

**SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND IN ROMAN TIMES - SETTLEMENT AND COMMUNICATIONS**

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## ABSTRACT

### SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND IN ROMAN TIMES - SETTLEMENT AND COMMUNICATIONS

This study examines settlement among the Britons in South-West Scotland in the Roman Period, that is from AD 80 until the departure of the Romans from Britain in or about AD 410. Chronological limits are extended a short way before and after. It also examines communications as brought by Rome in the form of engineered roads at the time of the Flavian Invasion c AD 80 and maintained even after the true occupation of Scotland had ceased.

An attempt is made to collate what is known about South-West Scotland in Roman times by an examination of the ancient historical sources together with an interpretation of the archaeological discoveries of past and recent date particularly in respect of native artifacts. Besides in-text tables and figures, a base map shows native sites occupied in the period; Roman roads, forts, and possible vici are shown on overlays for the Flavian and Antonine periods, while unstratified coin finds of the 3rd and 4th century make up two further overlays. Appendices provide gazeteers of British and Roman sites.

The study suggests that the Roman Road system was more extensive in South-West Scotland than is generally supposed and that native settlement within fortifications continued throughout the Roman period although the formation of vici in some number is very likely.



## RESUME

### Le Sud-Ouest de l'Ecosse à la période romaine - établissements et voies de communication

Cette étude examine les divers établissements qu'on retrouve chez les Brittons du Sud-Ouest de l'Ecosse à la période romaine, soit entre 80 ap. J. C. et l'abandon de la Grande-Bretagne par les Romains en ou vers 410 ap. J.-C. Elle examine également les voies de communication introduites par Rome sous forme de routes construites lors de l'invasion flavienne de c. 80 ap. J.-C. et maintenues par elle même après qu'ait cessé la véritable occupation de l'Ecosse.

Nous tentons ici de rassembler tout ce qui est connu au sujet du Sud-Ouest de l'Ecosse à la période romaine, par un examen des sources anciennes, tant historiques que géographiques ou linguistiques, ainsi que par une interprétation des découvertes archéologiques passées et récentes, particulièrement en ce qui a trait aux objets d'origine indigène. Outre divers tableaux et figures à même le texte, une carte de base montre les sites indigènes occupés au cours de la période; les routes romaines, forts et vici potentiels apparaissent sur des overlays caractérisant les périodes flavienne et antonine, alors que des monnaies provenant de trouvailles non-stratifiées et datant des 3e et 4e siècles constituent deux autres overlays. Des appendices fournissent le catalogue des sites britanniques et romains.

Cette étude suggère que le système de voies romaines était plus étendu dans le Sud-Ouest de l'Ecosse qu'on ne l'a généralement supposé et que des établissements indigènes se sont perpétués à l'intérieur des fortifications tout au long de la période romaine, bien que la formation d'un nombre important de vici demeure fort probable.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Ant	Antiquity
Ant. J.	Antiquaries Journal
Arch.	Archaeologia
Arch.Ael.	Archaeologia Aeliana
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CIL	E. Hubner, (ed): <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> 1873. Particularly vol 7 and 13.
COSMOGRAPHIA	Anonymi Ravennatis <i>Cosmographia</i>
CW	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
DES	Discovery and Excavation Scotland (CBA Scottish Regional Group)
GAJ	Glasgow Archaeological Journal
GAS	Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society (prior to GAJ)
ILS	H. Dessau, (ed): <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . 3 vols, (Berlin, 1873).
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
PLRE	H.M. Jones et al, (eds), <i>Prosopographia of the Later Roman Empire</i> , 2 vols (Cambridge, 1971).
PPS	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
PSAS	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RIB	R. G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, (eds) <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain Vol 1: Inscriptions on Stone</i> . (Oxford, 1965).
RIC	H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, C.H.V. Sutherland (eds); <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> . (London, 1923).
ROSW	S.N. Miller (ed) <i>The Roman Occupation of South Western Scotland</i> (Glasgow, 1952).
SAF	Scottish Archaeological Forum
RRIB	I. Margary, <i>Roman Roads in Britain</i> (London, 1973).
RWF	R. W. Feachem: <i>Guide to Prehistoric Scotland</i> . (London, 1977).
RWS	G. Macdonald: <i>The Roman Wall in Scotland</i> . (Edinburgh, 1934).
SHA	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i> .
SRR	L.J.F Keppie: <i>Scotland's Roman Remains</i> . (Edinburgh, 1986).
TDGNHAS	Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian and Natural History Society
Y CYM	Y Cymmrodor

## PREFACE

I grew up in Ayrshire and although I have lived in Canada these 30 years I have never lost touch with my homeland. When I went back to school seven years ago and decided to study in Classics, the desire to explore settlement, and particularly the Early Christian period in that area, became my goal. My first choice, centring around St. Ninian, was not considered possible at McGill and a settlement study of South-West Scotland was proposed.

I am well aware that this study has many problems the greatest of which is its size. The area in which I have a consuming interest is Ayrshire and Galloway and the Eastern side of the area has suffered because of this. It seemed better to my advisors to use a larger area in which there was more documented material and therefore to include the whole of the Antonine Wall; since settlement would include possible vici, Carriden and Cramond were added.

When I first started on this project two years ago one of the archaeologists at the RCAHMS library in Edinburgh looked at me in horror and said "but there is nothing there"; in a sense she was right; there is little that can be proven and very little on the native side that has been excavated. Surely this is a good reason to attempt to expand what little is known and that is what I have tried to do. There are vestiges of Roman roads over the area; I have attempted to show the "new stretches" to some extent, not completely as Mr. Newall and his associates will immediately be aware; one must rely on what one can glean from the sparse literature available, and I am well aware that I have not had access to all the literature. The sites are to some extent suspect since so few have been excavated. The possible vici are also a "new" element when considered on an area basis. Findspots are

interesting, but one has to wonder how the items arrived there. The coins sprinkled around the area and constantly being dug up in gardens and in the general area of Roman forts bespeak activity in Roman times. It is hardly likely that any great number fell out of modern pockets while travelling or visiting Roman remains.

In spite of all its shortcomings if this study helps to focus attention on South-West Scotland and bring together the many references, ancient and modern, then the labour of the past two years will not have been in vain.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My grateful thanks are due first to my husband, Frederick Tees, without whose support and practical help this thesis would never have been completed; also to my elder son, David Tees, whose help and patience have been enormous whilst I learned (rather slowly) how to use his word processor.

I would like to thank my two professors, G. Michael Woloch and John M. Fossey, who gave me correction, encouragement and a bit of prodding when necessary. Professor Woloch has most helped with Tacitus, Ammianus and bibliography. Professor Fossey has tried to straighten out my overly ambitious archaeological conclusions and helped clarify my often slapdash writing. Since a great deal of evidence comes from the archaeological finds his assistance has been invaluable.

Thanks are also due to Professor N. Drummond of McGill who let me audit his Cartography class; also to Ginette Gauvin, Ph.D candidate at McGill, who helped edit my abstract and gave me advice with mapping and to Jacques Morin, also a Ph.D candidate in Classics at McGill who is always supportive and gave me encouragement when I needed it.

Thanks are also due to a number of scholars in Scotland who took time to discuss South-West Scotland with me: Dr. Anne S. Robertson of Glasgow who discussed the literature over coffee and suggested people I should contact; Mr. Frank Newall, of Bridge of Weir who discussed Roman Roads with me on a couple of visits and whose enthusiasm is quite contagious; Mr. Alastair Hendry of Ayr whose excavations of native sites convinced me that native sites, as he put it, could be more interesting than Roman ones; to Mr. Alistair Gordon of Rutherglen who spared time to talk about early Christian sites and even lent me his notes on sites in Galloway. Thanks are also due to

the staff of the Library of the RCAHMS Library in Edinburgh and to Mr. Peter Hill, of Edinburgh who so kindly gave a complete stranger his own copy of his Interim Excavation Report at Whithorn; also to the Director General of the Ordnance Survey for permission to use parts of the 1: 250,000 and 1: 50,000 maps of Southern Scotland.

I do of course accept responsibility for all opinions expressed and for errors and omissions in the text.



I

INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT  
DEFINITIONS, BACKGROUND, METHOD

## A. DEFINITIONS

### 1. PURPOSE

The study considers two aspects of South-West Scotland in Roman times:

A. Settlement

B. Communications.

The main question to be asked is: What effect did the Roman occupation have on the Britons in terms of these two aspects?

### 2. CHRONOLOGICAL LIMITS

The time-span covered by this study is the Roman period which, in Scotland, is considered to date from the Agricola advance in A.D. 80 (although the possibility of earlier occupation will be discussed) and to last until the recall of Roman troops from Britain in or about A.D. 410.

### 3. SETTLEMENT

Settlement may be defined in general terms as the places where the inhabitants of the area permanently dwelt. The discussion will consider them under two types:

1) Rural: which is considered to mean the mainly defended dwellings present among the Britons at the time of the Roman invasion, namely: a) forts; b) duns; c) brochs; d) defended and undefended homesteads and settlements; e) crannogs. The heading also encompasses later settlement of the "scooped" and "citadel" types. More specific definitions of types of settlement are shown in the Glossary.

2) Vici: this is considered to mean settlements which occurred outside or near to Roman forts, either in an annexes or along Roman roads near to the forts, or in an area closeby (usually on a South-facing slope or perhaps a

plateau). The *raison d'être* for these settlements was the influx of the army and its needs (commercial and leisure); their dependence was entirely on the forts.

#### 4. COMMUNICATIONS

We are here dealing with the Road System which was built by the Romans subsequent to the invasion and occupation. It is hoped to show that the possibility exists of a real network of roads in South-West Scotland because of the short stretches that have been found, although at present forts have not been discovered along their route. While it appears that the road system was laid down in the Flavian period and extended in the Antonine period (and perhaps even later), I realise that it is not possible, except in rare cases, to date roads to specific times within the Roman period.

#### B. BACKGROUND

##### 1. GEOGRAPHIC SETTING

The setting for this study is South-West Scotland, that is the area which stretches from the estuary of the Rivers Clyde and Forth in the North to the Solway Firth on the South-West and which is bounded on the East by the estuary of the River Esk, and then by a line running North along the watersheds (which is also the line of the county boundaries) to the Pentland Hills and from there descending to the coast by way of the Water of Leith. This area was for part of the Roman period the Western part of the land enclosed between the Antonine Wall to the North and Hadrian's Wall to the South.

The reorganisation of Scotland in 1975 into districts and regions does not suit the area designated for this study. The old county names will accordingly be used instead; the counties in question are the whole or part

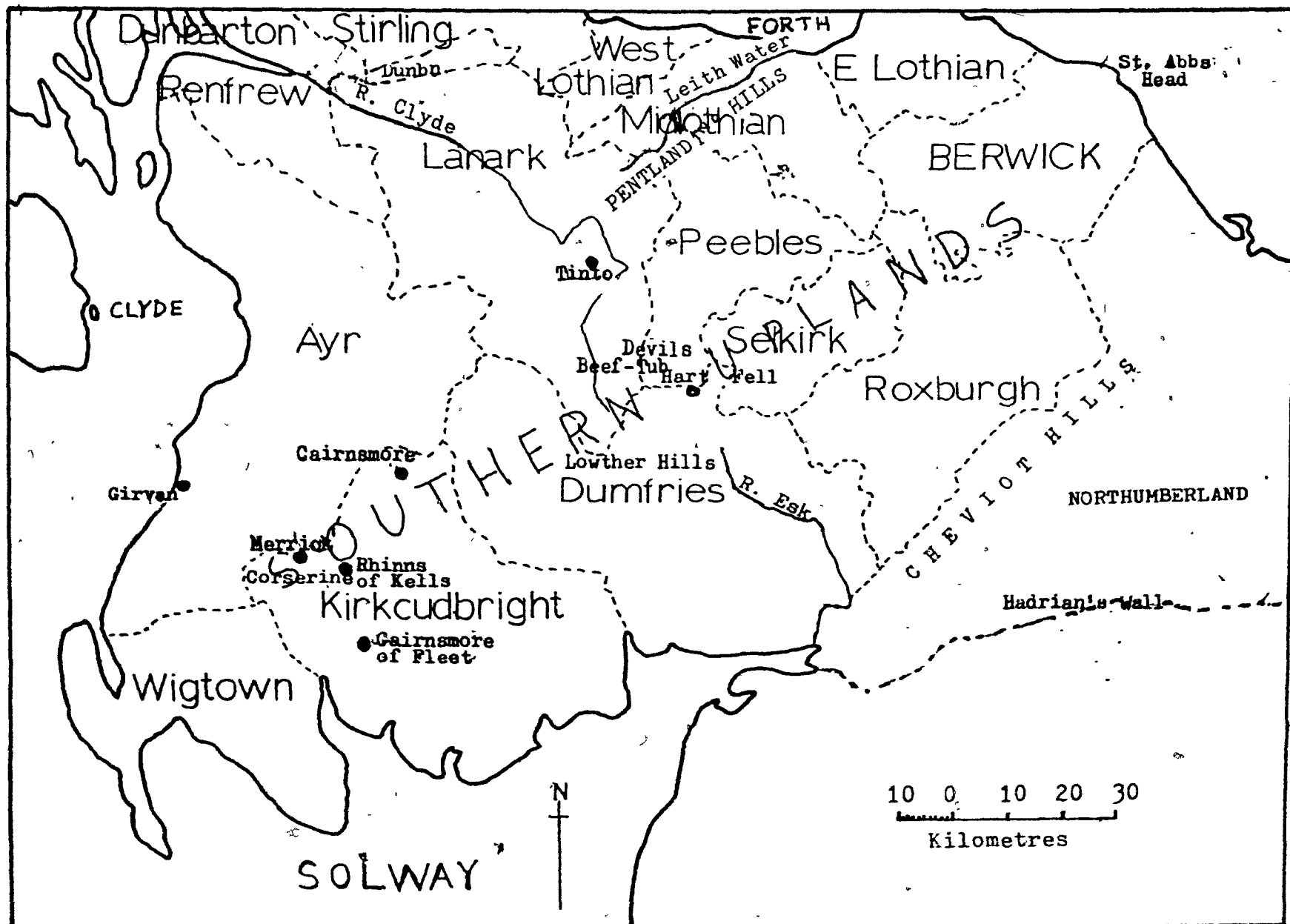
of: Dunbarton, Renfrew, Ayr, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, Lanark, West Lothian and Midlothian and Stirling (fig. 1.1).

Geographically this area takes in part of the lowlands of mid-Scotland which extend between the Firths of Clyde and Forth, as well as Lanark and part of the Lothians. It also includes part of the Southern Uplands, running North-East from a point just South of Girvan to St. Abb's Head. These Uplands take the form of rounded hills incised by rivers. The highest point is The Merrick at 843m with, closeby, Corserine in the Rinns of Kells (813m), Cairnsmore of Carsphairn (797m) and Cairnsmore of Fleet (710m). All these hills lie in the county of Kirkcudbright. In Lanark the highest point is Tinto (711m). In Dumfries the Lowther Hills rise to 732m and, on the Eastern margin of the area Hart Fell (808m), near the Devil's Beef Tub, is the highest point (fig. 1.1).

The shores of Southern Scotland, both East and West, are edged with sand-dunes and raised sea-beaches caused by sea changes in post-glacial times. These alluvial terraces form a strip of low fertile land.

Inland the region between the Firths of Forth and Clyde is pleasantly undulating land, good for pasture and mostly arable. The coal-fields of Lanark are extensive and pig-iron has been worked since ancient times. From the Clyde to Girvan is an area of gently rolling hills and fine arable sandy soil, ideal for agriculture; it also supports dairy herds. In Ayrshire there were other extensive deposits of coal now almost worked out. Salt-pans were known in mediaeval times at Saltcoats and Kingcase. Beyond Girvan the upland region begins quite suddenly and the terrain becomes moorland and heavily forested hills separated by river valleys. On the Westerly facing shores of the Rinns and Machars of Wigtownshire the hills, though not high, slope

Fig. 1.1



steeply to the sea and the shores are often rocky. The hills on the Eastern sides of these two peninsulas slope more gently and provide better farming land, as do the hills of the more Easterly peninsulas of Kirkcudbright and Dumfries.

The sands along the Solway coast are extensive and run far into the bays. The deep-water channels are quite narrow. The main rivers flowing into the Solway from East to West are: the Esk, Annan, Nith, Dee, Urr and Cree.

Settlement since Iron-Age times has gravitated toward the River valleys, Eskdale, Annandale and Nithsdale in the South and in the North, Clydesdale and Avondale. The sandy, easily worked soils of the coastal regions also attracted settlement.

Although it is generally believed that Southern Scotland was thickly forested with oak, alder, birch and some beech (Gödwin, 1975:52) recent studies (Hanson and MacInnis, 1981: 100 and 102) in the area between the two Walls suggest that deforestation may have taken place from about the middle of the first millenium before Christ rather than with the Roman conquest.

## 2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

South-West Scotland has not received the same amount of study as has South-East Scotland in terms of either settlement or communications although information from ancient sources, while not abundant, is available for all of Southern Scotland. The typesite for native forts, however, lies at Traprain Law, some 24 km East of Edinburgh and thus in South-East Scotland. The Roman Fort thought to be most important in the lowlands, Newstead, was excavated very fully between 1900 and 1905 (Curle, 1911) and produced a great many finds; other forts, such as Inveresk, Cramond and now Elginhaugh have been.

likewise productive. All these again lie in the East. Although the Antonine Wall has always excited scholars from Gildas and the Venerable Bede to the present, until the 1930's and the advent of aerial photography little interest was shown in Roman remains in the West. The very many fortified dwellings of the ancient Britons have in most cases not been excavated or were dug in the 19th century for "relics". Attempts at classification have tried to group by size, shape and area and have not been very successful. There are, however, just as many "remains" in the West as in the East.

a) Ancient Sources

Three geographic sources deal with South-West Scotland in Ancient times:

1) Claudius Ptolemaeus who wrote in the mid-second century after Christ provided the co-ordinates for a map of Britain (*Geographia* II, 2, 10 - 3, 14). He listed the tribes and the main "towns" in each tribal area. His information is fullest for Southern Scotland. (II, 3, 1-2 and 5-7). Because of a number of errors in his information, however, the whole of Scotland inclines towards the East instead of to the North. The area of Southern Scotland suffers most of all. When it is "turned" to the North it becomes difficult to assess where the towns, rivers and bays lie which are not known from other contexts. Scholars have been inclined to believe that Ptolemaeus was referring to Roman forts rather than to native towns and have tried to make the known Roman Forts fit the Roman author's information. Recent discoveries of new forts are already upsetting such theories.

2) *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* a seventh century compilation based on earlier information, confirms or follows Ptolemaeus with some variations as regards Southern Scotland. It provides the names of the "towns" of the Antonine Wall and some "loca" as distinct from "towns" which may be tribal meeting-places and four of which appear to lie within South-West Scotland as designated.

3) *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* is a third century road map showing the length of roads in the Empire and the distances between forts along them. Iter II goes as far North as the fort at Birrens (*Blatobulgium*) and also shows Netherby (*Castra Exploratorum*).

The late Sir Ian Richmond worked out a scheme to fit the places named

in these three ancient sources (Richmond, 1958: Ch 4). A reassessment of this has recently been made (Rivet and Smith, 1979).

The most important historical source is Tacitus. Chapters 22-38 of *De Vita Agricolae* are concerned with Scotland; the third, fourth and fifth campaigns (Agr. 22, 23, 24) refer in particular to the area of Southern Scotland while containing other general references to the Britons as a whole. Chapters 10-11-12 also deal with the geography of Britain and the characteristics of the people and their mode of life. Where Caledonia actually began appears to be in doubt but in this paper I shall assume that it lay North of what became the Antonine Wall. Tacitus corroborates Ptolemaeus in his mention of *Clota* and *Bodotria* but otherwise adds only one tribe "the *Boresti*" (Agr. 38, 2) and one port "*Trucculensem(is)*" (Agr. 38.4) both of which, though not positively identified, appear not to lie in South-West Scotland.

There are references to North Britain in the *SHA* in the *Vitae* of *Hadrianus* V and XI (the building of the Wall), *Antoninus Pius* V (Building of the Antonine Wall), *Marcus Aurelius* VIII (Calpurnius Agricola's expedition), *Severus* XVIII (the building of a Wall across the island). Fuller references come from Cassius Dio, in the times of Commodus and Severus to the tribes of Scotland, but are related by Xiphillinus. Herodian, however, corroborates Dio for this period. Ammianus Marcellinus is the only source for mid-fourth century and the expedition of Theodosius. Panegyrics of late third and fourth centuries refer to the *Picti* and *Scotti* come first from authors not positively identified and later from Claudian. Brief references to the North come from Tertullian (*Adv. Judaeos*), Orosius, St. Jerome but add little specific to our area.



The earliest knowledge of Christianity in the area comes in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (III, 4). In a digression, while speaking of St. Columba, he says that the Southern Picts were converted to Christianity *multo ante tempore* by Nynia, a Bishop whose see was at Whithorn in Wigtownshire. Ailred of Rievaulx who wrote the *vita* of St. Ninian in the mid-12th century goes further by saying that Nynia heard of the death of St. Martin of Tours (AD 397) while building his church, thus dating him more closely.

St. Patrick's *Epistola ad Coroticum* written in the mid-fifth century attests to there being Christians, albeit lapsed, in South-West Scotland.

Gildas, a Briton, published a pamphlet (*de Exidio Britanniae*) in the mid-sixth century lamenting the state of the country and its kings. His knowledge of Roman history was poor and his material difficult to use but he was drawn upon by later writers.

Nennius, the compiler of the *Historia Brittonum*, wrote in the 8-9th century and provides the genealogies of the early British Kingdoms; these lists also appear in the 11th century *Harleian Manuscripts* and in the *Irish Annals*. Nennius also adds some historical facts not otherwise attested. Where Nennius and Bede disagree, scholars have always favoured Bede (Chadwick, 1954) but Nennius is a source of otherwise unknown ancient material and should not be so set aside.

#### b. Modern Sources

Only in the 18th century did a scientific interest in structures and roads become apparent. General William Roy, when surveying Scotland from 1747-55 for the Duke of Cumberland's Map, was able to trace many of the Roman roads which have now disappeared; he could observe ruins which he thought to be Roman in origin and many of which lay in South-West Scotland. His notes

and drawings were published after his death (1793). Modern scholars such as O.G.S. Crawford and Dr. J.K. St. Joseph have made use of his findings in their aerial survey work.

In the mid-18th century Charles Julius Bertram, a young Englishman teaching in Copenhagen submitted his "find" of a work by a monk "Richard of Westminster" to the leading antiquary of the time Dr. William Stukeley. It comprised 48 pages of Latin in the form of an expanded Antonine Itinerary together with a map "engraved from the original" by Mr. Bertram. It was hailed as an important addition to literature and knowledge and published under the title *De Situ Britanniae*. General Roy also accepted and analysed it (1793: Book 4). In the mid-18th century allegations were made that this was a forgery and repeated in the present century (Randall, 1933). It is presently regarded as an elaborate joke in poor taste, but it has been said, with truth, that some aspects appear to have been prophetic (Bagshawe, 1979:20).

In the 19th century Robert Stuart (1852) and John Smith (1895) referred to finds of Roman structures and roads in South-West Scotland. In the later 19th century, Dr. James Macdonald, a noted archaeologist of the time published some articles entitled "Notes on the 'Roman' Roads of the One-Inch Ordnance Map of Scotland" (1893; 1894; 1895). He questioned the right of the road through Annandale to the Upper Clyde to be termed "Roman" and categorically denied the possibility of a Roman road into Ayrshire. He was also sceptical of the theories of earlier antiquaries that the forts and camps along these ways could also be of Roman origin. He believed Ayrshire and Galloway to be the "Achilles heel" of the Romans and this belief, which has a certain attraction to the perfervid Scot, still lingers, in spite of evidence to the contrary.

The Antonine Wall has been a source of interest to scholars since Bede. John of Fordun (1384) and George Buchanan (1583) speculated about it while Camden (1586), Horsley (1732) and Roy (1793) measured, found and drew inscriptions. Macdonald (1932) is still the important basic work and has been updated (Robertson, 1960 and 1979) to take into consideration later excavation. Recent books (Breeze, 1982; Hanson and Maxwell, 1984) have dealt with the whole area between the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall, studying the size of and distance between forts, and examining the possibility of vici outside forts.

The dwellings of the Britons as "monuments" excited late 19th century scholars and most of the excavation that was carried out on them, in quest of "relics", occurred at that time. Dr. Robert Munro was interested in lake-dwellings both in Europe and Britain and his book *Ancient Scottish Lake-Dwellings or Crannogs* was published in 1882. Most of these crannogs are in South-West Scotland; they have produced many artifacts of Roman times.

David Christison did much field-walking and surveyed many Iron Age forts and duns. Apart from journal articles, his book *Early Fortifications of Scotland*, published in 1898, has a section on South-West Scotland and has been used by later writers and excavators. He was the first to count all the ancient forts and to map their distribution.

V. Gordon Childe (1935) classified the fortified dwellings of the Iron Age, using three typesites which he had excavated. The vitrified forts he equated with the timber-laced murus Gallicus of Julius Caesar and in 1937 proved in a controlled experiment (an early example of "experimental archaeology") that when a timberlaced wall was burned the heat generated would fuse to glass the stone of the drystone wall (Childe and Thorneycroft, 1938:

44) Some of his chronology has been disproved by carbon-dating but his contribution should not be set aside entirely on that account. Small forts, duns and brochs he gathered together in his "castle" complex, reasoning that they were too small for tribal occupation in times of stress. His book is useful for this study because he attempted also to show which native artifacts were in use generally in the Iron Age, using information culled from many sites. Following on Childe's ideas Euan Mackie (1975) has studied the origin of the Broch and its probable evolution from the Dun.

Two publications have contributed greatly towards an understanding of the Scottish Iron Age as a whole: 1. *Roman and Native in North Britain* (Richmond, 1958). This attempted to assess the effect of the Roman occupation on Scotland; it was divided into occupation periods. Papers included are by Stuart Piggott, John Clarke, J.P. Gillam, Kenneth Steer and Sir Ian Richmond himself. 2. *The Iron Age in Northern Britain* (Rivet, 1966). The papers this contained (by Stuart Piggott, Robert B.R. Stevenson, Alison Young, R.W. Feachem, George Jobey and J.R.C. Hamilton) were essentially the same as those read at a conference on the Iron Age in Northern Britain in 1961. Although they deal with Scotland as a whole these two books are essential to the study of South-West Scotland.

*South West Scotland*, in the Regional Archaeology Series (Scott, 1966) is the only publication covering the area from earliest times to the end of the Antonine Occupation. In a later article (Scott, 1976) the same author examined the area in the period from Agricola to Hadrian. Mr. Scott's sites were drawn mainly from James Curle's "Inventory of Objects of Roman and Provincial Roman origin found on sites in Scotland not definitely associated with Roman constructions" (1931-32). This Inventory was arranged in tabular

form by Dr. Anne Robertson (1970) and is a very valuable information source. Dr. Robertson has also written extensively on the coin evidence (most recent 1983).

In the area of decorated metalwork the recent work of Morna MacGregor (1976) draws on the classifications of Stuart Piggott and Robert Stevenson and illustrates the finds made (up to the mid-seventies) in South-West Scotland.

For the Roman Roads and Forts of the area the most valuable source, though dated in some ways because of new finds, is *The Roman Occupation of South-Western Scotland* (Miller, 1952). Its contributors S.N. Miller, John Clarke, J.M. Davidson, Anne S. Robertson and J.K. St. Joseph had all excavated and studied the forts and roads of this part of Scotland.

Ivan Margary spent many years investigating ancient roads before producing his work *The Roman Roads of Britain* in 1956. Now in its third edition (Margary, 1973), its inclusion of any road shows that it should be authentic. He called the area North of Hadrian's Wall: "The Uncompleted Northern Network". Since his death, however, new sections are continuing to be found.

Mr. Frank Newall, Dr. W. Lonie and their associates have devoted time over many years to the search for the remains of Roman roads in South-West Scotland and publish their findings each year in *Discovery and Excavation Scotland*. This annual is the most up to date publication for archaeological sites in Scotland.

### 3. THE IRON AGE

It seems appropriate to set the scene for Roman times by a short examination of Iron Age chronology in Scotland. The changeover to an Iron Age type of culture is now considered to have taken place in the mid-sixth century

B.C. Following the advent of radio-carbon dating, Professor Stuart Piggott, at an Iron Age Conference in 1961, proposed and later published (Rivet, 1966: 1-15) "A Scheme for the Scottish Iron Age", a classification "in cultural and chronological terms". This constituted for Scotland what Professor Christopher Hawkes' "ABC of the British Iron Age" (1959) was for England with "A", "B" and "C" representing the cultural divisions. Piggott divided Scotland into four provinces: Tyne-Forth, Solway-Clyde, North-Eastern and Atlantic (fig 2). Although the designated area of South-West Scotland overlaps into Tyne-Forth the provinces will be used in this paper where appropriate. These provinces were further divided in 22 regions by R.W. Peacham (Rivet, 1966: 59-87). The dating for Iron I: c 550 - 350 B.C. and Iron II: c. 350 - 150 B.C. would be the same as that of Hawkes for England. Iron III he suggested should run from c. 150 B.C. - A.D. 80 (the latter being the received date for the Roman invasion of Scotland) and suggested an added Iron IV from A.D. 80 to an unspecified date in the third century or later. This system allowed comparisons to be made more easily but became rather complicated in practice; it is, however, still widely used. Iron III is now generally referred to as "pre-Roman Iron Age" and IV as "Roman Iron Age" and these commoner appellations will be used in this study.

The Iron Age is the time of defended settlements and in particular of the hillfort. Radio-carbon dating has made it apparent that many of these forts formerly believed to date from the third century B.C., have in fact a much longer history originating in the seventh or sixth century B.C. In Southern Scotland there are some which meet the definition of a hillfort, that is above 4 hectares in area, but the majority is quite small, about 0.4 hectare in area; the latter are very thickly clustered particularly in

Tyne-Forth province where the heavy concentrations are mostly inland.

In South-West Scotland clustering is not so thick and the forts are to some extent of the promontory type. The mountain moors of Ayrshire and Kirkcudbright are sparsely occupied. Inland forts lie on eminences, generally up river valleys.

In addition to hill-forts there are other modern classifications of defended settlements of Iron Age date, definitions for which are given in the Glossary. The types in question are: Duns (from the Gaelic word meaning "fort" or "fortified place") are a smaller class of fort, about 375 sq. metres in size, characterised by a very thick wall (c 4 metres) which may or may not have galleries and mural chambers within it. Brochs are more developed Duns, very heavily fortified with a hollow wall, complete with mural chambers and stairway, extended to a greater height. Both of these seem intended rather for the housing of a chieftain plus retainers than for the shelter of a tribe. A number of defended farmsteads called homesteads, and even one so-called double-fort, is to be found often on low-lying ground. There is also the crannog, an artificial island lying in a bog or loch. In addition to these there were some settlements with only a ditch and a wall of earth and turf. Sometimes associated with the latter are souterrains or earth-houses, the purpose of which is still uncertain. The houses built in defended or undefended areas were always round, some indeed very large, and made of wood.

There has been no lack of interest in the native Britons' dwellings but there is little interest in the people who lived in them. Studies have inclined to focus on the dwellings themselves rather than on the society to which they belonged. This study will attempt to shed a little more light on this society with regard to its origins, tribal structure, economy and way of

life. I have included sites known or suspected to have had Roman occupation; and attempted to collate some of the many references to the area - in fact I have tried to "bring it all together".

Some very large problems exist: i) the lack of good dating material to establish a firm chronology, because native pottery is scarce, plain and of poor quality, and no sequence has been established; ii) the difficulty that few of the possible sites have been excavated and where excavation has taken place it has been only partial; iii) the inability to estimate the size of native population at any time because of i) and ii). Only in the Roman period can the appearance of clearly dated artifacts on a native site give a firm indication of occupation - just as, conversely, does the appearance of native articles on Roman sites.

It does appear, however, that at the beginning of the Roman period in South-West Scotland the proportion of duns and forts, small fortified enclosures and crannogs indicates a settlement pattern different in type from that of Tyne-Forth province. South-West Scotland prior to the Roman conquest seems to ally itself in settlement with Atlantic Province (because of the type of duns and promontory forts) and with Ireland (because of the ring forts, duns and crannogs). An inferred hierarchy of sites might allocate the brochs, (being the equivalent of castles) to the high chieftains or area kings, the duns to the aristocracy (the size reflecting the importance of the chief), the double fort or forts perhaps to important farmers of the coast and the crannogs to inland farmers (cf. Pigott, 1982: 76). The few large hillforts may have been tribal meeting-places and market areas. This, however, would not account for a population of any size and it is to be wondered where the rest of the people lived - if there was indeed a population of any size. Some



obviously lived in caves, as is seen from known occupied examples, while others possibly lived in less substantial, unfortified round houses or even in the turf houses which had such a long life in the Highlands. These would have been near the fields or pasture areas. Subsequent ploughing in lowland areas would certainly have largely erased such dwellings.

#### 4. ROMAN COMMUNICATIONS AND SETTLEMENT

Communications in the form of engineered roads followed on the Roman Invasion of Southern Scotland about A.D. 80. Little is known of the trackways which existed prior to this time. I believe that the single most civilising "gift" given by Rome to her subject peoples was her road system. These roads opened up the land, a good deal of it forested in ancient times, and provided easy communication. As their primary purpose was to link forts and provide quick access to trouble spots, they cut through the tribal areas and ran as directly as possible to their destinations. They were adapted to the terrain (Margary, 1973:18-22) and used the materials available locally. They were engineered to last and provide evidence of the might of Rome in the same way as do her public buildings. They provided work for the soldiery and native conscripts. They came equipped with their own centres of administration, the forts. The whole "package" was essentially a frontier and was often used as such (Collingwood, 1937: 121).

The course of the roads is of paramount importance for the study of the area, because they survived long after the occupation. One "main" road South to North together with an East-West road across the Forth Clyde isthmus and another linking Loudoun Hill and Newstead have been known for some time and authenticated. It is the aim of this study to show that there was a more extensive road network in South-West Scotland. I also hope to show that

later settlement was attracted to them. Roads followed river valleys where settlement already lay. Their route often lay also over higher ground and more difficult terrain than modern engineers would choose and it is these stretches which have survived. No engineered roads were constructed from Roman times until the turnpike roads were built in the 18th century. At this time parts of the old Roman roads were reused or broken up to make the foundations of the new (Roy, 1793: 60-2, 79-80).

The planting of forts attracted a certain amount of settlement around them. All Roman forts in Scotland have annexes attached to them, usually two or three and it is in the annexes that settlement generally began and traders met. Most of the forts show traces of some civilian settlement. Although only one has epigraphic evidence of its official status as a vicus, any native settlement spawned by a Roman fort will here be termed a vicus to distinguish such sites from other "rural" sites not immediately dependent on Roman patronage for their being.

### C. METHOD

#### 1. ORGANISATION

I will attempt to collate what is known about South-West Scotland in Roman times by an examination of the ancient historical sources together with an interpretation of the archaeological discoveries of past and recent date. Emphasis will be placed on the native Britons' settlement and the changes brought about by the Roman occupation by means of roads and forts.

This thesis will be divided into six chapters of which this is the first, titled as in the table of contents. Discussion of questions relating to settlement and communication will form the main body of the thesis. The historical framework within the timespan will be chronologically maintained in

the text because outside events in the rest of Britain and elsewhere affected the area and little is otherwise historically attested about South-West Scotland. Some of the topics to be discussed in the following chapters will be:

#### Chapter II:

1. What were the occupations of the Britons? Is there evidence that they grew wheat, oats and barley or were they mainly cattle and sheep farmers?
2. Is there evidence of religion for the native population in the period, and did religious practices change during the period for either Romans or Britons?
3. What was the size of the population in Roman times, that is vis-a-vis the size of the Roman Army, and was it peaceful or aggressive?

#### Chapter III.

1. The Roman advance and the possibility of an earlier overrun will be considered. The Agricola conquest will be discussed in detail since it gave rise to the fullest historical record we have of Scotland as a whole.
2. Is the size of the Roman army possibly over-estimated?
3. Since the forts are generally small were detachments outposted?
4. What were the uses of the annexes beside almost all the forts of this area; were they for construction, military or mainly civilian use?
5. Only one vicus is actually attested (that at Carriden); were there more and were they the towns of Ptolemaeus and the *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*?

#### Chapter IV;

1. Is there evidence for the setting up of a protectorate up when the occupation of Southern Scotland ended.
2. The Severan Expedition: its causes and results. 3. Are there signs of

prosperity in the third century?

4. Did native settlements (as opposed to vici) continue to exist close to Roman forts?

#### Chapter V:

1. What were the origins of the Picts and where did they live?

2. What is the evidence for the invasions of the fourth century and did they cripple the whole area of Southern Scotland? Were they mostly raids?

3. The Barbarian Conspiracy and the whereabouts of the Province of Valentia.

4. Magnus Maximus and the formation of the British Kingdoms.

5. Is Christian settlement present in the late fourth century in South-West Scotland?

#### Chapter VI:

This has been entitled "Conclusions" but in addition this section will suggest areas for future study because many of the questions raised can only be the subject of speculation.

Tables will be used to show: 1) artifacts of native manufacture which are found in Roman times on native sites (and sometimes on Roman sites). 2) The sites which were in operation in the first and second centuries after Christ. 3) Possible vici of the second century in the area. 4) The invasions of the fourth century.

#### 2. TYPES OF EVIDENCE

##### a. Settlement.

Settlement may be defined in general terms as the places where the inhabitants of the area permanently dwelt. This may be a native fort wherein lived a village community in roundhouses or a dun with shelters built against

the wall, a homestead for a family group, a broch or dun for a military band and retainers; an undefended roundhouse or a crannog inhabited by farmers. (No oppida appear to be present in Roman times in South-West Scotland). The specific name "settlement" is also applied to an undefended village of generally 3-9 houses. It covers also the vicus sponsored by the Romans and organised along their ideas of community life.

A distribution map of the native sites chosen is provided (XLI) as well as a Gazetteer (VII.1). The map shows all British sites which have any suggestion of occupation in Roman times. The Gazetteer shows all rural British sites on the map and gives their size, shape and the reason for inclusion together with references. British sites are numbered from 1-77.

The problem is how to know, with the limited information available, what was occupied into Roman times while trying to present a reasonably adequate picture. The following criteria, will be used:

- i) A site which has been excavated and shows artifacts acknowledged to be of the Roman period: Samian pottery, black burnished coarse ware, melon beads, glass bangles, brooches of dragonesque, trumpet and pennanular type, "trescale" type pendants, paterae, tiles, camp kettles and ironware of the period and, of course, inscriptions.
- ii) Preference is for recent excavation but most was carried out in the later 19th century. Not all of this was well done but the findings of Robert Munro, John Smith and A.O. Curle can be trusted.
- iii) A multi-period site of doubtful Roman date may be included but such will be identified as questionable.
- iv) Since many sites have not been excavated, although they have been examined, they will be included if judged by R.W. Feachem or Euan Mackie to be

akin to typesites which themselves have been found, found to be of Roman date.

v) Professor George Jobey has specialised in Romano-British scooped settlement in the Tyne-Forth area and also in Eastern Dumfriesshire. Some of the sites judged by him to show traces of Romano-British scooped settlement will be included since almost none have been excavated.

Further requirements will also be taken into account as regards the *vici*:

1) In order to be included as a *vicus*, a site must have some evidence of field systems, huts, native pottery connected with them, glass bangles, spindle whorls or the like indicating non-military presence. Two studies of the frontier (Salway, 1966 and Sommer 1984) have attempted to deal with this field and some of their findings will be considered.

11) Epigraphic evidence for the presence of non-military persons in the form of altars and tombstones is generally considered "proof" of a *vicus*. Only one altar actually attesting directly the presence of a *vicus* has been found in Scotland: that at Carriden where the dedicators called themselves "Vikani Veluniate" (Richmond and Steer, 1957).

#### b. Communications

On the map are shown Roman roads "authenticated" by Ivan Margary; these are indicated by a continuous line. Other stretches found (since the publication of the third edition of Margary's *Roman Roads of Britain*) by responsible archaeologists and published in the journals *Discovery* and *Excavation Scotland and Britannia* will be indicated by a broken line. Known stretches of road are indicated by a continuous line although in some areas building or other modern development has totally obscured the course of the ancient road. It is not my purpose to map every bend but only the overall line of such authenticated roads. Strip maps (IX) illustrate the course of the

roads in Flavian and Antonine times.

The two overlays, one for the Flavian period (XI.2 in red) and one for the Antonine period (XI.3 in green) show Roman roads with their forts. Sites of Roman Forts and vici are numbered from 1-74.

The distribution of unstratified third and fourth century coins found in South-West Scotland appears to follow the lines of the Roman roads. These statistics, taken from Dr. Robertson's recent article (1983: 405-448), have been plotted on two overlays in red (XI.4, third century) and green (XI.5, fourth century); they will be discussed in Chapters IV and V. Mention will also be made of coins of this period found around known Roman sites.

It is to be hoped that the following chapters will promote interest in settlement in South-West Scotland in Roman times, which I think was a little different from its more studied neighbour South-East Scotland.

II

THE BRITONS BEFORE THE INVASION:  
TRIBES, DWELLINGS AND ECONOMY



In a regional study such as this it would be an enormous help if it were possible to reconstruct the landscape as it was in A.D. 43 when the Roman invasion of Southern Britain took place. While this is not possible, some attempt can be made to envisage: A) the tribes and their tribal structure, as it was at that time, and B) what the dwellings were like in which they lived, since so many remain in part to this day.

#### A THE TRIBES AND THEIR STRUCTURE

The main geographical source for this study was written c. A.D. 140 by Claudius Ptolemaeus of Alexandria; it is contained in his *Geographia* II, 3, 1-9. The peoples and places in Southern Scotland are detailed in section 5-7. He was not an explorer or traveller but an astronomer who relied on others as the sources for his information. Part came from the *Geographia* of Marinus of Tyre to whom he gives credit (I, 6,1). This work is now lost but it is generally believed to have been written in the time of Trajan (Honigman, 1931; Tierney, 1959: 141-3). Marinus' sources, however, went back to the beginning of the first century after Christ. Ptolemaeus must also have had an up to date military source as he refers to the position of the *Legio VI Victrix* at York, a situation dating only from A.D. 122. He supplied the co-ordinates for a map of Britain providing salient points around the coasts such as headlands, bays, rivers. He then supplied the names of the tribes who inhabited the island - he knew of 16 in the area now called Scotland - and the co-ordinates of the main "poleis" in each tribal area. These, it seems, were not necessarily "towns" as we know them but could be either native forts or Roman forts or perhaps even *vici* beside the forts. Ptolemaeus' intent was to provide points of reference.

It is thought that he may have attempted to harmonise two different

sources by altering the latitude of some of his principal points (Richmond 1958: 133). There is a number of errors in the map but the principal fault is that the whole of Scotland inclines to the East (fig. 2.1). As can be seen, it is virtually impossible to know where the places, rivers, promontories and bays may be which are not independently known from other contexts. When Scotland is "turned" the problem remains, and modern scholars have for years tried to fit the Roman fort system to Ptolemaeus' places, since they do not believe that the Britons could have had any kind of "town" in the sense that Ptolemaeus knew it. (cf. Richmond, 1958: 135-149). New finds of Roman forts by aerial photography, may after excavation, cause such theories to be radically changed.

Some of Ptolemaeus' information may even derive from the first known traveller to Britain, Pytheas of Massilia, who sailed round Britain c. 325 B.C. His mariners' handbook was used by Strabon (obit c.A.D.21), who wrote a geography at the beginning of the Christian era. Strabon does not add much pertinent to North Britain but saw the island as one ethnic whole and as triangular in form. Strabon (IV, 5,2) says "Forests are the Britons' 'cities'; they enclose a space with felled trees, making huts in this 'fort', and there lodge their cattle". There is no mention of hillforts. In this he appears to be quoting Julius Caesar who said (BG. V: 21) that the Britons called an area of thick woodland fortified by rampart and ditch an *oppidum*.

#### THE TRIBES AND THEIR "POLEIS"

The names of the tribes of Scotland are first encountered in Ptolemaeus. South of the Forth and Clyde they are: the *Damnonii* who inhabited the area of Ayrshire, Renfrew, Dunbarton, Stirling and Lanark and - some think - even Perthshire (Hanson and Maxwell, 1983: 4 and map: Rivet and Smith,



1979:145); South of them the *Novantae* who are believed to have occupied Wigtown and Kirkcudbright and at least part of Dumfries; East of them the *Selgovae* inhabited part of Dumfries, Roxburgh and Selkirk and part of Lanark but it is not known how far North they extended. East of the *Selgovae* are the *Votadini* who held the Lothians as far as Edinburgh, the Borders, and Northumberland as far as Hadrian's Wall at least. These locations are at best only tentative. South of all these tribes lay the lands of the *Brigantes* who may have overlapped into what is now Southern Scotland. Scholars disagree as to what areas precisely British tribes did inhabit because of the errors in Ptolemaeus' map. Over the course of the first four centuries tribal groupings and tribal names did in fact change and our knowledge of them is very imperfect.

The tribes are also credited with "poleis" by Ptolemaeus. Identifications of these "towns" are mainly derived from two modern sources (Richmond, 1958, 138-164; Rivet and Smith, 1979: 185-195).

In the territory of the *Damnonii* these "poleis" are Colonia, Vindogara, Coria, Alauna, Lindum and Victoria (II, 3, 6). Vindogara is to be associated with Vindogara Sinus, and is usually identified with Irvine Bay (Rivet & Smith, 1979: 140) although the earlier scholars Stuart (1852: map) and Roy (1793:106) favoured Ayr Bay. Colonia is thought to be Camelon, Coria (Barochan Hill), Alauna (Ardoch), Lindum (Drumquhassle) and Victoria has been suggested as Inchtuthil, even though it was evacuated around A.D. 86. This would take the *Damnonii* as far North as Perthshire. I do not think this is likely because of the positions of the other Northern tribes.

The *Votadini* are allotted Alauna (either a duplicate of the "Alauna" of the *Damnonii* or unknown): Bremenium (High Rochester) seems certain and

Coria is also shown in connection with them. (II, 3, 7). This last name becomes in the *Anonymi Ravenna Cosmographia* "Coritiotar". In the late 2nd or 3rd century an altar was dedicated by Quintus Calpurnius Concessinus (RIA 1422) giving thanks for his preservation after having slain a band of Corionototae. This tribe is otherwise unknown but does bear a resemblance to the place name "Coritiotar".

Corda (Castledykes) is also shown as a *polis* of the Selgovae (II, 3, 5). The name "Coria" (Latin Curia) and perhaps also "Corda" has the meaning of "hosting place or tribal centre" (Jackson, 1948: 56; Rivet and Smith, 1979: 316-320). Other *poleis* of the Selgovae are Carbantorigum (meaning "chariot or waggon-ford") perhaps the crossing of Tweed at Easter Happlew fort or the later fort at Lyne. Uxellum is perhaps Ward Law, and Trimontium probably Newstead. Both Ward Law and Eildon Hills - whose three peaks no doubt inspired the Roman name of Trimontium for Newstead (Richmond, 1958: 139) - were, however, native forts in pre-Roman times. Eildon Hills was reduced, it is thought, at the time of the Roman advance. Originally both sites were probably tribal *oppida*.

Only two place-names are given to the Novantae (II, 3, 5). Of these, Lucopibia Rivet and Smith (1979: 210) equate with the Lucotia of the *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* and consider to be Glenlochar. Previous scholars have identified it with Whithorn in Wigtown (Camden first; Stuart, 1852: map). The other name, Rerigonium, is generally thought to be in the neighbourhood of modern Stranraer, since it must be associated with Rerigonium Sinus, identified as Loch Ryan.

Ptolemaeus also provided the names of a number of headlands and bays along the West and South-West of Scotland (II, 3, 1): Rerigonius Gulf (Loch

Ryan), Vindogara Gulf (Ayr or Irvine Bay), Clota Estuary (Clyde), Epidium Promontary (Mull of Kintyre). Some rivers along the West coast are known from Ptolemaeus (II,3,2); the Deva (Dee) and Novius (Nith). The Abravannus and Iena are doubtful but may be Luce Bay and Wigtown Bay.

The *Anonymi Ravennatis Cosmographia* lists eight loca thought by some to be tribal meeting-places (Richmond and Crawford, 1949: 15; Breeze, 1982: 139); these took on importance in the third century but may have been used from very early times. Four are thought to lie in Lowland Scotland: *Manavi*, *Segloes*, *Maponi* and *Dannoni*. Two of these names do bear a strong resemblance to the Lowland tribal areas of first century times. The loca will be discussed in Chapter IV.

The historian Tacitus (Agr.38), writing c. A.D.98, has provided one more tribe, the *Boresti*, who appear to be located in Scotland and who seem to have had a friendly relationship with the Romans since Agricola wintered his troops in their territory. Various locations have been suggested, the Moray coast, Fife and farther South - but not Southern Scotland. Tacitus securely locates the Clyde (Clota) and the Forth (Bodotria) thus substantiating Ptolemaeus. He locates Caledonia as North of the Forth and Clyde, but not as different in language from the rest of Britain.

#### ORIGINS OF THE TRIBES.

Tacitus says (Agr. 11,1) which tribes originally settled in Britain is unknown for, as he disparagingly puts it, among barbarians little is known. He does note that the red hair and long limbs of the Caledonians suggested a German origin. He says that in some tribes the upper class fought from chariots while the lower fought on foot (Agr. 12 2). In this connection a chariot wheel from a ditch at Barr Hill on the Antonine Wall would indicate

that chariots were in use in the Lowlands at least at the time of the Roman advance (Scott, 1966: 65). Once, Tacitus goes on to say, the Britons were ruled by kings but now, in Agricola's time, they have many tribal leaders and are divided by strife. He adds that there is also no great difference in language. This apparently applied to all of the tribes of Britain. Tacitus' *Caledonii*, in other words, are little different linguistically from the other tribes of the Britons.

The Britons of Scotland, however it originally came about (by invasion or infiltration of an earlier indigenous people), were in the main a Celtic people; that is, they spoke a Celtic language. Some may have come to the island from Germany or from Gaul as early as the eighth century BC, more during the La Tene period (third century B.C.), and some in the first century BC from Southern England. They all spoke Brittonic which derived from the Common Celtic language. This had divided into two: Q-Celtic, which took the Indo-European "qu" sound and preserved it, and P-Celtic which changed it into "p". From Q-celtic comes Goedelic, the common parent of Irish, Scottish and Manx (extinct) Gaelic. From P-Celtic comes Gallo-Brittonic, spoken on the continent, from which come Gaulish and Brittonic and now is represented by Welsh, Cornish (extinct) and Breton. (Jackson, 1953: 4; Watson, 1926: 2). Julius Caesar in his description of Britain (BG. V, 12) writes that the names of the tribes around the coasts were those of the Belgic tribes who "invaded and stayed to till the land", while the inland tribes were those of the "indigenous" people. The name *Damnonii* strongly resembles that of the *Dumnonii* of Cornwall. Watson believed that their name came from old Celtic *dubnos*, *dumnos*, "deep", whence apparently was formed *Donnu* "Goddess of the deep" (Watson, 1926, 24-26). *Damnon-ii* is formed from *dumnu*, (gen.)

dumnon-os. Watson saw in this a reference to mining. Ayrshire is still rich in coal while Lanark also is rich in coal and iron. Watson cited also the Irish *Fir Domnann*, whom he considered to be part of the same "clan". These tribes - and there are others such as the "Carnavii" of Sutherland probably linguistically related to the Cornovii of the Chester area - may have moved North in the first century BC as a colony of the Southern tribe, either after Caesar's invasion or even after that of Claudius in A.D. 43. If they were once ruled by kings but now by chiefs as Tacitus says (Agr. 12,3) this could account for the large regional groupings which Ptolemaeus' map shows.

#### OCCUPATIONS

What kind of society might have been present depends on the occupations of the inhabitants. Trade is obviously present at least in the way of ornaments and decorative horse trappings for an elite class. How did they pay for these things? There is no evidence for imported pottery until after the Roman advance when it appears at once and so quickly that one might wonder why there is no trace of prestigious pottery or glass before the conquest. There is no coinage among the North Britons although iron currency bars were in use in the Glastonbury and Southern provinces in Caesar's time (Childe, 1940: 240-1). If Southern invaders did come to Western Scotland at this time might not such currency have come too? This would not explain earlier means of trade payment, however. Such a Southern invasion ought to have brought farmers with the know-how to farm the fertile shores and valleys of South-Western Scotland.

The general view of Southern Scotland is that the inhabitants continued to practise a Bronze-Age type of agriculture and to a lesser extent, grazed sheep also, while serving war-lords whose wealth lay in cattle-ranching



(cf. Piggot, 1958: 19-20, 26). Professor Piggot could see no possibility of agriculture, except at a subsistence level and little evidence of field systems. He based his views on the fact that no evidence exists in Scotland for the grain pits which occurred in Southern England in the first century B.C. on the chalk downs of Sussex and Wessex and area (typesite Little Woodbury, Wiltshire) where the farmers dried their grain in kilns and stored it in large lined pits in the ground. There have been no such pits found in Scotland. If Southern invaders did indeed come North one might suppose that "improvements" such as grain pits would be brought with them. There is, however, in Tyne-Forth evidence of some large farms: at Tamshiel Rig in Roxburgh a system of some 12 ha, and at Crock Cleuch and Hownam Rings also (this Piggot considered exceptional). Recently, however, the idea of a mixed economy (Hanson and MacInnes, 1981: 109) has been suggested and is receiving support from palaeobotanical studies recently carried out (Boyd, 1985). Ploughmarks are attested at several new sites in Tyne-Forth and also parts from Milton Loch (400  $\pm$  120 bc) and Lochmaben crannog (80  $\pm$  100 bc) in the South-West show a possible pre-Roman cultivation of land. Carbonised grain was found at Rispaig camp (Haggerty, 1983), Aitnack Fort (Smith, 1918) and at Erskine Ferry Crannog (Newall, 1978:15, no. 37). The landscape just before the Roman conquest appears to have been at least partly cleared (Hanson and Maxwell, 1981: 99; Boyd, 1985). It is also now considered likely that souterrains were used for grain storage (Keppie, 1985: 34 and Note 31). A field system has been found at Glenhead, Ayrshire, close to the double-fort (DES 1985: 42); this will, however, require further investigation, as such features are difficult to date.

Sheep were certainly grazed for their wool in South-West Scotland as

sheep shears from the Ashgrove and Barhapple crannogs show. A long handled weaving comb from Borness Cave shows that cloth was made but in what quantity is unknown.

The Britons of the area were then farmers, specialising in cattle and sheep but also planted some grain. Querns are common on all sites, the early ones being of beehive or saddle type (Curwen, 1937: esp.147). The rotary quern introduced about the turn of the 1st millenium by possible "Southern" invaders (Piggott, 1958: 19; Mackie, 1971: 59) later became widespread. Whether this grain cultivation was only sufficient for their needs is still a question although field systems being found by aerial photography may in time and after investigation produce more information. Professor Piggott's "Celtic cowboys" (1958: 25) may yet be found to be ploughmen.

Cattle produce hides, as well as meat, and hides were much in demand and a favourite form of barter, acceptable to the Romans and the barbarians alike.

Iron smelting apparently took place on Shewalton Moor, Ayrshire (DES, 1963: 23), at Glenkiln and Buston Crannogs and possibly Trusty's Hill, Kirkcudbright. Although there is not evidence of the use of coal before Roman times, (Webster, 1955: 201-5), it was present in Ayrshire and Lanark; other valuable minerals are lead in Dumfriesshire and iron in Lanark.

No pottery sequence has yet been established for mainland Scotland, possibly because the ceramics are plain and exhibit little change; a rough series was, however, produced for the Hebridean Pottery (Young, 1966). Pottery appears to be similar on sites throughout Scotland judging by what little has been published. Childe illustrates native pottery (1935; 1940: *passim*) but with little attempt at dating; at Traprain Law, however, two

kinds of native pottery can be distinguished: a coarseware with large grits similar to what Childe called Urn Ware, but harder fired; and also a finer ware with a sandy texture similar to Romano-British and earlier native pottery of Southern England (Hogg, 1951: 214-220). Native pottery found in the territory of the Damnonii has been called Damnonian Ware (Laing 1975: 37-38); this appears to indicate a difference but I have not found any later references to it.

#### TRADE.

Artifacts such as weaving combs and dice, found on various sites, particularly the crannogs and caves, show a strong resemblance to artifacts from the lake village of Glastonbury and other Southern sites (Childe, 1940: 201, 240), while various horse bits from South-West Scotland (MacGregor, 1975, Vol 2:passim) are obviously derived from the so-called "Arras Culture" of Eastern Yorkshire. This denotes trade with North-East and South-West England; it also suggests a similar type of society. The Britons of South-West Scotland apparently traded with Gaul, Southern Britain and with Ireland according to the finds of fibulae, torcs and other ornaments, mostly highly decorated (Stevenson, 1966: 22).

They must also have exported goods presumably in order to pay for these imports and here Strabon may have some pointers to give. He says that the Britons exported corn, cattle, skins, gold, silver, iron and hunting dogs -this last, he says, the Gauls used for purposes of war (Strabon IV,2.). Of these gold and silver can be eliminated; corn is dubious and hunting-dogs are unattested for the area; cattle, skins, and iron are, however, quite likely. It is possible that exports travelled back to the countries from which came imports - Gaul, Ireland and Southern Britain, as well as North-East England.

Transportation would be mainly by sea and yet nothing is attested regarding shipping, either the kind of boats they used or how they plied their trade. Many canoes have been found in bogs and lakes (Munro, 1882: *passim*) but until the fourth century A.D. there is no mention of even raids by sea. There is an ancient trade route by land over Stainmore Pass into Southern Scotland which was no doubt used for trade with Northern England, the *Brigantes* in particular.

The table (2.1) shows the main native artifacts found in our area which also appear on other sites in Scotland; these can be roughly dated to the period and show manufacturing ability in some cases as well as trade. Some common specimens are illustrated on fig. 2.2. Since many articles are decorative and include mirrors the native Britons cannot all have lived in squalor.

#### RELIGION

Little is definitely known about the religious practices of the Britons either before or after the coming of the Romans. Julius Caesar discussed the Druids (BG VI, 13-14 and 16); he stated that their origin was in Britain and that in his day those who wished to study the Druid way of life went to Britain to learn it (VI, 13). Young men were sent to study with the Druids whose cardinal doctrine was that souls do not die but pass from one to another. Their knowledge also extended to the size of the universe, the earth and stars, the immortal gods and the order of nature. Druids did not involve themselves in war but believed in sacrifice, human or otherwise, on the principal of a life for a life. They also believed that all were descended from a common father, Dis, the God of the Underworld (VI, 18) hence the system of counting by "nights". They are thought to have inhabited the mountain

TABLE 2.1

ARTIFACTS OF BRITISH MAKE	TYPES	WHERE LOCATED
Finger Rings	Spiral, Bronze wire, Solid with Disc Lignite, jet	Crannogs, Duns, Caves, Cairn at Muirkirk
Armlets	Jet or Bronze Manufactured at Dovalton & Shevalton Moor, Ayrshire	Crannogs, Forts, Castlehill, Dalry & Burnswark
Boss Style Torcs, jointed collars	Bronze 1st and 2nd century, A.D.	Sites in Lowlands, Hyndford Plunkton Castle
Glass Bangles	Types I, II, III (Stevenson)	Lowlands only. Found on many Roman and Native Sites
Glass Working	Hemispherical crucible found. opaque greenish-yellow glass for making beads	Castlehill, Dalry as well as the typesite Traprain Law.
Glass Beads	Blue, green, yellow mostly	Fort, crannogs, duns and brochs, settlements
Glass Balls	ornamented white spirals	Buston Crannog, Mote of Mark
Strike-a-light	Made of quartz	Lochspouts Crannog only findspot in Lowlands
Bone combs	3-5 strips of bone rivetted to a pair of bone bars. some toothed on both edges some a single row Round-backed	Buston Crannog  Langbank Crannog
Bone Dice, toggles	Various types	Cleave's Cove, Dalry
Pottery	Thin and hard fired Orange or reddish-brown plain, thick and gritty plain, finer ware, sandy texture	Brochs, Lochend Crannog, Dunagoil. Mote of Mark, Traprain Law
Flat Stone Discs	So-called "palette" 6.35 - 12.7 cm.	Castlehaven Dun Castlehill fort, MacCulloch's Castle
Stone Cups and Ladles		In Brochs, Hyndford Crannog
Cauldrons	Bronze	Lochar Moss, Elvanfoot, Lochmaben, Carlingwark Loch.
Bone Pins	Carved tops	Crannogs, Caves.
Dress-Fasteners	Button and Loop (Wilde 1970)	Muarills, Duntocher, Metherby (2nd Cent.)

	Coloured red and yellow (Link with South-West England IA B Culture)	Milton Loch, Lockspouts, Lochlea Crannogs
Brooches	Pennanular, Safety Pin Dragonesque (1st & 2nd AD)	Crannogs, Duns, Forts, Caves, Settlements. (Pennanular at Hyndford, Dowalton, Castlehaven, Castlehill, Dalry and Cleave's Cove)
Mirror	Bronze decorated	Balmaclellan, Kirkcudbright (Hoard)
Mirror Handle	Bronze	Lochlee Crannog, Carlingvark hoard
Tankard handle	Bronze	Carlingvark hoard
<b>TEXTILES:</b>		
Spindle Whorls		Crannogs, McCulloch's Castle, Caves, Boonies.
Long Handled Weaving Combs	Bone	Borness Cave to Northern brochs
<b>TOOLS:</b>		
Sheep shears, saw hatchet, punch, gouge	1st century AD.	Crannogs, Middlebie hoard.
<b>AGRICULTURE:</b>		
Iron sickles Flat rotary querns. Older type beehive quern remains too.		Crannogs. Sites as far north as Orkney. Galleried Duns, Wheelhouses, Hut Circles.
Iron Saelting		Castle Law, Glencorse, Shevalton Moor, Ayr.
Flat Bars of Bronze for	Triangular clay crucibles	Buston, Lochend Crannogs, Traprain Law, Dunagoil, Bute. Most crannogs have crucible remains
Metal casting of Bronze bars 7.62 - 15.24 cm.	Open sandstone mould	Lochlee and Buston crannogs, Mote of Mark, Castlelaw.
<b>WEAPONS:</b>		
Chapes for long Iron Broadswords Pommels Spear Butts	Brigantian Type Bulbous	Barganny House, Ayrshire Middlebie, Castlehill, Dalry Dunagoil, Bute
<b>HORSE-TRAPPINGS:</b>		
Rein Rings (sets of 5)	Boss style 2nd cent.	Sites in Galloway and Lothians

Chariot Wheel

Terrets (bits) for Harness

Bridle Bits

Boas style

Belgic-type metalwork

Typesite is Traprain, 2nd cent. layer.

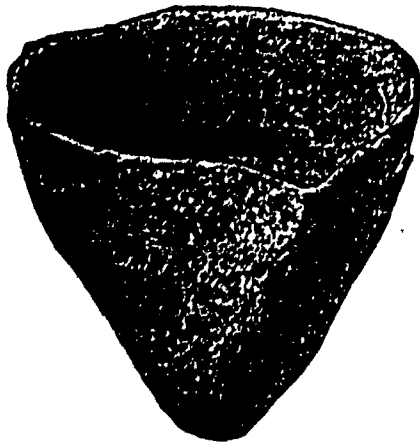
Ditch at Barrhill

Cairngryfe, Castlehill, Middlebie, Dunure

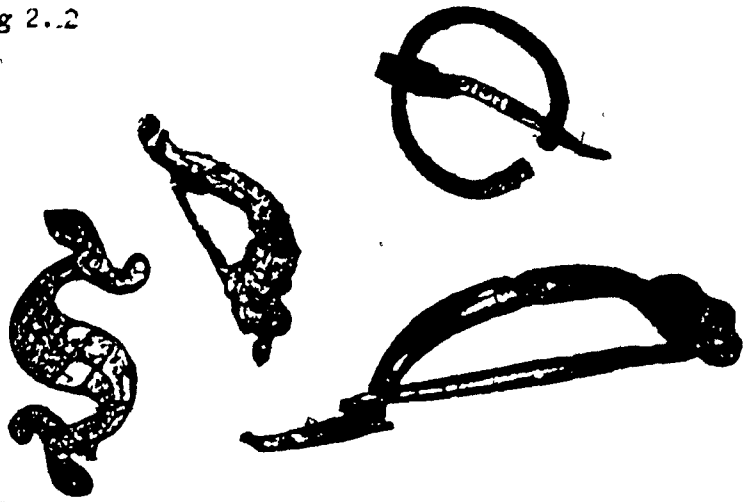
Carlingvark Loch Hoard; Crannogs, Largs, Bifronsvarik

Data derived from: Curle, 1931-2; Curwen, 1937; Childe, 1935, 1940, 1946; Scott, 1966; Robertson, 1970; Stearns, 1966 and 1976; Gillan 1938; Wilde, 1970; Guido, 1978. Hogg, 1931, MacGregor, 1976.

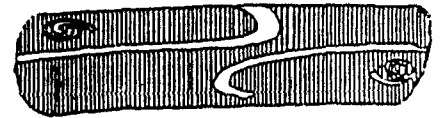
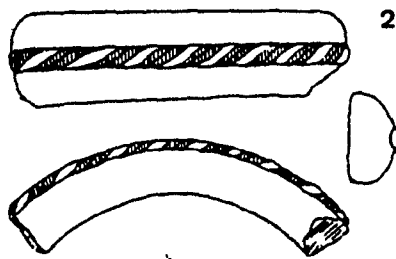
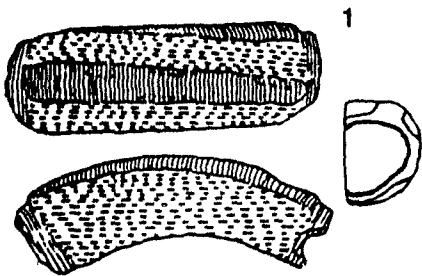
Fig 2.2



-Clay Crucible ({}).



Brooches assortment of types



Romano-British Glass Bangles  
Types 1,2,3A  
Stevenson, 1976:47



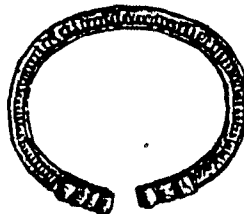
Melon Bead full size  
Kirkmaiden, Wig.  
Maxwell, ACAG 1885.



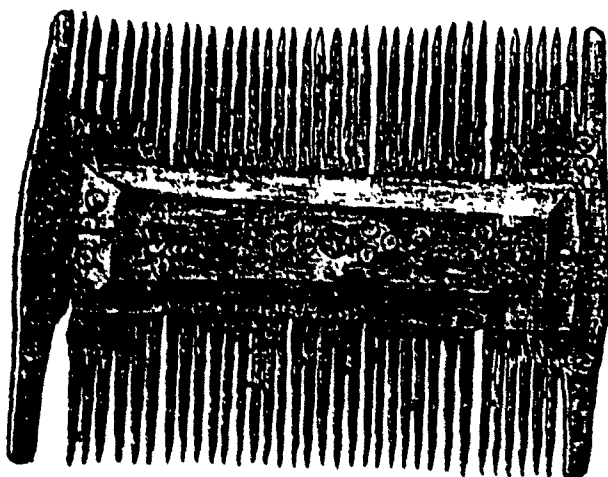
Lochspouts  
Jet Ring



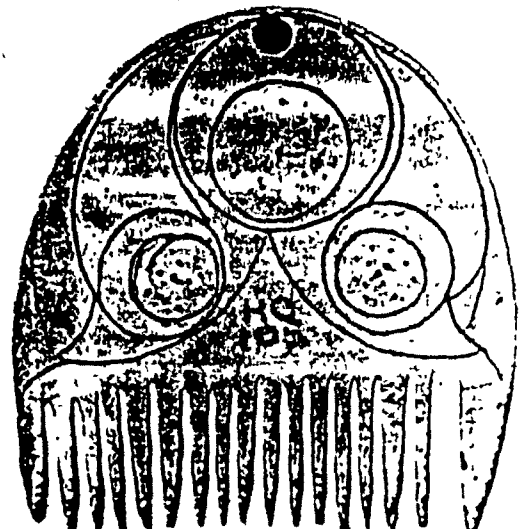
Buston Gold 5-spiral  
finger ring



Pennanular bronze brooch. 3-spiral bronze ring  
Bead of blue glass - Castlehaven Dun. Barbour, 190



Buston Crannog - Bone Comb ({}).



Langbank Crannog Bone Comb



fastnesses of Scotland but on no authority except tradition. The standing stones and circles of earlier times are present in some number in the Isle of Arran and also at Cairnholy in Wigtown and were perhaps still in use in Roman times. The handle of a Roman patera was found at the latter (Curle, 1932: 373 and fig.8)), presumably a votive offering.

Apart from Druidism, Celtic "heads" and carved wooden figures have been found in several places in our area (fig 2.3). A recent find on Camp Hill, Dumfries (Dodds, 1977-8), sculpted in the round of sandstone has a very unusual hair-style with a bun on top and the hair in rolls beneath (fig. 2.3a); a slight appearance of a mustache might indicate a male deity of benign appearance. Another, from Dumfries, of pink sandstone, represents a female goddess (?) with close-fitting cap-like hair-style (Toynbee, 1952:pl.IX) may be part of a statue (2.3b). Horned heads are present, one from Netherby squarish with oblong shaped mouth; from the top of the head grow two ram-horns which curve round and down towards the ears (Ross, 1957-8: 17; 1961: pl.XVI) (fig 2.3c). None of these can be securely dated. Another depiction of a horned god, Celtic in style, with oblong mouth, occurs at Birrens on a fragmentary inscription (RIB 2106). Collingwood and Wright (1956:646) suggest Priapus but Ross doubts this identification (2.3d). It is similar to other stone carvings of horned gods (some of which have attributes) from the area of Hadrian's Wall and South-west of it (Fairless, 1984). It is, therefore, possible that the worship of anthropomorphic gods at unknown shrines occurred throughout the Roman period in South-West Scotland.

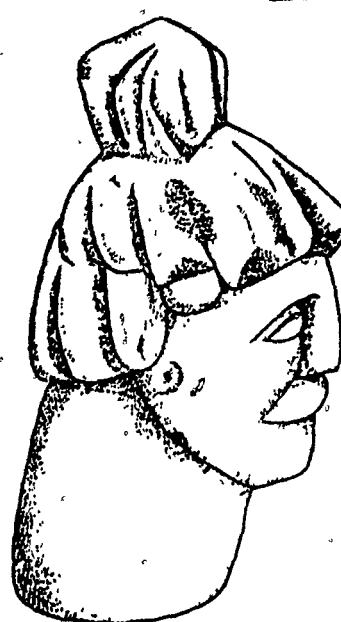
Apart from Druidism and the cult of the head, if the Britons followed the Gauls they would worship Mercury as chief god and after him Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva. Caesar further stated that the Britons had the same idea

Fig. 2.3



c.

FROM NETHERBY.

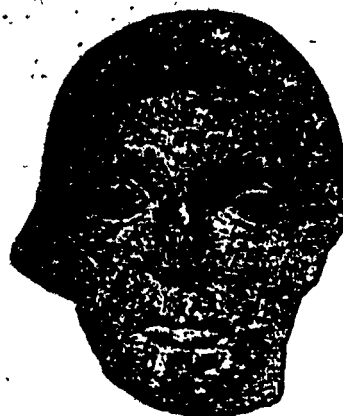


B. Celtic Head from Trohoughton. Scale two-fifths.



d

Inscription from Birrens  
RIB 2106



Sandstone head formerly from Burnfoot House  
Birrens. Roman? Celtic?

b

of these gods as other nations: Apollo to drive away disease, Minerva the patroness of arts and crafts, Jupiter the lord of heaven, Mars to reign over wars. (BG, VI, 17). The names of the Celtic gods are known from Roman epigraphic sources, in association with Roman gods (*interpretatio Romana*) the dedications seemingly made by soldiers. They include: Naponos, Epona, the Huitris, The Horned God, Camulus, Silvanus, Cocidius and even Brigantia. Sucellus and Nodens are absent from inscriptions on stone in the area. Two dedications to Mercury from Birrens "for the use of the Guild of the God's Worshippers" (RIB 2102 and 2103) make one wonder if Britons in our area were, not indeed involved in the cult of Mercury as Caesar suggested. The "Medionemeton" of the *Cosmographia* suggests a shrine, and has recently been suggested to be Shirva on the Antonine Wall (Keppie, 1985). There obviously was some religious practice among the Britons and the gods seem to be those of known Celtic names. The Huitris, the "Old Ones" may well represent those worshipped by the Druids in a cult celebrated at ancient circles and standing stones. Sacred pools were also part of ritual (Piggott, 1982: 77). Tribal meeting-places also would be likely to have had some religious celebration as well as market and political significance.

#### TRIBAL STRUCTURE.

These tribes are regionalised into quite large areas and obviously there must have been a tribal organisation which allowed the Romans to deal with them. They could not have used a society structure whereby each part of the main tribe used a single oppidum because with two exceptions, Burnswark and Walls Hill, there are not enough large sites in the area. Some smaller forts may, however, have served, or even housed the tribal kings or chieftains. Piggott (1982: 79-80) suggested a three structure society, a king

or *basileus* in the manner of heroic Greece, thanes or noble *equites* who would be the cattle-ranchers and warriors, and free commoners who were householders with common land (Fairhead, 1961-7), the *runrig* of the Dark Ages and Mediaeval society. The idea of common land, however, does not seem to fit in with what appear to be separate homesteads at this time. In spite of Tacitus' statement (*supra*) that the Britons no longer had kings but chieftains, some sort of High King as recorded in the Irish Annals e.g. *The Book of Ballymote*, *Yellow Book of Lecan* - would be necessary in order to co-ordinate such large territorial areas; the *brochs* of the area might house such a High King for each tribe.

#### B. DWELLINGS

The habitations which survive are the only tangible evidence of the people who dwelt there, so it is important to consider the dwellings of the North Britons in South-West Scotland to see if any further information can be obtained. All the existing remains are fortified - and indeed heavily so - denoting a warlike society, given to raiding, or indicating fear of attack from alien raiders who perhaps came from the sea. The people of the Iron Age in South-west Scotland preferred dwellings situated at a lower level than those of the earlier Bronze Age (Newall, 1976: 112). Sites, moreover, as far apart as Craig Phadrig on the outskirts of Inverness and Traprain Law in East Lothian which were in operation for hundreds of years are not located on isolated mountain tops. They are located on spurs or slopes which give natural protection on one or two sides, yet where another side slopes gently to the valley floor and where land is good for farming.

Scholars have attempted to classify the various dwellings by size and by thickness of wall, to see if any pattern would emerge by mapping

distributions, but the distinctions are sometimes difficult to see and shape itself may be simply the product of the natural topography in many cases. The various types, all of which are present in South-west Scotland, are: hillfort, fort, dun, semi-broch and broch, fortified homestead, crannog and souterrain. It would also appear that most of these were present throughout the whole country of Scotland during Roman times.

Fort: The South of Scotland abounds in small forts of about 0.4 hectare the majority of which is most thickly clustered in Tyne-Forth province. Very few have been excavated but many were surveyed by Christison (1898) and more recently by Feachem (1966 and 1978). It has been estimated (Childe, 1935: 208) that 850 belonging to this class lay between the two Roman walls. They tend to cluster round the head-waters of rivers. They are situated on spurs or slopes rather than on isolated summits and seemed to Childe to be guarding the passes from one valley to another (e.g. 20 within a radius of 2 miles round Moffat at the head of Annandale). He suggested, after his excavations at Castle Law, Glencorse, Midlothian, that these forts were built specifically to protect the area against the Roman advance: some are in fact unfinished (Childe, 1933: 9-12).

In South-West Scotland there are not nearly as many small forts as in the East and there are no forts at all on the high ground of the Southern Uplands. Those inland cling to the river valleys of the interior and appear to be of the same type as those of Tyne-Forth. The rest of the small forts are of the promontory type situated on cliff tops or on raised beaches which provided defence from the ocean side. On the landward side they have only a slight elevation and are close to arable and pasture land. Many are unexcavated which is the greatest problem for any attempted study.

The earliest Iron Age forts had straight ramparts and were timberlaced with a single line of defence. Later ramparts became more sloping and further lines of defence were added. J.R.C. Hamilton's illustration (1966: 114) (fig. 2.4) gives a fair idea of the various types and the progression sequence ending with the Broch.

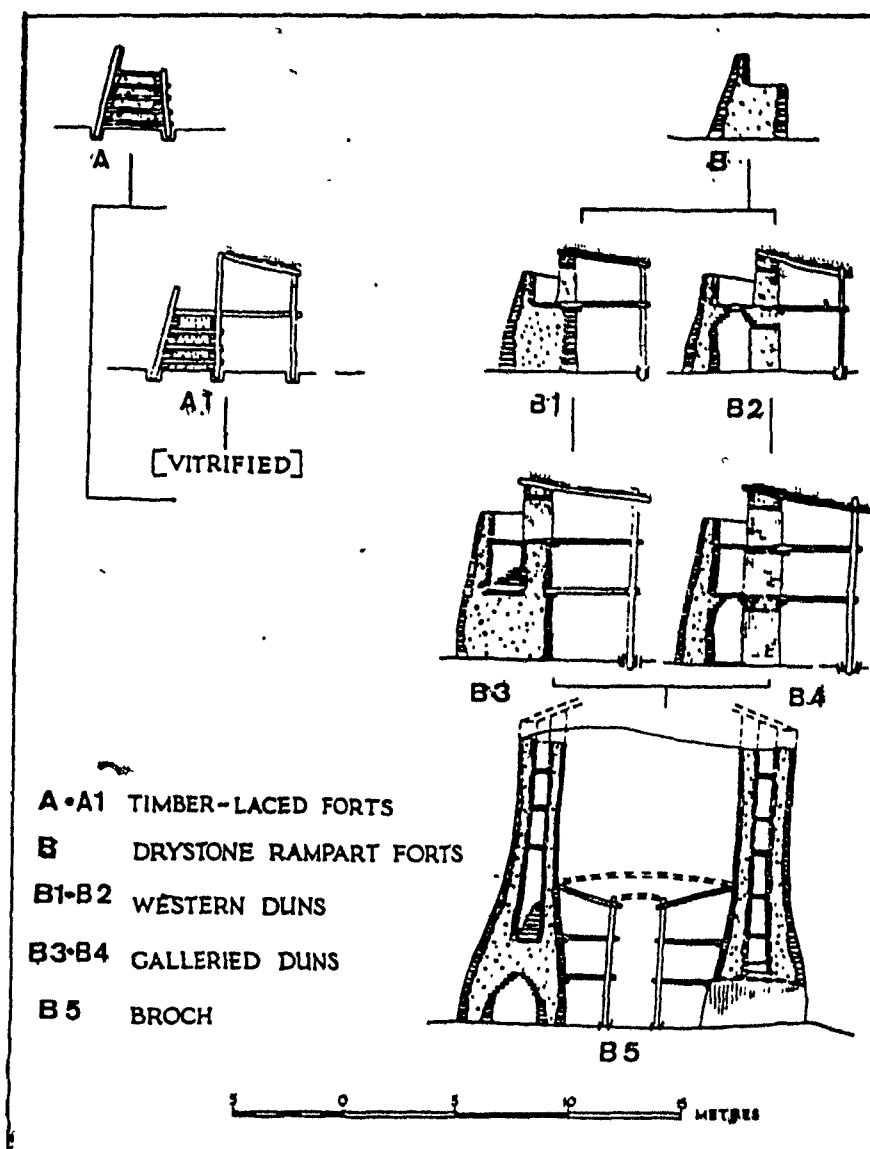
Drystone construction was common to all, usually with a rubble core and sometimes timber-laced. While multivallate forts in Southern England and on the continent date to the time of Julius Caesar, in Scotland there is not enough dating material to connect many to the first century B.C. The tribes of the North left very few artifacts which can be securely dated.

The so-called vitrified forts fascinated scholars and there was a school of thought which believed that vitrification was purposefully done to provide a solid base (Mann, 1925, 60). Childe showed in an experiment (Childe and Thorneycroft, 1937-8: 44) how vitrification could result from the firing of a timber-laced wall. Over 60 stone-built forts are known to show vitrification and it now appears that timber-lacing of stone forts was common and it is only those which were burned that exhibit this result. Vitrified forts exist along the West coast from Skye to Kintyre, Arran and Galloway.

Carbon-dating of a number of forts throughout Scotland has produced calibrated dates going as far back as the 8th century B.C. The floruit of the early forts, however, seems to have been around 500 B.C. and many show a similar "flat-rimmed" pottery (fig.2.5) named Dunagoil Ware from the typesite at Dunagoil, Bute, a vitrified fort (Marshall, 1914-15: 42-49).

**Hillforts** The same Dunagoil ware is present at the only two large hillforts in the mainland of South-West Scotland: Walls Hill, Renfrewshire in the territory of the Damnonii (c. 7.3 ha.) and at Burnswark (c. 7 ha.).

Fig 2.4: Evolution of Iron Age Fortification Techniques



A and B illustrate two basic methods of rampart construction:

A Timber-laced Rampart (Prest Type)

B Drystone-built Wall Rampart

A1 Prest type with peripheral timbered range. On destruction by fire results in vitrified forts such as Dun Troon, Finavon

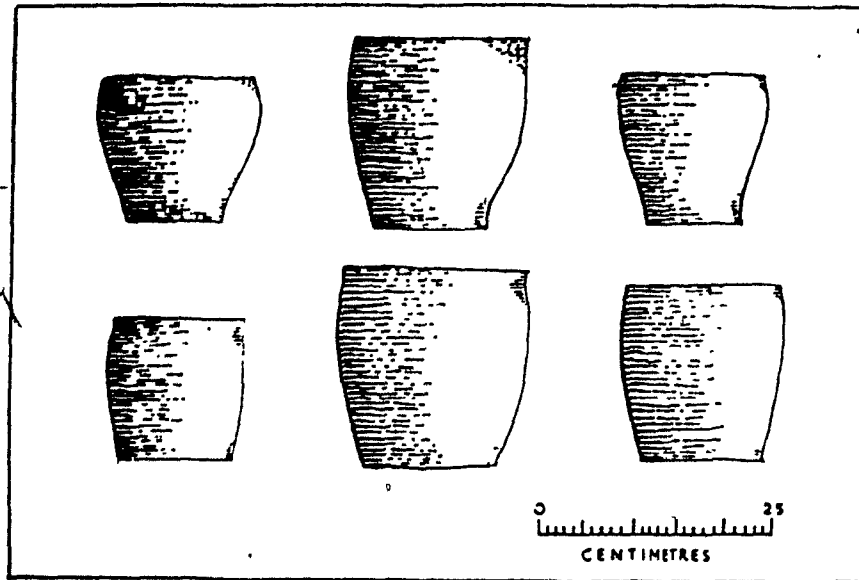
B Drystone rampart forts

B1-B2 Drystone wall forts with peripheral ranges. Found on the West coast of Scotland: Castlehaven, Druim an Duin, Dun Ringill, In Northern Scotland at Clickhimin fort.

B3-B4 Galleried Duns: Dun Grugaig in Glen Elg, etc and at the so-called "blockhouse" at Clickhimin.

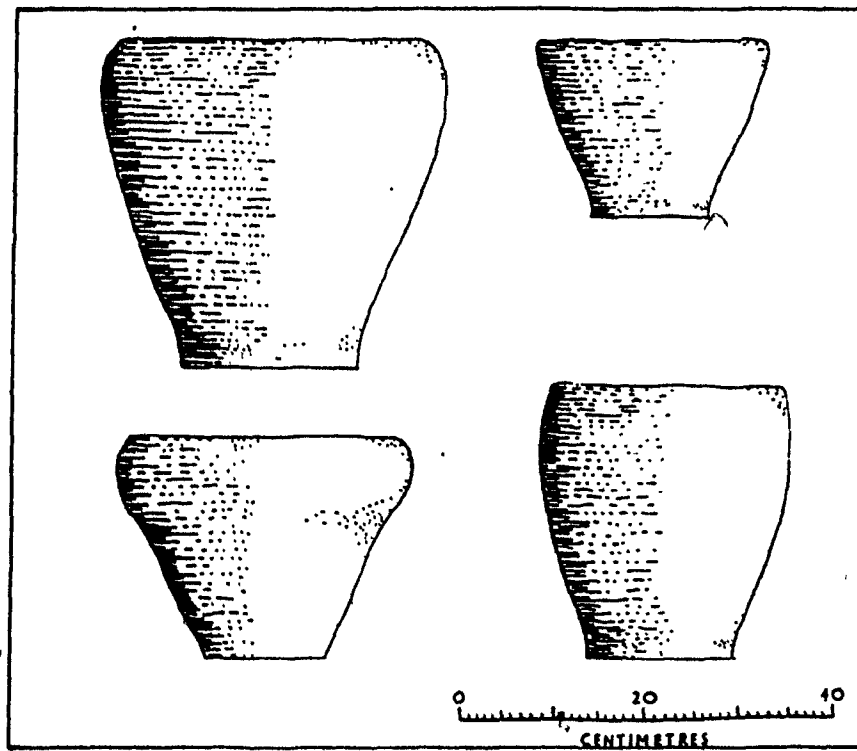
B5 Brochs: Dun Carloway, Clickhimin, Mousa; In our area Stairhaven and Teroy appear to conform and Craigle also. The others unexcavated because of their broch-like dimensions appear to conform.

Fig. 2.5



Flattrimmed or Dunagoil Ware

adapted from Feachem, 1977.



Pottery of Late Prehistoric Forms from S. Scotland  
Adapted from Feachem, 1977.



Burnswark has produced radio-carbon dates of  $500 \pm 90$  and  $525 \pm 90$  bc from rampart construction material which come from the latest excavations; comparable to radio-carbon dates known for a number of palisaded sites, smaller hill-forts, and vitrified forts in North Britain (Jobey, 1977-78: 97). The two sites are the size of hill-top towns. Both have been excavated. There were many hut-floors capable of housing a permanent tribal population and each had a source of water. Were they, however, in operation at the time of the Roman advance or had another tribal structure superseded them? Burnswark was occupied again in the first half of the second century but as an open settlement after the fortifications were destroyed. When the ramparts were destroyed is the question that requires to be answered. Walls Hill's second occupation cannot be dated at all because of lack of evidence, although stone-based huts overlay the original wooden huts in this second occupation and there is evidence for a third occupation in mediaeval times (Newall, 1978: 7). Although it is, therefore, quite doubtful whether either of these was operating as a hillfort at the beginning of the Roman period, the possibility does remain; they are included here for this reason, and because of their size.

The hillfort may well have been the centre of a tribal society perhaps in the mid-first millennium B.C. but it is hardly likely to have been so at the beginning of the Roman period in South-West Scotland. There are only two sites large enough to be called hillforts in the area designated although they are more common in South-East Scotland. We are dealing with large regional groupings of tribes which could not have used just one site as their oppidum. They would have required a number, one for each smaller area. It seems more likely that the small fort, and what we call duns, had a part to

play in tribal organisation at the time of the Roman conquest.

A number of small forts has been included: one in Dunbarton: Sheep Hill; one in Lanark: Yorkhill (Glasgow) although this has now vanished; four in Ayrshire: Castlehill and Aitnock (Dalry,), Seamill and Dow Hill (Girvan); two in Wigtown: Barsalloch Point and Fell of Barhullion; three in Kirkcudbright: Trusty's Hill, Mote of Mark, the Moyle; four in Dumfries: Ward Law, Castle O'er, Brieryshaw Hill, Tynron Doon; one in Midlothian: Kaimes Hill. All of these have produced some type of Roman artifact or structure indicating use in the period.

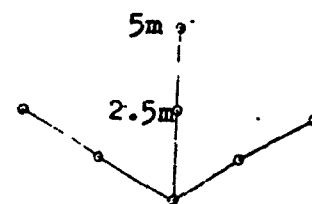
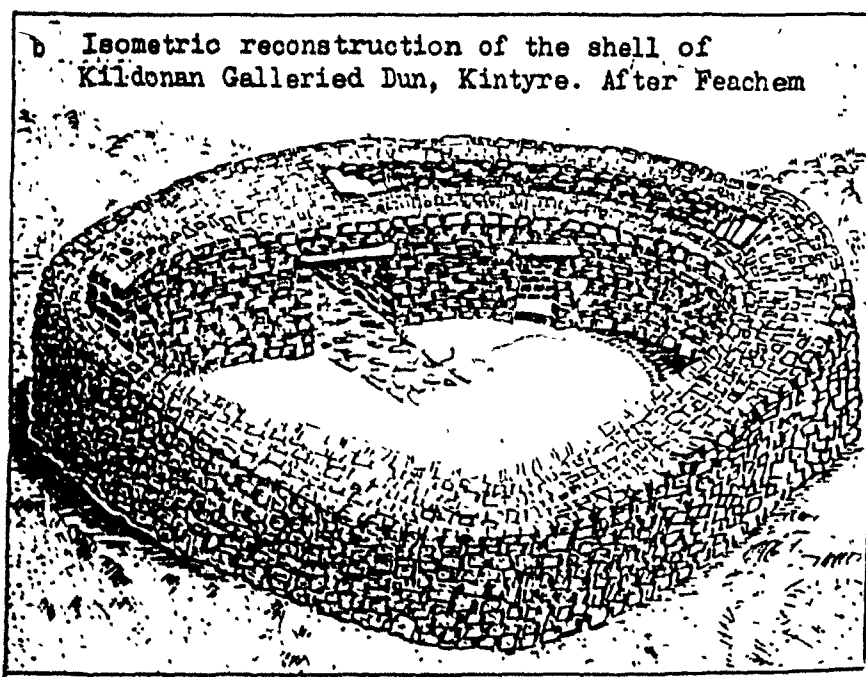
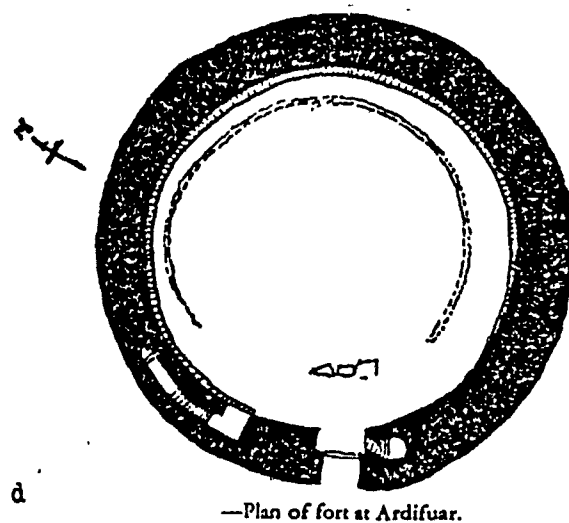
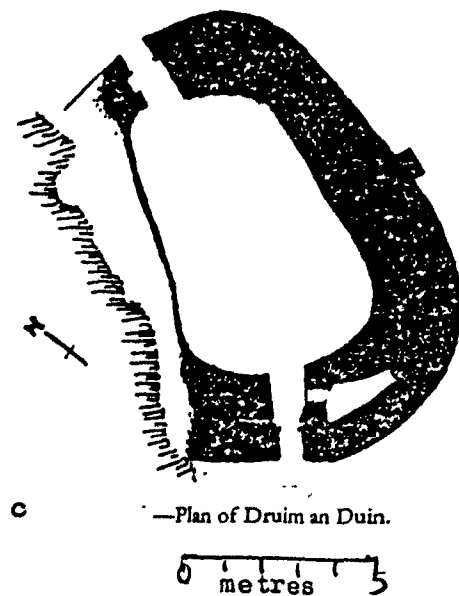
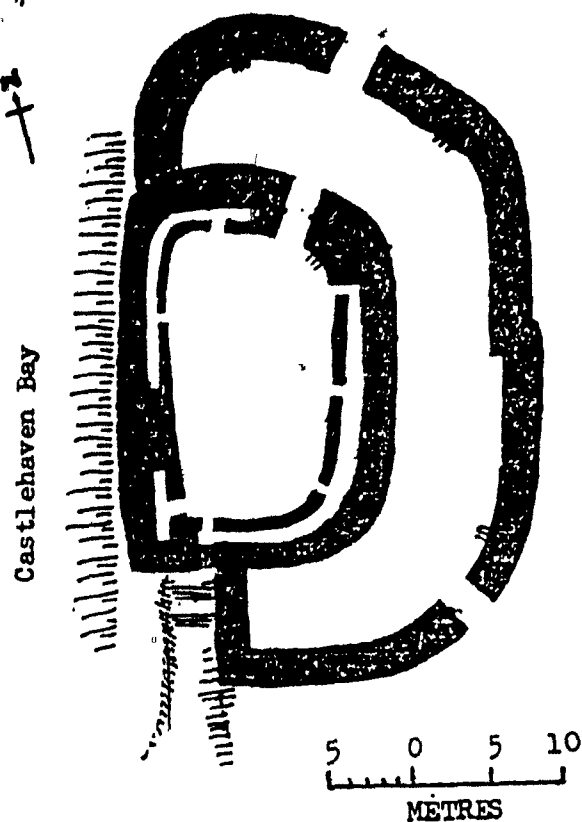
Castlehill, Dalry, is known to have been in operation during the Roman period and into Dark Age times. It is possible to see it as the centre of an area. The Moyle in Kirkcudbright is also central as are Tynron Doon, Castle O'er and Brieryshaw Hill. The promontory forts of the South Barsalloch Point, Fell of Barhullion, Trusty's Hill, Mote of Mark and Ward Law control the bays around the South coast, while Sheep Hill in the North likewise guards the Northern channel. Kaimes Hill, Midlothian, might also dominate its area but is closer to the larger sites of the East.

**Dun** The name "dun" is given in Scotland to a class of small forts enclosing an area of c. 375 sq. metres. They are characterised by a high and thick drystone wall. Duns are present all down the West coast of Atlantic province, particularly in Argyll and including the islands; they also penetrate into the central Highlands. They are present well inland in South-West Scotland but few are yet known in Tyne-Forth province. The fact that their distribution is only on the Western side seems to argue for an originally maritime people who later spread inland. There is no evidence in the South of Britain for this type of fortification although it can be found

on the continent. In Ireland the ring-fort dun is very common, lasting into the Dark Ages; it has, however, a regularity not found in Scotland (Childe, 1935, 198) but this does not rule out the adaptation of the type to a new environment. Some were built on level ground but most occur on rocky knolls, promontories or isolated rock stacks which already have some degree of natural strength; some also have an outer stone wall restricting access. While the wall was often built with a solid rubble core some were timberlaced as shown by evidence of vitrification. Some were "plain", that is just a walled enclosure, and others were galleried, having a hollow wall with mural chambers and steps within the wall leading to the parapet; an example of the latter is seen at Castlehaven (fig. 2.6a) in Kirkcudbright. The galleried wall at Kildonan Bay in Kintyre was laid directly on the uneven bedrock, perhaps to stabilize it (fig 2.6b). Inner walls sometimes carried a scarcement or ledge, as at Druim an Duin and Ardifuair, Argyll (Childe, 1935: 199) (fig. 2.6c and d), perhaps to support a gallery. Duns may be round, oval or oblong and those on promontories, as at Castlehaven and MacCulloch's Castle, are D-shaped with the straight edge along the cliff side.

Duns are quite possibly built in a tradition different from that of the fort builders and most duns which have been excavated have produced artifacts dated to Roman times. The fact that duns are quite frequently built within disused forts as occurs at Portencross and Kemp Law (and at other places outside the area of this study) argues for a later date than that of the forts. The dun, however, differs from the fort in that the occupants lived in wooden structures built against the walls whereas a permanent hillfort or small fort carried huts scattered, either randomly or in some pattern, over its floor. The galleried duns such as Castlehaven in Wigtown

Fig. 2.6



had stairs in the wall to reach the top. Some had mural chambers perhaps for storage.

In South-West Scotland among the duns known are: two in Dunbarton - Dunbarton Rock and Dunbule Hill; four in Ayrshire - Portencross, Kemp's Law, Monkwood, Dunree; 14 in Wigtown - Jamieson's Point, Craigoch and the 12 Chang Duns; three in Kirkcudbright - Castlehaven, Lochangower and Auchencairn; one in Lanark - Cairngryfe, now obliterated; none in Dumfries and the Lothians. Of these Castlehaven has proved the most productive, Cairngryfe's horse bits were found during quarrying while Dunbarton has produced only a very little Roman material and is mainly Dark Age (Alcock 1979). The Chang duns built over the area of several Wigtown farms have not been systematically excavated nor have any of the others.

**Semi-Broch** The galleried dun built usually on a promontary in a D-shape with the straight edge of the D along a cliff-edge has been called a semi-broch (Childe 1935: 201-2; Mackie, 1969: 23). Three of the Duns in South-West Scotland seem to be of this type (as well as one at Kemp Law in Ayrshire, cited as a fort by Christison, (1898, 266). Duns of this type have been studied by Ewan Mackie whose excavations on Skye particularly at Dun Ardtrek (Mackie, 1965: 266; 1975: 72-92) make it appear that this type of dun was the forerunner of the broch.

**Broch** The characteristic hollow wall of the broch was achieved by building an inner and outer wall bonded together by horizontal stone slabs or lintels thus creating a series of superimposed galleries within the wall. A spiral stairway led clockwise up through these galleries to the wall top. The broch at Mousa in Shetland is the best preserved and survives to a height of 13m and must originally have reached a height of 15m or more. Its wall

occupies no less than 64 per cent of the overall diameter of 15.2m. Vertical openings occurred in the inner wall, probably to allow air and light into the staircase. A protruding scarcement or ledge ran round the interior of the broch at a height of between 1.5m and 3.3m; this may have carried a timber gallery supported by vertical wooden posts for which a ring of post-holes has been found in some recent excavations. A second ledge higher up (at Dun Telve 4m and at Mousa 9m) suggests a roof over the gallery (Ritchie, 1981: 102). It seems unlikely that there was an overall roof, mainly because of the weight. Galleries may have carried living quarters and the cells within the walls are also considered to have been living quarters. (Not all scholars agree to this (Harding 1984: 208-9). All had a source of water supply inside the main central area where there was also a hearth. The only vulnerable place was the entrance and this was reached by a narrow and easily defended passage through the wall of the broch. Guard cells were sometimes built by the entrance. Door checks and a bar-hole for a massive wooden door are present in the passageway and some even had two doors, with a short passage between.

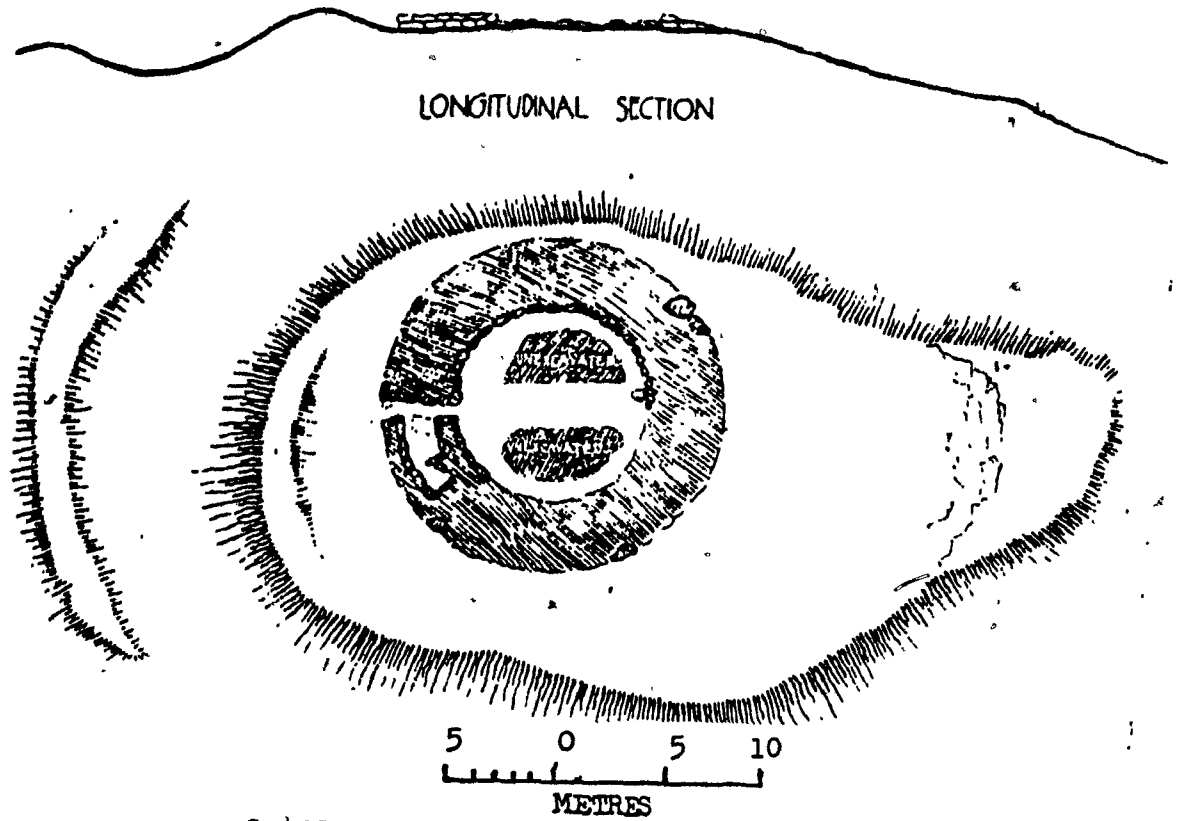
Brochs do display considerable uniformity, particularly in their internal measurements which lie between 9.2m and 12.2m but in their ground-plan archeologists have identified two architectural types: 1. ground-galleried brochs and 2. solid-based brochs. (1) has a gallery or both cells and gallery within its wall at ground level while (2) has a solid wall at ground level broken only by the entrance passage and two or three cells. Type (1) is found mainly in the Hebrides while type (2) occurs in North Scotland and the Northern Isles (cf. Ritchie, 1981: 103-4).

It is not clear what type all the brochs of South-West Scotland fall into since they are not in a good state of preservation nor are any fully

excavated. Teroy was part-excavated in the early part of this century (Curle, 1912: 184-5) and Stairhaven was recently cleared of debris (DES, 1977: 39; Yates, 1983: 95-97) after an illegal dig (fig 2.7a and b). Both showed an intra-mural chamber off the entrance-way as well as stairways which seems to indicate that they belong to type 1. One broch lies in Ayrshire (Craigie) and four in Wigtownshire (Stairhaven, Ardwell, Crammag Head and Teroy). Since the distribution of Brochs is greatest in North-East and Atlantic provinces the general opinion is that this structure spread from that area and that those found in the lowlands represent an intrusive people. This opinion has recently been challenged by MacInnes (1983). She believes that they should not be seen as alien to the architectural traditions of Southern Scotland (1983: 239) and sees a similarity in layout to timber houses and crannogs. Others also (Ritchie, 1981: 105; Mackie, 1982) consider the broch as the ultimate in fortified dwellings for its time and, as such, a prestigious dwelling of a wealthy family.

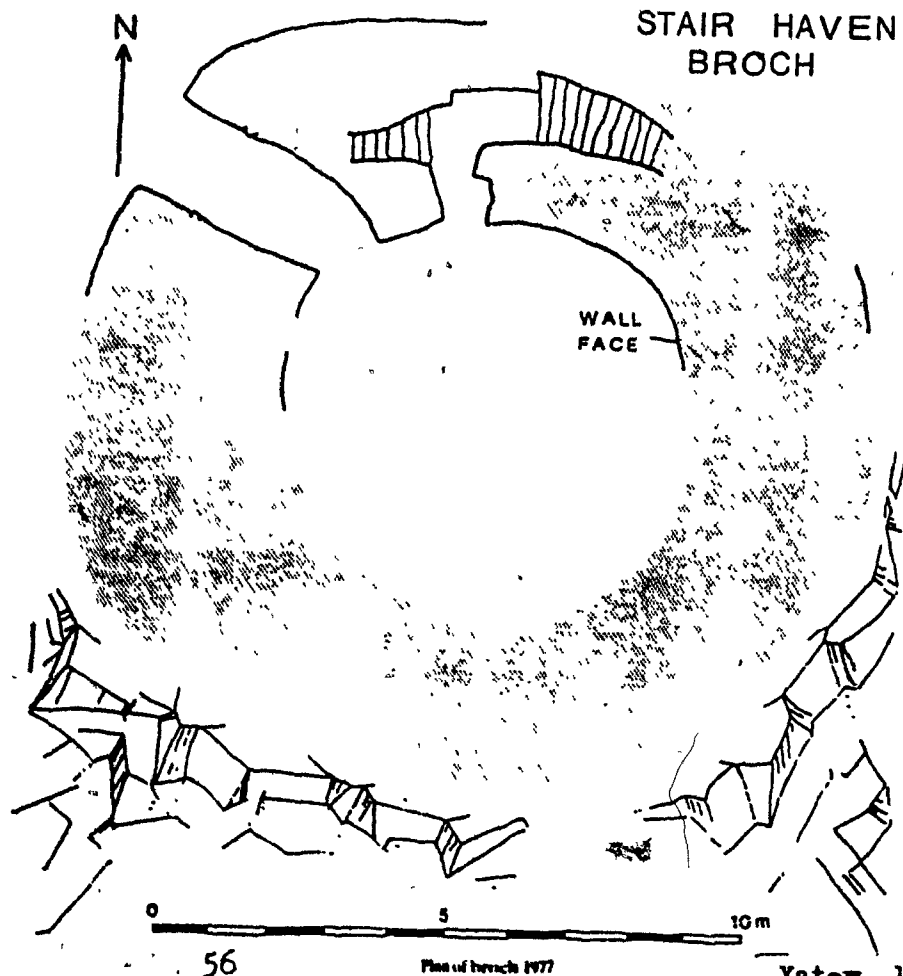
Present thinking is that these brochs evolved about 100 BC and those excavated have shown either Roman artifacts or native artifacts dating to the Roman period - Torwoodlee, Selkirkshire (Piggott 1950-1), Fairy Knowe, Buchlyvie (Main, 1979) and Leckie (Mackie, 1982), Stirlingshire - have produced many articles of first century A.D. and some of second century too. Stone cups or ladles often of steatite (Childe, 1935: 246) are commonly found in them. Obviously such fortresses would last a considerable time and it has been said that only the Romans had the technology to demolish one. The broch of Torwoodlee (Piggott, 1950-51) was demolished and since it shows only Flavian artifacts the possibility exists that it was destroyed at the time of the Antonine conquest by the Romans (Hanson & Maxwell, 1983: 64). The broch at

Fig. 2 .7



Ground Plan and Section of the Broch of Teroy, Cwigeallio, Wigtownshire.

Curle, 1911-2





Leckie, which also had many Flavian artifacts seems to have been destroyed at the beginning of the Antonine period (MacKie, 1982), although this was disputed by MacInnes (1983: 238). Otherwise an attacker must breach the entrance. There are sometimes outer defences and always outbuildings. Childe (1935: 205) also considered it of the "castle" type, that is, the dwelling of a chieftain's family and retainers.

**Homestead**      The various types of defended homesteads sometimes termed forts and duns are represented by Bankhead and Glenhead in South-West Scotland. Bankhead was defended by a heavy wall and contained the remains of two roundhouses, one partially superimposed on the other. Glenhead contained two separate roundhouses, each with at least two phases of construction, and was very heavily fortified by a wall and outworks; an earthhouse, built on a small scale but similar in description to a souterrain lies outside the upper house and was probably a storehouse, perhaps for grain. Another similar site lies approximately 0.8 km to the South at Montfode Mound but has not yet been excavated; Christison mentions yet another similar "cut-off" fort at Boydston a few kilometres North (Christison, 1898: 266); the latter is also unexcavated but surveyed. In 1880 the fort at Seamill was excavated (Munro, 1882b: 59). Munro considered it to be part of the above group and added to the list Ardneil on Auldhill. These eminences commonly called "Castlehill" lay about 1 km apart he said. Seamill produced only a quern, spindle whorl, a triskele (recognised by MacGregor [1966: no.40]) some fragments of green glass and a little pottery as well as bones. The triskele seems to link it to the Roman period. Bankhead and Glenhead both yielded Roman artifacts but the heavy fortification at each would allow for an earlier building date. Each lies in an area of good farming land, Glenhead on a

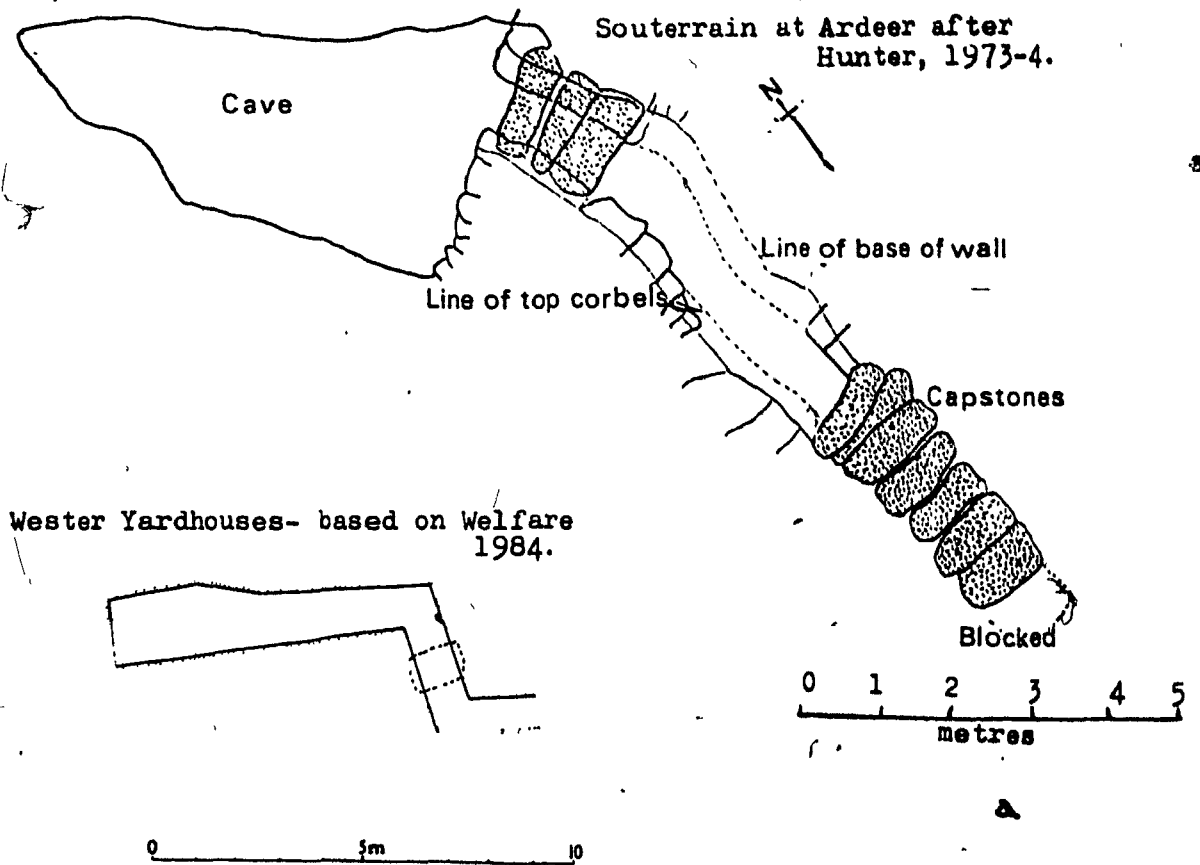
raised beach.

In the area of Renfrewshire Frank Newall and associates have found many roundhouses (1978: 17, and Map p.6). A large one was also found at Stewarton in North Ayrshire. These are not defended and do not lie high enough to conform to Bronze Age settlement; it is to be wondered, as Mr. Newall tentively suggests, if they are part of the late Iron Age settlement pattern.

**Souterrain** Earthhouses are not common in our area although three or four are known. The most recent was found at Ardeer (Hunter, 1972-4), near Stevenston (fig 2.8a). It is similar to other souterrains known in Angus (Wainwright 1953a). These beautifully made underground structures are of varied lengths and shapes; usually a narrow passage leads to a wider chamber, the whole on average about 15 m. Others are shaped in a shallow arc; that at Wester Yardhouses is a zigzag (fig 2.8b). Because souterrains have been found beside disused Roman forts in the lowlands (Shirva near Auchendavy was built in the ditch of the fort) they are generally believed to have served as storage places for later settlements. The small earthhouse at Glenhead double-fort (cf. supra) may well have been for storage. That at Castlelaw, just outside our area is dated by its artifacts to the 1st-2nd century. Childe, who excavated it, believed that souterrains were intended as refuges for people (1940, 160-1). They will be further discussed in Chapter IV.

**Crannog** The commonest type of inland dwelling known in South-West Scotland is the Crannog. When occupied, a crannog appeared as a circular, thatched, timber-framed house seemingly floating on the lake, marsh or estuary where it was built (fig. 2.8b). This might suggest to us a damp place with water lapping under the floor in the way of the Swiss lake villages; this

Fig 2.8



Site of crannog at Lochlee, Ayrshire after Munro, 1882 with inset reconstruction of crannog house as at Milton Loch, Kirk based on Feachem, 1977.

does not, however, seem to have been the case. A crannog was a man-made island, the substructure was solid and the floors were 4-7 feet above the level of the lake, bog or estuary. One has to wonder why the Britons did not use a regular island in the lochs instead of going to so much trouble and building long causeways to reach them. I cannot of course prove this but would tentatively suggest that actual islands were also used; one at Donald's Isle, Loch Doon, Ayrshire, and others at Castle Loch, Wigtown and at Castle Loch, Lochmaben were real enough while at Dowalton Loch there was a regular village including, it seems, real islands (Munro, 1890; Plan). Could it have been that there were not enough real islands? There appear to have been many crannogs and it is also difficult to believe that they were only for refuge.

Crannogs have been dated by C-14 to the 3rd century BC and they lasted into the middle ages. Those crannogs cited are known to show association with Roman times but many more have been found as yet undated seeming to suggest that crannogs were present in most lochs and marshes. Crannogs have recently been excavated in Central Scotland but presently there are none known in Tyne-Forth. Most of those excavated were examined in the 19th century and the standard work is still Robert Munro's *Ancient Scottish Lake-Dwellings* (1882). They become visible in periods of very dry weather and when a reservoir has been drained. Very many canoes have been found; one recently dated by C-14 showed a date of 1441bp  $\pm 100$  (MacKie 1976). A plough-stilt found in 1950 in the foundations of a crannog in Milton Loch gave a C-14 reading of 400bc  $\pm 100$  and part of a structural oak pile of the same crannog produced a reading of 490bc  $\pm 100$  (Guido, 1974: 54-55). This crannog, excavated by Mrs. Piggett (1952-3), had been dated by a Pannonian brass belt-buckle to the 1st-2nd century.

Crannogs were sometimes built of wood and sometimes of stone. They required an enormous amount of wood (about 3000 trees) to build them. There are many crannogs which were still in use in mediaeval times but the earlier crannogs, as far as can be ascertained, used the mortise and tenon substructure while the later ones did not.

One difficulty is that most Iron Age sites were excavated in the 19th century when the pre-occupation was with "relics". Although many of the excavators were meticulous in describing their finds and also in drawing plans of the sites yet there is a lack of organisation of material and one searches for the size, shape and other vital statistics often in vain. It is almost impossible to attempt tables of similar sites since there is no uniformity but much irrelevant detail. This is particularly true of Munro's work on crannogs since the various excavators appear to have supplied him with incomplete statistics. The size of the island but not of the house will be given, or of the house but not of the island.

**Cave** Caves were inhabited in South-West Scotland as elsewhere.

Cleave's Cove near Dalry is extensive and has produced native artifacts of Roman date as have Borness and Torrs caves in Kirkcudbright. Borness had a particularly rich amount of both native and Roman artifacts and produced evidence of weaving and industrial activity.

There are then at the outset of the Roman Iron Age in South-west Scotland only two hillforts of doubtful Roman date, a number of small forts and duns, a few brochs, some farmhouses of the double-fort type on the coast and inland possibly a large number of crannogs which are also farmhouses; some caves were inhabited. Some settlements also may have been present but whether those came after the Roman conquest or not is unclear. Since this will not

account for a population of a size to warrant the heavy concentration of Roman ~~forces~~ later stationed in the area, other dwellings, less elaborate, must have been present.

It may be that the undefended roundhouses, which seem to be present in some number in the area (reported in DES yearly) and which are 'undated and unexcavated might have supplied additional dwelling-places at this time.

III

THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES  
AND ITS IMPACT ON SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND

The Roman advance must have been watched with growing apprehension and can hardly have been any surprise to the Britons of Southern Scotland. It has even been surmised that the clusters of forts, some unfinished, were built specifically to inhibit or even prevent this advance (Childe, 1935: 10, 12). The Romans gradually and relentlessly pushed on North and it is inconceivable that tribes who traded round the coasts could have been unaware of the conquest and its effect.

While the Brigantes remained a client kingdom there was, however, a buffer between Rome and the North. On the death of Nero in AD 68 and during the subsequent Civil War the Brigantes took sides in the domestic quarrel between their Queen Cartimandua and her husband Venutius. When she divorced him and married his armour-bearer it appears that tribal loyalty went over to Venutius. The Queen had to be rescued by the Roman Governor Bolanus and Tacitus (*Hist.* 3, 45) records that, in AD 69, active warfare broke out between Rome and the Brigantes under Venutius. In AD 71 Vespasian sent as governor to Britain Cerialis whose first job was to settle the Brigantes. Tacitus states (*Ag.* 17) that after a fierce campaign most of the tribe was either conquered or overrun. Tacitus does not actually say the Brigantes were totally vanquished. Eric Birley (1953: 40) makes a case based on Tacitus (*Hist.* 3, 45: *..igitur Venutio accitis auxiliis*) that "the allies" as he construes this, summoned by Venutius were found among the Selgovae and Novantae of South-West Scotland. John Clarke (1958: 37) argues on the same lines that Cerialis advanced over Stainmore Pass to Carlisle and established an advance base there, because the pottery in Carlisle is earlier than that at Corbridge (Bush-Foxe, 1912-13: 295). Hartley, however, disagrees saying that now no historian would claim support for such a hypothesis from the evidence of the



Samian ware (1972: 120). At the fort of Milton, Clarke (1949-50: 205) found traces of a fort abandoned some years before the construction of the Agricolan fort. From this evidence he suggested that the Southern area of Annandale was overrun by the Romans. There are traces at Birrens also of an earlier occupation (Charlesworth, 1959: 40; Robertson, 1962-3: 154). The Brigantian sword hilts from Castlehill Fort, Dalry and Middlebie, Dumfries and the sheath from Barganny House, South Ayrshire (Childe, 1935: 228; Piggott, 1950: Group III and IV; also Table Ch. I supra) support the idea of links with the Brigantes. Such an overrun would have been a salutary experience for the Britons and might answer the question of why Agricola did not have any battles worthy of mention with the supposedly warlike tribes of the lowlands. Agricola's policy was to overrun the area beyond his intended expansion one year and consolidate it in the following year.

The most generally accepted date for the invasion of Scotland is AD 80 (Ogilvie and Richmond, 1967: 317; most recent discussion Frere and Pitt, 1985: 264-7). The date of Agricola's arrival in Britain has always been in question because of the uncertainty over the date of his consulship; the date of AD 79 is therefore also possible. It was during Agricola's third campaign that he overran the Lowlands and reached as far as the River Tavs or Tavus (Agr 22; Ogilvie & Richmond, 1967: 57, n.2). This is probably the River Tay according to Richmond, but could also be the Tyne (St. Denis, 1972: 18, n.2). Tacitus says that Agricola encountered *novas gentes* but no opposition. It is generally supposed that he advanced in two columns, one from Corbridge along what is now called Dere Street in the East and one from Carlisle on the West, to meet at the isthmus (Miller, 1952: 210). The known Agricolan marching camps (part of a series which have the 'Strathcathro' type gates (Maxwell,

1980: 31-7) are at Dalswinton, Castledykes and Beattock; no other camps so far can be positively established as Agricolan though others are possible. The Votadini, because of the continuance of their oppidum at Traprain Law, are considered to have been "friends" of the Romans and as such would have afforded passage to them. Eildon Hills North, the largest hillfort (perhaps oppidum) of the Selgovae had been reduced before the fort of Newstead was placed closeby; this has given rise to the belief that the Selgovae were hostile. (It is possible that it could have been destroyed in an earlier campaign as dating is not very close).

There is no evidence for destruction of native forts in South-West Scotland. John Smith (1918) while excavating three forts in 1901-2 (Castlehill, Aitnock and Coalhill) mentions the finding of a ball, "possibly for a ballista" at Coalhill. Smith found no Roman material there (unlike at the other forts) but he thought the artifacts, querns discs etc. contemporaneous. This is the only very slight hint that this fort might have been reduced and with it perhaps others in the area.

Agricola had time to build forts that year also; where is not stated. Josephus attests (BJ III, 84) to the speed with which the Romans built forts and modern experimentation (Coles, 1973: 79-82) suggests that as little as 12 days may have sufficed for their construction.

The fourth season (AD 81) was spent in securing and expanding what had been overrun. This was the usual policy of Agricola: to overrun one year and secure in the following season. It was also probably standard Roman policy. He found a natural stopping-place for a frontier on the Forth-Clyde isthmus and there he established his *praesidia*; no doubt a road connected them. No part of this road has survived though it may be that the later Antonine Wall

overlaid it; archaeological evidence is however lacking. Until recently Camelon appeared to be the most Northerly point on the isthmus with a Flavian occupation. The finding of a fort at Doune, Stirlingshire led to a suggestion by Maxwell (1984) that the forts of Drumquhassle, Malling, Bochartle, Doune, another unknown site in Stirlingshire and Camelon might constitute the *praesidia* of Tacitus. This suggestion has some merit (St. Joseph, 1985: 269-70) but still presents certain problems requiring further study.

Elginhaugh on the Forth is the most Easterly and Barochan on the Clyde the most Westerly point, with Mollins (Hanson and Maxwell, 1983: 38) as well as a fortlet of doubtful date at Castle Greg, in between. On the line of the later Antonine Wall forts at Cadder and at Castlecary seem likely because of the Flavian artifacts (Hanson & Maxwell, 1983: 38; Charlesworth, 1959: 40).

Tacitus says: *atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur*. This is usually translated as "the whole sweep of territory South of the isthmus was in our hands". Some have thought that he meant only the East but finds in the last 40 years indicate that the West as well as the East may have been meant.

Roads and forts were placed along the main river valleys: Newstead in Tweeddale, Milton in Annandale, Dalswinton in Nithsdale and perhaps Drumlanrig (as yet unexcavated but with surface finds of first century pottery), Camelon in the Forth valley, Elginhaugh on the Northern Esk. In Clydesdale a small fort was planted at Castledykes and one at Loudoun Hill in Avondale. Broomholm in Eskdale was also founded as well as a fortlet at Birrens.

Trunk roads must have been laid out along with the forts. The destination of the roads from the South is generally assumed to be the Forth-Clyde isthmus although the terminal points are not absolutely clear. The legionary fort founded at Inchtuthil (Stirlingshire) might be a better

terminal point. On the Eastern side Elginhaugh Fort seems certain and thence to Camelon; on the West Barochan Fort from whence a ford over the Clyde (DES 1974:34, 57-8; Newall, 1975: 92) would take the road towards Drumquhassle and even to Malling up the River Cart (DES, 1980:35). Forts built later might be linked to the road by a loop. Roads followed river valleys where possible but always preferred high ground to narrow passes. (Later roadmakers lacking the man-power and discipline necessary to work over difficult terrain tended to avoid such high ground and built in the narrow river passes). It would appear that the roads followed the course of native routeways to some extent because a number of native sites lies along their course. Recently found stretches of Roman road also pass by native sites which appear to have been there first. Several Roman forts appear to have been founded on native sites. Roads are difficult to date particularly for the Flavian period as much of the road system was reused and possibly expanded in Antonine times: for example the road from Bishopton round the Renfrewshire coast appears to be entirely Antonine (XI: Map 3.11). Roads usually followed the line of the marching camps but few camps in the area are certainly Agricolaan or even Flavian - so far only Dalswinton, Castledykes and Beattock. A stretch of road heading towards an established Flavian fort is the only real guide to dating while stretches without dated forts can be merely the subject of speculation, although native sites with Flavian artifacts on or near a road suggest a Flavian date for that road.

Most scholars agree that the main North road in the West (Map 3.1) led from Carlisle crossing the later line of Hadrian's Wall at Stanwix Fort, thence almost straight North to West Linton (where stretches can be traced) and across the River Lyne. From this point its course becomes doubtful. It

probably crossed the River Esk about the ford known as "the Roost" (Margary, 1973: 456) to enter the area under study, although no evidence of it has as yet been found at the ford. General Roy (1793: 104) could see traces of the Roman road from Gretna to Birrens in the mid-eighteenth century to which such a crossing would lead. He considered this to be the main route North and this route has been confirmed by aerial survey (St. Joseph, 1952: 1-4). Another school of thought would take the road further up the Esk to where Netherby fort was constructed in Hadrianic times (Birley 1953: 28-30; Breeze, 1982: 52, 56, 74). I believe that the road divided at the Esk, one branch leading up the Esk to Broomholm, where there are traces (Map 3.2); possibly continuing North to another East-West road link in the vicinity of the later fort at Raeburnfoot (Stuart, 1852, Map). Broomholm might then be connected with Birrens or even Milton. No traces have been found of a Roman ford on the River Esk at any of the supposed junctions. The writer believes that Roy's route as confirmed by St. Joseph (1952: Map and 3-4) should be followed for the present because the road is proven in part and leads to Birrens; a link between Broomholm and Northern points such as Milton is also possible. From Birrens Fortlet (Map. 3.1) the road can be traced over Middlebie Hill past Burnswark to just beyond Lockerbie where there is a junction with an East-West road. The main road continued North to Milton Fort and past the Agricolaean camp at Beattock, recognised by its Strathcathro type gates (BR, 1978: 418), passing close to the Devil's Beeftub and over very high ground to Crawford Fort at the foot of the Elvan Water (Map 3.3). At Robertson a few miles North of Crawford, the main road divided, one branch led North-Westwards to Castledykes Fort; the other branch led through Biggar, and then (Map 3.4) North-Eastwards to the Edinburgh Area, where it again divided, the Western

route heading for the isthmus at Cramond or Blackness or some other unknown destination; the Eastern route led to Dalkeith (Elginhaugh), which is purely Flavian. North of Castledykes there is the possibility that a branch led to Castlecary (Stuart, 1852: Map; Davidson, 1952: 82-87) but so far only a short stretch from the fort of Castlecary to a lookout at Crowbank remains (Map 3.5). Recently the finding of the fortlet at Bankhead (unexcavated) has led to the suggestion that a road between this point and Castle Greg Fortlet (Map 3.6) might have produced a link to the Forth (Maxwell, 1985).

From Castledykes an East-West road led through Avondale to Loudoun Hill fort and possibly a harbour around Irvine (Map 3.6); it continued East from Castledykes fort to Bankhead Fortlet, Easter Haprew and Newstead. I think that a road connection to Loudoun Hill from Castledykes and thence to Barochan Hill could have made the road link to the Isthmus (Map 3.7). There is the likelihood of a Roman ford over the Clyde (DES, 1976) and a stretch of Roman Road has been found (DES, 1980: 35) North of the isthmus leading towards the Flavian fort of Drumquhassle. A Western road link to the North would have been a necessity at this time and perhaps will be found, at least in part, in the near future. Stretches of Roman road have been found North of Loudoun Hill (Map 3.7) heading towards Barochan (RB, 1977: 370). Cultivation South of Barochan Hill has so far frustrated efforts to locate the road to the South. South of Loudoun Hill the Roman road leads towards Muirkirk village (DES, 1972: 20); at Kalmes the road continues South over the high land East of Cairntable to a junction with recently found stretches of a Clyde-Nith cross road (Map 3.8) running North and East (DES, 1972: 25; 1973: 35-36) following the Douglas Water past Douglas almost to the River Clyde. Westwards this road crosses the Upper Nithsdale road and extends from New Cumnock to

beyond the River Ayr at Holehouse. It appears to continue from North of Barshean Loch to Dryroth Hill (DES 1972: 13-14; 1973: 18; 1974: 24 and perhaps through Maybole and Dailly to the Coast (Map 3.9).

The newly discovered fortlet at Lantonside (unexcavated) may represent the beginning of the Nithsdale Road (Map 3.10) in Flavian times (RB, 1985: 286). Ward Law fort, also unexcavated, lies close beside Lantonside so that one is likely to be Flavian. Aerial survey (DES, 1984; BR- RB, 1985: 265)) confirmed that the road up Nithsdale led from the Solway past Dalswinton to a ford of the Nith about Carronbridge where there are camps. It now appears that the Wellpath road (Map 3.11), thought to be Antonine because Durisdeer fortlet is of Antonine date, branched off to pass close to the Annandale road at Crawford. The Nithdale road continued past the fortlet at Sanquhar (unexcavated). Stretches have been found over Corsecon Hill and Avisyard Hill (doubtful over the Coalpits area: Clarke, 1958:56-158) disappearing just short of Cumnock (Miller, 1952).

Another confirmed stretch (Margary, 1973: 454 no. 790) runs from Hurlford, near Kilmarnock through Carnell via a ford of the River Cessnock. It continues through the village of Mauchline, fords the Lugar Water and appears to lead to a ford on the River Ayr East of Haugh (Map 3.12). It may well join on to the Nithsdale Road and perhaps connect with the possible extension of the Avondale Road (Map 3.6) to the coast at Irvine (see base map and Flavian overlay). A stretch of road near Kilwinning runs as far as an ancient harbour at Little Brigurd Point close to Hunterston (Map 3.13). This may be part of a coastal road. The stretch from about Dipple heading inland to Dailly past Lochspouts Crannog leading almost to Maybole (Map 3.9) may be part of the coastal road also.

A short stretch at Gatehouse of Fleet hints at a Southern route. This was identified South of the fortlet crossing the Water of Fleet and heading West towards the River Cree (Map 3.14)(BR-RB 1985:265). North of the fortlet it continued to the Barclay Burn (DES, 1981:8). This would probably have joined the road which branched from the Annandale road at Lockerbie (Map 3.15) and ran due west from Dryfeholm to Murder Loch and thence to Glenlochar and Gatehouse of Fleet. Its destination may have been near Stranraer. Glenlochar appears to be somewhat isolated but the possibility of a Roman road from the Solway up the valley of the Dee has not been explored.

The base map and Flavian overlay shows the possibility for three North roads: the Eskdale road: from the South to Broomholm and up the Esk; the Annandale, or main North road; the Nithsdale Road, from Lantonside North towards Dalswinton and via Drumlanrig to the Upper Nith and perhaps North to Barochan. East-West roads probably led: 1) across the Isthmus- the way completely unknown depending on the position of the *praesidia*; 2) through Newstead, Easter Haprew, Castledykes to Loudoun Hill; 3) the Clyde-Nithsdale cross-road; 4) from Lockerbie, Lochmaben to Glenlochar, Gatehouse of Fleet and West (RB, 1985: 270). The possibility also exists that the Southern route continued East via the Solway coast linking the temporary camps of Dalbeattie, Ruthwell and Annan Hill to a junction with the "main" North road.

In the fifth season AD 82 Tacitus (Agr.24) says that Agricola: *prima nave transgressus*, in a series of successful battles (unnamed) subdued peoples *ignotas ad id tempus*, and drew up his forces in the part which faces Ireland. Scholars have suggested that the sea crossing came from North of the Clyde basing this on Agr.23. It seems more likely to be dependent on where he spent the winter. Since campaigning lasted roughly from April till October Agricola



would surely have returned South to look after the business of the Province at the end of the previous season's campaigning. Caesar did this and it is supposed that other Governors did likewise. If Agricola crossed from Maryport in Cumbria, the Flavian fortlet at Gatehouse-of-Fleet (Hartley, 1972:11) or the fortlet at Lantonside might have been a port.

Two marching camps at Girvan suggest a fort in the area of the Girvan Water (St. Joseph 1978: 397-400). Only a fragment of Roman glass recovered from the smaller camp identified as "likely to be first century in date (St. Joseph, 1985: 270) links them with the Flavian period but the location, close to the Irish coast might be where Agricola drew up his forces facing Ireland (Agr.24). A stretch of Roman road North of Girvan (Fig. 3.9) comes close to these camps and suggests a coastal road. A few unstratified coins found around the coast tend to support this.

In Agr. 23 Tacitus, while extolling Agricola's brilliance in choosing fort sites, says that he provisioned them so well that there was no winter problem over running short of supplies; and that the enemy, the Britons that is, were unable to regain in winter what they had lost in summer. This suggests that patrolling took place in winter from the forts. With the exception of Dalawinton, the forts in the lowlands were not very large. An average size is about 1 hectare. All are auxilliary forts. The provisioning of some 19 forts in time for winter in new territory calls for a good road system to be installed immediately in addition to requiring good communications by sea.

From AD 83, the sixth season, the war moved away from the lowlands as Agricola took in the tribes across the Forth which he may have initially overrun two years previously. He kept to the lowland plain all the time on

his way Northwards placing forts at strategic points on passes leading up the glens; he did not venture into the highland massif itself. A legionary fortress was established at Inchtuthil, the only one North of York; the intent thus must have been to hold the whole Island. Remains of forts have been found as far North as Cawdor, Nairn, where Flavian pottery similar to that at Inchtuthill is present (Jones, 1986: 10-12). The war in Germany caused the withdrawal of some part of Agricola's force to this effort (ILS 1025; 9200). It is impossible to decide which forts truly belong to Agricola. Some were no doubt built after his departure.

In the following summer, AD 83, Agricola managed to bring the British, united at last under Calgacus, to battle at Mons Graupius, the location of which is unknown, and where they were totally defeated (Tacitus Agr, 37-38); after this Agricola led his army slowly to the territory of the Boresti where he established them in winter quarters, perhaps in Fife (Breeze, 1982:30 doubtfully). Shortly afterwards he returned in triumph to Rome.

In both Flavian and Antonine times forts were manned mainly by auxiliaries. After the evacuation of the legionary fort of Inchtuthil legionary cohorts probably were posted North on a rotation basis. How many and which forts they occupied in Flavian times is unknown. It should not be thought that auxiliaries were highly cultured Romans. They were tribesmen, some of Celtic origin, little different from the Britons, with a thin veneer of Romanisation received as a result of army discipline. Their officers were, however, Roman. The *Usipi* cited by Tacitus in Agr.28 are a case in point. A whole cohort revolted killing their Roman officers and sailed round Scotland. They were, says Tacitus, (Agr. 29,3) lately recruited, in much the same manner as the British recruits whom Agricola had with him at Mons Graupius.

### Size of the Army

The size of the army involved in the occupation of the Lowlands has always been a thorny question. The Northern forts were manned by auxiliaries with the exception of Inchtuthil, a legionary fortress. Agricola used auxiliaries as his field army at Mons Graupius (thereby saving Roman lives) but he had earlier used his legions in battle (Agr.25,26,27). The auxiliary regiments were infantry or part mounted, with the officers being Roman. The commonest unit in the army of Britain was the *cohors quingenaria equitata* about 500 men strong (Breeze, 1981: 26-7, based, however, on the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian). It is not known whether administrators and engineers were part of their complement. It is therefore not at all clear to the writer how organisation of new territory could be carried out without the presence of a substantial number of legionaries. Road-building and fort-building were the jobs of legionaries and such troops were accordingly necessary in an occupation force. It seems then that if this was so, a quingenary cohort would garrison small forts while larger forts might carry a millary cohort with the fortlet perhaps outposted from the larger forts, a notion which seems to be gaining acceptance, at least for the later second century (Breeze. 1981: 138). Of the 14 known Roman structures, two are large: Milton and Dalswinton; six are small: Broomholm, Glenlochar, Drumlanrig, Castledykes, Loudoun Hill, Barochan; Two are large fortlets: Birrens and Crawford; four are small fortlets: Gatehouse of Fleet, Bar Hill, Castle Greg, Lantonside. Of these Drumlanrig, Castle Greg and Lantonside (all unexcavated) are of doubtful occupation. If one allowed 1000 men to the large forts, 500 to the small forts, and a century (80 men) to the large fortlets, and a troop (32 men) to the small fortlets, the total would be 5,288 men, which is a very conservative

estimate, but, the writer thinks, realistic. Britain was, after all, only a four legion province until the departure of Legio II Adiutrix (c AD 87) and from then on just a three legion province.

How much corn could be produced locally to feed this huge influx of men is difficult to assess. Carbonised grain is present at Erskine Ferry Crannog, Rispaun Camp and Altnock Fort but whether it was produced in any quantity is doubtful. Piggott estimated (1958: 23) that a legion needed 500 bushels a week, representing the crop from 70 acres. This Rivet thought somewhat high (1967: 196-7). The farms such as Tamshiel Rig and Crock Cleug already cited (Ch.II) may be exceptional but the crannogs as exemplified at Milton Loch and Lochmaben cultivated the land in a more than rudimentary manner. Ramsay MacMullen (1963:9) makes the point that Roman soldiers cultivated their own "gardens" outside the forts to supplement their rations. Whether this applied to auxiliaries or not is unknown.

"Romanisation" would appear to have begun in South-West Scotland right away, in that a levy of men for the army would be required, tribute exacted or at least the mechanism for its exaction set up, and levies of one sort or another required. It is possible that tribute could be made in kind. Hides were necessary for army needs and were accepted as payment elsewhere in the Empire (Breeze, 1981:114). The amount of upheaval in the making of roads and forts involving much contact with the chiefs of the people can be imagined but not substantiated. Trade is a great mixer and the Roman army would be anxious to make native contacts too for the two things always in demand by soldiery, women and the local brew. The Britons were also no doubt anxious to trade.

The only record of interaction between Roman and Briton is the fact that Roman artifacts and coins appear on native sites and conversely native

goods (e.g. bangles, button and loop fasteners) appear on Roman sites. Native sites are not necessarily near Roman forts but are mostly close to Roman roads. In particular goods are found in Ayrshire around Dalry and on the coast close to Ardrossan, where the nearest known fort is Loudoun Hill. They are found also on the Ayrshire and Renfrewshire crannogs, Castlehaven dun and the crannogs throughout Galloway, Kirkcudbright and Dumfries. Hyndford crannog, Lanark is very rich in 1st century Roman artifacts but it is near to Castledykes fort. Table 3.1 shows native sites with occupation in the first century:

Scott (1966: 64 and 68) followed by Hanson and Maxwell (1983:44) thinks that Belgic colonists may have been planted in Galloway and Dumfries. The association with Belgic settlers stems from the examination of the Carlingwark Hoard (Piggott, 1953) which was found in the Loch near the sites of the crannogs. This, Piggott said, proved by comparison with other tools to be Belgic toolwork. On this assumption he proposed that Belgic settlers were "planted" in South-West Scotland by the Romans. He also saw traces of their presence in Borness Cave, where artifacts indicated weaving to have taken place. The fact that many of the articles shown in the table (Chapter II supra) are similar to those of the Iron B culture of the Lake villages of Glastonbury and Mere (Childe, 1940: 234-44) may prove association but it does not show when this took place.

Scott also suggested that the road from Dalswinton, Glenlochar, Gatehouse-of-Fleet might have constituted a frontier shutting off the West from the East. Similarly the Loudoun Hill road to the coast could provide a frontier facing South and thus cutting off part of Ayrshire and most of Galloway from the Romanised area. This seems highly unlikely. In the first

TABLE 3.1

## NATIVE SITES OCCUPIED IN THE FIRST CENTURY

County	Fort	Crannog	Dun	Cave	Settlement
Dumbarton	Sheephill	Dumbuck	"		
Renfrew		Langbank Erskine Ferry			
Ayr	Castlehill Aitnock Glenhead Seamill Bankhead	Ashgrove Loch Lochspouts Lochlee		Cleave's Cove	
Wigtown		Airrieoulland			Sandhead Castle Loch
Kircudbright		Barean Loch Milton Loch	Castlehaven	Torrs Cave Borness Cave	
Dumfries		Friar's Carse Carlingwark			
Lanark	Yorkhill	Bishop's Loch Hyndford	Cairngryfe		

place, although there are few forts or settlements in the Southern Uplands area, it would require that the area be manned thus tying more troops to particular areas. Secondly, the existence of the road through Upper Nithsdale, passing Drumlanrig fort into Ayrshire, makes this seem even more unlikely as it passes too far West.

From AD 81-90, at least, the lowlands were part of the Province of Britain and the frontier lay far to the North of them. After Agricola's departure a complete policy change appears to have taken place. In or about AD 87, to aid the Danubian armies, *Legio II Adiutrix* was moved to the Danube (along with some auxiliaries) and is attested in Moesia (but not before AD 92) while *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* was pulled back to Chester. At about the same time Inchtuthil was dismantled and evacuated along with Fendoch and most of the Northern forts (Frere and Pitts, 1985: 279). The exact date is not certain but by AD 90 at least Roman forces appear to have been pulled back, probably to the Isthmus.

A group of *Asses* from Inchtuthil reassessed in the 1960's was found to be unused and to be of the new "*Moneta Augusti*" minted to commemorate the legionaries' raise in pay. Coins of the same type have been discovered at Crawford, Cramond, Castledykes and Barochan auxiliary forts in South-West Scotland, together with one each from Strathcathro and Dalginross: these finds supply a *terminus post quem* of at least AD 87 for desertion of these forts.

Other Roman sites yielding 1st century bronze coins include Mumrills, Castlecary, Balmuildy and Kirkintilloch, all on the line of the later Antonine Wall. Sites South of this line are Birrens, Milton, Inveresk. It is unlikely that these coins would be the result of the later Antonine occupation, since

bronze coins had a short life. On the other hand a hoard from Broomholm of gold coins to Domitian could have been buried later. There are 19 unstratified copper coins of the Flavian period or before found in the area as shown table (fig 3.2), some of which were possibly ancient losses.

Most Flavian sites in Scotland show two phases. The first occupation of lowland Scotland is generally considered to have lasted from AD 80 to AD 90 and the second from AD 90 to c. 105. There was a number of reconstructions, whether because of unrest or policy change is not clear, but a new and larger fort was built at Glenlochar and Dalswinton was enlarged (Clarke, 1958: 52-3). New forts were built at Milton, and at Loudoun Hill (*ibid*). The defences at Castledykes were reconstructed (*ibid*). There may also have been a brief period of abandonment around AD 90. There is first century glass at Cadder and Castlecary and a fragment from Birrens (Charlesworth, 1959: 40). Castlecary shows one piece of late first century Samian. Drumlanrig may also prove to have been occupied in this period. It has been suggested that a cavalry unit in each of the large forts of Dalswinton and Glenlochar might have patrolled the country (Hanson and Maxwell, 1983: 45).

It does appear that occupation was present almost totally from AD 80 to c AD 105 in South-West Scotland and in 25 years some Romanisation or at least extramural settlement should have taken place but this is difficult to prove in Flavian times. There is no epigraphic evidence for the formation of *vici*. Where there are soldiers, however, there will be a certain amount of trade potential. All forts North of the Cheviots have annexes, usually two or three. In the annex were kept the waggons, horses, construction materials and so on; the Bathhouse was often situated there also. Settlement of a sort started usually, but not always, in an annex. Traders gathered there, no



TABLE 3.2

## Unstratified coins found in South-West Scotland

Place	Emperor	Type
Ayr	Nero	Bronze
Galston	Vespasian	Silver
Prestwick	Vespasian	Bronze
Dumfries	Augustus	Gold
Canonbie	Nero	Gold
Wauchope Bridge	Otho	Gold
Dumbarton	Augustus, Divus Vespasian	Bronze Bronze
Westerton	Augustus	Greek Bronze
Kirkcudbright	Vespasian	Silver
Blantyre, Lanark	Vespasian	Bronze
Carluke	Nero	Gold
	Otho	Gold
Crawford	Vespasian	Bronze?
Glasgow	Drusus	Bronze
	Claudius	Bronze
	Nero	1 Gold & 1+ Bronze
	Vespasian	Bronze
	Domitian	Greek Bronze
		Bronze?
Salsburgh	Nero	Bronze
Edinburgh	Augustus	2 Bronze
	Roma and Augustus	Bronze
	Galba	Bronze?
	Vespasian	Bronze
Erskine, Renfrewshire	Augustus	Greek Bronze
Greenock	Nero	Bronze
Langbank	Nero	Bronze
Paisley	Titus?	Bronze
	Domitian	Bronze
Renfrew	Tiberius	Bronze
Falkirk, Stirlingshire	Roma and Augustus	Bronze
Stranraer, Wigtownshire	Drusus	Bronze

Derived from Robertson, 1983: Tables 4 and 5.

doubt vendors of the local ale and women. There were also the *lixae* who were needed to help cook and clean and it seems that, before long there was a tiny resident community outside the camp. The evidence is slight, but at least Easter Haprew, a purely Flavian site, just East of the area under study, had a fairly extensive *vicus* showing that such settlements did indeed exist in the Flavian period.

The table 3.3 shows which Flavian forts have vestiges of what might be considered a military *vicus*: Dalswinton, a large Flavian fort appears to have no known settlement and this seems strange; Glenlochar although Flavian as well as Antonine has nothing specifically Flavian although there is evidence of civilian settlement in Antonine times; Mumrills and Castlecary have a little glass and pottery but it is uncertain if they were in existence in the Flavian period. There is a trace of an earlier fort at Bar Hill, however, placed askew of the later Antonine one which also had an annex (Robertson, 1979: 72). Milton does show signs of civilian settlement; two forts had been constructed on the site, one of which the excavator thought was pre-Flavian (Clarke, 1953). There is no suggestion of any settlement at Mollins (Hanson & Maxwell, 1980) a purely Flavian fort. On the other hand Barochan (Newall 1975) had an annex, just possibly a civilian settlement.

Early in the second century a rebellion took place. Of what sort and by whom is not documented in any way. A number of lowland forts was burned: Newstead and Oakwood in the East; Dalswinton, Glenlochar and Castledykes in the West. Evacuation took place at Milton and it appears that the Romans pulled back to a line North of the Tyne-Solway area and maintained the line of the Stanegate as a fortified road area.

War was going on when Hadrian became Emperor in AD 117 (SHA Hadrian,

TABLE 3.3  
POSSIBLE VICI OF THE FLAVIAN PERIOD

Barochan:

Site of earlier Native settlement. There is an annex and traces of a building and settlement over roads. There are ovens against ramparts outside of fort (Frere 1986: 374). The fort was in use only in Flavian times.

Glenloch:

Timber buildings of a Flavian *vicus* (Sommer, 1984:81)

Milton (Tassiesholm):

Large annex to South with hut platforms, finds of beads and loom weights, pottery. Another annex lies to the North (Clarke 1951; Sommer, 1984: 98).

Brookholm:

This fort was in use in both the Flavian and Hadrianic times. A previous native settlement existed before the fort. No *vicus* was found but native huts overlaid the intervallum road (Daniels, 1962: 162). Sommer considers it a *vicus* (1984:67).

V,2; CIL, X, 5829) and its successful conclusion led to his visit to Britain (SHA Hadrian XI,2) and the building of the Wall between Tyne and Solway about AD 122. The Wall was not meant to be a fighting platform or even a barrier in its original concept but rather a means a means of monitoring movement (Birley, 1952-3: 11).

The wall seems to have undergone a number of changes during Hadrian's reign which may show that it was under pressure, making it a defensive rather than a customs and tariff barrier (Birley, 1953: 36-7). The building of the Vallum behind the Wall could denote that the tribes to the South were not to be trusted. Cornelius Fronto, (II, 22) says that in Hadrian's day great casualties were suffered in Judaea and in Britain. Assuming the order is in series this would appear to be after AD 132. The departure for Judaea of Julius Severus, Governor of Britain AD 130 - c. 133, said to be the ablest of Hadrian's generals, may have led to unrest among the Northern tribes. War does not seem likely as the coin evidence shows no victory issues until about AD 140.

Suggestions have been made (Hanson & Maxwell, 1983: 63) that the brochs present in the lowlands may have denoted the incoming of a new and aggressive people. This notion was based on the excavation of Torwoodlee Broch, Selkirkshire (Piggott, 1951: 113-5), where the broch seemed to have been systematically demolished and produced only pottery and glass of the 1st century AD. Only the Romans, it is believed, had the siege equipment to destroy a fortification as strong as a broch. Leckie Broch, Stirling may also have been demolished in the mid-2nd century (Mackie 1978: 54; Scotsman, Feb. 26, 1987: 9) but its neighbour at the Fairy Knowe, Buchlyvie, lasted into Antonine times at least (Main, 1979: 50-51). The latter two brochs have

produced more finds than most of the other sites in Scotland. None have been completely excavated in South-West Scotland and there are no finds. Hanson and Maxwell also consider the duns to be part of this influx. Castlehaven dun, of earlier foundation, continued into later times while others (e.g. MacCulloch's Castle) in the West do not appear to have been reduced. Duns in South-West Scotland cannot, the writer considers, be thought of as the product of incomers at this period, nor does it seem likely as regards the brochs (cf. MacInnes, 1984), which would now appear to have evolved from the Dun (Mackie, 1973: esp 64).

The Antonine Advance: was it to curb the Brigantes?

Hadrian's death came in AD 138 and within a year Lollius Urbicus, Antoninus Pius' legate in Britain was preparing for action (SHA Antoninus Pius, V, 4). Was it against the Brigantes? Pausanias (8, 43) records that Antoninus Pius took away from the Brigantes in Britain the greater part of their territory because they had made an armed attack on the "Genounian" district, the inhabitants of which were subject to Rome. This snippet of news concerning Britain has been a source of controversy among scholars as no-one has heard of a Genounian district - but then so very little is known about the arrangement of the tribes. It is possible that where the original Brigantian territory ended was in Lowland Scotland (Birley 1953, 33-6) and the wall, being an unnatural barrier, must have cut across the territories of some tribes. One might wonder if the tribe attacked was part of the Votadini?

It may be, that as Eric Birley suggested, (1950-51: 59) a desire on the part of the Brigantes to meet up with "old allies" among the Britons of the Lowlands plus the reaction of the lowland tribes to the erection of the

Wall decided Antoninus Pius to move the frontier back to the Forth-Clyde line. There, after a series of victorious battles against the Northern tribes a new barrier, the Antonine Wall, was built across the isthmus.

This time there are only scraps of evidence: coin issues (RIC Antoninus Pius, 743-5), the fact that Antoninus Pius accepted the imperial acclamation for a victory (CIL X 515), a very short entry in the SHA Antoninus Pius V, 4) and the building slabs from the Antonine Wall. Of the latter, one in particular at Balmuildy attributes its building to Antoninus' legate Lollius Urbicus (RIB 2191).

It is unknown which tribes were defeated, whether some to the North of the isthmus or, more likely, those of the Lowlands. The suggestion has been made that deportations took place between the two walls based on the fact that *numeri Brittoni* are first attested in Upper Germany at this time (Cheeseman, 1914 and 1971: p.86; Macdonald, 1934: 49; Collingwood, 1937: 146) but recent excavations at Hesselbach (Batz, 1973: 71) and later interpretation (Gillam, 1984) indicate a positioning of the *numeri* in Flavian times. Also recent fieldwork in Tyne-Forth province (Jobey, 1974) which indicated settlement increase would seem to argue against depopulation.

#### Course of the Roads - Antonine Period

The same main roads appear to have been reused with some changes and extensions. The Antonine permanent forts were not always sited in the same place as the Flavian forts, perhaps because a better or more strategic place was found and would be linked to the trunk roads by a loop. A more extensive system of fortlets was used whose garrisons were probably outposted from certain forts (Holder, 1982: 44-45). The forts themselves were in the main small and, dependent on their size, would be garrisoned by a standard

quingenary or military cohort. Signal towers and watch-towers were part of the complement of the roads. Fortifications and main buildings were of stone, barracks of wood and wattle. The disposition of garrisons in the valleys of the Annan and Nith suggests precautions against tribal unrest (Hanson and Maxwell, 1983: 63).

The Annandale Road (Map 3.16) appears to have followed the same course as in Flavian times, from Carlisle to West Linton, crossing the Esk about the Roost Ford and heading North-Westwards through Gretna, where proved sections do appear heading towards the newly enlarged fort at Birrens. The possibility exists that there was a road connection between Birrens and Netherby (this based on the identification of Birrens and Netherby from the later Antonine Itinerary, Iter II). No trace of such a connection has been found. A branch of the road from Carlisle led up the Esk to Netherby founded in Hadrianic times and possibly onwards up the Esk to a junction with the Lockerbie to Newstead cross route at the fort of Raeburnfoot (Maps 3.17 and 3.18) (Birley, 1953b: 30). The "main" road continued North past the fortlets at Burnswark Hill, Fairholm and the camp at Torwood. Just West of Lockerbie in Dryfesdale there is a proved stretch of Roman road running West via Lochmaben some 5 km and recent research carries this towards the fortlet at Murder Loch (Map 3.15). This road would appear to link Annandale with Nithsdale heading towards Carzield and possibly continuing West to Glenlochar Fort. Most of the above conform's to General Roy's routes (1793:104-5). More small posts were used with Birrens apparently the main fort in the area, perhaps outposting garrisons to the fortlets along its route. The North route then marched up Annandale via Dalmakethar to Milton Fortlet. The road then climbs near Moffat over high ground passing the signal tower at Whyte Type and the hills around

the Devil's Beef Tub and thence to the fortlet at Redshaw Burn; it passes the watch-tower on Beattock Summit, the camp at Little Clyde (Map 3.19) and continued on through the hills to the fort at Crawford - where the road from Durisdeer and Nithsdale (Map 3.11) passes close to it without a join being found (Frere and St. Joseph, 1984: 16). After Crawford it passes the fortlet at Wandel. A junction occurs near Robertson; one road turns North-Eastwards past Wandel Fortlet to Biggar and on (Map 3.20) to Carlops where it probably led on to Inveresk. A spur from this appears to have led to Cramond, verified at Bowbridge and visible in General Roy's time (Margary, 1973:469) on the line of the modern road from Hillend to Fairmilehead. From there it led to the Braid Burn and then followed a line through via Craiglockart, Davidson's Mains ending on the drive to Cramond House. The other branch at Robertson (Map 3.19) carried the Western route Northwards via the shoulder of Tinto to the fort at Castledykes whence it joined the East-West road from Lyne Fort; the Western route then continued North-West (Map 3.21) past the camp at Cleghorn to the Antonine Fort of Bothwellhaugh and on to Tollcross, Glasgow, where it becomes lost under modern building. The road's terminus is generally thought to have been the Wall fort of Balmuldy. The Avondale road (Map 3.6) leading to Loudoun Hill Fort, may have been linked to the extension of the Annandale road perhaps just North of Cleghorn Camp but the point of intersection has not yet been found.

The Nithsdale Road (Map 3.22) ran North from either Lantonside Fortlet or Wardlaw Fort (both unexcavated), (Birley, 1946-7: 139-40 and fig.2; RB, 1985: 370) touching the Antonine Fort of Carzield (the replacement of Flavian Dalswinton) leading along the East side of the River Nith to Barburgh Mill Fortlet and thence to a branch about Carronbridge, where one road led





North via Durisdeer fortlet to Crawford (Map 3.11). The Western branch crossed the Nith just before Drumlanrig possibly at the ford near Carronbridge and led North-West past the fortlet at Sanquhar to Kirkconnel Fortlet. The Clyde-Nith cross-route (Map 3.8) and other short undated sections could equally well have been reused or founded at this time. The Upper Nithsdale Road probably continued (Map 3.12) from the ford at Haugh to Mauchline to Hurlford, near Kilmarnock; whether the road continued North to Loudoun Hill and thence to the isthmus at Bishopton (Map 3.7) is not known. From Bishopton (Map 3.23) a road is confirmed (Margary, 1973: 455 and 473) round the Clyde coast to the fortlet on Lurg Moor and onwards over the moors passing through Loch Thom and South into Ayrshire to Outerwards fortlet, thence South past the watchtower on Blackhouse Moor to disappear on the outskirts of Largs, where a Roman bathhouse and finds of pottery were recorded in the mid-19th century (Paterson, 1847: 10). A very short stretch at Fairlie Castle may be a continuation of the coastal road. (DES, 1976: 20).

The Antonine Wall was of turf on a stone base. It was some 60km long stretching from Bridgeness on the Forth to Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde. Of the 20 distance slabs found, the two from Balmuldy (RIB 2191 and 2192), place the construction in the Governorship of Lollius Urbicus (AD 139-142), and the others show that it was built by legionaries from *Legio VI Victrix* stationed at York, *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* with its base at Chester and *Legio II Augusta* stationed at Caerleon. Some 17 forts have been found together with a number of fortlets. The Eastern road passed North from the Isthmus through the Watling Lodge Fortlet.

The new military road (Map 3.24) ran South of the wall at an average distance of 36-46m from it. It was 4.8m - 5.4m wide. Road and Wall are shown

as one on this map. The road led through the forts of the wall but loops allowed the forts to be bypassed by through travellers. From the Wall it led to the outlier forts: Bishopton in the West, more suitably sited than Barochan - a ford of the River Clyde from Bishopton to Dumbuck appears to be Roman (BR -RB, 1975: 228). From there a road runs towards Drumquhassle Fort; on the East coast to Carriden, whence a road (Map 3.25) led to a possible fort at Blackness (unexcavated) and on to Cramond (DES, 1977: 37-38) probably an Eastern harbour during the Antonine and Severan periods. It had been thought that the main road led round the coast to Inveresk and South to Newstead but further study of the Ingliston Milestone, found at Kirkliston, Edinburgh, now dated to AD 144 (Keppie, 1982: 93) and the presence of camps at Gogar Green and Milburn Tower (DES, 1984: 16) indicate that the main road from the Wall to Newstead pursued an inland course (Map 3.25).

It would appear that a network of Roman roads existed in Southern Scotland as elsewhere with South-North roads, branching to strategic points, cut by East-West crossroads; it is not however, altogether clear which are main roads and which subsidiary. There are many questions that might be asked: how did the short stretches recently found fit together? Is the Mauchline stretch part of a Nithsdale road which led right to the Isthmus in Flavian times and was it perhaps rerouted in Antonine times; was there a Clyde Coast road; why are there two roads almost side by side at Crawford? How many roads ran South to North; how were they linked? Margary favoured a system of "main" and subsidiary roads. The writer is of the opinion that linkages were made for strategic reasons and to facilitate control, and doubts that the military were inflexible. The "main" North road seems to turn West at the wrong place and it would make more sense for there to be more North

roads linked by cross-roads. This would divide the tribal areas into manageable portions each with its fort or fortlet. If Miller is correct (1952: 205) and the roads followed the lines of the temporary camps the large number of these camps now being found by air survey, combined with fieldwork, may help to fill in some of the gaps in areas that have not been built over.

The fortlet appears to have had greater use from this time on. Forts such as Birrens and Crawford probably supplied garrisons for the fortlets in their vicinity (Holder 1982: 45) as the latter are thought to have been too small for milliary or quingenary garrisons. Fortlets sometimes housed about a century of men as at Barburgh Mill, (34m x 35.50m = .08 ha) but others such as Outerwards were much smaller. The fort of Bearsden probably only housed about three *turmae* according to its excavator (DES 1976: 29). It is therefore impossible to assess the actual number of troops manning the area, but if outposting of troops actually took place, then the size of the army force in our area need only be calculated from the troop dispositions in the large forts; the garrisons of smaller forts and fortlets would be provided from the main fort of the road connecting them.

#### The Britons during the Occupation

Table 3.4 shows native sites occupied in the second century. The building of the Antonine Wall must have affected the Britons of the Lowlands in the same way as Hadrian's Wall affected the Brigantes and the other tribes around it. It is generally supposed that the *Damnonii* inhabited Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire and at least part of Stirlingshire. If this was the case then the Antonine Wall cut the tribal area in half.

A fair number of sites in the territory of the *Damnonii* South of the Antonine Wall shows signs of second century occupation. There is evidence of

TABLE 3.4  
NATIVE SITES OCCUPIED IN THE SECOND CENTURY

Site	Fort	Crannog	Dun	Broch	Cave	Settlement
Dunbarton	Sheep Hill					
Renfrew		Langbank Dumbuck				
Ayr	Castlehill Aitnock Glenhead	Kilbirnie Pennyburn Ashgrove Buston Lochlee Lochspouts	Portencross Kemp Law	Craigie	Cleave's Cove	Ardeer Donald's Isle
Wigtown	Barsalloch	Barhapple Inch-Cryndil Airrieoulland Dowalton	Chang	Ardwell Teroy Crannog Stairhaven		Castle Loch Rispaig Whithorn Sandhead
Kirkcudbright	Mote of Mark	Glenkiln Carlingwark Milton Loch Barean Loch	Castlehaven McCulloch's Castle		Borness Cave Torrs Cave	Moss Raploch
Dumfries	Burnswark	Black Loch of Sanquhar				Boonies Castle Loch
Lanark	Yorkhill	Lochend	Cairngryfe			
Midlothian	Kames Hill					

many roundhouses in Renfrewshire (Newall 1961-2: 168) in proximity to the recently found stretches of Roman road. If the tribal capital of the Damnonii was not at Walls Hill perhaps the small fort at Castlehill, Dalry, which has evidence of industry (making of glass beads), might have been of importance. Cleaves Cove is large enough to be a tribal meeting-place. Altnock Fort, Seamill and the fortified site at Glenhead were definitely occupied; two other homestead sites, Boydston and Montfode Mount, plus a Dun at Portencross (unexcavated) are doubtful. Inland are the crannogs of Ashgrove Loch, Pennyburn, Kilburnie, Buston and Lochlea. Craigie Broch lies closeby Lochlea; there was a settlement at Ardeer besides numerous finds from Shewalton Moor, closeby Irvine (fireplaces, an altar, iron working. Only two unstratified Roman coins come from Irvine however (Antoninus Plus and Faustina). A circle of 10 kilometres from any of the three main points mentioned, Walls Hill, Cleaves Cove, Castlehill Fort, does not appear to include a significant number of sites, nor is there any obvious regular interval between sites.

The only known Roman Fort in the vicinity is that at Loudoun Hill, although the fortlet of Outerwards is not far away, and the coastal road from it which led towards Largs. It is to be wondered whether the elusive "Roman remains" at Largs cited by the reliable John Smith (1895: 161, citing Paterson, 1847: 10) will one day reappear. If the road system passed through Ayrshire and Renfrewshire as indicated above all these sites would be close to a Roman road and trading between Roman and native would account for the number of Roman artifacts from Ayrshire and Renfrewshire sites.

Around the estuary of the River Clyde it is possible to envisage a significant amount of settlement. The crannogs at Dumbuck, Langbank and

Erskine Ferry, the forts at Dumbarton Rock, Sheep Hill and Dunbule are in sufficient proximity to each other and close enough both to the forts of Barochan (Flavian) and Bishopton (Antonine) and to the known Roman roads to justify the appearance of Flavian and Antonine artifacts. The native sites were, however, all there before the advent of the Romans and remained there, roads and forts being built fairly close to them. The artifacts would seem to suggest that here also there was contact between Roman and native by trade.

In Lanark, Yorkhill alone is known in the Glasgow area but since it is no longer extant, it remains only a findspot. It was close to the main North road and not far from the fort of Bothwellhaugh. Little can be said except that it acquired Roman goods. Hyndford Crannog 2km from the fort of Castledykes seems to have been unoccupied in Antonine times but its place might have been taken by Lochend where some sort of industry (iron-working?) is indicated. A souterrain at Wester Yardhouses, Carnwath is all that remains of a settlement (Welfare, 1982).

In Southern Ayrshire few sites have been even partially excavated. Monkwood and Dunree Duns might repay excavation because of their inland location; they might also just possibly turn out to be brochs. Lochspouts Crannog, however, has plenty of Roman artifacts and a stretch of Roman road (Newall, 1984: 33) passes close to the Crannog. The area around Loch Doon has been the source of finds of all periods and from Donald's Isle comes one of the ubiquitous glass bangles. Bargany House, the find-spot of a Brigantian sword-sheath (Munro, 1894: 48) is nearby. The traditional "Roman Road" was said to pass near Loch Doon on its way to Ayr (Smith 1985: 159, 161-165). This was disproved by Macdonald (1893) and its route requires further study.

Fortifications were allowed to stand as before and this would seem to

indicate a friendly relationship between "conqueror" and "conquered". In fact sites which show Roman artifacts remain as they were before the conquest in South-West Scotland, although the same does not apply to other areas.

The establishment of *vici* in the first Antonine period is more definite because the forts are larger and more solidly constructed, but most evidence comes from the forts of the Wall area - probably because more work has been done there. The publication *The Military Vici in Roman Britain* (Sommer, 1984) has gathered together a great deal of information on the subject and has made some headway on an obscure aspect of settlement study. Sommer believes that every fort from its beginning has the potential of having a "military vicus" (1984: 11) and that the settlements began in the annexe. He also thought that fortlets had the potential to generate settlements. Peter Salway's study (1965) was sceptical of any *vici* being founded in Scotland. Sommer's definition of a vicus after Salway (1981, 9) is "a small settlement outside an auxiliary fort" as opposed to the *canabae* found outside legionary forts and subject to more military control. I do not think that an annexe is automatically the indication of a vicus. In Scotland most forts have two or three annexes and use is presently unclear. The ribbon development seen along roads leading to forts South of Hadrian's Wall may well have taken place in Scotland although there is little evidence for it in our area. Some *vici* did exist although there is actual epigraphic evidence of civilian settlement at one fort site only, that of Carriden.

Table 3.5 shows all the sites that might have been *vici*. One might wonder if there was settlement outside the fortlets. Sommer thinks that they also had the potential for extramural settlement (1984: 11-12). If not, then where a fort planted in Flavian times was replaced by a fortlet in Antonine

TABLE 3.5  
SITES OF POSSIBLE VICI IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

**Carriden vicus:** It lies 1.2 km from the end of the Wall. An altar found while ploughing in 1956 (Richmond and Steer, 1956-7: 29) reads: I O M / VIKANI CONSIL/TENTES CASTEL.../ VELVNIATE CVC.../ AGENTE AEL \* MAN/ SVETO \* V \* S \* L \* L \* M I(ovi) O (optimo) M(aximo) vikani consil(tentes Castel[lo] Veluniate(nsi (?) cu[ram] agente AEL(io) Mansueto, V(otum) S(olverunt) L(aeti)L(ibentes) M(erito).

The fort of Carriden has only been trial-trenched. It is a 1.6 ha fort and is adjoined by a regular geometric system of fields and enclosures aligned on a road leading to the fort's East gate. (Sommer, 1984, 37). The inscription was found in 1956 while ploughing. It is of second or perhaps third century. The name occurs in the *Ravenna Cosmography*; this establishes that the place names of the Antonine Wall in this list run from East to West.

**Cramond:** This fort was in operation during Antonine and Severan times. Situated on the raised beach above the mouth of the River Almond (which presently provides a sheltered harbour for small craft), there appears to have been an extensive settlement inland of the fort. Settlement appears to have begun in the annex which was built with the fort to the East and South. Houses of wattle and daub have been found associated with Roman pottery of the 3rd and 4th centuries. A *denarius* of Vespasian was found recently (DES, 1984:17). There is evidence of industry (clay-lined tanks) in the civilian vicus (Holmes 1978:15). Housebuilding and pipe-laying in the village area is constantly turning up Roman finds as does work on the Roman Road from the Fort. The annex North of the fort housed the Bathhouse (DES, 1975 and 1976). The area appears to have been a busy one for both military and civilians and the three periods of occupation might even be extended, but are presently Antonine, Severan and Post Severan.

**Mumrills:** A large annex lies to the East and has timber buildings (Sommer, 1984: 90). The supposed Agricola fort was found to be the annex of the Antonine Fort (DES 1958:40; Salway, (1965: 161) although some Flavian pottery and glass has been found (Charlesworth, 1959). Pottery (BBI) suggests a date of c. AD 160 and included a baby's feeding bottle. Mumrills had slight evidence of coal use from the nearby seam at Armadale (Webster: 1955:205 and fig.1). It is the largest of the Antonine Wall forts at 6.5 ha. A quantity of Roman pottery, including Samian, was recovered in 1974 (DES, 1974, 65) while ploughing, but whether any came from the annex is not known.

**Castlecary:** there is a large annex to the East with several streets. There is evidence for the use of coal (Webster 1959: 205). In 1974 Roman pottery was found in this area and to the South of it: some 34 amphora fragments, 21 fragments of Samian, some pieces of mortaria and coarse ware (DES, 1974: 64). The fort of Castlecary is 0.6 ha and may have been a Flavian fort on the glass evidence (Charlesworth, 1949: 40 and 42).

**Westerwood** An altar was dedicated here to the legionary centurion by his wife *Vibia Pacata* (JRS, 1963: 178, no.7, Pl. 9.3; Salway, 1965: 260). Excavations in 1978 found no vicus but suggested a temple (Kopple, 1978). Its location and the reference in the *Ravenna Cosmography* to the town "Medionemeton", linguistically suggestive of a holy place, would also support this.

**Croy Hill:** A vicus is now confirmed on the flat expanse of ground West of the fort (DES, 1977:12-13) and South of the fortlet. Two fragments of native pottery and beaker sherds were found (DES 1978: 27). On the South-East is a system of fields and pens and a pottery kiln (DES, 1979: fig.5). The Bathhouse lies in the East. The fort itself is 0.6 ha and there is evidence for the use of coal (Webster, 1955: 205)

**Bar Hill:** This fort of 1.3 ha is detached from the Wall and was excavated in 1902-5 by Sir George Macdonald. Over 500 leather shoes were found in refuse-pits and ditches, many of women and children which would seem to indicate a settlement of sorts. It was excavated again in 1968 by Dr. A. Robertson. As the fort had no annex settlement might have lain on an adjoining hill or along the road. An altar to *Silvanus RIB, 2167* also suggests a shrine (Robertson et al, 1975: 23). Traces of fireplaces and pottery reported North-East of the fort seemed inconclusive to Salway (1965: 161). Coal was used in the fort (Webster, 1959: 205). Sommer considers a vicus to lie to the East and North-East



(1984: 63).

**Auchendavy:** This fort is about 1.9 ha but unexcavated. The dedications of its Commandant, C. Cocceius Firmus, to numerous deities (RIB 2174 - 8) are wellknown. Birley (1953: 87-103) associated him with a centurian reimbursed for the buying back of a slave abducted from the saltworks (ibid: 88) beyond the frontier. A saltworks would suggest trade from the fort.

Tombstones found at Shirva Farm lining the walls of a souterrain (destroyed in 1726) between Bar Hill and Auchendavy, seem to indicate a Roman cemetery although one tombstone to Salmaes (RIB 2182), a 15-year old boy set up by his father of the same name and one to Verecunda (RIB 2183) indicate civilians. At present settlement could lie at either fort or both. The probability of a vicus as well as later native settlement suggested by the souterrain exists.

**Cadder:** There is an annex to the East with a bathhouse. To the South-East there is evidence of timber buildings with roads. The fort is 1.1 ha and the annex area about 2.8 ha. Roman glass of the Flavian period was found at the fort. (Charlesworth, 1959: 40-42).

**Balnawilly:** Excavation (Miller, 1922) found the bath-house over the ditches between the fort and annex; traces of wooden huts were also found. Horsley (1732: 167) noted that there were many Roman buildings; that it was in fact a town. The fort is 1.6 ha and the annex 0.7 ha.

**Bearsden:** The annex to the East contained the bath-house and at least 4 buildings, one a latrine (Breeze, 1981:33). In the West there is a cobbled area. Is this a military vicus, as Sommer (1984:64) thinks? Breeze is more cautious. The fort is 0.9 ha and the annex 0.5 ha.

**Duntocher:** This is a very small fort (only 0.2 ha) which was added to the previous Antonine fortlet. The bathhouse was in the annex to the West and excavated by Dr. Robertson (1957: 1979:86). A statuette of a woman, querns, pottery, and coins have been recorded. The annex is 0.3 ha.

**Old Kilpatrick:** The excavator (Miller, 1928) found an annex to the South with a bathhouse, and what he considered to be a quay. The military vicus is believed to lie to the East (Miller, 1928: 56; Sommer, 1984: 92). Miller found 2 *denario* of Vespasian and Agricolan pottery. Vestiges of extramural buildings and pottery were found in this area more recently. The fort was 1.7 ha.

**Bishopton (Whitemoss Farm):** The annex lies to the North and is considered to be a possible vicus by Sommer (1984:92). This site had been a native fort prior to its use by the Romans. There were three periods of occupation but the pottery found was all of Antonine date (JRS, 1950:95; - 1955). It is included because the excavator considered the site to have been in native use from Stone Age times and it would have been likely to attract native settlement.

**Bothwellhaugh:** The bathhouse lies 100 m West of the fort (Maxwell, 1975) and to North of this cobbles and slabs. The fort site was a British settlement prior to its use as a Roman fort and was later re-occupied by Britons (bathhouse shows hearths over the *opus signinum* floor). Later occupation might account for the finding of several unstratified coins around this area dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries. The fort is 1.7 ha and was occupied in both Antonine periods.

**Castledykes:** This was excavated by Robertson in 1946 and in 1964 and showed traces of civilian settlement. The annexe lies to the North and was later linked to the fort (JRS 1956:23). There are traces of later civilian settlement. A souterrain was found (Keppie and Walker, 1985: 34). Two later coins one of Constantine and one of Procopius were recently found (DES 1984: 26).

**Garzield:** The annexe is to the East. In the North-East there are rubbish pits with much pottery and a native pot was found (Gillam, 1977). This Antonine fort took the place of Dalswinton, the Flavian fort, which had no civil material

(Frere and St. Joseph, 1983: 87 fig 14.)

Glenlochar: The annex to the North-West has a large timber-framed courtyard building (a *mansio*?) and possibly other buildings (Frere and St. Joseph, 1983: fig 3). Situated on the River Dee the fort is large (3.4 ha) and was in use in the Flavian and Antonine periods.

Milton (Milton): Milton became a fortlet in the Antonine period. It is to be wondered if the Flavian *vicus* continued through both periods.

Netherby: 16th-18th century writers (Leland, Banbrig, Stukely etc.) say that the foundations of the Roman Camp stood on an eminence while lower down towards the River Esk streets were visible. There is an extant dedication of the Bathhouse in this area (RIB 975). The fort was built in Hadrianic times (RIB 974). Since the fort lies under Netherby House it has not been excavated. Finds take the occupation to at least the 3rd century. (RIB, 978; Birley, 1953b, 6-39)

Raeburnfoot: This fort has two enclosures one inside the other. The inner, 0.6 ha was excavated and found to contain 9 timber buildings and some barrack blocks (Breeze 1979, 5). It was occupied once in the Antonine period. The outer enclosure was either a temporary camp or annex (Sommer considers it a *vicus*, (1984, 67).

Birrens: This Hadrianic fort continued in occupation until c.AD 180. Excavated most recently by Robertson in 1975 it has evidence of extramural buildings. Epigraphic indications of civilians are only two: Celer the freedman (RIB 2094) who dedicated a statuette of Fortuna for the safety of his patron the Prefect of II Tungrians, and Flavia Baetica who dedicated a tombstone to her husband Afutianus, centurian of the Second Tungrians (RIB 2115). There is a large annexe to the West with street network, stone buildings. Underneath Antonine North rampart also occupation levels of possibly another military *vicus*. The dedication of an altar by Magunna (RIB 2099) to Jupiter Doliche might indicate another civilian. To the North there is a large timber-built building perhaps a *mansio*.

Wardlaw Fort: The Roman fort, found in 1945, was linked to the native fort to the South (Goodburn, 1978: 419). Native settlement appears to continue, but examination has only found the outlines of the fort without any small finds. Evidence for a *vicus* (Sommer, 1984, 100) is lacking.

Blackness Fort: Between Cramond and Carriden; found in 1977 by re-examination of aerial survey photographs. So far only the road from Carriden and some coarse Roman pottery has been found (DES 1977). The same aerial photographs suggest a *vicus* at Mannerston (*ibid*, 38) but nothing was visible on the ground. Presently very dubious.

times (e.g. Milton) settlement must belong to Flavian times. It is sometimes difficult to know what artifacts belonged to the fort and what to the annex. Bar Hill with its quantity of women and children's shoes must have been a settlement (Robertson et al, 1975). The loom weights at Milton, argue for a settlement but did it carry on into Antonine times? Glenlochar (occupied in both Flavian and Antonine periods) had a Mansio in the annexe, usually indicative of settlement.

The presence of civilian settlement in the vicus called Velunia(s?) is attested at Carriden by inscription although the actual site and extent of the settlement have yet to be ascertained. Mumrills, the largest fort of the Antonine Wall (6.5ha) has a large annex while Croy Hill has enclosures and field systems beside the fort with its vicus West of the fort. Industry was carried on - pottery and stone-carving. The use of coal is attested in the Wall area (Webster, 1955, 205) and this was no doubt mined by Britons. Cramond had a proved settlement (Rae and Rae, 1974: 190) the fort dating from Agricola to the fourth century and beyond and the ongoing excavations (DES 1978- 87) have found evidence of extensive civilian settlement and roads suggesting continuous settlement to modern times.

The list of Roman sites with possible vicus includes most of the known forts. An exception is Crawford where there is no trace of annex or settlement, but this may be the appearance only because settlement was in an area not excavated. One might wonder what happened to any settlement outside the Flavian forts which were not re-used in Antonine times? Was there the same amount of settlement which disappeared when the forts were either burnt or abandoned. Forts that succeeded (Rivet 1969: 191-2) turned into civilian towns either by occupation of the fort itself or because the vicus continued

as a town in its own right. It is generally believed that the occupation of Lowland Scotland was purely military, that is no towns were formed.

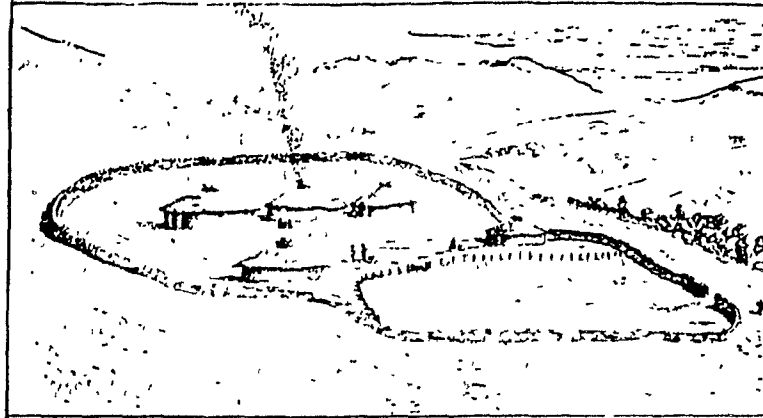
The Pax Romana appears to have brought a new type of Romano-British rural settlement in the Lowlands perhaps in the Flavian and certainly in the Antonine periods, that is, the open scooped settlement (Fig 3.1a). This type of settlement took the form of an oval or round walled enclosure divided in two and containing from 1 to 4 stone-built huts in the rear area and two scooped out cobbled yards in front with a causeway dividing the forecourts and leading to the hut area (3.1a). In South-West Scotland this type of settlement is in evidence the Boonies in Dumfries. However, in the West the huts are of wood and round, whereas in Tyne-Forth they are of stone. There are few examples of this type of site in the West although Jobey recognised a potentially large number by survey in Eastern Dumfriesshire in 1971. Aerial survey carried out in Dumfries and Galloway Region in 1977-79 (Jones: 1979: 3-4 and centrefold; 1984: 86-89) led the author to believe that settlement in this area lacked field-systems and relied on defences. In some cases, however, settlements were built in abandoned hill-forts but over the defences showing a disregard for such fortifications. In other cases admittedly, they were built within disused hillforts (Jobey, 1971; Breeze, 1981: 115).

The rectilinear enclosures with stone-built huts common in Northumberland are not present in South-West Scotland. However, one rectilinear site, previously thought to be a Roman Camp, has been excavated at Rispaun Camp (Haggerty, 1983). It consists of a heavily ditched rectangular enclosure (Fig. 3.1b) containing round wooden huts. A C-14 date of 40bc  $\pm$  80 bc was obtained from carbonised wood from the site. The artifacts suggested a second century date and arable farming. Its excavators noted (1983: 43) that

Fig 3.1.

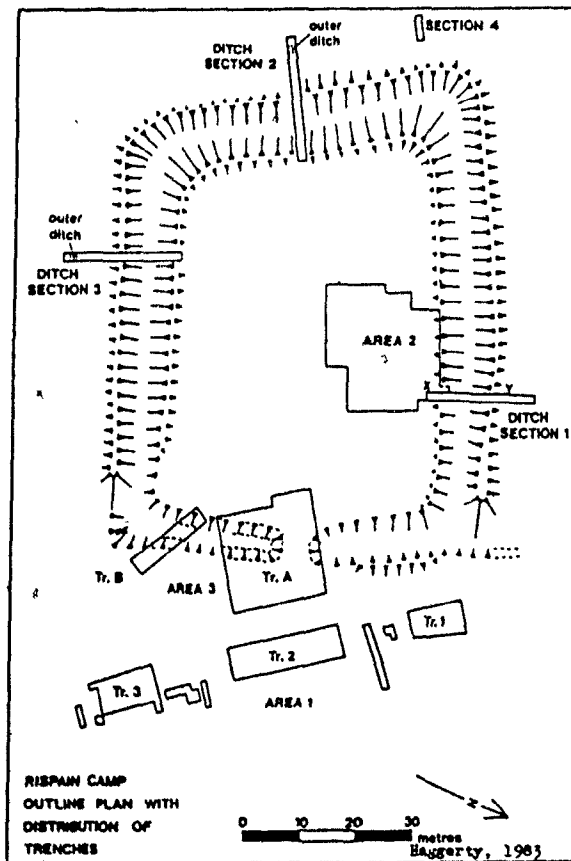
a) Scooped Settlement

b) Rectangular site.



*Reconstruction of a Scooped Settlement*

Feachem, 1977



Haggerty, 1983.

two apparently similar sites at Crow's Fort and Annat Hill in Wigtonshire have now been ploughed out but that similar sites appeared to be present in Kirkcudbright and Dumfries.

There also appears to have been settlement during the second century at the native fort of Burnswark after the fortifications had been destroyed (Jobey 1977-78). This is not a vicus but a group of huts of the Romano-British scooped type, a settlement which existed close beside a Roman fortlet. This same type of settlement existed apparently at the native site of Ward Law and there is a hint of native settlement continuing to exist in Tyne-Forth - native settlement beside a watch-tower at Eildon Hills North - (Breeze, 1981: 57) close to Roman forts. This is a fairly new idea based on recent archaeological findings; hitherto scholars have been of the opinion that native settlements were not allowed to co-exist close to Roman forts.

The Lowlands were part of the Province of Britain certainly from AD 142 - c. 158 and this period is designated Antonine I. The garrisons of fortlets were probably outposted from certain forts (Holder, 1982: 45) and signal towers and watch-towers were part of the complement of the roads (Breeze, 1981: 139). There is then a reduction in the amount of manpower required to garrison the new extension to the province, but it still required a large number of men because the outpost forts North of the Antonine Wall reached as far as Ardoch and Strageath and may have protected the fertile area of Angus. Was the return in terms of men for the army and more taxable subject peoples sufficient? As the Britons of the North did not use coin, was taxation acceptable in kind, perhaps in hides? There is some precedent for this with the Frisii (Breeze, 1981: 114). How much grain could be expected from the North Britons? There is evidence of flat rotary querns at most sites

and barley and wheat from some crannogs as well as from some forts. The Romano-British farm at Rispaig and its suspected neighbours probably produced a substantial amount, as would the area around the Boonies in Dumfries, but positive evidence is as yet sparse.

There is still no evidence for an aggressive population except that there are many small native forts in hilly country which would be difficult to supervise. There are no settlements or forts in the higher areas of the Southern Uplands. Roman forts, generally small in the Flavian period, are even smaller in the Antonine periods which might suggest less need for control.

The distance from Hadrian's Wall to the Antonine Wall is about 160km and the amount of labour involved in a road-making project through virgin land, over mountain, bog and forest is quite awesome. Work done in Flavian times would have needed repairs in the Antonine re-occupation though engineered roads were built to last and were not subject to the depredations of modern traffic. Their greatest enemy must have been disuse, when they would become overgrown. It is unlikely that this would have happened in less than 40 years because patrols may still have used them, and it is likely that they were also used for trade by the Britons.

About AD 155-8 there appears to have been an abandonment of the forts of the Lowlands (Hanson and Maxwell, 1983: 148-9). Whether this was due to an uprising which resulted in the burning of some forts is not known (ibid, 150). It would have been unusual for the Romans to have withdrawn because of a mere native invasion of the Province. The Roman army itself may have demolished the forts before evacuation, but the evidence is not conclusive. While the main buildings of forts in the Antonine period were of stone, the barracks

continued to be built of wood and fire would be a common hazard.

After a very brief period - as indicated by the Samian evidence (Hartley, 1972) - the lowlands were again reoccupied but in lesser strength. This period is now referred to as Antonine II. There was rebuilding of the headquarters building at Birrens in AD 158 under Julius Verus (RIB 2110) and several inscriptions from there are dated after this time. Bearsden on the Wall was not re-occupied and garrisons of forts such as Old Kilpatrick and Balmuldy were smaller (Breeze, 1981:121). Presumably not so much strength was required to control the area. Some of the wall forts were garrisoned by legionaries in the second Antonine period (RIB 2148 Castlecary). The inscription suggest that a temple or shrine was set up to the god Mercury in the period AD 170-180. Coins of later date found at Bar Hill, Mumrills and possibly Kirkintilloch are unstratified. Whatever reasons there may have been for the original withdrawal of the troops c 158, on the return supervision of the area was not so stringent.

"War was threatening in Britain" (*SHA Marcus Antonius VIII, 7*) in A.D. 162 when the new Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus took office after the death of Antoninus Pius in AD 161. Calpurnius Agricola was sent (*SHA Marcus Antoninus, VIII, 7-9*). What tribes were involved is not known. It is usually assumed that rebellions started in the North but why not in Wales or Cornwall? Withdrawal from Scotland is presently believed to have come c. 163 when Calpurnius Agricola was governor. This dating is mostly based on the Samian evidence from the two Walls (Hartley, 1972) although Mr. Gillam thought that the coarse pottery might argue for a later date (Kepple, 1982: 109 for argument Hartley v Gillam); this, however, cannot be closely dated as yet (Gillam, 1950; 1973: 56-62).



Hadrian's Wall was modified with fewer forts garrisoned. A road was built behind it to carry the wall traffic and in the later 2nd century - as late as AD 190 possibly - it became the dividing line for the Province of Britain. When it was re-garrisoned (probably by the Governor Ulpius Marcellus) four cavalry units were assigned to the Wall.

Not all the forts of the Lowlands were abandoned. Birrens, Netherby and Bewcastle and probably the forts of Dere Street as far as Newstead continued in operation (Hartley, 1972: 35-6). There were probably outposts beyond Tweed and some even on the Antonine Wall. There was a milliary cohort at Castlecary (RIB 2138). Arrangements were obviously made for the protection of the lowlands and it might be said that there was more freedom since a strong military presence was no longer necessary. Patrolling was carried out because the units manning the forts in the Lowlands appear to be part-mounted while the units assigned to Hadrian's Wall were intended also to be mobile.

Who were the tribes who continually rose in rebellion? Pausanias says that they were the Brigantes in the time of Antonine Plus. The Vallum was placed behind Hadrian's Wall to protect the rear of the forts for some reason. Did Antoninus Plus take away Brigantian territory and, if so, who benefitted from this? Did part of the Brigantes beyond Hadrian's Wall in the Lowlands of Scotland? Was it the Selgovae who were the aggressors? Or was it the Damnonii part of whose tribe like that of the Brigantes, had been cut off from the rest of the tribe by the Antonine Wall? Who were the Coriototae against whom Marcus Calpurnius Concessinius (RIB 1142) fought and conquered in a skirmish or even battle? Were they part of the Votadini, the Selgovae or the Damnonii?. What were the successful achievements "beyond the Wall" that

caused an altar to be dedicated by Lucius Junius Victorinus Flavius Caelianus Legate of VI Victrix (RIB 2034). Had the names of "towns or hosting-places" (Rivet and Smith, 1979: 317-9) become civitates. All these questions need answers which present information cannot supply. It would seem that even the peace of the *pax Romana* was relative. Overt aggression was never tolerated but skirmishes did occur probably not only in the frontier regions.

In any event it was not the Britons who were the most restless and rebellious as the second century drew to its close but rather the Army of Britain itself.

IV

THE THIRD CENTURY AND THE REALITY OF ROMAN PROTECTION:

PEACE AND PROSPERITY

Whether the Roman army left Southern Scotland in or about AD 165, or not until Clodius Albinus withdrew forces in his bid to become Emperor in AD 193, or even somewhere in between is still open to doubt; however, artifacts remaining on either Roman forts or native sites do not appear to be closely dateable after AD 165.

The pottery most commonly found on many of the Roman forts of South-West Scotland in the Antonine period is Black Burnished Ware (Gillam, 1957: 216). There are two types: BB1 and its later rival BB2. Almost all the bowls, dishes and cookingpots in Northern Britain were made of this coarse ware between the second quarter of the second century and the third quarter of the fourth (Gillam, 1973: 54). Because there is no late Samian found on the Antonine Wall (Hartley, 1972) such pieces of essentially later coarse ware are assumed to have reached North Britain in the earlier Antonine period; although Gillam considered this pottery to be in use in Scotland until about the end of the second century. One might wonder if this Black Burnished Ware had not become the prominent import for Northern sites, supplanting Samian ware in the so-called Antonine II period (AD 158-165).

#### EVIDENCE OF CONTINUING OCCUPATION

Following its destruction by fire, there had been rebuilding at Birrens under Julius Verus in AD 158 (RIB 2110). This fort was occupied in the latter part of the second century by *Cohors II Tungrorum milliaria*, composed of part-mounted citizens with Latin rights (RIB 2091, 2092, 2094, 2096, 2099, 2100, 2104, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2115). It is from this final period, which lasted until at least AD 180, that comes most of the sculptured material found at the fort (Keppie and Arnold, 1984: xvi). One inscription in particular is thought to be late: *Amandus architectus* dedicated a statuette

to *Brigantia* (RIB 2091). There are two reasons for supposing it to be of later date: 1) another inscription to *Brigantia* (RIB 2066) is coupled with the Welfare of the Emperor Caracalla. 2) Amandus has been identified with Val. Amandus (CIL XIII 7945) whose inscription can be dated to AD 209 (Miller, 1937: 208). Since *architectus* is a legionary grade (Wright RIB 2091:p. 641) Amandus is thought to have belonged to the VI Victrix based at York. It seems unusually far North for a dedication to *Brigantia*; its location may, however, give rise to speculation as to whether in fact the limits of the Brigantian tribe may not have extended this far North.

The fort at Drumlanrig (unexcavated) may yet prove to have been in operation at least as late as Birrens, but Castledykes and Crawford, both small forts recently excavated, showed nothing later than Antonine.

The latest coin from the Antonine Wall, recorded in the mid-19th century at Kirkintilloch (Stuart, 1852: 324 note; Macdonald, 1918: 224), is of Commodus and its type no longer known. This is so far the only suggestion of activity on the Wall as late as AD 175 (the year of Marcus' reign [AD 161-80] when coins began to be minted in Commodus' name). Prior to that the latest coins are a denarius of Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus (AD 165-9) from Old Kilpatrick and a worn as of Marcus of AD 173-4 found in the "Sandy Loan", which divided the Antonine Wall fort at Mumrills from its annexe (Robertson, 1983: 424). There is also from the Wall sites a number of coins which have not been positively identified (Robertson, 1983: tables) but which could possibly be of later date. (Isolated finds of bronze coins of the reign of Marcus (AD 161-80) have been found at Prestwick, Ayrshire, Auldirth, Dumfriesshire [close to Barburgh Mill fortlet] and Wishaw, Lanarkshire).

Castlecary has a later dedication to Mercury by citizens of Italy and

Noricum serving in *Legio VI Victrix Pia Fidelis* (RIB 2148). It has been speculated that this force was transferred about AD 175 (Profs. Jarrett and Mann's argument is summarised in Kepple, 1982A: 109). At Old Kilpatrick an altar was dedicated to Jupiter by a detachment of *cohors I Baetasiorum* (BR -RB: 1970: 310-11, no.20), previously at Bar Hill in the time of Antoninus Pius (RIB 2169, 2170). Iulius Candidus, who erected the altar was a centurion of *Legio I Italica* not otherwise attested in Scotland. Eric Birley suggested that perhaps Septimius Severus withdrew detachments from this legion from the Danubian Provinces for his campaigns in Britain in AD 208-211 (BR -RB 1970: 311, n.26).

Until about AD 180 there appear to be vestiges of a Roman presence in Southern Scotland even if only a few forts were occupied. The type of units used as garrisons was part-mounted indicating a mobile force policing the area with back-up infantry. The forts along Dere Street as far as Newstead appear to have been in use (Hanson and Maxwell, 1983: 196; Richmond, 1950: 23-25).

Disorders seem to have taken place at the beginning of new reigns perhaps because of changes in military policy. Cassius Dio is reported as saying (Xiphilinus *Epitome* of LXXII, 8), after Commodus became Emperor in A.D. 180, that the greatest war of his reign took place in Britain. He apparently said "...The tribes in the island crossed the wall that separated them from the Roman forts and killed a *strategos* and the troops he had with him." (Unfortunately there is no mention of which wall was crossed).

It has been suggested (Breeze, 1981:127) that the tribes travelled down Dere Street perhaps as far as York, and that the legate killed was the Governor. This of course is speculation. If, however, the *Brigantes* were involved as allies, according to Gilbert Askew's suggestion (1951 and

1980:18), harrying South of Hadrian's Wall would make sense.

Commodus sent Ulpius Marcellus as Governor (AD 181-5). He took "punitive action" but it was not until AD 184 that victory coin issues (Vict. Brit. RIC 440 and 437; Askew, 1980: 16 nos. 30-34) appeared; these were struck for the next two years.

An inscription of the late 2nd century further implies a situation of unrest in Southern Scotland: Lucius Junius Victorinus Flav(ius) Caellianus, legate of VI Victrix Piaae Fideiis dedicated an altar at Kirksteads (Carlisle) in thanks for successful achievements beyond the Wall (RIB 2034). The lettering of this Haverfield considered to date after the mid-second century (RIB, 2034: p. 623 notes).

#### POWER POLITICS WITHIN THE ARMY OF BRITAIN

The army of Britain at the end of the second century appears to have become a source of trouble, mutinous, political and anxious to elevate its leaders to the purple. Pertinax, Marcellus' successor as Governor (AD 185-90), who was later to become Emperor, refused this acclamation but the army subsequently found its champion when D. Clodius Albinus was appointed Governor about AD 191.

Commodus was assassinated in AD 192 and Civil War broke out in AD 193. Three claimants appeared: L. Septimius Severus, Governor of Pannonia, with three legions; Pescenius Niger, Governor of Syria, with two legions; D. Clodius Albinus, Governor of Britain, the choice of the Senate (SHA Claudius Albinus VII: 2; Herodian, iii. 5, 3-8), with three legions. Severus, being nearest, made for Rome and assumed the purple. He then pursued and defeated Niger.

As a placatory gesture Clodius Albinus was named Caesar by Severus

(SHA Albinus, VII, 3; Herodian, II, 15; Dio, lxxiii, 15,1; ILS 414-5) but, after discovering a plot against him by Severus (SHA Albinus, VIII, 1-3) he crossed to Gaul c AD 196 taking "a very large army" (VIII, 4). The troops he took were presumably from the army of Britain, and it is generally assumed that the Wall garrisons were withdrawn. Presumably he left the province secure, probably by treaties with the North and it is unlikely that he took all his troops. In Britain the position of *legatus iuridicus* is attested and this officer would have been capable of running the province in the governor's absence (Collingwood, 1937: 162). The sources say little of the campaign except that he was successful at first but was ultimately defeated at Lyon in AD 197.

#### CAUSES OF THE SEVERAN EXPEDITION

It is not till after Albinus' defeat that any unrest is recorded and again it appears to come from the North. This period is well documented. The historian Cassius Dio is reported as saying (LXXV 5. 4 [Xiphilius, *Epitome Dionis Nicaensis*]) that the new governor Virius Lupus (AD 197-8) was forced to purchase peace from the *Maeatae* for a great sum: "since the *Caledonii* did not keep their promises and made ready to assist the *Maeatae*". Severus, Dio is reported as saying, was busy with the Parthian war. Lupus received back a few prisoners which certainly indicates, if not war, skirmishes in which the Britons were successful against the Romans. Bribery at this time would certainly indicate that man-power was short.

The *Maeatae* lived close to "the cross-wall which divided the island in two" according to the *Epitome* of Dio (LXXVI, 12, 1) but again it is not certain which wall is meant. Modern scholars (Watson, 1926:58; Rivet & Smith, 1979: 404-5) tend to believe that the *Maeatae* lived just North of the Antonine



Wall in what is now Stirling and Fife because of the linguistic associations of Myot Hill and Dumyat. If they lived in the Lowlands then a location in the vicinity of this Wall would still seem reasonable, because their name is associated with the Caledonii. Dio is reported as saying (LXXVI, 12,1) that there were two principal tribes of the Britons - presumably "the free Britons" - the Caledonii and the Maeatae and that the names of the others appeared to have been merged in these two. The Caledonii lived beyond the Maeatae and had treaty relationship with Rome. When such a treaty was made is unknown but it is tempting to suppose that it was at the end of the Antonine occupation, when presumably treaties were also made with the Lowland tribes.

A new governor L. Alfenus Senecio (AD 205-7) was sent to Britain and there is epigraphic reference to a building program at Risingham in Tyne-Forth (RIB 1234; these repairs were necessary because of age, not war. Senecio asked for help from Rome because according to Herodian (III, 14)..."the barbarians had risen and were overrunning the country, carrying off booty and causing great destruction, and for effective defence either more troops or the presence of the Emperor was necessary." An altar dedicated by Quintus Calpurnius Concessinius (RIB 1142)- found in the crypt at Hexham Abbey - gives thanks for his preservation after killing a band of Corionototae. It is considered to be of late second or early third century date and might refer to a situation of unrest. This tribe, not otherwise attested in the sources, seems to relate linguistically to "Coritiotar" of the *Cosmographia* perhaps a civitas of the Votadini or perhaps the "Coria" of the Damnonii. The inscription again suggests that patrolling was necessary to keep the peace in the area of South-West Scotland.

### THE SEVERAN EXPEDITION

Severus came in person bringing his two sons; the Northern tribes sued for peace but were denied it (Herodian III 14,4). The punitive expedition now became a war, possibly because the importance of the Emperor's presence demanded the term; this war was pursued in the North apparently beyond Forth and Clyde. Most of the troops appear to have been transported by sea and there is evidence at South Shields of the fort's conversion to a storehouse (Hanson & Maxwell, 1983: 206), which suggests a possible embarkation point. Because of the bases at Cramond and Carpow on the Tay it might even be assumed that the trouble was North of the Tay. There are, however, traces of Severan camps along Dere Street; only two (one at Castlecraig, Lanark and one at Kilpatrick-Fleming, Dumfries) are, however, known in South-West Scotland. Severus must therefore have moved part of his army by land from the South and such a show of power would have ensured peace in Lowland Scotland.

Severus invaded Caledonia (Dio lxxvi, 13.1-3); although he experienced hardships and losses of men caused by the guerrilla tactics of the Britons, he did not stop until he had almost reached the end of the island. He then returned to the "friendly part of Britain" after compelling the Britons to come to terms and to cede "not a small part of their territory" (Dio lxxvii, 13.4). It is to be wondered to whom the Maeatae - who were the main target of attack - were forced to cede their territory. It is likely that their land would be given to a powerful friendly tribe to be administered for the benefit of Rome. If the Maeatae have indeed left their name in Dumyat and Myot's Hill in Stirlingshire and Fife does this mean that Severus gave some of this territory which he took from the Maeatae to the Damnonii whose territory extended into Stirlingshire, or was it given the Votadini also who bordered

them on the Eastern side? It is likely that conscripts of the tribe were transported perhaps to Germania Superior whither tribesmen earlier had been deported (Cheeseman, 1914: 86).

Evidence for reuse of the Antonine Wall forts is slight (Hanson & Maxwell, 1983: 208): at Old Kilpatrick there is evidence of later building (Miller, 1928: 27 and pl. VI B) of a slipway, plus the dedication of the altar, previously cited, by the Cohors I Baetasiorum (RB, 1970: 310-11) which might be of this date and might indicate that it was the seaport for the Western end of the Wall. There is the fact that all the Wall forts including Bishopton had three periods of occupation (Robertson, 1956: 117). - These occupations are presently believed to relate to Antonine times and the evidence for a third period to be flimsy (Hanson and Maxwell, 1983: 208). - There are, however, no other artifacts of the Severan period so far recovered at the Western end of the Wall, although quantities of pottery both Samian (unspecified) and coarse are constantly being reported (e.g. DES, 1974: 64, 65, 67, 68 and 69 from Castlecary, Mumrills, Carriden, Kinneil, Inveravon and Carriden and this, though perhaps exceptional, was the yield of one year only). These come under the heading of "stray finds". (The Samian forms should give some indication of date, but at present no new late forms have been reported). Since the forts are never totally excavated it could be that later areas of occupation await discovery. At the Eastern end Carriden was reused and Cramond appears have had some importance as the main port of the Lowlands. Excavation at this end of the Wall has provided evidence both of roads in the neighbourhood of the fort and of settlement around it (DES, 1982: 16). -

There is no indication that the tribes of the lowlands joined in the

war; there is no building program and no more forts are known to have been constructed. Severus would presumably have increased the garrisons in South-West Scotland if his rear had been in any danger. All the indications, so far known, therefore, place trouble North of the Antonine Wall or just South of it and the "war" appears to have been an expedition to teach a lesson to the Northern tribes.

Severus divided the Province of Britain into two, *Britannia Superior* and *Britannia Inferior*, each with a Governor; he may have thought that it would thus be more difficult for one Governor to aspire to the purple; the Governor of *Britannia Inferior* being stationed at York, would, moreover, be closer to the frontier in the highland zone.

According to the life of Severus (*SHA Severus: XVIII, 2*), the emperor also built a wall across the island, which was considered the crowning glory of his reign; in recognition he was given the title *Britannicus Maximus*. Aurelius Victor (*de Caesaribus*) says the same thing. Other later sources (*Eutropius, VIII, 19; Orosius VII, 17*) called it a vallum and said that it ran 32 miles from sea to sea. Bede (*HE I, V*) makes the point that it was of turf with a rampart but does not hazard a location. It would seem that two ideas are present: a wall of stone, between Tyne and Solway and a turf wall between Forth and Clyde. Hadrian's Wall, as late as the 18th century, was called "the Wall of Severus" or sometimes "The Pict's Wall". I believe that although neither Dio nor Herodian, the contemporary writers, mention this wall, the life of Severus is to be trusted, especially as it reports (*XII, 4*), when discussing omens of Severus' death, "*post murum apud Luguwallum (sic) visum in Britannia cum ad proximam mansionem rediret non solum victor sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata, ....*". It seems more likely, in view of both this and

the epigraphic evidence for building and rebuilding of the forts of Hadrian's Wall, that Severus carried out extensive repairs and made Hadrian's Wall into a defensive barrier rather than reinforcing the Antonine Wall. The conflicting reports might perhaps be ascribed to the notorious difficulty of identifying which wall was meant by ancient writers.

Severus reorganised the frontier. Only four forts besides Cramond and Inveresk are known to have been in operation in Southern Scotland in the third and even fourth century: in the East, Risingham and High Rochester and, in the West, Netherby and Bewcastle. Netherby is actually in Cumberland (as is Bewcastle) but is included as it is just on the border of our area. Bewcastle is very isolated and was served by a road from Birdoswald Fort; it must, however, have had a real purpose in Roman times. The Eastern forts were each manned by a mixed unit 1000 strong plus a *numerus exploratorum* (Cheesman, 1914: 112). At Netherby dedications attest a mixed cohort 1000 strong of *Aelia Hispanorum* part-mounted (RIB 976-79) plus a *numerus exploratorum*. This fort lies under Netherby House and for this reason has not been excavated. Bewcastle has two third century altars set up by tribunes of an unnamed unit (RIB.988, 989) and was garrisoned by *cohors I Nervia/Nervana Germanorum milliaria equitata* (Holder, 1982: 117). It also may have had scouts. These forts ranging from 1.6 to 2.4 ha and serving as outposts of Hadrian's Wall were too small, it is thought, to house all these troops. Long range patrols are presently believed to be the solution (Breeze, 1981: 138-9). In Tyne-Forth, High Rochester and Risingham had an establishment similar to that seen at Netherby (Steer, 1958: 98).

In our area the find of a stamped amphora handle of SCIMNIANO in the kerbing of the upper road at Cramond Fort (DES, 1982: 16) gives the road a

terminus post quem in the late second or early third century; this could imply a programme of repair also to the roads North of the wall. Since the roads through the Lowlands of Scotland must have been used by Severus, it seems reasonable to assume that they would have been kept in repair to AD 210 at least. If long-distance patrolling of the whole area took place, it was in the Roman interest to maintain the lines of communication and perhaps even to increase the network.

Dio is reported by Xiphilinus as saying that the rebels again revolted and were joined by the Caledonii, perhaps because of the severity of the previous terms. Severus prepared to make war again but died at York in AD 211. His dying words, it is said (SHA Severus, XXIII, 3), were, however, that he left the Empire, even Britain, at peace.

Herodian says (III, 15) that Caracalla signed a treaty with the barbarians and accepted their pledges of good faith. He also "abandoned the enemy territory" and then proceeded with his brother and his father's remains to Rome. It might be that the territory which the Maeatae were forced to cede was returned to them or at least the terms were softened to the extent that the settlement which some historians refer to as "hasty" brought about a peace that lasted for some 90 years, until the end of the century.

The result is silence from the historical sources, except for one short entry in the vita of Severus Alexander (SHA Severus Alexander, LIX, 6); here it is said that the emperor was killed *Denique agentem eum cum paucis in Britannia, ut alii volunt in Gallia, in vico cui Sicilla nomen est . . .* This seems unlikely but he was in Gaul to quell an uprising. At Netherby in AD 221-2 (in his reign) a drill-hall was dedicated (RIB 978) as well as possibly a temple (RIB 979). There are several coins - one from Birrens

found in the fort's second century defences (Steer, 1958: 97) - of his reign - in our area, otherwise there is no indication that Birrens was used in the third century.

#### SETTLEMENT IN THE THIRD CENTURY

In Tyne-Forth Traprain Law continued in operation as is shown by the coin and pottery sequences there (Steer, 1958: 106); this makes it the most useful reference site in the Lowlands. Because there is no break in the sequence from early Roman times, the Votadini, in whose territory Traprain Law stands are considered to have remained on good terms with the Romans.

There are, however, settlements in South-West Scotland, similar in type to those of Tyne-Forth, which began in the first or second century and may to have continued into the third century; it cannot, however, be said as in the Cheviots and Tyne-Forth that they increased (Jobey, 1966: 4 and fig 1; 1971). Those are of the scooped type discussed *infra* in Chapter III (Fig 3.1a); only the Boonies has been fully excavated. Some settlements of this type appear to reuse former native forts which lie along the route of the Annandale Roman road. The rectilinear sites of Northumberland enclosed by a ditch, are represented in our area only by Rispain Camp (Fig. 3.1b); here the ditch is deep and the huts of wood. The artifacts found, giving as they do only a rough date, would not preclude a third century date for these settlements.

Small "citadels" or "defensive enclosures" built solidly (usually oval in shape and approximately 40m x 33m in area), within a larger fort, are known in the Lowlands where some 20 have been recognised (Feachem, 1966: 82-85). The typesite at Rubers Law (Curle, 1904-5 and 1906-7) used dressed blocks of stone from some Roman building; this has led to the assumption that the

"citadel" was built after the second century (Feachem 1966: 84). If, as is assumed, the third century was peaceful, the need for such high places would not have come until later. The other proposal made is that they may have represented the headquarters of local administration (ibid) since they lie in the area of the later British Kingdoms. They will be discussed in Chapter V.

At Whithorn recent excavation (Hill, 1984) found traces of a roundhouse with associated Roman pottery, underlying the later Christian site. Whithorn has produced a Greek coin of Julia Domna, and bronze coins of Gallienus (AD 253-68), Claudius II (AD 268-70) and Tetricius (AD 270-73), though these were found without recorded association. Other coins and artifacts carry the site's history on into the fourth century and beyond. Moss Raploch is another unfortified settlement in Wigtownshire which produced the glass bangles typical of the Roman period but which are not closely dated; it may well have continued in use in the third century.

#### SIGNS OF PROSPERITY IN THE THIRD CENTURY

What denotes prosperity? The fact that some of the settlements do not seem to have been fortified to the same extent as the earlier surviving homesteads, duns, and forts, particularly in the South of the region. All sites produce querns for grinding grain and some carbonised cereals. Those excavated recently (such as Rispaig Camp [Hagerty, 1983]) show fairly extensive cultivation as do the crannogs, and grain was noticeably present at Aitnack, excavated as early as 1901-2 (Smith, 1919: 132); few 19th century excavators, of course, were looking for such evidence. South-West Scotland was constantly the subject of raids in the fourth century as was the rest of the Lowland area South of the Antonine Wall; there must have been, therefore, a material wealth to attract such intruders. I believe that the fertile,



easily cultivated land of the coastal plains, the central plain between Forth and Clyde and the pasture land round about, was from now on developed.

Where formerly traffic had been by sea, the opening up of the country by the Roman road network facilitated movement, which had its good and bad sides. Roads lay near settlement and settlement seems to have returned to old disused forts but having no need for elaborate fortifications huts were built on top of the defences or wherever seemed suitable (as at Kaim's Hill where a coin of Severus and third century artifacts were found). This type of settlement seems also to have occurred in Dumfriesshire. Here more excavation would be needed to confirm the results of the survey work done by Professor Jobey (1971). The later aerial Solway Survey (Jones, DES 1979: 3-4 and Map) appeared to indicate that field-systems were not nearly so plentiful as those South of the Solway and that the Northern sites were always heavily fortified.

Did the native sites of the previous century continue to thrive? There is little evidence that specifically ties them to the third or fourth century. The crannogs of Renfrewshire and Ayrshire show in the main no destruction and Buston (Alcock, 1979:137-8) and Ashgrove Loch, in particular, have late Roman material. Hyndford Crannog in Lanark has produced a sherd of later Romano-British Oxfordshire Ware (Curle, 1932: 381-2 fig. 64, 6; Fulford, 1977: fig. 5, Appendix 4. 83); other artifacts were, however, of the first century. The Romano-British bangles which are the commonest artifact on native sites, continue into the Dark Ages and Dumbarton Rock has a specimen of later type (Stevenson, 1976:49). Castlehill Fort, Dalry, Buston and probably Lochend crannogs have evidence of glass-making (Chapter II Table) which presumably continued as it did at the Scottish typesite for all Romano-British

products, Traprain Law. Crucibles, intact and broken appear on most sites and their use is unlikely to have been confined to glassmaking. The button and loop dress-fasteners probably also continued (Wild, 1970) as did the spiral finger ring, ring-headed bronze pin, weaving comb of the previous century (Gillam, 1958: 82). The pennanular brooch certainly continued into the Dark Ages with modifications. In the South the small forts such as Mote of Mark and Castlehaven Dun, some of the Chang Duns of Wigtown and of course the crannogs continued, perhaps because of their proximity to the Province. Settlements of the Romano-British type on hillsides and river-terraces may have increased. Tynron Doon (Williams, 1978) had such a settlement as had probably Brieryshaw Hill and the hills near the main North Roman Road (Jobey, 1971).

South of Hadrian's Wall *vici* grew up as ribbon development of strip-houses along the roads leading away from the gates of a fort or a back lane developed into a secondary street. Along Hadrian's Wall sometimes by-pass loops round forts attracted houses or even the line of the fort's ditches (Salway, 1965: 165). This is not evident in South-West Scotland though it may well have occurred. At Broomholm Fort there is evidence of huts constructed on the fort's *intervallum* road which are tentatively ascribed to the third century (JRS, 1962:164). (Broomholm as a fort had a Flavian and Hadrianic occupation only (JRS, 1965: 202), it is now thought). Similar re-occupation of a fort seems to have occurred at Castledykes (Robertson, JRS, 1956:123) where a *souterraine* was also found (Keppie 1985: 34). The Bathhouse of the fort at Bothwellhaugh was reused (Keppie, 1981:49) with a hearth being found over the *opus signinum* floor.

On Shirva Farm, 1.3 km East of Auchendavy, a *souterraine* was found

(1728 and subsequently destroyed) in the hollow of the Antonine Wall ditch. Souterrains are now considered to be storehouses (Keppie and Walker, 1985:34) and, as such, are taken to be evidence for settlement closeby. This one was built of Roman stones some inscribed (RIB 2181-3); these obviously came from a cemetery at either Bar Hill or Auchendavy (Keppie and Walker, 1985, 34). In Tyne-Forth a souterrain is found at Newstead some 500 m from the fort (RCAHMS 1956: 316) and another at Crichton, Midlothian (RCAHMS, 1929: 53-4); both of these used Roman stones in their construction. Just East of the area under study during excavation at Castlelaw (Childe, 1932) a souterrain, which yielded artifacts of second century A.D., was found in the defences of the hillfort. The souterrain at Wester Yardhouses (fig. 2.8a *infra*) in Lanark was excavated (RCAHMS, 1978, 11; Welfare, 1984) but no trace of the settlement it served was found, nor were there any artifacts. The most recent discovery of a souterrain is at Ardeer (fig. 2.8a) (Hunter, 1972-4); this terminated in a sea-cave on the raised beach. A small piece of glass suggested use in the Roman period. These earthhouses are of various lengths and styles; most have a wider space in the middle or end; at Ardeer the cave provides the extra space. It has been proposed that souterrains should be associated with the Picti (cf. Wainwright, 1953b, 219-232); Wainwright, however, believed that the souterrains of the Lowlands, which he considered off-shoots of those of Angus and Aberdeenshire (1953a: 91), were of earlier date than AD 297, the date associated with the appearance of the historical Picts. In the cases of those beside disused forts, one might wonder if it was the inhabitants of the *vici* who built souterrains and moved into the forts.

Bishopton was a native site before Roman times (JRS-RB, 1950:93; 1955:123; Robertson, 1956:114) as was Bothwellhaugh (Keppie, 1981: 49) and

Broomholm (Truckell, 1984: 200). It seems that several Roman forts were built over native settlements - for example Elginhaugh in Tyne-Forth, and it is reasonable to suppose that after the Romans left the natives would move back, as does seem to have happened.

The vici in some cases did survive, notably at Cramond and possibly at Carriden. At Cramond Fort the coin series continued during the third century with gaps only during the reigns of Severus Alexander, Gallienus and Victorinus and again during those of Numerian and Carausius (Robertson, 1983: table). Excavation is continuing to find evidence of extensive extra-mural settlement with associated pottery and glass dating into the fourth century. It might be wondered on account of the stray coins if the Bearsden, Kirkintilloch and Bothwellhaugh vici stayed in operation.

The Severan reorganisation of the army allowed the troops to marry and therefore encouraged alliances with native women to be regularised. Veterans usually did retire to the vici but no colonia or municipia are known to have been established North of Hadrian's Wall.

There are many other coin finds (Robertson, 1983:431-47) with no recorded association but which might be included as it is unreasonable to assume that ~~all were dropped later~~. Mapped for the relatively small area of South-West Scotland in the third century and not including the Severan period (which only pertained to Cramond and Kalmes Hill), they show a rather interesting pattern (XI.4 overlay -red). This pattern appears to point to activity in the area South of the Antonine Wall, centred on Bearsden, Bothwellhaugh and Kirkintilloch. They do cluster round the site of Yorkhill and along the Roman road South, but not as far South as Castledykes. Round the Renfrewshire and North Ayrshire coast there is a scatter of coins (usually

Probus, Tetricius and Gallienus). There is nothing till Stranraer (the *Perregonius* of Ptolemaeus, II, 3, 5) in Wigtownshire and then the odd few perhaps indicating the elusive Southern Roman road. One is on the line of the supposed road from Wardlaw to Carzield; two occurred around Birrens; and one was found near the camp of Kirkpatrick-Fleming. Several are found around the Edinburgh area but this is not surprising. It is of course inconclusive, but in a time of peace the fact that they are almost all bronze, of little value, suggests that they came out of Roman pockets.

#### CHANGES IN TRIBAL NAMES AND STRUCTURE

Changes were occurring in the tribal names. There may also have been changes in tribal structure caused by the formations of Kingdoms, sometimes attributed to Severus' reorganisation of the frontier. The *Maeatae* are a new name as are the *Corionototae*. This last suggests the name of a *civitas*, but no such settlement is yet attested in the area. The *diversa loca* of the *Cosmographia* have been suggested to be tribal meeting-places (Richmond & Crawford, 1949:15; Steer: 1958: 107-8; Breeze, 1981: 139) as a late second or early third century means of organising the area between the two walls similar to the system used to control tribes North of the Danube (Dio, lxxi, 15-16, 19; lxxii, 2-3). Treaties were made and assemblies to deal with tribal problems were held once a month under a Roman centurion. Two names resemble those of Lowland tribes: *Locus Dannoni* (for the *Damnonii* tribe) and *Locus Segloes* (*Selgovae* tribe). Three others *Nixa*, *Panovius* and *Minox* have not been identified. *Locus Taba* was probably around the Tay. *Locus Manavi* seems to refer to the fourth-fifth century district at the head of the Firth of Forth: the *Manau* of the *Goddodin*, (Richmond, 1958: 98 and 148). The *Locus Maponi* is not the name of a tribe at all, as far as is known. It may refer to the

Clochmabenstone (Richmond, 1958: 149), South of Dumfries, previously cited in Ch.II, which was a tribal meeting-place in mediaeval times and had a religious significance referring to the Celtic God Mabon or Maponus. Recent excavation (Crone, 1983:19) found that this stone is indeed very old, dating to the Early Bronze Age; it may well have been a scene of tribal rites in from Bronze Age onwards. Lochmaben, near Lockerbie, where two Roman roads converge (Radford, 1950) has also been proposed for the site of the locus Maponi.

I consider that there is more significance to these loca than merely "a collection of 'odd places'" which were left out when making up the *Cosmographia* and inserted as an afterthought, as has been proposed (Rivet and Smith, 1979: 212). They bear too much similarity to the tribal names and perhaps to ritual meeting-places. If four are indeed in Scotland it would seem likely that the three unknown *Mixa*, *Panovius* and *Minox* would also be in the same area since they are in the middle of the group. The idea of tribal meeting-places is acceptable; it is impossible, however, to establish where they were unless further information comes to light.

It is not certain that peace was general throughout this period. I think that small raids continued outside and perhaps even within the Province; otherwise what would be the purpose of so many troops. So long as the exploratores performed their duty of reporting and the auxiliaries kept order, however, the *Pax Romana* was essentially maintained.

It is ironic that it was another Roman bid for power that brought an end to the comparative peace of the third century. Diocletian's Caesar, Maximian, while in Gaul to quell a peasant rising in AD 285, appointed M. Aurelius Mausaeus Carausius to command of the *Classis Britannica* in order to control piracy in the Channel. Carausius was very successful but enriched

himself, as much as or even more than his Emperor (Bede, HE VI). Maximian, now co-emperor, ordered his arrest but Carausius, according to tradition, landed in Northumberland, won over the Britons and made an arrangement with the Picts and Scots. He beat the forces of the Roman Governor Bassianus who was killed in the action; Carausius then won over the legions and declared himself Emperor in AD 286 or 287. Maximian's fleet, sent to attack him was defeated. Diocletian and Maximian conferred on him the title of Augustus and gave him also a part of Gaul. His government was good, it seems, and his coins penetrated into South-West Scotland although only as isolated finds and not in any quantity. There is also evidence that he repaired roads in the area of Hadrian's Wall (RIB 2291). There is also no evidence of internal strife in Britain.

In AD 293 two new Caesars were appointed, Galerius for the East and Constantius Chlorus for the West. Constantius captured Boulogne after a siege, thus depriving Carausius of his Gallic possessions. In AD 293, Carausius, who was highly thought of in his seven years in power, was murdered by his financial officer and successor Allectus. Allectus reigned for three years according to tradition but was unpopular. He removed troops from the North to combat Constantius and this led the Northern tribes - now for the first time called Picts (Pan. Lat. Vet. VIII (V), 11, 4) - to invade the Province. The highland zone as far South as York was laid waste. Constantius divided his army. One contingent landed in Hampshire while Constantius himself sailed up the Thames. Allectus was defeated and then killed by his soldiers in AD 296, and the task of retrieving the Province was left to Constantius.

V

THE FOURTH AND EARLY FIFTH CENTURY:  
A GRADUAL CHANGE TO A NEW ORDER?



Constantius' triumphal entry into London was celebrated by a panegyric (Pan Lat. Vet. VIII (V) 11, 4) in AD 297; this first mentions the name *Picti* as the Northern enemy (of the Romans), together with *Hiberni* and *Brittoni*. Constantius was hailed conqueror over all three.

#### THE PICTS: THEIR ORIGIN.

Who the *Picts* were and where they lived has been a question which has exercised the imaginations of scholars for many years. Were they a new people who gradually rose to prominence, or the old tribes under a new name? Is the Latin name *Picti* a descriptive name meaning no more than "the painted ones", a nickname in fact; or is it the Latinised version of the tribal name? Wainwright, who edited *The Problem of the Picts* explored various possibilities and remarked that we only know what other people called them and not what they called themselves (1955: 2).

The *Picti* were for long thought to be incomers, because of their late historical appearance, the coupling of their name with the Irish raiding tribes *Hiberni* and *Scotti*, and perhaps because of Bede's remarks (I,1). Present thinking, following mainly Wainwright's theory (1955: 49-53) is that the name *Picti* is a group-name covering a number of separate tribes among them the descendants of the *Caledonii*, *Decantae*, *Lugl*, *Smertae*, *Venicones* and *Vacomagi* (II, 3, 8-9) and possibly other tribes whose names are unknown, one of whom became dominant; all lived North of the Forth-Clyde line. By the end of the peaceful, and undocumented, third century the group-names *Caledonii* and *Maeatae* covering most of these tribes had been replaced by the group-name *Picti*.

This appears to be borne out by Ammianus (XXVII 8, 5), who says that the *Picts* were then (AD 368) divided into two tribes: *Dicalydones* and

Verturiones. Ptolemaeus (II, 3,1) identified the ocean to the North of Britain as *Douekaedonius*. A possible relationship between the name of the ocean and the tribe of Ammianus was proposed by Nora Chadwick (1958: 146-7); she also suggested that the *Venicones* of Ptolemaeus became the *Verturiones* of Ammianus. In Dark Age times this tribe inhabited the area of Fortrenn, which she considered to be modern Fife and Angus. Rivet and Smith more recently favour a Perthshire location for the *Verturiones* (1979: 496).

#### LANGUAGE AND CUSTOMS

The Picts, however, are not looked upon as "Britons" although their language was a branch of P-Celtic (Jackson, 1955: 132 and most philologists) similar to that spoken by the Britons. Their matrilinear succession is unusual, differentiating them from other Celtic tribes. Knowledge of this comes from Bede (*HE*, I,1) who says that the Picts, arriving to settle and having brought no women obtained wives from the Scots subject to the condition that they would choose their king from the female rather than the male line. The only writing that survives is their King-list, part of the so-called *Pictish Chronicle*, a Latin text of about the ninth century put together from older materials. It is not considered trustworthy before the time of their King Bruide's conversion to Christianity by St. Columba; the date AD 565 was the 9th year of King Bruide's reign (Bede *HE* III, 4) at which time there were Northern Picts and Southern Picts. In the King-list no king is succeeded by his own son but rather by a brother or nephew which does seem to conform to the matrilinear system. One noteworthy point is that Pictish kings often had foreign fathers (Wainwright, 1955,28).

In the fourth century the Romans used light scouting vessels, *scafae*, to search for pirates and other marauders. These were painted the colour of

the sea, the sails and the even the mens' clothes being dyed to this colour in order to camouflage them. The nick-name given to them by the Britons was *picatae* or *pictae* (Vegetius IV, 37). The form *pictae* is the most widely accepted (cf. Chadwick, 1958: 164-70). If the Britons called the Roman ships "painted" did they apply the same name to the Picts? It allows<sup>A</sup> for a certain amount of punning in Latin and perhaps also in Brittonic, which is a common way to treat the enemy. Claudian calls the Picts "well named" (*nec falso nomine*) and refers to the "dying" Pict *ferroque notatas perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras*. Painting or tattooing was earlier attributed to the Britons (Caesar BG xiv) and was still being used by Claudian of Britannia in the same passage *ferro picta genas (de primo consulatu Stilichonis, II 247-55)*. The Picts attacked naked or nearly so (Gildas, 19,1) so it may have been a ritual daubing or tattooing which added to the terror of their attacks.

Pictish symbol stones, both pagan and Christian, have a distribution North of the Antonine Wall with just one example at Trusty's Hill, Kirkcudbright, and two symbols engraved on a Silver Chain from Whitecleuch (fig. 5c) (Allen and Anderson, 1903: 472-3) in South-West Scotland and one other in Midlothian. The meaning of the intriguing Pictish symbols has so far not been solved (fig. 5a and b). A date for the pagan incised stones (Class I) has been set close to the sixth century after Christ on the basis of their similarity to Northumbrian design (Stevenson, 1955: 111), while the later stones (Class II) in relief, with Christian symbols as well, are dated from the Pictish conversion to Christianity by St. Columba in the mid-seventh century. Pictish art as shown on them is imaginative and similar to other Celtic art work, particularly Scythic at its best (Thomas, 1961: 57) [fig. 5.1a and 5b]. Thomas, however, thought it representative of East Scottish society

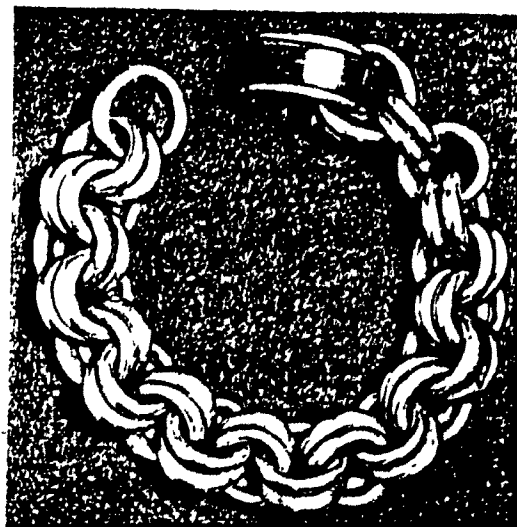
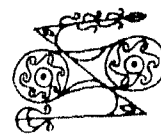
Fig 5.1

- a) Class I Pictish Stone from Aberlemno, Angus.
- b) Pictish cross-slab, Meigle, Perthshire.  
under it double disc and z-rod as at Trusty's Hill  
the Pictish beast similar to the Meigle slab is  
depicted at Trusty's Hill. Ritchie, 1981.
- c) Pictish silver chain and detail on terminal ring -  
Whitecleuch. Lanarkshire - Ritchie, 1981.



5.1a

5.1b



5.1c

of earlier date (1961: 46). I think that an earlier date should be envisaged for these pagan stones. The "early" incised stones show only symbols- as the Pictish beast at Trusty's Hill - and are altogether less elaborate than those in relief, generally associated with Christian symbols.

It seems certain that at this time the Picts lived North of the Antonine Wall (Gildas 14, and 18; Bede I,12). The Picts of Galloway mentioned as being visited by St. Kentigern (Jocelyn XXXIV) are likely to have been a 12th century myth (Wainwright, 1955:42) although later English writers (notably Richard of Hexham) perpetuated this. The term Picts was sometimes used by English writers as a general and pejorative term for all inhabitants North of the Tyne-Solway line into modern times. Hadrian's Wall was called "The Pict's Wall" into the 18th century. Although the Picts were absorbed into the Kingdom of the Scots c. AD 843 by Kenneth MacAlpin, and their written language presumably lost at this time (Henderson, 1967:161), the name survived.

There seems little doubt that for the people of Britain the "enemy" in the fourth century (and for most of the fifth century also) was the Picts and the Scots. The Attacotti seem to be coupled with them from time to time and it would appear that this people came from North-West Scotland or from the North of Ireland but their homeland is uncertain.

Table 5.1 sums up the incursions of the fourth century and the names given to the "enemy" by the Romans.

#### EFFECTS OF THE RAIDS ON SETTLEMENTS AND FORTS

How much settlement in South-West Scotland was destroyed by these intermittent raids and invasions and how severe they were it is impossible to assess - although the majority of sites, so far investigated only in part, appears to have no later Roman artifacts. If raids and invasions came by land

TABLE 5.1  
INCURSIONS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

DATE	TRIBES INVOLVED	EMPEROR or GENERAL	REFERENCE
297	<i>Picti et Hiberni</i>	Constantius	<i>Pan. Lat.</i> VIII (V) 11,4
306	<i>Caledones et alii Picti</i>	Constantius	<i>Incertus, Pan. Lat. Vet.</i> VI (VII) 7, 1-2.
315	?	Constantine I	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 23116; <i>Eusebius, de Vita Constantini</i> , I, 25.
342	<i>Picti et Scotti</i> raids	Constans	Julius Maternus, 28, 6.
360	<i>Picti et Scotti</i> ( <i>Loca limitibus vicinis vastarent</i> )	Lupicinus	<i>Amianus</i> XX, 1, 1.
364-5	<i>Picti, Scotti, Attacotti</i>	?	<i>Amianus</i> XXVI, 4, 5.
367	Barbarian Conspiracy <i>Picti=Dicalydone + Verturiones</i> <i>Attacotti, Scotti</i> ( <i>Saxones, Franci</i> ) <i>Areani or Arcani</i>	Severus; Iovinus) then Theodosius )	<i>Amianus</i> XXVII 8, 1-10; XXVIII 3, 1-2  <i>Amianus</i> XXVIII 3, 8.
382	<i>Picti, Scotti</i>	Magnus Maximus	<i>Chron. Gall.</i> 452.
395-99	<i>Picti, Scotti</i>	Stilicho	<i>Claudian, de primo consulatu Stilichonis</i> , 11 247-255.
401-2	<i>Picti, Scotti</i>	Stilicho	<i>Claudian, de Bello Getico</i> 416-418.

the network of Roman Roads would have led to settlements between the Walls or alternatively to the South. It is a long way overland (approx 160 km) to attack and plunder the much richer *vici* of Hadrian's Wall. Attacks may have been mainly by sea. In AD 360, however, Ammianus notes (XX, 1, 1) that the *Picti* and *Scotti* were plundering in the frontier regions. It was Romans who called their retaliation in support of the Britons "war".

In Ayrshire Buston Crannog, Lochspouts and also Ashgrove Loch Crannog do have late Roman artifacts; in fact Buston is believed to have had its *floruit* in the Dark Ages (Laing, 1975:37). The Galloway Forts of Castlehaven, Mote of Mark, and probably Trusty's Hill flourished at this time as did the undefended settlement at Whithorn. The Cramond *vicus* and its roads were still in use while the Carriden *vicus* has traces of fourth century pottery. The fort at Bothwellhaugh was probably still occupied by native people, as may have been Broomholm. The dates of neither of these are secure but there are two unstratified coins of Gallienus and Diocletian found near Bothwellhaugh Fort (Robertson, 1983:442).

From the beginning of the fourth century forts at, and South of Hadrian's Wall, began to show a so-called "chalet" type of barracks thought to have been occupied by soldiers and their families; this occurred also at the outpost forts (Welsby, 1982: 79-90).

There is no archaeological evidence at the Western end of Hadrian's Wall that forts suffered destruction at the beginning of the fourth century. Bewcastle alone appears to have been burned and looted in the later third century (Welsby, 1982: 35), but it was rebuilt and lasted into the mid-fourth century. Netherby does not appear to have suffered while High Rochester and Risingham received new gates and towers (Welsby, 1982:70). Maryport,

Cumbria, appears to have continued in operation without rebuilding from the time of Gordian until c. AD 360 or later (Welsby, 1982: 40). If anything the record seems to show some abandonment of the Wall forts - Bowness-on-Solway, Halton Chesters, Great Chesters and the vicus at Chesterholm. The only inscription showing substantial rebuilding at this time comes from Birdoswald (RIB 1912). The *principia* and *balneum* were rebuilt because they had fallen into ruin and become covered with earth. It seems wayward to suggest that this is a euphemism for enemy destruction. The reconstruction was dedicated to Diocletian and Maximianus. The only other inscription of similar date (RIB 1613) from Housesteads is very fragmentary showing only the Emperors' names. Other rebuildings at High Rochester (RIB 1279, 1280) and Lancaster (RIB 605) also indicate restoration that was due to disuse or age rather than unrest and it is difficult to date them exactly.

There are no notices of any battles but Constantius Chlorus arrived with his own field army; due to their defection to Carausius and Allectus the legions probably could not be trusted. Indications are that the forts of Hadrian's Wall were not manned in any substantial way. It is not clear either where or when destruction did occur. It is noticeable that on all expeditions mounted by Rome during this century commanders arrive with a field army. It suggests that, at best, the army of Britain was depleted. Under Constantine substantial changes were made to the army of the late Empire (Holder, 1982: 97). The *Limitanei* consisting of *alae*, *cohortes* et *numeri* was the new name for what were essentially frontier police. The *Ripenses*, consisting of the legions made up of new-style cavalry and infantry were the reserves behind Hadrian's Wall. From the latter a small temporary field army could be detached under a *comes*. This does not seem to have been sufficient for



future campaigns since, as has been said, each general brought his own field army.

Frontier roads appear to have been upgraded although few milestones survive. A much re-used milestone from Carlisle (RIB 2290-92) had three dedications upon it: to Carausius at one end, a centre one which is illegible, and to Constantine at the other end; another also from Carlisle (RIB 2294) is to Constantine and Galerius. Nothing survives from beyond the frontier. Presumably the roads to the outpost forts were maintained. One can go no farther than that positively, but pilgrimage routes and the foundations of the Saints of the fifth and sixth centuries appear to follow the line of the Roman Roads in South-West Scotland (Simpson, 1940: 2-14, Map.1), suggesting continued use throughout the Lowlands.

The Lowlands of Scotland show little evidence of a punitive expedition by Constantius. An open crossbow brooch found near Moffat, Dumfriesshire, (Robertson, 1970: 212) with an inscription commemorating the vicennalia of Diocletian on 20 November AD 303 has been recently suggested as belonging to one of Constantius' officers (Hassall, 1976: 107). South-West Scotland may have been the scene of some campaign in AD 305 because the number of unstratified coins in Lowland Scotland (Map 11.5 Green Overlay) of the Tetrarchy and of Constantine (9 in Ayrshire, 1 in Dumfries, 7 in Dunbarton, 2 in Wigtown, 2 in Kirkcudbright, 8 in Lanark, 3 in Stirling, 6 in Midlothian and 6 in Renfrewshire) are difficult to explain as ancient or modern losses (Robertson, 1983: 430). There are also 2 bronzes of Diocletian, 1 of Galerius and 1 of Constantine from Cramond where perhaps trade continued. Few are recorded farther South although unstratified bronze coins of Constantine I (of the period AD 330-46) and another of Procopius (AD 365-6) were recently found

at Castledykes (DES 1984:26; 1986: 30); from Birrrens there are 3 unstratified coins of Constantius I, Maxentius and Constantine I. Constantine took the title Britannicus in AD 315, but Eusebius records only trouble in Wales. There seems no suggestion that the troubles came from the North. Later losses occur in the time of Constans and Constantius II, at times when campaigns seem likely.

Some 27 years then pass before raids are recorded by Julius Maternus (28,6) in AD 342. It is hardly likely that the Irish raids had died out during the interval, but they must have now have become particularly severe since Constans came in person. Since the Picts and especially the Scots did travel by sea (Gildas, 19) it was not necessary that the interior of South-West Scotland should have suffered. As the Scotti dwelt at this time in Ireland it is reasonable to suppose that it would be the West of Scotland, England and Wales which would be affected. Plunder was no doubt the object and this would seem to imply a certain amount of wealth (be it animals, goods or quality slaves) in the area plundered. A certain amount of Irish settlement perhaps also began to occur in Galloway but it is not known whether this took place early or late in the fourth century. Some sort of treaty was made (Ammianus, XX, 1,1) between Picts, Scots and Romans. Collingwood suggested that, following the procedure of the later Empire, Constans allowed colonies of Picts and Scots to settle within his territory. He cited the settlement of the Deisi of County Meath in parts of South Wales in the third century and suggested that it might now have been formally recognised. Such a procedure might have taken place with the Picts in Galloway or in the Tyne-Forth area. It would account for the later reference to "Picts" in Southern Scotland (Anonymous, Vita Sancti Cuthberti c AD 700 first). This

would also assume that South-West Scotland still came within the Empire or at least its hegemony!

Another 17 years passed before Julian sent Lupicinus to Britain with a field-army to drive out the Picts and Scots who on this occasion had invaded the frontier districts and were destroying the *loca* in this region (Ammianus XX, 1,1). Richmond thought that these were the market areas and *loca* of the *Ravenna Cosmography* (1955, 120). This time it seems likely that the invasion came by land from the North and if there is significance in the word *loca*, in the "buffer" area of the Lowlands. I am not convinced that the Lowlands were abandoned by the Romans even at this time. The outpost forts of Netherby and Bewcastle in the West, and of High Rochester and Risingham in the East continued in operation (Welsby, 1982: 70, 35, 40). There was still a Romanised presence at Cramond, even if it was civilian. Traprain Law was not destroyed (because the coin series continues), the crannogs and the forts of Galloway survived. Fortifications were absolutely necessary by this time but most of the settlement in South-West Scotland was already heavily fortified. The Western end of Hadrian's Wall in Cumbria survived as did the forts of Maryport and Papcastle (Welsby, 1982: 40).

In AD 364, Ammianus says (XXVI 4,5), Picts, Saxons, Scots and Attacotti were plundering the whole of Britain. These attacks came apparently from the sea. No action appears to have been taken by the Romans and this may have been the reason for the concerted attack from the West by Picts, Scots and Attacotti in AD 367. Saxons from the East and Franks on the South also attacked Britain. Ammianus says (XXVII,8) that they attacked by land and sea. The Duke of Britain, Fullofaudes, was ambushed and surrounded and Nectaridus the Count of the Saxon shore was killed. Where these events happened is not

known although it is supposed, on no authority, to have been in the North because the base of the Count of the Saxon shore is generally considered to have been at York. Roman action had to be taken and after two generals had been sent, presumably without success, Count Theodosius was despatched with a field army (Ammianus, XXVII, 8 and 6-7). He encountered bands of "enemy" en route to London and dispersed them (XXVII, 8, 7-8). He promised pardon to deserters and many others (soldiers?) "wandering about on leave in various places" (XXVII, 8, 10). Is this a way of saying that the Roman Army was totally dispersed? Although many soldiers were stationed in Britain according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* they were not effective. Theodosius sent for Civilis to govern Britain as deputy-prefect and Dulcitius to run the army (XXVII, 8, 10). All this action, however, was taken from London and had nothing specifically to do with the North. (It has even been suggested (Bartholemew, 1984: 179-80) that there was no Barbarian Conspiracy at all; instead it was a "revolt of the urban poor" caused by a shortage of food which brought Theodosius to Britain).

#### GILDAS' BRITAIN

Perhaps more attention should be paid to what Gildas (*de Excidio Britanniae*) has to say. According to his biographer he was a Briton of South-West Scotland, from Arecluta (Monk of Ruys, *Breton Life of Gildas*, 1; Chadwick 1958: 123-8). Gildas, a monk, wrote in the mid-sixth century, not a history, but a diatribe against the evil rulers of his own time. The historical details he provides are obscure, time is telescoped so much as to be almost useless and the work is larded with theological allusions. Only one real date is mentioned, the third consulship of Aetius, which should fall about AD 450. He does however say that tyrants increased before Maximus (AD

383-8) was sent to Gaul and beheaded at Aquileia which shows some knowledge of the late fourth century. Gildas does provide some details and was used by Bede and by Nennius. He knew of the two Walls and he mentions reconstruction of a turf wall by the Britons and the rebuilding of a stone wall by the Romans helped by the Britons. The turf wall he places at the Antonine Wall. Was it rebuilt? Few scholars believe that it was. The Picts, he says, came from the North and the Scots from the West and though differing on some things they often made common cause to despoil the Britons (19.1). The Picts and Scots, he refers to as "overseas nations" (14.1) who came by sea with 'oars' and 'sails' (16.1). During the Roman period it seems that raiding was their object. Gildas does not see Britain in the mid-fourth century (that is prior to Maximus) as other than Romanised and he considers the area of the Britons to run as far North as the Antonine Wall. Britain was ruled by tyrants (petty kings) and the soldiery was also Romano-British. He says that the enemies of Roman Britain in the late Roman and immediate post-Roman periods (16 and 19.1) were the Picts and Scots not the Saxons. The Saxons helped the Britons at first but later caused the downfall of Britain.

#### ARCANI OR AREANI

It is in connection with Valentinus, exiled to Britain and a possible usurper (Ammianus XXVIII, 3, 4-6) that the treachery of the Arcani or Areani is mentioned. These detachments had been established in early times and had gradually become corrupted. Rolphe (Ammianus Loeb Ed. 1952: 135) translates as follows: "...at various times they had been led by the receipt or promise of great booty to betray to the barbarians what we (the Romans) were planning" (XXVIII, 3, 8). (This last phrase is often translated as "our positions"). Rolfe uses the reading *arcani* (secret agents or spies). A number of other

scholars (Mann, 1971: No. 198; Richmond, 1955; Welsby, 1982: 103 and 109 ) take the reading *areani* which means "men of the sheep-fold", or "of the open spaces". It has been suggested (Richmond, 1958: 115) that these agents may have lived in homesteads or native forts. This seems to be going too far unless the *areani* were native troops, which no-one has so far suggested. It is not known what Ammianus originally meant. It seems safer, therefore, to assume that *arcani* was meant.

#### VALENTIA AND ITS POSSIBLE LOCATION

Valentinus' rebellion is given as much importance by Ammianus as the *barbarica conspiratio* since Valentinus had a grudge against Theodosius (XXVIII, 3,4) and Valentinus may have had connections with the Picts and Scots, because Theodosius then went on to protect the frontiers by sentinels and outposts. "... And so completely did he recover a province which had passed into the enemy's hands and restore it to its former condition, that, in the words of his report, it had a legitimate governor; and it was henceforth called Valentia, by the wish of the emperor .."(Ammianus XXVIII, 3 7).

On reading Ammianus one might think that the whole Diocese of Britain was to be called Valentia but the *Notitia Dignitatum* which refers to troop dispositions and offices in the late fourth or early fifth centuries lists five provinces: *Maxima Caesariensis*, *Valentia*, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda* and *Flavia Caesariensis* (OC.I, 76-77, 119-121). The whereabouts of none of these are certain but Valentia in particular is something of a mystery. Theodosius is variously believed to have campaigned beyond the Forth-Clyde Isthmus (Giraldus Cambrensis quoted in Wade-Evans, 1948-9: 55); in Lowland Scotland (based on Bertram, 1757, *De Situ Britanniae*; Roy, 1793:

Map), in North England, Yorkshire/Lancashire (Thomas, 1981: 200) or in the North of Wales (Collingwood, 1937: 286). It is my opinion that Valentia would be an honorific name for the whole diocese at that immediate time, since I take Ammianus at face value (cf. Hind, 1975); perhaps it was later applied to a regrouping or to new territory taken over. (London was renamed Augusta and that did not last). If the area of South-West Scotland or the whole Lowland area were brought into the Province by Magnus Maximus, a rearrangement under Stilicho could then demote the name Valentia to a minor province and still support its being given a governor.

The settlement of a *numerus* of Alamanni near the Wall by Theodosius in the reign of Valentinian I is attested in AD 372 (Ammianus XXIX, 4, 7); their King Fraomarius is given the rank of Tribune. This would date their arrival after the Conspiracy and might show a rotational change of troops. The *Notitia Dignitatum* appears to show them at Vindobala identified as Rudchester in Northumberland (Rivet & Smith, 1980: 500). Wade-Evans argues that they were Frisians and located along the shore of the Forth, because of linguistic associations with the *litus Frisicum* of Kentigern (Jocelyn's Kentigern, 8; Wade-Evans, 1948-9: 54).

Gildas sets the time for seeking refuge in high fortified places, forest strongholds and promontory forts (25, 1) as being after the departure of the Romans, about mid-fifth century. Fortifications and refortified places, however, seem to have become necessary by the mid-fourth century, about the time of the Barbarian Conspiracy. South-West Scotland had its late Roman citadels or defensive enclosures as had Tyne-Forth. Examples which seem to meet this type are: Carman and perhaps Duncarnock in Dumbartonshire, The Moyle in Kirkcudbright, Craigie Hill in West Lothian and also in smaller

forts such as Dow Hill (Ayrshire) and Holmains (Dumfriesshire). At some of these, notably Carman, round stone-walled houses occurred of the type associated with late Roman times (Curle, 1904-5; Feachem, 1962:84). (Not all of these are included in the Gazetteer because I was unable to find information on them in the literature). Tyron Doon and Brieryshaw Hill show continued occupation into the Dark Ages and beyond (Morrison, 1975: 70). Re-use of earlier Duns occurs at sites outside the area and at Dumbarton Rock while some of the small forts such as Mote of Mark had their floruit in the Dark Ages (Alcock, 1979: 136). Nearly all of the early habitations of the area were already fortified but forts were reused as hamlets for permanent occupation rather than as the refuges of an earlier age. Many of the sites of the area under study show Mediaeval artifacts. One might wonder why are there not traces of habitations of the occupants in more peaceful periods. Suggestions have been made that these *citadels* represented the headquarters of local administration or at least over-lordship during the last stages of Roman occupation (Feachem, 1962: 84). Dumbarton Rock was flourishing as *Alt Clut*, the capital of the Kingdom of Strathclyde in the fifth century. The Mote of Mark has been suggested as capital of the Kingdom of Rheged in the sixth century (Alcock, 1979: 137). Gildas refers to "tyrants" who seem to be "kings" (*De Exid.* 13) and it might be that they were chosen by an assembly rather than constituting purely hereditary rulers.

#### MAGNUS MAXIMUS - HIS IMPORTANCE TO LATER ROMAN BRITAIN

Magnus Maximus achieved high office in the province, but whether as *Dux* or *Comes* is not known. He led a successful campaign against the *Picti* and *Scotti* in the North, in AD 382, which may have taken him up to the Antonine Wall. Gildas seems to suggest that he was of British stock (*De Exid.* 13, 1-2).



Even if Gildas disapproved of him, Magnus Maximus, or *Maxem Wledig* as the Britons styled him, became popular in Britain. He married the daughter (Custennin) of a British king (*Y Cymm.* 8, 1887: 86) and produced daughters as well as sons Constantine, Antonius and Leo (Nennius 49; Wade-Evans, 1948-9: 56), who feature as founders of the British Kingdoms. This is not borne out by Roman sources, who state that he was a native of Spain, with a son Flavius Victor and a daughter (PLRE: 588). Maximus' marriage alliances were extensive (Wade-Evans, 1948-49: 55-56; Miller, 1975). He used them to link the country together and to him; this apparently achieved unity within the Province. In AD 383 he was saluted Emperor by the army. He thereupon collected a field army, whether of legionary troops or native Britons is not known, but supposedly the remnants of the Army of Britain, and crossed to Gaul. After defeating Gratian, Emperor of the West, Maximus maintained his Empire at Trier for five years before his defeat by Theodosius.

#### FORMATION OF THE BRITISH KINGDOMS

Maximus' rule was important for Britain. The Welsh kings traditionally claim him as their founder (*Harleian Pedigrees*) and through marriage he has ties to the pedigrees of two or more of the early British Kingdoms of South-West Scotland, Strathclyde, Kyle and Galloway (Nennius *Historia Brittonum*, Cap. 62) who also saw him as their founder. The Romanised names of the British rulers may derive from him also. It also appears that Britain now extended as far as the Antonine Wall.

Nennius, a compiler of the *Historia Brittonum*, supplied pedigrees (Cap. 62) for these British Kings. The entries for the Welsh Kingdoms are the fullest but those of Southern Scotland are also represented as are those of South-West England. The *Harleian Ms.* 3859)) derive mainly from Nennius

although the Irish Annals also have copies of some. Molly Miller has recently written on these pedigrees (1978-80, 313) and since it involves counting backwards from a supposed date usually about the sixth century she called an earlier article "Date-Guessing and Pedigrees" (1975b). An absolute date for the development of the Kingdoms is not possible but I believe that the Kingdoms were the natural outcome of some sort of treaty

relationship between the Lowlands and Rome, an arrangement which may have begun by the late second or early third century.

The British Kings of Lowland Scotland date their pedigrees from the fourth century A.D. These new divisions are backed up by the poem *The Gododdin* (Jackson, 1969) composed about AD 600 by the British writer Aneirin, which tells of a raid by the "Men of the North" who drew their war party from the Kingdoms of Strathclyde = Ystrad Clud; Aeron = Ayrshire; Rheged (probably around Dunragit in Kirkcudbright, or perhaps in Dumfries; Goddau = forest of the Selgovae; Manaw or Manann = Clackmannan and Slammanan Moor; Eiddyn, round Edinburgh and Carriden.

The First Pictish War took place, according to Gildas (*de Exidlo* 15), after the departure of Maximus for Gaul (Miller, 1975a:144-5) and lasted *multos annos* perhaps until AD 390 and it is, again according to Gildas, about this time that a frontier was established by the Britons at the Forth-Clyde Line, after a legion had been sent and cleared out the incomers. The "old enemy" (Gildas 22), the Picts and Scots, came by sea. Invasions seem to have taken place c AD 395-99 according to Claudian. Roman response was to send Stilicho who restored order once more by c. AD 399 (*de primo consulatu Stilichonis*, II 247-255). One legion was withdrawn in AD 401 and the defence of Britain left in the hands of the *Comes Britanniae*, after which occurred yet

more invasion (AD 401-2) again reported by Claudian (*de Bello Getico* 416-418).

The troops of Britain, disenchanted with the rule of Honorius, elected first Marcus, then Gratian and then Constantine as their emperor (Zosimus vi 2 1-2). Constantine crossed to Gaul where he encountered more problems. At this point the Britons, harrassed beyond endurance, now finally defended their own cities, expelling the invaders and (according to Zosimus) also the Roman administration. Whether this occurred, however, before or after Honorius' rescript advising them to look after themselves as his hands were full, is unclear (Thompson, 1977).

The *Cosmographia* does mention "towns" and even if they were the earlier Roman forts, as Ian Richmond believed (Richmond & Crawford, 1949; Richmond 1955), the forts were by this time in the hands of the Britons. *Urbs Guidl* of Bede (HE I, 12) and *Urbs Alclut* were at the Eastern and Western end of the Wall (of Antoninus). *Alclut* is Dumbarton Rock (Alcock, 1975), Bede's "Rock of the Britons"; *Urbs Guidl* has been suggested as the Isle of Inchkeith (which seems too far offshore to be anything but a refuge site) or Cramond (which is more likely), but, in reality, the site at the East end is uncertain.

Surprisingly, there are few coin hoards of the fourth century, only one being known in South-West Scotland (Robertson, 1975: 412). This was found at Stoneykirk in Galloway with coins of Constantine, Maxentius and Decentius. This site is close to Kirkmadrine, an attested early Christian site of the 5-6th century. The other two hoards in the Lowlands are the famous silver hoard known as the Treasure of Traprain (Curle, 1923) and the other from Crichton, Midlothian (Robertson, 1975: 412).

While it is possible that Christianity was present in North Britain

before the third century as suggested by Tertullian c AD 209 (*Adv. Iudaios*, 7), the first documented source of knowledge of a bishop operating beyond the Wall of Hadrian comes from Bede (*H.E.* III, 4). In a chapter devoted to St. Columba's arrival in Iona in AD 565 and his subsequent conversion of the Northern Picts, Bede says that the Southern Picts had been converted long before (*multo ante tempore*) by the preaching of Bishop Nynia, a Briton who had received orthodox instruction at Rome. His see was celebrated for his church, dedicated to St. Martin, which was commonly called *ad Candidam Casam* and the place, Whithorn, was now under English rule. Two other sources of evidence in the eighth century are the poem *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* and the Hymnus *Sancti Nynie Episcopi* written by pupils of Alcuin of York (who says this in a letter to the brethren of *Candida Casa*). The date associated with Nynia is AD 397, for it was while building his church that he heard of the death of St. Martin of Tours (AD 397), according to Ailred of Rievaulx who wrote his *vita* in the mid-12th century. Ailred used an older life written in a "*sermo barbaricus*" as his source. Nynia's name appears in two martyrologies (*Baredi Mart.*: 574; *Auctaria* of Grovenus and Molanus) but his *obit*, 16th September, AD 432 appears to depend only on John of Fordun (*Lib.* III, c. 9) while later writers such as Hector Boethius (1575), George Thomson (1585) and others accepted and passed it on. There is no actual doubt of Ninian's historic reality but scholars have doubts as to where and when he lived and who the Picts were that he converted. At the end of the fourth century a bishop only served communities of urban Christians, and would only be appointed to such a community. Missionary bishops were, it seems, as yet unknown (Thompson, 1958: 17).

The excavations in the glebe field at Whithorn in 1984 showed a long

sequence of occupation dating from pre-Christian times (Hill, 1984). The excavator found pottery from the fifth century and evidence of an extensive early Christian cemetery together with part of the vallum. A large-scale excavation on the basis of this, begun in 1986, is currently taking place. A number of inscribed stones has been found over the years on and around the site, which is quite extensive, comprising the modern church and graveyard, the mediaeval monastery and some fields. The oldest known inscription is the Latinus stone (Radford and Donaldson, 1984: no.1, 27) and commemorates the death of Latinus and his four year old daughter; it was set up by the grandson (unnamed) of Barrovadus. This is dated by style and by the opening "Te Dominum Laudamus" to mid-5th century but might also indicate a Christian community going back three generations to the end of the fourth century. On the next peninsula, the Rhynns, at Kirkmadrine, in the parish of Stoneykirk, a number of inscribed stones has been found on the ancient church site which in the Mediaeval period was used for a parish church. Two of these commemorate two bishops of around the late fifth and another a deacon of the early sixth century. Although dating is tentative, a Christian community, rather than a monastic site, is indicated by the title "bishop". (At Stoneykirk nearby, a fourth-century hoard was found, perhaps an indication of a Romano-British settlement). Trusty's Hill, an Iron Age Fort, showed an early Christian occupation (Thomas, 1966) but whether of 5th or 6th century was unclear. On a gateway on this site, as stated earlier in the chapter, Pictish symbols are present. An early Christian site was also excavated at Ardwall Isle just off the coast of Kirkcudbright (Thomas, 1966). A sequence of church buildings was found dating from the fifth-sixth century onwards. Dumfriesshire has also very early Christian sites; the church at Hoddam associated with St. Kentigern

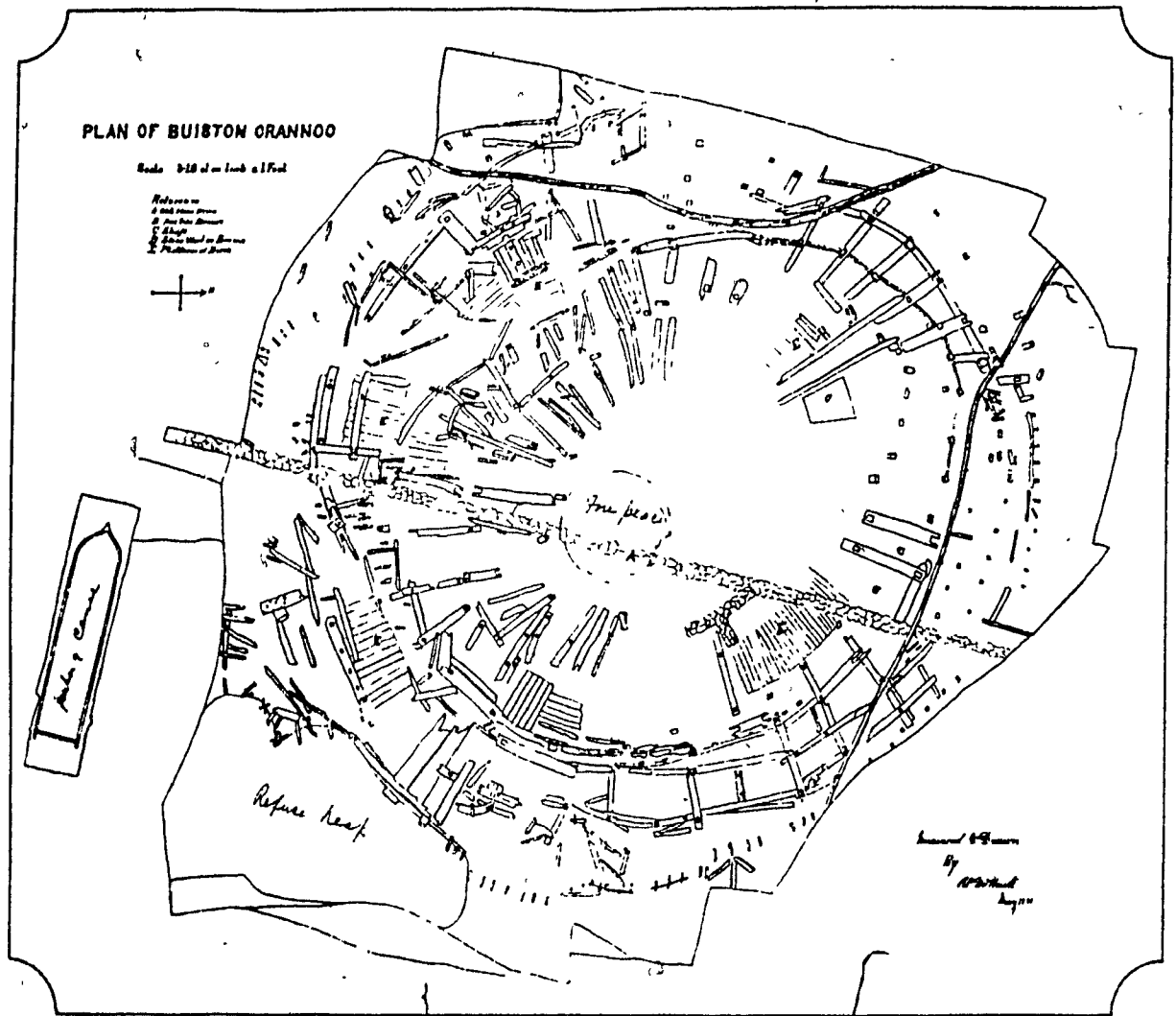
of the sixth century and a long cist cemetery at the Iron Age fort at Camp Hill, Trohoughton (Truckell, 1974). A Celtic head found at Trohoughton (Dodds, 1977-8), may indicate an earlier pagan shrine or holy place.

The only contemporary corroboration of Christianity in the area of South-West Scotland is the *Epistola ad Coroticum* of St. Patrick c. AD 450. He wrote angrily to the soldiers of King Coroticus, calling them "apostate Picts" after they had carried off as slaves some of his converts. Coroticus is variously believed to have lived in Ayrshire or at Dumbarton Rock. The use of the word "Pict" by Patrick, a Briton himself, is presumably a derogatory term equivalent to the Roman use of the word "barbarian" (Thomas, 1979). The dates of St. Patrick, as with all the early Celtic saints, are a source of controversy, but tradition gives no indication of them being contemporaneous.

It seems reasonable on the basis of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence, though it is slight, to suggest that in the fifth century after Christ, communities of Romanised Christians existed along the coast of Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, and Dumfriesshire and lived alongside the small forts and defensive enclosures housing hamlets; each of the latter may have had its princeling or petty king. At least one of these communities, Mote of Mark, appears to have been the home of some such leader who would also have his soldiers or knights to repel raiders and defend farmers and peasantry. The crannogs of the area continued well on into the Middle Ages changing from house to castle in some cases (Lochmaben, Castle Loch and Loch Doon to mention a few), though others continued as roundhouses. The Dark Age Hall excavated at Kirkconnel, Dumfries, (Laing, 1975: 38), which measures 5.5m x 17m, was surely the residence of a well-to-do farmer.

Buston in Ayrshire (fig. 5.2), with its floor area of c. 250 sq.

Fig. 5.2



Buiston Crannog, Gold Coin  
Early Saxon Forgery

Munro, 1882b, ACAW 3.

150 A

metres, is comparable in size to the timber halls of Doon Hill, Lothian and Cadbury-Camelot.. It has produced pottery of the 6-8th centuries after Christ and characteristic ironwork, especially knives and even a forged (?) gold coin. This could have been the home of a person of importance, and by extension, the centre of an agricultural estate from the sixth century (Alcock, 1979:136). The area of Ayrshire later known as Cunningham is the wealthiest in Roman artifacts but it is not known how long the fort at Castlehill continued. Laing (1975: 38) excavated a Dark Age Timber Hall there but without dateable finds. Saltcoats, in the area of settlement in Roman times in Ayrshire, could have been a *salinae*. It was a saltworks in mediaeval times, as was Kingcase lying on the coast between Prestwick and Ayr. A possible Roman road along the Ayrshire coast would link a number of places together and make sense of the stray coins.

The kings of the men of Rheged, of Aeron and of Altclut all had pedigrees and were Christian. Did they derive their positions from Roman patronage? Belt buckles found in the late Roman Treasure of Traprain have been suggested as *cingula* worn as a badge of office in the fourth century (Alcock, 1979: 135). It has been further suggested that the treasure constituted a bribe to the Votadini by the Romans (Alcock, 1979: 135 based on Grunhagen, 1954). The Votadinian chief known as Tacitus (Harleian Pedigree V) had a son Paternus Plesrud (of the red tunic), both of whom have Romanised names (Harleian Pedigree V). Tacitus' son Cunedda, (*Historia Britonnum* 62; Y. Cymm. 1888:141-83; Hogg, 1948) moved to Gwynedd, in North Wales with his family and warrior band and expelled the Scotti from that region; he then settled there king and founded a dynasty. It has been suggested (Collingwood, 1937: 289-30) that this was a Roman device, in fact that the friendly Votadini



tribe were planted with the status of *foederati* to act as a local militia under its own king. Not all scholars accept Nennius' story of Cunedda or Collingwood's amplification of it, but this point seems to mark the decline of Traprain and the Votadini and the rise of the Gododdin (who are almost certainly a branch of the same).

The sixth century poem *The Gododdin* shows a kinship or a unity between the lowland tribes. The epic tells of the men of Strathclyde, Aeron, Rheged, Manau of the Gododdin and the men of Eiddyn who made up a warrior band and set out together on a border raid. Somewhere in the fourth and fifth centuries the lowland tribes developed into more cohesive principalities, now Christian, their leaders were Romano-British with pedigrees deriving from Magnus Maximus, and formed part of the Romano-British society of Britain. They had been changed and so had their territory, opened up principally by the Roman roads so that communication by land with the rest of Britain was commonplace.

Christianity was spread probably from the South at Whithorn; perhaps this occurred only in small patches but inscribed stones dating from the fifth century in Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire, the Catstane cemetery, Kirkliston near Edinburgh give some indication that it was widespread even as far as Southern Pictland (Thomas 1980: 292; 1982).

St. Patrick considered that Christianity was present on mainland Scotland and while St. Ninian is the only bishop known it is possible that he was not the first. (Carlisle has been suggested as a Bishop's see (Thomas 1980: 275-294). There is little doubt that it was brought from the Roman world of Southern Britain. Christianity had been accepted since AD 313 and was the official religion since the time of Theodosius. Even though it

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developed somewhat differently in liturgy in the Celtic World it yet was,  
"thoroughly Roman in creed and origin" (Toynbee, 1953: 24) and presents the  
link from the Roman world to the Middle Ages.

VI

CONCLUSIONS

The emphasis of this study has been upon settlement and communications among the Britons of South-West Scotland during the entire Roman period.

While little can be proved absolutely, an attempt has been made to gather together the information available.

The main historical source, Tacitus, is extremely brief and literal interpretations are considered simplistic; one might make the point, however, that Agricola's camps have appeared much farther North than any scholar would have believed possible, until recently. The main geographical source, Ptolemaeus, who supplied places, bays, headlands and river names cannot be relied on because of errors; the *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* supports Ptolemaeus but suffers from the same problems. The *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* lists only two places in South-West Scotland, *Blatobulgum* (Birrens) and *Castra Exploratorum* (Netherby) and these identifications were made by Horsley c 1732. The *Notitia Dignitatum* supplies troop dispositions but its value is dependent on correct modern identifications of the Latin place-names none of which appear to be in South-West Scotland. The Diocese of Britain is the shape of Ptolemaeus' map of Britain and the whereabouts of each of the five provinces is unclear. Dio Cassius thought that Rome held a little more than half of the Island of Britain at the time of Severus and the vexed question of the location of the Province of Valentia is in no way clarified by Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the campaign of Theodosius. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* are suspect except where they are corroborated by other sources. Dates are a problem in the writing of Gildas and the usually reliable Bede has done us no service in mentioning the career of St. Ninian and his Christianisation of the Southern Picts without dates. Nennius in his compilation of the *Historia Britonnum* provided genealogies of the

British Kingdoms but not a specific time for their formation. One might ask if there is then anything in the written record that can be believed? The answer seems to be that the majority of ancient authors were honest but few knew much about Roman Britain or its people and at best presented the facts as the Romans saw them or wanted them remembered. One can only hope, therefore, that the scant facts can be supported by epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological sources.

Epigraphic sources are scarce in Scotland and so far non-existent among the Britons until the appearance of the Early Christian stones. Archaeologists have tended to be wary of any suggestion that these stones - and in particular the Latinus Stone - found at Whithorn, may be dated before the mid-fifth century. Even the unusual formula of the Latinus Stone *Te Dominum laudamus* cannot date it closely. Dates for the Class I Pictish Symbol Stones (undecyphered) before the sixth century are presently considered unacceptable but I submit that some of these could go back as far as the fourth century, to the time of the Picts historical appearance, since they are much less elaborate and totally without Christian symbols. Roman epigraphic sources are mainly military and often not closely dateable; most, are moreover, incomplete. After the Antonine period there is no inscription North of Netherby which can be dated absolutely. Inscriptions referring to women appear to be by or to officers' wives during the Antonine period, some of whom had British names.

Archaeologically little has been done recently on native sites in South-West Scotland. Native sites do not usually produce much in the way of artifacts (particularly pottery) which are readily dateable, in fact they have in the past produced little of anything. In the sixties and seventies,

however, Bankhead and Glenhead in Ayrshire were found to have Roman period occupation, while a small area of Burnswark was re-excavated; settlements at the Boonies and Rhispain Camp have proved more rewarding in the way of information. This is not enough, however, for any pattern to emerge. More native sites need to be fully excavated so that some clearer idea of their use and demise could be postulated.

Roman sites are much better served but the concentration has been largely on the Antonine Wall; even there forts are only part-excavated and it is surprising how little is positively known about any of the forts excavated in South-West Scotland.

At the outset of the Roman period a certain amount of cultural homogeneity appears to have been present among Britons throughout Scotland: common language, use of the same type of weapons, dwellings which appear to overlap into different regions. Very little is known about what the people were like from historical sources but a good deal can be said by looking at the artifacts which have been found, if not in abundance yet in sufficient number to show that the inhabitants were not "savages". They were ruled by chiefs. Their knowledge of building techniques was quite sophisticated and their tools adequate for the felling of large timber. Land had been cleared before the advent of the Romans; trade was present with transportation mainly by sea. Agriculture does seem to be indicated before the Roman conquest, because of iron sickles, querns and carbonised grain found in crannogs, native homesteads (Aitnack) and Rhispain Camp. Shears on the crannogs indicate sheep rearing and long-handled weaving combs and spindle whorls from the caves, crannogs and some forts show that weaving took place. The amount of bones found in caves and forts (e.g. Seamill, Ayrshire), denotes cattle rearing.

That horses were bred and ridden for pleasure or warfare is implied by the many finds of decorative horse trappings; terrets, rein rings and bridle bits come from findspots all over the area and cannot be classed as hoards like those of Carlingwark Loch and Middlebie. Smiths must have been part of the communities as horses need to be shod. A chariot wheel from a ditch at Barrhill on the Antonine Wall indicates chariots in use but since it was found at a Wall fort, it cannot be said to indicate Lowland use with certainty. Weapons of first century Brigantian type have been found in the area. Iron smelting cannot be proved in the area, although slag heaps on various sites suggest that it was practiced. Metal casting is indicated at Lochlee, at Buston Crannogs and at the Mote of Mark fort, while triangular clay crucibles were used to cast horse trappings from bronze bars at Buston and Bishop's Loch Crannogs. These crucibles, found in whole or part on sites of all types, were used also to work glass and possibly had other uses. Evidence of glass-making was found at Castlehill, Dalry, similar to that attested at Traprain Law, the type-site in Tyne-Forth.

The same artifacts are present in South-West Scotland as in other parts of the North, including Brigantia. Most of the artifacts on native sites are ornamental and easily lost (beads, brooches, rings, glass bangles, armlets, torcs, dress fasteners); they continued in use, with minor changes, through the Roman Occupation and beyond. The same is true of decorated metalwork. Bone combs, dice, toggles and bone pins are found on crannogs and in caves; they are similar to the types found at the lake villages of Glastonbury and Mere. Metalwork is often of Belgic type. Although artifacts may have taken time to permeate the North, the same type of artifacts are present in South-West Scotland as in the Northern Brochs, forts and other

dwellings. They may appear in metal or bone, in stone or wood depending on what is available; the stone cup of the Northern brochs is repeated in wood at Hyndford crannog (Childe, 1935: 247, fig 76). It seems, therefore, that traded goods were copied locally.

Few if any of these finds can be closely dated. although classifications have helped. The pottery which is present on native sites is of two kinds, a) thin and hard-fired and b) thick, gritty, mainly plain and of poor quality; it probably did not change substantially for even hundreds of years. Hogg (1951) studied the pottery from Traprain Law but nothing has been published on the pottery from South-West Scotland.

Iron Age people in South-West Scotland liked defensible positions for their dwellings, and built on spurs, river terraces, promontories and islands (artificial and real). These dwellings were lower in altitude than those of the Bronze Age people and in areas of good pasture and arable land.

Fortifications are heavy; forts and duns are small, often only homestead size, and the distinctions between them difficult to see. A large number of crannogs may have been occupied during the period, but as with the forts, few have been examined recently. South-West Scotland and Tyne-Forth differ in that while duns and crannogs are present in some number in the West they are not in the East. Where the point of change comes is difficult to estimate - perhaps in Lanark. Little remains through the "waist" of Scotland of early dwellings because of the area's industrialisation. The size of the extant dwelling-places makes the possibility of a large population unlikely.

The people, then, were of Celtic extraction, Britons just like those of Southern Britain; they used artifacts which were similar both to those of Belgic manufacture and to those of the late pre-Roman villages of Glastonbury



and Meare (Mackie, 1971: 59). The Damnonii or Dumnonii tribe have the same name as the Britons who dwelt in Cornwall (whose earthhouses are similar to the souterrain).

The Roman Invasion brought physical changes to the face of the countryside. The advance was accompanied by camps, then by the planting of forts (sometimes built over native sites) and finally by the construction of planned roads. First century Roman goods found their way onto native sites very quickly. Occupation, in fact, seems to have been established with ease.

At the outset of this thesis, I thought that Roman roads, although their preferred way led via river valleys, followed the straightest path to their destination, their direction planned by their engineers from high point to high point. I am now of the opinion that in South-West Scotland the roads built by the Romans followed to some extent previously existing native routeways; this is suggested by the many fortified dwellings which lay along their lines. These dwellings acquired Roman artifacts although their fortifications were in place either at the time of, or before the Roman presence, and they continued in operation. Native routeways must have connected these forts, crannogs, duns and brochs.

Roman roads did not only run North-South, East-West in a chequer-board design. There would appear to have been a network linked to each other following river valleys where possible; they used the natural contours, perhaps dividing off areas requiring more supervision. Such a network could be added to when necessary. I think that the Flavian network was extensive, because of the number of forts. I think, moreover, that it was the basis of the first Antonine period (AD 139-155) network and that it was expanded when the Antonine Wall was built.

The short stretches of Roman roads discovered in the last 20 years support the idea of an extensive network. The newly discovered forts at Drumlanrig and fortlets at Sanquhar and Lantonside indicate the course of a Nithsdale Road link. The results of a Doon-Clyde survey suggests a road link between Loudoun and Barochan. A coastal road led from Bishopton round the North coast of Renfrewshire into Ayrshire (past Outerwards Fortlet) and almost to Largs. The possibility is that a road led South from there to Brigurd Point and then inland, while further South near the Camps at Girvan a road led inland past Lochspouts Crannog, possibly to join the continuation of the Nithsdale cross-road. A Southern road is also suggested by the short stretches at Gatehouse-of-Fleet and possibly at Urr.

The presence of a fort and camps at Annan Hill just a narrow sea-passage from Cumbria makes the possibility of an entry by sea seem likely in the Flavian period as do the fortlet at Gatehouse of Fleet and those at Lantonside and Wardlaw.

Estimates of the size of the Roman Army required to man the Lowlands of Scotland appear to me to be overly large. How many men lived in the fortlets (which had no *principia*) is not clear. Flavian forts were in the main small. How the auxiliary units which manned them could be fitted into some of these forts is a question not permitting of an easy answer. Modern knowledge of the relationship between auxiliaries and legionaries is far from perfect. It would seem that unless the auxiliaries were builders and road-makers, legionaries must have been present during the occupation perhaps in the form of small detachments.

In the Antonine periods outposts seem to have occurred from the main bases to the fortlets along the road, since most forts are smaller and

the use of the fortlet more widespread. It is therefore possible that fewer troops than formerly were needed to keep order. Most units were part-mounted and patrolling would seem to have been the rule, particularly in the so-called second Antonine occupation (c AD 158-163).

Vici were founded and although only one, at Carriden, is certainly attested it is perverse to deny the presence of others: Croy Hill and Cramond show traces of industry, pottery and stone-working, in their vici. Mumrills, Castledykes, Birrens, Carzield, Glenlochar, Milton and Netherby in particular have definite signs of civilian presence.

Carriden is unexcavated but "field systems" are apparent from aerial survey. These "field systems" are difficult to assess. They appear to be square with tracks in between. Since the people of the vicus had to live on something besides being traders or purveyors of local produce, it might have well been a joint project, Roman know-how plus native labour. Plots around forts would seem to have been the rule.

The Severan expedition would seem to have bypassed most of our area except around the Eastern end of the Antonine Wall and the port of Cramond. That Severus' army did march through South-West Scotland, is shown by the presence of two Severan camps; presumably, therefore, the roads were maintained. At Cramond, at least, the fort's upper road was definitely repaired at this time. There were three occupations on most of the Antonine wall forts but presently there is no evidence for re-use in Severan times.

It does not seem as if the vici lasted long after the Roman departure, mainly because no later artifacts have been found but this is far from certain since no vicus in the area has been thoroughly excavated. There does seem to be some evidence that Britons moved into the vacated forts and the possibility

exists that they were the former dwellers of the adjacent vici.

Cramond vicus appears to have survived into the fourth century and in fact to have had almost continuous occupation to modern times. Netherby fort and vicus also continued into the fourth century and are known to have been in operation in the Dark Ages.

I do not believe that rural settlement changed radically during Roman times due to the construction of Roman Roads. Forts continued with their fortifications, e.g. the fort at Castlehill, Dalry. It is usually said that the Romans rarely permitted fortifications to continue during occupation, but they certainly did in South-West Scotland. Forts, however, are small and duns are likewise small - in fact mostly no larger than small castles. Little can be said of the five brochs because none have been excavated; all brochs excavated in Tyne-Forth and farther North have, however, produced Roman artifacts. It would appear that South West Scotland along with Tyne-Forth was a protectorate after total occupation ceased. Might it be that it was allowed to keep its fortified places because its tribes were regarded as friendly nations?

Native settlements which occurred beside Roman forts and fortlets as at (Burnswark and Ward Law) appear to have co-existed with the latter in the second century and probably were already there at the time of occupation in the first century. They do not owe their being to the building of a Roman fort. The "square" native settlements, of which Rispaig Camp is one, may predate the Roman conquest but it is tempting to see them as an adaptation of the Roman Camp.

There is evidence that Roman forts were founded on native settlements in several places in South-West Scotland: Barochan, Broomholm, Bishopston,

Bothwellhaugh, Raeburnfoot. Some forts were re-occupied by natives after the departure of the Romans: known examples are Barochan, Broomholm, Bothwellhaugh, Bishopton, and possibly Castledykes. Even if the defenses were slighted by the departing Romans there was still a foundation on which to rebuild. Civilian occupation of earlier Roman forts, it may be added, is common South of Hadrian's Wall and indeed formed the basis of towns in the South.

The third century can only be assumed to have been prosperous because no uprisings are reported. No luxury goods, however, appear on the few excavated sites of the South-West, but there are many unstratified Roman coins in the area of York-Hill and on the Western Wall sites; it is difficult to explain these either as ancient or modern loss. The fact that they lie along the road to Bothwellhaugh and then turn West and North suggests the possibility of a missing fort and the possibility of another road to Bishopton or Old Kilpatrick forts. Some few coins are found in Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbright and Dumfriesshire. Most coins are found up river valleys. If unknown roads lie in these valleys, would this denote patrolling in the third century and did the coins fall out of Roman pockets or were they profits of native trade?

The same coin pattern is present in the fourth century. It is possible to attribute the fourth century losses to punitive expeditions which are aimed at subduing the North using old or new roads to get there; the losses could be either accidental and or perhaps due to trading. Almost all the coins are bronze. The Stoneykirk hoard buried in the mid-fourth century is the only true hoard of late date, as distinct from the scattered individual pieces.

Wars of the fourth century within Britain cannot be said to have

destroyed specific settlements. Attacks would seem to have been mainly by sea. Frontier raids by the Picts are a strong possibility but there is not enough settlement known within the central Wall area which can be shown to have been destroyed. The Barbarian Conspiracy of AD 367 is the only time when invasion is definitely attested from the North by land and then damage must have been extensive although, once again, it does not show clearly in the archaeological record.

Religion is not easy to demonstrate or date. A priestly caste (Druids?) seems to have been present in the first century. Gods similar to those of the Romans were worshipped; that the cult of the head was practiced is suggested by the finds of Celtic heads in the area. The names of the gods are only known from Roman inscriptions and there appears to be no way of knowing, from present information, whether change occurred in pagan religious practice during the Roman period.

Christianity cannot definitely be proven for the end of the fourth century. Whithorn was a settlement, however, before the fifth century and the presence of a community with its own Bishop (St. Ninian not necessarily being the first), is fairly certain. Galloway has so many early Christian sites that it is likely to have been the heart of the Christian community in the North.

Was South-West Scotland made part of the Diocese of Britain during the later Roman Empire? It cannot with present knowledge be proven, but by the early fifth century the British kingdoms included the lowlands of Scotland up to the Antonine Wall. Although these kingdoms stemmed from the arrangements of Magnus Maximus, according to Nennius, it seems possible that the changes in tribal names and boundaries which had occurred during the third century

provided their foundation.

What benefits might be said to have come to the Britons from the Roman Conquest? Several may be suggested:

- 1) the roads, which opened up the country and facilitated travel and trade.
- 2) The vici whose inhabitants were brought in touch with the Roman way of life and township organisation.
- 3) The use of coal, abundant in South-West Scotland, and which provided a hotter fire.
- 4) The development of natural resources, iron smelting, saltworks.
- 5) Techniques of stone-working, such as the stone-dressing known at Croy Hill and Cramond vici.
- 6) Perhaps a taste for luxuries, and status symbols: Pottery, glass, wine and foods. (Such luxuries quickly become status symbols and it is to be wondered why there is no trace of later pottery, glass etc. as at Traprain Law).

I believe that once the Romans had occupied the Lowlands of Scotland, had built a road system and manned it with forts, they never really let go of the area of both South-West Scotland and Tyne-Forth. Although changes in policy took place, and forces were withdrawn for a time, hegemony was exerted over the area and any invasion from the North or uprising was immediately quelled. It is difficult to see how such small sites could have supported anything other than warrior bands at any time in the period or a population of any size.

#### FUTURE STUDY

This study has shown that quite a lot of native settlement was present in North Ayrshire. Most excavation there took place at the end of the last century. With present knowledge, the investigation of some of the coastal promontory forts and duns might show whether agriculture was pursued on any scale. In this area are native forts, crannogs and duns in fair number; these might perhaps show a pattern different from that seen in Eastern Dumfriesshire, where survey and some excavation has shown that the

settlement pattern of Tyne-Forth thins out as one moves West.

It is in the area of native pottery that progress might be made by further study. Pottery is present on native sites. It is likely that there was some difference between the types of pottery made locally by tribes and excavation of perhaps three or four sites in the West might be fruitful.

If one or two of the five known brochs (particularly Stairhaven [Wigtown] and at Craigie [Ayrshire]) were fully excavated (both of them have only been examined) together with some inland Duns, such as Monkwood, again perhaps one in Ayrshire and one in Galloway, it might be established whether they were certainly in operation in the Roman period.

On the Roman side a key site in South-West Scotland could be Drumlairig. Its position is far enough West to make its latest occupation important to the study of South-West Scotland.

The fort of Glenloch, on the River Dee, must have had a road link either from the Solway, or as part of a Southern road. Further aerial survey of this area might be rewarding.

There is still a great deal to be discovered about the Roman period in Scotland and in the future some of our present ideas may have to be radically changed since new sites, both Roman and native, are identified by aerial survey almost every year; these beg for archaeological investigation. Excavation of the "new" Roman fort at Cawdor (Jones, 1986: 9-10) takes the Agricola advance much further North than previously suspected and gives more credence to Tacitus' statement that the whole island of Britain was conquered and then let go (Hist. I, 2). The "new" fort at Drumlairig Castle and the fortlet at Sanquhar give credence to the idea that the Roman road system led into South-West Scotland and to the Ayrshire coast; they also indicate a



Roman occupation which was previously only hinted at by the discovery of temporary camps at Girvan, Ayrshire. Interpretations of Ptolemaeus' Map and of the Roman occupation of Northern Britain will in all likelihood have to be reconsidered and rewritten.

I believe with John Gillam (1958:85) that the Roman Roads did as much to open up trade and to break down cultural boundaries as did the railways in the 19th century; that it completely changed the ways and the face of the country. I think that these roads were the greatest instrument of Romanisation and the most useful "artifact" that survived the occupation.

VII

APPENDICES

## GAZETTEER OF BRITISH SITES

\* Denotes certain occupation in Roman Times.

Abbreviations: The Inventories of Ancient Monuments published by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland are referred to in the Gazetteer as follows:

RCAHMS, Stirlingshire, 1963.

RCAHMS, Lanarkshire, , 1978

RCAHMS, Midlothian and West Lothian, 1929.

RCAHMS, Wigtonshire, 1912

RCAHMS, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1914

RCAHMS, Dumfries, 1920.

The Archaeological Collections of Ayr and Wigtown (ACAW) and Ayrshire and Galloway (ACAG) will have the title shown. They are the source of most later articles but the material is difficult to work with.

1. \* Castle Rock Dun, Dumbarton, NS 400 743 Dunbartonshire.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 118; Alcock, DES 1975: 19-20; 1975-76:103-13; Jackson, 1953: 218.

Dun of the British and perhaps of the Damnonii. About 152m x 91.5m was enclosed. East and West terraces of the twin summit were excavated by Alcock in 1974-5. Post Roman import wares of BI, BII (Merovingian Glass) and E (African Red Slip Ware of c 5th Century) were found as well as "a very little Roman pottery" Alcock believes that the rampart itself was part of Alt Clut the "civitas Brettonum munitissima" (Bede HE I,1). Feachem compares it to North Berwick Law in size.

2. \* Sheep Hill Fort. NS 434 744 Dunbartonshire.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 118. MacKie DES 1966: 24; 1967: 25; 1968: 20; 1969: 22; 1975: 113; O.S. 6" Map (1899) XXII.

This vitrified fort stands on an isolated volcanic knob overlooking the Clyde. A sequence of defences was found by excavation in 1966-69 by MacKie. The site is two period. The first fort on the summit enclosed an area of approx. 1086sq. m and was timberlaced. A date of 8th to 6th centuries is assigned to it. This was later enlarged to c. 4347 sq. m (80 m x 50 m) within a simple drystone wall. Excavations were confined to the later fort and vitrified fragments were found in the wall core confirming that the timberlaced fort was destroyed before the later wall was constructed. Fragments of jet rings and armlets and sherds of thick gritty pottery are thought to be associated with the earlier phase. A tiny blue glass ring bead was the only find that appeared to show association with the 1st and 2nd centuries of this era.

3. Dumbuck Crannog, Old Kilpatrick. NS423 729 Dunbartonshire.  
Ref: Miller, 1899-1900: 439-62; Newall, 1978: 15 No. 38; Scott,

1966: 60; 1976: 4.

Similar house platform to No. 5, a central area c 15.2m in diameter within an enclosing stone wall, with an adjacent small mooring port with canoe. A plan is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. The sub-structure construction is mortised and tenoned. The canoe and ladder were cut by axe out of a tree-trunk. The "finds" of 1899-1900 were obvious forgeries.

4. Dunbule Hill Dun NS 421 752 Dunbartonshire.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 181; Millar, 1895-6: 291-308; 1899-1900: 437.

Excavated 1895. Circular dun 9.1m in diameter within a 4m thick wall. It appears to have had a mural cell on each side of the entrance which was three feet wide. There were no sherds recorded but querns were found. Also faked weapons of slate, an even larger collection of which were "found", four years later at Dunbuck Crannog, 1.6km South.

5. \* Langbank Crannog East, Erskine. NS 404733. Renfrewshire.  
Ref: DGNHAS Vol 5. 1905: 43-53. Scott, 1966: 59-60, Fig 35. PSAS, 1928-29: 320. Newall, 1978: 15, no.36.

There are two crannogs known here, "West" being unexcavated. "East" was excavated 1901-2. They each have a central area c 15.2m in diameter within an enclosing stone wall. Overall dimensions 30.2m x 26.8m. The excavation plan showed the central area ringed with upright piles. An Iron Age brooch and a semi-circular bone comb of 2nd century A.D. were recovered.

- 5a. Erskine Ferry, Old Kilpatrick. Renfrewshire  
Ref: PSAS, 1910-11; 1932-3: 71. Newall, 1978: 15, No. 37.

This crannog, excavated in 1906, produced carbonised ears of barley and many other seeds.

- 5b. Erskine Ferry  
A crannog exists at NS 458 728 (Newall, 1978: 20) approx. 27m in diameter and remarkable for the size of the timbers used in its construction. It is unexcavated and undated.

- 5c. Erskine Crannog. NS 4554 7288  
Ref: Hanson and Macdonald, DES, 1985: 50.  
This crannog planned photogrammetrically from vertical photographs is oval in shape and approximately 30m x 40m in area. A ground check showed examples of jointing in the timber substructure and the broken topstone of a rotary quern. Oak samples taken for dendrochronological analysis failed to provide a date. Included because the woodwork appeared to be mortised and tenoned.

6. Walls Hill Fort NS 411 588 Renfrewshire.  
Ref: Feachem, 1966: 80; 1977: 148. Newall, 1960.

This fort crowns a steep-sided rocky table, 2 km South-East of Howwood. It is the largest fort in its area being 488m x 213m, or some 7.3 ha, enclosed by a wall and thus in the oppidum class. There are no surface traces of dwellings. Its excavation in the late 1950's revealed three phases: 1. primary timber hut yielded Dunagoil ware; 2. later rampart refaced and stone-based houses overlay the primary huts; 3. Mediaeval occupation. Possibly an oppidum of the Damnonii but doubtfully Roman.

7. Castle Semple Loch Crannog, Lochwinnoch. NS 359 586 Renfrewshire.  
Ref: Munro 1890: 245; Newall, 1978: 15 & 18.

This is doubtful. In 1842 some 21 canoes were found at this location (New Statistical Account, 1842:97). One half canoe was given a rough dating in the late Iron Age following pollen analysis. Munro, lists it as a crannog, unexcavated, having an old castle surrounded by a fosse and morass with access by a stone causeway and drawbridge.

8. Kilbirnie Loch Crannog NS 3238 5356 Ayrshire.  
Ref: Munro, 1882a: 64; 1882b, AGAA Vol.2: 24-5; PSAS Vol XI: 284.  
Scott, 1976: 44. Smith, 1895: 76; Piggott, 1952-3: 151 Table.

In 1868 an island appeared in the North-West end of the loch. It was excavated in 1882. It was almost circular and between 21 and 22.9m in diameter. Stone and brushwood were found below the logwood floor, and a mortised and tenoned wooden substructure. Finds included a mended bronze vessel similar to the so-called Roman camp kettles; also a lion aquamania. This crannog has been dated to the Dark Age (Piggott, 1952-3: Table) but a Late Roman date fits some of the artifacts and the type of substructure is that found in others of the Roman period.

9. \* Ashgrove Loch Crannogs, Kilwinning NS 2759 and NS 2744 Ayrshire.  
Ref: RCAHMS Ayrshire, 1984; Smith, ACAG Vol. 7, 1894: 55-61.

Although a total of six crannogs was found (a village?) only one was excavated by Smith. This stone built crannog was topped by a bed of clay 1.5m thick. It was 13.1m in diameter with a water tank under the floor. The dwelling was divided into compartments and paved. Heather appeared to have been strewn on the floor. Iron sheep-shears were found. 1st or 2nd century.

10. Pennyburn Crannog, Kilwinning/Stevenston. NS 2938 4209 Ayrshire.  
Ref: RCAHMS Ayrshire, 1984; Smith, 1895: 47; Scott, 1976: 44.

No details of this crannog seem to be available except that it contained mortised and tenoned joints in its structure.

11. \* Bankhead Fort, Darvel NS 573 388 Ayrshire.  
Ref: Hendry, DES 1962: 23; 1963: 22; Robertson, 1970: Table I;

Smith, 1895.

Lies beside a farm 2km North-East of Darvel, on the East side of the valley of the Glen Water. A bank of clay cuts off a section of field whose sides drop into deep gullies on North and South and over 24m to the river on the North, giving a modicum of natural defence. It is of irregular circular plan with diameter varying 18m - 21m, surrounded by a rampart of stone and gravel. A hut roughly 12m in diameter occupied most of the Eastern half of site partly overlying what may have been an earlier hut 9m in diameter. This is really a fortified homestead (Pers. comm. by T.A. Hendry). When this was excavated in 1962 and 1963, the upper stone of a rotary quern, fragments of a Samian flanged bowl (Dr. 38 manufactured from AD 150 onwards) as well as coarse pottery, amphora fragments and fragments of red jars were found, all from the larger hut. Signs of burning indicated how the homestead met its end. A date of mid to late 2nd century is indicated by the Samian. The site has now been ploughed out.

12. \* Cleave's Cove, Dalry. Ayrshire.  
Ref: Smith, ACAG, 1889: 1-16.

The cave is located in a glen on the South side of the Dusk Water 2.4 km from its junction with the River Garnock at Dalgaren. It is 11.2 km from the Ayrshire coast 51.8m ASL. Timothy Pont's map of Cunningham (1604-8) shows it.

The excavator, John Smith, found the previous description of its being 55.8m in length x 4m wide x 4m high much exaggerated. There was an open space some 17m long x 4m but much had fallen in. When cleared it was quite dry inside. Among the finds were two bronze 3-spiral finger rings, a glass bead, wooden spoon and bone dice. It seems to have been used in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

13. \* Castlehill Fort, Dalry NS 2859 5362 Ayrshire.  
Ref: Smith 1918-19: 123-9; Curle, 1932: 377; PSAS 1879: 175; Robertson, 1970: Table I; 1983: Table 3; Laing, 1975: 39; Hartley, 1972: Appendix VIII, 54; MacGregor, 1976, No. 172.

Situated on an isolated rock on the farm of South Howrat. In size approx. 33.8m x 13.7m. Excavated in 1918 by John Smith who also excavated the fort at Coalhill and Nos. 12 and 15. Finds included a dragonesque brooch, perhaps Flavian (MacGregor, 1976: 127), a pennisular brooch (undated), fragments of colourless glass and blue-green bottle glass, a melon bead, fragments of a Samian cup (Dr. 27) of 1st century and of a platter (Dr. 18 or 18/31). This platter Hartley considers to be form 31, from Central Gaul whose proportions suggest a date later than 160 A.D. (1972: 54). A sword mounting of Brigantian design (MacGregor, 1976: 91 No. 142, Piggott Group IV) was among the armour; a crucible with traces of green and yellow glass and moulds appeared to denote glass-making. A denarius of Trajan (AD 97-117) was also found. The period late 1st and 2nd century would cover the finds. Traces of a timber hall 14m x 6m were recently found, thought to be of Dark Age date (Laing, 1975: 39).

The fort on Coalhill produced only a rusted piece of iron which was undateable and is not included.

14. \* Altnock Fort or Fortified Site, Dalry. NS 2876 5086 Ayrshire.  
Refs: Smith, 1918-19: 130-32; Curle, 1932: 377; PSAS, 1924: 327;  
Robertson, 1970: Table 1; 1983: Table 3; Childe, 1935: 198.

Ring fort situated on top of a cliff about 18m above the Rye stream. The diameter is approx. 9m; defended by a deep ditch and stone wall about 4.5m thick it has been called a dun. 4 denarii of Vespasian (AD 69-79) were found here in 1924 (perhaps part of a hoard). The floor was levelled with yellow clay and a cauldron of sandstone stood in a hollow by the fireplace. A coin of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-61), Samian fragments of platters (Dr. 18 or 18/31) and coarse fragments of a mortarium (presumably undated) were found in the 1918 excavations. The fort (actually only of homestead size) had two occupations 1st and 2nd century A.D.

15. \* Glenhead Double-Fort or Homestead, Gourock Burn. NS 215 454 Ayrshire.  
Ref: Hendry, DES1968: 13; 1969: 12; 1972: 14. Christison, 1898: 265-6. fig 102; Scott, 1976; 42.

Christison called this site a fort (fig 102) and considered that the cutting off trench between the two sites, was partly natural. This cut forms two "fortlets", the upper 12.8m x 14.3m and the lower 12.1m x 12.1m internally; defended by ramparts, the whole defended by another trench. Hendry who excavated the site (1968 to 1972) considered that they were a pair of fortified dwellings. Excavation began with the lower site and revealed traces of a circular hut, approx. 4.9m in-diameter, whose roof was supported by a central post. The hut was reconstructed at a later date. The rampart was of stones and stiff pink clay. The upper site, which had also been rebuilt, revealed a similar hut supported by a ring of uprights. Entrance to each in the first occupation was by a passageway under the rampart. The Northern passageway was 7.6m long, 1.2m deep and 0.9m wide on an average. The sides were of drystone walling. 4 steps led into the house. This entrance was blocked up at the second period of occupation but the new entrance was not found. A sestertius of Sabina (AD 128 - 138) was found in the fill of the entrance way. Finds included a part of a glass bangle, fragments of blue-green bottle glass, fragments of a platter (Dr. 18) and of a fine red bowl of 1st century. A decorated bowl (Dr. 29) and two fragments of a bronze spiral finger ring plus the glass bangle indicated a 2nd century occupation. Fragments of a mediaeval cooking jar indicated a later re-occupation.

This site is on a raised beach. Two similar sites lie nearby, Boydston about 0.8 km South and Montfode Mount, Ardrossan, about the same distance further South; neither has been excavated.

16. \* Seamill Fort, Ayrshire.

Ref: Munro, ACAW 1882c: 59-65. MacGregor, 1976: 37 and 60; no. 40.

The excavation of this "fort" was carried out in 1880 by Robert Munro. He said that it was similar to such "little round eminences called Castlehill" at Boydstone, Glenhead, and Ardnell. The enclosure is oval, about 9m to 12m in diameter surrounded by two walls about 2m thick and a few yards apart; these walls coalesce into one. The area thus formed was divided into two parts. Two urns of red clay were found in the area in 1833 (NSA 1833). There were bones of ox, deer, pig and sheep. Other finds were the upper part of a quern with handle hole, a swirled triskele fob (a horse bit?) of bronze (Macgregor, 1976:no. 40), a spindle whorl, two fragments of green glass, reddish pottery with three faint incised parallel lines. A mid-1st century date is vaguely suggested by the triskele fob.

17. \* Ardeer Souterrain and Settlement, Stevenston NS 271 419 Ayrshire.  
Ref: Hunter, 1973:16-17; 1972-4: 296-301; Robertson, 1983: Table 3.

This site, in the grounds of Ardeer Recreation Club, is now partly under a road. It consists of a passage lined with corbelled drystone walling roofed with capstones leading into a natural cave. The passage is 12 to 13 metres long, the height and width are variable but typically 1.8m high, 1.5m wide and the top of the capstones about 1 metre below present ground level. It is part cave, cutting into a 30 foot raised beach. The floor and walls of the cave were of washed sandstone. Some undisturbed stratified deposits were found which revealed occupation: a hearth with iron slag, bones and a small fragment of what appeared to be Roman glass.

A souterrain denotes settlement and a denarius of Faustina I (A.D. 138-141) was found around here. Robertson calls it a settlement. An unstratified bronze coin of Carus (A.D. 282-3) was also found here (Robertson, 1983: 440).

18. Auldhill, Portencross. Fort and Dun. NS 171 491 Ayrshire.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 109 and 179. RCAHMS Ayrshire, 1984; MacKie, 1974: 232. PSAS1943-3: 39.

2 miles West-North-West of West Kilbride, this hill is actually a ridge rising quite steeply from the raised beach on the seaward side but more gently on the inner "saddle". Feachem calls it "sub-rectangular" 30.5m x 8.2m. The first fort was vitrified and was followed by a small dun which crowns the summit. Although the dun is badly decayed it shows red sandstone inner and outer retaining walls. Some fragments of worked black shale were picked up including fragments of two bracelets. Although unexcavated, it is included because of its secondary dun similar to those of Galloway.

19. \* Buston Crannog, Dreghorn. NS 4155 4352. Ayrshire.  
Ref: RCAHMS Ayrshire, 1984. Curle, 1932: 379. Robertson, 1970: Table 3. Scott 1976: 44. Munro, 1880: 17-88; 1882a: 190 and 245, Table; 1890: 425-7; ACAW 1894:19-51; Laing, 1975: 37; Alcock, 1979:



137-138.

This crannog was excavated in 1880. Its sub-structure was of mortise and tenon construction. Slightly oval in shape it measured 18.6m x 17m and was roughly paved with wooden beams fixed to the lower woodwork by wooden pegs as well as to the encircling posts. The house, about 5.5m in diameter, had a wheel-shaped plan. There was a central hearth but evidence also of two other fireplaces one of which contained flat firemarked stones and heavy slag suggesting a smelting-furnace. In front of the South-East facing entrance was a solid wooden platform. Many artifacts were found of varied dates showing long use. For the Roman period 3 clay crucibles with triangular shaped tops, a decorated bone comb, a 5-spiral gold ring and a fragment of a platter (Dr. 18/31) indicated a 2nd century A.D. occupation. A Dark Age occupation is also indicated (Alcock, 1979: 137-8; Laing, 1975:37) by many finds e.g. a gold coin (perhaps a forgery) of 6th-7th century; pottery of the 6-8th centuries; characteristic ironwork, particularly knives.

20. Kemp Law Fort and Dun NS 356 337 Ayrshire.  
Ref: RCAMHS, Ayrshire, 1984; Cotton, 1954: 70; MacKie, 1974: 233; Feachem, 1977: 179. Christison, 1898: 268. Piggott, 1952-3: 1-50.

This unexcavated fort is overgrown and robbed out. The wall is vitrified in part and the main enclosure an almost circular dun about 11m in diameter within a 5.9m wall. A second wall can be traced around the dun at a distance of c. 3m outside it. Christison has a rather different description seeing it as semi-circular with a cairn-like mass within it. This fort is on the Dundonald Range and a half cake of copper, of Roman date according to the typology was found at Dundonald itself nearby (Piggott 1953: 50); this would indicate smelting in the vicinity.

21. Craigle Broch, Kilmarnock NS 427 327 Ayrshire.  
Ref: Hendry, DES 1961: 25; Feachem, 1977: 163; Macinnis, 1984: 246.

This dun or broch, known as Camp Castle, is located 5.2km South of Kilmarnock and occupies a rocky ridge with steep West and South sides. The West arc of the wall has been removed by quarrying. The rest remains a grass-grown mound. An exploratory dig to establish the dimensions took place in 1961. A wall 4.6m thick and inner courtyard approximately 9.1m in diameter were found. Part of a mural chamber was exposed. Feachem called it a broch because of its apparently symetric shape. At present it is the only one in the area. No artifacts were found, and nothing removed except the topsoil.

- 22.\* Lochlee Crannog, Tarbolton NS 4575 3026 Ayrshire  
Ref: Munro, 1882a: 68-151; ACAW IV, 1884: 9-16; 1890: 416.  
Curle, 1932: 378-9. Scott, 1976: 44; Robertson, 1970: Table III; MacGregor 1976: 272; Wilde Br, 1970:148; Piggott, 1952-3: 150 table.

Excavation of this site, a small island in a drained lake, took place

In 1878. In plan it is of rounded shape, 15.2m in diameter. A gangway led to the shore as can be seen from the plan. It has a mortised and tenoned substructure and 4 paved hearths one above the other rising 2.4m above the log bed. The house was at least 12.2m in diameter. This crannog was occupied over a long period and there are many finds: a button and loop fastener (Wilde Class II), a trumpet brooch of 2nd century as well as other brooches, and melon shaped glass beads. Samian is represented by the bottom of a bowl (Dr. 37) and the side of another bowl (Dr. 18/31), all of 2nd century. Some fragments of coarse white ware of doubtful age were also found. A probable mirror handle of cast bronze (MacGregor, 1976: 272) centrally perforated was found. There were also Mediaeval artifacts.

23. Monkwood Dun NS 337 139 Ayrshire.

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 179; Christison, 1892-3: 393.

This dun 0.8km South East of Minishant crowns a knoll known as Mote Knowe. The grass-grown ruin of a wall about 4.6m thick encloses a circular area about 15.2m in diameter. The entrance may have been on the South East. It is unexcavated.

24. Dunree Dun NS 347 125 Ayrshire.

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 179. Christison, 1892-3: 393.

This dun, 5.6km North East of Maybole, stands on an eminence above the River Doon. The area enclosed within a wall (1.8m in height and as much as 6m thick in places) is approx. 36.5m x 30.5m with an entrance on the West-South-West. There are two outer defences. It is unexcavated. Duns are of possible Roman date and both no. 24 and this are inland in what is otherwise an "unoccupied" area.

25. \* Lochspouts Crannog Kirkoswald. NS 2876 0582 Ayrshire.

Ref: Curle, 1932: 378; Munro, 1882 a: 158; ACAW Vol. III, 1882 b: 1-16; ACAW IV 1884: 9-16; Robertson, 1970: Table 3; Piggott, 1952-3: 150 table.

Excavated in 1880, this crannog appeared after the reduction of water level in a small loch. Built on wooden foundations which are mortised and tenoned, it is c. 29m in diameter and has a gangway to the shore. Finds included a decorated Samian bowl (Dr. 37) with ovolo border and egg and tongue design of 1-2nd century type, fragments of a Samian cup (Dr. 27) of 2nd century, greenish-blue Romano-British melon beads, a boss-headed button and loop fastener and a jet circular pendant with cruciform filling decorated with ring and dot pattern. The latter is undated but reminiscent of early Christian cross and wheel designs (MacGregor, 1976: 263).

26. Dow Hill Fort. NX 192 962 Ayrshire.

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 109; 1958: 83; Cotton, 1954: 70; MacKie, 1974: 234 and appendix; Christison, 1892-3: 392.

This fort, 1.2km South East of Girvan, crowns the summit of a fairly high hill. The main enclosure of the original fort, now robbed out, was about 39.6m x 15.2m (at most) within the arcs of 5 decayed ramparts. MacKie cites 4536 sq.m as the area enclosed. A secondary dun enclosed by a wall as much as 9.1m thick and with an internal diameter of 15.2m, is similar to the "citadels" or defensive enclosures of late Roman times and is the reason for its inclusion here.

27. Duniwick Dun Ayrshire NX 116 851.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 179; Smith, 1895: 216.

This dun 4km North-East of Ballantrae stands on an craggy knoll rising from the North foot of Knockdolian and measures 36.5 x 25.9m; it is surrounded by a heavy spread of tumbled stones cut by an entrance on the South-West. It is unexcavated but included for same reason as nos. 24 and 25.

28. \* Donald's Isle Crannog, Loch Doon NX 495 965 Ayrshire  
Ref: Munro, 1882a: 245 Table; Scott, 1976: 42. PSAS 1936-7: 323-333. Ayr. & Galloway Coll. 1894: 8; Stevenson, 1976: 48.

Munro found only a castle of Saxon and Gothic architecture here but stated that canoes had been found near it in the loch. A red and yellow bead, whetstone, iron, and a small fragment of pottery are said to have been found (ACAG 1894: 8). Excavated in 1936 (NV). Many mediaeval finds and also a glass bangle of Stevenson's type 3B of 2nd century. There have been many finds of all periods in this area. A dug-out canoe from here gave a C-14 date of 509 ±110 ad.

29. Jamieson's Point Dun NX 033 710 Wigtownshire.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 186; RCAHMS Wigtownshire, No. 71.

This appears to be a circular dun approx. 16.8m in diameter within a wall some 3m thick. It is unexcavated, similar to its neighbour Craigoch (*infra*).

30. Craigoch Dun NX 012 668 Wigtownshire.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 186; RCAHMS Wigtownshire, No. 72.

This dun, 8km North-West of Stranraer and 2.4km South of No. 29 is perched on a rocky knoll close to the Craigoch Burn. In a good, naturally defensive position, it is circular (approx. 8.2m in diameter) within a ruinous wall about 1.8m in thickness. It is unexcavated. This Dun and no.29 are close together, inland and appear to fit the distribution of duns in the area in Roman times.

- 31.\* Black Loch or Loch Inch-Cryndil NX 114 612 Wigtownshire  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 190; Munro, 1882: 245; Scott, 1976: 42 and 44; PSAS, 1872: 381, 388-92; Stevenson, 1956: 158; 1976: 48 and 49.

This crannog 4.8km East of Stranraer was excavated in 1870. Its substructure is of mortise and tenon construction. The floor of the inner house was found to be 15.2m in diameter. Traces of successive occupations ranged from Early Iron Age to Mediaeval. The only find indicating Roman occupation was a glass bangle (Stevenson 3B) attributed to 2nd century A.D.

32. Teroy Broch NX 099 641 Wigtownshire.

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 174; RCAHMS Wigtownshire 1912: no. 28; MacInnes, 1984: 247; Curle, 1911-12: 183-8.

This structure stands on an inland promontory at the West edge of Balker Moor some 4.8km North-East of Stranraer. The wall is 4m thick and the interior 8.8m in diameter. The entrance passage shows no door-check but has a guard-chamber. It is defended on the East-North-East by a broad deep ditch with mound on its lip. It was examined by A. Curle in 1911-12. No finds are noted. All brochs so far excavated and producing datable material have shown occupation in the Roman period.

33. Ardwell Broch NX 106 466 Wigtownshire

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 74; PSAS 1946-7: 54; RCAHMS Wigtownshire, 1912: Vol. 1 no. 433. MacInnes, 1984: 246.

This broch lies on a narrow rocky spit on Ardwell Point on the East side of the Rhinns peninsula. Normally entrance was from the seaward side but there was another entrance on the landward side which is very unusual. On this side it was further protected by a wall and ditch spanned by a built causeway. The broch wall is c. 4m thick and the interior is c. 9.1m in diameter. It is unexcavated.

34. Crammag Head Broch NX 088 340 Wigtownshire

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 174; MacInnes, 1983: 246. Cormack. DES, 1982: 9.

This broch is situated 5.2 km West-South-West of Drumore on the West side of the Rhinns peninsula. The East sector of the wall measured 4.6m before its demolition to make way for a lighthouse. A rampart and ditch survive on the landward side, as does a sector of the West arc of the wall. Descriptions refer to an overall original diameter of 18.3m. It is unexcavated. A Romano-British glass bangle fragment was recently found at NX 139 325 together with a spindle whorl.

35. Stairhaven Broch NX 2090 5335 Wigtownshire

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 174; RCAHMS Wigtownshire, 1912: no. 310; MacInnes, 1984: 246; DES, 1977, 39; Yates, 1983: 93-95.

Situated about 300m South of the small settlement from which it takes its name and 4.4km South-East of Glenluce on a shore promontory, this broch is well defended. It can only easily be approached from the North. An unauthorised "excavation" in 1977 led to its being planned. Inexpert work had been concentrated on the North-West side around the

entrance. The wall in general was about 3.2m thick becoming slighter wider on either side of the entrance. It was well constructed of well-fitting, undressed stones surviving in places to a height of 1.4m. The entrance passage through the thickness of the broch wall was cleared and measured at 3.5m in length; it was 1.6m wide narrowing to 1m. The interior had been partially cleared and was about 6.8m in diameter. To the East of the entrance a narrow passage (0.75m) gave access to an intra-mural chamber from which 2 stairways led upwards; 10 low steps rose to the East while 6 somewhat higher steps rose to the West. No further excavation was done.

36. \* Castle Loch Island Settlement, Mochrum NX 293 541 Wigtownshire.  
Ref: Munro, 1882: 245, Table; Radford, 1949-50: 41-63, 49 esp.

Munro lists a crannog in this loch (1882a. Table, 245: note). During the excavation of an early Christian site on the island (Radford, 1948) traces were found of an earlier settlement. Finds of the Roman period included a flagon of Flavian date (Gillam, 1949-50: 60), a decorated Samian bowl of Lezoux ware (Dr. 37) of Hadrianic date, a pale blue-green glass bead and a turquoise melon bead of 2nd century.

- 37.\* Barhapple Loch Crannog NX 26 59 Wigtownshire.  
Ref: Munro, 1882a: 186 and 246; ACAWIII, 1882b: 52-144, ACAW. 1885: 7; Scott, 1976: 44.

Excavated in 1880 after draining exposed this crannog about 8.5m from the West shore. It was estimated to be 143m in circumference and took about 3000 trees to construct. Timber was of oak, birch, ash, hazel and alder. The beams were of oak and mortised. (This area is now treeless). There were two gangways running from the margin to the house situated on the East side. The size of the house is probably that of the "oak floor" 3.20m x 2.4m. There were two fireplaces. Perhaps destroyed by fire. Finds were few: a ring (5cm) of cannel coal, a whetstone and a ladle. Perhaps of 2nd century but included essentially because of its construction.

38. \* Chang Duns, Mochrum NX 299481 Wigtownshire.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 186; RCAHMS, Wigtownshire, 1912: no. 190.

Part of a group of walled enclosures surviving in various states of decay in the Mochrum district. All are oval and this one is 33.5m x 21.3m within a wall 5m thick. These are considered to be defended homesteads of the type occurring in Ayrshire as well as further North into Argyll, Perthshire and Stirlingshire (Feachem, 1977: 186); in these other examples artifacts of Early Iron Age to Roman Iron Age have been recovered.

Chippermore Dun NX 297 483 1/4 mile north is of the same type: 27.4 x 24.4m within a wall 2.7m thick.

Others lie on the nearby farms of Corwall, Garheugh, Eldrig, Ringheel and Airrieoulland. None are excavated.

They are represented on the map by 12 dun symbols.

- 38a. \* Airrieoulland Crannog, Mochrum. Wigtownshire.  
 Ref: Munro, ACAG, 1885:112-3; Riddick, PSAS, 1888: 228; Guido, 1978: 228; Macgregor, 1976: no. 173)..

This crannog appeared, after a long drought, in a peatmoss of roughly 2.4 ha in Mochrum Parish (Timothy Pont's map of 1672 shows a lake here). It was excavated in 1884. The enclosure is circular, 16.5m in diameter surrounded by a low wall of flat paving-stones 0.9m high. A fireplace was found in the East end. There were few finds; 17 small reddish beads of vitreous paste are considered to be of the Roman period (Guido Class 8), 1st -2nd century; a "button" found is now thought to be a (?) pommel button (MacGregor, 1976:no.173); a triangle mouthed clay crucible, for metal or glass refining was also present. These finds are of the Roman period, the beads suggest a 1st to 2nd century date.

39. Barsalloch Point Fort NX 347 413 Wigtownshire  
 Ref: Feachem, 1977: 159-60.; Inv. of Wigtownshire: no. 199.

This fort is D-shaped with the straight side along the cliff enclosing an area of about 0.1 hectare. A promontory type fort, it encloses the tip of a low headland. It has two ramparts. The ditch measures c 10m from crest to crest. It is included because it is similar in plan to Castle Haven Dun, Kirkcudbright. It is unexcavated.

40. \* Dowalton Loch Crannogs NX 40 47 Wigtownshire.  
 Ref: Feachem, 1977: 189-90. Robertson, 1970: Table III. PSAS, 1863-4: 109-11; RCAHMS, Wigtownshire: no. 423; Munro, 1882a: 39, 42 and 246 table; ACAG, Vol 5, 1885: 105-116. Curle, 1932: 374. Scott, 1966: 68; 1976: 38-39 and 44. Stevenson, 1976: 48.

5 crannogs were found during drainage of this Loch in 1863. Relics come from 3 crannogs of mortise and tenon substructure. The largest, known as Miller's Cairn was 21m in diameter, and rose 1.7m above the mud. The others, un-named, were irregular in form. Finds included a melon bead and 2 glass bangles (Stevenson 3A) of 2nd century date. A large bronze patera stamped CIPOLIBI has a 1st century date as has a piece of decorated Samian (Dr 37) showing part of the rim and ovolo border. A Roman shoe was found in the wall packing. The three crannogs were close together the nearest to Miller's cairn being only 54.6m away.

- \* 41. Rispaig Camp NX 429 399 Wigtownshire.  
 Ref: Piggott, 1982: 115. Haggerty, DGNHAS, 1983: 21-51; DES 1979:7; 1981: 9.

This rectilinear earthwork, about a mile West of Whithorn, for long thought to be a Roman camp, was excavated in 1978-81. It proved to be a Romano-British settlement 1st to 2nd century A.D. (C-14 date 40 ± 80 bc). A deep, V-shaped ditch provided material for banks on either

side of it; there was a further outer ditch on the South and East sides. A gateway lay in the centre of the North-East side. Two wooden huts, one approx. 13m in diameter, were found with room for 8 more. The site had been destroyed by fire. Finds included a piece of bronze inlaid with yellow enamel, and blue glass dated to 1st century A.D. also an adze/hoe. Carbonised seeds of wheat and barley were retrieved suggesting cereal cultivation.

42. \* Whithorn Settlement NX 444 403 Wigtownshire.

Ref: Radford 1955-56:131 - 94. Radford and Donaldson, 1984. Hill, 1984; 1984: 4-5. Robertson, 1983: Table 5.

This is regarded as the earliest Christian site in Scotland. St. Ninian's church being sited here (Bede, HE III, 4) traditionally c.A.D. 397. The area has been much excavated in a search for the early "Candida Casa", without much success for such an early date. Excavations in 1984, however, besides finding the Vallum of the early church, revealed a multiphase timber roundhouse with finds of B Ware, E Ware (imported Mediterranean Wares of early 5th century) and Germanic glass indicative of an earlier native settlement. The earliest inscribed stone - the Latinus stone - is attributed to the mid-5th century and by implication (Nepos Barrovadi) could indicate a Christian community as early as the end of the 4th century. 5 unstratified copper coins have been found here: Faustina I (AD 138-140-1), Julia Domna (AD 193-211), Gallienus (AD 253-68), Claudius II (AD 268-70) and Tetricius (AD 270-73). Two other sites are associated with the saint: Physgill Cave (relics from 6th century) and the Isle of Whithorn where there is also an unexcavated native Fort.

43. Fell of Barhollion Fort NX 374 418 Wigtownshire.

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 160; Maxwell, ACAG, Vol 5, 1885: 42; Curle, 1932: 376 no. 41. Ritchie, 1982: 113. PSAS 1889: 123; Macgregor, 1976: no 224..

Although only 400 feet above sea-level this fort occupies the most commanding position on the Whithorn peninsula. It is oval, about 140 x 60 feet within 2 walls, the inner massive and the outer about 8 feet thick. Suggestions have been made that the inner wall contained galleries which would put it in the dun category. It is however, unexcavated. The reason for inclusion is because it is reasonably close to the farm of Blairbeg near Monreath on which a bronze statuette of Mercury was found in 1871 (Curle, 1932, 376); also a penannular bracelet, with ribbed hoop and snake-head terminals was found around this fort.

44. Carleton, Glasserton NX 392 378 (approx) Wigtownshire

Ref: Curle, 1932: 374; PSAS XIV 1895-6: 176. OS 50,000 sheet 83 (1976); Piggott, 1953: 50.

About 1880 a cake of almost pure copper, roughly circular, 9" in

diameter and 3" thick and weighing about 36 lb (sic) was found while ploughing. It is close to a site marked on the Ordnance Map as Laggan Camp and to the early Christian site at Glasserton Church. It may be a hoard, but as one does not carry 36 pounds of copper very far, a site ought to be closeby.

45. \* Sandhead, Glenluce Wigtownshire  
Ref: Curle, 1932: 375-6. no. 40; Breeze and Ritchie, 1980.

A cremated burial was found here (Breeze and Ritchie, 1980). Associated with it were various iron objects and a small ring; fragments of a bowl (Dr. 37), showing the rim and ovolo border; pieces of a globular form (Dr. 72); an iron finger ring set with pale green chalcedony, engraved with a robed female figure bearing a palm branch in her left hand. All are considered to relate to the late 2nd century although the Samian might be given a 1st century date. The sands of Glenluce have also yielded four Roman provincial type brooches, two of safety-pin type and two trumpet shape perhaps of 1st - 2nd century (McGregor, 1976: 118-123). A settlement and possibly a landing place existed here in Roman times.

46. \* Moss Raploch Settlement, NX 554 777 Kirkcudbright.  
Ref: TDGNHAS 1977-8:105. DES, 1974: 42; PSAS1972-4: 137; Scott, 1978: 4.

Situated in Clatteringshaws Reservoir and found when the level was abnormally low. It is on the edge of Moss Raploch and normally under 4.8m of water. Rescue excavation in 1974 found a circular hut 8.5m in diameter with central hearth and internal postholes. It had a triangular porch and a stockyard. Fragments of a blue-green and white glass bangle were found of 2nd century A.D.

47. Trusty's Hill Fort, Anwoth NX 589 560 Kirkcudbright.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 131; Ritchie, 1982: 111. Mackie, 1974: Appendix Group V, 234. Thomas, 1959-60: 58-70; RCAHMS Kirkcudbrightshire, 1914: nos. 13 and 14; Christison, 1898: 276-7 and plan after Coles.

A small timber-laced fort 1 km West-South-West of Gatehouse of Fleet. It is almost sub-rectangular in plan, 27m x 18m internally, within a wall in which there is a certain amount of vitrification (Mackie's estimate of its area is 430 sq.m). A rock at the South-East entrance to the fort shows Pictish symbol markings (double disc and Z-rod and also the Pictish beast). It was excavated by Thomas in 1959 as an early Christian site. He found only a "guardhouse" and no small finds for periods prior to c. A.D. 500. It is a type common to the district and has had several occupations. It is very close to the Roman Fortlet of Gatehouse of Fleet and is thus included as a possible late Roman site.

48. \* Castle Haven Dun NX 593 482 Kirkcudbright



Refs: Feachem, 1977: 182. Barbour, PSAS 1906-7: 68-80. Childe, 1935: 201. RCAHMS, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1914: no. 64.

This small dun is D-shaped with the spine of the D running along the cliff edge. Childe calls it sub-rectangular. In size it is 18.3m x 10.7m within a wall of galleried construction 3.4m - 4.6m wide. Projecting stones led up to a rampart walk. Childe thought it similar to a northern broch but with lower walls. A semi-broch? It was excavated at the beginning of the century by Barbour. Finds ranged from early Iron Age to Mediaeval. For the Roman period there was a bronze pennanular brooch, bronze spiral finger ring and blue glass bead, of the 1st - 2nd century A.D. Plan after Barbour.

49. \* Borness Cave NX 615 451 Kirkcudbright.

Ref: RCAHMS, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1914: no. 34. Stevenson, 1966: 26. Corrie, Clarke and Hunt, PSAS 1872-4: 476-99. Curle, 1932: 372-3. Robertson, 1970: Table V. Scott, 1976: 42. Kilbride-Jones, 1937-8: 366-395.

Excavations took place in 1873-4 and 1877 and a large collection of artifacts was found, many of bone. From the Roman period finds included: bone weaving comb 1st-2nd century, A.D; Glass bangles in pieces, a fragment of a small dragonesque brooch and a fragment of a cup (Dr. 27) all probably of the 2nd century A.D. Loom weights were also found such as were used on upright looms of 1st century A.D.

50. \* Torrs Cave Kirkcudbright.

Refs: Morris, PSAS 1936-7: 415-30. Robertson, 1970: Table V and 211. Scott, 1976: 42.

This cave was excavated in 1935 and yielded many artifacts of Roman date. Occupation appears to have been in the 2nd century A.D. according to the finds of a fragment of blue-green bottle glass, a blue melon bead and two fragments of a decorated Samian bowl (Dr. 37).

51. Stroanpatrick Settlement NX 633 924 Kirkcudbright.

Ref: Feachem, 1977, 131. DES, 1966: 32.

Scooped settlement of Romano-British type found on the North slope of Stroanfeggan Craig, a fort which is similar in type to Trusty's Hill Fort. It is unexcavated.

52. Barstobric Hill Fort NX 687 607 Kirkcudbright

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 130; 1966: 80. Scott, 1976: 37; Jobey, 1970: 103; RCAHMS, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1914: no. 441.

This fort crowns a high hill. It is rectangular, known as the Giant's Dyke because of the size of the wall (457.2m long) running across a steep slope to enclose an area of 3.2ha. The wall is 3m thick. It is unexcavated. A possible hill-top town by its size, perhaps of the Novantae, but included because of traces of a later Romano-British

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scooped settlement (Jobey, 1970:103).

53. Lochangower Dun NX 692 661 Kirkcudbright.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 182; RCAHMS, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1914: no. 43.  
PSAS 1892-3: 162.

This dun occupies a rocky knoll 1.6km North-East of Lauriston. It is almost square in shape being about 30.5m along either axis within the still substantial remains of a wall originally at least 3.7m thick. It is unexcavated. Included because it is an inland dun, similar to those of Ayrshire..

54. \* Carlingwark Loch Crannog NX 765 615 Kirkcudbright.  
Ref: PSAS 1866-8; 1873: 286. Munro, 1882: 28-9. Piggott, 1952-3: 150. Robertson, 1970: Table VIII. Curle, 1932: 373-4. Feachem, 1977: 189; MacGregor, 1976: 268, 287, 309.

This loch is situated immediately South of Castle Douglas. During draining operations on the Loch 200 years ago at least 4 crannogs appeared. Near one of the natural islands at the South end, connected to the shore by a causeway of oak piles a large bronze cauldron (Santon type) was found about 1866, containing many iron tools and numerous other artifacts pre-Roman and Roman. This is usually considered a votive deposit of 1st century A.D. Fragments of thick blue-green bottle glass and of a small bowl (untyped) were found as were a tankard handle (Corcoran's Class II), and bar mirror handle dated to 2nd century, A.D.

55. Auchencairn Dun NX 804 508 Kirkcudbright.  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 182. Inv. of Kirkcudbright, 1914: no. 404.

This dun stands 0.8km South-East of Auchencairn. Oval in area, 30.5m x 24.4m it is enclosed by a wall 3.6m thick. It is similar to # 38 in this gazetteer and is unexcavated.

56. \* Milton Loch Crannog NK 839 718 Kirkcudbright.  
Refs: Feachem, 1977: 188; Piggott 1952-3: 134-52; Guido, 1974: 53-55; Wilde, 1970: no. 157.

This loch is 2.7km West of Dumfries. In 1953 when the water level was reduced, 2 crannogs appeared, one in the South-East and the other in the North-West, 0.8km apart. Mrs. Piggott excavated the North-West one but only as far as "the ever rising water would permit". It was some 10.7m in diameter joined to the shore by a double line of posts. The timber flooring of the house extended outside forming a platform about 1.8m wide supported from beneath by piles. The causeway led from the house door to the shore 30.5m away. At the opposite end of the house was a dock measuring 10.7m with an entrance in the South-East facing the open loch. The house itself was heavily floored and divided radially into compartments with a hearth of clay and stones placed close to the centre. A pre-Roman ploughstilt found in the

substructure has now been dated by C-14 (490  $\pm$  100 bc, K-2027) to about 460-500 B.C. An enamelled bronze loop, either a belt fastener or for harness (Wild 1970) and similar to bronzes of Pannonia, was Piggot's dating evidence for 1st-2nd Century A.D. (This date is presently viewed rather doubtfully in view of the C-14 date).

57. \* Mote of Mark Fort NX 845 540 Kirkcudbright.

Ref: Piggot, 1982: 111. Mackie, 1974: 235 Appendix Group III. Feachem, 1977: 129; A.O. Curle, PSAS 1913-14: 125; Curle, 1932: 374. Robertson, 1970: Table I; DES, 1973: 32-34; Jobey, 1966: 10; DES, 1979: 5-6; 1980: 3-4.

This fort is situated on the estuary of the River Urr. It comprises a hollow between two peaks defended by a stone and timber rampart (vitrified) enclosing about 0.13 ha (82.3m long x 32m- 17.8m broad). The 1913 excavations revealed evidence of Dark Age metal-working. Laing's excavations in 1973 found evidence of ornamental metal working, in iron and bronze and perhaps silver and gold. Many artifacts led to the supposition that it may have been the stronghold of Urien of Rheged. Over 50 sherds of imported Class E pottery led Laing to occupation dates of 475-625 A.D. Following on the 1979 excavation of the gate radiocarbon dates showed (GU - 1315) 355 ad  $\pm$  50, 425 ad  $\pm$  50, 380 ad  $\pm$  50 from the North rampart and (GU - 1314) 425 ad  $\pm$  50 and (SRR 321) 459 ad  $\pm$  50 from buildings against the south rampart. The 1913 excavations found a sherd of Samian (form unknown), the top of a blue-green glass bottle and a fragment of mortarium of perhaps 2nd century A.D.

58. \* Glenkiln Crannog NX 843 783 Kirkcudbright.

Ref: DES, 1973: 30. Scott, 1976: 42. Stevenson, 1976.

In mud exposed by the low level of the reservoir was found a piece of marvered glass bangle in yellow, red and blue (Stevenson type 1?) of possibly 2nd century date, together with two whetstones and tapslag of high iron content. This appears to have been a crannog.

59. The Moyle Fort NX 848 575 Kirkcudbright.

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 129; 1966: 80; Scott, 1976: 37; RCAHMS, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1914: 121.

This fort lies 4km South-South-East of Dalbeattie and consists of an enclosure 283.5m x 155.8m within the massive ruin of a stone wall 3m thick. It has an area of 3.6ha and is the largest known fort in Galloway. A smaller enclosure, possibly earlier, lies within it and a forestry tower has been built on it. The site is unexcavated and is the only likely fort for tribal administration in the area, hence its inclusion here.

60. \* Barean Loch Crannog NX 86 55 Kirkcudbright.

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 188; Munro, 1882: 246; Curle, 1932: 372 no 34; Robertson, 1970: Table III.

This crannog lies 5.6 km South-East of Dalbeattie. When the level of the loch was lowered in 1865, an artificial island surrounded by a circle of oak piles enclosing a wooden floor was found. It is not known to be of mortise and tenon structure nor is the size specified but two bronze cooking pots similar to those found at Newstead of the period 1-2nd century A.D. were found.

61. \* McCulloch's Castle, Arbigland NX 996 576 Kirkcudbright.  
Ref: Scott-Elliott, TDGNHAS 1963: 123. Robertson, 1970: Table I and p.207.

This fort lies 0.8km North-East of Arbigland on top of a seacliff. It was excavated in 1962-3 by the Dumfries Society and a semi-circular ditched enclosure was found, the diameter formed by the cliff and the circumference by a ditch. The radius of the enclosure was 13.7m. Finds came from a large hearth close to the East end of the rampart. 0.9m square by 5.2m deep. Fragments of a Samian platter (Dr. 18/31) of plain form (Central Gaulish) were found; a fragment of soft red pottery and piece of coarse pottery; a stone palette of native British type. A second century, possibly Antonine, occupation is likely.

62. \* Tynron Doon Fort NX 819 939 Dumfries.  
Ref: Ritchie, 1982: 110; Feachem, 1977: 117; RCAHMS, Dumfriesshire, 1920: no. 609. Williams, 1971: 106-20; Morrison, 1975: 70; Tručkell, 1964-5:

This hill, rising to a height of 228m ASL, dominates an area of good farming land. The summit has been fortified several times and finds range widely. The main defence is a stone wall enclosing an area c. 45m x 50m within three ramparts each rising 4.3m - 6m above the ditches. An excavation in 1964-5 found a bone "toggle" and a cobalt-blue glass bead similar to those of Buston among many other finds of Dark Age and Mediaeval times. A small area was re-excavated in 1970 and a small piece of gold filigree in the form of a gold loop was found. This might be late Roman and certainly Dark Age as much seems to be paralleled with Buston Crannog. There is also much Mediaeval material. Included because the possibility of Roman occupation.

63. \* Burnswark Hill Fort NY 185 785 Dumfries  
Ref: Feachem, 1977: 116; Piggett, 1982: 109; RCAHMS, Dumfriesshire, 1920: no. 401; Childe, 1935: 20; Barbour, PSAS 1898: 198-249; Scott, 1976: 43; Jobey, 1977-78; Stevenson, 1976: 53 Appendix.

This hill standing some 300 m above the Annandale valley dominates the area. The remains of a Neolithic cairn (robbed before 1898) attest to very long history of the site. Barbour recognised East and West forts of which that to the East produced no dateable material while the West, closer to the Roman road and slightly scooped, produced a glass bangle and a quern.

The main rampart enclosed the whole of the hilltop, an area of about 7

ha. The latest excavation (Jobey, 1977-78) on the basis of two sherds of so-called flat rimmed ware and two radiocarbon dates of 500 bc + 90 and 525 bc + 90 considered this to be the earliest structure apart from a palisaded trench of the Bronze age. The ramparts had two structural phases and were in "disarray" by the 2nd century A.D. The fort would have accommodated at least 150 houses and Jobey considered it to have been in its zenith around 500 B.C. In one of the excavated areas there was evidence of 4 superimposed timber-built houses. Jobey considered that the evidence indicated a native rather than a Roman military occupation in the late 1st-2nd century A.D. The Roman pottery obtained did not indicate occupation later than the first half of the second century on this small sampling. Pottery came from two house sites. Areas of paving which overlay the rampart spill above the original gateways did not appear to be replacement gateways to refurbished ramparts and suggest an open native settlement. From the native site came white glass of Kilbride-Jones type 3A of 1st-2nd century and 5 glass bangles (Stevenson: 1 of type 2 and 4 of type 3A).

An Antonine Roman fortlet was placed on the Southern slope below the hillfort and Jobey considered it unlikely that native occupation would have continued after its establishment, though perhaps this might be questioned.

The firing of missiles against remains of hillfort defences are to be associated with the later use of the North and South Roman camps after abandonment of the fortlet. Jobey does not subscribe to the siege-camp theory though practice camps seem to him likely.

64. \* Wardlaw Fort NY 024 667 Dumfries

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 115; RCAHMS, Dumfriesshire, 1920: 35.

This fort lies 10km South-South-East of Dumfries and crowns the ridge which commands the narrowing Solway Firth. The Roman fort lies a few yards to the North. Wardlaw measures 64m x 54.9m within two worn ramparts. The new fortlet at Lantonside lies closeby, nearer to the shore; this might indicate a likely landing place for troops. It is possible that Wardlaw was in operation at the time of the Roman invasion though it is unexcavated and included here because there are signs of scooped dwellings overlying the fort. It may also have been linked to the Roman Fort (see Roman Sites #22).

65. Castle O'er Fort NY 242 928 Dumfries

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 115; 1966: 80; RCAHMS, Dumfriesshire, 1920: no. 177; Jobey, 1971.

This fort, 16.8km North-West of Langholm on the Black Esk, is large. The summit is circled by a rampart or wall enclosing an area about 91.5m x 45.7m and the base of the knoll is defended by a rampart. This lies within an outer pair of ramparts with median ditch. The outer perimeter trench shows signs of Roman siege entrenchment (Jobey, 1971:83) but there is little room for many houses. Jobey, when surveying Eastern Dumfriesshire, wondered if this hill plus Little

Hill and Baillie Hill were defended settlements with outer annexes.

65a Little Hill.

This fort could have taken 11 Romano-British type hut platforms and may be the largest. (Jobey, 1971: fig 5, 84).

65b Baillie Hill NY 256 905

Ref: RCAHMS, Dumfriesshire, 1920: 640

These settlements have not been excavated.

66. \* Boonies Settlement NY 304 900 Dumfries.

Ref: Piggott, 1982: 109; Scott, 1976: 44; PSAS, 1972-4: 135-37; Stevenson, 1976: 53; Jobey, 1971:78-105; 1973: 22-23.

This small ditched and embanked enclosure is situated on a river terrace above the Esk. In size it is 37m x 30m with a bank up to 2m in height. Excavation revealed the remains of 11 timber built round houses in the rear half of the site representing several replacement phases. The latest phase consisted of three or four houses fronting on a small yard crossed by paved causeways. It is similar in style to the series of stone-built Romano-British settlements in Tyne-Forth Province.

Finds included a glass bangle (Stevenson 3a); 2nd century coarse ware, one sherd of Samlan (undated), a fragment of opaque white glass and rotary querns.

67. Brieryshaw Hill NY 370 917 Dumfries.

Ref: Feachem, 1977: 115; RCAHMS, Dumfriesshire, 1920: no. 210; Jobey, 1971: 84; Mercer, DES, 1976: 26-7; Morrison, 1975: 70 and fig. 2a.

This circular fort 7.2km North of Langholm is guarded by two heavy ramparts with a wide ditch between. The fort is 27.4m in diameter and Feachem considers it typical of the small forts of the area. Jobey believes that it housed a settlement of 4 or 5 houses with a possibility of up to 10 houses. When doing a survey of Eskdale, Ewesdale and Annandale he cited the possibility of similar settlements on Bessie's Hill, the Knowe in Eskdale and Dalmakethar in Annandale. These could be hamlets similar to the type in Tyne-Forth in the later Roman period. Longknowe (NY 210999) was examined in 1976 (DES, 1976: 26-7) when 10 huts were located and evidence of more than one phase of reconstruction found. No dating evidence was recovered. The other sites are unexcavated.

68.\* Castle Loch, Lochmaben Dumfries.

Ref: Munro, 1882: 32 and 245; Scott, 1976: 44; TDGNHAS, 1982: 88-89.

This crannog of wooden construction and mortise and tenon substructure lies in Castle Loch and was excavated in 1880 or thereabouts. Part of an ard from this crannog was dated by C-14 80 bc +100 bc.

69. Black Loch of Sanguhar Crannog. approx. NY 76 08 Dumfries.

Ref: Munro, 1882: 36 and 246. Scott, 1976: 44. TDGNHAS 1863-4: 12.

The crannog appeared as a small island covered with vegetation. A crooked causeway led to it and when excavated it was found to be made of driven piles and transversed beams raised 1.2m above the water. The beams were mortised. No size was given and apparently there were no finds.

70. \* Frlar's Carse Crannog. Approx. NY 91 85 Dumfries.

Ref: Munro, 1882: 153 and 245; Scott, 1976: 44; Curle, 1932: 372. Robertson, 1970: Table III.

In 1790 during construction of the road from Dumfries to Sanquhar, two paterae were found, the larger said to have been inscribed with the letters ANSIE PHARR (Ansius Epharoditus). They are now lost. In 1878 a crannog appeared when the loch was partially drained. Nearly circular (24.4m x 21.3m), it was floored with parallel beams of oak, mortised to the poles below. The house was partitioned, one partition being 12.2m (40 feet sic) long. There are no other details of the house. It is generally believed that the paterae came from here and would indicate 1st century A.D. occupation as the maker's wares are found at Pompeii before AD 79.

71. Yorkhill Fort, Glasgow. Approx. NS 60 64.

Ref: PSAS, 1878: 257; Curle, 1932: 381; Robertson, 1970: Table I (Note); 1983: Table 3.

This fort, excavated in 1878, was said to be at the confluence of the Ribers Kelvin and Clyde (Curle, 1932: 381) and is now obliterated. Curle referred to it as "earthworks" and finds now in the Old Glasgow Museum are believed to have come from it. A coin of Trajan (98-117 AD), a Roman ring, fragments of an ornamental colourless glass vessel, fragments of small grey jars and fumed ware all relate to the 2nd century A.D.

72. Hyndford Crannog Lanark NS 92 43

Ref: PSAS, 1899: 373-387; Curle, 1932: 381-2; Scott, 1976: 44; Stevenson, 1966: 25; Robertson, 1970: Table III and 270.

This appeared as a low mound some 21-24m in diameter in a roughly circular pond. In 1898 it was excavated. A circle of piles was found, the walls of a circular house whose floor was of "beds of faggots" (sic) topped with clay. Several hearths were noted. Many artifacts were found including glass, Samian and coarse ware. Because of the variety and profusion of pottery and small finds Stevenson sees this site as a bridge between the Romanisation of the Eastern half of the lowlands and the much less known area to the West. The finds cover a period of about 20-30 years of the Flavian period from the advance of Agricola, except for one fragment of the footstand of a large bowl, of Oxfordshire Ware (Fulford, 1977). Although close to Castledykes, demonstrably occupied in both Flavian and Antonine

periods, this is the only evidence for a possible later Roman occupation. The rest of the pottery is considered mediaeval. Finds: a cup-shaped lamp notably absent from other South-Western sites; melon shaped beads, amber coloured glass, fragments of bangles. Some 40 sherds of samian some of rims of 3 carinated bowls (Dr. 29); the side of a bowl (Dr. 37) with small ovolo border and cupid and cruciform flower similar to the potter Mommo's bowls at Pompell, but poorly executed. The side of a bowl (Dr. 30); part of a base (Dechelette 68); a cup (Dr. 27), a bowl (Dr. 35) and possibly 3 platters (Dr. 18). In coarse ware there were fragments of a small buff beaker and a piece of its lid. One piece of hard reddish-brown material with overhanging rim Curle thought to resemble the profile of a late mortarium but Robertson considers it 1st century.

73. \* Lochend Crannog, Coatbridge No Grid Reference.  
Ref: Monteith, TGAS, 1937: 26-43 (NV); RCAHMS.Lanarkshire, 1978: 109.

In size 37m x 29 m. A limited area was examined. 80 piles stood up to 1.5m high with a platform of timber crossed with stones, brushwood and clay. There were two floors indicating two occupation periods. Substructure of mortise and tenon construction. Area of stone paving yielded finds: handmade undecorated pots, plain rimmed with flat bases; half a jet bracelet; 2 upper quernstones, 6 sherds of pottery and fragments of clay crucible. The crucible which seems to be common on sites of Roman Period and the mortised beams are the reason for its inclusion here.

Scott, (1966:58) cites first century finds from Bishop's Loch Crannog, Coatbridge: thick coarse pottery, a metalworker's crucible and iron axe-head; finds similar in fact, except for the axe-head, to Lochend. I have not been able to locate any further details.

74. \* Cairngryfe Dun NS 9243 approx. Lanarkshire.  
Ref: Childe, PSAS 1940-1: 213-18; Macgregor, 1976: 112 and 128.

Quarrymen clearing the rock surface between the inner rampart of a small hillfort and the quarry edge in 1939 found a massive 'terret' decorated with ribbing and a vase-headed lynch-pin along with other finds including a jet ring. This was a small dun according to Childe. The finds would indicate a 1st-2nd century date.

75. Shirva Souterrain Lanark. NS 6975.  
Ref: Keppie, 1982a; Welfare, 1984: 306 and 320; Macdonald 1897: 63-68, 86-90. RIB 2180-83.

This souterrain lay in the ditch of the Antonine Wall; it was found and destroyed about 1728 but is mentioned by antiquarians of the time (Horsley, 1732: 198-200, 339-40; Gordon, 1732: 6-7) Its walls were lined partly with Roman stones (RIB 2180-83). Its date therefore can hardly be before the third quarter of the second century A.D. (Welfare, 1984: 315), that is, after the Roman withdrawal from the



Antonine Wall. Its size is not known nor is the settlement which it served located.

76. Wester Yardhouses Souterrain, Lanark. NT 0042 5079.

Ref: Fairbairn, 1924: 338-43; RCAHMS, Lanark: 110, No. 245. Welfare, 1984: 305-323.

This souterrain was excavated in 1923. I have not seen the article but the attached diagram (Welfare, 1984: 306) indicates that the passage was approximately 10 metres long with a zig-zag. No finds are noted and the passage was filled in and sealed; the entrance was at that time partially reconstructed. It is close to the broch at Calla in Tyne-Forth (RCAHMS 1978: 27-8, 109-10) and is included because Souterrains are generally of the Roman period.

I have left out the "Native Site" at Biggar quoted as such by Robertson (1983: table 3) because it seems to depend on the finding of an Aureus of Vespasian; perhaps a possible Roman site?

77.\* Kaimes Hill, Fort and Settlement NT 130 665 Midlothian.

Ref: Childe, 1940-41: 43; Feachem, 1977: 137; Coles, PSAS 1895-96: 269; Curle, 1932: 351; Robertson, 1970: Table VI.

This fortified hill-top lying 3.2 km West of Balerno originally enclosed an area 167.7m x 67m within a 3m wall. A small area here was excavated in 1940 when quarrying began to encroach on the fort. It seems that there were three phases. The second took in a larger area measuring 304.8m x 122m and the outer defences were strengthened. The third phase, represented by a number of houses with stone foundations scattered indiscriminately all over the area but within the outer defences, was thought to mark occupation during the later part of the Roman period. Finds included part of a denarius of Severus, a bronze ring of perhaps 3rd century, a fragment of a coarse grey jar of 3rd century and a Roman (?) arrowhead. These finds, however, came from the excavation of 1882.

## ROMAN SITES:

Sites are numbered as on the base map. Grouping is by Road where possible.

### ESKDALE ROAD.

- 1 Broomholm Fort NY 3781 Flavian and Hadrianic Occupation.

Ref: Feachem, 1949-50: 188-89; JRS, 1958: 251; 1962, 164;  
1963:128; 1965: 202.

Situated on summit of Broomholm Knowe, 500 m South-South-West of Broomholm. Fort 175m x 100' m (1.8 ha) over ramparts in Flavian times plus an annex. Later a fortlet was constructed perhaps Hadrianic. There is not now believed to be Antonine occupation. Excavated in the 1960's. The fort enclosed a previous native settlement. Later native settlement occurred within the fort, perhaps in the third century.

- 2 Gilmockie Camp NY 3879 Flavian?

Ref: RCAHMS Dumfries, 1920: 27-8 no. 45.

450 x 220 m. about 10 ha. There are 6 gates protected by tituli. Not excavated.

- 34 Netherby Fort (Castra Exploratorum) NY 396 716 Hadrianic to 4th Cent.,  
Ref: Birley, CW, 1953: 6-39.

Farthest North-Westerly fort of the Antonine Itinerary. The site lies under Netherby House and so has not been excavated. Several inscriptions and the possibility of an extensive vicus. Garrisoned in the third century by Cohort I Aelia Hispanorum, (RIB, 998, 976).

### DRYFESDALE ROAD EASTWARDS- LOCKERBIE, RAEBURNFOOT TO NEWSTEAD.

- 35 Raeburnfoot Fort NY 251 990 Dumfriesshire. Antonine  
Ref: Robertson, TDGNHAS 1960-61: 24-29.

Situated 1.5 km North of Eskdalemuir at the confluence of the White Esk and the Rae Burn, this small fort contained 9 or more rectangular buildings. Later the fort was enclosed within an sub-rectangular outer enclosure. The inner enclosure covers about 0.6 ha.

### ANNANDALE TO NITHSDALE LINK ROAD.- DRYFESDALE ROAD WESTWARDS

- 19 Lochmaben Camp NT 09 82 Flavian? Antonine?  
Ref: BR, 1986: 374; JRS 1969: 108.

This camp at Innerfield, Lochmaben covered a hill. It was trenched by Dr. St. Joseph and its outline established at approx. 518m x 472m for an area of about 3.5ha. This is similar in size to the camps at Dalswinton.

20 Murder Loch/Shieldhill Fortlet NY 031 854 Flavian? Antonine?

Ref: OS Roman Britain North Sheet, 1978; Roy. 1793: 105; BR, 1974: 230; DES, 1974: 74.

This site is shown on the Map of Roman Britain (1978) as Murder Loch. The reference given NY 03 85 is more general than that given for the site at Shieldhill. The site was spotted on an aerial photograph beside the Water of Ae and 8-10 km from Carzield. Checked on the ground it appears to be a Roman Fortlet approx. 5m square. It has not been excavated. The Ordnance survey calls it Murder Loch, based on Roy, who said that the Road to Dalswinton passed by Murder Loch. Keppie following Hanson and Maxwell (1983) calls it Shieldhill.

21 Amlsfield Camp NY 99 84 Date Unknown.

Ref: OS Roman Britain North Sheet, 1978.

This camp is shown on the OS Map. No further references appear to be available. It is shown to give a possible line to the Roman Road connecting Annandale and Nithsdale.

ANNANDALE ROAD - Carlisle to the Forth and Clyde.

71 Temporary camp at Kirkpatrick-Fleming. NY 278 701 Severan?

Ref: DES, 1968: 14.

A rescue excavation took place here before most of the camp was destroyed by building of dual carriageway on the A74. There were no finds. A coin of Septimius Severus (unstratified) was found near the camp; it is of the same size and type as other Severan Camps in the South-East and North.

3 Birrens (Blatobulgium) Fort. Flavian, Hadrianic and Antonine NY 219752  
Ref: St. Joseph, 1952: 95; Robertson, TDGNHAS 1962-3: 154; Birrens 1975; Br. 8 (1977) 451-60.

Small fort or fortlet of first century. Gap in occupation. Fort of the Hadrianic period about AD 120 (1.65 ha) of wooden construction with large annex. Larger fort of the 140's with buildings in stone, garrison Cohort I Nervana Germanorum. Rebuilt in AD 158 after destruction, garrison Cohort II Tungrorum (RIB., 2110 To the North a large building -perhaps a mansio. Epigraphic evidence particularly post AD 158. Apparently abandoned somewhere in the 180's.

Middlebie camps (2) NY 2076.

Ref: OS Map of Roman Britain, 1978. Date Unknown.

No details seem to be available of these Camps, presumably unexamined; a first century hoard of metalwork from the area might favour a Flavian date. They lie about 1 km from Birrens.

- 36 Burnswark training (?) Camps and Fortlet. NY 1898. Antonine Fortlet predates camps.

Ref: 4PSAS 33 (1898-99): 198-249; Breeze, 1979:32; St. Joseph, 1952: 9; TDGNHAS, 1977-78: 57-104; Keppie, 1986: 77-78.

The two camps lie on either side of the hillfort; the fortlet, situated in a corner of the South camp, predates the camp. It was generally believed that these were siege camps used in the destruction of the hillfort (Barbour et al, 1898-99) but the latest excavations (Jobey 1977-8) found that the defenses of the hillfort were apparently in disarray long before the the Roman missiles found in the fort were fired. Present thinking is that they were used in the 3rd century for practice by the army. The camps apparently contained buildings of stone (Keppie 1986: 79)

- 37 Fairholm Fortlet. Presumed Antonine

Ref: St. Joseph, 1952:98-100; Roy, 1793: Pl XXXV, B.

This is about the size of Milton Fortlet (40 m x 23 m). A trial trench disclosed only a V-shaped ditch and an oyster shell.

- 4 Torwood Camp NY 122 819. Period unclear.

Ref: St. Joseph, 1952: 101; Breeze, 1981: 53. Roy, 1793: 104.

Near Lockerbie about 1 km North-West of Fairholm. Camp covers 14 ha. Unexcavated. Roy thought it was Agricola.

- 38 Dalmakethar Fortlet NY 107 924. Presumed Antonine.

Ref: St. Joseph, 1952: 101-103. Antiquity XIII 1939: 282.

11.2 km North of Fairholm. A Section found no structures only a V-shaped ditch in front of a rampart. There were no small finds. It is similar in size to Milton and Durisdeer.

- 5 Milton Fort NT 092 014 Flavian  
Milton Fortlet Antonine

Ref: Clarke 1952:104-110; TDGNHAS 22 (1938-40) 153-5; 24 (1945-46) 100-110; 25 (1946-47) 10-26; 26 (1947-48) 133-49; 27 (1948-9) 197-201; 28 (1949-50) 199-21; JRS 1951: 123.

1.5 km S of Beattock on Milton Farm, Roy's Tassleshölm. The Fortlet was excavated first and found to be of Antonine date; internal dimensions 39.6m x 22.9m. Two other forts were Flavian; Clarke believed that one fort was pre-Agricola on the basis of the pottery but Hartley (1972: 12 and n.1) said that there was no evidence from the Samian ware for an earlier occupation. Two marching camps were also found. Evacuation of the fort took place c AD 100 as coin of AD 94 had circulated here (JRS 1949: 98).

- 6 Barnhill, Beattock Camp and Fortlet NT 085 028 Flavian

Ref: BR 1978: 418; Br. 16 1985:208; DES. 1984: 6.

Marching Camp (approx. 11 ha) and fortlet 100 Roman feet square both on the left bank of the Evan Water. The camp was seen by cropmark in 1945; St. Joseph (1952: 111) but could find no trace of remains on the ground. The camp has Strathcathro type gates found only in Agricolan camps. Trial excavation by Maxwell confirmed that the fortlet was earlier than the camp.

- 39 Whytetype Watch Tower NT 0511. Presumed Antonine.  
Ref: St. Joseph, 1952: 24 .

Observed from the air and located on the ground in 1940. Circular ditch broken by an entrance 2m side encloses a level area approx. 10 m in diameter.

- 40 Redshaw Burn Fortlet NT 0213 Presumed Antonine  
Ref: St. Joseph, 1952: 111-12; Breeze, 1979: 52; . RCAHMS  
Lanarkshire Inventory, 1978: 134-5

Discovered from the air in 1939. It is nearly square 20m x 17.5 m within a rampart 5.5 m. and two ditches. A single gate is protected by a traverse stretching along the whole of the North side. Not excavated.

- 41 Beattock Summit Signal Tower NT 9915 Presumed Antonine.  
Ref: DES, 1966: 47; BR. 1976: 33-38.

A limited excavation conducted by Maxwell showed that the low-lying signal station tower was made of timber, roughly circular, 8m in diameter and ditched.

- 42 Little Clyde Camp NS 994 160 Antonine ?  
Ref: St. Joseph 1952:112; RCAHMS, Lanarkshire, 1978:134-5.

Described by Roy and recognised by Crawford in 1924 as Roman. A marching camp 490m x 325 m (12 ha) with 2 gateways protected by tituli. Two streams presently run through it. Not excavated.

- 7 Crawford Fort. NS 954 214 Flavian I and Antonine I and II  
Ref: Joseph, 1952: 113; St. Joseph and Frere. 1983: 15; Maxwell, 1971-2: 147-200.

Not a large fort (0.8ha) but commanded both reaches of the Clyde and side valleys. The first century wooden fort was demolished. Little pottery was found only one piece being Flavian. The Antonine fort was of stone. A road from Durisdeer probably crossed the Clyde within sight of the fort. There was no civil material.

- 43 Wandel Fortlet and Camp NS 944 268 Antonine?  
Ref: RCAHMS Lanarkshire, 136; Frere and St. Joseph, 1983: 15. DES, 1966: 47.

This fortlet, similar to Redshaw Burn (26.6m x 33.2m) was examined in 1966 and found to be abandoned unfinished.

- 44 Lamington Fortlet and Camp NS 977 309 Antonine?  
Ref: RCAHMS Lanarkshire, 1978: 160; Br 1978: 416.

This fortlet similar to Wandel has not been excavated and is only presumed Antonine.

- 8 Castledykes Fort Nr. Corbiehall. NS 927 442 Flavian I, II, Antonine I, II.  
Ref: Robertson, 1952: 127-171; 1964; RCAHMS Lanarkshire, 1978: 124-8; DES: 26; 1985: 40; 1986: 30.

The fort covers 3.2 ha and overlooks the River Clyde. the ramparts were of turf on a stone base during all periods. It was evacuated perhaps in the time of Commodus. Robertson considered that it later became a civil settlement (JRS, 1956: 123). Coarse pottery, Samian and coins, mainly Antonine, are still being found; the most recent, however, are a bronze commemorative issue AE 4 of Constantine (AD 330-346- DES 1986: 30 and an AE3 of Procopius [AD 365-366] (DES, 1984:26).

- 45 Cleghorn Camp NS 910 460 Antonine?  
Ref: Keppie, 1986: 93. RCAHMS Lanark, 1978: 128, no.253; BR, 1971: 304.

The Roman Road running North West about 1.6km from Castledykes passes a well-preserved camp of 18.9 ha which was surveyed by General Roy in 1764. The ramparts survive on the North side to its North-East corner. Two entrances marked by traverses lie in this side. It was trenched in 1971.

- 46 Bothwellhaugh Fort NS 731 577 Antonine I and II.  
Ref: RCAHMS Lanarkshire, 1978: 119-21; GAJ, 1981: SRR:172; Davidson, ROSWS. 1952:172.

Apparently demolished only in the 18th century although Roy does not mention it. The fort lies in Strathclyde Country Park on high ground and was excavated in 1938-9 and 1967-8. Its area is 1.65 ha. The bathhouse was discovered in 1973 during construction of the park and excavated in 1975-6 before flooding by the artificial loch. The Roman road continued on through Uddingston to Mount Vernon but building has obscured its further course.

- 13 Mollins NS 7171 Flavian I.  
Ref: Hanson and Maxwell, BR, 1980: 43-9.

Found by cropmarks in 1977, 3km South of Bar Hill Fort. This first century fort is considered of Agricolaan date and is 0.4 ha in area. The pottery was all Flavian. No road is known to connect it either

South or to the Isthmus. It lies almost equidistant from Castlecary and Cadder (6.7 Roman miles). The excavators suggested that it might be one of Agricola's praesidia.

\* Biggar

Ref: St. Joseph, 1952: 114; Roy, 1793: 104; Maitland, 1757: 193. St. Joseph says that there is a tradition of a Roman site here and the writer of the New Statistical Account reports the finding of a "gold coin" of Vespasian when Biggar Cross-Knowe was removed. This site was in the main street of the town. St. Joseph thought that Biggar would have been a good site for a fort but the area is now heavily built over. Professor Robertson refers to it as a "native site" (1983: table).

A camp or camps at NT 171572 Carlops appear to predate the road (RB 1986:371). (This is a late entry merely noted).

9 Cramond Fort NT 189 768 Flavian? Antonine I, II, Severan to 4th Century.

Ref: Rae, Br., 1974: 147-200; 1976: 305-6; 1977: 368-70; 1978: 418; DES 1978 - 86 (yearly reports) N. Holmes and C. Hoy.

This fort, and its surrounding sites, has been under excavation for some years. It lies at the mouth of the River Almond some 18 km from the end of the Antonine Wall. In area it covers 2.4 ha. It is generally supposed to have been built in the 140's but the finding of Flavian coins in the 1960 excavations and the fact that the site of fort and vicus is quite extensive, suggests that an earlier fort remains to be discovered; also Hartley (1972: 8) mentions the finding of Flavian potters' stamps (Wilson 1863:76) around Cramond. A denarius

of Vespasian was recently found ((DES 1984: 17). Recent finds of pottery and structures suggest that the vicus was extensive (1981). The bathhouse site was excavated in 1975-6. The road at NT 192 768 East of the fort had been continuously repaired until recent times (DES 1986: 19); also the road from the East Gate at NT 192 768 of the fort, previously thought to be Mediaeval is now dated to late 2nd or early third century because of the find of an amphora handle stamped SCMNINO (AD 160-210) (DES 1981). Continuing work may clarify the occupation; I have taken the Flavian road to this site because an Eastern Port is lacking on the Isthmus. Blackness may be a possible candidate.

ROAD CARRIDEN TO BLACKNESS

10 Blackness Fort NT 054 799 Unexcavated and period unknown.

Ref: Price DES 1977: 37

A road from Carriden East Gate passes into the Fort at Blackness passing a Signal Station at NT 046798 en route. Little is yet known of this Fort between St. Ninians Road and the Forth facing West. Coarse Roman pottery was found near the Black Burn but no details given of

the type. The above would require much further verification.

#### SOUTHERN ROAD AT GATEHOUSE OF FLEET

- 32 Gatehouse of Fleet Fortlet. NX 596 571. Flavian  
Ref: JRS XLI (1951): 1962: 164; Hartley, 1972: 11; St. Joseph,  
1983: 222-34; DES, 1981: 8.

Located in 1951 and excavated in 1960-61. Two timber barracks would have provided space for a century. The pottery was all Flavian. St. Joseph recently identified the line of Roman Road from this fortlet East of the River Fleet (BR/ 13 1982: 227). A road was earlier traced Northwards to the Barclay Burn.

- 31 Glenlochar Fort NX 7364 Dumfries. Flavian and Antonine I, II.  
Ref: Richmond and . Joseph, TDGNHAS 1952: 1-16; JRS 1977: 132  
(overall plan).

Situated on the River Dee 3.5 km S of Castle Douglas, this is a large fort of 3.36ha adequate for a *cohors milleria equitata* with 4 or 5 temporary camps beside it. Excavation in 1952 showed 3 phases, late 1st century and Antonine I and II. The annex houses a large timber-framed courtyard building, possibly a *mansio*.

- 30 Dalbeattie Camp NX 826 608 Period Unknown.  
Ref: DES 1982: 9.

18km South-West of Dalbeattie between the Water of Urr and the Dalbeattie Burn this marching camp of approx. 15 ha was found in 1982. Trenching in 1983 however failed to establish archaeological features at that point. It remains only a possible site.

- \* Trailflat Camp NX 826 608 Dates unknown.  
Ref: Frere BR 1984: 276.

Discovered in 1983 at Trailflat on the Water of Ae a small camp approx. 10m x 120 m. Unexcavated

- 28 Ruthwell Camp NY 1067 Period Unknown  
Ref: OS Map of Roman Britain North Sheet.

Possible camp, unexcavated.

- 29 Annan Hill I fort ? and camp NY 180 653  
Annan Foot II camp NY 192 654  
Ref: BR. 1978: 418; 1986: 374.

Annan II was excavated by Keppie in 1985 and proved to be a marching camp. The possibility remains that Annan I may be a permanent structure and suggestions have been made that it might be Trajanic.

#### NITHSDALE ROAD



- 22 Ward Law Fort, Caerlaverock NY 024668 Flavian? Antonine.  
Ref: St. Joseph ROSWS, 1952: 117-119; TDGNHAS 1948-49: 203; BR, 1978:419.

Roman camp found in 1945 after air survey of 1939. It stands astride a saddle-back ridge. Limited excavation in 1949-50 showed that the fort had an area of 2.8 ha but there were no small finds. Keppie (1986: 88) thinks its size might suggest Antonine. The fort was linked to the native hillfort by a ditch and it has been also suggested that it might be Hadrianic or Antonine (1978:419, Note), perhaps an outpost of Hadrian's Wall. Sommer (1984:100) considered the hill fort to be a vicus.

- 23 Lantonside Fortlet NY 010 662 Period uncertain.  
Ref: BR. 1985: 265.

70 m from the shore at the Mouth of the Nith about 150m from Ward Law a fortlet was discovered from the air in 1984. In size it is c 42m x 37 m with a single ditch.

- 24 Dalswinton Forts NX 933 848 Flavian I and II.  
Ref: TDGNHAS 1955-56:9-21; 1955-56: 9-13; Frere and St. Joseph, 1983: Plg 14, p.87.

Discovered in 1939. There were two successive forts, the first on low ground beside the River Nith at Bankfoot about 3.48 ha was perhaps Agricola's and the later one at Bankhead, smaller of about 2.59 ha. also of first century. Bankfoot had 3 annexes. There was, however, no civil material. Other camps and a watch tower nearby have been tentatively identified from the air (Keppie, 1986: 84). Both forts were large enough for a milliary ala.

- 51 Carzield Fort NX 968 818 Antonine I.  
Ref: TDGNHAS 1938-39: 156-63; 1945-46: 69-79; DES, 1956: 14; St. Joseph, 1952: 120; Breeze, 1979: 37.

In the Antonine period Dalswinton was replaced by Carzield 5km to the South. Excavation of a small area in 1939 revealed stone barracks and wooden stables for a cavalry regiment. The fort covered 2.56 ha. It appears to have been occupied only in Antonine I although St. Joseph (1952: 120, n.l.) notes that there were two levels of intervallum road. Finds from the fort's rubbish-pits were dug out in 1967-8 (Keppie, 1986: 84).

West Galloberry temporary camp was discovered at the same time as Carzield, about 1km North. In area it covered 0.5 ha and had a single gateway. Just beside it is a native promontory fort. An as of Vespasian was found here in 1980 (Robertson, 1983: 407).

- 53 Barburgh Mill Fortlet NX 902 884 Antonine.  
Ref: St. Joseph 1952: 123; Breeze, BR 1974: 130-62.

Examined in 1946. Interior about 0.08 ha. A comprehensive excavation in 1971 (Breeze 1974) revealed two timber-framed buildings enough to house a century of 80 men. The site is now quarried away.

- 25 Carronbridge Camp NX 8697 Period Uncertain Flavian?  
Ref: OS Roman Britain North Sheet, 1978. Keppie, 1986: 86

Complex of sites found by aerial photography but only the camp appears to be Roman. Unexcavated and I do not know the size. It is close to a ford of the Nith.

- 26 Drumlanrig Fort and Camp NX 854 989 Flavian? Antonine.  
Ref: Br, 1985: 267. Keppie, 1986:86-76.

350 m SE of Drumlanrig Castle on the right bank of the River Nith. This small fort, in area 1.5 ha is still traceable on the surface, where the South rampart stands to a height of 0.4. An annex has been traced. Its position shows that Roman Road crossed river at this sector. A small camp was recognised a short distance to the South. Antonine pottery has been found nearby. The fort is as yet unexcavated.

- 27 Sanguhar Fortlet NS 785 106 Period Uncertain  
Ref: Br 16, 1985: 265.

Fortlet c 54 m x 39m with a single ditch near the confluence of the Nith and the Crawick Water. The Roman Road therefore seems to have continued up the R. Nith. Unexcavated.

- 53 Kirkconnel Fortlet NS 748 118 Presumed Antonine.  
Ref: Clarke and Wilson, TDGNHAS, 1958-9: 136-43.

This site was partially excavated in 1959. The fortlet stands on a terrace above the River Nith. From its single South gate a road issued and descended the slope steeply to a cobbled road running alongside the R. Nith. Internal measurements are 33.5m x 20m. Mr. Clarke considered this fortlet to be part of a series of fortlets up Nithsdale. There are no finds mentioned and it is only presumed Antonine.

#### NORTH CLYDE COAST ROAD

- 18 Barochan Fort NS 413 690 Flavian  
Ref: BR4, 1973; DES, 1972:35-36; DES, 1984:34; 1985: 49; Keppie, 1986: 97-99.

Seen from the air in 1953, this fort about 1.4 ha with annexe to the East, was excavated in 1972 and 1984-5. Roman glass, a stamped amphora handle (Albinus & Svmacvs) were found of Flavian date also as of AD 86 (1972: 35). A patera was found in 1920 near the site PSAS

1920-21: 35)

- 47 Bishopton (Whitemoss Farm) NS 418720 Antonine I, II and III?  
Ref: PSAS 1948-49: 29-32; JRS 1950: 93-94; 1953:105-6; 1954: 86;  
1955: 123.

This fort located from the air in 1949 replaced Barochan in the Antonine period. Its area is 2.04 ha. It was extensively excavated in 1950- 54, when three periods of occupation were assigned to it. An annex lies to the North. The fort stands on a plateau overlooking the River Clyde at its lowest fordable point, Dumbuck. A possible Roman Crossing has been found at (NS 423 743; BR 1975: 228). On the other side of the River from Bishopton is Dumbarton Rock likely, to have been occupied (Keppie, 1986:97) at this time. Traces of a Roman Road have been found heading North as far as Little White Hill (DES). 1980: 35

- 48 Lurg Moor Fortlet NS 297 537 Antonine  
Ref: JRS 1953: 105; PSAS, 19763-64:198-200; Keppie, 1986:98.

The rampart and ditch are visible and the road - a causeway - leading South for over 100m. Examined but not excavated and size is not given.

- 49 Outerwards Fortlet NS 232 666 Antonine (two periods).  
Ref: Newall GAJ 1976: 111-123

This fortlet was located and excavated in 1970. The road and the fortlet are of the same date. It was a roughly square, its internal dimensions 14.2m x 14.47m with two gateways North and South approx. 2m wide. It contained two buildings an East and West Barracks. It had two occupations; an experiment on overgrowth suggested somewhere between 5-10 years. Pottery was very fragmentary, mostly burnished ware, also a quern and a flagon.

- 50 Blackhouse Moor Signal Station. NS 213 644 Antonine  
Ref: JRS, 55, 1965:

A Signal Station was found here in 1964.

#### CLYDE COAST ROAD?

- 33 Girvan Mains Camps (2) NX 188 991 Flavian ?  
Ref: St. Joseph, BR 1978: 397-400; DES 1981: 1982; BR 13, 1982: 339; Pitts and St. Joseph, 1985: 270; BR 14, 1983: 282; 1984: 276.

Two Roman camps were discovered by aerial survey, the East (about 14 ha) in 1978 and West in 1981; 2nd camp excavated by St. Joseph in 1982 was 375m x 395m (6 ha); a fragment of Roman Bottle Glass from the ditch is probably 1st century (Pitts and St. Joseph 1985: 270) and the

only dating material recovered.

WELLPATH ROAD - Linking Nithsdale and Annandale.

- 54 Durisdeer Fortlet and Camp NS 902 048 Antonine (Camp ?)  
Ref: Clarke, ROSWS 1952: 124-6. Frere and St. Joseph, 1983: 142.

Small fortlet lying on a rocky spur on the Kirk Burn 1.6km above Durisdeer Church. Interior 35m x 20m approx. 0.9ha. When excavated it was found to have had two periods of occupation, both believed to be Antonine. The rear view commands the valley looking to the fort of Tynron Doon 11km away. The Roman road continued on to Crawford and is still visible in places.

AVONDALE ROAD

- 17 Loudoun Hill Fort 605 371 Flavian I and II and Antonine I and II.  
Ref: St. Joseph, ROSWS, 1952: 188-91; BR, 1980, 286-7.

Situated on an elevated plateau which is now mostly destroyed by the excavation of a gravel pit. The original size was about 175m x 110m (New Statist. Account, v, 1837: 181). Excavations started in 1938 and were resumed in 1946. 2 Flavian and at least two Antonine periods were recorded.

- 16 Bankhead Fortlet, Carnwath NS 971 449 Period uncertain.  
Ref: BR., 1985: 265.

This fortlet found in 1984 lies 4.5km East of Castledykes and is unexcavated. It is about 45m square (0.2ha) in area with three ditches and one entrance on the North. Maxwell suggested that it might be the junction of a road from the Forth via Castle Greg (1985: 265 note).

- 15 Castle Greg Fortlet NT 0559 Flavian  
Ref: Breeze, 1979:37; Keppie, 1986: 113.

6 km South of West Calder is well preserved with rampart and double ditch, 45m x 36m. The gate is on the East side and the fortlet is large enough for about a century of men. It was excavated in 1852 and Roman pottery was recovered from a well in its centre. Its position implies a road possibly to the Coast and a road connection to the South possibly to Bankhead.

ROAD FROM CARRIDEN TO KIRKLISTON TO NEWSTEAD

- 55A Ingliston Milestone NT 125 726 Antonine.  
Ref: RIB 2313; DES 1972: 29; BR, 4 1973: 336-7; Keppie, BR 13, 1982A: 93.

The position of this milestone (1m high) found in 1870 seems to indicate that the road from Newstead pursued an inland course to the

Isthmus. This milestone was formerly assigned to Caracalla (RIB, 2313) but a fragment found in RMS has been reunited with the top of the die and refers to the reign of Antoninus Pius (cos II or III). A date of c AD 144 (Keppie 1982A: 93) would seem to be indicated. The two Antonine camps at Milburn Tower and Gogar Green appear to support this also.

- 55 Milburn Tower and Gogar Green Camps NT 176 718 and 177 718. Antonine.  
Ref: RIB 2313; DES, 1984: 17.

These two temporary camps neither larger than 10 ha lie in close proximity to the findspot of the Ingliston Milestone. Excavation in advance of construction at Gogar found the typical V-shaped ditch and some sherds of a Roman coarse ware vessel. The dimensions were 300m x 250m.

#### ANTONINE WALL ROAD.

The Wall forts, 15 of which are known, were spaced about every 3.5km. Fortlets occurred in between. 5 Vacant spots have been filled with fortlets, partially excavated. The Military Way ran approximately 50m behind the Wall and formed the *via principalis* of all the forts except three (Duntocher, Cadder and Bar Hill). By-pass roads seem to have been provided at all the forts to allow long-distance traffic to move more speedily.

- 56 Carriden Fort 025 807

Ref: St. Joseph 1948-49: 167-74; Richmond and Steer 1956-7: 1-7.

1.2km from the end of the Wall at Bridgeness this fort was discovered by aerial survey in the policies of Carriden House. It measures about 120m x 120m. Trial trenching and accidental discovery have brought to light some Antonine pottery. A vicus is attested by an altar ploughed up in 1946, which gives its name Velunia(s) and also shows that the list of "cities" of the Ravenna Cosmography, the first of which is "Velunia", ran from East to West.

- 57 Kinneil Fortlet NS 977 803

Ref: Keppie and Walker, BR 1981: 143-62; Keppie, 1982: 97.

Excavation revealed it to be attached to the Wall and built with it. In size it is 18m x 21m with rampart and two ditches. Some greenish glass, BB1 and BB2, all of Antonine date, was picked up.

- 58 Inveravon Fort NS 951 796

Ref: Robertson, GAJ 1969: 37-42; 1979: 46.

Spacing suggests that a fort should be here and in 1967 a small structure was located attached to the rear of the Wall approx. 27m x 30m; coarse ware pottery was found of Antonine date.

- 59 Mumrills Fort NS 918 794

Ref: PSAS 1928-29: 396-575; PSAS, 1960-61: 86-117; Robertson,

1979: 48-50.

Mumrills stood on an escarpment about 30m ASR and had an internal area of 2.6ha. The area West of the fort, thought by Macdonald to be an Agricola fort, is now established by Dr. Steer as an annexe of Antonine date. The suggested date for some of the pottery was c AD 160.

60 Falkirk Fort. NS 886 798

Ref: RCAHMS, Stirlingshire 1963: 99; PSAS, 1974-75:200-3; PSAS. 1981: 248-62.

A Fort has not actually been located only pottery, a coin and a fine stretch of Antonine Wall. The "fort" is buried presumably under housing developments.

61 Watling Lodge Fortlet NS 862 797

Ref: Breeze, PSAS, 1972-4: 166-75; DES 1987: 3-4.

Excavations by Dr. Breeze determined that the fortlet was 18.5m x 15.5m inside its rampart. It was attached to the Wall at the point where it changed direction and where the Roman road from the South passed through the frontier in the direction of the fort at Camelon 1.2km to the North. The latest excavation found two phases of the road and 3 sherds of Roman pottery (undated).

62 Rough Castle Fort NS 843 798

Ref: PSAS, 1904-5: 442-99; PSAS, 1978-80: 230-85. Robertson, 1979:56

This is the second smallest fort of the Wall its internal area being only 0.4 ha but it is the best preserved. Changes seem to have been made to the Military Way here. It first went through the fort and annexe; later it was supplied with a by-pass loop skirting the Southern defences of annexe and fort. Another by-pass appears to have approached from the South to the South gate (Robertson, 1979: 56).

63 Seabegs Wood Fortlet NS 812 792

Ref: Keppie and Walker, BR, 1981: 143-62. Robertson, 1979: 58.

This fortlet found in 1977 is attached to the rear of the Wall and of one build with it at point where the Wall changed direction. It measured internally c 21.8m x 18m and was defended by a turf rampart on a stone base and by two ditches. There was no gap in the Antonine Ditch at the North gate of the fortlet. There seem to have been two periods of occupation. Finds included greenish glass, BB1 and BB2 pottery all of Antonine date.

11 Castle Cary Fort NS 790 783 Flavian? Antonine.

Ref: PSAS, 1902-3: 271- 346; RCAHMS, Stirlingshire, 1963: 103-6; Robertson, 1979: 59-60.

This fort has been much robbed out and also suffered from "public interest" in the excavations of 1902. It was defended by a stone wall making a junction with the Wall which narrowed from 12m to 4.5m West of the North gateway. Its internal area was about 1.4ha with two ditches on East, South and West sides. There was an annexe on the East side about 1.1 ha defended by a rampart and a ditch with several streets. A road came up from the South to enter the South gate. Glass and several sherds of first century date have been found besides the Antonine finds.

64 Westerwood Fort NS 760 773

Ref: PSAS, 1932-33: 243-96; Keppie, GAJ, 1979: 9-18; Robertson, 1979: 62-4.

Westerwood Farm lies in the fort's North-East corner. Excavation in 1932 showed it to be 0.78 ha. Excavation in 1974 to the South revealed no traces of an extra-mural settlement although an altar ploughed up West of the site was dedicated to the Silvanæ and Quadræ by the wife of a century in the Sixth Legion (JRS, 1964: 178).

65 Croy Hill Fort NS 733 765

Ref: PSAS 1924-25: 288-90; 1931-32: 243-76; 1936-37: 32-71; Hanson and L. Keppie, *Current Archaeology*, 62 (June 1978), 91-94; Robertson, 1979: 65-68; DES 1976: 28; 1977: 12; 1978: 27; Frere: BR, 1985: 375.

A small fort of only 0.6 ha in internal area, Croy Hill stood on a high plateau some 120m ASR. It was excavated in 1920, 1931 and 1935 by Sir George Macdonald. In the centre were found the remains of the Headquarters Building and a granary. A stone-built well, later built over by a tower stood in the North-East corner. Sir George found a small enclosure of 0.3ha, with annexe, which, as at Mumrills, he thought to be an Agricolan fort. It is presently considered to be a proto-Antonine construction camp. A Fortlet, 80 m to the West of the Fort (18.5m x 22m) excavated in 1975-8 by Mr. Hanson was found to be of a build with the Wall and appears to have been replaced by the Fort. His excavations revealed that a civil settlement lay South-West of the fort and that the area East had been used for agricultural and industrial activity.

Mr. Hanson confirmed the line of a by-pass road South of the Fort. Farther West of the fort towards Croy village the military road was joined by another road coming through a gap in the hills to the South. Robertson (1979:68) considers this to be another loop road.

66 Bar Hill NS 707 759

Ref: Macdonald and Park, *The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, 1906; Robertson, Scott and Keppie, *Bar Hill, A Roman Fort and its Finds*, Oxford, 1975.

Bar Hill, the highest fort of the Wall (150m ASR) is detached from it. The fort, which was excavated in 1902-5 had an internal area of 1.3 ha. Besides the headquarters building, granary and another building in the central block was found a beautifully made well from which came most of the finds of the 1978 excavation. On evacuation the well had been filled up with unwanted goods from the fort. During the 1902-5 excavations traces of an earlier fort (0.2ha) were found under the Antonine headquarters building. This is not now thought to be Flavian but pre-Antonine. No vicus has been found but a pottery Kiln has. (BR1985: RB 1984)

67 Auchendavy Fort NS 677 749

Ref: Keppie and Walker, BR 1985: 29-35; Robertson, 1979: 73-4.

While the existence of this fort has long been known, only recently has its East ditches and South-East angle been detected from the air. Its area is bisected by a modern road (B 8023) and within the fort lies the farmhouse of Auchendavy. When the Forth-Clyde Canal was being constructed in 1771, 4 altars and other artifacts were found in a pit apparently just South of the fort. The four were set up by Marcus Cocceius Firmus, a centurion of the Second Legion serving at the fort.

68 Kirkintilloch Fort NS 651 739

Ref: PSAS, 1964: 180-8; 1979: 74-75.

In the Peel Park, Kirkintilloch, stands a fairly well preserved mediaeval peel with a surrounding moat. Here antiquarians for a long time all agreed that there had been a Roman fort. Trenching by Sir George Macdonald in 1914 West of the peel revealed hearths and Roman pottery and between 1953 and 1961 the base of the Antonine Wall. South of the Wall remains of streets and rows of postholes plus a great quantity of Antonine pottery have been found. Robertson thinks that these remains indicate the presence of a fort probably destroyed by the construction of the peel (1979: 76).

12 Cadder Fort NS 616725 Flavian? and Antonine.

Ref: Clarke, The Roman Fort at Cadder, 1933. Robertson, 1979: 76-78.

This fort encroached on by the Forth-Clyde Canal has now been destroyed by a sand quarry. Mr. Clarke excavated it in the years 1929-31. The fort faced East which was its weak side otherwise it was naturally well protected. Its internal area was 1.12 ha. Its central block was of stone with wooden barracks in front and behind; it possessed two bath suites, one inside and the other outside the fort to the East. The Military Way did not pass through it but skirted the South defences and sent off two loops, perhaps not in use together. Mr. Clarke thought that the structural evidence suggested an Agricolan occupation. There is a little late first century pottery from Cadder. (Robertson, 1979: 78).



69 Wilderness plantation Fortlet NS 597721

Ref: GAJ, 1974: 51-65; RCAHMS Lanarkshire, 1978: 136-7.

This fortlet was excavated in 1963. It was defended by a turf rampart on a stone base and by two ditches. Internally it measured 19.5m x 18m; its North rampart was of one build with the Antonine Wall but there was no break in the ditch.

70 Balmuldy Fort NS 581 716

Ref: Miller, The Roman Fort at Balmuldy, 1922; Robertson, 1979: 79-80.

The site of Balmuldy Fort is cut through by the A879. The greater part lies on the East side of the Road on the South bank of the Kelvin. Well known by antiquaries only part of one stone (RIB 2191) has survived. It records the building work by Legio II Augusta under Q. Lollius Urbicus. The 1912-14 excavations found the fort to be 1.6ha enclosed on all four sides by a stone wall about 2m wide. From the two North corners stone wings were thrown out to meet the Wall although it appeared that the wall and fort did not join to them. The four gates each had two watch-towers. Structural evidence for two occupations was found; most of the finds could be assigned to the Antonine occupation but some bronze coins of the late first century suggest a possible use of the site in the Flavian period. (Robertson, 1979: 82).

Miller believed that Balmuldy was one of the terminals of the Clyde Valley Road (i.e. continuation of the Annandale Road). There is no break however in the Antonine Wall to allow traffic to move North. From the North gate of the Fort the Military way ran North to the bank of the River Kelvin. Wall and ditch stopped at the river where Roman stones show that a Bridge connecting the ends of the road closed the gap in the frontier.

Horsley, (1732: 167) refers to the "Ruins of the Roman Town" at Balmuldy. I have not shown this site as Flavian preferring Old Kilpatrick as a Western Terminal.

71 Bearsden Fort NS 545 720

Ref: Breeze The Roman Fort on the Antonine Wall at Bearsden, 1984: 32-68; D&S 1973: 63; 1974: 80; 1975: 20; 1976: 29; 1977: 12; 1978: 25.

Excavations carried out from 1973-78 by Dr. Breeze proved that the fort had an internal area of 0.9ha and was defended by a turf rampart on a stone base and ditches, 3 on the West and one on the South which also ran on Eastwards to protect the annexe attached to the fort on its East side. Barracks and granaries were found but no headquarters building. The fort had only one period of occupation.

72 Castlehill Fort NS 525 727 Unexcavated.

Ref: GAJ, 1980, 80-84; Robertson, 1979: 85-86.

7

The Fort site lies 120m ASR. Its existence was indicated by the discovery in 1826 of an altar to Britannia and the Spirits of the Campus (RIB 2195) by the commander of the Fourth Cohort of Gauls. Professor St. Joseph spotted the South ditches and South-East angle of the fort from the air. In 1970-74 Antonine pottery was found in the roots of fallen trees on the summit (Robertson, 1979: 86).

73 Cleddans Fortlet NS 508 723

Ref: Keppie and Walker BR. 1981: 143-62.

This Fortlet was found in 1980. It measures 18m x 21m and is protected by a turf rampart on a stone base and two ditches. It was trenched. Some greenish glass was found in a ditch and some sherds of pottery BB1 and BB2 all of which were Antonine.

74 Duntocher Fort NS 495 726

Ref: Robertson *An Antonine Fort, Golden Hill, Duntocher*, 1957; Robertson, 1979: 86-88

Excavations from 1948 to 1951 found that before the Antonine Wall was built there had been a fortlet and Fort on the site. The fortlet about 18m square occupied a commanding position on the hill. To it was added on its East side a fort with an internal area of 0.2ha, the smallest fort on the Wall.

On its West side was an annexe almost twice as large as the fort itself enclosed by a rampart with three ditches on the South and one on the West. The Fort had no South gate and the Military Way skirted the South defences with a branch to the East Gate of the Fort. All pottery found was Antonine. An earlier bathhouse is recorded in the 18th century on the hill and finds of a statuette, querns pottery and coins had been previously recorded.

14 Old Kilpatrick Fort NS 460 731 Flavian? and Antonine.

Ref: Miller, *The Roman Fort at Old Kilpatrick*, 1928; Robertson, 1979: 89-91.

Now partly buried under houses this is the terminal fort at the West end of the Antonine Wall. Excavations carried out here in 1923-24 by Mr. Miller supplemented by trenching by Sir George Macdonald in 1931, have proved that an Antonine Fort had been established at Old Kilpatrick before the Wall was built. This fort had an internal area of 1.7ha with 3 ditches on its North and East sides later increased to four when - probably - the Antonine Wall was brought up to its North-West corner cutting across the Military way which had continued Westwards beyond the Roman Frontier. A Headquarters building and a granary of stone and 3 wooden buildings were found. There was an annexe to the South of the fort. Miller discovered traces of what he thought to be an earlier occupation which together with a little pottery of late first-century date hints at an Agricolaan occupation.

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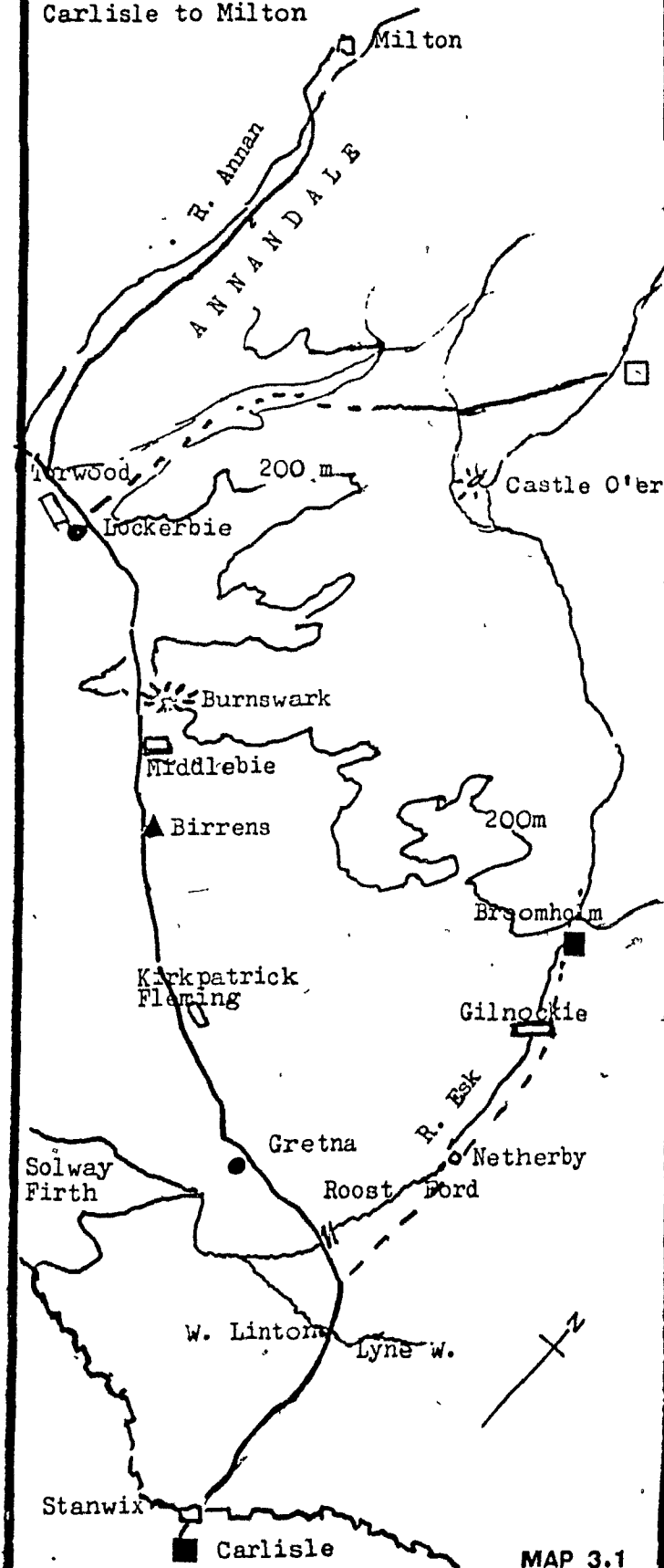
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IX

ILLUSTRATIONS



ANNANDALE ROAD - FLAVIAN PERIOD  
Carlisle to Milton



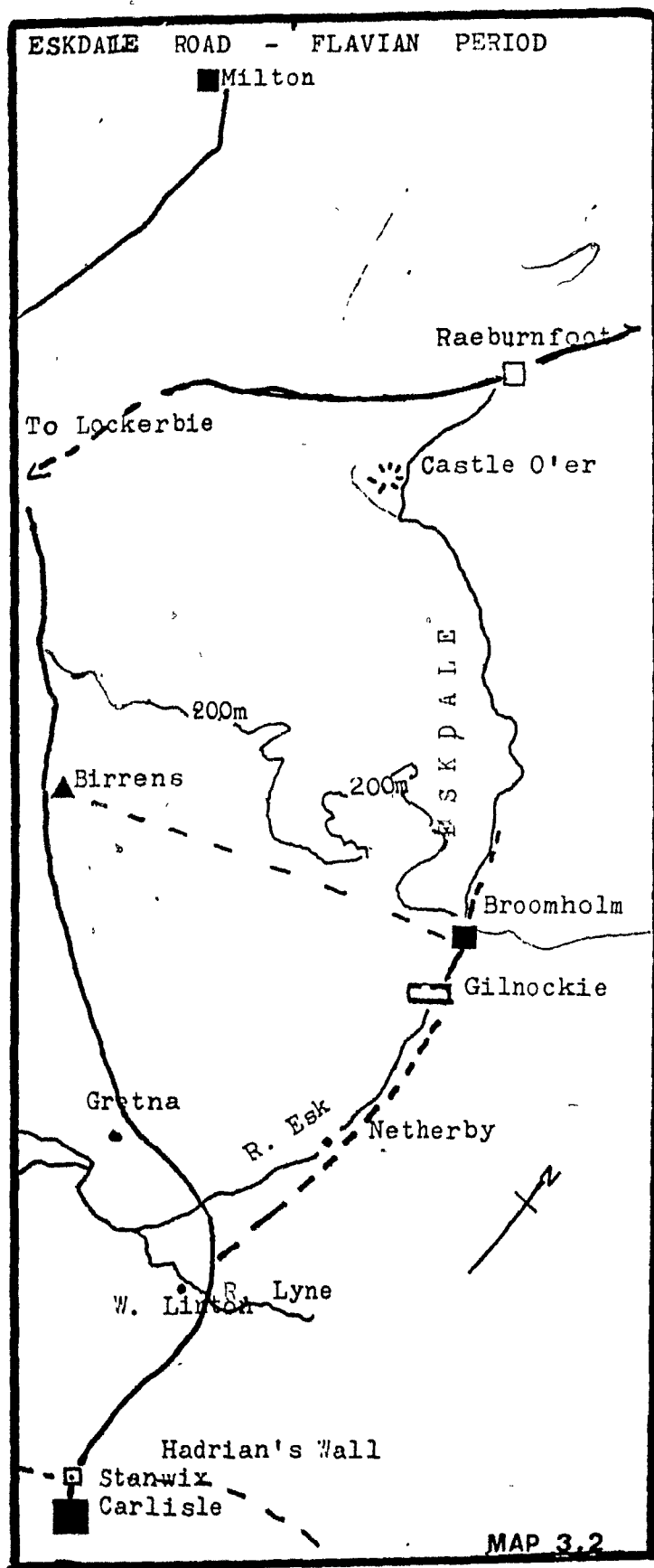
KEY

ROAD - Course Certain	...	—
Uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	-200-
HILL	...	▲
ROMAN FORT	...	■
If of doubtful period	...	□
for any reason	...	□
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
Of doubtful period	...	△
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
Of doubtful period	...	□
NATIVE FORT	...	✱
MODERN TOWN	...	●

MAP 3.1

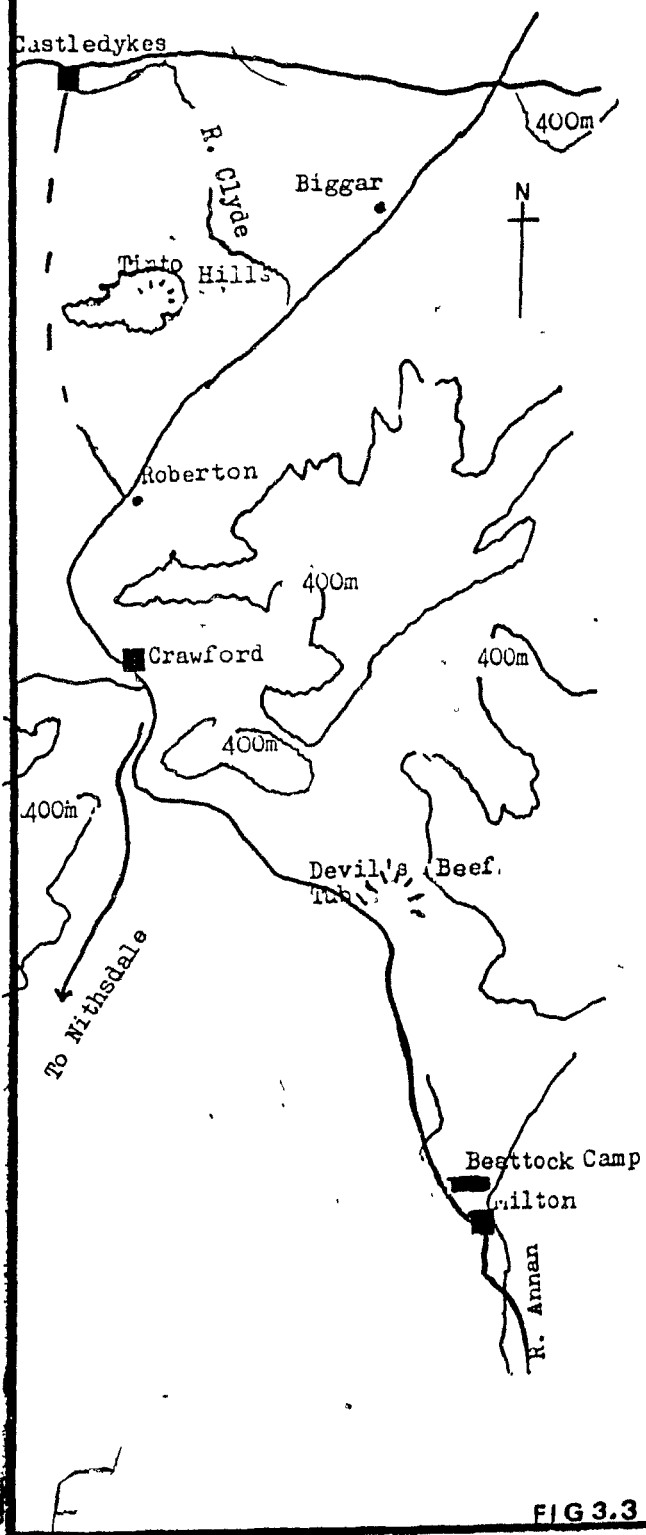
226

5 0 5 10  
Kilometres



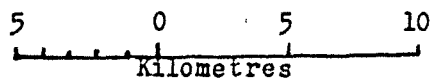
KEY		
ROAD - Course certain	...	—
uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	---200---
HILL	...	▲
ROMAN FORT	...	■
If of doubtful period	...	□
for any reason	...	▲
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
Of doubtful period	...	△
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
Of doubtful period	...	□
NATIVE FORT	...	☼
MODERN TOWN	...	●

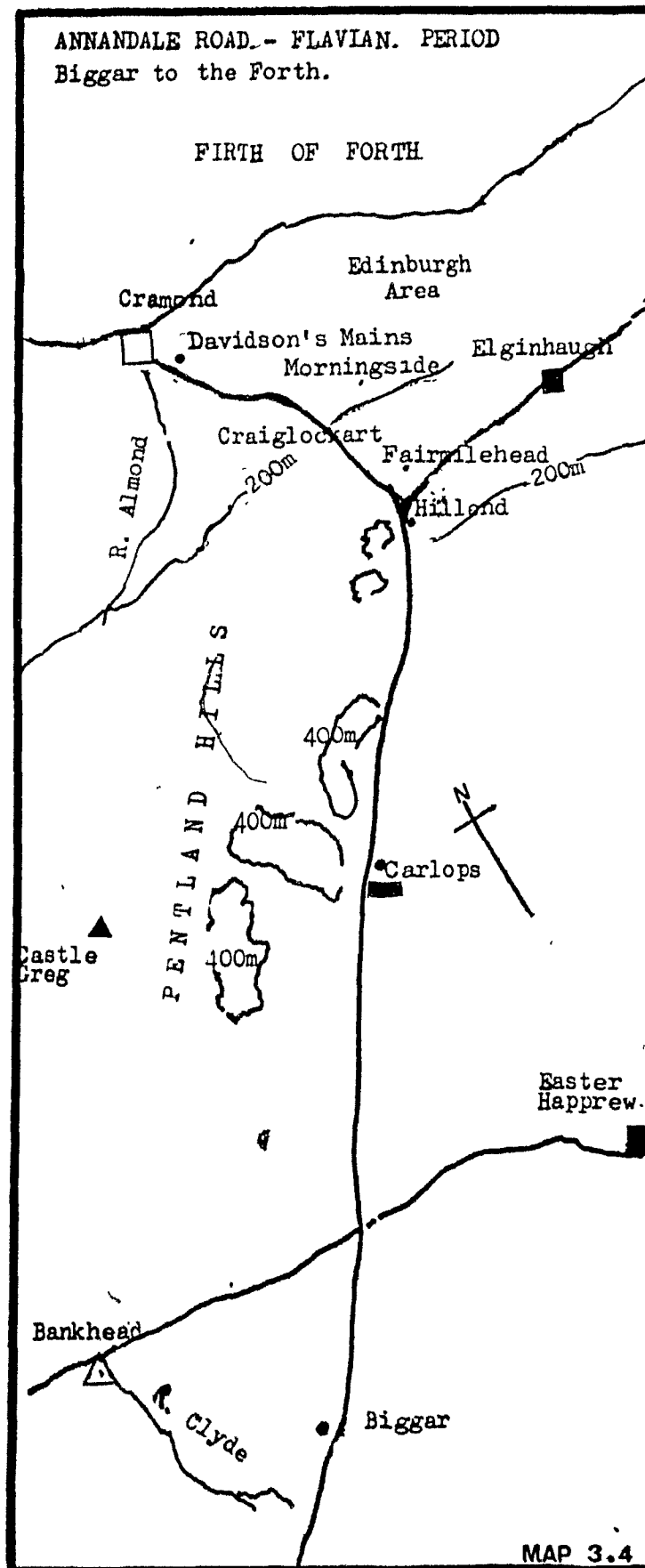
**ANNANDALE ROAD - FLAVIAN PERIOD**  
Milton to Castledykes



**FIG 3.3**

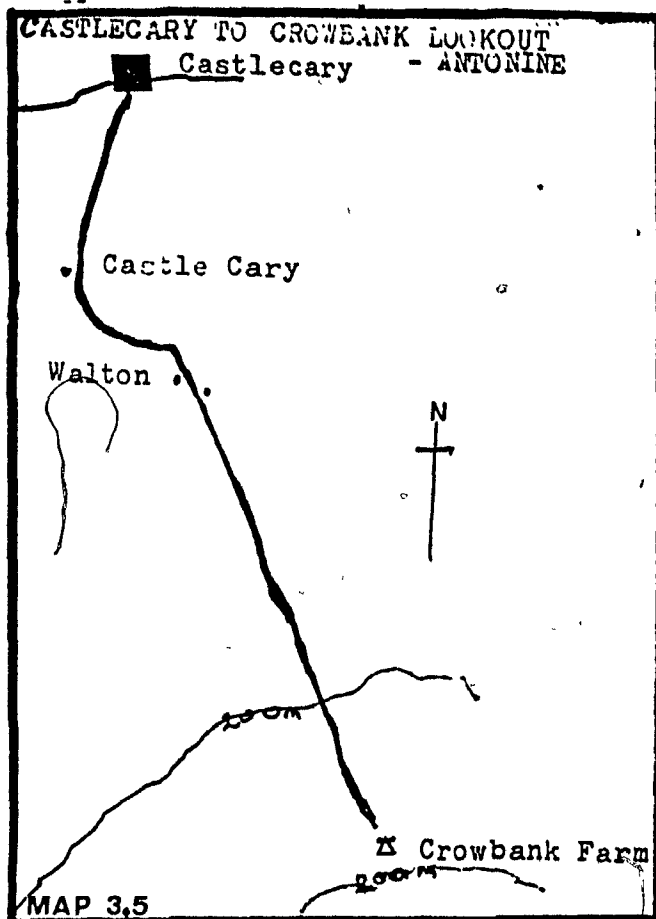
KEY		
ROAD	- Course Certain ...	—
	Uncertain ..	- - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	—200—
HILL	...	▲▲▲
ROMAN FORT		■
If of doubtful period	...	□
For any reason	...	
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
of doubtful period	...	△
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
of doubtful period	...	□
NATURAL FORT	...	★
MODERN TOWN	...	●





KEY		
ROAD - Course Certain	...	—
Uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER	...	~
CONTOUR LINE	...	—200—
HILL	...	▲
ROMAN FORT	...	■
If of doubtful period	...	□
for any reason	...	□
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
Of doubtful period	...	△
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
Of doubtful period	...	□
NATIVE FORT	...	⊙
MODERN TOWN	...	●

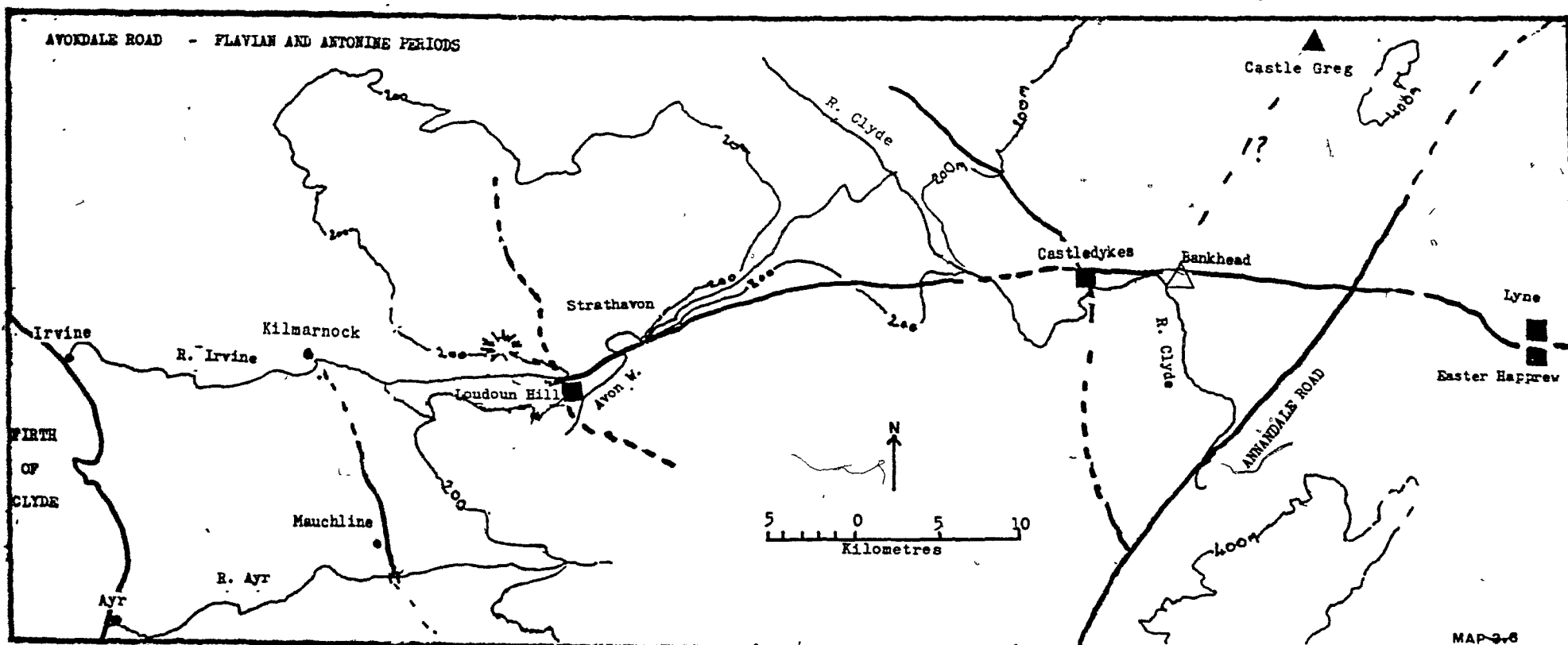
# SUPPOSED ROAD FROM CLYDESDALE TO CASTLECARY



0 1 2  
Kilometres

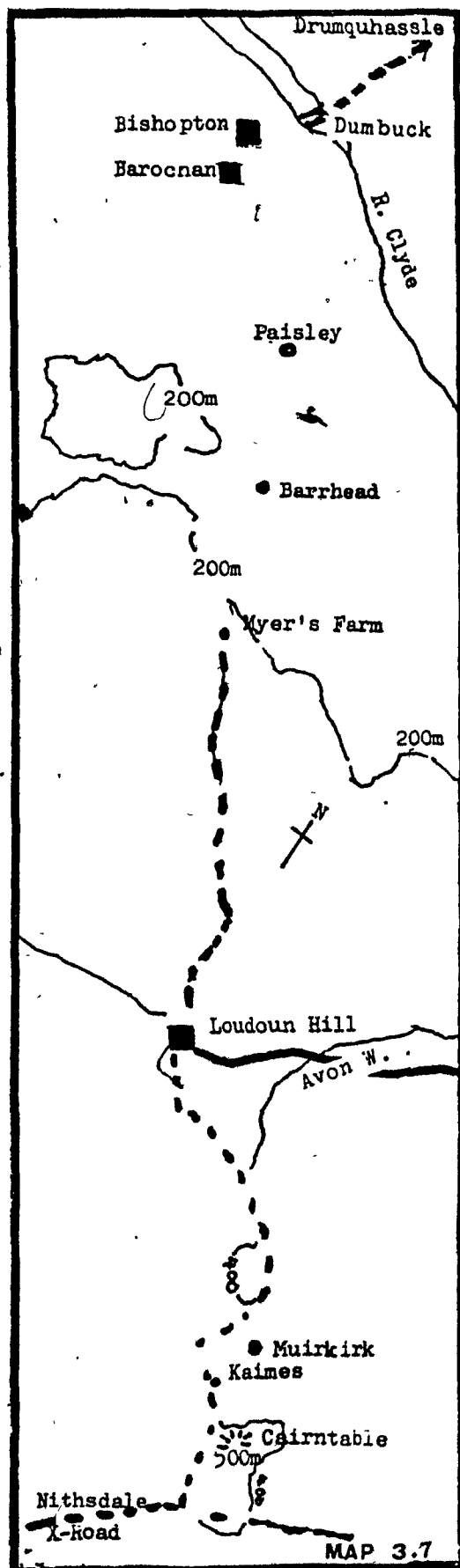
KEY		
ROAD - Course Certain	...	—
- Uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	~~~~~ 200m
HILL	...	~~~~~ 250m
ROMAN FORT	...	■
If of doubtful period	...	□
for any reason	...	▲
ROMAN FORTLET	...	△
Of doubtful period	...	◻
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
Of doubtful period	...	◻
NATIVE FORT	...	☼
MODERN TOWN	...	●

KEY			
ROAD	Course Certain	...	—
	Uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER		...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE		...	-200-
HILL		...	⬤
ROMAN PORT		...	■
	If of doubtful period	...	□
	for any reason	...	□
ROMAN FORTLET		...	▲
	Of doubtful period	...	△
ROMAN CAMP		...	■
	Of doubtful period	...	□
NATIVE PORT		...	⊙
MODERN TOWN		...	●

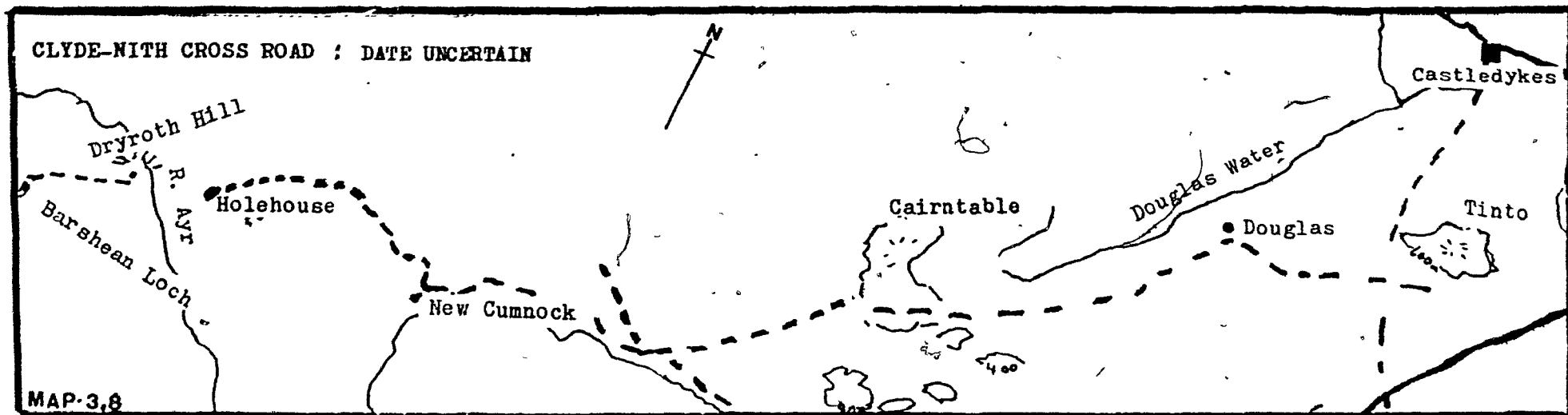




LOUDOUN HILL NORTH TO BAROCHAN (FLAVIAN)  
OR BISHOPTON (ANTONINE).  
LOUDOUN HILL SOUTH TO MUIRKIRK AND TO A  
JUNCTION WITH THE CLYDE-NITH CROSS ROAD.

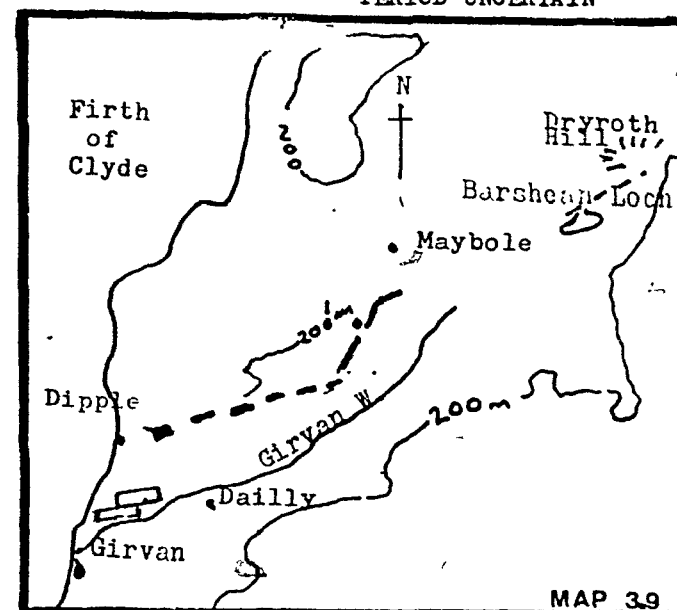
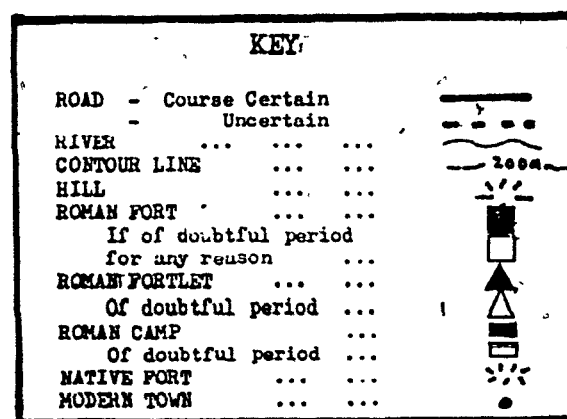


KEY			
ROAD - Course Certain	...	---	
Uncertain	...	---	
RIVER	...	~~~~~	
CONTOUR LINE	...	200	
HILL	...	^ ^ ^	
ROMAN FORT	...	■	
If of doubtful period	...	□	
for any reason	...	□	
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲	
Of doubtful period	...	△	
ROMAN CAMP	...	■	
Of doubtful period	...	□	
NATIVE FORT	...	⊙	
MODERN TOWN	...	●	



5 0 5 10 Kilometres

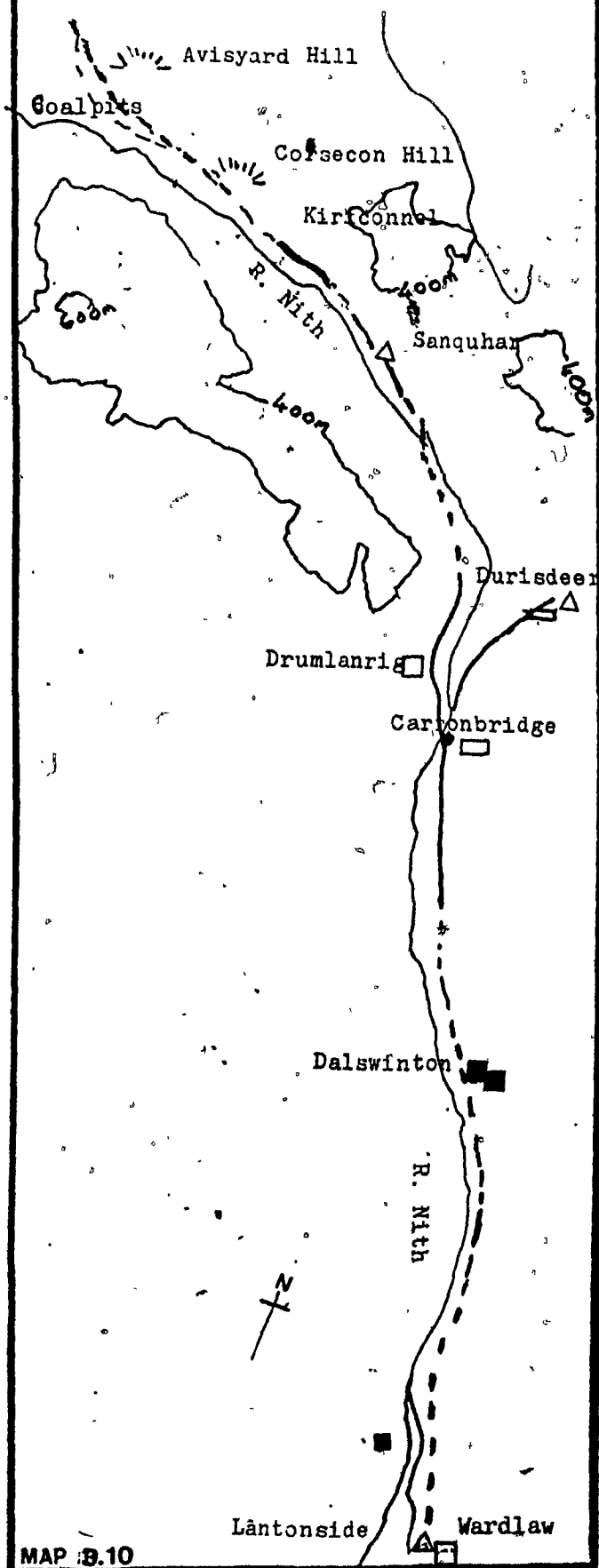
DAILY TO MAYBOLE - CONTINUATION OF FIG.87  
- PERIOD UNCERTAIN



5 0 5 10 Kilometres

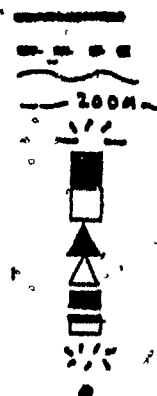
NITHSDALE ROAD - LANTONSIDE TO CUMNOCK  
- FLAVIAN PERIOD

Cumnock

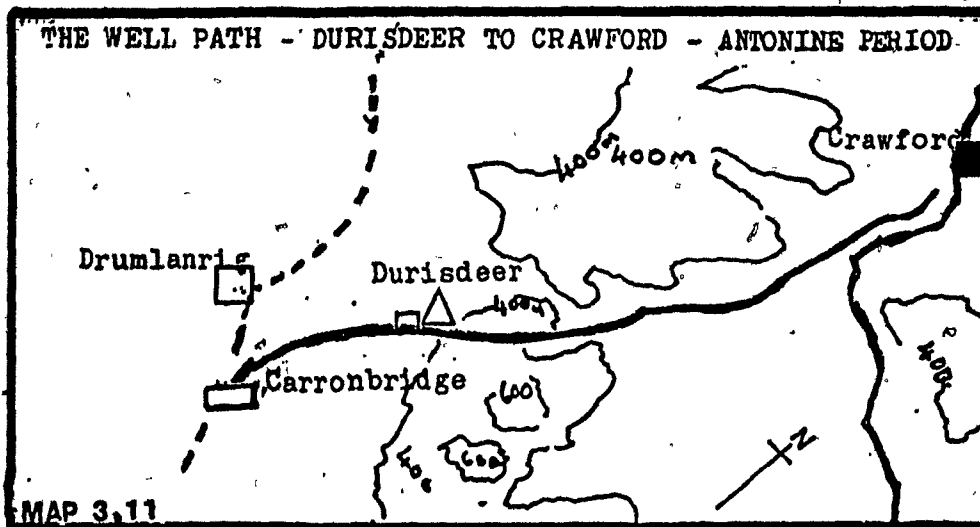


KEY

ROAD	-	Course Certain	
	-	Uncertain	
RIVER	...	...	...
CONTOUR LINE	...	...	...
HILL	...	...	...
ROMAN FORT	...	...	...
		If of doubtful period	...
		for any reason	...
ROMAN FORTLET	...	...	...
		Of doubtful period	...
ROMAN CAMP	...	...	...
		Of doubtful period	...
NATIVE FORT	...	...	...
MODERN TOWN	...	...	...



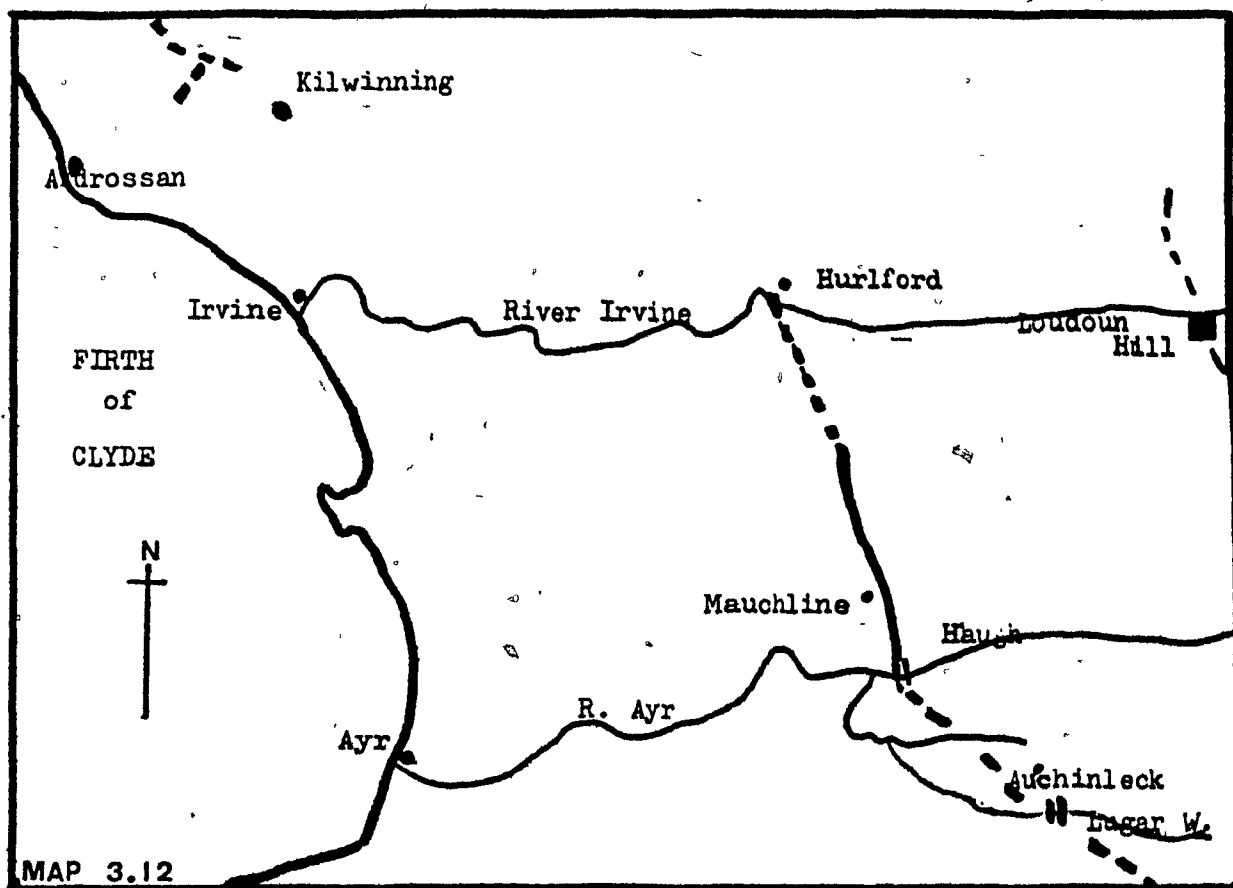
# NITHSDALE TO ANNANDALE CONNECTION ROAD: FLAVIAN ?



5 0 5 10  
Kilometres

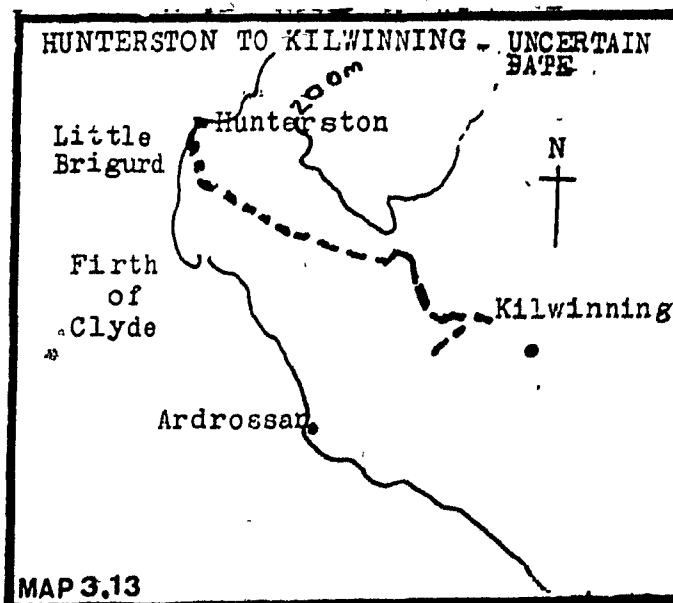
KEY		
ROAD	- Course Certain	---
	Uncertain	---
RIVER	...	---
CONTOUR LINE	...	---
HILL	...	---
ROMAN PORT	...	---
If of doubtful period for any reason		---
ROMAN FORTLET	...	---
Of doubtful period		---
ROMAN CAMP	...	---
Of doubtful period		---
NATIVE PORT	...	---
MODERN TOWN	...	---

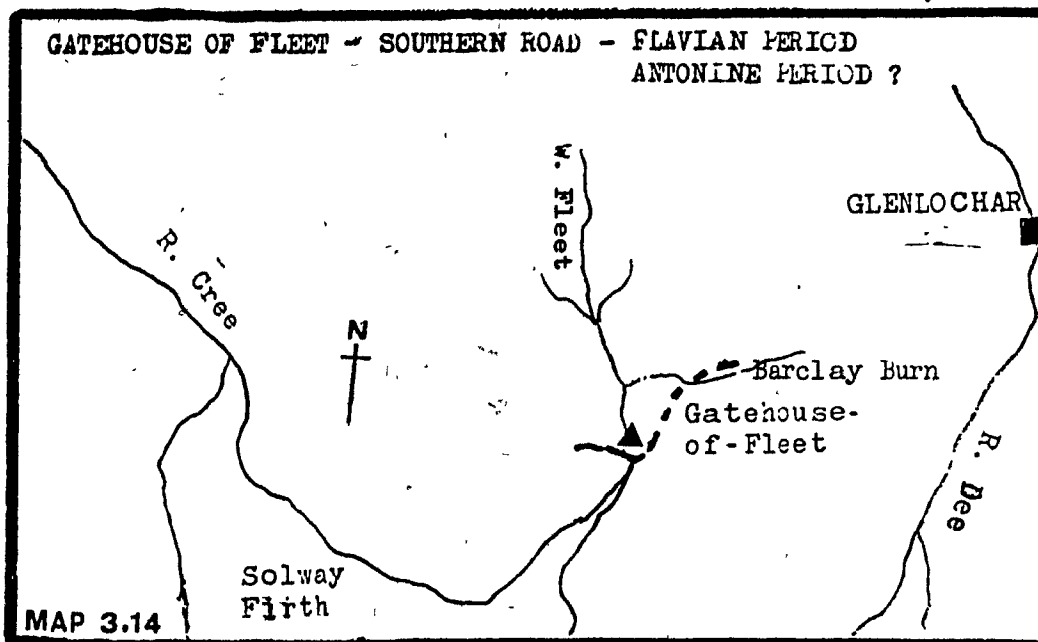
# NITHSDALE ROAD..CONTINUATION?



KEY			
ROAD	- Course Certain	...	—
	Uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER	...	...	~
CONTOUR LINE	...	...	200
HILL	...	...	▲
ROMAN FORT	...	...	■
If of doubtful period	...	...	□
for any reason	...	...	▲
ROMAN FORTLET	...	...	△
of doubtful period	...	...	■
ROMAN CAMP	...	...	■
of doubtful period	...	...	□
NATIVE FORT	...	...	✱
MODERN TOWN	...	...	•

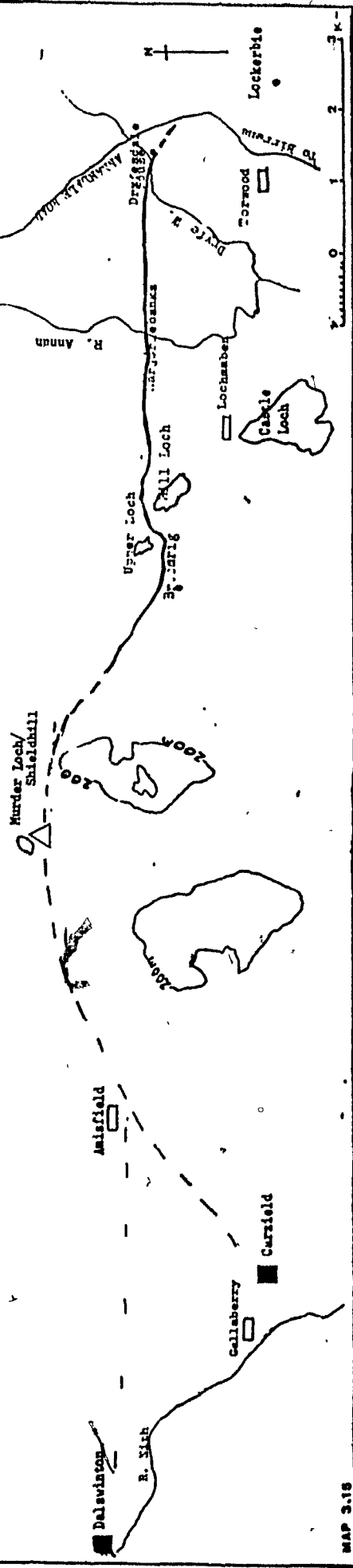
## CONTINUATION OF MAP 3.12?



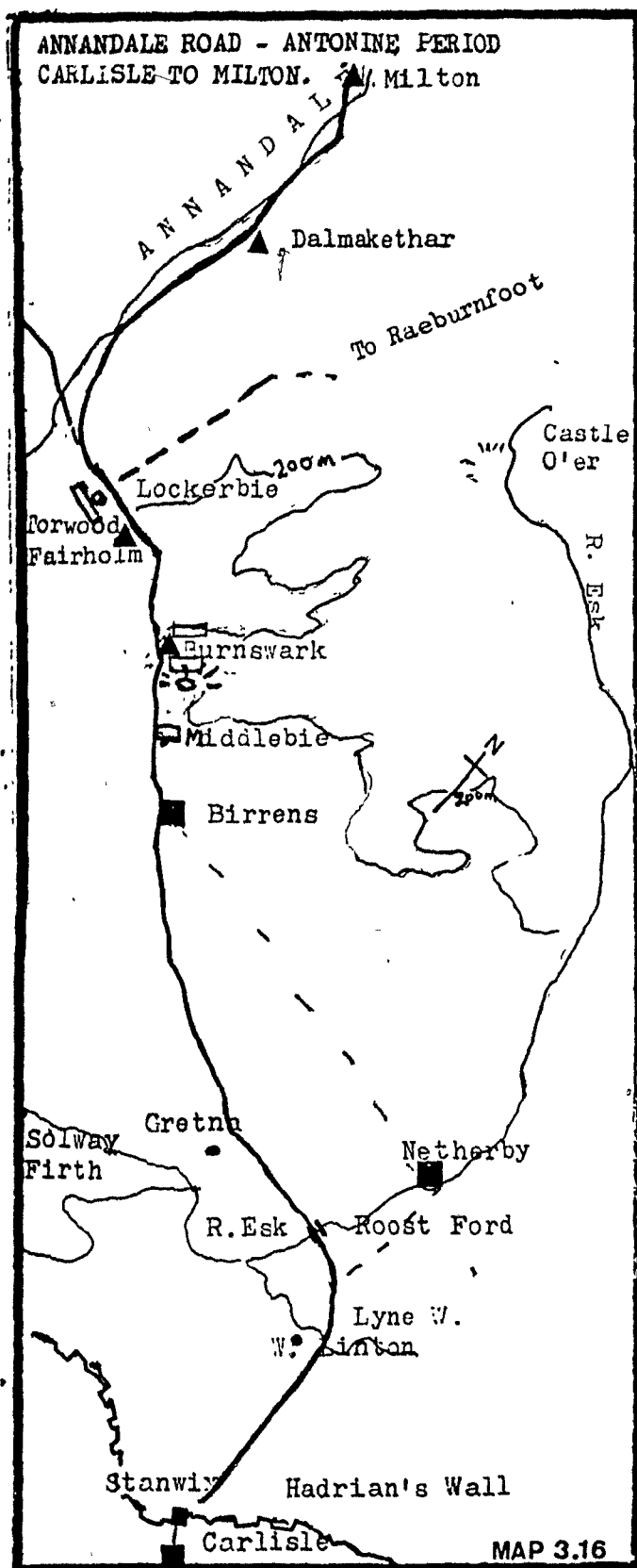


KEY		
ROAD - Course Certain	...	—
Uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	~ 100 ~
HILL	...	▲
ROMAN FORT	...	■
If of doubtful period	...	□
for any reason	...	
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
of doubtful period	...	△
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
of doubtful period	...	□
NATIVE FORT	...	☼
MODERN TOWN	...	●

ANNEADALE TO NINESDALE LINK ROAD - WESTERN BATHS DALE ROAD - LOCKERBIE - LOCHMABEY - MURDER LOCH/SHELDHILL FORTEN TO DALS-INTON/CARFIELD; FLEISS UPTERRIS

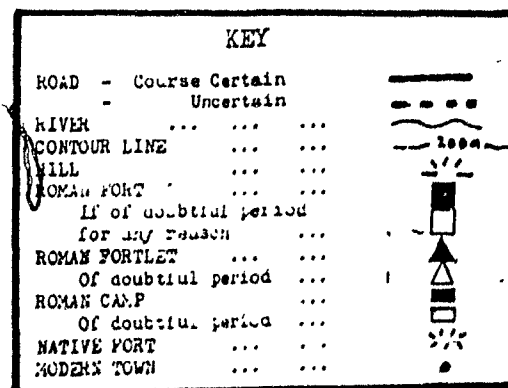
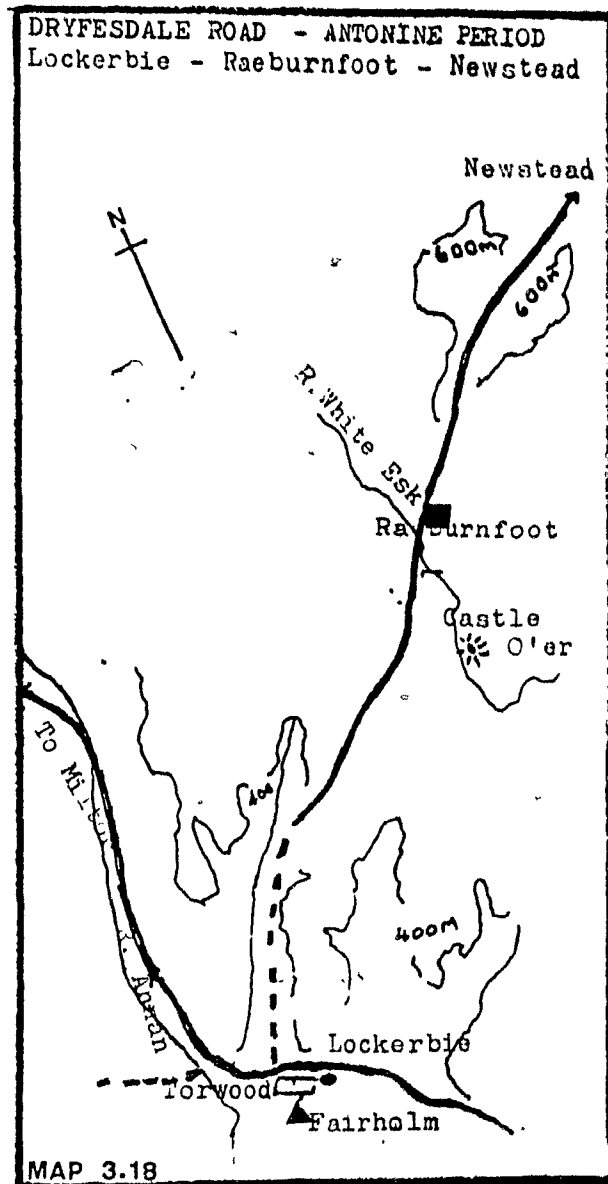
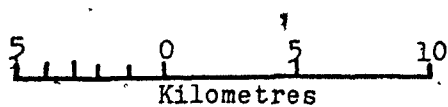
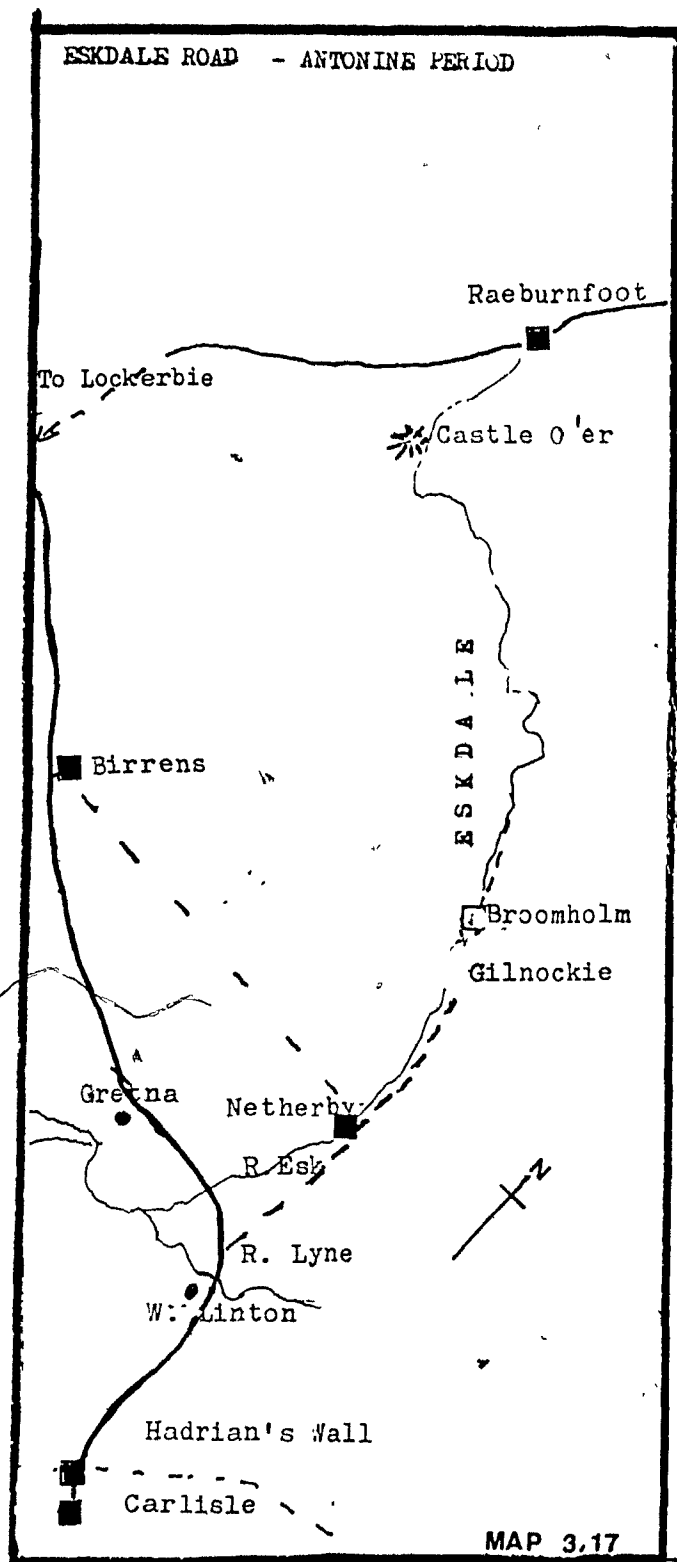


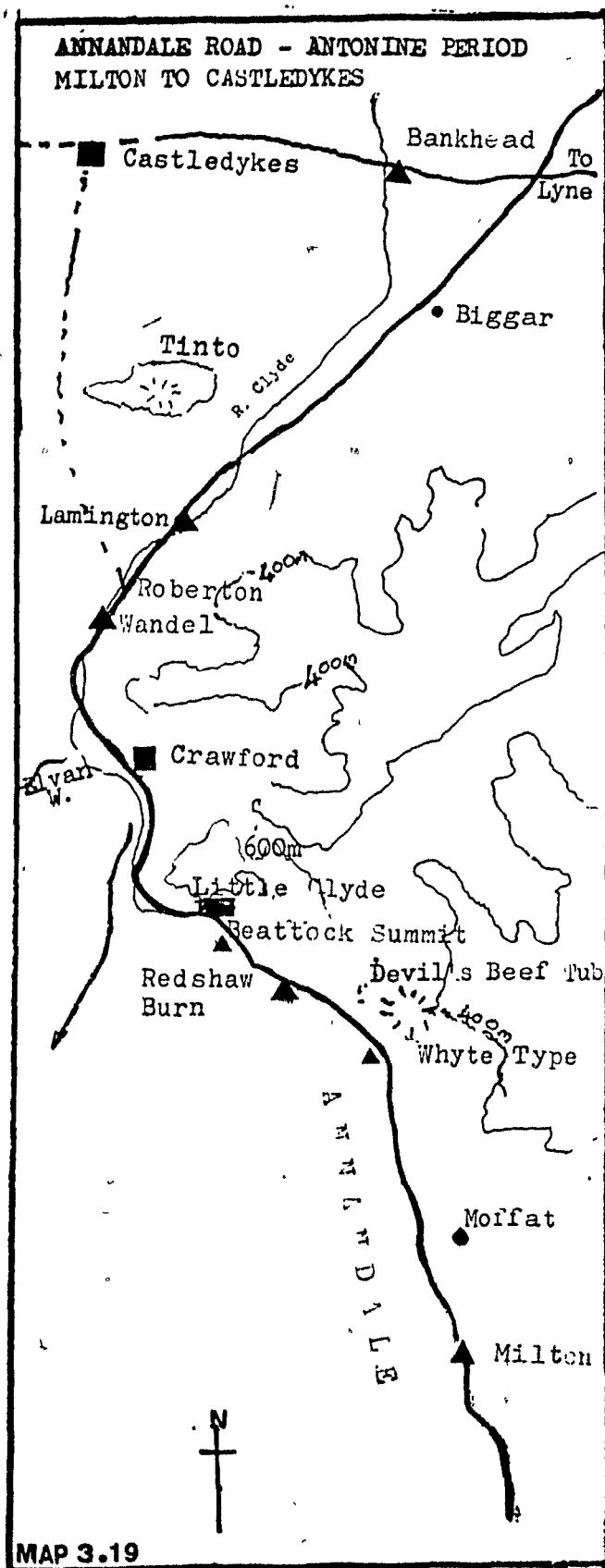
KEY	
ROAD - Course Certain	...
ROAD - Course Uncertain	...
RIVER	...
CONTOUR LINE	...
HILL	...
ROMAN FORT	...
Is of doubtful period	...
for any reason	...
ROMAN FORTEN	...
of doubtful period	...
ROMAN CAMP	...
of doubtful period	...
NATIVE FORT	...
ROMAN TOWN	...



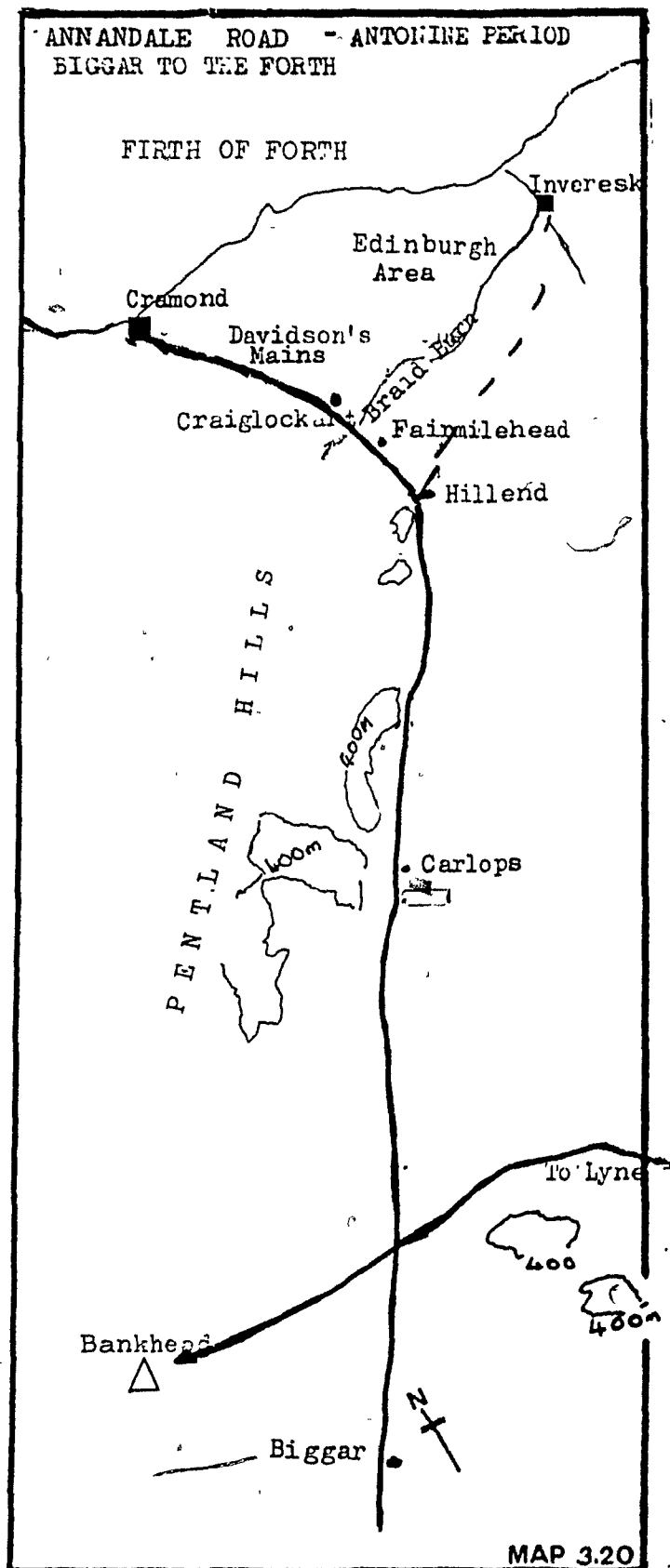
KEY		
ROAD - Course Certain	...	—
Uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	~~~~~ 200m
HILL	...	▲
ROMAN FORT	...	■
If of doubtful period	...	□
for any reason	...	▲
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
of doubtful period	...	△
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
of doubtful period	...	□
NATIVE FORT	...	☼
MODERN TOWN	...	●







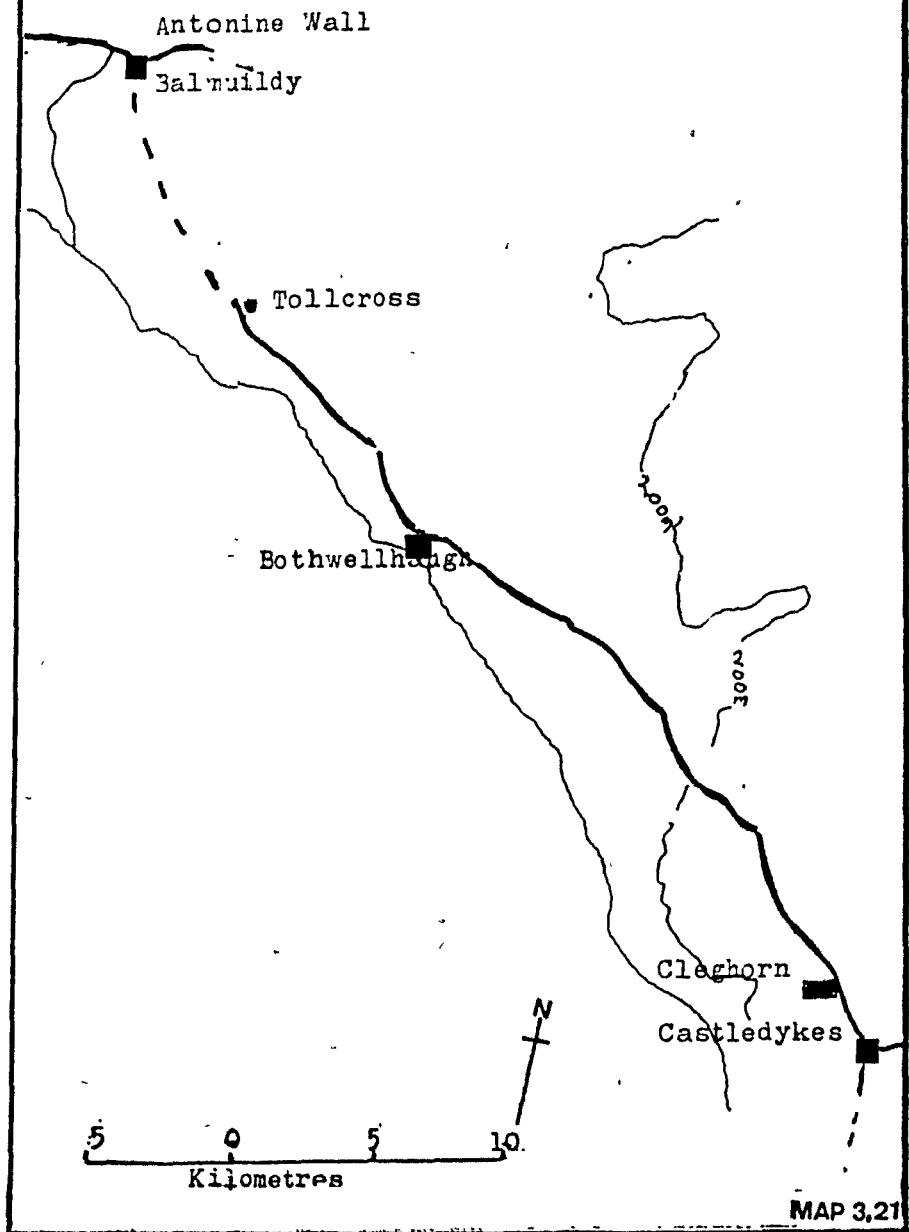
KEY		
ROAD - Course Certain	...	—
Uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	~~~~~ 100
HILL	...	⬤
ROMAN FORT	...	■
If of doubtful period	...	□
for any reason	...	▲
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
of doubtful period	...	△
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
of doubtful period	...	□
NATIVE FORT	...	⊙
MODERN TOWN	...	•



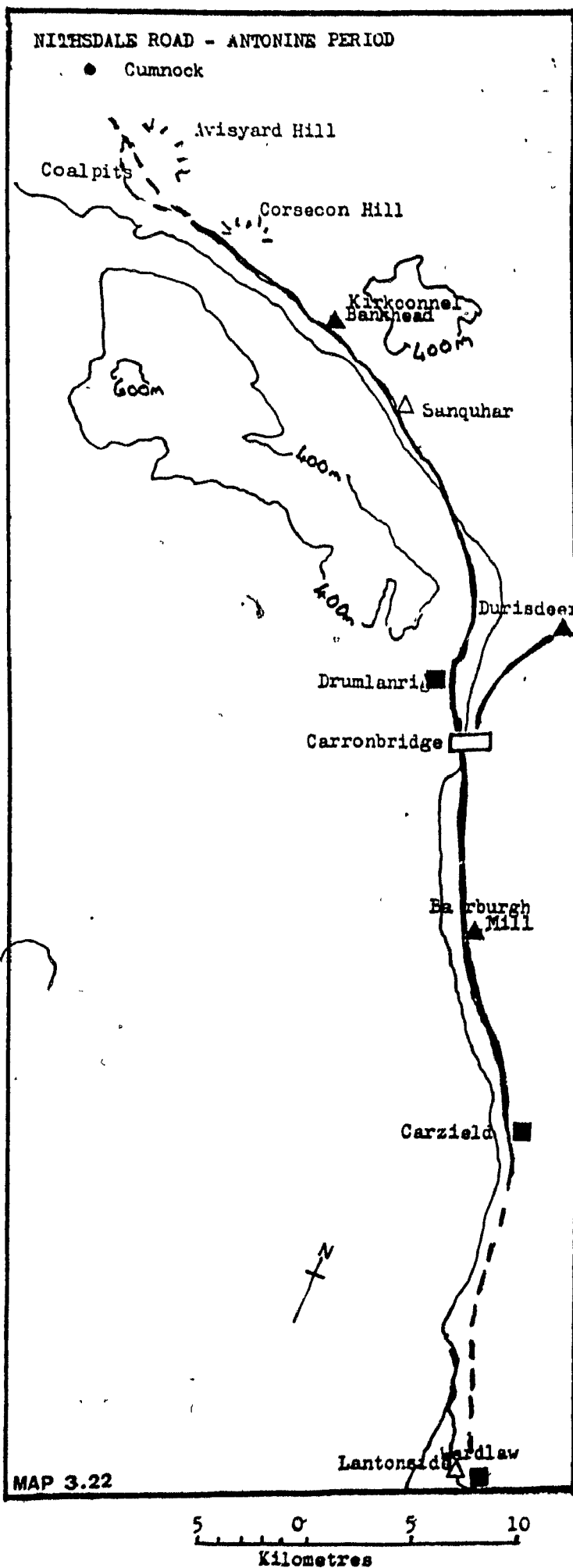
KEY		
ROAD	- Course Certain	---
	- Uncertain	---
RIVER	...	---
CONTOUR LINE	...	---
HILL	...	---
ROMAN FORT	...	---
	If of doubtful period	---
	for any reason	---
ROMAN FORTLET	...	---
	Of doubtful period	---
ROMAN CAMP	...	---
	Of doubtful period	---
NATIVE FORT	...	---
MODERN TOWN	...	---

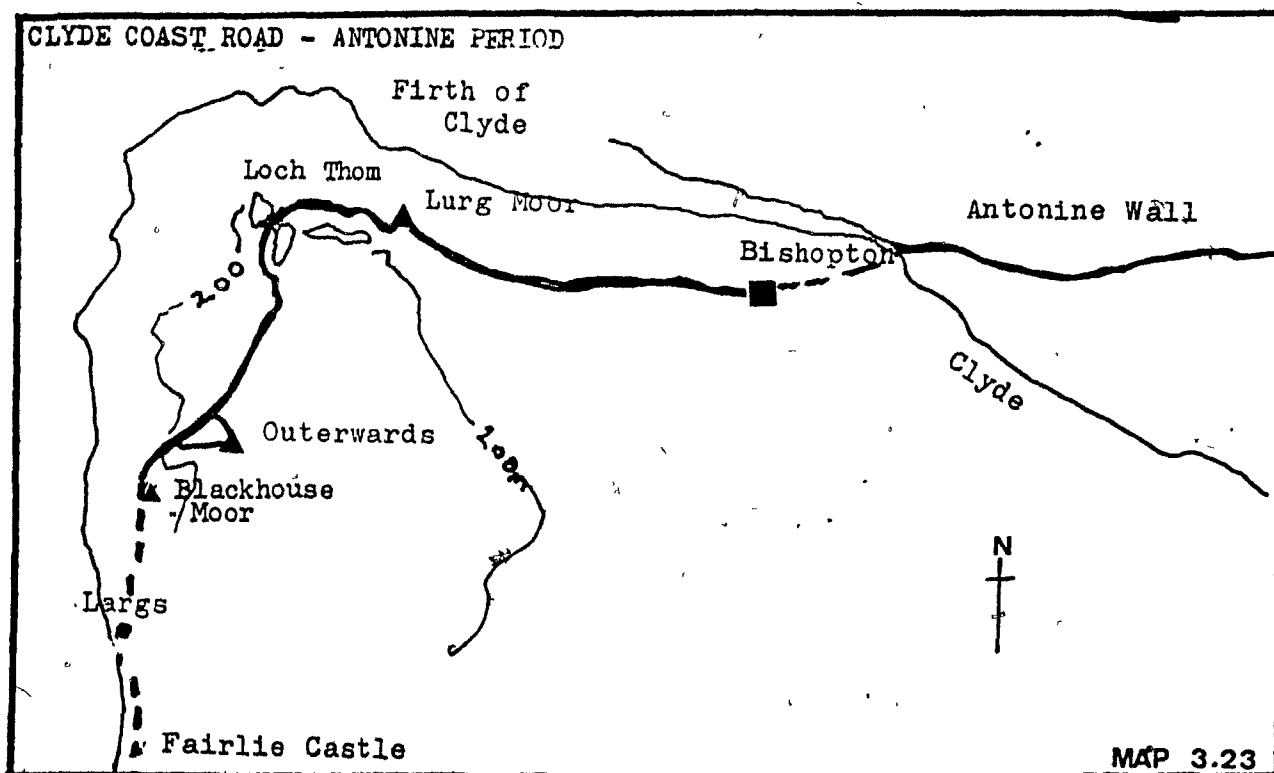
ANNANDALE ROAD - ANTONINE PERIOD  
CASTLEDYKES TO BALNUILDY

KEY		
ROAD - Course Certain	...	—
Uncertain	...	- - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	100
HILL	...	▲
ROMAN FORT	...	■
If of doubtful period	...	□
for any reason	...	▲
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
of doubtful period	...	△
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
of doubtful period	...	□
NATIVE FORT	...	☼
MODERN TOWN	...	●



KEY			
ROAD - Course Certain	...	—	
Uncertain	...	- - -	
RIVER	..	~~~~~	
CONTOUR LINE	...	~~~~~ 200m	
HILL	...	▲	
ROMAN FORT	...	■	
If of doubtful period	...	□	
for any reason	...		
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲	
of doubtful period	...	△	
ROMAN CAMP	...	■	
of doubtful period	...	□	
NATIVE FORT	...	☼	
MODERN TOWN	...	●	

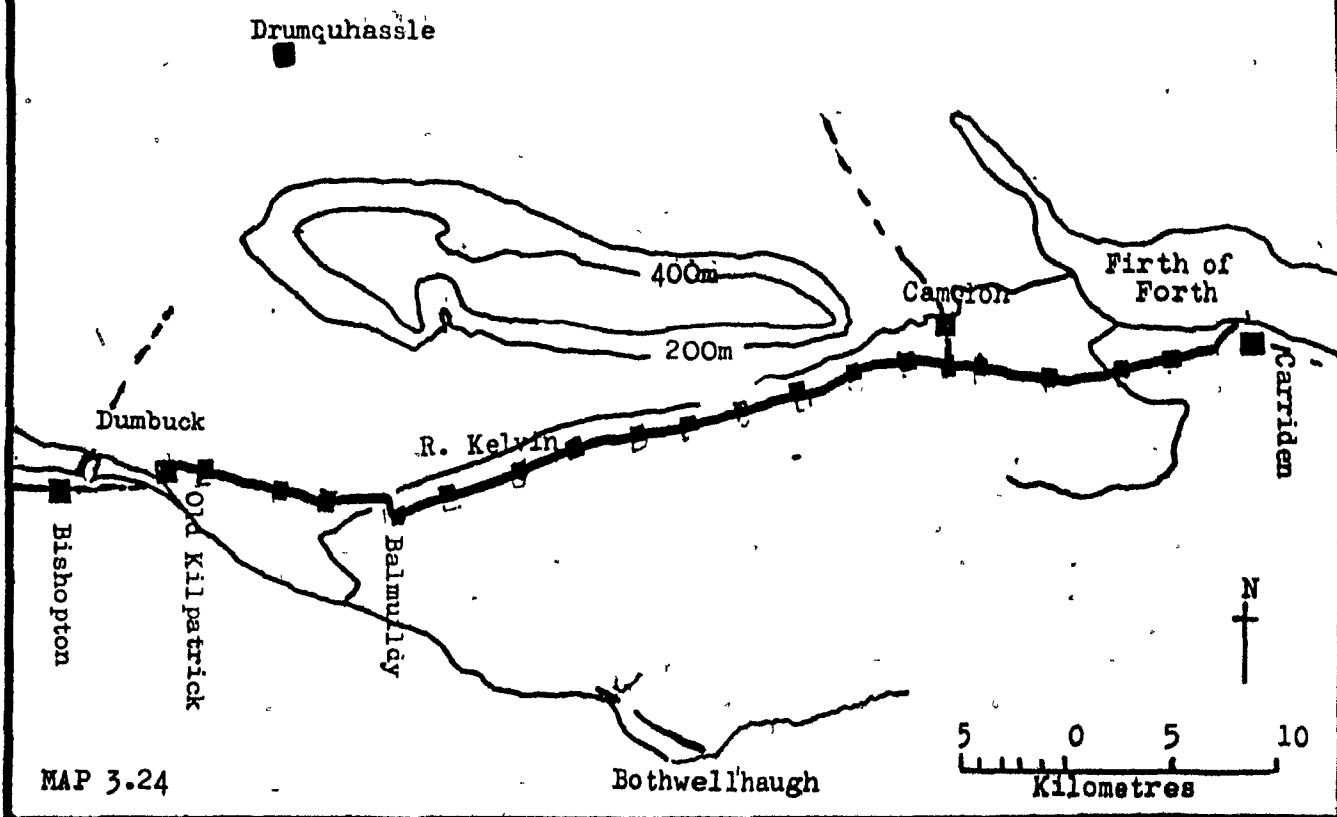




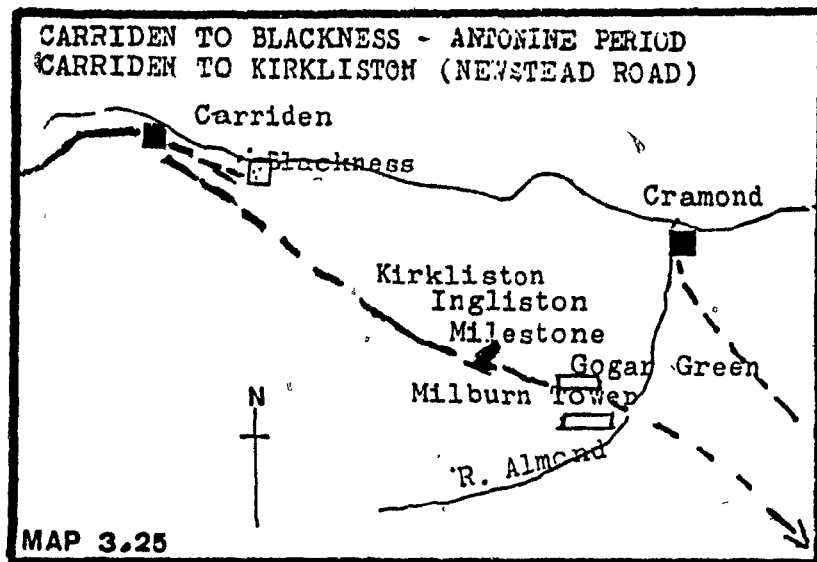
5 0 5 10  
Kilometres

KEY		
ROAD	- Course Certain	—————
	- Uncertain	- - - - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	- - - - -
HILL	...	▲
ROMAN FORT	...	■
	If of doubtful period	□
	for any reason	□
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
	Of doubtful period	▲
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
	Of doubtful period	□
NATIVE FORT	...	☼
MODERN TOWN	...	●

# THE ANTONINE WALL AND ITS ROAD (Adapted from Keppie)



KEY			
ROAD - Course Certain	...	---	
Uncertain	...	- - -	
RIVER	...	~~~~~	
CONTOUR LINE	...	- 200 -	
HILL	...	▲	
ROMAN FORT	...	■	
If of doubtful period	...	□	
for any reason	...		
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲	
Of doubtful period	...	△	
ROMAN CAMP	...	■	
Of doubtful period	...	□	
NATIVE FORT	...	✱	
MODERN TOWN	...	●	



5 0 5 10  
Kilometres

KEY		
ROAD	- Course Certain	—
	- Uncertain	- - -
RIVER	...	~~~~~
CONTOUR LINE	...	— 200 —
HILL	...	▲
ROMAN FORT	...	■
	If of doubtful period	□
	for any reason	▲
ROMAN FORTLET	...	▲
	Of doubtful period	□
ROMAN CAMP	...	■
	Of doubtful period	□
NATIVE FORT	...	☼
MODERN TOWN	...	●



## THE ROAD-MAPS: REFERENCES

### ANNANDALE ROAD

- 3.1 From Carlisle to the Forth-Clyde Isthmus: St. Joseph, 1952: 1-41.
- 3.3-4 Roy, 1793: 103-63.2: 66-8
- 3.16 Margary, 1973: 455-460 and 466-473.
- 3.19 Read, "More Notes on Roman Roads", DGNHAS, Vol 37, (1958-9): 130-135.
- 3.20 Margary, 1973: 461.
- 3.21 From Castledykes to the Forth-Clyde Isthmus: Davidson, 1952: 66-80.

### ESKDALE ROAD

- 3.2 Roy, 1793: 105.  
Birley, 1948: 132-150.
- 3.17 Birley, 1953: 28-31.
- 3.19 Read, (1958-9): 130-132.

### SUPPOSED ROAD FROM CLYDESDALE TO CASTLECARY - SURVIVING PORTION CASTLECARY TO CROWBANK

- 3.5 Davidson, 1952: 81-87.  
Margary, 1973: 455.  
Roy, 1793: 106-7.

### THE AVONDALE ROAD

- 3.6 Roy, 1793: 106.  
St. Joseph, 1952: From Tweed to Clyde:  
Easter Haprew or Lyne to Castledykes, pp 57-59;  
Castledykes to Loudoun Hill and the coast, 60-65.  
Margary, 1973: 473- 476.  
No Name DES, 1984: 47 (Castledykes to Loudoun Hill).

### THE NITHSDALE ROAD

- 3.10 Roy, 1793: 105.  
St. Joseph, 1952: Wardlaw to Dalswinton/Barburgh Mill, 44-56,  
particularly 44.  
Clarke, 1953: 111 - 120.  
Crawford, 1952: 22-34.
- 3.22 Clarke and Wilson, 1958-9: 136-161.  
Read, 1958-9: 132-135.  
Newall and Lonie DES, 1972: 20; 1987: 33.

### LOUDOUN HILL TO BAROCHAN AND SOUTH TO MUIRKIRK - TO JUNCTION WITH CLYDE - NITH CROSS ROAD

- 3.7 Lonie and Newall, DES, 1976, 21 and 53.  
Frere RB, 1977: 370.

### CLYDE-NITH CROSS ROAD

- 3.8 Lonie DES 1972, 24-5  
Lonie and Newall DES 1972: 13-14;  
1973: 17-18 and 35-36; 1974, 18 and 24.

### DAILLY TO MAYBOLE - POSSIBLE EXTENSION OF CROSS ROAD

3.9 Newall and Lonie DES, 1984: 33.

THE WELL PATH ROAD - DURISDEER TO CRAWFORD

3.11 Roy, 1793: 105.  
St. Joseph, 1952: 48-56, Pl. XX, XXI. XXII.  
Margary, 1973: 465-466.

HURLFORD TO AUCHINLECK

3.12 Clarke, 1958-9: 136 and 143  
Margary, 1973: 476 (Carnell to Mauchline confirmed).

HUNTERSTON TO KILWINNING

3.13 Newall DES, 1966: 15-16. (Newall saw this road as a continuation of the AVONDALE ROAD but on the informatio available I find that unacceptable. He proposed that its terminus was a harbour at Little Brigurd Point, (1976: 112 and 122-3).

SOUTHERN ROAD AT GATEHOUSE-OF-FLEET

3.14 Newall DES 1981: 8  
Frere BR, 16, 1985: 267.  
DES, 1971: 26 (Possible Roman Road at Courthill.

ANNANDALE TO NITHSDALE LINK ROAD (WESTERN END OF 3.18 ?)

LOCKERBIE TO LOCHMABEN TO MURDER LOCH TO DALSWINTON OR CARZIELD  
- DRYFESDALE ROAD

3.15 St. Joseph, 1952: 45-47. Pl. XXVIII and XIX.. (only 2 km positively identified).  
Roy, 1793: 104-5, Pl. XXV.  
Margary, 1973, 463-4.

DRYFESDALE ROAD EASTWARDS: LOCKERBIE RAEBURNFOOT TO NEWSTEAD

Roy, 1793: 105.  
3.18 Richmond JRS, XXXVI (1946): 133.  
Birley, DGNHAS, Vol. XXV, 1948: 138-41  
Margary, 1973, 461-464.

NORTH CLYDE COAST ROAD

3.23 Black DES. 1955: 25.  
Newall, DES, 1963: 43-44  
Lonie and Newall DES, 1964: 15 and 21; 1966: 15 - 17; 1968: 40;  
1969:13; 1970: 12-13; 1971: 12; 1974: 57-8.  
Newall DES 1973: 43 (Clyde Ford).  
Wilson, RB, 1975: 175.  
Margary, RRIB, 1973: 455 and 473.  
Newall and Russell DES, 1984: 32.

ANTONINE WALL ROAD

3.24 Macdonald, 1934.  
Robertson, 1979.  
Kepple, 1982: 91-111.

CARRIDEN TO BLACKNESS

3.25 Price DES, 1977: 37-38.

CARRIDEN TO KIRKLISTON TO NEWSTEAD

Ingliston Milestone; RIB 727;  
Closebrooks and Maxwell DES. 1972: 29.  
Keppie, 1982: 91-111.

## GLOSSARY

**BROCH:** A broch is a drystone tower with hollow galleried wall. The wall contained cells. The internal diameter has been found in all examined to range from 9.15 - 12.2 metres. The only break in the wall was a covered entrance way. Two types have been distinguished:

- 1) Ground-galleried brochs which have a gallery or both cells and gallery within its wall at ground level.
- 2) Solid-walled at ground level except for the entrance passage and two or three cells.

**CELL:** A small room within the thickness of a wall and without windows.

**CITADEL OR DEFENSIVE ENCLOSURE:** A small secondary walled enclosure inside a disused fort. (The typesite Rubers Law in Tyne-Forth used Roman stones from the fortlet nearby and 4th-5th century occupation was attested by the pottery found.)

**CRANNOG:** A circular timber-framed thatched house built on an island, either natural or manmade, situated in a bog or loch. It was attached to the mainland by a causeway which would be just below water level. The house itself was built on a platform of wood (often of mortise and tenon construction) and stones reaching some feet above water level. Size varied it seems but an average house would be from c. 15 metres in diameter.

**DRYYSTONE FORT OR DUN:** A wall or building constructed of stones without the use of mortar.

**DUN:** This modern term (meaning in Gaelic "a fortified dwelling place") is given to a type of small fort characterized by a drystone wall approximately 5 metres thick and enclosing an area about 375 sq. metres. There are three types:

- 1) Galleried duns are circular or oval and the wall contained passages or galleries. A stairway, either inside the wall or the dun itself led to the top of the wall.
- 2) Galleried promontory duns have a minor wall on the steep side of the promontory and a galleried wall cutting off the inland area. (This type is called a semi-broch by Mackie (1969, 23).
- 3) Plain duns which are circular, oval or oblong with one entrance.

**FORT:** A fortified site similar to the hillfort occupying a position of natural defence. The area enclosed in this type common in Lowland Scotland is only about 0.4 hectare. It is therefore a miniature hillfort and might have housed a hamlet or settlement rather than a tribe.

**HILLFORT:** A fortified site occupying an eminence or promontory, the sides of which provided a degree of natural defence. To be classed as a hillfort the area enclosed by walling of drystone construction must be sufficient to house a community and its beasts, that is not less than

4.1 hectares. Some were used only for refuge but in others hut floors show permanent occupation and several phases of rebuilding.

**TIMBERLACED FORT:** The walls of this structure were built over a skeleton of timber beams horizontally laid to stabilize the rubble core. Timbers protruded through slots in the face of the drystone wall. Timbers were not usually nailed together as was the practice on the continent.

**VITRIFIED FORT:** A timber-laced fort which was set on fire either accidentally or in warfare. Because of the air in the drystone construction, a temperature was attained high enough to fuse the type of stone used into a glassy mass, whereupon the wall collapsed. Such forts are referred to as "vitrified" and are a specifically Scottish phenomenon.

**HOMESTEAD:** A family unit made up of one to three houses defended by a ditch, wall (turf or stone).

**MULTIVALLATE:** A site with three or more lines of defence.

**SCARCEMENT:** A protruding ledge formed by stones which jut out from a drystone wall forming a support to carry a gallery or stairway.

**SCOOPED SETTLEMENT OR ENCLOSURE:** A walled enclosure having round stone, or as in South-West Scotland, timber houses in the rear and in front one or more scooped or quarried paved court-yards divided by a causeway.

**SETTLEMENT:** More than three houses representing a hamlet or community. Usually enclosed by a wall of some kind.

**SOUTERRAIN:** This is an underground drystone structure, the sides and roof lined with good stonework, sometimes reused Roman stones, often crescent shaped with entrances at both ends leading to a central room. They do come in various shapes (Wainwright, 1955, 87-96).