over an Ordnance Survey background. While there is an introductory chapter on "the literary tradition" from Tacitus to George Buchanan (ibid. pp. 1–36), the contributions of later antiquaries from Timothy Pont to Robert Stuart are given less attention in an introduction to "the actual remains" (ibid. pp. 74–80), though they recur at appropriate points throughout. The bulk of the book is then divided into a detailed account and tracing of the lines of the Wall's main linear elements (ibid. pp. 96–188), and a detailed treatment of the known and hypothesised forts (ibid. pp. 189–341). Also discussed are "minor structures," the distance slabs and other inscriptions and sculptures, as well as the coins and miscellaneous small finds (ibid. pp. 343–465, across five chapters). A general conclusion (ibid. pp. 466–82) then wraps everything up in a discussion of the Wall and its relationship to Agricola's campaigns; the suggestion that the Wall's chief purpose was to mark, secure and control Roman territory; a brief comparison with parallels in China and India; and then a general summary of how the evidence for the Wall fits into reconstructions of the history of Roman Britain. A key point in Macdonald's interpretation of the evidence along the Wall was that many of the Antonine forts were located atop the remains of the *praesidia* ("posts") established by Agricola around AD 80 (Tac. *Agr*. 23; Macdonald 1934b: 466–67).

After publication of this second edition, Macdonald (1937) investigated the interior of the fort at Croy Hill; the actual excavation work was carried out by John Campbell, who "when accumulations of earth had to be moved […] was reinforced

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[61] A copy in the Bill Bryson Library at Durham University was previously in the personal collection of Professor Eric Birley. It contains many marginal notes in pencil, and retains the strong odour of a heavy Latakia pipe tobacco. I am uncertain if these derive from Birley's use of the volume.

by one or two labourers" (ibid. pp. 33–34). This project exposed the *principia*, Military Way/*via principalis*, and a granary, along with "evidence for at least two phases in the life of the fort" (ibid. p. 42). Small finds were sparse. Based on the structural and depositional details, as well as historical references to revolts in Britain, Macdonald posited three periods of occupation: from c. AD 142–155, c. AD 158–181, and for a very short period after AD 184 (ibid. p. 71). This would be the last major excavation before the onset of the Second World War.

By current standards, particular aspects of Macdonald's approach would be frowned upon by archaeologists and heritage managers. For example, in the Bar Hill report—almost certainly more the text of Macdonald than Park—great praise is heaped upon "Mr Alexander Whitelaw of Gartshore," who had not only loaned labourers to the earlier work of the Glasgow Archaeology Society, but who:

> has now laid under a much deeper obligation all who are in any way interested in the story of Roman Britain. With a public spirit that is beyond praise, he has had the camp and its surroundings systematically explored at his own expense, keeping in close personal touch with the work throughout, and letting it be clearly understood that excavation was to proceed until there was nothing more to be discovered. (Macdonald and Park 1906: 409)

Similarly, at Mumrills Macdonald praises the "practical help" of James Smith, son of the local tenant farmer, who, "in November, 1913 […] determined to drive the plough a little deeper than usual in passing over certain spots which had seemed to him in previous years to be rather different from the remainder of the surface" (Macdonald 1915: 117). While successful in terms of revealing the fort's southeast corner and a possible foundation that helped to determine the location of excavation trenches, this type of over-eager speculation is reckless and would not be condoned by current archaeologists. Nor would Whitelaw's order to excavate "until there was nothing more to be discovered" receive acceptance amongst professional archaeologists today. In most other respects, though, Macdonald was careful and meticulous and it must be remembered that he was working at a different time, and

that the discipline's current range of codes of ethics and practice (e.g.
http://www.archaeologists.net/codes/ifa; http://archaeological.org/about/policies)
are still evolving.[62]

Five years after the publication of Macdonald's (1934b) second edition of *The
Roman Wall in Scotland*, Britain declared war on Germany. Macdonald died of a
heart attack on 9 August, 1940 and little work was carried out along the Wall during
the war years, after which the scholarship of the Wall would enter a new era.

5.6 From Macdonald to the Present

After Macdonald, no single figure has so completely dominated the world of
Antonine Wall scholarship, though three individuals have since collectively
assumed a similar position: Professors Anne Robertson (1910–1997), David Breeze
and Lawrence Keppie. Other influential figures include Kenneth Steer (1913–2007),
Bill Hanson, Gordon Maxwell, and Geoff Bailey, while a large number of additional
scholars have made valuable contributions. Rather than offer a comprehensive
account, I will draw attention to major projects and developments in Antonine Wall
research from the Second World War up to the present. Further details will be
discussed by theme in Chapter Six.

At the conclusion of the War, excavation efforts resumed at, from east-to-
west, Mumrills (from 1958–60; Steer 1961), Rough Castle (from 1957–61; MacIvor et
al. 1980), Kirkintilloch (sporadically between 1953–61; Robertson 1964), and
Duntocher (from 1947–51; Robertson 1957). While Robertson's trenches at
Kirkintilloch failed to yield definitive evidence for the long-suspected fort's
defences, it nevertheless provided large quantities of Antonine pottery, the remains
of streets, and postholes for timber buildings, giving a clear indication that the fort
was probably sited in the area now occupied by Peel Park. At Duntocher,
Robertson's excavations confirmed the presence of the fort, and also a pre-fort

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[62] A number of authors have warned against an over-critical approach to the work of past
scholars. Keppie (2012: 6–9, 143) highlights the ongoing value of the work of antiquaries on
the Antonine Wall in spite of their deficiencies by current standards, and Hingley (2012: 187–
89), commenting on critical observations of John Clayton's work on Hadrian's Wall, suggests
that the development of the science of archaeology led to over critical reviews of earlier
traditions of work.

Antonine fortlet, both of which appear to have been constructed in advance of the Wall; the fort is the smallest on the Wall, and the fortlet was the first installation of this type to be definitively identified.

Perhaps the greatest development has been the contribution of remote sensing techniques, particularly aerial survey and photography, first used in the area of the Wall by O.G.S. Crawford, Archaeology Officer for the Ordnance Survey, who carried out work in Scotland during the 1930s–40s and inspired J.K.S. St. Joseph to devote much of his life to aerial photography (Maxwell 1997). While neither Crawford nor St. Joseph were specifically focused on the Antonine Wall as a primary object of study, it was nevertheless included in their respective efforts to use aerial methods to enlarge the understanding of Roman Britain. From the final years of the war through the 1980s, St. Joseph carried out a number of aerial surveys and aerial photography analyses, identifying a number of previously unknown sites across Britain. Most important for the research of the Antonine Wall, these included two fortlets at Glasgow Bridge (St. Joseph 1955; 1976: 12) and Wilderness Plantation (St. Joseph 1976: 12; later excavated by Wilkes 1974), and the long-debated fort at Carriden (St. Joseph 1949; 1951: 190). Aerial photography would also lead to the identification of a number of Roman temporary camps throughout Scotland, including at least twenty in the vicinity of the Antonine Wall (Jones 2005), as well as additional fortlets at Seabegs Wood (Keppie and Walker 1977) and Summerston (Hanson and Maxwell 1981).

Chance finds also played a major role in the post-war period, none more spectacular than an altar ploughed up in a field to the southeast of the recently discovered fort at Carriden (Richmond and Steer 1957). The altar itself is rather ordinary, but its inscription made it really significant, attesting both the presence of a *vicus*, or civilian settlement, attached to the fort and providing the Roman name for the fort: *Velunia* or *Veluniate*, the first of a line of northern stations listed in the *Ravenna Cosmography*, a probable eighth-century itinerary of place-names (Frere 2001). With Carriden's ancient identity thus confirmed (the only fort along the Antonine Wall to be so), it now seems very likely that the *Cosmography*'s list runs east-to-west, though the number of stations does not match the number of known

forts along the Wall, and attempts to relate additional names to particular sites remain inconclusive. The details of these debates have already been discussed in Chapter Three.

In 1960, remarking on the state of Wall scholarship and summarising work carried out between 1934–1959, Steer (1960a: 85) noted that "the forts at Kinneil, Inveravon, Falkirk, Seabegs, and Kirkintilloch still await discovery." Remarking on the presence of fortlets—at this time three (Watling Lodge, Wilderness Plantation, Glasgow Bridge) in number—Steer pondered their potential similarity to the Hadrian's Wall milecastles, both in terms of a regular series and function, and suggested that "the complete examination of one of these fortlets is perhaps the most urgent task" (ibid. p. 86). The fortlet at Wilderness Plantation would be excavated between 1965–66 (Wilkes 1974) and further excavations would identify additional fortlets at Kinneil (Keppie and Walker 1981; Bailey and Cannel 1996), Croy Hill (Goodburn 1978: 413–14) and Cleddans (Keppie and Walker 1981), bringing the number of known fortlets to nine (Fig. 5.9). These fortlets would prove to be crucial support for a new hypothesis offered by John Gillam (1976), in which it was argued that the Antonine Wall was originally modelled after the second plan for Hadrian's Wall, with a smaller number of "primary" forts and fortlets at mile intervals in between. This hypothesis would be particularly influential for some years, and was further developed by Hanson and Maxwell (1983).
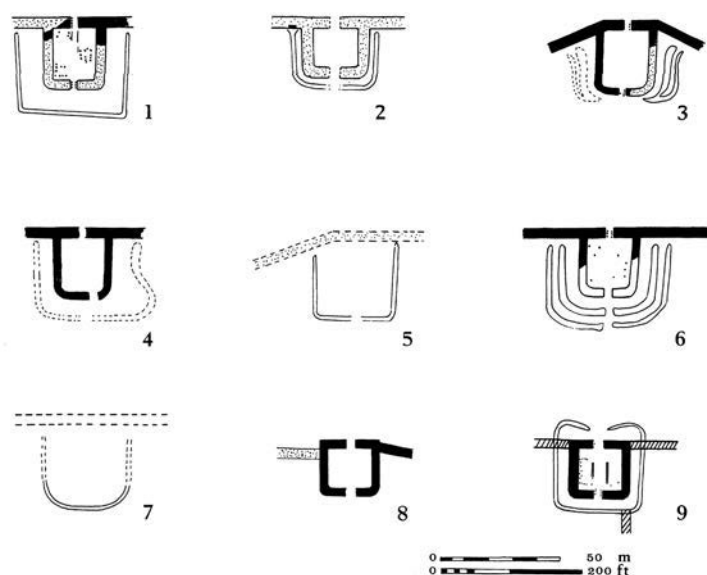
Figure 5.9. Comparative plans of Antonine Wall fortlets (Robertson 2001: 30).
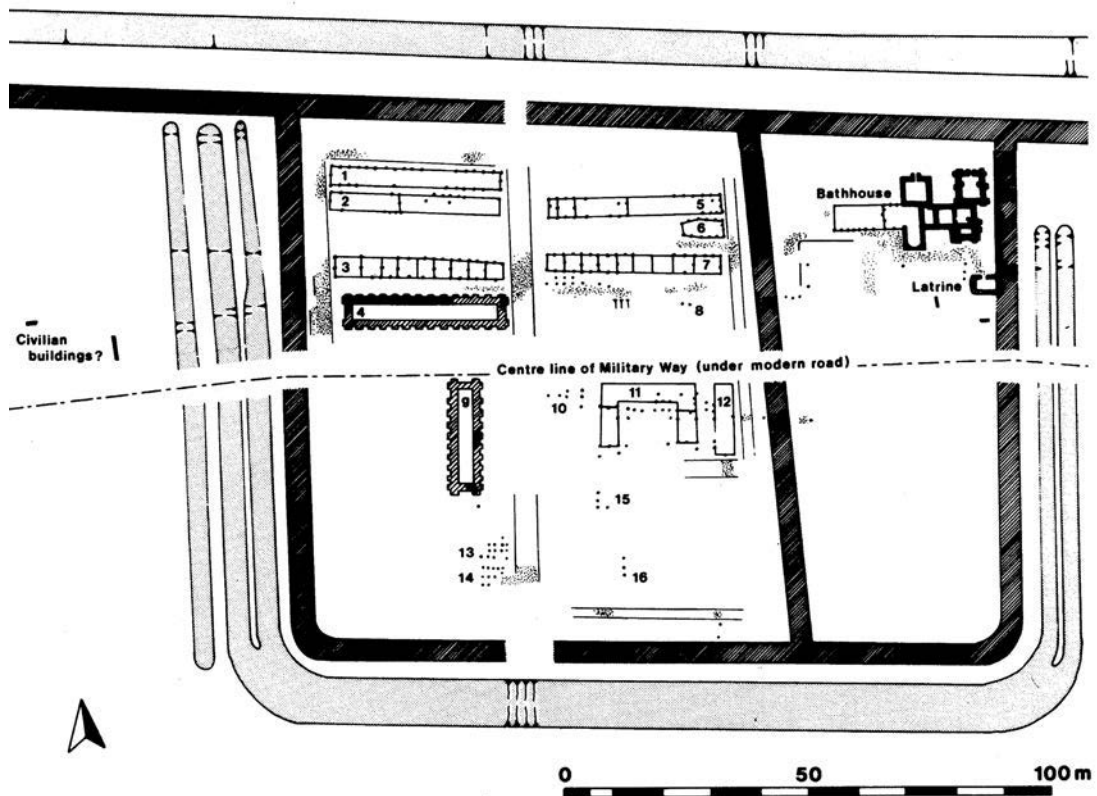
Figure 5.10. Plan of Bearsden Roman fort and annexe (Keppie 1982: 104).

In the same period, from 1973–82, Breeze carried out the only major post-war fort excavation, at Bearsden (Fig. 5.10); this remains to be fully published, but some preliminary results have been produced (Breeze 1974; 1977; 1984). These excavations revealed much of the fort's general plan, including a unique arrangement wherein there appears to have been no commanding officer's house and the fort and annexe were either planned together from the start, or the fort was later reduced in size by the addition of an internal rampart that created a separate annexe area. Sewage deposits have also been analysed to provide tentative reconstructions of the soldiers' diet. Breeze has had the highest profile of any Antonine Wall scholar since Macdonald, but his research interests have been divided across imperial Rome's several frontiers: in addition to his archaeological work on the Antonine Wall, he plays a major role in the management of the triennial International Limes (Roman Frontiers) Congress first organised by Professor Eric Birley in 1949, is recognised as the foremost expert on Hadrian's Wall, has cultivated joint research agendas across the Roman frontiers in Britain and Germany (including the establishment of the new multi-national expanding "Frontiers of the

Roman Empire" UNESCO World Heritage Site), spearheaded Scotland's bid to make the Antonine Wall the latest addition to that WHS, and is the President or past-President of several archaeological and antiquarian societies across Britain.

A great deal of work has been carried out in the period since Macdonald, though little of it has been conducted on the scale of individual projects between 1890–1934. In contrast to Hadrian's Wall, where extensive excavations have been carried out since the 1970s—at, e.g. South Shields (Bidwell and Speak 1994), Wallsend (Hodgson 2003), Housesteads (Rushworth 2009), *Vindolanda* (Birley 2009), Birdoswald (Wilmott et al. 2009), and Maryport (Haynes and Wilmott 2012)—the most recent major excavation on the Antonine Wall was at Bearsden, and the accumulation of further detailed knowledge about the Wall has generally occurred somewhat slowly, with small exploratory trenches at many locations, through watching briefs carried out during local development or pipe-laying projects, and in a range of targeted explorations via small-scale excavation and geophysical survey. The value of aerial survey and analysis of photographs and satellite imagery has proven itself, and continues to be employed to good effect.

Recent work sometimes reveals evidence for non-Roman activities and material, but these are usually relegated to lists of incidental information, as the focus of investigation is firmly centred on the Wall's Roman identity. Geophysical surveys have also played an increasing role in the investigation of the Wall. While these have provided much useful information, they have also been rather disappointing; not in terms of their limitations, but in terms of the fact that their use to seek evidence of extramural civilian settlements, or *vici*, have yielded no clear identifications of these much-sought and highly elusive features (Stephens et al. 2008). While many of the earliest archaeological investigations were published on a site-by-site basis, more recent work along the Wall has often seen primary communication through short summaries in Archaeology Scotland's annual *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, or through a series of composite publications reporting on, e.g. "further discoveries on the line of the Antonine Wall" (Macdonald 1925), "recent work on the Antonine Wall" (Robertson 1969), or "some excavations on the line of the Antonine Wall" (Keppie et al. 1995). At present, we also continue

to await full and final publication of excavations at Falkirk (1991 by Bailey), Camelon (1975–77, 1979 by Maxfield), Croy Hill (1975–78 by Hanson), and Bearsden (1973–82 by Breeze).

Currently, the Antonine Wall is one of ten locations being investigated by the Scottish Ten Project (http://www.scottishten.org/), which focuses on a 3D laser scanning methodology incorporating both high-resolution aerial (LiDAR) and on-the-ground laser scanning in order to facilitate the study of the Wall's line and its associated structures. It is hoped that this data will help to clarify the line of the Wall in areas where its precise location remains uncertain, that it will help to elucidate the relationship between features, that it may identify new structures, and that it may be be used to develop virtual reconstructions and augmented reality applications. The airborne LiDAR survey has already been completed, covering the entire length of the Wall in high-resolution detail, but this data has not yet been processed or analysed. The accompanying on-the-ground scanning at various locations is currently underway, and it will be exciting to see the results of this work. In the meantime, LiDAR data available through the Environment Agency (http://www.geomatics-group.co.uk/) covers only a small section of the Wall (Fig. 5.11), between Carriden and just east of the fort at Mumrills, and this is limited by low-resolution (2m between points) data capture.
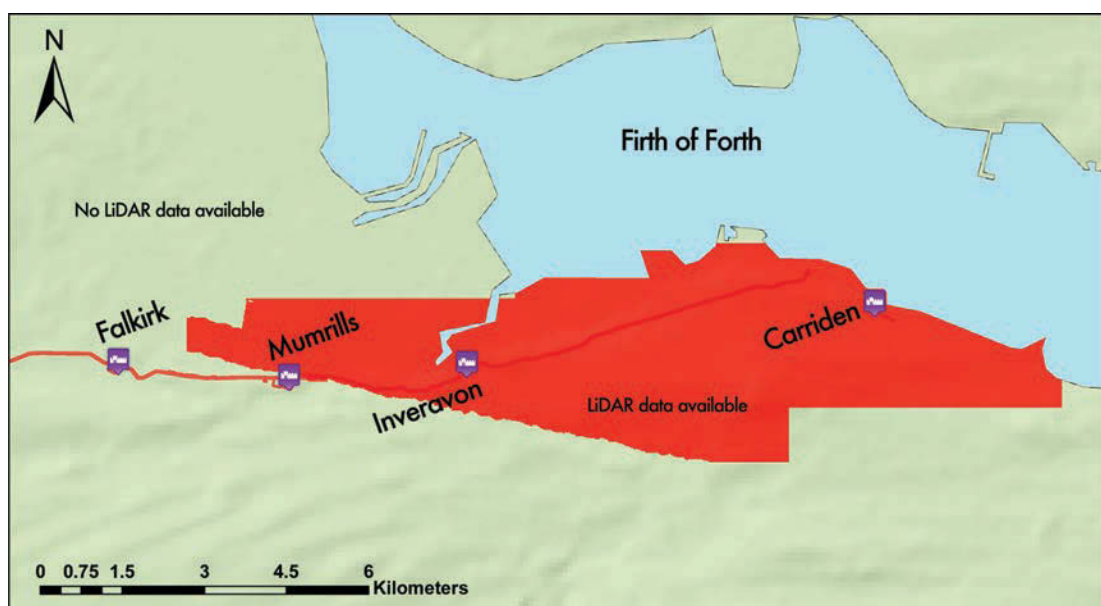
Figure 5.11. Currently available LiDAR data for the Antonine Wall (does not include recent Scottish Ten Project survey).

Research on the Antonine Wall takes place within a variety of overlapping and related areas, including several recently developed formal "research frameworks." The Scottish Archaeological Research Framework (ScARF), initiated in 2008 by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and funded and supported by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), Historic Scotland, and National Museums Scotland, brought together hundreds of archaeologists and related specialists to summarise the current state of knowledge and to establish research questions for Scotland's archaeological heritage from the Palaeolithic to the present. The Roman period report (ScARF 2012c) summarises a range of information and makes important recommendations for future research. Another related research framework is that developed for Hadrian's Wall (Symonds and Mason 2009). Inspired by both of these, work is currently underway to develop a research framework for the Antonine Wall. Chapter Six will focus on the current themes in Antonine Wall scholarship, drawing on major works of the past thirty years (e.g. Breeze 2006a; Hanson and Maxwell 1983; Robertson 2001), as well as the published ScARF and *Hadrian's Wall Research Framework*, and a planned outline of topics for the in-progress *Antonine Wall Research Framework*.

5.7 Discussion

This chapter has summarised the Antonine Wall's history of archaeological investigation from the initiation of systematic excavation in the 1890s until the present, highlighting key projects, major figures, and important developments. The advent of modern excavations took place within a context of similar developments on other Roman frontiers in England and Germany, and close contacts between scholars helped to create a shared discourse in which knowledge acquired in one area was applied to the description and interpretation elsewhere.

The Glasgow Archaeological Society's Antonine Wall Committee was the first to carry out an extensive campaign of excavations, focused on the Wall's central sector, and emphasising the line of the Rampart and Ditch. This campaign, and its subsequent publication, solidified the Wall's current name, replacing "Graham's Dyke" (originally "Grymisdyke") with "The Antonine Wall." Between 1895–1910,

the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland excavated Roman forts at Castlecary, Camelon and Rough Castle, as well as a number of other forts across Scotland. These excavations provided new details that augmented knowledge acquired through earlier antiquarian surveys of the surface remains and, most spectacularly, revealed the presence of large defensive pits—"lilia"—north of the Outer Mound at Rough Castle. During this period, another fort was independently excavated at Bar Hill, introducing a new figure to Antonine Wall research: George Macdonald.

From 1910 until the end of the Second World War, the archaeology of the Antonine Wall was dominated by Macdonald, who provided the first detailed syntheses of its archaeology, drawing on antiquarian testimony, the work of the Glasgow Archaeological Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and his own subsequent surveys and targeted excavations over many years. The second edition of Macdonald's (1934b) volume *The Roman Wall in Scotland* remains the most substantial treatment of the Wall's archaeological evidence, though more recent discoveries and interpretations are presented in newer less-ambitious syntheses (Hanson and Maxwell 1983; Robertson 2001; Breeze 2006a), as well as documents prepared for the Wall's successful World Heritage Site bid (AWND 2007; AWMP 2007). These sources present an orthodox perspective in which the Wall is defined as a frontier of the Roman empire and in which the Roman remains both dominate discussion and inquiry, and are primarily interpreted in terms of the Roman military; this follows a military focus that was first explicitly emphasised by Horsley (1732) and subsequently reinforced by Roy (1793).

Following Macdonald's first synthesis, major excavations at Balmuildy were cut short by the First World War, and further investigation was primarily limited to surveys and targeted small-scale excavation in Macdonald's spare time. Despite the low-intensity nature of these explorations, Macdonald was able to conclusively identify four forts, to clarify the Wall's line at multiple points, and to note an important change in the Rampart's superstructure to either side of Watling Lodge. Further excavations took place between the wars, and then after World War II, with the most substantial at Bearsden between 1973–82. Beyond this excavation, post-war archaeological investigation has primarily relied on aerial reconnaissance, field

survey, watching briefs, and limited small-scale excavation—usually related to development activities. This change in the nature and intensity of archaeological intervention on the Wall may reflect changing strategies of heritage management and protection, the lack of a single "champion" to replace Macdonald in the post-War era (while Breeze has perhaps come closest, his research has focused more heavily on Hadrian's Wall), increasing costs of archaeological fieldwork and limited funds to carry out extensive projects, and problems posed by the Antonine Wall's lower (public and research) profile in comparison to the more iconic Hadrian's Wall.

The Antonine Wall's less-impressive turf-and-earthwork nature may be a primary factor and, while it has certainly seen more substantial recent attention than other linear earthworks in Britain (e.g. Offa's Dyke and Wansdyke), recent research and fieldwork on Hadrian's Wall has been far more extensive and dynamic. Hingley (2012) highlights how Hadrian's Wall's "living significance" provides an important impetus for continuing archaeological fieldwork and reconstruction efforts, but he also demonstrates how these practices continually feed its "living spirit" by transforming knowledge and offering new opportunities for scholars and the public to experience its Roman past in the present (ibid. pp. 275–300). No similar projects are currently underway on the Antonine Wall, where archaeological work continues to be limited to small-scale excavations usually in advance of development, or via non-invasive methods of survey, remote sensing, or the reconsideration of material recorded before the 1980s. The nature of archaeological interventions since the Second World War, and the means of communication through short summaries or composite publications makes it increasingly difficult to assess the Wall's archaeology on a site-by-site basis: the development of up-to-date site-specific monographs or a site-tagged database of existing publications will make this valuable data more accessible and help to unlock the potential for new research.

Genealogically, archaeological investigation of the Antonine Wall is divorced from many of the accounts discussed in Chapters Three and Four. In many ways this is seen as an entirely new approach to the investigation of the Wall, in which the Wall's story is now being re-written on a clean slate free from the problems of erroneous historical accounts, and based entirely on the material

evidence acquired through systematic archaeological surveys and excavation. Keppie's (2012) recent historiography has demonstrated that the reality is not so simple, and that the Wall's archaeological era owes much to the works of previous historians and antiquarians. I have shown that this genealogy is even more complex, and that while the current archaeological approach is indebted to the contributions of early historians and antiquarian investigators, this has been subject to processes of selection and rejection. The new approach is not based on archaeological evidence alone but, rather, on a combination of select historical sources, material evidence, and current ideas about the history and archaeology of the Roman military drawn from research carried out on the Antonine Wall, Hadrian's Wall, the German *Limes*, and other areas of the Roman empire.

In this tradition, the classical sources—rediscovered and reintroduced to discourse since the Renaissance—are privileged over other historical accounts, with credibility only being restored to later accounts based on the extent in which they offer an acceptable recognition or understanding of the Wall's material remains. Gildas is afforded little value, and some scholars even reject the suggestion that his turf Wall represents the Antonine Wall, opting instead to view it as a description of Hadrian's Wall's Vallum (e.g. Macdonald 1934b: 26; Keppie 2012: 19). Bede is given greater value, but this is based on his description of the Wall's approximate location and statement that parts of it were still visible in the eighth century (*Hist. Eccles.* 1.12), rather than for his Gildas-derived narrative, which is given little credance. A good example of this view—and the Antonine Wall's close connections to the research tradition of Hadrian's Wall—is seen in Eric Birley's (1961: 1) review of Hadrian's Wall's antiquarian history: Birley, Hingley (2012: 37) notes, "does not mention Gildas but suggests that Bede qualifies for inclusion because he provides some precise figures for the width and height of [Hadrian's] Wall." Similarly, while Keppie (2012) is careful to tell a more inclusive story of the Antonine Wall's post-Roman historiography, his treatment is clearly weighted in favour of individuals who have contributed detailed—and largely descriptive—knowledge since the late sixteenth century.

Keppie rightly argues for "the value of the antiquarian record," but this value is seen primarily in terms of antiquaries' ability to *describe* the Wall's remains at a time in which they were better preserved (ibid. pp. 6–9). That Keppie even needs to make this argument is revealing: few current Antonine Wall scholars have seriously read accounts that pre-date its archaeological era, and some see little value in reading antiquarian accounts or in studying pre-archaeological engagements with the Wall (Lawrence Keppie, pers. comm.). Where early accounts are taken seriously, this is primarily limited to the work of John Horsley; while it has been demonstrated (Chapter Four, and in Keppie 2012: 71–83) that Horsley offered few new details for the Antonine Wall, but primarily reiterated Gordon's descriptions and assessment, Horsley's position as the favoured antiquarian of Antonine Wall archaeologists appears to derive less from his contributions to the investigation of the Antonine Wall itself, but primarily from his greater relevance to the wider concerns of specifically Roman military archaeology across Britain (Bidwell 1997: 15–17; Hingley 2012: 111–12). The primacy of this military emphasis will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Six.

While this chapter has summarised 125 years of archaeological investigation, it has not provided a detailed analysis of the various projects or material remains. Rather, the aim has been to provide a short narrative that establishes the context for the following chapter, which draws on the particular details of archaeological investigations and interpretations to identify and critically assess current themes in Antonine Wall research.

Chapter Six:
Current Themes in Antonine Wall Research

> The Antonine Wall bears testimony to the maximum extension of the power of the Roman Empire, by the consolidation of its frontiers in the north of the British Isles, in the middle of the 2nd century AD. The property illustrates the Roman Empire's ambition to dominate the world in order to establish its law and way of life there in a long-term perspective. (UNESCO 2009: 182–83)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter completes Part 2 by providing a summary and critical analysis of current themes in Antonine Wall research, drawn from recent literature, the Wall's World Heritage Site Management Plan (AWMP 2007), and the *Antonine Wall Research Framework* which is currently under development. These themes represent the present state of the Wall's story as an object of discourse, focusing on its now-standard definition as a frontier of the Roman Empire. Four overarching themes are recognisable: the Wall's location and structural anatomy, its historical sequence and relationship to the broader history of Roman Britain, the planning and building of the Wall, and the Wall's overall purpose. These topics are tightly intertwined and while much attention has been paid to minute details of anatomy and hypothetical reconstructions of the Wall's "plan" and building programme, this attention is generally seen as necessary for understanding both the Antonine Wall's place in a larger historical context and for understanding its purpose. While these may be identified as the dominant concerns, they have by no means been the only ones, and several specialised studies have been carried out in other areas. These themes, along with those of landscape and environment, production and procurement, and life and society—highlighted in the recent *Hadrian's Wall Research Framework* (Symonds and Mason 2009) and adopted thence for the forthcoming *Antonine Wall Research Framework*—will structure the following discussion of recent research on the Antonine Wall. Again, this will not be comprehensive, but aims to highlight key aspects of how research has proceeded, and to summarise the current state of

knowledge on the Wall and its role as a frontier of the Roman Empire. Particular themes have been more thoroughly developed by this research tradition than others, and the various arguments and complexities of debate have contributed to an unequal treatment in the summaries provided here; this inequality does not imply a suggested level of importance, giving preference to some themes over others but is, rather, a reflection of the Wall's research tradition.[63]

6.2 Location and Structural Anatomy

No topic has consumed as much energy as the quest to fully document the Wall's precise location and structural anatomy. While the general details have long been known, most of the archaeological work carried out since the 1890s has sought to move beyond the general toward the particular. Much work has been undertaken to confirm the actual line of Rampart, Ditch and Military Way, to tabulate their measurements, and to investigate variations in their makeup and dimensions. Similarly, various installations have been investigated—sometimes in great detail— to determine their locations, dimensions, structural characteristics and sequence, as well as variability across and within each class.

The linear elements of Rampart, Ditch, Outer Mound, and Military Way have been well-known since the eighteenth century, though the filling of gaps in the certain identification of each from terminus to terminus remains incomplete. Filling these gaps was the chief aim of the Antonine Wall Committee in the 1890s, and also dominated Macdonald's investigations in the period between the two editions (1911; 1934b) of his magisterial synthesis. The precise location of these elements along the Wall, however, remains uncertain at various points, and the forthcoming *Antonine Wall Research Framework* raises this as a continuing area for future research.

There has been considerable debate about the details of the Wall's anatomy, and these may appear arcane to those who are new or less-immersed in the Antonine Wall's scholarship. For example, did the Ditch feature a square-cut "cleaning-channel" or "basal slot" at its bottom (Fig. 6.1), as featured in many

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[63] Some themes, while attracting a great deal of attention, are easier to summarise than others. The length of summaries provided here, then, is not necessarily based on the amount of work carried out for each theme, but on the nature of their evidence and arguments.

drawings and possibly indicated at particular points (Macdonald 1934b: 90; Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 75)? While Macdonald had noted such a feature at Mumrills, he also describes a similar occurrence in the fort defences at Bar Hill, which he explains as follows: "such a device, besides facilitating drainage, would aggravate the difficulty of getting out of a deep trench, a circumstance that may well have prompted its adoption" (Macdonald 1934b: 276). In a talk during the course of the 2009 Hadrian's Wall Pilgrimage, Humphrey Welfare (English Heritage) suggested that this was probably not an accurate—or at least regular—interpretation of the Ditch's profile, but had merely been assumed and drawn into all subsequent Ditch drawings on the strength of Macdonald's reputation alone (see also Welfare 2000; 2004). While this reveals a deep and laudable concern with getting the details—no matter how minute—right, it is unlikely that confirmation either way would change overall interpretations. Similarly, documentation and debate of the various points where the Ditch narrows or widens may appear to be trivial.
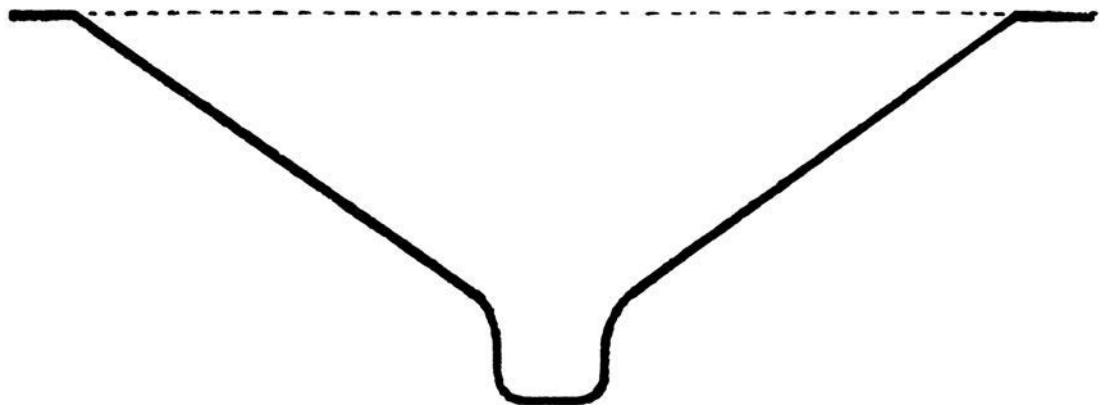
Figure 6.1. Ditch profile, featuring the "basal slot" (Macdonald 1934b: 90).

There has also been a long-standing debate over the Wall's termini, particularly in the east, where firm archaeological evidence—in the form of a distance slab, but not any of the primary linear features of Rampart, Ditch, or Outer Mound—has been traced only as far as Bridgeness, but a long tradition placed it at Carriden or even further east. Noting poor preservation from Kinneil eastward, some scholars have turned to the testimony of early accounts to argue that the Wall ended at the fort at Carriden (Bailey and Devereux 1987; Bailey 1992a; Dumville 1994). The absence of structural evidence for the Wall's linear elements, however,

has led other scholars (e.g. Breeze 2006a: 80–81) to reject this theory and maintain Macdonald's proposed terminus near the findspot of the Bridgeness distance slab (despite the lack of structural evidence for the Wall's linear features or an installation, the distance slab is generally taken as evidence that the line extended to this vicinity, as the distance slabs are widely interpreted as recording the construction of the Rampart).

The high importance placed on the identification and understanding of structural evidence is revealed by the countless times in which such evidence—or more often, the lack thereof—is used to either support or reject claims that are otherwise reasonably argued. This is not unique to Antonine Wall scholarship, however, and is common in many other areas of archaeology, including the closely related investigation of Hadrian's Wall. In a paper read at the 2011 Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Matt Symonds (2011) discussed the structural details of milecastles on Hadrian's Wall. When challenged, in discussion, on the wider significance of the perceived minutiae of his line of inquiry, Symonds responded that in the case of major debates such as the original purpose for which the Wall was built, "it all comes down to the pivot holes" in milecastle gateways, implying that such small details are not inconsequential, but may have important implications for wider concerns.[64]

Attention to fine details, then, should not be so readily dismissed as trivial minutiae, but as an important part of providing comprehensive documentation of the Wall's remains, the database of which informs interpretation of the Wall in other areas. Hingley (2012: 250–53), however, notes that in the case of Hadrian's Wall, scholars' confidence that rigorous investigation of its physical structure would eventually lead to secure resolution of key problems has been unfounded, with new evidence seldom settling the main questions but, rather, leading to new questions of ever-increasing specificity and detail.

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[64] Here, Symonds is suggesting that the evidence of pivot holes favours Breeze and Dobson's (2000) view that Hadrian's Wall was primarily built to control movement rather than to act as a line of defence, as they demonstrate that the gates were meant to be opened, allowing traffic through the Wall at controlled locations.

6.3 Historical Context

Attempts to understand the Antonine Wall's chronology and historical context date back to the accounts of the early medieval period, and have seen subsequent revision through the rediscovery of classical texts and the work of antiquarians and early historians, as discussed in Chapter Four. Macdonald (1934b) contextualised the Wall in terms of the organisation of the Roman army (pp. 37–54), frontier policy and the organisation of frontier posts (pp. 55–73), and the Wall's place in the history of Roman Britain from the time of Agricola to its final abandonment, which he placed around AD 185 (pp. 466–82). This abandonment date derives from the account of a British revolt in the reign of Commodus under the governorship of Ulpius Marcellus (Dio *Hist. Rom.* 72.8.1–6), rather than from datable archaeological material, and illustrates the close relationship between historical sources and archaeological interpretation. This relationship continues, and much of the work of clarifying the chronology of the Wall is tied up in broader attempts to reconcile the disparate data for Roman Britain provided by historical and archaeological sources (e.g. Hodgson 1995; 2009a). Contributors to this theme are often not specifically concerned with the archaeology of the Antonine Wall itself but, rather, establishing the order of events in northern Britain from the construction of Hadrian's Wall to the Roman withdrawal of Britain in the early fifth century; in this regard, developments in the understanding of Hadrian's Wall and its chronology have played a major role in establishing the framework into which the Antonine Wall is placed. Tacitus' *Agricola* has also been influential in raising important questions about activities in the Wall zone prior to the Antonine period.

6.3.1 Agricola's Praesidia

While Tacitus (*Agr.* 23) clearly describes the construction of stations, *praesidia*, along the Forth-Clyde isthmus by his father-in-law Agricola around AD 80, and it had long been assumed that these sites were later reused as part of the Antonine frontier (e.g. Macdonald 1934b), the evidence from excavation is inconclusive and, therefore, this assumption is no longer widely supported (Hanson 1980; 1991). Nearby sites that have been identified as Flavian in date (and, therefore, likely related to Agricola's campaigns) include Camelon (Maxfield 1980), Elginhaugh (Hanson 2007),

Barochan Hill (Keppie and Newall 1998), and Mollins (Hanson and Maxwell 1980). Finds of Flavian date have been identified at some sites along the Antonine Wall, including Castlecary, Kirkintilloch, Cadder, Balmuildy, and Old Kilpatrick, but without the support of structural evidence for a pre-Antonine occupation of the site.

Flavian finds have also been identified at Mumrills, the largest fort on the Wall. When Macdonald and Curle excavated the site in the 1920s, they discovered an occupied area just west of the Antonine fort, which they interpreted as the remains of an earlier Agricolan fort (Macdonald and Curle 1929: 400–06). According to the report, this early fort's eastern defences lie under the modern roadway that cuts across the Antonine fort, and its western ditches continued to serve a similar purpose for an Antonine period annexe (Fig. 6.2). Support for a Flavian date include "one or two small pieces of Samian ware and two or three fragments of coarse pottery" (ibid. pp. 405-6). They hypothesized that the Agricolan fort's likely annexe occupied the area of the later Antonine fort, while the arrangement was reversed in the Antonine period (ibid. p. 500). Subsequent excavations by Steer (1961) effectively demolished this interpretation by failing to identify the supposed Agricolan fort's western defences where Macdonald and Curle had suggested they lie but, rather, what was reinterpreted as those of the Antonine annexe (ibid. p. 89).
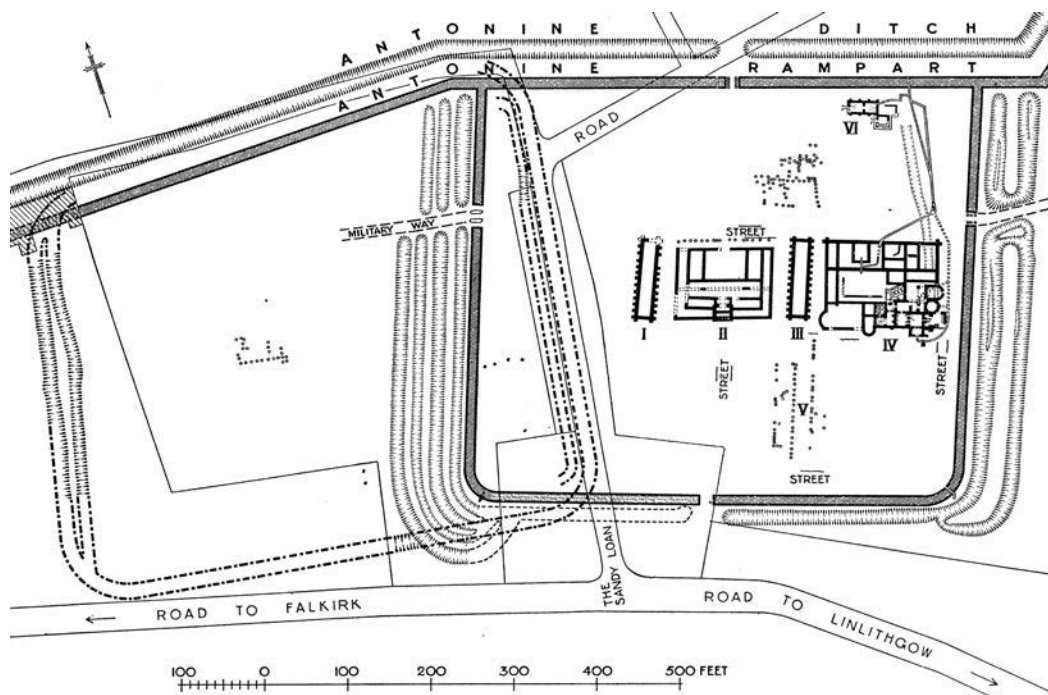
Figure 6.2. Macdonald's (1934b: 196) plan of the two forts at Mumrills.

Continued investigation of the Antonine fort's annexe by Geoff Bailey in the 1990s yielded further evidence of Flavian pottery, re-opening the debate and suggesting that Steer's rejection of an Agricolan fort required reconsideration (Robertson 2001: 61). On the evidence here, and in excavations of the Antonine fort's multiple southwest corner ditches, Bailey had suggested that the ditches of a first-century fort were cut by the later Antonine fort's defences, controversially returning to Macdonald's interpretation (Hodgson 2009b: 58). Most recently, however, Bailey (2010) has reconsidered the evidence and suggested, instead, that while there was indeed an earlier fort whose ditches had been cut by the known Antonine fort, it was actually a fort of very early Antonine date. This early Antonine fort (Fig. 6.3) would have been constructed in advance of the Wall's Rampart, and then replaced by a new fort centred slightly further east around the time the Rampart construction crew arrived. It is argued that this shift in fort location "arose from a desire to control west/east communications as well as those from the north to the south" (ibid. p. 93).
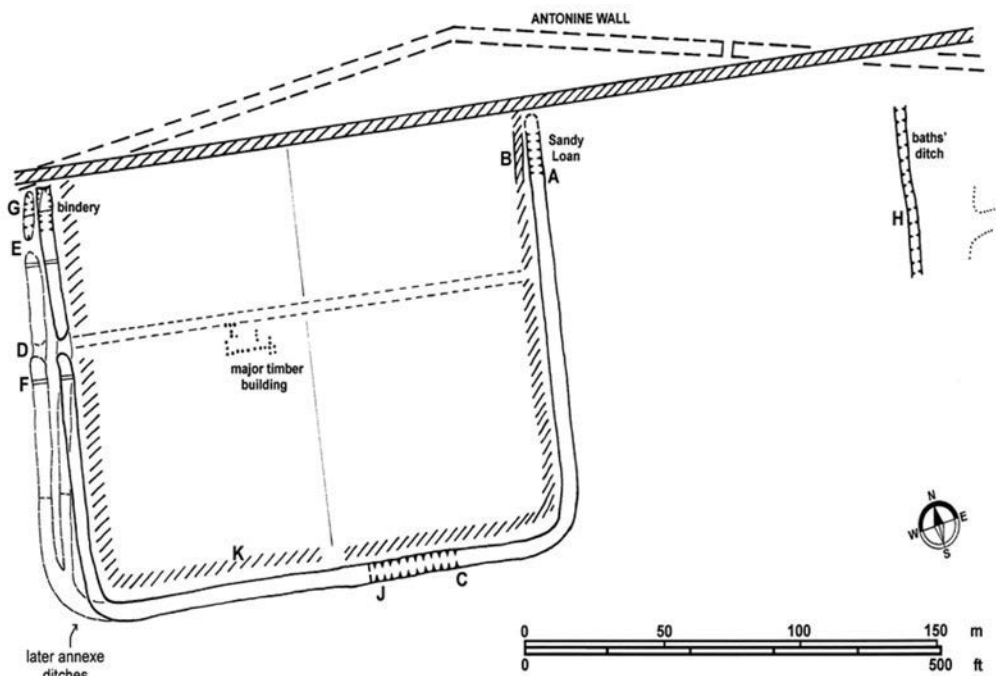
Figure 6.3. Bailey's (2010: 95) plan of the early Antonine fort at Mumrills.

The interest in identifying Agricola's various stations along the Forth-Clyde has not subsided, though the available evidence from the forts along the Antonine

Wall has perhaps disappointed the hopes of many who would like to locate this earlier line. In recent years Mumrills appeared to be the best candidate for finding one of Agricola's lost *praesidia* but, as with all other Antonine Wall sites where the suggestion of Flavian occupation has been made, the structural record continues to fail to provide the necessary evidence. For now, at least, it appears as if Agricola's Forth-Clyde line was composed of just a few sites with, perhaps, only Camelon serving both Agricola's campaign and the Antonine frontier. It is widely accepted that the Flavian occupation of Scotland was effectively ended by AD 86/7, with no sites north of Newstead providing any evidence for military activity between this time and the later Antonine period.

6.3.2 Antonine Occupation(s)

While the Wall itself has been firmly established as Antonine in origin since the final years of the seventeenth century when the "Lollius Urbicus" inscription (RIB 2191) was discovered at Balmuildy, the dates of its final abandonment and period(s) of use have been the subject of much contestation in the post-war era. The classical accounts of events in Roman Britain provide few concrete details, and the evidence of datable archaeological finds has been contradictory, setting *samian* pottery against coarse wares, and coin hoards against individual coins from stratified excavation (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 137). The structural and epigraphic evidence from forts on the Wall and elsewhere in Scotland, along with historical testimony of continued trouble in Britain, has also been used to suggest a gap in the Antonine occupation. Important studies of pottery and a reassessment of the archaeological and historical data have produced significant changes to current understanding of the Wall's Antonine history.

Before the Second World War, Macdonald (1934b: 474–82) suggested that the archaeological evidence showed three distinct periods on the Wall: AD 142–55, 158–80, and a very short period around 184–85. The arguments, however, were primarily supported by then-current historical reconstructions, rather than the archaeological data. There was some evidence for destruction and rebuilding within the forts, but can these be so readily aligned with modern reconstructions of an historical sequence based on very few historical references; sources that do not specifically

mention the Wall and which were written at a considerable distance temporally and spatially from the events they narrate. The first major change to Macdonald's sequence was provided by Steer (1964), who showed that evidence for the third Antonine occupation was lacking. From this point onward, however, the first two periods remained firmly embedded in the scholarship of the Roman frontiers in Britain, though the precise dating would see refinement through new studies of the ceramic evidence.

In the 1970s, two important pottery studies reduced the period of Antonine occupation(s) of Scotland by two decades, establishing a new date for final abandonment in the mid-160s. A comparison of *samian* ware (Fig. 6.4; Hartley 1972) from sites throughout Scotland, as well as on Hadrian's Wall and its hinterland forts, concluded that "nothing more than the briefest reoccupation of Scotland during the last three decades of the century ought to be possible" (ibid. p. 36), and that both "Antonine I and Antonine II [periods] must both fall entirely before c. 165" (ibid. p. 38). A further study (Gillam 1974) re-dated the coarse pottery from the frontier zone, bringing it into line with Hartley's suggestions. With this new information, Hanson and Maxwell (1983: 143) declared that "the overall chronological picture is now relatively clear," summarising the dates of structural phases for Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall in a short table (Table 6.1):

HADRIAN'S WALL		ANTONINE WALL	
Structural Phase	Date	Structural Phase	Date
IA	122–142		
		I	142–*c*.158
	158		
		II	*c*.158–164
IB	164–185		
II	185–197/208		

Table 6.1: Occupational Periods on the Roman Walls in Britain.
Reproduced from Hanson and Maxwell (1983: 143).

This scheme was so confidently supported that they continue: "inevitably future work will produce refinements, but it seems unlikely that the main periods of occupation […] will be seriously challenged" (ibid.). Just such a challenge, however, would emerge a decade later.

Figure 6.4. Samian pottery from the Antonine Wall (Breeze 2006a: 165).

An important paper by Nick Hodgson (1995) has questioned the theory of two Antonine occupations. Hodgson notes that the interpretation of archaeological evidence from the Wall and sites located to the north and west of Newstead has been predisposed toward the view of multiple Antonine occupations on the basis of established tradition, rather than on careful examination of the archaeological data itself. Considering the wider range of Roman fort excavations, Hodgson argues that these sites were subject to "constant activity" of "alterations and changes in plan" during the course of uninterrupted occupation, and that "some of the recorded evidence for successive periods of occupation in Antonine Wall forts now seems the product of preconceived ideas or wishful-thinking" (ibid. p. 32). While epigraphic evidence attests the presence of two distinct military units in garrison at certain "primary" forts—and almost certainly not at the same time—this can be explained by a general reorganisation of the frontier when a number of "secondary" forts were

added to the line ("primary" and "secondary" forts will be discussed in more detail below). Further, Hodgson expresses concerns about the origins of the multiple occupation theory, laying the blame on an uncritical but widespread acceptance of the "invent[ion]" of the 150s "Brigantian revolt" by Haverfield (1904; Heslop and Haverfield 1904) "as a means of interpreting some old and some newly discovered evidence for events in the mid-second century" (Hodgson 1995: 36). Noting the continued acceptance of the theory, however, Hodgson remarks that:

> The process has become circular: it is thought likely that there was a Brigantian revolt because of a break in the occupation of the Antonine Wall; the evidence for that break (if it exists at all) was gathered as a result of expectations raised by the theory of a Brigantian revolt. In truth, of course, there is no direct evidence whatsoever that such a rebellion occurred in Brigantia during the 150s. (ibid. p. 37)

With these arguments, Hodgson succeeded in shifting opinion away from the theory of multiple Antonine occupations toward a view of one continuous period, c. AD 142–158/64, with a "realistic […] possibility that the abandonment […] may have taken as long as six years or more from the decision in or shortly before 158 to some time after 164" (Breeze 2006a: 167). While this remains the dominant opinion, questions about the reliability of Hartley and Gillam's ceramic dating, as well as the presence of several coins post-dating the early 160s (Mann 1988), suggest that the chronology remains uncertain.

6.3.3 Severan Campaigns and Beyond

Comparatively little work has been undertaken to explore the issue of the Antonine Wall's role in the post-Antonine period. This is partially due to the fact that the Wall's accepted chronology in the past century and more has left no room for such later activities, but is also supported by the lack of firm evidence for any occupation beyond the Antonine period. There are no inscriptions from the Wall featuring the names of any emperor after Antoninus, and the coins and pottery are almost unanimous in their Antonine dating. Today, few archaeologists would suggest that

the Wall was occupied in any real sense after AD 164. Very limited evidence—including stray coins dating to later in the second century and hoards of considerably later date (Fig. 6.5)—however, tells us that something was going on (see Chapter Seven, 7.2.1), and historical sources continue to report troubles in Britain. In this context, the Falkirk Hoard may represent continued trade or, more likely, diplomatic gifts intended to secure peace in the troublesome region: Dio (*Hist. Rom.* 75.5.4) records an early third-century payment made by the Roman governor to the Maiatai in order to secure peace, and this hoard may be direct evidence of this event, or similar incidents.

Figure 6.5. The Falkirk Hoard of denarii, ranging in date from 83 BC – AD 230. Image copyright National Museums Scotland.

The threat of war is noted in the early years of Marcus Aurelius' (AD 161–80) reign, tribes are noted as "crossing the wall" to cause much damage and to kill a general and his troops under Commodus (180–92), and Septimius Severus had to expend much money to buy peace around 197. From 208–11, Severus and his sons

were personally present on campaigns against the Caledones and Maiatai, bringing them to the region of the Wall and beyond. Breeze (2006a: 171) notes that "there is no indication that the Emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla paid any attention to the Wall when they crossed it during their campaigns," and there is no archaeological evidence on the Wall that can be dated to these activities. Some signs of the Severan campaigns have been noted at sites in the south of Scotland, however, as well as at the coastal sites of Cramond southeast of the Wall and at Carpow to the north (Dore and Wilkes 1999); additionally, a number of temporary camps to the north of the Wall have been identified as belonging to these campaigns, but their dating remains uncertain (ScARF 2012c: 21–22).

If the Flavian and Antonine occupations of Scotland were short-lived, the Severan campaigns were even shorter, and have left little recognisable mark on the landscape, and none that can be definitively identified on the Wall itself. These campaigns were cut short by the death of Severus at York in 211 and his son and successor Caracalla almost immediately ended hostilities and returned to Rome. Recent studies have suggested that this time was pivotal in the (re)formation of indigenous communities in later Iron Age Scotland, and that both military and diplomatic activities—including the gifting of hoards—may have played a vital role in establishing new elites and regional centres of power (Hunter 2007a; 2007b). An alternative view (Hanson 2004) suggests that the Roman occupations and activities in Scotland had little long-term impact.

According to the historical sources, later troubles with the Picts would see Constantius I and his son Constantine arrive in Britain in 305, and Constantine's son Constans would come to Britain to tackle further instability around 342. A range of further troubles continue to be attested until the end of Roman Britain around the beginning of the fifth century, but there is no archaeological evidence to place these activities in Scotland, and it is likely that the Wall last saw an organised Roman force when Caracalla recalled the troops at the end of the Severan campaigns. While a much later medieval source (*Hist*. *Britt*. Nennius gloss) would claim that the Wall

had been refortified by the usurper Carausius in the late third century, this is neither corroborated by archaeological evidence nor additional historical sources.[65]

6.4 Planning and Building

After the quest to define the Wall's precise location and structural anatomy, perhaps no other topic has received as much scholarly attention as the closely related issue of its planning and building. As seen in Chapter Four, this began with Horsley's (1732) speculations about the number and regular spacing of Wall forts, which were later adopted and modified by Roy (1793: 152–64) and subsequent investigators. Horsley's main idea, based on the evidence for both the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall, was that the Wall was carefully planned from the beginning to include a series of fortifications at regular intervals. Basic mathematics of then-known forts suggested a mean distance of two miles between each installation and, therefore, there should be 21 forts in total (Horsley 1732: 173). Through further consideration of tradition and circumstantial evidence on the ground, this was amended to a total of nineteen forts, with a mean interval of just over two miles (ibid.).

Importantly, while Gordon (1726: 50–64) was the first to provide detailed distance measurements along the Wall's entire length, it is Horsley who should be credited with the first application of a hypothetico-deductive model for reconstructing the Wall's general plan. Based on the evidence available at the time, this was a bold hypothesis: for only ten of the forts (i.e. Rough Castle, Castlecary, Westerwood, Bar Hill, Auchendavy, Kirkintilloch, Balmuildy, Bearsden, Castlehill, and Duntocher) were known with any degree of certainty, and of these Kirkintilloch only fortuitously so, as its identification was based on the remains of a medieval motte constructed on top of part of the Roman fort itself. The hypothesis would stand the test of time, though, as additional forts were located (some in precisely the

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[65] Carausius remains largely absent from current discussions of the Roman frontiers in Britain. Collingwood (1921: 47–48), however, citing the presence of a Carausius coin at Castlesteads on Hadrian's Wall, suggests that the Nennian account "may possibly refer to a fact" of Carausian reorganisation on Hadrian's Wall rather than the Antonine Wall. For the most complete recent discussion of evidence for Carausius and Allectus (Carausius' successor), see Casey (1994).

suggested location), and current scholarship still holds to the view that there were likely to have been nineteen forts. Of the seventeen forts known today, Inveravon is the only tenuous identification, and scholarly opinion favours two additional forts, one each in the gaps between Carriden and Inveravon and Rough Castle and Castlecary: based on spacing grounds, the expected location for these forts would be at Kinneil and Seabegs (Hodgson 2009b: 58).

While the planning and building theme is given more attention here than many others, it is important to stress that it is not necessarily more important, but that it has received a larger share of attention within established Antonine Wall scholarship. While the location and structural anatomy of the Wall has received even greater attention, this has been primarily a matter of identification and is more easily summarised. Attempts to reconstruct the Wall's planning and building, however, have involved much speculation and hypothesis building, with important developments that are more difficult to summarise. This section attempts to describe the complex nature of these debates and their development. A key element has been the apparent disconnect between the plan developed by Horsley (and supported by the disposition of sites) and the evidence of building slabs that provide our only documentation of the Roman building work.

6.4.1 The Distance Slabs

Nineteen or twenty inscribed stone tablets, most discovered before the twentieth century and two subsequently lost, record the work of building the Wall (Table 6.2). Known as "distance slabs," these stones bear an inscription honouring the emperor Antoninus Pius, and record the name of the responsible legion and the completed distance (Keppie 1979; 1998; Robertson 2001: 13–18; Breeze 2006a: 69–71). They provide an invaluable record and remain our only primary source on the Wall's construction. They have often been used to develop reconstructions of the building process (e.g. Macdonald 1934b: 359–400; Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 122–31), more recently with the added evidence of temporary camps identified along the Wall's line. Some of these attempts will be discussed below, but first a few key details should be noted about the slabs themselves.

No.	RIB	Legion	Distance	Find Spot	Date of Discovery
1	2139	II	4,652 paces	Bridgeness	1868
2	2173	XX	3,000 paces	?Eastern half	1581–1607
3	2185	VI	?	Eastermains	1740
4	2184	XX	3,660.8 paces	Eastermains	1789
5	2186	II	3,666.5 paces	Cawder House	before 1606
6	2193	II	3,666.5 paces	Summerston	1694
7	2194	VI	3,666.5 paces	East Millichen	1803
8	2196	VI	3,666.5 paces	Castlehill	1698
9	2197	XX	3,000 feet	Castlehill	1847
10	2198	XX	3,000 feet	Hutcheson Hill	1865*
11	--	XX	3,000 feet	Hutcheson Hill	1969
12	2200	VI	3,240 feet	Braidfield	1812
13	2203	II	4,140 feet	?Duntocher	1826–1844
14	2204	II	3,271 feet	Carleith	1699
15	2205	VI	4,141 feet	?Dalnotter	1695
16	2206	XX	?4,411 feet	?Dalnotter	1695
17	2208	XX	4,411 feet	Ferrydyke	before 1684
18	2199	XX	? feet	Cochno House	1695
19	--	?XX	?	?Hag Knowe	1868
20	2207	?XX	?	Ferrydyke	1758 (lost)

*Table 6.2: Antonine Wall Distance Slabs, Nos. From Keppie (1979). * Slab no. 10 was destroyed in the 1871 Chicago fire, while on loan; a cast remains in the Hunterian Museum.*

The distance slabs reveal that the Wall was constructed by the three legions that formed the military garrison of Britain: II Augusta (Fig. 6.6), VI Victrix (Fig. 6.7), and XX Valeria Victrix (Fig. 6.8). While building inscriptions are common throughout the Roman world, the Wall's distance slabs are in a class of their own, being not only inscriptions but often elaborate sculptures. The closest parallels on Hadrian's Wall or the German Limes are far simpler, recording only the emperor and responsible military unit without the ornate details or distances. The distance slabs corroborate the Wall's Antonine date, but cannot be definitively pinpointed with greater precision than his reign, AD 138–61. Importantly, two of the slabs (nos

12 and 15) refer to the commemorated task as *opus valli*, "the work of the wall,"
suggesting that they may refer to the construction of the Rampart.

Figure 6.6. The Bridgeness Distance Slab (no. 1). Image copyright RCAHMS.

Figure 6.7. The Braidfield (Duntocher) Distance Slab (no. 12).
Image copyright Hunterian Museum.

It has been suggested that there may have been as many as 60 distance slabs
to commemorate the work of fifteen work sectors, with both ends of each sector
marked on both the north and south faces of the Rampart (Robertson 2001: 15;
Breeze 2006a: 69). Thus, at the junction of each sector, a total of four distance slabs
may have been placed into the face of the Rampart via cramp-holes set into their top
or sides. All known distance slabs are carved sandstone, an abundant resource in
the Campsie Hills to the north of the Wall. There is evidence that the lettering was

painted red, and some of the distance slabs feature sculpted victories, Roman
soldiers and subjugated captives, as well as legionary insignia.
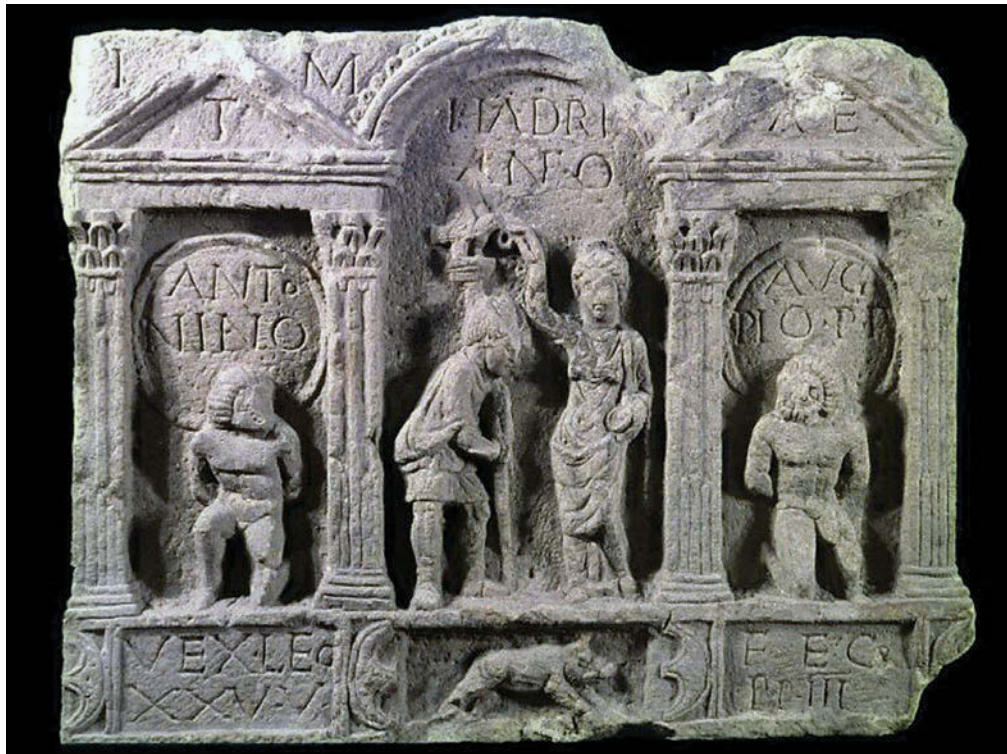
Figure 6.8. One of two Hutcheson Hill Distance Slabs (no. 11).
Image copyright Hunterian Museum.

6.4.2 Macdonald's Plan

In the second edition of *The Roman Wall in Britain*, Macdonald (1934b) agrees with
Horsley's plan of nineteen forts, though he acknowledges difficulties with some of
the missing stations. At the time, he could be certain of only thirteen (at Mumrills,
Rough Castle, Castlecary, Westerwood, Croy Hill, Bar Hill, Auchendavy, Cadder,
Balmuildy, Bearsden/New Kilpatrick, Castlehill, Duntocher, and Old Kilpatrick),
four of which (Mumrills, Croy Hill, Cadder, and Old Kilpatrick) had only been
definitively identified in recent years. He suggests additional forts with two degrees
of certainty: in the first, the weight of tradition and recovered Roman finds made
possible forts at Carriden, Inveravon, Falkirk and Kirkintilloch reasonably certain;
in the second, reasons of spacing and limited antiquarian witness suggested
locations at Kinneil and Seabegs. A key point in Macdonald's interpretation of the
evidence along the Wall was that many of the Antonine forts were located atop the

remains of the *praesidia* ("posts") established by Agricola (Tac. *Agr*. 23;). Macdonald's (1934b: 466–67) language reveals the depth of his conviction on this point:

> Since 1900, excavation has produced indisputable confirmation, not merely of his [i.e. Agricola's] son-in-law's [i.e. Tacitus'] statement that he built a line of forts between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, but also of Horsley's surmise that the sites which he selected in A.D. 80 or 81 were identical with those occupied sixty odd years later by the troops of Pius.

Thus, for Macdonald, the Antonine Wall was built to a unitary plan, with a regular spacing of forts dictated by Agricola's site selections. Macdonald makes no mention of fortlets other than to suggest that "there may quite well have been a small fortlet or guard-house at Bridgeness" (ibid. p. 191); he also describes a small "guard-house," later identified as the fortlet at Watling Lodge (ibid. pp. 344–45). Full confirmation of the existence of fortlets would only come after the Second World War.

In a new development, Macdonald (1934b: 359–400) uses the evidence of distance slabs to propose a plan of work by which the Wall was constructed. For Macdonald, the distance slabs made it clear that the Wall's linear elements were constructed by the legions while auxiliaries were "assigned the duty of making sure that their comrades were unmolested at their labour, and the task of building the forts which were to serve as their own permanent quarters" (ibid. p. 394). The legions, Macdonald reasoned (ibid. pp. 395–96), operated in two working parties each, "one weak and the other strong," as illustrated by grouping recorded feet distances from slabs in the westernmost sector, where the majority of known distance slabs derive:

Legion:	II	VI	XX
Distance 1:	4,140	4,141	4,411
Distance 2:	3,271	3,240	3,000

Total Distance:	7,411	7,381	7,411

While the distances recorded on slabs from eastern sectors of the Wall are measured in paces, and therefore substantially larger (with a Roman pace being five feet), Macdonald considered it possible to apply this type of deduction along the entire Wall. He suggests that the work was divided amongst six groups from the three legions, with "strong" parties (one from each legion) composed of more men building the sector from Bridgeness to Seabegs, while "weak" parties composed of fewer men simultaneously worked from Seabegs to Kirkintilloch, with all six parties finishing around the same time before combining to complete the Wall from Kirkintilloch to Old Kilpatrick (ibid. pp. 397–400). With six working parties involved in the construction of the western third of the Wall, as opposed to three in the eastern and central thirds, the change to feet (rather than pace) measurements is more easily explained.

While this is complicated and perhaps questionable, it represents the beginnings of a new preoccupation in Antonine Wall studies: attempting to make sense of the details provided by the distance slabs—details that cannot be readily mapped onto the plan of the Wall's forts and their spacings. Macdonald (1934b: 396–97) notes this problem:

> We must remember that Agricola had "blazed the trail" for Lollius Urbicus. His *praesidia* really determined the course of the Antonine Limes, inasmuch as they fixed the points at which the Antonine *castella* were destined to stand. The architect of the Wall thus found them ready to hand as finger-posts, when he came to distribute the work over the different Legions. Their sites, however, had been chosen for their intrinsic suitability, uniformity of spacing being secondary consideration. Had it been otherwise, the eighteen intervals between them would have been an ideal basis for an equitable allocation, six being assigned to each Legion. As it was, they were separated by distances ranging in length from a maximum of 2,948 Roman paces to a minimum of 1,592. Though not serious enough to unfit them for becoming stations on the Wall, this variation made the simplest solution impossible. But there was an easy

alternative.

The ease of this alternative, outlined above, is not readily obvious. Later scholars would question both the Agricolan foundations of Wall fort sites and the long-held notion of a unitary plan, while also providing their own reconstructions of the *opus valli*.

6.4.3 The Gillam Hypothesis

In the 1970s a new hypothesis was offered by John Gillam (1976), suggesting that the Antonine Wall was originally intended as a copy of Hadrian's Wall. The paper includes no references, but the supporting data would have been well-known to Wall scholars. While now generally referred to as "the Gillam Hypothesis," the paper actually offers two key ideas, along with some implications if these ideas are correct. The primary hypotheses are that: 1) there was an "original plan" for the Antonine Wall, and this plan was changed during the period of the Wall's construction, and 2) that the original plan for the Antonine Wall was essentially a mirror of the "second plan" for Hadrian's Wall, as it existed at the time. Gillam offers the first hypothesis "with some confidence," but notes that "the evidence is insufficient for complete confidence" in the second (ibid. p. 51). While somewhat speculative, this hypothesis has been highly influential, has received some support from subsequent discoveries, and remains widely accepted, though it has perhaps been developed beyond the evidence.

Gillam's first plan for the Antonine Wall calls for six "large or medium-sized forts" located "at a mean interval of 8 Roman miles," with a regular series of fortlets at mile intervals in between (ibid.). Gillam introduces the notion of "primary" and "secondary" forts to relate their existence to the hypothesised original plan, or to a subsequent change. The suggested "primary forts" are, east-to-west:

Carriden,
Mumrills,
Castlecary,
Auchendavy OR Bar Hill,

Balmuildy, and

Old Kilpatrick.

The argument for these forts being part of an original plan is based on three different lines of evidence. Most importantly, most of these (i.e. Mumrills, Castlecary, Balmuildy, and Old Kilpatrick) have been interpreted through excavation to have been constructed earlier—though in anticipation of—the Wall's Rampart. Secondly, these same forts are also the largest along the Wall. Finally, the spacing between each adjacent fort in this series is generally in line with that found on the Stanegate, Hadrian's Wall, and the German *Limes*, effectively "half a day's march apart" (ibid. p. 52). An additional fort, the tiny one atop Golden Hill at Duntocher, has also been confirmed as pre-dating the Wall's Rampart, but this is dismissed as a "primary fort" candidate because of its size, intervening distances, nearness to the Wall's western terminus, and the fact that it was itself secondary to a fortlet that appears itself to have been built in anticipation of the Rampart. Gillam appears to be very confident about including Mumrills, Castlecary, Balmuildy, and Old Kilpatrick in this list of "primary forts," but includes Carriden on less evidence and merely suggests either Auchendavy or Bar Hill on spacing grounds and the fact that the proposed plan requires a "primary fort" in this area. All other forts—both those firmly established and those hypothesised through the development of plans originally suggested by Horsley and Roy (see Chapter Four)—are claimed to be the result of a change in plan.

In addition to these "primary forts," Gillam's hypothesis suggests a regular series of intervening fortlets along the Rampart, and here the evidence is twofold: the pattern of milecastles known from Hadrian's Wall, and the confirmed existence of four fortlets along the Antonine Wall at Watling Lodge, Glasgow Bridge, Wilderness Plantation, and Duntocher. The similarities between these fortlets and their suggested counterparts on Hadrian's Wall are noted, and the structural sequence of fortlets as either preceding the Rampart (Duntocher) or being of one build with it (Watling Lodge and Wilderness Plantation) appears to confirm that they were planned from the start. Gillam offers suggestions on possible missing fortlets (e.g. at Rough Castle and Castlehill), and further suggests that, "in such a

scheme of alternating forts and fortlets, on the Wall as a whole, there would be thirty-seven sites and thirty-six spaces" (ibid. p. 55). Thus, with six "primary forts," Gillam's hypothesised original plan (Fig. 6.9) calls for "thirty-one milecastles or fortlets at varying intervals, all around 1.1 Roman miles" (ibid. p. 56).
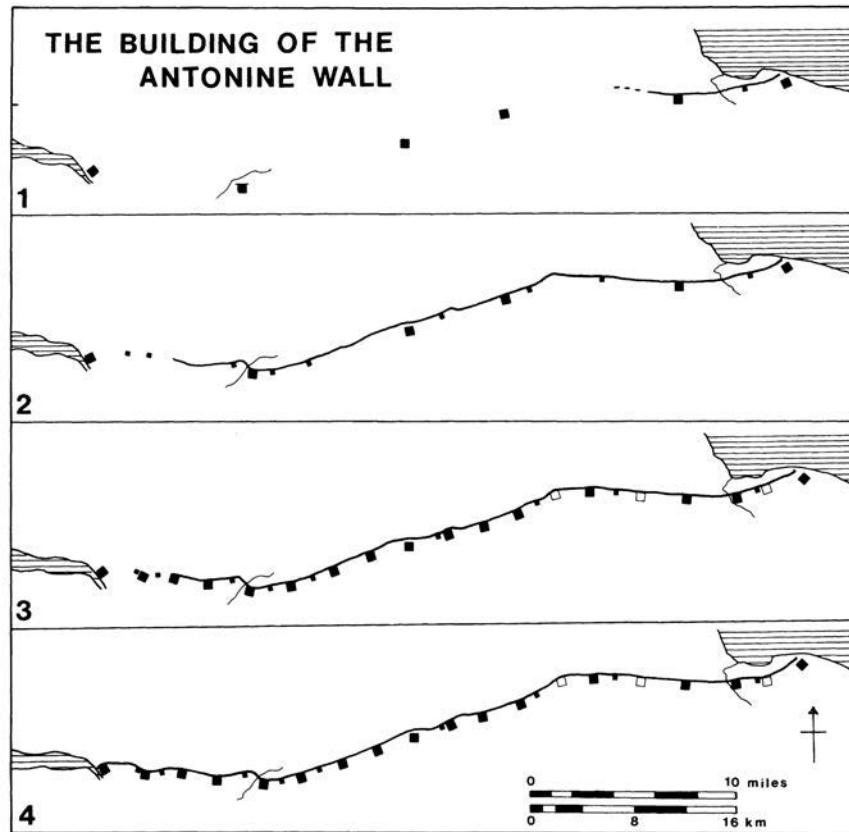
Figure 6.9. The Antonine Wall's building sequence, according to the Gillam Hypothesis. 1. "Primary" forts constructed and Wall begun from east. 2. Wall and forlets completed to Castlehill, with fortlets at Duntocher and Cleddans built in anticipation of the Wall. 3. Construction of "secondary" forts. 4. Wall completed to Old Kilpatrick (Keppie 1982: 96).

The evidence at Duntocher effectively confirms Gillam's primary hypothesis: that the plan changed during the Wall's construction. It also supports the implication that, as a result of this change in plan, some of the original fortlets were subsequently replaced by the "secondary forts." Not long after this hypothesis was put forward, between 1977–1980, five previously unknown fortlets were discovered: at Kinneil, Seabegs Wood, Croy Hill, Summerston, and Cleddans. This brings the total number of known fortlets to nine, strengthening this aspect of Gillam's hypothesis, though this remains less than one third of his suggested number. By the

early 1980s it was noted that "one of the most rapidly expanding areas of study relating to the Antonine Wall is that devoted to the examination of its structural evolution" (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 104). This reveals the impact of Gillam's hypothesis, which caused Wall scholars to rethink some rather long-held assumptions. As noted at that time, "such a drastic departure from long held views […] does not […] attract universal acceptance" (ibid. p. 105). This idea was, nevertheless, fairly well solidified by Hanson and Maxwell's book, though, as they concluded that the Gillam hypothesis appeared to be "the most plausible interpretation of the development of an otherwise unique frontier" (ibid. pp. 109–11).

6.4.4 From Gillam to the Present

Following Gillam, Keppie (1982: 95–102) combined archaeological and epigraphic evidence—including Distance Slabs, temporary camps, and variations in the width of the Ditch and the Rampart's stone base—to provide a reconstruction of the Wall's construction phase and distribution of work across various working parties (Fig. 6.10). Soon thereafter, Hanson and Maxwell (1983) added further weight to Gillam's hypothesis and offered a new investigation of the Wall's building programme (ibid. pp. 109–36). This begins with an acknowledgement of two key items: 1) the then-recent interest in trying to reconstruct the Wall's "structural evolution" was "a belated attempt to apply principles developed by students of Hadrian's Wall to the more northerly frontier," and 2) such reconstructions required a "sort of speculative enquiry" (ibid. p. 104). Using ideas adopted from work on Hadrian's Wall along with the Antonine Wall evidence of distance slabs, temporary camps, and the interpretation of structural details identified through excavation, they fleshed out Gillam's (and Keppie's) framework.
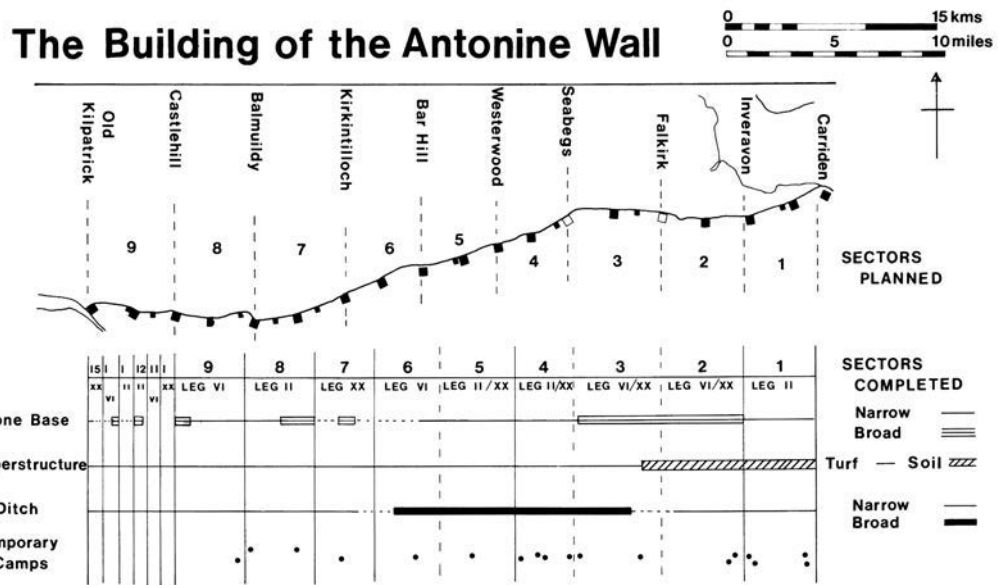
Figure 6.10. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the Antonine Wall's construction phase (Keppie 1982: 99).

For the forts, Hanson and Maxwell accept a "primary" and "secondary" division, preferring Auchendavy over Bar Hill as the likely fourth fort in the east-to-west series. Of these so-called "primary forts," those at Mumrills and Balmuildy are the only ones to deviate from the "optimum disposition" of such a plan; these are explained by tactical considerations: Mumrills "to occupy a site of superior tactical strength [and] probably originally selected by Agricola" in the previous century, and Balmuildy "to protect the crossing of the Kelvin" (ibid. p. 112). All other forts are, again, deemed to be "secondary" to this original plan, which was never fully realised before changes were made in the course of the frontier's construction.

On fortlets, Hanson and Maxwell are very matter-of-fact in siding with Gillam's hypothesis, stating that "it is certain that the fortlets were an integral part of the original plan for the Wall" (ibid. p. 109), citing the archaeologically attested structural sequence that known fortlets either predate or are of one build with the Rampart. From here, Hanson and Maxwell begin a complex speculative reconstruction of the number and disposition of fortlets, and how these may have structured the division of construction parties (ibid. pp. 121–31). They suggest that, rather than being planned from one of its termini in the east or west, the Wall may have been laid out (but not necessarily constructed) from a central point at Croy

Hill, where the known fortlet there lies just 14.8m from the Wall's true mid-point, and provide an hypothesised series of 41 fortlet locations (Table 6.3; ibid. p. 121). Only one of these corresponds directly with one of the designated "primary forts"—at Auchendavy—but several correspond with the sites of "secondary forts."

1	Grahamsdyke	22	Girnal Hill
2	Deanfield	23	Bar Hill
3	KINNEIL	24	Shirva
4	Nether Kinneil	25	Auchendavy
5	Inveravon	26	Hillhead
6	Polmont School	27	Kirkintilloch
7	Beancross	28	GLASGOW BRIDGE
8	Laurieston	29	Bogton
9	Callendar House	30	Cawder House
10	*Falkirk/Bantaskin	31	WILDERNESS PLANTATION
11	*WATLING LODGE	32	Easter Balmuildy
12	*Tentfield	33	SUMMERSTON
13	*Rough Castle	34	Boclair
14	*Milnquarter	35	Manse Burn
15	*SEABEGS WOOD	36	Thorn Road
16	Allandale	37	Castlehill
17	Garnhall	38	CLEDDANS
18	Tollpark	39	DUNTOCHER
19	Westerwood	40	Carleith
20	Easter Dullatur	41	Mount Pleasant
21	CROY HILL		

Table 6.3: "Suggested sequence of fortlets on the Wall from east to west" (after Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 122). Sites where fortlets have been firmly established are listed in CAPITALS. * indicates sites with "non-standard" intervals.

Working west-to-east, Hanson and Maxwell combined the evidence of distance slabs, suggested fortlet locations and plan-types, and identified construction camps to posit further details of how the work was carried out and

distributed among the three legions. This differs in substantial ways from Macdonald's suggestions a half-century before. A key difference is that Hanson and Maxwell incorporated information on temporary camps—primarily identified from the air—that had not been available to Macdonald. In light of this new line of evidence, the rejection of Agricolan foundations, and the Gillam hypothesis, they offer "a radical reappraisal" (ibid. p. 121).

Many of the camps identified in the vicinity of the Antonine Wall have been interpreted as the temporary bases of the legionary forces engaged in its construction, and may be particularly useful for reconstructing work in those areas where few distance slabs are known. The relationship between these camps and the various work sectors of the Wall had been previously explored by Feachem (1956) and Maxwell (1974), the latter of whom suggested that each legionary *vexillation* was split amongst four temporary camps, two at each end of their assigned work sector, and possibly to work each sector from both ends toward the center. Why two camps would be necessary is uncertain and may not have been universal, "but conceivably one party might have been charged with building the rampart, the other with the digging of the ditch; or else the construction of stone base and superstructure might have been separate tasks" (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 118). Based on size, the camps are assigned to four groups, which may help to indicate which units were stationed there, and what type of work they were assigned.

Hanson and Maxwell agree with Macdonald's suggestion that the change from long working stints measured in paces to shorter stints in feet argue in favour of the Wall being built from east to west, "assuming that the building had started at one end," and that it likely represents a re-allocation of working parties "in order to complete an odd length as rapidly as possible" (ibid. p. 124). They question, however, several of the Wall sectors assigned by Macdonald to the individual distance slabs, are less certain of the suggestion of "strong" and "weak" work parties, and argue for a more complicated working arrangement in the sector between the River Avon and Dullatur. In total, they suggest a plan of thirteen building sectors, ranging in length from 4 ⅔ miles at each end to between 2–3 miles in the centre. Further, based on the fortlet types (long- or short-axis) present in each

of these sectors, they suggest likely legions for the sectors wherein distance slabs are missing; long-axis fortlets are suggested as the work of the II legion throughout the Wall's entire length on the basis of their presence in working stints where the distance slabs indicate this legion was responsible, while short-axis fortlets are suggested to have been the work of the XXth legion (ibid. pp. 129–30).

In addition to these attempts to determine how the work was allocated between the legions, Hanson and Maxwell attempted to calculate how long the construction process took. Using historical figures and information from experimental reconstructions (e.g. Jewell 1963: 51; Hobley 1971: 28), they estimated that the Wall's main linear features (including fortlets, but not forts, and not accounting for defensive *cippi/lilia* pits) would have required 1.73 million "man days" (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 133). They provided a timetable which sees the beginning of survey work in AD 142, shortly after Antoninus' acclamation as Imperator, followed by construction of the "primary" forts and those in the hinterland north and south of the Wall, along with the laying of the Wall's key linear features from Bridgeness toward the west. The following year, "possibly related to the arrival of a new governor," the plan changed to include a large number of "secondary" forts, which "will undoubtedly have prolonged the building of the Wall well into a third season," after which the construction of all key sites and linear elements was completed within two calendar years, by the winter of AD 144 (ibid. pp. 134–36).

More recently, such a short timetable has been rejected, in favour of a view that sees the construction of the Wall and its forts taking as long as twelve years or more (see Breeze 2006a: 97–102, Table 7). This view builds on a number of suggestions regarding the order of work, decisions to add fort annexes, and the possibility that work was interrupted by the need for some soldiers to leave Britain to fight elsewhere in the Empire (e.g. Bailey 1994; Swan 1999). The basic arguments of the Gillam Hypothesis, however, remain an important part of this new timetable. As with all attempts to reconstruct the building programme and changes in "plan," the speculative nature of this timetable is emphasised (Breeze 2006a: 102).

The Gillam Hypothesis continues to remain central to most current interpretations of the Wall's planning and building process. It also continues to shape and direct many of the research questions identified for future investigation, as demonstrated by its recurrence in the *Scottish Archaeological Research Framework* (ScARF 2012c: 18–19, 34, 56). It is not, however, universally supported. John Poulter (2009: 121–24), in concluding his "best field of view" survey of the Antonine Wall, raised important doubts; crucially, Poulter's survey suggests that the line of the Rampart was laid out, point-to-point, from the pre-selected locations of most of the Wall's military installations: "this selection process would have included determining in advance the locations of the secondary forts" (ibid. p. 123). For this reason, Poulter supports the view that while the so-called "secondary" forts may have been later additions, they were conceived from the beginning and not as a result of a change in plan.

This matter remains very much unresolved, and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. While Hanson and Maxwell (1983: 104) are correct in suggesting that certain questions may only be answered by a "sort of speculative enquiry," it is important to remember that much of this debate is based primarily on speculation and the repetition and contraction of earlier arguments, and that the discourse of "primary" and "secondary" forts is more about modern scholarship than it is about the Roman past itself. We need to remember that, despite apparent changes and modifications, the Wall appears to have been conceptualised, built, operationalised, and abandoned all in a span of no more than twenty years. Further, the use of the term "plan" is problematic and somewhat confusing, as it is primarily used in this discourse to refer to "intention" rather than as a description of the Wall's observable layout. The only certain "plan" we have for the Wall is the disposition of its remains; whether or not this reflects its architects' original intentions is uncertain, but it is increasingly clear that the Wall in its final form was very close to the plan deduced by Horsley in the 1730s.

6.4.5 A Possible Roman Camp or Fort at Kinneil

In the course of my examination of the Wall's archaeological evidence, I have identified—in the limited LiDAR data available via the Environment Agency—a

rectilinear anomaly astride the presumed line of the Antonine Wall at Kinneil (Fig. 6.11). This appears to represent a large playing-card-shaped enclosure in the field called "the Meadows" between the Gil and Deil's Burns, between Kinneil House across the Gil Burn to the east and the Roman fortlet across the Deil's Burn to the west, on high ground overlooking the Firth of Forth to the north. The most visible features are the northwest and southeast corners, with a straight path bisecting the possible enclosure, and another large linear feature crossing just south, and forking at its eastern extent. The southwest corner is entirely missing, while the northeast corner appears to be disturbed by a circular ditch that encloses the medieval church to the east (see Chapter Seven). Modern aerial photography (Fig. 6.12) suggests that the bisecting pathway and northeast lines may merely reflect a laser reading of modern pathways, but this interpretation is complicated by the fact that the LiDAR data does not show the clearly landscaped pathway between the possible enclosure and the site of the medieval church, and the fact that no clear pathways are present in the southeast corner, where the LiDAR has picked up what appears to be a transposed mirror image of what is happening to the northwest. Examination on the ground in June 2013, unfortunately, provided no clarification, and it remains uncertain if this anomalous rectilinear feature represents a Roman structure, more recent landscaping efforts, or is merely imagined.
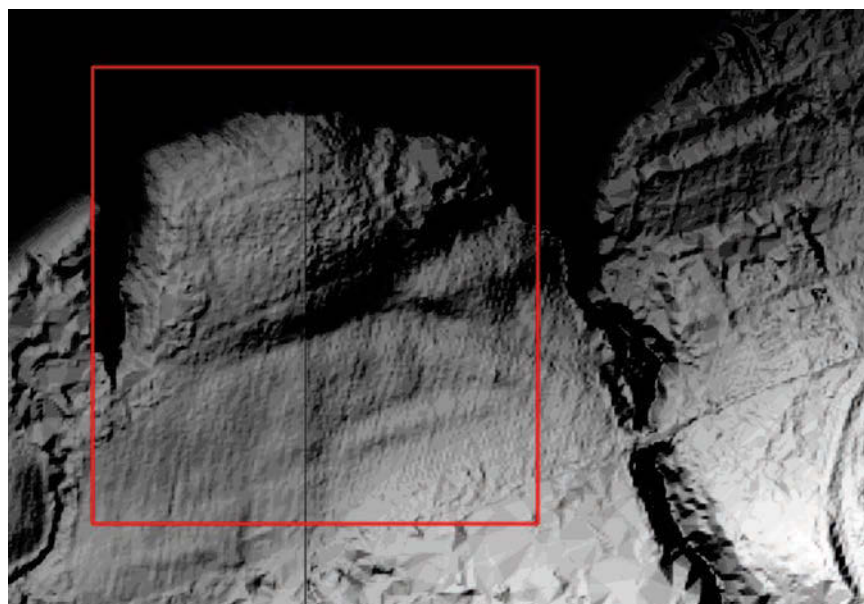
Figure 6.11. Rectilinear anomaly—a possible Roman camp or fort—astride the Antonine Wall at Kinneil. Derived from LiDAR data available from the Environment Agency.
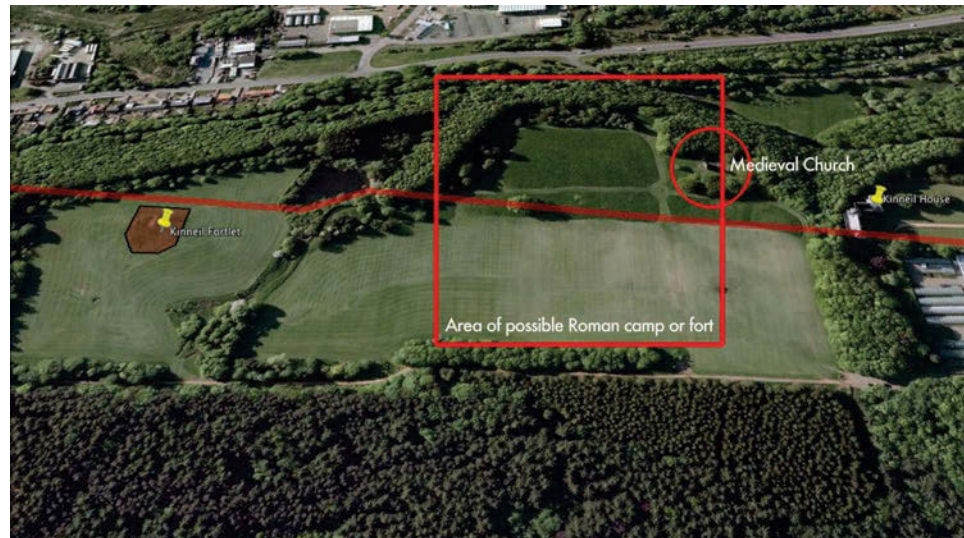
Figure 6.12. Aerial photograph of the area of the possible Roman camp or fort at Kinneil (Google Earth).
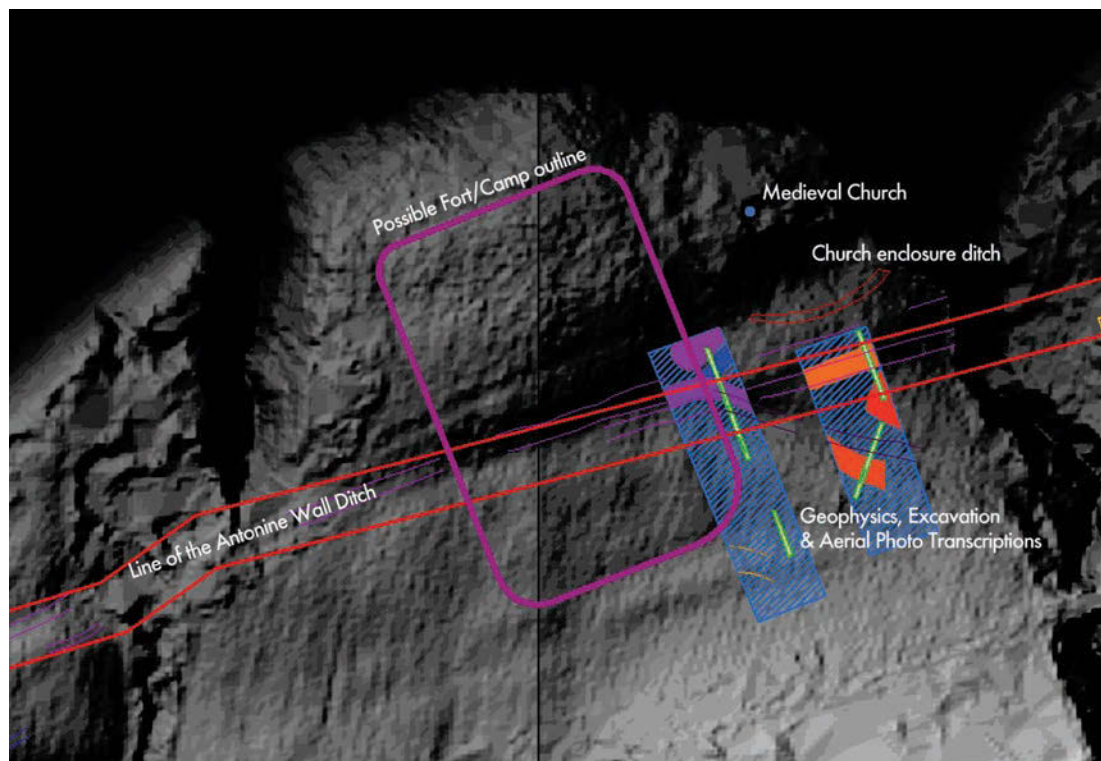
Figure 6.13. Archaeological interventions in the vicinity of the possible Roman camp or fort at Kinneil. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

On present evidence it is too early to arrive at any conclusions about this possible enclosure, and interpretations must remain tentative. Notably, the seemingly enclosed area has not received serious archaeological attention, and the only recent excavations in the immediate vicinity (Glendinning 2000) have been

located just outside the southeast quadrant (Fig. 6.13). Macdonald (1934b: 107–08) reports a number of "trial pits" dug through the Meadows, but the number and locations of these are not recorded; firm evidence for the Ditch was discovered on an east–west alignment between the Gil Burn and the possible enclosure, suggesting that the alternative Ditch alignment running to the southeast was a separate feature, which Macdonald interpreted as the remains of a late medieval or early modern "Visto" that merged with the line of the Ditch to provide access to a "North West Pavilion" that had been located to the west of the Meadows. This was confirmed by Glendinning's (2000: 517–19) excavations yet, though the Ditch was identified, excavation revealed no trace of the Rampart, the stone base of which may have been robbed in subsequent centuries.

A subtle hollow running westward across the Meadows has generally been assumed to be the line of the Ditch—which may have been modified and reused by the medieval village that occupied this space from at least the twelfth century until it was removed in the 1690s (see Chapter Seven)—but its precise location remains unconfirmed. Macdonald (1934b: 107–08), however, was confident that the hollow represented the Antonine Wall Ditch, and that those antiquaries who could not trace its line were deceived by the fact that it was masked by the "Visto;" a similar argument may be offered for the failure to recognise the possible camp or fort here: it is possible that the northern defences visible in the LiDAR data have not been recognised on the ground because they, too, have been masked by seemingly modern pathways that respect their lines. The lack of archaeological excavation both along the boundaries and within the possible enclosure mean that we cannot be certain of its identification, and also makes it difficult to determine its chronological relationships to the various adjacent features.

If this is the site of a Roman fort or camp, its physical and chronological relationship to the Wall could be particularly interesting. None of the known Antonine Wall forts straddle the Wall, though this does occur on Hadrian's Wall, particularly in the sector between Wallsend and Chesters, but also at Birdoswald and Burgh-by-Sands (Breeze 2006b: 75). In area, it would fall into the category of larger forts on the Wall. The setting seems to be very good for a fort, and one

located at Kinneil has long been expected based on antiquarian testimony (Horsley 1732: 159, 73; Maitland 1757: 171) and spacing (Macdonald 1934b: 191–92; Keppie 1982: 102; Hodgson 2009b: 58). If the subtle hollow running through the possible enclosure represents the Antonine Wall Ditch, then the enclosure may more likely be a temporary camp associated with the Wall's construction, or one of the elusive Agricolan *praesidia*. Whether this proves to be Agricolan or Antonine, the discovery of a previously uncertain fort at Kinneil would raise important questions about the Wall's planning and building programme. As will be discussed in Chapter Seven, the later use of this space for a long-standing medieval village offers its own implications.

The size, location and distinctive shape of the identified anomaly, as well as historical testimony of an unidentified Roman "station" in the vicinity, requires further investigation. While archaeological work has occurred in the area, this appears to have sidestepped the possible enclosure itself. A detailed examination of antiquarian accounts, targeted geophysical survey, and analysis of the high-resolution Scottish Ten LiDAR survey offer the best first steps toward clarifying the matter. If these offer corroborating evidence, this may be a key location for future excavation.

6.5 Purpose

The question of the purpose for which the Wall was constructed remains unresolved. While both the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall had long been interpreted as primarily serving a defensive—distinctly military—function, this notion was largely displaced by the development of a new orthodoxy championed by Breeze and Dobson (2000), which argued for a function primarily centred on controlling the movement of people.[66] This new movement-control interpretation has been well-argued based on the presence of gates through Hadrian's Wall at

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[66] R. G. Collingwood (1927: 26) had previously questioned the defensive interpretation for Hadrian's Wall, arguing instead that the Wall's primary functions were to serve as "an elevated sentry-walk and an obstacle to raiders." This drew on observations of trench warfare in the First World War (which argued against a defensive function) as well as the Indian Customs Hedge established by Britain in the 1840s (which Collingwood saw as a more appropriate parallel); see Hingley (2012: 245-48) for further discussion.

almost every mile interval (ibid. pp. 39–43). This view has been further supported by the evidence from Tacitus that on the German *Limes* regulations required that "the frontier can only be crossed, unarmed, under guard and upon payment of a fee" (ibid. p. 40). Taking a position that the various Roman frontiers were sufficiently similar as part of a widespread imperial phenomenon, Breeze continues to reiterate this point: "and we presume that the same [frontier crossing regulations] applied in Britain. The existence of the linear barrier across the island funnelled traffic towards specific crossing points. In short, its purpose was frontier control" (Breeze 2009: 20). In arguing this, Breeze does not deny that the frontier had a military component or even a military purpose, but he is careful to separate the existence of troops in their various installations from the linear elements of rampart and ditch. In this interpretation, the Antonine Wall—as well as Hadrian's Wall and other frontiers across the empire—was not "defensive or defensible" in terms of the structural nature of its linear features but, rather, "was a demarcation line" near which the soldiers provided defence from their attendant forts and fortlets (ibid. p. 21). Although this view has many adherents, it has come under concerted scrutiny in recent years, particularly from Paul Bidwell (2005) and Nick Hodgson (2009b: 60–62).

Bidwell summarises key positions well (here "the Wall" refers to Hadrian's Wall, rather than the Antonine, but the arguments are often applied to both):

> At one extreme is the claim that the Wall served no real military purpose, that it was built to overawe the northern peoples so completely that there could be no thought of opposition. The established view is that its main purpose was to control the peaceful movement of people across its line. Any hostile attempt to cross the Wall would be met with overwhelming force by the deployment of the units based in the forts, which represented the real military strength of the system. According to this view the Wall was not conceived as a line of defence […] The contrary view […] is that the Wall was primarily defensive. (Bidwell 2007: 35–36)

While much of this debate is likely founded upon fairly fundamental differences in philosophical and theoretical conceptions of Roman frontiers in general, relatively new evidence has disrupted the new orthodoxy's hold on the field, the most important being the discovery of previously unknown obstacles on the berms of both Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall (Bailey 1995; Bidwell 2005; Dunwell et al. 2002: 260–67). Like the noted *lilia* located north of the Ditch at Rough Castle, these obstacles are in the form of rounded rectangular pits, but they differ not only in their location *vis-a-vis* the Wall's key linear elements but also in their size and profile, being smaller and featuring more vertical sides.
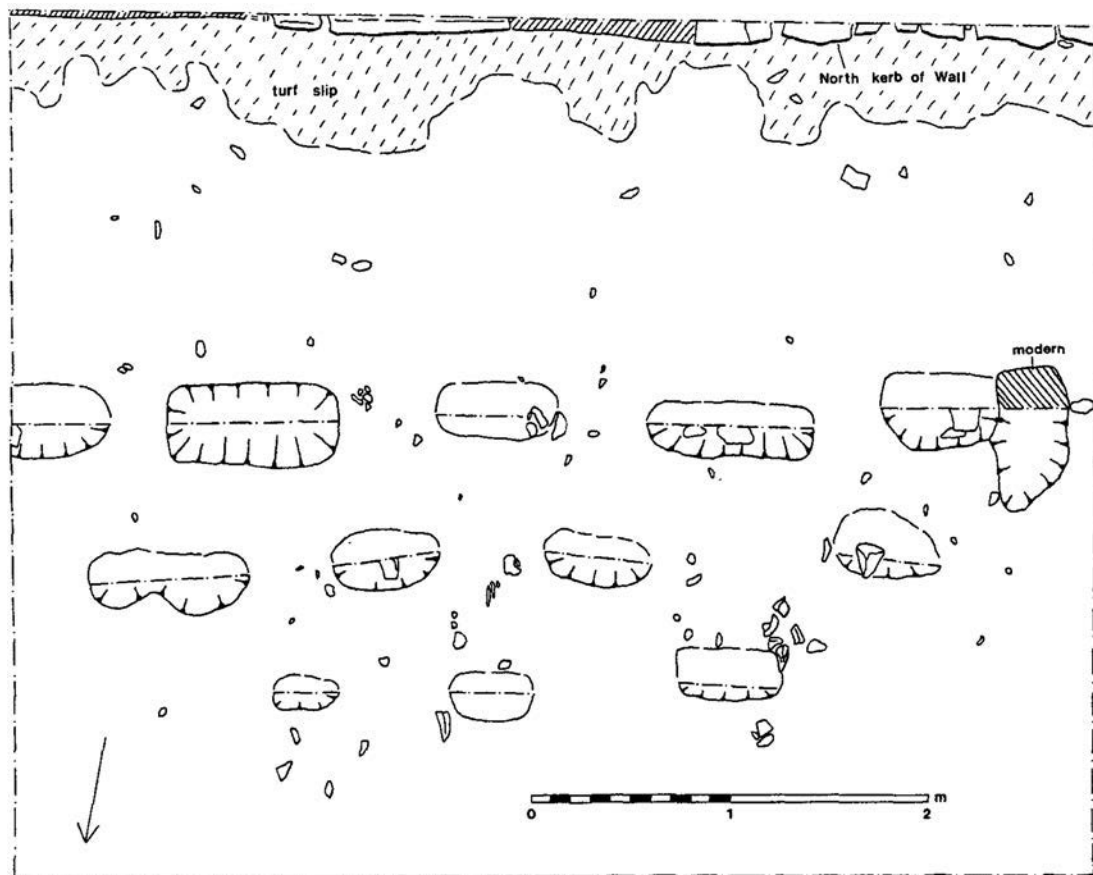
Fig. 6.14. Plan of defensive "cippi" pits at Garnhall (Bailey 1995: 597).

Based on the same account from which the *lilia* were named (Caes. *Gal*. 7.73), these obstacles have been called *cippi*, and together with the Rough Castle *lilia*, they appear to closely correspond to the defences Caesar describes for the camp at Alesia; there, Caesar places *lilia* furthest away from the ramparts in order to impede

the movement and speed of would-be attackers, while *cippi* (Fig. 6.14) are closest to the rampart in order to provide further impediment and expose attackers to defending troops stationed atop the rampart. No clear evidence of such a parapet or wall-walk has ever been identified on either Wall, but Bidwell and Hodgson make effective arguments to reconsider Hadrian's Wall's purpose—and by implication the Antonine Wall—in a more defensive light. Hingley and Hartis (2011) offer another alternative: that Hadrian's Wall was an imperial statement—in monumental physical form—of Rome's might, order and stability, reflecting the emperor's renewed focus on the projection of a unified Roman identity. The general outlines of each of these proposals may be considered as much for the Antonine Wall as for Hadrian's and, importantly, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive alternatives, but may have combined to form a suite of complementary reasons for building these frontiers.
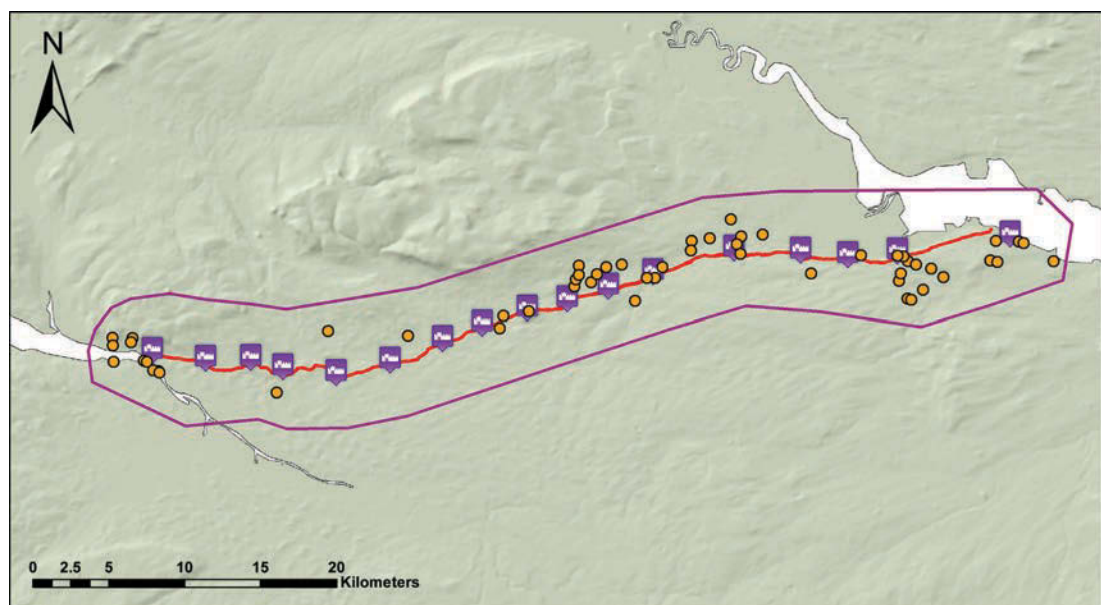
Fig. 6.15. Distribution of possible Iron Age sites in the vicinity of the Wall. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

Whatever the Antonine Wall's purpose—defensive, administrative or symbolic in nature—a key indicator would seem to be the various non-Roman sites in its vicinity. A number of possible Iron Age sites—including those categorised as fortified Brochs, Duns, Crannogs, and Hillforts—have been identified in the

corridor a few kilometres to either side of the Wall (Fig. 6.15), but these remain poorly understood, most have never been seriously investigated, and they do not feature in the debate over the Wall's purpose, despite the fact that they might have been deeply affected by the imposition of the frontier and may have been key sites of opposition or cross-frontier movement of people and goods. A coordinated effort to examine the nature and date of these sites is necessary, and may prove critical to answering the contested question of the Wall's purpose.

Thus far, due to its universal usage within the literature, the term "purpose" has essentially served as a synonym for "function."[67] Purpose may have a variety of alternative connotations, however, and another important consideration lies not with the Wall's intended function, but with the reasons for the northern advance in the first place. Why, after having so recently expended so much energy and resources on the construction of the Hadrianic frontier, would it be so readily abandoned to advance further north? Breeze (2006a: 13–14) suggests that it was primarily for the purposes of bolstering the new emperor's position by gaining the support of the military and senate through the acquisition of a martial victory. Such an occurrence was not unprecedented, as evidenced by Claudius' earlier need for a triumph; a need also, coincidently, satisfied in Britain. If this was indeed the primary catalyst for the northern advance and establishment of a new frontier line, it is unsurprising that the Wall seems to have been abandoned shortly after his death.

6.6 Landscape and Environment

The literature on the Wall's physical landscape, environment, and changes in land use has recently been comprehensively reviewed (Tipping and Tisdall 2005). There have been few new developments since this publication, so I will here outline key points and problems. It is important to note at the outset, however, that much of this work is highly technical and operates independently of Roman Frontier Studies and traditional Antonine Wall archaeology, utilises its own vocabulary, and is most

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[67] While "purpose" is usually used in such discussions, it is worth noting that Breeze (2006a: 144–59) used the term "function" in his recent chapter on the topic.

often published in venues that are little-read by Wall scholars. For these reasons, Tipping and Tisdall's review, published in the Wall's primary publication venue, the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, is particularly valuable.

Fig. 6.16. Central Scotland, showing major landforms and sites used in the interpretation of coastal and geomorphic change (Tipping and Tisdall 2005: 444).

The Wall is located within the Midland Valley of central Scotland, which it effectively splits (Fig. 6.16). To the south are the Southern Valleys and Plateaux, to the north the Kilpatrick and Campsie Fells, and along the east the Wall inhabits the Forth Coastal Plain. The region is drained from a central point around Kilsyth (just north of Bar Hill and Croy Hill) via the River Kelvin (west to the Clyde) and the Bonny Water and River Carron (east to the Forth); near its eastern extremity the more southerly River Avon drains into the Forth near Inveravon. The valley is punctuated by "the crests of sharply etched east/west oriented doleritic dykes and sills providing the route of the Antonine Wall in its central section" (ibid. p. 444).

The Wall crosses Scotland from coast to coast, terminating at the estuaries, or Firths, of Forth and Clyde. Tipping and Tisdall note that "both have changed beyond all recognition since the second century AD[, and] in particular relative sea level has changed" (ibid.). Generalised sea level curves indicate that sea levels in the Forth were about 3m above the current Ordnance Datum (OD) level and, while less information is available for the Clyde, it is likely that levels were also higher there. In the east the line of the Wall from Carriden to Inveravon is likely to have been more coastal than at present, and in the west "Old Kilpatrick fort probably stood at the water's edge on a raised beach" (ibid. p. 446). Along with higher water levels,

however, sand banks and mudflats are likely to have been extensive in both estuaries, "making the firths rather permeable barriers" (ibid.). This raises important questions about the disposition of forces along the coasts to the south; to date this issue has received little attention, though the fort at Bishopton, southwest of the Wall, is generally considered to have played a role in a system of further coastal control.

Studies of regional river valleys suggest that the majority of fluvial deposits had been completed well before the Romans arrived in the area. There is little reason to believe that riverbank flooding was an active problem, and the Roman Iron Age is characterised as one of "geomorphic stability" (ibid. p. 446). There is also evidence to suggest that river currents were largely unimpeded, as demonstrated by possible ford crossing stones visible in the waters at Inveravon and Balmuildy, which appear to have been unaffected by normally expected fluvial settlements (ibid. p. 447). This may provide an opportunity to carry out underwater exploration at expected river crossings and at sites located near the water courses; on the other hand, the lack of notable sedimentation may indicate that any subaquatic discoveries are likely to have been displaced by a steady and unimpeded current, while sediment deposits would provide a higher degree of protection and help to keep finds relatively *in situ*.

Regional climate in the Antonine period is described as probably "mild, dry and less stormy" than at present (ibid. p. 448). This appears to have changed only some significant time after the Roman withdrawal of Scotland, with the relatively stable and dry conditions deteriorating around AD 400–50. These climatic conditions provided good, arable, soils along the Wall's line, "and this may have been an important consideration in the Wall's location" (ibid. p. 449), offering an environment that would be capable of contributing to the subsistence needs of a dense military population.

A major issue in the environmental study of the Wall has been the noted difference in Rampart superstructure to either side of the fortlet at Watling Lodge. Various arguments have been given for this contrast, from the suggestion of turf scarcity in the east (Macdonald 1934b: 87; Maxwell 1989b), to a change in plan, with

the line east of Watling Lodge viewed as a later addition (Bailey 1995: 593–95). The matter remains unresolved, but further scientific analysis of Rampart material will help to clarify. To date, some turves from the Wall have been examined, but these have been few and none have included micromorphological analyses. Further, "far too infrequently […] have the comments of a soil scientist been sought" (Tipping and Tisdall 2005: 450). Despite indications from the limited scientific assessments that turves were taken from boggy or grassy heaths, no definitive sources have been identified.
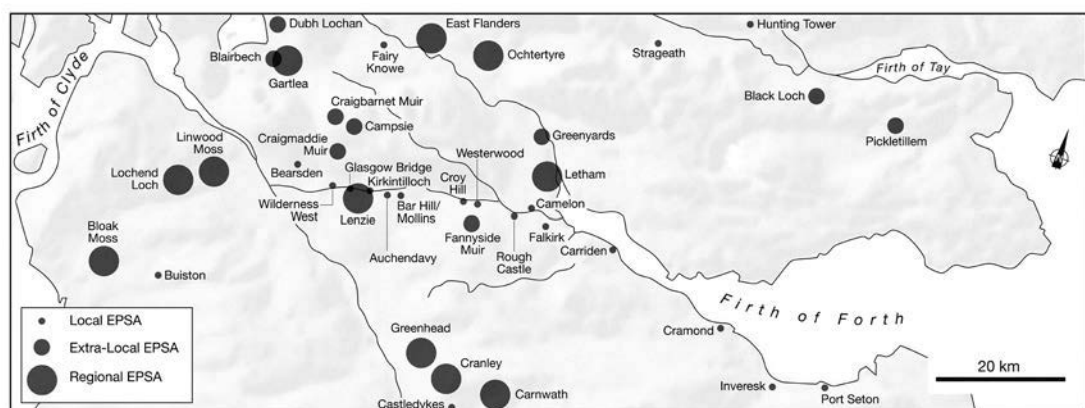
Fig. 6.17. Areas used in the interpretation of vegetation and land-use change. EPSA = effective pollen source area; circles are schematic and not indicative of actual pollen source area (Tipping and Tisdall 2005: 451).

Much regional work has been carried out on pollen analysis (Fig. 6.17), though little of this has occurred at sites on the Wall. These analyses are problematic in several ways, not least of which are the limitations of scale, with records describing large areas being incapable of providing the localised detail required for proper archaeological interpretation. Dating controls are also insufficient to establish firm details for a period as short as the Wall's Antonine occupation: "we can describe general trends in vegetation and land use occurring from the last few centuries BC to the early centuries AD but we cannot define an Antonine horizon" (ibid. p. 454). These trends suggest that cereal production "significantly declined" before or during the Antonine occupation, while pastoral landscapes were maintained until new woodland growth around AD 300. Pollen analyses indicate that certain foodstuffs (particularly wheat, identified at several forts) must have

been imported, though the region was already well developed agriculturally by the time the Roman military arrived.

The evidence of field systems around several forts, along with cereal-type pollen grains indicate some degree of cultivation and grazing, but this appears to have been less widespread than in previous centuries. The dominance of cattle bones on Roman military sites may suggest that stock-raising and grazing activities replaced a formerly mixed agricultural economy in the region. On the overall environmental impact of the Roman military presence, Tipping and Tisdall conclude that:

> The demands of the Roman army, either through trade, exchange or taxation, were insufficient to force farmers to impose major stresses on the environment. Cattle populations may have been substantially higher than needed for native subsistence but were not excessively high. This was a landscape in some sort of balance. The invaders either did not need to extract too much from native farmers or thought that such an approach would be unrewarding. Native farmers in turn did not attempt to increase stocking densities beyond the capacity of soils. (ibid. p. 462)

By about AD 300, even this level of agricultural activity appears to have been scaled back, and woodland environments returned. Rather than viewing this as indicative of a decline in regional population, however, it is considered that populations may have been maintained, but adapted to a new, primarily pastoral, economy (ibid.).

6.7 Production and Procurement

The main evidence for production on the Antonine Wall relates to agricultural and ceramic products. Agricultural production is attested by the presence of field systems outside of the forts, as well as palynological and faunal evidence summarised above. Ceramics are known from substantial remains, but the presence of pottery does not necessarily mean that it was produced at or near the find spot; more advanced analyses and comparison with ceramics from other sites are required to distinguish between locally produced and imported pottery.

Nevertheless, it is certain that at least some Antonine Wall ceramics were produced on the Wall, as evidenced by the excavated remains of kilns and limited petrological analysis of excavated sherds.

6.7.1 Agriculture and Food

As described in the preceding section, the evidence for agriculture along the Wall is limited. Pollen analyses from Rampart turves and Ditch fills suggest some cultivation, and faunal remains indicate that meat was at least an occasional part of the soldiers' diet. Extra-mural "field systems" identified around several forts may also have been utilised in the growing of crops for human and livestock consumption.[68] Much of the foodstuffs required by the military garrison, however, is likely to have been imported from elsewhere in Britain or further afield, and some finds indicate rather substantial distances for importation.

The most obvious source of information for agricultural products is the ever-present granary (*horrea*), usually one of the few stone buildings within Antonine Wall forts.[69] Physical evidence of their contents, however, is unfortunately in small supply; while large quantities of grain have been attested at Westerwood and Castlecary (Macdonald 1934b: 256, 453), "its general absence from the excavated *horrea* would seem to indicate, as much as anything, that the final evacuation of the forts left ample time for the removal of this precious commodity" (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 178). The large quantities of grain, usually described as wheat, found at Castlecary and Westerwood were uncovered at a date previous to modern archaeological excavations, and cannot be confirmed nor further clarified. It is assumed, based on evidence from classical sources and at other excavated sites, that the main grains were corn and wheat, which must have been primarily imported rather than locally grown. If estimates of the Wall's garrison size (about 6–7,000

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[68] These "field systems" may alternatively represent the boundaries and organisation of an extra-mural *vicus*, or civilian settlement, but they have been little-investigated and no structural remains have yet been discovered to support this hypothesis. See further discussion in section below. The field systems have also not been dated, but are generally considered to be related to the forts due to proximity.

[69] Granaries are known from all the excavated forts, except for Duntocher, the smallest on the Wall. They are also unattested at the smaller fortlets.

soldiers) are correct, it has been suggested that "the amount of corn supplied to them annually for human consumption must have been in the neighbourhood of 2000–2500 tons," with further amounts of grain being required for feeding livestock (ibid.). If much was being imported, a well-organised transport and distribution system is very likely and it has been suggested that the nearby outpost fort at Camelon may have served as the frontier's principal supply base (Tatton-Brown 1980); a similar supply depot role has been suggested for the fort at Bearsden (Breeze 1979; 1984).

A number of artefacts also attest both importation of select goods and local food processing. A number of ovens, probably used for baking bread, have been uncovered, as have a large quantity of grinding stones and hand-mills (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 178). The most substantial evidence for both local production and importation, however, is for pottery.

6.7.2 Ceramics

Two of the most important ceramic studies for the Wall have already been mentioned (Hartley 1972; Gillam 1974). A few additional studies (Hartley 1976; Gillings 1991; Swan 1999), however, also require discussion. As issues of dating have already been discussed, remarks here will be limited to a discussion of conclusions about ceramic production and procurement.

Early studies (e.g. Gillam 1973; Hartley 1963; Webster 1977; Williams 1977) strongly suggested that the majority of the pottery in Antonine Scotland was imported, but more recent studies have demonstrated that potters were active on a more local level. Imported pottery appears to have been dominated by Gaulish *samian* ware and Spanish *amphorae*, while *mortaria* were either locally produced or transported from southern British production sites. Other coarse pottery appears to have been a mix of local production and more constrained importation from areas further south in Britain. These recent studies have used a mix of scientific and typological methodologies.

Gillings (1991) carried out a dual-method analysis of coarse ware pottery from the Antonine Wall and surrounding areas. Using both chemical (Neutron

Activation) and petrological methods at intra- and inter-site levels, local production was confirmed. Gillings identified:

> an erratic supply of imports as the stimulus for local production, with the strength of the perceived market dictating the nature of production, either very small scale and variable in the case of the military producers or well developed in the case of Inveresk, well sited to exploit the large civilian population of the Eastern terminal region. (ibid. p. 379)

For *mortaria*, this study was able to add little to the interpretations of Hartley (1976), beyond confirmation that "the majority of the groups […] deriv[ed] from well defined small scale production sources with very limited service areas;" it appears that local *mortaria* production was centred in the west, while production of coarse wares was in the east (Gillings 1991: 379–80).

Swan (1999) has, perhaps, taken the study of Antonine Wall pottery further than anyone else. Focusing primarily on non-*samian*, *amphorae* or *mortaria* samples, she carried out a typological investigation to try to untangle some of the problems of unusual forms, chronology, and production. Augmenting this analysis with an investigation of several kilns known from the Wall, Swan concluded that local production was indeed active at Mumrills, Falkirk, Westerwood, Croy Hill, Bar Hill, Balmuildy, Bearsden, and Duntocher, as well as at nearby sites of Camelon and Inveresk; additionally, local production appears to be possible at Cadder and Old Kilpatrick, both on the Wall (ibid. p. 402). A key point of departure from most previous interpretations is that Swan saw the function of known kilns to be dual in nature—used for the production of both ceramic pottery and building material such as roofing tiles—whereas they had been previously viewed as primarily used for architectural purposes. Swan also argued that most of this localised pottery production was carried out by the soldiers themselves, rather than civilian camp followers, and has identified possible links between some vessel forms and ceramic traditions from North Africa (Fig. 6.18; ibid. pp. 417–29). Critically, much of this "North African" pottery is unlikely to have been the result of importation or trading, and must have been manufactured on or near the Wall. The suggestion is

that these vessels were produced by groups of North African auxiliaries, who brought their native culinary practices with them while serving on the Wall.
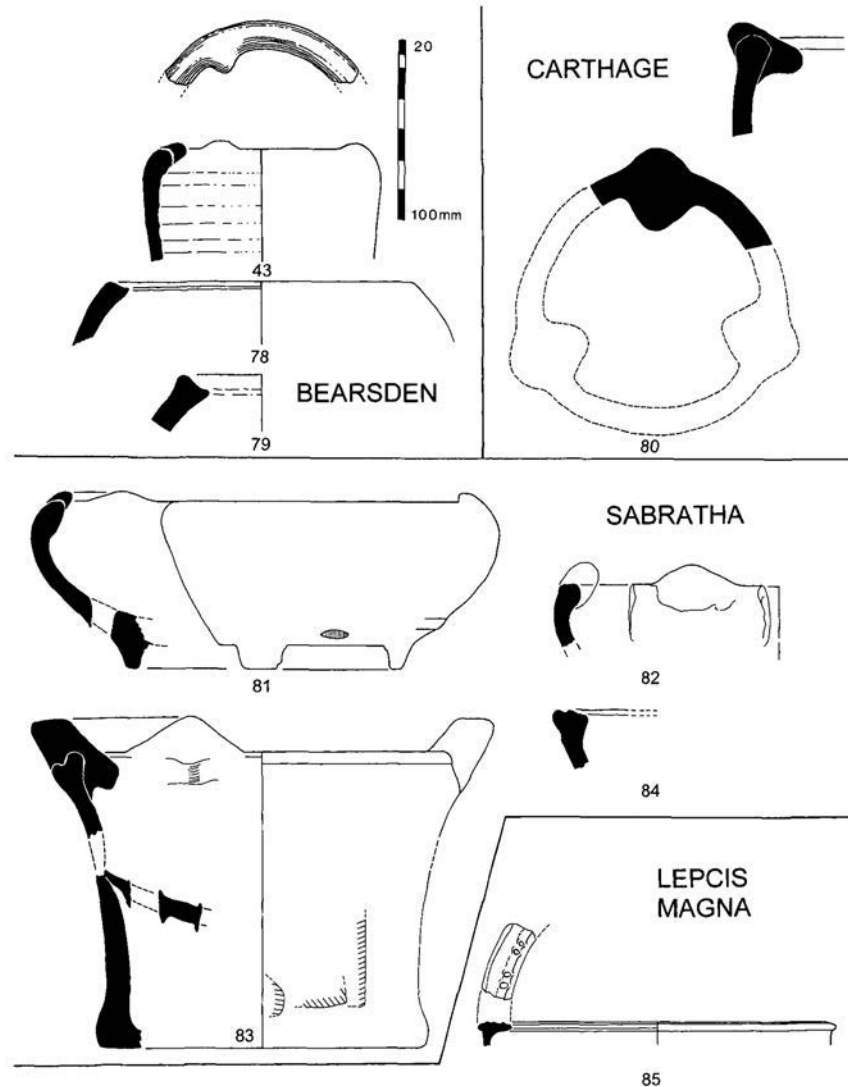
Fig. 6.18. Ceramic braziers from Bearsden,,with comparable specimens from North Africa (Swan 1999: 413).

6.8 Life and Society

While much of Antonine Wall scholarship has focused on structural details of its linear features and installations, as well as matters of planning and construction, it is important to remember that the frontier was a lived experience. The forts were inhabited by soldiers who lived a portion of their lives there, with daily rhythms composed of mundane activities, occupational tasks, social interactions, and religious devotion. A variety of non-military inhabitants were also present,

including women and children, artisans and traders. The surrounding landscape is also unlikely to have been empty—at least initially—of local inhabitants, and they also undoubtedly faced interactions with the Wall garrison and its community, either in the immediate areas of the forts, in nearby settlements, or at sites further afield. While this theme has received some attention, research has primarily emphasised the life of the military community—estimated to be in the range of 6-7,000 soldiers (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 178)[70]—with less effort devoted to exploring the experiences of civilians, and almost no attention given to those of the region's native inhabitants.

This section highlights the key evidence for each community and consider the ways in which current understandings and approaches have developed. Here, particularly, the discussion is imbalanced toward the military community, but this is the result of the amount of evidence available for each category, itself a product of a research tradition skewed toward the forts, their inscriptions, and the military community that is largely responsible for producing them.

6.8.1 The Military Community

Due to the highly visible and surviving nature of military installations, as well as a research tradition that emphasises these sites, the Wall's best-known community is the military garrison. Understanding of the military community is augmented by a large database of historical documents and archaeological investigation of forts and military communities across the Empire, and descriptions of life are often drawn as much from these sources as from more localised evidence. Key lines of evidence include the forts' internal structures, inscriptions that reveal the names and units of soldiers in garrison, and small finds that indicate the activities of daily life.

While it is correct to call the soldiers on the Wall "Roman," because they were engaged in the Empire's service as part of its military organisation, it is important to remember that the majority of soldiers living in the Wall forts were auxiliary troops recruited or conscripted from a variety of provincial settings across

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[70] In comparison to Hadrian's Wall, this figure is remarkable: Breeze (2006a: 103) notes that the population of soldiers stationed there was only about 8,000 troops, even though that frontier was twice the length of the Antonine Wall.

the Empire. For this reason, the "Roman" label should be applied loosely and with greater caution than it often is, as ethnic and regional identities may have remained highly important on both individual and group levels. This is reflected in the frequent use of ethnic or regional names in the epigraphic description of particular units, and also in the continuation of practices carried over from respective homelands (e.g. North African-style culinary and ceramic traditions). Units known from epigraphic evidence are summarised in Table 6.4. In addition to these auxiliary units, the distance slabs clearly indicate that the legions were actively involved with the Wall's construction, and other inscriptions attest their presence in the building and/or life of forts (Table 6.5).

REGIMENT NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN (MODERN)	ATTESTED AT
ala I Tungrorum	Belgium	Mumrills
cohors II Thracum	Bulgaria	Mumrills
cohors VI Nerviorum	Belgium	Rough Castle
cohors I Tungrorum milliaria peditata	Belgium	Castlecary
cohors I Vardullorum milliaria peditata	Spain	Castlecary
cohors I Baetasiorum quingenaria peditata civium Romanorum ob virtutem et fidem	Netherlands	Bar Hill
cohors I Hamiorum quingenaria peditata	Syria	Bar Hill
cohors IV Gallorum quingenaria equitata	France	Castlehill
cohors I Baetasiorum quingenaria peditata civium Romanorum	Germany	Old Kilpatrick

Table 6.4: Auxiliary regiments attested by epigraphic evidence on the Wall.
Data from Breeze (2006a: 189–92).

LEGION (OR MEMBERS OF)	ATTESTED AT
First Italian Legion	Old Kilpatrick
Second Legion	Castlecary, Bar Hill, Auchendavy, Cadder, Balmuildy
Sixth Legion	Castlecary, Westerwood, Croy Hill
Twentieth Legion	Rough Castle, Bar Hill, Bearsden

Table 6.5: Legions attested by epigraphic evidence on the Wall (not including Distance Slabs, which also attest the II, VI, and XX legions). Data from Breeze (2006a: 189–92).
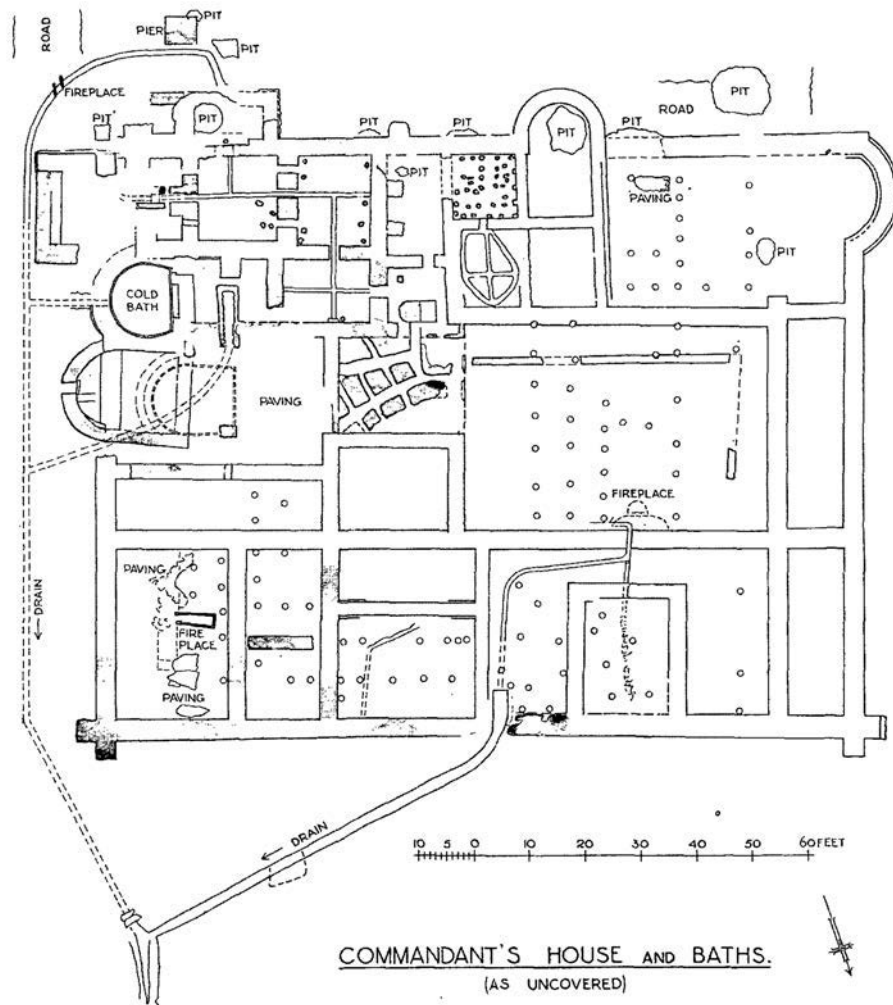
*Fig. 6.19. Plan of the commanding officer's house (praetorium) at Mumrills
(Macdonald and Curle 1929: 435).*

At each fort, the ordinary soldiers and centurions would have lived in
barrack blocks, while the commanding officer inhabited a separate residence (the
praetorium). Barracks were constructed of timber and remain poorly preserved,
usually identifiable only by postholes and the relatively standard layout of forts.
Praetoria, on the other hand, are much better preserved, having been mostly
constructed on stone foundations and with stone walls, though it appears as if the
stone-built *praetorium* at Cadder was later replaced with a timber structure, while an
early timber *praetorium* at Mumrills was eventually replaced in stone (Hanson and
Maxwell 1983: 174). The latter commander's residence at Mumrills (Fig. 6.19) was
also the largest and most elaborate on the Wall, and was later provided with "an
extensive bathing suite" in its southeast corner (ibid.). It is tempting to think that

both the size of the fort, as well as the details and higher comfort of its *praetorium*, are indicative of a special role for the garrison at Mumrills; perhaps this was the main command base of the frontier.

The evidence for production and procurement has already been discussed, and it appears likely that many soldiers were engaged in the tasks of processing foodstuffs and producing the materials and tools needed for life in the fort. This would have extended to industrial activities of iron working, ceramic production, and continual maintenance of the fort's internal buildings and outer defences, not to mention the regular tasks of drilling and patrols. There was undoubtedly a degree of specialisation involved, and tasks were probably assigned accordingly.

Life in the fort was also characterised by ritual, from the well-documented Imperial Cult and unit-wide communal worship to more personal acts of devotion (Birley 1978; Helgeland 1978; Henig 1984; Haynes 1997; 1999). A number of inscriptions and altars bear testimony to the range of deities (Fig. 6.20), and one dedication (RIB 2148) records the construction of a temple to Mercury outside the fort at Castlecary; an additional shrine to Hercules has been posited about 1.6km southeast of the fort at Mumrills (Bailey 1992b). Along with the dedications to standard Roman deities and localised variations from across the Empire (e.g. Jupiter Dolichenus, a Syrian variant, attested at Croy Hill; RIB 2158), dedications were also made to local gods (e.g. *Genio Terrae Britannicae* at Auchendavy; RIB 2175).

Fig. 6.20. Altars from the Antonine Wall in the Hunterian Museum.
Photo copyright James B. Brown (http://www.flickr.com/people/8899981@N05/).

It is also increasingly accepted that women and children were present in Roman forts—especially due to the extensive evidence from excavations at *Vindolanda* near Hadrian's Wall, but also at fort sites throughout Germany (Van Driel-Murray 1994; 1995; 1997; Allason-Jones 1999; Allison 2006a; but see resulting debate by Tomášková 2006; Casella 2006; Sørensen 2006; James 2006; Becker 2006; Allison 2006b)—though relatively little evidence has been uncovered on the Antonine Wall. Small leather shoes have been uncovered at Bar Hill, Balmuildy and Castlecary, and one altar from Westerwood was dedicated by Vibia Pacata (Fig. 6.21), the wife of Verecundus, a centurion of the Sixth Legion (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 186–87). Other—more limited—evidence would attest larger communities of civilians.

Fig. 6.21. Vibia Pacata's altar to the Silvanae Quadriviae Caelestes (Wright 1968).

6.8.2 Civilians and Civil Settlements

The majority of Antonine Wall research has emphasised military structures and communities, but it would be incorrect to say that investigation of civilian settlements has been neglected. Nevertheless, studies of civilian presence in the Wall zone continues to represent a small proportion of Antonine Wall research, and firm identification of civil settlement in the form of structural evidence remains elusive. That the frontier included civilian communities is undeniable, however,

with firm evidence uncovered in 1956, in the form of an inscription at Carriden. This inscription, on an altar of Jupiter (Fig. 6.22), reads:

> I O M
> VIKANI CONSI[S]
> TENTES CASTEL[LVM]
> VELVNIATE CV[RAM]
> AGENTE AEL · MAN
> SVETO · V · S · L · L · M

> To Jupiter Best and Greatest, the villagers settled at Fort Veluniate paid their vow joyful and willing, deservedly; Aelius Mansuetus taking care of the matter. (Translation by Richmond and Steer 1957)

Fig. 6.22. The "Vikani" altar from Carriden. Copyright RCAHMS.

As the translation suggests, the term *vikani* is almost certainly referring to the inhabitants of the civilian settlement (*vicus*) that was established outside or nearby the fort, here referred to by its Roman period name *Velunia(te)*. Unfortunately, while the epigraphic evidence conclusively confirms the presence of a civil community at Carriden, it does not provide any details of the community's size, makeup, or levels of interaction with the military community inside the fort or with other sites and communities further down the Wall. There is, further, no indication of the *Vikani Veluniate*'s (i.e. the civil community at Carriden's) integration with the wider world north or south of the Wall, and the only thing we can say with certainty is that some community of unknown size and origin, identifying themselves as non-military in nature, was present at Carriden when the altar was erected.

The precise location, form and structure of the *vicus* is unknown, though it may be reasonable to associate the community with a field system located just east of the fort (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 188–89), where the *vikani* altar was discovered. At the time of the altar's discovery, it was remarked that "the field in question has long been under cultivation and its level surface exhibits no trace of any buried remains […] Nor has aerial photography so far revealed any signs of a vicus […] in the area" (Richmond and Steer 1957: 1); this is no longer the case, as subsequent RCAHMS aerial photographs have revealed a rather extensive field system that has been tentatively linked with the *vicus* (Sommer 1984). Part of the field system has since been sampled and the cropmarks have been comprehensively plotted (Keppie et al. 1995: 602–06), revealing that the field system exceeds 6 ha in size and lies on both sides of a road extending eastward from the fort. Extensive ploughing and cultivation has probably removed most archaeological features (in fact, the field remains under cultivation today, and the *vikani* altar was discovered as the result of modern ploughing activities), yet a total of 72 artefacts were uncovered—all "from the top two layers of ploughsoil"—including "one sherd of definite Roman pottery, and a further nine of either Roman or medieval fabric" (ibid. p. 605). In addition to the artefacts recovered through the excavation of sample trenches, "roughly dressed sandstone blocks, attesting the former presence of stone-built structures, were found in two places within spreads of stone cleared

from the field and tipped at its north edge" (ibid. p. 604), suggest that the *vicus* (if that is what is represented here) may have included stone buildings, though subsequent agricultural activities have obscured their original locations and plans.

The plotting of visible cropmarks and sample trenching to the east of the fort at Carriden has also revealed a possible gap between the fort's eastern ditches and the western extent of the field system. As shown in Fig. 6.23, the field system (possibly representing the *vicus*) is only recognisable to the east of a probable road junction about 100m from the fort's east gate. While Maxwell (1989a: 175) has suggested that the intervening space may have housed an annexe, this has been challenged (Keppie et al. 1995: 605–06; Bailey 1997 argues instead that the annexe was located to the west of the fort), and an alternative interpretation for this space is that it may have served as a military parade ground (Richmond and Steer 1957).
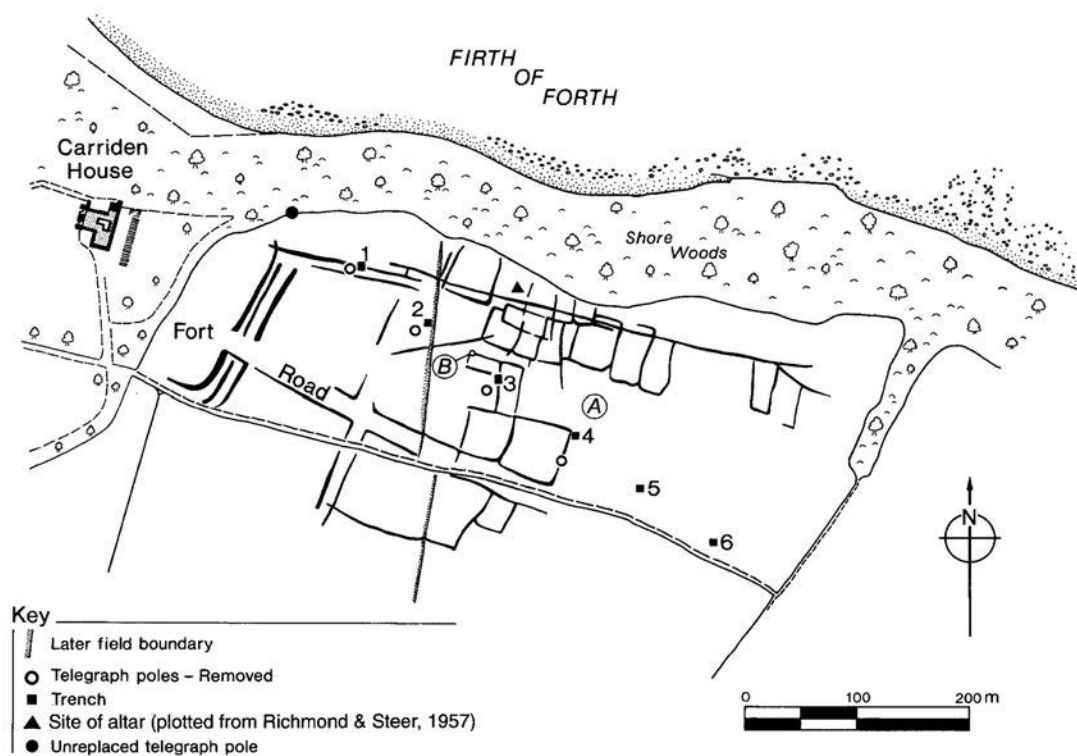
Figure 6.23: Plan of Carriden field system and 1991 sample trenches
(Keppie et al. 1995: 603).

Besides the *vicus* at Carriden, other possible evidence for civilian presence has been suggested at Auchendavy, Bearsden, Castlecary, Croy Hill, Mumrills, Rough Castle, and Westerwood, mostly through the identification of possible extra-

mural field systems. In the 1970s, work at Croy Hill resulted in the recording of extra-mural ditches to the southwest and east of the fort, possible field systems, pottery and small finds, a pottery kiln, and the possible traces of an outlying building (Hanson and Maxwell 1983: 188). At Bearsden, a length of cobble and clay foundation with a possible door pivot-hole was revealed to the west of the fort (Breeze 1984). Possible timber buildings, a pottery kiln, a hearth, pits, and a gully have all been recorded at Mumrills (Robertson 2001: 58–61). Tenuous traces of extra-mural, non-annexe, enclosures have been suggested by recent geophysical surveys at Auchendavy, Carriden and Castlecary (Stephens et al. 2008), while field systems have been identified outside the fort at Westerwood (Robertson 2001: 82) and a well-known field system remains visible to the southeast of Rough Castle's annexe (Máté 1995). Additional evidence for extra-mural—and possibly non-military— activities comes from Callendar Park, Falkirk, where a hearth with pottery and bones as well as a building with a hypocausted room have been found (Keppie and Murray 1981); the hearth was located near the eastern extent of the Park, while the building was at its west, possibly suggesting the scale of a possible *vicus* associated with the nearby fort at Falkirk.

Other—artefactual and epigraphic—evidence reveals the presence of civilians in the Wall zone. The inscribed tombstones found at Shirva (Fig. 6.24), between the forts at Bar Hill and Auchendavy, in the early 1700s attest the presence of a woman (Verecunda) and a fifteen-year-old boy (Salmanes, son of Salmanes who erected the tombstone for his deceased son), both certainly not soldiers. The Semitic origins of the name "Salmanes" suggests that the elder Salmanes was a trader from the east (Robertson 2001: 36). Additional evidence for death and burial has been elusive on the Antonine Wall, with no gravestones found *in situ* and none of the Roman cemeteries located.

With firm structural evidence for civilian settlements being so elusive, it was hoped that a programme of geophysical survey would provide the necessary identification. A number of surveys have been carried out in the field systems adjacent to Wall forts, but these have proved unsuccessful (e.g. Burnham et al. 2007: 256–59; Stephens et al. 2008), despite similar methods providing good results at

Newstead. If the expected *vici* are not to be found within adjacent field systems, as appears to be the verdict of repeated geophysical survey, then perhaps an answer lies within the annexes attached to most Wall forts.

Fig. 6.24. The Verecunda and Salmanes tombstones from Shirva.
Copyright Hunterian Museum.

If Bailey (1994) is correct, and the "annexe decision" was an alternative to the Vallum system seen on Hadrian's Wall, then it may remain possible that the annexes served, at least partially, to protect the populations and activities of non-military personnel connected to the forts (a view expressed by Collingwood and Richmond 1969: 89). At first, Bailey expressly discounts this notion, though, citing an increasingly recognised prevalence of annexes throughout Britain (e.g. Maxwell and Wilson 1987; Wilson 1984), the strength of their defences, and the assumed purpose of Hadrian's Wall's Vallum as demarcating a "military zone" (Bailey 1994: 305–07). It must be pointed out, however, that the very well attested *vici* of forts on Hadrian's Wall—where no annexe has yet been identified—inhabit this same "military zone." The annexes are normally associated with semi-industrial activities

(brick, tile and pottery production, iron-smelting, copper and lead work, etc.) and in some cases house the—or one of the—fort's baths but, as Bailey acknowledges, "so few annexes have been excavated, and even fewer on any appreciable scale" (ibid. p. 307) to form a comprehensive interpretation. Bailey further acknowledges that:

> both an annexe and a *vicus* can contain evidence of industrial activity, timber-framed buildings, large quantities of Roman-style objects, and occupation phases which coincide with those of the fort. They can be of equal proximity to the fort and neither needs to be regularly planned. (ibid. p. 309)

Further citing the problems of a clear-cut distinction between "military annexes and civilian *vici*" (as emphasised in Wales by Davies 1990; and in Scotland by Thomas 1988), as well as evidence from *Vindolanda*, Castleford and Ribchester, Bailey (1994: 309–10) favours a "multifunctional" role in which the annexes may have served both the soldiers and the civilians who supported them. This suggestion remains controversial and, while it has received some support (Bidwell and Hodgson 2009: 31–34), other scholars (e.g. Hanson 2007) remain very much opposed, preferring to view the annexes as purely military in nature and function. We are likely to remain uncertain until an annexe receives extensive excavation.

6.8.3 Native Populations

We know very little about the size, organisation and disposition of native communities in the region of the Antonine Wall. In fact, the study of Roman Scotland in general has long emphasised the period's military remains, with the investigation of contemporary populations being a more recent development (ScARF 2012c: 8). Recognition of this problem is not new, however, and Richmond (1948: 101) pointed out the importance of "the relationship of native villages to forts" in recommendations for future research more than 60 years ago. Unfortunately, this recommendation has received little attention and similar recommendations continue to appear (e.g. Hanson and Breeze 1991: 73; Barclay 1997). Where work has been carried out along these lines, it has mostly occurred outside of the Antonine Wall zone.

It is revealing that in Hanson and Maxwell's (1983: 173–92) chapter devoted to "Life on the Wall," there is little mention of local communities. In fact, the only hint of a discussion relates to the veneration of "local" deities: Silvanus at Bar Hill and Auchendavy, the Nymphs at Croy Hill and Duntocher, and Britannia and the Genius Terrae Britannicae at Castlehill and Auchendavy (ibid. p. 182). While these are briefly mentioned, the emphasis is still the military community, as they appear to be responsible for the erection of these dedications. While Hanson has more recently (2004) given greater attention to the local impact of Roman activities in Scotland, only two (Camelon and Shirva) of the mentioned "native" settlements are from the area of the Wall itself. As previously discussed (section 6.5), there are a number of possible "native" Iron Age sites in the vicinity of the Wall, and they have played little role in discussions of the Wall's purpose or life in the frontier zone. Instead, such discussions have been generalised, focused on sites some distance away from the Wall, and/or emphasise the longer-term impacts of Roman interaction in the centuries after the Wall was abandoned.

Limited understanding of site chronologies is a major impediment to work in this area, with many sites remaining un- or under-explored, and undated. The key mechanism for identifying contemporaneity with the Roman occupation has been the presence of Roman material on indigenous settlements, and some important studies have been carried out in this area (Curle 1913; 1932a; 1932b; Robertson 1970; Hunter 2001), along with several related regional studies of areas to the south of the Wall (Wilson 1989; 1995; 1997; 1999; 2001; 2003; 2010). Without firm dating controls, however, it is difficult to relate activities at these sites to events and sites of the Roman occupation. While the presence of Roman finds is helpful, "given that Roman artefacts seem to have been differentially available according to social, political or economic factors, no chronological implications need necessarily be drawn from their absence from sites of potential Roman date" (ScARF 2012c: 36–37).

While previous work on Roman frontiers often emphasised a Roman/"Native" divide, studies on identity suggest that the dichotomy may not be as clear as once thought (e.g. Jones 1997; Woolf 1998; Mattingly 2004). Increasingly, the pluralistic and diverse nature of frontier life is being exposed and explored (e.g.

Cool 2004; Gardner 2001; 2007; Hingley 2004; Wells 1999; 2005; Woolf 1998). Unfortunately, little of this work has considered the evidence from Scotland, despite the "substantial potential" (ScARF 2012c: 53). Perhaps the most exciting work in recent years has been the investigations of Roman Iron Age interactions by Hunter (2007a; 2009; 2010); here again, however, the majority of examples are drawn from sites outside of the Antonine Wall corridor. A coordinated effort to apply these types of investigations to sites closer to the Wall will likely prove most helpful.

6.9 Discussion

This chapter has not provided a thorough description of all the known Roman archaeology along the Antonine Wall, nor a detailed synthesis of how the Wall operated as a frontier of the Roman Empire. It has, rather, added to the general summary provided in Chapter Five by considering the Wall's history of archaeological investigation via key themes drawn from the primary literature, the Antonine Wall's *Management Plan*, and the forthcoming *Antonine Wall Research Framework*. These themes are also broadly mirrored in the current *Hadrian's Wall Research Framework* (Symonds and Mason 2009), revealing the shared milieu in which Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall studies operate. Both emphasise the monuments' functional role as frontiers of the Roman empire, and share a concern with developing "complete and comprehensive knowledge" through the identification and filling of gaps (Hingley and Hartis 2011: 81).

The Antonine Wall was, indeed, an important Roman frontier and has, perhaps rightly, been explored primarily through this lens. Unfortunately, however, this perspective remains largely imbalanced toward the study of the Roman military, with much less known about non-military communities that likely accompanied the soldiers on the Wall. Even less is known about the Roman military's relations with—and impact on—native populations to both the north and south; this is partially due to the nature of the evidence, being overwhelmingly more abundant in military contexts, but is also symptomatic of the Wall's recent research tradition. As seen in Chapters Four and Five, the study of the Wall has been primarily military focused since the eighteenth-century works of Horsley (1732) and Roy (1793).

While "Roman" sites throughout Scotland are all "military" in nature, they did not exist within a vacuum, but were situated within a broader landscape that included Roman soldiers (from a variety of ethnic backgrounds and original homelands), associated civilian communities, and native populations. The recent *Scottish Archaeological Research Framework* (ScARF 2012c: iv, 72) has recommended that new studies explore the ways in which daily life was experienced by all, including the development and change of "interactions between incomers and local communities," the long-term legacy of Roman influence even after Scotland was no longer garrisoned, and the recognition of "multiple […] nested and interlocking landscapes" at and beyond the site of Roman forts. A specific recommendation is that fort "hinterlands […] up to c.1 km from the 'core'" should be adopted as a standard measure for sensitive evaluation areas (ibid.). This is a positive move, and it is hoped that the exploration of broader communities and Rome's impact on native society will continue to enrich our understanding of the role of the Roman military, the purpose, function and life of imperial frontiers, and the Antonine Wall's specific contribution to the history and archaeology of Scotland, Britain, and the wider Roman empire.

The Wall is more than a Roman monument, however. While its important Roman origins and character should not be overlooked or minimised, the early period discussed in Chapter Three demonstrates that its Roman identity may have been forgotten or usurped for at least a millennium after Rome's soldiers departed. The greater bulk of research, however, particularly in the age of archaeological investigation, has emphasised the Wall's status as a frontier of the Empire, a status that it likely held for only about twenty years. What happened after the Wall ceased to operate as a Roman frontier? Who lived on or near the Wall in later periods, and how do their activities fit into the wider framework of Scottish and British history? What role, if any, did the Wall play in subsequent centuries, and how was it interpreted by communities who may have forgotten (or chose to ignore) its Roman origins? These, too, are important research questions, but they are seldom or never considered by those who study the Wall from within its established research context. It is to these that I turn in Part 3.

PART 3:
Grymisdyke

Part 3 Introduction

Part 3 is composed of two chapters (Chapters Seven and Eight) that explore in greater detail aspects of the Antonine Wall's life during the post-Roman centuries, from the time of the Roman withdrawal until the present, along with a final conclusion (Chapter Nine) that considers the implications of re-integrating the Wall's post-Roman history and archaeology into an expanded sense of place in the present. Chapter Seven focuses on tangible evidence for human activities based on the physical remains of structures and material culture objects that have collected around the Wall in post-Roman periods, while Chapter Eight focuses on less-tangible aspects of imagination, memory, and meanings that have developed around the Antonine Wall and its broader landscape.

As demonstrated in Part 2, the Wall has a long and varied interpretive history, yet despite this complex historiography, the current research tradition largely ignores the bulk of the Wall's history, effectively reducing it to a Roman military artefact of c. AD 140–60. This research tradition and its primary themes emphasise the Wall's original functioning period, giving primacy to archaeological evidence that is clearly assigned to this period and leaving related—but later—material outside of what it defines as "the Antonine Wall." In this tradition, the Wall's chief significance is its Roman-ness, and the activities and additions of later periods are branded "irrelevant" to the dominant Roman-centred research questions (see Hingley 2012: 252 for a comparable approach to Hadrian's Wall).

I argue, however, that the Wall is much more than a Roman monument and that, along with the historiography/genealogy presented in Part 2, the Wall's history of continued human activity beyond the Roman period, as well as its inspiration for myths and legends, can contribute to its broader significance as a place of cultural heritage, memory, and imagination. Between the Roman withdrawal and the initiation of modern archaeological investigation during the 1890s, the Wall was most frequently called Graham's Dyke—first reported by John of Fordun in the form "Grymisdyke." For this reason, Part 3 is entitled "Grymisdyke," representing the Wall's lost centuries, which will be considered in terms of both evidence for

human activities and a number of alternative interpretations and stories that developed around the remains.

From the perspective of place and genealogy, the relevance of post-Roman activities and stories need not be defined by direct links with Roman period remains. Some of the evidence discussed in these chapters do draw—physically and/or symbolically—on the Roman remains and classical texts, and these connections are explored. Other evidence has more tenuous links to the Roman past and these require consideration of possible parallels on Hadrian's Wall or elsewhere. Some sites and structures, however, appear to provide their own independent contributions to the Wall's pool of potential meanings and significance, with no verifiable connections to the Roman remains. While these sites may be considered irrelevant to a landscape defined by a Roman frontier, my argument is that the frontier should only form a part—albeit an important one—of how we define the Wall corridor's past and present significance, drawing on the ways in which later features, activities, and stories have expanded upon the Roman frontier to create a new place with multiple meanings.

Post-Roman archaeological evidence in the vicinity of the Antonine Wall has never received serious or systematic attention, severely limiting our ability to understand the scale and scope of subsequent activities along the line of the Wall. Chapter Seven seeks to provide an introductory—but not exhaustive—assessment of the available record, drawing upon the National Monuments Record of Scotland (i.e. RCAHMS' Canmore database; http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/) as the primary dataset. In order to provide comprehensive spatial coverage along the c. 63km *length* of the Wall, as well as to seek a relatively balanced chronological coverage of main periods between the Roman withdrawal from the Antonine Wall until the modern era, it has been necessary to restrict the spatial extent (to either side, north and south, of the line of the Wall) selected for primary analysis. With an explicit focus on the long-term history and archaeology of the Antonine Wall, the definition of this spatial extent centres on the line of the Wall's primary linear features, whether confirmed or presumed, and as defined by RCAHMS records. A 10km boundary (5km to either side of the Wall) was selected for trial analysis (with the possibility of

requesting a larger area), and GIS data layers were requested from RCAHMS, drawing on both RCAHMS' extensive (but Roman-focused) Antonine Wall Mapping Project data and an extract from the full Canmore database, representing all of the National Monuments Records (representing all periods) from within the buffer zone. Upon receipt of the data files, the delivered dataset was found to represent a smaller boundary area (just over 8km centred on the Wall; 4km to either side) than requested, but the Canmore extract included a total of 3,618 site records, only 324 of which were assigned to the Roman period. Both the limited area of this boundary, and the quantity and quality of the Canmore records provided some difficult limitations.

The quantity of Canmore records included within the bounded area was unexpectedly high, and the decision was made to limit primary analysis to this spatial extent in order to give adequate attention to the extensive range of non-Roman sites within this more constrained area. As archaeological and historical discussions of the Antonine Wall corridor almost-exclusively focus on the area's Roman remains, it was deemed most important to investigate the available data for clues about post-Roman activities in the Wall's immediate vicinity before widening the area of analysis. Unfortunately, this restricted the ability to assess findings within a broader regional context. While it had been hoped that detailed analysis would be expanded further north and south during the course of this research, limitations in the quantity and quality of data for each site record meant that significant time was spent investigating and attempting to classify and date many of the monument records within the study area. Of the 3,618 records, only 420 included period designations, and many sites were found to have no detailed descriptions or visual evidence to examine. Vague site classifications (when provided), the lack of descriptions and suggested dates, and the fact that most of the non-Roman sites within this area have never received archaeological attention complicated and limited the ability to analyse particular site types, such as medieval settlements, field systems and enclosures of multiple periods, and early modern designed landscapes.

As a result, the site types chosen for analysis (e.g. churches, castles, canals) were often more clearly datable or had been incidently discovered during the course of archaeological work that was designed to answer Roman period research questions. Sites that have more direct links to the line of the Antonine Wall or one of its associated installations are given particular attention, but the wider regional context is considered within the limitations imposed by the bounded study area. Importantly, however, despite these limitations, this study provides an original contribution by bringing together—for the first time—all the currently known examples for a range of post-Roman archaeological and historical evidence across multiple periods in the vicinity of the Antonine Wall. This will hopefully raise interesting possibilities for the Wall's role within these later contexts, and also raise further questions that lead beyond the limitations of the present study.

Chapter Seven:
Post-Roman Archaeology in Historical Context

> The Peel of Kirkintilloch is neither of Roman design nor of Roman workmanship. Once this is realized, the question of its relation to the Roman line becomes irrelevant. (Macdonald 1934b: 291)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the evidence for activities on or near the Antonine Wall in the centuries after the Roman withdrawal, from the late second century to the end of the Industrial Revolution. While some of this evidence has been reported in archaeological publications of the past 120 years—and the presence of later activities is generally acknowledged—the Wall's post-Roman life has rarely been the focus of concerted investigation, has never been compiled or synthesised, and remains relegated to summaries of incidental information that lack discussion of wider historical context or implications. A notable exception is a recent paper by Adrián Maldonado (in press), which brings together historical accounts and archaeological and toponymic evidence to begin considering the Wall's continued significance in the early medieval period. Keppie (2012: 13–14, 17–27) has also given this evidence some consideration, but a more detailed examination is necessary in order to more fully appreciate how these later activities have contributed to the Wall as it exists today, as well as the Wall's role in the development of post-Roman Scotland.

This chapter summarises the available evidence, period-by-period, on the line of the Wall and within a study area defined by an 8km buffer centred on its line. A number of recommendations for future research are provided in the discussion of each period, and the chapter concludes with a general summary of these recommendations.

7.1.1 Period Definitions

There is no universally accepted terminology or chronology for the early period considered in this chapter. The "Roman period" in Scotland—a problematic term—

was short and punctuated by particular episodes rather than representing the longer and more sustained period endured further south (Hanson 2004: 138). Following Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius' revision of Thomsen's three-age system, some archaeologists now prefer to view the period of Roman campaigning and/or occupation to the north of Hadrian's Wall as merely a particular episode within a broader Iron Age that stretched from the middle of the first millennium BC to somewhere near the end of the first millennium AD. Harding (2004) divides this long Iron Age into "earlier," "Roman" and "later" sub-periods, with the "later Iron Age" comprising the period from about AD 211 (the death of Septimius Severus) to the ninth century (advent of Norse colonisation and settlement). As with England, the term "medieval" is often applied primarily for the period from the mid-eleventh century to the Reformation, though the period from around 500 to the Norman invasion is sometimes considered "early medieval" (Barrell 2000: 1–11).

In a recent publication on the Pictish monastery of Portmahomack, Carver (2008: 81) assigns the term "long Iron Age" to cover the period c. 500 BC–AD 500, but uses a variety of other terms to describe the sixth through twelfth centuries: "Dark Age" (pp. 3, 25), "Early Historic" period (pp. 4, 21), "early medieval" (pp. 26, 68), and "early middle ages" (p. 67). For the period immediately after Rome's abandonment of quests to conquer Scotland (c. AD 250–400), Hunter (2007a) mixes the "Roman" and "Iron Age" designations in the term "Late Roman Iron Age." When considering the breadth of research on post-Roman and Medieval Scotland, there is little consistency in the use and chronological ranges of these terms, and specific dates and events that demarcate the Iron Age, Roman, and Medieval periods in England have little relevance for the cultural, historical, and political contexts of Scotland. For convenience, I will use the following designations:[71]

Late Roman Iron Age	c. 160–500
Early Medieval Period	c. 500–1100
Later Medieval Period	c. 1100–1600

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[71] Broadly similar period designations have been adopted in the recent *Scottish Archaeological Framwork* (http://www.scottishheritagehub.com/).

7.2 Late Roman Iron Age

There is little clearly datable evidence for what was happening on the Antonine Wall in the first couple of centuries after Rome's withdrawal, but a number of sites with late prehistoric or Iron Age activities may have continued—or renewed—their roles during this period. RCAHMS' Canmore database records at least 55 sites within an 8km buffer zone that may belong to this period (Table 7.1; Fig. 7.1). Most of these sites have not received serious archaeological attention and, therefore, represent an important pool of untapped potential. Some have only been identified from cropmarks and are assigned to vague site-type categories that offer little analytical value; this problem has been noted by the recent *Scottish Archaeological Research Framework*'s Iron Age report (ScARF 2012a: 117–19), which rightly recommends that these classifications receive a systematic critical review.
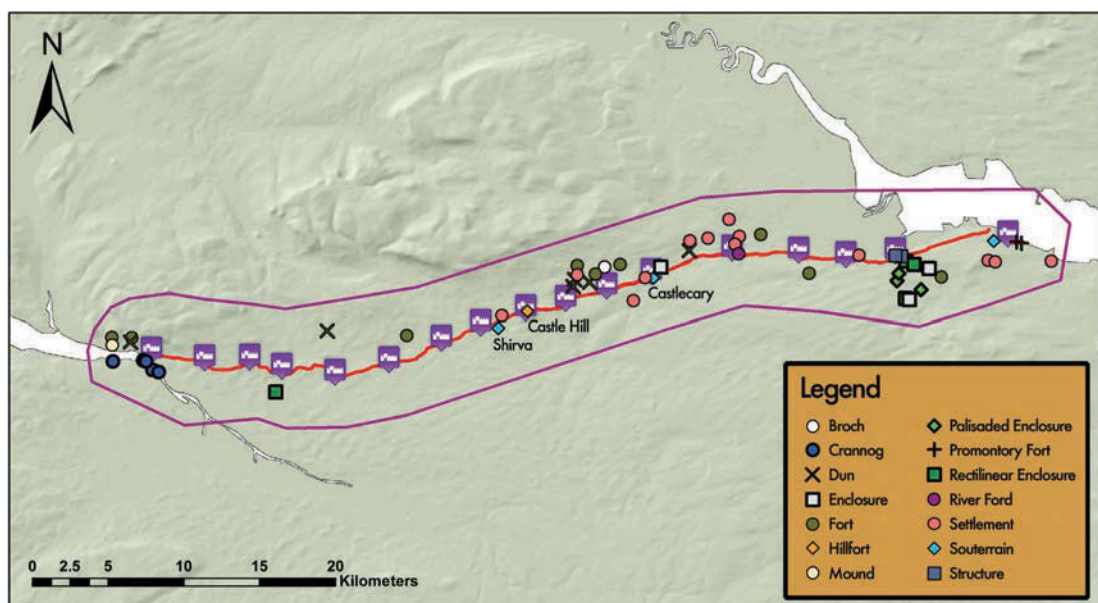
Figure 7.1. Late Prehistoric/Iron Age Landscape. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

SITE NAME	NATIONAL GRID REF.	DATING	DESCRIPTION	CANMORE ID
Mannerston Holdings	NT 055 794	Unknown	Aerial photographs reveal possible settlement located near a fort. Date unknown.	49139
Stacks	NT 0351 8059	Iron Age	Cropmarks of a promontory earthwork or fort revealed in 1976 aerial photograph. Precise date unknown.	49536
Carras Gate	NT 032 807	Iron Age	Cropmarks revealing small promontory fort with two ditches. Precise date unknown.	49534
Easter Bonhard	NT 0180 7936	Unknown	Possible roundhouses and souterrain identified from cropmarks; limited excavation suggests cropmark may be caused by natural variations.	153454
Muirhouses	NT 0168 8074	Iron Age	Possible souterrain identified in Drum farmsteading aerial photograph. Precise date unknown.	49616
Bonhard House	NT 0132 7945	Unknown	Cropmarks show possible palisaded settlement. Date unknown.	49229
Rousland	NS 9822 7836	Iron Age	Possible fort revealed by aerial photographs. Precise date unknown.	47815
Falcon House	NS 9742 7890	Unknown	Cropmarks of building and adjacent enclosure revealed by aerial photography. Date unknown.	142140
Myrehead	NS 9690 7752	Bronze Age, Iron Age	Bronze and Iron Age settlments, enclosed (palisaded) and unenclosed; partially excavated in the 1980s.	47816
Avon Banks	NS 96430 79180	Unknown	Rectilinear enclosure revealed by cropmarks. Date unknown.	47848
Hainingvalley	NS 9611 7687	Unknown	Cropmark of possible enclosure. Date unknown.	88986
Muiravonside	NS 9587 7694	Unknown	Cropmark of possible rectilinear enclosure. Date unknown.	88985
Inveravon	NS 95887 79396	Unknown	Rectilinear enclosure revealed by cropmarks. Date unknown.	47828
Inveravon	NS 9560 7972	Unknown	Indeterminant structure of unknown date, near site of Inveravon Roman fort.	142155
Inveravon	NS 9521 7977	Unknown	Indeterminant structure of unknown date, near site of Inveravon Roman fort.	142159
Avondale Farm	NS 9543 7860	Unknown	Palisaded enclosure revealed by cropmarks. Date unknown.	47836
Lathallan	NS 953 781	Iron Age	Possible palisaded enclosure revealed by cropmarks. Precise date unknown.	47827
Bowhouse	NS 928 798	Iron Age	Bowhouse and possible homestead, enclosed with possible palisade; possibly early Iron Age.	47880
Callendar Woods	NS 895 786	Iron Age	Hillfort discovered in 2002 consisting of large ditches forming irregular oval enclosures. Precise date unknown.	282665

Site	Grid Reference	Period	Description	Ref. No.
Camelon	NS 8632 8115	Iron Age	Native Iron Age fort and palisaded settlement in close proximity to Roman forts; probably in use during 1st and 2nd centuries AD.	46922
Rough Castle	NS 8486 7989	Iron Age, Roman?	Stone pavement, possible River ford of Roman or earlier date near Rough Castle Roman fort; C-14 date from peat calibrated to 780–400 BC.	110293
Wester Carmuirs	NS 8491 8102	Iron Age	Probable Fort and Settlement visible on RCAHMS aerial photographs taken in 1978 and 1980. No surface remains.	47023
Wester Carmuirs	NS 84604 80534	Iron Age	Possible pits and ring ditch seen by cropmarks in aerial photographs. Precise date unknown.	47024
Househill, Dunipace	NS 84246 82139	Iron Age	Possible settlement visible from cropmarks from aerial photographs. Precise date unknown.	47030
Bonnywood Farm	NS 8282 8092	Iron Age	Possible settlement on top of rounded knoll. During foundation work in 1888 a large hollow with a 50' to 60' diameter circular formation was observed.	47013
Wheatlands	NS 8163 8075	Iron Age	Settlement site revealed by crop-marks. Site enclosed by bank and ditch measuring approx. 200' NE-SW by 150'. Six round structures were identified as possible huts measuring 20' and 30' in diameter. Site location now unknown.	47007
West Bonnyfield	NS 816 801	Iron Age	Possible Dun reported by Gordon in 1726. Precise location unknown.	47017
East Bankier	NS 797 790	Unknown	Indeterminant site type of unknown date reported by Gordon as the enclosed ruins of a town. Precise location unknown.	45867
Castecary	NS 78767 78385	Unknown	Cropmark of possible settlement. Date unknown.	45851
Castlecary	NS 7923 7830	Iron Age	Cropmark of possible very large and regular souterrain. Precise date unknown.	45850
Wardpark, Cumbernauld	NS 779 768	Unknown	Possible settlement recorded at Wardpark. Site now occupied by engineering works.	45839
Coneypark Easter Auchincloich	NS 7702 7918	Iron Age	Fort measuring approximately 80m by 34m internally with double rampart remaining. Three ditches are revealed by aerial photographs.	45857
Auchincloich	NS 76 79	Iron Age	Possible Broch known as 'Cairnfaal' reported by Gordon in 1727. Precise location unknown.	45812
Ruchill	NS 7539 7855	Iron Age	Square fort with stone buildings and walls at 'Rough-Hill' reported by Gordon. Site presumed to be occupied by Ruchill farmhouse.	45835

Name	Grid Reference	Period	Description	ID
West Auchincloich	NS 75 78	Iron Age	Dun known as 'The Chesters' reported in 1726 by Gordon. Precise location unknown.	45832
Auchinvalley	NS 742 791	Iron Age	Possible fort, recorded in 18th century as being defended by drystone walls and measuring 36–45m in diameter; no longer visible on the ground.	45890
Townhead, Kilsyth	NS 740 782	Iron Age	Possible Dun reported in 1796 by parish minister of Kilsyth. Precise location unknown.	45891
Townhead, Kilsyth	NS 742 785	Iron Age	Settlement enclosure shaped in an oval measuring 40m by 27m. Interior disturbed by quarrying. Precise date unknown.	45897
Colziumbea	NS 7391 7774	Iron Age	Small fort approximately 500' in circumference surrounded by stone and earth rampart was reported by Gordon in 1726. Precise location unknown.	45887
Castle Hill	NS 7091 7610	Iron Age	Iron Age Hill Fort adjacent to Bar Hill Roman Fort on the Antonine Wall; line of the Antonine Wall cuts the native fort's defences.	45894
Twechar	NS 6924 7581	Unknown	Cropmark of possible settlement. Dating uncertain.	275300
Shirva	NS 69 75	Iron Age	Possible souterrain with reused Roman stones and inscriptions. Reported by Gordon and Horsley. Precise location unknown.	45162
Carlston	NS 6294 7452	Iron Age	Possible fort revealed by aerial photographs of a D-shaped earthwork with ditches. No traces can be noted on the ground. Precise date unknown.	45262
Kettle Hill	NS 5769 7483	Iron Age, Medieval	Possible Dun with evidence of medieval occupation; limited excavation in the 1980s.	44508
Cairn Hill	Ns 543 708	Unknown	Rectilinear enclosure with rounded angles. The enclosure is formed by two banks with a ditch between and is visible on Roy's Military Map of 1747-55. Post-medieval boundaries of the area do not align with the enclosure.	294251
Erskine Ferry	NS 4656 7211	Iron Age	Possible Crannog excavated by Erskine Ferry in 1906. Findings included carbonised seeds and ears of barley. Site has been demolished due to engineering works at shipyard.	43277
Old Kilpatrick	NS 465 722	Iron Age	Possible souterrain reported in 1930s, possibly associated with nearby crannogs; investigation in the 1990s provided no evidence of this structure	43281

Erskine Bridge	NS 45482 72901	Iron Age	Crannog, well-preserved and measuring about 30m x 40m; investigated in 1985 and 1997. Precise date unknown.	43313
Erskine Bridge	NS 4616 7227	Iron Age	Crannog; no details provided.	43314
Hill of Dun	NS 4480 7439	Iron Age	Fort and settlement on summit of the Hill of Dun, defended by four ramparts.	43329
Hill of Dun	NS 447 741	Iron Age	Possible Dun adapted from natural hollow spaces between two ridges.	43379
Langbank	NS 4355 7283	Iron Age	One of three Crannogs at Langbank. Excavated by Bruce in 1901-2. Finds included a small penannular brooch dating to the 2nd century AD. Precise location now unknown.	43344
Auchentorlie; Trennass Castle	NS 435 739	Unknown	Mound and ruins of indeterminate date and function reported in the nineteenth century; not precisely located and dubious.	43331
Sheep Hill	NS 43480 74400	Iron Age	Fort of two phases, earliest with vitrified core, excavated by Hlensburgh Natural History and Antiquarian Society in 1893, and again in the 1970s; finds including jet bracelets and a glass bead were dated 1st centuries BC and AD.	43388

Table 7.1. Sites of known or possible late prehistoric / Iron Age date, ordered from east to west.

7.2.1 Late Roman Coins

A number of late Roman coins, ranging in date from the usurper Clodius Albinus (AD 193–97) to the Byzantine emperor Maurice (582–602), have also been found near the Wall. All of these are from insecure contexts, and both their find spots and dates of loss remain uncertain. It is possible that some of these may have been relatively recent losses, as has been suggested for a sixth-century bronze of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (Robertson 1950: 140). Others, however, are almost certainly ancient depositions, including the hoard discovered at Bell's Meadow, Falkirk in 1933 (Fig. 6.5): consisting of more than 1,900 *denarii* and a single Lycian *drachma* of Trajan, the hoard represents silver coins minted between c. 83 BC and AD 230, and based on circulation wear on the latest coins was probably deposited around AD 240–50 (Macdonald 1934a: 32–40). Stray coin finds must be treated with caution, but this considerable hoard may suggest the presence of a local community, "barbarian leader or dynasty" who remained in contact with Rome and benefited from diplomatic gifts in exchange for peace (Todd 1985; see also Hunter 2007b; Hunter and Painter 2013).

7.2.2 A Possible Souterrain at Shirva

Perhaps the clearest—though still quite problematic—evidence for early post-Roman occupation on the Antonine Wall is a structure built into the Ditch at Shirva, midway between the forts at Bar Hill and Auchendavy. Details of this structure are known only from antiquarian testimony, recorded by Gordon (1732: 5–11) and Horsley (1732: 198, 339–40), and it has subsequently been lost and never relocated. Keppie (2012: 85, no. 124) notes two possible explanations: "conceivably it was destroyed in 1771 when the Forth & Clyde Canal was being constructed in the vicinity. More probably, however, the stonework was soon removed to form dykes round Shirva House." The expected area has been investigated numerous times, with negative results (e.g. Keppie and Walker 1985: 35). For this reason, and as the full details of the antiquarian accounts are now rarely taken into consideration, I will explore this structure in some detail. It is important as a part of the Wall's larger story, as a particular example of post-Roman activities directly on the Wall's line, as clear evidence for the reuse of Roman stonework and, therefore, as a direct link

between the Roman remains and the people who utilised this space after the Wall was decommissioned.

In 1727–28, local agricultural workers uncovered what was then identified as a "Roman Tumulus" while excavating stones for a nearby park-wall. Gordon (1732) provides the most complete account of this discovery. Intrigued by news of the discoveries made since his earlier visit—received while he was surveying the isthmus to support his proposals for a canal between the Forth and Clyde—Gordon returned to Shirva to investigate. What he found caused him to revise his earlier plan of Wall "Stations" (i.e. forts): "yet by the Remains I found there since, I perceive, it not only has been a Station, but one of the most considerable among them, and possessed by the *Romans* both in the Times of the higher and lower Empires" (Gordon 1732: 7). For Gordon, this discovery provided sufficient grounds to suggest a new Roman fort at Shirva—a proposition that is now untenable, with no further evidence suggesting either a fort, fortlet, or other minor construction of Roman date, save the line of the Wall itself. But if Gordon was mistaken in identifying this site as a significant fort, what was uncovered here, what was the nature of the noted "Tumulus," and to what period should it be assigned?
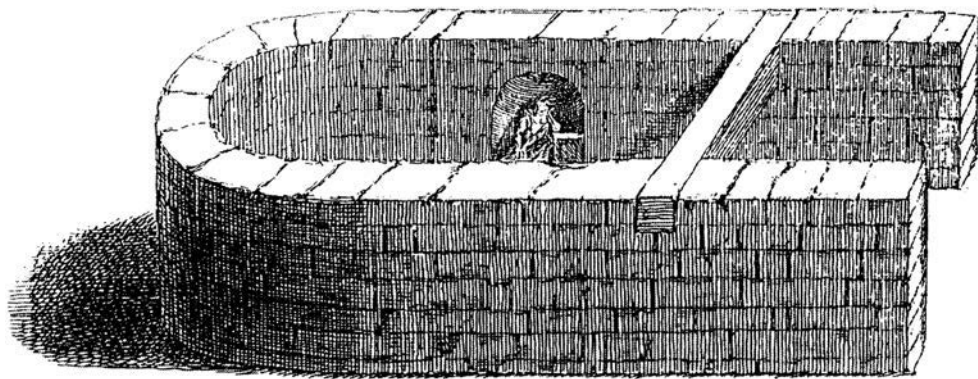
Figure 7.2. Gordon's (1732: pl. 66, fig. 6) drawing of the structure at Shirva.

For Gordon, the most significant finds were a group of inscribed and sculpted stones. The bulk of his discussion focuses exclusively on the description and interpretation of these artefacts, which he "drew [...] on the Spot" (ibid. p. 5). While Gordon provides an isometric drawing of the structure in which the stones were found (Fig. 7.2), he fails to provide a personal textual description or precise

location, opting instead to quote, in full, a letter from Rev. Robe of nearby Kilsyth to a Professor Maclaurin (ibid. p. 7),[72] which provides additional information. According to Robe, who also corresponded with Horsley (1732: 339–40), the structure was located "in the *Fossa* [i.e. hollow of the Ditch], close by the Wall [i.e. Rampart]," was semi-circular in shape, "an exact half Round" to the west, with "seven or eight Courses of hewn Stones, many of them of rais'd Diamond-work," "several Pillars [...] and some Pedestals," at least two sculpted stones and several inscriptions, as well as a "a large Whin-stone, crossing from one Wall to the other like a Lintel, five Feet and a half long" (Gordon 1732: 7). These details are closely matched by Horsley's version of Robe's testimony, though there is some confusion.

In Gordon's quotation of Robe's letter, two sculpted stones are described: both represent reclining figures, and one was located in the structure's north wall, while the other was located in the south wall. Robe says that both stones faced to the north, but that the image on the south was covered over by another (unsculpted) stone (Gordon 1732: 7). Horsley (1732: 339–40) echoes this testimony, indicating that neither sculpted stone was visible from within the structure itself. The confusion arises from Gordon's drawing, in which there is a semi-circular niche with a sculpture located within the north wall facing south. The detail of this illustration, however, is insufficient to determine if this niche and its sculpture represent one of the noted sculpted stones. In a similar drawing—said to be based on Gordon's description—Stuart (1844: pl. 12, fig. 4) does not include the niche, yet clearly places one of the reclining figure stones in its place.

It is clear from these accounts that Gordon and Robe had visited the site, though Horsley never claims to have seen the structure himself. Gordon was probably the first to visit, not long after the discovery was made. It is unclear whether Gordon and Robe were acquainted, though Gordon's receipt of Robe's letter via a third party, along with his belief that Robe "either did not see the Inscription he mentions, or if he did, he mistakes the Legend of it" (ibid. p. 7) suggests that they were not, and informs us that they visited the site on separate occasions. Both accounts represent eye-witness testimony of the remains, though

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[72] Colin Maclaurin, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh College (Keppie 2012: 80).

both are also from a date after the excavation activity which uncovered them. The precise, *in situ*, positions of each artefact cannot be verified and it is clear from Gordon's statement that they had been "dug up" before his arrival that at least some of them were first analysed out of their original context. This may explain the contradiction between Robe's twice-attested statement that both sculpted stones faced the north and Gordon's drawing showing the stone on the north wall as visible from the structure's interior.

Figure 7.3. Gordon's (1732) drawing of A) a sculpted slab and B) the Salmanes inscription at Shirva.

It is possible that Robe was mistaken and that Gordon merely corrected this in his draft. But if this was the case, why does Gordon make no explanation for this correction? As evidenced by Gordon's correction of Robe's mis-reading of one of the inscribed stones, such an emendation was not out of character. Here may lie the answer: Gordon was—in this publication at least—primarily focused on the site's inscriptions, providing no personal description of the noted sculpted stones and further reflected in the poor quality of the drawings he provided for these in comparison to the inscribed stones (Fig. 7.3). It could be hypothesised, then, that both stones faced in toward the structure's interior, with the visibility of the stone

on the north wall corrected by Gordon in his drawing, but without textual explanation due to Gordon's almost single-minded concern with the inscriptions themselves. Despite this possibility, and in the absence of additional evidence, it is probably best to take Robe's testimony—re-communicated via both Gordon and Horsley—at face-value (i.e., that the sculpted sides of both stones were not visible from inside the structure).

These illustrations provide but a limited view of the structure, and its full extent is unknown. According to Horsley (1732: 339), Robe described another wall "running out to the north from the east end of the northern wall," suggesting that the full structure was not composed of a single passage but merely had at least one apsidal terminus; this may have been part of a passage by which the structure was accessed (Welfare 1984: 308; Keppie 2012: 81). Robe further communicates, however, that the structure remained only partially uncovered and that plans were underway for a complete excavation by the University of Glasgow; these plans seem never to have reached fruition or, if they did, no record remains of the activity or further findings (Keppie 2012: 81).

According to Gordon, Robe noted "a good deal of Ashes […] and a Piece of an Urn." The ashes are corroborated by Horsley's correspondence from Robe, that there was "a stone on the ground within the semicircular building, brown with ashes, and as if fire had been much upon it" (Horsley 1732: 339). Besides these sculpted stones, probably of women on sepulchral couches and certainly from a Roman tomb monument taken from a cemetery of one of the adjacent forts, another sculpted slab and four additional inscribed stones (RIB 2180–83) were discovered around the same time. The precise context in which these stones were uncovered is unknown, though it is likely that they had also been reused within the structure and were only examined after being removed by the excavators before Gordon's arrival.

What the antiquaries mistook for a Roman "tumulus," or sepulchral monument, is now largely accepted as a souterrain (Breeze 2006a: 175; Keppie 2012: 81), a subterranean structure current in Iron Age Scotland (Watkins 1980: 197–99). The purpose of souterrains has been long debated, with suggestions ranging from use as a type of Roman Mithraeum or similarly "connected with the secret rites of a

native priesthood" (Smith 1854: 216–17), as an "earth-house" or "weem"—a domestic space lived in regularly or used as a refuge in cold weather—(Richmond and Steer 1957: 5; cf. Watkins 1980: 197), or as a cattle-byre for the protection of livestock (Wainwright 1963). As Armit (1999: 582) has observed, though, "the manifest variation among souterrain forms and sizes across Scotland […] renders any suggestion of common function highly dubious." While we must, thus, guard against a rigidly uniform interpretation, the available evidence leans strongly in favour of a granary or produce-storage function for the "southern Pictland" and more southern souterrains. These structures are most often associated with open, rather than enclosed, settlement types, and may "indicate the existence of dominant households within nucleated settlements" (Hingley 1992: 30).

The initial appearance of souterrains probably took place in the pre-Roman Iron Age (Armit 1997: 75). The most clearly datable evidence, primarily in the form of Roman objects, reveals a particularly active use period in the second century AD, after which a deliberate decommissioning or destruction phase took place at the end of the second century or within the first decades of the third (ibid.). Based on destruction evidence from sites at Ardestie, Carlungie, Newmill and Redcastle, Armit (1999: 583–88) posits that, "souterrains were not seemingly destroyed by hostile action, but rather by the communities who had built and used them." Supporting evidence includes the "seemingly ritual or symbolic acts" of dismantling the roofs and upper courses to ground level, "smashing of the door jams," deposition of animal bones, broken querns, stone moulds and Roman glassware, rapid infilling with broken stones and soil, and ashes or charcoal that suggest the burning of a bonfire at some point during the infilling process (ibid.). For the souterrain at Newmill, Armit finds it:

> extremely tempting […] to see both this [depositional] material and the bonfire […] perhaps as debris from some form of ritual meal prepared and consumed during or following the demolition of the souterrain, or at least as related in some way to the formal closure of the structure. (ibid. p. 585)

This "ritual meal" hypothesis may be an example of overindulging an unfortunately too-common "ritual" explanation for archaeological phenomena that cannot otherwise be easily explained (Bahn 1989: 62; Richards and Thomas 1984: 189). While we should avoid too quickly turning to this sort of explanation, Armit is probably justified in at least the connection of bonfire residues with the formal closure of many souterrains.

How does the structure at Shirva fit into this functional debate and chronology? First, if the antiquarian testimony is reliable, the structure must have been located within or very close to the Antonine Wall Ditch; if it was *within* the Ditch as Robe reports, it must be a later feature—though the precise relationship between the Ditch and structure is unclear in the antiquarian records. Further, it is highly improbable that the inscriptions and sculpted slabs, largely taken from a nearby Roman cemetery and incorporated into the new structure's fabric, would have been robbed and reused during a time when the Wall remained in commission. Consequently, the earliest possible date for construction must lie in the early 160s. If this structure was a souterrain, and Armit's (1999) suggested "souterrain abandonment horizon" is correct, it would have gone out of use perhaps as late as c. 220, with a maximum functional lifespan of 50–60 years.

If a souterrain interpretation is accepted, a grain- or produce-store function would be most reasonable. This fits the current consensus regarding the "southern Pictland" group, to which Shirva would be a definite outlier, but also to those souterrains known from south of the Forth. Though a possible objection to this hypothesis may be the noted dampness (Robertson 2001: 94)[73] of the Antonine Wall Ditch—suggesting that the location is ill-suited for such food storage—"there is little to suggest that [souterrains] were not originally rendered watertight" (Armit 1999: 582), and this may have been true at Shirva. Another possible objection is the presence of considerable ash and burn marks concentrated on a single stone, related by Robe via both Gordon and Horsley. This evidence would appear to be at odds

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[73] It is important to note that Robertson makes no such objection, but merely notes the "rather damp" nature of the Ditch in this area.

with a grain storage function and could be argued to suggest a more domestic or mixed-use function for the structure. This evidence for burning, however, especially in view of the noted column fragments and urn, well fits the destruction scenarios—with a bonfire and seemingly deliberate deposition of similar artefacts—detailed at Newmill and Ardestie (Armit 1999).

Figure 7.4. Interior of the souterrain at Crichton (Midlothian).
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The presence of reused Roman stonework, including inscriptions, sculpted slabs and diamond-broached ashlars incorporated into the fabric, as well as the presence of other Roman artefacts, may also suggest a level of ritualistic or symbolic

significance for the structure. Hingley (1992: 29) noted this possibility for Shirva and the souterrains at Crichton (Fig. 7.4) and Newstead, suggesting that "the reuse of [Roman] material in the context of a monumental storage structure possibly drew concepts of power into the new context associated with the production, storage and distribution of crops." Conflicting information in our main sources make it difficult to accurately assess the Shirva souterrain in this regard. While Gordon's drawing of the structure clearly shows one sculpted stone visible from the interior, Robe's testimony (as communicated by *both* Gordon and Horsley) emphatically declares that neither of the sculpted stones' faces were visible; unfortunately, Gordon fails to clarify the matter.[74] As to the other inscriptions, we are never told if they were incorporated into the fabric or would have been visible to someone standing within the structure, as they appear to have been examined *ex situ*. Despite these serious obstacles, which appear to have been missed by scholars after Horsley, symbolic significance in the reuse of these stones must remain a possibility.

While the choice of Roman stones may merely reflect a pragmatic reuse of a convenient supply for souterrain builders at Shirva, the significance of their Roman origins and iconography would not have been unrecognised by the new structure's builders. The classical accounts attest continued episodes of conflict between Rome and native groups in Scotland until around the apparent abandonment period for souterrains (Dio *Hist. Rom.* 72, 77), and continued trade or "Roman drift" is well-documented by the presence of Roman goods throughout much of Scotland for at least another century (Robertson 1970). The memory of Rome must certainly have remained vivid for some time, especially for sites and communities this close to the Wall and in the acceptable period during which the souterrain was constructed and used. If the reused Roman material was displayed through deliberate visual orientation of stone inscriptions and sculptures, a ritualistic or symbolic interpretation—though not necessarily of structural function—would be difficult to dispute.

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[74] Gordon's drawing is also highly stylised, with a too-perfect representation of the masonry. If, however, the masonry is even close to that represented in the drawing, it appears to be at odds with the style of drystone masonry known from other souterrains, including the well-preserved example at Crichton (see Fig. 7.4).

The souterrain's builders need not have chosen this Roman material in order to signify Roman self-identification but may have used these materials to project power, using the memory of Rome to underscore this projection (Hingley 1992: 29). In this case, however, the limited evidence suggests that the most visible characteristics of the stones' Roman identity—the inscriptions and sculpted images—were covered over or faced in such a manner that they were rendered invisible. If this were true of all the Roman inscribed and sculpted stones, such a fact would have to be considered the result of a deliberate decision and, therefore, one imbued with just as much symbolic significance. Here, however, such significance would possibly include the denial of Roman identity, rejection of Rome's symbols of might, and the removal of honour for her dead. While this idea is speculative, it is no less so than the previous, and may be better supported by the specific evidence from Shirva, where the funerary stones were almost certainly transported from cemeteries closer to the nearby forts at Auchendavy or Bar Hill, and where the decision to locate the structure within or near the Ditch clearly subverted its original and very recent role as an obstacle to movement and habitation. The only scenario in which a symbolic interpretation may be wholly discounted would be if the placement and orientation of reused Roman stones were mixed and seemingly haphazard, but even then it may be more prudent to consider the possibly deliberate decisions on a stone-by-stone basis.

We may never know the full physical extent, precise function, and possible symbolic significance of reused Roman materials for this post-Roman structure at Shirva. Robe's mention of an additional wall suggests that the structure was larger than usually considered and, therefore, probably comparable to more complete examples of souterrains found elsewhere in Scotland (for a variety of plans, see Watkins 1980). Following evidence from other better-known examples, a Late Roman Iron Age souterrain at Shirva would have probably served a small community in an unenclosed settlement type during the relatively short period of c. 160–220. Further evidence for this settlement, however, seems to have disappeared before or with the possible souterrain itself, which has continued to elude both

traditional archaeological field techniques and newer geophysical investigations (Keppie 2012: 81).

Based on possible geopolitical reconstructions, if this structure was a souterrain, the community that built it may have belonged to or been nominally associated with the Maiatai, who may be the unspecified "Britons" recorded as "crossing the Wall" in the 180s (Dio *Hist. Rom.* 72.8), and who joined with the Caledones to make war against the Romans under Severus (ibid. 77). This idea has been forwarded by Armit (1999: 590–94) in his discussion of souterrains belonging to the "southern Pictland" group and those located south of the forth, including at Shirva. If this context is accepted, the Shirva community may represent a brave subset of the Maiatai who chose to live in the former footsteps of a powerful enemy, crossing the Wall and subverting its original purpose by installing one of their own granaries within its ditch. From this perspective, and based on the available evidence, any supposed symbolic significance for the site's location and incorporation of Roman material—including dislocated funerary monuments and military inscriptions seemingly rendered invisible—leans away from positive associations with Roman power and strongly in favour of subversive resistance to it.

Not everyone, however, is convinced by the souterrain interpretation. Hingley (pers. comm.) notes that the available drawings do not convincingly compare with other known souterrains and that it was not subterranean in any real sense, and he wonders if the structure might have been an early stone church instead. This is an attractive idea that may be supported by increasing evidence for early Christian activities along Hadrian's Wall (Symonds and Mason 2009: 1.169) and elsewhere. This will be discussed, along with comparable evidence, in the discussion of the early medieval period, below. What it means, however, is that the souterrain interpretation is not as secure as its wide acceptance suggests, and that further studies need to compare the available antiquarian evidence with known souterrains and other structures across northern Britain. Another possible souterrain has now been identified (and scheduled) just east of the Castlecary fort annexe. This may likewise be post-Roman in date and, in the continued elusiveness of the structure at Shirva, may provide an important near-parallel for comparison.

7.2.3 Other Evidence and Suggestions

Also of relevance for the Wall's Late Roman Iron Age context is the Iron Age fort of Castle Hill (Fig. 7.5), adjacent to the Antonine Wall fort at Bar Hill. Though clearly in use before the Antonine Wall, as evidenced by the Wall's cutting of its northern defences, the lack of detailed investigation leaves the question of its possible later significance unanswered. Along with a broader landscape approach that takes the various later prehistoric sites into consideration, these sites should certainly receive concerted attention.
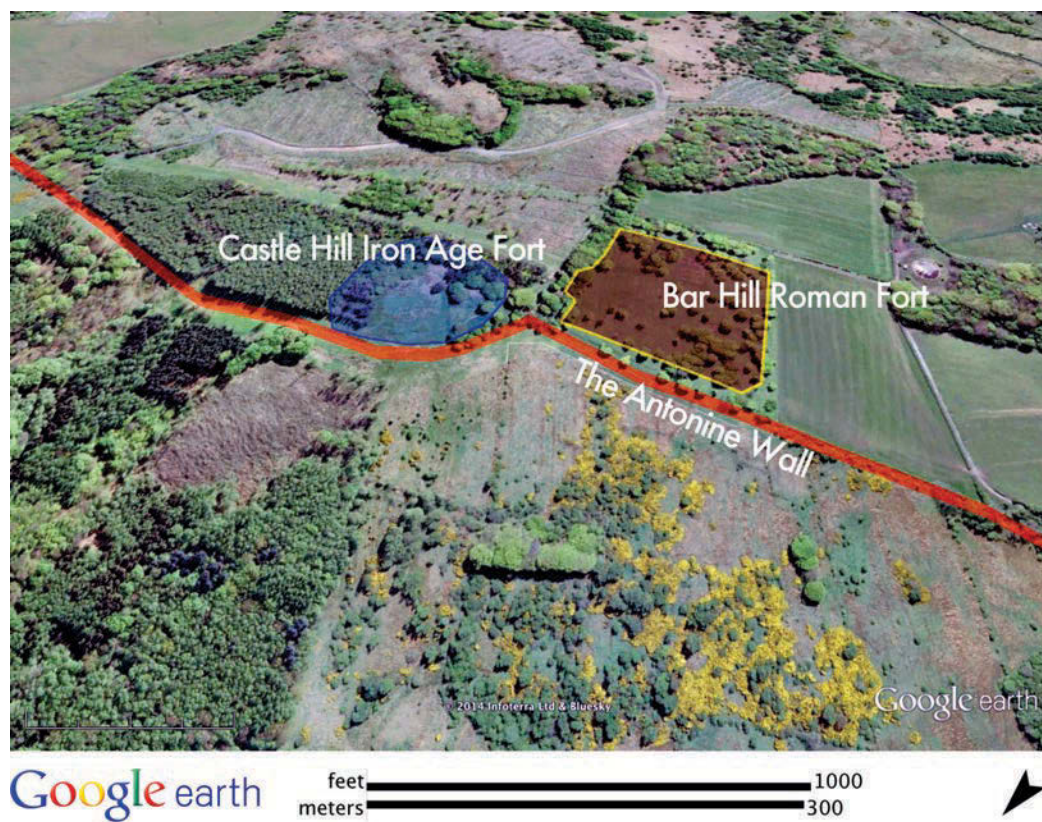
Figure 7.5. Castle Hill Iron Age fort, Bar Hill Roman fort,
and the Antonine Wall, from the northwest.

Analysis of the high-resolution data collected by the Scottish Ten Antonine Wall LiDAR survey will almost certainly reveal a number of currently unknown sites, may help to pinpoint the location of the lost structure at Shirva, and may also provide greater clarity regarding the native fort at Castle Hill, the Castlecary souterrain, and their relationships to nearby Roman remains. While this data may be one of the most promising developments since the introduction of aerial

photography, realisation of its true potential will require a broad agenda that seeks to identify and interrogate the Wall's post-Roman landscape as well as Roman period concerns. Unfortunately, functional interpretation and dating of features discovered through analysis of this data may remain uncertain without excavation.

The need for more excavation—in particular large-scale area excavation—is a common recommendation in *Scottish Archaeological Research Framework* period reports; it may be hoped that this call will be recognised, and that Historic Scotland will relax its position to allow for carefully controlled excavation of scheduled sites (see ScARF 2012b: 9 for a discussion of the current resistance to large-scale excavation). Funding is a key issue, as well-funded large-area excavation projects are currently underway at Maryport on Hadrian's Wall and at Binchester (County Durham). The current resistance in Scotland, however, is also related to the large number of unpublished excavations from the 1960s–80s (Historic Scotland 2009: 60), leading to the current policy that:

> any archaeological excavation or other intrusive investigation should be based upon a detailed research strategy, with adequate resources, using appropriately skilled and experienced archaeologists with a satisfactory record of the completion and publication of projects. (ibid. p. 39)

Unintended consequences of this policy include barriers to access for new excavation directors, and the perpetuation of existing dominant research agendas, as those individuals who best meet the criteria may be less open to new avenues of research. Strong arguments will need to be developed in order to attract both funding and the support and participation of established project directors. If this were to happen, the Castlecary souterrain and Castle Hill fort may be the most suitable candidates for exploring further details of the Antonine Wall's broader Iron Age context.

On the environment, palynological analysis of Ditch fills at Glasgow Bridge identified two "Local Pollen Assemblage Zones" that have been radiocarbon dated

to the period AD 195–550 (Dunwell and Coles 1998).[75] The sample represents a localised impression of environmental changes, with "up to 90% of the pollen recorded derived from within 100m of the site" (ibid. p. 475). This analysis, therefore, cannot be taken as a representative sample for the Wall as a whole. In this particular location, however, the evidence suggests that the area was left to natural regeneration following the Wall's abandonment, but that agricultural activities—probably non-cereal cultivation and/or pasture—were renewed by around AD 350–400. Further changes to arable agriculture occurred around AD 420–550, after which scrubby woodland growth resumed along the Wall, where "it is tempting to think of the […] line forming some sort of wooded land boundary in an otherwise largely cleared landscape" (ibid. p. 477). Analysis of pollen samples from other sites along the Wall have either focused entirely on Roman period assemblages, e.g. at Kirkintilloch (Keppie et al. 1995: 653–56), or have been deemed too poor for analysis, e.g. at Callendar Park (Bailey 1995: 583) and Tayavalla (Keppie et al. 1995: 666).

Tipping and Tisdall (2005: 450–58) note other problems with the use of existing pollen data, especially the lack of sufficient dating controls and a tendency to use region-scale catchment areas to attempt localised reconstructions (see Chapter Six, 6.6). Thus, while the analysis of samples from other sites in Scotland may be useful for general interpretations, only local-level analyses can provide detailed insights into the Wall's immediate vicinity. More research needs to be undertaken in this area and, while the analysis from Glasgow Bridge is not necessarily indicative of what was happening elsewhere on the Wall, the model of using samples derived from the Wall's Ditch fills may be particularly valuable in the investigation of changing environment and land-use in the centuries after the Wall was decommissioned.

Overall, the Antonine Wall's late prehistoric landscape remains poorly understood and further analysis is hampered by limited data. Known sites need to

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[75] Four Local Pollen Assemblage Zones (LPAZ) were identified, with two radiocarbon dates calibrated (at one sigma) to AD 57–195 and AD 420–550, with the total assemblage thought to represent the period from about AD 57–700 (Dunwell and Coles 1998).

be examined to confirm functional interpretations and clarify dates. This is particularly important for gauging short- and long-term impacts of the Roman presence in this region. While it is traditional to consider native sites in the Wall's immediate vicinity as out-of-use by the time the Wall was built, recent discoveries and an increasing awareness of contemporary native settlements along Hadrian's Wall require a fresh and comprehensive investigation of the late prehistoric landscape along the Antonine Wall.

7.3 Early Medieval Period

The Antonine Wall's early medieval landscape (Fig. 7.6) is poorly understood, with little clear evidence for activities in the Wall's immediate vicinity during the early medieval centuries. This may be the result of little real activity in the period, poor survival of recognisable period remains, obscuring by later medieval and modern occupation, or a Roman-centred research bias. The best evidence is in the form of place-names, fragments of early medieval stone sculpture, and a single site of secular power. While the available evidence is limited, I will attempt to outline its potential for understanding early medieval activities in the area; this draws on a recent paper by Maldonado (in press), but also supplements his analysis with a more comprehensive dataset.

Regionally, the best-known sites of the period lie just outside of the study area (and are, therefore, included in Fig. 7.6 to highlight the broader regional context), represented on the east by ecclesiastical power centres at Abercorn and Culross, and on the west by secular power centres at Dumbarton and Govan. Based on detailed historical studies by Fraser (2009) and Woolf (2007), we can be confident that this landscape's eastern extremity was shared between the Anglo-Saxon Bernicians and the Picts (ibid. pp. 4–13), but no clear border can be established and the boundaries may have fluctuated (Mair *Hist. Maj. Brit*. 2.3, however, had suggested that the Wall served as a border in this period). The western extremity, on the other hand, was predominantly Brittonic territory, held first by the kingdom of *Alt Clut* at Dumbarton and later by the kingdom of Strathclyde at Govan. Norse activities are recorded with the 870 siege and sacking of Dumbarton, which may have directly contributed to the demise of *Alt Clut* and subsequent rise of

Strathclyde (ibid. pp. 152–53), which has produced examples of hogback stones at its new capital of Govan (Ritchie 1994); the nearest evidence of clear Norse influence in the east is at Abercorn, where a number of hogback stones are also known (Ross 1904). In between these extremities, however, the political landscape remains poorly defined.
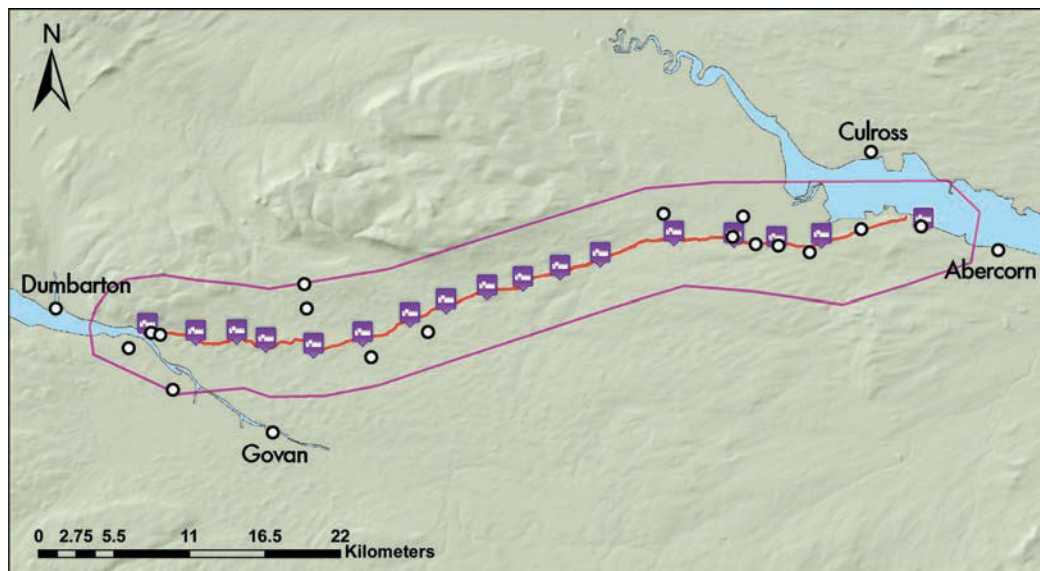
Figure 7.6. Early Medieval Landscape. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

A number of sites with early medieval evidence will be considered in more detail in the following sections. First, however, some general remarks are in order. Within the study area defined by an 8km buffer centred on the Wall, a total of sixteen sites (Table 7.2) have provided evidence for early medieval activity. These are distributed along the Wall corridor, with only two noticeable gaps: about 17km between the area of Rough Castle fort and Kirkintilloch, and about 11km from the area of Balmuildy to Old Kilpatrick; this latter gap may actually be larger, over 18km from Kirkintilloch to Old Kilpatrick, if we consider the uncertain nature of the sites in this area. These sites include, to the north of the fort at Balmuildy, a possible dun and medieval settlement at Kettlehill and an Iron Age fort and/or possible early medieval ring-work at Craigmaddie, while to the south of the Wall is the find-spot of a log boat that has been assigned to the Iron Age or early medieval period.

These sites indicate the difficulty in distinguishing certain types of Iron Age and early medieval material, with possible continuity of traditions and settlements, or later re-occupation of sites that appear to be earlier based on form. The rich range of un- and under-explored late prehistoric/Iron Age sites within the study area has already been mentioned; a new campaign of field-walking, surface collection, geophysical survey, and limited excavation of these sites would help to clarify the situation, and it is possible that this will reveal evidence of continuity or later reoccupation in the early medieval period. Of the other known sites, seven are ecclesiastical in nature, representing churches or other early Christian activities, and we would expect at least limited settlement in these areas. Stray finds, such as the ninth-century brooch or pin from Dunipace (RCAHMS 1963: 37–38), cannot be taken to indicate settlement, and may represent loss in any subsequent period.

That so few sites of this period are known within the study area is remarkable. This may be the result of a two-way research bias, in which recent early medieval archaeology in Scotland has primarily emphasised northern and Atlantic coastal sites while the archaeology of the Antonine Wall corridor has focused on Roman period concerns. Central Scotland, more broadly, is under-represented in terms of archaeological evidence for the early medieval period, and this too may be the result of a bias toward Anglo-Saxon, Pictish, and Viking material/sites, at the expense of investigation into the Brittonic kingdoms. The most significant work on this region's early medieval period, however, has centred on the Brittonic royal centres at Dumbarton (e.g. Alcock 1976) and Govan (e.g. Driscoll 2003; Driscoll et al. 2005). As Hingley (2000: 150–55) has noted for non-villa rural sites in Roman Britain, a significant number of sites may go unrecognised because we are not looking for them;[76] it is possible that many more early medieval sites await discovery throughout central Scotland.

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[76] Hingley demonstrated that research biases toward villa and military sites had given a false impression that ordinary rural farmsteads were largely non-existent. Between 1921–25, 63% of excavated Roman sites were villas (25%) or military (38%), with non-villa settlements representing only 7%; non-villa rural settlements are now known to be the most widespread site type.

SITE NAME	NATIONAL GRID REF.	DATING	DESCRIPTION	CANMORE ID
Carriden	NT 02475 80793	10–12th century	Cross slab, found in Roman fort annexe	49557
Kinneil	NS 981 805	10–12th century	Cross slab, found re-used in 12th century church; earlier floor surface with circular ditched enclosure	48184
Little Kerse	NS 94335 78900	5–8th century	Long-cist burials found within Roman camp annexe	47872
Mumrills	NS 92066 79394	Post-Roman, possible early medieval	Timber structure built within Roman enclosure about 150m east of Roman fort	47890
Callendar Park	NS 9040 7950	7–11th century	Timber Hall, possibly of Thanes of Callendar, located just south of Antonine Wall	74716
Forganhall	NS 895 815	8th century	Possible battle site, 711, between Picts and English under Ealdorman Berhtfrith	46961
Falkirk	NS 88729 80025	7–11th century	Church, on record from 11th century, but traditionally founded earlier by St. Modan, located just north of the Antonine Wall and Roman fort	46913
Dunipace	NS 837 817	9th century	Brooch or pin, silver set with amber and gold working, mid-9th century, probable Scottish manufacture	47051
Kirkintilloch	NS 66554 73126	10–12th century	Carved stone, dragonesque head, found in church burial ground	319267
Littlehill	NS 624 713	Iron Age or Early Medieval	Logboat, found about 1/4 mile from Antonine Wall	45245
Kettlehill	NS 5769 7483	Iron Age (possible), Early Medieval	Possible dun with evidence of early medieval/medieval occupation	44508
Craigmaddie	NS 5750 7658	Iron Age (possible), Early Medieval (possible)	Possible Iron Age fort or early medieval ring-work overlain by later medieval castle(s)	44425
Inchinnan	NS 47934 68913	10–12th century	Three carved stones, including a cross slab and shaft, and a grave stone	43095
Mountblow	NS 4702 7293	10–11th century	Cross slab, reused as footbridge, possibly from church at Old Kilpatrick	43274
Old Kilpatrick	NS 46345 73081	7–12th century	Cross slab, found 350m east of Roman fort	319275
Ailsa Lodge	NS 4472 7195	Early Medieval	Ditch or vallum surrounding ecclesiastical site	219038

Table 7.2. Study area sites with Early Medieval evidence, ordered from east to west.

7.3.1 Place-Names

A number of place-names (Table 7.3) appear to have developed in the early medieval period, some of which may have earlier origins in the Late Roman Iron Age. While this is not necessarily indicative of occupation on these sites, it does reveal an awareness of these locations as reference points within a landscape that was inhabited, traversed, and visited by people throughout the first millennium AD. Central Scotland was an important locus of contact between various languages from the Roman period onward, and studies of the region's toponymic history reveal both the survival of specific languages and periods of multilingualism (e.g. Watson 1926; Nicolaisen 1976; Taylor 2001; 2006; 2011; Reid 2009).

The hybridised form of several of these place-names provide an indication of their histories within a landscape of meeting cultures, as well as possible clues to the relative antiquity of their recognition by regional inhabitants. The primary languages implicated in these place-names are Brittonic and Pictish (both P-Celtic), Gaelic (Q-Celtic), and Old English, with numerous examples of borrowed Latin. It is generally agreed that the region's indigenous language during and after the Roman occupation was Brittonic, with Pictish, Gaelic and Old English exerting influence and/or replacing Brittonic in subsequent centuries. By the mid-seventh century all four languages were mingling in the place-names at the Wall's eastern terminus (Dumville 1994; Keppie 2012: 13; Maldonado in press) and—if we accept that Brittonic forms are the earliest (James 2013)—the inclusion of Brittonic elements may be interpreted as key indicators of relatively early post-Roman awareness of these sites, with continued significance through the early medieval period attested by the changing morphology of name forms.

Several of these place-names refer in some way to the Antonine Wall or its Roman period installations, while others merely reference natural features (Keppie 2012: 13–14). While the names that explicitly refer to the Roman remains may appear most relevant, all are important for their testimony that people were present in the area. The most interesting examples, however, do appear to refer to the Roman remains: these are the early place-names for Kinneil and Kirkintilloch.

MODERN NAME	HISTORIC FORMS	POSSIBLE MEANING(S)	REFERENCES
Carriden	*Kair Edin, Karedyn, Caeribden*	"Fort on the slope/hillside" OR (less accepted) "Fort of the Edin" (referring to a Brittonic district that also gave its name to Edinburgh)	Watson (1926: 369–70); Dumville (1994); Keppie (2012: 13)
Kinneil	*Penguaul, Peanfahel, Penneltun, Cenail*	"Walls end," "Head of the Wall"	Watson (1926: 348); Dumville (1994); Keppie (2012: 14)
Inveravon		"Mouth of the river (Avon)"	Keppie (2012: 14)
Polmont		"Stream or pool of the moor or hill"	Watson (1926: 400)
Mumrills		"Rounded or breast-shaped hill"	Keppie (2012: 14)
Castle Towrie		"Castle of the ruins," referring to the remains of Mumrills fort and annexe	Maitland (1757: 172)
Callendar	*Calatria*	Uncertain; representing the early medieval district	Watson (1926: 105–06); Reid (2009: 62)
Falkirk	*Egglesbreth, Eaglais Bhreac*	"Speckled church"	Watson (1926: 289–90); Nicolaisen (1976: 7–16) Keppie (2012: 14)
Tamfourhill		"Knoll of the cropland"	Keppie (2012: 14)
Dorrator	*Duratur*	"Wood on the hillock" or "fort on the water"	Reid (2009)
Carmuirs	*Kermor, Carmuris, Carmures*	"Great fort"	Gibb (1903); Reid (2009: 31)
Camelon		"Crooked pool" or "bend of the enclosure place"	Keppie (2012: 14)
Castlecary	*Chastel Kary, Castelcary*	"Castle at Cary," Cary retains elements of Caer = "fort"	Watson (1926: 370); Reid (2009: 37)
Croy Hill		"Hard or firm ground"	Keppie (2012: 14)
Bar Hill		"Top of the hill"	Keppie (2012: 14)
Auchendavy		Auchen = "field," Davaich was a unit of land measurement	Keppie (2012: 14)
Kirkintilloch	*Caerpentaloch*	"Fort at the end/head of the ridge"	Rorke et al. (2009: 3)
Cadder		"Fort" or "stream"	Watson (1926: 202); Keppie (2012: 14)
Balmuildy	*Bal-muydie, Bemulie, Balmulie*	Bal = "village or settlement"	Keppie (2012: 14)
Cleddans		"Little ditch"	Watson (1926: 202); Keppie (2012: 14)
Duntocher		"Fort on the causeway"	Keppie (2012: 14)
Carleith		"Grey fort"	Keppie (2012: 16)
Old Kilpatrick		"Church of St. Patrick"	Keppie (2012: 14)
Dumbarton	*Alcluith, Alt Clut, Dùn Breatann*	"Clyde Rock," "Fort of the Britons"	Keppie (2012: 13)

Table 7.3. Early place-names in the vicinity of the Antonine Wall, from east-to-west

The place-name "Kinneil" is particularly interesting as it provides an important example of linguistic hybridity, the history of which is deeply implicated in the debates surrounding the Antonine Wall's eastern terminus. The details have been discussed in Chapter Three, but it is important to reiterate that the sequence *Penguaul–Peanfahel–Peneltun–Cenail* shows the influence and mixing of Brittonic, Pictish, Old English, and Gaelic between the 8th–12th centuries (Dumville 1994: 296–97; Maldonado in press). Whether this name was originally assigned to Carriden and later moved to the site of modern Kinneil remains speculative, though Dumville (1994) offers a persuasive argument in its favour. If such a toponymic migration did occur, it must have happened before the late twelfth century—perhaps as part of an early medieval settlement movement, or during a gap in which the visible evidence for the line of the Wall east of modern Kinneil disappeared (ibid. p. 297)—though the evidence of Carriden's own name also suggests an early origin that may be at odds with this hypothesis. It seems unlikely that the site would be known as both *Penguaul* and *Caer Edin* at the same time, unless the former name had already migrated westward at a fairly early date in the Late Roman Iron Age or early medieval period.

The name "Kirkintilloch" is also interesting, particularly because of its deceptive character. "Kirk-" typically signifies a location that was named for a church in the later medieval period, but the earliest attested form of Kirkintilloch's name is *Caerpentaloch*, referencing the Roman fort rather than an ecclesiastical foundation. As with Kinneil, this name is a hybrid form, mixing Brittonic *caer* ("fort") and *pen* ("head," "top," or "end") with the Gaelic *tulach* ("hillock" or "ridge"). This site was, thus, located within a contact zone in which Brittonic and Gaelic-speaking peoples—or people speaking a hybridised language—were aware of the Roman fort, the remains of which may have been recognisable in the early medieval period despite their obscuring by later medieval and modern settlement.

7.3.2 Stone Sculpture and Early Christianity

While later traditions suggest early Christian sites—churches, monasteries, etc.— were founded at many locations throughout Scotland, clear structural evidence for these early foundations have been elusive, and no churches of the 4th–8th centuries

are known from clear structural evidence (ScARF 2012b: 61–62). Place-names, traditions, and the presence of later churches and ecclesiastical structures may indicate their presence, but the clearest evidence for these early Christian sites is in the form of sculptured stones, especially slabs and other fragments of stone crosses. Early cross slabs dated to the 10th–11th centuries are known from Carriden (Bailey 2003), Kinneil (Clapham 1951: 192), and two from Old Kilpatrick (Driscoll et al. 2005), while a carved "dragon head" (Fig. 7.7) of similar date is known from the "Auld Aisle" church at Oxgangs, Kirkintilloch (Fletcher 1952). These sculpture fragments can only imply that a church or early Christian settlement was located near these sites as early as AD 900, but they do not rule out earlier foundations. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that churches at Old Kilpatrick and Falkirk— for which no clear archaeological evidence of early medieval date exists—have earlier origins.

Figure 7.7. Dragon head sculpture fragment from Kirkintilloch's Auld Isle (Fletcher 1952).

The evidence for an early church at Falkirk derives from oral tradition assigning its foundations to a 7th–8th-century missionary called Modan, as well as the early form of its original name, *Egglesbreth* (Scott 2006: 19–20). The church at Old Kilpatrick's probable earlier origins are likewise attested by tradition and toponymic evidence: the fully Gaelic *kil-* place-name likely pre-dates the tenth century, while the site is a traditional rival to Birdoswald—a Roman fort on

Hadrian's Wall—and several other locations as the possible birth-place of the 4th–5th-century Saint Patrick (Clancy 2009). Major problems with confirming such early foundations for churches on the Antonine Wall include the fact that throughout Scotland, "the earliest church buildings appear to have been predominantly of timber, and have left few traces," as well as long-term continuity of church locations, with early structures overlain and/or obscured by later buildings (ScARF 2012b: 68).

Figure 7.8. Remains of the c. 12th century church at Kinneil

The church at Kinneil is known from both the early medieval cross slab (Clapham 1951: 192) and a later medieval (twelfth century) church building located just north of the Antonine Wall between Kinneil House and the Roman fortlet. The west gable and other foundation walls remain visible (Fig. 7.8), along with several gravestones (Keppie 2012: 21). Small-scale excavation in 1951 revealed the floor of an earlier structure at a depth of twenty inches below the later church's southeast corner (Hunter 1967), and aerial photographs suggest that this earlier structure was enclosed by a defensive ditch (Bailey 1996: 364), probably representing an early medieval chapel or church. The later church was in use until 1670, and an associated village is known to have been occupied from at least the twelfth century until the village—which may have used the Wall's Rampart as its primary street (Salmon 1901: 47–48)—was cleared to create parkland in 1691 (Glendinning 2000: 512). Part of the village underwent small-scale excavation following geophysical survey in 1998, revealing structural, ceramic, and numismatic evidence of the later medieval and post-medieval periods, but this "undoubtedly represents only a small sample of a much larger site" that may yet hold evidence of earlier activities (ibid. p. 522). Maldonado (in press) reports further testimony of Kinneil's possible early medieval significance from a story in the twelfth-century *Life of St. Serf*, in which the saint throws his crosier across the Firth of Forth, from Kinneil to Culross, "as a device to explain the transference of the bishop's seat from Abercorn after c. 685" (see also Macquarrie 1997: 145–56).

In the recent *Scottish Archaeological Research Framework*'s medieval period report, a key recommendation is that:

> Excavation of early churches particularly where they are not overlain by [later] medieval structures is a priority as there are almost no pre-12th century stone church buildings. An abandoned church, with documentary or carved stone evidence of early medieval origins would represent an ideal site for exploration. (ScARF 2012b: 84)

The church at Kinneil, though representing a possible sequence of early medieval foundation with an overlying later medieval building, may be an excellent

candidate. Area excavation here would provide a particularly valuable opportunity to not only investigate a possible early medieval church or chapel, but also to explore a particularly important location with demonstrable community re-use of a Roman frontier site. While present archaeological evidence suggests an occupational gap between the Roman and medieval periods, Kinneil's toponymic history may reflect some significance in the Late Roman Iron Age. The tradition regarding Saint Serf and tantalising—but under-explored—archaeological clues suggest potentially important activities in the early medieval period, while more-securely datable evidence exists for activities starting in the twelfth century.

Few other sites along the Wall provide this range of potential and, with its open parkland setting, Kinneil offers an ideal location to explore a deep-time perspective unencumbered by modern development and occupation. As will be seen, Kinneil's broader significance continues beyond the clearance of the medieval village, playing a crucial role in the Industrial Revolution; this further heightens the need for a broad-based, multi-period, investigation. If the possible enclosure tentatively identified via LiDAR survey data (see Chapter Six, 6.4.5) is corroborated by further evidence, the fact that a significant and long-term settlement re-occupied the site would also make this a critical site to explore a number of long-standing and emerging research questions that relate to the chorographic and genealogical perspective outlined in Chapter Two. Specific genealogical questions include the matter of possible continuity, the timing and nature of re-use of the Roman remains, and how the physical remains and cultural memory of this location were integrated into the lives, activities, and sense of place of its inhabitants between the Roman withdrawal and the eventual removal of the village at the end of the seventeenth century.

Like Kinneil, the probable early medieval church at Falkirk was located to the north of the Antonine Wall. Those at Kirkintilloch and Old Kilpatrick, on the other hand, were probably situated to its south. Of all the probable early medieval churches in the Wall's immediate vicinity, only that at Carriden (partially excavated in the 1970s by the Falkirk Local History Society; unpublished) appears to have been placed within the remains of a Roman installation, in this case the fort, where it was

built over by the later medieval parish church. Other churches of later medieval, but Pre-Reformation, date are known at Polmont, Bonnybridge, Auchendavy, Kirkintilloch (a second church or chapel, located on the site of the seventeenth-century "Auld Kirk," and possibly within the remains of the fort's annexe), Cadder, and Drumry; at least some of these may also have early medieval foundations, but no direct evidence is currently available (Keppie 2012: 20–21).

Burials are located around, or adjacent to, many of the medieval churches along the Wall, but identified gravestones are all of very late medieval or post-medieval date, where legible. It is probable that earlier burials exist, but that the graves are unmarked or that original gravestones have been lost. The only identifiable evidence for early medieval burial is within the defences of a Roman temporary camp annexe at Little Kerse, about 1km southwest of the fort at Inveravon (McCord and Tait 1978; Maldonado in press). This small cemetery included eight burials, "four long cists and four dug graves, all but one aligned west-east;" in the absence of identifiable early medieval settlement or ecclesiastical structures in the immediate area, this reuse of a recognisable ancient monument "may have been a significant statement of authority" as "a way of creating and enforcing territorial boundaries" (Maldonado in press; see also Maldonado 2011: 146–52).

It is also possible that the structure—widely accepted as an Iron Age souterrain—recorded by antiquaries at Shirva may, rather, represent an early medieval church. While this idea is likely to face resistance, it may be supported by increasing evidence for early Christian activities along Hadrian's Wall and elsewhere. Among the evidence from Hadrian's Wall are three west-facing apsidal buildings of very late Roman date that have been identified as possible early churches at Housesteads (Crow 2004: 95–96; Rushworth 2009: 1.197–99), Birdoswald (Wilmott et al. 2009: 395), and *Vindolanda* (Birley et al. 1998: 20–21), while the *principia* forecourt at South Shields may have been converted into an east-facing church during the late fourth century (Bidwell and Speak 1994: 102–04). Bell (1998, 2005) notes numerous examples of the re-use of Roman sites (including villas, forts, bathhouses, and signal stations) and masonry for Christian worship in early

medieval England and France, and the purposed re-use of Roman materials—often transported over substantial distances—in early medieval religious buildings is well known and widely discussed (e.g. Cramp 1974; Stocker and Everson 1990; Eaton 2000). Important examples include the crypt at Hexham Abbey (Northumberland), the early church and monastic site at Hoddam (Dumfries and Galloway), and Escomb Church (County Durham): at Escomb stones were probably transported from the nearby Roman fort at Binchester, while Hoddam includes a number of stones from Birrens Roman fort, and it has been demonstrated that most of the stones at Hexham were transported about 6.5km from the Roman bridge at Corbridge (Bidwell 2010).

Bidwell (2010) suggests that the ruins of the Romanised landscape of Hadrian's Wall were recreated as an early Christian landscape, and the long distance required to transport these stones argues against purely practical interpretations of their re-use. Stone and masonry architecture had potent iconographic qualities which were appropriated by the Anglo-Saxon church to cast itself as Rome (Cramp 1974), adding actual vestiges of previous Roman structures to new buildings that were also being constructed, as Bede repeatedly says, "in the manner of the Romans," *morem Romanorum*, i.e. in masonry (e.g. *Hist. Eccles.* 5.21). It is possible that the formerly Romanised landscape of the Antonine Wall could have been drawn upon in a comparable manner, although the number of substantial stone-built ruins would have been more limited on the northern Wall.

7.3.3 Secular Power

While the church exercised considerable power in early medieval Britain, this did not diminish the role of secular authorities, and numerous centres of secular power are known throughout Scotland at, e.g. Dunadd, Edinburgh, Fortriu, and Perth. The most important early medieval secular power centres in the vicinity of the Antonine Wall are the Brittonic capitals of Dumbarton and, latterly, Govan. Perhaps more directly relevant is a more recent discovery at Callendar Park, Falkirk. In excavations between 1989–90, the post-holes, internal paving, and stone hearths of an approx. 7m x 25m timber structure were uncovered and subsequently interpreted as an early medieval timber hall (Fig. 7.9) of the Thanes of Callendar

(Bailey 1990; 2007b). Situated south of the Antonine Wall and aligned with it, the eastern half was uncovered, featuring an apsidal end. No artefacts were located, but radiocarbon dating of charcoal from one of the post-holes has been calibrated to the period AD 690–1000 (Bailey 2007b).

The Thanes of Callendar—first reported as *Calatria*, a presumed pre-Norman district—are attested in later medieval charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Scott 2006: 25–26), but the thanage system's earlier origins (Driscoll 1998) and the hall's dating suggest that the thanes were exercising power from Callendar Park perhaps as early as the ninth century. This is the earliest evidence for post-Roman re-use of the Wall as a secular power centre. Notably the hall is not located on the site of a Roman installation but, rather, approximately mid-way between the forts at Mumrills and Falkirk. While it may be tempting to suggest that an interval fortlet may have been located in the vicinity, no evidence for such a Roman structure has been located here, and a probable fortlet has now been identified at nearby Laurieston, making it unlikely that a Roman structure stood here.
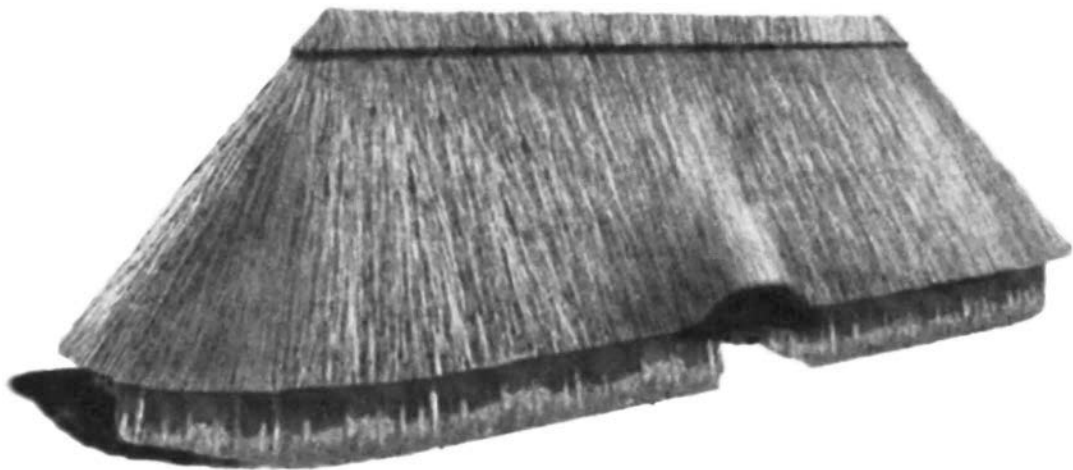
Figure 7.9. Possible reconstruction of the Timber Hall at Callendar Park. Illustration by John Reid (Scott 2006: 25).

The broader importance of this probable thane's hall is underscored by the fact that the Thanage of *Calatria* is one of only two such districts known from south of the Forth (Scott 2006: 24). Reconstructing early medieval *Calatria*'s territory is impossible, but "we may hazard a rough reconstruction […] as consisting of a

power centre in the thane's hall at Callendar, and a presumed minster or mother church at Ecclesbrech in Falkirk" (Maldonado in press). Intriguingly, Maldonado (ibid.) has raised the possibility that an otherwise indeterminate structure discovered within a Roman period enclosure just east of Mumrills fort may suggest a similarly high-status function; here, the rectangular post-holes were found to have been packed with re-used Roman stones, including column shafts and an altar (Smith 1939), suggesting post-Roman construction, but further excavation would be necessary to confirm the structure's date and purpose. If this structure were to be interpreted as broadly comparable with the thane's hall from Callendar Park, it may suggest a more complicated division of secular authority in the region. The presence of such structures are also paralleled at the Hadrian's Wall fort of Birdoswald, where two successive timber halls were found constructed over the granary foundations (Wilmott 1997: 203–31). The latter hall at Birdoswald (Fig. 7.10) measured 8.6m x 23m and is, therefore, comparable to the Callendar Park thane's hall as well as those from early medieval sites at Doon Hill (Hall A), Kirkconnel, and South Cadbury (ibid. pp. 222–23; see also Collins 2012: 103–04).

While the location of the timber halls within the Roman fort at Birdoswald provides a direct link between the Roman remains and an early medieval secular power centre, the connections between Roman remains and the hall at Callendar Park are more tenuous. Birdoswald provides a tantalising picture of potentially close continuity in which the memory of Rome may have played an important role in the later re-use of this space on Hadrian's Wall, with—perhaps—the fort's defences continuing to serve a similar function. Unfortunately, we have little evidence for who was using the structures and the geopolitical situation remains uncertain.
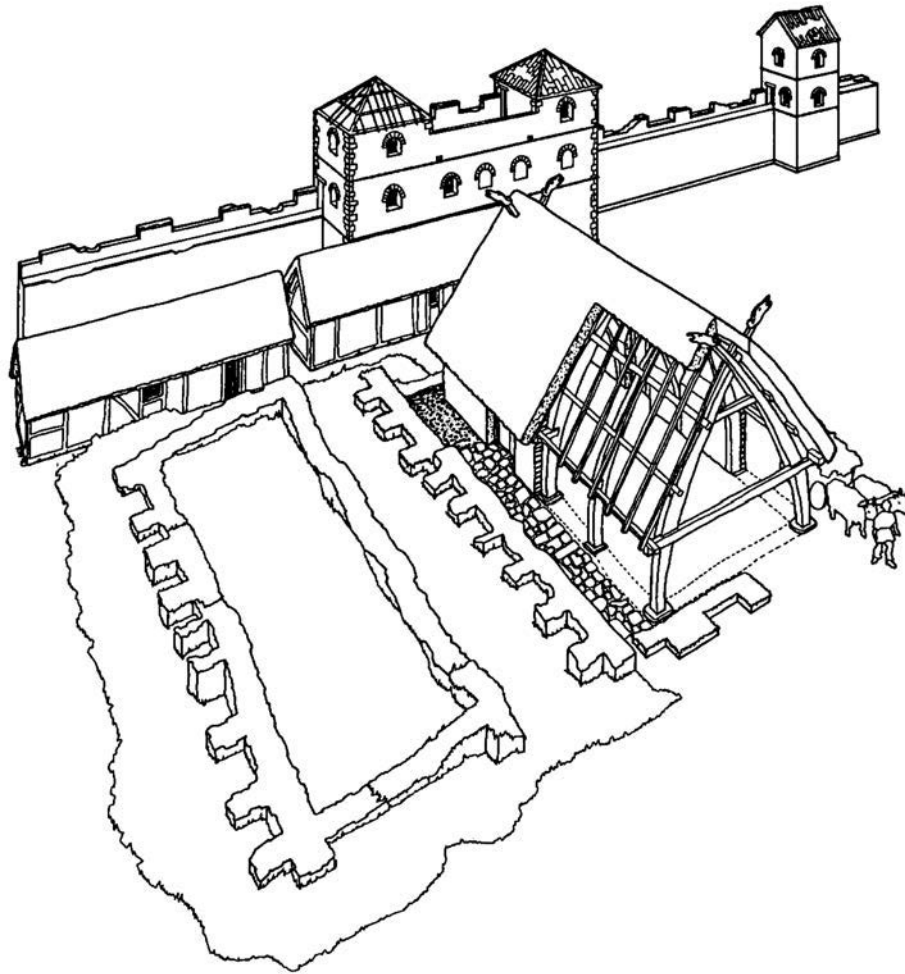
Figure 7.10. Possible reconstruction of the later timber hall at Birdoswald
(Symonds and Mason 2009: 1.168).

Dating evidence suggests that the Birdoswald halls were in use from c. AD 420–520 (Symonds and Mason 2009: 168), but this is based on estimated life-spans of about 50 years for each hall rather than absolute dating techniques. The Callendar Park hall, on the other hand, is demonstrably later and can only be tied to the Antonine Wall because of its location between the Military Way and Rampart. Here, it is more difficult to contend that the location reflects a conscious decision to reclaim the memory of Rome—and we may wonder why this spot was chosen over arguably more suitable locations within the forts at Mumrills or Falkirk—but Callendar Park currently provides the best-preserved stretch of Antonine Wall Ditch (Fig. 7.11) east of Watling Lodge, and this may have been the most visible

remnant of the Roman frontier within the territory of early medieval Calatria.[77] Bailey (1995: 589, 591) suggests that the Wall's "defences were reinstated" here during the hall's lifetime, so even though the hall was not located within a Roman fort or fortlet, it nevertheless inhabited one of the most visible sectors of the former Roman frontier in the area, although Roman origins may have by this time been forgotten. The hall also appears to have taken advantage of both the Wall's defences and the Military Way; this may have merely been a practical consideration, using a ready made space in order to maximise the thane's security, or could have involved a conscious decision to draw on the symbolic nature of the Wall as a long-standing monument of power and control in the region.

Figure 7.11. The Antonine Wall Ditch at Callendar Park.

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[77] Brown (2012: 14) suggests that the district of *Calatria* "corresponded with what is now known as the Carse of Falkirk, extending from the town of that name to the Forth," while "immediately to the west of it was [the district of] *Mannan*, a name still preserved in Clackmannan and Slamannan."

Before moving on, it is important to emphasise that both the timber hall at Callendar Park and those within the fort at Birdoswald were unexpected finds discovered in the process of excavations focused on Roman period concerns. They are also the result of excavations carried out since the 1990s, and it is possible that similar structures have been misinterpreted or gone unrecognised in earlier excavations. With increased recognition of early post-Roman and early medieval activities on Hadrian's Wall, Symonds and Mason (2009: 2.55) note the need for Wall scholars to collaborate with early medieval specialists in order to bring these finds into broader context and to adequately investigate this important transition period. While current evidence from the Antonine Wall is less substantial, we need to compare and contrast this evidence with that from Hadrian's Wall, and to also solicit input from early medievalists to begin a more comprehensive investigation of both ecclesiastical and secular activities during the Antonine Wall's early medieval period. Current uncertainties about early medieval understandings of, and engagement with, the remains of both former Roman frontiers provide a useful opportunity to further develop genealogical and chorographic perspectives.

7.4 Later Medieval Period

In comparison to the early medieval period, substantially more sites are known from the Antonine Wall's later medieval centuries. This is partially the result of greater survival of historical documents, but also of better survival and identification of archaeological remains. While many of these sites remain un- or under-explored archaeologically, they have been identified from standing remains, historical testimony, or recent memory. This landscape (Fig. 7.12) is characterised by a widely distributed set of churches, chapels and other ecclesiastical sites, as well as secular power centres in the form of mottes, castles and towerhouses. At least three sites have also been identified with warfare activities, including two battle sites— the Battle of Falkirk (1298) and the skirmish of Blackness (1488)—and an encampment of Edward I the night before the Battle of Falkirk. A number of additional sites of indeterminate date or function (not shown on the map) may also belong to this period, including a wide range of enclosures, possible settlements, and rig and furrow fields. The full later medieval landscape is, however, certain to

be more substantial than the currently datable evidence and these indeterminate sites should be more fully explored in order to clarify their significance.
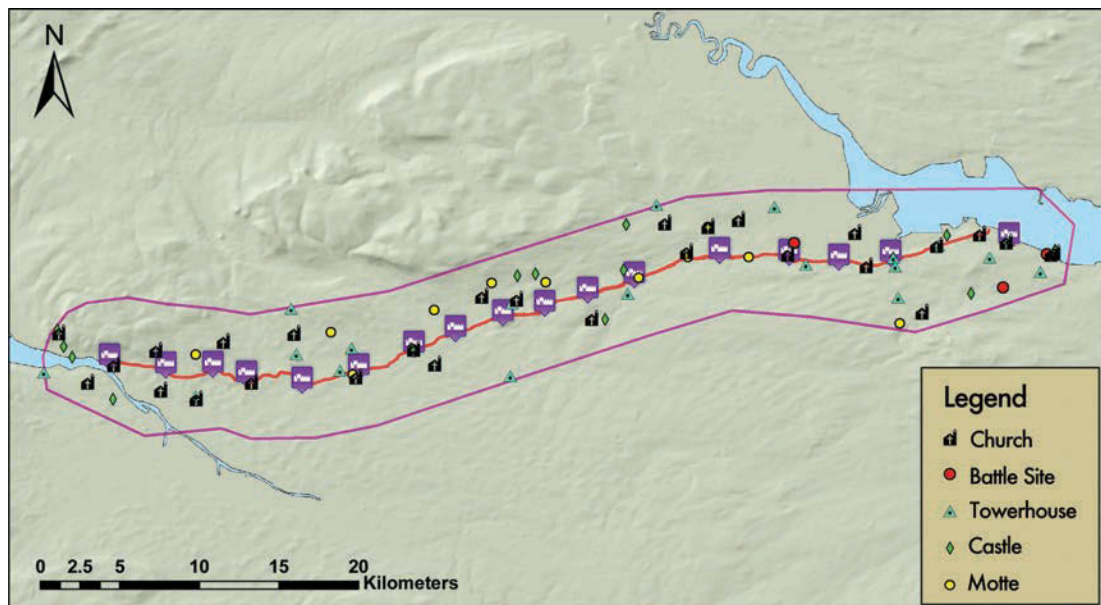
Figure 7.12. Later Medieval Landscape. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

7.4.1 Churches and Ecclesiastical Sites

The later medieval ecclesiastical landscape appears to be much richer than that of the previous period, with all the identified early medieval church sites continuing to be used—but with new buildings constructed from the twelfth century onward, totaling at least 28 religious sites within the study area (Table 7.4). In several cases, multiple churches were built in succession, sometimes on slightly different locations, making it difficult to clearly identify the earliest structures. In addition to churches, this landscape also features a number of chapels probably used for private worship (e.g. at Colquhoun, Kirkintilloch, Blackness), two granges (at Zetland Park, Grangemouth and Grange House, Bo'Ness), a possible priory at Denny, and a Cistercian nunnery at Manuel. Charters of the period reveal that many of these sites, and associated lands, were in the hands of powerful abbeys at Holyrood (Edinburgh), Paisley (Glasgow), Jedburgh (Borders), and Cambuskenneth (Stirling), a result of David I's monastic patronage that appears to continue until the reformation. A number of medieval settlements or villages are normally associated with these medieval church sites, but they are woefully under-explored.

SITE NAME	NATIONAL GRID REF.	DATING	DESCRIPTION	CANMORE ID
Castle Hill, Blackness	NT 0548 8012	Medieval	Chapel (possible), rectangular foundations immediately south of main Blackness Castle buildings; an alternative location for the St. Ninian's Chapel at Blackness	49517
Blackness Village	NT 0528 8003	Medieval	Church or Chapel, destroyed at Reformation, altar traces visible in 1902, no known graveyard, but skeleton was dug up nearby; possible find spot of a Cernunnos figurine	49473
Carriden	NT 02475 80793	12–18th century	Church, on grounds of Carriden House and Carriden Roman fort, granted to Holyrood Abbey in 1124–42, dedicated in 1243, removed in 1766 with construction of new church	49557
Grange House	NT 008 813	12–16th century	Grange, may date to 12th century, when lands are granted to Culross Abbey, Country House built in 1564; located just north of presumed line of Antonine Wall	49526
Kinneil	NS 98093 80583	12–17th century	Church, burials, and reused cross slab of probable earlier (late Saxon) date, with associated medieval village that was removed to create parkland in 1690s	48184
Manuel	NS 97189 76411	12–16th century	Cistercian nunnery, founded before 1164	47796
Polmont	NS 93671 79310	15–18th century	Church and Burial Ground, just south of Antonine Wall; Chapel of Blessed Virgin Mary mentioned in 1498 but unknown location; current church built in 1732	47909
Zetland Park, Grangemouth	NS 9295 8140	13th century	Grange (possible), said to have rampart, ditch and drawbridge, may be "Grange of Bereford" granted to Newbattle Abbey and later transferred to Holyrood in 1237	48208
Falkirk	NS 88729 80025	11–15th century	Church, dedicated to St. Modan, said to be founded in 1057, but medieval building is of 15th century date; new church built in 1810	46913
Larbert	NS 85631 82217	12–19th century	Chapel, granted to Cambuskenneth Abby in 1195, original building now gone, as is later Parish Church, current building built in 1820; various 17th century gravestones	46916
Hills of Dunipace	NS 83728 81780	Medieval	Church/Chapel and burial ground, chapel granted to Cambuskenneth Abbey in 1195; gravestones of 17th century; a socketed stone found here may be a medieval cross base	47050
Bonnybridge	NS 8236 8020	Medieval	Church or Chapel with burial ground, described by Gordon and Roy, possible Chapel of St. Helen referred to in 16th century charters; burials of early 17th century date	47005
Denny	NS 81 82	Medieval	Monastic settlement/priory (possible), marked on first edition OS Monastic Britain map, but not on second edition	47037

Site	NS Grid Reference	Period	Description	ID
Cumbernauld	NS 76415 76007	Medieval	Church, current building c. 1650, build on site of possible 12–13th century earlier structure	206729
Kilsyth	NS 71682 77201	13th century	Church and burial ground, recorded from 13th century, gravestones as early as 17th century	45889
Queenzieburn	NS 695 774	Medieval	Chapel, known from tradition, but not located	45171
Oxgangs, Kirkintilloch	NS 66532 73126	12–17th century	Church and burial ground, called the "Auld Aisle," dedicated to St. Ninian around 1140 and in use until mid-17th century, sandstone dragonesque head of 10–12th century date found in burial ground around 1917	45231
Kirkintilloch	NS 65217 74078	Medieval	Church (now musuem), current building from 1644, built on site of previous parish church and possible 14th century Chapel	45220
Cadder	NS 61567 72319	12th century	Church and burial ground, known from at least 1150, rebuilt multiple times, current building from 1839	45244
Baldernock	NS 75676 75062	Medieval	Church, current building 1795 construction, but on site of older multi-period structure	44441
Ferguston Muir	NS 55 72	11–12th century	Chapel (possible), Censer (Romanesque, possibly 11–12th century), found in 1879 just north of the Antonine Wall	44487
Chapel Couch	NS 5323 7456	13–17th century	Church or Chapel with burial ground, in use until 1649 but gone by mid-19th century, possible site (rectangular foundation ruins) excavated in 1970s, producing late 13th century glazed pottery	44543
Drumchapel / Drumry	NS 51550 70950	Medieval	Chapel, mentioned in 1476 belonging to Paisley Abbey; two separate settlements may have been located here: one around the chapel and one around Peel of Drumry	44526
Clydebank, Boguaran	NS 493 715	Medieval	Chapel, said to belong to Paisley Abbey	43297
Wester Cochno	NS 490 740	Medieval	Chapel, one of two in the parish belonging to Paisley Abbey	43288
Clydebank, Old Kilpatrick	NS 46345 73081	12th century	Church and burial ground, known from at least 12th century with early medieval origins (cross slabs); current church was built in early 19th century	43324
Erskine	NS 44713 71995	12th century	Church granted to Paisley Abbey in 1169, demolished in 1813 and built over by the new Erskine Parish Church	43346
Colquhoun	NS 4289 7509	Medieval	Chapel (possible), reported as long in ruins by late 19th century; located near the old castle	43251

Table 7.4. Later Medieval churches and other ecclesiastical sites, ordered from east-to-west.

This evidence offers the potential to contribute to fuller understandings of central Scotland's role in the important religious changes of the later medieval period, from David's Normanising policies of monastic patronage and ecclesiastical restructuring (Oram 2011) to the reformation in the later sixteenth century. While significant research has focused on Scotland's large abbeys, less attention has been given to parish churches, lesser monastic sites, and private chapels (ScARF 2012b: 68–72). The range of ecclesiastical sites within the Antonine Wall corridor may, thus, offer an opportunity to investigate gaps in this area.

7.4.2 Secular Power in the Later Medieval Period

In addition to the ecclesiastical landscape, the study area sees the establishment of a large number of secular power centres. The earliest of these are mottes (Fig. 7.13); in total, twelve have been identified within the study area (Table 7.5, including "possible" identifications). At least three were built in the immediate vicinity of the Wall: at Watling Lodge ("Maiden Castle"), Seabegs, and Cadder, with two others possibly located at Castlecary and Kirkintilloch (Smith 1934; Macdonald 1934b: 348–49; Reid 2009: 307); we may suspect that there were others (Keppie 2012: 22). Regrettably, no clear traces remain of those at Watling Lodge, Castlecary, and Cadder, though they were each noted by antiquarian writers.
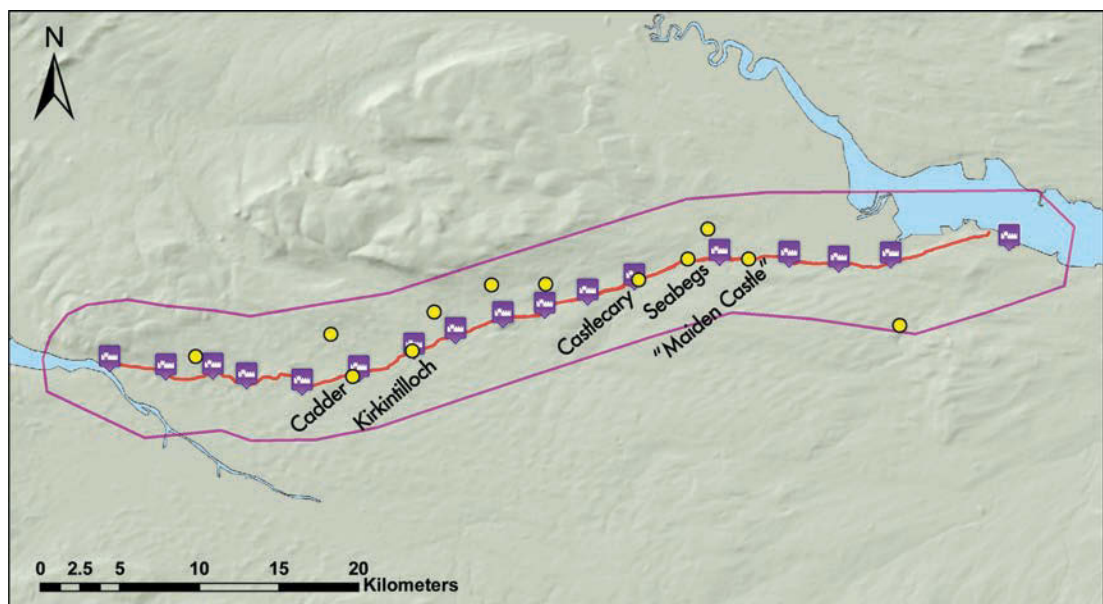
Figure 7.13. Distribution of circa 12th century mottes in the Antonine Wall corridor. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

SITE NAME	NATIONAL GRID REF.	DATING	DESCRIPTION	CANMORE ID
Castlehill, Muiravonside	NS 9575 7565	Medieval	Probable motte, measuring c. 32m x 27m on summit	47819
Watling Lodge, Falkirk; "Maiden Castle"	NS 8625 7982	Medieval	Motte, located just north of Antonine Wall Ditch, destroyed in 1894	46757
Hills of Dunipace	NS 837 817	Medieval	Possible motte on natural hill, measuring 60m in diameter, 20m high	47049
Seabegs, Bonnybridge	NS 82441 79812	Medieval	Motte, measuring 100 feet x 70 feet, located just north of Antonine Wall Ditch	46798
Castlecary	NS 78663 77526	Medieval	Possible motte, reported by antiquaries to be located about a furlong east of Roman fort; no surface traces	45834
Castle hill, Colzium	NS 7350 7823	Medieval	Motte, located on natural knoll, platform measuring 9.1m in diameter	45884
Balcastle, Kilsyth	NS 7011 7818	Medieval	Motte, on natural knoll, summit measures 36.5m x 25.9m, flanked by streams on 3 sides, with ditch on north	45883
King's Hill, Antermony Loch	NS 665 765	Medieval	Possible motte, reported by antiquaries; now demolished	45166
Kirkintilloch, Peel Park	NS 6512 7404	Medieval	Possible motte with later stone castle, built on site of Roman fort	45237
Cadder	NS 6136 7245	Medieval	Motte, with ditch and rampart, destroyed by quarrying in the 1940s	45279
Castlehill, Baldernock	NS 600 751	Medieval	Possible motte	45184
Law	NS 515 737	Medieval	Possible motte with later 16th century towerhouse	44554

Table 7.5. c. 12th century mottes, ordered from east-to-west.
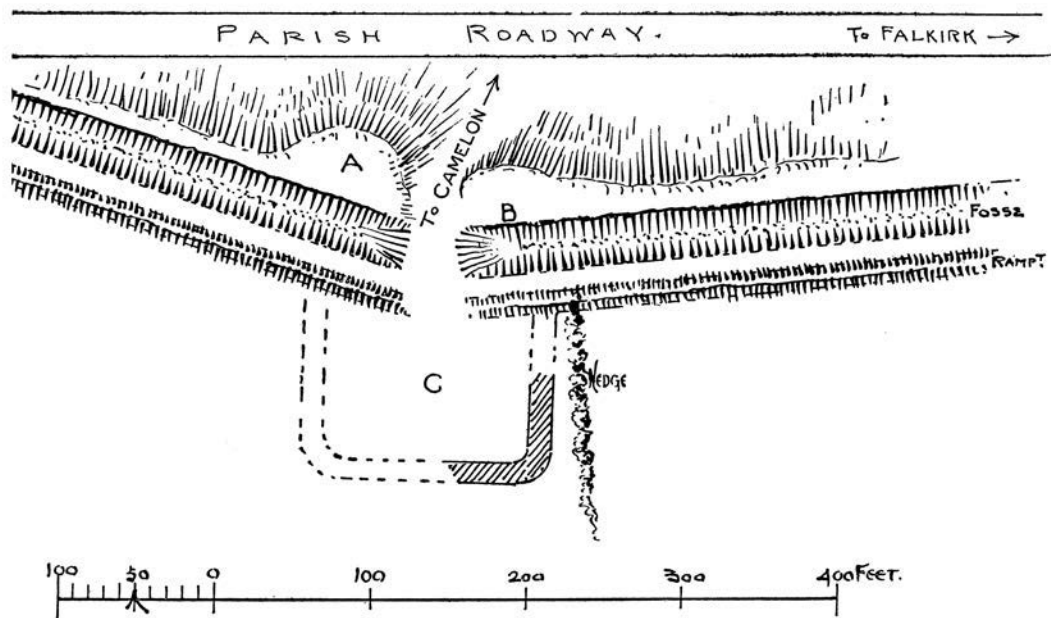
Figure 7.14. Mungo Buchanan's c. 1894 photographic and plan records of the "Maiden Castle" at Watling Lodge; the motte is marked A on the plan, which shows the motte's relationship to the Wall, road and fortlet (Macdonald 1934b: 346, Plate 58.1).

The "Maiden Castle" at Watling Lodge, first recorded by the anonymous traveller of 1697 (Keppie 2006), was destroyed in 1894 during construction of an Arts and Crafts villa—itself called "Watling Lodge," from which the site received its current name—located on the site of both the medieval motte and the Wall's earliest-discovered fortlet. The motte, constructed of earth rather than turves, may have measured about 70 feet by 40 feet at its summit, though precise measurements were not recorded at the time (RCAHMS 1963: 178). It was located atop the Wall's Outer Mound, north of the Ditch—which served as part of the motte's defences—and immediately west of the Roman road that passed through the Wall on its way northward to the fort at Camelon. Macdonald (1934b: 345–46) notes that the villa was constructed directly atop the motte, which had been "reduced in height by 6 or 7 feet" in order to form a level terrace for the house foundations. While no archaeological investigation took place during the motte's demolition, it was nevertheless recorded in plan and photograph (Fig. 7.14), by the Falkirk antiquary Mungo Buchanan, around the time of its destruction.

The motte at Bonnybridge, Seabegs, known from a charter of 1542 as "lie Mot de Seybeggis," (Smith 1934: 66), was described by the anonymous traveller of 1697 (Keppie 2006) as standing to a height of twenty feet, and measuring 60 feet by 40 feet on its flat summit. The motte—like that at Watling Lodge, located atop the Wall's Outer Mound and using the Ditch as part of its defences—was examined in the early 1930s, when the construction of a new road obliquely cut across its eastern half (the new road also required two cuts across the Antonine Wall Ditch and Rampart; Fig. 7.15). The report suggests that the primary excavation was carried out by a contractor tasked with constructing the road, and that observations were made during the course of the work via "occasional visit[s] to the site" (Smith 1934: 60). The large cut through the motte itself, thus, appears to have been carried out with little archaeological oversight or direct observation, and only examined in section at particular points during the operation. A number of additional trenches were cut to clarify the motte's ditches, and the motte's relationship to the Antonine Wall Ditch. A post-hole, a sherd of pottery dated on-site by A.O. Curle to around 1200, and several fragments of iron slag were recovered. Based on the position of the slag, and

Gordon's earlier testimony that an "Abundance of Iron and Lead Ore" was found in the area, Smith (1934: 67) suggests that iron smelting took place in the medieval period. More recently, a 2006 evaluation trench "located what is probably the [motte's] badly-disturbed bailey ditch" (Burnham et al. 2007: 256). There is no known Roman fort or fortlet in the immediate area, though Seabegs has long been a favoured location for one of the expected missing forts. While this motte is in poor condition today, it is the best-preserved example from the Wall, and may provide the best opportunity along the line of the Wall to explore this class of medieval monuments.
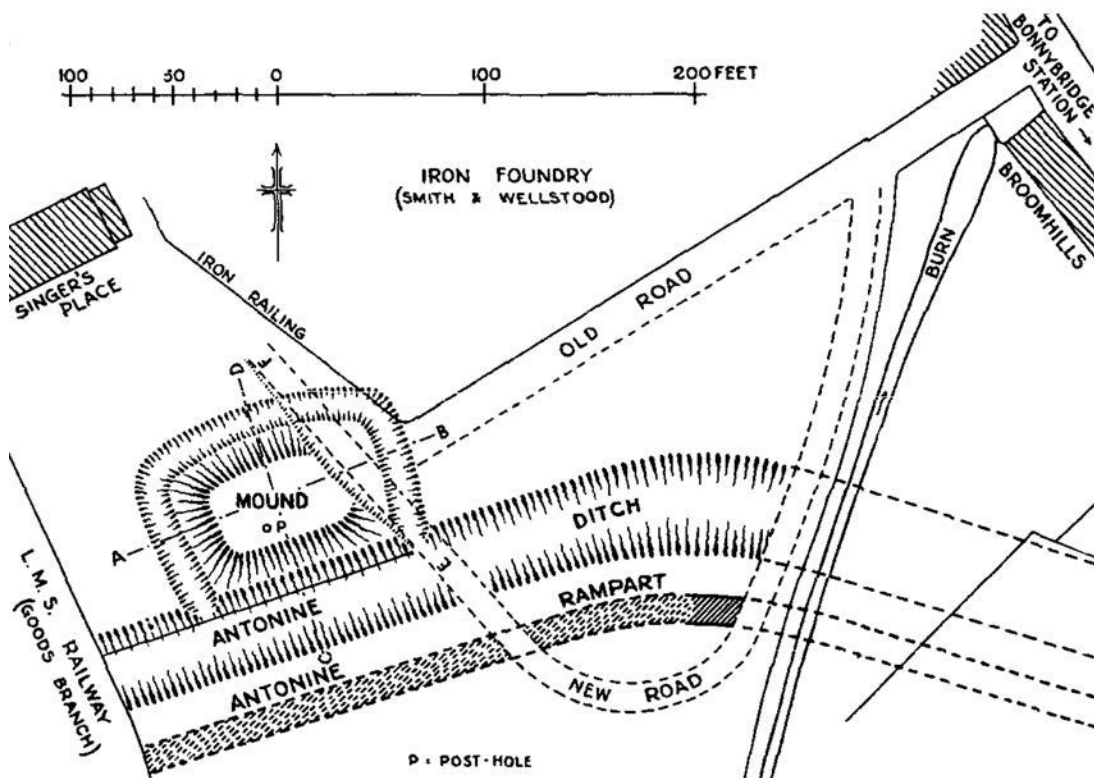
Figure 7.15. Plan of the motte at Seabegs (Smith 1934: 60).

The possible motte at Castlecary remains uncertain. Recorded by Horsley (1732: 171), Roy (1793: 161), and Nimmo (1777: 41) as a "tumulus," the ever-cantankerous Maitland (1757: 174) preferred to interpret it as "the remains of a corn or malt-kiln." By the early twentieth century, knowledge of the precise location of this structure was lost, and no clear vestiges remain in the expected area. Horsley places this structure "about a furlong east of the fort […] just on the Wall," Roy

places it in the Ditch, and Nimmo suggests that it was located atop the Outer Mound. Whether this was a motte remains uncertain, but if Horsley's "just on the Wall" corresponds with Nimmo's placement on the Outer Mound, this would fit the profile of those recognised at Watling Lodge and Seabegs, as a medieval stronghold built on the Outer Mound and taking advantage of the Wall's considerable Ditch for its southern defence.

Figure 7.16. Cropmarks possibly showing the Castlecary motte and related settlement (Google Earth).

Examination of recent aerial photographs accessible via Google Earth (Fig. 7.16) suggest that the structure may still be identified by subtle cropmarks showing a small raised area on the Outer Mound in a field just north of the Dundas Cottages a little more than 200m east of the fort and annexe, a location that closely matches the distance provided by Horsley. Numerous cropmarks are also visible just north of this mound, and others have been transcribed by RCAHMS from earlier aerial photographs. These cropmarks may represent features associated with settlement that may have been contemporary with the motte. This area, thus, provides an important opportunity to explore the potential of a possible medieval settlement immediately north of the Wall. While geophysical survey has been carried out south

of the Wall in the immediate vicinity of the fort and annexe, the fields to the north have not received such attention. A new campaign of geophysical survey in these fields may shed important light on the possible motte and the various cropmarks in this area, as may the analysis of high-resolution LiDAR data.

The motte at Cadder—located just south of the Antonine Wall Rampart and west of the Roman fort—was well-known to antiquarian writers, and remained for physical inspection until it was destroyed by quarrying in the 1940s (Keppie 2012: 21). Fortunately, however, its dimensions were recorded as about 52 feet by 53 feet and 12 feet high (Wilson 1936: 151) and its medieval identity was confirmed by a small trench cut across it's northwest corner in 1913 (Macdonald 1915: 108–10). Macdonald notes that "the determination of the true character of the tumulus was but an incident in a long and troublesome search for the real line of the Roman barrier" (ibid. p. 110), a remark that well characterises many of the discoveries and reports of post-Roman sites and finds along the Wall.
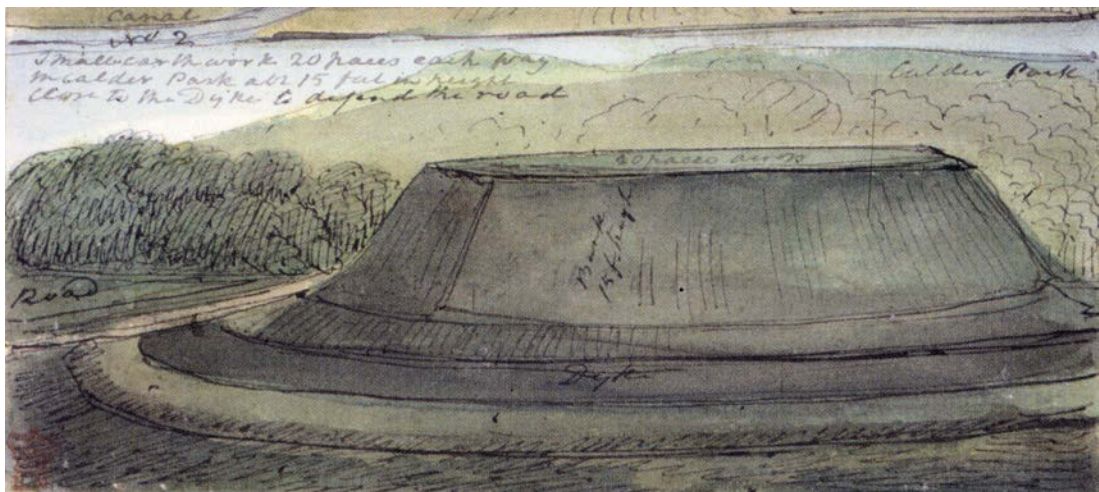
Figure 7.17. Skinner's 1825 sketch of the Cadder motte (Keppie 2012: 21).

Rather than give this important structure the detailed attention it deserved, however, Macdonald reports it as incidental information that, while not of particular interest to his own agenda, may excite others: "in the eyes of some the interest attaching to the tumulus at Cawder may possibly be lessened by its transference from the sphere of Roman antiquities. If so, there are others who will welcome its definite appearance as a medieval landmark" (ibid. p. 109).

Macdonald's main concerns are clearly clarified, as he quickly moves on to the further tracing of the line of the Antonine Wall Ditch. While the motte's profile is easily identifiable in photographs from the early twentieth century, the lighting makes it difficult to pick out any useful details and Skinner's sketch of 1825 (Fig. 7.17; Keppie 2003: 224) is more useful.
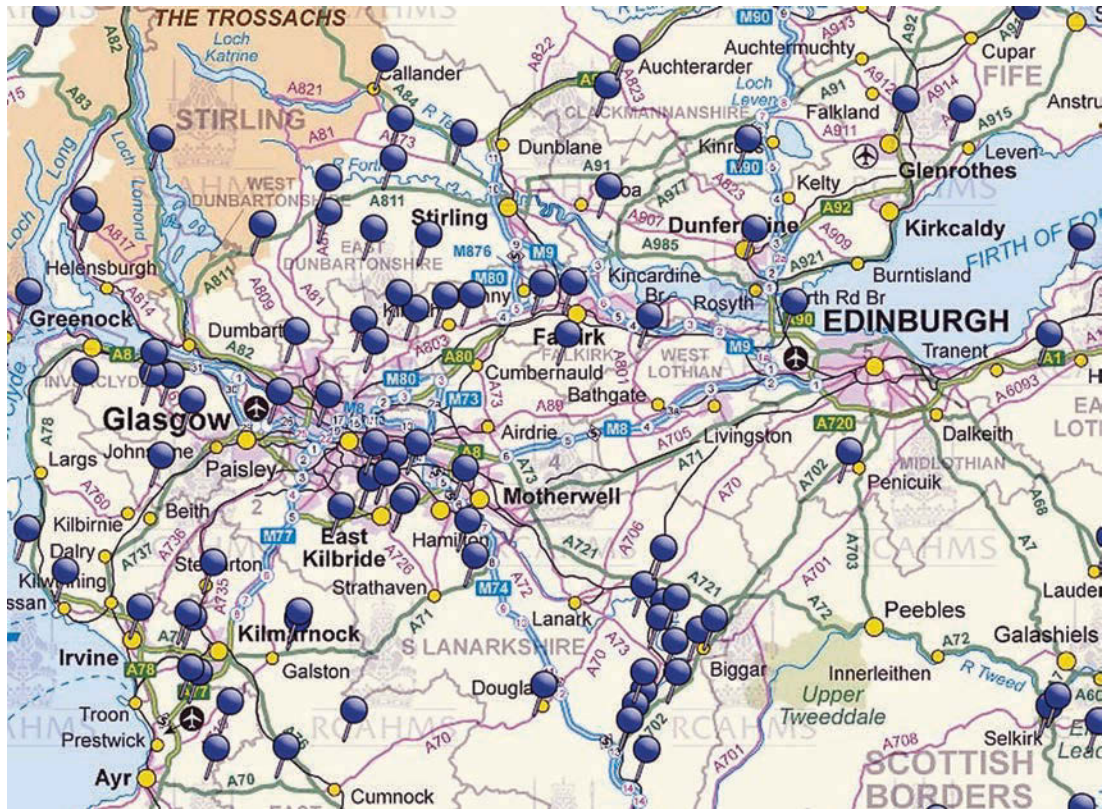
Figure 7.18. Distribution of circa 12th century mottes in Scotland (Canmoremapping).

The seven remaining mottes are located at distances ranging from 1–4km away from the Wall, with six lying to the north and only one situated to its south. No mottes in the study area are known from the coastal areas, with the nearest (Law and Castlehill, Muiravonside) being located about 6km inland. Those located north of the Wall lie within 3km of its line, while the single southern example is almost 4km away and almost out of the study area. The wider distribution of known or possible mottes in Scotland (Fig. 7.18) reveals a notable absence of these structures in the areas south of the Wall in West Lothian, Falkirk, and North Lanarkshire council areas. This distribution may suggest that the c. 12th century landscape of

power centres in central Scotland was focused on the line of the Wall and the rising uplands to its north.

Unfortunately, none of the mottes in the study area—neither those immediately adjacent to the Wall nor further afield—have received serious archaeological attention, and it remains possible that other examples have not survived or remain unidentified. At least some of these structures ("Maiden Castle," Seabegs, Castlecary, Kirkintilloch, and Cadder) appear to have used aspects of the Roman frontier as part of their defences, offering a significant genealogical link that erodes the distinction between what constitutes the "Roman" Wall and later medieval fortification systems.

Fourteen stone castles are also known from the study area (Table 7.6), with two located on the line of the Wall (at Inveravon and Kirkintilloch); eight (including Inveravon Castle) are now built-over or completely demolished (Keppie 2012: 22 offers a brief discussion of those located closest to the Roman remains). As with the earlier mottes, most of these are located to the north of the Wall but, while the mottes appear to avoid coastal locations, half of the known stone castles are situated on or near the Firths, with the remainder occupying the Wall's central sector, between Castlecary and Kirkintilloch. The best-surviving example is in a class of its own: this is the royal palace at Linlithgow, the surviving structure of which is mostly from the period 1424–1624, but which was built over an earlier royal residence constructed in the twelfth century by David I and later fortified in the early fourteenth century by Edward I, following his victory at the Battle of Falkirk. As a site of important national significance, Linlithgow Palace has seen a number of archaeological interventions, but remains in a ruined state.

SITE NAME	NATIONAL GRID REF.	DATING	DESCRIPTION	CANMORE ID
Blackness Castle	NT 05545 80253	15-19th century	Castle, built in the 15th century by the Crichton family; served as artillery fortification from 1537-1650 when devastated by Cromwell; served as a state prison for prisoners of war in the 18th century	49516
Linlithgow Palace	NT 00196 77325	Medieval	Palace, mostly 15-17th century, built on location of earlier Peel constructed by Edward I	49261
Castle Lyon, Bo'ness	NS 98730 81201	15th century	Castle, Castle Lyron, also known as Castleloan, Deanfield; completely demolished by early 19th century and built over by the Kinneil Iron Works in the 1840s	48129
Inveravon Castle	NS 95363 79780	Medieval	Castle, destroyed by James II in 1455, and built over by later towerhouse	47792
Castle Rankine	NS 78569 81875	13th century	Castle, excavated in 1938-39 with 13th century stone fragments and 14-16th century pottery; 1299 document may refer to the castle as "Gertranky"	45968
Bankier	NS 784 790	Medieval	Earthwork, Castle (possible), described by Gordon and Roy ("Bankier Castle"), 16th century pottery discovered here	45823
Cumbernauld House	NS 77249 75904	14-19th century	Castle and House; original castle probably late 14th century, converted into stables and built over by Cumbernauld House in 18th century	45819
Colzium Castle	NS 7288 7877	16th century	Castle probably originally built around 1575, residence of the Livingstones, demolished around 1703	45908
Kilsyth Castle	NS 7173 7865	16-17th century	Castle, first built around 1500, destroyed by Cromwell around 1650	45873
Peel Park, Kirkintilloch	NS 6512 7404	Medieval	Stone castle, built atop the Roman fort and Antonine Wall, possibly built over an earlier motte	45237
Rashielee, Barscube Castle	NS 463 709	15-17th century	Castle, "Old Bar Castle" occupied by the Stewarts of Barscube from c. 1490-1673; site now covered by housing, but plan ascertained via geophysics	43302
Dunglass Castle	NS 43745 73537	15-16th century	Castle, despoiled in 1735 to use as a quarry for quay repairs	43398
Auchentorlie, Tremass Castle	NS 432 742	Medieval	Castle (possible), never investigated, surviving slight mound recorded by Ordnance Survey in 1951; area mostly built over by 1963	43330
Middleton	NS 4280 7524	Medieval	Castle (possible), ruins reported in early 19th century, nothing visible on ground or in c. 2000 trenching	43254

Table 7.6. Stone castles, ordered east-to-west.

Figure 7.19. Possible reconstruction of the Kirkintilloch Peel, from an information board in Peel Park.

The Kirkintilloch Peel (Fig. 7.19) provides one of the most complicated and fascinating examples of later medieval activity on the Wall. To most antiquarian writers, the remains of this medieval structure were mistaken for a well preserved Roman fort; though much-criticised by later scholars for this error (e.g. Macdonald 1934b: 291), the placement of a Roman fort here was proved accurate, as the medieval structure was built directly on top of the Antonine Wall and part of the Roman fort. Whether this structure was ever a motte is disputed (cf. Breeze 2006a: 174–75; Keppie 2012: 22; Robertson 2001: 96; Rorke et al. 2009), but it is certainly an earthen mound with all the appearances of a motte. It has been argued, however, that this appearance is "likely [the] result of landscaping starting with the formation of [an adjacent] kaleyard in the 1830s" (Rorke et al. 2009: 59). Limited excavations of the medieval structure in 1899, the late 1970s, and 2002 were never published, but revealed substantial stone walls extending over the area of the expected motte as well as the line of the Antonine Wall's Rampart and Ditch. Regardless of speculation regarding a motte, the latest structure was certainly a stone castle, probably "Kirkintilloch Castle," the historical stronghold of the Comyn family (Macdonald 1925: 292–95).

SITE NAME	NATIONAL GRID REF.	DATING	DESCRIPTION	CANMORE ID
Mannerston	NT 046 789	15th century	Tower House, built in 15th century, with no visible remains today	49222
Carriden House	NT 02504 80834	16-19th century	Tower House (late 16th century), with 19th century additions, recorded re-use of Roman sculptured stones, on site of Carriden Roman fort	49602
Bonhard House	NT 01412 79802	16-18th century	Laird's House, seat of Cornwalls of Bonhard; burnt and demolished in 1962	49176
Kinneil House	NS 98197 80557	15-16th century	Tower House ("Palace of Kinneil," 1553), Country House, on line of Antonine Wall, includes important 16-17th century mural paintings; a number of 17-18th century cottages are located on the grounds, including the James Watt cottage	48195
Almond Castle	NS 95663 77284	15-18th century	Tower House, also known by the names "Haining Castle," "Vellore," and "the Haining"	47808
Avondale House	NS 95472 79239	16th century	Country House, modified in 18th century	74762
Inveravon Tower	NS 95363 79780	15th century	Tower House, possibly part of a larger "Castell of Inveravyne" destroyed by James II in 1455; 13-15th century pottery	47792
Callendar House	NS 89864 79352	14-19th century	Tower House (possible late 14th century), Country House, with many additions and alterations through 19th century; now the Falkirk District Museum	46768
Stenhouse Castle	NS 87949 82913	Medieval	Tower House, near site of Arthur's O'on, destroyed in 1960s and built over by housing estate	46930
Herbertshire Castle	NS 80493 83096	16th century	Tower House with several later additions, now demolished	47015
Castlecary Castle	NS 78663 77526	15-17th century	Tower House built in 15th century with 17th century additions, includes reused Roman stones	45827
Auchinvole Castle	NS 7138 7690	Medieval or Post-Medieval	Tower House, Country House, was Category B Listed, partly demolished in 1965	45880

Name	Grid Reference	Date	Description	No.
Badenheath Tower	NS 7129 7235	15th century	Tower House or Peel of the Boyds (Earls of Kilmarnock), surrounded by a moat, demolished in 1953	45927
Torrance Tower	NS 613 741	14th century	Tower House (possible), reported by Gordon as the "Broken Tower," completely gone by late 19th century	45251
Cawder House	NS 60583 72691	Medieval	Tower House, Castle of Cadder, foundations uncovered by workmen in 1814-15; nearby was found a medieval coin hoard	45241
Bardowie Castle	NS 57819 73720	16-18th century	Tower House, completed by 1566, with later additions in 17-18th centuries	44505
Craigmaddie Castle	NS 57507 76578	16th century	Tower House built over remains of Iron Age fort or medieval ring-work (debated), possibly 13th century Galbraith Castle	44422
Peel of Drumry	NS 5149 7106	16th century	Tower House or Peel, destroyed in Glasgow Corporation in 1958	44570
Old Bishopton	NS 41943 72572	14-17th century	Tower House possibly built on site of earlier fortified house; site was the seat of Brisbane family from 14-17th century	43369

Table 7.7. Later Medieval towerhouses and other residences.

Later in the medieval period, this landscape of secular power was further developed by the addition of towerhouses, country houses, and "laird's houses" from the fourteenth century onward, serving as the residences of the region's wealthy families; while not technically "castles," several of these structures are popularly called by that title. Nineteen are known (Table 7.7), with seven located to the north of the Wall and twelve on its line or to the south; this is a clear break from the distribution of mottes and stone castles, which had each preferred a location to the north. Eight are located within the immediate vicinity (within 1km) of the Wall, with the example at Carriden directly occupying the site of the Roman fort. Several of these structures are known to include a number of reused Roman stones. Nine (Mannerston, Bonhard House, Stenhouse Castle, Herbertshire Castle, Auchinvole Castle, Badenheath Tower, Torrance Tower, Cadder Castle, and the Peel of Drumry) are now completely destroyed; others (e.g. Inveravon Tower) are in ruins or almost completely gone.

As a class, these structures have seen little archaeological investigation, have often been neglected, and targeted for demolition in the twentieth century. Stenhouse Castle, for example—on the grounds of which once stood the celebrated Roman monument called Arthur's O'on (Steer 1960b) and the location of one of only two known Scottish Redware production sites (Hall and Hunter 2001; Hall 2007)—was thoroughly demolished to create a new housing estate in the 1960s, with no recorded archaeological intervention of this later medieval towerhouse. Kinneil House, a former palace and towerhouse of multiple phases that was constructed on the line of the Wall, was only saved from an in-progress demolition in 1936 when previously unknown sixteenth- and seventeenth-century mural paintings were discovered (Fig. 7.20; Richardson 1941). The paucity of archaeological attention for these types of sites may be due to their limited antiquity and lack of particularly high-status function, generally representing the personal residences of lesser landholders. As many are now deteriorating, it is important to explore their significance and enact strong measures to protect and preserve them.

Figure 7.20. 16th century mural paintings in Kinneil House.
Copyright The Friends of Kinneil.

Further historical and archaeological investigation of the medieval mottes, castles and towerhouses on or near the Wall offers the potential to reconstruct power relations, territorial control, and the ways in which the former Roman frontier was partially reclaimed to underscore and facilitate a new and changing social order in the region. While the Wall had been compartmentalised, divided and subdivided during its original functioning period—with different and diverse units spread across its various installations, each performing their own specific tasks—it was nevertheless a unified entity, with an over-arching chain-of-command centred on the Roman military, the provincial governor and, ultimately, the emperor. The Wall's medieval re-fortification, on the other hand, was incomplete and fragmented, split among powerful individuals and families who exercised control in territories to either side of the Wall, and who were sometimes in alliance—and at other times in conflict—with their neighbours.

The situation on the Antonine Wall appears to be somewhat different from the contemporary experience on Hadrian's Wall, where that former Roman frontier

was reconceptualised in the context of a debatable borderland between England and Scotland throughout the medieval period, and substantial stone castles were constructed to defend the frontier zone at Carlisle, Thirlwall, Aydon, and Newcastle upon Tyne from the 11th–14th centuries, while border reiving and frequent unrest brought about the construction of peel towers and the establishment of a "night watch" system—perhaps based on knowledge of Roman practices—in the sixteenth century (Hingley 2012: 54–60). No similar system is currently known from the Antonine Wall, but the castle at Kirkintilloch played a complicated role in the Scottish War of Independence, as the Comyns were sometimes allied with the Scots and other times supported the English. Between 1296–1311, the castle was primarily in English hands, hosted a substantial English garrison, and survived a siege by Scottish forces (Rorke et al. 2009: 15–16). While direct evidence is lacking, it is probable that the castle's eventual demise was at the hands of Robert the Bruce, who effectively crushed the Comyns after his victory at Bannockburn (ibid.).

A key issue in considering later medieval secular power centres on the Antonine Wall is whether or not their builders recognised the significance of the Wall, and whether they drew on this in any way. Unfortunately, clear answers to these questions may currently lie beyond our grasp. Importantly, these questions have never really been asked for the later medieval structures on the Antonine Wall and, consequently, none have been adequately investigated to provide sufficient answers. While several of these sites are mentioned in medieval charters,[78] it is worth noting that the Wall itself appears to be entirely absent, with no explicit mention—quite a different scenario from 10th–11th century land-grant charters for Wiltshire, where another Grim's Dyke receives numerous mentions to delineate the boundaries of granted lands (e.g. Sawyer 1968: nos 612, 631, 1010). Further, the lack of serious archaeological investigation of these structures (and the whole-scale removal of some) means that we currently lack archaeological evidence for such connections or for medieval recognition of the Wall's contemporary significance. That this issue cannot be properly addressed on present evidence, I argue, is due to

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[78] A comprehensive database covering more than 8,600 Scottish charters from 1093–1314 is provided by the People of Medieval Scotland project (http://www.poms.ac.uk/).

a too-narrow focus on the Wall's Roman functional period. In my view, these structures are worthy of further examination in their own right, regardless of any possible connections to remains of the Roman past, and should, therefore, receive concerted investigation. Questions regarding the reuse, reception, and possibly purposeful reclamation of the Roman remains, however, certainly heighten their importance.

The fact that portions of the Antonine Wall were effectively re-fortified—in a fragmented and localised manner—throughout the later medieval period may provide important context for better understanding the accounts of the Wall provided by Fordun and Boece (see chapters Three and Four). Fordun wrote shortly after the Scottish War of Independence, and his championing of the figure Gryme and ideas of "immemorial Scottish freedom" (Broun 2007: 259) may reflect a conflation of then-recent memories with limited knowledge of the Roman past. It is possible that the recent/contemporary series of mottes and castles along the Wall's line made connecting later medieval conflicts between England and Scotland to earlier conflicts between northern British and Roman forces particularly salient. Similarly, Boece's conflation of Roman frontier practices with those of the sixteenth-century "Night Watch" may also draw on particular knowledge of castles and towerhouses on both Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall. Thus, while we must be cautious about these authors' descriptions of Roman activities along the Wall, they may include valuable details about how the two Roman Walls were re-used during the later medieval and Renaissance periods.

7.4.3 Battle Sites

Kirkintilloch's role in the Scottish War of Independence has already been noted. Additionally, two sites within the study area relate to the important Battle of Falkirk in 1298: one is the site of Edward I's encampment—at the Burgh Muir of Linlithgow—the night before the battle, while the other is the site of the battle itself. While this has traditionally been located north of the modern town centre in the Grahamston area, two other locations are now favoured, both south of the Antonine Wall, either just south of the Callendar Wood near the Westquarter Burn or in the area immediately east of the Roman fort at Mumrills (Fig. 7.21), with the Scots

positioned near the fort and the English approaching from across the burn (Scott 2006: 29–35). None of these sites have been confirmed, but the last is particularly attractive as it would represent a medieval reversal of popular perceptions of the Wall as a line imposed by a southern power (Rome) to defend against or control peoples to the north: if this was the site of the Battle of Falkirk, then the fort and Wall would have been—probably unbeknownst to the combatants—utilised as a powerful position for a force of northern peoples to stand against a southern invader.

Figure 7.21. Alternative location of the 1298 Battle of Falkirk, near Mumrills fort.

Unfortunately for the Scottish forces, the battle ended with a decisive English victory, and the survivors—including William Wallace—were forced to flee across the Wall. Among the fallen was one of Wallace's chief men, Sir John de Graeme, who was buried in the Falkirk parish churchyard, where his grave remains; the majority of the dead, however, would not have received such treatment, and are likely to lie in mass graves on or near the site of battle (ibid.). This battle's

traditional location is now wholly built over with no reports of battle-related discoveries during development, but both the Callendar Wood and Mumrills locations are less developed and may offer significant potential for battlefield archaeology. With the location of this important battle remaining uncertain, and with potential development threats throughout the region, both of these alternative locations should be investigated. Field walking, metal detecting, geophysical survey, examination of the Scottish Ten project's LiDAR survey, and limited excavation may all help to confirm if either of these locations are the site of this internationally significant battle.

7.5 Post-Medieval Period

Beyond the political developments of union with England, the most significant development in the post-medieval period was the Industrial Revolution. Beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, the discovery of coal and iron ore resources in central Scotland would help to fuel a new era of production and innovation, resulting in dramatic changes to the physical and cultural environment. Landowners and newly arrived industrialists sought the maximum exploitation of agricultural and industrial produce, populations began to move from a largely rural lifestyle to the cities and major production centres, as new industries, mining operations, factories and materials processing workshops appeared across the isthmus. Keppie (2012: 92) briefly highlights a number of relevant mining and industrial activities near Roman sites on the Wall. A great deal of information is available on the rise and fall of particular industries, and many sites continue in operation today, remain derelict yet clearly visible, or are preserved in the region's recent memory, aided by the advent of photographic recording.

While almost certainly coincidental, the Wall was at least partially re-instituted as a command-base for these new industrial activities, with Dr John Roebuck—owner of coal mines and saltworks, and principal co-founder of both the Carron Iron Works and the Bo'ness Pottery company—captaining the Industrial Revolution's early decades from his residence at Kinneil House (Scott 2006: 221). Due to flooding problems in his coal mines, Roebuck invited the engineer James Watt to Kinneil in order to develop an improved steam engine; the ruins of Watt's

cottage and the boiler of his improved Newcomen engine are still visible just south of Kinneil House (Fig. 7.22), and while Watt did not invent the steam engine as is sometimes claimed, his work at Kinneil "converted it from a prime mover of marginal efficiency into the mechanical workhorse of the Industrial Revolution" (Anderson 1981). There is little evidence that Roebuck, Watt, or other industrialists paid much attention to the Roman remains or the region's past, and it is likely that their concerns were far more future-oriented. As will be seen, however, others did draw connections and parallels between the region's industrial activities and contemporary ideas about its Roman past.

Figure 7.22. James Watt's cottage and steam engine boiler at Kinneil.

While the opportunities to explore the region's industrial archaeology are numerous and largely untapped, no aspect of the Forth and Clyde's post-medieval heritage is as striking as the system of canals that were developed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Rather than provide a broad survey of different industrial activities in the area, I focus on the canals because of their close physical connections to the Antonine Wall, their important role in connecting a wide range of industrial and non-industrial activities in the period, conceptual

parallels between the Roman frontier and the canals, and the canals' recent re-opening, which provides a present link to both the industrial and Roman past.
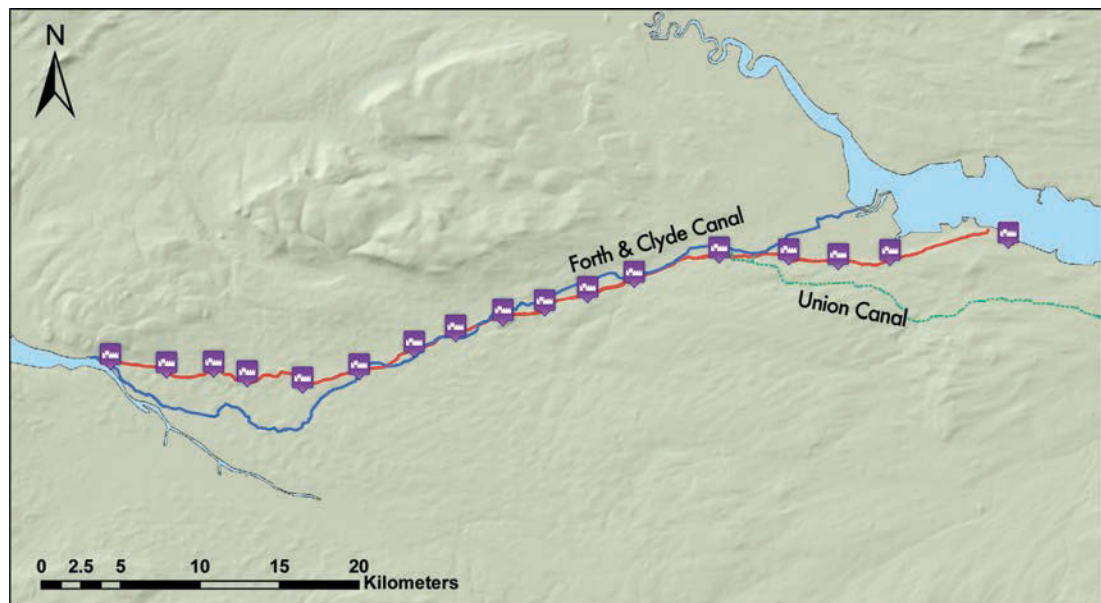
Figure 7.23. Map of the Forth & Clyde and Union Canals, in relation to the Antonine Wall. Derived from information compiled and/or copyright of RCAHMS.

7.5.1 The Canals

In 1768 construction of a canal connecting the firths of Forth and Clyde—which had been considered as early as the 1680s when John Adair was drafting plans, and was later championed by Alexander Gordon in the 1720s—was finally underway. Work began in the east at Grangemouth but, after nine years of steady progress westward, a lack of funds halted construction for eight years; in 1785, funds forfeited from the Jacobite Estates were made available for the renewal of efforts, and the Canal finally reached the Clyde, at Bowling, in 1790.[79] The Canal's relationship to the Wall (Fig. 7.23) is most evident from just west of Falkirk to Wilderness Plantation, a distance of about 30 km. In this stretch, the Canal closely follows the line of the Wall, running to its north until it reaches Shirva, where the Canal makes its first cut across the Wall; between Shirva and just west of the fort at Cadder, the Canal criss-crosses the Wall five times. At Cadder, the Canal makes a sharp turn to the south and moves

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[79] Information from Scottish Canals, "History of the Forth & Clyde Canal," (http://www.scottishcanals.co.uk/our-canals/forth--clyde-canal/forth--clyde-canal-history), accessed 28 May 2013.

away from the Wall before cutting across it a final time immediately west of the fort at Old Kilpatrick, before the Canal empties into the Clyde.
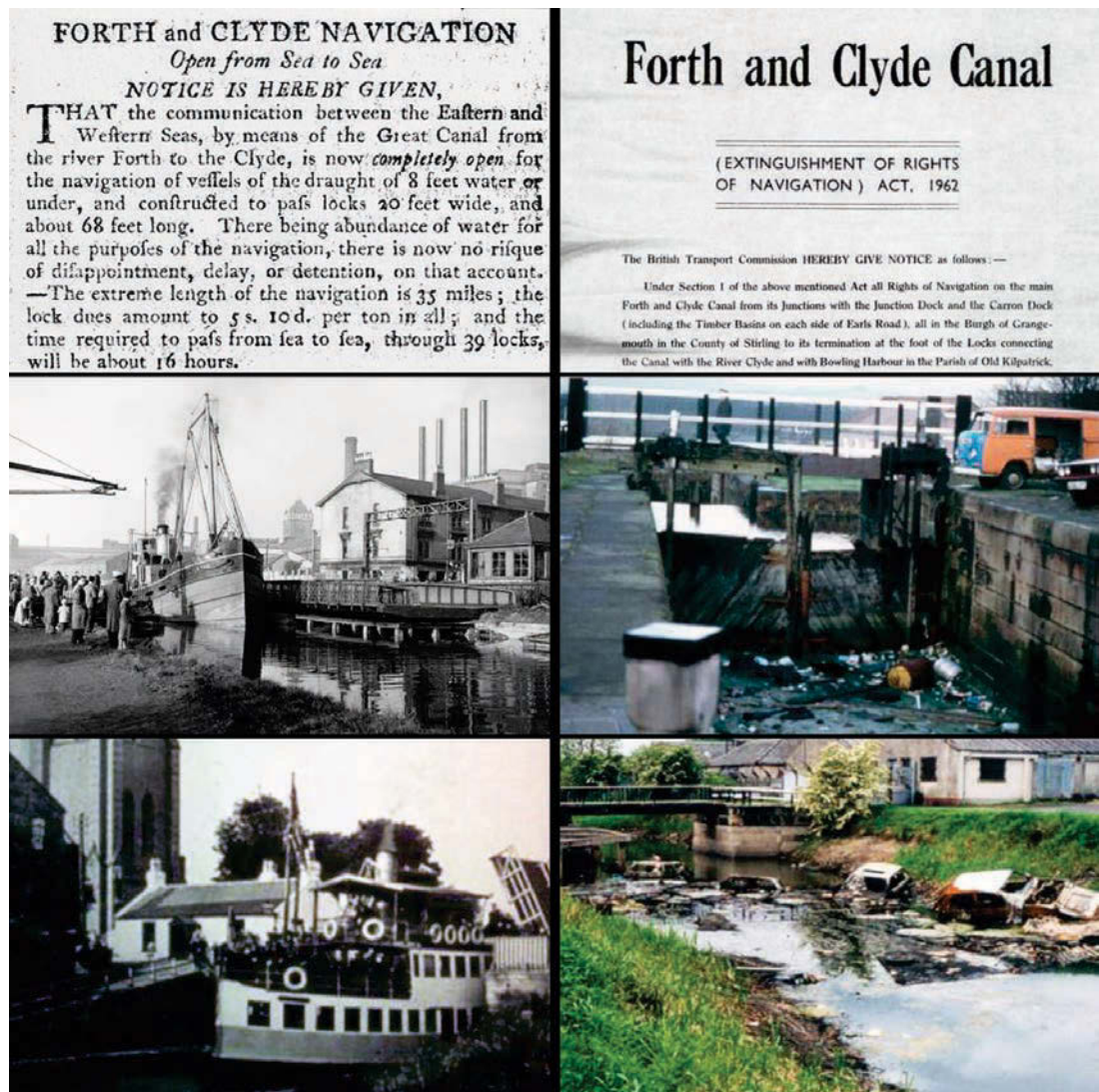
Figure 7.24. A visual history of the Forth and Clyde Canal. Images from Scottish Canals (http://www.scottishcanals.co.uk/about-scottish-canals/forth--clyde-canal-history)

The Canal's primary purpose was the transportation of agricultural and industrial resources and products, and its existence is due largely to "the [eighteenth-century] iron- and coal-masters of the Forth Valley, who aimed to speed the westwards movement of raw materials to the Firth of Clyde, and of manufactured goods to new markets in North America" (Keppie 2012: 93). The Industrial Revolution was already in full-swing when the Canal was begun, and this new transportation route—with its ability to accommodate sea-going vessels—

certainly added steam to the engines of Scottish industry. Industrial transport, however, was not the only purpose to which the Canal was put: cross-country passenger services were in operation from an early date (Dowds 2003: 64) and, while "the coming of the railways" (Keppie 2012: 115) from the 1820s onward began to siphon both freight and passengers away from the Canal, it continued to serve both clienteles until its productive life came to an end with the onset of the First World War, after which it was primarily limited to leisure pursuits (ibid. p. 99) and began its final descent in a period of decline that had begun with its managerial takeover by the Caledonian Railway in the late nineteenth century. In 1948 the Canal was nationalised by the British Transport Commission, and was finally shut down by an act of Parliament (the Extinguishment of Rights of Navigation Act) in 1962. Figure 7.24 provides an abbreviated visual history of the Canal from its optimistic opening in 1790 through its dilapidated state in the 1980s.

Also relevant is the Union Canal, which was constructed between 1818–22 to connect Scotland's principal cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and also parallels the Wall—to its south—from around Polmont to the west of Falkirk. The two canals were originally joined by a series of locks and basins that cut across the line of the Wall at Glenfuir, just east of the fortlet at Watling Lodge. This junction was closed and infilled in the 1930s, severing the connection. Like the Forth and Clyde Canal, the Union Canal also served the purposes of both freight and passenger transport, crucially carrying coal from mines in north Lanarkshire to Edinburgh, while also providing a fast and comfortable means of travel between Glasgow and Edinburgh. Keppie (2012: 98–99) notes the luxurious pleasures and entertainments to be enjoyed on the journey, including alcohol, dining, dancing, gambling, a library, live music, and overnight 'sleeper' accommodation. He also notes an anonymous (1823) booklet, *Companion for Canal Passengers*, which "describe[s] the scenery between Edinburgh and Glasgow and several times [takes] notice of the Wall running parallel" (Keppie 2012: 98–99). As with the Forth and Clyde Canal, the Union also suffered from the advent of the railways, with reduced profitability after the opening of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway in 1842, and an end to its industrial usage with the beginning of World War I. With the link at Glenfuir severed in the

1930s, the already declining canal was finally shut down in the 1960s. This decline—like that of Scottish industry in general—was devastating to many communities across central Scotland, as generations had depended upon the livelihood supplied by the canals and the industries and passengers it served.

While both canals had been closed in the 1960s, with sections infilled and built-over in the subsequent decades, early—unofficial, and piecemeal—restoration work on the Forth and Clyde Canal began in the late 1970–80s (Dowds 2003: 83–85). This followed on from earlier preservation-by-record work carried out by industrial archaeology students at Strathclyde University, who recognised the Canal's value as part of central Scotland's at-risk industrial heritage (ibid. p. 82). Eventually, this concern with *preserving* the heritage represented by the Canal developed into plans to *restore* it, gaining traction through arguments forwarded by canal-side communities that a regeneration of the canals would help to stimulate "wider community and environmental renewal" (Stirling 2000: 7). These plans were put into action, and the Millennium Link project, in operation from 1999–2002, successfully re-opened the canals in 2001, with the centrepiece Falkirk Wheel—a new engineering marvel based on Archimedes' principle of displacement, and serving as a giant boat ladder to connect the Forth and Clyde and Union Canals near the site of Rough Castle fort—opened by Queen Elizabeth II in May 2002. Neither canal serves an industrial function today, but they both offer a number of opportunities for leisure pursuits and the inland waterway link between Edinburgh and Glasgow is now re-opened, with a vibrant community of canal societies who promote the canals as an important part of Scotland's cultural heritage, and who are just as quick to point out the Antonine Wall as the canals' own industrial transportation history. I will return to the topic of the restored canals and the Falkirk Wheel, in particular, in Chapter Nine.

Despite their important connection to the Antonine Wall, the canals have received little attention from Wall scholars. When they are mentioned, there is a general sense of negativity, as if the canals primarily represent the wanton destruction of a more-valuable Roman heritage represented by the Wall. As with the railroads and other industrial activities, the construction of the canals—particularly

the Forth and Clyde Canal and the original series of locks and basins that connected it to the Union Canal—were devastating to particular portions of the Wall, and this fact should not be minimised. At the same time, however, the work carried out to construct the canals have contributed greatly to our knowledge about the Wall and its line, revealing a number of Roman antiquities, including inscribed altars from several locations and bath-houses at both Castlecary and Old Kilpatrick, as well as the first sections of the Wall's Rampart and Ditch. As noted in Chapter Four, the Canal Committee's Minute Books contain several notes of such discoveries, but not everything is recorded therein, leaving only a partial record; this record is, thankfully, augmented by the observations of General William Roy, the Rev. William Nimmo, and Prof John Anderson (Keppie 2012: 94–98). Roy (1793: pl. 39), for example, drew a plan of the bath-house at Castlecary, while Nimmo (1777: 6) provided detailed observations about the hypocaust system, buildings that had been revealed in the centre of the fort, and other finds discovered during quarry operations near the fort. Hingley (2012: 124–32) provides details of a close-parallel with the 1750s construction of the Hanoverian military road along Hadrian's Wall: while antiquarians and archaeologists have largely viewed this development as an act of vandalism—and it did contribute to large-scale removal of further remains by local landowners in the following century—it also revealed a number of new discoveries and may have even served to protect portions of Hadrian's Wall from agricultural destruction.

Keppie's (2012: 93–99) recent treatment of the canals' place in the Antonine Wall's history is more balanced than most, observing the destruction of the Roman monument, the very real contributions that were made as a result, and including a welcome summary of the canals' own particular histories. Especially valuable is Keppie's discussion of Anderson's relationship to both the work of the Forth and Clyde Canal and the study of the Wall, which reveals a perspective seldom communicated by previous Wall scholars:

> The low ground between the Forth and the Clyde has
> been destined for great works. A few years ago some
> very noble manufacturing Machines were erected

upon it, and in all probability their number will increase very fast. At present a Canal with Locks is carrying on, which in beauty and workmanship will be superiour to every one of the same extent in Europe. And about sixteen hundred and seventeen years ago, a military Bulwark was made in the same place, which was so magnificent that a minute Survey of it will not diminish the high Idea which is commonly entertained of Roman greatness. (Anderson 1770, quoted by Keppie 2012: 97)

Rather than bemoan the destructive power of the isthmus' new industries and of the Canal's imposition on the remnants of the Roman frontier, Anderson draws a parallel between the ancient and the contemporary, framing both with grandiose adjectives, and suggesting that they are, therefore, reflective of the inherent greatness of the Forth-Clyde isthmus. Later in the same century, William Gilpin, reporting on observations made while traveling Scotland in pursuit of "picturesque beauty," also draws a parallel between the Canal and Wall:

In our way we crossed the great canal [...] Busy man is ever at work grubbing the soil on which he exists; sometimes casting up heaps, and sometimes throwing them down. A few centuries ago the bands of Agricola (sic) were as eager in raising this very spot into a rampart, as our contemporaries are now in delving it into a canal. Both works were great efforts of human power: but the British seems to be the greater. It was a mighty work, no doubt, to raise an earthen mound sufficient to confine a nation: but it is still perhaps a greater work, to introduce a new element, and bring the sloops of the ocean to land their cargoes among the inland mountains of the country.—As a useful and humane work however the modern one is, beyond all doubt, more respectable; inasmuch as it is more conducive to the happiness of mankind to open a communication between one country, and another; than to block a nation up in it's (sic) barbarity, and shut it out from every opportunity of knowledge, and improvement.—In a picturesque light, I know not whether to call the Roman, or the British work, more

disgusting. Both equally deform the natural face of the
country. (Gilpin 1789: 75–76)

Similar parallels were also drawn between the Hanoverian military road and
Hadrian's Wall (Hingley 2012: 131–32). While Stukeley was particularly angry at the
destruction to the Roman remains and solicited royal assistance to try to end the
road's construction (Lukis 1887: 139–43), John Warburton (1753: ii–v), William
Hutton (1802: 172), and Robert Forster (1899: 202–03) took a more positive view,
seeing the road as "a reconstitution of the Roman Wall" (Hingley 2012: 132) in the
form of a new open landscape in which a closed military frontier had been
transformed into a structure to aid trade and economics.

These contemporary observations demonstrate that, while the canals and the
industrial archaeology of the Forth and Clyde isthmus are well worth studying in
their own right—as particular manifestations of historically contingent social
processes and developments—we should resist the tendency to see this industrial
heritage and the Roman frontier as independent entities with little relevance to each
other. While late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century opinions about the
individual merits and moral good of the Antonine Wall and canals may have
varied, those who remained aware of the Wall's Roman significance could hardly
fail to recognise their contemporary mutual-relevance.

7.6 Discussion

This chapter has provided an extensive overview of the range and nature of
archaeological evidence for the activities and significance of the Antonine Wall in its
post-Roman centuries, from the Roman abandonment c. AD 160 to the
establishment of the canals and industrial activity in the late eighteenth and early
nineteenth centuries. While only limited clearly datable evidence is available for the
earliest post-Roman centuries, it is untenable to claim that the Wall inhabited a
barren landscape after the Roman withdrawal. Rather, even though the available
evidence is limited, it reveals extensive and apparently increasing activity around
the Wall. The level of activity may not, however, have necessarily increased over
time, as the seemingly growing quantity of evidence may merely be a matter of

survival, a reflection of current limitations in the observation and interpretation of settlement and activities between the Roman and later medieval periods, or the result of a biased research tradition that has emphasised the Roman military while leaving other themes and periods unexplored.

Toponymic evidence provides clues to continued knowledge and significance of Roman sites and their function, with a number of place-names directly referring to the Wall or Roman installations, developing over several centuries into hybridised forms that merge elements of Late Roman Iron Age and early medieval language groups. The possible immediate re-occupation of part of the Wall's ditch at Shirva is tantalising, and the investigation of a possible near-parallel at Castlecary would provide an important opportunity to shed light on the earliest years after the Roman withdrawal. The Late Roman Iron Age cannot be fully understood, however, until we begin to explore the various late prehistoric/Iron Age sites that have been identified within this landscape. The lack of research in this area is not unique to Antonine Wall studies, however, and is reflected in a similar situation on Hadrian's Wall (Symonds and Mason 2009: 151). As this lacuna continues to be flagged up in discussions of both frontiers, it is hoped that new studies will seek to fill the gap. For the Antonine Wall, we may eagerly anticipate the results of the Scottish Ten project's LiDAR survey, which is likely to reveal additional sites and perhaps help to clarify some of those for which our knowledge is currently limited. The investigation of this landscape cannot rely on remote sensing alone, though, as some of the most crucial chronological questions can only be answered through a sufficient excavation campaign. On current evidence, the Castlecary souterrain and Castle Hill Iron Age fort may be the most promising candidates for such work.

Perhaps the most critical site to explore the early and later medieval periods is Kinneil, where an extensive later medieval village lies across the line of the Wall from at least the early thirteenth century until the end of the seventeenth, and with an early medieval church evidenced by the discovery of a c. tenth-century cross slab, an early floor below the current church ruins, and a ditched enclosure surrounding this structure. The possible identification of a Roman fort or camp on

the location of the medieval village would—if corroborated—significantly increase the archaeological potential at this site, providing the potential to answer numerous questions that cross multiple periods. Other sites that may deserve special consideration include the possible motte site east of Castlecary fort, the Kirkintilloch Peel and Roman fort site, and the possible alternative Battle of Falkirk locations. A wide-ranging industrial archaeology of the Forth and Clyde isthmus would also be particularly welcome, especially one that takes the Wall's presence into account rather than merely investigating industrial activities in isolation. The data set for this period is especially rich, but has not yet been adequately explored. To adopt Macdonald's (1915: 109) note regarding his report on the Cadder motte: "in the eyes of some the interest attaching to [these various sites and themes] may possibly be lessened by [their] transference from the sphere of Roman antiquities," but they need not be investigated by those traditionally engaged in Antonine Wall studies; rather, an adequate investigation of the Wall's continued activities and significances in the post-Roman centuries will require the recruitment of specialists across a number of disciplines and period specialisations.

While a rather narrow definition of "the Antonine Wall" as constituting the Roman-built physical structure bounded by the chronological parameters of its original functioning period may reasonably conclude that nothing much was happening on the Wall after the Romans left, as it had effectively ceased to be "the Antonine Wall," this chapter has demonstrated that the same cannot be said when the perspective focuses more specifically on "Grymisdyke."

Chapter Eight:
A Mythic Landscape

> O Carun of the streams! why do I behold thy waters rolling
> in blood? (Ossian, "Comála")[80]

8.1 Introduction

It is uncertain when the knowledge of the Antonine Wall's Roman origins was lost. Certainly, monastic writers in the early medieval period were continuing to show an awareness that the Wall belonged to the general period of Roman activity, but these accounts were written at some geographical distance away from the Wall, were produced by ecclesiastical elites with their own particular agendas, and are not necessarily reflective of local knowledge or the interpretations made by people who inhabited the region. The first glimpse of localised knowledge appears in the fourteenth century, when Fordun reveals the Wall's local name, Grymisdyke, and relates a mythical story centred on the character Gryme. It is likely that local peoples, unaware of the Wall's Roman origins yet facing the reality of an unexplained and quite-visible feature cutting across the landscape, turned to their own imaginations to create stories that explained its existence within a contemporary framework, and that Fordun was drawing on some of these tales at a relatively late date. After Fordun, the Wall and a number of associated features would continue to play a role as parts of a developing mythic landscape. Increasing antiquarian activity may have fueled later myths and, despite the Wall's mythic history being increasingly sidelined within its official discourse since the 1890s, elements of this mythic landscape continue within alternative approaches to the region's history.

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[80] Quotations from Ossian are taken from the edition edited and reprinted by Howard Gaskill (2003). For the portions quoted here, this is based on James Macpherson's (1765) version, the two-volume *Works of Ossian*. Due to the many editions and reprints of Ossian, and the short length of the two poems considered here, citations will merely be in the form: "Ossian, '[Poem Title]'."

This chapter brings together a number of strands of a mythic landscape centred on the Antonine Wall, particularly in the area around Falkirk, for which older stories have best survived, and recent local historians and pseudo-scholars continue to offer alternative histories that are often at odds with established archaeological consensus. While mythic aspects relating to the early medieval period have received recent attention from Maldonado (in press), and Keppie (2012: 23–25) offers a general summary of legends reported from the early medieval period through the nineteenth century, this chapter provides a more detailed investigation. First, however, I will examine the wider relationship between archaeology, myth and folklore.

8.2 Archaeology, Myth and Folklore

What do myth, legend, and folklore have to do with archaeology, one may ask. Without the presence of authentic material evidence, it might be argued, discussion of these aspects must remain squarely within the realm of fiction and is, therefore, inappropriate for modern archaeological discourse, which must be firmly rooted in the analysis of tangible physical remains of the past. I would like to argue against this perspective, suggesting instead that archaeologists should be more broad-minded and seek to explore the whole range of significances, interpretations, and meanings ascribed to sites and artefacts. Folklore, myth, and legend can provide useful lenses on these aspects. In this section, I will provide context and key themes for the consideration of folklore and mythic landscapes in the field of archaeology.

Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf (1999: 3) outline the origins of both archaeology and folklore as disciplines deriving from shared antiquarian beginnings, tracing some of their respective histories, and focusing primarily on the contentious relationship between the two. They cover three key points: 1) "questions about historical accuracy, which lie at the heart of archaeologists' worries about the reliability of folklore as evidence or data for archaeological interpretation," 2) "the value of folklore for understanding the history of monuments and the multiple meanings those monuments carry throughout their histories," and 3) "other areas where attention to folklore can inform archaeological interpretation and practice." The suggestion that folklore can be useful to archaeological work is based on "four

key convictions about archaeology, folklore and the creation of history" (ibid. pp. 3–4). Echoing Shanks (1992), their first "conviction" rests on the premise that archaeology is primarily a practice of the present, in which remains of the past are "perceived and interpreted by present people" (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999: 3). This notion is coupled with the idea that folklore does not necessarily contain "accurate and reliable representations of past behaviour, beliefs or events," to conclude that "neither field can be relied upon to tell us about the actual past." Both archaeology and folklore can tell us different things about practice, perception, memory, and significance, but in each discipline these understandings are formed in the present and remain subject to "often contentious argument" over varying means of interpretation. The second "conviction" is that archaeological artefacts and monuments, whether newly constructed or already present in the landscape, carry meanings by which people form their own "collective identities" and pasts:

> As interpretive archaeologies have come to understand, the past is a creation of everyone who interprets material remains or fragments of tradition from past people's lives, whether in the form of folklore or archaeological study. (ibid. p. 4)

The third "conviction" is that accuracy, authenticity, and meaning are fundamental problems that must be considered and dealt with in any use of folklore for archaeological purposes. This must be handled carefully, and folklore should neither be summarily rejected nor naively accepted, but rather subjected to careful analysis, just as with other archaeological materials. The final "conviction" is that archaeological labelling and careful circumscription of monuments and sites to specific periods—"most frequently focus[ed] on the time of their construction and intensive use"—tends to ignore the important "life histories" of these locations, wherein later interpretations, uses, re-uses, and traditions have also contributed to the heritage we possess today.

Archaeology and folklore studies arguably share similar early modern origins, both tracing their genealogies to antiquarians of the 16th–19th centuries. While archaeologists tend to emphasise the antiquarian concern with field survey

and careful measurement, description and drawing of monuments as precursors to current archaeological methods, folklorists see important origins for their own work in the antiquaries' relation "of 'popular antiquities,' which included traditions, legends, tales, sayings, proverbs, songs and activities" (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999: 6). For many antiquaries, investigation of both physical material remains and local folkloric knowledge was part of an integrated methodology that derived from the chorographic tradition. For these antiquaries, folklore, myths and local rituals were a type of artefact, or "relic," reflecting some aspect of past practice and/or knowledge, similar to material artefacts recorded and collected in the field (ibid. pp. 3–4; see also Fenton 1993: 7).

From shared antiquarian origins, archaeology and folklore began to separate into self-contained disciplines in the mid-nineteenth century:

> In the process of this self-definition, archaeology became the realm of physical monuments and material remains of the past, while folklore focused on verbal performances and customary activities, including the uses of material culture. There remained institutional similarities in the early development of the two fields. (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999: 7)

One example of these similarities are the catalogues and inventories of monuments and tales that were collected by each group, often through the circulation of questionnaires soliciting such details (ibid.).

In the twentieth century, archaeology and folklore diverged even further, especially due to the scientific turn in archaeological methods and research agendas (ibid. p. 8; see also Shanks 1992: 12–37 for a critique of the "sovereignty of science" in archaeology). While archaeology became increasingly associated with the sciences, folklore studies found a home in some of the social sciences or, perhaps even more comfortably, within the arts and humanities. Despite the archaeology/folklore divorce, some scholars have continued to draw on both fields, particularly in work on prehistoric monuments (e.g. Clark 1951; Fleure 1931; 1948; Grant 1961; Peeters 1969; Seidenspinner 1988; 1989; 1993).

Reliability is a major concern with the use of folkloric sources, and the accuracy of traditional accounts has been a recurrent debate amongst both archaeologists and folklorists. To what degree can they be taken as authentic, "true," accounts of the past, either as histories or "survivals of ancient rituals" (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999: 9)? How ancient are they really? The reliability of traditional tales may be challenged as either being recent/late creations, or as reaching the present in such a heavily modified form that any supposed ancient original is too difficult to ascertain (Dorson 1968, 1976; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Shils 1981). Joyner (1989: 18), however, argues that folklore and history are deeply entwined, because:

> historical events cannot be fully understood without understanding the "attitudes and actions of real men and women" that are found in folklore, and that folklore can't be fully understood without understanding the historical circumstances of its creation and transmission.

Historians and archaeologists have taken a variety of perspectives on the reliability of folklore, with common views being that folklore is either, a) a "relic" of the past: some survival of actual, authentic, events or practices, or, b) relatively recent inventions with no basis in the actual past (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999: 10–12). The former perspective is perhaps best-known in the work of Heinrich Schliemann, whose persistent belief that Homer's *Iliad* and a variety of other classical tales relating the famed Trojan War were based on an actual event led to the now widely accepted identification of the tell site of Hisarlik, Turkey as the legendary Troy. Much as Schliemann's reputation has suffered in the light of changes in the theories and ethical considerations of more recent archaeological practice, his approach to folklore as a "relic" is now considered naive. Further, attempts to correlate such tales with archaeological remains have proven to be, primarily, a losing game and, consequently, those stories that appear or claim to represent "a continuous tradition from the much more distant past or prehistory" are viewed with heavy scepticism (ibid. p. 11).

The use of folklore in archaeology is, consequently, rife with problems of accuracy and authenticity. Here, the notion of "authenticity" may be seen in two lights: a story may be deemed *authentic* "in terms of being actual oral tradition," or because it contains historically "accurate" information "in what it records, or even in terms of the accuracy of its recording and transmission" (ibid. p. 12). In archaeology, the latter notion of authenticity is usually adopted, and sources are accepted or rejected based on present perceptions of how well they relate the events or conditions of the actual past. Because myth, folklore, and legends are often composed of historically inaccurate or unprovable information, this second perspective on authenticity usually governs archaeologists' approach to folklore. The approach often taken is to leave such traditions unconsidered, as they are deemed of little or no value. This lack of consideration of, or engagement with, folkloric traditions betrays many modern archaeologists' obsession with the identification of the discipline as an "objective" science. Shanks (1992: 15) has termed this "the sovereignty of science in archaeology, the methodological hegemony that would have of archaeology an empirical science." Such a perspective, largely held by those archaeologists who identify as "processual," has been subjected to significant critique by post-processualists (Shanks 1992: 20–25 provides a good summary). Despite the important contributions of such critiques over the past thirty years or more, I would argue that the discipline of archaeology remains primarily processual in outlook, and that the "sovereignty of science" remains firmly entrenched. The emphasis on reason, facts, objectivity, and the scientific method has, I believe, been a good thing for archaeology, and I do not wish to negate its importance or value. There are, however, other approaches to the past, and I am convinced that the past must remain open (see Witmore 2009). Consideration of folklore provides one avenue toward open pasts.

The common rejection of myth, legend and folklore may be justified by rigid adherence to a scientific, facts-based, approach to archaeology. This fundamentally misunderstands, however, the essential purposes and characteristics of such traditions. In many cases, literal interpretations are neither required nor desirable,

and folk traditions are not designed to communicate objective facts or reliable and authentic accounts of the past but, rather, subjective meaning and significance:

> when meaning is taken as the most significant aspect of folklore, the question of its authenticity becomes moot: if it has become part of the folk tradition about the past, it is part of that tradition whether or not its origins are in literature or commercial invention. (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999: 12)

Archaeologists' noted aversion to the inclusion of folklore also highlights a particular problem in common approaches to archaeological sites, monuments, and artefacts. In modern practice there is a tendency to assign sites or artefacts to carefully circumscribed periods based on generally accepted dating of the most obvious features, time of initial construction, and the period in which these features were primarily used for their initial purpose(s). Thus, the sites of Roman forts are often labeled "Roman" and are primarily investigated by period-specific (i.e. Roman period) and genre-specific (i.e. Roman Military) experts. This leads to research agendas shaped by the concerns of a limited subset of archaeologists and historians, emphasising particular questions of direct relevance for the assigned period and site type. While this allows for specialised analyses that contribute to a shared discourse, it also serves to pigeon-hole sites into just one or two primary periods, leaving subsequent or intervening periods unconsidered and seemingly irrelevant. Such is the case with the most recent edition of Bruce's *Handbook* to Hadrian's Wall (Breeze 2006b): while the volume remains "the primary source for those who wish to study the monument in detail" (Hingley 2011b), there is virtually nothing about the Wall's later history and, while previous editions had included a variety of folk traditions (e.g. Blair 1921: 133–35; Richmond 1966: 108–10; Daniels 1978: 79–80, 134–35), these have been excised in the new edition.

The recent AHRC-funded "Tales of the Frontier" Project (http://www.dur.ac.uk/roman.centre/hadrianswall/), drawing on academic and popular sources from the time of Bede until the present, has helped to fill the gap by exploring the continued significance and reception of Hadrian's Wall (some selected

publications from this project include: Hingley 2010a; 2010b; Nesbitt and Tolia-Kelly 2009; Witcher 2010a; 2010b; Witcher et al. 2010). In his recent book on Hadrian's Wall, Hingley (2012) compares the approaches of imaginative antiquaries and artists (pp. 203–29) to those of scientific archaeologists (pp. 231–53). While the scientific approach emphasises certainty and has provided much valuable information about the Wall's structural details and chronology, the accumulation of detailed facts has been unable to establish its exact sequence or the reasons behind particular feature locations and changes, and also serves to kill the monument by erecting a rigid barrier between a "closed" Roman past and the present: "the monument becomes effectively dead—a product of a past society, highly relevant and accessible in the present but also entirely closed to imaginative interpretation" (ibid. p. 253). The imaginative approach represented by some antiquarians and popular writers, on the other hand, "collapse[s] time into place," "draw[ing] upon archaeological materials to create 'eddies in time' that bring the writer and reader into contact with the Roman population of the Wall" (ibid. p. 229).

Instead of pigeon-holing sites and monuments into particular periods for which the physical evidence is most abundant, or wherein the particular interests of our specialisations lie, archaeologists should seek to investigate all periods, and to think beyond the detailed analyses of form, structure and original function. This diachronism is an important part of the chorographic approach taken in this thesis, building on the premise that:

> archaeological sites and artefacts belong to all the times following their building or manufacture. If we are interested in what monuments mean, it is our task as archaeologists to study the complete history of monuments rather than restrict our interest to the motivations that led to their first construction. (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999: 15)

Coupled with other historical and archaeological material, folklore—when available and considered appropriately—can provide access to the meanings and significances of monuments and sites for later periods. While it is difficult, or even impossible in some cases, to tie myths, legends and folklore to specific sites via

firmly contextualised material evidence, the consideration and analysis of these tales can still qualify as a legitimate part of archaeological practice. This need not imply that the researcher grants any degree of authenticity or factuality to the myths, but merely reflects an acknowledgment of the role such stories have played in the life of the site, monument, landscape, or artefacts under investigation. Consideration of myth, legend, and folklore should, thus, have an important role in the exploration of archaeological landscapes, which "incorporate aspects of mythic, past, and current histories concurrently" (Anschuetz et al. 2001: 186).

The following sections seek to explore the role of certain myths and legends along the Antonine Wall corridor. This begins with a composition (from the *Poems of Ossian*, Macpherson 1765) that appeared in the eighteenth century, drawn from several earlier mythic strands. Particular elements and sites that contributed to this example are then explored in more detail, before returning to this composition's reception, ensuing controversy, and more recent resonances. While this composition is later than many of the legends that will be discussed later in the chapter, it is introduced here in order to take advantage of the facts that it integrates a number of prominent tales of earlier date and also provides a particularly vivid impression of the mythic landscape that has developed around the Antonine Wall.

8.3 Extracts from Ossian

"O Carun of the streams! why do I behold thy waters rolling in blood?" (Ossian, "Comála").[81] Thus begins the lament of Comála, daughter of Sarno king of Orkney, at the news of her beloved Fingal's death. The scene lies upon the banks of the River Carron, north of Falkirk. In this poem, attributed to the third-century Celtic bard Ossian by the eighteenth-century "translator" James Macpherson (1765), the classically attested campaigns of Caracalla against the Caledonians (Dio *Hist. Rom.* 77.12–15) provides the frame for a dramatic romantic tragedy and love triangle focused on native actors. These actors include Comála, Fingal king of Morven and father of the poet Ossian, and his warrior Hidallan, who also loves Comála.

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[81] All quotations from Gaskill's (2003: 105–09) critical edition.

Amidst the scene of war Comála waits for her beloved Fingal on the banks of Crona, a tributary of the Carron, awaiting his promised return at the end of the evening's battle. Hidallan, whose love for Comála had been slighted on a previous occasion, though being sent by Fingal to inform the maiden of the king's impending return, jealously chose to revenge his wounded pride by telling her that Fingal had died. "Roll, thou mist of gloomy Crona […] O Carun, roll thy streams of blood, for the chief of the people fell […] The nations are scattered on their hills; for they shall hear the voice of their chief no more," Hidallan lies. Comála repeatedly questions whether Fingal has truly died and Hidallan suggests that his heroes were already at work on building his tomb.

As Comála's grief nears a fever pitch, one of her companions notes an approaching tumult: "What sound is that […] Who is that bright in the vale? Who comes like the strength of rivers, when their crowded waters glitter to the moon?" It must be Caracul, "the son of the king of the world!" moans Comála until she recognises Fingal's form and takes him for a ghost. "Raise, ye bards of the song, the wars of the streamy Carun. Caracul has fled from my arms along the fields of his pride. He sets far distant like a meteor that incloses a spirit of night, when the winds drive it over the heath, and the dark woods are gleaming around […] The storm is over, and the sun is on our fields," Fingal declares his victory. Sadly it is too late for Comála, who has been overcome by her grief and dies. Thus, while the bards rejoice in saying, "Roll, streamy Carun, roll in joy, the sons of battle fled. The steed is not seen on our fields; and the wings of their pride spread in other lands. The sun will now rise in peace, and the shadows descend in joy. The voice of the chace will be heard; and the shields hang in the hall […] Roll, streamy Carun, roll in joy, the sons of battle fled," Comála's companion moans "Descend, ye light mists from high; ye moon-beams, lift her soul.—Pale lies the maid at the rock! Comála is no more!"

A second poem (Ossian, "The War of Caros")[82] also takes the banks of the Carron as its setting. Here, the context is once again native warfare against the Romans—this time the main actors are Ossian's son Oscar and Caros, or Carausius the usurper who claimed to rule in Britain from about 285–93. This poem is Ossian's

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[82] Again, quotations from Gaskill's (2003: 110–14) edition.

personal lament at the death of his son, but also a tribute to Oscar's bravery and strength as a warrior, through the remembrance of one of his greatest victories.

As with the previous poem, the scene begins with Oscar on the banks of the small stream Crona, while the enemy lies to the south of the nearby River Carron. "What does Caros king of ships […] spreads he the wings of his pride?" asks Oscar of his companion and bard Ryno. "He spreads them, Oscar […] but it is behind his gathered heap. He looks over his stones with fear, and beholds thee terrible, as the ghost of night that rolls the wave to his ships," Ryno replies. Oscar sends Ryno across the river to challenge Carausius: "Bid him, in songs, to advance and leave the rolling of his wave. Tell to Caros that I long for battle […] Tell him the mighty are not here; and that my arm is strong." Despite this challenge, Carausius does not advance, leaving Oscar to wait through the night, during which Ryno recounts tales of heroic ancestors. Then, after "Oscar [had] passed the night among his fathers, gray morning met him on the banks of Carun:"

A green vale surrounded a tomb which arose in the times of old. Little hills lift their head at a distance; and stretch their old trees to the wind. The warriors of Caros sat there, for they had passed the stream by night. They appeared, like the trunks of aged pines, to the pale light of the morning.

Oscar stood at the tomb, and raised thrice his terrible voice. The rocking hills echoed around: the starting roes bounded away. And the trembling ghosts of the dead fled, shrieking on their clouds. So terrible was the voice of my son, when he called his friends.

A thousand spears rose around; the people of Caros rose […] My son, though alone, is brave. Oscar is like a beam of the sky; he turns around and the people fall. His hand is like the arm of a ghost, when he stretches it from a cloud: the rest of his thin form is unseen: but the people die in the vale.

My son beheld the approach of the foe; and he stood in the silent darkness of his strength […]

He stood dilated in his place, like a flood swelling in a narrow vale. The battle came, but they fell: bloody was the sword of Oscar.—The noise reached his people at Crona; they came like a hundred streams. The warriors of Caros fled, and Oscar remained like a rock left by the ebbing sea. (Ossian, "The War of Caros")

The text of these poems provides few explicit geographical signposts, telling us only that the scene lies on the banks of Crona and Carun. Crona is unknown, but Carun appears to be an alternate spelling of Carron, a well-known river that feeds into the Forth just north of Falkirk and the Antonine Wall. Macpherson (1765) confirms this suspicion in his annotations. Further clues abound in the text and, from these we can more precisely pinpoint the setting. When Ryno tells Oscar that Caros sits "behind his gathered heap," we can infer this to mean the Antonine Wall, which runs right through Falkirk about two miles south of the Carron. Again, Macpherson confirms this, though he refers to the Wall as "Agricola's," a common eighteenth-century view.

While less firm and uncorroborated by Macpherson, it is also attractive to interpret further clues as providing even greater precision. The reference to "a green vale [that] surrounded a tomb which arose in the times of old" may be a reference to the site of a monument known as Arthur's O'on, lying on the north bank of Carron at Stenhousemuir. This gains traction with the proceeding statement that "little hills lift their head at a distance," probably referring to the nearby Hills of Dunipace. Both Arthur's O'on and the Hills of Dunipace were well known and oft-discussed in the decades and centuries before Macpherson's work on Ossian. In fact, virtually every account up until the twentieth century discussed both the O'on and the Hills as if they were inextricably linked (e.g. Buchanan 1582: 1.19), often in deep association with the Antonine Wall, and—with the absence of another pairing of such a monument and notable hills in the area—there seems to be no acceptable alternative than to read these references as pointing to the area around Arthur's O'on as the primary location of action (Fig. 8.1).
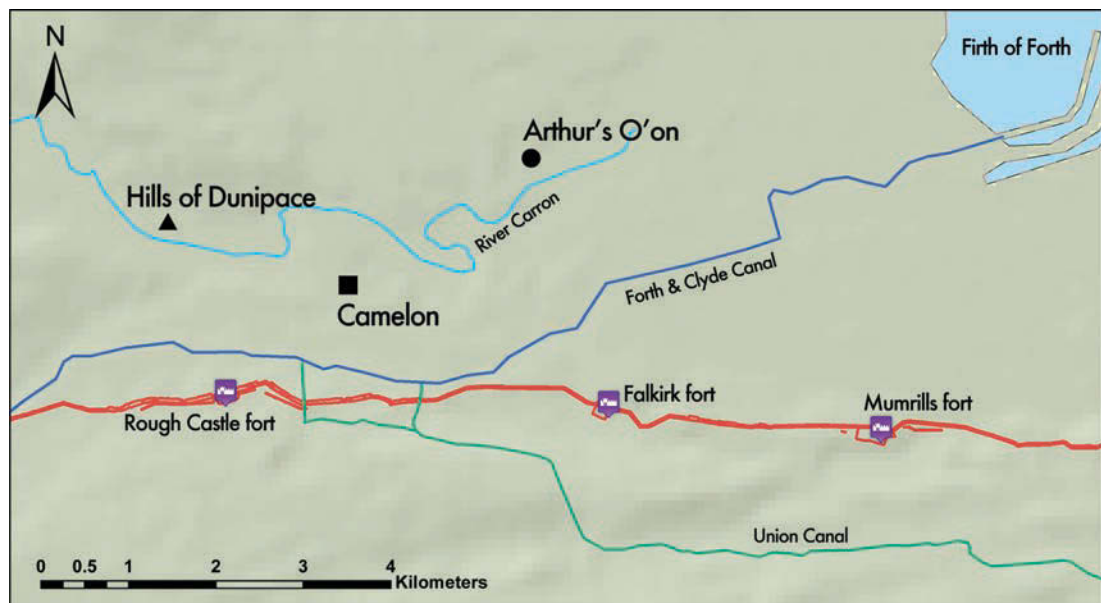
Figure 8.1. Landscape setting of Ossian extracts, and other sites discussed in the chapter.

I will return to the poems of Ossian, their immediate reception, subsequent controversy, and more recent scholarly investigation later in this chapter. They have, however, provided a vivid illustration of the way in which the Antonine Wall and nearby locations were brought together in the eighteenth century to form a rich and relatively coherent mythic landscape. Before returning to Ossian, however, I will take a more detailed look at some of the individual locations and the wide range of folklore, myth, legend, and variant accounts of the past in which they are implicated.

8.4 Grymisdyke

From the later medieval period until the establishment of the name "the Antonine Wall" by the Glasgow Archaeological Society in the 1890s, the Wall was known by numerous renditions of "Grim's Dyke" or "Graham's Dyke," first recorded around 1360 by John of Fordun in the form "Grymisdyke" (*Chron. Gent. Scot*. 3.3-5). As discussed in Chapter Three, Fordun's narrative of the Wall's origins closely follows that set by Gildas and Bede, with construction by native Britons at the end of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth, but Fordun adds a new narrative element: the story of Gryme. In this story, Gryme is a Briton descended from the British leader Fulgentius—who (i.e. Fulgentius), according to this account, slew the

emperor Septimius Severus at York, but was himself mortally wounded (ibid. 2.31-34).[83]

Gryme was, therefore, of noble and valiant stock, with ancestral territories within the Brittonic heartland to the south of the Wall, but he had strong connections with the people to the north, including the marriage of his daughter to the Scottish king Fergus (ibid. 3.4). The Romans had pushed the Scots and Picts back across the Forth-Clyde isthmus during Fergus' reign, during which Fergus was slain and the Britons constructed the turf Wall at Roman instruction; for his part in abetting the Picts and Scots, Gryme was expelled from his territory and went north. With Fergus' death, Gryme's grandson Eugenius ascended the throne, and Gryme was appointed regent because "they knew him to be well fitted for the government, in time of peace as well as in time of war" (ibid.). He would be best-remembered for his exploits in war: for, soon thereafter (Fordun tells us), Gryme:

> gathered reinforcements from all directions, and went, in great strength, to the said wall; and, having first duly ordered his engines, he broke it down to the very ground, while its guards either escaped by flight, or were slain. Of this dyke, or wall, there are evident signs and genuine traces to be seen to this day. It got its name from Gryme, and is called Grymisdyke by the inhabitants. In short, having broken down the wall, they gained possession of the lands they had formerly held, and brought the natives under their sway, as of old. (ibid. 3.4)

The narrative continues with the Roman return and construction of a stone curtain Wall (i.e. Hadrian's Wall) to the south, near the line of the earlier earthen vallum built by Severus (ibid. 2.32), but even this did not hold, as the combined northern forces breached this Wall at several points, and took control of all of northern Britain (ibid. 3.6-7, 3.10).

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[83] According to the Roman sources (e.g. Dio *Hist. Rom.* 77.11–15), Severus died at York in AD 211, as the result of an illness.

The Gryme narrative and "Grymisdyke" name first appears—in known texts—with Fordun. This need not signify that Fordun invented the name, however, as he clearly states that the name was by then already popular. If Broun (2007: 253-59) is correct, the name and overall narrative may have been current—or saw its origins—at least a century earlier, with Fordun drawing on the work of Richard Vairement/"Veremundus." Boece is our only source to explicitly refer to Veremundus, and his narrative provides numerous additional details. According to Boece (*Scot. Hist.* 7.20), "this Graime, as Vairement tells us […] was born of a Scottish father and Danish noblewoman at a time when no small number of Scottish nobles were living in exile there," though Fordun's British origins are noted and Boece suggests that it doesn't really matter either way.

As reported in Chapter Four, Boece (ibid. 7.47) also adds the siege and destruction of Hadrian's Wall to Gryme's exploits, apparently drawing once again on aspects of Vairement's testimony that had been omitted by Fordun. Even if Vairement was a shared source for these two accounts, the Gryme narrative and Grymisdyke name can be pushed back only as early as the thirteenth century. The form of the story as it has been transmitted over the centuries reveals, however, the hallmarks of a particular narrative and named individuals which appear to have been introduced in order to explain an already entrenched place-name for which its true origins had been lost. If this is the case, the Wall was probably already called "Grymisdyke" by the beginning of the later medieval period, and Fordun, Vairement, or an even earlier source had introduced the Gryme narrative to account for its origins. This narrative would remain relevant for some time, and received further addition by Gordon (1726: 58) and Horsley (1732: 171), who pointed out three hills, between Rough Castle and Seabegs, that had featured in local versions of the Gryme legend as marking the place where he broke through the Wall.

Beyond the almost-certainly mythic story of Gryme, three possibilities exist to explain the origin of the name Grymisdyke. One includes a linguistic equivalency between the words "grym" and the Latin "severus," suggesting that the Wall was named after the Roman emperor Septimius Severus, who was at various times credited with its creation (e.g. Blaeu 2006: 80; Boswell 1795: 154). A second

possibility—which has escaped the discussion of antiquaries and more recent archaeologists—is that the name derives from association with the knight Sir John de Graeme, William Wallace's chief assistant, who was the most notable Scottish loss in the 1298 Battle of Falkirk and is buried in the Old Parish churchyard there (Scott 2006: 29–35). While de Graeme's death and burial within the Wall's shadow may be an ironic coincidence, it does predate the earliest-attested reference to the Wall as "Grymisdyke," and must remain a possibility for the name's origins, with stories developing around this figure and his grave; this, however, would preclude the possibility that Fordun drew his Gryme narrative from Vairement, and would require that any new tales that originated with de Graeme had developed well beyond the recent memory of this important battle in the course of only about 60 years.

The third possibility may be preferable, seeing the name as an early medieval introduction that well-fits an Anglo-Saxon practice of attributing ancient monuments to supernatural figures, including the devil and the god Woden/Odin (Maldonado in press). While the connection of place and monument names with the latter supernatural entity is quite unusual this far north, Grim (a byword for Woden/Odin) appears to be associated with a variety of earthworks, hillforts and other sites throughout southern Britain, including the several Grim's Ditches, Grime's Graves, and Wansdyke (Meaney 1966; Semple 1998; Reynolds and Langlands 2006; 2011). Given the eastern portion of the Wall's presence within a landscape that marked the frontier zone between Bernicia and the Picts (see Chapter Seven), and the fact that "Grymisdyke's" survival in modern street names is limited to the area east of Kirkintilloch—but most strongly evident from Falkirk eastward—it may be reasonable to conclude that the name originated in the early medieval period, and in territory under Anglo-Saxon control or cultural and linguistic influence.

8.5 Arthur's O'on, Camelon, and the Hills of Dunipace

North of the Wall, near Falkirk, are three sites with particularly important roles in the region's mythic landscape: the monument known as "Arthur's O'on," the Hills

of Dunipace, and the town of Camelon. Of these, Arthur's O'on has received the most attention and will, therefore, be dealt with in greater detail.

8.5.1 Arthur's O'on[84]

Near the end of the twelfth century Ralph de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, transcribed a tract entitled *De Mirabilibus Britanniae*, "On the Wonders of Britain," describing in variable detail 35 extraordinary natural and man-made features across England, Scotland and Wales (British Library Cotton MS Faustina A.viii, ff. 107–9; Stubbs 1876: I.11–15). Midway through the list that includes barnacles, Cheddar Gorge, Stonehenge, and the hot springs at Bath, a single-sentence entry proclaims:

> Arthur's Oven, having been built in the manner of a round chamber, without a covering, and still never falling by rain, nor snow, nor hail; how much better was it protected.

The monument described here is never geographically located by Diceto, nor does it feature in the alternative and better-known "Wonders of Britain" sometimes appended to manuscript copies of the *Historia Brittonum* and traditionally attributed to Nennius (e.g. British Library Cotton MS Vespasian D.xxi, ff. 1–17; British Library Harleian MS 3859, f. 135). Other documents from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, suggest that the "Oven" was an ancient corbel-domed structure—widely known as "Arthur's O'on"—that stood on the north bank of the River Carron in central Scotland until its tragic destruction in 1742/3. From the twelfth century onward, this monument was a perennial favourite of chroniclers, historians and antiquarians, with a colourful and contentious discursive history (see Rohl 2009).

Detailed descriptions and drawings (Figs. 8.2 and 8.3) were provided in the early eighteenth century (Stukeley 1720; Gordon 1726: 24–32), before the O'on was destroyed by the local landowner, Sir Michael Bruce of Stenhouse, in order to use

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[84] An expanded version of this section has been previously published in *Archaeolog* (Rohl 2012a).

the stones for a nearby mill-dam; within a few years, the mill-dam was washed away, and no traces of the structure have been found since (Steer 1960b).
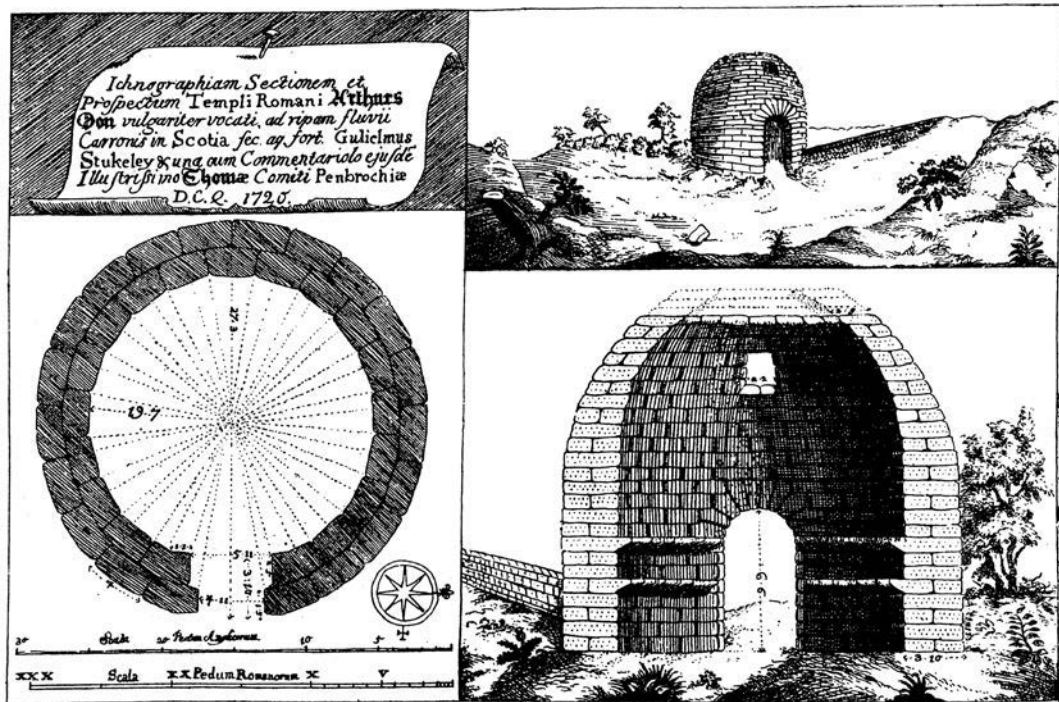
Figure 8.2. Stukeley's (1720) drawings of Arthur's O'on.
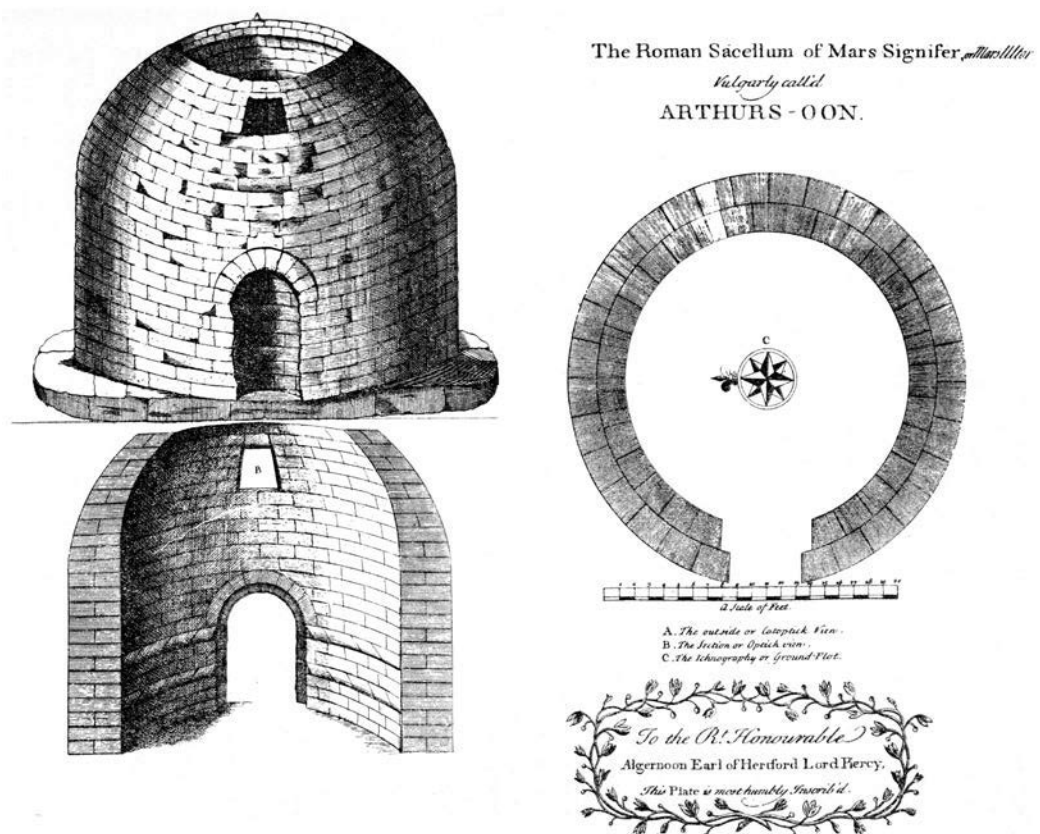
Figure 8.3. Gordon's (1726) drawings of Arthur's O'on.

Throughout its lifetime Arthur's O'on bore many names and was variously assigned to different periods, builders, and purposes. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the allusion to Arthur appears to gain steam only after the c. 1136 completion of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (e.g. British Library Harleian MS 6358, ff. 2–58), which popularized the Arthur myth. It is possible, however, that the monument's Arthurian connection pre-dated Monmouth, as Lambert of Saint-Omer's c. 1120 *Liber Floridus* (Ghent University Library MS 92) appears to describe the O'on under the name "Arthur's Palace" (Dumville 1976; Padel 1994: 6). The first documented use of the name "Arthur's Oven," on the other hand, is undoubtedly in reference to a different monument: in Hermann of Tournai's *De Miraculis Sanctae Marie Laudunensis*, French priests from Laon travel through Cornwall and Devon in 1113, where they are shown both Arthur's Chair and Oven (Lacy et al. 1997: 26; Padel 1994: 5–6), the latter of which was later renamed *furnum regis*, "the king's oven," a well-known prehistoric monument on Dartmoor.

While the events of this story are supposed to have taken place two decades before the completion of Monmouth's work, it is important to realize that Tournai's manuscript was likely completed around 1140, raising the possibility that Monmouth's pseudo-history provided some influence. Mason (2004) supports this view, noting that Diceto "was taken in by […] Monmouth, and in his account of the events of 1189 shows that he regarded the death of Henry II as fulfilling the prophecies of Merlin." Whatever influence Monmouth may have been, however, the name "Arthur's Oven" for the monument at Stenhousemuir appears to have been well-entrenched by the late thirteenth century, when a charter of 1293 grants lands at "Stanhus, which is near furnum Arthuri," to the Cistercian monks of Neubotle Abbey (Chalmers 1887: 245; Innes 1849: no. 219). It is interesting to note that in this charter the "furnum Arthuri" is primarily used as a landmark to clarify the location of "Stanhus" suggesting that the monument was more widely known than the area in which it stood.

Besides these Arthurian names, the O'on has been variously called "Julius' Hoif/Huiff/Hoffe" (i.e. "house" or "hall") (Boece 1527; Camden 1586: 481; Baxter 1719: 226), "Templum Termini" (Buchanan 1582; Clerk 1790d), "Sacellum of Mars

Signifer or Mars Ultor" (Gordon 1726: 30–31), and almost certainly the "Stanhus" or "stone house" that has given its name to the general locality. In addition to these several names, the monument has had various interpretations, ranging from the reasonable to the ridiculous. As has already been mentioned, the early Arthurian names suggest a functional interpretation as an oven or palace of the legendary Arthur. Two competing later interpretations associate the monument with Julius Caesar, as either a type of victory monument or as the hastily abandoned sleeping chamber of Caesar, who outrageously had his men carry the stones on the march and reconstruct the structure as needed so that the general would not need to sleep in a tent (*Chron. Gent. Scot*. 2.16)! In a late twelfth-century Nennian rescension manuscript copy of the *Historia Brittonum* (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 139, f. 169 v), a second-hand marginal gloss appears to describe the O'on as a "round house of smooth/polished stones," and credits its construction to the usurper Carausius; according to this medieval gloss, the River Carron was named for Carausius as a result of his activities in the area.

From the fourteenth century onward, the monument has been almost universally accepted as a Roman structure, though specific interpretations of date and function have ranged from—among several suggestions—a monument of Caesar's military prowess (*Chron. Gent. Scot*. 2.16) to a Vespasianic temple of Claudius and Victory (*Scot. Hist.* 3.14), a temple of the god Terminus (Buchanan 1582), an Agricolan replica of the Pantheon at Rome that may have been a temple of Romulus (Stukeley 1720), a shrine that housed Roman military standards or a mausoleum built under Agricola (Gordon 1726), to the now largely accepted *tropaeum* (i.e. victory monument) associated with the nearby Antonine Wall (Steer 1960b; Breeze 2006a).

Another potentially mythic element was introduced by Boece (*Scot. Hist*. 2.14, 14.21), who introduces a new tale in which the O'on was slated for destruction by the English king Edward I while he was busy destroying all the libraries and monuments of Scotland. Due to the pleading of local people, however, he instructed that the monument should not be entirely destroyed, but merely defaced, with all the statues and Roman inscriptions stricken out and the arms of King Arthur

engraved upon it. It was at this point, according to Boece, that Edward I ordered the monument to be called "Arturi hof." Clearly there are some problems with this account: we have already seen that the monument had taken its name from Arthur before Edward was born (pre-1200 via Diceto, vs. 1239 birth of Edward). Boece's description of Edward's revisionism may reflect a later medieval Scottish response to the Arthurian legend in which English claims to Arthur made this character a threat to Scottish sovereignty (Purdie and Royan 2005a: 5; Wood 2005).

The mythology surrounding Arthur's O'on was of fundamental importance to eighteenth-century antiquarian work in central Scotland. The continuous telling, retelling, and debates over the monument's various stories undoubtedly attracted Stukeley's attention, and caused him to single it out for examination and exposition, even though he had never seen it himself. Stukeley's work was credited as the direct impetus for Gordon's investigations into the ancient remains of Scotland, and both Gordon and Horsley afforded special attention to this monument. Together, they demolished the earlier mythical origins, but without those legendary connections, the O'on is unlikely to have received such concerted attention; the antiquarian investigations were drawn by the myths and legends, with the intent to peel away the fiction and provide a more authentic understanding of the monument's origins and history. Upon its destruction, however, the antiquarian response helped to create a new type of mythology. What Sir John Clerk had previously dismissed as "a very plain piece of work" (Clerk 1790a) was suddenly transformed into "the best and most entire old building in Britain" (Clerk 1790c), the landowner Sir Michael Bruce was branded a "Gothic Knight" (Clerk 1790b), and Stukeley (Fig. 8.4; 1790) resorted to classical mythology to describe the type of punishment he hoped Bruce would face:

> He should have an iron collar put about his neck, like a yoke; at each extremity a stone of Arthur's O'on to be suspended by the lewis in the hole of them; thus accoutred, let him wander on the banks of Styx, perpetually agitated by angry demons with oxgoads; "Sir Michael Bruce," wrote on his back in large letters of burning phosphorus.

*Figure 8.4. "Sir Michael Bruce, Stonekiller," by William Stukeley
(Grose 1780; also republished in Brown 1974).*

Another poignant example of this post-destruction mythologising is an anonymous "dialogue between a traveler and certain stones in the mill-dam of Stanners, &c in the river of Caron," which Brown (1974: 287) has plausibly suggested may have been written by Allan Ramsay:

> *Traveller*: I think I see something venerable in your aspect!
>
> *Stones*: Ah, sir, we who in this neighbourhood composed the most celebrated piece of Roman antiquity in Scotland, are now reduced to the mean and despicable state you see us in!
>
> *Traveller*: What was your condition heretofore?
>
> *Stones*: We who, by the manner of our construction, were by the people denominated Arthur's oven, were erected near seventeen hundred years ago, by that magnanimous and celebrated Roman hero Julius Agricola; a temple sacred to the Romans, for the celebration of the holy mysteries of that great and renowned nation in this part of Britain.

Traveller: How! A temple, sacred to the wise and magnanimous Romans! What impious wretch durst presume to lay profane hands on the edifice?

Stones: The building wherein we were erected had the misfortune to become the property of an ignorant, sordid, and ungenerous man, who, abandoned to covetousness, made us the object to glut his insatiable thirst of lucre; and tho' revered for so many centuries, by the most learned, curious and worthy part of mankind, we at last fell a sacrifice to his boundless avarice.

Traveller: Were you known to foreigners?

Stones: Yes, many having repaired to visit us in our flourishing state have celebrated our praises at the return to their respective countries, by which our memory will be preserved in those parts to future ages, in honour of our great founder, as it has and will be by the curious observations made on us in our late state by the ingenious and learned antiquaries of our own country, though now reduced to the ignoble condition you behold us in!

Traveller: O thou once precious and inestimable monument of antiquity, which stood the test of time, inclemencies of the weather, and danger of the most inveterate enemies of the Scotish nation for so many hundreds of years; one whereof, the most implacable, Edward I. king of England, though he aimed at the destruction and extirpation of the Scotish race, yet, regarding thee as a sacred pile, offered thee not the least indignity. And though at least thou art fallen a prey to a sordid, insatiable, and detestable creature, you will have this consolation, that whilst he shall become the just reproach of, and his memory stink to future ages, thine will be revered by the curious, great and wise, till time shall be no more. (reproduced in Maitland 1757: 214; Brown 1974: 287)

The sentiments of this type of negative reaction to the O'on's destruction continued, reaching a more popular audience through the historical fiction of Sir

Walter Scott. In his first Waverley novel, Scott (1814: 32) draws on the history of the monument's destruction and subsequent reconstruction at Penicuik House (see section 8.6) to describe the fictional house of Tully-Veolan: "In one corner was a tun-bellied pigeon-house, of great size and rotundity, resembling in figure and proportion the curious edifice called Arthur's Oven, which would have turned the brains of all the antiquaries in England, had not the worthy proprietor pulled it down for the sake of mending a neighbouring dam-dyke." The tenor of the antiquarian discourse was also parodied in a fictional dedicatory epistle to *Ivanhoe*:

> Several curiosities have been lately dug up near the wall [i.e. Hadrian's Wall], as well as at the ancient station of Habitancum [i.e. Risingham, Northumberland]. Talking of the later, I suppose you have long since heard the news, that a sulky churlish boor has destroyed the ancient statue, or rather bas-relief, popularly called Robin of Redesdale. It seems Robin's fame attracted more visitants than was consistent with the growth of the heather, upon a moor worth a shilling an acre. Reverend as you write yourself, be revengeful for once, and pray with me that he may be visited with such a fit of the stone, as if he had all the fragments of poor Robin in that region of his viscera where the disease holds its seat. Tell this not in Gath, lest the Scots rejoice that they have at length found a parallel instance among their neighbours, to that barbarous deed which demolished Arthur's Oven. But there is no end to lamentation, when we betake ourselves to such subjects. (Scott 1819: 13)

Arthur's O'on, then, provides a vivid example of how monuments—and the memory thereof—can inspire a wide variety of myths and legends, both during their lifetime and after they are gone.

8.5.2 Hills of Dunipace

The Hills of Dunipace have long been known by the name "the hills of peace," or *Duni Pacis*, an uncertain etymology that combines the Gaelic "Dún" (man-made hill

or mound, often fortified) with the Latin "Pax" (peace) in plural form. While the name is almost certainly much earlier, due to its early form, the given etymology was first suggested by George Buchanan (1582: 1.19), who notes:

> there is but one memorable river which divides [the] country, called Carron-Water, near which there are some ancient monuments. On the left hand of Carron there are two small hills or barrows, made of earth by Man's hand (as the thing it self shews) commonly called Duni pacis, i.e., Emblems of Reconciliation […] as if a peace had been made there of which these hills are a monument.

This idea appears to have quickly taken root and most later authors adopted this view uncritically. For example, Stukeley (1720: 7) remarks that the name is "in Memory, 'tis likely, of some Treaty concluded here, perhaps after a Battel, where the Slain on both Sides were buried in these Mounts." Foulis (1792) adopted part of Stukeley's view, suggesting that they were burial mounds, but had not been constructed to commemorate a peace treaty but, rather, those who died in a very bloody battle; Foulis offers an alternative etymology, as "Dun-abas" (the "hills of death"), noting that "B, in the Gaelic, is pronounced so like P, that there is little if any difference in the sound" (p. 122).

Figure 8.5. Photograph of the smaller Hill of Dunipace.
Copyright Matthew Eve, via RCAHMS.

Gordon (1726: 23–24) and Horsley (1732: 175), on the other hand, were not convinced that both hills were artificial, and the former suggested that they had been used for more military purposes, as Agricolan "exploratory Castles," while Horsley added that, "if I believed these to be *Roman*, I should rather incline to Mr. *Gordon*'s opinion." Throughout the nineteenth century, however, Buchanan's basic hypothesis was generally accepted and passed along as "the common account" (Nimmo 1880: 46). While both Gordon and Horsley had passed along information that at least one of the mounds was a natural formation, it was only in the mid-twentieth century that geologists identified them as natural features (RCAHMS 1963: 446, no. 575). Despite this identification, the smaller of the two mounds (Fig. 8.5) closely resembles a medieval motte, and has been scheduled as such (Historic Scotland 1974), even though definitive evidence is lacking.

Allusions to a great and bloody battle at the Hills of Dunipace may derive from Boece, who never mentions the hills, but nevertheless places a major martial event between the Picts and Romans in the general vicinity:

> Their armies clashed in a place hard by the river Carron, and they fought with intense hatred more than with physical strength, omitting nothing you could say pertained to atrocity. This was a bloody battle from its outset, and such a great number of men were consumed and thrown in the Carron that for a long stretch the river seemed to flow red, with an admixture of dead bodies. In the end the slaughter was such that our ancestors had scarce seen its like. Thus far the victory hung in the balance, when a sudden downpour of rain and hail threw both battle-lines into such confusion that the soldiers could barely identify the men on their own side, and the two sides separated, more exhausted than satiated by the fighting. This battle was so deadly to the men engaged in it that for several years there was a cessation of arms. (*Scot. Hist.* 7.18)

Here may lie the origins of Buchanan's peace treaty, and Stukeley's and Foulis' battle. Whether or not such an event ever occurred in any period, the legend would

become fixed upon the region, and Boece's vivid description of the Carron's waters flowing with blood would later be echoed in the *Poems of Ossian*.

Another legend in the immediate vicinity of the Hills of Dunipace regards the famed Scottish hero William Wallace:

> If we are to believe the legends, then the great man found his vocation as a freedom fighter in the old chapel not far from the present Hills of Dunipace while still a young man. His uncle, who was the priest there, is said to have taught him to recite the latin verse *Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum; nunquam servili sub nexu vivito, fili* which roughly translates as "I tell you truly, freedom is best of all things. Never live in slavery, my son." (Scott 2006: 29)

When these traditions are considered together, it is ironic that one of Scotland's greatest warriors was tutored in the shadows of the "hills of peace;" if, however, Foulis' suggested "hills of death" is accepted, the location would be quite fitting with Wallace's own life and legends.

8.5.3 Camelon

Less can be said about Camelon's historic role in the region's mythic landscape. On the surface, there is a striking resemblance to "Camelot," and it may be possible that this derives from a regional variation of the Arthur myth, encompassing Arthur's O'on. If so, there are no clear literary attestations of such an Arthurian connection, though Stukeley (1720: 7) notes that "the Country People say it was called *Camelon* or *Camelot*, [and] that it was the *Metropolis* of the *Picts*." The name itself is first mentioned by Boece (1527), leading Christison to claim that it was "invented by that clever romancer" (Christison et al. 1901: 335). The site is most deeply mythologised in Boece's history, wherein he places numerous Roman period activities here. This is, however, less the result of an invented narrative as it is the mistaken identity of Camelon with the *Camulodunum* (modern Colchester) mentioned in a number of classical sources, including the story of Boudica's rebellion (Hingley and Unwin 2005: 116–17).

While only two Scots Arthurian romances are known—*Golagros and Gawane* (Purdie 2005) and the partial *Lancelot of the Laik* (Archibald 2005)—Purdie and Royan (2005a: 1) note that this limited survival "gives an entirely false impression of how important Arthurian legend was for Scotland and the Scots," and that while "romances are few, the engagements of medieval and early modern Scottish historiographers with Arthur are many and varied." Their edited volume (Purdie and Royan 2005b) provides a number of perspectives on the Arthurian legend's role in medieval and early modern Scottish society; unfortunately, none of the places or stories discussed in this chapter are mentioned. As Hingley (2012: 181) notes for folklore and mythic tales along Hadrian's Wall, many of the legendary connections or interpretations have been lost, and we are left with only a partial picture. This is likely to be the case with the Antonine Wall and its associated remains, and while written accounts of Camelon's role in the Arthurian legend are scarce, the extensive visible remains of multiple Roman camps, forts, and native settlements must have made a significant impression on later inhabitants who integrated these remains within a developing regional mythology.

8.6 Ossian: Reception, Controversy and Rehabilitation?

By the time the *Poems of Ossian* appeared in the 1760s, the region had already been deeply mythologised, but belief in this mythology was rapidly eroding due to increasing awareness of rediscovered classical sources and a growing body of antiquarian research. While the majority of the poems take place in the highlands or in activities across the Irish Sea, "Comála" and "The War of Caros" are geographically distinct, taking place within the heartland of recent antiquarian activities and, conveniently, corroborate a number of antiquarian theories and details from sources that had been re-introduced to British historical discourse since the late sixteenth century. In the aftermath of the then-recent Acts of Union and subsequent Jacobite Risings, tensions remained high, and the poems' portrayal of Caledonian freedom and a creative and advanced culture that was contemporary and comparable to that of Rome was particularly attractive to Scottish audiences, some of whom harboured fears of losing their national identity. These poems, thus, effectively merged the region's rich existing mythic landscape with newer

information, creating a believable and particularly resonant new mythology of the past.

The poems were purportedly developed in their original by the third century bard Ossian, transmitted orally in the Gaelic tongue and only presented to the wider public through Macpherson's compilation and translation into English. Their original publication sparked a flurry of excitement throughout Britain, Europe, and the American colonies, with particular adherents in such figures as Napoleon Bonaparte, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Thomas Jefferson (Mulholland 2009: 393). In Scotland, Sir James Clerk, son of the late antiquarian and antiquary patron Sir John Clerk, named one room of his new Penicuik House the "Hall of Ossian" and commissioned the artist Alexander Runciman to decorate the ceiling with scenes from the poems (Fig. 8.6); interestingly, around the same time, Clerk also had a full-scale replica of Arthur's O'on constructed atop the home's stable block, acting as a dovecot (Fig. 8.7).

Figure 8.6. Sketch of paintings for the "Hall of Ossian" ceiling at Penicuik House.

Figure 8.7. Replica of Arthur's O'on, Penicuik House.

For a short time the bard was revered as a "Celtic Homer" until serious doubts were raised about their authenticity near the end of the eighteenth century, with Samuel Johnson (1775) serving as Macpherson's most vigorous early critic. The criticism was so intense, primarily focusing on Macpherson's failure to produce

manuscript copies of his sources, that the Highland Society of Scotland ordered an investigation, the report of which (Highland Society of Scotland 1805) did little to settle the controversy. Perhaps the most vehement and damaging response of the early nineteenth century was from Malcolm Laing, who published his own edition of Ossian (Laing 1805), complete with notes and commentary designed to debunk the poems' historical authenticity.

Today, due largely to the demolition of Macpherson's reputation, the poems are commonly labelled a fraud and, therefore, little read. More recently, however, some scholars have begun a "rehabilitation" of Ossian, recognising both the peculiarities of Gaelic oral tradition and Macpherson's own creative contributions. In this context, despite relatively common negative associations cemented through a century of widespread rejection based on apparent lack of authenticity, Fiona Stafford (2003) notes that while the works "may not be a direct translation of Gaelic poems that had survived intact since the third century, […] neither [are they] 'fake[s]' or 'forger[ies]'" (p. xv), and in a broader sense, "with the continuing development of political criticism, and in particular the great interest in colonialism, cultural imperialism and post-colonial theory, *The Poems of Ossian* look less and less like the quaint hoax of a few decades ago" (p. xvii). The debate, however, remains ongoing, with important recent publications (Curley 2009; Gaskill 1986; 2003; 2004; Moore 2004) covering a variety of arguments from several perspectives.

The jury may still be out on Ossian and Macpherson's work yet, while some scholars have begun to peel away the probably overly negative and hyper-critical deposits that have calcified around them, these new more open views have yet to gain much traction outside a rather limited subset of revisionist academics. Importantly, attempts to "rehabilitate" Ossian do not include claims that they derive from authentic third-century originals, but centre on the range of genuine Gaelic oral traditions—themselves within the milieu of myth and folklore—that Macpherson appears to have drawn on. It is clear that the version of these traditions presented by Macpherson in the 1760s bear the hallmarks of his own creative contributions and, in this regard, the poems "Comála" and "The War of Caros" may provide the most striking evidence of Macpherson's additions: as demonstrated in

Chapters Three and Four, the story of Carausius' activities along the Wall had only been re-introduced to British discourse by Camden (1610: 2.28), and the suggestion that Arthur's O'on may have been a tomb had only recently been suggested by Gordon (1726: 32); Macpherson's detailed annotations confirm that he was familiar with these accounts, and it is likely that these details were added to the poems in order to increase the relevance of the wider ensemble. While the majority of the other poems were subject to claims that they had been pilfered from Irish legends (O'Halloran 1989), those situated on the River Carron were unique to Macpherson's collection, and he may have used these—and their seeming corroboration by recent historical and antiquarian research—to underpin his claims to authenticity.

8.7 Continued Resonances of a Mythic Landscape

The multi-layered mythic landscape described above is not merely a quaint thing of the past, and certainly did not die with the widespread rejection of the Ossianic poems, but continues to resonate within a number of alternative approaches to the past. While seldom addressed by establishment scholars, the elements of this mythic landscape are routinely picked-up by popular authors and local historians. Hale (1989: 21–22), for example, places King Arthur's final battle at Camelon, suggests that Arthur's O'on was constructed "on the battlefield of Camelon" soon after Arthur's death, and suggests that it was a monument that was well-known by St. Mungo.[85] Hennig (2008: 202) is a true believer in the Arthur, Merlin and Grail legends, who describes a recent trip to locate the site of Arthur's O'on, which she is convinced was one of several similar structures built by Merlin and Arthur as special "Grail temples," which were also located at Whithorn and in the graveyard of the Parish Church at Arthuret. McKerracher (1989) was also featured in national and international media outlets for his theory that Arthur was from Scotland and that Arthur's O'on was the authentic "tabula rotunda" of Arthurian legend: not a

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[85] Hale (1989: 22) also makes numerous other errors, suggesting that "Scotland's leading archaeologist, Sir John Clark, had long been interested in the O'on and had measured and sketched it from every angle," and subsequently constructed the replica at Penicuik house. In reality, there is no evidence that Clerk ever documented the monument in detail, and he was dead for five years before his son had the replica built using Gordon's description and drawings as a guide.

"round table"—which McKerracher viewed as a mistranslation—but a "tabled rotunda—and there is only one building in Britain meriting that description—what is known as Arthur's O'on" (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/642973.stm).

8.8 Discussion

This chapter has provided a detailed examination of the Antonine Wall's role in a rich and varied mythic landscape, which has origins in the early medieval period, saw a number of new additions throughout the later medieval and post-medieval periods, and—despite current archaeological attempts to diminish this aspect of the Wall's story by denying them a platform—remains relevant to a number of individuals who are, arguably, just as concerned with the past as the archaeologists who study the Wall.

For my purposes, it matters little whether the poems of Ossian or the mentioned accounts derive from authentic Roman Iron Age originals or merely represent later creations. Granted, the existence of authentic native Caledonian accounts would be particularly important and would almost certainly transform our understanding of northern Britain in this period, for which we are largely held hostage to Roman voices composed at some distance both geographically and temporally. My concern, however, is not with the use of archaeology as a means to reveal a nominally "objective" and purportedly "authentic" past. Rather, I take the view put forward by Shanks (1992) that archaeology is not really about the past at all, but primarily a practice rooted *in the present* in which we do and think things with and about *what remains of the past*. This suggests that our field is fundamentally immanent in nature: living, remaining and operating within our own experience, discourse, practice and interpretations of the present: "archaeologists don't discover the past, they work on what remains […] this means that we are all archaeologists now […]" (Shanks 2012a: 21–42). In this context, while I believe it would remain inappropriate to label Macpherson, early antiquaries, medieval chroniclers and those who voiced "the fabulous tales of the common people" (Camden 1610) "archaeologists," they nevertheless practised a type of proto-archaeology through their engagements with, and attempts to interpret, the past remains known to them.

It has long been recognised that it is unfair to judge former scholars by standards of practice and newer evidence from which they are far removed; a sentiment reflected in Keppie's (2012: 143) recent study of the Antonine Wall's historiography. Thus, while it is scholastically acceptable—even desirable—to demolish previous theories and accepted knowledge due to the identification of faulty analysis or the availability of new evidence, we must be cautious of the temptation to write them off as absurdities. This is particularly important for ideas that have had long-held or widespread currency: while the relative importance of a recent and quickly negated theory may be limited, the entrenchment of a folkloric or mythic tradition implies a greater depth in either development over time or in psychological appeal to adherents.

Sitting where we are, as a community of twenty-first century scholars within fields that often place the highest value on empirical scientific methods, many previous perspectives of the past appear laughable, grossly inaccurate and, therefore, unworthy of our consideration. Quite often these accounts receive little or no notice in the transactions of contemporary scholarship, presumably for widely accepted reasons that require no explanation. But surely, if we aim to consider and understand the significance of the past—whether it be a past represented by documentary or material evidence—we must widen our gaze to include the whole range of significant accounts. Yes, it is sometimes valuable to cut straight through the often-confusing mass of accumulated knowledge, ideas and tales surrounding an archaeological site to look at the physical material record in order to come to grips with *what actually happened* at a particular site. Yet, this approach cannot tell us what a particular site *means*. Just as we carefully excavate our sites, slowly sifting through all the material and valuing each sherd, small find, cut and fill, a fuller understanding of a site's meaning—and here I emphasise the long-term, and not just limited to a particular period—requires that we do the same with the non-physical evidence available to us. This includes personal experience, local recollection, various histories, myths and legends, regardless of authenticity judgments.

We do not really know—and probably never will—what original function Arthur's O'on served. It was almost certainly Roman and possibly a mausoleum, temple or some sort of *tropaeum* (victory monument), but even these are conjectures. As to the Hills of Dunipace, they appear to be natural formations caused by substantially higher sea levels in the distant past, though it is possible that one featured a later medieval motte. The Antonine Wall is well known from classical texts and corroborating archaeological evidence to have been built on the orders of Antoninus Pius and probably operated as a manned frontier for only about twenty years. Regardless of these original functions, what is largely missing from our contemporary discourse is the continuing function and significance of these sites after they ceased to serve their original purposes. Chapter Seven highlighted the available archaeological evidence for the Antonine Wall's post-Roman centuries, which can go some way toward answering these questions. But archaeological evidence alone can only provide a partial picture. The stories presented in this chapter tell a different side, but it would be inappropriate to accept them as representing any form of authentic account of the past, particularly of the Roman past. Lack of authenticity does not, however, negate their genuine value. In this case, the Wall, Arthur's O'on, the forts of Camelon, and the Hills of Dunipace are part of a rich and powerful mythical landscape that has been formed by centuries of genuine engagement with the remains of the past. The remains themselves have played active roles in the production of this landscape through their physical presence and evocative inspiration, but in some sense they are also products of that mythic landscape. We, too, through our personal engagement and presence within the landscape, also play the dual role of producer and product in this process.

Chapter Nine:
Discussion and Conclusions

> Unlike a person, the Wall has never died, but it has evolved, aged, been deconstructed and rejuvenated through writings, images, and in the reconstruction of its physical form. The Wall has provided, and provides, a source of inspiration […] precisely because it helps to project important ideas that draw the past into an intimate engagement with the present. (Hingley 2012: 9, on Hadrian's Wall)

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has focused on the Antonine Wall, an UNESCO World Heritage Site and one-time frontier of the Roman Empire, with a primary aim to demonstrate that the Wall is more than a Roman monument. To accomplish this, an "archaeology of place" approach was developed, reframing the Wall as a *place* rather than a *monument* or *artefact*. This draws on developments across multiple disciplines, as well as the pre-disciplinary chorographic tradition, to define place as "a meaningful location" that exists only in the present, but that is socially produced through activities, experiences, and memories that transform previous conceptions and knowledge of the past into new places in the present. This reframing challenges official presentations of the Antonine Wall's present-day significance, which are primarily focused on the Wall's one-time functional role as a military frontier of the Roman Empire. This conclusion highlights the key contributions that have been provided in the thesis through a focus on several key questions. These provide a consideration of the benefits offered by the theoretical framework and methods employed, a discussion of key insights and benefits offered by the critical genealogy and assessment of current research themes offered in Part 2, an assessment of the significance and potential of often overlooked evidence for the Wall's post-Roman centuries covered in Chapters Seven and Eight, and a broader discussion of how these various strands can be brought together to provide new understandings and a more vibrant engagement with the Antonine Wall as a meaningful location in the present.

9.2 The Archaeology of Place

The key contribution offered by this thesis is the reframing of the Antonine Wall as a *place*, discussed most fully in Part 1 (specifically, Chapter Two). This required substantial engagement with theoretical developments in humanistic geography and philosophy, established archaeological approaches to sites, landscapes and place, as well as the merging of ideas drawn from these areas with those of chorography and Foucault's genealogy. While the theoretical framework shares significant features—and is broadly compatible—with emerging "archaeologies of place," the precise formulation adopted here is unique. This has not attempted to reconstruct the Wall as it existed in the past, nor as it may have been subjectively experienced by past peoples, but has drawn on the Wall's long-term material record and historiography to explore the ways in which it has been physically and ideologically produced, re-produced, and transformed from the time of its original construction to create a meaningful location in the present. This has explicitly challenged what I view as a too-narrow *monument* or *artefact* approach, in which the Wall is conceptually separated from the present and more recent pasts by a careful circumscription of typology and chronology that has ideologically reduced its past and present significance to the approximately twenty year period (c. AD 140–60) in which it was constructed and in use as a Roman military frontier.

As discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.2.1), places exist at different scales and are frequently contested. Some individuals will certainly contest my conception of the Antonine Wall as a unified "place," preferring to see it as a collection of individual "places" or sites connected only by a linear feature; I partially agree, accepting that the Wall is composed of multiple nested "places," but also argue that these collectively form a coherent "meaningful location" through shared physical (i.e. Rampart, Ditch, etc.) and conceptual threads. My inclusion of non-Roman features into a new definition of "the Antonine Wall" may be even more contested; importantly, I include these features from a present-day perspective, recognising that the Wall as it exists today is the product of Roman and non-Roman activities and ideas. While it is possible—perhaps even fruitful—to consider "the Antonine Wall" and "Grymisdyke" as completely separate conceptual "places," their physical

and genealogical relationships provide sufficient grounds to merge their respective significances in the present.

The key question to be considered in this conclusion, then, is: what are the benefits of a *place*-centred approach in contrast to the current *monument/artefact* tradition? The full answer will emerge throughout the remainder of this chapter, but a few initial points can be made. First, reframing the Wall as a place—as defined in this thesis—opens the lines of inquiry and possible interpretations beyond the limitations imposed by established chronological and typological parameters; importantly, this does not deny the authenticated details of the Wall's Antonine origins and original frontier function, nor the convincing evidence for its date of abandonment by the Roman military, but it does serve to expand the Wall's definition by redefining it from a present-day perspective.

Consequently, the Wall is *not* a Roman military frontier but, rather, a meaningful location in the present for which its *former* Roman frontier status is merely an important—and possibly still the foremost—part of its current significance. Other qualities, experiences, activities, and memories may also contribute to this expanded definition, opening new lines of research and new ways of conceptualising the Wall as a significant location. This provides opportunities to explore the Wall in terms of contemporary experiences that may or may not draw on the memory of its Roman past, and also allows for the emergence of alternative/composite significances based on non-Roman activities and stories that have been—or could be—told about the Wall. Importantly, these broader possibilities are already present and available, but the imposition of a narrow definition has left them suppressed or relegated to the sidelines. By adopting a more open place-in-the-present definition, we can develop a broader understanding of the Wall's potential contemporary significance by exploring its historiographic genealogy and the often-overlooked evidence for activities and ideas from its post-Roman centuries.

9.3 Genealogy

Part 2 explored the Antonine Wall's story as an object of discourse, providing a critical genealogy (Chapters Three to Five)—drawn from written accounts and

depictions from the classical period until the present—that provides crucial context for an in-depth assessment of current themes in Antonine Wall research (Chapter Six). Adopting a genealogical approach has allowed for consideration of the following key questions:

> What does a broader look at the Antonine Wall's historiography/genealogy tell us about its long-term significance, and what are the implications of reintroducing interpretive elements that have been effectively written out of its traditional biography?

> How was the Wall's significance discursively reduced to the Frontier>Roman>Military typology and Roman>AD 140–60 chronology, and how has this affected public interest, the Wall's social value, and input by researchers interested in alternative themes and periods?

As there is substantial overlap here, rather than deal with these questions separately, I will consider them through a more general discussion of what has emerged from the genealogy provided in Part 2.

The genealogical study of the Wall's historiography reveals that its significance was recognised from the earliest years of surviving records in Britain, though the true details of its Roman history had been forgotten or were subverted by the late-fifth or sixth century. Gildas and Bede both recognised the Antonine Wall's turf superstructure, but they mis-dated it to the waning years of the Roman occupation of Britain and mis-attributed it to native construction. While they both recognised the stone curtain of Hadrian's Wall as a Roman product, the Antonine Wall's turf nature may have been at odds with early medieval concepts of Roman construction methods, in which stone masonry was considered the standard Roman technique, and almost exclusively reserved in early medieval Britain for the construction of churches.

While earlier classical sources provided details for the Roman period, these remained largely unknown to writers in Britain until the Renaissance, with Bede

only having access to classical sources describing a Wall built—or re-built—by Septimius Severus. Thus, while historical treatments provided in the past hundred years or so typically present known accounts in chronological order, this provides a deceptively linear impression that unfairly casts early authors in a negative light. The medieval authors' failure to recognise the Roman Walls' true builders and chronologies was not the result of poor scholarship, but the fact that this knowledge was not reintroduced to Britain until the sixteenth century. In the absence of available Roman testimony, they were forced to rely on the presence of the physical remains, oral traditions, and their own creativity to craft reasonably coherent accounts that made sense of the ruins within their own contemporary contexts.

While earlier sources may have existed, the first surviving Scottish account was provided by John of Fordun, who reports the first hint of local knowledge in the form of the Wall's medieval name, "Grymisdyke," and also adds an important mythic element through the character Gryme. Recent historiographic analysis now suggests that this story may have been at least a century older, with Fordun drawing on now-lost works by Richard Vairement/"Veremundus." This possible source would later embroil Hector Boece's work in a long-standing controversy in which he was accused of inventing a fabulous history and faking sources in order to bolster his claims.

If, however, Veremundus was an actual source, we not only need to reconsider Boece's and Fordun's respective legacies, but must consider the possibilities that further sources have been lost or await rediscovery. An important implication is that some of the ideas that currently appear to have been introduced in the fourteenth or sixteenth centuries may have even earlier origins. Long-standing—and primarily English—doubts about the supposed destruction of Scottish monuments, libraries and historical documents by Edward I may need to be reconsidered. Further, despite the fact that Gildas' basic narrative was preserved, continued to be well-known, and received new additions as late as the early eighteenth century, it appears to have primarily impacted Britain's literate elite— particularly those who could read Latin. As the name "Grymisdyke" and a number of myths, legends and alternative tales testify, completely different accounts may

have been developed by the local population, and the written tradition only became more widely known through vernacular translations of Boece's and Buchanan's histories in the late sixteenth century.

General knowledge of the Wall's ruins was certainly instrumental in the creation of both the written accounts and oral traditions, but the recognition that the physical remains may offer their own voices to tell the Wall's story first appeared with George Buchanan's hints about the potential of inscriptions. This was more fully developed through Timothy Pont's surveys and in William Camden's chorographic *Britannia*, foundational works of the Antonine Wall's antiquarian period. We remain uncertain about how many people investigated the Wall during the seventeenth century, but owe a particular debt to Sir Robert Sibbald for his preservation of several important accounts in his early synthesis. Sibbald's own contributions, however, provide a valuable example of how easily contributions may be forgotten; though Sibbald's work contributed essential knowledge to the better-known surveys of Alexander Gordon and John Horsley—with Gordon carrying a copy during his own journeys along the Wall—he has rarely been considered in recent treatments. In fact, both Sibbald and Gordon are entirely absent from Breeze's (2006a) recent synthesis, though Horsley is mentioned (pp. 103, 173) and General William Roy is presented as "the most important" early contributor (p. 24).

As argued in Chapter Four, while Roy's maps provide an invaluable detailed record of the state of the Wall in the mid-eighteenth century, neither Horsley nor Roy offered much more information than what was presented by Gordon. The key difference between these two and other antiquaries who published accounts of the Wall (including Sibbald, Stukeley, Gordon, and Maitland) is that Horsley and Roy provide a distinctly military focus. As demonstrated in Chapters Five and Six, a focus on the Roman military has become *the* dominant theme in the Wall's archaeological era, marking a stark contrast to earlier approaches in which most authors did not even recognise the Antonine Wall as a Roman monument (though almost all assigned it to the Roman period).

While Sibbald was the first Antonine Wall scholar to use the term "archaeology," systematic archaeological excavation only began in the 1890s, around the same time that similar work was underway on Hadrian's Wall and the German *Limes*. The three frontiers would remain closely connected throughout the twentieth century, and would eventually be recognised together as the three current parts of the "Frontiers of the Roman Empire" UNESCO World Heritage Site. There is considerable overlap between research agendas and themes, and this is particularly true between the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall. As the forthcoming *Antonine Wall Research Framework* is being developed, it has drawn upon the topics and themes covered in the recent *Hadrian's Wall Research Framework* (Symonds and Mason 2009). These include topics that are designed to move research beyond the now-traditional Roman military emphasis, but as with Hadrian's Wall, too little research has been completed on the relationship between the frontier, its military garrison, civilian settlements, and the wider native landscape.

In fact, significantly more research has been done in this area for Hadrian's Wall, and Antonine Wall research needs to catch up. It is particularly important that we begin to investigate the later prehistoric/Iron Age sites that have been identified within the Antonine Wall corridor. Fraser Hunter (2001; 2007a; 2010) has offered particularly valuable insights into the continuing impact of Rome within Scotland's wider Late Roman Iron Age but, due to the fact that Iron Age sites within the Antonine Wall corridor have not been excavated, this has largely skipped-over those sites that lie closest to the Wall. Our understanding of the Wall as a frontier of the Roman Empire will surely benefit from an expanded agenda that takes this broader landscape into account.

While the genealogy provided in this thesis has shown that the currently dominant Roman military frontier perspective has developed over a long period, this development has been based on a selective engagement with previous approaches and accounts (see the contrast between the Wall's genealogy in Chapters Three to Five and current research themes discussed in Chapter Six). This military focused perspective has afforded particularly high status to those

archaeologists and antiquaries who emphasise Roman military concerns. But this genealogical investigation has also shown that a number of accounts do not fit into this agenda. In fact, most early accounts developed in Britain before the late sixteenth century do not even credit the Wall to the Romans but, rather, place it within a context of raiding and warfare between the various peoples of north Britain.

Other stories are also common, though they have been set aside in the last two hundred years or so because they do not fit into current interpretations of the Wall's "authentic past." Few people now know the full details of Fordun's and Boece's Gryme narrative, but as Broun (2007) forcefully argues, this narrative has played a crucial role in the historical development of Scottish ideas of sovereignty and independence. Even less-known is the account by John Mair, Boece's contemporary, who relates a story of alternative origins by the pseudo-historical British king Bilenus, and also suggests that the Wall continued to function as a frontier marker into the early medieval period. Though these and other stories may be considered irrelevant to current understandings of the Wall, they are valuable for demonstrating the plurality of ideas that have been held about the Wall in the past, and they help to illustrate the fact that current knowledge and accepted interpretations have not merely developed through an accumulation of ever-more-accurate information, but have been curated through processes of selection and rejection.

This reduction of the Antonine Wall's current significance to the narrow parameters of a Roman military frontier typology and c. AD 140–60 chronology has helped to focus scholarly attention on the fine details of its original construction and operational period, but it has also limited the Wall's broader appeal to wider academic and public audiences. Despite centuries of investigation and writing about the Wall, it remains little known by the local population and even the global community of Roman archaeologists. As research questions and dominant themes have become more focused and increasingly specialised, the small community of Antonine Wall scholars is largely talking to itself or—in a more limited way—to

practitioners of the notably insular field of Roman army/frontier studies (James 2002).

Not everyone is interested in the Roman past, however, and recent market research commissioned by Historic Scotland reveals that some respondents perceive the Wall as "dull, stuffy or restrictive" (*Antonine Wall Research Framework*, forthcoming), with limited public awareness and a disappointing experience for many visitors (Historic Scotland 2012: 8). Among a number of physical barriers to access, intellectual and cultural barriers are also noted, including the fact that "the Antonine Wall tends to attract those interested in history, but the nature of the Wall itself may well be a barrier to those without an interest in history" (ibid. p. 9). To this I would add that reducing the Wall's historical significance to just its two-decades-long functional period, and to a Roman military identity, also serves to limit its attraction to those who do have historical interests, as interest in the past can be varied, and not all historically minded individuals appreciate all periods equally. Nigel Mills (2013: 1–4) has recently explored the idea that the Romans are seen as boring as a result of the ways that they are portrayed in school and in wider public presentation across Britain; taking a broader view of Roman landscapes and their continued—and changing—significance into other periods may help to address this problem.

The paucity of considerations of the Wall by non-Roman archaeologists is also remarkable. While a significant number of post-Roman structures and finds have been discovered along the line of the Wall and within its general vicinity, these have largely been chance discoveries made in the course of pursuing Roman-centred research questions; none have received thorough investigation, and non-Roman period specialists have not really engaged with this material. From the perspective of Roman archaeology, this material may be considered "irrelevant" as it falls outside of the Wall's definition as a Roman military monument of the mid-second century. The lack of further examination may also be attributed to lack of interest by Roman period specialists, as well as lack of expertise in the areas of non-Roman structures and artefacts. Although much of the recently acquired non-Roman material has been mentioned in publications, it has played an incidental

role, relegated to appendices or sandwiched between more substantial discussions that underscore the Wall's accepted essentially "Roman" character and significance. This means of publication, as well as the institutionalisation of period specialisations in which reading is often focused on period- or theme-specific papers, may be an important factor in the lack of engagement by non-Roman archaeologists.

But Antonine Wall scholars surely have some responsibility to make this material more widely known, and to encourage qualified specialists to examine and assess these finds from within their own period contexts. Unfortunately, this has seldom happened, and the Wall's currently narrow parameters perpetuate a closed field of inquiry. This field has been established almost exclusively on the lines of traditional Roman army/frontier studies, with an exceptionally high expectation of detailed knowledge about the frontier garrisons, structural anatomy, and chronological sequences of both the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall. While Simon James (2002) has provided an internal critique of this insularity, the field continues to operate on a closed-door policy, with limited opportunities for new voices to be heard.

Organisational emails for the UK-based Roman Northern Frontiers Seminar (RNFS), for example, have emphasised that "any person invited to the RNFS must be involved actively in research on the northern frontiers: we do not take passengers!" In practice, scholars whose central research focus is not the northern frontiers have been removed from the seminar's mailing list (Rob Witcher, pers. comm.). This type of approach—perhaps appropriately, or ironically, depending on your perspective—adopts many ideas about the function of Roman frontiers by erecting substantial barriers to entry for emerging scholars and those whose interests lie outside of the thematic concerns of Roman army/frontier studies. With this kind of gate keeping in place, it is hardly surprising that non-Roman specialists have carried out so little work, or that public perception sees the Wall as "dull," "stuffy," and "restrictive."

9.4 Grymisdyke

Part 3 followed on from the critical genealogy and assessment of current themes in Antonine Wall research to consider the possibilities for re-telling the Wall's story by re-integrating aspects of its post-Roman centuries with the details of its Roman past. Chapters Seven and Eight focused on details that are generally absent from current Antonine Wall research (though sometimes present in pre-twentieth-century accounts), highlighting key archaeological evidence and providing a detailed exploration of the Wall's role in the development of a rich mythic landscape in the region. Adopting the Wall's medieval name, "Grymisdyke," to refer to the activities and ideas that arose between the Roman withdrawal (c. AD 160) and the beginning of systematic archaeological exploration (1890s), these chapters provide an examination of valuable information that relate to the Wall's post-Roman centuries. Key questions arise from this examination:

> What can non-Roman evidence from within the Antonine Wall corridor tell us about the Wall's broader significance in the post-Roman periods, and how might this evidence be utilised to fill gaps in our understanding of central Scotland from the immediately post-Roman years until the Industrial Revolution?

> How has the Wall's materiality—and that of associated remains and natural features—figured in the development of local knowledge and community identity through traditions of folklore, myth and legend, and what are the broader implications of repressing these stories in current presentations?

Again, rather than deal with these questions separately, I will now consider them from within a broader discussion of what has emerged from Chapters Seven and Eight.

Chapter Seven sought to bring together the available evidence for the Antonine Wall's post-Roman periods, from place-names to archaeological material

dated from the Late Roman Iron Age to the Industrial Revolution. While the evidence for each period is limited, I have demonstrated that it is more substantial than is typically assumed. The number of known sites and finds is almost certainly an under-representation caused by a long-standing Roman-centred research bias in the region, with a high number of potentially significant sites currently lacking chronological and/or functional interpretation. The limitations for understanding the Wall in these post-Roman periods are, consequently, less the products of insufficient evidence as they are the result of an under-exploration of the region's non-Roman sites and material. While we must acknowledge that the activities of some periods may be harder to see due to poorer preservation of less persistent building materials and a probable lower population and settlement density, a critical step for future research will be the recruitment of period specialists and a sustained campaign of desktop assessment, field survey, and targeted excavation of non-Roman sites in the Antonine Wall corridor.

Given the heavy emphasis placed on the Antonine Wall's "function" or "purpose" in recent Roman-centred research, it is perplexing that we know so little about its broader Iron Age landscape. Each major functional interpretation views the Wall as an important element in Rome's attempt to establish its authority and/or imperial identity in a landscape inhabited by native populations. Inexplicably, the various arguments have paid little attention to the region's Iron Age sites, even though their populations may have been the very people that the Wall was designed to defend against, control the movement of, and/or impress and integrate through the imposition of a monumental frontier. It remains uncertain if many of these sites were inhabited before, during, and/or after the Roman occupation of the Wall, and we require careful examination to confirm functional interpretation and to clarify chronological periods. Examination of these sites is directly relevant to Roman army/frontier studies concerns, and will help to improve our understanding of who the Roman garrisons were interacting with, and will also improve our ability to gauge the short- and long-term impacts of the Roman presence in this region. Of particular interest are the hill fort at Castle Hill (adjacent to Bar Hill Roman fort), the

probable post-Roman souterrain at Castlecary, and further environmental insights from palynological analyses of the Wall's Ditch fills.

Evidence for the early medieval period is predominantly related to early Christianity in the region. Cross slabs and other sculptured stones suggest early medieval churches at Carriden, Kinneil, Kirkintilloch, and Old Kilpatrick, while strong traditional and toponymic evidence leaves few doubts about an early church at Falkirk. The possibility that many early churches were timber, and the long practice of rebuilding and renovating churches on former locations may indicate that other early churches were located along the Wall, too. While the post-Roman stone structure located within or near the Wall's Ditch at Shirva is widely accepted as an Iron Age souterrain, there are considerable reasons to rethink this interpretation and to wonder if it might have been an early stone church instead; possible parallels across northern England and southern Scotland—including at least three possible early churches along Hadrian's Wall—may provide useful comparanda. As there is currently no firm archaeological evidence for Scottish churches from the 4th to the 8th century, the Wall corridor may provide a good opportunity to consider this gap.

Evidence from the Wall may also provide valuable information about the early medieval landscape of secular power and authority. The best example is the timber hall at Callendar Park, which has been reasonably interpreted as a ninth-century Thane's Hall for the Thanes of Callendar, or *Calatria*. A second post-Roman timber structure located just east of Mumrills fort may fall into a similar category, but this will require further examination. If these interpretations are correct, the Antonine Wall timber hall(s) join a pair of successive parallels at Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall, providing important clues to the continuation or later re-use of both frontiers as symbolic signifiers of power and authority in the centuries after Rome's withdrawal. This evidence also provides limited but valuable detail on the hazy geopolitical contours of what appears to have been a contested borderland throughout much of the early medieval period. While we may be able to tentatively reconstruct the possible district of *Calatria*, the larger territorial limits and zones of influence between the Brittonic kingdoms, the Picts, and Anglo-Saxon *Bernicia* are

uncertain. Toponyms reveal a hybridised linguistic landscape, suggesting that the borders may have been porous and, while the Wall is unlikely to have been recomissioned as a manned frontier, it may have served as a marker of a transitional space, where people from all kingdoms came together.

In the later medieval period—a time of important Norman influence and the establishment of a distinctively Scottish identity—the Wall continued to serve as a focal point for ecclesiastical and secular activities. While it may merely be the result of better survival, both churches and secular power centres are known in greater quantities from this period. Ecclesiastical sites include churches, chapels, granges, priories, and nunneries, reflecting a greater diversity of religious site types and the increased resources provided through royal patronage beginning with King David I. Most of these sites will have had associated settlements, but these have not been explored.

As with the examples at Carriden and Kinneil, both the churches and associated villages may have had early medieval precursors, and further archaeological investigation will help to expand our understanding of later medieval society. While Scotland's large abbeys—known from charters to have been granted many of the churches and other ecclesiastical sites in the Wall corridor— have been explored in some detail, far fewer small churches and monastic sites have been seriously investigated. This provides an important opportunity to examine the development of Scottish Christianity from the early medieval period until the Reformation, providing insights into the history of Scotland's most-populated central belt, filling gaps in our understanding of pre-reformation churches, and possibly informing us of the ways in which the former Roman frontier was drawn upon in order to forge a Christian landscape.

Also of importance in the later medieval period are a number of mottes, stone castles, fortified towerhouses, and country estates, representing the homes or power centres of wealthy families, knights, and regional aristocrats. These stretch along the Forth-Clyde isthmus and not all have direct connections to the former Roman frontier. Several, however, are directly on or adjacent to the Wall or Roman installations, including twelfth-century mottes at Watling Lodge, Seabegs, and

Cadder—with probable examples at Castlecary and Kirkintilloch—stone castles at Inveravon and Kirkintilloch, and later towerhouses or country houses at Carriden, Kinneil, Inveravon, Callendar Park, Castlecary, and Cadder. Many of these structures throughout the Wall corridor are now lost—some having been demolished as late as the 1960s, without archaeological recording or intervention.

The multi-period towerhouse/royal palace/country house at Kinneil—located directly on top of the Wall's presumed line—was in the process of demolition in the 1930s when the chance discovery of 16th-17th-century mural paintings—from the period in which Mary Queen of Scots' regent ruled the kingdom from there—saved it for the nation. The motte at Cadder, however, still quite visible in the early twentieth century, was not so lucky and was almost completely destroyed by quarrying in the 1940s. Despite antiquarian and early archaeological campaigns to save the region's Roman remains from development threats, these later structures were not part of the heritage protection agenda. Their overall value and potential significance was downplayed in favour of Roman structures, as evidenced by Macdonald's comments about the Cadder motte and Kirkintilloch Peel. Unfortunately, this bias toward Roman remains continues unabated, and none of the medieval structures have received serious archaeological attention.

The later medieval mottes, castles and towerhouses are directly relevant to the Antonine Wall, as they represent a later form of refortifying the Roman frontier for new purposes. While there are some similarities between the Roman and later medieval use of the Wall—e.g. the strategic location of the "Maiden Castle" motte at Watling Lodge perhaps guarding the adjacent Roman road just as the Roman fortlet had done—the medieval refortification lacked the coherence and integrated nature of the Roman frontier system, with the Wall being fragmented and in the hands of different powerful individuals and families, who were sometimes in alliance and at other times in conflict with each other.

During the Scottish War of Independence, particular portions of the Wall appear to have changed hands, and the Wall may have been used as a defensive position by both English and Scottish forces, with a sizable English garrison holding

Kirkintilloch Castle between 1296-1311. The Wall's potential role in this conflict is further heightened by the now-favoured locations for the 1298 Battle of Falkirk, where William Wallace's Scottish forces are seen taking a position just south of the Wall at either the Callendar Woods or Mumrills. The lack of investigation into the Wall's role in this period make it difficult to determine if the Wall's refortification was limited to the mottes and castles, or if intervening portions were utilised in any meaningful way.

Present evidence also makes it difficult to determine if the motte and castle builders drew on the Roman remains, if Roman building materials were re-used, or if the Wall's Roman past was recognised or viewed as significant in this period. Again, as with previous periods, the Wall's later medieval remains deserve concerted investigation. Perhaps the most promising site for future fieldwork is Kinneil, which features a probable early medieval church, a later twelfth-century church and medieval village that continued through the seventeenth century, and the important towerhouse/royal palace of Kinneil House; the tentative identification of a possible Roman fort or camp on the site of the medieval village would—should this be corroborated—heighten the potential of this site to provide important insights into multiple periods and the transitions between them.

Kinneil is also a crucial site in Scotland's Industrial Revolution, with Kinneil House serving as the residence of Dr John Roebuck, one of the most prominent industrialists and co-founder of the Carron Iron Works, Bo'ness Pottery company, and owner of numerous coal mines and saltworks throughout the region. As part of Roebuck's industrial activities, he invited the engineer James Watt to live at Kinneil while developing his steam engine; Watt's resulting improved steam engine has been credited as one of the most significant developments of the industrial era, and his cottage and the remains of one of his steam engine boilers still sit just a few meters south of the Wall's line. While there is no evidence that the Roman remains played a direct role in these developments, nor that Roebuck or Watt ever expressed an interest in the region's Roman past, others drew particularly strong parallels— and marked contrasts—between the Roman frontier and the most visibly enduring legacy of Scotland's Industrial Revolution: the Forth and Clyde and Union Canals.

The history of the Canals is closely tied to that of the antiquarian investigation of the Antonine Wall, with both John Adair and Alexander Gordon using their considerable surveying skills to document the Wall and to draft plans for a canal to connect the Forth and Clyde estuaries. The final plans for the Forth and Clyde Canal were drafted by Watt, with considerable support from wealthy industrialists who sought to maximise their profits and speed the delivery of coal and iron products to Glasgow and North American markets, and was formally opened in 1790. The Canal closely follows the Wall for some 30km between Falkirk and Wilderness Plantation, and along its entire length crosses the Wall seven times. While the work of building the Canal is usually viewed by archaeologists as an act of vandalism and unnecessary destruction of the Roman remains, its construction marks one of the most significant periods of discovery on the Wall, and several contemporaries—including the antiquarian Prof John Anderson—provide positive views of the Canal, drawing parallels between the greatness of both the Roman frontier and the new Canal system.

In 1822, the Union Canal was completed, providing access from Edinburgh to the Forth and Clyde Canal—and from there to Glasgow—by cutting across the Wall at Glenfuir, just east of Watling Lodge. The Canals played a crucial role in Scotland's Industrial Revolution, allowing for rapid transport of raw materials and finished goods, removing the need for many ocean vessels to travel around Scotland's north coast, and providing the first fast route between Edinburgh and Glasgow. As a mixed-use transportation system, the Canals were particularly important to many sectors of Scottish society, and only began to decline after the arrival of the railways from the 1840s onward. An early booklet, the *Companion for Canal Passengers*, pointed out the Antonine Wall's presence at various locations, highlighting the fact that the Canals offered a new way to experience and appreciate the Wall. While canal traffic and profits were reduced after the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway opened in 1842, both Canals continued to play an important role until the First World War, with a particular decline after the 1930s leading to eventual closure in the 1960s.

As the Canals declined, so too did many of Scotland's industries, and few places were as hard-hit as the heavily industrial central belt. The central Scottish landscape is littered with the remains of this industrial heritage, from abandoned warehouses to disused mines, ruined distilleries, mills, and many other site types. While the period of heavy industry is often of little interest to many archaeologists, for whom the term "archaeology" may denote the study of more distant pasts, and is often negatively viewed as a period of little environmental sensitivity and a blight on the landscape, it was a crucial component of Scotland's recent past, determining the lives and livelihood of thousands. Countless records allow us to reconstruct many aspects of this period, and for some personal or transmitted memories remain vivid. The physical sites of this important period are, however, at risk of continued decay, demolition, and forgetting.

There are many stories to be told about the region's industrial period, and the Wall has played a demonstrable role in the developments of Scotland's industries. We need to encourage the documentation and—where justified—the preservation of disused or at-risk industrial sites. In this area, we particularly need to recruit industrial archaeologists and oral historians, and there is an important opportunity to investigate the mutual relevance of the region's industrial heritage with the remains and significances of earlier periods. Although Roman archaeologists—or specialists focused on any other period of the more distant past—may be less interested in this aspect of the region's history, and there may be good reasons to hold negative views of this period's many destructive activities, it remains an important part of the region's—and from the perspective adopted here, the Wall's—story. Importantly, the experiences of this period may hold greater relevance to modern audiences, who may remember family or community stories, or cherish photographs and objects of the period. If we want to raise the Wall's profile, increase public interest and appreciation, bring the Wall to life, and establish the relevance of the Wall's past to the present, this important part of the Wall's story must not be neglected. Perhaps more than any other period in the Wall's past, the

recent industrial era is where we can best establish direct links between the Wall's history and the present.[86]

Chapter Eight also investigated the Antonine Wall's often-overlooked "Grymisdyke" centuries by looking not at archaeological evidence, but at the various myths and legends that have built up around it and associated remains. This highlighted the possible early medieval origins of the name Grymisdyke, as fitting into a larger Anglo-Saxon practice of attributing unexplainable monuments or phenomena to supernatural forces. It appears likely that the Gryme myth was formulated—by either Fordun or "Veremundus"—to offer an explanation for this name, which was likely already well established by the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. This myth continued to receive embellishments by Hector Boece, and remained a plausible story for Gordon and Horsley in the eighteenth century, with the name—now in the form "Graham's Dyke"—surviving in street-names today.

A broader and more diverse mythic landscape combined the Wall, Arthur's O'on, the Hills of Dunipace, and Camelon into various stories with Arthurian and Caesarian connections. Although these legends had become increasingly undermined by the late seventeenth century, new alternative myths were offered through Macpherson's "translation" of the *Poems of Ossian*, igniting a Celtic revival and the interest of a global audience; conveniently, both Ossian and Bertram's fraudulent history of Richard of Cirencester seemingly offered ancient corroborations of then-recent antiquarian discoveries and interpretations. These myths certainly played an important role in generating interest by early antiquaries and, when Arthur's O'on was demolished in the 1740s, the antiquarian response both shifted opinions about this monument's significance and helped to create a new type of mythology in which Sir Michael Bruce was the villain and classical myths were drawn upon to condemn his actions.

Despite the current archaeological tendency to ignore myth, legend and folklore in preference for an investigation of the so-called "authentic past,"[87]

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[86] Due to my emphasis on the Antonine Wall, I have been discussing regional activities of the Industrial Revolution as part of the Wall's later history. The Wall need not, however, take precedence, and an alternative perspective may consider the Wall as part of the broader history of Scotland's Industrial Revolution.

popular accounts and pseudo-histories continue to draw on long-standing myths to offer alternative versions of these locations. Neglect of these mythic accounts robs the Wall of the important role that such myths have played in the ways people have understood and interpreted its remains, and gives current pseudo-historians free-reign to develop these tales unchecked. Rather than ignore such mythic elements, we should embrace them as an important part of the Wall's—and its associated remains'—interpretive past; as stories that developed in the absence of—or as imaginative alternatives to—credible historical sources.

We need not accept these myths as real accounts of what happened in the actual past, nor do we need to reject them as irrelevant or beneath our positions as careful scholars; rather, we should attempt to explore the context and development of these stories in order to see how they contributed to understandings and interpretations of the region's past during the periods in which they were first told and continued to evolve through successive transmission. Such stories—while they may contradict or offer alternatives—do not detract from the Wall's archaeologically attested history and significance, but add to it, by offering a rich tapestry of creative engagements with the material remains and by demonstrating how these remains were integrated into particular contexts, expanding knowledge, and developing identities. If presented correctly, such myths and their particular roles are easily understood by public audiences, who are perfectly capable of reaching their own conclusions, and who may find these stories to be a welcome entry point into further appreciation of the Wall and its broader history.

9.5 The Antonine Wall Today: Reconnecting "the Antonine Wall" and "Grymisdyke"

This thesis has emphasised the Antonine Wall as a place that exists in the present, but that has been made meaningful through the activities, experiences, and stories of the past. In this final conclusion, I will consider the present state of the Wall in

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[87] While folklore may now be more integrated into wider archaeological approaches than at any time in the past century (see, e.g. Gazin-Schwartz 2011), it has been strongly rejected by the "demand for authenticity" in twentieth-century scientific approaches to the archaeology of Roman frontiers (see Hingley 2012: 248–53).

light of the following questions:

> How can we bring the various aspects of the Wall's story and significance together in a more holistic presentation of the Wall, its history and archaeology, and their contemporary importance to the present-day place they have helped to create?

> Where do multiple strands of the Wall's broader story, Roman and post-Roman activities, and mythic landscape come together? How can we use the leverage of these various strands and locations to increase public awareness and interest in the Wall and its heritage?

As a "meaningful location," the Antonine Wall is currently under-appreciated. Despite its recent inscription as a World Heritage Site, the Wall remains relatively obscure, and there is much to do to raise awareness at both international and local levels. The Wall straddles the most populated central belt of Scotland, and it is not just a monument of the Roman Empire, but a place where people live, work, and pursue leisure activities—from skiing at Polmont to walks, pleasure cruises and narrowboat holidays along the Canals, and golfing at a number of courses through which the Roman frontier runs today. For some, the Wall's Roman history is significant, while for others this is not a concern. How are we to raise this awareness, and generate the type of appreciation and concern that the Wall deserves? I suggest that we can do so by reframing it as a place that represents a broad range of complementary perspectives that connect not only the Roman past and the present, but also those various aspects of its more neglected pasts.

To do so will require an expansion of what the term "the Antonine Wall" currently defines, merging its Roman history with the continued (or new) activities of its post-Roman centuries. In short, we need to reconnect "the (Roman) Antonine Wall" with (post-Roman) "Grymisdyke." Current approaches tend to elide the Wall's story, omitting the bulk of its life history in order to project an artificially direct connection between the thematic concerns of a dominant research tradition

and the Wall's one-time status as a functional Roman frontier. Re-integrating the activities and ideas of the intervening centuries may provide a powerful challenge to official interpretations of the Wall's primary significance, but it may also foster a more vibrant environment in which a wider range of academics, heritage managers, and the wider public will begin to offer new—more comprehensive—tellings of the Wall's story.

Importantly, this way of viewing the Wall's present-day meaning and significance is not being actively promoted. The various meanings and significances that have been presented in this thesis also only represent a partial picture, and other possibilities may be added by those with additional experiences and knowledge, through new insights that arise from future research, and also from new experiences that generate memories and meanings in the future. The Wall will always mean different things to different people and is, therefore, a plural place. Our role as archaeologists, historians and heritage managers is to explore, protect, and present the various sites and possibilities to present and future generations, who will use this information and their own experiences to decide for themselves what makes the Antonine Wall a meaningful location. It may be hoped that the Antonine Wall's recent WHS inscription will serve to expand the range of voices and concerns, leading to a more inclusive landscape, as is currently being realised along Hadrian's Wall (Hingley 2012: 301–25; Mills 2013).

In terms of presenting the Antonine Wall and its various archaeological, historical, discursive, and mythic strands, perhaps no location better represents the possibilities of a "place" perspective than the area around Rough Castle fort and the Falkirk Wheel (Fig. 9.1). Here, a well-preserved section of the Roman Wall and several features relating to the Wall's broader history and mythic landscape come together: the Wall's best-preserved fort, with the nearby "Elf-hill" where the legendary Gryme is said to have broken through the Wall giving it its medieval and early modern name, the Forth and Clyde Canal that helped to power Scotland's Industrial Revolution parallels the Wall to the north, and one of the most spectacular engineering marvels of this millennium (Fig. 9.2) connect the recently

re-opened Forth and Clyde and Union Canals, with a tunnel that takes visitors below the line of the Wall itself.
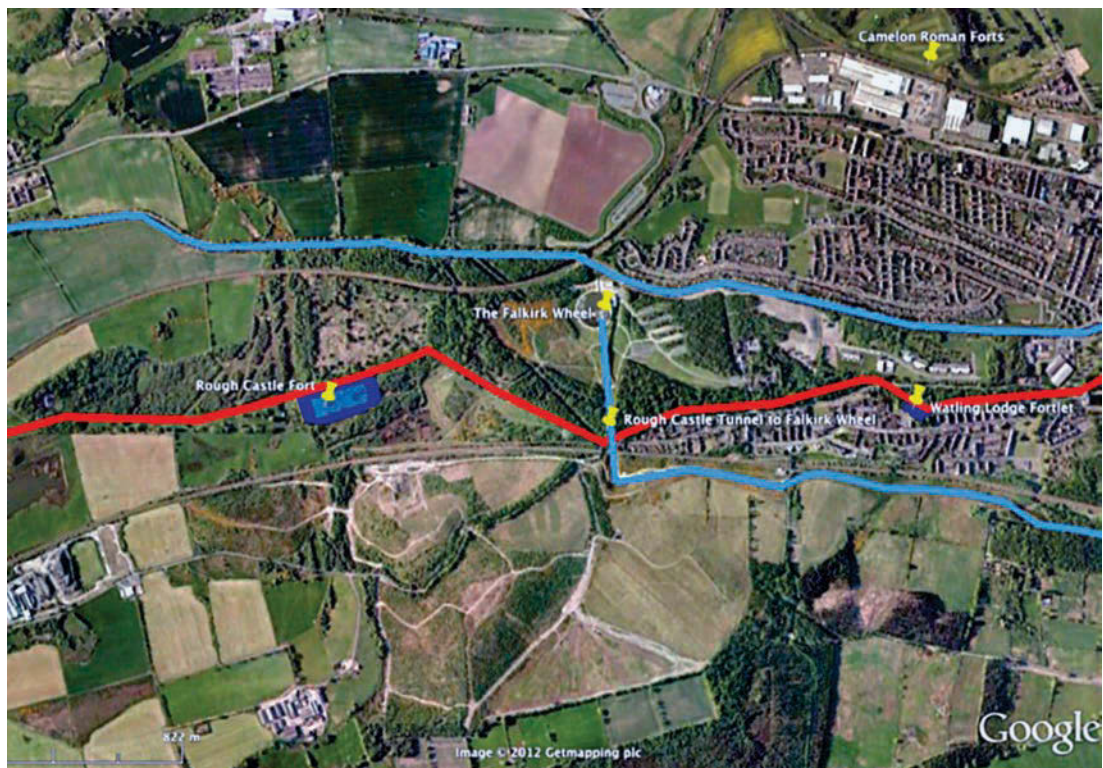
Fig. 9.1. Aerial view of Rough Castle fort and Falkirk Wheel with Canals, line of the Antonine Wall, and nearby sites (GoogleEarth).

Fig. 9.2. The Falkirk Wheel and the Antonine Guard, July 2012.

Fig. 9.3. Roman fort educational activities in the Falkirk Wheel Visitor's Centre.

There have already been some efforts to integrate the various significances of these period-specific features through Roman re-enactment activities (Fig. 9.2), educational exhibits in the Falkirk Wheel visitor's centre (Fig. 9.3), and a designated woodland walking path that highlights the location of a former Roman temporary camp adjacent to the Canal and Falkirk Wheel (Fig. 9.4). There is, however, room for greater collaboration between Historic Scotland, Scottish Canals, Falkirk Council, and concerned local history, archaeology, and canal societies. Further coordinated efforts and joint events should bring together those concerned with the Wall and the Canals to maximise the present-day social awareness and value of this important cultural heritage.

Fig. 9.4. Roman themed walking path sign at the Falkirk Wheel.

As specialists of other periods are recruited, the results of their research can be integrated into a broader presentation of the Wall that also draws on the nearby mottes at Watling Lodge and Seabegs, the church at Falkirk, and the Thane's Hall at Callendar Park. Regional museums at Kinneil, Callendar House, and Kirkintilloch already do a good job of telling the region's broader history, but this could benefit—in each location—from a tighter integration that highlights the Wall's continued and varied uses and interpretations after the Roman occupation. If Kinneil receives concerted investigation in the future, this site may emerge as an important secondary location for a major interpretation centre with the potential to illustrate the Wall's long-term significance from the Roman period to the Industrial Revolution.

In conclusion, while the Wall's Roman origins and functional operation as a frontier of the Roman empire should continue to be a major focus of research and public presentation, its long-term history beyond the Roman period has been under-explored and under-presented. The Antonine Wall is rightfully recognised as an important Roman frontier through its designation as a WHS, but it is also more than a Roman monument, with significant potential for expanding our understanding of Scotland's past from the Roman period until the present. Realising this potential will require an expanded research agenda that takes this broader history into account, that earnestly solicits the input of archaeological and historical specialists of other periods, and that seeks to present the Wall's broader significances to the public. Adopting such an agenda will open new opportunities to explore the Wall's past, will expand our understanding of central Scotland's history from the Roman period to the present, and will make the Antonine Wall more relevant—and help to bring it to life—to wider audiences in the present.

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7.2 Subject always to Clause 7.1, the liability of the Licensor for any breach of the terms of this Licence, or otherwise in relation to the subject matter of this Licence (including that arising from breach of duty, delict, tort or otherwise) shall not exceed the amount of the Licence Fee paid by the User.

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7.3.1 any damage to software or damage or loss of data; or

7.3.2 any economic loss (including loss of revenues, profits, contracts, business or anticipated savings); or

7.3.3 any loss of goodwill or reputation; or

7.3.4 any special, indirect or consequential losses or damage,

in any case, whether or not such losses were within the contemplation of the parties at the date of this Licence, suffered or incurred by that party arising out of or in connection with the provisions of any matter under this Licence.

7.4 The parties expressly agree that should any limitation or provision contained in this Clause 7 be held to be invalid under any applicable statute or rule of law it shall to that extent be deemed omitted but if any party thereby becomes liable for loss or damage which would otherwise have been excluded such liability shall be subject to the other limitations and provisions set out herein.

8. User's Obligations

8.1 The User acknowledges and agrees with the Licensor that:-

8.1.1 all rights and title in and to the Licensed Content and all Intellectual Property Rights in, derived from and relating to the Licensed Content are expressly reserved to the Licensor and its licensors;

8.1.2 the User shall adhere to all of the User's obligations under Clause 3 (Licence) and those listed under Confirmation Form;

8.1.3 the User must ensure that no third party retains a copy of the Licensed Content on any medium (including any form of electronic copy);

8.1.4 the User shall immediately provide full particulars to the Licensor in the event that the User becomes aware of any actual or threatened claims by any third party in connection with the Licensed Content;

8.1.5 the Licensor shall have the sole right as against the User to take action against third parties in respect of the Licensed Content. If required to do so by the Licensor, the User shall co-operate fully with the Licensor in any such correspondence, action or proceedings;

8.1.6 the User shall not acquire any rights to commence proceedings in its own name nor shall it negotiate or settle any disputes involving such rights the prior written consent of the Licensor;

8.1.7 all damages recovered under judgement or following settlement of a dispute from third parties shall be the exclusive property of the Licensor; and

8.1.8 the User shall at the request of the Licensor give full co-operation to the Licensor in any action, claim or proceedings brought or threatened by a third party in respect of the Licensed Content as the Licensor may deem fit at the User's costs.

8.2 The User shall indemnify the Licensor on demand and keep the Licensor fully indemnified from and against all costs, expenses, actions, proceedings, claims, demands and damages arising directly or indirectly as a result of breach or non-performance by the User of the obligations under this Licence or a breach of any warranty given by the User in Clause 9 (User Warranties) of this Licence.

9. User Warranties

9.1 The User warrants and undertakes to the Licensor that:

9.1.1 the User has the right, power, authority and capacity to enter into this Licence and to perform its obligations

under this Licence;

9.1.2 the User has not and shall not acquiesce to the unauthorised use by any third party of any of the Licensed Content;

9.1.3 the User shall not use the Licensed Content for any other purpose other than the Permitted Purpose; and

9.1.4 the User shall not do or omit to do anything to diminish the rights of the Licensor in the Licensed Content or act in any manner which in the Licensor's reasonable opinion is likely to bring the Licensor into disrepute.

9.1.5 the User is not acting as an agent or representative for any other person, company or corporate body, institution or any other third party.

10. Termination

10.1 The Licensor may terminate this Licence (in whole or in part) by giving one month’s notice to such effect in writing to the User at any time.

10.2 The Licensor may terminate this Licence (in whole or in part) forthwith upon providing written notice to the User if:

10.2.1 the User is in breach of any obligation on it hereunder and, in the case of a breach capable of remedy, it has not been remedied by the User within 5 business days of written notice from the Licensor specifying the breach and requiring its remedy; or

10.2.2 the User is subject to a petition for a bankruptcy order and such petition has presented to the court; or

10.2.3 an administration order is applied for in respect of the User; or

10.2.4 a voluntary arrangement is proposed in respect of the User; or

10.2.5 a resolution is passed or an order being made for the winding up of the User; or

10.2.6 a receiver or administrative receiver is appointed over the whole or any part of the User’s undertakings or assets or the User or any other party gives notice of its intention to appoint an administrator to the User; or

10.2.7 the User goes into liquidation (either solvent or insolvent); or

10.2.8 the User is unable to pay its debts (within the meaning of Section 123(1) or (2) of the Insolvency Act 1986) or an event occurs within the jurisdiction of the country in which the User is situated (or registered) which has a similar effect to any of the above events in the United Kingdom; or

10.2.9 the User ceases or threatens to cease to pay its debts as they fall due or ceasing or threatening to cease to trade; or

10.2.10 the User makes or seeks to make any composition or arrangement with its creditors; or

10.2.11 the User suffers any event analogous to the events provided in Clauses 10.2.2 to 10.2.10 above under any jurisdiction to which it is subject.

10.3 Termination of this Licence shall be without prejudice to the accrued rights and obligations of the parties.

10.4 Termination of this Licence for any reason shall not bring to an end to the User's obligations to pay any Licence Fee which is due and Clauses 6 (Licensed Content), 7 (Liability), 8 (User's Obligations), 10 (Termination) and 16 (Governing Law) shall also survive such termination.

10.5 On termination of this Licence for any reason, the User shall immediately cease to use the Licensed Content and shall immediately deliver up to the Licensor on request all copies (including any and all electronic copies) of the Licensed Content and all information, manuals, reports, documents or software relating to the Licensed Content provided to the User by the Licensor in connection with this Licence or any part thereof in its possession or control. Upon any request by the Licensor the User shall certify within 30 days that it has fulfilled its obligations under this Clause 10.5.

11. Force Majeure

11.1 If either party to this Licence is prevented or delayed in the performance of any of its obligations under this Licence (other than any obligation to make payment to the other under this Licence) by Force Majeure and if such party gives written notice thereof to the other party specifying the matters constituting Force Majeure together with such evidence as it reasonably can give and specifying the period for which it is estimated that such prevention or delay will continue, then the party in question shall be excused the performance or the punctual performance as the case may be as from the date of such notice for so long as such cause of prevention or delay shall continue.

11.2 For the purposes of this Licence "Force Majeure" shall be deemed to be any cause affecting the performance of this Licence arising from or attributable to acts, events, omissions or accidents beyond the reasonable control of the party concerned.

12. General

12.1 No variation or amendment to this Licence shall bind either party unless made in writing and signed by or on behalf of both parties.

12.2 Failure by either party to exercise or enforce any rights conferred upon it by this Licence shall not be deemed to be a waiver of any such rights or operate so as to bar the exercise or enforcement thereof at any subsequent time or times.
12.3 If any provision of this Licence is held to be unlawful or unenforceable, the rest of this Licence shall remain in full force and effect.

12.4 The User acknowledges that it is not the agent or representative of the Licensor and the User undertakes not to hold itself out as same.

13. Notices

Any notice required to be given hereunder by either party to the other shall be in writing and shall be served by sending the same by first class registered or recorded delivery post to the address of the other party as given by the Licensor herein and by the User on the Confirmation Form or to such other address as that party may have previously notified to the party giving notice as its address for such service. Such notice will be deemed to be received two (2) days after the date of posting.

14. Assignation and Sublicensing

14.1 The User is not entitled to assign, sublicense, or otherwise transfer the benefit or burden of this Licence, whether in whole or in part, without obtaining the prior written consent of the Licensor.

14.2 The Licensor shall be entitled at its sole discretion to assign, sub-contract or otherwise transfer all or any part of the benefit or burden of this Licence to any Licensor Group Companies and to any other charitable institutions.

15. Entire Agreement

This Licence constitutes the entire agreement between the parties and supersedes any previous agreement between them relating to the subject matter of this Licence. Provided that nothing in this Clause 15 shall have effect to exclude the liability of either party for fraud or fraudulent misrepresentation.

16. Governing Law

This Licence shall be governed by and construed in accordance with Scots law and the parties hereby submit to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Scottish courts.

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