

III.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN SCOTLAND. BY GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

In 1899 the first systematic endeavour to catalogue the discoveries of Roman coins in Scotland was made by Professor Haverfield in an appendix to the Glasgow Archæological Society's *Antonine Wall Report*. As a matter of course, his list included only those cases in which the descriptions of the coins and the places of discovery had been adequately recorded; mere vague statements were regarded as conveying no information of substantial value. The importance of this contribution to the history of Scotland during the Roman period was immediately recognised. It once for all established the fact, hitherto scarcely suspected, that the effective occupation of the country by the invaders had come to an end soon after the beginning of the reign of Commodus—that is, well before the close of the second century of our era. The result was a marked clearing of the air, a great simplification of the problem with which students of Roman Scotland have to deal. During the twenty years that have since elapsed, much fresh material has been brought to light. Most of it has passed through my own hands, and it is therefore not inappropriate that I should essay the compilation of the enlarged list, for which the time seems fully ripe. I have done so with the cordial concurrence of Professor Haverfield, who has kindly put at my disposal a few notes which he had himself made with an eye to a possible supplement. Other friends have shown themselves equally ready to assist. It must be admitted that the task has proved more serious than was originally anticipated, for no sooner had a beginning been made than it became evident that it was necessary, not merely to furnish an inventory of the fresh material that had accumulated, but to subject the earlier 'sources' to a critical examination. Further, it seemed desirable to try and see for oneself as many of the actual specimens as were accessible. The labour has not, I think, been in vain. It would be idle to hope that the new catalogue can be complete even as regards discoveries already

recorded; but it will, at least, save future investigators a certain amount of trouble. And here and there it may suggest historical deductions of some significance. Is it too much to hope that it will also bring home to all interested the need for keeping a careful account of discoveries yet to come? In addition to precise indications of locality and of any associated objects, such an account would contain full and accurate descriptions of every individual coin concerned, as well as a statement of its probable condition when it dropped out of circulation. This ideal may be unattainable, but it should never be lost sight of.

Before proceeding to discuss details, it will be useful to recapitulate the main principles that must govern the interpretation of the phenomena. At the outset the distinction between hoards and isolated finds should be firmly grasped. So far as is known, no really extensive hoard of Roman gold has ever been discovered in Scotland. Nor is this matter for surprise; the occupation of the country was a strictly military one. Hoards of Roman silver, on the other hand, have been fairly frequent, and it is almost always possible to fix the date of their burial within comparatively narrow limits. Each of them has been the owner's liquid balance at a given moment. That moment cannot have been earlier than the issue of the latest coin which the hoard contains. If the latest coin is in good condition, as if it were but recently struck, the problem is obviously simplified; silver circulated constantly and would soon begin to show signs of wear. Again, the absence of some very common coin may often serve as an index to the inferior limit. If the hoard be of any size, it might be expected to include examples of all pieces ordinarily current at the time it was hidden away. Accordingly, if a very common coin, later in date than the rest of the hoard, is entirely unrepresented, it is not unreasonable to argue that concealment must have taken place before that coin was in use. The date of a hoard of bronze can be determined in similar fashion. But what may we hope to learn from a hoard once its date has been approximately ascertained? Less, perhaps, than might at first be supposed. It does not even afford a guarantee of the former presence of the Romans in the district where it has been discovered. Tacitus tells us, in a well-known passage,¹ that Roman silver coins were used as money by some of the Central European peoples, whose territory lay beyond the boundaries of the empire; it was not so with gold, he adds, since individual pieces of the more precious metal would have been equivalent to a higher capital value than was suited to the requirements of a comparatively primitive society.² What he

¹ *Germania*, c. v.

² *Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est promiscua et vilia mercantibus* (l.c.).

says has been amply confirmed by the finding of hoards of *denarii* in the very regions of which he is speaking. And the practice of Central Europe had its parallel in North Britain. In the sequel good grounds will be shown for accepting the conclusion long ago reached by Hector Boece, possibly under the direct inspiration of Tacitus, with whose works he seems to have been familiar. After attributing the institution of a Scottish coinage to Donald, he continues, in the quaint language of Bellenden's translation:¹ "The Scottis usit na money, but marchandice, quhen they interchangeit with Britonis and Romanis, afore thir dayis; except it war money of the said Romanis or Britonis; as may be previt by sindry auld hurdis and treasouris, found in divers partis of Scotland, with uncouth cunye."

The occurrence of hoards in any particular district is not, therefore, in itself a proof of former Roman occupation. Their true significance must be sought in another direction. The Digest² declares that the ancients buried their money "*vel lucri causa, vel metus, vel custodia.*" But, while the motives prompting to concealment may have varied, the failure to recover admits of but one explanation—a sudden and final severance of the owner's connexion with the spot where his property had been hidden away. Great wars or prolonged periods of internal disturbance would inevitably leave their mark on a country in the shape of numerous unclaimed deposits within the area affected. Thus, if we take the finds of Roman coins in France, where the lists are more complete than elsewhere, the result is very striking.³ During the reigns when Gaul was, to our positive knowledge, secure and settled, the unclaimed deposits sink to a minimum. Vespasian, for example, was emperor for ten years, and that decade has but a single hoard to its credit. Similarly, there are only two hoards that can be assigned to the thirteen years of Claudius. Again, the reign of Augustus lasted for over forty years, and yet it accounts for no more than eight hoards in all. Contrast with these figures the one hundred and sixty-four hoards that fall within the few brief years covered by the reigns of Gallienus and Postumus, when Gaul was ravaged alternately by civil war and by the inroads of Frankish invaders. The moral as regards Scotland is plain. So soon as we have got an approximate date for a hoard, and still more for a group of hoards, we must see whether history has anything to tell of wars or tumults, with which the abandonment of the deposits might reasonably be connected.

¹ Ed. 1821, i. p. 195.

² 41. 1. 31. 1.

³ The figures here given are taken from J. A. Blanchet's *Les trésors de monnaies romaines et les invasions germaniques en Gaule* (Paris, Leroux, 1900). Although numerous hoards have come to light within the past eighteen years, it seemed hardly worth while attempting to bring the statistics up to date; the margin is so great that the general conclusion could not possibly be affected.

If we turn from hoards to isolated finds, a more promising field of inquiry is at once presented. Here too, however, caution is called for. It is, to begin with, a question of locality. A stray discovery, such as that of a gold coin of Alexander the Great in the bed of a Dumfriesshire stream,¹ proves nothing. There are a thousand and one chances by which such a portable object might have made its way to this strange resting-place; we cannot decide between them, and can therefore draw no conclusions. On the other hand, the collation of a series of isolated finds from any particular area, large or small, may be highly instructive. Thus, if specimens are picked up in and about a site that bears indubitable marks of early occupation, the presumption is that they were there because they had been casually dropped by the former inhabitants. If the settlement has been a native one, we are entitled to argue that the Caledonians, like their Continental contemporaries whom Tacitus describes, acquired from the Romans, not merely the habit of using coined money, but also the very pieces which they employed for the purpose. Further, when rightly read, the evidence thus gathered may give serviceable clues for dating, and so provide links between archæology and history. Its right reading, however, depends upon a variety of considerations. These apply more forcibly to coins discovered upon sites definitely known to be Roman than to those dug up with the débris of native settlements. In the case of the latter we have no means of gauging with accuracy the length of time that would be required for the process of filtration across the frontier, and consequently we can only venture on chronological deductions of a rather general kind. Inside a Roman fort we are on safer ground, and can afford to be more precise, so long as we pay due heed to the considerations just alluded to, the chief of which are as follows.

If a coin shows distinct signs of wear, we may assume that it has been in circulation for a considerable time before it was lost. But we must be careful not to rush too hastily to the opposite conclusion, merely because it seems to have been fresh from the mint. This is specially true of gold. It is quite possible that an isolated gold piece, which has all the look of having been recently struck, may have been in reality twenty, fifty, or a hundred years old when it parted company with the last of its ancient owners, the interval being spent in some receptacle as part of a stock of bullion. Accordingly, gold is apt to be less helpful from this particular point of view than one might be tempted to think, although even gold may be made the basis of inferences, provided the number of examples is sufficiently large to eliminate the

¹ See the description of the parish of Hoddam (1834) in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire") pp. 292 f.

possibilities of error. If, on the other hand, the latest members of a series are of silver or of bronze, and if they are consistently unworn, the likelihood is that the date of their issue is an index to the date of the abandonment of the fort. And, as between these two metals, the advantage rests with bronze; it is a more reliable guide to the *terminus ad quem*. While money of all kinds undoubtedly took a little time to make its way to the outskirts of the empire, there is evidence to prove that 'brass' travelled more rapidly than silver.¹

The choice of an approximate *terminus a quo* is a far more troublesome matter, since ancient coins often remained in circulation for many years after their original issue. Here again bronze is, on the whole, the safest guide, although even bronze cannot be trusted to bring us very near the end for which we are in search, seeing that Roman 'brass' not seldom enjoyed a far longer life than its modern counterparts. Issues of Nero and of Claudius have been found associated in hoards with issues of Marcus Aurelius, who reigned more than a century later.² A Roman 'brass' piece might thus have attained to quite a respectable age before it was carried across the Tweed at all. Silver may be still more misleading. In the main this is the result of what may fairly be called two curious freaks of currency. Owing apparently to its superior quality, silver, minted while Rome was still a republic, continued to circulate in the frontier provinces for more than a century after the establishment of the empire. *Denarii* between two and three hundred years old seem to have been in everyday use as late as the Flavian era, although there is reason to believe that they vanished soon afterwards. So prolonged a defiance of Gresham's Law is not easy to account for, except on the hypothesis that the good money was habitually accepted at a slight premium.³ The explanation of the second abnormality is very different. The legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony were so heavily alloyed that the progressive deterioration which set in under Nero had to run its course for well over a hundred years before the regular imperial issues touched the same depth of degradation. They are associated in hoards with coins struck at the close of the second century of our era; in the interval it had not been worth the while of any government to call them in.⁴ *Denarii* of Mark Antony might therefore have been lost in Scotland at any time up to the end of the reign of Commodus or even later. In other words, found within a Roman fort they tell us nothing more than that the site was probably in Roman occupation prior to about 200 A.D. Republican *denarii*, it will be observed,

¹ See Dragendorff in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxiii. p. 240.

² Cf. the hoard from Croydon, described in *Num. Chron.*, 1907, pp. 353 ff.

³ See Haverfield in *Archæologia*, liv. 489 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*

are distinctly more informing. Inasmuch as they disappeared from circulation soon after the Flavian era, their significance is much the same as that attaching to freshly minted silver or 'brass' of the reign of Domitian. They suggest a first-century settlement.

And in dealing with Roman Scotland indications of this sort are singularly helpful. Scanty as is the light that written record throws upon the exact course of events, it is still sufficient to show that there are three periods on which attention should be concentrated. The first opened with the invasion of Agricola about 80 A.D. If we could take quite literally the "*perdomita Britannia et statim missa*" of Tacitus,¹ we should believe that it ended with his recall three or four years later. On such a point, however, the historian is hardly an impartial witness; his devotion to his father-in-law's memory may have prompted him to use the language of exaggeration. Here, therefore, the archæological evidence, if we can read its meaning, becomes specially important. The second period began in the reign of Antoninus Pius and lasted, as we know from the coins,² until Commodus was on the throne; its most notable monument was the Wall between the Forth and Clyde, built about 142 A.D. and garrisoned more or less continuously for the four decades that followed. Lastly, very early in the third century we have the intervention of Septimius Severus; his northern expedition occupies a large space on the canvases of Herodian and Cassius Dio, albeit the imposing picture they draw of his achievements has so far met with scant confirmation at the hands of archæology. Such are the broad outlines of the historical scheme to which the mass, at all events, of the numismatic data may be expected to conform, and which it may be hoped they will help to illuminate.

Compared with the chronological framework, the geographical one is of secondary importance. Nevertheless it may be instructive to try and group the coins according to the localities in which they have been found, in so far as these localities lie within certain well-defined areas in which the former presence of the Romans has been conclusively established. In southern Scotland two main routes can be traced. The more easterly of these crossed the Cheviots, passed the Tweed at Newstead, made its way over Soutra Hill to Inveresk, and reached the sea at Cramond. The landmarks on the western road are fewer, and its course correspondingly more doubtful. But the position of the forts of Birrens, near Hoddam, and of Castledykes, near Carstairs, affords good reason for believing that it ran through Annandale and Clydesdale at no great distance from the track now followed by the Caledonian Railway. The isthmus, with the Wall and its 'stations,' can most

¹ *Histories*, i. 2.

² See *supra*, p. 203.

conveniently be regarded as an area apart. Beyond the isthmus the line of advance was by Camelon and Ardoch to the Earn and the Tay, and thence north-eastwards through the shires of Forfar and Kincardine into Aberdeen. If a map of Roman Scotland could be constructed with any approach to completeness, it would doubtless show, especially in the southern counties, a far more elaborate network of communications than the bare outline that has just been sketched. Our knowledge, however, is as yet so fragmentary that for the present we shall do well to be content with the outline, bare as it is. Anything Roman lying outside can be dealt with as it arises.

Some of the authorities to be referred to will have to be cited so often that a good deal of footnote space will be saved by a list of abbreviations:—

- Coh.² = H. Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, 2nd edition (1880-1892).
 Smellie = W. Smellie, *Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, part i. (1782) and part ii. (1784).
Arch. Scot. = *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. ii. (1822), vol. iii. (1831), and vol. v. (1890).
Proc. = *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.
 O.S.A. = Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791-1799).
 N.S.A. = *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845). The different counties are separately paged even where two or three are bound together in one volume, and the account of each parish is, as a rule, separately dated.
 Sibbald = Sir R. Sibbald, *Historical Inquiries* (1707).
 Gordon = Alexander Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1727).
 Horsley = John Horsley, *Britannia Romana* (1732).
 Pennant = Thomas Pennant, *Tour in Scotland* (ed. 1776).
 Chalmers = G. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. i. (1807).
 Lindsay = J. Lindsay, *View of the Coinage of Scotland* (1845), with two Supplements (1859 and 1868).
 Stuart = R. Stuart, *Caledonia Romana*, 2nd edition (1852).
 Buchanan = Notes by the late Dr John Buchanan, chiefly on the margin of his copy of the preceding, now in the Library of the MSS. Glasgow Archæological Society.
 Haverfield = Glasgow Archæological Society's *Antonine Wall Report* (1899).

As hoards may be expected to yield one kind of lesson, and isolated finds another, it is clearly desirable that the two should be catalogued separately. And for various reasons it will be best to begin with the isolated finds, arranging them in four groups according to the associations in which they have occurred, and at the same time having regard to the geographical framework outlined above. In an ideal list the different metals, if not also the different denominations, would be classified apart. Unfortunately no such completeness is attainable here. The records are too imperfect. Wherever possible, however, the metal will be mentioned, gold being indicated by *A*, silver by *B*, and 'brass' by *Æ*.

(A) ISOLATED FINDS FROM ROMAN SITES.

(a) South-Eastern Scotland.

CAPPUCK.—The pottery associated with the site proves that this small post was occupied both under Agricola and under Pius. Of the 13 coins discovered, 2 were found in 1892 and the remainder in the course of the excavations of 1911-12. For a detailed catalogue see *Proc.*, xlvi. pp. 470 ff. The following is a summary:—Vespasian (2 *A* and 2 *Æ*), Titus (1 *Æ*), Domitian (1 *A*), Trajan (3 *Æ*), Hadrian (2 *A* and 1 *Æ*), Faustina Senior (1 *A*). None of the first-century pieces is in sufficiently good preservation to justify us in ruling out the possibility of its having been dropped during the second century. So far as the coins are concerned, therefore, it is only for the Antonine period that the evidence of occupation is conclusive.

NEWSTEAD.—Mr James Curle's excavations have put it beyond doubt that Trimontium, as the Roman station here would seem to have been called, was held in strength during the Agricolan period, as well as during the years that followed the reconquest of southern Scotland by Pius. The first writer to draw attention to the finding of Roman remains in the neighbourhood was the Rev. Adam Milne who, in his *History of the Parish of Melrose* (1743), speaking of coins, refers (p. 44) to "several Roman Medals or Coins . . . some of Gold, some of Silver, and of Brass, as of *Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Constantine.*" No further details are available. A much fuller record of similar discoveries, made more than a hundred years later, is given in *Proc.*, i. pp. 34 ff. and v. p. 108 by Dr J. A. Smith. The number was largely added to when the site was systematically searched in 1905 and subsequent years. The coins then found, and also those recorded by Dr Smith, are catalogued in an Appendix to Mr Curle's *Roman Frontier Post* (pp. 385 ff.). Since that catalogue was printed, two *Æ* coins previously set aside as indecipherable have been recognised as of Trajan and Faustina Junior respectively. Two *denarii* of Hadrian from Newstead have moreover come to light among the papers of Mr Curle's late father, one being *Coh.*², ii. p. 136, No. 353, and the other (which is a fragment) probably *Coh.*², ii. p. 197, No. 1099.

The inclusion of the four pieces just mentioned brings the total number of definitely identified specimens up to 262, distributed thus:—Republican *A* (9), *A* of M. Antony (8), Augustus (1 *A* and probably 1 *Æ*), Tiberius (1 *A*), Nero (2 *A*, 1 *A*, and 2 *Æ*), Galba (2 *A*), Otho (1 *A*), Vitellius (1 *A*), Vespasian (22 *A* and 28 *Æ*), Titus (1 *A*, 2 *A*, and 10 *Æ*), Domitian (12 *A* and 25 *Æ*), uncertain Flavian (2 *Æ*), Nerva

(3 *A* and 1 *Æ*), Trajan (1 *A*, 15 *A*, and 27 *Æ*), Hadrian (24 *A* and 27 *Æ*), Sabina (2 *Æ*), Pius (1 *A*, 6 *A*, and 7 *Æ*), Faustina Senior (4 *A* and 6 *Æ*), Marcus (1 *A* and 2 *Æ*), Faustina Junior (1 *A* and 4 *Æ*), Crispina (1 *A*). The gold coins are all among those described by Dr J. A. Smith in *Proc.* The only one of them whose whereabouts is known (*Proc.*, v. p. 108)—one of the two of Nero—is now in the Edinburgh Museum; it is in very good condition. The list, as a whole, is much the longest of any we possess from Scottish sites; and its significance is unmistakable. The presence of consular *denarii* points plainly to the first century. The very large proportion of Flavian 'brass' confirms the indication, particularly as two of the 'second brass' coins of Domitian must have been almost in mint condition when lost. These were both of 86 A.D., and thus prove conclusively that the fort must have been held by the Romans for at least two years after Agricola's recall. At the other extreme there is no lack of second-century pieces, down to and including the reign of Commodus. The testimony of the coins is in absolute agreement with that of the pottery. It connects Newstead both with Agricola and with Pius.

It will be remembered that Constantine is one of the emperors mentioned by Milne. Further, Dr J. A. Smith's list included (*Proc.*, i. pp. 36 ff.) Victorinus (1 *Æ*), Diocletian (1 *Æ*), Carausius (1 *Æ*), Galerius Maximianus (1 *Æ*), and Constantine (4 *Æ*), these being, as he gives us to understand, only a selection from a number of similar pieces which he had seen. At the first blush the evidence for an occupation of Trimontium about 330 A.D. seems strong. On the other hand, such a theory is totally inadmissible in face of the fact that throughout the whole of Mr Curle's most careful excavations not a single coin or other object of third or fourth century date emerged. The simplest explanation of the apparent contradiction is to suppose that Milne's Constantine was a straggler, to be classed with other stragglers of the same period from various parts of the country, and that the corresponding pieces noted by Smith represent one of those hoards of late 'brass' whose sporadic occurrence in Scotland we shall have occasion to refer to by and by. If this be so, it is not difficult to account for the solitary example of Tetricus Senior (*Æ*), which was handed over to the Exchequer in 1863 along with a hoard of billon placks from Newstead (*Proc.*, v. p. 107). It was probably a chance survivor from the earlier find.

CRICHTON.—This site lies on a broad shelf, well down the long slope that descends towards the north from the summit of Soutra Hill. It commands a most extensive view. In the immediate foreground is a series of low undulations through which the Tyne and the Esk force

their way to the sea. Beyond is the plain of the Lothians, guarded on the north-west by the Pentlands, with Arthur's Seat as their sentinel. No traces of the Roman road are now discernible in the neighbourhood, nor is there any record of their ever having been observed later than the twelfth century, when Derestrete appears in a charter of King Malcolm in a context which brings it quite close to Dalkeith.¹ At the same time the evidence for a Roman station at Crichton, if tantalisingly indefinite, is still sufficiently substantial to be convincing. The so-called 'Roman camp' at Longfaugh is a circular enclosure, obviously of native construction. But in a field immediately to the north of it, on the shelf already mentioned, there was discovered in 1869 a 'weem' or 'earth-house,' the builders of which had made liberal use of stones dressed by Roman masons. In the original account of the opening up of this underground chamber the number of such stones is put at "about thirty" (*Proc.*, viii. p. 108). The estimate is too modest. In 1913, when the earth-house was carefully examined by the staff of the Ancient Monuments Commission, the total rose to between forty and fifty. It is extremely improbable that all this material was conveyed to the spot from a distance. On the contrary, the likelihood is that the position of the later building was determined by the proximity of the ruins which were pillaged during its erection. The situation of the Roman fort may therefore be regarded as approximately known.

Arch. Scot., iii., App. ii. p. 50 records that on November 14, 1785, Mr George Cairncross presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland "Twelve Ancient Roman Bronze Coins of the Emperors Domitian, Antoninus, Gratian, Magnentius, Constantine, Gallienus, Licinius, Tetricus, Posthumus, Victorinus, and Claudius, found in a Roman encampment on the estate of Crichton-dean, in the parish of Crichton." The "Roman encampment" is obviously the circular enclosure at Longhaugh. But the word "in" need not be taken too literally; popular report would be quick to transfer to the interior any finds from the immediate neighbourhood. For reasons to be explained in the sequel,² we are justified in looking on the coins of the later emperors as representing a hoard. Those of Domitian and Pius, on the other hand, are precisely what we should expect to find on any abandoned Roman site in Scotland. And their testimony does not stand quite alone. Fifteen or twenty years ago Professor Oman and our Fellow Mr David MacRitchie saw in the hands of Miss Pringle, sister of the tenant of Crichton House, several

¹ The passage is quoted *in extenso* in Curle's *Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 14 f.

² See *infra*, p. 272.

Roman coins which had been picked up on the farm, quite close (they understood) to the earth-house. Professor Oman states that, so far as his recollection goes, they were "all of the Trajan-Hadrian period." No further details regarding them are now available.¹

INVERESK.—The next station to Crichton on the line of the Roman road may very possibly have been at Inveresk, which lies some eight miles further north. Various Roman remains, including an altar dedicated to Apollo Grannus, came to light here in 1565, and other discoveries of a similar character have been made at intervals since. The coins recorded from the site are six in number—a Trajan (*A*) and a Faustina (*Æ*), found in 1783 (*O.S.A.*, xvi. p. 5, and *Arch. Scot.*, ii. p. 161); a Vespasian (*A*), found in 1827 (Moir, *Roman Antiquities of Inveresk*, p. 13); a second Trajan (*A*), presented to the National Museum in 1865 (*Proc.*, vi. p. 113); a third Trajan (*Æ*), found in 1878 and presented to the National Museum (*Proc.*, xiii. p. 74 and p. 271); and a Hadrian (*A*), presented to the National Museum at some date unknown. So small a collection of material leaves but scant room for inferences. All it proves is that Inveresk was occupied during the Antonine period.

CRAMOND.—The Roman fort at Cramond was some twelve miles beyond Inveresk. It is possible that there was an intermediate station, although Sir Daniel Wilson's attempt to make out a case for Edinburgh (*Proc.*, xix. 205²) can hardly be called convincing. If there was such a station, it would probably be a small one, for Cramond itself was unquestionably very important, as is clear from the extent and character of the remains that have been from time to time brought to the surface by the hand of chance. The writers of the early eighteenth century are enthusiastic over the rich finds of Roman coins. Sir John Clerk had married Janet, daughter of Sir John Inglis, the laird, and had acquired through his father-in-law as many as "forty or fifty." These, as well as others, had been seen and examined by Gordon and Horsley; the former (p. 116) speaks of "an incredible Quantity of Roman Coins of Gold, Silver, and Brass, of all sorts," and the latter (p. 205) of "abundance of medals." Some details have been noted. Sibbald, for instance, mentions (pp. 16 and 33) an *aureus* of Caracalla. But by far the fullest catalogue is Gordon's. After describing a "large Brass Coin of the Emperor

¹ Two or three weeks before this paper was read, I succeeded in getting into communication with Miss Pringle, then an old lady of 92. She retained all her faculties, and was most anxious to see me and give me full information about the coins. On the very morning arranged for my visit I received a telegram advising me that she had been taken seriously ill. She died a few days later.

² And in more detail in *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 1st ed., pp. 384 ff.

Claudius," which the figure given in his "Plate of Medals and Intaglios" shows to have been Coh.², i. pp. 254 f., No. 48, he proceeds (p. 117):—

"At this Place was found a well preserved Gold Medal of *Antoninus Pius* [now in the Custody of the same Baron] as is also that invaluable Medal of *Severus*, supposed to be coined on the Peace with the *Caledonians*; the others, dug up at this Station, in the Baron's Collection, are one of *C. Augustus, Divi Filius*. Reverse *Pon-Max*; 5 of *Trajan*, 5 of *Hadrian*, 2 of *Vespasian*, 2 of *Nerva*, 2 of *Antoninus Pius*, one of *Galba*, one of *Nero*, one of *Julia*, one of *Domitian*, another of *Severus*, with this Reverse, *Felicitas Augustorum*; one of *Octavianus Augustus*; one of *Claudius*; one of *Antoninus Augustus*, which I take to be *Caracalla*; another of the same, with this Reverse, *Moneta Augusti*; another of *Antoninus*, without a beard, the Reverse two Hands joining; there are besides six Consular Medals."

These particulars, interesting as they are, are not sufficient to enable any one of the pieces to be identified with absolute certainty, unless it be the two coins of *Severus*, which seem to correspond to Coh.², iv. p. 25, Nos. 203 ff., and p. 18, No. 135 respectively. But they form the staple of such subsequent accounts as make any pretence to completeness. Horsley (p. 205) supplements them by a *Diocletian* from the collection of Lord Rutherglen, "with a *Genius* on the reverse, and this inscription, GENIO POPVLI ROMANI: which serves to show that the Romans were late possessed of this station." Again, Maitland, in his *History of Scotland* (1757), i. 203, speaks of "a medal of *Faustina*, consort to *M. Antoninus*," and also tells of the discovery of "divers Roman coins," with other remains, in 1748 "in the grounds of the incumbent's glebe." On the other hand, the list printed by Wood in his *Parish of Cramond* (1794), pp. 4 f., contains no name unrecorded by his predecessors, except that of *Julia Domna*, and even she is a novelty only on the assumption that the "Julia" of Gordon was a first-century lady. Chalmers and Stuart add even less to our knowledge. Very notable, however, is the mention by Haverfield (p. 162) of an *aureus* of *Geta*. According to a jotting which I have found among my father's papers, and which must have been written about 1898, "this very fine coin was dug up in the churchyard a few years ago and purchased for the National Museum, Edinburgh, for £7." It is Coh.², iv. p. 254, No. 11, and is in excellent preservation, almost as if fresh from the mint.

An unexpected measure of success has attended personal inquiries recently made upon the spot. Mr Lumley, innkeeper, showed me two *denarii* from the churchyard—one of *Galba*, much worn but apparently of the *DIVA AVGVSTA* type (Coh.², i. p. 322, No. 51, etc.), and the other a *Faustina Junior* (Coh.², iii. p. 152, No. 190) in very fair

condition. At the same time Mrs Callander of Cramond House kindly allowed me to examine a small collection, composed of coins that had been dug up in the garden and grounds at intervals throughout a long series of years. They numbered twenty-seven in all, and constitute a highly interesting group, including twenty-five *denarii* and two 'second brass':—1 *Æ* of Claudius (Coh.², i. p. 257, No. 84); 1 *Æ* of Vespasian (Coh.², i. p. 384, No. 226); 1 *Æ* of Titus (Coh.², i. p. 434, No. 67); 3 *Æ* of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 20, No. 26, and p. 26, Nos. 74 and 77); 6 *Æ* of Hadrian (Coh.², ii. p. 114, No. 104¹; p. 120, No. 188; p. 168, No. 717; p. 171, No. 762; p. 204, No. 1174; and p. 216, No. 1336); 2 *Æ* of Antoninus Pius (Coh.², ii. p. 314, No. 463, and a variety² not included in Coh.²); 1 *Æ* of Faustina Senior (Coh.², ii. p. 430, No. 219); 1 *Æ* of Marcus Aurelius (Coh.², iii. p. 91 f., No. 924); 1 *Æ* of Faustina Junior (Coh.², iii. p. 138, No. 24); 1 *Æ* of Lucilla (Coh.², iii. p. 217, No. 33); 4 *Æ* of Septimius Severus (Coh.², iv. p. 21, No. 154; p. 50, No. 475; p. 63, No. 599; and p. 68, No. 652); 2 *Æ* of Julia Domna (Coh.², iv. p. 119, No. 174, and p. 123, No. 218)³; 1 *Æ* of Plautilla (Coh.², iv. p. 248, No. 21); and 2 *Æ* of Geta (different varieties of Coh.², iv. p. 270, No. 157). The latest coin which can be precisely dated is the first of those of Septimius Severus; it was struck in A.D. 211. The *Æ* of Lucilla is in 'poor' condition. The majority of the other pieces range from 'fair' to 'very fair.' But two of Hadrian, two of Septimius Severus, and one of Julia Domna may be described as 'good,' while the other of Julia Domna, the one of Plautilla, and the two of Geta deserve to rank as 'very good.'

Lack of detail regarding the earlier finds makes a proper summary impossible. But a bare enumeration of the names involved will so far serve our purpose. In addition to Republican *Æ*, Cramond has yielded coins of the following emperors and empresses:—Augustus, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Pius, Faustina Senior, Marcus, Faustina Junior, Lucilla, Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Plautilla, and Geta. This is a remarkable list, for each of our three historical periods seems to be well represented. The consular *denarii* are distinctly suggestive of Agricola, and with their support the coin or coins of Augustus and the *Æ* of Claudius may be attributed to the same epoch. A second-century settlement is, of course, amply vouched for. But so too is an occupation under Septimius Severus. The last point is of special interest, as no analogous evidence has yet been recovered from any

¹ The emperor, however, appears to be bareheaded.

² The Obv. is as on Coh.², ii. p. 358, No. 919, while the Rev. reads TR POT COS IIII round the type of Salus seated as on Coh.², ii. p. 359, No. 929.

³ Though not mentioned by Cohen, a Cupid supports a shield at Venus's feet.

other Scottish site. It will have been observed that the list given above took no account of Horsley's Diocletian. The omission was deliberate. Like Milne's Constantine at Newstead, the Diocletian at Cramond was in all likelihood a straggler. It is true that some years ago I saw in the hands of a third party two coins of Constantine the Younger that were said by their owner to have been found in the neighbourhood of Cramond. But, even if they came from the interior of the fort itself, they would not be sufficient to confirm Horsley's inference as to the presence of a Roman garrison in the third or fourth century. Inhabitation of some sort at that time is probable enough on *a priori* grounds, but there is no need to suppose that the inhabitants were Romans, seeing that (as we shall learn by and by) Constantinian coins circulated freely among the natives.

LYNE.—The fort at Lyne does not belong to the same sequence as those with which we have been dealing, and yet its connexion with them is very real. Its position is most easily understood, if it be regarded as the solitary survivor of a chain of posts whose purpose was to maintain cross-country communication through the hills between the two trunk-routes from south to north. The excavations of 1900 produced but few relics, and among these there was none for which a second-century date would have been inappropriate. The coins, which were only two in number, were no exception. They were of Titus (*Æ*) and of Trajan (*Æ*), and are described in *Proc.*, xxxv. p. 186.

(b) *South-Western Scotland.*

BIRRENSWARK.—The results of the exploration of this site in 1898 were less conclusive than might have been hoped for, but were still sufficient to establish an association with the Romans. Conspicuous among the small number of objects recovered were sixty-seven *glandes* or sling-bullets of lead (*Proc.*, xxxiii. p. 246). As such *glandes* ceased to be used in the Roman army about the end of the first century of our era, it has been inferred¹ that the earthworks were of Agricolan date, a conclusion that had long ago commended itself to Gordon (pp. 16 ff.) on very different grounds. No coins were noted during the excavations. But Gordon (p. 184) has preserved the memory of a chance discovery made about 1727:—

“Four Roman Medals of Silver have been lately found in the camp of *Burnswark*, viz. one of *Nero*, two of *Trajan*, and one of *Vespasian*, which were sent up to the Society of *British Antiquaries*, by the ingenious Mr *Richard Goodman* of *Carlisle*: I have exhibited them in my Plate of Medals, Number V., XII., XVI. and XVII: These plainly confirm

¹ *Quarterly Review*, 1899, p. 376.

my former Assertion, in *Chap. II. Page 16, 17, and 18.* That *Burnswark* was a *Roman Encampment*; nor can the Coin [*sic*] of *Trajan*, there found, destroy my Conjecture of its being a Work of *Agricola*; for, as I have already shew'd, in my Account of *Middleby*, the *Romans*, in their several Marches, often made use of their old Camps, which is the Reason why so many Medals of succeeding Emperors, are frequently dug up in Forts, made some Ages before."

Gordon's illustrations prove that the coins in question were *Coh.*², i. p. 296, No. 258, and p. 371, No. 43; and *Coh.*², ii. p. 27, No. 85, and p. 28, No. 98. It seemed desirable to quote the paragraph *in extenso*, partly because, being in an Appendix, it has hitherto been very generally overlooked, and partly because it shows that Gordon was faced by exactly the same difficulty as confronts a modern inquirer. If the earthworks are of *Agricolan* date, how is the presence of coins of *Trajan* to be explained? On the assumption that the occupation which *Agricola* began was brought to an end by his own recall in 84 A.D., the solution that Gordon propounds is the only one that is admissible. There is, however, another hypothesis which will demand serious consideration later. May it not be that the so-called 'Agricolan' occupation was prolonged into the reign of *Trajan*?

BIRRENS.—Whatever be the truth as to *Birrenswark*, it is not open to doubt that *Birrens*, or *Blatobulgium* as the Romans called it, was in the main, if not entirely, a second-century fort. The testimony of the pottery is not to be gainsaid, even if it were not confirmed by the dated inscription. The same tale is told by the coins that were recovered during the excavations of 1895. The list of these given in *Proc.* (xxx. p. 199) calls for rectification in one particular. The *denarius* which is there tentatively assigned to *Marcus Aurelius*, really belongs to *Nerva*, being a somewhat defaced example of *Coh.*², ii. p. 7, No. 59.¹ The catalogue as amended is therefore:—*R* of *M. Antony* (2), *Domitian* (1 *R*), *Nerva* (1 *R*), *Trajan* (2 *Æ*), *Hadrian* (1 *R* and 1 *Æ*), and *Pius* (1 *R* and 2 *Æ*). Its second-century complexion is obvious, and the point need not be further laboured. More discussion is required in the case of the only two coins that are specifically mentioned by the older writers as having been found at *Birrens*.

The first is a 'second brass' of *Germanicus*, the nephew of *Tiberius*, which must have been struck in his lifetime and is therefore earlier than A.D. 19. Regarding this, *Sir John Clerk*, writing to *Roger Gale* on May 9, 1737, says:—"Near the camp of *Middleby*, where my statue of *Brigantia* was found, some silver and brass coins have been

¹ Or possibly of No. 66 or No. 71, which differ only in the details of the *Obv.* inscription from No. 59 and from one another. The majority of the other coins are in such poor condition that it is not possible to identify the *Rev.* types. The *denarius* of *Domitian*, however, is *Coh.*², i. p. 474, No. 47.

dug up, but they are either defaced or common, except one of Germanicus in bronze."¹ The description that follows, though it confuses the two sides of the coin and is inaccurate as regards both size and inscription, is sufficiently intelligible to enable the piece to be identified as Coh.², i. pp. 225 f., No. 7, which has on the reverse the legend SIGNIS RECEPT DEVICTIS GERM, and which was accordingly struck in honour of the victory of A.D. 16. On the general principles laid down above, it would be difficult to accept the view that a bronze coin minted between A.D. 16 and A.D. 19 could have been in ordinary circulation a hundred and twenty years later. The likelihood that its loss should be associated with the Agricolan period is very much greater. On the other hand, taken by itself, it cannot be looked upon as proof of a first-century occupation of the site. It is perhaps worth observing that Sir John Clerk does not say it was found among the ruins. "Near the camp" is an expression vague enough to cover a tolerably wide area.

The second coin, although it has attracted a much larger measure of attention, can be disposed of more satisfactorily. We hear of it first through Gordon (p. 18). In his account of Middleby, which was the name used by him and his contemporaries for Birrens, he describes "a large Vault, arch'd with Stone," which ran "a great way along the South Side of this Fort," and then proceeds:—

"Near this, to the West, are the Marks of Stone Buildings, where several *Roman* Coins have been found. Mr *Maxwell* of *Middleby* made a Present of a Gold Medal of *Constantius Chlorus*, dug up here, to my worthy Patron Baron *Clark*, which I copied, and have exhibited in the Plate of Medals, Figure IV. The Legend, on one Side, was very plain, but the Reverse had no Inscription nor Figure upon it at all. This, being of the *Low Empire*, makes me conjecture, that, notwithstanding the Fort might have been built by *Agricola*, by way of an exploratory *Castellum* to the noble Camp of *Burnswark*; yet the succeeding *Romans* afterwards possessed themselves thereof, in their other Attempts to subdue *Scotland*."

A coin of Constantius Chlorus would bring us down to the beginning of the fourth century of our era, and the appearance of such a piece at Birrens has not unnaturally been claimed by others than Gordon as affording presumptive proof of a late occupation. At first sight it looks as if the case was strengthened by Pennant (ii. p. 102), who speaks of "coins found, some of them of the lower empire." But, if the paragraph be read as a whole, the probability suggests itself that the "some" is a mere echo of the Constantius Chlorus, of which Pennant knew, it may be through Gordon (*l.c.*) or it may be through

¹ *Stukeley's Letters* (Surtees Society), iii. p. 410.

Horsley (p. 115). Haverfield (p. 159) was inclined to associate "glass of Constantinian style" and "a few fragments of architectural work" with the Chlorus. But glass of a similar kind has since come to light in circumstances which date it to the first or second century,¹ and the architectural fragments are wholly outweighed by the fragments of the dedicatory inscription. The position in which the latter were found makes it certain that the fort was never rebuilt after its destruction about A.D. 180.² Even the evidence of the Constantius Chlorus melts away upon closer analysis. From what Gordon says in his text it is clear that there was something peculiar about the coin: the reverse was absolutely smooth, showing neither type nor inscription. An examination of his plate reveals the further fact that at the edge, immediately above the emperor's head, a small ring had been soldered on for suspension. Sir John Clerk accounted for this feature by supposing that the coin had once been "hung by way of *bulla*" (Horsley, p. 341). The true explanation is that, like so many other ancient coins, it had been worn as an amulet. The smoothness of the reverse is, therefore, due to the constant rubbing to which it had been subjected. Such complete obliteration must have meant many years of friction. Thus the chances are that the coin was not lost until long after the Romans had quitted Britain for good. In any event, it was not in circulation when it was dropped, and it has therefore no necessary connection with the presence of the Romans at Blatobulgium. We may set it aside altogether, noting only that it ultimately passed into the Pembroke Collection (Horsley, *l.c.*).

CASTLEDYKES.—Except Birrens, Castledykes is the only station on the western road that has been definitely identified. It is situated within the policies of Carstairs House, and is fairly well preserved, although one side seems to have suffered considerably since the plan was laid down by Roy in 1753. No systematic excavation has ever taken place. Nevertheless the true character of the site is beyond question. In 1916 a hole, dug at my suggestion at a selected spot within the enclosure, produced, at a depth of three or four feet, fragments of pottery which were recognised by Mr A. O. Curle and myself as indubitably Roman. The eighteenth-century writers speak of coins. Thus Gough's *Camden* (1st ed., iii. p. 343; 2nd ed., iv. p. 82) says:—"At this place and neighbourhood many Roman bricks and coins have been dug up at different periods. Among the latter, which I have seen, are those of Nero, Trajan, the empress Faustina and Germanicus."³

¹ Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 272 f.

² See *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 399.

³ Stuart (p. 141), repeating this statement, cites Gough's *Camden* as his authority, and adds "Pennant, vi. 174." But Pennant has no "vi.," and he does not mention Castledykes. For an explanation of the wrong reference, see *infra*, p. 245, footnote.

As these are presently contrasted with "Roman medals of brass of the same emperors, &c.," we are perhaps justified in assuming that they were of silver. The "medals of brass" belonged to a hoard, which is discussed *infra*, pp. 272 f. The discoveries that Gough had in view are clearly identical with those referred to in *O.S.A.*, xv. (1795) p. 10, where the writer, after mentioning the digging up of Roman bricks and coins, continues:—"The late Sir George Lockhart was possessed of some of those coins, particularly a beautiful silver one of Nero's; and within those few years a considerable number, mostly of Adrian, were discovered, the bulk of which are now with the Antiquarian Society. One of them is in my possession." As we shall see in due course, some of the "medals of brass" of which Gough speaks were presented to our Society in 1781. It is clearly to this donation that the writer in *O.S.A.* is alluding. Roman *denarii*—Hadrian is the only emperor specified—are also said to have been discovered at or near Castledykes in the course of last century. Fifteen or twenty years ago some of them were preserved at Carstairs House, the property of the late Sir James King, Bart.; but it has not proved possible to ascertain their present whereabouts.

In his *Military Antiquities* (p. 104) Roy tells us that "near the kirk of Carstairs some remains of a bath, and other antiquities, have been found." Stuart (p. 141) repeats the statement as to the bath, but amplifies the "other antiquities" into "a variety of antique weapons and sacrificial instruments, with several coins belonging to the reigns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius." The village of Carstairs is about three-quarters of a mile distant from Castledykes, and it seems virtually certain that the bath here referred to must have been the bath of the fort, which would naturally lie in an annexe beyond the ramparts. It is true that Roy, who is the ultimate source of Stuart,¹ did not connect the two. That, however, may merely mean that his informant, not being alive to the significance of Castledykes, missed the obvious association and chose "the kirk of Carstairs" as the most convenient landmark for his description. It is difficult to believe that there can have been two forts, one upon the line of the Roman road and the other three-quarters of a mile away. Combining the coins from both sites, we get the following list of names:—Germanicus, Nero, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Faustina. Nero and Hadrian are represented by *denarii*. In the case of the others the metal is doubtful, and the record is therefore incomplete. Such as

¹ That is, so far as the bath is concerned. I strongly suspect that Stuart's authority for the coins and other objects was the passage from *N.S.A.*, vi., which is cited *infra*, p. 273. In that event the coins were certainly from Castledykes.

it is, however, it corresponds closely with that furnished by Birrens. Here, as there, a certain first-century flavour is suggested by the coin (or coins) of Germanicus. That is, the question of an early occupation is raised, but cannot be said to be determined. As regards the second century, on the other hand, the proof is conclusive.

CASTLE GREG (West Calder).—The account given by Sir Daniel Wilson (*Proc.*, i. pp. 58 f.) of the excavations carried out on the site of this small fort, about 1851, does not leave much room for doubting its Roman origin. Its position could be simply enough accounted for by the hypothesis that it had been one of a chain of posts guarding a cross-road from, say, Castledykes to Cramond. Wilson and his party found no coins. Nor can we attach any credence to the story told them by “an old shepherd, long resident in the district,” to the effect that “some forty years ago a “bull’s hide” was got out of the well, filled with silver coins” (*Proc.*, *l.c.*). An earlier version of the same tale appears in the undated account of the parish of Midcalder in *N.S.A.*, i. p. 371:—“Some years ago, three enterprising young farmers dug up the foundation of the well [? wall] belonging to this camp; and, under the great stone in which the flag-staff had stood, they discovered a considerable quantity of Roman coins, some of which were purchased by a goldsmith in the city of Edinburgh.” The “some forty years ago” of Wilson’s shepherd would take us back to about 1812, since his paper was written in the spring of 1852. And it can hardly be a mere coincidence that, as we shall learn presently, a small deposit of *denarii* was brought to light in 1810 in the immediate neighbourhood of the fort, though not actually within the ramparts.¹ This little hoard, which is amply vouched for, is probably the substratum of truth on which has been built up the tale of the bull’s hide with its variant. The notice in *O.S.A.*, xviii. (1796) pp. 196 f. would possibly be more to the point, if only it were not so vague:—“Within a few years, several Roman coins have been dug up from the environs of this encampment, on which the Roman eagle was sufficiently apparent, but the circumstances which could lead to the period at which they were coined, where [*sic*] completely effaced.” If the statement as to “the Roman eagle” can be accepted as trustworthy, the reference may be either to *Æ* of M. Antony or to *Æ* of Vespasian or Titus (*Coh.*², i. pp. 404 f., Nos. 480 ff., and p. 449, Nos. 239 f.).²

¹ See *infra*, p. 262.

² There are, of course, many other possibilities. But for Scotland the alternatives suggested are the most probable.

(c) *The Antonine Wall.*

CARRIDEN.—Among the scanty indications of the former existence of a Roman fort at Carriden (*Roman Wall*, p. 243) is “a Golden Medal of the Emperor *Vespasian*,” which Sibbald (p. 31) tells us that he saw in the hands of the proprietor of the estate. It may be taken for granted that this is identical with the “*Imperial Medal of Gold*” mentioned by Gordon (p. 61). Its loss, of course, may date either from the Agricolan or from the Antonine period.

KINNIEL.—Since my *Roman Wall* was published in 1911, I have repeatedly examined the ground about Kinziel, and I am satisfied that, if (as *a priori* probable) there was once a fort there, it must have stood on the site I have already suggested¹—the bluff formed by a bend in the Gil Burn, a little to the east of the main entrance to the policies. But there is no record of the finding of coins or other remains.

INVERAVON.—Seven years ago I described the fort at Inveravon as “no more than a possibility” (*Roman Wall*, p. 242). Since then search with the spade has made the possibility a practical certainty. The details are still unpublished, but it may be said at once that no coins were found.

MUMRILLS.—Our knowledge of this fort was considerably extended in 1912-13 (*Proc.*, xlix. pp. 116 ff.), and it has been added to by subsequent discoveries. Here, however, as at Inveravon, numismatic evidence is yet to seek.

FALKIRK.—The fort which presumably existed at Falkirk (*Roman Wall*, pp. 238 f.) must be carefully distinguished from Camelon. The supposed site is now entirely built over, but the configuration of the ground makes it clear that the enclosure cannot under any circumstances have been large. The remains said to have been dug up include but a single coin—“having on the obverse the bust of Antoninus, with the legend Antoninus Aug. Pius. P.P.”² As the metal is not specified, it was probably *Æ*.

ROUGH CASTLE.—The fact that the interesting excavations carried out here in 1903 (*Proc.*, xxxix. pp. 442 ff.) produced no coins is doubtless to be explained by the comparative inexperience of the workmen.

SEABEGS.—As to the likelihood of there having been a fort at or near Seabegs, there is little to add to what is said in *Roman Wall*, pp. 219 f. The most promising spot to search would perhaps be on the east side of the little stream.

CASTLECARY.—Nimmo³ says that in August 1771 there was found at

¹ *Roman Wall*, p. 147.

² Nimmo, *History of Stirlingshire* (ed. 1880), i. p. 39.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

Castlecary, along with other objects, "a silver denarius of Hadrian and of Cæsar Augustus." Apparently only a single coin is meant, the mention of two emperors being the outcome of a confused interpretation of some such legend as IMPCAESARTRAIANHADRIANVSAVG. The Buchanan MSS. record the finding of a *denarius* of Trajan in 1851. As at Rough Castle, and no doubt for a similar reason, the excavations carried out here by the Society in 1902 (*Proc.*, xxxvii. pp. 271 ff.) were a blank so far as coins were concerned. But in 1907 I was shown another *denarius* of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 49, No. 301), which had been picked up "in cutting a road to Castlecary Castle, exactly opposite the gateway of the old fort."

WESTERWOOD.—The outline of the fort at Westerwood is still fairly distinct (*Roman Wall*, p. 206). But there is no record of the discovery of any coins on or about the site.

CROY HILL.—I incline to think that I have now hit upon a clue to the position of the fort here, and that in *Roman Wall*, p. 126, I was disposed to place it too far down the hill. By and by there may be an opportunity for a day or two's spade-work, which would clear the matter up effectually. No coins are known to have been found in the neighbourhood.¹

BAR HILL.—Stuart (p. 338) mentions "*denarii* of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius in the highest state of preservation" as associated with this site. Evidence still more definite is available as a result of Mr Whitelaw's excavations of 1902-5. In *The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, pp. 107 ff. (*Proc.*, xl. pp. 509 ff.), nineteen coins were identified with certainty, although in two cases the exact variety was doubtful; probable attributions were suggested for four others; and four more were set aside as indecipherable, along with certain corroded fragments from the baths. After an interval of thirteen years, this time with the assistance of Mr G. F. Hill, I have re-examined very carefully the four whose identification was only probable, as well as the 'indecipherables' and the fragments. The result was a confirmation of my original impressions as to the first group, the rescue of a 'second brass' of Sabina from the fragments, and the classification of the 'indecipherables' as a *denarius* of Hadrian (probable), and bronze coins of Marcus (probable), L. Verus (possible) and Commodus (possible). Taking everything into account, Stuart included, we get the following list of names:—M. Antony (*AR*), Vespasian (*AR*),

¹ The late Rev. J. C. Carrick of Newbattle, in a letter to the *Scotsman* of July 16, 1908, spoke of a coin of Vespasian (which had belonged to his grandfather, Dr John Buchanan) in a context which has sometimes led to its being connected with Croy. But the inference is not justified by what Mr Carrick actually says, and I believe the coin to which he refers was really one found at Dumbarton (see *infra*, p. 244).

Domitian (*AR*), Nerva (*AR*), Trajan (*AR* and *AE*), Hadrian (*AR* and *AE*), Sabina (*AE*), Pius (*AR*), Marcus (*AR* and *AE*), Verus (*AE*), Commodus (*AE*).¹ The second-century character of the whole is manifest. In spite of the discovery of an Agricolan fort here, there is not a single coin that might not easily have been lost during the Antonine period. This is a significant fact to which we shall have occasion to return.

AUCHENDAVY.—This fort is remarkable for the find of altars and other objects made in May 1771 (*Roman Wall*, pp. 184 ff.). At an earlier date Gordon (p. 54) and Maitland (*History of Scotland*, i. p. 178) had spoken vaguely of “medals.” Long afterwards Stuart (p. 328) says: “A gold coin of Trajan was found here many years ago, but is now lost.” The *aureus* in question was described by Gough to the Society of Antiquaries of London on Feb. 13, 1772, in the same paper in which he gave an account of the find of altars.² He adds: “This coin was purchased for 7 guineas for the capital cabinet of foreign and domestic coins belonging to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh.” It is not lost, but is now in the National Museum (Coh.², ii. p. 41, No. 215), and is in very good condition.

KIRKINTILLOCH.—To the arguments brought forward in 1911 (*Roman Wall*, pp. 180 ff.) in favour of the view that Kirkintilloch was the site of a Roman fort, there could now be added a good deal of confirmatory evidence, some of it obtained by the help of the spade in July 1914. The investigation was interrupted by the outbreak of the European war, and, in the hope that it may yet be completed, the publication of the results is meanwhile postponed. Dr John Buchanan states (Stuart, p. 324) that “coins of Domitian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, and Constantine have been discovered here,” adding that some of them were in his own possession. According to the Buchanan MSS., he subsequently acquired “a large Brass Coin of the Emperor Galba found a few years ago near the Peel of Kirkintilloch.” Except for the stray Constantine, the emperors are thoroughly typical.

CADDER.—The remains of the fort at Cadder were discovered in January 1914, and its dimensions approximately ascertained (*Proc.*, xlix. pp. 113 ff.). The examination then made was necessarily of so restricted a character that very little in the way of remains was brought to the surface; and that little included no coins. But in the account of the parish (1836) in *N.S.A.*, vi. p. 407, we read:—

¹ It is worth recalling that ten of the *denarii*, all found in the well, were of lead, and therefore probably shams manufactured for devotional purposes (*Num. Chron.*, 1905, pp. 10 ff.).

² *Archæologia*, iii. p. 118. Cf. Gough's *Camden*, iii. p. 358; 2nd ed., iv. p. 98. Gough's language distinctly suggests that the gold coin was found in the same pit as the altars.

“When Cadder pond was cleaned and repaired in 1813, a coin or medal of Antoninus Pius was found in an excellent state of preservation, but with a little piece broken or worn off. It was supposed to be of gold. It was given to the late Charles Stirling, Esq.”

Cadder pond lies about 200 yards north-west of the site of the fort, and we are therefore reasonably justified in associating the coin with the occupation. Stuart (p. 321) records the discovery, but gives no indication of the metal. The actual piece, however, is now in the Hunterian Museum, having been presented by Mr Stirling in July 1813, as is mentioned in a note that lies beside it. It is a ‘second brass’ of Pius¹ (Coh.², ii. p. 342, No. 727), and is in good condition but for the slight flaw noted in *N.S.A.*

BALMULDY. — Until 1912 Balmuldry (or Bemulie) had no coins to its credit except a ‘second brass’ of Pius, accidentally discovered in 1848 (Stuart, p. 320).² The excavations since carried out by the Glasgow Archæological Society have extended the list considerably. Apart from what was perhaps a *denarius* of M. Antony, worn smooth both on obverse and on reverse, the finds made by the Society included one *denarius* each of Vitellius (Coh.², i. p. 359, No. 47), Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 27, No. 83), and Hadrian (probably Coh.², ii. p. 133, No. 315), one ‘first brass’ and one ‘second brass’ of Domitian (Coh.², i. pp. 497 f., Nos. 307 ff., and pp. 523 f., Nos. 648 ff.), one ‘first brass’ of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 72, Nos. 534 ff.), three ‘first brass’ and one ‘second brass’ of Hadrian (Coh.², ii. p. 136, No. 356; p. 181, No. 895; p. 186, No. 974; and p. 171, No. 773), two ‘second brass’ of Pius (Coh.², ii. p. 322, No. 534, and probably p. 309, Nos. 391 ff.), and one ‘second brass’ of Marcus (Coh.², iii. p. 47, No. 458). As will be gathered from the lack of precision that characterises many of these identifications, the bronze coins were generally much corroded, the legends being often wholly or partially obliterated. One of the two of Pius, however, had been in very good condition when lost. A summary of the whole may be useful, it being understood that the first item is doubtful:—*Æ* of M. Antony (1), Vitellius (1 *Æ*), Domitian (2 *Æ*), Trajan (1 *Æ* and 1 *Æ*), Hadrian (1 *Æ* and 4 *Æ*), Pius (3 *Æ*), Marcus (1 *Æ*). There is nothing here save what previous experience would have led us to expect.

NEW KILPATRICK.—Hitherto the record of New Kilpatrick has been a blank so far as coins are concerned. But in October 1912 a ‘second brass’ of Trajan, along with amphora fragments, was dug up in a

¹ Not of Domitian, as inadvertently stated in *Papers of the Regality Club*, iii. p. 38, footnote.

² The description there given of the type is wrong, and the remains of the legend have been misread. The figure on the Rev. was not Victory, but either Concordia or Fides, holding a military standard in each hand.

garden on the site of the fort and submitted to me for identification. It proved to be Coh.², ii. p. 77, No. 573.

CASTLEHILL.—No coins at all have yet been reported from this site or its neighbourhood.

DUNTOCHER.—Gordon (p. 52) mentions a gold coin of Hadrian from Duntocher, and his "Plate of Medals" (No. 7) shows it to have been Coh.², ii. p. 169, No. 746. In his text Stuart (p. 304) speaks of "some *denarii* of Domitian and Faustina" and also of a "small brass" of Trajan. In a footnote Dr John Buchanan states (*l.c.*) that "more coins have been lately discovered at Duntocher, embracing *denarii* of Domitian, Trajan, and Faustina, and "great brass" of Antoninus Pius, all in fine preservation." Two of the Pius coins were presented to the Edinburgh Museum on June 11, 1849 (*Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 66). Some of the *denarii* of Trajan seem, from the description in Stuart, to have been of the type of Coh.², ii. pp. 38 f., No. 190. Finally, in the Buchanan MSS. there is a note of an *aureus* of Vespasian, which was picked up in 1854 by a woman drilling potatoes, and which passed into the possession of Dr R. D. Buchanan, Dumbarton. The list is, therefore, quite normal—Vespasian (*A*), Domitian (*R*), Trajan (*R* and *Æ*), Hadrian (*A*), Pius (*Æ*), and Faustina (*R*).

CHAPEL HILL.—The exact situation of the fort at West or Old Kilpatrick was determined and the remains of its ramparts discovered in December 1913 (*Proc.*, xlix. pp. 103 ff.). "A number of silver coins" are said to have been found here in 1790 (*Roman Wall*, p. 155), while "several *denarii* of Trajan" were brought to light shortly before 1852 (Stuart, p. 294, footnote). In 1898 I was shown a worn "second brass" of Trajan which had been picked up "near Erskine Ferry." The Ferry is close to the Chapel Hill, and a connection between the coin and the fort is at once suggested.

(d) *Scotland North of the Antonine Wall.*

CAMELON.—Enough is known of Camelon to make it certain that a thorough exploration would have yielded most interesting and valuable information. It will always be matter for regret that the Society's excavations had to be carried out under conditions that rendered success unduly difficult. They had to proceed simultaneously with the erection of foundries on the site. In spite of the resulting limitations, abundant evidence was obtained of occupation during the Agricolan as well as during the Antonine period. Camelon was, indeed, the first site in Scotland where positive indications of the presence of Agricola were discovered. The clue was furnished by the Samian ware, a large proportion of the fragments being mani-

festly of 'early' type. Either the Agricolan garrison was exceptionally numerous—a hypothesis that is hardly admissible in view of the size of the enclosure—or its stay had been a prolonged one.

The older writers all speak of the finding of coins. But only Gordon is able to condescend upon particulars. He says (p. 23):—"I myself saw two beautiful Silver Coins of *Vespasian* and *Antoninus Pius*, which are now in the Hands of the present Countess of *Kilmarnock*." Thereafter the numismatic record of Camelon is blank for more than a century. It reopens in 1847 with the construction of the railway between Polmont and Larbert. In cutting this line many objects of Roman origin were thrown up. We may be sure that these included coins, and as a matter of fact we read in *Proc.*, i. p. 59, that "coins of Otho, Antoninus, Aurelian, Gordianus, &c., are also reported to have been obtained." The list is a very surprising one. Otho and Pius we might have looked for. But this is the first appearance of Gordian and Aurelian upon the Scottish stage. The statement just quoted is printed in *Proc.* under date March 8, 1852, and the ultimate source of the 'report' is doubtless an article on "Ancient Camelon" by W. G[rosart], which was published in the *Stirling Observer* of September 19, 1850.¹ Referring to the discoveries of 1847, Grosart there asserts that "immense quantities of bones were also dug up, and fragments of ancient armour and a number of ancient coins of Antonius, Aug. Pius, Otho, Aurelian, Gordianus, etc." It will be observed that the writer in *Proc.* merely corrects the blundered name of Pius, and places him in his proper chronological relation to Otho; otherwise the lists are identical. We have, therefore, pushed the mystery a stage further back. It still remains to solve it, and the key is unwittingly provided by Dr John Buchanan in a footnote which he contributed to Stuart (p. 267). It runs:—

"In the spring of 1847, during the formation of the Scottish Central Railway near Falkirk, a large hoard of Roman copper coins was discovered in an earthen vase. They amounted to more than 150, and are very remarkable as reaching down to the latest epoch of the Roman occupation of this island. They embraced an almost complete series from Philip down to and including *Honorius*, in whose reign the Romans finally left. Unfortunately these have since been dispersed, but some of them, embracing the very latest, were procured by Mr John Buchanan of Glasgow, and are now in his possession."

Dr Buchanan's *bona fides* is beyond question, but the story he tells is open to the gravest suspicion, or rather is palpably absurd. A

¹ Mr G. F. Hill was good enough to consult the file for me at the British Museum, and send me the necessary extract. This particular number is missing from the file preserved at the office of the paper in Stirling.

moment's consideration will show that the assemblage of coins described could never have accumulated, as a hoard, but can only represent a collection, for no hoard of 150 could possibly contain examples of eighty odd emperors and empresses spread over a couple of centuries—centuries, moreover, in the course of which the currency underwent profound and repeated changes. Apart from this general consideration, the mere presence of bronze coins of Honorius affords sufficient reason for scepticism. It is very doubtful whether such coins travelled even as far as Hadrian's Wall. The name of Honorius will be searched for in vain in the list of 13,487 coins recovered from Coventina's well. The negative evidence from Corbridge is equally strong. And Mr H. H. E. Craster, whose knowledge of the numismatics of the Wall region is unrivalled, writes to me:—"I know of no certain case of a single one of the coins of this emperor having been found in the north of England." The Camelon 'hoard' admits of but one explanation. When attention was attracted to the site by the emergence of genuine remains in 1847, the owner of a worthless collection of late Roman coins deliberately 'planted' it on an interested public, either as a practical joke or in order to give its contents a fictitious value by establishing a local connexion at the psychological moment. There would seem to be no reason for concerning ourselves further with this portion of Grosart's story. Notwithstanding the fact that Gordian was not one of the successors of Philip but was murdered to make way for him, we may be certain that he, no less than Honorius, owed his presence at Camelon to Dr Buchanan's "earthen vase."

The coins found during the excavations of 1899-1900, and sent to the Museum, numbered twenty-two in all,¹ five of them being *denarii*. As indicated in the Report (*Proc.*, xxxv. pp. 414 ff.), they were for the most part in poor condition. Repeated re-examination has, however, made it possible to correct and amplify the original description in some not unimportant respects. In an amended list Vespasian would be represented by 2 *AR* (*Coh.*², i. p. 373, No. 74, and p. 395, No. 366 or No. 371) and 3 *AE* (*Coh.*², i. p. 405, No. 482; p. 380, -Nos. 166 ff.; and a 'second brass' of quite unrecognisable type), Titus by 1 *AE* (a 'second brass' of unrecognisable type), Domitian by 2 *AR* (*Coh.*², i. p. 476, No. 73 or No. 74, and p. 504, No. 399) and 4 *AE* (*Coh.*², i. p. 507, Nos. 434 f.; p. 511, Nos. 496 ff.; and two 'second brass' of unrecognisable type), Trajan by 1 *AR* (*Coh.*², ii. p. 20, No. 26) and 1 *AE* (a 'second brass' of

¹ The Report (p. 415) says twenty-one, but there are twenty-two in the trays. The discrepancy is perhaps due to one of the coins mentioned in the footnote having been subsequently transferred to the Museum.

unrecognisable type), Hadrian by 3 *Æ* (two 'first brass' and one 'second brass,' all of unrecognisable type), Pius by 1 *Æ* (Coh.², ii. p. 282, Nos. 117 f.), and Marcus by 1 *Æ*. The last named has on the obverse [AVRELIVSCA] ESARAVGPIIFIL with the bust of the emperor as Cæsar, and on the reverse TRPOTVIII COSII with Mars to r., holding spear and trophy. Although the type is common enough, it is not recorded for this year (155 A.D.) by Cohen. There remain one 'first brass,' which may possibly be of Faustina Junior, and two 'second brass,' one of which may be a Nero, while the other is beyond hope of identification.

In addition, Dr Anderson mentions in a footnote (*Proc.*, xxxv. p. 415) that he had seen casts of six coins picked up at the same time but retained in private hands. "Of these," he says, "one is unrecognisable, two are second brass of Antoninus Pius with Britannia on reverse,¹ the fourth is a first brass of Vespasian with an eagle displayed on reverse,² the fifth is a second brass of Domitian, and the sixth is a denarius of Trajan." Nor does this by any means complete the register. In my *Roman Wall* (p. 386) I gave a list of potters' stamps which I had seen on fragments of Samian ware that had been accumulated by a workman in the foundry which now stands on the site of the fort. His collection also contained a number of coins, of which I was allowed to make a cursory examination twelve or fifteen years ago. In my notebook they are classified as follows:—*denarii* of M. Antony (1), Vespasian (4), and Hadrian (1); and 'brass' of Vespasian (4), Trajan (2), Hadrian (1), and Pius (4). There were besides three much corroded 'brass' coins which it was not possible to identify in the circumstances. About the same time Mr R. Beatson showed me a *denarius* of Vespasian which he had acquired from the neighbourhood of the foundry.

If we now proceed to combine the various lists, including Gordon's but setting Grosart's aside,³ we get a very respectable total. Here is a summary:—M. Antony (1 *Æ*), Nero (1 *Æ*), Vespasian (8 *Æ* and 7 *Æ*), Titus (1 *Æ*), Domitian (2 *Æ* and 5 *Æ*), Trajan (2 *Æ* and 3 *Æ*), Hadrian (1 *Æ* and 4 *Æ*), Pius (1 *Æ* and 7 *Æ*), Marcus (1 *Æ*), and possibly Faustina Junior (1 *Æ*). It will be seen that this entirely confirms what has been gathered from other sources as to the

¹ It is worth noting that this is also the type of the *Æ* of Pius in the Museum. These pieces were obviously current in large numbers in our island (see *Num. Chron.*, 1907, pp. 359 ff., and 1910, p. 413). There were as many as 327 of them in Covertina's well.

² I suspect that this is the odd coin, subsequently transferred to the Museum. The type is found only in 'second brass,' but the example catalogued in the preceding paragraph has an exceptionally large *flan*.

³ Even as regards the coins of Otho and Pius his information is not sufficiently definite to be useful for the purpose of a summary.

history of the fort or forts. That there was a Roman garrison at Camelon during the Antonine period is clear. The evidence for an Agricolan occupation is not so obvious. But nevertheless it is there. Although there are no consular *denarii*, the relatively high proportion of Flavian pieces, particularly 'brass,' is most significant. They constitute more than 50 per cent. of the whole. I have elsewhere called attention to the meaning of such a phenomenon.¹

ARDOCH.—Considerations of distance suggest that there must have been two stations between Camelon and Ardoch on the line of the great north road. If so, no trace of them has survived. Ardoch, on the other hand, remains in its decay more impressive than any other Roman fort in Scotland. Originally, of course, it cannot have vied in importance with Newstead or Cramond or Camelon, but the hand of time has dealt very gently with its formidable defences. The excavations of 1896-7 were extraordinarily interesting, and one cannot help regretting that the explorers should have felt compelled to stop short when they were only, as it were, on the threshold. Here, as at Cappuck, Newstead, and Camelon, the pottery fragments indicated both an early and a late occupation. The coins spoke with an uncertain voice: they were clear as to the second century, ambiguous as to Agricola. The value of their testimony has been lessened by the fact that it has unfortunately been impossible to subject them to cross-examination. Their present whereabouts is unknown. It seems doubtful whether they ever reached the National Museum,² and at the moment a thorough search for them there is impracticable. We must content ourselves with the brief reference in the Report (*Proc.*, xxxii. p. 467):—

"The coins found were few and in very bad condition. All those that could be identified were denarii of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, and Hadrian. A few third brass³ were also found, but so decayed as to be quite incapable of being identified."

Sibbald alone among the older writers gives us any specific information as to coins found at Ardoch. And what he has to say upon the point has been so generally misunderstood that an effort to clear up his meaning is desirable. For the misunderstanding, it should be added, no one but himself is responsible. Towards the close of the paragraph which he devotes (p. 37) to Ardoch, and to an incidental notice of Strageth, he writes:—

¹ In Curle's *Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 400 and 414 f.

² They are not entered in the register as having been received, and Mr Curle has no note of their having been observed when the contents of the cases were being stored away in 1914.

³ Probably these were 'second brass' with worn and broken edges. There was but little 'third brass' current in Scotland. I can hardly recall an example.

"I have given a Copper Cut of this Camp, and the Stone with the Inscription upon it, was taken up out of the Camp, there are Vaults below the *Prætorium*, and several Medals have been found near to this Camp, some of *Domitian*, some of *Trajan*, and some of *Marcus Aurelius*, which I have seen; I take this Camp to be the *Victoria* mentioned by *Ptolemy* in his Tables."

That certainly seems sufficiently explicit, for the "Copper Cut" reproduces his plan of Ardoch. But, if the whole passage be looked at carefully in the light of the Appendix which he had contributed twelve years before (1695) to Gibson's edition of Camden, it will be apparent that the paragraph is a somewhat confused abridgement of a very much fuller statement. We may quote the relevant portion of the earlier disquisition. After arguing that the size and situation of Ardoch justify its being regarded as a "*Prætentura*" or frontier-station, it proceeds (*op. cit.*, pp. 1096 f.).

"The *Prætorium* or the General's Quarter is a large Square, about a hundred paces every way: round it are five or six *Aggeres* or Dykes, and as many *Valla* or Ditches, the deepness of a man's height. There are Ports to the Four Quarters of the World; and to the East, there are several larger Squares, with their Circumvallations continued for a good way; to the West is the Bank of the water of *Kneck*, and five or six miles to the North-east of this, hard by the Water of *Earn*, near to *Inch Paferay*, is a lesser Camp, the *castrum exploratorum*, the Camp for the Advance Guard: and a little to the Eastward of this, beginneth the *Roman Via militaris*, called by the common people, the *Street way*. . . . And the *Grampian hills* . . . are but a few miles distant from these Camps.

"The Inscription we have given the figure of, was taken up out of the *Prætorium* of the *Prætentura*; below which are Caves, out of which some pieces of a shield were taken up; and several Medals have been found thereabout. I saw a Medal of silver of Antoninus Pius, found there. The people that live thereabouts report, that a large Roman Medal of gold was found there; great quantity of silver ones have been found near the water of *Earn*, amongst which I have seen some of *Domitian*, some of *Trajan*, and some of *Marcus Aurelius*."

It will be observed that in the original version of the story the "*Prætentura*" of Ardoch is contrasted with the "*castrum exploratorum*" at Innerpefferay (or Strageth) "hard by the Water of *Earn*," and, further, that the only coins specifically associated with the former are a *denarius* of Pius and an unidentified *aureus*, both of which have been crowded out of the *Historical Inquiries* (*l.c.*). The *denarii* of Domitian, Trajan, and Marcus were found "near the water of *Earn*," and it follows that, if we are to connect them with a Roman fort at all, it must be with Strageth. The list for Ardoch is thus reduced to *A* of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, and Pius, together with an unidentified *aureus* and a few undeciphered 'second brass.' It calls for no further remark.

STRAGETH.—Nothing need be added to what Sibbald has said regarding the position of Strageth. It was obviously the next station to Ardoch. The site is well known, but has never been opened up, although one or two stray objects have been found (*Proc.*, v. p. 241). It would be rash to add to these the *denarii* of Domitian, Trajan, and Marcus which Sibbald tells us he had seen. It is true that Gough's *Camden* (1st ed., iii. p. 382; 2d ed., iv. p. 122) asserts that "plenty of Roman coins" have been discovered both at Strageth and at Ardoch. But Gough is only echoing Sibbald, and in doing so he takes it for granted that "near the water of *Earn*" must indicate Strageth. The assumption is unwarranted and almost certainly mistaken. The words "great quantity of silver ones" plainly suggest a hoard, and the probability is that what Sibbald saw was that portion of the great seventeenth-century hoard from the Drummond country,¹ which was preserved, like the Ardoch stone, at Drummond Castle. He was the family physician of the owner, the Earl of Perth.²

CARPOW.—The existence of a Roman fort at Carpow, near the confluence of the Earn and the Tay, is sufficiently well attested,³ although no systematic attempt has ever been made to open up the site. Its position seems to mark it as one of a series designed to guard a road which ran up Strathearn, joining the main north road at Strageth and probably passing beyond it to Dealginross. We hear of two Roman coins being found on the spot by a man when scouring a ditch, "one of them a beautiful coin of the Empress Faustina."⁴ This is slender evidence; but, such as it is, it points to the second century.

GRASSY WALLS.—Beyond the Earn the line of the Roman road, protected at short intervals by watch-towers, can still be traced⁵ advancing north-eastwards towards the Tay. The remains of a fort, now barely visible, point to its having reached the river just where the latter is joined by the Almond.⁶ On the farther side of the stream, a mile or two away, is the site of Grassy Walls, the first of the "great suite" of temporary camps which extends beyond the Tay along Strathmore, through Perth, Forfar, and Kincardine into Aberdeen. No datable objects from any of these camps have hitherto been recorded, and the question as to their period has accordingly been argued on purely *a priori* grounds. Last year, however, I had submitted to me for examination a Roman 'first brass,' which was found in May 1907 in

¹ See *infra*, p. 263.

² See the passage from his *Memoirs* quoted by James Macdonald, *Tituli Hunteriani*, p. 83.

³ See Gough's *Camden*, ed. 1806, iv. p. 48, *Arch. Scot.*, v., App., pp. 24 and 28, etc. A cement-lined bath was open when I visited the spot in 1901 with Prof. Haverfield and Mr R. P. L. Booker.

⁴ Small, *Interesting Roman Antiquities Recently Discovered in Fife* (1823), p. 176.

⁵ See *Proc.*, xxxv. pp. 15 ff.

⁶ See *Archæologia*, lxxviii. p. 185.

a newly ploughed field within the area of Grassy Walls, and which is now in the Perth Museum. It is sadly corroded, but part of the outline of the imperial head is faintly traceable on the obverse. Mr G. F. Hill and I independently came to an identical conclusion regarding it. It is not earlier than about 100 A.D., nor later than about 160; the probability is in favour of its being a Trajan, although the possibility of its being a Hadrian or a Pius cannot be entirely set aside.

INCHTUTHIL.—The remains at Inchtuthil are suggestive of, something more than the line of advance marked out by the "great suite" of temporary camps; the site is ten or fifteen miles higher up the Tay than Grassy Walls, and may have been selected as commanding the mouth of the valley through which the Highland Railway now runs to Dunkeld and Blair Atholl. A report of the excavations carried out there by the Society in 1901 was published in *Proc.*, xxxvi, pp. 182 ff. A special study of the pottery, subsequently made by Mr James Curle, brought out the important fact that the whole of the fragments found were 'early.' This observation adds materially to the interest attaching to Inchtuthil. If, as now seems probable, the position was occupied by the Romans during the Agricolan period only, it follows that a complete unveiling of its secrets would throw much light on the question as to how long that period really lasted. Dr Anderson was disposed to think (*l.c.*, p. 236) that the "comparative paucity of casual remains of occupancy suggests that the presence of the Romans upon the site of this camp was of limited duration." Against that inference it may fairly be urged that the exploration of the site was a partial one and was, indeed, mainly confined to the area of the large enclosure, which had obviously been the winter quarters of a flying column and could therefore hardly be otherwise than barren of casual remains. The lesson taught by the baths, and particularly by the carefully repaired subsidence in the wall, was of a very different character. This is not the place to pursue the subject. Enough has been said to emphasise the necessity for a careful examination of the solitary coin that was discovered.

In the report (*l.c.*, p. 242) it is "presumed to be an early issue of Domitian (after A.D. 73), having on the reverse a standing figure and the inscription AVG." A closer scrutiny, frequently repeated, has enabled the possibilities to be very much narrowed. The portrait of Domitian on the obverse is plain enough, and one can even detect some remnants of the legend. Nor is there any manner of doubt as to the reverse: it reads [MONETA] AVGVSTI, and bears a draped figure of Moneta standing l., holding a pair of scales and a cornucopiæ. This type appears on the 'second brass' of Domitian

from 84 to 95 A.D. (Coh.², i. pp. 498 f., Nos. 323 ff.). But the Inchtuthil piece cannot be as early as 84, for the traces of the obverse legend are sufficiently distinct to show that the emperor's titles had included either CENS POT or (more probably) CENS PER. The former was used in 85 A.D., the latter in 86 and subsequent years. In either event the coin was not minted until after Agricola's recall, so that Inchtuthil continued to be garrisoned when he had quitted the island for ever. It will be remembered that as many as six of these MONETA AVGVSTI coins emerged at Newstead, and that one of them, which dated from 86 A.D., had been almost in mint condition when lost, and cannot therefore have been dropped during the second-century occupation.¹

(B) ISOLATED FINDS FROM NATIVE SITES.²

BROCH OF TORWOODLEE (Selkirkshire).—A small 'brass' coin of Vespasian was recovered from this broch along with various fragments of Roman pottery (*Proc.*, xxvi. p. 78).

TRAPRAIN LAW (Haddingtonshire).—A *denarius* of Domitian, which is now in the possession of Mr J. S. Richardson, was found here in 1898 by a quarryman in working on the hillside. But the full significance of the discovery was not appreciated until the systematic examination of this remarkable hill-settlement was begun fourteen years later by Mr A. O. Curle and Mr J. E. Cree. Although only a small part of the area has yet been opened up, quite a number of Roman coins have come to light, distributed in a way that renders the explanation of their presence certain. They formed the regular currency of the inhabitants. The list for 1914 (*Proc.*, xlix. p. 301) comprised *A* of Hadrian and of Pius, and *Æ* of Trajan (pp. 201 f.), while that for 1915 (*Proc.*, l. pp. 137 f.) consisted of *A* of M. Antony and Vespasian (2), and *Æ* of Domitian, Constantine the Great, Constantine Junior (2), Magnentius, Valentinian, and possibly—though this identification is very doubtful—Arcadius.

CASTLE NEWE (Aberdeenshire).—About 1860 a *denarius* of Nerva was found at the mouth of an "Eirde or Pict's House" in the garden at Castle Newe in Strathdon (*Proc.*, vi. p. 14). Two remarkable Celtic armlets of bronze had previously been dug up at the same spot. Coin and armlets alike had clearly belonged to the people who used

¹ The significance of this would have been emphasised more strongly in my Appendix to Curle's *Roman Frontier Post* but for the momentary lapse by which the recall of Agricola is there (p. 415) dated to 86 A.D., instead of to 84.

² While the general geographical order will be adhered to in this and the following sections dealing with isolated finds, it seems unnecessary to indicate the particular subdivisions (a), (b), (c), and (d).

the "Eirde House." In describing the armlets and their discovery, Dr Joseph Anderson says (*Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age*, p. 143):—

"The underground structure appears, like many of its class, to have been associated with an overground habitation, the site of which was marked by fire-burnt pavement, remains of querns, beads, etc., found near the present surface."

BROCH OF LINGROW (Orkney). This broch stands at the head of the bay of Scapa. Dr Anderson mentions (*op. cit.*, p. 244) that in the winter of 1870-71 there were recovered from different parts of its out-buildings *denarii* of Vespasian, Hadrian, and Pius (2), and two coins of Crispina, metal not specified.

(C) *ISOLATED FINDS FROM OCCUPIED SITES OF INDETERMINATE CHARACTER, PROBABLY CHIEFLY NATIVE.*

EILDON HILLS (Roxburghshire).—Mr James Curle and Mr Alexander Mackie inform me that some years ago a *denarius* of Hadrian was found within the area enclosed by the earthworks that crown the most easterly of the three peaks of the Eildons.

NORTH BERWICK (Haddingtonshire).—Mr J. E. Cree has shown me a well-preserved *denarius* of Caracalla found about nine years ago in a bunker on the links at North Berwick. It is Coh.², iv. p. 186, No. 413. Mr Cree had the sand in the bunker to a depth of 3" or 4" put through a half-inch riddle, with the result that a few ancient bones and a certain number of whelk shells were recovered, apparently indicating a dwelling-site. No pottery or metal of any description was observed.

HUMBIE (Haddingtonshire).—A footnote to p. 162 of *O.S.A.*, vi. (1793), gives a description of "the vestiges of a Roman *Castellum Stativum*" in the S.W. part of the parish. "It was of a circular form, and consisted of 3 walls, at the distance of 15 feet from each other, built with very large stones, and with cement only at the bottom"—details which make it practically certain that it was of native construction. Within it were found "a medal of Trajan, a fibula, a patera, and a horn of a moose deer."

KAIMS (Midlothian).—To judge by outward appearances, this was a hill-settlement of the same nature as Traprain.¹ In 1881 a *denarius* of Severus, some fragments of red and grey pottery, and a portion of a bronze ring were picked up among the sand at the mouth of a rabbit-hole. They are now in the National Museum.² Sir John

¹ See *Proc.*, xxx. pp. 269 ff.

² At present they are stored away, so that I have had no opportunity of examining the coin.

Findlay possesses a letter written to his father by Sir William Fettes Douglas, giving an account of the incident.

QUEENSFERRY (Linlithgowshire).—According to *O.S.A.*, i. (1791) p. 238, about a mile to the west of Queensferry, “upon a high sea bank, where a farm house now stands, there were, about 40 or 50 years since, considerable ruins of probably an old Roman *speculatorium*.” The description of the ruins—which included “a large carved window”—is reminiscent rather of the Middle Ages. But the site would certainly seem to have been occupied in Roman times, for “there were found several silver medals of Marcus Antoninus, with a *Victory* on the reverse; also, the carved handle of a copper vessel, and the bottom of an earthen urn, with the word *adjecti*; the rest obliterated.” The type of *Victory* is not uncommon on the reverses of *denarii* of Marcus.

BIGGAR (Lanarkshire).—The writer of the account of the parish of Biggar (1835) in *N.S.A.*, vi., states on p. 363 that “when Biggar *Cross-know*, a small eminence in the middle of the town, was removed a few years ago, a gold coin of the Emperor Vespasian was found in excellent preservation.” It is just possible that this may be the discovery that Chalmers had in mind twenty-eight years earlier when he wrote (p. 135): “At Biggar there is a strong redoubt, which is called *the moat*, where Roman coins have been found.” In any event, whether the “eminence” and the “redoubt” are identical or not, it seems fairly certain that the former was artificial.

LANARK.—Roy in his *Military Antiquities* (p. 122), speaking of Lanark, asserts that “the *Castle-hill*, situated near the bank of the Clyde, is indisputably a Roman fort; for here, as well as in the adjacent fields, many of their coins have been found, and, among the rest, a fine silver *Faustina*.” The General had intimate personal associations with Lanark,¹ and his statement as to the *Faustina* may be at once accepted as accurate. On the other hand, we may perhaps detect in “many of their coins” a spice of exaggeration, for which his informants are responsible; and this without in any way questioning the soundness of the broad inference as to inhabitation of some sort. But, in the light of what we have learned from Traprain and the Broch of Lingrow, we cannot regard the fact that the coins were Roman as a proof of the nationality of the inhabitants.

YORKHILL (Lanarkshire).—In *Proc.*, xii. (p. 257), there is an interesting account of a discovery made in 1867 on the estate of Yorkhill. Faint traces of earthworks had previously been visible on the summit of a lofty rising-ground that dominates the confluence of the Kelvin and

¹ *Archæologia*, lxxviii. pp. 177 f.

the Clyde. In the course of improvements the earthworks were dug into and the area trenched.

“These operations revealed a variety of Roman remains, embracing—1st, Fragments of several jars of the ware called Samian, in different colours; 2nd, Portions of an ornamented vase of white glass; 3rd, Two bronze finger-rings; 4th, A small quantity of wheat, for bread to the soldiers; 5th, Several Roman coins, much corroded, but one of large brass, which was of Trajan, in tolerable preservation.”

On this statement of the case there is much to be said for the conclusion “that a small Roman fort existed on the Yorkhill eminence, probably to guard the ford from incursions by the natives.” But an examination of so much of the evidence as still survives leaves the matter more doubtful. The remains are now in the Glasgow Corporation Museum at Kelvingrove, to which they have been lent by the trustees of the late Mrs Crerar-Gilbert. Besides a bronze ring and a phial of blackened grains of wheat, they include a number of pottery fragments, representing at least four different vessels. This pottery, however, is not Samian, although certainly of Roman date and probably of Roman manufacture; it is a light grey ware, ornamented with reticulated lines. There are four coins. One of these is a ‘first brass’ of Trajan, apparently *Coh.*², ii. p. 67, No. 485. The others, which are worn almost absolutely smooth, seem to be of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, one being of silver and two of copper. While, therefore, a Roman origin is possible for the Yorkhill fort, it is far from being certain.

GALSTON (Ayrshire).—In *O.S.A.*, ii. (1791) p. 74, the writer of the account of the parish of Galston speaks of “a place called *Beg*, above Allinton, where the brave Wallace lay, in a species of rude fortification.” In 1837 the fortification was described more fully in *N.S.A.*, v. (“Ayrshire”) p. 181, and the information added that “upon one of these slopes there was found in the year 1831 a silver coin in good preservation, having this inscription, *CÆSAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F. PATER PATRIÆ.*” This legend is, of course, one of those that accompany the head of Augustus on his coins.

STEVENSTON (Ayrshire).—Sibbald, in his *Miscellanea Quædam Erudita Antiquitatis* (1710), p. 110, mentions the finding of a *denarius* of Faustina, along with other remains, near Saltecoats, and sees in the discovery “*argumentum ibi fuisse olim stationem Romanam.*” The source of his information was Robert Wodrow, the well-known ecclesiastical historian, in whose *Correspondence*, as edited by M’Crie, there is printed (i. p. 172) a letter which contains the following passage:—

"What comes now is a spoon of a mixd mettall wh was found wt the Roman coin of Faustina wh I let you see, in Cunningham in the parish of Stevenston a little from the shore, about a mile from Saltcoats to ye south. There are little blowing hills of sand there and by the blowing of the sand there begin to appear somewt like the ruins of a building, and it's here where this spoon was gote some years since."

The letter is dated November 23, 1710. In 1837, five years before M'Crie published it, the extract just quoted was reproduced in *N.S.A.*, v. ("Ayrshire") p. 454, where, however, by some curious error of transcription the spoon has been transformed into a "speare."¹ That the settlement was a native one, does not admit of doubt. It may be taken for granted that the coin is identical with the "Silver Medal of *Faustina*, Wife to *Antoninus Pius*, found in the Shire of *Air*," which is mentioned by Gordon (p. 185) and figured in his "Plate of Medals" (No. 15). To judge from the illustration, it seems to have been Coh.², ii. p. 415, No. 26.

LARGO (Fifeshire).—There is now in the National Museum (FC 39) "a second brass of Antonia Augusta struck by the Emperor Claudius,"² said to have been found with a Byzantine coin in a sand-pit at Norrie's Law, where a remarkable hoard of silver ornaments was discovered in 1819. Two *R* coins of late date, a Valens, and a Constantius II. are reported to have been found on the same spot. The circumstances of the discovery are discussed *infra*, p. 266, where references are given. It is doubtful whether the coins can have had any connexion with the main deposit.

AUCHTERDERRAN (Fifeshire).—This find, which is now published for the first time, is of rather special interest, inasmuch as there is no other record of the occurrence of a coin of Pertinax in Scotland. The precise locality is unknown, but must almost certainly have been within the parish of Auchterderran. Our information regarding the discovery comes from a MS. account of General Melville's search for Roman camps in Scotland,³ compiled about 1812 by his secretary, John Dougall, and now in the possession of Mr E. W. M. Balfour-Melville. After speaking of Loch Ore, in the neighbourhood of which Gordon (p. 36) had placed a Roman fort, Dougall proceeds:—

"About a couple of miles to the eastward of that station, on a gentle eminence, vestiges of a rampart and ditch, forming the south-west angle of a rectangular and rectilinear inclosure, have been noticed; and within the inclosure was found, about fifty years ago, a silver coin of Pertinax."

¹ I have consulted the original MS. and have verified M'Crie's reading.

² The coin is temporarily stored away with the silver ornaments, and I have therefore been unable to examine it.

³ See *Archæologia*, lxxviii. pp. 169 f.

WELLFIELD (Fifeshire).—In a paper read to the Society in the winter of 1829–30, Lieut.-Colonel Miller says (*Arch. Scot.*, iv. p. 44):—"About a mile north-west from Wellfield a silver coin of Domitian, and a handmill, were found a few years ago, both of them in excellent preservation, and the latter of very good workmanship." The handmill is a clear index of inhabitation. Small does not mention it in his account of the find, written some seven years earlier.¹ On the other hand, he describes the coin in sufficient detail to enable it to be identified as of 92 A.D. and probably Coh.², i. p. 495, No. 280.

BLAIRGOWRIE (Perthshire).—Writing in 1843, the author of the account of Blairgowrie parish in *N.S.A.*, x., says (p. 914):—"There was also found in the neighbourhood of the town, and close to one of the cairns above mentioned, a coin of the Emperor Hadrian in bronze." Of the nature of the "cairns" we know nothing. But at least they denote human handiwork, and they need not have been sepulchral.

FORDOUN (Kincardineshire).—In *Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 14, there is a record of the presentation to the Edinburgh Museum on February 13, 1832, of "a Coin, large brass, of Hadrian, found in 1827, on the estate of Phesdo, in the Mearns, in the vicinity of a Roman fort called the Green Castle." Nothing is known as to the real nature of the Green Castle, but the chances are all in favour of its being of native construction.

(D) ISOLATED FINDS WITH NO RECORDED ASSOCIATIONS.

ECCLES (Berwickshire).—A gold coin of Nero was found in this parish in 1867, and presented to the National Museum (*Proc.*, vii. p. 197). It is Coh.², i. p. 300, No. 313, and is in very good condition.

RENTON (Berwickshire).—Under date December 8, 1828, *Arch. Scot.*, iii. App., p. 130, notes the finding, in a moss on the estate of Renton, of "a small coin of the Emperor Hadrianus." The language somehow suggests a *denarius*.

RULEWATER (Roxburghshire).—The late Captain Tancred, in *Rulewater and its People* (1907), p. 43, mentions the discovery of two bronze coins of Maximinus "in the cavity of a stone nearly two feet below the surface in good preservation." Had the number of pieces been less insignificant, the description of the 'find-spot' would have justified this being classified as a hoard.

CHAPEL-ON-LEADER (Roxburghshire).—Mr James Curle has seen a photograph of a 'first brass' of Trajan found here.

ECKFORD (Roxburghshire).—The writer of the account of this parish

¹ *Interesting Roman Antiquities Recently Discovered in Fife* (p. 90).

in *O.S.A.*, viii. (1793), tells (p. 34) that he "has seen a medal of the Empress *Faustina*, that was taken from the heart of a peat found at Moss Tower. It was about the size of a half-crown; the letters and inscription were very difficult." The indication of size given shows that the piece was a 'first brass.' According to the later version (1836) of the story which appears in *N.S.A.*, iii. ("Roxburghshire") p. 227, the inscription was "quite distinct."

SELKIRK.—There is now in the Glasgow Corporation Museum at Kelvin-grove a 'first brass' of Hadrian (*Coh.*², ii. p. 122, No. 222), which is catalogued as having been found at Selkirk.

DUNBAR (Haddingtonshire).—A gold coin of Nero was picked up "in a field near Dunbar" in May 1853, and is now in the National Museum (*Proc.*, i. p. 218). It is a somewhat worn specimen of *Coh.*², i. p. 281, No. 42.

DIRLETON (Haddingtonshire).—There was recently shown me a 'second brass' of Augustus (*Coh.*², i. p. 139, No. 515), got in 1898, a foot underground, in laying a water-pipe near Dirleton. It is in the possession of Mr R. N. Collidge, Edinburgh.

PENICUIK (Midlothian).—On August 6, 1782, Sir James Clerk of Penicuik—the eldest son of "Baron" Clerk—presented to the Edinburgh Museum a gold coin of Vitellius "in good preservation." Smellie adds (ii. p. 62): "This beautiful coin was found, some years ago, in ploughing a field in the neighbourhood of Pennycuik House." Unfortunately I have been unable to identify it, as I can find no trace of it in the trays of the Museum.

BONNYRIGG (Midlothian).—In the spring of 1918, in trenching a piece of old pasture, which was being broken up for allotments, on the farm of East Polton near Bonnyrigg, Mr Joseph Beazer found a 'first brass' of Hadrian (*Coh.*², ii. p. 206, No. 1192), and presented it to the National Museum. It is in fairly good condition.

EDINBURGH.—Apart from a hoard, which will be dealt with *infra*, p. 258, there are four well-authenticated cases of the finding of Roman coins in Edinburgh. "A copper coin of the Roman Emperor Vespasian, found in a garden in the Pleasance" was presented to the Edinburgh Museum in November 1782 (Smellie, ii. p. 72), and a *denarius* of Marcus from the Abbey-yard at Holyrood was deposited beside it in 1859 (*Proc.*, iii. p. 247). Again, Sir Daniel Wilson records (*Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 386 and p. 388) that in 1850 there were discovered two *denarii* of Severus in the High Street, in laying new water-pipes to Holyrood Palace, and a bronze coin of Constantine the Great "in excellent preservation" on the Castle Hill, in digging the foundation of a large reservoir. On the other hand, the

Valentinian which Sir John Clerk mentions in a letter to Roger Gale must be excluded from our list. A reference to the correspondence¹ will show that it was found in the company of a 'brass' of Otho, which must obviously have been a 'Paduan,' as Gale suspected.

CANONBIE (Dumfriesshire).—In the account of this parish (1836) in *N.S.A.*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire"), we are told (p. 490) that "the late clergyman, the Rev. John Russell, found an aureus denarius of the Emperor Nero, on a field in the glebe to the east of the church." This interesting discovery brings us into a new district. Canonbie lies on the bank of the Esk, about a mile above the influx of the Liddel. It is not irrelevant to note that at some time—there is no evidence as to the period—the Romans seem to have penetrated into Eskdale, and made some attempt to hold it. At Gilnockie, a mile or so higher up the stream, there are still visible the remains of earthworks, enclosing an area of nearly 30 acres and presenting characteristics that are indubitably Roman, while right at the head of the long narrow valley, among the wilds of Eskdalemuir, are the much smaller "camp" and "fort" of Raeburnfoot, partially explored more than twenty years ago, when reasonable evidence of a Roman origin was forthcoming.² Whether the Canonbie coin, or the other gold pieces to be mentioned presently, had any direct connexion with the incursion of the Romans into the region, it is, of course, quite impossible to say.

BROOMHOLM (Dumfriesshire).—Two or three miles further up the Esk than Gilnockie lies the farm of Broomholm, on which no fewer than six Roman coins of gold were discovered about 1782 by Mr John Maxwell, the tenant. The oldest published account of this remarkable find is that given in *O.S.A.*, xiii. (1794) p. 597: "About 10 years ago, some of Mr Maxwell's workpeople found some *denarii aurei*, viz. 4 Neros, 2 Vespasians, and 1 Domitian, all in excellent preservation." This statement is repeated almost *verbatim* in Chalmers (p. 139), where, however, 1782 is mentioned as the exact date. It reappears in the description of the parish of Langholm (1835) on p. 420 of *N.S.A.*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire"), the only difference of substance being that the number of coins is reduced from seven to six. The correction may have been due to the vigilance of an editor, for on p. 404 of the same volume we get Mr Maxwell's own version of the story in the course of a letter which he wrote to the parish minister of Eskdalemuir on April 15, 1796. Speaking of the supposed Roman

¹ *Stukeley's Letters* (Surtees Society), iii. pp. 231 and 418.

² *Proceedings of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 1897-8, pp. 17-27.

road between Netherby and Overby, he says: "I myself found six of these denarii auri [sic] upon the farm of Broomholm, through which the road passes and shews itself in a very perfect state. Three of them were Neros, two Vespasians, and one Domitian, all in perfect preservation. They are now in possession of Lady Douglas of Douglas." Though we are not expressly told so, it is natural to infer that all six were found together. If that was the case, it would have been more correct to catalogue them among the 'Hoards' than among the 'Isolated Finds.' Other considerations, however, make it convenient that they should be disposed of now.

WAUCHOPE BRIDGE (Dumfriesshire).—About a mile and a half above Broomholm is the town of Langholm, immediately beyond which the Esk is joined by the Wauchope Water. Not far from the confluence a gold coin of Otho was discovered soon after 1782. According to *O.S.A.*, xiii. (1794) p. 597, there were two other gold coins along with it: "Upon the same line [of road], at a subsequent period, 1 Otho, and 2 *denarii aurei* were discovered near Wauchope Bridge. They are now in the possession of the family of the late Mr Little, baron-baillie of Langholm." Again the statement is echoed by Chalmers (p. 139) and by *N.S.A.*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire") p. 420. But, in spite of its circumstantiality, there must be some hesitation about accepting it. Mr Maxwell, who was keenly interested, seems to have heard only of the Otho. In the letter already quoted he refers (*l.c.*) to "a gold coin which I have seen in the possession of the deceased Matthew Little, merchant in Langholm, which was found in the small holm, on the south-east of Wauchope bridge, through which the road passed. It was a denarius aurius [sic] and an Otho, a very scarce coin." The Otho, then, is certain; its two companions doubtful.

DUMFRIES.—In *O.S.A.*, v. (1793) p. 142, we read of "a small gold coin, scarcely so broad as a sixpence, but nearly as thick as a half-crown, and bearing the inscription AUGUSTUS round the impression of a Roman head. It was found, 3 or 4 years ago in the Nith, nearly opposite to the town mills." The description of a Roman *aureus* is not to be mistaken. If the legend be really complete as it stands, the coin was probably one of the issues of Augustus himself. The account of the parish of Dumfries (1833) in *N.S.A.*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire"), retells the story (p. 12), but adds no detail of any interest.

Arch. Scot., v., App., p. 35, records that on January 22, 1838, the Queen's Remembrancer presented to the Edinburgh Museum "a Gold Roman Coin of the Emperor Trajan, found in a moss near Dumfries." An examination of the trays shows it to have been Coh.², ii. p. 53, No. 334. It is in very good condition.

URR (Kirkcudbrightshire).—*O.S.A.*, xi. (1794) p. 70, notices a find which, if not made on what had once been an inhabited site, must consist of stragglers from an undiscovered hoard, buried after 180 A.D. "At Mill of Buittle," it says, "about half a mile west from the moat already mentioned,¹ there were found, several years ago, three small silver coins (*sesterces*) one of TIBERIUS, one of HADRIAN, and one of COMMODUS." The so-called *sesterces* were, of course, *denarii*.

TWYNHOLM (Kirkcudbrightshire).—*Proc.*, vi. p. 238, mentions the presentation to the Society on June 12, 1865, of a "Third Brass Coin of the Roman Emperor Crispus, struck at London; it was found in the parish of Twynholm, Kirkcudbrightshire."

CRAWFORDJOHN (Lanarkshire).—Writing in 1836, the author of the description of this parish in *N.S.A.*, vi., says (p. 503): "Lately, a silver piece, almost the size of a sixpence, was found, having on it Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus."

CARLUKE (Lanarkshire).—Lindsay, who mentions a manuscript "by the late Dr Wright of Glasgow" as having been of much service to him in the compilation of his own list, has the following note (p. 262) under the date July 1784: "At Carluke near Lanark, a gold coin of Otho was found weighing 4 dwts. 13 grains, and having on the reverse the legend *Securitas P.R.*" The coin was, therefore, *Coh.*², i. p. 353, No. 14, No. 16, or No. 22. Its discovery had been announced almost immediately in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1784, ii. p. 713): "In a ploughed field in the neighbourhood of Glasgow has been found the *aureus* or *didrachmi* [*sic*] of the Emperor Otho. This coin is in the highest esteem among antiquaries; but its having been found in a field near Glasgow wants confirmation." The scepticism of Sylvanus Urban drew a reply from Dr Wright, into whose possession the coin had passed: "I can assure you it was found in the parish of *Carluke*, in a ploughed field, within two miles of *Lanark*. It is now in my custody. It is a fresh and beautiful coin, and there is no reason to suppose it an imposition" (*Gent. Mag.*, 1786, i. p. 33).

But this is not all. Lindsay adds (*l.c.*): "One of Nero was also found." It is reasonable to suppose that this information, like that as to the Otho, was derived from Wright's manuscript. And from the way in which Lindsay puts it, one might infer that the two had been discovered together. Had this been so, however, Wright would have been certain to mention the Nero in his letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Besides, there is other evidence that the finds were distinct. In *O.S.A.*, viii. (1793) p. 137, the parish minister of Carluke writes: "Roman coins at Burnhouse and Castlehill were found in the

¹ The well-known Moat of Urr.

direction of this road,¹ and a description of them was lately given in the *Scots Magazine*." Fruitless search in the files of the *Scots Magazine* makes it certain that the reference to that periodical is the result of an error: what was in the writer's mind is the notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. "Burnhouse," too, is apparently a mistake for "Burnhead." At all events, in 1839 the author of the description of Carluke in *N.S.A.*, vi., says (p. 581): "Gold coins of the Roman period have also been found at Burnhead and Castlehill." These two localities lie respectively south-east and north-west of the town of Carluke, and are separated by a distance of about two miles. Burnhead is the nearer to Lanark, being about three miles away. If, therefore, Wright's statement is at all accurate, we must assign the Otho to Burnhead (or Burnhouse), and leave the Nero for Castlehill.

GLASGOW (and neighbourhood).—Gordon (p. 118) is the first to record the finding of a Roman coin in or about Glasgow: "In the City of *Glasgow* I met with a very curious Gold Medal of *Nero*. . . . This is exceedingly well preserved, and was found near *Glasgow*." His description and the illustration he gives in his "Plate of Medals" (No. 8) prove that the piece was *Coh.*², i. p. 287, No. 114. More than a hundred and twenty years later Dr John Buchanan notes in *Stuart* (p. 259) the discovery of some 'second brass' of Crispina "at Petershill, within the Royalty of Glasgow, a short distance beyond the Cathedral," and adds that they were "in fair preservation." The statement reappears in his contribution to *Glasgow Past and Present* (ii. p. 456), where it is supplemented by the information that coins of Hadrian had also been "found in the vicinity of the Cathedral," no metal being specified. Lastly, from *Proc.*, ii. p. 200, we learn that in 1856 there was presented to the Edinburgh Museum a "Denarius of the Emperor Constantius II., dug from the channel of the Clyde." It was *Coh.*², vii. p. 492, No. 342 or 343.

PARTICK.—A good many years ago a lad showed me a 'first brass' of Titus, which (he said) had been dug up in Partick.

RENFREW.—It is with Renfrew that we can most conveniently associate the "Roman Coin, Copper, supposed to be Tiberius, found on the banks of the Clyde, near the mouth of the Cart," which was deposited in the Edinburgh Museum by the Queen's Remembrancer in 1841 (*Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 45).

DUMBARTON.—The *Glasgow Courier* of May 15, 1858, reports the discovery at Dumbarton of a 'brass' coin of Vespasian, bearing the familiar type of IVDAEA CAPTA. It seems likely that this piece found its way into the collection of Dr John Buchanan, at that time an indefatigable buyer of all such relics.²

¹ That is "the Roman Road, called here *Watling's Street*" (*op. cit.*, p. 136). ² *Supra*, p. 223, footnote.

TORRANCE (Stirlingshire).—About ten years ago Mr John Bartholomew of Glenorchard showed me a ‘second brass’ of Antoninus Pius, which had been dug up by his gardener. It was Coh.², ii. p. 371, No. 1052, and had been somewhat worn when lost. The ‘find-spot’ is a mile or so north-west of the fort of Cadder.¹

CAMPSIE GLEN (Stirlingshire).—Lindsay speaks (p. 268) of a *denarius* of Hadrian, found in the Glen in 1832.

DRYMEN (Stirlingshire).—Under the heading “*Edinburgh, Aug. 8,*” the *Scots Magazine* for 1771 (p. 501) has the following item of news:—

“There were lately found, in an old quarry near the water of Endrick, two small medals of gold, the impression and letters very lively. It is very surprising, that the impressions on the medals are so clear and distinct, as the Emperor Nero Cæsar’s reign was in the 54th year and the Emperor Trajan’s reign in the 98th year of the Christian era. The inscriptions on the medals are thus:

On one side,
NERO. CAESAR.
On the other side,
AVGVSTVS. GERMANICVS.
On the one side,
IMP. CÆS. NERVA. TRAJAN. AVG.
GERM.
On the other side,
P.M.T.R.P. COS III. P.P.”

Since the two coins were found together, it would have been open to us to regard them as constituting a tiny hoard. As in the Broomholm case, however, it is more convenient to catalogue them here. It is curious that this interesting little discovery should have been almost entirely overlooked by subsequent writers. In 1776 the story was retold, somewhat more briefly, by Pennant (ii. 174). Thereafter the incident seems to have been forgotten. It was apparently unknown to the parish minister in 1793, when *O.S.A.*, viii., was published, and both Chalmers and Stuart leave it unnoticed.²

ST NINIANS (Stirlingshire).—About twenty years ago I was shown a coin of Trajan, which had been found at St Ninian’s. Unfortunately I kept no note of anything save the bare fact.

BURNTISLAND (Fifeshire).—According to Smellie, ii. p. 70, “a silver Roman coin, of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, found near Bruntisland” was deposited in the Edinburgh Museum in 1782.

¹ See *supra*, pp. 224 f.

² It may, however, be suggested that Stuart had read the passage in Pennant and had noted it for citation, but that he was subsequently led astray by an error in his reference. That is an easily intelligible explanation of the impossible “Pennant, vi. 174” which occurs in his account of Castle-dykes (see *supra*, p. 219, footnote³).

AUCHTERARDER (Perthshire).—In the description of the parish of Auchterarder in *O.S.A.*, iv. (1792), it is stated (p. 44) that “in digging the foundation of the church lately built in this place, a coin was found, of the Emperor Titus Vespasian, perfectly distinct.”

ABERNETHY (Perthshire).—About 1900 the Rev. Dr Butler, now of Gala-shiels, sent for my inspection a Roman *denarius*, which had been picked up in 1895 on the banks of the Earn near the House of Carey. It was a Titus,¹ being in fact Coh.², i. p. 453, No. 292.

PERTH.—The town of Perth has two Roman coins to add to the list. The discovery of the first is thus described in *O.S.A.*, xviii. (1796) p. 494: “One of the remaining parts of the north wall of the town, having been taken down a few years ago, a pretty large brass coin, of “Caesar Augustus Pontifex Maximus” was found in it.” And from *N.S.A.*, x. p. 73, we learn that the exact year was 1790. The second coin is a *denarius* of Tiberius, which is included among the contents of the Perth Museum as catalogued in the *Transactions of the Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society*, vol. i. (1827) p. 17 (of Catalogue). It is said to have been found “on the site of the Parliament House at Perth.”

LOGIERAIT (Perthshire).—“A medal (of Trajan it is believed) was found in this parish” (*O.S.A.*, v. (1793) p. 85).

KINNELL (Forfarshire).—On February 28, 1831, there was exhibited to the Society, as having been presented to their Museum by the King’s Remembrancer, “a Gold Coin, in very fine preservation, of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, found in 1829 on the farm of Hattonmill, near Arbroath, Forfarshire” (*Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 6). Lindsay (p. 267) reports the discovery under date May 4, 1830, and gives the name of the farm as “Hutton mill.” In 1842 the writer of the description of the parish of Kinnell in *N.S.A.*, xi. (“Forfarshire”), mentions (p. 398) a coin which was picked up “in 1829, on the farm of Mainsbank, by the side of a ditch, out of which it had probably been cast. It was an aureus, a gold coin of the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius.” Then follows a description of Coh.², ii. p. 365, Nos. 993 f. The Society’s small collection of Roman gold contains an extremely well-preserved specimen of this particular piece, a circumstance which, taken in conjunction with the proximity of Kinnell to Arbroath, justifies us in registering the two finds as identical. Hitherto they have been regarded as distinct.²

¹ Not a Vespasian, as stated in Haverfield, p. 165. The worn condition of the coin made the confusion easy.

² Since writing the above, I have ascertained that the farms of Hatton Mill and Mainsbank are both in the parish of Kinnell, and that they are immediately adjacent. This puts the identity of the finds beyond all possibility of doubt.

LAURENCEKIRK (Kincardineshire).—According to the description of the parish of Laurencekirk (1838) in *N.S.A.*, xi. (“Kincardineshire”) p. 131, “a good many years ago, there was found in a field, near Johnston Lodge, a small Roman coin, with a different head and inscription on either side, but the only words legible are Aurelius on the one side, and Antoninus on the other.” This was doubtless one of the *denarii* struck in the joint names of Pius and of Aurelius as Cæsar, which are described in *Coh.*², ii. pp. 409 ff. .

ABERDEEN.—“A coin, middle brass, of Domitian, found in the vicinity of Aberdeen 1828” was exhibited to the Society on February 13, 1832, on the occasion of its presentation to their Museum (*Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 14).

LEOCHEL-CUSHNIE (Aberdeenshire).—In the description of this parish (1843) in *N.S.A.*, xii., it is stated (pp. 1121 f.) that “about sixteen years ago [*i.e.* about 1827], a gold coin, of the Roman Emperor Constantius, was ploughed up in a hitherto uncultivated piece of ground on Mains of Cushnie, which was sold in Aberdeen.”

CLATT (Aberdeenshire).—In May 1864, there was laid before the Society, on presentation to their Museum, a “small Silver Roman Coin, with legend much worn, apparently of Valentinian I., or about that period; it was found in the parish of Clatt, Aberdeenshire” (*Proc.*, v. p. 326).

LESLIE (Aberdeenshire).—In 1896 Mr H. W. Young exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle two Roman coins found in the parish of Leslie, “at the back o’ Bennachie” (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newc.*, vii. p. 239). They were a ‘second brass’ of Trajan (*Coh.*², ii. p. 65, No. 470 or No. 472) in very good condition, and a *denarius* of Pius (*Coh.*², ii. p. 283, No. 123 or No. 124).

INVERURIE (Aberdeenshire).—There is now in the possession of the University of Aberdeen a gold coin of Vespasian, found twenty or thirty years ago at Inverurie (*Proc.*, xxix. p. 60).¹ The variety represented has been inadvertently omitted from *Coh.*² In the first edition of that work it is i. p. 274, No. 30.

SLAINS (Aberdeenshire).—*Proc.*, xi. p. 516, mentions a gold coin of Honorius, “found near the Meikle Loch, Slains,” which was presented to the Edinburgh Museum in 1876. It is in mint condition, and is *Coh.*², viii. p. 185, No. 44.

MORTLACH (Banffshire).—In 1894 the late Dr Cramond of Cullen presented to the Museum a Roman ‘first brass,’ which had been found a year or two before at Dufftown. He thus describes it (*Proc.*, xxix. p. 60):—“It is a coin of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138, and weighs 210 grains. On the obverse is the head of the Emperor, with

¹ I am indebted to Professor Gilroy, through Mr G. M. Fraser, for a description.

the legend "Armenia." On the reverse is a Roman soldier, with the letters S.C., the rest being illegible." But "Armenia" is clearly a part of the imperial title ARMENIACVS. The coin, therefore, cannot have been of Pius. It was either of Marcus, struck in 164 A.D. or later,¹ or (less probably) of Verus. At the same time there was exhibited a 'first brass' of Maximinus, likewise found in the district (*l.c.*). Mention was also made of a 'second brass' of Marcus which had been dug up at Pittyvaich House, along with a third-century coin of Alexandria, in July 1894. Dr Cramond was inclined (p. 62) to doubt whether the last two had really been an ancient deposit. His reasons for scepticism are not, however, by any means convincing.

FORRES (Morayshire).—Stuart, p. 213, footnote, states that "in 1843, a copper coin of the Emperor Titus was found near Sueno's pillar, in the vicinity of Forres." It was of the IVDAEA CAPTA type.

FORTROSE (Ross-shire).—In 1853 the Queen's Remembrancer presented to the Edinburgh Museum (*Proc.*, i. p. 225) "two Roman Copper Coins, dug up in the garden of Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, at the site of the Bishop's Palace, in Fortrose." From the descriptions on p. 226 it appears that they were a 'second brass' of Augustus, struck by Tiberius (*Coh.*², i. p. 94, No. 228), and a 'second brass' of Nero (*Coh.*², i. p. 290, Nos. 163 ff.).

SHETLAND ISLES.—In Gough's *Camden* (2nd ed., iv. p. 549), "Mr Lowe's MS. description of these islands" is cited as authority for the statement that "in this parish of Dunrossness was found in turning up a lee field a copper coin of Vespasian; Rev. *Judea devicta*; now in the possession of the earl of Morton." The fact had previously been noted, also on Low's authority, by Pennant in his *Arctic Zoology*. On p. 101 of his *Description of Shetland* (1822), Hibbert says that the discovery took place "about forty years ago"—that is, about 1782. In a note (p. 127) he quotes the *ipsissima verba* of "the late Reverend GEORGE LOW" as follows:—"In Dunrossness parish was some time ago found a copper medal of VESPASIAN, the reverse *Judæa Victa*. It was turned up in plowing the ground." This quotation is not unimportant. It makes it clear that, in speaking of "*Judæa Victa*," Low was referring to the *type* of a IVDAEA CAPTA coin, whereas Pennant and Gough have created an atmosphere of needless suspicion by assuming that he referred to the *legend*. The form IVDAEA DEVICTA seems to occur only on *A* and *R* of Vespasian.

And this is not the only help we get from Hibbert. On the same page (127) of the *Description* we read: "Mr Ross, (late of Lerwick,) was at considerable pains to collect all the remains of antiquity which

¹ It might, for instance, have been *Coh.*², iii. pp. 82 f., No. 838.

fell in his way, that were found in Shetland. In his possession I have seen, among other coins, a copper medal, bearing the inscription of Ser. Galba Imp. Caes. Aug.; another of VESPASIAN, and a silver coin of TRAJAN." Possibly the Vespasian was identical with that recorded by Low, although Hibbert himself does not suggest this. A further contribution which he makes to the subject is less fruitful. The paragraph immediately succeeding the one which has just been quoted, begins thus:—"In the Plate of Antiquities given in the Appendix, marked Fig. 2, a copper medal found in Shetland, bears on one side the name of L. ÆLIUS CÆSAR, and on the reverse "Pannoniæ Curia AEL; in which ÆLIUS is figured as receiving from a native of Pannonia a cornucopiæ and a household-god. Below are the letters S.C." The anticipations which this description excites are doomed to disappointment. The illustration reveals in the "copper medal" an indubitable 'Paduan.'

OUTER HEBRIDES.—In the Glasgow Corporation Museum at Kelvingrove are three coins of the late empire, which are stated to have been found near Lochmaddy (North Uist). They are somewhat worn, but appear to be—(1) a 'small brass' of Victorinus with SPES PVBLICA on the reverse (Coh.², vi. p. 82, No. 120), (2) a 'small brass' of Constantius II. with GLORIA EXERCITVS (Coh.², vii. pp. 455 f., No. 104), and (3) a 'large brass' of Gratian with REPARATIO REIPVBL (Coh.², viii. p. 130, Nos. 30 f.).

UNCERTAIN LOCALITIES.—*Proc.*, x. p. 461, states that on June 24, 1873, there was exhibited to the Society a gold coin of Nero, which had been sent to the Museum as treasure trove by the Queen's Remembrancer, and which must therefore have been found in Scotland. No details have, however, been preserved either at the Exchequer or in the Society's archives. The coin itself is probably the somewhat rubbed specimen of Coh.², i. p. 300, No. 313, now in the Society's collection. An *aureus* of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 38, No. 187), seen by Gordon (p. 118) in the collection of the Rev. Robert Wodrow at Eastwood, would also seem to have been of Scottish *provenance*.

So far as isolated finds are concerned, this completes the list of 'Roman' coins in the strict sense of the term. There is, however, reason to believe that, in Roman times, stray 'colonial' and 'Greek imperial' pieces occasionally wandered as far as Britain in the ordinary course of trade.¹ The following facts are, therefore, worth putting on record:—(1) In March 1902 there was exhibited to the Glasgow Archæo-

¹ Mr G. F. Hill informs me that the records of the British Museum indicate that this was certainly so in the case of coins of Alexandria. Cf. H. H. E. Craster in *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd series, vi. pp. 254 ff.

logical Society a 'second brass' coin of Nemausus, with the heads of Augustus and Agrippa, which was said to have been found at Erskine in Renfrewshire. (2) Early in the present year Miss Meldrum, Pitlochry, sent for my inspection a billon coin of Alexandria, struck in the fourth year of Diocletian (287-288 A.D.), and having a figure of Athena on the reverse; it was found, she informed me, on an island in Fin Laggan Loch, Islay. (3) In *Proc.*, xxix. p. 60, mention is made of the discovery of a third-century coin of Alexandria at Pittyvaich House, Mortlach.¹ (4) In January 1890, the late Mr H. W. Young showed at a meeting of our Society a "Greek Imperial coin of Nero struck at Corinth, found at Burghead" (*Proc.*, xxiv. p. 146). (5) There is now in the National Museum a billon coin of Alexandria, struck in the second year of Carus (283-284 A.D.), and having the head of Numerianus on the obverse and a seated Athena on the reverse; a note, accompanying it, states that it was found in a fort in North Uist.

A conspectus of some of the results so far obtained will put us in a better position to appreciate their significance. The Table printed on the opposite page will show how matters stand. It will be observed that in the Table the various classes of coins have been divided into three well-marked chronological groups. As the earliest of these is at once the most important and the most difficult to deal with, it may simplify our task if we begin with the latest and work our way backwards. One characteristic of what may be called the fourth-century group will strike the eye at once. While coins belonging to it occur fairly frequently in Scotland, there is not a single well-authenticated instance of their having been found on the site of a Roman fort.² That is, during the period which it covers, there was no military occupation of the country by the Romans. On the other hand, the number of specimens found at Traprain Law and elsewhere is sufficiently large to show that, at intervals at all events, the relations between the dwellers to the north and the dwellers to the south of Hadrian's Wall must have been tolerably peaceful. Traders would come and go, with waggon or pack-horse, or on foot. Ships laden with merchandise—Gaulish pottery and the like—would now and again thread their way cautiously through the sounds of the Atlantic seaboard to the farthest Hebrides. The more venturesome among these mariners might even round Cape Wrath and visit distant Thule. Everywhere the money that they left behind them would be prized for its possible use as a native currency.

In all this, of course, there was nothing peculiar to the fourth century

¹ There was a 'brass' of Marcus along with it. See *supra*, p. 248.

² For doubtful, or more than doubtful, cases see *supra*, pp. 211, 214, 216, and 218 f. They are indicated in the Table by points of interrogation.

TABLE SHOWING THE CLASSES OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN SCOTLAND AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THEIR DISCOVERY.

Class of Coin.	(A) Found on Roman sites.	(B) Found on native sites.	(C) Found on inhabited sites, chiefly native.	(D) No association recorded.
Republican Denarii	×			
M. Antony (before 31 B.C.)	×	×		
Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.)	×		×	×
Tiberius (14-37 A.D.)	×			×
Germanicus (before 19 A.D.)	×			
Claudius (41-54 A.D.)	×			
Antonia (<i>circa</i> 40 A.D.)			×	
Nero (54-68 A.D.)	×			×
Galba (68-69 A.D.)	×			×
Otho (69 A.D.)	×			×
Vitellius (69 A.D.)	×			×
Vespasian (69-79 A.D.)	×	×	×	×
Titus (79-81 A.D.)	×			×
Domitian (81-96 A.D.)	×	×	×	×
Nerva (96-98 A.D.)	×	×		
Trajan (98-117 A.D.)	×	×	×	×
Hadrian (117-138 A.D.)	×	×	×	×
Sabina (126-136 A.D.)	×			
Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.)	×	×		×
Faustina Sen. ¹ (<i>circa</i> 141 A.D.)	×		×	×
Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.)	×		×	×
Faustina Jun. (before 176 A.D.)	×			
L. Verus (161-169 A.D.)	×			
Lucilla (164-183 A.D.)	×			
Commodus (180-192 A.D.)	×			×
Crispina (180-183 A.D.)	×	×		×
Pertinax (193 A.D.)			×	
Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.)	×		×	×
Julia Domna (193-217 A.D.)	×			
Caracalla (211-217 A.D.)	×		×	
Plautilla (<i>circa</i> 202 A.D.)	×			
Geta (before 212 A.D.)	×			
Maximinus (235-238 A.D.)				×
Victorinus (263-267 A.D.)				×
Numerianus (282-284 A.D.)			×	
Diocletian (284-305 A.D.)	?		×	
Constantius I. (305-306 A.D.)	?			? ²
Constantine I. (306-337 A.D.)	?	×		×
Crispus (317-326 A.D.)				×
Constantine II. (337-340 A.D.)	?	×		
Constantius II. (335-361 A.D.)				×
Magnentius (350-353 A.D.)		×		
Valentinian I. (364-375 A.D.)		×		×
Valens (364-378 A.D.)			×	
Gratian (367-383 A.D.)				×
Arcadius (395-408 A.D.)		?		
Honorius (395-423 A.D.)				×

¹ Where the records fail to distinguish between Faustina Senior and her daughter, I have credited the coins to the mother. The general result is in no way affected.

² The gold coin found at Leochel-Cushnie may have belonged either to Constantius I. or to Constantius II.

It may be confidently assumed that by far the larger proportion of the finds indicated in the three last columns of the Table represent, in the case of each of our groups, coins that had fallen from native rather than from Roman hands. In other words, from the second century onwards, if not indeed from the first, there must have been a considerable amount of intercourse, which it would perhaps be too much to call friendly, but which was, at all events, neighbourly enough to permit of the infiltration of goods and of money. This conclusion is in entire harmony with other observed archaeological facts. It affords the only satisfactory explanation of the presence of Roman pottery on native sites scattered, almost literally, "from Maidenkirk to John o' Groats." Amphora-handles and fragments of Samian ware, including some of first or early second century date, occur in the sea-caves of Wigton, Haddington and Fife, in the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire crannogs, in the hill-forts of East Lothian and Argyll, in the earth-houses of the north-east, on a kitchen-midden in Lewis, and in the brochs, not merely of Selkirk and Midlothian, but even of Caithness and the Orkneys. It hardly needs to be pointed out that the relations to which these discoveries bear witness cannot have been continuous. They would be rudely interrupted whenever the fires of war, always smouldering, broke out into a flame. It is tempting to interpret the interval that separates the third group in our Table from the second—fifty years, if we leave Maximinus out of the reckoning—as significant of a period of prolonged unrest. Possibly it may be so. But it would be rash to dogmatise. Coins belonging to this particular half-century are relatively scarce on Hadrian's Wall and in other parts of Southern Britain. Their absence from our Table may, therefore, be due to a general rather than to a local cause.

After what has been said in the preceding paragraph, we are free to concentrate on the first column of the Table in dealing with the two groups that remain. The lesson of the second of these is very easily read, if we remember that no Roman fort save Cramond has yielded coins of Severus and his family, and that the specimens discovered there were numerous. Twenty years ago, when Mrs Callander's collection was still unknown; Haverfield suggested (p. 159) that the "two or three denarii" of Severus from Cramond were "perhaps due to accidental intercourse," although he agreed (p. 161) that it was "quite credible" that they might be "in some way connected with" the Emperor's march into Caledonia. The abundant material now on record makes the first hypothesis untenable. It seems certain that Cramond played an important part in the Caledonian expedition so grandiloquently described by Herodian and Cassius Dio. And the contrast with Newstead may justify us in going further. There were two routes, one or other of which an invading army

would naturally employ in advancing on Cramond from behind the shelter of Hadrian's Wall. The more obvious of these was what had been in the first and second centuries the great trunk-road by the Cheviots and the Eildons. If that had been followed, we should suppose that Trimontium must have been strongly held as a vital link in the line of communications of the expeditionary force. Yet, in spite of the most diligent search, Mr Curle failed to find the faintest trace of a third-century occupation of Newstead. It may, therefore, be suggested that Severus adopted the alternative plan of transporting his troops by sea from the mouth of the Tyne to the Forth. On the assumption that the Caledonians dwelt beyond the northern isthmus and the Mæatæ between the Walls,¹ this suggestion would agree admirably with Cassius Dio's limitation of the original invasion of Severus to Caledonia.² His trouble with the Mæatæ came later, although they would seem to have been embraced in his scheme of conquest from the outset.³ If the Caledonians were to be attacked first, the choice of a sea-route at once becomes intelligible.

Unlike the group we have been discussing, the first of the three in our Table embraces two historical periods. Therein lies the difficulty attaching to its right interpretation. The consular *denarii* it contains were in all probability lost during the Flavian era. At the other end of the scale is a long series of emperors and empresses whose money cannot have appeared in Scotland until after the building of the Forth and Clyde Wall. Between these two extremes lies a doubtful region. Some of the coins of the first-century emperors must have been dropped during the Agricolan occupation. It is no less certain that others should be associated with the occupation that began under Pius. Discrimination is, however, impossible, save in those very rare cases where the fine preservation of a 'brass' coin proves that it cannot have been in circulation for more than a year or two at the outside. Consequently it was only here and there that the numismatic evidence, taken by itself, enabled us to detect the footsteps of Agricola. Republican *denarii* were noted at Cramond and at Newstead, while the latter fort also produced one or two 'second brass' of Domitian almost in mint condition. Again, both at Newstead and at Camelon the relatively high proportion of Flavian 'brass' was seen to be significant. Beyond these there were no definite indications. On the other hand, the signs of second-century occupancy could be recognised almost everywhere. A summary of the finds from the 'stations' on the Wall will serve as an illustration:—

¹ See *Roman Wall*, pp. 15 f.

² After indicating (lxxvi. c. 12) the geographical situation of the territory of each of the two tribes, he says explicitly (c. 13) that Severus ἐπέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Καληδονίαν.

³ Dio says (l.c.) πᾶσαν [τὴν νῆσον] καταστρέψασθαι θελήσας.

CONSPICUUS OF COIN-FINDS FROM THE ANTONINE WALL.

Class of Coin.	<i>A.</i>	<i>Æ.</i>	<i>Æ.</i>
M. Antony		×	
Galba			×
Vitellius		×	
Vespasian	×	×	
Domitian		×	×
Nerva		×	
Trajan	×	×	×
Hadrian	×	×	×
Sabina			×
Antoninus Pius		×	×
Faustina		×	
Marcus Aurelius		×	×
L. Verus			×
Commodus		? ¹	×

The second-century complexion of this list is apparent on the surface. Note, for instance, that the *Æ* of Vespasian is actually not represented at all, and that Titus is conspicuous by his absence. And the dominance of the Antonine period would be even more strongly marked, if the statements in the older authorities were sufficiently precise to admit of complete figures for each of the varieties being given. So far as the testimony of the coins goes, Agricola need never have occupied the Forth and Clyde isthmus at any period of his career. Yet we know from Tacitus that he built a chain of forts from end to end of it in A.D. 81. The complete outline of one of these forts has, as a matter of fact, been recovered, and traces of two more have been detected. There can be but one explanation of the great scarcity, or rather the entire lack, of numismatic evidence for a first-century tenure of the isthmus: the time during which the Agricolan forts were garrisoned must have been very short. This conclusion is amply corroborated by the witness of the pottery. One or two fragments of 'early' Samian ware have been observed at Rough Castle and Castlecary; the rest can be dated to the second century. It looks, then, as if the coins of our first group were going to provide us with nothing more novel than a seeming confirmation of what Tacitus suggests as to the speedy abandonment of Agricola's northern conquests—"perdomita Britannia et statim missa." Before acquiescing, however, we must look into the matter more closely, remembering that what appeared at one time to be the lesson of the Wall² itself, has had to be unlearned in face of the emergence of abundant Agricolan remains at Newstead, Camelon, and Inchtuthil.

¹ It is not clear whether the coins of Commodus reported from Kirkintilloch (*supra*, p. 224) were *denarii* or not.

² *Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, pp. 129 ff. (= *Proc.*, xl. pp. 531 f.).

Attention has already been called to the difficulties that surround the problem. None of the ordinary methods of approaching it seem promising. A change of tactics may be helpful. If, for instance, we bring together the whole of the *gold* finds represented in the first group of the Table, irrespective of the column to which they belong, we get the following list:—

Newstead.—Nero (2), Titus, Trajan,
Pius.
Inveresk.—Vespasian, Trajan.
Cramond.—Pius.
Carriden.—Vespasian.
Auchendavy.—Trajan.
Duntocher.—Vespasian, Hadrian.
Biggar.—Vespasian.
Eccles.—Nero.
Dunbar.—Nero.
Penicuik.—Vitellius.

Canonbie.—Nero.
Broomholm.—Nero (3), Vespasian
(2), Domitian.
Wauchope Bridge.—Otho.
Dumfries.—Augustus, Trajan.
Carluke.—Otho, Nero.
Glasgow.—Nero.
Drymen.—Nero, Trajan.
Kinnell.—Pius.
Inverurie.—Vespasian.
Uncertain Localities.—Nero, Trajan.

We may disregard the coin of Augustus. Whenever and however it made its way into the Nith, it had been withdrawn from ordinary currency long before Agricola's first advance into Scotland; Nero had made it too valuable by reducing the weight of the *aureus*. It will be instructive to compare the distribution of the remainder with that of the contents of the great Corbridge hoard of 1911, buried about 160 A.D.:—

TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF GOLD COINS.

Class of Coin.	Scottish Finds (34).	Corbridge Hoard (160).
Nero	12	10
Galba . . . . .	...	3
Otho	2	3
Vitellius	1	1
Vespasian	7	15
Titus	1	11
Domitian	1	5
Trajan	6	47
Marciana . . . . .	...	1
Hadrian and Trajan . . . . .	...	1
Hadrian	1	35
Sabina . . . . .	...	3
Ælius . . . . .	...	1
Pius	3	12
Pius and Marcus . . . . .	...	1
Faustina Sen. . . . .	...	7
Marcus . . . . .	...	4

¹ See *Num. Chron.*, 1912, pp. 265 ff.

This is a very remarkable result. Casual finds, if reasonably numerous, reflect in more trustworthy fashion than do hoards the character of the money that was in circulation throughout the period during which they were lost. Hoards represent the accumulated savings of many years, and will therefore always contain a proportion of coins that were relatively old at the date of final concealment. The Corbridge hoard was hidden away about the beginning of the reign of Marcus. Accordingly, subject to the reservation suggested above, it ought to give us a fairly accurate picture of the gold currency of Roman Britain at the very time when the frontier of the province extended to the Forth and Clyde Wall. What, then, is its composition? The expected admixture of older pieces is present in the shape of 30 per cent. of Flavian or pre-Flavian issues; the reign of Trajan accounts for other 30 per cent.; the balance of 40 per cent. falls into the reign of Hadrian or later. If the Scottish gold-finds represent the casual losses of the thirty or forty years that succeeded the building of the Wall, they ought to include a considerably larger percentage of Hadrianic and subsequent issues, and to show a corresponding reduction in the percentage of the earlier classes. The actuality is in startling contrast with the anticipation. The Flavian or pre-Flavian issues amount to more than 70 per cent. of the whole; Trajan absorbs rather less than 18 per cent.; a beggarly allowance of barely 12 per cent. is all that is left for Hadrian and his successors. Nero, who opens both lists, has twelve specimens to his credit north of the Tweed, as against only ten at Corbridge. There is but one way of explaining these facts. The greater part of the Roman gold found in Scotland was lost, not during the Antonine period, but during the period that was inaugurated by Agricola's invasion.

It appears to follow that the 'Agricolan' occupation cannot possibly have been limited to the three or four years of active campaigning which ended with that general's recall in A.D. 84. The numismatic evidence from Inchtuthil and Newstead has already taught us that those two forts must have been garrisoned by Roman troops for at least a couple of years longer. The vista now opened up is far more extensive. It suggests that the hold which Agricola had gained over southern Scotland was firmly maintained by the legates who came after him. Such a conclusion would be in complete harmony with the abundance of early pottery at Newstead and at Camelon, as well as with the repairs to the bath-house at the purely 'Agricolan' settlement of Inchtuthil. In a word, it looks as if the occupation which began in the first century may have lasted until well on in the reign of Trajan, if not till the outbreak of the tremendous storm whose final subsidence was marked by the building of Hadrian's Wall. Nor would this necessarily conflict

with the scarcity of first-century remains on the Agricolan sites that have been discovered along the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde. On the contrary, it would clear up the general situation there in a very satisfactory way. The barrier of A.D. 81 was exactly what Tacitus represents it to have been—a temporary expedient designed to secure a breathing-space for a further advance. The forts by which the conquered territory was ultimately kept in subjection were not arranged transversely in the form of a *limes imperii*, but longitudinally along the main line or lines of penetration. In this connexion it is worth recalling that the idea of artificial *limites* is not older than the reign of Hadrian.¹

Passing from isolated finds, we have next to consider hoards. Here the obvious principle of division is by metals. It was pointed out above that the finds of gold at Broomholm and at Drymen might fairly enough have been reckoned as tiny hoards. But it seemed better to reserve the term for such substantial accumulations of silver and 'brass' as we shall have to deal with now. In the case of each of these metals we can distinguish two classes, an earlier and a later. The earlier class of *Æ* and the earlier class of *Æ* seem both alike to have been buried towards the close of the Antonine period. The later class of *Æ* includes coins of Severus and his family, while the later class of *Æ* belongs to the fourth century. In some cases the information that has come down to us is too scanty to admit of perfect confidence in drawing the line between 'earlier' and 'later' hoards of *Æ*. The distinction, therefore, does not afford a very satisfactory basis for arranging our list. It will be easier to adopt, as before, a geographical framework, and to make chronology in the meantime a secondary issue.

(A) *HOARDS OF SILVER.*

(a) *South-Eastern Scotland.*

LAUDER (Berwickshire).—The belief that a hoard of Roman coins was found at Lauder rests on a misunderstanding. Haverfield (p. 164) describes the story as "plainly erroneous," and the error can be tracked to its source. The writer of the description of the parish in *O.S.A.*, i. (1791), says (p. 77):—

"A considerable quantity of Spanish, Scotch, and English coins, have been dug up. The antiquity of the first extends no further than the age of Elizabeth. The Scotch and English belong to the age of Edward Longshanks, and Alexander I. of Scotland; and some of them are of later date. The minister of Lauder is in possession of some of these coins, and also of several Roman coins, whose inscriptions are, *Lucius Flaminius, Julius Cæsar, &c.*"

¹ Spartian, *Vita Hadriani*, 12, 6.

In 1833 this was reproduced in *N.S.A.*, ii. ("Berwickshire") p. 5, as follows:—

"Spanish, Scottish, and English coins have been dug up, some of which Dr Ford, the former minister, had in his possession, as well as several Roman coins inscribed with the names of Julius Cæsar, Lucius Flaminius, and others."

Read carefully, the first of these passages is innocent enough. The minister, as in duty bound, records the discovery at Lauder of certain Spanish, Scottish, and English coins, some of which have passed into his own possession. But he cannot resist the temptation of going a step farther. He was a bit of a collector, and had evidently a collector's pride in the contents of his modest cabinet. Why should the world not know that he owned some Roman coins? Dr Ford's successor of 1833 seems to have misunderstood him. Or, if he did not misunderstand him, he at all events expressed himself in a very misleading way. The second passage, if it had stood alone, might very well have been taken as implying that the Roman coins were actually dug up at Lauder. In point of fact, it has been so taken. Hence the myth, which is now, it may be hoped, dispelled.

EDINBURGH.—In a letter to Roger Gale of date March 5, 1741-2, Sir John Clerk states that, in pulling down an old arch in Edinburgh, there was found "an urn . . . with a good many silver coins, all of them common except one of Faustina Minor." His description shows that the exception was *Coh.*², iii. p. 152, No. 190, 191, or 192. Coins of Faustina occur both in 'early' and in 'late' hoards of *R*, so that it is impossible to say to which of our two classes the Edinburgh find belonged. Clerk's letter was printed in *Reliquiæ Galeanæ* (Gough's *Bibl. Topogr. Brit.*, iii. p. 348), and it appears again in *Stukeley's Letters* (Surtees Soc., iii. p. 420). The relevant extract is quoted in full by Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals* (p. 387), whence the reference in Stuart, p. 165.

LINLITHGOW (near).—From Smellie, i., we learn (p. 58) that on July 31, 1781, the Town Clerk of Linlithgow presented to the Society's Museum four Roman *denarii* (Vespasian, Hadrian, Pius, and Marcus), and also (p. 60) that, exactly a fortnight later, the Provost of the Burgh followed this up with a further donation of nine, being one each of Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Pius, Marcus, and two each of Hadrian and Faustina. These entries are illuminated by the writer of the description of Linlithgow in *O.S.A.*, xiv. (1795), who says (p. 570): "Some years ago, several Roman coins were found in the Burrowmuir, amounting to about 300." A footnote adds details:—

“They had been deposited in an earthen urn, which the plough broke, and were picked up in lumps, by some persons who followed it to gather stones. The town, as superior, claimed the treasure. The pieces were not above the size of a sixpence, all silver, and having different dates and impressions. They were probably the collection of some virtuoso, and being involved in rust, would form a sweet morsel to antiquaries.”

The notices in Smellie justify us in giving July 1781 as the date of the find. Lindsay (p. 261) puts it in August, doubtless because he connected it only with the Provost's donation, not with the Town Clerk's. The corresponding passage in *N.S.A.*, ii. (“Linlithgowshire”) p. 175, which was written in 1843, tells us nothing new, while Chalmers (p. 166), with characteristic inaccuracy, declares that “three hundred of these coins were presented to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh by Robert Clerk, the respectable provost of Linlithgow.” This assertion is fortified by a reference to p. 60 of Smellie, where the nine *denarii* that constituted the Provost's gift are enumerated! What came to the Museum was, of course, a selection, but it was (we may be sure) a representative selection; it would include examples of each leading variety. This is important, partly because it enables us to say that this particular hoard belonged to the ‘early’ class, and partly because it shows us the spirit in which intelligent donors who had the command of a hoard were wont to interpret their duty towards the Museum. This is not the only occasion on which we shall find a representative selection handed over, and here and there we may have to argue back from a representative selection to a hoard.

(b) *South-Western Scotland.*

GREATLAWS (Peeblesshire).—The parish of Skirling, in which Greatlaws lies, may fairly be reckoned as being in South-Western Scotland. *N.S.A.*, iii. (“Peebleshire”) p. 101, mentions the finding of “various ancient coins of the reigns of Adrian and Antoninus . . . about twenty years ago [*i.e.* about 1814] near a place called Greatlaws in the north-east quarter of the parish.” Though the language is vague, it seems certain that this was a small hoard, belonging perhaps to the ‘early’ class. The writer adds that the coins are “now [1834] in the possession of Laurence Brown, Esq. of Edmonstone, Lanarkshire.” Edmonstone, it should be explained, is in Biggar parish, just over the border from Skirling.

LANARK (near).—Stuart (p. 140) informs us, on the authority of Dr John Buchanan, that “in 1847, a hoard of Roman silver coins was discovered about one and a half miles east from Lanark, during the

formation of the Caledonian Railway, in the lower part of a cairn of stones. They were lying about a foot under the surface, and included coins of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, in excellent preservation." This would appear to have been an 'early' hoard.

STRATHAVEN (Lanarkshire).—Chalmers has the following footnote on p. 138:—

"On the 5th of March, 1805, some labourers who were employed in making a drain at Torfoot, some miles south-west of the village of Strathaven, discovered a glass bottle of an oblong square form, which was surrounded by several stones artificially placed for its preservation. The bottle was carefully sealed up with a greenish pigment, and upon being opened, was found to contain about 400 Roman silver coins of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Crispina, and of various other emperors and empresses."

A very similar story is told by Lindsay (p. 265), who, however, gives the year as 1803:—

"At Torfoot seven miles west of Strathaven in Lanarkshire, a boy in clearing out a drain at the foot of a rising ground struck upon a glass vessel containing 400 Roman silver coins of various Emperors and Empresses, viz. Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Marcus Aurelius, Crispina, Cæsar, Pompey, Crassus, &c."

There can be no doubt as to these two extracts referring to one and the same find, the difference of date notwithstanding. Lindsay's mention of "Cæsar, Pompey, Crassus" is clearly a mistake, due in all probability, as Haverfield (p. 163) suggests, to a misunderstanding of the title *III VIRRPC* on legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony, some of which would naturally be present. It is obvious that the hoard was of the 'early' class. Its discovery is recorded without any details in the description of the parish of Avondale (1835) in *N.S.A.*, vi. p. 303, and again in the description of the parish of Galston (1837) in *N.S.A.*, v. ("Ayrshire") p. 181, where it is said to have been made "a little to the eastward" of Loudon Hill, and where the contents are reported to have included a coin "inscribed *DIVVS ANTONINVS*" and "many more."

Stuart (p. 261) speaks of *two* finds in this neighbourhood: "In 1800 a considerable number of *denarii* of Vespasian, Hadrian, and Faustina, were dug up . . . at Torfoot in Strathaven parish. In 1803 some 300 or 400 more were discovered in the same part of the country. Many of them we have seen." The latter of these notices obviously refers to the find described by Chalmers and Lindsay, which it helps to fix to 1803 rather than to 1805. The former is almost certainly a mere duplication. If the coins were distributed among

various persons, confusion in regard to dates need cause no surprise. Apparently it had begun as early as the time of Chalmers, and thirty or forty years later the risk would be much more pronounced.

AIRDRIE (Lanarkshire).—The only account of this find hitherto published is that given by Haverfield (p. 163). His statement was based on information supplied by my late father, among whose MS. notes of *circa* 1898 there occurs the following passage under "Airdrie":—

"A large hoard of Roman coins was discovered here about sixty years ago, which seems to be unrecorded. A number of them were seen shortly afterwards by Mr R. Carfrae, and all were of the early emperors."

Those who had the privilege of Mr Carfrae's personal acquaintance will agree that there could not have been a more trustworthy witness. Nevertheless the 'Airdrie hoard' must be expunged from the list. It is without doubt identical with that which has now to be described.

BRACO (Lanarkshire).—The name of Braco in Lanarkshire is not to be found in the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, a circumstance which doubtless explains how an 'Airdrie hoard' originally came to figure in the catalogue. It would never have secured a place there at all, had it been realised that the spot where the 'Braco hoard' was unearthed was only about three miles east of Airdrie and a mile to the south or south-west of Caldercruix Railway Station.¹ Three years after it came to light, it was noticed by Stuart in the first edition of his *Caledonia Romana*. The notice is repeated without alteration in his second edition (p. 260):—

"The coins here mentioned were discovered in 1842, in removing some sods from the surface of a piece of moss land. They amounted to several hundreds, principally of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina, and most of them were in good preservation. Some of them were procured by Dr Clark of Wester Moffat, and by John Buchanan, Esq., Glasgow, in whose possession they now are."

Subsequently the Crown authorities appear to have got wind of the find, and to have taken steps to make good their claim. *Proc.*, i. p. 72, records the presentation to the Society of Antiquaries by the Queen's Remembrancer of 14 *denarii* "found on the line of the Roman Road near Braco." Though they were not laid on the Table till May 10, 1852, they must plainly have belonged to the hoard of ten years earlier. They are interesting as giving its limits, for we are justified in assuming that, as was the case with the hoard from

¹ This is proved by the Ordnance Survey records, as I have ascertained through the kindness of Mr J. Mathieson.

Linlithgow, typical examples of all the main varieties would be included. The list is as follows:—*Gens Postumia* (1), Galba (1), Domitian (1), Trajan (2), Hadrian (3), Sabina (1), Pius (1), Marcus (1), Lucilla (1), Commodus (1), Crispina (1). The hoard was, therefore, of the 'early' class, while the presence of consular *denarii* shows that its accumulation had begun in Flavian times. It is worth noting that Lindsay (Suppl., i. pp. 53 f.) assumes that the fourteen coins presented to the Society included the whole find, for he adds: "The great number of reigns exhibited in so small a hoard would lead us to suppose that it was the property of a coin collector." That is, he failed to appreciate the working of the principle of representative selection.

WEST CALDER (Midlothian).—A small hoard, belonging apparently to the 'early' class, was found here in 1810. It is noticed in the *Scots Magazine* for that year (pp. 323 f.), where four of the obverses are engraved, and also by Lindsay (p. 266). A rather fuller account of the incident was, however, published in Andrew Steele's *History of Peat-Moss or Turf-Bog* (Edinburgh, 1826, pp. 379 f.). Steele was the owner of the estate of Crosswoodhill, and he tells how his servants, in digging a drain through the moss (part of Cobbinshaw Bog),

"found, at the depth of about four feet from the surface, a number of ancient Roman silver medals in great preservation. . . . From the circumstances in which these coins were found, it is probable they were dropped on the surface of the ground upwards of 1600 years ago, and that the ground was then covered with a growing wood, as appears from the branches of birch trees (that have still their form and bark entire) in which the coins were enveloped."

There is no complete inventory, but we are told that the coins were of Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Pius, Faustina (at least two), and Marcus (several). Steele and others have shown a disposition to connect this discovery with the proximity of Castle Greg, regarding which see *supra*, p. 221. We have already seen (*l.c.*) that it was responsible for some of the myths that have grown up round that fort.

KIRKINTILLOCH (Dumbartonshire).—A small hoard of the 'early' class was discovered at Kirkintilloch in 1893, along with an iron spearhead and a large nail. The exact spot was on the low ground on the south side of the Wall, about half a mile east of the Peel. From *Proc.*, xxviii. p. 276, it would appear that only 24 *denarii* were surrendered to the Crown. The full number in the hoard was, however, 42,¹ which were distributed thus:—Vespasian (2), Titus (1), Domitian

¹ See *Roman Wall*, p. 379.

(4), Nerva (1), Trajan (15), Hadrian (18), Faustina Junior (1). According to the *Papers of the Regality Club* (iii. p. 38), 10 of them were presented to the Hunterian Museum.

(c) *Scotland North of the Antonine Wall.*

DRUMMOND CASTLE (Perthshire).—In the Tenth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (App., i. p. 130) there is printed a letter addressed by James, Lord Drummond, afterwards fourth Earl of Perth, to Mr Patrick Drummond, and bearing date 15th January, 1672. It gives a very interesting account of what seems to have been a large hoard of the 'early' class, found a few miles to the north of the Castle, not far from the river Earn. As mentioned *supra*, p. 232, some of the coins were seen by Sibbald.

"Latly near Drummond (that's to say within 5 myles) amongst the hills which lye at its back, towards the Forrest which belongs to my Father, two countrey men intending to build a new kiln for corn in the seat of an old oregroun one, and searching deep to lay its foundation found a great ring of gold and a considerdable deal of monye which they disposed of to pedlers, for its weight in the common coyne of this countrie: they carried it to goldsmithes in Perth; and for a very inconsiderdable gain sold them. Only one accidentally came to Drummond, where my father was about his affairs in that place, who bought about 24 of the pieces. They are about the bredth of a very large 3 pence and thryce as thick or more. I have not yet taken perticuler notice to them, bot these I saw had upon them Domitian, Commodus, Antoninus Pius, Trajan and Diva Faustina. Their reuerse were different as uel as their obuerse. I belive there be more heads amongst them. The figures are excellently uel stampd and by their dresse appear to haue bein as old as those they represent. If you intend to speak of them to any, send me uord and I uil aske some of them from my father; for most of them he has tuice or thrice. The thing I am most concerned at is the goldsmiths put them in work (lyke fools) for they might haue had much gain by them, bot the silver was so good it would not mixe with thers until a third part of alloye was joynd to them. They say, ther was more than a bushel of them; bot all the inquiry I could make, could not get me any of them."

TAYMOUTH (Perthshire).—Pennant (iii. p. 25) speaks of fourteen Roman coins of silver, "none of a later date than *Marcus Aurelius*," as having been discovered "in digging the foundation of a tower near *Taymouth*." Again, in the description of the parish of Kenmore (1834) in *N.S.A.*, x. (p. 468), there occurs the following quotation from a manuscript at Taymouth Castle:—

"In the year 1755, in making a road across the hill from Taymouth to Glenquiach, there were found, near the crest of the hill, twelve Roman coins, about three inches under the surface of the ground, in what seemed like a bed of charcoal. They appear to be of silver, of the

circumference of a sixpenny piece, but much thicker. The dies and inscriptions on most of them are distinct and legible. They are of the Antonines and their Empresses. They are at Taymouth."

This little hoard was, therefore, of the 'early' class. The "bed of charcoal" would no doubt be the remains of a wooden box in which the treasure had been concealed. In spite of the differences in circumstantial detail, it is more than likely that Pennant's find and that recorded in the Taymouth manuscript are one and the same. The reference in Gough's *Camden* (2nd ed., iv. p. 137) is obviously borrowed from Pennant, and so too is Chalmers, pp. 174 and 181.

PORTMOAK (Kinross).—Lindsay (Suppl., i. p. 51) says:—

"1851.—In a moss near Kinross was found a hoard of from 700 to 800 Roman Denarii; they were of Galba, (one) Otho, (two) Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Senr., Marcus Aurelius, Faustina, Junr., Commodus and Severus, and mostly poor, the Galba Rev. ROMA. RENASC. being by far the best.

1851. Oct.—A boy whilst reaping in the Parish of Portmoak, Fifeshire, turned up a Roman coin with the point of his hook; on further search upwards of 600 Roman denarii were found all lying close together, as if they had been enclosed in a bag, and at a depth of only three or four inches from the surface, at the same spot were found an iron sword, and a beautiful but imperfect silver ornament thought to have formed the crest of a helmet, the series extended from Nero to Severus, both inclusive, and is thought to have formed the treasure of a soldier in the Northern expedition of Sept. Severus, A.D., 208, the coins are described at full length in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 60."

The foregoing extract shows that Lindsay believed in the existence of two distinct hoards, one from Kinross and the other from Fife. A reference to *Proc.*, i. p. 60, which he cites as his authority for the second, enables us to see that the two hoards were really one, while at the same time it supplies us with a clue to the origin of the mistake. In stating that the find was made "in the parish of Portmoak, Fifeshire," Lindsay is reproducing *Proc.* verbally. Had he realised that Portmoak is not in Fife at all, but in Kinross, he would have seen that the first story, which must have reached him through another channel, was merely a variant of the second. It is true that in one account the coins are said to have been discovered "in a moss," and in the other to have been discovered on arable land. *Proc.* furnishes an explanation of the apparent contradiction: "The field where they were found was formerly a deep bog, which, by draining and burning, has been brought into cultivation, and is now good corn-land." A large selection of pieces from this interesting hoard, 103 to be precise, found their way into the Museum, and are still kept apart in the trays. They are described in *Proc.*, i. pp. 60 ff., and may be summarised as

follows:—Nero (1), Galba (1), Otho (1), Vitellius (2), Vespasian (6), Titus (2), Domitian (3), Nerva (1), Trajan (10), Hadrian (17), Sabina (1), Pius (19), Faustina Senior (8), Marcus (10), Faustina Junior (6), Verus (3), Lucilla (3), Commodus (7), Severus (2). The hoard accordingly belonged to the later of our two classes of *A*.

The confusion which has been cleared up in the preceding paragraph is not the only one of which this find has been the victim. In the second edition of Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals* (ii. p. 27) we read: "A valuable hoard, amounting to about 700 Roman silver coins, dug up in the vicinity of Kinross, towards the close of 1857, belongs apparently to the latter expedition,¹ as it included the entire series from Nero to Severus." The date, of course, should be "1851," not "1857." Sir Daniel Wilson had moved to Toronto before the second edition of his book appeared, and the slip is doubtless to be explained by the fact that he was separated from his material by the width of the Atlantic. In the circumstances it is worth quoting an extract from a letter which he wrote to Mr Roach Smith in January 1852, and which the latter reprinted in his *Retrospections* (ii. p. 180):—

"A hoard of fine Roman silver, upwards of 600 in number, was dug up last month at Kinross, including a complete series, with many varieties, from Nero to Severus. I have secured a portion for the Museum; but thanks to our wise Treasure Trove laws, we dare not make so interesting a fact public."

LEVEN (Fifeshire).—One of the oldest finds, though not quite the oldest, of which we have any record is that reported from Fife by Hector Boece in his *Scotorum Historiæ*. The passage (ed. 1575, fo. 86, verso, near end of liber v.) runs thus:—

"*Nuper anno salutis humanæ undevigesimo supra millesimum quingentesimum, in Fife, haud procul a Levini amnis ostio, quam plurimi nummi a pastoribus reperti sunt: æneo vase conditi, nonnulli aurei, argentei alij. Nota quibusdam, Janus geminus ac navis rostrum, aliis Martis, Veneris, Mercurij, alteriusve idoli effigies: nonnullis lupa pueros Romulum Remumque uberibus lactans, omnibus vero alteri laterum, Romani principis figura subscriptione adjecta, aut sequentes characteres impressi. S.P.Q.R.*"

Or in Bellenden's translation (ed. 1821, i. p. 195):—

"For in the yeir of God M. DXIX yeris, in Fiffe, nocht far fra Levin, war certane penneis found, in ane brasin veschell, with uncouth cunye: sum of thaim war prentit with doubill visage of Janus; otheris with the stam of ane schip; otheris had the figure of Mars, Venus, Mercurius and siklike idolis; on others war prentit Romulus and Remus sowkand ane wolf; and on the tothir side war prentit S.P.Q.R., quhilk signifyis . . . the senat and pepil of Rome."

¹ *I.e.* the expedition of Severus.

The translation is not as accurate as it might be. In particular, the concluding words are so mangled as to obscure Boece's remarkable statement that all of the coins had on one side *either* the head of an emperor *or* the letters SPQR. If pieces on which SPQR took the place of the imperial head were really present, they can only have been so-called 'autonomous' *denarii* of 68 and 69 A.D.,¹ and their appearance would suggest that the hoard should be associated with the Agricolan period rather than with the Antonine period or with the expedition of Severus. To lay too much stress upon the point would, however, be unwise, even although Boece is hardly likely to have invented this detail, despite his prolific imagination. The description of the types sounds fanciful, and a mixed hoard of gold and silver would be very unusual, though not impossible. All that we can safely say is that a deposit of Roman coins was discovered near Leven in 1519.

LARGO (Fifeshire).—In the description of the parish of Largo (1837) in *N.S.A.*, ix. ("Fifeshire") p. 439, we are told that—

"On a rising-ground to the north, called Norrie's Law, several antiquities in silver were discovered, together with a number of small Roman coins, bearing the stamp of the earlier emperors. They are now in the possession of General Durham."

It is virtually certain that we have here a distorted account of the great hoard of silver ornaments found at Norrie's Law about 1819. They were unfortunately melted down almost at once. Subsequent search on the same spot brought to light a few remnants that had been unnoticed at first, and also two or three coins. These are referred to *supra*, p. 238. The whole matter is discussed at length by Dr Joseph Anderson in his *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (Second Series, pp. 34 ff.), where the deposit is tentatively attributed to the seventh century at the earliest. Despite the positive assertion of *N.S.A.*, there is no evidence for the discovery of any coins save those already mentioned.

PITCULLO (Fifeshire).—Smellie records (i. p. 41) the presentation to the Society in February 1781, by Mrs Trent of Pitcullo, of "nineteen Roman silver coins of the Emperors Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and the Empress Faustina, which were turned up by the plough at Pitcullo in Fife." This is repeated by Lindsay (p. 261), with the obvious misprint of "Patullo" for "Pitcullo." The variety of imperial heads included suggests that this was a representative selection from a hoard of the 'early' class.

¹ See H. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.*, 1914, pp. 113 ff.

LEUCHARS (Fifeshire).—In the description of the parish of Leuchars (1836) in *N.S.A.*, ix. ("Fifeshire") p. 223, we read:—

"The most interesting relic of antiquity that has been found in this parish is an earthen jar, which was discovered on Craigiehill, in the year 1808. This jar was found to contain nearly a hundred silver coins in perfect preservation. Unfortunately the jar itself was shivered to pieces by the plough, by which it was thrown up. But most of the coins were secured by the proprietor, the late Hon. Robert Lindsay of Balcarres, where they remain. The coins are stamped with the heads of Roman emperors, such as Severus, Antoninus, Faustina, &c."

Pitcullo is also in the parish of Leuchars, but there seems to be no doubt about the find there being a distinct one. The two places indicated are some five miles apart, and the dates are separated by nearly thirty years. The two proprietors mentioned are also different. Finally, the Craigiehill find was a 'late' one, whereas that from Pitcullo was 'early.'

GLAMIS (Forfarshire).—Sibbald (p. 16) says that "there were lately *Roman* medals found at *Glamnis*." This was written in 1707, but the discovery must be the same as that described fully twenty years afterwards by Gordon (p. 186):—

"On digging up a small *Tumulus*, called the *Green Cairn*, near the Castle of *Glames*, in *Strathmore*, an Urn was lately discovered, with great Quantities of *Roman* Medals of Silver, many of which are still in the possession of the Earl of *Strathmore*. I procured one of them myself from a Countryman; it was a silver coin of *Galba*, and is now in Baron *Clark's* Collection."

This was clearly a hoard of imperial *denarii*. Unfortunately there is nothing to indicate whether it was 'early' or 'late.'

FAWSYDE (Kincardineshire).—The late Mr Crabb Watt, who had been brought up in the district, writes in his *Mearns of Old* (1914), p. 65:—

"Coins of the reign of Antoninus were last century found at Fawsyde, between Bervie and Stonehaven, not far from the main road. Two bronze bars and a piece of bronze like the clamp of a strong box were found at the same time."

Here again we seem to be face to face with a hoard of *denarii*, whose exact class we are unable to determine.

COWIE MOSS (Kincardineshire).—The earliest notice of this important hoard which I have met with is that contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1844 (pp. 525 f.):—

"About the beginning of the present year the son of a poor man, who holds a small possession on what is called the forest or common of *Cowie*, about three miles north from Stonehaven, in digging for the purpose of blasting, came upon some ancient coins buried about three feet deep in the earth. They had the appearance of having been contained in some earthen vessel, no remains of which, however, were

found. Those in the centre were much decayed, those on the outside in better preservation; but all were covered with a hard coat of green rust. They proved to be Roman *denarii* (silver), containing a fine variety of those of the Emperor Vespasian, his two sons Titus and Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Philosophus, Lucius Verus, colleague of the latter; Commodus son of Antoninus Philosophus and Septimius Severus, who died at York; with several of Roman ladies, in particular Faustina, daughter of Antoninus Pius and wife of Antoninus Philosophus. The greatest number were of Antonini, no two of them having the same reverse. At the time they had been deposited the ground, although now entirely denuded, must have been covered with wood, as the many roots and fallen trunks of oak trees abundantly testify. . . . The place where the coins were found is about a mile and a half from the ancient encampment of Re or Righ Dykes."¹

Lindsay (p. 270) bases his account of this hoard entirely on the extract that has just been quoted. So too do Stuart and his editor (p. 249), although they allow one or two trifling inaccuracies to creep in, such as that the date was 1843 and that the coins were actually "in an urn" when found. They add that several of the coins "are now in the possession of Mr John Buchanan, Glasgow." Others had made their way to the Exchequer as treasure trove. *Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 54, notes that three of them—a Marcus, a Commodus, and a Crispina—were presented to the Edinburgh Museum in 1846 by the Queen's Remembrancer. *Arch. Ael.* (O.S., iv. p. 7) records a similar donation to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The hoard, of course, belonged to the 'late' class.

HILL OF MEGRAY (Kincardineshire).—The next hoard was discovered about eight years later in the same district. It was first described in the *Aberdeen Journal* of March 10, 1852:—²

"On Friday week, whilst some labourers were engaged in trenching a piece of ground on the once well-known site of Megray Market, they came upon an ancient Roman urn, containing upwards of 200 silver coins. Some of these coins are said to be those of Vespasian, Nerva, and Adrian. The coin of Vespasian represents on the obverse the head of that Emperor with "Cæsar Vespas," but the three remaining letters are indistinct. On the reverse of the coin a female figure is represented seated on a throne, holding in her right hand an olive branch. The coin of Nerva bears a representation of his head on the obverse, with the inscription "Nerva Traianu 66"; on the reverse there is a gladiator in an attitude of defence, and only one half of the inscription visible. The coin of Adrian bears his image on the obverse, with the inscription "Impcaesartraian . . . Adrian"; on the reverse a group of figures are represented, below which are the letters "Liberalius."

¹ See *Proc.*, i. pp. 318 ff.

² I am indebted to Mr G. M. Fraser, the Public Library, Aberdeen, for kindly extracting this passage for me from the files of the *Journal*.

This is the source whence Stuart (p. 250) and Lindsay (Suppl., i. p. 51) have drawn their information. The latter adds: "The coins were from Vespasian to Hadrian, both inclusive, and were sent to the Exchequer." On this statement we should have been bound to assign the hoard to our 'early' class. That, however, would have been wrong. We learn from *Proc.*, i. p. 226, that the Queen's Remembrancer sent 141 *denarii* from Megray to the Museum—this being probably all that had reached him—and that out of these a representative selection of 20 was made for the cabinet, where they are now kept as a group apart. The descriptions in *Proc.* (i. pp. 227 f.) show that the selection was made up as follows:—Galba (1), Vespasian (1), Titus (1), Trajan (2), Hadrian (3), Pius (3), Faustina Senior (2), Marcus (3), Commodus (1), Crispina (1), Albinus (1), and Severus (1). The hoard was, therefore, of the 'late' class.¹

As an instructive illustration of the growth of legend, the following extract may be quoted from a paper on "The Knights Templars in and around Aberdeen" by Dr Alexander Walker (*Trans. of Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, 1892, ii. p. 160).² As the Netherley turnpike road passes over the Hill of Megray, there can hardly be a doubt that it is the Megray find that is responsible for the story told to Dr Walker. Observe that the hoard now contains coins of all three metals.

"In making the Netherley turnpike road, some years ago, which is constructed partly on Agricola's *iter* or road by which the Romans marched, behind a large boulder, which stood up some three feet above the ground, there was found a large bronze vessel full of gold, silver, and copper coins, belonging, no doubt, to some of the legions of Agricola's army, concealed doubtless there in their disastrous retreat from Caledonia. This expedition to the northern region of the land of the Picts cost the arms of Imperial Rome 30,000 men."

RED MOSS OF CRATHES (Kincardineshire).—The immediate sequel to the passage just quoted runs:—

"In their retreat the legionaries must have been in a very disorganised state, as, in the Red Moss of Crathes, on the estate of Sir Robert Burnett, are found scattered about silver coins of the empire, which, no doubt, were in possession of those Roman soldiers who had fallen down and died either from sheer fatigue or by the spears of the Picts. Some of these coins were presented to Blairs College by the late Sir James Burnett, the father of the present baronet, and are preserved at Blairs."

¹ Crabb Watt (*Mearns of Old*, p. 74), while omitting some of the emperors mentioned above, as well as both of the empresses, adds "Cæsar, Claudius, Nero." But his list is of very doubtful value.

² I am further indebted to Mr G. M. Fraser for bringing this and the two following extracts to my notice.

On the strength of this, Mr John A. Henderson wrote in his *Annals of Lower Deeside* (1892, pp. 36 f.):—

“In the Red Moss of Crathes also silver coins of the Roman Empire have been found, which strengthens the theory that the Romans, under Agricola, were in the district. Some of these coins were presented to Blairs College by Sir James H. Burnett, and are still preserved there.”

These statements attracted the attention of Mr G. M. Fraser of Aberdeen, a keen student of Roman Scotland, who decided to probe the matter further. A visit to Blairs resulted in the discovery in a drawer of about a hundred ancient coins, chiefly ‘brass.’ Twelve of the best preserved were picked out and sent to the British Museum for identification, with the following result:—Claudius (2), Nero (1), Marcus (1), Geta (1), Severus Alexander (1), Maximinus (1), Aurelian (1), Maximilian (1), and Constantine the Great (3).¹ So far as the names are a guide, there is no reason why most of those pieces should not have been found in Scotland. But they could not possibly have come from a single hoard: the period they cover is far too long.² And the great majority of them were of ‘brass.’ The facts are thus completely at variance with the story told by Dr Walker and Mr Henderson. In the hope of obtaining further light, Mr Fraser consulted both the present Rector of Blairs and his predecessor, as well as Sir Thomas Burnett of Crathes, none of whom had ever heard of the donation. Accordingly, all that can safely be said is that the coins now at Blairs College are a miscellaneous collection, not a hoard; that some of them may have been found in Scotland, or even in the Red Moss; but that in the meantime there is no evidence authentic enough to warrant any conclusion. So far as can be judged at present, the hoard of *R* from the Red Moss of Crathes is a myth.

ABERDEEN (near).—Gordon (p. 186) says:—“At a Place called the *Silver Burn*, near *Aberdeen*, a great quantity of *Roman Medals* was also found, many of which I saw in the Hands of some curious Gentlemen there.” Although no indication of the metal is given, the context seems to justify us in placing this among the *R* hoards. It may even be that the place took its name from the discovery: well-vouched-for analogies could be cited.

DESKFORD (Banffshire).—Gordon (*l.c.*) continues:—

“Besides, a great way further North, in the country of the *Boyne*, several *Roman* coins were dug up, about 27 of which are still preserved

¹ See an article by Mr Fraser in the *Scotsman* of April 26, 1913.

² See *supra*, p. 228.

in the Custody of my Honourable and Worthy Patron, the Earl of *Findlater*. Four of them I perceived to be Medals of *Antoninus Pius*, one of *Faustina*, one of *Otho* in silver, whose reverse had this Legend, *VICTORIA OTHONIS*; the rest were of different Emperors."

This description clearly points to a hoard of *A*, either of the 'early' or of the 'late' class. The find may well be that alluded to vaguely in *O.S.A.*, iv. (1792) p. 358, and spoken of more explicitly by Stuart, who, referring to Deskford, says (p. 218) that "some Roman coins, of the Empress Faustina and of Antoninus Pius, have also been found in its vicinity." Kirktown of Deskford is only about 2½ miles distant from the source of the Burn of Boyne.

NAIRN (near).—Gough in his *British Topography* (1780), ii. p. 705, informs us that "some years ago was dug up in a common near Nairn an urn containing a series of Roman silver coins of different emperors, a variety of duplicates, sets of which were presented to the faculty of advocates, and several other cabinets." This was clearly a hoard, doubtless belonging to one of our two classes. The find does not seem to be referred to by any other writer, although Gough himself mentioned it again in his edition of *Camden*, iii. p. 430 (ed. 1806, iv. p. 177).

BEAN CASTLE (Nairnshire).—To Gough's *Camden*, iii. p. 427 (ed. 1806, iv. p. 174), we are also indebted for the identification of the 'find-spot' of a hoard discovered as early as 1460.¹ The little that we know of it comes once more from Boece's *Scotorum Historiæ*, where, immediately following upon the passage quoted *supra*, p. 265, we have the following:—

"Est & in Moravia, marino littore, inter vetustissimæ arcis ruinas, marmoreum vas, cui anseris duobus cum anguibus decertantis effigies mira arte insculpta, haud dissimili pecunia refertum, anno Christi millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo, a pastoribus inventum. Fuit idem lapis, uti a fide dignis accepimus, haud minus quam nummi diutius spectantibus admirationi argumentum, apud nostros majores Romanæ pecuniæ aliquando fuisse usum."

Bellenden's rendering (ed. 1821, i. p. 195) is:—

"Sielike, in Murray-land, beside the see, in the ground of ane auld castell, the yeir of God M.CCCCLX yeris was found ane veschell of merbill, full of uncouth money; on quhillkis war prentit the image of ane ganar fechtand with edderis; this veschell of merbill was in na les admiration to the pepill than the uncouth cunye. Be thir exempillis may be provin that uncouth money has been amang us."

¹ It is true that Gough says "more inland," whereas Boece says "*marino littore*." But both these terms are relative, and the coincidence of date is conclusive.

(B) *HOARDS OF 'BRASS.'*(a) *South-Eastern Scotland.*

NEWSTEAD.—Reasons have already (*supra*, p. 211) been given for believing that a hoard of late 'brass' came to light in the neighbourhood of Newstead about 1850. The coins described in *Proc.*, i. pp. 37 f.—which were only those "in best preservation"—were Victorinus (1), Diocletian (1), Carausius (1), Galerius Maximianus (1), and Constantine the Great (4). If we add the Tetricus Senior from *Proc.*, v. p. 107, we get precisely such a series of names as one might expect a small hoard of the Constantinian period to include.

CRICHTON.—A list of *Æ* pieces found at or near Crichton, and presented to the Society in 1785, is printed *supra*, p. 212. It is there pointed out that the coins of Domitian and Pius should probably be associated with the Roman station that once stood somewhere in the neighbourhood. The other names all belong to the 'low empire,' for the position which he occupies in the enumeration makes it clear that by "Claudius" is meant Claudius Gothicus. Arranging them in chronological order, we get—Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, Licinius, Constantine, Magnentius, and Gratian. As there are at the most ten coins to be distributed over these nine emperors, it seems obvious that we are once again face to face with a representative selection. The names would be quite normal for a hoard of the Constantinian period, a solution long ago suggested by Haverfield (p. 164).

(b) *South-Western Scotland.*

BALGREGGAN (Wigtownshire).—The only find of late Roman *Æ* in Scotland which has been at all fully recorded is that made in October 1913, at Balgreggan Quarry, in the parish of Stoneykirk. It is described in *Proc.*, xlviii. pp. 395 ff. The hoard, which had been buried in an earthenware jar, comprised 125 coins, distributed as follows:—Helena (1), Constantine the Great (2), Constantius (31), Constans (24), Magnentius (61), Decentius (2), and indecipherable (4). The probable date of burial was *circa* 354 A.D.

CASTLEDYKES (near).—After referring to the finding at Castledykes of the *Æ* coins of Nero, Trajan, Faustina, and Germanicus, which have been spoken of *supra*, pp. 219 f., Gough's *Camden* proceeds (1st ed., iii. p. 343; 2nd ed., iv. pp. 82 f.):—"The present proprietor of Carstairs, William Fullerton, esq., in repairing a walk-mill and rivulet for it, got a quantity of Roman medals of brass of the same emperors, &c." Again, *O.S.A.*, xviii. (1796) p. 180, says, also with reference to

Castledykes:—"Coins of various kinds and of different value have been dugged up, bearing the inscription of M. Aurelius, M. Antoninus, &c. Some of these coins have been sent by Mr Fullerton, to the Antiquarian Society, and to the University of Glasgow." The description of the parish of Carstairs (1839) in *N.S.A.*, vi., repeats (p. 554) the statement of *O.S.A.*, but adds "Trajanus Imperator" to the names of rulers. Further, it connects the find with the bath, said to have been discovered "near Carstairs church," rather than with Castledykes itself, a variant for which there is no support in the earlier authorities.¹

We are now in a position to correct what Smellie reports (i. p. 42) regarding the presentation to the Society on February 26, 1781, by Mr Fullerton of Carstairs, of "Thirteen Roman coins in Bronze, of the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, the Empress Faustina, and Germanicus, dug up in Fife." It is plain from the preceding quotations that "in Fife" is a misprint for "at Carstairs," and the mistake is readily explained by the circumstance that the immediately preceding donation was a selection from the Pitcullo find (*supra*, p. 266). The details supplied by Gough leave little or no doubt as to Mr Fullerton's *Æ* having been a hoard. If the thirteen coins were only (say) a half of the total number presented, the other half going to Glasgow, and if (as *O.S.A.* appears to imply) it was only a selection that was gifted, then the whole hoard may have been fairly large. The presence in it of a coin of Germanicus is noteworthy, but not impossible; the Croydon hoard, which consisted of 281 pieces, and which was concealed about 160 A.D., contained a coin of Claudius (*Num. Chron.*, 1907, pp. 353 ff.). It should be added that this is the only Scottish hoard of Roman *Æ* which can be definitely assigned to the 'early' class—that is, the class buried about the end of the Antonine period.

UDDINGSTON (Lanarkshire).—In an editorial footnote to Stuart (p. 240) we are informed that close to Uddingston "a large quantity of Roman copper coins was discovered in 1848 during the formation of the Clydesdale Junction Railway. These belong to a later period of the Empire, chiefly Tetricus (3rd century) and were poorly executed. They have been much in use and are worn at the edges. Some of them are in the collection of Mr John Buchanan, Glasgow."

¹ A comparison of the two passages suggests, however, that *N.S.A.* in its turn became the authority on which Stuart founded in the passage quoted *supra*, p. 220. It is true that *N.S.A.* and the first edition of *Caledonia Romana* were published in the same year (1845). But the 'account' of Carstairs was written in 1839, and Stuart may have had access to it.

(c) Scotland North of the Antonine Wall.

CAMELON.—The hoard of *Æ* reported in Stuart (p. 267) as having been found at Camelon is fully dealt with *supra*, pp. 227 f., and need not be further discussed.

SAUCHIE (Stirlingshire).—*Arch. Scot.*, v. (App., p. 54), records the presentation by the Exchequer to the Society's Museum, on June 1, 1846, of "twelve Roman coins, found at Sauchie, in the county of Stirling, brass." Judging by analogy, we may conclude that these were a representative selection from a much larger hoard, and the chances are in favour of their having been coins of the late empire.

FORT AUGUSTUS (Inverness-shire).—The following is from the *Scots Magazine* of 1767 (p. 326):—

"A letter from an officer at Perth, dated May 2, says, 'Last week I was out with a command to Fort Augustus, where some part of the fortifications are repairing. Whilst there, some labourers, in digging a trench, found an earthen urn, of a blue colour, with about 300 pieces of coin, of mixed metal, some a little larger than our halfpence, and the others the size of farthings. They appear to me to be all of the Emperor Dioclesian.'"

It seems very unlikely that all three hundred coins can have belonged to one emperor, and the account of the sizes is not very satisfactory. Still, there seems to be no sufficient reason for declining to accept the substantial accuracy of the story.

Glancing back over the now completed list of hoards, one can see that its main result is to confirm some of the broad conclusions that were drawn from the isolated finds. The discovery of hidden stores of Roman money in parts of Scotland lying far beyond the frontier is a further proof that these pieces were current among the natives. It is a warning against too hastily assuming that every hoard of Roman coins must originally have belonged to a Roman owner. So far as Scotland was concerned, this was almost certainly the exception rather than the rule; only a few have been concealed in the immediate neighbourhood of the military centres, round which Roman traders would naturally congregate. Again, the time-limits indicated by the hoards are in close agreement with those that were suggested by the isolated finds. Both alike bear out what we learn from history as to the date when the Roman penetration of the country first began. There is the same evidence of a sudden interruption of communications in the early days of Commodus, of a temporary renewal in certain districts during the reign of Septimius Severus, and then of a fresh gap which, whatever be its explanation, would appear to have lasted for not less than half a century. And there is the same suggestion of at least occasional friendly intercourse during the hundred

years that followed. But the hoards and their distribution teach us something which we could not have learned from the isolated finds. It will be remembered that the 'early' class of *R* and the solitary example of the 'early' class of *E* must have been buried towards the end of the Antonine period. That is, they are memorials of the upheaval that ultimately rendered necessary the final withdrawal to the isthmus of the Tyne and Solway. A scrutiny of the 'find-spots' indicates that, while there may have been a certain amount of fighting in Perthshire and in Fife, it was in southern Scotland, and more especially in the south-west, that the struggle was fiercest or most prolonged. On the other hand, as was long ago observed by Haverfield (p. 161), the recorded hoards of the 'late' class of *R*—that is, those buried about the beginning of the third century—come without exception from Fife and the north-eastern counties. They thus corroborate the view that these districts were the main theatre of the operations of Severus. The particulars available as to the composition of the fourth-century hoards of 'brass' are far too meagre to permit of any deductions.

It must, of course, always be borne in mind that the coins represent but a single thread in the strand of archæological testimony, and that the proper interpretation of their significance is beset by many pitfalls. The conclusions to which they seem to point must, therefore, be regarded as tentative only, until it is seen that they are otherwise supported. With that warning before us, we may gather up in a brief summary what would appear to be the main results of our survey for each of the three periods of the Roman occupation.

- (1) The first of these, which opened in 80 A.D., did not come to an end with Agricola's own recall in 84. It lasted up to and beyond the accession of Trajan in 98 A.D., possibly even until after that emperor's death in 117. During this period, however, the Forth and Clyde isthmus was garrisoned only for a short time, the Roman hold over the country being maintained by a longitudinal line or lines of forts stretching north to Inchtuthil.
- (2) Everything that has come to light since 1899 has gone to confirm the soundness of the inference then drawn by Professor Haverfield as to the duration of the period whose beginning is associated with the erection of the Forth and Clyde Wall about 142 A.D. It is clear that southern Scotland was abandoned by the Romans early in the reign of Commodus—that is, soon after 180.
- (3) When Severus invaded the country in 207 A.D., he transported his troops by sea, making his headquarters at Cramond. His expedition was mainly directed against the tribes that occupied

what are now the counties of Fife, Forfar, Kincardine, and Aberdeen. Its influence was transitory, and can hardly have lasted much beyond 211, when the emperor died on the eve of a second campaign.

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