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ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN TOURAINE AND THE CENTRAL PYRENEES.

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

I do not propose, on the present occasion, to treat in an exhaustive method of Roman Antiquities, either in Touraine or in the Pyrenees; but rather to describe a few objects in both regions, to which my attention has been specially directed.¹

(I.)

- (1) PROCVLI STACTVM.
- (2) PROCVLI DIALEPIDOS AD ASPR.
- (3) PROCVLI CIRRON.
- (4) PROCVLI EVODES AD VOLCE.

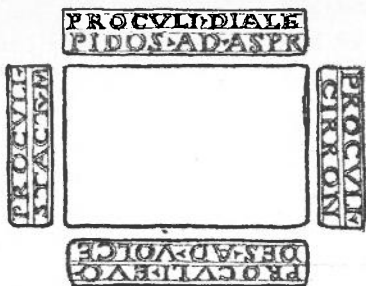
This Oculist's Stamp, of which I exhibit a facsimile, was found at Nérès in the department Allier, and is now to be seen in the Museum at Tours.² On each of the four

¹ Neither of these localities is rich in Roman remains, as compared with some other parts of France. For the former see the magnificent and copiously illustrated work entitled *La Touraine, Histoire et Monuments*, Tours, folio, 1856, edited by the Abbe J.-J. Bourasse with the assistance of many learned *collaborateurs*. *La Touraine* par Stanislas Belanger, 1 vol. 8vo., 1849, may also be consulted. Both these books, are in the Art-Library at South Kensington. Among the earlier writers one of the most useful is *De la Sauvagerie*, *Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules* . . . ouvrage qui peut servir de suite aux Antiquités de feu M. le Comte De Caylus Paris, 4to., 1770; it is dedicated to the Duc de Choiseul. The two sections relating to our present subject are *Recherches sur quelques Antiquités des environs de Tours*, et sur la situation de *Caesarodunum*, capitale des *Turones*,

sous les premiers Empereurs Romains, pp. 131-157; and *Recherches sur la Pile Saint-Mars*, située près de Luynes, sur le bord de la Loire, pp. 158-180. Sauvagère, when he retired from the exercise of the military profession, went to reside on his property in Touraine: he impoverished himself by publishing books in a handsome style, enriched with plates and figures, *V. La Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, s.v.

Many references to authorities, both ancient and modern, concerning the Pyrenees will be found in my Paper on the South-west of France, *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 1-32, 1879.

² For this account of the *provenance* I am indebted to Monsr. Antoine Héron de Villefosse, Conservateur des antiquités grecques et romaines au Musée du Louvre, who has made a special study of the *Cachets d'Oculistes*.



sides of the stone, the doctor's name PROCVLVS is repeated.¹ He was obviously one of the class called *medici ocularii* or *ophthalmici*, who are mentioned by Celsus and in inscriptions, and on one of whom Martial has written an epigram.² Possibly he may be the same as Proclus, senior to Galen, and said to have flourished about the end of the first century after Christ. Proculus is not a common name in authors usually read, but the feminine gender is well known from Juvenal, Satire III, 203—

Lectus erat Codro Procula minor.

Codrus had a bed too short for Procula's legs, *uxore brevior*.

Taking the sides of the stone in order from left to right (1), STACTVM is probably a preparation of myrrh, but it might be some other opobalsamic liquid, as the word comes from the Greek στάζω, *stillo* to drop (compare σταλάω, σταλάζω, σταλάσσω, stalactite).

Στακτά is translated resin, gums, balsams; and we find στακτόν as an epithet of μύρον, myrrh-oil. *Stactum ad caliginem*, means that that the medicine was used to cure

¹ This physician must not be confounded with Proclus (Πρόκλος), the Neoplatonic philosopher, who was also a mathematician and astronomer, and wrote a Commentary on the first book of Euclid's Elements; nor with Proclus of Rhegium, who belonged to the school of the Methodici.

² A. Cornelii Celsi De Medicina Libri Octo, l. vi, c. 6, sect. 8. Orellii Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. i, p. 515, no. 2983. P. DECIMIVS P. L. EROS MERVLA MEDICVS CLINICVS CHIRVRGVS OCVLARIIVS, where L = libertus; ibid., vol. ii, p. 257, no. 4228, M. LATINIVS M.L. MEDICVS OCVLARIIVS HERMES. Observe the insertion of the professional title between the name (nomen) and the cognomen. Nos. 4225-4234 commemorate medical men and women; amongst them is a veterinary surgeon, *medicus jumentarius*: the last two in the series are oculists' stamps. Henzen's Supplement to Orelli, op. citat., Sigilla medici ocularii, nos. 7248-7250. Gruter, p. 400, no. 7; ab oculis, p. 635,

no. 3. Raphael Fabretti, Inscr. Antiquae, Romae, 1699, §xxv, nos. 273-281, especially 277, pp. 299-301. Spon, Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis, p. 143. Wilmann's Exempla Inscr. Latin., no. 2492; I. Neapolit. no. 4121, edit. Mommsen, s.v. Formiae (Mola et Castellone di Gaeta).

Martial, Epigrams, viii, 74, Hoplomachus nunc es, fueras ophthalmicus ante.

Fecisti medicus quod facis hoplomachus.

Ocularius faber should be carefully distinguished from *ocularius*; the former expression denotes an artist who made eyes of glass, silver or precious stones to be inserted in statues: it cannot mean a *spectacle-maker*, as some have supposed, because this invention was unknown to the ancients. Spon, p. 232, no. 4, Statuarum oculorum repositior, Insc., Florontiae in villa Strozzi. Fabretti, cap. ix, no. 357, p. 641.

weak sight, myrrh being a stimulant, that would check abundant secretion when the organ is relaxed.¹

(2), DIALEPIDOS AD ASPR(itudines); the termination of the last word must be supplied. Here also the name of the remedy is Greek, *διὰ λεπίδος*; it is a salve made with the scales that fly from metal in hammering (forge dust). I have been informed that in old times the bones of the cuttle-fish were used, but that the practice has been discontinued. It should be observed that the preposition and its case combine to form a noun-substantive; this frequently occurs in medical terms, e.g., *dioxum* (not to be found in ordinary Dictionaries) a lotion of vinegar for complaints in the eyes: see the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 1873, loc. citat. Compare *diaglaucium*, a collyrium made from the plant *glaucium*, a kind of poppy; *diasmyrnes* containing myrrh, *diarrhodon* roses.² These words are analogous to the Latin language,

¹ May 22nd, 1873, Mr. C. Knight Watson read to the Society of Antiquaries notes on an oculist's stamp, stated to have been found near Biggleswade Station, some miles south of Sandy, in Bedfordshire. One of the inscriptions is C. VAL. AMANDI STACTVM AD CALIGINEM, on which he remarked that the remedy and the disease are both of them of frequent occurrence. Proceedings, 2nd Series, vol. vi, pp. 39-41; with engraving (full size) to face p. 39.

See the Catalogue of the Museum at Vienna quoted below. (Sammlungen in der k. k. Burg), p. 127, no. 10d.

L. IVNI PHILINI STAC

TVM OPOB AD CLARIT

opobalsamatum?

Archæologia, vol. ix, pp. 227-242 (1788). Observations on certain Stamps or Seals used antiently by the Oculists, by R. Gough; p. 227, figs. 1 and 2; pp. 228, 229, 233, 234, 235 *stactum* is mentioned. Compare a paper by Mr. A. W. Franks, June 25, 1874, on a circular seal discovered at Leicester, and supposed to have been used for the same purpose, though this is not the ordinary form for oculists' stamps: Proc. Soc. Ant. ib. p. 271. Monsr. Babelon showed me one which is triangular, and said to be unique, among the *nouvelles acquisitions* contained in a separate table-case at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A notice of it has appeared in a sale-catalogue.

As far as I am aware, there has been no discussion in London on this class of

monuments subsequently to the year 1874; but as several foreign antiquaries have treated of them in the interval that has elapsed, the subject may be opportunely revived.

Στακτη fem. of στακτός is also used as a substantive. Cf. Lucretius, II, 846,

Sicut Amaracini blandum Stactaeque liquorem

Et Nardi florem.

where Monro translates *Stacte* myrrh, and cites Pliny, Hist. Nat. xiii, 17 Murra et per se unguentum facit sine oleo, *stacte dumtaxat*; Dioscorides, I, 73, στακτη . . . καθ' εαυτην μύρον καλούμενον, δόκιμος δε ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμυγῆς ἐλαίω.

² In such words as *diaglaucium*, *diasmyrnes* &c., I do not perceive that it makes any difference of meaning whether the genitive or accusative follows the preposition. *Diapsoricium* differs in composition from the terms previously mentioned, for here *dia* (διά) is prefixed not to the remedy but to the disease, Ψώρα scabies, impetigo, whence we have Ψωρικόν sub. φάρμακον, itch-salve. De Vit's account of the word is unsatisfactory—collyrium ad oculorum caliginem dissipandam,—because the derivation clearly indicates some kind of cutaneous irritation. *Diapsoricium* occurs in Gough's Paper Archæologia, loc. citat. p. 231, but perhaps B may have been misread for P. Comp. the Catalogue of the Vienna Museum, ubi sup.,

DIAPSORICVM AD GEN SCIS TE CL

i.e. ad genarum scissuras et claritatem.

which unites *cum* with a pronoun, as in *tecum, quibuscum*, &c; and appends the enclitic conjunction *que* as in the phrase *ad plurimosque*, whence we may infer that *ad* and *plurimos*, though written separately, were one in pronunciation.¹

The expression of the purpose in full would be *ad aspritudines tollendas*. At Vienna the following inscription is preserved—

L. IVNI PHILINI DIAM.
ISVS AD DIA (*sic*) DIA TE TOL.

L. Junii Philini diamisus ad diatheses tollendas. Die Sammlungen des K. K. Münz-und Antiken-Cabinetes, Catalogue by Baron von Sacken and Dr. Kenner, p. 127, Oculisten-oder Aiptensteine. Here the ellipse is supplied. In this case *diathesis* seems to mean a disease or a morbid affection, which is the modern use of the term. I may remark by the way that one of the stamps in the Vienna Collection bears the word GLYPTI, with the head of Æsculapius in the middle.² Our inscription (2) denotes that the remedy was applied to cure granulations.³

Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes Etrusques, Grecques et Romaines, tome I, p. 227, Collyre pour les ophthalmies seches, ad scabiosos . . . oculorum affectus, pruritum, asperitatem &c., selon Trallien.

For *Diasmvrnes* we also find *Dismvrnes*, *Diasmyrnen* and *Diazmyrnes*, De Villefosse and Thedenat, p. 169. *Σμύρνη*, Ionic for *σμύρνα* is used by Herodotus, II, 40, 86; in the latter passage with reference to embalming the dead, as in the New Testament, John xix, 39, *Νικόδημος* . . . φέρον μύγμα σμύρνης και αλόης, (v. Bloomfield's note). Similarly we read in Mark, xv, 23, *και ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβεν*, murratum vinum, spiced with myrrh. *Σμύρνα* is only another form of *μύρρα*, as the initial *Σ* is not an essential part of the word. Comp. *σφάλλω* fallo, *sculpo* γλυφω, *στέγω* tego, *σφενδάνη* funda, smelt melt. Key, on the Alphabet, p. 95. On the other hand *N* is added to the root; as we have *μαρθάνω* ξμαθον, *λανθάνω* ἔλαθον, though these examples are not exactly parallel.

¹ Cicero, De Officiis, I, 36, §126, *quibuscum apud quosque vivamus, not apudque quos*: Tursellinus, De Particulis, reprinted in the Appendix to Bailey's edition of Forcellini's Lexicon, cap. ccxv, §2, *Que ad verbum posterius rejectum*. This title may mislead, be-

cause it speaks of the preposition and following case as if they were two distinct words. There is an exception in phrases like the following, *De temporibus illis, deque universa republica*; but observe that *de* here is repeated. Another argument may be derived from Latin prosody, e.g. in its most usual form the third line of the Alcaic stanza consists of three words, as *Deprome quadrimum Sabina*, but sometimes a preposition and case are substituted for a single word, as in *Quos inter Augustus recumbens, Descendat in Campum petitor*: Horace, Odes.

² In Von Sacken and Kenner's catalogue, p. 128, the name is printed thus, GLY—PTI; the head occupied the space in the centre. This peculiarity reminds me of the stamp found at Leicester, which has been mentioned above, v. Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., 2nd series, vol. vi, p. 272. A rude and grotesque human head has been scratched in a part of the blank space below the inscription, C PAL GRACILIS, which may be read CAII PALFURII GRACILIS.

³ De Wecker, Ocular Therapeutics, edited by Dr. Litton Forbes, Lectures ix and x, pp. 81-89, Granulations; see esp. p. 85. "The characteristic ptosis of the upper lid never allows the cornea a moment's freedom from contact with a

(3.) CIRRON is a salve that takes its name from its colour. *κίρρος* (orange-tawny) being intermediate between *πύρρος* (red) and *ξανθός* (yellow). The word is used by Hippocrates, and may remind us of the kindred term *crocodēs*, containing saffron: *apalocrocodēs* also occurs, the same ointment in a milder or diluted form.¹ Some external application often promotes the growth of eyelashes, and I had thought that *Cirron* might be used for this or a similar purpose, connecting it with the Latin *cirrus*, a curl, *cirratus*, curly; but this resemblance is only accidental.

(4.) EVODES AD VOLCE, a fragrant ointment for ulceration, probably in the cornea *Volce* is the only word difficult to explain in these inscriptions. Sir Alexander Simpson tells me that it is not found on any of the stamps described by his uncle Sir James Simpson,² and I have not met with it in the memoirs of other writers, English, French or German. *Volce*, as written, resembles *volsellae*, tweezers, pincers or forceps, mentioned by Martial and Celsus (v. Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s.v.). But it is now generally agreed among philologists that the Romans pronounced C as K in all cases, not varying its sound, as we do, according to the vowel that follows. Hence VOLCE

mucous membrane studded all over with *hard rough points*." The last phrase corresponds exactly with the Latin word *aspritudines* in the plural number. Gough, in the *Archæologia*, loc. citat., p. 231. "Diamysus (*sic*) is a mineral composition, of which see Marcus (*sic*) Empiricus, viii, 72." In this sentence two mistakes are made; *diamysus* is the correct spelling, because it comes from the Greek *δια* and *μύσιν*, *vos*, which means a vitriolic earth, or a truffle growing near Cyrene. The former signification should be preferred here; cf. the context in Celsus, lib. v, c. 19, § 8, *mysos crudi, æruginis rasæ*. For Marcus read Marcellus. De Vit's edition of Forcellini, s.v. *Diamysos*, quotes Marcellus Empiricus, 9. *Collyrium diamisyo, quod facit ad aspritudines oculorum tollendas et ad lacrimas substringendas &c.*; and Inscr. apud Tochon d'Annev, *Cachets des oculistes*, pp. 22, 55. The syncopated form *aspritudo* is more common than *aspritudo*; and the word usually occurs in the singular.

¹ De Villefosse and Thednat, p. 31 sq. give a reference to Corp. Inscr. Lat.,

t. vii, no. 1314, (*Sigilla Medicorum Oculariorum*),

Q · IVL · SENIS · CR

OCOD · AD · ASPR

Q(uinti) Jul(ii) Senis crocod(es) ad aspr(itudines). This inscription has a special interest for English antiquaries, as it was found in London on a vase of red glazed pottery, the so-called Samian ware (Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, vol. ii, p. 346).

Apalocrocodēs is compounded of the Greek words *απαλός* tender and *κροκάδης* saffron-coloured: Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, 2nd edition, pp. 245-250, esp. p. 250—The medical profession, *Medicine stamps*.

In a visit to an ophthalmic hospital I observed that *yellow* ointment was much used for the patients.

² Sir James Simpson's essay appeared in the *Monthly Journal of Medical Science*, 1851, with illustrations; it is very copious and instructive, and contains many references to ancient authorities, but it is unfortunately disfigured by typographical errors which may mislead the unlearned.

is not likely to be akin to *vello*, *vulsi*, *vulsum* and its derivatives. There can be little doubt that *volce* is only a variety of *ulcus*, a sore; compare the Greek ἔλκος, where the aspirate takes the place of the Latin V, equivalent to W.¹ Of this interchange we have an example in *homo* and *uomo*. The disappearance of V in *ulcus* may be illustrated by the Danish *ord*, which is identical with the English *word*, e.g., *ordbog*, *Wörterbuch*, *word-book*, *dictionary*. A substitution of O for U causes no difficulty, as the Latin U represents the Greek O, which was also used originally by the Romans; so in Plautus and Terence we have *servos* for *servus*. Moreover, the idea of *extraction*, suggested by *vello*, will not suit, because *Euodes*, like the other remedies denoted here, is an ointment. *Volce* is not likely to be *styes* in the eyes, or *whisps*, as they are sometimes called because *crithe* and *hordeolus* were employed in this sense.²

Mr. Wright, (Celt, Roman and Saxon, p. 248), says that the origin of the name *melinum* in an oculist's stamp is very doubtful; but I think it means quince-ointment, being the same as the Greek μήλιον, from μήλον, Doric μαῖλον, Lat. *malum*, an apple. Μήλον Ἀρμυνιακόν is *malum praecox*, whence comes our word *apricot*. *Melinum* occurs in the *Mostellaria* of Plautus as a cosmetic used by women; in the *Epidicus* it is a quince-coloured garment, and immediately follows *cerinum* from *cera* wax. The metre seems to show that the first syllable is long, which

¹ Ulcus and words connected with it are used by Celsus with reference to the eye. De Medicina, lib. vi, c. 6, § i, vol. i, p. 314, edit. Targa; periculum ulcerum est—fere exulcerat—ejusdem exulcerationis timor in palpebris pupillivae est. These and other examples occur in the same page.

² Mons^r. Heron De Villefosse conjectures that we should read VOL GE instead of VOLCE, i.e. vol(nera) ge(narum), substituting G for C. This opinion might be supported by analogous phrases, e.g., *ad genarum scissuras* in the Vienna Collection, quoted above, and by an inscription given by De Villefosse and Thedenat, p. 59,

L. CAEMI . PATERNI . CHE

LID . AD . GENAR . CICA

L(ucii) Caemi(i) Paterni chelid(onium) ad genar(um) cica(trices).

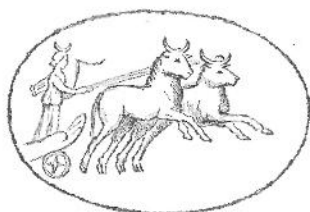
Comp. also Corp. Insc. Lat., vol. vi,

pars ii, no. 9604 (Officialium et Artificum —Medici.)

Testor nunc superos : non hoc meruisse videbar,

In vulnus genoris quot subito occidimus : genoris esse τοῦ γόνατος (the knee) viderat Mommsen : v. Burmann, *Anthologia Veterum Latinorum Epigrammatum et Poematum*, lib. iv, Ep. ccxiii, vol. 2, p. 160 : he has in the text *In vulnus generis*, but in the note gives another reading, *In vulnos genoris* from Ficoroni. As the knee is such a delicate part of the body, we need not be surprised at the fatal result mentioned in the second line.

However, I adhere to the explanation of VOLCE proposed above, especially as there is reason to believe that the inscription on the stamp has been copied correctly.



Diana Tauropolos.

agrees with the etymology given above.¹ *Mel*, honey, has a similarity, but only in form; and the derived adjectives double the letter L, *melleus*, *mellitus*, &c.

Again, Mr. Wright, p. 250, remarks on the inscription

LVALLATINIAPALOCRO
CODESADDIATHESIS.

"The person who cut the inscription has made an error in the termination of the last word." I think that the mistake is on the part of the critic, not the stone-cutter. We have here the Greek word διαθέσεις Latinized; the final syllable ες being represented in Latin by *eis*, *is*, or *es*: v. Zumpt's Grammar, edit. Kenrick, p. 30, Sect. xiii, § 8 and note. Similarly *oe* or *ī*, as Χοηφόροι Choëphoroe Choëphorī. Mr. Wright seems to have supposed that diathesis was the nominative or genitive singular.²

II. The Marquis de Biencourt showed me at his Château, near Azay-le-Rideau, a piece of rock-crystal, found in that neighbourhood, on which Diana Tauropolos is engraved, standing in a chariot drawn by two oxen, and holding a whip (see woodcut.) This subject is not common

¹ Mostellaria, Act i, Sc. 3, v. 106 sq.

Non istanc acetatem oportet pigmentum ullum attingere,

Neque cerussam Melinumue neque aliam ullam officiam.

5th edit. Lambinus, Paris, 1577 folio, page 538 A. Forcellini, Lexicon, s.v. *Melinum*. Species coloris nativi candidi a Melo insula (Μῆλος) una ex Sporadibus, ubi praestantissimum effoditur. This material, a kind of white paint, is, of course, different from the *melinum* on oculists' stamps. Lorenz, note on Plautus, loc. citat., eine mineralische, trockene, weisse Farbe, Pliny, H. N., xxxv, 6, 19 (37); Vitruvius, vii, 7. Davon zu unterscheiden ist *melinum*, scil. *oleum*, ein aus Quittenapfeln (μηλον) bereitetes Salbol. Plin. H. N. xiii, 1, 2 (11); xxiii 6, 54 (103).

Epidicus, Act. ii, Sc. 2, v. 49 (51).

Cumatile aut plumatile, cerinum aut melinum, gerrae maximae.

Lambinus in his note, p. 421 D, gives the incorrect reading *mellinum*, on which he remarks, si haec scriptura recta est . . . vestis genus aliquod mellei coloris. *Cumatile* sc. vestimentum is a bluish garment, literally sea-coloured from κύμα a wave.

Celsus, ii, 33, p. 101, edit. Targa, uses

the word now under consideration, but the context does not enable us to ascertain its meaning.

Cf. Inscr. ap. Tschön, Cachets des ocul. p. 61, n. 4.

QIVLI MVRBANI MELI
NVM AD CLARITATEM

found at Colchester. This is given by Wright, loc. citat., with another stamp,

MINERVALLIS MELINV
AD OMNEM DOLOREM

found at Cirencester, according to Hübner, C.I.L., vol. vii, p. 236, No. 1316. In both these cases a collyrium is evidently mentioned.

V. Grottefeld, Die Stempel der Römischen Augenärzte, p. 82, on the form *Diathesis*.

² I cannot leave this subject without noticing a remarkable discovery made at Reims. Solid collyria were found there in the form of small sticks (bâtonnets), with descriptions stamped upon them, De Villefosse and Thedenat, p. 32, note 2, refer to Duquénelle et E. Baudrimont, Journal de pharmacie et de chimie, janvier-juillet 1863. The former was a *pharmacien* long resident at Reims, who possessed a valuable collection of coins, and bequeathed them to the Museum there.

on ancient gems, the British Museum possessing no example, though our National collection has been of late years increased by the treasures which the Duc de Blacas had accumulated. On the other hand, I am informed that the type was frequently imitated by the artists of the Renaissance. We find it with very little variety on a Coin of Anazarbus, an illustrious city of Cilicia Campestris rivalling Tarsus, though the latter, having given birth to St. Paul, is incomparably better known. I may observe, in passing, that Dioscorides, author of a treatise on *Materia Medica* (περὶ Ὑλης Ἱατρικῆς)—the most important work of the kind written in antiquity—is said to have been born at Anazarbus. Thus the place has a relation with inquiries suggested by the preceding section of this memoir.¹

Diana (Artemis) appears under so many different aspects, with attributes so various, that it is often hard to recognise the same divinity; but now that more than twenty centuries have elapsed since these myths were first current, it need cause us no surprise if we fail to discover missing links. As a goddess bringing light and life she carries a torch, sometimes in both hands; now she wears flowing drapery extending down to the feet, and now the Doric chiton that scarcely covers the knees; at Ephesus her statue, mummy-like, had many breasts (πολυμαστός), an eastern emblem of all-producing Nature.² We generally associate Diana with the labours of the chase,³ this idea being derived partly from classical poetry, partly from her portraiture in works of art; among which

¹ His personal history is involved in obscurity, but he is supposed to have flourished subsequently to Pliny, as he is not mentioned by the great naturalist. He is usually placed in the second century: see Dr. Bostock's *Sketch of the History of Medicine*, chap. iv, pp. 81, 82, and note containing references to Sprengel, &c.

² Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 8vo edition, engravings at pp. 12, 20, 80, 103; chap. xiv, p. 16; and chap. xvi, pp. 87, 88, text and notes. Akerman, *Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament*, pp. 53-55.

³ Barclay V. Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, with autotype illustrations, Pl. VI, fig. 1, head of Artemis, with bow and quiver behind the neck; Pl. IX, figs. 4,

13; see esp. Pl. XIII, fig. 1, Artemis as a huntress, with a bow and arrow, quiver, and dog. The female head on the famous Syracusan medallion has been the subject of much discussion amongst antiquaries. C. O. Müller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, § 364, Remark 7, English Translation, p. 456, says "I am of opinion that the head surrounded with fish, and having hair interwoven with reeds simply arranged and pinned up behind . . . (Nöhdén Frontisp., comp. 13 . . .) is Artemis Potamia," presiding over rivers. But, in the absence of Diana's usual attributes, it is more probable that we have here Arethusa, the nymph of the well in Ortygia; cf. *omn.*, Head, *op. citat.*, Pl. IV, No. 3.

it may suffice to refer to the *Diane à la biche* in the Louvre, and the Artemis of the Syracusan coinage. Hence the stag and the hound appear as her usual attendants; but the bull is comparatively rare. When identified with the moon she drives a yoke of oxen, as her brother Apollo, or the Sun, has a chariot drawn by four horses, the higher number symbolizing the greater luminary.¹ The horns of the animals may allude to the crescent, and the goddess is called Tauroceros (ox-horned) as well as Tauropolos. She was worshipped at Amphipolis and in the island Icaria, as we learn from coins.² Those of the former place are interesting on account of their fine execution, but are specially so for our present purpose, because the device on the reverse is a torch carried in a race (*λαμπαδηφορία*) which was probably run in honour of Artemis Tauropolos (Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, p. 11.)³ She seems to have been the same as Brauronia, so called from the legend that Orestes and Iphigenia, when they brought her image from Tauris, landed at Brauron, on the east coast of Africa, half-way between Sunium and Marathon. The goddess often appears riding on a bull, with veil inflated.⁴ We find traces of her cult chiefly in Northern Greece—in Macedonia, the Tauric Chersonesus (near Sebastopol) and

¹ Phoebus Apollo appears in a quadriga surrounded by the signs of the zodiac, "apparently a work of the Cinquecento," C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii, Pl. XVI, No. 3. Description of the woodcuts, p. 50. Sometimes he rides on a griffin, see my Paper on Antiquities in the Museum at Palermo, Section iii on Mosaics, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xxxviii, p. 149, text and note 1. Professor Basile gives a coloured Plate of this subject, Tav. iii, *Dettaglio del Mosaico scoperto nella Vittoria in Palermo*, 1869. Cf. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iii, p. 94, *Aureliopolis Lydiae—Apollo sol in bigis gryphorum*.

² Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 515, coin of Eneae in Icaria, on which we see a head of Artemis and a rushing bull. This small island, *hodie* Nikaria, is West of Samos and north of Patmos (*Hor. Carm.* i, 1, 15, *Luctantem Icaris fluctibus Africum*). Some derive the name from an Ionic word *κάρα* a pasture; others say that it is of Phœnician origin, and means "the island of fish."

³ See the engraving copied from Mionnet, in the Article *Lampadephoria*, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, where the subject is fully investigated. To this race Lucretius alludes, lib. ii, v. 77.

Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt.

Cf. Persius, *Satires*, vi, 61.

Qui prior es, cur me in decursu lampada poscis?

The commentators on these passages supply additional references.

⁴ C. O. Muller, *Denkmaler*, Part ii, Taf. xvi, No. 176. Artemis Tauropolos mit Rindern fahrend, auf einem geschnittenen Steine, bei Tassie, *Catal. de pierres gravees*, vol. i. Pl. XXVIII, fig. 2039; No. 177, Kopf der Artemis-Tauropolos mit dem Halbmonde hinter den Schultern, Bronze münze von Amphipolis, No. 178, Artemis-Selene geflügelt auf einem Stier mit der Mondsichel zwischen den Hörnern. *Archæologie der Kunst*, § 365 Remark 4 and § 416 Rem. 2.

Panticapaeum (Kertch). She may be seen in a bas-relief at the Louvre, at the end of a sarcophagus, which represents on its front Diana visiting Endymion; also in a beautiful ivory diptych at Sens, surrounded by many accessories; Millin (*Galerie Mythologique*) has figured and described it.¹

As I have already said, rock-crystal is the material on which Diana Tauropolos is engraved at Azay. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, lib. xxxvii, cap. ii, sect. 9, § 23, explains its formation; he says that it is caused by the congelation of severe frost, and adds that it is found where the snow is hardest, remarking that the crystals from the Alps were particularly admired.²

The legend on the Coin of Anazarbus is, obverse I KOP ΠΑΥΛΑ CEB; reverse ANAZAPB ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΕΝΔ ΕΤ ΗΑC., in the field ΑΜΚΤΒ *i.e.* Julia Cornelia Paula Sebaste Augusta; of Anazarbus Metropolis, in the year 238; the letters ΕΝΔ are difficult to explain. A.M.K.F.B., perhaps stand for Πρώτη Μητρόπολις Κιλικίας Γράμμασι Βουλῆς (Mionnet). First Metropolis of Cilicia—by order of the Senate.³ Julia Paula was a noble lady, for about one

¹ Clarac *Musee de Sculpture antique et moderne*, Tome. ii, pt. i, p. 342 sq., No. 437, Pl. CLXVI, fig. 76, Diane Tauropole. Au lieu d'une torche, de la main droite elle tient un fouet, et de la gauche elle agite les rennes de ses coursiers . . . ce sont deux taureaux qui, la tête haute et obeissant à l'impulsion de leur maîtresse, se hâtent de la transporter vers Endymion. This bas-relief in the Louvre corresponds closely with the Marquis de Biencourt's gem. For the front of the sarcophagus v. Clarac, *ibid.* No. 437, Pl. CLXV. Chabouillet, *Cabinet de M. Louis Fould*, folio maximo, No. 907, Pl. IX; texte p. 36 sq., 1861. Mionnet, *Description des médailles antiques*, Tome iii, p. 187, No. 1088; p. 553, No. 80; p. 760, No. 575. Millin, *Galerie Mythologique*, T. i, p. 29, Pl. XXXIV, No. 121, Explication des Planches. Diane Lucifère et Tauropole sort du sein des eaux, dans un char traîné par deux taureaux; elle porte un grand flambeau, &c. Cf. *ibid.* Pl. XXIV, No. 120. Lampe de terre cuite, en forme de tête de boeuf . . . on lit sur les cornes ΑΡΘΕΜ ΙΕΡΟC, Passeri, *Lucern.*, i, 99. Labarte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels*, Tome i, Pl. I. Album, Ivoire à Sens, Bacchus et Diane dans un char

traîné par des taureaux au galop. *Annali dell' Instituto di corrispondenza Archeologica*, vol. 53, pp. 87-100, 1881, art. by E. Maas, Tavola d'aggiunta, E. Il carro coi tori di Selene. The memoir is divided into two parts, A monuments, B authors. The terra cotta bas-relief which this Plate represents is now in the Louvre, and was shown to me by Monsr. Pottier, Conservateur-adjoint. Numerous citations render the art. by Monsr. Maas very useful to any one who wishes to investigate this subject.

² Hence we may conjecture with some probability that the stone found at Azay came from Switzerland. Pliny, N. H., loc. citat., Nascitur et in Asia, vilissima circa Alabanda (in Caria) et Orthosiam (in the north of Phoenicia, near the river Eleutherus) finitimisque montibus, item in Cypro, sed laudata in Europa Alpium jugis. *Ibid.* § 27, Nos liquido affirmare possumus in cauitibus Alpium nasci adeo inuis plerumque ut fune pendentes eam extrahant. The whole passage deserves attention, sections 9, 10, §§ 23-29.

³ I exhibited an enlarged drawing of the example in the British Museum. ΕΝΔ appears to stand for ΕΝΔΟΞΟC illustrious, an honorary title like ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟC independent, and ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ

year wife of the infamous Emperor Elagabalus. As the coin was struck in honour of Paula, so the gem may possibly have belonged to her; at least there is nothing in the style of workmanship to forbid this supposition.¹

III. The Pile de Cinq-Mars is situated on rising ground near the village of that name, 18 kilomètres by rail from Tours; but the traveller would do better to hire a carriage, so that he might also see on the same day the Château of Azay-le-Rideau in the Renaissance style, the Château of Langeais of the feudal period,² and the Roman Aqueduct of Luynes. Murray's Handbook for Western France, 1882, p. 227, states that Cinq-Mars is more correctly written St. Mars, since the name is supposed to be a corruption of Campus Martius. This sentence contains some obscurity; but as it stands in an earlier

free. The first epithet reminds us of St. Paul's words in the Acts of the Apostles, xxi, 39, *Ταρσεὺς τῆς Κιλικίας οὐκ ἀσκήσου πόλεως πολίτης* a citizen of no mean city: Alford's Greek Testament, note in loco, and on Acts ix, 11, where he quotes Strabo, xiv, 674, who "speaks most highly of its eminence in schools of philosophy." Here *οὐκ ἀσκήμος* is equivalent to *ἐπίσημος insignis*, distinguished, a synonym of *ΕΝΔΟΞΟC*, v. Morell, *Lexicon Graeco-Prosodiacum*, edited by Dr. Maltby. It is interesting to observe that this undesigned coincidence in the legend affords collateral evidence which illustrates and confirms the Sacred Text. Moreover, in the coins of Anazarbus, the types are frequently copied from those of Tarsus (Rev. Num., 1854, 9 sqq. 137 sq.) We also find the same literae solitariae in the field, A.M.K.F.B. It is probable that M.K.=*μεγίστη, καλλίστη* rather than *μητρόπολις Κιλικίας*, which would involve repetition. Instead of B, Γ sometimes occurs, i.e. *Γεροντίας*. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iii, pp. 41-46. Anazarbus, quæ et Caesarea, urbs illustris et Tarsi aemula; p. 43, annorum catalogus. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 598 sq., "Coins dated according to two eras; the first commencing B.C. 19, the second A.D. 20."

For Tarsus v. Eckhel, *ibid.*, p. 72, *ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΤΥΛΟΥ*; p. 73, *ΕΛΕΥΘ*; p. 74, *ΝΕΟΚΟΡΟΥ*: Hunter's Catalogue, p. 314 sq., *ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC*, Tab. lvi, figs. 19, 21. Conybeare and Howson, *op. citat.*, 8vo edition, vol. i, p. 27, 59-61, 130, 131, 299, 300, woodcut p. 64, coin of Tarsus; Head, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 612-618.

¹ We have few materials for her biography. Referring to her divorce from Elagabalus, Eckhel says, "Ejus reliquum fatum ignoratur," vii, 258 sq. Her noble descent is implied by the *nomen gentile* Cornelia, which belonged to one of the most distinguished families in Rome. The coins of this Empress are abundant, Cohen, *Medailles Imperiales*, Tome iii, pp. 547-550, Pl. XVI. Amongst them fig. 11, large brass, seems the most interesting, it exhibits the three Monetae (gold, silver and copper), each holding a balance and cornucopiae, with heaps of metal at their feet. Rollin et Feuardent, priced catalogue, *Monnaies Imperiales*, p. 437 sq., Nos. 4739-4744, voir catal. grec, 2714, 8952 A, 8952 B.

For the type of Moneta v. Akerman, *Numismatic Manual*, Pl. XI, Nos. 86, 87.

The meaning of Tauropolos is uncertain; it has been variously interpreted as *worshipped at Tauris*, or *drawn by a yoke of bulls*, or *hunting bulls*, Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* s.v.

The rock-crystal at Azay measures 4 centimètres in length and 3 in breadth.

² See Touraine by the Abbé Bourasse and others, quoted above; Azay-le-Rideau, pp. 451-455; Plates, façade and escalier, p. 421, château, p. 451; tourelle p. 455; Langeais, Pls., pp. 389 and 463. To the books mentioned in my first note add Casimir Chevalier, *Promenades pittoresques en Touraine, histoires, legendes, monuments, paysages. Gravures* . . . d'après K. Girardet et Français, with map and 180 woodcuts, large 8vo; Tours, 1869.

edition, 1843, it is perfectly intelligible; St. Mars is there said to be a contraction of St. Médard (Medardus). Mons. Léon Palustre, for many years director of the Société Française d'Archeologie, who resides at Saint-Symphorien near Tours, gave me the same explanation.¹ St. Médard, who lived about A.D. 456-545, was Bishop of Noyon and Tournai, the two sees having been united in the time of King Clotaire. His remains were buried at a little distance from Soissons, where afterwards was built the famous abbey that bore his name, now razed to the ground. The church of St. Médard at Paris, near the Gobelins, is notorious, because the sect of Convulsionnaires arose there, who committed such fanatical excesses that the Government was obliged to interfere.² As this Saint was one of the prelates most honoured in his time, and highly favoured by Clotaire, we need not be surprised to find a place called after him, though so remote from the scene of his labours. His life was written by Venantius Fortunatus, Episcopus Pictavensis (Poitiers), a friend of Gregory of Tours; otherwise I cannot find that he was in any way connected with this locality.³

The Pile stands in a vineyard close to the road between Langeais and Luynes, and commands a fine view of "the winding Loire;" it is a square tower rising to the height of 29 metres, though some accounts make it rather less, surmounted by pinnacles at the four corners—a later addition—without any chambers or cavities, and cased with bricks, which are evidently Roman. It has been

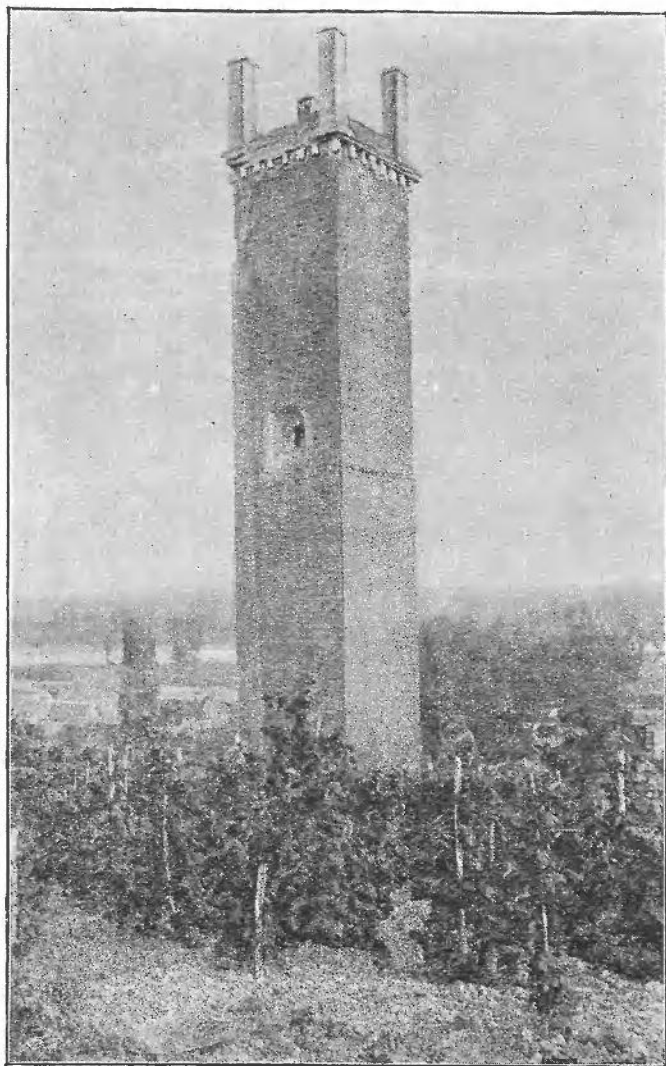
¹ Some have supposed that the pile was erected on the tomb of five generals, *quinque Martes*, killed in a battle which took place here in the time of Julius Cæsar! This absurd explanation of the name Cinq-Mars seems to have been founded on a forged inscription, discovered at the foot of the monument, the Latinity of which is so corrupt that Sauvagère says he is ashamed to refer to it. Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules, p. 158.

² Galignani's Paris Guide. On this occasion some poet . . . inscribed on the gate the following distich—

De par le roi, défense à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu

³ A brief account of this Saint will be found in the Nouvelle Biographie

Générale, and a very long one in the Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum, 20, Junii tom. ii, Die octava, pp. 72-105. (De Sancto Medardo Episcopo Noviomensi et Tornacensi &c.) At p. 76 there is a plan (ichnographia) of part of Soissons, showing the church and other buildings. See p. 78 sq., Vita metrica auctore Venantio Fortunato; pp. 79-82, Vita prosa auctore eodem Venant . . . The first legend in the latter of these two biographies is as follows—Casululam (vestem cucullatam), quam ei sua genetrix fecerat, . . . in itinere caeco a se invento mox præbuit. We are here reminded of St. Martin, who gave half his cloak to a beggar—a tale with which travellers in France are made familiar by its reproduction in sculpture.



Pile du Cinq-Mars.

pierced, but nothing has been found inside. As the remains of a Roman fort are still to be seen at the neighbouring château of Langeais, and there was also a camp near Luynes, we may reasonably suppose that the soldiers erected a monument which is intermediate between these two stations. The outside is not perfectly plain, for on the South face the bricks are arranged in eleven compartments.¹ So in the Pire-longe (or Pile-longe) at Toulon near Saujon (Arrondissement de Saintes) the conical top is ornamented with a lozenge pattern, symmetrically repeated. It is described by Chaudruc de Crazannes; *Antiquités de Saintes*, pp. 66, 193, and Vignette, p. 203.²

Mons. Palustre assured me that this Pile is the finest in France. Towers of this kind occur more frequently in the

¹ Sauvagère has an excellent engraving in his *Recueil*, prefixed to the chapter entitled *Recherches sur la Pile de Saint-Mars*, pp. 158-180. It contains—1, *Vue et Perspective de la Pile Saint Mars sur la Rive du Nord de la Loire à 4 Lieues au dessous de Tours*, with the embankment (Levee) and river; 2, *Représentations en grand des Ornaments que l'on voit au haut de cette Pile*; 3, *Vue et Elevation particuliere de la Pile Saint Mars*; 4, *Vue et dimensions d'une des Briques de la Pile*; 5, *Plan de la Pile à la Base où elle prend son aplomb*.

It has been conjectured that the figures in these compartments are cognizances, like armorial bearings of the Gallic tribes, such as we see in the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis*, caput v. *Insignia Viri Illustris Magistri Peditum*, Plates in pp. 17*-22*, &c., edit. Böcking; but these badges are circular and some are wheels, e.g. p. 21*^h, *Britannici*, where the spokes are distinctly marked. On the other hand, in the Pile the patterns are imbrications, diamonds (*opus imbricatum et spicatum*), crosses, triangles, and interlaced work, resembling mosaics. They seem to be simply ornamental. Sauvagère thought they were imitations of designs adopted by the Romans for windows, *ibid.* p. 175.

The Pile is larger in its lower than in its upper part. A similar construction may be observed in the Campanile of the Church of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna; "a great batter is given to the first ten or twelve feet of the base, which is also strengthened by four spurs or braches of brick-work, as if rising from the angles of a square base, as in a

broached spire." *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society for the Session 1873-4*, Paper by Robert Young on Early Christian Art in Ravenna, p. 72 with engraving. J. H. Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*, vol. i, text, p. 66, s.v. *Batter*, *Fruit* French. "A term applied to walls built out of the upright, or gently sloping inwards." The illustration is from Oxford Castle.

² P. 66, sa base carrée a dix-huit pieds de côté, et son couronnement offre la forme d'un cône; elle est revêtue de moellons smillés jusqu'à sa cape, qui est revêtue de grosses pierres de taille. Sauvagère gives an engraving on a larger scale, with measurements, and more details in his text, Pl. XIII, pp. 79-81. He derives *Pire-longe* from *pila Longini*, whom he supposes to have served as a general under Julius Cæsar, and to have held a command in this district, the name being a common one among the Romans. On the other hand, we do not find any Longinus mentioned among Cæsar's lieutenants. Bourignon, *Antiquités de Saintonge*, pp. 205-211, Pl. XV, devotes a chapter to this monument which he calls a Mausoleum, and says that *Pire-longe* comes from *Pyra Longa*, un bûcher élevé. I think that we might with more probability regard it as a modern form of *pila longa*, a tall column, since the French language often substitutes R for the Latin L, e.g. apôtre, for apostolus, épître for epistola. Bourignon's theory is disproved by the absence of a sepulchral chamber and of remains such as are usually found in tombs. *Vid. De Crazannes*, *Op. citat.*

South than in any other part. May, 1884, the French Society of Archæology held meetings at Pamiers, Foix, and St. Girons (Department of Ariège). From the last place they made an excursion to the valley of the Lez, and visited Luzenac. The Roman Pile there is engraved at p. 131 of their "Congrès;" its total height is only 7 mètres 36 cent., and it is not quite square, as the East and West sides are rather broader than the North and South. It consists of three stories, the second and third slightly retreating, so that it approaches a pyramidal form. There is a similar Pile near St. Gaudens, easily accessible on account of its proximity to the main line of railway from Toulouse to Tarbes and Pau.¹ Though many of these monuments exist in France, none have been found in Italy; hence we conclude that their origin should be traced to a Celtic influence; moreover, when they have cones at the top, their exterior presents a resemblance to the Irish Round Towers.

French antiquaries have divided the Piles into two categories; those which have a niche for a statue and those which have not one. That at Luzenac belongs to the former class. It is presumed that the cavity contained an image of Mercury, as the patron of commerce and protector of travellers ('Ερμῆς ὁδῖος)², or the *Lares viales*, who are mentioned by Plautus, *Mercator*, Act. v. sc. 2, 24.

Invoco

Vos Lares viales, ut me bene juvetis.³

If the towers always stood near Roman roads, which has

¹ Société Française d'Archéologie pour la Conservation des Monuments, LI^e Session, 1885, pp. 129-133. A minute account is given of the present condition of this structure and the injuries which it has sustained; reference is also made to other *Piles* in various departments. That near St. Gaudens is distinguished by the name Labarthe. Its position is thus described in Joanne's Guides Diamant, Pyrenees, edit. 1875, p. 216, Route 124 (the part of the line, between St. Gaudens and Montrejeau). À gauche, Labarthe-de-Rivière (1,531 habitants), établissement d'eaux minérales; petite tour carrée, ancienne pile romaine. See the map of the 'Etat-Major, scale 375,000, Toulouse, Feuille 30.

² This deity is also called 'Ενὸδῖος; v. Stephens, *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae*,

edit. Didot, s.v. ὁδῖος. Cornutus, cap. 16, "Ἴδονται δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐνὸδῖος λεγεται.

I owe this citation to the Congrès Archeologique, LI^e Session, à Pamiers, p. 133. In the foot-note Spon is quoted, *Recherches d'antiquités* (i.e. *Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis*), p. 233. We have there an inscription under the title

Servus Castelli et Aquarum publicæ.
Romæ.

The last line is as follows—

AEDIFICIORVM LARIO AB AQ. CVRT. ET
CERV. OL.D.S.P.D.

Gerrard, in his *Siglarium Romanum*, expands the abbreviations thus: *Ollam de Sua Pecunia dedit* or *Ollas Decem Sua Pecunia dedit*. These ollæ (jars) were used to contain the ashes of slaves or persons in a humble station, so that the

been proved by excavation to be the fact at Luzenac, it might be inferred that they were consecrated to these divinities; but, of course, a difficulty remains in the case of the second category, where there was no niche. De Crazannes suggests that the piles might have been erected to mark boundaries "*des Fines de territoire.*" However, the subject requires further investigation before an opinion can be positively expressed.

IV. The Aqueduct of Luynes, near the little town after which it is called, is distant about 5 miles from Cinq-Mars, on the road to Tours. Luynes formerly bore the name of Maillé, from Malliacum; and so Gregory of Tours who flourished in the sixth century speaks of the Malliacense Monasterium. This structure cannot vie in dimensions with some others of the same kind in France. Not to speak of the Pont du Gard, the finest of the Roman aqueducts for architectural effect, because it had a triple row of arches of which the uppermost looks like a cornice, even that of Metz has 18 arches standing, and one under which the road passes is 60 feet high. At Luynes the height of the eight remaining varies from 24 to 33 feet. The piers are 4 feet deep and 5 feet broad.¹ But though the size is smaller, the aqueduct at Luynes produces a more pleasing impression than many which strike us with awe by reason of their colossal grandeur. This results from the luxuriant ivy, which, overspreading the piers more or less, causes variety, and breaks the monotony inseparable from the repetition of the same curvilinear outlines. I remarked that in some places the

word corresponds with SER, i.e. *servus* which occurs twice previously in the same sentence. See Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, s.v. Funus, p. 561, and p. 828. The *servus castelli* had charge of a reservoir, see Frontinus, De Aquae Ducibus Urbis Romae Liber, cap. 35, Meminerimus omnem aquam, quotiens ex altiore loco venit et intra breve spatium in castellum cadit &c. So at the present time the French use the expression *chateau d'eau* with the same meaning. Cf. Frontin., cc. 116, 117, Familiae sunt duae, altera publica, altera Caesaris, &c.

We find the *Lares viales* mentioned in Orelli's Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum, Nos. 1672, 1762, 1894: he refers to Spon's Miscellanea, p. 113, xcv, an in-

scription discovered at Voorburg in Holland, between Delft and Leyden (Forum Hadriani). "*Lares viales erant Genii qui viis praesidere putabantur, quosque peregrinantes invocare solebant.*"

¹ Bourassé, Op. citat., p. 172 sq., and woodcut (article by M. L. Boilleau). Quarante piliers sont encore debout; huit arcades entières subsistent. La construction est en petites pierres, et assez semblable à celle des murs de l'enceinte de Tours, si ce n'est qu'on y voit des briques seulement au cintre des arceaux. Les eaux étaient prises aux sources de la Pie-Noire, et se deversaient dans un vaste réservoir . . . Il forme aujourd'hui une belle citerne, solidement voutée, &c.

vine also had "twined her marriageable arms" around the old Roman giant.

We cannot expect here an aqueduct as large as those which supplied great cities, as, for instance, at Tarragona, the metropolis of Hispania Tarraconensis.¹ The one we are now considering was only intended to furnish water to a fortress, which commanded the Loire and the road along its right bank. It was a military post, such as Lucan alludes to when he enumerates the Gallic tribes relieved from the presence of the Roman legions, whom Cæsar led across the Rubicon :

nec ultra

Instabiles Turonas circumspita castra coercent.

Pharsalia, lib. I, 436, sq.²

For the same reason there was no canal of masonry to convey the water at Luynes, pipes being sufficient for the purpose, an arrangement that has been observed in the environs of Lyons also. The length of the aqueduct is said by Caylus to be 145 toises (fathoms), it is constructed with small cubical stones, but we find bricks in the vaults of the arches. In one pier I noticed two courses of bonding tiles. The square holes which can be distinguished in the photograph were used to fix scaffolding in the process of construction; four piers which had given way were afterwards strengthened by buttresses. No doubt can be entertained as to the object for which this edifice was erected, for Caylus informs us that the hill towards the North end was full of abundant springs, and that the remains of a reservoir very well preserved were to be seen within the

¹ See my paper on the Antiquities of Tarragona, § iv, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 17-20, p. 19, note 4. The Aqueduct has been photographed by Laurent, a French artist. *Parcerisa, Recuerdos y Bellezas de Espana, Cataluna*, Tomo primo, p. 208 sq. and note 101; v. *Indice de las Láminas, Tarragona, Acueducto romano, conocido con el nombre de puente de las Ferreras.*

² *Turonos* is the more usual form in printed books, but Desjardins prefers *Turoni*, *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine*, tome ii, p. 482, note 1. This tribe is mentioned by Cæsar three times, *Bell. Gall.* ii, 35; vii, 4, 75; and once by his

continuator, Hirtius, *B.G.* viii, 46. Les manuscrits de Cæsar, dans deux des passages où ce peuple est nommé . . . portent *Turoni*, *Toroni*. Les Inscriptions nous donnent *Turoni*; voy. *CIVITAS TV | RONOR LIBERA* . . . Les monnaies gauloises donnent TVRONOS CANTORIX, TVRONOS TRICCOS. Rollin et Feuarent, *Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule*, p. 17. Chefs Turons. I exhibited one of these coins, No. 200; obv. TVRONOS, Head of Apollo; rev. CANTORIX, Horse running to left; above, an annulet; below, a symbol resembling a lyre.

precincts of the Priory of St. Venant, and a well, 52 ft. deep, to which there was a descent by stone steps. His account is accompanied by a good Plate with scales of measurements, tome vii, No. lxxxviii: Fig. I shows the gorge in which the Aqueduct is built, and on the South side of it the old town of Maille and Roman walls, &c.; Fig. II, general view of Aqueduct; Fig. III, three arches on an enlarged scale.¹

As a numismatic illustration I exhibit a denarius of the gens Marcia; it represents, on the obverse, the head of Ancus Marcius, whom the family claimed as their ancestor; on the reverse AQVA MR, between arches which support an equestrian statue.²

(To be continued.)

¹ As in the case of the Pile Saint-Mars, so here Sauvagere gives us the best engraving. Plate XV, p. 139, Op. citat., contains Vestiges d'un Aqueduc des anciens Romains qui se voyent a l'Est-Nord-Est de la Gorge où est la ville de Luynes; Plan des Piles de l'Aqueduc; Carte Relative aux Antiquités des environs de Tours et à un chemin dit de Cesar, entre la Loire et le Loir; Plan particulier de l'Eglise, du Prieure et de la Cure de St. Venant, avec l'Oratoire de St. Solemne; Vue et elevation de la partie de vieux murs antiques qui resta la plus entiere avec le parapet croulé; Carte particulière de la ville de Luynes et des environs, &c.; Dessein en grand

des Arcades de l'Aqueduc telles qu'elles existent.

² Cohen, Médailles Consulaires, Pl. XXVI, Marcia, fig. 8, p. 203, on lit AQVA. MAR ou AQVA MARC (*Aqua Marcia*) selon que l'aqueduc a des arches de plus ou de moins, p. 205. Le revers représente l'aqueduc Marcien sur lequel est la statue de Quintus Marcius Rex, qui, pendant sa préture, acheva la construction de cet aqueduc, imaginé par le roi Ancus Marcius. This interesting coin is by no means rare. Rollin et Feuardent, Collection de Médailles Romaines (Familles), p. 58, No. 551. AR. 1 fr. 50, Beau 2 fr., Tres-Beau 3 fr., A' fleur de coin 4 fr.

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ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN TOURAINE AND THE CENTRAL PYRENEES.

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

(Continued from page 237.)

V. Let us turn now from the vine-clad hills and verdant meadows of Touraine to far different scenes in the Central Pyrenees. This region has many attractions. The traveller may here enjoy picturesque scenery and brilliant colouring, unmolested by brigands, without the malaria of Italy or the trying vicissitudes of the Spanish climate. He has constantly before him a magnificent chain of mountains extending from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, and at times he may catch a glimpse of the Maladetta which soars above the rest with its dazzling glaciers, like the glory of the Transfiguration, shining as the sun and white as the light.¹ But surrounded thus by the wonders of Nature, the antiquary will not forget to trace here and there the footsteps of a people who

¹ Matthew, xvii, 2; cf Mark, ix, 3, Καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο στίλβοντα, λευκά ὡς χιὼν, ὅσα γυμνὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται λευκαναί. But Tischendorf omits the words ὡς χιὼν (as snow), which make the quotation peculiarly appropriate. Luke, ix, 29, Καὶ ὁ ματισμὸς αὐτοῦ λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων. The last word here deserves notice; according to its derivation, it means to *flash as with lightning* (αστραπή). *Glistening* in the Authorised Version does not convey the force of the original: the Revisers have

substituted *dazzling*, but even this is hardly adequate.

Many years have elapsed since my visit to the Port de Venasque, from which there is a good view of the Maladetta, but I still remember the glare of sunlight on the snow, that compelled me to avert my eyes from the higher summits. Those who have only seen the Alps of Switzerland can scarcely imagine the surpassing lustre of the Pyrenees—it is indeed a glory that excels.

conquered every obstacle,¹ and came nearer than any other to realizing the idea of universal empire.

I shall notice Roman remains in four places, all included within a very limited circle — Bagnères-de-Luchon, Tibiran, Valcabrère and St. Bertrand de Comminges. Little is known concerning the ancient history of this neighbourhood. The first fact mentioned is that Pompey, returning to Rome B.C. 72, after the war with Sertorius, settled at Convenae Spanish robbers and others, a promiscuous crowd; but the statement rests on the late, and somewhat doubtful, authority of St. Jerome (*Adversus Vigilantium*).² Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.*, lib. III., relates the expedition of Publius Crassus into Aquitania, and concludes the narrative with the surrender of many tribes to his lieutenant. Amongst them were the Garumni, whose name is perpetuated in the river Garonne and the departments called after it. But Caesar adds that a few remote nations, trusting to the season, as winter was at hand, neglected to make submission with the rest.³ M. Sacaze asserts that the people of Luchon

¹ The Romans showed little taste for the fine arts, but they were great in civil engineering; to them, as to their modern successors, nothing seemed impossible. Stones were brought from distant regions to erect the most permanent buildings; paved roads connected provinces remote from each other, and secured the military communication (Bergier, *Histoire des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain*, translated into Latin by Hennin in the *Thesaurus* of Graevius, Vol. x); obelisks, which still remain to astonish the traveller, were transported from Egypt to Rome; aqueducts spanned deep valleys, and pierced lofty hills. That at Jouv-aux-Arches (Alsace-Lorraine) is a good example, because we see there not only the piers and vaults on both banks of the Moselle, but also the commencement of the subterranean passage. This structure is described in the Benedictine History of Metz, with illustrations, some of which were executed at the expense of the municipality (*Sumptibus Urbis*).

² *Latronum et convenarum... quos Cn. Pompeius, edomita Hispania, et ad triumphum redire festinans de Pyrenaei jugis, deposuit, et in unum oppidum congregavit: unde et Convenarum urbs nomen accepit*, quoted by Mons^r Roschach in his excellent Catalogue des Antiquités et des Objets d'Art in the Museum at Toulouse,

p. 51, v. Hieronymi Opera, edit. Vallarsi, Vol. ii, pars. i, p. 390, § 4. M. Roschach gives the reference contra *Vigilantium*. II, but I can find only *one* book with this title. Comp. Livy's account of the foundation of Rome i, 8. *Turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfruit*; and "the mixed multitude," *Exod.* xii, 38; *Numbers*, xi, 4, *ἐπιμικτος*, LXX. The Latin *colluvio* corresponds with Strabo's word *συγκλύδων*.

Jerome disparages *Vigilantium*, who is said to have been descended from the first settlers at Convenae; hence he regards the origin of the place very unfavourably; de Vectonibus, Arrebacis Celtiberisque descendens, incurset Galliarum ecclesias, loc. citat.

³ *Cc. xx—xxvii*, especially the last chapter. *Magna pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedit, obsidesque ultro misit: quo in numero fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigeriones, Preciani, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates, Garites, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates.*

Publius Crassus was the younger son of M. Licinius Crassus, the triumvir so-called; he had previously subjugated the tribes in the North-West of Gaul (*Armorica*): Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* ii, 34. Like his father, he perished in the great disaster at Carrhae (Haran of the Bible

were certainly among the latter class, but I can see here nothing beyond a probability, arising from the difficulties which the locality would present to military operations, at that time of year especially. Strabo, who wrote about 14 A.D., in his chapter on Aquitaine, says that the soil was better in the interior and near the mountains, mentioning particularly the territory of the Convenae, a mixed population. Besides their city Lugdunum, he speaks of the hot springs of the Onesii, probably Luchon, as supplying water that was very good to drink. I am inclined to think M. Sacaze is mistaken in explaining Strabo's words *θερμὰ κάλλιστα* to mean a magnificent bathing establishment, though he endeavours to support his interpretation by the discovery of substructions of a Roman *balnéaire* at Luchon.¹

We find the inscriptions of the district, as far as I know, on votive altars, funereal monuments or milestones; the former are consecrated to local divinities, Ilixon, Abellion, Iscitt, &c., to deified mountains, Nymphs, and Manes. Some of the names are very extraordinary, *e.g.*, Expreenn, Aherbelst, Alardoss, Baicorrix; and I can only suggest that a study of the Basque language might, as in the south-west of France, throw some light upon them.²

¹ Strabo, pp. 190, 191, lib. iv, c. ii, § 1 fin. *ἡ δὲ μεσογείως καὶ ὀρευνὴ βελτίω γῆν ἔχει, πρὸς μὲν τῇ Πυρρήνῃ τὴν τῶν Κωνουενῶν, [δ] ἔστι συγκλύδων, ἐν ᾗ πόλις Λούγδουνον καὶ τὰ τῶν Ὀνησιῶν θερμὰ κάλλιστα ποτιωτάτου ὕδατος.* Groskurd, Vol. i, p. 327, thus translates the last clause, auch die trefflichen Warmbader der Monesier mit dem trinkbarsten Wasser. He objects to Onesii as *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, but this is not a sufficient reason for altering the text, especially in the case of an obscure tribe whose name would not be likely to occur often. The context in Strabo does not favour M. Sacaze's rendering, "les magnifiques thermes" ('Epigraphie de Luchon, Introduction p. 14), with which M. Roschach agrees—"Strabon, au premier siècle de l'empire, célébrait déjà la magnificence, Catal. citat., p. 69. They seem to be thinking of the grand 'Etablissements in modern French watering places.

With the adjective *θερμὰ* Liddell and Scott supply *χαρῖα* places, Herodotus iv (Melpomene), 29; or *λουτρὰ* baths.

² See my Paper on Antiquities in the South-West of France, Archæol. Journ.

Vol. xxxvi, p. 9 sq., where I have remarked that RITSEHE in an inscription may be connected with the modern Basque name Erretçu. It is very difficult to give a satisfactory account of these divinities, for some philologists trace them back to an Iberian, and others to a Gallic origin. The following references will be useful to those who wish to compare the ancient monuments in the Pyrenees with the dialects of recent times—El Imposible Vencido, Arte de la lengua Bascongada, Su Author El P. Manuel de Larramendi. En Salamanca Año 1729, which is more instructive than the somewhat ambitious treatise by W. J. Van Eys in Trübner's Collection of Simplified Grammars of the Principal Asiatic and European Languages: Diccionario Trilingüe del Castellano, Bascuence y Latin, also by Larramendi, Nueva edicion publicada por Don Pio de Zuazua, San Sebastian, 1853.

Achille Luchaire's Origines linguistiques de l'Aquitaine is, I believe, the most important work for our present purpose. Mr. Phillimore informs me that it traces the relations subsisting between modern

ILIXONI
DEO
FABFESTA
VSLM

Ilixoni deo, Fab[ia] Festa votum solvit libens merito. To the god Ilixon, Fabia Festa has accomplished her vow willingly, deservedly.

This deity seems to have been specially invoked by bathers during the Roman occupation, perhaps even before it. Some epigraphists read LIXONI; but, on the other hand, M. Sacaze assures us that this form of the name does not occur in any genuine inscription.¹ Possibly we may have here the same god as at Luxeuil (Department Haute-Saône) Lixovius; the word may express heat, and thus be appropriate to thermal springs; at all events it reminds us of the Latin *elixus* thoroughly boiled, *lix* ashes, *lixivium* lye, &c.² But the derivation should only be offered as a conjecture; for the first syllable *IL* is the same as in *Iluro* (Oloron) and Illiberis, which would point to a different etymology.³ The inscription was found (1764) in the Baths of Luchon, during excavations made there. Lastly, we may notice that there are no dots in it, either between FAB and FESTA, or between the initial letters of the last line.

ILIXO
M
V. S.

Ilixo, M. votum solvit. To Ilixo, M. has accomplished his vow.

Basque and the inscriptions and place-names along the Pyrenees. The same writer has published 'Etudes sur les idiomes pyrenéens.

M. Sacaze in his *Histoire ancienne de Luchon, Luchon préhistorique et Luchon romain*, Saint-Gaudens 1887, p. 5 sq., gives a summary of the mythology dominant in this region under the following heads:—Les Dieux, les Demi-Dieux et les Génies, les Héros, les Animaux fabuleux, le Culte des objets nanimés.

Basque is sometimes called *Euscarian*, which I mention because the name may cause some confusion: Congrès Scientifique de France Trente-neuvième Session tenue à Pau le 31 Mars 1873, tome second, p. 360 note, mémoires de la quatrième Section: On sait que cet adjectif, *euscarien*, a été formé du mot *euscara*, nom original que les basques donnent à leur langue.

¹ Les Pyrenées et les eaux thermales

sulfurées de Bagnères-de-Luchon par le Docteur Ernest Lambron, tome i, p. 279 sq. Sacaze, *Epigraphie de Luchon*, 1880 p. 23, Le nom de Lixo ne figure dans aucune inscription authentique; celui d'Ilixo doit seul rester dans la liste mythologique des Pyrenées, et les linguistes ne doivent plus citer Lixo comme un exemple d'aphérèse.

² Joanne, *Guides Diamant, Vosges, Alsace et Ardennes*, 1883, p. 71, Luxeuil... était déjà un établissement thermal à l'époque gallo-romaine; *ibid.* p. 73, Musée archéologique renfermant de nombreuses antiquités &c.

³ My Paper on the South-West of France, *Archeol. Journ.*, Vol. xxxvi, p. 4, note 1. Iluro is called in Basque Iri-Iru, which means "the city of the waters," because the Gaves of the Aspe and Ossau meet here. The name also occurs twice among the cities of Spain. *Ibid.*, p. 8, an imperfect inscription is given, containing ILVRO.

This altar may well be described by the diminutive *arula*, its dimensions being height 0^m.178, length 0^m.066, breadth 0^m.044. It should be observed that the dative is here made according to the second declension; we have similar varieties in *Leherenni Leherenno*, *Arixoni Arixo*, *Iluni Ilunno*, &c. The dedicator is designated only by an initial; so in the Museum at Toulouse a name is expressed by the letters I.P.P., and in the collection of M. D'Agos simply by C.¹

NYMPHIS
AVG
SACRVM

Nymphis aug[ustis] sacrum. Consecrated to the august nymphs.

This inscription, also upon an altar, is specially interesting, because it still remains at Luchon, in a conspicuous position. The height is 1^m.06, width at the lowest part 0^m.435, other dimensions are given in great detail by M. Sacaze, chap. x, p. 50 of his *Epigraphie de Luchon*; the right side bears a *præfericulum*, the left a *patera*, evidently as sacrificial implements; at the top there are two small cavities to receive offerings. A frame of mouldings encloses the Roman characters, which, being well cut, denote an early period of the Empire. This altar was discovered in 1762, a short time before the opening of the grand promenade, *Allée d'Etigny*, so-called from *Mégret d'Etigny*, Intendant of Gascony and Béarn, who planted it in 1765.² The monument has subserved a sacred purpose in modern as well as ancient times; it seems to have supported the holy table in the chapel where it was found, and afterwards it became the pedestal of a wooden cross erected before the Baths.

We pass on to the milestones; combined with other

¹ Roschach, *Op. citat.*, p. 44, No. 90, *LEHERENNⁱ MARTI* &c., *ibid.*, No. 91, *LEHERENNO DEO*, cf. Nos. 92-94, 96-101, 103, 104; altars and pillars (cippi) found at Ardèche, near Valentine, Rive droite de la Garonne, au bord de la voie de Toulouse à Dax—not to be confounded with Ariège, the Department East of Hautes Pyrénées. *Monographie du dieu Leherenn* par A.-E. Barry, p. 88. Sacaze, *Op. citat.*, p. 20. These varieties in declension, though some may think them trivial, deserve the attention of the philologist

when he studies Comparative Grammar, and traces analogies between inflected and non-inflected languages.

² Lambon, *Les Pyrénées et Bagnères de Luchon*, tome i, pp. 289, 299, and especially 333-337, § 3.—*Topographie et Promenades*, C. This engraving of the *Allée des Bains* ou *Cours d'Etigny* also shows the town in the valley and surrounding mountains with names affixed. For a Notice Biographique sur d'Etigny v. *ibid.*, note (1) pp. 306-308.

evidence they give us valuable aid in tracing Roman roads, which, though they do not affect the superficial observer in the same way as magnificent buildings, temples, arches and amphitheatres, yet to those who look deeper, reveal still more clearly the national character and organization.

ITER RESTITUIT

[The Emperor] has repaired this road.¹

We are justified in supplying *Imperator*, as at Burgalays, above the present road, this word was to be seen lately in an abridged form, IMP, upon a fragment of a milliary column; and also at Saléchan on the same line, viz. from Luchon to St. Bertrand. I have described a similar inscription on a natural rock by the way-side, near Oloron; in that case the reparation was made not by the Emperor, but by the Duumvir, Lucius Valerius Veranus, a local magistrate.² We have other proofs of a *Via* connecting Aquae Onesiorum with Lugdunum Convenarum. At two places the rock has been cut; in one the pavement is well-preserved; moreover, in the territory of Gaut, the passage between the mountain and the river *One* is called *Angoust* (angustus).

NPCAESMIVIPHI
IIPPOPIOFEI'CI
AVGCOSP.P.EI
MIVIPHIIIPPO
NOBIISSINO
CAESPRINCIPI
IVVINIIL.EIOIA
CIIIAESEVERAE
AVGNARIVAG
NEICASIROR
CCMP

Imp[eratori] Caes[ari] M[arco] Jul[io] Phil-
lippo pio, felici,
aug[usto], co[n]s[uli], p[atri] p[atriae], et
M[arco] Jul[io] Philippo,
nobilissimo,
Caes[ari] principi

¹ This inscription was visible not long ago at Barcognas, a suburb of Luchon from which one of the Allées is named, but it has disappeared. Sacaze, p. 85; Lambron, tome I, p. 292.

² II VIR BIS HANC
VIAM RESTITUIT

at Pene d'Escot (comp. Spanish Peña, a rock) between Oloron and Jaca: my Paper on the South-West of France, xxxvi, 9. This place is to be distinguished from Pene d'Esquit, nearer the Spanish frontier: Joanne, Guides Diamant, Pyrénées, Route 45, p. 61, edit. 1875.

juvintii, et Otaciliae Severae,

aug[ustae], matr[i] jun[ioris] aug[usti],

n[ostri] et castror[um];

ducenta m[illia] p[assuum].¹

To the Emperor Caesar M. Julius Philippus, pious, fortunate, august, consul, father of his country and to M. Julius Philippus, most noble, Caesar, prince of the youth, and Otacilia Severa,² august, mother of the younger Augustus, of us and of the camp,³ 200,000 paces.

The foregoing inscription deserves notice on account of its many difficulties: for example, in line 1 *N* stands for *M*, *I* for *L*, and *A* has no bar (French, *traverse*); in line 3 *I* stands for *T*; *Juvintii* would be, in correct Latin, *juventutis*; in line 9 *T* is omitted in *MATRI*, and the interpretation of the remainder seems uncertain. But we must bear in mind that these characters were cut on a stone in a remote valley of the Pyrenees. I fear that, in spite of all our boasted progress and enlightenment in this 19th century, an inscription entrusted to a peasant in the wilds of Kerry would not be more grammatical than this old Roman one, engraved more than 1,600 years ago.

¹ Sacaze, pp. 88-90.

² I think that the Emperor and Empress do not often occur together on mile-stones, but we see them associated on coins and gems. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. vii, p. 321, *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM. Capita jugata Philippi et Otaciliae una cum adverso nudo filii*. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, tome iv, pl. viii, Bronze Médaillon. Philippe pere, Otacilie et Philippe fils 4, described p. 201, Otacilie diadémée à droite, etc. Admiral Smyth, *On Roman Imperial Large Brass Medallions*, pp. 262-269 Philip Senior; 269-271 Otacilia.

My brother, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, has reminded me that in the Vienna cameo Livia, represented as the goddess Roma, appears with Augustus. This explanation seems most probable, because other members of the Imperial family (e.g. Germanicus) are included in the composition, and in the Paris cameo Livia is seated beside Augustus: Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, Part I, pl. lxix, fig. 377. However, Müller says that *Rome* is here personified, and Wieseler agrees with him, text p. 83.

Our own Mint supplies an illustration of dual sovereignty, the money of William and Mary showing two profile busts side by side: Akerman, *Numismatic Manual*, pp. 354-356; Humphreys, *Coin-Collector's Manual*, Vol. ii, p. 481 sq. Comp. Tillotson's Works, 10th edition, 1735, Vol. i, p. 394, Thanksgiving Sermon for the late Victory at Sea, "Two Sovereign Princes reigning together, and in the same throne; and yet so entirely one, as perhaps no nation, no age can furnish us with a parallel."

³ Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. vii, p. 196, in his article on Julia Domna remarks, *Matrem castrorum jam vidimus Faustinae juniorem* (i.e. after the defeat of the Quadi by M. Aurelius A.D. 174), *et videbimus adhuc Mamaeam ejus ex sorore neptem*. I have discussed this title in my Paper on the Roman Antiquities of Switzerland, *Archæol. Journ.* Vol. xlii, p. 172 sq. and notes. To the numerous references there given add Smyth, *Op. citat.*, *Faustina Junior*, p. 147, No. cclxx; *Julia Domna*, p. 190, No. ccxli.

Philip, the Arab, whose name occurs in the first and second lines, reigned A.D. 244—249; he “solemnized” the secular games with infinite pomp and magnificence on the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome. This fact invested the celebration with peculiar interest; but under ordinary circumstances such a festivity, like our own Royal Jubilee, no man could expect to behold again. Numerous coins attest the exhibition of animals brought from distant regions; amongst them, on a medal of Otacilia appears the hippopotamus of the Nile.¹ The letters CCMP, if correctly interpreted above, occur in inverted order; we should expect MPCC. According to M. Barry, they indicate the distance from St. Bertrand to Bordeaux (Burdigala), as they nearly correspond with the numbers in the Antonine Itinerary attached to the stations along the road that was carried at the foot of the Pyrenees, connecting Bordeaux with Toulouse.² On the

¹ Cohen, Médailles Impériales, tome iv, pl. x, Grand Bronze, No. 65, MARCIA OTACIL SEVERA AVG.-Rev. SAECV-LARES AVGG. S.C. Hippopotame à droite. Admiral Smyth, p. 271, speaks from experience of the difficulties encountered in shipping these formidable creatures. A denarius of Otacilia has the numeral IIII in the exergue of the reverse: this author explains it as meaning “the fourth of the curious beasts introduced into the Circus on that occasion.” But here, I think, he is mistaken; cf. Eckhel, s.v. Philippus i, Vol. vii, p. 326, Ad numeros quod attinet, in iis nihil aliud video praeterquam notas monetariorum (marks of moneyers).

The coins of Philip, Father and Son, and Otacilia may be seen to great advantage in the beautiful *photogravures* that accompany the Catalogue of the Collection de M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt, published by MM. Rollin et Feuardent, Paris, 1887; p. 72 sq., Nos. 483-489. Observe No. 487, Otacilia, Rev., La Pieté debout à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant une boîte à parfums; à ses pieds, un enfant debout. There appears to be an allusion here to the *filiae alimentariae*: Eckhel, vii, 332, Mulier sinistra elata stans inter quatuor puellas, quarum unam dextera adprehendit; cf. *ibid.*, vii, 40; Cohen, *Med. Imp.*, t. iv, pl. ix, No. 34, described p. 211. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vii, 592; he (M. Aurelius) established, moreover, a new foundation of Faustinian orphan girls.

The above-mentioned Catalogue enables us to trace the changes of fashion in dressing the hair of Roman ladies; from the coins they may be as well known as any modes current now: see esp. those of the Empresses Plotina, Faustina Senior, Faustina Junior and Julia Domna; Nos. 216 sq., 287 sq., 399-408. Comp. St. Paul's First Epistle to Timothy, ii, 9, *μη εν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσῷ ἢ μαργαρίταις* (not in plaits of hair, which is a more accurate rendering than “broided hair,” in the Authorised Version); I Peter, iii, 3, *ὡν ἔστω οὐχ ὁ ἑωθεν (κόσμος) ἐμπλοκής τριχῶν*: v. the note of Alford, who refers to Bishop Ellicott on the former passage.

² I find in the Antonine Itinerary, edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 218 sq., edit. Wesseling p. 456 sq.

Ab Aquis Terebellicis Burdigalam.....
mpm lxiiii

Ab Aquis Terebellicis Tolosam
mpm cxxx

which gives a total of 194 Roman miles, i.e. nearly 200, from Bordeaux to Toulouse by way of Tarbes. But adding up the distances between the stations, as marked in the Itinerary, we have only 125 millia passuum from Burdigala (Bordeaux) to Lugdunum Convenarum (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges), and a glance at the map will show that this difference is just what we might expect. Hence M. Barry's explanation of CC in the inscription, as meaning 200, cannot be accepted.

other hand, cc may be *Civitas Convenarum*, and in that case MP would mean one Roman mile from that town (*primo ab urbe, ad primum ab urbe lapidem*). This explanation would serve for the next inscription also.

CAESPLI
NIO
ERIANOAV
MP. CAES
ICINIO
LIENOVAIERIA
NOAVG M. P.

[Imperator] Caes[ari] P[ublio] Li[ci]nio.

[Val]eriano Au[gusto] [et i]mp[eratori] Caes[ari] Publio
[L]icinio [Gal]lieno Valeriano aug[usto]: m[ille] p[assuum].

It is doubtful whether this milestone stood on the main road from St. Bertrand to Toulouse, or on that from the same place through Salechan, Esténos, Cierp, Gaut and Burgalays to Luchon; which is the line of the railway, no other course being possible than through the valleys of the Pique and Garonne, enclosed on both sides by lofty mountains.¹

The Roman *Thermae* at Luchon were discovered in 1805-1807 and 1848-1855, while digging the foundation of the establishment which exists at present.² At the former period only two basins were exposed, of which the smaller was 1 mètre 75 centimètres in length, breadth, and depth; the larger measured 6 m. 50c. on each side. Round each was a step (*gradin*) that served as a seat. These basins, like those uncovered afterwards, were coated with marble slabs, so well united that the joinings could scarcely be perceived.³ At the second excavation the results ob-

¹ Sacaze, p. 90 sq. Gallienus was associated with Valerian in the Empire A.D. 253; the monument, therefore, belongs to this year or a subsequent one, and was erected about ten years after the milestone of Philip and Otacilia.

In 260 the unfortunate Valerian was taken prisoner by Sapor, King of Persia, and suffered the most cruel indignities. Thus, after an interval of three centuries, the history of Crassus almost repeated itself. Gibbon, chap. x, Vol. i, p. 403, edit. Dr. W. Smith. For the coins of Valerian and Gallienus see the Collection D'Amécourt, Nos. 508-527.

² Lambton's Plan mentioned below (facing Vol. i, p. 380), which is on a large scale, contains Restes des Thermes romains mis à découvert par les fonda-

tions de l'Etablissement actuel, and Légende des antiquités romaines.

³ In ancient times marble from the quarries at Saint-Beat was extensively employed for votive altars and other purposes. This place can be easily visited from Luchon, being near Marignac, a railway-station (v. L'Indicateur, Chemins de Fer du Midi). It is marked in the map entitled "De Montrejeau à Bagnères de Luchon," East of the line that connects these towns: Joanne, Guides Diamant, Pyrénées, p. 222, and see p. 234.

A fuller account is given by Lambton, Deuxième Partie, Deuxième Section, chapitre ii, Plaisirs hors de la ville, ou Promenades. — Excursions. — Ascensions, Vol. ii, pp. 729-733: Saint-Beat is described under the following heads,

tained were far more important. It was then ascertained that three piscinae (bathing pools) had been constructed, one above the other, of which the dimensions are as follow; 10m. by 7m., 5m. by 4m., and 3m. by 2m. 50c., the first being of course the lowest. Amongst the *debris* were fragments of brown pottery, covered with brilliant enamel, which had successfully resisted not only time, but even the corrosive action of sulphurous springs. Several reservoirs supplied the piscinae, and were doubtless employed to cool the waters, whose heat varies from 40° to 66° (Centigrade); one of them furnished the hypocaust with vapours rising from streams that passed under a perforated vault supported by low columns, such as may be seen nearer home in the ruins at Corinium (Cirencester).¹ The smallest piscina is said to have been filled by three brick siphons, one of which is still entire. I may remark that this contrivance was employed on a large scale in the aqueduct at Aspendus; v. Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, s. v. *Aquaeductus*.²

Histoire.—Armoiries.—Monuments religieux.—Carrières de marbre.—Carrière des Romains délaissée.—Carrière ancienne de Rapp en exploitation. He says of the Roman quarry, On a trouvé dans les décombres des outils romains et un tronçon de colonne. The last mentioned quarry was formerly designated *Mail de las Aguras*, nom donné à son ancien emplacement par suite des figures romaines et gauloises, taillées sur les rochers de Rapp, rochers formant la base du mont Arri. Cf. *ibid.* p. 670 sq. Tableau des tours à signaux, Vallée de Saint-Beat. Sacaze, Histoire ancienne de Luchon, p. 23, Les monuments épigraphiques découverts dans la ville et dans le pays de Luchon, tous en marbre blanc de Saint-Beat.

Lambton's work, Vol. ii, is accompanied by two excellent maps, viz., Carte topographique de Bagnères de Luchon, including the country from St. Gaudens to the Groupe de Monts Maudits; and Carte de la Chaîne des Pyrénées from Bayonne to Perpignan and Beziers.

¹ Buckman and Newmarch, Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, chapter on the method of constructing tessellated floors, pp. 62-69; Plates, p. 62 Ground Plan of portion of villa showing Hypocausts, p. 64 Section of the Pilae in the

Room B; Plate VIII, full page engraving, Pilae; p. 66 Plan of Pilae of Room A. The position of the Pilae and the materials of which they were made are fully explained.

According to Hübner, Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae, p. 29, Cap. x, Durocornovium is the name corresponding to Cirencester; comp. the Antonine Itinerary Clevo (Gloucester).....mpm XV

Durocornovio.....mpm XIII
edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 233, edit. Wesseling, p. 485.

² Troisième Fascicule, p. 341, fig. 400, Aqueduc à siphon d'Aspendus dessiné d'après une photographie, texte, p. 340 sq., Tremaux, Explor. archeol. de l'Asie Mineure, pl. viii and ix. But the most remarkable ruin there is the theatre, which is regarded as more perfect than any other in Asia Minor, requiring but little restoration to render it fit once more for its ancient use: Encyclopædia Britannica, 5th edition, Vol. ii, p. 715. There is, I think, an engraving of it, as a frontispiece to a recent edition of the Theatre of the Greeks. The neighbouring city of Perga (Acts. xiii, 13) also had its aqueduct, the remains of which are encrusted with the calcareous deposit of the Pamphylian streams: Conybeare and Howson, edit. 8vo, Vol. i, p. 195.

Various objects were found on this site—rings, hairpins, pots of pomatum and weights—but the coins mentioned as being among them belong to the Antonine period. This fact confirms my suspicion that the ancient baths were not erected in the time of Strabo, who flourished more than a century before. Local antiquaries carried away by enthusiasm are usually inclined to antedate their monuments.

Dr. Ernest Lambron in his work entitled *Les Pyrénées et les eaux thermales sulfurées de Bagnères de Luchon*, tome i, pp. 295-298, has described the Roman *Thermae*. At page 380 there is a *Plan de l'établissement thermal de Bagnères de Luchon et des fouilles ou galeries souterraines des eaux avec l'indication des griffons des sources et substructions des Thermes anciens*.

VI. *Tibiran*, though not mentioned in Murray's Handbook (1882), should be visited by the classical tourist. It is distant only six kilomètres, about four miles, from St. Bertrand; so that it would be easy to include it in one excursion. The Baron d'Agos who resides here, has not only formed the best collection of local antiquities, but has also written some excellent memoirs; he is very willing to show his treasures to those who can appreciate them. His catalogue raisonné commences with a list of forty-six votive altars which are inscribed and thirty-three without inscriptions.¹ Their small size is the feature that will first strike any stranger accustomed to study the great Museums of the continental capitals; but when he reflects on their *provenance*—that they come from Pyrenean valleys, inhabited by a scanty and comparatively poor population—it may occur to him that they bear the same proportion to larger monuments of the same kind as village churches do to metropolitan cathedrals. Of these altars the one that overtops the rest is only 0^m.73 centimètres high, considerably less than one yard; some are 0^m.21c., and among the first ten I observed an example only 0^m.16c.²

¹ Mons^r. de Lassus, who lives near Montrejeau, possesses the best private library of Pyrenean literature: Joanne, *Pyrenees*, p. 216, route 124.

² The similarity in size reminds me of the small altars found at King's Stanley,

a parish in Gloucestershire, three miles from Stroud; they have been described by Lysons, and are now arranged along the top of a wall-case in the Anglo-Roman Room of the British Museum.

Nos. 9, 13, and 38, found in or near the Baron's property, are dedicated to the god Fagus (beech). From this word Agos is derived; for in the patois of the country F is changed into H, and subsequently disappears. So in Spanish we have *hembra* from the Latin *femina*.¹ The names of places also on the French side of the Pyrenees often remind us of our proximity to Spain, and the want of cleanliness, which is very disagreeable to the traveller, points in the same direction.

Similarly two altars from Montespan, now in the Museum at Toulouse, bear the name of Sexs Arbor (six-trees): vide Nos. 84, 85 in M. Roschach's Catalogue; No. 86 *ib.* has the plural number, SEX ARBORVS.² No wonder that in this beautiful country mountains, trees, forests and springs were deified by the old mythology, reflecting the charms which Nature, the universal mother, had lavished upon every scene.³ We cannot but be struck with the frequent repetition of the name Pompeius amongst the dedicators; it lends support to the tradition above-mentioned that Pompey the Great founded or colonized Lugdunum Convenarum.⁴ In No. 13 of M. D'Agos' Catalogue POMPEIA C. FILIA occurs, and he suggests that c might stand for Cneius, and so indicate the famous Roman General. However, I can only regard this notion as one of those wild conjectures in which our lively neighbours are prone to indulge. Again, No. 1 of the Pierres

¹ Comp. *formosus* *hermoso*, *fugere* *huir* / Key, On the Alphabet, p. 60. The Spanish word in common use for woman is *mujer*, Latin *mulier*.

² No. 84, p. 40:

SEXS
ARBORIDEO
POMPEIV
CAMPANVS

With SEXS for SEX comp. MAXS for MAX, *i.e.* maximo, in the Inscription on the Attic of the Roman Arch at Saintes: my Paper in the Archæol. Journ., Vol. xlv, pp. 180, 181; in note 1 on the latter page other examples are given.

³ Sacaze, 'Epigraphie de Luchon, chapitre ix, pp. 46-49, Les Montagnes divines; chapitre x, pp. 50-67. Les Nymphes. *ib.* p. 46.

MONTI
BVS Q G
AMOBN
VS-VS

Montibus Q. Gamobnus votum solvit.

The Gallic name here resembles Onnetodubnus, Dubnorex, Dubnotalus, etc. v. my Paper on Saintes, p. 183, note 2. Him blind antiquity profaned, not served,

* * * * *

peopling earth

With tutelary goddesses and gods
That were not, and commending as they would
To each some province, garden, field or grove.

Cowper, The Task, book vi, vv. 231-237.

⁴ So we have Caius Julius Gededmon in an inscription at Saintes; the *prænomen* and *nomen* seem to have been given to a Gaul, as a compliment to Caius Julius Cæsar. For the personal appearance of Pompey and Cæsar, as known from statues busts, and coins, consult Romische Ikonographie von J. J. Bernoulli, Erster Teil, 1882, Tafel vii-ix, Münzt. ii, 36-48, pp. 107-131:—Tafel xiii-xviii, Münzt. iii, 53-71, pp. 145-181.

Tumulaires in the same collection contains Pompeia Bocontia; the latter word may refer to the Vocontii who dwelt between the rivers Druentia and Isara (Durance and Isere). When Caesar was marching against the Helvetii, he passed through the territory of this tribe, and thence to the Allobroges (Savoy).¹ The initial B is substituted for V, just as in many parts of Spain *vino* is pronounced *bino*.²

D. M. in a Christian inscription has been expanded *Deo Maximo* or *dulci memoriae*; but this seems an attempt to make it harmonize with our religion. I think it is more likely to mean *Dis Manibus*, the old Pagan formula.³ Heathenism, like a fashion in opinions, langu-

¹ Bell. Gall. i, 10, Ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris Provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris Provinciae die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines, &c.

As the river Druentia is now called *Durance*, there is some danger of confounding it with the Duranius (*Dordogne*); the former bounds the Department of Vaucluse, separating it from Bouches-du-Rhône; the latter is described by Brunet (*Dictionnaire de Géographie anc. et mod.*) as "affluent de la Garonne, avec laquelle elle forme la Gironde."

² Orelli, *Collectio Insc. Lat.*, Vol. ii, p. 510, Index Rerum et Latinitatis, B et V confusae literae. The early Christians supply us with many examples of this interchange: Gruter, tom. ii, pp. cxcxviii-cxcxii, *Monumenta Christiana*, e.g. p. 1055, No. 5; p. 1056, No. 7, QVI. BIXIT. ANOS. II. MESES. VII. DIES VII; p. 1057, No. 9. Raphael Fabretti, *Insc. Antiq.*, Caput Octavum, *Monumenta Christianorum*, p. 545 II, BIDVHE, No. 1, BALERIA, BEDVA (i.e. vidua): p. 546, bibere pro vivere minime novum est.

These mistakes in Epigraphy are a commentary on St. Paul's words, First Epistle to the Corinthians, i, 26, *Βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλησὺν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα*, that not many of you are wise according to the flesh. A large proportion of the early converts were slaves, which will partly account for their ignorance: see Olshausen's remarks quoted by Alford *in loco*.

³ Hodder Westropp, *Handbook of Archaeology*, p. 397; who also gives the phrase bibas in Christo, and zezes (from the Greek), both equivalent to vivas. Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art by its Monuments*, Eng. Transl., Vol. iii, Painting, pl. xii, Riunione di diversi

soggetti dipinti a fresco nelle Catacombe o eseguiti sul vetro. No. 26, The bottom of another glass, ...containing a monogram of Christ &c. with the usual ejaculation at the right side of "ZEZES, vivas." Murray, *Rome*, § 26 Palaces and Museums, Galleria Lapidaria in the Vatican. D.M. is often prefixed to inscriptions of this class: Grutez, p. ciol, Nos. 3, 4; p. ciolii, Nos. 1, 8: Fabretti, *op. citat.*, p. 546, iii, Nos. 3, 4; p. 547, viii, Nos. 6, 7, &c.

The text of the inscription at Tibiran is as follows:

D. M.
POMPEIAE
BOCONTIAE
GEMELLVS
CONGI KARIS
MAE

In the frieze surmounting these words, underneath spiral lines and interlacing arches, is a vase out of which issue two vine-branches bearing grapes. The monument has been supposed to be Christian, because we have here an emblem that was a favourite with the primitive Church, derived doubtless from our Saviour's own words, John xv, 1-6. Comp. the vaulted ceiling of the ambulatory in Sta Costanza at Rome: Dr. Appell's Catalogue of Reproductions of Christian Mosaics, exhibited in the South Kensington Museum, p. 5 sq., The Vintage: Monuments of Early Christian Art by the same author, p. 11, Sarcophagus of Anicius Probus; p. 13 sq. Sarcophagus in S. Lorenzo without the Walls. D'Agincourt, *loc. citat.*, No. 24, vine-leaves above and below the heads of two youths. Kugler's *Handbook of Painting*, Italian Schools, edit. Eastlake, Vol. i, p. 5; pl. facing p. 17, Painting in the Catacomb of St. Calixtus, representing Christ as a

age or dress, would not disappear all at once; and we know that the early Christians adopted many—some may think too many—practices from their unenlightened predecessors.

. A M
O S A . C I
V I S T R
E V E R A
V . S . L . M .

No. 33, D'Agos' Collection.

The name should be perhaps supplied as CLAMOSA. It has been supposed that this lady came from Treves to drink the salutary waters at Luchon. Compare an inscription in Gruter :

I O V I
S A L V T A R I
V L P I A N V S
G R A V I . I N F I R M I
T A T E . L I B E R A T V S .¹

M. D'Agos says that Professor Otto Hirschfeld expressed doubts about the authenticity of an inscription (No. 41), because NYMPHIS is spelt with Y. I do not think this objection is valid, for we find this form of the word frequently as well as NIMPIS. *Vide* M. Roschach's Catalogue, Musée de Toulouse, Nos. 163-165. No. 166 has NIMPIS. I refer to this publication, because it has been compiled most carefully, and in details of this kind many French writers are inaccurate.

Among the fragments of sculpture are antefixa, palmetti, friezes ornamented with foliage and grapes, bearing witness to the fertility of the district, capitals of columns and pilasters, handmills in puddingstone and granite; also many mediæval remains, ecclesiastical figures and representations of sacred subjects — *e.g.*, Adoration of the Magi, Our Lord crucified between the Virgin and St. John, &c. The pottery is not particularly remarkable, but the objects in metal deserve notice; especially a hollow silver arm of a statuette of a female. The Baron thought it might have been concealed by the Pagans, when Christianity was established as the state

Teacher, surrounded by the Vine, with Genii gathering fruit. Lübke, Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte, Vol. i, p. 250, Das Lamm, der Weinstock, das Schiff, mit klarer Hinweisung auf bekannte biblische Stellen.

¹ Gruter, Appendix Deorum Dearum-que, pag. mlxv, No. 5, Convenis : Ex Sirmondi schedis.

religion. This department includes five statuettes of Mercury, and well illustrates Caesar's words, *Deum maxime Mercurium colunt; hujus sunt plurima simulacra*. Bell. Gall., lib. VI. c. 17.¹ One of them has a crown of laurel leaves, instead of the usual cap (*petasus*). It is fastened by *bandelettes*, which fall down on the shoulders; the figure wears a light mantle, and carries a purse forming two bags in the right hand, and a *caduceus* in the left. The catalogue concludes with a list of many articles of decorative furniture for sacred and domestic uses, enamels, reliefs in alabaster, &c. Most of these came from the immediate neighbourhood, others from more remote localities in the south of France.²

VII. Valcabrière, one kilomètre north-east of St. Bertrand, in Gallo-Roman times was joined to Lugdunum Convenarum so as to form a part of the great city.³ It was then called Vallis Capraria, of which the modern name is evidently a corruption. Some explain it by reference to an ancient tradition that during a siege the enemy tied torches to a herd of goats near one of the gates, and entered the town by another, the attention of the defenders having been thus distracted. M. D'Agos thinks the story is derived from the account of Samson in the book of Judges xv, 4, who put firebrands between the tails of foxes; but it seems to me more like Hannibal's stratagem by which he eluded the Roman army in Campania, Livy, lib. xxii, cc. 16, 17.⁴ A bronze seal, engraved by M. D'Agos at the beginning of his work "Étude sur la Basilique le St. Just, &c.," bears the legend + SIGILLVM: CONSVLVM: VALLIS: CAPRARIE. In the centre

¹ Some remarks on the frequent occurrence of Mercury amongst the remains of the Gallo-Roman period will be found in the Appendix to my Paper on Langres and Besançon, *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. xliii, p. 230.

² We may estimate the importance of this Collection by referring to the titles of the chapters into which the Catalogue is divided, I. Autels votifs, Nos. 1-46; II. Autels sans inscriptions, Nos. 1-33; III. Bornes Milliaires, Nos. 1, 2; IV. Pierres Tumulaires, Nos. 1-5; V. Fragments de Sculpture, Nos. 1-55; VI. Poteries; VII. Armes; VIII. Objets en Metal; IX. Meubles et Objets divers; X. Chapelles.

³ My attention was directed to this interesting spot by Monst. A. Héron De Villefosse, Conservateur de la sculpture grecque et romaine au Musée du Louvre, whom I have to thank for many useful suggestions and introductions.

⁴ See Weissenborn's edition of Livy, note on chap. 16, Livius, dehnt den Kreis, in welchem Hannibal eingeschlossen war, ziemlich weit aus, da dieser sich weder über den Massicus nach Formia, noch über den Vulturnus nach Liternum (es waren vielleicht die Sümpfe an der Mündung des Clanis und Savo gemeint; s. zu 13, 7) bewegt zu haben scheint.

is a shield, surrounded on both sides and above by palm-branches, emblematic, I presume, of martyrdom, and exhibiting two youthful figures, the patrons SS. Just and Pasteur,¹ each carrying his head in his left hand, with a star of six rays between them, and a goat underneath towards the point of the shield. These boys—for one was thirteen, and the other seven years old—are said to have been put to death at Complutum² (Alcala-de-Henarès) five leagues from Madrid, in the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 304.³ Hence the dedication of the church to Spanish saints agrees with the passage in St. Jerome's writings, mentioned above, where he informs us that Pompey settled Convenae, *edomita Hispania*.

In the year 408 this region was devastated by the Vandals; again in 586 Lugdunum was taken and sacked by Léodégisile, general of the Burgundian King Gontran. It is supposed that the church was built at one or other

¹ Justus, though only a boy, was canonized, and had a day dedicated to his honour, October 18th: Pothast, *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters*, Index of Saints, p. 223. I have not yet found any biography of Pasteur.

² Some have supposed Complutum to be a corruption from *Confluvium*, junction of rivers, like *Confluentes*. It is marked in the Antonine Itinerary on two routes from Emerita (Merida) to Casaraugusta (Zaragoza, Saragossa), edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 508 sq.; Wesseling, pp. 436, 438. This place was in the territory of the Carpetani, repeatedly a Spanish tribe mentioned by Livy; see the Index to Crevier's edition. In Drakenborch's text, Liv. xxiii, 26, we find Carpesiorum, like *Καρπησιοί* in Polybius and Stephanus; but the recent editors, Madvig 1872 and Weissenborn 1882, following J. Fr. Gronovius, read Tartesiorum: v. the Variorum notes in Drakenborch's Livy, 4to, Vol. vii, p. 763.

Alcala is famous in literary history as the birth-place of Cervantes, and because the well-known Polyglot Bible was printed there under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes, 1514-1517. An extract from the Prologue may amuse the reader: *Mediam Latinam B. Hieronymi translationem velut inter Synagogam et Orientalem ecclesiam posuimus, tamquam duos hinc inde latrones, medium autem Jesum, i.e. Romanam sive Latinam ecclesiam collocantes*. This sentence is quoted by

Tischendorf, *Prolegomena to the New Testament*, 2nd edition stereotyped. Brunet, *Dict. de Géographie Anc. et Mod.*, s.v. Complutum, relates the typographical history of Alcala during the XVIth century. See also Ford, *Handbook of Spain*, p. 517 sq., edit. 1878.

³ Dacianus was the governor of Spain, who, in obedience to Diocletian's orders, tortured the Christians; he was born at Eauze, now a small town, chef-lieu d'arrondissement du dépt. du Gers, on the road from Agen to Aire. The modern name is evidently a corruption of Elusa (Elusates, Cæsar, Bell. Gall., iii, 27), on the Via from Tolosa to Burdigala, in Novempopulania: see *Congrès Scientifique de France*, trente-neuvième Session tenue à Pau, le 31 Mars 1873, tome ii, fin., pl. 1, *Carte des voies romaines de la Novempopulanie* (Mém. de M. François St. Maur). This map is accompanied by a *Légende, Viae Romanae, Diocèses &c*. It is copied on a reduced scale in my Paper, *South-West of France*, *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. xxxvi, facing p. 1.

De Vit, *Onomasticon* supplementary to his edition of Forcellini's *Lexicon*, mentions three persons who bore the name of Dacianus, apparently derived from Dacia. The first of them, with whom we are now concerned, is described thus: *Præses Hispaniarum, ann. 304, ut testantur Acta S. Vincentii Martyris, in quem etiam mortuum sæviit, teste quoque Augustin. Serm. 276. n. 4, et 277, n. 6, &c.*

of these epochs, and that the inhabitants, when the barbarians had retired, employed for its construction the materials scattered around them.¹ Accordingly we find here many inscribed stones and fragments of sculptures which belonged to an earlier and better age. The plan of the building is one that prevails in the south of France—a nave with two side-aisles, each of the three terminating in a semi-circular apse.² Ten piers support the central roof, of which two are engaged in the west wall, and two at the beginning of the apse, so that only six are quite free. Inserted in the pillars we find bases of altars, a cornice with *ovoli*, marble columns, foliated scroll-work and friezes adorned with a shield, helmet, swords, a trident, standard and Roman eagle. These military ornaments may have decorated a grand triumphal arch. Moreover, two *bénitiers* (vessels for holy water) have been hollowed out of ancient Corinthian capitals, distinguishable by the acanthus-leaves. Numerous monuments, especially those of pagan times, have been removed to private collections and to the Museum at Toulouse; but enough still remains, both inside and outside the Church, to render Valcabrère well worthy of a visit.

The most remarkable object in the interior is a shrine (ôdicule) consisting of two storeys behind the altar. Structures of this kind were erected in Cathedrals, as at Notre-Dame, Paris, and at Amiens, but in parish churches they are very rare; hence M. Viollet-le-Duc has given three engravings of this one at Valcabrère in his *Dictionnaire raisonne de l'architecture francaise*, s. v. Autel, page 38 *et seq.* The lower storey presents fourteen small columns (colonettes) supporting a vault of depressed Gothic arches, under which a tomb is placed, that contains the remains of a saint to be venerated by the faithful.

¹ Dr. Ernest Lambron, *Les Pyrénées &c.*, ii, 779 sq., Valcabrère et son Eglise. The church may have been built much later, as our information concerning this period is defective and uncertain. Gregory of Tours lib. vii, quoted by M d'Agos (Op. citat. p. 7, note 1), vividly represents the desolation caused by the barbarian invaders. Omnes thesauros quos in urbe reperire potuerunt cum ministris Ecclesiae clam abstulerunt. Mane vero reseratis portarum valvis, immisso exercitu, omne vulgus inclusum in ore gladii tradiderunt; sacerdotes quoque cum ministris ad ipsa

ecclesiae altaria trucidantes. Postquam autem cunctos interfecerunt, ut non remaneret mingens ad parietem, omnem urbem cum ecclesiis reliquisque aedificiis succenderunt, nihil ibi praeter humum vacuum relinquentes. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxx, Vol. iv, p. 52 sq. edit. Dr. Wm. Smith.

² Illustrations of this arrangement will be found in Le Cœur's work, *Le Bearn Histoire et Promenades Archeologiques*; v. Plates; 2 Lescar, 12 Sauvelade, 13 Sauveterre, 37 Oloron, 55 Morlaas.

The upper has only four square pillars, from which ogival arches spring with the Divine Lamb, bearing his cross, on the key-stone.¹

The portal, more modern than the rest of the church, is altogether mediæval, without any admixture of the classical or pagan element. Four statues are arranged like Caryatides, two on each side of the door. On the capitals above their heads rest the concentric bands of voussoirs that enclose the tympanum. In this framework the outer row is ornamented with a billet-moulding; the innermost with a chess-board pattern (*damier*). Three of the figures are evidently sacerdotal: this is shown by their vestments—long robe, chasuble, stole—and the books in their hands; but the fourth is a female holding a cross on her breast and crowned. They all tread upon monsters in various attitudes.² Amongst them may be St. Bertrand, and the woman may be the one from whom he expelled a demon; though the crown has led some to see in her a Countess of Comminges, a Queen of France, or Ste. Clothilde. The style of the sculptures, belonging to the twelfth century, the period when this ecclesiastic flourished, harmonizes well with the first interpretation.³ The two others cannot be identified. None of these statues could represent SS. Just and Pasteur, because the figures are adult, but the patrons of the church suffered martyrdom when they were children. Besides, in one of the capitals we see the preparations for their execution, and in another they appear decapitated. The tympanum is filled with sculptures. Our Lord is seated on a throne, nimbated, raising his right hand in benediction, and holding the gospels in his left. He is surrounded by the oval (*vesica piscis*). The Evangelists stand, two on either side

¹ For the details of this Church I am indebted to M. d'Agos' brochure, 'Etude sur la Basilique de Saint-Just et les Antiquités de Valcabrere,' cited above; chap. iv, Description de l'Eglise. See also Revue de Comminges, Juillet, 1885, art. i, Louis d'Agos: L'Eglise de Saint-Just, de Valcabrere.

² Sous ses pieds deux monstres qui mordent leur queue—les pieds sur deux monstres a tetes grimaçantes et la queue enroulee. Comp. Psalm xci, v. 13, Thou shalt tread upon the lion and add: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou

trample under feet. Mrs. Jameson, History of Our Lord as exemplified in works of Art, Vol. ii, p. 375, Christ treading on asp and basilisk, on young lion and dragon.

³ J.-P.-M. Morel, Essai historique et pittoresque sur Saint-Bertrand de Comminges, pp. 44, 45, chap. 3, Reédification de Lugdunum &c., gives the life of the Saint by the legendary writer Vitalis. Il benit son peuple et s'endormit dans le Seigneur, le 17^{me} jour des calendes de novembre de l'an du Christ 1127 environ, et la cinquantième de son episcopat.



Church of Valcabrère. West Portal.

of him, but all on the same line, each carrying the animal's head by which he is symbolized; above them angels offer incense.¹

Even before he enters the church, at the gate of the cemetery, the visitor has a foretaste of the antiquities which he will find within. On one side is a bust rudely carved, and over it the letters XPIST arranged as a monogram, accompanied by Alpha and Omega, which Our Saviour applies to himself with the explanation "I am the beginning and the end, the first and the last."² On the other side a stone bears this inscription.

V.C.IVLIVS.EROTIS.
L.ATTICVS.
Θ IVLIA.EROTIS.LIBERT.
SALVIOLA.
Θ C.IVLIVS.ATTICI.F.VICTOR.
AN. XVIII

Caius Julius Atticus, freedman of Eros, erected this monument in memory of Julia Salviola, freedwoman of Eros, and Caius Julius Victor, son of Atticus, aged 18 years.

v stands for *vivus*, in his lifetime; L for *libertus*, freedman, and Θ is the usual abbreviation of *θάνατος*, death.³

¹ Our Lord in this position, and similarly attended, is often seen on the portals of French churches, *e.g.* in the Cathedral at Autun, where as Mr. King remarked to me the figure has no head, but its place is occupied by the emblems of the Trinity,—circle, cross and dove: *Archæol. Journ.* xl, 117 engraving. For Béarn comp. *Le Cœur*, *Op. citat.*, pl. 15 Sauveterre; pl. 56 Morlaas, No. 4 Tympan.

The elliptic aureole in painting and sculpture was appropriated to the Persons of the Trinity and the Virgin Mary; it was also used for the seals of bishops, abbeys and colleges, of which there are abundant examples in books relating to sigillography, and in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries: v. Paper by Mr. St. John Hope, Assistant Secretary, On the Seals of English Bishops, Vol. xi, pp. 271-306, with numerous and fine illustrations. J. H. Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*, describes the *Vesica Piscis* s.v. (French, *Amande mystique*), and gives instances in windows at Lincoln and Beverley, Yorkshire, plate 260. Sometimes the elliptic aureole has four lobes, for head, arms and feet. Fairholt, copious

article on Aureola, Glory, Nimbus; *Diet. of terms in Art*, p. 57 sq. with woodcut. Mrs. Jameson, *Op. citat.*, ii, 353-356, Christ seated in a Glory, which is sometimes borne by Angels, pl. 262, from a Belgian MS. D'Agincourt, *Hist. of Art by its Monuments*; Tav. xxi Bassirilievi e Sculture in marmo, opere di cesello in bronzo ed in argento, Sec. xii, No. 13; Tav. xxvi A. Parte anteriore del Palliotto dell' Altare maggiore della Basilica di S. Ambrogio in Milano, IX Secolo, No. 13. Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. i, p. 374, fig. 255, Wandgemälde von St. Savin im Poitou.

² *Apoc.* xxii, 13, *εγω τὸ ἀλφα καὶ τὸ ὰ, πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος*; cf. *ibid.*, xxi, 6, and i, 8, 11, 17; in verses 8 and 11 the readings vary. But Alford remarks on xxii, 13, "These words have hitherto been said by the Father, see above, chap. i, 8, xxi, 6 and notes. And in all probability it is so here likewise, &c."

³ Westropp, *Handbook of Archæology*, p. 399 Sigla; or *Christian Abbreviations*. Θ. *θανούσα*, defuncta. Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, initial article Θ.

VIII. I have already made some references to the history of St. Bertrand de Comminges, which is inseparably connected with that of Valcabrière. French writers say that the ancient city (Lugdunum Convenarum) had sixty thousand inhabitants, but whether this statement be correct or not, it was doubtless very extensive. This is proved by the vast number of Roman remains found in the valley where the Ourse and Garonne meet—portions of walls, mosaics, votive altars, vases, lamps, tombs, and bas-reliefs with sepulchral and historical inscriptions. According to Dr. Lambron, there is a popular proverb in the country that a cat could pass on the roofs from St. Bertrand to Valentine, a village immediately below St. Gaudens, which is a distance of 12 kilomètres or three leagues. Instead of this exaggeration, Morel substitutes Valcabrière, and this would be quite within the limits of probability.¹

The city, especially the lower part of it, must have suffered considerably from incursions of Vandals and Goths in the fifth century, so that it could hardly be flourishing "in all its splendour," as Lambron says, when taken by the Burgundians, A.D. 586.² On that occasion the destruction was complete; for the conquerors, according to Gregory of Tours, not only slaughtered the priests and people, but also burnt the churches and other edifices, leaving nothing but the bare soil. Hence we can account for the fact that so few vestiges of Roman antiquity are still to be seen above ground. Lastly, the Saracens ravaged these valleys A.D. 712-1003, and it was only in the eleventh century that the town revived under St. Bertrand, who must be regarded as its second founder.

The Cathedral is the chief attraction here, but the first object that arrests the traveller's notice is an inscription over the Porte Cabirole, through which he arrives:—

¹ Lambron, *Les Pyrénées*, ii, 742-746, Saint-Bertrand, Origine. — Principales phases historiques. — Morel, *Op. citat.*, § 2, pp. 16-19. Lugdunum cite romaine s'agrandit, s'embellit. — Aussi a-t-on dit qu'un chat passerait de Saint-Bertrand à l'alcabrière en ne suivant que les toits.

² S. Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis Historia Francorum, lib. vii, c. xxxiv, edit. Rom. Ruinart, presbyter et monachus

Benedictin. e Congregatione S^{ti} Mauri, 1699. Igitur Gundovaldus... Garonnam cum Sagittario episcopo, Mummolo et Bladaste ducibus atque Vradone transivit, Convenas petentes. Est enim urbs in cacumine montis sita, nullique monti contigua. Fons magnus, ad radicem montis erumpens, circumdatus turre tutissima; ad quem per cuniculum descendentes ex urbe, latenter latices hauriunt.

IMP. XXVI. COS.
V. P. P.
CIVITAS CONVEN.

To . . . 26 times (or 26th) Imperator, 5 times Consul, Father of his Country, the City of Convenae.

Beside this dedication is sculptured an animal; some suppose it to be the Roman wolf, though the twins are not added which she is usually represented as suckling. The supposition is probable, as this device was very general under the Emperor, and almost corresponds, as a national emblem, with our lion and unicorn. A good example of the whole group is preserved in the Museum at Avenches in Switzerland.¹ Another gate, *Porte Majou* (Major) also exhibits an inscription, which is sepulchral, and begins with *θ*, as at *Valcabrère*; otherwise it does not deserve notice.

As we ascend the hill, on the left substractions of an amphitheatre are visible in a great vault partly covered with ivy: at present the ruins extend for a length of about 50 metres. M. Bernard, director of restorations at the Cathedral who is well acquainted with all the antiquities in the place, thinks that, if the *debris* were cleared away, the seats (*gradins*) might be discovered, and the axes of the ellipse ascertained. Near *Tibiran* are remains of an aqueduct, which probably supplied the town of *Lugdunum* as well as the *naumachia*: leaden pipes have been found, and a reservoir which is also indicated by the name in

¹ See my Paper on the Roman Antiquities of Switzerland, *Archæol. Journ.*, xlii, 199, No. 2. Wolf and Twins. A full-page engraving of it has appeared, I think as an illustration of Professor Bursian's Memoir, *Aventicum Helveticum*, in the *Zurich Mittheilungen d. Antiq. Gesellschaft*, No. xxxi. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vii, 31 sq., on a coin of Antoninus Pius, *Lupa in antro gemellos lactans. Fuit prodigium istud.. innumerus publice monumentis consecratum, et quoddam velut rei Romanæ symbolum habitum, ac speciatim coloniarum, &c.*, cf. *Juvenal*, Sat. xi, 104, 105. *Virgil*, *Aeneid* viii, 630-634, v. Interpp. Lord Byron, *Childe Harold*, Canto iv, Stanza 88, And thou, the thunder-stricken nurse of Rome! She-wolf!

Comp. Historical Notes, xxv.

As the Twins are omitted at St. Bertrand, so, in the case of the Capitoline Wolf, Winckelmann supposes them

to be of a different period from the animal. Accordingly, the former are absent from C. O. Müller's engraving, *Denkmaler*, Part i, *Etruskische Statuen und Statuetten aus Bronze*. H.d.A. § 172; Taf. lviii, No. 288, Die berühmte Wolfin von Ruminatischen Feigenbaum. Smith's *Dict. of Classical Geogr.*, Vol. ii, p. 723, and note where ancient and modern authorities are quoted. Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome, Capitoline Museum*, No. 8, pp. 81, 82.

The wolf, as an emblem of Rome, occurs on a coin struck by the allies who engaged in the Social or Marsic War, B.C. 90-88: *Micali Antichi Monumenti*, folio, Plates to illustrate *L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani*; *Descrizione delle Tavole in rame*, lviii, 9. *Medaglia sannitica...nel rovescio il toro sannite che calpesta la lupa romana* (*Dutens, Explic^a. de quelques médailles grecques et phenic. Pembroch P. ii, tav. 87*).

patois, stagnaon (stagnum). Some think that the aqueduct was constructed for the sake of a Roman encampment, but the position of the ground does not favour this theory.

Morel in his *Essai historique et pittoresque sur St. Bertrand* notices a mosaic in the lower town (le Plan),¹ composed of small cubes of white and black marble; the former serving as the ground on which black squares and stars alternate. He infers from the absence of bright colours that the mosaic was made under the first Emperors. But this feature does not appear invariably at an early period, for we know that the tomb of Atreus, which is assigned to the twelfth century B.C. (?), had its front coated in the upper part with red and green, as well as white, slabs, and the same style was practised by the Chaldæans long before.² Whatever may have been the date when colour was introduced into this art at Rome, it would not prove much for Convenae, because the Gauls may have derived their *technique* not from Italy, but from Marseilles, whence the Greek civilization, as we know from coins and other evidence, spread far into the interior.³ Probably the mosaicists worked in both kinds, coloured and uncoloured, simultaneously, like our engravers and photographers, the choice being often decided by the expense.

I shall not attempt to describe the Cathedral, partly because it does not properly come within the scope of our

¹ The *ville basse* evidently takes its takes its name *le Plan* from the Latin *planus*, Morel, p. 72 sq.

² Gambier Parry, The Ministry of Fine Art to the happiness of life, Essay vi, A Sketch of the History of Mosaic, Pt. i, Anc. pp. 114-159, esp. p. 124. This building is usually called by scholars the Treasury of Atreus, and by Greek *ciceroni* the Tomb of Agamemnon. Dodwell, Classical Tour in Greece ii, 229-234 (with four engravings), mentions different colours—masses of *rosso antico*, covered with spiral ornaments—columnar pilaster and base of a soft green stone. Schliemann, Mycenae and Tiryns, chap. ii, pp. 42-51; at p. 50 he quotes Professor E. Curtius, Peloponnes, ii, p. 408. The following fragments of ancient ornaments were found before the entrance of the Treasury:—"The basis of a semi-column of greenish marble with wreathed stripes in relief;...stone tables, the one of greenish, the other of lustrous red colour,

a third of white marble...finally, a red marble slab, &c."

³ For this subject see my Paper on Autun, Archæol. Journ., Vol. xl, pp. 43, 44, and note 1 on the latter page. The great influence exercised by Marseilles over the surrounding nations may be inferred from Strabo, who devotes a whole section to this city, pp. 180, 181, lib. iv, cap. 1, § 5 De Massiliensibus; he speaks of their maritime ascendancy, as well as of the forts built and the cities founded by them. Πεποιθότες τῇ θαλάττῃ μάλλον ἢ τῇ γῇ τὸ πρὸς ναυτιλίας εὐφρες εἰλοντο μάλλον.....καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκτίσαν, ἐπιτεχίσματα τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τοὺς Ἰβηρσιν...ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι (αὕτῃ ἡ πόλις) καὶ τοὺς γνωριμωτάτους Ῥωμαῖον πεπεικεν ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημίας ἐκεῖσε φοιτᾶν, φιλομαθεῖς ὄντας. Cf. Cicero, Pro Flacco, xxvi, § 63, cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus anteponen- dam dicam, &c.

present inquiry, and partly because other writers have done it ample justice; Lambton, for example, has occupied thirty pages with an examination of its details. However, I may be permitted to call attention to the fact that the church presents to us three periods of art quite distinct from each other. (1). The west façade, tower and the piers supporting it, and the cloister are Romanesque, eleventh century.¹ (2). The upper part of the nave and apse are Gothic or ogival, 1304-1352. (3). The choir and screen (jubé), adorned with sculptures of infinite variety in woodwork (boiseries) belong to the Renaissance, 1536. Here again we are reminded of Spain, for the choir, as in the Cathedrals of that country, is placed in the centre of the nave. In some respects the Church at St. Bertrand resembles S^{te}. Cécile at Albi (Tarn).² But I cannot leave the place without adverting to its picturesque situation; the Cathedral, conspicuous from afar, crowns a hill rising in the midst of a verdant plain surrounded by lofty mountains, watered by the Garonne, and rich with the luxuriant vegetation of the south.³

¹ Part of the Cloister belongs to a later period: Joanne Guides Diamant, *Pyrenees*, p. 222, Dans la galerie du Nord attenante à l'église, et refaite au x^ve ou au xvi^e siècle, sept tombeaux des xii^e et xiv^e siècles. Lambton, ii, 773, Trois des cotes de ce parallélogramme sont sans toiture; le quatrième, celui qui longe l'église, en est encore pourvu, grace aux voutes dont Mgr. de Mauleon l'a couvert, en les liant au mur de la cathédrale, pour lui servir de contreforts (A.D. 1520-1550), cf. sup. p. 748. The capital of one of the columns represents the Fall of our first parents, their expulsion from Paradise and condemnation to labour, indicated by giving a sheaf of corn to Adam and a sheep to Eve: *ibid.*, p. 777. M. le Cure called my attention to the face of the Almighty who makes a mocking gesture, as it were insulting the offenders caught in the act of disobedience.

Good photographs of the Church—interior and cloister—may be easily obtained from the principal booksellers at Luchon.

² Ford's Handbook for Spain, Preliminary Information, § 19, Architecture p. [58], The Pointed Style. "The specimens in Spain present no other variety than the choirs in the centres of the cathedrals." As an example, see pp.

10-12, Burgos, Plan of Cathedral, "Renaissance work, carved with subjects from Old and New Testament by Vigarni, 1499-1512:" cf. *ibid.* p. 474 Barcelona, Plan, B. Coro. More copious information on this subject will be found in G. E. Street's Gothic Architecture in Spain: *Coro*, meaning of term, p. 16; position of, pp. 14, 41, 96, 300, 343, 382, 392, &c. See Illustrations, Ground Plans, Pl. i, facing p. 34, Burgos; pl. xvi facing p. 306, Barcelona.

Morel, *Op. citat.*, p. 80, De même que la cathédrale d'Alby, elle (la cath^{le} de St. Bertrand) a cela de singulier que le vaisseau n'a ni croix ni bas cotes, ce qui le fait croire plus long qu'il n'est réellement.

³ As a pictorial accompaniment to this Memoir, the reader may consult the following work published by Mr. Murray: Etchings on the Loire and in the South of France with descriptive letterpress by Ernest George, Architect, author of Etchings on the Mosel, e.g. ix-xi Loches, City Gate and Chateau, Tower of Agnes Sorel, Water-mill on the river Indre Church of St. Ours and Donjon Keep. xiii Cahors, Fortified Bridge on the Lot. Of all the towns in France which I have visited Loches has the most mediæval appearance, except Carcassonne, on which M. Viollet le Duc has written an excellent

These notes, the result of a vacation ramble last September, are, I am painfully conscious, very crude and fragmentary; but, if health and leisure are continued, I hope by additional research to render them somewhat less unworthy of the acceptance of the Archaeological Institute.

APPENDIX.

The oldest medical work extant is the Papyros Ebers; it contains prescriptions for diseases of the eye: *Das hermetische Buch über die arzeneimittel der alten Agypter in hieratischer Schrift . . . von Georg Ebers, Leipzig, 1875.* As might be expected in Egypt, ophthalmic disorders occupy a prominent place. Cf. *omn.*, vol. I, pp. 28-30, *Das Buch von den Augen. Ein Mittel gegen das Zunehmen der Entzündung in den Bluttheilen im Auge. Behandlung des Wassers darin.* See also Chabas, who is more lucid than the German writer, *L'Égyptologie, Série I, tome I, pp. 177-188, esp. p. 182, Maladie des yeux.* C'est l'un des chapitres les plus considérables; on y trouve des remèdes pour un grand nombre de cas prévus dans la médecine de Galien. Les taies, les taches blanches sur la cornée, les taches rouges, l'amaurose, l'afflux du sang, l'afflux aqueux, les taches qui gênent la vue (*caligines*), les inflammations &c. Religious ideas pervade the book; at least as much importance is attached to prayers and magic incantations as to the healing efficacy of drugs: Chabas, *ibid.*, p. 186, Dans un cas le malade doit repeter quatre fois pendant deux jours consecutifs une invocation magique. Papyros Ebers, tome I, p. 23, O Isis, grosse Zauberinn, erlose mich, befreie mich von allen bösen, schlimmen und rothen (typhonischen) Dingen. *Zeitschrift für Agyptische Sprache, 1872-1876; Art. by Mr Le Page Renouf, 1873, pp. 123-125, to whom I am indebted for the preceding references.*

In the oculist's stamp described above the words *AD VOLCE* are expanded by Dufour, *Memoires de la société des antiq. de Picardie, VIII, S. 596, AD veteres oculorum cicatrices*; but this interpretation is inadmissible. Grotfend, *Die Stempel der Römischen Augenärzte gesammelt und erklärt, p. 106, conjectures AD VOLNERA CERANDA* (covering with wax); but I have not met with any parallel passage that would prove his explanation to be correct. Pliny in several cases mentions *ceratum*, a wax plaster, salve or pomatum; however it is by no means certain in any passage that he uses the word with reference to the eyes: e. g. *Nat. Hist., lib. xxiii, cap. ix. sect. 81, § 163 (Myrti folia) purgant et lentigines, pterygia et paronychia et epinyctidas, condylomata, testis, taetra ulcera, item ambusta cum cerato. Epinyctis (ἐπινυκτίς) sometimes means a sore in the corner of the eye, but it is also said of a pustule which rises and is most painful by night: Liddell and Scott, s. v. As an illustration of the word CIRRON, Grotfend quotes Galen, Th. xii, S. 783,*

monograph, entitled *La Cité de Carcas-sonne (Aude)* pp. 84, 8vo, with 16 plates, Paris, 1881; he gives an account of the

history of the place, its defences, and the Church of Saint-Nazaire.

κολλύριον κίρρον, πάγχρηστον ἐπιγραφόμενον, φάρμακον ἐπιτετευγμένον πρὸς ψωρώδεις καὶ περιβεβρωμένους κανθοὺς καὶ ἐπιτεταμένους κνησμοὺς καὶ βλέφαρα συνκώδη.

This stamp was found at Nérís, which is not in Picardie, as Grotefend supposed; his mistake arose from its having been published by a Society in that province. Nérís is in the Department of Allier: v. De Villefosse and Thedenat, *Cachets d' oculistes romains*, p. 155, note 1. Art. xiv of this work, pp. 153-173, is an elaborate account of another stamp, also bearing the name of Proculus; but in this case we have the *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium*, L. Julius. It is engraved p. 154 (facsimile), and explained p. 157.

(I). LIVLIPROCVLIDIAM
SVSADDIATHESIS

L(ucii) Juli (i) Proculi diamysus ad diathes [e] s.

(II). I. IVL. PROCVLI. DIA S
MYRN. POST. IMP. EX. O

[L(ucii)] Jul(i) Proculi dia[s] myrn(es) post imp(etum) ex[o(vo)].

Collyre diamisus (au misy) de L. Julius Proculus contre les diatheses.

Collyre diasmyrnes (a la myrrhe) de L. Julius Proculus, a appliquer dans du blanc d'œuf après que la plus grande violence de l'ophthalmie est déjà passée.

The following words are fully explained I, 1, L. Julius Proculus, 2, Diamisus, 3, Diatheses; II, 1, Diasmyrnes, 2, Impetus, 3, Ex ovo.

Nineteen figures are intercalated in the text of this work, besides two full-page Plates, one of which represents the Balsamum Judaicum (Baumier de Judée) D'après l'herbier de M. J. de Jussieu.

Many authorities, ancient and modern, for the treatment of ophthalmic diseases, have been quoted above; others will be found in the works of Grotefend and of De Villefosse and Thedenat. The former supplies us with lists of oculists and apothecaries, of drugs named on the stamps, and of localities where these objects have been discovered (Fundorte von Augenarztstempeln). It is worthy of notice that he gives 44 examples of *provenance* in France, 10 in Great Britain, 9 in Germany and Austria, 3 in the Netherlands and Luxemburg, and only 3 in Italy. Comp. Table des Matieres contenues dans le tome I, De Villefosse and Thedenat: the second volume of this work had not yet appeared, when I enquired for it in Paris, Oct., 1887.

Grotefend's collection has been continued by Klein, *Stempel roemischer Augenaerzte*, in-4, Bonn, 1874. See also Sichel, N.R., *Nouveau recueil de pierres sigillaires d'oculistes romains*, pour la plupart inédites, in-8, Paris, 1866. Sir J. Y. Simpson has written a more detailed account of this subject than any other English author: *Monthly Medical Journal*, March, 1851, pp. 235-255; Jan. 1855, pp. 39-50, with Illustrations. These Articles are unfortunately disfigured by typographical errors which may mislead the unlearned. A friend informs me that Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin*, vol. i, p. 402, remarks on the extraordinary vagaries in spelling that the composers or engravers of these stamps indulged in.

The literature of this branch of Epigraphy is immense; the subject seems to have fascinated by its difficulty, and has given rise to memoirs that are almost countless during the last two centuries. Many have been read before the Archaeological Institute; see the Index to their

Journal, vols. i-xxv, s.v. Roman Antiquities. Besides the above-mentioned French authorities v. Auguste, Castan, *Un cachet inédit d'oculiste Romain*, *Mem. de la Société d'Émulation du Doubs*, 6 Juillet, 1867; *Un nouveau cachet*, &c., *ibid.*, 14 Novembre, 1874. An oculist's stamp (quoted above from Wright, *Celt Roman and Saxon*, p. 250), found at Tranent, near Inveresk (Haddingtonshire), is preserved at Edinburgh, in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries; it is described in their Catalogue, p. 92 (^H/₈₈), with woodcut, but the inscription is, I think, more correctly given by Grotefend, p. 117 sq., no. 96. The name should be written *L. VALERI LATINI*. Cf. *Inscr. at Tarragona* *L. VALER. LATINVS | BACINONEN*: Gruter, 379, 3; *C.I.L.*, vol. ii, p. 574, no. 4264. No example of *Vallatinus* is known.

How prevalent ophthalmic diseases were among the ancients may be inferred from the space Pliny devotes to them in his *Natural History*: the article *Oculus*, Index to Sillig's edition, extends over more than twelve closely printed columns; the greater part of it is occupied by morbid affections of this class and remedies for them. The fact may be accounted for partly from climate, as travellers during summer in the South of Europe frequently suffer from heat, glare and dust, causing inconvenience to the eyes; partly from the want of the assistance in reading and writing which spectacles now afford, though this defect was to some extent supplied by slaves (*anagnostae*), who acted as amanuenses: *Cic. Epp. ad Atticum*, I, 12, quoted by Middleton, *Life of Cicero*, vol. iii, p. 288, note [p].

In the Apocalypse, chap. iii, vv. 14-22, we have the Epistle to the Church at Laodicea, and in v. 18 we read "I counsel thee . . . to anoint thine eyes with eye-salve that thou mayest see." *κολλύριον ἐγχρίσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου ἵνα βλέπῃς*. There may be in these words an allusion to the great medical school near this city, which doubtless included ophthalmic surgery. Its importance is testified by Strabo who gives us much information in few words, p. 580, lib. xii, cap. 8, sec. 20, *Μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς Λαοδικείας καὶ τῶν Καρούρων ἱερόν ἐστι Μηνὸς . . . συνέστηκε δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκαλεῖον Ἡροφίλειων ἰατρῶν μέγα ὑπὸ Ζεύξιδος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρον τοῦ Φιλαλήθους, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐν Σμύρνῃ τὸ τῶν Ερασιστρατείων ὑπὸ Ἰκεσίου*. Cf. Eckhel, *Dōct. Num. Vet.*, ii, 539-541, who refers to Dr. Meade, *De numis quibusdam a Smyrnaeis in medicorum honorem percussis*. For the physicians of Crotona and Cyrene, v. Herodotus, iii, 131.

Κολλύριον is a diminutive of *κολλύρα*, which is synonymous with *κόλλιξ*, a roll of coarse bread: the batonnets found at Reims, as mentioned above, show the form in which the *collyria* were prepared: Stephens, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, edit. Didot, s.v. *Κολλύριον*, sive *Κολλοῦριον*; comp. the art. *κολλύρα*. Plautus, *Persa*, act i, sc. 3, vv. 12-17, illustrates the use of these terms—

Collyrae facite ut madeant et colyphia :

Nihilist macrum illut epicrocum pellucidum :

Quasi sisuram esse jús decet collyricum.

In the last line Lambinus and the earlier editors read *juream* (adj. from *jus*) i.e. *placentam*, for which Ritschl has substituted *sisuram*; so that the passage may be translated, "the vermicelli soup should be as thick as a

blanket"—of course a comic exaggeration. Plautus is drawing the distinction, just as we do now, between clear and thick soup.

The Collyridian heresy derived its name from the cake, *κολλურიς*, offered to the mother of Our Lord: *κολλυριδιανοί*, haeretici memorantur ab Epiphanio, t. i, p. 1057-67, Hase. ap. Stephens, Lexic. The throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration; and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess: Gibbon, chap. I, text and note 75, vol. vi, p. 223, edit. Dr Wm. Smith.

We have already noticed yellow ointment for the eyes (*cirron*); Horace speaks of a kind that was black, *Satires*, i, 5, 30—

Hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus Illinere.

Multa omnis generis collyria memorat Celsus 6, 6, *Ex frequentissimis*, inquit § 7, *est id quod quidam κύθιον, quidam a cinereo colore τέφριον appellant*, Orelli in loco.

In the epistle to the church at Laodicea Rev. iii, 14-22, there is another local allusion, which has escaped the attention of many commentators: v. 16, so then because thou art luke-warm, and neither cold nor hot (*οὕτως ὅτι χλιαρὸς εἶ καὶ οὔτε ζεστός οὔτε ψυχρός*), I will spue thee out of my mouth. A hot stream flows from the springs at Hierapolis, and disappears before joining, near Laodicea, the river Lycus, which is cold like the Caprus, Asopus and Cadmus in the same neighbourhood. For this information I am indebted to Professor W. M. Ramsay, who has visited this spot. We may compare Homer's description of the two sources of the Scamander, *Iliad*, xxii, 147-152—

ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιάρῳ ῥέει * * *
 * * * * *
 ἡ δ' ἑτέρῃ θέρει προρέει εἰκνία χαλάζῃ,
 ἡ χιόνι ψυχρῇ, ἡ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῃ.

Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, Asiatic Greece, p. 73 mentions a coin with the legend ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ, on which a wolf and boar appear, alluding to the names of the rivers Lycus and Caprus (*Λύκος, Κάπρος*).

Lastly, some curious passages in the Apocrypha deserve notice before we quit the subject of ophthalmic diseases. The book that bears the name of Tobit relates the treatment that cured his blindness: chaps. vi, 1-9; xi, 1-16, quoted by De Villefosse and Thedenat, vol. i, p. 45 sq., article on Leucoma. See esp. vi, 8, As for the gall (of a fish), *it is good* to anoint a man that hath whiteness in his eyes, and he shall be healed; xi, 8, Therefore anoint thou his eyes with the gall, and being pricked therewith, he shall rub, and the whiteness shall fall away, and he shall see thee. (Σὺν ἔγχριστον τὴν χολὴν εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ δηχθεὶς διατρίψει, καὶ ἀποβαλεῖται τὰ λευκώματα, καὶ ὀψεται σε).

The word *Leucoma*, corresponding to Lat. *albugo*, is said to occur only once on a medicine-stamp, viz. on that belonging to the late M. Duquénelle, of Reims; on the other hand, we often meet with *cicatrices*, which seem to mean the same malady, in inscriptions of this class. De Wecker, *Ocular Therapeutics*, p. 140, Diseases of the Cornea, "Spots, or *leucomata*, the greater number of which are merely cicatricial tissue in parts which have been destroyed by inflammation."

I have already observed that in the Papyros Ebers incantations and prayers against evil deities are combined with medical prescriptions ; so in the Book of Tobit a fish is used both to restore sight and to drive away a demon : chap. vi, 7, Touching the heart and the liver, if a devil or an evil spirit trouble any (*εάν τινα ὁχλή δαιμόνιον ἢ πνεῦμα πονηρόν*), we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed : *ibid.*, vv. 16, 17. Comp. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book iv, 167-171.

* * * though with them better pleas'd
Than Asmodæus with the fishy fume,
That drove him, though enamor'd, from the Spouse
Of Tobit's Son ; and with a vengeance sent
From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

See also the note in Bishop Newton's excellent edition of Milton ; he quotes Tobit, viii, 3, The which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him.

All the medicine-stamps of the ancients have been hitherto explained as having reference to the *eyes* ; but an eminent French physician, Dr. Robert of Pau, has suggested to me the possibility of some being discovered that pertain to diseases of *other* organs. I cannot pursue the subject further, and only propose this inquiry to the curiosity and diligence of the learned.

Amongst the French, Saint-Médard corresponds with our St. Swithin, as from his day, June 8th, the weather is prognosticated for a subsequent period. I am informed that this popular notion is alluded to by Henrion in one of his *chansonnettes*. For the life of St. Médard, and a full discussion of the authorities, see the Dictionary of Christian Biography &c., edited by Dr. Wm. Smith and Professor Wace, vol. iii, p. 887 sq.

The short-lived favourite of Louis xiii, le Marquis de Cinq-Mars (Henri Coiffier de Ruzé, according to Martin Henri d'Effiat), took his title from the village of that name. He was born 1620, and put to death 1642. Martin's *Histoire de France* gives a graphic account of his remarkable career—elevation to the post of grand écuyer de France, plots against Richelieu, arrest and execution at Lyons together with his associate De Thou, by order of the cardinal who died soon afterwards : vol. xi, pp. 540 sq., 554-557, 567-569. Comp. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, s.v. Cinq-Mars.

The confusion between Saint-Mars and Cinq-Mars reminds me of a somewhat similar error in the case of Chalon-sur-Saône and Chalons-sur-Marne. An early edition of Murray's *Handbook for France* has both towns spelt Chalons (*sic*). The former comes from Cabillonum ; the latter from Catalaunum. Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, *Geographical Supplement*, distinguishes these two places as above ; so does the *Indicateur des Chemins de Fer*.

Luynes, a town not far from Cinq-Mars, has also given title to a personage in French history—another favourite of Louis xiii. The first Duc de Luynes gained the monarch's favour by his skill in training birds ; he was therefore appointed grand fauconnier de France et maître des oiseaux de la chambre. He became Constable of France, and attaining supreme power, exercised it in the most arbitrary manner : Martin, *Op.*

citat., vol. xi, pp. 112-180. His son, the second Duke, had very different tastes, was intimate with the recluses at Port-Royal, and wrote many theological works. Several members of the family served with distinction in the French army, but the one that would most interest the antiquary was Honoré-Théodorice Paul-Joseph-D'Albert, born 1802. He is celebrated as an author, connoisseur and collector, who spent his great income with almost royal munificence, encouraging painters, sculptors and literary men. Besides composing important works on various branches of archaeology—especially Greek numismatics—the Duke supported the expense of some costly publications edited by others: Vapereau, Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains, and Nouv. Biogr. Gén.

Sauvagère places Caesarodunum at Luynes, and argues at great length to support his theory; but it is generally, and I think correctly, assigned to the site now occupied by Tours. He remarks that the termination *dunum* means a hill, being only a Latinized form of the Celtic *dun*, (v. my Paper on the Antiquities of Autun, Archaeol. Journ. vol. xl, p. 30 note 2) and hence infers that Caesarodunum could not have been at Tours, where the ground is perfectly flat—*sol aplat*. But one might reply that there is an elevation near the city, viz. the suburb Saint-Symphorien on the opposite bank of the Loire. The conclusion in favour of Luynes is based upon the Roman remains still existing there—fragments of walls and especially the aqueduct. This latter structure, however, does not corroborate Sauvagère's supposition, as it was too small to furnish a supply of water for the capital of the Turones. On the other hand, the local antiquaries mention a Circus, Amphitheatre and Aqueduct, of which they have found traces at Tours, though I do not remember having seen any remains of them above ground. This is not to be wondered at, if we consider that there, as elsewhere, modern prosperity would destroy, or at least conceal, ancient monuments: Sauvagère, Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules; Recherches sur quelques Antt. des Environs de Tours, et sur la situation de Caesarodunum, capitale des Turones, sous les premiers Empereurs Romains, pp. 131-157. Mr. George Long, in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, remarks "The identity of Caesarodunum and Tours is proved by the four roads to this place from Bourges, Poitiers, Orléans and Angers."

Ptolemy, who flourished under Antoninus Pius (A.D. 139-161), is the first writer who names this city, lib. ii, cap. 8, § 11 *παρὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀίγειρα τυγχάνουσι Τουρόνιοι καὶ πόλις αὐτῶν Καισαρόδουνον* vol. i, p. 126, edit. Car. Müller, who in his copious notes gives the various readings *Τουρούπιοι*, *Τουρογυίς* *Τουρονιεύς*. The Table of Peutinger has *Casaroduno*, Segmentum, i. b. In Tacitus, Annals, lib. iii, cc. 41-46, Orelli and Halm read *Turoni* and *Turonum*, following the Codex Medicus (M): ante Bekkerum vulgo *Turonii*, Orellii Adnotatio Critica. Thus the form of the name, adopted by the recent editors, agrees with the inscriptions and legends of coins, as mentioned above. Ernest Desjardins, Géographie de la Gaule Romaine, vol. ii, pp. 482-483. *Turones* ou *Turoni*; toponomie gauloise très-riche. "Il est indubitable que les *Turoni* s'étendaient sur les deux rives de la Loire."

Statues of Rabelais and Descartes, both natives of Touraine, have been appropriately erected in a conspicuous position near the principal bridge at Tours. The former was born at Chinon (Department of Indre-et-Loire), or, to speak more accurately, at la Devinière in the commune

of Seuilley ; the latter at La Haye, a village on the river Creuse : under his effigy the words, *Cogito ergo sum*, are inscribed. Rabelais (circa 1490-1553) is connected with our subject, because he mentions the Pile de Cinq-Mars, likening the tail of Gargantua's mare to it, "squared as that is." With this extraordinary appendage she destroyed the ox-flies on the great plain called la Beauce, the granary of France. An English Translation by a ridiculous blunder makes the author allude to the pillar of St. Mark ! Livre I, chap. xvi, Comment Gargantua feut enuoyé a Paris, et de l'enorme jument qui le porta. "Mais sustout auoit la queue horrible. Car elle estoit poy plus poy moins (peu plus, peu moins) grosse comme la pile saint Mars apres de Langes": edit. L. Jacob Paris, 1850, p. 29 and note.

I have referred above to the opinion of De Crazannes that the Piles marked boundaries. Considered from this point of view they seem analogous to three obelisks near Mimizan (Dept. des Landes), South of Arcachon, which also were adjacent to a Roman road : see Joanne, Guides Diamant, Pyrénées, Route 5, p. 22, edit. 1875, "qui marquaient les limites de 'sauvete' offertes aux persécutés de tous les pays voisins.—Restes de *voie romaine* encore appelée *Camin Roumiou*." Mimizan is not mentioned in Murray's Handbook for France, edit. 1882.

The Pire-longe as shown in De Crazanne's vignette, Antiquités de Saintes, may remind us of Irish Round Towers ; but I observed on the opposite side of France—at Epinal (Dept. des Vosges) the *tour du clocher* of the parish church much more closely resembling the Hibernian style.

If my remarks on the Aqueduct at Luynes should induce anyone to study other monuments of the same class, he will derive great assistance in his researches from Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, 4to. The Article Aquaeductus, Troisième Fascicule, pp. 336-345, figs. 397-404, is very elaborate, and written by three contributors. It ends with a copious list of writers—Bibliographie—from the seventeenth century down to the present time. Of the ancient authorities Sex. Julius Frontinus, De Aquaeductibus Urbis Romae Libri II, is the most important, as might be expected from his holding the office of *curator aquarum*.

Sauvagère's work, so frequently quoted above, has become rare : Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, vol. i, p. 599, s.v. Caylus, Recueil d'Antt., says "Volume qui n'est pas commun, 21 a 25 francs." For the *Piles* see the Abécédaire ou rudiments d'Archéologie by A. de Caumont, who has a drawing of that at Ebéon : Congrès Archéol. de France, 11^e Session, a Pamiers, p. 182. De Caumont's books, though he died in 1873, have not yet been superseded ; his *Ere gallo-romaine* is the one most useful for our present purpose. But the student of antiquities in Touraine should pay particular attention to Mr. C. Roach Smith's Retrospections, vol. ii, pp. 265-274, containing notes of a tour in France in 1854, because he gives interesting details about many places not noticed by the ordinary guide-books, and his remarks are illustrated by engravings. Besides the Pile de Cinq-Mars, he describes the Roman ruins at Thesee, 5 miles from Montrichard on the river Cher, which is a railway station on the line from Tours to Vierzon, next to Chénonceaux ; a similar ruin at Vernon, popularly called Palais de Pepin (Vernudum, Gregorius Turonensis) ; vestiges of Roman occupation at Tours ; castrum at Larçay

and amphitheatre at Doué la Fontaine (My Paper on Saintes, Appendix, Archaeol. Journ. vol. xliv, p. 230 sq.) Some places not included in the Index to Murray's Handbook for France will be found in the accompanying Map of the River Loire from Orléans to the sea and adjacent country: see the Indicateur, Cartes spéciales des réseaux, Chemins de Fer d'Orléans et Environs de Tours.

My account of the Central Pyrenees is intended to be supplementary to the Memoir on the South-West of France. Archaeol. Journ. vol. xxxvi, pp. 1-32, 1879; I must therefore request the reader to consult it for some collateral information.

It has been already suggested that the Basque language would illustrate ancient inscriptions in this region. In addition to works cited above v. Congrès Scientifique à Pau, 1873, vol. i, pp. 265-269, sixième, septième séance; vol. ii, pp. 357-411, Table des Matières.

Julien Vinson: La question ibérienne . . . p. 357

Duvoisin: De la formation des mots dans la langue basque p. 369

Luchaire: Remarques sur les noms de lieux du pays basque p. 383.

The Pyrenees will not yield an ample harvest to reward the labours of the numismatist; but we may find some interest in tracing Greek influence, which radiated from the centres of civilization, Massilia on the East and Rhoda in Spain on the West of this mountain range. I possess some examples of the money of the Volcae and Elusates. The following are thus described in Rollin and Feuardent's Catalogue d'une collection de Médailles de la Gaule, p. 4, Volcae Arecomici, no 39, Tête de Cérès, à g. r. Rose ouverte (Imitation de Rhoda par les Volkes). Ibid. Volkes Tectosages (Toulouse), no 43, Autre (i.e. Tête d'Apollon). Une hache, trois croissants avec un globule au centre. (La tête d'Apollon ressemble à une tête de singe.) p. 10 sq., Elusates, no 132 Tête barbare, à dr. r. cheval ailé à g. Dessous un carré ayant un espede de cippe au milieu. The coins of Rhoda are very scarce, but good electrotype copies can be obtained from the British Museum. It should be observed that in this case the legend is ΠΟΔΗΤΩΝ; but the tetradrachms of Rhodes and their subdivisions have usually ΠΟΔΙΩΝ, or in an abbreviated form ΠΟ.

Bunbury, History of Ancient Geography, vol. i, p. 95, says that "the Massilians by degrees established smaller settlements along the coast on both sides of them," and he mentions Rhoda as one of those towards the West; but Strabo informs us that this city was founded by the Rhodians, and afterwards occupied by the people of Marseilles: p. 654, lib. xiv, cap. ii, § 10, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ μέχρι Ἰβηρίας ἐπλευσαν, καὶ καὶ μὲν τὴν Ῥόδον ἔκτισαν ἢν ὑπερὸν Μασσαλιώται κάτεσχον. Heiss, Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne, pp. 55, 84 sq.; planche i, Tarraconaise, Indigetes, Rhoda (Rosas) figs. 1-9; Tête de Cérès à g. Rev. Rose épanouie vue en dessous, très-belle de style. Imitations Gauloises. De Saulley, Lettres à M.A. de Longpérier sur la Numismatique Gauloise, Extrait de la Revue Numism., p. 277 sqq. pl. i, 1867. Hucher, Art Gaulois . . . d'après leurs Médailles, woodcut p. 22, and pl. 101, no 7.

The coins of the Volcae are remarkable on account of their rectangular form, like those used by the Japanese. See examples in the Medal Room, British Museum. Hucher, Op. citat., ibid., Les Volkes—Tectosages, dont la monnaie, régulièrement ronde à l'origine, pèse 3g. 50c., finissent par émettre des morceaux de métal quadrangu-

lares, qui ne pesent plus que 2g. 30c, &c., *ibid.* p. 32, Les Volces—Arécomiques ont subi dans leurs monnaies de bronze la double influence grecque et romaine; &c. Elusa, v. sup., was the birth place of Dacianus, and in this connexion its position has been described above. The obverse of the coins presents the *ne plus ultra* of degradation: it is difficult to say at first sight whether we have here the head of a man or an animal, or any head at all; the reverse is better, and bears a device occasionally met with: Hucher, p. 50, Cheval ailé; N. 1, pl. 2; N. 2, pl. 56; N. 1, pl. 71; N. 1 et 2, pl. 75. Lelewel, *Type Gaulois ou Celtique*, Index Alphabétique, Arécomiks, chaps. 28, 31, 89, 90, 143; Tectosags, 28, 9, 30, 1, 4, 7, 50-3, 88, 9. (Dans la suite des chiffres les dizaines et les centaines ne sont pas répétées): Atlas, Planche iv, nos. 1-4; v, 2 (rectangulaire), 3; vii, 20; viii, 1, Rhoda-d'Ibérie.

For the subjugation of Gallic tribes in the South of France v. Bunbury, *Op. citat.*, vol. ii, p. 44, and map to illustrate Caesar's wars facing p. 130.

The opinion that the Onesii occupied the neighbourhood of Luchon is confirmed by the name of the river One: Lambron, vol. i, p. 286 sq. "la rivière qui arrose les rues de cette ville porte le nom d'One." Joanne, *Pyrenées*, p. 225, edit. 1875, thus describes the situation of the town, "non loin du confluent de la Pique et de l'One, au débouché du val de l'Arboust": see the map facing p. 230, *Montagnes de Bagnères-de-Luchon*. So in modern France we often find the department having the same appellation as the river which flows through it, *e.g.* Somme, Seine - Inférieure, Orne. *BALNEVM LIXONENSE POST NEAPOLITENSE PRIMVM* is the motto adopted by this Pyrenean station, and has reference to the baths and sulphurous waters of Baiae: Horace, *Epistles*, I, 1, 83,

Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis praelucet amoenis.

M. Julien Sacaze, *Historie ancienne de Luchon*, p. 19, exhibits the armorial bearings of the town, and draws a parallel between these two places which offered similar attractions to visitors.

Among the natives of this region the most celebrated person in ancient times was Vigilantius, born about A.D. 364 at Calagorris, a village near Convenae (Comminges). He is chiefly known to us from the fierce invective of Jerome: *Hieronymi Opera*, edit. Vallarsi, vol. ii, pp. 387-402. Milman speaks of him as a premature Protestant, who opposed the reverence paid to the relics of martyrs, and the encroachments of monachism, endeavouring to bring back the church to the simplicity of earlier days: *History of Christianity*, vol. iii, pp. 233, 235, 236, edit. 1863. Vigilantius and his Times by W. S. Gilly, D.D., 1844—a learned and animated biography, but written with a strong theological bias; it excited much interest at its first appearance. *Real. Encyclopädie für Theologie und Kirche* (Herzog, Plitt und Hauck) Band xvi, pp. 460-464, Art. Vigilantius by Dr. Hermann Schmidt.

A few specimens of Jerome's rhetoric must suffice:—*hucusque latrocinetur contra ecclesiam Dei . . . portetque nequaquam vexillum Crucis, sed insigne diaboli. Vigilantius seu verius Dormitantius. Nec a suo studio Monachi deterrendi sunt a te lingua viperea et morsu saevissimo.* He begins by enumerating fabulous monsters of classical antiquity, such as centaurs and Sirens—portents which were surpassed by Vigilantius; then he adds another comparison by no means complimentary, *ululas et onocrotalos in Isaia legimus* (screech-owls and bitterns)

chaps. xiv. 23, xxxiv. 11. The latter word is, I think, incorrectly translated *pelican* in Smith's Latin Dictionary. It seems to mean the *bittern*, a bird resembling the heron, which frequents marshy places, and has a cry like that of the jackal. Comp. Martial, Epigrams, xi, 21, 10.

Turpe Ravennatis guttur onocrotali.

This compound is formed from *ὄνος* an ass and *κρόταλον* a rattle; the Greek name, therefore, is analogous to the *Jackass Penguin* described by Darwin as making a loud strange noise, very like the braying of that animal: Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle, Journal of Researches &c., p. 199, quoted in C. Knight's Cyclopaedia of Natural History, s.v. Penguin. The Septuagint has *ὄνοκένταυροι*, locis citatis.; cf the Vulgate, Is. xxxiv, 11, et possidebunt illam onocrotalus et ericinus.

The preceding extracts account for the epithet which Schmidt applies to Jerome—den unliebenswürdigsten Heiligen: he characterizes the reformation attempted by Vigilantius as the protest, den er dem Zug der Kirche zu heidnischer Superstition entgegenstellte.

Juventii for *juventutis*, on a *borne milliaire* belonging to M. D'Agos, is a form of the word not to be found in Latin dictionaries, I presume because it is only the mistake of an ignorant stone-cutter. *Juventia* occurs as an ancient plebeian gens, the families of which bore the names *Celsus*, *Laterensis*, *Pedo* and *Talna*; it produced several jurists; Smith's Dict. of classical Biography; Cohen, Medailles Consulaires, p. 180 sq., no 85, Pl. xxiv, figs. 1 and 2, with TAL, as a monogram, in the legend; pl. lvii, *Juventia*. The mss. often have *Jubentius*.

Similarly BOCONTIA stands for VOCONTIA in an inscription at Tiberan, mentioned above. Maitland, Church in the Catacombs, p. 177, gives an instance of this interchange of b and v from the cemetery of St. Priscilla:

NA VIBAS
DOMINO
ESV

. . . na, may you live in the Lord Jesus.

If we compare the coins of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, who reigned A.D. 193-211, with those of Otacilia, wife of Philip I, Emperor 244-249, we shall see the same fashion of dressing the hair in both. The medals are reproduced in the Catalogue of the Collection de Ponton d'Amécourt; *photogravures*, nos. 399-408, and no 487. The late Rev. C. W. King remarked to me that this mode of *coiffure* lasted a hundred years.

I have spoken of vinebranches on a *pierre tumulaire* as being perhaps a Christian emblem. One of the best illustrations is supplied by the porphyry sarcophagus of St. Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great, now preserved in the Vatican Museum: Dr. Appell, Monuments of Early Christian Art, p. 14 sq., with references. Lubke, Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte, vol. i, p. 253. Seine Flächen sind mit schwerfalligen Weinranken, traubenlesenden und kelternden Genien in einer ungefügen ansführung bedeckt, die mit der technisch meisterhaften Bearbeitung des schwierigen Materials in bemerkenswerthem Gegensatz steht. Aringhi, Roma subterranea sive de sacris Romae coemeteriis, 1651, tom. ii, p. 156 text, and p. 157 full page engraving (folio). Bacchanalian scenes, representing the vintage, were adopted and sanctified by Christian art. The same author gives us another example of this favourite imagery, taken from a lamp: *ibid.*, lib

vi, cap. xlv, pp. 647-650; plate on p. 648, "quae (lucerna) uvarum racemis nobilis instar coronae sertis Christi sub pastoris typo circumdatam imaginem contemplandam exhibet. Index, s.v. Vites. Here our Lord appears as the Good Shepherd carrying the lost sheep on his shoulders; comp. ib. cap. xviii, § 8 pp. 553-554, Ovicula in humeris Pastoris symbolum humanae naturae, and woodcut of a ring. Lübke, op. citat., vol. i, p. 255, fig. 174. Aus den Katakomben von S. Agnese (Wandgemalde). Er schreitet als elastische jünglingsgestalt in kurzem Gewande einher, das wiedergefundene Lamm sorglich auf den Schultern tragend. The posture described by the prophet Isaiah is quite different, xl, 11, he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom.

We have seen that Θ θάνατος occurs twice in an inscription at Valcabrière, Comp. Persius, Satires, iv, 18—

Et potis es nigrum vitio praefigere Theta.

And, while your sentence strikes with doom precise,

Stamp the black Theta on the front of vice!

Hoc est discernere et damnare; cum recensabant laterculos militum, nominibus eorum qui perierant, praefigebant Θ; hoc erat expungere: Isaac Casaubon's note edit. 1615; he quotes Rufinus in Hieronymum to support his interpretation. Cf. Martial, Epigrams, vii, xxxvii, 1-4—

Nosti mortiferum quaestoris, Castrice, signum?

Est operae pretium discere theta novum.

Exprimeret quotiens rorantem frigore nasum,

Letalem juguli jusserat esse notam.

Strabo and Pliny are the chief ancient authorities for the geography of the Pyrenees; the former, however, makes a strange mistake in saying that this chain of mountains extended from south to north; p. 137, lib. iii, cap. i, § 3. ὁρος γὰρ διηκεῖς ἀπὸ νότου πρὸς βορρᾶν τεταμένον ὀρίζει τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας; and again, where he defines the limits of Gaul, he tells us that the Rhine bounded it on the East, being parallel to the Pyrenees; p. 177, l. iv, c. i, § 1. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ὁ Ῥήνος παράλληλος ὦν τῇ Πυρρήνῃ. This error is corrected by Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. iv, cap. xx, s. 34, § 110. Ipsa Pyrenaei juga ab exortu aequinoctiali fusa in occasum brumalem breviores latere septentrionali quam meridiano Hispanias faciunt. As Pliny was procurator in Spain during the latter part of Nero's reign, he was likely to know the country better than Strabo, a native of Asia Minor, born at Amasia in Pontus. Besides other particulars, Pliny mentions a remarkable inscription at the Eastern extremity of the Pyrenees, l. iii, c. iii, s. 4, § 18, utpote cum Pompeius Magnus tropaeis suis quae statuebat in Pyrenaeo DCCCLXXVII oppida ab Alpibus ad fines Hispaniae ulterioris in dicionem ab se redacta testatus sit: Bunbury, Hist. of Anc. Geogr. II, 235, 390. On the other hand Strabo shows himself well acquainted with the natural history and mineral products of Spain; he also defines the position of many tribes on both sides of the Pyrenees, l. iii, c. iv, § § 10, 11; l. iv, c. ii, § 1.

Much information concerning the country north of these mountains will be found in Ernest Desjardins, Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule. The first volume contains Géographie physique

comparée—'Epoque romaine, 'Epoque actuelle; pp. 109-113, Les Pyrénées, Pyrenaei montes. Passages included in Orographie; pp. 145-158, Garonne et affluents, &c., under Hydrographie interieure: fleuves, rivières et lacs. In vol. ii, we have Géographie historique, pp. 30-48 Les Ibères; 212-223 Volcae Arecomici; 359-411 Aquitaine proprement dite; 643-648 Guerre de P. Crassus en Aquitaine.

Three great Roman roads crossed the Pyrenees—one central and the other two at the extremities. Beginning at the east we have—1. From Tarraco (Tarragona), capital of Hispania Tarraconensis, and Barcino (Barcelona) through Gerunda (Gerona), Juncaria (Junquera) and Pompeii Tropaea to Narbo Martius (Narbonne). At Pompeii Tropaea the road was carried further inland than at Illiberis, because the rocks of the Promontorium Pyrenaeum Cap Creuz, extending to the sea, east of the Col de Pertus (*pertuis*) left no passage along the shore. Illiberis, *hod. Elne*, was rebuilt by Helena the mother of Constantine the Great, and from her the modern name is evidently derived. Strabo, iii, iv, 9, αὕτη δ' ἡ ὁδὸς ποτὲ μὲν πλησιάζει τῇ θαλάττῃ, ποτὲ δ' ἀφέστηκε καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν μέρεσι. 2. From Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) to Beneharnum through Iaca, which has preserved its ancient name, and Iluro (Oloron), in a direction nearly due north. Beneharnum has been identified with Ortez, Pau and Navarreins; but most geographers place it at Lescar, seven kilometres west of Pau. Instead of Oloron we sometimes see Oleron written, which may lead to confusion with the island so-called, opposite the coast of the department Charente-Inférieure. Pliny, iv, 19, § 109, mentions the island Ularius in the Sinus Aquitanicus, and Sidonius Apollinaris gives us the ethnic name Olarionensis. This place must be carefully distinguished from Olearos, which is variously spelt, one of the Cyclades in the Ægean sea (Ὠλέαρος, Ὠλίαιρος), Virgil, Æneid, iii, 126. Oloron stands in a very picturesque situation, and can be reached from Pau in an hour and a half by a branch line from the Chemin de Fer du Midi. 3. From Pompaelo (Pampelona) to Aquae Tarbellicae (Dax), through Carasa (Garris), which is south-east of Lapurdum (Bayonne), and twenty-five kilometres from Hasparren, where there is a remarkable inscription; it has been photographed, and often discussed by French antiquaries: my paper on the south-west of France, *Archaeol. Journ.* xxxvi, 11-14; *Congrès Scientifique Dax*, 1883, pp. 209-221, Note sur la date probable de l'Inscription romaine de Hasparren, par M. Henry Poydenot, with fac-simile.

The stations on the 1st road are thus marked in the Antonine Itinerary, Narbone, Salsulis, Ad Stabulum, Ad Pyreneum, Iuncaria, Gerunda, Barcenone, Stabulo novo, Tarracone, p. 389 sq. edit. Wesseling, p. 188 edit. Parthey and Pinder. For the 2nd and 3rd roads and others in the same region see *Archaeol. Journ.*, *ibid.* pp. 1-8, and map of Aquitania Tertia sive Novempopulania. Instead of Iturissa and Aquae Tarbellicae in the Antonine Itin. Parthey and Pinder p. 217 give Turissa and Aquis Terebellicis. In the map of Hispania that accompanies the 2nd vol. of the *Corp. Insc. Lat.*, edit. Hubner, the *Viae* on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees are marked so as to indicate that they are *certae sed nondum exploratae*.

Peutinger's Table does not show the whole of Southern Gaul; it includes Burdigala (Bordeaux) and Elusa (Eauze), but neither Lapurdum (Bayonne) nor Iluro (Oloron): "Il n'y a guères que la partie avoisinant

les Pyrénées qui ait souffert et où les noms se lisent péniblement," M. Alfred Maury quoted p. 59, Congrès de Dax.

I add the titles of some works belonging to Pyrenean literature, because I presume that they are not well known in England, even by antiquaries.

Memoires archéologiques par M. Alexandre du Mege, de la Haye, 3 planches, 1835.

Monographie du Dieu Leherenn d'Ardiege par A. E. Barry, Professeur d'histoire à la Faculté de Toulouse, 1859.

Autel Epigraphique aux Thermes de Bagnères de-Bigorre par l' Abbé Joseph Dulac, 1882.

Bertrand Bernard, Peintre Décorateur,—Notice sur les Fresques de l'Eglise de Cazaux-de-Larboust (Haute-Garonne), 2 pls. 1882 ; cf. Revue de Comminges, Nov. 1885. Saint-Lizier, Peintures, Coffret et Sarcophage, pls., 1885. Fresques du Porche de la Chapelle de Notre-Dame de Tramesaygues à Audressein (Arige), 1885.

Société de Borda, Congrès Scientifique de Dax, 1883.

Revue de Comminges, Bulletin de la Société des Etudes du Comminges, Pyrénées Centrales. This serial was commenced in January 1885.

Julien Sacaze, Inscriptions antiques des Pyrénées Françaises avec 350 figures : Le Dieu Arixon, 1878 : Epigraphie de Luchon, 1880 : Quelques faux Dieux des Pyrénées. 1885 : Histoire ancienne de Luchon, 1887. Some of M. Sacaze's publications have appeared in the Rev. de Comminges.

Among the Memoirs read at the Congrès de Dax the following are the most useful to the archaeologist—*Etude supplémentaire sur Beneharnum*, par M. l' abbé Lartigau, p. 47 ; *Iter ab Aquis Tarbellicis Tolosam*—Note sur la partie de la voie comprise entre Dax et Saint Bertrand de Comminges par M. le docteur Dejeanne, p. 57 ; *Les Voies romaines et l' ancien Beneharnum*, réponse de M. l' abbé Lartigau à M. Dejeanne. p. 82 ; *Inscriptions Gallo.*—*Romaines découvertes dans le département des Landes*, par M. /Emile Taillebois, p. 105. These Papers are illustrated by Plans and Maps : see esp. Carte des voies anciennes de l'Aquitaine, p. 82, where the Chemin Roumiu is marked. This was the route of pilgrims from Auch to Santiago de Compostella in Spain ; in the *Archæol. Journ.*, xxxvi, 8, I have called it *Cami Roumiu*. "La route suivie par les pèlerins devait se confondre sur un grand nombre de points avec la voie romaine," &c., Congrès de Dax, p. 78. note 2.

In the Revue de Comminges, 4^e livraison, tome I, Nov. 1885, there is a memoir by M. Sacaze, No. IV, pp. 201-224, entitled, *Les anciens dieux des Pyrénées* (avec 21 gravures intercalées dans le texte), nomenclature et distribution géographique. The deities are classified under the *civitates*. At p. 209, No. 28, Note 1, M. Alfred Maury is cited ; he compares with the god Ilixon, mentioned above, the river Lix in Mauretania Tingitana, and remarks, "Beaucoup de mots ibères se retrouvent dans l'ancienne Mauritanie, dont la population berbère ou numide semble avoir des origines communes avec les Ibères." It should be observed that M. Maury's statement does not altogether agree with the text of Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, lib. III, sub finem, §107, as edited by Parthey, 1867, *propius autem (mari) Sala et Lixio flumini Lino proxima* : v. *Notæ criticae*, p. 217. This resemblance in language between the Moors and Iberians naturally arises from their geographical proximity.

I have already noticed the worship of Nature in the Pyrenees; we have an illustration, p. 215, No. 54—*Sex Arboribus*, where a tree is rudely figured as a monument, *Culte des Arbres*: cippes en marbre trouvés dans le Commings.

Sacaze, Hist. Anc. de Luchon, Monuments religieux (cippes votifs), p. 29, Insc. No. 20,

SECUNDIN
VS SECVN
DI ILVNI DE
O. V. S. L. M.

I have copied this inscription because it contains the name Secundinus, which is not to be found in the dictionaries commonly used, but occurs four times on the celebrated column at Igel near Trèves, see Kugler, *Das romische Denkmal zu Igel*, p. 7; *Corpus Insc. Rhenanarum*, edit. Brambach, p. 167 sq. "contuli scala admota" (copious references), *Regierungs Bezirk Trier*, no 830; Wytttenbach's *Antiquities of Trèves*, English edition by Dawson Turner, pp. 113-143, Plate and Vignettes, v. esp. p. 119; Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, pp. 162-172. The ordinary tourist will find a sufficient account of the monument in Baedekers' *Rheinlande von der Schweizer bis zur Holländischen Grenze*, p. 295 sq., edit. 1886, Dr. Hettner, Director of the *Provinzial-Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer at Trèves*, is preparing an elaborate work on this subject. According to Dr. Hasenmüller, *Die Nenniger Inschriften keine Fälschung*, pp. 6, 7, and facsimile at the end, Secundinus also appears twice in the *Nennig Inscriptions*; but they are rejected as spurious by Mommsen and Brambach.

It seems probable that Secundinus, like Clamosa, civis Trevera, mentioned above, came from Trèves to Luchon for the benefit of his health, and erected this votive column in honour of the deity to whom he owed his recovery: comp. *Collection de M. le Baron D'Agos a Tibiran*, p. 4, no 5.

SILVANO DEO
FLAVIAC SAB
INVSF GRAVI
INFIRMITATE
LIBERATVS
V. S. L. M.

M. Sacaze, *Op. citat.*, p. 43, no 55, gives the form NVRA for *nurus*, *vvos*, daughter-in-law and says that other examples are known; they will not be found in Forcellini's lexicon or in Bailey's Appendix to it, but in the recent edition by De Vit. "*Nura* . . . legitur in Inscr. (Afric.) apud Renier, no. 1591. *Curam agente Julia Majorica nuram* (sic) ejus. *Add aliam*, *ibid*, no. 3575." Quicherat, *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*, 1862, s.v., "*Quondam apud nos exstitit, et ipse audivi in agro Burdigalensi, la nore.*" Comp. the Italian words *nuora* and *nora*. V. Ducange, *Glossary*, edit Henschel, *Nora*, *Nore*, *Nura*.

At p. 45, no. 63, we have an inscription, which, like that at Pène d'Escot quoted and explained in my Paper on the South-West of France, (*Archæol. Journ.*, xxxvi, 9), is cut on the natural rock; but the former is more remarkable on account of its repetition and the doubling of the letters.

MONS
CCAAVVSS

MONS
CCAAVVSS.

Mons cavus: "la montagne creuse."—L'inscription est répétée sur deux parois de la roche formant un angle rentrant. These characters are still

to be seen in the defile of Angoust (angustus?) between the territories of Signac and Gaut; p. 46, M. Sacaze gives a view of the rock, and a fac-simile, figs. 64 and 64 (bis).

The last section, pp. 47-51, contains some interesting extracts from Salvianus, *De Gubernatione Dei*, who described the flourishing state of Aquitania and Novempopulania at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. I subjoin one specimen: lib. vii, c. 2, *Nemini dubium est Aquitanos ac Novempopulos medullam fere omnium Galliarum et uber totius fecunditatis habuisse; nec solum fecunditatis, sed, quae praeponi interdum fecunditati solent, jucunditatis, voluptatis, pulchritudinis. Adeo illic omnis admodum regio aut intertexta vineis, aut florulenta pratis aut distincta culturis aut consita pomis aut amoenata lucis, aut inrigua fontibus, aut interfusa fluminibus aut crinita messibus fuit; ut vere possessores ac domini terrae illius non tam soli istius portionem quam paradisi imaginem possedissee videantur.* Ibid., vi, 3, 4, 11; vii, 6.

I am deeply indebted to MM. Palustre and Bernard, for great kindness shown to me in personal intercourse; my obligations to the writings of M. Sacaze must be apparent to all who may peruse the latter portion of this memoir.