

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF AUGSBURG AND RATISBON.¹

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Augsburg is one of the finest provincial cities in Europe. At first sight it impresses us by architectural magnificence, chiefly of the Renaissance style; it has also a long and eventful history. Founded after the wars of Drusus, to which Horace alludes,² Augusta Vindelicorum is described by Tacitus as *splendidissima colonia*.³ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it attained the zenith of prosperity, flourishing in art, in trade and manufactures. The Fugger and Welser families were merchant princes—the Medici of Augsburg—they amassed enormous wealth, which they used wisely and liberally. Nor should the Augsburg-erinnen be passed over—Philippine Welser⁴ Agnes

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 3rd, 1890.

² Tiberius and Drusus conquered Raetia in B.C. 15, and Augsburg is said to have been founded in the following year, or thereabouts. Horace, Odes, iv, 4, 17sq.,
Videre Raetis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici.

So both Bentley and Orelli—the greatest scholars who have edited this author—read the passage. “Raetia] pro Raeticis. Haec, ut docent Inscriptiones, rectior scriptura est quam *Rhaetis*. Vera autem lectio corrupta est partim errore *Raeti*, partim interpolatione Codd. aliq.: *et Vindelici*.” Orelli, in loco. The subject reminds us of the monument supposed to have been erected in honour of Drusus at Mogontiacum (Mayence); it is noticed in my paper on Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. xlvii, pp. 208—211.

³ Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 41. Her-mundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa (Danubii) commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia.

passim sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. Though another interpretation has been proposed, it is generally agreed that Augsburg is the place which the historian intends to designate. A good illustration of the last clause is supplied by the great mosaic described hereinafter.

⁴ Mr. F. Marion Crawford has well related the romantic story of Philippine Welser's union with Ferdinand of Hapsburg, to whom she was indeed *conjux carissima*, as her epitaph records: *English Illustrated Magazine*, Sept., 1890, vol. vii, No. 84, pp. 841—848, with portraits of the married pair, and views of the Weiherburg and Schloss Ambras in the Tyrol. The memory of this admirable woman is perpetuated by the name of the Philippine Welser Strasse, which ends in the Ludwigsplatz. The house in which she was born is conspicuous on the east side of the street, opposite the Maximilian's Museum, and near Fugger's statue.

Bernauer, Clara von Detten, remarkable for their beauty, and the matrimonial connexions they formed with Imperial and illustrious houses. Moreover, the city has for us a religious interest, for the famous Confession here presented to Charles the Fifth was not only an epoch in the Reformation on the Continent, but also the basis for the Articles of the English Church.¹

With few exceptions, Roman Antiquities at Augsburg must be studied in the Maximilian's Museum, where monuments of various kinds have been collected—historical, in honour of the gods, sepulchral, etc. I proceed to notice some of the most important, beginning with the Inscriptions.

IMP · CAESAR
L · SEPTIMIUS · SEVERVS · PIVS
PERTINAX · AVG · ARABIC ὁ
ADIAB · PARTHICVS · MAXIMVS
PONTIF · MX · TRB · POT · VIIII
IMP · XII · CōS · TI · P · P · PRO CōS · ET
IMP · CÆSAR · MARCVS · AVREL
ANTONINVS · PIVS · AVG · TRB ·
POT · IIII · PRO CōS · ET
" " " " " " " "
VIAS · ET PONTES · REST ·
A · CAMB · M · P ·

XI

TRANSLATION.

The Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax, August, Arabian, Adiabedian, Parthian Maximus, Chief Pontiff, holding Tribunician power for

¹ See Archdeacon Hardwick's History of the Articles, chap. ii, pp. 13—30, Appendix ii, pp. 259—276. Notes and Illustrations at the end of the vol., pp. 391—420. Some portions of the English Articles of 1538 are almost identical with the Augsburg Confession, *e.g.*, Deus aeternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia sapientia bonitate, Creator et Conservator omnium rerum visibilium et invisibilium, et tamen tres sint

personae ejusdem essentiae et potentiae coaeternae, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. This creed, the composition of Melancthon, was written in Latin and German; the vernacular was read, 1530, before the Emperor and the assembled States of Germany, in a hall of the Episcopal Palace, now the Residenz-Schloss, adjoining the Cathedral. Merle d' Aubigné, Histoire de la Réformation, vol. iv, pp. 155—390, livre xiv.

the ninth time, saluted Imperator for the twelfth time, Consul for the second time, Father of his Country, and the Proconsul and Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pius, August, holding Tribunician power for the fourth time, and the Proconsul and repaired the roads and bridges. Eleven miles from Cambodunum.¹

As I have remarked on a former occasion, Roman millaria are far more instructive than the stones placed along English and French roads, which only indicate names of towns, and distances marked in miles or kilometres.² The monument under consideration is no exception to the rule; on the contrary, it suggests many points of interest, both geographical and historical. *Adiabenus* comes from *Adiabene*, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the more recent appellation of the primitive *Assyria*;³ this province, south of Mount *Niphates*, lay between the *Tigris* and the chain of *Zagrus*. In it was situated *Arbela*, which gave its name to the last and decisive victory of *Alexander* over the *Persians*, B.C.,

¹ *Campodunum* is the form of the name that more frequently occurs, and more closely resembles the modern *Kempton*. *Brunet*, *Supplément Géographique* au *Manuel du Libraire*, gives three varieties. *Campidona*, *Campidunum*, *Cambodunum* ...anc. abb. de *Bened.*; concile de 1238; l'abb. s'est appelée aussi *Camp. Vetus* et *Campinacus*. Roman Britain also had its *Cambodunum*, mentioned in the *Antonine Itinerary*, a *vallo ad portum Ritupis*, but difficult to identify, partly because it lay remote, on the west side, from the direct route between *Hadrian's Wall* and *Richborough* in *Kent*. This town of the *Brigantes* was in the neighbourhood of *Halifax* and *Huddersfield*; *Gretland*, *Sowerby*, *Almondbury*, *Grims-car*, *Stainland* and *Slack* have been named as its modern representatives. The road from *York* (*Eboracum*) to *Manchester* is thus given in the *Ant. Itin.*, p. 463, edit. *Wesseling*.

Calcaria (*Tadcaster*).....mpm. viiii.

Camboduno mpm. xx.

Mamucio (*Mancunio*).....mpm. xviii.

As there seems to have been some omission in the MSS., see the note on *Calcaria*, p. 223, edit. *Parthey* and *Pinder*. Instead of *Cambodunum* (in Britain) *Ptolemy* has *Καμουλδουνον*, lib. ii, cap. 3, § 10, on which edit. *Car. Müller* (*Didot*)

vol. i, p. 98, has the following note, *Aliud Camulodunum (hodie Colchester) infra p. 100, 8...Camulodunum de Camulo deo dictum*; with references to the *Archæologia* and the *Archæological Journal*, quoted by *Hübner*, *Corp. Inscr. Brit. Lat.*, p. 54. *Camulus* was the Celtic *Mars*: see *Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims*, année 1859—1860. *Reims* pendant la domination romaine, d'après les *Inscriptions* par *M. Ch. Lorient*. Plate facing p. 53, fig. 1, pp. 53—69, esp. 63, 68: comp. my Paper on the Gallo-Roman monuments in that city, *Archæol. Journ.* 1884, vol. xli, p. 131 sq.

² See my Papers, *ibid.*, *Antt. of Touraine* and the *Central Pyrenees*, 1888, vol. xlv, pp. 325—329; *Antt. of Trèves* and *Metz*, 1889, vol. xlvi, pp. 229—232.

³ Edit. *Eyssenhardt*, 1871, *Index rerum*, *Adiabene provincia Assyriae*, xviii, 7, 1; xxiii, 3, 1; in primis xxiii, 6, 20, 21. *Intra hunc circuitum Adiabena est, Assyria priscis temporibus vocitata, longaque assuetudine ad hoc translata vocabulum ea re quod inter Onam et Tigridem sita navigeros fluvios adiri vado nunquam potuit: transire enim διαβαλειν dicimus Graeci* (var. lect. Graece). *Ammianus* gives another explanation, but it is too long to quote here.

331, though the battle was fought at Gaugamela more than twenty miles off.¹ As Adiabene was a border-land between two great empires, and also an extensive plain suitable for military operations, we might *a priori* expect to read of many engagements in the country, and that a successful commander would hence derive a new title.²

Proceeding to the next title we find it still more worthy of attention. On the coins of Septimius Severus, for the year A.D. 195, the legend PART. ARAB. PART. ADIAB. occurs; *i.e.*, Parthicus Arabicus, Parthicus Adiabenicus. At this period the Romans were not openly making war upon the Parthians, and Eckhel ingeniously accounts for the repetition of their name by supposing that they sent troops to assist the two nations here mentioned. We have the same iteration in the inscription upon the Arch of Severus at Rome, near the Capitol.³ The surname *Parthicus* was omitted from coins

¹ *I.e.*, the camel's or dromedary's house: Thirlwall, History of Greece, 1st edition, vol. vi, p. 217. The great mosaic at Naples—the finest that remains from antiquity, and I might even say the finest in the world—probably represents the battle of Arbela, or the earlier one at Issus fought two years previously. There is a close correspondence between the figures in the tessellated pavement and the narrative of the battle at Issus by Q. Curtius, especially the mention of *one* chariot; lib. iii, cap. 27, Jamque qui Darium vehebant equi, confossi hastis et dolore efferati, jugum quater, et regem curru (*τέθριππον* Diodor.) excutere coeperant: cum ille, veritus ne vivus veniret in hostium potestatem, desilit, et in equum, qui ad hoc ipsum sequebatur, imponitur. It is said that Cardinal Richelieu at Rochelle, with Q. Curtius in his hands, imitated the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great; so one might imagine that the mosaicist at Pompeii composed his design with this passage before his eyes. Cf. Diodorus, xvii, 33 sq.; and Plutarch, Life of Alexander, chaps. 20, 33; C. O. Müller, Denkmäler der alten Kunst, edit. Wieseler, part i, pp. 52–54, Taf. lv, No. 273; Id. Archäol. d. Kunst, Sect. 163, Remark 6, where many modern authorities are cited; Eng. Translation p. 140.

² For the same reasons the Low Countries have been the scene of war for centuries: a mere arena for combat—the *Cockpit of Europe* of Murray's Handbook

for Travellers on the continent, Sect. i, Belgium, Introductory Information, § 22.

Milton mentions this region with his usual, though not unfailing, accuracy: Paradise Regained, iii, 319.

From Atropatia and the neighb'ring plains

Of Adiabene.

Strabo has 'Ατροπάτιος, lib. xi, cap. 13, § 1, p. 523, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα μέρος ἐστὶν ἡ 'Ατροπάτιος Μηδία (S.W. of the Caspian); and 'Ατροπάτιος ibid., § 6, p. 524. This country is very mountainous, but Adiabene level: Strab., xvi, 1, § 19, p. 745, Τῆς μὲν οὖν 'Αδιαβηνῆς ἡ πλείοτις πεδιάς ἐστὶ. See Bishop Newton's excellent commentary on the Paradise Regained, loc. citat. Comp. Pliny, Hist. Nat., vi 13, § 41. Adiabene Assyriorum initium: Tacitus, Ann., xii, 13, Postquam campos propinquabant, copiis Carenis adjunguntur, transissoque amne Tigri permeant Adiabenos.

³ Gruter, vol. i, no. cclxv, with prefatory notice: Orelli, Collectio Inscr. Lat., vol. i, p. 211, c. ii, Monumenta historica, § 22, No. 912, with the letters erased after the murder of Geta, A.D. 212

Professor J. H. Middleton, Ancient Rome in 1885, p. 217 sq., gives a brief, but detailed, description of the reliefs on the Arch of Severus, "very interesting for their representations of scenes of battle and sieges in the East." Those who desire fuller information will find it in Rossini's Archi Trionfali; the plates are of folio size, and nine are devoted to this

for a time, because the Emperor was fully occupied with the war against Albinus, and therefore unwilling to assume any designation that would provoke the hostility of the Eastern power. It was resumed in A.D. 198; and *Maximus* was added in the following year to commemorate the great victories that had been obtained. In 201 *Parthicus Maximus* on the obverse disappears, *Pius* begins, and a medal exhibits Obv. IMPP. INVICTI. PII. AVGG., busts of Severus and Caracalla, conjugated and laureated; Rev. VICTORIA. PARTHICA. MAXIMA. Victory holding a crown and palm. The plural IMPP., i.e., *Imperatores*, agrees with the mention of Severus and his son on the milestone at Augsburg.¹

At first the elder son of Severus was called Bassianus—a name which he derived from his maternal grandfather; this was changed to M. Aurelius Antoninus. The vanity of Severus appeared most conspicuously in an attempt to connect himself with illustrious predecessors; thus he claimed descent by adoption from Aurelius, Pius, Hadrian, Trajan and Nerva; of the last Emperor in this series he is said to be the *adnepos*, i.e., great-great-grandson; see Orelli's Inscriptions, Nos. 904, 908, 915. Hence we cannot wonder that he gave his son a name in accordance with this flattering genealogy. Caracalla does not occur on coins or monuments, because it is a *sobriquet* of Gallic origin, which means a short dress, like a frock coat.² The case is analogous to that of Caligula, so-called from *caliga*, a soldier's boot; but in the official documents he is Caius Caesar.³

subject; they exhibit the sculptures on both sides—many of them on a large scale. These reliefs are important as illustrations of the rapid decline of art which had commenced in the Antonine Age, as the column of M. Aurelius proves if compared with that of Trajan.

¹ Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vii, pp. 166-194, esp. 172, 179; Cohen, Med. Imp., vol. iii, p. 329, no. 6.

² This garment seems to be described by Strabo, iv, 4, 3, p. 196 (197?) quoted by Rich in his Dictionary, 'Ἀντὶ δὲ χιτῶνων σχιστοῦς χειρῶν τοῦς φέρουσι μέχρις αἰδῶν καὶ γλουτῶν; it is called by Martial *Gallica palla*, Epigrams I, 93; cf. the Augustine History, Spartianus, Vita Caracalli, cap. 9, with the note of Salmasius (Saumaise). There were two

kinds—one worn by the Gauls, reaching only down to the thighs; the other, introduced by this emperor at Rome, extending to the ankles, and named from him *Antoniniana*. Dr. W. Smith, in his edition of Gibbon, chap. vi, vol. i, p. 264, note, remarks that the modern writers have adopted the form Caracalla, though the ancients wrote Caracallus.

³ Tacitus, Annals i, 41 Jam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. These words are part of that most pathetic passage, in which the historian relates the departure of Agrippina and the Roman ladies from the camp of the revolting legions on the

VIAS . ET . PONTES . REST. Some have expanded the abbreviation as *restauraverunt*; on comparing this inscription with others relating to the repair of roads, *restituere* seems more probable: for example, at Pène d'Escot in the Pyrenees, on the road from Oloron to Jaca, the following words are to be seen on the natural rock:—

II VIR BIS HANC
VIAM RESTITVIT¹

Here we may also notice the title *Dumvir*, which frequently recurs at Augsburg. Wilmanns in his *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Index xiii, *Notabilia Varia*, *Viae et Pontes*, vol. ii, p. 670, gives the phrases *viam facere*, *restituere*, *munire*, *sternere*, *silice sternere*, with the word *passim* appended; but he does not mention *restaurare*. Another expression is supplied by Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis*, p. 271, VIAS ET MILLIARIA...RENOVAVERVNT, on a column two miles from Sidon, in the direction of Tyre. Lastly, compare the fragmentary REST on the mile-stone at Augsburg with ESTITVER still legible on the entablature of the Temple of Vespasian at Rome, supported by three columns, which every visitor must remember.²

lower Rhine. Comp. Suetonius, *Caligula* 9; *Caligulae cognomen castrensi joco traxit*, &c. Cohen, *Op. citat.* vol. i, pp. 146-153, pl. ix. Eckhel, vi, 228, *At vero plebeium istud nomen ausum non est inferre pedem in monumenta publica, tam parum, quam serius nomina Caracallae et Elagabali, illud per ignominiam datum Severi filio, hoc Soaemiadis filio.*

The last-named emperor in the legends of coins is usually Antoninus, but originally he was called Varius Avitus Bassianus. Where Elagabalus appears on his medals, it may be taken as an apposition with a case of Sol, meaning the same deity, *e.g.*, *Rev. SACERD DEI SOLIS ELAGAB.* Cohen iii, 529, nos. 116-119. Inscriptions relating to him occur in Britain: Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 4to. edition, pp. 159-161, 320, 322, 412; Henzen, *Supplement to Orelli's Collection*, no. 5514; *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Nos. 121, 571, 943; *C.I.L. Britannia*, edit. Hübner, nos. 585, 1039, 1191.* (dubious) 664, 964. These monuments exhibit many erasures, such as may be observed at present in France, resulting from changes of government; and in some cases we cannot decide with cer-

tainty what emperor's name should be supplied, but in those above mentioned there are strong reasons for preferring Elagabalus to any other.

¹ See my Paper on Antiquities in the South-West of France, *Archæol. Journ.*, 1879, xxxvi, 9, text and notes.

² This Temple on the Clivus Capitolinus, built by Domitian in honour of his father, Vespasian, about A.D. 94, was restored by Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The whole inscription upon it, of which only a few letters are now legible, was copied in the eighth century by a monk from the convent of Einsiedeln (Switzerland, Canton Schweiz). The latter part of it suits our present purpose—IMPP. CAESS. SEVERVS . ET . ANTONINVS . PII . FELIC . AVGG . RESTITVERVNT: émil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, A, i, § 17, *Antiquarian Ramble from the Colosseum to the Capitol*, p. 14. See Professor Middleton's *Ancient Rome* in 1885, pp. 213-215, comp. 240, 241 with notes 1, 2; he gives a full account of the sculptured frieze representing sacrificial instruments enriched with minute reliefs. Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 119, sq., plates at pp. 93, 99, 118, which show

Campodunum is now Kempten, in Bavaria, a station on the line of railway from Munich to the Lake of Constance (Bodensee), not far from Lindau. A part of the town called Neustadt is situated on an eminence, which corresponds with the termination *dunum*, signifying a hill, as in Augustodunum, Camulodunum, etc. The Antonine Itinerary mentions Campodunum three times—on the road from Augusta Vindelicum to Brigantia (Bregenz); it belonged to the tribe of Estiones; vid. Strabo, lib. iv., p. 216.¹

This inscription formerly lay buried in the cellar of the Monastery at Isny (*in cella vinaria abbatiali*), a place West of Kempten, within the frontier of Württemberg.²

MVNICIPI AEL AVG NEGOTIATOR
 VESTIARIAE ET.....IARIAE · AEDEM
 CVM SVIS ORN.....NTIS · SIBI · ET · P · RAT
 C · ANTONIO · AELIANO · EQVITI.: ROMANO
 DECVRION. MVNIC · AEL · AVG.....O

The letters underscored with wavy lines are not distinctly legible.

adjacent buildings—Tabularium, Column of Phocas and Temple of Saturn; comp. Smith's Dictionary of Anc. Geography, s.v. Roma, Vol. ii, p. 781 and engraving. Nibby, Roma nell'anno mdcccxxxviii, Parte i. Antica, pp. 541-545, thinks that the three columns still remaining belonged to the *aces Tonantis Jovis in Capitolio* mentioned by Suetonius, Augustus, cc. 21, 91 (cf. Dion Cassius, liv, 4; καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βροντῶντος ἐπικαλουμένου ναὸν καθιέρωσε; edit. Sturz, Vol. iii, p. 252; Vol. vi, p. 100, note 32); he, therefore, calls the ruins Tempio di Giove Tonante, but more recent topographers do not agree with him.

¹ Itinerar. Antonini, edit. Wesseling, pp. 237, 250, 258; edit. Parthey and Pinder, pp. 111, 116, 120. Strabo, lib. iv, cap. vi, § 8, καὶ οἱ Ἑστίωνες δὲ τῶν Οὐινδολικῶν εἰσι καὶ βριγάντιοι καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν βριγάντιον καὶ καμβόδουνον, κ.τ.λ. Brigantium (or Brigantia), Bregenz in the Austrian Tyrol, capital of the Vorarlberg,

must not be confounded with Brigantes, a tribe in the North of England.

² The preceding inscription is given by Mezger, Die Römischen Steindenkmaler, Inschriften und Gefäss-Stempel im Maximilians-Museum, Augsburg, 1862, p. 2; also by Von Hefner, Das Römische Bayern, Dritte Auflage, München, 1852, p. 127 sq., No. CXLVII, with notes subdivided—Literatur, Geschichte, Form. This important work contains copious Indices, which assist us to ascertain the *provenance* of monuments and the places where they have been deposited, and the meaning of abbreviations (*sigla*), &c. It is accompanied by an Atlas of 8 plates, see pp. 378-380 of the Text, Uebersicht der auf den acht Tafeln abgebildeten Gegenstände. Comp. Von Raiser, Der Ober-Donau-Kreis im Königreiche Bayern unter den Römern, 1830, 1^{te} Abtheilung, pp. 34, 45; Id. Guntia und das römische Antiquarium zu Augsburg, 1823, p. 64. Tab. III, Fig. II, No. 11; and Tab. B,

EXPANSION

According to Mommsen.

Municipi Aeli Augusti negotiatores rei vestiariae et ...iariae aedem cum suis ornamentis sibi et populo patefecerunt (vel patnaverunt) C. Antonio Aeliano equite Romano decurione municipi Aeli Augusti curatore.

TRANSLATION.

The sellers of clothes and... in the borough Aelia Augusta have built the temple with its decorations for themselves and the people; Caius Antonius Aelianus, a Roman knight and decurion of the borough Aelia Augusta, superintended the work.

The first word which arrests attention is *AEL*, an abbreviation of *Aelia* or *Aeli*. This name was given to Augusta Vindelicorum, in honour of Hadrian, who reigned A.D. 117-138; hence the inscription cannot be antecedent to the former date. It was right that the great Emperor should be honoured at Augsburg, because more than any other he had contributed to the erection of the Limes Transdanubianus and Transrhenanus. His biographer, Spartianus, informs us that by fixing great stakes deep in the earth, like a mural hedge, he separated the barbarians from the Romans (stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus jactis atque conexis barbaros separavit);¹ and Colonel von Cohausen, the best modern authority on this subject, thinks that the Teufelsmauer in Bavaria was constructed by Hadrian, and, therefore, subsequently to the Rhenish boundary wall.² The former is carried North of the Danube, and nearly parallel to its course from the neighbourhood of Ratisbon to Lorch in Wurtem-

¹ Vita Hadriani, cap. 12. Thos. Hodgkin, *The Pfahlgraben: An Essay towards a description of the Barrier of the Roman Empire between the Danube and the Rhine*, p. 85. "Hadrian is spoken of as the great developer of this scheme of defence at various times and in various places, and, upon the whole, the German antiquaries are probably warranted by this passage in attributing to that Emperor more than to any other single name the construction of the *Limes Transdanubianus et Transrhenanus*."

² Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutsch-

land, *Militärische und technische Beschreibung desselben* von A. Von Cohausen, chap. III, p. 12, Wir glauben, was wir hier schon aussprechen wollen, auch wegen der Ähnlichkeit mit dem notorisch in Nordhumberland angelegten Grenzmauer, dass die Teufelsmauer durch Bayern durch denselben Kaiser, also später als der rheinische Grenzwall angelegt worden ist. The Atlas of fifty-two Plates forms the 2nd volume; Tafel I. contains, in addition to the Roman Wall in Germany, those in Britain, Vallum Hadriani and Vallum Pii.

berg, so that it protected Augusta Vindelicorum and South Germany, just as the wall in our own country defended the Britons against the Caledonians. We may remark that the memory of this universal benefactor was perpetuated in other places after the same fashion; Pons Ælii was the ancient name of Newcastle; Pons Ælius, now Ponte S. Angelo, is the bridge that leads to his Mausoleum at Rome;¹ and Jerusalem, after the suppression of a Jewish revolt, was called Ælia Capitolina.²

When the Swedes occupied Augsburg during the Thirty Years' War, the compliment that had been paid to Hadrian was repeated in honour of Gustavus Adolphus; a silver medallion was struck, 1632, bearing in its legend the words *Gustava* and *Augusta*, probably with allusion to the anagram by which the former is made from the latter.³

¹ Nibby, *Roma Antica*, vol. I, pp. 159-167, 1838, says of this bridge, which at that date had borne the traffic of seventeen centuries, *È questo il ponte più bello e più comodo di Roma moderna*. Middleton, *Ancient Rome* in 1835, p. 487, "The Pons Ælius was built in A.D., 135" (TRIB. POT. XVIII, which fixes the year) "by Hadrian, to connect his Mausoleum and Circus with the Campus Martius: Spartianus, Hadrian, c. 19. "It is shown on the reverses of bronze coins of Hadrian, dated from his third consulship." But there is some doubt whether these coins are genuine, see Eckhel *Doct. Num. Vet.*, VI, 511 sq. *De numo hoc sic Baldinus: dummodo sit indubitata antiquitatis, a peritis enim pro suspecto habetur*. Sane in Caesareo quoque Museo ejus exemplum adest, sed haud dubie spurium. Cohen, *op. citat.*, vol. II, p. 172, Among Médailles de grand bronze sans le S.C. gives a reverse, No. 576, Sans legende. Pont à cinq arches orné de quatre statues. He adds *Le Médallion avec le pont Elie est faux*.

² Smith's *Dict. of Class. Geogr.*, vol. ii, p. 27, first column, supplies many references. With the addition of the surname of a deity to the Emperor's *nomen gentilicium*, which occurs in Ælia Capitolina, we may compare Ælia Augusta Mercurialis, as Thenae (Θεναί) was called when it received a Roman colony—a town in Byzacium, near the Syrtis Minor, and south of Thapsus. It appears in an inscription, Gruter's Collection, p. cclxiii, No. 3, *tabula patronatus*, which evidently belongs to the Constantine period, because it begins

with DD.NN. CRISPO ET CONSTANTINO. Corp. Inscr. Lat. vol. viii, pt. 1, p. 10, where the various forms of the Greek name may be seen—*ε* and *α* in the former syllable, singular and plural numbers. Itinerar. Antonini, edit. Wesseling, pp. 46, 47, 48, 57, colonia 59; *hodie Thaini, Teny*.

C.I.L., vol. viii, part 2; Tabula II, Provincia Africa, is an excellent map on a sufficiently large scale, 1:1,000,000, showing Roman roads—certain and uncertain—places where mile-stones have been found, ancient bridges, ruins, &c.

Under the Republic, the families of the gens Ælia—Catus, Gallus, Gracilis, Lamia, Ligur, Paetus, Staienus, Stilo, Tubero, &c.—produced many distinguished men, but they are all cast into the shade by the fame of the illustrious Emperor: cf. Horace, *Odes*, i, 26, 8, *Necte meo Lamiae coronam*; *ibid.*, iii, 17, 1, *Æli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo*. Ernest Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des Monnaies de la République Romaine*, vol. i, pp. 107—113. This author has improved upon his predecessor Cohen, and the present case is an example of it. The earlier writer gives engravings of seven coins under Ælia; but the later, ten, intercalated in the text, with references in the footnotes, both ancient and modern.

³ Von Raiser, *Guntia und das romische Antiquarium zu Augsburg*, p. 62, note 6, describes this medal at length, but a much more copious account will be found in the following Catalogue, *Verzeichniss der in der Münzsammlung des historischen Vereins von Schwaben und Neuburg*

It has been plausibly conjectured that the second line of the inscription might be completed by inserting *patagiariae*, the adjective formed from *patagium*, a broad stripe of purple or gold ornamenting the front of a Roman lady's tunic, and similar to the *clavus* of knights and senators. A good example is supplied by a painting in the tomb of the Nasones, where Proserpine is represented as wearing it; she is seated beside Pluto, and Mercury, *ψυχοπομπός*, conducts a soul into their presence.¹ In this case the *patagium* is not only upon the chest, but also round the neck, so that De Vit correctly interprets it by *collaretto* as well as by *pistagna*. The word is rare, but

befindlichen Münzen und Medaillen der Stadt Augsburg von Johann Paul Grosshauser, Domkapitular. Erste Abtheilung, p. 46 sq., No. 281. Obverse, the fir-cone, heraldic device of the city, with the name Jehovah in Hebrew letters, in the second row armorial bearings of the Duumviri (Stadtpfleger), in the third and fourth of five Councillors (Geheimen), in the fifth of three architects, in the sixth of two masters of ordnance. Round the fir-cone winds the motto POST NVBILA PHOEBVS, accompanied by two letters intertwined, G. and A., i.e., Gustava and Augusta; behind the cone is another motto *Crescit et—1632—florescit*. Reverse, plan of the town and fortifications designed, but not executed; above it the royal arms of Sweden, and below, the words GVSTAVA ET AVGVSTA CAPVT RELIGIONIS ET REGIONIS. In the middle of this plan are the arms of the Swedish military Governor Benedikt Oxenstirn (doubtless a relative of the celebrated Chancellor Axel Oxenstirn), of the Stadtholder Count von Hohenlohe and others. Outside the fortifications is a landscape, including the river Lech with a bridge and *tête de pont*. This medal, which contains other details too numerous to be mentioned here, may be justly regarded as an historical monument of great importance.

¹ *Picturae Antiquae Cryptarum Romanarum et Sepulcri Nasonum, delineatae et expressae a P. Sante Bartolo, descriptae a J.-P. Bellorio et Mic.-Ang. Causeo*, 1819, Tab. viii, pp. 47–49, fol. The article is a long one and illustrated by apposite quotations from the poets, but, strangely enough, nothing is said about the *patagium* of Proserpine. On the contrary, the colours of the drapery are especially noticed. Pluto's head is covered as far as the forehead by a violet

robe; his consort wears a dress of the same hue, and the other female figure is clothed in red. This tomb was discovered in 1674, and Bartoli's plates were published in 1680, so that the drawings were executed when the paintings, which have long since disappeared, were still fresh and beautiful.

The subject reminds me that in the year 1879, I had the opportunity of seeing some frescoes at Pompeii, which had been uncovered only a few days previously on account of the celebration of the eighteenth centenary, commemorating the eruption that overwhelmed the city. They presented a delightful contrast to the Collection of similar relics of art in the Museo Nazionale; for the latter have lost their "original brightness," and are now one dingy red.

The engraving of Bartoli is copied on a reduced scale in Milman's edition of Horace, Odes, I, 10, as an illustration of vv. 17 and following.

Tu pias laetis animas reponis
Sedibus, virgaque levem coerces
Aurea turban.

The drawings from the antique are by Mr. G. Scharf, Director of the National Portrait Gallery; but in this case the engraving is unsatisfactory, because it does not show clearly the ornamental border, as distinct from the rest of the garment. Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, gives the figure of Proserpine, s.v. *Patagium*; Smith's Dict. of Ant., 2nd edition, omits the word, but some collateral information may be found in the article *Clavus Latus, Clavus Augustus*, esp. the latter part, where there are figures of the goddess Moneta, Priscilla an early martyr, one of the three Holy Children, and Rome personified.

we find its derivatives in Plautus, *patagiatus* and *patagiarius*, a maker and seller of such borders or edgings.¹

We infer that it was sometimes of gold from a passage in Tertullian, *De Pallio*; he compares it with the plumage of a peacock, and uses the term *inauratio* (more gilded).²

In the first line of the inscription we have noticed *Ælius*, in the fourth we find *Ælianus*, by its termination indicating an adoption. Two of the most remarkable instances are Publius Cornelius Scipio *Æmilianus*, who was the son of L. *Æmilius* Paullus, conqueror of Macedon; and Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus, usually called Augustus. This practice was specially common under the Empire, which is proved by the recurrence of such names as Sejanus, Vespasianus, Domitianus, etc.; and hence the allusions to it may be accounted for in those passages of the New Testament, where filial and servile dispositions are contrasted.³

C. Antonius has here the title *Eques Romanus*, but I presume that he was one of the *Equites Municipales*, who were probably descended from provincial families; accordingly we find them described by such adjectives as *Aretinus*, *Florentinus*—of Arezzo, of Florence. The Romans would consider them to be an inferior class, as Londoners and Parisians look down upon country people.

¹ *Aulularia*, Act iii, Sc. v, v. 35, *Cinifiones, patagiarii indusiarii* (v. le *Caupones*)

Epidicus, Act ii, Sc. ii, v. 47, *Tunicam rallam, tunicam spissam, linteolum caesicium*,

² *Indusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam aut crocotulam*.

The last word means a saffron-coloured dress, and has the same derivation as *crocodas* a kind of eye-salve, which I have mentioned as explanatory of *cirron* on an oculist's stamp, in my Paper on Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xlv, p. 225, text and note 1. *Ibid.*, two lines later, Plautus has *melinum* (i.e. *vestimentum*), a quince-coloured garment.

² *De Pallio*, cap. iii, edit. Fr. Oehler, vol. i, p. 925 sq. *quantum et pavo pluma vestis, et quidem de cataclistis, immo omni conchylio pressior qua colla florent, et omni patagio inauratio qua terga fulgent*. See the notes; the editor rightly calls attention to *pavo*, dative of *pavus*, the common form being

pavo, pavonis; *Cataclistis*, i.e., *pretiosis et diligenter adservatis; pressa purpura... quæ purius et meracius lucet*.

³ Other texts might be quoted, but one will suffice here; *Epistle to the Romans*, viii, 15, *Ὁ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας, ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν Ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ*. Luther to express the familiarity of Abba renders *lieber Vater*, dear Father; v. Alford in loco. Comp. the exactly parallel passage, *Galatians* iv, 6; and Conybeare and Howson's excellent note upon it, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 8vo. edition, vol. ii, p. 176. St. Paul seems to be the earliest writer that uses *υἰοθεσία* to mean adoption; but we find a similar expression in Herodotus, *Erato*, vi, 57, where he is describing the duties and prerogatives of the Spartan kings, *καὶ ἦν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλη, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιεῖσθαι*. The Athenians used the words *εἰσποίσις, ποίσις* and *θέσις*; for these and other terms v. Smith's *Dict. of Antt.*, art. *Adoptio*, 1 Greek, by Mr. G. Long.

So Juvenal intimates that Cicero himself, a native of Arpinum, when he first came to Rome, was despised because he was a knight in a borough; and Tacitus indignantly remarks that Livia, the sister of Germanicus, grand-niece of Augustus and daughter-in-law of Tiberius, disgraced herself, her ancestors and descendants by her connexion with Sejanus a municipal paramour.¹

Decurio would properly mean a chief of ten, but, like *decanus*, a dean over monks or a cathedral, the word is sometimes used without reference to any decimal division, and here signifies a member of the Town Council, called *Ordo Decurionum*. At first, the popular assembly in Italian towns, as at Rome, had supreme authority; afterwards it was transferred to the senate, which had the grand titles, *splendidissimus*, *honestissimus*, etc., *ordo*, and managed all affairs belonging to internal administration; throughout the Empire this system, now called Home Rule, or local self-government, seems to have been generally adopted. That such was the case may be inferred from the great number of Inscriptions in which the decurions are mentioned; e.g., the abbreviation D.D.P.P. often occurs, i.e., *decreto decurionum, pecunia publica*.²

Orelli gives us the compound *condecurio*, in an inscrip-

¹ Juvenal, Sat. viii, 237 sq.

Hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romæ

Municipalis Eques.

Der nun eben erst noch in Rom ein Municipalritter gescholten wurde, als Spottname, edit. Heinrich, Erklärung, p. 347.

Tacitus, Annals, book iv, chap. 3, Atque illa, cui avunculus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac majores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et præsentibus flagitiosa et incerta expectaret. See the note of Orelli, who quotes Cicero, Philippics, 3, 6, Videte, quam despiciamur omnes, qui sumus e municipiis. This Livia or Livilla, wife of Drusus, is mentioned in the Stemma Augustæ Domus, Tacitus, edit. Lipsius, folio, Antverpiæ, Ex officina Plantiniana, mdcvii, pp. 545-547, esp. 547; also in the Stemma Caesarum, edit. Brotier, 4to. tom. 1, p. 461, no. 71: Brotier gives a much longer list than the earlier commentator, "Ad Nunmorum, Scriptorum veterum, ac maxime C. Cornelii Taciti intelligentiam

illustratum." The genealogical table is repeated, and the notes translated by Valpy, 12mo., vol. i, pp. xi-xxviii. Livia, this passage of Tacitus, should not be confounded with Livia, wife of Augustus, ibid. no. 66. As the Emperor is the principal figure around which the others are grouped by the historian, it is important for the student to know the relations of consanguinity or affinity, in which the members of the Imperial family, *domus divina*, stood to him.

² Daremberg et Saglio, Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, s.v., divide Decurions into four classes. "Il y avait...des décurions en Italie, non seulement dans les colonies municipales et préfectures, mais encore dans les petites communes appelées *conciiliabula* et *fora*, .. En outre, les *vici*, les *pagi* et même les *castella* possédaient un conseil local, bien que subordonnés à la cite dont ils dépendaient. Comp. Smith's Dict. of Antt., third edition, 1890, vol. i, p. 482, s.v. Colonia, ibid., 606-608, s.v. Decuriones, esp. Decuriones Curiales.

tion at Sicca, with the remark that it is scarcely to be found elsewhere; but the researches of recent scholars have supplied other examples.¹ Wilmanns mentions six in Africa, and Mommsen one at Eburum (Eboli) near Paestum.² There is an analogous word *conveteranus*, but it also is rare. *Decurio* has other meanings, with which we are not at present concerned, a commander of cavalry (*dux turmae*), and a head chamberlain (*praepositus cubiculo*).³

Among the monuments preserved in the Maximilian's Museum, we may notice a bas-relief representing a cask (*cupa*),⁴ bound with strong hoops, and placed on a cart (*plaustrum majus, clabulare*); the fore and hind wheels are of the same height; the naves project considerably; and the spokes, eight in number, are conical. Probably

¹ Orelli *Inserr. Lat.*, vol. ii, p. 162, No. 3733, Arelli incorrectly adds Tuneti as the site, following Donati; the inscription was really found (in basi inserta parieti mosceae cujusdam) at Sicca, a town east of Cirta (hodie Constantine), on the road from Carthage to Hippo Regius (Sallust, Jugurtha, chap. 56, Sicca, Siccenses). See Corp. *Inserr. Lat.*, Africa, part i, pp. 197—208, Provincia Proconsularis, LXXII, Colonia Julia Veneria Cirta Nova Sicca (Schak-Benar el Kef). Tribu Quirina. An historical introduction is prefixed, as usual in this work, to the epigraphy of the town. The inscription itself is given more accurately than by Orelli: I quote the latter part of it, which is apposite for our present purpose.

ORDO SICCENSIVM
CIVI ET
CONDECVRONI
D'D' P'P'

(decreto decurionum pecunia publica).

² C.I.L., *ibid.*, part ii, p. 1100; Index xi. Res Municipalis. B. Ordo populusque. Curiae. 1284, 2711, 4202, 9052; condecurio ex Campania 2801; civis et condecurio 1647. Wilmanns *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. ii, p. 613, Index, Condecuriones Eburni 687, Lambaesi 2359, Verecundae 2365. This book, 2 vols. 8vo., contains copious Indices, more complete than I have seen in any publication of the kind. C.I.L. *Inserr. Regni Neapolitani Lat.*, edit. Mommsen, p. 13. No. 189, Eboli in turri campanaria eccl. paroch. S. Mariae ad intra; line 15 CONDEC.

³ As an illustration I repeat the beginning of an inscription copied by

VOL. XLVIII.

Spon at Rome, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis*, Lugduni, 1685, p. 214, Sectio vi, Officia et Artes.

T. FLAVIVS AVG. L. ACRABA
DECVRIO OSTIARIORVM.

In Aula vero ubi plurimi ostiarii, Praefecti quidam eorum Decuriones vocabantur, qualis iste *Titus Flavius Augusti Libertus Acraba*.

Mezger, *op. citat.*, p. 3, gives the bibliography of the Inscription that commemorates the erection of a temple by tradespeople at Augsburg. Von Raiser, *Die römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg*, 1820, p. 32, Monument xix; Tab. x; Guntia, etc. 1823, p. 62, Tab. A.; and p. 63, note 7; Oberdonaukreis unter den Romern, 1832, III^{te} Abtheilung, p. 69 sq., Monument xix, Tab. x. This writer's expansions are by no means satisfactory. Von Hefner, *das römische Bayern*, 3 Auflage, p. 80; other authorities are cited, but they are of less importance.

⁴ *Cupa* has a second meaning—the hostess of a wine-shop, who also entertained the guests by dancing; see Bentley's *Horace*, Sat. II, 2, 123, Post hoc ludus erat cupa potare magistra.

All the manuscripts *uno consensu* have CULPA MAGISTRA, a reading very difficult to explain. By omitting one letter, Bentley has made the passage intelligible. Ubi *Cupa* eadem erit, quae *Copa*, *Caupona* Καπηλις mulier quae vinum e taberna vendit. The "mighty scholiast" has devoted six quarto columns to the emendation of the text. Cf. Virgil, *Copa*, init.; *Copa*, *Syrisca*, caput Graia redimita mitella, Crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus, &c.

this device was the sign of a wine shop; for an illustration of it, I beg leave to refer to my Paper on Langres and Besançon, in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. xliii, p. 105, sq., where I have given an account of the Museum in the former city. A bas-relief, No. 185, exhibits three mules drawing a four-wheeled waggon, the whole length of which is occupied by a cask.¹ In No. 240, we see three shelves arranged vertically; three sandals are placed on the highest, three bottles on the middle, and three boxes on the lowest. Mons. Brocard, the local antiquary and author of the catalogue, explains the objects as emblems of a trade.

Baumeister, *Denkmaler des Klassischen Altertums*, has an excellent article on the ancient sign-boards (*Aushangeschilder*, *Insignia*). He cites a passage in Cicero, *De Oratore*, where mention is made of a shop at Rome, that had in front of it a caricature of a Gaul painted on a shield.² The text is accompanied by two engravings; it seems doubtful whether the former belongs to this subject, but about the latter there can be no mistake. It contains five hams in a row, which would be appropriate for a pork-butcher (*pernarius*). The signs were of two kinds; one like our figures of animals, lion, swan, etc., to distinguish a shop or a hotel; the other symbolical of the business which the tradesman carried on; e.g., a potter had for his device men with an amphora, and a baker, an ass with a mill.

¹ There is an engraving of this relief in the *Memoires de la Societe Historique et Archeologique de Langres*, tome I, p. 140 sq., planche 22, No. 3. I exhibited it together with a photograph of the sculptured stone at Augsburg.

² Lib. II, cap. 66, § 266, *Ut meum illud in Helvium Manciam: Jam ostendam cujusmodi sis; cum ille; Ostende, quaeso; demonstravi digito pictum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub Novis distortum ejecta lingua buccis fluentibus: risus est commotus; nihil tam Manciae simile visum est; see the note in Ellendt's edition, vol. ii, p. 299 sq., scutum suspenderat tale pro tabernae signo. Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, VI, § 59, p. 95, ed. Mueller, *Sub Novis dicta pars in Foro aedificiorum, quod vocabulum ei pervetustum, ut Novae viae, quae via jam diu vetus; just as we say New College,**

Oxford. Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.* s.v. *Roma*, II, 772, *Plan of the Forum, Tabernae Novae*, and 782 sq. Cf. Quintilian, *Inst. Orator*, Lib. VI, Cap. III, *De Risu*, edit. Burmann, p. 538.

C.I.L., vol. iv, p. 49, *Inscriptiones Parietariae Pompeianae, etc., Tituli picti recentiores. Vico del Lupanare, Nos. 806, 807, in tectorio. E dipinto a modo d'insegna un elefante [rosso], che cinto nel corpo da grosso [giallo] serpente è custodito da un pigmeo[r], with two inscriptions—*Sittius restituit elephantu[m]* and *hospitium hic locatur, triclinium cum tribus lectis et comm[odis]*. Baumeister refers to Helbig, *Wandgemalde der campan. Städte*, N, 1601. Comp. H. Jordan in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1871, xxix Jahrgang, pp. 65—79, esp. for Cicero, *De Oratore*, l.c., p. 72 sq.*



SO-CALLED DUUMVIRI.

This sculptured stone at Augsburg, of which I exhibit a photograph, like so many others of classical and mediæval times, was used for building materials, and formed part of the wall of the Kreuzkirche; it was placed about one story above the ground, and in such a manner that only half of the cask could be seen. Fortunately, it found a more commodious position in the Antiquarium Romanum, having been transferred thither in the year 1821. Lastly, it was removed to the Maximilian's Museum, where it remains at present.¹

One of the most interesting objects in this collection is the so-called *Duumviri*.² The monument is no new discovery, as it was described and engraved by Welser, whose history of Augsburg—*Rerum Augustanar. Vinde-*

¹ The literature connected with this monument is given by Mezger, p. 5. Von. Raiser, die römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg, p. 94, Tafel ix, 4; Guntia, etc. p. 66, Tafel iii, Fig. 19; Der Oberdonaukreis unter den Römern iii, p. 76, note 49; Tafel ix, 4 and E. 11. Von Hefner, das römische Bayern, 3 Auflage, p. 334.

Mezger in describing the cart (*plastrum*) uses the term *clabulare* which is not found in ordinary dictionaries. Forcellini has an article *Clabularis* *Cursus*, *ὄχημα τῶν δρόμων*. Erat autem permissio utendi publicis vehiculis...et distincta erat a biroto, rheda et veredo (from veho and rheda); v. *ibid.* Bailey's Auctarium in the Appendix to the English Translation; and De Vit's edition of Forcellini's Lexicon, *Clabularius*, a, um. Adject. parum certae originis. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xx, 4, 11 (in the Index incorrectly 17), Cum familiis eos ad orientem proficisci praecepit (Julianus), *clavularis cursus facultate permissa*. Capitolinus, Life of Antoninus Pius, chap. 12, *Vehicularium cursum summa diligentia sublevavit*; see the learned note of Salmasius, which occupies five columns of the Elzevir edition of the Augustan history, Lugd. Bat. 1671. *Clavularis* is said to be derived from *clavula*, a rail, diminutive of *clava* a club: Smith's Dict. of Antt., 3d edition, I, 450; in accordance with this etymology Rich, Companion to the Lat. Dict., translates *clabulare*, sc. *vehiculum*, a large cart with open sides made of rails. If this is the meaning of the word, it is correctly applied to a waggon in a Pom-

peian painting (v. Rich's illustration), but not to the monument at Augsburg, where there are no such interstices in the sides.

² I have followed the practice of most writers on antiquities in using the word *Duumviri*, but we learn from the Article in the Dict. of Antt., 3rd edition, I, 696 sq., that it is not sanctioned by epigraphic authority. The singular occurs in Livy; e.g., ii, 42, 5, *filius ejus, duumvir ad id ipsum creatus, dedicavit*; of the plural, on the other hand, it would be difficult to find an example. In the Inscriptions we have generally *ii viri*. For instances of a peculiar form, comp. C.I.L., vol. viii, p. 1101., Indices. C. Honorati et principales Provinciarum et Municipiorum. *II vir* (duo viru 1270 *al.*, in *Dianensibus constanter fere*. Diana (Veteranorum, Itinerar, Antonini, edit. Wesseling p. 35) is an inland town of Numidia, North of Lambaesis. P. 462, no. 4579 *ÆMILLIANVS · Q · AEDIL · II VIR · STATVAM...POSUIT*; cf. no. 4580, *II VIR...PRO II VIRIS*. See also Wilmann's *Exempla Inscr.* Lat., vol. ii, p. 620, Indices *res municipalis: honores et munera majora*, c. Duoviri, *duumviri, duomviri...duumviratus*, e.g., no. 1727 · II VIR · DESIGNAT · EST.

Dict. of Antt., loc. citat., enumerates various classes of these officers, *Juridicundo, sacrorum, navales, aedi locandae and dedicandae, viis extra urbem purgandis, perduellionis, quinquennales* (abbreviated *q.q.*). Daremberg and Saglio have an article under the same heading with similar divisions, but more elaborate, xiv. Fascicule, pp. 416-442.

licar. libri octo—bears date 1594.¹ Two full length figures occupy two niches; they wear the toga with folds gracefully arranged; and each of them holds in his hand a roll, which may be regarded as a sign of some official position. The one to the spectator's left, raises his right hand, as if he was earnestly exhorting an auditory; the right hand of the other is wanting, but it was evidently directed downwards. Thus, although the dress is the same in both cases, variety is introduced by a change of posture, and the monotonous repetition that often disgusts us in modern art is happily avoided.

In these niches the arches overhead are not semi-circular, but nearly elliptical. The former style was generally adopted by the Romans, and became a leading characteristic of their architecture. We see it in the Cloaca Maxima on the Tiber, which probably belongs to the regal period,² and in the so-called Tempio della Pace, a Basilica built by Maxentius in the fourth century of our era.³ But the example before us is a proof that the Romans did not use this form to the exclusion of every

¹ The frontispiece is a fine specimen of the art of engraving in the sixteenth century; the design consists of an entablature supported by two columns; above it Augustus is represented sitting on a curule chair and raising a female who kneels before him; she wears a mural crown, and is emblematic of the province, as underneath this group the words VINDELIC RESTIT are inscribed; two trophies, one naval, the other military, surmount the columns. In front of them stand two gigantic figures RÆTVS and DRVVS: the title of the book, and under it the fir-cone and two river gods occupy the intervening space. The pedestal is ornamented with a view of the city in which we recognize the cathedral and other churches; on the left, a bee-hive, on the right a tree engrafted, denoting a colony, complete the decorations. For the engraving of *Duumviri*, v. p. 216.

² Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, pp. 279-283, &c., text and notes, Cloaca Maxima course, materials, dimensions; p. 280, Plate of the upper end; p. 283, Pl. of its mouth or exit on the bank of the Tiber. Middleton, *Ancient Rome* in 1885, pp. 75-77, Cloacae, with references to Dionysius and Pliny.

³ This building has been called the Basilica Constantiniana; begun by

Maxentius, it was finished by his successor. The ruins are three large and conspicuous arches near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, on the visitor's left hand, as he proceeds from the Forum to the Colosseum: see the Plan of Rome, giving both ancient and modern names, that accompanies Murray's Handbook. Burn, *ibid.*, pp. 165-167, &c.; plate at p. 166. Middleton, *ibid.*, pp. 401-404; section, fig. 49, at p. 401. There is a fine engraving of the so-called Tempio della Pace in *LXXI Principali Vedute di Roma e suoi dintorni*, published at Rome, 1857. For the semi-circular form *conf. passim* Bellori (Jo. Petr.), *Veteres arcus Augustorum triumphis insignes*, 1690, and the recent work of L. Rossini, *Archi Trionfali*. On the other hand, we have an example of the flattened or depressed arch in the *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum ac veteris sculpturae vestigia*, a P. Sante Bartolo delineata et incisa, notis Jo.-P. Bellorii illustrata, 1693, no. 56., *Nuptiae*. The arch extends over the heads of Juno Pronuba and the bride and bridegroom, who stand between two columns. Comp. a relief in the Museum at Arles, showing four elliptical arches. J. H. Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, 5th edition, pp. 39-42, Pl. 12.

other. The arches spring from the capitals of three pilasters ornamented with a foliated pattern, scroll-work and rosettes; the central one is surmounted by a fir-cone. It is not easy to decide whether the two figures here are *duumviri*, or persons holding some other office; and whether the fir-cone is the device of Augsburg, or, like the cypress, a symbol of mortality.¹

Roman colonies faithfully reproduced in distant regions the constitution of the metropolis; as the parent city had her consuls and senate, so her daughters had their *duumviri* and council of decurions. These magistrates were specially charged with the administration of justice, and hence in inscriptions the phrase *juri dicundo* is often applied to them, but without doubt they also exercised a general control over local affairs.² The ancient title of the chief officials was retained at Augsburg down to modern times, and this may have led to its being used by antiquaries, without sufficient reason, in explaining the monument now before us.³

Number XII. of the second series in the Museum, is a statue of Mercury in high relief. If the deity had been represented in the usual manner, I should have passed him by in silence, partly because his attributes are well known to all connoisseurs and classical scholars, and partly because I have in preceding Papers had occasion to notice them. We have here not only the customary money-bag, but an infant seated upon it; and this infant had wings, of which some traces are still visible. The right hand of the figure holds the caduceus, with a pair of snakes entwined round it.⁴ Over the left shoulder and arm drapery is thrown as in the famous Hermes by Praxiteles, recently discovered

¹ Mezger, p. 6 sq. Von Raiser, die römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg, p. 38, Pl. *xxi*^{tes} Monument; Guntia etc., p. 61, Tafel A; Der Oberdonaukreis unter den Römern iii, p. 74, Kpfrt Lit. A.; Von Hefner, das römische Bayern, 3 Auflage, p. 323, no. 269.

² Daremberg et Saglio, p. 421, *Attributions des duumviri juridicundo* Le plus âgé de ces magistrats était appelé à presider les comices municipaux, soit législatifs... soit électoraux. Les *duumviri* avaient la présidence du sénat municipal, *ordo*, ou *curia*, etc. They were at the head of the executive power, and appear to have been entrusted specially with the

financial administration. (Les lois ne donnaient au *duumvir* que les actes de gestion (i.e., of the local revenues). Note 210 p 422, Les adjudications et les travaux publics se faisaient sous la direction des *duumviri*.)

³ So Welser's History of Augsburg is dedicated *Viris nobilibus et illustr. Joanni Velsero Barthol. F. Christophoro Hsungo Melch. F. Aug. Vind. ii. viris Praef. vii. Virumque collegio*.

⁴ Of this remarkable statue I exhibited a large and well executed photograph, taken expressly by Friedrich Hoeft, *kgl. Hofphotograph*.

at Olympia, and one of the very few Greek statues now existing, which are known, almost with certainty, to be the original work of a celebrated sculptor.¹

Mercury often appears carrying the little Dionysus, Hercules or Arcas; but none of these was winged, and therefore none could form a part of the group now being considered. A German critic conjectures that the child is Eros; if so, the god of gain bearing on his arm the god of love suggests a combination of affection and prudence, which we often observe and sometimes admire. The dedicator, says Mezger, may have intended to allude to the fortune he received with his wife, and to the accumulations which, with the favour of Mercury, his industry added thereto. Once more, as we read the thoughts of a former generation embodied in their handywork, we are reminded that human nature, under the most various conditions, is and remains always and fundamentally the same.²

Ten monuments now in the Maximilian's Museum—statues and votive stones—relate to Mercury.³ Of one of

¹ Most figures of bronze and marble in Museums are only reproductions during Roman times of earlier Greek works, but this is an "almost unique treasure." I therefore quote the passage, in which Pausanias mentions it, together with the context: lib. v (Eliaca), cap. xvii, § 1. Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατελεγεμένα ἐστὶν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον, Ἑρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει ὑψηλόν, τέχνη δὲ ἐστὶ Πραξιτέλου. W. C. Perry, a Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts from the Antique in the South Kensington Museum, 1884, p. 62, no. 114. Discovered by the German Expedition in May, 1877, in the Heraion (Temple of Here), on the very spot where Pausanias saw it. Id. Greek and Roman Sculpture, chap. xxxviii, § 37, pp. 455-459, fig. 201. We may compare Eirene and Plutus in the Glyptothek at Munich, Silenus and the infant Dionysus in the Louvre, Satyr and child in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. A. S. Murray, History of Greek Sculpture, vol. ii, pp. 256-258, text and notes, pl. xx. Hermes by Praxiteles (Olympia), Gem with Apollo Sauroctonos. The group by Praxiteles was probably imitated in reliefs, gems and the crater of Salpinx, formerly used as a font in the Cathedral of Gaeta; Spon, Miscellanea, sect. ii, art. i, p. 25. *Vas marmoreum*

ingens, Caietae, but now in the Museum at Naples. It is inscribed ΣΑΛΠΙΝΧ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ. *Bacchus infans affertur a Mercurio ad educandum, Leucotheae materterae*. Mercury wears a *pileus quadratus*, like a College cap. C. O. Muller, Handbuch der Archæologie, § 127, Remark 2; § 257, rem. 4; § 384, rem. 2, English Translation (Ancient Art and its Remains), pp. 100, 271, 493. Muller-Wieseler, Denkmaler der Alten Kunst, part ii, pl. xxxiv, no. 396, fully described at p. 15 sq.; cf. nos. 395, 397, 398. Sillig, Catalogus Artificum, p. 408. Gruter, Thes. inscript., vol. i, p. lxxvii, no. 7. Catalogue of Gems in the British Museum. nos 687-689, Hermes holding the infant Dionysus upon the left arm, with both hands, on the left knee.

For a general account of the style of this great artist as contrasted with that of Phidias v. H.D.A., § 127, Eng. Trans., p. 99.

² Mezger, pp. 20-22. This figure, five feet high, was excavated in 1845, near the Church of Gersthofen, and, with the exception of the face, which is wanting, is very well preserved.

³ I have already mentioned the frequent occurrence of statues of Mercury, in the East of France, Alsace and Switzerland: my Paper on Langres and Besançon, Archæol. Journ., vol. xliii, p.

the former Welser gives a full-page engraving; besides the attributes above-mentioned, at the feet a cock stands on one side, and a goat kneels on the other. Some explain the bird as an emblem of vigilance, but probably it has reference to the god as *ἐναγώνιος*, presiding over games.¹ A very similar relief was found recently at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and is figured at page 18 of the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.²

But all the objects hitherto enumerated, and, I might say, all the others in the Museum, are not to be compared with an archæological treasure which Augusta Vindelicorum once possessed, and which Welser saw three centuries ago. Writing about 1590, he says, that a few years previously a trench was made three or four feet deep in some gardens near St. Stephen's Church, which led to the discovery of a beautiful mosaic—*pavimentum tessellatum sectile egregii operis*—that must have belonged to a magnificent edifice, perhaps a public bathing establishment. Other remains found in the same place corroborated this conclusion, viz., pilasters, a decorated lintel, fragment of a conduit (euripus), a jasper or turquoise in a gold ring, and a bottle full of some red liquid. After having been exposed for months to frost and snow the mosaic was buried again. Welser says he

230, appendix, where references are given to the writings of Dr. Ferd. Keller, Brambach's *Corpus Inscr. Rhenanarum*, and Schoepflin's *Alsatia illustrata Celtica Romana Francica*.

¹ Welser, op. citat., *Monumenta Augustae Vind. iiii.* In *Peutingeriorum aedibus* pp. 208-210. *Comp. Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, Müller-Wieseler, part ii, pl. xxix, no. 325, *Hermes mit Bockshornern*, neben ihm ein Bock und ein Hahn, der als Zeichen der Wettkämpfe auf einer [als Preisgefäß zu fassenden, vgl. Taf. xxx, no. 337e, und Lippert's *Daktyl.*, Suppl., no. 203] Vase steht, von einer Silberarbeit aus dem Römischen Castell bei Neuwied. But *horns* do not occur elsewhere on Mercury's head; hence, as Wieseler suggests, it is more likely that the artist intended to represent *wings*, a usual attribute of this deity. The epithet *ἐναγώνιος* is applied to Hermes by Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, ii, 18; and by *Æschylus*, *Fragments*, no. 375, *Poetæ Scenici Graeci*, edit. Dindorf. As the cock is a most pugnacious bird, he naturally symbolizes athletic contests. Welser

proposes various explanations to account for the goat—none of them altogether satisfactory.

He ends his article upon this group with the following words, *Vsus est hujus lapidis testimonio Ant. Augustinus, in dialogis quos de nummis antiquis patria, hoc est Hispana lingua scripsit: v. Dial 5.* The title is *Dialogos de las Medallas, Inscriptciones y otras Antigüedades*, En Tarragona, 1587. Though superseded by later publications, it deserves to be remembered as one of the most learned among the earlier works on Numismatics. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. i, *Prolegomena Generalia*, p. cliv, no. iii, and p. clviii, no. xxi, where he refers to *Bandurii Bibliotheca numaria*.

² Mezger, p. 13 sq. Von Raiser die römischen Alterthümer in Augsburg, p. 24, pl., ix^{tes} Monument, *Merkurs Bildniss; Guntia etc.* p. 63, no. 9, *Tafel B. Marg. Vuesleriae*, epist. ad Chr. Welserum 1511 (*Mscr. aus der v. Halder'schen Bibliothek Nr. 522*), fol. 4. Von Hefner, *das römische Bayern*, 3. Auflage, p. 310. no. 60.

prevailed upon the proprietor to uncover it for a short time, and then he saw many cubes (*tesserulae*) out of place, and the rest so much loosened that there was no chance for the eyes of posterity to behold them.¹

Of fourteen square compartments the designs remain complete, or nearly so. They are arranged in three rows; the central one is devoted to chariot races, containing three quadrigæ, and three conical pillars forming the goal or turning-post (*meta*). Above, are three pairs of gladiators; the two combatants in the middle are accompanied by another figure, partly effaced, which seems to be the trainer (*lanista*): comparison with a similar and well-preserved group in the grand mosaic at Nennig makes this attribution almost certain.² Below, the subjects are of the same kind with a single exception, in which there is but one figure; Welser explains it to be a *tiro* practising his weapon upon a stake, and in support of his opinion, quotes at length a passage of Juvenal, where the poet satirizes a female fencer³:—

quis non vidit vulnera pali?
Quem cavat assiduus sudibus scutoque lacessit.

Room for the lady—lo! she seeks the list,
And fiercely tilts at her antagonist,
A post! which, with her buckler, she provokes,
And bores and batters with repeated strokes.

—Gifford's Translation.⁴

But I think that the learned historian is mistaken, and that we have here a *Hermes*, *i.e.*, a bust on a four-cornered

¹ Welser's Plate of the Mosaic occupies pp. 238, 239, *op. citat.*, fol.; it is reproduced by Von Raiser in the former of the books just cited, of which the title *in extenso* is *Die Römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg und andere Denkwürdigkeiten des Ober-Donau-Kreises*.

² See for the *lanista* *Die römische Villa zu Nennig und ihr Mosaik erläutert von Domcapitular von Wilmowsky*, Bonn, 1864, large folio with fine coloured plates. Text pp. 8-10, and *Tafel* vi, no. 11; or my Paper on the Antiquities of Treves and Metz, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xlv, pp. 239, esp. note 2.

It is not necessary for me to explain fully all the details in the mosaic at Augsburg, as I have already described similar pavements at Nennig, *Archæol. Journ.* l.c., pp. 236-244; and at Reims, in

an account of the Gallo-Roman monuments of that city, *ibid.*, vol. xli, pp. 112-121.

³ *Op. citat.*, p. 241, *Tiro* is est, ad palum se exercens et seriae pugnae parans. Besides Juvenal, he gives references to Vegetius *De Re Militari*, Martial, Livy, Varro *De Lingua Latina*, and Lipsius *Saturnalia*. Many of the pages in the *Monumenta Augustae Vind.* are wrongly numbered; this has been already noticed by Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*.

⁴ *Sat. vi*, 247 sq.; but to understand the lines fully it would be well to read the whole paragraph vv. 246-267, and Heinrich's notes. *Kraftweiber*; sie lernen fechten... Unter Nero und Domitian sah man wirklich weibliche Gladiatoren. Lipsius, *Saturn ii*, 4.

pedestal, against which a palm-branch and trident are placed. A man with his right hand removes from the Hermes another palm-branch, and holds a staff in his left ; he is probably a rhabdophorus, a constable employed to keep order in the circus ; and the scene before us indicates the conferring of a prize upon a successful *retiaris* (net-fighter).¹ This group is aptly illustrated by a lozenge in the mosaic of the Promenades at Reims ; there we observe a similar figure crowned with a garland of leaves, from which ribbons hang down over the shoulders. A rectangular shield (*scutum*) leans against the column, and between them is a palm ; on the spectator's right, detached, is a helmet with visor and conical crest.

Most of the combatants have shields, wedge-shaped, broad at the top, and coming to a point at the bottom, like those in armorial bearings. I do not remember another example of such a form occurring in ancient monuments.² But some have a round shield, *parma*, which seems to have been nearly the same as the *ceitra* of the Spaniards, Moors and Britons.³ In all cases their swords are short, straight and two-edged ; none of them carries the *sica* or scimitar, the national weapon of the Thracians, which was curved.⁴ On the other hand, we may remark considerable variety of postures ; one pair are crossing swords and contending on equal terms ; another

¹ Loriquet, La Mosaïque des Promenades et autres trouvées à Reims, 1862, Planche viii, No. 10, pp. 275—291 esp. p. 290, Vn rhabdophore vient détacher une des palmes probablement pour la donner à un combattant vainqueur. For rhabdophorus v. *ibid.*, Pl. viii, No. 8, pp. 266—270.

Gruter, *Inserr.* p. cccxxvi, repeats Welser's plate of the Augsburg mosaic, but on a reduced scale, and with a foot note. Ex Velsero, a quo petenda horum uberior interpretatio. *Ibid.* p. li, No. 1, he gives the above-mentioned engraving of Mercury with the goat and cock.

² These shields in the mosaic correspond closely with Livy's description of those carried by the Samnites, lib. ix, c. 40. Forma erat scuti : summum latius, quaque pectus atque humeri teguntur, fastigio aequali ; ad imum cuneatior, mobilitatis causa.

³ We learn from Livy that the *ceitra* differed little from the *pelta* (πέλη),

whence *πελταστής cetratus*) : xxviii, 5, cum mille peltastis (pelta caetræ haud dissimilis est) ; xxxi, 36, caetratos, quos peltastas vocant, and *ibid.*, duces caetratae cohortis. For *peltastis* Weissenborn reads *peltatis*, but see the note in Madvig's edition, vol. ii, Pars. ii, p. xiv, Praefatio, *Ad Livium et militum genus nihil pertinent peltatae poetae Amazones*. Cf. Tacitus, Agricola, c. 36, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris. Dict. of Antiq., 3d edition, p. 408, gives two figures as illustrations of *ceitra* from a manuscript of Prudentius probably English, and of the ninth century.

⁴ The *sica* "had a sharp point and curved blade like a wild boar's tusk." Rich, Companion to the Latin Dict., refers to a passage in Pliny which expresses its form, Nat. Hist., Lib. xviii, cap. i, Sect. 1, § 2, edit. Sillig, Atque cum arbore exacutum limentque cornua elephantis et uri, saxo rhinocerotis, utroque apud dentium sicas.

gladiator lying on his back is attacked by his adversary ; another, semi-recumbent, throwing away his arms, awaits the fatal blow.

The following names inscribed were legible :—CRISPVS, LEONIDES, APRIVS, AIAΣ, ANTONIVS, MANLIVS, PALVMBVS, ASTIR ; but some could not be deciphered with certainty, viz., SIRIPVS, SPICIVS, ALPVS, LYTRA.¹ They were, doubtless, gladiators well known in the colony. One in the former list deserves notice, because Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, cap. 21, giving an account of the games of that Emperor, says that he sometimes made dull and far-fetched jokes on such occasions ; for instance, when the people asked him to exhibit Palumbus on the arena, he promised to do so if he could catch him, with a pun on his name which signifies a pigeon. Similarly, Spicius occurs in the same author, *Nero*, cap. 30, but with some variation, for the manuscripts present different forms—Spiculus, Spicillus, Speculus, Specillus.²

¹ Nomina, quae punctis indicata tantum, nos legere non potuimus, Welsch, p. 239. Winckelmann, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, tom. ii, pp. 258—260, tavv. 197—199. The first and second Plates represent mosaics in the collection of the Cardinal Albani ; they each contain two groups of gladiators contending, accompanied by *lanistae*, with names inscribed, as at Augsburg, ASTIANAX, KALENDIO, MATERNVS, HABILIS, SIMMACHVS. It appears from the inscription in pl. 198, QVIBVS PVGNANTIBVS SIMMACHVS FERRVM MISIT, that Simmachus was the *lanista*. The third plate is a single figure of a gladiator inscribed BA.TO.NI. Several Batos are known ; two of them were leaders of a formidable insurrection in Dalmatia, during the reign of Augustus : Smith's *Dict. of Biography*, s.v. See also De Vit, *Onomasticon totius Latinitatis* (Supplement to Forcellini's *Lexicon*), vol. i, p. 690, s.v. Bato, § iv, Pannonius dux : Ovid, *Epistles from Pontus*, ii, l. 45.

Maxima pars horum (hostium) vitam veniamque tulerunt ;

In quibus et belli summa caput que Bato. Winckelmann, *Description des Pierres gravées du Baron de Stosch*, pp. 471—474, Cinquieme Classe. Jeux, Festins, Vases, &c., *67, Carnaline.

The engraved gems in the British Museum furnish an apt illustration of the Augsburg Mosaic ; Catalogue, p. 195, Nos. 1853—1857, Quadrigae and Bigae ; Nos. 1858, 1859, Gladiators with the names EVPR SCOR CBIA and HERIA. Cf.

Pompeii, Anon., 2 vols., 12^{mo}, i, 306—313 with woodcuts, in which the names of the *lanista* and combatants, and the number of their victories are expressed.

In Greek vases we have abundant examples of "image and superscription" ; British Museum Catalogue, vol. ii, pp. 330—332, index of names inscribed ; p. 333, Painters and Potters : e.g., for mythical personages, *ibid.*, pp. 8—13, No. 1264, Hydria. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, iii. Band, Art. Vasenkunde, which occupies eighty quarto pages, viz. 1931—2011 ; v. esp. pp. 1963 TIMONIAΔΑΣ, 1965 ΤΑΛΕΙΑΔΗΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕΝ (in both cases the letters are archaic), 1966, 1973, 1980, 1981, &c. Dr. Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, 1st edition, vol. i, frontispiece, Arcesilaus, King of Cyrene, weighing silphium (polychrome) : vol. ii, p. 423, 2nd column (Index) Inscriptions.

² Suet. Claudius, 21, Immixtis interdum frigidis et arcessitis jocis : qualis est, ut cum Palumbum postulantibus, "daturum se," promisit, "si captus esset." Id. Nero, 30, Menecraten citharoedum, et Spiculum mirmillonem, triumphalium virorum patrimonii aedibusque donavit. With Palumbus compare the similar name Columbus : Id., Caligula, 55, Columbo victori, leviter tamen saucio, venenum in plagam addidit, quod ex eo "Columbinum" appellavit. Seven varieties of the name Spiculus will be found in P. Burmann's edition, *Amstelædami*, 1736, vol. ii, p. 68.

Our mosaic shows us only three chariots (*quadrigæ*), but perhaps there were originally four, as on one side a large part of the pavement is broken off; in that case, the four factions—white, red, blue and green—would be all indicated. I need not dwell upon this subject, because Gibbon has treated it so fully in his narrative of the seditions that raged in the hippodrome at Constantinople.¹ Welser has appropriately inserted an engraved gem by way of illustration; and here we cannot but admire the skill with which so many details are exhibited in so small a space. He has kept the size of the original, but similar specimens of the glyptic art may be seen greatly enlarged in Gori's Museum Florentinum.²

Besides the designs above mentioned, which are closely connected with the circus and amphitheatre, we observe three birds, each in a separate compartment. One of them is a cock pecking some fruit, like a pomegranate. This creature would naturally represent combats, and I have already noticed his appearance as an accessory with a statue of Mercury, the deity who presided over games. The other two are crows, and perhaps allude to the names of the charioteers, which are not inscribed on the pavement, but may have been Corax, Corvinus, Cornicula or the like.³

¹ Decline and Fall, chap. xl, § ii, vol. v, pp. 48-55, esp. 48 sq., edit. Dr. Wm. Smith.

² Welser, p. 243. At quando quidem in hoc sumus, demus formam hippodromi ex heliotropio quae affabre sculpta apud nos est, qua caeli acumen argumentum multiplex in tantillo spatio quivit assequi. Ant. Fr. Gori, Gemmae Antiquae Mus. Florent., vol. ii, tab. lxxix, Ludi Circenses; lxxx, lxxxi, Bigarum agitadores, pp. 126-129. No. lxxix is correctly described as gemma operosissima; in it are portrayed currentes quatuor factionum quadrigae, spina...obeliscus Soli sacer, mensa tripus encarpis (festoons) ornata cum apophoretis, Victoriarum simulacra columnis imposita, ara, et aedicula Soli dedicata, delphines, metae. Cf. Tab., xi, Annulus aureus tribus gemmis concoloribus ornatus, dono datus in Circensibus, pp. 27-32.

³ The name Corax occurs in Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. viii, cap. xlii, sect. 65, § 160, edit. Sillig, Claudii Caesaris saecularium ludorum circensibus excusso in carceribus auriga albato Corace

occupavere prima, etc. De Vit, Ononasticon, s.v., says that Corax is the name of the charioteer, but Sillig of the horse; see the note in his critical commentary.

The charioteer thrown out of his car (auriga excussus) is well seen in Gori's gem mentioned above, tab. lxxix; and in a mosaic at Lyons, Dict. of Antiqq., 3rd edition, woodcut, p. 433, from Artaud, Mos. du midi de la France. On the preceding page will be found a plan of the Circus of Maxentius, close to the via Appia, two miles from Rome: Middleton, Anc. Rome in 1885, p. 288 sq. and note i, on p. 289, who gives an account of the remarkable construction; large *amphorae* are embedded in the vaulting and upper part of the walls, so as to diminish the superincumbent weight. Comp. the cupola of the church *San Vitale*, at Ravenna: Murray's Handbook for North Italy, sect. vii, p. 532, edit. 1863. Birch, Anc. Pottery, vol. ii, p. 288, fig. 191, Games of the Circus on a Roman lamp.

The Augsburg mosaic is inferior to that at Reims in the number of subjects, but it is superior in composition, because it contains groups, while the latter has only single figures.¹ Thus the example we have been considering is more graphic and spirited; at the same time it corresponds better with the passages in which the Roman poets describe the conflicts of the arena. One specimen from Horace will be sufficient for our purpose:—

Vel quum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,
Qui peccas minus atque ego, quum Fulvi Rutubaeque,
Aut Placideiani contento poplite miror
Proelia, rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si
Re vera pugnent feriant, vitentque moventes
Arma viri?

Satires, II, 7, 95-100.

If some fam'd piece the painter's art displays,
Transfix'd you stand, with admiration gaze;
But is your worship's folly less than mine
When I with wonder view some rude design
In crayons or in charcoal, to invite
The crowd, to see the gladiators fight?
Methinks, in very deed they mount the stage,
And seem in real combat to engage:
Now in strong attitude they dreadful bend;
Wounded they wound; they parry and defend.

Francis's Translation.²

¹ With Welser's plate compare Planche xviii, in Lorient, op. citat., *Mosaïque des promenades de Reims*, reduction au quarantième (photographie). It gives a general view of the whole pavement—thirty-five compartments, consisting of squares and lozenges, with borders of scroll work and meander patterns. The mosaic at Reims is inferior to that at Augsburg for another reason, viz., because it bears no inscriptions.

² Pausias, an artist of the school of Sicily, flourished about B.C. 370, and was contemporary with Apelles. Sillig, *Catalogus Artificum*, pp. 326-328, who quotes at length Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 11, s. 40, § 123; and Pausanias *Corinthiaca*, ii, 27, § 3. He must be distinguished from Pauson, who painted men worse than they are; Aristotle, *Poetics*, c. ii, § 2, "Ὅσπερ αἱ γραφεῖς. Πολύγνωτος μὲν γὰρ κρείττους, Πάσιων δὲ χείρους, Διονύσιος, δὲ ὁμοίους εἰκάσεν." *Id.*, *Politics*, lib. viii, c.v, § 7 (V. v. 21). Δει μὴ τὰ Πάσιωνος θεωρεῖν τοὺς νεούς.

Orelli has a good note on vv. 98-104, loc. citat., *Hujusmodi picturae rudes atque informes ad alliciendum populum ante ludos exponebantur ab iis, qui munera*

edebant, vel tantum a lanistis; et tales etiam Pompeiis repertae sunt. For a pictorial illustration superior to these caricatures he cites Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxv, 33, 52. But Garrucci supplies us with a still better commentary on the words of Horace; *Graffiti di Pompei*, *Inscriptions et Gravures tracées au stylet recueillies et interprétées par Raphael Garrucci*, *Atlas de 32 Planches*, Pls. ix-xv, and xxix, xxx, Text pp. 65-77 and 96-99; see esp. pl. ix, 1-5, p. 65 sq., list of gladiators with number of victories. Plusieurs noms barbares se font remarquer VIRIOTAL, SEQVAN, SEDVLAT, VIRIOD, ITOTAG, ANARTO, with which we may compare the legends on Gallic coins. Pl. xxix, fig. 6, is the same as fig. 281, p. 111 in J. Overbeck's *Pompeii*, 2nd edition, *Graffito mit Bild* p. 102. Rechts steigt ein in siegreicher Gladiator, die Palme in der Hand, eine Treppe, vielleicht die uns bekannte der Gladiatoren-caserne herab, &c. The accompanying inscription is probably *Campani victoria una cum Nucerinis peristis*. Consult also C.I.L., vol. iv, *Inscriptiones Parietariae Pompeianae Herculenses Stabianae*, edit. Car. Zangemeister; *Indices*, s.v. *Gladiatores*.

At the top and bottom the mosaic is bordered with a geometrical design, which consists of oblongs alternating with squares. Lozenges are inscribed in the former, and circles in the latter. The circles are ornamented with a device like a star, and a leaf occupies each corner of the squares. The usual cable pattern, as a kind of framework, encloses the compartments.¹

¹ The whole subject of mosaic is closely connected with painting : C. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archæologie*, § 322, 4, Eng. Transl., p. 376, justly remarks that the finer mosaic tried to come as nearly as possible to pictures properly so-called. As the die-sinkers copied in miniature the statues of Praxiteles and Scopas, the

musivarii probably imitated the master pieces of Apelles and his contemporaries. So Venus appears on an imperial medal of Cnidos, and Apollo on the coins of Augustus and Nero ; Greek Court of the Crystal Palace described by Mr. George Scharf, pp. 37, 39.

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF AUGSBURG AND RATISBON.

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

(Continued from p. 161).

A traveller who passes, as I did, directly from Augsburg to Ratisbon, will on his arrival experience some feeling of disappointment; he will miss the broad Maximilianstrasse, the animated Ludwigsplatz, and the palaces that adorn them. He finds himself in a town half the size of that which he has left, comparatively dull, and, except the Cathedral, presenting scarcely any monument that seems worthy of notice.¹ But first impressions are not always correct; they may be modified by longer stay and deeper thought; and whether the visitor prefers Roman or Mediaeval antiquities, Ratisbon will reward his investigations. With the former we are at present concerned.²

¹ In 1880, Augsburg had a population of 61,408, including 41,038 Roman Catholics, 19,238 Protestants, 1039 Jews; the inhabitants of the suburbs numbered 20,000. See the excellent guide book for the city by Dr. Adolf Buff, Archiviste, p. 6; it is one of the series *Europäische Wanderbilder*, published by Orell Füssli and Co., Zürich. Dr. Buff is also the author of some interesting papers on the development of Art at Augsburg; they appeared in the *Supplements (Beilagen)* to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1887, No. 258 Sept. 17; 259 Sept. 18; 270 Sept. 29; 271 Sept. 30, under the title *Das Augsburger Kunstgewerbe während der letzten drei Jahrhunderte im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung der Stadt*. We may infer the importance of the subject from a single fact: in the last decade of the seventeenth century, after the Thirty Years' War, 200 master goldsmiths were working in the city.

Regensburg in seiner Vergangenheit und Gegenwart bearbeitet von Hugo Graf von Walderdorff gives the details of the religious denominations: in the year 1875, out of a total population of 31,487 there were 25,119 Roman Catholics, 5,782 Protestants and 565 Jews; one person was returned as Unattached (Freire-

ligiöser, an uncommon word). The census of 1871 contained two in this category. See pp. 261-263, *Statistik*, § 2 *Bevölkerung*.

² I have already made some remarks on the name Ratisbon in my Paper on the Antiquities of the Middle Rhine, Pt. ii, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. xlvii, p. 384. Walderdorff, op. citat., discusses the subject fully: ii *Geschichtliche Uebersicht*, 1, *Namen der Stadt*, pp. 5-8. The city is said to have been called Radasbona in pre-Roman times; if this account is correct, it renders the derivation from *ratis* and *bona* very doubtful. From the Romans the place received the name *Castra Regina* or *Reginum*, i. e. the fortress opposite the mouth of the river Regan which falls into the Danube. In the Antonine Itinerary we find *Regino*, perhaps the form of the word used by the common people, p. 250 edit. Wesseling, p. 115 edit. Parthey and Pinder; it is the next station East of Abusina *hodie* Abensberg or rather Eining. For the excavations there see Eining und die dortigen Römer-Ausgrabungen, Ein kleiner Wegweiser durch dieselben . . . von Wolfgang Schreiner, 1886, with map, and plan showing vorrömische Befestigungen, vorrömische von den Römern

In this department the chief objects of interest are the gates of the Roman *castrum* or fortified town. To understand them it is almost necessary to explain the rules which the military architects followed, wherever the locality permitted; and for this purpose I exhibit a plan of the Saalburg, the best example, as far as I know, of their work in Germany.¹

Under the Empire the *castrum* was rectangular, the front and rear shorter than the sides, and the corners rounded off. Porta Praetoria occupied the centre of the side facing the enemy, and had Porta Decumana directly opposite to it; Portae Principalis dextra and Principalis sinistra were in similar, but not quite the same, positions on the flanks:² Via Principalis, the road between them, and Via Quintana parallel to it, divided the camp into three unequal portions: Via Praetoria connected the prae-

adaptirte Befestigungen, Römerstrassen. Reganesburg occurs in A.D. 792, and Reganespurach in 802, both being evidently variants of Regensburg, but all the modifications cannot be enumerated because there are forty of them.

The mediaeval chroniclers have seven names for this city—among them Tiburnia from the emperor Tiberius, said to be its founder; Hyetopolis, from *hyeros* rain (Regen), and *polis* a town, which is an absurd etymology; Labriopolis, *vox hybrida*, compounded of the Latin *imber* and the Greek *polis*; Hiaspolis and Hiatuspolis were formed by erroneously connecting Hyetopolis with the Latin *hiare*, *hiatus*, and have reference to the drawling speech of the vulgar with open mouth, so that here confusion is worse confounded.

¹ I also exhibited a coin of Galerius, thus described by Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. V, p. 598, No. 29. MAXIMIANVS N.C. Sa tête ou son buste lauré à droite avec la cuirasse, Rev. VIRTVS MILITVM. quatre soldats sacrifiant sur un tripied devant la porte d'un camp; à l'exergue, une massue. What Cohen calls a tripod is perhaps an altar. The legend N.C. may be explained by reference to other instances where we have a partial expansion—NOBIL. C. and NOB. CAES. This denarius was probably struck before A.D. 305, when Galerius was declared Augustus. He had three names, Galerius, Valerius, Maximianus; but he is generally called by the first. He attained a bad eminence as a furious enemy of the Christians, and instigated Diocletian's cruel perse-

cution. Lactantius, *Liber de Mortibus Persecutorum*, cap. IX. Alter vero Maximianus . . . omnibus qui fuerunt malis perior. Inerat huic bestiae naturalis barbaries et feritas a Romano sanguine aliena. Cf. cc. X,XXXV and Index Rerum, s.v. Galerius, edit. Le Brun et Dufresnoy, 4to, Paris, 1748. Chateaubriand, *Les Martyrs*, Livre IV, une fureur aveugle contre les Chrétiens: Dr. Burton's *History of the Christian Church*, pp. 376—380, 389. We do not see in the coin under consideration the quadrangular form common to the camp of Polybius (*τετραγωνος τοπος*, vi, 27), and that of Hyginus, at least 250 years later; it had been altered to suit the circumference of the material employed. This explanation is better than to suppose that the representation is accurate and realistic, especially as the Romans are known to have adhered to strict rules in their castrametation.

The sacrifice reminds me of a coin struck by the allies during the Marsic or Social War. Micali, *Antichi Monumenti per servire all' opera intitolata L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani* folio, p. xiii, Tav. lviii, fig. xi; text, vol. iv, cap. xviii, p. 277, n. 1. Otto popoli confederati in atto di prestar giuramento si veggono effigiati sulle medaglie Sannitiche. The club in the exergue symbolizes Hercules, who is called *cliviger*.

² I have said *similar*, because they were not exactly in the centre of the flanks, but nearer to the Porta Praetoria and the side facing the enemy than to the rear (*tergum, aversa castrorum*).

torium (head-quarters) with the gate bearing the same name. Special attention was paid to the fortification of the gates by means of *propugnacula*; these consisted of two oblong towers, semi-circular towards the outside, with a court-yard between them, closed by letting fall a portcullis, so that the enemy could be shut off from his own army, and taken prisoner or slaughtered. By way of illustration I have brought a ground-plan of the Porta Nigra at Trèves, and photographs of the elevation towards the country and towards the city.¹

Much light has been thrown on the course of the Roman walls by excavations made in laying down the pipes that convey water from the aqueduct begun in 1874.² Near the North West corner of the camp stones of colossal size, evidently foundations, were discovered, also an ancient drain into the Danube; considerable remains exist in the cellars of the Bischofshof, and the rounding off at the North East corner is shown by the configuration of the modern streets and houses. This front is about 1500 feet long. In accordance with the usual plan of a Roman camp, as indicated above, the Eastern side is 300 feet longer than the Northern; a large portion of it is visible in the garden of a Roman Catholic association. The back or South wall was built near St. Peter's Thor and the spot where the Jesuits' College formerly stood. On the other hand, the Western wall cannot be so exactly

¹ Our best authorities for the construction of a Roman camp are Polybius and Hyginus. The former describes what he himself had seen in the time of the younger Scipio Africanus, whose friend and companion he was, lib. vi, cc. 27-37, 41, 42. The full title of the work by the latter is *Hygini Gromatici (land surveyor, from groma a measuring rod) liber de munitionibus castrorum*. Lange's edition, 1848, is illustrated by two plans, of which the second will be found very useful, because it shows the details above mentioned and many others besides. To these writers we may add Vegetius, *Epitome Rei Militaris*, lib. i, cc. 21-25, but it must be borne in mind that he lived in the reign of Valentinian II., when the Roman discipline had greatly degenerated. Frontinus has named his book *Strategematicon*, whence the reader may expect some information about the mode of fortifying a camp; he will be

disappointed, because the work is little more than a string of anecdotes.

Modern references are given in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 3rd edition, but not with complete accuracy. Masquelez is cited as one of the chief authors, the fact being that Edm. Saglio wrote the elaborate article *Castra*, *Camps des Grecs, Camps des Romains*, pp. 940-959; and Masquelez the comparatively unimportant one, *Castrorum Metator* pp. 962-965, in the great *French Dictionnaire des Antiqq.*, now in course of publication. It is easy to see how the mistake has arisen.

² Walderdorff, *op. citat.*, pp. 45-53, IV. *Oertliche Entwicklung*, § 2, Regensburg unter den Römern. See esp. Map facing p. 48, *Zug und Spuren der Römischen Stadtmauer*: the towers and gates are marked, also the limits of the quarter formerly inhabited by Jews.

traced, but it must have been East of, and nearly parallel to, the upper and lower Bachgasse (Brook Street), ending at the Coal Market. From time to time, digging deep, for whatever purpose, led to fresh discoveries, so that, for the most part, the line of the rampart and its mode of construction are now well known. It consisted of large quadrangular stones (*opus quadratum*), both on the inner and outer side, fitted together without cement; the interval was filled up with mortar and any fragments that came ready to hand. The breadth was very unequal, varying from six to nine feet approximately.¹

I had the advantage of inspecting the *vallum* under the guidance of Dr. Ebner, a local antiquary, who wrote the notice of the Porta Praetoria that appeared in the Allgemeine Zeitung. For this purpose we visited more than one brewery, which caused me no surprise, because in a beer-drinking German town it would be almost impossible for a continuous wall to escape establishments of this kind.²

Count Walderdorff has written an excellent guide-book for Ratisbon, containing much archæological information, generally accurate, but he gives only a meagre account of the Porta Praetoria; for which he is not to blame as his book was published in 1874, or soon afterwards,³ and it was not till 1885 that the Gate was laid open as we see it now. This discovery transcends all that preceded it, for

¹ Baedeker's map is too small, and deficient in clearness. Plan von Regensburg und Stadthof nach offiziellem Material gezeichnet und herausgegeben von Carl Matthes, Lithograph, scale 1:7500, with map of environs (Umgebung) in the corner, is much larger, and sufficient for the ordinary tourist, but it will not satisfy the requirements of the antiquary. At the Museum in St. Ulrich's church I obtained Plan der k. Kreishauptstadt Regensburg und der Stadt Stadthof, mit Grundriss der Castra Regina der röm. Civilstadt und den Begräbnissplätzen. The Roman part is coloured red, and thus distinguished from the modern town. The course of the Via militaris Augustana is indicated, and the V. milit. to Serviodurum (Straubing).

² In the course of our perambulation we went to the Protestant Schoolhouse, and, penetrating into the cellars, found there large stones which were evidently Roman: Walderdorff, p. 48, sq.; p. 213,

Oeffentliche Gebäude, § 25, Das neue Schulgebäude am Klaren Anger, fig. nro. 35, *Opus quadratum*, Bei seiner Fundamentirung wurde eine Strecke der alten römischen östlichen Stadtmauer blosgelegt . . . Sie besteht . . . aus grossen Quadern von Kalkstein. Part of the wall is visible at the corner of the Fröhliche Türken-Strasse, near the Porta Decumana on the South side of the town; and doubtless much more would have remained standing, if the *castrum* had not been used as a quarry to build mediæval walls. In one instance, a church (St. Stephen's?) was built on the ancient fortification, which, of course, tended to obscure it.

³ I have assigned 1874 as an approximate date to Walderdorff's book, because in his chronological list of memorable occurrences (Denkwürdige Begebenheiten) the last mentioned took place in August of that year.

here a lofty structure (Hochbau), erected at the close of a flourishing period, represents visibly the energy of a conquering race, whereas in other parts of the city only the ground-plan has been ascertained, and architectural fragments brought to light. Moreover, the Porta Praetoria is specially interesting as a fine example of a military gate; it is imposing in its massive strength, and almost devoid of ornament; but this very plainness gives it a peculiar value, because we so rarely meet with the like simplicity, most of the portals that remain from antiquity being decorated and monumental, *e.g.* at Autun, Reims, Pola, and on the East side of Ratisbon itself. Such a style seems most appropriate, when we remember that the Porta Praetoria faced the enemy—the terrible Marcomanni swarming on the opposite bank of the Danube, against whom the Romans found it necessary to arm even their slaves, as they did after the battle of Cannae.¹

The construction was the same as I have already described in explaining the word *propugnaculum*. Two towers about 11 metres high, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter, flanked the gate-way, each at a distance of 6 m. 80 centimetres,

¹ Livy, xxii, 57 fin., Et aliam formam novi dilectus iuopia liberorum caput ac necessitas dedit: octo millia juvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, velleutne militare, empta publice amaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, quum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret. xxiii, 32, 35 &c. See Crevier's Index, s.v. Volones (cf. voluntarii sc. milites), and his note on xxiii, 32. Capitolinus furnishes us with a parallel in his biography of Aurelius, for in this case history repeats itself; chap. 21, servos quem ad modum bello Punico factum fuerat ad militiam paravit. . . . armavit etiam gladiatores . . . latrones etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit, armavit et Diocemitas; emit et Germanorum auxilia contra Germanos . . . auctionem rerum auclicarum . . . fecit in foro Divi Trajani. Ibid., chap. 22, Gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri &c. . . . perstitit nec prius recessit, quam omnia bella finiret.

As an illustration I exhibited a bronze coin of Marcus Aurelius with the legend GERMANIA SVBACTA on the reverse. Comp. one given at the end of the Article s.v. in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, vol. i. p. 443a. There

a trophy is represented, composed of military standards and arms, both offensive and defensive; legend IMP VIII COS III DE GERMANIS. The writer, Professor Ramsay, justly remarks concerning the wars of this emperor with the northern nations, "Medals are our only sure guide, and the information afforded by these is necessarily meagre and imperfect:" *ibid.* p. 440b.

The *Marcomanni* were the border or march men: see Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary, s.v. Marches, Margrave, Marquis—esp. the first of these words: compare the German *Mark*, *Markgraf*, &c. Another explanation has been proposed, viz., men of the marsh land; but this seems less probable, because the hard C or K is not accounted for. Usually the word *Marcomanni* is written with a double N, but sometimes the manuscripts have only a single N, of which an example occurs in Statius, where the metre requires the penultima to be short: *Silvae* iii. 3. 170. (*tua clementia, Domitiane*), *Quae modo Marcomanos post horrida bella vagosque*
Sauromatas Latio non est dignata triumpho:

quoted by Orelli in his commentary on Tacitus, *Germania* chap. 42.



PORTA PRAETORIA AT RATISBON.

from it; the latter is 4 m. broad, and 5 m. high. These dimensions I have taken from the Transactions of the Historical Society of Oberpfalz and Regensburg, 1886, 32nd vol., New Series, Report for the year 1885, p. viii.¹

On both sides the vault recedes into the wall, so that the arch is broader in the upper than in the lower part; and the corner stones of the substructions of the jambs project, like buttresses, about four inches in a diagonal direction—these peculiarities seem intended to ensure additional strength and solidity. The outer surface of the stones has been greatly injured by attempts to bring them into the same plane with the wall of the Episcopal Palace.

At their semi-circular ends the flanking towers are advanced three mètres beyond the line of the *Castrum*; the Eastern rises above the second storey of the modern building adjacent; of the Western much less remains, but sufficient to identify it. In the former case, a well-preserved cornice deserves attention, as the excellent work of the moulding shows a good period; at all events it is far superior to anything of the kind in the *Porta Nigra* at Trèves, and nearly resembles that on the gates of Autun, which have been attributed by high authorities to the Augustan age.² The thickness of the wall between the towers amounts only to 1·30 m., whereas in many parts of the *Castrum* it is 2 m. or more. This difference is easily accounted for on the supposition above-mentioned of a court-yard that would enclose the enemy who had penetrated through the outer gate.³

¹ The exact title of the publication mentioned above is *Rechenschaftsbericht des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg für das Jahr 1885*, printed at the end of the Transactions (*Verhandlungen*).

² I exhibited a photograph of the *Porta Praetoria* on a large scale, taken expressly for the meeting of the Archaeological Institute; if it is compared with those of the *Portes St. André* and *d'Arroux* at Autun, it will be apparent that they are all of a good period. I have seen reason partly in consequence of a conversation with the late Rev. C. W. King, to change the opinion expressed in my Paper on Autun, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. xl, p. 32 sq., and note 2 on p. 32. On the other hand, the work at the

well-known *Porta Nigra* is quite different, in a coarse style, showing indubitable signs of decadence.

³ Besides the gates of the *Castrum*, we find *Porta foeni*; though it has a Latin name, it must not be confounded with Roman remains; in German it is called *Heuport*, from *Heu* hay—it stood near the house now occupied by Herr Coppenrath, the principal bookseller at Ratisbon, and was probably a gate of the Jews' quarter, formerly covering the space where we now see the *Neu Pfarr-Platz*, marked by the dotted lines in Walderdorff's Plan, *Zug und Spuren der Römischen Stadtmauer*; op. citat. p. 48, and cf. p. 64. Similarly *Porta Orientalis*, *Ostenthor*, of the Middle Ages—afterwards *Schwarze Burgthor*—could not

It has been well remarked that the best elucidation of our own Romano-British antiquities may be derived from a comparison with similar monuments on the European continent: and for a very good reason, viz., that the latter are for the most part, though not always, of greater importance and better preserved. The present instance is no exception to the general rule. If for a moment we turn away from Ratisbon to the Camp at Silchester, we find that at the great East gate the inward sweep of the wall itself, in a rounded form, does duty for the flanking towers; and on the South side the plan looks, when examined, like a gate within a gate: vide *Archæologia*, vol. xvi, pp. 344-349, and vol. 1, p. 266, with large map of the Roman station at Silchester (folding plate), *Calleva Atrebatum*.¹

The *Porta decumana* on the South side of the town is near St. Peter's Thor, and North of it. The *Porta principalis sinistra* stood where the *Gesandten Strasse* (Ambassadors' Street) ends in the *Neu Pfarr Platz*, a large open space round the *Neue Pfarr Kirche*.² But the *Porta principalis dextra* cannot, like the last two gates, be dismissed with only a passing notice; considered

have been Roman, because that nation never extended their town so far Eastwards; comp. Plan at p. 48 with that at the end of the volume. The same may be said of the *Porta Occidentalis*, or *Porta Rocini*, called in German *Rouzanpurthor*, *Roselint* or *Ruselinthor*; it stood at the end of the *Ludwigsstrasse*, and was demolished in the year 1830. It was a solid building with a high tower, probably erected in the time of Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria, A.D. 907-937. During this period the town developed in a Westerly direction, and also towards the S.W., where we now see the Church of St. Emmeram, and the Palace of Prince Thurn and Taxis: *Walderdorff*, Index, s.v. *Porta*.

The gates, surmounted by towers, some of which have survived the ravages of time and war, give a peculiar character to Ratisbon; they are the more striking to English eyes, because our insular position makes them less necessary, and therefore more uncommon: *Walderdorff*, p. v, *Verzeichniss der Illustrationen*, Nos. 3, 7, *Ehemaliger Hallerthurm*, &c., esp. No. 6, *Regensburg im siebenzehnten Jahrhundert*.

¹ It is easy to see the excavations at

Silchester in a morning's excursion from London. The visitor can proceed by Railway to Reading, and thence by carriage—a drive through a beautiful country of less than 10 miles—or to Mortimer Road Station on the Basingstoke line, distant from Silchester only 2 or 3 miles. I visited the place in July 1891, and observed that many labourers were employed, and, under careful supervision, were working vigorously. As far as I am informed, the most remarkable object hitherto discovered is a Roman plane, said to be unique in England.

In our own Metropolis an unparalleled prosperity has effaced many relics of former times; so here at Ratisbon the name *Gesandten Strasse* suggests many interesting reminiscences, and leads us to indulge in trains of antiquarian thought. It carries us back to the days when Ratisbon was preferred to other imperial cities, as a place of meeting for the Diet. Here Austria displayed her double-headed eagle, and Venice the lion of St. Mark not a symbol of dominion which we see in Istria and Dalmatia, but an ensign of the envoy of the Republic, just as our Royal Arms are placed over the door of a British Consulate.

from an historical or artistic point of view, it far surpasses all the other remains left by the Romans at Ratisbon. Its position can be clearly defined, as some of the stones (*Quadern*) were visible between the Carmelite Brewery and the Exerzier Platz so late as 1873. In that year several fragments were found, but unquestionably the most important was a part of the attic containing an inscription.¹

FRATER · DIVI · HADRIANI · NEPOS · DIVI · TRAIANI P
TICVS · PONTIFEX · MAXIMVS TRIB · POTES · TATIS · XXXVI · I
ICVS · GERMANICVS · MAXIMVS · ANTONINI · IMP
MP · II · COS · II · VALLVM CVM PORTIS ET · TVRRIBVS · FECI
M · HELVIO · C · MENTE · DEXTRIANO · LEG · AV

About half of the original has been preserved, and this portion is nearly three metres long. We learn from it that Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus restored the rampart round Ratisbon with its gates and towers, when M. Helvius Clemens Dextrianus was governor of Augsburg, probably in A.D. 178.² Thus our investigation brings us into contact with the "great heathen Emperor and philosopher," with one who presented the unparalleled spectacle of a student seated upon the throne of the world, who yearned and strove after moral perfection

¹ The inscription as it stands, with conjectural additions to complete the sense, is given in the *Ephemerides Epigraphicae*, which are supplementary to C.I.L., vol. ii, p. 448, No. 1001 (*Addimenta ad Corporis Volumen iii., Raetia.*

² See a Paper by Ohlenschläger in *Actis Acad. Monac. (Munich) minoribus* 1874, p. 219. The writer of the Article in the *Ephemer. Epigr.* remarks *Titulus imperite conceptus erroribus abundat. In tribunicia potestate Marci xxxvi cum erratum sit (nam obiit anno 180 tribunicia potestate xxxiv), si est anni 179, scribendum fuit xxxiii.*

Walderdorff thinks that at this time the boundaries of the *Castrum* were extended, and refers to Vienna where there is evidence of an earlier and smaller as well as of a later and larger camp. This view is supported by some appearance of a broad trench from the Neupfarrplatz in the direction of the Danube.

The gens *Helvia* was obscure, and I do not find it on coins, either in Cohen's *Monnaies de la Republique Romaine*, or in the later work of Babelon on the same subject. Of those who bore this appellation the best known are *Helvia*, mother of Seneca, the philosopher, to whom he

addressed the *Consolatio*, and P. Helvius Pertinax, Emperor A.D. 193. Tacitus, *Annals* iii, 21, mentions Helvius Rufus, who saved the life of a fellow citizen, and was presented with a civic crown; Borghesi infers from an Inscription in Muratori, found at Tibur (Tivoli), that he derived thence his cognomen *Civica*. Orelli's note in loco. Helvidius is a more illustrious name, and figures prominently in the pages of Tacitus as that of a father and son, whose patriotic heroism the historian delights to honour; see esp. *Hist. lib. iv, c. 5.*

Clemens (a word of which the etymology is doubtful) frequently occurs as a *nomen proprium*. De Vit gives examples, i—xi from profane, xii—xvii from ecclesiastical writers, beginning with Philippians, iv, 3, on which Ellicott (Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol) has an excellent note in his Commentary on this Epistle of St. Paul, p. 88 sq.

Dextrianus, on the other hand, is uncommon. It is derived from the gens *Dextria*, and appears on a water pipe (*fistula aquaria*), of lead I presume; *Bullettino Archeol. Municip.*, anno 1876, p. 435, Sub cura Caecili Dextriani: De Vit, *Onomasticon*, s.v.

(like St. Paul *ἐπεκτεινόμενος*, reaching forth¹) and nearly attained it; who was so firm and elevated, so gentle and sympathetic, that posterity dwells on his name with veneration, nay even with affection. The inscription assists us to picture him to ourselves at the same time making the most heroic efforts to support a declining Empire, and amidst all his anxieties and labours soliloquizing on ethical problems while encamped on the banks of the Danube, for the first book of the *Meditations* is dated in *Quadis*, the second at *Carnuntum*. Marcus not only was here, but in this portal, being dead, seems to speak to us of his own work, which still, at least in part, remains for us to behold and to handle it.²

The degrees of relationship, as usual in Imperial records of this kind, are founded on adoption. *FRATER*, said of M. Aurelius, indicates that he was brother of Verus, both having been adopted by Antoninus Pius. In the same way Aurelius was grandson of Hadrian and great grandson of Trajan, their apotheosis (*consecratio*) being expressed by the epithet *DIVVS*. On the other hand the third line refers to Commodus, who is described as the son of Antoninus, of course by natural generation.³

¹ Again consult Ellicott, note on Phil. iii, 14, *τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθάνμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος* forgetting the things behind, but stretching out after the things that are in front. No words could better describe the character of Aurelius; though differing in race, religion and surroundings, the Apostle and the Emperor had much in common, as the student of their writings will soon find out for himself: if it had been possible for them to have met, filled with the same aspirations after truth and goodness, they must have heartily fraternized.

² He who would understand the *Meditations* should read them as published by Thos. Gataker, 1652—*Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία β'* (12 books addressed to himself). This edition contains a long Preface (*Praeloquium*), with copious marginal notes, Text with references, De M. Vero Aurelio Antonino Imp. *Elogia et Judicia, et Annotationes*, pp. 1—439, *Syllabus Locorum Scripturae Sacrae, quae in Commentario isto vel explicantur vel illustrantur*, and general *Index Rerum*. The unlearned reader will find in Mr. George Long's Translation a good substitute for the original.

Meditations, book i, fin. *Τὰ ἐν Κουάδοις πρὸς τῷ Γρανούῳ* (*Granua*). This river is now called Gran, and joins the Danube near the town of the same name, about half-way between Budapest and Comorn; it is the See of the Primate of all Hungary, said to be the richest prelate in Europe. The Cathedral occupies a commanding position, and if the traveller proceeds by water from Vienna to Budapest, its lofty cupola remains for a long time in sight. Some have supposed that Gran is the *Bregetium* (*Βρεγαίτιον*) of Ptolemy; but this town is more likely to have been near Szony, a little East of Comorn.

Med. Book ii, fin. *Τὰ ἐν Καρνύντῳ*. Aurelius resided here during his wars with the Quadi and Marcomanni. It was an important place under the Romans, and a station for their fleet. This city was destroyed by Attila; it is said to have been on the same site as Petronell, a town on the Danube, West of Presburg, and near the Hungarian frontier. See the article *Carnuntum* in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, where useful references will be found.

³ For the subject of Adoption consult the *Contemporary Review*, Aug. 1891, Art. 10, St. Paul and the Roman Law by W. E. Ball, LL.D., pp. 278-292, esp. pp.

This historical treasure was discovered in digging the foundations of the new buildings for the Carmelite brewery. The ancient fortifications were destroyed by the Germans, and soon afterwards restored by the Romans, probably in the reign of Constantius, son of Constantine the Great. They seem to have used any materials that were lying about, and amongst them the inscribed stone.¹ That the Romans made these repairs is proved by the mortar, in which pounded fragments of tiles are mixed; and that it took place at the period named is rendered probable by a coin of Constantius found on the spot.

The total length of the passage through the gate amounted to eleven and-a-half metres, but the width could not be accurately ascertained, as it was impossible to uncover the archway on both sides. Part of the cornice was found, a corbel, a capital and two portions of shafts of columns, also a stone with a groove in it for the portcullis, so that, without much exercise of the imagination, a restoration of the whole monument might be designed. Over the remains of this gate another was built, called in the earlier part of the Middle Ages *Ostenthor*,—*Porta orientalis*, and afterwards *schwarze Burghthor*, probably for the same reason as the *Porta Nigra* at Trier, which was blackened by conflagrations.²

The *Prætorium* must have been on the site now occupied by blocks of buildings South of the Dom, and separated from it by the Domstrasse:—the *Via Prætoria* extended thence to the *Bischofshof*. Modern streets

280-283. "St. Paul is the only one of the sacred writers who makes use of the metaphor of adoption." It seems quite reasonable that he should do so, when we consider that he was a Roman citizen, writing to subjects of the Roman Empire. "This metaphor was his translation into the language of Gentile thought of Christ's great doctrine of the New Birth. . . . Rom. viii, 14-16 . . . the Third Person in the Trinity is represented in the character of a witness. The reference is to the legal ceremony of adoption."

Several degrees of this kind of relationship—*filius*, *nepos*, *pronepos*, *abnepos*, *adnepos*—are mentioned in the inscription at Ratisbon as completed by Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 11, 448. These words are for the most part conjectural, but they are warranted by numerous

precedents: Orelli's *Collectio Inscr. Lat.*, Rössini's *Archi Trionfali*.

¹ The preservation of the Inscription is evidently due to its having been built into the wall: Walderdorff, *op. citat.* p. 50, who on the same page gives a transcript without any attempt to supply the words that are wanting.

² Baedeker, *Rheinlande*. ed. 1886, p. 290, says "blackened by time," *Aus grossen durch die Zeit geschwärzten Liasblocken aufgeführt*. But the explanation in the text seems more probable and more in accordance with history. See *Panorama von Trier und seine Umgebungen*, by Johann Leonardy. This author has also written an elaborate history, *Geschichte des Trierischen Landes und Volkes*, one vol. 8vo, pp. 1024.

follow the direction of the Via Principalis and Via Quintana : the former is represented by the Schwarze Barenstrasse and Dreikronengasse, nearly in a straight line between the Neu Pfarr Platz and the Exerzier Platz ; the latter by the Obermünsterstrasse, in which the principal hotel, Gruner Kranz, is situated.

We have abundant proof, both from stamps on bricks and from sepulchral inscriptions, that the third legion, Italica, for a long time garrisoned Ratisbon ; Mr. Hirst in his excellent article contributed to the Athenæum October 10th, 1885, p. 477, has, inadvertently, I think said the *second* legion. There are nine examples from graves in Dahlem's Catalogue of the Museum in St. Ulrich's Church ; a line from one of them must suffice for the present. Page 12, No. 3 :—

(d) ONATUS . OPTIO . LEG . III . ITAL . GENER.

I have selected it because it contains the military title *Optio*, a lieutenant, sometimes incorrectly translated adjutant ; the term is discussed in my paper on the Antiquities of the Middle Rhine.¹ This legion has a special interest for us, since Cornelius is described in the Acts of the Apostles as a centurion of the band called the Italian.² The second cohort of Aquitanians, COH. II. AQ., was stationed here ; but, as would appear from the stamps, for a shorter period. Lastly, a stone was found in 1873 with the letters COH. I. C. N. incised on it. Walderdorff says that they are unknown and not deciphered. I am inclined to interpret them as meaning the first cohort of Canathenians, who came from Canatha, a city of the Decapolis, North-East of Palestine, mentioned in St. Matthew's Gospel, iv, 25.³

¹ Archæol. Journ., vol. xlvii, p. 204.

² At first sight it might be supposed that the cohort mentioned in Acts, x, 1, Ἐκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, was a part of the Italian legion ; but it could not be so, because the latter was not raised till Nero's time : Alford *in loco*, who quotes Gruter, Inscriptt., vol. I, p. 434, Cohors militum Italicorum voluntaria, quae est in Syria. Cf Tacitus, Hist, I, 59, with the note of Heraeus, *Italica*] vollständig *prima Italica*, von Nero errichtet (Dio LV, 24). For other references in Tacitus v. Orelli's Index at the end of his edition, s.v. Legio, vol II, p. 566.

³ Walderdorff, *ibid*, p. 52. Canatha in Coele (Hollow) Syria and close to Mount Hermon, is nearly due East of Caesarea Philippi, the furthest place North reached by our Lord in the course of his public ministry : see Arrowsmith, Grammar of Ancient Geography, v, 203, sect. II, § 14. For the Decapolis comp. St. Mark, vii, 31 and S. T. Bloomfield's note. Καὶ πάλιν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὁρίων Τύρου ἦλθεν διὰ Σιδῶνος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνὰ μεσον τῶν ὁρίων Δεκαπόλεως. This passage defines the position of the Decapolis better than the one in St. Matthew's Gospel cited above.

Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. v, cap. 13, § 16,

Such specimens of epigraphy may, to the uninitiated, appear to be insignificant details, but they suggest general considerations. How often undesigned coincidences illustrate and corroborate the sacred narrative! How wisely the statesmen of ancient Rome distributed the provincial soldiers over her vast dominions! If the preceding explanation is correct we now find Syrians in the army on the Danube, as on former occasions we have remarked Dalmatians at Mayence (Moguntiacum), and Spaniards (Astures) in the North of Britain.¹

Close to the camp, which was, as Gibbon says, a fortified city, and on the West side of it, a Roman town grew up; it extended beyond the Dominican Church in the direction of the Weissgerbergraben and Engelburgerstrasse. We may compare it with the Civil Settlements adjoining the *castellum* of the Saalburg, which were in front of the Porta Decumana, on the South side of the fort and away from the enemy—the formidable Chatti. These two frontier-stations, one on the Danube and the other near the Rhine, also had a similar history;

edit. Sillig. Jungitur ei (Judaeae) latere Syriae Decapolitana regio a numero oppidorum, in quo non omnes eadem observant, plurimi tamen Damascus ex epoto riguis amue Chrysorroa fertilem, Philadelphiam . . . Pellam aquis divitem, Galasam, Canatham. Josephus, Bellum Judaicum, i, 19, § 2, συναθροισθέντες εἰς Κανάθα τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας. Ptolemy, lib. v, cap. 15, § 23.

Gustav Wilmanns, Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. ii, p. 424, Index. Canatha. Septimia Canotha 2498. Canatheni v. cohortes, ibid. p. 590, cohorts I Flavia Canathenorum 1630. Κανωθαῖοι ἐπὶ Συρίας 2498 — decurio, βουλευτῆς πολιτῆς τε 2498. No. 1630 was found at Thamugade, and No. 2498 at Genay, near Lyons—a station marked in the Indicateur des Chemins de Fer. The latter consists of a Latin inscription in four lines and a Greek one in seven lines which are metrical—both relating to the same person—Thaenus Julianus.

For the explanation of the *sigla* relating to the Canathenians I am indebted to the Rechenschaftsbericht des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg für das Jahr 1885, printed in 1886, pp. iv and vi. There it is stated that tile-stamps of this cohort have been repeatedly found at Ratisbon.

¹ See my paper on Roman Antiquities

of the Middle Rhine, Archæol. Journ., vol. xlvii, pp. 200-202, text and notes. The name of the Astures, who were East of the Callaeci (Galicia), is preserved in the modern Asturias; they were divided into the Augustani (Leon) and Transmontani (Asturias). Their capital Asturica, hodie Astorga, was an important town because from it as a centre several roads issued, leading to Portugal, Caesar Augusta (Zaragoza), etc. The ancient walls still remain—at least “enough to give a perfect idea of a Spanish city fortified by the Romans.” Some suppose the name to have been originally Iberian, and to mean a rock-built place. “The Asturias has hitherto given the title of prince to the Spanish heir apparent, which was done in professed imitation of our Prince of Wales.” Ford, Handbook for Travellers in Spain, edit. 1878, pp. 188 sq., and 202-204. Smith’s Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography supplies references to the classical authors.

See also Aloïss Heiss, Description générale des Monnaies antiques de l’Espagne, p. 252, Lancia (Ruines de Lancia). Monnayage celtibérien. In the coins there mentioned the legend seems to vary; pl. xxxii., 1 and 2, Conventus Asturum. For a full discussion of the monnayage certibérien cf. ibid., pp. 3-33.

they were from time to time captured by the Germans and retaken by the Romans¹

The cemetery, of considerable extent, was situated on both sides of the road from Ratisbon to Kumpfmühl, and near the Railway Station.² It began at the Eichorn-gasse, which corresponds with the Western extremity of the civil town. For centuries objects of antiquity were found in this neighbourhood; most of them were dispersed, some are deposited in the Museum at Munich. But the construction of the railroad, 1871-1874, offered opportunities for research far better than any that had previously presented themselves. Accordingly, under the superintendence of Herr Dahlem a complete and scientific investigation was made, which led to important results, especially to observations on the various modes and periods of burial. This gentleman has published an elaborate plan—the best of the kind that I know—showing many particulars, e.g. places where bodies have been cremated, and where they have been interred, the direction in which the heads severally lay, stone sarcophagi, stone coverings over graves, and walls round them, foundations of monuments or Cippi.³

¹ Among these civil settlements at the Saalburg were the *Canabæ* (Public-houses—taverns) “at the right and left (or at least the foundations of them), when we descend the Roman road from the fort towards the plain . . . The houses were undoubtedly only built of wood, with walls of clay, and, according to traces found, were covered with slates or thatched with straw.” Cohausen and Jacobi on the Roman Castellum Saalburg, English Translation by Fischer, p. 19. The word *canabæ* does not occur in the historians, but we find it, and also *canabenses* (Publicans) in Inscriptions: Wilmanns, op. citat., vol. ii. p. 151, cap. x., Moesia, no. 2409.

pro salute | IMP. CAE | TRA. HADR |
AVG. C. VAL | PVD. VET. LE. V | MAC. ET.
M. VLP. LE | ON. MAG. CANABE. TE | TVC.
AEL. AED. D. D | VET. TE. C. R. CONS.
AD | CANAB. LEG. V. M

Troesmi (Iglitza). Wilmanns gives an expansion of the whole, but I repeat only the part required for our present purpose—magistris Canabensium . . . cives Romani consistentes ad canabas legionis V Macedonicae. Gruter, p. 466, no 7.

C. SEN :: : O. REGVLIANO. EQ. R.
DIFFVS | OLEARIO. EX. BAETICA. CVRA-
TORI. EIVSDEM | CORPORIS. NEGOT. VINARIO.

LVGDVN | IN CANABIS. CONSISTEN.

DIFFVS is evidently the abbreviation of *diffusori*, one employed to rack off oil Comp. Horace, Epistles I, 5, 4 and Interpp. Orelli, no 4077, gives the text somewhat differently, and adds the following note on *Canabæ*—cella vinaria; unde Ital. *caneva*. v. Marini, *Atti*, 2, p. 423.

Canabæ is not included in Forcellini's Lexicon or Bailey's Appendix to it (*Auctarium*); the former has *canabulae* but assigns to it meanings different from that mentioned above—*termini quidam, quibus agrorum fines designantur, or canales, per quos aqua deducitur*. However consult De Vit's edition of the lexicon as the best authority,

² Walderdorff, p. 52 sq. The cemetery extended even beyond this village. The Guide-book for the Royal collection at Munich deserves careful study; it is entitled, Führer durch das Königlich Bayerische National Museum in München, Officielle Ausgabe, Siebente Verbeserte Ausgabe, 1890. Roman Monuments—pp. 12-18, Römersteine, Meilensteine, Ziegelsarg, Thongefasse, Glasgefasse, Votivstein, Mosaik; and p. 100, Thonarbeiten.

³ I bought at Ratisbon the *Situations Plan, Römischer Begräbnisse an der Via*

Dates of burials are also marked, reckoned by the reigns of Emperors from M. Aurelius and Commodus down to Honorius, the most recent, of course, being those furthest from the old Roman town, just as we may trace them in our own Londinium; these all have the head at the West end of the grave, whereas in the earlier ones it is turned in various directions, sometimes to the North, sometimes to the South. Looking at the plan, we cannot fail to notice the great number of tombs and burning-places densely crowded together on both sides of the Via militaris Augustana. Their position may remind us of the sepulchral monuments by the Appian Way, which are mentioned by Cicero in the Tusculan Disputations, and which travellers know so well.¹ A good illustration of this part of our subject occurs at Strasburg. The Roman cemetery there also is close to the Railway Station. It has been fully described in the Bulletin de la Société pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques d'Alsace,

militaris Augustana bei Regensburg. Auf gedeckt bei dem Baue der Donauthal-und Ostbahn 1870-74 aufgenommen v. J. Dahlem

The antiquarian traveller will find it very desirable to procure documents of this kind on the spot, where he can avail himself of the assistance of the local *savants* in making his selection. Thus he will not only obtain the best information, but avoid unnecessary trouble and expense.

Dahlem has also written a Catalogue of Antiquities at Ratisbon, *Das mittelalterlich-romische Lapidarium und die vorgeschichtlich-romische Sammlung zu St. Ulrich in Regensburg, 1887.*

¹ Book i, chap. 7, § 13, *An tu egressus porta Capena, quum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?* See the note in Kühner's 3rd edition, 1846, p. 58. There can be no better commentary on Cicero's words than the *Via Appia Illustrata* by Labruzzi. No year of publication appears on the title-page, but the date may be approximately inferred from the dedication to Sir Richard Colt Hoare. The book is a large folio, consisting of twelve plates finely executed: see esp., Nos. 4—10; e.g., No. 4, *Scavo di sepolcri antichi fatto l'anno 1790, nella Vigna Moroni a mano dritta della Via Appia con Iscrizioni antiche ivi esistenti.* But for this road as a street of Tombs, consult a more modern work, Emil Braun, *Ruins and*

Museums of Rome, chap. vi. *Ramble to the Tombs on the Via Appia* pp. 50—60, esp. no. 12, p. 57, sq. "An endless number of necropolises gradually arose, which it is impossible to traverse without being reminded of the glory and enduring greatness of one's predecessors." The Tomb of Caecilia Metella, "the wealthiest Roman's wife," is more interesting than any other on this Way on account of its historical associations, imposing architecture, and good preservation; its modern name *Capo di Bove* is derived from the bull's heads in the frieze, *ibid*, No. 8, p. 55. Comp. Rheinhard, *Album des Classischen Alterthums*, Pl. 28 (coloured); text, p. 20.

Similarly we have at Pompeii the *Strada dei Sepolcri*; Baedeker, *Italie Méridionale*, p. 139, edit. 1877. La voie des Tombeaux, la grande route militaire qui conduisait de Capoue à Naples, et de là à Reggio par Herculaneum et Pompéi. Overbeck, vol. ii, p. 20 sq., fig. 216, *Ansicht der Graberstrasse*; fig. 217, *Plan der Graberstrasse*. This street, in the North-Western part of the town, is marked at the upper corner on the right hand side of the large map, which is placed at the end of the second volume—*Plan der Stadt Pompeii, Resultat der Ausgrabungen von 1748—1865.*

C. Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 12, *Cemeteries of Londinium*—"the sites chosen were beyond the city enclosure."

1879-1880, by Canon Straub; his memoir extends from p. 3 to p. 130, and is accompanied by six plates, three plans, and many engravings intercalated in the text.¹

Other extra-mural graves have been discovered, viz. in front of the Petersthor and the Ostenthor; but it is more remarkable that some vestiges of interments have been observed *within* the Roman Town; this can be accounted for on the supposition that they took place during sieges, when the inhabitants were blockaded by the Germans, and cut off from their usual burial-grounds. Such attacks were doubtless often repeated, till about A.D. 400 the commander of the third legion removed his headquarters higher up the Danube to Vallatum, so as to be protected by the Boundary Wall.²

If we pursue our inquiries further on the South side of the city, but still within the limits of a walk, we shall come to hills near the village of Kumpfmühl, which command a fine view of Ratisbon, the valley of the Danube, and the Walhalla on its left bank. Here an important discovery was made in the same year in which

¹ A notice of Canon Straub's Memoir will be found in my Paper on the Middle Rhine, *Archaeol. Journ.* for 1890, vol. xlvii, p. 392, note 2.

The removal from *Castra Regina* to Vallatum nearly synchronizes with the retirement of the Romans from our own country. These events took place in the reign of Honorius, when Stilicho was conducting the war against Alaric: v. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxx, vol. iv, p. 34, edit. Dr. W. Smith. "The fortresses of the Rhine" (for Valentinian's Embankment v. *Archaeol. Journ.*, xlvii, 398 sq.) "were abandoned. . . . Even the legion which had been stationed to guard the wall of Britain against the Caledonians of the North was hastily recalled." And comp. chap. xxxi, vol. iv, p. 130, edit., Smith, *Revolt of Britain and Armoria*, A.D. 409. Somewhat later, A.D. 446, relief was sought from Actius in the famous letter, called the Groans of the Britons, but it was refused them. *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i, *Index Rerum*, Actius, *ter consul*, etc., 11 D, 94 B, 119 B, 705 D, "Gemitus Britannorum." Hume, *History of England*, vol. i. p. 12 sq., London, 1796.

We have evidence of the change of quarters above mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis*, edit. Bocking, tom. ii, cap. xxxiv. *Dux Raetiae*, p. 102*

[B] [1] *Praefectus Legionis Tertiae Italicae Partis Superioris Castra Regina*, nunc Vallato; *ibid* [B] [8] *Praefectus Alae Secundae Valeriae Singularis* Vallato*; see the *Commentary* pp. 759*—763*sq., 766*, 791*, esp. 764*—766*, and references to Raiser, *Römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg* und andere *Denkwürdigkeiten des Ober-Donau-Kreises*, fascic. iii, p. 61 sqq. Numerous inscriptions relate to the *legio tertia Italica*; cf., Hefner *Das Römische Bayern*, *Index s.v.*, and *ala secunda* *ibid*. We should bear in mind that the *Notitia* was compiled towards the close of the Roman occupation of Britain; v. cap. xxii, *Vicarius Britanniarum*, vol. i, p. 74*, edit. Bocking: Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, c. xii, p. 356.

Vallatum is situated South-West of Abusina (Eming or Abensberg), which is on the South bank of the Danube, and on the road from Reginum (Ratisbon) to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg): see the *Antonine Itinerary*, p. 250, edit. Wesseling; p. 115, sq. edit. Parthey and Pinder,

Regino	...	mpm xxiii,
Abusina	...	mpm xx,
Vallato	...	mpm xviii,
Summuntorio	...	mpm xvi,
Augusta Vindelicum	...	mpm xx.

the Porta Praetoria was laid open.¹ Even in the middle of the last century objects had been found in graves that seemed to belong to an earlier period than the Castrum of Marcus Aurelius; and in 1873 besides the military diploma (*tabula honestae missionis*, I presume) of the veteran Sicco, ruins of about twenty dwellings, partly wooden, partly of stone, were brought to light. These facts, together with repeated examples of the stamp on bricks, COH. I. CAN, first cohort of Canathenians, led to the inference that a corps of *milites limitanei* had been quartered here.²

But in March 1885 excavations were undertaken in earnest; and on the site where only small habitations had been known, the ground plan of a great edifice soon revealed itself, 54 m. long, 17 m. broad at the West end, and probably 26-30 m. at the East end. The local antiquarian Society purchased the ground, enclosed it with a hedge, and took every precaution to protect the remains of ancient buildings.

At the East end a rectangular fore-court, of which Mr. Hirst gives the dimensions $19\frac{1}{2}$ by 16 mètres surrounded a large reservoir, made water-tight with concrete both on the sides and underneath; at the North-West corner there were channels for water to be admitted and discharged.³ One of the smaller rooms was warmed only by the hypocaust, another by flues (*tubi*) let into the walls, as well as by the hypocaust, in which twelve rows of pillars supported the floor; in the latter case greater heat was

¹ Rechenschaftsbericht des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg, 1885, pp. iii-vii.

² The writer of the Rechenschaftsbericht speaks of these troops as a settlement of veterans (*Veteranen-Ansiedlung*). The *milites limitanei* guarded the frontiers against the incursions of barbarians. Lampridius, Alexander Severus, cap. 58, *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* VI, Ludg. Batav., 1671, vol. I, p. 1024. *Sola quae de hostibus capta sunt, limitaneis ducibus et militibus donavit, ita ut eorum ita essent, si heredes illorum militarent, nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent, dicens, attentius eos militaturos, si etiam sua rura defenderent. Addidit sane his et animalia et servos, ut possent colere quod acceperant: ne per inopiam hominum, vel per*

senectutem possidentium desererentur rura vicina barbariae.

On account of its great importance I have quoted this passage *in extenso*. Cf. omn. Isaac Casubon's note; Est igitur hic species quaedam feudi etc. He thinks we may perceive here the origin of the feudal system. We find *limitanei Agri* as well as *Milites* in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. II, p. 368, edit. Beck, Lipsiae, 1837. Codex XI, Tit. LX, (LIX) III Imp. Theodosius et Valentinianus. The phrase *duciani Milites* may be explained by referring to Dux Raetiae, —v. supra.

³ See the *Athenaeum* Oct. 10, 1885, p. 477. "The archaeological discovery at Ratisbon": to this Article the initials J.H. are appended, *i.e.*, Rev. J. Hirst, a frequent contributor to the Journal of the Institute.

evidently required. The flues are like those found at the Saalburg, and the cippi, or low columns on which the *suspensura* rested, are the same as may be seen at Corinium (Cirencester).¹ West of these apartments was the principal hall, an oblong, ending at its Northern extremity in a semicircle (hemicyclium); this part was separated from the rest of the room by pilasters. The *apodyterium* (undressing room), *frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium* have been identified; but I am not aware that they present any features requiring further notice. I exhibit a plan, made according to scale, which Dr. Ebner kindly gave me.

There can be no doubt that the building was erected by the first cohort of Canathenians, as their stamps occur throughout the edifice and in the channels. From evidence of the same kind it is inferred that some alterations of minor importance were made by the first Ala (squadron) of Singulares.² The coins found belong to the period between Domitian and M. Aurelius; hence it seems probable that the date of construction should be fixed in the first half of the second century, and that of destruction at the beginning of the latter Emperor's reign, during the Marcoman War referred to above. Terra-cottas and other antiquities correspond in their style with this attribution; they have been incorporated

¹ Buckman and Newmarch, Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, The site of Antient Corinium; chapter on the method of constructing tessellated floors, pp. 62-69, Pl. viii, Pilae, full page engraving, and five woodcuts intercalated in the text; see esp. fig. 5, section of the Pilae in the Room B of a Roman villa, fig. 8, Plan of the Pilae of Room A.

² The *Singulares* were of two kinds, 1, *Equites singulares Augusti*, of whom there is a full account in Smith's Dict. of Classical Antiq. 3rd edition, Art. Exercitus, vol. i, p. 795 sq., under the heading, *Non-Roman troops in the Garrison*, i. e. of the City under the Empire. They were a force supplementary to the Praetorians, and were usually recruited from provinces on the Rhine and Danube. Raphael Fabretti has a long article on this subject, *Inscriptionum Antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio*, folio, Romae, 1699. *Equites singulares*, cap. V. pp. 354-360, Nos. ix,

and 68-96; p. 355 habemus ex Hygino (§23) . . . gradum militiae constituisse Praetorianae proximum, tum munere custodiae, tum praetenturae vicinia. The Dict. of Antt. loc. citat. gives abundant references to more recent authorities—Henzen, Sull' Equiti Singolari, Mommsen in the Hermes and Corpus Inscr. Lat. 2, There seem to have been special corps of auxiliary troops, also called *Singulares*, but not immediately connected with the Emperor's service. Tacitus, Histories, iv, 70, Accessit ala singularium, excita olim a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasianae transgressa. The historian is here relating the energetic measures taken by the Romans at the beginning of Vespasian's reign to crush the revolt of the Gauls and Germans under Civilis and other leaders, who had profited by the civil war, to excite their own countrymen to throw off a foreign yoke: Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. vi. chap. lviii, esp. pp. 514-517, 8vo. edition.

with the museum at St. Ulrich; amongst them were several strigils (bath-scrapers), a bell, nine keys, finger-rings, one of gold with an intaglio, fibulae, hair-pins, ear-picks, and fragments of glass.¹

Though neither Augsburg nor Ratisbon is usually considered to be famous for Roman remains, their monuments, comparatively few, afford valuable illustrations of history from the time of the earlier Emperors down to Constantine the Great, and even later. I regret my inability to do justice to a theme so interesting; but I shall feel repaid for the fatigue of travelling and the labour of compiling, if I induce others to share with me the pleasure of looking back to that happy period when the whole civilized world was governed by Trajan the most active, Hadrian the most accomplished, and Aurelius the most philosophic in the long series of Roman Emperors.²

¹ In Matthes' Plan of Regensburg and Stadtamhof, St. Ulrich's Church is designated Prähistorische Museum. Two saints of this name are mentioned by the Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, Antverpiae, 1721, vol. 27; mensis Julii, tom. ii, die quarta. S. Udalricus Episcopus et Confessor Augustae Vindelicorum, pp. 73—135, *Commentarius praevius, vita et miracula*. P. 88 contains two very curious engravings of a cross, on the front of which we see a mitred Bishop leading an army against the Huns, or rather Hungarians, and on the back a representation of the city and churches of Augsburg. On account of the proximity, Augsburg and Ratisbon being both in the kingdom of Bavaria, I suppose the aforesaid church was dedicated to this saint, as was also a conspicuous church at Augsburg, but here in conjunction with St. Afra. See M. Welsch, *Rerum Augustarum lib. vii*, pp. 145—149, and supplement 191—197; and *Vita S. Udalrici, Augustanorum episcopi*, 1595, 4^{to}.

It seems not improbable that Saint Ulrich, of Augsburg, was the first subject of canonization. He was enrolled among the saints in the year 993. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 2nd series, vol. xiii, No. iii, p. 233, Jan. 22, 1891.

For the Ulrichskirche at Augsburg see

the Guide by Dr. Adolf Buff, No. 47, 48 of the *Europäische Wanderbilder*, pp. 35—39, with engravings of the interior and of the North portal.

Another St. Ulrich occurs, *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 28, July, 10th day, S. Udalricus monachus, confessor in Brisgoia Germaniae (Breisgau).

² Gregorovius has written an excellent monograph, entitled *Geschichte des römischen Kaisers, Hadrian und seiner Zeit*, Königsberg, 1851, 8^{vo}, pp. 282; but he has not spoken of this great Emperor as having contributed to the construction of the Roman boundary-wall in Germany: comp. Mr. Hodgkin's essay, *The Pfahlgraben*, p. 84 sq. Authors often fail in that part of their writings which treats of their own country; so Merle D'Aubigné is comparatively unsuccessful when he relates the history of the Reformation in Switzerland where he lived.

Similarly, philologists in discussing their native language have often proved inferior to foreigners; familiarity of itself does not produce scientific accuracy, and the vernacular seems like an object that must be removed to some distance from the eye that we may obtain a good view of it.

APPENDIX.

I add a list of authorities for the Antiquities in Southern Germany which, though incomplete, may be of use to inquirers, by bringing under their notice some publications not generally known in England.

Gruter, *Corpus Inscriptionum Romanarum*, 2 vols., fol., mdcxvi.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litt. Regiae Boruss. editum, Berolini, usually quoted by the initials C.I.L.

Ephemeris epigraphica, Supplementary to C.I.L., edited by G. Henzen, J. B. Rossi, Th. Mommsen and G. Wilmanns.

Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum, edit. G. Parthey and M. Pinder, 1848.

Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana, edit. Conrad Mannert, with Introduction and Index, 1824.

Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingerische Tafel in den Farben des Originals herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dr. Konrad Miller, 1888.

Notitia Dignitatum et Administrationum, tam civilium quam militarium, in partibus Occidentis, edit. Böcking, ab A. 1839 usque ad A. 1853, with copious Commentary and Index.

Brambach, *Corp. Inscr. Rhenanarum*, 4to, 1867.

Von Cohausen, *Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutschland*, Militarische und technische Beschreibung desselben, vol. i, Text with a list of publications by the same author at the end; vol II, Atlas of 52 Plates (*Abbildungen*), Eduard Paulus, *Der römische Grenzwall (limes transrhénanus) vom Hohenstaufen bis an den Main*, mit einer Karte, 1863.

Von Raiser, *Der Ober-Donau-Kreis im Königreiche Bayern unter den Römern*, I^{te}, II^{te}, III^{te} Abtheilung.

Jahrs-Bericht des historischen Vereins im Oberdonau-Kreise.

Combinirter Jahrs-Bericht des historischen Vereins für den Regierungs-Bezirk von Schwaben und Neuburg.

Marci Velseri, *Duumviri Augustani, Rerum Boicarum, Libri quinque una cum Libro sexto, hactenus inedito*, edit., 1777. This book is a history of Bavaria, not of Bohemia (Boii) as might at first be supposed.

Von Hefner, *Das römische Bayern*, mit 8 lithographirten Tafeln.

Von Raiser, *Guntia und das römische Antiquarium zu Augsburg; Urkundliche Geschichte der Stadt Lauingen an der Donau; Die römischen alterthümer zu Augsburg, und andere Denkwürdigkeiten des Ober-Donau-Kreises*.

Führer durch das Königlich Bayerische National Museum in München, 1890.

Württembergische Jahrbücher, Jahrgang 1835, Erstes Heft. Die im Königreich Württemberg gefundenen römischen Stein-Inschriften und Bildwerke. Verzeichnet und erklärt von Dr. Christoph Friedrich Stalin, pp. 1-125.

Von Jaumann, *Colonia Sumlocenne, Rottenburg am Neckar unter den Römern*, 1840. This author cannot be implicitly trusted, either for sculptures or inscriptions.

Dr. Konrad Miller, *Die römischen Begräbnisstatten in Württemberg*, 1884. *Reste aus römischer Zeit in Oberschwaben*, 1889. Separat-Abdruck aus Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst. Zur Topographie der römischen Kastelle am Limes und Neckar in Württemberg (Hierzu Taf. 2 & 3), pp. 46-71. Die Untersuchungen der Römer

strassen im Grossherzogtum Baden. (Aus der "Karlsruher Zeitung" vom 7 September 1890).

Marci Velseri Matthaei F. Ant. N. Patricii Aug. Vind. Rerum Augustanar. Vindelicar. Libri Octo, MDXCIV. This book was printed at Venice, probably by the younger Aldus.

Herrn Paul von Stetten des jüngern Erläuterungen der in Kupfer gestochenen Vorsteellungen, aus der Geschichte der Reichstadt Augsburg. In historischen Briefen an ein Frauenzimmer (with many curious engravings), 1765.

Von Raiser, Die Funde an römischen und andern Alterthümern auf dem Rosenau-Berg, zunächst bey Augsburg, in den Jahren 1844 und 1845.

M Mezger, Die Romischen Steindenkmaler, Inschriften und Gefass—Stempel im Maximilians-Museum zu Augsburg, 1862.

Augsburg von Adolf Buff (Guide-Book). Das Augsburger Kunstgewerbe während der letzten drei Jahrhunderte Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung. Sept. 17, 29; Oct. 13, 1887.

Hugo Graf von Walderdorff, Regensburg in seiner Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.

J. Dahlem, Das mittelalterlich-römische Lapidarium und die vorgeschichtlich-romische Sammlung zu St. Ulrich in Regensburg.

Wolfgang Schreiner, Eining und die dortigen Römer-Ausgrabungen. Ein kleiner Wegweiser durch dieselben.

Christian Heinrich Kleinstaub, Geschichte und Beschreibung der altherühmten steinernen Brücke zu Regensburg. [Sonderabdruck aus dem xxxiii. Bde. der Verhandlungen des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg].

Rechenschaftsbericht of the same Society for 1885.

H. K. Kissling, Illustirter Führer durch die Reichsfestung Ulm und ihre Umgebung.

Friedrich Pressel, Ulm und sein Münster, Festschrift zur Erinnerung an den 30 Juni, 1377.

Aug Beyer und Fr. Pressel, Festgruss zum 25 Juni, 1889. Münster Blätter, folio.

At Ulm we see what appears strange to English eyes—a Cathedral without a Bishop—but the chief ecclesiastical dignitary has the title of *Prälat*. The spire (said to be the highest in the world) completed according to the original design, reflects infinite credit on the small State of Wurtemberg. A folding-page engraving of it is appended to the last mentioned work, which contains other plates well executed. Comp. an Article in the Illustrated London News for June 28, 1890, vol. 96 p. 803.

I desire to express my deep obligation, and to offer my hearty thanks to Dr. Buff of Augsburg and the Rev. Dr. Adalbert Ebner of Ratisbon for their kind co-operation in assisting my researches.