AQUITANIA TERTIA SIVE NOVEMPOPULANIA
PROVINCIA ECCLESIASTICA AUSCITANA
SEPTEM VIAE ROMANÆ | UNDECIM DIOCESES

From the Congrès Scientifique de France, 1873.
The South-West of France was occupied by the Romans, Visigoths, Franks, Saracens, and Normans successively, and thus became rich in historical associations; it was the scene of the romantic legends that relate the story of Charlemagne and his paladins; it not only gave birth to, but reared Henry IV., the greatest of French Bourbons: it was the cradle of the Reformed Church, justly called heroic; and lastly, in our own century, it witnessed some of the most brilliant exploits achieved by the genius of Wellington. On the other hand, we find here scarcely any temples, theatres, or aqueducts built by the Romans, and no mediaeval structures that can vie with the vast cathedrals in other parts of France. In this region, therefore, an ample harvest of antiquities is not to be reaped, but if we search patiently, some scattered fragments may be gleaned.

I propose to limit my remarks for the most part to two classes of remains—the Roman and the Romanesque.

1 Henry IV was born in the Château of Pau, and reared in the neighbouring village of Bilhère, which is on the road to Lescar. The house of his foster-father, Maison Lassanade, shows over the entrance the inscription: Saugarde dei Rey; Le Cour, Promenades Archéologiques aux environs de Pau et dans la vallée d'Ossau, pp. 15, 16, and Le Beam, p. 102, plate 1.

2 The accounts of the Reformation in the South of France have been written chiefly by Roman Catholics, but I understand that Monsieur Cadier, a Protestant minister at Pau, is collecting materials for a work on this subject. The following books are by Protestant authors: Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret, par Théodore Muret; Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret, par Madlle. de Vauvilliers; Crespin's Martyrologie Protestante. The Société d'Histoire de France has issued a limited number of copies of a MS. by Nicolas de Bordenave.

3 Pre-historic antiquities are not wanting in this region; e.g. from Bielle in the Vallée d'Ossau, an excursion may be made to the Cercle de pierres above the village of Bilhères, which must not be confounded with Bilhère abovementioned. It will be necessary to take a guide, as the inhabitants speak patois, and to most
Leaving out of consideration the coins, which would more properly fall within the domain of the Numismatic Society, we may group the existing monuments of the Romans under three heads:—Roads, Inscriptions, and Mosaics.¹

The following are the most important roads:

I. From Asturica to Burdigala, i.e., from Astorga to Bordeaux, a distance of 421 miles.² The stations on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees are Pompaeso (Pamplona)³ and Iturissa (Osteritz); the road crossed the frontier at Summas Pyrenaeus (Roncevaux), and was carried through Imus Pyrenaeus (St. Jean Pied de Port) and Carasa (Garris) to Aquae Tarbellicae (Dax),⁴ whence it was continued to Bordeaux in a sinuous course. Some traces of this way have been discovered south of the Pyrenees, on the banks of the Iraty, and in the valley of them French is unintelligible. For this branch of the subject the following memoirs may be consulted: Habitations lacustres du midi de la France (région Pyrénéenne), par M. F. Garrigon, Contes rendus de l’Académie des Sciences, tome 73, p. 1220; Les tumuli des environs de Pau, par M. Paul Raymond, Revue Archéologique; Dolmen et cromlechs situés dans la Vallée d’Ossau, arrondissement d’Oloron, par M. Paul Raymond, Rev. Archéol. The late Mons. P. Raymond, for some time Archiviste and afterwards Secrétaire-Général of the Basses Pyrénées, was probably better acquainted than anyone else with the antiquities of the department. An account of the dolmen at Buzy is given by Le CCEUL, Le Bearn, p. 185. The map of the Vallée d’Ossau, Eaux-Bonnes, Eaux-Chaudes, by J. B. Bonnecase, géometre, is on a large scale, and will be useful to the explorer.

¹ I purposely omit any description of the Roman remains at Dax, because a full account of them has been published by Mr. Roach Smith, in his Collectanea Antiqua, vol. v, pp. 226—240, plates xxv, xxvi. He censures the inhabitants severely for the demolition of the ancient walls, but they may be excused for preferring their health and comfort to the preservation of these monuments. The enceinte of fortifications, excluding the sun’s rays and preventing the circulation of air, aggravated the humidity caused by the hot springs, from which the town takes its name (De Aquis). Mr. Roach Smith visited this place in 1858; since that date the destruction has been carried still further, and only the northeastern portion of the wall now remains.

² Amongst the Spanish tribes the Astures have a special interest for English readers, as they were stationed in the north of Britain—a fact abundantly proved by inscriptions. See the Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 479; Index vii, Military Affairs; and Dr. Bruce, Roman Wall, especially p. 109. It should be observed that the form Asturum occurs on the stones, showing that Spaniards are meant, and not the Asti in north Italy.

³ The Dictionary of Classical Geography, edited by Dr. William Smith, gives only the form Pompelo, which occurs in Strabo (Πομπελῶν), but Pompaelo is more correct, as appears from inscriptions containing the word Pompaelonenses; moreover, the best manuscripts of Ptolemy have Πομπαίλων; Hübner, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. ii, p. 401. He derives Pompaelo from Pompeius, and compares with it Graccurris, a town sixty-four Roman miles west of Ciesaraugusta, named after Gracchus. The modern appellation Pamplona comes from Bambilonah, a Moorish corruption of the Latin. Ford’s Handbook of Spain, ed. 1878, p. 592.

⁴ This name is sometimes written D’Aqoa, which shows the derivation from Aquae; comp. Pliny, Natural History, xxxi, c. ii, s. 4. Emicant benigne passimque in plurumis terris aliae frigidae, aliae calidae, aliae junctae, sicut in Tarbellias Aquitanicae gente,
near Villanueva; but north of the mountains they are absent; however we may infer the direction of the route with a degree of probability so high that it almost amounts to certainty. The road seems to have passed through the Col d'Ibañeta, and to have descended by the valley of Saint Michel to St. Jean Pied de Port, as the steep mountains on the north side of the Val Carlos present insuperable obstacles. But the natural configuration of the sites is not the only argument; this line of communication was used in the Middle Ages, as is proved both by written evidence of titles and terriers, and by the establishment of commanderies of the military orders. When we consider the excellence of the Roman roads and the solidity with which they were constructed, we cannot doubt that the barbarians for centuries continued to travel by the same highways as the nation that preceded them. In all probability on this road the great disaster happened A.D. 778, which is the subject of the only French epic, the Chanson de Roland. Charlemagne was on his return from Spain, when half of his forces were destroyed, and his famous paladin Roland was killed. Such is the historical account, but according to Spanish legends incorporated into our English epic,

Charlemain and all his peerage fell
By Fontarabia.

II. From Cæsaraugusta to Beneharnum, i.e., from Saragossa to Lescar. The stations on this road are Forum Gallorum (Gurrea), Ebellinum (S. Juan de la Peña), Summus Pyreneaus (Santa Christina) Forum

1 Even the paucity or absence of Roman remains in the Pyrenean region is instructive, as it shows how obstinately the inhabitants resisted the Roman invaders. Horace, Odes, iii, 3, 91, Servit Hispanae, retus hostis ome. It seems as if the Basques carried their hostility to the Romans so far as to extirpate even the traces of their dominion.

2 La Chanson de Roland, with translation, introduction and notes, edited by F. Gönin, Chant ii, Chant iii, Table analytique, p. 335.


4 Monsieur François St. Maur, following Marca, the historian of Beam, places the site of Beneharnum at Lescar, or to speak more accurately, at the quartier St. Julien, just below the town; but other French antiquaries have expressed very different opinions on this subject. Walkenaer identifies Beneharnum with Maillac, near Orthez; Monsieur Perret places it at Orthez itself, and the Abbe Lartigau is in favour of Bellocq, near Puyoo. Congres Scientifique de France, xxxix Session A Pam, Tome ii, pp. 121-131.

5 The ancient name Summus Pyreneaus still survives in the modern Sumport or Somport, a village near Santa Christina, where the ruins of a monastery may be seen; it was founded by Gaston IV, who also built the hospital at Gabas and the convent at Sauvelade.
Ligneum (Urdos), Aspaluca (Accous), and Iluro (Oloron). The modern name Gurrea may be only a corruption of Gallorum, as the liquids R and L frequently interchange; Aspaluca and Iluro are evidently the same words as Aspe and Oloron. With respect to the latter it is worthy of notice that the place is called in Basque, Iri-Uru, which means "the city of the waters;" a very appropriate designation, since the Gaves of the Aspe and Ossau meet here, and by their confluence contribute much to the picturesque beauty of the site. Moreover Iluro is an instance of a Spanish name occurring north of the Pyrenees, and therefore one of the many proofs of the extent to which the Iberian race had spread. The argument from toponymy is confirmed by Cæsar's statement that the Aquitanians, when they opposed the expedition of the younger Crassus, obtained auxiliaries and leaders from Spain. This road, like that from Astorga, is marked by Hubner on both sides of the Pyrenees as "certain, but not yet explored," hence it offers a subject for original investigation to the antiquary; but though material traces are at present wanting, its course may be inferred not only from the places mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary and the modern names corresponding with them, but also from evidence of two other kinds, viz.: the physical character of the country through which it passed, and the inscriptions discovered upon it. On the Spanish side the road must have followed the Rio Gallego and the valley of Jaca, while north of the

1 Iluro occurs twice amongst the cities of Spain, in Baetica, north-west of Malaec (Malaga), now Alora, so that the old name has undergone only a slight modification; and in the Provincia Tarraconensis, north-east of Barcelona, near Mataro. The modern town corresponding to Iluro in Aquitania is Oloron, not Oleron, and thus may be easily distinguished from the Ile d'Oleron in the Bay of Biscay, opposite Rochelle.

2 Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, book iii, chaps. 20-27, is the most important passage in the classical writers for the history of Aquitaine. The commander-in-chief was not personally engaged in the subjugation of this part of Gaul, which will account for the comparatively few particulars concerning this district found in his Commentaries. Le Cœur, Béarn, p. 3, says the Aquitanians opposed Crassus so successfully that Cæsar's presence in their country became necessary; but Cæsar himself tells us that they surrendered to his lieutenant Publius Crassus. The latter was a skilful and energetic commander, and had previously reduced under the Roman sway, with only a single legion, the powerful States of Armorica. This important exploit is omitted in the account of Cæsar's lieutenants, given by the Emperor Napoléon III, in his Vie de Jules Cæsar, tome ii, appendix D, No. 2.

3 Jaca is the modern representative of the ancient Jacetani, who with the Oscenses (Huesca) and other neighbouring states, rendered valuable assistance to Cæsar in his campaign against the Pompeian generals, Afranius and Petreius; Cæs. De Bell. Civ. i, 66.
Pyrenees it must have been carried through the vallée d'Aspe, where a stone may still be seen a few miles south of Oloron, on which is engraved an account of its repair in ancient times.

This road was always one of the chief lines of communication between Spain and France, and along it Abdalrahman led the Saracen host, that threatened to overspread Western Europe, but was destroyed by Charles Martel at the battle of Tours. It is difficult to find in classical antiquity the name Beneharnum, for other writers are silent, and Pliny does not give any word that approaches nearer than Venami, for which Marca has proposed to read Venarni, without manuscript authority as far as I am aware.  

III. From Aquae Tarbellicae to Burdigala, i.e., from Dax to Bordeaux, through Cocosa, Tellonum, and Salomacum in a zig-zag, crossing No. II. twice, and finally rejoining it at Boii. At first sight there seems no reason for making this road, but it may have been designed to connect with each other and with the grand route from Astorga to Bordeaux towns that were formerly more important than we should suppose them to have been, judging from the statements of authors or existing remains.

IV. From Aquae Tarbellicae to Tolosa, i.e., from Dax to Toulouse, nearly following the present line of railway, as is the case with several Roman roads in our own country. The stations were Beneharnum, Oppidum Novum, Aquae Convenarum, Lugdunum Convenarum, Calagorris, Aquae Siccae and Vernum Solum. Oppidum Novum may be identified with Nay, which seems to be a corruption of the Latin adjective. Aquae Convenarum is placed by some at Capvern, by others at Bagnères de Bigorre, where many inscriptions have been found. Strabo, who devotes only a single section to the whole of Aquitania, mentions Onesion therma in the country of the Convenae near the Pyrenees, and says that these waters

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1 Marca's proposal to read Venarni in the list of Aquitanian tribes given by Pliny, Nat. Hist., ib. iv, c. 13, is approved by the learned and accurate Wesseling, Antonine Itinerary, ed. 1735, p. 462; but this conjecture has not been adopted by the most recent editors, Sillig and Jen. Venarni approaches very closely to Beneharnum, B and V being so pronounced in Spanish that they can scarcely be distinguished.
were very good to drink, but it is impossible to decide whether he is speaking of Bigorre or Luchon; however an argument in favour of the latter has been derived from the name of the rivulet One, which bears some resemblance to the Greek name. Lugdunum Convenarum is now called S. Bertrand de Comminges; its great importance in ancient times is proved by numerous remains, e.g., an inscription in honour of a Roman Emperor on the south eastern gate, a head of Jupiter and sepulchral stones in the façade of the cathedral, and arches in the suburbs that belong to an aqueduct, and a circus or theatre. Calagorris, now Cazères, is another proof that the Iberians had spread into Southern Gaul, as we find the name again on the road from Cesaraugusta to Asturica. Aquae Siccae is said to be Aygas-Secs, which also sounds Spanish, and Vernum Solum is now La Vernose.

V. From Burdigala to Argentomagnum, i.e., from Bordeaux to Argenton-Indre. The stations were Sirio, Ussubium, Fines, Aginnum, Excisum, Augustoritum. The road took a south-easterly direction, following the Garonne as far as Agen, whence its course was north-easterly, towards the centre of France. Sirio is the same as Cerons, near the embouchure of the River Ciron, where it falls into the Garonne. Ussubium is Urs, near La Réole, where a votive altar has been found bearing the word Ussulico. A little north of Agen is the station Excisum, now Villeneuve, but the site is identified by a monastery there called Exsciense in the titles of the abbey of Moissac.

VI. From Aginnum to Lugdunum Convenarum, i.e.,

1 Though Strabo says so little about Aquitaine, with his usual sagacity he has struck the key-note for succeeding inquiries into the antiquities of this district, both classical and medieval. He remarks that this people differed from the other Gauls, both in language and bodily constitution, and that they resembled the Spaniards, οἴκασα τε μαλλον ἢβηγορω, lib. iv, c. 2, s. 1.

2 The Spanish Calagurris may be compared for its termination with Gracurris, another town in the same neighbourhood mentioned above. Calagorris and Calagorna also occur, more nearly resembling the modern form Calahorra. This place stands pre-eminent, even in Spain, for its ferocious heroism displayed during a siege, as the defenders not only killed and ate their wives and children, but salted the bodies not required for immediate consumption. Ford, Handbook of Spain, p. 538, professes to give an historical account of Calagurris, but omits this most remarkable and perhaps unparalleled feature. Valerius Maximus vii, 6, externa 3, Quoque diutius armata juventus viscera sua visceribus suis aleret; infelices cadaverum reliquis satire non dubitavit. Compare Juvenal, Sat. xv, 94-100, where he speaks of these people as Vascones (Basques).
from Agen to S. Bertrancl de Comminges. The stations were Lactora,Elimberrum and Belsinum. Lactora is now Lectoure, and we have here a variation of the Basque name Ligorra, meaning highland, which describes the situation of the town, on a lofty plateau above the valley of the river Gers. In this case the Itinerary has been confirmed by innumerable medals, vases and statuettes, brought to light when the railway was being constructed. Elimberrum is also a Basque word, probably signifying "new town," but its component parts are placed in the same order as in the French Villeneuve. This name is doubtless another form of Iri-Berri, and therefore analogous to Iri-Uru, mentioned above. It may be compared with Illiberis or Illiberris, the first place to which Hannibal came after crossing the Eastern Pyrenees. Under the Emperors Elimberrum was called Augusta Ausciorum, whence the modern name Auch is derived. It was the seat of the primate of Aquitaine—a fact which may be regarded as proof of its importance in Roman times: for the bishoprics were naturally founded in the great cities, as Christianity was first preached there, and did not spread into the rural districts till a much later period. The last station is Belsinum, now Bernet, in the department of Gers. It is worth while to observe that Belsinum also occurs in Hispania Tarracotnensis, and is represented by the modern name Vivel, or Viver, near Segarbe, the substitution of V for B being in accordance with the interchanges in the Spanish language as now pronounced.

VII. From Burdigala to Tolosa, through Elusa (Eauze). I have added this road on the authority of Mons* Saint Maur; it does not appear in the Itinerary, but there was probably some more direct communication between these two great cities than through Agen on the north, or Dax on the south side of the province. Such was the network

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1 Mr. Long, in his, Dictionary of Classical Geography, s.v. Illiberis, quotes a statement that Berri in Basque means a town. It seems more probable that the former part of the words Illiberis and Elimberrum has this signification, as it appears so frequently in the names of places. The geographical section of the index to Hubner's Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae supplies many instances of the prefix Il, e.g. Ilerda (Lérida), Ilurcis, the earlier name of Gra occasius, a Basque town, Ilipa, &c. See also Remarques sur les noms de lieux du pays Basque, par M. Luchaire, Congrès Scientifique à Pau, tome ii, pp. 388-411, especially 386, "Iribarri a fait place à Ulbarri, qui veut dire aussi Villeneuve," and p. 387, "iri ville et berri nouveau."
of roads which included Novempopulania, and which enabled the Romans to hold this corner of their empire for ages in undisturbed possession.¹

Long after the destruction of that empire, its memory was preserved by the route of the pilgrims from Auch to Santiago de Compostela, called the Camín Ronmiu, which traversed Béarn, and at St. Jean Pied de Port joined the Roman road from Bordeaux to Astorga above mentioned. Taking into consideration the statements of the classical writers, the etymology of the names of places, and the circulation of Iberian coins in Gaul, we must conclude that in ancient times the inhabitants on both sides of the Pyrenees were more homogeneous than they are at present.²

From the roads we naturally pass to the inscriptions: how closely these subjects are connected will be seen by two of the following examples:—

I. ILVRO

This inscription was found at the Auberge of Paillole or Paillette near Somport, the highest part of the pass over the Pyrenees.³ The letters are cut on a milestone, which has been brought to Pau by Mons⁴ P. Raymond, and is now deposited in the vestibule of the Préfecture. Mons⁵ Saint Maur truly remarks that the inscription is one of extreme simplicity; one can hardly help adding an expression of regret that it is so simple, for even the numerals are gone, and nothing remains but a certain proof that the direction of the road was from Summus Pyrenæus to Iluro. The material is sandstone, and was probably obtained from Canfrancq in Spain, south of Somport.

¹ It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that the study of the Roman roads involves more than a knowledge of a dry list of names; on the contrary it suggests to us many researches of great interest, historical, philological, and ethnographical.
² The map prefixed to this Paper is copied from the Carte des voies Romaines de la Novempopulanie, which illustrates M. St. Maur's memoirs on the Roman roads in the south-west of Gaul.
³ Summus Portus has been contracted into Somport, and Portus has the same root as Porta, so that its primary meaning is an entrance or pass. Similarly we have in French porte and port; the latter form appears in Port de Venasque, the pass into Spain, near Luchon, and in St. Jean Pied de Port.
⁴ It is not quite accurate in all its details, but it may be of some use, by rendering my description more intelligible.
Lucius Valerius Veranus Duumvir twice repaired this road.

This inscription at Pène d’Escot, unlike most others, does not appear on a stone removed from a quarry and hewn, but on the natural rock by the way side. It is on the high road from Oloron to Jaca, and if the tourist’s head quarters are at the former place, where there is good accommodation, it may be easily visited in a morning’s or afternoon’s excursion. For Veranus, some have read Vernus, but from personal inspection I feel confident that the former name is correct; Δ and Ν form a ligature in the original, Ν, and the neglect of this peculiarity has caused the mistake. The feminine Valeria Verana has been found at Tarragona, and it may be remarked that this branch of our subject, as well as others, receives its best illustration from the antiquities of northern Spain. The title of Duumvir probably refers to Oloron, which was the only important place (civitas) between Caesaraugusta and Beneharnum. This office in provincial towns seems derived from the consulate at Rome; it often occurs, both in the authors and the monuments, and was a dignity on which the possessor evidently prided himself.

III.

FANO
HERAVS
CORRITSE
HE SACRVM
G. VAL VALE
RIANVS

1 Pène is only the French form of the Spanish word Pena, a rock; la Pena Colorado, la Pena de Orrel, and San Juan de la Pena occur in this district. Joanne, Guide to the Pyrenees, route 45.
2 For the name Valeria Verana see Cézec Moncaut, Histoire des peuples et des Etats Pyrénéens depuis l’époque Celtiberienne jusqu’à nos jours, vol. iii, p. 559, and Hübner Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. ii, No. 4.378. Hübner gives the inscription at Tarragona more correctly. Cézec Moncaut is inaccurate and contradicts himself.
3 Cicero tells us that Piso held the office of duumvir at Capua for the sake of placing this honorary title on the pedestal of his statue; Capua, in qua ipse tum imaginis ormandae causa duumviratum gerebat, Pro Sesto, c. viii, s. 19; here ormandae is preferable to formandae, the reading of the old editions. The duumvirate occurs very frequently in Spanish inscriptions. See Hübner’s index, s. v. Res municipalis, sect. ii, Honores et munera municipalia. Hübner adopts the form duovir, for which there is good authority. I have not translated the abbreviation GER, because the meaning is uncertain.
Gaius Valerius has dedicated (this altar) in the temple of Ritsehe, mistress of the Ausci.

This translation is given as highly probable, though not certain. The inscription is on the face of a votive altar, which has been built into the wall of a chapel called La Madeleine, near Tardets. In front of the chapel rises mount Erretçu, and there are also a wood and torrent of the same name. Monsieur P. Raymond has ingeniously identified this word with Ritsehe, whom he supposes to be a local divinity, as in the north of England we find Cocidius and Belatucader—gods unknown to the classical pantheon, but who seem to have had much in common with Mars and Silvanus. According to this interpretation the inscription should be divided as follows:—

**FANO HER AVSCOR RITSEHE.**

The initial E in “Erretçu” does not cause any valid objection to this supposition, since the Basque language does not begin any word with R, and E might be prefixed for the sake of euphony, as in Greek the paragogic N is appended to prevent hiatus. We may also compare the French words écuy, épée, écume, which correspond to scutatum, spada, and scum respectively. HER may stand for a case of herus or hera (master or mistress).
words that are applied to deities, as Catullus uses the expression *caelestes heri*, heavenly powers.¹

### IV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flamen item</th>
<th>dunmivir quaestor</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pagique magister</td>
<td>Verus ad angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tum legato mu</td>
<td>nere functus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pro novam opti</td>
<td>nuit populis se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jungere Gallos</td>
<td>urbe redux ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urbe redux ge</td>
<td>nio pagi hanc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedicat aram.</td>
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Verus Flamen, also Duumvir, Quaestor and Governor of the district, having discharged the duties of his mission to Augustus, and obtained the separation of nine nations from the rest of Gaul, on his return from Rome, dedicates this altar to the genius of the district.

This inscription has been the subject of long and angry controversies, in which our excitable neighbours have sometimes lost their temper, and I might almost say their reason. It was discovered A.D. 1660 in the foundation of the high altar of the church at Hasparren,² but it is now outside the building, and placed so high that it cannot be read without ascending a ladder; moreover, the difficulty is increased by the direction of the lines being perpendicular, instead of horizontal. The words as they stand may be arranged in four hexameter verses:

```plaintext
Flamen item Dumviv Quaestor Pagique Magister,
Verus, ad Augustan legato munere functus,
Pro novem optimi populis sejungere Gallos;
Urbe redux, genio pagi hanc dedicat aram.
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Some have supposed the inscription to be a forgery, drawing this inference from metrical faults and the impossibility of reconciling the facts here mentioned with the accounts of the historians concerning the two person-

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¹ Catullus Carm. lxviii, v. 76—
Nondum cum sanguine sacro
Hostia caelestes pacificasset hera.
Nil mihi tam valde placet, Rhamnusia
virgo,
Quod temere invitatis suspicatur heris.
The German *Herr* is evidently the same word as the Latin *heri*, and is also applied to the Deity.

² Hasparren is in the western part of the Basses Pyrenees, on the road from Bayonne to St. Palais, and not far from Cambo, a frequented watering place in the valley of the river Nive.
ages who bore the name of Verus in the Antonine period. On the other hand we may reply that no sufficient motive for the imposture has been assigned, that the defects in scansion can be accounted for as provincialisms, and that the archaic form *optinuit* or *obtinuit* does not look like a modern fabrication.

We may also remark in the first line *dumvir* for *duumvir*. If the latter word was pronounced as a disyllable, *duumvir*, which analogy renders probable, the variation cannot be considered important. In the third line *pro novem* is a dactyl with *m* not elided, or a spondee with the first syllable of *novem* long; in either case prosody is violated. Lastly, the *i* of *pugi* does not suffer elision.

Some French archaeologists, especially Mons Poydenot of Bayonne, have maintained that these lines refer to Verus, who was adopted by Hadrian, and whose son, of the same name, became the colleague of M. Aurelius. Now Spartanianus expressly informs us that the elder Verus was an accomplished scholar, an orator distinguished by the elevation of his style, and (which is more to our present purpose) a skilful versifier. According to Mons Poydenot's theory, these lines recording an important event in the imperial administration, if not written by Verus, would in all probability have been submitted to him. We can hardly suppose they would have received his approbation. But a stronger argument against

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1 For example, Elitus Verus, whom the Emperor Hadrian adopted, was so far from being a native of Hasparren, as the inscription would seem to imply, that there is no trace of his having had any connection with the Pyrenese district. Spartanianus in his life of Verus, chap. 2, s.l., tells us that his ancestors came chiefly from Etruria or Favinia (Faenza.)

2 Bentely, in his treatise, De metris Terentianis, says, *Notum est eruditis consonantes ι et υ apud Latinos eodem sono et potestate quo hodie Υ et w. So in Plautus duellum and duellator must be read dellum and dellator. This pronunciation assists us to explain the change from nu to *n*, which is very common, e.g. duellum bellum, duo bis. Similarly we have an archaic form *dovums* slightly contracted into *duovis,* and afterwards changed into *bonus.*

3 Essai sur l'inscription Romaine de Hasparren par M. Henry Poydenot; Note sur l'authenticité de l'Inscur. Rom. Réponse à M. François Saint Maur by the same author.

At p. 5 of the former pamphlet a copy of the inscription is given, engraved from a photograph.

4 Apart from the testimony of Spartanianus concerning the attainments of Verus, these lines do not bear the impress of the earlier portion of the Silver Age, when scholastic training produced as its fruit a high degree of finish and accuracy; Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. vii, p. 282, 8vo. ed. The writers of this period are remarkably free from the grammatical irregularities which mark the earlier stages of a nation's literary progress, as will be seen by comparing Cicero's style with that of Tacitus. Some have contended...
attributing the inscription to the Antonine period may be founded on the expression pro novem populis, for this separation of the south-western nations from the rest of Gaul cannot be plausibly referred to Hadrian, and it is even doubtful whether this emperor made any new division of the Roman provinces. On the other hand, it is far more likely that the department called Novempopulania was constituted by Diocletian, i.e., between A.D. 284 and 305, though no ancient author has stated the fact expressly. We know that this emperor re-arranged the provinces generally, and the term Novempopulania appears in the Notitia or army list, compiled about the beginning of the fifth century, and in the writings of Salvianus, who flourished a little later. For these reasons, and because the dedication of an altar to a Genius implies that Verus was a pagan, I am disposed to assign the inscription to the latter part of the third century, i.e., just before the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. It may be objected that the authors do not mention a Verus living at this time, but this need not cause any surprise, as the materials for the history of this epoch are very imperfect and fragmentary. Another objection to this date might be based on the word Flamen, which is seldom, if ever, met with late in the third century; that this inscription is spurious because it is in verse. But this argument is by no means conclusive, as the metrical form, though rare, is occasionally employed. Two or three instances occur among the inscriptions at Toulouse, some at Lyons, and a very remarkable one at Alcantara relating to Trajan's bridge, which exhibits some points of resemblance to that now under consideration. For the last see Corp. Inscr. Lat. tom. ii, pp. 89-90, Tituli pontis Alcantarensis. The inscription, which is on the front of a chapel close to the bridge, consists of twelve elegiac verses.

1 For the division of the Roman provinces Tillemont, Gibbon's "incomparable guide" should be consulted, Histoire des Empereurs, tome ii, p. 541, note xxii—"Si Adrien a fait une nouvelle division des provinces;" whence it appears that the arrangements made by Augustus remained with little alteration until Diocletian. Lactan., De Mortibus Persecutorum quoted by Tillemont, says, with reference to the latter Em-
however, as fresh discoveries are constantly being made, it is quite possible that our opinions as regards the period during which this term was used may undergo some modification.

V.

C.ANTISTI.SE
VERI
FLA
MI
NIS.

(The statue) of Caius Antistius Severus, Flamen.
This inscribed marble was found recently at Auch, the capital of the Department Gers, in the grounds of the Ursuline convent, which were used as a cemetery from the first to the tenth century. Brief as the inscription is, it suggests to us some topics worthy of consideration. Our modern compilers of history say nothing about Antistius in connection with Roman conquests in Gaul and Spain, but the case is different if we turn to the Greek and Latin authorities. Caius Antistius played an important part in that war against the Cantabrians and Asturians, which taxed so severely the energies of Augustus and his legions. Dion Cassius informs us that when Augustus, overcome by fatigue and anxiety, had retired to Tarragona, where illness detained him for several months, his lieutenant Antistius carried on the war successfully.1 This statement is confirmed by Velleius, Florus, and Orosius; the last, being a Spaniard, naturally gives a disproportionately copious account of the Roman campaigns in his native country.2 As the letters in this inscription are well cut, and therefore indicate an early period of the Roman empire, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that they refer, if not to the Antistius above mentioned, at least to some member of his family.3 Hübner supplies many instances of the title

2 Velleius Paterculus, ii, 90; Florus iv, 12, n. 51; Orosius vi, 21. These writers inform us that Spain, which had waged such long and terrible wars against the Romans, was free even from robbers under the government of Antistius, and that he extended his conquests as far as Gallicia.
3 Under the Republic two forms of this name occur, Antestius and Antistius; the former is supposed to be the more ancient, as it appears on coins of an older type; Admiral Smyth, Descriptive Catalogue of the Northumberland Cabinet of Roman coins pp. 9-11. This author speaks of the gens Antistia as unimportant, but the passages cited above show that his remark is not quite correct. Cohen, Médailles Consulaires, s.v. Antestia, gives a coin which probably relates to the illness of Augustus mentioned above; obverse C. ANTISTI. VETVS III.VIR; reverse PRO VALETVINAE CAESARIS S.P.Q.R. (Senatus populusque
Flamen in the region north of the Ebro, from which it appears that this provincial dignity was highly valued, though of course inferior to the corresponding office in the priesthood at Rome.  

We may draw the same inference from a passage in Pliny's Epistles; he is writing an introduction for his friend Voconius Romanus, and mentions it as a claim to favourable consideration that he has been Flamen in the Nearer Spain.  

The importance of the Flamens is also proved by the fact that statues were frequently erected in their honour, and there are some marks of fastenings in the marble at Auch, which indicate that a statue was formerly placed upon it. We may also suppose this inscription to belong to the first or second century, on account of the simplicity of the style, which is contented with a single title of honour. Lastly, the word *Flaminis* is enclosed by a circular wreath, on which acorns and leaves are sculptured in rows, an acorn between two leaves alternating with a leaf between two acorns. There can be no doubt that a civic crown is here represented, but the leaves are not indented, as in the common oak. A friend has suggested that they are meant for the ilex, conventionally treated. Many contemporaneous examples of the corona civica may be seen in the busts and coins of the Roman emperors.
We come now to the mosaics of the district, a class of monuments which has strong claims on the attention of archaeologists on account of their permanence, beauty, and universality. No mosaics here can vie with the grand historical designs brought to light at Pompeii orPalestrina, but one at Jurançon, near Pau, deserves more than a passing notice. It is easily accessible to visitors from this city, being at a distance of only two miles, and close to the high road leading to Eaux Bonnes and Eaux Chaudes. In the immediate neighbourhood of Jurançon, on a height at Guindalos, vestiges were found of a Roman camp, which was doubtless intended to guard the entrance of the valley; but when first discovered these mosaics were conjectured by Monsieur Serviez to be Moorish. This supposition may be at once rejected, for two reasons; in this part of France the Arabs did not execute any works of art, they only destroyed those of other nations; secondly, we have here representations of human figures and animals, which are quite foreign to their style. These tessellated pavements are unquestionably Roman, and very superior to the mediæval imitations of the antique. The design is good, but the execution irregular, which we may account for by supposing that the plan was furnished by some artist in one of the great cities, and carried out by provincial workmen. Many of the patterns—circles, squares, lozenges, quatrefoils, trefoils, and scrolls—are the same as occur in the Roman villas of Britain, but we remark others—vine leaves, bunches of grapes, and olives—derived from the more luxuriant flora of Southern Europe.

It is not quite certain whether the building to which these remains belong was a villa or a bathing establishment, but the great number of flues and pipes and the general character of the ornamentation favour the latter opinion. So few objects were found on the site that they

1 The excavation of this mosaic was commenced by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, who kindly lent me his description of it, illustrated by coloured drawings, which represent the original with spirit and accuracy.

2 Similarly, the inferiority of the Phigaleian to the Parthenon bas-reliefs has been explained by supposing that the former were executed by the Arcadians, from the designs of Ictinus. This theory seems probable, as he was the architect of both temples. Vaux, Handbook for the Antiquities of the British Museum, p. 32.

THE MOSAICS OF JURANÇON.

SECTION OF THE IMPLUVIUM.

GENERAL PLAN OF THE DISCOVERIES.

From Le Coeur Mosaiques de Jurançon et de Bielle.
Scale of 0°.0025 P/m.
cannot decide the question; they included an abacus and a capital of a column, fragments of amphorae, and a portion of a stone hand-mill. That the building was only provisional has been inferred from the rough materials employed, the thinness of the walls, and the small size of the marble slabs with which some surfaces are veneered.

There were in all sixteen rooms, and eight of these have their mosaics preserved more or less. The long portico or corridor A was probably used as a promenade, being open on the east side, and protected by the roof from sun and rain, so that as much shelter was provided as the climate would require. In the central compartment the mosaic consisted of semicircles overlapping like scales; each semicircle contained three flowers, and the ground was yellow. On either side of this simple but elegant design was a more complicated one of stars separated by lozenges; each star had four points and a circle in the middle. The stars and circles were red, with white leaves on them; the lozenges were brown, and ornamented with quatrefoils, while the ground was yellow as before. The pavement of this gallery was surrounded by a white border, which gave a finish to the composition, as it was covered by a scroll pattern, with trefoils between the curves.

The Atrium E was enclosed by four porticoes, but there were only two patterns in the pavement, for they were repeated on the opposite sides. One was composed of interlacing circles, and the other of squares in which crescents and quatrefoils alternated. The impluvium, or basin in the centre, was appropriately embellished by a representation of dolphins, and smaller fish of various colours; some of them being red seem intended for lobsters or ecrevisses. Lastly, the design in the hemicycle adjoining resembles that of the gallery A, but

1 Great injury had been done to this mosaic previously to the publication of Mons. Le Cœur's pamphlet in 1856, as visitors often detached the tessellae with their feet or the point of their walking-sticks; but after that date the pavement suffered still more severely from the inundation in 1875, so that some of the most interesting portions, e.g., the heads of Neptune, had quite disappeared, when I visited Juràncion in the autumn of 1877. The following account, therefore, describes the mosaic as it was, not as it is at present. Mons. Le Cœur's memoir, which has now become very scarce, is entitled "Mosaïques de Juràncion et de Bièlle;" it is accompanied by plans and coloured drawings.
the colours are different, and fresh variety is introduced in the border, which is a geometrical one, viz:—triangles for the arc, and squares for the chord.

On the contrary, the pavement of the next hall \( \kappa \) contains no angles, but is made up of tangent circles enclosing acorns, wavy lines and quatrefoils; a border of green foliage and red rosettes admirably corresponds with this style of ornamentation. In the hall \( \lambda \) the yellow colour predominates; we have here also circles, but they include trefoils, and are connected by olives covered with chevrons; in the centre are octagons with interlacings round them; the border, answering the purpose of a picture frame, is a scroll on which vine leaves and grapes alternate. It was quite natural that Roman settlers, here amid these vine-clad hills, should perpetuate on marble floors the memory of the generous beverage that made them almost forget their Formian and Falernian wines.\(^1\)

This apartment surpasses those already mentioned by reason of its more elaborate decoration: in the midst of the tessellated pavement may still be seen a large Latin cross—itself an unusual device—with a colossal bust of Neptune at the intersection of the arms, easily recognized by his attribute, the trident. This figure is encompassed by red, green, and yellow fish, similar to those in the impluvium.

The hall \( \mu \), at the north end of the building, is a parallelogram with a large semi-circular niche on one of its longer sides, and smaller niches on the shorter sides. Ten dolphins, embowed\(^2\) (to use the heraldic term) and groups of smaller fish occupy the parallelogram; flies are also interspersed, perhaps to indicate insects used in catching fish. Below the larger niche runs a frieze with a pattern of vine leaves and grapes similar to that in room \( \lambda \), but the composition filling the semi-circular space is the finest in the whole building, as it consists of a group of human figures with accessories. In the centre

\(^1\) Horace, Odes i, 20, 10.—\footnote{Temperant vites, neque Formiani poculis colles. Lespy, Grammaire Bearnaise, Introduction, p. ix.}

\(^2\) Boutell's English Heraldry, p. 82, "If their bodies (i.e. of fish) are bent as the dolphin is generally represented, they are emboved. No. 163." Conf. p. 78, and for the dolphin as portrayed by Greek artists see p. 8, No. 8, engravings of ancient shields from Greek vases.
there was formerly a colossal bust of Neptune, for even when Mons¹ Le Cœur wrote his memoir the mosaic was dilapidated, though enough was left to trace the design with certainty: the head was surrounded by a green nimbus, like the glory of Christian saints, probably symbolizing the sea; and across the breast were two anchors corresponding to the trident in room L. On either side was a nude female, with arms outstretched and flying drapery; in Mons¹ Le Cœur’s drawing that on the left is nearly complete, while of the one on the right only the feet remain, still their position shows that there were two figures symmetrically arranged. Mons¹ Le Cœur thinks that Fame is represented, but this seems a mistake, for no characteristic attribute is added.¹ It is more likely that we have here Nereids, who would be appropriately introduced as attendants on Neptune; and this view is confirmed by the flying drapery, common in subjects of this class, as may be seen by comparing Galatea, Amphitrite and Tethys on the Florentine gems. There the goddess is portrayed riding over the waves, and holding a scarf above her head that serves for a shade and a sail.² The whole space of each of the smaller niches is filled by a yellow shell marked with black and red stripes, in which there are indentations intended to soften the transition of colours.

R shows a lower level than the adjoining rooms, and probably contained the furnace for heating them. A small room Ν adjoins the large apartment L, it seems to

¹ Fame blowing a trumpet, holding a lance, and standing on the prow of a galley, appears on a coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and indicates his naval victory over Ptolemy, C. O. Müller, Archäologie der Kunst, sec. 406, Anmerk. 2. Montfaçon, Antiquité Expliquée, vol. i, p. 68, pl. xxxii, 6, calls this figure Victory; but we need not be surprised at the difference of attribution, as Fame and Victory are ideas so closely connected.

² King, Antique Gems and Rings, vol. ii, description of woodcuts, pl. xiii, especially No. 4, Venus Marina. “Her veil, distended by the breeze, declares her character of Euploea, patroness of sailors,” conf. No. 1, ib., Neptune and Amphitrite; pl. xiv, No. 8, Nereid guiding a pair of hippocampi across the seas. Gori, Gemmæ Antiquæ, Musei Florentine, vol. ii, pl. xlvii, No. 2, p. 97. Galatea, delphino vecta per mare, vestem ad zephyrum tollit supra caput, quae etiam et umbraculum sit, et currenti velum, uti a Philostrato descriptur; conf. pl. xlviii, Nos. 3, 4. The Jurassou Mosaic may be regarded as illustrating Lucian’s graphic dialogue, Zephyrus et Nubes, where he says that Europa held together her robe blown out by the wind (νεφελωμένα τον τίτλον), and that the Nereids rode on dolphins beside her. For this reference I am indebted to Dr. Caulfield.
have been used for anointing (Elaeothesium); in the pavement lozenges alternate with squares or circles, and these geometrical figures include quatrefoils, vine-leaves and mæanders; the whole is surrounded by a broad scroll of pale foliage, that contrasts well with the brighter hues inside. Rooms r and q are supposed to have formed the sudatorium, as there were vertical flues on the outside walls, and low walls within the apartments, which may have supported the floor (suspensura). In c and j the flues radiate from a central point, an arrangement similar to that at Carnac in Brittany, where Mr. Mylne has excavated a Gallo-Roman villa. The length of the gallery A is 30.04 metres, and its width 3.74 metres, from which other measurements may be approximately deduced. We regard these mosaics with pleasure because they are so varied and yet so harmonious; but they possess an additional interest as proofs of high civilization, if we bear in mind that they were executed in a remote corner of Gaul, and in a building that seems to have been erected only for temporary purposes.

Another mosaic, similar to that at Jurançon, may be seen at Bielle, a village in the picturesque vallee d'Ossau, between Laruns and Arudy. This place was once the capital of the district, and its former importance is still testified by the carved stone-work of many archways and windows in private houses. One apartment of a Roman villa here has preserved its mosaic almost entire; like that in the long portico at Jurançon, it consists of a centre piece and a compartment on each side. The pattern of the former is a red rosette in a laurel wreath, with a square border of ivy leaves, the space in the four corners being occupied by vases; the side compartments, exactly alike, are covered by a more simple design of semicircles and cusps, coloured green and yellow. An interlaced border encloses the three divisions. In con-

1 Vitruvius, v. 11, 2, p. 129, edit. Rode, ad sinistram sibi elaeothesium, tab. xv, forma xix, Palaestra, k, elaeothesium.
2 Compare Buckman and Newmarch, Corinium, pp. 62-70. The method of constructing tessellated floors.—Detailed account of the structure of the hypocaust, suspensurae and pilae; pl. viii showing the pilae or supports of the floor; and woodcuts pp. 64, 66, showing section and plan of the pilae.
3 Mr. Mylne has published a full description of his discoveries, entitled "Fouilles faites a Carnac (Morbihan), Les Bossenno et le Mont Saint Michel;" this work is accompanied by engravings, maps, a plan and chromo-lithographs.
nexion with this comparatively small vestige of antiquity, found in a building whose largest room was only 7'7 metres long and 5 broad, it is worthy of remark that a capital and fragments of shafts of columns were brought to light by excavations in the neighbourhood, and that pillars engaged in the walls of the church were taken from some Roman edifice, so that the constructions here must have been much more extensive than the ground plan of the villa might lead us to suppose.¹

Taron, an obscure village north of Morlaas, possesses a mosaic inferior both in design and execution to those already described. The border is a scroll with purple grapes and vine leaves alternating; the central space is divided into two equal parts by a kind of ribbon, on either side of which are vine branches conventionally treated, and baskets apparently filled with grapes. This pavement, like many others on the same site, has been destroyed in cultivating the soil, but it had fortunately been copied by M. Raymond, and his drawing has been repeated in M. Le Cœur's work on Béarn, Plate 60. Taron seems to be only a modern form of the name Tarusates, mentioned by Caesar, de Bello Gallico, III, 27, in the list of nations who submitted to Crassus, and bears a close resemblance to Tarbes-(Tarbelli), the capital of the Hautes Pyrénées.

Hitherto we have considered those monuments which are exclusively Roman, we now proceed to one which shows the admixture of other influences. As some justification for calling attention to the sarcophagus at Lucq, I may state that Mons’. Le Blant, a very competent judge, has pronounced it to be superior to all the relics of the same kind at Arles, where there is a

¹ The name Bielle appears to be the same as the Latin Villa, and we find that in the year 1154 this place was called Vila. A similar substitution of B for V occurs in the case of the patron saint Vivien; in Latin there are three forms of this word—Vivianus, Vilius, and Bibianus. The church of Bielle contains some curious inscriptions, which have been accurately described in a monograph by M. Paul Raymond. They are carved on four columns of grey marble, and, according to the learned epigraphists who have examined them, date from the ninth to the eleventh century. They are evidently the work of Christian pilgrims, but the saint whom they came to invoke is unknown. The word presbyter and abbreviations of it frequently occur; we may also notice that the termination os is often used for us in the proper names. There are altogether 137 inscriptions, and in most cases they are very difficult to decipher. For this branch of palaeography Mons’. Edmond Le Blant's Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule may be consulted with advantage.
large collection of Gallo-Roman antiquities. The neglect with which this sarcophagus has been treated is even more discreditable than the injury done to the Mosaics; it lies in a dark corner of the church buried under a heap of chairs, so that no traveller would discover it without previous information. It is of white marble, 1.92 metres long, 57 centimetres broad at its extremities, and half a metre high. The front is covered by figures in relief, which might at first sight be mistaken for one composition, but on closer examination we find that different scenes of biblical history are represented. Our Lord stands in the centre, and appears to be giving something to the persons on his right and left, probably with reference to the miracle of the loaves and fishes. In the left corner our Saviour is seen again with a wand in his right hand as a sign of authority, and bidding Lazarus, who is swathed in a shroud, come forth from the tomb. The latter is not recumbent, as in the superimposed shelves of the catacombs, but erect in a vertical niche—a position that suits better with the words in the Gospel, "Loose him and let him go." Martha stands by the side of the tomb, and Mary kneels at the feet of Christ. On the right of this group, and in the foreground, is a small figure staggering under a heavy burden, which probably represents the paralytic carrying his bed. Next to him is a little child, on whom Christ lays his hand, proposing him as a pattern of humility to the disciples. In the opposite corner the sacrifice of Isaac is treated so as to correspond with the raising of Lazarus. Abraham is on the point of slaying his son, and the ram substituted for the human victim, occupies a niche similar to that at the

1 See Mons. Le Blant's Études sur les sarcophages Chrétiens de la ville d'Aries. To this work an introduction of thirty-nine pages is prefixed, containing much general information about the symbolism of early Christian art. At p. xiii, note 5, there is a special reference to the sarcophagus at Lucq, which Mons. Le Blant speaks of as almost unknown. It had been previously described only by two French writers, Célestin Moncaut and Le Cocur; he points out the mistakes made in their drawings. This sarcophagus is particularly interesting, because in some cases the sculptor has departed from the types usually received.

2 The friction of these chairs, which are used by the congregation, must contribute to the mutilation of the figures, whenever service is held in the church. In consequence of the unfavourable position of the sarcophagus, it is impossible to take a photograph.

3 St. John, xi, 32. When Mary was come where Jesus was and saw him, she fell down at his feet.
Lucy de Bèrnum Sarcophagus.
Has relief, Plan and Sections.
From Le Cœur’s Promenades Archéologiques en Bèrnum.
other end, in which the mummy-like figure is placed. Between the central group and this scene are three personages, who have not been satisfactorily explained. Can they be intended for the angels who appeared to Abraham on the plain of Mamre when Isaac’s birth was predicted? In the background we see two females; there can be little doubt that one of them is Sarah, who laments her son’s impending fate: the other may be a maid servant, announcing the divine deliverance. The two shorter sides of the tomb also contain bas-reliefs; one exhibits Adam and Eve at the tree of knowledge, and the other, Daniel between two lions, as usual, but with the unusual addition of King Nebuchadnezzar holding a sceptre and followed by an attendant. It is evident that the subjects in this sarcophagus are altogether Christian, for the sacrifice of Isaac finds place here only because it was habitually employed to symbolize the atonement, but it is equally evident that the treatment is, to a great extent, Roman. The symmetrical arrangement of figures on either side of a central group, with corresponding accessories at each extremity, is precisely what we see in the pediment of a heathen temple. Our Lord and his apostles are draped in the toga, without those attributes which later art assigned to them; the wand in the hand of Christ is probably derived from the augural staff (lituus), and, lastly, Sarah’s handmaid has her hair collected in a knot at the back of her head, according to the fashion observable in imperial coins.

Descending to a still later period, we shall find the  

1 The introduction of Sarah here reminds us of her appearance in the grand mosaics of San Vitale at Ravenna, where she stands in the tent-door and laughs at the promise of an heir. Seroux d’Aguincourt, History of Art by its Monuments, vol. iii, pl. xvi, No. 12, Mosaic of the year 547, with subjects from the Old Testament. Ciampini, Vetera Monumenta, vol. ii, plate xx, p. 68.

2 In the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, we may trace three distinct fashions of arranging the hair amongst the Roman ladies. Plotina, Marciana, Matidia, and Sabina—the wife, sister, niece and granddaughter of Trajan—wore a lofty head-dress consisting of many rows of curls; Faustina Senior, had her hair collected in a knot on the top of the head, but Faustina Junior, wore it plaited at the back, in the same manner as the figure on the sarcophagus. The changes of style may be seen as clearly in medals as in busts and statues.—Juvenal, Satires vi, 502; Statius, Silvae, I, 2, 114. Engravings from the ancient marbles in the British Museum, part x, pl. ix, p. 17, Head of Sabina; ib., pl. x, p. 19, Head of Faustina Junior. Cohen Medailles Imperiales, vol. ii, pls. iii, iv, vii, xiv, xviii, xix. Anachronism pervades the drapery of the figures in this sarcophagus, the sculptor having adopted the costume of his own day, just as in the Renaissance we see scriptural characters in the dress of the sixteenth century.
mediaeval imitations of the Roman style far more numerous and striking than the works executed by that people, or by provincials acting under their direction. The old churches in Béarn are, for the most part, Romanesque, and amongst them the Cathedral of Lescar is the best example for our purpose. It was founded A.D. 980 by Sanche Guillaume, Duke of Gascony, in expiation of a murder which he had ordered a nobleman to commit.

It consists of a nave and two aisles terminating in semi-circular apses, and, with the transepts, forms a Latin cross. The round arch prevails throughout the vaultings, and the windows correspond with them. All the constructive parts are so solid that the building itself has resisted successfully the attacks of time and the ravages of fanaticism, while the sculptures have been in some cases totally destroyed, and in others grievously mutilated.

On entering, the visitor's thoughts are carried back to the baths of Pompeii or the Thermae of Diocletian, and he is tempted to regard the style rather as Roman than Romanesque. But we may trace a resemblance to an edifice much nearer Lescar, the so-called Temple of Diana at Nîmes, probably erected early in the second century, which exhibits Greek taste adorning the "megalithic grandeur" of the Romans. There, as usual, the arches are semi-cylindrical, and the three aisled arrangement is adopted with two small apses at the end. This temple may have served as a model for many churches in the south of France, and Mr. Fergusson has compared with

1 Lescar has been called the ville septenaire, because it had formerly seven churches, seven fountains, seven gates, and seven towers on its ramparts. During many years the cathedral was the St. Denis of Béarn, the sovereigns of the country being interred there. Le Coeur, Promenades Archéologiques aux Environs de Pau, pp. 17 and 21.

2 In Béarn, at least, the middle ages were not the halycon time which some fanciful writers are pleased to depict. On the contrary, they were a period of great violence and cruelty on the part of rulers, who seem to have been taught by the clergy that the erection of churches or foundation of hospitals would atone for their crimes, however atrocious.

3 There was no clerestory here, as in our northern cathedrals. The difference of climate will account for the difference of construction; under a southern sun the entrance of too much light would prove very inconvenient.

4 The "Temple" of Diana seems to have been a basilica erected by Hadrian in honour of the Empress Plotina, who had promoted his succession to the throne. This view is stated by Hirt, who explains satisfactorily the details of the building, Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten, vol. ii, p. 384, section 78. Considered with reference to the deified Empress, whose statue probably stood in a conspicuous place, the building was a temple, but it was used as a basilica for the administration of justice.
it that of St. Nazaire at Carcassonne, where the arches of the aisles are round, but those of the nave and outer aisles are pointed, so that the analogy with the Roman architecture is by no means so complete as at Lescar. 1

Of this church the chancel is the finest part, and one feature of it, considered from our point of view, deserves special notice. The interior of the principal apse is decorated with arcades, supported by columns that rest on a base sufficiently projecting and elevated to remind us of the circular seats in the Latin Basilicas. This row of arches was broken in the centre by a vacant space that marked the position of the episcopal throne. 2  

We have therefore here, in a Christian temple of the 10th century, an arrangement derived from the buildings in which the Romans administered justice. There the Praetor, as presiding judge, occupied the curule chair, in the centre of the hemicycle, while the jury were seated on both sides, and distinguished visitors were accommodated with places in the wings. 3  

But when Christianity inherited the buildings of paganism, the bishop and his presbyters were substituted for the Praetor and the judges. In the church of Torcello, near Venice, an interesting parallel may be seen, which Mr. Ruskin explains as resembling the amphitheatre; but inasmuch as the Christians derived the general plan of their churches from the Basilicas, the purposes of both being analogous, and as the apse was only a copy of the old hemicycle, where the tribunal was situated, it seems far-fetched to account for any of the details by reference to structures of a totally different type in some of the principal churches in the South of France.  

The phrase Palais Gallien is a double misnomer, for the existing ruin is the entrance of an amphitheatre, probably built by Tetricus, who for some time ruled Aquitaine, not by Gallienus, who, as far as we know, was unconnected with this province. If we compare this fragment of the third century with structures of the eleventh or twelfth, we shall see proof that the Roman influence was continuous and lasting.  

1 Fergusson, History of Architecture, vol. i, pp. 403-405, pl. 285, section of church at Carcassonne, with the outer aisles added in the fourteenth century. Mr. Petit, Architectural Studies in France, gives two engravings of the Palais Gallien at Bordeaux, and correctly observes that we may recognize this type in some of the principal churches in the South of France.  

2 The interval between the arcades has been recently filled up, so that the historical significance of this part of the building has been lost; and, as the see has been suppressed, there is of course no throne for the bishop.  

3 Plinius Junior, epist. vi, 33, Sedebunt judices centum et octoginta: ... ingens utrique advocatio et numerosa subsellia. Tacitus, Annals i, 75, Judiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret (i.e. Tiberius). Hirt, Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten, Bauk III, Abschnitt v, secs. 4-8, Basilikenbau bei den Griechen und Römern.
character. The steps leading up to the throne, it must be admitted, are not unlike those which intersect the rows of seats in the theatre, but they may have been imitated from the ascent to the Praetor's chair, or introduced to express the dignity of the episcopal office.

Lastly, a Gallo-Roman mosaic at Lescar contains some curious peculiarities. An inscription upon it informs us that it was inserted in the pavement by Guido (Guy) who was Bishop in the 12th century; but as the subject is one that would scarcely have been selected by a prelate for his cathedral, it was probably not made by his direction, but only removed to the church from some earlier building. The mosaic consists of two parts, which are placed on opposite sides of the choir, that on the south side has for its principal figure an archer with a wooden leg supporting the stump of the left thigh; an historical personage, therefore, now unknown, must be represented. He is closely followed by a mule, and some other animal partly effaced. The pavement on the north side contains two distinct scenes, a warrior piercing a wild boar with his lance, and a lion attacking a goat, over which a bird hovers as if ready to pounce on its prey. The latter group is executed in an inverted direction. Perhaps the artist had made a mistake in the former portion of his work, but corrected it only in the remainder, where the figures are so placed that they can be conveniently seen by the spectator standing in the axis of the apse. The men and animals are red on a white ground, and the style displays a barbarous energy. It is, however, only the effort of a degraded art, descended from classical antiquity, but with hardly a trace left of its "original brightness," for the ingenious design, beautiful form, and harmonious colouring which we admired at Jurançon, are all alike absent here.

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These features have been noticed on account of their
Roman origin, but there are others which should not be passed over altogether. In the wood-work of the stalls, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and confessors, impress the spectator in their solemn and dignified array, while the capitals of the columns offer to his contemplation the greatest variety of subjects—foliage, grotesque animals, and biblical scenes.

The west front of Lescar Cathedral is quite plain, its sculptures having probably been destroyed by Montgomery's soldiers in the wars of religion; on the other hand, at Morlaas, in the church of Ste. Foi, the grand portalis in comparably the most interesting part. This church was built A.D. 1079 by Centulle IV, and resembles that at Lescar in its origin, as it was intended to atone for the marriage of this prince with Gisla, who was related to him in a degree forbidden by the canon law. The portal consists of a grand arch supported by columns, and containing many concentric rows of sculpture. In the upper part we have figures seated on a projecting torus, in an attitude of supplication—the right arm raised to heaven, and the left placed across the breast; perhaps the spirits of the just are thus represented. Below is a series of rosettes, and another of broad leaves with pearls upon them. Then follow the four and twenty elders of the Apocalyptic vision, seated, with crowns on their heads and instruments of music in their hands; they adore the Paschal Lamb, who occupies the most prominent place, viz., the key-stone of the arch.

The name Morlaas (mort tu l'as) is explained as referring to the murder committed by Fortun Loup, to expiate which the cathedral at Lescar was founded. In the ninth century Morlaas was almost the only town spared by the Normans, and became the royal residence after the destruction of Bemharnum. Cézane Moncaut, Voyage Archeologique et Historique dans l'ancienne Vicomte de Beam, p. 41; Le Coeur, Promenades Archeol., p. 4.

This detail resembles the ball-flower, which is characteristic of the Decorated style of the fourteenth century; J. H. Parker, Glossary of Architecture, vol. i, p. 50, pl. 21.

The twenty-four elders appear as a sculptural decoration at St. Denis, Chartres and Reims, as well as in the church founded by Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the subject probably came from Rome, as it formed a part of the Mosaics at S. Paolo fuori delle Mura, executed A.D. 441 by order of Galla Placidia; it there occupied a most prominent place on the triumphal arch, upon which the name of the Empress was inscribed. Another example occurs in Rome at the church of Sta. Cecilia, rebuilt A.D. 517. Seroux d'Agincourt, vol. iii, pl. xvi, No. 8; pl. xvii, No. 14. In both these cases the elders are holding their crowns in their hands, but at Morlaas and Oloron they wear them on their heads. Compare Revelations iv, 4 and 10. Though individuals expressed doubts concerning the authorship and canonicity of this book, the early Christians generally received it, and dwelt upon...
a row of web-footed birds, some devouring a serpent, others a fish, but the two at the top are pecking each other. Though the birds are alike in shape, this uniformity may be conventional, and they may possibly have reference to allegorical types, such as the pelican in piety, the phoenix an emblem of the resurrection, and the doves symbolizing Christian love. In the great tympanum the central figure is Christ enthroned, raising the right hand to bless, and surrounded by an elliptical glory on which are inscribed the words:

Rex sum coelorum merces condigna meorum.
Me quicumque colit pro vita perderi nolit.

St. John appears on the right hand of the Saviour as an eagle, and St. Matthew, on the left, as an angel; both have the nimbus. There are smaller tympana of a semi-circular form above the two entrances, separated by a column; the sculptures of one are altogether effaced, and of the other nothing is left but a man holding up a child; these figures indicate the massacre of the Innocents, as is proved by verses, of which also only a part remains:

Herodes (Dominum) dum quaerit perdere Christum
Extinxit pueros fidei natos.

There is little to attract the antiquary in the interior; but it may be worth while to mention that the fine mosaic with which the sanctuary is paved has been partly copied from that at Jurançon, described above.

Oloron contains two remarkable churches, St. Croix and St. Marie. The former differs from Lescar and Morlaas in having a cupola at the intersection of the nave and transepts; the ground plan however is similar. Many of the capitals are ornamented with scriptural subjects, and in one case the design is very singular, perhaps unique; three faces are combined in such a way

its sublime imagery with singular delight.

1 I fear that this description of the portal at Morlaas does not correspond well with its present condition, for many details have probably disappeared in the process of reconstruction, which has been unfortunately adopted; on the other hand, at St. Marie d'Oloron, the old sculptures have been preserved as much as possible, and supplemented by judicious restoration, where it was absolutely required. Le Cour. Beam, pp. 296-299. De Burdenave—d'Abere, Morlaas et sa Basilique; the pamphlet of the latter author has a photograph of the portal for its frontispiece.
that the central one is partly formed by the two on the sides. They compose the capital, and on the base of the column two cows' heads are sculptured, evidently taken from the armorial bearings of the province; by this strange device the artist intended to show that the Trinity protected Béarn. As the visitor approaches the church he cannot fail to notice a large square tower, which certainly adds nothing to its beauty. Architecture has been called "an exponent of ideas," it is also an exponent of historical facts. This dismal, ill-shaped tower, that seems to frown on the cupola and apses, tells a tale of troublous times. It is, properly speaking, no part of the ecclesiastical edifice, but was erected in the 13th century as a fortification. The excitement caused by the wars of the Albigenses had spread as far as Béarn, and the buttresses rising to the highest story still attest the precautions which it was necessary to take against violent attacks. A typical example of this combination of a stronghold with a place of worship may be seen at Luz, on the way to Gavarnie, where the Templars built a church, probably in the 13th century; but a still better instance may be found nearer home: the lofty towers that rise above Cormac's chapel on the Rock of Cashel seem intended, like that at Oloron, for defence, and from their elevated position would enable the garrison to watch a distant enemy.

St. Marie presents new features in the ground plan, in the general appearance of the exterior, and especially in the portal. This structure is far more complicated than we usually find in this district, as there are double aisles on each side of the nave, and five chapels radiating round the sanctuary; the latter arrangement, though common in the great cathedrals of France, has no parallel among the churches of Béarn. As St. Marie is outside the old city, it was much more exposed than Ste. Croix to the injuries of civil wars and foreign invasions, which necessitated

1 Le Coeur, ib., Planches 38.
2 Mons., Jules Marion wrote a monograph on the church at Luz, which has been republished separately, but is now very scarce. A good photograph may be obtained on the spot.
3 The most copious account of Cormac's Chapel is that by Petrie, Round Towers and Ancient Architecture of Ireland, pp. 288-304, with engravings showing a general view of the building and many of the details; but the best illustrations will be found in Mr. Arthur Hill's monograph, which contains photographs, plans, and sections of an atlas size.
repairs at different periods, so that the great variety of styles is easily accounted for. The portal and porch are Romanesque, the naves and aisles of the 12th and 13th centuries, the chapels in the apse of the 14th, and the lateral chapels of the 15th. No part of the church can be compared with the western entrance, which is both the oldest and the richest in decoration; it resembles that at Morlaas, but has the advantage of being protected by a vestibule that admits the light abundantly. Above the tympanum, on which is sculptured a descent from the Cross in low relief, extend two over-arching voussoirs adorned with rows of figures; the upper represents the twenty four elders holding musical instruments and vials for perfumes, the lower consists of twelve pairs of labourers, one for each month. Many of them are engaged in culinary operations, and may amuse the spectator by their homely realism. Though they have been very much mutilated, we can still distinguish men carrying bread, raising fowl from a dish, holding a basket of eggs, boiling water and bending before a cask. This voussoir rests on a monster at each end that serves as a gargoyle.

The small church at Sauvelade was mentioned to me by Mons. Raymond as worthy of a visit, and I accordingly made an excursion thither from Orthez. At first I was somewhat disappointed, as the building is devoid of ornament both internally and externally; there are not even any columns, but only pilasters. The plan however is remarkable, for the Greek cross with arms of equal length has been substituted for the Latin, which is the usual form in this part of France. Here again Architecture

1 The crowns of the Elders are like those worn by Carolingian kings on playing cards. Similarly in the frescoes of Villeneuve de Marsau (Landes), representing the history of St. Catherine, a Roman Emperor has the Merovingian crown; Memoir by Dr. Sorbets in the Congres Scientifique a Pau, tome ii, p. 214, pi. iii. The description in the Revelation is reproduced at Oloron with great fidelity, chap. v, v. 8—Four and twenty Elders . . . having everyone of them harps and golden vials full of odours.

2 Between the two doors of this portal is a column supported by four figures with bended knees, which are probably meant for Arabs taken prisoners by Gaston IV in his Spanish wars. They may therefore be compared with the Saracen's heads, which frequently occur in the cathedral at Barcelona, as bosses and corbels. Their position at the base of the column may remind us of the seated female—a Jewess or J uda: personified—at the foot of a palm tree in the well known coins of Vespasian and Titus, bearing the legend IVDAEA CAPTA. Cenac Moncaut is very inaccurate in his account of the reliefs round the tympanum; I discovered his mistakes on the spot, with the assistance of the intelligent artist engaged in restoring the sculptures. This portal has been photographed for me in a superior style by Mons. Calmel, of Pau.
illustrates history. This church was part of a Benedictine Abbey founded by Gaston IV in fulfilment of a vow made when he narrowly escaped drowning in the torrent Laa.

Gaston took a prominent part in the first Crusade; he was associated with Tancred and Count Raymond of Toulouse; he was present at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem, and contributed to the victory at Ascalon. He had therefore seen many Greek churches almost square in those Oriental lands, and on returning to his own dominions naturally imitated a model with which he was familiar.¹

Philology and Archaeology should advance pari passu and hand in hand, because they always assist each other. So, in the present case, if we turn from things to words, we shall find the relations between Rome and Béarn still more apparent than before.² The patois spoken in this province is one of the purest among the Romance languages. It resembles Latin far more than modern French does, as will be seen at once by comparing a few words in common use:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bearnais</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Audir</td>
<td>Audire</td>
<td>Entendre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carce</td>
<td>Carcer</td>
<td>Prison</td>
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<tr>
<td>Custodir</td>
<td>Custodire</td>
<td>Garder</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eligir</td>
<td>Eligere</td>
<td>Choisir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copia de Gentz</td>
<td>Copia</td>
<td>Foule de gens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistole</td>
<td>Epistola</td>
<td>Lettre.³</td>
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</tbody>
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The Béarnais, as might be expected, has a very close affinity with the Spanish, but it is not derived from it, these languages being related to each other as sisters, and not as mother and daughter, for they are equally the offspring of the Latin. It would be easy to shew that they both make the same or similar changes from the original. The inflexions of verbs, and the interchanges ¹ Fergusson, History of Architecture, vol. ii, pp. 325, 327, 328, woodcuts 864, 867. The church of St. Clement at Ancyra is 64 feet long by 58 wide. The church of the Theotokos at Constantinople is 57 feet by 45, and the church of the Apostles at Salonica is 63 feet by 59. ² The law, as well as the language, of Rome remained for a long time in Béarn. It prevailed even during the rule of the Visigoths, and its spirit survived in the Fors. This word is the same as the Spanish Fueros, for which see Ford, Handbook of Spain, Basque Provinces, pp. 171, 179; Aragon, 496, 497; Navarre, 499. ³ Lespy, Grammaire Bearnais, Introduction, p. x. Mountainous and barren countries present few temptations to invaders (cf. Thucydides, Lib. i, cap. 2, δια τι λειτουργον); hence their population and language are comparatively free from foreign admixture, and we may thus account for the continuous predominance of the Latin element in the Bearnais dialect.
of consonants will supply many instances; e.g., the Bearnais and the Spanish have dropped the final E of the Latin infinitive, and have substituted N for the initial F, but with this difference that N is pronounced in Bearn, though mute in Spain. 1

Many of our countrymen spend a portion of the year in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, seeking to recruit their health, or attending on invalid friends. I shall only be too happy, if any suggestions of mine should induce residents in this favoured region to beguile some weary hours, and employ them profitably in the study of its monuments, which, if not as important as some others, are still interesting enough to excite a liberal curiosity, and present a field of enquiry hitherto but imperfectly explored.

NOTE.

I have freely used the Transactions of the Scientific Congress at Pau and the works of recent French writers, especially Le Cœur and Conne Monceau, but I have compared them with earlier authorities, as far as possible. I am also much indebted to my brother Mr. William Lewis, whose residence at Pau has enabled him to afford me very useful assistance from time to time.

Archaeological researches are pursued in the south of France under considerable difficulties, arising partly from the rashness and inaccuracy of some local antiquaries, and partly from the ignorance of the population, which is really amazing. One instance will prove that this statement is no exaggeration. From the census of 1873 we learn that in the Department of Ariège, on the frontier of Spain, the proportion of uneducated persons, i.e., of those who can neither read nor write, is 52 per cent.—Edinburgh Review, vol. cxl, p. 389.

1 This patois contracts the Latin words much less than the French does, e.g., matura, mature—secura, secure, sure. It substitutes D for T, e.g., auditum, auditeur, just as the Spanish has mudar for the Latin mutare. Again, like the Spanish, it has a predilection for B instead of V, e.g., bulon, valer; 1, vis; merbeille, merveille; abantz, avant. Compare Scaliger's epigram quoted by him on the Alphabet, p. 47, Article on the letter B; hand temere antiquas mutat Vasio Nic voces,

Cui nihil est alium vivere quam bilare.

But the strongest proof of the close affinity between the Bearnais and Spanish is the fact that a person speaking the former language can make himself understood in parts of Spain where French is unknown. Lastly, the Bearnais exhibits many analogies with Greek; in both the same word is used for the definite article and the pronoun of the third person; the article precedes a possessive adjective followed by a substantive, e.g., Lou me pay. ἐγων παρθερ; and the article followed by an infinite or participle is equivalent to a noun. Lespy, pp. 121, 122, sec. 149-153. Similarly, if we cross the Pyrenees, we shall find many Greek words in the Catalonian dialect, which is easily accounted for, as Rhodes and Emporeium (Ross and Ampuries) were colonies planted in this region by the Massaliots; Grote, History of Greece, chap. xcviii, vol. xii. p. 616. The evidence of the spread of Greek influence in this direction, which we derive from history and language, is confirmed by the coins; see De Saulcy, Lettres a M. A. de Longpérier, sur la Numismatique Gauloise, p. 276, seqq. Pl. I, last in the volume. Rhodes et l'imitations Gauloises; Leake, Numismata Hellenica, European Greece, p. 50, and Supplement, p. 144.