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XX. An abstract of a Discourse intitled, The history of the emperor Tetricus, explained and illustrated by medals; writen in French by Mr. Claude Gros de Boze, keeper of the medals in the French King's cabinet, etc. and sent by him to Dr. Mead, to be communicated to this Society. By John Ward, LL.D. Rhet. Prof. Gresh. and V.P. R. S.

Read April 5, A S the emperor Tetricus governed fome years in Gaul, his reign does in a manner make part of the history of that country. But the accounts given of him by antient writers being very confused and imperfect, this learned and skilful antiquary has attempted to rectify and clear them up from medals. And as to those of Tetricus himfelf, the gold ones, as he observes, are in general exceeding fcarce; and no medallion of this emperor in any metal was known, till very lately, when he procured one in gold for the French King's cabinet, a draught of which transmitted by him accompanies this paper (1). But the Mr. de Boze professes only to give the History of the emperor Tetricus; yet such was the unsettled state of the Roman affairs at that time, as made it necessary for him to introduce it, by reciting a variety of incidents relating to other persons, which prepared the way for his advancement to that dignity.

He

⁽¹⁾ See TAB. II. Fig. 2.

He therefore begins his narrative with observing. that the Gauls, after they had been conquered by Julius Caesar, continued pretty quiet under the Roman government, till the time of Gallienus; whose reign was fo weak and scandalous, as to render him the common object both of hatred and contempt. Valerian, his father, had been created Augustus some years before his expedition against the Perhans; by whom he was defeated, made a prisoner, and treated with the utmost indignity (1). This event, which happened in the year 260 of the vulgar aera (2). astonished the whole empire. And several nations, who were not concerned on either fide, then offered their affistance to the Romans. Likewise divers princes in alliance with Sapor or Sapores, the Persian king, advised him to make a good use of his success, and secure to himself a solid and lasting peace, by releasing his illustrious captive; but the haughty monarch would not hearken to any of those salutary counsels.

Gallienus had the title of Augustus before that unhappy expedition, and being now at liberty to indulge his excesses without restraint, he shewed no concern for the missortune of his father. Insomuch, that upon the first news of it, affecting the air of a philosopher, he said, Sciebam patrem meum esse mortalem. And while a general greif spread itself among persons of all ranks, he alone, as the historian expresses it, Specie decoris, qued pater ejus virtutis studio deceptus videretur.

⁽¹⁾ Trebell. Pollio, in Valeriano. Eutropius, Lib. 1x. c. 6. Aurel. Victor, in Epitome, cap. 32. (2) V. Rom. 1013.

videretur, supra modum laetatus est (1). But altho this pretended philosopher used no indeavours to procure his father's release, he could not, as Mr. de Boze thinks, free himself from some remorses of conscience on that account; and therefore occasioned a false report to be given out concerning his death, and divine honors to be confered on him, that he might be no longer talked of (2). The Persians in the mean while, attentive to what passed at Rome, indeavoured to render Valerian daily a miserable spectacle; stript of his imperial ornaments, loaded with chains, and exposed to that contempt; that Sapor made a footstool of his neck, whenever he mounted his horse (3); in which deplorable state he continued the remainder of his life.

As disdain and resentment often succeed murmurs, the barbarous nations easily threw off the yoke, which sear had imposed on them; the most submissive provinces thought it a disgrace to obey Gallienus any longer; and the armies in most of the Roman territories chose themselves emperors, many of whom thro emulation soon destroyed one another. Trebellius Pollio has given a short history of them in a continued series; whom for the sake of a round number he calls the Thirty tyrants, as not having been acknowledged by the senate.

The Gauls were in hopes, either not to have imbarked in this general conspiracy, or however to have been

⁽¹⁾ Trebell. Pollio, Gallieni duo.

⁽²⁾ Ibidem.

⁽³⁾ Laciant. De morte persecut. cap. 1. Aurel. Victor, Epitome, c. 32. P. Orosius, Lib. vii. c. 22.

been the last in it. Possumus (1) had governed them almost three years by the appointment of Valerian; who writing to them in his favour, among other encomiums there given him, uses this expression, Virum, quem ego prae caeteris stupeo (2). He had before been governor to his son Gallienus, and presered to Aurelian, who was afterwards emperor, on account of his mild and gentle disposition; as Valerian himself intimates in a letter to Antoninus Gallus the consul, where speaking of Aurelian he sais, that he was fearful, Ne quid etiam erga filium severius, si quid etiam ille secisses (ut est natura pronus ad ludiera) saevius, cogitaret (3).

Gallienus was in Gaul, when he heard of the miffortune, which had befallen his father; but departed foon after, leaving behind him Saloninus his elder fon, whom he created Caefar; and placed with him a tribune, by Zosimus called Silvanus (4), but Zonaras calls him Albanus (5). This officer being jealous of Postumus, made it his business to disgust him, break his measures, and render him suspected. Thus when Postumus, after an obstinate ingagement, had intirely defeated several detachments of the Brueseri and Chamavi, people of Germany, who had passed the Rhine, and plundered the neighbouring country, he gave the spoil to his soldiers. But Silvanus wrote him a severe letter, and in the name of Saloninus ordered him to deliver

⁽¹⁾ M. Cassive Latienve Postymys.

⁽²⁾ Treb. Pollio, in Postumo.

⁽³⁾ Flav. Vopiscus, in Aureliano.

⁽⁴⁾ Lib. 1.

⁽⁵⁾ Tom. 1. pag. 632.

deliver up the whole booty, the disposal of which was claimed by the prince. The army upon hearing of this order assembled in a tumultuous manner, declared both Gallienus and his son unworthy of the empire, tore off their images from the military ensigns, and obliged Postumus to assume the purple for the security of his own life (1). After this they marched immediately to Cologn, where Saloninus and Silvanus then resided; and compelling the inhabitants to give them up, they massacred them both.

Gallienus, more concerned for the loss of his son than his father's imprisonment, sent no forces against the Persians; but ordered his best troops to march into Gaul, with a shew of determined vengeance. Postumus opposed them for three whole years, at the end of which he was quite exhausted, and obliged to defend his last town himself; when Gallienus, who was defirous of the honour of conquering him in perfon, approaching too near the wall, was wounded in the shoulder with an arrow; which caused him to raise the seige, and return to Rome, without thinking any more either of Postumus or the Gauls. Who being thus freed from the danger which threatened them, justice, plenty, and the love of arts, flourished among them under the government of Postumus; to whose honor divers monuments were erected, representing as their tutelar deities, the godess Pax, but principally Hercules. And several of his medals are yet extant, with the title, RESTITUTOR GALLIARUM (2).

(2) Cabinet du Roy.

⁽¹⁾ Zonaras, ubi supra. Treb. Pollio, in Postumo.

But this felicity did not long continue; for the Germans and their confederates, whom he had defeated near Cologn, inftigated by Lollianus (or rather L. Aelianus) who had been raifed to oppose him, made a new eruption on the side of Mayence; where he again defeated them, drove them into the town, and so straitened them, that they offered to surrender. Postumus gave his consent, but the army would not; and rather than lose the plunder of a single town, sacrificed their general, whom they had themselves

advanced to the imperial dignity.

Mr. de Boze places the death of Postumus in the fpring of the year 267, being the seventh of his reign. and about the seventieth of his age. And his son of the same name, who is sometimes joined with him upon medals, appears to have lived near forty years. Valerian had given him the government of the Vocontii, a people in Dauphiny, at the same time that he fent his father to command in Belgic Gaul. And he was fo confiderable an orator, that fome have ascribed to him the nineteen Declamations, which others affign to Quintilian, the grandfather of him, whose excellent treatise intitled, Institutiones Oratoriae. are yet preserved, and to which those Declamations are usually subjoined (1). Trebellius Pollio sais, that both the Postumi were killed in the sedition at Mayence. But Mr. de Boze doubts the truth of this, and thinks the credit of fo inaccurate a historian, who mistakes even in their name, which he always writes Posthumius, R

(1) Treb. Pollio, in Postumo juniore. Berchii Advers. Lib. Ly III. c. 14. Voss. Instit. Orat. Lib. 1. c. x1.

Posthumius, not sufficient to support it. He rather thinks therefore, that the fon died fome years before his father, and probably during the war, in which they were jointly ingaged against Gallienus. was immediately after this war, that his father took Victorinus (1) as a partner with himself in the empire; which, had his fon been living, could neither have been for his interest, nor suitable to natural affection. Befides, tho Victorinus had then distinguished himself for his valour, he must have been younger than the fon of Postumus; since his mother Victorina, or Victoria, was yet in the vigour of her age, and one of those who opposed Gallienus. tho she could not possess the empire herself, such was her ambition, that she assumed the titles of Augusta and Mater castrorum (2).

Her fon Victorinus, who expected to succeed to the government of Postumus, finding his army joined to the faction of Aelianus, and that he was proclaimed emperor, had no small difficulty to support himself among the other part of the Gauls, who by this means were divided. But this did not remain long; for Aelianus having undertaken to repair the forts, which Postumus built along the Rhine to prevent the passage of the barbarians over it; and they

had

(1) M. AVRELIVS PIAVVONIVS VICTORINVS.

⁽²⁾ The title Augusta was usually given to the mothers and wives of the emperors; and Trajan confered it likewise on Marciana his sister, and his neice Matidia. The other title, Mater castrorum, took its rise from the repeated acclamations of the armies; and had been given to Faustina the wise of M. Aurelius, and Julia Domna the wife of Septimius Severus, with some others.

had indeavoured to demolish, after they heard of his death; he imployed all his forces in that work, who displeased with the labour revolted and slew him (1). His death restored to Victorinus, what he had lost by that of Postumus, for he was acknowledged by all the Gauls. But he was soon after taken off by a private conspiracy, for an intrigue with the wife of a notary or clerk (2). His son also was killed with him, whom he had created Caesar, the but an infant (3).

The army foon fixed on a fuccessor, and imagining they should find better treatment from an inferior officer, with whom they had been more familiar, chose one Marius, an armorer by trade, who had raised himself among them, and was greatly admired for his intrepidity and bodily strength, qualities of the highest esteem with the vulgar. But Marius, thus advanced to the imperial dignity, immediately behaved with that cruelty and insolence, that one of his old freinds, trained up in his business, and afterwards his companion in the army, refenting his arrogant behaviour towards him after his advancement. stabled him privately, with this opprobrious infult: Hic est gladius, quem ipse fecisti (4). His government was very thort; Aurelius Victor (4) and Eutropius (6) make it no longer than two days, but Trebellius Pollia

(1) Treb. Pollie, in Lolliano.

⁽²⁾ Aurel. Victor, De Caesar. c. 33. (3) Treb. Pollio, in Victorino.

⁽⁴⁾ Idem, in Mario.

⁽⁵⁾ De Caesar. c. 33.

⁽⁶⁾ Lib. 1x. c. 7.

Pollio sais three (1). Tho Mr. de Boze justly obferves, that neither of these accounts agrees with the number and variety of his medals, which feem to require more months; for they equal those of his predecessor Victorinus, who reigned three years, from the time of his being an affociate with Postumus in the empire. Besides, some of his medals appear to have been struck on the account of victories gained by his lieutenants in that part of Britain, which was subject to the emperors of Gaul; the truth of which victories is confirmed by other monuments and infcriptions found in that country (2), which feems no ways confiftent with fo short a reign. From whence he thinks it reasonable to allow him four or five months, to be reckoned from September or October 267, to the end of January or February 268.

His fucceffor Tetricus (3), the principal subject of this discourse, was a senator, had discharged the office of consul, successively governed almost all the Gallic provinces, and was then present of both the Aquitains (4). He was related to Victorina, who caused him to be declared emperor in his absence, and the title of Caesar to be given to his son. And being solemnly invested with the imperial dignity at Bordeaux, he was acknowledged, as Postumus had been before him, by all the Gauls, as likewise part of Spain and Britain. The time of his advance-

ment

⁽¹⁾ In Mario.

⁽²⁾ Gul. Malmesburienfis, De rebus gestis Reg. Angl. Lib. 11. Camden. Britannia, p. 641. edit. 1607.

⁽³⁾ PVB. PIVESVS TETRICVS.

⁽⁴⁾ Treb. Pollio, in Tetrico seniore.

ment to the empire Mr. de Boze places between the end of January and part of March, in the year 268 (1), agreably to the time he had affigned for the reign of Marius. For he observes, that all historians agree, that Gallienus was yet living, when Tetricus was declared emperor among the Gauls; and doubts only, whether he had heard the news, when he was killed before Milan, where Aureolus was beseiged by him. His death therefore must have happened about the eighteenth or twentieth of March at furthest that For his army having in the feild elected Claudius the second, afterwards surnamed Gothicus, of which he fent an account to the fenate, the letters arrived at Rome on the twenty-fourth; and the senate being convened the same day in the temple of Apollo, among other acclamations these following were several times repeated: Claudi Auguste, tu nos ab Aureolo vindica. Claudi Auguste, tu nos a Palmyrenis vin-Claudi Auguste, tu nos a Zenobia et a Victoria Claudi Auguste, Tetricus nihil fuit, or nihil fit, or nibil fecit (2), as the words are read in different manuscripts. From hence therefore he infers, that Tetricus must at that time actually have held somewhat, which could be nothing else but the empire of the Gauls.

The reign of *Claudius* was not long enough to anfwer all the hopes, which had been conceived of it. He marched immediately against *Aureolus*, and defeated him. After this he purposed to turn his arms against

Zenobia,

⁽¹⁾ V. Rom. 1021.

⁽²⁾ Treb. Pollio, in Divo Claudio.

Zenobia, queen of Palmyra; but a deluge of Goths having on a sudden overspread Illyrium, Thrace, and Macedonia, he determined to repel them. And being obliged to take all his forces with him in that expedition, he not only forbore himself to disturb Tetricus in his possession of the Gauls; but likewise. as Mr. de Boze very probably conjectures, gave orders, that nothing might be done in his absence to interrupt the peace, they had injoyed fince the retreat of Gallienus. This real, or at least feigned freindship, between these two emperors seems to be intimated by medals, struck with the head of each of them on the opposite sides (1). And the like, as he very ingeniously remarks, may be gathered from a passage of Eumenius, in his Panegyric upon the emperor Constantine, where addressing to him in behalf of the Aedui he sais: Divum Claudium, parentem tuum, ad recuperandas Gallias primi solicitaverunt; expe-Stantesque ejus auxilium septem mensibus claus. et omnia inopiae miseranda perpessi, tum demum irrumpendas rebellibus Gallicanis portas reliquerunt, cum fessi observare non possent (2). These Aedui. who applied to Claudius for his afliftance, opposed at that time the government of Tetricus; whose medals give us a more noble idea of him, from the use he made of his victories. For in some of these he is represented not as a warrier, but in a state of peace and plenty, with the legend SALVS AVGVSTORVM, intimating that moderation in success is the true grandeur

(2) Edit. ad usum Delphin. pag. 222.

⁽¹⁾ Ansel. Bandur. Numism. imper. Tom. 1. p. 403.

grandeur and safety of princes. And in others are seen the figures of several temples erected by him, some of them in a circular form like the *Pantheon*, with the legend PACI.

And to these happy times Mr. de Boze refers the curious gold medallion mentioned above, which represents Tetricus as crowned with laurel, and dressed in the toga palmata, or consular robe, which was also worn in triumphs. In his right hand he holds an olive branch, and a scepter with the Roman eagle on the top in his lest, and round his image is this inscription, IMPERATOR TETRICUS AUGUSTUS. But the reverse, if it has one, must remain unknown; since the medal is so fixed in the gold box, which contains it, that they cannot be separated without indangering both. And the radiated circle of gold, with which it is incompassed, is designed only to adorn and inlarge it.

He therefore proceeds with the history, and further observes, that Claudius gained a most signal victory over the Goths, in which three hundred and twenty thousand of them were slain, and two thousand transport vessels taken. But as this victory had been greatly facilitated by a pestilence, which spread thro the enemies army, it seized likewise the Roman forces; and Claudius himself died of it at Sirmium in Pannonia, in the third year of his reign,

and fifty-fixth of his age (1).

His

⁽¹⁾ Zosimus, Lib. 1. Dexippus, De legationibus. Porphyrius, in Vit. Plotini, Basil. 1591.

His brother Quintillus, who had been left with fome forces in Italy, was proclaimed emperor there, and acknowledged by the senate. But being informed, that the victorious army had elected Aurelian, and perceiving that his own forces were inclined to abandon him, he chose to free himself from those unhappy circumstances by a voluntary death (1).

Aurelian was not forgetful of the war, which his predecessor Claudius had designed against Zenobia, whose power daily grew more formidable, as she had then got possession of Aegypt. However the difficulty of the enterprize, and the great preparations necessary for undertaking it, occasioned him to defer it near two years. But the vigorous manner, in which it was afterwards carried on by him, and the great fuccess that attended it, are too well known to need a recital here. In the mean while Tetricus, who remained unmolefted, was conftantly imployed in studying the welfare and prosperity of the Gauls. And as both the fituation, and natural fertility, of the country are very well fuited to promote commerce; those advantages were greatly improved by him, as well by repairing the roads, as making new ones, the overfight of which works was committed to his fon; some proofs whereof yet appear from inscriptions on the milliary pillars, erected to mark out the distance of the ways (2). The legends also upon some of their coins, struck in honor of Tetricus, plainly

(1) Zosimus, Lib. 1. Zonaras, Annal. Tom. 1. p. 636.

⁽²⁾ One of these inscriptions is yet preserved at Rouen, in the house of Mr. Bigot.

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plainly express the happiness, which the Gauls injoyed under his auspicious government; such as VBERTAS, LAETITIA, FELICITAS PVBLICA, and

the like (1).

Victorina did not long survive the advancement of Tetricus to the empire of the Gauls; but whether she died a natural death, or was killed, historians have left quite uncertain (2). However, the arts of intriguing and caballing, which she had carried to the greatest hight in Gaul, did not die with her; but gave Tetricus a continual uneafiness, either to detect or suppress them. And therefore upon the return of Aurelian from the conquest of Zenobia, whom with her two fons he fent to Rome in great pomp; when Tetricus could no longer bear with the insolence of his own foldiers, he wrote a letter to him, in which he used this expression: Eripe me bis, invicte, malis (2). And afterwards upon the arrival of Aurelian near Chalons in Campania, drawing out his forces, as if he defigned an ingagement, he furrendered to him both himself and his whole army. means Aurelian being then, as the historian expresses it, princeps totius orbis (4), celebrated a most splendid triumph at Rome; in which not only Zenobia with her two fons, but likewise Tetricus and his son, were exposed to public view among the other captives, to denote the subjection both of the eastern and western empire.

Some

⁽¹⁾ Cabinet du Roy.

⁽²⁾ Treb. Pollio, in Victorina.

⁽³⁾ Idem, in Tetrico seniore. Eutropius, Lib. 1x. c. 19.

⁽⁴⁾ Flav. Vopiscus, in Aureliano.

Some authors blame Aurelian for treating Tetricus in so indecent a manner; which however he is supposed to have done with a view to humble the fenate. against whom he was greatly prejudiced; and therefore chose thus to show himself (as he was usually called by the populace) fenatorum paedagogum (1). For Trebellius Pollio informs us, that he afterwards treated Tetricus with the highest honor, often calling him collegue, fometimes fellow foldier, and at other times giving him the title of emperor (2). estate also was restored to him, and his house, which had been demolished, was rebuilt on mount Coelius, changed into a palace, and dedicated with folemnities like a temple. Aurelian was himself invited to this ceremony, and having entered the grand hall, was furprifed to fee himself represented there, as delivering to Tetricus and his fon the fenators robe with other marks of dignity, and receiving from them a civic crown and scepter (3). Casaubon finding that one of his manuscripts had not the word sceptrum in this passage of Trebellius Pollio, and not perceiving any reason for its being mentioned, proposes in his comment the omission of it. But Mr. de Boze very justly observes, that the gold medallion of Tetricus is the most certain commentary upon the place; where the scepter represents that of the Gallic empire, which compleated the glory and happiness of Aurelian.

Wherefore

⁽¹⁾ Flav. Vopisc. in Aureliano.

⁽²⁾ Treb. Pollio, in Tetrico seniore.

⁽³⁾ Idem, in Tetrico juniore.

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Wherefore as he now thought himself in a condition to avenge the outrages, committed by the Perfians under Sapor upon the Roman empire, he entered upon that expedition; leaving the government of the greatest part of Italy to the care of Tetricus, with this complaisant expression: Sublimius habendum regere aliquam Italiae partem, quum trans Alfes regnare (1). But Aurelian had marched no farther than Caenophrurium (a station in Thrace between Heraclea and Byzantium) when he was killed by the treachery of his fecretary, by some called Mnestheus (2), and by others Eros (3). Who from a fear of punishment, for some misdemeanours committed by him, had drawn up a lift, containing the names of many persons, some of whom had incurred the emperor's displeasure, and others not; among which names, to prevent fuspicion, he had inserted his This lift, which appeared as writen with the emperor's own hand, he shewed to the several perfons named in it; adding withal, that Aurelian, whose temper was implacable, had determined to take them all off, if they did not prevent it in time. The scheme took effect, and Aurelian was affaffinated in his march. But this treachery was not long concealed; and the army to avoid a fresh mistake refered the choice of a new emperor to the fenate, who returned them the compliment; and after several reciprocal messages of that fort, which occasioned an interregnum of seven

or

(2) Flav. Vopiscus, in Aureliano.

(3) Zosimus, Lib. I.

⁽¹⁾ Aurel. Victor, in Epitome. Treb. Pollio, in Tetrico seniore. Eutropius, Lib. 1x. c. 9.

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or eight months, the senate elected *Tacitus* (1), one of their own body, and who was at that time *princeps* fenatus.

No historian has settled the time, when Tetricus died. For Zosimus only tells us, either from vulgar reports, or mistaken memoirs, that he was put to death by Aurelian among other rebels in Gaul (2). All the rest agree in saying, or suggesting at least, that he furvived his refignation of that empire; which however could not be more than about eighteen months, or two years at the farthest, if he died before Aurelian. But that does not fuit with the medals of Tetricus. For some of these have his head on one fide, with a radiated crown; and on the other an eagle, funeral pile, or flaming altar; with the legend CONSECRATIO, the usual emblem of deification. And as it can scarce be thought, that a prince of Aurelian's martial disposition would permit divine honors to be confered on one, whom he had himself led in triumph to mortify the senate; it is more natural to suppose, that it must have been done by Tacitus, who was raifed to the empire by the fenate, thought it his honor to govern by their counfels, and had nothing more at heart, than to repair the injuries they had fuffered by his predecessors. And this opinion seems further confirmed by confidering, that the fuccessors of Tacitus had a military turn, and copied after Aurelian both in their fentiments and actions. As Tacitus therefore reigned but about feven months, from September

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(2) Lib. 1.

⁽¹⁾ MARCUS CLAUDIUS TACITUS.

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275 to some part of March 276, Mr. de Boze places the death of Tetricus, and his consecration consequent upon it, within that time, as what appears to him the most probable. And with that event he concludes his elaborate and curious discourse.

G. C. March 21,

J. Ward.

XXI. An Account of a Treatise, presented to the Royal Society, intitled, Flora Sibirica, sive historia plantarum Sibiriæ tomus secundus, extracted and translated from the Latin of Professor Gmelin, by W. Watson, F. R. S.

Read April 12, HIS volume of the Flora Sibirica, now under confideration, contains two hundred and forty pages in quarto, exclusive of the preface, and ninety-eight copper plates very curiously engraved. It was printed at Petersburg in the year 1749.

An account of the first volume of this valuable work was communicated to the Society by my learned and ingenious friend Dr. John Fothergill *, and has been published in the *Philosophical Transactions*: from its title, we are only promised an account of the plants of Sibiria; but Dr. John George Gmelin, its author

at

^{*} See Phil. Tranf. Vol. XLV, pag. 248.

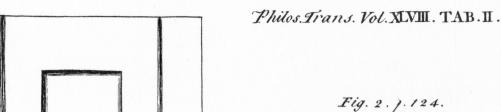
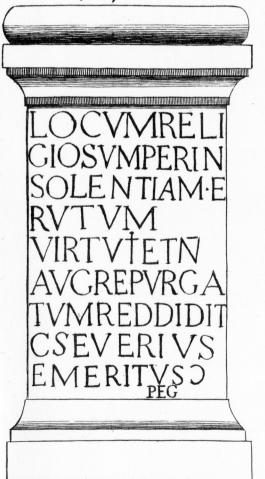
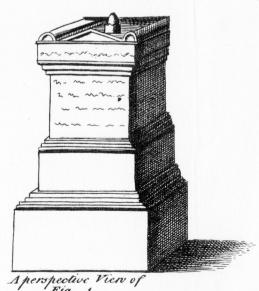


Fig. 3. p. 333.







A perspective View of Fig. 1.

J. Vol. XIVIII. TAB.II. IATAFITAIGI Fig. 2. 1.124. CVBER/KECVI V/S/k/K/M ve View of J. Mynde fo.

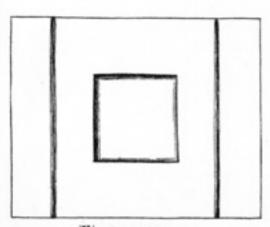
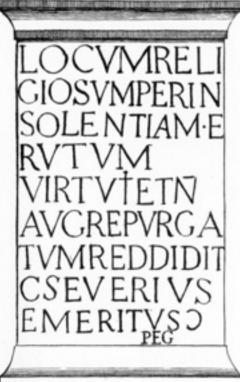
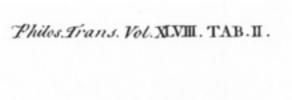
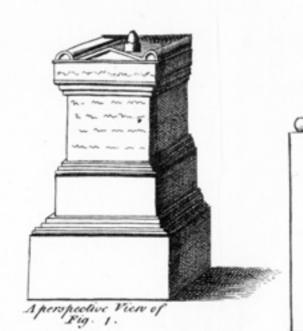


Fig. 3. p. 333 .



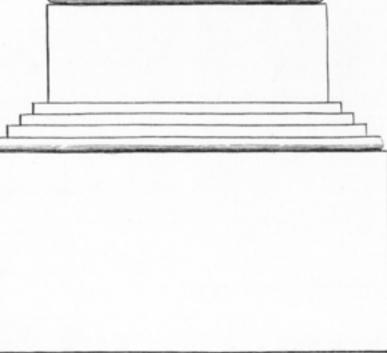








M'MINVXWDE MIKKEC¿VIVIC CVBER!KEC;VI V! S'K K XX



J. Monde fe.