

The Antonine Wall

Papers in honour of Professor Lawrence Keppie

edited by

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Cover illustrations

Front: The Distance Stone of the Twentieth Legion from Hutcheson Hill (*RIB* III 3507) found in 1969 lying face down in a shallow pit immediately to the south of the Wall (copyright Hunterian, University of Glasgow). **Back:** Restored half-life-sized statue of the Roman god Mars from the annexe of the fort at Balmuildy (*CSIR* 129) (copyright Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

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Lawrence at Westerwood. Photo the late Margaret J. Robb

Dedicated to the memory of Margaret Robb (1952-2017)

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Rebecca is head of archaeology and World Heritage at Historic Environment Scotland. She was part of the team that successfully nominated the Antonine Wall as a World Heritage Site in 2008. She is the author, or co-author, of three books on the Roman camps of Britain. Beccy is co-chair, with Andreas Thiel, of the International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies.

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Richard was until recently Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at Glasgow University. His connections with Roman archaeology in Scotland have been in the field of archaeological science: geophysical prospection at Roman forts and their environs and the provenancing of samian pottery by chemical analysis. His direct collaboration with Lawrence has been limited to locating the bathhouse at Duntocher. This was not entirely successful in achieving its aim, but memorable for the fact the survey took place in snow; fortunately the student volunteers hailed mainly from Canada and Iceland!

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Patricia is the Deputy Head of World Heritage at Historic Environment Scotland, and the co-ordinator for the Antonine Wall since 2010. She has run a wide variety of community outreach projects and is especially interested in engagement approaches and co-curation/co-development, to ensure projects best fit the needs of the communities they are being proposed for. She led the development of the 'Rediscovering the Antonine Wall Project' on behalf of the Antonine Wall Management Plan Steering Group, which now has 4 staff members and is one year into a three-year project worth £2.1 million.

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Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> ; revue des publications épigraphiques relatives a l'antiquité romaine. 1888- . Paris: Presses Universitaires de France
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . 1863-. Berlin
CSIR	Keppie, L.J.F. and B. Arnold 1984. <i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani (Corpus of Sculpture of the Roman World)</i> . Great Britain. Volume 1 Fascicule 4, Scotland. Oxford: British Academy
DES	<i>Discovery and Excavation in Scotland</i> . Edinburgh: Archaeology Scotland
ILS	Dessau, H. 1892-1916. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . Berlin: Weidman
ORL	Fabricius, E., F. Hettner and O. Sarwey. 1894-1937. <i>Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreichs</i> . Berlin and Leipzig
PIR ²	Groag, E., A. Stein, L. Petersen, et al. 1933-2015. <i>Prosopographia imperii Romani</i> (2nd edn). Berlin: de Gruyter
RIB I	Collingwood R.G and R.P. Wright 1965. <i>The Roman inscriptions of Britain. I Inscriptions on stone</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press
RIB II	S.S. Frere et al., 1990-1995. <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain II.1-8. Instrumentum Domesticum</i> . Gloucester: Sutton
RIB III	Tomlin, R.S.O, R.P. Wright and M.W.C. Hassall 2009. <i>The Roman inscriptions of Britain. III Inscriptions on stone found or notified between 1 January 1955 and 31 December 2006</i> . Oxford: Oxbow
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial coinage</i> vols. 1-10 1923-94. London: Spink
RMD I-III	Roxan, M.M. 1978-94. <i>Roman Military Diplomas I-III</i> . London: Institute of Classical Studies
RMD IV	Roxan, M.M. and P.A. Holder 2003. <i>Roman Military Diplomas IV</i> . London: Institute of Classical Studies
RMD V	Holder, P.A. 2006. <i>Roman Military Diplomas V</i> . London: Institute of Classical Studies

1. Lawrence Keppie: an appreciation

David J. Breeze and William S. Hanson

Lawrence John Forbes Keppie was born at Johnstone in Renfrewshire on 26 December 1947. He attended Coatbridge High School and then studied classics at Glasgow University where he came under the influence of A.R. Burn, who first introduced him to epigraphy. After graduation he transferred to Balliol College, Oxford, where he studied Roman history and archaeology. In 1971, he submitted a dissertation *Veterans in Italian Society under the Early Principate* in part satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in Ancient History under the supervision of A.N. Sherwin White. Lawrence then spent a year, from October 1971 to December 1972, as Rome scholar in Classical Studies at the British School at Rome. Here he began work on a thesis on colonisation and veteran settlement in Italy under the supervision of Professor P.A. Brunt. The thesis was duly submitted to the University of Oxford for a D.Phil. in 1979 and subsequently published by the British School at Rome with the title *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47-14 BC* (Keppie 1983a). *The Making of the Roman Army, From Republic to Empire* was a spin-off from his time in Rome and his doctoral research (Keppie 1984a). Lawrence returned to the British School as Hugh Last Fellow in 1996.

Lawrence started his digging career as a schoolboy on a medieval castle site in Cumbernauld, before moving on to participate in the Scottish Field School of Archaeology excavations at Birrens Roman fort under the directorship of Anne Robertson. The first excavation he directed himself was on a section of the Antonine Wall at Carleith in 1969. While in Rome he participated in the British School at Rome's excavation at the Roman city of Fregellae to the south-east of Rome. His colleague there, Michael Crawford, writes, 'there his tact, modesty and cheerfulness were crucial to maintaining both good relations with our Italian colleagues (as they were also in the case of Anne Robertson) and the morale of the team. He always played up to the reputation of a Scotsman, by initially offering mineral water all round when it was his turn to buy drinks; and during visits to neighbouring archaeological sites it was only Lawrence, on one occasion, who noticed that the wall over which a stile had been built no longer existed and walked round it after everyone else had climbed over it.'

In 1972 Lawrence was appointed as an assistant curator in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, taking up the post at the beginning of the following year. The museum was then under the directorship of the redoubtable Anne S. Robertson. The following year he was re-introduced to Jim Walker, whom he had first met while digging in Cumbernauld, establishing a fieldwork collaboration and friendship that continues to this day (Walker, this volume). Lawrence stayed at the University of Glasgow for 30 years, becoming Senior Curator of Archaeology, History and Ethnology in the Hunterian Museum and, in 1999, Professor of Roman History and Archaeology. He took early retirement in October 2003, which allowed him to concentrate on research and writing, and is now Emeritus Professor and an Honorary Professorial Research Fellow. He has also been a visiting member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and a visiting professor at the University of British Columbia.

Lawrence was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1971, of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1978 and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1995. He served as the Honorary



Figure 1.1. Lawrence receiving the Presidential Award in 2009 from Jim Mearns for his services to Glasgow Archaeological Society (by kind permission of James Walker).

Secretary of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, Vice President and then the 45th President of the Society from 1988 to 1991 (see Keppie 1990a for his presidential address) (Figure 1.1). At the university, Lawrence also participated in some teaching in the Department of Classics, including an honours option on the Provinces of the Roman Empire, with a particular emphasis on Britain, focusing on the literary sources.

Lawrence's commitment to the Hunterian Museum has been demonstrated not just through the publication of its Roman inscriptions and sculptured stones (below). In 1990, the year Glasgow was the City of European Culture, he edited a souvenir guide to the museum and on the occasion of the

Hunterian's bicentenary in 2007 produced *William Hunter and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow 1807-2007* (Keppie 1990d; 2007). Behind the scenes, Lawrence has participated in the improved display of the collection and in preparing temporary exhibitions.

Lawrence's academic career throughout has been focussed on Roman Scotland, Roman Italy and the Roman army. For Roman archaeologists, he is the ultimate polymath. His books range from historiography (Keppie 2012a), Roman inscriptions and sculptured stones (Keppie 1998a; Keppie and Arnold 1984), the Roman army (Keppie 1983a; 1984; 2000), guide-books to Roman Scotland and the Bay of Naples (Keppie 1986b; 1998b; 2004b; 2009c; 2015) and a history of the Hunterian Museum (Keppie 2007), to the how-to-do-it book, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Keppie 1991b). Unsurprisingly, his editing skills have also been in demand. He edited *Britannia* for the Roman Society from 2000 to 2004, having previously served as review editor from 1994-99 and editor of the Scottish section of the annual round-up of fieldwork on Roman Britain from 1992-2000. Together with Fraser Hunter he edited the centenary celebration of James Curle's famous excavations at Newstead, also contributing a paper to the volume (Hunter and Keppie 2012; Keppie 2012b).

Within Scotland, Lawrence's name is indelibly linked to the Antonine Wall. On his arrival at the Hunterian Museum he was immediately plunged into undertaking rescue work on the Wall. In his first report he noted that because of its linear nature, running across the width of Scotland, it was particularly at risk because 'roads and pipe-lines with a north-south alignment have to cross it somewhere' (Keppie 1976b, 61). In that paper, Lawrence brought together short reports on 12 salvage excavations, setting a precedent which continued for many years (Keppie and Breeze 1981; Keppie and Walker 1989; Keppie *et al.* 1995). Of particular note in that original paper was the account of the excavation of a 44.5m length of the Wall at Bantaskin that resulted in the location of three culverts (Keppie 1976b: 68-73). He has literally undertaken excavations along the entire length of the Wall from Bridgeness to Old Kilpatrick, including more substantial work at Bar Hill, Dullatur and Westerwood (Keppie 1978a; 1985; 1995) and beyond the Wall at Barochan Hill (Keppie 1990b; Keppie and Newall 1997).

Lawrence's interest in the details of the construction of the Wall resulted in a discussion paper in which he presented the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the building of the Wall and which remains the basic treatment of the subject (Keppie 1974). He also provided an overview of the state of knowledge of the Wall and set about summarising the evidence for some of the more neglected fort sites along it (Keppie 1980b; 1982; Keppie and Walker 1985). Lawrence's interest in the distance slabs, most of which are in the Hunterian Museum, continued through the publication of a booklet and a more detailed treatment in his corpus on the *Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Hunterian Museum* (Keppie 1979; 1998a; cf Keppie 1976a) and extended to consideration of other inscriptions and sculpture from Roman Scotland (Keppie 1976c; 1978b; 1983b; 1994; 2019; Keppie *et al.* 1981).

The publication in 1976 of a paper by John Gillam on the building of the Antonine Wall contained the suggestion that there had originally been fortlets at distances of about 1.1 miles along the Wall between a series of six primary forts (Gillam 1975). Together with Jim Walker, Lawrence rose to the challenge, discovering fortlets at Kinneil, Seabegs and Cleddans (Keppie and Walker 1981; Walker, this volume). Investigations at a kink in the line of the Wall at Carleith, exactly at the measured distance, revealed an oddity on the base but no clear evidence for a fortlet while work at Nethercroy was also inconclusive (Keppie and Breeze 1981: 242-4; Keppie *et al.* 1995: 643-9).

As befitting a museum curator, Lawrence participated in the re-publication of the 1902-05 excavations at Bar Hill (Robertson, Scott and Keppie 1975). He clearly enjoyed working with Margaret Scott, who drew the finds, and still lauds – and uses - her drawings of the distance slabs (cf Keppie 2015: 33). His contribution to the Bar Hill report led on to his excavation of the headquarters building and bathhouse at the fort from 1978 to 1982 prior to their consolidation and display by the then Scottish Development Department (now Historic Environment Scotland) (Keppie 1985). Parts of these two buildings had been left exposed at the end of the earlier excavations; now all elements are laid out for display and remain the only stone buildings within an Antonine Wall fort to be visible.

Lawrence also has the unique distinction of being the only person to excavate two bathhouses in Scotland as he undertook the complete examination of the bathhouse at Bothwellhaugh in 1975-6 before its flooding by the artificial loch at Strathclyde Country Park (Figure 1.2); the building was lifted and rebuilt at a higher level (Keppie 1981). Indeed, should the hypocausted building at Falkirk prove to have been a bathhouse, he would have another such investigation to his credit (Keppie and Murray 1981). To the tally also has to be added his article bringing into the public domain earlier work on the bathhouse at Duntocher (Keppie 2004a).



Figure 1.2. Excavations starting at Bothwellhaugh in 1975. Lawrence is standing third from the right (by kind permission of James Walker).

In 1960, Anne Robertson published the first edition of *The Antonine Wall, A Handbook to the Roman Wall between Forth and Clyde and a Guide to its surviving remains*, on behalf of the Glasgow Archaeological Society. Two further editions followed in 1973 and 1979. Following her retirement Anne Robertson proposed Lawrence as her successor. His first edition, the fourth in the series, was published in 1990, followed by the fifth in 2001 and the sixth in 2015, modestly continuing to attribute the work to her (Robertson 1990; 2001; 2015). This, Lawrence's final edition (his own choice) is in a larger format, in colour, with an extended bibliography and a section on the World Heritage Site status of the monument awarded in 2008. The guide-book is truly a monument to Lawrence's four decades of work on the Antonine Wall.

Lawrence was also a regular participant in the meetings of the International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, usually offering a paper (Keppie 1977; 1980a; 1986a; 1990b; 1991a; 1997; 2009a). He was part of the small team that organised the meeting of the Congress at Stirling University in 1979. Thereafter, with Bill Hanson, he edited the conference proceedings, which were published in the record time of 12 months (Hanson and Keppie 1980).

While Lawrence's digging days may be over, his interest in the Antonine Wall has not waned. He has surveyed and reported upon the visible stretches of the Wall base in New Kilpatrick Cemetery (Keppie 2009b), while his interest in the historiography of the Antonine Wall has culminated in the publication of *The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall*, though near contemporary publications indicate that this seam is probably not yet exhausted (Keppie 2002; 2003; 2006; 2012a; 2014; 2016; 2018).

The Roman army has retained its fascination for Lawrence since his early work in Italy. In 2000 he brought together 21 papers published over a period of 30 years in *Legions and Veterans. Roman Army Papers 1971-2000*, a volume in the MAVORS series edited by Michael Speidel (Keppie 2000). Two papers extended beyond the remit of the title, trespassing into the realms of the Roman navy and the praetorian guard. And, of course, his interest in the Roman army underpins his guide-book to Roman Scotland, *Scotland's Roman Remains* later renamed *The Legacy of Rome: Scotland's Roman Remains*, which also reflects his concern to reach out to the wider public (Keppie 1986b; 1990c; 1998b; 2004b; 2015).

Throughout his career, Lawrence has never lost his interest in Roman Italy. In the introduction to his book on colonisation and veteran settlement in Italy, he stated that he had been 'to all but a handful of the fifty or more towns where veteran settlement took place on a substantial scale in this period, and to see most of the inscriptions which fall to be discussed here' (Keppie 1983a, ix). His love of Italy has never ceased and over the last 30 years he continued his visits there with his constant companion, Margaret. They particularly liked the Bay of Naples so it should have been no surprise when *The Romans on the Bay of Naples, An Archaeological Guide* appeared (Keppie 2009c).

The esteem in which Lawrence is held by his colleagues is reflected in the range of contributors and contributions to this Festschrift. So eager were they to participate in the project that the slate of contributors was complete within a week. One colleague, the eminent epigrapher Roger Tomlin, who was unable to contribute a paper, writes, 'I have known and valued Lawrence for many years, ever since we met as students at the British School in Rome. His *Making of the Roman Army* has always been on my bookshelf next to Parker's *Roman Legions*. I am proud too that I suggested his name to Batsford as the author of *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*. At Glasgow he was taught by Robin Burn, who inspired my own more provincial *Britannia Romana*, and this benefited greatly from Lawrence's careful reading of a full draft.'

The editors decided that the volume should focus on the Antonine Wall, the subject of so much investigation by Lawrence, but within that framework practically every aspect of the frontier is represented here and we even get a glimpse of Italy. The circle is complete.

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