



The Roman Period

WS Hanson

This is part of the series *Essays on the Local History and Archaeology of West Central Scotland*, commissioned for the Regional Framework for Local History and Archaeology, a partnership project led by Glasgow Museums, with representatives from the councils of East Dunbartonshire, West Dunbartonshire, Glasgow, Inverclyde, North Lanarkshire, South Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and East Renfrewshire.

WS Hanson is Professor of Roman Archaeology in the School of Humanities, University of Glasgow.

Introduction and History of Research

There is a very long history of interest in the Roman period in Scotland, with a considerable focus on the west, particularly on the Antonine Wall. One of the most famous early antiquarians, William Roy, came from the area (Carluke, Lanarkshire). His volume on *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, published posthumously in 1793, provided one of the first accurate surveys of extant Roman sites in Scotland. But it was not until the 1890s that the Glasgow Archaeological Society set about a programme of scientific excavation (GAS 1899). This focused first on the line of the Antonine Wall and culminated in the decades before World War II in extensive examination of the forts at Bar Hill, Balmuildy, Old Kilpatrick and Cadder. These programmes of research enabled George Macdonald to produce his magisterial synthesis of the evidence for the Antonine Wall in 1911, subsequently greatly expanded in the light of his own excavations (1934). Most of this work was motivated by a desire simply to learn more about the Roman presence, but some was stimulated by development pressure. Subsequently this became the major catalyst for excavation, as for example at the fort and annexe at Bearsden (1973–82), the fort and possible *vicus* (associated civilian settlement) at Croy Hill (1975–8) and the bathhouse of the fort at Bothwellhaugh (1975–6).

Since World War II aerial reconnaissance has led to the discovery of a number of new sites, including forts at Bishopton, Barochan and Mollins, many temporary camps, additional fortlets, both on and off the Antonine Wall, and even new types of small enclosure along its line (e.g. Maxwell 1989; see also Hanson in this series). Because of the strong antiquarian interest in the period and because Roman artefacts, particularly coins and pottery, are quite readily recognized, there is a long tradition of recording finds of such material, whether associated with any archaeological site or not (e.g. Curle 1932; Robertson 1970). Many of these finds reside in local museum collections across the study area, though it is not always easy to track down their current location. The focus of this paper is on the evidence for the Roman military conquest and occupation of western Scotland. Subsequent peaceful interaction with the indigenous population, manifested particularly in the association of Roman artefacts with native settlement sites, has been covered in the preceding paper on the Iron Age.

Historical Background and Chronology

The first direct Roman involvement with Scotland occurred in the late first century AD during the reign of the Flavian emperors (Vespasian, Titus and Domitian). Credit for overcoming tribal resistance and completing the conquest is usually assigned to Julius Agricola, based on the testimony of the renowned historian Tacitus in his *Agricola* and supported by extensive archaeological evidence, the action occurring over some five years of

his governorship between AD 79/80 and 83/4. However, the process may have begun slightly earlier than has generally been assumed, the first contact with the south-west of Scotland probably coming in the governorship of one of his predecessors, Petillius Cerialis, early in the 70s (Hanson 1991a, 55–6). Indeed, it has recently been argued by several writers that Cerialis was responsible for almost the entire conquest of Scotland, but this is based on a misrepresentation of the archaeological evidence and an overly negative critique of Tacitus' account (Hanson 2007, 646–7 *contra* Hoffmann 2004; Shotter 2000; Woolliscroft and Hoffmann 2006, 175–202).

Agricola's campaigns culminated in the famous battle of Mons Graupius, somewhere in the north-east of Scotland, at which the final resistance of the Caledonians was successfully crushed in c. AD 83/4. Yet by c. AD 87 Roman occupation had been withdrawn to the Southern Uplands and all the sites in the study area abandoned. Only one period of occupation has been attested at all the sites which have been subject to excavation, with evidence of deliberate demolition and a date for the end of the occupation not earlier than AD 86 provided by a slightly worn as coin of that date found at Crawford, mirroring similar numismatic evidence from several other sites to the north and east. By shortly after the turn of the first century occupation was further withdrawn to the line of the Tyne–Solway isthmus (Hobley 1989).

The Romans did not return to reoccupy Scotland until the reign of Antoninus Pius, the conquest stimulated as much by political necessity as any frontier strategy. Reconquest began probably in AD 139, shortly after the accession of the new emperor. The limited objective, the reoccupation of the Lowlands, seems to have been completed by AD 142, culminating in the construction of a turf rampart and ditch, the Antonine Wall, across the Forth–Clyde isthmus. Beyond it in the west was a series of outpost forts extending north as far as Bertha on the Tay.

Debates about the chronology of the northern frontier in the later second century have a long history. For some time a consensus view seemed to have been reached which placed the end of the Antonine occupation of Scotland in c. AD 164 (Hanson and Maxwell 1986, 137–43), though some scholars continued to maintain, on the basis of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence, that after a lengthy period of return to Hadrian's Wall occupation was extended almost to the end of the century (e.g. Mann 1988). However, the archaeological data will not sustain a lengthy hiatus in the Antonine occupation of Scotland. Indeed, a cogent case has been put for bringing forward its end to AD 158, though perhaps taking several years to complete the withdrawal, and dismissing the existence of a second period of occupation entirely. It is suggested that where two phases can be demonstrated, they reflect changes of garrison as a result of a change of plan or reconstruction after a violent reaction to Roman occupation in south-western Scotland, as reflected in the burning which

marked the end of phase 1 at Bishopton (Hodgson 1995 and 2009). The scattering of artefacts of slightly later date recovered from some Antonine Wall forts is explained as evidence of either a phased withdrawal or the occasional use of certain sites as outposts of the more southerly frontier line.

The abandonment of the Antonine Wall and the return to the frontier on the Tyne–Solway isthmus did not see the complete cessation of Roman contact with Scotland, though the Roman presence thereafter was restricted to its southern periphery. Though outpost forts were maintained immediately north of Hadrian’s Wall in the west, they did not extend as far north as the study area. In the east, however, the forts as far north as Newstead (Melrose) continued to be occupied for a further 20 years or so (Breeze and Dobson 2000, 132–3).

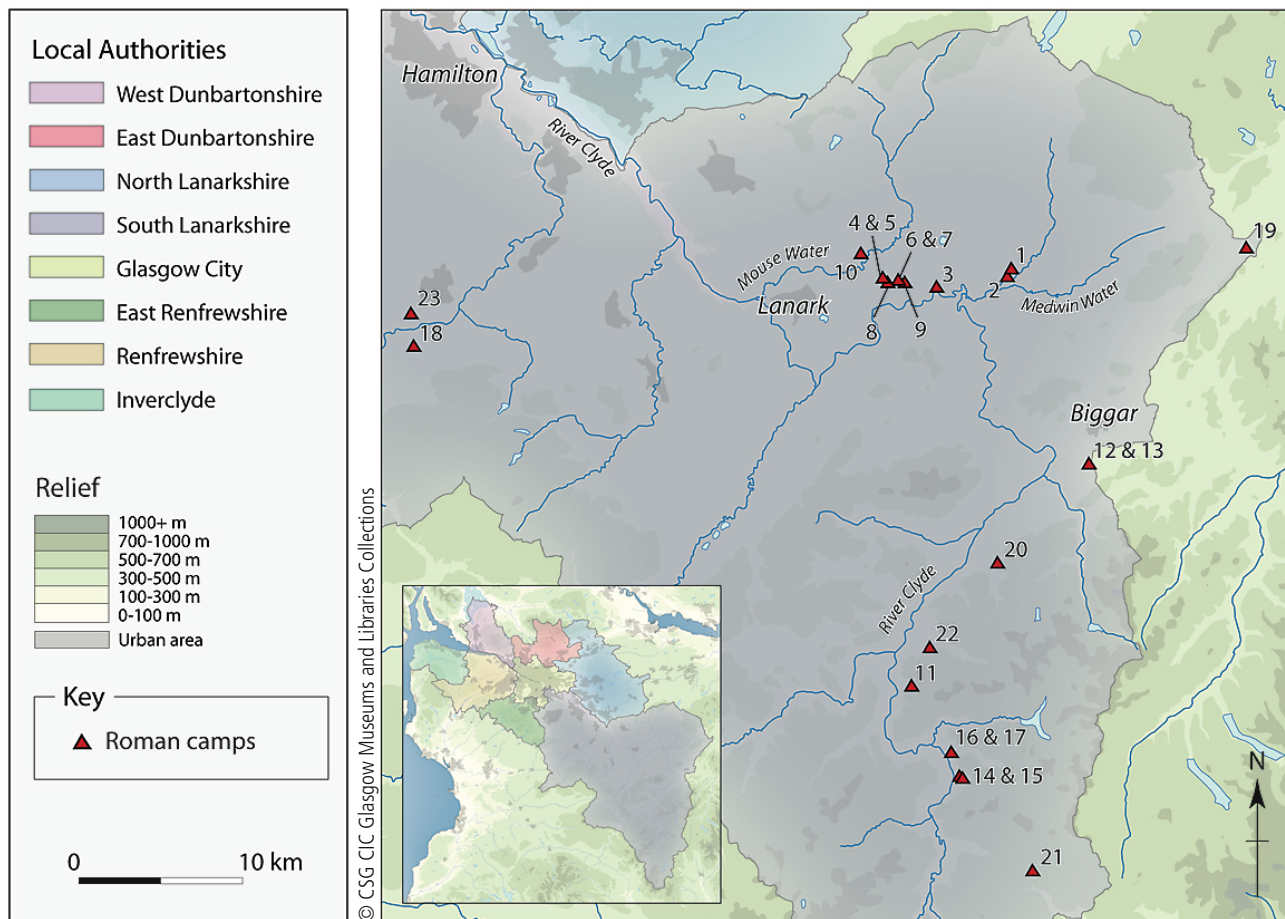
The third and final Roman occupation of Scotland was even more short-lived. Between AD 208 and 211 the emperor Septimius Severus conducted major campaigns in Scotland, either personally or through his elder son Caracalla (Reed 1976; Breeze 1982, 131–6). These campaigns seem to have been entirely focused in the eastern lowlands, with only two garrison posts attested at Cramond and Carpow, though it has been suggested that an altar from Old Kilpatrick dedicated by a centurion of the first legion *Italica* might indicate an early third-century presence there (Barber 1971). Its dating and significance is, however, disputed (Hanson and Maxwell 1986, 157–8).

Thereafter the Roman frontier reverted to Hadrian’s Wall and its outposts in northern England (Hanson and Maxwell 1986, 208–10; Breeze and Dobson 2000, 142–4), though some still argue that Rome maintained political control through the supervision of tribal meeting places within the Scottish Lowlands, one of which (*locus Daunoni*) was in the territory of the Dumnonii, which stretched from Renfrewshire to southern Perthshire (Mann 1992; Rivet and Smith 1979, 343–4). Although the Romans did campaign into Scotland on several occasions thereafter, these were solely punitive exercises – the precise locations are uncertain – and did not result in any further attempt to occupy territory (Hanson 1978, 140–1; Hanson and Breeze 1991, 64). Thus, for most of the Roman period Lowland Scotland lay on the periphery of the Empire, explored and within reach, but mainly beyond any formally defined boundary.

The Nature of the Flavian Conquest and Occupation

As the army moved into Scotland in the Flavian period it would have constructed marching camps to protect itself when it camped for the night (fig. 1). Several camps on the main route north in the western lowlands, the line mirrored by the modern M74, have been considered possibly to date to the Flavian period,

Figure 1. Map of temporary camps not associated with the Antonine Wall (for site identifications see table 1). Produced by the former GUARD (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division), created by Ingrid Shearer (Northlight Heritage), based on information supplied by the author.



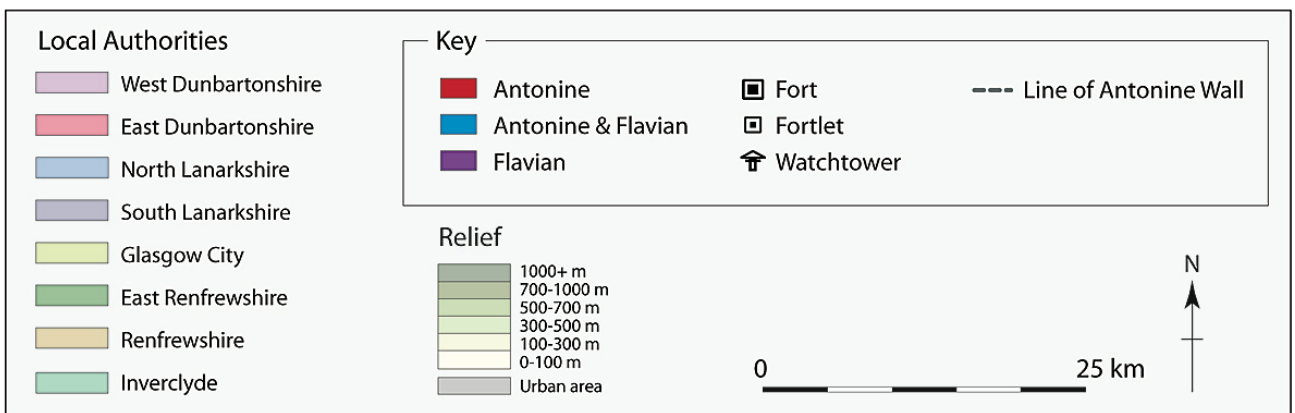
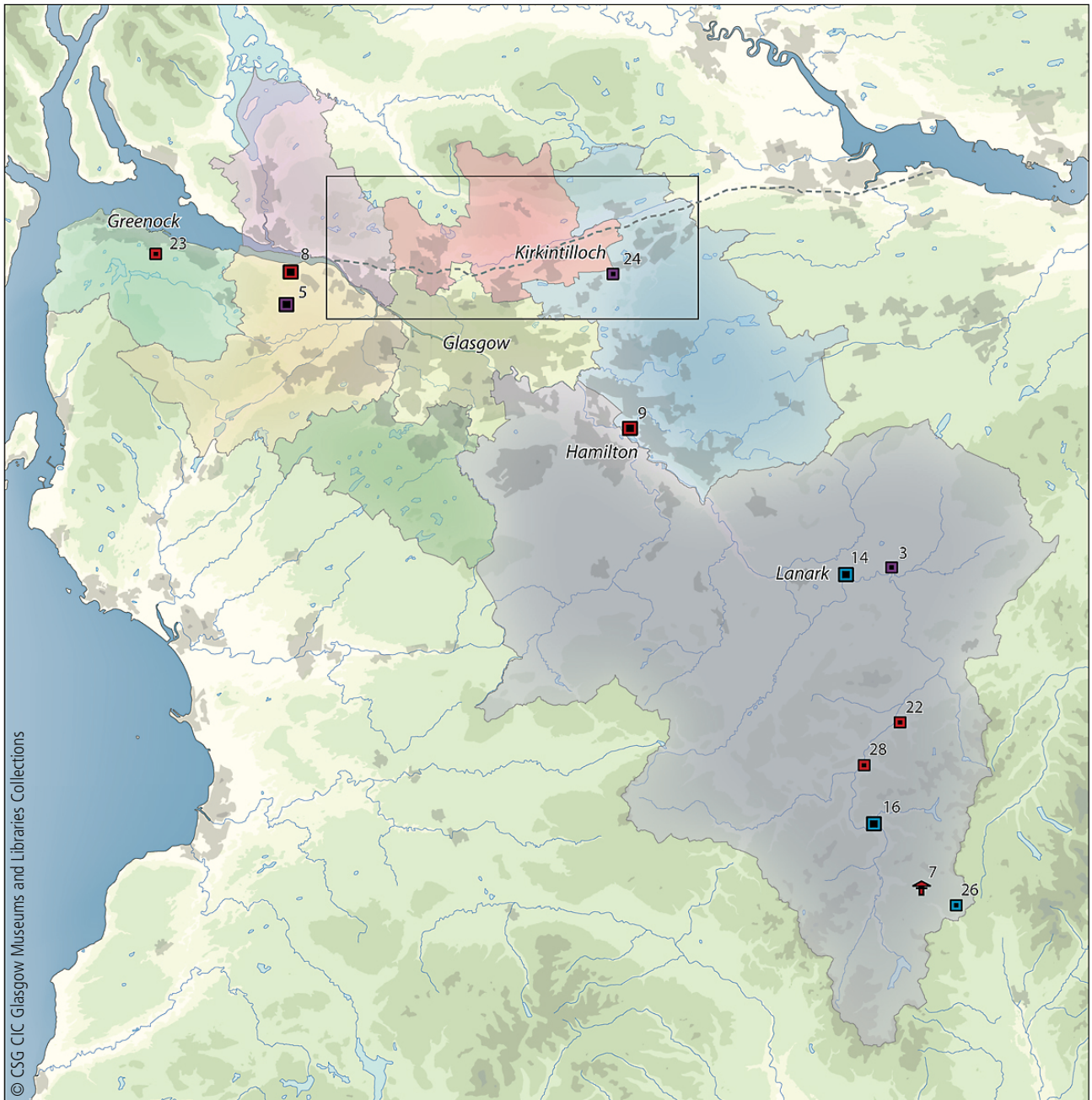


Figure 2. Map of permanent sites of Flavian and Antonine date (for site identifications see table 3). Produced by the former GUARD (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division), created by Ingrid Shearer (Northlight Heritage), based on information supplied by the author.



Plate 1. Ditches around three sides of the small Flavian fort with attached annex at Mollins from the air, showing as cropmarks where the taller crop has been flattened by the wind.

such as the camp at Lamington, the two camps at Cornhill and the second camp at Bankhead (Maxwell 1981, 39–41). However, they do not form a coherent pattern which can be related to the probable line of march of a particular force and none have been firmly dated by excavation. That two of them at Bankhead have also featured in lists of possible Antonine camps highlights the imprecision of any chronological assessment. One important focus, however, is likely to have been at Castledykes, which commands wide prospects along the various natural corridors which meet at this point and seems subsequently to have served as a Roman communications node. It may have been a meeting point and gathering ground for troops on campaign. Two large overlapping Flavian camps are known immediately to the north-west of the fort, their date confirmed by the distinctive 'Stracathro' gateway (table 1) (Keppie 1995b).

Conquest was followed by consolidation represented by the construction of garrison posts of various sizes (fig. 2). Tacitus' account suggests that there was a temporary halt on the Forth–Clyde isthmus (*Agric.* 23): this is the context for the construction of a line of posts, presumably including the fort at Barochan and the small fort at Mollins (pl. 1), both provided with attached annexes. These forts have been investigated to a limited extent, confirming their Flavian date, but very little is known of their internal layout, other than to confirm that the internal buildings at Barochan were of timber construction. This line across the isthmus is not known in detail and there may also have been a fort at Cadder in the vicinity of the later Antonine Wall fort there, though this is based on nothing more than a few fragments of pottery and glass of Flavian date from the site (Hanson 1980, 62). To the south, forts were established at Castledykes and Crawford, with probably a fortlet near the former

at Bankhead, known only from the air, though these three sites are unlikely to represent the totality of the provision in the area at this time. Both Castledykes and Crawford have been subject to reasonably extensive excavation to determine their layout and general periods of occupation, with some limited examination of the interior at the latter. The fort at Castledykes was large, some 2.8ha internally, that at Crawford much smaller, only 0.6ha.

The Nature of the Antonine Reconquest and Reoccupation

The Antonine reconquest would have followed a similar pattern to the Flavian conquest, with the advantage of foreknowledge of route ways and terrain (fig. 1). However, no certainly dated Antonine temporary camps have been identified away from the line of the Antonine Wall. It has been suggested that some of the intermediate-sized camps (17–22ha and 8–13ha) of rectangular plan which respect the line of Roman roads in the area may well be Antonine in date (Hanson and Maxwell 1986, 65–8), but only four of these camps are attested in the study area, at Cleghorn, Little Clyde and two at Bankhead (table 1). Some confirmation of this suggestion, however, has been provided by the recovery of Trajanic and Hadrianic coins from the plough soil at Cleghorn (Bateson 1989, 167).

We are on firmer ground when dealing with more permanent fortifications, where the pattern again broadly mirrors that of the first century (fig. 2). Indeed, the forts at Crawford and Castledykes were placed on the same sites and were of similar size and general layout to their Flavian predecessors, though Crawford underwent a subsequent phase of enlargement. However, a number of new establishments are also attested, at Bothwellhaugh and Bishopton, though the latter replaces the Flavian fort at Barochan, less than 3km to the south. Limited excavations at Bishopton indicated that the fort had been extensively rebuilt after destruction by fire, while, after substantial modifications throughout its use, the bathhouse at

Plate 2. The upstanding rampart of the Antonine fortlet at Lurg Moor showing as a shadow site from the air.



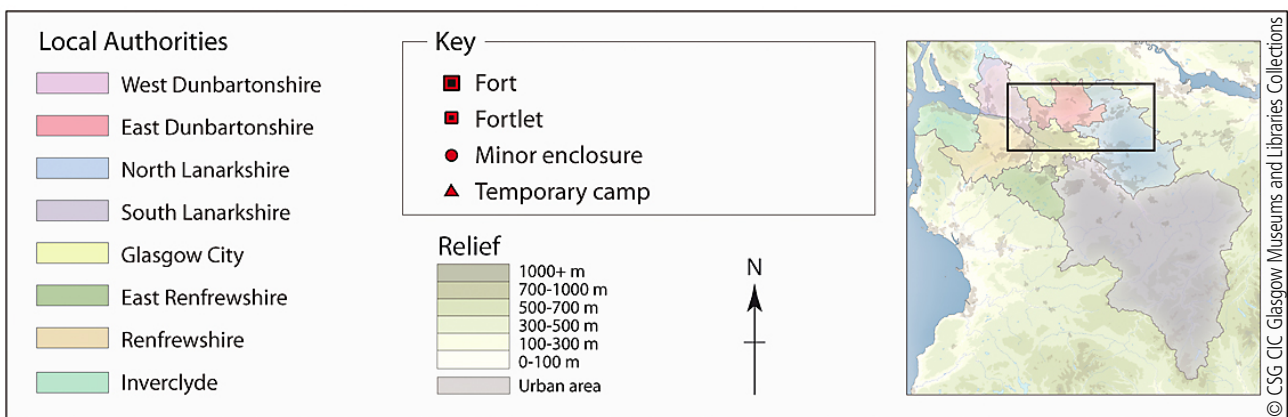
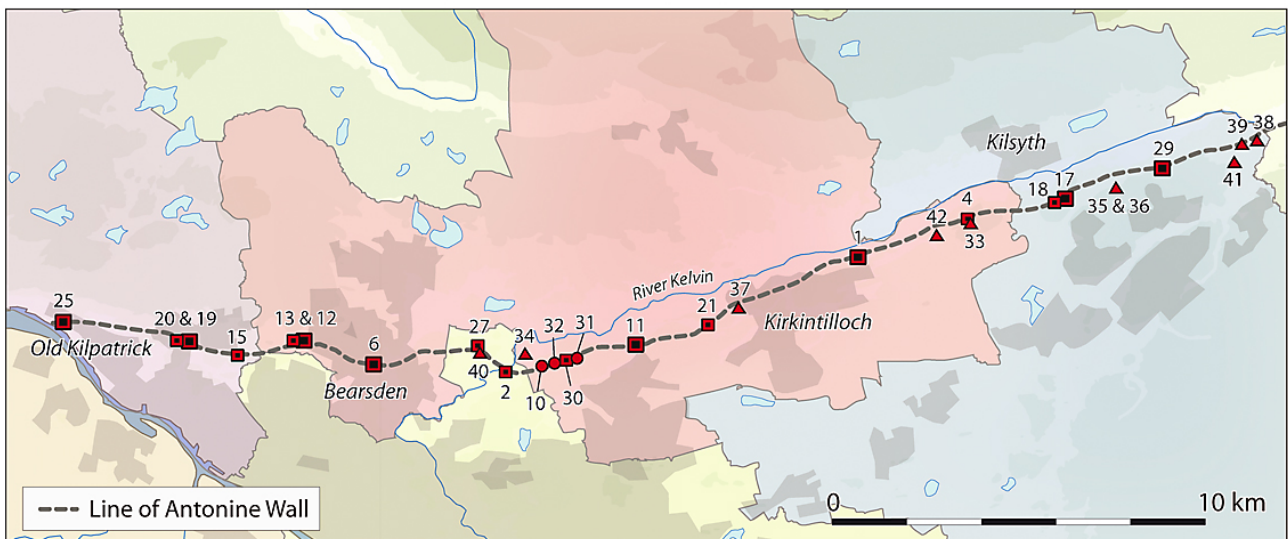


Figure 3. Map of forts, fortlets, minor enclosures and camps along the Antonine Wall (for site identifications see tables 2 and 3). Produced by the former GUARD (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division), created by Ingrid Shearer (Northlight Heritage), based on information supplied by the author.

Bothwellhaugh experienced a similar fate at the end of its life. The fort at Crawford, however, had clearly been deliberately dismantled.

Perhaps the main change from the Flavian period is the apparently greater focus on local control with the increased use of smaller posts, both fortlets and watchtowers. The posts are situated either along the main road, as in the case of the fortlets at Lamington, Wandel and Redshaw Burn and the tower at Beattock Summit, or to survey the coast, as with the fortlet at Lurg Moor (pl. 2). None of these sites has been closely dated by excavation, though Antonine pottery is attested from Lurg Moor and an Antonine date is clearly indicated for analogous fortlet sites outside the study area at Milton in Dumfries and Galloway and Outerwards in Ayrshire (Clarke 1952; Newall 1976).

The best known and most extensive survival of the Roman military occupation at this time is, of course, the Antonine Wall, which has been the subject of extensive descriptive and synthetic publication over the decades (e.g. Macdonald 1934; Hanson and Maxwell 1986; Keppie, 2001; Breeze 2006). It was modelled on Hadrian's Wall in its developed form, though built

entirely of turf, or earth with clay cheeks, on a cobble base (pls. 3 and 4). The original intention may have been to construct the rampart in stone, as two of the primary forts have stone walls and one, Balmuildy, which lies within our area, has stone wing walls as if the builders were expecting to link the fort to a stone wall. Sections dug across the line of the rampart in the 1890s recorded as many as 19 turf lines, indicating a height for the rampart of at least 3m (GAS 1899, 129), but we still have no direct evidence of whether there was a walkway and/or breastwork on top. Though the rampart does not tend to survive well, limited stretches of the large ditch which lay in front of it to the north are well preserved in our area, notably across Croy Hill and parts of Bar Hill. Recent discoveries, primarily along parts of the eastern half of the Wall but recorded as far west as Garnhall (Bailey 1995), mirrored on Hadrian's Wall (Bidwell 2005), suggest that there might be additional defences on the berm, the space between the rampart and the ditch, in the form of rows of pits, but none have been recorded in the stretches of the Wall examined in our area.

Forts were originally located at intervals of approximately 13km (fig. 3). Three such primary forts are known in the study area: Old Kilpatrick, Balmuildy and Auchendavy. Confirmation that the last of these was a primary fort was provided only recently by geophysical survey. The first two have been subject

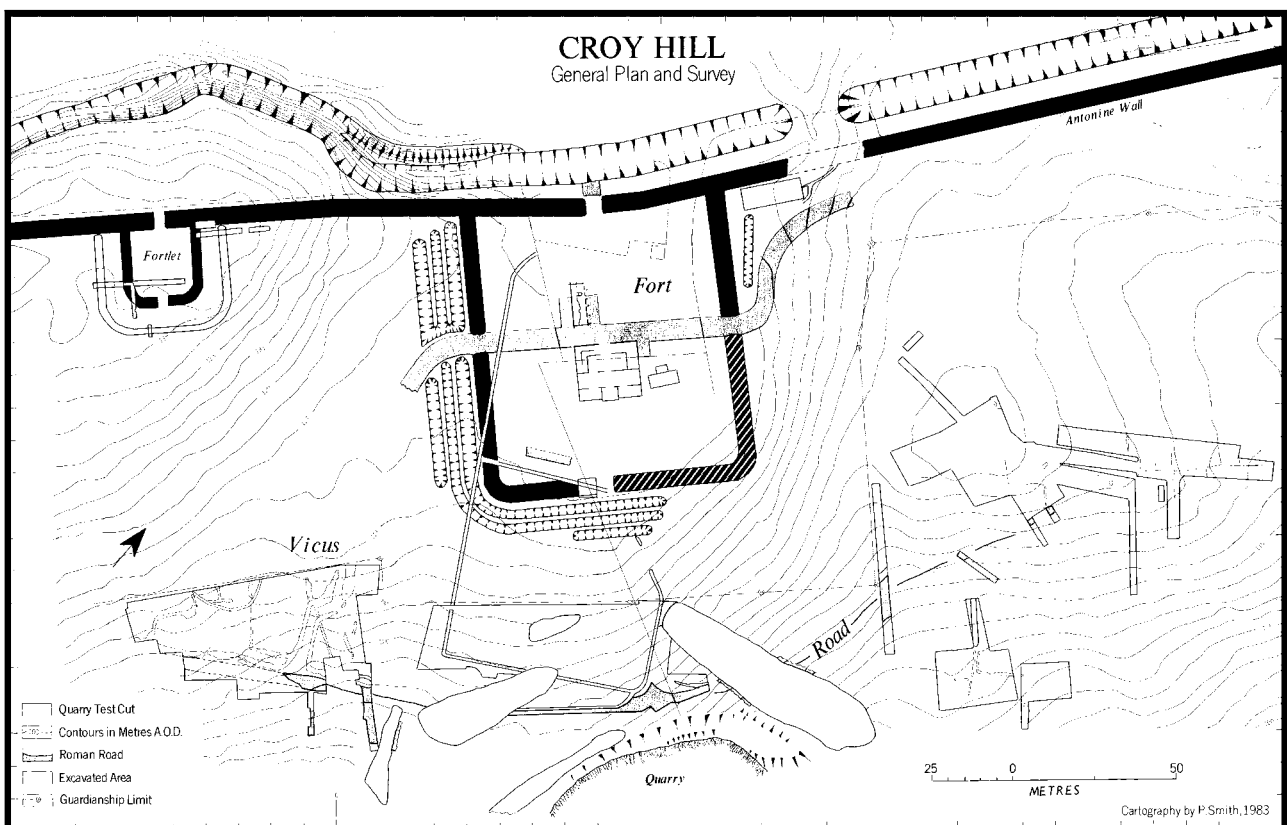


Plate 3. Excavation at Croy Hill showing the junction between the rampart of the Antonine Wall and the fortlet.

to quite extensive excavation at various times over the last century, so that much of their interior layout has been established. Excavations in the first half of the twentieth century tended to focus on the central range of buildings, which were stone built, rather than the timber-constructed barrack accommodation, but at these sites there was at least some attempt to investigate the barracks. At Auchendavy, however, there are indications of stone buildings in the north-east corner on the geophysical survey.

It was not until the 1970s that it was realized that fortlets were located on the Wall, probably, as on Hadrian's Wall, approximately every Roman mile (1.48km). There are still only nine attested across its 40-Roman-mile (60km) length, six of them in the study area (fig. 3). The fortlets are clearly part of the primary construction since all the sites examined in any detail can be shown either to precede the Wall, as at Duntocher and Cleddans, or are contemporary with its construction, as at Wilderness Plantation and Croy Hill (pl. 3 and fig. 4). Little, however, is known of their internal arrangements, with only a few postholes recorded at Duntocher and Wilderness Plantation suggesting the presence of small rectangular barrack-like structures. Indisputable evidence of a system of watchtowers presumed to match the 'turrets' on Hadrian's Wall has, however, yet to be recovered, though one possible example has been identified in Falkirk (Bailey 1995). A number of smaller installations of enigmatic function have, however, been recorded. Three small ditched enclosures attached to the rear of the Wall have been revealed from the air on either side of the fortlet at Wilderness Plantation, at Buchley, Wilderness West and Wilderness East. Examination of Wilderness West was undertaken in anticipation of recovering traces of a watchtower, but this was not forthcoming either within the enclosure or in the body of the rampart in front of it (Hanson and Maxwell 1983). The so-called 'expansions', square extensions at the rear of the rampart, are generally thought to provide some form of signalling platform. They occur in pairs, as for example across Croy Hill, where one has been sectioned on three separate occasions,

Figure 4. Plan of Croy Hill fort, fortlet and vicus. Created by Dominic Powlesland.



demonstrating that it was clearly a later addition to the original Wall line (GAS 1899, 71–85; Robertson 1969, 37–9).

Before construction of the Antonine Wall had been completed, however, a major change of plan was introduced, involving the construction of an additional series of forts along the line. This brought the spacing between them to c. 3–4km (2–3 Roman miles), closer than on any other imperial frontier, perhaps reflecting a response to local hostile reaction to the construction (Hanson and Maxwell 1986, 135–6). Some seven such forts are attested in the study area at Duntocher, Castlehill, Bearsden, Cadder, Kirkintilloch, Croy Hill (fig. 4) and Bar Hill, adjacent to or overlying fortlets in two cases (Duntocher and Croy Hill). These secondary forts are generally smaller than the primary; indeed, in the case of Duntocher it is so small as to barely warrant the description ‘fort’, though it was still provided with an annexe and external bathhouse. The level of knowledge about these forts varies from barely being able to define the limits of the site at Kirkintilloch, to a good appreciation of the character of the enclosures at Castlehill and Westerwood, to a very full awareness of the arrangement of the internal buildings at Bearsden, Cadder and Bar Hill.

The range of units recorded epigraphically attests to the cosmopolitan nature of the army of conquest, with regiments on the stretch of the Antonine Wall in our area from Gaul, Germany (Baetasii) and Syria (Hamii), with Belgian, Spanish and Thracian units attested further to the east (Hanson and Maxwell 1986, 154). There is no equivalent direct evidence of the units in residence at forts to the south of the Forth–Clyde isthmus.

We are also fortunate that we have good epigraphic evidence for the organization of the construction of the Wall, particularly from its western end, in the so-called Distance Slabs, most of which are housed in the Hunterian Museum (Keppie 1998, 72–90). These inscribed stones show that the whole length of the Wall was broken up into blocks of work of varying length, measured very precisely in paces, each assigned to a legion. The western 6.5km, however, were divided into smaller blocks, this time measured in Roman feet, reflecting the need to bring the work to a more rapid completion after the delay caused by the addition of the secondary forts. The majority of the stones are also sculptured, some quite ornately, such as those from Summerston near Balmuildy and Hutcheson Hill, Bearsden (pl. 4). The former depicts on one side Victory crowning a cavalryman who is riding down two captives and on the other a third captive beneath an eagle and a capricorn, the emblem of the second legion. The latter shows a female figure,

Plate 4. The distance slab from Hutcheson Hill.

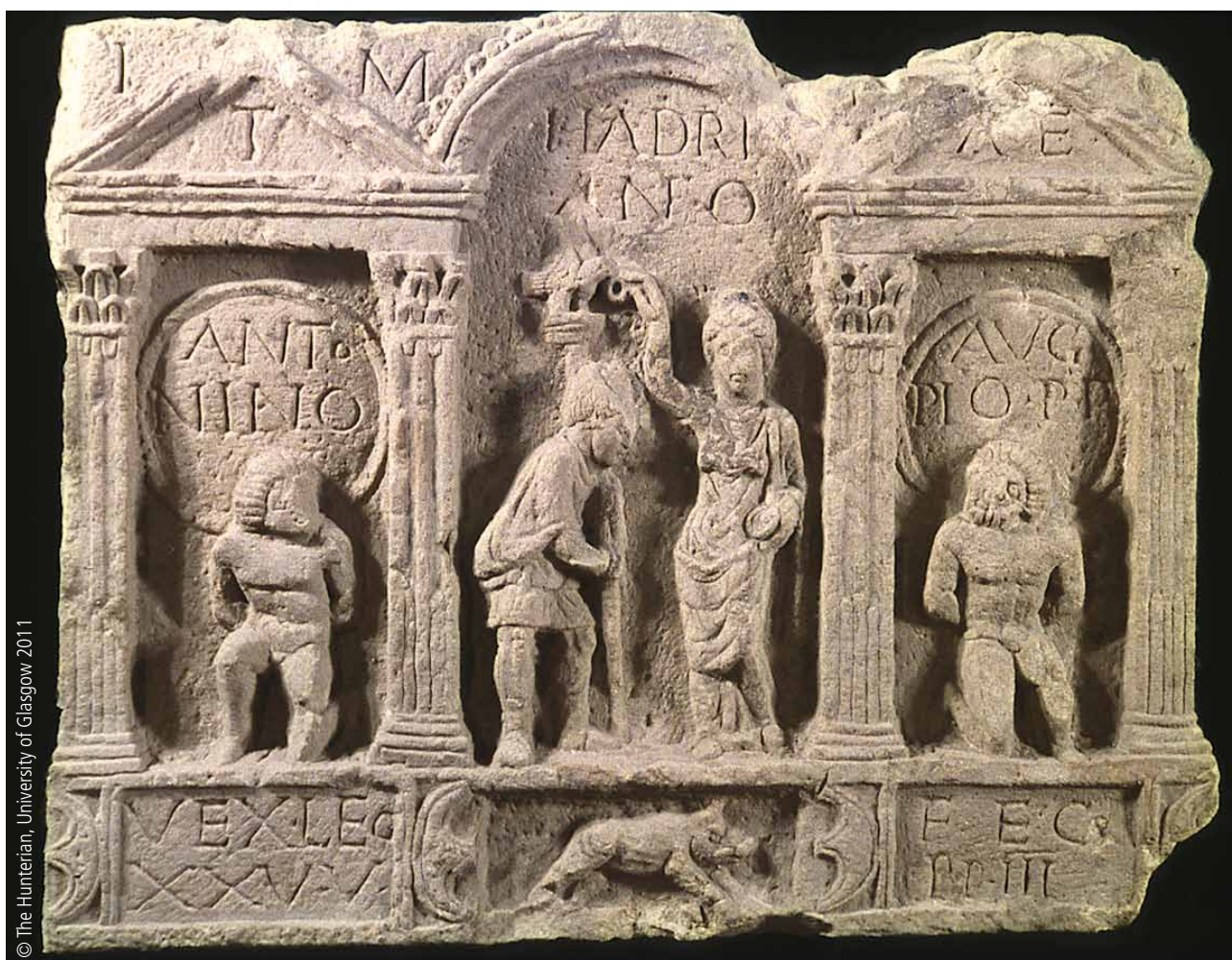




Plate 5. Faint traces of the narrow ditches around three sides of the Easter Cadder construction camp and the line of the Antonine Wall (showing the ditch, traces of the rampart base and ditches/pits beside the Military Way) revealed as cropmarks from the air. The wide, light-coloured linear feature cutting across the Antonine Wall ditch in the foreground is a modern pipe trench.

possibly Victory or Britannia, placing a laurel wreath in the beak of the eagle-standard of the Twentieth Legion, flanked on either side by a kneeling captives. Thus these stones, which would almost certainly have been set up on the Wall itself, were clearly intended to proclaim the Roman army's victory.

A small number of probable labour or construction camps have been discovered from the air in our area at the western end of the Wall (table 2; fig. 3): at Summerston, Easter Cadder (pl. 3), Twechar, Bar Hill, Tollpark and two at Dullatur, though only one (Dullatur 1) has produced independent dating evidence in the form of Antonine pottery (Swan 2000). Most of the camps are less than 2.5ha in size, though a larger camp of some 4.7ha, which is also provided with an annexe, is known at Buchley near Balmuildy, lying to the north of the Wall, and another of similar dimensions at Garnhall. The second camp recorded at Garnhall, however, may be of later date (Jones 2005). In addition, very small temporary enclosures of slightly more complex character are attested beneath the forts at Croy Hill and Bar Hill, which may also relate to the building process.

A Civilian Presence

The aspect of the Roman occupation about which we know least, not just for our region but for the whole of Scotland, is the nature and extent of the civilian population. Wives and families would have accompanied legionary officers and auxiliary commanders, their presence most eloquently attested in the famous tablets from the fort at Vindolanda just to the south of Hadrian's Wall (e.g. Bowman 1994, 56–7), but also recorded epigraphically as at Westerwood where Vibia Pacata, wife of the legionary centurion who probably commanded the unit there, dedicated an altar to the nymphs of the forest and the spirits of the crossroads (Wright 1968). The presence of women and children within forts is occasionally confirmed archaeologically by the waterlogged remains of their shoes from pits, wells or ditches, as for example at Balmuildy and Bar Hill, the latter producing such large numbers as to suggest that they do not all derive from the family of the commanding officer. Below the rank of centurion, however, the troops were not allowed to marry, though they clearly established unofficial liaisons. The resultant families had to live outside the fort and would presumably have followed the unit when it moved to another posting. Inscriptions occasionally provide the names of some civilians on the frontier. Salmanes, whose name suggests a Semitic origin, buried his 15-year-old



Plate 6. Castledykes camp 2 showing its two phases of use and the later field system which makes use of its ditches, all revealed as cropmarks from the air. One side of the extant fort platform is visible in the background.

son of the same name at Shirva between Auchendavy and Bar Hill. Whether the elder Salmanes was soldier or a trader is not specified. The latter is generally considered more likely, though a unit of Syrian origin is attested in garrison at Bar Hill. The tombstone of Verecunda, an unknown woman, probably a soldier's wife or daughter, is attested from the same location (*RIB* 2182 and 2183).

Traders and craftsmen were also drawn to the frontier by economic forces. The military presented a large potential market, as did the peoples beyond the frontier, and military procurement and supply relied heavily on civil contracts. For example, the evidence of Roman pottery being manufactured in the vicinity of forts in Scotland has continued to grow and there is little doubt that civilians were involved in this process. This was clearly the case with the specialist production of mortaria – mixing bowls – at Elginhaugh in Midlothian in the Flavian period (Hartley 2007) and potentially also at various Antonine sites within our area on the basis of the localized distribution of specific stamped wares or distinctive fabrics, including possible wasters (Hartley 1976; Keppie 1995a, 93). But the military themselves may also have been involved in pottery production, as is implied by the location of a kiln at Bar Hill which was set into the wall of the stoke pit for the internal bath building (Keppie 1985, 58–60). Who made the local pottery attested at Bearsden or manned the pottery kilns attested outside the forts at Duntocher and possibly Croy Hill, whether civilians or soldiers, is uncertain (Breeze 1986, 186; Newall 1998, 25–8; Hanson 1979).

Thus, the presence of civilian settlements immediately outside forts, usually referred to as military *vici*, is both unsurprising and well attested on all frontiers, though we do not know whether all the forts in our area had such settlements or at what stage they came to be established. None are currently attested outside Flavian forts in Scotland, for example. It is clear, however, that military *vici* do occur in Scotland in the Antonine period and in some cases were quite extensive, as for example at Inveresk in Midlothian (Bishop 2002, 3, 33–5 and 88–93). Work on other frontiers indicates that the *vici* were established as fully fledged, planned settlements at approximately the same time as the foundation of the fort itself (Sommer 1999; Oltean et al. 2005), so that Flavian examples in Scotland might reasonably be anticipated.

On the line of the Antonine Wall there are occasional slight indications of activity outside the forts which may relate to the civilian population. Thus, at Bearsden part of a building foundation was recorded to the west of the fort, while at Westerwood ditches and gullies of a possible field system have been recorded on the west side of the fort, along with various postholes which are not readily linked together to form coherent building plans. The most extensive search for such remains has been undertaken around the fort at Croy Hill (fig. 4). Various small ditches and gullies defining field systems, along with pits and a possible pottery kiln, have been recorded to the east of the fort, while to the south-west further ditches, which contain large quantities of pottery, and a construction trench for a timber building hint at the location of a *vicus* on the flat ground immediately to the west of the fort. Recent attempts to locate

civil settlements around the forts at Balmuildy and Auchendavy by means of geophysical survey have not proved successful (information from Dr Richard Jones). However, extensive aerial photographic evidence of enclosures or field systems immediately to the north of the fort at Castledykes, some of them apparently reusing the ditches of temporary camp 2 (pl. 6), hints at the possibility of a settlement there.

Religious Life

Part of Roman military life was the annual round of religious ceremonies in which loyalty to the emperor and the Roman state was reaffirmed through dedications to the official state religion, exemplified in the setting up of altars to Jupiter and the rest of the Roman pantheon. In addition, dedications to deities with military attributes were common. In 1771 four such altars were found together in a pit during the excavation of the Forth and Clyde Canal. They were all dedicated by Marcus Cocceius Firmus, a centurion in the Second Legion, who was commanding the garrison at Auchendavy, and dedicated to a wide range of gods in various combinations, including Jupiter, Mars, Minerva, Hercules, Epona, Victory, Diana, Apollo, the Goddesses of the Parade Ground and the Genius of the Land of Britain (*RIB* 2174–7). Other examples of similar official or semi-official dedications are attested at Old Kilpatrick, Duntocher, Castlehill, Balmuildy, Bar Hill and Croy Hill, most of them in the collections of the Hunterian Museum (Barber 1971 and *RIB* 2201, 2195, 2189–90, 2165, 2158–9).

It was also common practice to placate the local gods. This occurred either directly in Roman terms through dedications to Silvanus or the Nymphs, with examples from Cadder, Auchendavy, Bar Hill and Croy Hill (*RIB* 2187, 2178, 2167 and 2160), or sometimes through association with Roman gods, as for example Camulus with Mars at Bar Hill (*RIB* 2166). Dedications to specific named local gods also occur, particularly on Hadrian's Wall (e.g. *RIB* 1521–35), but none are attested in our area.

Evidence for the disposal of the dead derives predominantly from accidental discoveries of sculptural and/or epigraphic records. Rarely is it possible to locate the cemetery site, though there were sufficient tombstones from Shirva near Auchendavy on the Antonine Wall to suggest the location of a cemetery there, perhaps shared with the next fort to the east at Bar Hill. Apart from the inscribed stones noted in the previous section, two tombstones of legionaries from II Augusta (*RIB* 2179 and 2181) and three uninscribed figured tombstones, two showing males and one a female, were discovered in the early eighteenth century during the investigation of a stone 'tumulus' and now reside in the collections of the Hunterian Museum (Keppie 1998, 113–18). Tombstones are also known from Bar Hill, where the prefect of the First Cohort of Hamians, Iulius Marcellinus, was buried

(*RIB* 2172); Castlehill, where an uninscribed stone, now lost, depicts a Roman soldier (Keppie and Arnold 1984, 52); and Croy Hill, where a further uninscribed tombstone depicts three legionaries, probably representing a father and his two sons (Keppie and Arnold 1984, 34). Modern excavations have also recovered one cremation in a pottery urn to east of the fort.

Summary and Recommendations for Future Research

There is a long tradition in Scotland, and more widely in Britain, of concentrating archaeological attention on military installations. Nonetheless, there can be little doubt that our current knowledge of Roman military sites in the region does not reflect the totality of their original distribution. Certainly there are missing fortlets, and probably watchtowers, along the line of the Antonine Wall, but also there are likely to have been more temporary camps, forts, and possibly fortlets, across the area as a whole in both the Flavian and Antonine periods. There will no doubt be a continued role for aerial reconnaissance in augmenting our knowledge (see Hanson later in this series), particularly in those infrequent years when a dry spring is followed by a dry summer. An alternative approach, particularly in an area which is less conducive to the formation of cropmarks, is to focus fieldwork on the locations of so-called 'stray' finds of Roman material, whether historically recorded or recovered more recently by metal detecting. It has been suggested that coins and a bronze seal-box found by the latter method near Cleghorn may indicate the site of a missing Antonine fortlet (Keppie 1990, 17–18).

But Roman forts should be seen as potential foci of wider activity. Many in Scotland in both the Flavian and Antonine periods, such as Barochan, Mollins, Castledykes, Auchendavy, Balmuildy, Bearsden and Duntocher, were provided with annexes, enclosures directly attached to the fort. With rare exceptions, these have been only cursorily examined so that their function continues to be a matter of debate (e.g. Bailey 1994, 305–11). Similarly, as already noted, our knowledge of the civilian presence associated with Roman forts in Scotland is minimal. Though the limited attempts to investigate the possibility of settlements outside forts on the Antonine Wall have not met with great success, presumably because of the difficulty of identifying timber buildings in this way, this approach is worth pursuing further as it has produced excellent results on Hadrian's Wall and in Wales (e.g. Biggins and Taylor 2004). Finally, apart from occasional records of tombstones, we know very little about the disposal of the dead which would have taken place beyond the boundaries of those settlements. Thus, any opportunities to investigate the immediate vicinity of fort sites should be seized upon.

Table 1. Temporary camps in the study area not associated with the Antonine Wall (fig. 1)

Map no.	Site name	National Grid Reference	Area in hectares	Gate type(s)*	Comments
1	Bankhead 1	NS 9835 4515	18.1	<i>titulus</i>	overlaps Bankhead 2
2	Bankhead 2	NS 9820 4490	12.2	<i>titulus</i>	overlaps Bankhead 1
3	Carstairs Mains	NS 9474 4430	16.8	<i>titulus</i>	
4	Castledykes 1A	NS 9220 4475	23.9	Stracathro-type	probably Flavian
5	Castledykes 1B	NS 9220 4475	15.7	Stracathro-type	reduced in size from 1A
6	Castledykes 2A	NS 9283 4460	5.2	<i>tituli</i>	
7	Castledykes 2B	NS 9283 4460	3.9	<i>titulus</i>	reduced in size from 2A
8	Castledykes 3	NS 9236 4455	1.0		overlaps 1B
9	Castledykes 4	NS 9315 4451	14.0		possibly Flavian
10	Cleghorn	NS 9107 4596	18.4	<i>tituli</i>	Trajanic and Hadrianic coins
11	Cold Chapel	NS 9352 2490	5.0	<i>titulus</i>	
12	Cornhill 1	NS 0215 3574	17.2	<i>tituli</i>	
13	Cornhill 2	NS 0215 3574	13.8	<i>titulus</i>	reduced in size from 1
14	Crawford 1	NS 9592 2050	3.0		
15	Crawford 2	NS 9584 2059	5.5	<i>titulus</i>	
16	Crawford 3	NS 9545 2170	2.9	<i>tituli</i>	
17	Crawford 4	NS 9545 2170	0.6		in the corner of 3
18	High Cauldcoats	NS 6925 4144			probable camp
19	Kirkhouse	NS 0980 4620	16.1	<i>titulus</i>	predates presumed road line
20	Lamington	NS 9770 3090	8.2		
21	Little Clyde	NS 9940 1595	12.5	<i>titulus</i>	largely extant
22	Wandel	NS 9440 2675	1.8		seems to predate presumed road line
23	West Newton	NS 6920 4300	12.3	possible <i>titulus</i>	possible camp

*Camps were provided with different gate types designed to deflect a frontal charge or expose the unshielded side of an attacker (Jones 2011). The most common form and the one with the longest period of use was the *titulus* (plural *tituli*) or traverse, a short stretch of bank and ditch located in front of the entrance gap. Much less common was the *clavicula*, a semicircular extension of the rampart, sometimes also accompanied by a ditch, which projected externally and/or internally. The use of *claviculae* in Britain

is generally attributed to the first and the earlier part of the second centuries AD. The Stracathro-type, named after the site in Angus where it was first observed, is a variant of the *clavicula* found only in Scotland in the Flavian period. It consists of an external *clavicula* ditch with an external oblique traverse on the opposite side of the entrance gap.

Table 2. Temporary camps in the study area along the Antonine Wall (fig. 3)

Map no.	Site name	National Grid Reference	Area in hectares	Comments
33	Bar Hill	NS 7070 7575	c. 0.6	very partial remains
34	Buchley	NS 5860 7220	4.72	attached annexes
35	Dullatur 1	NS 7465 7670	c. 4.3	Antonine pottery from ditch
36	Dullatur 2	NS 7465 7670	c. 2.2	contained within, reusing one side of, Dullatur 1
37	Easter Cadder	NS 6440 7347	1.5	<i>tituli</i> are recorded at two gates
38	Garnhall 1	NS 7850 7803	c. 4.5	
39	Garnhall 2	NS 7805 7791	c. 4.5	post-dates Antonine Wall
40	Summerston	NS 5742 7237	c. 2.3	pre-dates adjacent fortlet
41	Tollpark	NS 7783 7742	2.5	
42	Twechar	NS 6980 7544	c. 2.1	

Table 3. Primary references to permanent military installations mentioned in the text

To avoid cluttering the text with bibliographic references each time a particular site is mentioned, the main references are listed here. Site numbers correspond to those on figs. 2 and 3. For references to temporary camps, readers should refer to the gazetteer in Jones 2011.

1. Auchendavy: Keppie and Walker 1985; Jones et al. 2006, 12–15 and 25–6.
2. Balmuildy: Miller 1922.
3. Bankhead fortlet: Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 19.
4. Bar Hill: Macdonald and Park 1906; Robertson et al. 1975; Keppie 1985.
5. Barochan: Keppie and Newall 1998.
6. Bearsden fort: Breeze 1984.
7. Beattock Summit watchtower: Maxwell 1976.
8. Bishopton fort: Steer 1951; Newall 1997.
9. Bothwellhaugh fort: Maxwell 1975; Keppie 1981.
10. Buchley minor enclosure: Hanson and Maxwell 1983.
11. Cadder: Clarke 1933.
- 12/13. Castlehill fort and fortlet: Keppie 1980.
14. Castledykes: Robertson 1964b.
15. Cleddans fortlet: Keppie and Walker 1981.
16. Crawford: Maxwell 1972.
- 17/18. Croy Hill, fort, fortlet and *vicus*: Macdonald 1932; Hanson 1979.
- 19/20. Duntocher fort and fortlet: Robertson 1957; Keppie 2004.
21. Glasgow Bridge fortlet: Hanson and Maxwell 1986, 94–5.
22. Lamington fortlet: RCAHMS 1978, 160; Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 25.
23. Lurg Moor fortlet: Robertson 1964a.
24. Mollins: Hanson and Maxwell 1980.
25. Old Kilpatrick: Miller 1928.
26. Redshaw Burn: Miller 1952, 111–12; RCAHMS 1978, 134–5.
27. Summerston fortlet: Hanson and Maxwell 1986, 94–5.
28. Wandel fortlet: RCAHMS 1978, 136.
29. Westerwood: Macdonald 1933; Keppie 1995a.
30. Wilderness Plantation fortlet: Wilkes 1974.
- 31/32. Wilderness East and West minor enclosures: Hanson and Maxwell 1983.

Bibliography and Further Reading

Abbreviations

Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. = *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
Glasgow Archaeol. J. = *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*

- Bailey, GB (1994) The provision of fort annexes on the Antonine Wall, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 125, 299–314.
- (1995) The Antonine frontier in Callendar Park, Falkirk: its form and structural sequence, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 125, 577–600.
- Barber, RNL (1971) A Roman altar from Old Kilpatrick, Dunbartonshire, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 2, 117–19.
- Bateson, JD (1989) Roman and medieval coins found in Scotland to 1987, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 119, 165–88.
- Bidwell, P (2005) The system of obstacles on Hadrian's Wall: their extent, date and purpose, *Arbeia Journal*, 8, 53–76.
- Biggins, JA and Taylor, DJA (2004) Geophysical survey of the *vicus* at Birdoswald Roman fort, Cumbria, *Britannia*, 35, 159–178.
- Bishop, S (Ed.) (2002) *Roman Inveresk: Past, Present and Future*, Duns, Armatura.
- Bowman, AK (1994) *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier*, London, British Museum.
- Breeze, DJ (1982) *The Northern Frontiers of Roman Britain*, London, Batsford.
- (1984) The Roman fort on the Antonine Wall at Bearsden, in *Studies in Scottish Antiquity Presented to Stewart Cruden*, ed. DJ Breeze, Edinburgh, John Donald, 32–68.
- (1986) The manufacture of pottery in Roman Scotland, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 116, 185–89.
- (1996) *Roman Scotland*, London, Batsford.
- (2006) *The Antonine Wall*, Edinburgh, John Donald.
- Breeze, DJ and Dobson, B (2000) *Hadrian's Wall*, 4th edn, London, Penguin.
- Clarke, J (1933) *The Roman Fort at Cadder*, Glasgow, Jackson, Wylie & Co.
- (1952) Milton (Tassiesholm), in *The Roman Occupation of South-Western Scotland*, ed. SN Miller, Glasgow, Maclehose, 104–10.
- Curle, J (1932) An inventory of objects of Roman and provincial Roman origin found on sites in Scotland not definitely associated with Roman constructions, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 66, 277–400.
- GAS (1899) *The Antonine Wall Report*, Glasgow Archaeological Society.
- Hanson, WS (1978) Roman campaigns north of the Forth–Clyde isthmus: the evidence of the temporary camps, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 109, 140–150.
- (1979) Croy Hill, in *Roman Scotland: Some Recent Excavations*, ed. DJ Breeze, Edinburgh, Department of the Environment, 19–20.
- (1980) Agricola on the Forth–Clyde isthmus, *Scottish Archaeological Forum*, 12, 55–68.
- (1991a) *Agricola and the Conquest of the North*, 2nd edn, London, Batsford.
- (1991b) Tacitus' *Agricola*: an archaeological and historical study, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II. 33.3*, ed. W Haase, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1741–84.
- (1997) The Roman presence: brief interludes, in *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8000 BC–AD 1000*, eds KJ Edwards and IBS Ralston, London, Wiley, 195–216.
- (2007) *Elginhaugh: A Flavian Fort and its Annexe*, London, Britannia Monograph Series 23.
- Hanson, WS and Breeze, DJ (1991) The future of Roman Scotland, in *Scottish Archaeology: New Perceptions*, eds WS Hanson and EA Slater, Aberdeen University Press, 57–80.
- Hanson, WS and Maxwell, GS (1980) An Agricolan *praesidium* on the Forth–Clyde isthmus (Mollins, Strathclyde), *Britannia*, 11, 43–49.
- (1983) Minor enclosures on the Antonine Wall at Wilderness Plantation, *Britannia*, 14, 227–43.
- (1986) *Rome's North-west Frontier: The Antonine Wall*, 2nd edn, Edinburgh University Press.
- Hartley, KF (1976) Were mortaria made in Roman Scotland? *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 4, 81–9.
- (2007) The mortaria, in Hanson 2007, 326–78.
- Hobley, AS (1989) The numismatic evidence for the post-Agricolan abandonment of the Roman frontier in northern Scotland, *Britannia*, 20, 69–74.
- Hodgson, N (1995) Were there two Antonine occupations of Scotland?, *Britannia*, 26, 29–49.
- (2009) The abandonment of Scotland: its date and causes, in *The Army and Frontiers of Rome*, ed. WS Hanson, Portsmouth, Rhode Island, Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series, 185–93.
- Hoffmann, B (2004) Tacitus, Agricola and the role of literature in the archaeology of the first century AD, in *Archaeology and Ancient History: Breaking Down the Boundaries*, ed. EW Sauer, London, Routledge, 151–65.
- Jones, RH (2005) Temporary camps on the Antonine Wall, in Visy 2005, 551–60.
- (2011) *Roman Camps in Scotland*, Edinburgh, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- Jones, RE, Leslie, A and Johnson, P (2006) Recent geophysical surveys at Roman forts in Central Scotland, in *Going Over Old Ground: Perspectives on Archaeological, Geophysical and Geochemical Survey in Scotland*, eds RE Jones and L Sharpe, Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 416, 8–28.
- Keppie, LJF (1980) Roman forts on Castlehill, Bearsden, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 7, 80–4.
- (1981) Excavation of a Roman bathhouse at Bothwellhaugh, 1975–76, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 8, 46–94.
- (1985) Excavation at the Roman fort of Bar Hill, 1978–82, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 12, 49–81.
- (1990) The Romans in southern Scotland: future discoveries, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 16, 1–27.
- (1995a) Excavations at the Roman fort of Westerwood on the Antonine Wall, 1985–88, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 19, 83–99.

- (1995b) A Roman camp gateway at Castledykes, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 19, 75–81.
- (1998) *Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow*, London, Britannia Monograph Series 13.
- Keppie, LJF (2001) *The Antonine Wall: A Handbook to the Surviving Remains*, 5th edn, Glasgow Archaeological Society.
- (2004) A Roman bathhouse at Duntocher on the Antonine Wall, *Britannia*, 35, 179–224.
- Keppie, LJF and Arnold, BJ (1984) *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Great Britain vol. 1.4. Scotland*, Oxford, British Academy.
- Keppie, LJF and Newall, F (1998) Excavations at the Roman fort of Barochan Hill, Renfrewshire, 1972 and 1984–1986, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 20, 41–76.
- Keppie, LJF and Walker, JJ (1989) Some excavation along the line of the Antonine Wall, 1981–85, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 119, 143–59.
- (1985) Auchendavy Roman fort and settlement, *Britannia*, 16, 29–35.
- Macdonald, G (1932) Notes on the Roman forts at Old Kilpatrick and Croy Hill and a relief of Jupiter Dolichenus, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 66, 243–76.
- (1933) Notes on the Roman forts at Rough Castle and Westerwood, with a postscript, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 67, 277–86.
- (1934) *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Macdonald, G and Park, A (1906) The Roman forts on the Bar Hill, Dumbartonshire, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 40, 403–546.
- Mann, JC (1986) The construction of the Antonine Wall, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 116, 191–93.
- (1988) The history of the Antonine Wall – a reappraisal, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 118, 131–37.
- (1992) Loca, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 20, 53–55.
- Maxwell, GS (1972) Excavations at the Roman fort at Crawford, Lanarkshire, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 104, 147–200.
- (1976) A Roman timber tower at Beattock Summit, Lanarkshire, *Britannia*, 7, 33–8.
- (1981) Agricola's campaigns: the evidence of the temporary camps, *Scottish Archaeological Forum*, 12, 25–54.
- (1989) Aerial reconnaissance and the Antonine Wall, in *Into the Sun: Essays in Air Photography in Archaeology in Honour of Derrick Riley*, ed. D Kennedy, University of Sheffield, 173–88.
- Miller, SN (1922) *The Roman Fort at Balmuirdy*, Glasgow Archaeological Society.
- (1928) *The Roman Fort at Old Kilpatrick*, Glasgow, Jackson, Wylie & Co.
- Newall, F (1975) The Romans and Strathclyde: the first century AD occupation, *Western Naturalist*, 4, 7–94.
- (1976) The Roman signal fortlet at Outerwards, Ayrshire, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 4, 111–123.
- (1997) The Roman fort on Whitemoss, Bishopton, Renfrewshire: Part 1: the excavations of 1950–54 and 1957, *The Scottish Naturalist*, 109, 55–96.
- (1998) The Roman fort on Whitemoss, Bishopton, Renfrewshire: Part 2: Whitemoss and the Antonine Wall: the place of Whitemoss in Roman Scotland, *The Scottish Naturalist*, 110, 13–43.
- Oltean, IA, Radeanu, V and Hanson, WS (2005) New discoveries in the military vicus of the auxiliary fort at Micia, in Visy 2005, 351–56.
- RCAHMS (1978) *Lanarkshire: An Inventory of the Prehistoric and Roman Monuments*, Edinburgh, HMSO.
- Reed, N (1976) The Scottish campaigns of Septimius Severus, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 107, 92–102.
- RIB Collingwood, RG and Wright, R (Eds) (1965) *Roman Inscriptions in Britain*, Oxford University Press.
- Rivet, ALF and Smith, C (1979) *The Place Names of Roman Britain*, London, Batsford.
- Robertson, AS (1957) *An Antonine Fort: Golden Hill, Duntocher*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd.
- (1964a) *Miscellanea Romano-Caledonica, Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 96, 180–201.
- (1964b) *The Roman Fort at Castledykes*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd.
- (1969) Recent work on the Antonine Wall, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.*, 1, 37–42.
- (1970) Roman finds from non-Roman sites in Scotland, *Britannia*, 1, 198–226.
- Robertson, AS, Scott, S and Keppie, LJF (1975) *Bar Hill: A Roman Fort and its Finds*, Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 16.
- Roy, W (1793) *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, London, Society of Antiquaries.
- Shotter, DCA (2000) Petillius Cerialis in northern Britain, *Northern History*, 36.2, 189–98.
- Sommer, CS (1999) The Roman army in SW Germany as an instrument of colonisation: the relationship of forts to military and civilian *vici*, in *The Roman Army as a Community*, eds A Goldsworthy and I Haynes, Portsmouth, Rhode Island, Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 34, 81–93.
- Steer, KA (1951) The Roman fort at Whitemoss, Renfrewshire, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 83, 28–32.
- Swan, VG (2000) The pottery, in Excavation of the Roman temporary camps at Dullatur, North Lanarkshire, CE Lowe and R Moloney, *Britannia*, 31, 244–8.
- Visy, Z (Ed.) (2005) *Limes XIX, Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, University of Pecs.
- Woolliscroft, DJ (2002) The Roman Frontier on the Gask Ridge, Perth and Kinross, *An Interim Report on the Roman Gask Project 1995–2000*, Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 335.
- Woolliscroft, DJ and Hoffmann, B (2006) *Rome's First Frontier: The Flavian Occupation of Northern Scotland*, Stroud, Tempus.
- Wright, RP (1968) A Roman altar from Westerwood on the Antonine Wall, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 100, 192–3.