

II.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE TRADITION, "ECCE TIBER!
 ECCE CAMPUS MARTIUS!" AS APPLIED TO THE TAY AND THE
 INCHES OF PERTH. BY JAMES MACDONALD, LL.D., FOREIGN
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These words are popularly believed to have been uttered by Agricola's legionaries on coming in sight of the Tay and of the level plain lying between Perth and that river, which has long been known as the North and South Inches. Tacitus is sometimes vaguely referred to as the source of this belief. But no such statement occurs in his extant writings nor in those of any other classical author. More than that, the pages of all our chroniclers and historians down to and including Buchanan, whose *History of Scotland* was published in 1583, will be searched for the exclamation in vain. Some interest, therefore, attaches to the question not seldom put, Where and in what connection does it first appear?

The ground-work of the fiction (for it appears to be nothing more) will be found in a poem by Henry Adamson, a native of Perth, entitled *The Muses Threnodie*, the first edition of which—a small, thin 4^{to} of 54 leaves—bears to have been "printed at Edinburgh, in King James College, by George Anderson, 1638." It is, however, a "Threnodie" [*i.e.*, a Lament] in little more than the name, the history of the Fair City and its antiquities being its main theme.¹

¹ This quaint production has, as a second title, "Mirthfull Mournings, on the Death of Master Gall: containing varietie of pleasant pœticall descriptions, morall instructions, historicall narrations, with the most remarkable antiquities of Scotland, especially at Perth." Its aim is further indicated by the motto, *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci*. Adamson was educated for the church. He belonged to a good family in Perth, his father having been Provost of that city in 1610 and 1611. The writer of the *Old Statistical Account* of Perth, who is generally regarded as a trustworthy authority on such matters, says that Dr John Adamson,

In the division of the poem called "The Third Muse," the chief of two speakers, to whom it introduces us, expresses regret that he has

Principal of Edinburgh University from 1625 to 1653, was his brother. As an apology for sanctioning the publication of the poem, Adamson prefaced it with a highly commendatory letter addressed to him as "my worthy friend," and signed with the initials "W. D.," evidently Drummond of Hawthornden. "Master Gall" (Mr John Gall) was a merchant of Perth, well educated and highly respected, whose premature death was a cause of regret to a wide circle, Adamson among the number. Both of them were on terms of great intimacy with Dr George Ruthven, who had long practised as a physician and surgeon in Perth and was very much their senior in years. He was a scion of the noble house of Gowrie, the heads of which perished so mysteriously on the 5th of August 1600. It is into the mouth of Ruthven that the "Threnodie" is put. But Gall is frequently introduced as giving him information, and the poem may thus be said to take in part the form of a dialogue.

Prefixed to the "Threnodie" is a much shorter poem in hudibrastic verse, also by Adamson. It purports to be an "Inventory" of the contents of a kind of "Old Curiosity Shop," kept by Ruthven in his house. These curiosities were called by him his "Gabions"—a word used, in that sense, only by the venerable doctor. The "Inventory" is throughout a burlesque, valuable, however, as showing the imaginative cast of Adamson's mind. It might have properly enough been named "Ruthven's Gabions." But in the course of time it got to be associated with Gall, and, as both it and the "Threnodie" were published together, the volume containing them came to be known to Richard Gough and others by the doubly absurd name of "Gall's Gabions." It is doubtful if Adamson lived to see his poems in print. Cant, the editor of the second edition, is probably wrong in saying that he survived till the following year.

As a poem the "Threnodie" contains much that is tedious to a present day reader. Not a few of the words are obsolete and some of the lines irregular in rhythm. Nevertheless there are passages showing true poetic instinct and expression, which may still be read with pleasure. In form, it is almost unique among Scottish local histories. Ruthven commencing—

"Now I must mourn for Gall, since he is gone,
And ye, my Gabions, help me him to mone,"

is supposed to give an account of a number of excursions made at a bypast time along with his friend. The journeyings are chiefly by boat on the river Tay, but also by land. A survey is taken of Perth and the surrounding country. Every now and then the narrative is interspersed with what purports to be the responses of Ruthven's companion to appeals in which the latter is urged to unfold his stores of antiquarian knowledge. Since the district is rich in scenes of historic and legendary lore, their conversation never flags for lack of materials that are sometimes lively enough. The "mournings" are thus truly described as "mirthfull." Not seldom, however, the wealth of such learning possessed by Gall leads the survivor to

hitherto been unable to discover among the records of the olden time the true history of the bridge over the Tay at Perth, which, owing to the flood of 1621, was then lying in ruins, adding :—

“Faine would I know : for I am verie sorie
Such things should be omitted in our storie.”

His companion thereupon remarks that it is far from unusual for the origin of some of the greatest of man’s undertakings to be lost in oblivion, and for even the works themselves to be destroyed. In this case, however :—

“ But if that I should tell what I do know,
An ancient storie I could to you show,
Which I have found in an old manuscript,
But in our late records is overslipt,
Which storie no less probable is, than true,
And, my good Monsier, I will show it to you.”

Accordingly, after bringing Julius Agricola and his army to the site of the present city of Perth, he thus proceeds :—

“ And there hard by a river-side they found
The fairest and most pleasant plot of ground
That since by bank of Tiber they had beene,
The like for beautie seldome had they seene ;

* * *

which, when they did espy,
Incontinent they Campus Martius cry,
And as an happie presage they had seene,
They fixt their tents amidst that spacious greene
Right where now Perth doth stand, and cast their trenches
Even where Perth’s fowsies are, between these inches
The north and south, and bastilies they make
The power and strength of Scots, and Pights to brake.”

We are next informed that the Romans, having fortified the place, resolved to make it their winter-quarters, and to build over the Tay utter regrets over the loss Perth had sustained by the too early death of her gifted son, and repeatedly to exclaim :—

“ Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ? ”

a bridge "of tall firre trees and aged oaks." The various steps they took in the course of erecting it are detailed at some length in lines modelled, apparently, on those in which Vergil describes the building of Carthage by Dido and her Trojans. Agricola is also represented as having restored and rededicated a temple to Mars that had been raised on the spot many ages before by a native prince.¹

"Then did this valiant chieftaine name the river
In Italties remembrance Neo-Tiber,
Which afterwards it kept for many a day,
How long I know not, now its called Tay.
Likewise an house of mightie stone he framed,
From whence our Castell-gavell, as yet is named ;
And, if Domitian had not cald him home,
I think he should have built another Rome."

Agricola's bridge, however, was of wood, and a builder of one of stone which had some connection with it must be found. Our poet is quite equal to the occasion :—

"But all these monuments were worne away,
Ere did King William Perth's foundation lay,
Only Mars temple stood upon that greene,
And th' house built by Agricola was seene,
And some characters cunningly incisde,
With Julius Agricola imprisde
In solid marmor, and some print was found,
Where camped had an armie, and the ground
Where there had beene a bridge ; all which did yeeld
Occasion to King William for to beild

¹ Adamson found this piece of information in Holinshed, who ascribes to Cunedag, grandson of King Lear, the erection at Perth of a temple to Mars. "After the death of Margan, Cunedag, the son of Hennius and Regaie (middlemost daughter of Leir before mentioned), became ruler of the whole land of Britaine, in the year of the world 3172, before the building of Rome 45, Uzia still reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Israel. He governed this Isle well and honourablie for the term of thirty-three years, and then dying, his body was buried at Troinouant or London. Moreover, our writers do report that he builded three temples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercury at Bangor, and the third to Apollo in Cornwall." The third book, p. 14, of *The Historie of England*, by Raphael Holiushed; second edition, London, 1586.

After old Bertha's overthrow, that citie,
 These ancient walls, and famous bridge; ah pitie
 If they were as! (*sic*) But what doth not the rage
 Of men demolish and consuming age?
 For good King William seeing where had beene
 Of old a passage, forthwith did ordaine
 A mightie bridge of squared stone to be,
 These famous wals and fusions which we see,
 Perth his chief strength to make, and seat of power,
 [And] did with most ample priviledge indue her."¹

Here Adamson follows the account given by Boece of the rebuilding of Perth by William the Lion in 1210—an account which, although retained in part by Lord Hailes in his *Annals of Scotland*, is believed to be altogether erroneous.² But that the king was influenced in his choice of a new site for the city by the discovery of traces of a Roman encampment as well as of the ground on which a Roman bridge had stood, must be set down to the creative fancy of the poet. It is difficult to conceive how anyone having due regard to the setting of this part of the poem could take it otherwise. Nor was it so understood at first.³ More than 130 years elapsed before the tale is again met with in print. In the interval many intelligent travellers such as Defoe visited Scotland, who have left on record much of what they learned of the history and traditions of Perth and other places. None of them, however, even refers

¹ Adamson, *The Muses Threnodie*, pp. 32, 33, 34, 36 and 37; Edinburgh, 1638.

² Cant's edition of *The Muses Threnodie*, Appendix, "Magistrates of Perth," vol. ii. pp. 111, 112. In a note to the text of the poem (vol. i. p. 24), Cant accepts Boece's account; but before he wrote the Appendix he had become satisfied that it was unfounded. See also Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xviii. pp. 499-509; Edinburgh, 1796.

³ Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *Conjectures concerning the Roman Ports, Colonies, and Forts in the Firths*, p. 8 (Edinburgh, 1711), has the following:—"The first [Roman] port upon the south side [of Tay] was where the town of Perth now stands, designed in the Peutingerian tables, *Statio ad Tavum*, which [town], upon the subversion of the old town of Bertha by an inundation, was built upon the ruins of that station." The only argument brought forward to justify this "conjecture" is the result of a misunderstanding; for, as is well known, the *Ad Tavum* of Peutinger's Table cannot have been situated farther north than Norfolk. Evidently Sibbald knew nothing of the exclamation as a genuine tradition or it would not have been overlooked.

to it;¹ and one would think they could hardly have failed to hear of the "storie," and notice it, had it at that time been received as an historical or even a quasi-historical fact. At length it did appear in that form, and its evolution may now be traced.

In 1757 the spurious treatise *De Situ Britannie*, ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, but concocted by C. J. Bertram of Copenhagen, was published as genuine by the well-known English antiquary, Dr William Stukeley. To the "Horestii," a tribe represented as dwelling between the Forth and the Tay, it assigned three cities, all of which are given in Ptolemy's Tables as in the territory of the Damnonii (or Damnii). These were *Alauna*, *Lindum*, and *Victoria*, "the last not less glorious in reality than in name," for it was one of the ten cities in Britain, which, according to the treatise, had the privilege of being "under the Latian law." We are further told that "it was built by Agricola on the Tavus twenty miles above its mouth." As the authenticity of the *De Situ* was for a time almost unquestioned, this assertion brought the claims of Perth to a Roman origin into new prominence; for it is among the places with which Stukeley sought to identify the *Victoria* of the so-called "Richard."² Gordon had previously fixed on Dealgin Ross, near Comrie, as the site of Ptolemy's *Victoria*, and Horsley on Abernethy. As was to be expected, however, Perth now found supporters, who probably believed that the statement in the *De Situ* threw a new light on what is said in the "Threnodie." At all events, Adamson's tale began to be spoken of by some as a "tradition." In 1769 Pennant thus writes:—"The inhabitants of Perth are far from being blind to the beauties of their river; for with singular pleasure they relate the tradition of the Roman army, when it came in sight of the Tay, bursting into the exclamation of, *Ecce Tiberim*."³ Here we meet for the first time with *Ecce*, but the *Campus Martius* of the "Threnodie" is passed over.

¹ This statement is made with the greater confidence that it is confirmed by Sir Arthur Mitchell, whose collection of such books of travel is very considerable.

² Stukeley, *An Account of Richard of Cirencester*, p. 70; London, 1757.

³ Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 1769, p. 87, fourth edition; London, 1776. The first edition of the *Tour* was published at Chester in 1771.

A new edition of the poem was published in 1774, edited by James Cant, with extensive notes and several long appendices.¹ Doubtless aware that the fanciful beginnings ascribed in it to Perth were then coming to be regarded in a sense never intended by the poet, Cant cautions the reader in these words:—"The similarity betwixt Perth and Rome, both built on the bank of rivers, the one having the celebrated *Campus Martius*, and the other the two fine lawns, called Inches, gave birth to Adamson's poetical fable of Agricola's design of building a new Rome where Perth stands, after he had overthrown the Scottish army under Galgacus at the foot of the Grampians."² But the caution was unheeded. The fascinating "storie" had passed from the realm of fiction to that of tradition, and was now making rapid progress towards being recognised as historically true.

¹ In the *Perth Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 101 (1772), under the name of "Priscus" Cant announced his intention of undertaking a new edition of "an old descriptive Poem of Perth and environs [The Threnodie], with notes and observations." Following this up, another correspondent, "Perthensis," suggested in a subsequent number that the publication should take the form of a supplement of eight pages, separately numbered and attached to each alternate issue of the Magazine, offering to place at the disposal of the editor materials which he had collected with the same object in view as "Priscus," and which might be used along with those of the latter. The proposal was accepted. On 15th October 1772 the first instalment appeared with the notes of "Perthensis," who, however, on finding that Cant intended to carry out his original intention independently, declined to supply any more. But the text of the rest of the "Inventory" and that of the *Threnodie*, as far almost as the end of "The Fifth Muse," continued to appear fortnightly till the Magazine—the first number of which was published 3rd July 1772, the last 24th December 1773—met the fate of so many similar ventures.

² *The Muses Threnodie* (Cant's edition), p. 89; Perth, 1774. On the title-page we are informed that "To this new edition (which includes both poems) are added explanatory Notes and Observations, King James's Charter of Confirmation, an Account of Gowrie's Conspiracy, a List of the Magistrates of Perth with Notes, a List of the Subscribers of a Free Gift for Building the new Bridge, and an Account of two remarkable Inundations which endangered the town of Perth in 1210 and 1621, &c.: compiled from authentic records." The account of the Gowrie Conspiracy is said to have been written by Lord Hailes. This edition has a distinct value of its own. But the original text of the "Threnodie" is not reproduced with all the care and accuracy desirable. More recently the longer of the two poems has been reprinted in Peacock's *Perth: its Annals and its Archives*, Perth, 1849; and in Hay Marshall's *History of Perth*, 1849.

The writer of the *Old Statistical Account of Perth* (1786), when treating of the "Origin and Roman Name of the Town," refers to "Richard of Cirencester, the discovery of whose book has thrown great light on the antiquities of Scotland," and gives it as his opinion that by *Victoria* "Richard evidently meant Perth."¹ Naturally he passes on to the "Threnodie," summarising thus what it says of the foundation of Perth:—"When Agricola and his army first saw the river Tay, and the adjacent plain on which Perth is now situated, they cried out with one consent, *Ecce Tiber! Ecce Campus Martius!* (Behold the Tiber! Behold the field of Mars!), comparing what they saw to their own river, and to the extensive plain in the neighbourhood of Rome. . . . Agricola pitched his camp in the middle of that field, on the spot where Perth stands. He proposed to make it a winter camp; and afterwards built what he intended should be a winter town. He fortified it with walls, and with a strong castle, and supplied the ditches with water by an aqueduct from the Almond."

So far the writer is merely expressing in few words what, as we have seen, is to be found in the poem. But he proceeds to say:—"The particulars which Mr Adamson relates were not of his own invention. They were agreeable to the current tradition [Adamson makes no such statement]. And he, or the speaker whom he introduces, says they were written in an old manuscript; but were slipt, as many other things were, out of the records which were more recent. It is not my purpose to affirm that the building of Perth happened exactly in the manner now related. But the particulars are not improbable. The same or other circumstances more remarkable might have occurred."

This is a style of reasoning by the use of which almost anything can be held as proved. Unfortunately, it is one with which the student of Scottish archæology during the Roman period is familiar enough.

For some time *The Muses Threnodie*, especially the second edition, served as a kind of handbook for the history and antiquities of Perth. It was, in fact, the only description of the place in print. At the

¹ Sir J. Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xviii. p. 491.

beginning of the present century both editions had become scarce, and a Perth publisher brought out, under the title of *Memorabilia of the City of Perth*, what was described in the prefixed "Advertisement" as a "Collection of Notices, chiefly from Mr Cant's Book."¹ In this volume we read as follows:—"Although a favourable gap in the ridge which Moncrieff Hill terminates has been taken advantage of to carry over the highway [*i.e.*, the Edinburgh road], yet the pull is steep. The top attained, Perth and its enchanting environs are in view. From this spot the invading legions of Rome caught an enraptured view of a vale, beautiful as the fairest Eden of their native Italy. They descended and pitched their tents; for now they exclaimed, We have found another field of Mars on the banks of another Tiber."²

Here we have the arrival of Agricola's army in sight of the Tay as well as an English version of their exclamation narrated as facts by a writer who professes to take Cant as his guide, but who pays no heed to Cant's explicit warning that the whole story is a "fable"! The Moncrieff Hill appears as a new feature in the scene, suggested, it may be supposed, by a misreading of Pennant's remarks about Perth. In the sentence immediately preceding the one already quoted from that traveller, he pronounces the prospect from the hill, as he approached the city from the south, to be "the glory of Scotland," dwelling on it at some length. But there is no necessary connection in place between his description of its loveliness, over which he is so justly enthusiastic, and his reference to the Roman army.³ Their juxtaposition in his page does not justify any such conclusion. Thus, unlike the proverbial rolling stone, tales of the marvellous usually increase in bulk as their progress onwards is continued.

The Roman origin of Perth Bridge and the antiquity of the exclamation seem to have been henceforth accepted in the district—by the many

¹ Cant's edition of the "Threnodie" is paged as two volumes, the second of which contains all the appendices except the first; but both volumes are usually met with bound in one.

² *Memorabilia of the City of Perth*, p. 5; Perth: William Morrison, 1806.

³ Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 1769, pp. 86, 87; London, 1776.

unreservedly, by a few with misgivings.¹ But there was still needed the influence of some authority of note to secure for the belief a wider currency than its local advocates could give it. And that, too, was forthcoming.

"The Fair Maid of Perth" appeared in May 1828. Prefixed to Chapter the First is a motto professedly anonymous, but in reality composed by the Novelist himself. It runs thus:—

"Behold the Tiber!' the vain Roman cried,
Viewing the ample Tay from Baiglie's side;
But where's the Scot that would the vaunt repay,
And hail the puny Tiber for the Tay."

Sir Walter in the text of the Chapter speaks of the fancied resemblance "said" to have been observed by the Romans between the situation of Rome and Perth. He does not, however, allude to the exclamation which he made the subject of the motto. In a note on the "View from the Wicks of Baiglie" [another spot that has also been connected with the tradition], "supplied by a distinguished local antiquary," there is parenthetical mention made of it, also guarded by a qualifying "it is said." But the patriotic "ring" of the motto was sufficient, with most readers of the Novel, to keep at a distance all suspicion of its truth.

It is always with regret that one feels obliged to cast doubt on any picturesque incident that has in the course of years become part of the traditional belief of a district or a country. But sentiment must surely yield to the interests of truth. In this case, unless further research should bring to light new and unexpected evidence, no option seems left.²

¹ e.g., "In the traditional [?] account of the origin of Perth, given by Mr Henry Adamson in his *Muses Threnodie*, it is said that Agricola, having fortified the town with walls and a strong castle, did also, with much labour to his soldiers, and probably to the poor natives, construct a large wooden bridge over the river at Perth. This may be true, but he produces no fact to give probability to the tradition." *New Statistical Account of Perth*, vol. x. p. 98; Edinburgh, 1845.

² The writer of the *New Statistical Account of Perth* (p. 98) informs us that "a citizen of Perth, of the name of Dundee, has recorded several events, with their dates, in a miscellaneous manuscript, of which Mr Adamson was in possession when he wrote the *Threnodie*." On reading this, one is inclined to suppose that the

It will be observed that it is not the foundation of Perth, but the authenticity of the exclamation, and what has been connected with it, that is here called in question.

Of the presence of the Romans in Perthshire there is no doubt whatever. The station or castellum at Ardoch has been shown by recent excavations to be in the main their work. But it must be borne in mind that the identification of it with the supposed Roman *Lindum*, and of *Victoria*, *Alauna*, *Orrea*, *Tamia*, &c. with localities in the county or near its borders, is destitute of sufficient authority. These "cities" are distinctly stated by Ptolemy, whose sources of information are unknown, to belong to native tribes. The latitudes and longitudes of his Tables, loosely calculated as they were, may perhaps give the situation of the "cities" relative to one another, but leave in doubt their exact position. There is no proof that any of them were subsequently Roman settlements. That *Victoria* commemorates the defeat of Calgacus is pure conjecture. The use which Roy and others made of the forged Itineraries of the *De Situ Britanniae* has added confusion to uncertainty. Of course, no account can be taken of *Hierna*, *In Medio*, *Ad Tavum*, and other stations peculiar to it.

Bertha, although sometimes spoken of as a Roman station, is merely Berth or Perth latinised. We learn from the Continuator of Fordun that in the year 1210 the town of Bertha, "now Perth,"¹ was inundated by the united waters of the Almond and the Tay. The bridge and the principal public and private buildings were swept away. William the Lion, who was then residing there, escaped along with some members of his family in a boat. Out of this simple narrative Boece has framed a longer one that is in many respects different. He places Bertha at the reference is to the "old manuscript" in which Adamson professes to have found the "ancient storie." But the last part of the statement is a mistake. It was Cant who had the Dundee MS. in his possession, not Adamson. Begun, as he tells us, in 1570, and continued by Dundee's son till 1636, this MS. seems to have been a kind of diary of events that took place in the interval between those years.

¹ Goodall's *Fordun*, vol. i. p. 529; Edinburgh, 1757.

confluence of the two rivers, and states that when Perth was rebuilt by King William it was removed to its present site two miles lower down the Tay. The statement, as previously remarked, is believed to be unfounded. But its having been adopted by Buchanan led to a place at the mouth of the Almond being since known as Bertha or Old Perth. "Many concurring circumstances"¹ led Roy to identify this place with Ptolemy's (or rather "Richard's") *Orrea*, and the discovery of certain antiquities that were classed as Roman was considered to verify the supposition.² Hence Bertha and *Orrea* are sometimes used as synonymous.

The scene of Agricola's "crowning victory" has been sought for in different parts of Perthshire—on the moor of Ardoch, in the neighbourhood of Comrie, at Fortingal, Meikleour near Blairgowrie, Delvine or Inchtuthil, &c. Tacitus's narrative, so indefinite as to the movements of the Roman army, is almost our only guide; for we are unable to tell what Roman commander built the Ardoch castellum, or to point to any other "Roman" fort or camp in the county, the history of which is known. As for the numerous "Roman" roads, somehow easily found when wanted for this or any similar purpose, it has yet to be shown that the majority of them are of so early a date. Hypotheses founded on what Tacitus has thought fit to record are legitimate enough. But the data with which he furnishes us are so meagre that much is left to the imagination. In consequence the arguments in favour of any particular site are not likely to convince the supporters of rival claims.

"Stations" and "Camps," usually called Roman, are not uncommon in Perthshire. Except Ardoch, none of them has as yet been investigated by means of the spade. They owe the epithet—some to their quadrilateral form, others to their proximity to a "Roman" road. The ground within an entrenchment that may have been held by Roman troops for a more or less lengthened period against an enemy would, if turned up to a sufficient depth, presumably yield pottery and similar relics of

¹ Roy, *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain*, p. 129; London, 1793.

² *The Muses Threnodie* (Cant's edition), pp. 25 and 26, and Introduction, p. 22.

their presence. In camps that had sheltered them only for a night or two when on the march, few if any such articles are likely to be found. Even the ramparts of "temporary" camps must in many cases have disappeared. Agricultural improvement has everywhere made sad havoc with this class of antiquities; for the Romans preferred to keep to the plains, which have since their day been largely brought under cultivation. But there are Perthshire sites, the excavation of which might, from an archæological point of view, be well worth the cost. Certain of them are possibly, others almost certainly, Roman. Till, however, we have clear and distinct evidence to guide us, it will perhaps be safest to suspend our judgment in the case of all of them.

[For much information on the subject of this paper, especially for references to local authorities, the writer is indebted to Mr S. Cowan, Perth.]