expedition. I had to settle accounts with the landlord, so I went into the inn, leaving my men outside, the centre of a group of gaping peasants. I was not gone long before there reached me through the open window the sound of voices in angry dispute. The sound waxed louder, and I could distinctly hear Imboden's tones raised to a pitch of excitement not usual with him. Something had gone wrong evidently. Presently Imboden exclaimed, 'Bon, je veux parler à monsieur,' and his footsteps immediately after sounded along the passage. 'Sir, they will not believe we have been up the Chardonnet.' 'Who won't?' 'Why, these [something] Chamoniards.' 'Well, I'll come and see.' And I went out, thinking to convince them by ocular demonstration; but the task was a harder one than I supposed. 'We have watched the mountain all day, but we have not seen monsieur,' was all I got. 'Very well; but what about those footmarks near the summit? Come with me, and I will show you them through the telescope.' One was standing handy in front of the inn, pointed towards Chamonix, and I thought if they would not own to seeing with the naked eye they might do so with its help. I fixed the glass, and there made out our tracks, not only close by the summit, but in a great many other places on the mountain as well. But it was no good. Some had the honesty to confess they saw them, but some hadn't, and they all agreed that if there were tracks there at all they were not ours! 'Well,' said I, at last losing all patience, 'if they aren't ours whose are they, then?' This was a poser, but one gentleman was not to be imposed upon! 'Monsieur may have seen tracks, it is true, but they are not his—a chamois has made them!'

THE PASS OF HANNIBAL.

BY DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD.

Some there be that have pleasure onelye in olde rustie antiquities. And some onelye in their owne doynges.—SIR THOMAS MORE.

We were hinted by the occasion, not catched the opportunity to write of old things, or intrude upon the antiquary. We are coldly drawn unto discourses of antiquities, who have scarce time before us to comprehend new things, or make out learned novelties.—SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

SOME months ago, I chanced to read the pages Mr. Bosworth Smith, in his interesting book about Carthage, has devoted to the Pass of Hannibal. The narrative appeared to me as unsatisfactory as it was vivid and picturesque. I found myself, while I read, repeating Gibbon's verdict on the story of the same exploit as told by Livy—'Rather a romantic picture calculated to please the fancy than a faithful and judi-

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cious history capable of satisfying the understanding.' My knowledge of the Alps, general and particular, led me to the conclusion that the author's attempt to reconcile the classical texts with the Little St. Bernard was an utter failure, and that the adventures described, however credible in themselves, could not possibly have occurred in the localities he assigned to them.*

On further enquiry I discovered, to my surprise, that this view of mine was not the popular one; that, on the contrary, despite the weighty dissent of Mr. Bunbury,† Mr. Ball, and Professor Bonney, the partisans of the Little St. Bernard in this country had of late years, partly no doubt borne up by the influence of Mommsen, begun to speak and write as if the question had been finally decided in their favour. I had expected to find myself introduced to a number of more or less plausible hypotheses, contending amongst themselves with becoming modesty. I was met by what seemed to me the least plausible marching abroad with all the airs and assurance of absolute truth. At such an assumption I naturally rebelled. And my indignation grew when I found the new dogma illustrated and supported by a series of collateral statements, many of which were either in direct opposition to the history and geography I had been taught in my youth, or to such acquaintance with the Alps as I had gained in some twenty summers. The victors, it seemed to me, had won the battle not so much by finding a theory to suit the narratives and the physical facts as by accommodating the facts, and sometimes the narratives, to their theories.‡ In short, the more I saw of the handling of the evidence by which a judgment had been obtained in favour of the Little St. Bernard, the less inclined did I feel to acquiesce in that judgment without at least a full and independent rehearing of the whole cause. I did not, however, promise myself to arrive at any certain conclusion as to the pass traversed by Hannibal. For I noticed that the critics most eager to assert such a conclusion were frequently those of least general insight. But it seemed both possible and worth while to take the first step in any pursuit after knowledge, to attempt to narrow the field of search for others by the elimination of untenable hypotheses.

In order to undertake this task with as little prejudice as possible,

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* After I had written this sentence I found I had only repeated the words of Professor Bonney in a note in the Appendix to his *Alpine Region*. 'The conclusion which I came to after examining the Little St. Bernard very carefully was that, by whatever pass Hannibal might have gone, he could not have crossed this one, if at least any faith is to be put in Polybius.'

† *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii. p. 27.

‡ Mr. Capes has enriched his school edition of the XXI. and XXII. Books of Livy with a note in which, while summarising fairly the principal theories of previous writers, he collects in a concentrated form some of their most palpable perversions: witness the following sentence, in which the Mont Genèvre is compared to its disadvantage with the Little St. Bernard.

'General probabilities are also in favour of the easier, the lower, the better known, and the more favourably placed of the two passes.' Three of these statements are the reverse of true, the fourth is contestable. The Little St. Bernard is steeper and longer, more remote, and higher by 1,100 feet than the Mont Genèvre.

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I determined—imitating the ideal juryman, who is ever ready at the judge's request to dismiss from his mind the comments that may have come before him in the public press—to keep out of sight as far as possible all the modern literature and theories on the subject, at least until such time as I should have personally examined the classical witnesses and made up my mind, on their evidence alone.

Every year teaches geographers by some fresh instance that, while many of the best-abused statements of ancient authors are literally true, others are exaggerations rather than inventions. If an exact description is the rarest thing in the world, an absolutely baseless fiction happily proves to be almost as uncommon. I approached, therefore, the classical authorities, expecting to find consistency—if consistency there was—in outline rather than in detail. I had little hope of being able to harmonise every point in the histories of Polybius and Livy. But I was not disposed to assume that in the face of a general agreement minor discrepancies would prove the two accounts to be based upon irreconcileable narratives, intended to refer to widely different routes, and therefore one or the other fictitious.

In discussions of this sort scholastic critics often create half their difficulties by a slight failure in imagination. They omit an essential preliminary step. In place of adequately realising the geographical standpoint of the author they are discussing, and of the audience he addressed, they unconsciously impute to both their own knowledge. In order to understand Polybius we must first ascertain not only what his general conception of the Alps was, but also how far he might reasonably expect his readers would be able to follow him.

The Greek historian pictured the Alps as mountains extending from their junction with the Apennines east of Marseilles across the whole head of Italy. They were drained by two great rivers—by the Rhône on one side, flowing from a source north of the Adriatic in a deep valley parallel to the mountains; on the other by the Po, which in its early course ran southwards into the Cisalpine plain. Except in so far as it exaggerates the course of the Rhône, this picture was roughly correct; for it is only convention that fixes on the brook from Monte Viso rather than on the stream from Mont Blanc as the true Po. But it was exceedingly vague, and did not lend itself to nice detail. We find that in fact Polybius recognises only three broad divisions—Rhône Country, Passes of the Alps, Plains of the Po.

Into this loose framework the details he had gathered from eye-witnesses of Hannibal's march had to be fitted, and so fitted that they should be intelligible for readers who had no maps, whose orography was even vaguer than his own, and to whom the local names he had gathered on his travels would convey no definite meaning. For their sakes, with a perverse indifference to posterity, he left out these names. The merit of Polybius's narrative has been very much overrated; it is now in danger of being unjustly depreciated. He was content to tell the story in the form best suited to the readers of his own time. He took no thought of the better-instructed readers of the future, and he must bear the blame of having thereby caused an infinite waste of time and temper to many generations of students. But we shall do him wrong,

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and add to our own confusion, if we take up his loose geographical expressions, his rough indications of direction, or of the sections into which he divides the march, and read them strictly and narrowly in the light of our own intimate acquaintance with the Western Alps.

Again, in the case of Livy I considered that it would be absurd to press in any pedantic spirit of literal accuracy the more picturesque incidents interwoven with the narrative, the nature of the liquid used by Hannibal to split the heated rocks,* or the phrases of his famous speech; taking warning in this respect from a matter-of-fact friend of mine who maintains to this day that the Col du Géant is the only pass that satisfies the requirements of the story, Mont Blanc—the Rupes Alba of old parchments—answering of course to the λευκόπετρον, and the view of Italy being all that can be desired! But while bearing in mind the great difference in value between the statements of Polybius and those of the later author, and while fully allowing for Livy's weakness for indulging in a description, I resolved to give even Livy credit for some regard for truth. I expected to find that, if he had coloured his incidents, he had copied his topography, or at any rate his topographical nomenclature, from the most trustworthy authorities he could procure. I thought it rash to assume that a writer who had under his eyes the narrative of one who was a prisoner in Hannibal's camp a few years after his Alpine march † was completely mistaken as to the river-basin by which Hannibal approached the Alps. I was inclined to believe, until the contrary had been proved, that, in a matter in which he evidently took particular pains to sift the evidence, he did not introduce a string of tribal names altogether without reason, and that he knew how to use intelligibly such common terms as right and left.

After reading carefully the narratives of Polybius and Livy, my next step was to turn to look at the country, by means of the helps at the elbow of every modern reader—ordnance maps, guidebooks, and works of general topography, all equally unbiased on the particular matter at issue.‡ Finally, I paid a visit to the more important localities with which I was previously unacquainted.

I venture to assume as beyond reasonable doubt that the 'Island'§ was the district between the Rhône and the Isère, and that Hannibal's starting-point for his Alpine march was an encampment near the

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* On this point Whitaker, in his *Course of Hannibal* (London, 1794), aptly quotes a passage from Pliny (xxxiii. 21), showing that vinegar was used, or that the Romans believed it to be used, for splitting the rock in Spanish mines. See also Pliny, xxiii. 28.

† Book xxi. ch. xxxviii. The prisoner's name was L. Cincius Alimentus. Some German critics assume—without proof—that his narrative was the principal authority followed both by Polybius and Livy.

‡ M. Desjardins in the first volume of his *Gaule Romaine* leaves the question open; in the second gives a very hesitating vote for the Mont Genèvre as Hannibal's Pass.

§ Isola is now a common name in the Italian Alps for villages situated between two streams above their junction.

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junction of the two rivers.* According to Polybius, he marched 'along the river' 800 stadia (100 Roman miles †), to the ascent of the Alps. This text must be read with the preceding statement. 'From the passage of the Rhône their march along the river-bank, towards the sources, as far as the ascent of the Alps leading to Italy, 1,400 stadia.' ‡

Read literally, these two sentences tell us that a march of 1,400 stades from the passage, or 800 from the confluence, *along the bank of the Rhône*, brought Hannibal to the first Alps. Nothing can be simpler, until we look at the map and find that a march of this distance up the river would not have brought him to any Alps at all, for the distance from the passage along the river-bank to the first mountains, the foot of the Mont du Chat, is about 1,736 stadia. The critics look out, therefore, for some less literal interpretation. Either Hannibal abandoned the river altogether near the confluence, at any rate between the confluence and Vienne, and the second passage is inaccurate, while the first refers only to his direction at starting; or in the first Polybius referred to general direction, while in the second he was thinking of the Isère. The advocates of the Little St. Bernard adopt the former alternative, and take Hannibal across country from Vienne to the Mont du Chat. In so doing they neglect an indication—of a negative

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* I have read M. Maissiat's *Annibal en Gaule*, which is based on the belief that the confluence mentioned by Polybius is that of the Rhône and Saône. But he altogether fails to bring Lyons within a reasonable eight days' march of the sea. And this is indispensable to his argument. It would be easy to follow M. Maissiat through the Alps with serious objections. His statements are for the most part plausible only till they are questioned. But this has already been done by one of his own countrymen, M. Bouché-Leclercq, in the *Revue Critique*, année vii. (1874), 2ème semestre, p. 186.

† The stade of Polybius is said to be somewhat less than an eighth of a Roman mile. But I may take this opportunity of saying that in my opinion —and here Mr. Bunbury agrees with me—exactness in distances has been made too much of in this discussion. An accurate measurement in a mountain country is a late result of civilisation: and rough estimates are, as a rule, exaggerated.

‡ Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πορευομένοις παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς, ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἄλπεων τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν χίλιοι τετρακόσιοι. B. iii. ch. 39. Compare the παρὰ τὸν Πάδον of ch. 47.

I attach little weight to the further statement that they marched eastwards. Old maps show a very general vagueness as to the points of the compass, and Polybius, who believed the Rhône to rise north of the Adriatic, might naturally underestimate the amount of north and south in its course. Some critics attempt to distinguish the *Ascent of the Alps* of ch. 50 from the 'ascent of the Alps leading to Italy,' and count 800 stades from the passage of the Rhône, and not from the confluence. This reading appears to me contrary both to the letter and the spirit of Polybius, who looked on the Alps as a whole. Compare ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν τόπων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ch. 47, and ch. 56, where the fifteen days clearly cover what has passed from the beginning of the Ἄλπεων ἀναβολή of ch. 49.

Polybius, in describing the passage of the Rhône, twice mentions that the elephant drivers were *Indians*, a piece of evidence to be duly weighed by those who are interested in discussing whether the Carthaginians trained African elephants or imported elephants from India. It is possible that from elephant drivers having been first imported into Africa from India, *Indians* may have become a generic term, just as at Paris *Suisse* is the common appellation of a doorkeeper.

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nature—which may fairly be deduced from a comparison of two passages in the narrative. Polybius speaks (ch. 49) of the mountain-range forming the base of the triangle of the Island in the very terms he has just (ch. 47) blamed other writers for applying to the route followed by Hannibal. The inference that Hannibal did not cross the Island and the Mont du Chat is obvious—and has, I find, been already pointed out by Ukert and approved by Thirlwall.* The Mont Cenisians and some Little St. Bernardines, including Dr. Arnold, make bold to say that 'the words of Polybius leave it doubtful' whether he meant the Rhône or the Isère. According to their view, Polybius in his second mention of *τὸν ποταμὸν* was thinking of the Isère. They find their first Alps in a narrowing of the Isère valley near Pontcharra, 87 Roman miles from Valence, which has never interfered since with armies, roads, or railways. I cannot bring myself to believe that Polybius meant by 'the river' anything but the Rhône. But I think he used the expression 'along the river-bank' to cover the general direction of the march up to the Alps through the Rhône country.

Now let us take up Livy. According to his more detailed account, Hannibal turned to the left from the confluence of the Rhône and Isère, leaving the direct road to Italy on his right. One direct road from this point to Italy is quite clear on the map. It leads up the valley of the Drôme, past Die, and over the Col de Cabre. This was in Livy's time a well-known Roman highroad. By following the Isère, Hannibal, as he faced the Alps, or, as Polybius says, eastwards, turned away from it to the left.

Livy next gives us the names of three tribes Hannibal passed through: the Tricastini, Vocontii, and Tricorii.

The *Tricastini*, into whose territory Hannibal passed, lay, according to Joanne and the atlases, far south, near St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux. But a better authority, Mr. Long, in Smith's 'Dictionary of Ancient Geography,' places them between the Drôme and Isère, following Ptolemy, who had located them next to the Allobroges and north of the Vocontii on the banks of the Isère; † and in the notes to the new edition of Ptolemy, edited by Herr Müller and now publishing in Paris, this position of the tribe is fully established, and the causes by which many writers had been mistakenly led to place the *Tricastini* further south are explained.

Now let us see about 'the furthest parts of the territory of the *Vocontii*.' Here we have no difficulty. Joanne fixes Vizille on the Drac as their frontier, and it would be their further frontier as opposed to their nearer frontier on the road up the Drôme. 'Vizille (Vigilia,

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* *Philological Museum*, vol. ii. Cambridge, 1832. The Mont du Chat road, it seems probable, did not come into use till much later.

† *Εἶτ' ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ἀρκτικώτατοι μὲν Ἀλλόβρογες, ὑπὸ Μεδούλους, ὧν πόλις μεσόγειος Οὐΐεννα· ὑφ' οὓς δυσμικώτεροι μὲν Σεγαλλαυνοί, ὧν πόλις Οὐαλεντία κολωνία· ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ Τρικαστινοί. Geogr.* bk. ii. ch. 10. In the map of Gaul to the Latin Ptolemy of A.D. 1478 (see facsimile in Elton's *Origins of English History*), the Tricastini are placed immediately south of the lake of Geneva! In the map in Cluverius they are on the Isère.

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Castra Vigiliæ) . . . surveillait les belliqueux Voconces établis sur la rive gauche du Drac.' *

Following up the same valley we find in St. Bonnet the chief town of the *Tricorii*, 'ville principale des Tricoriens à l'époque gauloise.' †

We have thus found for Hannibal a road to the foot of the Alps fairly satisfying the requirements of both narratives: for the 800 stadia from the confluence of Polybius would have brought Hannibal to a point near Corps, a day's march from the Col Bayard.

Polybius next describes a battle with the Allobroges in a pass, and the capture of a town lying beyond the crest. The Col Bayard (4,088 feet) and Gap (Vapincum) fit well enough with the narrative. The ridge which here divides the Drac and the Durance is steep sided and broad topped. The flowery meadows of the Plateau de Manse (named from a Roman *Mansio*), which forms its summit, were actually occupied in A.D. 1692 by an army. The isolated hill that rises above modern Gap is just the site for a primitive hill fortress.

Livy, however, describing an engagement in terms so nearly identical that it is clear the same engagement is in question, places it *after* the passage of the *Durance*—for I assume that no doubt can arise in any sound mind that the Druentia so graphically described by Livy is identical with the Durance. This is irreconcileable with the description of the day-by-day progress given by Polybius. As I read his text, the first battle took place on the third day after Hannibal entered the mountains, and the sixth before that on which the crest was reached.‡

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* *Alpes Françaises*, p. 720.

† *Alpes Françaises*, p. 729. See, again, Mr. Long in Smith's Dictionary, noting particularly his last sentence, where he sees against his will the conclusion his facts point to. Mr. Law, being seemingly rather hard pressed for arguments against this route, finds one in the assertion that it enters a barren mountain district long before reaching La Salle. The answer may be found in Joanne. The road lies among mountains, but soft and fertile mountains. This is the description given of the country between La Mure and Corps:—'Cette contrée est appelée le Beaumont. En effet il est peu de pays de montagnes plus beaux. Les ruisseaux sont bordés de frênes et de saules, les hauteurs sont couronnées de chênes. Les productions les plus variées s'y succèdent; vignobles, vergers, prés, jardins, chenevières, bouquets d'arbres, maisons encadrées de feuillage en attestent la fertilité.' I can confirm this description from my own knowledge.

‡ The employment of the nine days between the commencement of the ascent of the Alps and the arrival on their summit is, I believe, quite clearly set out in Polybius's narrative.

1. Advance and encampment opposite enemy's position.
2. Reconnaissance.
3. Capture of pass and town.
4. Halt and provisionment.

5, 6, 7. Unopposed advance, with arrival of embassy on 6.

8. Attack of hillmen at White Rock.
9. Arrival on summit.

That the great danger Hannibal fell into on the fourth day from the town was the attack, and not the mere visit of a few chiefs, is surely obvious in itself, and clear from the context.

On the descent the 'three days from the precipices' are reckoned from the arrival at the defile. As the troops passed through they marched forward to more hospitable regions, and the force was reunited by the rear-guard being

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Livy therefore, if his other indications are trustworthy, has misplaced this action in so far as the banks of the river are concerned. This is the one serious discrepancy I find between the two narratives, and it is a fair subject for argument whether such a discrepancy throws doubt on Livy's whole story. It may be—and has been—argued that the fact that the historian has here either misread his authority or followed a different authority from Polybius proves his entire narrative worthless. But how many historians shall we have to throw aside if we press consistently the principle that topographical carelessness is a fatal disqualification? * Unless we are prepared thus to discard Livy, we must admit that it was by a pass leading out of the basin of the Durance that Hannibal crossed. For the historian himself has expressly negatived both the St. Bernards, and the Durance and Mont Cenis are wholly irreconcileable.

Before considering which of the passes leading from the basin of the Durance over the Alpine watershed was likely to have been adopted, let us get together as clearly as possible all the indications given us by tribal names.

It is with the Allobroges, according to Polybius, that Hannibal fights his first battle. He descends into the plain of the Po and the nation of the Insubrians. These are the only indications given by Polybius; nor does Livy add, beyond the Durance, a single local name. Now, at a later period, and perhaps in Hannibal's time, the peculiar territory of the Allobroges lay north of the Isère; † that of the Insubrians east of the Ticino.‡ But while it is often possible to dis-

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brought up on the third day. Two days were spent on the pass, one day in getting down to the defile: these make up the whole fifteen in the Alps.

Livy, as I read him, confirms this. His 'four days spent about the rock' include that on which the vanguard reached it, as well as that on which the elephants of the rear-guard passed it, and conclude the fifteen days of the passage of the Alps. The three following days of halt correspond to the time given to resting the army mentioned by Polybius, or may possibly be the three days of rest the vanguard enjoyed while waiting for the remainder of the force to get past the defile.

* The following are among the authorities whose works may have been before Polybius and Livy:—Silenus (quoted by Corn. Nepos, iii. 8, 9, and Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 49), Sosilus (C. Nepos, *ibid.*), Lucius Cincius Alimentus (frequently cited by Livy), and Lucius Cœlius Antipater.

† It has been frequently stated that a stone marking the frontier of their (the Vienne) district stood, a few years ago, on the Forclaz du Prarion, a now deserted pass, which, in the memory of the older inhabitants of Chamonix, was, before the improvement of the Servoz road, commonly used by peasants going to the fairs of St. Gervais or Mégêve (Haute-Savoie). It was removed by an innkeeper, and is now kept concealed and locked up under an iron plate by the roadside, at the hamlet of Les Plagnes. But it appears from the facsimile of the inscription given in M. Durier's *Mont Blanc* that it is not the Viennenses, but the VIIMUENSES, whose frontier with the Centrones was determined. The former were probably some obscure tribe living on the N.E. (the Chamonix) side of the Forclaz.

‡ On what authority has the map-maker employed by Mr. Capes to illustrate his school edition of Livy (Bks. xxi.–ii.) extended the Insubres to the banks of the Stura, and removed all the southern spurs of Monte Rosa, so as to make the Italian plain begin at Aosta? Of course if the map-maker were

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tinguish accurately the limits of the smaller tribes, this can no longer be done where the name of a leading race has been used to include a whole confederacy of more or less independent tribes. Since the Allobroges fought a battle with the Romans at Vindalium, there seems no reason why they should not also have fought one with Hannibal at Vapincum, particularly as we are told that the 'chieftains of the Allobroges' had been following the Carthaginians for days before they fell upon them.*

As to the Insubrians, it is quite clear that Hannibal, whichever of the passes historians have proposed for him he may have crossed, could not possibly have descended into what was afterwards the special territory of that tribe. Polybius therefore, *on any supposition*, must have used the name of the acknowledged leaders of the Cisalpine Gauls to show that the Carthaginian army came down first upon Gauls.†

Polybius goes on to tell us that Hannibal, after resting his army, attacked the Ligurian Taurini who 'dwell along the mountain side.' Livy seems to say (the text is corrupt) that Hannibal came down among the Gauls nearest the Taurini. He adds the incontrovertible

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accurate, one at least of the great objections to the Little St. Bernard would cease to exist.

* Desjardins, *La Gaule Romaine*, vol. ii. p. 216: 'Nous cherchons à retrouver l'étendue des domaines de ces peuples tels qu'ils étaient à l'arrivée des Romains. La difficulté d'un pareil travail résulte d'abord de la pénurie où nous sommes de documents géographiques pour cette époque, et ensuite de ces liens de patronage et de clientèle si répandus dans la Gaule, liens qui empêchent d'isoler ces peuples et parfois même de les distinguer entre eux. Ces liens, plus ou moins durables, unissaient par une dépendance plus ou moins étroite les petits peuples aux grands, et créaient quelquefois même une échelle à deux ou à plusieurs degrés comme pour les fiefs du moyen âge, témoin les Allobroges, qui, lors de leur lutte suprême contre les Romains, rangèrent sous leur commandement les petits peuples voisins,' &c.

Note also the leading part constantly taken by the Allobroges in Roman History. (Cicero, *Ad Div.*)

† The relationship between Ligurians (in the local sense) and Gauls perplexes antiquaries. Were they wholly distinct races, or allied in their remote origin? Most recent writers incline to the latter view, which it seems to me might be supported by a careful examination of local nomenclature in the South-Western Alps. Many Celtic words are found in all quarters —*e.g.* Combe; Ciamp and Cia (Campus); Caire (cf. the Welsh Caer); Pena (cf. Pania, Pen, Ben). Some words found principally south of Monte Viso are, Rua, a hamlet, Vastera, a châlet (vastum, pasture-land, waste), Margaria, a shepherd's hut (marga, manure: in the Maritime Alps the sheep are penned closely at night, and the manure thus accumulated carried down in autumn to the lower ground), Gias, a châlet, Mail and Mal, a peak (cf. Mull and Moel). In the Corsican Alps these words are absent, and the Mandria and Baite of the Eastern Alps prevail.

The Ligurian character might also be appealed to. They were vain and hasty. They were also good mountaineers. See the classical epithets passim, and the anecdote of the Ligurian in Sallust's *Jugurtha*, ch. 93, 4.

Mr. Freeman, however, inclines to think the Ligurians were not Aryans (*Hist. Geography*, p. 46); and it is of course possible that the words adduced were brought into the country by a later wave of immigration.

The châlets in the northern valleys of the Maritime Alps are very peculiar bee-hive-shaped constructions, resembling somewhat in form a British hut, or the models of primitive shelters found in Etruscan tombs, and still reproduced, in perishable materials, on the Roman Campagna.

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argument against the Little St. Bernard, that had Hannibal crossed the Graian Pass, the Taurini would have lain out of his road.

Two great passes, and two only, lead across the part of the Alpine chain which separates from Italy the basin of the Durance. These are the Col de l'Argentière (6,545 feet), and the Mont Genèvre (6,102 feet). Both are natural highways, known from early times. Both are fully described by the author of a work published at Paris in 1515, with the title 'La totale et vraie Description de tous les Passaiges, Lieux, et Destroictz, par lesquels on peut passer et errer des Gaules ès Italies, et signamment par où passèrent Hannibal, Jules César, &c.'* Among the approaches from Grenoble to the Mont Genèvre the author prefers that by St. Bonnet; and he particularly mentions the Col de Vars as leading to the Col de l'Argentière. Turning to modern authorities, Mr. Ball writes in the 'Alpine Guide' of the Col de l'Argentière, 'It is the lowest and most accessible pass between the Col di Tenda and the Mont Genèvre;' M. Joanne, 'Le Col que doit franchir une route internationale est un des plus fréquentés des Alpes; des milliers de Piémontais le traversent chaque année.' The author of *Le Alpi che cingono l'Italia considerate militarmente* (Turin, 1845), a work published by the Piedmontese staff, expresses himself as follows (p. 525):—'*Vie principali che valicavano le Alpi*,' (in Roman times). 'La prima . . . . entrata nella valle di Stura saliva il facil Passo dell' Argentiera, da dove forse erano discesi i primi Galli in Italia. Finalmente la stessa via calava della parte opposta de' Monti, cosi nell' Ambrunese come nella Provenza dei tempi moderni.' Signori Martelli and Vaccarone in their 'Guide to the Alps of Piedmont' (1880) say, 'This pass is the easiest and most important of all those leading into France between the Col di Tenda and Mont Genèvre; it was known to the Romans, and their passage into Gaul by this route is proved by the inscriptions found at Bersezio and Argentera. *Napoleon I., recognising the facility and importance of this route, decreed the construction of a road over it with the title* Route Impériale de l'Espagne en Italie. But events interrupted the execution of his project.'

I have myself crossed the pass this summer. It is the gentlest in the Western Alps, rather to be compared to the road between Keswick and Ambleside than to the Simplon, Mont Cenis, or Little St. Bernard. The approach to it on the western side by the lower gorges of the Ubaye was in old times difficult, and travellers and armies preferred to cross the Col de Vars from Mont Dauphin on the Durance. On this cart-track the only rough place is the descent to the Ubaye below St. Paul. On the Italian side the first descent from the Col de l'Argentière, though short, is steep and rough, and the gorge of the Barricades, ten miles lower down, has often proved an obstacle to armies.

The other passes in this part of the chain are higher, rugged, and offer no certain trace of ancient passage. It would be waste of time to contest the claims of the Col de la Traversette (9,560 feet) under Monte Viso, although some have been found to attribute Louis of

* Reprinted in the *Meslanges Historiques* of N. C. Tricassinus (in the B. M. Library).

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Saluzzo's tunnel to Punic vinegar, and to quote Dante's reference to the passage of Hannibal in support of their view.*

The passages cited, implying that Hannibal, though he marched through the Taurini, did not come out of the Alps immediately on them, seem to me to furnish an argument, though, perhaps, not a conclusive argument, against the Mont Genèvre. No one who has been at Cuneo, on the other hand, can fail to feel how well they suit with the Col de l'Argentière. An army encamped near the site of that city would have lain in the country of the Vagienni, and two passages of Pliny, when put together, show that the Vagienni were of Insubrian descent.† It would further have had the country of the Taurini lying 'along the mountain side' before it, and would have been led by the configuration of the river basins northwards through that tribe, and not due east among the hills of Asti, as a reader trusting to general maps might assume.

It is time to consider the obstacles Hannibal encountered near the pass, and to see how we can fit them to the natural features of the track suggested. We want a defile with a Rock a day's march from the crest on the western side,‡ space to encamp on the top, a short, steep descent towards Italy, and another and very remarkable gorge with *a possibility of avoiding it*, within a day's march on the way down.

Before looking for this gorge, it must be particularly noted that Polybius and Livy agree in describing the difficulties from a fresh snowfall as having been met with in the first descent from the pass, and in the attempt to turn the defile by a flank march over the hills. Mr. Bosworth Smith—in common with previous writers—confuses the narrative, and is led into large and needless suppositions by a belief that these difficulties were encountered in the gorge itself.

I cannot bring myself to include among our requirements a pano-

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* *Paradiso*, ch. vi. l. 50.

† 'Caturiges Insubrium exsules' (iii. 7), 'Caturigibus orti Vagienni' (iii. 21). A country town is still known as Ceva Vagienna. The Caturiges seem to have been an important people. We find them at Chorges, in the valley of the Durance (Ladoucette, *Hautes Alpes*); and again, according to Strabo, in the mountains above the Salassi (see *post*). *Catorissium* given in the Peutinger tables as 5 M. P. from Cularo (Grenoble) may perhaps be identified with Risset on the Drac, but there is no evidence of Caturiges near.

Impossible as it may be accurately to distinguish the Ligurian and Celtic tribes, we can trace two streams, one of Ligurians from S. to N. along the E. flank of the Alps, from the sea to Mont Blanc (Taurini, Salassi), cut at right angles by the Celtic tribes of the Caturiges and Vagienni connecting the Insubres with their Transalpine kinsmen. I suspect the Vesubiani and Esubiani, whose names linger in the Vesubia and Ubaye, were also Celtic. The existence of a chain of kindred tribes along this route would of course be at once a proof that it was an ancient highway of immigration, and a reason for Hannibal's guides selecting it.

‡ The *Alpine Guide*, following Mr. Ellis, places the White Rock half-way between the captured town and the watershed. It appears to me, however, impossible for any reader free from theories to misunderstand Polybius's very clear statement, that Hannibal reached the top of the pass in one day from the Rock.

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rama of Italy. Surely, unless Hannibal and his soldiers were strangely devoid of imagination, the smallest token that the great barrier was at last overcome, and the promised land almost won, would have been enough 'evidence of Italy' to justify and give force to his famous address. Instances may be found by the score of similar appeals from leaders to the feelings of their followers. Hannibal would not have been Hannibal had he missed the opportunity of reviving the courage of his soldiers by some such a speech. Great generals are commonly, critics less often, men of imagination.

How far the Mont Genèvre satisfies the requirements of Polybius, I will enquire presently. On the route of the Col de l'Argentière we find all we want. There are two possible ways from Gap into the Barcelonnette basin: by the gorges of the Ubaye, or up the valley of the Durance and across the Col de Vars (6,919 feet). I prefer the latter, both as more probable in itself and more agreeable to the classical narrative, despite the fact that the pass is higher than the Col de l'Argentière. As a general rule, in primitive mountain regions traffic avoids the lower gorges: it shirks crossing streams, and follows by preference easier, if steeper, hill-paths along the spurs. In this particular case, we find that the Col de Vars route was preferred by armies up to the seventeenth century. The Col de Vars route again, leading up the open Durance valley, agrees with the three days' easy marching after the first battle of Polybius, while the barrenness of its scenery, contrasted to the more smiling landscapes of the Drac, would naturally create in Africans the sentiment of horror dwelt on by Livy.

On no Alpine path has a satisfactory λευκόπετρον ever been found wanting. If Hannibal took the lower road which follows more or less the course of the Ubaye, there are plenty of bare rocks—and λευκόπετρον in Polybius means no more than this—all along the valley; if he crossed the Col de Vars, one thrusts itself across the path just in the right place. Where the path approaches the Ubaye the stream itself flows in a deep cleft. The old road winds among the rocks above it, supported in one place by wooden galleries and commanded *on one side*, according to Livy's description (though I attach little weight to such minute coincidences), by upper ground. Here in A.D. 1515 and 1744 the French troops encountered difficulties. On the Col de l'Argentière itself there is room for an encampment, though no view of Italy; * the first descent is steep, † the valley immediately below it on the eastern slope is dull and arid.‡ The gorge of Le Barricate, which succeeds, answers in most respects to our needs. It lies between 4,000 and 5,000 feet above the sea. It can be, and has been, turned by an army by a hill-path, the easiness of which may reasonably be made the most serious objection to this route. I have myself seen on Sept. 24–5 snow falling among the chestnuts of the Maritime Alps, and lying

* 'Dans la distance se montrent les montagnes bleues de Vinadio.'—Joanne's *Alpes Françaises*, p. 1001. But these mountains are the highest group of the Maritime Alps, the peaks of Valdieri.

† 'Les nombreux lacets d'un sentier âpre et rocailleux.'—*Alpes Françaises.*

‡ 'Arida e cosparsa di roccie prive di vegetazione.'—*Guida alle Alpi Occidentali del Piemonte.* Martelli e Vaccarone. Torino, 1880.

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heavily on all the ridges and slopes above 5,500 feet. Snow fell down to Vinadio in the third week of June 1883, and there was plenty lying in avalanche-beds below the Barricades at the same date. There is no need, therefore, to assume a change in the European climate in order to account for Hannibal's difficulties in the flank march above the gorge in the last week of October.* Nor need we create crevassed glaciers. Every muleteer knows only too well the state of an alpine path after a double snowfall, described by Polybius.†

* There has possibly been some change of climate in the last 2,000 years in the Alps; but had the snow-level been a thousand feet lower, the Great St. Bernard could not have been crossed by a Roman army in February (A.D. 59. See Tacitus, *Annals*, 1, lxx.), nor would Augustus have had a preference for Rhætian wines.—Suetonius, *In Aug.* lxvii.; Virgil, *Georg.* II. 95. The Marquis de St. Simon's account of the retreat in November 1744 (see *post*) should be studied by those who disbelieve in the possibility of snow being met with on the Col de l'Argentière. I need not tell alpine travellers that after September has begun snow may close the passes at any time. Sometimes it falls heavily at once, sometimes there is none at Christmas. February and March are the months of heaviest snowfall.

King (*Italian Valleys of the Pennine Alps*) and Arnold (*History of Rome*, vol. iii.) fall into a groundless conclusion as to a change in the alpine climate by failing to make allowance for the variations in individual seasons. In one year the carriage passes are open (for wheels) in April, in another not till mid-June. I speak from personal experience. As to the time of Evelyn's passage, Arnold was naturally deceived by the words 'in September' interpolated—in brackets—by some transcriber. The context shows plainly that Evelyn crossed the Simplon before May 20 (old style), for he drew a bill on England at Venice on April 23, 1646, and he paid a bill for six weeks' medical attendance at Geneva in the first week of July of the same year.

Beaumont (*Maritime Alps*, p. 45) says that the snowfall on the Maritime Alps is heavier than on the Mont Cenis, and quotes his own experience on August 7, when there was a fall of 'full three feet' on the Col di Tenda, and on September 22, when a soldier was frozen to death under his eyes on the same pass. On June 9, 1749, six inches of snow fell in the town of Demonte. Physical geographers, noting that these are the first heights to catch the moisture-laden sea-winds, will not be surprised at their exceptional snowfall.

† In 1881, on the Col du Bonhomme, all the effects recorded by Polybius were reproduced with curious exactness. The lower snow had fallen on August 15, the second a fortnight later. Of course what happened on the Bonhomme at this season might well happen in the Maritime Alps seven or eight weeks later.

But there is this difficulty—and to my mind it is one of the most serious difficulties—in fitting Polybius's narrative to the Col de l'Argentière, that the historian clearly states that the lower snow in Hannibal's case was the remains of the snowfall of the preceding winter. I do not think it likely, supposing the climate to have been the same, that any snow, except in an avalanche-bed, could have remained at or below the level of the pass through the summer. But a large avalanche-bed would sufficiently account for all the difficulties encountered. It is not, however, inconceivable that Polybius may have fallen into the error of misdating the lower snow, and that it may have fallen during the bad weather which we are told preceded Hannibal's passage, and added to his difficulties by flooding the streams. More than one tourist in 1881 made on the spot, and in my hearing, a similar mistake as to the snowfalls of the season. Many summers had passed before Polybius stood, if he ever did stand, on the exact pass crossed by Hannibal. In this case, on the other hand, the Carthaginians would hardly have found the top of the Argentière clear for camping on. On the whole, therefore, I prefer the avalanche-bed theory.

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So far as distances are concerned there is no difficulty. Gap lies 7 M. P. from the Col Bayard. To Guillestre it is 40 M. P. more. The ascent to the Col de Vars may be fairly put at 11 M. P.; the descent at 4 M. P. to the Rocher de St. Paul; * thence the ascent to the Col de l'Argentière, 14 M. P.; from the pass the descent to Forte Demonte, the ancient Auriates, 30 M. P.

On the whole, then, a comparison of Polybius and Livy leads us to the conclusion that they based their histories on more than one earlier narrative, and possibly not on the same, or all the same, narratives; and that while these narratives agreed as to the main events of the march they differed as to their location. We find that, while in every other respect the two historians agree, they are hopelessly at variance as to the date and place of the first serious engagement. Polybius gives no certain indication of the river by which the crest of the Alps was approached; Livy states it to have been the Durance.

At this point I remembered—what I ought to have thought of long before—that outside the connected narratives of Polybius and Livy there are scattered passages of some authority in classical literature which deserve to be taken into consideration.

1. Strabo says of Polybius *τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον, διὰ Λιγύων μὲν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ Πελάγει, εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν, εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν, τετάρτην δὲ διὰ Ῥαιτῶν, ἁπασας δὲ κρημνώδεις.*

Accepting the reference to Hannibal as genuine—its absence in one MS. seems insufficient ground for doubting it—we have this addition made to Polybius's previous statement that Hannibal came down boldly among the Insubrians, namely, that he also *marched through the Taurini*, a course incompatible with the Graian Pass.

2. We have a statement from Cornelius Nepos that Hannibal crossed the Alps which separate Italy from Gaul, which no one had ever crossed before him with an army except Hercules, from which fact that passage (*saltus*) is now called Graian. Nepos gives the name Graian to the whole range between Gaul and Italy, and is as far as possible from having in his mind any particular pass. The pass of Hercules, according to the best legend, was, moreover, the Cornice.

3. We have preserved for us in the commentaries on Virgil (on Æneid x. 13) of Servius, a grammarian of the fifth century, a catalogue of the passes into Gaul, beginning at the sea and ending with the Graian Pass, made by Varro.

'Alpes quinque viis Varro dicit transiri posse: "una, quæ est juxta mare per Liguras; altera, quâ Hannibal transiit; tertia, quâ Pompeius ad Hispaniense bellum profectus est; quarta, quâ Hasdrubal de Galliâ in Italiam venit; quinta, quæ quondam a Græcis possessa est, quæ exinde Alpes Græciæ appellantur."' Some hostile friends urge me not to attach too much weight to a statement we have only at secondhand.

* The Rocher de St. Paul of the French maps is on the opposite side of the river. I retain the name for the rock on the road, as it has been used by all historians.

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But they supply me with no reason for doubting the accuracy of Servius, and no critic seems to dispute the text, though I believe the passage is not in all the MSS. With this must be taken Pompey's own statement in a letter to the Senate preserved by Sallust ('Hist.' lib. iii.), that he took a route different from Hannibal's, and for his purpose more direct—'nobis opportunius.'

Marcus Terentius Varro, the authority here quoted, was himself an experienced general, who as Pompey's lieutenant had traversed the district he described. But he was a good deal more. He was the writer of his day (and that day was a long one, B.C. 116 to B.C. 27), who had the highest literary reputation for knowledge and accuracy. On this account Cæsar selected him to superintend the formation of the great library it was one of his schemes to found at Rome. Varro's fame long survived him: *Veterum omnium doctissimus*, a mediæval commentator calls him; and he was one of those for whom Dante made affectionate enquiry in the after-world.

Could any more weighty confirmation of the identification to which we have already been drawn by Polybius and Livy be produced than this precise statement from so competent an authority? Is it reasonable to doubt that Varro has given us a list of the great passes into Gaul, practicable when he wrote, in their natural order? Is it possible to doubt it any longer, when we find the five passes prominent at this day? Leaving out the Col di Tenda, which is not a pass into Gaul, there are at the present time five carriage-roads completed or in progress from Italy to France—the Cornice, the Col de l'Argentière, begun by Napoleon I., but still (though passable for carriages) incomplete for a few miles on the French side, the Mont Genèvre, the Mont Cenis, and the Little St. Bernard.*

Those who read Varro's catalogue in any but its most straightforward sense fall at once into difficulty. For they must give up the Mont Genèvre for Pompey and find him another pass. They must hold that Varro took the Great St. Bernard out of its proper order, and believed it to have been Hasdrubal's route. They must suggest some good reason for Hasdrubal making a gratuitous circuit across the Jura and round the Lake of Geneva to the Pennine Alps! They must maintain further that no pass from the valley of the Arc to the Dora Riparia was known in Cæsar's time, although these Alps were named for a time after him, the Julian Alps, a title they lost when King Cottius repaired their roads.

The one argument on the other side—why does Varro leave out the Great St. Bernard?—is not difficult to meet. We might say—according to Servius—Varro was counting over, not all the Alpine passes, but the 'Montes Gallici,' and therefore took no notice of a road leading, as Livy tells us, among half-German tribes. But there is a better answer. Varro was already sixty when in B.C. 57 one of Cæsar's lieutenants

* See on this point the very latest authority, the first instalment of Civiale's '*Les Alpes*' (Paris, Rothschild, 1882). The accompanying map shows well how the hills of Piedmont close in Cuneo on the east, and turn armies to the north.

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made an abortive effort to open the Great St. Bernard by subduing the tribes who held the Lower Valais and the northern approaches to the pass. How then should he mention it as a desirable route into Gaul?

The further allusions in classical authors to the pass of Hannibal do not, in my opinion, throw any more light on the subject. Silius Italicus adds nothing to Livy.

Appian states (vii. 4) that the pass crossed was known in his day as the δίοδος Ἀννίβου.* Eutropius † and Valerius Maximus ‡ agree in stating that Hannibal made a new pass, 'Alpes adhuc in eâ parte invias sibi patefecit.' 'Novo transitu Alpium juga patefecit.' § Those who wish to see the authorities brought together under their eyes will do well to consult the ponderous 'Italia Antiqua' of Cluverius (ch. 33).

But the objection is sure to be taken, and, unless it can be answered, it is a forcible one, that we have no good reason to think that the Col de l'Argentière was an ancient highway. It does not appear in the Itineraries. This fact would not in itself prove that the pass was unknown at the time of the second Punic War. When roads are made, old tracks fall into disuse. That the Moro and the Gries and the Little St. Bernard do not figure among the highways of the Napoleonic Empire is no proof that they were not common routes before there were any carriage-roads. But it is unnecessary for me to fall back on this position. Monsieur Desjardins, in his 'Géographie de la Gaule Romaine,'‖ supplies ample evidence that the Col de l'Argentière was used by the Celts, and under the Empire crossed by a Roman road:—

'Bien que les itinéraires anciens ne mentionnent pas la voie romaine qui devait partir de Vapincum (Gap), et s'engager dans la vallée de Barcelonnette pour gagner le Col de l'Argentière, suivre la vallée de la Stura en Italie, et atteindre Pollentia (Polenza) et Alba Pompeia (Albe), les vestiges qu'elle a laissés et les inscriptions qu'on y a trouvées témoignent de son existence sur le versant italien du moins. Quant au versant français, la vallée de l'Ubaye et celle de l'Ubayette, qui conduisent au Col de l'Argentière, renferment, il est vrai, des ruines, des monuments romains, et quelques inscriptions, elles ont surtout donné *un très-grand nombre d'objets de bronze de l'époque celtique*; mais on ne trouve pas dans les ouvrages des antiquaires qui les ont parcourues et décrites qu'il y soit parlé de traces certaines de voies romaines.'

The passages quoted in foot-notes by M. Desjardins are important:—

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* I may call attention to Ihne's just remarks on this passage. Those who attach weight to popular legend may find traces of Hannibal from Nice to Aosta. The inscribed rocks near the Col di Tenda have been attributed to his or Hasdrubal's soldiers.

† Bk. iii. ‡ Bk. iii. ch. 7.

§ Compare the tone and words of P. Jovius, *H. sui Temporis*, l. 298:—'Ad fallendos hostes novæ Alpes, nova asperioraque montium culmina, quæ nunquam ullis anteà exercitibus patuissent, tentanda erant.'

Critics who press, in its most literal sense, every expression of the classic historians, should take warning from the various accounts of Francis I.'s passage. Brockedon has pointed out their contradictions and exaggerations in his *Passes of the Alps*.

‖ Vol. i. p. 96. Paris, 1878.

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'Durandi "Delle antiche città di Pedona, Caburro, Germanicia e dell' Augusta de' Vagienni." Torino 1769, p. 70: "Che nella valle di Stura, per il Colle dell' Argentiera, vi passasse un' antica strada romana, oltre le vestigie di essa, che tratto tratto ancor si veggono, consta altresi da una lapide ritrovata appunto sull' istesso colle presso la Cappella di S^ta^. Maria Maddalena vicino al lago donde esce di quà la Stura, e dalla occidentale estremità del medesimo vi nasce l'Ubaja (lisez l'Ubajetta) che scorre per la valle di Barcellonnetta. . . . US ALPIUM MARITTIMARUM VIAM HANC VETUSTATE COLLAPSAM REFICIENDAM . . . PENS. SUI . . . BALNEA SUSCIT . . ." (The Baths of Vinadio are near at hand.)

'Cette autre inscription trouvée au Col de l'Argentière a été conservée par un manuscrit de 1559. . . . ANTONINO PIO FELICI INUICTO AUGUSTO . . . P. P. . . . M. LVCIUS (*sic*) AURELIUS VALENS ALPIUM MARITIMARUM STATUAM POSUIT ET CUM . . . BUS ORNATUM DEDICAVIT.' *

'Des ruines et d'autres antiquités ont été trouvées en ce lieu et à Bersezio, un peu au-dessous des sources de la Stura.' (op. cit. 114.) 'La voie romaine traversait le passage étroit du Barricate, nommé dans une carte de 1025 Clausæ Pobiovardi.' †

'L'existence d'une route dans la vallée supérieure de la Stura semble ressortir encore de ce passage de l'Anonyme de Ravenne: "Juxta fines Albuis seu Albiliæ supra scriptæ Italiæ est civitas quæ dicitur Ororiatis item Albis," iii. 33, cf. Guido, 36; Ororiatis est Auriates, que Durandi place avec raison près de Forte-Demonte entre le Col de l'Argentière et Coni.' ‡

Durandi further points out that spots respectively four and five Roman miles from the supposed site of Auriates are still known as Quarto and Quinto. A Roman altar, with an inscription commemorating the pacification of the Alps under Augustus, stood for long in the church at Demonte. § The village at the foot of the Portæ is now Pietra Porzio, a name which recalls the Pyrenean Pied du Port, and doubtless owes its present form to false etymology. Two French authors, who have written with local knowledge on the antiquities of the Basses Alpes, furnish conclusive evidence of the presence, first of Celtic tribes, and afterwards of Romans in the valley of Barcelonnette.‖ There is hardly a village where armlets and coins have not been discovered; the word 'Romain' occurs in two local names. The forest above the junction of the Ubaye and Ubayette is still known as 'La Sylve.' They also hand down to us, through mediæval historians of Provence, a classical name for the Col de l'Argentière—Mons Lictius.

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* Op. cit. p. 113.

† Durandi, *Il Piemonte Cispadano Antico*, p. 108. Torino, 1774.

‡ Ibid. p. 99.

§ Gioffredo, *Storia delle Alpi Maritime.*

‖ *Étude Archéologique et Géographique sur la Vallée de Barcelonnette à l'Époque Celtique*, par Mons. Ch. Chappuis (Besançon, 1862); and *Recherches sur la Géographie des Basses Alpes*, par Mons. D. Henry (Digne, 1842). Both these tracts, as well as M. Chappuis's Report to the Minister of Public Instruction on the Passage of Hannibal (see p. 289), may be found in the British Museum. Mons. Chappuis has also printed earlier works: *Examen critique de l'opinion de Cœlius Antipater sur le passage d'Annibal dans les Alpes*, Paris, 1864; and *Sentences de M. Terentius Varron*, which I have not seen.

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Brockedon cites a passage in the *Antichità Romane* of Andreas Fulvius Ursinus (Rome, 1513), in which that writer asserts that there were two Viæ Æmiliæ, the second of which, constructed by Scaurus, extended as far as Dauphiné. But this wants confirmation.

We have, however, sufficient proof that the Col de l'Argentière was traversed by a Roman road, for no one will argue that the Roman road stopped short on the Col. It is also clear (and this is very important) that the part of the chain it crosses was on the western side thickly inhabited up to its crest by Celts, while on the eastern side dwelt the Celtic Vagienni. It is not necessary to adopt definitively the suggestion of the Piedmontese staff (see p. 276) that this was the route of the great early Gallic invasions. But it can hardly be disputed that it was one of the routes familiar to the Gauls, and therefore to Hannibal's guides.

It is curious to find that we can illustrate the view to which we have been led by turning to the story of another army that met on this pass with adventures precisely parallel, so far as natural obstacles are concerned, to Hannibal's. In the absence of the original authorities, readers may learn from Murray's 'Handbook,'* or Brockedon's 'Passes of the Alps,' some facts as to how Francis I. fared, in 1515, on the Col de l'Argentière.

In August 1515 Francis I. set out from Grenoble to pass the Alps, with an 'incredible number' of carriages, powder-waggons, and 72 large cannons and 300 small pieces, drawn by 5,000 horses. The issue of the Mont Cenis and the Mont Genèvre, the country about Turin, was in the hands of the enemy. Another route had to be found. That up the valley of the Drac was selected. The army reached Embrun without difficulty of any sort. There the generals reposed and revictualled their forces. Then they set out with five days' food for the passage of the chain. Their route led them across a ford of the Durance to Guillestre, where they camped, and over the Col de Vars into the upper valley of the Ubaye. On the descent they encountered the Rocher de St. Paul. Having, by means of blasting, made it passable for cannon, they on the next day crossed the Col de l'Argentière and camped at Larche. In the gorge of the Barricades the greatest difficulties had to be overcome—guns were swung from rock to rock with ropes; but on the third day from Guillestre the whole force successfully traversed the defile, and issued into the open valley of the Stura.†

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* Murray's *Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont*, p. 516.

† I have consulted most of the original authorities referred to by historians. These details are drawn from Paulus Jovius's *Historia sui Temporis* (xv.), whose narrative is given in full below. It is, I think, clear from his narrative that three days were spent between Guillestre and Pietra Porzio, and three more in the descent.

'Ita summo regis studio quum nihil laboris atque periculi milites recusarent, à Gratianopoli Vigiliam atque inde junctis omnibus copiis Muram, et recto itinere Eburodunum exercitus ductus. Eburoduno profecti Borbonius atque Trivultius, qui primo agmini præerant, quinque dierum commeatu proviso, ad S. Clementis atque Crispini Alpinos vicos contenderunt. Inde sub lævam relicto Genebrâ monte, Druentiam flumen exercitus vado trajecit: positisque

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The coincidences between the two marches hardly require pointing out: the provisionment in the Durance valley, the passage of the river by a ford, the difficulties at the Rocher de St. Paul, the 'Barricades' met with on the first day of the descent.

The Col de Vars and Col de l'Argentière were again, in 1692, 1710, and 1744, crossed and recrossed by armies. The story of the 1744 campaign has been told by the Marquis de St. Simon,* who 'could not resist talking about Hannibal, so close was the connection between the Carthaginian campaign and that which he had to describe.' But as he tells us that 'Tite-Live annonce clairement qu'Hannibal est venu sur le Mont Viso,'† I am not much disposed to linger over his arguments or to rely on his support. The most important point in his narrative for my purpose is perhaps the account of the attempt to *turn* the barricades, by sending troops over the neighbouring mountains. This is illustrated by a map showing the hill-track south of the Maira, which was followed in this flank march.

The account of the retreat across the Col de l'Argentière on November 15–17 — that is, only a fortnight later in the season than Hannibal's passage—is also noteworthy, on account of the difficulties with fresh snow encountered by the troops. The Marquis's description of the Col de l'Argentière deserves quotation:—'Le Col de l'Argentière, qui paroît le plus aisé de tous par la disposition du terrein presque toujours assez large et commode pour toute espèce de voitures, mais dangereux pour les vents froids qui y règnent dans l'arrière-saison et l'hiver. Leur souffle suffit en certains moments pour faire mourir des hommes.'

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ad Gilestram castris et mox Avaltio monte superato ad S. Pauli rupem magno labore perventum. Eam, quòd abrupta inaccessibilisque erat, incredibili celeritate ferro pandunt, tormentaque traducunt. Sequenti die in Barcelloniam vallem descensum. Ea ingentibus saxis et iniquissimis collibus interpositis impedita magnam rerum desperationem afferebat. Nam ligonibus dolabrisque proscindere saxeos colles, exæquare crepidines, et, quum nullus per derupta equorum usus foret, subjectis militum humeris tormenta transvehere necesse erat. Interdùm ea magnis funibus ad scopulos et stipites arborum circumductis suspendebantur, et versatilibus machinis ergatarum et trochlearum artificio de rupe ad rupem, intercedentibus profundissimis vallibus cum summâ admiratione totius exercitûs, trahebantur. Nonnullis etiam in locis nudarum rupium latera, ubi via deerat, suppositis tibicinibus interjectisque longuriis muniebant, et insuper injectis stratisque virgultorum fascibus cespitibus ac glebis pensiles vias transeuntibus curribus parabant. Ita mirâ fabrorum industriâ et singulari militum labore in Argentariam vallem cuncta exercitûs impedimenta traduxerunt. Sequenti die à Larchiâ Ebergiâque oppidis in Asturiæ vallem universum agmen se demisit, ubi Pedeporcium montem, qui mediam vallem intersecabat et iter reddebat iniquissimum, pari munitorum artificio fractis atque revulsis immanibus petris domuerunt et exæquârunt. Ab Pedeporcio Avennam atque inde Sambucum et mox ad Italiæ fauces tribus tantùm diebus eo itinere consumptis incolumis exercitus pervenit.'

* *Histoire de la Guerre des Alpes.* Amsterdam, 1770.

† He means what he says, the peak, *not* the pass:—'Annibal en arrivant auprès du Mont Viso devient tout-à-coup un amateur ardent des montagnes. Il monta jusqu'à la sommité de ce pic inaccessible pour jouir de la vue des plaines du Piémont, et pour les montrer à ses soldats. Il s'élève pour cela à une hauteur que l'on croit être de 2,000 toises, et par conséquent supérieure à celle du Mont Blanc.'

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My object in this note is rather conversion than controversy. With this view, and not from any disrespect, I shall refrain from discussing in detail much that has been written by recent authors on the Pass of Hannibal. I have no wish to be drawn into discussions which seem to me to be very often beside the real point at issue; or to waste my readers' time on arguments which I believe to involve in their inception a complete misunderstanding of the evidence. And I should regret to have added to the personalities and recriminations* which take up already too many pages in the literature of the subject. But I feel that unless I give some reasons for my rejections as well as for my choice, I may be thought to have adopted the Col de l'Argentière from an idle love of novelty and parodox. I shall, therefore, state briefly my principal grounds for disbelieving in the routes that have hitherto been proposed, and at the same time recapitulate in as few words as possible the reasons by which I have been compelled to a choice which leaves me solitary, or nearly so, among the great army of critics who have addressed themselves to this question.†

The *Great St. Bernard* has for many good reasons been abandoned by modern authorities.

As to the *Little St. Bernard*, I am glad to be able to refer readers to Mr. Bunbury's recent but already classical work on 'Ancient Geography' for a statement of the grounds on which in common with the author and two recent Presidents of our Club, Mr. Ball and Professor Bonney, I consider it impossible, even if Polybius alone is treated as an authority, for Hannibal to have taken that pass. The short time occupied by the army in the descent to the plain, its freedom from difficulties beyond the gorge, one day's march from the pass, are enough to destroy the claims of this route with all who have thoroughly studied the ground and regard Polybius as an accurate historian. Moreover —much as has been written to the contrary—the country on the western side of the chain cannot be forced into any close correspondence with the narrative of Polybius. The key to the Little St. Bernard lies not on the last ascent, but in the gorges about Moutiers. As Professor Bonney writes, 'The Rocher Blanc below St. Germain is an insignificant thing; and an army could have gone up the opposite bank by way of the present mule-road without much difficulty.' ‡ It should

* De Luc tells Whitaker that he is 'animé du diabolique esprit de contradiction, entraîné par une imagination désordonnée, et privé du sens commun, quoique avec une prodigieuse érudition.' The criticism is on the whole just, but Whitaker's erudition throws now and then a fresh light on some point of detail. I owe him one or two illustrations. The Rev. H. B. George, who has himself an inclination to the Little St. Bernard (*Alpine Journal*, vol. iii. p. 193) describes well those 'typical disputants,' Messrs. Law and Ellis.

† An author has counted the votes, up to 1835, as follows:—Great St. Bernard, 19; Little St. Bernard, 33; Mont Cenis, 11; Mont Genèvre, 24; Col de la Traversette, 3; Col de l'Argentière, 2. But the Marquis de St. Simon, counted for the Col de l'Argentière, is really for Monte Viso itself, having been overcome by its advantages as a belvedere, and M. Chappuis is for his Col du Roure. See *Revue Critique* for 1874 and Duruy's *Rome*. In the *Dissertation sur la Marche d'Annibal*, par le Comte de Fortia d'Urban, Paris, 1821 (R. G. S. Library), there is a list of mediæval and later works on the subject.

‡ *Alpine Guide*, vol. i. p. 57.

There are many points in Mr. Bosworth Smith's recent narrative which

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not be forgotten that the single classical authority for this route is Cœlius, an author who lived 100 years after the event, and is expressly contradicted by Livy on the evidence of one who, as a prisoner in the Carthaginian camp, had heard the details of the campaign from the lips of Hannibal himself.*

The *Mont Cenis* does not answer to the nomenclature of Livy, or fit into the catalogue of Varro. It is too short in distance to agree with

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might be criticised in detail. I quote a few:—The adoption of the Chevelu Pass in place of the road by Aiguebelette, in use in Roman and mediæval times. The confusion between the snow met with in the fruitless flank march above the gorge and the difficulties from a broken path in the gorge itself. The creation of a 'glacier' with 'crevasses' in the gorge of La Thuile. The repetition of the apocryphal story, based on a hearsay statement of the Marquis de St. Simon, and a peasant's story told to Messrs. Cramer and Wickham, about the discovery of elephants' bones. There is no good evidence for the discovery of elephants' bones on the Little St. Bernard. But allowing for the moment the story to be so far true, the inference that any such relics found must necessarily have belonged to one of Hannibal's elephants is worthy of the days when fossils on mountain tops were supposed to mark the height of the universal deluge, and all big bones supposed to belong to human giants and to merit re-interment with Christian rites.

I do not myself believe in any connection between 'Cremonis jugum' and Cramont, and I am astonished at the persistence with which so fantastic an identification has been retained, and the simpler explanation slighted. When we are told that 'Seduni et Veragri' is a happy restoration from 'sed uno vel acri;' when we read in the new 'Ptolemy' the various forms proper names take in the different MSS., it requires no very bold feat of imagination to hold that 'Cremonis' is in all probability a copyist's blunder for Centronum. Is not *Cramont* (like Gramont, or Gran Mondo in other parts of the Alps) a peasant's or map-maker's form of Grand Mont? But it matters little whether I am right or wrong in these suggestions. Passes are not named after third-rate summits rising miles away from their crest!

In the assumption that the plain of Aosta was, for Hannibal and his historians, the end of the Alps, and the failure adequately to recognise the facts that the lower Val d'Aosta is a prolonged defile dangerous to armies, and that the distance to the plain by this route is consequently double, roughly speaking, what it is by the more southern passes, Mr. Bosworth Smith follows all other upholders of the Little St. Bernard. Here is the fatal flaw in their argument.

Mommsen has led astray a good many by his adoption of this pass. He has, in truth, begged the question—after a manner not rare with great historians when they have to deal with minor matters in which they feel no strong personal interest. He has first jumped to a conclusion, and then boldly invented premisses for it. The Little St. Bernard is by no means the easiest alpine pass. What proof is there that 'it has been from earliest times the great military route from the Celtic to the Italian territory' and so on? We know from M. le Chanoine Bérard that the celebrated historian made an excursion in Val d'Aosta in 1873 to study its antiquities. (See his *Antiquités romaines, etc., dans la Vallée d'Aoste*, p. 84.) Possibly Mons. Bérard converted his distinguished guest to his own opinion, which I quote. 'Rien ne prouve que le général carthaginois ait traversé les Alpes Graies. Son passage par la Vallée d'Aoste ne ferait pas honneur à son talent militaire. En effet, étant à Ivrée, pourquoi se serait-il dirigé sur Turin, sachant que le consul Scipion était à Plaisance?'

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* See Gibbon's *Misc. Works*, vol. v., for some far-fetched and highly ingenious, but I fancy only semi-serious, reflections on the value of Hannibal's conversation, and its reporter's capacity.

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Polybius.* It leads down *directly* into the country of the Taurini, a difficulty which I agree with Mommsen in regarding as serious.

The *Mont Genèvre* will suit both Livy and Polybius, but not Varro. It also leads directly to the Taurini. Its features do not agree very closely with the narrative; though, as in the case of every pass that has been proposed, they can be made to fit it. The steep step in the valley near La Bessée has been taken for the λευκόπετρον, and is said by Ladoucette † to have been once known locally as Hannibal's Pass. It is a respectable rock, distant 18 miles from the watershed. Some, therefore, may prefer the hill on which Briançon is built as the scene of the second engagement with the native tribes. The top of the Mont Genèvre is admirably suited for an encampment, but has no view towards Italy. On the Italian slope there is a narrow steep-sided glen, but no gorge with a hill track turning it, so suitable as 'the Barricades' of the Col de l'Argentière. I am ready to admit that a minute correspondence between the natural features of the country and the classical texts must not be too closely pressed for, and that the arguments to be drawn from such correspondence are of secondary importance. I am not disposed to rest my decision finally on the comparative merits of two gorges. But at the same time I attach very great weight to such serious discrepancies as those that have to be overlooked by believers in the Little St. Bernard.

The approach to the Mont Genèvre by the Col du Lautaret is open to several more or less weighty objections. In neither leading through the Tricorii nor touching the Durance until it has become too small to be formidable, it disagrees with the narrative of Livy.

The shadowy claims—already referred to—of the Col de la Traversette (9,560 feet) under Monte Viso deserve mention only as a literary curiosity. Nor can I think that more respectful treatment is called for by those of the Col dell' Altaretto (10,013 feet), a high pass, now hardly practicable for mules, crossing the chain north of the Roccia Melone, from the valley of the Arc to Viu in the Valli di Lanzo, although according to local story a rapid retreat of the ice in the last century revealed Hannibal's name neatly carved on a rock—which was unluckily soon again covered up by the glaciers—while from another boulder—no longer discoverable—the following legend was copied 'Annibale . . . . M.C.Q.I. Marte.' The famous instance of the inscription in Val d'Aosta, which excited poor Mr. Whitaker so much, where Tomas de Grimaldis was transformed into Hannibal, makes us chary of relying too far on alpine copyists.† Where Signor Vaccarone found ground for his positive statement,§ that the Roman Via Domitia referred to in Cicero's oration *Pro Fonteio*, led over the Col dell' Altaretto, I am at a loss to understand, and Signor Vaccarone himself

* By 20 to 30 M. P., counting from Valence to Avigliana.

† *Histoire des Hautes Alpes*, p. 16.

‡ Gioffredo, *Storia delle Alpi Maritime*, Bk. i. p. 131.

§ *Le Vie delle Alpi Occidentali*, p. 38. The Roman inscriptions found in Val di Viu prove that the Romans worked the mines in the valley; not, as some writers assume, that they frequented the pass at its head. They may have done so, but further evidence is required to show it.

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cannot at present inform me. As I shall have occasion to remark again, this Via Domitia has yet to be identified. French writers have assigned it to the Mediterranean coast, but, as Mr. Long in his history points out, without any good reason.* It ought to be looked for in or near the territory of the Allobroges, for it was the chief of that tribe who impeached Fonteius for jobbery in its repair.

Neither am I disposed to discuss the 'Col d'Annibal,' a modern name which may be found near the Great St. Bernard in Von Tschudi's 'Schweizerführer;' nor the theory of the gentleman ('R. Geographical Society's Journal,' vol. xxv.), who takes Hannibal to the Little St. Bernard through St. Maxime de Beaufort.

One more theory remains to be noticed, that of M. Chappuis. This writer is original only in the choice of his pass, following for the rest the line of the Marquis de St. Simon and a writer generally referred to as 'The Cambridge Anonymous of 1830.' M. Chappuis has set forth his views at length in a report addressed to the Minister of Public Instruction, and published in the 'Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements,' 2nd series, vol. iv. (1860). The text from Varro, which M. Chappuis treats almost as his own discovery, forms the basis of the argument. While adopting the same general direction for Hannibal's passage through the Alps, he differs from me both as to the line of march and the point of passage of the watershed. His pamphlet is long, and I can refer only to a few salient points.

The difficulty about the Tricastini is got over by making Hannibal turn to the left into their country *before* reaching the confluence. From Grenoble the Carthaginian army is led by a more westerly road to the Col de la Croix Haute, reaching the First Alps at Lalley. This is a suggestion possibly deserving consideration, which, however, to be thorough, should be made with exact knowledge of the traces of ancient roads in this district. In his further progress we find Mons. Chappuis taking strange liberties. In order to reconcile Livy's statement that the Carthaginian army met with no difficulties until after it had crossed the Durance, he postpones the first battle, placing it at Le Lauzet in the gorge of the Ubaye. To make this theory plausible, he is forced to treat the fifteen days assigned by Polybius for the passage of the Alps as covering only a portion of the 1,200 stadia, which, according to the same authority, was the length of the passage, ignoring the fact that Polybius has fixed the number of days each section of the march took as precisely as he has the distances, and that there is no room for an interpolation between the ten days of the 800 stades and the fifteen of the 1,200.

Having got Hannibal on so far to begin with, Mons. Chappuis is naturally embarrassed to find employment for him in the days that follow. He reduces his marching pace to 11 M. P. a day. But even at this rate he gets too quickly to the watershed. So the poor elephants have to tramp on past the valley of the Ubayette and the low gap of the Col de l'Argentière in search of the sources of the Ubaye and an obscure pass of over 9,000 feet, apparently now impracticable for

* *Decline of the Roman Republic*, vol. i. p. 319.

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mules, known as the Col de Roure. Having crossed this, they are made to reach Val Vraita by a second high pass. Like most Italian valleys, Val Vraita has its gorge, and M. Chappuis discovers a path by which Hannibal may try to avoid it. Why the great general neglected a low and easy pass for a high and difficult one, how his army managed late in autumn to spend three nights at such a height, are considerations which do not seem to have troubled our author any more than they did the Marquis de St. Simon.

To adapt a homely proverb, M. Chappuis seems to me to 'have got hold of the right end of the stick,' but not to have known how to handle it. He fails to make allowance either for the formidable aspect the Alps wore 2,000 years ago to a host of Africans, compared to that which they wear to us to-day, or for the further enhancement of the actual terrors of the passage in the course of literary description. Instead of being satisfied by a broad general resemblance between the narratives and the features of the country, he tries to realise and localise each sentence of Livy. Consequently, in his search for adequate difficulties he adopts a pass which he himself tells us seems impossible unless allowance is made for changes in the ground having made it less practicable.* Add to this that he seems to be drawn by some local interest to endeavour to concentrate as many incidents of the campaign as possible, or even more than is possible, in the valley of the Ubaye.

At the same time M. Chappuis deserves credit for having been the first French writer to recognise the full weight of Varro's statement, and for having brought out forcibly some interesting illustrations of the classical texts. He shows, for instance, how the roads from Grenoble to the first pass (whichever it was) lie, not through an arid wilderness, but a rich tract of vineyards, and how the scenery suddenly becomes stern and sterile as the basin of the Durance is approached, and he states with local knowledge that Livy's description is exactly applicable to the upper Durance, a fact which my own experience fully corroborates.

My reasons for selecting the Col de l'Argentière shall now be summarised.

1. So far as I can judge, after having made a personal inspection of the routes, the natural features of this pass and its approaches agree better than those of any other with the account given of Hannibal's march by Polybius and Livy.† No doubt an accurate modern writer would not describe the difficulties of the ground on the Argentière route in such terms as we find in the classical narratives. But it is fair to compare the classical historians with Sismondi and Michelet on

* 'Je dois dire que ce passage du Col de Roure au Vallon du Lautaret est un passage difficile, et qu'on se refusera tout d'abord à admettre que l'armée d'Annibal ait pu le franchir, si l'on n'a pas vécu au milieu des montagnes et étudié les prodigieux changements que les habitants signalent de toutes parts.'

† An album of photographic views, published by the Barcelonnette section of the C. A. F. (to be seen in the Alpine Club rooms), furnishes valuable illustration of the country, and shows the character of the pass itself.

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the campaign of A.D. 1515. Brockedon has noted the mistakes of Sismondi. The French writer has delineated this road in language too remarkable not to be quoted. This is his introduction to the story of Francis I.'s passage. 'Le vieux Trivulce se mit à courir les Alpes, et trouva cet affreux passage entre les glaces et les abîmes—sauvages gorges où nul marchand, nul colporteur, nul contrebandier n'avait imprimé ses pas. La virginité de leurs neiges n'était effleurée, depuis la création, que par l'enfant de la montagne, le craintif et rusé chamois, et parfois aussi, peut-être, par l'intrépide folie du chasseur, que la passion entraîne après lui aux corniches étroites des gouffres.' If Michelet could write thus in the present century of a frequented cart-road, we can hardly reject the Argentière as too easy to admit of Livy's language being applicable to it.

2. The historians indicate that the first Carthaginian camp beyond the Alps was pitched *not* among the Taurini, but in the territory of an Insubrian tribe—as Mommsen allows—and that Hannibal, finding the Taurini lying along the mountain side on his natural line of march, passed through and conquered them. The Col de l'Argentière is the only pass that fulfils both these conditions.

3. Recent discoveries prove the presence of a large Celtic population on the track and in the valleys round the Col de Vars and the Col de l'Argentière. This route was therefore likely to have been recommended to Hannibal by his native guides, while it would naturally attract him on strategic grounds. For fulfilling his first requirement, protection against a flank attack from the coast, it took him, less than any other road, into the heart of the continent and the alpine chain. His original intention probably was to march up the Durance valley. But in this he was prevented (we have Scipio's authority for the statement *) by the advance of the Roman army from the coast. He consequently turned northwards and marched inland until he had shaken off his pursuers. Then he returned to his first route by a track which has been used for military purposes both in Roman and modern times. The Col Bayard and Col de l'Argentière were both crossed by Roman roads. In modern times they have frequently been made use of by armies. The details of their passage confirm and illustrate in a very remarkable and unlooked-for manner the narrative of Polybius and Livy.

4. The distances on the Col de l'Argentière route agree sufficiently with the statements of Polybius. According to that author, Hannibal marched from the passage of the Rhône to the Italian plain, 2,600 stadia: 1,400 to the first Alps, of which 600 were below the confluence, and 1,200 among the mountains. From the confluence to the plain was therefore 2,000 stadia, or 250 M. P. The distance between Valence and the Italian plain by the modern roads, as near as I can get it (from Joanne), is between 240 and 250 M. P.

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* *Τόν τε στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν δύναμιν, ἐπιγνόντας τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατιωτῶν, φυγῇ παραπλησίαν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν, διὰ τὸν φόβον κεχρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων πορείᾳ.* See Scipio's speech in Polybius. Livy says exactly the same, ch. 31.

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5. Varro, an authority of great weight both from his local knowledge, his military experience, and his literary character, expressly indicates as Hannibal's the second pass from the sea, counting the modern Cornice as the first, the third as Pompey's. If we accept the general opinion that Pompey's pass was the Mont Genèvre, it becomes certain that Varro's Pass of Hannibal can have been none other than the Col de l'Argentière.

Yet, although I have, as far as my patience would allow me, hunted up and down the literature of the subject, I cannot find, with the distinguished exception of Mons. Chappuis in his obscure and almost unattainable tracts, any author who seems to have attached due weight to the explicit declaration of Varro, and none at all who has seriously considered the claims of the Col de l'Argentière, or given a thought to the remarkable coincidences between the Alpine adventures of Hannibal and Francis I.

That such is the case may be held sufficient reason for recalling the attention of members of the Alpine Club to so well-worn a subject. But should any further excuse be needed, I may quote the opinion of the last German historian, Ihne, who, while himself accepting the Little St. Bernard, remits the case for further inquiry to 'an alpine traveller with sufficient leisure and enthusiasm.'

The reader must not, however, imagine that I pretend, on a comparison of the narrative of Polybius with the localities, to ascertain with certainty by what pass Hannibal crossed the Alps. Polybius's story may be reconciled with several routes; there is none which it suits without some adaptation. There is a good deal to be said—if we trust Polybius alone—for the Little Mont Cenis; but I might be disposed to differ from its adherents in leading Hannibal to it along the line of the future Roman road by the Col de la Coche, leaving the Isère valley above Chambéry. I should also certainly fix the λευκόπετρον at the fortress of L'Esseillon, not near St. Jean de Maurienne.

It is impossible, we may admit, owing to Polybius's carelessness as a topographer, to ascertain from his narrative with any certainty what pass Hannibal crossed. But if we cannot do this, we can by his help narrow the field of inquiry, and finally exclude from it the Little St. Bernard and all passes beyond.

I will make the further admission that, with the aid of all the authorities put together, it is impossible to satisfy oneself as to the Pass of Hannibal. What we can do, I believe, is to show that one of the best informed Romans of Cæsar's days believed the Carthaginian army to have crossed the Col de l'Argentière, and that his belief was consistent with the story as told by Polybius and the local names given by Livy. Of course the Roman opinion may have been wrong. But the burden of proof lies on those who dispute it.

The Roman Pass from Susa to the Maurienne.

In order not to interrupt the main argument, I have reserved for a separate note my reasons for citing the Mont Cenis among classical passes, and for identifying it with the fourth pass of Varro, assumptions for which, though the former has previously been made by so

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respectable an authority as Cluverius, I have, doubtless, already been taken to task in the minds of some readers.

Many recent authors have held that the Mont Cenis—for my present purpose I use the name as including the Little Mont Cenis, the common route in the Middle Ages, as well as the modern carriage-pass—was unknown to the ancients. The ground assigned for this belief is the absence of any explicit reference to the pass by name in classical authors, and the fact of its not being noted in such of the classical Itineraries as have survived to our days. The pass, it is declared, first appears in history in A.D. 754, as the Mons Cinesius of Pepin.

Yet, if there is a lack of direct proof of a Roman road on the pass itself, there is in my opinion a more than sufficient amount of circumstantial evidence that the valleys of the Dora Riparia and the Arc were already in Roman times connected by a direct, easy, and frequented route. If this is allowed, it seems to me very improbable that the Roman and mediæval tracks crossed the chain at widely different points. But should anyone take the opposite view, I am not disposed to argue a detail which is for the moment immaterial to me. If the existence of a Roman Pass from Italy into the Maurienne is granted, I shall be content to leave partisans of 'Cols' varying from 1,000 to 4,000 feet higher than the Mont Cenis to prove their case—as best they can.

As I have already admitted, no conclusive piece of local evidence, such as a milestone, has yet been produced for the Mont Cenis. Mr. Ellis,* it is true, quotes Grillet, who, in his 'Dictionnaire des Départements du Mont Blanc et Leman,' speaks of a paved Roman road as still traceable on the pass in 1807. Grillet's evidence is so far good that the fact he reported went against his own prepossessions, founded on the silence of the Itineraries. But on the other hand, his statement remains, to the present day, isolated and unverified by Mr. Ellis or others. The presumption therefore must be held to be against it, until, as is very desirable, some local antiquarian possessed of the common sense† and technical knowledge necessary to distinguish between Roman and mediæval road-work has examined carefully the remains of the old paved track across the Little Mont Cenis. Even, however, if such an examination does not lead to any discovery, there will be no ground for concluding on this account that the pass was not in use in Roman times. For of many Roman roads in the Central Alps no local record, or only such a record as might easily have perished, remains.

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* 'On the ancient routes between Italy and Gaul.' R. Ellis, 1867.

† The mention of this qualification will not seem superfluous to those versed in Hannibalian literature. Witness the following extract. I purposely suppress the author's name :—'Les traces du camp y sont visibles; on y retrouve même le lieu où furent placés les éléphants, la disposition singulière et la dimension des levées de terre ne permettant que cette explication; les silos pour le grain à la mode arabe, les abris creusés dans le sol pour se défendre de la bise, enfin le fameux rocher qu'Annibal fit éclater par le feu et déblayer avec l'*acuto*, le pic piémontais,' &c. &c. One is at a loss whether most to admire the ingenuity of a discoverer who outdoes Schliemann in his identifications, or the acuteness by which the vinegar is turned into a pickaxe!

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Etymologists offer us their aid in a series of derivations on which it is difficult, perhaps, for anyone but an etymologist to lean with any confidence. They derive Venaus from Venatio; from the Latin verb *ferre*, the name of the village Ferriera, where at the foot of the steep ascent from Italy burdens were transferred from carriages to men's or mules' backs. The name occurs frequently elsewhere in the Alps, *e.g.*, on the route of the Col de l'Argentière near the Barricades, and might more naturally be connected with *ferrum* and iron mines. A plot of ground between Susa and Novalesa is called 'stadium' in old chronicles.* The roadside inns on the top of the pass are known as Le Tavernette (Tabernæ). In Lanslebourg we are told to recognise *Lancium*, in Thermignon *Interamnes*, in Modane *Ad Mutationem* (cf. Modena from Mutina). In a pine forest above Bramans, not far from the path of the Little Mont Cenis, at a height of 5,500 feet, are to be seen the frescoed walls of a church, said to be the oldest in Savoy (founded by St. Peter himself, and destroyed at the Revolution), dedicated to St. Pierre d'Estravache, a corruption, on the authority of the curé of Bramans, of Extrà viam.†

The ancient name of the Roccia Melone, *Arx Romulea*, might also be quoted, though, as it overhangs Susa as well as the Mont Cenis, no weight can properly be attached to it.‡

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* *Guida alle Alpi Occidentali*, p. 300.

† *Itinéraire Descriptif, Historique et Archéologique de la Maurienne et de la Tarentaise*, par H. Ferrand (Grenoble, 1879). This work hardly fulfils the promise of its title.

‡ This now neglected peak (11,621 feet) once shared with Monte Viso the reputation of the most famous mountain in the Alps. It was believed to be the highest, or one of the highest, of the whole chain. Possibly in old times some heathen worship was celebrated on the summit. The anonymous Chronicler of the Abbey of Novalesa narrates that its old name was derived from a king, some say also a leper, who dwelt upon the mountain in summer to enjoy the alpine air, and stored immense treasure on the summit, which was defended from human touch by spirits, having at their command all the powers of the air — storms, lightning, and whirlwinds. This legend was so firmly believed in, that in the middle of the tenth century, Adrian Glabrio, Marquis of Turin, sent out all his clergy with relics and banners to exorcise the demons. A solemn procession set forth chanting the 'Vexilla regis prodeunt,' and the sacred Litanies, but it never reached the top! The spirits of the Alps were not to be so easily dislodged.

About the same date (between 938 and 946), an English scribe believed so implicitly in the evil powers that haunted the St. Bernard, that he could find no more terrible imprecation to cast on the heads of violators of the documents he drafted, than that they might be tormented 'by the icy blasts of glaciers and the Pennine host of malignant demons'—gelidis glacierum flatibus et Pennino exercitu malignorum spirituum.—Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. ii. 374, 385, 387–8, 394, 407–8, a reference I owe to my friend Prof. F. Pollock. In some of the later documents 'Pennino' has got corrupted into 'pernici.'

The chapel on the very top of the Roccia Melone is attributed to a certain Rotarius of Asti. Popular tradition asserts that, being taken prisoner in the Holy Land by the infidels, he vowed, should he escape from slavery, a chapel to the Virgin on the highest peak of the Alps. This version of the story, however, will not agree with the dates; and Coryat, perhaps, came nearer the truth when he suggested that Rotarius, after having been a 'notorious robber,

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I turn from local to literary records. We have Cæsar's own statement* that on the occasion of his sudden visit to Italy to fetch reinforcements against the Helvetii, he recrossed the Alps with his legions 'quâ proximum iter in Galliam ulteriorem erat,' by the shortest road—not, observe, to the further province, which he mentions in the next sentence, but to Further Gaul. He further tells us that he touched the territory of the Vocontii—so that he must have passed near Grenoble—and crossed that of the Allobroges, probably by the road which avoided Vienne, mentioned by Tacitus (Hist. ii. 66). His object was to overtake the Helvetii on their westward march before they could cross the Saone; he made accordingly for the country of the Segusiani ('in quorum agro colonia Lugdunum,' Pliny iv. 18), probably for the best ford of the Rhône above its confluence with the Saône. We have Cicero's authority that the entire distance from Rome to the district of the Segusiani was 700 M. P.

What are the distances by the various passes leading by the Vocontian frontier to Lugdunum?

Mont Genèvre and Gap	758 M. P.
Mont Genèvre and Col du Lautaret . .	704 M. P.
Little Mont Cenis	724 M. P.
Little Mont Cenis and Col de la Coche .	698 M. P.

We have no proof that either of these short cuts, the Col du Lautaret or Col de la Coche, was known to the Romans at this date. In later times the Lautaret was crossed by a Roman road. On the Col de la Coche we are assured by local writers there are also traces of a Roman road, and M. Pilot (in his 'Histoire de Grenoble,' p. 7) tells us that popular tradition associates it with Cæsar.†

The appeal to distance can hardly be held satifactory as between the last three routes. But it is at least conclusive against the first, that by the Mont Genèvre and Gap, which Mr. Froude has adopted with the remarkable expression, 'Cæsar returned by the shortest route, over the Mont Genèvre.'‡ For though the Mont Genèvre may

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and a very enormous liver,' underwent a sudden conversion, of which his strange vow and pilgrimage were the fruits. Of the main fact, that on September 1, 1358, he deposited a triptych on the summit there seems no doubt; and the triptych is still to be seen in the church of S. Giusto at Susa. Mass is still said on the peak on August 5 of every year, the highest religious service in Europe. (See Coryat's *Crudities*; *Alpine Journal*, vol. vii. p. 201; and *Guida alle Alpi Occidentali*, p. 320.)

* Cæsar's *Commentaries*, book i. ch. x. Compare Napoleon I.'s '*La Route la plus courte*.' On this ground alone, declining to consider any literary evidence, Napoleon pronounced off-hand that Hannibal must have crossed the Mont Cenis. Much more would he have assigned this pass to Cæsar, whose very words he unconsciously translated.

† See *Etude de l'Ancienne Voie Romaine de l'Oisans et de ses Annexes*, par J. H. R. Grenoble, 1878. The author, a medical man, shows intimate local knowledge, and discriminates, apparently with authority, between Roman and mediæval work.

‡ Map-makers are very pliant! Mr. Froude's map-maker has got rid of the inconvenient Centrones and Graioceli, erased the Arc, and piled a mountain range across its bed. But he almost clears himself of any suspicion of

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have been 'opportunius' for Pompey when he was on his way to Spain, it does not follow, as some have hastily assumed, that it was so for Cæsar, marching in an opposite direction.

We must now look at the further indications of his line of march given us by Cæsar in the names of the tribes he encountered or through whose territory he passed. Among the mountains he was harassed by the Caturiges, Graioceli, and Centrones. Now the best-known branch of the Caturiges lived near the modern town of Chorges, on the Durance; while another portion of the tribe, according to Strabo, was found above the Salassi, and near the Centrones. The Graioceli lived in the Maurienne, the Centrones in the Tarentaise,* and no mention has ever been found of portions of either tribe farther south.

On the Mont Genèvre route Cæsar would naturally have met only the southern Caturiges; on the Mont Cenis the northern Caturiges, the Graioceli, and Centrones. Therefore, so far as the tribes serve us, the balance inclines strongly to the Mont Cenis.

For I can see no sufficient ground for the assumption of some critics that there could not be Caturiges in two places, and that therefore the ancient geographers who mention Northern Caturiges are wrong.† There is good reason to believe that in the Alps tribes bearing the same name, and probably branches of an original stock, were found widely separated. It is difficult to see on what grounds writers have argued as if in Gaul members of the same race never parted company, or at any rate never did so without assuming a new name. The Alps in Roman times were very much in the condition the Caucasus is in now: and in the Caucasus fragments of the same tribe bearing the same name are found at some distance from one another. But without going so far, our own country supplies a good example of scattered tribes. There were Belgæ, Parisii, and Atrebates in Britain, as well as in Gaul; Damnonii in Scotland, as well as Devon, Cornabii and Cornavii, Cantæ and Cantii, in England and Scotland, Brigantes both in Ireland and England.

For references and a full discussion of this march I must refer readers to Ellis, *On the Ancient Routes between Italy and Gaul.* Though I cannot accept all Mr. Ellis's arguments, I agree with him that Cæsar crossed the Mont Cenis. I come to this conclusion on the following grounds: first, because the Mont Cenis *is* the shortest and best route from Italy to Gallia Ulterior, and Cæsar was a likely man to know it; secondly, because the indications of his route given by Cæsar fit the Mont Cenis better than the Mont Genèvre.

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having done this with an object, for he has made the hills behind Gap the main chain of the Alps!

* The Maurienne was known as 'Garocelia' (Œhlmann, *Die Alpenpässe im Mittelalter*); St. Jean, as Sanctus Joannes Garocellius (Grillet).

† Polyænus, a writer of the second century, in his *Stratagems of War*, furnishes some picturesque details as to Cæsar's encounter with the mountain tribes. Noticing that the mists generally lay along the valleys in the early part of the day, Cæsar profited by them to make unobserved a flank march, which brought his legions to a position above and commanding that of the enemy. The tribes, finding their retreat threatened, fled incontinently, like Afghans, to their homes.

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In order to settle what Strabo meant,* when he talked of a lake in the highest Alps from a spring near which the Dora and the Druentia both flowed, appears to me, in the words of Sir Thomas Browne, 'a question above antiquarism; not to be resolved by men, nor easily perhaps by spirits.' Even could we call up Strabo's ghost, I doubt whether any satisfactory answer would be forthcoming. His lake may as well be the tarn on the Great St. Bernard as that on the Mont Cenis. Mountain tarns had for many centuries a strange power of attracting the notice and puzzling the heads of old-world geographers. A curious example may be noted in the references by mediæval writers to two obscure Corsican tarns, Ino and Creno, which were made the sources of half the rivers in the island. The lake on the Col de l'Argentière has been said—without foundation—by comparatively modern writers to feed two streams, tributaries respectively of the Po and the Durance.

Critics again have relied on a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus† as evidence on the one hand that the Mont Cenis was an ancient pass, on the other that there was no pass across the Alps from Susa except the Mont Genèvre. Gibbon found in the text a 'clear, lively, and accurate' description of the Mont Cenis; Mr. Law is equally positive that the description applies admirably to the Mont Genèvre. To me it seems obvious that either the author or his text has fallen into great confusion. The passage reads like a description of two passes mixed up together. Possibly some sentences have been lost before 'a summitate.' Whatever the real intention of the writer may have been, it is impossible to infer from this passage that the Mont Genèvre was the only pass known to the Romans in this district. We are clearly told that Cottius opened several routes.‡

The argument from the silence of the Itineraries may be broken down

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* Book ix. ch. v. Strabo places the lake among the 'Salassi.' Paulus Jovius uses 'in Salassos' where the Marquisate of Saluzzo is clearly intended. What was the ancient name of Saluzzo? The Salassi are said by Pliny to be of the same stock as the Taurini, that is, Ligurians. The connection with the Insubrians, on the strength of which they are supposed to have been friendly to Hannibal, seems to be a fiction due to enthusiasts for the Little St. Bernard. Gorret and Bich (*Guide de la Vallée d'Aoste*) assume that they entered Val d'Aosta from the S. or S.W., and quote a farm near Rivarolo known as Salassa. This sort of proof is not worth much. But it seems not impossible that it may turn out that the Saluzzese owes its name to having been the primitive seat of the tribe. This might help to explain more than one obscure passage. According to one reading Livy (xxi. 38) speaks of the 'Salassos montanos,' a distinction which would to some extent support this suggestion, which, however, must not be taken as more than a 'wavering conjecture.' Further evidence is needed. Possibly local antiquarians may have some to give.

† Book xii. ch. x.

‡ The inscribed vases discovered in the Lake of Bracciano show that a second pass to the sources of the Durance was in use under the Empire, Desjardins, *Gaule Romaine*, vol. i. p. 94. Desjardins' identification of the second pass is contested by a recent writer, Mons. Vallentin, *Les Alpes Cottiennes et Graies: Géographie Gallo-Romaine*. Neither author has been led by the name Turio, found in the list of stations, to identify the pass with the neighbouring Col des Tures, described at the beginning of the century as practicable for artillery.

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by the instance of the Col de l'Argentière and other passes, the roads over which, though unnoticed in these documents, are proved to have existed by local monuments. Most of the pages devoted to elaborate discussions of the road map named after Peutinger have been wasted. For the writers assume as a basis of their argument that it is an exhaustive table, whereas—in the words of Mr. Bunbury—it is a valuable but incomplete document. When we find many alpine roads and passes used by the Romans in the Central Alps omitted in it,* it becomes mere loss of time to argue on the supposition that in the Western Alps such omissions are impossible, or even improbable.

The great puzzle in these tables has been that they show a road leaving the Mont Genèvre on the west, between Gadaone (Cesanne) and the summit, and that this branch soon forks. I have my own theory as to what this forked branch represents. The key to the difficulty may be found in the misplacement of its junction with the Mont Genèvre road. But as, in my view, it certainly does not represent the Mont Cenis, it is needless for our present purpose to enquire further.

There seems to be no evidence to show that Constantine, A.D. 312, crossed the Mont Cenis, as Gibbon believed, rather than the Mont Genèvre. But we have the clearest proof possible of the importance of the Maurienne, and of its close and intimate connexion with the Cisalpine province, and particularly with Susa. We find that, from the earliest times of the Christian Empire, the Maurienne was not only ecclesiastically, but politically attached to Turin.† It was not till the sixth century (562) that a new diocese of St. Jean de Maurienne was created, and in A.D. 596 the Pope complains on behalf of the Bishop of Turin that the latter has thereby been defrauded of his dues.‡ The remonstrance seems to have been without result, and Susa also fell under the control of the new see. We find the clergy of St. Jean de Maurienne and Susa meeting under the authority of Abbo, the governor, to found the great monastery of Novalesa in A.D. 726.§ And yet we have been asked to believe that these prelates and their flocks had not discovered the Mont Cenis or any other direct route between their villages!

Proof is here afforded that the Mont Cenis was in common use from the introduction of Christianity. Can there be any who will still maintain that from the time of Cæsar the Mont Cenis alone of all the great Gallic passes was unknown to the Romans; that their generals

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* *Die Strassen der Schweiz*, von S. Bavier. Zürich, 1878.

† 'La Géographie ecclésiastique d'un pays est, à très peu de chose près, la géographie de ce même pays à l'époque romaine. Le tableau des évêchés, archevêchés, est celui des *civitates* antiques selon leurs liens de subordination.' —Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 412; see also Freeman's *Historical Geography*. The Maurienne in A.D. 726 was a *pagus* or division of the district of Susa. The *privilegium* of that date, by which Abbo, Governor of Susa, gave the *Alpes in Cenisio* to the monastery of Novalesa, has been preserved. Vaccarone, *Vie delle Alpi, &c.*

‡ See *Gallia Christiana*, vol. XV. The authors give reasons for abandoning the claims to a higher antiquity for the diocese, founded on the appearance of a Maurian or Marian Bishop at Rome in A.D. 337.

§ Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule au VI^me^ Siècle*, p. 430.

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never employed their eyes to discover the gap in the alpine chain, broadest and most conspicuous from the plains of Piedmont; * that it was never brought under their notice by native travellers; that for generation after generation they garrisoned and adorned Susa without ascertaining that one of the easiest passes across the alpine watershed lay within a morning's walk of their quarters? Surely a proposition so opposed to all we know of Roman character and enterprise in the Alps ought only to require to be stated in order to be dismissed.

In Carlovingian times, the importance of the Mont Cenis was fully recognised. Pepin crossed it four times; Charles the Great at least once, and probably more often; Charles the Bald died in the Maurienne.

We learn from one charter that in A.D. 825 a hospice belonging to the monks of Novalesa had already been established on the top of the pass. In another charter, the copy of which in evidence is dated (for 774 ?) 874, Charles the Great is made to confirm and enlarge the grants of his predecessors to the monastery, bestowing on it 'totam Novaliciensem vallem et stratum.' This document, however, has been suspected on other grounds besides the date to be a forgery;† at any rate it is an early forgery, and the expression I have quoted from it deserves further notice. In illustration of the *stratum* I must call attention to two curious passages in Simler's 'Commentarius de Alpibus' (1567), which have been unnoticed by most commentators and misunderstood by Mr. Ellis:—

'Cum autem duo sint juga Montis Cinesii, equidem si de altiore loquantur, quod Salassis propius est et ad Centrones ducit, ferri utcunque potest eorum opinio, cum hoc jugum videri possit pars quædam Graiarum Alpium; sed si Cinesium Minorem intelligunt, qui Italicè *Strata Romana* dicitur, minus probari potest eorum sententia, cum iter hoc recta à Segusio incipiens, potiùs Cottiis Alpibus adnumerari debeat.'

'Verum propè hoc jugum (Little St. Bernard) aliæ sunt Alpes, quas montem Cales (Col de Galèse) et Cinisium majorem nominant, per utrasque ad Centrones itur, à Taurinis recto itinere juxta Sturam fluvium.'

But for the mention of the Stura, these passages read together are clear enough. The Cinesius Minor and Major are *not* the Little Mont Cenis and Mont Cenis of modern days, but one of these passes and the Col d'Iséran. The Col d'Iséran, Simler says, is a Graian pass, the modern Mont Cenis a Cottian. These two passes are still used in conjunction. In 1881 I saw notice of the fair of Susa placarded on a wall at Tignes, and was told on enquiry that from time immemorial the population had been in the habit of attending this fair, and that a peasant would sometimes make the journey over the Col d'Iséran and Mont Cenis without other halt than was sufficient to feed his mules. The two passes, 'Mon Cenis Grand' and 'Mon Gales,' are well shown in Maginni's 'Moderne Tavole di Geographia' (Venezia, 1598), both N. of the Arc and 'Laneborg.' On the same map the lake of the

* See *Panorama of the Alps from Turin*, published by Signor Bossoli.

† See *Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ* in British Museum Library.

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Mont Cenis is shown in its true position with 'La Posta' printed beside it. A tradition that in Roman times a battle took place near Bonneval is perhaps worth mentioning.

I have been forced into a digression to explain Simler's geography. The point for our purpose we elicit from him is that in the Middle Ages the Mont Cenis was known as the *Strata Romana*. That it should have acquired this name—as Simler himself suggests—because it was the principal pilgrim's road to Rome is, of course, possible. But the use of the word *strata*, the origin of our own 'streets,' and generally a sure token of a paved Roman way, points rather to the derivation of this distinguishing title from an old Roman road, the *stratum* of Carlovingian charters.

I must allow myself one more explanation of a popular error, sanctioned by Mr. Taylor's 'Words and Places.' The name Maurienne has nothing whatever to do with the Mauri or Saracens of the Middle Ages. It dates from a much earlier epoch.* It has been suggested that Marius marched this way to his camp at the confluence of the Rhône and Isère before the great battle of Aquæ Sextiæ.† Another Roman, Marius Fonteius, who was prosecuted by the chief of the Allobroges, and defended by Cicero, for corruption and jobbery in repairing a certain unidentified *Via Domitia*, might also possibly be connected with it.‡ All sorts of wild guesses have been hazarded, amongst others that the district derives its name from hardened criminals having been sent to die there, or from the blackness of its streams—which are grey! I do not know whether anyone has suggested a connection with the Italian *mora*, a heap of stones (Purg. iii. 127), which has doubtless given us moraine.

To sum up the preceding argument, I maintain that, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, there is a strong presumption that so obvious a pass as the Mont Cenis was used by the Romans from the time they held the country on both sides of it. I have further endeavoured to show that Cæsar's summary of his forced march is best reconcileable with his having crossed the Mont Cenis; and I have proved that the use of the pass can be carried back with certainty to the sixth century, and that the close connexion already existing between Susa and the Maurienne at that date is only explicable on the supposition that they had long before been united by a direct and frequented highroad.

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* The *marrons*, or guides, who, in mediæval times, kept the roads open and helped travellers across the passes were also at one time explained to be descendants of captive Moors. Their name, which still survives in the *marronniers* of the Great St. Bernard, can be traced back as far as A.D. 560. If I may venture a guess, they probably derived their name from 'marra,' 'marrone,' a large spade or shovel.

† Signor Vaccarone quotes De Pineda, *De Monarchiâ ecclesiasticâ* for this view. Mariana in Corsica of course records the same name.

‡ 'A tower of Marius' near St. Jean is mentioned by M. Ferrand in support of this theory.

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