

THE ANTIQUITIES OF ARLES.

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Arles is the subject of my Paper, but a person who has frequently visited the South of France can hardly dissociate it in his own mind from Nîmes; nor is it desirable to do so, for these two cities present several points of resemblance and difference, suggesting trains of thought that may be interesting and instructive. They are in adjoining Departments—Nîmes in Gard, and Arles in Bouches-du-Rhône—and by railway the traveller passes quickly from one to the other.¹ Both possess vast amphitheatres towering above modern constructions, and exceeding all edifices of the same kind on Gallic soil.² But while Nîmes has the Maison Carrée and the so-called Temple of Diana, Arles has no building left that was consecrated to pagan deities. Augustus founded the Roman colony at Nîmes; it was visited by his minister Agrippa, and patronized by the Emperor Hadrian. Arles attained the zenith of prosperity at a comparatively late period, when Constantine fixed his residence there; and became the capital of the Western Empire, when Trêves was dangerous on account of its proximity to the Germans.

Nîmes has few Christian antiquities, no inscriptions of this class found there being earlier than the sixth century.

¹ Strabo, Lib. IV, Cap. I, § 12, p. 186 (edit. Didot, p. 155) Μητρώπολις δὲ τῶν Ἀρηκομίσκων ἐστὶ Νέμαυσος, κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἀλλότριον ὄχλον καὶ τὸν ἐμπορικὸν πολὺ Νάρβωνος λειπομένη, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πολιτικὸν υπερβάλλουσα . . . Ἰδρυταὶ δ' ἡ πόλις κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν . . . διέχει δ' ἡ Νέμαυσος τὸν μὲν Ῥοῦανδὸν περὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων. This road passed through Narbo (Narbonne) and Arelate (Arles). With Strabo's definition of the site compare the *Antonine Itinerary*, p. 386 sq., edit. Wesseling; p. 186 sq., edit. Parthey and Pinder. "A Mediolano (Milan) Vapinco (Gap) trans Alpes Cottias. . . Inde ad Galliciam ad leg. VII geminam.

Cavellione (Cavaillon) mpm XXII

Arelate mpm XXX
Nemausum (*sic*) . . . mpm XVIII
ibid., p. 396 (190).

Ptolemy, *Geographia*, II, x. 6, p. 241, edit. Car. Müller, Gallia Narbonensis, Μετὰ δὲ τοὺτους μέχρι τοῦ Ῥοῦανου ποταμοῦ Ὀυόλκαι οἱ Ἀρηκόμοι, ὡν πόλεις μεσόγειοι Οὐινδόμαγος, Νέμαυσον κολωνία; see Müller's note.

Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Lib. III, Cap. IV, Sect. 5, § 37, "Nemausum Arecomiorum, oppida vero ignobilia . . . XXIV Nemausiensibus attributa."

² The dimensions of the amphitheatre at Nîmes are: greater axis, 133 metres 38 centimetres; lesser axis, 101 metres 40 centimetres—being less than those at Arles.

Arles, on the other hand, can show a series of sarcophagi not inferior in interest to the collection at the Lateran; the epigraphs, according to the most competent authority, date from the third century. If we descend to later times, we again perceive a wide difference. The Nimois embraced the Reformed faith about the year 1550; that their successors have not degenerated any one who attends the services of the *Grand Temple* may find out for himself.¹ Arles can hardly be said to have taken part in the so-called wars of religion, and at the present day the Protestants are an insignificant minority.

The principal monuments at Arles are the amphitheatre, theatre and Cathedral. They cannot be omitted in an account of the antiquities of the city, but I do not propose to discuss them at length, partly because they are described in ordinary guide-books, and still more fully by Estrangin²; partly because I had rather direct your attention to objects not so generally known, and concerning which information is not so easily accessible.

By its stupendous size and great solidity the amphitheatre makes a deep impression on the visitor, especially if he views it from the suburb of Trinquetaille, on the right bank of the Rhône—contrasting with the modern

¹ Among the Protestants born at Nîmes the most celebrated are Saurin, distinguished as a pulpit orator, who had the singular title of Preacher to the nobility at the Hague, and in our own time Guizot, the statesman and historian.

Nîmes for a long time flourished, and became an important manufacturing centre; but in the early part of the present century its prosperity was interrupted by a cruel persecution, when the Protestants suffered from the attacks of Royalist mobs. Their excesses may be read in Joanne's *Guide for Provence*, &c., p. 118 sq., edit. 1877; it contains a long extract from Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations*. The Duc d'Angoulême, though the rioters were of his own party, put an end to "these abominable scenes," and said: "Il faut laisser agir les lois contre les assassins et les incendiaires," setting a good example which on many occasions we should have done well to imitate.

² Monsieur Jean-Julien Estrangin published two books, of which the titles are as follow:—*Etudes Archeologiques,*

Historiques, et Statistiques sur Arles, contenant la description des Monuments Antiques et Modernes, ainsi que des notes sur le territoire, 8vo. pp. 399, Aix, 1838; and *Description de la ville d'Arles antique et moderne, de ses Champs-Élysées et de son Musée Lapidaire, avec une Introduction Historique*, 24mo., pp. 504, Aix et Arles, 1845. I procured the latter with considerable delay and difficulty; but it is important to any one who wishes to make a serious study of this region, because it contains some details not included in the former work, especially notices of antiquities discovered subsequently to 1838, and a greater number of inscriptions. The historical introduction is also more fully developed. Hirschfeld, in the Vol. XII of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, devoted to Gallia Narbonensis, mentions both these books as authorities for Arles, and frequently refers to them in his explanatory notes: *vide* p. 87, No. XXVII, s.v. Arelate. *Ibid.*, he pays a just tribute to the learning and industry of the publications of Monsieur Marius Huard, the local antiquary.

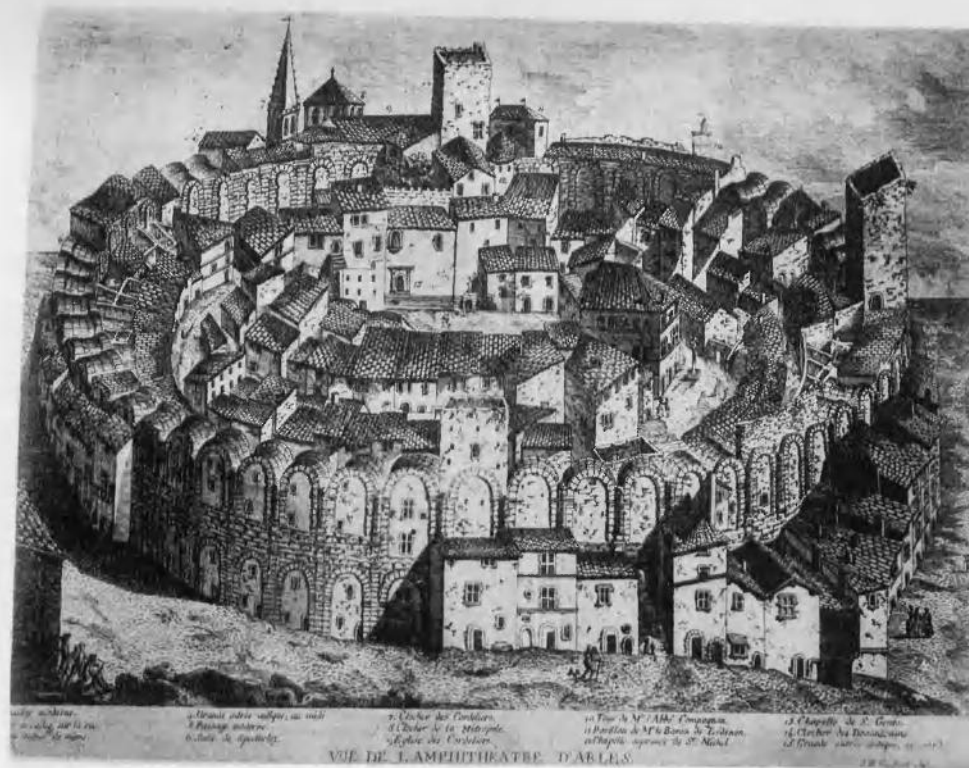
houses that surround it, and seeming as if it still claimed for its builders a superiority over later generations. The greater axis of this structure, elliptical in form, measures 140 mètres, and the lesser 103. It consists of two storeys—the lower of the Doric order, the upper of the Corinthian; and the benches would accommodate 25,000 spectators. Ammianus Marcellinus records that Constantius II. in 353 A.D., when he was spending the winter at Arles, exhibited games with great magnificence;¹ and Sidonius Apollinaris bears a similar testimony to the Emperor Majorian.² Four rectangular towers were raised at the Cardinal points towards the close of the eighth century, three of which still remain and form a conspicuous feature. Some authors have attributed them to the Saracens, but the French are too ready to father upon the Mussulmans the works of other hands which they cannot explain satisfactorily; in the present instance the supposition is plausible, because the Saracens not only ravaged the South of France, but also made Arles for some time their head-quarters.³ In some other cases such a notion is hardly more rational than the superstition that calls a Roman boundary-wall a *Teufelsmauer*, or sees in a hollow amid the summits of mountains a “Devil’s punch-bowl.”

After the battle in which Charles Martel defeated the Saracens between Poitiers and Tours, they retraced their course; and, as if to avenge their disaster, devastated Languedoc and Provence with fire and sword. Their General, Joussouf, had possession of Arles for four years. Charles Martel descended the Rhone, and compelled the invaders to retreat to Narbonne. The Arlésiens came back to their city; but they could only occupy the site, wholly incapable as they were of restoring the architectural splendour that formerly adorned it. At this period the amphitheatre was given up to the population; the arena, seats, vomitories, and galleries were covered with habitations, as at Nîmes. Two hundred and twelve

¹ Estrangin, *Études sur Arles*, p. 18, cites Ammianus, Lib. 14, Cap. V, Sect. 1, “post theatrales ludos atque circenses, ambizioso editos apparatu” — edit. Bipont, p. 13; edit. Eyssenhardt, p. 9.

² *Sidon Apollin. Epist.* I, 11, edit. Baret, pp. 200–207, esp. 203.

³ So at Clermont in the Auvergne a Roman wall is popularly called *mur des Sarrasins*. As an illustration of the Arab occupation I may refer to an inscription in that language copied by A.-L. Millin, *Voyage dans les Départemens du Midi*, Atlas 4to., Plate XLIX.



AMPHITHEATRE AT ARLES, FROM AN OLD PRINT.

houses were built there, and even a chapel dedicated to Saint Genêt.¹ The demolition of these buildings was begun in 1809, and continued for several years. The amphitheatre abutting on the old Roman ramparts, and projecting like an engaged column, presented itself to these helpless people at the same time as a strong fortress and a secure dwelling-place. Most probably under these circumstances the towers were erected by the Arlésiens with the view of strengthening their position against Mussulman enemies. Nor do these precautions appear unnecessary when we consider how many sieges they had to sustain for nearly a century and a-half, and how little aid the French monarchy could afford them.²

The Theatre is situated south-west of the Amphitheatre, and very near it. At Arles it is a great advantage that the most interesting antiquities, as at Vienne, are concentrated in the town, and almost adjoin each other—so close is their proximity; the traveller can visit them all in a short walk, and there is little to be seen in the neighbourhood. But scanty remains are left of this once magnificent and richly decorated edifice, which owes its ruined condition partly to Christian zeal, for the clergy regarded it as a school of vice and temple of idolatry: accordingly, St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles, A.D. 429–449, stripped the building of its finest marbles and removed them to churches.³ In the work of destruction he was

¹ I exhibited a photograph of a folding plate that accompanies the *Abregé Chronologique de l'histoire d'Arles*, contenant Les Événemens arrivés pendant qu'elle a été tour-à-tour Royaume et République, ensuite réunie à la Souveraineté des Comtes de Provence et des Rois de France. Ouvrage enrichi du Recueil complet des Inscriptions et de Planches des Monumens antiques. Par Monsieur De Noble Lalauzière, 1808. Planche X, Vue de l'amphitheatre d'Arles, with indications at foot, amongst them "No. 12, Chapelle supprimée de St. Michel; No. 13, Chapelle de St. Genès."

This work comprises the history of Arles from the foundation of the city to the death of Louis XIV, whom the author describes as "un héros véritablement Chretien!" Lalauzière should be consulted for details, but he does not rise above the level of annalists; he is not a philosophical writer who groups

facts and personages with insight into motives and due regard to the connection of cause and effect.

² The unification of France, the results of which are so remarkable at the present day, was a slow process. For a long period it was prevented by the power of great nobles, such as the Dukes of Normandy and the Counts of Provence, who ruled extensive territories; and the English had no small portion of the country, retaining Bordeaux for nearly three hundred years. Louis XI consolidated the royal power, and Richelieu completed his work, when he took Rochelle—a success which caused the downfall of the Huguenots as a political party.

³ According to some accounts his zeal went even further. "Il fit même briser les belles statues qui en faisoient l'ornement, et eut soin de les faire cacher bien avant dans la terre, pour ôter à

aided by the deacon Cyril; when the latter suffered some wound in the course of these operations (*dum marmorum crustas et theatri proscenia deponeret*) he is said to have been miraculously cured. To make bad worse, at least from the archæological point of view, a nunnery was installed here in 1664; but it disappeared in the last century—I presume, during the disorder consequent on the great Revolution.

The architects of this theatre seem to have followed Greek rather than Roman models in the choice of its position as well as in details of arrangement, for the seats were placed on the declivity of a rock, and thus, to a great extent, the cost of substructions was saved. Two lofty Corinthian columns, which, though injured by fire, stand upright with the entablature over them, are at present the most conspicuous objects here; in fact, they alone arrest attention at first sight. Of the rest which were in the same row behind the proscenium, where the actors performed, nothing is left but the pedestals. What we desiderate here is supplied by a line of columns at Taormina (Taur-omenium), where the spectator, while he saw and heard the drama, could at the same time feast his eyes with a prospect not to be surpassed in all the globe, comprehending the summit of Etna and the east coast of Sicily even beyond Syracuse.¹ These theatres furnish us with an artistic commentary on Virgil's beautiful lines (*Æneid*, Lib. I, v. 431 *sqq.*):

Hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatris
Fundamenta locant alii, immanesque columnas
Rupibus excidunt, scenis decora alta futuris.

The poet is describing the Tyrian colonists busy in erect-

l'idolatrie tout pretexte de retour"; Lalauziere, *op. citat.*, p. 62.

See his Epitaph on a sarcophagus: *ibid.* at the end of the volume in the *Recueil des Inscriptions*, No. 154, p. xx. It begins with the word *Antistes*, the ecclesiastical Latin for Bishop, and consists of sixteen lines, all hexameters except the fifth, which is a pentameter:

Hic carnis spoliū liquit *ad astra*
volans.

A leaf is placed at the end of each verse.

See also *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. *citat.*, p. 122, No. 949. On the cover of the sarcophagus, now in the Museum at Arles,

we read ANTESTIS (*sic*) HILARIVS. In v. 14 the word *flagrantia* occurs which does not suit the context:

Divitias, paradise, tuas, *flagrantia*
semper
Gramina et halantes divinis floribus
hortos.

Hence the conjecture *fragrantia* has been proposed. Corp. Estrangin, *Etudes*, p. 136; Description, p. 209.

¹ Serradifalco, *Antichità di Sicilia*, Palermo, 1834-42, Vol. V, Tavola XXII. Hittorff and Zanth, *Architecture Antique de la Sicile*, Paris, 1870.

ing the walls and public buildings of Carthage. Thus by comparing one monument with another are we enabled to sketch the outline, to fill in the deficient parts, and to picture to ourselves the grandeur and beauty of the whole.

Another feature, though not prominent, deserves our notice: viz., a deep groove in front of the stage, intended. I think, to receive the curtain (*aulæa*) which, contrary to modern usage, was let fall at the beginning of the play, and raised when the performance ended—as Horace says, *Epistles*, Lib. II, v. 189 *sq.*:—

Quattuor aut plures aulæa premuntur in horas,
Dum fugiunt equitum turmæ peditumque catervæ.

Comp. Cicero, *Epistles ad Familiares* VII, 1.¹

At Taormina the places of honour were marked by Inscriptions for the pontiffs (hieromnemes), quæstors, and commissioners for the supply of provisions (*præfecti rei frumentariæ*); and we cannot doubt that the same custom was adopted at Arles also. That it was general throughout the Roman Empire we may infer from similar epigraphs at Aquincum; I observed them when I made the excursion thither. They have been carefully noted by the Hungarian antiquaries, and some are transcribed in my Paper on Buda-Pest, *Archæological Journal*, Vol. L., p. 330.²

The great number of statues found in the theatre of Arles sufficiently proves the good taste as well as the abundance of its decorations. Moreover, the effigies of Venus, from whom the Julian family traced their descent, and a bust of Augustus that may have belonged to a

¹ This letter is important as a parallel to the passage quoted from Horace, and as showing Cicero's opinion concerning the Stage and Amphitheatre. I extract two of the most remarkable sentences: "Quid enim delectationis habent sexcenti muli in Clytæmnestra? aut in Equo Trojano craterarum tria millia? aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? . . . Sed quæ potest homini esse polito delectatio, quum aut homo imbecillus a valentissima bestia laniatur, aut præclara bestia venabulo transverberatur?"

² At Treves a stone has been discovered on which the word LOCUS

appears; at present nothing more remains, but from comparison with other monuments it is evident that originally the name of the occupant was added: Hettner, *Die Römischen Steindenkmaler von Trier*, 1893, p. 9, No. 13 [Saal V.] Sitzplatz mit Inschrift. Aus dem Amphitheater zu Trier. Hettner cites, *C.I.L.*, Vol. XII, No. 714, *loc[us] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) pas[top] horror(um)*, and especially from the amphitheatre at Syracuse, *C.I.L.*, Vol. X, 7130 *locus Statili, locus P. Lae*. . . See also Brambach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*, No. 771d.

colossal figure, lead us to the conclusion that the date of erection should be assigned to his reign or one that followed soon afterwards.¹

An inconsiderate traveller might not discover any connection between the Theatre and the Cathedral of St. Trophime; but it really exists, for the colonnettes of the *podium* were transferred to some other edifice, and afterwards found place in the cloisters of the Metropolitan Church.

According to the traditions of the See, this Trophimus was the same as the disciple of St. Paul mentioned both in the Acts of the Apostles xx, 4, together with Tychicus, as coming from Asia; *ibid.* xxi, 29, as an Ephesian; and in the second Epistle to Timothy iv, 20, as left behind sick at Miletus. We may remark here that the relations subsisting between the South of France and the Orient in Apostolic times continued in the Antonine age, which we know from the Epistle sent by the Christians at Lyons and Vienne to their brethren in Asia Minor.² It is said that Trophimus was First Bishop of Arles, and that from him, as from a fountain, the streams of faith flowed to all parts of Gaul. But Gregory of Tours gives a different account, and brings the date of this saint down to the latter half of the third century. At Mont-Majour, four kilometres north-east of Arles, near the abbey, at the foot of the great tower is a chapel, with two cells hollowed out in the rock, one of which is called the Confessional of St. Trophime. This could not refer to the Trophimus of the New Testament; in the primitive church there was no

¹ K. Bernhard Stark, in his book entitled *Stadtleben, Kunst und Alterthum in Frankreich*, 1855, has an interesting chapter on Arles and Nîmes, pp. 67-106, beginning with a comparison between these two cities, considered historically. He describes the prospect seen from the tower of the amphitheatre, and afterwards, p. 74, proceeds to the theatre. "Neben uns ragt die Steinpyramide des Rolandthurmes, selbst nur ein Aufbau auf den drei Etagen der Aussenwand des Theaters, und dieses selbst ist blossgelegt mit seinen zwei ragenden Säulen von afrikanischer Breccia und dem wohl erhaltenen unteren Aufbau der Bühnenwand uns zu Füssen.

² The letter is preserved by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. V, Chap. I: my Paper on the "Antiquities of Vienne," *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. LI, p. 255, and Vol. LII, p. 145 *sq.* The correspondence with Asiatics is only what might be expected, for Provence always turned her face towards the East. We see this attitude alike in the facts recorded by ancient authors, and in the monuments still extant; in the worship of Apollo and Diana at Marseilles; in inscriptions—Phœnician, Arabic, and Greek—not to speak of the Hellenic types and symbols reproduced by the Gaulish tribes from the Alps to the Pyrenees. Stark, *op. citat.*, pp. 40-43 and 63.

such practice, for St. James, v, 16, says, "confess your faults one to another."¹

We should bear in mind that the Cathedral was first dedicated in 606 to St. Stephen, and afterwards, in 1152, to St. Trophimus, when his body was removed to it from the church of St. Honorat at Aliscamps (Champs-Élysées). The most interesting part of the edifice is the grand portal close to the Hôtel de Ville, and opposite the Musée, on the Place Royale, from which one ascends by ten steps, now of stone but formerly of marble. In the centre of the arch our Lord appears seated, bearded and wearing a Carolingian crown, his right hand raised in benediction, his left holding the Gospel. He is surrounded by the usual Evangelistic symbols, derived from the Apocalypse — angel, eagle, lion and bull — both beasts winged; they all carry a gospel, the eagle in its claws, the lion and bull with their fore-feet. Twelve Apostles below are seated, nimbated, with books in their hands. On both sides of the door stand three lofty columns with different capitals—the two sets of capitals corresponding, each to each. They do not belong to the classical orders, but remind us of the Byzantine style, as seen at Constantinople or Ravenna. The saints above mentioned occupy two niches—Trophimus in episcopal robes, with mitre and crosier; Stephen suffering martyrdom by lapidation. Four statues of Apostles fill up the intercolumniations. The large figures are surmounted by a frieze of smaller ones—processions of the blessed where bishops are prominent, and of the wicked dragged down to hell in chains; this latter part of the composition, like the façade at Autun, has been rightly characterised as horrible and grotesque.²

¹ For the excursion to Mont-Majour and some account of the Abbey there, see Joanne's *Guide*, Provence, Alpes Maritimes, Corse, Route 1, p. 53, edit. 1877. The *Congrès Archeologique de France*, XLIII^e Session, à Arles, pp. 632-642, contains a Memoir by M. François de Marin, "Des rapports d'Arles avec l'Abbaye de Montmajour," from the foundation of the monastery in the tenth century to its secularization, ordered in 1876.

² *Congrès Archeologique*, *ibid.*; a still more elaborate Memoir by M. Honoré Clair, "Iconographie du portail de Saint-Trophime," pp. 607-631; "Dans les contrées méridionales de la France l'art byzantin n'a rien accompli de plus calme, de plus lucide dans son ordonnance, de plus luxueux dans ses décorations," p. 608. "Parmi eux (les apôtres) saint Trophime et saint Étienne occupent un place d'honneur due à leur qualité de patrons de l'église. En regard l'un

Of the inscriptions in the Cathedral, one is so touching that I do not like to pass it by unnoticed. The inconsolable widow placed it on the tomb of Robert de Montcalm, who died in 1685 :

D. O. M. ET AMORI CONJUGALI SACRUM.

Mortuus est aliis, at mihi vivit adhuc.

"He's dead to others, still alive to me."

Monsieur Estrangin remarks that the Greek Anthology does not contain an epitaph that expresses a sensibility more profound and more delicate.¹

Next to the portal, the cloisters have the best claim on our attention. They consist of four galleries surrounding a square enclosure, evidently of different periods, some arches being of the twelfth century and round (*en plein cintre*), others of the fourteenth and pointed (*en ogive*) ; but the architecture may be described generally as Gothic. The capitals of columns present a great variety of subjects relating chiefly to biblical history, mingled with mediæval legends about fabulous animals. One of these is St. Martha muzzling a monster, *la Tarasque*, from which Tarascon (Bouches-du-Rhône), the junction station for Nîmes, is said to derive its name. Joanne's *Guide*, p. 40 *sq.*, edit. 1877, gives a detailed and amusing account of the Fête de la Tarasque. Other creatures of the same kind are called *gaivres* and *gémasques*. The list of these sculptured scenes is so long that it would be quite impossible to enumerate them all ; indeed it would be difficult to find another building where so many events recorded in the Old and New Testaments are represented. A few examples must suffice. We see here the Hebrews encamped on the plains of Moab, and blessed by Balaam from the high places of Baal ; which is ascertained from the ass of the

de l'autre, ils personnifient la prédication et le martyre ; saint Trophime confessa au peril de ses jours la bonne nouvelle ; saint Etienne mourut pour elle," p. 616 *seq.*

The inferior execution of these statues and a difference in the epigraphic characters appear to indicate that they belong to a later date than the others, p. 619. This essay, besides a full discussion of the larger figures, enters into

the details of the subjects on a smaller scale, with which the portal is profusely ornamented, *e.g.*, the Dream of Jacob, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, &c.

¹ *Études sur Arles*, p. 178. Many Inscriptions will also be found in the *Description de la Ville d'Arles* by the same author, Sect. 7, Eglise Métropolitaine, pp. 75-102.

prophet, and a tower inscribed ISRAEL. A pillar supporting saints, one of whom is distinguished by sandals and a wallet, symbolizes the mendicant orders. A man, over whom PAVLVVS is written, holds an open book, and is surrounded by a group of listening old men, doubtless with reference to the Apostle preaching at Athens before the venerable Areopagus (Acts xvii). The martyrdom of St. Stephen is repeated several times, because he was the patron Saint of the Church. On some of the statues traces of paint are still perceptible. The bénitier, or vessel for holy water, has been formed by turning upside down and scooping out the base of an ancient column, which was probably removed from the theatre.¹

In one of the four arcades the subjects are not taken from the Bible, but from ecclesiastical history, especially that pertaining to monastic orders. Here we have confessors in chains, executioners armed with clubs or other instruments of torture, martyrs hanged or with cords round their necks, a bishop giving them benediction, and the hand of God extended towards them.²

Before describing in detail any of the Sarcophagi at Arles, it may be well to make, by way of preface, a few remarks on the word itself, and the use of the thing in pagan antiquity. Sarcophagus (σαρκοφάγος) literally means *flesh-eating*, and was applied to a kind of limestone

¹ In 1793 the basilica was transformed into a Temple of Reason. At this period it suffered, like many other French churches, many mutilations perpetrated by revolutionary mobs, even more destructive than the Huguenots. Hence we are unable to identify some of the scenes which the sculptures portray.

² The *Congrès Archeol.*, Vol. citat., p. 568, gives only a brief account of the Cloister, being part of the *compte-rendu* of a visit paid to the Cathedral. The author is M. Veran, architecte de la ville. On the other hand, Estrangin, *Études*, pp. 183-202, supplies an abundance of particulars with almost tedious proximity.

Lentheric's work—*Les Villes Mortes du Golfe de Lyon, Iliberris, Ruscino, Narbon, Agde, Maguelone, Aiguesmortes, Arles, Les Saintes-Maries*—is a very meritorious performance and of exceptional interest, for the writer possesses qualifications seldom united in the

same person—the lore of an antiquary and the science of a civil engineer. But here, as in many other cases, the title may mislead, and the reader may expect some notice of the buildings at Arles described above. However, his mistake will be corrected if he will only peruse the first paragraph of the Preface, in which the following words occur: "Je veux seulement parler des variations successives de ce littoral depuis les époques historiques les plus éloignées jusqu'à nos jours." Moreover, Arles presents to the visitor a spectacle of traffic and activity, so that it does not deserve to be ranked with the Dead Cities, as Lentheric himself admits: "Arles avec sa population remuante de plus de vingt-cinq mille âmes, n'est pas une ville morte; mais c'est une reine déchue," p. 409. The text is accompanied by fifteen maps and plans. The map of the Golfe de Lyon shows the Roman roads, and the names of places both ancient and modern.

remarkable for consuming corpses laid in it, quarried at Assos—a place mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles¹—and well known on account of the discoveries made by recent explorers. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Lib. XXXVI, Cap. XVII, Sect. 161, informs us that within forty days nothing was left but the teeth. Afterwards the term was applied to any coffin,² but especially to those of stone, or marble decorated with reliefs. They became very common in the second century after Christ, and the subjects represented were sometimes scenes from daily life, but more frequently mythological. These receptacles of the dead seem to have been kept ready-made, like any other manufactured article; hence, in many cases, the sculptural designs contained no reference to the profession or acts of the deceased.³ The Etruscan sarcophagi were often of terra-cotta, and a recumbent figure was placed on the cover to adorn them: Micali, folio Atlas of Plates, *Antichi Monumenti*, accompanying the work entitled *L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani*, and containing descriptions in the text; see p. 11, Tav. XLII, “Una figura colcata che serviva per coperchio di un’urna”; XLIII is a lady of high rank, wearing a necklace of fine workmanship, like those exhibited in the Gold Ornament Room of the British Museum, far surpassing the efforts of modern jewellers; holding a mirror in her right hand, and a pomegranate in her left; cf. Tav. XLIV.

Many examples of this class of monuments, executed

¹ Assos, Acts, XX, 13, Ἡμεῖς δὲ προελθόντες ἐπὶ το πλοῖον ἀνήχθημεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσσον, ἵκειθεν μέλλοντες ἀναλαμβάνειν τὸν Πάυλον· οὕτως γὰρ ἡν διατεταγμένος μέλλων αὐτοῦ πιβεῖν.

Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 8vo edition, Vol. II, pp. 258–261, describe the place and the scenery that surrounds the approach to Assos, with an engraving of the gateway, p. 260.

Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 115, gives an account of the very ancient and remarkable sculptures in the temple at Assos, “Sie bestehen aus flachen Reliefs, in einem stumpfen an assyrische Denkmäler erinnernden Style in schwarzlichem Tufstein ausgeführt. In ununterbrochener Folge den Architrav bedeckend, stehen sie auch durch ihre

Gegenstände,—Kämpfe zwischen Lowe und Stier, Manner beim Trinkgelage, Phantastisches wie die Sphinx, Centauren und Manner mit Fischschwänzen,—der orientalischen Kunst noch näher als der griechischen.

Dr. A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, Vol. I, p. 128, Fig. 26, reliefs from Assos.

² Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. XVIII, Chap. 5, referred to by Conybeare and Howson; *loc. citat.* Quia enim arca in qua mortuus ponitur, quod omnes jam σαρκοφάγον vocant, σαρφός dicitur Græce; &c.

³ Roach Smith, *Roman London*, p. 46. Sir W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 3rd edition, s.v. Sarcophagus, Vol. II pp. 595–597, figs. 1, 2, 3.

during Pagan times, still remain, whence we perceive that the Christians still retained not only the general arrangement of the groups, but also some subjects and details derived from polytheism.

I add a brief notice of some remarkable sarcophagi:

(1.) From Golgoi (recently identified with Athieno), Cesnola's *Cyprus, its ancient cities, tombs, and temples*, pp. 110–117, description of a sarcophagus and two *stela* found with it. Plate X, facing p. 110, full page engraving. At one end the decapitation of the Gorgon by Perseus is represented¹—to which a *biga* corresponds at the other. The longer sides show us scenes from daily life—a banquet, and armed warriors hunting a bull and a boar. The author very reasonably suggests¹ that the sculptor took his design from evenly-balanced groups, such as we see in the pediments of the Temple at Ægina, and that the treatment of individual figures, and of their drapery and armour, also corresponds with the Transition Period. Compare Plates XIV, XV, sides and ends of a large marble sarcophagus from Amathus, facing p. 256. Here we have a procession, apparently part of funeral rites; the fan-shaped ornament on the horses' heads is like those in Egyptian reliefs, Wilkinson, Vol. I, p. 106, Plate I, "Remeses III returning with his Prisoners—

¹ When Perseus beheaded Medusa, Pegasus sprang from her: to this fable Juvenal alludes in *Satire III*, v. 117 *seq.*:

ripa nutritus in illa,
Ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna
caballi.

A true born Grecian! litter'd on the
coast,
Where the Gorgonian hack a pinion
lost.

Gifford's Translation.

The shore mentioned here seems to be the coast of Cilicia, and some have explained the passage as relating to Tarsus, near which city Pegasus is said to have fallen from the air, and broken his foot (*ῥαπός*, *planta pedis*). Heinrich has a long note in his edition of *Juvenal*, Vol. II, *Erklärung*, p. 142 *seq.* We have a good illustration of the poet's words in the coins of Celenderis in Cilicia, west of Tarsus, and opposite Cyprus—the position corresponding with the phrase, "*ripa in illa*." See the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1896, Third

Series, No. 61, Paper by Hermann Weber, M.D., pp. 25–27, Plate III, Figs. 3–10; coins 52, 54–57 exhibit the Gorgon's head and Pegasus—well known as Corinthian types. For Tarsus compare Catalogue of Hunter's Collection by Combe. Gifford has translated *caballus* by *hack*: but there is reason to doubt whether the Latin word means an inferior kind of horse, for it has been observed that the derivatives—French *cheval*, and English *chivalry*—point in the opposite direction. See Key's *Latin-English Dictionary*. He considers that the primary signification is one of dignity. So the adjective *caballinus* is applied to the inspiring fountain, Hippocrene, which was produced by the hoof of Pegasus: Perseus, Prologue to *Satires*, v. 1.

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino.

Professor Key's Article concludes with the remark that a word is oftener degraded than promoted.

Thebes"; p. 336, woodcut No. 48, "The Royal Princes in their Chariots." A man standing, who holds a parasol over another seated, is evidently an Oriental motive, as such a group often occurs on Assyrian monuments, where attendance of this kind is reserved exclusively for the monarch: Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 6th edition, Vol. II, pp. 133, 326; Kaulen, *Assyrien und Babylonien*, p. 33, Fig. 14, Friedensschluss; Relief aus Nimrud nach Layard. At one end we see Venus repeated four times, and at the other a figure also quadruple; the latter may be Melicertes (Melkarth, Kenrick's Phœnicia), the Phœnician Hercules, or the Pataïci—tutelary deities in the form of pygmies, whom the Phœnicians placed on the prows of their triremes: *Herodotus*, Book III, Chap. 37.¹

(2.) From Patras; we observe here the same symmetry of composition as in the preceding example. In the centre are two Cupids who seem to be drunk, judging from their uncertain posture. At each corner of the front is a Cupid, with a *Lagobolon*; one holds a dish containing fruit, the other a dead hare suspended by its hinder feet. The *lagobolon* is a throw-stick, like a shepherd's crook (*pedum*), but rather shorter and stouter. A coin, engraved by C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler*, Taf. XLII, No. 528, shows it in the hand of Pan, sitting on a rock and playing with a hare: *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1873, fine Plate No. 59, accompanying an excellent article by F. Matz, who makes some general remarks on Greek and Roman sarcophagi, as introductory to the detailed explanation of the one from Patras.

(3.) At Girgenti (Sicily), in the Cathedral of S. Gerlando. It seems to be a Roman copy of a Greek original, which will account for the composition being good, while

¹ "Ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τῷ γάλμα τοῖσι Φοινικῆοισι Παταῖκοισι ἐμπερίστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοῖνικες ἐν τῇσι πῶργῃσι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι" ὃς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὀπώπει, ἐγὼ δὲ οἱ σημανεῶ πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστί.

See Rawlinson's Translation, Vol. II, p. 434 *seq.* Herodotus here relates outrages committed by Cambyses during his stay in Egypt: *ibid.*, note 9, with two engravings, and notes 1, 2. Various derivations of the word "Pataci" have been proposed by Scaliger, Selden, and Bochart from the Hebrew; but Movers,

Phonizier, Vol. I, p. 653, connects it with the Greek παράσω. "The pigmy figures of Pthah-Sokari are often found in Egypt, principally, as might be supposed, about Memphis."

Kenrick, *Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 253, note on Παταῖκοισι, says that the name may be derived from Pthah, who represented the element of fire, and therefore was identified with Hephestus (Vulcan). This etymology seems more probable than Movers' conjecture. See also note on Ἡφαίστου το ἰδὼν, p. 252.

the execution is inferior. The subject is the myth of Hippolytus, and the reliefs harmonize with the drama of Euripides bearing his name. We see him accompanied by four hunters, striking down a wild boar; Phædra is distracted with love, and maidens playing on the lyre try to soothe her; the nurse brings to Hippolytus the *billet-doux* of his stepmother; in the last scene the unhappy youth, falsely accused, and assailed by a marine monster, appears fallen from his chariot and dragged along the ground by the horses.¹ This monument, which I remember to have seen, though of great merit, is not so well known as some others of the same kind, partly from the remoteness of the locality, partly from the danger that besets the traveller in Sicily.

(4.) In the Vatican Museum. Hall of the Greek Cross, Sarcophagi of S^{ta}. Constantia, daughter of Constantine, and of the Empress S^{ta}. Helena, mother of Constantine. The material is red Egyptian porphyry, and the size is the largest known: for these two reasons no visitor can forget them. Like the contemporary sculptures on the Arch of this Emperor, they show manifestly the feebleness and degradation of art. For a critical estimate of them see Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, pp. 269–271: “Horsemen hovering in the air, and below them prisoners and corpses scattered around, seem intended to represent a triumphal procession, or even a field of victory.” Compare Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, Chap. IV, Imperial Tombs, Section on “Mausolea of Christian Emperors,” pp. 196–199; full page engraving facing p. 198, “Sarcophagus of Helena.” The plate enables the reader to form a correct idea of the sculptures.

(5.) In the basilica of San Lorenzo, a short distance outside the gate of the same name (*Porta Tiburtina*), on the road to Tivoli, there are two sarcophagi marked *a* and *b* in *Murray's Handbook for Rome*, Sect. I, § 24, p. 131, edit. 1864. The bas-reliefs have for their subject, on the former a Roman marriage; on the latter vintage with birds and animals.

(6.) At Lucq en Béarn a sarcophagus described by

¹ Hippolytum rabidi diripuistis equi. Ovid, *Ar. Amatoria*, Bk. I, v. 338.

Baedeker's *Italie Meridionale et la Sicile*. Route 30. Girgenti, p. 275, edit.

1877. Meyer's *Reisebücher*, Unter-Italien und Siilien, von Dr. Thomas Gsell-Fels, Zweiter Band, p. 418. The latter guide-book supplies more details.

M. Le Blant as "*presque inconnu*." Many years ago I explored it with some difficulty, making the excursion from Oloron (Basses-Pyrénées). The result of my inquiries will be found in a paper on the "South-West of France," *Archæological Journal*, 1879, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 21-23. See Pératé, *L'Archéologie Chrétienne*, p. 299.

(7.) Peperino Sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, now in the Belvedere of the Vatican, remarkable for its Inscription in archaic Latin, which has been frequently copied, and for its architectural ornaments, rosettes, triglyphs, dentils, etc.¹: Emil Braun, *op. citat.*, p. 181, and especially Carlo Labruzzi, *Via Appia Illustrata*, Plate No. 7, "Ingresso al Sepolcro della Famiglia dei Scipioni scoperto l'anno 1780 col Sarcofago, Iscrizioni e Busti ivi trovati."

(8.) The collection of Christian Sarcophagi in the Lateran Museum is the most important of all, which, however, I need not describe, because *Murray's Handbook* gives a detailed account of it.

No special work on ancient sarcophagi has yet appeared, but I understand that one is being prepared in Germany. At present, the information is dispersed in various publications. C. O. Müller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, Period V, § 206, 2, and Remark; § 207, 5, and Remark (English Translation, pp. 196-199), gives a general account of the subject and some examples. Much information concerning Christian monuments of this class will be found in *L'Archéologie Chrétienne* par Andre Pératé, pp. 294-329, with illustrations, Figs. 192-222, and Bibliography—General at the beginning of the book, and Special at the head of the principal chapters.

I will only pause for a moment to remark that this class of Antiquities is peculiarly interesting, not only for its connexion with Sacred and Ecclesiastical History, but also as contributing to our knowledge of ancient art—architecture, sculpture, and mosaics. A glance at Seroux d'Agincourt's great work, *The History of Art by its Monuments*, will show that this assertion is not rashly made. In the Plate entitled, "Scelta de più bei monumenti della Scultura antica," a large proportion of the examples are taken from sarcophagi preserved in various museums.

¹ *Orelli Inscriptiones*, Vol. I, p. 149, GNAIVOD, i.e. Gnaeo cum digamma

Aeol: VIRTUTEI, i.e. virtute, OMNE LOVCANA, i.e. omnem Lucaniam.

The Christian Sarcophagi are among the most important remains of antiquity preserved at Arles; not so numerous as those in the Lateran Museum at Rome, but equally interesting. It would be impossible within the limits of a paper to describe many; but two or three examples may suffice, at least for the present.

One, of which I exhibit a photograph brought from the place itself, is an excellent specimen—Plate IV in M. Le Blant's admirable work entitled *Etude sur les Sarcophages d'Arles*. We see a group of figures under a portico, supported by twelve Ionic columns spirally fluted, with a pediment at each end. Our Lord occupies the central position on an elevated seat, as in one of the best known Christian tombs, viz., that of Junius Bassus, A.D. 359 (the date being ascertained from the Inscription (SEPT. EVSEBIO ET YPATIO COSS.)),¹ in the crypt of St. Peter's, for the plan of which see *Murray's Handbook*, Sect. I, § 24; there our Lord is seated between the chiefs of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul: Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, Vol. I, p. 276, folio, full page engraving (Sarcophagus ex Vaticano Cœmeterio effossus), which has been often copied, e.g. Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte, Altchristliche Kunst*, Vol. I, p. 252 sq., Figs. 171, 172.

A stool (*scabellum*) beneath His feet indicates a post of honour. Pausanias, *Græciæ Descriptio*, Lib. VIII, c. XXXVII, § 2, Vol. III, p. 412, edit. Siebelis (Arcadia), giving an account of statues that adorned a sacred enclosure near Megalopolis, says that the figures, throne and foot-stool (*ὑπόθημα*) were all of one stone, or monoliths.² Christ is bearded to denote divine majesty, as in

¹ See Chronological Tables of Roman History appended to Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Biography*—23rd year of the reign of Constantius II, when Julian in his fourth campaign crossed the Rhine for the third time.

² Pausanias, *loc. citat.* 'Αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα, Δέσποινα καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ τε καὶ ὁ θρόνος, ἐν ᾧ καθίζονται, καὶ τὸ ὑπόθημα τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ποσίν ἐστιν ἐνὸς ὁμοίως λίθου. Here Δέσποινα is equivalent to Hera (Juno). 'Υπόθημα has the same meaning as ὑποπόδιον in the Septuagint and New Testament, Hebrews i, 13: πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰρηκέν περὶ Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἐως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

Beza translates by *scabellum pedum tuorum*.

Scabellum also means a kind of wooden shoe used to beat time and as an accompaniment to musical instruments. Pollux, *Onomasticon*, Bk. VII, § 87: τὰ δὲ κρουπέζια ξύλινον ὑπόδημα, πεποιημένον εἰς ἐνδόσιμον χορὸν. V. edit. Dindorf, Vol. V, Pars I, *Annotationes*, p. 348. The Greek word κρουπέζιον, diminutive of κρούεζα, from κρούω to strike and πέζα the foot, is more expressive than *scabellum*, the diminutive of *scamnum*, a bench or stool. Liddell and Scott, however, mention *scrupeda* and *sculponea*, rarely found in the authors, which may be connected

Plate IX, p. 19, Le Blant, *op. citat.*, where He stands on the mystic mount from which the four rivers of Paradise issue; while He is young and beardless in other representations, where the reference is specially to His human character and actions. His left hand holds an open book, on which the words DOMINVS LEGEM DAT are inscribed. Lower down Apostles and Evangelists are seated, holding rolls (*volumina*), Matthew and Mark on the right, Luke and John on the left; instead of LVCA or LVCAS the form LVCANVS, as in the name of the Latin poet, is used.¹ The whole group supplies us with a striking, I had almost said a living, commentary on the words of the Gospel, "When the Son of man shall sit on the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."² Behind this row ten heads fill up the background; one of these persons makes a gesture of acclamation, raising his right hand.

A symmetrical arrangement may be observed, for at one end of the row a young man is bowing down, as if adoring, on whose shoulder a senior lays his hand; at the other end two females appear, corresponding both in age and relative position. Probably they are parents presenting to Jesus Christ their children who have died young. Such an interpretation is supported by an Inscription, QVIS NON DOLEAT AVT QVIS NON LVGEAT SVPER NOS RERVIVM HOC TANTVM SCELVS N LXVII DIEB. TRES DVLCE NOS FILIOS OBTVLISSE DO (*i.e.* Deo). The man with hands veiled by his mantle deserves attention; a similar attitude of supplication is mentioned by Plautus, *Amphitruo*, Act I, Scene. I, v. 102,

Postridie in castra ex urbe ad nos veniunt flentes principes,
Velatis manibus orant, ignoscamus peccatum suum.

with κρούπιζα and κρούπαλα. With the explanation of Pollux compare Cicero pro Caelio, Cap. XXVII, § 65. "Mimi ergo est jam exitus, non fabulæ: in quo quum clausula non invenitur, fugit aliquis e manibus, deinde scabilla concrepant, auleum tollitur."

This object appears in a terra-cotta of the British Museum, which represents the treading of grapes to the sound of music. See also the *Catalogue of the Roman Court at the Crystal Palace* by Sir G. Scharf, No. 300. The clapping

Faun (Satyr), *scabellum* under his foot; and No. 303—with a reference to Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Plate 715, No. 1709.

¹ Colossians iv, 14. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λουκάς ὁ ἱατρός ὁ ἀγαπητός; and 2 Timothy iv, 11. Λουκάς ἐστὶν μόνος μετ' ἐμῶν. V. Pape *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*, s.v. Λουκάς, α; others of the same name occur in Inscriptions.

² Matthew xix, 28, with which compare *ibid.* xxv, 31.

But in this case *velatis* seems to mean holding the *velamenta*—olive-branches wreathed with woollen fillets. Livy XXIV, 30, Ramos oleae ac velamenta alia supplicum porrigentes. V. Conington's note on Virgil, *Aeneid* VII, 154: *cf. ibid.* VIII, 116, 128; and Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, V. 3,

Ἰκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμενοι.

Compare Le Blant, *op. citat.* p. 20, text and notes. Similarly, in a miniature of the Menologium of the Emperor Basil, a woman wearing a mural crown, and therefore representing a city, advances with respect towards the Holy Family on their arrival in Egypt: Le Blant, *op. citat.*, p. 8.¹

Plate V shows a sarcophagus where eight trees form with their branches seven arches, while seven doves are seen in the foliage. This mode of dividing subjects is well known from the Trajan Column and other monuments; but the latter numeral may be explained as being Jewish in origin, and subsequently adopted by Christians. So we have it in the days of the week, and in the branched candlestick among the spoils of the Temple at Jerusalem, sculptured on the Arch of Titus, and in the New Testament, especially the Apocalypse—besides other examples, the seven Churches, the book sealed with seven seals, and seven angels with a trumpet given to each of them. Coming down to a later age, we may compare, in the hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus," attributed to Charlemagne, the words

Tu septiformis munere

translated by Dryden,

Plenteous of grace, descend from high,
Rich in thy seven-fold energy.

See Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 167, v. 9, with notes;

¹ V. Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*, s.v. Μηνολόγιον. "Menologium Basilio Porphyrogenito Bulgaroctono Imperante ejusque jussu exaratum." Basil II and Constantine XI reigned 976-1025. Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, Vol. II, pp. 144-149. "Ce règne se passa presque tout entier en guerres dispendieuses

contre les Bulgares, les Sarrasins ou les empereurs d'Allemagne, et en révoltes armées de quelques généraux de l'empire se disputant entre eux le sceptre d'Orient." For the coins of these two Emperors see Plate XLVIII. According to Gibbon, Chap. XLVIII, edit. Smith, Vol. VI, p. 107 *seq.*, this Constantine is the ninth of that name.

see also the hymn of Adam of St. Victor, p. 157, "Septiformis gratia."¹

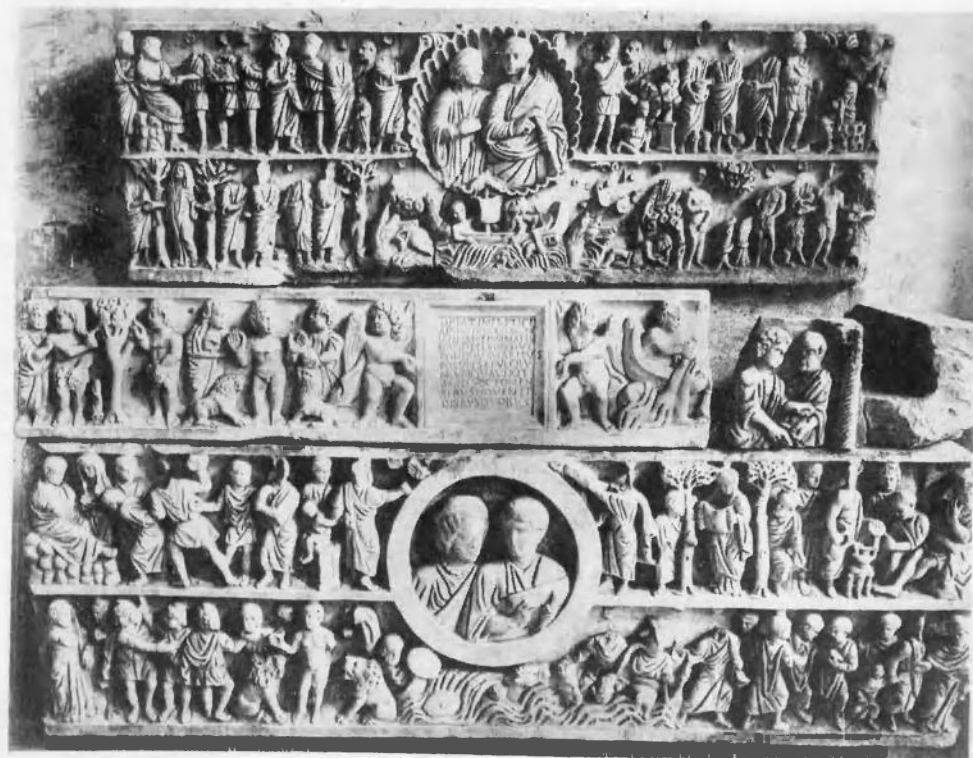
Plate VI is a sarcophagus with two rows of bas-reliefs, and in the centre a married pair, half-length figures, enclosed by a shell. The husband has a roll on which his titles may have been inscribed, but this is not certain. At the extreme right the sacrifice of Cain and Abel is represented: the latter holds a ram; the former is mutilated, and may have offered ears of corn, as in other sarcophagi. The Almighty is seated on a rock, His feet resting on the scabellum, which we have previously noticed. Christ stands behind holding a roll, perhaps with allusion to the appearances of our Lord upon earth before His incarnation, as in the burning bush, or in the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar; or to a tradition that He re-arranged the text of the Scriptures that had been lost. Next follows a group consisting of a man arrested by Jews, wearing caps that resemble the modern fez. The last figure on this side of the shell is Moses receiving the Tables of the Law from a hand stretched out in the heavens, and therefore symbolizing the Deity. Such an emblem of divine interposition in human affairs occurs on coins frequently; e.g. in one found at Sutton near Woodbridge, Suffolk, Constantine the Great stands in a chariot, and extends his arm to grasp a celestial hand which is raising him to the skies: my Paper in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 37, 1871. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VIII, p. 92 sq., describes the device; he also quotes Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, Lib. IV. c. 72; and the orator Eumenius, *Panegyricus Constantini*, Cap. 7 (speaking of Constantius, father of Constantine), "receptusque est consessu cœlitum Jove ipso dexteram porrigente." Compare *Traduction des Discours d'Eumène*, par M. L'Abbé Landriot et M. L'Abbé Rochet, Text p. 133, note p. 264; and Cohen, *Medailles Impériales*, Vol. VI,

¹ A better example is given by Trench, *ibid.* p. 155, XXX, De Spiritu Sancto.

Tu septiformis gratiæ
 Dans septiforme donum,
 Virtutis septifariæ,
 Septem petitionum.

note on vv. 9-12. We find continually

in mediæval theology the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit (Isaiah xxx, 26, "The light of the sun shall be sevenfold") brought, as here, into connection with the seven beatitudes (the *virtus septifaria*), and with the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer.



CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGI AT ARLES.

p. 172, No. 568.¹ On the left of the central group we see Abraham sacrificing Isaac, who kneels before an altar; behind it on a rock the cloven hoofs of a ram substituted for him are visible. Two men accompany the patriarch; hence the artist has varied from the Scriptural narrative—"Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you."² The next subject is the miraculous multiplication of the loaves and fishes; the human figures want their heads, but the lower part of them as well as the baskets and a vase are well preserved. At the end, a person, Moses or perhaps Ezra (Esdras), seated between two Jews under a tree, is reading the law or Scriptures to the people. "And Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation both of men and women. . . . And he read therein before the street that was before the water gate from the morning until mid-day."³ Nehemiah, viii, 1-8.

Proceeding now to the lower row of reliefs, and beginning on the spectator's left, the first group that meets our eye is a woman praying, who extends her arms so as to form with her body a cross, between two trees, with a man outside each of them. Next follows the miracle of Cana, indicated by a vessel holding the water (ὕδρια) that was to be turned into wine.³ The third scene is the legendary tale

¹ Another instance has been discovered recently in our own country. V. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1896, Third Series, No. 63, p. 235, Paper on a Hoard of Roman coins found at Bishop's Wood, Ross-on-Wye, by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley; Christian Emblems—Consecration Coins.

Obv.—DIVVS or DIV· CONSTAN· TINUS PT. AVGG. Veiled head of Emperor.

Rev.—Quadriga, driven by the anima of Constantine, who holds out his hand to meet another large hand issuing from the clouds. Mint-marks—PLC, TRP, TRS.

² Genesis xxii, 5.

³ Hydria, a water-jar, as distinguished from the amphora and other vases, means one having three handles, a large one at the neck and two smaller ones at the body of the vessel. An example is given by Dr. Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, edit. 1858, Vol. II, p. 80, Fig. 142, with the word ΗΥΔΡΙΑ

inscribed upon it. Some writers say that the *calpis* is a later modification: V. *ibid.*, Fig. 143; others consider it identical.

For a frequent use of the Hydria, see Sir G. Scharf's "History of the Characteristics of Greek Art" prefixed to Wordsworth's *Greece*, p. 35 *seq.*, Fig. 75, Portion of Mr. Rogers's painted vase. "Women are seen passing to and fro with pitchers or hydriae on their heads and engaged in conversation, while the foremost woman is filling her pitcher." This vase painting represents the fountain of Callirrhoe, with the inscription ΚΑΛΙΡΡΗΝΗ (καλλιρρή κρήνη); V. *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, Vol. I, Nos. 475-482 and 720, Hydrophoria, Water-carrying.

In the Gospel *hydria* must mean a vat, as the capacity is so much greater; John ii, 6, Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ λίθιναι ὑδρίαὶ εἰς κατὰ τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κείμεναι, χωρεῖν αὐὰ μετρητὰς δύο ἢ τρεῖς, translated *holding two or three*

of Daniel poisoning the Babylonian serpent coiled round a tree. Underneath the shell above-mentioned we see a boat with mast and sail, and three mariners in it; below on one side Jonah thrown overboard is swallowed by a monster, while in the background there appear to be some remains of an evil genius raising a tempest; on the other side Jonah, vomited by the monster, reposes under a gourd. This subject naturally found place in early-Christian Art, as the prophet, three days in the belly of the fish, was regarded as a type of our Lord's resurrection on the third day. St. Matthew xii, 39-41, "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas." But others suppose that these two scenes, taken in their connexion, are emblematical of the passage from the agony of martyrdom to the rest in Paradise. Next come our First Parents standing on either side of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; a sheaf of corn is placed upright before Adam to denote the life of toil that awaits him. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground"; Genesis iii, 19. Lastly, we observe Daniel erect between lions;¹ two men are bringing food—one a loaf inscribed with a cross, and the other a fish—probably symbolizing the Eucharist. So, in

firkins a-piece, both in the Authorised and in the Revised Versions: the Attic *μετρητής* being nine gallons approximately. Bloomfield, note *in loco*, says, *watervats* for the various ablutions prescribed by the Jewish law, and refers to Luke xi, 39, *Νὺν ὑμῖς οἱ Φαρισαῖοι τὸ ἐξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ πίνακος καθαρίζετε*.

Compare Juvenal, *Satire* III, 246:

Ille tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam.

Sharp strokes from poles, tubs, rafters,
doom'd to feel.

Gifford's Translation.

Juvenal here seems to use *metreta* in a general sense for any kind of cask or barrel; and so Forcellini s.v. understood the passage, for he subjoins it to his explanation, *genus vasis olearii et vinarii, ut cadus, amphora*. In the following section he discusses this word as *mensuræ genus*. Heinrich, however, applies the latter meaning to this line of Juvenal, *Ein Wein-oder Oelfass von bestimmten*

Masse, auf der Schulter über die Strasse getragen.

¹ C. O. Müller, *Archæology of Art*, Sect. 213, Remark 2, English Translation, p. 206. Constantine caused the Good Shepherd, as well as many scenes from the Old and New Testament, to be sculptured (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* IV., 49), among the former Daniel, who, together with Jonah, was a most favourite subject of typical representation. *Denkmaler der alten Kunst*. Part I, Plate LXXIV, No. 431. Ein Wandgemälde aus den Christlichen Catacomben . . . Jonas vom Wallfisch verschlungen und ausgespieen, Daniel in der Lowengrube: from Aringhi, *Roma subterranea*, Tom. II, p. 101. Pératé, *op. citat.*, p. 296. It is supposed that Daniel, a sculptor of the fifth century mentioned by Cassiodorus, placed Daniel in the lions' den on sarcophagi, as a signature, of course with allusion to his own name.

the Apocryphal Book entitled *History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon*, Habakkuk is commanded by the angel of the Lord to carry to Daniel the dinner that had been provided for reapers.

We must not suppose that the subjects portrayed on the Arlesian Tombs are Christian exclusively; the following examples will prove the contrary: In Noble-Lalauzière, *Abbrégé chronologique de l'histoire d'Arles*, we find two that represent the Calydonian boar-hunt. Plate XXIV, No. III. and Plate XXX, No. I, where Atalanta, like an Amazon, is conspicuous, easily distinguished as the only female among the hunters, carrying a bow and quiver full of arrows; but the latter sarcophagus, now in the Musée Lapidaire d'Autun, seems to be more accurately reproduced in a heliogravure published by the Congrès Archéologique, Tome XLIII^e, *Notes et Mémoires*, p. 793 sq. This design appears on the front; and it has been conjectured that the return of Meleager from the chase was the scene figured on one of the ends, which is certainly the case in the cenotaph of Euripides at Constantinople, where we see a man seated holding a spear, another carrying a boar on his shoulders, and a horse drinking to slake his thirst after the fatigue of the hunt.¹ Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art by its Monuments*, Vol. II, Sculpture, Plate I, No. 7, has an engraving of Meleager standing between a hound and a boar's head.

Another sarcophagus, discovered at Arles and now in the Louvre, is more important, and presents far greater variety. (Lalauzière, Plate XIX, "Tombeau dans l'Eglise des Minimes d'Arles.") The reliefs upon it comprehend the creation of man, his life and death. On the spectator's left we see Prometheus seated before a *cippus*, occupied in modelling a human figure that stands upon it, while another is near it, already finished. In both cases the arms are close to the body, and the legs in contact with each other, according to the archaic style of Greek sculpture.² At the feet of the Titan is placed a basket

¹ My Paper on the "Antiquities of Constantinople" in the *Archæological Journal*, 1832, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 147-149, text, and notes containing many references.

² Scharf's Introduction to Wordsworth's *Greece*, *op. citat.*, p. 12. At this period figures were generally represented with the limbs close together—compare Fig. 71 on p. 33.

containing clods of earth—the material with which he works. Compare Horace, *Carm.* I, xvi, 13:

Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam.

If the reader desires an illustration in connection with this passage, he will find it in Pine's edition, every page of which is engraved, "Prometheus humani corporis skeleton fingens," from Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*.

Minerva, standing behind the artist, puts her hand on his shoulder, and, as the Goddess of Wisdom, appears to be guiding him by her counsels. In the background two busts are visible—the Sun with a radiated crown, and a youth, perhaps Hesperus, wearing the *exomis*, which leaves one shoulder bare. Mercury (*ψυχοπομπός*), known by his usual attributes—the *caduceus* and *petasus*—is conducting to the lower world a soul represented as a young female, with the spotted wings of a butterfly, and flying drapery that forms an arch over her head.¹ Between the legs of the deity Cupid and Psyche embrace each other; but as one of them is bearded, the sculptor, like a barbarian imitating a Greek *stater*, seems to have copied some earlier work without understanding it.

Next come the three Fates: Lachesis calculates the horoscope, holding in her left hand a ball on which bands are crossed, and in her right a wand pointing to the natal star; Clotho stretches out the thread that symbolizes the course of human life; Atropos seated bears in her lap a roll on which destiny is inscribed, and her right hand may have grasped the scissors to cut short a mortal career.² Near her an urn (*sitella*) stands on a low column, probably containing the lots used to decide the doom of the departed; and behind her stands a woman draped in long garments, conjectured to be Death. There are also two other females in the background, wearing plumes on their heads. Before Atropos Neptune stands

¹ Milman's edition of *Horace*, *Carm.* I, x, fin.

Tu pijs lætis animas reponis
Sedibus; virgaque levem coerces
Aurea turbam, superis Deorum

Gratus et imis.

Engraving on p. 22. Mercury pre-

sending a soul to Pluto from *Pictura Antiquæ Sepolcri Nasonum*, Plate 8.

² Milton, in *Lycidas*, has transferred this action to another divinity, Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,
And slits the thin-spun life.

out prominently, holding his trident and planting one foot firmly on a rock, and behind him we see the busts of Castor and Pollux, who have pointed caps surmounted by stars. A semi-recumbent female at the right-hand corner of the sarcophagus is supposed to be the Earth, but there are no distinctive attributes so as to identify her.

Of the sculptures at Arles that have survived the wreck of antiquity a Venus, of Hymettian marble, is unquestionably the most valuable. It now adorns the Galleries of the Louvre, but it was discovered, A.D. 1651, among the ruins of the theatre in this city, between the two columns which alone still remain upright. The upper part of the body is nude, the lower covered by a mantle, hanging down from the left arm in graceful folds. As the right arm and the fore-part of the left arm are wanting, we are unable to state with certainty what the motive of the figure was. Girardon (1628–1715) restored it by placing a mirror in her left hand which Venus looks at, and an apple in her right; but these additions are doubtful. More recent *connoisseurs* think that the goddess is here represented as Victorious (*Victrix*), resting on a spear, and holding in her left hand a helmet, of Mars or perhaps Æneas: Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne*, Tome IV, p. 79 text, No. *1307, Plate 342. Visconti expressed the same opinion, and he is followed by Müller-Wieseler, Part II, No. 271, Plate XXV, Aphrodite-Siegerin. A good illustration is supplied by Mr. C. W. King's *Antique Gems and Rings*, Vol. II, XXIII B, No. 8: Venus *Victrix*, known as such by the helmet and palm branch in her hands, and the armour lying at her feet. On the other hand, M. Froehner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique du Musée du Louvre*, thinks that the right hand was employed in arranging the hair—a motive which frequently recurs, and is in the present case quite suitable.¹ The head, remarkable for its grace and beauty,

¹ Venus d'Arles, No. 137, pp. 179–183. This author remarks that we might expect to find that Venus was specially worshipped at Arles, since the place was called *Colonia Julia Arelatensis*, and the Julian family traced their descent from Venus and Anchises, as legendary ancestors. A bust of the goddess, executed in a fine

style, was also found in the ruins of the theatre. In a note Froehner mentions the price paid for this statue. “On vient de retrouver, à Arles, l'acte de vente de la celebre Venus. Ce chef-d'œuvre fut payé 61 livres seulement. *Figaro* du 31 Mai, 1867.” He considers the Townley Venus and the one at Arles to be copied from the same original, which belonged

is encircled by a fillet with its ends falling on the shoulders. We should also observe a bracelet (*spinther*) that holds its place on the left arm by the natural elasticity of its own pressure. This word appears four times in a passage of Plautus, *Menæchmi*, Act III, Scene 3, and together with *armillæ*, which serve to explain it.¹

The semi-nude Venus of Arles reminds us of another statue in the same Museum still more famous—the Venus of Melos. Such a treatment of drapery seems intended to reconcile with the rules of decorum a mode of representation favourable to the purposes of art.² If the traveller, on his return from Arles, visits the Louvre, this charming specimen of Greek loveliness will bring back to his recollection the same type which he has seen among the *Arlésiennes* as he perambulated the narrow and irregular streets of their city.

It may seem very strange, but it is the fact, that for many years a controversy raged concerning this statue, some maintaining that it was Diana, others that it was

to the school of Praxiteles. The article which I have quoted ends with a copious biographical notice, occupying nearly two closely printed pages, and including publications which appeared 1656–1863.

¹ Plautus, *loc. citat.*

Ancilla

Menæchme, amare ait te multum

Erotium,

Ut hoc nunc una opera ad aurificem
feras,

Atque huic ut addas auri pondo unciam,
Jubeasque spinther novum reconcin-
nari.

Menæchmus Sosicles

Ubi illæ armillæ [sunt] quas
una dedi?

Armillæ usually mean a kind of female ornaments, so Suetonius, *Vita Caligulæ*, Cap. 52, mentions them as proofs of effeminacy when they were worn by that Emperor, “ne viriliquidem (habitu) manuleatus et armillatus in publicum processit. Cf. id Nero, Cap. 31. They have been frequently brought to light in England. See *Roman Cheshire* by Mr. Thompson Watkin, p. 313. Two very beautiful armillæ of gold found in 1829 or 1831, one of which is engraved.

The word *spinther* seems to be the

same as the Greek *σφιγκτήρ*—the peculiarity above-mentioned of this bracelet, which requires no clasp, resembling the contractile muscle of the anus. F (φ) is interchangeable with P, e.g. *πορφύρα*, *φαινόλη*, Φοινίξ re-appear with a slight alteration—*purpura*, *pænula*, *Pænus*. F in English and German corresponds to P in Latin, e.g. *pes*, *fuss*, *foot*—*pugnare*, *fechten*, *fight*. Key on the *Alphabet*, pp. 60, 87.

It is stated that originally there was a precious stone in the bezil (*chaton*) of the bracelet of the Venus d'Arles, which on account of its position on the upper arm would be classed with the *πρι-βραχίονια*, those on the wrist being called *περικάρπια*.

The armillæ given as military decorations must have been more massive than those used by ladies.

As far as I have observed, Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* omits the spinther, but Rich has a good article, of which I have made use.

² Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, Series II, Plate IV, Venus of Capua, semi-nude; Plate V, probable restoration. Plate VI, Venus of Melos, semi nude. See also p. 6, note.

Venus. In 1684 M. de Vertron composed the following stanza :

Silence, Callisthène, et ne dispute plus !
 Tes sentiments sont trop profanes ;
 Dans Arles c'est à tort que tu cherches Vénus ;
 L'on n'y trouve que des Dianes.

However, common sense prevailed, and was supported by the authority of Louis XIV, who, on receiving a small model of the figure in wax, remarked, "Que la statue lui paraissait bien restaurée, et qu'il croyait que c'était une Vénus."¹

Lastly, this part of our subject has a special interest for us English antiquaries, because one of the finest works of Greek art in the National Collection bears a striking resemblance to the Venus of Arles, with the exception that the position of the drapery is reversed, for it hangs on the right arm, while the left arm is upraised. The execution of the figure is admirable, and the marble retains its original polish, which is the case with some sculptures in the pediments of the Parthenon that even now present a smooth surface, and may have received the finishing touches from the hand of Phidias himself. This statue, usually called the Towneley Venus, was discovered among the ruins of the baths of Claudius at Ostia, and we may notice as a curious coincidence that a bronze medallion of Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Junior, wife of the Emperor Lucius Verus, exhibits a figure similarly draped, which Cavedoni explains thus: "Lucille sous l'image de Vénus Génératrice jouant avec ses enfants."²

¹ Lalauzière's work adheres strictly to chronological order, and narrates events as they occurred under their respective years. Accordingly under the heading 1651, p. 472, he mentions the discovery of the statue, and describes it: "Le 6 juin, on trouva la statue de Vénus, en creusant une citerne dans la maison de l'Abbe Brun, etc." 1684, p. 495, "Sa Majesté (Louis XIV) chargea François Girardon, son premier sculpteur, de la restaurer. Ce fameux artiste s'en acquitta avec son talent ordinaire. Il lui mit une pomme d'or à la main droite et un miroir à la gauche où elle semble se regarder. Le Roi la fit placer dans la galerie de Versailles au premier rang sur un beau pedestal,

où on grava ces deux mots: Vénus d'Arles." The book ends with the death of this monarch. 1715, p. 515, "Le 1^{er} septembre, Louis XIV, dit le Grand, mourut à Versailles, âgé de soixante-dix-sept ans, comme un héros véritablement chrétien et digne du nom de Grand que toutes les nations lui ont si justement donné." Lalauzière is a useful annalist, but he cannot be commended as an impartial historian.

² Taylor Combe, *Description of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, 4to, Part I, No. 8, with a full-page engraving. The medallion referred to is copied in C. O. Müller's *Denkmäler*, Taf. LXXIV, No. 427b. Compare wall-paintings with similar subject, *ibid.* No. 427a.

I have already said that there are some striking points of difference between the Antiquities of Nîmes and those of Arles; this remark applies with great force to their coinage. The former struck money in Celtic times, anterior to the Roman occupation, of which I exhibit a specimen. The device on the *obverse* is a young man's head, sometimes laureated; on the *reverse* a wild boar (*sanglier*) running to left—an emblem not as frequent as the horse, but still so common that every student of Gaulish Numismatics soon becomes familiar with it.¹ Nor will the traveller in France be surprised at its recurrence, for the animal, though unknown in England, still haunts the extensive forests of our neighbours, and his stuffed carcase, or at least a part of it, may be seen in the shop windows of their provincial cities. Nemausus was a Roman colony belonging to the class called by Pliny *oppida Latina*; hence its inhabitants had not the full rights of Roman citizens, but only the *jus Latii*.² Their bronze money presents a singular type—which since the reign of Francis the First has been adopted in the armorial bearings of the city—on the *obverse* the heads of Augustus and Agrippa back to back (*adossés*) with the letters IMP above and DIVI F below; on the *reverse* a crocodile looking to right, chained to a palm-tree, with the legend COL NEM. But we should further observe that these coins may be divided into three classes: in the first Augustus is bare-headed; in the second he wears an oaken wreath (*corona civica*); in the third he is called Father of his country—P.P., *pater patriæ*. These varieties correspond with the gradual development of the powers conferred upon him. Agrippa commanded the fleet at Actium, and also gained a naval

¹ See *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises*, by Muret and Chabouillet. The Celtic coins are under the heading Nemausus, Nos. 2684–2716; the Roman, under Nemausus Colonia, Nos. 2717–2877: Nos. 2684–2700 have on the *reverse* NAMAΣAT, NAMA, &c., and for the device, *Sanglier en course à gauche*.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Lib. III, Cap. IV, Sect. 5, § 37, edit. Sillig, Nemausum Arecomitorum . . . oppida vero ignobilia XIX, sicut XXIV Nemausiensibus attributa. Ptolemy, *Geo-*

graphia, II, x, 6, p. 241, edit. Car. Müller, Gallia Narbonensis, Μετα ος τουτους μέχρι του Ροδανου ποταμου 'Ουόλκai οι Αρηκόμιοι, ών πόλεις μεσόγειοι 'Ουνδύμαγος, Νεμανσον κολωνία. The Volcæ Arecomici had territory near Nîmes and Avignon—east of the Volcæ Tectosages between Toulouse and the Pyrenees.

In the towns which received the Jus Latii or Latinitas those who held a civil office obtained the privilege of Roman citizenship.

victory at Mylæ on the coast of Sicily; his head is therefore always adorned by the rostral crown.¹

The crocodile chained to a palm-tree evidently refers to the conquest of Egypt, and therefore proves the date of the *as* struck at Nîmes approximately; the crown which appears in the upper part of the field may indicate the defeat of Cleopatra. We know that Augustus formed five great legionary colonies in the South of Gaul—at Arelate, Narbo Martius, Arausio, Bæterris, and Forum Julii (Arles, Narbonne, Orange, Béziers, and Frejus). Taking this fact in connection with the device above-mentioned, we can hardly doubt that the soldiers employed in the subjugation of Egypt were sent to Nîmes, and as many of them were only auxiliaries, and natives of that country, their settlement in the territory of the Volcæ Arecomici would naturally have an inferior rank assigned to it. A French antiquary remarks that the Sun of Provence often blazing with the torrid heat of Eastern climes, and the rapid rise of the Rhône at some seasons, like the inundating Nile, would make the new-comers feel that they had scarcely been expatriated.

The coin I have described is sometimes, but rarely, found with a projection resembling the foot of an antelope, or of a boar according to others. From its inconvenience it cannot have been in circulation as current money. Caylus supposed, and I have seen no better explanation, that, as many of these pieces were found in the Fountain at Nîmes, they were *ex voto* offerings to the Deity who presided over the spring. It is said that objects of similar form and containing perfumes were placed in Egyptian tombs; if this is the case, we should find here an illustration that would corroborate the account of the colonization given above.²

On the other hand, though Arles has a Celtic name (*Arelath*), it presents no coins of the præ-Roman period,

¹ Horace, *Odes* I, vi, 3,

Quam rem cunque ferox navibus, aut
equis

Miles, te duce, gesserit.

Orelli *in loco*, Mari ad Liparas devicit
Sex. Pompeium Cn. F. pro victoria ab
Augusto corona rostrata donatus.

² Professor Flinders Petrie lent me for exhibition the leg, apparently of some animal, one inch and a quarter

long, found in an Egyptian tomb, of porcelain, blue and glazed, like the leg projecting from medals found at Nîmes. It was used as a charm or amulet, being a symbol of power. So we read in the Old Testament, Psalm cxlvii, 10, "He delighteth not in the strength of the horse: He taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man."

nor do any indicate its existence even under Julius Cæsar and the earlier Emperors. To find them we must descend to the fourth century; from that time till the fall of the Western Empire they are numerous enough. Constantine the Great fixed his residence at Arles in the year 308, and established a mint there.¹ It issued money bearing the likeness of himself, his mother Helena, his wife Fausta, and his sons Crispus, Constantine II, Constans I, and Constantius II. In the exergue the abbreviation ARL is preceded or followed by P. S. T. or Q, signifying (*Officina*) Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quarta—i.e. branches of the *atelier monétaire*. The letters OF. II, OF. III, etc., on the medals of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian seem to prove that this interpretation is correct. A. B. Γ. Δ., which sometimes occur, would of course have the same meaning.²

In the *Congrès Archéologique*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 570–603, Plates I–VI, facing p. 592, Licinius père—Jules Nepos, we have a full account of the money struck at Arles under the Lower Empire. The types are for the most part monotonous and barbarous; they are executed in low relief, and contrast very unfavourably with the fine series of Roman medals that belong to the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines. It will be sufficient here to mention the following devices which frequently recur:—Mars, helmeted, walking to right, carrying a spear and trophy, at his feet two captives seated in a sorrowful attitude; Sun radiated, semi-nude, holding a globe in his left hand; two winged Victories placing upon an altar a shield inscribed VOT. P. R. (*vota populi Romani*); Gate of a camp, surmounted by two or four towers—star above; Victory or Emperor trampling on captive kneeling or prostrate.³

¹ *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1896, Part III: Paper by Mrs. Bagnall-Onkeley on "Roman Coins found at Bishop's Wood," cited above, supplies proof of the great circulation of money issued by the mint at Arles (Constantina). Pp. 215–217. Constantinus I, the Great. Number of coins found 2,455; 465 from Arles, next in amount to those struck at Trèves. *Ibid.* p. 210. The total number of pieces in this hoard that have been examined is 17,550, and as they are all from foreign mints, it has

been conjectured that they formed part of a military chest, brought from the Continent to pay the soldiers.

² *Congrès Archéologique*, Séances Générales tenues à Arles, *op. citat.* Plate I, Licinius père PARL, TARL, SARL: Constantin le Grand QARL.

³ Cohen, *Medailles Impériales*, Vol. VI, pp. 47–532, A.D. 307–480, Plates II–XIX. *Catalogue de la Collection Ponton d'Amecourt*, text pp. 100–132; Plates XXV–XXXII, Nos. 653–828, *photogravures* from plaster casts.

Constantine III served as a soldier in Britain. When the barbarians were ravaging Gaul, in the time of Honorius, the legions proclaimed him Augustus in the year 407. He resided at Arles, was besieged there, took refuge in a church, and to save his life was ordained a priest. But this measure proved unavailing, for Honorius beheaded him together with his son Julian, A.D. 411. I exhibit one of his gold *solidi*—*obv.*, D. N. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG. (*Dominus noster Constantinus pius felix Augustus*), bust, diademed, with *paludamentum* and cuirass. *Rev.*, VICTORIA AAVGGG (*Victoria Augustorum*).¹ Constantine standing to right, holding standard and globe surmounted by Victory, who is crowning the Emperor. The letter G thrice repeated indicates, I presume, Constantine III and his two sons, Constans and Julius. A and R in the field, separate—the former behind, and the latter before the Emperor—stand for Arelate. This is an unusual place for the name of the city where the coin was minted; we should expect to find it in the exergue, but examples of the variation may be quoted from the *Congrès Archéol.*, *loc. citat.* Plate VI, No. 77 Avitus, 78 Majorian, 79 Severus III, 80 Julius Nepos. In the *solidus* from Arles the exergue is occupied by the letters CON OB, which have exercised the ingenuity of many numismatists. CON or COM is evidently Constantinople; but OB was formerly supposed to mean 72—the numerical value of these letters in Greek—with reference to the law of Valentinian, enacting that there should be 72 gold *solidi* in the pound weight; but the opinion now prevails that they should be interpreted as an abbreviation of *obryzum*, *i.e.*, pure gold according to the standard of Constantinople.

Obryzum seems to signify gold refined by fire, but the etymology is doubtful; we cannot accept the derivation of Isodorus “quod obradiet splendore,” for it savours of “antiquated imbecility.”²

¹ The legend on this *reverse* has been fully discussed in my Paper on the “Antiquities of Carinthia,” *Archæological Journal*, 1896, Vol. LIII, p. 69 *seq.*, note. For the coins of Constantine III compare Cohen *op. citat.* text VI, 492; Plate XVII, Nos. 3, 5—*Reverses*,

VICTORIA AVGGG, AAVGGG, AAAVGGGG.

² “ὀβρυζον is akin to *obrussa*, the testing of gold by fire. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, edit. Henschel, revised by Leopold Favre (Niort, 1886), Tom. VI, p. 18, s.v.

Some information concerning *assaria* of this period, and the legends upon them, is given in my paper on coins found at Sutton, near Woodbridge: *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 34-40.

If a personal reference may be pardoned, I would say that this Paper has cost me some labour, aggravated during my stay at Arles by declining strength in a malarious climate; but that labour has been beguiled by the hope that I might induce some of our compatriots to descend from the express train that hurries on to Marseilles; and then to admire the lineaments of Hellenic beauty in the humbler Arlésiennes,¹ and contemplate ruins still dignifying a city which, in the days of her glory, deservedly received the proud title of the Gallic Rome.²

obryzum. τὸ πολλάκις ἐψηθέν, τὸ καθαρώτατον. "Vita S. Hilarii Arelatensis. Corpus suum diversis mancipavit ægritudinibus, ut supernæ monetæ verum obryzum ægritudinum calculo exortum thesaurus reconderet æternus." Comp. the First Epistle of St. Peter i, 7: ἵνα τὸ δοκιμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου δια πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζόμενον ἐνριθῇ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Thucydides*, Bk. II, Chap. 13, ἀπέφαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἀγάλμα (αὐτῆς τῆς θεῶν) τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσίον ἀπέφθον, καὶ περίαιρετον εἶναι ἔπαν. Pericles endeavours to animate the Athenians by a consideration of their great resources. Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 8vo edition, Vol. III, p. 84. The statue of Athene in the Parthenon alone contained forty talents' weight of pure gold, in the ægis, shield and other appendages.

A notice of the gold bars inscribed OBR, found in Hungary, is given in a recent number of the *Classical Review* published by Nutt; but I am unable to cite the reference exactly.

¹ *Congres Archeologique de France*, XLIII^e Session a Arles—Seance d'ouverture du 25 Septembre 1876. "On remarquait surtout dans l'assistance un grand nombre de dames, venues pour temoigner une fois de plus que la beaute et l'elegance traditionnelles de la population feminine dans la ville d'Arles, s'allient toujours a un esprit eclaire." The type of beauty which we observe at Arles, inherited from Greek and Saracen ancestors, appears more conspicuous in

the lower orders; and it has been suggested that it is so, because they have been less intermingled with extraneous races than those in a higher social position.

² The phrase *Gallic Rome* is derived from a poem by Ausonius, and the passage in which it occurs seems to make an appropriate conclusion to the foregoing remarks. *Ordo Nobilium Urbium* (XVIII), edit. Schenkl.

Pande, duplex Arelate, tuos blanda hospita portus,
Gallula Roma Arelas, quam Narbo Martius et quam accolit Alpinis opulenta Vienna colonis,
præcipitis Rhodani sic intercisa fluentis
ut mediam facias navali ponte plateam,
per quem Romani commercia suscipis orbis
nec cohibes populosque alios et mœnia ditas,
Gallia quis fruitur gremioque Aquitanica lato.

Arelate occupies a place among the famous cities between Aquileia, which has retained its ancient name unaltered, and Hispalis, modern Seville. Cf. Ausonius, *Mosella* XVIII, 2, s.f. v. 480 sq., p. 97, edit. Schenkl.

duplicemque per urbem
Qui meat et Dextræ Rhodanus dat mœnia ripæ.

II. Index nominum et rerum. Dextra ripa (Arelatis pars). Inscriptio apud Gruter 426, 4, ad dextram Rhodani ripam pertinere videtur. The traveller who has not only visited Arles, but

APPENDIX.

Nemausus also occurs in the *Itinerarium a Burdigala (Bordeaux), Hierusalem usque, &c.*, appended to the *Antonine Itinerary*, p. 552, edit. Wesseling (p. 262, edit. Parthey and Pinder).

mutatio Ambrosio (Pont. Embrieu ?) .. mil XV.

civitas Nemauso mil XV.

mutatio Ponte Aerarium (perhaps Bellegarde) mil XII.

Mutatio must be carefully distinguished from *Mansio*; at the former (*una posta*) horses were changed, at the latter accommodation was provided for travellers to pass the night, *manere* being equivalent to *pernoctare*. De Vit's edition of *Forcellini's Lexicon*, s.v. *Mutatio* and *Mansio* in *Nota*.

Pons Aerarium is said by Danville to be Bellegarde, and so called from toll paid at the bridge. *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Vol. I, p. 271, edit. Beck, Digest XIX, Tit. 2, S. 60, § 8. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* [G. L.]. Danville's supposition seems probable, as Bellegarde-station is about half-way between Nîmes and Tarascon (V. *Indicateur des Chemins de Fer*), situated on a hill that overlooks the Canal d'Aigues-mortes, and remains of a Roman aqueduct are still to be seen there, as we might expect, the Department of Gard possessing more monuments of that people than any other in France: *Vide* the excellent Map of Gard in *Joanne's Guide for Provence, Corse and Alpes Maritimes*. There is another Bellegarde in Drome, a village in the mountains on the east side of the Department towards Gap.

Instead of Nemausus we find Nemuso in the Table of Peutinger—*vide Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, Vol. XII. Hirschfeld says, “sic videtur esse in tabula a me recognita,” p. 346, Sect. XLIV, *Volcarum Arecomicorum ager ad Rhodani ripam situs*; but Mannert's edition of the Table, *Segmentum I. f.*, gives Nemeto. Dr. Conrad Miller also has Nemuso in his edition, which bears the title of *Die Weltkarte des Castorius*. This publication differs widely from its predecessors, being cheaper, smaller and more convenient, as it presents the whole of the ancient map in one piece, which can be folded so as to show separately any portion which the reader wishes to study. But its most striking peculiarity is the reproduction of the colours of the original, now preserved in the Imperial Library (Hofbibliothek) at Vienna as one of its most valuable treasures. Rivers are red; buildings have red roofs and yellow gables; water is green; mountains have various colours, perhaps with reference to different kinds of stones. The Vosges and Schwarzwald, as wooded, are illustrated by trees. The fac-simile of the Map, on a reduced scale, is accompanied by an Introduction, pp. 126, including the Literature of the subject, and an Index to the Text, pp. I. II. An Index of places, with references to the Segments and their subdivisions, such as Mannert gives, would be

crossed the bridge and taken a walk on the opposite bank of the Rhone, in the faubourg de Trinquette, will enjoy a distant view of the amphitheatre and be able to understand the phrases “duplex

Arelas,” and “Dextra ripa.” *Guides-Joanne*; *Provence-Corse, Alpes Maritimes*. Plan of Arles, p. 42; *Excursions*, p. 52.

a useful addition. This map of the Roman Empire derives the name by which it is usually called from Konrad Peutinger, a citizen of Augsburg and distinguished antiquary, who formerly possessed it.

For the money of Nemausus see the following authors:—

Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. I. p. 69 *sq.*, cited in the Appendix to my Paper on the "Antiquities of Vienne." *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. LII., p. 152.

Duchalais, *Description des Médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale*, 1846, pp. 72–83, §§ 253–292; Autonomes, 253–258; Auguste et Agrippa, 259–291; Incertaine, 292.

Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois, ou les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles*, Part I, p. 32 *sq.* ΝΑΜΑΣΑΤ. Part II. Figs. No. 202 in p. 126, and No. 208 in p. 129.

Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale redigé par Ernest Muret, et publié par les soins de M. A. Chabouillet, 4to, 1889.

Atlas de Monnaies Gauloises . . . publié sous les Auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, par Henri De la Tour, fol., 1892.

Nîmes Gallo-Romain, Guide du Touriste-Archéologue, par Hippolyte Bazin, in the Series of Villes Antiques; Chapitre Septième, pp. 275–283, Monnaies et objets divers, Médailles des Volques, &c.; especially I, § 4, p. 277 *sq.*, Médailles dites Pieds de sanglier.

Eckhel, *op. citat.* Vol. I, p. LIV, Prolegomena Generalia, deservedly praises Caylus as eruditissimus in mechanica Veterum, and Vol. I, p. 70, refers to his explanation of the singular medals of Nîmes, which have the foot of some animal projecting from them: *Recueil d'antiquités Égyptiennes, Étrusques, Grecques, Romaines et Gauloises*, 1752–67, Tome III, pp. 341–343, especially the last page "elles (ces pièces) se vendaient dans la seule ville de Nîmes, pour servir d' Ex-Voto, pour être portées par superstition, ou jetées dans la Fontaine qui lui était consacrée." Plate XCVIII, No. II; p. 342, un pied de Biche très-distinctement figuré. This fountain, which is in a public garden close to the Temple of Diana, also called a Nymphæum, has been celebrated by Ausonius in juxtaposition with one at Divona (Cahors). *Ordo Urbium nobilium* XVIII, p. 103, edit. Schenkl, 1883 (*Clare Urbes*, XIV, p. 225, edit. Delphin):

V. 159, *seqq.*

Salve, urbis genius, medico potabilis haustu,
Divona Celtarum lingua, fons addite divis;
Non Aponus potu, vitrea non luce Nemausus
Purior, æquoreo non plenior amne Timavus.

Divona must not be confounded with *Divio* or *Dibio* (Dijon). It was afterwards called *Cadurci* from the people whose capital it was, according to a common custom in Gaul, and the modern name is only a corruption of this word. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, editio altera, 1868, fasc. I, p. 13, and especially p. 20, cui (*Divona*) conferenda videtur *Divodurum*, *Divitiacus*, *Divio* . . . Δειοπόνα. Die bei Caius Julius Cæsar vorkommenden Keltischen Namen in ihrer Echtheit festgestellt und erläutert von Christian Wilhelm Glück, 1857, *cf.* *omn.*, p. 4 *sq.* note*) on *Divitiacus*, with many references and comparison of similar words, "altkymr. *diu* aus *divo*, ir. *dia* = de aus *devo* (deus, vgl. skr. *deva*, gr. *θεός* für *εἶφος*, lat. *divus*)" &c. Ausonius means to

say that in the Celtic language *Di* or *Div* is God, and *Von* or *on* is water or fountain: *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, Article Divona by Mr. George Long.

With the legend NAMAΣAT we may compare Zeuss *op. citat.* p. 10, *nemed* gl. sacellum, Vernemetum, Britanniae oppidum (*Antonine Itinerary*), Tasinemetum, *loc. Noric*, &c. *Vide* the additional Article in the English edition of *Forcellini's Lexicon*, s.v. Vernemetes . . . hujusmodi nomen habuit Ecclesia S. Vincentii in urbe Burdigalensi. Venantius Fortunatus (Bishop of Poitiers) l. 1, *carm.* 9, v. 5 *seqq.*

Nomine Vernemetis voluit vocitare vetustas,
Quod quasi fanum ingens Gallica lingua refert.

This passage is parallel to that in Ausonius quoted above.

Zeuss, p. 85, Nemetes *Ἀνγιστονέμετον* apud Ptolemæum; p. 161, silva quæ vocatur *Nemet*; p. 40, *Nemetes*, a German tribe inhabiting the left bank of the Rhine, between the Vangiones (Worms) on the North and the Tribocci (Spires) on the South: Cæsar mentions them in his account of the war with Ariovistus, *De Bello Gallico*, I, 51: *cf.* Tacitus, *Annals* XII, 27 Vangionas ac Nemetas; "duo hi populi inter se vicini fere semper junguntur," Orelli *in loco*; *id. Histories* IV, 70; Germany, 28.

The *Congrès Archéologique de France*, XLIII^e Session. Séances générales tenues à Arles, 1877, pp. 267–297, contains an elaborate memoir by M. Auguste Veran, entitled "Arles antique," sub-divided as follows:—I. La ville Celtique. II. La colonie Romaine. III. Arles sous Auguste et ses Successeurs. IV. Arles sous Constantin. V. Arles sous les Successeurs de Constantin et les Wisigoths. VI. Les Sarassins. This paper is illustrated by, Plate I, p. 272, Arelate sub Constantino, with modern names in red letters (folding Plate). Plate II, p. 288, Arles sous Constantin. Élévation, État actuel. Plan, Porte de Rome sur la voie Aurélienne élevée par l'Empereur Auguste: *ibid.* Plate III, Étude de Restauration. Echelle de 0^m .0035 pour metre.

Stadteleben, Kunst und Alterthum in Frankreich. Nebst einem Anhang über Antwerpen, von K. Bernhard Stark. Mit sieben lithographirten Grundrissen. Jena, 1855, pp. 619. I beg leave to call attention to this book, which is not likely to be generally known to English antiquaries, partly on account of its intrinsic merit, also because it was specially recommended to me by Professor Adolf Michaelis. The fourth chapter is devoted to Arles and Nîmes, pp. 67–106. A summary, which follows the Preface, at p. x, gives a good idea of its contents.

Vergleich beider Städte, S. 67–70. Monumente und geschichtliche Stellung von Arles, S. 70–82. Jetzige provençalische Literatur. S. 82–86. Nach Nîmes, S. 86–87. Erste Wanderung in Nîmes, S. 87–89. Die antike Welt in Nîmes, S. 89–105. Modernes, S. 105–106. Stark traces the progress of Arles from early times, when it was an emporium in connection with Marseilles, down to the fall of the Western Empire. We have in Cæsar, *De Bello Civili*, Lib. I, Cap. 36, a proof of its commercial activity: "Naves longas Arelate, numero duodecim, facere instituit. Quibus effectis armatisque diebus triginta, a quâ die materia cæsa est, adductisque Massiliam, his D.

Brutum præficit." Within a month after cutting down the timber he built and equipped twelve ships of war, and delivered them to Decimus Brutus, commander of the fleet that besieged Marseilles. The geographical position of the city at the bifurcation of the Rhône supplied great facilities for traffic by water-carriage. Moreover, in the immediate neighbourhood there was a great extent of shallow water, forming a kind of archipelago, which has now disappeared, but was formerly traversed by the *naves utriculariæ*, rafts supported by inflated skins. "Il y avait donc simultanément une flotte maritime, une flotte fluviale et une flotte paludéenne." Lenthéric, *Les Villes mortes du Golfe de Lyon*, p. 402 sq. See my Paper on "The Antiquities of Vienne," *Archæological Journal*, December, 1894, pp. 389–393. Appendix, *ibid.* June, 1895, p. 148 sq. The Inscriptions show that the inhabitants were not slow to profit by their natural advantages. Lenthéric, *Notes et Pièces Justificatives*, pp. 515–518. Inscriptions relatives aux anciennes corporations de marins et d'utriculaires. Five examples are given, but I quote the first *in extenso*, because it mentions three distinct corporations.

M. FRONTONI. EVPORI
 IIIIIIVIR. AVG. COL. IVLIA
 AUG. AQV'IS. SEXTIS. NAVICVLAR
 MAR. AREL. CVRAT. EIVSD. CORP
 PATRONO. NAVTAR. DRVEN
 TICORVM. ET UTRICLARIOR
 CORP. ERNAGINENSIVM
 IVLIA. NICE VXOR
 CONIVGI. CARISSIMO

Inscription trouvée dans l'église de Saint-Gabriel, *Ernaginum*, à deux lieues d'Arles. Lalauzière, *op. citat.*, Inscr. inserted between Text and Plates, p. xxvi, No. *179.

The *navicularii* were ship-owners; the *ratiarii* navigated rafts. Compare Hippolyte Bazin, *Villes antiques, Vienne et Lyon Gallo-Romains*, p. 104 sq., with references in the notes to Allmer and Hirschfeld.

At Narbonne, on the other hand, there was no navigation above the bridge (Pons Vetus), which connected the city with its suburb; accordingly we meet there with no trace of the *utricularii*, as in the region of the lower Rhône and Durance: Lenthéric, p. 220. See plates—(7) Narbonne moderne et ses anciennes Fortifications; (9) Les Iles et la Lagune de l'ancienne Narbonne; (11) Narbonis antiqui imago sub Imperio Romano et Gothico.

But the most striking testimony to the mercantile prosperity of Arles is borne by a State-paper issued, when that prosperity was tottering to its fall—destined soon to be overwhelmed by Gothic and Saracen invaders. In the year 418 Honorius published an edict by which he summoned an annual convocation of high officials and deputies from the seven provinces of Southern Gaul. It is interesting as an attempt at representative government, which, if made earlier, might have been successful. For our present purpose I cite the passage in which the Emperor states his reasons for choosing Arles as the place of assembly, and, not having access to the original,

I give the translation of Lalauzière, p. 56: "L'heureuse assiette d'Arles la rend le lieu d'un si grand abord et d'un commerce si florissant, qu'il n'y a point d'autre ville, où l'on trouve plus aisément à vendre, à acheter, et à changer le produit de toutes les contrées de la terre. Il semble que ces fruits renommés, dont chaque espèce ne parvient à sa perfection que sous le climat particulier, ne croissent tous que dans les environs d'Arles . . . On y trouve encore à la fois les trésors de l'Orient, les parfums de l'Arabie, les délicatesses de l'Assyrie, les denrées de l'Afrique, les nobles animaux que l'Espagne élève, et les armes qui se fabriquent dans les Gaules . . . Arles est enfin le lieu que la Mer méditerranée et le Rhône semblent avoir choisi pour y réunir leurs eaux, et pour en faire le rendezvous des nations qui habitent sur les côtes et sur les rives qu'elles baignent." *Gibbon*, Chap. XXXI, Vol. IV, p. 134 *sq.*, edit. Smith; note 190, he says that the correct text of this edict is published by Sirmond (*Not. ad Sidon. Apollin.*, p. 147.)

Arles holds a conspicuous rank in ecclesiastical, as well as civil, history, and the archbishop was one of the chief dignitaries of the Gallican Church. Here two Councils assembled: the former, A.D. 314, gave a decision on the African controversy, confirming the judgment already pronounced at Rome, in favour of Cæcilian and against Donatus—the rival candidates for the See of Carthage. This sentence produced the schism of the Donatists, which lasted, or rather raged, in Africa above three hundred years, "and was extinguished with christianity itself." "On fit (à Arles) plusieurs réglemens, entre autres, on défendit aux filles chrétiennes d'épouser des maris payens, sous peine d'être privées de la communion des fideles: Lalauzière, p. 39. But this city was also connected with another controversy of more subtle nature and more widely diffused. At the Councils of Arles and Milan, A.D. 353–355, the Arians, supported by the Emperor Constantius, obtained a majority of votes for the deposition and condemnation of Athanasius.

There can be little doubt that some of the bishops and clergy, who attended these councils, were interred in the famous cemetery, called Aliscamps (*Elysii campi*), on the south-eastern side of the city, within a short walk from the Cathedral and Theatre. It is not necessary to describe it at length, partly because most of the monuments have been removed, and some of them enrich the museums of Rome, Lyons and Marseilles. The Romans had on this site an extensive Necropolis, which is proved by the number of objects found, bearing pagan emblems, at a considerable distance from each other. St. Trophime is said to have consecrated this enclosure as a place of Christian burial, and bodies were sent thither down the Rhone from many towns on its banks, even as remote as Lyons. Estrangin, *Études Archéologiques, Historiques et Statistiques sur Arles*, pp. 252–262, and Note XIII, p. 296, *sq.* Vers d'Ariosto et Dante Alighieri sur l'Elysée du Rhône. The ruined church of St. Honorat at the end of the Allée des Tombeaux deserves a visit, and the rows of ancient sarcophagi, as Stark observes, in their picturesque disorder, lying half or quite open, seem as if the Angel of the Last Judgment called to resurrection (*Auferstehung*) bones that had rested for centuries, some of them for more than a thousand years; *op. citat.*, p. 81.

Christian monuments may be regarded as the speciality of the

Museum at Arles; however, they are not the only attraction; it contains many fragments of different periods—bas-reliefs, parts of columns, capitals formed of acanthus leaves, funereal urns, &c. Among the more remarkable works of classical art we may notice an altar on the front of which Apollo is represented, seated, leaning on his lyre, with the Delphic tripod at his side, the remaining spaces being filled with branches of laurel (*laurea donandus Apollinari*; Horace, *Odes* IV, II, 9); a statue of Mithras; round the body winds a long serpent, between whose folds the signs of the Zodiac are sculptured, engraved in Lalauziere, Plate III; also a colossal head of Augustus, executed in a fine style.

The inscriptions of Arles will be found in the volume of the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* entitled *Gallia Narbonensis*, edited by Hirschfeld; he acknowledges the valuable assistance received from Monsieur Huart, the local antiquary.

Both Arles and Nîmes are near Aigues Mortes (*Aquæ Mortuæ*), a town which has preserved its mediæval fortifications better than any other in Europe. It would be preferable to make the excursion thither from the latter place, because the journey is shorter and the trains more convenient. By this plan the traveller would have about one hour's ride in the morning and afternoon, with a sufficient interval to walk round the walls, see the Tour de Constance, and explore the neighbourhood, so that he could return in the evening to his hotel at Nîmes, where the accommodation is excellent. Aigues Mortes is an unhealthy place; hence it is undesirable to pass the night there, and especially in the autumn the mosquitoes cause great annoyance. Speaking of Arles at this season, M. Huart said to me, "Nous sommes dévorés par les moustiques"; from a sanitary point of view Aigues-Mortes would be still more objectionable.

Fifteen towers rise above the ramparts, and nine gates afford the means of ingress or egress: the fortifications were constructed not by St. Louis, but by his son and successor, Philippe le Hardi, and remain intact as he left them; Lenthéric, Plate 13 — Enceinte d'Aigues Mortes; État actuel. Échelle de 1 à 8000^m. It is not merely the wonderful preservation that attracts our attention, but the strong resemblance to the type adopted by the Crusaders for their fortresses and castles in the East, *e.g.*, at Antioch, Ascalon, and Cæsarea. Of these, the first-mentioned is said to present the most striking analogy with Aigues Mortes — the arrangement of the enclosing walls and crenelated battlements being identical. *Ibid.* Plate XIV, Antioche au XIII^e siècle d'après un manuscrit du temps *Biblioth. Nat.*, No. 4939. As our Museums and Collections often exhibit in good condition a copy of some original, once famous but now lost, so here on Gallic soil stands a reproduction of a Crusaders' citadel now in ruins.

Among the towns in Southern France Carcassonne is the only one which can compare with Aigues Mortes for preservation. The former, however, being situated on an eminence overlooking the modern town, with its towers and walls, has a more picturesque appearance than the latter on level ground close to the water.

Again, Aigues Mortes has great historical interest, because at this place Louis IX, canonized as Saint-Louis, embarked for his second crusade, which was the seventh and last of these so-called Holy

Wars: Henri Martin, *Histoire de France*, Vol. IV, p. 326; Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, Vol. IV, p. 388 sq. From the statements of the former it appears that Aigues Mortes was as pestilential in the Middle-Ages as it is now. "Les délais des Génois avaient été très nuisibles à l'état sanitaire comme à la discipline de l'armée; les exhalaisons des marais d'Aigues Mortes engendraient des maladies dans le camp." But Lenthéric gives some additional details about the choice of this place for the departure of the fleet. The king was suzerain of the southern provinces of France; Narbonne and the other ports belonged to feudal lords having independent jurisdiction. Aigues Mortes alone was free, and Louis obtained it from the monks of Psalmodi, together with the lagoons extending from their abbey to the sea, in exchange for some crown lands near Sommière: Lenthéric, *op. citat.*, p. 364, and *Notes et Pièces Justificatives*, XIV, *Sur l'Île de Psalmodi*. The monastery was in an island of the Mediterranean, but the sea has retired, and is now two leagues distant. *Ibid.*, p. 506, XV, Acte de l'acquisition faite par Saint Louis de la ville et du territoire d'Aiguesmortes, des religieux du convent de Psalmodi, du mois d'Août 1248. This document is given in Latin and French, and begins thus: "De quitatione terræ de Aquis-Mortuis Domino Regi facta ab Abbate et conventu Salmodii et permutatione ipsius." St. Louis undertook the seventh Crusade with the view of converting the king of Tunis—"la chimère qui entraîna Louis vers les rivages maures." As a sovereign, he was wise and just; with the single exception of taking Damietta, his military career was a failure. Keble bestows on him unqualified praise, Christian Year, Advent Sunday,

Like some bright angel o'er the darkling scene,
Through court and camp he holds his heavenward course serene,

but his friend and fellow prisoner (Joinville) "traced with the pencil of nature the free portrait of his virtues as well as of his failings." *Gibbon*, Chap. LIX, Vol. VII, p. 272, edit. Smith. Tillotson, in his celebrated "Sermon against Evil Speaking," makes some excellent remarks on the duty of forming a fair estimate of character—weighing the merits against the defects impartially.

Joinville took no part in the expedition to Tunis, and consequently does not include it in his memoirs; he only relates the instructions St. Louis gave to his eldest son, and the circumstances of his death, burial and canonization: Bohn's Antiquarian Library, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, pp. 524-531.

St. Gilles is distant eighteen kilomètres (about twelve miles) from Arles, and is the second station after that place on the line from Marseilles to Montpellier and Cette. It is known to architects and artists, but likely to be overlooked by the ordinary tourist. The portal of the church bears so strong a resemblance to St. Trophime, that, at first, in pictures and engravings, one might be mistaken for the other. Estrangin, *Etudes sur Arles*, devotes pp. 227-233 to the Église et Vis de Saint-Gilles, and quotes Prosper Merimée's description of the façade (*Notes d'un voyage dans le midi de la France*). "Elle se présente comme un immense bas-relief de marbre et de pierre, où le fond disparaît sous la multiplicité des détails. Il semble qu'on ait pris à tâche de ne pas y laisser une seule partie lisse: colonnes,

statues, frises sculpturées, rinceaux, motifs empruntés au règne végétal et animal, tout cela s'entasse, se confond; des débris de cette façade on pourrait décorer dix édifices somptueux. La vis de Saint-Gilles est un escalier dont les marches portent sur une voûte rampante sur le noyau." *Vis* means a screw, and *escalier à vis* is a spiral staircase.

Estrangin says that the ancient name of St. Gilles was Rhoda Rhodiorum; a colony which the Rhodians founded on the banks of the Rhone, according to Pliny, Lib. III, Cap. IV. § 33, edit. Sillig. Now this passage does not by any means prove the identification; it only implies that Rhoda was east of Agatha (Agde, near Cette). Pliny is enumerating places in Gallia Narbonensis, in geographical order, advancing from West to East. His words are: "Oppida de cetero rara, præjacentibus stagnis: Agatha quondam Massiliensium et regio Volcarum Tectosagum atque ubi Rhoda Rhodiorum fuit, unde dictus multo Galliarum fertilissimus Rhodanus amnis." From the similarity of the names *Rhodus* and *Rhodanus* he seems to have concluded that the Rhodians had colonized this part of Gaul. Some ancient authors were as rash as any moderns in making wrong derivations, and drawing false inferences from them. This place was also called Rhodanusia, and some authors suppose it to have been in the environs of Beaucaire, on the right bank of the Rhone, opposite Tarascon, and the supposition is corroborated by antiquities found there. Strabo often affords most valuable assistance, illustrating political history and archæology; but here he fails us, because the passage is corrupt. Lib. IV, Cap. I, Sect. 5, p. 180 (p. 149, edit. Didot). He is speaking of settlements made by the Massaliots. Ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκτίσαν, ἐπιτεχνίσματα τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν · · τὴν ἐκ τ' Ῥόην Ἀμίθην τοῖς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκόνουσιν τὸν Ῥοδανὸν βαρβάρους. Perhaps we ought to read Ῥοδανουσίαν.

It has been conjectured that Saint-Gilles, which is an inland town, occupies the site of Heraclea. Pliny's statement, "Sunt auctores et Heracleam oppidum in ostio Rhodani fuisse," does not contradict this opinion, as might at first sight appear, because the sea formerly extended further north than at present, and a large space, which is now dry land, was then covered by lagoons. So, in the twelfth century, the port of Saint-Gilles was a rendezvous of pilgrims embarking for the Holy Land.

It is almost necessary to append to a Memoir on the antiquities of Arelate some notice of the *Canal of Marius*, especially as it became an important medium of commercial intercourse between that city and Marseilles. With this subject the Camp of Marius has a close connection, because the Fossæ Marianæ appear to have been originally constructed to victual the Roman army, which was awaiting in the interior the attack of the Teutones and Ambrones. Various opinions have been entertained concerning the position of this encampment: one French antiquary has even placed it in the Commune de Fos, on the shore of the Gulf of Lyons, and confidently regards his theory as not probable, but certain; *Congrès Archéologique*, Séances a Arles, p. 310. Some writers, however, maintain very plausibly that the camp was on the Plateau des Alpines, near Glanum (Saint Remy) or Ernaginum (Saint Gabriel), not far from

the junction of the Rhone and the Durance (Druentia), where Marius would command an extensive view of the country, and have the advantage of communication by water. Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, Sect. XV, edit. Sintenis, Vol. II, p. 281 (edit. Reiske, II, p. 829), does not give exact information concerning the military position. We only learn from him that Marius entrenched his army near the Rhone (τειχίσας στρατόπεδον παρὰ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ ποταμῷ), and that conveyance of provisions from the sea to his soldiers was long and expensive (μακρὰν καὶ πολυτελή). The embouchure of the river being blocked up by mud and sand-banks rendered the passage difficult for ships of burthen: on this account the Roman general made a cut, beginning near Fos on the Golfe de Fos (evidently named from *fossa*), and ending probably at the nearest point where the Rhone became navigable. This canal was afterwards continued as far as Arles—a work easily accomplished by utilizing the series of étangs parallel to the river.

Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, Ὁ δὲ . . . τάφρον μεγάλην ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ταύτην ταιρρον πολὺ μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεταστήσας περιήγαγεν εἰς ἐπιτήδειον, αἰγυαλον, βαθὺν μὲν καὶ νανσί μεγάλας ἐποχον, λείον δὲ καὶ ἀκλυστον στόμα λαβούσαν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. Comp. Strabo, Lib. IV, Cap. I, § 8, p. 183 (p. 152, edit. Didot).

Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* III, iv, Sect. 34, "Ultra (a Rhodani ostiis ortum versus) fossæ ex Rhodano C. Mari opere et nomine insignes, stagnum Mastramela oppidum Maritima Avaticorum, superque campi lapidei, Herculis præliorum memoria (*la Crau*).” See Sillig’s note; there is good manuscript authority for reading *fossæ* in the plural number, though Strabo, Pomponius Mela and Plutarch use the singular—*Congrès Archéologique*, Vol. *citat.*, p. 251, where attention is called to the discrepancy.

Pomponius Mela, II, 5, Sect. 78, edit. Parthey. "Inter eum (Massiliæ portum) et Rhodanum: Maritima Avaticorum adsidet, Fossa Mariana partem ejus amnis navigabili alveo effundit."

Ptolemy, alone among ancient authors, as far as I know, places the Canal of Marius on the west, or right bank of the Rhone. *Geographia*, Lib. II, Cap. 10, Sect. 2, edit. Car. Müller 1883.

Ῥαύριος ποτ. ἐκβολαί	Arauris fluvii ostia
Ἀγάθη πολις	Agatha oppidum
Σήτιον ὄρος	Setius mons
Φόσσαι Μαριάναι	Fossæ Marianæ
Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν τὸ δυτικὸν στόμα	Rhodani fluvii os ad occidentem vergens ω.ω.ω.ω.
Ῥοδανὸν τὸ ἀνατολικὸν στόμα	Rhodani fluvii os orientale

There can be no doubt that this canal was between Marseilles and the embouchure of the Rhone, so that Ptolemy or some transcriber must have made a mistake.

Itinerarium Provinciarum. Via Aurelia, a Roma per Tusciam et Alpes Maritimas Arelatum usque, ed. Wesseling, p. 299.

Massilia	..	..	..	..	m p m XVIII.
Calcaria	..	..	..	..	m p m XIII.
Fossis Marianis	..	..	..	..	m p m XXXIII.
Arelate	..	..	..	..	m p m XXXIII.

We have here another testimony to the great importance of Arles under the Empire.

Compare *Itinerarium portuum vel positionum navium ab Urbe Arelato usque*, ed. Wesseling, p. 507.

a Dilis Fossis Marianis, portus ..	m p m XX.
a Fossis ad Gradum Massilitanorum, fluvius Rhodanus	m p m XVI.

Here the word *Gradus* deserves attention; it means a landing-place or steps for getting in or out of ships, and is used like *scala* in the eastern part of the Mediterranean; see an excellent article by Mr. George Long, s.v., in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. The copious article "Fossa Mariana," by the same writer, should also be consulted.

This signification of *gradus* will explain Grado, the name of a small island in the Adriatic, near Aquileia. Some modern gazetteers take no notice of it; but in the ecclesiastical history of Italy it appears prominently. The archbishops of Aquileia and Grado, which are within ten miles of each other, both claimed the primacy. Zandonati, *Guida storica dell' antica Aquileja*, p. 102, speaking of the election of the two rival patriarchs, A.D. 607, says, "Da queste elezioni ebbero principio le contese lungamente durate fra Patriarchi sul Primato delle Chiese Aquilejese, e Gradese." These disputes continued for centuries, and resulted, especially during the episcopate of Popone, in excesses which were even sanguinary.

See *Illustrierter Führer durch Triest und Umgebungen*, Zweite Auflage, 1886, published by Hartleben, Wien. Map, Golf von Triest (Aquileja) prefixed to Introduction (Einleitung), and Text pp. 49-51. The account of Grado is divided into two parts: 1. History. 2. The Cathedral (Dom), Church of St. Eufemia: the Mosaic, Patriarch's seat, and Pulpit are specially noticed. But I believe the best information, at least in our language, about Grado will be found in Mr. T. G. Jackson's book, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, 1887, Vol. III, Chap. XXXVI, pp. 406-439. The objects abovementioned are described, and peculiarities in the inscriptions pointed out.

I hope this digression will be pardoned, as it supplies deficiencies in my Paper on the "Antiquities of Pola and Aquileia," *Archæological Journal*, 1892, Vol. XLIX, p. 373 sq.

Lastly, the Peutinger Table, Segmentum II, 5, shows us on the coast east of the Rhone (Ostia Rhodani) a semi-circular building, open to the sea, with a roof of a reddish colour, somewhat like the tiles on modern Italian houses; both ends of the edifice are yellow, with pediments. The words "Fossis Marianis" are inscribed here. Estrangin, *Études sur Arles*, p. 265, says that the Table indicates a triumphal arch erected to commemorate the victories of Marius, or the opening of this new route of communication. His opinion is incorrect, and proved to be so by comparison with the harbour of Ostia in the same map, Segmentum V, 5, immediately under the figure of Roma seated, crowned, holding orb and sceptre. The semi-circular buildings were doubtless constructed, in both cases, for commercial purposes, viz., for receiving and storing cargoes, and probably also for custom-house offices. In the Table, as we might expect, the vignette of the canal of Marius is much more simple than

that of the harbour at Ostia; the latter distinguishes clearly the Portus Augusti (so-called, though it was begun by Claudius) from the Portus Trajani—the inner basin; it also represents the lighthouse as an isolated tower, quite separate from the two moles (*brachia*) “projecting into the sea so as to enclose an extensive space.” The table of Peutinger should be studied in the edition of Dr. Konrad Miller, entitled *Die Weltkarte des Castorius*—partly, because the colours of the original are reproduced, also because the map is accompanied by an introductory brochure (Einleitender Text) in which the various symbols are explained, *e.g.*, those denoting different classes of cities, Imperial residences and chief fortresses. For the present purpose see especially p. 95, Seehafen, Es ist kein Zweifel dass Castorius in dieser Vignette den Portus Claudii und den Portus Trajani unterscheiden will.

Two of the most important ancient authorities for Ostia are Suetonius, Claudius, Cap. 20, “Portum Ostiæ exstruxit . . . congestisque pilis superposuit altissimam turrin in exemplum Alexandrinæ Phari, ut ad nocturnos ignes cursum navigia dirigerent.” Compare Juvenal, *Satire XII*, 75–81, Tyrrhenamque Pharon with the Scholia, and long note by Heinrich on v. 75. See also the following modern authors:

Gibbon, Chap. XXXI, notes 88–90; edit. Smith, Vol. IV, p. 97 *sq.*

Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, Vol. VI, p. 276, coin of Nero described.

Admiral Smyth, *Roman Imperial Large Brass Medals*, p. 42, says of the harbour, “From a survey which I made of its ruins in 1823, it must have been an undertaking as gigantic as it was useful.”

Cohen, *Medailles Impériales*, Vol. I, p. 187 *sq.*, Nos. 91–98. Legend of the *Reverse*: 91, AVGVSTI (en haut), PORT OST (dessous). L'enceinte des murs du port d'Ostie . . . dans l'intérieur onze navires, Planche XII.

Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, Vol. II, p. 502, “Plan of Ostia,” Article by Sir E. H. Bunbury.

Agde, one of the Villes mortes du Golfe de Lyon, exemplifies the use of etymology in illustrating history. It is situated at the embouchure of the Hérault (Arauris), which gives its name to the Department, south-west of Cette, and near Beziers (Biterræ), a place praised by Pliny for producing good wine; *Nat. Hist.*, XIV, vi, 68, “Beterrarum intra Gallias consistit auctoritas; de reliquis in Narbonensi adseverare non est”: he censures the other wines of Southern Gaul for being adulterated; and most travellers have had opportunities of observing that this ancient practice has not been discontinued. In another passage, III, IV, 36, he mentions this place with other military colonies, “In mediterraneo coloniæ Arelate sextanorum, Beterræ septimanorum, Arausio (Orange) secundanorum.”

The ancient name of Agde was Agatha, with some slight variations, as Ἀγαθή πόλις, or in one word Ἀγαθήπολις. Strabo informs us that it was a colony of Marseilles, Lib. iv, Cap. I, Sect. 6, ὁ Παύραρις . . . ἐφ' οὗ Ἀγαθή, κτίσμα Μασσαλιωτῶν. Similarly Scymnus

Περιήγησις, Orbis Descriptio, in *Geographi Minores*, edit. Didot, Vol. I, p. 204,

ἽΟι Μασσαλίαν κτίσαντες ἔσχον Φωκαῖς
Ἀγάθην Ῥοσανοσίαν τε, Ῥοσανὸς ἦν μέγας
Ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ.

Agatha means the good city, and has reference to the secure harbour in which the Greek mariners, and probably the Phœnicians before them, found refuge from the storms prevailing in this part of the Mediterranean. A volcano, St. Loup, 115 mètres high, now extinct, protected them against the blasts of the mistral; and the Cap d'Agde, a neighbouring promontory, by its shelter contributed to procure them a comparatively safe anchorage. Here, according to Avienus cited by Lenthéric, they might enjoy a halcyon rest after their labours and dangers,

Nunquam excitentur fluctuum volumina,
Sternatque semper gurgitem Alcyone quies.

There can be little doubt, if we consider the changes undergone by the line of coast, that in ancient times there was a much better roadstead than at present.

Some words now used by the population in this locality show that at one time subterranean fires were active here: the crater is called *fourniguère* (*fornier, fournisseur, fournaise*) or *fumiguère*, and the slopes of the mountain, *la grande et la petite cremade, i.e. brûlée*; and the name *Peyre de Rioure*, "pierre de la montagne de feu," is supposed to be derived from a Phœnician origin. The town of Agde has a gloomy appearance, being built of lava, and in this respect resembles constructions at Clermont-Ferrand in the volcanic region of Auvergne.

Agatha was the name of the *island* also, over against which the town was situated, according to Ptolemy, II, X, § 9: Νῆσοι δὲ ὑποκείμεναι τῇ Ναρβονησίᾳ, Ἀγάθη μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁμώνυμον πόλιν . . . μεθ' ἣν Βλασκίων (Brescon). Insulæ sunt infra Narbonensem Agathe e regione urbis ejusdem nominis . . . et post eam Blasco (*hodie Brescou*). Compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III, v, § 79, Galliæ autem ora in Rhodani ostio Metina, mox quæ Blascon vocatur.

Lenthéric, p. 272, says that all the money of Agde has the Marseilles type—*obverse*, face of Diana; *reverse*, lion; but we must not too readily accept this attribution, as some of the most learned French numismatists have opposed it, and the animal appears to be a ram rather than a lion. See *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, par Muret et Chabouillet, 4to, p. 47. It is there stated that the mistake was made by De la Saussaie, and corrected by the Marquis de Lagoy.

See Heiss, *Monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, p. 433: Monnaies avec des légendes Celtibériennes émises dans la Gaule Narbonnaise. I Ontiga, Agatha? (Agde), fig. 3.

La légende . . . qui se transcrit ONTHGA, peut être la contraction du mot ONA THE GUIA, qui signifie en basque "le bon lieu," *ona* bon, et *teguia*, affixe de lieu. Cette qualification de *bon ou de bonne*, s'exprimait en grec par Ἀγαθός ou Ἀγαθή, nom que portait autrefois la ville d'Agde, située sur le territoire des Volkes Aréco-

miques. . . . Ainsi l'attribution de notre pièce à la ville d'*Agatha* semble indiquée par la provenance, les types, la fabrication et même par la concordance des noms.

The coins of Marseilles are best studied in the catalogue above-mentioned, issued by the Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, and accompanied by the Atlas of M. Henri de la Tour, Nos. 496-2125, text pp. 11-44. This list includes the barbarous imitations, and money struck by cities dependent on Marseilles. Diana and the lion are by far the most frequent devices. Besides a bow and quiver, the goddess is often represented wearing earrings and a necklace of pearls, just as Juvenal in a remarkable passage describes a rich Roman lady.

Satire VI, vv. 457-460,

Nil non permittit mulier sibi, turpe putat nil,
Cum virides gemmas collo circumdedit, et cum
Auribus extentis magnos commisit elenchos.
Intolerabilius nihil est, quam femina dives.

Heinrich, *in loco*, suspects the last line to be spurious; compare the note in Otto Jahn's critical edition of the text. Also see Ruperti's note and Gifford's Translation Vol. I, p. 253, where he quotes Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, VII, 9; and for female ornaments of this kind, Bottiger's *Sabina*, second edition, Vol. II, Siebente Szene, pp. 129-122; Anmerkungen, pp. 151-157.

Other types are,—head of a seal (φώκη), with reference to the city being a colony from Phocæa (Comp. *Thucydides* I, 13, and Baehr's note on *Herodotus* I, 166), griffin, crab, wheel, head of the river (or rather port) Lacydon, head of Apollo, head of Minerva, bull butting, caduceus, galley, dolphin and trident—the last three symbolizing the maritime and commercial importance of Marseilles are peculiarly appropriate. Obols and drachms abound in this series, but no multiples of the latter—such as didrachms and tetradrachms—have been found hitherto.

The beautiful coinage of Massilia harmonizes well with the praise of this city, as a seat of Greek civilization and refinement, which we read in Cicero pro Flacco, XXVI, 63, "Neque vero te, Massilia, prætereo . . . cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus anteponendam dicam." Compare Tacitus, *Agricola* Chap. 4, "Quod, statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Græca comitate et provinciali parcimonia mistum ac bene compositum." *Id. Annals*, IV, 44. Strabo, Lib. IV, Cap. I, *Gallia Narbonensis*, Sect. 5, edit. Didot, pp. 179-181. Ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι (αὕτη ἡ πόλις) καὶ τοὺς γινωριστάτους Ῥωμαίων πέπεικεν, ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημίας ἐκέισε φοιτᾶν, φιλομαθεῖς οὐκ ὄντας.

Those who have not access to the expensive French Description of Gaulish money will find specimens in *Hunter's Catalogue* by Taylor Combe, Text pp. 190-194, Table XXXVI, Figs. 1-16; Nos. 40-44 in the text nummus fabricæ barbaræ. This work has a great reputation for general accuracy, and is a decided improvement on its predecessors; but as might be expected in a book containing so many examples, mistakes have been detected by subsequent writers. A list of corrections is given in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1896, No. 62

pp. 144-154: Article by Mr. G. Macdonald, which appears to have been compiled as a supplement to memoirs by Friedländer in the *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1872, and by Imhoof-Blumer in the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1874.

E.g. *Numism. Chron.*, loc. citat., p. 148, it is stated that Combe has Falisci (ethnic name for Falerii) No. 12, instead of which Axos should be substituted. Combe's description is, "Caput barbatus et laureatus ad dextram, Rev. FA Tripos: supra fulmen et KPA." Comp. Pashley's *Travels in Crete*, 1837, Vol. I, p. 156, three copper coins of similar type; p. 157, one silver. The mistake was made from not understanding the first letter on the reverse, which is the Digamma; and it is the less excusable, as the use of this character in *Homer* had been discovered and fully explained by Bentley long before. See his life by Dr. Monk, Bishop of Gloucester, Vol. II, pp. 360-367; and compare Key on the *Alphabet*, pp. 26, 60-62. Our British Aristarchus said that the digamma was equivalent to the English *w*, and this opinion has been generally adopted. Herodotus, IV, 154, says: "Ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης Ἄξος πόλις, ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐρέαρχος Βασιλεὺς." An inscription gives *Favξos*, and the coins *Fάξος* or *Ἄξος*: See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 387. So we have in Virgil, *Eclogue*, I, v. 66,

rapidum Cretæ veniemus Oaxen.

(see Forbiger's note, which refers to Meursius and Spohn), a river homonymous with the city. The poet's epithet is accurate, for Pashley informs us that after rain the stream becomes a torrent and impassable. It has been suggested that the form *Oaxus* might have arisen from some difficulty in pronouncing the Digamma: for some varieties, see Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, Vol. II, p. 305 sq. So in French, *ou* in the word *oui* sounds the same as *w* in the English *we*. Compare *οἶκος*, *vicus* and the English termination *wick* or *wich* in the names of places.

Pashley, Cap. VIII, "Visit to the site of Axos," and Admiral Spratt's *Travels and Researches in Crete*, 1865, Vol. I, p. 16, and coloured plate, View of Mount Ida; Vol. II, pp. 75-83, lithograph intercalated on p. 75, View of Axo. The writings of both these authors have a special interest at the present time (February, 1897), while the civil war between Christians and Mohammedans is raging in the island. Admiral Spratt was a pioneer to explorers in the Mediterranean, and his book supplies much information, both literary and scientific, that will not be found in the work of his predecessor. It is illustrated by maps of the Eastern and Western Parts of Crete, coloured for geological reference. A brief obituary notice of the Admiral's labours and services appears in the President's Anniversary Address at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, April 23rd, 1888. Compare *British Museum Catalogue of Greek coins—Crete and Ægean Islands*, 1886, Axos, text p. 14 sq., Plate III, Figs. 12-19; Crete, pp. 1-80, Plates I-XIX. This volume contains an Introduction, pp. I-L.

I think Combe has improperly ascribed to "Axia in Italia" coins that belong to Axos in Crete. *Hunter's Catalogue*, p. 65, FAΞION tripus, fulmen alatum, caput barbatus et laureatus, etc. Tab. XII, Figs. 26, 27. The former town is mentioned by Cicero, *Oratio pro Cæcina*, Cap. VII, § 20, "Cæcina cum amicis ad diem venit in castel-

lum Axiam, a quo loco fundus is, de quo agitur, non longe abest." Here the word *castellum* should be noticed, because it corresponds with Castel d'Asso, called by the peasantry Castellaccio, about five miles from Viterbo. *Ibid.* Cap. X, Sect. 28, it seems to be stated that Axia was less than fifty-three miles distant from Rome, "minus [abesse] LIII"; but this reading, though adopted by Orelli, has been rejected by the later editor Baiter, who gives us the text as follows, "Nam cum dixisset, minus 1000, populus cum risu acclamavit, ipsa esse"; which makes the passage more intelligible.

For "the long line of cavern-sepulchres" at Castel d'Asso, unparalleled in Europe, see Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, Chap. XV, pp. 229-241; p. 228, Plan of Castel d'Asso and its Necropolis; lithograph facing p. 235, Valley of Tombs; Mrs. Hamilton Gray, *Sepulchres of Etruria*, Chap. VIII, pp. 380-408. The lady's description is less learned, but more lively. She has the merit of being the first to introduce Etruscan antiquities to the curiosity of the English public.

Under the heading "Falisci" Combe, *op. citat.*, Text p. 142 *sq.* (Tab. XXVII, Figs. 16-25), has made a mistake more glaring than those already mentioned: he has attributed to this Italian people coins that belong to "the series issued at Elis—one of the most important of Greek autonomous currencies." They bear the legend FA, where we have the Digamma, not the Roman letter F. *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Peloponnesus (excluding Corinth), Elis, Introduction pp. XXXV-XXXVIII, Text pp. 58-76. Pls. X-XVI. The symbols of Olympian Zeus—eagle devouring a hare or some other animal, as an omen of victory, and thunderbolt surrounded by an olive wreath, are usual types: the head of Hera is in a style worthy of the best period of art. FA occurs most frequently, but we also meet with the name in *extenso* FAΔEION, sometimes on the diadem. Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 343, 353 *seqq.* chronological table, Figs. 226-236. Mr. Head says that the wreath is of the wild olive—Virgil, *Georgics* II, 182; *oleaster*. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, xi, 17 and 24, ἀγρίελαος as opposed to καλλιέλαος.

In Lindley and Moore's *Treasury of Botany*, Part II, p. 810, s.v. *Olea*, it is stated that the branches of the wild olive are more or less four-sided and spiny, the leaves oblong or oval, and the fruit small and valueless; the cultivated olive has roundish, unarmed branches, lance-shaped leaves, and large oily fruits. Now, the *British Museum Catalogue*, s.v. Elis, Plate XI, Fig. 9, shows a good example of oval leaves on a coin, corresponding with this distinction. Martyn in his edition of *Virgil, Georgics*, *loc. citat.* p. 146, remarks that the oleaster seems to be different from the cultivated sort, only by its wildness, as crabs from apples; but though he was Professor of Botany at Cambridge, I think he is mistaken. Martyn's Plate facing p. 146 does not accurately represent the gray colour of the olive, which is a striking feature in Italian scenery, where the classical tourist is often reminded of Juvenal's line XIV, 144,

Arbusta et densa montem qui canet oliva.

The olive is said to have been introduced by the Phocæans into Marseilles. C. Knight's *Cyclopædia of Natural History*, Vol. IV., cols. 80, 81.

One would suppose that a mere tiro in numismatics would not have ventured to attribute to a comparatively obscure town in Italy types whose artistic excellence is not surpassed by those of any other Grecian state. But the error is not confined to *Hunter's Catalogue*; it appears also in Mionnet, and even in Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. I, pp. 90-92, s.v. Faleria. Leake corrects it, *Numismatu Hellenica*, European Greece, p. 49, s.v. Elis.

To return from this digression, and revisit Agde—a dead city on the Gulf of Lyons—at present the only object that would interest an antiquary is the church. It belongs to a series of buildings on the shores of the Mediterranean, in which a temple was combined with a citadel. “On priait dedans et on se battait dessus: les femmes, les enfants et les infirmes étaient enfermés, le jour du danger, dans la grande nef, et les hommes valides, abrités par les créneaux de la terrasse dallée, défendaient l'accès de la place et soutenaient l'assaut.” (Lenthéric, p. 280.) This church seems to have been erected on the foundations of a heathen edifice, probably dedicated to the Ephesian Diana (Artemis). Lenthéric, p. 279, enumerates églises fortifiées at Narbonne, Vic-Mireval, Maguelone, Frontignan and Saintes Maries. Their frequency is easily accounted for, as the coast was exposed to the attacks of Mahometan pirates from Spain and Africa.

Lenthéric devotes his tenth chapter to Maguelone, pp. 333-349, and relates its history. The principal events were the destruction of the town by Charles Martel, A.D. 737, its restoration in the eleventh century, and second destruction by Louis XIII and the States General of Languedoc. Nothing now remains except the grand nave of the ruined Cathedral. *Ibid. Pièce Justificative XII*, pp. 495-497, gives an interesting account of the hospitality exercised by the canons of Maguelone. It consists of an extract from the statutes of 1331—*De preposito*. The coinage of the Bishops deserves a passing notice, for they, like other Christian princes in these parts, issued a currency with Mahometan types and Arabic legends, doubtless because it was the most convenient medium of exchange in the Mediterranean. One of these dignitaries was reprovod for his offence in a letter by Pope Clement IV, 16 September, 1266, “Quis enim catholicus monetam debet cudere cum titulo Mahometi?” The traveller can easily reach Maguelone, being scarcely two kilometres from Palavas, which is less than half an hour's ride by railway from Montpellier, and a *faubourg maritime* of that city; see *Indicateur des chemins de Fer*, p. 84—G, Aout 29th, 1896. To the list given above we may add the church of Luz—a village in the Pyrenees, between Pierrefitte (Railway station) and Gavarnie—which I have already noticed, and compared with Cormac's chapel on the Rock of Cashel, *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 29, text and notes. Joanne, *Guides Diamant, Pyrénées*, p. 140, Route 94, Luz et Saint-Sauveur, with map facing this page, and including St. Sauveur, Bareges, Bagnères de Bigorre. Église crénelée et fortifiée, bâtie au XII^e siècle (?) par les Templiers. Luz, which is in the Department Hautes-Pyrénées, must not be confounded with Saint-Jean-de-Luz (Basses-Pyrénées), a frontier town in the direction of Spain, and frequented watering-place.

This Paper, like some of its predecessors, is the result of a journey

in the South of France. I subjoin a list of the most important among the authorities that I consulted after my return.

- Strabo, *Geographica*, edition published by Didot, Paris, 1853; Lib. IV, Cap. I. Gallia Narbonensis, pp. 146–157.
- Ptolemy, *Geographia*, edit. Car. Müller, Paris, 1883, with a copious and instructive commentary, Lib. II, Cap. X, The same part of Gaul, pp. 233–247.
- Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia*, edit. Parthey, 1867; Lib. II, §§ 74–84.
- Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum*, edit. Parthey and Pinder, 1848. The former of these books is divided into two parts—*Itinerarium provinciarum et maritimum*, v. especially pp. 242–249 (edit. Wesseling, pp. 497–508). *Itinerarium portuum vel positionum navium ab Urbe Arelato usque*.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. XII.
- Hippolyte Bazin, *Nîmes Gallo-Romain, Guide du Touriste-Archéologue*, Paris, 1892.
- De Noble Lalauzière, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Arles*, 1808.
- J. J. Estrangin, *Études Archéologiques, Historiques et Statistiques sur Arles*, 1838.
- Id.* *Description de la ville d'Arles antique et moderne, avec une Introduction historique*, pp. I–XLIX, 1845.

The *Description* is not a mere repetition of the *Études*; it contains an account of antiquities discovered in the interval that elapsed between these two publications, and a much greater number of lapidary inscriptions is inserted in the text.

Edmond Le Blant, *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la Ville d'Arles*, Paris, 1878, fol., published by the Minister of Public Instruction, in the Collection de Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Troisième Série, Archéologie. The book consists of Part I, a learned Introduction pp. I–XXXIX, with many useful references to the writings of De Rossi, Caylus, Garrucci, Renan, Bottari, Lenormant, Winckelmann, etc.; and Part II, Explanation of the bas-reliefs illustrated by Plates I–XXXVI. This valuable work which I have freely used deserves to be better known by our fellow-countrymen, and I beg leave to take this opportunity of directing their attention to it.

Charles Lenthéric, *Ingenieur des Ponts et Chaussées, Les Villes Mortes du Golfe de Lyon*. Illiberris—Ruscino—Narbon—Agde—Maguelone—Aiguesmortes—Arles—Les Saintes-Maries. Ouvrage renfermant quinze cartes et plans, 1889. My obligations to the author must have already been apparent to every reader of the present Memoir.

Congrès Archéologique de France, XLIII^e Session. Séances Générales tenues à Arles en 1876, par la Société Française d'Archéologie pour la conservation et la description des monuments, 1877. The volume consists of 932 pages 8vo, and contains forty-seven engravings: *viæ* Index des Gravures at the end. Besides the Papers already referred to, it includes others on Ethnology, Prehistoric Times,

the Middle Ages, and Unedited Documents : *vide* Table Methodique, pp. 924-930.

Collection des Guides-Joanne—Provence, Alpes Maritimes, Corse--- avec quinze Cartes et six Plans. This excellent series has many merits. In one respect it surpasses most books of the same kind. To each volume a bibliographical Article is prefixed (*Principaux ouvrages consultés*), under two headings: 1. Généralités; 2. Départements.

P.S.—The traveller cannot fail to observe the embankments (*digues*) by which the Rhône is confined in the lower part of its course. It is obvious that they protect the towns on its banks from inundations; but on the other hand, this advantage has been dearly purchased. If the river had been allowed to spread, as was the case under the Romans it would, like the Nile, have fertilized the land by alluvial deposits, and the inhabitants of the Camargue and the country round Arles would not have suffered from the miasma of marshes imperfectly drained, which bring to our recollection the Greek oracle that became a proverb,

Μὴ κίρει Καμάριναν. ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων.

For this subject see Lenthéric, Chapitre Troisième, Étude comparative des trois grands deltas de la Méditerranée, pp. 39-75; *cf.* Chapitre douzième, Aspect du delta et de la plaine avant l'établissement des digues du Rhône, pp. 392-397. Also compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, coloured map at the end of the Second Volume, English translation. *Aegyptus antiqua*, Map of Lower Egypt comprising twenty Nomoi (provinces).