

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE 1886.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF LANGRES AND BESANCON.¹

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Last year I had the honour to read before the Institute a Memoir on Roman Antiquities in Switzerland. I now invite attention to two cities in France which lie in the same direction : Langres, on the line of railway from Paris to Bâle, and Besançon near that to Neuchâtel. They have been little visited by English travellers ; the latter, though one of the most interesting localities in the country, being situated, like Autun, between grand routes, has suffered similar neglect in consequence of the slight détour necessary to reach it.

Langres is placed in that elevated region where the waters divide their course ; the Meuse descends to the North Sea ; the Marne, Aube and Seine, to the English Channel ; the Vingeanne and Saône flow southwards to the Mediterranean.² The city stands on an isolated hill which is not overshadowed by any greater height ; here the bracing air circulates freely, so that the antiquary may at the same time pursue his researches and invigorate his health. The Cathedral, the Porte Gallo-Romaine, and the Museum, are the objects to which his inquiries should be specially directed.

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 2nd, 1885.

² *Memoire sur la Fondation de la Cathédrale de Langres et le Style de Transition* par Henry Brocard, Architecte, p. 11. This gentleman is Secretary of the Historical and Archæological

Society of Langres, and curator of the Museum there ; he is therefore well acquainted with the local antiquities. In his absence the traveller would do well to apply to Mons^r la Boullaye, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque.

I. The Cathedral of St. Mammès at Langres cannot be ranked with the finest churches in France. It has not the lofty elevation, vast extent, sculptural decoration and storied windows which we admire at Rouen, Amiens, Chartres and Reims; but it is very interesting nevertheless. As in the history of Greek art some monuments claim our attention, rather from their connexion with those that precede and follow, than on account of their own intrinsic merit:¹ so this cathedral, however inferior to many others, takes a prominent place in the sequence of architectural development. We have here an early and striking example of the Transition style, which employed the round and the pointed arch simultaneously. The absence of documentary evidence concerning the date of erection has opened a wide door to conjectures. Some say that the present church was built in the fourth century, because a basilica is stated in an old chronicle to have been founded at that period;² and there is no distinct account of its destruction and replacement by another. Arguments so weak scarcely deserve to be refuted, but they are a specimen of the rashness with which some French archæologists jump at conclusions. The very stones, uninjured by the corroding file of time, cry out against them. On the other hand, M. Henry Brocard thinks that the cathedral was commenced between 1001 and 1014 A.D. by Bishop Brunon de Roucy, and finished by his successor, Lambert de Vignory, who sold Dijon 1028 A.D., probably to pay the expenses he had incurred

¹ I refer particularly to the remains found at Assos and Selinus. W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Reliefs from the Temple of Assos, pp. 61-64, figs 14-19. The most ancient metopes from the Temple of Selinus, pp. 64-67, figs. 20-22; Descriptive Catalogue of the collection of casts from the antique in South Kensington Museum, by the same author, pp. 6 sq., 8 sq., Nos. 15 and 18. For Selinus see Dr. Th. Gsell-Fels, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien*, in Meyer's *Reise-bücher*, second edition, 1877, zweiter Band, Palermo, Museo Nazionale, Erdgeschoss, p. 221 sq. "die älteste dorische Skulptur: Selinunt, pp. 328-358, with plans, and full page engraving, p. 340; see especially p. 351 sqq. As the reliefs belong to different periods, the progress of Hellenic art may be studied better in

this series than anywhere else. Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. i, pp. 116, 121 sq.; Wordsworth's *Greece*, Introduction by Mr. G. Scharf, p. 33, figs. 70, 71, 72; p. 38, figs. 77, 77a, 78; p. 39, fig. 79.

² *Memoires de la Societe Histor. et Archéol. de Langres*, Art. Cathédrale Saint-Mammès, par MM. Daguin et Godard, prêtres, Tome. I, p. 69; they quote,—une inscription consignée dans toutes les chroniques langroises.

L'an septante neuf et trois cens
Gratian le quart empereur
Fonda le saintet lieu de ceans
Au nom de nostre createur
Regnant Priame Duc de France
En Bourgoyne Chilpéric roy
Tous chrestiens ayez y fiance
Il est ainsi en bonne foy.

in the construction. Though the exact date cannot be ascertained, this theory is supported by a comparison with other edifices of the same age; it is also corroborated by the accounts of Brunon's life, and by the fact that his tomb was the most ancient of those preserved in the cathedral till the French Revolution.¹

I propose to consider the building as a proof of the continuity of art, or, in other words, as an imitation of Roman architecture. This may be observed in four particulars.

1. The arches of doors and windows are round, while the vaults that separate the nave from the side aisles are pointed. Roman influence was dominant at Langres in the eleventh century, and many monuments existed then which have since disappeared. The design of St. Nazaire at Carcassonne is said to be taken from the Temple of Diana at Nîmes a hundred and twenty miles distant;² but the builders of St. Mammès had models before their eyes, and even at their doors, in Longe-Porte and the Porte Gallo-Romaine. M. Brocard claims for Langres the honour of inventing the ogive, but here I cannot agree with him. According to his own admissions, which are derived from chroniclers and historians, the place was connected far more closely with the south than with the north, and in Provence the pointed arch was used from Charlemagne to St. Louis;³ hence it seems most likely that this style was not indigenous at Langres, but imported from the south of France.

2. Fluted pilasters are very numerous in the choir, ambulatory and triforium. Besides the examples at

¹ Brocard, *Op. citat.* pp. 6-9. Brunon displayed great activity in his administration. Il . . . reforma les abbayes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, de Saint-Michel de Tonnerre, fonda ou restaura un grand nombre de prieurés, fit rebâtir Saint-Vorles de Chatillon, &c.

² Viollet le Duc, *La Cité de Carcassonne*. (Ande), Historique, p. 6, 1881. En 1096, le pape Urbain II vint à Carcassonne pour rétablir la paix entre Bernard Aton et les bourgeois qui s'étaient révoltés contre lui et il bénit l'église cathédrale (Saint Nazaire), ainsi que les matériaux préparés pour l'achever. C'est à cette époque en effet que l'on peut faire remonter la construction de la nef de cette église. Fergusson,

History of Architecture, vol. i, pp. 403-405, woodcut 285, section of church at Carcassonne, with the outer aisles added in the 14th century, p. 403 *sq.* The side aisles and all the openings are constructed with round arches, but the difficulty of vaulting the nave forced on the architects the introduction of the pointed arch. For the Temple of Diana at Nîmes, v, *ibid.* p. 283 *sq.*, woodcuts 180, 181.

³ Fergusson, *Op. citat.*, vol. i, p. 400. French antiquaries cannot be charged with dulness, but the enthusiasm that stimulates their industry, leads them into exaggeration; they are disposed to represent their monuments as older than they really are, and to appropriate inventions without sufficient evidence.

Langres above-mentioned, from which they were immediately derived, we may compare others in the adjoining province of Burgundy; the Portes d'Arroux and St. André at Autun, show pilasters of the same kind and in the same position, viz., between round arches. The Arco di Bara in Spain, on the way from Tarragona to Barcelona, has both its façades decorated in this style. It is briefly noticed in Ford's Handbook, p. 468, edit. 1878; but more fully described in my memoir on the former city, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xxxvii, pp. 23-26. A similar case of imitation occurs at Reims in the church of St. Remi, where some of the details are copied from the Porta Martis.¹ In the choir of Langres the width of the fluting is twelve centimètres, and the depth seven.

3. The acanthus of the Corinthian order, which was preferred by the Romans,² appears throughout this cathedral. It has been supposed that in some cases the antiques were simply transferred to the mediæval structure; this notion is refuted by comparison not only with well-known types, but also with specimens found at Langres itself. The classic original can be traced everywhere in a form capriciously disfigured, for the foliage has lost in semi-barbarous hands the rich folds and soft undulations which adorn Trajan's Forum or the Temple of Mars Ultor at Rome. Sometimes, indeed, one is at a loss to decide whether the sculptor intended to represent the acanthus or the oak-leaf.³

¹ Congrès Scientifique de France, treizième Session, tenue à Reims, en Septembre 1845, p. 276, les colonnes cannelées de la jonction de la croix, que l'on pense être une imitation des anciens monuments romains.

The flutings in the Cathedral at Langres are shown in Planches, 13 and 17 of the *Memoires, Soc. Hist. et Archæol. de Langres*, vol. i, livraison 4, p. 76.

² On the other hand, the Greeks employed the Doric order in Greece Proper for the most part, and in Ionia the Ionic almost exclusively. The Sicilian temples adhered to the old Doric forms. C. O. Muller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, English translation, p. 75. §108 sq. Many instances of the Roman usage above-mentioned are given, *ibid.* pp. 171-175., §190 sq. The Choragic monument of Lysicrates, sometimes called the Lantern

of Demosthenes, supplies the best example of Greek Corinthian, and is contemporary with Alexander the Great: Stuart has fully described it in his *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. i, chap. iv, pp. 53-64, with numerous engravings. The Corinthian columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at the same place are Roman, and may be referred with great probability to the age of Augustus, because they exhibit analogies of dimensions and treatment with those in the Temple of Mars Ultor at Rome: Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, chap. xii, Pls. XXXVII-XXXIX.

Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, ii, 63, mentions the Corinthian order in the Didymæon at Miletus, but I think there is some reason to suspect that these ruins are on the site of Myus, a neighbouring city.

³ *Mem. Soc. Langres*, i, 78, Pl. XVI,

4. Figures rarely occur in the capitals, which must be regarded as another sign of Roman influence.¹ Moreover the grotesque is conspicuously absent. Some exceptional instances may be found on the north door and in the gallery of the apse. Two monsters have their heads joined together in one; a hideous beast holds another in his claws; two-winged dragons gnaw the breasts of a woman whose hair is dishevelled. The theological doctrine of sin, its acts and their results, is symbolized in stone. The soul that yields to temptation becomes carnal and bestial; it is enslaved by vice, and delivered into the power of Satan. For hieratic reasons, imagery of this kind appears on the north rather than on the south side; inferiority belongs to the former, and subjects are taken from the Old Testament in preference to the new.

The Façade, which is not without merit, was designed by the celebrated d'Aviler,² architect of the Porte du Pérou at Montpellier, in which the bas-reliefs commemorate a national benefit and a national disgrace—the Canal du Midi, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.³

containing 7 figs. Des milliers de debris, soit tirés du sol, soit restes visibles, ne montraient-ils pas sans cesse aux sculpteurs langrois la feuille d'acanthé, qu'ils ont remise à profusion sur les chapiteaux, en archivoltes autour des ogives et sur les moulures autour des tympans ? It is said that the *acanthus spinosus* which has a narrow and prickly leaf was imitated by the Greeks, but the soft acanthus (*mollis*) by the Romans: Wornum, Analysis of Ornament, p. 53, and Pls. Vitruvius relates the origin of this architectural decoration, and his story is so poetical that we are unwilling to see it disturbed by the rude hand of modern criticism: lib. iv, cap. i, p. 79 sq., ed. Rode; Atlas of Pls., Tab. v, Formæ i, ii: Sir W. Chambers, On Civil Architecture, ed. Gwilt, vol. I, p. 196, Pl. 1, Primitive Buildings; pp. 152, and 224 sq with the editor's note. Virgil's line, Georgics IV, 123, —aut fœci tacuissim vimen acanthi, presents a striking coincidence with the words of Vitruvius, loc. citat., cujus (acanthi) cauliculi, secundum calathi latera crescentes et ab angulis tegulae ponderis necessitate expressi, fœcuras in extremas partes volutarum facere sunt coacti: cf. the note in Martyn's edition of the Georgics. However, it is not quite certain that both authors are speaking of the same plant.

The late Mr. James Yates wrote a learned and interesting Memoir in the Classical Museum, vol. iii, pp. 1-21, On the use of the terms Acanthus, Acanthion, &c., in the ancient classics. The acanthus is a hardly plant, and may be seen in the gardens of the Botanical Society, Regent's Park.

¹ The French phrase *chapiteaux histories* is analogous to 'storied urn' in Gray's Elegy. Parker's Glossary of Architecture, vol. i, p. 111, Pl. 51, shows an English example of a capital decorated with figures, where there is no other kind of enrichment. Comp. St. Bernard, who lived 1091-1153, Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem, Quid ibi immundæ simiæ? Quid feri leones? Quid monstruosi centaures? Quid semi-homines? Quid maculosæ tigrides? Quid milites pugnantes? Quid venatores tubicinantæ? quoted in Mem. Soc. Langres, i, 80, note 2; Pl. XVI. figs. 2, 6.

² Augustin-Charles D'Aviler was born 1653 and died 1700, but the façade, as we now see it was commenced in 1760. D'Aviler is also known as an author; he wrote Cours d'Architecture, Dictionnaire de tous les termes de l'architecture civile et hydraulique, etc.

³ For an account of the results of this measure and remarkable instances of the malignant cruelty with which Louis XIV.

This front consists of two towers with a pediment between them, surmounting the chief entrance. In the three stories different orders are used; Doric in the lowest, Ionic in the middle, and Corinthian in the uppermost. A cross is planted on the summit of the tympanum with the Virgin on one side and St. John on the other, of colossal size and semi-recumbent. At first sight we perceive that the style adopted here does not harmonise with the interior; but the want of unity is not so striking as in many other churches, on account of the Roman imitations previously mentioned.

The Cathedral is dedicated, as I have already said, to St. Mammès.¹ Though widely venerated, he makes but a poor figure in Hagiology; so little is known about him that his cult can scarcely be regarded as "a reasonable service." Even the Bollandist editors reject with incredulity many apocryphal stories, justly remarking that some of them are at variance with the statements of Basil and Gregory Nazianzen.² This patron saint lived at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and suffered martyrdom under Aurelian. It is said that he fasted forty days, and that he lived amongst wild beasts, exercising some marvellous power over them. The former tradition seems copied from our Lord's temptation; the latter reminds us of Orpheus, but the Christian legend has an air of ferocity that contrasts painfully with the "elegant mythology of the Greeks."³

persecuted his Protestant subjects, see The Huguenots, their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland by S. Smiles. This work is very interesting, but far from complete, *cf.* Notes Boulonnaises: La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, etc. par V.-J. Vaillant.

¹ Professor Ramsay called my attention to the fact that there was a church of St. Mammès at Constantinople. See Ducange in vol. xxi of *Byzantinae Historiae Scriptores*, edit Venet., Constantinopolis Christiana, lib. iv, c. vi, *Ædes sacrae Sanctis Martyribus, Confessoribus etc. dicatae*, No. 60: c. xv, *Monasterias uburbana*, Nos. 25, 26. The most important reference is No. 25, p. 129 *sq.*, where Ducange notices the Cathedral at Langres, a cuius (S. Mamantis) reliquiis . . . aedes primaria, quae sancto Joanni Evangelistae sacra est, S. Mamantis appellationem deinceps sumpsit &c.

² *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 35, pp. 423-

446. §I. Celeberrimi hujus Martyris gesta summa in obscuritate delitescunt, ac rebus apocryphis infarta sunt.

³ *Ibid.* p. 438, s 13, *Martyr unum de leonibus . . . nutu vocans, ait; veni mecum ac . . . tu gentilium et Judaeorum pueros . . . cursu velocissimo arripe, et crudeliter discerpe.* This story may possibly be derived from the narrative of the destruction by bears of the children that mocked Elisha. *Reg. lib. iv (ii), c. ii, v. 24 egressique sunt duo ursi de saltu, et laceraverunt ex eis quadraginta duos pueros.* On the other hand, many mediaeval tales have the advantage over the classical myths, especially as inculcating kindness and charity: see the *Biographies of St. Nicholas* and *St. Martin of Tours*, Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, pp. 268, 427 *sq.*

Two scenes from the life of St. Mammès are represented in the tapestry of the Cathedral at Langres; one piece shows him in the desert surrounded by wild

On a seal of the chapter of Langres we see a hand as the device. Some have explained it by reference to Tacitus, Histories, book I, chap. 54, where it is related that the Lingones sent right hands to the Roman legions in sign of hospitality. They were doubtless made of silver and joined. In this passage, however, the author does not speak of any badge or heraldic emblem peculiar to the Lingones; the quotation, therefore, is only a case of erudition misapplied.¹ Some say that the hand is that of Roland, nephew of Charlemagne, who conferred on the Chapter the investiture of Rolandpont by delivering his glove to them. But another seal used by the same body furnishes the elucidation that is wanted. Upon it we see engraved not only the hand in benediction, but also the fore-arm, with the epigraph BRACHIVM BĪ MAMETIS, the arm of St. Mammès. It was presented by the Byzantine emperor, enriched with gold and jewels to Raynard de Bar, Bishop of Langres, in return for some services he had rendered, and was brought by him from Constantinople to the Cathedral.²

The chief dimensions are—length from the portal to the Lady-chapel, 94^m.40; breadth at transepts, 42^m.00; breadth in nave, 25^m.85; height of nave, 23^m.00; height of towers, 45^m.60.³

II. Unquestionably the Porte Gallo-Romaine is the most important monument of its kind at Langres, whether we compare it with other remains of the same period, or regard it as a model copied by mediæval architects. Caylus

beasts; in the other he appears amidst flames which are miraculously diverted from him towards the executioners. The designs are explained by inscriptions in old French. These ornaments of the choir were presented by the Cardinal de Givry. Soc. Langr., i, 99.

¹ Orelli in loco has the following note. *dextras*] argenteas, et quidem junctas, hospitii fidei, pacis, concordiae (H 2, 8), insigne, quales visuntur in nummis Julii Cæsaris apud Akerman i, p. 106: PAX.S. C. et in M. Antonii, ubi caduceum tenent. Ibid. p. 26. Cf. Xenoph. Ages. 3, 4: *δεξιαν πεμπειν*. Anab. 2, 4, 1: *δεξιας παρὰ βασιλέως εφερον*. By a typographical error, chap. 14 has been substituted for chap. 54. Soc. Langr., iii, 55, note 1. See Cohen Médailles Consulaires, p. 25, No. 10, Pl. III, Antonia No. 9.

² Dextrochère is the French technical

term; for the right hand in heraldry. Soc. Langr., *ibid.*, Armes de l'Eveché de Langres, leur origine, pp. 54-59, woodcuts of seals. p. 55 and 56.

³ Les Cathedrales de France par M. l'Abbe J. J. Bourasse, 1843, contains an account of the church of St. Mammès and of the Porte Gallo-Romaine, pp. 449-456.

The Greek authorities for the life of St. Mammès are St. Basil, who was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Homil. xxiii, In Sanctum Martyrem Mamantem, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. xliii. In the sixth century Queen Radegund sent to the patriarch at Jerusalem for the relics of the saint, and received one of his fingers. The body is said to be now at Milan. Lives of the saints by the Rev. Baring Gould, vol. viii. p. 158 *sq.*

notices it, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, tome III, p. 14 sqq., and calls it a Triumphal Arch; but notwithstanding the deference due to his learning and taste, I venture to differ from this statement. He had not visited Langres and trusted to inferior engravings¹; on the other hand, any one who had examined the localities would, I think, come to the conclusion that the French names *Porte Gallo-Romaine* and *Longe-Porte* are correct, and that these structures are entrances in the line of the city walls. I have seen the former,—here engraved from a photograph; the latter no longer exists.

In this case, as often happens, one mistake has led to another. The antiquaries who started with the notion of a Triumphal Arch proceeded to account for the two openings by supposing that they were made for a pair of conquerors; Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus who were colleagues in the Empire, A.D. 161-169, or the Gordians, father and son, who reigned A.D. 238.² The most simple and obvious explanation of the building is to say that it was constructed, according to the practical spirit of the Romans, with separate passages for ingress and egress. The same arrangement appears in the *Portes d'Arroux* and *St. André* at Autun; but these have in addition smaller lateral archways for foot passengers. We may also remark that the elder Gordian was pro-consul of Africa when he was raised to the throne, and, as far as history records, neither he nor his son was ever in Gaul.

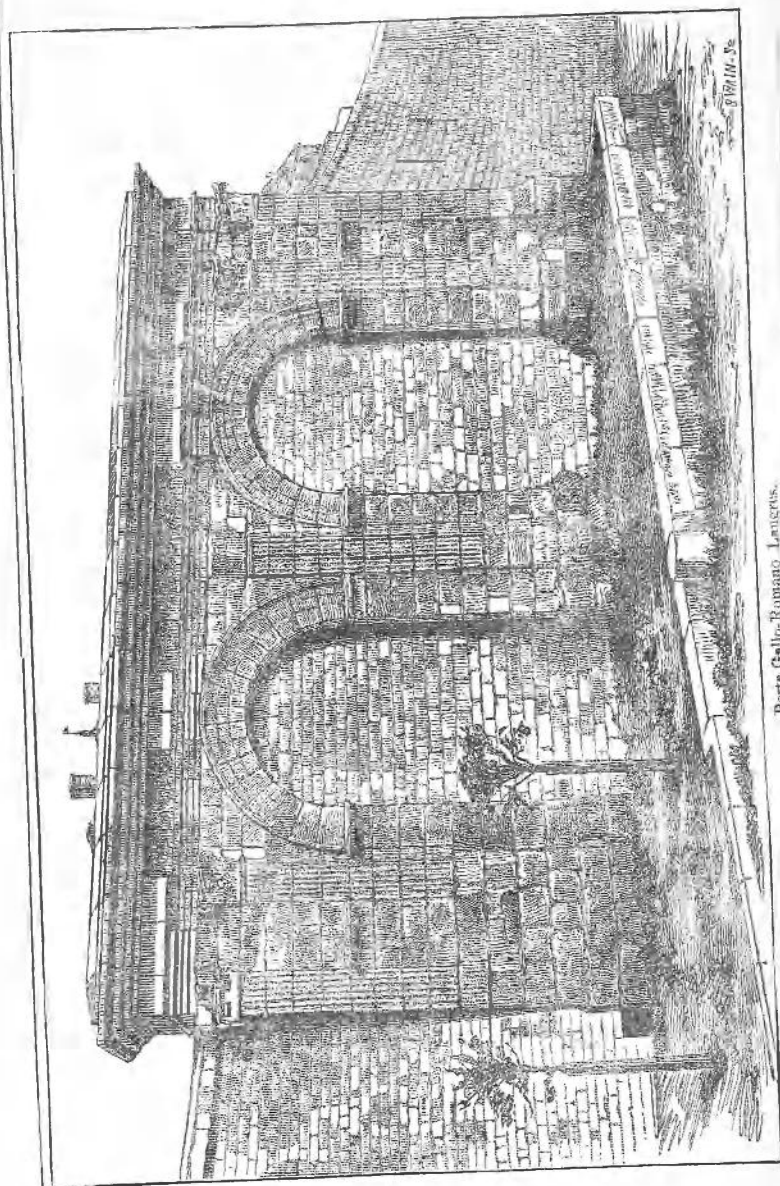
On the whole, the reign of Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, A.D. 305-306, seems the most probable date of this monument. Having received the Government of Spain, Gaul and Britain, he fixed his residence at Trèves; according to Eutropius, he was not only loved but even revered by the Gauls.³ Besides the respect which his wise and clement administration secured, he must have gained great popularity among the Lingones by

¹ He speaks of the *bon gout* prevailing in this monument as his reason for assigning it to an early period of the Empire—an erroneous opinion which personal observation would have at once prevented.

² This unfounded assertion appears in the earlier editions of Murray's Handbook for France, and is repeated in that

of 1884, although it had been corrected by a local antiquary, M. Girault de Prangey.

³ Eutropius, *Historiae Romanae Breviarium*, lib. x, c. 1. *Hic non modo amabilis, sed etiam venerabilis Gallis fuit: praecipue quod Diocletiani suspectam prudentiam, et Maximiani sanguinariam temeritatem imperio ejus evaserant.*



Porte Gallo-Romane Laucrus.

a battle fought near their city, in which he defeated the Alemanni.¹ Under such a sovereign it is likely that the roads issuing from Langres would be repaired, and new gates erected upon them, with inscriptions and decorations in his honour. Caylus says that the style of the Porte Gallo-Romaine is too good for the Lower Empire. But we have here a general excellence of design and due proportion together with inferior execution of details—a combination not infrequent in the Constantine period. The Romans, adhering to well-defined rules of construction, erected magnificent edifices when they were no longer able to represent human, animal or vegetable life with spirit and fidelity. Moreover, the local antiquaries have correctly remarked that monuments of this class in the east of Gaul for the most part belong to the fourth century. It is sufficient to cite as examples the Basilica at Trèves and the Porta-Martis at Reims.

The gate, to some extent, partook of the character of a triumphal arch, and commemorated achievements performed by an emperor or some great general—a conclusion we may reasonably draw from the shields and helmets sculptured in the frieze, and from an inscription of which only two or three letters are now visible. Similarly at Pola in Istria, the Porta Aurea was an entrance into the city, and perpetuated the distinctions of the Sergian family.²

This remarkable monument arrests the attention of every traveller who visits Langres, because he passes it in going from the railway station to the city; it is also on high ground, and the view is not obstructed by adjacent

¹ Eutropius, ix, 23. Per idem tempus a Constantio Caesare in Gallia pugnatum est circa Lingones; die una adversam et secundam fortunam expertus est: nam cum, repente Barbaris ingruentibus, intra civitatem esset coactus tam praecipiti necessitate, ut, clausis portis, in murum funibus tolleretur; vix quinque horis mediis adventante exercitu, lx. fere millia Alamannorum cecidit.

Eumenius, Panegyricus Constantio Caesari dictus, c. xxi, Ita nunc per victorias tuas, Constanti Caesar invicte, quidquid infrequens Ambiano, et Bellovaco, Tricassino solo, Lingonicoque restabat, barbaro cultore revirescit. Traduction des Discours D'Eumène par M. L'Abbe Landriot et M'Abbé Rochet,

accompagnée du texte, p. 109, and p. 208 note 3.

² This gate is sometimes called *Aurata*, and had only a single arch, Baedeker's Deutschland, Erster Theil, p. 183, ed. 1863, ein zierlicher ornamentreicher einsamer 21'h. Ehrenbogen im korinthischen Stil, von der hier heimischen Familie der Sergier errichtet. The monument was erected by Salvia Postuma *de sua pecunia*, not by Sergius, as Mr. Bunbury states in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, s.v. Pola, vol. ii, p. 643. Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, Tome iii, Première Partie, Pl. XCVIII, a la 178 page; see also p. 177, §iv: hecites Spon as his authority.

buildings. The façade, looking to the north-west, consists of two entrances now walled up, which are surmounted by semi-circular arches.¹ Between each of these is a pilaster, and the design is completed by the addition of two more pilasters on each side, both pairs being separated by an interval of nearly two diameters. The voussoirs are arranged in three bands, the lowest of which has the same height as the other two put together; in the architrave also there are three rows of stones, but of equal height. Exclusive of bases and capitals, the shafts in length slightly exceed seven diameters, though Vitruvius mentions eight as the proper number.² Such a difference may perhaps be accounted for by the elevated position of the building, which is approached by a steep ascent. The fluting projects about four centimètres from the surface of the wall. In height the capitals are $1\frac{1}{2}$ diameter instead of $1\frac{1}{6}$,³ the acanthus-leaves of the Corinthian order show a marked inferiority to good examples, the forms being

¹ Compare the gate at Emerita (Merida) which also has two archways: Heiss. *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*, pp. 398-405, Pls. LX-LXII containing many examples. Sur les revers des deniers, Nos 1 et 2 on a place une des portes d'enceinte et une partie de l'enceinte elle-même de la nouvelle ville des soldats *emeriti*, p. 402 *ibid.* This coin is by no means rare.

We have an instance of this construction at Saintes, where there is a so-called Arc de Triomphe, but the popular name, in this as in many other cases, conveys an erroneous impression. Montfaucon correctly describes it as Monument élevé sur le Pont de la Charente à l'entrée de la ville de Saintes. It has been removed, and rebuilt on the bank of the river; but a photograph from an old engraving, which I obtained on the spot, shows the arch in its former position on the bridge. Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl. Supplement*, tome iv, pp. 99-102. Pl. XLII, who compares Alcantara in Spain; Chaudruc de Crazannes, *Antiquités de Saintes*, Frontispice, pp. 89-100; Saintes et ses Monuments, Guide du Voyageur, par M. Louis Audiat, pp. 21-24; Murray, *Handbook for France* Pt. I, p. 240, edit. 1882. The great number of pilasters in the lower story of this building should be observed; they are placed at every corner—two at right angles to each other—twenty four in all.

² We must bear in mind that the Porte Gallo-Romaine is of the Corinthian order,

the favourite one with the Romans, as is shown by the acanthus-leaves in the capitals. I have followed here and below the dimensions given by M. Girault de Prangey's paper on this Gate in the second livraison of the *Memoires Soc. hist. et archeol. de Langres*. This number is missing from the sets in the possession of the Society, and can only be obtained by some fortunate chance. The reading in the passage of Vitruvius *De Architectura* is somewhat doubtful; it stands thus in Rode's edition, *Posterio vero elegantia subtilitateque judiciorum progressi et gracilioribus modulis delectati, septem crassitudinis diametros in altitudinem columnae Doricae, Ionicae octo semis constituerunt*. Note 8. Cod. ms. cum Ed. Sulp. et Cod. Franeck. *novem*, Lib. iv, cap I, p. 79.

³ Vitruvius, *ibid.* p. 80, *Ejus autem capituli (Corinthii generis) symmetria sic est facienda: uti quanta fuerit crassitudo imae columnae, tanta sit altitudo capituli cum abaco.*

In determining the relative proportions of the various parts of a columnar ordinance architects often use the word *module*; it means half the diameter of the column at its base: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth edition, vol. iii, 467, glossary at the end of the article *Architecture* by Prof. T. Hayter Lewis and G. E. Street, R.A. For measurements v. *ibid.*, pp. 407, 416, Pls. XII and XIV, and Sir W. Chambers on *Civil Architecture*, ed Gwilt, vol. i. p. 222 *sq.*, Pls. XII and XIII.

indistinct, and the extremities rudely carved. These signs of decadence, therefore, correspond with the date which I have assigned. At present, the sculptured ornaments of the frieze exist in two portions, towards opposite ends of the front; they are sufficiently well preserved to be copied. Similar decorations appear on the south side of the building, whence there is good reason to suppose that the frieze was carried continuously round it, as is said to have been the case in a triumphal arch at Laodicea ad Mare, Ladikiyeh in Syria, which resembles the Janus Quadrifrons at Rome.¹ Many stones of the frieze are modern insertions; and the cornice, except two fragments, is new. This latter member of the architecture affords proofs of decline, for the ovolo is flattened instead of having the convexity of a quarter of a circle; the dentils also and mouldings are defective in proportion. As late as the seventeenth century the cornice and frieze were complete, together with the capital of the central pilaster, which is now unfortunately missing.²

¹ Pococke, who published his description of the East, fol. in 1743-5, mentions vol. 2, Pl. XXVIII, p. 197, a triumphal arch at Laodicea as "almost entire." He says "the pediment in the entablature is very extraordinary, and has not a good effect; over this there is a sort of attic story, the frieze of which is enriched with military ornaments—shields round and angular, swords, helmets, and breastplates. The Plate shows the West and North sides, it indicates that the sculptures went all round the edifice, though, of course, they are not so distinctly visible where the shadow falls. Comp. T. Shaw, *Travels in Barbary and the Levant*, 1757, vol. ii, p. 262. These works are reprinted in Pinkerton's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 17 vols. 4to., Lond. 1808-14.

Mr. Popplewell Pullan's *Book, Eastern Cities and Italian Towns*, §xii, pp. 137-139, contains a short notice of the Arch at Latakia. I am indebted to Mr. Pullan for a drawing copied from his sketch book, in which the sculptured attic appears; in his letter he states there was an internal dome.

Comte de Vogue, *Syrie Centrale, Architecture civile et religieuse du I^{er} au VII^e siècle*, Tome i, Planche 29, Arc à Lattaquieh, p. 75, fig. 29. Plan de l'arc tetrapyle, p. 76, fig. 30. Angle intérieur de l'arc tetrapyle. La première

assise de la coupole est ornée d'une frise sculptée représentant des armes romaines, casques, boucliers, cuirasses. This frieze seems to have been continuous round the dome inside. De Vogue's plate is defective, because it exhibits no trace of sculptures in the attic. At Latakia a great archway has been walled up, just as at Langres.

Latakia is a port of call for French and Russian steamers in the Levant, and is chiefly known for its exportation of tobacco. Tristram Ellis, *On a raft and through the desert, Journey through North Syria and Kurdistan*, &c., vol. i, p. 13.

The Janus Quadrifrons, near the church of S. Georgio in Velabro, is described by Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, p. 81. Pococke says that the arch at Latakia is built with four entrances, like the Forum Jani at Rome, he means, of course, the monument usually called Janus Quadrifrons. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. vii, cap. iv, s.f., *Nunc eum (Janum) bifrontem, nunc etiam quadrifrontem, tanquam geminum, facientes.*

² As far as I am aware, French antiquaries have not noticed two ledges attached to the wall of the Porte Gallo-Romaine one at each end of the facade, between the pilasters, and on a line with the impost from which the arches spring.

The length of the façade is 19^m 97^c, and the height 10^m 65^c; and though this gateway is very inferior to the Portes d'Arroux and St. André at Autun, which are adorned with elegant arcades above, still the general arrangement is symmetrical and pleasing. The monument we are considering terminated the street from the Forum to the city wall, and stood on the commencement of the Roman road that led from Langres (Andemantunnum) to Bar-sur-Aube (Barium ad Albulam, Barcastrum or Segessera) and the camp on Mont St. Germaine, and thence to Sens (Agedincum).¹ During the Middle Ages the building

These projections were intended to support figures in relief, that have disappeared, not being deep enough for statues in the round. The closest parallel I have met with is the Arc Antique at Saint. Remi (Bouches du Rhone); the ledges in the front here occupy a similar position between two fluted columns, but are lower down than at Langres; the figures upon them are in high relief, and partially preserved. The same arrangement was adopted in the sculptural decorations on the sides of the building. Ad. Joanne, Guides, grand format, Provence-Corse, Alpes Maritimes, p. 110, edit. 1877. St. Remi (Glanum Livii), A. dr. et a. g. du monument, sur les deux faces principales, sont sculptés des captifs enchaînés et des femmes qui semblent partager leur sort.

Another example may be found in the Arch commemorating Trajan's achievements at Beneventum; it is far better known than that at St. Remi, but less apposite for our present purpose: Luigi Rossini, Gli archi trionfali, onorarii e funebri degli antichi Romani, sparsi per tutta l'Italia, Roma 1836—Arco di Trajano in Benevento, prospetto della parte esterna della Città. On either side of the arch are four ledges, one above another, between two Corinthian columns, supporting rows of figures in high relief. This magnificent engraving of the largest folio size, has been copied on a reduced scale in Westropp's Handbook of Archaeology, p. 79. A small woodcut in Fergusson's History of Architecture, vol. i, p. 311, represents the same subject very inadequately.

This mode of decorating triumphal arches has been often imitated by the moderns. The Porte St. Denis, erected by Blondel on the Boulevards at Paris may suffice as a specimen. "Over the lateral arches are pyramids in relief rising to the entablature." Galiguani's Guide, p. 254.

¹ Such is the opinion of le Pere Vignier who thinks that the road traversed the forest of Clairvaux; but M. Th. Pistolet de Saint-Ferjeux says that it took a more Southerly direction through Avrolles (*Eburobriga*). See his Article, Notice sur les voies romaines, les camps romains et les mardelles du département de la Haute Marne, Soc. Hist. et Archeol. de Langres, vol. i, pp. 293-329. He explains the *Mardelles* as excavations pratiquées dans le sol, qui sont, dit-on, des restes d'habitations, and refers to Strabo, lib. v, cap. iv, Italia, Campania § 5, p. 244. "Ἐφορος δὲ τοῖς Κιμμερίοις προσοικειῶν τὸν τόπον φησὶν αὐτοὺς ἐν καταγείοις δικταῖς οἰκεῖν, ἀσκαλονσὶν ἀργίλλας. These words follow the description of lake Avernus and its neighbourhood. M. St. Ferjeux says, op. citat. p. 323, Strabon nous apprend... d'après Ephore, que les Kimrish habitaient souvent des espèces de caves qu'ils nommaient *argil*, mot qui, dans la langue cambrienne, signifie un couvert, un abri. The Cymry are here confounded with the Cimmerii—an error which has arisen from the resemblance of the names. Some ancient writers held this opinion, and were followed by the moderns, but it is now generally rejected. There are far better reasons for identifying the Cymry with the Celtic Cimbr. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, s.v. Cimbr, Cimmerii; W. F. Skene, The Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i, p. 42 sq. Prichard, Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, vol. iii, pp. 100-105. In his note M. St. Ferjeux has *Ἐφορds* (*sic*) for 'Ἐφορος, by a typographical error.

The Article above mentioned is accompanied by a map of the Roman roads in the department of the Haute-Marne, and an extract from the Pentingerian Table, reduced to two-thirds of the original size, containing the East of Gaul: see the Tabula, edit. Mannert, 1824, Segmenta, 1 and 2. Not only Andemantunnum, but

was converted into a fortress, and several loopholes were made in it; one of them is still visible at the north corner, about three mètres above the ground.

Autun has at present two Roman gates resembling each other, and the same could be said of Langres till lately; for Longe-Porte, on the north side, was a close, even a servile copy of the Porte Gallo-Romaine, as is proved not only by the general appearance, but also by exact measurements. From the number of objects discovered, we learn that this quarter of the city was of much more consequence in ancient than in modern times. Elsewhere commercial prosperity has destroyed the relics of former ages, and we need not go out of our own London to find instances, in which so-called improvements have left nothing but names to commemorate the past. At Langres changes made for military reasons have produced the same result. The position, commanding the passage from the basin of the Saône to that of the Seine, seemed so important that the French Government decided on fortifying it. Hence Longe-Porte was removed in order to continue the *enceinte* of the town without interruption. At the same time the inhabitants had cause to deplore the disappearance of their ancient ramparts, of the ivy and other wild plants that grew luxuriantly around, and of the picturesque roofs that afforded shelter as they took their walks on the *chemin de ronde*.

Longe-Porte was demolished in June, 1850, while M. Girault de Prangey was writing his account of it for the Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres. This memoir was illustrated by a good engraving which I exhibit.¹ The name is evidently derived from the passage bored, like a tunnel, in the side of the hill which is here very steep, and not from King Longo, a fabulous founder

Segessera and Eburobriga also are marked here. The same Society has also published as an illustration of the Article, *Limites de la Province Lingonnaise*, which contains many useful citations (Memoires, tome ii, pp. 261-270), a map on a large scale, entitled *Carte de la Province Lingonnaise et du Diocese de Langres avant 1731*. It gives the ancient as well as modern names of towns, and includes portions of the adjoining dioceses; and it shows the Roman roads, whether indicated in the Itineraries or not.

Several *viae* radiated from Langres, as was also the case at Reims (Durocortorum) and Autun (Augustodunum); they still testify to the importance of these cities under the Romans. Vestiges of this kind are very numerous throughout the Haute-Marne, and perhaps more Roman roads may be traced here than in any other Department.

¹ Memoires. tome i, pp. 135-141, Planche 21. Art. Longe-Porte.

of the city.¹ A visit to the spot would, I think, at once dispel any doubt on the subject. It is likely that this gateway had the same origin as the Porte Gallo-Romaine, and was erected in the reign of Constantius Chlorus, especially as the proportions and details in the two monuments are identical. Down to the date above-mentioned a fluted pilaster remained between two piers, on the imposts of which some voussoirs rested. Hence we infer with certainty that there were two arched entrances, and with great probability that there were two pilasters at each end to complete the design.² Three portions of the frieze remained—enough to prove that it consisted, as at the Porte Gallo-Romaine, of shields and helmets; two stones also showed fragments of capitals, in which the acanthus-leaf is unmistakeable. The scroll work (*enroulement*), which was visible above the modern gateway, seems to have been brought thither from some other monument, because it does not harmonize with the design, as far as we can ascertain it from other members and details, or from comparison with the Porte Gallo-Romaine; and, secondly, because a similar pattern has been often found in the old walls of Langres, *e.g.* near the Tour de Navarre.

The ground plan of the building is supposed to have been a parallelogram, 20 mètres in length and 6 in depth, with two openings, each 4 mètres wide. This gate stood on the most important road out of Langres, leading to Trèves (*Augusta Trevirorum*) the head-quarters of the Roman commander on the Rhine, and sometimes the imperial residence; it passed through Neufchâteau (*Noviomagus*), Toul (*Tullum Leucorum*), Verdun (*Veredunum*), and Metz (*Divodurum Mediomatricorum*).³

¹ The name is sometimes written Longho : *ibid.* p. 37 *sq.*, Art. Les Lingons durant l'Ere Celtique. At p. 39 reference is made to Livy, book V, chap. 35 Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Æsim fines habuere; and the river Æsis is said to be the same as the modern Adige. This is a mistake, for the Æsis is now called Esino, and Athesis is the ancient name for the Adige.

² Arguing from the analogous structures at Autun, M. De Prangey infers that there was a gallery instead of an attic over the entablature in Longe-Porte; he also remarks that the latter would have

interrupted the *chemin de garde*, and destroyed the military character of the monument. However, this opinion does not seem to rest on a solid foundation: v. my Paper on Autun, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xl, p. 31, note 3, with engraving.

³ Fragments of an inscription have been discovered near Longe-Porte; it is conjectured that they refer to the construction or repair of roads, and that the name of some emperor or benefactor was formerly visible. The following letters may still be read, ROA VRN. R. OFE. LV and AG; but they cannot be interpreted.

III. From Longe-Porte we pass by an easy transition to the Museum, because so many objects found near the former have been saved from destruction by their removal to the latter. It contains Gallo-Roman, Roman, Celtic, Egyptian, Mediæval and Renaissance antiquities.¹ The first class are deposited in the apse of the ancient church of St. Didier² and in apartments leading to it. This secularized building adjoins the Salons des Tableaux and the Galerie Perron, the latter of which is filled with collections pertaining to Ethnology and Natural History.

Among the bas-reliefs the most interesting is No. 184 on a stone of moderate thickness, which was accidentally brought to light in 1849, when a portion of the city wall fell down. It is broken, and the human figures are not well preserved. Three persons are seated in a four-wheeled car drawn by four horses, harnessed in two pairs according to the modern fashion, instead of being all abreast, which in ancient times was the usual arrangement.³ Though

¹ M. Henry Brocard's Catalogue du Musée fondé et administré par la Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres, 1873, will be found very useful, the part that treats of Inscriptions requires revision.

² St. Didier or Dizier (Lat. *Desiderius*) is said to have been the third Bishop of Langres; according to some accounts he was martyred about A.D. 264, but other authorities bring the date down to 411. The *Acta Sanctorum* relate that he was a poor peasant taken from the plough, and selected for the bishopric because his staff budded miraculously. During his episcopate, Crocus (also called Crochus and Croceus), king of the Vandals or Alemanni ravaged Gaul; St. Didier interceded for Langres, and was decapitated: Bollandists, *Vigesima Tertia Maii*, Tom. v, vol. 16, pp. 242-247, *Des Desiderio Episcopo et Sociis Martyribus*. An account of the translation of his relics, together with the inscription on the shrine, is given in *Mem. Soc. Langr.* Tome. iii, p. 65 sq. The first two lines on the reliquary are printed thus:
VANDALICVS GLADIVS HVNC
SANCTVM DECAPITAVIT
PERCVSSOR PROPRIIS MVNIBVS
SE MORTIFICAVIT:
but for MVNIBVS read MANIBVS. Tradition relates that the executioner rushed violently against the city gate, and dashed his brains out—crebra percussione evacuatus cerebro: *Acta Sanc-*

torum, loc. citat. p. 245 sq. The restored tomb of the Saint is now in the Museum. Proofs of the veneration in which he was held are afforded by the Rue St. Dizier, the principal thoroughfare at Nancy, and the town, St. Didier, an industrial centre at the north end of the Haute-Marne.

The Bishop of Langres must not be confounded with another St. Didier, Archbishop of Vienne, murdered A.D. 603. The latter rebuked Bruneau (for her sarcophagus v. *Antt. of Autun*, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xl, p. 37), on account of her incestuous marriage with Meroveus, and was in consequence put to death by her orders: *Acta Sanctorum*, *ibid.* pp. 251-255, *De S. Desiderio Martyre, Episcopo Viennensi in Gallia*.

The *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Tome. 14, s.v. Didier, mentions two other saints and a bishop of the same name.

³ The truth of this assertion will be seen at a glance by anyone who opens an illustrated work on Greek or Roman numismatics. The most celebrated example of the quadriga with horses abreast is the Syracusan medallion which is repeated many times in Hunter's Catalogue, Tab. 62 sq., and in Mr. B. V. Head's *History of the Coinage of Syracuse*, Plates III-V. We may also compare the coins of Philistis, Queen of Hiero II, where "the horses are sometimes galloping and sometimes walking:" Head, *ibid.* p. 65 sq., Pl. XI, figs. 6-9; British Museum, Catalogue of Greek coins, Sicily

the execution is rude, the design expresses with spirit the attitudes of men and movements of animals. The driver holds the reins; a personage of superior rank, looking in the same direction, occupies an elevated seat; another man, also sitting, has his back turned to his master, like a servant on a dog-cart. From the simplicity, both of carriage and costume, we may infer that a scene of private life, and not a public procession, is represented here. This view is confirmed by comparison with other reliefs in the same collection. The smaller mosaic at Orbe, where the subject is agricultural, would also serve as an illustration. The head-stalls, through which the reins of the wheelers pass, deserve notice, and I do not remember to have seen any exactly resembling them.¹ M. de Prangey says that the carriage may be called *carpentum*, *carruca*, or *petorritum*. All three terms are used of Gallic conveyances, but the first had only two wheels; the second and third had four, which is indicated in the last case by the word *petor*, equivalent to the Greek τέσσαρες, Æolic, πέντε.²

Though the figures are more or less mutilated, they all seem to wear the same dress, the *bardocucullus*, for which M. de Prangey writes *lacerna cucullata*. *Bardocucullus* is classical, but *cucullatus* occurs for the first time in the Origines of Isidorus, who died A.D. 636.³ This bas-relief, unnoticed by editors and commentators, elucidates two lines in Martial, Book I, No. 53:—

Nos. 539 and 553, pp. 212, 214, with engravings. The first plate of Cohen's *Medailles Consulaires* shows the same arrangement on six Roman denarii of the gentes Aburia, Acilia and Æmilia.

¹ The only tolerably well-preserved head-stall which is left from antiquity was found in Thorsbjerg; it is fully described by Dr. Engelhardt, Denmark in the Early Iron Age, chap. iii, sect. 7, Harness, pp. 59-62, esp. p. 60; Thorsbjerg, Pl. XIII, fig. 1; some details are drawn full size in No. 1a to 1d. Cf. My paper on Scandinavia, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xxxiv, p. 256.

² *Petor* corresponds to quatuor, as πέντε to quinque. The connection of these words is certain, though not so obvious at first sight on account of our incorrect pronunciation of QU as KW; but with the Romans QU were equivalent to K or C

with a hard sound. The interchange of P and C is common. e.g. palumba (palumbes), columba: Professor Key on the Alphabet, p. 53, sect. 6.

Ritum seems to be a Roman form of the Celtic Roth, rotha, Roith (obsolete) a wheel; diminutives Roithlean, Ruidhlean. See Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary. The same root appears in the Latin rota, French roue, and German Rad: Soc. Langr. vol. i, p. 140 sq., notes 2, 3.

³ Isidor. l. 19. *Orig.* c. 24. Casula est vestis cucullata, dicta per diminutionem a casa, quod totum hominem tegat. Forcellini, *Lexicon* s. v. A Drinking Scene is painted in a thermopolion or wine-shop at Pompeii, and two of the figures wear the *cucullus*; Sir W. Gell, *Pompeiana*, vol. ii. p. 11, Pl. LXXX; one member of this group is copied by Rich, *Companion to the Latin Dictionary*, s.v.

Sic interpositus villo contaminat uncto
 Urbica Lingonicus Tyrianthina bardocucullus.¹

The epigram is addressed to Fidentinus, who had copied the author's poems without acknowledgment, and had inserted amongst them one page composed by himself. Martial compares the plagiarist's verses to the greasy wool of a coarse cloak made at Langres, which would pollute Tyrian dyes if placed in contact with them. The contrast is much the same as we might draw between the frieze coat of a peasant and the fine West of England cloth worn by a gentleman. M. De Prangey speaks of *cucullus* and *bardocucullus* as if they were synonymous; here again I think he is mistaken, for the former word means a hood, and the latter a cloak with a hood as an appendage to it, closely resembling the Roman *paenula*.²

No. 185 consists of two bas-reliefs which seem to have been placed on the sides of a pedestal supporting some monument, probably sepulchral. The subjects are similar; in one case three mules are drawing a four-wheeled waggon, the whole length of which is occupied by a cask, represented without attention to perspective, as the end of it appears, which would not be visible to the spectator standing in front. So, in the Transition period of Greek sculpture, we see figures with the full face and the

¹ Juvenal, the contemporary author most nearly parallel to Martial, uses the word *cucullus* four times; in Satire vi, 118, he mentions a hood worn at night by the Empress Messallina, wife of Claudius, with a view to avoid recognition;

Sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos, but viii, 145 is more *a propos*, because here *Santonicus* answers to *Lingonicus* in the passage cited above,

Quo, si nocturnus adulter
 Tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo
² This similarity is proved by Martial, xiv. 128.

Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo,
 Cercopithecorum paenula nuper erat.

Paenula seems to be the same as the Greek *φανόλης*, which occurs in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, iv, 13, but Stephens reads *φανόλην*, and Tischendorf *φελόνην*. Bloomfield, *in loco*, derives *φελόνης* (*φελλόνης*) from *φελός*, the bark of a tree, but this etymology is very doubtful. V. Alford's notes, critical and explanatory.

With *bardocucullus* comp. Historia Augusta, ed. Lugd. Bat., 1671, Tom. i, pp. 545-550, Julii Capitolini Pertinax Imperator, c. 8, Auctio sane rerum Commodi in his insignior fuit... cuculli Bardaici. On this passage Casaubon remarks, Utrum vero a Gallorum Bardis fuerint dicti, an a Bardeis Illyricis, ... nondum plane constitui.

Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary has a copious article on the Celtic word *bard*, and gives the equivalents in several languages.

See also Soc. Langr., Tome I, pp. 59-64, Notice sur les Costumes des Gaulois en general et des Lingons en particulier a propos de quelques monuments de l'ere Gallo-Romaine, by M. Paul Pechine, architecte; esp. p. 61 *sq.* and notes: *ibid.* i, 140, M. De Prangey thus describes the "*lacerna cucullata*", ce vêtement a capuchon, la *coucouille* arabe actuelle, qui a conserve si parfaitement le nom comme la forme du vêtement principal de nos aïeux.

feet turned to one side, instead of being fore-shortened : of this confusion the Æginetan Minerva is a well-known example.¹ Between the wheels there are some small objects, one of which is supposed to be a drag (*enrayure*). The driver wears the *bardocucullus* as before, but the hood is thrown back over his shoulders; he holds a whip as well as reins. Caylus calls the animals horses; he had not seen the original, and the length of the ears shows him to have been mistaken. On the second stone a man holds a chain to which two mules are harnessed; the feet and a shapeless head are all that remain of another man looking towards him. Caylus conjectures that he is bringing a third horse to complete the team. The cask and harness on these slabs are like what may be seen in this part of France at present.²

No. 240 is a very remarkable bas-relief, and has attracted the attention of M. Palustre of Tours, formerly Directeur de la Société Française d'Archéologie; but whether he has written any memoir on the subject I am unable to state. Three shelves are arranged vertically; three sandals are placed on the highest, three bottles on the middle, and three boxes on the lowest. M. Brocard thinks that we have here the emblems of some trade, like the signs outside shops in modern times; but I am inclined to agree with the opinion of M. Cournault, Conservateur du Musée Lorrain à Nancy. He explains the sculptures with reference to baths: the sandals or slippers might be wanted to protect the feet from impurities on the floor, as is now the case with the Turks and Arabs; the bottles would hold unguents used by bathers, and the boxes pro-

¹ The fact that her feet are both unnaturally turned towards the side of the Greeks is interpreted by some writers to indicate her partiality: W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 125. I should rather attribute this anomaly to defective drawing, and compare it with the awkward figures that we see in mediæval glass-painting. The idea of representing a preference by the posture of the feet may be ingenious, but I think it is proved to be mistaken by comparison with the Selinuntine metopes, where the feet are in profile and other parts of the body *en face*, but no such motive can be imagined. I refer to the groups of Perseus beheading Medusa, Hercules carrying the Cercopes,

and a Goddess (probably Artemis) contending with a Giant: C. O. Müller, *Denkma'ler*, Part i, Pl. VI, fig. f; VII, fig. f; and viii B, fig. f. Gsell-Fels, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien*, Zweiter Band, pp. 221-224. Palermo, Museo Nazionale: Erdgeschoss; esp. p. 222, sect. 3, die Füße sind dem Herakles zugewandt, die herabhängenden Köpfe dagegen von vorn sichtbar (Herakles, die Kerkopen-kolbolde an der Stange forttragend).

² *Recueil d'Antiquités*, Tome IV, pp. 396-400, Pl. CXXII, nos. II and III; for Cucullus and Bardocucullus see esp. p. 399, where Caylus says that these words are absolutely synonymous.

vided with lids on the lowest shelf might contain objects of the toilette or personal adornment.¹

The museum possesses many inscriptions; a large proportion of them are sepulchral and very imperfect, but their fragmentary condition need cause little regret, because they seem to be insignificant, and closely resemble what have been found elsewhere. I shall notice a few of the more important ones.²

No. 11. SVCESSVS
NATALIS.L
MACERIEM
CAEMENTICIAM
CIRCA.HOC.TEM
PLVM.DE.SVA.PE
CVNIA.MATRO
NAEEX VOTO SVS
CEPTO
V. S. L. M.

Successus, freedman of Natalis, has built a stone wall round this temple with his own money, in honour of Matrona, according to a vow which he had made. He has fulfilled his vow willingly, deservedly.³

¹ According to M. Brocard, objects for sale are here figured in stone for the same purpose as we often see them painted—a common practice in the South of Europe. He published a short notice of this relief in the *Memoires of the Soc. Langr.*, Tome III, p. 231 sq., 1 June, 1885, accompanied by an illustration which he kindly permitted me to exhibit. The stone was discovered in the course of excavations made by the military engineers at the citadel of Langres. Besides the three sandals mentioned above, a fourth is partially visible. The two on the spectator's right show an opening that would leave the extremity of the foot bare, and in this respect resemble the *campagus*—a boot which exposes the toes; it occurs in the *Tombeau de Jovin*: v. my paper on Reims, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xli, p. 124, and references to Montfaucon in note 2.

The three bottles are of a square shape, and might be called *lagenæ*. A description of vases in Dr. Birch's *Ancient Pottery and Porcelain*, vol. i, p. 56, will closely apply here. "Their necks are short in proportion to their handles, and their handles reach from the shoulder to the lip, which is always turned with a ridge" (*Egyptian and Oriental Pottery*). Generally the circular form is preferred, as is shown by the illustrations in the *Catalogue of Glass*, Slade collection, pp. 29-49, Roman blown glass; but square

bottles are mentioned p. 32, Nos. 192, 196. The Colchester Museum contains fine specimens of ancient glass, remarkable for their size and good preservation, but I wish now to call attention to the fact that some have nearly the same shape as the vases figured at Langres: *Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Colchester Museum*, p. 9, No. 173, Pl. IV, fig. 5; p. 10, No. 196. Bottles of the same kind have been found in the town of Châtelet, between St. Dizier and Joinville, near the river Marne, and the line of railway from Blesme to Chaumont. This place is marked as "ville ruinée" in the map of the Roman roads of the Haute-Marne, Soc. Langr. tome i, p. 330. *Planche 43: v. Arts et Metiers des Anciens*, etc., par Grivaud de la Vincelle Paris, 1819, planche xcvi.

² I have followed the numbers in M. Brocard's *Catalogue* for the inscriptions as well as for the bas-reliefs.

³ *Successus* is an uncommon name, and does not occur in Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Biography*; an example of it is given by Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinæ*, under the head *Lucernæ*, p. 240, No. 1330, ²², SVC-CESSI, with the singular device of an ape riding on a crocodile. *Successa* is said to have been found on a sepulchral tablet at Bath, but the stone has disappeared: *ibid.*, p. 28, No. 58.

We meet with Natalis more frequently.

Every author is his own best expositor, and can only be understood by adopting the method of a concordance, and elucidating one passage in his works by another. Similarly, an inscription should be compared, if possible, with others of the same *provenance*. Thus the initial letter L in the second line is proved to stand for *libertus*, freedman, by reference to No. 73, where LIB occurs, i.e., *libertae*, freedwoman. In No. 118 we have the abbreviation LB; in No. 119, 4^a, the word LIBERTAE in full.¹ The term *maceries* is employed here strictly in accordance with the usage of classical Latinity; it means a wall roughly constructed and enclosing a plot of ground, garden or vineyard, as distinguished from the wall of a town (*murus*) or of a house (*paries*). Various materials, such as earth or bricks, might be used in building the *maceria*; but in this case the word *caementicius* shows that it consisted of small stones (*caementa*), not the large rectangular ones (*quadrata*) that we see in regular masonry.² Langres is

Antonius Natalis, a Roman knight, joined the famous conspiracy of C. Piso against Nero, in which Lucan, the poet, was also engaged; and escaped punishment by promptly betraying his accomplices: Tacitus, *Annals*, xv, 50, 54, 56, 71. A rescript of Trajan is addressed to Minucius Natalis, who may have been a jurist: Smith's *Dict. of Classical Biography*. Our own monuments exhibit this name thrice; at Ribchester, near Cirencester, and in London. The first place is called Coccium by Hübner, but Mr. Thompson Watkin identifies it with Bremetonacum: Roman Lancashire, p. 28 sq. According to the latter authority, Coccium was at Wigan. The stone tablet found at Ribchester, and now preserved at St. John's College, Cambridge, mentions T. Floridius Natalis as *legatus* of a legion; a full-page engraving of it from a photograph is given by Mr. Watkin, *ibid.*, opposite p. 146, with copious explanations: cf. Hübner, *Insc. Brit. Lat.*, p. 59, No. 222, *lapis magnus litteris elegantibus*; many of the letters are ligulate. For the other two instances of Natalis v. Hübner, p. 30, No. 66; and Patellæ, p. 277, No. 1336.⁷⁵⁰ I have cited these British inscriptions as showing the connexion between Anglo-Roman and Gallo-Roman epigraphy.

Vota suscipere is equivalent to *vota facere*; the latter phrase is frequent in Cicero's writings, but he uses the former at least once: De Natura Deorum, lib. iii,

c. 39, § 93, Atque iidem etiam vota suscipi dicitis oportere.

¹ L in the last line stands for *lubens*, so that we have two very different uses of the same character in one inscription. No less than forty-five meanings of L will be found in Gerrard's *Siglarium*, usually printed as an appendix to the English Translation of Forcellini's *Lexicon*.

² *Maceria* (maceries in Prudentius and Gruter p. 611, No. 13) is allied to μάκελον μάκελλον, μάκελος—δοῦφρακτος, φραγμός, an enclosure, (v. Liddell and Scott), and the Latin macellum, notwithstanding the difference of quantity; for this does not constitute a fatal objection. Doederlein, *Lateinische Synonyme und Etymologien*, Fünfter Theil, p. 351. c. 244 § 4, suggests another derivation, Aber liegt *margo*, Mark, nicht nahe genug? This seems to be a mere guess, though it might be said in its favour that R. sometimes disappears. "Thus the German sprechen is in English *speak*, our word *world* is in German *Welt*." Key on the Alphabet, p. 93. The difference between *murus* and *maceria* is well shown by Caesar's description of Alesia, the place where Vercingetorix was besieged. The former word relates to the town, the latter to a space outside occupied by the Gallic troops, *Bell. Gall.* vii, 69. Varro mentions four kinds of *maceria*. De Re Rustica, lib. i, c. 144; cf. Cato, R.R., c. 15, 1.

For *caementicius* v. Horace, *Odes* iii, 1, 35, *Caementa demittit redemptor*, and Orelli's note *in loco*.

No. 18. ATTIVS EVHODVS
 VG COLON

No. 55. I. ET. LITAVICCO. FIL·ON.

Fabretti has the same Inscription, chap. x, No. 114, see also No. 113 and his note. Bailey's edition of Forcellini refers to this passage in Fabretti, but incorrectly.

Litavicus though not deemed worthy of a place in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Biography and Mythology, was a very important personage; he was an Æduan chief of the highest rank, and zealously opposed Cæsar's attempts to conquer Gaul; he boldly denounced the Romans as brigands, and slaughtered as many of them as he could.¹ The last passage where the name of Litavicus occurs in the Commentaries informs us that he was received by the Æduans into Bibracte, their capital and stronghold; he then suddenly disappears from history, like the Batavian leader Civilis more than a century afterwards.²

Various forms of this name are given by Oudendorp in his critical note on Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vii, cap. 37, Litavius, Lictaviccus, Lictavictus, Litaviccus, Litavictus. In a case of this kind inscriptions and legends on coins may assist us to determine the true reading: it is obvious that, when they are contemporary, they afford better evidence than manuscripts which are later.

The Musée Departemental des Vosges at Epinal supplies an interesting parallel, which fortunately is better preserved: Catalogue by M. Felix Voulot, Conservateur, 2^e partie.—Série Lapidaire, p. 14, No. 30. I copy this historical document, because it is probably unknown to most English antiquaries.

<p>SEX · I^V_{ENT} · SENOVIRI DVBNOTALI · F · IVL · LITVAARA · LITAVICc I F MATER · FACIENDVM CVRAVIT</p>

Sexto Juvento Senoviri Dubnotali Filio Julia Litumara Litavicii Filia mater faciendum curavit.

The inscription was found at Monthureux, canton de la Vignotte, near the source of the river Saône, South-West of Epinal.

¹ Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, lib. vii, cc. 37-40, 43, 54, 55 C. 38, Proinde, si quid est in nobis animi, persequamur eorum mortem, qui indignissime interierunt, atque hos latrones interficiamus.

² Tacitus's account of Civilis ends abruptly with a fragment of his speech,

when he met the Roman general, Cerealis, on the broken bridge over the river Nabalia, perhaps the Yssel, the Eastern branch of the Rhine. *Histories*, iv, 26; see Orelli *in loco*, and Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vi, p. 525.

From the beauty of the characters we infer that this sepulchral monument belongs to a good period of the Roman occupation; and we may reasonably conjecture from the epoch and the *provenance* that Litumara here mentioned was related to the Litavicus of Cæsar's Commentaries. Her husband's name, Dubnotalus, resembles Dubnorex on Æduan coins, usually written Dumnorix; Rollin et Feuarent, Médailles de la Gaule, chefs Eduens, No. 129 sq.¹ M. Voulot explains Senoviri as meaning a warrior of the tribe of Senones; but a comparison of this name with Sacrovir, an Æduan chief, would not support his opinion.² The syllable *Vir*, like *Dun* in towns, occurs at the beginning, as well as at the end, of proper names, *e.g.*, Viridomarus, Viridovix; it is the same as the Celtic *Fear*, *fir*, a man, a husband. See O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, and Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, where similar words in other languages are mentioned. *Fear* becomes *var* in Carrignavar, *i.e.* rock of the man, a village about four miles north of Cork—cf. *Fearach*, &c.

Litavicus is also known to us by an important coin engraved in Hucher's Art Gaulois, pl. 2, No. 2. The device on the obverse is a bust of Diana with quiver on the shoulder and sceptre in front, or perhaps a sceptre on each side; on the reverse we see Litavicus galloping to right, and carrying a standard surmounted by a wild boar: legend—LITA.³

No. 69. D M
 BOUDOCA
 IVNI FILI
 O

¹ This is the form which Oudendorp adopts, Cæsar, B.G., I., 9, 18, &c. With DVBNOREX compare DVBNOCOY on the obverse of the same medal: Lettres a M. A. de Longperier sur la Numismatique Gauloise par F. de Saulcy, pp. 136-138, ANOREO - DVBNORIX; p. 138 sq. DVBNORIX-DVBNOCOV; ibid. pp. 155-157, 239-242, Anorbos-Dubnorix. At p. 139 DVBNOREIX occurs.

² Tacitus, Annals iii, 40, 41, 43-46; the last reference is the most important. Sacrovir, the leader of the Æduan revolt in the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 21, was defeated by the Roman general, C. Silius, near Angustodunum (Autun). The name Sacrovir is visible on the Arch at Orange:

my paper on Autun, Archaeol. Journ. vol. xl, p. 30, note 3.

³ Hucher, Table du Texte, p. 58, Les braies du cavalier sont attachees au bas de la jambe et au cou-de-pied, et la legende LITA est quelquefois LITAV et LITAVICOS en toutes lettres; ibid. Deuxième Partie, Catalogue Critique des Légendes des Monnaies Gauloises, p. 151: Lelewel, Atlas to Type Gaulois ou Celtique, Pl. VII, No. 7: Duchalais, Description des Médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale, p. 115 sq., Nos. 354-357; with references to Mionnet.

The horse galloping, said to be an emblem of liberty, is the most common type on Gallic coins, but the wild boar, I think, in frequency ranks next to it.

Found in the citadel, in the Gallo-Roman cemetery.

This fragment is brief and imperfect, but interesting, because it contains a name that reminds us of Boadicea, the heroic queen of the Iceni, who, "bleeding from the Roman rods...rushed to battle, fought and died.¹ It is worth while to observe that *Boudoca* approximates more closely to *Boudicca* than to any other of the numerous forms which this name takes in the MSS. of Tacitus. The latter is adopted by Halm in his excellent edition, following the reading of the Codex Mediceus, Annals, Book xiv, chap. 37. It most probably occurred in the following inscription at Chichester:

CCA.AELIA
CAVA
FIL.AN.XXXVI

which Hübner interprets thus, [Bodi]cca Aelia, Cauva, [Laeti] fil(ia) an(norum) xxxvi. He remarks that the characters are good and belong to the close of the first century, so that the monument is nearly contemporary with Boadicea, who poisoned herself A.D. 62.²

No. 76. TABRIVS
CANDIDVS
VSFMNS

Tabrius Candidus vivus sibi fecit hoc monumentum haeres non sequitur.

The inscription and expansion are repeated as they

Though extinct in Britain, the species is still very numerous in the French forests; and where the game is preserved, this mischievous animal often causes litigation between the farmers and the proprietors of the soil. I remember having seen many heads of wild boars stuffed, in a shop-window, as I was passing through the Rue St. Dizier at Nancy. In the following works the reader will find an abundance of numismatic illustrations—Lelewe, op. citat. Troisième Période, Age d'Airain, pp. 152-160, c. 69, Sanglier enseigne des Eduens et empreinte de leur monnaie; c. 70, Les alliés des Eduens prennent le sanglier dans leur monnaie, c. 71, Bouc, sanglier et autres quadrupèdes de la monnaie noire et blanche. Akerman, Ancient Coins of Spain, Gaul and Britain, Plates XIII-XX, Gallia, Encyclopédie-Roret, J.B.A.A. Barthelemy, Numismatique Ancienne, Planches Nos. 349-399, esp. 389. Duchalais, op. citat., Planches i-iii; Tables des Types principaux, s.v. Sanglier, where

many examples are given; there is also one amongst the Monnaies Pannoniennes described in the same work, p. 407, No. 103, Reverse, COVIOIYVVIII. Sanglier cum veretro erecto, marchant à gauche.

¹ Cowper's Poem entitled Boadicea, ed. Bohn, vol. v, p. 265 sq: Tacitus Annals, xiv, 31, 35, 37; v. Orelli Adnotatio Critica on chap. 31: Zeuss, Grammatica Celtica, vol. i, p. 27. Boadicea ap. Tacitum, pro Boodicea, Bōd. ? p. 39, he mentions the names Boudius and Boudia. Cf. Hucher, op. citat. Catal. Critique des Légendes des Monnaies Gaul. BODVOC, BODVO, av. ar. (Britanni vel Nervii). Lelewe a figure ces deux monnaies, Pl. VIII, Nos. 18, 19.

² Insc. Britanniae Latinae, No. 13, p. 19. Hübner supposes Cauva to be the name of some British tribe. This inscription was found in the year 1833, and published by Mr. Thomas King in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, 1836; Appendix to vol. xxvi of the Archæologia, p. 466.

stand in M. Brocard's Catalogue, but they seem to require correction. Having been unable to find *Tabrius* elsewhere, I propose to read for it T.ABVRIVS, i.e. *Titus Aburius*. This latter name occurs at Palma in Mallorca, given by Hübner C.I.L., Spain, No. 3669: also in coins of the Gens Aburia; Cohen Médailles Consulaires, Planche I, Nos. 1, 2, pp. 1-3.¹ It should be observed that the legends of these denarii M. AB VR I (which I exhibit) and C. AB VR I show the ligature VR=UR. If the surface of the stone had been weathered or injured in any way, the oblique stroke forming the letter V might be so far effaced as easily to escape notice. Of the cognomen *Candidus* our own country furnishes examples; there was one at Manchester mentioned by Camden, but it is now lost. According to him the stone was inscribed thus—

C. CANDIDI
FIDES XX
IIII

For FI we must substitute PE, so that the expansion will be C. (centuria) *Candidi Pedes xxxiii*; "The century of Candidus (built) twenty-four feet."²

Another example (c) ANDID FECIT, is given by Mr. Roach Smith, Roman London, p. 89; it is the name of a potter on a *mortarium*.

The letters HMNS may be expanded *haeredes monumentum non sequitur*, the monument does not go to the heirs; but the omission of *hoc* before *monumentum* would be unusual. I am inclined to suspect that H has been omitted before N, either by the stonecutter or by the copyist, so that the words would be in full *hoc monumentum*

¹ No. 1 has for its device on the reverse the Sun holding a whip, No. 2, Mars helmeted with trophy, spear and shield—both deities in a quadriga. There seems to be here an allusion to the name Aburia which resembles *amburo* to scorch, consume. This is the opinion of Vaillant, and Pighius says *ardens Martis astrum*, but Eckhel doubts the correctness of their explanations, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. v, p. 117 sq. See also Morell's Thesaurus, Tom. i, Familiarum Romanarum Numismata, p. 1 sq., Tab. i, Nos. i, iv.

² Mr. Thompson Watkin's Roman Lancashire, chap. iv, *Mancunium* p. 99. A description of four centurial stones is given pp. 99-102. They are interesting

as evidence of the presence at Manchester of the Frisians, "a very distinguished race," frequently mentioned by Tacitus. V, note p. 102, Memoir on the Roman garrison at *Mancunium*, &c. by James Black, M.D., F.R.S. Hübner, Insec. Brit. Lat. No. 215, cf. 667.

COH-I >IV
LI CANDID

Coh(ortis) I s(enturia) Iuli(i) Candid(i)

This stone was found in the Roman Wall near Boreovicium. See also Nos. 857, 1331³⁰; and Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 111, No. 210. Twenty stones are engraved in this work, bearing the designations of cohorts and centuries, pp. 111 sqq.

*haeredes non sequitur.*¹ Our inscription is evidently sepulchral, and the last line of it corresponds with a passage in Horace, where the poet is speaking of a burial-ground on the Esquiline :

Hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurrae, Nomentanoque nepoti.
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat ; haeredes monumentum ne sequeretur.²

The measurements in front and in depth are here mentioned, just as we see them now placarded upon walls in notices of land to be let for building.³ For this purpose another inscription at Langres should be compared.

No. 111

SEXIVL
... IAN
LPXVI
LPXII

i.e. longum pedes XVI, latum pedes XII.

The meaning of the letter L is illustrated by No. 19,

LAT.P.V

i.e. latum pedes v.

No. 115

D. M.
VFFVLE RVFIFILI
IVILV COCHIFILIVS
MARITVS

These words appear on the upper part of a funereal *cippus*, half of which is broken off. I have noticed them on account of the accent on *maritus*. Wilmanns, remarks that accents occur in inscriptions, beginning with the age of Augustus, but become very rare at the end of the second century, and that the last he has seen belongs to the reign of Gallienus, A.D. 254—267.⁴ The subject is

¹ According to M. Brocard's expansion *haeres* stands in the nominative case ; but the accusative is required here, which is proved by the verses cited from Horace.

² Satires, lib. I, viii, 10-13. Solita hac formula H. M. H. N. S. cavebant ne ...transiret ad heredes, neve ab his aliquando vendi posset ; Orelli *in loco*, and compare his Collectio Insc. Lat., No. 4379. HOC MONVMENTVM HEREM NON SEQVITVR.

³ Orelli, op. citat. no. 4374

IN AG. P. XII

IN FR. P. XXIV

Cf. nos 4382, 4557.

⁴ Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. i, p. 16, No. 68. We have here the sentence inscribed by Augustus on two obelisks, one in the Circus Maximus and the other in the Campus Martius. Some

of the vowels are accentuated. The former, sometimes called Flaminian, is now in the Piazza del Popolo ; the latter, on the Monte Citorio, was erected as the gnomon of a sun-dial, and hence called Solarium Augusti : Pliny, Hist. Nat., Lib. xxxvi, Cap. x, Sect. 15 ; Smith's Dict. Class. Geog., art. Roma. vol. II, p. 837 ; Murray's Handbook for Rome, 7th ed., pp. 87-89. Cf. omn. Ammianus Marcellinus xvii, 4, caput totum.

Comp. Corpus Insc. Lat., vol. i, p. 600, Index Grammaticus, s. v. apices ; p. 168, sq. No. 586, album augurum crediderim totam inscriptionem posterioris aetatis (i.e. after U.C. 666) esse, quam certe prae se fert *decuria* v. 11 cum apice in vocali longa.

An accent is called *apex* in Latin.

interesting, because it throws some light on the pronunciation of Latin, which has lately excited much attention, and still remains *sub judice*. But the investigation presents many difficulties, as we find accents on syllables where we should least expect them. For example, Orelli, vol. i, p. 379, No. 2213, gives the following : || M. VÁLERIVS IVLIÁNVS SÓCER ET || VÁL. SÉCVNDILLÁ (Gratianopoli, Grenoble). *Valerius* shows that we are wrong in saying *Valérius*, and the inscription here agrees with the rhythm of Horace's line, *Satires* i, 6, 12.

Contra, Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde Superbus.

On the other hand the accent on the last syllable of *Sécvndillá* seems strange, because the quantity is short in the nominative case, and the emphasis falls on the penultima.

(To be continued.)

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER 1886.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF LANGRES AND BESANCON.

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

(Continued.)

Besançon, in ancient times Vesontio, is the capital of Franche-Comté, which corresponds with the Sequani. This tribe occupied a most important military position, commanding two of the chief approaches into Gaul. Strabo acutely remarks that the Sequani made the Germans great by their alliance, and little by their desertion.¹ They had control of the gap (*trouée*) of Belfort so often mentioned during the Franco-Prussian war, and of the Fort de l'Écluse, the narrow pass between the Jura and the Rhone. Thus they were to the rest of Gaul what Afghanistan is now to British India. But of all places in the district the capital offered the greatest advantages to a commander-in-chief, as a basis of operations. Its pre-eminence was fully appreciated by Julius Cæsar, for he tells us that he advanced thither by forced marches, day and night, in order to anticipate the German chieftain Ariovistus, who was moving in the same direction.² His

¹ Lib. iv, c. iii, § 2, p. 192. 'Οι Σηκοανοὶ ...κοινωνοῦντες αὐτοῖς (Γερμανοῖ) ἐποιοῦν μεγάλους, καὶ ἀφιστάμενοι μικροὺς.

² The name of the city takes various forms,—Vesontio in Cæsar, Bisontii (like Besançon) in Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv. cap. 11, § 11, edit. Eyssenhardt; Dio xxxviii, 34, has 'Ουεσοντιῶν, and Ptolemy 'Ουισόντιον: Jacobi Bailey Auctarium, printed as a Supplement to Forcellini's Lexicon. Reimar, note on Dio, loc. citat., reads Βεσοντιῶνα, and derives it from the animal, *bison*. The Itin. Antonin., edit. Parthey and Pinder, has Visontione p. 348 Wess., but Vesontione p. 336 Wess.;

Ammianus xx. 10, 3, says per Besantionem Viennam hiematurus abscessit, approximating more closely to the modern name; Ptolemy mentions Vesontio, lib. ii, cap. 9, § 10, C. Müller's note contains many references, edit. Didot. In the Tabula Peutingeriana segm. ii. A., we find Vesontine, which is incorrect.

Bell. Gall. i, 38 s.f., Huc Cæsar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit. The frequent use of the verb *contendo* (to stretch, strain, exert oneself) by this author is worthy of attention. Cæsar, like Napoleon, gained victories by the rapidity of his movements.

description is so accurate that it deserves to be quoted. The Dubis, as if drawn round with a pair of compasses, almost encloses the town; a hill extends for a space of not more than 600 feet to the river on either side, and thus fills up the interval left by the stream.¹

Langres and Besançon differ widely in situation, the former being on the top of a hill, the latter in a plain surrounded by lofty heights. In both places the most remarkable monument of Roman times is an archway, but here again the contrast is very striking: the Porte Gallo-Romaine at Langres exhibits great simplicity of design and very scanty ornamentation: the Porte Noire or Arc-de-Triomphe, at Besançon, is overloaded with decorative details to an unparalleled extent. We may account for the discrepancy by the motive of construction; one was intended primarily for a city-gate, but the other for a triumphal arch.

The monument we are now considering deserves notice, because it is unique, and that too in three respects. Its architecture presents two storeys, while every other ancient building of the same class has only one surmounted by an attic;² a broad band of bas-reliefs is carried round the vault representing marine deities or giants; and the shafts of the columns are entirely covered with sculptures.

In structures of this kind at Rome inscriptions still remain to indicate the personages in whose honour they were erected; but here this evidence is wanting, and it is only tantalizing to be told that as late as the early part of the present century some stones in the frieze showed holes where bronze letters were formerly affixed.³ As their

¹ Caesar, loc. citat. flumen Dubis, ut circino circumductum, paene totum oppidum cingit.

² For this subject the best authority is Luigi Rossini's *Archi Trionfali*, but it treats only of Italian monuments; in restorations and details repeated on a large scale it far surpasses the older work of Jo. Petr. Bellori, *Veteres Arcus Augustorum triumphis insignes, &c.*, Romæ, 1690, which is often inaccurate. Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, Tome. iv, and *Supplement*, Tome. iv, are illustrated by engravings of gates and arches; unfortunately in many cases their inferior execution makes them very unfit to accompany the learned text.

Examples of archways with columns in

a single storey might easily be multiplied, but it is sufficient to cite those of Trajan at Ancona, of Drusus and Aurelius at Rome.

³ This circumstance reminds one of the famous inscription on the arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum, where the holes indicate the name Geta effaced by his brother Caracalla: Nibby, *Roma Antica*, vol. i, p. 478 sq. Facendo una studio sulla posizione de perni primitivi può la iscrizione originale ristabilirsi così, che in luogo di

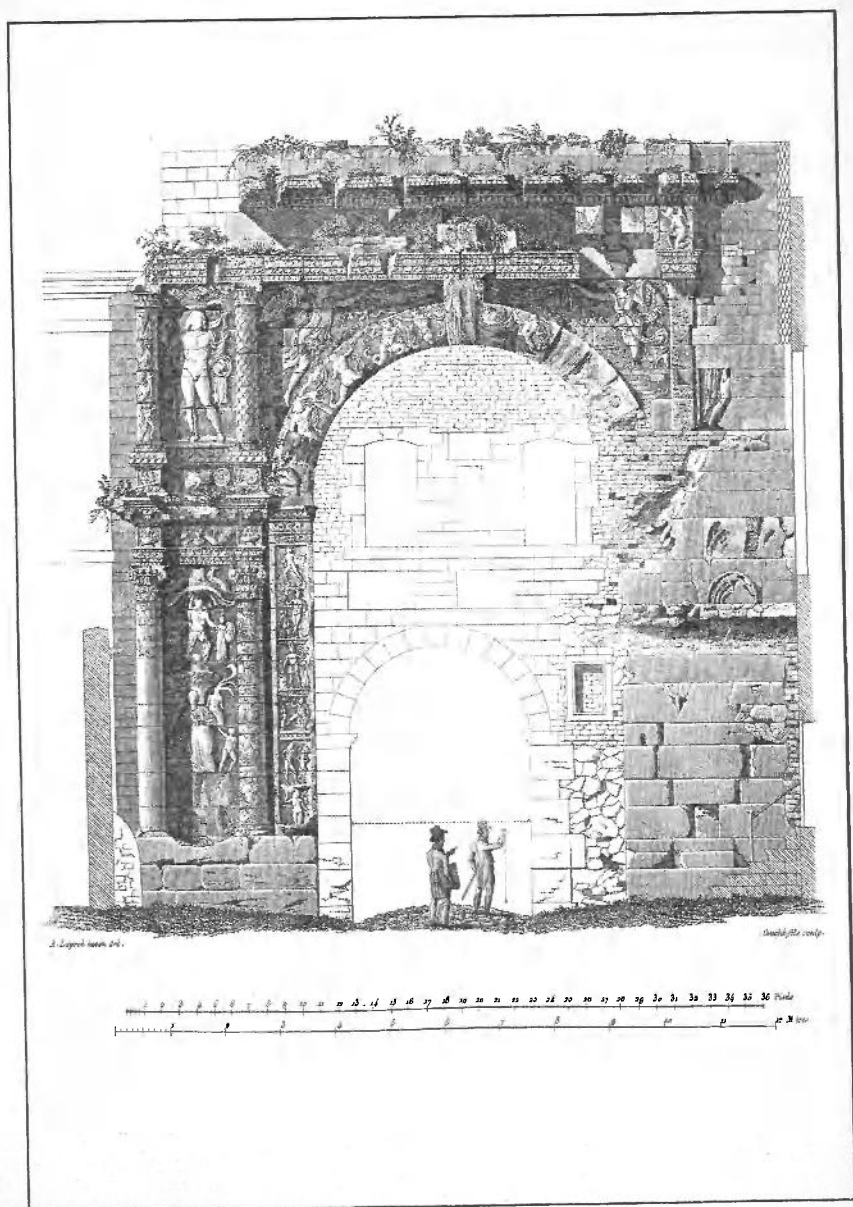
OPTIMISQVE FORTISSIMISQVE
PRINCIPIBVS.

leggevasi

P. SEPTIMIO. L. FIL. GETAE.

NOBILISS. CAESARI.

ET



TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT BESANÇON AS IT WAS BEFORE RESTORATION,
 From Clerc's Franche-Comte.

decay threatened the security of the building, they were removed during the re-construction finished in 1826, and replaced by others with a perfectly plain surface. Under these circumstances it is difficult to ascertain the date, and we can only hope to solve the problem by arguments derived from art and history. M. Castan, the best local antiquary, remarks that the Arch of Titus offers the earliest example of composite capitals and bas-reliefs inside the piers, and that the Porte Noire, resembling it in these features, must therefore be subsequent. On the other hand he places the arch at Besançon before that of Septimius Severus at Rome, because the former has columns, slightly engaged as supports to the entablature, while the latter has in their place pilasters, which he says were not used for such a purpose previously to this emperor, but constantly afterwards. Having thus fixed a limit of time within which the monument was built, he proceeds in search of an emperor whose achievements it might fitly commemorate. This condition he thinks is satisfied by the life of Marcus Aurelius.¹ Finding in the biography by Capitolinus, chap. xxii, the words *Res etiam in Sequanis turbatas censura et auctoritate repressit* (he checked a disturbance among the Sequani by strict discipline and authority,) he concludes that the wars of this sovereign are figured upon the arch. Such are M. Castan's views, which I have endeavoured to represent fairly. But an independent judgment should be formed, and we ought not to abandon the duties of reason and inquiry in deference to authority, howsoever distinguished.

No one acquainted with Græco-Roman architecture will doubt that this arch is subsequent to that of Titus; but M. Castan's second proposition is not so certain, for the presence of pilasters cannot be considered an unfailing sign of a period as late as, or later than, Septimius Severus.

Another explanation is required in the case of the Panathenæic Frieze: Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, vol. i, p. 196, figs 37-41 &c. The bridles of the horses in many of the slabs...as well as some other ornaments, were originally of gilded bronze, as may be seen by the holes left in the marble. C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler Part I*, Pl. XXV, No. 118, Die Löcher, welche zur Befestigung der Zügel dienten, sind nach den Originalen angemerkt.

¹ Besançon et ses Environs par Auguste Castan, 1881; Arc de Triomphe, pp. 60-64; a note on the bibliography of the subject is appended to this article; the most important publication is M. Castan's *Considerations sur Porte-Noire* (1866) dans les *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, 4ème Serie, vol. 2, pp. 420-429. It is out of print, and I was unable to procure a copy even at Besançon.

We see them supporting the entablature in the Arco di Bara, or of Sura, a general under Trajan, which probably is not posterior to Hadrian, as is shown by the inscription EX TESTAMENTO.....SVRAE CONSACRATVM.¹ Again, we may remark that the arguments in this inquiry are derived from two sources, historical and artistic. The evidence from the former in favour of Marcus Aurelius is very slight. This emperor had so little to do with the Sequani, that his visit to their country is not even mentioned by the ordinary historians of the Roman empire, and the brief passage in Capitolinus above quoted does not record any campaigns or victories that would correspond with the sculptures.² The only other point of contact between Aurelius and Besançon that I know is the fact that he was born and reared on the Mons Caelius at Rome, and that the hill above Besançon, on which the citadel stands, was called by the same name.³

¹ My Paper on Tarragona, sect. vi, Archæol. Journ. vol. xxxvii, pp. 23-26 : in the foot-notes I have quoted passages which indicate the period when Sura flourished : Hübner, Insc. Hispaniæ Latinae, s.v. Tarraco, Sect. IX, No. 4282, p. 576 ; cf. No. 4508, where the remarks of Borghesi are appended.

² It should be particularly observed that the presence of M. Aurelius amongst the Sequani is inferred *only* from the passages above quoted ; accordingly we find no mention of the fact in Merivale's History of Rome or Dr. Wm. Smith's Biographical Dictionary. M. Chabouillet says, "Ces mots (censura et auctoritate, v. sup.) n'impliquent pas nécessairement le voyage de l'empereur en Franche-Comte" ap. Castan, *Vesontio Colonie Romaine*, p. 17.

For the meaning of *censura*, as used by Capitolinus and other late writers, see the notes of Casaubon and Salmasius *in loco*.

We must be on our guard against the tendency of local antiquaries to exaggerate the reputation of the city in which they were born or resided. In this case they were tempted to connect Besançon with "the great heathen Emperor and philosopher," as Archbishop Tillotson calls him, Sermon xxxiii. Of forgiveness of Injuries and against Revenge, Works, vol. i, p. 312, ed. fol. MDCCLXXXV.

³ In an Epistle to Fronto (ii. 2) Aurelius says *Mons Caelius meus*. This reference I owe to M. Castan's Memoir

on the Porte Noire quoted above, but I have not had the means of verifying it. Cf. Julii Capitolini M. Antoninus Philosophus, cap. i. Natus est Marcus Romæ sexto Cal. Maias in monte Celio in hortis, avo suo iterum et Augure Coss Educatus est in eo loco in quo natus est, et in domo avi sui Veri juxta aedes Laterani.

Mons Caelius is marked in the map accompanying "Joan. Jac. Chiffletii Patricii, Consularis, et Archiatri Vesontini Vesontio." Lugduni MDCXVIII, opposite p. 36, cap. viii, Vesontionis forma, situs, Portæ, temperies, horti, aedificia, Bibliothecæ. This map, and two engravings in the same work, viz., the Porte-Noire as it was in 1614, and a restoration of it, have been republished separately. See also Ed. Clerc, La Franche-Comte à l'Époque Romaine, représentée par ses ruines, 1853, p. 19, Plan des Grands Monumens Romains de Besançon, au pied du Mont Cœlius.

Chifflet argues strenuously in favour of the derivation of Vesontio from the *bison*, cap. xi, pp. 43-49. Vesontio et Bisontium a Bisonte dicta. He says that some explain the word as a compound of *βῆσος*, a valley (*βῆσος* is the usual form, but v. *βησος* in Stephens' Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae) and *ἄνυες* ; while others think that the first syllable comes from the Celtic *Vesus*, a distinguished man. At the conclusion of his chapter, Chifflet seems afraid that some of the inhabitants might be offended at their city being

On the other hand, if we look to events occurring in the neighbourhood, we find that some of the later emperors and their generals had close relations with the east of Gaul. Among them Constantius Chlorus,¹ Valentinian and Jovinus occur, but Julian the Apostate stands out prominently. He resided at Paris, τὴν φιλήν Λευκτείαν—the Roman palace there, amphitheatre, baths, aqueduct and Campus Martius, probably belong to this epoch.² He promoted the welfare of the people, and paid special attention to the administration of justice. But it is more to our present purpose to remark that Ammianus Marcellinus relates his acts in places not remote from Besançon. He was at Autun, Reims and Sens; in the last city he was besieged. He conducted two campaigns in Gaul; thrice he crossed the Rhine; and at Strasburg (Argentoratum) he defeated the Germans with great slaughter. When we consider his numerous victories and his restoration of the Gallic towns, it seems most natural that a grateful people should honour him with a triumphal arch in a locality near the German frontier, the scene of his most glorious achievements.³ Moreover, we learn from Ammianus that

named after a beast, so he endeavours to console them by the examples of Alba Longa, so-called from a white sow, and Mediolanum from an animal of the same kind that was both bristly and woolly: Claudian, In Nuptiis Honorii et Mariæ, Carm. x, v. 183, ed. Delphin, — lanigeri suis ostentantia pellem Pervenit.

¹ The residence and activity of Constantius Chlorus in this region have been mentioned above in the account of the Porte Gallo-Romaine at Langres; Gibbon, chap. xiii, vol. ii, p. 75, ed. Smith; chap. xiv, note 2, *ibid.*, p. 106.

Many theories about the origin of the Porte-Noire will be found in ed. Clerc, op. citat., p. 26, note 2. "Aucun monument en Franche-Comte n'a donné lieu à des conjectures plus contradictoires." He enumerates five personages to whom the arch has been attributed; and, besides these, Denis Fage described it as representing the victory of Julius Cæsar over Ariovistus. The same absurd notion has been entertained with reference to the Porta-Martis et Reims: My paper on that city, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xli, p. 111. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 343, says that the arch at Besançon "shows so complete a transition from the Roman style that it is difficult to believe that it does not belong to the

renaissance." From this remark I should infer that the author has not seen the monument in question.

² Gibbon, chap. xix, vol. ii, p. 425; chap. xxii, vol. iii, p. 107, note 7. The remains of the palace are still visible, adjoining the Hotel Cluny: Galignani's Paris Guide, pp. 410-412, Palais des Thermes. These ruins are probably part of the building which Ammianus calls *palatium* and *regia* (xx, 4, 14 and 21), in the passage where he relates that the legions proclaimed Julian emperor at Paris, Augustum Julianum horrendis clamoribus concepabant.

The article *Lutetia* in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, 1857, contains a brief and unsatisfactory notice of the Roman antiquities there. It was written by an eminent scholar, the late Mr. George Long, but in this contribution as well as in others he has shown himself little acquainted with the monographs published by French antiquaries. Moreover, many important additions have been made to our knowledge within the last thirty years.

³ Ammianus, edit. Eyssenhardt, *Index Capitulorum*, xvi, 2, Alamannos adoritur, cedit, capit et fugat; *ibid.*, 4, apud Senonas oppidum ab Alamannis obsidetur; *ibid.* 12, barbaros apud Argentoratum

Julian ordered his army to assemble and wait for him at Vesontio, A.D. 356, and that he passed through it on his way to winter-quarters at Vienne, three years later.¹ In his letter to the philosopher, Maximus, he describes its former magnificence and ruined condition, and with rhetorical exaggeration likens the citadel to a lofty rock in the sea, almost inaccessible, even to birds.²

From these historical facts I am inclined to assign the Porte Noire to the Emperor Julian, and I think the artistic evidence points in the same direction. Any one who has studied monuments of this class must at first sight feel that extravagant profusion of ornament is the leading characteristic here; this is the impression that overpowers all others, and I need hardly add that such a style belongs to a late period. If we compare the arch at Besançon with that of Aurelius at Rome, we can hardly believe that they belong to the same reign. In the latter case there was only one bas-relief on each side of the vault; and, as in earlier examples, the ornamented parts received due prominence by being framed, so to speak, in smooth surfaces.³ It has been said on the other hand that some of the figures are too good for Julian's age; we might admit the statement, and reply that they may have been removed from some earlier building, as was the case with the Arch

acie fundit; xvii, 1. transito Rheno Alamannorum vicus diripit et incendit; xviii, 1. Gallorum commodis consulit, et ubique ab omnibus jus servandum curat.

¹ Ammianus, xx, 10, 3, quoted in a preceding note on Vesontio.

² J. J. Chifflet, op. citat., p. 189. gives a long extract from a letter of Julian to Maximus Epirota, "suum quondam ad omnem impietatem paedagogum." The following words are a part of it, "Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τὸν Βικοντίωνα πολίχρινον δὲ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀνεὶλημμένη, πάλαι δὲ μεγάλη τε ἦν, καὶ πολυτελέσιν ἱεροῖς ἐκεκασμένη, τέχει καρτερῶ καὶ προσετι τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου, περιθεὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ ὁ Δοῦς ποταμὸς, ἥδε ὥσπερ, ἐν θαλάττῃ πετρώδης ἕκαστα ἀνέστηκεν ἄβυστος ολίγων δὲ φάνας καὶ αὐτοῖς ὀρνισὶ πλὴν ὅσα οὗ ποταμὸς αὐτὴν περιρρέων, ὥσπερ τινὰς ἀγέλαους εἷχει προκειμένους.

³ Consult for this subject Luigi Rossini, Archi Trionfali, Travole xlvii-xlix. T^A xlvii, Arco di Portogallo, ma di Marco Aurelio già in Roma esistente nella Via Flaminia, oggi il Corso, demolito da Alessandro vii per ampliare la via nel 1662. T^A xlviii Ristaurato. T^A xlix

Bassirilievi dell' arco di Marco Aurelio; these are on a large scale; there were eight in all, internal and external; seven have been preserved. Li quattro bassirilievi furono trovati nel 1600 entro la Chiesa di S. Luca nel foro Romano, e poscia trasportati e restaurati sulle scale della Pinacoteca Capitolina. Montfaucon, Ant. Expl., Supplement, vol. iv, Pl. XXXI, p. 70 sq.; Nibby, Roma Antica, vol. i, pp. 471-476, Pl. opposite p. 471. According to Rossini, the inscription in the entablature ends with the words, Optimo et indulgentissimo Principi pueri et puellæ Alimentari. For notices of the Faustianian orphans v. Merivale History of the Romans under the Empire, edit. 8vo., vol. vii, pp. 512, 592, 603; comp. Smith's Dict. of Antt. s.v. Alimentari, &c., where copious references will be found to authors, both ancient and modern.

Any two Roman arches more unlike than the Porte-Noire at Besançon and that of Aurelius at Rome can hardly be imagined.

of Constantine at Rome, so that they would supply no evidence of the time when the Porte Noire was erected.¹

It is very difficult, nay even impossible, to give a satisfactory account of the sculptures on the Arch, but it is certain that the chief design was to commemorate military exploits, and that many of the reliefs are mythological. The former subjects prevail on the piers; the latter on the fronts, both that towards the town and that looking away from it. These latter would suit for the Emperor Julian, because he endeavoured to restore paganism after the establishment of Christianity as a state religion. Chifflet in his book on Vesontio, which contains two engravings of the Arch, assigns it to Aurelian, and explains the sculptures with reference to this Emperor.² The uppermost of the large statues between the columns, according to him, represents Hercules or Apollo, the middle Tetricus led by a soldier, the lowest Zenobia accompanied by her sons. But his opinion does not seem to rest on any solid foundation, and the details of his plate do not agree with that inserted in Clerc's Franche Comté, which M. Castan assured me was the most accurate that had been published.³

I have rejected Chifflet's theory, and adopted another, but I do not profess to account for all the details. In the console the Emperor appears, as in the Arch of Titus, perhaps with *hasta pura* in hand;⁴ between the two

¹ The immense superiority of Trajan's sculptures as compared with Constantine's is well shown in Rossini's engravings of the triumphal arch erected in honour of the latter emperor. One plate exhibits both periods of art in juxtaposition; we see above, *Gran Bassorilievo di Trajano diviso in quattro parti ai tempi di Costantino e poste nel suo Arco trionfale in Roma, e da noi per la prima volta tutto unito pubblicato*; and below, *Bassirilievi dell'Epoca di Costantino*; and the respective positions of these six reliefs are explained. Those who have not access to Rossini's great work may consult with advantage Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, tome iv, part i, Pls. LXIX, LXX a la 114 page; *ibid.*, Pl. CX, p. 171; *Supplement*, tome iv, Pl. XXX, pp. 68, 70: English Translation by David Humphreys, vol. iv, Pl. at p. 108: Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, p. 5 *sq.*, 1854.

² Chaps. xli-xliii, esp. xlii, Arcus

Aureliano positi singulæ partes explicantur, et ejus triumpho aptantur. The twenty-eight paragraphs of the description correspond with the numbers marked on the subjects delineated in the imaginary Restoration.

³ Clerc's engraving, p. 17, is entitled *Arc de Porte-Noire, tel qu'il etait avant sa restauration*. "Ce fut alors (en 1820) que l'architecte Lapret entreprit, aux frais de l'Etat et de la ville, un degagement de l'arc, travail repris et execute, pour la plus grande partie, par M. l'architecte Marnote, qui l'acheva en 1826," &c. : Castan, *Besançon et ses Environs*, p. 64. This plate also can be obtained separately.

⁴ In arches erected by the Roman emperors it is not always the statue of the sovereign that occupies this position. That of Constantine has a figure of Rome seated in the console, on the side looking towards S. Gregorio; Nibby, *Roma Antica*, vol. i, p. 455 : Rossini, *op. citat.*,

lower columns Mars on one side of a nude figure and Minerva on the other may denote the union of valour and prudence in the conduct of a campaign. Trophies, armour, shields of Romans and barbarians, and captives in chains decorate the friezes and bands that separate the groups, proving the motive of construction beyond a doubt.

M. Castan describes a remarkable subject on the side of the arch facing the cathedral:—A young man with an air of triumph places on an altar a sack full of money, while another personage sadly retires, carrying away on his shoulder part of an animal that had been sacrificed. He regards this scene as symbolizing the overthrow of paganism. If this interpretation is correct, the figures must have been added after the date he assigns to the monument, viz., the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹

The theatre ranks next in interest to the Porte Noire, as it is also next in situation. Formerly the Place St. Jean was supposed to have been the Forum of Vesontio, but the locality presents strong objections to this view. In Roman towns, as in the capital, the Forum occupied a central position on a level space, but the Place St. Jean is on the slope by which we ascend to the citadel, and at the eastern extremity of the city. Thus, the rising ground was well adapted for the arrangement of seats in a theatre; and the spectators would be protected from the sun's rays, as the declivity looked northwards.² The

Plates of the arch, Restoration and Details. At Fanum an elephant's head is sculptured on the key stone; at Beneventum, Rome standing; and in the arch of Severus in Foro, Mars carrying a trophy.

The *hasta pura* was a spear without a head (*cuspis*); Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s.v.; Bellori, *Picturae Antiqui Sepulchri Nasonum* etc., Tab. XIX, p. 57, whence Rich has derived his illustration. The subject is Oedipus answering the Sphinx; an attendant holds his horse, and carries a *hasta pura*. Cf. *ibid.* Tab. X, p. 51, where Minerva appears as the guarding deity of Hercules, with a spear of the same kind in her hand: Tab XXXV, p. 63, *hastatum simulacrum*. Virgil, *Æneid* VI, 760, *Ille, vides, pura juvenis qui nititur hasta*.

Console is a French term for a bracket or corbel; see Parker's Glossary of

Architecture, s.v., where a noteworthy example is given, ornamented with a small chevron or zig-zag, from Diocletian's palace at Spalatro. The Console often appears as a decoration of the key-stone at the top of an arch, which is called in Italian *chiave* (from the Latin *clavis*) or *serraglio*.

¹ M. Castan's Paper in the *Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation du Doubs*, quoted above.

² Similarly, at Autun, in constructing the theatre advantage was taken of the favourable site: Appendix to my Paper on that city, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xl, p. 131 *sq.* In this respect the Romans imitated the Greeks, who built their theatres on hill sides, and often with a prospect over the sea. One of the best preserved is at Taormina; Gsell-Fels, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien* Zweiter Band, p. 550, describes its situation accurately,

remains found on the spot agree with this supposition ; for there existed in the cellar of an adjoining house a row of large flagstones, backed by a mound, and describing a curve which is part of a semicircle, having a radius of 26 mètres, 80 centimètres. Moreover, the *debris* of a colonnade were associated with walls that rose in three or four tiers, one above another. Hence there can scarcely be any uncertainty concerning the destination of the edifice to which they belonged.

A garden has been tastefully laid out in the Place St. Jean, and on the side facing the Archevêché, columns have been arranged, which are composed of the parts—bases, drums and capitals—discovered by excavation. They are eight in number, four truncated and four entire, two of the latter being connected by the entablature. To mark the centre of the curve formed by the *cavea*, a monument nine mètres high has been constructed ; to it some fragments have been attached, of which the most remarkable are a medallion of Minerva supported by two Victories and a theatrical mask. Some pieces of marble and porphyry are set in the pedestal, and two capitals roughly hewn show that the colonnade had never been completed.

The Theatre was close to the Canal d'Arcier, and its substructions partially included the great reservoir in which the latter terminated. Some of the sculptured stones brought to light decorated this basin appropriately ; *e.g.* Cupid riding on a dolphin, and an aged river-god leaning on an inverted urn from which water flows.¹ Lastly, we find here some vestiges of Christian as well as Pagan antiquity ; for, as might have been expected from

Es ist nach griechischer Sitte an einer herrlicher Aussichtstätte halbkreisförmig in eine natürliche Hügelhöhle ausgehauen worden, die Sitze der *Cavea* (Ausschnitt des Zuschauerraums) sind aus dem Felsen gehauen : *ibid.*, p. 546, map, Environs of Taormina ; p. 575, engraving, view of Taormina from the Theatre, including Etna. For the Theatre at Syracuse v. *ibid.* pp. 680, 744 : Cicero says that it was in the highest part of Neapolis, In Verrem Actio Secunda, lib. iv, c. 53, sect. 119, quam ad summam the atrum est maximum. Rheinhard, Album des Classischen Alterthums, p. 38, No. 54, Egesta (Restoration). Niebuhr makes some remarks on similar structures at

Tusculum and Faesulæ (Fiesole), History of Rome, English translation, vol. iii, p. 311, note 531 *sq.* We should bear in mind the climate of Southern Europe which admits of dramatic representations by daylight in the open air. Hence these theatres have been called diurnal.

¹ Clerc, Franche Comté, Pls. III, IV, pp. 29, 30, Sculptures trouvées dans les fondations de la Tour de Porte Noire. La nymphe d'Arcier (?), des urnes jaillissantes et des amours jouant sur le dos des dauphins. P. 30, note 1, Les Bisontins...employèrent comme moellons les pierres et sculptures du réservoir romain situé à 40 mètres au-dessous de *Porte-Noire*.

the abundant supply of water, the primitive baptistery was built of materials taken from the reservoir.¹

The Capitol, Forum, Campus Martius, Amphitheatre and Roman bridge at Besançon deserve notice; but showing few remains visible above ground, they must yield in importance to the monuments described above.

I feel that an apology is due to this learned Society for my imperfect treatment of a theme at once difficult and attractive; but it is still more due to members of the Société des Antiquaires de France, because they have not only received me with the charming courtesy of their nation, but also placed at my disposal stores of erudition with a liberality for which I now make so inadequate a return.

APPENDIX.

I add a brief notice of the ancient authorities for the Lingones.

Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. i, cc. 26, 40; lib. iv, c. 10. This author relates that the Helvetii after their great defeat near Bibracte (Mont Beuvray), retired into the country of the Lingones. Together with the Leuci and Sequani they supplied provisions to Cæsar, when he was carrying on the war against Ariovistus. In the third passage he says that *mons Vosegus*, Vosges (for the Latin name see the notes of Davis and Oudendorp *in loco*), is in the territory of the Lingones; this statement agrees with Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I, 397, where he enumerates the forces that invaded Italy in the Civil War.

Castraque, quae, Vogesi curvam super ardua rupem,
Pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingonas armis.

According to Cæsar the river *Mosa*, Meuse, issues from *mons Vogesus*, but this seems to be a mistake as it rises in the plateau de Langres: Moberly's note on B.G., iv., 10.²

The Lingones do not play a prominent part in the Commentaries; they cannot be ranked with the Aedui and Arverni, or even with the Sequani. But the case is different when we come to the period which

¹ According to an ancient legend the relics of Saints Isidorus and Epiphanius were presented by Placidia, and deposited in a church, *ubi fons aquae vivae ab ipsis terrae meatibus evisceratur*: Chifflet, *Vesontionis Pars Altera*, De Archiepiscopis Bisontinis et aliis Civitatis Bisontinae ecclesiasticis rebus, pp. 104-107; Clerc, *op. cit.*, p. 30, note 3; Castan, *Besançon*, p. 69.

² *Vosegus* is preferred to *Vogesus* by the best editors, and more nearly re-

sembles the Celtic word *Fasach*; see Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, *Fasach*, aich, s.m. and f. from *fàs*. (Irish id.) A wilderness, a forest or fastness; solitude; and derivatives. In the Pentingerian Table, Segmentum IIB, *SILVA VOSAGVS* is marked as extending from Mogontiaci (Mayence) to Argentorate (Strasbourg), and is also represented by a row of trees, the letters of these words being placed between the trunks.

Tacitus narrates: the Lingones find no place in the Annals, but frequently occur in the Histories, especially book iv, chaps. 55-77. Soon after the death of Vitellius, the year before Jerusalem was taken by Titus, an insurrection spread through Gaul and Batavia. Julius Sabinus (a Lingon) conspired with Civilis Classicus and Tutor against the Romans. After mentioning other tribes of less importance the historian adds, *Sed plurima vis penes Treveros ac Lingonas*, c. 55.

Sabinus was defeated by the Sequani, and afterwards concealed by his wife Eponina for nine years; their pathetic story is told by Dion and Plutarch. The Lingones co-operated actively with the Treviri in the supreme struggle for Gallic independence and nationality, but the revolt was crushed by the decisive victory of Cerialis at Rigodulum (Riol) near Trèves: Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, edit. 8vo., vol. vi, chap. lviii, pp. 490-528, esp. p. 526 sq.

In Livy we find the Lingones associated with the Boii. A colony from these Transalpine states migrated to the plain between the Apennines and the mouth of the Po; we cannot describe their boundaries accurately, but the occupation seems to have extended from Bologna to Ravenna; Livy, v. 35, Boii Lingonesque transgressi. . . . *Pado ratibus trajecto, non Etruscos modo sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt: intra Apenninum tamen se tenere.* These words occur in the history of the invasion, which ended in the taking of Rome by the Gauls, B.C. 390, so that most probably the Lingones had a share in this important event.

A passage from Polybius is worth quoting, because it defines the relative positions of some Gallic tribes in Italy; lib. ii, c. 17. *Τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Πάδου, τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπέννινον, πρῶτοι μὲν Ἄναρες, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Βοῖοι κατώκησαν, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν Λίγγωνες, τὰ δὲ τελευταία πρὸς θαλάττη Σηνωνες.* Mémoires de la Soc. Hist. et Archéol. de Langres, tome i, pp. 36-41, esp. p. 39; Les Lingons durant l'ère Celtique, leur antiquité et leur puissance.

The phrase *circa Lingones* in Eutropius, ix, 23, quoted above, means near Andemantunnum; see Mad. Dacier's edition; the note *in loco* has the words *pater meus* appended to it; they are explained by the title-page, where this learned lady appears as Anna Tanaquilli Fabri filia.

Let us now turn from historians to geographers.

Strabo, lib. iv, cap. 3, s. 4, p. 193, says that the Ædui and Lingones dwell towards the West beyond the Helvetii and Sequani, and the Leuci (Toul) and part of the Lingones beyond the Mediomatrici (Metz). The former statement is correct, but the latter erroneous. Mr. G. Long has pointed out the mistake, and any map of ancient Gaul will show the position of the Leuci between the Lingones and Mediomatrici.

Ptolemy lib. ii, c. 9, s. 9, p. 231, edit. Car. Müller (Didot), Paris 1883. *Ὑπὸ δὲ τούτους (Παυρικοὶ) καὶ τοὺς Λευκοὺς παρήκουσαν Λόγγωνες, ὧν πόλιν Ἀνδοματουννον καὶ δ' "μοῦ γ".* The note contains many references and various readings—*Λόγγωνες, Λάγγωνες, Λοίγωνες*; of the name Andemantunnum five forms in Greek and four in Latin are given. This word does not occur in Cæsar, but is found twice in the Antonine Itinerary, p. 385 sq, edit. Wesseling, p. 185 sq. edit. Parthey and Pinder.

Item ab Andemantunno Tullo Leucorum us-

que	mpm xliii sic
Mosa	mpm xii
Solimariaca	mpm xvi

Tullum	mpm xv.
Item ab Andemantunno Camba-	
tem	mpm cii sic
Varcia	mpm xvi
Vesontione	mpm xxiii
Epamanduoduro	mpm xxxi
Cambate	mpm xxxi.

Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis, edit. Bocking, cap. xl, Item Præposituræ Magistri Præsentialium a Parte Peditum, p. 120* vv. 6 sq [5] Præfectus Lætorum Lingonensium per diversa dispersorum Belgicæ Primæ. Ibid, p. 1100* sq. Annot. Some additional references for the Lingones and Andemantunnum will be found here, besides those quoted above.

The earliest instance that I know of a Roman gate with two entrances, such as may be seen at Langres and Autun, is the Porta Carmentalis at the foot of the Capitol towards the river Tiber. It is mentioned in Livy's "pictured page," where he describes the Fabii going forth amidst acclamations through the right arch-way (*i.e.* on leaving the city), when they made their fatal expedition to the Cremera, B.C. 479: lib. ii, c. 49, s.f. Infelici via, dextro Jano portæ Carmentalis, profecti. It should be observed here that *Janus* is equivalent to *fornix*, or pervia transitio: Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii, 27, s. 67. See Weissenborn's Commentary on Livy, loc. citat., porta Scelerata, Unglücksthor; cf. his note on the word Janus, *ibid.* i, 19, Ein, wie die Thore der Stadt, auf zwei Seiten von Mauern umgebener, oben bedeckter Durchgangsbogen mit zwei Thoren; ... Plutarch, Numa. 20: ἐστὶ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ νεὸς... διθύρος, ὃν πολεμον πύλην καλοῦσι. Ovid, Fasti, i, 201, sq.; Horace, Satires, ii, 3, 18 sq.; Epistles, i, 1, 54, with Orelli's notes. Smith's Dict. of Class. Geog., vol. ii, pp. 731, 751, s.v. Roma; Niebuhr, History of Rome, Eng. Transl., vol. ii, p. 195 sq., note 444 sq. This author places the Carmental gate next to the Quirinal.

In the Dict. of Class. Geogr. s.v. Andemantunnum, it is said that one of the triumphal arches at Langres was erected in honour of the Emperor Probus. We know from the Augustan History that he gained a great victory over the Germans, that he delivered Gaul from the barbarians, that he restored prosperity, and that he promoted the cultivation of the vine; but no circumstance is mentioned indicating that he was brought into immediate contact with the Lingones and their capital. The name of this tribe does not occur in his biography: Vopiscus in Pobo, cc, xiii, xviii; Eutropius, ix, 17; Etude Historique sur M. Aur. Probus, d'après la Numismatique du règne de cet Empereur, par Emile Lépaule, Lyon, 1884; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. xii, edit. Smith vol. ii, p. 44 sq., 51.

Among the Roman gateways that at Verona is one of the most remarkable both for its preservation and for its architectural details; it has two entrances, as is said to have been the case with that which once stood at Chester (but?), and bestrides the Corso. In the modern map of Verona it bears the name of Porta dei Borsari: Murray's Handbook for North Italy (ed. 1863) p. 278; there is a small but clear engraving of it in Rich's Companion to the Latin Dictionary (edit. 1849), p. 518.

My colleague, Professor O'Ryan, has directed my attention to the discovery at Ratisbon last summer (1885), of a Porta Prætoriana, *i.e.*, gate in a Roman camp facing the enemy's position, and opposite the Porta

Decumana, which was furthest removed from it. The monument consists of a "single arch, unornamented but massive and imposing;" it looks towards the Danube, and is situated near the Bischofshof, marked No. 11 in the plan, Baedeker's Deutschland, Erster Theil, p. 328, edit. 1863, Regensburg: the Athenæum, No. 3024, Oct. 10, '85 art. by the Rev. Joseph Hirst, a name well known to the readers of the Archaeological Journal: Zweite Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, Mittwoch, 20. Januar, 1886, p. 2.

Hirt, Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten, Band iii, Abschnitt x, §10, p. 417 sq., speaks of the Roman archways chiefly as ornaments to the roads (Prachtvolle Ehrenbogen an den Strassen zur Ehre der Wegebauer). He notices particularly two erected in honour of Augustus on the Via Flaminia—one at the Pons Milvius where it began, and the other at Ariminum where it ended (for the latter v. Rossini, Op. citat.)—that of Domitian at Sinuessa, and that of Trajan at Beneventum: *ibid.* ii, 279, 350, 358; and Atlas, Tafel xxxi [xvi], Figs. 5-8. Comp. Prof. Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, nos. lxxxi-lxxxvii, Engravings of coins showing gates and walls of cities, pp. 304-327; Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, s.v. Arcus Triumphalis and Porta; the latter article is very suggestive.

Those who wish to make a special study of the Cathedral at Langres should read carefully the remarks upon it by Viollet-le-Duc in his Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française. For the fluted pilasters. v. tome ii, p. 257, La cannelure occidentale du xii^e siècle se rapproche des profils et de l'échelle des cannelures grecques, comme beaucoup d'autres profils de cette époque. For the close connexion between the Cathedrals of Langres and Autun see the same work, tome i, p. 229 sqq.; Viollet-le-Duc says of the former, C'est la cathédrale d'Autun avec des voûtes en arcs d'ogive sur la nef et le transept, bas côté pourtournant le chœur, et une seule chapelle au chevet; figs. 52, 53. Details are explained under the following heads:—Astragale, Bague, Cathédrale, Base, Chapiteau, Cloître, Corniche, Rose, Triforium.

As Langres and Autun are not far apart, the antiquarian traveller would do well to include both in the same tour, so that he might have one place before his eyes while the other was still fresh in his recollection. The Indicateur now contains maps of the principal railways in France, which make the means of communication very intelligible: in this case the route lies through Dijon, where the Burgundian school of architecture may be studied advantageously: v. Cartes Spéciales des Réseaux, Chemins de Fer de Paris—Lyon—Méditerranée.

Mr. Wornum's opinion that the *acanthus spinosus* was specially imitated by the Greeks does not appear to be well founded. This view is not recognised by Mr. James Yates, who has examined the plant both as a botanist and as a classical scholar; nor is it supported by any of the examples that I have consulted: Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. I, chap. iv; Pl. xxiv, fig. 1, The elevation of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates; Pl. xxvi, fig. 1, The external face of the capital, with the entablature; and Pl. xxix, fig. 1, The flower on the top of the tholus or cupola.

I have noticed above a bas-relief of a Gallic car drawn by four horses; this subject, but with two horses (*biga*), is most probably figured on the denarii of the gentes Domitia, Licinia and Porcia: Morell's Thesaurus,

Familiarum Romanarum Numismata, tom I, p. 153 sq., Domitia, Tab. 1, Nos. i-v; p. 238, Licinia, Tab. 1, Nos. v, vi; p. 351, Porcia, Tab. 1, No. i: Riccio, *Le Monete delle antiche Famille di Roma*: Cohen, *Medailles Consulaires*. These coins are interesting because they exhibit the Gallic carnyx: v. Hesychii Lexicon, vol. 2, p. 414, edit. M. Schmidt, and note. It is fully described by the Scholiast on Iliad, Σ. 219, and by Eustathius in Homer., p. 1139, ap. Wesseling Diodorus Siculus, lib. v, c. 30, p. 313, l. 2 edit. Bipont. The Scholiast mentions six kinds of trumpets; but the accounts given of the carnyx by these three writers are so similar that it is unnecessary to quote more than one. Eustath. loc. citat. Τρίτη ἡ Γαλατική, χωνευτή, οὐ πᾶν μεγάλη, τοῦ κώδωνα ἔχουσα θηριόμορφόν τινα καὶ ἀλλὸν μολύβδινον, εἰς ὃν ἐμφυσῶσιν οἱ σαλπυσταὶ ἐστὶ δὲ ὀξύφωνος καὶ καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ΚΑΡΝΥΞ. The Gallic is the third kind (of trumpet) of cast metal, not very large, it has the lower part in the form of a wild beast, and the tube leaden, into which the trumpeters blow; it gives a shrill sound, and is called by the Celts Carnyx. The head of some wild animal is distinctly visible on the denarii above mentioned.¹

This Gallic emblem quite agrees with the history of the gens Domitia, for we read that Cn. Domitius Cn. F. Cn. N. Ahenobarbus defeated the Allobroges and their allies, the Arverni under king Vituitus (Bituitus), B.C. 121, at Vindalium, near the confluence of the rivers Sulgas (Sorgue) and Rhodanus (Rhône), north of Avignon, and in the district which the stay of Petrarch at Vaucluse has made famous: Joanne's Guide for Provence, &c., map at p. 24. Velleius Paterculus, ii, 10; Valerius Maximus, ix, 6, 3 (De Perfidia), where the Delphin editor has Betultus incorrectly, and calls Vindalium a river instead of a town, v. Strabo, lib. iv, cap. i, s. 11, p. 185 edit. Casaubon κατὰ Ὀνδαλον πόλιν; Livy, Epitome 61; Florus, lib. iii, c. 2. Cf. omn. Jules Courtet, Dictionnaire des Communes du Département de Vaucluse, s.v. Vedènes, where graves were discovered with a skeleton in each, and a broad sword at its side; a cornelian was also found, on which the figure of a warrior with spear and shield was engraved. A great trench, covered by stones of enormous size, contained heaps of bones, and hence this spot is still called *le Plantier des morts*. Thus the geographer and the historians, the coins, existing remains, and modern name all afford concurrent testimony; cf. map and art. Bédarrides, *ibid.*, and Smith's Dict. of Class. Geogr., vol. i, p. 954, s.v. Gallia Transalpina.

Riccio has followed Morell, who describes the same type of the Domitian denarii in one place as Vir nudus in bigis, and in another as Mars in citis bigis; but it seems doubtful whether Mars or any other deity is intended. Cohen, *op. citat.*, shows the carnyx, s.v. Porcia, No. 1; Aurelia, No. 5; Cosconia and Poblícia, No. 1; but the best example is Postumia No. 9, pl. xxxv, because the Gallic trumpets are here represented on a larger scale; they are placed en sautoir, between an oblong and a round shield. The carnyx occurs five times in the gens Julia, pl. xx, Nos. 11, 12, 13, 15, 16: No. 13 is specially interesting, as it exhibits at the foot of a trophy a two-wheeled chariot, probably British, and a carnyx; according to Cohen the latter is *faux recourbée*! For the historical allusion, v. *ibid.* 'Eclaircissements, p. 170. Morell, *op. citat.* p. 206, explains the coin with reference to Cæsar's achievements in

¹ Stephens, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, edit. Didot, s.v. Κάρνος, Σάλπιγξ.

Spain; he says it was struck post domitos Gallaecos et Lusitanos, and that the spears on the reverse are *gaesa Hispanica*. This conjecture is improbable. Comp. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, pp. 192, 232.

An amusing illustration of the bas-relief at Langres, No. 240, in which three bottles are figured, will be found in Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*, vol. ii, p. 231 sq., *Armorial Bearings for Physicke of Devon and Lincolnshire*, devised and granted by Monte Santo, *Devon Herald*, A.D. 1823 (with engraving).

Arms

Gules, on a fesse engrailed sable, between three vials argent, labelled MORNING, NOON, NIGHT, &c.

Motto

Bibe et Vive.

With the coin of Litavicus, in which he appears carrying a standard surmounted by a wild boar, comp. Dr. Ferd. Keller in the *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*. Band xv, Heft 3. *Statistik der romischen Ansiedelungen in der Ostschweiz*. Taf. v, Fig. 5 und 6 stellen Eber vor, den Rücken mit einem Kamm von Borsten besetzt und mit Hauern, welche sich wie ein Ring um die Schnauzen legen. Sie erinnern ganz an die Eberbilder, die auf gallischen Münzen vorkommen. Siehe Dr. H. Meyer's *Gallische Munzen*. Taf. iii, Fig. 124-126, und 129.

In the *Dict. of Antt.*, p. 1044, 2nd edition, s.v., *Signa Militaria*, it is stated on the authority of Pliny, *Hist. Nat. lib. x*, cap. 4, sec. 5, that the Romans placed on their standards figures of the eagle, minotaur, wolf, horse and boar, but that Marius retained the eagle only; Marius in totum ea (reliqua signa) abdicavit. However, I observe among Specimens of the Illustrations to Mr. Thompson Watkin's forthcoming work on Roman Cheshire, a bas-relief representing a standard of the twentieth legion [LEG XX], with a wild boar on a large scale across it, but not a part of it. This monument is surely of a later date than Marius.

Towards the end of the same article the writer says that we have little information respecting the standard of any other nation besides the Romans. This remark requires some limitation. The Dacian ensign, a dragon with gaping mouth, is well known, because it occurs frequently on Trajan's Column. It bore some resemblance to the *carnyx* both in appearance and in sound; the open jaws were like the lower end of the trumpet, and the wind made a loud noise as it passed through the serpent's body: Suidas, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Σημεία Σκυθικά*, edit. Bernhardt, tom. ii, p. 734, καί τι καὶ ἤχει πρὸς τὴν συγκίνησιν ὑπὸ τῇ πνοῇ διερχομένη βία, and noto *in loco*; cf. *ibid.*, Ἰνδοί, Χίλιωστύς; Ammian. Marcellin., xvi, 10, 7, *Hiatu vasto perflabiles et ideo velut ira perciti sibilantes*; Gibbon, chap. xix, ed. Smith, vol. ii, p. 399. The Romans adopted standards of this kind from other nations: Rich, *Companion to the Lat. Dict.*, s.v. *Draco*. Cf. *omn. W. Froehner, La Colonne Trajane*, pp. 90 sq., 93, 120, esp. the first reference and note 3; Pls. 15, 16, at p. 92, and Pl. 64 at p. 120: Fabretti, *La Colonna Trajana*, Tavola xii, No. 134, where explanations are given; Tav. xiii, No. 137; Tav. xv, No. 146, &c.; Tav. lxxviii, *Piedestallo della Colonna*, shows both the dragon and the *carnyx* on a large scale. This is not the only illustration of Celtic customs supplied by the same most instructive memorial.

The standards of the Germans are mentioned by Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 7, *effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in praelium ferunt*; *Histories*, lib. iv, c. 22, *depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines* (aprorum, puta, ursorum, urorum cet., Orelli's note); he is here relating the attack on *Vetera castra*, Xanten, by *Civilis*.

For the armorial bearings of the Bishops of Langres see the memoirs of the local society often quoted above, tome iii, pp. 47-52, *Généralités sur les Sceaux et les Armoiries des Evêques de Langres*; pp. 53-64, *Armes de l'Evêché, leur Origine*; pp. 71-183, *Les Evêques depuis 980 jusqu'à nos jours*.

Vesontio, though an important city as the capital of the Sequani, does not occur frequently in ancient authors. Ptolemy places this tribe next to the Helvetii, ii, 9, 10. *Σηκοανοὶ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦς, ὧν πόλεις Διπταῖον, Οὐσιόντιον, Ἐκουεστρίς, Ἀναντικόν*. Orelli, *Insc. Lat.*, vol. ii, p. 152, No. 3684.

POMOERI
VESVNTION;

but the genuineness of the inscription has been suspected. *Vesant* is the form of the name found on a mile stone at Mandeure, Epamandudurum (in the arrondissement of Montbéliard), a place where many Roman remains have been discovered; the theatre was constructed to accommodate at least 12,000 spectators: Castan, *La Franche-Comté*, p. 24. Ausonius has *Visontio*, and speaks of a school there: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica auctorum antiquissimorum tomi V pars posterior D. Magni Ausonii opuscula*, edit. Schenkl, 1883, *Gratiarum actio dicta Domino Gratiano Augusto*. (viii), cap. vii, s. 31, *Quomodo Titianus magister, sed gloriosus ille, municipalem scholam apud Visontionem Lugdunumque, variando non aetate equidem, sed vilitate consenuit!* edit. Delphin., sect. 419, 31, p. 535 sq., Castan, *op. citat.*, p. 17, *Ecoles de Vesontio*. In the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis*, the Vesontes are mentioned three times, edit. Bocking, 1839—1853, p. 20, *Insignia Viri Illustris Magistri Peditum*, [iv], t; p. 26, *Legiones comitatenses triginta duae*; p. 37, *intra Hispanias cum Spectabili Comite*: p. 240, *Annotatio ad p. 26* is a copious discussion on this name; Bocking agrees with the derivation from *bison*, and says *pari ratione atque aliis locis Leones et Ursos* aliaque ejusmodi nomina offendimus. He suggests, but only as a conjecture, that the Vesontes may be the same as Vesuni, a Moorish people; this view is supported by the fact that in the *Notitia* they (Vesontes) immediately follow the Pacatianenses, who according to *Pancircolus*, are named from Pacatiana, civitas Mauritaniae Tingitanae.

The adjective *Vesontinus*, from Vesontio, is sometimes used; but *Bisontinus* occurs more frequently.

Besançon is well known to Parisian residents and visitors, because the *Porte St. Martin* on the Boulevards was erected to commemorate its capture by Louis XIV., when it was definitively annexed to France. The following inscription appears on the southern attic, *i.e.* on the side facing the city; *Ludovico Magno Vesontione Sequanisque bis captis, et fractis Germanorum Hispanorum, Batavorum exercitibus*. *Praef. et Aediles P.C.C. R. S.H. MDCLXXIV*: Galignani's *Paris Guide*, p. 259 sq.; Castan, *Franch-Comté*, p. 88 sq.; *id.*, *Besançon et ses Environs*, p. 36 sq., *Notice Historique*; *Voltaire, Siècles de Louis XIV et de Louis XV*, tome I, chap. xi.

The word *Bezant* has only an accidental resemblance to Besançon ; it is more correctly written *Byzant*, and is derived from Byzantium (Byzantius sc. nummus). This name was given in Western Europe to the principal gold piece (aureus) current at Constantinople from the time of Constantine the Great, called solidus, seventy-two to the pound weight. Hence, perhaps, we may explain the legend CONOB on coins of the Lower Empire, the last two letters being equivalent to 72, when the Greek alphabet is used numerically. Other interpretations have been proposed :—obsignata, officina secunda, obryzatum (aurum) i.e. made of standard gold ; cf. obrussa, Cicero, Brut, c. LXXIV. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., viii, 521-526, De Inscriptione CONOB : Cohen, Médailles Impériales, tome vi, p. 112 note 1 on a reverse of Constantine the Great, which has in the field to right LXXII ; see also p. 392, Observations sur l'explication des lettres CONOB, OB, TROB, etc. Comp. a bronze coin of Crispus, on which the numerals XIII occur, denoting that there were thirteen pieces of copper money to the denarius: v. my Paper on the find at Sutton, near Woodbridge, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxviii, p. 37, note 5: a typographical error should be corrected in the text ; line 13, for XIII read XIII : Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 186, Lettres, Nombres et Symboles qui se rencontrent sur les médailles de bronze de Crispe. During the Middle Ages *trientes* also (a third of the *solidus*) were in circulation ; they were struck by the Merovingian princes of Gaul and the Gothic kings of Spain: Humphreys, Coin Collector's Manual, vol. ii, pp. 383, 517.

Bezant is used as an heraldic term to signify a flat disc of gold or silver. Boutell's English Heraldry, p. 71 sq., s.v., Roundles or Roundlets. "The Bezant No. 151, apparently has derived its name from the Byzantine coins that the Crusaders, when in the East, may sometimes have actually fixed upon their shields for heraldic distinction The field on which Bezants or Plates are charged is said to be bezantée or platée" Cf. Glossary, p. 105 : Guillim's Heraldry, Dictionary, &c., p. 4. Littre, Dictionnaire de la Langue Française, has an excellent article on Besant, with quotations from writers of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

In the armorial bearings of Besançon, as now used, we see an eagle between two columns ; some French antiquaries say that they are the Pillars of Hercules, as they appear on the Spanish currency of the present day with PLVS inscribed on one and VLTRA on the other. Those who adopt this explanation refer the columns to Charles V, of whose vast dominions Franche Comté formed a part. Spener, Opera Heraldica, Tom. ii, Tab. ii, lib. i, c. 38, p. 182, In Caroli V. Sigillo impositum aquilæ Imperialis pectori scutum. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies Féodales de France, 1862, vol. iii, pp. 139-145, Ville de Besançon, Pls. cxxii, 12-cxxiv, 8 ; two pillars are frequently repeated, see explanations p. 139 ; Archevêché de Besançon, pp. 134-139, Pls. cxxi, 17-cxxii, 11. Catalogue de la Collection E. Gariel, pp. 216-218, Nos. 2863-2884, chiefly coins of Charles V. ; No. 2865 is engraved in Pl. vii, Rev. Aigle éployée à deux têtes nimbes portant en cœur l'écu de la ville. Quadruple pistole d'or.

But the origin of this coat of arms may be traced back to a date much more remote. In the middle of the thirteenth century the commune of Besançon used a seal, the device on which was a processional cross accompanied by the arm of St. Stephen, with the hand raised in

benediction, according to the Latin mode which signified the Trinity (Wornum, Analysis of Ornament, p. 64, 2nd edition). The counter-seal, which was of course much smaller, represented four columns of the portico of the Gallo-Roman Temple on the hill where the citadel now stands. Soon after 1290 a spread eagle crowned (*thus* distinguished from the symbol of St. John the Evangelist,) was added to the religious emblems above-mentioned, with the view of showing that Besançon was a free imperial city, like those of Germany. In 1390 the ecclesiastical signs disappeared altogether, which indicated that the citizens wished to proclaim their independence of the Archbishops. A large seal was engraved in 1434; here the eagle appears, for the first time, perched upon the rock of St. Stephen between two columns, which were all that then remained. The legend round this picture is SIGILLVM MAGNV M VNIVERSITATIS CIVIV M BISVMTINORVM. I have derived these particulars from the Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs, 4^{ème} Série, 6^{ème} vol., pp. 443-459, 1870-71. Les Sceaux de la commune, l'Hôtel de ville et le Palais de justice de Besançon, par M.A. Castan: this essay is accompanied by Pièces Justificatives, see esp. iv.—1435, Témoignages concernant les origines de l'hôtel de ville et des armoiries de Besançon. Dessins—Onze gravures sur bois figurant les sceaux de la commune depuis le milieu du treizième siècle jusqu'à nos jours. The seals are briefly described by the same author, Besançon &c., p. 225 *sq.*, Monuments Civils. Comp. the frontispiece of Chifflet's Vesontio, 1618, where the word VTINAM is inscribed on both the columns, and the motto above them is DEO ET CÆSARI FIDELIS PERPETVO; *ibid.*, Engravings, p. 57, Columnæ Montis Coelii, p. 58; Antiquissimum Vesontionis sigillum.

M. Ed. Clerc, Franche-Comte, p. 28, describes the figures in relief on the *plate-bande*, surrounding the arch of the Porte-Noire, as "un enroulement de tritons et de divinités marines;" comp. Plate at p. 17: and M. Castan expresses the same opinion, Besançon, &c. p. 60. But these sculptures, I think, represent Giants, because the limbs end in serpents, there being too many convolutions for the tails of fish which would belong to marine deities. The subject of the frieze appears to be a Gigantomachia. In order to decide a question of this kind, we must compare the monument under consideration with similar examples. Gori, Museum Florentinum, vol. ii, p. 82, tab. xxxiv, has engravings of two gems that exhibit the contest between Gods and Titans; No. II Jupiter Porphyryonem fulminans, No. III. Hercules Halcyoneum interimens; in both cases the lower extremities of the Giants are snakes. Overbeck, Atlas der Griechischen Kunstmythologie, Erste Lieferung, Tafel v, figs 2a and 9: in the latter there are fourteen giants, all of this shape: Sarkophagrelief in der Galeria delle statue des Vatican. Museums. The same form appears again in recent discoveries at Pergamon: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon, Vorläufiger Bericht von A. Conze, &c., mit sieben Tafeln, Berlin, 1880, with numerous Plates in the Text, pp. 51-61, e.g. p. 55, ein schlangenbeiniger Gigant, v. Taf. III, Zeus-Gruppe; Holzschnitt B,D,F,I,N-Q. Führer durch die Königlichen Museen, Berlin, 1883, pp. 20, Rotunde (A), 22-24, see plan at p. 12. W. C. Perry, Descriptive Catalogue of Casts from the Antique, South Kensington Museum, pp. 99-101, Nos. 205, 206, especially the former. Id. Greek and Roman Sculpture, chap. xlvi, pp. 534-557, Plastic Art in Pergamon (In the Table of Contents *Centurionmachia* is printed by mistake for *Gigantomachia*):

pp. 545-555, principal frieze round the great altar ; p. 549, different types of Giants. C. O. Müller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, § 351, Remark 2, English Translation p. 425, Zeus Gigantomachos, with numerous references ; § 395 sq., Eng. Trans. pp. 520-524, The Primaæval World, Giants as adversaries of many Gods. Denkmaler, Part II, Taf. iii, Nos. 34-36 : Taf. lxxvi, sq., Nos. 843-850. Rev. C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii, Pl. XI, No. 4 Cameo by Athenion, Jupiter overthrowing Titans. This celebrated gem, signed with the artist's name, is given as an illustration by Mr. Hodder Westropp, *Handbook of Archaeology*, p. 266, and by Dean Milman, edition of Horace, *Carm* iii, l, 7, *Clari Giganteo triumpho*. King, *ibid.* No. 9, *Cetus* or *Ephialtes* defying Jove.

Abraras also has serpent supporters springing from a human body, which are said to symbolize *Nous* and *Logos*,—"the inner senses and the quickening understanding;" King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, Pl. facing p. 35, and Description of Plates and Woodcuts at the end of the book ; Maskelyne, *Catalogue of the Marlborough Gems*, p. 51, Nos. 287-289 : but this is a subject foreign to our present inquiry.

A careful study of the sculptures at Pergamus, and of the circumstances under which they were executed, tends to confirm my interpretation of the frieze at Besançon. The motive was the same in both—an attempt to represent in a mythical form the contest between civilization and barbarism. A parallelism of a double kind, historic and artistic, may be observed here. The Greeks of Asia Minor under Attalus I and Eumenes II defeated the dreaded Gauls ; so in a later age the Romans under the Emperor Julian drove back beyond the Rhine the not less formidable Germans. In both cases Jupiter overcoming "wild and lawless Giants" was portrayed on a public monument, as a lasting record of decisive victory. Perry, *Op. citat.*, pp. 535, 542 sq., 547 and note. But we may trace the analogy between the sculptures at Pergamus and Besançon still further, for Mr. Perry, describing the former, truly remarks that "there is much in these reliefs.....more akin to the bloody Roman arena than the Olympian Altis, p. 555.

The campaigns of Julian, though now seldom mentioned, vie in importance with the most renowned achievements of classical antiquity. An interesting account of the benefits which this emperor conferred on Gaul, both in war and peace, is supplied by a *brochure* entitled, *Les Invasions Barbares d'après les écrivains et les monuments anciens*, ouvrage contenant 11 gravures ; Paris, Hachette, 1879, chap. iv, pp. 32-90, *Le César Julien en Gaule jusqu'à la soumission des Francs*. This publication consists chiefly of extracts from Ammianus Marcellinus, "the last of the great historians of Rome."

The central figure, in the console of the Arch at Besançon, is not altogether easy to explain ; it may possibly have been substituted for one of Jupiter overthrowing the giants. The latter were supposed by Chifflet to be captives in chains ! Vesontio, pp. 168, 170, 173, Nos. 7 and 12 in Plate, *Catenâ vinctam captivorum in serpentes desinentium turbam Aurelianus tenet* : pp. 173-176, he explains the figures at great length, and very fancifully, with reference to the Sun and Apollo.

Pistrucci has cleverly imitated the antique in his design intended to commemorate the victory gained by the allies at Waterloo over Napoleon Buonaparte : see *The Waterloo Medal* by Isaac Dyer, Philadelphia, 1885, accompanied by a fine engraving. The reverse is described p. 17, "Zeus

is striking down the giants who have attacked the heavens,..... against him and his thunderbolts they are using clubs and pieces of rock as weapons. They are nineteen in number, signifying the nineteen years of the war."

The notion of some French antiquaries that the figures in the Besançon frieze are Marine Deities seems to have arisen from the proximity of the Arc Triomphal (dit Porte de Mars et Porte Noire) to the Aqueduc d'Arcier and the Bassin de Distribution des Eaux : see *Théâtre Romain de Vesontio, Plan d'ensemble des Ruines et de leurs abords*, accompanying M. Castan's Memoir, published by the Société d'Emulation du Doubs, Séance du 10 Avril, 1875. These beings usually have tails, like those of fishes, branching out in opposite directions, and very different from the thighs of giants prolonged into snakes, which terminate in the reptiles' heads. Gori, *Mus. Florent.*, vol. ii, *Tabb. xlv-xlviii*, pp. 96-98 ; xlv Nereus and Doris ; xlvii, No. 1, Triton ; *ibid.* No. 3, Nereidum Nympharum e numero una Hippocampo per mare vecta ; xlviii, No. 1, Tethys ; no. 3, Amphitrite. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii, Pl. xiii, No. 1, Neptune and Amphitrite carried over the waves on the back of a sea-horse ; Pl. xiv, No. 3, a Scylla, the earliest Greek representation of the monster ; No. 4, Dagon ; No. 8, Nereid guiding a pair of Hippocampi. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 461, cf. p. xix, Description of the Woodcuts in the Text: Tritoness advancing to the attack, brandishing a trident : a unique design. Winckelmann, *Description des Pierres Gravées du feu Baron Stosch*, 4to., Florence, 1760 ; p. 105, No. 456, Triton,...d'espèces de cuisses se terminent en deux queues de poisson ; p. 106, No. 460, Une Néréide ; p. 108, No. 478, Scylla. Müller, *Archæol. d. Kunst*, §402, *Das Element des Wassers*. Cohen, *Medailles Consulaires*, Pl. xvi, p. 116, Crepereia, Nos. 1, 2, Rev., Neptune dans une bige d'Hippocampes. This fabulous animal with a fish-tail occurs also in the numismatic series of our own country : Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, pp. 211, 258, 259, 351 ; Pl. v, No. 2 ; vii, Nos. 9-11 ; xiii, 7. Comp. the Capricorn which is similar, and said to be copied from the coins of Augustus, p. 182 sq., Pl. iii, 7.

The Capitol of Vesontio, according to the local historians, was situated in the Place St. Quentin, which is not far from the Citadel ; but there are good reasons for placing it in the centre of the town, at the back of the Rue Moncey, between the Grande Rue and the Rue de Chateur. In the last street we can trace the ancient name Capitolium, which passed through the intermediate stages, *Chatol*, *Chatoul* and *Chatour* : C before A in Latin becoming CH in French ; this rule holds good in proper names (of which we shall soon see another example at Besançon itself) as well as in common nouns, e.g. Carantonus Charente, Carnutes Chartres : Key, on the Alphabet, p. 51. Moreover, excavations on this site led to discoveries by which the ground-plan and decorations of a magnificent building became known. The subject is fully discussed by M. Castan, *Le Capitole de Vesontio et les Capitoles provinciaux du monde romain*, Mém. de la Soc. d'Emul. du Doubs, 1868. This paper is illustrated by three Plates ; I, map of Besançon with ancient and modern names, II, Capitole de Vesontio, Plan de ses Ruines, Fragments du Portique et du Temple : a frieze, base and capital of a column, cornice, architrave, &c., are here shown. Sections VI and VII are devoted to cities in the provinces where there was a capitol ; twenty-four are mentioned, and they seem to have been generally colonies. We have ancient authority

for the existence of such buildings in Gaul only at Augustodunum (Autun) and Narbo Martius (Narbonne): Eumenii Oratio pro restaurandis scholis, c. ix, inter Apollinis Templum atque Capitolium; Sidonii Apollinaris, Carm. xxiii, v. 41, ed. Sirmond, xx ed. Baret. At Toulouse (Τολῶσα κολωνία, Ptolemy, lib. ii, c. 10, §6, Pliny N.H. lib. ii, c. 4. § 37,) the Hôtel de Ville is called La Capitole; see the Guide-books of Murray and Hachette. M. Castan informed me that his Memoir cited above served as the basis of the article Capitole in Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments.

The Forum was probably in the Rue des Chambrettes, which diverges in a slanting direction from the Grande Rue, and is not far from the Quai Vauban. This position would correspond very well with the passage in Vitruvius, De Architectura, lib. i, cap. vii, where he is speaking of sites suitable for public buildings; he recommends that in sea ports the forum should be near the sea, and that in other cases it should be in the middle of the town. So here, at Besançon, this centre of commercial activity was in close proximity to the bridge over the Doubs (Dubis) and the port where vessels discharged their cargoes: the existence of the latter in ancient times is proved by the fact that the word *port* still remains in the names of lanes ending at the river. Moreover some traces of a colonnade were found in the Rue des Chambrettes by workmen digging for sewers.

The Campus Martis was in the South-West part of the town, between the Rue St. Vincent and the Rue Neuve. Discoveries were made here in laying the foundations of the Arsenal, 1840-47. The old Roman name still survives, having been corrupted into Chamars, which is applied to a canal, a street and a promenade. This place was originally a burning-ground for dead bodies (*ustrinum*); amphorae full of ashes, fibulae that fastened the garments of corpses; a series of coins ending with Claudius I, and votive objects were found; Ed. Clerc, La Franche Comté, p. 18 sq. Le Cimetière gallo-romain, près du Champ de Mars. At a later period the locality was devoted to electoral and legislative assemblies; they were held in a circular court, 80 mètres in diameter, with a covered gallery round it. This building, therefore, resembled the Ovile or Septa in the Campus Martius at Rome; and Besançon like other colonies, copied the architecture of the Imperial City. Cf. Juvenal, Sat. vi, v. 528 sq. ut spargat in aedem Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit Ovili.

The Amphitheatre, les Arènes, was situated on the right bank of the river, i.e. that opposite to the town, near the Porte d'Arènes and street of the same name, which is the principal one in this quarter. So at Reims the site of a similar edifice is indicated by the Rue du Mont d'Arène and the Rue des Romains making an acute angle with it, near the railway station: see the map appended to Notices sur Reims et ses Environs, 1880. Substructions and porticoes in ruins were visible, when Chifflet wrote his "Vesontio" 1618 (vol. i, p. 119); some fragments have been preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Besançon—a drum of a column, bases, and blocks of the white soft stone called *vergenne*. A short street branching off from the Rue d'Arènes is now called Rue Marulaz, but it was formerly Rue du Pêteur. This name is derived from the mediaeval Vicus de Postico, evidently relating to the Porta Postica by which gladiators and wild beasts entered the arena.

The Canal d'Arcier brought water into the city from a distance of 10 kilomètres; most of its course was subterranean, though it derives its name from supporting arches at three points. Hidden from view to so great an extent, it does not impress the traveller in the same way as the stupendous aqueducts in France, Italy or Spain; but it may remind him of the channel cut through a mountain at Samos, which Herodotus describes as one of the three wonders in that island, lib. iii, c. 60; Rawlinson's Translation, vol. ii, p. 454, note 7. As money of M. Aurelius was found in the masonry, it is supposed that the Canal was constructed in his reign, or not long afterwards. It is vaulted, and 85 centimètres wide: see Clerc, *Op. citat.* Pl. iv, p. 30. It was carried along the foot of the hill on which the citadel stands to the Place St. Jean, and poured its waters into the basin adjoining the Theatre mentioned above.

The Roman Bridge was on the great road from Italy, which crossed the Jura, and passed through Ariorica (probably Pontarlier). At Vesontio it bifurcated; the right branch leading to Argentoratum (Strasbourg); the left to Andemantunnum (Langres), Durocortorum (Reims) and Gessoriacum (Boulogne-sur-Mer): v. *Itinerarium Antonini*, edit. Parthey and Pinder, Map at the end of the volume. The structure has braved many centuries, and still, like the *Pon. Ælius* (Ponte S. Angelo) at Rome, sustains the traffic of a city; however, with this difference, that at Besançon, while the mass of the edifice is ancient, it is cased in modern façades on either side, which have been added to enlarge the thoroughfare. The bridge consists of five arches varying in length; its proportions are very massive, and the width is under five metres, thus harmonizing with the usual narrowness of Roman roads: *Dict. of Greek and Roman Ant.*, p. 1192, "The breadth in the great lines, such as the Via Appia, the Via Flaminia, the Via Valeria, &c., is found to have been from 13 to 15 feet," The piers are founded on the rock which forms the bed of the Doubs, and have the lower blocks of stone fastened by iron cramps to it and to each other.

Besançon possesses a well-arranged Museum of Antiquities, and the Curator, M. Alfred Vayssier, will afford every information to visitors. The collection includes objects found in the city itself, in the river Doubs and at Mandeure (*Epomanduodurum*), Celtic antiquities from Alaise, also arms and ornaments (*parure*) from Burgundian cemeteries. But the most remarkable curiosity is a bronze bull with three horns, in the Gallo-Grecian style, 45 centimètres high and 75 long, found at Avigney (Haute-Saône) three leagues from Besançon, purchased by the town in 1873 for 20,000 francs, A bronze statuette of Morpheus also deserves notice, it has a leaden *torques* round the neck, like the so-called Dying Gladiator at Rome. Castan, Besançon, &c., pp. 71-83, 88-90, 343-347.

The coins of the Sequani (Franche-Comté), though inferior to some other Gallic series, claim attention from the philologist as well as the numismatist. *SEQVANOIOTVOS* frequently occurs as a legend; 1598 examples were found in the *Tresor de la Villeneuve-au-Roi* (Haute-Marne); but it should be observed that on the medal as engraved by Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois*, Pl. 78, No. 2, for *VAN* we see *NV* as a ligature. The average weight is 1 gramme 92 c., which corresponds with the Roman denarial system. These pieces belong to the same period as those on which we read *KAAETEAOY*, *KAAEDOY*, *KAA*,

Hucher, op. citat., p. 28, The name of the tribe, Sequani, is expanded here, as in the case of Andes, Andecavi (Anjou), we have ANDVGOVONI on a medal of Celecorix; Hucher, *ibid.*, p. 29, note 1; Lelewel, *Type Gaulois ou Celtique*, chap. 109, Redondance des syllabes, p. 239, note 529, several instances of amplification are given. An earlier numismatist thought that SEQVANOIO and TVOS were different words, and confessed his inability to explain the latter: Duchalais, *Description des Médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale*, p. 151 sq., Nos. 434-436. In this people, Greek influence shows itself by the termination of the nominative case, but amongst the Auleri Eburovices (Evreux) by the genitive, AVLIRCV. EBVROVICIV. Some may think these details insignificant, but they are often of great importance, as we may see by a Parthian example. Arsaces XVIII (Vonones I) appears in the nominative on his coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. ΟΝΩΝΗΣ. ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΣ. ΑΤΤΑΒΑΝΟΝ, instead of the usual genitive, derived from the Greek usage, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; he had been long resident at Rome, and therefore followed the Roman practice. Moreover, on the reverse he substituted Victory walking, for the ordinary device of a seated figure presenting a bow: Lindsay, *History and Coinage of the Parthians*, pp. 51 sq., 150; Pl. 3 No. 64, 5 No. 11 (Tetradrachms); Tacitus, *Annals*, book ii, cc. 1, 2. Comp. F. de Sauley, *Lettres à M. A. de Longpérier sur la Numismatique Gauloise*, Paris, 1859, p. 248, Groupe 25.—Séquanes, à la légende SEQVANOIO TVOS.

The names TOGIRIX and DOCIRIX, as far as I know, are not mentioned by historians, but we meet with them frequently on *quinarii* which have been attributed to the Sequani with great probability. Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois*, Part II, p. 106 sq., No. 171, legend roc on obverse and reverse: No. 172, legend door; the animal on the reverse bends one of its fore-legs, and in this respect resembles the bull of Marseilles. Hunter's Catalogue, Tab. 36, Nos. xv and xvi, Taurus cornupeta; Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, European Greece, p. 71, for explanations v. note. Rollin et Feuardent, *Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule*, Paris, 1864, pp. 8 sq.; Séquanes, Séquanes et Eduens (*Togirix*, chef): No. 104 (q. *docirix samutali filius*) q. docr. We owe the explanation to De Sauley, who reads SAM as the initial letters of SAMOTALIS or SAMILLI: *Op. citat.*, pp. 103-106, 140 sq., 249-252. Previously it has been supposed that the legend was SANT and that it stood for Santones: thus a double mistake was made; the characters were wrongly deciphered, and coins found in the East of Gaul were assigned to a tribe that inhabited the shore of the Bay of Biscay. M. Castan, *Monnaies Gauloises des Séquanes*, *Mem. de la Soc. d'Émul. du Doubs*, 8 juin, 1872, gives an account of 390 coins mostly found in the neighbourhood of Besançon: there were 73 specimens inscribed with the letters roc, and 10 with q. DOCI SAMI.

We have but little information concerning the coinage of the Lingones; with regard to many pieces of a rude type, it is doubtful whether we should attribute them to this tribe or to their neighbours the Sequani: Th. P. de Saint-Ferjeux, *Notice sur les Monnaies des Lingons et sur quelques Monnaies des Leukes, des Séquanais et des Eduens*, 1867, p. 14. This author (known as a contributor to the *Mém. de la Soc. Hist. et Archéol. de Langres*) attaches great weight to the provenance, and lays it down as a principle that, when medals of the same class are repeatedly discovered, in much greater numbers than any others, in the same locality, they must belong to the province in which they have been found. See

Pl. at the end of M. Castan's Memoir cited above, Collection de la Bibliothèque de Besançon. Duchalais omits the Lingones, and Hucher mentions them only in a note, p. 28 sq.

For additional references see Hucher, *Op. citat.*, Part II, pp. 137-157, Catalogue Critique des Légendes des Monnaies Gauloises.

Some account of the mediæval coins struck at Besançon will be found in Barthelemy, *Numismatique Moderne* (Manuels-Roret), pp. 15, 32, 45, 48, 67, 243. The name of the city occurs among the Ateliers Monétaires Mérovingiens et Carolingiens, also in the Liste des Monnayeurs Mérovingiens. The Carolingian legends are BESENCIONE CIVITAS and VESSIN. CIVITVS. See esp. p. 243 Bourgogne (comte), Archevêche de Besançon. Money coined by the Archbishops was called *estevenantes* from St. Stephen, to whom a basilica was dedicated on the hill where the citadel now stands. It had been previously damaged by an explosion of gunpowder, and the celebrated engineer Vauban used it as building materials for his fortress. Ducange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, edit. Henschel, tom. iv, p. 531, s.v. Moneta, tab. xxvi, No. 146, legend, *Prothomartir-Bisuntium*. The Plates in this edition are very useful, and a great improvement on those in the folio. Chifflet, *Vesontio*, Pars I, cap. xliv, p. 187, has engraved two coins, one of which shows the Porta Nigra on the obverse; both have a hand in benediction on the reverse—cum brachio S. Stephani Protomartyris in parte aversa, more apud veteres Gallos, sub Imperio Carlingorum, valde usitato, ut Sanctorum tutelarium nomine nummi cuderentur. Comp. Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies Féodales de France*, quoted above to illustrate the armorial bearings and seals of Besançon. For the money of Langres see Barthelemy, *op. citat.*, pp. 22, 45, 47, 136, esp. the last reference; the series of Bishops from Charles the Bald is appended p. 137: cf. *Mém. de la Soc. Hist. et Archéol. de Langres*, tome iii, pp. 54-59, on the Arms of the See.

Baron Chaudruc de Crazannes, *Antiquités de la ville de Saintes*, &c., p. 136 sq., mentions the tomb of EVSEBIVS, a Christian, discovered at Besançon in 1694 (published by Mabillon and Dunod) on which the *ascia* was sculptured. He thinks that in this case it was an emblem, scarcely disguised, of the Cross. M. Castan, *Besançon et ses Environs*, s.v. *Monuments Antiques*, pp. 54-59, gives three Inscriptions found in or near the city: two are in honour of Mercury; the third, containing the uncommon title MATER SACRORVM, is included in Orell's Collection, with some variations, Vol. i, p. 402, No. 2313 and explanatory notes; cf. *ibid.* p. 296, No. 1491, OB HONOREM SACRI MATRATVS ... PATRE (i.e. sacrorum). This inscription was emended by Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis Sectio v*, Geographica &c., p. 156, s.v. Arausio (Orange).

M. Castan concludes a chapter in his work on Besançon, entitled *Description et Statistique*, with a notice of Hommes Connus—celebrities connected with the city, p. 51 sq. The first name is that of Cardinal de Granvelle, son of Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, who built the magnificent palace that adorns the Grande Rue. But the most famous personage on the list is Victor Hugo born at Besançon, 26 February, 1802 (Vapereau, *Dict. des Contemporains*), though all may not agree with the eulogy pronounced by his compatriot—"le plus grand poète du dix-neuvième siècle." See also *La Franche-Comté et le Pays de Montbéliard* by the same author, *Période Autrichienne*, chap. xii, p. 73 sq. The reign of Charles the Fifth was the golden age of this province.

Among the learned men who flourished there "la dynastie lettrée des Chiffet" holds an honoured place. No less than thirteen members of this family, more or less eminent, are mentioned in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris, 1854. The most distinguished seems to be Jean-Jacques Chifflet, 1588-1660, author of *Vesontio, civitas imperialis, libera, Sequanorum metropolis* &c. Lyon 1618 in-4°, which I have so often cited. The catalogue of his works on various subjects occupies more than one column closely printed. One of them—*Anastasis Childerici I* (father of Clovis), *Francorum regis, sive Thesaurus sepulchralis Tornaci Nerviorum* (Tournay) *effossus et commentario illustratus*; Anvers, 1655, 4^{to}—is briefly noticed by Mr. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. i, p. 463 (Works on the *Gyptic Art*). The objects found in the coffin are deposited in the *Bibliothèque* at Paris: Murray's *Handbook for North Germany*, Route 15, Calais to Brussels by Lille. J. J. Chifflet's brother Philippe and his sons, Jean and Henri-Thomas, are known as antiquaries. Jean wrote "*Macarii Apistopistus*" on Gnostic gems (*Abraxica*) and is repeatedly criticized by Jac. Gronovius in his *Explicationes* prefixed to the *Dactyliotheçæ* of Gorlaeus, Lugd. Bat. 1707, pp. 7, 9, 17, &c.

Caylus, as we have already seen, enlarges on the monuments of Langres; but, on the other hand, he only mentions a mosaic at Besançon, whose pattern he describes as "*des enlacements*," adding "*Le travail de cette mosaïque est fort grossier, et pareil à celui que j'ai vu assez généralement dans les Gaules*:" *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. vi, p. 345 sq. Pl. CIX.

I append a list of *Memoirs* on the antiquities of Franche-Comté by M. Castan.

L'Épithaphe de la Prêtresse Gallo-Romaine Geminia Titulla.

Une Inscription Romaine sur bronze mentionnant les Eaux thermales de l'Helvétie.

Un Cachet inédit d'Oculiste Romain.

Bulletin Archéologique, Une Fouille à la Baume-Noire;—Souvenir d'une Visite à Mandeure;—Un nouveau Cachet d'Oculiste Romain,—Un poids Romain du Bas-Empire.

Quatre Steles funéraires Gallo-Romaines de la Banlieue de Besançon. Le Champ-de-Mars de Vesontio.

Découverte de la Scène du Théâtre de Vesontio.

Besançon et ses Environs by the same author contains a good map of the city, with the Roman monuments distinctly marked.

With the paper above mentioned on Geminia Titulla comp. Note sur deux Inscriptions de Besançon by M. Ant. Héron de Villefosse.

Those who wish to pursue the subject further will find a clue to useful information in the *Catalogue des Ouvrages Franc-Comtois en vente à la librairie Ch. Marion-Morel et Cie.*, 2 and 4, place St. Pierre, Besançon. This firm has also published maps of the province and of the Département du Doubs.

If the classical tourist, instead of returning direct to Paris from Langres or Besançon, makes a detour in Lorraine and Alsace, he will see not only a beautiful country, even rivalling Switzerland in its picturesque features, but also many vestiges of Roman occupation to interest him. At Luxeuil (*Lixovium*) there is an Archæological Museum containing trinkets of gold and silver, vases of bronze and glass, fragments of capitals, statuettes in stone, figurines in wood, &c.; also two Latin inscriptions which have

given rise to much discussion: Joanne, Guides Diamant, Vosges Alsace et Ardennes, p. 73. At Plombières there is a Roman bath, which I remember to have found insupportably hot. Le *bain Stanislas*, installé en 1882 dans la Maison des Dames, près des étuves romaines dont, une, à 44°, retrouvée dans un état parfait de conservation en 1859, sert aujourd'hui aux hommes. On y voit un énorme robinet de bronze qui date de l'époque romaine: *ibid.*, p. 78.

Épinal possesses a fine collection of Gallo-Roman and Merovingian antiquities, lodged in a separate building close to the Bibliothèque. Among the inscriptions Rosmerta, probably a commercial deity, often occurs: My Paper on Reims, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xli, p. 134 sq. and notes. This place has recently attracted the attention of scholars, the Épinal Glossary, Latin and old-English of the eighth century having been photographed, and edited with Transliteration, Introduction and Notes by Mr. H. Sweet, 1883. The MS., now the property of the Municipality, originally belonged to the monastery of Mayen-Moutier (Medianum Monasterium), near Senones. It is said to be the "most ancient record of our native tongue." M. Voulot, Conservateur du Musée, has written an important work, *Les Vosges avant l'histoire*, 1 vol. 4to, with many plates from his own drawings. It may perhaps remind the English reader of Gibbon's remark on the Medallie History of Carausius by Dr. Stukely, "I have used his materials, and rejected most of his fanciful conjectures:" Decline and Fall., chap. xiii, note 28.

Many Roman remains have been found at Grand-Avrancil, the third station from Neufchâteau, on the line of railway from Épinal to Bar-le-Duc (v. Carte du Réseau de l'Est, Indicateur des Chemins de Fer). Some of them are preserved, I think, in the Departmental Museum at the former place. The name *Grand* has been derived from the German *Grenze*, a boundary; but this seems very doubtful.

In the East of France I have been particularly struck with the frequency of statues of Mercury, which supply the best commentary on Cæsar's words, *Bell. Gall.* vi, 17, *Deum maxime Mercurium colunt: hujus sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestum pecuniae mercaturæque habere vim maximam, arbitrantur.* Dr. Ferd. Keller has called attention to this Gallic deity in connexion with the monuments of Switzerland: *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich.* Band xv, Heft 3, *Statistik der römischen Ansiedelungen in der Ostschweiz; Tafel V (bronze) Fig. 1-4, 20-23 Mercury; 25, Roman Emperor with attributes of Mercury and Apollo.* P. 119 (81). Fig. 2, 3, 4 (Ober-Winterthur) stellen den Mercur dar, wie er gewöhnlich abgebildet wird und in den gallischen Ländern als Bronzestatuette in unzähligen Exemplaren zum Vorschein gekommen ist. *Ibid.*, Taf. viii. Fig. 4, 9; xix, Fig. 1. This testimony from works of art is confirmed by the inscriptions in Alsace; v. Brambach, *Corpus Insc. Rhenanarum* cap. xxx, Bas-Rhin, Nos. 1836 sq. &c., pp. 333-342: Jo. Daniel Schoepflinus, *Alsatia illustrata Celtica Romana Francica. Colmariae (ex typog. regia) MDCCCL. fol.* traduction de L. Revenez I-V. Mulhouse (Perrin) 1849 sqq. 8; see esp. lib. ii, *Periodus Romana*, pp. 123-615, with many engravings.

In conclusion, I beg leave to acknowledge my great obligations to the writings of MM. Brocard and Castan, and to thank the Rev. C. W. King, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, and Dr. Richard Caulfield for valuable suggestions, of which I have availed myself in the preceding pages.