THE ANTIQUITIES OF AUTUN.[1]

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Some persons may think it strange, and even presumptuous, that I should propose to read a paper on Autun, which has recently been the subject of an article by Mr. Freeman in the "British Quarterly."[2] But as his research is chiefly historical, and mine archæological, though it may be necessary sometimes to traverse the same ground, I hope to avoid the blame of merely repeating what has been said before.[3]

In one respect our present inquiry differs from many others of a similar nature. The antiquary often investigates the ruins of some city or building, which the ancient authors rarely mention. This is the case, for example, with Nîmes in France and Paestum in Italy.[4] But now we return to a region that even in our boyhood was familiar to us. Autun was the capital of the Ædui, a people whose name we so often read in "Cæsar's Commentaries," though, through the fault of our teachers, we were little able to picture to ourselves their manner of life or the beautiful country they inhabited.[5]

[1] Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 6th, 1882.

[2] No. CXLVII, July 1, 1881, Art. I, Augustodunum, pp. 1-28.

[3] The Portfolio, July, 1882, pp. 126-130, Art. Autun, with illustrations, by P. G. Hamerton. In this paper, which seems to be intended as an introduction to a series on the same subject, Autun is regarded from a picturesque rather than from an antiquarian point of view. Mr. Hamerton's residence in the neighbourhood gives him advantages which no other English writer possesses.

[4] Nîmes is the most interesting town in France for Roman antiquities, but the notices of it by ancient authors are very meagre. The historians do not mention it all, and amongst the geographers Strabo, whose account is the fullest, says nothing about its public buildings, lib. iv, c. i, s. 12, p. 186. Comp. Pomponius Mela, edit. Parthey, ii, 75 p. 50, Urbium quas habet (pars nostro mari adposita) opulentissmæ sunt . . . . . Arecomicorum Nemausus, Tolosa Tectosagum, &c.

Similarly, the origin of Paestum is involved in obscurity; antiquaries have disputed whether it should be ascribed to Greeks, Phœnicians, or Etruscans. The classical writers are silent concerning its magnificent temples, but they sometimes refer to its rose-beds, which still bloom twice a year: Virgil, Georgics, iv, 119, with Forbiger's note; Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, s.v. Paestum.

[5] Augustodunum, the capital of the Æduans, was called soror et aemula Romæ, titles which indicate the close alliance between these two nations. They are said to have been first brought in contact by the Massaliots, who obtained

According to the most probable account, Bibracte was not at Autun but on Mont Beuvray;[1] the town was destroyed by order of Augustus, and the population removed to Augustodunum, the site of the modern city.[2] In its history the most important epochs were the revolt of Sacrovir which happened under Tiberius, and is related by Tacitus, "Annals," Book III, chaps. xl-xlvii;[3] the siege and capture by the Bagaudae, in or about A.D. 270; and the reparation of the damage done on that occasion by Constantius Chlorus and his son, Constantine the Great.[4]

for the Æduans the title of brethren of the Roman people; L'Oppidum Bibracte, Guide historique et archeologique au Mont Beuvray d'aprés les documents archeologiques les plus recents, p. 6. Cæsar, De bello Gallico, i, 33. Æduos, fratres consanguineosque saepenumero ab Senatu appellatos; Cicero ad Atticum, i, 19, s. 1; Tacitus, Annals, xi, 25; Strabo, iv, 3, 2, p. 192; Eumenius, Gratiarum actio Constantino Augusto Flaviensium nomine, cc. 2-4, soli et consanguinitatis nomine gloriati sunt, &c.

[1] Besides the arguments derived from M. Bulliot's excavations, the name Beuvray speaks for itself; it is only a modification of Bibracte, and this is proved by the intermediate form Biffractum which occurs in mediaeval charters. Etymology here, as elsewhere, comes to the aid of Archæology.

[2] Pomponius Mela (iii, 20) is the first writer who mentions Augustodunum; Tacitus is the next, Annals iii, 43; Augustodunum caput gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat. The termination *dunum* is frequent in the map of Gaul, and Cæsarodunum (Tours) is the instance most closely analogous. Lugdunum (Lyons) supplies a conspicuous example, with which we may compare Camulodunum (Colchester). The end of Augustodunum appears as the beginning of Dunkerque, Church of the Dunes, *i.e.* sand-hills along the sea-coast. In the Irish Railway Guide fourteen stations have names commencing with *dun*. *See* Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, s.v. *Dun, duin*, a fort or fortress, a tower, a fortified hill, &c., where similar words in other languages are given, signifying height, literally or figuratively; *cf.* O'Brien's Irish-English Dictionary for a list of places that have this prefix.

[3] SACROVIR is engraved on one of shields that decorate the triumphal arch at Orange; hence some have supposed that it was erected by Tiberius to commemorate the defeat of this chieftain, A.D. 21. The names of other barbarian leaders are inscribed in the same way, *e.g.* MARIO, BODVACVS, CATVS, VDILLVS. Montfaucon, Antiquite Expliquee, Tome iv, Part I, c. viii, p. 169, Pl. CVIII; and especially Supplement, tome iv, c. iii, pp. 73-77, I. Notes de M. de. Peiresc sur l'Arc d'Orange. II. Observations sur le meme Arc: Adolphe Joanne, Itineraire Genéral de la France; Provence, Alpes Maritimes, Corse, pp. 23, 24, edit. 1877: Caristie, Monuments antiques a Orange arc de triomphe et theatre: Charles Lenormant, Memoire sur l'Arc de Triomphe d'Orange: Jules Courtet, Dictionnaire des Communes du Departement de Vaucluse, pp. 260, 261,

An examination of the sculptural and architectual details leads to the conclusion that this monument belongs to the second century after Christ.

[4] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. xiii, note 16, vol. ii, pp. 69-70, edit. Dr. W^m^ Smith. "Some critics derive it (the name of Bagaudae) from a Celtic word, *Bagad*, a tumultuous assembly." Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, *Baghadh, aidh*, s.m. (obsolete), fighting, quarrelling. The Bagaudae seem to have been a kind of Land Leaguers in the third century. Gibbon refers to Ducange's Glossary, but the additional note in Henschel's edition, Paris, 1840, should also be consulted; *ib.* note 19, he says that their oppression and misery (*i.e.* of the servile peasants) are acknowledged by Eumenius, Panegyr. vi, 8, Gallias efferatas injuriis. It is very doubtful whether these words were spoken by Eumenius; they do not occur in the edition of his Orations by Landriot and Rochet, Autun, 1854; but, in the Panegyrici Veteres, edit. Delphin, 4^to^, 1676, vi, 8, Incerti Panegyricus Maximiano et Constantino, we read Gallias priorum temporum injuriis efferatas. I subjoin the important passages in Eumenius relating to the Bagaudae, ii, 4. Civitatem

Gate of Arroux at Autun.

These facts must be borne in mind, if we wish to appreciate the existing remains correctly.

I. However interesting other traces of antiquity at Autun may be, no one will deny that the gates of Arroux and St. André are its most distinctive monuments; the traveller who has once visited the place always reverts in thought to these structures as having made the deepest impression upon him. No city so far north can show two such Roman portals as these.[1] The gallery over the two main archways is a striking feature in both, and deserves attention for two reasons; it gave elegance to the building, while at the same time it served a useful purpose. The symmetrical arrangement of the smaller arcades above the entrances for carriages appears to great advantage, if we compare it with the arch of Titus at Rome, where the attic is disproportionately high, and looks as if it would crush the parts below with its superincumbent weight.[2] On the other hand, the utility of the gallery is shown by reference to the Porta Nigra at Trèves, which has projecting wings. There can hardly be a doubt that lateral annexes formerly existed at Autun, and that a corridor connected them.[3] The gate at Trèves is superior in size and preservation, but it looks coarse and heavy when contrasted with those of Autun.

As I have remarked in my paper on Constantinople, numismatic illustrations, which are easily accessible, may, to a certain extent, compensate for the want of opportunity to examine monuments at a distance.[4] Montfaucon,

istam . . ., tum demum gravissima clade perculsam, cum latrocinio Bagaudicae rebellionis obsessa auxilium Romani principis invocaret . . . . attollere ac recreare voluerunt Cæsares, iv, 4, Divus pater tuus civitatem Æduorum voluit jacentem erigere, perditamque recreare, non solum pecuniis ad calendaria largiendis, et lavacris quae corruerant extruendis, sed et metoecis undique transferendis. For *calenduria* Acidalius, Gruter and others read *caldaria*: Traduction des Discours d'Eumene par Landriot et Rochet, Notes sur le Discours d'Actions de Graces à Constantin Auguste, pp. 307-8.

[1] We may even go further and say, no city in the world.

[2] The same defect is observable in the entablature of the Arch at Orange, but the pediment and bas-reliefs cause it to be less apparent.

[3] Fergusson, History of Architecture, vol. i, p. 315: Prosper Merimée, Notes d'un Voyage dans le Midi de la France, 1835, says, with little probability, that the galleries over the gateways served as a continuation of the walk round the ramparts.

[4] *E.g.*, the coins of Augusta Emerita (Merida) and Augusta Trevirorum (Trèves). For the former see Heiss, Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne, pp. 398-405, Plates LX, LXI; for the latter, Cohen, Medailles Imperiales, vol. vii, Supplement, pp. 376-7, No. 3. This remarkable aureus of Constantine the Great exhibits the gate of Trèves surrounded by four towers, and the river Moselle flowing below it; in the exergue are the letters PTRE. The gate is supposed to be the well-known Porta Nigra.

"Antiquite Expliquée," tome iii, Plates XCVI-XCVIII, gives us the ancient gates at Rome, Autun, Reims, Mestè in Cilicia, Zara and Pola,[1] and he adds those of Trajanopolis and Nicopolis from coins published by Vaillant. The last mentioned has arcades, as at Arroux and St. André. This subject may be pursued still further with the aid of Professor Donaldson's "Architectura Numismatica," Plates LXXXI-LXXXVII, pp. 304-327; among his examples, Bizya in Thrace most nearly resembles Autun, as "above is a species of attic of the same height as the entablature, with four arches in the centre and a narrow one at each end." If anyone were to place the photographs of the gates beside Montfaucon's plates, he would see at once the benefit which the newly-discovered art has conferred upon us; many details, such as the fluting of the pilasters, not shown in the engravings, become apparent.

When I was at Autun last September, I observed a small shrine attached to the Porte d'Arroux; this modern addition with its tawdry ornament defaced the simplicity of the ancient structure. But the wild flowers, growing in interstices between stones that had never been cemented, seemed like a garland ever renewed by the hand of Nature, crowning the work of a people who built for eternity.

The great variety of opinions concerning the date of these famous monuments naturally results from the absence of inscriptions upon them. Some refer them to the Augustan Age, when the city was founded, but a later period is, I think, more probable.[2] The excellence of the workmanship does not necessarily imply an early epoch, as architecture long survived the sister arts of painting and sculpture, because it required less originality, certain rules of proportion having been established and

[1] Triumphal arches may fairly be cited as illustrations of gates, because their construction was similar. At Pola we find both combined in the same structure, one of the entrances to the city, Porta Aurata, being also a memorial erected in honour of Sergius; Montfaucon, loc. cit., Pl. XCVIII, from Spon; Baedeker's Œsterreich, Süd-und West-Deutschland, p. 183, edit. 1863, where the abbreviations in the inscription are explained. The Porta Gemina, Doppelthor, at Pola had two openings, as its name implies, like the gates of Autun.

[2] Mr. Freeman assumes the earlier date; British Quarterly, No. 147, p. 17, "We may therefore picture to ourselves the Æduan host (*i.e.*, the followers of Sacrovir) marching forth under the arches of the eastern gate, the gate of St. Andrew." Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire Raisonne de l'Architecture Française, vol. vii, pp. 314, 315, s.v. Portes fortifiées, says "celles d'Autun datant du iv^e^ ou v^e^ siecle."

generally adhered to. Of this fact we see a striking example in the arch of Constantine at Rome; the symmetry of the parts is admirable, but the best statues and medallions were taken from some building erected in the time of Trajan.[1] Again, one ought to guard against the tendency of local opinion towards exaggeration: biographers often deify their hero, and similarly the inhabitants of a town represent their ruins as much older than they really are. I should be disposed to assign the Gates of Autun to the year A.D. 293 or thereabouts, partly because Eumenius in several passages alludes to the reconstruction of the city after the Bagaudic rebellion. He mentions the large expenditure not only on public buildings, such as baths and temples, but also on private houses, and, which may interest us British antiquaries, he adds that workmen were brought from beyond the sea to execute these restorations.[2]

[1] These beautiful representations of scenes in Trajan's public and private life are described by Dr. Emil Braun, Ruins and Museums of Rome, pp. 5, 6; *cf.* Nibby, Roma Antica, Parte Prima, pp. 444-446, 449-454.

[2] Eumenius, ii, 4. Itaque maximas pecunias, et totum, si res poscat, aerarium non templis modo ac locis publicis reficiundis, sed etiam privatis domibus indulgent: nec pecunias modo, sed etiam artifices transmarinos. Traduction des Discours d'Eumène, Op. cit., p. 214, note 5, Eumène veut parler ici des ouvriers d'outre-mer que Constance envoya à Autun de la Bretagne, après l'avoir reconquise sur Allectus. The words *artifices transmarinos* are explained by reference to the Panegyric on Constantine by the same author, ch. xxi, Devotissima vobis civitas Æduorum ex hac Britannicæ facultate victoriæ plurimos, quibus illæ provinciæ redundabant, accepit artifices, et nunc extructione veterum domorum, et refectione operum publicorum, et templorum instauratione consurgit. Hence it seems probable that our compatriots were employed in erecting the monuments which we now admire at Autun.

The practical spirit of the Romans shows itself in the convenient arrangement of these gates, there being two large archways for the ingress and egress of carriages, and two smaller ones for foot-passengers. In the number of thoroughfares we may find another argument for dating these buildings at a late period: *see* my Paper on the Antiquities of Tarragona, Archæological Journal, 1880, Vol. xxxvii, pp. 25, 26, note 4. Again, at the Porte St. Andre, the capitals of the pilasters are disproportionately small, and seem to have been taken from some earlier structure; this circumstance also indicates an age long subsequent to the Augustan.

Though there is a general resemblance between the gates of Arroux and St. André, they differ in some points; the order of the former is Corinthian, of the latter Ionic; moreover, at St. André the wings project, so that the entrances are in a recess: *cf.* Eumenius, Gratiarum actio Constantino Augusto Flaviensium nomine, c. viii, Quisnam ille tum nobis illuxit dies . . . . cum . . . . portas istius urbis intrasti? Quae te habitu illo in sinum reducto, et procurrentibus utrinque turribus, amplexu quodam videbatur accipere. These words probably refer to the Porte de Rome, which was similar in construction to that of St. André; Congrès Archeologique de France, séances générales tenues à Autun, à Chalon, en 1846, page 364. In the Congrès Scientifique de France, xliie Session, a Autun, 1877, tome i. Rapport sur la Visite aux Murailles, aux Portes Romaines, etc., at pp. 52, 53, the engravings show the Gate of St. André as it appeared in 1799, and as it is now, after the restoration by M. Viollet-le-Duc in 1847. Further details may be learned from Mr. Roach Smith's Collectanea Antiqua, vol. v, pp. 221-2, and Ad. Joanne's Guide to Au-

II. The Musée Lapidaire, located in an obscure corner of the town, is not less important than the well-known gates. But before we proceed to its contents the site deserves a passing notice. The chapel of St. Nicolas de Marchaux is so called from the Forum Marciale, but the name is not here, as in many cases, the only sign of antiquity, for traces have been found of a Roman road which extended from the Porte St. Andre to the grande route constructed by Agrippa, connecting Lyons with Boulogne-sur-Mer.[1] Excavations have brought to light Roman houses, and it seems almost certain that they were built after the siege of Autun in the time of Tetricus and the revolt of the Bagaudae, because the walls contain rows of bricks or bonding tiles, by which the Constantine period is distinguished. This feature is not so common at Autun as in our own country, and should be remarked as enabling us to fix a date approximately.

The series of divinities preserved in this Museum is so complete that we can comprehend at a glance the nature of the Polytheism that prevailed in Gaul under the Roman domination. But I would ask consideration for only two objects of this class at present.

The Deae Matres of Autun have an interest for us as an illustration of a subject conspicuous amongst the antiquities in our own Guildhall. These deities having been fully described by Mr. Roach Smith in his "Roman London," it is unnecessary to enter into details about them.[2] But I may remark that their occurrence in this

vergne, Morvan, Velay, Cévennes, pp. 130-1.

From Eumenius, Oratio pro Instaurandis Scholis, c. xvii, it has been plausibly conjectured that Glaucus was the architect employed by Constantius to direct the public works at Autun mentioned above.

[1] Dr. E. Bogros, A travers le Morvand, p. 198, speaking of this road, on which Autun and Amiens are situated, remarks that the Roman engineers were unwilling to encounter the difficulties presented by the mountainous Morvand, and on this account they did not attempt to continue the route in a straight line, but made a curve towards the east through Lucenay, Liernais, Saulieu, Avallon, etc. For the roads of Agrippa in Gaul *see* Strabo, iv, 6, 11, p. 208, Δίοπερ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐντεῦθεν (Λούγδουνον) τὰς ὁδοὺς ἔτεμε, τὴν διὰ τῶν Κεμμένων ὀρῶν μέχρι Σαντόνων καὶ τῆς Ἀκουιτανίας, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον, καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν, τὴν πρὸς Βελλοάκοις καὶ Ἀμβιανοῖς, τετάρτη δ'ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναρβωνῖτιν καὶ τὴν Μασσαλιωτικὴν παραλίαν. Comp. Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. iv, p. 97, note 1.

[2] Pp. 33-45, with three engravings, and twelve inscriptions, six found in Great Britain and six in Germany. Plate VI. fig. 1, shews the Deae Matres standing; this group is at the British Museum in the room devoted to Romano-British Antiquities, which, being separated from other objects, can now be studied with much greater advantage than formerly. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, vols. ii, iv, v, *see* indices. Journal of the British Archæol. Association, vol. ii, pp. 239-255. Archæologia, vol. xlvi, Part I,

part of France is what we might expect *à priori*. They were worshipped chiefly in the Northern provinces of the Roman Empire—in Germany, Gaul, and Britain; though some examples have been found on the other side of the Alps.[1] How universal this cult was in the neighbourhood of the Rhine may be inferred from Brambach's "Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum," where the list under the head of Matronae occupies nearly one column of a quarto page.[2] The Deae Matres were generally represented in a sitting posture with baskets of fruit upon their knees, and corresponded to the Lares, Penates, and Genii of the Romans; on the other hand they seem to be the originals from which the fairies of the Middle Age were derived.

Monsr. Bulliot has favoured me with the following account of one of the groups at Autun:—

The Matres hold, one, the mappa to receive the child; the second, the child wrapped up on her knees; the third a patera and a cornucopiae on the shoulder, to bestow on it the blessings of life.[3]

Epona, the protectress of horses, is another deity in this collection, and arrests our attention, because among all the devices on Gallic coins the horse is repeated most frequently, as may be seen in the Atlas of Plates that accompanies Lelewel's "Type Gaulois ou Celtique."[4] This goddess is known to us from "Juvenal, Satire VIII," v. 157:—

"Jurat
Solam Eponam et facies olida ad præsepia pictas."

The Roman profligate Lateranus[5] swears by Epona alone and faces painted on the reeking stalls.

pp. 171-186, Notice of a Monument at Pallanza, North Italy, dedicated to the Matronæ, by Mr. W. M. Wylie. Dr. Bruce, Roman Wall, edit. 4to pp. 403-406; and Lapidarium Septentrionale, Index I, Names and Attributes of Deities, s.v. Matres. Orelli, Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum, c. iv, s. 37, Matres, Matronæ, Campestres, cet. vol. I, Nos. 2074-2097.

[1] Orelli, op. cit., vol. i, No. 1391, Asculi, ubi . . . Matres illæ in Gallicanis saxis frequentes colebantur.

[2] P. 381, Ind. iv, Di, deae.

[3] As the representation of the Deae Matres at Autun is executed in a rude style, and as I have failed to find anything elsewhere corresponding with Monsr. Bulliot's description of the first and second figures, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Franks and Mr. Roach Smith in thinking that it is, to some extent at least, imaginary.

[4] *See* especially Tableaux i and vi, Planche x, Chevaux; Races symboliques, oblongues, accourcies: Text, p. 188, chap. 81, Race des chevaux Eduens. *Cf.* Barthelemy, Numismatique Ancienne, Gaules, pp. 86-101, and Planches, Nos. 349-399.

[5] In this Satire vv. 147, 151, the later editors, Heinrich, Otto Jahn and Mayor, read *Lateranus*, but Ruperti has *Damasippus*.

Our information on this subject is not altogether derived from pagan sources. The Jews, as we learn from Tacitus, had been reproached for worshipping an ass; a similar accusation was brought against the Christians, who paid their adversaries in their own coin, reminding them of Epona.[1] Some derive Epona from ὄνος, and say that she was the patron of asses, but the best authorities connect the name with some archaic form of equus which would nearly approach the Greek ἵππος.[2]

From the evidence of inscriptions we gather that Epona, like the Deae Matres, was more honoured in the north than in the south of Europe; her name occurs on the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus in Britain, at Salodurum (Solothurn) in Switzerland, in Carinthia, at Pinoberg near the Danube, and at Trèves.[3] The last example is one among many points of resemblance between this city and Autun.

Deities such as these had a stronger hold than the gods of Olympus on the popular mind, because they were supposed to interfere more directly in every day life, and thus came home to men's business and bosoms.[4] At

[1] Tertullian, Apologia, c. xvi, vol. i, p. 177, ed. Oehler. Vos tamen non negabitis et jumenta omnia et totos cantherios cum sua Epona coli a vobis.

[2] Orelli, Inscc. Lat., vol. i, p. 330, note on No. 1793, adopts, I think incorrectly, the former etymology. *Epus* was probably the archaic form of *equus*; it occupies the middle place between the latter and the Greek word ἵππος. We have here the interchange between K and P QU being pronounced by the Romans as K or the hard C; so in Wagner's edition of Heyne's Virgil, where an attempt is made to restore the old orthography, *ecus* is printed for *equus*. Epona is analogous to Bellona, Pomona and Orbona; for the last v. Cicero, de Nat. Deor., iii, 25, with Davies's note: *cf.* Dawson and Rushton, Latin Terminational Dictionary, p. 22. It may be urged, however, as an objection to this explanation that the penultima of Epona is short, while in the names just mentioned it is long. Mr. C. W. King in a memoir, On Two Etruscan Mirrors with Engraved Reverses, contributed to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, says that "the word ΠΕΟΣ is affixed to a drawing of the Wooden Horse in a mirror-picture of the Taking of Troy." We have here the origin of Epona, who was the "guardian of stables, until her prerogatives were usurped by the clownish St. Antony."

There is a figure of Epona in the Collection Auguste Dutuit; Antiquites, Médailles et Monnaies, objets divers exposes au Palais du Trocadéro en 1878; Catalogue, p. 12, No. 15. "La déesse protectrice des chevaux et des écuries est assise de côté sur un cheval harnache, marchant a droite." Copious references for this subject are also given.

Haeckermann in his edition of Juvenal, loc. cit. (Variae Lectiones, p. 12) reads Solam Hipponam, but Ruperti justly remarks "metri leges adversantur."

[3] Gruter, Inscc, Rom., p. lxxxvii, Nos. 4, 5, 6. Orelli, Inscc. Lat., Nos. 402, 1792-4, with Supplement by Henzen, Nos. 5238-9 and 5804. Bruce, Roman Wall, p. 407; Lapidar, Septentr. No. 308. Johann Leonardy, Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen, p. 85.

[4] Roach Smith, Illustrations of Roman London, p. 35.

Autun Epona is seated on a mare, whose foal serves her for a footstool.[1]

The antiquary, ere he leaves the shed in which so many relics of architecture and sculpture are deposited, will pause for a moment to view the fragments of a marble sarcophagus.[2] It once contained the body of Brunehaut; it recalls to memory her chequered fortunes, atrocious crimes, and cruel death—the darkest deed of that most tragic time;[3] but it also reminds us that, unlike her rival, the barbarous Fredegonde, she favoured art and literature, promoted material progress, preserved the monuments and followed the traditions of Rome. As we stand by this coffin and think of her fall, we seem, as it were, to look into the grave of Roman civilization.[4]

Brunehaut erected so many public buildings in different parts of France that the Chronicler thought posterity would scarcely believe them to be the work of one woman, who reigned only over Austrasia and Burgundy. But her name is particularly associated with Autun, because she founded there the Abbey of Saint Martin, whom she had chosen for her patron. This church, as her own mausoleum, she decorated with beautiful timber work, with marble columns, and with mosaics, so that here again the influence of Roman art may be traced.[5]

[1] In the Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vi, p. 59, Epona appears on horseback, holding a patera and cornucopiæ. The Pfahlgraben: an Essay towards a Description of the Barrier of the Roman Empire between the Danube and the Rhine, by Mr. Thomas Hodgkin, reprinted from the Archæologia Æliana, 1882: at pp. 34, 35, there is a notice of a bas-relief of Epona, "discovered near Oehringen; . . . she sits with long draperies in a tranquil attitude. . . . Four horses are in motion behind her, two towards the right hand and two towards the left;" *see* Plate IV. The position of Oehringen (Vicus Aurelii), which is about twelve miles from Heilbronn, is marked in the Sketch Map of the Limes Imperii Romani, p. 4, and in the map of the Pfahlgraben from the Bavarian frontier to the Main, p. 18.

[2] "Ces debris ont ete publies par M. Bernard Jovet dans l'Illustration:" Congres Scientifique de France, 1877, tome i, p. 47, note.

[3] Dom Bouquet, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, tome ii, p. 697, B. Qui Brunechildem equo indomito alligatam, imo videlicet pede ac brachio cum coma capitis, disrumpi præcepit, eo quod decem Reges Francorum interfici fecisset, &c. Brunehaut was eighty years of age, when she suffered these tortures.

[4] H. Martin, Histoire de France, vol. ii, p. 106 and especially p. 123: Guizot, L'Histoire de France racontee a mes petits enfants, vol. i, pp. 157-161: Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. 1, note k, p. 5, note vii, p. 117, and pp. 156, 291 (11th edition, 1856).

[5] Dom Bouquet, ubi sup., tom. iii, p. 118 A, Apud Augustodunum aliam (ecclesiam) sancto dedicari jussit Martino: *ib.* 460 B, Prae cunctis tamen istud extulerat Coenobium (sancti Martini), in quo suæ sepulturæ mausoleum habere decreverat.

We have noticed above the connection of Autun with British History; the life of Brunehaut presents another point of contact, as Augustine, the Apostle of England, was received at her court. Gregory the Great sent the pallium to Syagrius, Bishop of Autun, on account

But while the objects above mentioned are interesting from local, and even national, points of view, another in the same collection appeals to a still wider circle. I refer to the famous Christian inscription, which has exercised the ingenuity of the learned in several countries, our own included.[1] It presents many difficulties, caused partly by its fragmentary condition and partly by figurative language, which admits of various interpretations. Our study of this monument on the present occasion must be archæological rather than theological; but I may observe in passing that some writers have handled the subject unfairly, *e.g.*, one has placed the date too early,[2] another has drawn an inference from a word conjecturally supplied.[3] The latter method is like founding an argument upon some modern restoration of an antique statue—a mistake into which the superficial observer may easily fall.

I subjoin a restoration of the text by Kirchoff from the Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, together with a literal translation.

of his services in protecting the mission of Augustine.

Guizot, loc. cit., p. 159, says that the Roman roads soon took and long kept the name of *chaussées de Brunehaut;* but her tradition still lingers in Germany also: T. Hodgkin, Pfahlgraben, p. 67; "On the summit of the Feldberg itself (the highest mountain in the whole Taunus range), about 100 yards from the hotel, is an enormous mass of Grauwacke rocks, known as 'Brunechildis Bette,' from some legend of the Queen of Austrasia having once taken refuge there from her pursuers." Comp. an Article by the same writer in Macmillan's Magazine, June, 1882, entitled The Roman Camp of the Saalburg, pp. 126-7.

The old chroniclers used the form *Brunechildis*, as we find *michi* for *mihi* in early editions, *e.g.* Beriah Botfield, Prefaces to the Editiones Principes, p. 1. S. Hieronymus in Biblia Latina, Moguntiæ, 1455 fol. Frater Ambrosius tua michi munuscula perferens.

[1] For the literature of this subject, which is now voluminous, see the references prefixed to Kirchoff's article in the Corp. Inscript. Græc., tom. iv, No. 9,890; and the Rev. Wharton Booth Marriott's Testimony of the Catacombs and of other Monuments of Christian Art from the second to the eighteenth century, 1870. Mr. Marriott devotes a large portion of his book to the Autun Inscription, but Kirchoff's account of it is, I think, the most satisfactory. Many writers have discussed it under the influence of a strong theological bias which has warped their judgment, so that we cannot accept their conclusions implicitly.

[2] Cardinal Pitra assigns it to the period between A.D. 160 and A.D. 202: Marriott, p. 132.

[3] Padre Garrucci reads v. 8, Ἐν εἴλω (or εἴδω), Μήτηρ σε κ.τ.λ, but only the second syllable of Μήτηρ appears in the original. He finds here a prayer to the Virgin Mary.

Dr. Caulfield has directed my attention to another case, where the name of the Virgin Mary seems to have been introduced improperly. Conrad Mannert, the editor of the Tabula Peutingeriana, Preface, p. 19, speaking of two figures on the site of Antioch in Segmentum X, makes the following remark: Sanctam Mariam simul et Jesum Christum indicari vix est dubium. On the contrary, we have here an allegorical representation of Antioch and the River Orontes derived from coins, which were miniature repetitions of a celebrated group by the sculptor Eutychides. Below these figures in the Tabula several arches of a bridge

" IXΘΥOCO . . . . . IONΓENOCHTOPICEMNω
XPHCEΛΑΒω . . . . . NAMBPOTONENBPOTEOIC
ΘECΠECIωNΥΔΑΤωNΤΗΝCΗΝΦΙΛΕΘΑΛΠΕΟΨΥΧΗ
ΥΔΑCINAENAOICΠΛΟΥΤΟΔΟΤΟΥCΟΦΙΗC
CωΤΗΡΟCΔΑΓΙωΝΜΕΛΙΗΔΕΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΒΡ . . . . .
ECΘΙΕΠΙΝΕ . . . . . ωΝΙΧΘΥΝΕΧωΝΠΑΛΑΜΑΙC
IXΘΥX . . . . . MAPΛIΛAIωΔECΠOTACωTEP
ΕΥΕΙΔΟΙ . . . . . ΤΗΡCΕΛΙΤΑΖΟΜΕΦωCΤΟΘΑΝΟΝΤωΝ
ACXANΔIE . . . TEPTωMωK . . . PICMENEΘΥMω
CΥNM . . . . . OICINEMOICIN
I . . . . . MNΗCΕΟΠΕΚΤΟΡΙΟΥΟ."[1]

" Ἰχ[θ]ύος ὀ[υρανίου ἄγ]ιον γένος, ἤτορι σ[εμ]νῷ
χρῆσε· λ[α]βὼ[ν πηγη]ν ἀμβροτον ἐν βροτέοι[ς]
θεσπ[ε]σίων ὑδά[τω]ν τὴν σὴν, φίλε, θ[ά]λπ[ε]ο ψυχ[ὴν]
ὕδ[α]σιν ἀενάοις πλουτοδότου σοφίης·
σ[ωτὴ]ρος [δ']ἄγ''ἰὼν μ[ε]λι [η]δ[εα]λάμβαν[ε βρῶσιν],
ἓΐ'σ]θιε πιν[άω]ν ἰχθὺν [ε]χων π[αλάμαις].
Ἰλ[αθ]ι, ἰχθ[ὺσὺγ]ὰρ [Γ]αλιλαίῳ, δέσποτα, σω[τήρ],[2]
ἐυ[ο]δω ['ιη]τήρ. σε λιτάζομε, φῶ[ς] τὸ θανόντων.
['Ασ]χά[ν]δι[ε πά]τερ, τῶμῷ κ[εχα]ρισμ[ε]νε θυμῷ
σὺν μ[ητρὶ γλυκερῇ καὶ ἀδελφει]οῖσιν [ε]μοῖσιν
'ι[χθυος ἐν δείπνῳ] μνήσ[ε]ο Πεκτορίου."

" Holy offspring of the heavenly Fish, cherish reverent feelings; having received, whilst among mortals, an immortal fount of divine waters, nourish thy soul, beloved one, with the ever-flowing waters of wealth-giving wisdom. And come take the honey-sweet food of the Saviour; eat hungering, having the Fish in thy hands. Be propitious, O Fish, for thou, O Lord, art a Saviour to the Galilean (*i.e.*, Christian), thou dost heal and prosper him, I supplicate Thee, Light of the dead. Father Aschandius, dear to my soul, with my sweet mother and my brethren, in the supper of the Fish remember Pectorius."

The above copy of the inscription gives a better notion of the original than even the photograph prefixed to Mr. Marriott's dissertation, because the latter is very difficult to decipher. Moreover, in this case, I consider a close translation of the Greek most desirable, as otherwise the meaning may be obscured by an attempt to clothe ancient ideas in the phraseology of modern religious thought.

are distinctly marked. Similarly, a coin of Constantine struck at Trèves shows not only the gate, as mentioned in a preceding note, but also the bridge over the Moselle, a detail which M. Cohen has failed to notice. British Museum, Catalogue of Greek coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria, p. 103, Plate Seleucidæ, XXVII, 5, 6; Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii, pp. 247, 248.

[1] Congrès Scient. de France, 1877, tome i, pp. 49, 50.

[2] Rossignol reads v. 7, thus :

'Ιχθὺ, χερ[σίν σ' ἦ]ρα· λιλαίεο, δέσποτα σωτ[ερ.]

Mr. Marriott, following him, but with a slight variation, proposes :

'Ιχθύι χεῖρε ἄραρα· λιλαίεο, δέσποτα σωτερ.

The word λιλαίεο is an ingenious conjecture derived from Homer, Odyssey, Λ. v. 222, Ἀλλὰ φόωσδε τάχιστα λιλαίεο, struggle to the light of day (Liddell and Scott). But we have here a twofold error : the initial letter of a word which is difficult to decipher bears a closer

It is impossible to assign an exact date to this monument, but we may safely accept the limits within which Kirchoff has placed it, viz., the introduction of Greek Christianity in the second century on the one hand, and the barbarian invasion of Gaul in the fifth century on the other.[1]

Whatever ambiguity may reside in some expressions, the general meaning is quite clear. We have here an epitaph, and the person over whom it was erected speaks by it from his tomb. In the symbolical language of the period he exhorts Christians to remember their Baptism and to celebrate the Lord's Supper. He prays to Christ as the source of light and salvation; lastly, he implores his father, mother, and brothers to remember him when they partake of the Eucharist.[2]

The metrical arrangement of these lines deserves attention. Verses 1—6 are acrostic, and the initial letters form ἰχθύς; verses 1—6 are Elegiac, 7—10 hexameters, and 11 a pentameter, so that the irregularity of the whole composition shows a wide departure from classical models.

In this inscription unquestionably the most conspicuous word is ἰχθύς, which, besides the case already mentioned, occurs at least three, probably four times. Whether this emblem should be derived from the Phœnician Dagon, from devices on Greek money,[3] from facts in Gospel

resemblance to the Γ of ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΩ than to the Λ of ΛΙΛΑΙΕΟ; and secondly, λιλίαεσθαι has not the meaning Rossignol assigns to it, viz., to approach. Kirchoff truly remarks, λιλάω verbum induxerunt (editores) Græcis prorsus incognitum notione præditum ea, qua ne mediam quidem formam λιλαίομαι usam esse unquam satis constat. In Homer, loc. cit., motion is expressed rather by the termination ὀε of φάωσδε than by the verb, but in the Inscription no such particle occurs. For the meaning of λιλάιεσθαι comp., the references in Dammii Lexicon Homericum.

[1] Kirchoff assigns the inscription to the latter part of this period on account of the mode in which the letters are formed, "recentis notæ et noviciæ." Mr. Franks and Mr. Newton, who are experts in this matter, agree with Kirchoff's opinion. Rossignol thinks that these lines were composed in the latter half of the sixth century, because they show great ignorance with respect to orthography, syntax, and prosody. Dr. Pusey, Doctrine of the Real Presence from the Fathers, pp. 337, 338, A.D. 1855, following Pitra, is in favour of an early date, and places the Autun inscription between Tertullian and St. Hippolytus: it stands No. 8 on his list of Testimonies, but it should be near No. 80. Since Dr. Pusey wrote, this monument has been viewed in the searching light of modern criticism; it must therefore "begin with shame to take the lowest room."

[2] We must bear in mind that Pectorius is a deceased person; hence the exhortation to remember him at the Lord's Supper expresses a sentiment similar to that with which our prayer for the Church militant concludes; "and we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear."

[3] Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, art. Dagon, with four woodcuts: comp. Milton, Paradise Lost, i, 462.

Dagon his name, sea-monster, upward man
And downward fish.

history, or from the phrase Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, we cannot now stay to inquire; at all events the fish is so well-known as a Christian type that I need not multiply examples. One may suffice: Garampius in his "Dissertatio de Nummo Argenteo Benedicti III, Pont. Max.," p. 150, has a woodcut of an ancient ring-cameo, on which an anchor is engraved with a fish on each side of the shank; the word IHCOYC appears above the device, and XPEICTOC (*sic*) below it.[1]

As to the acrostic, S. Augustin, "De Civitate Dei," lib. xviii, c. xxiii, supplies us with a very similar instance taken from a Latin translation of a prophecy ascribed to the Erythræan Sibyl. In this passage the initial letters of the lines, with few exceptions form not the word Ἰχθὺς, but the whole phrase from which its use is said to come. This is written vertically on the left-hand side of the lines, and the form Χρειστὸς is used for Χριστὸς, as in the cameo just mentioned. St. Augustin explains the symbolical meaning, loc. cit., si primas literas jungas, erit ἰχθὺς, id est, piscis, in quo nomine mystice intelligitur Christus.

Autun itself affords some apposite illustrations, with which Mr. Marriott seems not to have been acquainted. The museum at the Hôtel de Ville contains a glass vessel in the form of a fish. It is of the usual light green colour, ribbed, and about half a foot long. It was found in a Christian tomb, at a place called La-Croix-Saint-Germain, near Givry in the Department of Saône-et-Loire, and is supposed to have contained holy oil.[2] Mr. King has expressed his opinion that this object was not of an ecclesiastical character, but only an unguentarium in a fanciful shape, because the cross is not anywhere marked

For the coins of Cyzicus *see* Hunter's Catalogue, Tab. 24, fig. 5, Caput leonis ad sinistram; infra piscis: *ib.*, fig. 19. Pisces duae *(sic)*.

[1] Raphaelis Fabretti . . Inscriptionum Antiquarum quæ in ædibus paternis asservantur Explicatio; Romæ, 1699, cap. viii, Monumenta Christianorum, pp. 568, 569, Nos. 123, 125, and especially 129, where we have the monogram of Christ, and a fish on one side of the inscription and an anchor on the other (Epistle to the Hebrews, vi, 19), ἄγκυραν ἐχομεν τῆς ψυχῆς ασφαλῆ τε καὶ βεβαίαν. Fabretti gives references to Clemens Alexandrinus, Pædagog, lib. iii, and Aringhi, lib. v, c. 19, de Tobia, and lib. vi, c. 38, de Piscibus.

[2] Congres Scient., 1877, vol. i, p. 166, woodcut, "Le poisson de verre du musee d'Autun," which is taken from the work of M. Eug. Peligot, entitled, Le Verre, son histoire, sa fabrication; Paris, 1877, in 8°, p. 328.

The finder of this remarkable, perhaps unique, object was going to give it to his children as a toy, but M. Bulliot fortunately saved it from destruction.

upon it. However, this objection is perhaps not insurmountable, as the *provenance* indicates some Christian use. It should be particularly observed that this glass fish has a *handle*, and thus differs from figures of the same material and shape that have been found in Catacombs, and from others made of bronze that were probably given as tesserae to the newly baptized.[1]

Again, the fish occurs very frequently in illuminations of manuscripts preserved in the Library of the Grand Séminaire; when the Bursar was showing me one of the eighth century he truly remarked, "toujours le poisson." To give a single example out of many, the initial L for Lucas is made by two fish, one eating the other. The Vesica Piscis is also very common. So in the Congrès Scientifique de France held at Autun the report of a visit to the Library of the Grand Séminaire appropriately begins with an initial letter imitated from a manuscript of the ninth century; it is S composed of a fish between two birds.[2]

[1] Mr. King thinks the Autun fish is of the same character as the bronze carp used for burning incense, which is figured by Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquities, vol. vi, Pl. XCIV, Nos. 1, 2, described pp. 296, 297. The same writer in his Antique Gems and Rings, vol. i, p. 56, note, says that "persons making vows to her (Atargitis), dedicated figures of fish in gold or silver (Athen, viii, 346)."

For the tesseræ given at baptism *see* Dr. W. Smith's Dict. of Christian Antt., vol. i, p. 674, s.v. Fish.

Mr. J. H. Parker in the Glossary of Architecture mentions a grotesque use of this symbol. On the seal of Aberdeen Cathedral the Nativity is represented, but instead of the infant Saviour a fish is lying in the manger!

At S^{t} Germain des Pres, Paris, we see on one of the capitals, which probably belong to an earlier church of the sixth century, two females like mermaids, each holding a fish, with other fishes below. This column is on the spectator's left as he enters by the great western door.

Early Christian Art loved to portray the fisherman Tobit and Jonah swallowed up by a monster of the deep; for the latter *see* the Slade Collection, Part I, Ancient Glass ii, E, Roman Glass with gilt decorations, pp. 50-52; fig. 71, remains of a shallow dish discovered near the Church of S. Ursula at Cologne.

[2] Mr. E. M. Thompson of the British Museum informed me that ichthyomorphic initials are often found in Visigothic (Spanish), Merovingian (French), and Lombardic MSS., but that they are less common in Anglo-Saxon and Irish: Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, Paris, 1757, tome ii, Plates 17-19; Count A. de Bastard, Peintures des Manuscrits Français, Ecritures Merovingiennes; Early Drawings and Illuminations, by Walter de Gray Birch and H. Jenner, 1879.

Within the Vesica Piscis our Lord usually appears seated on a rainbow; *e.g.* Queen Mary's Psalter, British Museum Royal Manuscripts, 2 B vii, fol. 3b. No. 603, fol. 1 of the Harley MSS. shows the Trinity in the Vesica which is rare; God the Father embraces the Son, and supports a bird emblematic of the Holy Ghost.

Vol. xix, pp. 353-368, of the Archæologia, contains Observations on the use of the Vesica Piscis in the Architecture of the Middle Ages and Gothic Architecture, by the Rev. Thomas Kerrich, with fifteen plates.

I learn from D^{r} Günther that in some fish, *e.g.* the pike, the air-bladder (vesica aeria) is a pointed oval. Some fish have it single, others double. This must not be confounded with the vesica urinaria.

The fish is said to symbolize our Lord, because it does not become salt as it passes through the briny deep; so He lived without contamination in the midst of a sinful world. Garrucci, Storia dell'Arte Christiana, 1881, vol. i, p. 154, lib. iii, cap. ii, Il Pesce e la Croce,

This inscription may be also considered from a totally different point of view, viz., as a proof of strong Greek influence, where at first sight we should not expect it—in a comparatively obscure city of France. But closer examination will enable us to account for the language of this document, and for the remarkable peculiarities of its style. These consist in a singular mixture of Homeric phraseology with theological expressions derived from Irenaeus or the missionaries who succeeded him.

In the first place the course of trade, which we know from Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, would greatly tend to promote the use of the Greek language in the district where Autun is situated. The former writer says that tin was brought from Britain over land through Gaul to the Rhone, and that the journey occupied thirty days.[1] Strabo describes the great lines of traffic from Marseilles and Lyons in a northerly direction; the eastern branch followed the valley of the Dubis (Doubs), the western that of the Arar (Saône); goods were thence conveyed by land (πεζεύεται) to the Seine, and down that river to the ocean. Augustodunum, if not on the direct route, was very near the communication between the rivers Saône and Seine.[2] Hence it appears that this city was connected at an early date, and for a long time with Marseilles, which was not only a great commercial

quotes Omelia 39 di Teofane Cerameo, Θεοφάνης κεραμεύς, edit. Lutet. Paris, 1644, p. 176. Της ἁλμυρας ἁμαρτίας ἔμεινεν ἄγευστος, ὃν τρόπον ὁ ἰχθυς της θαλαττίας ἁλμης τερεῖται ἀμέτοχος.

The collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis contains a curious gem which is early Christian work, and supposed to belong to the period of Honorius. A ship is engraved upon it, manned by four persons, the Saviour being at the stern, and St Peter (probably) at the prow, hooking the mystic fish; there are two figures amidships, one has caught a fish, the other is handling a net; the sail and mast form an image of the Cross. IHX in the exergue perhaps express the title IXΘTΣ. This description is taken from the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, vol. v.

Dean Stanley, Christian Institutions, Essays on Ecclesiastical Subjects, third edition, 1882, pp. 50-52, has some remarks on fish as a part of the primitive celebration of the Lord's Supper. He speaks of ὄψον as meaning fish exclusively; but it signifies anything eaten with bread as a relish: compare the use of the Latin opsonium and opsonare. He also says that "bread and fish went together, like bread and cheese or bread and butter in England." This statement is incorrect. In the South of Europe fruit and vegetables usually go with bread, and oil takes the place of butter, because for a great part of the year there is no pasture. The ancient writers generally speak of fish as a luxury: Mr. C. W. King has reminded me of Horace, Satires, ii, 2, 120.

Bene erat, non piscibus urbe petitis,
Sed pullo atque hædo.

[1] Diodor. Sic., v, 22, Πεζῇ διὰ της Γαλατίας πορευθέντες ἡμέρας ὡς τριάκοντα, κατάγουσιν ἐπὶ των ἵππων τὰ φορτία πρὸς την ἐκβολὴν του Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμου.

[2] Strabo, iv, i, 14, Ὁ δ' Ἄραρ ἐκδέχεται (τὸν Ῥοδανὸν) και ὁ Δουβις ὁ εις τουτον ἐμβάλλων, εἶτα πεζεύεται μέχρι του Σηκοάνα ποταμου, κἀντευθεν ἤδη καταφέρεται εις τὸν ὠκεανὸν και τοὺς Ληξοβίους και Καλέτους, ἐκ δε τουτων εις την Βρεττανικὴν ἐλάττων ἡμερήσιος δρόμος ἐστίν.

emporium, but a seat of Greek art and learning, that radiated throughout the neighbouring countries.[1] Professor Boyd Dawkins has explained this subject by a Map, showing the principal Trade-routes from the Mediterranean and the distribution of Tin and Amber; "Early Man in Britain," p. 467, Fig. 168; cf. p. 476. We may also observe that the statements of ancient writers are abundantly confirmed by the evidence of coins. Under the head of Autun, Barthélemy, "Numismatique Ancienne," mentions among the devices the Massaliot Diana, whose image, as Strabo tells us, was like one on the Aventine.[2]

The establishment of the Moenian schools must also have powerfully contributed to the use of the Greek language. The Romans were not mere conquerors, like the Turks, but wherever they went they civilized. Accordingly it was part of the wise policy of Augustus to diffuse Italian culture amongst the newly-subjugated Gauls. He seems to have selected as a place of instruction the hill that bore his name, Augustodunum; and we know that under Tiberius the noblest youths of the country resorted thither to cultivate liberal studies. Autun, in fact, was a university town frequented by numerous alumni, but they did not amount to forty thousand, as some have represented through misunderstanding a passage in Tacitus.[3] With respect to one

[1] Strabo, iv, i, 5, *ἐξημερουμένων δ'ἀεὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων βαρβάρων . . . ὥσθ' ἡ πόλις μικρὸν μέν πρότερον τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀνεῖτο παιδευτήριον, καὶ φιλελληνας κατεσκεύαζε τοὺς Γαλάτας, ὥστε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἑλληνιστὶ γράφειν.* *Cf.*, Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. iv, p. 100, edit. 8vo. Tacitus relates that Agricola was educated at Marseilles, locum Græca comitate et provinciali parcimonia mistum ac bene compositum, Vita Agricolæ, c. 4: *see* also Annals, iv, 44, and Orelli's notes on both passages.

The coinage of the surrounding Gallic tribes shows the influence which Marseilles exercised over them: Hunter's Catalogue, tab. 36, figs. 1-16, enables us to compare the Greek types with the barbarous imitations.

Cæsar bears testimony to the diffusion of the Greek language in Helvetia and Gaul; Bell. Gall., i, 29, In castris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ sunt, literis Græcis confectæ. Planudes, in his paraphrase uses the same word, Ἑλληνιστί, as occurs in Strabo, loc. cit. Cæsar, B. G., vi, 14, says that the Druids wrote Greek characters for most purposes.

Cf., Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. i, p. 62, Gallia, Prolegom, s. 1.

[2] Numism. Anc., p. 96, Gallia Lugdunensis, ÆDUI (Autun). Rollin et Feuardent, Catalogue de Medailles de l'Ancienne Grèce, pp. 35, 36, No. 325, Buste pharetre de Diane à gauche, and Nos. 326—333 *bis*, and 336.

[3] This error, which is really amazing, has been repeated by Mr. Roach Smith in his Collectanea Antiqua vol. v, p. 219, Art. Autun. The words of Tacitus, Ann., iii, 43, are "Quadraginta milia fuere, quinta sui parte legionariis armis, ceteri cum venabulis et cultris, quaeque alia venantibus tela sunt;" on which Orelli truly remarks "Æduorum, non ut Ryckius et Chateaubriand (Martyrs, L. vii), mire accepere, adolescentium, qui Augustoduni liberalibus studiis operam

branch of their education, geography, we have the statement of the orator Eumenius, confirmed by a discovery made recently. He says that youths could contemplate in the porticoes all seas and lands, the situation of places distinguished by their names, the sources and embouchures of rivers, the sinuosity of coasts, and the circuit of the ocean. This passage was elucidated by a fragment of a marble map dug up at Autun; it exhibited part of Italy in which several cities were marked, and was doubtless one of the charts to which Eumenius alluded.[1]

Lastly, Christianity co-operated with the causes already mentioned to promote the study of Greek. Irenaeus, a hearer of Polycarp at Smyrna, became bishop of Lyons, and wrote his treatise Against Heresies in this language. Though the greater part of his book is extant only in a Latin translation, Mr. Marriott has been able to show by careful comparison that in at least three passages the Autun inscription reflects the thoughts and style of this early Father.[2] But the case of Irenæus does not stand alone; for Benignus, the Apostle of Burgundy, who suffered martyrdon at Dijon, and his companions Andochius and Thyrsus, are also said to have come from Smyrna.[3]

dabant." Even in the Middle Ages we never find any University attended by so large a number of pupils. In Paris, "at the death of Charles VII in 1453, it amounted to 25,000; and when Joseph Scaliger was a student, it had reached 30,000:" Encyclopædia Britannica, 7th edition, Art. Universities, vol. 21, pp. 485, 488. And one may suspect some exaggeration in these statements, as Cambridge in this year, 1882, has less than 3,000 resident undergraduates. For the numbers at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna, *cf.* Hallam, Mid. Ages, vol. iii, pp. 421, 422 (11th edition).

The old reputation of Autun, as a seat of learning, is now worthily sustained by the Grand et Petit Seminaire, which are magnificent educational establishments. A brief account of their valuable manuscripts and other collections will be found in Ad. Joanne, Auvergne, etc., edit., 1880, p. 133.

[1] Eumen. Pro Instaurandis Scholis, c. xx; Traduction par Landriot et Rochet, p. 125. Roach Smith, Collect. Ant. v. 224 "This precious geographical monument was again consigned to the earth whence it had been taken, and worked into the foundation of a building!"

The etymology of the word *Mœnian* is uncertain; some derive it from *mœnia*, others from the proper name *Menius*: Traduction, op. cit., Notice Historique, c. vi, p. 28, note. Congrès Archéol. de France, Scances Générales tenues à Autun, 1846, pp. 415-423, Ecoles Méniennes, Notice abregée sur leur fondation—leur emplacement—leur celebrite—leur destruction—leur reconstruction; par M. L'Abbe Rochet. Tacitus, edit. Justus Lipsius, Antverpiæ, mdcvii, p. 90, note 98; p. 520, Excursus, H. The reference to Lipsius is incorrectly given at p. 419, Congres Archéol.

[2] Irenæus, Contra Haereses, iv, 38, vol. i, p. 284, edit. Venet; *βρωμα ζωῆς*: iv, 39, p. 286, præsta autem ei cor tuum molle et tractabile: v. 22, p. 320, esurientes quidem sustinere eam quæ a Deo datur escam.

[3] At Dijon the Cathedral is named St. Benigne. Lazarus, mentioned in the Gospel, is stated to have been Bishop of Marseilles; he is the patron saint at Autun, and the annual fair held there in September is called La foire de S^{t} Ladre —a corruption of Lazare.

Moreover, the very name of the place in which the inscription was found indicates Greek influence. Its *provenance* is a cemetery, originally Pagan but afterwards Christian, and called by the inhabitants a *Polyandre*. This term is used by the local historians and antiquaries as one with which the Autunois are quite familiar; they have evidently retained it from classical antiquity, but, as far as I am aware, no other city in France has done the same.[1]

III. The Ceramic inscriptions look unpromising, because they present us with little more than a list of obscure names, occurring on fragments of slight intrinsic value; but we shall soon find that these records lead to many conclusions, historical, philological, and ethnographical.[2] The investigation has also a special interest for us here, because many objects of this class found at Autun are analogous to those preserved in our National Collection and in the museum belonging to the Corporation of London. Whoever wishes to study potters' marks will do well to peruse a very elaborate essay by Monsieur Harold de Fontenay, entitled "Inscriptions Céramiques Gallo-Romaines découvertes à Autun, &c." and contained in the third volume of the "Memoirs of the Æduan Society," pp. 331-449. A dissertation is prefixed to the catalogue, which is divided into the following branches:—1, Samian pottery; 2, black-glazed pottery; 3, lamps; 4, bowls; 5, amphoræ; 6, tiles and antefixa; 7, graffiti; 8, inscriptions à la barbotine;[3] 9, inscriptions

[1] Κοιμητήριον, whence cimetiere, is the Christian word for burial place, "frequens nomen apud priscos historiæ ecclesiasticæ scriptores," Suicer. Πολυάνδριον occurs in the later classical writers, Ælian, Dionysius, Strabo, Pausanias, and Plutarch. For the distinction between these words *see* Stephens' Thesaurus, edit. Didot. Joseph Rosny, Histoire d'Autun, 1802, p. 233, says "poliandres (sic) ou cimetieres publics" without further explanation. The word is local in *this* sense. Littré only gives the following meanings: 1. Having many husbands. 2. (As a botanical term) belonging to polyandria, a class in the Linnæan system.

[2] Roach Smith, Collect. Ant. I, 148-166, Plates L and LI; this memoir includes copious lists of Potters' Marks discovered in London. Illustrations of Roman London, by the same author, pp. 101-108; Potters' names in the Museum of Douai are mentioned at p. 107.

[3] Al exandre Brongniart, Traite des Arts Ceramiques, vol. i, p. 107, explains this term: "la pate, amenée par décantation de l'eau surnageante a cet etat de bouillie qu'on nomme barbotine." Ib. p. 425, the process is fully described. *Cf.* Atlas, Pl. XI "Suite du façonnage par coulage. Colonnes, tubes, cornues, anses"; Pl. XXIX, fig 1 "Fragment d'un vase spheroïde, a reliefs d'animaux modeles en barbotine." Brongniart says that the abbreviation M stands for *manu* or *magnarii*. The latter explanation seems to me very improbable. *Magnarius*, a wholesale dealer, is a rare word which occurs in Appuleius and in Inscriptions. Dr Birch, History of Ancient Pottery, edit. 1873, p. 563 "The last mode of fabric consisted in laying upon the general body of the

on glass; 10, on metal (bronze and lead); 11, on schist or boghead. After the potters' names initial letters are added to indicate the collections at Autun; the part of the city from which each specimen came is noted, if it could be ascertained; places in France and other countries affording the same or similar inscriptions are also mentioned. As an appendix to this long and instructive list, the author has given an account of the incomplete stamps which it was impossible to arrange alphabetically, and of patterns which were not accompanied by letters (anépigraphes.) The treatise ends with geographical and bibliographical indices, that will greatly facilitate reference to many important works on ceramic art amongst the ancients. At the end of the volume there are forty-three Plates containing 624 figures. I have described this memoir at some length, because the valuable publications of the Æduan Society are not generally known among us.

It is impossible to discuss all the details which these engravings supply, but we may remark that F, G, L, N, O, S, are often formed in a peculiar manner, and that many letters are connected by ligatures: attention must be directed to these features, in order to read the inscriptions accurately. Sometimes the double I is used for E, *e.g.*, COCCIIIANI. M., LICINVS FII, PATIIRNOS.[1] Elsewhere COCCEIANI occurs, which proves the use of II for E beyond dispute. DVBNOVIILLAVNVS, VOSII(NOS), VIIRVLAMIVM, ADDIIDOMAROS, are examples of the same practice, derived from ancient British coins; and similarly in the series of Gallic medals, we find on a reverse TASGIITHIOS for TASGETIVS.[2]

vase some clay in a very viscous state, technically called barbotine, either with a pipe or a little spatula in the form of a spoon, and with it following out the contours of the branches of olives or laurel, animals with thin limbs, etc." There are many specimens in the provincial museums of France, *e.g.* Boulogne-sur-Mer and Soissons. That of Amiens is rich in pottery. The manner in which fragments of Samian ware are exhibited deserves special notice; they are attached to a pyramid placed in the centre of an apartment, so that the visitors can see them much better that if they were in glass cases.

For "poteries decorées en barbotine" in the Museum at Autun, *see* De Fontenay, Memoires de la Societe Eduenne, Nouvelle Série, tome iii, p. 422, Nos. 591-598, Planches xxxiv-xxxvi.

According to Littre barbotine is "bouillie pour coller les garnitures des poteries de terre," but this definition is evidently inadequate.

[1] Archæol. Journal, vol. xxxviii, pp. 160 sq., my Paper on Antiquities in the Museum at Palermo, which gives references to Torremuzza, Siciliæ Veterum Inscriptionum Nova Collectio, 1784, and to Salinas, Catologo del Museo dell'ex-Monastero di S. Martino delle Scale, 1870.

[2] Evans, Ancient British Coins, pp.

If we compare the list of potters whose red-glazed ware has been discovered at Autun with those of Roman-London, we shall observe that in many cases the names are identical. Taking the instances under the letter A, we have the following common to both places:—Acutus, Albanus, Albus, Amandus, Aquitanus, Andacus, Attilianus, Atticus. It had been inferred from the resemblance in shape, material, and decoration, that vases of this kind were imported into Britain from Gaul. As the latter country preceded our own in civilization, and contains remains of ancient potteries where the existing specimens were manufactured, there can be little doubt concerning the course of trade; but the repetition of Gallic names in England corroborates the other arguments. The abundance of Samian ware found in London shows the commercial importance of our metropolis at an early period, and illustrates the account of it given by Tacitus, who says that it was frequented by great numbers of merchants—words no less applicable now than when they were written nearly eighteen hundred years ago.[1]

As might be expected from the proximity of Burgundy to Auvergne, many potters' names which we meet with at Autun occur also in valley of the Allier. The most common at the former place are ATEIVS, LICINVS, XANTHVS, MODESTVS, PRIMVS, CANTVS; four of these are included in Monsieur Tudot's "List of Marks" from the latter District, re-printed by Mr. Roach-Smith in his article on "Romano-Gaulish Fictilia."[2] A comparison of Ceramic products with coins affords similar results, PISTILLVS is repeated eighteen times on the Graffiti of Autun, and

202, 203, 206, 258, especially 259, 328, 330, 372, and Fairholt's admirable engravings appended to this work.

Tasgetius is a chief of the Carnutes mentioned by Cæsar, Bell. Gall. v. 25; cf. Rollin et Feuardent, Catalogue d'une Collection de Medailles de la Gaule, p. 21, No. 244.

[1] Tacitus, Annals. xiv, 33, Londinium . . copia negotiatorum et commeatuum. maxime celebre. This passage seems to be imitated in a letter written by the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of the University of Cambridge, A.D. 1575, opposing Sir Thos. Gresham's intention to found a University for London: "Suis commoditatibus Londinium, portu amplissimo, mercatu omnium rerum celeberrimo . . . fruatur ac gaudeat."

A full account of the potters' marks found in London is supplied by the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Inscc. Britanniæ Latinæ, edit. Hübner, cap. lxxxix, Supellex Cretacea, § Vasculis variis, patellis et similibus impressa, pp. 249-295.

[2] Collect. Ant. vi, 71-75.

PIXTILOS is well known from medals as a chief of the Arverni.[1]

Lastly Monsieur de Fontenay thinks he has discovered, by minute examination of the forms of letters in the stamps, some traces of the employment of moveable characters; if this is really so, fragments of earthenware that seem very insignificant would assume great importance, as exhibiting a near approach made by the Ancients to the modern art of printing.[2]

(To be continued.)

[1] De Fontenay, ubi sup., Inscriptions tracées avant la cuisson, pp. 410-419; five Gallic coins bearing the name of Pixtilos are copied on p. 418. Cf. Rollin et Feuardent, Catal. de Médailles de la Gaule, p. 11, Chefs Arvernes, No. 141; p. 24, sq, Chef Aulerke, Nos. 281-289.

[2] The full title of De Fontenay's Memoir, quoted above, is Inscriptions Céramiques Gallo-Romaines découvertes à Autun, suivies des Inscriptions sur verre, bronze, plomb et schiste de la même époque trouvées au même lieu.

The Archaeological Journal.

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF AUTUN.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

(Concluded.)

IV. The Cathedral at Autun contains many features that demand notice, but, as in the case of the Musée Lapidaire, the narrow limits of a memoir make selection necessary. I shall, therefore, describe only two details which seem most interesting, one outside and the other inside, viz., the sculptures of the grand portal, and the picture of the martyrdom of St. Symphorian by Ingres.

A vault of enormous size forms an open porch over the broad flight of steps, by which the principal façade is approached.[1] This consists of a tympanum and three concentric arches covered with bas-reliefs, and supported by columns richly carved. The uppermost arch rests on two capitals, of which the one on the spectator's left represents a wolf and stork; that on his right a lion and St. Jerome.[2] On the arch itself we see the twelve Zodiacal signs, and alternating with them figures emblematic of labours appropriate to each month.[3]

Abraham expelling Hagar and Ishmael, and the legend of the conversion of St. Eustache are the designs that adorn the capitals sustaining the central arch, on which foliage and mulberries are sculptured.

[1] It is said that this great porch was constructed to accommodate the concourse of lepers, who sought a cure through the intercession of St. Lazare.

[2] For St. Jerome, Prosper Merimée substituted Androclus. Aulus Gellius, v, 14, relates a remarkable story concerning the latter, and ends with these words: Omnes fere ubique obvios dicere: *Hic est leo hospes hominis, hic est homo medicus leonis.*

[3] These were favourite subjects with mediæval artists. They appear in the very beautiful illuminations, which adorn the Calendar prefixed to Queen Mary's Psalter, British Museum Royal MSS., 2 B, vii: *e.g.*, falconry, the hay harvest, and the vintage are depicted as scenes belonging to Gemini, Cancer, and Libra respectively. It is English work of the fourteenth century.

In the South Kensington Museum there are twelve medallions of enamelled Terra Cotta, ascribed to Luca della Robbia, decorated with similar designs.

The capitals under the lowest arch represent the Elders of the Apocalypse praising God, and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple at Jerusalem.[1] There were formerly twelve patriarchs and twelve prophets on this arch, but they were detached in 1760, and, though fragments of them were found, they were too mutilated for restoration, and therefore only a blank space remains.

Three pilasters on which the tympanum rests have capitals similarly decorated. That on the left exhibits a man mounted on a monster, probably Balak, as the corresponding figure on the right is Balaam on his ass. The capital in the centre has for its device two men connected by a festoon, and upholding the tympanum by their united efforts.[2] Underneath, the shaft of the pilaster is appropriately adorned with a group relating to the patron Saint of the church. Lazarus, robed as a bishop in chasuble and stole, with a pastoral staff in his hand, occupies the middle place: as emblems of active and passive graces, Martha stands on one side and Mary on the other.[3]

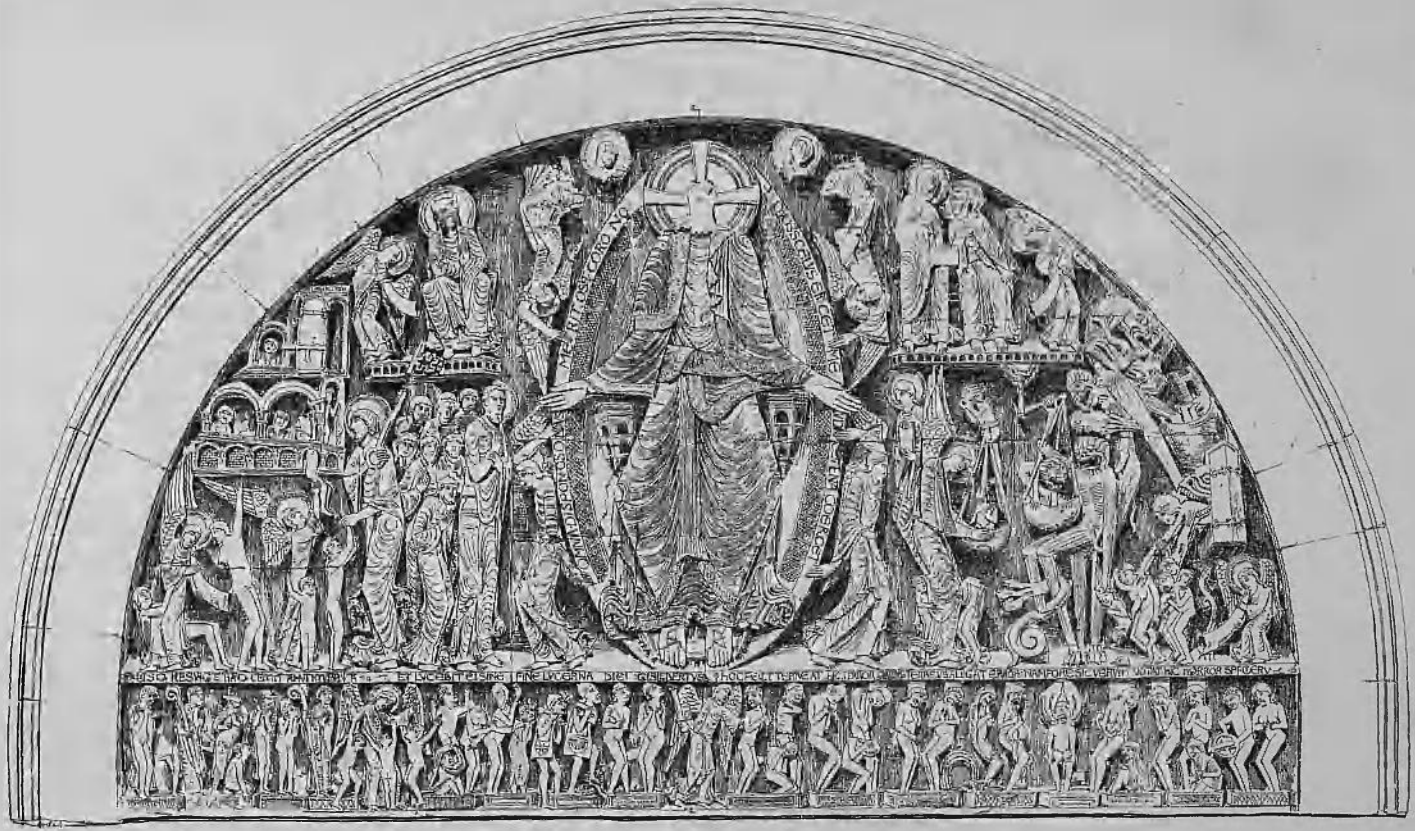
The grand composition of the tympanum bears the name of the sculptor Gislebert engraved upon it. The

[1] The porch at Moissac may be advantageously compared with that at Autun; it exhibits our Lord surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists, and the four-and-twenty Elders holding musical instruments. The figures are executed in a superior style, but the composition fails in force and variety. A very fine photograph of it has been published by the Museum of Casts (moulages) at the Trocadéro, Paris; No. 27 of the series, "Commencement du xii^{e} Siecle, Eglise St. Pierre à Moissac, Tarn et Garonne, tympan de la porte sud du porche."

[2] It is quite possible that this group may have some deep significance. The Abbé Devoucoux, published anonymously a pamphlet entitled Description de l'Eglise Cathedrale d'Autun dediee à St. Lazare . . . par un Chanoine de cette Eglise: he discusses at considerable length the use of symbolical numbers in architecture. *Seventeen*, he says, represents the union of two relative forces; 10 + 7 stand for the Law and the Gospel, 8 + 9 for angels and men. At Rouen the bays are seventeen feet wide; at Autun the piers are seven feet thick, and the interstice between them is ten feet.

Some account of mystical numbers will be found in the Sacristy, vol. ii, pp. 182-188, art. On the Symbolism of Numbers in Holy Scripture (with a list of references at the end); but it does not include any special notice of architectural proportions.

[3] The reliquary behind the high altar is said to contain some remains of Lazarus, who, according to tradition, was Bishop of Marseilles. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Saracens ravaged the coasts of Provence, and many families, to escape them, took refuge in Burgundy: in this way the transportation of the relics may be accounted for. The following words occur in the inscription on the tomb, corpus . . . quatriduani mortui revelatum ab. epis. Hu. Eduensi, G. Niver., G. Cabil., P. Matiscon, R. Ebroicensi, R. Habrincensi . . . . mcxlvii. Three places in France pretended to possess the head of Lazarus; but Devoucoux, with the view of reconciling these discrepancies, is careful to explain that the lower jaw remained at Marseilles, that the occipital bone was at Avallon, and the frontal at Autun.



TYMPANUM OF THE CATHEDRAL AUTUN. *From a Photograph.*

subject is the Last Judgment. Our Lord is seated on a throne in the centre of a semi-circular space, and surrounded by an elliptical ornament like the Vesica Piscis. He is represented of super-human size; his shoulders are covered by a mantle, which a girdle secures, his hands are extended downwards,[1] and his feet wear sandals. Mary is seated on the right; there are two figures on the left, which some suppose to be James and John; others think it more in accordance with the traditions of the Gallican Church to regard them as Moses and Elias. Many angels in long robes support the throne of Christ.

At His feet and immediately over the doors a wide horizontal band is placed: it is filled with men and women issuing from tombs, in whose decorations the Merovingian style may be recognised.[2] The piety of the righteous is shown by attributes and gestures; on the other hand the wicked crouch and hang down their heads, overcome by grief and terror. In the midst stands an angel, driving back with his sword the sinners who would pass over to the right.[3]

Above the lintel, and on the left of our Lord, a hand surrounded by clouds holds a balance. Here the Divine Judgment is evidently symbolized, as on the coins of the Constantine period the interposition of Providence is indicated by a hand disproportionally large.[4] Michael

[1] The insertion of the sculptor's name and the downward position of the Saviour's arms are rare peculiarities. Our Lord usually raises his right hand in benediction and holds the book of the Gospel with his left, as in the mosaics of the inner porch (narthex) at Santa Sophia, Constantinople; Lübke, Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte, vol. i, p. 264, fig. 177.

[2] Monsr Bulliot called my attention to these ornaments, which consist of fern-leaves, chevrons, roses, pearls and imbrication: comp. Lacroix et Sere, Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance, tome iv, Table des Planches, X Armurerie, 'Epée Merovingienne d'apparat, folio iii; also Catalogue of the Museum at Amiens, p. 124, Antiquites Mérovingiennes; p. 126, Cimetière Mérovingien de Nory (Oise), fouilles executées par la Societe des Antiquaires de Picardie, dans le cours de l'annee 1863, Nos. 1267-1356. For the Carlovingian style see Lacroix et Seré tome iii, Tab. des Planches, ii, Cerémonial, Etiquette, Charlemagne, fol. iv; Vetements imperiaux dits de Charlemagne, fol. viii; 'Epee dite de Charlemagne, fol. x.

[3] When I visited the Cathedral of Autun, M. Beronquet, the senior Canon, told me that during the fair he observed some country-women looking at these sculptures, and overheard one of them remarking "Il est evident que ce travail a été fait par des hommes, car ils ont mis toutes les femmes dans l'enfer."

[4] In one of the Assaria (third Brass) found at Sutton, Suffolk, about 12 years ago, Constantine the Great is represented stretching out his arm to grasp a celestial hand that raises him to the skies: my Paper in the Archæol. Journal vol xxviii, p. 36. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. viii, p. 92, describes a coin which bears a similar device, with the legend DVCONSTANTINVSPTAVGGG. which he expands Divus Venerabilis Constantinus Pater Trium Augustorum: cf. Cohen, Med. Imp.. Tome vi, 172, No. 568, who explains DV as = DIVVS.

puts a man in one scale, and Satan a monster of vice in the other: the devil tries to make the balance incline to his side, and one of his imps assists in increasing the weight of sins; but the archangel prevails, moving the beam with powerful arm. Near this group, in the corner of the tympanum, we see a furnace and a cauldron upon it, which a devil is filling with reprobates. Another demon issues from the fire, and his body is already half out; he is endeavouring to drag the condemned into it. Two of the resuscitated beings take refuge in the waving folds of the archangel's robe; thus the idea of shelter from destruction is introduced, and the horror of the scene pleasingly mitigated.

On Our Saviour's left a multitude of Saints in rich clothing look towards his throne, and seem to be praying for their brethren. The heavenly Jerusalem is represented, as in the Apocalyptic vision, by a magnificent palace; some of the elect have already arrived there, others with the aid of angels are entering. One of these stands out prominently; he protects a suppliant at his feet, his hands support another whose arms lean on the threshold, while his extended wings fill up the vacant space. Above these figures St. Peter appears as the chief personage, in size exceeding the rest;[1] he carries the keys of heaven, and stretches out his hand towards the saved ones who press around him.

Above the lintel Gislebert has engraved four leonine verses expressing the same ideas which his sculptures bring so vividly before us.

On the side of the saved—

> "Quisque resurget ita quem non trahit impia vita,
> Et lucebit ei sine fine lucerna diei."

> "Thus shall every one arise who is not led astray by impiety,
> and for them the light of day shall shine without end."

[1] The mediæval artists seem to have been influenced by the same principle as the Greek sculptors who made their deities of superhuman size: Mr. Cockerell's remarks on the Pediments of the Parthenon, in part vi of the Description of the Antient Marbles in the British Museum, quoted by Sir H. Ellis, Elgin Marbles, vol. i, p. 235. "An increased magnitude is given to those figures which are engaged in the chief action; the dimensions of the others correspond with their relative importance, so as, without shocking the eye, to fix the attention more strikingly upon the principals."

On the side of the lost—

"Terreat hic terror quos terreus alligat error ;[1]
Nam fore sic verum notat hic horror specierum."

"Let this terror frighten those whom earthly error binds, for these dreadful forms show what will really come to pass."

On the oval surrounding Christ we read—

"Omnia dispono solus meritosque corono,
Quos scelus exercet, me judice, poena coercet."

"I alone dispose of all things and crown the righteous, I judge the wicked and chastise them with punishment."

Notwithstanding many defects of drawing, such as might be expected in a barbarous age, these bas-reliefs produce a deep impression on the beholder by their rude energy, naïvetè, and poetic feeling.[2] They were brought to light by Mgr. Devoucoux, Bishop of Evreux, who was led to this discovery by an official report (procès-verbal) dated 1482. Strange to say, we owe the preservation of the tympanum to Voltaire, though he certainly did not intend it. When he visited Autun, he poured the utmost contempt on the design, and some *esprits forts* among the canons, taking the hint from this scoffer, forthwith covered the figures with whitewash. Thus they were rescued from the sacrilegious destruction that would otherwise have befallen them in the revolution of 1793.

It may be worth while to compare this portal with a similar one in the western façade of Notre Dame at Paris. There, as at Autun, we observe three rows of figures: 1, the dead rising at the trumpet's sound; 2, the separation of the righteous from the wicked; 3, Christ enthroned, with the Virgin and St. John worshipping him. But in the Autun example Our Lord is much more prominent, occupying the central part of the tympanum, from the horizontal band to the top of the arch, and the whole composition shows more inventive power. The signs of the Zodiac and the agricultural labours of the twelve months,

[1] The alliteration of the original may be reproduced thus :
Let this terror terrify those whom terrestial error binds.

[2] Viollet le Duc, who praises the tympanum at Moissac as rivalling the works of Greek antiquity, is, I think, too severe in his criticism on the ruder, but more spirited, design at Autun.

which we have noticed above, also appear on the Portail de la Vierge at Notre Dame.[1] This subject is often represented on the ecclesiastical buildings of France, *e.g.*, on the west front of the Cathedral at Chartres, and on the principal entrance to St Marie at Oloron. The lines on the elliptical ornament round Our Lord at Autun bear some resemblance to the following, which hold the same position at Morlaas.

"Rex sum coelorum, merces condigna meorum,
Me quicunque colit, pro vita perdere nolit.

I am King of heaven, a worthy reward of my followers:
Whoever worships me, let him not lose me to save his life."[2]

The picture of St. Symphorian's martyrdom by Ingres is the noblest ornament of the Cathedral of Autun, but some apology is needed for describing it before an Archæological Society, because this beautiful work of art is modern. But I hope to be excused on two grounds; in the first place it has been left unnoticed by English writers, and secondly, it is connected with the history and antiquities of the city. Moreover, it embodies the sublime aspirations of Christianity, and at the same time follows the best traditions of the classical period.[3]

The circumstances depicted here occurred during the persecution of the Christians under Marcus Aurelius, not Aurelianus, as some say. Benignus, Andochius, and Thyrsus were disciples of Polycarp, who evangelized the Æduans. Having been hospitably received by Faustus,

[1] Galignani's Guide for Paris gives a detailed description of the sculptures that decorate the West front of Notre Dame, pp. 312-314.

At Reims we see in the grand façade representations not only of the 12 months, the seasons, and the elements, but also of the recreations appropriate to each quarter of the year. Autumn is seated in a vine-arbour; Winter warms himself at the fire; Spring is surrounded with flowers; Summer is nude and preparing to take a bath: Notre Dame de Reims par M. L'Abbe V. Tourneur, 4me edn, 1880, pp. 27, 28, and 37.

[2] Mr. Fergusson, History of Architecture, vol. i, p. 453, speaks of "the fluted columns or pilasters, their Corinthian capitals, and their whole arrangements . . . so eminently classical, etc." The reader might hence conclude that there were no capitals of another kind in the Cathedral at Autun, but this is not so. They exhibit a great variety of designs, scriptural and allegorical, *e.g.* in the former class, Fall of Adam and Eve, Sacrifice of Isaac, Temptation of Christ, Rachel weeping for her children; in the latter, Combat of man with demons, Heresy, Antichrist, Pride, Humility, Hyprocrisy. Sometimes the same subject is continued on two or three columns, as in the trilogy of a Greek drama.

[3] The picture of St. Symphorian corresponds to that of St. Leger in the opposite transept. M. Ingres visited Autun to seek inspiration from the locality itself; his masterpiece, as some regard it, arrived there June 20, 1834. The Porte St Andre in the back-ground indicates the scene of the martyrdom. Those who wish to do justice to M. Ingres' great work will see it about ten o'clock a.m., because the light is then most favourable.

a senator at Autun, and his wife Augusta, these missionaries instructed and baptized their son Symphorian. He soon proved the strength of his convictions by publicly opposing the worship of Cybele; whereupon the Governor Heraclius required him to sacrifice to this goddess, or to suffer capital punishment. Monsr. Ingres has shown good judgment in selecting for his subject that passage in the legend which relates that the martyr, as he went to execution, was exhorted to heroic constancy by his mother standing on the city-wall.[1]

There are three points in this admirable composition to which I would call attention: omission of painful details, great variety, and striking, but natural contrasts. The painter has spared us the axe and the block; he has borne in mind that it is the province of art to please, instruct and elevate. Suffering is only suggested, while other ideas are brought forward with great distinctness, just as in the famous group of Niobe and the Niobids at Florence, affection triumphs over the agony of impending destruction, and our thoughts are withdrawn from slaughter to the spectacle of maternal and fraternal love.[2] In the next place all the emotions which the circumstances could produce in different classes are well defined. Most conspicuous are the calmness and devotion animating the martyr, whose white robe, as Théophile Gautier says, seems so pure that he might still wear it in heaven, before God and amidst the elect. The Proconsul points to the place of execution with an air of authority: a young patrician near him looks with defiance at Augusta. Some of the bystanders have vulgar curiosity or ferocious cruelty stamped on their faces; but the majority indicate the pity and sympathy with which the example of self-sacrifice has inspired them. Symphorian stands out as

[1] Inscriptions are introduced into the picture containing the names of Probus and Diocletian, but these are anachronisms.

The date of Symphorian is discussed in the Acta Sanctorum, edit. Antverp, 1739, vol. xxxvi, De Sancto Symphoriano Martyre Augustoduni in Gallia, Commentarius prævius, s. ii, 21-24, p. 495, and note A, p. 497.

Reference to this series is greatly facilitated by using Aug. Potthast's Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters von 375-1500; Vollständigeres Verzeichniss der Heiligen, ihrer Tage und Feste, pp. 187-258. To each name is appended the day of the month, under which the biography will be found in the Acta Sanctorum.

[2] K. O. Müller, Archaologie der Kunst s. 126. Auf jeden Fall zeugt die Gruppe fur eine Kunst, welche gern ergreifende und erschütternde Gegenstande darstellt, aber diese zugleich mit der Massigung, und edlen Zurückhaltung behandelt, wie sie der Sinn der Hellenen in den besten Zeiten forderte. Id. Denkmaler der alten Kunst, Part I, Pls. XXXIII, XXXIV.

it were in high relief. The slender figure of this beardless youth is placed in juxta-position with the brawny Herculean forms of soldiers and lictors:[1] it rivets our attention, because it symbolizes the victory of faith, the transcendant superiority of the moral and spiritual nature over all that is earthly and carnal.

V. An account of Autun and its antiquities would be very incomplete if it did not embrace the Oppidum Bibracte, on Mont Beuvray, which is visible from many parts of the city, and only twenty-five kilometres distant. The situation possessed great military advantages, especially in ancient warfare, because the town occupied the extremity of the mountainous district called Morvan, at the point where the basins of the Loire Seine, and Saône nearly intersect.[2] Hence it is obvious that the topography strikingly illustrates the passages in which Cæsar mentions Bibracte as a place of the greatest importance.[3] But this view is further confirmed, if we

[1] Acta Sanctorum, ubi sup., p. 496 F, Artiores nexus liventium lacertorum macie cutis attenuata laxaverat.

[2] M. Bulliot informed me that there was an inscription at Rome containing the words *homo Morvinus*, and that it had been noticed in a recent Bulletin of the Societe Archeologique, but I have been unable to verify the reference.

[3] Cæsar, Bell. Gall. i, 23, Oppido Æduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo; vii, 55, maximæ auctoritatis; *ib.* 63, totius Galliæ concilium Bibracte indicitur. *Cf*, Strabo iv, iii, 2, Φρούριον Βίβρακτα, *i.e.* oppidum munitum. The Æduan Bibracte must not be confounded with Bibrax, a town of the Remi (Reims), Cæsar, B.G. ii, 6.

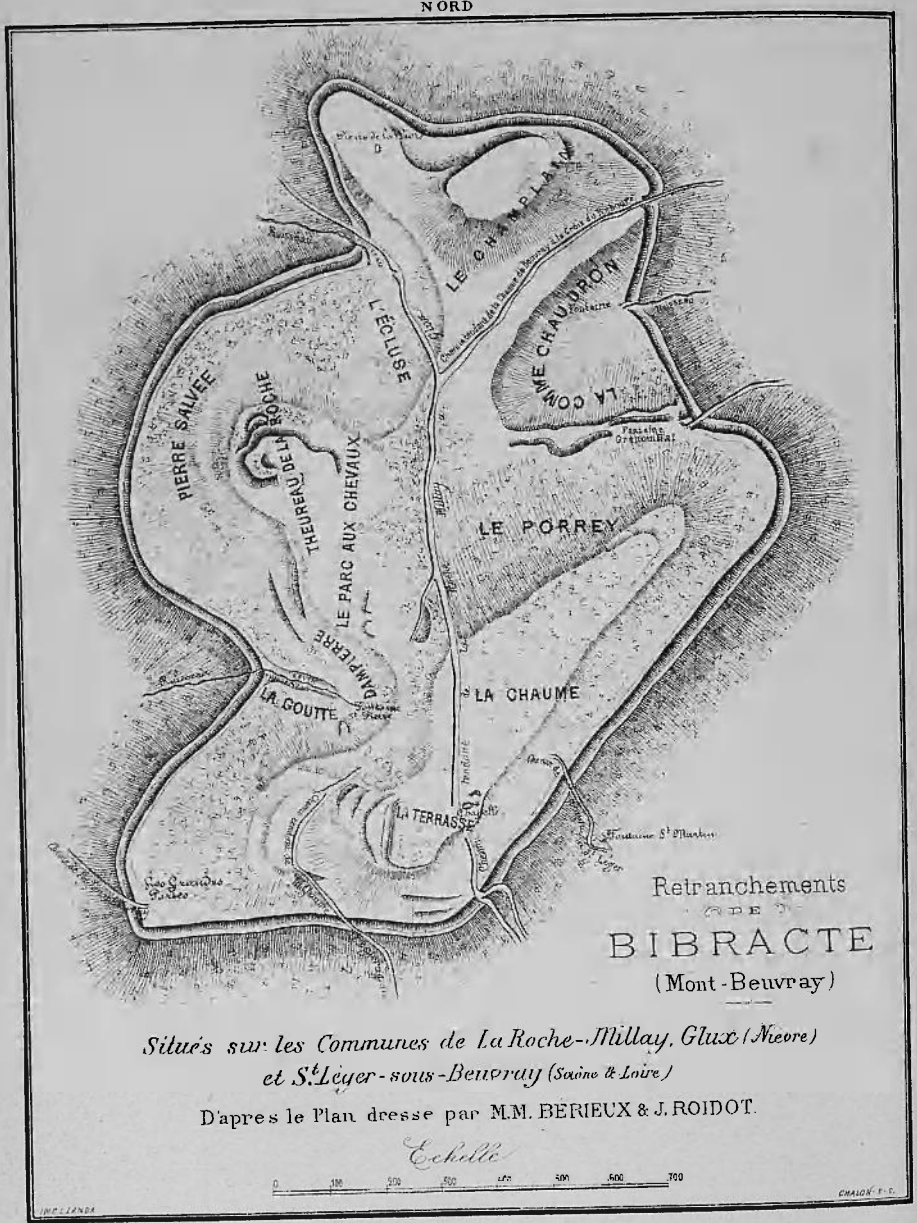
As the modern French name Beuvray comes from the Latin Bibracte, so in our own country Bray, a village about a mile and a half south of Maidenhead, is derived from the same word. This place is well known from the song called "The Vicar of Bray." Bibracte will be found in the map of Roman Britain east of Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester). One of the tribes who occupied this district was called Bibroci; their surrender to Cæsar is recorded B.G. v. 21; Lysons Magna Britannia, vol. i, pp. 200, 246, 249; Wright, Celt, Roman and Saxon, pp. 12, 135.

In the year 1679 the following inscription was found within the precincts of the Petit Séminaire at Autun:

DEAE. BIBRACTI
P. CAPRIL. PACATVS
IIIIII VIR. AVGVSTA
V. S. L. M.

Montfaucon explains it thus: Deae Bibracti Publius Caprilius Pacatus sextumvir (sevir?) Augustalis votum solvit lubens merito. Hence he too hastily inferred that Bibracte was on the same site as Autun: Antiquite Expliquée, tome ii, Pt. II, s. viii. p. 433, Pl. CXCIII. D'Anville also held this opinion; eclaircissements géographiques, pp. 329, 330, 331, quoted by M. Bulliot, Mémoires de la Soc. Eduenne, nouvelle série, tome iii, p. 300. Some of the modern French antiquaries still adhere to the views expressed by the earlier authorities. M. Pouillevet, Treasurer of the Æduan Society, says that the Romans coming from Italy, a warmer country, would never have built a city in the position of Autun, looking to the north and exposed to cold winds; he thinks they must have found the Æduan capital Bibracte already existing there, and that they adopted it on account of its facilities for defence, as it is connected only by a narrow neck of land with a range of high hills towards the south.

The preponderance of argument, however, seems to be in favour of Mont Beuvray as the site of Bibracte, and the traces of Gallic roads converging thither strongly support this conclusion: Histoire de Jules Cesar par l'Empereur Napoléon III, tome ii, p. 67, note, and Planche 4, Carte Générale de la campagne de l'an, 696: Moberly's note on Cæsar, B. G., i, 23.


NORD
LE CHAMPLAIN
LE CHAUDRON
LA COMBE
L'ÉCLUSE
PIERRE SALVÉE
THEUREAU DE LA ROCHE
LE PARC AUX CHEVAUX
LE PORREY
LA CHAUME
LA GOUTTE
LA TERRASSE
Retranchements
DE
BIBRACTE
(Mont-Beuvray)
Situés sur les Communes de La Roche-Millay, Glux (Nièvre)
et St Léger-sous-Beuvray (Saône & Loire)
D'après le Plan dressé par M.M. BERTEUX & J. ROIDOT.
Echelle
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
CHALON S/S.

examine the ramparts that can still be traced, for the circuit includes 135 hectares, an area greater than any other Gallic Oppidum, as far as we know; St. Odile in Alsace, Alesia and Gergovia, each containing only 100 hectares.[1] The walls of Bibracte follow the course of the ground, and sometimes descend far into the ravines on the sides of the mountain, with the object of securing supplies of water from sources and reservoirs. They have been excavated for several hundred mètres, and show a framework of wood, fastened by iron bolts, many of which are still in their places. Such remains are particularly interesting, because they correspond with Cæsar's detailed account of Gallic fortifications. He says that they consisted of long parallel beams two feet apart, and that the interval was filled up with earth on the inside (introrsus), but with masonry on the outside (in fronte); thus stone was useful to prevent the building from catching fire, and timber resisted the attacks of the battering-ram, while the eye was gratified by the appearance of two materials placed alternately.[2] Of the gates, the Porte du Rebout is the only one hitherto explored. The entrance was defended by two bastions, and one of them projected about forty mètres beyond the wall; both were surmounted by wooden towers—a fact proved by the burnt fragments that have been discovered. A large moat followed the line of the ramparts, and below it was an earthwork eight mètres wide. A narrow passage led into the town between two ditches cut in the rock; by this means the approach was made more difficult for assailants, and the water that would collect from the numerous sources flowed off more easily.[3]

[1] Varro, De Lingua Latina, lib. v, s. 141, p. 55, edit. K. O. Müller, Oppidum ab opi dictum, quod munitur opis causa, ubi sit, et quod opus est ad vitam gerundam. Festus. De Verborum Significatione, lib. xiii, p. 184, edit. K. O. Müller, follows Varro very closely, and quotes a lost book of Cicero, De Gloria. MM. Bulliot and Roidot, La Cité Gauloise, chap. vi, p. 112, seem to accept this etymology; but a derivation is not true because it is ancient, and this attempt to explain *oppidum* fails, as it does not account for the double *p*. "The Greek ἐπίπεδον becomes in Latin *oppidum*, as opposed to the *arx*, or citadel; and the adverb ἐπιπέδως takes the form of *oppido*, an equivalent in meaning to *plane*;" Key, On the Alphabet, p. 144. The primary meaning, therefore, of *oppidum* would be a town on a plain, but it was of course applied afterwards to places situated otherwise.

[2] Cæsar, B. G., vii, 23, alternis trabibus ac saxis, apropos of the siege of Avaricum (Bourges).

[3] The projecting bastion must have answered the same purpose as the barbican in the Middle Ages; Parker's Glossary of Architecture, s.v.

Proceeding to the interior we observe that it contains three plateaux, separated by valleys. The highest of these, La Terrasse, is a long tongue of land parallel to the east side of the Oppidum; at a point called Le Porrey it attains its greatest altitude, 820 mètres above the level of the sea. Here the antiquary may pursue his researches inhaling new vigour with the mountain air, and looking round from time to time on a vast panorama that includes the Puy de Dôme in the foreground and Mont Blanc in the remote horizon. With such surroundings he can hardly refrain from pitying labourers in other fields of science, the astronomer weary with protracted vigils, or the chemist stifled by the pestilential fumes of a laboratory. The second plateau, Le Parc aux Chevaux, is ten or twelve mètres lower than La Terrasse, from which it is separated by the valley of La Goutte Dampierre:[1] it ends in a hill named Theureau de la Roche. The third plateau, La Champlain, is situated at the northern end of the Oppidum, and forms a triangular esplanade. Between it and La Terrasse lies a valley, La Come-Chaudron, which has been carefully excavated.

1. La Terrasse is the most interesting locality, because it contained the Temple, the Forum and the field where the fair was held. The Roman Temple, which is supposed to have been built when the Oppidum was abandoned, occupied the site of an earlier edifice, probably dedicated to Dea Bibracte, the goddess of the fountains on Mont Beuvray.[2] Towards the east there was only a wall breast high, leaving the view uninterrupted; the shops of traders attending the fair were erected on the north and west, and for some distance lined both sides of the principal road. On the south were stables and a slaughter-house, which the sacrifice of animals rendered necessary. The Temple, which was enclosed by a portico, consisted of two parts, 1. The pronaos or vestibule between seven and eight mètres long; 2. The cella, narrower and somewhat raised. After the introduction of Christianity the old pagan structure was converted into a chapel—a

[1] This name is also spelt d'Empierre. Dr Bogros, A travers le Morvand, p. 179, note, gives the following explanation:—"goutte, gutte, *guttur*, *fauces*, passage etroit, defile."

[2] M. Bulliot, Mém. de la Soc. 'Eduenne, tome iii, p. 302, notices the prevalence of this kind of cult among the Celtic races, and the attempts made by various saints to extinguish it.

change attributed to St. Martin of Tours, who holds a foremost place in the local legends.[1] Though historical evidence is wanting, some confirmation of the tradition may be derived from the fact that the latest Roman coins found in the ruins are contemporaneous with the Saint.

In the immediate neighbourhood from the earliest times an annual fair was held on the same day as at present, viz., the first Wednesday (Mercredi) of May, which points to the worship of Mercury and Maia. The remote origin, long continuance and crowded concourse of these meetings are attested by the discovery of objects both numerous and various—money of Gallic cities, flint implements, fragments of bronze axes, glass vessels, fibulæ, articles for the toilette, enamels, pottery of every period in the history of the country—Gaulish, Roman, Merovingian, Carlovingian, Mediæval, Renaissance and Modern. The author of the "Guide to Mont Beuvray" truly remarks, that the result is much the same, as if the geologist could see in one spot a complete series of strata from granite downwards.[2]

Before Cæsar's invasion the Æduans paid their vows here (referebant vota) to Dea Bibracte, and cast eggs, pieces of money, and other offerings, into the basin of her sacred spring.[3] Christianity failed to eradicate superstitious practices of pagan origin, and some of them linger even to the present; nurses bathe their breasts in the water that they may afford good nourishment to babes; men place bunches of magic herbs on the cross of St. Martin to preserve their cattle from the evil eye, and throw over their left shoulder a twig of hazel-wood, hoping thus to avert some baleful spell.[4]

During the Middle Ages, besides attendance on Divine service in the Chapel, the people of the neighbourhood

[1] St. Martin, in A.D. 376, came here to convert the Æduans, but met with a hostile reception. According to the legend, he escaped from them mounted on his ass, which with one leap crossed the ravine of Malvaux; Guide au Mont Beuvray, p. 38. "Ce rocher porte encore l'empreinte du sabot de l'ane, qui, prevoyant sans doute le scepticisme des generations futures, prit la precaution de laisser sur le granit la preuve incontestable de ce bond miraculeux." Bogros, op. cit., pp. 179, 180.

[2] "Cette foire etait connue sous le nom de *lite* du Beuvray, ou litteralement, reunion des jours de sacrifices" (lito, litare, sacrifier).

[3] Cæsar, B. G., vi, 13, in loco consecrato.

[4] Similarly the Bretons at Carnac baptize their cattle, and invoke the aid of St. Cornely (Cornelius) to protect them from epizootic maladies. Ad. Joanne, Guides Diamant, Bretagne, p. 344; Murray, Handbook for France, Brittany, Introductory Information, s. 5. Superstition.

congregated here for various purposes; the seigneurs assembled their vassals for an annual census, held courts of justice, and celebrated fêtes which usually ended in a tournament.

2. In the Parc aux Chevaux several houses have been discovered containing mosaics, which, of course, imply a certain amount of luxury, and many Gallic coins, but none of the Roman Empire, though we might at first have expected them. Hence we must look upon these buildings as proofs of Italian civilization that had spread into Gaul before it was subjugated. The largest residence in this quarter was on a plan similar to the Roman, viz., a central hall (atrium) communicating by passages (fauces) with apartments on its four sides; moreover there were several courts and *dépendances* adjoining. But the most remarkable feature in the arrangements was the position of the principal entrance which faced due north. The pavement consisted of mosaics, of pieces of schist, square and triangular, and of bricks placed so as to imitate fern-leaves. These details and the careful manner in which the chimneys were built have led some persons to conjecture that this mansion was the palace of the Vergobret or chief magistrate, but we have not at present sufficient evidence, either historical or monumental, to support this opinion. The situation of the house was well chosen and sheltered from the wind, as it stood in a hollow formed by the slopes which the principal road (du Rebout) traverses.[1]

At the southern end of this quarter and near the fountain of St. Pierre ruins were discovered of a stable, which had eighty compartments made with rows of charred stakes, placed at a distance of one mètre apart; from the narrowness of the space one would infer that the stalls were intended, not for horses, but for oxen.

3. In Le Champlain, the Pierre de Wivre, a block of stone cut by human hands, and the Fontaine de Larmes, a hollow usually filled with rain water, are both connected

[1] Rollin et Feuardent, Catalogue, Médailles de la Gaule, p. 27, s.v. Chefs de Lixovii, No. 307, CISIAMBOS CATTOS VERGOBRETO: Eugene Hucher, L'Art Gaulois, Part I, Pl. 12, Eduens ou Suessions, fig. 1. Medaille de bronze de Diviticus, Vergobert (*sic*) des Eduens ou de Divitiacus, Roi des Suessions—Legende ΔΕΟΥΙGIIAGOC; Part II, Catalogue Critique des légendes des monnaies gauloises, p. 145, s.v. CISIAMBOS, where references are given to De Saulcy, Lelewel, etc.

with superstitious usages. Wivre is said to mean some fantastic kind of snake, so that there is probably here a vestige of serpent-worship.[1] The Fontaine de Larmes seems to take its name from a belief that stones over which oaths were administered oozed with water, if a man perjured himself. This part of the Oppidum by its isolation was well suited for assemblies of the Gallic Senate in the open air, and a semi-circular space is observable here that may have been used as a station, where the horses and chariots of the chiefs remained during the concilium.[2]

It should be remarked that the west side of Le Champlain was uninhabited, which would, of course, favour the secrecy of deliberations; on the other hand, there are traces of dwellings on the east side near the road of the Croix du Rebout and the valley La Come-Chaudron. They were occupied by artisans in bronze, which is proved by the crucibles and scoriæ that have been found here. Fifty or sixty amphoræ were also discovered in sepulchral compartments; there can be little doubt that they were employed as cinerary urns or coffins, and the divisions may have been made to correspond with the different guilds of workpeople.[3]

As there are three plateaux, there are also three valleys within the ramparts—La Goutte Dampierre, L' 'Ecluse, and La Come-Chaudron; through each of them a stream flows, fed by the numerous springs on the mountain. La Come-Chaudron, which alone, as far as I know, has been explored hitherto, was the residence of workers in metal exclusively. At the entrance was a foundry, where they

[1] Bogros, op. cit., pp. 178, 190 and note 1. "La *Guivre, Wivre, (Vouavre* en morv.) etait le dragon fantastique, aux yeux d'escarboucles, charge de la garde des trésors et des palais enchantés dans les romans des trouvères." Compare the dragon-standard of the Dacians on the Trajan Column at Rome; Fabretti, Tavv. xii, xiii, xx, xxix, xl, &c., Froehner, pp. 64, 90, 120, and woodcuts.

[2] The Guide au Mont Beuvray, p. 33, note 1, quotes from the *Senchus-Mor*, a collection of Irish laws, some of which are said to belong to the 2nd Century B.C.: "Celui qui coupe la bride d'un chef pendant le conseil doit payer la valeur des dommages d'honneur aux sept plus nobles personnages de la reunion." I have endeavoured in vain to verify this citation.

The Oppidum was also used as a place of refuge: Cæsar, B. G., v. 21. Oppidum autum Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt.

[3] Dr W. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 2nd edition, p. 90, s.v. Amphora: *cf.* Propertius, iv (v) 5, 75.

Sit tumulus lenæ curto vetus amphora collo, ap. Forcellin, s.v.

extracted iron directly by the Catalan method :[1] further on, forges excavated in the ground and provided with blowing-machines that had nozzles of refractory earth, a smithy forty-seven mètres long, and sheds constructed of beaten earth and timber presented signs of a great variety of processes. On the slopes of the valley, in recesses where the light only penetrated by the door, the Gallic artizans laboured and produced the objects that have survived them so long.[2] The most curious branch of their industry was enamelling, and this was first discovered in the excavations of 1869 ; the workshops, with the exception of some deteriorated articles in them, like houses at Pompeii, looked as if they had been closed only the day before. Utensils were lying in disorder, the furnaces were still full of coal, some specimens of the art were finished, some at an advanced stage of fabrication, others only commenced; fragments of raw enamel, earthenware crucibles, sandstone for polishing, waste pieces, vitreous shells with impressions of patterns from the bronze, and medals, bearing witness to the period, were scattered all around.[3]

The process of enamelling was the simplest possible, and consequently required but few tools. It consisted in engraving lines upon the surface to be decorated, covering it with a coating of paste, and removing the excess by means of sandstone and polishers. A good idea of the results may be formed by examining the coloured plates

[1] Bloxam, Chemistry, Inorganic and Organic, 4th edition 1880, p. 323, s. 221 : Direct extraction of wrought iron from the ore. "It is probable that the iron of antiquity was extracted in this way, for it is doubtful whether cast iron was known to the ancients . . . . Some works of this description are still in operation in the Pyrenees, where the Catalan process is employed. The crucible is lined at the sides with thick iron plates, and at the bottom with a refractory stone. . . . . the fall of water from a cistern down a long wooden pipe, sucks in through lateral apertures a supply of air, etc." fig. 253, Catalan forge for smelting iron ores. Ure, Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, etc., Art. Iron, p. 682, s.f.

[2] Dr. Bogros, p. 178, note 2, thinks that these work-people were directed by Bituriges or Petrocorii. "Le Berry et le Périgord étaient les principaux foyers métallurgiques des Gaules": Strabo iv. 2, 2. Cæsar, Bell. Gall., vii, 22, notices the imitative skill of the Gauls; est summæ genus sollertiæ atque ad omnia imitanda atque efficienda, quæ ab quoque tradantur, aptissimum.

[3] Mem. de la Soc. 'Eduenne, Nouv. Ser., tome iv, pp. 439-480. L'art de l'émaillerie chez les 'Eduen savant l'ere chretienne, d'apres les découvertes faites au mont Beuvray, par MM. J.-G. Bulliot et Henry de Fontenay; Plan des fouilles du Beuvray en 1869; quartier CC dit de la Come-Chaudron. The *ateliers* are here distinctly marked. The Congres Scientifique de France, 1876, contains a report of a visit to the Museum in the Hotel de Ville at Autun, tome i, pp. 154-167, and a notice of the *bijoux emailles* found in Burgundy, p. 161.

appended to the "Memoirs of the Æduan Society," vol. iv. Bosses, heads of nails, and buttons made to imitate flowers were ornamented in this way, and then attached to weapons or harness. It seems probable that Diodorus alludes to the art of enamelling, for he says that the Celts carried shields variegated in a peculiar fashion, *χρῶνται θυρεοῖς . . . . . πεποικιλμένοις ἰδιοτρόπως.*[1] This interpretation is confirmed by a passage in Pliny's "Natural History," where he mentions a similar process, viz., plating by means of fusion; according to him the Gauls coated bronze with white lead, and made a surface that could scarcely be distinguished from silver.[2]

The designs traced on the metal are of the most primitive kind—parallel lines, chevrons, and fern-leaves—similar to those on the shield of a Gallic warrior at Avignon, which the antiquarian traveller would do well to inspect. The very coarseness of execution in these enamels is for the inquirer their greatest charm; he sees here the art in its infancy, he stands by its cradle.[3] Not only is the work monochrome, but it is also purely Celtic; we have, therefore, in the interior of France specimens ruder than those discovered in the Victoria Cave near Settle, Yorkshire, and described by Professor Boyd Dawkins; for the latter show a union of Roman design with native ornamentation.[4]

[1] Diodor. Sic., lib. v, c. 30. It is related that Divitiacus leaned on a shield ornamented with different colours, when he addressed the Roman Senate, and invoked their assistance against the Sequani, Cæsar, B. G. i., 31, vi, 12; Cicero, de Divinatione, i, 41, whence we learn that this Æduan chief was a Druid and the guest of Cicero; Eumenius, Gratiarum Actio Constantino Augusto Flaviensium nomine, c. iii, scuto innixus peroravit; Notice Historique prefixed to the Traduction des Discours d'Eumène par Landriot et Rochet, c. ii, p. 12 and note.

[2] Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv, c. 17, s. 48, §§. 162-3, edit. Sillig., says that plated articles were called incoctilia. Deinde et argentum incoquere simili modo cœpere equorum maxume ornamentis jumentorumque ac jugorum Alesia oppido; reliqua gloria Biturigum fuit. Cœpere deinde et esseda sua colisataque ac petorita exornare simili modo, &c. This description corresponds with the character of the objects found at Mont Beuvray.

[3] We have here neither champleve nor cloisonnè work, but the first efforts of that art whose perfection we admire in the beautiful paintings produced by the school of Limoges.

[4] Cave Hunting, coloured plate frontispiece, and pp. 98-100; Early Man in Britain, p. 435. Mr. Boyd Dawkins, like all other writers on this subject, quotes the *locus classicus* in Philostratus, Icon., lib. i, c. xxviii, p. 403, Ed. Kayser, *ταῦτα φασὶ τα χρώματα τοὺς ἐν Ὠκεανῷ βαρβάρους ἐγχεῖν τῷ χάλκῳ διαπύρῳ· τα δε συνίστασθαι καὶ λιθοῦσθαι καὶ σώζειν ἃ ἐγράφη.* He also refers to M. de Laborde and the Abbe Cochet, but does not seem to be aware of the important discoveries made by M. Bulliot.

Kemble, Horæ Ferales, edited by Dr. R. G. Latham and Mr. A. W. Franks, p. 194, Pls. XIX, XX: Enamelled Horse-Trappings. Wilson, Prehistoric Annals of

Lastly, there are several elevated plateaux outside the Oppidum on the slopes of the mountain ; it seems probable that they were occupied as outposts by Gallic tribes encamping separately. In the same way the Gauls, besieged by Gergovia, protected the approaches that led up to it, as Cæsar informs us, superiorem partem collis usque ad murum oppidi densissimis castris compleverant.[1]

Autun is unfavourably situated, and therefore, with superior attractions, it has been less visited than it deserves. If the traveller is going to Bordeaux, he must make a long detour to see Autun ; if Lyons is his destination, it does not lie on either of the routes, through the Bourbonnais or through Burgundy. But it can be reached in considerably less than four-and-twenty hours from London by way of Nevers (Noviodunum), where, however, the Musée Lapidaire in the Porte du Croux offers many inducements to halt.[2]

The excursion to Mont Beuvray, which will only take a day, should on no account be omitted. There I had the pleasure to make Monsr. Bulliot's acquaintance, in the trenches which he himself had excavated ; and now I beg leave to express a hope that some of my countrymen may be induced to deviate from the beaten path in the same direction, that they may enjoy similar good fortune, and that they also may see the earth yield up to this learned and patient explorer treasures that have lain for ages buried in her bosom.

Scotland, vol. ii, p. 157, Pl. XI, figs. 136-139 : Bronze Horse-Furniture found at Middleby, Annandale.

For the art of enamelling in the Middle Ages see Theophilus, Diversarum Artium Schedula, edit. R. Hendrie, Book III, c. liv, De electro ; c. lv, De poliendo electro, and note, p. 434.

The objects found at Mont Beuvray have been, for the most part, deposited in the Musée d'Antiquites Nationales at St. Germain-en-Laye ; M. Bulliot has casts from the originals in his house at Autun.

[1] Bell. Gall., vii, 46 ; cf. ib. 36, Vercingetorix, castris prope oppidum in monte positis, mediocribus circum se intervallis separatim singularum civitatium copias collocaverat ; atque omnibus ejus jugi collibus occupatis, qua despici poterat, horribilem speciem praebebat.

[2] The Porte du Croux is a fine machicolated tower of the 14th Century, in good preservation ; it contains many interesting inscriptions of the Gallo-Roman epoch, a mosaic with designs in nine square compartments, also various objects belonging to the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and later periods : Catalogue du Musée Lapidaire de la Porte du Croux, 74 pp., Nevers, 1873 ; Guide Joanne, Auvergne etc., p. 19.

APPENDIX.

I add some brief notes and references concerning Monuments at Autun, which have not been described in the preceding Memoir.

Temple of Janus.—This is the most conspicuous of the Gallo-Roman buildings, though less interesting than the gates of Arroux and St. André. If the visitor comes from Chateau-Chinon, it is visible long before arriving at Autun; and it faces him when he leaves the latter place by railway. Two sides of a massive square edifice are all that now remains. Montfaucon connects the numbers of the doors and windows with the seasons and months, but this seems very doubtful; Antiquité Expliquée, tome ii, Part 1, p. 60, Plate x, Fig. 2.

I am inclined to think that a double mistake has been made here; (1) that the building is not a temple, though some antiquaries profess to identify the *cella*, Congrès Archéologique de France, 1846, p. 382; and (2) that it is incorrectly assigned to Janus. Mr. Hamerton, in the Portfolio for July, 1882, truly remarks that this tower bears no resemblance to our ordinary conception of a Roman temple with its pediments and columns. Viollet-le-Duc says that, as the gates of Autun could not stand a regular siege, outworks of earth and wood were thrown out in front of them, forming two sides of a triangle, which had the town-ramparts for its base; the so-called Temple of Janus, a fort of solid masonry, being the apex, and answering the purpose of a barbican. There was no door on the *rez de chaussee*, and the only entrance was by an opening on the first floor, as was the case in Irish Round Towers: Petrie, Round Towers and Ancient Architecture of Ireland; doorways of Round Towers treated of, pp. 401-413, with Plates.

Till the seventeenth century, this monument was called in official documents *Tour de la Genetoye*, a word derived from genesta (broom), like the English compound Plantagenet; but it occurred to some etymologists to translate *Genetaye*, *Genetoye*, *Genetet*, by *Jani tectum;* hence a false attribution arose, which has been handed down from one generation to another: Congr. Scient. 1876, tome i, pp. 54, sq.

The fullest and latest account of this building is given by M. Bulliot, in the Mém. de la Soc. d'Eduenne, Nouv. Sér., tome ix, pp. 419-461, with three plates, Plan du quartier de la Genetoie, p. 419; Temple dit de Janus, plan, p. 437; Temple dit de Janus, élevation, face méridionale, p. 440.

Theatre.—The remains are to be seen at the end of the *Promenade des Marbres*, and are popularly called *Caves Joyaux*. They indicate that the theatre was one of the largest known to us; it is said to have accommodated more than 30,000 spectators. Thus it rivalled those of Greece and Sicily in extent; and like them, being hollowed out of the side of a hill, it commanded a magnificent prospect. The outline and general arrangement of the seats can still be distinctly traced; and the

fragments of shafts, cornices, and corbels show the architectural splendour with which the stage was decorated. At each end of the hemicyclium there is a series of niches facing the *scena;* M. de Caumont remarked that there were similar apses at Saintes, Charente Inferieure. For recent excavations at Saintes see Bulletin de la Société des Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l' Aunis, Oct. 1882, pp. 393-7, with plan of the amphitheatre. In the seventeenth century the stones of the theatre at Autun were used as building materials for the Petit Séminaire, which was commenced October 1669. Close to the theatre is a small house; many Gallic busts and inscriptions are fixed on its four walls (incrustés).

Walls.—The description by Ammianus Marcellinus is still applicable; xv, 11, 11, p. 60, edit. Eyssenhardt, Moenium Augustuduni magnitudo vetusta; xvi, 2, 1, p. 64, muros spatiosi quidem ambitus sed carie vetustatis invalidos. They formed an irregular quadrilateral, defended by about sixty towers; the circuit was 5,922 mètres, and the height is supposed to have been 13 metres.

Aqueducts.—The principal one brought water to Autun from Montjeu (Mons Jovis), where there are two large ponds (étangs). Remains of it are visible at several points between these two places. It was 4,150 mètres long, and nearly high enough for a man to stand upright. Great engineering skill was shown in its construction, as M. Desplaces de Martigny explains; Congrès Scientif., 1876, I., 65, 66. Comp. Congrès Archeol., 1846, pp. 365, 367, with two engravings.

Pierre de Couhard.—Mr. Freeman in the British Quarterly speaks of this monument as "nameless," but it derives its appellation from the neighbouring village, which is on the south side of Autun and within an easy walk of it. The Pierre de Couhard is an irregular pyramid, 26 mètres high. It has been repeatedly pierced without success; nothing has been found that would throw light on the purpose for which it was erected. However, taking into account its position at the summit of the Champ des Urnes, a Gallo-Roman *polyandre*, and its resemblance to the pyramid of Caius Cestius, near the Porta di San Paolo, Rome, we may fairly infer that this structure was sepulchral. Some have supposed that it is the tomb of the Druid chief, Divitiacus; others say Cavarus (Κάναρος), a Gallic king, who is mentioned by Polybius iv, 46, 52; viii, 24; and ap. Athenæum vi, p. 252, d.; but these are conjectures and nothing more. From this elevated spot the spectator looks down on a varied scene—wooded hills and valleys, a city with its mediaeval cathedral, walls and towers, and the mountains of the Morvan in the far-off horizon.

Mosaic of Bellerophon killing the Chimaera.—This tessellated pavement, a very fine specimen of the art, was at one time deposited in the Musé Jovet at Autun. Mr. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, v. 225, says that it was publicly exhibited in London. I believe it is now in the Musée at St. Germain, but not shown to visitors, for want of an apartment large enough to display it.

Roman Roads.—The great importance of Autun in ancient times is proved by the fact that thirteen or fourteen ways converged thither. An essay on this subject will be found in the Congrès Archéol., 1846, pp. 428-442, entitled Notice sur les Voies romaines qui traversent la Ville d'Autun ou viennent y aboutir; par. M. Laureau de Thory. I understand that the Æduan Society is preparing a treatise on these roads,

accompanied by a map. Autun is thus marked in the Index to the Tabula Peutingeriana, edit. Mannert, Aug. d–m I. c. II. a. Aug. dunum ; Aug. D–m. II. a. Aug. dunum. The numerals refer to the segments in the Table.

Æduan Coins.—As Augustodunum was the capital of the Ædui, the coins of this people are naturally connected with the antiquities of the city. Dumnorix and Litavicus who are frequently mentioned by Cæsar appear in this series ; Docirix and Togirix occur on the medals, but not in the works of this author ; Rollin et Feuardent, Catal, 'Eduens, pp. 9, 10, Chefs 'Eduens, p. 10. No. 130 has a remarkable reverse : Guerrier à g. tenant de la main dr. une enseigne et un sanglier ; de la g. la. tête coupée d'un vaincu : Caes. B. G. v. 58, Indutiomarus interficitur, caputque ejus refertur in castra : Cf. Fabretti, La Colonna Trajana, Tav. xi, two heads of conquered enemies in the hands of Roman soldiers. In the abundance of their coins the Ædui rank next to the Arverni ; for this as well as other reasons, they have been fully discussed by Eugène Hucher, in his elaborate work, L'Art Gaulois, Part I, pp. 27-30 ; Plates II, III, VII, XII, LVIII, LXVI, LXXXIV ; Part II, Catal. Critique des Légendes des Monnaies Gauloises. De Saulcy, Lettres à M. A. de Longpérier, Revue Numismatique, 1858, pp. 131-141, Monnaies 'Eduennes anépigraphes, 'Eduennes epigraphiques, &c.

The earlier writers on the Antiquities of Autun should be consulted, because in their times many monuments existed, which have now deteriorated or totally disappeared ; *e.g.*, Histoire de l'Antique cité d'Autun, par Edme Thomas (reimpression.)

The most important Series for this subject is the "Publications de la Société 'Eduenne" from 1837 down to the present year. A complete list will be found on the cover of the last volume that has appeared. These instructive works ought to be mentioned with due honour, especially as Mr. Roach Smith and MM. Millin and Prosper Mérimée, amongst their own countrymen, have so freely reproached the Autunois for neglecting their monuments. Mr. Freeman, British Quarterly, July, 1881, p. 1, says he was confined to such help as could be obtained from two of these publications, whose names he prefixes to his article. I had no difficulty in procuring others from a London bookseller except when they were out of print ; these are marked on the above-mentioned list as *épuisés*.

M. de Caumont presided over the meeting of the Congrès Archéologique at Autun in 1846, and this distinguished name raises the reader's expectations ; but he will be disappointed, because in many cases the reports contain suggestions for, rather than the results of, inquiries.

In my account of the Cathedral at Autun, I have noticed symbolical numbers in architecture, and the views of Monsgr. Devoucoux. Monsignore Barbier de Montault remarks in a letter to me, "L'opinion de Mgr. Devoucoux a été très contestée, et n'a pas fait école." He has favoured me with the following list of references which the student of Christian Antiquities may find useful.

Les Tables des *Annales Archéologiques*, de la *Revue de l'art chretien*, du *Bulletin monumental*, au mot *Nombres* ou à *Chiffres*.

Histoire et théorie du symbolisme religieux, par le chanoine Auber, 4 vol. in 8vo.

Catalogue de la librairie archéologique de Didron, à Paris.

Spicilegium Solesmense.

L'Abbé Migne's Patrologia.

From some expressions in the guide-books of Joanne and Murray it might be inferred that the annual cattle-fair held at Autun makes the place intolerable for strangers during the whole of September. I can say from experience that there is no inconvenient crowd after the first few days of the month. At the Hotel St. Louis, sometimes called de la Poste, the traveller will meet with good accommodation and great civility.

My Paper is the result of a week's stay at Autun in the year 1881. Besides my own personal observations, I have made free use of the following authorities:—Marriott's Testimony of the Catacombs; Congrès Archéologique, 1846; Congrès Scientifique, 1876; Devoucoux, Description de l'Eglise Cathédrale d'Autun; Notice sur le Tableau du Martyre de Saint Simphorien par M. Ingres; Guide Historique et Archéologique au Mont Beuvray; Memoirs by MM. de Fontenay and Bulliot in the Publications de la Societe 'Eduenne. To the latter gentleman I am much indebted for assistance most kindly given in conversation and by correspondence. Lastly, I desire to thank my friend, Dr. Richard Caulfield, who has favoured me with useful suggestions and access to his valuable library.