

CHAPTER I

Introductory. The Great Camp

THE Tweed at Melrose, coming from the hills, flows eastwards through a wider valley. At Newstead the valley contracts, and the river, cutting its way through a comparatively narrow gorge, runs in a deeper channel beneath the bridges at Leaderfoot. The current slackens somewhat and the banks open out a little, above the point where the Leader coming from the north joins with the main stream; and then swinging to the south as they meet the great cliff of the Gate Heugh the united waters encircle Old Melrose, the 'bare promontory' on which St. Cuthbert planted his monastery.

The ground lying within the angle thus formed might be roughly described as a table land tilted over towards the south-east. It is highest where the valley narrows, and there the crest of the ridge on the south bank rises abruptly a hundred feet above the stream, presenting a marked contrast to the easy declivity by which the fords which gave entrance to the Leader Valley were approached. From the summit of the ridge, whence the eye travels across undulating fields that gradually ascend to the hills of the Borders, the ground slopes gently downward on the south like a long glacia, into a little hollow where the main line of the North British Railway runs, and then rises again to meet the slope of the Eildon Hills which overshadow it on the south-west. It would not have been easy for the Romans to find a position more admirably adapted by nature for their purpose. The channel of the Tweed, deeper perhaps in early times, furnished a strong defence on the north and east. On the west, at the foot of the slope down which the village of Newstead straggles, the river unconfined by barriers must have wandered at will through marshy channels. It was only to the south and south-east, in the rear of the invaders, that the ground lay open.

It is precisely on such a site, commanding a valley and with a river at its feet, that we might have expected to light upon a Roman entrenchment. Vindonissa overlooking the Aar and the Reuss, Birdoswald high above the Irthing, Inveresk with the stream winding round the hill on which it stands, are all obvious parallels. As a matter of fact, we shall find that Newstead commended itself to more than one generation of Roman military engineers, for we shall have to deal with at least two quite distinct military works—a camp sufficient for an army, occupied probably for no long period, and a fort, much smaller in size, showing unmistakable signs of what may fairly be called permanent inhabitation. In what follows, these two will be distinguished as the 'camp' and the 'fort' respectively.

The History of the Site

In each of the Roman forts hitherto excavated in Scotland, some trace of the entrenchments had survived above the surface, and, with the solitary exception of Cappuck, plans or descriptions more or less imperfect were to be found in the pages of Roy, Gordon, Horsley, or other writers. At Newstead, not only had every surface trace disappeared, but the entire obliteration of the Roman works had probably taken place long before the first awakening of an intelligent interest in the military antiquities of our country. The earliest reference to the site will be found in a short history of Melrose written in the year 1743 by the Rev. Adam Milne, minister of the parish. Mr. Milne carefully noted all traces of camps and other antiquities in his parish, but of the exact nature of the remains at Newstead he clearly had no inkling. After describing the monastery of Old Melrose, he goes on to say:

'About a mile to the west on the Tweed stands Newstead, a place noted for an ancient lodge of masons, but more remarkable for another abbacy on the east side of it, called Red Abbey-steed. Whether it got this name from the colour of the stones wherewith it was built, or because it was an house belonging to the Templars, they wearing a red cross for their distinguishing badge, I cannot determine; but it is certain, when the ground here is plowed or ditched, the foundations of several houses are discovered, a great deal of lead got, and some curious seals. At this place likewise there has been a famous bridge over Tweed; the entrance to it on the south side is very evident, and a great deal of fine stones are dug out of the arches of the bridge when the water is low.'¹

¹ *A Description of the Parish of Melrose in Answer to Mr. Maitland's Queries*, 1769, p. 6.

In 1761 General Roy, searching for the Trimontium of Ptolemy, which, following the forged itinerary ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, he expected to find somewhere on the line of road between Carlisle and the Antonine Wall, was struck by the configuration of the Eildon Hills and the track of 'the Watling Street' advancing directly towards them, and was thus led to conjecture that hereabouts Trimontium was situated. He had an examination made of the ground in the neighbourhood of the hills, 'and in consequence of this search some imperfect traces of an entrenchment were perceived at the village of Eildon situated near the eastern skirt of the hill. These vestiges, which are to be seen near the south-west angle of the village on the east of the Roman way, were further observed in 1771; but, it must be owned, were found by much too slight to decide absolutely the point in question. Nevertheless, from all the circumstances taken together, the aspect of the hills, corresponding exactly with the name, two Roman ways leading towards them, and particularly from the traces of that which hath gone from Carlisle, whether it was ever finished or not, yet along which the ninth iter of Richard seems to have proceeded, there is surely good reason to believe that this ancient Trimontium of the Romans was situated somewhere near these remarkable hills, at the village of Eildon, Old Melrose, or perhaps about Newstead, where the Watling Street hath passed the Tweed.¹¹ It is evident from this passage that before the end of the eighteenth century the fort which Milne had failed to distinguish must have been too completely effaced for even Roy's practised eye to detect.

The Disappearance of the Ruins

The demolition has indeed been complete, and although the work of destruction has been continued within the last fifty years as opportunity occurred, it is beyond doubt that the great bulk of the material must have been removed at a comparatively remote date. We have no records of any portion of the buildings being visible above ground, except in the name Red Abbeystead. This, though cited by Milne as indicating an Abbey, is merely the name of one of the fields in which the Roman remains now lie buried. There is no reason to believe that any Abbey ever stood here, and the appellation dates probably from days when some fragments of red sandstone ruins were still visible here, and were thought by the country folk to be ruins of an Abbey. Probably long before Milne wrote his history, or Roy embarked upon his survey,

¹ Roy, *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain* (London, 1793), p. 116.

every surface trace of the structures had been obliterated. The great wall which surrounded the fort, as well as the ruins it enclosed, would provide a convenient quarry, and it seems not improbable that when King David built his great Abbey at Melrose he found some of his material at Newstead. The stone used by the Romans was for the most part the red sandstone of which the Abbey is built. It is said to have come from the quarry at Dryburgh, some three miles further down the Tweed.

We know that the spoil of ancient buildings was too often employed in the manner suggested. The Roman stones of St. Wilfrid's crypt at Hexham and the altar of the Rhaetian Spearman in the tower stair at Jedburgh are well-known examples. Further, although no stone showing any trace of an inscription, or of a characteristically Roman dressing, appears to have been found at Melrose, there is one ancient tradition which may be held to strengthen the theory. The village of Newstead, which lies close to the fort on the west, has always been celebrated for its masons. The old thatched houses, many of which have been swept away in the last twenty years, were rich in sundials and small ornamented details of stone work. Here, according to the local tradition, lived the workmen who built the Abbey, and here certainly there was long ago established a Lodge of Freemasons which, though its early muniments have been lost, claims to have been founded at a distant period. The mason tradition has not attached itself to any of the other little communities that grew up around the Abbey, and there is thus good ground for believing that the connection of the craft with the village owed its origin to the proximity of the ruined fort.

Earlier Discoveries

The first notable find of which we have any definite account was made in 1783, when an altar was discovered in the field immediately to the east of the Red Abbeystead. It bears a dedication to the Campestres of an Ala of Vocontian Cavalry, and is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities. A second altar, which is now in the possession of Sir Alexander Leith-Buchanan, Bart., a descendant of a former proprietor of the ground, at Ross Priory, Dumbartonshire, came to light in 1830 in a field to the south-east of the Red Abbeystead. It is a dedication to the god Silvanus by a centurion of the Twentieth Legion. In 1846 the formation of the main line of the North British Railway on the south led to the opening up of a number of Roman rubbish pits containing pottery and other relics.

This last discovery attracted the attention of Dr. John Alexander Smith, then Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to the site. Four years later he contributed to the *Archaeologia Scotica*, a paper entitled Notices of Various Discoveries of Roman Remains at the Red Abbeystead near the Village of Newstead, Roxburghshire.¹ From this paper we learn that, in the course of draining operations, foundations of ancient buildings had been dug into in the Red Abbeystead and in the fields adjoining it on the west. No detailed description of these foundations could, however, be given owing to the accidental and irregular manner in which they had from time to time been laid bare. 'The stones used in these buildings were principally of red sandstone, and have been removed in considerable quantity for economical purposes for many years past.' Some thirty years before the date of Dr. Smith's paper, the tenant of the field adjoining the Red Abbeystead on the west, besides digging into such foundations, had come upon a portion of a regularly paved roadway about twenty feet broad running nearly north and south across the field. He had it entirely removed, and in the course of clearing it away there was found a sculptured stone bearing the figure of a wild boar-symbol, perhaps, of the Twentieth Legion-carved in high relief.²

The operations connected with the cutting of the railway in the winter of 1846 are thus described, the depth below the surface at which Roman remains began to appear being about three feet. 'First a cluster of well-like holes were opened up in a space about thirty yards square. Five or six of these were large-sized pits; two being regularly built round the sides with stones which, with the exception of some pieces of the red sandstone, were waterworn stones apparently from the river's bed. They were about twenty feet in depth and two to three feet in diameter. The other pits were simply dug out of the ground. Of these, one was about eighteen feet deep, two about fifteen feet, and four to five feet in diameter; another, a little apart, was ten or twelve feet in depth and three to four feet in diameter. Among these large pits were fifteen or sixteen small pits, each about three feet deep and three feet in diameter, which were plastered over the sides and bottoms with a lining of whitish clay some five or six inches thick.' The skeleton of a man, which is said to have been erect or nearly so, was discovered a little to the

¹ *Archaeologia Scotica*, vol. iv. p. 422.

² This stone is now in the possession of Mr. A. T. Simson, Eildon Grove, Melrose.

south-east of these larger pits, in a pit ten or twelve feet deep and three or four feet in diameter.

The discoveries in the railway cutting led to no further investigations. Dr. Smith indeed collected from time to time, and contributed to the Society of Antiquaries, notes on any objects found upon the site. But such objects were few, and for more than half a century the memory of the buried altars, and a tradition of deep pits, in one of which there had been found a soldier standing upright with his spear, were all that remained to associate Newstead with the Romans. In 1904 Mr. Roberts of Drygrange, the owner of the ground, undertook some drainage operations in the field known as the Gutterflat, lying to the west of the Red Abbeystead. The drainers in their work cut through the foundations of a large building, and commenced to throw up from their trenches blackened soil, the remains of ruined hypocausts, mixed with fragments of tiles, mortar and pottery. A stone trough was also brought to the surface, as well as a number of earthenware water pipes of Roman make. The characteristic debris and the wall foundations suggested that systematic search might lead to valuable results. A proposal was made to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland that they should take the work in hand. The Society had just completed its excavation of the fort of Rough Castle on the Antonine Vallum, and it was agreed that Newstead should be next attacked. The work was accordingly commenced on 13th February, 1905.

Rediscovery of the Fort

At the outset there was little to serve as a guide to the excavators. Everything on the surface had long since been levelled by the plough. Nothing was known of the extent, or indeed of the nature, of the site about to be explored. Perhaps it was owing to the recent finds in the well at Bar Hill that attention was first directed to the field adjoining the Gutterflat, known as the Well Meadow. Possibly the well of this fort too, if it could but be found, might yield something to rival the strange series of columns from the other. Besides, the farm labourers told of great blocks of stone over which the ploughs grated, and there was Dr. Smith's evidence as to the discovery of a sculptured symbol of the Twentieth Legion here. A beginning was accordingly made by cutting a trench diagonally from west to east across the southern half of the Well Meadow. The ground turned out to be very wet, the trench filling with water as it was dug. Still, a few hours sufficed to show that underneath

lay the foundations of walls. Towards the end of the first week the trench was driven into a bank of yellow clay, which proved to be the southern rampart of the fort. Here, then, was the Roman station for which Roy had vainly searched. The rest was a matter of patient digging.

The Roman Road

Before describing in detail the features of the station so far as they were revealed by four years of excavation, it is desirable to notice briefly the Roman road with which it was organically connected. On the great roads of the empire, which radiated from Rome, there must have been many spots which were once the scene of a similar combination of military works. As the army pressed onward in its march of conquest, pushing out into the barbarian lands, it secured its communications by establishing such posts as that which was found at Newstead. They were a recognised feature of the military roads, an important part of a well established system. We shall see that Newstead was undoubtedly occupied as early as the end of the first century A.D. In other words by the troops of Agricola. But there is more than one route by which a Roman army advancing northwards might have reached this point. The circumstance that Agricola's campaign of A.D. 78, if not that of the following year also, was conducted in North Wales lends some colour to the supposition that when he entered Scotland in A.D. So, he did so through Carlisle. On this assumption he might have followed the valley of the Liddell and the modern line of the North British Railway to Melrose. Another possible route was that of the ancient road known as the Wheel Causeway, which was used in the Middle Ages as a means of communication between Liddesdale and Jedburgh.¹ On neither of these lines, however, have we any evidence of Roman relics on Scottish ground. It is different with the ancient track which is known as 'the Roman road' to everyone familiar with the Borders. For miles across the uplands that separate England from Scotland, its track, and the mounds marking the site of forts that once protected it, can still be traced. It crosses the Wall of Hadrian near Corbridge on Tyne, passes Bremenium and Chew Green, the latter near the sources of the Coquet, and then plunges into the heart of the Cheviots.

¹ For a more detailed description of this road, see James Macdonald, 'Notes on the 'Roman Roads of the One Inch Ordnance Map of Scotland,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxix. p. 323, as also a note on the Antiquity of the Wheel Causeway by Professor Haverfield. *Ibid.* vol. xxxiv. p. 129.

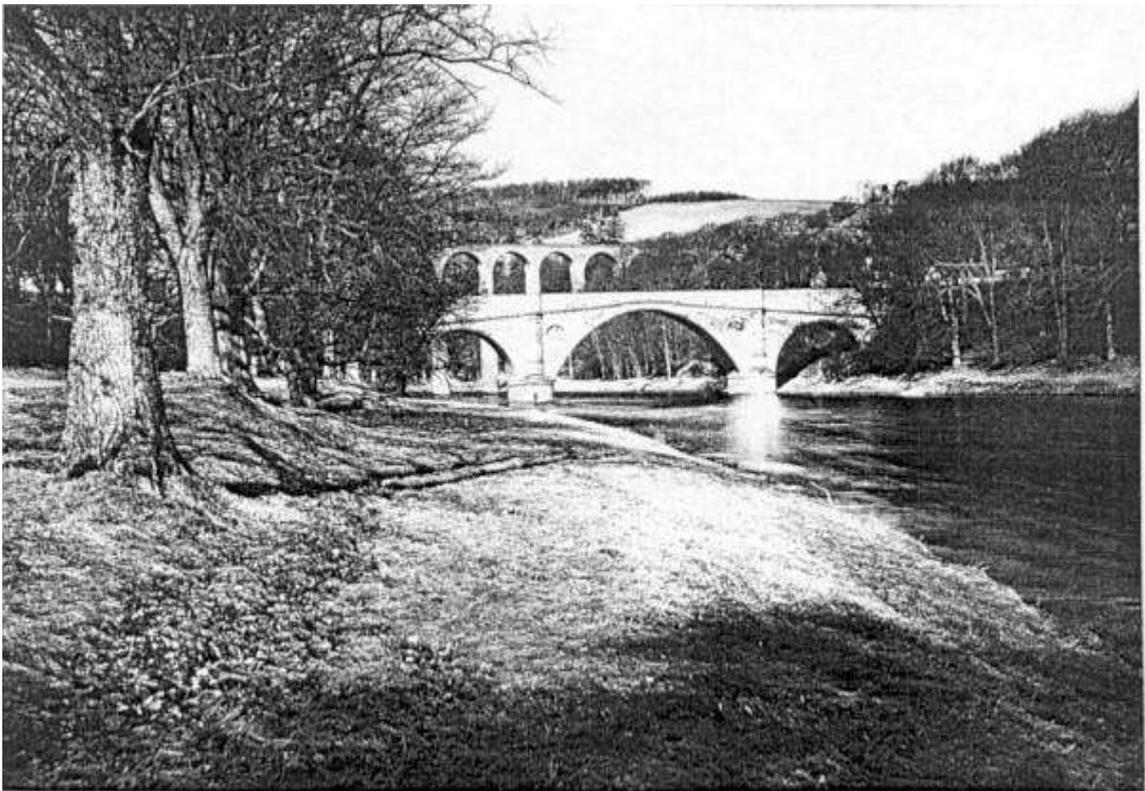
Emerging from the hills at Street House, it descends to the valley of the Kale, which it crosses just below Towford School. A little further on it passes on the left a large rectilinear enclosure, probably of Roman origin. Gradually ascending, it crosses Pennymuir, and, sweeping round the top of the ridges to the east of Cunzierton, runs from Shibden Hill in a straight line over hill and dale to the Oxnam. Here on the high ground to the south of the river, overlooking the ford, lay the fort of Cappuck, obviously intended to guard the crossing.

To the north side of the Oxnam the ground rises again, and the road, wet and marshy, hardly used save now and then by some chance wayfarer, continues its straight course over another billowy ridge of land to Jedfoot, where it is lost in the grounds of Monteviot. It reappears a little to the north-west of Ancrum House, running in exactly the same direction as it had done from Shibden Hill to Jedfoot, and eventually disappearing in the road from Jedburgh to St. Boswells, which follows the same straight course for a mile or two further. Beyond this the Roman road probably made in a nearly straight line for Newstead, skirting on the left the village of Eildon. From every vantage point of rising ground that the road crosses in its course from Street House northwards, there stands out as a landmark in the distance that most familiar feature of the border country, the triple-peaked Eildon. To many a Roman soldier marching northwards it must have served as a beacon. So far as Scotland is concerned, the excavation done on the line of this road is as yet confined to that carried out by the late Marquess of Lothian¹ on the fort of Cappuck in 1886. Partial though it was, it proved conclusively that the site was Roman. And the presence of a Roman fort high in this upland country proved no less conclusively the Roman character of the road which runs beside it. The relics found in the course of the excavation are too few to enable us definitely to estimate the limits of its period of occupation. But that the road constituted the line of advance to Newstead in the Antonine period seems clear. Further, the records of Agricola's campaign sixty years earlier were doubtless familiar to Lollius Urbicus and his men, and the presumption is that, in making their advance, they followed in his footsteps. The question can only be definitely solved by more excavation of the forts in the hill-country, Cappuck, Pennymuir, Chew Green. In the meantime, however, such evidence as we do possess

¹ *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 1893, pp. 382–9.

PLATE II. THE TWEED BELOW THE GREAT CAMP AT LEADERFOOT

The view is taken looking towards the north-west, just above the junction of the Tweed with the Leader. In the foreground is Leaderfoot Bridge. Behind it rise the arches of the Railway Viaduct seen in the distance in Plate I. In the wood on the high ground in the distance lies the small fort mentioned on page 17.



is in favour of Agricola's advance by this route across the Cheviots. In particular, it may be noted that among the pottery from Cappuck preserved at Monteviot there are one or two unpublished fragments of Terra Sigillata that may well date from the first century, as well as others referrible to the second century.

At Newstead the road must have crossed the Tweed. Possibly a branch may have diverged here westwards, following the valley of the river to Lyne, and so onwards to the western end of the Antonine Wall. But even of the course of the main road from Newstead onwards we cannot produce much evidence. The position of both camp and fort seems chosen primarily to command the passage over the river. Milne's reference to a bridge across the Tweed, the ruins of which were being further demolished in his time, has been already quoted. No trace of it exists to-day, and recent attempts to ascertain its site were unsuccessful. Roy, whose view was that 'the Watling Street' passed the river at this point, thought he could discover some remains of a camp at Channelkirk in Lauderdale. He gives a plan. But the remains upon the site are not now recognisable as Roman. Beyond the watershed at Soutra Hill, we again find definite evidence of Roman military occupation at Inveresk. This does not of itself prove definitely that the Roman road followed the route of the Leader valley. Inveresk might also have been reached by way of the Gala and the line of the North British Railway. But the road through Lauderdale and over Soutra Hill seems to have formed for many centuries the main line of communication between this part of Roxburghshire and the North; and it is not unreasonable to identify it with the original Roman road which in the north of England appears in medieval documents under the name of Dere Street. Monastic charters enable us to trace Dere Street from Durham and Northumberland through Roxburghshire and Lauderdale.

In the History of St Cuthbert, published among the writings of Simeon of Durham, and written between 1104 and 1108, there occurs a reference to the road known as Deorestrete. The passage narrates how the Bishop Ecgred 'built a church at the town which is called Gegnford [Gainford on the Tees] and gave it to Saint Cuthbert with whatever pertained to it from the river Tese to the Weor, and from the way which is called Deorestrete to the high ground towards the west and beyond the

river Tese three miles towards the south and six towards the west.* 'This' says the editor of the edition published by the Surtees Society, Mr. Hodgson Hinde, 'is the earliest mention in any medieval writer of Deorstrete, the great Roman thoroughfare through the county of Durham from south to north.'

Again, the Chartulary of Melrose includes a charter executed in the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214) by William of Hunum, in which he gives to the monastery the lands stretching 'from the stream of Cuithenhope up that whole path as far as the bank between Raweshawe and Cuithbrithishope, and so following the boundary between me and Richard de Umfraville to Derestreth on the west, and from Derestreth descending to the boundary of Chattou, and so by that boundary between me and Chattou to the stream of Cuithenhope.†

We have here the road on the Scottish side of the Border in the country which lies between Street House and Cappuck. Chattou is identified with the modern Chatto, along the boundary of which the Roman road still runs after passing Pennymuir.¹

In 1226, in a charter of Alexander de Chattou dealing with the lands of Rascaw or Rachawe, the boundary is described as running 'on the east side of Derestret, going up from Calne by the sike as far as Scolceuescluch, and by the same sike going up to the cross set up with our assent, and so straight thence to the head of Seteburn, and by the said burn coming down to the burn which comes down from Thedbrichteshop, and so descending to the stream of Cuithenhope.‡

* Postea idem sanctus episcopus Ecgred aedificavit ecclesiam apud villam quae vocatur Gagnford et dedit earn Sancto Cuthberto, et quicquid ad earn pertinet a flumine Tese usque ad Weor, et a via quae vocatur Deorestrete usque ad montem versus occidentem. Et ultra fluvium Tese tria milliaria versus austrum et sex versus occidentem. *Surtees Papers*, vol. li. p. 142.

† a rivo de Cuihezihop sursum totam illam semitam usque ad fossatum inter raweshawe et Cuithbrithishiope et sic totam divisam inter me et Ricd de Umfraville usque in derestreth versus occidentem et de derestreth descendendo totum usque ad divisam de chatthov et sic per illam divisam inter me et chatthou usque ad rivum de Cuithenop. *Liber de Melros*, vol. i. p. 722, No. 131.

‡ Scilicet ex orientali parte de Derstret ascendendo de Caine per sicum usque in Scolceuescluch et per eundem sicum ascendendo usque ad crucem de assensu nostro constructam et sic in directum usque ad Capud de Setehurne et per eandem burnam descendendo usque ad Burnam quae descendit de Thedbrichteshop et sic descendendo usque ad rivulum de Cuiheii hop. *Liber de Melros*, vol. i. p. 247, No. 280.

¹ 'Cuthbertshope, Roxburghshire, with an, Appended Note on Derestreet,' by George Watson, *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, vol. xix. p. 333.

From the charter just quoted it appears that Derestreet lay to the west of the Kale, as does the line of the Roman road. We next get a trace of it in a charter dating from the reign of William the Lion by Robert de Berkeley and Cecilia his wife, conveying certain lands of Mackistun (the modern Maxton) to the Monastery of Melrose. These are described as 'a ploughgate of land in the territory of Mackistun set off as follows: That is to say, on the east side of Derestrete by the watershed of Morrig towards the south from the east side of the said street to the first sike on the north part of Lilisyhatef between Gretkerigge and Lilisyhatef and so towards the east by the same sike to that place which I Robert de Berkeley myself assigned to them in presence of my men and they have set up in Morric a great stone in witness and thence westwards to Derestrete.)* The land conveyed must have been in the vicinity of Lilliard's Edge. The name Morrig still exists in the farm of Morridge Hall, which here lies on the outskirts of the parish of Maxton, the line of the old road, forming its boundary on the west.

Dating from the reign of Alexander II. we find another charter conveying lands in Maxton which gives Derestreet as a boundary. This was granted by John de Normanville in favour of the Monastery of Melrose. The boundary of these lands, which are described as forming part of the territory of Makeston, is said to follow 'the bank below Kelwelawe to Keluesetesloch [the termination is doubtless cleuch], and so descending by Keluesetesloch to the bank of Grenrig and so by the same bank to Lillesetheburn and so going up the said burn to the bank of Grenerig and by the bank towards the west to Derstret and so to the north following the line of Derstret to the Royal road which runs from Annandale towards Roxburgh and by the said road toward the east as far as the marches between Faringdune and the lands of the said Monks of Melros.†

* unam Carrucatam terre in territorio de Mackistun plenarie per has divisas scilicet ab orientali parte de derestrete a medio condoso de morrig versus austrum ex orientali parte ejusdem strate usque ad primum sicum ex aquilonali parte de lilisyhatef inter gretkerigge et lilisyhatef et sic versus orientem per eundem sicum usque ad illum locum quem ego Robertus de Berkeley ipsis coram hominibus meis assignavi et ipsi magnam petram in testimonium erexerunt in morric et inde versus occidentem usque derestrete. *Liber de Melros*, vol. i. p. 77, No. 90.

† illam partem terre in territorio de Makeston que inter has divisas obtinet scilicet per fossatum subtus Kelwelaue usque in Keluesetesloch et sic descendendo per Kelue-

In this extract we see Derestreet running northwards as in the last charter and meeting more or less at right angles the Royal Road which, coming from Roxburgh, must have followed the line of the Tweed.

We find it next in the neighbourhood of Lessudden (St. Boswells), where it is mentioned as a boundary in a charter of the same period by Robert de Londoniis, confirming to the Monastery of Melrose a gift of 'a half ploughgate of land, viz. as I have added and applied to that half ploughgate of land the rest of the land which lies contiguous as far as Derestredt and thence as the road descends in a slanting direction on the east down to the stream.'^{*} The stream is probably the burn which must have crossed the line of the road at the west end of the village.

A charter of Hugo de Morville to the Church of St. Mary at Dryburgh (circa 1150) conveys 'a half ploughgate of land in the territory of Newtown, viz. that which my steward William held from the west side of Derestrete in length and width as far as the Marches of Thirlestan.'[†] Sir Archibald Lawrie¹ identifies Newtown with Newton Don near Kelso, but it seems probable that in this he is mistaken, as the road must have lain far to the west of the latter. This is evident from the terms of another charter granted by John de Normanville of lands of Grenrig in the territory of Makiston, in which he gives as one of the boundaries, the road leading from 'Neutun' to Roxburgh,[‡] probably identical with the Royal

setesclach usque ad fossatum de grenrig et sic per idem fossatum usque ad lillesetheburne et sic ascendendo per eandem burnam usque ad fossatum de grenerig et per fossatum versus occidentem usque ad derstret et sic versus austrum per derstret usque ad regiam viam qua itur de valle anant versus Rokesburg et sic per eandem viam versus orientem usque ad divisas inter faringdune et terram eorundem monachorum de Melros. *Liber de Melros*, vol. i. p. 219, No. 244.

* Carta Robertus de Londoniis super carrucata terre de Lessedwine.

dimidiam Carrucata terre scilicet ego ipsi dimidie carrucate apposui et adjeci reliquum terre quod adiacet usque ad derestredt et sicut via descendit in oblico apud orientem usque in torrentem. *Liber de Melros*, vol. i. p. 76, No. 88.

† dimidiam carucata terrae in territorio de Newtown scilicet quam Willelmus senescallus meus tenuit ab occidentali parte de Derestrete in longum et latum juxta metas et divisas de Thirlestan. *Liber de Dryburgh*, p. 145, No. 201.

‡ viam quae itur de Neutun usque ad rokisburg. *Liber de Melros*, vol. i. p. 224.

¹ *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 422.

road already mentioned, showing that it was necessary in going from the one place to the other to traverse the Parish of Maxton, which certainly would not be the case in going from Roxburgh to Newton Don. Newtown, a mile nearer Newstead, would better fit the line of the road. The village is an old one, and is mentioned in a Melrose charter of the reign of Queen Mary, 1559.¹ This, however, would be a very long way from Thirlestane.

The course of the road after passing Lauder is more clearly indicated in a confirmation by Pope Celestine III. in 1196, by which he 'confirmed to God and the Church of St. Mary at Dryburgh and to the canons serving God there and to my Mother Church at Channelkirk, a toft and croft in the village of Samsonshiels, one toft and croft, namely a toft of one rood in front and a croft with land contiguous to the same croft of three full acres, close to my house from the west, and also that land arable as well as meadow which lies on the west side between the aforesaid croft itself and the burn, the march between my land and Pilmuir, that is to say, beginning on the south side at a certain stone cross set up on the edge of the same burn and extending as far as Derestrete in length northwards. To this likewise an acre which belonged to William, the son of Robert, with the land which lies between the same acre and hank between Samsonshiels and Pilmuir in breadth, and from the aforesaid stone cross as far as the way which leads to Wenneshead in length, and so by the same road on the east side continuously from the ditch of Pilmuir as far as Bradestrutherburn, and thence going on towards the north exactly as that stream formerly ran to the Leader.'^{*} The road is here following the line of the Leader

* Confirmasse Deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie de Driburgh et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus et matri mae ecclesie de Childinchirch in villa de Samsonchelis unum toftum et croftum toftum scilicet unius rode in fronte et croftum cum [trium] plenarum acrarum terre contigue eidem crofto proximo domni mee ab occidente et insuper terram illam tam arabilem quam pratam que jacet ex parte occidentali inter predictum croftum suum et rivulum metam inter terram meam et Pilemuir videlicet incipiendo ex parte australi a quadam cruce lapidea statuta in margine ejusdem rivuli usque in Derestrete versus boream in longum. Ad hec etiam acram que fuit Vilielmi filij Roberti cum terra que jacet inter eandem acram et fossatum inter Samsonchelis et Pilemur in latum et a supradicta cruce lapidea usque in viam que ducit ad Wennesheued in longum et sic per eandem viam ex parte orientali continue a fossato de Pilemore usque in BradstrotherAburne et inde tenendo versus aquilonem sicut rivulus ille antiquitus currebat usque in Leder. *Liber de Dryburgh*, p. 123, No. 176.

¹ *Liber de Melros*, vol. ii. p. 649.

valley. Pilmuir lies about two miles to the west of Lauder, while the Bradestrutherburn has been identified with the Harryburn which joins the Leader to the north of the burgh of Lauder.¹ Again following the line of the Leader valley, but approaching the crest of the Lammermoors, we find it In the neighbourhood of Oxton, in a charter of A.D. 1206, by Alan, son of Roland of Galloway, Constable of the Realm of Scotland, conveying to the Church of Kelso five ploughgates of land in Ulfkelyston (Oxton) in Lauderdale. These are described as lying: 'From the head of Holdene going down by the Holdene burn as far as Derestrete and so by Derestrete northwards to Fuleford and by Samson's Marches to the Leader, by the Leader ascending in a straight course to the east end of the said town of Hulfkeliston, and from the east end of Ulfkiliston in a straight line by the south road ascending to Derestrete.'^{*}

The name does not appear in the charters of the Domus de Soltre, the Hospice of Soutra, but in a charter granted by King Alexander II. in 1228 we have references to the Royal road across Soutra Hill. It formed one of the boundaries of the land belonging to the Hospice. The march is described as running to the burn in Lynnesden, and from that burn eastward by the way which leads to the Royal road running towards Roxburgh.† While it is evident from the Maxton Charters quoted above that south of the Tweed the line of the Royal road did not coincide with the Derestreet, it is probable that in Lauderdale, and in crossing Soutra Hill both followed the same course, and this is the more plain, as we find that as they approach Dalkeith the line is identical. This may be seen from a charter of King Malcolm to the Monastery of Newbattle, in which he makes over 'the town of Gocelin, with its boundaries.' 'The town of Gocelin the cook, with its proper marches, namely from the east by

* Videlicet a capite de Holdene descendendo per Rivulum de Holdene usque in Derestrete et sic per Derestrete usque boream usque fuleforde per divisas Samsonis usque in ledre et Sic per ledre recto tramite ascendendo usque ad capud orientale ejusdem ville de Hulfkeliston et a capite orientali de Ulfkiliston recto tramite per vicium australem ascendendo usque ad Derestrete. *Liber de Calchou*, p. 201, No. 545.

† Totam terram illam que jacet inter has divisas scilicet inter Brotherstanes et rivulum aquilonalem et rivulum australem et usque ad rivulum orientalem in Lynnesden et ab ipso rivulo orientali per viam que ducit ad regiam viam tendentem versus Roxburgh. *Registrum Cartarum Domus de Soltre*, No. 28.

1 Allan, *History of the Parish of Channelkirk*, p. 61.



PLAN I (top left). THE APPROACHES TO NEWSTEAD
 PLAN II. THE ROMAN FORT OF NEWSTEAD AND ITS ANNEXES, SHOWING
 THE GREAT CAMP

the marches between the land of Craneston and the land of Gocelynton to a certain stream which separates the foresaid lands, and so by the marches between the said lands towards the west as far as the land of Neubotle which King David my grandfather gave to them, and so northward by the marches as the land of Gocelynton extends to the land of Neubotle, thence eastward by the marches between the said lands as far as the Royal way which is called Derestrete, and so by the Derestrete northward to a certain deep sike, and so eastward by that sike between the marches of Dalkeith and Gocelynton to a marsh, thence through the middle of the said marsh to the east as far as the marches of Cousland, and so by the marches of Cousland to the said marches of Craneston. *Registrum de Neubotle*, p. 7, No. 10.*

Here, near Dalkeith, the road was in sight of; and probably heading for, Inveresk, a Roman site which is sufficiently established.

The Great Camp

As the work of excavation proceeded at the fort, the question not infrequently suggested itself why the highest point of the ridge a little to the east had not been taken as the central point, or had not at least been included in the defences. The reason ultimately became apparent when at a later stage of operations it became evident that the ground had formed the site of a great camp. In the winter of 1906–7 some exploratory trenches had been carried across the field lying between the fort and the Berwickshire branch of the railway, with but little result. Traces of a ditch running in a north-easterly direction were, however, discovered. As another ditch running south-east, on the south side of the main railway line, seemed possibly to be connected with it,

* Villam Gocelini coci cum suis rectis divisas scilicet ab orientali parte per rectas divisas inter terram de Craneston et terram de Gocelynton usque ad rivulum quenidam qui separat prenomatas terras et sic per rectas divisas inter easdem terras usque occidentem usque ad terram de Neubotle quam rex David avus meus eis dedit et sic versus aquilonem per rectas divisas sicut terra de Gocelynton se extendit usque ad terram de Neubotle deinde versus orientem per rectas divisas inter easdem terras usque ad viam regiam que vocatur derestrete et sic per derestrete versus Aquilonem usque in quenidam profundum sicum et sic versus orientem per sicum illum inter divisas de Dalkeith et de Gocelynton usque in unum maresium deinde per medium memoratum maresium usque orientem usque ad divisas de Cousland et sic per divisas de Cousland usque ad predictas divisas de Craneston. *Registrum de Neubotle*, p. 7, No. 10.

the investigation was resumed early in 1909 with a view to determining the system to which both apparently belonged. It proved to be the defence of a rectangular enclosure 1590 feet in length by 1340 feet in breadth, enclosing an area of forty-nine acres. The corners of the camp were rounded, and there were four entrances, one on each side. While the gates on the north and south occupied a central position, those on the east and west were placed nearer the northern end of the parallelogram. The ditch varied somewhat in dimensions, in part no doubt owing to the alteration of the surface through long years of tillage; but on an average it appeared to measure about seven and a half feet in width with a depth of five feet. It terminated on either side of the gates to allow the roads to pass out. Probably the rampart of the camp was built up from the spoil of the ditch, for there was no trace of any more permanent form of defence.

The gateways on the south, east, and west were carefully examined. But little could be done at the north gate beyond fixing its position, as it lay beneath a young plantation. The south entrance extended for forty-six feet between the ends of the ditches; the west entrance for forty-two feet; the precise dimensions of the eastern entrance were not ascertained. Each gate had been covered by a long straight ditch, known as a *titulus*, dug in front of it. These *tituli* appeared to have been from seven to eight feet wide, and they were placed directly in front of the openings at distances varying from thirty-eight feet in the case of the north gate to forty-seven feet in the case of the west gate. If the soil thrown up in digging them was heaped up behind, the entrances must have been reduced to comparatively moderate dimensions. The obvious purpose of the *titulus* was to mask the gateway, and so to render a frontal attack more difficult.

A glance at the plan will show better than any description how skilfully the strategic position of the great camp has been chosen. The dominating factor has been the course of the Tweed, the lines following the bend of the river. The highest point of the ridge, which must have served as the centre of the whole enclosure, commands a view in one direction of the ridges of land over which came the road from the Cheviots. In another it looks across the opening of the Leader valley, with the conical peak of the Black Hill standing high in the middle distance. A force planted here would have had complete control of the crossing of the river, and would have held the

PLATE III. THE SITE OF THE GREAT CAMP FROM THE SOUTH

The figure in the foreground is standing in the south gate. The telegraph posts further back indicate the line of the North British Railway. The crest of the ridge behind formed the highest point of the position. The ditch covering the west front crosses the hedge running northward on the extreme left. The position of the grave found in the ditch may be indicated by that of the third tree from the left on the top of the ridge. In the distance lies the small fortlet mentioned on page 17. The peak of the Black Hill marking the east side of the Leader Valley rises on the right



key of the roads to the north. One is reminded of various analogies along the Rhine—of Moguntiacum (Mainz) lying on the left bank directly over against the mouth of the Main, and of Vetera (Xanten) on the same bank confronting the entrance to the valley of the Lippe. And it is worth observing that to-day two railway lines converge within the very area of which we have been speaking—the main line from England and the branch that runs past Earlston and eastwards through the Merse towards the sea.

It is interesting to note that the position of the great camp must have conformed to the rules laid down by Roman military writers. It stood upon a slight rise, thus permitting the general to survey the whole interior; and it was near at river, which ensured an ample supply of water, but yet so high above it as to make inundation impossible.¹ No doubt the site was to some extent overlooked from the heights on the further side of the Tweed, but it is not improbable that the necessary precautions were taken to counteract this weakness. On the top of the hill beyond the river is a small oval fortified enclosure which may have been a Roman outwork. It occupies the edge of the declivity, pitched high enough to look down on the Tweed and the opening of the Leader valley. Its situation suggests that its purpose was to hold in check any movement from the northern uplands that might have been directed against a force passing over the river. In the spring of 1909 some trenches were cut across this enclosure, when it was ascertained that it had been defended by a single ditch, and that it had had two entrances, one on the east side, the other on the west. The ditch was V-shaped, but towards the bottom for a depth of ten inches the sides became perpendicular. This was noted in a portion cut through the rock to the south of the east gate. There were no traces of buildings in the interior; the only relic found was a small piece of pottery of an orange yellow colour, which came from the ditch at a depth of four feet. It was much finer in character than the ordinary native pottery, and although the surface was much injured by the action of the soil, there can be little doubt that it belongs to the Roman period.

The plan of the great camp, and more particularly the character of its gateways, would be sufficient to prove its Roman origin, even were other evidence wanting. It differs entirely from those annexes which are so commonly attached to Roman forts in Scotland and elsewhere. It must have been constructed for the accommodation of a large, probably a legionary,

1 *Hygini Gromatici Liber de Munitionibus Castrorum*, ed. Domaszewski, p. 29, § 56.

force; and its occupation must have been of comparatively short duration. In Scotland the only one of the excavated camps that compares with it in size is Inchtuthil, with its fifty-six acres. In England, Caerleon on Usk, fifty acres in extent, occupied by the Second Legion, corresponds closely to it in area. Abroad we find its parallel, so far as size is concerned, in such great enclosures as Novaesium and Castra Bonnensia on the Rhine, Carnuntum on the Danube, or Lambaesis in North Africa, all of which are known to have been established for the permanent occupation of legionary forces. Novaesium and Castra Bonnensia date from the early Empire, and were garrisoned by the Twentieth and the First Legions respectively. In extent each of these covers an area of about sixty-one acres. Carnuntum, which dates from the time of Vespasian and was garrisoned by the Fifteenth Legion, covers an area of forty-one acres, while Lambaesis, built in the reign of Hadrian, and garrisoned by the Third Legion, occupies fifty-two acres. In each of these fortresses there was stationed a single legion, the variations in size being probably due largely to the number of auxiliary troops that were brigaded with the main force.

As has been already stated, we have no buildings in the Newstead camp which would furnish a basis for a similar calculation. And we do not know enough of the forces which followed Agricola or Lollius Urbicus into Caledonia to enable us to put forward any theory as to the proportion of their armies that it might have held. Nor are permanent *hiberna* a wholly safe criterion for the capacities of camps required for service in the field in one or two campaigns. But its position and its size combine to prove that, at the beginning of one of the periods of advance into Scotland, it was occupied by an army marching to the north. To which of these periods it belonged is a problem worth discussing.

That the period of occupation was in any case short may be inferred from the paucity of remains, and especially from the absence of any trace of permanent building or fortification. On the highest part of the ground a considerable area was investigated by means of parallel trenches a few feet apart. Very little was found except the bases of three circular hearths. Whether these had belonged to the great camp, or to the particular annexe of the later fort which included this portion of the site, it is impossible to say. The scattered fragments of broken pottery so abundant in the fort itself; as well as in some of the other annexes, were almost entirely absent. A considerable length of the ditch on the west side, running from the

highest point of the ground down to the Berwickshire railway, was also cleared out. This yielded a few fragments of red Roman pottery, unfortunately so much decayed as to render impossible any attempt to fix the exact period to which they had belonged. But its excavation led to a discovery which is calculated to throw an interesting sidelight on the question of chronology. Two Roman burials were found in it. These appeared to be entirely isolated. There were no traces of other interments around them. As a matter of fact, they were the only graves encountered in the whole course of the excavations, though there can be little doubt that somewhere in the outskirts of the fort the cemetery is still to be found.

The burials, both of which were of cremated bodies, were placed one above the other in the ditch after it had been filled up. The ashes in both cases had been deposited in urns of a somewhat coarse greyish-brown pottery, ornamented with a broad band of lattice work pattern, the type of urn being one commonly found with Roman interments in Britain. The two urns had evidently been originally of the same size. But the one which was uppermost was only eight inches below the surface, so close to it indeed that the upper part had entirely disappeared, worn down no doubt by the plough passing over it. There was no trace of any protecting cist. Immediately beneath, at a depth of four feet nine inches, lay the second burial. The urn was resting on a sandstone slab, and four other slabs of sandstone two feet in height placed against each other, one on each side, formed a tent-like shelter over it. Similar grave-coverings, formed of large, flat roofing-tiles, have been found near many of the Roman military posts on the Rhine; the closest recorded Scottish parallel, which is from Cramond, appears to have had a less elaborate form of protection.¹ The urn was nine inches in height, and had an opening of four and a half inches in diameter at the mouth. A circular cover of sandstone, seven-eighths of an inch in thickness, had been fitted to it. The bones which the urns contained were in too fragmentary a state to make it possible to ascertain the age or sex of either individual. The discovery, however, gives us a valuable indication of date. It proves that the great camp had been abandoned before the burials took place. It proves, too, that a considerable length of time had elapsed since the abandonment, for in the interval the ditch had been almost entirely filled up. The complete urn, as well as the stone setting after its removal, are illustrated in Plate IV.

1 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* vol. xxxi p. 244 ff.

Again, while the changes in the defences and the buildings of the Newstead fort furnished clear enough evidence of several phases of occupation—the earliest of which, as we shall have occasion to point out subsequently, must unquestionably be attributed to the end of the first Century A.D.—the great camp showed no sign of more than a single period. Thus all the circumstances irresistibly suggest that in it we have the remains of a fortification constructed by the army of Agricola in the first advance into Caledonia. In the later invasions a suitable resting-place, defended by ditches, would be ready to hand in the shape of the fort with its annexes.

The conclusion thus reached receives considerable support from a feature of the great camp to which attention has been drawn above. The presence of the long straight titulus in front of each of the gates may fairly be interpreted as confirming the other indications of an early date. It is a method of defence prescribed by Hyginus, who wrote (according to his latest editor) before the reforms introduced by Hadrian, and examples of its use are to be found in forts that can be definitely assigned to the first century. It was employed on one of the early forts at Wiesbaden, dating from about the beginning of the first century,¹ just as we see it at Newstead, while in the neighbouring fort a somewhat similar defence had also been employed but had been abandoned comparatively early. It is generally absent in front of the gates of the later stone forts, although its occurrence outside the east and south gateways of the later fort at Bar Hill² would seem to suggest that the device occasionally survived as late as the reign of Antoninus Pius. Similarly, the complicated entrances at Ardoch³ and at Lyne⁴ appear to indicate that at the time when these forts were built there was as yet no stereotyped pattern of gate such as is found later.

The Name 'Trimontium'

We have seen that the excavation of the great camp revealed no evidence that the occupation had been anything but temporary. The story of the Romans at Newstead centres mainly round the site further west where the fort was erected. Here all the conditions point to greater permanency—fortifications laboriously executed, buildings constructed of stone, masses of refuse that must have required

1 E. Ritterling, 'Toranlagen römischer Kastelle des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts,' *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Akerthumskunde*, vol. xxxvi. p. 4.

2 Macdonald and Park, *The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, plate ii.

3 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxxii. p. 438, plate V.

4 *Ibid.* vol. xxxv. p. 175 ff.



1. CINERARY URN WITH ITS COVER



2. STONES PROTECTING THE URN

PLATE IV. THE BURIALS IN THE DITCH OF THE GREAT CAMP

years to accumulate. Of the name the spot bore in military records, we are entirely ignorant. The all too fragmentary inscriptions which came to light furnished no clue. And yet those marching northwards along the great road must always have looked to the triple Eildon as a landmark, and it may well be that they knew the fort as Trimontium. The name occurs in Ptolemy's *Geography*¹ as that of one of the four towns of the Selgovae situated in the south of Scotland. The form in which it appears in the original text (Τριμοντιον) is merely a Greek transliteration of a Latin word meaning 'the place of the three hills,'—precisely such a designation as would naturally have been applied, especially by those approaching from the south, to a settlement lying under the shadow of the Eildons.

There are several obvious analogies. 'Tripontium' mentioned in the *Antonine Itinerary*,² where it is placed in the territory of the Coritani, can only signify 'the place of the three bridges.'³ Again, the Brittones 'Triputienses,' who had been transplanted to Germany, appear to have received their distinguishing appellation because their new home was near some 'place of the three wells,' in the neighbourhood of the modern Vielbrunn,⁴ in the country between the Rhine and the Main. Lastly, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the town of Philippopolis in Thrace actually bore the name of Trimontium, and on a unique specimen of one of the coins of the city, preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the river-gods are represented with three mountain peaks rising behind them. No doubt the country of the Selgovae is generally believed to have lain further to the west, and for this reason Horsley and others have been induced to locate the Trimontium of Ptolemy near Birrenswark in Annandale.⁵ Roy, however, as we saw above, preferred to look for it at the foot of the Eildons, this too in express defiance of his 'authority,' the spurious itinerary of Richard of Cirencester.⁶ And it is safe to say that neither Birrenswark nor any other group of hills in the south of Scotland suits nearly so well.

¹ Bk. ii. c. iii.

² P. 477.

³ Haverfield, *Victoria County History*, vol. i. p. 231.

⁴ E. Fabricius, *Ein Limesproblem*, p. 17.

⁵ Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, p. 377; Maitland, *Hist. of Scotland*, i. p. 142; Chalmers, *Caledonia*, ed. 1887, vol. i. pp. 120f.

⁶ Roy, *The Military Antiquities*, p. 116.