

THE ANTIQUITIES OF VIENNE.

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I intended last autumn to travel again in the Austro-Hungarian empire, and to pursue some investigations which had been commenced in the preceding year. But the fear of cholera, or rather of quarantine and its attendant inconveniences, deterred me, and I decided to remain in France, so that no other frontier would have to be crossed. Following a suggestion from my valued friend, the late Rev. C. W. King, I visited Auvergne; but there the classical tourist feels almost out of his element, for, with the exception of pottery, the remains of the Roman period are scanty and unimportant.¹ He seems like a poacher on the hunting-grounds of the geologist; even

¹ Dr. A. E. Plicque is the chief living authority for the pottery of Auvergne. He resides at Lezoux, a station on the railway from Clermont to Montbrison, 25 kilometres from the former place, so that the visitor who makes it his headquarters can easily go and return in the same day. *Guide-Joanne, Auvergne et Centre*, p. 208, Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme), chef-lieu de canton de 3551 habitants, où se fabriquent des poteries depuis l'époque gauloise; 69 fours de potiers, de nombreuses statuettes, des médailles, un vase votif en argent dédié à *Mars Randosas*, etc., y ont été découverts. Dr. Plicque has conducted many excavations and formed a fine collection of Gallo-Roman vases, part of which was exhibited at Vichy during the summer of 1892. He has also published numerous memoirs giving accounts of his discoveries. The following titles will enable the reader to form an idea of their contents: *La Métropole des Céramistes Arverno-Romains*, 1881; *Fabrication des Poteries Gallo-Romaines*, 1885;

Expédition des Poteries Romaines par l'Allier et la Loire et Marques Céramiques du Musée de Nantes, 1887. In some cases Dr. Plicque's conclusions may seem fanciful, but no one can dispute the energy he has displayed, and the success which has crowned his efforts.

The Auvergne pottery interests us because there was a great traffic between Gaul and our own country at an early period: Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 99. "In M. Brongniart's *Traité des Arts Céramiques, ou des Poteries*, tome i., fig. 9, A, B, p. 424, are recorded discoveries of the remains of kilns at Lezoux, which supplied one of the dies for impressing the name of the potter upon the soft clay," *v. ibid.*, woodcuts and inscriptions, *AVSTRIO*, *i.e.*, officina. This name occurs in the London list, p. 102. The red glazed pottery was manufactured in Gaul and Germany, and thence imported into Britain.

before arriving at Clermont, the best centre for excursions,¹ he finds himself amidst the craters and domes of volcanos extinct in the days of Julius Cæsar; on alighting he ascends to his room by a staircase of lava, and if he perambulates the town or visits the Cathedral, the same dark or almost black colour offends the eye with its "lugubrious hue."² Hence through Vichy I made my way to Lyons and Vienne.³

¹ Clermont is evidently a contraction from the mediæval name, Clarus Mons; the city is sometimes called Clermont-Ferrand, and thus distinguished from Clermont in the Department Oise, and from Clermont-en-Argonne on the road from Chalons-sur-Marne to Verdun. In the Table of Peutinger, Segmentum, i., c., we find Aug. Nemeto marked under COMATA, West of Aquis Calidis (Vichy), which is also the ancient name of Bath—in Ptolemy, *Geographia*, lib. II., c. 3, § 13, Ὑδατα θερμά; but the Antonine Itinerary has Aquis Solis, ed. Wesseling, p. 486; var. lect. Sulis, a female Celtic divinity, *v. note*, Ptolemy, ed. Car. Müller, vol. i., p. 103, and C. I. L., vol. vii., *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinæ* ed. Hübner, Sect. IX, AQVAE SVLIS, pp. 24-29, Nos. 36-64; cf. *omn.*, p. 24. Scarth, *Notices of Roman Bath*, pp. 1-4. Similarly Eaux Chaudes, one of the health resorts in the Basses-Pyrenees, derives its appellation from sulphureous waters.

Strabo says that Nemossus was the capital of the Arverni, and that it was situated on the River Loire, so that his account of the place does not agree with the geographical position of Clermont; lib. IV., cap. 2, § 3, Ἀροῦερνοι δὲ ἱδρύνται μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Δείγματι μητρόπολιν δ' αὐτῶν ἰστί Νεμωσσοῦς (Casaubon reads Νεμεττοῦς) ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ κειμένη. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, lib. XXXIV, cap. 7, § 45, calls it Arverni; but it is strange to find the designation of the tribe applied to the city at so early a period. Verum omnem amplitudinem statuarum ejus generis vicit ætate nostra Zenodorus, Mercurio facto in civitate Galliae Arvernus per annos decem HS. CCCO manipreti. The colossus of Mercury was the work of the same artist, who afterwards executed a similar statue of Nero at Rome, which stood near the Colosseum, and from which the name of the amphitheatre is said to be derived. This passage is interesting because it confirms Casar's statement, Bell. Gall.,

VI., 17, Deum maxime Mercurium colunt, and illustrates the frequent representations of this deity in the provincial museums of France, as the classical traveller cannot fail to observe.

See also Ptolemy, II, vii., 12, Ἀροῦερνοῦμετον, with the note in Car. Muller's edition, vol. i., p. 207; Brunet, *Supplément au Manuel du Libraire*, s. v. Arverna, and the Article *Augustonemetum* in Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*.

- *The Geology and Extinct Volcanos of Central France*, by G. Poulett Scrope, 2nd edition. Appendix, plate I. facing p. 235. "Panoramic View of the Environs of Clermont, taken from the summit of the Puy Girou, a conical peak of columnar basalt, about four miles south of that town." Comp. *Volcanos: the Character of their Phenomena*, &c., by the same author, 2nd edition, p. 58. The chain of Puy, near Clermont, contains above sixty volcanic cones strung together on nearly the same line, reaching about twelve miles in length. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 360-368, Central France, Mont Dore, the Cantal, the Canton d'Aubrac, and the Mezen. For a notice of Desmarest's excellent map and description of Auvergne, see Sir Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, 10th edition, vol. i., p. 72.

³ The Museum at Lyons ranks very high among the provincial collections of Europe, though not equal to those in the larger capitals. Two objects have more attractions than any others for the student of history and art, viz., the Bronze Tablet and the Grand Mosaic representing the Games of the Circus. The importance of the former is shown by the separate chapter devoted to it in Hippolyte Bazin's *Vienne et Lyon Gallo-Romains*, pp. 349-357, with facsimile, *a l'échelle de 1/2*. This monument is 1 metre 39 centimetres high, 1 metre 93 centimetres broad, and 8 millimetres thick. It was found at Lyons

The latter place has many historical associations, both sacred and profane; the existing monuments also are sufficient to compensate for the fatigue of exploration.

To the antiquary it is one of the most interesting cities in France—and, at least as far as regards English travellers, it is one of the most neglected. After staying at Lyons they are naturally unwilling to break their journey again within about twenty miles, and they hurry on attracted by more imposing structures further south—the Arch at Orange, the Amphitheatre at Arles, La Maison Carrée and Les Arènes at Nîmes, with the Pont du Gard in its neighbourhood; but I hope to show that Vienne has claims on our attention, and should not be thus hastily passed over.

The earliest notice of it appears to be in Cæsar's Commentaries: he marched thither with his usual celerity (*quam maximis potest itineribus*) in the course of the war with Vercingetorix, the leader of the Gauls in their supreme struggle for liberty, still honoured by their descendants as a national hero.¹ Claudius, in his famous oration pre-

by a peasant, in 1528, on the southern slope of the hill St. Sebastian: *Catalogue Sommaire des Musées de la Ville de Lyon, Dessins d'Adrien Allmer*, 1887, p. 92; *ibid.*, pp. 92-95, traduction. The letters are beautifully formed, square, and not disproportionately long, as was the case in the Antonine Age; only in some hollows the traces of gilding now appear, having, for the most part, been effaced by injudicious cleaning.

A parallel to the Lyons Table was discovered in the Tyrol, which, however, is less interesting, because it only relates to circumstances connected with an unfrequented locality, and there is no corresponding passage in any ancient author. *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. v., part i., p. 537, sq., s.v. *Anauni* (*Val di Non*), no. 5050, *tabula ahenea integra* . . . alta centim. 50, larga c. 38, crassa 5 millim., optime scripta. *Reperta* est d. 29, Apr., 1869. . . . Jam extat Tridenti in Curia (Hôtel de Ville). The date is March 15th, A.D. 46. I quote lines 5 and 6, because they prove that the following words were uttered by the emperor himself:

TI . CLAUDIVS . CAESAR . AVGVSTVS

GERMANICVS . PONT . MAXIM . TRIB
POTEST . VI . IMP . XI . P . P . COS . DESIG-
NATVS IIII . DICIT .

The Val di Non is due north of Trent, on the right of the Adige (Athesis); see the map at the end of vol. v., part ii., of C. I. L. Nonsberg is marked in Baedeker's Guide for South Germany, *Karte* (21) *der Adamello-Presanella u. Brenta-Alpen, des Nons-u. Sulzbergs*, &c., pp. 398. 399, edit. 1876.

For the Mosaic of the Games it would be well to consult Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Antiqq., Gr. et Rom., Art. Circus*, t. i., 2^{ème} partie, pp. 1187-1201, figs. 1520-1523.

¹ Cæsar, *Bell. Gall. lib. VII.*, cap. 9. Vercingetorix continues to be a household word, and his fame is perpetuated by traditions in other parts of France; legends about him are handed down from one generation to another, and children are named after him, but naturally the Auvergnats show a special affection for the memory of their ancient chief. He was the ablest general among the Gauls; his movements and exploits are recorded by his great adversary in the book of the Commentaries cited above. For the etymology comp. Vercobius,

served at Lyons (Table de Claude), calls Vienne "ornatissimam valentissimamque coloniam." This inscription is remarkable, because it gives us an opportunity of comparing the speech put into the Emperor's mouth by Tacitus with the one actually delivered. As the classical scholar knows, such a case very rarely occurs.¹ The same writer, recording in the first book of his Histories the events of a later period, says that the old enmity between Lyons and Vienne was rekindled by the civil war in which they took opposite sides; on this occasion the latter city narrowly escaped destruction, and never fully recovered.² But from allusions in Martial, who flourished under Domitian, we infer that it still enjoyed a considerable measure of commercial prosperity, and had an educated public that could appreciate literary merit. Epigrams, vii, 88.

Fertur habere meos, si vera est fama, libellos

Inter delicias pulcra Vienna suas.

Me legit omnis ibi senior juvenisque puerque,

Et coram tetrico casta puella viro. (3)

Vernemetis, Verbigenus, Vercassivellaunus, Verucloetius var. lect. Verudoctius, Cæsar, B. G., I., 7, edit. Oudendorp: C. W. Glück, *Die bei Caius Julius Cæsar vorkommenden Keltischen Namen in ihrer Echtheit festgestellt und erläutert*, p. 75, note 2, pp. 167-184, and note p. 182 (Irish *cing. fortis*).

¹ Tacitus, edit. Orelli, vol. i., p. 363, Excursus II ad Annalium, lib. XI, cap. 24, *Claudii Imperatoris Orationis quæ supersunt*, with notes, one of them on the strange apostrophe with which Claudius (*homo ineptus atque absurdus*) addresses himself. Edit. Lipsius, fol. p. 176 sq., has the speech as given by Tacitus, with notes; and pp. 528-530 an excursus (*Pagina prima, Pagina secunda*), the fragment at Lyons in Roman capitals, so that its appearance closely resembles the letters engraved on the bronze. It has been published separately by Zell, with annotations; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. v., p. 496.

Even a careless reader will observe a striking contrast between the Speech on the Bronze Tablet and that composed by Tacitus; the former is characteristic of Claudius—replete with antiquarian details, but rambling and almost incoherent; the latter excels the original, whether we regard the thought or the style; it is brief, rhetorical and well-

reasoned. The subject is the admission of Gaulish nobles into the Senate, by giving them the "jus adipiscendorum in urbe honorum" (Tacitus, *loc. citat.*, cap. 23); in reply to the arguments of opponents the Emperor strongly recommends this measure. He might be expected to do so, being a native of Gaul, born at Lugdunum on the day when the altar was dedicated there to Augustus. Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, cap. 2: Strabo, IV., 3, § 2, ἔστι δὲ βωμος ἀξιόλογος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων τῶν ἰθῶν ἐξηκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἑκάστων τούτων ἑκάστου μία; Juvenal, Sat. I., v. 44.

Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram, with Rupert's note and references. The inhabitants of the city, out of gratitude, engraved on a bronze tablet the words in which their imperial fellow-townsmen had pleaded the cause of their compatriots, and have thus preserved them for posterity.

² *Loc. citat.*, cap. 65, Veterem inter Lugdunenses et Viennenses discordium proximum bellum accenderat. Cap. 66, publice tamen armis multati, privati et promiscuis copiis juvere militem.

³ The epithet *pulchra* is confirmed by the numerous works of art found at Vienne. Mosaics abounded to such a degree that the city is said to have been paved with them. Its importance is testified by Strabo IV, 1, § 11,

Turning from heathen to Christian writers, we shall find that at more than one point the Annals of Vienne touch the history of the Church. There was an ancient tradition that Pontius Pilate was sent thither into banishment, and died by his own hand.¹ Many local legends perpetuate his memory. The Temple of Augustus and Livia was called in the middle ages *pomoerium Pilati*, and the red globe then placed on its summit *pomum Pilati*, as if it represented the ball on his sceptre. With strange contradiction, which however the populace accepted, some said that the Pyramid still standing was his tomb; while, according to others, his corpse was flung into the Rhône, the river withdrew from this polluting contact, and at last by order of St. Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, demons carried the carcass to the top of Mont Pilat.²

These fables melt away into insignificance, when compared with the authentic narrative of the persecution of the Christians by Marcus Aurelius in the seventeenth year of his reign.³ At first sight we cannot but be astonished

who informs us that it was the capital of the Allobroges (Οὐνέναν τὴν τῶν Ἀλλοβρόγων μητρόπολιν), a powerful nation which at one time could send many thousand soldiers into the field (μυριάσι πολλαῖς). Their territory extended from the Isère (Isara) to the Rhône (Rhodanus), including Geneva and Cularo, afterwards Gratianopolis, whence the modern name Grenoble is derived. Cularo occurs in the Table of Peutinger, Segm., ii., a Culabone (*sic*), and in the *Notitia Imperii Occidentis*, cap. xl., § 2, p. 118, ed. Bocking. [4] *Tribunus Cohortis Primæ Flaviæ Sapaudiae Calaronæ*; Annot., pp. 244*, 1017* sq. The Table has Vigenna for Vienna. It has been inserted in the date of a letter by Plancus: *Cicero, Ad Familiares*, X, 23, fin., Graevius and Orelli having adopted the conjecture of Sirmond.

The last line in the above quotation is contrary to the general opinion about Martial's writings and to his own words, I., iv., 8.

Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba: but an ancient Roman, living in a voluptuous age, must not be estimated by a Christian standard. Moreover, the rules of social propriety have not been uniform at all periods. Martial says that a chaste young wife reads his poems to a

strict husband; so the pious Dr. Doddridge saw nothing wrong in reading aloud to ladies a novel that would now be considered indelicate.

¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, book I., chap. vii. This same Pilate . . . fell into such calamities that he was forced to become his own murderer, and the avenger of his own wickedness.

Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, was accused of tyranny and cruelty by the Jews; he also was exiled to Vienne where he died. Knowing his character, Joseph was afraid to return with the infant Christ into Judæa, Matthew, II, 22. Our Lord is supposed to have referred to him in the parable of the ten pounds, λαβεῖν ἑαυτῷ βασιλείαν καὶ υποστρεφαι: Luke, xix, 12. Comp. Strabo, XVI., ii., § 46, οὐ μέντοι ἐντύχυσαν οἱ παῖδες (τοῦ Ἡρώδου) ἀλλ' ἐν αἰτίαις ἐγένοντο καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν φύγῃ διετέλεσε παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλόβριξιν Γαλάταις λαβὼν οἴκησιν.

² Bazin, *op. citat.*, p. 41.

³ This narrative is contained in a letter preserved by Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. V, cap. 1; and it is pleasing to observe that some at least of the inhabitants of the two cities, whose long-continued enmity I have already mentioned, were now united by Christianity in the bonds of fraternal sympathy. The salu-

that the best of the Roman Emperors—the noblest product of the Stoic philosophy—should have surpassed his predecessors in cruelty towards his inoffensive subjects, and inflicted on them sufferings for which the epithets “horrible” and “heart-rending” are not too strong. But we should not judge him too harshly; the Marcomannic War, which was a struggle for national existence rather than a fight for victory, had just broken out, and Aurelius, as a statesman, might think it a prudent course to excite in the Roman people enthusiasm for the ancient religion, and to crush, if possible, a new creed that was antagonistic, and threatened to subvert it.¹

Lastly, St. Mamertus, A.D. 452, instituted a procession

tation prefixed is as follows: “The servants of Christ dwelling at Lyons and Vienne, in Gaul, to those brethren in Asia and Phrygia, having the same faith and hope with us, peace, grace and glory from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord.” Translation by the Rev. C. F. Cruise, in Boln’s *Ecclesiastical Library*, pp. 157–168. *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xix, pp. 162–168, 2 June, Passio Sanctorum xlviii Martyrum Lugdun. Among the sufferers Potlinus, bishop of Lyons, ninety years of age when he died in prison, and Blandina, a servant maid, are specially conspicuous. For the former see cap. ii., § 9, p. 164; for the latter, cap. i., § 5, ii., §§ 7, 12 and esp. iii., § 16, pp. 162, 163, 166. Inde etiam aliud excogitatur crudelitatis genus, ut rete constricta objiceretur tauro ferociter instigato: Epistola Lugdunensium et Viennensium . . . Latine reddita a Rufino (contemporary and opponent of Jerome). Hence she is represented in works of art entangled in a net, e.g., in a stained glass window of the church of Great St. Mary, Cambridge. A suburb of Vienne still bears the name of the canonized martyr, Ste. Blandine.

Sepulchral monuments also bear witness to the history of the church at Lyons: see Edmond Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, t. i., pp. 41, 92, 144; t. ii., pp. 549, 553, quoted by Bazin, *op. citat.*, pp. 320–323. Many faults in the Latinity will be at once apparent.

¹ Merivale, chap. lxxviii, vol. vii, pp. 582–612 sq., 8vo. edition, has hardly done justice, I think, either to this critical period, or to the principal per-

sonage in it. The only excuse I can imagine is the weariness that creeps on an author’s mind towards the close of a laborious work: Horace, *Ars Poetica*, v. 360.

Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum (so Bentley for *opere in longo*, see his note). How terrible this emergency was, we see from the measures which Aurelius took to meet a contest *pro aris et focis*; he armed slaves (as had been done in the Punic War) and gladiators, enlisted brigands, and sold the furniture of the palace by public auction, for the Empire was menaced by a confederacy of the Northern nations extending from Gaul to the Illyrian frontier. Capitulinus, Marci Antonini Philosophi Vita, cc. 21 and 22. See my paper on the *Antiquities of Augsburg and Ratisbon*, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xlviii, p. 400 and comp. p. 403 sq., text and notes. To the first extract there given from the Augustan history add the following: in qua (auctione) præter vestes et pocula et vasa aurea etiam signa cum tabulis magnorum artificum vendidit.

Some have doubted “the fact of an actual league among tribes so many, so various, and so distant,” the nations mentioned by the ancient historians being of German, Sarmatian, and Scythian origin: Merivale, *ibid.*, p. 584.

The character of Aurelius is drawn by his biographer, *op. citat.*, cap. 1, M. Antonino, in omni vita philosophanti viro, et qui sanctitate vitæ omnibus principibus antecellit. cap. 4, cum frugi esset sine contumacia, verecundus sine ignavia, sine tristitia gravis.

and prescribed some special forms of prayer on account of an earthquake that injured the city, and a storm of lightning that destroyed the royal palace; and thus he originated rogation days—an observance still retained by the Church of England as a time of fasting or abstinence immediately before Holy Thursday or the Ascension of our Lord.¹

Of the monuments above ground at Vienne two are far more conspicuous than any others—the Augustæum and the Pyramid already mentioned—and of these the former only possesses a genuine historical interest. It would be best understood if considered in connection with the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pola, and the Maison Carrée at Nîmes.² As in these edifices, the order is Corinthian. An inscription below the tympanum, on the frieze and part of the architrave, has been deciphered by a careful examination of the holes made to attach the bronze letters to the stone.

DIVO AVGVSTO

OPTIMO MAXIMO

ET DIVAE

AVGVSTAE

“To the deified Augustus, best and greatest, and to the deified Augusta.”

We may notice the appellations OPTIMVS MAXIMVS; Augustus seems thereby to be placed on a level with the supreme deity, the Father of gods and men, whereas Horace speaks of him as only the vicegerent of Jupiter. Odes I, xii, 49–52,

Gentis humanae pater atque custos,
Orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
Caesaris fatis data: tu, secundo
Caesare, regnes.

¹ Nouvelle Biographie Générale. A l'occasion de divers fleaux qui affligèrent la ville de Vienne, St. Mamert établit les Rogations. . . . Des le commencement du 6^{me} siècle cette cérémonie s'observait dans presque tout le monde Chrétien: Acta Sanctorum May 11. He is not to be confounded with Claudian Ecdicius Mamertus, his brother, an orator and poet: Sidonius Apollinaris,

Epistles, v., 14; vii., 1. See the Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, s.v. Rogation Days.

² For the purpose of comparison I exhibited a photograph of the Maison Carrée, a collotype of the temple at Pola appeared in my Paper on that city and Aquileia in the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xlix, facing p. 241.

I have followed in my account of the inscription, M. Hippolyte Bazin's useful work, "Vienne et Lyon Gallo-Romains," which forms part of the series *Villes Antiques*,¹ but it is only fair to add that by consulting the twelfth volume of the "*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*," edit. Hirschfeld, p. 228, No. 1845, I find that the holes remaining in the entablature and the spaces between them (of which a fac-simile is engraved) do not quite correspond with the letters of the words as given above; but the history of the times and the analogies supplied by contemporary edifices support this interpretation with a high degree of probability. The case is not so clear as at Pola, though in that temple also the difficulties have caused a great variety of readings. For the present, Hirschfeld says we must be content to wait, and hope that some learned man will examine the holes again, and ascertain the words of which the former line consisted.

At Vienne the *cella*, or shrine containing the image of the divinity, does not advance beyond the second intercolumniation, hence the *pronaos*, or forecourt, is disproportionately long, which also occurs at Pola;² moreover, Augustus is associated with a female personage.³ Thus the dimensions and the objects of adoration in both these sanctuaries are similar. In a previous memoir I have dwelt on the worship of the Emperor as superseding the old mythology, so that it is unnecessary to do more than call attention to the fact that here we seem to have

¹ This series, I believe, is still incomplete. Last October, Mons. Babelon, Conservateur du Cabinet des Medailles de la Bibliotheque Nationale, informed me that the volume on Arles had not yet appeared.

² The position of the Cella is here, as usual, behind the *pronaos* and on a level with it; but it was not always so placed, sometimes it was below, as for instance in the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, under the columns that formed the Pteron; which Mr. Oldfield showed to be the case, I think conclusively, when he read a Paper on this subject before the Society of Antiquaries, June, 1893.

³ Augusta mentioned above is, of

course, Livia, the consort of Augustus. Her coins, of which Cohen, *Medailles Imperiales*, vol. i., gives an example, are remarkable for the skilful treatment of the head-dress, which hangs in graceful folds. It reminds me by contrast with her present Majesty's head on our recent coinage, where we see a clumsy combination of crown and drapery. The Greek potter inscribed his name on a shapely vase, and it bore the artist's fame to distant lands (comp. Acts of the Apostles, ix., 15, *Σκευος ἐκλογης ἐστὶν μοι οὗτος τοῦ βαστάσαι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐνώπιον ἰθὺν τε καὶ βασιλέων νῦν τε Ἰσραήλ*). On the contrary, these tasteless products of our Mint will carry disgrace to our nation, wheresoever they circulate.



TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS AND LIVIA, VIENNE.

fresh evidence, showing how widely that cult had extended.¹

This temple, like many others, is not seen to advantage, because the modern houses are too close. Doubtless it originally stood surrounded by colonnades, with the open space of the forum in front of it.² If we would form a correct idea of an ancient building, its accessories and environment must be supplied in thought, and that too rather by reasoning than by imagination. Thus we may in many instances be enabled to discover what was unknown before.

On comparing the Augustæum at Vienne with the Maison Carrée at Nîmes many points of difference may be observed. The former is considerably smaller, having the dimensions 27 mètres long, 15. mètres wide, and rather more than 17 mètres high; all the columns are detached, and the style is marked by great simplicity, as the cornice wants dentils and the frieze is plain, which makes a great contrast with the rich scroll-work and profusion of ornament at Nîmes.³ There we trace the change from the purity of earlier architecture to the overloaded decoration that marks the decline of art in the Antonine Age.

I exhibit a photograph of the temple which shows the portico and the columns and pilasters on the sides; the "Congrès Archéologique de France, XLVI^e Session," p. 432, Séances tenues à Vienne en 1879, contains a heliograph

¹ The decline of the old national religion prepared the way for the worship not only of the Emperor, but also of Oriental deities, both in the capital and the provinces. Jabornegg-Altenfels, *Karntens römische Alterthümer*, p. 118, Da sich die römische Gotterlehre in der Kaiserzeit überlebt hatte und die religiösen Einrichtungen dem römischen Volke keinen sichern Anhaltspunkt mehr gewahrten, so suchte man durch Erweiterung des cultus nach Aussen zu ersetzen, was die Staatsreligion nicht mehr zu bieten vermochte. Daher fanden die fremden Culte des Dolichenus—, Mythras—, Bel oder Belenus—und des Isisdienstes nicht nur in Rom, sondern auch in den römischen Provinzen allenthalben Aufnahme.

² At present the upper part of the reliefs on Trajan's Column at Rome are

too far above the plane of the spectator's eye, but when it was erected they could be well seen from the roofs of porticoes in the Forum. Napoleon's Column in the Place Vendôme at Paris has not this advantage, and therefore the effect of the copy, as usual, falls short of the original design. Milton's sublime poetry is a striking exception to the rule, for he, perhaps he alone, has imitated and improved upon the ancients. The division of the ancient pillar into two parts at the South Kensington Museum of course makes the sculptures more easily visible.

³ Though the tympanum is now only a triangular space, it was once embellished with bronze figures, which is proved by traces of the cramps (*scellément*) that attached them to it.

taken from an opposite direction in which the *cella* is better represented; the two combined supply all the information which this kind of illustration can be expected to afford.¹

As I have already said, the Pyramid, vulgarly called L'Aiguille, has no genuine history connected with it. The monument stands on level ground, near the South side of the city, between the old high road and modern railway to Marseille on the one hand, and the river Rhône on the other. Various opinions have been entertained concerning its destination; many thought it was sepulchral, and Chorier in the title of *Chapitre III, Livre IV*, pp. 343-347, nouvelle edition, 1828, called it *Cénotaphe de l'empereur Auguste*; but Schneyder (*ibid.*, note I, p. 346), from the style of architecture and circumstances mentioned by Lampridius, inferred that it was more likely to have been erected in honour of Alexander Severus.² Chorier was born at Vienne, and flourished in the seventeenth century, his life extending from 1609 to 1692. He is one of the principal authorities for the antiquities of his native city, but, like many of the earlier scholars, equally learned and rash. From the dedication of a temple to Augustus, he seems to have jumped to the conclusion that the Pyramid also was a memorial of him.³

It is now generally considered to have been one of the ornaments that decorated the interior of the circus, and to

¹ *Description du Musée de Vienne* (Isère), précédée de recherches historiques sur le Temple d'Auguste et de Livie, par M. T.-C. Delorme . . . et ornée de neuf lithographies, pp. 316, 8vo, 1841. Pages 4 to 120 are devoted to the temple; the rest of the work is occupied by a catalogue raisonné of the antiquities found up to the date of publication. For a continuation of it I must refer to the Report of the Congrès above mentioned, pp. 17-60; *Les découvertes faites à Vienne depuis l'année 1841 jusqu'à ce jour*, par M. J. Leblanc; and pp. 60-72, *Fouilles archéologiques opérées à Vienne pendant les années 1875, 1876, et 1877*, par M. J. Leblanc.

² Chorier, note by the recent editor, loc. citat., Lampride raconte que la

mort de ce prince causa une douleur universelle dans tout l'empire, et qu'on lui dressa un cenotaphe dans les Gaules. Le genre d'architecture adopté semble plutôt appartenir au règne d'Alexandre Sévère, qu'au brillant siècle d'Auguste, la circonstance même que les chapiteaux des colonnes n'ont point été terminés, appuie cette conjecture: on sait que Maximien, son successeur, affecta d'abord d'approuver les honneurs qu'on rendait à sa mémoire, mais qu'il ne tarda pas à manifester des sentimens contraires.

³ On the title page of the new edition of Chorier, it is said to be Conforme à celle de 1659, Revue corrigée et considérablement augmentée des Inscriptions et Antiques trouvées jusqu'à ce jour. Ornée de figures.



THE PYRAMID, VIENNE.

have occupied a central position in the *Spina*, a wall which traversed the length of the arena and divided it into two equal parts.¹ The inference is drawn from excavations made in 1847, 1851, and 1853; they brought to light a mass of masonry, elliptic in form, supporting stone seats (*gradins*) rising one above another. If this view is correct, the Pyramid here would be analogous to the Obelisk at Rome in the Piazza del Popolo, formerly in the Circus Maximus, and to another much nearer Vienne, at Arles, in the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, brought from a quarry in the Estrelles, near Frejus, which was worked by the Romans. On the other hand, M. Cornillon, the *archiviste* and local antiquary, told me that in his opinion the objects found in the immediate neighbourhood were insufficient to justify such an attribution. Some have gone further, and doubted whether the monument is ancient at all.

We often have occasion to remark that coins and medals, notwithstanding their minute dimensions, illustrate buildings and statues of colossal size; so here, a gem engraved on a large scale, in Gori's Museum Florentinum, represents not only the chariot-race, but also the *Spina* with obelisks, columns and conical pillars (*metæ*).² But a mosaic pavement at Lyons suits our purpose still better; it is one of the finest that have ever been discovered, forming a grand rectangular picture, which contains eight groups of horsemen and charioteers, as well as many details—amongst them the gates whence the chariots started. For a description of it see the Catalogue Sommaire des Musées de la Ville de Lyon, p. 132, No. 9.³

¹ Besides the articles and illustrations in the Dictionaries of Smith (3rd edition), Dairemberg and Saglio, and Baumeister, the Rev. C. W. King's *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii., Plates and Explanations, may be consulted with advantage.

² Gori's great work, a cumbrous folio, is very useful, and almost indispensable to the classical archæologist, but his interpretations must not be accepted implicitly. Bottiger criticizes his account of a famous cameo in the Florentine Collection—The Graces adorning Venus—see Sabina, Zweyte Beylage zur Zweyten Szene in dem Putzzimmer

einer Romerin. Text, pp. 180–184, and Remarks (Anmerkungen), pp. 193–197.

³ Le char du premier groupe est déjà fracassé; à gauche, s'élève la tribune réservée aux spectateurs privilégiés, et une loge où se trouvent trois personnages désignés pour juger la course et decerner le prix au vainqueur. . . . Ce tableau est entouré d'un encadrement tressé et d'une large bordure ornée de riches rinceaux partant d'un vase placé du côté de la tribune et se terminant par un ornement palme du côté opposé.

With this design we may compare a stone built into a wall (*eingemauert*) of the church of Maria Saal, near Zollfeld

The pyramid, which is devoid of ornament, rests on a square base or pedestal of large stones divided by four arches, one on each side. A column at each corner supports the entablature; their capitals are only rough-hewn, and this gives the structure an appearance of being unfinished. Its total height is 23 mètres, 25 centimètres. A good engraving of it is prefixed as a frontispiece to Chorier's *Recherches sur les Antiquités de Vienne*.¹

Next to the temple and pyramid, the double arcade of the Forum deserves our attention; but, unlike the monuments previously described, which are altogether detached, the remains are enclosed and, as it were, stifled by modern houses, so that it is impossible to obtain a good view of them. These arches are not far distant from the temple of Augustus and Livia, because the latter building occupied the middle of the Western side of the Forum, which was 120 mètres long and 75 mètres wide. The larger arches decorated the interior, and the smaller spanned a *portique d'enceinte*. From the semicircular form and Corinthian pilasters we perceive unmistakably that the architecture is Roman.²

Of the other buildings belonging to the Gallo-Roman period much need not be said here. Successive generations of antiquaries from Chorier downwards have laboriously studied the localities and the fragments still existing upon them; but unfortunately little is left nowadays to satisfy the liberal curiosity of the learned traveller.

in Carinthia. Ein Weinlaubgewinde, das aus einer Vase emporwachst, zu beiden Seiten dieser letzteren zwei auf den Hinterfüßen sitzende Leoparden mit Trinkhörnern in ihren Vordertatzen; *Jabornegg-Altenfels, Karntens römische Alterthümer*, p. 67, No. cxli., Tafel 4; and see Gilbert and Churchill, *The Dolomite Mountains*, p. 484, sq. In the walls of the church are inserted numerous slabs and reliefs, remains from the Roman city, whose Pagan devices appear in odd association with Christian emblems.

¹ Bazin, op. citat., Chapitre Cinquième, L'Aiguille et le Cirque.

Traditions populaires sur le


monument p. 41

Sa destination véritable p. 42

Son aspect architectural p. 42

² Bazin, chap. IV^{ème}, p. 35, has an engraving prefixed, L'Arcade du Forum; I also exhibited a photo. of it. For the position of the Forum see the Plan Archeologique de Vienne, facing p. 176. In the accompanying description (Legende) the antiquities still existing are marked in capitals, and the Roman roads are indicated. The *Congrès Archeologique de France*, XLVI^e Session, 1879, contains Plan d'ensemble des fortifications de la Ville de Vienne sous la domination romaine, facing p. 440.

From an inscription restored by M. Allmer,—

imperator . caesar . divi filius . augustus
cos . tribu NICIA . POTestate  *mVROS PORTAS que*
coloniae dat

we learn that Augustus built the walls and gates of Vienne; and probably the citadel should be referred to the same date.¹

The latter occupied the summit of Mont Pipet; and anyone who has visited Vienne can see at a glance that the site was well chosen. It is a commanding elevation, immediately above the town, whence the eye follows with delight the broad river winding between vine-clad hills, or rests with equal pleasure on the ridges of Mont Pilat, especially when lighted up by the rays of the setting sun.² But while the position was thus admirably suited for a fortress, on the other hand the soil was crumbling and liable to land-slips. The Roman engineers overcame this difficulty by constructing rows of arches, rising in storeys one above another, and walls of great thickness where it was necessary. Of the solidity of their work proof still remains; at some parts the thrust of the earth has made the outline of the fortifications slightly convex, but the fabric has not been disintegrated. On this hill instead of a castle now stands a chapel; but the most conspicuous object is a colossal figure of the Virgin Mary, so that one is reminded of "apostolic statues" at Rome,

¹ Bazin, p. 22, § 2, Les lettres, grandes de 0 m. 30, étaient gravées profondément sur la partie latérale de deux sarcophages. Ceux-ci avaient été, à une époque postérieure, creusés dans la frise monumentale d'une des portes de Vienne.

M. Allmer ranks high among the French archaeologists. His book is entitled *Inscriptions Antiques et du Moyen Âge de Vienne en Dauphiné*, par A. Allmer et Alfred de Terrebasse, 6 vols., 8vo, 1875. *Première Partie, Inscriptions Antiques Antérieures au VIII^e siècle*, par A. Allmer. *Deuxième Partie, Inscriptions du Moyen Âge Antérieures au XVII^e siècle*, par Alfred de Terrebasse. The introduction shows the extent of the work and the pains

that have been bestowed upon its compilation. It ends with an extract from the Report by M. Adrien de Longperier, in which he says of M. Allmer, "son recueil est le plus considérable et le plus avance en doctrine qui ait été publié pour les inscriptions de la Gaule." In a science so difficult as Epigraphy mistakes must occur, but the merits of the work are unquestionable.

Comp. *Journal des Savants*, Sept^{re}. 1894, pp. 559-569. Art. by M. Camille Julian, *Inscriptions du Musée de Lyon*.

² The photograph by M. Terrier, a local artist, gives a good representation of Mont Pipet; it also includes a part of the town, the quay and the River Rhone.

which climb on the columns erected in honour of Trajan and Aurelius.¹

The Amphitheatre was on the West side of Mont Pipet, and the excavations of the year 1847 determined the site exactly. A semicircular hollow in this place can be seen, as well as some vestiges of masonry, the lower parts of piers that supported the benches, and a vaulted gallery that follows the elliptic form of the arena. From numerous fragments, some of which are preserved in the Museum, we ascertain that the exterior was richly decorated. Marbles of different colours were employed in the columns—white for the bases and capitals, giallo antico and cipollino for the shafts. There was also a great variety of sculptural ornaments in the frieze, cornices and architraves—the thyrsus and fillets, animals, oak-leaves and acorns.²

¹ The citadel (*arx*) must be carefully distinguished from the walls enclosing the town (*oppidum*). The latter word seems to mean what is on the plain, which in Greek is expressed by *ἐν πλάνῳ*. So we have the adverb *oppido*—quite, altogether—equivalent to *plane*, literally *flatly*—the primary meaning in both cases being similar.

In the *Congrès Archeol.*, cited above, pp. 436–448, there is an interesting article entitled *Note sur les Remparts Romains de Vienne*, par M. le commandant de Rochas (Chef de bataillon du génie). He calls attention to the contracted space within the mediæval fortifications as compared with the Roman, and explains the reason of it. When Julius Cæsar was subjugating Gaul, he made Vienne a basis of military operations for defending the province, and occupied the heights above the town with entrenched camps that accommodated his legions. But in the Middle Ages the decentralisation of political power became complete; each strong place had only to protect itself, instead of being a centre from which the action of the Imperial troops could radiate in all directions.

The ancient engineers frequently constructed their gates with an interior fore-court, as at Treves; hence the assailing found himself, as it were, imprisoned when he had forced his way through the first opening. Now in one

instance, marked F on the plan previously mentioned, this enclosure was so arranged that the besieger, whose left side was protected by a shield, would have the right exposed to the weapons of the besieged, while the latter would be sheltered by the wall. This precaution was not taken where the fortifications were carried along the ridge of steep hills that form the ravine through which the little river Gere flows. Two towers from which missiles could be discharged, one on each side of the gate marked C, like the *propugnacula* at Treves or Ratisbon, would cover the advance and retreat of the garrison when they made a sortie.

² Delorme in his *Description des Objets Antiques du Musée*, pp. 121–268, gives a good idea of this class of remains; e.g., No. 3, Fragment d'une corniche en marbre blanc; 4, Trois beaux fragments de frises richement ornées; 15, Fragment d'une belle corniche . . . d'un ordre Corinthien, avec modillons et rosaces variés; and lithograph facing p. 145. Comp. *Congrès Archeol.*, ubi supra, *Les Découvertes faites à Vienne depuis l'année 1841 jusqu'à ce jour*, par M. J. Leblanc, pp. 17–60; esp. p. 44, Frise antique . . . ornée d'animaux sculptés en bas-reliefs: ce sont deux boucs, une chèvre, un taureau. Thus we see the propriety of the Greek name of a frieze, *ζωοφόρος*, *ζωοφόρος*, bearing animals (*ζῷον*, *φέρω*), and, in a secondary sense, figures of



WOODEN CANNON IN THE BATTERIES BEFORE BOULOGNE. FROM AN ENGRAVING
OF A DESTROYED PICTURE IN COWDRAY HOUSE.

Archaeological Journal.

Volume LXV, No. 260.

Owing to an unfortunate error, the plates facing pages 265 and 280 have been misplaced.

A fresh sheet with the plates in their proper position is sent herewith, and in binding the Journal, this sheet should be substituted for the incorrect ones sent out in the Journal.

THE JOURNAL OF

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AN ENGLISH ARMY ON THE MARCH IN IRELAND, 1586. FROM DERRICKE'S "IMAGE OF IRELAND," PL. 8.

If the visitor expects to see at Vienne lofty arches of aqueducts, like those at Metz or Nîmes, or those that radiate across the Roman Campagna, he will be greatly disappointed. Here the water is carried in subterranean channels along the left bank of the Gère. They are parallel to each other, and the most considerable is 2 mètres broad. As is the case in many other places, some are still in use.¹ One of them is commemorated by the following inscription—

Q . GELLIVS . L . FIL . VOLT . CAPELLA . III VIR . D . SVLPICIVS . D .
 FIL . VOLT . CENSOR . AEDILIS . III VIR . AQVAS . NOVAS .
 ITINERAQVE . AQVARVM . PER . SVOS . FVNDOS . COLONIS .
 VIENNENSIVM . DONAVERVNT

“Quintus Gellius Capella, son of Lucius, of the Voltinian tribe,² quatuorvir, and Decimus Sulpicius Censor, son of Decimus, of the Voltinian tribe, ædile and quatuorvir, gave to the colonists of Vienne new supplies of water and conduits for the water through their estates.”

These benefactors had no intention of hiding their light under a bushel, for they repeated this epigraph eight times in the course of the aqueduct: nor is this all, Sulpicia, daughter of Decimus, left by her will 50,000 sesterces (about £400) *ad eos titulos tuendos*—to preserve the characters in perpetuity.³

animals; the word has nearly the same meaning as ὁ ζωδιακός (κύκλος), vide the lexicons of Liddell and Scott, and of De Vit, who defines the position of zoophorus, with a reference to Vitruvius II, v, 10, supra epistylum, quarta parte minor quam epistylum.

¹ The most remarkable example I remember of an ancient aqueduct now in use is that of Segovia in Old Castile: Laborde, *View of Spain*, English Translation, vol. iii., p. 38 sq. “It terminates at the Alcazar, after having distributed the greater part of the water through different quarters of the town.” Ford’s *Handbook for Spain*, revised and corrected, 8th edition, 1892, Part I, p. 90. Vivian’s *Spanish Scenery*, folio, has two views of Segovia, Nos. xii and xiv; neither shows the aqueduct which must be a striking feature in the scenery.

² Voltinia occurs in Cicero’s *Oration pro Plancio*, cap. xvi., § 38, where four other tribes also are mentioned. “At Voltiniam . . . hanc igitur ipsam cur non edidisti? Quid Plancio cum Lemonia? quid cum Ufentina? quid cum Crusturnina? Nam Maeciam, non quae judicaret, sed quae rejiceretur esse voluisti. Smith’s *Dict. of Classical Anti.*, 3rd edition, vol. ii, p. 880. Niebuhr, *Roman History*, English Translation, vol. i, p. 419, note 977.

³ The Inscriptions as given by Bazin have been restored partly by conjecture, partly by the collation of several copies which now exist only in a fragmentary form. C. I. L., vol. xii, *Gallia Narbonensis*, edit. Hirschfeld, Nos. 1882–1889. One of these, No. 1883, appears on the stone as follows:—

In the plain of S^{te}. Colombe, on the right side of the Rhône, stood the Palace of the Cæsars, commonly called *Palais du Miroir*. Some strange derivations have been proposed to account for this appellation,¹ but it seems most natural to suppose that it comes from the reflection caused by slabs of marble with which the walls were cased. As will be seen in the Plan Archéologique de Vienne, the ruins are not far from the abutment (culée) of the Roman bridge and a conspicuous square tower built by Philippe de Valois. Nothing now remains but substructions—a labyrinth of vaults probably intended to raise the apartments above inundations of the adjoining stream. On the other hand, as in the amphitheatre, cartloads of fragments bear witness to ancient luxury and magnificence; of the statues discovered here the crouching Venus (*accroupie*), now in the Louvre, is the most remarkable.²

No town in the South-East of France possessed so many and such beautiful mosaics as Vienne: they alone would suffice to account for the epithet *pulchra* which Martial has applied to it. The subjects are various, sometimes

IL . VOLT . CA
N SOR . AEDI
M . PER . SVOS . F
QVE . EOS . TI
CENSILLA
Expansion.

ADQVE . EOS . TITVLOS . TVENDOS . IN .
PERETVVM . SVLPICIA . D . F . CENSILLA .
N . L . TESTAMENTO . ISDEM . DONARI .
IVSSIT .

Allmer, vol. ii, n. 142, tab. 235¹, decouvert en 1853 à St. Gervais dans la tranchée pour la passage du chemin de fer. Il avait été employé dans la construction d'un puits, actuellement au Musée.

See also *Spon, Miscellanea Erudita Antiquitatis*, p. 35. Chorier, *Antiquités de la Ville de Vienne*, with Cochard's notes, edit. 1828, chap. vii, pp. 440-445. Delorme, *Description du Musée de Vienne*, No. 149, pp. 176-180. Leblanc, *Congrès Archéologique*, vol. xvi, 1879, p. 45. Any one who will take the trouble to consult these references will perceive how the text of the Inscriptions has been emended by the labours of successive generations of scholars down to the present time.

The importance of the Inscriptions relating to Vienne is shown by the space

they occupy in vol. xii of *C. I. L.*, viz., pp. 223-269, Nos. 1809-2177.

¹ Chorier, op. citat., livre ii., chap. x., p. 164. On dit que Pompee avait son palais dans Vienne, sur l'eminence que le couvent des peres capucins et la maison des peres de la compagnie de Jesus occupaient autrefois, et que sa maîtresse avait couvert la muraille du sien de ce cote, d'un grand et merveilleux cristal, à l'aide duquel Pompee lui apprenait, de moment en moment, ce qu'il voulait qu'elle sut de la force de son amour. Il leur était un fidele interprète qui leur expliquait, par certains signes concertés, les pensées que leurs paroles ne pouvaient leur porter à cette distance.

² Note by Cochard, Chorier, p. 161. Dans la salle de bains, on a trouvé deux torses remarquables par leur perfection; . . . Il paraît que cette divinité tenait sur ses genoux l'Amour, du moins on le juge ainsi, d'une petite main que l'on voit appliquée sur le dos de la figure principale. L'autre torse parfaitement drapé, est d'une femme que l'on croit être Hygie.

Comp. *Congrès Archéol. de France à Vienne, en 1879, Le Palais du Miroir*, par M. J. Leblanc, pp. 105-112.

taken from nature and embellished by the artist's imagination, at others borrowed from poetry and mythology.¹ For the present I shall be content to describe one, which, having been recently excavated, may be a novelty to most English antiquaries.

¹ Delorme, p. 235 sq., describes a Mosaic of the Ocean, with an engraving. The head of the deity is represented in a central medallion, which is surrounded by four semi-circular compartments, each containing a dolphin; quarters of circles at the corners are filled by canthari (vases with two handles), and the intervals, like spandrils, between these spaces are occupied by rosettes.

Marine subjects are frequent in mosaics, though the Romans were not a nautical and trading people, and they

occur even in places remote from the sea, *e.g.*, Darmstadt, and Jurançon near Pau; *vide* my Papers on the Middle Rhine and on the South-West of France, and Delorme, No. 236 bis., p. 241 sq. Other designs found at Vienne are Achilles at the Court of Lycomedes, recognised by Ulysses; Ganymede carried away by Jupiter metamorphosed into an eagle; and Orpheus playing on the lyre, surrounded by birds and quadrupeds. *Congrès*, loc. citat., p. 111.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF VIENNE.

(continued from p. 267.)

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

This mosaic was recently found in the suburb of Sainte Colombe, which is easily reached in a short walk from the principal hotel by crossing the bridge.¹ There were originally 40 square compartments, measuring 59 centimètres on each side, surrounded by a cable pattern of seven colours (*torsade*). The whole pavement formed a rectangle, 8·86 mètres long and 4·48 mètres broad, *i.e.* about $29 \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ feet. Nearly two-thirds of it, 27 compartments, still remain; but some portions have been blackened by a conflagration.² A border of beautiful scroll work encloses all the compositions, which for the most part contain two figures; but one of them has three. In this respect we may observe a coincidence with the Augsburg Mosaic, described by Welser, with a folding plate, but even at that time so dilapidated that he had no hope of its lasting for posterity to behold it. *Rerum Augustanar. Vindelicar.* Libri octo, 1594, p. 238 *seq.* On the other hand, at Reims, the gladiators Myrmillo, Retiarius, Bestiarius &c., are portrayed *singly*: Ch. Loriquet, "La Mosaïque des Promenades et autres trouvées à Reims, Étude sur les Mosaïques et sur les Jeux de l'Amphi-

¹ Bazin, whose book bears date 1891, has no account of this Mosaic, but others are noticed in *Chapitre Cinquième, Décoration des Maisons, Mosaïques et Fresques*, &c., v. esp. pp. 168-170. It is called in the *Revue Archéologique*, Troisième Série.—Tome xix, Mai-Juin, 1892, *Mosaïque de Saint-Romain-en-Gal* (Rhône), and fully described pp. 322-347 by M. Georges Lafaye, with illustrations, p. 323, *Seuil de la porte d'entrée, Ensemble de la Mosaïque*, and compartments intercalated in the text—figs. A, B, C, D, and i-ix, xv, xx-xxviii.

The female saint who has given her name to a district of Vienne on the

right bank of the Rhône, as Sainte Blandine has to another on the left, must not be confounded with Columba, Columcille, Irish by birth, but connected with Scotland by residence at Iona, which was the centre of his missionary labours in his adopted country. *Smith's Dict. of Christian Biogr.*, with references to Reeves and Montalembert's *Moines d'Occident*.

² The same injury occurred to the great Mosaic at Reims, as is shown by a photograph which I exhibited to accompany my Paper on the antiquities of that city: *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xli, pp. 105-154.

théâtre, 1862," photograph at p. 345; my Paper, § II, *Archæological Journal* Vol. XLI, pp. 114–121. This is also the case in the Baths of Caracalla; Secchi, *Il Musaico Antoniniano rappresentante la Scuola degli Atleti trasferito . . . dalle Terme di Caracalla al Palazzo Lateranese*, pp. 89, Roma, 1843, with two plates, Tav. I, Pianta della Parte media delle Terme, showing the *exedrae*¹ in which the mosaics were found; Tav. II, an engraving of the figures on a large scale. Comp. Professor J. H. Middleton, *Ancient Rome in 1885*, p. 359, who remarks that in these mosaics the coarse figures of athletes . . . are rudely executed with large *tesserae*, and usually drawn in the most clumsy and inartistic way possible.²

The monument now under consideration portrays with homely realism many rural and domestic scenes. It also offers various points of interest, whether we regard it as illustrating painting and sculpture; or compare it with other works of art executed in the same or similar materials, especially the Romano-British tessellated floors; or utilize it as a commentary on Virgil's *Georgics* and Cato and Columella, *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*.

Our attention is first attracted by a central group which consists of the Four Seasons, represented by Genii or allegorical personages, each riding on a different animal.³

¹ Exedra, ἐξήδρα, is a hall furnished with seats and used for conversation, so Cic. *de Oratore*, III, v. 17, says "in eam exhedram venisse, in qua Crassus lectulo posito recubuisse;" *De Nat. Deor.*, I, vi, 15, offendit eum sedentem in exhedra et cum C. Velleio senatore disputantem. The diminutive ἐξήδριον appears in a Cretan Inscr. C.I.G. No. 2554, line 123 sq. Cf. Cicero, *Epp. ad Familiares*, VII, xxiii, 3, Exhedria quaedam mihi nova sunt instituta in porticula Tusculani.

² *Ibid.*, p. 360. The *Tesserae* are made of glass in very brilliant colours of almost jewel-like appearance.

³ The symbolism we observe here reminds me of the *Horologium* of Andronicus Cyrhestes, usually called the Temple of the Winds, which have their names inscribed in the frieze of the entablature, e.g., ΑΠΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΚΙΑΣ ΒΟΡΕΑΣ; but they could be almost identified by the difference of dress and

accessories. See Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, folio, and the more recent publications of German authors, Hirt's *Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archäologie und Kunst*, and Rheinhardt's *Album des Klassischen Alterthums*; in the last work the engravings are coloured.

Originally the ancients divided the year into three seasons, Hirt, *Bilderb. Die Horen*, pp. 122–125; p. 123, Man stellte die Horen unter den Gestalt lieblicher Jungfrauen vor. Ursprünglich scheint man derer nur drei gekannt zu haben. p. 124, Die Menge der noch vorhandenen Monumente beweisen indess, dass der Begriff von vier Horen späterhin der herrschende ward. Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 26, Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species; heims et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent: auctumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur. Quod anglica lingua verum esse probat, qua

Winter takes the first place in the series, and naturally looks toward the north, on which side is the entrance of the apartment. He rides a wild boar, with allusion to the chase, and wears a long mantle, which he gathers closely round his person, as if shivering with cold; he carries a reed, and his crown seems to be formed from the same plant. With this compartment at Vienne we may find some analogy in a pavement of a Roman villa at Chedworth in Gloucestershire, seven miles from Cirencester, graphically described by Mr. J. W. Grover. "Winter . . . exhibiting the dress, probably of the Roman sportsman in primæval Britain. His head is enveloped in a capote or hood, similar to that worn by the head of Winter in the great Bignor pavement. Round the waist goes a belt, and below this there is a lappeted kilt. The wind appears to be blowing a loose cloak from his shoulders; in his left hand he holds a bare branch, and in his right a rabbit;" T. Morgan, *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, c. VI, pp. 69-71 & 80, with plan of the villa facing the last reference.¹

Spring is mounted on a bull, and has for his only garment a *chlamys*, like the flying drapery that adorns rather than covers some of the horsemen in the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon; see Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, Vol. I, p. 196, and engravings at pp. 190, 192, 193, 198. Nos. 37, 40, 42 and 46. The Genius is crowned with flowers; he holds in his right hand a shepherd's crook (*pedum*),² in his left a basket of flowers. Taurus, the Zodiacal sign corresponding to April, is indicated by the bull.

Summer is quite nude, and thereby denotes increasing heat; he has ears of corn in his right hand as well as on his head, in his left a sickle. He rides on a lion, which

ver, aestas, hiems Germanicis vocabulis dicuntur *spring*, *summer*, *winter*, autumnus Latine *autumn*. Duebner's note cited by Orelli *in loco*.

¹ Winter at Vienne is draped, while the other figures are naked or nearly so. *Rev. Archeol.*, *loc. citat.*, p. 326, figs. A, B, C, D.

² *Pedum* seems an appropriate attribute for Spring, as it is for Thalia, the Muse of pastoral poetry. Virgil,

Eclogue V, 88-90, not only mentions it but adds some particulars, Formosum paribus nodis atque aere. He follows, as usual, *Theocritus* vii, 43, 128, *κορύνη*, *λαγωβόλον*; the latter word properly means a staff or stick for flinging at hares: note in Conington's edition of Virgil, *loc. citat.*, and Art. s. v. *pedum* by Mr. James Yates in *Dict. Antt.*, with a woodcut from a painting found at Civita Vecchia.

represents the sign in the Zodiac for July. The crown of this Season may remind us of Shakspeare's line in *Hamlet*, Act V, Scene 2.

"As peace should still her wheaten garland wear."¹

Autumn is mounted on a tiger, probably with reference to Bacchus and the vintage; so Horace describes this animal as yoked to the car of the god, Odes, III, 3, 13, 14:—

Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuæ
Vexere tigres, indocili jugum
Collo trahentes.
Lyæus thus his tigers broke,
Fierce and indocile to the yoke,

though the ancients more frequently assigned the panther to him as an attribute, and their example has been followed in Dannecker's Ariadne at Frankfort.² The Genius carries a bow, and a basket filled with grapes and vine leaves.

On the Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome the Four Seasons appear as winged boys immediately below the Victories in the spandrels; on that of Constantine they are similar and similarly placed. See the magnificent engravings in *Rossini*, "Archi Trionfali, Pianta e Dettagli dell'Arco di Settimio Severo in Roma. 1, 2, Putti allusivi alle stagioni dalla parte che guarda il Foro Romano; 3, 4, Altri putti dalla parte che guarda il Campidoglio: *ibid.*, Medagli allusive alle stagioni, FELICIA TEMPORA." Comp. Plate entitled "Ristauro dell'Arco di Settimio Severo," which shows the position of these figures relatively to other parts of the structure. See also the Arch of Constantine in the same work.³

¹ Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 29, 30,
Fertilis frugum pecorisque Tellus
Spicea donet Cererem corona.

This crown was consecrated to Ceres, and also regarded as an emblem of peace. *Dict. Antt.* s. v. Corona sacerdotalis, and engraving of medal subjoined. It is mentioned occasionally by authors, but rare in ancient art. Another example is supplied by Ezekiel Spanheim's *Commentary on Callimachus*, edit. Graevius, Utrecht, 1697.

² Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, vol. i, p. 560, der Panther mit dem gefleckten Fell und der hitzigen sprung-

fertigen und durstigen Natur, &c. Baedeker's *Süd Deutschland und Österreich*, 16th edition, p. 6, *Stadtplan* No. 7; and *Rheinlande*, 24th edition, p. 10. In Bethmann's *Ariadneum* Dannecker's berühmte Marmorgruppe, Ariadne auf dem Panther, das Meisterwerk des Stuttgarter Bildhauers († 1841).

³ This book to a great extent supersedes previous works on the *Arcus Triumphales* of the Romans. I understand that a volume of explanatory text has been published to accompany the plates, but it is not easily procured.

Perhaps the best example of the treatment of this subject in Romano-British mosaics is to be found at *Corinium* (Cirencester). There the heads of Flora, Ceres and Pomona seem to symbolize the Seasons. The first wears a chaplet of flowers, and a swallow, "the harbinger of Spring," is perched on her left shoulder; the second has a reaping hook for an attribute, and the last is distinguished by a coronet of fruits interwoven with autumnal leaves. Winter is wanting here, but the deficiency may be supplied by a female figure in the Bignor pavement, muffled in a hooded cloak.¹

If we turn to Numismatic art, we shall find an illustration in a bronze medallion of Commodus and Annius Verus with the legends, *COMMODVS CAES VERVS CAES*, and *Rev. TEMPORUM FELICITAS*.² Four children represent the Four Seasons; the first carries a basket; the second a sickle and ears of corn; the third a basket of fruits, at the same time caressing an animal that leaps up to him; the fourth carries a rabbit. Excepting the last they are nude: Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, Vol. II, p. 608, Plate XIX.³ This engraving differs from that in Milman's *Horace*, where it is appropriately inserted in connection with the 7th Ode of the fourth book, vv. 9-12:—

Ver proterit Aestas

Interitura, simul

Pomifer Auctumnus fruges effuderit: et mox

Bruma recurrit iners.

It may be observed that in the Vienne mosaic, as in the passage of Horace, *loc. citat.*, the year is divided into Seasons. The mediæval artists, while following the traditions of classical antiquity, preferred to assign rustic occupations to their own months respectively; so in the portal of the Church of Sainte Marie at Oloron (Basses-Pyrénées) the lower of the two voussours above the tympanum is adorned with a row of figures, which

¹ Buckman and Newmarch, *Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester*, pp. 42-47, plates iii-v.

² Cf. omnino Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vii, p. 82 sq.

³ Cohen, vol. iii, p. 119, No. 421, autour du globe, quatre jeunes filles avec les attributs des quatre saisons, p. 120, No. 426. Les quatre saisons représentées par quatre enfants qui jouent.

consists of 12 pairs of agricultural labourers; see my Paper on the South-west of France, *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 30.

At Vienne there were originally four groups of subjects, each containing seven compartments, and the artist had arranged them so that each was next the Season to which it belonged. This part of the design is by far the most interesting, because it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to find in the whole range of ancient art a representation of country life so detailed, and at the same time so graphic. Beginning with Winter, we remark that only the lower portion of Compartment 7 is wanting, while all the rest are complete. The following scenes are depicted here, 1. Sowing of beans, though in this case the action cannot be determined with absolute certainty;¹ 2. Flour-mill turned by an ass;² 3. Removal of manure;³ 4. Baking bread in an oven; 5. Sacrifice offered on a tripod-altar; 6. Basket-making; 7. Two women engaged in some kind of domestic work:—

Figures II and VI illustrate Virgil, *Georgics* I, 259–267:—

Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber,
Multa, forent quæ mox cœlo properanda sereno,
Maturare datur: * * * *

Nunc facilis rubea texatur fiscina virga:
Nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo.

Similarly, Fig. III corresponds with the precept of Columella, who directs that if the sowing is to take place in the spring, heaps of manure should be put on the land in the course of the winter; lib. II, cap. XV [XVI], edit. Schneider, *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ*, tom. II, p. 113, “si vere (sementem facturus est), qualibet hiemis parte modicos

¹ Authorities differ; *Columella*, II, x, 5, Post brumam parum recte seritur, but Virgil on the contrary, *Georgics*, I, 215, Vere fabis satio. Virgil was thinking of the custom of the Mantuan district (*Pliny*, XVIII, 120). In the warmer parts of Italy beans were sown in autumn, as Varro (I, 34) and others direct. Conington's note *in loco*.

² The eyes of the ass are not covered by blinkers, but by a bandage which

ends above the nostrils; so in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi, 11, p. 121, the ass says “Velata facie propeliar ad incurva spatia.”

³ Deux paysans, vetus du manteau a capuchon (*cucullus*) qu'exige la rigueur de la saison, portent un brancard (*crates stercoraria*) et se dirigent a grands pas vers la droite Quant au hangar du fond, c'est le *sterquilinium*. *Rev. Archeol.*, loc. citat., p. 331.

acervos luna decrescente disponat." Comp. Virgil, Georgics I, 80 :—

arida tantum

Ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola.¹

Spring.—Only two compartments out of seven still exist, and even these are imperfect. VIII, Arrival of the stork. The bird is perched on a post close to the corner of a shed, and two peasants stretch out their hands towards him with joyful surprise. Like the swallow at Corinium mentioned above, the stork announces the coming of the vernal season. Virgil, *ibid.*, II, 319.

Optima vinetis satio, quum vere rubenti
Candida venit avis longis invisâ colubris.

Isidorus, Origines, XII. 7, "Ciconiæ veris nuntiae, societatis comites, serpentium hostes." If we bear in mind that the storks act as scavengers, we can understand why the men should greet their appearance so cordially.

"They are, in all the countries of the world where they occur, a privileged race on account of their utility and of the havoc they make among noxious animals." C. Knight's *Cyclopædia of Natural History*, s.v. Ciconia, Vol. I, col. 1068 *seq.*² I remember well having seen them in Holland; in England and France they are very rare.³

The stork is said to appear on the coins of Crotona, in

¹ Cato, *De Re Rustica*, xxxvii, Per hiemem stercus egerito.

² Juvenal, *Satires*, xiv, 74 :—

Serpente ciconia pullos
Nutrit, et inventa per devia rura
lacerta :

Illi eadem sumptis quærun animalia
pennis.

He mentions the stork as illustrating the force of parental example : parallel passages are cited by the Delphin editor.

³ The late Professor Key remarked that in *Juvenal* i, 115, where most editions have

Quaque salutato crepitat Concordia
nido.

perhaps *ciconia* should be read. Possibly transcribers changed it to *concordia*, *metri gratia*, on account of

irregularity in quantity, *i* in *ciconia* being usually short. Moreover, by the canon of criticism the more uncommon word should be preferred, as being less likely to have occurred to the copyist. In Persius, *Sat.* i, v. 58, the context shows that *ciconia* is used in a secondary meaning, *i.e.*, a mocking gesture with the hand like a stork's bill.

It has been suggested to me that the bird might perhaps be a flamingo. As it frequented the coasts of Spain and Italy, and those parts of France that adjoin the Mediterranean, and therefore was well known to the ancients, this conjecture does not seem improbable. Besides, we are informed that the epicures Apicius and Helioabalus prized it highly. *Juv.* xi, 139.

Bruttii; Carelli gives an instance, Numi Italiae Veteris p. 105, Tab. CLXXXV, Nos. 53, 54, κρο, "Aquila stans et respiciens," rev., "Tripus, in area spica aut ciconia;" cf. p. 102, No. 32 (lower division of the page) pone tripodes ciconia;" the difference between the eagle and the stork is clearly marked by the long neck and legs of the latter. Perhaps we see it also in Hunter's Catalogue, Tab. XXI, fig. 20, and Tab. XXII, figs. 1 and 2; Combe describes the bird as a crane, "grus stans ad sinistram, ad dextram;" however the representation is on so small a scale, that there may be some difficulty in determining which appellation is correct.¹ Dominicis agrees with Carelli, Repertorio Numismatico, Vol. I, p. 303 fin., Croton, "NOTOΨ Tripode in rilievo, accanto cicogna." He also mentions among the types of Cyzicus, Rovescio ΚΤΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ, Cicogna, *ibid.*, p. 174, but I have not been able to verify this statement by references to other authors.

Whatever doubt may exist as to the identification of the bird on Greek coins, I think there can be none in the case of the denarii belonging to the gens Caecilia at Rome. There we see the stork as the emblem of Piety, and this device agrees with the surname *Pius* in the same family. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, Vol. II, p. 1060, Metellus, No. 19, Q. Caecilius Q.F. L.N. Metellus Pius, who received this designation on account of his efforts to procure the restoration of his father from banishment.² There may also be in the legend of these coins some reference to L. Caecilius L.F. C.N. Metellus, Consul B.C. 251, in the first Punic war; *ibid.*, p. 1056; No. 1; when he was *pontifex maximus*, he lost his sight in

¹ Et Scythicae volucres et Phoenicopterus ingens, where the *amingo* occurs, in juxtaposition with pheasants, among the luxuries of the table. Martial, *Epigrams*, xiii, 71.

Dat mihi penna rubens nomen; sed lingua gulosis

Nostra sapit: quid si garrula lingua foret?

Pliny *Nat. Hist.* x, 49, s. 68, § 133, ed. Sillig. Phoenicopteri linguam præcipui saporis esse Apicius docuit

nepotum omnium altissimus gurgēs. C. Knight's *Cyclopædia of Natural History*, vol. ii, cols. 402-407.

² Orelli, *Onomasticon Tullianum*, vol. vii, p. 105, in his edition of Cicero's Works. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius, Numidici filius, A. u. c. 645, contubernio patris in Numidia militabat, annos natus circiter viginti. Sall. Jug. 64.—Metellus Pius pie luxit propter patrem Numidicum. de Or. 2, 40, 167. Hinc Pii cognomen tulit et tota familia.

rescuing the palladium from the Temple of Vesta, which was on fire. Juvenal, Satires, III, 138 :—

Servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam.
 Snatched pale Minerva from her blazing shrine.
 Gifford's Translation, vol. I, p. 108.¹

Comp. Ovid, Fasti, VI, 437-454; Cohen, Médailles Consulaires, Plate VIII, figs. 9-11, with *Eclaircissements* in Text, p. 65 *seq.*

IX, Grafting of trees. We see two men, each holding a tree ; one appears to be making an incision in the trunk ; while the other inserts a scion, or perhaps a wedge, into the cleft which has been already made, with the view of keeping it open. Virgil, *Georgics* II, 79 :—

Finditur in solidum cuneis via; deinde feraces
Plantae immittuntur.

Nos. X–XIV are wanting, but from the rustic calendars and the treatise of Columella we can easily conjecture that sheep-shearing, weeding of crops, and mowing of hay were depicted.²

Summer, XV, Sacrifice to Ceres before harvest. It takes place in front of a column surmounted by a statue of the goddess carrying a torch in her right hand. A woman holds a fillet which she is going to place on the altar, and a vase for libations stands at her feet; on the

¹ Orelli, *op. citat.*, p. 101 sq. L. Metellus, pontifex maximus, cum templum Vestæ arderet, in medios se iniecit ignes et eripuit flamma Palladium illud, quod quasi pignus nostræ salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestæ continetur; pro Scauro ii, 48: *ibid*, L. Metellus in triumpho plurimos duxit elephantos. Varro, Fragments appended to the Bipont edition of the books De Lingua Latina, p. 376. Accordingly we see this animal represented on the reverse of denarii of this family, of which I exhibited an example.

We must bear in mind that the Latin words *pius* and *pietas* do not correspond exactly with their derivatives in English; they are used in a two-fold sense, viz., piety towards the gods, and dutiful conduct towards parents, relatives, &c. Some think that the first Antonine was called Pius in consequence of his efforts

to revive the old religion of the Romans, which had been losing its hold on the popular mind, and the frequent recurrence of ancient myths on his medals makes this view appear plausible. But it is more likely that the surname resulted from his devotion to the memory of his predecessor and adopted father—of which the Mausoleum is a proof still extant. See Spartiani Hadrianus in the *Augustan History*, cap. xxiv, 5, quod ipsi Hadriano magnos honores post mortem detulisset : cf. *ibid.* c. xxvii.

² Rev. Archeol., 1892, p. 328, "Nous avons donc là (dans la mosaïque) une sorte de calendrier rustique, de *Menologium rusticum* en action, avec cette différence cependant que les occupations de la campagne sont classées seulement par saisons, et non par mois." Note 1 cf. *Menologia rustica Vallense et Colatitanum* dans C.I.L. vi, 2305 et 2306.

other side a man stretches out his hand probably in the act of offering incense. Again we find our mosaic illustrating the great religious poet of antiquity. Virgil, *Georgics* I, 347, *seq.* :—

neque ante

Falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristas,
Quam Cereri, torta redimitus tempora quercu,
Det motus incompósitos, et carmina dicat.¹

“and thus in summer's heat

Before the sickles touch the ripening wheat,
On Ceres call; and let the labouring hind
With oaken wreaths his hollow temples bind:
On Ceres let him call, and Ceres praise,
With uncouth dances, and with country lays,”

Dryden's Translation, Chalmers' *English Poets*,
Vol. XIX, p. 307.²

XX. Feast of reapers. Two men, entirely nude, compete for a prize in hurling darts at a tree, which serves as a mark for them to aim at. The action is described by Virgil's phrase *Velocis jaculi certamina* (*Georgics* II, 530), and the time of it by Horace, *Conditæ post frumenta* (*Epistles* II, 1. 140).³ Comp. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, Vol. I, Plate 226, s.v. Amentum, Figs. 251, 252, “mouvement de bas en haut.”

¹ With this use of *incompósitos* comp. Horace, *Sat.* i, x. 1, *incompósito pede*, where it is applied to the metrical foot. *Inconditus* is synonymous. *Liv* IV, xx. 2. *Longe maximum triumphi spectaculum fuit Cossus spolia opina regis interfecti gerens*. In *cum milites carmina incondita, æquantur eum Romulo, canere*.

² Virgil here refers to the *Ambarvalia*, in which the victim was led three times round the fields, *ibid.*, v. 345.

Terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges; and Eclogues, v. 75,
et *cum lustrabimus agros*.

Dict. of Ant. s. v., and Marini, *Atti e Monumenti degli Arvali*.

Ambarvalis in its formation resembles *ambitus*, which has sometimes a very different signification. The latter is compounded of *ambi* around (Greek *ἀμφί*, *Æolic* *ἀμφι*, German *um*) and *ire* to go. It is used to mean canvassing at elections, and includes illegal practices, especially bribery—the arts of corruption having been brought to the same perfection in ancient Rome as in modern England.

We know that the early Christians borrowed much from Pagan practices, which they saw pre-existing around them. Among these imitations the processions and litanies of Rogation days seem less objectionable than some others. They were . . . instituted by Mamercus (*sic*), Bishop of Vienne, during a time of distress and terror among his people, occasioned by the last eruptions of the volcanoes of Auvergne, about the middle of the fifth century. Canon Robertson's *Hist. of the Christian Church*, vol. i, p. 591, fifth edition (583, 3rd edition) with references in notes *y* and *z*.

³ *Virgil*, loc. citat.,

pecorisque magistris
Velocis jaculi certamina ponit in ulmo,
Corporaque agresti nudant prædura
palæstræ.

Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. viii, chap. 9 (11), 5, quoted by Orelli in his note on *Horace*, l.c., ‘Αἱ ἀρχαὶ θεναὶ καὶ σύνοδοι φαίνονται γίγνεσθαι μετὰ τὰς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὰς οἷον ἀπαρχαὶ μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῦτοις ἐσχόλῳ ἀζον τοῖς καιροῖς.

XXI. Cutting stalks of corn (?). The mosaic is so much blackened by fire that the subject cannot be precisely determined. Stubble was often burnt for manure, but sometimes it was preserved to thatch cottages.¹ Here one labourer is using a sickle, and the other, bending towards the ground, ties a long bundle of straw.

Autumn, XXII. Gathering of grapes from vines trained on trees—a mode of culture which I have never seen in France, but common in Italy (as every traveller knows), where the branches hang in graceful festoons. So Horace speaks of the vine as married to the elm or poplar;² but our own Epic poet has surpassed the ancients in his description of the Garden of Eden, I therefore prefer to take my quotation from him:—

“or they led the vine
To wed her elm; she, spoused, about him twines
Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
Her dower, the adopted clusters, to adorn
His barren leaves.”

Paradise Lost, v. 215.³

Comp. Bartoli, *Picturæ antiquæ cryptarum Romanarum et sepulcri Nasonum, Romae*, 1819, p. 33, Tab. XXIV, where we see young men in a vineyard climbing

¹ Loricquet, *La Mosaïque des Promenades et autres trouvées a Reims*, Pl. xviii between pp. 343 and 345, photo, “Les taches noires et les taches blanches indiquent les parties brûlées.” Cf. *ibid.*, p. 155, “l’incendie les (cubes) a rougis sur divers points; sur d’autres, les couleurs ont tourne au noir ou meme ont ete brûlées a blanc, en sorte qu’il faut beaucoup d’attention pour y découvrir le trace du dessin.”

Comp. Ovid, *Fasti*, bk. iii. v. 183.

Quæ fuerit nostri, si quæris, regia nati;

Aspice de canna straminibusque domum.

V. Burmann’s note, *Adhuc enim illa Romuli casa supererat*; v. *ad lib.* i, 199, *Dum casa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum*:

where the poet seems to allude to the *Casa Romuli* on the Palatine, of which there was also a duplicate on the Capitol, Smith’s *Dict. of Geogr.*, vol. ii, pp. 769 and 802 sq., Art. *Roma*: Auctor Belli Hispan., c. 16, *casæ stramentitiæ hibernorum causa ædificatæ*: *Forcelini’s Lexicon*.

² *Epodes*, ii, 9, 10, *Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine*

Altas maritat populos.

Hence the trees without vines have the epithets *cælebs*, *vidua* (unmarried or widowed).

Id. Carm. ii, 15, 4.

platanusque cælebs

Evincet ulmos.

Carm. iv, 5, 30, *Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores*. Juvenal, *Sat.*, viii, 78,

Stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos.

³ For *marriageable arms* Bentley reads *arms lascivious* in the margin, and proposes in the foot-note *manageable*, “that can twine and twist in any situation.” If the reader wishes to form an opinion of this extraordinary edition—a compound of wisdom and folly—he may consult an article in Isaac D’Israeli’s *Curiosities of Literature*, entitled “Critical Sagacity and Happy Conjecture,” &c. We can hardly wonder that Bishop Newton in the preface to his excellent edition of the same author, 3 vols., 4to, 1761, characterizes Bentley’s notes as *dotages*.

on ladders, and standing at the foot of a tree with clusters of grapes in their hands: also Clarac, *Musée de sculpture et de peinture*, Tome II, Planche 135, No. 285 (119), Bacchant cueillant des raisins; text, p. 411.

A more curious illustration is afforded by an example in Daremberg and Saglio, under the heading *Chryso-graphia*—a fragment of a bronze bisellium inlaid with silver is there engraved—Tome I, p. 1136, No. 1432, the subject resembling that last mentioned; but we may observe that the shading of the thick trunk of the supporting tree distinguishes it very clearly from the slender stem of the vine. The surface here is not uneven as in *repoussé* or *intaglio* work, but, as in a picture, perfectly smooth. In other words, the process employed is a kind of damaskeening, well described by Fairholt, s.v., “The designs were deeply engraved or chased in the metal, and the lines filled with gold or silver wire, driven in by the hammer and fastened firmly.”¹

XXIII. Vine-arbour. Here too we see men gathering grapes; but the mosaicist has introduced a pleasing variety, for the vine spreads its branches over a wooden framework or trellis (*pergula*), which forms an arcade above their heads. Such a vine is called *pergularia* (Columella, III, 3, 28), and the modern Italians have retained the word *pergula*, only substituting *o* for *u* in the second syllable.² In this case the grapes were probably not used for making wine, but to be eaten at once or preserved in jars for consumption during the winter. The vine-arbour, being a covered walk open at both ends, assists us to understand the application of the

¹ This work of art was found recently in the Abruzzi, and is now deposited in the Museum of the Capitol at Rome, Comp. Millingen, *Unedited Monuments*, vol. iv, pl. xiv.

² See the illustration in Rich, *Companion to the Latin Dictionary*, from a painting of the Nasonian Sepulchre, *v. sup.* Bartoli, Tab. xxx, p. 61, duo præterea adsunt xysta, vitium ordinibus distincta, atque ad subdiales ambulationes constructa. Among the references annexed, for Livy, xiv, 3, read Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xiv, i, 11. Una vitis Romæ in Livie porticibus subdiales inambulationes umbrosis pergulis opacat, eadem

duodenis musti amphoris fecunda. I quote the following passage from the same author, because it refers to the cultivation of the vine in Gallia Narbonensis where Vienne is situated: *ibid.*, cap. iii, § 43, Septem his annis in Narbonensis provinciæ Alba Helvia inventa est vitis uno die deflorescens, ob id tutissima; Narbonicam vocant, quam nunc tota provinciæ consertit. The various meanings of *pergula* are given in Smith, *Dict. of Antt.*, 3rd edition, s.v. verandah, covered balcony, arbour and cella lupanaria, partly open to the street.

term *vineæ* to the shed in which the Roman soldiers plied their engines when they undermined or breached the walls of besieged towns; if they were attacked by darts and missiles hurled from the battlements, this covering of planks and wicker-work protected them.¹

XXIV. Treading the grapes. The process takes place in a store-room (*cella vinaria*), which has a gallery supported by columns; four large vessels (*dolia*) are ranged in front of the platform where the labourers (*calcatores*) are at work. In this compartment a third figure is added, who plays the flute to regulate the movements of the other two.² A terra-cotta in the British Museum repre-

¹ Baumeister, *Denkmaler des Klassischen Alterthums*, vol. i, p. 540 sq., Art. Festungskrieg und Geschützwesen. Damit den zur Bedienung der Maschinen bestimmten Mannschaften stets die freie Kommunikation mit denselben gesichert war, wurden hinter den Maschinen Laufhallen (*σχοαι, σχοῖδια . . . vineæ*) aufgestellt, kleine Schildkroten mit Satteldach und offenen Giebeln, während die Seiten wahrscheinlich verkleidet waren.

Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, iv, 15, Hujus tectum munitione duplici tabulatis cratibusque contextitur. Laterna quoque vimine saepiuntur, ne saxorum telorumque inapetu penetrentur. This author informs us that in his own day (he flourished in the latter part of the 4th century after Christ) the *vineæ* were called *causiae*, *militari barbaricoque usu*. Forcellini explains, quia sicut causia (a broad-brimmed hat, *καυσία*) solem, ita vineæ saxa et tela capiti defendunt. Martial, *Epigrams*, xiv, 29, in lemmate. This covering for the head appears on a coin of Alexander I, king of Macedon, during the Persian Wars. Rich says 'worn by Alexander.' without specifying which sovereign of that name he means; moreover, the person represented may not be a king at all. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. ii, p. 83, says: Nihil obstat quominus equitem partis anticæ ipsum Regem statuamus, but, with deference to his high authority, I must express a doubt whether the form of a Greek king appears on the obverse of a coin at so early a period. Cf. C. O. Müller, *Denkmaler*, Pt. i, Pl. xvi, No. 79. Auf der Vorderseite ein Makedonischer Krieger mit dem Hute Kausia auf dem Kopfe. British Museum, Catalogue

of Greek coins. Macedon, &c., p. 140, sqq., with engravings. Leake, *Numismata Hellenica, Kings and Dynasts of Europe*, p. 1. For the employment of *vineæ* as military engines comp. Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, ii, 2, where he is relating the siege of Marseilles by his lieutenant Trebonius-tantaque multitudo tormentorum, ut eorum vim nullae contextæ viminibus vineæ sustinere possent.

² Treading with the feet and pressure by means of a beam are often mentioned by the Latin poets, e.g., Virgil, *Georgics* ii, 8, 9.

Huc, pater o Lenæe, veni; nudataque musto,

Tinge novo mecum dereptis crura cothurnis,

where the epithet Lenæus (Ληναῖος) is derived from ληνός, the wine-vat.

Horace, *Carm.* i, 20, 9.

Caecubum et praelo domitam Caleno.

Tu bibes uvam: *domitam* being used poetically for *pressam*, as Orelli remarks.

Juvenal, *v*, 30 sq.

Ipse capillato diffusum consule potat, Calcataque tenet bellis socialibus uvam.

The wine made of grapes trodden during the Social or Marsian war must have been about two centuries old when Juvenal wrote. A modern parallel is supplied by the cellars of the Rathhaus at Bremen, containing casks called the *Rose and the Twelve Apostles*, filled with hock of the same age. Gifford, in the note, vol. i, p. 177, upon his translation of this passage, refers to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XIV, iv, 6, § 57, who mentions a wine of equal antiquity, used to mix with others, and sold at an extravagant rate. The naturalist makes a remark

sents a similar scene, but there a Faun performs on the double pipe, while a *scabellum* lies on the ground beside him; the latter being used to beat time, or as an accompaniment: Combe, p. 30, Plate XXX, No. 59.¹ This musical instrument is well known, because the Dancing Faun—a famous statue in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence—presses it with his foot: Murray, *Handbook for Central Italy*, edit. 1864, p. 159, No. 344; Baumeister *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums* p. 1662, and Abbildung 1350; cf. 492 (Sarkophag), where it is used by a female flute-player. The treaders in our mosaic may be supposed to sing to the music of the flutist, as we read in the prophecies of Isaiah, chap. XVI, v. 10, “in the vineyards there shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting: the treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses; I have made their vintage shouting to cease.” But there is another passage still more striking in the same book, chap. LXIII, vv. 2, 3, “Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat? I have trodden the wine press alone, and of the people there was none with me.” We may remark that in the remains of ancient art above cited, as well as in Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, Vol. II, pp. 152–158,²

worth quoting, *nec alia res majus incrementum sentit ad rigesimum annum, majusve ab eo dispendium*. I think he had more correct ideas on this subject than many of our contemporaries who prize their old port too highly.

In the same paragraph, vv. 34, 35, the satirist says—

cujus (vini) patriam titulumque senectus,

Delevit multa veteris fuligine testae. which Ruperti explains by *mucores et situ, vetustate inducto*, but it is better to interpret the line as an allusion to the process of producing an artificial mellowness by exposing the amphore to the hot air and smoke of bath-furnaces.

Martial, *Epigrams*, x, 36,

Improba Massiliæ quidquid fumarum cogunt,

Accipit ætatem quisquis ab igne cadus, A te, Munna, venit.

¹ For the gathering of grapes into baskets, cf. op. citat., Description of ancient terra-cottas, pp. 17 sq. and 34;

or Sir H. Ellis, *Townley Marbles*, vol. i, p. 110, Nos. 28, 33, 67, 69.

² Notice esp., p. 156, Pl. No. 142. Mosaics on the ceiling of a supposed temple of Bacchus at Rome, fig. 1, where we observe the juice of the grapes issuing from the wine-press through spouts decorated with lions' heads, perhaps panthers', v. note *supra* on this animal in connection with Bacchus. We may compare with them Le grondaie del Tempio d'Imera conservate nel Museo Nazionale di Palermo Cenni di A. Salinas, p. 1, Sono queste (sculture architettoniche) le tre grondaie imeresi a testa di leone, una delle quali, insieme alla tegola, è situata avanti la porta, e due nelle pareti accanto a questa. *Grondaja* here means a gargoyle, v. Pl. i, bis appended to this brochure, and is derived from the Latin *grunda*, a rare word, explained by the gloss of Philoxenus στέγη, καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν πυλῶνα ἔξῃον; v. Ducange, s.v. *Gronda*, vox Italica, and the Dizionario della Lingua Italiana della Acad. della Crusca.

Winepress, Plate X, Figs. 1, 2, 3 and Nos. 140, 141), two or more men appear engaged in this operation; on the other hand the Messiah, who here replies to the Chorus, is described as acting *alone*.¹ I think we fail to grasp the significance of the text, if we do not bear in mind the strong contrast to the usual practice.

XXV. Ploughing and Sowing. A labourer is directing with a goad two oxen who draw the plough, while the sower holds a round flat basket, containing seed, in one hand, and scatters it with the other: the garment he wears is said to be the *exomis*, a kind of short tunic that leaves the right arm and shoulder uncovered. The *exomis* is the dress of Charon; clad in it, he is represented as receiving a lady, conducted by Mercury, into his ferry-boat: Baumeister, Vol. I, p. 378, Abbildung 414. A very good example may be seen, among the terra-cottas of the British Museum, in the figure of Argus, who, with a hammer and chisel, is engaged in building the ship Argo under Minerva's direction: Combe, Plate X, No. 16, p. 10.² Virgil's precept:—

Nudus ara, sere nudus,
Georgics I, 299.

is here followed by the artist, for of course, *nudus* cannot be understood literally, but means without the toga, wearing only the tunic, and that too girt up.³

Suggrunda (eaves) occurs in Varro, *De Re Rustica*, and in Vitruvius. See also my Paper on Antiquities in the Museum at Palermo, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 138-142, Text and Notes, where the subject is illustrated by references to Diodorus, who was a Sicilian, and to the coins of Himera.

¹ Bishop Lowth's translation distinguishes the words spoken by the Chorus from those of the Messiah; it thus supplies a deficiency in the Authorised Version, and makes the whole chapter more intelligible: v. his notes, pp. 386-388, 16th edition, 1864.

² This engraving is reproduced in the *Dict. of Antiq.*, s.v. *Antefixa* (Art. by the late Mr. James Yates); cf. *Ibid.*, s.v. *Exomis*, *χιτών ετερομάσχαλος*—a frock with one hole for the arm, opposed to *ἀμφιμάσχαλος*: C. O. Müller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, § 337, 3, English Transl., p. 400, quoted by Liddell and Scott.

³ One might translate *nudus*, 'with your coat off.' Virgil imitates Hesiod *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι*, v. 391.

γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βοῶτειν
Γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάσθαι.

Aurelius Victor, *Viri illustres*, 17, Quinctius dictator dictus: ad quem missi legati nudum eum arantem trans Tiberim offenderunt. *Justin.*, xliii, 1, 7, Dei simulacrum nudum caprina pelle amictum. See Forbiger's note on Virgil, l. c. *Γυμνός*, means in tunic (*χιτών*), without the upper garment (*ιμάτιον*): Bloomfield's notes on Matthew xxiv, 18, and xxv, 36, *γυμνός*, καὶ περιβάλετέ με. In John, xxi, 7, *Σίμων οὖν Πέτρος, ἀκούσας οὐδὲ κύριος ἐστίν, τὸν ἐπεινύτην διεζώσατο, ἣν γὰρ γυμνός*, the Authorised Version translates *Ἐπεινύτης* by '*fisher's coat*' but the Revisers have rightly omitted the word *fisher's*, which is quite unnecessary. See in Stephens, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, edit. Didot, s.v., *Ἐπεινύτης*, pro *Εἰνύημα*, Suidas,

XXVI. Coating the wine-jars with pitch. This compartment is interesting for two reasons—because it seems to be unique, and because it corresponds exactly with a passage in Columella, *De Re Rustica*, lib. XII, cap. XVIII, 5, 6, where he gives minute directions for this operation, distinguishing carefully the vessels (*dolia*) that were to be sunk in the soil from those that were to remain above ground. The mosaic illustrates the latter case. One workman stirs up boiling pitch with two sticks which serve for handles to shovels; his companion with a broom spreads the pitch over the interior surface of a large jar lying on its side, *in latus depositum*.¹

Pliny informs us that a wine was produced in the Viennese territory, which of itself had a pitchy taste, *quod sponte naturæ suæ picem resipit*; this was a superior quality,² and Martial mentions it as such in his book entitled *Xenia* :—

Hæc de vitifera venisse picata Vienna
Ne dubites, misit Romulus ipse mihi.

Lib. XIII, Epigram 107.

But probably we have here in the mosaic the preparation of the *dolium* to receive the ordinary *vin du pays*.

XXVII. Gathering fruit. A labourer mounted on a ladder plucks it from the tree, while another carries away on his shoulders a basket (*cophinus*) already filled. The Latin word survives with slight modification in the Provençal *coufin*, the Spanish *cofin*, and the Italian

Υποδύτην, τὸ ἐσώτερον ὑμάτιον, ἐπερδύτην
δὲ τὸ ἐπάνω: Pollux, *Onomasticon*, vii,
45, and other citations.

¹ Pliny, *N.H.*, lib. xiv, cap. xx, sect. 25, § 124, *Ratio autem condiendi musta in primo fervore, qui novem diebus cum plurimum peragitur, adspersu picis, ut odor vino contingat et saporis quædam acumina*. Wilkinson, *op. citat.*, vol. ii, p. 159. This resinous coating for the interior of amphoræ was very generally used by the Romans, and was one of the numerous means they had for preserving and improving the flavour of wine. The cultivation of the vine and different kinds of wine are discussed in the book of Pliny just quoted, which may be regarded as a *locus classicus*. For the former subject Columella, *De Re Rustica*, edit

Schneider, books iv, v (iii, iv) should be consulted.

² *N.H.* lib. XXIII, cap. I, sect. 24, § 47, quoted by Forcellini, s.v. *picatus*. We may here observe *sponte* governing a genitive, which occurs in the Latinity of the Silver Age, not of the Golden; e.g., Virgil, *Eclogues*, iv, 45, *Sponte sua*, meaning the same as *ipse* in verse 43. In the better period we find this word with a possessive pronoun, or by itself absolutely; at a later time with a dependent genitive, as in Lucan, i, 234, *sponte deum* and Tacitus, *Annals*, ii, 59, *non sponte principis*, which De Vit translates *Senza il beneplacito*; he remarks s.v. *Spons*, *rarissime in recto casu usurpatum reperitur, raro in genitivo spontis; frequentissime vero in ablativo, sponte*.

cofano. The fruit is apples, pears or plums—not olives, for they did not grow in ancient, any more than in modern, times north of Valence, which is about 50 miles south of Vienne; and indeed to find them flourishing we must descend as far as Avignon.¹ Judging by the analogy of the other compartments, it does not seem likely that the artist would have introduced a subject foreign to the neighbourhood. Moreover, olives are not gathered and pressed till winter has set in; and according to the chronological sequence the rustic operations of this season would come later.²

¹ Having remained for some time at Vienne, as well as in towns further south, such as Arles and Nîmes, I can easily understand why olives could not grow in the former locality. This tree requires much greater heat than the vine, and the climate of Vienne is not warm enough, being situated only at the commencement of the *Midi*. For the same reason there are no olives at Pau, or any part of the south-west of France, which is also too humid for them: C. Knight, *Cyclopædia of Natural History*, s.v. *Olea*, vol. iv, col. 80, 81: Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine*, vol. i, pp. 448, 449.

For an illustration see Spon, *Miscellanea Erudite Antiquitatis*, p. 308, No. x, Roma. Rustici pueri olivas colligentes cucullis induti. References to Sozomen, Hieronymus, Cassianus, and Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ Latinitatis in voce Cucullus*, et mediæ Græcitatatis in *V. Κοκούλιον*. We should read *Κοκούλιον*; so the word stands in Du Cange's Glossary, p. 727. Among the citations he gives there is a curious one from a MS. of Evagrius, *De Vestibus Monachorum Ægypti*, which explains the symbolical meaning of the cowl. *Τὸ μὲν κοκούλιον σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ σκεπάσεως αὐτῶν τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, καὶ περιβαλλούσης τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ νηπιότητα*.

It should be observed that in *κοκούλιον* the Greek dipthong *ou* corresponds with the Latin *u* in *cucullus*; this strongly supports the pronunciation of *ou* by the modern Greeks, which has been recently adopted in England, viz., as *oo* in *boot*, or *u* in the Italian language.

The engraving is reproduced by Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome iii, pl. cxvii; in the text, p. 359, he gives

the following description of the plate, "bas-relief où des gens cueillent des olives; ils portent le capuchon ou *cucullus*. La récolte des olives se fait en Italie au mois de Décembre, saison où le capuchon servait à garantir du froid."

² *Revue Archéologique*, 3^{ème} Serie, Tome xix, 1892, p. 344, No. xxvii, Cueillette des fruits (POMA LEGUNT (ur). [Menologium rusticum, Sept.]. Cf. Plin. XVIII, lxxiv, 8: Hoc et poma colligendi tempus.

Daremberg and Saglio have a long Article on ancient calendars containing much information, and in foot notes the bibliography of the subject, tome i, deuxième partie, pp. 822-849; p. 836, two Menologia are mentioned, *Colonianum* and *Vallense*. Upon them are engraved the zodiacal signs with the name of each corresponding month, the chief festivals in it, the agricultural labours, etc. Fig. 1032, Calendrier rustique, represents the former of these Menologia, now in the Museum at Naples. *Museo Borbonico*, vol. ii, pl. xlv, where it is much better seen on a larger scale, in a full page engraving 8vo. The descriptive text by Fr. Javaronne divides the Inscriptions into *Parte Fisica o Astronomica*, *parte Rustica e parte Religiosa*.

Monuments of this kind enable us to understand the sources from which mediæval artists derived their representations of the months that we see on the portals of churches. In the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 30, I have noticed two over-arching voussours adorned with figures, above the tympanum of Ste. Marie, Oloron; the lower row consists of twelve pairs of labourers, one for each month. See my Paper on Reims, *ibid.*, vol. xli, p. 143, note 1, for imitation of the classical style in the treatment of

XXVIII. Winepress. We have already observed the process of treading the grapes, now we see the skins subjected to a more violent pressure.¹ One labourer has just detached a lever, suspended by a cord from the cornice of a shed, and another grasps it with both hands. Their attitudes are similar to those of two Satyrs as they appear on an enclosure round a well, *puteal sigillatum*, found at Gragnano (*Stabia*), in 1779, but now preserved in the Museum at Naples. This beautiful work of art is engraved in the Museo Borbonico, Vol. II, Tav. XI, whence it has been copied on a smaller scale by Rich., s.v. Torcular (an elaborate article), and Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler, Pt. II, Taf. XL, No. 475. Besides the lever mentioned above there is another, for the moment unemployed, and cords are attached to both; these latter are wanting in the Neapolitan bas-relief, which exhibits the simplest form of the machine. Pliny, speaking of the use of the levers, says that a pair are better than a single one, and adds *longitudo in his refert*—the length is of importance—which seems to show that he understood this mechanical power.² He also alludes to the press worked by a screw, an invention that effected a great saving of space. Underneath the second lever we see a great heap of grapes on the platform, as yet not pressed; and at its side a hole by which the juice flows into a vase placed below to receive it.

In Egypt the process was somewhat different. There the grapes were put into a bag; then it was twisted, and so the liquor was squeezed out. Wilkinson, *loc. citat.*, Pl. X, fig. 3, facing p. 152, where poles are used turning

drapery; and Fac-Simile of the *Sketch Book* of Wilars de Honecort, edited by Professor Willis, Preface. This volume shows that they (artists of the 13th century) were not deterred by pious prejudices from copying the antique . . . One page (of De Honecort's work) is occupied by an unmistakable Greek dressed in a chlamys; another by a drawing of a Roman sepulchral monument, with figures; cf. *omn. pl. lvii* and description, "several ancient MSS. of Terence represent slaves in this costume," see also pls. x, xxv. Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art by its Monuments*, vol. iii, Painting, pl. xxxv,

has some engravings derived from the same source, *Miniature del Terenzio della Biblioteca Vaticana lucidate sopra l'originale*. Similarly, the potters also of that period copied the antique as models; a memoir on the persistence of Roman types has been promised to the Society of Antiquaries.

¹ *Columella*, xii, 43 ad fin. Tum vinaceorum pes bene prelo expressus proruitur.

² *Pliny*, XVIII, lxxiv, 6: Unum sufficit torculum (lever). Premunt aliqui singulis, utilius binis, licet magna sit vastitas singulis.

in contrary directions; and fig. No. 140, woodcut intercalated in p. 153, where one end of the bag is fixed, and the other twisted by means of a rod.

It is not an improbable conjecture that the mosaic pavement described above belonged to some apartment of a temple dedicated to the *Deae Matres* or rather *Matrae*;¹ for all the subjects relate to country life, and these deities had a rustic character, and accordingly were represented with a cornucopiæ and basket of fruits for attributes: besides, votive inscriptions in their honour have been found on the banks of the Rhone,² and at various places in the territory of the Allobroges: Hippolyte Bazin, *Villes Gallo-Romaines, Vienne Antique*, 1891, p. 77 seq.³

Many important inscriptions are connected with Vienne, either remaining in the place itself, or relating to its inhabitants. Amongst them those that mention the *Nautæ Rhodanici* are, or at least ought to be, interesting

¹ *De Vit, Onomasticon*, tom. iv, p. 399 sq., Non raro . . . nomen declinatur *Matra, arum*, quæ habent in dat. et abl plur. tum *Matris*, tum etiam *Matrabus*. Deæ regionum et urbium tutelares in Britannia, Germania et Gallia quam maxime cultæ, etc. A long list of them in alphabetical order is appended. Matres peculiari titulo exornatæ.

Brambach, *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan*, Index, iv, *Di, deæ matres, annanepthæ* . . . vaphthæ; in this list for p. 169, Matres Treveræ read 149.

Bruce, *Roman Wall*, Index, p. 459, Deæ matres, p. 462, Matris Campestribus, etc. Lapidarium Septentrionale, Index, i, p. 478, Matres, deæ matres, etc.

Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, pp. 33-45; p. 33, engraving of a group of *Deæ Matres*—three headless figures now in the Guildhall. See woodcuts p. 36, and Inscriptions pp. 41-44.

² *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. xii, *Gallia Narbonensis*, Nos. 1823-1826 and 1838.

No. 1823.

MATRIS

AVGVST

AEDEM ET.

Tabella marmorea, nunc extat in Museo.

The position of No. 1824 is described by Chorier, p. 260 (267), "Dans le porche dessous le clocher de l'église St. Pierre a la main droite appliquee a la muraille." It was afterwards removed to the Museum. No. 1826 is now at Lyons,

Chorier, p. 134 (140), who here gives some account of this cult. In No. 1838 we find these goddesses under another name, SANCTIS VIRGINIBVS, *ibid.*, p. 167 (182, VIRSINIDVS).

C.I.L., vol. citat., p. 221, § xv, contains a notice of this author, Optime de antiquis monumentis describendis meritis est Nicolaus Chorier, advocatus Gratianopolitanus (natus Viennæ a. 1612, mortuus Gratianopoli [Grenoble] a. 1692) . . . libro inscripto *Recherches sur les Antiquités de la Ville de Vienne*. Novam ac plenioram . . . editionem . . . a. 1828 curavit Nicolaus Cochard (1763-1834). § xvi, Spon et in Miscellaneis et in libro inscripto *Recherche des antiquités et curiosités de la ville de Lyon Viennoises*, quæ post Chorierum repertæ epud eum non leguntur, de visu edidit.

³ This Mosaic has been deposited in the Louvre at Paris. The visitor can see it without difficulty, as it occupies the centre of a hall on the *rez-de-chaussee*, on his right hand as he enters the Pavillon Denon. Mons. De Villefosse, in a letter dated 15th August, 1894, informs me that it has been installed there for two years. "Elle se trouve dans la salle des prisonniers barbares au-dessous du grand escalier du Musée. Une tres belle photographie en a été executée par M. Braun, photographie du Musée du Louvre."

to us as a pre-eminently commercial people, Only one example can be given here ;—

L . HELVIO . L . FILIO
VOLTIN . FRVGI
CVRATORI . NAV
IARVM . BIS . II VIR
5 VIENNENSIVM
PATRONO . RHO
DANIC . ET . ARAR
8 N . RHOD . ET ARAR
l . d . d . n . rhod . et arar .

TRANSLATION.

In honour of Lucius Helvius Frugi, son of Lucius, of the Voltinian tribe, manager for the second time and patron of the Navigation Company, Duumvir of the Viennese, erected by the navigators of the Rhone and Saone. The site was granted by the Company.¹

The inscription was engraved on the pedestal of a statue, which, as often happens, no longer exists.² With it we may compare the Catalogue Sommaire des Musées de la Ville de Lyon, p. 116 *seq.* Musée Épigraphique 11°, Inscriptions relatives aux Corporations Marchandes, Nos. 164–170, esp. 165 : all these belong to the *bateliers* of these two rivers.

Helvius here is the name of an individual ; in Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, of a tribe whose geographical position he defines accurately. Their country, he says, bordered on that of the *Arverni* (Auvergne), and was separated from it by *Mons Cebenna* (the Cevennes), the passage over which was one of Cæsar's most memorable achievements, because it was effected in the depth of winter, when the

¹ C.I.L., vol. xii, No. 2438. N here stands for *nauta*. In another monument found on the banks of the Isere instead of *nauta* or *navicularii* we have *ratiarii*, because this river on account of its irregular course was more easily navigated by rafts (*rates*).

CCAESARE AVG
germanico
IMP . PONT MAX
TRIB . POTEST . COS, p. C. 37.
RATIARI
VOLVDNIENSES

The name *Voludnienses* still survives in the plain called la *Velieude*: Bazin, op. citat., pp. 104, 105, Text and Notes.

² Juvenal refers to such inscriptions, *Sat.* i, 129–131.

Atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere.

Nescio quis titulos .Egyptius atque Arabarches,

Cujus ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est,

where there is an ellipse of *statuæ*.

snow lay on the ground six feet deep: lib. VII, cc. 7, 8.¹

The best known instance of Frugi, which is an indeclinable adjective meaning *virtuous*, in connection with proper names, occurs in the distinguished family of the Pisos, second only to the imperial house, some of whom had it as an *agnomen*. One of them is mentioned by Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, III, 20, a contemporary of the Gracchi;² his descendant, Caius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, married the orator's daughter, Tullia. The names derived from *pinso*, to grind (corn) and *frux*, *frugis*, fruits of the earth, obviously have a relation to agriculture, and show the esteem in which that occupation was held. Cf. *id.*, *De Officiis*, I, 42, § 151.³

The Voltinian was one of the rustic tribes of ancient Rome, and, as they are arranged alphabetically by Niebuhr, will be found last in the series: Roman History, English Translation, Vol. I, pp. 405-432, The Commonalty and the Plebeian Tribes, esp. p. 419, note 977. In the Oration *pro Plancio*, cc. XVI, XVII, §§ 38, 43, Cicero says that his client was accused of bribing the Voltinians.⁴

¹ Loc. citat., discussa nive sex in altitudinem pedum atque ita viis patefactis, summo militum labore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit. The Helvii must, of course, be distinguished from the Helvetii, modern Switzerland. Strabo places this nation (Ἑλουόι) in Aquitania, p. 190, lib. IV, cap. ii, § 2, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαροῦνα καὶ τοῦ Λεῖγῆρος ἐθνὴ τὰ προσκείμενα τοῖς Ἀκουιτανοῖς ἐστὶν Ἑλουοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες, Οὐελλᾶοι δὲ μετὰ τούτους. He calls the Cevennes τὸ Κέμμενον ὄρος or ἡ Κεμμένη.

- L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, consul B.C. 133, opposed the law of C. Gracchus concerning the distribution of corn. Cicero, i.e., Piso ille Frugi semper contra legem frumentariam dixerat: is, lege lata, Consularis ad frumentum accipiendum venerat. Animadvertit Gracchus in concione Pisonem stantem: quærit audiente pop. Romano, qui sibi constet, cum ea lege frumentum petat, quam dissuaserit. "Nolim," inquit, "mea bona, Gracche, tibi viritum dividere libeat; sed si facias, partem petam."

³ Similarly from the same root we have *pistor* (baker). Jupiter had this

surname, because he advised the besieged Romans to throw loaves into the Gallic camp, and thus lead the enemy to suppose that they could not be starved out: *Ovid, Fasti*, vi, 349-394, esp. the last two verses,

Posse fame vinci spes excidit: Hoste repulso

Candida Pistori ponitur ara Jovi.

Comp. the analogous names Fabius, from *faba* a bean, Lentulus, from *lens*, lentil: Cicero, probably from *cicer*, a kind of pulse: Cicero, loc. citat., Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agricultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius. *Ibid.*, in the same section he draws a distinction between wholesale and retail trade, similar to that which prevails now amongst ourselves: Mercatura autem, si tenuis est, sordida putanda est; sin magna et copiosa, multa undique apportans multisque sine vanitate impertiens, non est admodum vituperanda.

⁴ Cap. XVI, § 38, five tribes are mentioned, At Voltiniam: lubet enim tibi nescio quid etiam de illa tribu criminari—hanc igitur ipsam cur non edidisti? Quid Plancio cum Lemonia?

It is evident that *Nauta* cannot here mean a *sailor*, as it usually does, but is equivalent to *exercitor*, i.e. *qui navem exercet*, one who owns or hires a ship. For this word *Smith's Latin Dictionary* is defective, and neither Forcelini nor his recent editor De Vit throws any light on the subject. They translate *nauta* by *marinaio*, *barcaiuolo*. In this inscription it corresponds more nearly with the Greek *ἐμπορος* (*mercator*), one who made trading voyages.

If we turn from words to things, we shall find illustrations of the navigation of rivers in the monuments preserved at Trèves and Mayence. The Museum of the former city contains blocks of sandstone carved to represent two boats laden with wine-casks. They were found at Neumagen (*Noviomagus*) on the Moselle, and are described in the *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 223–225, and more fully by Dr. F. Hettner in the *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, New Series, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 455–457, with Photograph (*Lichtdruck*).¹ The other object to which I refer is the monument of Blussus, found in 1848 at Weisenau, South of Mayence, noticed also in the *Archæol. Journ.*, *loc. citat.*; he is called *ΝΑΥΤΑ*, and was a wealthy man, as we may infer from the jewellery and gay costume of his wife, who is figured on the same stone along with him. Details are given with great accuracy in a Catalogue entitled, “Die römischen Inschriften und Steinsculpturen des Museums der Stadt Mainz zusammengestellt von Dr. phil. Jacob Becker, 1875,” p. 76, *seq.*, No. 232; here *nauta* is properly translated by *Schiffer*. Mr. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. II, pp. 124–126, renders this word by *sailor*, and afterwards says that Blossus was an owner of trading vessels on the Rhine, so that his account contradicts itself.²

quid cum Ufentina? quid cum Crustumina? nam Mæciam, non quæ judicaret, sed quæ rejiceretur, esse voluisti. C.I.L., vol. xii, p. 219, Tribus Viennensium est Voltinia in permultis titulis et Viennensibus et exteris militum Vienna oriundorum obvia.

¹ The reader might naturally expect to find an account of these remains in Dr. Felix Hettner's interesting work *Die Römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier*, but they are altogether omitted, as is stated on

the title page, mit Ausschluss der Neumagener Monumente.

² Besides the terms *navicularii* and *ratarii* already mentioned, we also meet in Inscriptions with *lintrarii* and *lenuncularii* (bargemen); the latter comes from *lenunculus* (navis piscatoria), a corruption of *lambunculus*, diminutive of *lambus*, though other derivations have been proposed, viz., from *lene*, i.e., parvum, and *ληνη*, lacus præli vinarii. The word occurs in Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 5, *extr.*, where he relates how

A monument at Boulogne-sur-Mer, inscribed III RAD. *Triremis Rad(ians)*, is interesting, but not so suitable for our present purpose, because it relates to a ship of war : see V.-J. Vaillant, *Classis Britannica*, p. 320 *seq.*

N., line 8 *supra*, is a good example of the difficulties which the student of Roman epigraphy has to encounter. In Gerard's Siglarium this letter is said to be used as an abbreviation with 64 significations.¹ The two rivers in our inscription would require different methods of navigation, as the Rhone, which descends from the Alps, flows with a very rapid stream, while the Saône (*Arar*) is so sluggish that one can scarcely discern the direction of its current : Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, I, 12, *incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat judicari non possit.*

On this route the traffic must have been enormous, as by it corn, cloth, woollen fabrics and salted provisions were exported from Gaul to Italy; oil, wine and marble were imported from the South. Hence the *curator* of the *Nautæ Rhodanici* doubtless occupied a commercial position like that of a director of a shipping company in modern times.² But Vienne was also a station for

Agrippina escaped from being drowned at sea, as Nero had contrived for her; nando, deinde occurso lenuncularum Lucrinum in lacum vecta, villæ suæ infertur. See Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.*, vol. II, Nos. 3248, 4054, 4104. In the last example we meet with PLEROMARI-ORVM, which seems to be a ὑπαὶ λεγόμενον. Visconti gives the following explanation, "I *Pleromarj* doveano formare come suol dirsi l'equipaggio delle navi da guerra, in opposizione de' *Lenuncularj* che servivano nelle minori barche da trasporto."

Smith's Latin Dictionary, 3rd edition, translates *Utricularius* by "a bag-piper" (Græce ἀσκάληης) with a reference to Suetonius, chap. 54, *voverat* (Nero) . . . *proditurum se partæ victoriæ ludis etiam hydraulam, et choraulam, et utricularium*, where there is clearly an allusion to some musical instrument. The next reference is "Inscr. Orell., No. 4119 sq." No. 4119 is COLLE · VTRI · CAB · L · VALE · SVCES, in tessera Cabellici (Cavaillon) reperta. Donati remarks that *utricularii* are equivalent to *nautæ utribus utentes*. In No. 4120 we have the following words L · IVLIO

SECVNDV VTRICVLARIO COR C.I.P.A. (*Corporis Coloniz Juliz Pie Arelatis*) . . . ITEM NAVT · DRVENTIOR · CORPOR (nautarum *Druentiorum corporato*); so that in both cases *utricularius* is connected not with music but navigation.

The authorities do not altogether agree in their interpretation of this word. Forcellini, s.v. (1) qui cymbis in modum utriculi factis navigat in fluminibus; (2) videtur esse hujusmodi navium faber. *De Vit*, s.v., qui utriculos, seu utres inflatos ratibus ita subiciebant, ut horum ope flumina transnare possent.

¹ C. has even more meanings, viz., 80; v. Gerrard, initial C in its alphabetical place.

² Bazin, op. citat., p. 104, § 1, Au nombre des plus riches corporations lyonnaises se plaçaient les *Nautæ Rhodanici*, qui jouissaient d'une considération en rapport avec leur grande fortune, &c. *Ibid.*, *Lyon Antique*, Deuxième Partie, Chapitre deuxième, Les Corporations Lyonnaises, Associations Commerciales, pp. 255-257, SPLENDISSIMVS ORDO. Many inscriptions are cited in note 2, p. 255.

the Imperial Navy, as we read in the *Notitia Occidentis, Præfectus classis fluminis Rhodani, Viennae sive Arelati*.¹ See Ferrero, *L'Ordinamento delle Armate Romane*, 1878, p. 192 *seq.*, *Armata dei laghi e dei fiumi dell'Italia e della Gallia al tempo della Notitia Dignitatum*.²

The two following inscriptions relate to deities that occur frequently amongst our own Romano-British antiquities:—

MATRIS
MITHRES
SOC. XL. VI
AD TVR.
L. XIIIIP A. VI

Found at Allondaz.

Dedicated to the mothers by Mithres, steward of the Company that farmed the tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., at Tournon. Length 13 feet, height 6 feet.

In Bazin's *Vienne Antique*, p. 77, there is a typographical error, line 3, VII for VI, which would make the clause unintelligible; VI is equivalent to *villicus*. TVR may be an abbreviation for Turnonem, *hodie* Tournon, on the Rhone between Vienne and Valence, but nearer the latter, *vide* Murray's *Handbook for France*, map of the river from Lyons to the sea. Mommsen explains TVR as meaning Turrim, and expands the last line thus, l(oco) XIII p(er) a(nnos) VI, referring the former numeral to the position which the steward held in the household of the company; but Hirschfeld con-

¹ Edit. Boeking, cap. xl, p. 118* [§ ii] [A]. In provincia Gallia Ripariensi; Annotatio 1012-1014.*

² See De Vit's edition of *Forcellini's Lexicon*, vol. i, immediately after the Preface, Index Scriptorum Latinorum, p. cxciii sq., s.v., *Notitia Dignitatum* (of the 5th century), *parum certæ ætatis, quæ tamen sub Theodosio Junio statuitur*. A notice of the recent editions is subjoined. Then follow *Notitia Galliarum, Provinciarum et civitatum Africæ, Urbis (seil. Romæ) et Urbis Constantinopolitanæ*. This

Index supplies much bibliographical information, especially concerning modern publications by scholars in different countries, and thus forms a very valuable addition to Forcellini's great work. Sir E. H. Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii, pp. 698-700, gives a general account of the *Notitia*, p. 698. "It contains a review of the provinces of the Empire, as they existed at the time when it was drawn up, after the subdivision of them which had taken place under Diocletian and Constantine."

siders the interpretation to be uncertain: Corp. Inserr. Lat., Vol. XII, No. 2348.¹

MATRIS
NEMETIALI
LVCRETIA. Q

LIB I VM.

Found at Grenoble. Hirschfeld, No. 2221.

Dedicated to the mothers presiding over forests by Lucretia, freedwoman of Quintus.

¹ SOC · XL should be expanded Societatis quadragesimæ (scil. partis). I have copied the inscription from Bazin; it is given as follows by Hirschfeld, and I have no doubt more correctly.



v. and b. are only marks of punctuation: see C. I. L., vol. xii, No. 2348. cap. xxxviii. — Title — Inter Gratianopolim (Grenoble) et Centronum fines (sic Hirschfeld): Strabo, p. 205, lib. iv, c. vi, § 7, Ἡ δὲ διὰ Κεντρῶνων ἐνοσμηκωτέρα: Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* i, 10, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones, et Graioceli, et Caturiges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Thus Cæsar and Strabo have Centrones, but Pape gives both forms of the name; *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen* s.v., Κέντρωνες, pl., Alpenvolk in Gallia Narbonn. . . . (*Plin.* xxxiv, 2, § 3. Centrones v.l. Centrones), cf. edit. Sillig, *loc. citat.*, Adnotatio critica.

The station Ad Publicanos seems to have been near the boundary between the Viennenses and the Centrones, marked in the Tabula Peutingeriana, Segmentum ii, A, and in the Itinerarium Antonini, p. 346 edit. Wesseling, on the road from Mediolanum (Milan) to

Vienna (Vienne); it was also called Quadragesima. Here, in all probability, tolls on merchandise were collected (*portoria*); and such dues were levied in Gaul even before the Roman occupation, as we infer from Strabo, p. 190, lib. iv, cap. ii, § 1, μόνον γὰρ δὴ τῶν Βιτουρίγων τούτωι ἔθνος ἐν τοῖς Ἀκουιτανόις ἀλλόφυλον ἴδρυνται, καὶ οὐ συντελεῖ αὐτοῖς. Comp. Pons Ærarius on the road between Nemausus (Nîmes) and Arlate (Arles). Digest, 19, tit. 2, s. 60, § 8, id (vehiculum) quum pontem transiret, redemptor ejus pontis portorium ab eo exigebat. See *Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, Publicanos, Ad.

The tax of 2½ per cent. mentioned in our Inscription also occurs on the copper coins of Galba. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. i, p. 237, No. 178, Rev. QVADRAGENSUMA REMISSA · S. C.; No. 179, Rev. QVADRAGENS · REMISSÆ. Cf. No. 246, Rev. XXXX REMISSA. S. C. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi, p. 296, who quotes Suetonius, Vespasianus, c. 16, omissa sub Galba vectigalia revocasse; and Aristophanes,

Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι (Concionantes), v. 824 sq.,
τάλαντ' εἶσθαι πεντακόσια τῇ πόλει
τῆς τετταρακοστῆς, ἣν ἐπόρι' Εὐριπίδης.

In Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii, 51, we read Manet tamen abolitio quadragesimæ quinquagesimæque, et quæ alia exactionibus illicitis nomina publicani invenerant. The reference in this passage is to the payment of a tax of $\frac{1}{40}$ of the value of the property about which there was a law-suit—non mercium transvectarum . . . sed litium, de qua xl. Suet. Caligula c. 40. V. Interpretes, Tacitus, *loc. citat.*

Nemetialis does not appear in De Vit's Edition of Forcellini's Lexicon and Glossary, nor have I met with the word elsewhere; but it can hardly have any other meaning than that assigned to it above. LIB evidently stands for Liberta.¹ Grenoble is only a modification of Gratianopolis, so called from the Emperor Gratian; its suburb St. Laurent occupies the site of Cularo, the original Gaulish town, mentioned by Plancus in a letter to Cicero.²

It should be observed that in both the foregoing inscriptions we have MATRIS, dative plural, instead of MATRIBVS of the third declension. De Vit in his Onomasticon, s.v. Matres, says that *Matrae, arum* is a form frequently used for the name of the tutelary goddesses who protected cantons, districts, villages and estates—so the Corpus supplies example not only of *Matris* but also of *Matrabus*.

These deities had a marble temple at Vienne, in the quarter of Ste. Colombe,³ and votive inscriptions in

¹ In the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. xi, No. 2221, Cippus, litteris malis, the second line is given thus, NEMETIAAI b? LIB as an abbreviation might signify Libius, i.e., Livius, libens, liberalitas, libertus, &c., but the meaning here must be liberta, on account of the female name Lucretia preceding.

² Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, X, 23, § 7, viii Idus Jun. Cularone, ex finibus Allobrogum—the date of the letter. The 2nd edition of Orelli's *Cicero*, revised by Orelli and Baiter, has in the *Annotatio critica* the various readings *Cuiarone* and *Civarone*. This place is marked *Culabone*, a corrupted form, in the Table of Peutinger, Segmentum ii, A, and north-east of Vigena (sic), whereas it should be south-east. The words MYRIS CVLARONENSIBVS in two inscriptions, together with the names of Diocletian and Maximian, on gates at Grenoble, show that the city was called CVLARO when they reigned. At the end of the 4th century *Gratianopolis*, from the Emperor Gratian, superseded the old appellation; and it frequently occurs in later writers. I give one example, Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxi, cap. vii, de fonte illo, ubi faces exstinguuntur ardentes et accenduntur exstinctæ . . . Et il-

lum quidem fontem non inveni, qui in Epiro vidisse se dicerent, sed qui in Gallia similem nossent non longe a Gratianopoli civitate. Hirschfeld devotes a whole folio page to these inscriptions and remarks upon them, *Op. citat.*; xii, 279, No. 2229.

L. Munatius Plancus was governor of Transalpine Gaul when he wrote the epistle cited above. In an age that presents many examples of political dishonesty, he is pre-eminently notorious for his frequent tergiversation. As he founded Raurica (Augst. Canton Basle), I have noticed his character and career in my Paper on the Antiquities of Switzerland, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xlii, p. 176 sq., text and notes. I have there corrected Milman's misinterpretation of VII VIR EPVLON, words which are still legible on the Tomb of Plancus at Gaeta.

³ Bazin, p. 78. The recent discovery in the same district of a mosaic representing agricultural labours harmonizes with the erection of a Temple to these rural goddesses. This author, *loc. citat.*, gives another inscription, from Aoste,

MATRIS AVG EX STIPE ANNVA
• X • XXXV ET D . . .

From the small amount here mentioned, 35 denarii = about 25 shillings, it

their honour have been discovered at many places within the territory of the colony; but their worship was far more prevalent among the northern nations. Accordingly memorials of them abound in our own country, and especially in Germany. For the former the works of Dr. Bruce and Mr. Roach Smith may be consulted, for the latter Brambach's *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum* (see preceding notes). But we need not leave our own London in search of illustrations. The Guildhall Library contains a fragment of a group of the Deae Matres, found in Hart Street, Crutched Friars, among Roman ruins; they are represented as three seated figures holding baskets of fruit in their laps.

D. D. FLAMINICA. VIENNAE
TEGVLAS AENEAS. AVRATAS
CVM. CARPVSCVLIS. ET
VESTITVRIS. BASIVM. ET. SIGNA
CASTORIS. ET POLLVCIS. CVM EQVIS
ET. SIGNA. HERCVLIS. ET. MERCVRI
D S D¹

A Flaminica² of Vienne, appointed by a decree of

is conjectured that this money was applied to the maintenance of the temple. This mosaic, described above, has a different title in M. Georges Lafaye's memoir upon it in the *Revue Archeologique* 1892, Troisième Serie, tome xix, pp. 322-347, viz., De Saint-Romain-en-Gal Rhône, instead of Sainte Colombe.

¹ D.S.D. means De suo dedit. The last D in this abbreviation sometimes stands for some part of the verbs *dono* or *dedico*: v. Gerrard, *Siglarium Romanum*. Similarly D. S. P. D. = *De sua pecunia dedit*, Orelli, *Collectio Inscr., Lat.*, vol. ii, p. 457 sq. I, *Index Notarum*.

² With this Inscription we may compare one found at Auch, Département de Gers, in honour of Caius Antistius Severus, Flamen: see *Congrès Scientifique de France*, 1873, Trente-neuvième Session à Pau, Tome Second, pp. 175-178. *Memoire de M. l'Abbe Caneto*, accompanied by a good engraving, pl. ii in the same vol.: and my Paper on Antiquities in the South-West of France, *Archaeol. Journ.*, 1879, vol. xxxvi, p. 14 sq., where many

authorities, ancient and modern, are cited.

The Flamen was perhaps so called from *filamen* (Inscr. Gruter, p. 227, n. 6), *filum* being the fillet of wool worn round his head, which is the explanation given by Varro and Festus. *Varro de Lingua Latina*, v. 15: Festus apud Paul. Diac., p. 87 (65) edit. K. O. Müller, Flamen Dialis dictus, quod filo assidue veletur; indeque appellatur flamen, quasi filamen. He was a priest devoted to the service of a particular deity. At Rome there were fifteen, and the Flamen dialis, i.e., the priest of Jupiter, took precedence over the rest. His title reminds us of Diespiter, Horace, *Odes*, i, 34, 5,

Diespiter,
Igri corusco nubila dividens
Plerumque.

Comp. Ζεύς Διός; and Diana, goddess of light.

Flaminica is the Flamen's wife. She attended sacrifices, as appears from Ovid, *Fasti*, ii, 27,

Iipse ego Flaminicam poscentem februa vidi:

the Decurions, presented out of her own money the gilt bronze tiles¹ with the antefixes on the ridges and the veneer of pedestals, and statues of Castor and Pollux with their horses, and statues of Hercules and Mercury.

Of all the inscriptions in the Museum at Vienne this is the most celebrated, and on account of the difficulty of interpretation it has led to more discussion than any other. I have reproduced for the most part M. Bazin's translations, but further investigation seems necessary.

In the first line he has omitted the letters D. D., which may mean *decreto decurionum*; some, however, have supposed that they are an abbreviation of the Flaminica's name, unknown to us. M. Auguste Allmer, a great authority for the inscriptions at Vienne, renders *carpusculi* by palmettes (palm-leaves); M. Léon Palustre, who presided over the Congress held in 1879, explains the word differently.² He derives it from the Greek *καρπός*, comparing it with *encarpa*, garlands of fruits and flowers, and hence infers that it means a series of curves, which at their junction had some ornament that in form might resemble a pear.³ The *carpusculi*, he says, were antefixes with double faces, which at the same time decorated the ridge of the roof, and served to connect the tiles on its opposite slopes.

Februa poscenti pinea virga data est.

For these offices one of the most important passages is Tacitus, *Annals* iv, 16. Sub idem tempus de flamine Diali in locum Servii Maluginensis defuncti legendo, miser roganda nova lege disseruit Cæsar . . . lata lex qua flaminica Dialis sacrorum causa in potestate viri, cetera promisco (*sic*) feminarum jure ageret. Vide interpretes.

In elucidating this subject Inscriptions come to our aid. That on the tomb of P. Scipio Africanus (filius Africani majoris, pater adoptivus minoris) begins thus:—

QVEI APICEM INSIGNE DIALIS
FLAMINIS GESSISTEI.

Versus sunt Saturnii. Labruzzi, *Via Appia Illustrata*; *Orelli*, vol. i, No. 558; *ibid.*, cap. v., Res Sacræ, § 5, Flamines, Nos. 2207–2224, esp. 2208; § 6, Flaminicæ, Nos. 2225–2232.

¹ The Roman tiles were of two kinds, *tegulae*, flat, and *imbrices*, semi-

cylindrical; v. Rich, s.v., with engravings; they were arranged similarly to those now used in Italy, which every traveller must have noticed, and were generally made of baked clay, but sometimes of marble, when a more costly material was required. Cf. omn. Livy, lib. xlii, cap. iii, *Ædes Fortunæ Equestris*, *Tegulae marmoreæ ex æde Junonis Lacinie detractæ*. Relatæ jussu Senatus. The censor, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, attempted to despoil the Temple of Juno in Bruttii; v. the Article *Tegula* in the *Dict. of Antiqq.*, by the late Mr. James Yates.

² *Congrès Archeologique de France*, xlvii^e Session, a Vienne, pp. 196–201.

³ *Encarpa* (ἐγκαρπα) are festoons, “florum frondiumque et pomorum implexus,” Forcellini, such as we see adorning the exterior of our own Metropolitan Cathedral. Vitruvius, lib. iv, cap. i, et cymatiis et encarpis procrinibus dispositis frontes ornaverunt: edit. Rode, p. 79.

Again, various opinions have been entertained concerning the words *vestituris basium*, which have been translated "les revêtements des acrotères," coating or veneering of the pedestals, doubtless with a more costly material than that used under the surface.¹ M. Palustre thinks that this expression relates to the *tegulae aeneae, auratae*, so that the sentence would be symmetrical, the clause from *tegulas* to *basium* corresponding with *signa Castoris et Pollucis cum equis, &c.*; and *vestituris basium* would mean ornaments attached to the extremities of the curved tiles (*imbricibus extremis*), where the water dripped from them.² But there are *prima facie* objections to this interpretation. *Vestitura*, literally *clothing*, loses its specific meaning; and the same remark applies to *basis*, which could hardly be used to describe the end of a tile, for then the idea of foundation or support would wholly disappear.

The literary evidence should always be combined with the monumental. From phrases in Terence (*decidit de tegulis*), and in Juvenal (*quem tegula sola tuetur*)³ we

¹ The Acroteria were pedestals placed on the summit and angles of a pediment for the purpose of supporting statues: Rich. s.v., *Vitruv.* iii, 5, § 12, edit. Schneider; iii, 3, p. 74, edit. Rode, Acroteria angularia (b) tam alta, quantum est tympanum medium; mediana (m) altiora octava parte quam angularia. Atlas of Plates. Formæ ad explicandos M. Vitruvii Pollionis decem libros de Architectura . . . cum brevibus explicationibus—lib. iii., Tab. iv., Forma xxv, l.l., m.—Eckgiebelzinnen, Mittlere Giebelzinne.

Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, chap. 29, says of that Emperor, "jure sit gloriatus, marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset," these words must not be taken too literally, for he only covered brick buildings with a coating of marble. A veneer of wood is called *bractea* (whence we have the term *bracteates* for coins unusually thin), by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xvi, c. 43, s. 84, § 232, quoted in Riddle and Arnold's *English - Latin Dictionary*, Hæc prima origo luxuriæ arborum, alia integri, et viliores ligni pretiosiores cortice fieri. Ut una arbor sæpius veniret, excogitatae sunt et ligni bracteæ. In this passage Sillig reads *ligni* for

ligno, the genitive being dependent on the adjective, of which he gives examples in his critical note; he also has the form *bratteæ* for *bracteæ*, as we have *cotta* from *cocta*, ditto from *dicto*, by a change which philologists call *assimilation*.

De Vit explains *vestituras basium* as being *anaglypta et sculpturas ornandis basibus*; cf. Promis (a well known Italian antiquary), *Vocaboli d'Archit.*, p. 215.

The inscription we have been considering is no new discovery, as it appears in *Gruter's Collection*, 1602-1634, p. xcviij, No. 8, in porta Cloestria fragmentum. In C.I.L., vol. xii, p. 238, No. 1904, Hirschfeld repeats it with copious references to early and recent publications.

² *Stillicidium* in Cicero means rain-water falling from eaves: de *Oratore*, I, 38, § 173, parietum luminum stillicidiorum . . . jura. See also passages from the Digest in Henrichsen's note quoted by Ellendt, edition of *Op citat.*, Explicationes, vol. ii, p. 98.

³ *Phormio*, Act iv, Scene iv, v. 26. Anguis in impluvium decidit de tegulis.

Bentley reads *in* instead of *per implu-*

learn that ancient houses were covered with roofing tiles; and Pliny informs us that Catulus was the first to gild (*inaurasset*) those made of bronze on the Capitol.¹ I observed in the Museum at Vienne a fragmentary example where the gilding was still quite apparent; it was found in 1850 near the fortress on Mont Pipet, which was the Roman citadel; by the side of it, in the glass case, was another *en metal blanc*. M. Bazin thinks that the decorations mentioned in the inscription belonged to the amphitheatre, and regards the statues as specially suited to such a building and the games celebrated therein. But the tiles at least may with better reason be attributed to a temple than to a structure that was open to the sky.²

vium, as the latter would not suit the context. The quadrangular opening in the centre of the roof of the *atrium* was called *compluvium*, through it the rain-water fell into the *impluvium*, a reservoir in the floor.

Satires, iii, 200.

Nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
Ultimus ardebit, quem tegula sola
tuetur

A pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova
columbæ;

where the poet is evidently speaking of the roof, because it is opposed to the lower storeys. Heinrich's note *in loco*, Hier sind *imi gradus* die zwei oder drei untersten Etagen. The singular here is put for the plural; we find a similar phrase in Suetonius, Grammatici Illustres, cap. 9, Namque jam persenex (Orbilius) pau perem se, et habitare sub tegulis, quodam scripto fatetur.

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, lib. XXXIII, cap. iii, sect. 18, § 57. This paragraph is so important that without abridgment I transcribe it:

"Laquearia, quæ nunc et in privatis domibus auro teguntur, post Carthaginem eversam primo in Capitolio inaurata sunt, censura L. Mummi. Inde transiere in camaras quoque et parietes, qui jam et ipsi tamquam vasa inaurantur, cum varia sua ætas de Catulo existumaverit, quod tegulas æreas Capitolii inaurasset."

² *Op. citat.*, p. 28; see also p. 100 sq., where the *flamines* and *flaminicæ* are noticed. M. Bazin gives a list of the former who are mentioned in the

Inscriptions of Vienne, classified as they were severally devoted to the cult of Augustus, Mars, Juventas and Germanicus Cæsar.

In the historians *flaminium* is the word employed to denote the office of *flamen*, but in two Dacian monuments we have *flamonium*. Gruter, Pag. cxcv, No. 5, Albæ Julis in Aula Cardinalis; literis Palmaribus (a hand-breadth in length).

L . FL . YALENS

OB . HQNOREM

FLAMONII

B . P . D

i.e., Bono Publico Datum.

Alba Julia, sometimes called Carolina, is the same as Apulum; the corresponding modern names are Karlsburg and Weissenburg, on the river Maros or Marosch (Mápc, Herodotus), in Transylvania, north-east of Trajan's Bridge.

Cf. *ibid.*, Pag. ccliv, No. 5, In ruinis Ulpis Trajanæ, Sarmizgetusæ (Augusta Dacica) Warhel (Varhely in Wallachia), South-West of Alba Julia, *De Vit*, s.v., adds *Inscrr.* apud Renier, n. 1428, 1730, 1824 et 3096.

Further information about Roman tiles will be found in Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, 1st edition, vol. ii, pp. 229-235; at p. 229. fig. 183, Flange tile found in London; Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 113, with two engravings; and Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, vol. iii, p. 1366, and figs. 1513 sq., Dach und Durchschnitt des tuscanischen Atrium.

This remarkable *épigraphe* has suffered but little from exposure to the weather and the more injurious action of human beings; the characters are of exceptional beauty, and, as they are somewhat elongated, may be assigned to the time of Hadrian or thereabouts. Within the limits of the text of a memoir further details in this branch of my subject cannot be given, but I may add that many inscribed stones have already been deposited at St. Pierre, and that it is intended to convert this church into a Musée Lapidaire.¹

Vienne, though a prosperous manufacturing town, no longer flourishes in artistic magnificence, as it did under the Romans—it no longer deserves the epithet *pulcra* bestowed on it by Martial;² to the disgrace of the municipality, it cannot even claim the credit of cleanliness which is next to goodliness.³ But I hope enough has been said to induce the antiquarian traveller to pause for a while in a place where he may enjoy the charms of external nature, and at the same time pursue his researches amidst ancient monuments that will gratify a liberal curiosity.⁴

¹ I saw in my visit to Vienne, 1893, another collection of the same kind as that at St. Pierre, under a shed (*hangar*), but I presume this was only a temporary arrangement. The objects in the museum of the Hôtel de Ville are miscellaneous, viz., statuettes, cornices, fragments of friezes, bas-reliefs pagan and christian, cippi, capitals of columns, vases, mosaics, &c. For an account of them see *Description du Musée de Vienne (Isère)*, précédée de recherches

historiques sur le Temple d'Auguste et de Livie, par M. T. C. Delorme, ornée de neuf lithographies, 1841.

² *Epigrams*, vii, 88, quoted above.

³ It is said that John Wesley altered this proverb, substituting *godliness* for *goodliness*.

⁴ Schneyder, ce peintre de Thuringe qui, passant par Vienne, fut si frappé de la beauté de ses monuments qu'il s'y arrêta, obtint un petit emploi et y demeura jusqu'à sa mort. Il fonda le Musée dont il fut nommé conservateur.