THE ANTIQUITIES OF BRITTANY.

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BRITTANY, we must admit, is in many respects inferior to other parts of France. It cannot show the sublime scenery of Alpine heights, or vast structures of ancient art, wonderful even in ruins, such as may be seen at Orange, Arles, and Nîmes, but it has its own special claims on the attention of the English archæologist. The very name of the province, being that of our own country, at first sight awakens curiosity. One of its divisions, Cornouaille, reminds us of an English county, while the geography of every district abounds in appellations, prefixes and suffixes, that recur in the map of Wales. Moreover, the history of Brittany is for a long period intertwined with our own. In the fourth century a body of emigrants from Wales, under Maximus and Conan Meriadec, seem to have laid the foundation of an independent kingdom in Armorica.[1] During the fifth and sixth centuries the intercourse between the churches of the two countries was so frequent as to cause astonishment, when we consider the difficulties of travelling at that time.[2] The Duke of Brittany was the

[1] The legend of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins is connected with the settlement of Conan in Armorica; they are said to have been captured by pagan pirates on their voyage to the continent. The name *Conan* recurs at a later period among the Dukes of Brittany and may be seen in their coinage. Ducarel, "Anglo-Gallic Coins:" plates 10–12, contain those issued by the Dukes of Brittany, who were Earls of Richmond in Yorkshire.

[2] In the former half of the sixth century Cadfan and a company of saints came from Armorica to Wales, in the latter half Brittany received a supply of saints from Wales. Lupus and Germanus (Garmon or Harmon) were sent from France to check the progress of Pelagianism in Britain. Gildas (Aneurin), the first of British historians, emigrated from Wales, and founded the monastery of Rhuys.—Rees, "Essay on the Welsh Saints," pp. 94-105, 213, 218, 244, 256. The seven saints of Brittany are Paternus, Samson, Paul, Tugdual, Corentin, Brieuc, and Malo. All but the first were British by birth.—Montalembert, "Les Moines d'Occident, vol. ii. p. 228. The close connection between the two countries is proved by their legendary as well as their ecclesiastical history, for it is doubtful whether the romances of Arthur and the Round Table are insular or continental in their origin.—Villemarque, "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," pp. 21, 35-37.

guardian of William the Conqueror, and the rivalry between Blois and Montfort, with its sudden changes of fortune and display of female heroism, forms an interesting episode in the great war between Edward III. and the House of Valois.[3]

We may divide the monuments of this province into three classes. 1. The Pre-historic and Celtic. 2. The Roman and Gallo-Roman. 3. The Mediæval. I propose now to treat chiefly of the Roman antiquities, partly because this branch of the subject has been little noticed by Englishmen, and partly because the study of these remains will assist us in arriving at correct conclusions concerning those of a still earlier date.

Before proceeding to details, it may be worth while to glance at the ancient authorities. Among the Greek and Roman writers who have left us accounts of Brittany the principal are Cæsar and Strabo. Cæsar's notice of this province occupies only ten chapters, but his testimony cannot be overrated, as it comes from an eyewitness. In his history of the war with the Veneti, he relates the first battle of the Romans on the ocean, and as we read the passage our sympathies are excited by the spectacle of a brave people struggling in vain against the superior discipline of their merciless conqueror. At this early period the inhabitants of Armorica had attained to a higher degree of civilization than is usually supposed, for we are in danger of being misled by the word *barbarians* applied to the nations with whom the Romans came in contact. The sites of the towns were admirably chosen for purposes of defence, as they were built on promontories (in extremis lingulis promontoriisque), and could not be approached by land forces at high water, or by ships when the tide was low. Their vessels were skilfully constructed with flat bottoms, adapted to the navigation of shallow rivers and creeks, while their strong timber and high prows and sterns enabled them to encounter the storms of the sea and the attacks of their enemies. He who would understand the monuments of the Gauls and Romans in Brittany should go there with Cæsar's Commentaries in his hand; he will then see the remains of the ancient towns, not only in the

[3] This War of Succession has been related by Froissart in a graphic style that has won for him the title of the "Herodotus of the Middle Ages." Chaps. 64-69.

Morbihan but also in Finistère, corresponding exactly to this author's description.[4]

Next comes the geographer Strabo, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius. He evidently had access to other sources of information besides Cæsar's narrative. For example, he controverts the statement of Eratosthenes concerning the curvature of Europe in a westerly direction beyond the Pillars of Hercules,[5] and refers to the voyages of Pytheas, the daring navigator of Marseilles, who was probably the first of the Greeks to explore the Atlantic. Strabo mentions the Osismii, who occur in Cæsar, the island Uxisama, Ushant, and the promontory of Cabaeum, perhaps the Pointe du Raz, which he describes as projecting considerably into the ocean. He expresses an opinion that the Venetians on the Adriatic derived their origin from the people of the same name in Brittany, but is careful to avoid making a positive assertion on so doubtful a subject.

Little information can be gleaned from Pomponius Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, as they only supply long lists of names, "rarely interspersed with notices of important facts."[6]

D'Anville has justly remarked that the geography of this part of Gaul is the most obscure. This may be accounted for in various ways. The Itineraries fail us for the Roman roads in Brittany, and we are therefore deprived of a valuable aid in antiquarian investigation. Again, the course of trade from Britain to the south of Europe seems to have been through the central parts of France, so that Armorica was left on one side, and vessels in all probability usually crossed the Channel, as Cæsar did, at or near its narrowest width.[7] Great quantities of tin must have been

[4] Cæsar, "De Bello Gallico," book iii. 17-16, especially 12 and 13. "Histoire de Jules Cesar par l'Empereur Napoleon III.," vol. ii. chap. vi. pp. 121-131, Planche 12, "Carte de la Campagne contre les Venetes."

[5] Strabo, lib. i. cap. iv. § 5. He says that the Veneti caulked their ships with sea-weed to prevent the oak timber from being injured by excessive dryness, lib. iv. cap. iv. § 1. But one would be inclined to think that this plan would not be successful on account of the decomposition of the sea-weed.

[6] Pomponius Mela mentions the Osismii, lib. iii. cap. ii., and the island of Sena, lib. iii. cap. vi. Pliny, iv. § 107, gives the dimensions of Brittany, both for the circuit round the coast, and for the base of this triangular peninsula:—"Peninsulam spectatiorem excurrentem in Oceanum a fine Ossismorum circuitu DCXXV. M. pass. cervice in latitudinem CXXV. M." Dionysius Periegetes, v. 570, speaks of an island where women crowned with ivy celebrated the orgies of Bacchus. This island is perhaps the same as one opposite the mouth of the Loire mentioned by Strabo, who here follows Posidonius, lib. iv. cap. iv. § 6.

[7] The chief authority for the course of the tin trade is Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. cc. 22, 38, who says that it was διὰ τῆς μεσογείου Κελτικῆς, through the *mid-*

imported from Cornwall to be employed in the composition of bronze for statues and domestic utensils. This material, whether conveyed by Phœnician ships through the Straits of Gibraltar, or carried overland to Marseilles, would not for the most part go through Brittany ; so that the traffic would contribute little to the knowledge of this province among the Greeks and Romans. Lastly, the jealous and exclusive spirit that prevailed in antiquity hindered the attainment of accurate geographical information concerning remote districts. Each state endeavoured to monopolize as much as possible ; so Strabo tells us that the Veneti fought against Cæsar with a view to prevent his passage into Britain, because they traded with that country. But in his account of the Cassiterides, he gives us a much more striking instance. He says that in former times the Phœnicians alone had commercial relations with these islands, and that they concealed the navigation from the rest of the world. The Romans followed one of their captains in the hope of discovering the ports to which he was sailing, but to frustrate their design he stranded his ship, and on his return was compensated by the state for the loss of his cargo.[8]

When we compare the Roman antiquities of Brittany with those of the south of France, we see much the same difference as between Northumberland and Gloucestershire ; the former consisting chiefly of roads and forts indicating a *military* occupation, while the latter present on every side, both in architecture and sculpture, the proofs of peaceful possession, luxury, and refinement. There are in Brittany no triumphal arches, temples, or amphitheatres, but only vestiges of causeways that appear for a short space, and then elude our search—substructions or ruins of towers, walls, and houses rising a few feet above the ground,—rude figures, the work probably of unskilled soldiers, and specimens of glass and ceramic ware that have little intrinsic merit to attract the attention of the connoisseur. But there is a point of view from which these fragmentary and

land part of Gaul. Mr. Fergusson, in his "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 334, note, describes the traffic as passing through the dolmen country, which according to his map was the west side of Gaul, so that his account does not exactly correspond with that of the Greek historian.

[8] Strabo, lib. iii. cap. v. § 11. Compare Heeren's "Historical Researches, Asiatic Nations," vol. i. pp. 321, 331 ; "African Nations," vol. i. p. 170.

inartistic remains seem more interesting than the noblest monuments of the Eternal City—situated at the extremity of Gaul on the shores of the Atlantic, they show, even now, after the lapse of many centuries, more forcibly than anything else, the strength of the central government, the energy and skill with which it conquered, at this great distance from the capital, every obstacle presented by nature, or by the hostility of barbarous tribes. Though the work of the Romans has been impaired by accidents, and their materials have been used as quarries in the Middle Ages, enough is left even here to prove that their civil and military organisation was more complete than in any country of modern Europe down to a very recent date.[9]

It is gratifying to observe that, notwithstanding the difficulties above mentioned, the science of archæology has made rapid progress in this part of France, which has been accused, sometimes unfairly, of lagging behind the rest of the country. To a discovery made by M. Le Men I beg now to call attention. The site of Vorganium, the capital of the Osismii, was placed by D'Anville at Carhaix, and though the evidence was very insufficient, succeeding topographers accepted his conclusion. At last the researches of M. Le Men have made clear what previously was so dark. In the year 1837, M. de Kerdanet mentioned the existence of a milestone at the village of Kerscao, in the arrondissement of Brest, but he was not successful in deciphering the words upon it; he supposed it to be an *altar* to Claudius, the son of Drusus, and in support of this view, referred to a passage in Seneca, who speaks of peasants erecting monuments of this kind in honour of the emperor. Another antiquary interpreted the inscription as expressing the distance in Gallic leagues, which were not in use as a measurement till a much later period. In January, 1873, the milestone was removed from its original position, and deposited in the Departmental Museum at Quimper. After careful study, M. Le Men gives the text as follows:—

[9] Dr. Bruce, "Roman Wall," p. 75, gives a striking proof of the superiority of the ancient Romans over the modern English in this respect. When the Pretender invaded England, General Wade, who was at Newcastle, could not relieve Carlisle because the roads were "impassable for artillery." The city consequently fell into the hands of the enemy. Such a disaster could not have happened in the age of the Antonines, for the Roman military way accompanied the wall.

TI. CLAVDIVS
DRVSI FILIVS
CAESAR AVG. . .
GERMANICVS
(PO)NTIFEX MAXI(MVS)
TRIBVNICIA (PO)T
IMP XI PPCoS (I)II
DESIGNATVS IIII
VORGAN MP VIII [1]

and his reading has been approved with a very trifling exception, by the Commissioners for the topography of Gaul. The name and title of the emperor occur here, as on Roman coins, in the *nominative*, though the dative is frequently used for the person in whose honour a monument was erected. The words IMP XI are in accordance with the testimony of Dion Cassius, who tells us that Claudius was repeatedly saluted as Imperator. At first sight this epithet may appear incompatible with his unwarlike character; but it is easily understood if we call to mind his expedition into Britain, which was rewarded with a triumph, and the fact that the Roman emperors were credited with the successes obtained by their generals. Claudius crossed over into Britain in the year A.D. 43, having, as Suetonius informs us, marched through Gaul from Marseilles to Boulogne.[2] In the last line but one, Claudius is mentioned as being consul-elect for the fourth time, and thus the date of this inscription is known to be A.D. 46. This monument was therefore erected within three years from his British campaign, when the presence and victories of Claudius were still fresh in the recollection of the Gauls. But the last line is specially interesting, as it enabled M. de Men to ascertain the site of the capital of the Osismii. Vorganium is here stated to be eight Roman miles distant from this stone, which would be equivalent

[1] For the titles of Claudius in this inscription compare a much more famous one of the same emperor on his triumphal arch at Rome, and one at Cyzicus. The latter is the subject of an excellent article by M. Georges Perrot in the "Revue Archéologique," February, 1876, pp. 99-105. He refers to the inscription on the arch, and gives the earlier part of it more correctly than Orelli and Merivale.

[2] Suetonius "Claudius," cap. 17 :—"A Massilia Gesoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto." Claudius has been held up to contempt as stupid and feeble, but he deserves respect from antiquaries. He wrote in Greek histories of Etruria and Carthage. Suet., ib., 42; Tacitus, "Annales," xi. 13, 14, 24. We have a specimen of his archæological lore in his speech still extant, engraved on two bronze tablets found at Lyons, Gruter, vol. i. p. DII.

to about $7\frac{1}{5}$ English miles. This is only the Gallic name Morgant, slightly modified by the Romans; it means the sea coast, and is the same as the Welsh Morgan, which was translated into Greek, and became Pelagius, the usual designation of the Heresiarch, who figures so prominently in the controversies concerning free will, divine grace, and election. The interchange of M and V is in accordance with the laws of language, and especially with the practice of the Celtic tongue. In the Breton dialect, M is one of the moveable letters, and corresponds with V; so we have *tad mad*, good father, but *mam vad*, good mother; and similarly *vam*, mother, in the singular, but *mameu* in the plural; *verh*, a girl, but *merhed*, girls. Taking into account the meaning of Vorganium, the distance indicated, and the character of the monument, we must look for the site of this city at a distance of rather more than seven English miles from the village of Kerscao, on the sea-coast, and on a Roman road. These conditions are fulfilled by the promontory of Saint Cava, on the right bank of the River Aber-Vrach. The distance of this place from the stone is the same as that marked on the inscription, and the ruins of a town have been recently discovered there. Its situation on a promontory agrees with the description of the Gallic Oppida in Cæsar, and may be compared with that of the capital of the Trinobantes on the peninsula where Colchester now stands.[3] Vorganium was at the termination of the Roman road which led from Vorgium (Carhaix), an important military station, to the north-western extremity of the province; it crossed the mountains of Aré, passed near the town of Landiviseau, and then advanced towards the sea-coast in the direction of Plouguerneau. The course of this road is ascertained by the discovery of Roman remains in several localities along the line; at la Feuillée, Creac'h-ar-Bleiz, Plouneventer, and Saint Frégant, tiles, fragments of Samian ware, and objects in other materials, have been found, besides numerous coins in gold, silver, and bronze. The circumstances I have mentioned would, considered singly, be insufficient to prove the site of Vorganium, but, taken collectively, they establish

[3] Merivale, "Romans under the Empire," vol. vi. p. 24, note 2. He mentions lines from the Colne to a little wooded stream called the Roman river. They cut off a district twenty or thirty miles square, and seem to have been the ramparts of the British oppidum, Camulodunum.

almost with certainty the conclusion at which M. Le Men has arrived.

Another Roman inscription upon a column erected in the year A.D. 268, on the way from Nantes to Vannes, near Surzur, east of the Morbihan, though of little use for the purposes of topography, possesses a certain historical importance :—

IMP. CAES
PIAVONIO
VICTORINO
PIO FELICI
AVG.[4]

"To the Emperor Cæsar Piavonius Victorinus, pious, fortunate, Augustus." Mongez, the author of the "Iconographie Romaine," asserted that there were no testimonies to the sovereignty of Postumus and his successors, except those derived from medals and cameos ; hence this monument is curious as supplying corroborative evidence of a different kind.[5] Victorinus was the associate of Postumus, an usurper who disturbed the peace of the Roman empire towards the close of the third century. He soon disappeared from the scene, but his mother Victoria—the Zenobia of the West—who succeeded him, and reigned for some time, was one of the most remarkable personages who have borne that illustrious name.

The third inscription which I have copied may be seen in the museum at Dinan, and belongs to the sepulchral class—

D.M.S.
SILICIANA
MIG DE DOMO AFRIKA
EXIMIA PIETATE FILIVM SECVTA
HIC SITA EST
VIXIT AN LXV
C. F. I. IANVARI
VS FIL POSVIT.

[4] This inscription is fully described by Cayot Delandre, "Le Morbihan, son Histoire et ses Monuments," p. 128. Dr. Alfred Fouquet, "Des Monuments Celtiques et des Ruines Romaines dans le Morbihan," p. 72, says that traces of a Roman camp have been discovered in the neighbourhood.

[5] Mongez, "Iconographie Romaine," vol. iv. p. 11. Visconti, "Icon. Rom." Pl. 58, No. 3, gives an engraving of a fine medal, on which the Emperor Victorinus is represented, taking by the hand a female kneeling on one knee. The legend, RESTITVTORI GALLIARVM, coincides with the discovery of the abovementioned inscription in a *Gallic* province.

"Sacred to the divine Manes: Siliciana left her home in Africa, and followed her son with extraordinary affection; she is buried here; she lived sixty-five years. Her son, Julius Januarius, erected this memorial to the illustrious lady." We have here, in simple terms, a record of maternal love and filial piety. Roman monuments often speak only of war and conquest, but sometimes they supply proofs that this stern military people were not insensible to finer feelings, and that human nature, under different institutions, was the same in ancient as in modern times. We may also notice with what delicacy the mention of death—a sound of evil omen—is avoided; the date of decease is not given, but the duration of life.[6]

Travelling from the site of Vorganium along the coast in a south-westerly direction, we come to Brest and the Bay of Douarnenez. In no part of the province do we meet with more frequent traces of the Romans; on every water-course there are still to be seen the foundations of their buildings, and occasionally walls of considerable height. The beauty of the scenery doubtless induced them to erect their villas here. As they gazed on the blue waters, bold promontories, and numerous islands, they must have been reminded of another bay still more beautiful, surrounded by the terrestrial paradise of Campania, and associated with the glories of their history and literature.

The antiquities of this period in Morbihan are, as we might expect, more important than in Finistère, for they belong to the district which was the stronghold of the Veneti. Doubtless the invader felt it necessary to secure his acquisitions by a net-work of forts, camps, and roads that would prevent any combination amongst the recently conquered tribes, and thus render the recovery of their independence almost impossible. The archæological map accompanying Dr. Fouquet's book on Morbihan, shows that the views expressed by Cæsar were adopted by his successors.[7] The roads were in many cases carried along the boundaries of the Gallic states, and the army was posted in small detachments, so as to cover the whole extent of

[6] So in antique gems mortality is symbolized, not by the disgusting death's head and cross-bones, but by the actor removing the garland from his head, to denote that the drama of life is played out.

[7] Cæsar, "De Bello Gallico," iii. 10. "Partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit."

the country. It is obvious, at first sight, that the chief military positions are the embouchure of the Etel, and the Gulf of Morbihan (little sea). Hence a fort was placed at Plouhinec to command the entrance of this river, and higher up dykes were constructed across its branches, making great pools that prevented access to the Roman entrenchments, just as, on a much larger scale, Ravenna was protected by surrounding marshes.[8] The principal Roman establishment was at Nostang, a few miles from Hennebont, renowned for its heroic defence by the Countess of Montfort, and it was supported according to the usual practice, by several smaller stations. These facts are proved by considerable ruins, *debris* of bricks, and fragments of pottery. M. de Keridec marks in his plan three pools, and states that there are several others, which formed, as it were, a second line of circumvallation, the system of defence being completed by advanced posts on the river. Here etymology comes to our aid. Whatever the former syllable of Nostang or Lostang may be, the latter is clearly the Latin *stagnum;* locus stagnorum seems a probable explanation. Again, the names of many families resident in the neighbourhood, point to a Roman origin, such as *Jubin*, from Gebuinus, *Le Lan*, from Lavinus or Launus, *Le Feé*, from Fides, *Emel*, from Armagilus.

If we proceed eastwards, Locmariaker and Vannes attract our notice; the former was the Dariorigum of the ancients, and still affords evidence that the Romans not only came here, but held the place for a long time in undisturbed possession, as there are remains of civil as well as military works, and of edifices erected for luxury and amusement. Here they built their fort on a hill overlooking the town and the entrance of the inland sea, selecting the most advantageous situation with that practical wisdom, of which we find so many striking instances in Hadrian's Wall.[9] Dr. Fouquet, in the year 1853, examined very carefully substructions in the court of a private house at Locmariaker. Six apartments were brought to light; a coating of soot and

[8] Gibbon, chap. xxx. vol. v. p. 201, ed. Milman. "The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable morass."

[9] For a parallel case compare Segedunum, Bruce, "Roman Wall," ed. 4to. p. 88. "The station at Wallsend occupies a site well adapted to military purposes. It stands on a bend of the river, formed by two of its longest reaches, and consequently commands a view of the stream for a great distance in both directions."

cement blackened with smoke gave signs of the hypocaust, and numerous pipes communicating with the central canal were indications of a bath that probably belonged to some public establishment. But at the eastern corner of the edifice a second brass coin was found, bearing the legend CAE. MAGNENTIVS AVG. Unlike the rest of the building, this angle of the walls was made partly of stones, and iron cramps fastened them to the bricks, under which the coin was discovered. It seems as if the intention had been to provide additional security for the piece of money as a record of the date. Magnentius assumed the purple in A.D. 350, and for three years disputed the sovereignty of the Roman world with Constantius, the last surviving son of Constantine the Great. East of Locmariaker, on the north side of the Morbihan, are the remains of a Roman fort and villas erected under its shelter, which commanded the most picturesque views of the bay, so that here also the Romans combined enjoyment of the beauties of nature with a strong military position.

But there can be no doubt that Vannes exceeded in importance the stations already mentioned, though to a superficial observer this assertion may seem unfounded. The deficiency of proofs may be easily accounted for by the superior numbers and industry of the population in times nearer to our own. These have produced their usual effect in obliterating the vestiges of antiquity.[1] However, four portions of the Roman wall may still be seen in the ramparts, easily recognised by the rows of tiles placed at intervals; the *debris* of Roman pottery appear in the cemetery, and the enclosures of the fields are, in some cases, formed of cubical stones that came from a circus like that at Locmariaker. Notwithstanding the paucity of Roman remains at Vannes, we may rest assured that it was the capital of Venetia, as from this centre six roads radiated :—

I. To Locmariaker, along the north side of the Morbihan.

II. To Port Navalo, along its south side ; a branch at a short distance from Vannes diverged to the east, was the

[1] Roach Smith, "Illustrations of Roman London," pp. 1-3. "As a rule we shall find that the prosperity of towns has been the most fatal cause of the loss of their ancient configuration, and of their monuments." In this respect London and Paris may be contrasted with cities whose progress has been arrested, such as Trèves, Orange, and Fréjus.

line of communication with Portus Nannetum (Nantes), and in its course passed near the embouchure of the Vilaine.

III. To Blain, by Rieux. On this route we see how the Romans subjugated the country, and held it in their iron grasp. No less than twenty-five stations may be traced south of the river Arz, which runs nearly parallel to the road, and they are all identified by the discovery of money, tiles, votive columns, fragments of walls and pottery.

IV. To Rennes, Condate, a name which occurs in many parts of Gaul, whence we infer that the word had some significance. An examination of the map shows that the towns bearing this appellation are situated at the angle formed by the junction of two rivers. Condate is doubtless of Celtic origin, and means a *corner;* it reappears in the proper name Condé and the common noun *coin.*[2]

V. To Corseul, in a north-easterly direction; at Plaudren it bifurcated, and the western branch led to Vorgium (Carhaix). Near the latter road was the important station of Castennec, where the so-called Venus of Quinipily was discovered.[3] But it would rather seem to be a representation of *Isis,* for the stiffness of the figure resembles the Egyptian style, and the lappets of the headdress, extending to the bosom, are the same as we see in the statues of that goddess. It has been supposed, with great probability, that this image was the work of Moorish soldiers serving in the Roman army. Their presence in Brittany is known from the Notitia—the army list of the Empire—where we meet with Præfectus militum Maurorum Osismiacorum Osismiis. This was in accordance with the policy of the Romans, who kept a province in subjection by troops drawn from a distance, and therefore not likely to make common cause with the natives. Here again there is a striking analogy with the antiquities in our own country. Aballaba, Watch-cross, occurs among the stations on the Wall of Hadrian; it is

[2] The ancient name of Nantes, Condivicnum, or Condivincum (Κονδιουικγκον in Ptolemy), is evidently akin to Condate, and contains the Celtic *Cond,* which appears in the Breton dialect as *Kon.* Cosne and Cognac are only varieties of this word. Condate occurs also in the map of Roman Britain, eighteen miles from Mancunium, Manchester, and is supposed to be the same as Kinderton. See the Dictionary of Classical Geography, edited by Dr. William Smith, s. v. Condate.

[3] Cayot Délandre, pp. 389-402, describes this figure at great length. Compare his Album of Plates, Nos. 1 and 3. Its identification with Isis may be inferred by comparing it with plates cv.-cxvi. in tome ii. part 2, of Montfaucon's "Antiquité Expliquée."

said to have been a colony of Moors, and "certainly the name sounds Moorish."[4] There is still extant an altar belonging to the same district, erected by Peregrinus, tribune of a cohort, who came from the province of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. The resemblance may be traced not only in the nationality of the soldiers, but also in their employment, for the museums and collections in the north of England furnish us with abundant examples of sculpture executed by the legionaries.[5] The Castennec above mentioned is a corruption of Castel-Noec or Noic, in which we have the Latin castellum; and the figure found there was called Groek-ar-Gouard, Femme de la Garde, an appellation that has reference to the fort at this place (probably the same as Sulis), of which the entrenchments are still visible. A farm there, named Coarde, also bears witness to the Roman occupation, and this is still more clearly proved by the lintel of the farmhouse consisting of part of a milestone inscribed to the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus.

South of Plaudren, the great number of camps is a proof of the complete organization of the Romans; north of that place their sagacity is made equally apparent by the absence of encampments—they were too wise to waste men, labour, and materials; accordingly they have left scarcely any traces in this barren and thinly-populated region. Midway between the roads to Carhaix and Corseul, we see forts at Crédin and Naizin, but too far distant from either to be useful in protecting those lines of communication; it is more likely that they were constructed to guard the neighbouring town of Reginea, whose name survives in the modern Réguiny.[6]

VI. To Nostang on the Etel, the road was carried on thence in a straight line to Hennebont, and probably passed through Pontscorff and Quimperlé to Quimper, being a continuation of the great route from Nantes to Vannes, and

[4] Wright, "Roman, Celt, and Saxon," p. 310.

[5] Dr. Bruce, "Roman Wall," pp. 195-200, especially p. 196. Several engravings of statues are given, and amongst them one of a fine figure of Victory standing upon a globe.

[6] The modern name Réguiny shows the true pronunciation of the ancient name Reginea. The Latin G was not soft, as we say it, but like the Greek Γ, hence it was interchanged with K or the hard sound of C. Bentley, "De Metris Terentianis," remarks, "nos hodie male pronuntiamus." Mistakes of this sort have not only led to errors in Prosody, but have caused us to lose sight of the true derivation of words. For the interchange of these letters and of U and V, referred to below, see Professor Key on the Alphabet.

nearly identical in its direction with the recently-constructed railway.

As Réguiny shows us the true pronunciation of Reginea, so the Celtic name of Vannes, Guenet or Gwened, indicates that the Romans said *Ueneti* instead of Veneti.

Even the adjacent islands were not overlooked by the conquerors. Belle-Ile, opposite the bay of Quiberon, supplies, as evidence of their sojourn, coins of Julius Cæsar, Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, and a copper vase which Cayot Délandre has engraved. Lastly, excavations made near Carnac within the last two or three years by Mr. Milne have brought to light Gallic houses, whose construction followed the Roman model. No inscription has been found to determine the date, but only the name of the owner on a cup. The most curious feature in these edifices is the heating apparatus, which consists of five channels under the floor radiating from a central block or table, evidently an imitation of the hypocaust.[7] Mr. Milne has deposited the results of his excavations in the Hôtel des Voyageurs at Carnac. This gentleman makes his museum accessible to all visitors interested in these subjects, and enhances its value by his courtesy in affording explanations.

The public collections also in the province deserve the notice of the antiquary; that at Rennes may be studied with great advantage, for the catalogue by M. André describes each object accurately, states its provenance where known, and supplies apposite references to the best authorities; in fact, it is almost a manual of archæology.[8] Many of the antiquities have been imported from other countries, but some have a local interest, as they come from excavations in Brittany itself. For example, the bronze coins of the early Roman emperors here exhibited were found in the bed of the river Vilaine, during the operations undertaken to effect its canalization, just as many relics of ancient art have

[7] The combination of flat with semi-cylindrical tiles to form the roof of a Roman house is very well displayed in the museum at Carnac. We see there the tegulæ and imbrices in juxtaposition just as they are mentioned together by Plautus, "Mostellaria," Act 1, sc. 2, vv. 27, 28, ed. Delph: "Tempestas venit, confringit tegulas imbricesque." Compare Rich, Latin Dictionary, articles "Tegula" and "Imbrex" with the engravings.

[8] This "Catalogue Raisonne," which most truly answers to its name, is an 8vo vol. of 315 pages, and is sold at the nominal price of one franc. Those who are familiar with the writings of the earlier French antiquaries, such as Montfaucon and Caylus, will find it a useful accompaniment to their works.

been yielded up by our own river Thames.[9] Again, some bronze statuettes, a Minerva, and dancers male and female, sacrificial implements, a right hand, symbolic of the fidelity of the soldiers, as well as domestic utensils, were brought from Corseul (Curiosolites) near Dinan, a Roman station, where an octagonal tower of solid masonry and great height is still to be seen.

The museum at Vannes is on a much smaller scale and of a very different character. Instead of being miscellaneous, it is exclusively local. Remains of the Gallo-Roman period —vases, mosaics, and medals—are deposited in the lower apartment, but the upper is devoted to pre-historic archæology. Though not large, the collection is unique in its importance, since it contains the treasures of the dolmens—celts, necklaces, amulets, etc.—well arranged in glass cases, so that the visitor can walk round them. The museum at Quimper, which has been recently organized by M. Le Men, archiviste of Finistère, occupies the basement of a building close to the Hôtel de Ville, and will abundantly reward careful study. Amongst its curiosities are cinerary urns and tessellated pavements from Carhaix (Vorgium), and pottery from the camp at Mont Frugy, which immediately overhangs the town of Quimper. We have here, also, a fine series of coins, Imperial and Gaulish ; the former possess an historical value, as they correspond with the period of Roman domination. On the other hand the museum at Dinan, which ought to have been richly stored, as the town is so near Corseul, affords little instruction to the enquirer, for the objects are heaped together in confusion, the catalogue was compiled by a foreigner imperfectly acquainted with French, and the numbers in the cases do not correspond with those in the book.

It will hardly be out of place here to call attention to the grand collection of national antiquities at St. Germain, as one of the apartments is occupied by a model of the grotto at Gavr'inis, and many of the Breton dolmens and menhirs are reproduced on the scale of one-twentieth of the actual size.

The Roman monuments above mentioned have an im-

[9] Roach Smith, "Illustrations of Roman London," Frontispiece and Plates xv.-xix. The head of Hadrian and figures of Apollo, Mercury, a priest or devotee of Cybele, Jupiter (?), and Atys, all in bronze, came from the bed of the Thames.

portant relation to the pre-historic antiquities. Mr. Fergusson says that "the Romans never really settled in Brittany," and that, consequently, the natives were not likely to copy their style of architecture. Hence he argues that there is nothing in the rude character of the megalithic remains inconsistent with his supposition that they are post-Roman.[1] I cannot help thinking that anyone who has travelled through the country with the eyes of an antiquary, or who has perused with care the writings of Cayot Délandre, Dr. Fouquet, Dr. de Closmadeuc, and M. Le Men, will come to a very different conclusion, for he will dispute the premises from which Mr. Fergusson has drawn his inference. We see in so many districts, and especially in those bordering on the ocean, such frequent traces both of Roman occupation and Gallic *imitation*, that it is very difficult to believe that the Armoricans continued down to the sixth century building in the same fashion as they did before the arrival of Julius Cæsar.[2] Absolute certainty in these enquiries cannot be attained, but only a high degree of probability; and in the absence of documentary evidence, we must consider the mode of construction and the contents of the edifices, which alike point to a *pre-Roman*, perhaps even *pre-Celtic* period.

Those dolmens, which have domical chambers, and in which the interstices between the large slabs are filled up with smaller stones, appear to belong to a later date than the rest.[3] On the same principle we may fairly suppose the

[1] Fergusson, "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 370.

[2] The facility with which the Gauls imitated other nations is seen in their coins as well as in their houses. For example, we find sometimes upon them the letter X, evidently derived from the Roman denarii. Nothing occurs more frequently in the Gaulish series than the type of the Macedonian stater, which may be traced through successive stages of deterioration till at last it becomes difficult to recognize the original. Similarly the rose on the beautiful drachmae of Rhoda is converted into a cross with crescents between its arms. The Greek type of Victory flying above a horse spread as far as the Lemovices (Limoges). Rude copies of the Massaliot coins are engraved in "Hunter's Catalogue." As the English language is to a great extent derived from Latin through French, so the early British coinage came, at least in many instances, from the Greek and Roman through the medium of the Gallic. Compare Evans, "Early British Coins," with Engravings by Fairholt; De Saulcy, "Lettres à M. A. De Longperier sur la Numismatique Gauloise," p. 277, &c., and plate i. "Revue Numismatique," 1867; Akerman, "Ancient Coins of Spain, Gaul, and Britain," plates at the end of the volume. But the "Dictionnaire Archeologique de la Gaule," published by the French Government, affords the best opportunities of studying the Gallic medals in connection with other monuments of the Celtic period.

[3] See the Rev. W. C. Lukis's Paper on the "Dolmens in Brittany," read before the International Congress of Prehistoric

dolmens to be posterior to the menhirs, as nothing can be more simple than the erection of a stone to serve as a trophy or sepulchral monument, while, on the other hand, a dolmen, even in its rudest form, implies some amount of architectural skill.[4] The remains at Carnac show no traces of sculpture, but those at Locmariaker and Gavr'inis abound in curvilinear figures, representations of axes, etc.; hence we should be disposed to assign the former to an earlier date. However, it would not be reasonable to assert that less elaborate execution is an unfailing criterion of more remote antiquity, for it may have been caused by haste or other circumstances. So, in the classical period, the friezes of the Phigaleian temple are very inferior to those of the Parthenon, but they belong to the same epoch, and only show that sculpture had not advanced in all parts of Greece simultaneously.

On reviewing the controversy about rude stone monuments, it seems to me that both those who carry them back to the pre-historic age, and those who bring them down to Christian times, equally err in laying too much stress on *negative* evidence. Some of the learned French antiquaries, if they can find no trace of metal implements in a dolmen, leap to the conclusion that its builders were unacquainted with their use. Their opponents attribute to some post-Roman century any structure that is not mentioned by the Greek and Latin writers. In other words, if a thing is not found in some particular place, or noticed by certain authors, its non-existence during the period under discussion is immediately presumed. But the argument from absence or silence is a very weak one, and often easily refuted by facts. We might as well say that because in Greek literature painted vases only occur in five or six passages, they were seldom used by the ancients, whereas many thousands have been discovered, and in our museums of all antiques they are perhaps the most abundant.[5] In the case of Julius Cæsar,

Archæology at Norwich, 1868. It is illustrated by plans and sections. Mr. Lukis points out that the different forms of Dolmens indicate progress in constructive science, and that by this means their chronological order may be established, at least approximately.

[4] The proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May 1st, 1876, contain remarks by Professor Hughes on some pieces of flint and chalcedony from Carnac. In describing these he says that "the evidence, so far as it went, allowed the supposition that the menhirs ranged from palæolithic to neolithic times, but that the dolmens were not erected till well on in the later period."

[5] De Witte, "Études sur les Vases Peints," pp. 4, 5, gives six references, viz., to Aristophanes, Pindar, Strabo,

we can account for his not mentioning the alignements or pierres rangées at Carnac, without supposing that they did not exist when he flourished. The great Roman, accustomed to the magnificent buildings that adorned the capital of the world, would naturally pass by, as unworthy of notice, rows of shapeless stones reared by the indigenous Armoricans. Moreover, in his day, public attention had not been called to this class of objects by controversial pamphlets and scientific congresses. Mr. Fergusson endeavours to infer the date of the remains at Locmariaker by pointing out their similarity to the sculptures in the tumulus at New Grange, near Drogheda, of which he has determined the epoch, arguing chiefly from written evidence that appears to him clear and satisfactory.[6] But those who have studied the early history of Ireland know that it is enveloped in a thick mist of fables and contradictions, and that it therefore affords a very uncertain basis for conclusions with respect to chronology.

Personal inspection of many dolmens has convinced me that Mr. Lukis is correct in the view he has expressed in opposition to Mr. Fergusson, viz., that the Breton dolmens were never originally free standing; for I have observed that where they are uncovered at present, some vestiges of the once enclosing mound may often be detected.[7] On the other hand, while I admit the great value of Mr. Lukis's "Guide to the Chambered Barrows of South Brittany," I cannot agree with his recommendation that tourists should make Auray their head quarters. As the objects of interest in the immediate neighbourhood of Carnac are very numerous and most important, they would do well to stay a few days in that village if they wish to start fresh for their explorations. Fairly good accommodation may be obtained at the Hôtel des Voyageurs. I mention this because most travellers labour under the delusion that it is impossible to pass a night there.

Suetonius, Alcaeus, and Demosthenes, but some of these are dubious. On the other hand M. Charles Lenormant reckoned at fifty thousand the number of painted vases discovered in the last two centuries. M. de Witte very naturally remarks, "Contraste etrange! Si d'un coté cette classe de monuments est si nombreuse, de l'autre, les ecrivains de l'antiquité ont à peine parle des vases peints."

[6] Fergusson, "Rude Stone Monuments," pp. 369, 370. "The foliage at New Grange and that at the allée—now, I I fear, destroyed—at Locmariaker are evidently of one style, but still admit of a certain latitude of date. . . . I believe that Mane-er-H'roek and Mane-Lud may more probably range with New Grange and Howth." Compare pp. 212, 213.

[7] Rev. W. C. Lukis on "Rude Stone Monuments," 1875.

An English antiquary who visits Brittany can hardly refrain from comparing the objects he sees there with similar monuments in his own country. For the most part the French menhirs should be classed with the circles at Avebury, which are evidently earlier than the trilithons at Stonehenge. In the latter case the prolonged continuity of the imposts upon the vertical stones evinces grandeur of design, while the arrangement of mortices and tenons, by which they are fitted together, is an equally striking proof of skill in construction. Without exposing ourselves to the accusation of gratifying national vanity, we may fairly boast that our ancestors have reared on Salisbury Plain a structure of greater height and finer proportions than any that our neighbours can show.

In conclusion, may I be allowed for one moment to allude to some special advantages connected with our present subject? They are moral and social as well as intellectual. An investigation of the antiquities of Brittany brings the traveller in contact with a people of simple character and attractive manners, as yet uncorrupted by the stream of idle and prodigal tourists; and it gives him, by personal communication, opportunities of appreciating the learning of the local antiquaries, who have so successfully elucidated the monuments of their native province. He feels at a loss whether he should more admire their acute intelligence and clear expression, or the kindness that prompts them to share with a stranger the fruits of their laborious researches. The interchange of commodities between England and France is a source of countless benefits to both, but the interchange of ideas in the pursuit of knowledge is a reciprocity of a nobler kind, and will doubtless contribute much towards making our alliance close and permanent.

NOTE.—In compiling this account of the Roman antiquities of Brittany I have been chiefly indebted to the works of Cayot Delandre and Fouquet quoted above, and Le Men's "Études Historiques sur le Finistere. To the student of the prehistoric antiquities some knowledge of the Celtic language is almost necessary. The following books will be found useful:—"Grammaire Française-Bretonne," par J. Guillome; "Manuel Breton Français," par A. Guyot-Jomard; and Le Gonidec's "Vocabulaire Breton-Français and Français-Breton."