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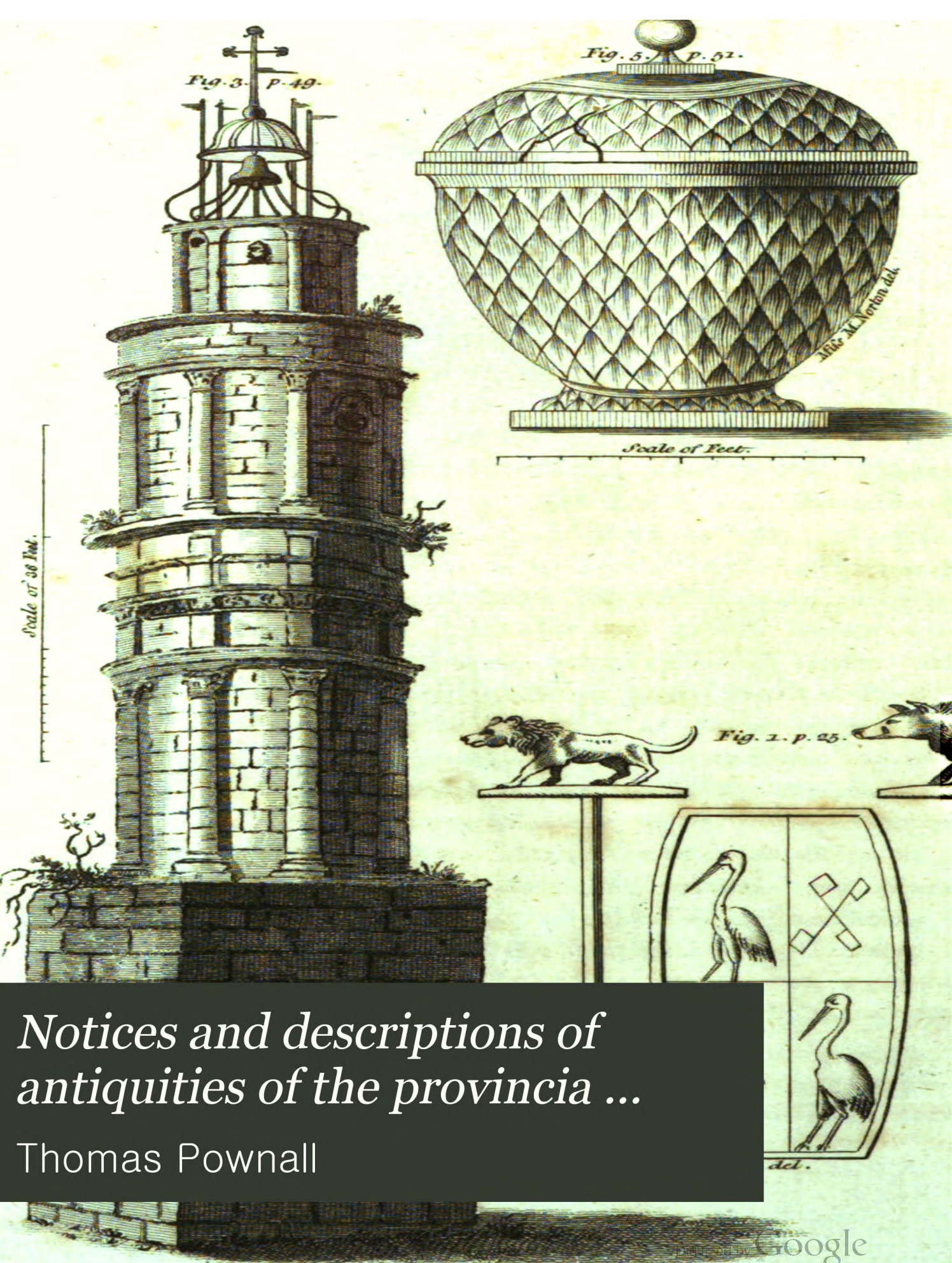
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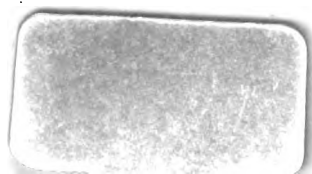
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*Notices and descriptions of  
antiquities of the provincia ...*

Thomas Pownall







*BS. 4<sup>1/2</sup>*  
*177*

NOTICES AND DESCRIPTIONS

OF

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

PROVINCIA ROMANA OF GAUL,

NOW PROVENÇE, LANGUEDOC, AND DAUPHINE,

WITH

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE SUBJECTS OF WHICH THOSE ARE EXEMPLARS,

AND

AN APPENDIX

DESCRIBING THE ROMAN BATHS AND THERMÆ  
DISCOVERED IN 1784, AT BADENWEILER.

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By GOVERNOR POWNALL, F. R. S. AND F. S. A.

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L O N D O N,

PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN NICHOLS,

AT CICERO'S HEAD, RED-LION-PASSAGE, FLEET-STREET:

AND SOLD BY G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

MDCCLXXXVIII.





## ANALYSIS OF THE WORK.

*Proëm.* **T**HAT there is not a region in Europe which can have

P. 1. a better claim to the attention of a curious and enlightened Traveller than the old *Romana Provincia*, now Provence, Dauphiné, and Languedoc. This holds equally true with reference to its present as well as ancient state. The scope of this present Tract is confined to amuse such Travellers and Readers as look only to that literary information in the Roman antiquities which may become an assistant commentary in the reading of the Historians and Orators, the Philosophers and Poets of the Ancients.

P. 2. The sources of wealth, as they are found equally in the present as in the ancient state of the Province, stated; yet, in respect to private or public magnificence of inhabitancy, the present state of the country is but the *debris* of what the ancient Province was, one or two great cities of the present state excepted.

P. 4. Seeing this, the Traveller will, with a degree of curiosity, look up to those exemplars which he will repeatedly meet with; such as mark the custom and manners, the modes of living and dwelling, the state of the arts, the culture, commerce, and police of that extraordinary people the Romans, possessing so fine a region.

P. 5. Most of these remains of antiquity are known, and have been described; yet described in such a manner, that the curious observer on the spot will find, that many descriptions are vague, imperfect, and some actually wrong, many unscientific and irrelevant. Of the descriptions made on the spot, many of them have been made by people unacquainted with the subject of which the object was an exemplar; many descriptions made by learned men in their cabinets have been made from incorrect drawings; many objects have been neglected, from not being understood.

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P. 6. At

P. 6. At length a spirit of literary curiosity hath arisen in the country itself. The places where, and persons under whom the researches are conducting, spoken of with honour.

P. 7. This Treatise gives Notices and Descriptions of things, either non-descript, or imperfectly and wrongly described, or of such whose description leads to *Dissertations on the subject exhibited in a new light*.

P. 8. The Author hopes, that the Reader will not find any barren, irrelative descriptions.

P. 9. Account of the ancient sources of wealth in this *Romana Provincia*.

P. 13. The policy by which the Roman government trained those whom they had conquered by arms, to become obedient subjects to civil government and laws. This the source of many the most magnificent and most ornamented as well as of the most stupendous works. [Introduction ends.]

P. 19. LYON and VIENNE passed over at present, and reserved for a review on more deliberate and better informed ideas.

Ibid. Origin of VALENCE, and the reason of its first establishment. Milliare stones reckoning from thence.

P. 20. ORANGE, an old town of the [Allobroges] ALLEB'ROUGHS. A Prætorian residence before the time of Julius Cæsar.

P. 23. Dissertation on the Triumphal Arch at Orange. The Theatre, Aqueduct, and other remains at Orange noticed, and recommended to further scientific examination.

P. 42. DELTA of Gaul, with a transient view of the march of Hannibal across it, from Beaucaire to Ambron, and across the Cottian Alps into the Vale of Turin.

P. 44. A general remark, pointing out the reason why the remains and antiquities of some places, which have been so ruined as to be abandoned by their inhabitants, remain undisturbed to this day, in a certain state of preservation; while the remains and antiquities of other ruined places, where the remnant of the old inhabitants, or new inhabitants, have re-occupied them, are either buried, or so deformed,

deformed, or in such a degraded state, as scarcely to claim, much less to be worth, notice. This proposition illustrated by instances, and remarked that it will come into repeated application in what follows.

P. 45. AIX and its antiquities noticed. The *Saxea Turris* in the palace described, as what, at its demolition, it proved to be, a sepulchral Mausoleum. The cinerary urns of white marble, found inclosed in the solid of the wall, described. A conjecture thrown out that this was the Mausoleum of Lucius Cæsar, the adopted son of Augustus, who died at Marseilles, and of whose burial at Rome there is no mention; whom Livia, perhaps, did not wish to have brought thither.

P. 54. A very fine busto, in white marble, of a young person, in the cabinet of M. Fondcolomb, described; conjecture on it.

P. 55. The antiquities, and especially the fine collection of medals in the cabinet of that worthy judge M. de St. Vincens at Aix.

P. 56. MARSEILLES, a dissertation on its origin; and its peculiar institutions, religious and civil, explained by reference to practical effect.

P. 62. The present state of the few remains of its antiquities, and the reason of this explained. Scattered fragments of the ancient Ephesion explained. Of some Roman Temple. Of the Temple mentioned by Lucan.

P. 68. Particular description of three or four Sarcophagi, and some inscriptions explained, with reference to the subject. The alabaster cinerary urn in the Crypta of St. Victor. Various other particulars; but especially an *unguentarium* of oriental alabaster.

P. 74. A *pumex*, one of those instruments used at the baths for scraping the skin, and for polishing it, as more particularly afterward described. Several articles in the little cabinet of M. Grosse.

P. 76. Notices and descriptions of several Ægyptian antiquities collected by the merchants of Marseilles, during their residence in Ægypt. A statue of an Isis, given by the King to the Academy. A statue of an Ægyptian priest, of the size of life, of one block of granite, curiously designed, and accurately and highly finished.



P. 77. A curiosity which I think unique; the under-case or repository of a mummy; a piece of basalt, polished and wrought beyond what one could conceive. A very curious and very fine gem, which hath been for some years in the family of M. Malijay: it is a large Sardonyx, on which, on the white part, is cut in cameo the head of Cleopatra, in the character of Minerva Salutifera; tradition gives this portrait to Cleopatra. The writer's reasons which confirm him to accede to the tradition.

P. 79. The cabinet of medals of M. Gautier. Asiatic, Greek, Punic, &c.

P. 80. GLANUM LIVII. The Trophæal Arc; supposed, on conjecture of the writer, to have been erected to Drusus after his death. The Mausoleum described.

P. 86. The CRAU, or stony Plain, the origin of described in a new way, that is, from the breaking down of the banks of the Lake of Geneva, which the Switz physiologists prove to have been much larger, and to have had its surface some hundred feet higher than it is at present. As the Rhône was by the poets said to descend from heaven: the stones thus brought down were rained from heaven, agreeable to the old Pagan miracle. This thrown out rather as a matter of amusement than of serious discussion.

P. 88. ARLES. That this place was originally a Barcadore of the Massilians, a Depôt of Ship-timber, and a Yard for Ship-building; that Julius Cæsar settled a Roman colony there, led by Tiberius Nero; that this was a temporary seat of Empire under Constantine\*, who resided there: thus much of its origin as refers to some of the antiquities remaining there. Part of a Theatre. Two fine Corinthian columns, with part of an entablature of rich marble, supposed to have been part of the Proscenium. The entire *Circuitus*

\* The Reader must not understand this of Constantine the Great, but of a soldier in Britain, who was declared Emperor there; and, entering Gaul, fixed the seat of his Empire, the little time it lasted, at Arles, A. D. 411, in the time of Honorius. Alaric supported him. This Constantine is the supposed founder of Silchester in Hampshire. I have seen coins of him, which have been found there, which have on the reverse an altar, with the word *Votis* inscribed, signifying his inauguration.

Porticuum of a very large Amphitheatre. The gradual decrease of the arch of the portal as it approaches the Arena noticed, as of particular use in explaining afterwards the nature of those Amphitheatres. Remains of the portal and entire foundations traced of a suite of buildings, generally called Baths and Thermæ; but which appeared to the Writer more like the plan of a Forum.

P. 92. The ingenious recovery and restoration of the dedicatory inscription, by M. Seguier. This, not hitherto published, here given, by which it appears that this edifice was dedicated to Constantine and his family.

P. 93. The altar of the BONA DEÆ, and the curious device on the dado, described and explained. The inscription. Some few hints about the nature of the Bona Dea.

P. 96. The Frustum of a statue of Serapis. The whole doctrine respecting these symbolic idols explained in a dissertation on the ancient Religion and its Gods. Their symbols, their idols, from Bel and the Dragon, Mithras, the God of the Hieropolitans, the idol of Sinope in Pontus, afterward called Serapis at Alexandria. Description of this *Seraph God*, called so by the Ægyptian priests, but Serapis by the Greeks. Of the propagation of this worship throughout Greece. Of its getting into Rome first as a heresy. Of its being tolerated, but finally established by Vespasian as his patron God. This idol explained from the principles and history above. The granite Obelisk. The many fragments of rich columns, &c.

P. 114. A statue found April, 1785, in clearing the ground on the outside of the town, near the walls, for making a new road. The Pere Dumont, an ingenious and learned minim, residing at present at Arles, supposed this to be a statue of Medea in the act of resolving to destroy her children, on her being abandoned by Jason. Supposed by the Writer to be rather the statue of some favourite actress representing that character.

P. 116. Some remarks on the tombs in the Campus Elysi.

P. 117. NIMES, a Roman military Colony, settled and established by Agrippa on the great road or military way from Italy to Spain, placed

placed in a commanding pass between the two commercial Colonies and Emporia, Narbonne and Arles. The nature and design of this settlement, and so much of the origin of this City explained as is relevant to the antiquities found there, and by which they can be best explained.

P. 118. A description of the great road, as taken from Strabo. A drawing and description of the Roman bridge, now called *Pons Ambrosii*.

P. 120. The reason why this Colony bore for its ensign a Crocodile chained to a palm-tree. Some antiquities here more perfect, all parts considered, than any in Europe, as the Amphitheatre and Temple of the young Cæsars. Some said to be more perfect in Africa. Doubts about the drawings and descriptions of these. The Author rather gives his observations and remarks on the accounts which have been given, by comparing these accounts with the objects and the facts upon the spot, and by reference to the subject in little *dissertations*. First, on the Temple of the young Cæsars.

P. 126. An altar of black marble, on which are these words, *Veneri Augusti*. This not hitherto explained. Supposed by the writer to be dedicated to *Julia*, daughter of Augustus, wife of Agrippa, and mother of the young Cæsars, who was, before her banishment, honoured with the title of Venus, and to whom medals, with that title, were struck; or to Faustina, who was constantly characterised as Venus, holding the apple which decided the superiority of her beauty.

P. 127. Part of an inscription, beginning M. Agrippa \* \*. Found among the fragments of the public Baths. Plan of those Baths and Thermæ noticed and remarked upon. Remnants of a dedication to Tiberius, although it is known that, when he was banished to Rhodes, the Nemausians, taking part with the Agrippan faction, threw down his statues, and all things raised to his honour. Pont de Gardon explained as built by M. Agrippa, so far as the two principal arcades. The upper one visibly an additional one of later years.



P. 131. The Temple, commonly called the Temple of Diana, explained as a Temple of Isis and Serapis, erected either by some of the Flavian family to their Patron Deity, or by Hadrian. An inscription brought forward as explanation and proof of this. This Temple settled with a great establishment. This inscription marks that this Temple was a kind of Pantheon, having in it Delubra to Vesta, to Somnus, and other Gods, and all the Dæmons of Nemausus.

P. 133. The Amphitheatre described in a way to explain how the spectators entered; passed through the porticos; ascended the several stairs, marked out to them; passed up the Vomitoria to their proper range of benches by exact order, without the least confusion, according to the laws of the Theatres. Why the arrangement of the seats in the Theatres of the Provinces and Colonies were different from those at Rome. The architecture and parts of it observed upon, and the reasons why there appear to be deviations explained from Vitruvius. The manner of fixing the Vela explained from the exemplar which the Theatre at Nîmes gives.

P. 142. The *Tour-magne* noticed, and explained to be (like the tower of St. Angelo at Rome) a Mausoleum erected to the memory of Trajan and Plotina, part of the magnificent Basilica built by Hadrian.

P. 143. Antiquities at the Academy. The puteal or bidental inscription explained by an account of the ceremony of consecrating ground touched by lightning. Specimens of comic masques, modeled in terra-cotta, with the names of the characters for which they were intended, scratched with the workman's tool on the back. Several printing stamps. Notice taken how nearly this approached to the first rudiments of printing by blocks.

P. 145. Two stones of a portable mill. Several exemplars of the arts, urns, vases, &c.

P. 146. VIENNE. The Roman settlement of this Alleb'rough Pagus explained, so far as is relevant to matters of antiquity found there. Some account of the researches now making, and of articles found  
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and preserved in the College of Vienne, under the care of the Pere Maynard, a liberal and ingenious Scholar, the President of that College. The researches now carried on by the Sior Schneider, the Master of Design to the College, an industrious searcher, an accurate observer, and who proceeds scientifically. Has great merit. He hath already traced the plan of the large Roman City, and fixed the site of many of the ancient edifices, and further traced the plans of some. He hath been very careful in measuring and examining the present *Maison Carrée* at Vienne. He hath proved it to have been an open building (except at the west end) supported by columns. He has endeavoured, after the manner and example of M. Seguiet, to trace from the clinches left on the frize and architrave of the front, the inscription. He has examined the portal, supposed to be the Trophæal Arc, erected to the honour of Augustus, when he came to Vienne. He has examined the sepulchral monument in the meadow. Several curious specimens of tessellated pavements at the College. Drawings of others.

P. 153. A very and particularly curious one, having five compartments at the upper end of it; the two on each side represent the four seasons; the one in the middle, the *Cherubic \* Symbol* of the Sun; the human head, with the pinnated serpentine diadem, commonly called the Medusa or Gorgon. Several, and some curious, bas-relieves. Several specimens of the architecture of the three ages.

P. 154. LYONS. An account of the origin of the name: of the Roman part of the town, when first made a post. Different from that which is current in all books. Description of the nature and importance of this, at first an out-post, but finally a central one: and of the military roads drawn from it as from a center by M. Agrippa. So much of its history and fate as is relevant to its antiquities.

\* This symbol is explained by this Writer in one of his Memoirs in the publications of the Antiquarian Society of England.

P. 157. The altar dedicated to Augustus, and the two Colossal granite columns which stood on each side of it, with each a victory on the top, one pointing up the Soane, the other up the Rhône.

P. 158. The tessellated pavement in a garden in the upper town, plainly part of a suite of Thermæ, which are not yet cleared: this has certainly an hypocaust under it, though not yet opened. An explanation of the design of this pavement given different from the common one.

P. 159. A Souterrain, lately found, examined by the Writer; nothing but a Cloaque to some great edifice.

P. 160. The Taurobole sacrifice explained, by discussion of that subject with reference to the Christian ceremony, which it meant to meet in the eyes of the people.

P. 161. At the Academy, a curious fragment of a horse's leg of cast metal, cased with brass gilt: this is a fine exemplar, and affords a fine specimen, worthy the study of modern artists.

P. 162. The pair of Cæsar's lamps at the College Repository, explained as having belonged to Julia amita Julii. Given by Julius after he was Cæsar, and dedicated IOV. OP. MAX.

P. 165. A medal of Portius Cato Censor, found May 15, 1785, in digging among some foundations of the Roman town. A dissertation on this.

P. 168. The Roman Aqueducts near Lyons. Those bridges which carried the water over vallies, in siphons, as well as those which caused the waters in canals, described and explained.

P. 175. *A Treatise on the Roman Hydraulics*, shewing, that they perfectly understood the proposition, that water, conducted in pipes, whatever was the curvature reversed, would rise to an equal level at both ends; that they applied the knowledge of this in practice. Several other matters, not commonly apprehended to be understood by them, explained in this little Treatise.



A P P E N D I X   N<sup>o</sup> I.

P. 183. The Baths and Thermæ of the ancients, and the process in the use of them, explained from the suite of double Baths, discovered 1784, at Baden-weilar. As these are the only perfect exemplars in Europe, and what have not yet been particularly described, the writer gives a *Traçt on this subject*.

P. 195. N<sup>o</sup> II. Notices given of some antiquities which the writer did not see.



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**T**HERE is not in Europe a region which can have a better claim to the attention of a curious and enlightened traveller than the old *Roman Province*, now divided into several provinces of France, namely, Provence, Dauphiné, and Languedoc. There is none from whence he may derive more matter of amusement, more information and instruction, whether his views are turned to literary, to natural, or to political considerations. He will see, in the variety and abundance of its produce, the sources of wealth and power; and, while he investigates the lines in which these train, he will in his course, and at every turn, meet with striking marks and traces of the like abundance, of the opulence and magnificence of its ancient state when a *Roman Province*.

I shall leave to those who are more versed in natural history than I pretend to be, the philosophy of this part. I shall reserve for other and more pertinent occasions, if ever such shall arise, those economic and political matters of information and reasoning, which naturally derive from a sober and unprejudiced view of this productive part of the dominions of France.

At present I shall only amuse myself, and endeavour to administer amusement to such travellers and readers as I am, who look only to that literary information, in the antiquities of the Romans, which may become an assistant commentary in the reading their historians and philosophers, their orators and poets.

The soil, aspect, and climate, things which remain the same in all ages, render, and have always rendered, these provinces not

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only productive to a degree of abundance, but in every varied form of luxurious supply.

The bread-corn, although taken separately from other articles of supply, is not now produced in quantity at all times adequate to the consumption; yet is in such plenty, that its ordinary average price may be estimated at thirty livres the load (*la charge*); and the price of white bread may be set in general at, or rather under, *three sous* \* the pound. And such is the supply of grazing, that the upland feed, the artificial grasses of the midland country, and the pastures of the marshes and fens, taken all together, are so amply sufficient to the nourishment of their cattle, that the price of butcher's meat, even in the great towns, may, at an average taken of different sorts, and at different seasons, be set at, or rather under, seven sous the pound, as the pound differs.

The articles of gardening, a principal part of the consumption, are abundant to a degree, and cheap in proportion.

Those of fowls and fish below the level of most other countries, I must in this place observe, that this circumstance always marks an inferiority of land culture.

The wines which these provinces produce are not only sufficient, in abundant plenty, to the supply of the country at three or four sous the bottle in retail, but there is a surplus produce of excellent wines for exportation. To name only the Beaujolois, the Hermitage, the Cote roté of the Rhodne; the vin de Meez, de la Ciotat, de Saint Laurens, de la Malgue, de Cassis, de Roquevaire, de Maregnan, de Cannes, de Frontignian, de Lunelle, de Mirevaux, de St. George.

The brandies, the liqueurs, the perfumeries, of Montpellier and Marseilles, form a considerable and extensive branch, not only to a luxurious supply, but to external commerce.

The almonds, figs, prunes, oranges, citrons, pears, and every other species of fruit in confectionary, the olives and capers in pickle,

\* A sous is a copper coin somewhat about one-sixth better than the English copper half-penny.

form

form another great article of supply both to the internal consumption and to external commerce. And yet the culture of these articles is not by any means carried to the extent of perfection they are capable of.

The oil which the olives of this country produce forms not only the supply of the kitchen and table, the supply necessary to all manufactures; but is the *fond* itself of one of the greatest fabricks of the country, that of *soap*. The amount of this fabrique made at Marseilles, according to a detail account given to me on the spot, is 1,422,000 pounds sterling *per annum*.

The wool of Provence is a very considerable article. The sheep of this province are grazed in the highlands and mountains of the province in summer, are led down to the lower province, principally to the Crau, and to the fens and marshes about Arles; are there pastured during winter; and return again in summer to their native hills.

The wool of Languedoc makes, in great measure, the *fond* of the great fabric of woollen-drapery of that country. The wool of Roussillons, especially that of the mountains, is equal to the Spanish wool. The wool of Beziers is equal to the wool of Portugal. The best of the wool of Corbiere and Narbonne, which they name Clape, is equal to that of Beziers, which is named Quarante. The wools of the diocese of Lodeve, of Longue Riviere, and of the diocese of Agde, is in quantity and quality equal to and sufficient, in concurrence with those imported from Spain, to the fabriques of Languedoc, which they export; and fully equal to, and of itself sufficient for, the more common species of cloths which serve the interior markets. The woollen cloths, to which the French workmen have given the name of *Londrines*, and which are made in Languedoc for the foreign trade, more especially that of the Turkish markets, are exported from Marseille to the Levant, in bales, to the amount of 8,000 or 9,000 bales *per annum*. Each bale is, and may be, estimated at 1,500 livres of France, which gives an amount of 575,000 pounds sterling *per annum*, besides

what may be exported to the West Indies, and, in time of peace, to China.

The silk, produced from the worm fed on the white mulberry-trees of these provinces, supplies almost intirely the manufactories of Languedoc, and in some conderable degree, in concurrence with those of Piedmont, Italy, and the Levant, those of Lyons also. How rich, and how extensive these are, need not here be remarked.

Fair and flattering as may seem this picture of these provinces, thus productive in their natural and cultured resources; so circumstanced as to give rise and maintenance to such important manufactures, the basis of so rich and so extensive a commerce; opulent as many of the principal, especially the commercial, towns may appear: yet in respect of the refined arts, which administer to the elegance and, one may say, the luxuries of life, in respect either to private or public magnificence of inhabitancy, the present state of the country is but the *debris* of what the ancient Roman Province was. When the traveller sees in the country so many stupendous and magnificent remains of ancient edifices, so much above the scale of the present inhabitancy; when he sees scattered in every part of the province so many parts of ruins, highly ornamented beyond the garb of the present highest fashion; when he sees so many vestiges in every district, and almost in every city, of such commodious, extensive, and superb buildings, appropriated solely to the amusement and luxury of the inhabitants; and sees at the same time the present inhabitants dwelling, as it were, amidst and within the ruins of those ancient edifices, and views the present palaces, courts, and temples, in great part mere congeries of the fragments of the former; he will, with a certain degree of curiosity, look up to those exemplars he may meet with, or are any where to be found, which mark the customs and manners, the modes of living and dwelling, the state of the arts, the culture, commerce, and police of that extraordinary people, the Romans, possessing so fine a region.

That there are some ancient edifices, such as the Basilica and the Mausoleum at Vienné, the Temple at Nîmes, the Aqueduct called Pont de Garde, near Nîmes, the triumphal Arch at Orange, in almost a state of perfection; that there is the Amphitheatre at Nîmes in a state of preservation superior to any thing which remains at present even in Italy; that there are others, such as the Theatre at Orange, the Amphitheatre at Arles, the Trophæal Arch at the ancient Glanum near St. Remi, in such a state of preservation as to become exemplars sufficient for the explanation of the subject-matter they relate to; that these are, and are the most curious, hath been known to almost every traveller that hath passed through these provinces: yet such as they are, and so as they have been described, much remains to be observed, and for examination, by the traveller who has any well-grounded inquisitiveness and literary curiosity. I must except the subject of the Temple and Amphitheatre at Nîmes, and the Pont de Garde near Nîmes, which have been so accurately and learnedly described by \* Mons. Menard of that place, as leaves scarce any thing further to be observed on that subject. It must only be observed, what advantages he derived from the discovery of the inscription on the front of the temple which Mons. Segueir, with an acute ingenuity,

— *Thebano enigmatè dignum,*

investigated by tracing the nails which fixed the letters.

There are some architectural engravings, published by Mons. Clarisseau, from drawings of the Temple of the young Cæsars, of the Temple called the Temple of Diana, and of the Amphitheatre, which are just and perfect representations of the whole, most exquisitely finished, with scientific and accurate plans, sections, and drawings of the several parts and members. The two drawings of the Temple and Amphitheatre, done for me by a most uncommon and extraordinary genius †, which I did propose to give engravings of, are equally accurate, and much more picturesque; but the

\* In his History of Nîmes.

† By Mr. Gregoire, junior, a young man both deaf and dumb.

engraving:

engraving of such fine drawings would prove too expensive for a work of this kind.

Every curious traveller will, even in these objects, so repeatedly described, find, in a view upon the spot, something new to him, or at least something which may become an exemplar in fact of some matter which he was studying only in theoretic speculations. Whatever descriptions therefore may have been given, or whatever may be here given, he is desired to consider them only as *notices*, to point and lead the way to his more peculiar personal observation on the spot.

There are several other objects, of which either no drawings have been made and published, or no descriptions and explanations given. Several others, of which, although descriptions have been given, yet those descriptions are so general, indecisive, and irrelative, that they either give no idea, or, if any, a perverted one, being closet descriptions from bad and incorrect drawings of the object, or described by persons uninformed, or at least not so well informed in the subject as to give any pertinent and precise account. There are, lying neglected and unnoticed, in almost every town, many matters well worth notice and examination, such as altars, military columns, pertinent inscriptions, tessellated pavements, baths, aqueducts, vases, bronzes, urns both earthen and glass, parts both of civil and military habiliments. There are numbers of exemplars in every of these articles discovered every day; but only taken out from their burial in the earth, to be again buried in oblivion.

At length several curious, intelligent, and learned individuals in the country, and of late the Academies of Nîmes and Marseilles, the Colleges at Lyons and Vienne, have begun to make collections of the antiquities of their country. There is not, however, as yet, that I could find, any catalogue, I am sure not any *catalogue raisonné*, of these, many of them, very curious articles. Monsr. Groffon, one of the Academicians of Marseilles, published in 1773 "*Recueil des Antiquités et Monuments Marseillois*." The Academy at Nîmes have many drawings of, and have several papers upon, the  
monuments

monuments and antiquities of the old *Provincia Narbonensis*. Many of these papers were written by the late ingenious Monf. Segueir. I was told, they had in contemplation, if their fund would permit it, to publish a series of Memoires, and I hope they will be able to effect it. The gentlemen who have the direction of the College at Vienne have, within these two or three years, began to search into and amongst the ruins of that old metropolis of the *Provincia Romana*. From the superintendence of the Principal of the College, the Pere Maynard, a gentleman of a well-informed and liberal spirit of literature, and from the attentive, industrious, accurate labours of the Sieur Schneyder\*, who is immediately employed in the search, and who hath already made many important discoveries, much may be expected.

In short, the three provinces of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence, parts of the ancient *Provincia*, are a mine of Roman antiquities, scarcely as yet opened; yet, of late, ore of ancient literature hath been extracted sufficient to excite the curiosity, and to give energy to the researches of the learned, who are curious in these matters; and hath in fact kindled a spirit of inquiry. Fresh ground is opening every day to these researches; and something new, that is curious and pertinent to ancient literature, arises out of every new discovery.

There are, however, many curious objects, of which there are not yet either any drawings engraved, or any descriptions published; numberless instances where such drawings, as have been made, are any thing but portraits; and where, in consequence of this misleading, the descriptions are erroneous, and such as lead to vague and random observations, as the studying antiquary will frequently find in almost every book of antiquities. There are also many instances where descriptions of the object have been made without any knowledge of the subject. Of these the attentive and learned traveller will find repeated examples when he examines the objects

\* Peintre et Professeur de l'Ecole Royale et gratuite de dessin au Collège à Vienne en Dauphiné.

themselves.



themselves with his own eye, after the remarks he may have made by what he hath read; or when he compiles his own remarks made by the fact on the spot with those which he may afterward meet with in reading.

The purport of this little book, a mere manual, is to give notices of these matters already discovered in these parts, to point how the vein of this rich ore of antiquity lies, and where it runs; to describe some objects which have never yet been exhibited to the public in drawings or descriptions; to give farther descriptions of others which, although they may have been exhibited in drawings and descriptions, have not yet been accurately and scientifically drawn, or decidedly described; to correct some mistakes which learned men have made by forming their descriptions from vague hearsay informations or imperfect drawings; and, finally, to enter into some discussion of the subject of which some of the objects are exemplars; and this from my own observations and examination, on a second view made on the spot into the fact, after having studied the subject in consequence of a first view. I have here ventured, from my own way of thinking on such subjects, to give descriptions which may prove a *novelty*, giving at the same time to every person the merit of his own discoveries and opinion. From my own experience of what use notices are, and how frequently one misses things which one ever after regrets the not having seen, I consider the *notices* which this little tract may contain (however little of pretension there may be in giving such) as the most useful part of it, and have therefore given the title of Notices to the publication.

The reader will not, I trust as my friends did not in the letters on these subjects which I wrote, find mere barren, irrelative descriptions of objects only because they are antique. I am not, as I have said elsewhere, a worshiper of relics, I have therefore selected only those objects which may lead to some commentary on history; or point to, or become some light in, such explanation of the customs or the arts as have not been yet given.

As

As in a *slight sketch*, touching some of the parts, I have shewn how the present opulent and splendid state of these provinces derives from natural and cultured sources found within them: so that it may not seem that, in describing those stupendous and superb monuments of antiquity, which remain, under ideas of reference to the opulence of the ancient inhabitants, and to the spirit of magnificence in the government of the ancient province, is a baseless vision, I will give a *like sketch* of the same resources in the ancient state of it.

This province was anciently, before the Romans entered it, inhabited, and cultivated according to the successive extensions of advancing civilization, by a commercial colony of Asiatic Greeks established on its coasts: I mean the Phoceans; who settled at Marseilles, and had out-ports and trading factories in various parts of these coasts, from Nice to the Temple of Diana of Ephesus erected in the Pyrenees. These colonists brought with them the olive, vine, and fig, and taught the cultivation of them to the inhabitants. Pliny says \*, that the olive-trees were in this part of Gaul before their culture was known in Italy, I should rather say, before it was known within the *Roman District*; for it was not known there in the time of Tarquinius Priscus; whereas the several little states settled in Italy, which the Romans successively conquered, being colonies from Asia and Greece, had brought with them, and cultivated, long before this period, these oriental fruits. The vine was also introduced by the Phoceans into this southern part of Gaul, as also the pomegranates, and several other Eastern fruits. The culture of the olive and fig were, in the ancient province as in those of the present day, confined † to the regions south of the Cevennes and the Montlimart. In short, this region was in ancient times, as it is at present, a country of corn, wine, and oil, and abounding in all sorts of fruits. Strabo says expressly ‡, of his own time, that the Narbonensian province produced all the same fruits as the regions of

\* Lib. XV. cap. 1.

† Strabo, lib. IV.

‡ Strabo, *ibid.* τὰς ὅσας ἐκείνη κατέχει; ἢ Ναβόνηδες ἀπὸς ὑποτῆς ἢ Ἰταλίας, &c.

Italy; and that the rest of Gaul abounded with corn, grain, and cattle: that no part lay idle and uncultured, except the swamps and unreclaimed fens; and that even these were not unproductive in their turn. This country was a great granary to Rome; and it may be seen in an Oration of Cicero \* defending Fonteius, the governor of this country, that it sent out an immense quantity of corn for the supply of the Roman army engaged in the war in Spain.

The wines † of Marfeilles and of Narbonne, those of Bessiers, de Limous, Lunelle, Frontignian, and Mirevaux, more particularly, were famous under the ancient state of the province.

The upper parts, the hills and mountains, which, though not quite convenient for the plough, yet from their aspect and soil suited to the planting of the vine, were cultured in that line of production, *ad summam ubertatem vini* ‡. This culture, from the encouragement which the market at Rome gave, was extended to the tillage fields also [*arva*] §. There was in the time of Augustus a scarcity and dearth of wine at Rome. This scarcity and high price complained of, soon, as we find, gave occasion to the extending of the vineyards ||. These in the time of Domitian had increased to such a disproportionate degree beyond the quantity of the corn lands, that the ordinary supply of corn at Rome, supplied in some considerable measure from this country, was found in a decreasing course, and defective state: so that the emperor, to obviate this evil, issued an edict, ordaining the vines to be in part cut down, permitting for the future at most but one-half of what had been before planted. I notice this fluctuation in the course of

\* Ciceronis Orat. pro Fonteio, § 2. Maximum frumenti numerum ad Hispaniense bellum imperavit.

† Plinius, lib. XIV. c. 6. Lib. XXI. c. 11.

‡ Suetonius.

§ Quærentem de inopia et caritate vini populum. Suet. in Augusti vita, § 42.

|| Ad summam quondam ubertatem vini, frumenti verò inopiam, existimans nimio vinearum studio negligi arva, edixit. Ut in provinciis vineta succidarentur reliquæ, ab plurimum, dimidiâ parte. Domitiani Vita in Sueton. § 7.

the

the husbandry of this country, merely as it marks the ancient state of the sources of supply in it, and how capable it was, in either course, of abundance and opulence.

The wool \*, and the fine cloths of Marseilles particularly, those of Pesennas and other parts of Narbonne also, were much esteemed at Rome.

The perfumes and balsamic oils of the ancients † answered in some degree to the present article of the perfumeries of Marseilles and Languedoc.

In short, the produce of the old Roman Province was equivalently, if not exactly, the same as the produce of the provinces of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence, the silk, the oranges and citrons excepted. The white mulberry-tree, on which the silk-worms are fed, was not yet known in Europe; and the growth and culture of oranges, the *golden apples*, were as yet confined to Africa, the original garden of the Hesperides.

Marseilles, with its out-factories, was a great commercial state; in some measure the rival of, and an object of jealousy to, Carthage. Narbonne ‡ was a very great emporium, and Arles no inconsiderable naval station; and, if I may be allowed to draw a fair consequence from a decided fact §, it was more especially a great port for ship-building.

Vienne was a city of that importance and opulence as to be able to buy off a threatened plundering from Valens, a conquering leader of a successful party. Claudius, in a speech || to the Senate of Rome, calls it *ornatissima Colonia valentissimaque*.

\* ——— Pinguia Gallicis

Crescunt vellera pascuis. Horat. lib. III. od. 16.

Plinius, Nat. Hist. lib. 17.

† Idem passim.

‡ Νάξουσι μέγιστοι, ἑμπορεύματα πάντῃ ἀπὸς δὲ τὰ Ῥωμανῶν οὐδὲν ἔστι, καὶ ἑμπορεύονται ὡς μικροὶ Ἀρχαῖται. Strabo. lib. 4.

§ Cæsaris Comm. de Bell. Civil.

|| This speech, written on tables of brass, is still preserved at Lyon.

And of Lyon, Seneca, in his letter to his friend Lucilius, written on account of the conflagration by which that city, in the time of Nero, was destroyed by fire, says, "This most opulent city \*; "the ornament of our provinces, beautiful in such a multitude of "superb and elegant structures, any one of which would have been "sufficient to render any city illustrious, the catastrophe of one "night's fate humbled with the dust," although thus destroyed. This city was however restored again to its former splendor and magnificence by the munificence and bounty of Nero, and by the contributions of most of the great men of the empire, under the auspices of this emperor.

This province, from the abundant sources of its natural and cultured produce, filled the reservoirs of appropriated supply to Rome, and had still a superabundant flow, which amply replenished the great channel of commerce. The province † was crowded with merchants, and every where full of Roman citizens, of those of the first rank; Prætors, Ædiles, Quæstors, heirs apparent to the empire, resided there ‡; emperors were born there, and at times resided there §; and natives of this province were not unfrequently called up to the Senate of Rome ||. It was in its modes and manners, in its arts, by its affinities, actually a part in the compounded city of Rome. This province, in the culture of its lands, in the dignity of men and manners, in the amplitude of its wealth, might more properly be called Italy than a province.

\* Civitatem opulentissimam ornamentum provinciarum, tot pulcherrima opera, quæ singula urbes singulas illustrare possent, una nox stravit. Senecæ Epist. 91.

† Referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena Civium Romanorum. Cicero, Orat. pro Fonteio, § 1.

‡ Strabo, lib. iv. p. 186.

§ Quam longo tempore Senatores huic curiæ [scil. Senatui] confert. Claudii Oratio.

|| Jam moribus, urbibus, affinitatibus nostris mixti. Taciti Annales, lib. II. § 24.

Narbonensis provincia agrorum cultu, virorum morumque dignatione, amplitudine opum, nulli provinciarum post ferenda, breviterque Italia verius quam provincia. Plinius, lib. III. c. 5.

Hence

Hence it is, that we see and find throughout the present provinces; even in the ruins of what once existed in the old province, all the marks of an advanced state of civil society; exemplars of refinement in the arts; and of the luxurious elegance of their private inhabitancy: and even in the ruins and antiquities, vestiges of the rich and superb magnificence of their Public Edifices, their Temples, Fora, Triumphal and Trophæal Monuments, their Theatres, Amphitheatres, Aqueducts, and Public Baths.

The spirit and genius, however, which were the motives for raising these great and stupendous works, with such a waste of labour, and at such enormous expence, are not to be sought for or found in the extravagancies of overflowing opulence, or in the spirit of emulous pride which naturally seduces and swells the mind of inferiors growing up in wealth to great consideration. However extravagant and luxurious young succulent colonies and provinces may be, as they always are and have been; however emulous and ambitious to copy and imitate the luxuries and splendor of the metropolis; those passions and that spirit alone never carried them to the executing such works and building such structures as the traveller at this day sees the vestiges and remains of. The studious and intelligent investigator of truth will find those causes in that invariable and unrelaxed spirit of policy by which the Roman government trained their subjects, in their provinces more especially, to a *temper of habitual subjection* \*. After having subdued them by force of arms; after having let them feel that there was no resource or hope in resistance against the power which the government held constantly over them; after making them both see and feel in all moments, and at all points, that utter ruin and inevitable destruction stood opposed † to every conception, to every attempt of revolution or revolt; they, understanding perfectly that to conquer and govern are two widely different things, employed the spirit of policy to engage, secure,

\* Quanto quisque servitio promptior, &c. ——— de novis rebus aucti tuta et præsentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. Tacit. Annal. lib. I. § 2.

† Ne sollicitari ad res novas possint. Sueton. August. § 49.

and

and command the \* *consensus obedientium*, without which even arbitrary, absolute *imperium* cannot command.

This spirit of policy had reference to the two classes of life into which mankind is every where divided. The one suited to the keeping constantly *employed* the inferior classes of the people, whose rank and lot destines them to labour, and whose activity is in their *hands*; the other suited to the keeping *amused* the upper class of people, whose activity is in their *heads*. The soldiers, Pagani, artificers, and labourers, were constantly held to labours. The Pagani in their agriculture, that they might be able to produce the corn and grain in which the Anona † required of the province might be paid. Even ‡ those, who under their own government had been used to arms, were disarmed and obliged to labour as husbandmen. The soldiers and labouring part of the inhabitants were constantly employed in § great, rather than necessary, works; in making the great public ways ||, Aqueducts \*\*, Amphitheatres, and other public edifices; in draining and banking out fens and marshes; in building bridges over rivers, or in making ferds across them; in erecting Fora, Temples, Portici, and Baths, with all their appendages. They were employed in these works, not solely that the works were necessary ††, but to guard against the danger  
of

\* Livius.

† Bona fortunæque in *tributum*, egerunt, in *Annonam* frumentum. Tacit. Vita Agricola, § 31.

‡ Οἱ δ' ἄνδρες μαχηταὶ μᾶλλον ἢ Γεωργοὶ πῶν δ' ἀναγκάζονται. Γεώργιον καλεόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα. Strabo, lib. IV.

§ Opera magna potius quam necessaria quam multa perfecit, sed et præcipuum Aquæductum. Sueton. Claudii, § 20.

|| Romani viæ per omnem orbem disposuerunt, propter utilitatem itinerum, et ne Plebs esset otiosa. Isidor. Orig. lib. XV. c. 10.

\*\* Tertia-decimani [milites 13<sup>ma</sup> legionis] struere Amphitheatra iussi. Tacit. Hist. lib. 2. § 67.

†† Discordiâ laboratum est cum assuetus expeditionibus miles otia laxaverat. Tacit. Vita Agricola.

That the Roman legionaries understood why they were thus employed in unabated labour,

of idleness and mischievous leisure amongst the soldiers of the camp, and the people of the provinces.

The superior classes of the people, who had been used to take a lead in their own states \*, as the Romans found them prone to a state of subjection, and to set the example of that spirit and temper of subjection amongst their inferiors, they attached to the interest of the *imperium* by honours and profitable employments in the new government. The rest they corrupted and enervated † with the seductions of sweet idleness; and by a state and habit of living in a round of dissipated, thoughtless amusements, luxurious enjoyments of feasts and entertainments, wherein the individual found himself constantly engaged and amused, from morning to night, from night to morning, from year's end to year's end, amidst the magnificence, the brilliant and dazzling splendor of their *spectacles*, the seducing luxuries of their baths, and the novel and imposing grandeur of their Amphitheatric exhibitions ‡. The Romans subjected this class of the people easier by this dissolvent seduction than they could have broken them by the utmost exertion of arms §.

labour, appears from the remonstrances which the legions, in their mutinies; made against these hardships. *Duritiem operum, vallum, fossas, pabula, materia lignorum adgestus, et sic qua alia ex necessitate, aut adversus otium: camporum quaruntur.* Tacit. Annal. lib. 1. § 35.

Ne Plebs esset otiosa. Ut supra.

\* Cæteri nobilium quanto quisque servitio promptior opibus et honoribus extollerentur et novis ex rebus aucti

† Dulcedine otii pellexit. Tacit. *ibid.*

Ut quieti et otio per voluptates assuecerent hortari privatim, adjuvare publicè ut Templâ Fora extruerent, paulatim decessum ad delinamenta vitiorum, Porticus et Balnea et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos hamanitas vocabatur: cum pars servitutis esset. Tacit. de Vit. Agricol. § 21.

‡ See how the wise amongst the conquered people understood this. In their letters to each other they say: *Instituta cultumque patrium resumite, abruptis voluptatibus*, quibus Romani plus adversus subiectos quam armis valent. Tacit. Hist. lib. IV. § 64.

§ If the practical politician views the present mode of administration, by which these provinces are governed under the empire of France, he will see the same system of policy operating to the same effect. As I do not mean in this little tract to enter into discussions of this matter; I only just point it out to the observation of others.

From



From the natural habits of fashion and emulation which animate all colonies and provinces, we always find a rapid progress of luxury, in the mode of inhabitancy and living, of refinements in the arts, and even great advancement of science. From the spirit and policy of the Roman government, as above described, we see such stupendous monuments of the ornamented magnificence of their Temples, Fora, Baths, Theatres, Amphitheatres, Aqueducts, and of their Military Ways, which last may be classed with the wonders of the world. Hence it is, that in every great provincial town, in every colony, we meet with such astonishing remains of such stupendous works, raised at such a waste of labour and treasure, by the people, with the joint aid of the patrons and governors, and even of the emperors themselves. Works which, without reference to this policy, seem to be enormous, and beyond the garb of the nature, beyond the scale of the people, and of the places where they are found; and to have surpassed all use.

There is not a little town, the capital of a little colony, from whence, and to which, roads of the most astonishing structure did not lead; where there were not Aqueducts deducing and conducting, for miles, the water of some distant spring, along canals above and under ground, over deep vallies by stupendous bridges; water perhaps not a whit better than what might have been found, and is now found and used, on the spot. But the people were to be employed, and works were to be raised, which should at the same time strike the mind of the subject with the grandeur of spirit and design in the government. An idea was to be imposed, that a colony, under the policy and empire of Rome, must be supplied, not with the ordinary element of nature as she offers it from her vulgar hand where it is found; but from select and far-fetched sources, whence it was brought, by labour and expence, in all the pomp and circumstance of grandeur. \* With what extravagance of expence, and waste of labour, was water brought by these pompous Aqueducts to Lyon, Nîmes, Aix, &c. All which places,

\* So it may be estimated, were it not to be judged of by the spirit of policy above described.

some

some of them now having more inhabitants than the ancient towns had, are equally well, if not better, supplied with the common element on the spot.

Without reference to the same spirit of policy in the government, and a conspiring character in the people, habituated to an unceasing round of luxurious enjoyments, which the government promoted and subministered to, one cannot but view all those indulgent luxuries of their *Baths* and *Thermæ* as not only unnecessary, but an useless waste of time and expence amongst a people who had before, and have since that period had, the full enjoyment of life and health, without the imaginary want of such pleasures, created by *forced and artificial habits*.

All reading persons know, that the public Spectacles given by the candidates for office, by the popular magistrates, by the triumphal generals, were things of course at Rome, and what the people had been accustomed to expect. We all know, that these exhibitions, together with the distribution of wine and corn, &c. became the ordinary means of acquiring and maintaining an influence and lead amongst a people who lived (when not actually enrolled as soldiers) an idle life of insolent beggary. It is marked by Suetonius as a characteristic part of the system of policy in Augustus's administration, that *spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentiâ omnes antecessit*. It is not his euloge that he exhibited these spectacles, that was a thing of course; but the assiduity with which he attended to this point, and the amusing variety, and the imposing magnificence with which he constantly kept the expectations and imaginations of the people engaged, is the spirit marked.

His erecting of public buildings, such as above-mentioned, and his encouraging the great men, his followers, to copy his example and do the same, is another trait of his police\*.

D

Without

\* Publica opera plurima extruxit.——Sed et cæteros principes viros sæpè hortatus est ut, pro suâ facultate, quisque monumentis vel novis vel restructis et ex cultis urbem adornarent, sicut à Marcio Philippo ædes Herculis musarum: à L. Cornificio ædes

Without reference to this spirit of policy, which means to keep the inferior classes of the people constantly in employ of labour, and the upper classes in an unceasing amusement of pleasure; and in doing this, in a way at the same time that should impose an air of something superior to, and beyond, the ordinary course of men and things, wherever the majesty of the empire was supposed more immediately to reside and act: without this reference, common sense can find no reason for the erection in the colonies and provinces of those stupendous and highly ornamented edifices, great and expensive beyond the condition of the people and of the places wherein and amongst whom they were found.

It is from the spirit of this policy that we find great works and edifices, such as mentioned above, executed and erected by M. Agrippa Munatius, Plancus, the Emperor Claudius, and others, at [Lugdunum] Lyon: the like under the auspices of Agrippa at Nîmes; the like at Arles and Narbonne, by the father of Tiberius. Hence it is we find every province, colony, and town, *triumphis ac monumentis notatum* \*. When this is understood we are not surprised to find the remains of Theatres, Amphitheatres, Portici, Fora, Temples, Basilicæ Prætoriæ, Aqueducts, Baths, Triumphal and Trophæal Monuments, in almost every quarter of these southern provinces of France, anciently the *Prœvincia Romana*.

Before I entered these parts, I had sought information as to the ancient state of the province and of the colonies which were established therein. I had therefore a general expectation of the sort of things I was to meet with; but the want of *notices* as to the particulars themselves, or as to the places where I was to look for and expect them, was in many instances an occasion of great disappointment to me. I hope *the notices* I shall give in this little book

ædes Dianæ ab Asinio Pollione atrium libertatis: a Munatio Planeo ædes Saturnis: a Corn. Balbo Theatrum: a Statilio Tauro Amphitheatrum: a Marco vero Agrippa comp'ura et egregia. Sueton. Vit. Augusti, § 29.

\* Cicero pro Fonteio Orat. § 1.

will

will prevent the like to those who think it worth their reading. It is always a great embarrassment and impediment, when one comes a stranger to a place, not to know what one is to look to, and what to inquire after. And it is of all things in this way the most disagreeable and replete with regret to be told, there was such or such an article of curiosity, which well merited observation, when one has passed it, and cannot recover the opportunity of seeing it : besides, one does not know what to prepare one's store of information for. I lost several opportunities which I constantly regretted.

According to a method which I invariably observe in reading, as well as viewing any subject, I took, in my first passage through these places, a cursory and general view of all the pieces of antiquity which remain there ; that, having marked and noticed what deserved more exact and particular examination, I might with more pointed attention instruct myself in those subjects respectively, which those antiquities were referable to, and might come to a second view capable of examining them with a more detailed and scientific accuracy.

I shall for the present pass over all that I saw at Lyon and at Vienne, and take up my account of them as I examined them on my second view in my return through them.

Between Vienne and Orange is Valence, which was certainly a considerable Roman town and post in the mountains *apporté* to command the pass by the river and vale of the Isère from Savoy and Switzerland. At Paillaisse, distant from Valence a post and an half, I saw, standing at the church door, a Roman military column of white marble, five feet high and eighteen inches in diameter. The inscription on it was,

IMP CAES T AEL HAD  
ANT AVG PIO PPPM  
TRIB POTX COS IIII

VI

Supposing that this column did not now stand in its original situation, I inquired particularly about it, and was informed, that it

D 2

was

was found as they were repairing the road, at about a gun-shot to the north of this town. If the number *fix* upon it relates to Valence, it could not be, when thus found, in its original situation; yet it must refer to Valence, as there is no other to which it could refer. Valence was a post sometimes described *ad Isarem*, and must have been considered at this time as a central one, whence these miles were reckoned. In this column we adduce an additional witness added to many others, with like inscriptions on them, that Hadrian, that is, T. M. Aurelius Antoninus, who took on his adoption the name of his father, repaired the military ways throughout the province. There is an irreconcilable difference between this, which I am certain I copied with care and attention on a second view, and the others given as transcribed in books, for I did not see these other columns themselves. Their inscription stand thus:

IMP CAESAR  
DIVI HADRIANI  
ET AELIUS HADRI  
ANVS ANTONINVS  
AVG PIVS  
PONT MAX TRIB POT  
VIII IMP II COS IIII  
PP RESTITVIT

If I could reconcile the dates, I would suppose, that this column at Pailliafe was erected by him after his adoption, but before he was emperor, and so dedicated to his father.

As I stayed two days at *Orange*; having employed the first day in a general survey of the several matters of antiquity in that place; and devoted the second to a detailed specific examination of each separately, but more particularly to the examination of that beautiful and magnificent monument *the Triumphal Arch*; I shall here give what I call my *conjectural account* of it.

I am decidedly of opinion, that *Orange* must have been a Roman establishment, engrafted on one of the Aldb'rough \* towns: that it

\* Allobregum.

was,

was, in the time of the Republic, the seat of the Prætors, while the province was Prætorian; prior to the time of Julius Cæsar this province was made Consular, and was in his time added to Cisalpin-Gaul; that in his time this town was a considerable place, and most likely one of those in Gaul said to be enlarged and ornamented by him.

I think, however, at the same time, that his head-quarters were at *Vienne*, nearer to the advanced posts of his army, forming a line on the frontiers from Geneva to Lyon. Vienne was certainly become the metropolis in his time. After the death of Julius Cæsar, Lucius Manutius Plancus was ordered by the Senate to build, at the advanced post of Lyon, a town; which being built by him, and on the *high down* above the town, on the west side the river Saone, was called Lugdunum, *quasi Lucii dunum*, or Lucius's Down, so the antiquaries resolve the same; but I shall venture to give another etymology of it, when I come to examine it.

*Orange*, however, which, prior to the establishment of Vienne, and to the building of Lugdunum, was a principal city of the province, and continued still to be considerable, and was honoured and ornamented with the usual public edifices.

The principal one which remains is a Triumphal Arch, still standing almost intire, and in a great degree of preservation, one of the most ancient and (under its present form) the most beautiful remains of antiquity that is any where to be seen, not even those in Italy excepted, as is universally said by all who have seen both. It stands to the north of the town, at a quarter of a mile distance from what is at present the north gate; but there are plain marks that the town formerly extended northward as far as the place, or near the place, where this Triumphal Arch stands. As one approaches the town, the line of the road would pass through it, but is at present turned so to as go round it. It is an object which, as one advances upon it, meets the eye with its beauty and an imposing air of grandeur.

There

There have been divers descriptions made out, either by persons on the spot ignorant of the nature of these edifices and their relative subject, or by ingenious men of imagination, from defective and incorrect drawings, misrepresenting the most essential parts.

The first drawing that one hears of was given by Monf. de la Pifa, in his History of Orange. Little credit was given to that. Monf. de Pereisc, one of the most learned and the most accurate antiquaries of his time, endeavoured to get some drawings of this noble monument which he might depend upon; of the whole, as to its architecture; and of the parts, which are descriptive of the design of its erection. After receiving many, and finding them such as he could not trust to, he declined giving any account.

There was another given in the Voyage of Monf. Spon: this I have not seen.

That given by the Pere Montfaucon, as drawn on the spot by M. Mignard, an ingenious architect, and said by Montfaucon to be a very exact drawing, is so, as far as relates to the architecture. I can confirm this of my own knowledge; but on the same evidence I will venture to say, that several of the bas-relieves are omitted, those in the frize for instance, and others are drawn, not as portraits, not strict copies of these most essential characteristic parts, but filled up afterwards from memory, and a general idea of an amass of arms, without the specific one of a *trophæal amass*, which is the fact of these bas-relieves. Besides, these bas-relieves are rectangular panes, impaneled in a sort of a frame, and not so as to cover the whole space in the loose scattered manner in which they are represented in the engraving given by Montfaucon. It is plain, that the Pere did not trust much to this drawing, as \* he enters into very little description taken from it; but gives † Monf. de Pereisc's general description, although given from drawings which Monf. de Pereisc himself could not trust.

\* In his IVth volume.

† In his Supplement.

When

When I see with what learned accuracy and fidelity M<sup>ons</sup>. Menard \* has described every thing which he describes from his own knowledge, I am convinced he must have draughted † his description of the Triumphal Arch at Orange not on the spot, but from some incorrect drawing, or some vague informations. When he talks “des enseignes militaires surmontées de *dragons*,” M. Menard, as well as the Father, must have taken up their idea of the dragon being one amongst the ensigns of this trophy, from the wretched drawings which were sent to M. de Peiresec. It is not in the engraving given by Montfaucon himself; and I am sure I saw no such on the Arch itself, though I examined these parts particularly. One of the standards amongst the trophæal *amas* of the arms of the conquered is *a dog*, another is *a wild boar*.

I do not find, in any account given of this most ancient and very curious monument, any precise description of the bas-relieves, which represent *the picture history* of the events that it was meant to be a monument and record of. The peculiar characteristic parts, which seem decidedly and distinctly to point to circumstances of particular events, have never yet been remarked or described with that reference. In consequence of this want of relevant precision, it has never yet been decidedly settled, but repeatedly disputed, by whom, on what account, and to record what event, this proud speechless fabric was erected.

There is not, neither has there been within the memory of man, any inscription on this monument. If there ever was, it must have been on some of the annexed slabs which have fallen off---

*Mors etiam saxi, nominibusque venit.*

So that the whole respecting it is open to conjecture. I shall not therefore assume to give, as M<sup>ons</sup>. Menard intitles his, *Memoire Critique*; but satisfy myself in giving a *Conjectural Account* of this monument.

\* In his Accounts of the several Remains of Antiquity at Nîmes.

† Memoires de l'Academ. des Inscript. vol. XX. p. 335.



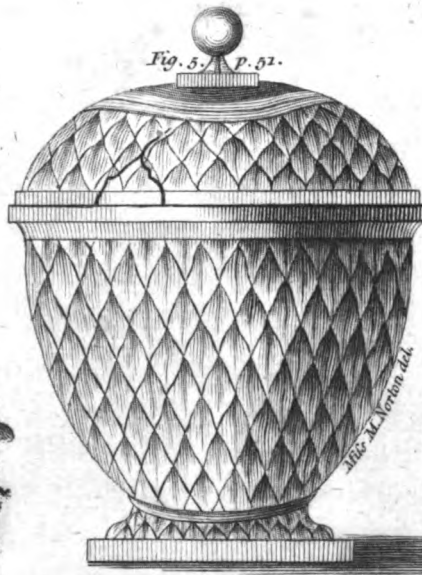
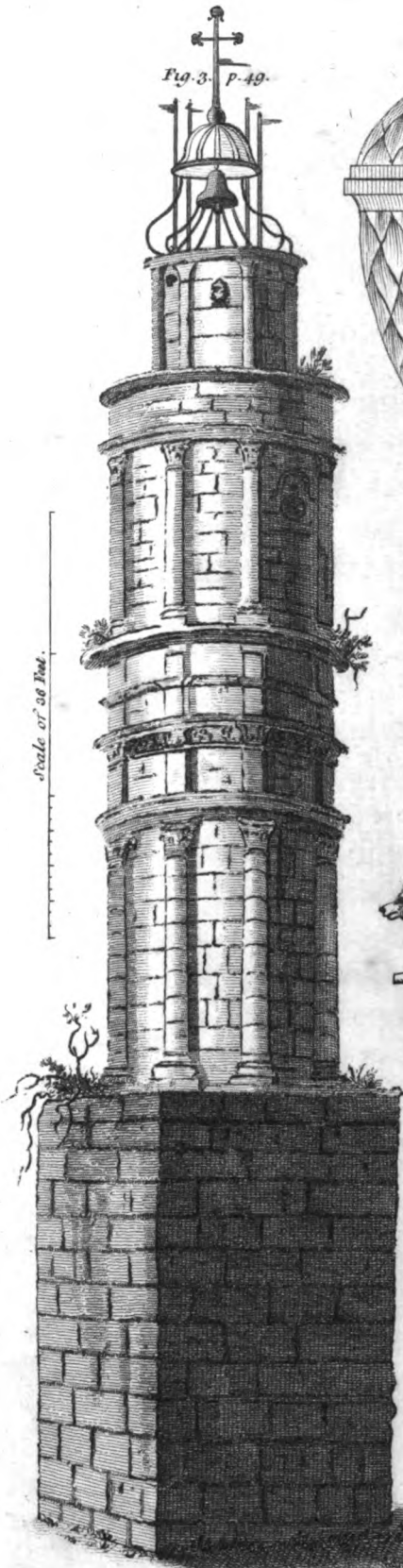
I shall first give my description as I took it on the spot. I will then state the three several opinions entertained relative to the occasion on which, and the persons by whom, this work was erected; and will finally hazard my own conjectures, formed from an attention to the historic parts of the bas-relieves.

First as to the materials; it is built, in the gross materials, of the free-stone of the country. The ornamental parts and compartments in bas-relief *seemed* to my eye of a different species of stone or marble; and where some of them are fallen off, I thought I discovered (I dare not take an air of decision on what I could only see at a distance on high, yet I thought) I discovered some marks of their having been *appliqués* or attached. Monsr. Chorier says the same of the edifice, which he calls the Triumphal Arch at Vienne. *Il est encore* (in his time) *debout, depouillé seulement de Plagues de marbre et d'arain dont il étoit revêtu.* Any person knowing in the nature of stones, acquainted with the quarries of Provence, and who has leisure to examine this matter, might soon decide the point.

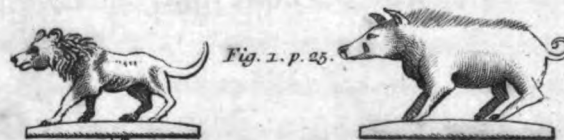
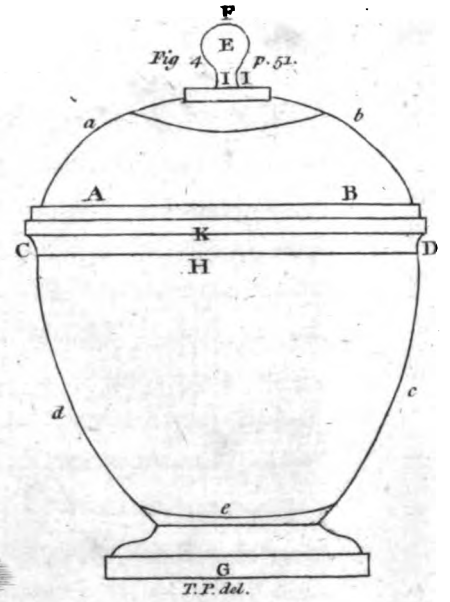
The edifice is of the usual form of Triumphal Arches, and consists of one large central arch, with two lesser lateral ones, so as to admit of a *Triumphal Procession* in three lines of march; the principal line of shew in the center, and two lines of guards on the flanks. The central, as exactly as I could measure it in a most violent wind rushing through it, and as nearly as I could reduce it to Roman feet, is *eighteen feet* wide; the lateral ones each *twelve*. I can be less exact in the height; but think I may venture to give each portal two diameters, and a third in height. The length of the whole building I make eighty-four of the same feet, and the height (here I judge from my eye, which from habit in drawing I can be pretty exact in) about a seventh or sixth part less than the length. The arches spring from richly ornamented imposts, with pannels of foliage, exquisitely and highly finished. The architrave of the arch is also in the same manner enriched; and the vault of the arch is fretted with impanelled fleurets.

The

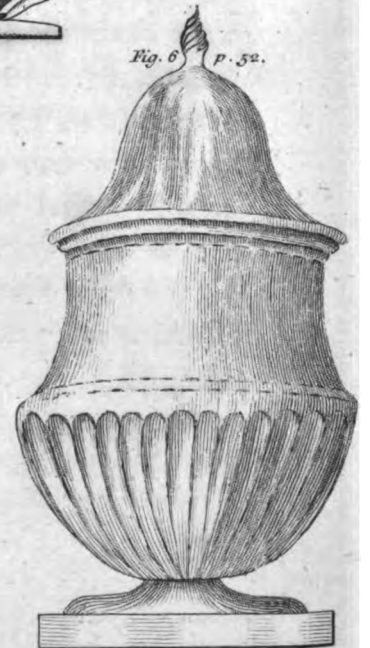




Scale of Feet.



T. P. del.



P. Gregeire del. 1785.

F. C. del.

The whole facade is inclosed within a colonade of four columns of the Corinthian order elegantly and delicately finished, with rich capitals and fluted shafts; the cornice also of the general entablature is very rich; the frize does not appear so well finished as the other members of the entablature. There is a pediment over the center arch. The whole is surmounted with an attic divided into three compartments.

The facades front to north and south; the ends to the east and west. In the spaces between the tops of the lateral arches, and the general entablature on both facades, are empanelled compartments, exhibiting, in bas-relief, trophæal amasses of arms, offensive and defensive, instruments of military music, and ensigns or standards, piled together in a seeming negligent, but studied form; in the manner in which the same used to be piled and carried on military cars and waggons in the Triumphal Processions. There are of course four of these compartments. The shields, helmets, and swords, are grouped together, the spears collected in the bundles, and the standards appear to rise flanting out of the amass. Some are surmounted with the *boar*, others with the *dog*. Here are seen the *Gesa* and *Matura*, the short spear and long lance; and the long bouclers of the usual form worn by these people.

*Gesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.*

These shields and the standards are of the form as sketched in plate I. fig. 1. Each boucler seems to have \* its characteristic mark and distinctive engraving on it, according to the custom of the Gauls and Germans, and indeed of all military nations, which was expressed not only by lines but † *colours*. This bearing of a national, a family, and even a personal, distinctive mark amongst warrior nations, has always been, and is, common to all people in every stage of civilization. Warriors, in that state which we

\* 'Ὅπλοις δὲ χρωταὶ θυροὶς ἀνδραμάνας' πεποικιλμένοις ἰδιοτοποῖς. Pausanias.

† Nil tam conspicuum in Triumpho, quam Rex ipse Bituitus discoloribus in armis, — qualis pugnaverat. L. Ann. Florus, lib. III. c. 2.

Scuta autem *lethifissimis* coloribus distinguunt. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. § 6.

call savage, observe this custom. The savages of America do at this day what the roving savages of Rome, and those of the North, did formerly. They took for their distinctive mark the eagle, the boar, the dog; these take some bird or beast, according to the idea of the character which they would express, on a supposition that this or that animal had this or that character, and so was the proper visible emblem to represent it. This is the original and true ground of the *bearing in arms*, or of *armoury*. This, before writing was in common use, was, of course and necessity, the study and peculiar business of the heralds of an army; but that this picture-writing, since elementary writing and names are the common and the proper modes of communication and distinction, should become, in all the pomp and circumstance of savage manners, a science of high name, called Heraldry, is too absurd for any thing but the poverty of pride.

The civilised Romans abided not by these silly marks; they inserted, on the shields of the conquered amassed in these trophies, the names of the bearers from whom they had been taken, and, to mark that these names were adjective and adscititious, they are written in Roman characters, within a scroll, see plate I. fig. 2. which is the general frame of an *inserted inscription*. Inscribed within this kind of scroll on the shields, amassed in these trophæal bas-relieves, I found and read the following, MARIO; the contour of the last letter but one was not however so decisive as that one could positively say it was *Mario* or *Marco*. DVCADO is another name found on the shields; but the letters appeared to me so indecisive in their forms, partly from not being accurately cut at best, and partly from being somewhat effaced, that I am sure it is impossible to say positively, that the word is DVCADO, as it is commonly read. I am sure that the first letter and the last but one are not decidedly D, and that the last letter is more similar to the D than the last but one. The form of the first letter and the last but one may be taken for R, and of the second for I. In short, I could fancy (but I will not impose my fancies on others) that the name might be read RICARD.

There

There was also on another shield the fragment of a name, the following letters only remaining, \*\*\*VRDLVS; on another AVTO; also SACROLING\*; on one of the shields in the compartment over the west lateral arch on the north face, I clearly read the word RODVACVS.

There are on the frize of the general entablature, in bas-relief, a chain of awkward figures in all the attitudes of combat. This appeared to me, both in design and execution, inferior to the other parts.

There are in the attic of both fronts three compartments of bas-relief; in the compartment of the south-front, over the east lateral, is the busto of a woman in alto relievo, surrounded with a veil swelled out, as it were with the wind, in a circular form. Over the lateral, on the west of the same front, are the sacred vessels and instruments used in sacrifice, specifically the Patera, Præfericulum, and Simpulum, the Lituus and Aspergillum. The compartment over the center arch and pediment is the representation of a battle; but from the distance of the bas-relief from the eye, the smallness of the figures, and the confusion of the group, I was not able to mark any thing decisive in it. It appeared to me to be of a different character of sculpture from the lateral ones, and not so well done.

The compartment in the attic over the west lateral arch of the north front represents a line of masted vessels tied (or, as the seamen express it, *lashed*) together. They appeared to me to represent those kind of vessels which are hauled by their masts in rivers up the stream. The vessel at the head of this line, and next the shore, was clearly of that sort, having a double pulley, one of two runners within one block, as used at this day, at the head of the mast, and a hauling rope run through it, which appears loose and loosely coiled on the bank.

\* *Ling* is a termination commonly used amongst the Northern people, to express descendants or emigrating colony; as *Tulingi* in Cæsar, and a thousand other instances.

I did not observe, and my notes do not enable me to say, any thing with precision as to the two other compartments in the attic of this north front. They appeared to me to be in part decayed, and in part to have fallen off, as did great part of the frize.

The two ends are formed into a facade of four Corinthian columns, with a general entablature and attic surmounting the whole. In the three intercolumniations of the east end are three Trophæes in due form. The ensign belonging to one has the *sanglier*, or boar, mounted on it. The west end, having been in a state of danger of ruin, is now carefully supported by a buttress built up against it; which, at the same time that it may support the whole building, hides this part of it.

If this edifice had ever any inscription, it must have been on the north front. Whatever might have been beyond memory is lost: no inscription has ever been seen on it within the memory of man. Although this proud monument is left amongst us to record some great event, the record is dumb, and the event passed off in oblivion --- *Factum abijt, monumenta manent*.

Various have been the opinions of the learned antiquaries and historians respecting this monument.

The first, supposed to be the most obvious from the word *Mario* in one part of it, is, that it must have been erected to the honour of the victory gained by C. Marius over the combined forces of the Cimbri and Ambrones. This, which has been considered as an obvious reason for that opinion, is the most directly obvious reason to the contrary. The name, if it be *Mario* and not *Marco*, is not inscribed in the place appropriated for inscriptions; much less for such as are dedicatory. On the contrary, it is an inscititious name written on one of \* the shields of the *conquered*, taken in battle, and amassed in the military trophy. Its being a name, the same as the Romans, bore is no proof that in this case it belonged to a Roman. For the Gauls often took Roman Prænomena, such as Claudius, Lucio, and Marcus, &c. And in fact, I find,

\* Ornata armis hostilibus Trophæa fixere. L. Florus, lib. III. c. 2.

the

the name *Mario* (declined in the oblique cases \* *Marionis*, &c.) as the name of a slave in the service of Cicero. Perhaps a son of the very *Mario* taken in this battle.

Another reason given for this opinion is, that the busto of a woman, veiled as above described, in one of the compartments of the attic, hath reference to Martha, a Syrian forcerefs, in whose divinations Marius had great faith, and whom he consulted on all dubious events. I wonder that those who had entertained this opinion did not support it by reference to the religious utensils of sacrifices seen in the companion compartment in the same attic. But these, being instruments and utensils of the *orthodox ritual* of Rome, would have combated this opinion, and would immediately have suggested the fact; that whatever might have been the private opinion of any general or magistrate, none would, in those days of the republic, have dared to have put an evident avowal of such *beretical* tenets on a public monument.

But the fact is, that Marius never was with his army in these parts. He first took post in the Camargue; and thence marched on the flanks of his enemy's line, as they took their routs towards the maritime Alps. When they were entangled in the valley of the river Arc, amongst the straits of the ridge of mountains which hem in the Delta of Provence on the east, he seized a fortunate moment to attack them, and defeated them. *Here* was the field of glory, and *here*, about two leagues from Aix, was erected the Trophæal monument of that glory. Considerable part of this monument might, within these few years, be viewed in its ruins: the traces of the base still remain.

If this monument, the subject of this paper, had been erected to the honour of the victory gained by Marius over the Cimbri and Ambrones†, we should have seen amongst the Trophees the

\* *Marionem* ad te eo misi, ut tecum ad me quamprimum veniret. Cicero, Epist. I. lib. 16.

† So the remains of the Allobroges were at this time called from the league of *Ambros*.



*Bull's-head*, “ Les Cimbres portant pour enseign, une tête de  
 “ *Tareau* d'arain attachée à une pique\*.” This is, to this day, the  
 bearing in the arms of the family of Mecklenberg-Strelitz, the  
 remains of these Cimbri.

A second opinion is, that this monument was erected in honour  
 of, and to perpetuate, the memory of the victory gained by Domi-  
 tius Ænobarbas over the Allobroges †. This opinion is founded on  
 a passage in Suetonius ‡ joined to another in Lucius Florus. The  
 first says, “ That Ænobarbus, having conquered the Allobroges and  
 “ Averni, made a kind of *Triumphal Procession* through the pro-  
 “ vince, carried on an elephant, and followed by a train of soldiers  
 “ in the form of the solemnity of a real triumph.” And the se-  
 cond says, “ That, according to a custom which began to prevail,  
 “ *bzib* Domit. Ænobarbus and Fabius Maximus erected each a  
 “ *Saxea Turris* in honour of their respective victories *on the very*  
 “ *spot* where the respective battles were fought; whereas formerly  
 “ the modest and more chaste manners of the Romans did not lead  
 “ them to insult the conquered, by erecting on, and marking the  
 “ face of the country with, these proud over-bearing monuments,  
 “ that continually reproached the subjects with the act of their  
 “ subjugation §.”

It must be observed here, that Fabius Maximus is reported  
 to have erected a *Saxea Turris* as well as Dom. Ænobarbus; so  
 that we must look to further and more decisive circumstances to  
 decide to which of the two this our monument of Orange belongs.

The battle fought under the command of Ænobarbus, and the  
 victory gained by him, was upon the river Sourg or Nasque to the

\* Monf. Chorier, lib. III. § 19.

† The Allob'roughs.

‡ In Vita Neronis, § 2. In consulatu Allobrogibus et Avernibus superatis, elephantum per provinciam inductus est: turbam militum *quasi* inter solemnia Triumphum prosequente.

§ Et Dom. Ænobarbus et Fabius Maximus *ipsis* quibus demicaverant *locis*, *saxeas* crexere *Turres*, et desuper ornata *armis hostilibus* Trophæa fixere: quum hic mos inusitatus fuit nostris. Nunquam enim populus Romanus hostibus domitis victoriam suam exprobravit. L. Ann. Florus, lib. III. c. 2.

southward

southward of Orange, and between that town and Avignon. The battle fought, and the victory gained, by Fabius Maximus, was to the northward of Orange, on or near the banks of the Isarre, where he took post, most likely, on the spot where Valence now stands.

Again, as this monument was a standing \* reproach to the Allobroges, erected on the face of their country, it must, if it was erected by Ænobarbus, have been destroyed by them when, in the next year, they with their allies rose against their conquerors, and recovered their country out of their hands. Being again in possession of their freedom and their country, they would not certainly have suffered this edifice to remain and insult the nation, a proud monument of their defeat and subjugation, a continued standing mark of their slavery.

I should rather be induced to suppose, that the Trophæal Arc at Carpentras, still in part remaining under various and successive reparation, had been *originally the Turris Saxea* erected by Ænobarbus. This Trophæal monument at Carpentras has however something whimsical in its fate. That which was erected to record the victory, and perhaps to grace the Triumphal Procession, of a conquering Roman general, is now the kitchen of an Holy Bishop; whence hospitality commences the ecclesiastic processions of good cheer. Those who think that mankind is better employed in eating than in fighting and destroying their fellow-creatures, will think this edifice dedicated now to a much better purpose than at its first erection.

There is a third opinion entertained by Monf. Menard †: that this Triumphal Arc was built by Julius Cæsar, at least by some of his soldiers, at the time when he commanded and resided in this province, and perhaps at Orange, one of the cities which he is supposed to have ornamented. As there is no proof of this latter

\* Victoriæ suam exprobravit.

† In his *Memoirs Critique* in the *Memoires of the Academy of Inscriptions*, at Paris, vol. XX. p. 335.

fact, and nothing in the bas-relieves, which are specifically characteristic of any of the actions of Cæsar, this *Memoire Critique* appears to me merely conjectural, and without even a base whereon to found it. When he supposes the names which are found on the shields to be the names of Roman soldiers, written by themselves, on these shields they had themselves taken personally from the enemy, he either had not read them as they are actually written, or had not attended to them. Most of them *are not Roman* names. Although from what I have read of Monf. Menard's works, where he wrote on the spct, and from the fact, I have a conviction of his accuracy and great learning; yet here I think the critique and the opinion hazarded by him will fall of itself without controversy, not having even a conjectural base in either history, or the circumstances of the monument, to support it.

Having thus given my reasons why I do not acquiesce in any of the three opinions as above stated, I ought to acknowledge that the opinion which gives the honour of this monument to Domitius Æhenobarbus, is in every degree the most probable of the three; I think almost equally probable with the opinion I venture to hazard upon my conjectures. There are, however, some circumstances in the history of these events, and some characteristic features in the monument itself, which to me seem decisive of a different opinion which I entertain.

As there remains not any inscription on the edifice; as there is no positive fact in history which, in direct testimony specifies this monument; the utmost that can be attained is but conjecture; yet conjecture grounded on independent circumstances, which when brought together coincide, forms a degree of probability not far removed from demonstration.

If, when we examine the peculiar circumstances which occurred in, and attended, the events of the Roman conquests in this country, and collate these with the characteristic features of the monument, the history and the picture agree: and these circumstances form at their coincidence a light almost equal to that of truth.

It

It appears, that although Dom. Æhenobarbus had gained a victory over the Allobroges and Avergni; yet he was more attentive to the contemplation of the figure which he was to make in these events; he more employed his time in vain parade and foolish exhibitions of his own glory, than in securing the obedience of the conquered, or in establishing the power of the conquerors; and consequently the inhabitants, who had submitted to arms and force, did not become subjects of the government. They were conquered, but they could not then be governed. Against force they could make no resistance, and were *passive*; but when expected to *act* as subjects, they revolted against the tyranny which the Imperium assumed in its civil form.

The Allobroges persuaded Bituitus, King of the Avergni, to join them in a general revolt. Having adopted the idea, he induced the Avergni to come into the measure. Bituitus was enabled by this to join the Allobroges in a manner which gave him the supreme command. The Allobroges marched to the Rhosne: Bituitus threw over the river a second bridge, in addition to one already built. This new military bridge was formed upon a line of shallops, extended across the Rhosne, at a place near to, but to the northward of, the mouth of the river Isere, at a place where the junction of the two nations could be best formed. He passed his troops over to the Allobroge country, and joined the troops of that nation; and the allied army formed upon the northward of of the Isere, with the Rhosne on their right. Fabius advanced his army up to the southern heights of the vale of the Isere, and encamped \* in a fortified camp. The allied army consisted of 180,000 men, six times the number of the Roman army. This was a moment of importance in the history of the world. On one side Rome advanced her standard, mounted with the eagle; on the other, the Allobroges and Avergni advanced their standards

\* On the southern heights of the vale of the Isere, perhaps on the very spot where Valence now stands; for that afterwards became a considerable Roman town and post, by the appellation, Ad Isæren.

mounted with the wild-boar and the dog. At such a moment the mind arrests itself in contemplation, not only of the event which took place ; but in forming to itself a view of the train of events which might have arisen in Europe, if this allied army of freemen had done that, which most certainly it was in their power to have done, that is, beaten the Romans out of Gaul.

A foolish confidence, founding itself on the superiority of numbers, and an insolence inspired by a savage courage, neglected that discipline which alone can give strength to numbers, and render courage effective. Bituitus, animated with the same spirit of insolence as his people, or at least willing to assume and give a tone of confidence to them, sent an insulting message to Fabius, in which was this expression, " That the soldiers of the Roman army were " scarce sufficient in number to *feed the dogs* of his army." This boast was founded on a custom which these people had of bringing with them a number of dogs in their army ; but had reference also to the ensign of this people, *the dog* opposed to the eagle. Wisdom and discipline prevailed over insolent negligence and unguided numbers. The allied armies were broken and beaten. The standard of the Avergni, as appears on the Triumphal Arc, was taken. The *Dog*, with which Bituitus menaced the Romans, became part of the trophies of this victory. The Sanglier, the ensign mounted on the standard of the Allobroges, was also taken. The army broken, the right division, consisting of the Avergni, took to flight, and endeavoured to repass the Rhosne over the bridges. That part of them, which had accomplished their retreat so far as to get upon the bridge of boats, detached that end of it from the shore of the Allobroges, in order to prevent their being pursued. The bridge, thus once dissolved from its fastenings, swung round and was broken, and thousands by this means were drowned in the Rhosne. This circumstance, peculiar to this action, is specifically expressed in one of the bas-relieves, as above noticed. When we remark the coincidence of the characteristic designs of the bas-relieves on the monument, with the specific and peculiar actions and events of this campaign  
of

of C. Fabius, pointing to one peculiar event, the dumb stones speak their purpose. Without thus collating the pictured and the written history, there remains nothing which can tell the tale to us of these later days.

The objections which may be made to the opinion, that this monument was erected by Dom. Æenobarbus, namely its situation and its present existence, (namely, that if it had existed at the time in which the Allobroges recovered their country, it must have been destroyed) does not lie against this opinion of its pertaining to the victory of C. Fabius. That victory was gained to the northward of Orange; and the Allobroges never again were in possession of their country after this victory.

There are some other particulars worth observing in the peculiarities of the bas-relieves. The inserting of the names of the conquered upon the shields is peculiar; being written as it is within an *adscititious border*, and in *Roman letters*, marks that it was not *so written* by the bearers of the shields; if it had, it would have been either in *Runic* or in *Greek* letters, and have been so written as to make part of the device of the bearing, or in a scroll running round the shield, according to the mode observed by them when they did begin to write inscriptions. None of the names found on these shields are to be found in any of the accounts of the kings or generals of the Allobroges or Avergni, unless what I transcribed as \*\*\*VRDLVS should, when more nearly examined, appear to be \*VERRIVS, the fragment of the word LVERRIVS, the name of the father of Bituitus, by which name some of his descendants in the army might be called. The rest of the names, however, do not appear to me to have been Gaulic names. I rather think, they were *Teutonic*, or more likely *Tanic*, names latinized; and that they belonged to some of those people who, coming from the North, were \* settled on the coast in Aquitaine and Poictou, countries so

\* When the Cimbri and Teutones, eighteen years after this, made their incursions into the *Provincia Romana*, these countries were not then first known to them. They had had intercourse in them both by war and commerce.

called from these settlers, as *Ach-y-Tane*, the Tribes of the Tanes, in later times called Danes; and *Poiçtou* from the *Piçtones*, from *Piçt* and *Oon*, a dwelling or settlement. These people took originally the title of *Viçts* and *Vicanders*, meaning warriors and conquerors. This was pronounced by the Saxons *Peachs* and *Peaghts*, whence *Piçts*; which *Piçts*, when settled, added the termination *ones*, so were called *Piçtônes* and *Viçtônes*. I suppose (it is only supposition) that some of these people became volunteers or allies in this adventure with the Avergni their neighbours. This peculiarity would enable me (according to my way of reasoning) to account for the peculiarity of writing these names on the shields, when placed in the Trophees by the Romans, to make a parade of having conquered some of the allies of these Avergni, part of a people in the remotest borders of the earth.

The device on one of the shields, which I have selected in the drawing given by me, confirms me in this opinion. It is that of a stork, the proper emblem of migration, and peculiarly of migration from winter regions to those nearer the sun. The Pelasgians, whatever was their *national name*, had the appellation of Pelasgians given them in allusion to the stork.

Upon the whole; As it appears that Fabius Maximus as well as Domitius Ænobarbus built one of these *Saxæ Turres*\*; and that each erected his respective monument on his own respective field of glory. I am myself convinced, and will venture to give it to others as a *conjectural* opinion, that this monument of Orange, in whatever form it may have been originally built, was erected to the honour of Fabius Maximus.

\* Σούλγας κατὰ Οὐίνδαλιν πόλιν μισγόμενος τῷ Ῥοδανῷ ὅπου Γραιῶς Αἰνόβαρδος μεγάλη μάχη πολλὰς ἐπὶ ψαλο Κέλων μυριάδας; — Καθ' ὃ δὲ συμπέπτεσιν ὁ Ἰσαρ ποταμὸς; καὶ ὁ Ῥαδαῖος; καὶ τὸ Κίμμινος Ὄρος Κοῖνος Φάβιος Μάξιμος Αἰμιλιανὸς ἔχ' ἑλαις τρεῖσι μυριάσιν ἱκανοὶ μυριάδας Κέλων κατέκοψεν, καὶ ἔστησε Τροπαῖον, αὐτόθι λευκῇ λίθῳ, καὶ Ναὺς δύο, τὴν μὴν Ἀρεως; τὴν δὲ Ἡρακλείας. Strabon. Geog. lib. IV. p. 185. This fixes precisely the places of each of these Trophies. But the places of the two Temples have never yet been discovered. If one lived in the country, and had leisure to travel and examine the fragments of ruins left in it, I dare say some traces of these would be discovered. I could almost wish to suggest these kind of searches to the learned living in those countries.

I am

I am also clearly of opinion, that the form under which it now appears, and the manner in which it now is erected, was, by repair, enlargement, or re-edifying, the work of a later age.

The buildings erected by Ænobarbus and Fabius are expressly, and in direct terms, called *Saxeæ Turres*, by Florus. The Romans were not loose and inaccurate writers so as to use words to express one thing which were peculiarly the name of another. L. Florus would by no means have called the present monument a *Saxeæ Turris*.

The *Saxeæ Turres* were the first gradation of the romp of vain-glory, above the rude Trophies set up in the field of battle. Such were the temporary piling up of the arms of the conquered in heaps, hanging the arms of the subdued commanders on the trunk of a tree, or on a post stuck down for the purpose.

The next step was a form of Trophy, which being permanent should record and perpetuate the glory. They, therefore, as L. Florus here remarks, began first at this time to erect on the field of battle stone-towers, ornamented with Trophæal representations of the arms of the conquered.

By what can be collected from some of the remains of the Trophæal Towers in different parts, it appears, that they were either small round columnal towers on square solid bases; or square, and sometimes pyramidical buildings, raised on bases pierced by one direct arch, or with two crossing each other at right angles, and so supported on four imposts. These introduced what were afterwards called Trophæal and Triumphal Arcs. There were monumental arcs of both sorts, which were very different in their purpose, as I shall mark upon a following occasion. These buildings, however, here under consideration, when first erected, were expressly *Saxeæ Turres*, as Trophæal not Triumphal Monuments. The remains of the base of Marius's monument, an edifice erected on the river Arc, eighteen years posterior to this of Fabius, shew, that that was of the first sort a *Saxeæ Turris*. Columnal Towers and Trophæal Arcs were erected also as monuments in honour of the dead. We have one instance



instance in the Columnal Tower at Aix, and another in the circular Monument, as well as in the Trophæal Arc at St. Remi, and a third in that erected on the Appian way by the Roman Senate, in honour of Drusus, Father of Claudius Emperor, which was erected after Drusus's death.

These *Stone-Towers* of Ænobarbus and Fabius could only be Trophæal. None could presume to erect a Triumphal Arc until he had obtained the honour of a triumph, which he could not obtain but on his return, before he entered the gates of Rome, by order of the Senate. Domitius, indeed, presumed to make a military procession through the Province, imitating the solemnities of a Triumph; but it gave great offence at Rome, and was the occasion of preventing his obtaining honours which he aimed at.

If I might be permitted to indulge my conjectures, I would suppose, first, that the two monuments erected by Ænobarbus and Fabius were, as L. Florus describes them, simply *Saxæ Turres*. Next, that these being in decay, the inhabitants of the Province in the time of Augustus, according to the spirit of his court, and according to what he actually recommended to all his friends, and at the time when he made his Imperial progress through the Province, repaired these several Trophæal Towers in the form of Trophæal Arcs, such as that at Carpentras; but that this of Orange, through which Augustus was to pass, was revived in the form of a Triumphal Arc.

That the several Trophæal and other public Edifices, dedicated to the honour of the Generals of the State, were repaired by Augustus himself, or by his order, preserving to each the honour of his respective record of glory, we read in Suetonius\*. And it is a fact, that the inhabitants of Vienne raised a Triumphal Arc, to grace his progress and entry into their town.

\* Proximum a Diis immortalibus honorem memoriæ Ducum præstitit qui Imperium Pop. Rom. ex minimo maximum rediderunt. Itaque et opera cujusque manentibus titulis, restituit. Suetonius in Vit. Aug. § 31.

The reasons why I think that this may have been afterward repaired by Hadrian are, first, that he did actually repair and restore most of the Monuments, Temples, public Edifices, and public Roads, in the Province: and next, that I thought, when I viewed this Arc of Orange, I could distinguish the bas-relieves and other ornaments of the central part of this edifice; I mean particularly the bas-relief of the frieze, and of the attic of the center, were of an inferior and more antiquated taste of design and execution than those of the lateral parts; and that the Corinthian columns and their capitals were not of that simple style of architecture seen in the Basilica, or Curia, at Vienne, which was undoubtedly erected in the time of Augustus, but exactly like those of the *Maison carrée* at Nîmes, which was repaired by Hadrian.

I consider all that I have written on the subject of this Triumphal Arc at Orange as conjectural; and I beg it may be received as such.

There is still remaining a Roman Theatre in this town, which, although it is defaced, and some parts in a state of ruins, yet its form and features may be easily retraced and recognised, and the several parts distinctly ascertained, even in the ruins where it hath suffered most. As an exemplar of a subject on which more has been written than distinctly and precisely understood, it might become, on a curious and scientific examination, an object of much instruction and information. As I had spent all the time I could spare in examining the Triumphal Arc, I had it not in my power, at this my first passage through the town, to examine this other object at all in detail. I noted it down for such examination at my return upon a second view; but that opportunity arrived not again. I can only give a general description of it, such as a cursory view affords, which yet I will give as a *Notice* to others who may wish, and may have opportunity, to examine it scientifically, and by measurement of its parts, as it well deserves.

It is built on the south side of the town, close under and against a high rocky hill, in a hollow, or, as it appeared to me, a quarry, whence the stones, of which both the town and this mag-

nificent

nificent edifice might have been taken ; and this hollow seems to have been so cut out as to leave a sloping foundation in the rock for this very design. The Fascade of the front is of a straight line, and consists of two arcade stories and an attic parapet\*. The base story hath twenty-three arches : a principal one in the center, and eleven on each side of it. I imagined, that I saw the marks of the places of columns on the imposts between the arches, and almost persuaded myself that there had been a corridore portal, the whole length of the front. There are also remaining consoles in the second story, which seem to have supported columns there also. Except that some of the arches are filled up with masonry, others converted into shops and store-houses, and that the columns are no longer there. The front is in perfect preservation, and maintains at this day a proud air of grandeur. It is of an high elevation, of an elegant disposition of parts, and raises and fills the eye with its magnificence. All the apartments, where the *Scene*, the *Proscene*, and the *Pulpit* were, are hid rather than absolutely destroyed by being filled up and fitted up into little dark, dirty, wretched, dwelling places : yet from what, in my cursory view, I noticed, I think, they might be traced in some measure even at this day. These parts are built up from the level of the town, and are in the straight line of the diameter. From such cursory examination of these parts as I was able to make, and from a view of the whole, as taken from the circular part on the other side, I conceived a notion, that this Theatre might on occasions have served as an Amphitheatre, wherein the Roman general, his officers, and the magistrates, might sit in separated state, while the circular rows of benches were appropriated to the several orders of the people of the colony or province. There is in the center of these parts a nitch apparently formed for a seat. That Theatres and Amphitheatres were in some instances convertible is a

\* Mons. Menard, in his Memoir 1753, vol. XXVI. of the Memoire de l'Academ. des Inscriptions, p. 335. says, he remembers to have seen three letters on the Fascade.

fact ;

fact; but whether in the manner I here suggest, I am not able to say: I do not recollect any one instance of it.

The semi-circular parts are easily to be traced by any one conversant in the nature of these buildings. Under the ranges, where were the benches, the galleries of communication, whence steps lead to the vomitoria, are in many parts still remaining. These passages are arched; they are nine English feet wide, and of a proportionable height.

I mean this superficial description of this Theatre merely as a *Notice* to any learned traveller, who, passing through this town, shall have leisure, and be curious, to examine it, as it well deserves to be, with scientific precision.

In the west part of the town, about one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards from this Theatre, there is a building which comes in a direct line from the hill south and north, and which clearly appeared to me to be the remains of an Aqueduct. It is of two rows or stories of arches, and the thickness of the base story is but six feet or thereabouts. This building coming from the hill crosses the street which goes west, and is afterward lost amongst the houses. It hath the exact structure of the Aqueducts which I have seen elsewhere. If this was such it was for a supply to the Fountains (the *Aquæ salientes*). This is but a *Notice* of it.

There is, at half a mile distance west from the town, a fountain, in the form of a round basin, of a fine clear, soft water; which water is led to the town by a covered stone duct. Common opinion, handed down by tradition, holds this to have been originally a Roman work. It may very likely, or may not. I saw nothing to determine my opinion. I notice it for the observation of others.

I had shewn to me, in the body of the town, in different cellars, some at four, some at six or eight feet below the present surface, several remains of Tessellated Pavements, chiefly of black and yellow tessellæ, plain and mere pattern work, without figures, or any other picturesque design, but elegant and perfectly worked.

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Monf.

Monf. Menard, in his Memoir above referred to, fays, that there were thefe three letters c. i. s. on the Theatre, which he interprets thus, *Colonia Julia Secundanorum*; and adds, that he imagines, that he can collect from Suetonius, that Tiberius, the Lieutenant of Julius Cæfar, eftablifhed this colony. He certainly was the leader and founder of colonies in Gaul; but if Orange was one of thefe, it would have been natural, in the ordinary courfe of narrative, that this fhould have been mentioned with Arles and Narbonne by Suetonius. Its being omitted, where particular notice is taken of the colonies fettled by Tiberius, marks at leaft that it was not known to Suetonius to have been fuch; therefore that it was, cannot be collected from Suetonius. I therefore remain in the opinion, which I take up from the nature and general courfe of events (hiftery being wholly filent on the point), that Orange and Avignon were originally out-pofts to Aix, fixed on the banks of the Rhofne, and became fucceffively the Prætorian feat of government, as the Romans advanced their conquelts into the mountains, when Valens became an advanced poft: that in the time of Julius Cæfar, Vienne was the head quarters of the army, and the feat of government, fixed in the metropolis of the Allobroges or Alob'roughs; that Cæfar might fend a colony to Orange, when that part of the country was fecured in peace, and covered by the advanced pofts, is likely; and that, when fuch colony was fo fettled, the colonifts might build this Theatre is not improbable; but there is nothing which, even in the form of conjecture, leads to that fact.

The Rhofne, till it hath paffed out from between the Cevennes and the ridge of Montlimar, runs from Vienne in a confined channel between high mountains on each fide; when it iffues from thence it enters into a level plain, extending on each fide of it, which has been called the Ifle and Delta of Gaul, from its refemblance to the lower parts of Egypt, at the mouths of the Nile, called the Delta. This wide-extended and rich vale is interfperfed  
here

here and there with rocky, isolated hills, rising above the level. It takes the form of a triangle, the base of which is formed by the southern coast (partly a narrow, mountainous ridge, partly the stony plain, partly marsh), and extends from Pont-Royal to Agde. The southernmost ridges and the spurs of the Mons Gebenna, called in Languedoc the Cevennes, and in Provence the Mont-Ventaux, the first trending west-southerly, the second east-southerly, form the two legs. Through this vale, coming from the mountains on the east, runs the river Durance, and falls into the Rhodæ, between Orange and Beaucaire. In passing south over the last ridge of this mountain, the eye, from that elevated situation, measures over the whole expanse as far as it can see. Being of opinion with those learned antiquaries who have, with a great degree of probable conjecture, traced the march of Hannibal through this vale (a corrupt transcript in Livius of *Arar*, instead of *Ifar*, followed by posterior writers, led to the mistake, clearly a mistake, that Hannibal marched up to the place whereon afterward was built Lugdunum, at the confluence of the *Arar* and Rhône) it became matter of amusement to me, while passing down from the heights, to trace and follow with my eye, the supposed course of this march: as he is supposed to have passed the Rhône at Beaucaire and Rocmaure; to have marched in two columns up to Ambrone, and to have thence pierced through the passes (those of the white rock) of the Celtic Alps to Turin.

On coming down to the foot of these mountains, here first I saw the olive-trees, which struck me as conform to what Strabo says, That the olives an exotic plant, would not thrive beyond the foot of the Mons Gebenna.

Advancing now to the towns and cities whence I took the exemplars of antiquity whereon I make my remarks, I cannot but think it right to prepare the reader before he enters on the following matters by a general remark, which was the result of many particular remarks after I had passed over these ruins.

The different state in which the remains of ancient places, and what is called their antiquities, are found, is influenced by various circumstantial causes \*. Some of the largest and most magnificent cities which history records to have existed, as Babylon and Nineveh, &c. being built in the great vale of the rivers Euphrates and Tygris, of brick and bitumen, have, since their ruin, mouldered into their original clay; and the remains of them are to be discovered, if they are discovered, only by elevated vegetating knowles, rising on the level of the plain. Their antiquities, if any remain undissolved, may lie buried under vaults or arches that are preserved at the base of these hills. On the other hand, there are existing at this day, in great preservation, the most astonishing ruins and antiquities of cities, of which history scarce notices the existence, such as Tadmora, Palmyra, Persepolis, &c. The site being abandoned, and the ruins undisturbed by posterior structures and inhabitancy, and consisting of materials which are capable of resisting natural dissolution, the ruins at least are preserved. Wherever, on the contrary, after the destruction of any town, by war or by any other devastation, the wretched remnants of the inhabitants have been decided to remain at their *home*, though it were only to dwell amidst the ruins of it; there the ruins may indeed remain, but are always found in a state of degraded preservation; and the antiquities, perhaps such of them as are of the least value, and of the greatest difficulty to be removed, may still remain as wretched testimonies of the former inhabitancy. Where ancient towns or cities which, though they have been repeatedly ravaged, were so circumstanced in their site, as to be a proper post of command, or central to, or in the lines of, communication of commerce, there such towns have been repeatedly re-edified and re-possessed by posterior inhabitants. These generally build, on the ruins of the old, new and commodious dwellings, and even a new city. In such cities, although they may have, from history and record, testimony

\* *Omnium istarum civitatum, quas nunc magnificas ac nobiles audis, vestigia quoque tempus eradet. Seneca, Epist. 91.*

of

of the ancient state of the place; yet the very ruins are pulled in pieces, or buried under the foundations of the new buildings, or so changed as not to be recognised. We shall, in this little book, have frequent examples of, and have repeated occasions to remark, these three last circumstances of the ruins and antiquities of ancient places.

Although Avignon, *Avenio Cavorum*, was a Roman colony established in a Gallic town, and, as some say, an advanced entrepôt of the Massilians; yet the very remains of all the ancient parts are dissolved or buried, and very few and very trifling antiquities have been found there, and, I think, scarce any worth noticing.

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## A. I. X.

AIX, or *Aquæ Sextia*, although the first settlement and town which the Romans had in Gaul; although it was for some time the principal, and always a considerable place, exhibits in these latter days the fewest remains of antiquity of any place; once so possessed and occupied. Aix, after the various and repeated devastations it had suffered, became the capital of a sovereign state, a noble city, in which were erected a palace and courts of justice, a cathedral with all its attendant edifices and mansions, convents and monasteries, and the houses of the nobles, with all the appenage of dwellings for mechanics and tradesmen, necessary to a town of such inhabitancy; but all these buildings and edifices were erected on the repeated accumulation of ruins which lie beneath their foundations. They were built also out of the materials of its  
ancient



ancient edifices : and there remain at this day very few remnants of its antiquities. It is more particularly remarkable, that in this city, a place anciently so famous for its Thermal Baths, and even taking its name from them, there should not be the least remains or faintest traces of such, nor even a remembrance or tradition as to their position. The general run of historians, from a vague and unfounded opinion of Strabo, doubt, but \* I think without reason, whether the springs here are of the same quality as formerly. However, it is certain, that the inhabitants who occupied this place after the Romans, not admitting this custom of bathing into their ordinary mode of life, totally superseded the edifices erected for that purpose, and they are wholly lost. The reader will have an occasion to see, in the following parts of this book, that although in general the Baths and Thermæ were destroyed by those who drove out the Romans, yet, in places so abandoned as not to be reinhabited or rebuilt upon the old ruins, the ruins of Baths and Thermæ are still to be seen in a great degree of preservation. The Ducts, however, of these Thermal springs have been either preserved or recovered ; for they conduct, at this day, the water to the fountains in the course and to some modern Baths near the walls of the town.

There were formerly in this city, as there were in every other Roman city, Aqueducts, through which water of the purest mountain springs were brought to use. The remains of several of these are still to be seen in their ruins. I repeatedly examined these remains. On the first view I thought that they were lined with long slabs of marble ; but, upon review and re-examination, I found that they were lined to the utmost height to which the water ran in the Ducts, with a coating of stucco, so hard and compact in its texture as to bear a polish equal to marble. This lining is not polished ; but several of the inhabitants, curious in these matters, had had pieces of this lining

\* Mons. Prof. DARLUC, M. D. of the University of Aix, confutes this groundless notion, by collecting a series of facts, taken in a series of distant ages.

taken out of the ruins and polished, with which they made side-boards and pier-tables. The Duct which I examined and measured is three feet nine inches high, and one foot nine inches wide; the height to which it is lined is one foot nine inches. The stucco coating being about two inches thick, the free current for the water is about one foot five inches in breadth, and most likely it ran about the same in height, that is, about four inches below the utmost height of the coating. These Ducts are generally conducted, winding along the sides of the mountains and hills whence they derive, in an easy slope to the place of supply. When it is necessary to cross any valley or river, the Ducts are carried over these on arches of masonry. Some of these ancient Ducts have been, by a very meritorious attention in the magistrates of the city, repaired, and to this day convey to, and supply, the public fountains with the purest water. Thus much, and no more, I think it necessary to observe in particular of the Aqueducts in this place: I shall reserve my general observations on this subject to the end of this paper, when I shall have examined and collected more particulars in fact, and compare them with what Vitruvius says of these works in practical science.

Amongst some few other remnants of antiquity which are preserved, there are several shafts of large columns, some of marble, and others of the granite of the country. There is a tradition, or adopted opinion, that these formerly belonged to some antique temples. Six of the latter, and two of the former, are employed in the building of part of the cathedral; and Corinthian capitals, which I supposed to be modern, support the dome of the baptistery. One other granite shaft lies at its length against the wall of the west end of the cathedral. One other of the same sort, crowned with a Corinthian capital, is erected on a pedestal, as an ornament to a fountain in the square before the town-house. An inscription calls this Corinthian column of the granite of the country, *Columna Egyptiaca*. One cannot but admire this fountain derived from the restored Aqueducts of the Romans; one cannot but admire the ornament

ornament of the erection ; but one is at the same time revolted at the illiterate ignorance of the inscribers. This had better have been a dumb monument : this shaft had better have slept with its fellow at the church porch, than to have been set up here a babbling reproach to those who erected it. There are in several parts of the town, at the corners of the streets, fragments of the like columns. There are employed, in the erection of the cloysters, several shafts of small marble columns, which appear to be antique, different from the rest, which certainly are not antique. Two or three of these have capitals, which are also antique, both in their materials and in their work. These may have been formerly parts of Delubra or Shrines, but are too small to have been parts of any large edifice.

There is set up in the wall of the cathedral a marble bas-relief antique, of which I here give a description : I do not presume to decide on its design ; but as others may, and as possibly it may lead to some historic discovery, or at least to the explanation of some ancient custom, religious or civil. If I dared to hazard a conjecture, I would suppose it to have been part of a Sarcophagus, and to have reference to the circumstances of the death of the person deposited, as dying in child-bearing, or to some other circumstance of child-birth, by allusion to the birth of Castor, Pollux, and Helen. I have a drawing of it ; the cost of engraving it would be more than I think it deserves.

There were remaining, till within these few years, in the palace at Aix, three very remarkable edifices of genuine antiquity, three Towers. Two still remaining, which appear to have been part of the fortifications of the ancient citadel, according to the mode of the military architecture of those times. The third, now no more, was of a different form and character. It hath always from tradition, time out of mind, been called a Mausoleum, except that, when a clock was put up in it, it acquired vulgarly the name of *Le Tour de l'Horologe*. Those who had a right to decide on the fate of this monument, decided upon the demolition of it ; and it was accordingly, by order, demolished in the year 1779. Mr. Gregoire,  
a native

a native of Aix, a young man of uncommon ingenuity, made a drawing of it, just before it suffered execution. I had a copy from him. As the monument, which had long been an honour to the city, no more remains, I am afraid the engraving which I here give (plate I. fig. 3.) may be a permanent reproach to it.

I cannot but on this occasion insert a passage taken from Monsr. Bouche's \* *Essay on the History of Provence*, " These monuments, " in which the city might view its second foundation, and the " period when it became Roman; these monuments, which were " first and most incontestible archives of its ancient glory; these monuments, which had braved the destructive wear of near twenty " centuries, which the incursions of the barbarians of the north " and south, amidst all their ravages and desolations, had respected; " whose firm and indissoluble solidity might have remained to keep " awake and instruct the admiration of future and the most remote " ages; these monuments, of which our ancestors were proud, " from the honour Rome itself annexed to them; these which " recalled to the impetuous Charles the First the glories of the " Roman Republic; these monuments which Charles the Fifth " would that they should be spared, which Louis the Great regretted " that he had not in the capital of his realm; to which the learned, " the curious, and all strangers, have looked up to as objects of " admiration; these monuments are in part, and are to be intirely " destroyed. It is the eighteenth century, the age of philosophy, " of arts, and taste, that has been the witness of this destruction. " It is a Province celebrated for its respect of antiquity; a Province " covered with manifest, and the most brilliant marks of the " attachment which the Romans had to it. It is in the bosom of a " city, where literature and scientific cognisances reside, and under " their eyes that these demolitions are decided upon, undertaken, and " executed."

The view in the engraving will best describe this beautiful monument. The drawing had no scale annexed to it; but I am able to

\* Published in the year 1785, at Marfelles, in two vols. 4to.

give to it its dimensions, according to a scale which I have made from the height and diameter of the *Shafts*, or the granite columns, which belonged to it, now lying in the coach-house of the Intendance, and which I carefully measured; of which the diameter is about two feet, and the height twelve feet, allowing for the difference between the Roman and English foot. The sides of the base of this monument are twenty-four feet by forty (that is, three by five); and the round tower erected on this base, twenty feet diameter, and sixty feet high: the whole monument being thus one hundred feet in height. It must be observed, that the upper part, seen in this drawing, was no part of the original edifice, but an additional work of later times.

Most likely there was originally a statue on the top, placed under a dome, supported by the granite columns, as the statues in the monument at St. Remi are; but this, if ever such was, hath been long thrown down. The traditional story, that there was a brazen statue standing or lying by the side of the base, gives some speciousness to this conjecture.

The base, in the state it was when drawn, and as it now appears in the drawing, can be only the naked despoiled of its ornaments, between which the pannel on each face had most likely, as is seen on the monument at St. Remi, some design in bas-relief significant of the circumstances under which this monument was erected, or some inscription engraved on it. But as there has not been within the memory of history any inscription, nor any bas-relief, there must be a total ignorance as to the particular design of the erecting of it; there is not even reasonable ground of conjecture as to its age, or any one circumstance about it, except that one of its being a Mausoleum.

That this edifice was a sepulchral monument, there was always a tradition; and the fact came into proof at its demolition, by the finding in it two sepulchral urns, full of ashes and bones; which urns must have been there placed at the time of its erection, as they were each included between two stones, excavated on purpose to receive them, which stones were part of the solid wall.

They

They were enclosed both in the same manner. I saw and examined the stones which now (1785) lie amongst the rest of the materials of this edifice, piled up within the palace, and destined to some future erection there. The manner was as follows: the under stone, which retained that urn which I more particularly examined, was so excavated, to the depth of fourteen inches, with a circular cavity, whose diameter was about sixteen or seventeen inches, as to receive the bottom part of the urn. The upper stone which covered it was in like manner excavated to the depth of above half a foot, to receive the cover of the urn; but, what I found extraordinary, not to a depth sufficient to receive the pome or nob at the top of the urn, which lay loose on one side.

The urns, which were so found at the demolition of this edifice in the year 1779, are preserved in the cabinet of the Intendance, where I saw, examined, and measured one of them; that of which I here give a drawing and engraving. The other not being of a form which pleased me, and the place where they were kept, and the season being cold to extreme, I did not take the same pains to examine and measure it; so I give of that an outline only, by an eye-sketch.

Of that which I measured I give two drawings; first, fig. 4. plate I. an out-line with its measures; and next a view, fig. 5. It is formed on the most simple and harmonious proportions, and produces the most pleasing effect on the eye. The material is the purest white marble, and, except the small crack in the covercle, is in a state of preservation equal to that wherein it was first deposited.

It is somewhat more than twenty inches high from G to F, and somewhat under fifteen inches from C to D, so that its diameter is *three-fourths* of its height. From I to K the height of the covercle is *one-third* of the height of the body of the urn from K to e. The center of the curve *d*, the side of the urn, is at D, that of the curve *c* at C, by a radius two-thirds of the whole height. The centers A and B strike the curves *a* and *b* by a radius which is *two-thirds* of the height of the covercle. The view will give the best idea of it.

H 2

One

One thing only remains to observe, which is, it being carved on the surface so as to represent it covered with the inverted leaves of the laurel, significant of honours immaturely annihilated from life, but such as were to be guarded sacred in the grave. By reference to this kind of sacred covering as a guard against harm, Horace \* describes himself as in a miraculous manner covered by doves, when a boy, sleeping in the woods:

Me fabulosæ —————

Ludo fatigatumque fomno

*Fronde novâ* peurum Palumbæ

Texere —————

Ut tuto ab apris corpore viperis

Dormirem et urfis; ut *premerer sacrâ*

*Lauroque*, collatâque Myrto.

If any one objects to this explanation, that the honours of the dead were never ornamented with the laurel, I will beg such to refer himself to the Thebaid, lib. XII. v. 64. Where, of the corpse lying on the funeral pile, it is said:

Hostiles super ipse victor acervos

Paciferâ *Lauro* crinem vittâque decorus

Accubat.

And to the scholiast on these lines,

Coronatur etiam mortuus et jam cremandus.

The anatomists say, that the bones in the urn, fig. 4. must have been those of a young man, between twenty and thirty years of age. Those in the urn, fig. 5. were too much decayed for those gentlemen to pronounce any thing about them.

As there is not either any emblematic design in bas-relief now left on the monument, nor inscription on either the monument or urn, I indulged a conjecture which I offer to the reader merely as

\* Lib. III. Ode 4.

such.

such. It is a fact, that Lucius Cæsar \*, the adopted son of Augustus, going to Spain, died on his way at Marseilles. There is no account in any of the Roman writers of or near this time, of his being † buried at Rome, nor of any monument erected for him there. There were monuments, and even temples, raised to the honour of Caius and Lucius, these two adopted heirs, in the Provincia Romana, as particularly at Nîmes. Why may not this monument, *erected within the palace*, be supposed to be the Mausoleum, the sacred depository of the ashes of this young man, and dedicated to his manes? Marseilles, not yet of sufficient *Roman* rank, would certainly not be the place of burial; and if he was not buried at Rome, nor at Nîmes, what place so proper, and so likely to be fixed upon, as this first Roman city of the Province, and in the neighbourhood of Marseilles? Having this conception in my mind, and holding the bones in my hand, I could not but reflect how vain are all the designs, and how fruitless all the efforts of human pride, to perpetuate in imaginary heirs the possessions and power, much less the dominion, which some great man has raised and created. Fate almost always breaks the line, and mocks the succession with which the founder hath first mocked himself: and in a few ages the possessions, the power, and empire itself dissolves. The majesty of the Roman empire is now but a vision in history; and all which remains of this Imperial family are these poor crumbling bones in my hands; and even these are not permitted to remain undisturbed, but are sacrilegiously torn from their sacred depository, and set up in a lumber room, amidst a heap of fragments of antiquities and natural and ex-natural curiosities, to be every day prophaned. In this moment of reflection, I formed a

\* Lucium Cæsarem euntem ad Hispanienses exercitus mors fato propera, vel novercæ Liviae dolus abstulit. Tacit. Annal. I. § 3.

Caio in Lycia; Lucius Maffiliæ, defunctis. Sueton. Augusti, § 65.

† Zouaras, a Greek historian of the twelfth century, gives an account of his body being carried to Rome, and there lying in state, and quotes Dion Cassius; but he is not of much authority. The brother Caius, who died in Lycia, was buried there, and had there a monument erected for him.

wish,



wish, that this urn, or rather these two, placed on a base, plain but magnificent, were deposited as a monument in the cathedral of Aix. Such would be an honourable ornament to it, and could not profane it any more than the Pagan bas-relief set up in the baptistery of this cathedral does; or than a Pagan *Sarcophagos*, now the font of baptism in the cathedral of Marseilles, profanes that sacred place and sacrament. It would no more defile its holiness, than the monument of an Arab Jew, Joseph, the son of Abdallah, set up in the cathedral of Marseilles, defiles that holy place. But apart all musing on the matter; apart all conjecture; the things themselves, as very fine remains of antiquity, deserve the notice of the curious and the learned.

There have been at times several matters of antiquity found at Aix; but they have been sent either to the King's cabinet, or lye buried and lost in private collections. If there were any statues ever found there, the rage for destroying all *profane* idols, which once animated this warin-headed people, hath demolished all these. There are some articles of antiquities to be yet seen at Aix, but so mixed with things brought from Italy, Egypt, and other places, that their locality cannot be ascertained, and being no otherwise curious than as to their local reference, they have little claim to notice.

There is one article in the cabinet of Monf. Fondcolomb, which I cannot but notice. It is an antique busto, of the purest white marble, of exquisite workmanship. It is the head of a young man, of the most uncommonly pleasing, intelligent countenance, with the finest air of head. If the head in the Nîmes' coin, engraved by the Sieur Clarissau, had been a profile drawn after this busto; or if this busto had been cut after that coin of ΑΕΤΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, given by Patin, which has Capricorn on the reverse; it could not have had more resemblance; and therefore, when Monf. Fondcolomb, saying that this busto had not yet been named, asked me, could I name it; I said, if I am not deceived, and if it be of antiquity early enough, if it was found either at Marseilles or  
Aix,

Aix, or any where in those parts, I should not hesitate to name it Lucius Cæsar, the same who is seen on the Nîmes' coin. I am to observe, however, that the persons interested in the business of the finding, either did not know, or did not care to say, whence it came. If it be a busto of Lucius Cæsar, it is a piece of antiquity of the highest value. Be it what it may, it well deserves the notice and study of the artist.

The cabinet of the President (du Parlement de Provence à Aix), Mons. de Saint-Vincens, will be found well to deserve the notice and attention of the curious and learned traveller. He will find there many inscriptions, both in Greek and Latin, on marble and stone, and many other curious matters of antiquity. But the point in which this cabinet excels, and is superior almost to any other, is the great collection of coins which the President possesses, both in Greek and Latin, especially those of the bas-empire. He has, in his cabinet, an Otho, of silver. On the reverse, the figure which is vulgarly called the *Hercules Bibax*, with an inscription, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ. This, he told me, the antiquarian medallists of France were at a loss to explain. I had the presumption to suggest, that this coin of Otho must have been struck in Asia by Vespasian when, in the time of Otho, he commanded there, whose story of affecting to commence his career of ambition under the auspices of Serapis is well known, and may be read in Tacitus's Hist. lib. IV. The Serapian Hercules, studying his course by the compass, was an emblem that future events explained. The learned may hope, that the possessor means to derive some light upon this part of history, from this rich source, that may inform the learned world. No one can have so good an opportunity, and no one can be better qualified to do it. Whoever can have the honour to be introduced to the acquaintance of this gentleman, while he hears from every mouth in the Province, how he is honoured, almost to adoration, as a Judge, will find him, as a man, the politest and most amiable.

M A R-

## M A R S E I L L E S.

MASSILIA, properly so called, was a settlement made by a body of Phoceans migrating from the Ionian coasts, from a civilized and polished people. This country, where they settled, abounded with grain, herbs, and fruits, productive of food, health, and even luxurious enjoyment, proportioned to the state of civilization in which the natives lived. These colonists brought with them the meliorated grain and fruits which cultured lands, of a fruitful soil and genial clime, had brought forward, Wheat, the Vine, the Olive, the Fig; I might add to these, the Quince, the Plum, the Pear, the Apple, the Apricot, the Peach, the Pistachio, the Almand, the Cherry, the Grenadine, the Laurel. Many other fruits, as the Orange and Citron, as well as flowers, all exotics, brought at various periods, might be here noted, were I writing the natural history of the country. I mark only those which stand on record, and are found on the monuments of the first and early Greek inhabitants. They brought with them the commerce of the East, and combined it with that of Gaul. They settled posts and factories in the several ports of the Mediterranean Sea from the maritime Alps to the Pyranese. With their shipping they held a naval command throughout the *Mare Massiliense*, afterwards called Sinus Leonis, from the ensign of their flag, which dominated there: which ensign, as may be seen in the series of their coins, was the Lion. In process of time, various colonies proceeded from them, as those of Antibes, Hieres, Toulon, Emporia, and the Ephesion of the Pyranees.

They were great navigators, and made by long voyages many investigations of distant countries. The voyages of Pythæus and

Eumenes are astonishing examples of this. They were fitted out at the public expence, and passing the Straights, the *ne plus ultra* of the ancients, pursued their rout and discoveries; the one to the North, as far as Thulé; the other along the African coasts South, as far as the river Senegal. These were voyages, in those days, and in the imperfect state of their navigation, equal in enterprize at least to the voyages of Cook.

The Academy at Marfeilles, deriving a worthy pride from this spirit of enterprize in their ancestors, animated with a liberality and nobleness of sentiment, which nothing but an inward consciousness of kindred merit could give, have this year, in a manner that does them great honour, proposed, as a subject for a prize, the Euloge of the British Navigator Cook.

The Phoceans brought with them the religion and constitution of government observed in their mother country. They brought not the depraved and luxurious, but the corrected and severe manners of a people forced to emigrate from home by misfortunes and distress. Domestic œconomy was a habit which they guarded by sumptuary laws. They retained this to their latest times, as is mentioned by Tacitus\*. They brought with them not only the religious worship, but a consecrated image and priestess of Diana of Ephesus, and built the Ephesion, as they did also a temple to Delphic Apollo, in their *Acropolis*. Their church was a member of the metropolitan church at Ephesus; and their chief priestess a suffragan of the Pontif of Ephesus, and one of these actually succeeded to that sacred dignity. They brought with them an opinion common to their ancestors†; that such was the perfect purity and infinite justice of the Diety (their Gods) that divine justice must be destroyed, if the death and blood of the sinner did not expiate and

\* *Masiliam locum Græcâ comitate et provinciali parsimoniâ mistum, et bene compositum. In Vita Agricolæ.*

† *Ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τὸ Ἐφεσίον ἱερὸν, καὶ τὸ τῷ Διὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν. τὴν μὲν κῆρον ἰώνων ἀπείλον.* Strabo.

† *Mons. de Rossi* describes this human sacrifice.

make atonement for it; that however, their priests could so compromise the matter, that some one man, for the whole, might become a representative sinner, making, by his sacrifice, atonement and expiation for the whole people; and on this principle they used human sacrifices, choosing some wretch, on whose head they heaped every execration, and whom, as a scape-man, they sacrificed, in events of public calamity; this fallacious principle, and this horrid practice excepted, their system of police was of a spirit of wisdom and prudence.

Their government was Aristocratic; being governed by a council of six hundred as chief magistrate. They were rigid maintainers of severity in manners, and strict discipline in public conduct. On the one hand, they permitted no scenical rhimes on their stage, which tend only to inflame the inflammable passions, and to corrupt the morals by the exhibition of bad examples: on the other hand, they suffered not to enter their gates, any fanatic or hypocritic religionist, impostures, who use their mysteries to the deriving of a maintenance in idleness, feeding on the follies of the people\*.

The.

\* Massilienses ad hoc tempus usurpant disciplinæ gravitatem, prisce moris observantiâ præcipuè conspicui.

Tres in eodem manumissiones rescindi permittunt, si ter ab eodem deceptum dominum cognoverint: quarto errori subveniendum non putant, quia suâ jam culpâ injuriâ accepit, qui ei se toties objecit.

Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est. Nullum aditum in scenam. mimis dando quorum argumenta, majore ex parte, stuprorum continet actus; ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

Omnibus qui per aliquam religionis simulationem alimenta inertiz, clausas portas habent, et mendacem et friosam superstitionem subinovendam esse existimans.

A conditâ urbe gladius est ibi quo noxii jugulantur: rubigine quidem excus et via sufficiens ministerio, sed index in minimis quoque rebus omnia antiquæ consuetudinis momenta servanda.

Dux etiam ante portas ante portas eorum arcæ jacent, altera quâ liberorum, altera quâ servorum corpora ad sepulturæ locum plastro devehuntur, sine lamentatione, sine planctu luctûs funeris die, domestico sacrificio, adjectoque necessariorum convivio, finitur.

¶

Venenum

The sword of justice which, as was supposed, they brought with them at their first settlement, hung, though eaten through with rust, and unequal to its office, in their public hall, as a symbol that strict and severe execution of justice was, as the original, so the continued spirit of their judicature.

They used the service of slaves; and had a peculiar, and, as it seems to me, unless it was regulated in some way which I do not understand \*, an arbitrary law respecting their manumission. It the slave manumitted, and become a *libertus*, could be charged with ingratitude to his patron; this patron, his former master, could rescind the manumission, and supersede the liberty, and this even the third time after a third manumission; but if, after this, the master again, a fourth time, manumitted this slave, he could not claim benefit of this law. The law imputed the error to the fault or the folly of the master, not to the slave.

They considered death not so much an evil as an event of ordinary occurrence in the human state of being; not as a matter of grief, or to be lamented in public form or ostentatious mourning; as an event of course for which men should always be prepared and provided: they had, therefore, at their gates, standing always ready, two biers; one, in which the corpse of the citizen, another, in which the corpse of the slave, were put, to be carried in a waggon to the place of sepulture. No other ceremony of external forms of mourning was allowed than a domestic sacrifice, and the attendant sacrificial supper; at which the immediate relations and friends of the deceased assisted.

Venenum cicuta temperatum in ea civitate publicè custoditur: quod datur ei qui causas sexcentis (id enim senatûs ejus nomen est) exhibuit, propter quas mors est illi exoptenda; cognitione virili benevolentia temperata, quæ nec egredi vitâ temerè patitur et sapienter excedere cupienti celarem fati viam præbet, comprobata exita. Valer. Maximus, lib. II. cap. 6. § 7.

\* I observe, that here must be *some public or authoritative cognisance* of the fault for which the *libertus* forfeited his liberty: as Valerius uses this *si cognoverint*, this does in some degree mark that it was not arbitrary. It seems, that it must be *made known* to the cognisance of the magistrates, and did not depend on the will of the patron.

This their peculiar manner of treating the event of death led to a curious and singular custom, which was this. There was kept, under the public care, a poison of the infusion of *cicuta*, which was administered to any citizen who could exhibit sufficient cause to the Senate, as the reason why he wished to put an end to his life; a custom in which, saith Valerius Maximus, benevolence was mixed with a proper regard to manly fortitude, that, on one hand, did not permit rashness, and an impatient intemperance, to presume to judge and act of itself under circumstances in which it was incompetent to judge and act; but, on the other hand, avowedly gave the public authority, and afforded a quick access of fate to those who acted on wisely-grounded reasons.

There was, as appears to my mind, more solid wisdom in this custom than at first strikes the eye. The public magistrate, by thus becoming the confessor, adviser, and friend of the miserable, pitying the miseries, and feeling for the infirmities, of human nature, was enabled to give advice, consolation, and relief, which would supersede all those impatient wishings for death, and reconcile the citizen again to life; but, in cases where consolation and relief, of which the prudence of the public magistrate, and not the feverish mind of the individual, was to judge, were desperate, and not possible; in cases where a man's misfortunes had rendered him a burthen to himself, and useless to the public, they permitted the act of suicide, as a public act, to be done under the public eye. There is no account in history, or by any anecdotes, of the effect of this custom. But one might venture to say, that amongst a people of such temper and spirit, where regulations about suicide were become necessary, this was the most effectual guard against it; and there would be very few instances of self-murder, where the poor wretch was thus permitted to reason and advise with the public magistrate about it.

The settlers and founders of this city, coming from a policed people, far advanced in science and in the arts, were cognisant in the one, and cultivated the other. They founded an academy, which,

in the later time of the Romans, was a rival to that at Athens \*; so that the very first people of Rome, instead of sending their children on their travels to Athens, sent them to Massilia. Facts, as well as concurrent circumstances, mark the existence of the arts there. Pausanias mentions a brazen statue of Minerva at Delphos, sent as a present by the Massilians. Strabo mentions a like statue sent from hence, and erected in the Mons Aventinus; and even amongst the few remains of that ruins and antiquities there are fine exemplars of the cultured arts. I might here, by transcripts from Strabo, Cicero, and others, give a detailed account of their commerce, and of the routs by which it was conducted †; how the commerce of the Northern Ocean was combined with that of the Mediterranean Sea, by means of the navigation of the rivers which run into the one and into the other, and by means of the carrying places where the heads of those rivers interlock in the upper and interior parts of the country. I have shewn above, that this part of Gaul was a granary to the Romans ‡. There is every reason to suppose, that Arles was not only an entrepôt and barcadore to this city, but a depot § for naval stores, with docks and slips for ship-building. If there had not been such at Arles in the time when Cæsar besieged Marseilles, he could not have built there twelve ships of war in thirty days from the first cutting down of the timber ||; a fleet equal to meet, and even beat, the combined fleet of Pompey and Marseilles. All this, combined with the Levant trade, rendered this an opulent city. In such a city as this, there must have been, and in fact

\* 'Εν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὰς γινωσκόμενους Ῥωμαίων ἀντί τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημίας ἐκείνοι φοιτᾶν φιλομαθεῖς ὄντας. Strabo, lib.

† Διαρρύς ἔχουσθαι πλωτὸς οὕτως δειφθεὶς ἔχει τὰ ρεῖθρα πρὸς ἄλληλα ὥστ' ἐξ ἑκάτερας τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς τὴν ἑκατέραν κατὰ κομίζεσθαι, πορευομένων ἐπ' ἐλίγον, τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ διὰ πιδίων σύμαχος τὸ δὲ πλεον ταῖς πόλεσιν τοῖς μὲν ἀναβαίνουσιν, τοῖς δὲ καταβαίνουσιν. Strabo, lib. IV. p. 177.

‡ Massilienses Horrei.

§ Naves longas Arelate numero XII. facere instituit quibus effectis armatisque diebus XXX. a qua die materia causa est. Cæs. Comm. de Bell. Civit. lib. I. § 36.

|| See what I have occasion to observe on an inscription noticed below.

there



there were, many public edifices\*; such as Temples, Prætoria, Baths, also an Academy; every species of household furniture and domestic vessels, such as the arts, encouraged by the rich, supply to the luxury or elegance of living. There must have been many statues of their Gods; all the sacred utensils of their ritual. There must have been many monuments erected to the honour of meritorious citizens, as also multitudes of sepulchral monuments consecrated to the manes of the dead; exemplars of most of these latter both in Greek and Latin still exist: yet such hath been the fate of this ancient Greek, and afterward Roman city, that I may venture to say, there is not in the known world a place, once so replete with edifices, monuments, and every article of ancient splendor and magnificence, so abounding in commercial affluence, where there are, at the present day, so few remains or exemplars of antiquity of any great merit or importance. Strange as this may seem at first, the reasons or causes of it are apposite and natural.

The civil wars of Rome, and the ravages of the successive invasions of military, but uncivilised, barbarians, have repeatedly buried this city in ruins. But even these devastations have not been so destructive to its antiquities, as the manner of restoring and rebuilding hath been, being a maritime port, and an important commercial center. It hath been as repeatedly rebuilt as it hath been destroyed; and the builders have taken the ruins of its former structures as its foundation. Different strata of ruins are found at different depths; and when remains, or fragments of remains, of the ancient edifices have been worked up in the new erections, they were used in parts so broken, separated, reversed, and altered, that, except the substance, they are not any longer what they were, and scarce to be known what they were. The cathedral church, called the Major, is a mingled mass of old materials; so is the ancient convent and church of St. Victor. The cathedral is built on the site of the ancient Ephesion, or Temple of Diana of Ephesus, which was the patron Deity of this Greek city; and some of the

\* There were no theatres, their police did not admit of such.

mate-

materials about the present church may be characteristically known, as I shall hope to explain hereafter, to have belonged to it.

Many of the materials in the church of St. Victor must have belonged to some ancient edifice, and possibly to the sacred Temple described by Lucan.

The Tombs and Sarcophagi of the *Campus Elysi* have been taken, and are found applied as materials in the re-edified buildings. The Baptismal Font in the Cathedral is an antique Sarcophagus; so is the Cistern of one of the Fountains, chiefly occupied by the washer-women: both these are of white marble, ornamented with curious bas-relieves. There are many other exemplars of the like sort, in the like state of humiliating prophanation.

One other ruinous cause of this deficiency of even the remnants of antiquity, was the fanatic zeal of the early converts and senseless priests of the Christian religion, which conceived it a meritorious duty to demolish, break, and reduce to atoms, not only every Pagan idol, but every statue and monument of ancient patriots, in the place where the cross became dominant. They carried this to a degree beyond what the Popes approved, at a period when they began to have schemes of converting the idols and statues, as well as the inhabitants to Christianity. The court of Rome soon found, that, instead of endeavouring in vain to raise the minds of the vulgar of mankind up to spiritual ideas, which they were incapable of, it would be wiser policy, and prove more effectual, to attach their ideas to natural objects, and to direct and conduct those ideas in the groveling channels in which they were prone to run, that of setting up idols, Christian idols, converted by exorcism and consecration from being Pagan ones. When this scheme began to ripen towards execution, they wished to save the Pagan idols and statues for this purpose of conversion. And we find accordingly a letter from Pope Gregory to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, reprobating his ill-timed and ill-understood zeal. However, the fanaticism of the Bishop, and the blind zeal of his followers,

followers, had had the effect of a pretty general destruction, before they could be restrained.

The last, though not least, cause of the destruction, not only of the town, but also of the annihilation, even of its ruins, was the ravage that the devouring sea made on it. Near one-half of the maritime part of this city, which was once \* surrounded on three sides of four by the sea, is washed away, and lies buried in the Ocean. This must have been the quarter where all the commercial, and of course the richest, inhabitants dwelt. Of this not even the ruins remain, except that it may be traced by a range of shoal and rocky ground, and now and then a fragment dragged up.

Yet, notwithstanding all these causes of destruction, several exemplars of its antiquities have from time to time been discovered; of which many have been carried off to the cabinets of the vain or curious. The Father MONTFAUCON gives accounts of several of these; but those of his accounts, which I have had an opportunity of comparing with the articles themselves, must have been written from very inaccurate and faulty drawings, and are, I may venture to affirm, vague, irrelevant, and defective.

Several exemplars, sufficient to mark the antiquities and the genius of the place, and the state of the arts there, still remain; some preserved in cabinets and in the Academy; others in their new converted, consecrated state.

The first things which offer themselves to notice are, the granite columns, certainly antique, which support the dome of the choir of the cathedral; also four antique granite columns with capitals of the Composite order, in a good style, of white marble, in the church under the abbey church of St. Victor; also three marble columns, all antique, the *debris* of former ancient structures. There are also several parts of the shafts of marble columns, two and three feet diameter, lying about the garden of the Prévôt of the cathedral. There is also standing, in the same garden, a very

\* Massilia fere ex tribus Oppidi partibus mari allinitur; reliqua quarta est, quæ aditum habet à terrâ. Cæsar's Comment. lib. II. § 1.

fine

fine Composite column, with part of the entablature which it supported. The capital is very fine. The shaft is fluted; to one-third of the height the fluting is double: at one-third of the height the diameter is more than two English feet. Tradition says, that these antique columns belonged to the *Ephesion*, or Temple of Diana of Ephesus, on the site of which the ancient cathedral was built. But I should think these *Composite* columns must have been of later and Roman date: however, I conceive that I can discover something more than bare tradition to ascertain, that the columns, pilasters, and pediments, of ancient white marble, which make parts of the altar of St. Lazare, were decidedly parts of the Ephesion.

The column is Corinthian, of the true Grecian model. The shafts of the columns, and the pannels of the pilasters, are ornamented with a foliage cut in cameo. There is also, at present, placed as a pilaster, a frieze of the pattern commonly called the Vitruvian scroll. The design of the foliage is a running pattern of branches, on which are represented all the fruits and grain, which the Phœcean colony, under the auspices of this Diana, brought and cultivated in Gaul. One sees there the Olive, the Pomegranate, the Grape, the ears of Corn, and other fruits. Amongst these branches are genii, represented in the character of children, light as butterflies, on the tendrils; some in sportive idleness; others busied in gathering the fruits; others holding by the legs kids or other animals, as carrying them to the sacrifice; others carrying baskets, as assistants of a sacrifice: all this has reference to the ameliorated culture introduced by the colony, and carried on under the acknowledged Deity of Nature, manifested in the symbolic idol of Diana of Ephesus. But the particular circumstance, which appears to me decidedly characteristic that this column belonged to some Delubrum of this Diana, is, that the shaft of the column is, at the foot, placed in the center of an Acanthos springing up from the base, and surrounding with its curling leaves the bottom of the shaft, in the same manner as like leaves curl round the basket of a capital; and they envelope the shaft

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to the height of eight or nine inches. This is peculiar. There are some exemplars of the like; one in a column given by Montfaucon, brought from a Temple of Isis\*, who was the same manifestation of the Deity as Diana of Ephesus, meaning Plastic Nature. There is another found at Nîmes, near the Temple of Diana. But what is more peculiar, the Temple of Diana of Ephesus, represented on the reverse of a coin, given by the same Father†, has columns of this very construction, set in a plant springing from under the foot of the column. There are, of the same pure white marble, segments of a circle, placed at present as pediments to the facade of the altar, very richly and highly finished in their members; which, if they were originally semi-circles instead of segments, one might suppose to have been joined, and to have made the cieling of the Delubrum. I believe it is best to own, that I do not know what to make of them. The marble of all these pieces has imbibed that stain which such materials, having been buried any time, always acquire. Whatever authority these conjectures may find with my reader, I cannot guess, and am not very solicitous to know; but I will beg to give the traveller *Notice*, that these remains well deserve more accurate observation than has been hitherto given to them. The drawings of them given by M. Groffon‡, in his *Recueil des Antiquités et Monumens Marseillois*, present no adequate idea of them; they are beautiful beyond such description. If the traveller should be there in a time of the year when he can sit long enough in the church to make exact drawings of these things, which I was not, being there in winter, when it was

\* Vol. III. b. VI. c. 2.

† Vol. II. b. II. c. 3. of his Supplement.

‡ As I shall have repeated occasion to mark the imperfections of the drawings from whence the engravings given by Mons. Groffon, in his *Recueil*, were made, I cannot but here exculpate this gentleman. He gave the best he could get, or that his printer would afford. But the work itself is an ingenious and accurate account of the things represented, and a learned commentary on the subject of them. See what Mons. Groffon himself says: “J’ai souvent regretté dans le cours de cet ouvrage, les beautés que la négligence des graveurs enlève aux monumens.”

too

too cold, they well deserve the most attentive pains which a good draughtsman can bestow on them.

There are also applied in the building of the cloisters of the abbey of St. Victor, several fragments of the shafts of antique columns, both of granite and marble, of all diameters. There are two or three really antique capitals; but the general mass is of the grotesque, fantastical Saxon capitals, such as one sees in all old Saxon buildings. The antique capitals are worth notice, and worth drawing; but the whole time I was at Marseilles it was so cold, I could not endure to make such exact measured drawings as these things require; and to do any thing short of that, was doing nothing. There is an antique column erected as a monument in the *Place de St. Victor*, and another in the vestibule of the church. It seems extraordinary, that there should be no where visible any fragments of architraves, frize, or cornice; but I have understood, and believe the fact to be, that those members of architecture, having at least one side square, and having been used in building up the plain work, have the carved sides turned inward, and the square side outward, to form the ashler of the wall. Whether or not the same zeal, which destroyed all the statues, led the fanatic Christians to hide and bury in the walls all bas-relieves and carvings (except those found on the Sarcophagoi, which have been preserved), is not now easily to be determined. However, I do not recollect to have seen but one exemplar in Marseilles; that is, a representation of a string of sheep following each other. These are very justly designed and well executed, and mark that they are foreign sheep, a breed imported. This bas-relief is fixed to the wall of the abbey of St. Victor, near the church porch. M. Grosse has given drawings of some others; but they appear to me to be of such poor design, that I felt no temptation to see the originals. I might as well, and to as good purpose, have spent my time in examining and copying the carvings on grave-stones in a country church-yard. There are, however, some which may claim, and do merit, the attention of the curious traveller. The Sarcophagos

of white marble, which now is consecrated as the baptismal font in the cathedral, has a peculiar and well-executed bas-relief on it. On a central compartment, in the front of the Sarcophagus, is represented a man and woman, performing some civil act before a magistrate, sitting in a curule chair. The hand of the woman, holding a roll, is laid on a casket or chest, or portable altar, which is placed on or near the magistrate's knee. This seems to be some family business, perhaps matrimony. In compartments at each end of this front, are the separate figures of a man in one, and of a woman in the other. All the decided sharpness of the carving, and delicacy of the contours, are worn off by time; but the work appears to have as much claim to original merit as most antiques of the kind, suffering the same fate, have. This is totally misrepresented in the drawing, engraving, and description, given in the text by M. Groffon. He represents the design to be that of *two men*, pleading before a magistrate: how such an error could take place, I cannot conceive. Both the design and execution of the two figures are too well done, and too clearly marked in the forms and proportions, not to be visible at the first cast of the eye. I did not when I copied this, nor do not now I am describing it, recollect any civil or religious act wherein this form of ceremony is observed: I *notice* it, as possibly the learned reader may.

There are several Sarcophagi, with emblematic bas-relieves on them, preserved in the church of St. Victor; some applied, after throwing out the ashes and bones of the original deposit, to the preservation of the more sacred remains of saints and martyrs. They are many of them noticed by Montfaucon, but very ill represented and often misrepresented. I do not wish to load this little book with irrelevant drawings; but there is something so whimsical in one of these, that I could almost wish to give an engraving of it.

It represents, I suppose, in reference to a happy marriage of pure love, a burlesque Trophee and mere triumph, the triumph of pure conjugal love, in which Peace and Prudence are brought together;

together; in which the animal passions, represented by male and female Centaurs, are yoked and conducted by Cupid, and drawing cars; in one of which is a female, with the palm branch in her hand; in the other, a man, accompanied by Minerva, who seems in the act of advising. In the center is a shield, hung as a Trophée on the stem of a palm-tree, and supported by two Genii, each holding a branch of palm in its hand. At the foot of this Trophée are two figures, male and female, as prisoners, with their hands bound behind them in the usual form. These, I suppose, are the husband and wife, the objects of this conquest of love. On the shield is this inscription:

D M  
IVLIAE QVIN  
TINAE COSSV  
TIA HYCLA  
MATER FILI  
AE PISSIMAE.

Montfaucon has omitted the inscription; but has given a tolerable good engraving of the bas-relief.

There is another preserved in the same church, having also a whimsical emblematic bas-relief, representing Vulcanian Cupids forging armory; on one side a helmet, on the other an arrow, and in the center is a medallion, placed on an eagle's back, and supported by two Cupids, the representation on which is the Roman wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. I leave every idea of its design to the ingenuity of the Reader; I own, it gives me no idea at all. A thought, which occurred to me on this occasion, as it did on many others, I will venture to give as a conjecture; which is, that the statuaries and marble-cutters cut and kept ready by them Sarcophagi of various designs and fancies, relative to general sentiments of conjugal love, parental and filial affection, and such like; and that the friends of the deceased, when they had occasion for a Tomb or Sarcophagos, came, fixed on, and bought such as their fancy was struck by. I believe also, that many instances may be found,



found, where the Roman succeeding inhabitants have taken Greek Sarcophagi, and, inserting Roman inscriptions, have applied them to the depositing of their friends. The Christians certainly did.

There is one other, of which I took a very exact drawing, and of which I will here give an engraving, as I think both the spirit of the design, and the refinement of the sentiment, in the bas-relief, as well as the tender, melancholy sentiment of the inscription, and the masterly execution of the work in white marble, deserve it; and, as I think, the Reader will be, as I was, pleased with it. [See plate II. fig. 1.]

DVLCISSIMO TITO INOCENTISSIMO  
FILIO TANNONIO QVI VIXIT  
ANNOS V MENSES VI TANNONIVS  
D TITA VALERIANA PARENTES FILIO M  
CARISSIMO ET OMNI TEMPORE  
VITAE SVAE DESIDERANTISSIMO.

The front of this Sarcophagos is divided into three compartments; the frame, containing the inscription, fills the center; two bas-relieves the two side compartments: these exhibiting two Cupids or Genii on each side of the letters D and M, signifying *Diis Manibus*. These Genii sleeping in the hollow of their wing, with their torches extinct, and their bow and quiver hung up in the tree that shades them, signify, that when this young Titus died, these Genii were asleep, somewhat similar to that sentiment of Milton, in his *Lycidas*:

Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep  
Clos'd o'er the head of your loved Lycidas?

But the drawing will, I hope, give a tolerable idea of it.

There are many, and have been within memory many more, of those Sarcophagi found and preserved in Marseilles; but none that offer any thing particular or interesting to raise one's curiosity, or fix one's attention.

There are sepulchral monuments of the altar form, both Greek and Latin, also several monumental inscriptions; but, in general, they are

Fig. 1. p. 70.



Fig. 2.

p. 72.

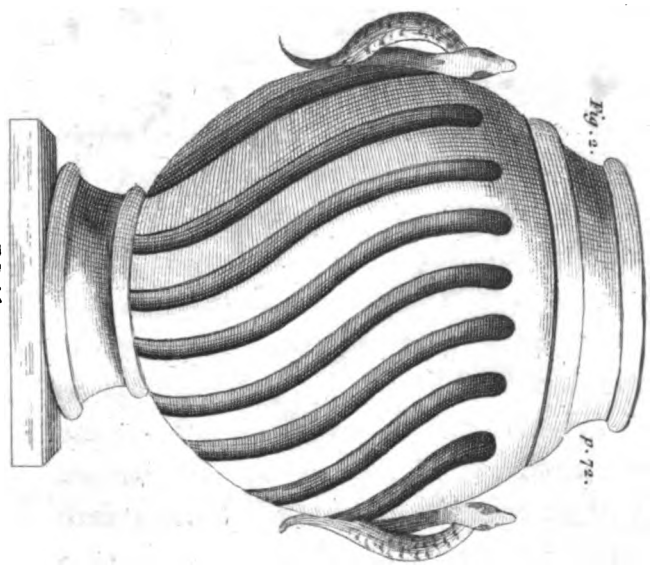


Fig. 3. p. 73.

T. P. del.



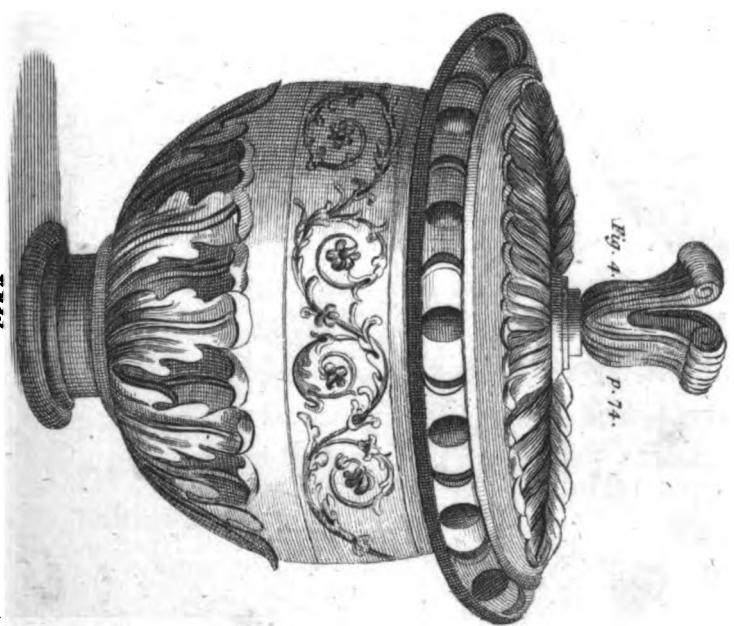
Fig. 5. p. 74.

T. P. del.



Fig. 4.

p. 74.





neither relevant to any information, or any wise interesting. One or two, that incidentally mention offices or corporations, or have reference to customs, may deserve notice. I have observed above, the custom of the patron's having a right to claim the repeal of a manumission, if the slave, in his state as a *libertus*, could be proved to have behaved ungratefully to his patron. This custom operated to maintaining a habit of real or affected acts of grateful recognisance in the *liberti*. Accordingly, amongst the monumental inscriptions, one finds instances of monuments erected by *liberti* to their patrons, as an act of gratitude in recognisance of their goodness, and of the benefits received from them. The first I met with was a Greek one, as followeth, in which, amongst other things, the learned Reader is desired to mark the peculiar cut of the letters :

CAPMOAAΩΘPA  
CΩNOC{KAIME  
NΩNXAPHCOAII  
EAETΘEPOC.

The stone is two feet wide, three feet two inches high, and the letters are two inches two-tenths long. The stone is a reddish kind of grit. This stone was found in the *Place de St. Victor* in the year 1763, and is now placed in the wall of one of the Chanoines houses. This has been very carelessly and inattentively transcribed, and worse interpreted. It seems to me simply and plainly this: Kaimenôn, a *libertus*, erects this monument of his thanks and gratitude to Carmolaos, the son of Thrafo. I read the three letters O. A. Π. in the third line, as the initials used in an inscriptural form.

There is another inscription worth notice, as being a monument of one of these acts of gratitude, addressed and dedicated, by Dudistius-Eglectus and Aphonetus, to their patron Julius Dudistius: observe, one of these *liberti* takes the name of his patron. It appears from the inscription, that this Julius Dudistius was a great pluralist in civil as in military offices.

There

Oriental alabaſter, as they call it, richly carved and highly finiſhed in the ancient ſtyle. I here give, in plate II. fig. 4. a drawing of it. The body of the cup (excluſive of the foot and of the cover) is five inches and a half high, the diameter eight inches. I doubt, firſt, whether the covercuſe originally belonged to it; and, next, whether this cover be antique. The cup is of moſt excellent workmanſhip. This was undoubtedly one of thoſe *vaſa unguentaria* called *alabaſtra*, and ſo repeatedly deſcribed by Pliny and other naturaliſts and antiquaries; and ſo frequently referred to by the poets and hiſtorians in their occaſional mention of the Baths and Thermæ.

The engraving in fig. 5. is from a drawing of a patera, made of the ſtone or gem called *jade*. It appears to have been formed in the turner's frame. It is a curious and valuable piece.

The inſtrument exhibited in plate III. fig. 1. hath been, as I conceive, much miſtaken. It hath been ſuppoſed to be any thing but what it is. My idea is, that it was one of thoſe fleſh-raſps, uſed in *fricando corpore*, which, in the advanced modes of luxury, the Romans uſed for raſping off the cutaneous excreſcences, and for poliſhing the ſkin. I ſhall explain the cuſtom in which this inſtrument was uſed, when I deſcribe the Baths at the end of this book: at preſent I will only obſerve its form and matter. The firſt will be beſt underſtood from the drawing. That recurved pommel, *a*, with a kind of breſted creſt *b*, appears to me to have been ſo formed to paſs, in the grasping of it for uſe, between the fore-finger and thumb, ſo as to be held firm in the hand. I can fancy that I ſee this very inſtrument in the hand of the boy repreſented (in the drawing of the Baths of Metellus given by Montfaucon from Boiffard) as raſping the body of a man. That this inſtrument is not accurately repreſented by Montfaucon, is clear by comparing the very ſame drawing, ſo careleſſly and ſo very differently copied in the body of the work and in the ſupplement. The uſual matter of which this inſtrument was made was the pumice-ſtone, whence it was ſpecifically named the *Pumex*; but it appears, from ſome of theſe raſps which have been found, that they were ſometimes made of baked earth, cut on the flat or  
raſping

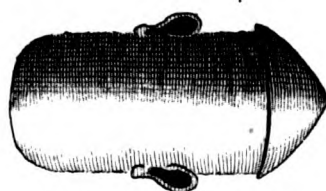
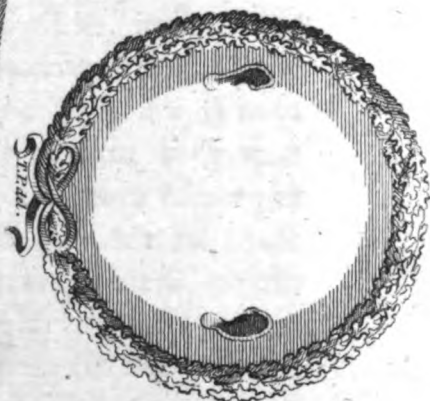
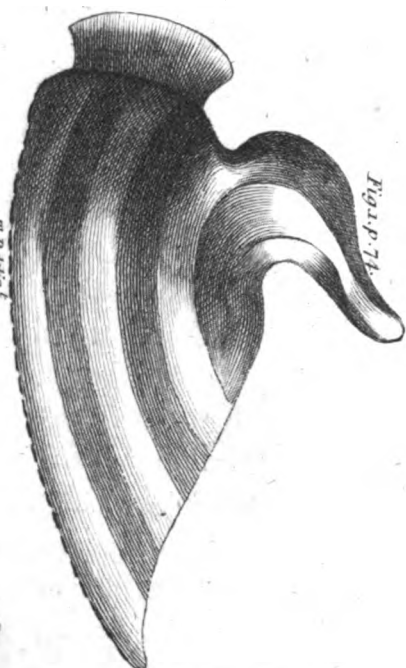


Fig. 2. P. 75.

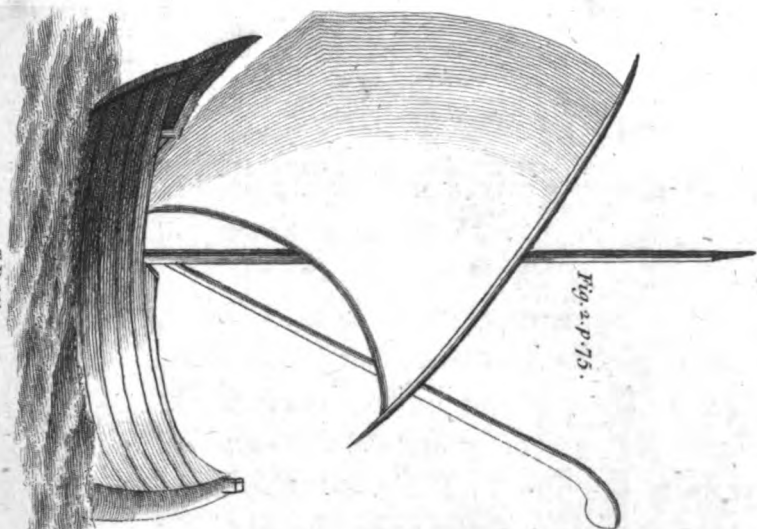


Fig. 6. P. 97.

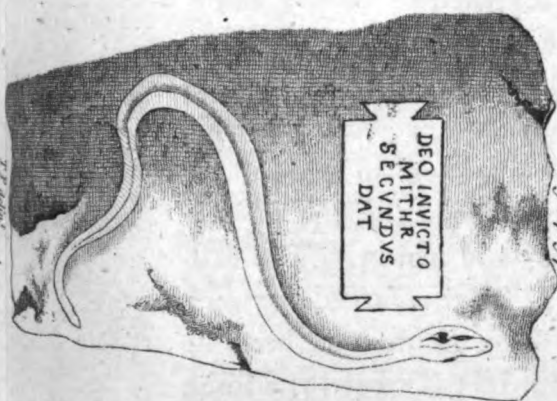


Fig. 5. P. 96.





rasping side by transverse grooves into the form of a rasp or file. The instrument in M. Groffon's cabinet is the real Pumex. If I am right in this my explanation of this instrument, it is the first which has ever been yet exhibited in any treatise on antiquities.

I shall defer at present all accounts, either in whole or part, of Baths, and customs observed in bathing, &c. till I come at the end of this work to describe the Roman Baths found in the year 1784, at Baden Weilar, the first perfect exemplar found, and the only one now existing in the modern world.

There is a little square piece of white marble clapped into a part of the frize over the columns of the altar of St. Lazare, which could never have been any part or member of the architecture to which this frize and these columns belonged. There is cut upon it, in alto-relievo, a vessel sailing at sea before the wind, with a flowing sheet, as making a prosperous voyage. I take this to have been an *ex-voto*. The body of the vessel is antique, having the high prow in the form of the aspis of the ancient war-chariots. The sail is triangular, and set exactly in the manner as is done at this day in the vessels of the Mediterranean Sea. The waves of the sea are represented as running in the direction which a wind upon the quarter would give them. This has been hitherto carelessly drawn, and of course vaguely described; some have fancied that this bas-relief represented a storm, and that part of the yards was an augural staff, and have made their account out accordingly, as is done in all bas-relieves in general: when the leading characteristic circumstances are represented in the sculpture, the execution does not enter minutely into the detail of parts: the Reader will not, therefore, find any rigging, or any other particulars; any more than, in bas-relieves in general, representing the war-chariots, he will find the reins and parts of the harness. This appears to me a curious piece of antiquity, and worth at least this kind of notice which I have given of it. See plate III. fig. 2.

In the same cabinet I saw another singular piece; a small head in bronze, which did not appear ever to have been part of a busto, or



of any statue. It was clearly meant to represent, and does decidedly represent, a *malade*, or sick person, who, if I guess right in supposing this to have been a *ex-voto*, may have made this offering to represent the state from which he recovered. It is so well designed and executed, that, looking upon it earnestly, one cannot but enter into sentiments of concern for the state of sickness, pain, and distress, which the patient must have suffered.

There are to be met with, at Marseilles, several curious pieces of Ægyptian, and some Greek and Asiatic antiquities, which, although they do not properly belong to the locality either of the City or the Province, are yet to be had there under greater assurance of authenticity than at any of the fabricks of antiquities in Rome and Italy. Several of the mercantile houses in Marseilles have settled bureaux in Ægypt. There are also established factories in Greece and Asia. Their agents, who are generally partners of the house, pick up, during their residence, many curious matters, and bring them home with them at their return. As these are neither collected for sale, nor with any possible view of imposition; as the collectors are not professed virtuosi, who give great prices, but are plain men, who look well at the value of every thing they purchase; they are not very likely to be imposed upon. Their long residence on the spot gives them opportunities which no transient voyagers can have of collecting; and in consequence of these circumstances, many pieces of antiquity have been brought to Marseilles, and remain in the possession of some of the houses there. Of these I saw several. I will first mention a most capital statue of an Ægyptian Priestess, which is now in the Academy. It was originally in the Arsenal; but, upon the demolishing of that building, the King gave it to the Academy. It is as large as the life; of the hard black marble of Ægypt. It gives distinctly the *costume*, as to the sacerdotal habits; and is also full of that sort of inscription, vulgarly called hieroglyphics.

There is, in the garden of the Bastide \* of M. Seguir, a statue

\* This is an appellation at Marseilles for a country-house.

of

of an Egyptian Priest, as large as life. The figure and base on which it is placed are of one block of Egyptian granite. The figure, if erect, would be five feet seven inches high. It is posed in the decided act of devotion. It sits upon its heels, having the legs folded under it. The figure is naked, except the hood or quoif, with a scapula hanging down the back, and an apron which, tied round the waist, hangs half-way down the thighs. The contours are as easy as the constrained mode of position will admit. The composure and moral docure of the countenance is very striking: it is impossible not to be impressed with this sentiment, on looking at it with steady and attentive continuance. The arms hang down the sides, as far as the elbow; the lower part of the arms are brought forward, so as that the hands extended lye flat upon the upper part of the thigh. The anatomy is characteristic of the black race, in the form of the skull, and the features of the face. The face is a long oval; the eyes of a long slit and large; the nose straight and short; the lips rather projecting; the transverse line of the profile, from the setting on of the nose to the ear, is short in proportion to the length, and of course the cheeks long; the ear is large, but folded; the ball of the eye is not marked either with the Iris or the pupil. The nose of this beautiful statue is mutilated. I understood from M. Thulis, who went with me to shew me this, and who lived many years in Egypt, that the Turks serve all the statues they meet with in this manner:

At the Bastide of M. Guise, a gentleman who dwelt long in the Levant as a merchant, a most ingenious and very learned man, the author of the *Voyage Litteraire de Grece*, there is a piece of antiquity, which I esteemed one of the most curious I ever saw: I believe it is unique in Europe. It is a case of a mummy. It is of basalt, wrought to the highest perfection of polish, which it retains still. The cavity prepared for the placing of the mummy is cut with the most scrupulous exactness in its contour. I measured it by an English measure; it is five feet six inches long, and one foot seven inches across the shoulders. The mortices in this lower part

of the case are cut with mechanic exactness, to receive the tenants of the cover. I never heard of another exemplar of this kind.

I saw also a busto of an Isis, in the possession of a monk. M. Thulis has a head in bisalt, which he got in Ægypt; undoubtedly some portrait, which may be concluded, not only from the thing itself, from the peculiar turn of face; but as M. Audibert has another of a different scale, but of exactly the same portrait: it is the head of some Grecian, and seems to claim the best time of the Ptolemies. There is something so imposing in the countenance that one might look at it till one fancied that it had life in it. I have a cast of it, which, though great part of the delicacy of the sculpture of it must of course be lost, retains this imposing air.

I saw, in M. Groffou's cabinet, several bronze heads, or pomes of Ægyptian sacerdotal staffs, such as one sees in the hands of the priests in the hieroglyphics.

But the thing which appeared to me the most curious and most valuable antiquity I ever saw, is a gem, brought from Ægypt by a French merchant who resided there, M. Malijay. It is preserved in the same family, and descends, by inheritance, as a property valued at three thousand crowns (*petit ecus*). It is said, that M. Malijay gave a thousand crowns for it on the spot. It is a sardonix, the white part cut in cameo with such art and address as to form the portrait of Cleopatra, habited like the *Minerva Salutifera*, and yet to have the casque or helmet so formed as not to lose the air of the Ægyptian head-dress. The Owl is placed in an egret, in the upper part of the helmet; and Pegasus is embossed on the cape of the neck. The art and exquisite address of the sculptor has gone still further: while he has formed out of the white part the portrait, so as to preserve all the characteristics of the Ægyptian face, the narrow and long profile, the large ear, the large long-cut eye, the short nose, and oval cheek, he has given the air of Grecian beauty to the whole. I made a drawing of this curious gem, of its actual size, and as close a copy of it as my eye and hand could trace. I must lament that my skill is not adequate to the sculptor's;

but the engraving given in plate III. fig. 3. from this drawing will give some idea of it. If any drawing of this has before been made, I know not. I believe none has ever yet been published. I must beg here to observe, that the characteristic traits in this sculpture, which precisely make the merit of it, are the points which one or two superficial, conceited critics at Marseilles mark, with an air of importance and decision, to discredit it.

The tradition has always been, that this is a portrait of Cleopatra; but I think further, that there are clearly internal marks of the fact. When one compares the evident skill of the artist with the deviations in the head and face from the established canon of beauty; when one sees, that the face and head are *Ægyptian* and yet cannot but observe with what address a Grecian air is given to it; it is impossible not to decide that it is a portrait, and a *portrait of some Ægyptian*, done by a Grecian artist; and that it must have been executed after the time when the Ptolomies had established themselves. When again one sees that the habit and character given to this *portrait* is that of Minerva Salutifera, assimilated as near as that character would admit to the coëffure of Isis, which this decidedly is; it is more than a conjecture, more than probable, that the tradition is founded in fact, and that it is a Cleopatra: to whom else, but to a Queen of *Ægypt*, can a sculpture in this character be ascribed?

In consequence of the same connections in the Levant, M. Gautier, late Commissary of the Marine at Marseilles, has a very curious cabinet of Grecian and Asiatic coins, Numidian and Roman coins. I saw one of Juba, a very fine one. It would well employ a treatise by itself to describe these coins with all the points of antiquity to which they are referable. I shall notice but one, a very curious one, which, Mr. Gautier told me, the learned men in France can make nothing of. The reverse is a horse bridled and galloping, with the reins on his neck, under which is an inscription in the following characters:

ΣΥΟΝΣΕΝ

I copied

I copied these characters with the most scrupulous exactitude, as I observed, that the copies, which had been made, were too much at random, or *ad libitum*.

This gentleman has in his cabinet a busto in the purest white marble, which was brought him from Asia. It is a portrait of some boy, about ten or twelve years old. The visage has a strong resemblance to the profiles on the coins of Caius, one of the adopted sons of Augustus, struck in Asia. He was sent by Augustus to that part of the Empire, and died there. I throw out this conjecture, not as a point in which I am myself decided, but as an inducement to excite the learned attention of such travellers as may have opportunity of examining this beautiful piece of sculpture.

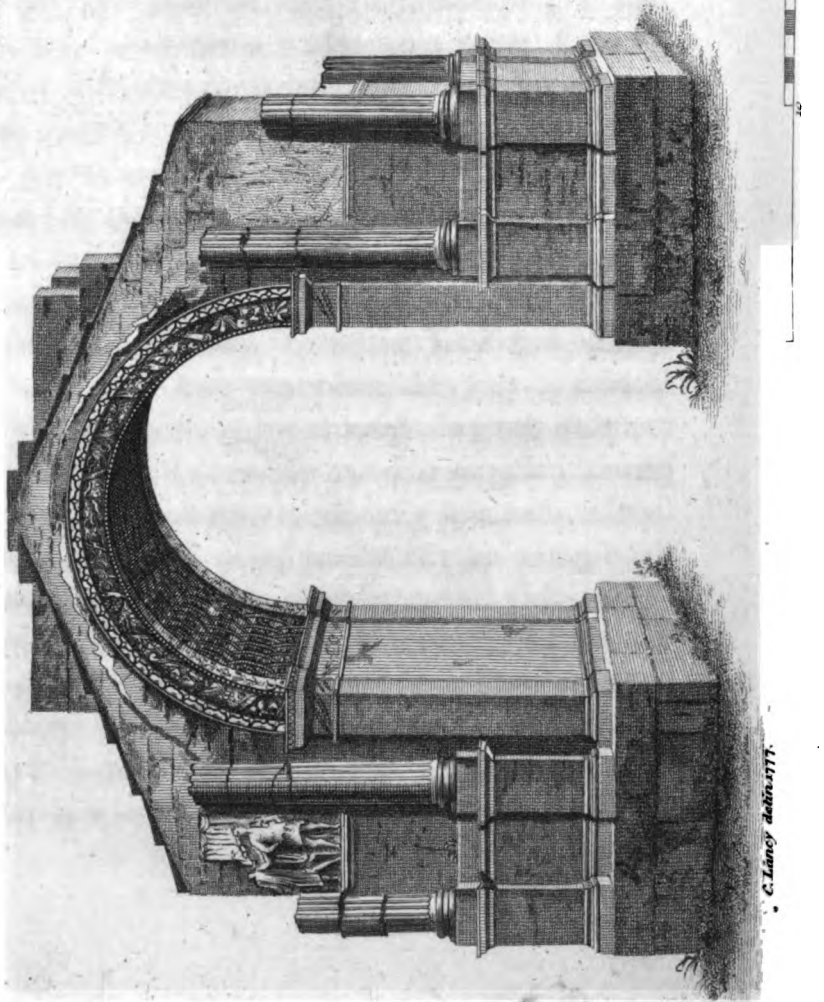
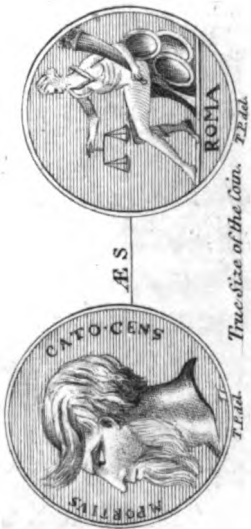
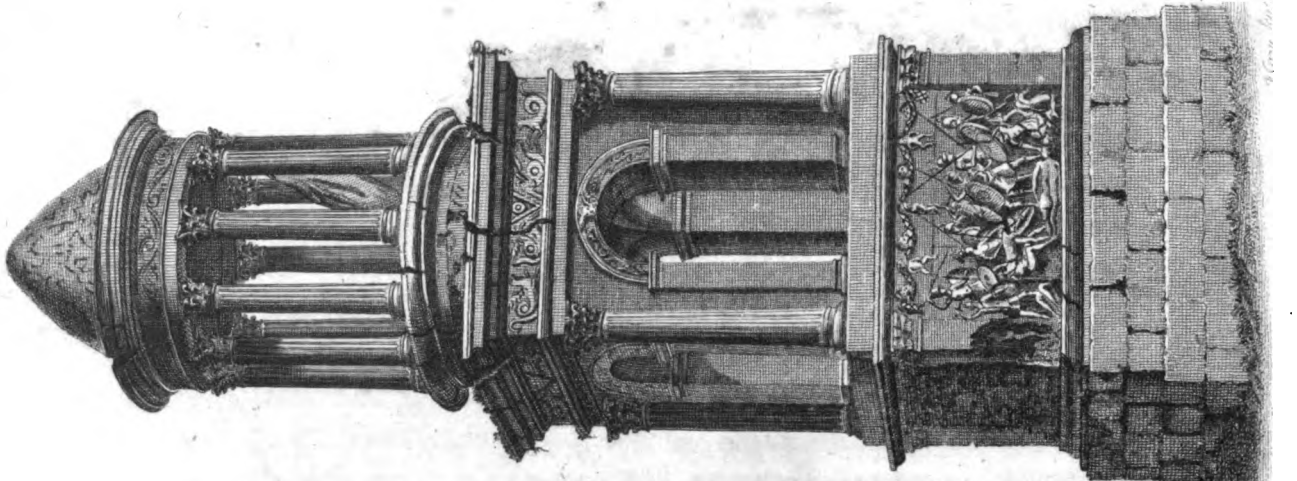
There are several pieces of antiquity in the possession of M. Mitchell and M. Gravier, Members of the Royal Academy of Painting at Marseilles. I did not see them: I did not feel myself tempted; others may, therefore I give this *Notice*.

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## GLANUM LIVII, near ST. REMIS.

THIS place, lying near the present road from Aix to Arles and Tarascon, was formerly a Roman colony, supposed to be one of those which were established under the auspices of Julius Cæsar, or of Augustus. M. Livius Drusus Libo is supposed to be the conductor of the colony settled here, and to have been a continual patron and benefactor to it; whence it was named Glanum Livii. Many sepulchral urns, instruments, and vessels of sacrifice, coins, and





and other articles, such as are usually found in the site of old Roman towns and stations, have at times been found here; but not the least vestigia of its inhabitancy, so far as it hath been as yet traced, do at present appear.

Two curious monuments, however, do still remain. The one *Sepulchral*; the other is commonly called a *Triumphal Arc*. Both are of the common free-stone of the country as to the materials, but undoubtedly Roman as to the architecture. The supposed Triumphal monument is a gate of one arch, being a façade, in both fronts, of four Corinthian columns. Here I beg to refer the Reader, as I proceed in the description, to the drawings in plate IV. He will see that the arch remains perfect in all its members, as are all the ornaments thereof. The sides of the gate, where were the columns, and the designs in relief, and statues, are in ruins down to half and one-third of the columns. In the four triangles, comprised between the arch, the columns, and what remains of the entablature, there are four winged Genii. In the four lateral compartments, between the columns, are four groups of figures in alto-relievo. The fascia or architrave of the arch is richly ornamented with a running pattern of fruits and flowers. On the neck of the imposts of the arch, and on a like member continued through the arch, are sculptured instruments of music, particularly flutes, sacrificial utensils, and tools of husbandry. The two façades of this gate front east and west. In the south compartment of the west front is represented a Magistrate, if not an Emperor, sitting in a chair, and extending one hand towards two persons, a man and a woman, who stand before him somewhat like the figures on the Sarcophagos which is now the font at Marseilles: this I venture to say upon an accurate examination on the spot, although the two figures are always described by others as two prisoners or slaves, and although there are gentlemen, used to the study of antiquities, who will still so describe them. Let the traveller judge for himself on his own view. The other three compartments seem to have had each a group of two figures, male and

M

female.



female. The whole is richly ornamented, and the sculpture of the parts highly finished. There are no traces of any inscription on it : nor is there any thing characteristic which marks it as a Military or Triumphal Arc. I have adopted a distinction between a *Triumphal* and a *Trophæal Arc* ; and I find myself founded in the practice of the Romans : the Reader will see, in Suetonius's Life of Claudius, sect. I. where he records the honours paid to Drusus (the Father of Claudius) *after his death*, amongst the rest a *Trophæal Arc* erected to his memory and honour. “ Præterea Senatus, inter alia complura, “ *Marmoreum Arcum cum Trophæis* viâ Appiâ decrevit.” This therefore I venture to name a Trophæal Arc. Here, if I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture on a subject which has been, and will be, by so many different writers so differently explained, and still left undecided, I would suppose, that the inhabitants and colonists of Glanum, clients to the family of Drusus, whose ancestor, as above noted, by the maternal line, was the founder and continued patron of this colony, took this occasion of paying their court to the rising Emperor, to erect in the Province, at Glanum, this Trophæal monument to the honour of his father, in the same spirit and manner as the Senate of Rome had done in Italy, and adorned it with the memorable events and portraits of the family. I could almost persuade myself to think, that one of the compartments represented Augustus receiving Livia. The other ornaments seem meant to mark their recognisances of the benefits they received under the patronage of their founder and the family. The fascia of the arch is marked with the signs of culture and plenty, and decked with the attributes of festal ceremonies. There is not any thing relative to military honours or triumph, no arms or *instruments of war*, no military trophies ; but the *fruits of peace* ; apples, grapes, corn, pomegranates, figs, and olives ; utensils of husbandry, and festal instruments of music. Peace, and not war, is the spirit of this monument, erected by an industrious and productive colony, deriving the happiness here described from the protection of its patron, and dedicated to a benefactor of mankind ; not to the glory of a triumphant

triumphant general, whose merit arises out of the ravages of countries, and the destruction of the human species. If I might add one guess more, it would be that this structure was at the west portal of the town of Glanum.

The other monument, which stands just without this gate, on the south side of the ancient road, is a *saxea Turris*, of the nature, though not exactly of the form, of that at Aix; like that, however, it is a sepulchral monument. It is dedicated by three children to their parents; but as the inscription which remains gives no decided lead to any specific person or fact which history can explain, the representations on the bas-relieves, as well as the inscription, remain a mystery, notwithstanding the many and various representations which the ingenuity of the learned have attempted. I am so little satisfied with what hath been given, and so far from being able to devise what may be given, that I will only give the letters, and leave it where I found it. They are read and transcribed variously by various authors. I own, I could not read them so as to be decisive in transcribing them. The height at which the inscription is, and the glare of light when one looks up to them is so dazzling, that they are not easily read: however, from the best I could do, and from collating what I did with the transcript of others, especially with that of the Pere Lamy, I think the Reader will not be misled in taken them as follows:

SEXLMIVLIEICF PARENTIBVS SVIS.

The picture of this monument, as well as that of the gate, given in the engravings in plate IV. are copied from drawings made in the year 1777, by an ingenious priest, named Lamy. I examined them with the originals on the spot; nothing can be more accurately or better done, nor more nicely, as far as the scale will permit, in the parts. I am sure I could not have done them so well: I beg to refer the Reader to them, while I endeavour, by description in detail, to supply what the scale of the drawing could not go to. The drawing was not accompanied by any scale. I made, and have added, one to it, which I hope will not prove very erroneous.

M 2

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The Reader, by reference to this with his compasses, will, with less trouble, attain an idea of the dimensions of the whole, and of the parts, than he would from verbal description. The scale is an inch and three tenths to ten feet. The base is a cube of sixteen feet, divided into two parallelipedons: the first, a rustic groundsel, of sixteen by eight; the other, a basement of thirteen by eight. On this cube is erected a quadrivial arch crowned with a complete entablature; which entablature is supported by eight Corinthian pilasters, two at each angle. On this quadrangular structure is placed an open circular Temple, or Delubrum, supported by ten Corinthian columns, standing on a circular basement, and crowned and covered in with a complete entablature and dome. The four sides of the basement, on which the quadrivial arch stands, are supported each by two short pilasters, having Corinthian capitals; and in the dado of each is an historical or mythological design in bas-relief. What the designs mean to represent has never yet been conjectured, with any degree of probable relevancy. I own, I cannot but think, whatever reference the designs may have to fact or moral, they are dramatic; and I am led to this opinion by the following circumstance: the back ground of the bas-relief is a scenical curtain, drawn up in part into festoons, supported by Genii at the knots, while in the sinus of the festoons one discovers the larvæ of dramatic representations, as if it were meant thereby to imply, that the representations on the bas-relieves were rather of the fable of some drama than of historic fact, or perhaps to impress this sentiment, that all the recorded glories of life, when past, are but as *a tale that is told*. However, let the design be what it may, so is it represented. The key-stone of each arch of the quadrivial structure above, is the *Divine Symbol*, the *head crowned with the pennated serpentine diadem* (vulgarly taken for the Medusa's head). The religion of the Romans, soon after their Asiatic victories, had begun to mythologize; and this symbol had become very common as an ornament on any structure, or vessel, or instrument, which had reference to their holy rites. Within the Dalubrum, or Templar monument  
above,

above, were two statues of male and female persons, the parents to whom this was erected and dedicated. The heads had been sacrilegiously taken away; but they stand at present repaired with new heads.

It is from the actual form of this monument, that I suppose the upper story of the sepulchral monument at Aix, where the new and modern work was at the time of its demolition, had been a Templar Delubrum of this sort, wherein was placed a statue of the person to whom it was in like manner erected and dedicated; which Delubrum was supported by those granite columns, the shafts of which now lie in the coach-house of the Intendance. It is a pity one is obliged to reason thus from ruins at Aix, which ruins themselves are now no more. These two monuments of Glanum have been repaired, and are kept in repair by the Corporation of St. Remy; and a very pretty promenade, accommodated with stone benches in the usual form, is made round them.

I cannot here but quote another passage of M. Bouche, where he speaks of the repair of these monuments, contrasted with the demolition of those at Aix. "The General Assembly, in 1718, granted "to the Corporation of St. Remy three hundred livres for the "reparation of these ancient monuments. This reparation was "executed by arrant masons, left to the genius of their trowel: no "person of taste took any direction in the business. The Assembly "again, in 1724, made a grant of three thousand livres *per annum*, "for the purpose of preserving these monuments from utter ruin; "and in 1766 they were again repaired. The city of Aix, the "chief seat of government, had much more respectable monuments within its own bosom, and, *de sang froid*, suffered their "demolition to be decided upon. How whimsical is the spirit of "men! They maintain and support monuments in deserted places, "and destroy those which are in the bosom of cities, and are an "honour and ornament to them." This spirit, which M. Bouche thinks so whimsical, hath been always uniformly the same in towns where the inhabitants want the places which such ruins occupy; and

and this circumstance confirms the remark that I made above; namely, that the new inhabitancy always destroyed even the ruins of their ancient dwellings, while in deserted locals, although the inhabitancy hath been destroyed, yet the ruins remain.

In going from hence to Arles, the road passes through a vale of some of the richest lands I ever saw, and lands in high culture. On the south-east side of this plain, The Crau, or *stony Plain*, extends in a level of twenty miles across, covered with flints and pebbles in a layer of great thickness. The naturalists distinguish that these fossils are not marine, but of inland production, and that they have acquired the roundness and polish under which they appear, from having been rolled amongst each other by torrents.

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## T H E C R A U.

THIS phenomenon in natural operation hath been an object of wonder and puzzle, both to ancient and modern writers. Miracles have been called in to assist in the accounting for its appearance. Jupiter is said to have rained a shower of stones to supply Hercules with ammunition, after he had spent all his arrows in his combat with the Ligurians. Aristotle requires an earthquake (the usual resource of a cause for strange appearing effects) for the forming of it. Some naturalists have supposed these flints and pebbles to have vegetated. The most ingenious, although at the same time the most visionary, theory that I have met with, is that which M. Papon gives in his *Voyage Litteraire de Provence*. This high level was formerly, *before the existence of the Mediterranean Sea*, a neck  
of

of land, or projecting cape, in some *supposed* lake; that the river Durance ran into this lake on the east side of this, and the Rhone on the west of it. The reasons which he gives why it could not be formed either by the sea, or by the ordinary operations of torrents of rivers, are founded, so far as applicable, in a real knowledge of nature. Now, as some philosophers have sprung a mine to throw up this plain of flints from the bowels of the earth, as others have rained down stones from heaven, while others have made these stones to vegetate as plants do elsewhere, may I, as an antiquary, not as a philosopher, be permitted to state my own folly of a fancy also, and to offer it merely as amusement.

This plane was certainly formed by some violent revolution in nature, operating on the face of the country; in this all agree: and I will go up to heaven also, whence the Rhone is said to descend, for the cause. The naturalists of Switzerland, founded on facts which have been ascertained on the face of the country called the *Pays de Vaud*, which forms the sides of the lake of Geneva, decide it as a fact established, that this lake anciently, beyond the record of history, extended much more wide and large; and that the level of its surface was, by some hundreds of feet, higher than it is at present; that the waters at its embouchure through the narrow passage of the Mount Jara, now called the *Ecluse*, ran off in a channel near two hundred feet higher than it runs at present. These, I say, are facts precisely ascertained. That a gradual, but constant, attrition of this rapid stream wore down the channel through the rock; that then, coming to a stratum of earth, of less resisting matter, *it burst all at once* through its bounds, and forced its rapid course (more rapid even at present, when all is settled, than any other river in Europe) in irresistible torrents of a deluge of waters to the sea, whose level is half a mile below it, rolling down with it those inland rocks and pebbles which are found dispersed about the country, but especially at its mouth upon the sea coast; that these stones would be naturally rolled up on an elevated plain, left dry when the temporary effect of that partial

partial deluge ceased to operate, and the waters began again to run in their channels. This higher level would be left bare of soil as it is now found in fact, while the lower level, which yet are dry, except in times of floods, will, by the ordinary floods resting for a season on them, have been (as the fact is) covered with mud and soil. These facts seem to conspire to the explanation I have endeavoured to give. This conjecture did not occur to me from any thing I saw on the spot; but when I had read what the naturalists have brought forward as facts existing in Switzerland, and had compared what I read, with my own observations on the spot, relative to the ancient state of the lake and country, and the apparent actual passage it hath broken through, so as to sink to a lower level, and more contracted expanse; it occurred, to me, that I had found an adequate cause to the effect I had seen in the Crau below upon the coast. The Swiss philosophers call in the aid of an earthquake, or some volcanic eruption, to break down the bounds of the lake, *nodus vindice dignus*; yet the observations which I made in passing the Ecluse, have led me to look to a more ordinary event in the course of nature. I beg the Reader will receive this as an antiquarian whim, and believe no more of it than he likes, for I am not sure that I believe it myself.

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## A R L E S, anciently A R E L A S.

THIS city was first known to history by having become \* an emporium or factory to Marseilles; and, I believe, also a dock-yard and depot of naval stores; that it was so, may be concluded by fair

\* Πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ῥοδαῖν ὁλόγῃ τῇ Ἐμπόρειον ἔκ μικρὸν Ἀριλάτας. Strabo, lib. IV.

implication;

implication: for if there were not slips, carpenters, and stores, Julius Cæsar could never have built, as he did, in thirty days, twelve ships of war, and rig and arm them for sea and service. It is said, indeed, that he performed this in thirty days from the cutting of the timber; which may be true of the large timbers, an article that, not being in the course of their ship-building wanted, could not have been in the yard; but the planks, all the iron, the rigging, and resinous gums or pitch, as well as builders, must have been on or near the spot, otherwise these ships could never have been so fitted out so soon, and in such condition, as to go into the line. Arles was at this time a port to which the sea approached. It was honoured afterward by Cæsar, in having a colony of Romans established there, which was conducted by Tiberius Nero, the Father of the Emperor Tiberius (Suetonius, in *Vitâ Tiberii*, § 4.). It became, for three or four hundred years afterwards, a populous, commercial town. Constantine, in the beginning of the fourth century, made it for some time the place of his residence, and always honoured it with his favourable patronage, and attempted to give it his name; but custom has retained the old one of Arelas. Honorius, in the fifth century, fixed upon Arles as the place of sessions for the general assembly of the Gauls; and in his edict, convening the states to that place, gave as a reason \*, the state of its inhabitancy, of its commerce, its abundant supply, and accommodation of all sorts.

The Reader may fairly, from this account, expect to be told, that anciently there were at this place every sort of public edifice, which every such considerable Roman town had; and the traveller may expect to meet with some remains of these, notwithstanding the various devastations which it hath suffered. He will see parts of a theatre. The *Porticatio*, or, as it is otherwise named, the *Circuitus Porticum*, of this theatre makes part of the walls of the town. A gate is still standing, which is said to have been part of

\* Tanta enim loci oportunitas, tanta copia commerciorum, tanta illic frequentia comœantium, ut quicquid usquam nascitur illic commodius distrahetur.



this theatre; but I have my doubts about this. In the first place, neither the scale nor position of this gate is applicant to the theatre; but, from the internal evidence of the gate itself, one may decide, that it is a modern thing put together from heterogeneous members of different structures and orders. The gate is an arch, and that not on any great scale, having Doric pilasters on each side-impost, over which is a Doric frize, instead of an architrave; and over this frize a Corinthian frize and cornice. This frize, which is used in the place of an architrave, is also peculiar as to its ornamental members. Instead of the metops with the oxen's head between the triglyphs, there is the fore-part of an ox. This is the peculiar symbol of a Roman colony.

There are still standing, in the corner of a gentleman's garden in part below the present surface of the ground, two marble Corinthian fluted columns, with the remains of a defaced entablature over them. The shafts are very fine, both as to the marble and the workmanship. The capitals appeared to me of an inferior taste; but possibly I did not judge right. These columns have been buried to near a third of their height under ground; but the earth is now dug away from them, so that they are cleared to the bases. I measured their circumference to be six feet three inches English measure. These columns stand in such a position relative to the *Circinatio* of the Theatre; that, as the antiquaries of Arles say, if triangles were drawn to this circumference, according to the rules of Vitruvius in disposing the parts of such an edifice, these columns would be found in the line of the *Proscenium*. I had not the means of ascertaining this; if I had, it would not have been worth the while, so I took it upon their authority, that these columns were part of the colonade of the *Proscenium*.

The intire *Circuitus Porticum* of a large Amphitheatre still remains. When one is mounted to the top of the wall, one sees its whole circumference. It is an oval, the longest diameter of which is            feet, the lesser            feet. The Porticus is not only built round with houses, but the lower arcades are filled up

up and occupied in making parts of these houses. The upper arcades of the second story are built upon, and filled up on the inside with like miserable dwellings. The gradations of the seats towards the lower part next the arena are so entirely demolished, by the re-edification of the new inhabitancy, that a doubt hath been raised by some antiquaries, whether there ever were any permanent benches, especially any of stone; but the decreasing or diminishing height of the vault of the gate of entrance, and the stone-steps which yet remain in the upper parts, sufficiently remove that doubt.

When one has got above the utmost gradation, on the top of the wall of the external *Porticatio*, and looks down upon the city which surrounds this Amphitheatre, and down upon the kind of city included within the circumference of this spacious edifice; the objects strike the eye like a lesser walled city, built and included within a larger city that surrounds it. I made some few remarks on this piece of antiquity; but I shall reserve all I have to say on this subject till I come to Nîmes.

The traveller will find, if he inquires for it, the remains of the west-end of a Roman edifice, which the antiquaries of Arles call the *Prætorium*. All that I can say is, that this fragment of an edifice, now making part of a building of the later ages, is apparently Roman work; but whether in the interior there remain any characteristic parts, so as decidedly to mark this for a *Prætorium* or a *Basilica*, I cannot say. From this end being circular, I should call it a *Basilica*, according to Vitruvius.

The vestiges of a very extensive suite of buildings, which at Arles they have named the Baths and *Thermæ*, still remain. The foundations and general plan have been traced through the offices and cellars of the houses now built on its site; it appears to have been a double square, with a corydore round the whole. This plan is more conformable to the idea which Vitruvius gives of a Forum than to that of Baths and *Thermæ*. Part of the façade, (that is,) half of the portal, still remains. This portal was a colonade of four

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columns,

columns, which supported an entablature and pediment. Two marble Composite columns, supporting half of the length of this entablature and half the pediment, are still preserved, as is half of the nails by which an inscription was fixed on the architrave and frieze. The architecture is of the highly enriched ornamented style, which I have noticed above in my observations on the architecture of the Triumphal Arch of Orange, and shall take further occasion of noticing. The capitals of the columns are in exquisite taste.

M. Seguiet, late of the Royal Academy at Nîmes, of whose astonishing sagacity, in the investigation of matters of antiquity, the learned world has had extraordinary proof, and who, in every branch of polite literature, and in many branches of natural philosophy, was one of the first Academicians of his age and country, hath made out the inscription which this portico bore, in a manner that leaves no doubt, but, in a light as clear as day, carries demonstration and conviction home to the severest reasoner. In the first place, from the position of the nails to which the metal letters were fixed, he, in the same manner as he had before done at the *Maison Carrée* at Nîmes, discovered what the letters must have been on this half of the portal which remains. This step evidently established, he, from his perfect acquaintance in every anecdote of this part of history, hath formed a conjecture, of such unquestionable a form, that no one will refuse his full and decided assent to it: this conjecture gives the sense and the very words of the remaining part of this inscription. He wrote a dissertation on this inscription and edifice, which remains in manuscript, and has never yet been published. I could not have the pleasure of seeing it. I hope so valuable and learned a work will not be long withheld from the world. In the mean time, I have, through the favour of M. Vincens Plauchut, an uncommonly ingenious and very learned young gentleman, who was an *élève et protégé* of M. Seguiet's, an opportunity of giving to the public this very curious discovery. He gives it to me from his own notes, marking, in the manner of drawing it, that part which was

was investigated with the nails, and that which was afterward formed on conjecture. The letters of the first-mentioned part are perfectly black ; those of the last-mentioned part (here printed in *Italic*) are drawn in letters of double open lines.

*DIVO CONSTANTINO MAX PRINCIPI DIVI CONSTANTII FILIO D CLAVDI NEPOTI DOMINO NOSTRO SEMPER AVGVSTO FL CLAVDIO CONSTANTINOP FID CONSTANTINI F PISSIMAE AC VENERABILI HELENÆ AVIAE FAVSTAE AVGVST MATRIA TAVISQVE.*

M. Seguier supposed this edifice to have been erected in the year of the Christian æra 338 or 339. The utmost height of this building, consisting but of one story, was not thirty English feet.

There are preserved, in different parts of this town, fragments of the shafts of antique columns; but more particularly in the court of the episcopal palace, where, amongst others, there is, a fluted one of the *jaune antique*, exquisitely fine.

Several fragments of antiquities have been dug up here, but most of them carried off to the cabinets of particulars. A very fine statue of a female was dug up where the two Corinthian columns above noticed now remain. This was fetched away to Versailles. This statue, not being precisely characteristic in its design, exercised for some time at Paris the learning of the serious, and the wit of the *beaux-esprits*, in finding reasons, or combating those which were found, to decide whether it was a Venus or Diana. It might have been a Diana at old Arelas in the time of the Romans; but became a Venus at Paris in the reign of Lewis le Grand. A cast of this statue is now preserved on the stair-case of the town-house at Arles.

Some few pieces of antiquity are preserved on the landing-place of these stairs; some altars. I was struck with the peculiarity of one: I made a drawing of the device on the dado of this altar dedicated to the *Bona Dea*: an engraving of it is given in plate III. fig. 4. I also copied the dedicatory inscription on the back of a letter, but lost or burnt it. I wrote to M. Vincens Plauchut, begged him to

procure me another copy, which he most obligingly did, and which is as follows :

BONAE DEAE  
CAIENA PRISCÆ LIB ATTICE  
MINISTRA.

The second line I read, Caiena Priscæ Liberta Attice. Attice, as M. Vincens Planchut observes, was the name of this female when a slave, and Caiena was the name she took when emancipated, being the name of the family to which she belonged. I shall, in justice to the learning of this ingenious young man, give his note which he sent me on this inscription.

“ The name of the family CAIENA, which is here on this monument, was not commonly found in inscriptions. Fabretti reports but one CAIENA IVSTINA and Muratori in his Thesaur. Inscrip.

“ CAIENO. L. ARVNTII EROTIS  
“ ARMODICI. FILIO.

“ The word ATTICE is a Greek inflexion of an appellation found in many examples, see the following taken from Gruter.

“ VALERIA. L. L. ATTICE, p. 999.  
“ ET MATER ATTICE, p. 1121.”

This gentleman, in a farther note which he sends me, apprehends, that the two ears on this monument have reference to a present of a pair of ear-rings, presented and dedicated by this manumitted servant to the Bona Dea, and quotes one or two examples of such presents made to the statues of the Goddeesses ; but, as my ideas lead me in another line of explanation, I shall here follow my own.

This Deity was of a sacredness so *secrète*, that it was not permitted to man \* even to know her name †. She was to be invisible

\* Cujus ne nomen quidē viro scire fas est. Cicero.

† Cum fuget a templis oculos bona Diva virorum. Ovid. de Art. Am. lib. III.  
n. 637.

to the eye of the male\*. A man was not permitted to enter her Temple; and if her sacred rites were performed in any family house, if even in that of the Pontifex Maximus, the master of the house, and every male belonging to it, was to retire out of it, and remain absent from it during the time of divine service†. The sacrifices made to this Deity were consecrated to the good and weal of the Roman people. Compare now the singular and curious design of the altar with this account. The sacred oval, without features, is an apposite idol of the presence, yet invisibility, of this Deity. At the same time the ears express that, although invisible, yet she is ready to hear the prayers of her votaries. The civic crown, which surrounds the whole, marks the superintendence of this Deity over the *Salus Pop. Romani*.

I shall not, in this place, go into an investigation or explanation of this Numen. It is enough to say, that in the highest degree of philosophic and theologic abstraction, and in the lowest and grossest symbolic idolatry, it became quite different things. In the first it meant the plastic powers of nature, as acted upon by spirit; and under this idea it was exhibited by various symbols, and by various personal Deities — Isis, Minerva, Diana, Juno, Luna, &c. &c. In the second it had reference to animal generation in its corporeal capabilities, powers, and process, and hence was called the Θεὸς Γυναίκης. The faith here became gross, and the ritual obscene. As this would not bear the light of reason or of day, it was veiled in the darkness of a most *secrète* mystery, and

Like other mysteries, which men adore,  
Was hid to be rever'd the more.

There is also preserved and placed in this same stair-case, a very curious frustum of a statue which well deserves, but has never yet

\* Sacra bonæ Maribus non adeunda Deæ. Tibullus, lib I. c. 6. 22.

Templa patres illic oculos exosa viriles. Ovid. Fast. I. V. 153.

Occulta et Marilis non iuviffo solum, sed etiam inaudita sacra. Cicero, Orat. pro Harusp.

† Sacrificiùm quod fit pro salute populi Romani. Idem.

had,

had, a minute and detailed description, such as it deserves, being an object of a matter which may lead to much discussion. It is the trunk of a statue in the terminal form, as used in Syria and Egypt. It is of the purest white marble. I made a drawing from it, and an engraving of this is given in plate III. fig. 5. By reference to this drawing, while I describe it in words, the reader may have an exact idea of it. The body of the figure is enveloped from the shoulders to the feet with a thin robe or mantle, on which, in raised work, were the twelve (nine remain) signs of the zodiac, a serpent winding through the course of these signs ascends from the feet in four contours round the body, and comes with its neck and head over the left shoulder of the figure. The personal Deity here represented hath the left arm raised up towards the breast so as to meet the serpent, and as far as the disfigurement of the statue will permit one to form an idea, one may suppose it to have held a patera, out of which the serpent was feeding. The exhibition of a Priest or Eculapius, of a Priestess or Hygeia, giving food out of a sacred patera to a serpent, is not uncommon in gems and other sculptures. The lower parts of the legs and feet, and the head of this statue, are gone, so that conjecture is left quite at liberty to surmise, whether this was a statue of Mithras or Serapis. Both these Deities are represented in this same manner. The Pere Dumont, a very ingenious scholar, who hath been conversant with matters of antiquity in Italy, and now resides as a Minim in the Convent of that Order at Arles, and is writing the History of the Antiquities of Arles, is decidedly of opinion, that it was a statue of *Mithras*. There were certainly, in other parts of the *Provincia Romana*, statues of Mithras, somewhat in this form. There was one at Lyon, with an inscription :

DEO INVICTO

MITH\*

SECUNDVS

DAT.

It is said, that this was sold to some Englishman, and is now carried

carried off. An engraving, from a drawing which I copied from Spon, is given in plate III. fig. 6. All the writers on the antiquities of Lyon copy this one after another in the same form. I doubt whether it be right; but I copy it as I found it. I beg the Reader to observe, that as the word *Mithr* is an abbreviation, it may be either *Mithrês* or *Mithras*, two very different numina. The Pere Montfaucon gives this piece of antiquity (Plate 215.) as *Mithras*. The drawing he gives is very incorrect as to the form of the figures of the signs, and as to the form of the body, and the lines of the contortions of the serpent; nor does his figure mark the manner in which the serpent comes over the shoulder, nor the manner in which the left arm is lifted up, as one may plainly distinguish in the traces which remain as I have drawn it. He however gives, in his Supplement, another exhibition (vol. II. plate 42.) of a statue precisely the same \*, as to the body, as this which I am describing, which he exhibits as *Serapis*. The person who made the drawing hath directly contradicted himself in his drawing; and the Pere Montfaucon, from not minutely observing the circumstances of it, hath been misled in his description. He says, that the serpent winds round the body of the figure from over the shoulder down to the feet, where the head is, while the hand of the figure holds the tail. What he calls the tail of the serpent is left undecided in the drawing, while the drawing *hath presumed* to be very decided as to the head, which is made to repose just above the feet. I venture to say, that it must have been taken on presumption, when that part of the serpent, which is supposed to lye upon the feet, is in the drawing and description represented as the head; because, if the body of the serpent be rightly drawn in the parts which could not be mistaken, it must have been the place of the tail, and what Montfaucon calls the tail must have been the narrowing of the neck between the shoulders and head of the serpent; because the order of the scales, as well as the shape of the whole body, mark that decidedly. The insertion of the scales in all serpentine animals is towards

\* I have a strong suspicion, that the drawing is of the very same frustum of a statue, but here made out *ad libitum*, and from fancy, a complete statue.



the fore-part of the body, and the outward edge of them towards the hinder parts. The body diminishes by degrees towards the tail; but goes off more suddenly between the shoulders and the head. I will therefore be positive, that whenever the figure itself, whence this drawing which Montfaucon gives, was taken, shall be examined, it will be found, that the serpent winds as in this statue at Arles, and in the statue that was at Lyon, as also in every other figure which gems give, from the feet of the image up towards the shoulders. The Pere Dumont and I particularly examined together the statue at Arles as to this point. In the frustum of the trunk of the statue at Arles there are left but three spaces between the folds of the serpent, the bottom being broken off. In that given by Montfaucon in his Supplement, the whole four folds and spaces between are represented as perfect, with all the twelve signs. The order of the signs are the same in both statues. In the top space are Aries, Taurus, Gemini; in the second, Cancer, Leo, Virgo; in the third, Libræ, Scorpion, Sagittarius; in the fourth, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces. These last are wanting in the statue at Arles. Those which are there have been copied hitherto but loosely, or from memory, as they are not exactly represented.

The nature of this statue leads to a subject of curious matter. The Romans, in the early times of the Republic, began to be disgusted with the grossness of their established theology, and the consequent puerility of their ritual. The spirit of the people at times revolted from it with a degree of impatience, receiving with avidity and fanaticism, on successive occasions, the doctrines of the mythological theology of the East, and their symbolic ritual. Their minds were prepared to receive the impression, and it sunk so deep, when impressed, as to produce, at various periods, the dangerous ferment of factious \* heresies in the Church of Rome. The Senate, the orthodox magistrates and priests, always opposed these heresies with all their authority, and sometimes used power, which yet was not always equal to the resisting of it. Valerius Maximus

\* Livius, lib. III. 15. lib. XXXIX. 8—20. L. Florus, lib. III. c. 19.

(lib. I. c. 3.) gives a marking instance of this firmness in government, and of this fanaticism in the people. The heresy of Isis and Serapis had, in the early times of the Republic, taken root, and expanded itself at Rome, and many Temples were erected and dedicated to these Numina. The Senate, determined to oppose and abolish this worship, ordered, by a decree, the Temples of Isis and Serapis to be demolished. So strong was the fanaticism, and so deeply impressed with a sense of the sacredness of these holy places, that, when the order for demolition was to be put in execution, there was not to be found, amongst a people habituated to obey the Senate, one man who dared to strike a stroke where it was conceived that the act would be such a profanation and sacrilege; therefore L. Æmil. Paulus Cos. throwing off his Prætecta, took an axe, and, as striking the first blow, affixed it in the door of the Temple. In several instances the government fell in with the spirit and temper of the people, in hopes to guide at least that stream whose torrent they could not directly resist: hence the Dea Syria, Diana of Ephesus, Isis and Osiris, Æsculapius, and, finally, the *Seraph Numen*, called Serapis, were received into the theology and ritual of Rome, and became the Gods whose idols they adored with the deepest sense of veneration. The spirit of their religion became a physiologic mythology in doctrine, and gave a symbolic sense to their idols.

To understand this spiritualizing theology, and the nature of these symbolic idols, we must recur to some analysis of the Eastern religion.

The theology of this religion arose, from amidst all its corruptions, above the debasement of its exterior, and ascended in the different churches of different countries to various degrees of abstraction. They all conceived ideas of first causes: the one, an intelligence, as an energetic *efficient cause*; the other, a metaphysical chaos, that is, matter or substance without form or qualities; but capable of all, as an inert passive *formal cause*. While they thus carried their abstractions to things out of nature, to ideas of intelligibles that were ineffable\*, in condescension to the limited

\* Ἀσώματον μὴ ἔχει τὰ θεία πάντα

Σώματα δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμῶν ἔχουσιν ἰδιότητα. Chaldæic Oracles.

comprehension of our limited minds, they gave to divine incorporeal essences bodily forms, that we might comprehend them. They admitted \* that an elementary light or fire might be conceived as an outward and conceivable symbol of an inward incomprehensible intelligence; and an elementary matter as the recipient generative cause of all existence. Hence, from ideas of analogy, they supposed the first, as the procreating animating cause, the male; the second, as the recipient generative, nursing cause, the female †.

Others, who descended still lower from these metaphysic heights, met the common sense of mankind. The sun and moon, those lords of the heavens, which rule the day and night, were always the most natural (I had almost said the most rational) objects of adoration. These philosophising priests of the East supposed the sun ‡ to be the body of the intelligible, the efficient power; as was the moon of the recipient, nursing, formal power, from like ideas of analogy as above. The first was understood to be the male, the procreative father; the second, to be the female, the generative mother, of all things.

The religion of the Persians, which breathed the most spiritualising theology, and did not originally admit of the worship of the heavenly bodies, nor of any other formed symbol, found nevertheless that to collect and direct the diffused trackless ideas of spiritual devotion, to fill the *vacuum pectus* and the eye, to serve local purposes, in all circumstances, and at all times, in short, to draw forth into external action and *worship*, the internal operations of *devotion*, some object, some visible *local presence*, to which men might look up, was necessary: the priests, therefore, set up a local material, but holy and consecrated *fire* §, as the idol of worship.

\* Φῶς ἕρσιον ὁσίας τοιαύτης ἀγόμενοι. Plutarchi Isis et Osir.

Παλαιογενὲς φῶς — ἡν ἄνθος. Chaldaic Oracles.

† Μήτηρ συνέχευε τὰ πάντα

Ἐνθι ἄρδιν δρώσκει γένεσις πολυπεπιδυ ἕλης. Chaldaic Oracles.

Ἴσις τὸ τῆς φύσεως Θῆλυ καὶ Νεῖκος ἀπάσης γένεως. Plutarch, Isis et Osir.

Ἄλλη δὲ καὶ τρέφει τῆς γένεως.

‡ Ἡλιον Σῶμα τῆς Ἀγαθῆς δυναμίδος. Plutarch.

§ Πῦρσαι Θίον εἶναι νομίζουσι τὸ Πῦρ. Herod. lib. III. c. 16.

The Hebrews, to whom the true God had, in a preter-natural way, and with the peculiar circumstances of a covenant, manifested himself as the one only God, as the only object to be worshiped, in a spiritual manner directed to an invisible God, and not to any mediate resemblance or idol, were, nevertheless, referred at times, to aid their conceptions, and give direction to their actions, to some visible symbol of the invisible Deity; to some local presence; to some Shekinah, on which the glory of the Lord resided under different forms on different occasions; to a burning bush; to a pillar of smoke by day, a pillar of fire at night, and (passing by the golden Calf) to the \* Oub or Sar-oub (Numbers xxi. 6.), Serpent set up by Moses under the express order of God himself; and finally to that continual presence emphatically called the *Shekinah*.

The Persians, when in after-times they became mixed with the Assyrians and Babylonians, although originally worshipers of holy fire only, learned the worship of the heavenly bodies †, the Sun and Moon and all the Host of Heaven; of the Earth, Fire, Water. These, however, they considered only as the manifestation of the powers and efficiency of a superior, intelligent cause.

Although the Sun and Moon, and Host of Heaven, were, in their own beings, to those who worshiped them as the first and ultimate Gods, visible and present objects; yet these worshipers, in order to answer local purposes, particular occasions, and to represent, in a palpable manner, the peculiar manifestations, the influences, the effects of their operation and power on the world and human affairs, they personified these by various symbolical idols

\* The serpents which tormented the Hebrews, are expressly called Seraphim, and translated fiery Serpents. As the rod of Aaron, metamorphosed into a serpent, destroyed the serpents of the Egyptian forcerers; so this serpent, which I here venture to call Oub and Sar-oub, the Prince Dragon or Basilisc, being erected, was an emblem that with its aspect would destroy the other serpents: *ἰσχυρὸν δυνάμει ζῶντος καὶ θανάτου κυριεύον, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀσπίδος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν θιῶν ἐπιτίθασθαι*. Horapollo, lib. I. c. I.

† Θέουσι δὲ ἥλιον τε καὶ Σελήνην, καὶ Γῆν καὶ Πῦρ καὶ Ὑδρῶν καὶ ἀνέμοισι. Ἐπιμιμασθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανῷ θείῳ, παρὰ τι Ἀσσορίων μαθεύης καὶ Ἀραβίων. Καλίσσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι Ἀφροδίτην Μυλῆτιν. Ἀραβίοι δ' Ἀλὶν. Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. Herod, lib. I. c. 131.

directly

directly expressive of these powers. Whenever, in their conceptions, they had reference to intelligence, the idol almost generally had the human form, although many times deformed with lions and hawks heads, and fishes tails. When these conceptions had reference to mediate material operations, these were represented by every thing that nature hath produced in the heavens above, on the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth ; by every chimera that fanaticism could fancy in its dreams. This mode of idolatry, under the first conception, introduced the idols Bel of the Babylonians, Baal of the Assyrians, Adon of Assyria, the Adad Attys Adonis of the cities of Syria, the Dagon of Philistines and Phœnicia, as also of Carthage, called Caer-dagon or Keir-kedon, as a maritime settlement made under the auspices of that God. Hence the \* Mithras of Persia, Osyris of Egypt, the † Iao of Greece ; hence the Apollo ‡ Oulius and Artemis Oulia ; hence the Mylitta § Mitra, the Dea Syria, the Io, and Isis of Egypt || ; all representative of the Sun and Moon. The latter mode of forming idols produced all the horrid forms of Syrian Gods, all the ridiculous ones of Egypt, and the whole theogony of Gods and Goddeffes of Greece.

While, as I observed above, their conceptions led to an intelligent cause, they universally represented the Numen by a form in which

\* Μιθράς ὁ Ἑλλης παρὰ Πέρσαις. Hesychius.

† Φεράζιο τῶν παλίων ὑπαλόν Θεὸν ἱμνῶν ΙΑΩ. Carmina Orphei apud Macrobius, lib. I. c. 18.

‡ Ἀπόλλων Οὐλίος καὶ Ἀρτέμις Οὐλία. Pherecydes apud Macrobius, lib. I. c. 17.

§ Μίτρα. Herodotus, lib. III.

|| Diversæ virtutes solis nomina Diis dederunt — et Maro, cum de uno Junone diceret — *quo nomine læsa* ostendit unius Dei effectus varios pro variis censendos esse numinibus. Macrobius Saturn. lib. I. c. 17.

Acrorum administrationes apud Ægyptios multiplici actu multiplicem Dei asserant potestatem significantes Herculem hunc esse: τὸν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ διαπάσκει Ἥλυος. Idem Ibid. c. 20.

Virtus solis est quæ fructibus, effectus ejusdem qui frugibus præstet ; et, hinc natæ sunt appellationes deorum sicut cæterorum quæ ad solem certâ et arcanâ ratione referuntur, et ne tanto secreto nuda præstetur assertio, auctoritates veterum de singulis consueamus. Ibid. c. 17.

only

only they experienced intelligence to reside, by the human form; and while they represented the material manifestations of power and effect in all forms, both of nature and fancy, yet it is, however it happened, a curious trait in the history of man, that they almost universally, in all nations, when they referred in their ideas to the Sun solely and generally, without consideration of this or that peculiar operation, they represented this heavenly body by *a serpent*; by that species of serpent whom the Ægyptians called *Oub*, the Grecian *Basiliscos*, and the Romans *Draco*.

To attempt to search for, or to pretend to give, reasons for things not founded in reason, would be idle and absurd; yet, when revising the idea which men entertain in general of the Sun, that it is \* animated with a spirit, which, by energy of mind alone, without the ministering powers of limb or member, carries it forward into motion; that, after a series of sinuous convolutions, it revolves into itself, and while seeming to verge to its decease, it renewed again its life and activity; that the spirit, which animates and shines forth from it, is of that resistless, piercing power which the eye cannot look upon. When, with these ideas in our mind, we examine what the notions have been, and are, uniform and almost universal, in different parts of the world, which had no communication of opinions with each other; what notions men have conceived of the serpent; one can find a cause which, although springing from fancy, may be referred to some species of reason, why they should have fixed on the serpent as the symbol or idol of the Sun †. The motion of the serpent is as it were protruded by an internal energetic activity, without any help or aid of the common animal powers of limb or member: the power of fascination universally.

\* Omnem vim ejus non in quodam diviorum ministerio membrorum, sed in sola mente consistere. Macrob. lib. I. c. 19.

Διόνος ἱεὺς Πιῦμα. Horapollo, lib. I. c. 64.

† Horapollo says, that the Ægyptians represented the Governor of the World by a serpent; which Philippus translates, ἱεὺς. ὅτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ σκεῦος κόσμος τὸ δῖον ἱεὺς Πιῦμα. lib. I. c. 1.

supposed:

supposed to reside in their eye, and the power of killing by the look, which is supposed to reside in the \* Oub, the Basilisk, or the Draco †: the supposed renewal of its life every year, by the casting off its skin, and a kind of feel which all untaught men have ever had, and have, that the serpent is animated by a spirit beyond its place in the chain of beings. These combined notions concurring and coinciding with the notions above expressed, as those which men conceive of the Sun, seem to have given occasion to this general and almost universal symbolic idol. It was decisively the symbol of the Sun in those mixed idols which I shall endeavour from these principles to explain. And, first, in the *cherubic symbol* of the Deity framed and exhibited by the Ægyptians and Rhodians, *a human head with wings, crowned with a serpentine diadem*. The serpent was of that species of serpent called by the Ægyptians Oub, or Sar-oub, and by the Greeks Basilisk, by the Romans Draco: hence that species of symbol of the divine intelligence, whom no man could look upon; whom, as is elsewhere said, no one could see and live, acquired the appellation *cherub* ‡: and hence all the

\* \*Οι καλῶσι Αἰγύπτιοι Οὐβαῖον ὃ ἴσιν Ἑλληνικῇ Βασιλίσκον — ὃ καὶ προσφυσῆσαι ἰτίρῳ παρὶ ζώῳ δόχῳ καὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀπαραιτῷ. Horapollo, lib. I. c. 1.

Hinc est quod simulacris Æsculapii et salutis Draco subjungitur, quod hi ad folis naturam lunæque referuntur.— Ut virescunt Dracones per annos singulos, pelle senectutis exutâ, propterea et ad ipsum solem species Draconis refertur.

Alios serpentes olfactu necare, hic si hominem tantum aspiciat interimere. Plinius, lib. VIII. c. 21. lib. XXIX. cap. 24.

† Τριῶν γινῶν ὀφίων καθιγύωνται, τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ θνητὰ ὑπάρχειν, τῷτο δὲ [γινὸς Οὐβαίου] μόνον ἀθάνατον. Horapollo, lib. I. c.

Ἀθάνατος δὲ καὶ εἰς ἰαντὸν ἀναλύεται. Philo Byblius apud Eusebium, lib. I. c. 10.

‡ Sol mundi mens est, summa autem est velocitas mentis ut ait Homerus — ὡς ὀφιδὸν ἢ κόμμα. Ideo pinnis Mercurius. quasi ipsa natura solis ornatur. Hoc argument. Ægyptii lucidius absolvunt *ipsius folis simulacra pinnata* fingentes. Macrobius Saturn. lib. I. c. 19.

Τριῶν γινῶν ὀφίων καθιγύωνται, τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ θνητὰ ὑπάρχειν τῷτο δὲ [γινὸς Οὐβαίου] μόνον ἀθάνατον, ὃ δὲ προσφυσῆσαι ἰτίρῳ παρὶ ζώῳ δόχῳ καὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀπαραιτῷ. ὅθι ἐπειδὴ δακὺ ζώης καὶ θανάτου κυρίως; διὰ τῷτο αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν θιῶν ἐπιτίθεισιν. Horapollo.

The three species of serpents were called by the Ægyptians; 1. Oub. 2. Saraph. 3. Meifi, Horap. lib. c. I. Numbers xxi. 6. Horap. lib. I. c. 59.

childish

childish fable of the Greeks about the Gorgon and Medusa, whom if men looked upon, they were turned into stone.

The more spiritualised and philosophising nations aimed in their ritual, even in their idolatry, to lead the mind of the intelligent worshipper to some ideas beyond that of the idol, up to intelligence, as to the cause and supporter of the Sun, the God whom they worshipped. Hence they made the serpent, the seraph idol of the Sun, to live and move, round, annexed to, an idol of intelligence, which the idol in the human shape always referred to; while they taught men to look up to the Sun as the spirit, the life, and governor of this visible world, meaning only the terrestrial globe, they represented him, in this mixed idol, as supported in his motions, and sustained in his existence, by a superior at least, if not by a supreme, intelligent cause. The serpent, therefore, was represented as revolving round a divine person, who was cloathed with the heavens; and as supported in these revolutions by this person, and fed and sustained by him. The Mithras of the Persians was a mixed idol representing the \* *Sol Deus invictus Mithras*, by the Seraph Serpent; and the first supreme God, Mithrês, by the human figure round whose body the Serpent revolved.

The Bel and Dragon of the Babylonian was undoubtedly the same mixed idol; for from the Babylonians the Persians received their idolatry.

The Apollo of the Hierapolitani, and the *Dea Syria*, were the same mixed symbolic idols. The Hierapolitani, saith Macrobius †, who are of the Assyrian race, combine all the manifestations of the powers and effects of the Sun in one mixed idol, and call it Apollo. This image was cloathed from his shoulders downwards

\* Μίθρας; ὁ ἥλιος; παρὰ Πέρσαις· ΜΙΘΡΗΣ ὁ πρῶτος ἐν Πέρσαις θεός. Hesychius.

† Hierapolitani, qui sunt gentis Assyriorum, omnes solis effectus et virtutes ad unius simulacri speciem redigunt — summis ab humeris *gorgoneum velamentum* redimitum anguibus tegit scapulas. — Ante pedes imago fœminea est. Eam cingit flexuoso volumine Draco. — Draconis effigies flexuosum iter sideris monstrat. Macrobius, Saturn. lib. I. c. 17.



with a Gorgonian robe, tied with serpents. Before this image stood a female idol, round whose body a serpent wound itself in sinuous folds. This was, notwithstanding the comment of Macrobius referring it to the earth, the mixed idol of the Moon, as the other is expressly said to be of the Sun. This Syriac idol I shall shew to have been the Serapis of Alexandria.

Artanis, one may, from the name, although no specific statue of her remains by this name, suppose to have been the same sort of mixed symbolic idol. *Arta* is the Goddess of nature; and *Meisi* \* the name for a serpent. Montfaucon gives a drawing of a Roman statue, which he supposes he may call Isis. This is, in like manner, surrounded with the convolutions of the dragon serpent. I think, after these deductions and explanations, we may now advance to the description of this statue at Arles, which I will venture to name Serapis, a modern Deity in comparison of those above-named, and borrowed from Asia.

I will first give the history of this idol, which is no incurious trait in the history of man.

When Ptolemy had completed the city of Alexandria, had girt and fortified it with walls, and found that it became the residence of people of all nations, languages, and religions; he wished to erect some comprehending symbolic idol, which might become a general object of worship to all people residing there. He pretended, like a wise prince, that he had received the divine command to do this. He was conversant in all the physiologic mythology of Asia, and acquainted with the nature of the mixed symbolic idols. Any local one, whose Numen and worship was known, and was already established as local, would not do. He was to look for some idol of a God, such a symbolic mixed one as might be comprehensively Catholic, which was not known, but which was willing to be established at Alexandria. He therefore pretended that a God, such as he described, clothed in flame, had visited him in a dream, and ordered him to establish his idol at Alexandria. Whatsoever it was

\* Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῆς ὄφιντος παρὰ Αἰγυπτίους ἐστὶ Μεισί. Horapollo.

that

that he described, he, upon founding the Egyptian priests on the matter, could not induce them to understand what God he meant, nor where such God dwelt. He wisely dropped the business for the present; but some time after pretended a second dream, wherein the God appeared to him in a terrific form. As the God had in the former vision promised all prosperity to his kingdom if he established his idol at Alexandria, he now threatened destruction to it if he did not set it up and establish its worship there. The king affected to learn from an Athenian that which the Egyptians pretended to be ignorant of, the place where this God dwelt, namely, at Sinope in Pontus. In obedience, therefore, to the divine command, he sent a ship and ambassadors to fetch the idol of this God; but, to engage and add a corroborating authority to this embassy, he ordered the ambassadors to consult the Pythian Apollo on the subject. This God added his sanction, in confirmation of the command of the vision. They proceeded to Sinope; but the king of the Sinopians would not listen to the request of the ambassadors. However, at length, won by the irresistible bribes and presents of the Alexandrians, he agreed to sell his God. The people, however, would by no means agree to it, and became fanatically frantic, in opposition to the parting with their God, so that the king was not capable to fulfil his engagement. During these embroils, the God, not regarding the zeal and religious love which the people bore to him, so as to be ready to sacrifice themselves to him, stole off, and in a miraculous manner not only conveyed himself on board the ship, but by a like miraculous interposition accelerated the ship's way so as to make its passage from Sinope to Alexandria in three days. This idol, thus imported, was set up in all the pomp and circumstance of idolatry, and was, I believe, the first miraculous idol set up as a comprehensive object of general worship. The religious policy of Ptolemy had its effect \*;

for

\* Cum autem multos alios Deos ab Ægyptiis cultos esse legamus, unus tamen eorum Sarapis, ab omnibus Ægyptum incolentibus, cujusque nationis aut superstitionis essent, divino

P 2

for all people, of all nations and religions, residing at or coming to Alexandria, joined in the common worship of this Catholic object. The \* Egyptian priests, who could not, whilst Ptolemy described it as a speculation, understand what God he could mean, very prudently and wisely, as soon as it was set up, and its worship established at Alexandria, found out that it was an ancient Egyptian Numen, worshipped at Memphis of old time.

To understand what this *idol* was, and what the *Numen* which it was the symbol of, we will first examine what Tacitus, who gives the history of its establishment, says of it, when the ambassadors consulted the Apollo Pythius. His answer was †. That they might go and fetch the idol of his father, but that they must leave his sister. In another part of this narrative ‡ Tacitus says, That the Athenian high priest of the Eleusinian mysteries, whom Ptolomæus consulted, told him, there was at Sinope in Pontus, a Temple of Jao-Dis; and that a female idol sat beside the God of the Temple, whom they, the Greeks, supposed to be Proserpine. These two

divino honore affectus est. Huic et Romanos, et Græcos, et Syrios, et Armenos, et Persas, et Judæos, ipsos quoque Christianos Sarapin veneratos esse et ad id vel blanditiis, vel majore vi, adductos discimus. Hoffmanni Lexicon.

Unus illis Deus, nullus est. Hunc et Christiani; hunc Judæi; hunc omnes venerantur, et nationes. Epistola Hadriani citata per Flavi Vopiscum in vitâ Hadriani ex libris Phlegontis Liberti Hadriani, cap. 2.

\* Liqueat Ægyptios antistites peregrino Deo, quem Ptolomæus advexerat nomen patrii cujusdem et antiqui numinis, cui dudum supplicaverant Ægyptii, imposuisse callidi nimirum et astuti homines non sine casu verebantur, fore, ut antiqua Ægyptiorum religio, et cum religione sacerdotes, in contemptum adduceretur si advena quidem Deus patriis anteponeretur. Mosheimii. Nota 150<sup>ma</sup>, in Cudworth, cap. 4. § 18.

Alexandria Sarapin atque Isin cultu penè attonitæ venerationis observat. Macrob. ibid. cap. 20.

† Irent, simulacrumque patris reveherent: sororis relinquerent. Tacitus, Hist. lib. IV. § 83.

‡ Timotheum Atheniensem, è gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem, ceremoniarum Eleni, exciverat, quænam illa superstitio quod numen? Interrogat [scilicet Ptolomæus]. Timotheus quæsitus qui in potum meassent, cognoscit urbem illis Sinopen nec procul templum vetere inter accolæ famâ Jovis ditis, namquem et muliebre æffigiem alistere, quam plerique Proserpinam vocant. Idem, ibid.

are

are the father and sister of Apollo, to whom the Pythian oracle refers.

In Macrobius we read a description and physiologic explanation of a like group of idols in Hierapolis, a country holding and observing the same ritual as the Phrygians and Paphlagonius. "The Hierapolitani, of the Assyrian race, reduce all the powers and effects of the Sun to one symbolic idol, and call it Apollo. The face of this image is formed with a long-pointed beard; has a calathus, *or recolt basket, on the top of its head.* "The busto of the image is armed with a thorax. It hath, in its right-hand, a shaft of a spear, on the top of which is placed the common figure of victory; its left holds forth a bouquet of flowers. A Gorgonian mantle, reaching from the shoulders downwards, and tied with serpents, forms its scapula; the figure of an eagle, in the act of flying, accompanies it. Before this statue sits a female idol, in whose hands, the right and left, are two female figures. A dragon serpent is wound round her with its sinuous folds \*." It would be tiresome to read, and more tiresome to transcribe, the childish explanations which Macrobius gives of this. It is enough to the purpose for which I cite this description to remark, that in general this group corresponds with that described by Timotheus in Tacitus; and to observe, by the bye, that this group represented the Sun and Moon; or rather, as the Pythian oracle explains it, the Father of the Sun and the Moon. The male statue appears, by the calathus on his head directly, as well as by the other symbolic accompaniments, to be Serapis, or what was afterward so called in Egypt. The female one nearly the figure of

\* Hierapolitani, qui sunt gentis Assyriorum, omnes solis effectus et virtutes ad unius simulachri barbati speciem redigunt; eundemque Apollinem appellant, hujus facies proluxâ in acutum barbâ figurata est, eminente super caput calathos. Simulacrum thorace munitum, est. Dextra erectam tenet hastam superstante victoriæ vulgò signo. Sinistra floris poriget speciem: summisque ab humeris gorgoneum velamentum redemitum anguibus tegit scapulas. Aquilæ propter exprimunt volatus. Ante pedes imago fœminea est; ejus dextra lavaque sunt signa fœminarum. Eam cingit flexuoso volumine Draco. Macrob. Saturn. lib. I. c. 17.

Artemis.

Artemis or Isis, as we have seen above; the male idol migrated (not indeed carrying his temple with him) to Alexandria.

When the Egyptians saw the God, they said it was *Yao-Dis*, whom the Greeks call Pluto\*, to whom was inmate the *Seraph Serpent*, whom the Greeks expressed by the word Serapis. Before I proceed to describe the statue of Serapis at Alexandria, or this frustum of an idol at Arles, I beg it may be observed, that the idol brought from Pontus was the *Father of Apollo*; and was called by some Pluto, to whom was conjoined Serapis.

Various are the idols of this symbolic Numen. Some, a beautiful young person with four wings, surrounded by the convolutions of a serpent; others, bear the character of the terrific figure which formed the vision in the second dream of Ptolemy. Macrobius gives another description of Serapis, and says, That the idol was symbolic of the Sun, appears in that they placed the calathus on its head, and that they grouped with this image a beast with three heads, round which a dragon serpent twined, ending its convolutions at the right-hand of the human person who fed it. There are various forms of this symbolic idol given both in statues and in book descriptions; but all coinciding in the characteristic parts; that of a human figure, to whom is conjoined a dragon serpent, twining either round his immediate person, or round a holy staff, or round some strange beast (as in Macrobius), which serpent is supported and sustained by that human person. This characteristic feature of the symbol is uniformly universal in all the mixed idols of Babylon, Persia, Syria, Pontus, and Egypt.

We have seen above, that a serpent was the emblem of the sun. It has appeared, that Mithras, representing the sun, was not the supreme God: this was Mithres. In the Persian mixed idol the serpent represented Mithras; the human figure Mithres. This Alexandrian statue is sometimes called Pluto and Dis, and at other times Serapis. Now this is explained above by Porphyrius, who says they conjoined Serapis to Pluto.

\* Τῷ Πλάτῳ συνομίζοντι τὸν Σέραπιον. Porphyrius apud Euseb. lib. III.

This

This Pluto is *Jao-Dis*, and the Father of Apollo, according to the Pythian oracle itself. This idol therefore, as the Persian idol did, represents, in a mixed symbol, the first intelligent cause, the father, supported and sustained by whom the Seraph Serpent, symbol of the Sun, called by the Greeks Serapis, winds his course through the heavens, which the Gorgonian, or flame-coloured veil of the human figure, represents. To this symbolic idol, therefore, the vulgar idolaters, the worshipers of the sun, and those who carried their views of worship to a first intelligent cause, might and did equally look up. This, therefore, miraculous image, which brought itself, by its divine power, to Alexandria, and was there set up by divine command, would of natural consequence, as in fact it did, become a kind of catholic general object, a worship to all nations and all religions, not even the Jews and some \* heretical sect of Christians excepted, if Hadrian's letter is to be believed.

We learn from Pausanias, that this Numen was received almost universally, and had temples almost in every part in Greece.

The Romans, as we have seen above, became zealous to adopt the worship of this symbolic idol, and dedicated Temples to it, in very early times of the Republic. All the authority of the Roman Church, all the power of the Roman Magistracy, opposing this religion with severe persecution, could never effectually resist it. It took root, it struck downwards, and extended its branches throughout every part of the Roman dominions.

Vespasian, when he had formed the plan of his ambitious designs to become Emperor, going to Alexandria, so managed matters, that this God Serapis, considered in some of his manifestations as *Æsculapius* and the God of Health, should point out to his votaries Vespasian as indued with divine power. Hence some who were lame, some who were blind, addressed themselves to him by the divine command (as they said) of the God; the one praying, that he would only deign to kick him with his foot; the other begging, that he would spit upon his eyes. Vespasian

\* The Gnostics most likely, who were confounded with the Christians.

pretended to deride these votaries; but they persevered. He still affected to consider any supposition that he, or any human power, could work such miracles as vain and presumptuous. He pretended to consult the physicians, whether it was within the power of any human being to effect these cures. The doctors understood their business perfectly. Their answer was, That certainly no human person could do this; but it might so please the Gods, that he, *the Prince*, might be chosen to a divine ministry of performing such miracles. Vespasian acquiesced, and acted as the God had directed these poor objects to request of him. Immediately the one recovered the use of his hand, and the other was restored to sight. Those who were present, and witnesses to these facts, says Tacitus, now, when no temptation to falsify remains, bear testimony to them\*.

The worship of this symbolic Numen having for some ages back taken root in the minds of the common people of Rome, having very generally, as an heresy which the magistracy and priests found it necessary at length to connive at, extended itself, to which even at Rome, though without the walls of the city, many temples were

\* Ex Alexandrina plebe quidam, oculorum tunc notus, genua ejus advolvitur, remedium excitatis exposcens genitu, monitu Serapidis Dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit. Precabatur *Principem* ut genus et oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manuæger, eodem Deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio *Cæsaris* calcaretur, orabat. Vespasianus primo irridere, aspernari: atque illis instantibus, modo famam vanitatis metuere: modo obsecratione ipsorum, et vocibus adulationum in spem induci. Postremò æstimari a medicis jubet, an talis cæcitas ac debilitas ope humanâ superabiles forent. Medici variè differere. Huic non exesam vim luminis et redituram si pellerentur obstantia. Illi elapsos in pravum cartis, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. *Id fortasse cordi Deis et divino ministerio* Principem electum. Denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Cæsarem: irriti ludibrium penes miseros fore. Igitur Vespasianus cunctu fortunæ suæ patere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredibile, læto ipse vultu, erecta quæ astabat multitudo, jussa ex sequitur. Statim ad usum conversa manus, ac cæco reluxit dies. Utrumque qui interfuere, nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium. Taciti Hist. lib. IV. c. 81.

Suetonius relates the same story; as also the presages received in the temple of Serapis by Vespasian, of his future Empire. Suetonii Vespas. c. 7.

erected, to which these people, who had adopted it, were fanatically devoted. It is no wonder that, when it became the *Patron God* of the Emperor Vespasian and of the Flavian family, this God should then become openly and universally worshiped, and have such magnificent Temples built to his Numen or Deity.

After this survey of the religion of the ancient world ; of the symbols as outward visible material objects of internal invisible intelligible ideas ; of idols imagined and erected to give activity to outward worship, which would be otherwise a mere inward spiritual effort of devotion, of which the multitude were incapable ; of, finally, the symbolic worship of physiologic idols, the *muthos* of which the priest guarded secret, or communicated, as the occasion required : we will, with those ideas, view this curious frustum of an idol at Arles.

It is a mixed symbolic image ; the principal part is that of an human person, cloathed with a veil, on which are wrought, in relievo, the figures of the Zodiac. What the head was, or whether there was the Calathes upon the head, cannot be now known, that being gone. Round this person, through the course of the figures of the Zodiac, the Dragon Serpent winds his flexile course in several folds, originally four, and finally comes with his head and neck over the left shoulder of the human figure, stretching itself forward toward the left hand of the person, which is lifted up, and seems to have held a patera ; but some pious zeal has bruised the serpent's head, and so broken the hands, as that not the contours, but the general form only of them can be traced.

Here we see the human form representing the superior, if not the supreme, intelligent being. We see it cloathed with the heavens \*, the *φλογοειδής*, the *Gorgonian veil*, through the constellations of which, particularly the signs of the Zodiac, the *Seraph-Serpent*, the idol of the Sun †, winds his course, supported in his

\* Ἀμπιχώρη δὲ φλογοειδὴ γέλασεν αὐτὴ τὰς εἰκόνας. Plutarch. de Is. & Osir.

† Jao Sol invictus Serapis. Gruter's Inscript.



movements, and sustained in his existence, by this divine image, whom the Pythian oracle called his father\*, and whom the initiated considered as the supreme intelligent cause.

Considering this idol, as I did, in this point of view, I could not but esteem it, as I do, a most curious and valuable remain of antiquity.

Whether now the critics may choose to call it Mithras or Serapis, or Bell and the Drago, is nearly the same as to the symbol; but Serapis was the Numen chiefly worshiped by the Romans.

There is erected, in the square before the Town-house, an obelisk of granite marble. It was found, and lay for some years, in a shattered, broken condition, till, in the reign of Louis the Great, it was put together, repaired, and erected. It is not of Egyptian granite, but of the quarries of the isle of Elb. It is undoubtedly ancient; but as to the time when, and the person by whom it was first erected, there is not the least traces to guide even conjecture. It is forty-seven feet four inches high, French measure, entirely of one block of stone; this altitude is exclusive of the modern base on which it now stands, which is fourteen feet, so that the whole height is sixty-one feet. The side of the obelisk, at the lower and broad end, is five feet three inches. The side of the top, or small end, is one foot four inches and an half. The common device of Louis the Great, the Sun shining over a Globe, is a modern ornament, placed to crown its erection in his time.

About three days before I arrived at Arles, the workmen employed in digging out a track, for a new road, near the walls of the present city, had dug up a statue. It was brought to the Town-house. It was not quite yet clear of the adhering dirt, and still moist, except in some of the extreme and lesser parts, and exactly in the state in which it was found, so that it appeared in the most

\* Διὶ Ἠλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι. Part of an inscription in Fabretti.

Deo invicto Mithr\*\*, Idol formerly at Lyons, but now somewhere in England.

Σάραπιδι δὲ ὄνομα τῷ Παν νοσημῶντος ἱερί. Plutarch. 28.

Σάραπιδι ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετέβαλε — ὡς δὲ τὸν Ὅσιον οἱ τῶν Ἱερῶν μεταλαβόντες ἴσασιν. Id. 27.

disad-

disadvantageous light. The matter is stone. The design is good, and strongly, rather too strongly, marked. All the parts are accurately and well finished, and the drapery just, except that it seemed to me too quiet to accompany the agitation in which the figure is represented to be. The figure is in height three feet ten inches, English measure. The representation is that of a matron, having her hand upon a dagger, in the act or intention of unsheathing it. There are two infants at her feet, playing or seeming to hide themselves in the folds of her garment. The Pere Dumont, whose judgement I follow, very ingeniously conceived this to be a statue of Medea, representing her in the act of resolving to destroy her children upon being abandoned by Jason. I only differ in this point: I suppose it rather to be the portrait of some favourite actress represented in that part, and not an ideal model of Medea. The visage is not formed on any of the canons of general beauty. It is, I think, decidedly a particular portrait; and that of an actress, marking the passions, though well, yet (as is necessary for stage effect) somewhat beyond the garb of nature. I will attempt to describe it, and let the reader judge for himself. Despair and rage in resolving are well and justly designed, and marked in the fixed hard features, in the sternness of the brow, and the wild rage of the eye, as is at the same time horror revolting at the approaching execution of the deed, by the gasping hiatus of the mouth, and suspended breath. She has half drawn out the dagger. She looks on the little innocents playing at her feet; and remorse hath arrested her hand, while she stands balancing in a conflict of torturing passions, as speaking the two following lines in Euripides [Medea, ver. 1078.].

Καί μανθάνω μὲν οἷα δοῦν μέλλω κακὰ  
Θυμὸς δὲ κρείττων τῶν ἐμῶν βελευμάτων.

I am not sufficiently conversant in antique statuary, to decide whether this be what may be truly called antique; but, if it is not, I know no age since that æra to which to ascribe it.

On the south-east side of the city, near the Convent of the Minims, are the Elysian fields, the burying-place of the ancient inhabitants, where there are yet hundreds of ancient sarcophagi, all of one and the same form, as given in plate III. fig. 7. Most of those which remain are plain. There are some which have sculptured sides in bas-relief; others have inscriptions, chiefly Latin, but some few Greek. None of the inscriptions which I saw appeared to me as containing any thing interesting or relevant of the custom of ancient matters. It appears, however, that succeeding inhabitants of the city, took the liberty to succeed also those who had gone before them to the *narrow-houses* (as the Gaelic poems express it) of the Elysian fields. Sarcophagi, visibly Greek, have Roman inscriptions on them; and sarcophagi, apparently Pagan, with Pagan sculptures on them, have been taken for the habitation of dead Christians. It appears, that this was a general custom in other places also. Where the sculpture, as well as the inscription, is Christian, the design is formed from some portion of the history of the Old or New Testament: when it is Pagan, there is mythology and anecdote. I saw one somewhat curious, which the Pere Dumont ingeniously explained as representing the progress of the life of man, marking, by the attendance and superintendance of the Numina suited to each stage of our course through life, that we live under the care of Divine Providence. There is another which struck me as being really a good one, both in design and execution. It represents the recolt of the olives, and the pressing of them to procure the oil: this is exhibited as performed by Genii in the form of young children. This gives the custom, the manner of gathering the olives into baskets, the form and operation of the press as the genii work it. I was shewn many other articles, but none that attracted my attention.

N I M E S.

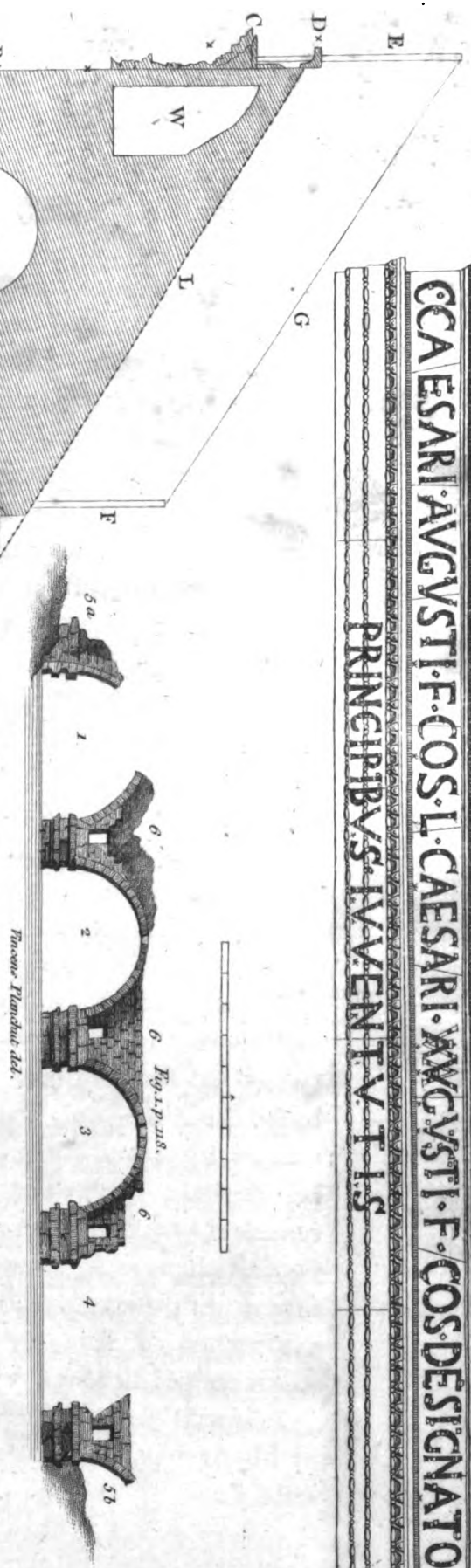
## N I M E S.

NIMES, anciently Nemausus, was the metropolitan Pagus of the Aricomischoi, natives of this part of Gaul. This Pagus was the head of twenty-four Pagi of the same nation. This region was originally well peopled with a brave and warlike race of inhabitants. Arles and Narbonne, two considerable Emporia, had been, as we have seen before, already colonised by the father of Tiberius, serving under the command of Julius Cæsar. These colonies were settled under naval and commercial ideas. This Nemausus, however, a commanding post in the pass on the great road from Italy to Spain, had been neglected. When therefore Marcus Agrippa, after finishing the Alexandrian war, and after the conquest of Egypt, was sent by, and under the auspices of, Augustus, to settle some military colonies in Gaul, he immediately saw the necessity of settling a military colony in this Pagus Nemausus, which was a post that held the command of this great military way. He therefore established a colony here upon very different ideas from those on which Arles and Narbonne were settled. He fixed here, as in a post suited to command, rather than convenient for commerce. It stands in a pass upon the great military way, between the foot of the upland hilly country and the impassable marshes of the sea-coast. The road, which, going from Italy to Spain, was impracticable in winter, and passable over creeks and rivers only by fords, ferries, or bridges, in summer, leads through this pass, having the upland country to the north, and the river Vistre to the south. M. Agrippa, the very first general of Rome, saw immediately that a military colony placed here would not only command this pass, hitherto left open, but would hold in check the inhabitants of the upland regions from making any inroads, in any considerable bodies, upon the country south of the river Garde; he therefore, upon military, not commercial, ideas settled his

This colony here. Strabo (lib. IV. p. 186. and 187. edit. Caufoboni) describes this road and pass. He says, it was, on account of the deep soil and impracticable rivers and creeks, not passable for an army in winter; but had been made tolerably commodious in the summer season, by means of fords, ferries, and bridges. Bridges, built over creeks and rivers so liable to great floods, must have a construction suited to such situation, and such circumstances. The arches of such bridges must have been carried within land, far beyond the ordinary banks, and must have been provided with every contrivance for letting the overflow of the waters pass off with as little obstruction as possible. There are the remains of one of these bridges, mentioned by Strabo, still to be seen on the river Vidourte, between Lunel and Galargues, whose construction is plainly and evidently formed to meet these ideas. It was with great regret that I heard of it, after having passed near it without seeing it. The want of such *Notices* as this little manual purports to give, was the reason of my missing it. However, by the polite and kind assistance of Mons. Plauchut, of Nîmes, giving me an exact drawing of it, which, with his leave, I give the publick, I am enabled to explain the nature of these structures. (See plate V. fig. 1.) This bridge consists of four equal arches, extending across the bed of the river, each thirty feet wide, and eighteen feet above the ordinary level of the river, supported by impost twelve feet wide in front. The abutments of this bridge are carried back within the land, and there are two extra arches, one on each side, of the same dimensions, for the waste water of the floods; besides these, there were, in the intervals between the arches, five tunnels (*b.b.b.b.b.*) three feet wide by nine high, which gave to the floods, when rising above the imposts of the bridge, a course of fifteen feet passage, equal to what was lost by the contraction of the arches. I dare say the reader will, as I do, think himself much obliged to Mons. Vincens Plauchut.

So much for the fact of this military Colony posted at Nîmes by M. Agrippa, called *Augusti Colonia*: when he shall have studied the

CCA ESARI·AVGVSTI·F·COS·L·CAESARI·AVGVSTI·F·COS·DESIGNATO  
PRINCIPBVS·IV·VENTV·T·IS



*Pinxere Plinius del.*

Fig. 3, p. 135.

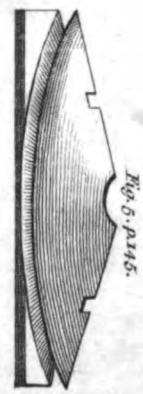


Fig. 6, p. 145.

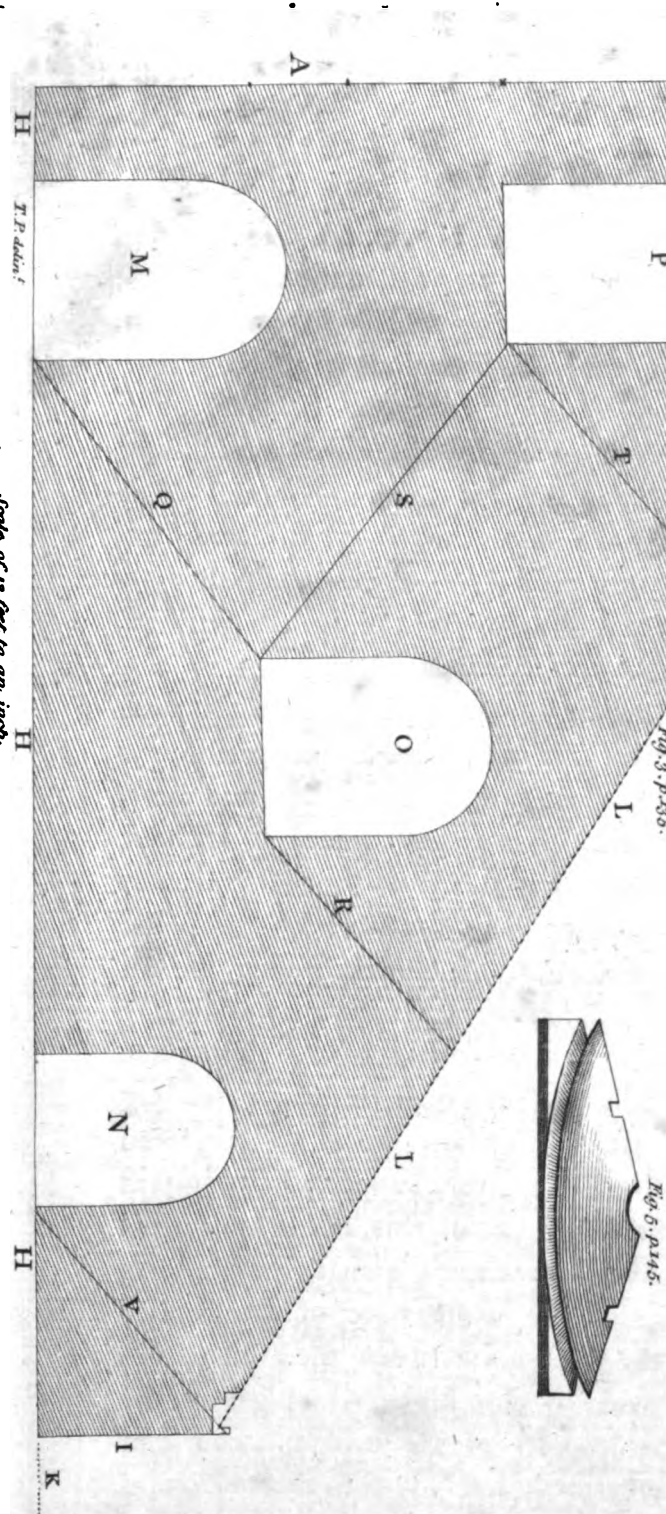
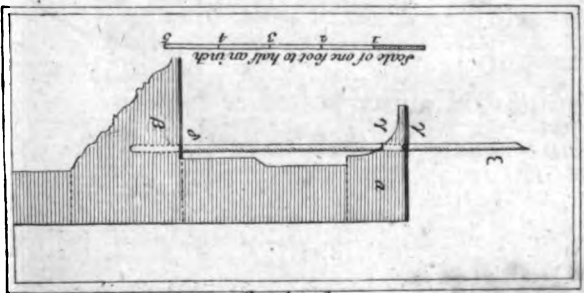


Fig. 4, p. 109.



Scale of one foot to half an inch

Scale of one foot to one inch

Fig. 1, p. 118.



the facts, I submit the justness of the reasoning upon them to his judgement.

\* Under the Imperial auspices, under the patronage of Agrippa and his family, and under the great privileges granted to it, this colony and place soon became extended in its populousness and in its inhabitancy. Being a colony of military men and officers, it was not, in estimation of its commerce and riches, nor as to the concourse of people coming to an emporium, equal to Narbonne; but in its political consequence much superior. It enjoyed the Latin rights, so that the commandants sent from Rome interfered not in the administration of the civil government of this city and district. It became the residence of many who had been *Ædiles* and *Quæstors*, and was the birth-place of many a great man who figured in the affairs of Rome. It was the birth-place of the family of Antoninus Pius. Besides the Roman manners, arts, and customs, brought hither, and here cultured, there is great reason to suppose, that this colony brought with it the mythologic religion of *Isis* and *Serapis*; and it is by reference to this idea that we may explain some characteristic parts of its antiquities; under reference to this peculiar establishment and circumstances of this place in its first establishment as a Roman colony; under reference also to some traits in the life of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, we may find a clue to the explanation of its antiquities, to which any other account would prove irrelevant.

This place took, and always bore, as its ensign, a crocodile chained to a palm-tree. This is seen on the reverse of its medals, and in some other sculptures. Without reference to this colony, as consisting of the veteran soldiers who served in the conquest of Egypt, this emblem of its standard is not to be explained.

The traveller may raise his ideas to a high degree of expectation of seeing in this city many such remains of antiquity as Rome itself glories to have preserved, and will not be disappointed: for not only Agrippa, but Augustus, Tiberius, and afterward Hadrian and Antonine, patronised and ornamented it with public buildings.

\* Strabo.

There



There were also Temples, Basilicæ, and Statues, erected and dedicated in this place to their Patrons and to the Emperors.

There remains at present, in the most perfect preservation, the Temple of the Cæsars, children of Agrippa, and the adopted sons of Augustus. An Amphitheatre more perfect than any other in Europe. The Coliseum is as perfect as to its facade (its *Circuitio Porticuum*); but not so as to its interior parts. The amphitheatre at Verona is more perfect as to the gradations of the benches and *aditus*; but its facade is totally ruined: so that altogether this is the most perfect exemplar in Europe. There are, it is said, and I have seen the supposed portrait drawings of such, some perfect Amphitheatres in the interior or upper parts of Barbary, at the foot or in the mountains Atlas; but I entertain some doubts of the drawings being *actual portraits*, they being fabricated at Rome, by copying sketches *said to be taken* on the spot. There are here also the remains of a Temple, so far in preservation as to be sufficient to mark what that Temple was, both in its form and ornamental parts. There are the vestiges of the public Baths, on the foundations of which a modern Bath is erected. There are some scattered traces of the Thermæ. There is the *Tour-magn*. Many fragments of highly ornamented buildings. Several inscriptions dedicatory as well as sepulchral. Several tessellated pavements, columns, pilasters, and cariatides. At the Academy at Nîmes there is a small, but curious, collection of pieces of antiquities, worthy not barely of the inspection, but the study of the learned traveller.

I shall rather give my observations on the accounts which have been given of these things, observations made by comparing matters of fact on the spot, than make descriptions of these things which have been so repeatedly published. I have two most exact and highly finished drawings of the *Maison carée*, and of the Amphitheatre. I did mean to have given prints from them in this work; but the engraving of such, so as to do justice to them, and give any just idea of them, would enhance the price of the publication beyond what the use, I mean it to be of, would require or justify.

The

The wooden prints, published by Poldo D'Albenas in 1560; the engravings given in Palladio; those given by Mons. Menard, in the seventh volume of his learned History of Nîmes; but, above all, the scientific drawings of Mons. Clarisseau, given in finely executed engravings, exhibit perfect representations of these. There will remain, however, something to be remarked by those who with peculiar attention make their own observations upon the spot.

Every body has heard of the form and beauty of the Temple, called the *Maison Carrée*, at Nîmes; and modern Temples and edifices of this sort are common, by being found in almost every ornamented place. Although I really do not know how to describe what it is in particular which forms the impression, yet it is impossible not to be struck with this building on approaching to it. \* Although the building is but small, in proportion to our modern Churches and Cathedrals, yet there is somewhat in the air of it beyond the port of our modern buildings. There is something so conspiring to harmony in the proportions of the parts and of the whole; something so attuned to these in the ornamental finishing; something, though rich, yet so purely chaste, that the impression it makes raises the most pleasing idea of order and beauty. Although it is massy in the parts when considered apart, yet it is light in its air. The spirit which breathes in the design seems, as though animating, to give lightness to the bulk of the materials. The plan, taken from out to out, is a long square in the proportion of *five to nine* nearly, and in the whole a parallelopipedon of 5 × 9 by 6½. It hath six Corinthian fluted columns in front, supporting a complete entablature and pediment. These, with six like columns, three on each side, support a vestibule or pronaos. Demi-columns, of the like order and proportions, go round the whole building,

\* Strabo [Lib. V. p. 235.], speaking of the state of the buildings at Rome, in its renewed state under Augustus, mentions incidentally a fact, *viz.* That Augustus, to provide against the spreading of fire, forbade that any building should exceed seventy feet in height. Sextus Aurelius, in his Life of Trajan, also says: "Quibus omnibus" [scil. incendiis] Trajanus per exquisita remedia opitulatus est. Statuens ne Domorum altitudo sexaginta superaret pedes."

making in all thirty. It stands upon a general basement about ten feet and a half high; and the approach to the vestibule is by a *ramp* of *twelve* steps, each somewhat less than a foot high, guarded on each side by a parapet, being of the same height as the basement, and having, on the lateral view, the appearance of the basement continued. The entrance from this vestibule into the nave of the Temple is by a door about eleven feet wide and twenty high, and the nave about forty feet long by twenty-eight broad, and about twenty-eight or thirty high. The capitals of the columns are deliciously wrought, and a very rich convoluted foliage runs along the frize, on the two sides and back front. The frize of the front has no foliage, there are there only the nails by which the letters of an inscription were affixed; yet so inattentive to precision in particulars are the best draughtsmen, that the view of this Temple, given by Palladio and by Montfaucon, represent this foliage as running along the frize in the front, and omit the traces of an inscription, which is the most curious particular in it.

To all the numbers which I have mentioned as to the measurement of this Temple, I have added the word *about*, writing indefinitely; for all the measures I have seen differ from one another, and from those which I took myself. The first measurement published is given by Poldo D'Albenas; the next by Palladio; the next by Mons. Menard; the next by the Sieur Clarisseau; and I saw another at the Academy at Nîmes. These measures all differ; it can scarce arise from inaccuracy in the measuring; it more likely arises from calculation in reducing the several differences of the Roman, the Provençal, the Italian, the royal Paris and English foot, to the actual measure in which these several drawings are given.

The nails above-mentioned, which still remain on the frize, and on part of the architrave in the front, have given occasion to the exertion of the most extraordinary effort of human ingenuity on such a subject that is any where to be found in the history of man. Mons. Segurier, of Nîmes, with an acuteness *Thebano ænigmate dignum*, made out, from the position in which the nails stand, what the letters, and what the inscription, must have been that were  
affixed

affixed thereto \*. It would have been impossible to have done this without a profound knowledge in ancient history, and a most circumstantial information in the anecdotes of it; but yet, with all this, nothing less than an ingenuity equal to the collecting and re-composing the dispersed leaves of the Sibyl; nothing less than the ingenuity of Monf. Seguiet could have recovered this inscription. I saw at the Academy at Nîmes the original paper whereon he formed it, in its actual form and proportion, marking the position of the nails. And there one cannot but observe, what is very singular, that the workman employed to put up the nails had, in the second *Augusti*, put the nails for the V before those for the A, which was rectified by others which fixed the A before the V. This paper is near forty feet long. In plate V. fig. 2. I give an exact draught of it †.

Monf. Seguiet's ingenuity does not end here. From his great knowledge in history he goes on to explain the dedication and purport of this Temple, and fixes the very year in which it was dedicated.

“ It is known (says he) that Caius and Lucius Julii were  
 “ the sons of M. Vespasius Agrippa, by Julia the daughter of  
 “ Augustus and Scribonia. The eldest of these princes was born  
 “ in the year of Rome 734, the youngest on the 3d of May, 737.  
 “ Augustus adopted them. C. Julius had scarce accomplished  
 “ the fourteenth year of his age, when he had the designation of  
 “ being Consul (that is, U. C. 748); but he was not to enter upon  
 “ the office till five years after, and the reckoning of these five years  
 “ was to commence on the day that he quitted the *Toga Protexta*,  
 “ and took the *Toga Virilis*, which was on the first of January,

\* If it be true, as I have been assured it is, that the workmen employed in the excavations of the buried towns, Herculaneum and Pompeia, finding an inscription affixed by nails on a block of marble, absurdly picked off the letters, and carried them in a basket to the repository of antiquities: if this be so, and the block still remains, with the nails or rivets in it; how easy would it be, the actual letters existing, to re-compose and recover the inscription.

† There is a coin of Augustus, on the reverse of which are two youths, and the following inscription: C. L. CAESARES, AVG. P. COS DESIG PRIN IVVENT, which coincides exactly with the tenor and spirit of the inscription on this Temple, as restored by M. Seguiet.

R 2

“ U. C.

“ U. C. 749. Also, the same year in which he was designed  
 “ Consul, he was declared *Princeps Juventutis*; an illustrious title  
 “ invented to grace the successors to the Empire. Caius Julius was  
 “ the first to whom this Imperial title was given. Lucius Julius  
 “ received at the same age, and under the same conditions, the  
 “ same honours at the time that he received the *Toga Virilis*. He  
 “ also was declared *Princeps Juventutis*, and made Prefect of the  
 “ Tribunes. This accumulation of titles was in the year U. C.  
 “ 752, when he entered into the fifteenth year of his age. The  
 “ title *Cæsar* was annexed these honours.

“ Caius Cæsar was sent this year into the East, where he con-  
 “ ducted the war with success. During the course of these cam-  
 “ paigns, and while he was in Syria, he completed the five years,  
 “ and entered on his Consulship, having for his colleague L.  
 “ Æmilius Paulus. It was then, in this year, that the inhabi-  
 “ tants of Nîmes dedicated this Temple, namely, in the year when  
 “ Caius became actual Consul, while Lucius remained *Consul desig-*  
 “ *natus*, both being *Principes Juventutis* and *Cæsars*, exactly as  
 “ stated in the inscription.

“ This Temple is not however to suggest to us any idea of  
 “ divine honours paid to these princes; none such ever were offered  
 “ to them. This was solely a Temple consecrated to their honour  
 “ and glory celebrated in hymns and odes.”

Thus far of the first erection and dedication: there has, how-  
 ever, been an opinion on tradition, that this Temple was built by  
 Hadrian. The above state of the actual fact given by Mons.  
 Menard puts that tradition out of the question. The traditionary  
 opinion, however, may have some foundation. Hadrianus certainly  
 gave large sums to several colonies, for the repair of their public  
 buildings; and he himself, a great amateur and master in the science  
 of architecture, built and repaired several public buildings. From  
 the enriched and improved nature of the architecture of this edifice,  
 as it appears at present, richer and more ornamented, as I con-  
 ceive, than was the style in the time of Augustus, one may con-  
 jecture, that Hadrian repaired and beautified this Temple also.

History informs us of his repairing the Temple of Augustus at Tاراcon in Spain. The reversed modillions of the cornice, and the rather irregular position of the dentils and ovolos, not correspondent to the parts to which their design has relation, seems also to suggest, that this building may have undergone some other repairs, when these parts were put up, or supplied by some architect who did not understand his art *ad unguem*; or when caprice in the corruption of the art began to deviate from its strict rules.

This dedication of Temples by the Colonies to their Governors and to Proconsuls had been even in the time of the Republic a practised piece of flattery. *Templa quamvis sciret etiam Proconsulibus decerni solere*, particularly by the Asiatics, Greeks, Syrian, and other people of the East. Cicero mentions his objecting to these honours being paid to him in his Government. However, by their artful address they contrived to give those vain Governors a pretence to assume a share in these divine honours paid *not to them* but *to their virtues*; and accordingly we find even \* Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus, adopts the idea. “Wherefore, as you, invested with supreme Empire, and exercising the highest powers, reside in Cities, where you see *your virtues consecrated and exalted amongst the Gods*, you ought to consider what is due to such high opinions, to such decreed judgements of your character, to such exalted honours.” And in the same letter he acknowledges that, under *proper precautions*, which might evade the *Lex de repetundis*, he did acquiesce in the erection of a Temple in which his statue was placed. Upon which artifice he gives scope to his vanity, and prides himself in these words, *cumque id quod dabatur, non esset interiturum, sed in ornamentis Templi futurum, ut non mihi potius, quam populo Romano et diis immortalibus datum videretur*. This conduct is exactly of the same address and spirit as that of Augustus, who † *Templa quamvis sciret etiam Proconsulibus decerni solere, in*

\* Marcus Q. Fatri S.

Quare, quoniam in istis urbibus cum summo imperio et potestate versaris, in quibus tuas virtutes *consecratas* et in Deorum numero collocatas vides, in omnibus rebus — quid tantis hominum opinionibus tantis de te judiciis, tantis honoribus debeas cogitabis. Epist. I. lib. 1.

† Suetonius.

*nulla*

*nulla tamen Provincia, nisi communi suo Romæque nomine recepit, nam in urbe quidem pertinacissimè abstinuit hoc honore*; but that all this was grimace we learn from both Dion and Tacitus. Augustus, however, did actually adhere to outward appearances: and there was no Temple erected to him in Rome, and none in the Provinces, but to Rome and Augustus jointly. There were at the same time altars.

It was not only by this dedication of a Temple that the Colony expressed its veneration to the Imperial family and the successors to the Empire; but they, as other Colonies also did (Taracon for instance), struck medals in honour of them. The Nemausian medals, as those of the Colonia Victrix Tarraco represent the heads of both Caius and Lucius Augusti Filii, so represent the like heads as Imperatoris Patris Patriæ Divi Filii. The reverse has the Nemausian ensign, the crocodile chained to the palm-tree.

That there was also an altar erected to their mother Julia at Nîmes appears probable. In the first place, I find, by a little coin, given by C. Patin in his notes and illustrations on Suetonius, and by his explication of it, that Julia, before her disgrace and banishment, was venerated with divine honours in the character of Venus: and, in the next place, I found, amongst the fragments of ruins amassed in the Temple of Diana, an altar of black marble, with this dedicatory inscription on it,

VENERI AVGVSTI.

I do not know that this has been taken notice of by any body, or as yet explained. From the conspiring circumstances of Julia's being venerated as Venus, and of this altar being found where her sons and family received such peculiar honours, I venture to give this to Julia, the daughter of Augustus. It may, however, have been erected to *Faustina*, who was also represented on coins as *Venus*, holding in her hand the golden apple, the prize of superior beauty.

There can be no doubt but that M. Agrippa, who erected so many edifices, and executed so many great works at Rome, and in most parts of the Empire, must have honoured his own Colony with some, if not with many, such. We read \* of his

\* Suetonius in Augusto.

building

building Baths, and Aqueducts more particularly, amongst his many other great works. There was found, amidst the ruins of the ancient Baths of the Fountain at Nîmes, a fragment of a massy frieze in white marble. It is now amidst the amass of fragments in the Temple of Diana. On this fragment is found the beginning of an inscription which commences exactly as that on the portico of the Pantheon does, *MAGRIPPA\*\*\**. This marks to me as clearly that Marcus Agrippa erected those Baths; as if I were in any spot to find the scraps of a letter, and amidst those, though torn off and detached, the signature of a person, I should suppose that letter written by the person to whom such signature belonged. These Baths were of that kind called *Piscenæ*, and by the Greeks *Κολυμβηθραι*. Such is the present form of the King's Bath at Bath; and from this exemplar at Nîmes one may fairly conjecture, that the antique Roman Baths at Bath, had the same form; I mean the *Piscena*. The form of these Baths was that of a square. In the center of this square was a square basement with a most rich parapet or balustrade; four bases at each corner of this, and one other larger in the middle, so placed for columns or statues. Three sides of this Bath were covered in with a colonade portico; on each two sides, under this portico, there were two circular and one square recess. The side next the reservoir which supplied the Bath was uncovered, as was the whole space all round, between the portico and the central basement. From the plan which I saw, it appeared to me, that there were two conduits from the reservoir; one by which the *Piscina* was supplied; another which run on the side of it, for the supply of the *Thermæ*, which stand in succession or *desuite* to it, that these Baths also might be supplied with pure and clear water. The *Thermæ*, parts of this original building, were not extensive. There are some traces of others more extensive, which seem to have been additions on the left. There are many fragments of these buildings collected together, and placed in the Temple of Diana, whence it may be collected how rich and magnificent an edifice this was. The Corporation of Nîmes have formed a public promenade and gardens

on



on the site of this place, and have made a new Bath, actually built on the foundations of the ancient ones in the very traces of their form.

This Nemaufian Colony did not confine its adulation and honours given to the Agrippæan line only of the Imperial family; but they erected and dedicated *Imagines et Statuæ* to Tiberius, so long as he was well at court. Suetonius (in vitâ Tiberii, § 13.) mentions these, mentioning at the same time the folly of this Colony, making itself a party in the quarrels of the Imperial house, destroying and throwing down all these dedicated honours when Tiberius was in disgrace. It is not from this anecdote alone that we are informed of these honours; but on a fragment of an entablature and pediment on the frieze was an inscription in two lines. The upper line begins RESPVBLICA, and is there broken off; the second line begins IMPERATO\*, and is there broken off. There appeared to me to be some other parts of this frieze, whereon were the letters NEM, and another, whereon was C TIBERIO C TIBERII A. This dedication then appears to have been made by the Republic of Nîmes to Tiberius; but unless the first letter C means Claudius, and the second C Cæsaris or Cæfari, I do not know what to make of it; nor do I find, or remember, that Tiberius had the prænomen Claudius. It is but fair to own, that I apprehend that I must have made some mistake in transcribing this into my notes. I had company about me at the time I did it, and was hurried. If I was here writing as an artist, or giving *notices* to artists, I might exhibit many exemplars of architecture well worth their attention, and some peculiarly so; but those, who are curious and attentive to form themselves on the manner of the ancients, will find these exemplars carefully measured and drawn by Poldo D'Albenas; very accurately and neatly engraved in the plates given by Monf. Menard (vol. VII.); but, above all, in the drawings and engravings published at Paris by that ingenious artist Monf. Clarisseau.

Augustus gave the *ton*, and set the example, to all the great men of his court and amongst his friends, of adorning the city,  
either

either by restoring and repairing the ancient venerable edifices, or by building new ones. It became the fashion, and almost every great man built some grand edifice, à *M. verò Agrippa complura et egregia*; but by Marcus Agrippa very many and noble works were erected. The character of the buildings he raised was that of utility and benefit. He built, and opened to the people, public Baths; but the works to which he gave the greatest attention, and of which he built the most, were Aqueducts, which secured a constant and abundant supply to the City. Augustus bears this testimony of it. The people making a mutinous clamour about the scarcity and high price of wine, he gave this answer\*: “That his son-in-law Agrippa, by the number of Aqueducts he had built or restored, and by the abundance of waters with which he thus supplied the City, had made ample provision that men might not thirst.”

This being a favourite line of his public munificence, we cannot suppose that he would leave his own Colony defective and unserved with this necessary supply. The waters about Nemausus, from the disturbed state of the springs in winter and in spring, from muddied flow of the torrents in times of flood, and the deficiency of the streams in times of drought and summer, were precarious, unhealthy, and insufficient. A Colony, so placed and circumstanced, would be left very imperfect, nay defective, without this necessary provision made for it. The building of an Aqueduct here was not barely an act of munificence and magnificence, as was in many places the case, but a branch of necessary œconomy in the establishment of his Colony. Accordingly we find an Aqueduct and Fountain here, which brought a constant, ample supply of pure water, unmixed with any of the streams or rivers that might spoil it. To avoid this, it was brought from the mountains in artificial ducts, excluding all communication with the waters of the country through which it passed: where it became necessary to pass the

\* Satis provisum à genere suo Agrippa, perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines sitirent. Suetonii Aug. § 42.

deep valley in which the river Gardon runs, it was conducted across that valley by a bridge of two stages of arcades, at the height of one hundred and fifty feet above the ordinary level of the river. I speak here only of the two lower ranges of arcades. If I were to include the third upper one, the height would be one hundred and eighty-two feet; but I am here speaking of this Aqueduct as I suppose it to have been built at its first erection, of only two ranges of arcades; and that the water was conducted, in a manner that I shall hereafter attempt to explain, along the top of the second arcade. This must have been built at the first establishment of the Augustan Colony Nemausus; and to whom but to M. Agrippa, the founder of the Colony, can we refer the merit and honour of this wise, beneficial, and magnificent work? The plain, unornamented style of the architecture, perfect however in its proportions, in its construction, and just in every point of design, marks the very character of these works of Agrippa. It stands (and has stood above two thousand years) compact and firm in strength, visibly deriving from its proportions, not from the bulk of its mass, for that, in proportion to its length and height, is but slight, the piers of the lower arcade being but twenty-six feet English by nineteen and a half; and those of the upper arcades but nineteen and a half by thirteen feet, which I suppose to have been (allowing for some small difference) twenty-eight feet by twenty-one, and twenty-one by fourteen Roman measure. The third story, raised upon a range of arches, which carry the Aqueduct, is visibly, and palpably, a structure of a very different kind from the two main ones, both in its materials, in its structure and proportions, and even in the placing of its parts it does not correspond with the old original bridge on which it is erected. The style of the architecture is also very different, and very inferior to the rest. This, however, though an adventitious addition, is clearly Roman, though of a later age. It is sufficient to have suggested this opinion here: I will, when I come to an account of the Aqueduct at Lyons, explain it more fully, on a more comprehensive view of the subject of Aqueducts.

The

The two edifices which remain for observation, objects worthy the best attention that a learned traveller can give them, are the Temple commonly called *the Temple of Diana*, and *the Amphitheatre*; I refer these, in my opinion, to the reigns of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius.

That the Temple was built after the time of Vespasian, is evident from the architecture of which it consists. It is of that order which is commonly called the *Composite*, being a combination of the Ionic and Corinthian: for it is, I believe, certain, that this Composite order was not used in Rome until the building of Vespasian's Triumphal Arch. Hadrian was deeply skilled in science, and a great master in architecture. He was very fond of executing it in the erection of many fine buildings. It is a fact, ascertained by an inscription, that he erected and dedicated at Nîmes a most magnificent Basilica to his patroness and adoptive mother, the Empress Plotina. He had travelled through every part of the Empire, had studied the various manners and religion of different people, was a great latitudinarian, and a favourer of the mythologic doctrines and ritual of the East, which began to prevail almost generally through the Empire. The worship of Isis and Serapis was a comprehensive system, which included, and took along with it, the worship of every other God. Hence the Temple in which these Deities were worshiped might be a Pantheon. Antoninus Pius was also a deep mathematician, greatly skilled in the sciences, and in the mechanical arts. He was a great master in architecture, a great restorer of the ancient edifices in the Empire, and the builder of many new ones. Rome, Italy, Greece, Gaul, and Spain, abound with his works. Although an exact observer himself of the Roman religious rites, he too was a latitudinarian. Although there is no deciding fact, or even circumstance, to fix the building of this Temple to the one or other of these princes; yet all the conspiring circumstances give fair ground to conjecture, that it was built by either Hadrian or Antonine. I feel myself rather inclined to think, that Hadrian built this Temple, and to give the

honour of that great and stupendous work, the Amphitheatre, to Antonine.

By whichsoever of the Princes this Temple was built, will the Reader permit me to give an opinion as to *what this Temple was?* a matter which has never yet been decided. The opinion held by many learned men, that it was dedicated and sacred to Vesta; the traditionary opinion that it was the Temple of Diana; the later opinion that it was a Pantheon; may all be united under my opinion of its being a Temple of Isis and Serapis. That there was at Nîmes, a Temple of Isis and Serapis, founded on a great Church-establishment by some very considerable person, appears from a fragment of an old inscription found at Nîmes; which inscription Poldo D'Albenas gives as followeth:

ISIS\*\*

SERAPIS VESTÆ DIANÆ SOMNI HS N̄ VI  
ET PHIALAS II CHRYSEN\* CLI\* GNA  
DEORVM ARGENTEA CASTRENSIA DO  
MO HABEBAT. ITEM\*\*

DEDICATIONE TEMPLI ISIS ET SERAPIS  
DEO\*\*\*

\*ONIBVS NEMAVSENSIVM ET ORNA  
MENTA R\*\*\* SINGVLIS XV ITA VT  
IN PVBLICO VESCERENTVR DISTRIBVI  
IVSSIT INQVE EIVS DOMVS

\*\*TELAM HS N̄ X RELIQVIT  
IMAGINEM MARTIS AR  
GENTeam EX  
AMNAGENSIBVS DEDIT  
CORDO BITVR.

Here we find a dedication of a Temple: here we find Isis and Serapis conjunctly with Vesta, Diana, Mars, Somnus, the Gods and all the Demons of the Nemaufians: here we find consecrated utensils and ornaments; and the foundation of an establishment given

given by some person that must be more than of the ordinary scale.

Although we cannot make any coherent sense out of this fragment, yet enough is plain on which to say we see the consecration of a Temple dedicated to Isis and Serapis, and various other Deities included. Now when we combine this broken fact with the ruins which actually remain of a Temple apparently a Pantheon, I hope I shall not be thought to strain my conjecture beyond the fair bounds of argument, in supposing this Temple at Nîmes, commonly called the Temple of Diana, to have been the Temple of Isis and Serapis, one of those Catholic Temples which included many other Gods.

There remains at Nîmes one of those great and stupendous works, which the Romans, in their spirit of magnificence and policy, raised in most of their Colonies, an AMPHITHEATRE, equal to the reception of seventeen thousand spectators, together with all the pomp and circumstance of the spectacles exhibited therein. This edifice, built of immense blocks of square stone, is an oval whose longest diameter is about four hundred feet, and the transverse one three hundred and twenty feet. It hath a circumscribing [*circuitio*] facade of two arcade stories; the lower one supported by pilasters, and a complete entablature; the upper one by columns, and a like entablature; each arcade consisting of sixty arches, of which four principal ones, at the axes of the two diameters, form on the base story the grand ports; the other fifty-six arches form each a portico, which runs in the line of the radii to the Arena. Both above and below a Coridore, crossing these porticos at right angles, runs quite round the building. On the base story a second Coridore, or circular gallery concentric to the outward one, runs round the building under the gradation of seats near to the Podium. There is a fourth gallery, which, being an *Entresol*, and being at or near equal distances between the two base galleries, and at equal distance of height between the upper and lower gallery, is a general landing-place to the several stairs, and a communication to the *aditus*, or  
*vomitoria*,

*vomitaria*, as they are by a nasty vulgar name called. The critics in architecture have made work to mock themselves about the order and proportions of the columns and pilasters; first, whether they are of the Tuscan or Doric order; next, how to reconcile the proportions to either the one or the other. But Vitruvius says\*, “The proportions and symmetry of the columns of the portico of a Theatre are not to be guided by the same rules which he had laid down for sacred edifices. The Temples of the Gods require a different gravity of air from that lightness which porticos and other edifices require.” Although then these pilasters and columns differ in their height and diameter, and somewhat in their form, from either the Tuscan or Doric order, we will, if the Reader pleases, be satisfied that they have been so formed on some good reason. Vitruvius proceeds to give a general rule, which, he says, an architect, if he has practical experience, and is not wholly devoid of a habile and ready turn of genius, will know how to apply and profit of. I am afraid our modern architects, Sir Christopher Wren alone excepted, scarce know or venture to apply it. “There are many parts in great and stupendous works that would be above the port and garb of man, which must be diminished to a scale that doth not bear proportion to the general scale of symmetry, in order to accommodate them to that proportion which the use of man requires, whether in small or greater Theatres, such as the seats, the diazomata or belts, the passages, the pluteus, the steps, the pulpits, &c. Likewise

\* Columnarum autem proportionibus et symmetriæ non erunt iisdem rationibus, quibus in ædibus sacris scripti: aliam enim in Deorum templis debent habere gravitatem, aliam in porticus et cæteris operibus subtilitatem — sunt res quas in pusillo et in magno Theatro necesse est eadem magnitudine fieri propter usum, uti gradus diazomata, pluteos, itinera, ascensus, pulpita, tribunalia et si qua alia intercurrunt, ex quibus necessitas cogit decedere ab symmetria, ne impediatur usus. Non minus signa exiguitas copiarum, id est, marmoris materiæ reliquarumque rerum quæ parantur in opere defuerint paululum demere aut adjicere, dum id ne nimium improbe fiat: sed cum sensu non erit alienum: hoc autem erit, si architectus erit usu peritus præterea ingenio mobili solertiâque non fuerit viduatus. Vitruvius, lib. V. c. 7.

“ sometime the dimensions of such materials, as are practically to  
 “ be had to build with, will give occasion to the artist to diminish  
 “ or to add somewhat in his proportions, so that it be done with  
 “ judgement as above described, and doth not enormously offend  
 “ against the rule of right.”

Every one knows the common form and use of an Amphitheatre. I shall not here enter into a description of that; but to such who may be as uninformed, and as uninstructed, as myself, until I saw this noble edifice at Nîmes, I will endeavour to give such a description of an Amphitheatre in the whole, in its parts, in all their dispositions and communications, as may come home to the understanding. To make my description more intelligible, to save circumlocution, and render the idea more palpable, I have drawn a general section of the cuneus of an Amphitheatre, chiefly taken from this at Nîmes, as a kind of diagram to refer to from my description in words (Plate V. fig. 3.). The line of the base H; the line of elevation of the facade A, B, C; and a line drawn \* tangent along the angles of the seats L, form a right-angled triangle, whose hypotenuse is the gradation of benches. This triangle is cut off in one angle at the podium I, next the arenæ K, by an upright wall and parapet. This, from its form called cuneus or the wedge, goes round the whole *Amphitheatre*, whence the edifice receives its name. The benches are from eighteen or twenty inches high, and of the same breadth. There are two lines or divisions in this gradation of benches formed by the omission of one row at each line; these are called *præcinctiones*, *diazomata*, or belts; this is a gradation double the height and breadth of the rest. These are so made, not barely to divide and arrange the order of spectators, according to their rank, as the laws of the Theatres require; but to give free passage to the spectators of each division in going to and from their seats, without incommoding the spectators of the other

\* — In summam ita est gubernandum ut linea cum ad imum gradum et ad summum extenta fuerit omnia cacumina graduum angulosque tangat. Vitruvius, lib. V. c. 3.

division.



division. According to the laws of the Theatre observed at Rome, the podium (of whatever number of rows of benches it might consist in the front) was appropriated to the Senators and them of Senatorial dignity. These were divided off by a belt: and behind that, the next fourteen rows of benches (technically called the *quatuordecem*) were appropriated to the Equestrian order. And so strictly was this regulation observed, that in the time of Augustus\*, several persons of Equestrian families durst not (having lost their patrimony in the civil wars) take their places in the *quatuordecem*, for fear of incurring the penalty of the law of regulations, until Augustus made a provisional regulation in their favour. Behind these was a belt, by which the rest of the benches were divided off for the people at large. There were indeed some exceptions arising out of particular and special regulations made by Augustus. *Maritis è plebe proprios ordines assignavit*. To the young men, who were yet in a state of pupilage, he appropriated their peculiar bench, with their masters sitting behind them. And at the exhibition of the gladiators he ordered, that the women, who used to sit in common with the men, should be removed to the most remote and highest seats. Whatever were, however, the regulations of the law at Rome, the same were neither suited to, nor took place in, the Provinces and Colonies. The orders and ranks of men were different: and accordingly we find, as in this Amphitheatre at Nîmes, the divisions and distributions of the benches to be different. By what distinction of orders they were divided, I have not been able to find; but, I suppose, that a distinction of Roman citizens and the soldiers from the *Pagani* and people of the Provinces and Colonies would make one grand division; that this latter would

\* Cum autem plerisque equitum, attrito civilibus bellis, patrimonio, spectare ludos à *quatuordecem* non auderent metu pœnæ Theatralis, pronuntiavit non teneri eâ quibus ipsis parentibusve equester census unquam fuisset. Suetonii Vita Augusti, § 40. Militem secrevit e Populo. Maritis è plebe proprios ordines assignavit: prætextis cuneum suum et proximum pædagogis: fœminis ne Gladiatores quidem, quos promiscuè spectari solemne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit, § 44.



enter and take their places according to their order in the Theatres and Amphitheatres.

The people in general had, at their first entrance, fifty-six arches by which they entered into the coridor M. Here the persons of Senatorial rank separated from the rest, going on directly by the portico to the coridor or gallery N, and thence each individual ascended by one of those stair-cases V, which his ticket or tessera would point out to him, into the podium, where also he knew his particular place by his ticket. The people and Knights, each individual knowing by his ticket which of those stair-cases Q he was to ascend by, would ascend into the *entresol* O. Here the Knights would separate from the people, and each Knight passing up through some of the stair-cases R would ascend into the *quatuordecem*, wherein his ticket would mark his particular bench, and place on the said bench. The people at large would pass by the stair-cases S, each individual by that which his ticket marked, into the upper coridor or gallery P: hence again they would ascend by the stair-cases T, each by that which his ticket marked to him, and, passing through the *vomitoria*, each would know by his ticket his bench, and his place in that bench; so that there would reign, as in fact was the case, the most perfect order and regularity in the entrance, arrangement, and dismissal, of such numbers as attended these *spectacles*.

There is a fifth gallery, or rather half-gallery, which leans against the wall of the attic. The way up to it is by narrow stairs wrought in the body of the wall. It seems to be calculated solely for the passage of the *velarii*, or servants, appointed to the care and management of the *vela*, which were sometimes extended over the benches, that they might pass from one part to another, as occasion called them, without deranging or incommoding the spectators.

I will next, from this Amphitheatre of Nîmes, endeavour to explain the manner in which the *vela*, improperly by some called *velaria*, were extended over the benches; for this gives not only the clearest, but the most exact and complete example of it. On the crown of the attic story there are fixed, in a line directly over the

the impost of each arch of the second story, two consoles D, projecting sixteen inches beyond the face of the wall. They are pierced through with a hole about six inches diameter. I must here beg the reader to refer to plate V. fig. 4. for a particular explanation how the principal pole of the *velum* is fixed.  $\alpha$  gives the console fixed at the crown of the attic;  $\beta$  the cornice of the second story;  $\gamma$  is the hole pierced through the console;  $\delta$  is a hole of like dimensions, cut into the cornice about six inches deep. The pole  $\epsilon$ , passed through the console at  $\gamma\gamma$ , is footed or stepped in the cornice at  $\delta$ : the Reader will see by this how firm it is fixed. If the Reader will please now to recur back to the general section given in fig. 3. he will see another pole fixed at F. There are, at suitable distances, deep holes cut in the benches; and the *velum*, as at G, was by pullies extended from E to F.

There are two things in which I could by no means satisfy myself: first, as to the reason why they built these Amphitheatres elliptical instead of circular; next, the places on the end of the benches at the edge of the *vomitoria* appeared to me to afford but a very dangerous position: nor could I, though I examined the benches to that point, find any traces of there having ever been any rails or palifadoes\*.

The

\* There is an epigram in Martial, which decides that there were no rails, balustrades, or other defence, at the ends of these seats; and this fact, also so existing in this exemplar, illustrates, in its turn, the humour and point of the epigram. The epigram is written against a vain, forward, impudent fellow, who was at all times obtruding himself into some seat at public places, which he had no right to, and particularly in the Theatres. He had no place, yet he would, wherever he could, steal into the seats appropriated to the Senators, Magistrates, or Knights. Driven from those over and over again, he would sneak into the passages, the *vix* and *aditus*; and if there he could get near the end of the seats of the Knights, he would contrive, under pretence of leave to rest himself, to support himself with one leg on the end of the bench, and thus placed, he would to the Knights seem, or affect, to sit amongst them; yet, at the same time, if the beadle came to remove him, he would, by referring to the other leg, excuse himself, by saying he stood only in the passage.

Sedere primo solitus in gradu semper

Tunc cum liceret occupare Nanneius,

Bis excitatus terque transtulit castra,

T 2

Et

The arches of the upper story B, which open to the upper gallery P, were originally closed in with a breast-work or parapet, about three feet and a half high; some of these remain in perfect preservation; most of them are gone, and a parapet of modern building, with small stones, put in their places. The parapets were of one large flat stone cut into a pannel, on which were carved, in bas-relief, various designs. On one, which remains perfect, is seen the design of a combat between two gladiators. The other bas-relieves, which one sees on various parts about this edifice, are palpably nothing more than the cursory produce of some idle workman's whim, cut at random on any stone which fell under their hands, when they were in the humour. They are in general cut on stones, whose place in the edifice is not a place for such ornament. The wolf suckling Romulus and Remus is cut on a stone, part of one of the pilasters. It is a wretched design, ill-drawn, and poorly cut. Other carvings cut on stones, which are part of the wall of the building, and placed at random, as the stones came into use, are various fantastic figures of Priapi in very heretic forms; and are the mere ribaldry of vulgar licentiousness, as ill executed as imagined. The true Phallus, the idol of Priapus, was an orthodox, sanctified, and venerated Numen.

In the present state of this Amphitheatre, filled with houses, it looks like a little walled town. The arenæ hath houses on it arranged in streets; and the three galleries M, N, O, are converted into numberless miserable habitations. The houses, stables, shops, which are found in the gallery M, open on the outside into the town. Some of the stairs S, which ascend into the gallery P,

Et inter ipsas penè tertius fellas  
 Post Cajumque Luciumque confedit,  
 Illinc cucallo prospicit, caput tectus  
 Oculoque Ludos spectat indecens uno  
 Et hinc Miser dejectus in viam transit  
 Subsellioque semifultus extremo,  
 Et male receptus altero genu; jactat  
 Equiti sedere, *Lælio* \* se stare.

Lib. V. epig. 14.

\* A name repeatedly used by Martial for the beadle of the Theatre,

remain.

remain. The gallery P is perfect, unincumbered, and clear of buildings; and one walks quite round as in its original state. The stairs T, which lead to the *vomitoria* of the upper division of benches, are the stairs by which one ascends at this day. The half-gallery W is also in general clear. There are in some parts seventeen, in others twelve, of the benches reckoned from the top, complete and clear of buildings; the rest are either broken and removed, or buried in amongst the buildings\*. This edifice is built of immense blocks of stone; in many parts one entire stone runs from arch to arch, and includes not only the impost, but the column all in one mass, nine feet long, seven feet wide, and betwixt two and three feet high; some of the stones, forming the benches, are eighteen feet long.

This edifice, built on the model of the Coliseum at Rome, could not have been built until after the time of Titus, in whose reign, and by whom, that Amphitheatre was finished and dedicated. There is no period between that and the reigns of Hadrian and Antonine, that one can fix upon, in which such works as this were erected. Hadrian built the Basilica of Plotina and the Temple of Isis and Serapis, commonly called the Temple of Diana, which two works are given to him. We may very well suppose, he had fully done his part towards Nîmes; and therefore may conclude with Mons. Menard, on the reasons he adduces, that this stupendous

\* There was, when I was at Nîmes 1785, a scheme in speculation for purchasing in all these edifices, and for clearing the Amphitheatre of all those disgraceful incumbrances. This being part of, and connected with, a general plan of much greater and more extended improvements of the City, the arrangements necessary to bring all to bear in practice required much management, and took up a great deal of time. However, by a letter which I received at the beginning of this year, 1787, I find, all is now settled, and the magistrates have received the proper consent and orders, and are to commence this business directly. The Academy at that place have appointed two of their members, of which M. Plauchut is one, to watch these repairs, and, if any matters of antiquity worth notice turn up, to have care that they are preserved. This attention is very meritorious in the Academy; but I much doubt whether any thing of that kind will be found.

Future antiquaries will have now great advantages in examining this curious and magnificent exemplar of antiquity.

work,

work, full sufficient for the period of the reign of one Emperor, was erected by Antonine, which fixes the period of its building between the years of Christ 138 and 161.

There is another immense and stupendous edifice at Nîmes, called the *Tour-magne*. What it was originally is so disguised by what it is at present, that almost every antiquary and historian calls it what his fancy dictates. Some think it hath been a Pharos; others, that it was a watch-tower; others, that it was a treasury or armory; and some few, that it was a memorial monument. I verily believe, that under the various occupations by which this city hath been held and inhabited, this edifice may have been at different periods applied to all these purposes. As it stands now, built up in the external parts, it is not on the face of it Roman work: it is, though ancient, yet modern with respect to the Roman period. The external masonry is visibly not Roman, it hath been coated with a masonry of small stones since that period. From the nature, however, of the body of the edifice, from the form and position of the vaulted dark chambers in it, as well as from the general form of the whole, I am of opinion, that it was originally one of those *Saxæ Turres*, built as a monument and memorial of some great person or family. It hath the common form of a Mausoleum, and the chambers resemble the columbaria of such Mausolea. There is one, the central one, which could never have been lighted; and those round it have, I dare say, been since lighted by windows opened into them when, in later periods, it was applied to other purposes. May not this have been a Mausoleum erected to the memory of Trajan and Plotina, a part of the magnificent Basilica built by Hadrian? There are at Nîmes several statues and fragments of statues, also bas-relieves; but scarce any which deserve notice, except the thigh of a statue, which I saw in the Temple of Diana. It is of white marble, tinged by lying in the earth: it is so finely wrought, that I could look on it till I could fancy it an amputation from a living body. They shew in the same place, and talk much of, the eagles supporting with their beaks a festoon; these are in bas-relief, and the ornament of a large frieze; undoubtedly

doubtedly they are worked in a masterly way, but are nothing beyond what a good workman would do now.

There are number of inscriptions; but except those relative to the erection of the Basilica of Plotina, and the erection, dedication, and establishment of the Temple of Isis and Serapis, I saw none that lead to any interesting facts. There are many sepulchral and other memorial inscriptions, which mark the several offices held by the person they relate to. A commentary on these, explaining the nature of these several offices, would be a research and line of information leading to much curious matter. It would be a laborious work, and take up more labour and time than I have to spare from other matters. I wonder that no idle antiquary residing at Nîmes has undertaken it. A very curious inscription on a stone, which I saw fixed up in the wall of the vestibule of the Academy, deserves notice; it is

FVLGVR DIVOM CONDITVM
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This has been an inscription on the dado of an altar fixed over a place stricken with lightning. The custom was as followeth: when a place was stricken with lightning, a priest, by certain ceremonies, announced the spot as sacred, inclosed it, erected an altar of a peculiar form, being a stone pierced quite through with a hole that left the immediate spot stricken open to the heavens: this altar, from its being like to the top coving of the mouth of a well, was called *puteal*. He then sacrificed some sheep of two years old, whence the place acquired the appellation *bidental*. Juvenal, Sat. VI. ver. 586. mentions the first act of this ceremony,

Qui publica fulgura condit.

And Lucan, lib. I. ver. 606. more explicitly,

————— Dispersos fulminis ignes  
Colligit et terræ mœsto cum murmure condit;  
Datque locis Numen, sacris tunc admovet aris.

This place became hence sacred ground, not to be touched or trod upon;

Evitan-



————— Evitandumque bidental.

This stone, therefore, is a very curious and very uncommon exemplar of a very peculiar ceremony in the Roman ritual.

One cannot suppose but that a place of such importance, ornamented with such noble and magnificent edifices, so populous and honoured with the residence and birth of inhabitants of such high rank and character in the Empire, must have enjoyed all the means and instruments of elegant and luxurious dwelling and living. There must have been in this place furniture and every utensil sacred, civil, and domestic, of the most precious materials and most exquisite workmanship, which the art and taste of the age, subministered to by riches, could furnish. Of those, whose materials were of the precious metals, none are ever now found. Of such as were of the ordinary metal (a kind of copper) and of glass, numbers have been found, and many are preserved. There is, at the Academy at Nîmes, a small, but curious, collection of these things, several very perfect glass urns, and vases of the common greenish glass; but one, a most uncommon one, elegant in its form, and finely wrought in its ornaments. There are several specimens of vases of the usual metal, but exquisitely wrought, particularly with ornamental handles. I saw here a very curious article, *specimens*, modelled in *terra cota*, of comic *masques*, with the names of the characters they were intended for, written, or rather scratched, with the workman's tool on the back, as Chremes, Geta, Davus, &c. I saw also several sacrificial instruments, and various articles of house and table furniture, as also many for the kitchen. I saw here also several of those printing stamps which the tradesmen and merchants used to mark their bales and packages with, cut or cast in cameo with the letters of their name and other marks. When the ancients had arrived at this stage of printing words with letters fixed in the stamp, it is wonderful, that the lucky thought of having these letters moveable, and to fix, *pro tempore*, for the special purpose wanted, which is all the difference between their printing and the modern invention, never occurred to them.

Another singularly curious specimen of antiquity which I saw there,

three, was a pair of grind stones for a portable mill, about two feet diameter. The Academicians supposed these to have belonged to one of those portable mills used by the soldiers in camp. I give a drawing of these in plate V. fig. 5. The Reader will observe the under one is conical, that the upper one fits over it: he will observe, in the center of the upper stone, a cavity by which the grain was conveyed from a hopper, or otherwise, between the stones. He will observe, on the two sides, two square holes, in which the handles of a frame were fixed, that gave motion to it.

It hath been calculated, that the inhabitants of ancient Nemausus were about 55,000 in number. M. Necker states the present number at 50,000. He makes it a general rule to take his statement below the fact. M. Roston, who practised as a physician at that place for many years, and is now in the Corporation, assured me, as he is certain of the fact from actual lists of the persons assessed to their taxes, that these amount to 55,000; and that there are at least 5,000 who, on actual account of poverty, or on pretence, shield themselves from the assessments; so that the present inhabitants may be stated at 60,000. This inhabitancy occupies scarcely one-third of the space of the ancient town. This proportion, as far I have been able to form a judgement in different parts, holds pretty general between the space occupied by ancient and modern inhabitancy. I enter at this time no further into the state and condition of this inhabitancy; neither as to their stock, which is the foundation of their manufactures; nor into the state of their manufactures and consequential commerce. All these, since the spirit of the French Government hath adopted a spirit of moderation and toleration, are increasing in a rapid progress. The inhabitants want more room, and they have made propositions to Government on a speculation of enlarging the town. They have other great and expensive works in contemplation. A company is formed, who have undertaken to cut and form a navigable canal from Nîmes to the sea. The conditions are, that the company is to have an exclusive property in it for thirty years, and are to be paid a toll of five sous *per* quintal. After thirty years, the pro-

U

perty

perty is to be open for purchase to the best bidder, not less than a million of livres, the original sum subscribed, to be the first offer. The increasing state of their manufactures and commerce must re-absorb part of that increased stock; but, if it did not increase, in a superlucration beyond that *quantum*, they could not undertake such works as they have engaged in, and have further in speculation. I must here restrain myself from entering into the consideration of these subjects, as they are foreign to the design of this little book. I cannot leave this city without wishing the inhabitants every success and happiness which decided habits of industry and sobriety in the manufacturers, and a spirit content with moderate profits in the merchants, can give to society.

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## V I E N N E.

VIENNA, as the Romans wrote the name, was originally one of the Pagi of the Allobroges (or \* *Allaboroughs*, as I call them), and the principal one or metropolis. A town, by the same name, was afterward built within this Pagus, on the banks of the Rhosue, which became very populous when the Romans completed the conquest of the Allobroges. This town, I believe †, in the time of Julius Cæsar, became the head-quarters of the Romans; while Geneva on the right, and Lugdunum on the left, were but advanced posts. When Gaul was reduced into a Province, this town was the capital. It was in later times made a Colony, and became populous, rich, and of great importance.

Its importance was testified by Claudius, in his speech to the Senate, calling it *ornatissima* and *valentissima*. It was one of the most favoured, and one of the most loyal, Colonies of Gaul: it

\* All-boroughs, or Republic of Boroughs, called by the Romans *Pagi*.

† J. Cæsar's Comm. de B. G. lib. VII. § 9.

was intituled Colonia Claudina Pia : it had also the title of Colonia Senatoria ; and its riches were a matter of notoriety. This circumstance was one of the incitements made by the Lugdunenses to prompt the army of Valens to sack and plunder it. *Magnitudinem prædæ ostendebant* [Tacitus Hist. lib. I. § 65.]. And the immense sums which they paid to the soldiers and to Valens as a ransom for their safety, *Magnâ pecuniâ emptum* [Ibid. § 66.] is a proof the fact. The jealousy which originally had grown up between Lugdunum, when it became the head-quarters and seat of government, and Vienne ; the different parts each town took in the factions of the state, the former favoured by, and attached to, Nero, the latter alienated from him, and attached to Galba ; had well nigh ruined both. Vienne, when a Roman town, was built on the points of four high hills, and in the intermediate vallies. On the principal hill it had its Capitol. Under this was a Theatre on one side, and an Amphitheatre or Circus on the other. Below these were the public Baths, supplied by an Aqueduct. The Romans had a Prætorium here, and numbers of Temples and other public buildings ; one of which now remains in so perfect a state as to be the present church Notre-Dame. This town was, soon after the times of the Roman Empire, found contracted within the vallies, and much straightened by the Rhosne, which had worn it away, as described by Theodulfus :

*Saxosa petimus constructam valle Viennam,*

*Quem scopuli inde arctant, hinc premit amnis hians.*

It is now scarce a tenth part in extent of what it was. The old Roman buildings lye buried in their ruins, about fourteen feet below the general level of the present surface. The soil round it was, in the Roman times, famous for its wine, having the same pitchy taste as the Cyprus wine of the present time has.

*Hæc de vitiferâ venisse picata Viennâ*

*Ne dubites : misit Romulus ipse mihi.*

Martial. lib. XIII. epig. 107.

I had a very good opportunity of assistance in my inquiries after the antiquities of Vienne, by having been addressed to the Pere

Mognard, Principal of the College there, a very ingenious man, a scholar, and well-informed in many branches of science; a man of address and very obliging civility: I am very happy to make my acknowledgements to him. He not only, with great attentions, shewed me the whole collection of antiquities amassed at the College, but explained to me the history of it, as to the places where, and time when, every thing was found. He also sent for the Drawing-master and Designer of the Academy, who is employed to make researches into the antiquities of Vienne. This person is a German, his name Schneyder; his office is, *Directeur de l'Ecole Royale gratuite de Dessin des Academies de Lyon et Vienne*. He appeared to me in discourse, but still more in his works and drawings, which he very obligingly shewed me, precisely the very character suited to the business in which he is employed. He is a real draughtsman and accurate, of great industry in his researches, and of a deliberate precision in forming his notes and notices: he has made great progress. He has formed a general plan of the old Roman city, and has fixed therein the site of many of the ancient edifices, which he hath examined to the foundations in particular. He has made many drawings, and has in view the publishing of these in engravings, with explanatory accounts. He has already made many curious discoveries, and is daily making more. He has traced the Capitol, the Circus, the Theatre, the Baths, to their foundations; in the course of this he discovered the Aquaduct by which they were supplied. Near to these stands the portal, which is supposed to be that built by the inhabitants for the honourable reception of Augustus when, in the course of his progress, he came to Vienne. It is square and quadrivial, having on each side an open arch. The arches spring from very rich Corinthian imposts. A general entablature surrounds the whole, supported by Corinthian columns on each side. The frieze is ornamented with a running pattern of foliage and fruits, expressing rather Peace, Settlement, and Plenty, than exhibiting what are commonly called *the honours* of war by Trophæal designs. M. Schneyder's manner  
of

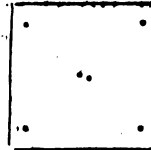
of tracing the ancient buildings is very scientific. He first endeavours to trace and lay open the plan of their foundations; then, from the style, orders, and proportions, of the fragments of the ruins, which are found on the spot, he forms his judgement of the nature of the buildings which were erected thereon. Every person who has been at Vienne, or read any thing about it, knows that there is standing, in a great degree of perfection, a Corinthian building there, similar to the Maison Carrée at Nîmes. There have been various opinions as to the nature of this edifice. Some imagine it to have been a Prætorium; others a Temple. The opinion which I have settled in my own mind is, that it was a Prætorium, having an altar in it consecrated to Augustus, as there was an altar so dedicated to Augustus in the rival city Lugdunum. I will give my reasons presently. M. Schneyder has examined this building to its foundations. It appears from that examination, that, like the Maison Carrée of Nîmes, it was erected on a general basement. The surface of the present ground, however, is even with the bases of the columns. It was like an open portico, being open in front and on the two sides, supported by Corinthian columns fluted: six in front, with an entablature and pediment; and eight on each side, supporting a like entablature. The back at the west end was enclosed in with a wall built up within the intercolumniations of the columns at the back. The columns are of a black or deep grey marble; the capitals of the sober matron-like cut of the Augustan age, not of the rich and luxuriant foliage of the second age. The entablature also is quite plain. The measures given to me by M. Schneyder are,

The breadth,	-	-	-	40 French feet.
The length,	-	-	-	60 ditto.
The height, about	-	-	-	44 ditto.
The columns, capital and base included,				30 ditto.

There remain in the frieze, and on the architrave in front, the nails or clinches to which the letters of an inscription were formerly affixed, in the same manner as those on the Maison Carrée at Nîmes

Nîmes remain. Mr. Schneyder has endeavoured, in the same manner as was done by M. Seguier at Nîmes, to form a conjecture what the letters were. He assured me, that, to avoid the seduction of prejudice, he began from the right-hand, instead of following the order of writing. There is one part in which his conjecture is peculiarly ingenious, and is, I am convinced, the fact; for I re-examined it on the spot. He conjectures, that the nails or clinches, which are in the center of the frize and architrave, and on the lower members of the cornice, are the fixtures of some ornament, the Roman Eagle perhaps: they stand fixed in a very different order from the rest. The result of his induction I copied from his original *fac simile* as follows:

CONSEN DIVO AVGVST  
ET DIVAE



OPTIMO MAXIMO  
AVGVSTAE

I understood, that M. Seguier had applied his talents to this, and had begun to form a Memoire on the subject; and that, instead of *Divæ Augustæ*, he had, as well as I remember, made out *Divæ Liviæ*. Now, my reasons why I think that both those who have supposed this to have been a Prætorium, and those who suppose it to have been a Temple, are founded in good reasons, are these. It certainly was not, as appears by its being open, and as more especially appears from the inscription, a Temple\*: for Augustus published a peremptory edict, and adhered strictly to his order, that no temple should be consecrated to him in the Colonies; but to him and Rome conjointly; and in the consecration and dedication of such Temples, the inscription invariably was ROMÆ ET AVGVSTO. There might have been, and most likely there was, an altar erected in this place, and consecrated to him; whence, in some light, it might be considered as a Temple. Altars were

\* *Templa quamvis sciret etiam Proconsulibus decerni solere in nullâ tamen Provinciâ nisi communi suo Romæque nomine recipit: nam in urbe quidem pertinacissimè abstinuit hoc honore.* Suetonius in vitâ August. § 52.

erected

erected in such places: an altar was erected at Lugdunum, not a Temple to Augustus. History informs us, that there was a Prætorium and Tribunal here; but is silent as to any Temple erected to Augustus.

This Prætorium, which, in its original state, was no otherwise closed in than by the wall at the west end, and by an iron bar or rail running the length between the columns, is now, since it hath been converted and consecrated into the Christian church Notre-Dame, inclosed all round with a wall of modern masonry, built up between the pillars; and so grossly void of all sense, as well as taste, were the barbarians who were concerned or employed in this conversion, that they chipped down the columns in a poor, wretched, blundering way, to the face of the wall. This circumstance has been an occasion of a mistake in Montfaucon, or his informers, representing this edifice, which he calls a Temple, as supported by pilasters. There are some other white marble antique columns set up in one of their churches as this place, which they have white-washed, because the marble had the tinge of earth; or because a Pagan column converted to Christianity ought to be white-washed.

There are, in the repository of the Academy, a great many fragments of architecture, and many other pieces of antiquity, so as to form a tolerable collection, considering that it is but within these four or five years that they have begun to collect, preserve, and store these matters of curiosity. Amongst those I measured two bases, two fine Corinthian capitals, and part of a shaft of a column; also part of a cornice, fragments of some ancient edifice. The building to which they belonged must have been sixty feet, English measure, to the top of the entablature, and seventy-two to the top of the roof. The bases and capitals are of pure white marble; the shafts, of the African marble. It was of the Corinthian order, and of the most perfect style of the second age.

There are there several fragments of statues. I saw two colossal feet, very fine; also a head of Mars or Hercules colossal, but not of the best taste or workmanship.

They



They have in this collection several altars, fragments of bas-relieves. There is a curious one in black marble, within a circle. The design represents Phœbus or Apollo at the point of descending beneath the surface of the sea.

Some of the fragments of architecture are of the most chaste design, and perfectly wrought: there are others of a fantastic depraved taste, but finically nice as to the carving and finish. One may mark (at least so my ideas marked to me), in the different styles and manner of the several fragments of architecture, the three different ages in which they were in vogue: first, the architecture of the Augustan age, a period at which it was advanced to a regular system of proportions, with a severe and matron-like purity in its dress and ornament; but not yet to that refinement in dress and ornament which it assumed in the next age. There are here, at Vienne, many examples amongst these fragments of the architecture of this second age; of the most elegant and delicate style of ornament, finished to a degree of perfection which is astonishing. There are, lastly, many exemplars amongst the fragments of the depraved, loose manners, and false taste, in the irregular extravagancies of a fantastic Romanesque rather than Roman architecture, which are, however, exquisitely finished. They have already some, and expect several more, milliary columns coming from different parts. I saw also, in this repository, a bidental inscription, similar to, though not the same as, that at Nîmes. The fragments and specimens of tessalated pavements, which they have dug up and collected from several parts, struck me very much as very pleasing. One of these has a border, in which are represented various kinds of fish and shells, wrought with great skill, in different-coloured tessellæ, so as to give very exact pictures of the things represented; amongst the rest, a perch is admirably well represented to the life.

Mr. Schneyder shewed me, in his own apartment, several specimens; also some drawings. One of a very fine pavement, which he discovered at St. Columb, on the west and opposite shore of the river.

river. It consists of thirty-two different compartments in squares, every one different. At one end were five compartments, in which were designed the figures of the four seasons of the year: the fifth and middle one represents, as Mr. Schneyder calls it, a Medusa's head. This mistake, I have in another place observed, is common to the generality of Ciceronis and Antiquaries. It is the *Cerberus* symbol of the Sun. This is a matter I shall take a particular occasion to explain. What has Medusa's head relative to the four seasons? The Sun, by this symbol, is a proper attending pendant to them. About three years past, this gentleman discovered a very fine tessellated pavement, of a circular form, and, in a border of separate compartments round this, a number of single figures. He had not leisure at the first opening of this to trace the whole. He shewed me a drawing of the parts which he did uncover. He had it carefully covered up again with earth, that it might remain in safety till he shall have leisure to open it again, to examine and copy it with that care and accuracy which he is perfectly capable of, and which so curious a matter well deserves. I hope the publick will in due time reap, with pleasure and instruction, the fruits of his attentive and accurate researches.

I saw also numbers of those common instruments, utensils, and various little bronzes, which are found every where, and are in almost every collection.

## L Y O N S.

THE first notice which history takes of this City is in the account it gives of the original Viennenses (when driven from Vienne by the *Alleb'roughs*) settling at the confluence of the rivers Rhosne and Soane. This history, written after the time when this City had acquired the Latin name *Lugdunum*, mentions it by that name. I am convinced, that the true patronymic was *Gaellic*, or what is commonly called *Celtic*, having reference to its site and visible appearance. Being placed on a white rocky hill, or built of the white stone, such as all the buildings in that region are built of, it is natural, and according to custom, that it should be called *Llŷg-dun* or *Llŷg-dinas*, the White-hill or White-city. It is natural to suppose, that the poor exiled Viennenses would fix upon this fastness, which was the first commencement of this place; and it is as natural, that when this place, in succession of time, was become, from the nature of its position, a commercial town, the merchants, traders, and boatmen, would settle, as in fact they did, in the meadows on the banks of the Rhosne and the Soane, on the tongue of land at the point of the confluence of these rivers, and this lower town became the general commercial residence. When the Romans possessed themselves of the whole country of the *Alleb'roughs*, Vienne was the place of head-quarters; and the hill whereon the upper town of Geneva now stands, and the hill whereon the upper town of Lyons stands, were the commanding posts on the right and left, united by an advanced chain of posts along the Rhosne. When the Helvetic people attempted to force their way through this the Roman Province, Cæsar strengthened this post still more by a fortified line from Geneva to the pass of Mount Jura,

Jura, since called the *Slavice*. Marc Antony commanded at Lugdunum in the time of Julius Cæsar, and is supposed to have built many parts of this town, especially some of the Aqueducts. Lucius Munatius Plancus commanded there. Marc Antony having received a check before Modena, which he had attempted to gain, and retiring towards Gaul, with a view, as the Republican party apprehended, of effecting a junction with the legions in Gaul, and an union in party with the officers who commanded there, the Senate ordered Plancus, Silanus, and Lepidus, to disband their force; however, at the same time they sent instructions to Plancus, to form this town and post into a Roman City. Here then is the origin, and here commences the foundation, of Lugdunum *as a Roman City*; whether Plancus did obey this order, or whether, as I rather think, from what I collect out of Cicero's letters, he did not, but that some other officer executed these orders.

On this Roman foundation, and under the protection of the Roman arms, the upper town Lugdunum; and the suburbs, the commercial mart, soon became a rich and flourishing City, and the commercial residence of a most populous inhabitancy. History, describing the state of it in a very few years after this period, describes it as the center of Gaul\*. Augustus himself came hither, and resided here some time. M. Agrippa, his son-in-law and favourite general and minister, commanded here. Amongst other ornamental and useful works which he is supposed to have erected here, he, from this idea of its central position, both as to command as well as to commercial intercourse, undertook and completed the four great military ways, drawn through Gaul from this central post. This was a work the most important in its purport, the most magnificent, and the greatest work of that or, perhaps, of any other age: this was a work worthy of so great a man. This completely established

\* Διὰ τὰς Σύμβολας τῶν Πάλαμν, καὶ διὰ τὸ Ἐξῆς εἶναι πάντι τοῖς μέγιστοι. Strabo, lib. IV. p. 208. edit. Camëobon.

Διότι καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐβίβλει τὰς ὁδοὺς ἵταται τὴν δια τῶν Κιμμέριον ὁρῶν μέχρι Σκυλῶνος καὶ τῆς Αἰνιτανίας. Καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆον καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀκεανόν, τὴν πρὸς Βιλοσαυῖς, καὶ Ἀρδιανοῖς. Τρίτη δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ναρβηνῆν, καὶ τὴν Μασσαλιῶτι παραλλήλῃ. Id. ibid.

the power of the government throughout Gaul, and opened the sources of commerce and revenue, centering all at Lugdunum. Agrippa is also supposed to have made or completed an Aqueduct, begun by M. Antonius.

Drusus, the father of the Emperor Claudius, resided and commanded here. He, on the day that his son was born, had the honour of consecrating the grand altar, which the sixty nations of Gaul, trading to Lugdunum, had erected to *Rome and Augustus*. Caligula formed a kind of Athenæum or Academy here, and settled a fund for prizes to be contended for in exercises of literature, poetry, and eloquence. Claudius was a decided and zealous patron of this City; and in a set speech to the Roman Senate recommended the forming of it into a free Colony. This speech the people of Lugdunum recorded on tables of brass. These tables have, in latter days, been dug up from amidst the ruins of the old town, and are now placed in the vestibule of the Hôtel de Ville. In the time of Nero, about one hundred years after its foundation as a Roman town\*, it was reduced to utter ruin, in one night, by a strange, and strangely operating, fire. It was, however, soon rebuilt and restored to a splendour equal, if not superior, to its former state, by the patronage, and under the auspices, of that Emperor, and by the subsidiary contributions of the courtiers and great men of that reign. The favours thus received from the Emperors of this Cæsarean line so attached it to that line, that in the future parties of the Empire it took a decided part against Galba; whilst Vienne, to whom it had long been a rival, and over whom it had gained the ascendant, attached itself to Galba and the party of that interest. The divisions and factions in the Empire, and the part which these Provincial towns either chose or were obliged to take in the contests, were the first beginning of ruin to them. Vienne was ruined: Lugdunum suffered every degree of devastation; but held up her head amidst her ruins, by the support, and with the resources, which her commerce gave.

\* Seneca, epist. 91.

Here

Here again I have a striking occasion to recur, and to refer, to that observation which I have repeatedly made, namely, that while in the site of those towns, which were so ruined as that the inhabitancy was never again in any proportionate degree restored, the ruins at least remained undisturbed: in those towns, which, although ruined, were again revived by new inhabitancy, the ruins also of that old inhabitancy were either dispersed and employed in other forms, or buried under the new inhabitancy; thus it hath fared with these two rival towns. There are, in Vienne of this day, many remains of its ancient edifices, not only still above ground, but also, in every part wherever they dig, they find the foundations; and, amongst the foundations, many parts of the superstructure of its ancient Roman edifices; whilst, in Lyons of the present day, few, very few, of its old parts are to be found: none now standing above ground, and few, very few, have been dug up, so as to be brought forward to notice. Some few, however, there are; and what there are, luckily, are such exemplars as peculiarly merit the most exact notice and examination.

It is very well known, from medals, that the \* celebrated altar, erected by the sixty nations of Gaul, and consecrated by Drusus, whilst commanding at Lugdunum, was more like a † Delubrum or Temple than an altar, and is sometimes so called. It was built at the very point where anciently was the confluence of the Soan and the Rhône. It was a square altar, placed between two Colossal columns. On the top of each of these columns was placed a Victory, signifying the Triumphs of Rome and Augustus, obtained up to the sources of those two rivers, whence these sixty nations came. The altar is gone, so that not a wreck remains; but the columns exist at this day near to, if not in, the very place where they were first erected. They are of granite, not Egyptian, but of a species which is to be found in the mountains of Dauphiné near the Rhône. They do not exist in their tall, proud

\* *Ἐν δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀξιόλογος.* Strabo, lib. IV. p. 192.

† *Τὸ ἱερόν.* Strabo.

Colossal.

Colossal height; for, when converted to Christian uses, each was sawn asunder, and four mis-shapen, disproportionate supports, called columns, were made out of them; and they now, in this disgraceful form, though in more purely divine service, support the dome of the Church built on the spot. The four capitals and the four bases (two at least) must be modern. When one looks upon these with a recollecting reflection of what they were, they become striking and interesting objects of antiquity.

The brass tables whereon the speech of Claudius is recorded (for on such tables were the Roman records kept) are singular and valuable exemplars of antiquity, well worth notice and examination in detail, not only as to the historical fact which they contain, with all its circumstances, but as to the tenor and nature of the record.

There is not, the Aqueducts excepted, and the totally disfigured ruins of a Theatre or Amphitheatre, any antique edifice, or parts of such, remaining above-ground. The upper town, the seat of the Capitol, and residence of the Roman officers and soldiers, is almost entirely possessed, and chiefly occupied, by religious edifices and inhabitancy, which tread the old Pagan ruins under their feet and foundations. The site of it is, however, called the *Fourvier*, an old Romanesque or Provençal word, corrupted from *Forum Vetus*.

There is, indeed, now existing, and preserved almost perfect, a tessellated pavement of a *tepidarium*, which hath been a part of some *Thermæ*, which most likely lye buried under the ground adjoining upon this: this, so far as intirely to lay open the pavement, has been cleared of the incumbent earth. It lies about ten or eleven feet below the present surface, and by the hollow sound, when stamped upon, as well as from the nature of it, one may venture to pronounce, though it has never yet been opened, that an *bypocauston* lies under it; and that most likely, if the ground lying round it was opened carefully, the complete traces of the *Thermæ* and Baths might be discovered. This must be left to future time, when the antiquarian curiosity, which hath now but

just begun to rise, shall have advanced to a more interested zeal for these matters.

In the mean time I cannot but observe, that it hath always appeared to me, that the explanations of the picture-design of the pavement as usually given, aspiring to something above what was meant; have not hit the scope of the plain and simple spirit of it. It is evident, that by the Priapus is meant the God of Generation: by the Satyr advancing towards this Deity, in the boisterous rampant attitudes of mere animal passion, is meant lust: by Cupid is, as usual, meant the more spiritualised passion of love: by the act of Cupid binding and restraining the Satyr from advancing to pay his devotion to Priapus is meant; that the purer passion of the sexes should restrain lust from sacrificing to this God.

There hath been lately found in a garden, in the upper part of the *Fourvier*, a *Souterraine*. I went down into and examined it. It is a gallery about four feet wide, and six feet high, to the spring of the arch. It is paved with Roman brick, set edge-ways, and the arch is turned with brick and stone in a rough way: there did not appear any coating of cement on either the bottom or sides. I observed several lateral canals, or rather kennels, which came into it at different heights; in short, it appeared clearly to me, that this had been some sewer or *cloaque* to some considerable building.

There have been found at Lyon, from time to time, various pieces of antiquities, inscriptions, altars, some bustos, &c.; but nothing remains which is in any degree interesting enough to have caught my attention. There are several articles preserved at the Hôtel de Ville, several at the Academy, and a large collection of pieces of antiquity at the Library of the College, late the Jesuits College; but there is in this latter collection such a *melange* of things, found every where, and brought here, that it is impossible to distinguish, and as impossible to obtain any information as to the particulars which have been found at Lyon or elsewhere, so that the reference and whole merit as to the locality is lost.



I shall notice two of three things which have merit, and lead to some curious matter. Every antiquary has heard of, and every traveller to Lyon has been shewn there, the famous memorial altar erected to record a Taurobole, performed at Rome by Lucius Æmilius Carpus, who was the \* *sacrificial object* of that ceremony, and transported the altar and sanctified elements from Rome, and consecrated them at Lyons, being himself consecrated to the perpetual priesthood in that Colony. As the account and explanations of that ceremony, which are usually given, do not come up to the idea of it which I have picked up, I will here give my conception of it.

The Roman priests and magistrates, who had the care, the superintendence, and administration of the established religion, seeing, from experience, the impression which the Christian doctrine made on the minds of the people, and the irresistible effect it produced, which no authority could repress, no power, however exerted in persecution, could extinguish, began to think it best to try what might be done by address and management, in devising some novel doctrine similar to this Christian faith, attended also with some strange and horrid ceremonies, which being striking to the sight, might operate on the minds of men, and raise and feed a spirit of fanaticism, of which they might take the lead. They therefore, I think, about the middle of the second century, invented this sacrificial lustration and consecration of a priest, who was to become the mediating sacrificial object for the people. By this ceremony of interring in a deep ditch the priest who was to be consecrated, and then shedding the blood of the expiatory sacrifice upon his head, he became the person who received and died under the curse of the sins of the people †; and who, when he came out of this ditch, covered thus with the blood of the sacrifice, was said

\* Tauroboliatæ.

† Quod genus consecrationis et lustrationis, tanti meriti putabantur esse, ac tantæ efficacis, ut per eam se renasci crederent. Hoffman.

to be born again, *renasci* to be *renatus*, in \* *æternum renatus*; and thus born again, he became pure, sacred, and the consecrated high priest, and an effectual sacrificer to the Gods for the people. This thus purified, consecrated, nascent priest was held sacred almost to adoration and worship. This was meant to meet and counteract the doctrines and rites of the sacrificial sacrament of the Christians; but the effect in the end was, that this disgusting, trumpery business, and the nasty, foolish figure which the besmeared priest made, only made work to mock itself, and became a foil which set off the pure lustre of the spiritualised and true religion. Considering the Taurobole in this light is the only way in which I can form any idea of the meaning or purport of this ceremony, not originally, and of old, any part of the Pagan ritual. But if I shall meet with, in any learned antiquary, other and more pertinent ideas, explanatory of this matter, I shall be ready to adopt them.

I saw, in one of the apartments of the library of the Academy of Lyon, a curious fragment of the statue of a horse. It is only part of one leg, that was dug up in the old bed of the Rhône. I think the most skilful horseman would pronounce this to be completely modelled. I do not take notice of this for that merit; but as it is an exemplar of the manner in which this statue was formed. The solid of the figure was a cast of mixed metal, iron, lead, &c. forming a solid and hard body. This was afterward cased and covered over with a thin plate of bronze or antique brass, which was chased by hammer close to the mould of the cast, and then finished, which it is highly, with other tools. This piece of antiquity would afford a subject for interesting examination to the modern artists.

In the repository of antiquities at the Library of the College, late the Jesuits, I saw a pair of lamps, which are, in many

- *Procedit inde Pontifex visu horridus,*  
*Ostentat udum verticem, barbam gravem,*  
*Vittas madentes, atque amictus ebrios.*  
*Hunc inquinatum talibus contagiis*  
*Tabo recentis fordidum Piaculi*  
*Omnes salutant atque adorant, eminùs*  
*Vilis quod illum sanguis, ac bos mortuus*  
*Fœdis latentem sub cavernis laverint.*

PRUDENTIUS. (Gruter. p. 28. N° 2.)

Y

respects,

respects, of such questionable form, that I will say a word or two of them.

I meant to have given the real engraving from a drawing of them; but I find them so exactly, more exactly than usual, drawn in the *Pere Montfaucon's Antiquities*, plate 185. that I will refer the reader to that for the general shapes, and for the designs in relievo, which are on the body of the lamps and on the cover. The cover represents very curiously and very minutely, more minutely in *some parts* than the engraving in Montfaucon gives it, a sacrifice to Priapus, performed by three women, two adult, and one adolescent. One of the adults is in the act of sacrificing a pigeon, or some other bird, on a tripod altar, which stands before the image; the other holds a garland, with which she is about to adorn the idol. The young woman is on her knees, with her two arms held extended above her head. The sides of each lamp are adorned with connubial processions of Tritons and Nais. I give this description from a cast which the Librarian permitted me to have taken of the originals, and which I have by me. There are letters cut in the cover, as also on the bottom of each of this pair of lamps. The letters on the cover and on the bottom of the lamps are not, as given in Montfaucon, *L. C. I.* I indeed read them just so on the first view, and interpreted them *Lugdunensis Colonia Julia*; but examining them a second time, in a more minute and accurate manner, and also taking off an impression, I will venture to be sure, that the letters are *I. C. I.* The letters on the bottom of each lamp are the same, and are clearly as I here give them, and as Montfaucon gives them.

CIC

IOMS

There have been various opinions formed, and dissertations written, on these lamps, especially a very learned one by Licetus\*. The letters have been also variously explained; all however agreeing, that these lamps must have belonged to *Caius Julius Cæsar*, who consecrated them to Jupiter; for this the letters on the bottom

\* Licetus de Lucernis antiquis.

clearly

clearly denote. The doubts and the differences have been about the letters on the covercase. According to my own conjecture, I read them *Julia Caii Julii*, scilicet Amita. Julia was the Amita of Caius Julius, and died before he was Quæstor. Through her he was proud to derive the honours of his family, as allied to, or deriving from, the Gods. He himself declared this in his laudatory oration or euloge, which he spoke upon the death of this aunt. *Amitæ Juliæ meæ maternum genus ab regibus, paternum cum Diis immortalibus conjunctum est* \*. She dying before he was Cæsar, the letters of the lamps, marking them as her property, could not have the second c. This piece of furniture being afterwards in the possession of Julius when he was Cæsar, and when he consecrated them to Jupiter, the second c, marking Cæsar, is found on them in the dedicatory inscription,

CIC

IOMS

I was not able to gain any information on the spot (the Jesuits left no account), whether these lamps were discovered and found at Lyon; or whether they were collected from some other place, and brought to this repository. Whether they had belonged to some Temple of Jupiter; or whether they remained in the Julian family, as sacred utensils of a private altar of the house. All the goods and chattels, and the furniture, which the sisters of Caligula had in Gaul, were, by that madcap monster of an Emperor, sold for an immense sum \*. Whether one may be at liberty to suppose these to have been part of those chattels or furniture, I dare not venture to say; but these things are not without some leading mark, which will render them objects of the highest curiosity, besides the merit they derive from the beauty and elegance of the forms, and the exquisite manner of the workmanship. I went repeatedly to the Library of the College, and repeatedly

\* Sueton. Vita Caii Julii, § 6.

† In Gallia quoque damnatarum fororum ornamenta et supellestem et servos immensis pretiis vendidit. Sueton. Vit. Calig. § 39.

viewed and examined the pieces of antiquity in the repository. There are there many articles which have been fully and accurately described, and the descriptions of which have been transcribed and copied over and over again. Spon, and most other authors writing on the antiquities of Lyons, mention the leaden pipes, supposed to have formerly belonged to the Aqueducts, and marked with the names of the authors of the work, or of the maker of the pipes; and refer to these pieces of antiquity, as preserved in this repository. The Librarian took great trouble in assisting me to examine every place in this repository; but none such are to be now there found: I do not however doubt but that such have been there.

There are multitudes of cinerary urns, of clay, of lead, and of glass.

There are cabinets containing a fine collection of medals; but, as I said above, when I see a melange of things brought from Italy, from Egypt, and Syria, I could not consider them as antiquities pertaining to the Provincia Romana, which were the only matters I here looked for, and which I mean here to notice. Those which I have noticed are such only as either have not yet been described, or such as I found, when I examined the things themselves on the spot, had been vaguely and irrelevantly described, and of which more precise and more pertinent descriptions might be given; or from which some information on the subject, of which they were exemplars, such as was not yet noticed, might be derived.

I had upon every occasion, in the most liberal manner, free access to the Library of the College, and to every thing in their repository; and I received every assistance from the polite attentions and civility of the Librarian, the Pere Roubies, Prêtre de l'Oratoire, a man of much ingenuity, and a well-informed scholar. I feel myself much obliged to him; and it is with sentiments of recognisance I make these acknowledgements.

Very little attention, in a town whose chief inhabitancy consists of conventual ecclesiastics, and of busy people, concerned and engaged

engaged in manufactures, trade, and commerce, either is, or ever will be, given to information in matters of antiquity, although one of the foundation-stones of history. The fact is, that very few articles of this sort, though no doubt many must have occurred, have been noticed or preserved. The Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres, established here at Lyons, consisting of many members of real science, and many perfectly conversant in literature, will, no doubt, if they think proper to give attention to these matters, not only encourage a spirit of research, but give a proper direction to it, so as to point it to utility. I make no doubt but that if a watchful attention on proper occasions, and encouragement to workmen digging amongst the old foundations, is given, several curious articles may be brought forward, under the eye of Learning, so as to become matter of useful knowledge. The discovery of the next article which I shall mention, which was merely accidental, justifies this observation.

On the 15th of May, 1785, about a fortnight before I arrived at Lyons, the workmen digging for the foundation of a house near the Exchange, on the west side of the river Soane, found a brass coin of *Marcus Portius Cato Censor*. This was amongst the foundations of the old Roman town, and not unlikely some part of the foundations of the Forum. We read in Tacitus's History, lib. IV. § 53. where he describes the ceremonies observed at the laying the foundation for rebuilding (in the time of Vespasian) the Capitol, that, amongst other things, passing "*injectæ fundamentis argenti aurique stipes, et metallorum primiliæ nullis fornicibus victæ.*" "*Predixere Haruspices nè temeraretur opus saxo aurove in aliud destinato.*" Although this seems as though no coined metal was to be thrown into the foundations, yet it marks that gold and silver, and the ores of other metals, were thrown under the foundation-stone of the Capitol: and I believe, on other occasions, medals, no longer current as money, have been so put at the foundation. The putting a medal of *Cato Censor* in the building of a public edifice in a Colony; a medal dedicated to

to those virtues and that conduct which restored Rome to peace, purity, and order, seems of all things the most proper at the foundation of a new establishment; *hinc omne principium*.

There are not extant any coins of Cato Censor. Those which are given as such are supposed to be so upon mere conjecture. They are the portraits of a bald-headed old man, with a contracted, converging countenance, and *whose beard is shaven*; whereas it was the peculiar characteristic of Cato Censor, that he was *intonsus*\*; with which characteristic this coin, of which I have given a drawing in plate IV. fig. 3. exactly and precisely corresponds. There is another circumstance in which this coin, I mean the inscription on the coin, squares exactly with a fact in history. Plutarch, in the Life of Cato, describing the honours paid to him by the people, says, That when the people erected his statue in the Temple of Health, they made no mention, in the inscription written on the pedestal, of his victories and of his triumphs, but in simple and plain words inscribed it to this effect: "In honour of *Cato the Censor*, who, when the Commonwealth was degenerating into "licentiousness, by good discipline and wise institutions restored "it." This coin breathes the same spirit of design. It is sufficient honour to say, *Marcus Portius Cato Censor*, while *Roma* on the reverse represents the good effect of his administration of the Censorship. She is sitting, which always denotes peace. She holds in her hand an equally poised balance, denoting the establishment of good order, and an equally regulated Republic. She holds on her left arm a cornucopia, denoting the prosperity of a Republic so regulated and so administered; yet, to mark at the same time; that Cato had not been deficient in the merit of advancing her power by arms and conquest, Rome is, in this medal, sitting on a trophy of arms.

\* ——— Romuli  
Præscriptum et Intonli Catonis  
Auspiciis, veterumque norma.

Horat. Lib. II. Od. 15.

Whoever

Whoever examines with an attentive eye the character exhibited in the countenance of this bust, may trace the very character of Cato. Here is the fixed marking eye of discernment; the parallel cast of features, composed to equal right reason, not the contracted, converging look of cruelty in passion. In this countenance fits the balanced spirit of Justice, inflexible from perfect rectitude; not harsh from bitterness, not rigid from hardness of heart. I desire the reader to understand me to mean, that the medal expresses all this, and gave me that impression. I can only wish I had been able to express it in my drawing: neither my eye nor my hand will now execute to such minute exactness as was here necessary.

Had this coin been found at Rome, or in any of the towns in Italy wherein there are *fabriques* of antiquities, I should, as I believe that this coin is *unique*, have suspected it to be a fabricated antiquity; but being found in a place and by people neither curious nor much conversant in these matters, and brought forward without any pretensions, or on any great estimation of its value, I cannot persuade myself to suspect the authenticity of its antiquity: I mean not an antiquity so high as the age of Cato; but that, when the coining of money, with portraits of the old patriots of Rome, first became a fashion, as it did about the time of the civil wars, when the several parties coined money with designs expressive of the spirit of such party. Brutus coined money with the busto of old Brutus; Cato with that of the old Censor; Pompey and Cæsar sometimes put their own bustos on their coins: after this, the coins bore the busto of the ruling Emperor. Portraits of Brutus and Cato were certainly taken from the statues or bustos which existed; and it is a fact, that there was a statue of Cato the Censor at Rome.

This medal is at present in the possession of M. Delandine, Librarian of the Academy of Lyons, and Avocat au Parlement. He would have given it to me; but I could not think of robbing him of it. I must observe, that the rounding of the contour of the cheek is somewhat impaired and rubbed down by the workmen

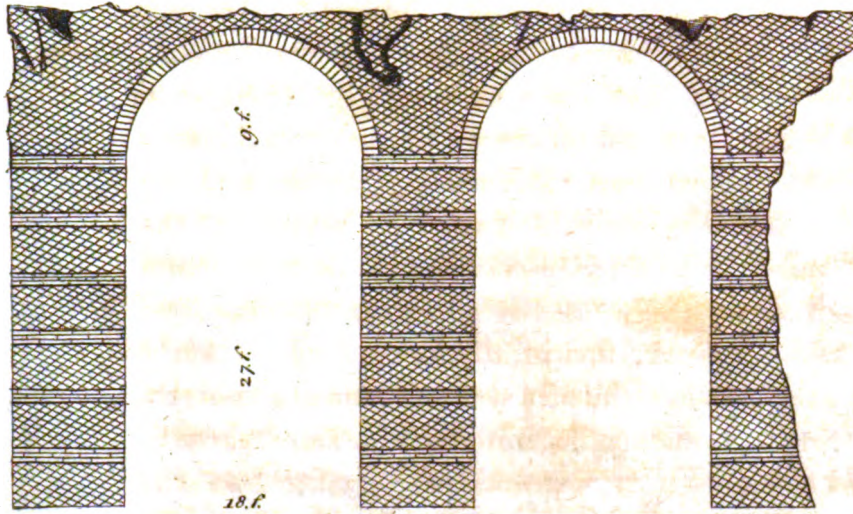
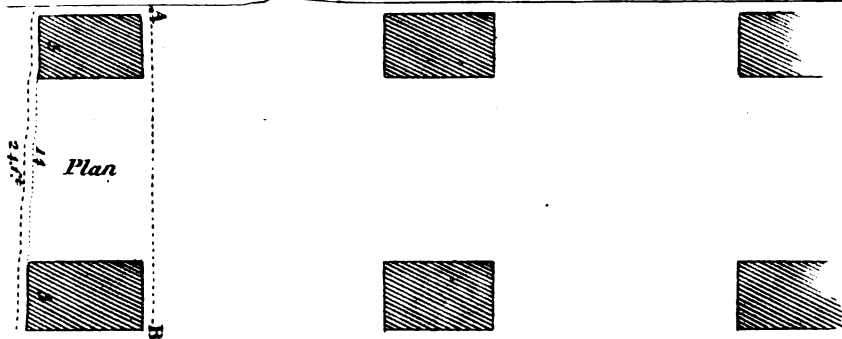


when they found it, trying, in their rough way, what the metal of it was. I cannot here omit making my acknowledgements to M. Delandine, for the readiness and very obliging manner with which he gave me his attentions in aiding my researches at the Academy. He is a man of improved literature, of a very lively imagination, and of an active spirit of learning, which may be productive to use.

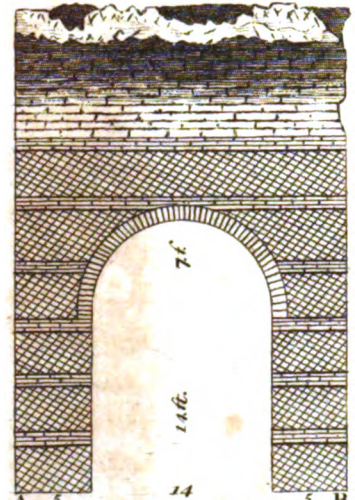
Several ruins of Aqueducts which, in the times of the Romans, supplied the Roman part of the town with waters, still remain in the environs of it. They are known to most antiquaries, and drawings of them have been made; yet I do not find any where (except in a Memoire which I shall refer myself to) that they have been described as to those particulars of their structure, which render them very peculiar exemplars of the hydraulics of the Romans. I do not, indeed, find in any Treatise which I have seen, that subject explained as I think it deserves: on the contrary, there are, as it seems to me, some mistaken notions taken for granted, and which have grown into decided prejudices, on that subject: I shall therefore describe these pieces of antiquity with a special view to those particulars, and with a more attentive regard to the science and practice of the Romans in hydraulics, as applied to aqueducts.

I beg leave, first, to refer the reader to the drawings which I copied from some original drawings never yet published, lent to me by M. Roche, Architect at Lyons, who, thirty years past, when they were in a more perfect state than they are at present, took great pains to measure and draw them as an artist. The engravings in plate VI. give an adequate idea of their form. The body of the work, that is, the bridges which carried the Ducts, are built of masses of rubble stone and cement, faced with a coating of that species which the Roman architects called *opus reticulatum* \*. This manner of building was conducted as follows: when a bottom of brick was laid, of two, three, or four layers; then a caisson of

\* Vitruvius, lib. II. c. 8.



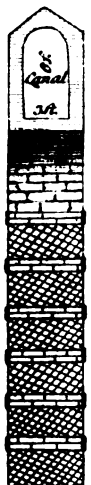
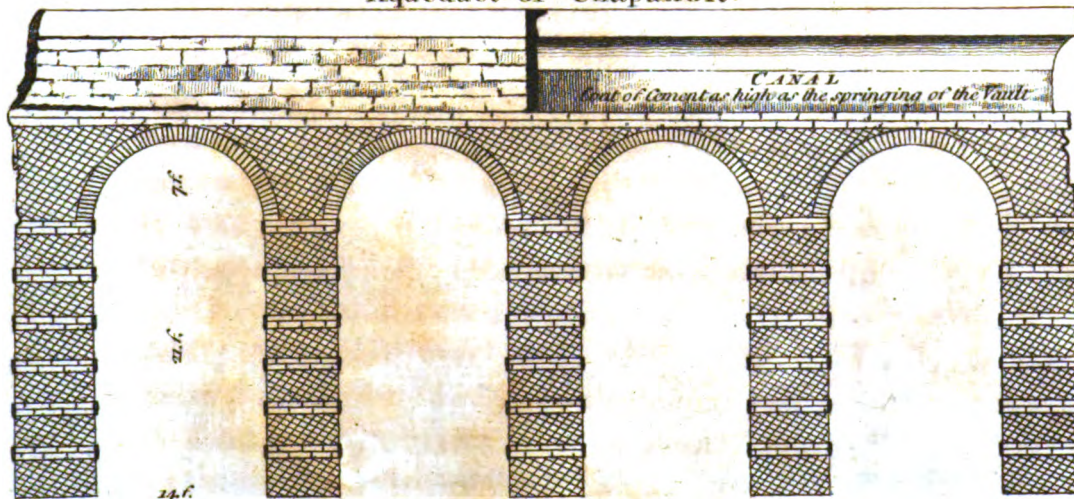
The Aqueduct which passes over the river de Baunan & across the Valley.



Transverse Section of the line AB of the plan, which marks that the impost are pierced with Arcade.

T.P. del.

### Aqueduct of Chapanoft



T.P. del.



wooden sides was applied to it, and fixed thereon; the caisson was first lined with the squared stones which were to form the face; the middle was then filled with small rubble stones, into which a liquid cement of lime, fine gravel, and water, beaten up to a perfect degree of incorporation in its liquidness, so as to become a binding cement, was poured: and in that state entered into every interstice of the rubble-work. This operation repeated, wrought the whole into one incruusted rock, harder than either of the materials themselves separately were. One can conceive, how a careful beating together of these materials had this effect of creating so binding a cement, since that curious discovery of *puddling* earth, fine gravel, and water together, will form a lining for a canal that becomes impervious to water when once settled: and one may venture to say, that it was from this puddling, and not from any secret as to the materials of the mortar not now known, that this ancient cement owed its compact strength. When this square was thus set, the sides of the caisson were taken off. Another layer of bricks was then laid, and so another caisson, and so on. This work, Vitruvius says, is called *emplecton* \*. The upright and plan in the drawings shew the dimensions of the buildings; there remains only to be observed, that the bricks here used were one foot nine inches long, one foot broad, one inch six lines thick; that the cement of the canal of the Duct of Chaponost has at the bottom six inches thickness, and on the sides one inch and a half. Of the nature of this cement I have taken notice before, in mentioning the Duct of an Aqueduct that I examined near Aix. What the drawings do not mark must be noticed, that at two feet above the floor of the canal were fixed on each side cramps [*ansæ*] of three lines square, at the distance of two feet and a half from each other. The Reader will be pleased to observe,

\* Altera est, quam *εμπεκτον* appellant, quâ etiam nostri rustici utuntur. Quorum frontes poliuntur, reliqua, ita uti sunt nata, cum materia collocata alternis allegunt coagmentis. Sed nostri celeritati studentes *ερεβλα* coria locantes frontibus serviunt, et in medio farciunt fractis separatim cum materia cementis, ita tres suscitantur in eâ structurâ crustæ duæ frontium, et una media farcturæ. Vitruv. lib. II. c. 8.

Z

that

that the utmost breadth of the piers of the aqueduct of Chaponost, which carried a canal of three feet broad by six high, is but six feet: while, at the same time he will observe, that the breadth of the aqueduct, which passed over the river Baunan, and hath no canal, is twenty-four feet, consisting of two piers, five feet each, supporting an arch, whose diameter is fourteen feet, (see the transverse section from A to B). I cannot but here observe, that the structure of this bridge is copied exactly in the upper arcade of the bridge which carries the Aqueduct of Montpellier, built under the auspices of Louis le Grand; and yet some of our travellers, assuming an affected superiority of taste, venture to criticise that beautiful structure.

I shall, in the observations which follow, give to the public extracts from a very curious and learned memoir \*, written and read some years past at the Academy at Lyon, by M. Delorme, one of the Academicians, as I wish uniformly to give to every one the merit of their own labours, and of their proper discoveries. This gentleman, with great knowledge of the subject, and with persevering industry to pursue and investigate it, in these curious exemplars still existing, traced the three aqueducts of ancient Lugdunum each to their source, in three several tracks of many miles each. He examined their general level, and the level of each part. He traced them as they ran above and under ground; along the sides of mountains, along the sides of vallies, and over the bridges where they passed the vallies. He observed the apparent care which the engineers of these Aqueducts took to avoid the building of works enormous in bulk, height, and expence, by carrying the canals up into the narrower and shallower parts of the vallies, where less bridges would serve: this, I may here observe, is particularly prescribed by Vitruvius. Where they could carry the waters over a

\* *Recherches sur les Aqueducs de Lyon construits par les Romains*, lues dans les Seances de l'Academie 29 Mai et 5 Juin, 1759, par M. Delorme de la même Academie. This little Treatise is out of print, out of sale; I could not meet with one, except that which I read in the library of the Academy.

bridge by a rectilinear canal, they always built up bridges to that level; but where that would become too high, and yet where a bridge was necessary (as I shall explain presently), they built bridges of a height sufficient to carry the water over in siphons of an easy curvature.

“ The sources which supply the Aqueduct of the Mont de Pile are from the waters of the river Gierre, from the rivulet of Sanon, and probably from the river Janon, to which are joined those of the rivulet Langonan. After these various waters were united in one stream at the Aqueduct-bridge of the little Varizelle, they make a long detour on the sides of the mountains and hills, till they arrive at vallies which they must pass, yet here they are trained along the sides of these vallies until they come to these parts which are not so deep or so wide; it is then that the engineers built bridges across these vallies, over which to conduct the waters either in rectilinear canals or in siphons. If the engineers had not taken this precaution, the construction of such bridges as would become necessary would have been of necessity so high as to become enormous both in work and expence; yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, there were in the Aqueduct which takes its sources in mountain Pile, and determines at the gate St. Irene, nine bridges carrying canals, and three calculated to carry siphons.”

“ The ninth is in a very deep and wide bottom, on the heights of Soncier. The Aqueduct, when it arrives at the south of this bottom, is terminated with a reservoir at the south edge of the valley of the river Garon. The mode by which the waters passed this profound valley was as follows: they flowed from this reservoir in leaden pipes, bedded in the sides of the valley along a part of the descent. They then passed in continued pipes of the same sort, bedded on a bridge whose top course was built in a descending or reversed curve. Having thus passed over this bridge, when they came at a certain height on the opposite side of the valley, they were protruded up in pipes, bedded as before,

“ on the sides of the valley, and delivered their waters into another  
 “ reservoir on the top of the opposite hill, the reservoir of Chaponost.  
 “ From this reservoir the waters entered into the Aqueduct  
 “ of Chaponost, which runs under ground along the west side of  
 “ the village. It emerges on the north, and flows over a bridge  
 “ which was composed of ninety arches, of which there are at  
 “ present (1759) more than sixty. This was terminated by a refer-  
 “ voir, whence the water, in like manner as before, descended by  
 “ pipes into the valley in part, and in part passed it and the river  
 “ Baunan, over a bridge \* of a reversed curvature, and mounted  
 “ again on the opposite side, there entering a second reservoir at St.  
 “ Foi. The waters flowed hence in a canal carried by a bridge some  
 “ way, and then became subterraneous, and continued thus along  
 “ the heights of St. Foi to the bridge which one sees just on the  
 “ outside of the gate of St. Irenee at Lyon. Here was another  
 “ reservoir. Hence the waters flowed in leaden pipes, which de-  
 “ scended into the fosse of St. Irenee, and passing along the bottom  
 “ of it, rose again and emptied themselves into a reservoir built  
 “ upon an impost which one sees in the walls of the city, at the  
 “ Mall of Fourvier above the gate of Trion, on the side of a  
 “ tower. These pipes were not carried across this ditch and valley  
 “ upon a bridge; there are not the least vestiges of such; they  
 “ were bedded on a massive course of masonry.

“ This Aqueduct has a course of more than thirteen leagues, on  
 “ account of the circuits and detours it makes. Its distance in a  
 “ right line is about eight leagues.

“ Its descent from the bridge of the little Varizelle, just to the  
 “ Fourviere, is three hundred and sixty feet.”

The Academician then next describes the nature of these refer-  
 voirs, placed on each side of those vallies across which the waters  
 were passed in siphons over a bridge of a reversed curvature. The  
 one is for holding up, and thence emitting, the waters which are  
 to be conveyed in pipes; the other is to receive and hold a sufficient  
 body of water for distribution to the succeeding canal.

\* See the drawing of this bridge in plate V. fig. 1. p. 118.

“ The



“ The emitting reservoir of the Garon is placed upon a quadrangular tower, fourteen feet long, and four and a half broad. The wall of the side next the valley is pierced at nine feet above the bottom of the reservoir, with nine overtures, nearly oval, of twelve inches in height and ten in width. The piers of the wall between these openings were of seven inches. It was through these overtures that the waters passed out of the reservoir by as many leaden pipes, which descended into the valley in part along the sides, and in part over arches *rompant*, that is, arches whose successive tops formed an inclined plane, which was so \* regulated as not to have too sudden a descent; hence they passed to and over the bridge, and rose again on the opposite side in the same manner, and were inserted in the wall of another and receiving reservoir. This receiving reservoir differed from the emitting one in this, that the receiving one received the waters towards the bottom of its basin; and that the emitting one poured them out from the upper part, about three feet or thereabout from the bottom, so that while the water rose in the emitting reservoir to three or four feet, the receiving would not rise to more than two feet.”

“ These nine leaden pipes, through which the waters flowed, had each eight inches diameter in the clear; the body of the lead one inch thick.”

The Academician then gives an account of a circumstance in this siphon-aqueduct, which, I own, I do not clearly understand, nor see the reason of. He says, that “ these pipes, after having descended about seventy-five feet (as he has reason to presume) that each divides itself into two branches; and that thus the waters are carried the rest of the course, over the bridge, in eighteen pipes, and until they rise again, on the opposite side, to about seventy feet, at which point they are again united, and the waters pass on and enter the receiving reservoir in nine pipes.” I can suppose this was for the greater security against the bursting of the

\* See how I confirm this from Vitruvius in the following part.

pipes,



pipes, where the pressure was imagined to be the greatest : yet this reason does not quite satisfy me.

There is another precaution which Vitruvius mentions, and which I shall explain, which escaped the observation of this Academician, as, I suppose, not then existing in the fact which he so strictly examined.

M. Villar, one of the Academicians now living at Lyon, examined the same siphon bridge about four years past. He examined the two reservoirs, and took the level. He had the assistance of an engineer, and of a number of people attending with ladders and every thing necessary to render the observations complete. I had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and found him to be, as he is esteemed, a man of science, and a very accurate observer in several other branches of science. I had a conversation with him on the subject. He told me, that he could confirm M. Delorme's account. I particularly asked him about the level between the two extreme points of the siphon. He said, " That he had taken the level, and " found the difference to be six inches between the emitting and " receiving ;" and particularly confirmed the fact of the *arcs rompant*. When I took the liberty to observe to him, that M. Delorme made the surface of the water in the emitting reservoir to be higher than the surface of the receiving one by one foot at least ; he answered (I think very justly) " That this difference between Mr. Delorme and " him, instead of unsettling the fact, was a verification of it ; that the " measures of two persons, taking their observations at different " times, the objects themselves, perhaps, being under different circumstances, and *perhaps taken from different points*, should come " so near, might be considered as a corroborating and accordant " proof of this fact at least, that the receiving reservoir was lower " than the emitting one."

As I know from Vitruvius \* that it was a rule that the descent, in the course of one hundred feet run, should be at least half a foot,

\* Lib. VIII. c. 7.

I wished

I wished to know the rectilinear distance from one reservoir to the other; but I am not in possession of that fact.

This fact, so ascertained from existing exemplars, gives a very different idea of the Roman practice in hydraulics from that which hath been commonly received; and I hope I shall be able to give also a very different idea of their science. The commonly received opinion hath been, that the Romans engaged themselves in building so many bridges, of such enormous bulk and expence, in order to carry their Aqueducts in a rectilinear line across vallies, through an ignorance of the fact, that water conveyed in pipes, in a reversed curved direction, would rise again to its level, be the curvature of the descent what it might.

In explanation of the Roman hydraulics, and in confirmation of the curious fact which the science and meritorious industry of M. Delorme first discovered, and which posterior observations of the accurate M. Villar ascertained, I will examine how this science stands in the Roman theory. In the first place it appears, that they perfectly understood the art, and practised it in fact, of conducting a *series of levels* for a great length of miles. It appears, that they raised the surface in their several reservoirs, and commencing from thence repeatedly took a new level at these intervals\*, yet did it so as to keep a due inclination of the general level from the head of the source to the last † reservoir of distribution.

It appears, that they used pendulous dioptrics, and water-level-instruments, all which are described by Vitruvius. The water-level was an instrument similar to the modern spirit-level. Vitruvius, after mentioning some inconveniences of the others, gives the preference to this, which he calls *chorabates*. He then states an objection taken to the *chorabates*, assumed from a misapprehension of what Archimedes says of the surface-line of a water-level, namely, that it was not rectilinear but spheroidic, having the focus of its curvature coincident with the center of the earth. Now the

\* Caput habeat libramenta ad moenia. Vitruv. lib. VIII. c. 7..

† One of this sort now remains in the Nuns's Gardens, in the upper town of Lyons.

answer

answer which Vitruvius \* gives to this objection, affords a proof in point of this knowledge of the proposition, that water, be the reversed curvature what it may between two points in an inclosed canal or pipe, would become exactly poised and level at those two points. When we look farther into Vitruvius, we find this proposition applied to practice, as in the Aqueducts above noticed.

He mentions the various manners † in which water may be conducted, namely, in arched rectilinear canals, or in earthen or leaden pipes.

He marks the smallest inclination that ought to be admitted, namely, half a foot in a run of one hundred feet. He notices all the precautions to be observed in forming the canals; first, that there should be fesspools [*putei*] at proper distances, namely within *duos actus*, that is, two hundred and forty feet, in order that the waters there stagnating awhile might depose the mud and heterogeneous matter which would be suspended while the water flowed and was in motion.

He mentions also another useful caution, namely, that of building reservoirs [*castella*] from time to time, at intervals of 24,000 feet, or every 200 *actus*; so that, if any defect happened in any part of the canal, it might the more easily be discovered where that defect was, and might be repaired without interrupting the continuance of the water's course. This Julius Frontinus ‡ more particularly describes, by saying, "That the flow of the water must

\* Librantur autem Dioptris aut libris aquariis aut Chorobate sed diligentius efficitur per Chorobatem, quod dioptræ et libræ fallunt . . . . . fortasse qui Archimedis libros legit, dicet non posse fieri veram aquâ librationem, quod ei placet aquam non esse libratam, sed spheroides habere schema, et ibi habere centrum, quo loci habet orbis terrarum. Hoc autem (sive plana est aqua, seu spheroides) necesse est, extrema capita canalıs regulæ pariter sustinere aquam. Sin autem proclinatus oris ex unâ parte quæ erit altior non habebit regulæ canalıs in summis labris aquam. Necesse enim est quocunque aqua sit infusa in medio, inflationem curvaturamque habere, sed capita dextra ac sinistra inter se librata esse.

† Libramenta habeat fastigata non miens in centenos pedes semipedes. Vitruv. il. VIII. c. 7.

‡ De Aquæductibus urbis Romæ Commentarius. Lib. I.

in

in such case be continued by lateral pipes inserted into the *Castella* next above and below the place where the defect was; but Vitruvius, perfectly understanding the proposition of the water always rising to its level, says, “That those *Castella* must not be placed “either in the descent into, or in the belly, or in the ascent from “the vallies, but in the plane course \*.”

Upon a close examination of his works, he appears to have been apprised of an incidental effect of water flowing in siphons or pipes, in which none of his commentators understand him, and in which some of them venture, from their want of experimental knowledge in such matters, to censure his science. He mentions the necessity of having *Columnaria* at the curvature to relax the *vis spiritus* †. It is a known fact, that air will enter into, and be driven forward down with, the water into the pipes, and will be separated from it in the course of its flow, and be collected in the curvatures, so as to take up a certain space in the channel, and to render the passage less, by which not only the flow of the water-course will be obstructed, but there will be greater pressure upon the pipe, so as to endanger the bursting of it. “We must observe,” says Dr. Desaguliers ‡, “that in leaden “or iron pipes of conduct, the discharge of air is absolutely necessary.—These places of discharge must be so formed with cocks to “turn, that when the air is discharged, they may be shut; otherwise the water will follow in a *jet d’eau*. If the air is not from “time to time thus discharged, it will at least straighten and lessen “the water-course, and will sometimes burst the pipes.” Remedies against this circumstance are contrived in our modern practice of hydraulics, which have received various vulgar names, as *Air-cocks*, *Riders*, *Jack in the box* §. It is no new invention; and if

\* Sed ea *Castella* neque in decursu, neque in ventris planitie, neque in expressionibus, neque omnino in vallibus, sed in perpetua fiant æqualitate. Lib. VIII. c. 7.

† Etiam in ventre *Columnariæ* sunt facienda, per quæ *vis spiritus* relaxetur. Lib. VIII. cap. 7.

‡ See his Annotations on his Seventh Lecture.

§ See Phil. Trans. N° 393.

our mechanic engineers had known it, they might have taken the classical name. I am aware, that the collections of air which Dr. Desaguliers speaks of, are those which collect in the bend or curvatures of the pipes, which are higher than the ordinary run; but if the air is forced down with the water, and the water in rising has already filled the ascending part, the air will be collected in the lower curvature (*in ventris*), as Vitruvius describes, and will require there the *Columnaria*, or Air-cock, to discharge it. I do not mention this as though I meant to enter into a philosophic discussion; but only to shew, that the ancients entered more philosophically on experience into these matters than is commonly understood.

From these specimens of the science of the ancients in hydraulics, we will come to the point, as to their manner of conducting the waters in the necessary circumductions, in the descents, in the reversed curvature [*κοιλία, seu venter*] and in the protruded ascents.

Vitruvius says, that the pipes should not be less than ten feet, nor more than twenty, in length. Those which have been discovered, and are preserved, are from fifteen to twenty. From the breadth in digits, which the sheets of lead have before they are rolled into pipes, these pipes receive the ordinal appellation; that pipe, for instance, which is formed of a sheet, having a breadth of fifty digits, is called a *quinquageneria*, and so on. Their substance was reckoned by the weight, *si centenariæ erant, pondus habeant in singulos pondo MCC. si octogeneriæ, &c. &c.* Vitruvius clearly points out, that it will always be right, if it can be done by any practicable circumduction, to avoid the passing of vallies\*. If that cannot be, the next measure must be, to train the canal up into the narrower and shallower parts of a valley, which it is found necessary to pass, that the substruction may be as little in mass and

\* Ita per fistulas plumbeas aquam qui ducent, his rationibus bellissimè poterunt efficere et decursus, et circumductiones, et ventres, et expressus. Vitruv. lib. VIII. c. 7.

height as can be\*, to carry the Aqueduct across. He plainly intimates that the waters might be carried across in pipes down and across the cavity of the valley; but that the force of the water in this case would be perpetually bursting them, that this method would create endless repairs and constant expence; that therefore, where the place of crossing is not too deep, so as to occasion a substruction of too great height, bulk, and expence. The building a bridge, to carry a canal across in a rectilinear course, will be the surest and best way, and in the end the cheapest, although at the first expence apparently the greatest. This, and not an ignorance of the proposition, that water conducted across the curvature of a valley, be that curvature what it may, would rise again on the other side to its level, was the reason which decided this practice of building Aqueduct-bridges. However, where the depth of the valley, that must be passed, was so great that bridges of an enormous height must be raised to carry over a rectilinear canal; in that case, he directs the manner of conducting the water across in pipes in a reversed curvature; but, at the same time, to avoid the making that curvature too much bent and too sharp, to avoid what he calls a *geniculus*, and to give it an easy bellying, as he expresses it [*venter quod Græci appellant, κοιλίαν*], a bridge should be built to a certain height, *non altè substruitur*, to meet and receive the waters descending so as to give the whole course a continued gradation of descent and rise: for if there is not that easy curve, supported by a substruction, on a kind of poise, but that there is in any part an unequal pressure at any angular point, the pipes will risk the being broken and bursten. When the belly of the siphon-bridge hath

\* Necessè est eorum intervalla substruere ad libramenta; sin autem non longa erit circuitio, circumductionibus: sin autem valles erunt perpetuæ, in declinato loco diriguntur, cum venerint ad imum, non altè substruitur, ut sit libramentum quam longissimum (hoc autem erit venter quod Græci appellant κοιλίαν) deinde cum venerit ad adversum clivum, quia ex longo spatio ventris leniter tumescit, tunc exprimitur in altitudinem summi clivi, quod si non venter in vallibus factus fuerit nec substructum ad libramentum factum, sed geniculus erit, erumpet et dissolvit fistularum commissuras. Vitruv. lib. VIII. c. 7.

such a gentle, uniform, and poised curvature of as great length as possible, the waters will be protruded without any unequal pressure on any particular point, and will ascend with ease. The Reader will see, in reading the passage last quoted, and comparing it with the explanation of the principle of the Chorobates, that Vitruvius does not say, and cannot be supposed to mean, that the water would not ascend without aid of this substruction; but that the force acting in the bend, necessary to protrude it into ascent, would be perpetually breaking the pipes. To confirm this, let us consider the precaution taken, even where there was this substruction, this siphon-bridge, when the waters were conducted in earthen tubuli. In that case \*, says Vitruvius, a farther caution is necessary, besides the great care which must be taken in the coagmentation or cementing of the tubuli together. The last tubulus of the descent and the first in the belly, and again, the last of the belly and the first of the ascent, in the siphon-bridge, must be set and cemented into a perforated stone, which he calls technically *Saxum rubrum*; and even these stones, such is the force of compressed water in motion, will be sometimes broken, if they are not well fortified with ballast, well rammed upon them; or if the water is not conducted by a gently inclined plain, and in a moderate quantity. The exemplars of Aqueduct-bridges, both of those which carried rectilinear canals, and of those which were substructions, to support the siphons, existing in fact at and near Lyon, as discovered by M. Delorme, and verified by M. Villar, and the theory of hydraulics applied to practice as found in Vitruvius, establish, be-

\* Tum coagmenta eorum calce vivâ ex oleo subacta sint illinenda et in declinationibus libramenti ventris, lapis est ex saxo rubro in ipso geniculo collocandus. Isque perterrebratus, uti ex decursu tubulus novissimus coagmentetur et primus similiter librati ventris ad eundem modum in adversum clivum novissimus librati ventris in cavo saxi rubri hæreat, et primus expressionis ad eundem modum coagmentetur. Ita librata planities tubulorum ac decursus et expressionis non extolletur. Namque vehemens spiritus in aquæ ductione solet nasci, ita ut etiam saxa perrumpat, nisi primum leniter et parce à capite aqua emmitatur: et geniculis aut versuris, alligationibus aut pondere, saburra contineatur. Lib. VIII. c. 7.

yond

yond all doubt or contradiction, this truth, That the Romans perfectly understood the art of levelling and conducting water in a series of levels; that they understood the principle of, and applied in practice, the reversed siphon; that they endeavoured, by circumductions, to avoid passing wide and deep vallies, if by any practical *circuitus* they could so do; and that, if they built bridges to carry their canals in rectilinear courses across vallies, it was not from ignorance of the principles of hydraulics, but from a prudential estimation of the best and cheapest way, upon the whole, of doing it for a time continued. I do not include in this assertion those cases which I referred to in my account of the police, by which they governed the people, by finding them employment in works rather magnificent than absolutely necessary.

Nothing now remains but to apply these remarks in explanation of the Aqueduct-bridges of Chaponost and Baunan, of which I give engravings in plate VL. The Reader will, on the first cast of his eye, observe, the different structures of these two bridges; the one of a breadth sufficient to carry a canal; the other of a much greater width, so as to carry over eighteen pipes or siphons, clear of each other. He will also observe, that although it might be necessary that this siphon-bridge should have such a breadth, a solid mass equal to that breadth was not required; the imposts, therefore, are pierced with a transverse arch. In the drawing of the bridge of Chaponost he will observe the canal which it carries, of which I have made a lateral and a transverse section. He will observe, in these sections, the height to which this canal was plastered with cement.

Before I take my leave of this subject, I beg to suggest an idea with which I was impressed, on a view of the Aqueduct-bridge carried over the valley and river Gardon, commonly called *Pont de Gard*. It is impossible not to see that the third or upper arcade is not, either in the materials, the work, or the nature of the architecture, of the same age as the original bridge of two ranges of arcades. The original either carried a canal of a lower level, or was a siphon-bridge.



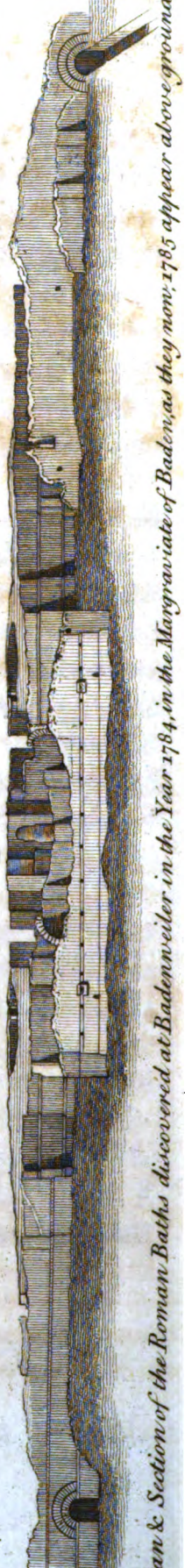
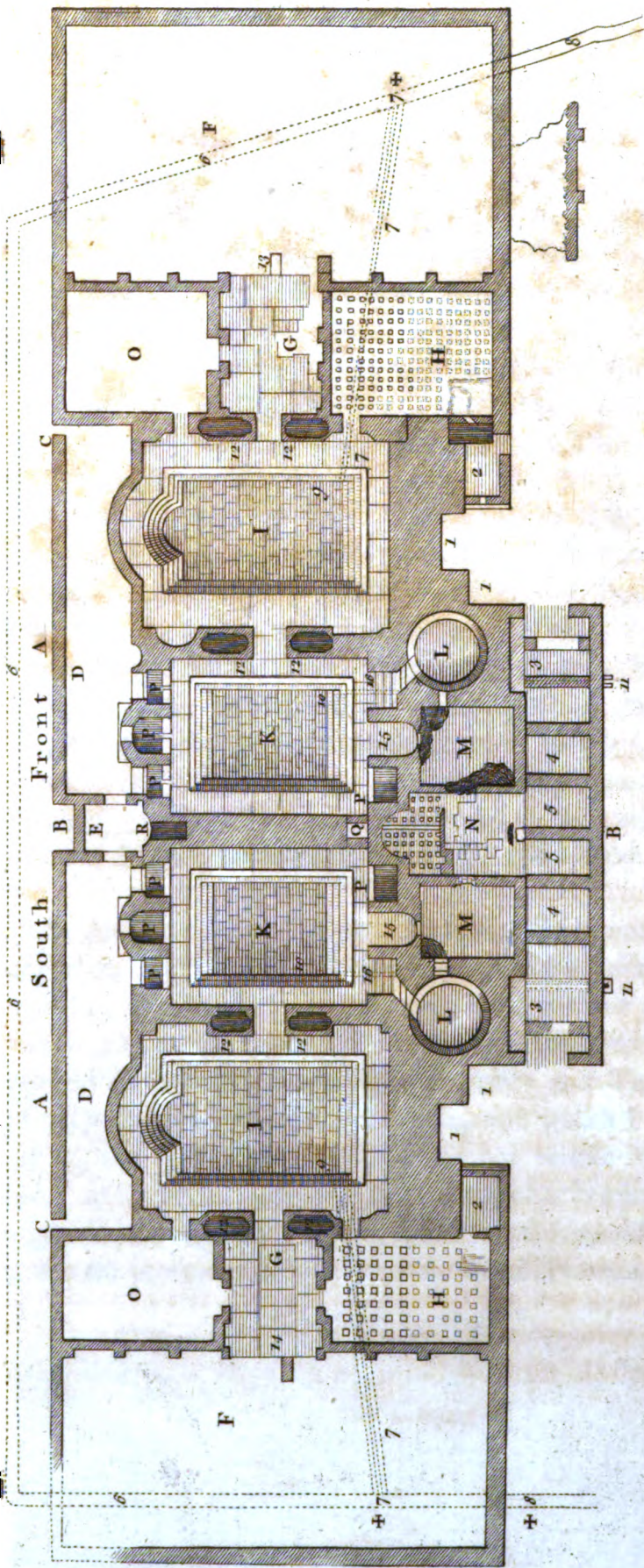
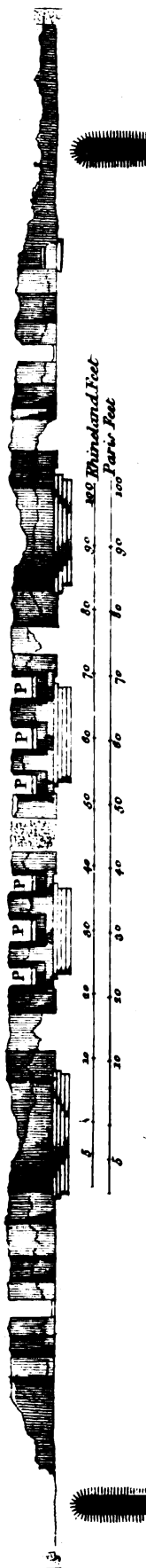
bridge. If it was a siphon-bridge carrying water of the same level as the present bridge would, this upper range was, upon perhaps some consideration of the expences of repairs, built up so as to carry the water over in a rectilinear canal. If it was not a siphon-bridge, this additional height was added to carry a canal of a higher level (a thing very commonly done at Rome \*) over the former. It is impossible to doubt, but that this upper story was built many years after the original, when, upon the increase of the town, carrying buildings upon the higher parts of the hill, an Aqueduct of a higher level was wanted.

This subject, although perhaps known to some mathematical antiquaries, is not of common notoriety to travellers. I found great amusement in my researches about it at Lyon; and in the investigation of the theory, and of the mechanic science of it, on reflexion since I came home. I give the result of my opinion on it to my Reader, in hopes that it may possibly afford him some information, or at least some amusement, in seeing these things in a light in which they have not been commonly viewed; I mean to such Readers or Travellers as myself, who do not wish, or cannot spare time, to go deeper into the study of them than I have here done.

There remains one object more which I shall notice, and give an explanation of, as it is an exemplar, I believe, unique, and give a proper and just occasion of explaining a subject not yet, as far as my reading goes, perfectly and decidedly explained: I mean the vestiges of a complete suit of double Baths and Thermæ, discovered at Badenweiler in the year 1784, and which I saw and examined in the year 1785. As this is not within the Provincia Romana of Gaul, to which I have altogether confined myself, I shall give it in a separate Treatise, by way of Appendix: and shall here, for the present, take my leave of Gallia Romana.

\* See Julius Frontinus.





Plan & Section of the Roman Baths discovered at Badenweiler in the Year 1784, in the Margraviate of Baden, as they now, 1785 appear above ground.

JGry del

## A P P E N D I X.

QUITTING the vale of the Rhine, at about twelve miles east from that river, one enters the hills which form the borders of the Black-forest, named by the ancients *Mons Abnobia*: one enters by a valley surrounded with very high hills, which are planted up to the top with vines, while the bottom, having a rivulet running through it, and having a pretty little village, surrounded with rich inclosures, seated in it, affords a beautiful and picturesque landscape. There are in this part three villages of the name of Weiler; Neider-weiler, Ober-weiler, and Pod'-weiler, that is, Under, Upper, and Country Weiler. The first stands upon the banks of the rivulet in the bottom, Ober-weiler on the first stage of the hills, and Pod'-weiler on the second. There is, adjoining to this, a large old tower, on the top of a pointed hill.

This site very much resembles the situation of Bath in England; and if the two villages of Neider and Ober-Weiler were built up with houses, so as to join, it would, in its appearance, be exactly like that city.

There is, in Pod'-weiler, a mineral spring, of a tepid degree of warmth similar, as near as I could judge, to that of the spring at the Wells of Bristol. The people of these parts come in summer to these waters, both for drinking them, and also for bathing; and hence it hath acquired the appellation of Baden-weiler, as Bath in England was called Baden by the Saxons.

In the year 1784, upon digging in search of a quarry of stone, in order to build some additional buildings here, the workmen struck upon the vestiges of an ancient building, about that corner where I have put this mark ✕ in the plan \*. As soon as the Mar-

\* See Plate VII.

grave

grave heard of it, he ordered the whole to be carefully traced and uncovered; and, when laid open as it stands at present, he ordered the whole to be covered in with a building, erected on purpose to preserve it, three hundred and nine feet long and seventy broad.

The engineer, who resides there, very obligingly gave me a plan of his own drawing, from his own measurements; and with this in my hand, together with him, I very carefully examined the whole, measuring many parts myself; some which the plan did not precisely ascertain, and particularly the depth of the several common and single Baths. I made a copied drawing from this, adding some particulars which we remarked as we went over it, and which the smallness of the original plan did not admit. I find that an engraved plan has been done at Basle in the year 1785, since I came home, by G. F. Gmelin, most accurately drawn, and neatly engraved. The plan given to me by the engineer on the spot makes the length of the building twenty-four Ruth or Rhineland roods, and the breadth seven; which, at twelve feet to the Ruth, is two hundred and eighty-eight by eighty-four Rhineland feet. M. Gmelin's plan gives it two hundred and fifty-three feet by seventy-six. I think it proper to remark this difference, whence-soever it may arise. In the following description, I refer to Plate VII. My description will differ not only in some particulars from that explanation, which a printed half sheet, fold with M. Gmelin's engraving, gives; but, as in the description in this paper I follow the process of the Thermæ and Baths, which requires a different range of letters, those which I have put to the engineer's plan will be found to differ from M. Gmelin's engraving: I have also added the words *south-front* and *east-end*, lest the Reader (this south-front being at the top of the plate) should mistake the porticos to be on the north side.

The principal parts I have marked with capital letters; the secondary parts with figure cyphers.

Before I commence the particular description, I must beg the Reader to observe, that this edifice contained two complete sets of  
Baths



Baths and *Thermæ* \* divided by a wall in the direction B. B. except at Q, where, in Mr. Gmelin's engraving, there seems to have been a communication; but which I will suppose to be shut up according to several Imperial edicts for that purpose. My plan has not this opening, nor did I observe it. As the one set of apartments were for the men, and the other for the women, according to common decency, according to the manners of the ancients (except in the most dissolute, abandoned times, under the worst emperors), Baths common to the men and women were strictly prohibited †. Agrippa, who first built public Baths, made the apartments of the men and women quite separate and apart; and this order, to correct the manners if possible, was repeatedly enforced. These sets of Baths, contained within this edifice, seem to be so contrived by this communication at Q, if such there was, either to indulge the vice of the times, or to be prepared to obey the orders of the better

\* Ubi bina essent conjuncta edificia, lavandi causa: unum ubi viri, alterum ubi mulieres lavarentur. Varro de Ling. Lat. VIII. 42.

Animadvertendum, ut caldaria muliebria viriliaque conjuncta, et in iisdem regionibus sint collocata. Vitruv. lib. V. c. 10. Observe here, the men's and women's baths are distinct; they are only joined in the same edifice, as is here the case. The reason he gives for their being so joined is, that the same fires may serve the flues of both hypocausta. Sic enim efficietur ut in vafariâ ex hypocausto communis sit usus eorum utriusque.

† Τα βαλανεῖα προῖκα δι' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν λῆσθαι παρῖσχι. Dion. Cass. lib. XLIX.

We find however that, from the viciousness and dissolute manners of succeeding times, the practice of men and women bathing promiscuously prevailed. The Emperor Hadrianus, lavacra pro sexibus separavit, *Æl. Spartian.* § 14.; and λῆσθαι χάρις ἀλλήλων ἀνδρῶν. Dion. ut supra. Repeated orders given about this shew, that laws will not restrain and change manners. M. Aurelius again, Lavacra mixta summovit Capitoline. And again Alexander Severus, Balnea mixta Romæ exhiberi prohibuit. *Lampridius.* Nay, so deep had this corruption eaten into the manners of the people, even in the Christian times, that laymen and women, and even priests, bathed promiscuously. Hinc (says Hoffman) *Laodiceni Concilii*, can. 30<sup>th</sup> quamvis συλλῆσθαι γυναῖξιν ἀνδρες, veterantur adeo tamen mos ille per hunc canonem non extinctus est, ut etiam e Clero et Monachorum ordine multi, post Concilium illud, promiscuè cum fœminis lavarent.

B b

emperors,

emperors, so long as they were in force. The chamber N, which, I own, I do not know what to make of, or to explain, was common to both sets of Baths, having on each side doors to the one and to the other; but I am willing to suppose, that when it was used by the women, the door which communicated with the men's apartments was firm and locked, and so on the contrary.

A. A. mark the south front; to the south-east of which, higher up the hill, rises the Tepid-spring, which, I suppose, supplied the Piscina. To prevent this being corrupted by mixture with any other waters, as also to keep the whole edifice from being affected by the fock of the springs, as it stands on the side of a steep high hill, rising much above it, a general drain 6. 6. 6. 6. about three feet wide, and six or seven feet high, arched at the top, runs below the foundation quite round the building in the direction of the pricked lines, and discharged itself at the figures 8. 8. I walked quite through it; it is every where as perfect as at first, except that about A. the sides are somewhat bulged.

B. a vestibule: whether there was here an entrance to the Baths or not, I was not able to distinguish.

C. C. Two entrances into,

D. D. Two porticos, where the bathers used to take the exercise of walking before going into the Baths and Thermæ.

E. Communication between the two porticos, and perhaps an inner vestibule and entrance; but this fact I am in doubt to decide.

F. F. The place in which those who took and used stronger exercise than the walking in the portico, made use of for that purpose; but as the most usual exercise was the *Lusio Pilæ aut Sphæræ*, it is called commonly the Sphæristorium.

G. G. A passage vestibule, which had four niches, and benches, and doors, opening into the Apodyterium, the Frigidarium or Piscina, and to the Eleiothesium.

H. H. Apodytyrion \* or Spoliatorium, which was also a Tepi-

\* Conclave ubi aër calidior in quo vestes ponebantur. Joseph Laurentius de Balneis, Gronovii, tom. IX. p. 627.

darium

darium heated to a moderate degree by the Hypocaustum under it, communicating with the Fornix 2. 2. The reason why this was warmed was, that as they stripped here after their exercise, they might thus avoid being suddenly chilled.

I. I. The Piscena, which in these Baths \* was served by the naturally tepid spring, could not be called a Frigidarium, or Cold-bath: it was, however, a Bath of water, in its natural state, not heated by any culinary heat.

K. K. The Piscena-tepidaria being a bath mixed with water coming from the cauldrons set over the furnaces 5. 5. which were of a second degree of heat. All these Baths were four feet deep; they had four steps of one foot each at each end, and two steps (or rather seats) of two feet on each side; the steps are of a grey marble, very highly polished. The sides of the rooms were stuccoed the stucco still remains in part, but I could not discover any traces of painting.

L. L. The Laconicum Sudationesque †, says Vitruvius, must be annexed to, or communicate with, the Tepidarium, as this does by the passage and steps 16. and 16. This was made round, and had a spheric cove or dome, at the top of which was a round opening, to which was suspended, by pullies, a round valve or shutter which Vitruvius calls a Clypeus, contrived by drawing up or letting down to any degree of aperture, to retain or let out and regulate the heat of the Laconicum, heated by the first degree of heat, brought by flues under it, and under the benches which were round it, from the furnaces 3. and 3 ‡. Hence they went into

\* The Duct by which the water was let into I. I. was in the face of the upper circular step, as may be seen in the section at the letter k. k.

† Laconicum Sudationesque sunt conjungendæ Tepidario æque quam latæ fuerint tantam altitudinem habeant ad imam curvaturam hemisphærii relinquatur ex eoque clypeum æneum cutenis pendent, per cujus reductiones et demissiones perficietur Sudationis amperatura, ipsumque ad circumferendum fieri oportere videtur, ut æqualiter à medio flammæ vaporis vis per curvaturæ rotundationes pervagetur. Vitruv. lib. V. c. 10.

‡ Ex Laconico aditus in Caldarium, quod propriè Λουτήριον, hoc est, Lavacrum dicitur et Caldarium solum. Grævii Antiq. vol. XII. p. 294. Andr. Baccius, cap. 10.



M. M. The Caldarium, a room heated by the first degree of heat as the Laconicum, with Labra and Lavacra Caldaria in it, into which was conveyed water of the first degree of heat. These bathing-vessels were only for one person, and were moveable \*, not like either the Piscina or Solium, which I shall explain presently. Exemplars † of these have been from time to time discovered. After bathing and rubbing here, the bather descended into the Tepidarium, by the passage and steps 15. and 15.; here, cooling by degrees, they passed next through the Frigidarium, and thence into

O. O. The Eleiothesium, where all sorts of oils and ointments were kept, for finally ‡ anointing or oiling the bathers, which was the § last process of the Thermæ and Balnia. I must, however, observe, that those who meant to take strong exercise, and create the *sudationes* by bodily exertion rather than culinary heat, always were oiled or anointed first as well as at the last; various reasons, medicinal and physical, are given for this practice. The place of this Eleiothesium was equally suited to the first as to the second process.

P. P. P. P. P. P. P. P. Were eight single Baths, sometimes called *Solia*, sometimes *Alvei*. The scale will give the dimensions of these. I measured their depth, that was one foot eight inches. They were formed of, or at least lined with marble, a grey common sort of this country. I conceive, that the fix on the south side of the rooms were calculated for Baths of the water in its

\* Vasa quibus lavabantur alia movebantur, alia moveri non potuerunt. Quorum hæc ex lateribus et marmore fiebant. Quæ moveri poterant, alia quadratam alia oblongam, alia rotundiusculam, alia ovalem habuerunt figuram. *Ænea, Argentea, &c.*

† Vide Labrum Titi et Thermæ Titi.

‡ Quæ verò post Balnea unctiones adhibantur fecerunt ne humiditas in Balneis acquisita evanesceret neque reſeratis a Balnea calore meatibus, nativa caliditas expiraret, ad comprimendum immoderatum sudorem. Plinii, lib. XII. c. 7.

§ Αὐτὰρ ἰππὸν λυσίτι καὶ ἔχρισσι ἰλάειν. Hom. Odyss. Γ. 466.

Post Balnea, seu Balneis egressi ungebantur ad coercendos sudores. Plin. lib. XII. c. 19.

natural

natural state. The two on the north side for Tepid, or for hot Baths. They are calculated for the use of only one person, and that person \* sitting down in them; so that the water coming up to the pit of the stomach, the whole paunch might be immersed. These were used in particular cases, and for invalids, as Galen directs. There were scuppers to these, see the letters + *m. m.* in the section calculated to let off the water to a proper height, as also to let it entirely off when they were to be prepared for a fresh Bath.

The secondary parts of these Baths and Thermæ I shall explain by cypher figures of reference, double ones, as the parts in each set of Baths are similar.

1. 1. 1. 1. The place where wood and other fuel for the furnaces were magazined.

2. 2. The Fornix, from whence by flues the Apodyterium, which was a Tepidarium, was warmed.

3. 3. The Fornix, whose fire heated the Vasa or Coppers, as we English call them, set over the figures 4. 4. and 5. 5. each to their proper degree; also, whose heat and vapour heated the hypocausta of the apartments L. L. and M. M.: all which had Hypocausta as well as the apartment N, and which the plan given to me by the engineer marks, although I find it is not noticed in the Basil engraving.

Before I proceed I must here make an explanatory remark; first, by taking from Vitruvius the general form and manner of placing these Coppers, and then from observing how the manner observed in these Baths differs from that. He says, There must be *three* Coppers placed over the fire, and so placed, that the Tepidarium may, as it is emptied, be supplied from the Copper that has the cold water †: and that the Vas Caldarium may be supplied from the

\* In quo residentes lavabantur.

† Athena super Hypocaustum *tria* sunt componenda, ~~num~~ Caldarium, alterum Tepidarium, tertium Frigidarium, et ita collocanda uti ex Tepidario in Caldarium, quantum aquæ caldæ exierit de Frigidario in Tepidarium ad eundem modum. Vitruv. lib. V. c. 10.

Vas Tepidarium. Now here there are places but for *two* Coppers, so placed, as that which is set over 4. 4. may have the first and greatest degree of heat; that placed over 5. 5. may have only the second degree of heat, and be a Tepidarium. Now, as this edifice was built on the side of a hill, full of springs, I can suppose, that the space at R was a reservoir, from whence not only the Piscenæ; but the Tepid Copper at 5. 5. was supplied as it emptied, according to what Vitruvius requires; but in another and different manner from his general one, by a duct running from R. by Q. and N. to the Coppers 5. 5.; and that the space R was a place where a reservoir or cistern, the Vas Frigidarium, was fixed.

6. 6. 6. 6. The general preventive drain, which I noticed above, emptying at 8. 8.

9. 9. The scuppers by which the water of the Piscena was let off into the drains 7. 7. 7. 7. 7. 7. for cleaning and preparing fresh Baths. These discharged themselves into the main drain at 7 +.

10. 10. The scuppers by which the Baths K. K. emptied themselves into drains, which ran from 10. to 11. and discharged at 11. 11.

12. 12. 12. 12. 12. 12. 12. 12. These hollow spaces in the body of the walls I take to be the funnels or chimnies, by which the smoke of the several Furnaces and Hypocausta passed off; yet there are circumstances in them that make me doubt this conjecture; and if any one may be willing to suppose that they were the places where the cisterns were fixed, I have no objection.

13. Is the pedestal on which, some suppose, a statue once stood: I am rather disposed to think it an altar. On the dado are these words:

DIANAE ABNOBIAE.

It must be here observed, that the long range of hills which, rising in Switzerland, ran along what is now called the Black-forest, was called by the Romans *Mons Abnobia* \*. This altar, if it was an

\* Danubius molli et clementer edito Montis Abnobiae jugo effusus. Tacitus de Mor. Germ. § 1.

altar,

altar, or this statue, if there was one, was erected and sacred to the Diana of the Black-forest.

14. Is the place of a similar altar or pedestal, but the place only remains.

15. 15. 16. 16. Passages of communication by steps, from the Tepidarium K. to the Laconicum, and from the Caldarium M. back to the Tepidarium.

The Greeks and Romans, who observed this custom of sweating, bathing, rubbing, and anointing, used it in the first instance, and in early times, as a part in the course of their Gymnastics. It was also under their habits of living, and in the climates under which they lived, if not necessary, yet conducive to a healthy state of body. Their not wearing, or using in their bedding, any linen, would render the skin continually liable to contract impurities and scorbutic excrescences; the scales of the skin would be loaded, and the interstices of them obstructed. Every means, therefore, which could force perspiration and sweat, either by strong exercise or by culinary heat, became a matter of remedy to force the obstructions, and to dissolve or loosen the accretions. When these were thus loosened, washing and friction were the next processes to scrape off and deterge them. This friction and scraping was performed in the Baths, that is, in Baths of different heat, as the case or the humour of the bather required, by an instrument called a Strigil, a scraper formed in a curve so as to round the contours of the limbs and muscles. This is an article of antiquity perfectly understood. The frequent and severe use of this became sometimes, and in some cases, hurtful to the skin, as is particularly related by Suetonius, § 80. of Augustus\*. There was another instrument used for this purpose, not so commonly and precisely known as the former: I.

\* Plautus, describing this process as used by the *dames precieuses* of his time, says, *lavari, aut fricari, aut tergeri, aut ornari, poliri, expilari pingi, fingi.* - *Pœn. Act. I. Scen. 2. v. 10.*

And again, *scabor, suppellor desquamor, pumicor, ornor, expilor, pingor.* Lucili Sat. VII:

mean.

mean the *Pumex*, which acted as a kind of flesh-brush or rasp. I have, in the former part of this book, noticed \* one of these instruments, which I found in the little cabinet of M. Groffon at Marseilles. An instrument of the same shape, but made of pottery, hard-baked, and cut on the face with little squares, like a file or rasp, was sometimes used instead of the *Pumex*, for this *Pumex* † was not attainable in every situation.

But the use of the *Pumex* stopped not here; it was so prepared as to polish the skin. Martial mentions the polished delicate hand of a petit maître of his time, as *manum Pumicatum*, Lib. V. Ep. 41. Juvenal also mentions this use of the *Pumex*, Sat. VIII. v. 16.

“ Si tenerem attritus Catinensi Pumice lumbum.”

And Pliny remarks ‡, that this polishing the skin with the *Pumice-stone* was originally a process of luxurious delicacy, used only by the ladies, but is now used by the men.

After this operation of friction, scraping, scaling, polishing, the next was the deterging and drying. This was performed with the sponge sometimes, at others with linen rubbers, and, in after-times of effeminate luxury, with towels of the softest wool, perhaps cotton ||.

The last operation of the Baths and *Thermæ* was the anointing. This, in times of refined luxury, was done with oils and ointments of the most delicious perfumery. These perfumes were served in *vasa unguentaria*, and whatever was the material whether they were made of, glass, gems, or of fine pottery, they were named *Alabastra*. Many of these have been found, and are preserved.

\* Page 74. and Plate III. fig. 1.

† Non in omnibus locis noscitur, nisi circum ætnam et collibus Myfiæ. Vitruv. lib. II. c. 6.

‡ *Pumex* in usu corporum levigandorum fœminis jam quidem et viris. Lib. XXXIX. c. 21.

|| Trimalcio unguento perfusus tergebatur non lintus, sed palliis ex mollissimâ Lanâ. Petronius.

Until

Until I saw these curious remains of Baths and Thermæ, I must own, that I never had from books any precise and adequate idea of the real nature and structure of them.

I have read many Treatises on the subject in general, and various notes of commentators going into explanations of parts. When a commentator, concerned only to explain a particular passage, and so much of the subject as that explanation requires, gives a definition of the word, and a description of the thing referred to, he generally finds himself obliged to go to something more than the word (as the name of a part of a whole) actually means. Hence it comes, that two words, taken each as the names of very different parts, are sometimes rendered as containing ideas which belong to each other, and thus become undefined, confused, and equivocal. I think also, that antiquaries, who have written Treatises on the subject in general, do sometimes join in their accounts, descriptions of parts which belong to different structures\*, and which could never be found together in one. It is certain, that the forms and dispositions of different edifices, erected for these purposes, were very different, according as they were planned for private or public use, and according to the circumstances of the places and of the person who erected them. This again created some confusion; so that until I saw these very curious remains of antiquity, I must own, that I never had a clear idea of the combination of the whole of these structures, which came practically home to my understanding. From the time I had this exemplar in fact under my eye, to which I could refer, I seem, to myself at least, to have acquired an adequate acquaintance with the subject; so that I have no longer to hunt for the subject, in making it out from incidental mention of its parts in scattered passages of authors; but this exemplar, on the contrary, became to me a perfect commentary to the passages themselves.

\* The Reader will have seen, that the description given by Vitruvius, as to the location and use of the three coppers, could not be applied to these Baths.

From what I experienced in my own case, I will hope, that this short account, which I have here written, may give to such Readers as myself a more satisfactory and more practical idea of the things and of the subject than he will meet with in many long and learned Treatises, and render many passages in ancient authors intelligible, in all their relevancy, at first sight, which might otherwise impede and perplex his reading. Under these hopes I wrote, and here close this Paper.

## APPENDIX,

## APPENDIX, N<sup>o</sup> II.

THERE are in Provence several remains of antiquity, which not lying in the route I took, I did not see; yet, agreeable to the title which this Book takes, I think it right to give *Notices of them*, translated from M. Bonche's *Essai sur l'Histoire de Provence*, 2 vols. quarto, Marseilles, 1785, as such Notices may be of use to future travellers.

N<sup>o</sup> 1. There is, upon the road from Aix to Arles, a bridge thrown over the little river Touloubre, which runs through the lands of St. Chamas, commonly called Pont Surian. It is constructed with a complete arch, whose diameter is six fathoms or thirty-six feet abutted on two rocks, and formed of squared stones of three feet square. The length of the bridge is eleven fathoms or sixty-six feet. The passage of it runs upon a level with the road, and hath an arch at each end, through which the road passes: that which is on the side of Aix hath a frieze, ornamented with foliage in two-third parts; and the other third hath an inscription as followeth:

C DONNIVS CF FLAVOS FLAMEN ROMAE ET AVGVSTI

TESTAMTO FIERI IVSSIT

ARBITRATV C DONNII VENAC ET CATTEI RVFFI.

Both the arches carry the same inscription.

N<sup>o</sup> 2. The Goddesses Rhea and Apollo were worshiped at *Reiz* (*Reii Appollinares*) with singular veneration. At a little distance from the town, by the way-side, one sees some beautiful columns, much superior as to their proportion, and the manner in which

C c 2

they



they are wrought, to those which support the Baptistry of the Cathedral at Aix. They are of a beautiful granite; and of the Corinthian order, with capitals of white marble tinged with red, and with grey and black spots, and appear to have formed the fore-part of a Temple having three facades. Near to where these stand are others almost buried in the ground. Those which are standing have twenty-five feet in height without including the base or capitals. Opinion supposes those to have been part of a temple dedicated to Apollo. It is a vulgar notion, that the granite, whereof these columns are composed, is the Egyptian granite; but, according to M. Darluc, there is in the quarries of Province granite of this very species.

A Mosaic pavement hath been discovered on the further side of the rivulet, on the side of which is a chapel, with eight granite columns supporting a dome. There is on the wall of this an inscription which hath been variously explained. In the church of the Seminary many other matters of antiquity are to be met with.

### N° 3. APT.

That there had formerly been at *Apt* a Temple dedicated to Augustus, is proved from several inscriptions which are found there.

There is now over the river Calavan a Bridge called Pons Julii, supposed to have been built by Cæsar.

A very curious and singular inscription concerning the horse of Hadrian, called Boristhenes, was found here.

### N° 4. FREJUS, or FORUM Julii.

A Roman Gate, of two concentric arches, and a vaulted passage between the two. That next the town only remains: it is thirty-two feet high.

The *Porte Dorée* hath still one arch remaining, which was Roman. These are the remains of an Amphitheatre here, as also

an Aqueduct. The remains of some Baths, where several of the vessels and other furniture of Baths and Thermæ have been found.

Some of the vestiges of its ancient Harbour, which was round, were traceable in the last century; and, as some say, even the rings in the walls of it, by which they moored their vessels, were still to be seen. Inscriptions innumerable have been found here.

N° 5. ANTIBES.

An active, intelligent, and well-informed engineer having, with infinite pains and indefatigable research, discovered and traced the ancient Roman Aqueduct, by which the ancient Roman Town was supplied from the source of Fontvieille, the Magistrates have engaged in the enterprize of restoring this for present use; and they are now actually at work upon it, December 1784.

N° 6. CARPENTRAS.

There are the ruins of a Trophæal Arc here; a drawing of this may be seen in Montfaucon. I have seen a very accurate one, as I was told; but had not the opportunity of comparing with it the thing itself.

N° 7. A like Trophæal Arc at CAVEILLON.



# C O R R E C T I O N S.

Page. Line.

30. 25. *for fig. 4. read fig. 5.*

— 27. *for fig. 5. read fig. 6.*

90. penult. *for Porticus read Porticatio*

93. All the letters of the inscription which are printed in *Italic capitals* should be placed on the left, and all the Roman capitals on the right, as thus:

**DEO-CONSTANTINO-MAX PRINCIPI DIVI CONSTANTII FILIO D CLAVIDI NEPOTI  
DOMINO NOSTRO SEMPER AVGVSTO FL. CLAVDIO CONSTANTINOP FID CONSTANTINI  
PIISSIMAE AC VENERABILI HELENÆ AVIAE AVGVST MATRI AVIS QVE.**

261. 1. The quotation referred to by this mark \* is from Gruter, and not Prudentius. The latter is referred to in the following sentence, > - -

173. 3. *for nine read three or four*

179. 7. *instead of a full stop put a comma.*





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