

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF SAINTES.<sup>1</sup>

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During the last few years the Institute has favoured me with opportunities of stating the results of investigations in Burgundy, Champagne, Franche-Comté and Switzerland. At first sight, Saintes, situated on the western side of France, in the department of Charente Inférieure, might be supposed to have little or no connexion with those Eastern regions; but the antiquary, studying history and existing monuments, will discover relations between places geographically remote from each other. Caesar, in the first book of the Gallic war, informs us that the Helvetii had planned an expedition into Gaul, and that they proposed to march through the country of the Sequani and Ædui into the territory of the Santones (Saintonge), an open and very fertile district.<sup>2</sup> From Martial we learn that the *bardocucullus*, a cloak with a hood, was manufactured by the *Lingones*; <sup>3</sup> but Juvenal, speaking of a fashionable profligate at Rome, says that he concealed his face *Santonico cucullo*, with a cowl or hood that came from Saintes.<sup>4</sup> These garments were coarse,

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 1st, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> In chap. x Caesar indicates the position of the Santones by the words, non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in Provincia. He cannot mean that the Santones were in close proximity to the Tolosates, because the Nitiobriges (diocese of Agen) and the Petrocorii (Perigord) were between them. The next sentence shows that he only intended to express his opinion that the Helvetii in Saintonge would be dangerous neighbours to the Roman Province:—Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, vol. ii., p. 1215. Another passage of the same author assists us to define the situation of the Santones more accurately, because they are mentioned in juxtaposition with the Pictones, an adjoining tribe. Caesar, in his war with the Veneti (Vannes) gave to Decimus Brutus the command of the fleet and the Gallic ships, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonibus

reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserat. B.C., lib. iii, c. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Martial, Epigrams, book i, liii, 4 sq.; book xiv, cxxviii. The word *bardocucullus* is discussed in my Paper on Langres, Archæol. Journal, June, 1886, vol. xliii, p. 104 sq.; in the notes illustrative passages from ancient and modern writers are quoted. Some derive the name from the Celtic *Bardi*, others from the *Bardaei*, an Illyrian people; the former supposition seems more probable: cf. Lucan, Pharsalia, i, 449.

Plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi; and Paley and Stone's edition of Martial, 1868, p. 20, note. Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary has a long article s.v. Bard; it is interesting and instructive, though the etymologies seem far-fetched.

Comp. the effigy of a Roman citizen at Caerleon, whose outer vestment appears to be a *paenula* or travelling cloak: Archæol. Journ., vol. xxxvii, p. 55 and wood-cut.

<sup>4</sup> Satires, viii, 145.

and seem to have been worn by the Romans as a part of their outer clothing. Moreover, as we shall see presently, a feature of Roman architecture, which has been conspicuously imitated at Langres, appears with great frequency on a monument at Saintes. Mediolanum was the ancient name of the city, which it had in common with Milan, the capital of North Italy; this word is said to be derived from *medius* and *lana*, and to refer to the discovery of a hog there that was half woolly and half bristly.<sup>1</sup> So, according to some authorities, Bisuntium, which is only another form of Vesontio, now Besançon, was named after a bison.<sup>2</sup>

It should be observed that there was another Mediolanum in Gaul; it occupied the site of Vieil Evreux (Eburonices) in Normandy, and is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus as an important town.<sup>3</sup> But, as English antiquaries, we are more interested in the fact that Mediolanum occurs in our own country. There is some difficulty about its exact position; for geographers place it variously—at Whitchurch, Chesterton, Ternhill and Drayton. It must have been a place of some consequence, as it had

<sup>1</sup> Claudian, *De Nuptiis Honorii et Mariae*, v. 183 (*Carm.* x, p. 105, edit. Paris, 1829), apud J. J. Chifflet, *Vesontio*, Pars I, p. 49.

Comp. Apollinaris Sidonii *Epistolarum* lib. vii, 16, edit. Baret, Paris, 1879, p. 393, (epist. 17, edit. Sirmond.) The letter includes a poem, where the following couplet occurs:

Rura paludicolae temnis populosa  
Ravennae,  
Et quae lanigero de sue nomen  
habent.

<sup>2</sup> Chifflet, *Op. citat.*, Pars I, cap. 11, Vesontio et Bisontium a Bisonte dicta, with engravings: my Paper on Besançon, *Archaeol. Journ.* vol. xliii, p. 208sq., notes.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. xv, c. xi, 12, ed. Eyssenhardt, *Secundum enim Lugdunensem Rotomagi et Turini Mediolanum ostendunt et Tricasini*. When I visited the Museum at Rouen last summer, I observed in the Salle de la Mosaïque a cast of an inscription taken from the original at Evreux, containing the following words VSSIBVS FVLLON (VM MEDIOL) ANENSIVM.

The mosaic in this apartment, which has Orpheus in the centre as the principal figure, is placed upright on the wall, I presume for want of room. Such a position obviously misbecomes a tessela-

ted pavement. Speaking generally, the Pagans employed decorations of this kind for the floors of villas, but the Christians for the walls and vaulted roofs of churches. The Museum at Rouen has recently acquired the "Grande Mosaïque de Lillebonne" (Juliobona), of which the subject is Apollo pursuing Daphne; it has been described by the Abbé Cochet, also by M. Chatel in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, tome xxviii, pages 568-596.

In the Table of Peutinger, Segmentum I b, Mediolanum is marked below Ratumagus (*sic*), with the epithet Aulercorum to distinguish it from other places of the same name. Mannert's edition has Aulercorum, but this is evidently a mistake made either by the original compiler or by a copyist. Ratumagus for Rotomagus (Rouen) is like the form of the word used by Ptolemy, *Geography*, Lib. ii, cap. 8, §7, vol. i, p. 213, ed. Car. Müller, *Μεθ' οὗς μέχρι τοῦ Σηκοῦνα Οὐελιοκάσιοι, ἐν πόλιν Πατόμαγος*, v. note. There is another Mediolanum, also in Tab. Penting, between Argentomagus and Aquae Nerae, South-west of Avaricum (Bourges); it probably occupied the site of Chateau Meillan. Smith's *Dict. of Class. Geogr.*, vol. ii, p. 302, No. 2.

communication both with Mancunium (Manchester), and with Deva (Chester). Mediolanum was situated on the great Roman road from the Vallum (Wall of Hadrian) to Rutupiae (Richborough) in Kent: its place relatively to other stations is best shown by an extract from the Antonine Itinerary.

Deva, leg. xx vict.	...	...	mpm xx
Bovio ... ..	...	...	mpm x
Mediolano ... ..	...	...	mpm xx
Rutunio ... ..	...	...	mpm xii
Urioconio (Wroxeter) ... ..	...	...	mpm xi <sup>1</sup>

There are no sublime features in the scenery around Saintes, which the French would call *riant* and *accidenté*. The surface is undulating, and the land carefully cultivated; and the town itself, built on a gentle slope descending to the Charente, leaves a pleasing impression on the traveller. A promenade, at a moderate elevation in the immediate neighbourhood, called the Place Blair, commands an extensive view over fields watered by this river. We may apply to it with perfect propriety Cowper's lines descriptive of the country in which he lived and wrote:—

"Here Ouse, slow-winding through a level plain  
Of spacious meads with cattle sprinkled o'er,  
Conducts the eye along his sinuous course  
Delighted."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edit. Wesseling, p. 469; Parthey and Pinder, p. 223 sq., and Index, Mediolanum (Britann.)...Whitchurch (Reynolds), Tern-hill (Mannert), Drayton (Lapie). This town also stood at the end of a road from Clanoventa (Cockermouth?), the intermediate stations being Galava, Alone, Calacum, Bremetonaci, Coccio, Mancunio, Condate, Wess, 481 sq.; Parth. and Pind., p. 230: Mr. Thompson Watkin's Roman Cheshire, pp. 1, 16, 19-23; in the last passage the site of Mediolanum is discussed.

There was another Mediolanum in Britain, mentioned by Ptolemy, lib. ii, cap. 3, § 11. Ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτους καὶ τοὺς Βρίγαντας οἰκοῦσι δυσμικώτατοι μὲν Ὀρδοῦνικες, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Μεδιολάνιον, Βραννογενιον. The map published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge contains this place marked in North Wales, with the following description, "On the banks of the Tanad, supposed to be Clawdd Goch." See also the map in Monumenta

Historica Britannica, inserted between Pl. xxvii and Historia Gildae.

Lastly, Mediolanum was the first station on the road from Colonia Trajana (Kellen or Marienbaum) to Colonia Agrippina (Cologne); its exact position is not certainly known, but it could not have been far from Vetera Castra (Xanten): Itin. Anton. Wess., 375; Parth and Pind, 178. Cluverius places it in the country of the Gugerni (Gallia Belgica), at Moyland. Dr. Schmitz says that Mediolanum is most probably identified with *Meteln* (which looks like the same name, on the river Vecht; Smith's Dict. of Class. Geog. s.v. It does not occur in Tab. Peutling.

<sup>2</sup> The Task, Book I—The Sofa, v. 163. Cf. *ibid.*, v. 323, The Ouse, dividing the well-water'd land. We may also remark that Olney where Cowper resided, and from which a well-known Collection of Hymns derives its title, has its counterpart in the Department of Charente Inférieure. Aulnay is the modern form of

The three principal objects of archæological interest at Saintes are the Amphitheatre (les Arènes), the Roman Arch (Arc-de-Triomphe), and the church of Sainte Marie (Abbaye de Notre Dame.) The church of Saint Eutrope also deserves a visit.

I. The Amphitheatre differs in situation from many others, being in a valley between two hills occupied by the suburbs Saint-Eutrope and Saint-Macoul.<sup>1</sup> Hence

Aunedonnum on the Roman road from Mediolanum Santonum (Saintes) to Limonum (Poitiers): v. *Antiquités de la Ville de Saintes, &c.*, par M. le Baron Chaudruc de Crazannes, pp. 56-71, Dissertation sur la position de Noverus, maison de campagne du consul Ausone, dans le pays des Santones, et sur la direction de la voie romaine qui conduisait à cette Villa; in the note p. 64 reference is made to the Antonine Itinerary: Wess., pp. 458-460, Parth. and Pind., p. 219 sq., De Aquitania in Gallias. Item a Burdigala Augustodunum. *Lomounum* occurs as a various reading instead of *Limonum*. For Aulnay see the Carte du Dept. de la Charente, Inf<sup>re</sup>. dressée et publiée sous les auspices du Conseil Général par Alcide Groc, 1886.

We also find Aulnay (Aunay), from *Alnetum*, in Calvados; and Aulnoy in the Pas de Calais: Graesse, *Orbis Latinus*; Supplement to Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Index Alphabétique François des Noms Latins. Modern French names of places, which are alike or nearly so, may come from Latin words which are very different; as Aulnay represents Aune-lon-nacum or Alnetum, Chalons sur Marne is derived from Catalauni, and Chalons sur Saône from Cabillonum. These two towns are now often spelt in the same way, formerly they were distinguished.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. V. J. Vaillant has suggested that Aulnay may be derived from *alnus*, French *aune*, and signify a place where alders grow: cf. Ducange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, s.v. *Alnetum*, *Alnidus*. I could find no explanation of the name Olney in Lipscomb's *Buckinghamshire* and Lysons' *Magna Britannia*. A gazetteer combining philological with geographical information would supply a desideratum. Our English names often vary but little from the French analogues; e.g. Cornwall, Cornouailles (a district in Basse Bretagne); Lyme in Dorsetshire, Cité des Limes, near Dieppe; Avon, Pont-taven (Finistère). Similarly the map of Roman Britain presents us with a repetition of places that occur in Gaul. For

example, there were eight towns in the latter country called Condate, the most notable of which corresponds to Rennes; they were situated at the junction of rivers, whence the name seems equivalent to Confluentes. We find Condate in Cheshire, and the modern name Kinder-ton is probably a corruption of it: moreover at this place the rivers Croco and Dane meet. The evidence of inscriptions leads us to suppose that there was another Condate in the County of Durham: see Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, chap. v, pp. 243-251, esp. p. 250, and Plan of Kinderton facing p. 243.

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the Coliseum stands on the level ground at the foot of the Esquiline, Caelian and Palatine hills: Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, d'après les textes et les monuments, tome i, s.v., *Amphitheatrum*.

The Arenes at Saintes in position resembled the amphitheatres of Cyzicus and Pergamus—the only two that have been discovered in Asia Minor, for Hellenic culture was shocked by the barbarous spectacle of gladiatorial combats: Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Introduction, p. xi. For Cyzicus see Perrot et Guillaume, *Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, 1872, pp. 74-76; p. 75, L'amphitheatre, comme le plan l'indique, est établi dans une gorge; on a profité, comme l'ont fait très-souvent les anciens, de la disposition des lieux pour économiser le travail et la maçonnerie; les gradins couvraient les deux pentes du vallon; Pl. III, Cyzique, Esquisse topographique des Ruines, where the valley is distinctly marked. Comp. Texier, *Op. citat.*, vol. ii, p. 174, pl. 106; and pp. 227-230, pls. 120 sq. Plan, Elevation and Section of part of amphitheatre.

At Frejus (Var) also, the ancient Forum Julii, the arrangement of the seats was similar. "Du cote du Nord, les voûtes de l'amphitheatre s'appuient directement sur les flancs d'une colline." Ad. Joanne, *France, Provence-Corse, Alpes Maritimes*, p. 108, ed. 1877.

we may expect that excavations, if thoroughly carried out, will present architectural combinations not usually met with elsewhere. The traveller when he goes down into the arena at Saintes, finds himself nearly on a level with the river Charente; such a position may remind him by contrast of a Greek theatre, which commands a wide prospect over land, and often sea also, as for example at Syracuse or Taormina. A somewhat rude, but curious and instructive, engraving of the sixteenth century illustrates the topography; it is contained in G. Braun's *Urbium praeicipuarum Mundi Theatrum Quintum*, No. 17, *Santones Xaintes*, with one folio page of description, and shows monuments existing at that time, which have since disappeared, partly or altogether.<sup>1</sup> The incorrect spelling, *Xaintes*, *Xaintonge*, *Xaintongeois*, arose from an unfounded story that the Santones were a colony of Trojans who lived on the banks of the river Xanthus (Scamander). But the name is written with an S by the historians of the first six centuries. See De la Sauvagère: *Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules: Recherches sur les Ruines Romaines de Saintes et des environs*, p. 12.

Speaking generally, the arrangements here resemble those at Nîmes, but in the former case the state of preservation is very inferior, as is evident from the photograph which I exhibit, taken expressly for this meeting;<sup>2</sup> on the other hand Saintes has the advantage

<sup>1</sup> This work is described in Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, s. v. Bruin; it was published at Cologne, 1572-1618. The Latin text, which is in small type, gives a summary of the antiquities and history of Saintes, with references to Strabo, Ptolemy, Ovid, Martial, &c. The account of the Province agrees with the passage of Cæsar quoted above: *Hujus Provinciae territorium nulli in Europa cedit, veteresque Absynthium et alumen Santonicum aliis prætulerunt*. Bishops who succeeded Eutropius, the first missionary in these parts, are praised in the following terms: *Qui omnes in exercendis pastoralibus sarcinis salutis ipsorum gregis sic semper additi, ut animarum salutem potius quaererent quam ovium lanam ut ipsi degluberent, vel ab aliis deglabrari paterentur*.

The "Œuvre de Bernard Palissy" by Delange, a magnificent folio with coloured illustrations, contains at p. 12 a "Plan

d'une partie de la ville de Saintes. D'après celui grave en entier et existant à la Bibliothèque Impériale;" it shows the position of the atelier in which the famous potter worked.

I exhibited a diagram of the amphitheatre at Saintes enlarged from an engraving in p. 394 of the No. of the Bulletin of the local Antiquarian Society quoted below.

<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding their very imperfect condition the traveller who visits these extensive ruins will admit that the epithet "majestic" has been fitly applied to them. Audiat, *Guide du Voyageur*, p. 29, "Elles (les Arenes) sont d'un effet charmant dans le paysage, dominées par le haut clocher de Saint Eutrope." In the *Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inférieure et de la Vienne*, Paris, 1848, p. 47, sq., the importance of the structure is unduly disparaged.

of being more accessible to English travellers, since it can be reached in an easy day's journey from Paris. The form is an ellipse of the following dimensions :

Length of the greater axis (exterior) 130 mètres.

(interior) 103 „

Length of the lesser axis (exterior) 66 „

(interior) 39 „

I have derived these measurements from the Bulletin de la Société des Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, October 1882, presuming that the most recent of my authorities is also the most accurate. At Nîmes, the corresponding numbers are for the greater axis, 133 mètr. 38 cent. and 69 mètr. 14 cent., for the lesser axis 101 mètr. 40 cent. and 38 mètr. 34 cent. From the difference of proportions it follows that this amphitheatre is more nearly circular than the one at Saintes.<sup>1</sup> That at Arles is on a still larger scale, and surpasses in extent all the Gallo-Roman structures of this kind which can now be identified.

It is computed that the amphitheatre at Saintes was capable of holding 21,000 spectators. There were 74 arches of unequal size in its circumference, and the seats (*gradins*) were supported by a single row of vaults sloping down towards the arena. Monsieur Audiat does not express himself positively, but inclines to the opinion that two landing places (*praecinctiones*) ran round the interior of the *cavea*, separating the three tiers of seats (*maeniana*) from each other. The performers, chariots, horses and other animals entered by the great *vomitoria* at the East and West ends, which could not have been used by the public, because no passages have been found leading from them to the benches (*subsellia*). At the former extremity nine arches remain, one of which is considerably higher and broader than the rest; at the latter the ancient masonry is now underground, and forms the cellar of a private house.

Excavations begun in the year 1881 produced important results, and brought to light part of the great eastern *vomitorium*, in whose walls two small staircases were found

<sup>1</sup> The details of this building may be well studied in the great work of MM. Grangent, C. Durand and S. Durant, De-

scription des Monumens Antiques du Midi de la France, tome I, Département du Gard, 1819, Pls. X-XX.



leading to the gallery where the workpeople stretched the awning (*velarium*), probably suspended from masts attached to the outer wall;<sup>1</sup> an aqueduct in the line of the greater axis for drawing the water off; a chamber on the visitors' left as he enters, perhaps for the use of gladiators, perhaps a den for wild beasts, *vivarium*; the *podium* between this *vomitorium* and the north end of the lesser axis; corridors leading to the *podium* and seats immediately above it.<sup>2</sup> On the same side a vast staircase has been cleared, commencing at the lowest *maenianum*, and continued till it reaches an external esplanade, where the people seem to have assembled and waited, as at the doors of our theatres. It was, doubtless, reserved for the duumvirs, decurions and other distinguished personages, as it only communicated with the best places next the arena; moreover, the entrance at the top had a certain architectural character, which is apparent even now from the mouldings of pilasters.

But the most remarkable discovery of all was made outside the building, and I do not remember to have met with an exact parallel to it in other amphitheatres. In the north-east quarter, about halfway between the greater and lesser axis, a staircase has been uncovered, consisting of flights of steps, with landing-places between them, by which spectators could descend, either to the intermediate galleries or to the valley below.<sup>3</sup> On either side of the

<sup>1</sup> It is evident that the Velarium would not be so much wanted at Saintes as at Nîmes and other places further South, where the climate is hotter. Partly on this account De Crazannes doubted the existence of any arrangements for the tension of the awning: *Op. citat.*, p. 77 sq. The earliest Roman author who mentions it is Lucretius (died about B.C. 50), VI, 107, sq. (109).

*Carbasus ut quondam, magneis intenta theatris,*

*Dat crepitum, malos inter jactata trabisque.*

For *theatris* it has been proposed to read *trachelis*, from the Greek  $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , the neck, the middle part of a mast; see the notes of Wakefield and Forbiger *in loco*, cf. *ibid.*, IV, 73-81, where the various colours of the *velarium* are mentioned, and Munro's note. See Overbeck, *Pompeii*, vol. I, *Drittes Capitel*, *Das Grosse Theater*, p. 146, fig. 109, *Steinring und Mastbaum*; comp. *View of the Ruins*,

Fig. 107; *Section of Theatre*, Fig. 112d.

<sup>2</sup> *Podium* seems to be used in two senses — (1) a wall about 15 feet high, circumscribing the arena; (2) a terrace on the top of it, which afforded the most favourable situation for seeing the games. and was therefore appropriated to spectators of high rank; *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 88; *Juvenal*, Sat. II, 145.

*Et Capitolinis generosior et Marcellis  
Et Catulis Paullique minoribus et  
Fabiis et*

*Omnibus ad podium spectantibus.*

<sup>3</sup> This staircase is described by M. Audiat as "un grand escalier adosse au mur de soutènement et qui devait, par des étages successifs, permettre à la foule de descendre dans le vallon."

At Pola there were rectangular projections beyond the elliptical outline of amphitheatre containing staircases, but these formed a part of the masonry of the building. See Stuart and Revett,

great eastern *vomitorium* are steps by which the public entered, and adjoining them two walls at right angles to the building; they are supposed to have been part of an enclosure, occupied by *employés* engaged in protecting against the crowd the access of everything required for the service of the games (*le matériel des jeux*). Near the west *vomitorium* some benches of the first *maenianum* are seen intact, and a staircase by which they were reached.

In the coping-stone of the *podium* holes were observed, pierced at intervals; they were intended to receive the irons of a balustrade, which was necessary to guard against the attacks of wild beasts in the arena. At the Coliseum moveable ivory cylinders and nets of gilded bronze were used for this purpose, as the lines of Calpurnius, quoted by Nibby, testify.<sup>1</sup> Originally, the soil of the arena was five mètres below the present level, accumulations having taken place in the course of so many centuries. On the north side of the monument, the wall that supported the earth of the hill (*mur de soutienement*) has been excavated for about half its length; between it and the amphitheatre was the esplanade mentioned above. The part of the

Antiquities of Athens, vol. IV, pp. 5-9. Of the Amphitheatre at Pola; Pl. III, Plan E E the staircases; p. 7. "In each of the contraforti (so called by Serlio) were two flights of stairs, so contrived, that those who ascended the one never could meet those who descended the other; and there was in each room enough for two persons to pass abreast of each other: Pl. IV, fig. 1, West Elevation; Pl. V, Contraforti; Pl. VI, Staircase. Maffei, Verona illustrata, tomo IX, Venezia, MDCXC, Tav. V, fig. 2, Recinto di Pola.

<sup>1</sup> Roma Antica. Parte prima, p. 427 sq.: Calpurnius, Bucol. Ecl. VII, 48-56, Sternitur adjunctis ebur admirabile truncis,  
Et coit in rotulum, tereti qua lubricus axe  
Impositos subita vertigine falleret unguis,  
Excuteretque feras; auro quoque torta refulgent  
Retia, quae totis in arenam dentibus exstant.

See the critical commentary on this passage in Wernsdorf's Poetae Latini Minores, vol. II, p. 169. Nibby improperly reads *rotulam* for *rotulum*: comp. the copious note in the Appendix to Bailey's edition of Forcellini, and the

article by De Vit, s. v. *Rotulus*, a synonym of *Rotula*, *Cylindrus*, *Rotolo*. "Alii perperam pro *rotulum* legunt *rotulam*, vel *rutilum*, vel *rutulum*. V. Salmasius, ad *Hist. Aug. scriptores*, p. 436, Vopisci Probus, cap. 19; Lipsius De amphit. c. 12.

For an account of the *podium* consult Hirt, Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten, vol. III, p. 163 sq., IV Abschnitt, Das Amphitheater und die Naumachie, Taf. XX, figs. 9, 10: C. O. Müller, Archæologie der Kunst § 290, Remark 4; Eng. transl. p. 323. J. H. Parker, The Archæology of Rome, Part VII, The Flavian Amphitheatre commonly called the Colosseum. Preface p. V. Some very curious *graffiti*, or scratchings on marble, by workmen of the third century have been found . . . . Another shews the framework of the netting of gilt wire in front of the lower gallery. Pl. XXIII, Description of the Graffito of the Podium. The screen . . had a bar at the top that turned round, so that if any animal tried to cling to it he would fall backwards on the arena.

In some of the London banking houses the windows are protected by revolving spikes, which answer the same purpose as the moveable cylinders mentioned above.



wall that had been buried was found with its surface entire, whence it is inferred that the dilapidations in the exposed part were caused in comparatively recent times.

Near the centre of the seats on the south side is a fountain named after Sainte Eustelle, a convert of Saint Eutrope. According to the legend she was the daughter of a governor of Saintes, and sought in marriage, but resolved to devote herself to God. One day, when hard pressed by suitors, she stamped on the ground, and a spring issued forth; girls on the 21st May throw pins into it; if they are found at the bottom crossed, a husband is expected within a year.<sup>1</sup>

Chaudruc de Crazannes says, that a branch of the aqueduct of Douhet, diverging towards the amphitheatre, leaves little doubt that sea-fights (*naumachiae*) were exhibited therein. He then endeavours to show that various details of construction within the monument favour this supposition. But the preponderance of argument seems to be against his theory; no trace of a reservoir (*castellum aquæ*) has been found sufficiently large for such representations; and, considering the level of the arena, as low or lower than the Charente, it would be impossible for the water to run off.

The date of erection cannot be exactly ascertained. A stone inscribed with the letters TI CLAVD has been discovered, not in the façade, but in an apartment supposed to be a den of wild beasts; from which we may conclude that it belonged to some earlier edifice, and was afterwards used for building materials. The abbreviation probably expresses the name of the emperor Tiberius.<sup>2</sup> Some have ascribed the Arènes to Gallienus, A.D. 254-268, on account of its general resemblance to the ruins at

<sup>1</sup> L'Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inferieure, pp. 48-50, after describing the visits paid by women to the fountain with different and even opposite motives, relates the story of St Eustelle, who became acquainted with St Eutrope during the persecution of Decius (Emperor A.D. 249-251). It is said that she secretly buried the martyr, and that his remains were discovered two centuries and a half later.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription is the only important one found in the Arènes, of which we have an exact account; a cast may be

seen in the Museum at Saintes. Some appear to have existed formerly; they are mentioned by Nicolas Alain, a physician who practised at Saintes, and published in the year 1598 a book entitled *De Santonum regione et illustrioribus familiis*. His words are "In saxis illius inscriptiones nonnullae cospiciantur, quibus adducor ut credam Gallienum imperatore Romanū theatri opus hoc visendum construxisse." The statement in the latter clause rests on no sufficient foundation: Audiat, *Epigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*, p. 9.

Bordeaux, which are commonly, but improperly, called the Palais Gallien.<sup>1</sup> It seems more reasonable to assign the amphitheatre at Saintes to the Flavian or Antonine period, as the example set by Vespasian and Titus was naturally imitated by the provinces, but in a later age the Romans were occupied rather in defending their frontiers against barbarians than in constructing vast edifices for their own amusement.<sup>2</sup> M. Audiat, however, is inclined to fix the date in the third century.

Large sums of money have been expended on excavations: in 1847 the town voted 6000 francs to purchase the building and to begin the work of clearing; in 1860, subscriptions amounting to 11,700 francs were raised to indemnify proprietors who occupied the site; in 1881 10,000 francs were granted to continue these *fouilles*, and the same amount in 1882, by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.

If we compare the amphitheatre at Saintes with those of our own country belonging to the Roman period, we shall observe a wide difference; the latter show few signs of masonry; for the most part nothing is to be seen but earth hollowed out in an oval form, as for example at Dorchester, or at Housesteads (Borco-vicus), a station on Hadrian's Vallum. Dr. Bruce on the Roman Wall (Plan, p. 179, Engraving in the text p. 190) suggests that the seats were probably wooden. The epithet *castrensia* indicates proximity to permanent camps (*castra stativa*). Wright, Celt, Roman and Saxon,

<sup>1</sup> The importance of the remains still existing at Bordeaux, their proximity and similarity to those at Saintes, have naturally led to comparison and confusion with the amphitheatre at the latter place. Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome iii, p. 260 J'y ai été plusieurs fois et autant que je puis m'en souvenir, le champ ou les arènes de cet amphithéâtre étaient des plus grandes, et ne le cédaient peut être à celles du Colisée. Il y a encore des restes d'un amphithéâtre à Saintes, mais qui est beaucoup plus petit que celui de Bordeaux. Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, vol. ii, p. 428, 2nd edition, 1867. Die Schauspiele, Galliae, b. Aquitania, Burdigala, thus describes the state of the so-called Palais Gallien when Millin saw

it, die wenigen erhaltenen Ueberreste im Begriff gänzlich zu verschwinden. But this author, like many others who attempt to traverse a wild field of investigation, is not always accurate in details. The dilapidation has not proceeded as far as his expressions would imply. See also my Paper on Antiquities in the South-west of France, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxvi (1879), p. 25, note; it was illustrated by a large photograph of the monument, taken expressly.

<sup>2</sup> De Crazannes, *Op. citat.*, p. 87. Notre opinion est que l'amphithéâtre des *Santonnes* a dû être construit dans la période comprise entre le règne de Vespasien et celui de Marc Aurèle, au plus tard.

2nd edition, p. 178, says "that at Richborough (*Rutupice*) . . . had been surrounded with walls of masonry."<sup>1</sup>

As the anatomist from isolated bones restores some huge antediluvian monster, so the antiquary can re-construct out of the detached fragments mentioned above a vast amphitheatre; nay more, with the aid of similar monuments better preserved, and of smaller objects—mosaics, bas-reliefs, lamps and coins<sup>2</sup>—he can re-people it

<sup>1</sup> Isca Silurum, or an Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities at Caerleon by John Edward Lee, F.S.A., p. 128. "In the field to the left of the Broadway, without the walls, is the amphitheatre, evidently Roman, which commonly goes by the name of King Arthur's Round Table. Giraldus Cambrensis states that there were walls standing in his time; but certainly none are to be seen at the present day."

Roach Smith, *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lymne*, with engravings by Fairholt, pp. 161-172, "This is the first walled amphitheatre that has been brought to light in England. The discovery was made Oct. 19, 1849. . . The greater axis is 200 feet, and the lesser, 166." Mr. Roach Smith says that the Rutupian amphitheatre closely resembles that at Tintinniac, mentioned by Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* tome iii, part 2, Plate cxi, p. 261 sq.; one league distant from Tulle in the parish of Nave. Tulle is in the Limousin, South-east of Limoges, and East of the line of railway from that city to Toulouse. He also compares the amphitheatre at Treves, for which see Wytttenbach's description of the antiquities there, translated by Dawson Turner, 1839, pp. 76-96, Plates at pp. 76, 86; Vignettes at pp. 76, 96: Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, 1868, pp. 71-76. Ausonius mentions *Rutupiæ* in three passages; *Parentalia*, vii, § 166, ed. Delphin.; *ibid* xviii, § 177; *Clarae Urbes*, *Aquileia*, vii, § 291; edit. Schenkl, ii Index, xv 20, 8; xviii 72; xv 9, 2. This critical edition is commended by Mr. Robinson Ellis in his article on Ausonius, *Hermathena*, No. xii, p. 1, 1886.

But *Rutupiæ* is best known to classical scholars from Juvenal, *Sat.*, iv, 140 sqq., where the author speaks of an epicure who could distinguish at the first bite whether his oyster came from the coast of Kent or the Bay of Naples.

*Circeis nata forent, an  
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita  
fundo  
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere  
morsu.*

See the references given in Professor John E. B. Mayor's note on v. 141, 2nd edition of *Juv.*, vol. i, p. 239.

On June 23, 1886, Models of the Romano-British Village near Rushmore, on the borders of Dorset and Wilts, between Salisbury and Blandford, were exhibited by General Pitt-Rivers to the Society of Antiquaries. It was stated on that occasion that "the amphitheatre shown in the model was proved by the excavations to have been made after some of the drains were filled in." General Pitt-Rivers informed me that the existence of the amphitheatre was *supposed* rather than proved; and I think he added that no signs of masonry were visible.

Friedlaender, *Op. citat.*, vol. ii, p. 435 sq., s.v. *Britannia*, cites several authorities for this subject, and amongst them Bruce, *On the Roman Wall* (3rd edition, 1867), p. 157 sq. A very rude but curious stone is there engraved, probably found at Chesters (*Cilurnum*), East of Housesteads (*Borcovicus*); the relief upon it represents a contest between a gladiator and an animal of the feline tribe. "The occurrence of this sculpture encouraged the belief that *Cilurnum* was provided with an amphitheatre for the amusement of the soldiery."

<sup>2</sup> I exhibited lamps and coins from the Collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, the former showing gladiatorial combats, and the latter having the Colosseum as a device. More details appear than might be expected within the scanty limits of so narrow an orb. In the Large Brass of Vespasian and Titus we see distinctly staircases forming wedge-shaped compartments (*cunei*) in the *cavea*, the upper gallery, the *Meta Sudans*, and a colonnade of two stories supposed to be an aqueduct.

J. H. Parker, *Op. citat.*, Part vii, Pl. xxiv, Representation of the Flavian Amphitheatre on Coins or Medals. Titus is said to be sitting on a trophy of arms. This is a mistake, for the *sellæ curulis* is quite visible. In a reverse of Alexander Severus the building to the right is supposed to be the *Piscina Limaria*, where the water, as it flowed off, deposited slime,

with an excited crowd of spectators, witnessing the combats of gladiators with wild beasts or with each other,

"Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday."<sup>1</sup>

II. The Roman arch at Saintes has a remarkable, I might almost say unique, history. According to M. Audiart, the most competent local authority, it stood originally on an island formed by the confluence of the rivers Seugne and Charente, and at the extremity of a bridge which formed the approach to Mediolanum.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards these rivers changed their course; they united six kilometres higher up; and the Charente, increasing in breadth and flooding the meadows, washed this ancient monument on both sides.<sup>3</sup> Thus the communication was interrupted on the road from Bordeaux (Burdigala) to Poitiers (Limonum), through Blaye (Blavia) and Aulnay (Aunedonnacum). Hence it became necessary to build a

Frontinus, De Aquaeductibus, c. 15. A small building similarly placed, on a coin of Gordian, seems to be a reservoir, *castellum aquae*—a name which the French language has retained (chateau d' eau). Pl. xxv, Diagrams of Coins and Medals. Pl. xxvii, Amphitheatre with awning from a fresco at Pompeii. Pls. xxvii-xxxv, Amphitheatres at Capua, Verona and Pozzuoli.

Cohen, Médailles Impériales, tome I, Pl. XVI, no. 184 Grand Bronze, p. 362, gives the coin of Titus mentioned above; but his description is neither correct nor complete. He says that the Emperor holds a book; an olive-branch is in his hand. What other writers have called an aqueduct, M. Cohen supposes to be a portion of Nero's Golden House, Domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit. quam ... "Auream" nominavit, Suetonius, Nero c. 31. Cf. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. Vol. VI, p. 357 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Childe Harold, Canto IV, stanza CXLI. The passage in which this line occurs was written with reference to the so-called Dying Gladiator in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. This figure represents a Celtic warrior, as is proved "by his moustache, the arrangement of his hair, the chain round his neck, &c." (torquis, twisted gold collar): C. O. Müller, Archæologie der Kunst, § 157\*, Remark 2, Eng. transl., p. 131; Denkmäler, Part I. Die Zeit der Makedonischen Dynastien. Taf. XLVIII, no. 217. Ein zum Tode verwundeter Gallier, welcher ur-

sprünglich der Darstellung einer Schlacht zwischen Griechen und Kelten angehörte, wie sie von Pyromachos und andern Künstlern zu Pergamon gearbeitet wurden: Emil Braun, Ruins and Museums of Rome, pp. 134-136. The words of Byron quoted above are therefore inapplicable to this statue, the origin of which may be traced to the victories of Attalus I and Eumenes II over the Gauls. So it stands connected with discoveries at Pergamus which have attracted so much attention recently: cf. omn. Perry's Greek and Roman Sculpture, pp. 558-560, fig. 235, The Dying Gaul in the Capitol at Rome; fig. 236, The Gaul killing his wife; also pp. 537-542, The Attalic Statues, and esp. p. 540, fig. 223.

<sup>2</sup> It must be borne in mind that Saintes (Mediolanum Santonum) is on the left bank of the Charente.

<sup>3</sup> For an example of the change in a water-course affecting an ancient monument comp. Dr. Bruce, Roman Wall, Bridge at Cilurnum (Chesters), pp. 144-149. He speaks of the abutment and piers as "the most remarkable remains on the Wall, which time and violence have left us...The North Tyne forsaking for some distance its ancient bed had left this abutment (viz., on the East side) dry, completely submerging the corresponding work on the opposite side." see full page engraving at p. 144, and Plan of the Remains of the Roman Bridge, p. 145.

new bridge extending to the right bank, where the faubourg now is. During the Middle Ages the arch was fortified as a *tête de pont*, and adorned with crenelated embrasures.<sup>1</sup> It appears very conspicuously, nearer to the right than the left bank, in Braun's engraving, and in a photograph from an old print which I exhibit: its foundations rest, not on the bridge, but on the bed of the river. François Blondel, the celebrated architect of the Porte Saint-Denis at Paris, made some reparations in the year 1665, under the ministry of Colbert, and at the expense of Louis de Bassompierre, Bishop of Saintes.<sup>2</sup> As the bridge interfered with the course of the water, it was taken down, and the arch was removed in 1843, and rebuilt on the river side, near the spot where the statue of Bernard Palissy has been erected. This alteration cost 79,788 francs 66 centimes.<sup>3</sup>

The mediaeval bridge to which I have referred was the work of Isambert, who was also employed by King John (Jean Sans-Terre) to construct that of London, 18th April, 1202, so that here again we have a point of contact with English antiquities.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Similarly, at Cahors one of the bridges over the Lot is surmounted by three gate-towers to defend the approach to the town: Murray's Handbook for France, Part I, p. 282, ed. 1882. Judging from a photograph the effect of these towers, placed at intervals, is very singular.

<sup>2</sup> Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquités, tome VII (Supplement published posthumously), pp. 297-302, Planches LXXXV, LXXXVI, "l'une fait voir l'Arc après sa restauration, l'autre le présente tel que Blondel l'a trouvé." At p. 299 sq. there is a long extract from Blondel, giving a detailed account of the proportions of the Arch; he also notices the addition made on its summit. "Ce qui est sur l'attique est un ouvrage des Modernes, qui dans les guerres s'en sont servis pour la défense du passage de la rivière de Charente, au milieu de laquelle cet Arc est planté." See Blondel's Cours d'architecture, chap. XV, liv. I, quoted by De Crazannes, Op. citat. p. 91; Bourignon, Les Antiquités de Saintonge, pp. 73, 76-78. De la Sauvagère expresses a different opinion, Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules, p. 61 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The present stone bridge consists of three arches; it was erected immediately

after the demolition, in 1880, of a suspension bridge which showed signs of insecurity; the latter appears in the Plate "Pont de Saintes," facing p. 17, Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inférieure, &c., published 1848.

<sup>4</sup> For Isambert's bridge at Saintes see Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture, Plate, vol. VII, p. 232, s.v. Pont. The statement in the text concerning London Bridge is not strictly correct; Isambert was recommended as an architect by the king, but there is no proof that his advice was followed. The Letter Missive to the Mayor and Citizens begins thus:—Considering how the Lord in a short time hath wrought in regard to the Bridges of Xaintes and Rochelle by the great care and pains of our faithful, learned and worthy Clerk, Isenbert (sic), Master of the Schools of Xaintes: We, therefore, by the advice of our Reverend Father in Christ, Hubert (Walter) Archbishop of Canterbury, and that of others, have desired, directed and enjoined him to use his best endeavours in building your Bridge for your benefit and that of the public: Chronicles of London Bridge by an Antiquary (the late Mr. Richard Thomson of the London Institution), pp. 70-73. In the Library of the Corporation



The Phototype Co., 303, Strand, London.

BRIDGE AND ROMAN ARCH AT SAINTES, 1806.



In its original position the Arc-de-Triomphe, so called, had one façade turned towards the city and the other towards the suburb. The following are the chief measurements:—breadth 45 feet; depth 10 feet; height from base of pilasters to attic, 38 feet; the former rest on a stylobate 21 feet high. The top of the monument is now protected against rain by a sheet of zinc. As the building appears in the frontispiece of Chaudruc de Crazannes, the proportions strike the observer as very incorrect; the arches are too broad, and the columns too low; but these faults are remedied by the stereobate or continuous pedestal, which gives sufficient elevation.<sup>1</sup>

It should be observed that there were two semi-circular archways here, for ingress and egress, as in the Porte Gallo-Romaine at Langres, and the Portes Saint André and d'Arroux at Autun still existing, and also at Merida (Emerita), as shown by coins.<sup>2</sup>

We should notice the great number of pilasters, as a striking characteristic of Roman architecture. I have already directed attention to this feature in the Gates at Langres, and in the frequent imitation of it by the builders of the Cathedral there.<sup>3</sup> Of these ornaments there are twenty-four on the first story, two at right angles to each other being placed at the corners of the three piers that support the arches and entablature. In the second story it seems that there were eight pilasters,

at the Guildhall a magnificent copy of this work may be consulted; it is "inlaid, illustrated and enlarged."

Sir Symonds D'Ewes' extracts from the Records, Harleian, MSS., no 86, p. 1 a: the title of this volume of MSS. in the British Museum is *Collectanea ex Rotulis in Archivis Turris Londoniensis Temp. Joh. et Hen. III.* No. 86 is copied from the original document in Latin, most probably preserved at the Record Office.

Notes and Queries, 2nd series, vol. IX, p. 119 sq. (Feb. 18, 1860). The article signed Wm. Sidney Gibson corrects a mistake made in P. Cunningham's *Handbook of London Past and Present*, p. 297, where it is stated that Isambard built the first London bridge. Many interesting details are also mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> However, we must admit that the Arch at Saintes will not sustain a comparison with some other monuments of the same kind. It is "a heavy pile of masonry," deficient in the symmetry and

elegance that we admire at Autun: see my Paper on the Antiquities of that place, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. XL, p. 31, and woodcut of the Porte d'Arroux.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæol. Journ.*, loc. citat., note 4. The gate at Merida has, I presume, been demolished, as it does not appear in the engravings of ancient buildings which surround the Plano Topografico y Pintoresco de la Ciudad de Merida con todos los Monumentos mas notables de la Antigüedad, Levantado y litografiado por D. Jose Lopez Alegria, A iniciativa de D. Rafael Pulido, 1878: but a plate of the coin referred to above is given. Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, includes Merida in his *Description de l'Estremadure*, tome II, pp. 109-115, pls. CXLV-CLXV; there is no detailed account of Roman walls and gates.

<sup>3</sup> My paper on Langres and Besançon, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XLIII p. 91, seq., and note 1 on the latter page.

two at each of the four corners of the monument; but the photograph does not show them as clearly as in the former case.

The edifice is built with stones of the country, three, four or five feet in length, two or three in height; they are quadrangular, and arranged in regular horizontal courses. It is best seen from the Rue Arc de Triomphe, leading directly to Notre Dame (Sainte Marie), because on the side next to the river it is obscured by the foliage of other trees and of poplars, which, as every traveller knows, are inevitable in France. But this interference with the view is not the only injury done to the Roman giant, who in old times stood out so prominently, bestriding the bridge over the Charente. If the stones had been carefully numbered, and replaced in position, the structure need not have suffered much more than our Marble Arch, which has been transported safely for a longer distance, viz., from Buckingham Palace to Oxford Street. Unfortunately, in some cases the masons at Saintes substituted new work for old; thus the inscriptions have been mutilated, and the ox-heads have disappeared, which (see De Crazanne's engraving) decorated both façades—three on each, between the pilasters and in a line with their capitals, sculptured as in the metopes of a Doric frieze.<sup>1</sup> He compares two examples of the same

<sup>1</sup> De Crazannes, *Antiquités de Saintes*, Frontispiece: under the Arch two coins of the Santones are engraved. The statement quoted from him in the text may, perhaps, mislead. We must remember that the Bucranium is not found in the Greek Doric, properly speaking, as it is seen at Athens, at Paestum, and in Sicily; but only in later examples. Sir W. Chambers, *On Civil Architecture*, edit. Gwilt, vol. I, p. 194, in his chapter, Of the Doric order, describes this ornament: "The metope is square, and enriched with a bull's skull, adorned with garlands of beads, in imitation of those on the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, at the foot of the Capitol:" see plate facing p. 185. The remains of this building are usually called the Temple of Vespasian by recent archaeologists.

I have noticed a curious coincidence with the ox-head on the Arch at Saintes; the same device appears on a copper coin of the Santones in my possession: Rollin et Feuardent, *Catalogue de Médailles de*

la Gaule, p. 12, Chefs Santons—CONTOVTOS. Tête jeune, nue, à dr. R. Loup à droite, adossée à un arbre; dessous bucrane. Cf. Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois*, ou *Les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles*, Pt. I, Pl. 20, fig. 1 CONOVTOS. Ibid, Table du Texte, Loup, symbole sur les monnaies d'argent de l'Aquitaine, p. 26, Loup bramant, pl. 60, No. 2. For *Bucrane* v. ibid Index des légendes, &c., s.v. Instead of CONTOVTOS we sometimes meet with CONOVTOS. The *bucranium* here, though on a very small scale, is better executed than in the didrachms of Alexander the Great, said to have been struck at Amphipolis: see Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Macedonia; cf. ibid. Italy, Bruttii, p. 324, No. 49, where the right horn is bent downwards. Mionnet, tome 9, Table des Matières, s.v.; Athens, II, 134; Luceria Apulix I, 133.

The name of the first letter in the Hebrew alphabet, *aleph*, is said to mean an ox, and the character is somewhat

ornament at Nîmes, one on a gate of the Corinthian order,<sup>1</sup> and the other at the entrance to the Amphitheatre. Some suppose that the *bucrania* commemorate a sacrifice of bulls at the dedication of the monument, which agrees with the title in the frieze SACERDOS ROMAE ET AVGVSTI AD ARAM QUAE EST AD CONFLVENTEM.<sup>2</sup> When these victims were offered to Cybele, the rite was called *taurobolium*,—a word which only occurs in Epigraphy.<sup>3</sup>

It remains to discuss the inscriptions on the Arch; we shall soon see that they present many points of interest. In transcribing them I follow Bourignon's *Recherches Topographiques, Historiques, Militaires et Critiques sur les Antiquités de la province de Saintonge*, because his copy seems to be most carefully made, and his book was published in the year IX of the first French

like this animal's head; in the corresponding Phoenician letter the resemblance is still closer: Key, *On the Alphabet*, p. 19, and Plate I, p. 30. Hence this emblem seems to have been adopted to represent learning; and we may, perhaps, thus account for the fact that the Palace of the University at Padua is called *il Bo (the Bull)*: Murray's *Handbook for Northern Italy*.

<sup>1</sup> De Crazannes, *Op. citat.*, p. 94. We find the bucranium in the entablature over the three columns of the temple of Vespasian at Rome which are so well known by reproductions in miniature; at Tivoli, where it is inserted between festoons of flowers; also in fragments of the temple of Vesta at Rome, recently brought to light: Professor Middleton, *Archæologia*, 1886, vol. XLIX, p. 396, figures on p. 397. In these three cases the order is Corinthian.

<sup>2</sup> This explanation is confirmed by the position which the ox-head occupies in the frieze of the temples of Vespasian and Vesta; it is placed amongst sacrificial implements—knife (probably secespita), hammer, patera, flamen's cap, vase (*præfericulum*) and branch for sprinkling holy water. Comp. Theophrastus, *Characteres*, cap. XVIII, περὶ Μικροφιλοτιμίας. He says that the vain man when he has sacrificed a bull, binds large fillets round the fore part of his head, and nails it up in front on the wall, so that those who enter may see that he has sacrificed a bull. (τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικυῖ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι, στέμμασι μεγάλοις περιδήσας). See the note in Sheppard's

edition, p. 175; προμετωπίδιον is interpreted by some as *pellis bovis frontis*, by others as *tota frons cum cornibus*.

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Watkins Lloyd for some remarks on this subject.

<sup>3</sup> De Vit has a copious article on *taurobolium*; he gives another form *tauropolium* from Gruter and Muratori, and the derivatives *taurobolicus*, *taurobolinus*, *taurobolior* and *taurobolus*. He compares *criobolium*, offering of a ram to Atys, a youth beloved by Cybele; and describes at length the manner in which the ceremony was performed. The word *taurobolium* is used specially with reference to Cybele, but it is also applied to the worship of other deities, as we learn from inscriptions. M. Audiat, *Epigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*, p. 25 sq., says "Je trouve au Musée plusieurs débris portant la tête de taureau entourée de bandelettes et accompagnée de la harpe (ἄρπη), restes certains d'un taurobole." He cites as an authority Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, and adds an extract from Fontenelle, *Histoire des Oracles*, chapitre IV.

Adolphe Joanne's Guide, Provence, Alpes Maritimes, Corse, s.v., Tain, Département de la Drôme, p. 11, edit. 1877. Sur la place de l'Hotel-de-Ville, on remarque un autel antique ou taurobole (mon. hist.), élevé en l'an 184, sous le règne de l'empereur Commode, en l'honneur de Cybele. . . Sur la face principale est sculptée une tête de taureau; sur celle de dr., une tête de belier; sur celle de g., le couteau du victimaire.

Republic, consequently long before the removal mentioned above.<sup>1</sup>

Inscriptions of the attic, on the side next to the town :

1

GERMANICU' . . . . RĪ' TĪ' AVG' F'  
DIV' AVGVST' NEP' D..... PRONEP'AVGVRI'  
FLAM' AVGVST' COS' II' I. P. II.

2

CAE . . . DI. G' F' V . . . . .<sup>2</sup>  
PONTIF' MAXS' COS' III' IMP. VIII. TRB . P . . . .

3

. . . . . AESARI  
AVG' NEP. DĪV . İVLI'  
PONTIFICĪ' AVGVRI' <sup>3</sup>

Inscription of the frieze, on the side next to the town :

First line C' I. LIVS' C' İVLI' O. TVANEVNĪ. F. RVFVS' C'

I . . . . . IS' NEPOS EPO . . . . . VİDĪ' PRO.

Second line SACERDOS' ROMAE' ET AVGVSTĪ' AD. A . . . . .  
D'. . . . . E. TEM. PRA. F . . . . V' FABRV'.

Inscription of the frieze, on the side next to the suburb :

First line C' İVLI' C' İVLI' O. TVANEVNĪ' F' RV . . S' C' İVLI'  
GED. DMON . . NEPOS' EPOTSORVIDĪ' PRON.

Second line . . . . C . . . . . GVSTI . . . AM' Q . . E' EST'  
AD. CONFL. ENT . . . PRAEFECTVS' F . RV. ' D.

#### EXPANSIONS.

(Attic).

1.

Germanico Caesari, Tiberii Augusti filio,  
Divi Augusti nepoti, Divi Juli pronepoti, <sup>4</sup>  
Auguri, Flamini Augusti, Consuli secundum,  
Imperatorii secundum.

<sup>1</sup> Bourignon, whose book is of quarto size, prints the Inscriptions on a larger sheet, with quotations from Gruter at the back to support his explanations.

<sup>2</sup> Following M. Audiat, Op. citat., p. 13, in this line I have substituted G for C, on account of the name AVGVSTI.

<sup>3</sup> I have placed Nos. 1, 2, 3 vertically, owing to the limited space in an octavo page; the originals are arranged horizontally.

De Crazannes, p. 94, says "Ces inscriptions (i.e. both on the attic and on the frieze) sont également gravées sur les deux faces du monument, du côté de la ville et du faubourg."

M. Audiat, p. 12, has copied the Inscriptions as they now appear after the reconstruction of the Arch. No. 1 is tolerably well preserved; of No. 2 PONTIF' MA, and of No. 3 LI...VRI are all the letters that remain. Ibid. p. 14. On comprend qu'avec le peu de caractères qui subsistent, il est difficile de hasarder une autre interprétation que l'interprétation donnée par les écrivains antérieurs.

<sup>4</sup> The degree of relationship is sometimes traced even further back, for we find in the pedigrees of Roman emperors, inscribed on public buildings, *abnepos* (son of great-grandson), and *adnepos*

## 2.

Tiberio Caesari, Divi Augusti filio,  
Augusto, Pontifici Maxsumo,<sup>1</sup>  
Consuli quartum, Imperatori octavum,  
Tribunitiâ potestate . . . .

## 3.

Druso Caesari, Tiberii Augusti  
Filio, Divi Augusti nepoti,  
Divi Juli pronepoti,  
Pontifici, Auguri.

(Frieze.)

Caius Julius, Caii Juli Ottuaneuni filius, Rufus; C. Juli Gededmonis nepos, Epotsorovidi pronepos, sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad aram quae est ad confluentem, Praefectus fabrûm dedicavit.

## TRANSLATIONS.

## 1.

To Germanicus Caesar,<sup>2</sup> son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson of the divine Augustus, great grandson of the divine Julius, Augur, Flamen of Augustus, Consul for the second time, Imperator for the second time.

## 2.

To Tiberius Caesar, son of the divine Augustus,

(grandson of great-grandson), v. Rossini, Archi Trionfali, entablature of Arco di Marco Aurelio.

Cf. Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, C. II, *Monumenta Historica*, Nos. 857, 873 and 887; Marcus Aurelius is called the *abnepos*, and Commodus the *adnepos*, of Nerva. *Atnepos* is only another form of the latter term, and corresponds with *atavus* in the ascending scale: Dictionary of Antiquities, s.v. Cognati, genealogical table, p. 310.

<sup>1</sup> *Maxumus*, the archaism for *maximus*, is common enough; but *maxsumus* is unusual. Professor Key, On the Alphabet, p. 108, explains as follows. Before the employment by the Greeks of the character  $\Xi$  they represented its sound by  $\text{X}\Sigma$ , and the Romans copied this practice; hence we find in inscriptions MAXSVMVS, PROXSVMVS, &c.; in coins AXSIVS for AXIVS; and in the Medicean MS. of Virgil EXSESA Æneid VIII, 418), EXSVIT (ibid 567). Cf. Cohen, *Medailles Consulaires*, No. 22 Axia, p. 55 sq., Legend of Reverse,

L. AXSIVS L. F, "d'après l'ancienne orthographe"; Pl. VII, figs. 1 and 2, Pl. XLIX, figs. 1-4: Roschach, Musée de Toulouse, Catalogue des Antiquités et des Objets d'Art, p. 50, No. 115, VXSORIS. "Dans quelques inscriptions de Pompei, on trouve également *saxso* pour *saxo*." Sacaze, *Épigraphie de Luchon*, p. 33, Inscription found at St. Bertrand de Comminges, "*Bonsilexsi, Sembexson[is]uxori*."

<sup>2</sup> We regard this Arch at Saintes with additional interest, because it bears the name of the excellent Prince, whom the Romans idolized and compared with Alexander the Great. In a wicked age that suffered under the tyrant Tiberius, the virtuous character of Germanicus seems "like some bright angel o'er the darkling scene." Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 73, Et erant qui formam, aetatem, genus mortis . . . magni Alexandri fatis adaequarent . . . Sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio certis liberis egisse.

Augustus, Chief Pontiff, Consul for the fourth time, Imperator for the eighth time, holding Tribunitian power.

. . . . .

3.

To Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson of the divine Augustus, great grandson of the divine Julius, Pontiff, Augur.

Caius Julius Rufus, son of Caius Julius Ottuaneunus, grandson of Caius Julius Gededmon, great grandson of Epotsorovidus, priest of Rome and Augustus at the altar which is near the confluence, as General of Engineers, has dedicated this monument.

In the third Inscription we may observe that the relationships by consanguinity and by adoption are expressed alike.<sup>1</sup> Drusus was son of Tiberius for the former reason, and grandson of Augustus for the latter. The frequency of adoption under the Empire is testified by Epigraphy as well as History; and the readers of Tacitus know it from the common occurrence of the termination *anus*, as in Octavianus, Seianus, Trajanus, added to the *nomen gentile*. Hence we account for the numerous allusions to this practice in the New Testament, where it is called *υιοθεσία*.<sup>2</sup> I will only remark in passing, that the inscribed monuments by this undesigned coincidence supply an argument to corroborate the sacred text.

The names of four generations appear on the frieze. Those of the dedicator are altogether Roman; his father and grandfather have a Roman nomen and prænomen, to which a Gallic cognomen is appended, but his great-grandfather is mentioned as a Gaul without any admixture of a foreign element. This gradual change marks the progress which the civilization of the conquering race

<sup>1</sup> So Tiberius calls Augustus his father, and Livia and himself parents of Germanicus; in both cases he refers to adoption, Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 12, *Patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisse*. Ibid. *Vos vero et liberos Germanici et nos parentes justis solatiis adficate*.

<sup>2</sup> Romans, VIII, 15. 'Οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υιοθεσίας (sonship), ἐν ᾧ,

κραζόμεν 'Αββὰ ὁ πατήρ. Ibid. v. 23 (Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. II, p. 218, 8vo. edition, note 3), and IX, 4. Galatians, IV, 5. Ephesians, I, 5, 'Ἐν ἀγάπῃ προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υιοθεσίαν, which Koppe says is equivalent to *προορίσας εἰσποιήσασθαι ἡμᾶς τέκνα αὐτοῦ*. *Εἰσποιεῖσθαι*, Middle voice, to make one's own, in Classical Greek is used for adopting a son.



was making amidst their semi-barbarous subjects. *Caius Julius* seem to be a tribute of respect to the greatest of the Romans, just as in our time children are often christened by the name of some distinguished statesman or other celebrity. I have searched the copious lists in Gruter's Collection, Hübner's British Inscriptions and Zeuss' Grammar, but have not found a close parallel to these Celtic appellations, Ottuaneunus, Gededmon and Epotsorovidus.<sup>1</sup> M. Audiat, in his *Epigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*, p. 15, mentions a fragment of a stone found in building the walls of the hospital at Saintes which contained ONNETODVBNI, somewhat like the first name; it may remind us of DVBNOREX on coins for Dumnorix,<sup>2</sup> and Cogidumnus in Tacitus, Agricola, cap.

<sup>1</sup> Some English scholars have supposed that there is a Basque element in these names, but the French antiquaries whom I consulted agree in thinking them to be Celtic. The Abbé F. Harispe, who resides at Larressore, near Bayonne, and speaks the former language, says in reply to my enquiries, "J'ai le regret de vous dire qu'il n'y a aucun mot dans la langue basque qui se rapproche même de loin des mots que vous me citez." This gentleman's name is almost identical with one that occurs in an inscription at Ardiège, "rive droite de la Garonne, au bord de la voie de Toulouse à Dax" (not to be confounded with the Department Ariège),

NNI · DANNONIA  
HARSPI · FILIA  
V · S · L · M

Roschach, op. citat., p. 43 sq.

We are, of course, more likely to find words derived from this source in Roman monuments farther South, in the Pyrenees and their neighbourhood: Sacaze, *ibid.*, chapitre premier, Le Dieu Ilixon, esp. p. 23. IL, dans certains dialectes de cette langue, signifie *ville*. Comp. my Paper on Antiquities in the South West of France, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 4, 8-10; ILVRO now Oloron, and RITSEH now Erretçu, occur in inscriptions.

The nearest name that I know to Gededmon is Caedmon, "father of English song," who, according to Venerable Bede, was divinely inspired to write poems on religious subjects; *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum*, lib. IV, cap. XXIV, Caedmonis donum canendi, Somnio revelatum, Omnibus probatum, in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, pp.

237-239. Professor Rhys, in a letter to me, compares with the declension of Gededmo, gededmonis, the Gaulish name Segomon gen. Segomonis.

Epotsorovidus in the first two syllables resembles Eporedorix, mentioned by Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, lib. VII, cc. 39, 40, 54, 55, 63, 67, 76 (war with Vercingetorix), but not included in Glück's work, entitled *Die bei Caius Julius Cæsar vorkommenden Keltischen Namen*. *Epo* seems to mean horse; comp. Greek ἵππος, Latin equus, ecus (with the common interchange of the sounds P and K); so Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, lib. III, c. 17, s. 21, § 123, ed. Sillig, says Eporedias Galli bonos equorum domitores vocant: we have also Eporedia, urbs in Salassia ad Duriam fluvium, now Ivrea in Piedmont. *Vidus* may contain the root of Greek, ἵδευ οἶδα, Lat. *video*, Eng. *wit*, *wot*, Germ. *wissen*. Then Epotsorovidus would have nearly the same signification as the Homeric epithets of heroes, ἵππδαμος, tamer of horses, and ἵππδτης. Such an explanation is supported by the frequent recurrence of this animal upon Gallic coins. However, I only propose this interpretation as a conjecture, because I cannot account for the middle syllables *tsoro*.

<sup>2</sup> What remains of the inscription thus given by M. Audiat,

ONNETODVBNI  
AEFFECTO · FABRVM · TRIB  
AD · CONFLVENTEM · C ·

Bulletin Monumental, X, 540.

Glück, op. citat., p. 63, note 1, reads the first line CONNETODVBNI; he also proposes CONNETO DVBNI (filio). It will be observed that the title of the dedicatory of the Arch at Saintes, *Præfectus*

xiv., and probably in the inscription discovered at Chichester now at Goodwood, which has been the subject of much discussion.<sup>1</sup>

*To be continued.)*

*fabrum*, and the phrase *Ad Confluentem* are repeated here.

In Cæsar, Bell. Gall. VII, 3 (account of the massacre of Roman citizens at Genabum, Orleans), the common reading is Conetodunus, and edit. Oudendorp shows the *variae lectiones*; Glück, following a Paris MS., prefers Conconnetodumnus, compounded of con-connet, *consentiens concors* (cf. Greek *κοινῶν-γγινώσκω*), and dumnus-dubnus, used like Greek *βαθύς* with intensive meaning, e.g. *βαθυκλήρος*, immensely rich, *βαθυκτεανός*, with great possessions; so that the whole word signifies *valde concors*. Glück discusses Conconnetodumnus very fully, with many references and examples from other languages, pp. 63-83. *Dubnus*, which is here a termination, often appears at the beginning of a name, e.g. DVBNOTALI · F (ilio), in the inscription at Epinal: my Paper on Langres and Besançon, Archæol. Journ., vol. XLIII, p. 110 sq. See Evans, Ancient British Coins, Togodumnus, son of Cunobeline, died A.D. 43, pp. 286, 294; Dubnovellaunus, pp. 198-206; Pl. IV, Nos. 6-12; DVMNŌ CO VEROS legend, p. 408, Pl. XVII, No. 1; DVMNOVEROS legend, p. 409, Pl. XVII, No. 2; DVMN legend, p. 410, Pl. XVII, No. 3.

<sup>1</sup> L.c., Quædam civitates Cogidumno regi donatæ (is ad nostram usque memoriam (fidissimus mansit); see the notes, critical and explanatory, in Orelli's edition.

Hübner, Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae, p. 18 sq., Index III, Cognomina virorum et mulierum, \*[CO]GIDVBNVS[11]; the marks indicate titulum lectionis interpretationisve incertae. Perhaps we ought to read Togidubnus, as the initial letters are supplied by conjecture. This monument has excited interest, because it is supposed that we have here the name of Pudens (Πουδης), which occurs in the salutations at the end of St. Paul's 2nd Epistle to Timothy, IV, 21: Alford's Greek Testament, vol. III, Prolegomena, chap. IX, § II, Excursus on Pudens and Claudia, pp. 104]—106] Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, give the substance of Archdeacon Williams' pamphlet in vol. II, p. 594 sq., note 3, 8vo. edition. Great learning and ingenuity have been expended on this hypothesis, but the fabric rests on a foundation by no means solid. The late Dr. Samuel Birch, soon after he had seen and studied the Inscription, remarked to me that it contains neither Claudia nor Pudens.

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## THE ANTIQUITIES OF SAINTES.

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

(Continued).

The goddess Rome and Augustus occur here in juxtaposition; so in the reliefs of the Arch of Titus Rome leads the horses that draw the Emperor's triumphal car;<sup>1</sup> and on a somewhat rare coin, mentioned by Mionnet, we have the legend ROM ET AVG with the altar of Lyons between two Victories holding wreaths, as the device.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler*, Part I, p. 46, Taf. LXV, no. 345, c. Titus als Imperator auf dem Triumph-Wagen, von einer Victoria gekront, von einem Viergespann gezogen, welches zur Rechten ein Quirit in leichter Bekleidung, auf der linken Seite die Göttin Roma führt. The goddess Roma is represented as a helmeted female, and at first sight might be easily mistaken for Minerva, whom she resembles both in figure and dress; but the former deity never has the aegis for a breast-plate, and her helmet is sometimes adorned with wolves, alluding to the miraculous preservation of the two founders of the city. This subject is well explained by Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, Zweites Heft, Seite 184 sq., Pls. XVI fig. 2, XXV figs. 15-19. On a coin of Hadrian, Rome welcomes the Emperor, who wears the garb of peace (toga), because he is returning from a journey, not from a campaign. In the famous Vienna cameo Livia, as Rome, is enthroned by the side of Augustus: Von Sacken und Kenner, *Die Sammlungen des K. K. Münzen Antiken Cabinetes*, pp. 420-422, no. 19. Augustus pannonicischer Triumph (sogenannte Apotheose): Müller, *Denkm.*, Part I, p. 49, Taf. LXIX, no. 377; *Archäologie der Kunst*, §405, Remark 2, *English Transl.* pp. 542, 544, cf. *ibid.*

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§190, R 1, II, p. 171 sq., Temples of Augustus and Roma.

A coin of Vespasian is engraved as the frontispiece of Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, vol. I; it shows Rome seated on the seven hills (septimontium), and holding a short sword (parazonium); the she-wolf suckles Romulus and Remus; to right is the Tiber semi-recumbent: *ibid.*, p. 315, no. 375, cf. nos. 376-396.

<sup>2</sup> De la Rarete et du Prix des Médailles Romaines, 2nd edition, vol. I, p. 113, Augustus, Grand Bronze, revers rares, Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. I, p. 71, no. 273, note 2; Pl. III, G.B. Tout annonce que les médailles d'Auguste et de Tibère, qui ont au revers l'autel de Lyon, n'ont point été frappées à Rome. The Rev. S. S. Lewis possesses a silver medallion which has on the obverse the head of Augustus, legend, IMP. IX TR·PO·V; on the reverse the front of a temple with six columns on steps, a pediment with acroteria at the three corners, and the words ROM ET AVGVST on the architrave, legend COM·ASIAE; said to have been struck at the mint of Ephesus: cf. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. II, p. 466, s. v. Pergamus.

The temple at Ancyra (Angora), which is celebrated on account of its inscription, on the inside of the Antae, recording the

This leads me to remark that the phrase *ad aram quae est ad confluentem* has been variously interpreted; some local antiquaries have supposed that the junction of the Seugne and Charente is meant; but the most eminent authorities, from Montfaucon down to M. Audiat, agree in explaining the confluence with reference to the Saône and Rhone. The altar at the latter place, as Strabo informs us, was erected in honour of Augustus by all the Gallic nations; it was adorned with sixty statues representing them and one far surpassing these in its dimensions, probably of Augustus himself. Such a monument on account of its size, decorations and historical importance must have been so famous throughout the country that we cannot be surprised to find it designated, without any specification of rivers, by the phrase *ad confluentem* alone.<sup>1</sup>

*Praefectus fabrum* was the officer who constructed encampments and directed the siege of towns; from the beauty of the characters it is supposed that the words are

Res gestae of Augustus, was dedicated to Rome as well as to the deified Emperor (Divus): Mommsen on the Monumentum Ancyranum, p. VIII: W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor &c.*, vol. I, pp. 420-423; vol. II, Appendix no. 102 p. 416; no. 103, pp. 417-419.

For the cult of Roman majesty personified see Merivale's History, vol. IV, p. 15, 8<sup>vo</sup> edition. Tacitus, *Annals*, IV, 37, Cum divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset, with Orelli's note; *ibid.*, c. 56.

Not only the Emperor, but also his family were regarded as divine; hence we find in inscriptions the phrase, In honorem domus divinae, which is usually abbreviated, e.g., IN. H.D.D.AVGG. (i.e. Augustorum): v. Leonardy, *Trier und seine Umgebungen*, pp. 85, 87, where three examples are given.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, lib. IV, cap. III, Gallia Lugdunensis, §2, (p. 192), edit. Didot, p. 159 (the reading is doubtful in one place), ἐπὶ τῇ συμβολῇ των ποταμων. Cf. Juvenal Sat. I, v. 44.

Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram, and numerous passages cited by Ruperti *in loco*: see the Commentaries of Heinrich and Professor J. E. B. Mayor, and the note in Gifford's Translation.

*Confluentes* corresponds to the modern Coblenz at the junction of the Rhine and the Moselle; and is marked in the Antonine Itinerary on the road from

Lugdunum Batavorum (Leyden) to Argentoratum (Strasbourg) edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 176; edit. Wesseling p. 371. The same name also recurs in Switzerland, where the Rhine and the Aar meet: v. the map appended to Mommsen's *Inscriptiones Confoederationis Helveticae Latinae*; it indicates Loci in quibus reptae sunt tegulae castrorum Vindonissensium. Cf. Livy, IV, 17. Et dictator Romanus haud procul inde ad confluentes consedit in utriusque ripis amnis.

The institution of the Augustales (priests of Augustus) at Rome is related by Tacitus, *Ann.* I, 54, cf. *ibid.*, II, 83. They were 25 in number, and were properly called sodales Augustales. In the municipal towns there were Augustales, who must be distinguished from the former body; they formed a *collegium* (corporation) of which the six leading members were denominated *seviri*, comp. *septemviri epulones*. They seem to have been taken from the class of libertini (freedmen) and to have held an intermediate rank, like the equestrian order at Rome, between the decuriones (senators) and the plebs (commons). This priesthood is frequently mentioned in Inscriptions: Orelli's Collection, vol. II, pp. 197-207, C. XVI. Res Municipalis. §12; observe the form used in no. 3911, IMML VIRI. See the elaborate article Augustalis &c., in De Vit's edition of Forcellini, containing 22 sections, and the Dict. of Greek and Roman Antq., s.v.

used in this sense on the fragment of stone mentioned above; but they are also applied to a civil functionary, who was head of a corporation or guild of artisans.<sup>1</sup>

The date of the arch is fixed by the fourth consulate of Tiberius above mentioned in the year of Rome 774. I do not know what writer the editor of Murray's Handbook for France (1882) has followed: he states incorrectly that the Roman Triumphal Arch was raised in the reign of Nero to the memory of Germanicus, of Tiberius his uncle, and of Drusus his father. There are here three mistakes: the monument was not an Arc de Triomphe, which is only the vulgar French name;<sup>2</sup> it was not built at the period specified, and the inscription records not the father, but the cousin of Germanicus. Some confusion seems to have been made between the earlier Neros and the Emperor of that name, and again between Drusus senior and junior.

III. Though the church of Saint Eutrope is very remarkable, particularly on account of its crypt—one of the largest in France<sup>3</sup>—still the Abbaye de Notre Dame,

<sup>1</sup> *Praefectus fabrum* is in Greek *ἐπαρχος τῶν τεχνιτῶν*. The title has probably the same meaning in the inscription on the Arch as in that beginning with ONNETODVBNI. *Praefectus fabrum* is said, not *fabrorum*; so Livy, book I, c. 43, in his account of the Constitution of Servius Tullius, writes, *Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae*. M. Audiat remarks that this officer (*intendant des travaux*) was a kind of engineer attached to each legion, *Epigraphie Sant. et Aunis*, p. 15; but this is by no means certain, as the name of the legion is not joined with this title in undoubted Inscriptions.

According to the Dict. of Antt., we know nothing respecting the civil magistrates called *praefecti fabrum* beyond their names; this statement also is not quite correct: see *Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims*, trentième volume. Année 1859-1860, nos. 3 et 4; Reims pendant la Domination Romaine, d'après les Inscriptions, par M. Ch. Loricquet, no. 6, pp. 82-97, esp. pp. 82 sq., 85 sq. Cf. Hagenbuch's Epistle in Orelli, *Collectio Inscr. Lat.*, vol. II, pp. 95-100, nos. 3430-3434: Dict. of Antt. s.v. *Faber*. From *auri faber* comes the French *orfèvre*, goldsmith.

<sup>2</sup> A comparison with the triumphal arches of the Romans will show that the arch at Saintes belongs to a different category. The former are decorated with

sculptures relating to naval and military achievements—processions carrying the spoils of conquered nations, trophies, swords, shields and battle-scenes; such as we see at Rome, at Laodicea ad Mare (Ladikiyeh in Syria), or at Orange: for the last consult the great work of Castelle, in folio, with frontispiece and 54 plates. Ornaments of this kind are altogether wanting in the monument now under consideration; there is not even a trace of ledges to support bas-reliefs, as in the Porte Gallo-Romaine at Langres—my Paper on the Antiquities of that place, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. XLIII, p. 99, text and notes; and engraving to face p. 96.

Long ago Mahudel refuted the opinion that the Arch at Saintes was triumphal: Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, Supplément, vol. IV, p. 100 sq. It was probably erected to commemorate the opening of the road from Mediolanum Santonum to Limonum (Poitiers)—a supposition which is corroborated by the legend QVOD VIAE MVNITAE SVNT, accompanying an arch upon a bridge, in coins of Augustus: Cohen, *Med. Imp.*, vol. I, p. 61 sq., nos. 187-191 Bourignon, p. 72; De Crazannes, p. 89 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The lofty tower and spire are very conspicuous, as seen from les Arenes, or any elevation in the neighbourhood. For an account of the church vide infra Appendix.

commonly called Abbaye des Dames, has greater claims on our attention, and I shall therefore attempt to describe its more important features. It has been converted into a barrack of infantry; and this fact must be borne in mind by the antiquarian visitor; otherwise he may be mistaken for a spy, especially if, as often happens with our fellow-countrymen, he speaks French like a German; in that case he would be roughly interrupted in the midst of his research, and ordered to leave the precincts by the sentry on duty. The best plan is to ask permission at the Poste Militaire (not the Poste-aux-lettres), which will be readily granted to a *bonâ fide* student. An officer accompanied me into the interior, and kindly pointed out amongst other details, which would have escaped my notice, a group of the theological virtues pendent from the roof. This church bears a close resemblance to Notre Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers, and Saint Nicolas at Civray, about half way between the former place and Angoulême.<sup>1</sup> The façade and the tower are the most interesting parts that still remain.

The west front consists of two storeys, each containing three arches; the one that forms the great portal in the centre is most richly ornamented, but the unprejudiced stranger will hardly concur with M. Audiat who praises its "unequalled magnificence." It has four semi-circular rows of sculptures in the vault, separated by bands of arabesques carved in open work (*à jour*). 1. In the lowest we see six angels adoring, three on either side of the key-stone, which is occupied by a hand of preternatural size, nimbated. All the faces are of course turned towards this symbol of the Divine interposition in human affairs.<sup>2</sup> 2. The Paschal Lamb takes the same central

<sup>1</sup> This place is marked in the map facing p. 5 of *The Domed Churches of Charente*, published by the Architectural Association, 4<sup>to</sup>; it is in the department Vienne, a little to the north of the boundary of Charente: Murray, *Hand-book for Western France*, p. 249, edit., 1882.

<sup>2</sup> So on a Third Brass of Constantine the Great, "the Emperor stands in a chariot, and extends his arm to grasp a celestial hand which is raising him to the skies." *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 36, 1871.

An open hand appears on the staters

and drachms of Poitou, under a centaur, or androcephalous horse, as the French antiquaries call it. Hucher explains this accessory as a symbol of confederation, and refers to a bronze hand in the National cabinet, inscribed with Greek characters, which are interpreted to mean *Temoignage d'alliance pour les Vellauni*, Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, I, 54, *Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus dexteras, hospitii insigne*; and Orelli's note, *argenteas . . . quales visuntur in nummis*; but in the Index he says, *Manus aeneae symbolicum concordiae insigne*.



position surrounded by fantastic foliage and the usual emblems of the Evangelists; the angel and the bull are on his right hand, the eagle and lion on his left. 3. Forty-four figures, corresponding to the number of *voussoirs*, form the next series: they are for the most part arranged in pairs, and consist of an executioner beheading with a sword his victim who meekly bows to receive the fatal blow: in one instance a battle-axe is employed. The subject is supposed to be the massacre of the Holy Innocents; but at least in many cases the sufferer is represented as equal in size to the persecutor, so that one is tempted to conjecture that we have here some other scene portrayed in sculpture, perhaps some local legend of martyrdom not generally known. 4. Lastly, the topmost row is filled up with the Elders of the Apocalypse, bearded, crowned and seated; each holds in one hand a musical instrument, violin or guitar, and in the other a vase for perfumes. These particulars agree generally with the description in the Revelation.<sup>1</sup> "And upon the seats I saw four and

I think that in many cases it would be difficult to decide whether a coin should be attributed to the *Pictones* or *Santones*; sometimes we meet with the legend SA, apparently the initial letters of the latter tribe. When these are absent, the question must be determined by the *provenance*; see Th. P. De Saint-Ferjeux, quoted by Castan, *Monnaies Gauloises des Sequanes*, *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, Quatrième Série, septième volume, Seance du 8 Juin, 1872, p. 542. Hucher's work, *L'Art Gaulois &c.*, is not well arranged, but the following references will throw light on the numismatics of Poitou and Saintonge. Part I, Plates 41 no. 1; 43, no. 2; 60, no. 1, pp. 10, 27: Part II, p. 95 no. 153: cf. Rollin et Feuاردent, *Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule*, p. 15, nos. 175, 179, 181, 182.

<sup>1</sup> The frequent recurrence of the Twenty-four Elders in mediæval art will, I hope, be considered a sufficient reason for calling attention to the passages from which this subject is derived. Apoc., IV, 4, *Καὶ κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου θρόνοι ἑξήκοντι τέσσαρες*. V, 8, *ἔχοντες ἑκάστος κithάρην καὶ ψάλιν χρυσῆς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων*. Two mistakes made here by King James's Translators have been corrected in the Revised Version. The word *thrones* has been properly substituted for *seats*, because in the original *θρόνος* is used with

reference to the Elders as well as to the Deity. v. Alford's note on IV, 4; evidently smaller thrones, and probably lower than *ὁ θρόνος*. The text is as follows in the Vulgate, *Et in circuitu sedis sedilia XXIV, et super thronos XXIV seniores sedentes* etc. Theod. Beza follows the Greek more closely. Secondly, *ψάλιν* has been rendered by *bowl*; it was in shape like a saucer, and often of large size, and is called in pure Latin *patera* from *pateo* to be open. Vial, French fiole, of course comes from *ψάλλω*, but has a different signification, being a small bottle with a narrow neck.

*Ipsæ capaces*

*Heliadum crustas et inæquales beryllō  
Viro tenet phialas.*

Juvenal, Sat., V, 37-39.

"The patron drinks from a large jewelled saucer, the client from a small glass *calix*, v. 47:" Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's note in his 2nd edition of Juv.

*Φιάλη* often occurs in Herodotus; Bloomfield, *Greek Test.*, vol. II, p. 660, refers to Schweighæuser on Herod II, 151, but cf. *omn.* Baehr on III, 130. The woodcuts in Rich's Companion to the Lat. Dict., s.v. *Patera*, show both the depth and circumference. St. Jerome in the Vulgate has retained the word *phiala*, loc. citat.; it might perhaps be translated censer, but another word *λιβανωτός*, is used with this meaning, Apoc. VIII, 3,

twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment, and they had on their heads crowns of gold . . . having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints." But the number mentioned by St. John is *twenty-four*, whereas on the stones it is *fifty-four*, probably with a view to cover with groups all the voussoirs on the outermost of these concentric arches. The vases have rather long stems, and might at first sight be mistaken for sceptres;<sup>1</sup> as they are held in the same, or nearly the same vertical direction, the monotonous repetition tends to weary the spectator. At Moissac, between Montauban and Agen, a station on the Railway from Toulouse to Bordeaux, we find the subject treated with more taste and feeling. There the scriptural number is preserved exactly; the Elders are arranged in three lines, four in the upper, six in the middle, and fourteen in the lowest. Their attitudes are varied, but, with scarcely an exception they earnestly gaze on the grand figure of Our Lord in benediction, seated, with crucigerous nimbus round his head, and holding the book of the Gospels.<sup>2</sup> Thus we see that the sublime imagery of the Celestial Vision, which had such fascination for the early Christians maintained its influence far down into the Middle Age.

In other parts of the façade narratives from Scripture and allegories are represented. Christ, in the midst of his apostles, at the Last Supper, has a fish in his hand, with allusion to the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ.<sup>3</sup> Adam and Eve

5, and θυμιατήριον in the Epistle to the Hebrews, IX, 4, though in the latter passage some interpret it "altar of incense."

Κιθάρα is the same word as *guitar*, German Zither, and the form of the instrument has been retained in modern times. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. II, pp. 297-304, figs. 221-224.

<sup>1</sup> At first sight I thought that the vases in the hands of the Elders were nearly of the same shape as the glass vessels found by Mr. C. T. Newton at Cnidus (Discoveries at Halicarnassus &c, vol. II, Pt. 2, Text, chap. XV, pp. 388-390, figs on p. 389), or the so-called lachrymatories, and unguentaria (Catalogue of Glass, Slade Collection, pp. 44-46, figs. 65-69); but on closer examination of the photograph I perceived that I had mistaken the uplifted arm for the

stem of the vase, which is a goblet as at Moissac.

<sup>2</sup> This is the finest work of the kind in France, as far as I know. A very good photograph of it can be obtained in Paris which, I presume, was taken from a cast (moulage) in the National Collection. These figures adorn the tympanum of a porch that is deeply recessed; "admirable portail du XII<sup>e</sup>, siècle véritable musée de sculpture romane:" Joanne, Guides Diamant, Pyrenees, p. 6, edit. 1875. In this case the forms of the guitar and goblet are much more apparent than at Saintes.

<sup>3</sup> ΙΧΘΥΣ occurs three times in the celebrated Autun Inscription; I have made some remarks on the origin, meaning and use of this emblem in my *Paper on the Antiquities of that place*, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XL, pp. 39-42.

are tempted by the Serpent; demons are torturing the damned; a vulture, typical of Remorse, is tearing a man to pieces; Luxury is symbolized by a monster devouring the sexual parts of a woman. The capitals of the columns should be particularly noticed, abounding as they do in interlaced work, conventional foliage and figures both animal and human.

This church is assigned by Viollet-le-Duc to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the tower to the latter.<sup>1</sup> It is important to bear the dates in mind, because they are subsequent to that of Saint Front at Périgueux—the Cathedral imitated in the ecclesiastical architecture of Périgord, Saintonge, Angoumois and Poitou.<sup>2</sup> In these provinces the tower was usually built at the intersection of the transepts and entrance of the choir. At Notre Dame de Saintes it is composed of two storeys; the first square, pierced on each side by three arches which are supported by engaged columns; the second circular, raised on a cupola, with cylindrical buttresses instead of columns between the arches, and ornamented with pinnacles at each corner of the quadrangular base; it is surmounted by a conical cap, whose imbricated stones are inverted.<sup>3</sup> In this respect the tower resembles Saint Front, but the proportions differ; that at Saintes having much greater breadth relatively to the height; hence it looks at the same time more solid and more symmetrical. It is now in a very dilapidated condition, and threatens to fall.

Notre Dame is an example of the domical structure prevalent in Aquitaine, but not found in other parts of

<sup>1</sup> Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Eglise, tome V, p. 173; Clocher, t. III, p. 304, figs. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> For a copious and very instructive account of this church, see the admirable work of M. Felix de Verneilh entitled, *L'Architecture Byzantine en France—Saint Front de Périgueux et les Eglises à coupoles de l'Aquitaine*. The frontispiece is a restoration, to a great extent conjectural, as the domes were covered by a roof when M. Verneilh wrote. This has been removed, and the photograph, which I exhibited, of the church as now seen is almost identical with the engraving published in 1851—a striking proof

of the author's sagacity. It may remind us of Bentley's ingenious emendations, which have been subsequently confirmed by the collation of manuscripts unknown to him. Comp. *Architectural Studies in France* by the Rev. J. L. Petit, pp. 65-76, 1854, with *View of St. Front, &c.*

<sup>3</sup> *Domed Churches of Charente, Preliminary*, chap. I, p. 9. The dome . . . was not allowed to appear externally like a baker's oven or close kiln, but was surmounted by a central tower, square or octagonal, and covered by a conical spire. The stones of the latter were so carved as to give the appearance of a fir-cone, whence the French expression for these scales is *en pomme de pin*.

France. The hemispherical vault came originally from Byzantium through the Venetians, as seems to be proved by Saint Front, which must strike even a superficial observer as a copy of St. Mark's in its plan and dimensions, though the bare white walls of the interior form a dismal contrast to the marbles and mosaics that adorn its prototype.<sup>63</sup> The best English account of this subject that I know is contained in the *Visit to the Domed Churches of Charente* by the Architectural Association of London in 1875, published as a Memorial of Edmund Sharpe, 4to., with sixty plates. It treats especially of an adjoining Department, but many of the remarks apply equally to Charente Inférieure, where Saintes is situated.

The Byzantine influence, so manifest in Gallic architecture and sculpture, may be traced also in coinage. I exhibit as an example a rare solidus of Theodebert from the cabinet of the Rev. S. S. Lewis. On the obverse we have the king's bust helmeted, and on the reverse the legend VICTOR AAVGGG, with the well known characters CONOB in the exergue. The triple G indicates three Augusti. A comparison with the plates of Sabatier's *Monnaies Byzantines* will leave no doubt that this type was derived from Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

M. Verneilh has shown by many proofs how strong the Venetian influence was in Aquitaine. This commercial people in the tenth century had a depot near Montpellier, and afterwards at Aigues-Mortes; they also colonized Limoges, from which city goods were forwarded to the North of France, and by way of Rochelle to England. The chief authority for this subject cited by M. Verneilh, pp. 129-136, is the *Recueil manuscrit des Antiquités de Limoges*, compilation méthodique rédigée en 1638, sur des documents très-anciens, mais perdus aujourd'hui. Murray, *Western France*, p. 275, mentions the Rue des Venitiens, and Porte de Venise now removed.

The churches at St. Mark at Venice and St. Front at Périgueux have a special interest for us, because their construction with a series of domes resembles Sir Christopher Wren's original design for St. Paul's. By means of windows at the top of the domes over his nave, he produced such a distribution of light and shade that the effect would have been inconceivably fine, and the interior of his cathedral, the noblest in the world :

Petit, *op. citat.* p. 78 sq. Wren's model was formerly exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, but is now deposited in an upper apartment near the Library at St. Paul's, where it can be seen, only by special application. As Milton surpassed Homer and Virgil, so our greatest architect improved upon the ideas which he borrowed from predecessors.

Comp. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. I, pp. 456-482, Aquitania—domical churches. In the first edition Périgueux is printed twice for Périgueux, which would give the soft sound of G instead of the hard. It is also stated that St. Mark's retains its frescos and decorations, while St. Front presents nothing now but naked bare walls. St. Mark's is adorned with marbles, mosaics and bas-reliefs, but I do not remember having seen or read of any frescos there.

<sup>1</sup> Theodebert I, king of Austrasia and grandson of Clovis, played an important part in the history of the sixth century; he was contemporary with Justinian, and threatened to destroy the Eastern empire. First of his race, he struck coins with his

I have described the two Roman monuments still existing at Saintes, but the classical student should not leave the town without visiting the fragments preserved in the Departmental Museum, which attest the magnificence as well as importance of this ancient capital. De Crazannes recognizes in them architecture of three different periods, viz. that of Augustus and Tiberius, of Hadrian and the Antonines, of Diocletian and Constantine; he illustrates each style by engravings.<sup>1</sup> The Museum is lodged together with the Library, in the Hôtel de Ville; it contains capitals of Corinthian columns, friezes and cornices, votive altars, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions, among the last, one of the sixth century that is Christian. There are also some mosaics from the Thermae, North of the town, on the left bank of the Charente, which have been destroyed. The disappearance of the Baths is the more to be regretted as they were discovered in remarkably good condition, and at a moderate expense might have been preserved intact.<sup>2</sup> Besides these relics of Roman

effigy in the style of a Byzantine monarch; the type seems copied rudely from the solidus of Justin I (518-527), or Justinian I, 527-565; the device on the reverse is Victory facing. For the currency of these Emperors see Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, vol. I. pp. 157-194, Pls. IX-XVII; esp. IX, 21-23; XI, 19; XII, 1-5, with the corresponding letter-press: C. F. Keary, *The Coinages of Western Europe* (Honorius to Charlemagne), four plates; Merovingians, Pl. I, 12, 13; III, 1-11: Ducange, *Glossar, Med. et Inf. Lat.*, edit. G. A. L. Henschel, tom. IV, tab. I, opposite p. 624, fig. 9, v. *Index Monetarum* at the end of the volume, D.N. Theodebertus Victor—Victoria Auggg. Bona (ad Rhenum) Conob. The letters BO are at the feet of Victory, but separated. *Bona* is incorrect; the ancient name was *Bonna*, like the modern *Bonn*. This word occurs in Tacitus, and the adjective *Bonnensis* formed from it: *Histories*, IV, 19, 20, 25, 62, &c.

Barthelemy, *Manuels*—Roret, *Numismatique Moderne*, p. 8, gives the following lists of the mints (ateliers monétaires) in Austrasia, "Reims, Toul, Metz, Lyon, Laon, Andernach, Bologne, Rheinmagen ou Riom, Treves, les Arvernes." Bologne it will be observed is here mentioned next to Andernach and Rheinmagen, now commonly called Remagen—towns on the Rhine between Cologne and Coblenz.

This causes suspicion of some mistake. The letters BO may have been interpreted as the beginning of the name Bononia; but whether this is supposed to be Boulogne-sur-Mer in France, or Bologna in Italy, neither would be applicable, because both these places are outside Austrasia. On the other hand, the position and importance of Bonn make it very likely that money was coined there.

<sup>1</sup> De Crazannes *Lettre à messieurs les Membres de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, p. 4. In this section of his work, pp. 1-19, he describes many objects of ancient art found at Saintes, with copious explanations, foot-notes and references.

<sup>2</sup> A good idea of the contents of the Museum may be formed from De Crazannes, loc. citat., see also *Explication des Planches, Antiq. de Saintes*, I-VII, pp. 193-203. Among the more important monuments are the following:—Pl. I, no. 1, portion of frieze ornamented with a medallion (rosace), the device on which is the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. Pl. II, nos. 1-3, Corinthian impost and pilaster, sculptured with clusters of grapes and vine leaves; bas-relief of a Bacchante; frieze with shield and Bucranium figured upon it: the fillet on the bull's head indicates that the victim is decked for sacrifice. Pl. IV, no. 1, a Roman personage on horseback, wearing the paludamentum (general's

times, the collection includes some of the Middle-Ages, chiefly from the nave of Saint Eutrope, now demolished. The principal objects are capitals ornamented with figures (*chapiteaux historiés*); in design and execution they surpass those still left in the church. It is not by any means an agreeable duty to censure the authorities of a town in which I have passed some happy days, and the voice of a stranger without local influence may have little weight; still I cannot refuse to comply with M. Audiat's request that I should call attention to the neglect of the *Conseil Municipal* in failing to provide suitable apartments instead of the "salle déplorable," in which all sorts of antiquities, classical and mediæval, are confusedly heaped together.

The historical, or rather biographical associations of Saintes, are like its environs, pleasing. We are not reminded of war and battles, slaughter and desolation; but we are led to think of two eminent men, one in the fourth, the other in the sixteenth century, connected with the place by long residence. Ausonius, rhetorician, poet and consul, spent his declining years at his villa in the canton of Noverus.<sup>1</sup> Its exact situation cannot be de-

cloak) is entering the gate of a city. It has been supposed that Hadrian is represented here: when he went on his beneficent journey through the provinces, he began with Gaul (A.D. 120), and returned thither after visiting Germany and Britain: Augustan History, Spartianus, *Vita Hadr.* cc, 10-12, edit. Hermann Peter. C. 10, *Post hæc profectus in Gallias omnes causarios liberalitatibus sublevavit.* C. 11, *Brittaniæ petit, in qua multa correxerat murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.* C. 12, *Compositis in Britannia rebus transgressus in Galliam.* Moreover, the short beard of this figure is a detail which agrees with the Emperor's effigy as we see it on his numerous coins. Pl. V, no. 1, Sepulchral *cippus* of Materna, on which a female is sculptured, clothed in the *palla*, probably a priestess, or woman initiated in mysteries; she holds a branch in her right hand, and flowers that look like poppies in her left. Pl. VI, nos. 5 and 6, these figures of a late period and rude style are presumed to be Christian; both of them carry a purse, which may symbolize the "treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust dust corrupt,"

Pl. VII, Elevation, plans and sections of ancient baths.

If we turn to the smaller objects found in excavations at Saintes, a vitreous paste seems deserving of notice. Upon it the recognition of Ulysses by his dog Argus (Swift) is portrayed. He has on his head, as usual, a conical cap (*pileus*), and holds in his hand a knotty stick, given him by the swine-herd Eumæus (*δῖος ὑφ' ὀρέβδης*): *Odyssey*, XVII, 199, 291 sqq. This scene appears also on the denarii of the gens Mamilia, because this family came from Tusculum, which was founded by Telegonus, the son of Ulysses and Circe. Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, p. 197, no. 5 and *Eclaircissements*, Pl. XXV; cf. Introduction, p. XXXIV, no. 28; Pl. XLV, no. 6, *Restitutions de Trajan*: Morell, *Familiarum Romanarum Numismata*, *Thesaurus*, Tom. II, p. 258, Mamilia, nos. I, II.

<sup>1</sup> A local enthusiasm has induced De Crazannes to exaggerate the merits of his compatriot; but we must admit that of all the Roman poets this author is the most useful in illustrating Gallic history and monuments. Besides his idyll entitled *Mosella*, the best known of his works, in his *Ordo Nobilium Urbium*, or



finitely fixed; but it could not have been far from Saintes, as he speaks of sending his wine thither in a cart drawn by two horses, and expressly calls the city his neighbour.<sup>1</sup> De Crazaunes places Noverus at Novioregum (Toulon) of the Antonine Itinerary, and supports his conclusion by the similarity of the names; however, many of his arguments would apply equally well to other localities, so that we can only regard his identification as probable.<sup>2</sup>

Clarae Urbes, he describes Treveri Trèves, Arelas Arles, Tolosa Toulouse, Narbo Narbonne, and his birth-place Burdigala Bordeaux. As Mr. Robinson Ellis has observed, *Hermathena*, no. XII, p. 1, 1886, Ausonius has not yet been published with explanatory notes giving the results of archaeological investigation. However, the excellent critical edition of Schenkl, 1883, supplies us with a carefully revised text in which many corrections have been made, parallel passages, and various readings: copious Indices are also appended; I *Scriptorum*, i.e., Authors imitated by Ausonius, or those who have imitated him; II *Nominum et Rerum*; III *Grammaticae Elocutionis, Rei Metricae*. These Indices contain so many references that they almost take the place of an exegetical commentary.

Ausonius attained the consulate A.D. 379, v. *Ad Gratianum Imperatorem discipulum Gratianum actio pro consulatu*. His career resembled Quintilian's, to which Juvenal alludes, *Sat. VII*, 197, *Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul*; but the latter only received the title and insignia of that office (*consularia ornamenta*).

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolae XI, Paulo S, v. 1*—

Vinum quum bijugo parabo plauastro  
Primo tempore Santonos vehendum.

*Ibid.* VIII, *Axio Paulo Rhetori S, v. i*—Tandem eluctati retinacula blanda  
morum,

Burdigalae molles liquimus illecebras,  
Santonicaeque urbem vicino accessimus  
agro.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XXV (XXIV), *Paulino S, v. 90*  
Me juga Burdigalae, trino me flumina  
coetu

Secernunt turbis popularibus \* \*

Totque mea in Novaro sibi proxima  
praedia pago

Dispositis totum vicibus variata per  
annum,

Egelidae ut tepeant hiemes rabidosque  
per aestus

Adspirent tenues frigus subtile Aquilones.

The Delphin edition reads *Ter juga*

Burdigalae. In the following words *trino me flumina coetu*, the poet alludes to the Garunna Garonne, Duranius Dordogne, and Carantonus Charente. Duranius must not be confounded with Durance, the modern name of Druentia, a tributary of the Rhone, which falls into it near Avignon.

For the geography of this district the Antonine Itinerary should be consulted; some places already mentioned occur in the following extract—

Item a Burdigala Augustodunum

(Autun) . . . mpm CCLXXXIII (sic).

Blauto (Blavio, Blaye) . . . mpm XVIII

Tamnum (Talmont or Mor-

tagne) . . . . . mpm XVI

Novioregum . . . . . mpm XII

Mediolanum Santonum . . . mpm XV

Aunedonacum (Aunay) . . . mpm XVI,

p. 458 sq., edit. Wesseling; p. 219, Parthey and Pinder. D'Anville and Reichard place Novioregum at Royan, but Lapie at Senjon, near the village of Toulon—the site preferred by De Crazaunes: *Dissertation sur la position de Noverus*, *Op. citat.*, pp. 56-71, esp. p. 57.

Vv. 124-126 of the same Epistle,

Ecce tuus Paulinus adest. Jam nunguida linquit

Oppida Iberorum, Tarbellica jam tenet  
arva.

Hebromagi jam tecta subit, jam praedia fratris

Vicina ingreditur, jam labitur amne  
secundo &c.

According to De Crazaunes, p. 63, Hebromagus was at Pauliac (Pauillac), an important station for ocean-steamers on the Gironde, like St. Pauli below Hamburg. See map of the Medoc in Murray's *Handbook for Western France*, p. 306, edit. 1882. Paulinus may have had a villa there, which would account for the modern name. However, the identification is very doubtful. Comp. the Supplement to Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, *Dictionnaire de Géographie*; Eburomagus [Tab. Peut.], Hebromagus [Auson], localite de la Gaule Narbonn., aujourd' hui *Branne*, commune du Lim-

The writings of Ausonius abound in faults prevalent during the decadence; but he deserves to be read partly for his attractive pictures of external nature and of human action, partly for the information he affords us on many points of Gallo-Roman antiquity.

But a greater than Ausonius was here. Bernard Palissy, land-surveyor, portrait-painter, chemist and geologist, chiefly known as an artist in enamelled pottery, spent twenty years of his eventful life at Saintes, the scene of his sacrifices, privations and persevering experiments, while he was *struggling with his own thoughts*, and trying to invent, *like a man groping in the dark*.<sup>1</sup> And this was not all. Palissy looked beyond the horizon of outward things "with that inner eye which no calamity could darken," he embraced the Reformed Religion, joined in founding the Calvinist Church at Saintes, was one of its earliest preachers, suffered persecution, and saw his *atelier* destroyed; he may almost be called a martyr, for at least he was imprisoned in the Bastille, and died there. No wonder that the French Protestants even to this day cherish his memory, and speak of him as *notre illustre co-religionnaire*.<sup>2</sup>

ousin (Haute-Vienne). Mr. George Long in Smith's Dict. of Class. Geogr. places it between Toulouse and Carcassonne.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. omn. Recueil de Faïences Françaises du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, L'Œuvre de Bernard Palissy par M. Henri Delange, fol., Paris, 1862, with fine portrait and coloured Pls. Good specimens of the artist's style are to be seen in the Porcelain Gallery at South Kensington. For a popular account of Palissy and his followers see Gasnault and Garnier's Handbook of French Pottery, published by the Museum, pp. 22-31. The chief features of the ornamentation in his rustic dishes are "rep-tilies winding on a bed of ferns or moss, or fish swimming round an islet, in the centre of which is a gracefully-coiled snake, whilst the border is alive with lizards, frogs and a thousand small insects:" *ibid.* p. 25; figs. 8, 9. Palissy lived at Saintes about 1542-1562; his atelier was near the Bridge. De Crazannes p. 15, mentions him in connection with the antient manufactory of pottery.

<sup>2</sup> It is related—and the story has been often repeated by historians and biographers—that Henry III, when he visited Palissy in prison, said to him, "If you do not change your religion, I shall be

compelled to give you up to the power of your enemies." Whereupon the undaunted artist replied, "Sire give me leave to tell your majesty that it is not in your power to compel a potter to bend his knee before the images which he fabricates." M. Audiat has examined this anecdote very carefully, and stated reasons for doubting its truth. He traces it to a pamphlet by Agrippa D'Aubigné, La Confession catholique du sieur de Sancy, chap. VII. This writer was not an eye-witness, and he gives a different account of the interview in his Histoire Universelle, tome III, pp. 216, 217, livre III, chap. 1<sup>re</sup>, printed in 1620. He has made mistakes as to persons, facts and chronology; and the visit is not mentioned by Pierre de l'Estoile, who seems more worthy of credit. Moreover, D'Aubigné embellishes his narrative with a passage in Seneca's drama, Hercules Furens, which he misquotes: it stands thus in the original, v. 425, LY. Cogere. ME. cogi qui potest, nes-cit mori. (Stoiche, marginal note edit. Farnaby 1613). Altogether, the tale seems too rhetorical, and was probably invented by this zealous Huguenot.

Pierre de l'Estoile says that Palissy

A marble statue of the famous potter has been erected near the bridge on the Place Bassompierre. Palissy is represented standing in a posture of meditation; his right hand supports his head which bends downwards, his left holds a dish placed upright on books—appropriate emblems of his art and writings.<sup>1</sup> The pedestal bears the following inscriptions. In front—

A  
BERNARD PALISSY  
MDX—MDXC  
LA VILLE DE SAINTES  
ET LA SAINTONGE  
MDCCCLXVIII

and on the back the titles of two of his works—

RECEPTE VÉRITABLE

*par laquelle tous les hommes de France pourront apprendre à multiplier et à augmenter leurs trésors, &c.*

MDLXIII

and—

DISCOURS ADMIRABLES

*de la nature des eaux et fontaines, tant naturelles qu'artificielles, des métaux, des sels et salines, des pierres, des terres, du feu et des émaux . . . plus un traité de la marne, &c.*

MDLXXX<sup>2</sup>

The funds were insufficient to complete the design by the addition of bas-reliefs on the pedestal.

"aage de quatrevingts ans (1590), mourut de misere, necessite et mauvais traitements. \*\*\* et lui dit Bussi (Governor of the Bastille) que, si elle le vouloit voir, elle le trouveroit avec ses chiens sur le rempart, où il l'avoit fait traîner comme un chien, qu'il estoit. Audiat, Bernard Palissy, *Étude sur sa vie et ses travaux*, pp. 447-462, Henri Martin, *Histoire de France*, tome IX, pp. 13-16, Bernard de Palissy; p. 136 note, est sauve de la mort à Bordeaux par le connetable Anne de Montmorenci—son titre "d'inventeur des rustiques figulines du roi:" p. 323 note, échappe à la Saint-Barthollemi: X, p. 76 note, P. mourut dans les fers, en 1589.

<sup>1</sup> M. Audiat says, Palissy est debout dans la position d'un homme qui marche en reflechissant, symbole à la fois de l'action et de la meditation. I can see in the figure no sign of movement; this notion seems due to the writer's lively imagination. The *Nouvelle Biographie Generale* states that he has also been

honoured with a statue in a *place publique* at Agen—doubtless because he was born in that diocese, perhaps at a village called la Chapelle Biron; the article ends with many references, including Haag, La France Protestante, and the Life by H. Morley.

Horace, Odes III, 24, 31,

Virtutem incolumem odimus

Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.

Epistles II, 1, 13,

Urit enim fulgore suo, qui praegravat artes

Infra se positas; extinctus amabitur idem.

<sup>2</sup> Palissy also wrote *Remarques sur la Ville de Saintes*, 4<sup>to</sup>, 1564; v. A. Girault de Saint Fargeau, *Bibliographie historique et topographique de la France*, 1 vol. 8<sup>vo</sup>, 1845; Saintonge, Angoumois et Aunis, pp. 293-398.

For the statue of Palissy and Inscriptions see Audiat *Saintes et ses Monuments*, Guide du Voyageur, pp. 25-28.

The career of Palissy as a reformer, and the proximity of Saintes to Rochelle remind us of the siege<sup>1</sup> sustained by the Huguenots at the latter place, 1628-29—a tale of French heroism and English incompetence, not to say treachery, that makes a disgraceful page in our national annals.

Having been favoured with the kind advice and assistance of the Père de la Croix when I was passing through Poitiers, and having afterwards spent some days at Sanxay last autumn, I had intended to offer some remarks on the *fouilles* there, as a humble contribution supplementary to Mr. Scarth's excellent memoirs read before the Institute.<sup>2</sup> But the restricted limits of my strength and leisure have forbidden. I must be content to refer to the writings of M. Berthelé and other local antiquaries, and to express my hope that M. Robuchon's beautiful photographs, now

<sup>1</sup> This siege is one of the most remarkable on record, whether we consider the obstinate resistance and dreadful sufferings of the Rochelois, or the skill and perseverance shown by Richelieu in overcoming obstacles that seemed almost insurmountable. Guizot, *L'Histoire de France*, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789 raconte a mes petits-enfants, vol. IV, pp. 103-113; woodcuts facing p. 92, Le Port de la Rochelle (moles are seen "jutting out from either side, and the opening between them guarded by palisades"); p. 104, Le Serment de Jean Guiton. More details are given in H. Martin's copious and animated narrative, *Histoire de France*, vol. XI, pp. 272-289. St. Fargeau, *Op. citat.*, p. 397, Charente Inferieure, *Memoire du prix excessif des vivres de la Rochelle pendant le Siège*. Une vache se vendait 2,000 livres; un biscuit, 25 livres; un oeuf, 8 livres; une pomme, 32 sols, etc. The literature of this subject is very voluminous, nearly two columns of St. Fargeau's book being occupied by the list of publications relating to it.

S. Rawson Gardiner, *History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles, I*, vol. II, with maps of the Ile de Ré and of Rochelle opposite the title page; see analytical table of contents, chaps. XIV, XV, XVIII, XX. The conduct of Charles in this affair was bitterly remembered against him at the time of his execution. He was accused of having betrayed the Huguenots to their enemies; Cook, solicitor to the commonwealth, says he heard so much of this charge in Geneva, and by the Pro-

testant ministers in France, that he could believe no less than that the King was guilty of it: Family Library, no XXXI, Trial of Charles I and of some of the Regicides, pp. 25, 40, 41. Remembrancia of the City of London, A.D. 1579-1664, pp. 185, 197, and note 339. The Isle of Oléron near Rochelle must be distinguished from Oloron in the Pyrenees. The map of France published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge has Oléron in the latter case which is incorrect.

For an earlier period consult *Histoire de la Rochelle (1199-1575)* par Amos Barbot, publiée par M. Denys D'Aussy; Société des Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, vol. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> The former of these Memoirs appeared in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. XL, pp. 52-54, Roman Antiquities at Sanxay in France; the latter *ibid.*, vol. XLII, pp. 11-16, Notices of the latest discoveries made in uncovering the Roman baths at Bath, and those at Herbord (within one mile of Sanxay), near to Poitiers. One of the earliest accounts of these excavations was published by the French journal *Le Temps*; but those who desire fuller information should read the pamphlet on the *Decouvertes d'Herbord* by the Père Camille de la Croix, S.J., pp. 78, Niort, 1883. At the end there is a list of Publications antérieures relatives aux fouilles de Sanxay. The text is illustrated by five coloured plates—Map of ancient roads, Plans of the Gallo-Roman substructions, Temple and its Peribolos, Baths and Theatre.

suspended on your walls, may induce some members of this learned society going southwards to study these important discoveries, to leave the beaten path, and, if I may quote without irreverence from the oldest of books, "turn aside and see this great sight."<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX.

For the ancient history and geography of Saintonge it is hoped that the following references may be found useful.

Caesar, Bell. Gall., iii, 11, says that the Pictones and Santones after their submission (*pacati*) supplied him with ships for the naval war with the Veneti in Armorica. *Ibid.*, vii, 75, the importance of the Santones relatively to other Gallic tribes is shown by the fact that they were required to furnish a contingent of 12,000 men to the confederacy led by Vercingetorix—the same number as the Senones, Sequani and other powerful nations; 35,000 were expected from the Ædui and from the Arverni.

Lemonum (Poitiers) is not mentioned by Cæsar, but occurs in the Supplement of Hirtius, Commentarius de Bell. Gall., viii, 26, who informs us that Duratius, a Gallic chieftain, was blockaded there by Dumnacus leader of the Andes (Anjou). Glück, Keltischen Namen, pp. 117-119 concludes that Lemonum is the form of the name to be accepted without hesitation as genuine, but he states at length the variations in the MSS. It is derived from *lem*, Irish *leamh*, *leamhan* (ulmus)=*lem*, *leman*. Lemonum therefore would mean The Elms, and the "bocages" of Poitou are even now celebrated; Thiers, Histoire de la Révolution, c. 22: see Moberly's note on Hirtius, loc. citat. Comp. Brunet, Supplément au Manuel du Libraire, Dict. de Géogr. Limonum [Caes., It. Ant.], Λίμωνον [Ptol.], Lemunum [Tab. Peut.], &c. There was here a large amphitheatre, estimated to hold 20,000 spectators; only scanty fragments of the masonry remain. Friedlaender, Sittengeschichte Roms, 2nd edition, 1867, vol. ii, p. 429. Die Schauspiele, Galliae, b. Aquitania, Lemonum Pictonum (Poitiers). Nach Millin, iv, 712, waren von einem Amphitheater noch einige Gewölbe übrig (engagées dans des constructions modernes). Murray, Western France, p. 247, ed. 1882.

Strabo, Geographica, p. 190, lib. iv, c. ii, sec. 1. Ἐκβάλλει δ' ὁ μὲν Γαρούνας τριῶι ποταμοῖς ἀνέχθεις εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ Βιτουρίγων τε τῶν Ὀϊσκων ἐπικαλουμένων καὶ Σαντόνων, ἀμφοτέρων Γαλατικῶν ἐθνῶν. . . ἐμπόριον Βουρδίγαλα ἐπικείμενον λιμνοθαλάττῃ τινί, ἣν ποιοῦσιν αἱ ἐκβολαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. . . Τῶν δὲ Σαντόνων πόλις ἐστὶ Μεδιολάνιον.

Ptolemy (Age of the Antonines) lib. ii, cap. vii, sec. 1, Gallia Aquitania. In the ordinary editions Σαντόνων λιμὴν (Santonum portus) and

<sup>1</sup> Exodus, chap. III. v. 3. From Poitiers the traveller can reach Sanxay by a drive of rather less than three hours; but the railway-station nearest to this little town

is Lusignan, on the line from Poitiers to Niort: see the Indicateur, Cartes spéciales des Réseaux, Chemins de Fer de l'Etat.

*Σαντόνων ἄκρον* (Santonum promontorium) occur; but edit. Car. Müller, vol. i, p. 200 sq., Didot, 1883, has only the latter. It is often difficult to identify places in this region mentioned by ancient writers; this arises partly from errors in the text, partly from changes in the configuration of the coast. The promontory is supposed by Gosselin to be that near Rochelle; but Desjardins, *Géographie Historique et Administrative de la Gaule Romaine*, tome i, p. 266, inclines to the opinion that it is the old port of Brouage between Marennes and Rochefort now abandoned, il ne fut complètement ensablé qu'en 1586. Next to the aforesaid promontory Ptolemy has *Κανεντέλου ποτ.* ἑκβολαί, Canenteli fluvii ostia: according to most authorities Canentelus is only another form of Carantonus, Charante, but Gosselin thinks the mouths of the rivers Vie and Jauney are meant.

Desjardins' work is most useful for the geography of Western Gaul: v. tome i, pp. 258-400, ch. i. *Géographie Physique*.—Sec. 3. Description des Côtes. Extracts from the old maps of Hamon, Jolivet and Pierre Roget are intercalated in the text, pp. 262, 269, 270; but see esp. Pl. vi, p. 272, Carte comparée des cotes comprises entre les Pyrénées et la Loire, époque romaine—époque actuelle: Extrait de la carte Pisane du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle; Extrait du portulan de la Bibliothèque Nationale, commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Ausonius.—To the passages already quoted from this author I subjoin an apposite line from his poem on the Moselle, v. 463. *Santonico refluus non ipse Carantonus aestu*. In vv. 461-468 six other rivers are mentioned, viz., Liger Loire, Axona Aisne, Matrona Marne, Duranius Dordogne, Tarnis Tarn, Aturrus Adour; and four in the following paragraph, viz., Druna Drôme, Druentia Durance, Rhodanus Rhône, Garumna Garonne.

Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv, cap. 11, sec. 13, *in Aquitania . . . prima provincia est Aquitania, amplitudine civitatum admodum culta: omissis aliis multis, Burdigala et Arverni excellunt et Santones et Pietavi*. It will be observed that the historian calls the city by the name of the tribe, writing *Santones* instead of *Mediolanum Santonum*. A comparison of the map of modern France with that of ancient Gaul will show how general this practice became; e.g., Chartres from Carnutes, Cahors from Cadurci.

Table of Pentinger, edit. Mannert, Mediolano, Segm. Ia; Lemuno *ibid.* b. Both cities are marked on the map with two towers—the sign of an important place.

Of the earlier authors who have written on amphitheatres the most important is Justus Lipsius: see the edition of his works printed at Wesel (Vesaliae) MDCCLXXV, tom. iii, pp. 993-1047, *De Amphitheatro Liber*, in quo forma ipsa loci expressa, et ratio spectandi, cum aeneis figuris; *ibid.* pp. 1049-1068, *De Amphitheatris quae extra Romanam Libellus*, in quo formae eorum aliquot et typi. An earlier and better edition appeared Antverpiae, apud Christophorum Plantinum c. 1600. lxxxv, both books being included in one volume, pp. 106.

Chapter vi. of the *Libellus* (Opera, vol. iii, pp. 1061-1067, ed. Wesel; pp. 97-105, ed. Plantin) is devoted to an amphitheatre near Doveona, Doué-la-Fontaine, south-west of Saumur,—a station on the line from Angers to Poitiers, Chemins de Fer de l'Etat. Lipsius describes the peculiarities in its construction, and notices two large vaulted chambers,



of which the use is uncertain : comp. the two curious Plates that illustrate the text: the former bears this inscription LES . ARENES . A . DOVE EN POICTOV . ΛΕΥΙΝΣ . F . AN . 1584. He has confounded this place with Dueona, Δουήονα (Divona), a city of the Cadurei, hodie Cahors, which occurs in Ptolemy, ii, 7, sec. 9 ; vol. i, p. 204, ed. Car. Müller ; see the notes in Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, Supplement on Geography, s.v. Doadum ; Dovaëum, Doë, aujour d'hui Doué (Maine et Loire), ancien palais de Dagobert et des ducs d'Aquitaine. I have not found this amphitheatre mentioned by any writer posterior to Lipsius, except Mr. Roach Smith ; v. Retrospections Social and Archæological, vol. ii, 1886 (Notes by Mr. Chas. Warne.)

Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, tome iii, 2<sup>de</sup> partie, pp. 254-262, Pls. OXLVIII-CLII, Les amphithéâtres, gives engravings of the Coliseum, Verona, Pola, Nîmes, Tintinniac, Autun and Italica (Santi Ponce, formerly Sevilla la vieja, five miles north-west of Seville). Caylus Recueil, vi, p. 356 (Pl. cxii), quotes Baluze, who says that four miles from Tulle (Tutela), Department of Corrèze, he had seen remains of a town and amphitheatre in agro Tintinniacensi. He supposed the former to be the Ratiatum of Ptolemy (ii, 7, sec. 5) ; but this is improbable. Montfaucon also followed Baluze. Mr. Roach Smith, in his book on Richboro, &c., states that the amphitheatre there resembles the one at Tintinniac more than any other. Friedlaender, Sittengeschichte Roms, ii, 429, ed. 1867. Modern authors do not speak of this monument as still existing.

Recent works will supply much additional information :—

Hirt, Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten, Band, iii, pp. 159-173, VI Abschnitt, Das Amphitheater und die Naumachie, esp. secs. 7-12 ; Atlas, Pl. xx, figs. 9, 10.

Friedlaender, Sittengeschichte Roms, vol. ii, pp. 404-458, Verzeichniss der in Italien und den Provinzen nachweisbaren Amphitheater ; the list is copious, and accompanied by interesting explanations ; it concludes with a table of measurements of the greater and lesser axes in fifty-two examples, p. 457, sq.

Charles Lenthéric (ingénieur), La Grèce et l'Orient en Provence, chapitre cinquième, Les Plaisirs publics sous l'Empire, secs. iv, v,—gives a graphic and popular account of these spectacles, and of their demoralising effect upon the population. His book on the Villes mortes du golfe de Lyon is criticised by Desjardins, Gaule Romaine, pp. 223-230. “Le savoir de l'auteur entravé par de puériles légendes.”

Gibbon, latter part of chap. xii, vol. ii, pp. 58-60, edit. Dr. W. Smith, describes, with a power of word-painting never surpassed, the Roman games of Carinus, and the Coliseum in which they were celebrated. See also references in the notes to Martial, de Spectaculis Libellus, and Calpurnius, Eclogue vii. The latter author, who, like many others, closely imitated Virgil, is generally supposed to have flourished towards the end of the third century after Christ ; Haupt and Bachrens place him in the beginning of Nero's reign : v. Poetæ Latini Minores in Teubner's Series, vol. iii, p. 65, Critical preface. To him four Bucolics of Nemesianus were formerly ascribed ; v. *ibid.* p. 174.

Gibbon, chap. lxxi, edit. Smith viii, 282, sq., speaks of a bull-feast in the Coliseum, A.D. 1332, Sept. 3rd ; but according to his own account the entertainment consisted in a fight rather than a feast. It has been

conjectured that Statius, *Silvae*, iv, 2, *Eucharisticon ad Imp. Aug. Germanicum Domitianum*, describes a banquet in this edifice: some expressions relating to great height

*fessis vix culmina prendas*

*Visibus*, vv. 30, 31

and *laquearia coeli* suit this interpretation; on the other hand, the words *aula* and *penates*, vv. 23, 25, are more applicable to Domitian's house on the Palatine.

In our own time the amphitheatres of Arles and Nîmes have been used as places of public amusement; Joanne, *Provence-Corse, Alpes Maritimes*, grand format, p. 45 Arles. "A l'occasion de la prise d'Alger, en 1830, une première course de taureaux y fut donnée en présence de 20,000 spectateurs. Tous les dimanches, en été, ce spectacle, si cher aux Arlésiens, y est renouvelé;" for Nîmes v. *ibid.*, p. 120. The Mausoleum of Augustus (Strabo p. 236, lib. v, cap. iii, sec. 8), as visitors to Rome are well aware, has been degraded by exhibitions of equestrians and rope dancers.

Professor Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, pp. 294-303; Pl. lxxix, lxxx, the Flavian amphitheatre and Meta Sudans; pp. 300-302, explanation of six medals illustrating the Coliseum; p. 303, table of ancient amphitheatres, chiefly from the *Architectural Dictionary*. See esp. Cohen, *Med. Imp.* vol. iv, p. 147; No. 185, Pl. vi, médaillon de bronze, Gordien le Pieux. The Emperor is present at a combat between a bull and an elephant who has a rider on his back.

Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, p. 242, "Le nombre des amphithéâtres aujourd'hui connus par leurs ruines ou par des témoignages positifs n'est pas loin d'une centaine."

De Vit's edition of Forcellini's *Lexicon* cites the most important passages relating to this subject in Suetonius, Pliny, Vopiscus (*Life of Probus*), Calpurnius, &c.

The Coliseum was capable of receiving 80,000 spectators; the provincial structures of the same class in large towns usually held about 20,000.

I have made some reference in preceding notes to British amphitheatres. It seems strange that none has hitherto been found at Chester. "A station or *castrum* of the dimensions of *Deva* would certainly have one. . . . It would certainly, at *Deva* as elsewhere, be outside of the Roman walls, and I suspect either at Boughton, or at The Bowling Green." Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 241, Liverpool, 1886.

The word *amphitheatrum* is said to occur for the first time in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Angora). See *Res gestae Divi Augusti. Ex monumentis Ancyranum et Apolloniensi edidit Th. Mommsen*; p. lii, vv. 39-42, fac-simile of the Inscription: comp. p. 65, [*Venationes b*] est [*ia*]rum Africanarum meo nomine aut filio[*ru*]m et nepo[*t*]um in ci[*r*]co aut [i]n foro aut in amphitheatris popul[o *d*]edi sexiens et viciens &c., and Mommsen's note. It is supposed that the word was originally used in the plural number, because an amphitheatre is like two theatres put back to back. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. l-lii, exhibitions of gladiators and athletes by Augustus. But the following passage in Vitruvius must have been written at a date not long subsequent to the publication of the Inscription, lib. i, cap. 7, edit. Rode, tome i, p. 26,

De electione locorum ad usum communem civitatis. *Ædibus vero sacris*, . . . Herculi, in quibus civitatibus non sunt gymnasia neque amphitheatra, ad circum. Vitruvius is said to have served as a military engineer under Julius Cæsar in the African war (Smith's Dict. of Class. Biography, *s.v.*); in his old age, and somewhat late in the reign of Augustus, he wrote his work *De Architectura*, which is dedicated to that emperor: v. the Prefaces to the first and second books. Hirt, *Gesch. der Baukunst bei den Alten*, vol. ii, pp. 308-310. Fünfter Zeitraum von Augustus bis Constantin, sec. 34. Vitruvius is mentioned in connection with Valerius of Ostia, architect of the Pantheon (?); and the date of his book is fixed between 738 and 741 V.C.

In my account of the Amphitheatre at Saintes I have mentioned the Aqueduct; traces of it are still to be seen in the communes of Fontcouverte, Venérand, Ecoyeux and Le Douhet, sufficient to enable one to follow its course; but at present the only arches remaining are those which cross the valley of Fontcouverte: Audiat, Saintes et ses Monuments, *Guide du Voyageur*, p. 20. I exhibited a heliograph copy of old prints of Roman antiquities in the environs, as they appeared in 1714. Fig. I, Valley of Congoulle and hill of Foncouvert; remains of three arches of the Aqueduct; two piers, the highest then existing; nine piers partly in ruins; canal carried underground. Fig. II, continuation of Fig. I, Vestiges of several piers on both sides of the valley of Roche Damon or Cholet, East of Saintes, distant between 800 and 900 *toises* (fathoms) from the Bridge over the Charente. Fig. III, part of the aqueduct in Fig. I on a larger scale, showing the arch that was most nearly entire in 1714. Fig. IV, ruined church of St. Saloine, formerly a pagan temple. Fig. V, perhaps the Roman baths; but no description of this plate is given in the foot notes. The title of the heliograph is Saintes, *Antiquités Romaines, Aqueducs, St. Saloine, Album de Masse*, Pl. 28, *Archives du Ministère de la Guerre*, L'abbé L. Julien Laferrière, Phot.

Eight arches appear in G. Braun's View of Saintes, 1560; they are marked with the letter x, and are thus described, "S. Saloine ou se reconnoissent aucunes antiquités." These remains are beyond the city walls, and on the right side of the Plate. The same engraving represents houses (y) and water-mills (z) on the bridge.

At Alcantara in Estremadura, near the Portuguese frontier and north-west of Merida (Augusta Emerita), there is an arch on a Roman bridge over the Tagus, occupying nearly the same position as that at Saintes formerly held. Fine engravings of it may be seen in Laborde's magnificent work, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, vol. ii, p. 116, Pls. clxix-clxxii. The inscriptions record the dedication to Trajan, and the names of the Spanish peoples who contributed to the expense of the monument. "Quoique sans colonnes et sans ornements, il en impose par ses belles proportion et par sa simplicité même." Cf. Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée, Supplément*, vol. iv, pp. 99-102, Pl. xlii. Ptolemy, *Geographia*, lib. ii, cap. 5, Sec. 6, *Hispania Lusitania*, vol. i, p. 138, edit. Car. Müller (Didot), *Ναρβα Κανάρεια*, Norba Caesarina. Most writers identify this place with Alcantara, but Hübner prefers Cazeres or its neighbourhood; he is quoted at length in Müller's note, loc. citat. C.I.L., *Inscriptiones Hispaniæ Latinæ, Pars prima, Lusitania*, cap. xxv, *Tituli pontis Alcantarensis*, with a copious commentary, pp. 89-96. The arch on the bridge is now called *la torre*

*del oro, de la espada, or del aguila.* Ford, Handbook for Spain, p. 270, edit., 1878.

The bucranium on the Arch at Saintes has been already noticed. Mr. James Yates in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities, s.v. Patera, says. "In the ancient Doric temple at Rome, now dedicated to St. Adrian, the tasteful patera and the cranium of the bull are alternately sculptured on the metopes (Labacco, *Ant. di Roma*, 16, 17). I have been unable to verify this reference. An illustration of the same subject, but in a different material, is supplied by the Catalogue of the Slade Collection: Roman Cameo and Intaglio Glass, p. 23, No. 129, fig. 31. "Frieze Decoration, composed of a pale greenish transparent glass, . . . and representing, in bold relief, the skull of an ox, with festoons &c., hanging from its horns, *Size*  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in." Cf. Notes on the history of glass-making, p. xii. "Very beautiful pieces of ornament of an *architectural* character are met with, which probably once served as decorations of caskets or other small pieces of furniture, or of trinkets."

Five members of the Imperial Family (*Domus Divina*) are named on the Arch—Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus Junior. The degrees of relationship in which they stood to each other are best seen in the *Stemma Caesarum* (genealogical table), of Gabriel Brotier's edition of Tacitus, Paris, 1771, 4 vols. 4to, inserted with explanatory notes at the end of vol. i: this pedigree and the notes, translated into English, are reprinted in Valpy's Tacitus.

The Arch now stands on the right bank of the river, about 110 yards above the bridge.

It is well known that there were houses on both sides of Old London Bridge, forming a continuous street: similarly King John makes mention in a document, published by the Record Commissioners, of houses built on the bridge at Saintes, "which had been given to the inhabitants of Rochelle, by Isenbert, apparently at an annual quit-rent of 5s. for the repair of the bridge, and which the King confirms to them, directing the quit-rent to be applied to needful repairs," &c. Notes and Queries, 2nd Ser., ix, 120.

The name Isenbert—also written Isambert and Isambard—reminds us of Marc Isambart Brunel, the celebrated engineer who designed the Thames Tunnel.

Next to the Abbaye de Dames (Sainte-Marie), the church of Saint-Eutrope is the most interesting; it consists of three distinct parts—crypt, upper church and steeple. St. Palladius, Bishop of Saintes, built a church in the sixth century, in which he placed the body of St. Eutropius, his predecessor; it was destroyed by the Normans, rebuilt in the eleventh century, and ravaged by the Calvinists in 1568. The mysterious church underground, which recalls the Catacombs to our memory, is among the largest of the kind in France. Its dimensions are—length forty-two metres; breadth three metres eighty-five cent.; height five metres thirty-five cent., from the rocky floor to the key-stone of the vault. Two rows of piers supporting round arches, divide the crypt into three naves (*nefs*) of equal height; the mass of these piers is concealed by clusters of coupled columns, whose capitals are adorned with fantastic foliage. The *narthex* (interior porch, or rather ante-chamber) was reconstructed by Louis XI. Comp. two inscriptions in Gothic characters

of which facsimiles are given with explanations, by M. Audiat, *Epigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*, pp. 182-186. It is probable that the king wished to expiate the crime of poisoning his brother Charles de Valois by liberality lavished on the tomb of the Saint. This monument—a monolith sarcophagus, inscribed with the name *EVTROPIVS*—is behind the altar, and pilgrimages are made to it twice a year. The kings of England and France, from Edward III to Louis XIV, kept a lamp perpetually burning before it. The tomb had been so effectually concealed by the Clunists, to protect it from Huguenot sacrilege, that it remained unknown till 1843. A large font in the south transept shows by its size to how late a period the practice of baptizing by immersion lasted.

The upper church also is Romanesque: it presents an incongruous appearance, being disfigured by clumsy alterations and attempts at ornamentation. Here the most remarkable feature is the central compartment of the nave, over which formerly rose a Byzantine cupola, like those which I have noticed in describing Sainte Marie; it probably belongs to the twelfth century. Four columns are attached to each of the quadrangular piers; their capitals are decorated with various subjects—rich foliage; birds perched on lions and pecking their ears; Daniel in the midst of four lions, two of whom are licking his feet; souls being weighed for judgment, &c. From the different style of architecture it is evident that the tower and spire are of later date. The breadth is ninety-eight feet, and the height from base to summit eighty mètres; the octagonal pyramid and the pinnacles at its four corners are crocketed. This part of the church displays in its details the luxuriance that characterises the Flamboyant period. Louis XI, who reigned 1461-1483, frequently came to Saintes, and, being especially devoted to St.-Eutrope, supplied money to build the tower.

Braun's Plate shows "(P) Le Monstier de Saint-Eutrope," and a wall, with engaged columns at equal intervals, enclosing the churchyard, like the Peribolus of a Greek temple, such as may be seen at Pompeii; J. H. Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*, s.v. Cf. Overbeck, vol. i, pp. 107-112, Temple of Isis, North of the great Theatre, and close to it; Fig. 85, p. 108. *Der Haupteingang in den Tempelhof*. See also Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, vol. iii, p. 37, I Abschnitt, *Der Tempelbau*, sec. 21; he gives, as examples of the Peribolus, the Artemisium at Ephesus, the Nemesium at Rhamnus (Society of Dilettanti, *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, chap. vi, pp. 40-44), and the Temple of Venus and Roma: Taf. xviii, 8, 10, 11, esp. 8 e. This term occurs frequently in Pausanias, but Herodotus, vi, 134 uses *ἔρκος* with the same meaning: Valckenaer's note quoted in Baehr's edition, loc. citat. J. T. Wood, Ephesus, p. 132, Peribolus wall of Temenos discovered; p. 132, woodcut, where the inscribed blocks are marked A, B, C, D; and Sacred precinct of the Temple of Diana, in Plan of the ruins of Ephesus. I do not find mention of the wall of Augustus in Tacitus, as Mr. Wood states: *Annals*, iii, 60-63, discussion on the right of asylum or sanctuary. Comp. Strabo, lib. xiv, p. 641. *Τῆς δ' ἀσυλίας τοῖς ὅροις ἀλλαγῆναι συνέβη πολλάκις, κ.τ.λ.*

L'Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inférieure et de la Vienne has three engravings of St.-Eutrope; (1) Tower in the view of Les Arènes à Saintes, facing p. 47; (2) Crypt, p. 73; (3) Interior, p. 77.

According to some accounts Eutropius was sent by St. Peter or St.



Clement to preach the Gospel at Saintes, and became its first bishop ; but the Bollandists, following Gregory of Tours, fix his date, with more probability, in the third century ; he may have suffered martyrdom in the Decian persecution, A.D. 249-251. The old chronicler says that he was first stoned, then stripped and beaten with sticks and shoe-ties to which leaden balls were attached (*corrigiis plumbatis*), and at last killed by the blows of axes. If the legends could be believed, Eutropius would rank very high as a wonder-worker. Captives, we are told, were delivered from their chains ; paralytics recovered the use of their limbs ; demons were chased away from the possessed ; the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the dropsical and the shipwrecked were cured or restored to life by his merits. This saint is specially venerated in Aquitaine. *Acta Sanctorum*, April, tom. iii, pp. 733-744. The editors reject as fabulous most of the miracles attributed to him. Some of these tales are translated in *Histoire de la Charente Inf.*, pp. 50-54.

The Cathedral of Saint Pierre, as a whole, is uninteresting ; but the portal under the great tower is admirable. This church also suffered many things from the Huguenots ; the nave was burnt and demolished, while the side-aisles were left standing ; the ornaments had hardly been placed on the principal entrance before they were mutilated. Such wanton injuries may recall to the English traveller's memory decapitated figures that he has seen nearer home, in the façade of the Cathedral at Rouen. However, enough remains to excite and reward curiosity. Four rows of voussours under the ogival arch are covered with charming statuettes placed on consoles and surmounted by canopies of open work (*à jour*), whose pinnacles are delicately carved. In the first row eight angels sing and play on different instruments, so that the variety of their form presents a subject of study to the musical antiquary. The second and third rows contain saints with their attributes ; some of them, as Bishops, have the pallium, mitre and crosier. Among the inscriptions, now partially defaced, we see Palladius, Ambrose, Gregory, Augustine, Louis IX, Eustelle, St. George and St<sup>e</sup> Catherine. On the highest row are fourteen personages, two uncertain, the rest prophets : they wear long robes and hoods, and unroll phylacteries engraved with texts of Scripture. Probably these figures, or at least some of them, are portraits, for the sculptor may have introduced contemporaries into his composition — a practice which we know to have been frequent with painters of sacred subjects. The names of Micah, Zephaniah (*Sophonias*, cf. the Septuagint and Vulgate), Hosea, Amos and Malachi appear in full ; others only in part. Isaiah has on his strip of parchment (Bloomfield's Greek Testament, vol. i, p. 134, note on Matth. xxiii. 5, Τὰ φυλακτήρια) the words *non est qui sustentet eam de omnibus filiis quo*, cap. li, v. 18, There is none to guide her among all the sons whom she hath brought forth. The verse was originally written with reference to Jerusalem, but it is here applied to the calamities that befell the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. The passages of Scripture held in the hands of the statues are sometimes taken from the writings of a prophet other than the one who is mentioned on the bracket below. It seems that the figures were executed in the atelier, and carelessly inserted in the wrong niches. Besides the statues, attention should be directed to the foliated ornaments, consisting of branches of vine, holly and oak, so true to nature that one might almost imagine them transplanted from



the fields; even the insect that feeds upon the leaves has not been omitted.

Fanaticism has done mischief here; on the other hand, long continued neglect has concealed artistic beauties with dirt and dust: moreover, the stones being cut deep afford a refuge to birds, who again fulfil the words of the Psalmist, "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself."

The plan of the church is a Latin cross terminated at the east end by a pentagonal apse. A similar arrangement may be observed at Ste Marie, Oloron, where there are *five* chapels round the sanctuary—une couronne de cinq chapelles rayonnantes et largement ouvertes sur le prolongement des collatéraux, qui enveloppent le sanctuaire, et forment ce que l'on appelle la déambulation: Le Cœur, Bearn, p. 225, sq., Pl. 40, Plan.

This cathedral was the second church in the world, dedicated to St. Peter, as is mentioned in the Bull of Pope Nicholas V, 4 December, 1451. Here the *Angelus* was first rung in honour of the Virgin, and Pope John XXII recommended the practice to the whole of Christendom in 1318 and 1327, cum pius mos in Xantonensi ecclesia susceptus esset, ut vergente in noctem die, campana ad pramonendos fideles, ut salutatione angelica Virginis suffragia implorarent, pulsaretur: Oderic Raynaldi, Annales ecclesiastici, xv, anno 1318, sec. 58. Pius IX constituted the cathedral a minor basilica, and associated it with St. Peter's at Rome, in 1870; the Papal briefs for these purposes are given at length, with translations into French, by M. Audiat, Saint-Pierre de Saintes, Cathédrale et insigne Basilique—Histoire—Documents—Brefs—Indulgences—Prières, pp. 44 sq., 73-76, 168-175, 178-183.

For the preceding details, I am indebted to this author's researches, and especially to his *Epigraphie Santone*, pp. 130-168.

I have alluded to the *Digue* by means of which Richelieu succeeded in taking Rochelle. A striking historical parallel presents itself in the siege of Boulogne by Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, "A stupendous mole, raised across the entrance of the harbour, intercepted all hopes of relief." Gibbon, chap. xiii, vol. ii, p. 72, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith. The town surrendered A.D. 292, and the strength of the usurper Carausius was effectually broken. Eumenius, Panegyricus Constantio Caesari dictus, c. vi, Gesoriacensibus muris (Boulogne). . . omnem sinum illum portus . . . defixis in aditu trabibus, ingestisque saxis, invium navibus reddidisti; *ibid.* c. vii, totaque illa, quoad usus fuit, invicta fluctibus acies arborum: Paneg. Constantino Aug. dict. c. v, jactis inter undas vallis. Traduction des Discours d'Eumène par Landriot et Rochet, accompagnée du texte: Précis des faits généraux, p. 365. At the end of the article read Eum. i. for Eum. ii Abbé Haignère, Dictionnaire du Pas de Calais, tome i, Arrondissement de Boulogne, p. 18 and note. J. F. Henry, Essai historique sur l'Arrond<sup>t</sup> de Boulogne-sur-Mer, p. 79, sq., Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire du Boulonnais, A.D. 287-303, p. 259 sq. This place is specially interesting to English antiquaries, because the Romans stationed here the fleet that preserved communication between the continent and our island, as is proved by inscriptions in the local museum, where we read CL. BR *i.e.* Classis Britannica: Ernest Desjardins, Gaule Romaine, tome i, pp. 363-368. Gesoriacum (Bononia),

therefore, was one of the great naval stations under the Empire, like Misenum, Ravenna and Forum Julii (Frejus) in the Mediterranean: Gibbon, chap. i, vol. i, p. 155, ed. Smith. The ancient geography of this part of Gaul is fully discussed by Desjardins, *op. citat.*, tome i, pp. 348-390; Maps, Plates and Vignettes, Nos. 30-37. v. Classement des cartes &c., prefixed to the Introduction.

As a sequel to the sufferings endured at Rochelle, the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London may be consulted, vol. 2, No. 1, 1887; Lieut.-General Layard's Paper, Chevalleau de Boisragon, A Narrative from unpublished MSS., esp. pp. 9-12: and Story of John Perigal of Dieppe; this memoir also is extracted from a manuscript volume; it contains a History of the Antiquities and of the Reformation of the town from A.D. 788 to 1688, *ibid.* pp. 14-42. Such accounts by their graphic simplicity enable us to realize the faith and patience of those, who, amidst cruel persecutions, "kept the truth so pure of old." The French Protestant Hospital, Victoria Park, London, E. possesses a small but valuable collection of works relating to Huguenot history, and I am sure that the Directors of this admirable Institution would open their Library to any person, properly introduced, who might wish to pursue enquiries in this direction.

Hucher's *Art Gaulois, ou Les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles*, is the most useful book for the coins of the Santones, which are given considerably enlarged. N. 1, Pl. 20. N. 1 et 2, Pl. 22. N. 1, Pl. 30. N. 1, Pl. 39. N. 1, Pl. 40. N. 1, Pl. 41: text, pp. 10-25. Sometimes I think it would be difficult to decide whether they should be attributed to this people or to the adjoining Pictones (Pictavi): Hucher, Index, Part I, p. 53. Here in the west of Gaul, national types are freely developed, while in the centre and east the Macedonian (*stater*) is closely followed. Perhaps the most curious among the coins of Aquitania is that which bears the name VIROTAL. Π=Ε, probably from the Greek Η, Eta, the connecting stroke being omitted: this variation of form occurs frequently in inscriptions. The warrior on the reverse has a helmet with wings (ailerons); a *sagum* covers his shoulders; the left hand rests on a Gallic shield, oval, and with lines radiating from the centre; a girdle, tied in front and ending in tassels, encircles the waist; the right hand grasps a lance and a small figure of a wild boar: Hucher, text, p. 25; N. 1, Pl. 22. Another example is interesting as an historical illustration; it presents on the obverse a female head with the legend DVRAT, and on the reverse, a horse unbridled, galloping, with IVLIOS in the exergue; above the horse is a minute figure of a temple (aedicula) which has three columns. This king or chief of the Pictones is mentioned by Hirtius Bell. Gall., viii, 26, 27; he probably received his Roman name in consequence of services rendered to Cæsar: Hucher, text, pp. 25, 34; N. 1, Pl. 90. Togirix is said to have been similarly connected with the Julian family. Cf. Ottuaneunus and Gededmon on the Arch at Saintes: Hucher, p. 25, describes Duratius as "l'un des chefs gaulois vendus à Cæsar," but Hirtius (*l.c.*) who tells us that he was besieged at Limonum (Poitiers) by Dumnaeus, chief of the Andes (Anjou), only remarks concerning him, perpetua in amicitia manserat Romanorum. Duchalais, s.v. Pictavi, says of Duratius "chef nommé par Cæsar": this statement also is incorrect.

Eckhel may be justly regarded as the father of Numismatic science;

but the advanced student will learn little about Gallic coins from his great work, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*. In the first place the author was imperfectly acquainted with this branch of his subject; and, secondly, many discoveries have been made since he wrote, 1792-1798. *E.g.*, he places the Remi in Gallia Lugdunensis, p. 73, and does not include Vercingetorix in his list of *Reguli vel Magistratus*, pp. 75-79. On the other hand, the beginner may profit by reading his general remarks and references in the *Prolegomena* to chap. Gallia, pp. 62-65.

See Lelewel, *Études numismatiques et archéologiques*, type Gaulois ou Celtique. 1 vol. in-8 et atlas, 1841, SANTONOS, Pl. v, 9. Duchalais, *Description des médailles gauloises de la bibliothèque royale*, 1846; pp. 15-16. Akerman's *Ancient Coins of Hispania, Gallia and Britannia* is a useful book for our present purpose, *Pictones* and *Santones*, pp. 129-131, Pls. xiii, No. 11—xiv, No. 1; but he has repeated the old mistake of placing among the *Santones Docirix*, who belongs to the *Sequani*. SANT was read in the legend instead of SAM, *i.e.* SAMOTALIS, or SAMILLI, as I have remarked in my Paper on Langres and Besançon, Appendix, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xliii, p. 227. Rollin et Feuardent, *Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule*, 1864; p. 12 sq., *Santons, Chefs Santons*: in the legends besides *CONTOTOS*, above mentioned, we have *ATECTORI*, *ANNICOIOS*, *LVCIOS* and *ARIVOS*: p. 15 sq., *Pictons, Chefs Pictons*, No. 191, *VIOTAL*; No. 195, *DVRAT*. This Catalogue is priced.

The mediæval coins of this region deserve attention, partly on account of their fine execution, partly because they are so closely connected with our national history. Henry II. by his marriage with Eleanor obtained Guienne and Poitou, which remained for a long period subject to the English crown; and our kings took the title of Duke of Aquitaine, often appended to their portraits: E. Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, vol. i, p. 92; vol. ii, pl. xxii, No. 290, Edward I, DVX AQVT. So Edward the Black Prince is styled PMS AQVITA—PNPS AQIT. etc.: the letter at the end of the legend, on the obverse or reverse, indicates the mint; *e.g.* R stands for Rochelle, P for Poitiers, L for Limoges: Akerman, *Numismatic Manual*, Sect<sup>n</sup> iv, pp. 380-383. Pœcy d'Avant has investigated this coinage in his *Monnaies Féodales de France*, tome ii, pp. 82-143, Pls. lx-lxviii. He justly observes, p. 83, "Les monnaies anglo-françaises . . . sont les témoignages palpables de la grandeur des antagonistes de la France du moyen-âge." P. 87, he directs attention to the beautiful gold coins of Edward III. (travail particulièrement remarquable), which show the greatest variety of types. "The denominations are the *guiennois*, *leopard*, *chaise* and *mouton*." Akerman, *Op. citat.*, p. 369, cf. p. 374 sq. Hawkins, *Description of the Anglo-Gallic Coins in the British Museum*, three plates. Illustrations of the Anglo-French Coinage by General Ainslie, plates.

The boundaries of Aquitania varied greatly at different periods. In Cæsar this word means the country between the Garonne and the Pyrenees: *Bell. Gall.* i, 1; iii, 20-27: see Moberly's note on chap. 20: in chap. 27 many tribes are enumerated. Augustus extended the limits to the Loire, and on the East to the River Allier (*Elaver*) and the Cevennes (*Cebenna*): Strabo, p. 177, lib. iv, cap. i, Sec. 1. 'Ο δε Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ . . . προσέθηκε δὲ τετρασεκαίδεκα ἔθνη τῶν

μεῖαξὺ τοῦ Δείγῃρος ποταμοῦ νεμομένων. Henry II. possessed Aquitaine in its widest sense; it then included Guienne, Gascony, Poitou and Anjou. The first of these names is a corruption of Aquitaine: C. Knight, *Cyclopædia of Geography*. Our word *guinea* does not come from *guiennois*, a gold coin struck by Edward III. in his French territories (*Akerm.*, *Op. cit.*, pp. 369, 375), but from Guinea, whence the gold was brought by the African Company (*ibid.*, pp. 299, 349). This name was first used in the reign of Charles II.: Humphreys, *Coin Collector's Manual*, ii, 477.

For the coins of Saintes see Ducange, *Glossarium*, edit. Henschel, tome iv, p. 529, s.v. *Moneta*, *Santonensis monetæ meminit Tabularium Deipar. Santon, &c.* De Crazannes, *Antiquités de Saintes*, pp. 11-13; Pl. iii, 13, monnaie Mérovingienne; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 114-129, Médailles celtiques ou gauloises et autres, appartenant aux Santones, ou trouvées sur leur territoire. Poey d'Avant, ii, 64-66. P. 64, le type qui y (à Saintes) a été employé est un remarquable trait d'union entre l'empreinte odonique (Eudes ou Odon, comte de Poitou, 1036-1040) employée à Limoges et celle dont se sont servi les premiers ducs d'Aquitaine. J. B. A. A. Barthelemy, *Numismatique Moderne* (Manuels-Roret), pp. 200-202, Aquitaine, Angoumois, Périgord, Marche et Saintonge; p. 201 Abbaye de Sainte-Marie de Saintes.

The pre-historic remains of this region are discussed by De Crazannes, *Op. citat.*, pp. 168-178, Sur quelques monuments, croyances, usages, etc., du pays des Santones, attribués aux Celtes; p. 170, Dolmen, pierres levées; p. 172, Tombel, Tombelles, Tumuli; p. 175, Peulvan, menhir, Pierres debout. M. Alexandre Bertrand has written some interesting memoirs entitled *L'autel de Saintes et les Triades gauloises* in the *Revue Archeologique*, 1880; they are accompanied by photographs and many woodcuts inserted in the text: vol. xxxix, pp. 337-347; vol. xl, pp. 1-18, 70-84. M. Bertrand regards the tricephalous figures as old Celtic divinities. Cf. my Paper on the Gallo-Roman antiquities of Reims, *Archæol. Journ.*, 1884, vol. xli, p. 138, note 3. Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 328, few dolmens between Garonne and Pyrenees, v. Index, s.v. Aquitanians, and Map at the end of the volume showing the distribution of dolmens. They occur frequently in a Northerly direction, towards the left bank of the Loire.

A priest of Augustus is mentioned on the Arch at Saintes. We have an illustration of this office in a tile recently discovered near Newgate Street, London, E.C. It bears the following inscription:

AVSTALIS  
VAGATVR DIBVS III  
COTIDIM.

Mr. Roach Smith has explained it as written by a workman who makes game of a comrade for neglecting his duties, and I believe his interpretation is generally correct. It has been conjectured that AVSTALIS is contracted from AVGVSTALIS, and that the title is used in derision; this seems more probable than to suppose that AVSTRALIS is meant, *i.e.*, a man from the South. I have found no precedent in inscriptions for such a use of the word. VAGATVR may be translated "plays truant." DIBVS often occurs as a Dative or Ablative of *deus*, but neither case would properly follow *vagatur*: on the other hand if it is regarded as=*diebus*, it would correspond not only

with the numeral III, but also with COTIDIM. There is a blank space before III sufficient for two letters, but of course we cannot say with certainty how it should be filled up. COTIDIM appears to be intended for *quotidie*, and to be formed, by a false analogy, like such adverbs as *furtim*, *sensim*, *pedetentim*, &c. Thus the last line would be an exaggeration of the idea expressed in that immediately preceding. "The priest of Augustus leaves his work for a certain number of days, nay more, he does so every day." The substitution of C for QU in COTIDIM will not surprise anyone who has studied Latin etymology, because with the ancient Romans the sound was the same in both cases, viz., that of the letter K; compare the participle of *sequor*, *secutus*, or *sequutus*. So in Wagner's edition of Heyne's Virgil, ad *pristinam orthographiam quoad ejus fieri potuit revocata*, vol. v, p. 250, *Æneid*, vii, 651, we find *Lausus, ecum domitor*, where Forbiger reads *equum*. Professor Key, *On the Adjectives, etc.*, Good, Better, Best, Well; *The Alphabet*, p. 161. There is good reason for believing that the *u* in Latin words containing the letters *qu* was dropped in pronunciation, as is now done by the French: otherwise it would be difficult to account for the short quantity of the initial syllable in *aqua*, *equus*, *neque*, *quoque*, &c. It is evident that this inscription was scratched upon the tile by some illiterate person; not to speak of other arguments, the forms of the letters resemble those scrawled upon the walls at Pompeii, and are very different from the well formed characters which we see in the official and historical documents of the Roman empire. See Garrucci, *Graffiti de Pompei*, *Inscriptions et Gravures tracées au stylet*, 2<sup>de</sup> édition, 1856, 4to, *Atlas de 32 Planches: Analyse de la forme des lettres*, chap. v, pp. 36-43: *C.I.L.*, vol. iv, *Inscriptiones parietariæ Pompeianæ Herculaneenses Stabianæ*, ed. K. Zangemeister, 1871. In these Graffiti the long tails to the letters present a striking peculiarity.

The displacement of the Arch at Saintes may remind us of the proposal to remove the Maison Carree at Nîmes: ce charmant édifice, que Colbert voulait faire transporter à Versailles pierre par pierre, Ad. Joanne, *Provence—Corse*, *Alpes Maritimes*, p. 121, 1877.

The Place Blair, close to the town, commands a fine view of the Charente and the vast plain round which it winds. It is so called from the Intendant de Blair de Boismont. The name seems to be a corruption of Bel Air, like Fontainebleau, *i.e.*, Fontaine de belle eau.

M. Chevreul, the famous centenarian chemist, thus estimates Palissy as a natural philosopher. "Bernard Palissy est tout-à-fait au dessus de son siècle par ses observations sur l'agriculture et la physique du globe. Leur variété prouve la fécondité de son esprit, en même temps que la manière dont il envisage certains sujets montre la faculté d'approfondir la connaissance des choses; enfin la nouveauté de la plupart de ses observations témoigne de l'originalité de ses pensées."

A list of the earlier books treating of Saintes will be found at the beginning of the *Avant-Propos*, prefixed to *De Crazannes*, *Op. citat.*; it includes sixteen authorities. The more recent work of La Ferrière and Musset, which contains many illustrations, is specially useful for the Middle Ages; but it is incomplete, and not likely to be finished.

M. Louis Audiat's publications are very numerous. I add to those cited above:

États provinciaux de Saintonge.

Les Entrées épiscopales à Saintes.

Les Entrées royales à Saintes.

Sceaux inédits de Saintonge et d'Aunis.

La Fronde en Saintonge.

Saint-Eutrope et son Prieuré, documents inédits.

Le Capitole de Saintes.

A complete catalogue could be obtained from M. Trepreau or Mme. Mortreuil, local booksellers.

Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1881; communication by M. Héron de Villefosse concerning an Inscription found in the Amphitheatre at Saintes.

Prof. Burrows, Family of Brocas, &c., 1886, treats of the English occupation of Aquitaine. See also the Edinburgh Review, July 1887.

M. Victor Cherbulier, La Bate, describes the vintage in Saintonge; Athenaeum, July 2nd, 1887.

Those who wish to study a discussion of the theories to which the excavations at Sanxay have given rise, will find ample information in the following *brochures*.

Guide des Visiteurs. Antiquités de Sanxay (Vienne), avec deux gravures de M. Garnier, d'après les croquis de M. Raoul Gaignard, représentant les ruines, par Ferdinand Delaunay, 1882; a republication of two articles that appeared in the *Temps*, October, 25th and 26th of the same year.

Les Fouilles de Sanxay par J. A. Hild, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers.

Archéologie Poitevine—De la véritable destination des Monuments de Sanxay. Quelques notes sur les Fouilles du P. de la Croix. La Question de Sanxay à propos du mémoire du P. de la Croix—Réponse à M. Hild. Bibliographie des Fouilles de Sanxay. Par M. Joseph Berthelé, Archiviste du département des Deux-Sèvres.

Consult also the magnificent work entitled Paysages et Monuments de Poitou, folio, 1884, Douzième, treizième et quatorzième Livraisons; the text is by the Pere C. de la Croix, the photographic illustrations by M. Jules Robuchon:

1 La Planche aux Moutons (vue prise sur la Vonne), *i.e.*, petit pont moderne, en bois.

2 Le Balnéaire. Couloir de service des Hypocaustes;

3 Vue prise de l'angle sud-ouest;

4 Vue prise de l'angle nord-est;

5 Le Théâtre Vue prise à l'est;

6 Vue prise à l'ouest.

Sanxay is 30 kilomètres from Poitiers, but only 14 kil. from Lusignan, the nearest railway station. The excursion from the former place is an agreeable one, the scenery improving as we approach Sanxay, which is situated in a well-wooded, undulating country. Homely, but clean accommodation, with good cuisine, may be obtained there by the antiquarian traveller who wishes to stay two or three days, and pursue his investigations at leisure.

The Musée de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest at Poitiers contains 21 Roman inscriptions, besides mile-stones (*colonnes milliaires*): v. Catalogue de la Galerie Lapidaire par Belisaire Ledain. That at



Niort is less important, but includes monuments of the Gallo-Roman period; a catalogue can be obtained on the spot. M. Clouzot, libraire-éditeur, Rue des Halles, Niort, could give useful *renseignements* concerning the antiquarian bibliography of Poitou and Saintonge. For the Hypogée at Poitiers see Documents sur la Question du Martyrium, publiés par M<sup>sr</sup> X. Barbier de Montault—on the cover many authorities are indicated: also Père de la Croix in the Bulletin de la Soc. des Antiq. de l'Ouest, tom. II, Années 1878-9.

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