

## THE GALLO-ROMAN MUSEUM OF SENS.

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At a meeting of the Institute, in the year 1882, I had the honour to read a paper on Autun—a subject which Mr. Freeman had previously treated, and I said that my line of investigation would be different from his.<sup>1</sup> The present case is similar; he has discussed the mediæval antiquities of Sens; I propose now to describe the Roman remains in that city, and therefore hope to escape the censure implied in the Latin proverb *actum agere*. Mr. Freeman's essay shows great knowledge of French history and ecclesiastical architecture; but it also shows, as is common with English authors, ignorance of the good work done by foreign antiquaries. On the present occasion a detailed account of the annals of Sens would be unsuitable; however, we may observe, in passing, that the city has a connection with important events in Italy and in our own country.<sup>2</sup> The Senones were a powerful Gallic tribe and took part in the capture of Rome; they were actors in that tragic scene which Livy has described with a power of word-painting never to be surpassed.<sup>3</sup> Again, when an attempt was made during Henry the Second's reign to assert the supremacy of the civil power, and resist the clergy who claimed to be exempted from secular jurisdiction, Becket opposed these measures, and in consequence was a "mendicant exile" in France for six years, part of which he spent at Sens.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XXXIX, No. 154, 1882, pp. 97-116.

<sup>2</sup> There is also an architectural connexion with our own country. "In the rebuilding of Canterbury choir after the great fire in 1174, the fire and the rebuilding which Gervase and Willis have made memorable, the work was begun by William of Sens and carried on by William the Englishman." Freeman, *ibid.*, p. 106 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Niebuhr, Vol. II, pp. 543 *sq.*, English Translation, speaking of Livy's description of the taking of Rome says, "A more vivid one is not to be found in any Greek or Latin historian." Livy, Book V, Chap. 35, "Tum Senones recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium (modern Chiusi) Romanque inde, venisse comperio."

The following Inscriptions have been discovered in this city:—

IN · HO ... VG · MART · VOLK · ET DEAE SANCTISS ·  
VESTAE M · MAGILIVS HONOR ..... OTO POS ....  
· VISQV ...

1. SEXT · IVL · THERMIANO  
SACERDOTI · ARAE · IN  
TER · CONFLVENT · ARAR  
ET · RHODANI · OMNIB · HO  
NORIBVS · APVD · SVOS  
FVNCTO · SOCERO

2. AQVILIAE · FLAC  
CILLAE · CIVI  
AEDVAE · IVLI  
.....

3. IVLIAE THERMIO  
LAE · IVL · THERMIA  
NI · FILIAE  
..... NIVGI

4. IVLIAE · REGINAE  
MAGILI · HONORA  
TI · ET · IVLIAE · THER  
MIOLAE · FILIAE

5. M · MAGILIO · HONORATO  
FLAMINI · AVG · MVNERA  
RIO · OMNIBVS · HONORIB  
APVD SVOS FVNCTO

6. M · AEMILIO NOBILI  
FLAMINI · AVG · MVNE  
RAR · OMNIB · HONORIB  
APVD · SVOS FVNCTO  
FRATRI<sup>1</sup>

### *Expansions.*

In honorem domus Augustae, Marti, Volkano et deae sanctissimae Vestae, Marcus Magilius Honoratus ex voto posuit pro se suisque.

1. Sexto Julio Thermiano, sacerdoti arae inter confluentes Araris et Rhodani, omnibus honoribus apud suos functo, socero.

<sup>1</sup> M. G. Julliot, *Quelques Inscriptions Romaines des Musees de Sens et de Lyon. Restitution de deux monuments elevés, l'un chez les Senonais, et l'autre au confluent de la Saone et du Rhone*, p. 3: "Les pierres qui composent le premier ont été extraites, pendant ces dernières années, des fortifications de la ville de Sens, par les soins de la Société Archéologique de cette ville, qui les a rapprochées et pour ainsi dire remises en place." M. Lallier, *Détails donnés sur les inscriptions gallo-romaines découvertes à Sens*. Congrès Archéologique de France, 1848, p. 155, "Nous nous trouvâmes en possession d'une série de pierres inscrites, épaisses de 0 m. 58 c.,

hautes de 0 m. 66 c., et au rang supérieur de 0 m. 62 c., longues de 0 m. 95 c. à 1 m. 70 c., et formant par leur réunion un monument d'une longueur totale de plus de 12 m." Mr. Freeman describes the great wall of Sens, and notices the difference between the masonry of the early Empire and repairs executed in a later Roman style, but he seems to have been quite ignorant of the epigraphic treasures which this fortification contained; yet he wrote more than thirty years after the excavations which revealed them. One would almost think that he wished to verify Virgil's line, *toto divisos orbe Britannos*, and to prove that it is not obsolete even now.

2. Aquiliae Flaccillae, civi Aeduae, Juli (conjugi, socerae).
3. Juliae Thermiolae, Juli Thermiani filiae (co)njugi.
4. Juliae Reginae, Magili Honorati et Juliae Thermiolae filiae.
5. Marco Magilio Honorato, Flamini Augustali, munerario, omnibus honoribus apud suos functo.
6. Marco Aemilio Nobili, Flamini Augustali, munerario omnibus honoribus apud suos functo fratri.

### *Translations.*

In honour of the house of Augustus, Marcus Magilius Honoratus, in accordance with a vow, has erected this monument to Mars, Vulcan and the most holy goddess Vesta, for himself and his family.

1. To Sextus Julius Thermianus, priest at the altar situated at the confluence of the Saône and Rhône, who held all the magistracies in his own country, my father-in-law.

2. To Aquilia Flaccilla, an Aeduan citizen, wife of Julius.

3. To my wife Julia Thermiola, daughter of Julius Thermianus.

4. To Julia Regina, daughter of Magilius Honoratus and Julia Thermiola.

5. To Marcus Magilius Honoratus, priest (*flamen*) of Augustus, who has exhibited gladiators and held all the magistracies in his own country.

6. To Marcus Aemilius Nobilis, who has exhibited gladiators and held all the magistracies in his own country, my brother.<sup>1</sup>

In these Inscriptions there are some words and phrases to which I would invite attention. The expression *In honorem domus Augustae* occurs with some variety not unfrequently. Orelli gives the following examples, Vol. I, p. 181, No. 738 init. IMAGINVM DOMVS//AVG.

<sup>1</sup> *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens Catalogue avec courtes notes explicatives* . . . par Gustave Julliot, 1891. "Note historique, p. I. Le Musée Gallo Romain, . . . provient presque en entier des pierres qui formaient, il y

a soixante ans encore, les assises inférieures des murailles d'enceinte de la ville, p. III. Aujourd'hui, le nombre des pierres s'élève à près de quatre cents."

CVLTORIB; and p. 108, No. 277 init. [NVMINIBVS // AVG // ET DOM DIV; p. 116, No. 339, PRO SALVTE DOMVS DIVIN—the last two found in Switzerland.

At Trèves we meet with the abbreviation D.D.

IN. H. D.D. DEAE  
EPONE · VICAN  
I · BELG · P · CV  
RANTE · G · VEL  
ORIO · SACRIL  
LIO · Q

In honorem domus divinae, deae Eponae vicani Belginates posuerunt, curante Gaio Velorio Sacrillio Quaestore.<sup>1</sup> See *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen* . . . von Johann Leonardy, p. 85, Brambach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*, p. 388, Index XV, *Notae aliquot explicatae*; the phrase IN H · D · D. is so common that the word *passim* is appended to it. *Domus divina* reminds me of the Austrian title *Allerhöchstes Kaiserhaus*, which sounds almost profane to English ears, as we reserve for God the epithet Most High, or in the Prayer Book version of the Psalms “Most Highest”—a double superlative.<sup>2</sup> Compare *Die Römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* . . . von Prof. Dr. Felix Hettner, Direktor des Museums, Index III, Epigraphisches, sect. 8, donavit, d(ono) d(edit), donum dedit, d(ederunt). See also Gerrard's *Siglarium*, D.D., D D &c.

*Volk.*, here we have two variations from the usual form *Vulcanus*. The interchange of O with U is too frequent to require notice here, but we may pause to observe the

<sup>1</sup> For Epona compare *Sonderabdruck aus dem Werke: Der Obergerm.—Raet. Limes des Roemerreiches im Auftrage der Reichs-Limes-Kommission. Die Kastelle bei Ohringen (mit vier Tafeln) Streckenkommissar: Prof. E. Herzog. Steine: No. 12, p. 28. Relief einer Epona mit Pferden, die linke obere Ecke abgebrochen. Epona in Tunica und Überwurf, thronend mit einem Korb auf dem Schoosse; hinter ihr auf jeder Seite ein Paar Pferde, das eine Paar gegen das andere gerichtet. Lettenkohlsandstein, 60 cm. breit, 68 cm. h.: with engraving. Thomas Hodgkin,*

Essay on the “Pfahlgraben” in the *Transactions of the Societas Aeliana* at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, p. 34 sq. and Plate IV. Juvenal, *Satire* VIII, 156 sq. jurat Solam Eponam et facies olida ad praepeia pictas.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἐλάχιστος III. From ἐλάχιστος came a new comparative ἐλαχιστότερος, less than the least: St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians III, 8, ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ πάντων ἁγίων ἔδωκεν ἡ χάρις αὐτῇ; Superlative ἐλαχιστότατος, very least of all, Sextus Empiricus M, III, 51.

use of K. Professor Key, *Alphabet*, p. 72, remarks that it appears in Latin only before the vowel A, and accounts for the fact, saying that K formerly had syllabic power, and represented the sound KA. He adds twenty-four examples from Inscriptions—the list beginning with *Kaeso*, ending with *Volkanus*. See Forcellini, s.v., who refers to Gruter. He also cites, but does not endorse, the opinion of Vossius, who thought that this name was corrupted from Tubalcain, “an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron,” Genesis IV, 22.

The classical scholars who flourished at the Revival of learning, were disposed to connect Greek and Latin with Hebrew—a fancy that led them to invent many absurd etymologies. See Casaubon's *Commentary on the Prologue of Persius*, p. 10, where he endeavours to explain in this manner the names *Parnassus*, *Helicon* and *Cithaeron*. In those days the difference between the Indo-European and Semitic groups of languages was not understood, for Comparative Grammar is a new study, like Geology among the Natural Sciences. Vulcanus is with greater probability considered to be akin to *fulgere*, *fulgur*, *fulmen*: see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Article by Dr. Leonard Schmitz.<sup>1</sup> Our Inscription shows Vulcan and Vesta in juxtaposition, thus agreeing with the statement of Dionysius, that Tatius established the worship of these deities conjointly. Its political importance appears from the site of the Vulcanal close to the *comitium*, the place where elections were held: Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, s.v. Roma: Plan of the Forum during the

<sup>1</sup> This name is akin to φλέγω, and φλόξ, genitive φλογός—the latter approaches closely to the archaic form *Volcanus*; in Greek the liquid precedes the vowel, but in Latin follows it, a variation that often occurs, e.g., βάλλω, βίβληκα, βίβλημαι. Moreover Homer has φλόξ Ἡράκλειοιο (i.e., *Vulcani*) *Iliad*, XVII, 88; and the interchange of F (φ) with V appears in the German preposition Von, pronounced Fon. So one of the rivers in hell is called Phlegethon (Fire-blaze) (πυριφλεγέθων, Plato, *Phaedo*, 114, A), *Paradise Lost*, Book II, v. 580, “Fierce Phlegethon Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage,” a passage where the names of other infernal

streams are explained both accurately and poetically.

I have just met with another example of F taking the place of V. It occurs in an ancient sketch-book by an unknown author preserved among the MSS. of Trinity College, Cambridge, signed R 17, 3a, and described by Professor Adolf Michaelis in the *Jahrbuch (Sonder-Abdruck) des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Band VII, p. 92 seq., Zweites Heft, 1892. This account is very conveniently bound up with the sketch-book. Under the drawing of the Apollo Belvedere the words *in belle fidere* are inscribed; under the figure of the Tiber we see *in belle videre*.

Republic, No. 4, p. 772, and p. 776 *sq.*<sup>1</sup> The Vulcanalia were celebrated on the 23rd of August. Pliny the Younger in an interesting epistle (III, 5), where he enumerates the writings of his uncle, the great naturalist, informs us that he used to begin his studies by lamp-light at the time of this festival. The name *Magilius* (perhaps originally Celtic, *cf.* Vergilius) and the Roman gens *Magilia* are only known from Inscriptions; De Vit in his *Onomasticon* gives references to Garrucci and the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* On the other hand, *Honoratus* occurs frequently both in books and monuments, especially, according to the same authority, in the gentes *Arria*, *Domitia*, *Egnatuleia* and *Vitellia*<sup>2</sup>; I do not find it in M. Babelon's *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, and therefore conclude that none of this name struck coins under the Republic. But the *Honorati* are far more conspicuous in ecclesiastical history—the series begins with the founder of the monastery of Lérins (caenobii Lirinensis) and its first abbot, about the end of the fourth century. He was afterwards elected Archbishop of Arles, and is still commemorated by the church erected in his honour, well-known to travellers on account of its proximity to the Aliscamps: see Lalauzière, *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Arles*, p. 59—years 426, 428, 429. He was succeeded by St. Hilaire, *ibid.*, pp. 61–63; and No. 154, p. xx, the long epitaph placed on his

<sup>1</sup> Τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, Dionysius, VI, 66, 67. Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, English Translation, Vol. I, p. 543, note 1205, and *ibid.*, p. 609, note 1344; and *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 233, note 527.

<sup>2</sup> We meet also with *Honorata* and *Honeratus*; and in the later age of Latinity, the first syllable is lengthened, the second shortened. Among the women who bore this name the earliest was martyred A.D. 304, *v. De Vit., op. citat.*, s.v. "Honorata in civitate Abitinensi in Africa, ut testantur Acta SS. Saturnini et Socc. mm. apud Ruinart."

Another *Honorata* of a later period is mentioned in the *Acta Sanctorum*, edit. Bollandists, Januarii, Tom. I, p. 680, 11 Jan., Ticini in Italia, Circiter A.D. She was a sister of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of this city, became a nun

(*monialis*), when *Odoacer* plundered Ticinum, and was carried into captivity, but ransomed by Epiphanius: Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Chap. XXXVI, note 135; Vol. IV, p. 302, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith. At the translation of her body from St. Vincent's church to another, many miracles are said to have been worked. "Mulier quoque aegra, ut nec loco moveri nec loqui posset, viso Sanctae Virginis corpore, opeque ejus postulata, integram sanitatem retulit."

Ticinum was called *Papia* by the Lombards; this name may be explained by the fact that the inhabitants had been enrolled in the Papian tribe—hence the modern appellation *Pavia* is derived: *v.* Sir E. H. Bunbury, Article "Ticinum" in Smith's *Dictionary of Geography*.



tomb, in the "Recueil des Inscriptions" at the end of the volume. From the school in this monastery issued forth some of the most learned doctors and bishops of the Gallican church, amongst them Vincent de Lerins (Vincentius Lirinensis): he strenuously supported the doctrine of tradition in a book entitled *Commonitorium Peregrini pro catholicae fidei antiquitate*.<sup>1</sup>

The word which we have been considering as a proper name, occurs on monuments as a participle of the verb *honoro*. Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis*, 1685, p. 258 sq., gives us examples which are useful, because they show how abbreviations may be explained by comparison. In the first inscription from Komorn (Comora) in Hungary we have EQ. PVB.; in the second from Rome EQVO. PVBLICO; in the third from Nyons in Switzerland EQVO PVBLICO HONORATO, so that the grammatical construction of the ablative is clear. Spon adduces as a parallel expression *Caesares tribunitia potestate, i.e., exornati*. He also corrects the error of Gruter, who reads *Valeriano* for VOL. RIPANO, i.e., *Voltinia tribu*, in accordance with common usage.<sup>2</sup> We may here remark the superior merit of this writer: few, if any, modern compilers have presented epigraphy to the reader in a form so perspicuous and attractive. For the *equus publicus* see Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, English Translation, Index s.v. Knights' horses; Orelli, *Inscr.*, Vol. I, p. 113, No. 313, the same as the third quoted above from Spon; p. 266, No. 1229, SACERDOTI HONORATO // EQVO PVBLICO AB // IMP. ANTONINO AVG.; Vol. II, p. 104, No. 3457, EQ. P. EXORN.

<sup>1</sup> For the situation of Lerins v. Joanne's *Guide-book*, edit. 1877. Map of Provence, Departement de Var, facing p. 88, and Map of Departement des Alpes Maritimes facing p. 112; compare Text pp. 289-293. The Isles des Lerins, Saint-Honorat and Sainte-Marguerite, are opposite Cannes, and two leagues from Antibes (Antipolis); in the former was the monastery; in the latter the Man with the Iron Mask, and, in our own time, Arab prisoners from North Africa and Marshal Bazaine were incarcerated. Vincent is best known as the author of a famous maxim: *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est*, which

occurs in the book cited above. He died before A.D. 450, and was a contemporary of Salvianus, the Jeremiah of the fifth century, who spent five years at Lerins, well known from having written the treatise *De Gubernatione Dei: Les Moines de l'Occident depuis Saint Benoit jusqu'à Saint Bernard*, par le Comte Montalembert, Tome I, p. 228 sq.; see also *Les docteurs et les Saints de Lerins*, pp. 227-235.

<sup>2</sup> Spon, *loc. citat.*, p. 259. "Confirmatur correctio ex eo quod plures alii ejusdem familiae hujusce *Voltinae* tribus fuisse observentur in aliis lapidibus a nobis ad historiam Genevensensem relatis."

M. Julliot conjectures that the surname Thermianus may have been conferred by his compatriots on the builder of the Thermae at Sens, in gratitude for the service which he had thus rendered to the city. The name is certainly an uncommon one, and I have not met with another instance of it hitherto.<sup>1</sup>

The priesthood of the altar erected at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône was an honour highly esteemed among the Gauls; we may imagine that those who held it had a rank like that of cathedral dignitaries among ourselves.<sup>2</sup> Strabo, IV, p. 192 A, ed. Casaubon, describes the structure with the accuracy that makes his works so valuable: he informs us that this remarkable altar bore the names of sixty nations inscribed upon it; there were statues representing each of them, and one of Augustus larger than the rest, according to the emendation of the corrupt text proposed by Groskurd, and adopted by succeeding writers. This correction is almost certain and agrees with the practice of ancient art, which thus denoted the superior importance of some great person-

<sup>1</sup> Thermianus is not to be found either in Forcellini's *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*, or the Supplement by Bailey, the English editor, called *Auctarium* (an addition); and De Vit's *Onomasticon* at the present time (November, 1898), as far as I know, has only advanced to *Nonnus*.

<sup>2</sup> Juvenal, *Satire* I, 44.

"Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram."

V. Heinrich's note in his edition of *Juvenal*, Vol. II, p. 49, *Erklärung*, "Es war ein eigenes Priesteramt dabei." Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, cap. 2, "Natus est . . . Lugduni, eo ipso die, quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est." Caligula, 20. "Edidit et peregre spectacula; in Sicilia Syracusis asticos ludos, et in Gallia Lugduni miscellos; sed et certamen quoque Graecae Latinaeque facundiae," etc. Compare Gifford's *Translation of Juvenal*, note, Vol. I, p. 16. See also *Heinrich on Sat.*, XI, 20, "sic veniunt ad miscellanea ludi."

In the *Epitome of Livy*, Book CXXXVII, Drakenborch's edition, Vol. VI, p. 969, *sq.*, has the following words with reference to this altar, "sacerdote creato C. Julio Vercundar,

Dubio Aeduo," on which J. Fr. Gronovius remarks "corruptum nomen Gallicum." But Madvig omits Periochae (= Epitomae) CXXXVI and CXXXVII; Weissenborn says that the latter is wanting.

An altar was erected in honour of Augustus in the Rhine-land, which also had its own priesthood: Tacitus, *Annals*, Book I, chap. 39. It was called Ara Ubiorum: see Orelli's note, "Aliis colonia Agrippinensis . . . sive Agrippinensium (Cologne) . . . aliis vero Bonna videtur, d'Anvillio Gotsberg," now called Godesberg, south of Bonn, where there is said to have been a Roman settlement: Baedeker's *Rheinlande*, edit. 1886, p. 340, and Map, No. 29, *Der Rhein von Koblenz bis Bonn*, S. 318. *Ara autem vocabatur, quia ibi totius Ubiorum populi publica sacra celebrabantur.* Tacitus, *ibid.*, chap. 57, we read concerning Segimundus (Sigismund), son of Segestes, "sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles." The historian appears to speak of a *sacerdotium Romanum*, v. *Interpres*, and especially the note of Lipsius, Tacitus, p. 30, folio 1607. Antverpia, ex officina Plantiniana.



age; so in the monument of Manius Caelius, who fell in the defeat of Varus, now preserved in the Provincial Museum at Bonn, the figure of this Roman officer (*optio*) is half-length, and on a larger scale than the busts of his two freedmen accompanying him. See Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit*, Erster Band, Sechstes Heft, Tafel V; and Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, Art. "Waffen," Vol. III, pp. 2049-2051, Pl. 2263, where the inscription is better explained.

Similarly in Christian art, the ancient sarcophagi at Arles show us the persons on whom our Lord worked miracles inferior in size to Him and the apostles. A good example is given by M. Edmond Le Blant in his book on this subject—Pl. V, Text, p. 9, where we see Lazarus raised from the dead, the woman with an issue of blood, the blind and the paralytic. Compare *ibid.*, p. xiii (Introduction), and p. 19, Christ *exceptionally* represented smaller than others.<sup>1</sup>

Mention of this Lyonnese altar recurs on the arch at Saintes near Rochelle, and we may observe that the phrase SACERDOTI · ARAE · INTER · CONFLVENT · ARAR · ET · RHODANI at Sens corresponds with SACERDOS · ROMAE · ET · AVGVSTI · AD · ARAM · QVAE · EST · AD · CONFLVENTEM at Saintes. Thus one monument supplies what is wanting in the other—the former names the rivers and the latter the deities who were worshipped. My Paper on the "Antiquities of Saintes," *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 179-184, contains an account of the Inscriptions on the arch; in the foot-notes to this memoir will be found references to Chaudruc de Crazannes, who has an engraving of it, as a frontispiece; also to Bourignon, Audiat (*Épigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*) and the *Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inférieure et de*

<sup>1</sup> The Collection in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome has a predominant personage indicated in the same manner. Two figures grouped together, of which one is much larger than the other, are with good reason supposed to be Orestes and Electra. A good photograph of these statues forms the frontispiece to Professor Keene's edition of the *Electra*

of *Euripides*. "She is represented as a head taller than her brother, perhaps, as has been suggested, to signify the motherly relation in which she stood to Orestes whom she had reared, or the prominent part she takes in originating the plot against Clytemnestra," Introduction, p. XL. ("The Story in Art").

la Vienne; La Sauvagère, *Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules*, may also be consulted with advantage.<sup>1</sup> Planches VII-XII. Some of these engravings are very interesting, e.g., VII, p. 41, "Carte Topographique qui fait voir les Rivières de la Charente et de la Seugne telles quelles couloient du tems des anciens Romains sous la ville de Saintes: IX, p. 49, Pont de Saintes sur la Charente en 1560 d'après les desseins de George Braunius," *Mundi Theatrum*, Tom. III, N. 17. We find on the frieze of the arch at Saintes the names of the dedicator C. Julius Rufus, also of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather—Ottuaneunus, Gededmon and Epotsovoridus, evidently Celtic, while the language of all the inscriptions is Latin; so that this monument is more fully entitled than that at Sens to the epithet Gallo-Roman.

The words *Sacerdoti arae inter confluent Arar et Rhodani* imply the worship of Augustus; but I have already more than once enlarged upon this kind of monotheism, so that repetition on the present occasion seems unnecessary. See *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 17, "Antiquities of Tarragona": *ibid.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 234-239, "Antiquities of Pola and Aquileia."

De Vit in his *Onomasticon*, s.v. Flaccilla enumerates six women who bore this name; the most celebrated among them is the wife of Theodosius the Great, Aelia Flaccilla Augusta on coins (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VIII, p. 164) and mother of Arcadius and Honorius.<sup>2</sup> The name occurs at a much earlier date,

<sup>1</sup> A list of this author's writings is given in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*. On the title-page of the *Recueil* he says that his work is intended as a sequel to the *Antiquités* of the Comte de Caylus. The fine plates by which it is illustrated were engraved by Madame Lattre. Sauvagère died poor, having ruined himself by the expenses incurred in archæological researches and publications.

<sup>2</sup> Eckhel, *loc. cit.*, Obv. AEL. FLACCILLA AVG., Rev. SALVS REIPVBLICAE S, in the exergue CONOB. "Additum S aliud non est quam nota arithmetica *senarium* indicans, cujus copiosa jam dedimus exempla." *Senarius* is a term usually

applied to metre. "Senarii versus et absolute *Senarii* sunt, qui constant sex pedibus."

De Vit, *Lexicon*, s.v. comp. Horace, A.P. 253.

"cum senos redderet ictus,

Primus ad extremum similis sibi."

Cicero, *Orator*, c. 55, § 184, "comitorum senarii," 56, § 189.

Phaedrus, *Fabulae*, *Prologue init.*

"Aesopus auctor quam materiam repperit,

Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis."

Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, V, xxiii, 64, a curious passage in which the author describes the discovery of the tomb of Archimedes at Syracuse, unknown to the inhabitants, which had

for Martial begins the thirty-fourth Epigram of his fifth book with the following verses :—

“Hanc tibi, Fronto pater, genetrix Flaccilla, puellam  
Oscula commendo deliciasque meas.”

The poem, which is very pathetic, commemorates Erotion, a little slave girl who died just before completing her sixth year. The last couplet,

“Mollia non rigidus cespes tegat ossa, nec illi,  
Terra, gravis fueris : non fuit illa tibi,”

by contrast reminds me of the satirical epitaph composed for Vanbrugh, the architect of Blenheim Palace,

“Lie heavy on him, earth, for he  
Laid many a heavy load on thee.”

In the seventh line the words *veteres patronos*, relating to Fronto and Flaccilla, make it very probable that they were Martial's parents.

We meet with various forms of the name—*Flacilla*, Πλάκιλλα, Φλάκκιλλα; there is reason to doubt whether the primary word *Flacca* occurs either in authors or in inscriptions. Sometimes both appellations are used, Prisca and Priscilla, Lucia and Lucilla, Livia and Livilla, Drusa and Drusilla. Doubtless in many cases,

the figure of a sphere and cylinder inscribed upon it. “Tenebam enim quosdam senariolos, quos in ejus monumento esse inscriptos acceperam,” *ibid.* 66, “Apparebat epigramma, exesis posterioribus partibus versicolorum, dimidiatis fere.” Cohen, *Medailles Imperiales*, Tome VI, p. 462 sq. “Femme eminente par ses vertus fut mise au rang des saintes, No. 1, Obv. Son buste a droite avec un tres-riche diademe.” *Catalogue of the Collection Ponton d'Amecourt*, p. 122, No. 779, *photogravure*. Rev. Victoire assise a droite, écrivant le monogramme du Christ sur un bouclier posé sur un cippe.

Friedlander, edit. Martial 1886, Vol. I, p. 407, quotes similar inscriptions on Greek sepulchres (*Grab-schriften*).

“Ἔστω σοι ὁ πᾶς κόρυς λίθος,  
Κοῦφη σοι κόνις ἦδε πέλοι,  
Ἀλλὰ σὺ γαῖα πέλοις ἀγαθῇ κοῦφῃ  
τ' Ἀκυλείνω,

Ἐυξάμενος κοῦφην (sc. γῆν);”

also a Latin epitaph,

“Terraque, quae mater nunc est, sibi  
sit levis, oro,  
Namque gravis nulli vita fuit  
pueri.”

Hence the abbreviation S.T.T.L. is explained, *i.e.*, “Sit Tibi Terra Levis. Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*,” Vol. I, *Index Notarum*, Nos. 159, 4749. Compare Persius, *Satire* I, 37,

“nunc non cinis ille poetae

Felix? non levior cippus nunc im-  
primit ossa?”

with the *Commentary of Casaubon*, edit. 1615, p. 85. “Inimicis quorum memoriae non favebant, nullum saxum imponebant, et gravem tamen terram, atque ut pondere urgerentur, optabant. Tibullus,

Quisquis es, infelix, urgeat ossa lapis.  
Propertius,

Urgeat hunc supra, vis, caprifice,  
tua.”

Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. II, p. 693. Index : “Tituli Sepulcrales. Aclamationes. Sanctiones. Sit tibi terra levis.”

both of common and proper nouns, the Latin diminutive lost its special meaning, like the modern Italian *fratello*, *sorella*.

The titles *Flumen* and *Augustalis* are common enough; abundant information concerning these offices is supplied by articles in the third edition of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*; the best and most recent authorities are also cited. On the other hand, *munerarius* or its equivalent *munerator* is rather uncommon. According to Quintilian, Augustus was the first to use the former word. Cicero in his letters to Atticus, II, xix, 3, says, "Gladiatoribus, qua dominus qua advocati sibilis conscissi." At the combats of gladiators both the exhibitor and his friends were overwhelmed with hisses; here *dominus* has the same signification as *editor*, i.e., qui munus edebat.<sup>1</sup>

These Inscriptions have a genealogical interest: Marcus Magilius Honoratus, the dedicator, mentions in them members of his family:—his father-in-law Sextus Julius Thermianus, his mother-in-law, Aquilia Flaccilla, his wife Julia Thermiola, and his daughter Julia Regina. Three inscriptions have been found at Lyons, which evidently relate to some of the personages who appear in the one at Sens; so that by a comparison of the two monuments, we obtain a part of the pedigree of a great Gallo-Roman family, branches of which were settled at Sens, Lyons and probably Autun.<sup>2</sup> The nearest parallel

<sup>1</sup> Quicherat, *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*, *Munerarius*, a, um, adj. Ad munus vel largitionem pertinens. Cassiodorus, *Variarum (Epistolarum)* Lib. VI, 7. "Sed huic, ut ita dicam, munerariae dignitati praeconem largitatis nostrae . . . adjungimus." He adds *Gloss. Cyril.* Φιλότημος, ambitiosus, munerarius, liberalis. *Ibid.*, Χαριστικός, munificus, munerarius. Cf. Dueange, *Gloss.* Ἀγωνοθῆτης.

On *munerarius* occurring in the Inscription at Sens Monsieur Arnauld observes, "Remarquons que Sextus Julius Thermianus n'est pas *munerarius*, il n'a pas donné de jeux, ni de combats de gladiateurs . . . Les deux flamines de notre texte sont *munerarii*: ce sont des fonctionnaires religieux de Sens, non de Lyon et de l'autel des Trois-Gaules: *Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1893 (1894), tome quatrième, p. 87. "The

person who exhibited a show of gladiators was honoured, during the day of exhibition, if a private person, with the official signs of a magistrate:" *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, third edition, Vol. I, p. 916, second column.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue des Inscriptions du Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, par M. G. Julliot, pp. 5-9, Nos. 16-30, p. 8. "Les metropoles de la première et de la quatrième Lyonnaise possédaient donc deux monuments considérables élevés à une même famille, et la comparaison des inscriptions qui sont parvenues jusqu'à nous nous porte à croire le monument de Lyon un peu postérieur à celui de Sens, puisqu'il nous révèle l'existence d'un petit-fils de S. Julius Thermianus, qui ne figure pas sur le monument senonais et qui semble être le frère puîné de Julia Regina."

that I remember is furnished by the famous tomb of the Scipios outside the Porta Capena at Rome, discovered in the year 1780; see Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. I, p. 149 *seq.*, Nos. 550–558; and Labruzzi, *Via Appia Illustrata*, where the engravings are almost facsimiles.

Of the monument we are considering only the upper part has been preserved; it is 12 mètres 18 centimètres long, 2·01 mètres high, 0·58 mètres thick. Probably it was surmounted by busts of the imperial family, of divinities to whom the building was dedicated, and of persons mentioned below the topmost line. The letters, carefully formed, belong to a good period, not later than the second century. If any one will study the Paper read by M. Lallier at the Congrès Archéologique, XIV<sup>e</sup> Session, séances tenues à Sens, 1847, with accompanying Plate; the Catalogue of the Inscriptions in the Gallo-Roman Museum of that city by M. Julliot and the Memoir by M. P. Arnaudet, dated 23rd May, 1894, Soc. des Antiquaires de France, he will see the pains taken by the French antiquaries both in making excavations and in describing their results, and he will be able to appreciate the measure of success that has rewarded their exertions. It is only since 1891 that the blocks of stone, which had been dispersed, were united again. They are now placed in the garden adjoining the museum, and arranged in a manner corresponding with their original position, so that a visitor can examine them conveniently.<sup>1</sup>

I copy the following Inscription, because it seems more interesting than the rest:—

Also by the same author, *Quelques Inscriptions Romaines des Musées de Sens et de Lyon*. Lecture faite à la Sorbonne, le 5 Avril, 1877: p. 11 *sqq.* 1<sup>o</sup> Monument élevé chez les Senonais, p. 15 *sqq.* 2<sup>o</sup> Monument élevé au confluent de la Saône et du Rhône.

*Mémoires des Antiquaires de France*, loc. citat. "Nous renvoyons au tome II des Inscriptions de Lyon de MM. Allmer et Dissard pour les détails sur l'autel des Trois-Gaules et ses prêtres, sur le culte de Rome et d'Auguste à Lyon, ouvrage où sont réunis tous les

textes épigraphiques et historiques sur cette importante institution."

<sup>1</sup> See especially the folding plate at the end of M. Bulliot's lecture containing: I. The inscription of a votive monument erected by Marcus Magilius Honoratus, and now preserved in the Lapidary Museum of Sens. II. Restoration of the inscription of a votive monument, erected near the altar at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône by Sextus Julius Thermianus, a Senonese, priest of Rome and Augustus.

T · GERM · DAC  
 NVS · ET · T · PRISC  
 VS · ET AMBVLAT  
 ET OLEV · P · INP

M. Arnauld completes the fragment thus:—

[Pro salute imp(eratoris) Caesaris, divi Nervae filii, Nervae Trajani Augus]t(i) Germ(anici) Dac[ic(i) p(ontificis) m(aximi,) tr(ibuniciae) p(otestatis). . . , co(n)s(ulis), p(atris) p(atriciae), . . . ]nus et T(itus) Prisc[ius . . . aediles civit(atis) portic]us et ambulat[orium] aedific(averunt) et dedic(averunt) et ob dedic(a-tionem) vinum] et oleum p[ropriis] imp(ensis) [populo deder(unt)].<sup>1</sup>

Some of the words added must be regarded as conjectural. Probably the Emperor mentioned here is Trajan, who received from his adoptive father the names of Nerva and Germanicus, in A.D. 97; after the defeat of Decebalus, king of the Dacians, he returned to Rome in triumph, and assumed the title of Dacicus, A.D. 103. On this supposition, if the complete Inscription contained the word Parthicus, it would belong to the year 116 or 117, in the latter of which Trajan died. But Hadrian also had the surnames *Germanicus*, *Dacicus* (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VI, p. 475, letter F), so that a later date might be assigned to the monument.<sup>2</sup> NVS in

<sup>1</sup> Julliot, *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens, Catalogue, avec courtes notes explicatives*, 1891. Note Historique, p. iii, and p. 1, No. 5 (Pm). "Inscription rappelant l'inauguration de portiques, de promenoirs élevés dans la capitale des Senonais sous l'un des empereurs Trajan ou Hadrien."

<sup>2</sup> Both these titles occur in Juvenal's Sixth Satire, v, 205,

"quum lance beata  
 Dacicus et scripto radiat Germanicus  
 auro."

The poet here mentions the expenses that followed the marriage ceremony, a feast, wedding cakes, *mustacea* (as in our modern practice) for the guests, and a present of money to the bride. Gifford thinks that the reference is to coins struck by Domitian in consequence of his boasted victories in the Dacian war. On the other hand the old French commentator Achaintre says, "nullum

reperi numum Domitiani Imp. cum inscript. Germ. Dac." Many medals of Domitian are inscribed AVG GERM: v. Cohen, *Medailles Imperiales*, Vol. I, p. 387 sq., Medaillons d'or et d'argent, Nos. 4, 5, 6; *ibid.*, p. 389, Medailles d'or et d'argent. No. 13 AVG · GERMANIC; p. 393, No. 49 GERMANICVS. Comp. the historical Introduction prefixed to this reign. "Il triompha et s'arrogea le titre de *Germanicus*, qu'il n'avait nullement mérité." In the dedication of Martial's *Eighth Book of Epigrams* we read, "Imperatori Domitiano Caesari Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Valerius Martialis S(alutem);" but it does not appear that Domitian himself assumed the last appellation, nor do we find it in his coinage. Juvenal, edit. Duff, Pitt Press Series, 1898, p. 227, note on *loc. citat.*

Trajan's money frequently bears both titles. Cohen, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 4, IMP



the second line might be the last syllable of Thermianus; but this is quite uncertain, because the termination ANVS in proper names, which indicated adoption, occurs very frequently under the Empire.<sup>1</sup> The two magistrates, whose names appeared here, were probably aediles, as the next line contained the words *porticus* and *ambulatoria*, which, as public buildings, would be under their superintendence. *Porticus* is in many cases translated better by *colonnade* than by *portico*, as it was "a long, narrow walk covered by a roof supported upon columns"; see Rich's *Dictionary*, s.v. This explanation agrees with some passages in Juvenal, *Satire* IV, 5, 6,

"Quid refert igitur, quantis jumenta fatiget  
Porticibus?

Avails it then, in what long colonnades  
He tires his mules?"

*Ibid.*, VII, 178,

"Balnea sexcentis, et pluris porticus, in qua  
Gestetur dominus, quoties pluit.

Where, while it lowers,  
They ride, and bid defiance to the showers."

The second passage from Juvenal furnishes a good parallel, because *porticus* is mentioned in juxtaposition with *balnea*, as in our Inscription we have it coupled with *ambulatoria*, corridors which there is good reason to suppose were *dependances* of the baths at Sens.

TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. It is needless to multiply repetitions of this legend. As Trajan took the cognomen *Dacicus* A.D. 103, the line quoted above assists us to ascertain approximately when the poem in which it occurs was written. For a discussion of the dates of Juvenal's *Satires* see Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. VII, p. 344, note 1.

<sup>1</sup> This practice was less frequent in Republican times; there is no name with the termination ANVS amongst the titles of Cicero's Orations, while, on the contrary, it often appears in the pages of Tacitus, e.g., Mucianus, Sejanus, Silanus. The most notorious example of adoption in the former period was that of P. Clodius, Cicero's enemy, a Senator of the noblest birth. "As all Patricians were incapable of the Tribunate, by its original institution, so his first step was to make himself a Plebeian,

by the pretence of an adoption into a Plebeian house." Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, Vol. I, p. 291. Clodius succeeded in this project, and was elected Tribune; he drove Cicero into exile, burnt his house on the Palatine, and persecuted his wife and children.

But earlier in Roman history, and in connection with great names, we find an instance of this transfer from one family to another. The younger son of L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, who defeated Perseus in the battle of Pydna B.C. 163, was adopted by P. Scipio, elder son of Africanus Major. He had the names P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, was an intimate friend of Laelius, known to us from Cicero's *De Amicitia*, and took Carthage B.C. 146, after a desperate resistance on the part of the besieged. Comp. Juvenal, VIII, 3, "stantes in curribus Aemilianos," with note, edit. Duff.

A still more apposite citation is supplied by Plautus, *Mostellaria*, III, ii, 67 69,

“Set senex

Gunaecum aedificare volt hic in suis

Et balineas et ambulacrum et porticum :”

where we may observe that *ambulacrum* is a pre-classical word; see the note, edit. Lorenz, *in loco*, p. 168. M. Arnanddet expands, as we have already seen, AMBVLAT by *ambulatorium*, and remarks that *ambulatio*, which M. Julliot had previously suggested, means rather the *act* of walking than the locality which serves as a place for a walk.<sup>1</sup> But here he is not quite accurate, for *ambulatio* has both meanings in the Latinity of the best period, e.g., Cicero, *De Finibus* and *Ad Quintum Fratrem*.<sup>2</sup> It is quite true that the “terminations *tio* and *sio* signify the *act* of the verb, and are always joined to verbal roots”: Dawson and Rushton's *Terminational Latin Dictionary*, p. 85. See also many examples, which support this statement, *ibid.*, pp. 85–100, or Roby's *Latin Grammar*, Word-Formation, Book III, Chap. VI, pp. 317–319. However, we meet with exceptions to this general

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, Sixième Serie, Tome IV, p. 105. “Le mot *ambulatio* signifie plutôt l'action de se promener que l'endroit qui sert de lieu de promenade.”

<sup>2</sup> *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, V, i, 1, “constituimus inter nos, ut ambulationem postmeridianam conficeremus in Academia, maxime quod is locus ab omni turba id temporis vacuus esset.” *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, III, i, 1. “Sed tamen nihil ei restabat praeter balnearia et ambulationem et aviarium,” where *balnearia* and *ambulatio* are in juxtaposition, as in Plautus *loc. citat.* In the climate of Italy these colonnades furnished a suitable locality for philosophical discussions, affording a free circulation of air, as well as a shady refuge from the glare and heat of the sun; so Virgil says, “Frigus captabis opacum” (*Eclogue* I, v. 53), and Cicero, “Ad id aut sedens, aut ambulans disputabam” (*Tusculan Disputations*, I, iv, 7).

We find our best authority for this subject in Vitruvius, lib. V, cap. 9. He gives minute directions for the height and breadth of columns, and for the intervals between them (*Intercolumnia*).

v. *Atlas of Plates*, edit. Rode, Tab. XIII (Forma XVI, No. 2) g. h. f. “Exemplum porticum post scenam et ambulationum Pompeiis in porticibus vulgo dictis Castro de' So'dati.” See also Overbeck's *Pompeii*, Vol. I, p. 210, “so werden wir mit Sicherheit die in der Inschrift mit der Palaestra zusammen genannte Porticus in dem schon besprochenen Saalungänge des Hofes, der mit diesem ja eigentlich ein Ganzes ausmacht, erkennen,” v. p. 207, Fig. 146, *Plan der neuen Thermen*; p. 209, Fig. 147. *Hof der neuen Thermen, die Palaestra gegen Südost.*

De Vit, s.v. rightly divides *ambulationes* into two classes: “Apud Romanos duplicis generis erant, aliae scilicet *apertae*, aliae *tectae*”; and so Vitruvius, V. 9, med. says, “Hypaethrae (uncovered) ambulationes habent magnam salubritatem.”

The Younger Pliny in his *Epistles* (II, 17, and V. 6) describes at great length not only his Laurentine and Tuscan villas but also the adjoining gardens, so that, from the context, we can ascertain clearly the arrangement indicated by the former adjective.

rule, like *ambulatio*; so *coenatio* is a dining-room in Martial, Epigram II, 59, v. 1,

“Mica vocor: quid sim cernis, coenatio parva.”

v. 3. “Frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tingere nardo.” illustrates the meaning.

Compare Juvenal, VII, 183,

“Et argentem rapiat coenatio solem,  
An eating-room, that fronts the eastern skies,  
And drinks the cooler sun.”

Similarly *factio* has two significations, (1) a making, as in *testamenti factio*; (2) a political party, also a company of charioteers (*aurigarum*) in the circus, distinguished by their colours—green, red, azure and white.

OLEVM is the word to which I would specially invite attention. Every author is his own best expositor; but when this source of information fails, we must have recourse to writers who were contemporary or nearly so. The same principle applies to every kind of historical documents; and in this case a monument of a date almost as ancient is not far to seek. I refer to an inscription at Barcelona, which Hubner has carefully described in the *Corpus*, Vol. II, No. 4514:<sup>1</sup> or see Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscr. Latin in Acad. usum* (No. 309, Vol. I, p. 96) in 8vo, and more convenient for reference. For our purpose the important passage in it is EX · X · CC · OLEV · M · N · THERMS · PVBL<sup>c</sup>.<sup>2</sup> The words IMP · M | AV · R · ANT · NINO · ET · AV · R | VERO · AV · G prove the date approximately. Incorrect expressions occur; *consecutus in honores, quos honor contigerit, vocitus, quot supra scriptum est*, and ungrammatical forms of words, e.g., *atlectus, at*. Cf. Wilmanns, *ibid.*, No. 319, pp. 110–112, especially the last page. *Lex collegii Dianae et Antinoi*; v. 91, “et die[bus natalibus] | Dianae et Antinoi oleum collegio in balinio (sic) publico po[nat antequam] epulentur.”

<sup>1</sup> P. 604, Barcino, Tarraconensis. Hubner copied this important Inscription *summa cum cura*, and subjoins the expansion of it. His commentary begins with a reference to Augustinus. Misc. B b. 187, “idem edidit et explicuit *dialogos de las medallas cct* (1587) in dialogo nono.” For an account of the works of this very learned writer, who

was Archbishop of Tarragona, see the same volume of C.I.L. (Hispania) Praefatio, p. XV, No. 32, where he is characterised as *inter saeculi XVI doctos Hispanos facile princeps*.

<sup>2</sup> These words are the nineteenth line—ex X (denarii CC (ducentis) oleum in thermas publicas).

The inscription at Sens corresponds well with a mention of a largess made by the ædiles during the second Punic War (Livy, XXV, ii, 9), when fifty gallons of oil were distributed in each quarter of the city—"Congii olei in vicos singulos dati *quinquageni*," according to the text of Weissenborn:<sup>1</sup> *vicus* here means a sub-division of a region of the city, not a street, as Baker translates; Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, Third Edition, Vol. II, p. 955. A *congius* is rather less than six pints, but I do not know any English liquid measure that comes nearer to it than *gallon*. Hence we have the derivative *congiarium*, which is an adjective with the ellipse of *vas*, and means a vessel holding a *congius*; but it soon came to be used in a wider sense, as a distribution of gifts to the people—oil, wine, corn, money, etc.; *donativum* was a bounty given by the Emperor to his soldiers. The former is represented on one of the upper reliefs on Constantine's Arch at Rome, which belong to the time of Trajan. He is seated on a tribunal, and presents the recipients of his favours, as they approach singly, with a ticket (*tessera*) entitling them to obtain the amount written thereon.

Numismatic evidence on this subject begins with Nero; one of his medals bears on its reverse the legend CONG · DAT · POP, and is described by Eckhel, Vol. VI, p. 270 sq.; see also Cohen, Vol. I, p. 189, No. 110; cf. No. 118,

<sup>1</sup> In Drakenborch's edition the text stands thus: "Aedilitia largitio haec fuit. Ludi Romani pro temporis illius copiis magnifice facti, et diem unum instaurati, et congi olei in vicos singulos dati"; but this reading is not satisfactory. "Jac Perizonius ad marginem Livii in viros singulos scribendum con-jicit."

Weissenborn prints *quinquageni* in italics, to show that the word is not found in the Manuscripts. He explains *vicus* in the following note: "Nicht Strassen, sondern Quartiere (eigentlich durch Kreuzstrassen geteilte Strassen-quartiere), die auch durch religiöse Feierlichkeiten (*die Compitalia*) verbunden waren," and compares a passage in the same author where the adverbial derivative, formed like *viritim*, occurs: Livy, XXVI, 6, "magnam vim frumenti,

ex Hispania missam, M. Valerius Falto et M. Fabius Buteo aediles curules quaternis aeris *vicatim* populo descripserunt." *Ibid.*, XXV, ii, 9, Madvig's edition has "et congi olei\* in vicos singulos dati, with a footnote <sup>1</sup> Excidit numerus congiurum.

In Cicero, *Pro Milone*, chap. XXIV, § 64, *vicus* probably means a street on account of *angiportus* (an alley) which follows, as this author very often couples together words of similar meaning—a mode of expression which has had many imitators: "Nullum in urbe vicum, nullum angiportum esse dicebant, in quo Miloni non esset conducta domus." *Vicatim* from *Vicus* should not be confounded with *vicatim* — per vices, vicissim; De Vit, s.v. Also comp. Livy, X, 4, "vigiliae vicatim exactae."

CONG II.<sup>1</sup> The coins of Titus, Domitian and Nerva are inscribed in the same manner; sometimes we read CONGIAR, or CONGIARIVM *in extenso*, which explain with certainty the monosyllabic abbreviation and the well-known phrase *Panem et Circenses*. At Athens the Hestiasis, a banquet given by a citizen to his tribe, and the Theoric fund, from which monies were distributed amongst the people, were institutions answering similar purposes—the poorer classes were fed and entertained at the expense of the state or wealthy individuals; thus they were induced to lead lives of indolence and self-indulgence.

The use of oil by bathers is proved by the mention in Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Book V, Chap. 11, of an apartment called *elaeothesium* (ἐλαιοθέσιον)<sup>3</sup> or *unctorium*

<sup>1</sup> It is fully described by Cohen, *loc. citat.* "Neron assis sur une estrade placée à gauche; sur le même plan, un homme assis faisant une distribution à un autre homme qui monte un escalier au bas duquel est un enfant; derrière l'homme assis, la statue de Pallas casquée, debout, tenant une haste et une chouette sur la main droite qui est tendue; devant lui, la Libéralite debout, tenant une tessere." This coin (*Grand Bronze*) can be obtained in good condition, and at a moderate price; according to Cohen 20 francs. It is remarkable both as an important corroboration of history, and as containing an unusual number of figures.

Admiral W. H. Smyth, *Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large-Brass Medals*, p. 41 sq., thinks that CONG. II. records the munificence of the tyrant after the disastrous fire at Rome. But Eckhel is of a different opinion, Vol. VI. p. 271. "Non satisfaciunt antiquarii, qui congiaria hæc certis annis adfigunt." He also cites Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII, 31, "plebeique congiarium quadringeni nummi viritim dati;" where the distributive numeral should be noticed.

<sup>2</sup> Juvenal, *Satire X*, vv. 78–81,

"nam qui dabat olim

Imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc

se

Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,

Panem et Circenses."

and *ibid.*, VII, v. 174.

"qua vilis tessera venit

Frumentii,"

See the notes of Duff on both passages, and Rupert and Heinrich on the latter.

Suetonius, *Augustus*, chap. 41. "Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, . . . Frumentum quoque in annonæ difficultatibus sæpe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio, viritim admensus est; tesserasque nummarias duplicavit."

Persius has the diminutive of tessera, *Sat. V*, v. 74.

"Libertate opus est, non hæc, quam ut quisque Velina

Publius emeruit, scabiosum tesserula far

Possidet."

"Freedom, in truth, it steads us much to have:

Not that, by which each manumitted slave,

Each Publius, with his tally, may obtain

A casual dole of coarse and damaged grain."

Gifford's *Translation*, Vol. II, p. 117.

Here we have the middle form between tessera and tessella, tessellatus, whence the English tessellated, often spelt with one l improperly. Compare asella, capella, opella: Dawson and Rushton, *Terminational Latin Dictionary*, words ending in ella, and v. p. 35, ellus, ello.

<sup>3</sup> Marquardt—*Das Privatleben der Römer*, Vol. I, pp. 279–281, Einrichtung der Bader—mentions the arrangements for Greek gymnasia, "die Garderobe für die Palaestriten, Saulengango und Xysten, die Conversationszimmer (exedrae), die Halle für den Unterricht ephebeum, für die Oelung und Bestau-



(sc. *cubiculum*) the anointing-room. At Pompeii in the old Baths it was at the end of the *apodyterium*, undressing-room. Here utensils of different kinds were kept, together with oil and salves: see Overbeck's *Pompeii*, Plan, p. 189. fig. 138. A picture representing the *Thermae* of Titus at Rome, and said to have been found there, has often been cited as an illustration, but it is now generally considered to be modern, and therefore like the restored parts of a statue, not authentic. Oil after a bath in a hot climate would serve as a protective coating to the skin, shielding it from the stimulating action of the sun; at the same time, it would be agreeable, and improve personal appearance. We have been considering an Inscription which is only a fragment; but enough remains to show that it belongs to the time of Trajan or Hadrian, and records the erection of a colonnade and promenade by two magistrates, and their distribution of wine and oil at their own expense.<sup>1</sup>

bung *elaethesium* und *conisterium*, für die Übung mit dem *κώρυκος* und das Ballspiel (*κωρυκειον* und *σφαριστηριον*), endlich die allgemeine *piscina*."

<sup>1</sup> I think there can be little doubt that M. Arnauld correctly supplied *vinum* before *oleum* in the Inscription at Sens. So we find wine and oil mentioned together in many texts of the Old Testament; some of them are very apposite, measures being specified, like the *congii* aforesaid. Cruden's *Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*, s.v. Oil, section Wine with Oil: 2 Chronicles II, 10 (Solomon's message to Hiram, King of Tyre), "And, behold, I will give to thy servants, the hewers that cut timber . . . twenty thousand baths of wine, and twenty thousand baths of oil." Ezra VII, 22 (Decree of Artaxerxes in favour of Ezra), "and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oil." Cruden says the bath is equivalent to seven gallons and a half.

Vulgate, Lib. II, *Paralipomenon*, cap. II, v. 10, "vini viginti millia metratas, olei quoque sata viginti millia." Lib. I, Esdrae II, 22, "usque ad vini batos centum, et usque ad batos olei centum. *Satum* vox Syriaca sive Syro-Chaldaica, *batus* a voce Hebraica," Forcellini's *Lexicon*, edit. De Vit; Ducange "*Batus* mensurae species." But compare Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, where it will be seen that different

opinions have prevailed concerning the capacity of the *bath*. Vol. III, pp. 1740-1742, Article, "Weights and Measures:" p. 1742, Ephah or bath (Josephus) gallons 8·6696, (Rabbinists), 4 4286.

In the New Testament wine and oil are twice mentioned together, and in that book which bears more deeply than any other the imprint of Jewish ideas: Apocalypse, VI, 6 (A command to the rider on the black horse symbolizing Famine, v. Alford *in loco*). "And see thou hurt not the wine and the oil," cf. *ibid.* XVIII, 13 (lament of the merchants over Babylon), *οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ σιμιδάλιν*. The Vulgate here has *simila*, which occurs in Martial, XIII, 10. "Nec poteris similiae dotes numerare, nec usus, Pistori toties cum sit et apta coco." French *semoule*, Italian *semola*, v. Stephanus, *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*, Vol. VII, edit. Didot, 1848-54, with reference to Galen, who ranks *σιμιδάλις* next to *σίλιγυς* (siligo), both meaning fine wheat-flour.

The ancients must have consumed an enormous quantity of oil; it was used for food, and, from the deficiency of pasture, took the place which butter has in our own country. So even at Rome, within the memory of persons still living, butter could scarcely be procured, and was only provided to please English visitors.



Excavations in the walls of Sens have brought to light remains of another class, which many persons would consider more interesting than those already described—sculptured stones on which a variety of subjects are represented, some mythological, illustrating the legends and poetry of Greece and Rome, others relating to the arts and occupations of daily life. Of the former class the most important is a frieze (Mus. Gallo-Rom. de Sens, Pl. I), in which we see Orestes led, with hands tied behind his back (*manus post terga revinctae*),<sup>1</sup> by a Scythian to the altar of Diana, before which Iphigenia stands, and orders him to be set free. There could not be a better commentary on the following words put into the mouth of the heroine by Euripides in his play entitled *Iphigenia in Tauris*, v. 467, edit. Dindorf (469),

“Τὰ τῆς θεοῦ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καλῶς ἔχη  
Φροντιστέον μοι. μεθετε τῶν ξένων χέρας,  
Ὡς ὄντες ἱροί, μηκέτ’ ὥσι δέσμοι.”

“I must first take care that the rites of the goddess may be well performed. Loose the strangers’ hands, so that, as they are sacred, they may no longer be in bonds.”

With the reliefs at Sens we may compare the somewhat different treatment of the same subject in ceramic art.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the episode in the second book of the *Aeneid*, where Virgil relates the treachery of Sinon, who was dragged in this condition before Priam, v. 57.

“Ecce! manus juvenem interea post terga revinctum

Pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant

Dardauidae:”

“Siehe, den Jüngling indess, die Hand’ auf den Rücken gefesselt, Schleppen daher Berghirten mit grossem Geschrei zu dem König, Dardaner:”

Translated by Voss, who follows the metre of the original, and reproduces its meaning more accurately than Dryden.

The best numismatic illustration is supplied by the well-known coin of the Emperor Titus, struck to commemorate the taking of Jerusalem A.D. 70, Cohen, *Medailles Impériales*, Vol. I, p. 364, No. 194, Plate XVI (Grand Bronze), Rev. IVD. CAP. (Judaea capta) s.c. Palmier; à gauche, une Juive en pleurs, assise sur des armes; à droite un Juif debout, les mains liées derrière le dos,

&c., cf. *ibid.*, Vespasien, pp. 305-308, Nos. 302-313, note p. 307; the female seated on one side of the palm-tree may be in some cases a personage, in others Judaea. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VI, pp. 326, 354.

Admiral Smyth, *op. citat.*, p. 61, says that the pinioned captive probably represents the reckless Sinon. In a footnote he mentions a book of the sixteenth century containing a print that exhibits, with a curious anachronism, Vespazian (*sic*) with cannon on carriages near him, holding a parley with Pilate and Archelaus, who are upon the city walls, v. Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, Lib. VII, cc. II, v. Whiston's Translation, Pictorial edition, 1845, Vol. II, pp. 468-470, and 478. Concerning Sinon the Tyrant, how he was taken, and reserved for the Triumph; how he was slain in the forum.

The barbarous treatment of captives appears on the money of a later period, and we should infer from it that Christian Emperors were in this respect as cruel as their heathen predecessors.



ORESTES AND IPHIGENIA. MUSÉE GALLO-ROMAIN DE SENS.  
(Photogravure Dujardin.)

A hydria in the British Museum (*Old Catalogue of Vases*, No. 1362, Vol. II, p. 71 *sq.*, edit. 1870) bears the following design—Orestes bound on the altar of the Tauric Artemis; he is crouching on the altar, his hands tied behind his back . . . On the left are three figures, Pylades youthful, Iphigenia and the aged Thoas. Krater with medallion handles (*ibid.*, No. 1428, p. 117 *sq.*) exhibits the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Here we see the deities, Artemis and Apollo, and the priest Calchas holding the sacrificial knife.<sup>1</sup>

The latter of these vases may remind us of the picture by Timanthes, where Iphigenia is borne to the altar by Ulysses and Menelaus, while Calchas stands by ready to strike the fatal blow. Artemis appears above, and one of her nymphs with the hind to be substituted for the victim. Her father Agamemnon conceals his face in his mantle, not because the painter was unable to express parental agony, but rather for an æsthetic reason, because he did not mean to distract attention from the principal figure. This celebrated work of art was admired by the ancients, as we learn from Cicero and Quintilian;<sup>2</sup> but we

<sup>1</sup> In the *New Catalogue*, compiled by Mr. H. B. Walters, 1896, I. 159, Vol. IV, p. 80, numerous references, chiefly German, are prefixed to an account of the vase. Iphigenia has . . . long *chiton* with *apoptygma*, a piece of drapery. *New Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 365, E 773, Pyxis inscribed ἸΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ, the name is placed above her. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae ἀπόπτυγμα*, το, in inscr. Att. C. I. Vol. I, p. 235, n. 150, 3 Τρίτος πυξός ἀπόπτυγμα, πείροναι δύο, ποδῆρης Boeckhii illic et Oeconon, Athen, Vol. II, p. 241, "interpretatur Plicaturam de zona dependentem, Müllerus Laciniis diligenter sinuatas e latere ad suras dependulas." If Müller's explanation is correct, it seems to me that the word ἀπόπτυγμα would fitly describe the stiff and somewhat archaic folds of the garments worn by the Attic Virgins in the Panathenaic frieze, who are clothed to the feet. Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, Vol. I, p. 176 *sq.*, 179; slabs Nos. 17, 23.

<sup>2</sup> "Timanthes felt like a father; he did not hide the face of Agamemnon, because it was beyond the power of his art, not because it was beyond the

possibility, but because it was beyond the dignity of expression, because the inspiring feature of paternal affection at that moment, and the action which of necessity must have accompanied it, would either have destroyed the grandeur of the character and the solemnity of the scene, or subjected the painter with the majority of his judges to the imputation of insensibility." These words are only part of a long extract in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Vol. III, p. 1133, taken from Fuseli, Lecture I, Vol. II, pp. 44-58, in Knowles's *Life and Writings of Fuseli*, in which he refutes the criticisms of ancient writers, and explains the motive of the picture. Quintilian, *Oratoria Institutio*, Lib. II, Cap. XIII, p. 174 edit. Burmann. "Nam cum Iphigeniae immolatione pinxisset tristem Calchantem, tristiore Ulixem, addidisset Menelao quem summum poterat ars efficere moerorem; consumptis affectibus, non reperiens, quo digne modo patris vultum posset exprimere, velavit ejus caput, et suo cuique animo dedit aestimandum." Cicero expresses the same opinion, Orator, c. XXII, § 74, "si denique pictor ille

are not left to form our opinion of it only from their testimony, as a copy is preserved in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, brought from Pompeii. If we descend to modern times we find the same story exercising the genius of Racine and Goethe,<sup>1</sup> and supplying them with materials for tragedies usually reckoned among their masterpieces. Within the last month, in our own metropolis, the *Iphigenia in Aulis* of Euripides has been successfully acted, in the original Greek, before an academic audience.<sup>2</sup>

Here we may pause for a moment, and inquire why this legend should possess such a fascination for the minds of so many generations. The answer is easily given. It personifies self-sacrifice—an idea that has been dominant with the wise and good of every age, and has inspired their heroic deeds—an idea which Christianity consecrates

vidit, cum in immolanda Iphigenia tristis Calchas esset, tristior Ulixes, maereret Menelaus, obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse, quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari; si denique histrio, quid deceat, quaerit, quid faciendum oratori putemus? For the peculiar merit of this painter v. Piderit's second edition of the Orator, Erklärende Indices, p. 190, s.v. Timanthes. "Er zeichnete sich überhaupt durch die Gabe aus, in der Motivierung künstlerischer Aufgaben solche Momente aufzufinden, welche nicht nur die Sinne befriedigten, sondern noch mehr den Geist des Beschauers zum Nachdenken über das unmittelbar dargestellte hinaus anzuregen geeignet erschienen: in unius huius operibus intellegitur plus quam pingitur." Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. XXXV, Cap. X, § 73, edit. Sillig.

<sup>1</sup> *Oeuvres de J. Racine*, edit. Aime-Martin, Vol. IV, pp. 3-6. The Preface by the dramatist himself is worth reading, because he mentions the accounts of Iphigenia given by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Lucretius, &c.; he especially acknowledges his obligations to a passage in Pausanias, *Corinthiaca*, p. 125. The traditions about Iphigenia varied: according to some she was daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, according to others of Theseus and Helen. Her name resembles one that we read in Homer *Iliad*, IX, 145, Iphianassa. Agamemnon says that he has three daughters,

and that Achilles might choose one of them as a wife for himself:

"Τρεῖς δὲ μοί εἰσι θυγατρὲς ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ  
ἐνπηκτῳ,  
Χρυσόθιμις καὶ Λαοδικὴ καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα·  
τάων ἣν κ' ἰθέλῃσι φίλην ἀνάειδον  
ἀγασθω  
πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος"

These are high-sounding appellations. Χρυσόθιμις compounded of χρυσός gold and θέμις law, Λαοδική of λαός people and δίκη right; Ἰφιάνασσα of ἴφι strongly and ἀνάσσα a queen. With the last compare Ἰφιδόνη, Ἰφιδάμας, Ἰφικλος, v. Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, s.v. Ἰφιδόνη a strong-born. Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* has been well edited by Professor Buchheim for the Clarendon Press Series; the fourth edition revised is dated 1895. The Critical Introduction begins with a history of the composition of this tragedy, pp. xvi-xx; then follows a contrast drawn between the drama of Euripides and that of Goethe, in which the moral superiority of the latter is clearly shown, pp. xx-xxxiii. The notes at the end of the volume contain many quotations from Greek plays, especially from the Euripidean *Tauric Iphigenia*, and assist the reader to understand classical allusions.

<sup>2</sup> See the Acting Version prepared for the performances at University College, London, 10-12 June, 1897, p. 71. A Preface and Argument are prefixed to the Greek Text and English Translation printed on alternate pages.

by the most sublime Example, and enforces in words of deep significance and universal application—"None of us liveth to himself."<sup>1</sup>

I proceed now to another relief, also mythological, but different in kind; it represents Neptune armed with his trident and fighting with a giant, probably Polybotes. Part of a lion's skin is visible, with which, as with a shield, the latter is defending himself. Mr. C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, Vol. II, Pl. XI, No. 9, has a similar instance of a youthful giant, Otus or Ephialtes, who aims a large stone at his enemy. Pausanias mentions an equestrian statue of Poseidon at Athens, hurling his spear at Polybotes; and Strabo repeats a mythical story that this deity pursuing the giant tore away part of the island of Cos, threw it at him, and so buried him under it.

His fate was like that of Enceladus, whose body was pressed by the superincumbent weight of Etna. Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 578-582:

"Fama est, Enceladi semiustum fulmine corpus  
Urgueri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam  
Impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis;  
Et, fessum quoties mutet latus, intremere omnem  
Murmure Trinacriam, et coelum subtexere fumo."

"Enceladus, they say, transfix'd by Jove,  
With blasted limbs came tumbling from above;  
And, where he fell, th' avenging father drew  
This flaming hill, and on his body threw.  
As often as he turns his weary sides,  
He shakes the solid isle, and smoke the heavens hides."  
Dryden's Translation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians II, 20: "And the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me" (καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ μου). Epistle to the Romans XIV, 7. We should continue the quotation, for St. Paul adds *and no man dieth to himself*, or, according to Bentley, *καὶ οὐδὲς, and none* (not *no man*, as in our English version, but *none* of us Christians) *dieth to himself*. Dyce's edition of his Works, Vol. III, Theological writings, p. 270. This verse is the text of an admirable sermon preached before King George I, on "February the third 1716-7," at his Royal Chapel of St. James's. In the first paragraph he

refers to an epigram by a heathen poet, "*sitting in pagan darkness and the shadow of death*," which teaches an opposite lesson.

"Uni vive tibi, nam moriere tibi.  
Anthologia Veterum Latinorum Epigramatum et Poematum," Tom. I, p. 510, edit. Burmann, v. note † in Dyce's edition of Bentley's Works, Vol. III, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Voss's Translation, as usual, is much more literal than the English.

"Sag'ist, Enceladus Leib, den gebrandmarkt sengende Donner, Werde gedrückt von der Last, und der mächtige Aetna darüber Hingewalzt, verathme die Flamm' aus geborstenen Es-en; Und wann er müd unwechsle die

In Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincit*, edit. Blomfield vv. 359–380:<sup>1</sup> and in Pindar, *First Pythian Ode*, edit. Negrus vv. 13–28, the giant is called Typhon (Τυφώς).

The scene we have under consideration, Pl. XXXV, No. 1, Julliot, *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, is made more intelligible by comparison with Pl. XXXI, Nos. 3 and 4, where the legs of giants ending in snakes are sufficiently well preserved: No. 4, a giant half prostrated holds a stone in his left hand, and a goddess takes part in the fight. In Latin these monsters are described by the word *anguipes*, which Ovid uses, *Metamorphoses*, I, 184 *sqq.*

“Non ego pro mundi regno magis anxius illa  
Tempestate fui, qua centum quisque parabat  
Injicere anguipedum captivo brachia coelo.”

It is analogous to *anguimanus*, snake-handed, the epithet applied to the elephant by Lucretius, with reference to his trunk or proboscis, II, 536, *anguimane elephantos*; and again, V, 1301,

“Inde boves Lucas, turrito corpore, tetras,  
Anguimanus, belli docuerunt volnera Poenei  
Sufferre, et magnas Martis turbare catervas.”

The Romans called the elephant a Lucanian bull, because the latter animal was the largest with which they were previously acquainted. So missionaries inform us that the South-Sea islanders gave the name of man-carrying-pig to the horse.<sup>2</sup>

Gigantomachia was a favourite subject with the sculptors and gem-engravers of antiquity, doubtless because it afforded scope for their artistic skill in exhibiting various gestures of the human body, and especially in vigorous action. But it was also employed to symbolize military achievements; at Pergamus the frieze, that decorated the great altar, represented the battle of Gods

Seit', erzittere murmelnd Ganz das  
trinakrische Land, und Rauch umwalle  
den Himmel.”

<sup>1</sup> Edit. Dindorf, *Poetae Scenici Graeci*, 1830, vv. 351–372. See especially 354.

“Τυφῶνα θούρον, πᾶσιν ὅς ἀρίστη  
θεοῖς.”

See also 364 *seq.*

“Κεῖται στενωπὸν πλησίον θαλασσίῳ  
ἰπόμενος ριζαῖσιν Αἰγναίαις ὕπο.”

<sup>2</sup> Forcellini, *Lexicon*, s.v. Bos Lucas.

“Cum enim hanc feram (sc. elephantem) primum vidissent in Lucania, Pyrrhi bello, ut est apud Plinium, I, 8, c. 6, § 16, ed. Sillig, “maximam autem quadrupedem, bovem nosset, et praecipuae magnitudinis essent Lucani boves . . . factum est, ut nullum aptius nomen significando elephantem esse ipsis videretur, quam si bovem Lucam nominarent.” Comp. Wakefield's note on Lucretius, *loc. citat.*, which supplies many references.



and Giants, the Zeus and Athene groups being the most remarkable; and it had reference to the victory of Eumenes II, son of Attalus I, over the Gauls, B.C. 168 (Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 543). A German engineer discovered these remains in 1870; many slabs, statues and inscriptions were found in 1879 and afterwards removed to Berlin. The Royal Museum in that city has published fine photographs of these monuments, admirably executed on a large scale. As illustrations of the Gallo-Roman reliefs at Sens they will be very useful. Though not of the best period, the Pergamene sculptures have great intrinsic merit, and they are also interesting because they seem to have suggested the motive of the Laocoon, probably a work of Rhodian artists.<sup>1</sup>

Many other mythological scenes appear on these stones, which are often mutilated (*frustes*) to such an extent that the identification becomes uncertain; hence they only deserve to be noticed briefly. To this class belongs Ganymede, Plates II, 1, and XL, 1. He is being carried off by the eagle of Jupiter. In the former, the feathers of the bird are distinctly visible; in the latter, Ganymede holds in his left hand a shepherd's crook (*pedum*). We are reminded of Horace, *Carmina* IV, iii, *init.*—

“Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem,  
Cui rex Deorum regnum in aves vagas  
Permisit, expertus fidelem  
Jupiter in Ganymede flavo.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walter Copland Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Chap. XLI, pp. 534–557, note p. 535, cites *Pausanias* I, xxv, 2. “Ἰπὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ νοτίῳ Γιγάντων, οἱ περὶ Θρακὴν ποτὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ῥήσαν, τούτων τὸν λεγόμενον πόλεμον, καὶ μάχην πρὸς Ἀμαζόνιας Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸ Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους ἔργον, καὶ Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν Μυσίᾳ φθορὰν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀττάλος, ὅσων τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκαστον.” Perry remarks, p. 536, that the figures on the South Wall are statues, and not reliefs. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts from the Antique in the South Kensington Museum*, by the same author, pp. 93–95, No. 195. Marble Statues of Gauls, Persians and Amazons from the sculptures dedicated by

Attalos. “Found in the 16th century in the region of the Thermae of Alexander Severus at Rome, and afterwards dispersed through various Museums at Venice, Naples, Rome, Paris, Aix.” Pp. 99–101, Nos. 205–208. Sculptures from the Great Altar at Pergamon in Mysia, Berlin.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, III, xx, *fin.*

“Qualis aut Nireus fuit, aut aquosa  
Raptus ab Ida.”

Virgil, *Aeneid*, V, 252–257, esp. 254 *sq.*

“quem praepes ab Ida  
Sublimem pedibus rapuit Jovis  
armiger uncis.”

Imitated by Spenser, speaking of Jupiter himself as assuming the shape of an eagle.

Compare Otfried Müller, *Denkmäler*, Plate XXXVI, No. 148, and *Handbuch der Archæologie*, § 128, 1,—a group imitated from Leochares, concerning whom Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, xix, 17, says, "(fecit) aquilam sentientem quid rapiat in Ganymede, et cui ferat, par centemque unguibus etiam per vestem." See also Story-Maskelyne, *Catalogue of the Marlborough Gems*, p. 4, Nos. 20-23. 20. Eagle soaring with Ganymede: 23. Ganymede feeding the eagle of Jove.

Diana and Endymion, Plate VI, Nos. 1 and 1 *bis*, and XXXIX, 1. There seems to be little to warrant this attribution by the French local antiquary. I may remark, in passing, that the British Museum possesses a fine life-size statue of Endymion: the late Mr. James Yates in his *Textrinum Antiquorum* gives a full-page engraving of it as an illustration of the *petasus*, a hat with a broad brim. The figure is recumbent asleep upon a rock.<sup>1</sup>

"When as the Trojane boy so fayre  
He snatch'd from Ida's hill, and  
with him bare,  
Wondrous delight it was there to  
behold  
How the rude shepherds after him  
did stare,  
Trembling through feare least down  
he fallen shoulde,  
And often to him calling to take  
surer hould."

For this quotation I am indebted to Professor Yonge's note on Virgil, *loc. citat.*

Cicero's ethical remarks on the legend of Ganymede deserve attention: *Tusculan Disputations*, I, xxvi, 65. "Nec Homerum audio, qui Ganymeden ab dis raptum ait propter formam, ut Jovi bibere ministraret; non justa causa, cur Laomedonti tanta fieret injuria. Fingebat haec Homerus, et humana ad deos transferebat; divina mallem ad nos;" with Davis's *Commentary*. Haec laudat Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*, IV, 26. "Merito displicuit viro gravi, divinorum criminum poeta confictor . . . Optime Longinus," *Περὶ ὕψους*, De Sublimitate, Sect. 9, § 7. "Ὁμηρος γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ παραδίδους τραύματα θεῶν, στάσεις, τιμωρίας, δάκρυα, δεισμά, πάθη πᾶμφυρτα, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱλακῶν ἀνθρώπους, ὅσων ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει, θεοὺς πεποιηκέναι, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους. Translated by Boileau, *Oeuvres*,

edit. Amar, Didot, 1889, p. 379. "Traité du Sublime ou du Merveilleux dans le Discours, Chapitre VII. Et pour moi, lorsque je vois dans Homère les plaies, les ligueurs, les supplices, les larmes, les emprisonnements des dieux, et tous ces autres accidents où ils tombent sans cesse, il me semble qu'il s'est efforcé, autant qu'il a pu, de faire des dieux de ces hommes qui furent au siège de Troie; et qu'au contraire, des dieux mêmes il en a fait des hommes."

<sup>1</sup> P. 401, Plate XII. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, I, xxxviii, 92. "Endymion vero, si fabulas audire volumus, ut, nescio quando, in Latmo obdormivit, qui est mons Cariae, nondum, opinor, est expectatus. Num igitur eum curare censes, quum Luna laboret? a qua consopitus putatur, ut eum dormientem osculetur." The *petasus* was a low hat with a brim, well suited to a climate in which protection from the heat and glare of the sun was necessary. It is well shown in the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon, slab No. 54, worn by a horseman curbing his steed. Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, Vol. I, p. 206. "The *petasus* was one of the attributes specially distinguishing Mercury." Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, Tab. VIII, 1. Causia (καυσία), broad-brimmed Macedonian hat, is evidently connected with *καίω*, to burn, and *καύσων*, burning heat,

Phaethon or Icarus. As their fates were similar and we have here only a fragment, we cannot easily distinguish one from the other. Only two legs remain of a person who falls into the water, which may be the River Eridanus (Po) or the Aegean Sea.

Shields of Amazons, *peltae-lunatae* with crescent-shaped indentations, as architectural ornaments, sometimes alternating with *bipennes* (two-edged battle-axes) recur frequently, and are recognized easily; Plates II *bis*, 3; III, 5; XI, 3. When he sees them, the classical tourist will think of Virgil's beautiful lines which he read in early school-days, before he was capable of appreciating them:—*Aeneid*, I, 490 *seqq.*,

“Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis  
Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet,  
Aurea subnectens exertae cingula mammae  
Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.”

scorching wind. The latter word occurs in the Septuagint, and New Testament, Matthew XX, 12, “*καὶ τοὺς ἑμὶν ἀντοῖς ἐπείσας τοὺς βασιλεῖς τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν καύσωνα*.” Here the Vulgate has: “et pares illos nobis fecisti, qui portavimus pondus diei et aestus;” and the Revised Version *scorching heat*, in the margin, Or hot wind, v. Liddell and Scott, *ἀνεμος καύσων* of the sirocco, Jerem. XVIII, 17, &c. Those who have felt this fiery blast can never forget it, and they will realise the force of the Greek expression. For the *petasus* cf. Baumeister, *Denkmaler des Klassischen Altertums*, Tafel V, fig. 421. Athenische Trachten (zu Seite 333) s.v. Chlamys. Meist gehört zu dieser Tracht auch der gleichfalls thessalische Hut, der *πίταρος* (s. “Kopfbedeckung und Kopfschmuck”) nach Tischbein, I, 14, hier abgebildete Vasenbild.

<sup>1</sup> So we read in Juvenal, *Sat.* I, v. 22,

“Mevia Tuscum  
Figat aprum, et nuda teneat venabula mamma.”

“and the bold fair  
Tilts at the Tuscan boar, with bosom bare.”

Gifford's Translation.

Duff has the following note on this passage: “Mevia, a woman of rank, dresses as an Amazon, and takes part in a *venatio* (beast-baiting), in the Amphitheatre.” Suetonius says of

Domitian (4) “*nec virorum modo pugnas sed et feminarum (edidit).*” Ruperti, *Commentary on Juvenal*, Vol. II, p. 13 of his edition, with references in the foot-notes. See also *Sat.* VI, vv. 246-267. Compare Heinrich on Juvenal, *Satire* I, *loc. citat.* “*Nuda mamma, exserta*, im leichten Jagdgewande, die eine Brust entblösst, das costüm der Diana, ihrer Jagdnymphen und der Amazonen.” Heyne ad Virg., *Aeneid*, XI, 648-653. Lipsius de Amphitheatro, c. V, *Opera*, Tom. III. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, 1867, “Die Schauspiele, Ungewöhnliche Mittel zur Steigerung des Interesses,” Vol. II, p. 219. “An dem December fest im Jahre 90 liess er (Domitian) Zwerge und Weiber fechten. . . , Frauen haben nicht selten in der Arena gekämpft, im Jahr 64 unter Nero selbst hochgeborene, und noch im Jahr 200 erfolgte ein Verbot gegen ihr Auftreten.” Tacitus, *Annals* XV, 32. “*Spectacula gladiatorum idem annus habuit, pari magnificentia ac priora. sed feminarum illustrium senatorumque plures per arenam foedati sunt,*” with extracts from Dio Cassius, cited by Lipsius, “*καὶ ἐς τὸν ἱπποδρόμον τὸ τε θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν εἰσῆλθον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀριμότατοι.*” In the reign of Severus a decree of the Senate was passed *μηδενὶ μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα μονομαχεῖν.*” V. Orelli on Tacitus, *loc. cit.*

A parallel passage is supplied by the same author's description of the Volscian heroine Camilla, *ibid.*, VII, *fin.*, imitated and exaggerated by Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, Part II, v. 372.

"Not so where swift Camilla scours the plain,  
Flies o'er th' unbending corn, and skims along the main."<sup>1</sup>

Now let us turn away from poetical myths, and descend to humbler, but not less interesting, scenes—the arts, trades and occupations of daily life. As so many fragments of ancient buildings have been discovered in excavating the walls, architecture is illustrated very copiously. The Museum contains, *e.g.*, part of a cornice richly ornamented with ribbons, dentils, foliage and rosette, Plate XXIII, No. 3; an Ionic capital with the upper part of a fluted pilaster, Plate XX, No. 4: key-stone of an arch, with rosettes inserted in regular hexagons, which are bordered with beads, Plate XXVII, No. 3.

Painting is represented by Plate VII, No. 3: two men on a scaffold are decorating a wall, *al fresco* apparently. Again, in Plate XXV, No. 4, traces of red have been observed in the capitals of columns—this colour was used for the veins of leaves, other parts being green, now become whitish.

For Music we have in Plate VIII, No. 3, a grotesque figure holding up cymbals (*cymbalista*)—No. 4, below, shows a book-box (*scrinium*), partly open, and rolls inside (*volumina*).<sup>2</sup> Comp. XXII, 4—here the artist

<sup>1</sup> Wakefield's note in Elwin's edition of Pope's works, Vol. II, p. 57. Our poet here endeavours to fasten on Virgil a most insufferable absurdity, which no poetical hyperbole will justify, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Scrinium* (French *ecrin*, which, however, is used in a somewhat different sense. "Petit coffret pour serrer les pierreries, les bijoux." Littré and Beaujean's *Dictionary*) has the same shape as *cista*, and the word is almost synonymous with *capsa*. *Dictionary of Ant.*, third edition, Vol. I, p. 358b. *Antike Denkmäler, herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Institut*, Band I, Viertes Heft (1889). Tafel 49 (coloured plate), *Das Mosaik des Monnus in Trier*, p. 36, No. 8. "Agnis . . . zu seinen Füßen steht ein mit sechs Schriftrollen gefülltes

*Scrinium*, an welches der Deckel angelehnt ist; hinter ihm ein Lehnstuhl."

In each Octagon a Muse is instructing a mortal, so that the design fitly illustrates a passage in *Propertius*, III, 1 (II, 10).

"Nunc volo subducto gravior procedere vultu:

Nunc aliam citharam me mea Musa docet."

*Subducto* has been translated by *subdued*, a meaning which the word never has. On the contrary, the signification is *elevated* or *sublime*, for *subduco* literally is to lead upwards from below, and, of course, is here used figuratively. This is proved by the context:

"Surge, anima, ex humili: jam carmine sumite vires,

Pierides: magni nunc erit oris opus."

has introduced a female playing the flute. Plate XXVI, 4, is said to be a herald sounding a trumpet (*tubicen*) and holding in his left hand a banner (*flammula*) used by Roman cavalry<sup>1</sup>; but the stone is too much injured to determine the attribution positively.

Plate VIII, No. 1, is a bird-catcher (*oiseleur*); comp. *oiseau*, and *uccello* formed from a diminutive, in which we find the same root as in the Latin *avis*. Plate IX, No. 1, a man shearing cloth (*tondeur de drap*): *ibid.*, No. 6, tailor: No. 7, fuller standing in a tub; a garment hangs on a wall behind him.<sup>2</sup>

*Surgo* (to arise) is contracted from *surrigo* (*sub rego*), so that the word is formed in the same way as *suoduco*.

Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, Vol. II, p. 678. "Die meisten (*Cistae*) haben die Form eines Cylinders von 1 bis 2½ Palmen Höhe, und sind darin ähnlich den Bücherschachteln (*scrinia*), in welchen man Rollen aufbewahrte und transportirte, und welche häufig am Fusse von Statuen vorkommen; viele sind von ovaler Form. Beide Arten sind mit Füßen versehen, und haben einen flachgewölbten Deckel, auf welchem freistehende Figuren eine Henkelgruppe bilden." Note 1, Pollux, *Onomasticon*, X, 61. "Κεφάλαιον ΙΕ. Περί δικαστικῶν σκευῶν. Κιβώτια δὲ ἰσως γραματοφόρα καὶ γραμματεῖα, καὶ κάλαμοι γραφεῖς, καὶ κληρωτήριον." Note 2, "Clio mit dem *scrinium*," *Pitture d'Ercol.* II, p. 13; "Statue des Sophocles mit einem *scrinium*, das an einem Henkel zu tragen ist," *Monum. d. Inst.* IV, tav. 27.

<sup>1</sup> Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, II, 1. "Equitum alares . . . quae nunc vexillationes vocantur a velo, quia velis, hoc est, flammulis utuntur." III, 5: "Muta signa sunt aquilae, dracones, vexilla, flammulae, tufae, pinnae." Hence in late Latinity we have *Flammularius*. De Vit, s.v. quotes Joannes Lydus, *De Magistratibus Reipublicae Romanae*, I, 46, "Φλαμμονάρσιοι, ὡν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας τὸν δόρατος φαίνικα (φοινικα?) ῥάκη ἐξήρτηντο." The appearance of these standard-bearers must have resembled the Lancers in our army. Comp. Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, s.v. "φλάμουλον, φλάμπουρον." Ammiano, lib. 20. "Occurrit passim apud Scriptores." *Vide Glossarium med. Latin. in Flammulum.* Φλαμμολάριος *vexillifer*—a word formed like *signifer* and *aquilifer*. Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heid.*

*nischen Vorzeit. Central Museum in Mainz*, Heft IV, Tafel 6, No. 1, Denkstein eines Adlerträgers der XIV Legion; No. 2. Signifer der XIV Legion. Hefner, *Das Römische Bayern in seinen Schrift- und Bildmalen*, VII. Index Rerum. Aquilifer legionis Italicae, 158, 169; Ex aquilifero legionis I, Adjutricis, 41; Ex signifero legionis III, Italicae 150, 151; Signifer alae singularium consulis 66.

For Roman and Dacian standards consult Froehner, *La Colonne Trajane*. "Enseignes de cohorte 72, 78, de manipule, 72, &c., Serpent, enseigne dace 64, 90, 120. Les armes daces qui remplissent es quatre façades du pedestal . . . des peltes d'Amazone," &c., 63, 64. Compare Fabretti, *Colonna Trajana*, folio, with fine plates.

The name *flammula* is usually derived from the colour of the standard, like the *flammeum* (bridal veil), but Rich suggests that it may come from being notched at the end with long pointed forks, so as to resemble a flame (*flamma*), and gives as an example a wood-cut from the Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome; but the former explanation seems more probable.

<sup>2</sup> An excellent illustration of the relief at Sens is afforded by some paintings found at Pompeii, which have been engraved in the *Museo Borbonico* (now *Nazionale*), Vol. IV, Tav. XLVIII, folding Plate, XLIX, L; pp. 1-22; "Pianta, e Spaccato della Fullonica di Pompei, e delle case delle Fontane, e pitture di un pilastro nella Fullonica." The most remarkable figure is a man carrying a hemispherical frame of wicker-work. P. 12. "L'altro fullone che porta un trabiccolo ed un seccietto in mano ci mostra come i fulloni per sottoporre a' suffumigi di zolfo i panni di lana si servissero di un ordigno del

In Plate VI, Nos. 2 and 3, we see a personage seated in an arm-chair of wickerwork; the position is the same as in a bas-relief at Trèves, where a lady is represented having her back-hair dressed by an attendant while another in front holds a mirror, the group corresponding with Juvenal's description of the female toilette. In the following Plate, five wicker baskets appear as ornaments of a frieze, some full, others empty.<sup>1</sup>

So much having been written about the *Thermes* at Sens, we should naturally expect to find some indications of them in a lapidary collection, nor shall we be disappointed. Plate XXXI, Nos. 1 and 2, shows the mutilated busts of seven *baigneuses* in different attitudes; their linen is suspended at intervals on the wall. Above them are meanders of a large size, surmounted by the bead and roll pattern. It seems that these reliefs decorated the lower part of a window frame. Plate XIV, 1, 1 *bis*, 1 *ter*: Sepulchral monument in the form of an altar—the deceased in front, his slaves on the sides carrying utensils for the bath, a scraper (*strigil*), bottle (*ampulla*), etc. Marine subjects are frequent, obviously because they were considered appropriate for a bathing establishment:

tutto simile ad uno de' nostri scaldapanni." In these pictures a man and three boys are represented in postures that correspond closely with the monument described above. The plates in the *Museo Borbonico* are copied by Baumeister, *op. citat.* s.v. Walker, Vol. III, pp. 2083-2085, figs. 2326-2331. "Grundriss einer Walkerei in Pompei—Darstellung der Verrichtungen des Walkengerbers. Das Austreten der Stoffe in der Walkergarbe zeigt uns auch das Relief aus Sens Abbildung 2330; . . . und ein anderes Relief desselben Museums Abbildung 2331. . . führt uns eine andre Arbeit des Walkers vor, nämlich das Scheren des Tuches vermittelt einer grossen, mit breiten Schneiden versehenen Schere."

Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer, Das Walken und Fullones*, pp. 527-530, the process of fulling and the technical terms are explained (technischen Ausdrücke). Numerous references will be found in the foot-notes, especially to Pliny's *Natural History*. A passage in the New Testament may be appositely quoted here, the Gospel of Mark IX, 3, "καὶ τὰ ὑμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο (sic. ed.

Tischendorf) στίλβοντα λευκά λίαν, ὅτι γραφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκαναί." In the Authorised Version. "And his raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow, so as no fuller on earth can white them." Alford *in loco* calls attention to the additional particulars in the text of Mark, and notices the very graphic and noble description in this verse.

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.* VI, 486-507. My Paper on the "Antiquities of Trèves and Metz," *Archæol. Journ.*, 1889, Vol. XLVI, pp. 220-222, with engraving of "Toilet Scene from Neumagen," facing p. 220. With Juvenal comp. Martial, Book II, Epigram 66, in which the last couplet is,

"Hoc salamandra notet vel saeva novacula nudet,

Ut digna speculo fiat imago tuo."

To explain the former line Friedlander and other commentators cite *Plin. Nat. Hist.*, X, 188 "(salamandrae) sanie, quae lactea ore vomitur, quacumque parte corporis humani contacta, toti defluunt pili." Petronius, *Sat.* 107f., "quae salamandra supercilia tua excussit?"





HUSBAND AND WIFE WITH ATTENDANT SLAVES. MUSÉE GALLO-ROMAIN DE SENS.  
(Photogravure Dujardin.)

e.g., Fins of a monster, waves, shell-fish, and dolphin's head. Plate XXXII. The upper part of the body of a genius beside the prow of a galley, on which is a woman's leg enveloped in long drapery. The position of the female may remind us of the winged Victory on a galley in the Louvre, which also appears on a tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes; *vide Denkmäler des Classischen Alterthums*.<sup>1</sup>

Last but not least, the monuments at Sens are valuable for the history of Gallic costume, a speciality that has not escaped the attention of French antiquaries. This subject deserves the notice of the classical scholar, as many articles of dress, together with provisions and carriages, were at an early period imported from Gaul into Italy—just as we now copy French fashions—and are consequently often mentioned by Roman writers under the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

Plate XXI, 1, 1 *bis*, 1 *ter*: A funereal cippus of a married pair presents on three sides niches occupied by statues; the fourth must have been placed against a wall. In front, under a depressed arch (*surbaissée*) the husband

<sup>1</sup> Demetrius, King of Macedonia, son of Antigonus, derived his surname Poliorcetes (*Besieger*, literally Taker of Cities) from the gigantic machines with which he assailed the city of Rhodes. The coin above-mentioned was struck to celebrate the naval victory of Demetrius over the Egyptian fleet at the Cyprian Salamis B.C. 306. "Die Nike mit der Trompete und der Trophaeostange ausgestattet . . . auf der Prora stehend ist eine Kopie des Denkmals, welches im Kabirenheiligtum auf Samothrake zur Aufstellung gelangt ist, und heute in der Sammlung des Louvre sich befindet." Baumeister, *ibid.*, p. 1021, description of the statue; p. 1022, full-page engraving, Abbildung 1232, Siegesgöttin von Samothrake; p. 1023 Dieselbe restauriert, Abbildung 1233. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. II, p. 119, explains *πολιορκητής* by quoting Seneca de Constantia Sapientis, Cap. V, "cui (Stilponi philosopho) bellum et hostis ille, egregiam artem quassandarum urbium professus, eripere nihil potuit." He thinks that the female on the prow personifies Fame; equidem existimo nobis hoc signo Famam proponi; but later numismatists have not followed this attribution.

Froehner, *Notice de la Sculpture Antique du Musée Imperial du Louvre*, p. 434, No. 476. Nike de Samothrace. "Le torse seul a été reconstitué, au Louvre, de cent dix-huit morceaux." For bas-reliefs in which Nike appears v. pp. 42–47, Nos. 12–15. One of the most famous representations of the same goddess is at Brescia, "Giovanni Gozzoli, La Vittoria Greca, Cenni di Storia e d'Arte a proposito di un Bronzo Antico esistente nel Museo di Brescia."

<sup>2</sup> For an investigation of this kind the indices to Friedländer's edition of Martial may be consulted with advantage, because they are not only copious but classified. They afford a good specimen of German industry in the collection and arrangement of details. *Register*, "I, 1. Mythologische Namen; 2. Geographische und topographische Namen; 3. Autoren; 4. Historische Personen aus der Zeit bis zur Schlacht von Actium; 5. Römische Kaiser; 6. Wirkliche und fingierte Privatpersonen aus Martials Zeit (und der früheren Kaiserzeit); 7. Thiernamen. II, Worterverzeichnis."

appears clothed in a tunic descending below the knees, and over it a mantle; his feet and legs are covered by some elastic material resembling that of our stockings. The wife's costume is similar, but her tunic and mantle are longer, and she wears boots. We may observe that among the ancients the difference of sex was not marked in apparel as strongly as at present. A female slave on the left is dressed in the same fashion as her mistress, with the exception that she has a boot on one foot and a stocking on the other. Her hair is gathered up in a bunch of curls on the top of the head, like the *corymbus* of Athenian women.<sup>1</sup> In the opposite niche a male slave stands, wearing an outer tunic—a sort of blouse without a girdle, reaching below the knees; he holds in his right hand a pot (*olla*) suspended by straps.<sup>2</sup>

Plate XXVII, 6, is the upper part of another cippus that shows us the bust of a young man clothed in a mantle with hood. Compare *Musée de Langres*, Planche 22, No. 1, Fragments Gallo-Romains (10<sup>e</sup> d'exécution) published by the Société Historique et Archéologique of that city.<sup>3</sup> Three persons are seated in a four-wheeled

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, Book I, Chap. 6, "Χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβίλον ἀναδουμένοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν." The Athenians tied up their hair in a knot by the insertion of golden grass-hoppers, probably a pin with a gold cicada for a head, v. Liddell and Scott, s.v. *τέττιξ*; *corymbus* is properly a cluster of ivy berries, afterwards it denoted human hair arranged in a similar form.

Goeller has a long note on this passage, and at the end of it quotes the Scholiast "κρωβύλος δὲ ἐστὶν εἶδος πλεγματος τῶν τριχῶν—ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν κρωβύλος, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν κόρυμβος, τῶν δὲ παιδῶν σκορπίος." Comp. Rich's *Dictionary*, "Corymbus and Crobylus, Dar-emberg and Saglio," Tome I, Deuxième partie, s.v. Coma, esp. p. 1358, figs. 1809, 1810. "Coiffure d'enfant," with copious references in the foot-notes 52-55. The article is a very elaborate one, pp. 1355-1371, and contributed by MM. E. Pottier, Maurice Albert and E. Saglio: it is illustrated by 79 woodcuts.

<sup>2</sup> A married pair often appear on sepulchral monuments. Two interesting examples will be found in Edmond Le Blant's valuable work entitled *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens Antiques de la ville d'Arles*, folio, p. 10, Text, § VIII,

Pl. VI, "Tombe de marbre à deux rangées de bas-reliefs. Au centre se détachent, sur une coquille, les bustes de deux époux." *Ibid.*, p. 14, § X, Pl. VIII, "Tombe de deux époux dont les bustes sont placés au centre, dans un cadre arrondi. Tout le travail de la sculpture est terminé, sauf pour ces deux têtes, que l'on devait tailler, après la vente du marbre, à la ressemblance des acheteurs." Cf. de Rossi, *Bulletin d'Archéologie Chrétienne* de 1865, p. 69. *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. LIV, No. 213, 1897, my Paper on the "Antiquities of Arles," "Christian Sarcophagi at Arles," facing p. 46. "Raphaelis Fabretti

Inscriptionum Antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio, 1699, p. 124, A. Quin imo majores quoque arcae ita inconsulto incomparatas pluries agnovi; dum ceteris ornamentis diligenter expletis, defuncti effigies rudis et indistincta, prout ab incertis de ea Statuariis, ita ut plurimum heredum neglectu reperitur."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *omnino*, *Mémoires*, Tome I, pp. 59-64, an interesting essay by Monsr. Paul Pechiné, *Architecte*, in which he describes the garments worn by the Gauls. It is entitled, *Notice sur*

car drawn by four horses, the figures are somewhat mutilated, but the central one evidently wears a hooded cloak, *bardocucullus*. See my Paper on the "Antiquities of Langres and Besançon," *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XLIII, text and notes, pp. 103-106, where references to Martial, Juvenal and other writers are given.<sup>1</sup>

The collections at Sens, Langres and Trèves furnish us with reciprocal illustrations; what is wanting in one of them may be supplied by another; they are not separated by a great distance, and therefore can be visited conveniently in the same tour. An example will explain my meaning. Dr. Hettner, the learned Director of the Provincial Museum at Trèves, in his Catalogue, p. 80 *sq.*, describes a sepulchral statue of a smith, seated and wearing the *sagum* with hood (*cucullus*); a small anvil lies between his knees. His left hand holds a pair of tongs on his lap, in his right is the handle probably of a hammer. At Sens, Plate X, No. 2, the whole of this tool is quite conspicuous on the monument of the smith Bellicus, in front of his figure, which is represented in a standing posture. The chaussure is the same as we have

*les Costumes des Gaulois en général et des Lingons en particulier à propos de quelques monuments de l'ère Gallo-Romaine.* This memoir contains explanations of the Gallic use of *bracæ*, *tunica*, *sagum*, *lacerna*, *cucullus*, *toga*, and *palla*, and is illustrated by Pl. XII, figs. 1-4, *e.g.*, p. 61, le bas-relief No. 1 représente un homme vetu des braies, de la tunique et de la saie; le personnage de la fig. 3 porte des braies et seulement la saie plus courte, serrée par une ceinture à laquelle s'attachent deux bretelles qui designent peut-être que cet homme est un soldat. P. 62, La *palla* remplaçait ordinairement pour les femmes le *sagum*, avec lequel cet habit avait beaucoup d'analogie; et sur la *palla*, les Gaulois portaient un manteau léger, etc."

<sup>1</sup> Friedlander's note on Martial, I, liii, 5, "Lingonicus . . . bardocucullus. Kapuzenmantel lieferten hauptsächlich die Gallischen . . . Weber-eien, in welchen vorzugsweise grobe, starke, zottige Tuche fabricirt wurden, die überall als Tracht der Soldaten und Feldarbeiter dienten." *Ibid.*, XIV, cxxviii.

"Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo.

Cercopithecorum paenula nuper erat."

There seems to be here an allusion to some dramatic piece in which apes appeared on the stage. Friedlander *in loco*. "Scheint sich auf ein kurz vorher veranstaltetes Schauspiel zu beziehen in welchem Affen aufgetreten waren (Vgl. XIV, 202, Callidus emissas eludere simius hastas, Si mihi cauda foret, *cercopithecus* eram), für welche die Kapuze lang genug war, um als mantel zu dienen." *Cercopithecus*, a compound of *κίρκος* tail, and *πίθηκος* ape, is said to mean a long-tailed monkey, produced by Aethiopia (Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII, 21, § 30), and venerated in Egypt according to Juvenal, *Satire* XV, 4. "Effigies sacri nitet aurea *cercopitheci*." The *Cercopes* were a mischievous monkey-like race of men whose name occurs in the legends concerning Hercules; they are described as alternately amusing and annoying the hero. C. O. Müller's *Dorians*, English Translation, Vol. I, pp. 422, 447.

already noticed, *vide* Plate XXI, Nos. 1 *bis*, 1 *ter*. The name appears in an inscription above the niche.

Looking at the style of the sculptures found at Sens, in connection with the Inscriptions, I should be disposed to assign some of them to the Antonine Period, taken in a wide sense, so as to include the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Compared with works of the Augustan age, they show a declining art, but the downward course had not advanced so low as it did under Severus and the Emperors who succeeded him.

A great proportion of the objects I have endeavoured to describe may seem as insignificant as the cut of a sleeve or the length of a skirt, and so they are, if regarded separately; on the other hand, viewed collectively, they become interesting because they enable us to realize history and picture to ourselves the domestic life not only of an ancient people, but, as so many of us English are French by descent, I might even say of our own ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

Among the coins of the Senones the most remarkable are those which have for their device two goats facing

<sup>1</sup> The local Archæological Society has issued a publication entitled *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, which I procured with some difficulty; it consists of fifty-two plates, reproducing the originals for the most part on the scale of one-tenth. Short descriptions are prefixed to each of the three parts of the series. These plates are photo-gravures by Dujardin, the same, I presume, as the artist employed to execute by the process known as "heliogravure," a fac-simile of the *Codex Bezae*, presented by the Reformer to the University of Cambridge in 1581. It was found in the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons, was nineteen years in Beza's possession, and seems to have been used by him in preparing his Latin version of the New Testament published in 1556. See Hartwell Horne, *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, Vol. II, pp. 113-117, fac-simile of Matthew V, 1-3, p. 114; and Vol. V, p. 15 *sq.* This MS., the most valuable in the University Library, occupies a separate glass case in Cockerell's building; it contains the Greek and Latin text of the four Gospels and Acts of Apostles, "in

evangelii Matthæi et Johannis et in actibus passim mutilum, aliquoties etiam posterioribus curis suppletum." Tischendorf's Greek Testament, editio stereotypa secunda, *Subsidia Critica*, p. xvi. Alford's Greek Testament Prolegomena, chapter vii; Apparatus Criticus, Section I, p. 85, D., *The Codex Cantabrigiensis or Bezae*. Its text is a very peculiar one, deviating more from the received readings and from the principal MS. authorities than any other. This manuscript has been edited by Kipling, and more recently by Scrivener. In the guide to Cambridge by the late Sir George Humphry, the Catholic Epistles are said to be included in the *Codex Bezae*, a statement for which I have discovered no foundation; moreover, the donor is described as "the great Swiss scholar and critic"; this inaccuracy has arisen from Beza's long residence at Geneva and predominating influence there. Like his still more famous predecessor Calvin, he was a Frenchman, né à Vezelay en Bourgogne le 24 Juin, 1519. *Nouvelle Biographie Generale*, s.v. Theodore de Beze, ou plus exactement Beze.

each other, and the legend in Greek characters ΑΓΗΔ, *i.e.*, Agendicum, which occurs in *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*, VII, 10 and 57.<sup>1</sup> We also find the form Agedincum; in Ptolemy, II, 8, § 9 Ἀγῆδικον; in the *Table of Peutinger*, Agetincum; in the *Antonine Itinerary*, Agredicum or Agredincum. Mr. Freeman, "Essay on Sens and Auxerre," *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 99 and 101, writes Agelincum, but without authority, as far as I know. On an altar in the Museum at Langres we observe reliefs decorating the four sides. One is a laurel crown enclosing two animals, probably goats, standing upright and face to face (*affrontés*).

Nothing is to be seen in Sens itself that can be certainly identified as a part of the Roman aqueduct, but its course in the country has been traced by M. Julliot, and is marked in Plate II, of M. Belgrand's work entitled *Les*

<sup>1</sup> Adolphe Duchalais, *Description des médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale*, 1846, p. 150, No. 432, ΑΗΙΑ retrograde (ΑΓΗΔ pour ΑΓΗΔ-ΙΚΟΝ). "Deux chevres debout opposees l'une a l'autre. Grenetis au pourtour. Un globe au milieu du champ. . . . Il (M. de Longperier) y a reconnu avec raison une imitation des medailles frappees dans les villes Macedoniennes de Thessalonique et Amphipolis. British Museum, *Catalogue of Greek coins, Macedon, &c.*, 1879. Index II, Types. Amphipolis, p. 48. Two goats fighting on their hind legs, face to face; Thessalonica, p. 109, similar device. See also "Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection by G. Macdonald," 4to, p. 495. 1899, Vol. I, Amphipolis, p. 276, Thessalonica, p. 366. The illustrations consist of XXX plates at the end of the Volume, Collotypes—photographs taken from casts, p. IV, Preface. Mr. Macdonald wrote an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Series, 1896, Vol. XVI, pp. 144-154, "Notes on Combe's Catalogue of the Hunterian Cabinet" (*Descriptio*), in which many mistakes are corrected. The results are presented in a tabular form. The coins of Amphipolis are specially interesting, because they show an emblem of the torch-race in honour of Artemis Tauropolos. Introduction, p. XLIII; Thessalonica, *ibid.*, p. LXII. Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, European Greece, Amphipolis, p. 11, Thessalonica

p. 104. Corybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, quarto edition, "Amphipolis," Vol. I, p. 341 sq. Thessalonica, pp. 344-347, with engravings on wood of both places, the latter "from the sea."

Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. II, p. 67, duo hirci coniscantes (Hunter's *Catalogue*, s.v. Amphipolis, cf. *Lucretius*, II, 320, note, edit. Munro). "Typus haud dubie ad Panos cultum per Macedoniam vulgatum pertinet." The Greek name of this contest is κυρησασία, butting with the horns. See also Eckhel, *ibid.*, pp. 123-125. "Pellae, in cujus numis coloniae nomine cuspis Pan sedens typus obviis. Notum etiam Aegae, vetustam Macedoniae urbem, a capris Pani sacris traxisse nomen, notusque in mythologia Aegipan Jovis ex Aega Panis uxore filius." Pan is supposed to have caused sudden terror (*panic*) to Brennus and the Gauls at Delphi. "De Cornibus hircinis quae reges Macedoniae galeae inserere consuevere," cf. Livy, XXVII, 33, "Ad eminentem ramum cornu alterum galeae praefregit. Denarius L. Marcii Philippi pictum sistit caput Philippi V. Macedoniae Regis tectum galea, ex cujus vertice bina hircorum cornua protuberant." Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, p. 202, Marcia, No. 13. "Tête de Philippe V de Macédoine à droite avec un casque macédonien surmonté de deux cornes et attaché avec un diadème; devant, φ."



*Travaux Souterrains de Paris.* This important publication contains many fine heliogravures of aqueducts; as a specimen I exhibit those relating to the Aqua Claudia, which by its extent and preservation makes a lasting impression on visitors to Rome.<sup>1</sup>

You will pardon me, if now, "in the evening of a studious life," I revert for a moment to the past; when I think of many a long journey and many a difficult investigation, I seem only to have plucked with feeble hands a few ears of corn; it remains for more energetic labourers to enter the field of research, to cultivate it diligently, and in due season reap an abundant harvest there.

#### APPENDIX.

The character and fortunes of Becket have a special interest for us during the present crisis in our National Church (1899). History does not repeat itself exactly, like phenomena in the material world, but a striking analogy often shows itself at periods separated by a wide interval from each other. If this were not the case, the events of former times would yield no lessons for us to profit by. Royal supremacy was the subject of contention between Becket and Henry II, and now the ultimate appeal from ecclesiastical to lay courts is engaging, I might almost say engrossing, public attention.

Few historical personages have been so variously estimated as this extraordinary man. In Hume and Lingard we read the most opposite views: according to the former he was a proud and ambitious Prelate, according to the latter a saint and a martyr.

Hume, *History of England*, Chap. VIII, Vol. II, pp. 383-423.

Lingard, Vol. II, pp. 126-163.

Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. I, §§ 139-142.

Augustin Thierry, *Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, Tome III, edit. 8vo, Livre IX, "Depuis l'origine de la querelle entre le Roi Henry II, et l'Archevêque Thomas, jusqu'au meurtre de l'Archevêque, 1160-1171.—Haine des Normands contre l'Archevêque. Affection du peuple Gallois pour Thomas Becket. Il devient un Saint pour les Anglais de race." Thierry regards the quarrel as to a great extent racial, Becket being the first Anglo-Saxon who rose to high office under our Norman Kings.

<sup>1</sup> For the Aqueducts of the Eternal City in addition to earlier and well known authorities consult Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 1897, pp. 47-59, esp. fig. 19 facing p. 47, coloured map; and fig. 23,

p. 55. "The seven aqueducts at the Porta Maggiore," with bibliography at the end of the section. See also Indexes, Reference Tables, p. 573 *seqq.* Existing remains described alphabetically and chronologically.

Ambulationes were called in Greek *περίπατοι*; from teaching and disputing as they walked in the porticoes of the Lyceum at Athens Aristotle and his followers obtained the name of Peripatetics or walking Philosophers: Conyers Middleton, *Life of Cicero*, Vol. III, p. 237. The modern word *ambulatory* comes, of course, from the mediæval *ambulatorium*. In the Cathedral of Saint Fin Barre at Cork, designed by the late Mr. Burges, the *ambulatory* is a semi-circular passage in the Apse behind the Communion Table. Its position is well shown by the ground Plan, Plate I, p. 9, Dr. Caulfield's *Handbook of the Cathedral*; for a description of it v. pp. 31, 32. See Architectural Publications Soc., *Dict. of Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 52; the Campo Santo at Pisa is mentioned as an example.

*Xystus* seems to have nearly the same meaning as *ambulatio*, when used with reference to a gymnasium. Vitruvius, V, 11, edit. Rode, Atlas, Tab. XV, Forma XIX, o Xysti, seu hypaethrae ambulationes; p. 9, p. Xystum, seu porticus stadiata. The word *ξυστός* is derived from *ξύω*, another form of *ξύω*, to scrape, polish, and denotes the smooth floor on which the athletes exercised. v. Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, s.v.; cf. *ξυστικός* II. Among the Romans it also signified an open piece of ground in a garden "divided into flower-beds of different shapes by borders of box." *Dictionary of Antiquities*, third edition, Vol. I, p. 976, second column, s.v. *Hortus*.

Plinius Junior, *Epistles*, V, vi, 15, 16; "atrium etiam ex more veterum. Ante porticum xystus concisus in plurimas species, distinctusque buxo." See the Variorum notes in the edition of Cortius and Longolius, p. 342. Compare Overbeck's *Pompeii*, Vol. I, p. 247 sq. "In mehren Fallen . . . können wir die durchaus architektonisch symmetrische Anlage der Beete noch erkennen, in dem dieselben mit hockkantig gestellten Ziegeln eingefasst sind. Der Geschmack solcher Anlagen ist in der modernen italienischen Gartenkunst ein ganz ähnlicher geblieben. Fig. 164 Beetanlage in den Xysten zweier pompejaner Häuser;" cf. p. 236, Fig. 157, Plan des römischen normalhäuses.

MM. Rollin et Feuardent in their *Catalogue of Gallic Medals* have followed the classification adopted by M. F. de Saulcy for his collection. At p. 29 sq. we find "Senones Agedincum, Nos. 327, 328; Senones, 329-332; Chefs Senones, 333-336;" with names on the reverse, YLLYCCI, GIAMILOS and SIIIV. Compare Ernest Muret, *Catalogue des monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 172, No. 7,471. "Rev. ECCAIOS. Cheval passant à droite et regardant en arrière; dessous, personnage courant à gauche." M. Charles Lenormant thought that ECCAIUS was the same as Iccius, a nobleman of the Remi, mentioned in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Book II, Chap. 3. "Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos, Iccium et Antebrogium, primos civitatis, miserunt." M. de Saulcy identifies ECCAIUS with ACCO *ibid.*, VI, 4.—a chieftain of the Senones and head of a conspiracy against the Romans. His condemnation and capital punishment are related, Chap. 44. "7490. Tête à droite, coiffée de quatre grosses meches; devant la bouche, cercle de perles. Rev. KOIAPA Oiseau éployé à gauche; anneau et point centré dans le champ. P. 173, 7493. Tête à droite, les cheveux divisés en quatre grosses meches. Rev. Oiseau éployé à gauche; derrière, pentagramme, croix can-

tonnée de quatre points et de deux points centrés. VLLVCCI (Sens). P. 174, 7552. Rev. SIINV. 7554. GIAMILOS. Tête à droite. Rev. SIINV. Oiseau picorant à gauche; derrière, pentagone et deux points centrés. 7575. Tête de Venus à gauche. Rev. VOCVNILIOS. Aigle et pentagone (Vendôme). P. 175, 7577 NDN Buste barbu à droite. Rev. Aigle éployé." Coins of Meldi, *ibid.* The type is similar to the goats above mentioned. "7602. Deux taureaux opposés et affrontés. Rev. Aigle dévorant une alouette (Meaux)."

Compare *Atlas de monnaies Gauloises par Henri de la Tour* (1892), Planche XXX, especially figs. 7471-7575.

It seems likely that Peter, having been an eyewitness of the Transfiguration, would supply details not mentioned by the other Evangelists who have related the scene, comp. Matthew XVII, 1-8, Luke IX, 28-36. According to the unanimous tradition of the early Church Mark was the "interpreter" of Peter (ἐρμηνευτής Πέτρου). This subject is fully discussed by Alford in the Prolegomena to his edition of the Greek Testament, Mark, Sectt. I, II, especially pp. 32]-35]; he comes to the conclusion that this Evangelist "may have been able . . . to preserve in his Gospel those vivid and original touches of description and filling-out of the incidents which we now discover in it." Tischendorf omits the words ὡς χιών, as snow, which appear in the Authorised Version. For γραφεὺς we sometimes find κναφεὺς—Stephanus, Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae. De utraque forma v. s. κναφεύω. Professor Key, on the alphabet—a republication of Initial Articles in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, with the addition of some philological essays. G. § 1. This letter interchanges with K or C pronounced hard, e.g., γόνυ knee, genus kind, γινώσκω know. For κναφεὺς v. Bloomfield's note on Mark IX, 3, and compare Rich, *Latin Dictionary, Fullo and Fullonica*.

Alford in his note on Peter's Epistles, II, i, 16, ἐπόπται γενηθέντες τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος, suggests that these words might be translated "were admitted as initiated spectators of His majesty," because ἐπόπτης is a technical word, used of those who were admitted to the highest degree of initiation in the Eleusinian mysteries. However, ἐπόπτης also means a spectator without any such allusion, e.g., Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincetus*, 299 (307).

καὶ σὺ ἐν πόνοις ἐὼν

ἦκεις ἐπόπτης;

where it is equivalent to αὐτόπτης, which occurs more frequently, e.g., Herodotus, *Euterpe*, Book II, Chap. XXIX, "μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πολιοῦ αὐτόπτης ἔλθων τὸ ὅτι ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοή ἦν ἱστορέων"—an important passage which shows how far the historian had pursued his researches. The Island Elephantine is situated opposite Syene (hod. Assouan) and near Philæ, below the First Cataract—at the boundary of the Roman Empire. Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 59-61, relates the visit of Germanicus to Egypt, and concludes with the following words, "Exin ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit." The word *olim* contains an allusion to the change of the limits caused by Trajan's victories A.D. 114, 115, v. Duebner's note cited by Orelli. Rawlinson's *Translation of Herodotus*, loc. citat., Vol. II, p. 38, foot-note,

enumerates the Cataracts of the Nile, and describes their position. For the time, extent and completeness of his travels, *v. ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 8-14.

The long dress of the Roman matron is referred to by Horace, *Satires* I, II, 28, *seq.*

"Sunt qui nolint tetigisse, nisi illas  
Quarum subستا talos tegat instita veste.  
Mancher rührte euch  
das schonste Weib nicht an, wenn die Besetzung  
an ihren Rocke nicht die Knochel deckt."

*Horazens Satiren aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt, und mit Einleitungen und erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen*, von C. M. Wieland, edit. 1819, p. 50, *Ibid.*, p. 61, note 7. "Dress of Roman ladies." The words *instita*, *palla*, and *togata* are explained. Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, Book III, Vol. I, p. 478, ed. Delph., compares the gay colours usually worn to the flowers of spring:

"Elige certos (succes),  
Nam non conveniens omnibus unus erit."

*Cf.* Catullus; *Elegies* LXIV, v, 308.

"Vestis  
Candida purpurea talos incinxerat ora."

Quoted by the Delphin editor.

Bottiger's *Sabina*, edit. 1806. Zweyter Theil, S. 96. "Die Tunika einer Matrone hatte hier noch einen besondern Ansatz, eine in viele Falthen zierlich gelegte Falbel, die so weit herab ging, dass man dahinter kaum etwas von den Fufsspitzen erblickte." *Anmerkungen*, p. 116, l. *Petronius*, cap. 126, p. 604, edit. Buecheler, 1862, p. 174, "pedum candor intra auri gracile vinculum positus"; whence we may remark that the Roman lady exposed her foot sometimes more than we see it in Bottiger, *ibid.*, Tafel X, facing p. 81. For the whole subject of female dress see *Sechste Szene*, pp. 81-98. *Anmerkungen*, pp. 99-118—an interesting portion of a work which unites with great erudition a natural and lively style that reminds the English reader of our own Addison.

The woman's boots in the monument at Sens have the top turned over and hanging down in a flap, so that they resemble those described in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, third edition, s.v. *Endromis*, with illustrations from a Pompeian painting and a vase: *Daremberg and Saglio*, Vol. II. *Premiere Partie*, p. 615, *seq.*, where the uses of the word *Endromis* by the Greeks and Romans are carefully distinguished. *Grèce*,—demi-botte figs. 2668-2675. "Rome.—Les Latins . . . ont réservé le terme *Endromis* pour désigner un vêtement de dessus, un manteau." Rich says that it was the peculiarity of the *Endromis* to leave the toes exposed, but this seems doubtful.

Pollux, *Onomasticon*, Lib. III, "Κεφάλαιον Α. Περὶ τοῦ ἀγνοθετεῖν καὶ ἀθλοθετεῖν. § 155 Ἀθληταῖς εἰς προσηγορίαν καὶ ἐνδρομίδες ὄντω ἐκαλούντο τὰ των δρομέων υποδήματα. Lib. VII, Κεφάλαιον Κ.Β. Ὑποδημάτων εἶδη καὶ ἰδέαι. § 93. Αἱ δὲ ἐνδρομίδες, ἰδίον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ὑπόδημα." *Endromis* according to its etymology means a boot for running, and is connected with *δοσμός*, a race (*τρέχω*, *εἰραμῖν*, *ἐξέρωμα*).

Callimachus mentions this boot as worn by Artemis in the chase, edit. Ernesti, Lugduni Batavorum, 1761, Vol. I, p. 70.

"Hymnus in Dianam, vv. 15-17.

Δὸς ἐέ υοι ἄμφιπολους Ἀμνισίδας εἰκοσι νύμφας,  
Αἱ τέ μοι ἐνδρομίδας τε καί, ὅπποτε μηκέτι λόγκας  
Μῆτ' ἐλάφους βάλλοιμι, θοοὺς κύνas ἐν κομέοιεν."

and Vol. II, pp. 179-181, a long note by the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (*Oberrationes* in Callimachi Hymnos), who quotes a passage from Galen.

C. O. Müller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, § 363, 6, Eng. Transl., p. 453. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmaler*, Part II, Pl. XV, Nos. 157a, 158, 158a, and 159. Clarac, Musée de Sculpture, Pl. 571, No. 1,220; Pl. 572, No. 1,222: Text, Vol. IV, p. 46, La déesse est vêtue de la tunique et du péplus.

*Endromis* in Roman writers means a wrapper worn after exercise as a protection from chill. *Juvenal*, III, 102.

"Igniculum brumæ si tempore poscas,  
Accipit endromidem."

Gifford in his note appositely quotes Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act V, Scene II.

*Hamlet*: Your bonnet to its right use; 'tis for the head.

*Osrick* (a courtier): I thank your lordship, 'tis very hot.

*Hamlet*: No, believe me, 'tis very cold; the wind is northerly.

*Osrick*: It is indifferent cold, my lord, indeed.

*Juvenal*, VI, 246.

"Endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma Quis nescit?"

The epithet *Tyrias* should be noticed. This garment was usually of coarse woollen cloth, but Juvenal is here speaking of lady fencers, who adopted a variety different in colour and material—purple and made of fine linen or muslin.

Compare Martial, *Epigrams*, IV, xix, 1-4.

"Hanc tibi Sequanicae pinguem textricis alumnam,  
Quae Lacædaemonium barbara nomen habet,  
Sordida, sed gelido non aspernanda Decembri  
Dona, peregrinam mittimus endromida."

*Ibid.* in the last verse,

"Nec sic in Tyria sindone cultus eris,"

we have a more expensive article of dress contrasted with a *sordida Endromis*.

Rich quotes Martial, II, 16, s.v. *Sindon* as an example of this word, but Schrevelius Lugduni Batavorum 1656, Schneidewin 1881, and Friedländer 1886 read *Sidone*, which suits the context better, and has the same meaning as *Sidonio ostro* in Horace, *Epistles*, I, x, 26. Friedländer in loco, *Sindon* für sidonischen Purpur auch, XI, i, 2; wie Tyrus für Tyrischen, II, xxix, 3; VI, xi, 7. Schrevelius mentions a various reading *Sindone cinctus*, but, as far as I know, it has not been adopted by recent editors. *Sindon* is mentioned twice by Herodotus in his second book, c. 86, where he describes the process of embalming a corpse, "κατελίσσουσιν πᾶν αὐτῶν τὸ σῶμα συνδέονας βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατεμνόμενοι"; and c. 95, in giving an account of precautions to

be taken against gnats, “ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνελιζόμενος εὐδῇ ἢ σινδόνι.” The Gospels furnish us with passages parallel to these citations from the Father of History. Matthew XXVII, 59, “καὶ λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ ἐν σινδόνι καθαρᾷ.” Mark XIV, 51, “περιβεβλημένος σινδόνα ἐπὶ γυμνῶν.” In the former the Evangelist relates that Joseph of Arimathea wrapped our Lord’s body in a clean linen cloth. In the latter we read that a young man had a linen cloth cast about his naked body. He seems to have been roused from sleep by the tumult consequent on Christ’s apprehension. The same word *σινδών* is used by both writers, but not exactly in the same sense, *v. notes* in Bloomfield’s Greek Testament. Stephani Thesaurus *Graecae Linguae*, gives a reference from Galen, where the words correspond very closely with those of St. Mark, “Μὴ γυμνὸς κομίζέσθω· ἀλλ’ ἐπιβεβλημένος σινδόνα μὴ ψυχρὰν, ἢ ἕτερον ἐπιβλημα.”

Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, in the section on clothing devoted to raw material (*Die Rohstoffe*), p. 489, discusses the derivation of the words *σινδών* and *ὀθόνη*. Sindon may come from *Sindhu*, the name by which the natives call the Indus; and this article of commerce probably was brought over land to Tyre, and thence conveyed by Phœnician traders to Italy. Ezekiel XXVII, 23, 24, “Χαρρὰ καὶ Χαναὰ, οὗτοι ἔμποροί σου (Tyrus)· Ἀσσὺρ καὶ Χαρμὰν ἔμποροί σου, φέροντες ἔμποριαν ὑάκινθον, καὶ θησαυροὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς δεδεμένους σχοινίοις, καὶ κυπαρίσσινα.” Bottiger, *Sabina*, second part, p. 26, justly remarks that the following passage in Pollux is most important (*Hauptstelle*): “Κεφάλαιον. Ις. Περὶ λινῶν ἐσθίων καὶ ἀμοργίνων. Σινδὼν ἔστιν Αἰγυπτία μὲν, περιβόλαιον δ’ αὖν εἴη, τὸ νῦν δίκροσσον (double fringed) καλούμενον, εἴρηται δέ πον καὶ τελαμῶν σινδονίτην.” The island Amorgos lies to the south-east of Naxos; it was famous for growing fine flax.

Again *Sindon* occurs in *Thucydides*, II, 49, where he mentions the symptoms of the plague at Athens. “That which he describes most feelingly is the burning inward heat, which rendered even the slightest covering insupportable,” etc. “τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκάετο ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάνν λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδόνων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς μὴδ’ ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνοὶ ἀνέχεσθαι.” The context illustrates the word we have been considering; comp. the paraphrase by *Lucretius*, VI, 1168,

“Nihil adeo posses quoquam leve tenneque membris  
Vortere in utilitatem,”

and see Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 8vo edition, Vol. III, p. 100 *sq.* Text and Notes. Those who wish to pursue the subject further will find information in Kenrick’s *Egypt of Herodotus*, notes on *loci citati* of this author, pp. 113, 124; and Rawlinson’s *Translation*, Vol. I, p. 142. “Sindon was the general term for every fine stuff; so that it was even applied to woollen fabrics.” Bæhr, on the other hand, *Euterpe*, II, 86, note, Vol. I, p. 676, says, “vix dubitandum quin hoc loco *cotoneum* intelligi voluerit Herodotus;” but here, I think, he is mistaken.

The archaic metopes of Selinus serve as a commentary on the statements of authors concerning the Cercopes. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, Pt. I, Pl. IV, No. 24. “Metope von dem mittlern Tempel der Burg von Selinus, den Herakles vorstellend, welcher die gefangenen Kerkopen an einem Tragholze hangen hat. . . . Nach Serradifalco *Antichità di Sicilia*,” Vol. II, i, 25. The prisoners



have their heads downwards. This group reminds one of milk-maids carrying pails suspended from a yoke upon their shoulders, as we see them in London streets. Herodotus places the seat of these strange monsters at Thermopylæ, VII, 216, where he is describing the fatal path along the mountain, by which Xerxes was enabled to overpower the Spartans, "κατὰ Μελάμπυγον τε καλεόμενον λίθον, καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἑσπας." "The hinder parts of Hercules had become tanned by continued labours and exposure to the atmosphere." Hence he derived the epithet Melampygos. Rawlinson's *Translation of Herodotus*, Vol. IV, p. 181, note 9; Baehr's edition *in loco*, and note on C. 176, "omnis haec regio Herculis religione consecrata videtur."

The excellent guide-book of Gsell-Fels gives more details, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien*, Vol. II, Col. 222. "Palermo (Museo Nazionale: Erdgeschoss)—Herakles trägt die beiden neckischen und diebischen Kobolde Passalos und Akmon (Hammer und Amboss) die ihn in Schlaf storten, an Händen und Füßen festgebunden, auf seinem Rücken an einem Tragholz wie ein erbeutetes Wild davon." The importance of the series to which this group belongs in the history of early Greek art ("Incunabeln der Kunst") is too well known to require more than a passing allusion. See my Paper on the "Museum at Palermo," where the Sculptures from Selinus have been deposited, *Archæol. Journ.*, 1881, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 134. Watkiss Lloyd, *History of Sicily*, p. 160.

The short clothes of the Gauls are mentioned by Martial, I, xcii (xciii), 8.

"Cerea si pendet lumbis et scripta lacerna,  
Dimidiasque nates Gallica braca tegit" (var. lect. palla).

They must have resembled an unbecoming fashion which has recently prevailed among ourselves. In his note on this passage Schrevelius quotes Strabo, Lib. IV, Cap. IV, "Mores Gallorum," § 3 'Ἀντὶ δὲ χιτῶνων σχιστοὺς χειρίδωτοὺς φέρουσι μέχρις αἰδοίων καὶ γλουτῶν."

For the coins of the Senones consult Ernest Muret, *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1889, p. 164 sq. Medals with legends CALEDV-SENODON, Nos. 7174-7184. De Lagoy regards the former as the name of an unknown chieftain, the latter as that of the capital of the Senones; but this attribution has been disputed. Senones, pp. 170-175, Nos. 7374-7601, especially 7465, deux chevres dressees et affrontées, Rev. deux sangliers affrontés, 7467 similar, but Rev. loup et sanglier affrontés. *Senones emigrés*, p. 213 sq., Nos. 9272-9279. There is a reference at p. 172, No. 7470, to Adr. de Longpérier, *Rev. numism. franc.*, 1844, p. 165.

*Atlas des Monnaies Gauloises* . . . par Henri de la Tour Sous-Bibliothécaire au Département des médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Senones, Pl. XXX, Nos. 7388-7600, *Senones Émigrés*, 9274, 9275.

I have spoken of the worship of Pan in Macedonia because the two goats, which are his attributes, on coins of the Senones seem to be derived from types belonging to Amphipolis and Thessalonica;

but this cult had Arcadia especially for its seat, and so we read in Virgil, *Georgic*, I, 16-18.

"Ipse, nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaei,  
Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae,  
Adsis, o Tegeae, favens."

*Cf. Eclogues*, IV, 58; X, 26. "Pan deus Arcadiae venit." Hunter's *Catalogue*, s.v. *Arcadia Provincia*, p. 42 sq. Tab. VII, figs. 4, 5. "Pan nudus in scopulum sedens," Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, Part I, Text p. 31, No. 181, Pl. XLI, silver coin of the Arcadian confederacy; on the obverse, according to Curtius, we see the laurel-crowned head of Zeus Lycaeus, who with Pan was worshipped on the mountain of the same name, and on the reverse Pan enthroned on Olympus (OAYM), an Arcadian mountain. Ottfried Muller and Raoul-Rochette explain the medal as relating to the war between Arcadia and Elis, and the occupation of Olympia by the former. Compare Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, Chap. XL, 8vo edition, Vol. V, pp. 181-187.

Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, Vol. I, p. 581. "C. Erde, Erleben, und Unterwelt, § 9. Pan ein Kind von seltsam gemischter Bildung, ziegenfüssig mit zwei Hörnern und einem langen Barte ὁ Πάνω d.i. der Weidende." The name Pan is akin to *πάσμαι*, whence we have *πάμα, ποιμήν, Πάν*, pasco, pabulum, &c., "ein Gott der Heerden, vornehmlich der Ziegen, Berge . . . in Arkadien, immer voll von weidenden Ziegenheerden sind." *Ibid.*, p. 587. "Πάνες oder Πανίσκοι, eine gemeine Art von Waldteufeln und bocksartigen Dämonen, welche die Menschen durch koboldartigen Spuk, Alpen-drücken und böse Träume plagten." Compare popular superstitions among the modern Greeks; Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, Vol. II, pp. 219-221. "A mid-day demon of the mountains," &c.

For the worship of Pan among the Egyptians consult Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *On the Manners and Customs of that People*, Vol. IV, p. 150, and Vol. V, p. 32. The identity of Pan with the god Khem is shown by the authority of a Greek dedication at Chemmis, or Panapolis. Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, Vol. I, p. 373, § II, Khem, Pan, the god of Chemmis. See the Chronology and Geography of this country illustrated by Plates of the Kings' Names and Maps, by Samuel Sharpe, published by Joseph Bonomi, p. 19, in the Thebaid among the Nomes east of the Nile. No. 10 is Panopolites containing the cities Selinon, Panopolis or Chemmis; Thomum, Chenoboscium. Map 12, Ancient Egypt under Antoninus Pius. The Panopolis of the Greeks was north of Koptos and Thebes.

Herodotus places Pan among the eight great gods who preceded the rest. The most important passages in his writings are the following: II, 46, "τον Πανα των οκτώ θεών λογιζονται ειναι οι Μενόησιοι· τοις δέ οκτώ θεοις τούτους, προτέρους των ένώδεκα θεών φαμι γενέσθαι· γραφουσι τε εή και γλύφουσι οι ζωγράφοι και οι άγυλματοποιοι του Πανός τώγυλμα, κατάπερ Έλληνες, αίγοπρόσωπον και τραγοσκελέα." Kenrick's *Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 75 note. It is singular that no such representation has yet been found; Rawlinson's *Translation*, Vol. II, p. 85, note 4. *Cf. Herodot.*, II, 145. According to him Pan among the Egyptians was a most ancient divinity, but among the Greeks later than the Trojan War by 800 years. VI, 105, the historian relates

how Pan appeared on Mount Parthenius, above Tegea, to the courier Phidippides, when he was sent to seek aid from the Spartans against the Persians, previously to the battle of Marathon. He also mentions the cave of Pan and its position under the Acropolis (*ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πάνος ἱερὸν*) as we see it on a rare Attic coin. The worship of this deity at Athens doubtless arose from the belief that he had assisted the Greeks by striking terror into their enemies.

Beulé, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 394, with three engravings; p. 395, "La grotte de Pan est non seulement très reconnaissable, mais l'exemplaire du cabinet de Paris que j'ai fait dessiner nous présente le dieu assis dans sa grotte et jouant de la flûte. Ainsi, ce n'était point par une vaine fiction qu' Euripide montrait le dieu Pan faisant retentir les Longs Rochers du son de sa flûte et excitant aux danses légères les trois filles d'Agraulé, dont le sanctuaire était voisin. P. 394, (La médaille montre) les Propylées avec leur fronton, le colosse en bronze de Minerve et le Parthenon, avec sa toiture continue qu'aucune ouverture n'interrompt. P. 395. Le grand escalier de marbre blanc qui conduisait aux Propylées a du être restauré et remanié sous Adrien. Ce serait sous Adrien que les monnaies commémoratives auraient été frappées."

Pan presided over pastures, forests, flocks, shepherds and hunters, so we find him connected with other rural deities. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, v. 705 :—

"In shadier bower  
More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd,  
Pan or Silvanus never slept, nor nymph  
Nor Faunus haunted."

Faunus is probably the Latin form of the Greek Πάν—the letters F and P being frequently interchanged, e.g. German *funf*, Greek *πέντε*: English *fell* (as in fellmonger) Latin *pellis*, v. Professor Key *On the Alphabet*, Letter F.

Cowper, *The Task*, Book VI, 231–234.

"Him blind antiquity profaned, not served,  
With self-taught rites, and under various names,  
Female and male, Pomona, Pales, Pan,  
And Flora, and Vertumnus."

At an early period the name Pan was supposed to come from *πᾶς*, *πᾶν*, the Greek adjective for *all*; hence we read in the Homeric Hymn 18, "ὅτι φρένα πᾶσιν ἔτερψεν." Again this incorrect derivation was used for another purpose; in later times the legends of Pan were enlarged, and he was regarded as a symbol of Nature, so Milton, *ibid.*, v. 266 :—

"while universal Pan,  
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,  
Led on the eternal Spring."

Lastly, an epithet used by Shakespeare corresponds well with the representations of Pan in ancient art which we have already noticed—horned and goat-legged, "a voluptuous and sensual being," *King Lear*, Act I, Scene 2. An admirable evasion of "whore-master man, to lay his *goatish* disposition to the charge of stars!"—text of Halliwell's edition, Vol. XIV, p. 378. See Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archæologie und Kunst*, Zweites Heft (Die Dämonen der Gebirge,

Walder, Fluren und Felder, 1) Panen, Panisken, Paninen, pp. 161-163; Tab. XX, Nos. 7-9: XXI, Nos. 1-5; and Baumeister, *Denkmaler des Klassischen Altertums*, Band II, pp. 1147-1151, Figs. 1340-1345, esp. 1340, Pan und Olympus. Welcker, *ibid.*, p. 1148, says, "Pan ursprünglich ein Lichtgott (=  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ), welchem ewiges Feuer auf Altären brennt und Fackelläufe gehalten werden"—*Pausanias*, VIII, xxxvii, 8, " $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omega\ \tau\acute{o}\ \Pi\alpha\nu\iota\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\beta\epsilon\nu\acute{\nu}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ." Comp. the Bacchæ of Euripides edited by Dr. Sandys, Public Orator in the University of Cambridge. The frontispiece is a Bacchanalian relief encircling a marble vase in the British Museum: Description of the woodcuts, p. cxiv sq. The last group closes with the goat-legged Pan—his left arm carrying an amphora of wine—the cut is reduced from Combe's *British Museum Marbles*, Part II Plate VII, a very fine engraving; but this figure is called a Satyr I think, incorrectly.

To Livy's notice of the *Senones*, V, 35, cited above, we may add *Florus*, lib. I, cap. 13, *Bellum Gallicum*, init. edit. Delphin, reprinted by Valpy, p. 73 seq., "Galli Senones, gens natura ferox, moribus incondita, ad hoc ipsa corporum mole, perinde armis ingentibus adeo omni genere terribilis fuit, ut plane nata ad hominum interitum, urbium stragem videretur."

Many references to the writings of M. Julliot, the local antiquary at Sens, show how much I am indebted to him; without his kind assistance the compilation of this Memoir would have been impossible.