ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM AT PALERMO.

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Sicily presents to the ordinary tourist attractions which in number and variety can hardly be surpassed. It is impossible to speak of this insular paradise without calling to mind the beautiful outlines of its valleys and mountains, the luxuriance of an almost tropical vegetation, and the delicious climate tempered by the sea-breezes of the Mediterranean. But works of Art, not the charms of external nature, are the subject with which we are concerned at present. In Sicily at a remote period the Greeks founded colonies which still survive, though with tarnished splendour; they reared on the most commanding heights[1] temples of stupendous size, majestic in their severe simplicity; they hollowed out of the hill sides theatres open to the sky, remarkable for their picturesque situation, vast extent and acoustic properties.[2] Carthage and Rome long contended here for supremacy, but left comparatively few traces behind them.[3] On the other

[1] The temple of Segesta, "on the brow of a lofty rock impending perpendicularly over the river," occupies a more striking situation than any other in Sicily. Swinburne, "Travels in the Two Sicilies," vol. ii, pp. 232-235, describes it fully, and at p. 236 gives a view of the country near Segesta, which shows, besides the temple, the castle of Calatifimi and Cape San Vito. Compare Bartlett, quoted by Dennis, "Handbook for Sicily," p. 149.

[2] Of the theatres the most remarkable are those at Syracuse, Segesta and Taormina. Gregorovius, "Siciliana," pp. 262 sq., in eloquent language notices the poetical and historical associations connected with the great theatre of Syracuse. Rheinhard, "Album des Classischen Alterthums," Tafel 54, Theater zu Egesta, exhibits a restoration, after H. Strack; the spectator is supposed to look towards the North, hence the engraving includes mountains on both sides of the Gulf of Castellamare and the open sea beyond. At Taormina the *cavea* could accommodate 40,000 persons; from its uppermost seats the finest prospect in Sicily, perhaps in the whole world, was visible, embracing the outline of Etna from the shore to the summit, and the Eastern Coast of Sicily as far as Plemmyrium.

[3] When we consider how long and how widely Carthaginian domination prevailed in the island, the paucity of Punic remains seems really astonishing. Some fragments of masonry at Motya and Lilybaeum, sarcophagi and Phœnician characters on coins are almost the sole representatives of this ancient civilization. The didrachms usually, but not with absolute certainty, attributed to Panormus, have Punic legends under the horse's head, *caput acris equi*, on the reverse; compare Hunter's "Catalogue," Tab. 41, fig. 2, where Punic letters appear on one side of the coin, and Greek on the other. It is much to be regretted that the work of Professor Salinas on "Sicilian Numismatics," from which we might expect great assistance in this department, has not yet been completed.

hand, succeeding races have deeply impressed their mark on Sicilian architecture. It is indebted to Byzantium for its magnificent mosaics, displaying the conventional forms adopted under the Lower Empire; it derived from Saracen invaders pointed arches, honey-combed ceilings, and inscriptions that blend harmoniously with arabesques;[1] lastly, it received from the Normans an admixture of novel elements—the chevron, dog-tooth, billet-moulding, and grotesque figures.[2] However, I must not expatiate on so wide a field, which others have often traversed; confining my remarks within narrow limits, I shall invite attention to some objects in the Museum at Palermo, which, with a single exception, have been altogether omitted by English writers or noticed very imperfectly.

It is only right to state, in limine, that the following notes have little claim to originality. I am indebted for most of them to the publications of the local antiquaries, especially Professors Salinas and Basile, but I do not in all cases accept the conclusions at which they have arrived.

I. Some of the antiquities at Palermo are already well-known. Amongst them the most conspicuous are the Selinuntine Metopes; though individual figures are surpassed by others, as a *series* extending from the rudest

[1] Near Palermo we have in the Palaces Cuba and Zisa the best examples of the Saracenic style. Swinburne, vol. ii. p. 222, gives an engraving of "La Torre Zizza," but his description of the arches is incorrect. A more accurate account of these buildings is supplied by Mr. Sydney Smirke's "Observations on the Origin of the Pointed Arch in Architecture," *Archæologia*, vol. xxi, pp. 521—533, see especially pp. 523-529, and at p. 524, Plate xxiv, "The Kooba near Palermo," Plate xxv, "Specimen of the enriched corbelling at the Kooba." The former plate shows "Arabic inscriptions, which form a kind of frieze over the cornice along the whole front." There is a striking resemblance between the pendent ornaments in this palace and the stalactite work in the minarets at Constantinople. The Cuba and Zisa are not far apart, and at a little distance from the Porta Nuova, by which the traveller proceeds to Monreale; they are marked in Baedeker's Map I Contorni di Palermo, "Guide for Southern Italy and Sicily," p. 249. It is worthy of remark that the modern name of the city is derived from the Mahometan Bulirma, just as Pamplona comes from Bambilonah.

We may at first be surprised to find so few traces of Moorish rule in Sicily, as compared with the monuments of the same people in Spain; but the difference is easily explained. The Arabs met with no formidable resistance from the Byzantine Greeks, and during their three hundred years' occupation of the island, they were as unsettled as the robber-states of Africa; in the latter case they had to encounter an established and well-ordered monarchy, their energies were roused by the contest, and they founded a kingdom which was permanent as well as flourishing; Gregorovius, "Siciliana," pp. 99-101.

[2] Gally Knight, quoted by Dennis, "Handbook for Sicily," Introduction, p. xxviii. Mr. Fergusson, "History of Architecture," vol ii, p. 270, says there is hardly anything in Sicilian architecture, indicative of purely Norman taste or feelings. I think that those who have made a *special* study of the subject will not be inclined to agree with this opinion.

archaic style to the period that approaches perfection, they stand pre-eminent.[1] Next to them in importance we may rank the Syracusan Ram, of which a full description has appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.[2] Passing by these famous monuments, I proceed to a bronze Caduceus presented by the Director of the Museum, Signor Salinas, who is also Professor of Archæology in the University. It deserves consideration for two reasons : it is singular in its form, and it bears an inscription that throws some light both on philology and geography.

An account of this Caduceus has been written by Baldassare Romano in the Giornale di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti per la Sicilia, and by Salinas for the Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica at Rome It was discovered early in the present century near Nissoria[3] at Rocca di Serlone, a little below the surface, fixed vertically between stones and earth, with the serpents uppermost. According to Salinas, the shaft bears two inscriptions, IMAXAPAION OΣION, and Γ . . . ΛMA . . . ION ; the former words having been cut over the latter, which are in fainter characters, and cannot now be read so as to afford any connected meaning. But I think Salinas is mistaken in speaking of two inscriptions. Professor Percy Gardner pointed out to me that the word ΔAMOΣION is legible here ; it occurs also on the Caduceus from Longanus in the British Museum.[4] We ought, therefore, to read IMAXAPAION ΔAMOΣION, *i.e.*, the public Caduceus of the Imacharenses. The antiquity of the inscription is shown by the use of O for Ω in the genitive plural.[5]

[1] Some of the metopes are engraved in C. O. Muller's "Denkmaler der alten Kunst," edit. Wieseler, vol. i, Plates iv and v, Nos. 24—27b. Good photographs of the series may be obtained at Palermo from Giuseppe Incorpora.

[2] "Transactions," June 22, 1870. This memoir by the Rev. S. S. Lewis was also published in the "Journal of Philology," vol. iv. Compare an article by Heydemann in the "Archaologische Zeitung," New Series, 3rd vol., pp. 1, 2, Tafel 25, 1870—1871, entitled "Der Bronzewidder im Museum zu Palermo."

[3] Nissoria is marked in Baedeker's Map of Sicily, at a little distance east of Leonforte, an important station on the railway from Girgenti to Catania.

[4] Longanus was a city on the north coast of Sicily, near Mylae. The caduceus from this place is in the Bronze Room of the British Museum, and in the same case with the celebrated Elean inscription. The words in the shaft appear to be ΛOΓΓENAIOΣ EMI ΔHMOΣIOΣ. Case 44, 45 contains another caduceus, where the snakes are bearded and crested, but the beard is parallel to the lower jaw, not at right angles to it, as in the Palermitan example. The latter mode of representing the beard occurs in a small ornament that seems to have belonged to some larger object, case 49.

[5] H and Ω were first used for public documents at Athen[illegible]; was Archon. B.C. 403.

The upper part of the Caduceus consists of two serpents twisted, with the heads facing each other, which is the most common form; though we sometimes find them turned in opposite directions.[1] Underneath each head is a projection, which, at first sight, might lead one to suppose that the artist intended to represent the gaping jaws of snakes, which open very widely. But a closer inspection convinces us that this is not the case. It has been suggested that these projections, which are at right angles to the heads, were only added as pegs to hang fillets or garlands upon: Salinas, however, is probably right in saying that the snakes are bearded, for so they frequently appear on Greek coins, especially on those of Alexandria; though such an appendage does not occur in nature, and is absolutely impossible. The length of the Caduceus is fifty-two centimetres.[2]

This wand is most common in the hand of Mercury, but it does not by any means follow that in the present case it belonged to a statue of that deity, as an accessory or attribute. For in the first place there is no mention of any vestige of such a statue having been found near the Caduceus, and secondly, instances of this staff carried by a herald are not wanting. One is given by Montfaucon to illustrate the word Caduceator, and others from fictile vases may be seen in Rich's "Companion to the Latin Dictionary."[3] For these reasons, taking also into account the position of the Caduceus and the inscription upon it, we may fairly infer that it was placed by the Imacharenses in a temple as a sign of peace or alliance with some other city.

The manuscripts and editions of Cicero, Pliny, and Ptolemy exhibit the various forms Imachara, Imichara, Imacara, Machara, Macara, Ἡμιχαρα, Ἰμιχαρα; similarly

[1] For numerous representations of the caduceus see Montfaucon, "Antiquite Expliquée," tome i, part 1, Plates lxviii—lxxvi; in Pl. lxxi, 5, the snakes are looking away from each other. Compare Supplement, tome i, "Apres la xxxvi, Planche," Pl. xxxviii.

[2] Dr. Günther, of the Natural History Department in the British Museum, informed me that a snake could no more have a beard than a man could have a head growing out of his elbow. Bearded snakes therefore may be put in the same category with other monstrosities of Greek art, "Gorgons and Hydras and Chimaeras dire," as Milton has grouped them together. So in Cuvier, "Regne Animal," tome iii, Reptiles, pp. 95—138, and Atlas, tome iii, Plates xxiii—xxxvi ter, no example of bearded snakes can be found.

[3] Montfaucon, "Antiquite Expliquee," Supplement, Pl. xxxviii, no 3, which is described in page 100. Rich, s.v. Caduceus and Ceryx.

the inhabitants are called Ymacharenses, Imacharenses, Imagarenses, Magarenses, Macharenses, Acharenses, Hyccarenses, and Hemicharenses. From our inscription it appears that Imachara is the correct appellation; it is sanctioned by Cluverius, and adopted by the best editors of Cicero. The other readings are due to the ignorance and carelessness of transcribers, who could not be familiar with a name so seldom mentioned.[1]

The discovery of the Caduceus near Nissoria. which is south of the Nebrodes mountains and not far from the centre of the island in a north-easterly direction, indicates that the site of Imachara is in this neighbourhood, which agrees with the conclusion drawn from Cicero's Verrine Orations. He is speaking of fields and hills, which he had formerly seen most beautiful and verdant, but which the exactions of Verres had made barren and desolate;[2] and here he names Imachara in juxtaposition with Herbita, Enna, Morgantia,[3] Assorus, and Agyrium, all of which are in the interior, and in the same region as Nissoria. Our inscription, therefore, considered in connection with the passage in Cicero, assists us to correct the error of Fazello, who identifies Imachara with ruins of an ancient city about nine miles north of Pachynum, the southern extremity of the island.[4]

[1] Cicero in Verrem, Actio secunda, Lib. iii, c. xviii, § 47; Pliny, Nat. Hist. iii, 8, s. 14, § 91, edit. Sillig; Ptolemy, Geographia iii, 4, 12. Compare Pape, Worterbuch der Griechischen Eigennahmen, s. v. Ἡμιχάρα ἡ Ἰμιχάρα ahnlich Halbing, Halberstadt; eigentlich Halbhaupt (χάρα=κάρα?) Einwohner Ἡμιχαρῖνοι var. lect. für Ἡνατταρῖνοι, Diod. Sic .xxiii, 32.

[2] Cicero in Verrem, loc. cit., Quos ego campos antea collesque nitidissimos viridissimosque vidissem, hos ita vastatos nunc, ac desertos videbam, ut ager ipse cultorem desiderare, ac lugere dominum videreter. Herbitensis, ager Ennensis, Morgantinus, Assorinus, Imacharensis, Agyrinensis, etc.

[3] As in the case of Imachara, there are several modifications of this name, viz., Murgantia, Morgantium, Murgentia, Morgentia; see Mr. Bunbury's article, s.v. Morgantia in Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.

[4] The Caduceus appears on the coins of Calacte, Menaenum, Cephalœdium, and Tyndaris, Sicilian cities. The first two have a head or bust of Hermes on the obverse, and a caduceus on the reverse. Cephaloedium has the caduceus on both sides; but Tyndaris furnishes a better illustration for our present purpose, as in this case there is a winged caduceus between an *olive-branch* and a stalk of barley, which agrees with the suggestion that the herald's staff might denote peace between Imachara and another city. Catalogue of Greeks coins in the British Museum, Sicily, pp. 32, 58, 97, 236.

Æsculapius has a staff with one snake twined round it as his attribute, so that it can be easily distinguished from the caduceus of Mercury with two snakes; for representations of the former deity, see Montfaucon, "Ant. Expl." tome i, pt. ii, Pl. clxxxv, p. 286 sqq., and Supplement, tome i, Pl. lxviii, p. 174 sqq.; Millin, "Galerie Mythologique," tome i, pp. 24—26. "Explications des Planches," 99—106.

Professor Salinas in his pamphlet entitled "Caduceo degli Imacaresi," p. 5 and

II. The Museum at Palermo contains in the same room with the Selinuntine Metopes three stone lions' heads, which there is good reason to believe are Gargoyles from a temple at Himera. These two cities, Selinus and Himera, were similar in their origin, duration, and destiny, and their remains now share a common repository. They were both founded in the seventh century B.C., attained a high degree of prosperity, and within a year were destroyed by the Carthaginians, B.C. 409. In the history of Himera one event is pre-eminently important, the great victory of Gelo, which, according to Diodorus, was gained there on the same day that the battle of Thermopylae was fought. The Punic general, Hamilcar, was killed, his ships burned, 150,000 Africans slaughtered, and a vast multitude of prisoners taken, who were afterwards employed by the Sicilians on public works; in all probability they erected some of the temples whose ruins are still extant.[1] The coins of Himera by their archaic

note 2, implies that an account of the caducei known to exist is contained in the Archaologische Zeitung vi, 37, but I have been unable to verify the reference. Further information on this subject may be obtained by consulting the Repertorio of the Annali and Bullettini, published by the Istituto Archeologico Romano; at vol. xx, 1848, Tavola d'Aggiunti, there is a curious instance of a caduceus in the form of a fluted column.

Caylus, "Recueil d'Antiquities," vol. iv, p. 35, Plate xii, 2, shows a caduceus on an Egyptian monument, placed in front of a cow, and *ib.*, p. 162, Pl. lx, 2 behind a head, which he supposes to be that of a philosopher, perhaps as a sign of eloquence or of an embassy.

The reader may be amused by a derivation of *caduceus* proposed by Fred. Samuel Schmidt in the *Archæologia*, vol. i, p. 276, "Lucian's Ogmius Illustrated;" he says it is a Celtic word from *cat*, meaning war, dissension, and *ducken*, to press, oppress, and signifies something that is used to settle disputes. Caduceus or caduceum is only a modification of *κηρύκειον*, which is sometimes written *κηρύκιον*; the long *α* in the first syllable corresponds with *η*, or *α* in Doric and Æolic; and according to Forcellini the Tarentines and Syracusans used the form *καρύκεον*. See Forcellini's Lexicon edited by De Vit, and for the interchange of D with R the initial article D in Dr. W. Smith's Latin Dictionary.

In our Inscription the Genitive plural *Ἱμαχαραίων* should be noticed, as it agrees with the usage in Greek autonomous coins; the regal series has the same case but the singular number. A curious exception occurs in the money of the Parthian King Vonones I. (Arsaces XVIII), whose name appears in the nominative; this is accounted for by his long residence in Italy, that caused him to adopt the Roman practice in the legends of his coins; Lindsay, "History of Parthia," pp. 51, 150; Pl. iii, No. 64; Visconti quoted by Orelli, note on Tacitus Ann. ii, 12.

[1] Diodorus, who was a native of Agyrium, in Sicily, enlarges with patriotic pride on the victory of Gelo, lib. xi, cc. 20, 24, 25, *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρα τὸν Γέλωνα νικῆσαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θερμοπύλας μετὰ Λεωνίδου διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς Ξέρξην*. Some of the prisoners built the temples and underground passages for water still remaining at Agrigentum; *πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων . . . ἑκροὰς ὑπόνομοι κατεσκευάσθησαν*. This battle is commemorated by a coin of Himera bearing a figure of Victory with the legend NIKA, where the Doric form should be observed, as it illustrates the statements of the historians that the Syracusan exiles joined with the Zancleans in founding the city, and that Theron of Agrigentum at a later period brought Dorian settlers into it; Thucydides vi, 5, *φωνὴ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη*; Diodor. Sic. xi, 49.

and transitional styles show that it flourished at an early period, and as Professor Salinas, the best authority on this subject, assures us, they also bear testimony to changes in its form of government.[1]

Diodorus relates that Hannibal, to avenge the death of his grandfather, Hamilcar, utterly destroyed the city and razed it to the ground; he adds that even down to his own time, the Augustan Age, the site remained uninhabited.[2] Hence we need not be surprised that its exact position has been a matter of controversy; however, the Sicilian antiquaries seem now agreed in placing it near the embouchure of the Fiume Grande, south of Bonfornello. Ancient sepulchres, a portion of a wall, painted vases, and many fragments of pottery have been discovered there. As far back as 1823 Palmeri visited Himera; he suspected that the most precious remains were amongst the buildings of Bonfornello, and expressed an opinion that vestiges of a temple might reward a search. For a long time these suggestions were neglected, but in 1861 Professor Giuseppe Meli,[3] with the assistance

Victory holds in her hand an aplustre or acrostolium, bound with a fillet; it may refer to the burning of Carthaginian ships, which contributed materially to Gelo's success, or possibly to some naval action not recorded by the historians. Compare the coins of Rhodes, where the same device symbolizes the maritime ascendency of that island. A crab on the drachmae of Himera indicates Agrigentine colonists, as the emblem of Neptune was derived from the city of Theron; it may be seen there even now upon modern buildings, as an architectural decoration.

[1] In a tetradrachm we have the unusual device of water falling out of a lion's mouth on the chest or shoulder of a male figure, variously described as a Faun, Paniscus or Silenus, so that there is a striking coincidence with the form of the gargoyles as mentioned above. This series, including Thermæ Himeraeae, contains three types of great interest, because they seem to be derived from statues noticed by Cicero in his Verrine Orations, viz., a female head with mural crown, an old man leaning on a staff and reading a book, and a youth seated on a he-goat. The first is a personification of Himera, the second is the lyric poet Stesichorus, the third bears some resemblance to a figure, which Cicero says excited his admiration, though he was not a connoisseur in such matters: In Verrem, Act. ii, Lib. ii, c. 35.

Lastly, a coin with a cock on the obverse reminds us of Pindar's twelfth Olympic Ode in honour of Ergoteles, a resident at Himera, who is compared with this bird, *Ἐνδομάχας ἅτ' ἀλέκτωρ.* The cock is generally supposed to be an emblem of Aesculapius, and to symbolize the beneficial effects of the hot springs, from which the later name Thermæ was derived; but some have seen in this device an allusion to the earlier appellation Himera, *Ἰμέρα*, according to Plato, Cratylus, sec. 75, an archaism for *Ἡμέρα*; *Οἷον δι μεν ἀρχαιότατοι ἱμέραν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ ἐμέραν, οἱ δὲ νὺν ἡμέραν.* Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. i, p. 211, sq., s.v. Himera Thermæ; Leake, Numismata Hellenica, Insular Greece, p. 58; Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum, Sicily, pp. 76—84.

[2] Diodor. Sic. xiii, 62, *τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψεν.* xi. 49, *διέμεινεν ἀοίκητος μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρων.*

[3] Professor Giuseppe Meli has written a useful catalogue of objects of art brought from the monastery of S. Martino delle Scale, and deposited in the Museum at Palermo; this collection includes medals, majolica plates and vases, drawings, manuscripts with miniatures, pictures, &c.

of some local residents, examined these buildings, and found shafts of fluted columns arranged so as to show that the temple was hexastyle and peripteral.[1] In March of the following year excavations were commenced, which brought to light some architectural members and the Gargoyles now deposited in the Museum at Palermo.[2] From this date till 1877, when Salinas published his Memoir, entitled "Le Grondaje del Tempio d'Imera," the investigation appears to have been suspended in consequence of want of funds and exorbitant demands made by the proprietors.

These relics help us to form some idea of the temple as it stood before its beauty was defaced by Punic violence; being executed in a very hard material, cretaceous limestone, they are well preserved, while the columns of softer tufo have suffered greatly from external agencies. Originally a gargoyle, two channels, and a portion of the cornice were made of one block, but so much was shattered in the fall that none of the blocks are now complete, and the Museum possesses three heads broken off in the same way, a part of the cornice, and two stones containing the channels only. A piece of metal also has been preserved, which was used in joining two stones of the cornice; it seems that they were united by a process of dovetailing, and that lead was afterwards poured in to make the small stone inserted fit in the large ones more accurately.[3]

The lions' heads bear a general resemblance to each other, with some diversity in details as we might expect from that fertility of invention which characterised the

[1] *i.e.*, it had six columns at either end and columns along the sides. This plan was usually adopted in the Doric Temples of Sicily, as may be seen by comparing the structures still remaining at Segesta and Agrigentum, or the fragmentary ruins at Selinus. The great Temple of Neptune at Paestum is a conspicuous example of the same arrangement in Magna Graecia. Scharf's Introduction to "Wordsworth's Greece," pp. 28, 30.

[2] Mr. Dennis has noticed these Gargoyles in the briefest manner possible; partly on this account I describe them at some length.

[3] For the use of metal in joining stones see "The Unedited Antiquities of Attica," published by the Society of Dilettanti; Rhamnus, chap. vi, Temple of Nemesis, Plate viii, Plan of the Lacunaria, "The whole was strongly fastened together by means of cramps run in with lead." Mr. C. T. Newton, "Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidæ," vol. i, Plate xvii, Mausoleum, Plan of the Pyramid showing the positions of the Ridges and Cramps. In vol. ii, part i, pp. 169, 172, 173, 178, cramp-holes and cramp-marks are mentioned; comp. vol i, Pls. xxvi, Fig. 8; xxvii, Figs. 4, 7, 8.

Greeks.[1] In the vigour and breadth with which the subject is treated we also recognise a good period of art, so that these remains confirm the historical accounts which have been briefly noticed above. On the other hand, the gutters are exactly alike in their dimensions, and each is divided into two channels by three ribs, of which the central one has a part broken off a little before it reaches the gargoyle; this of course was done to facilitate the flow of water from the fluted and projecting lion's tongue. The alteration appears to have been an after-thought, as it was effected by irregular blows of the chisel, while in the rest of the work the surface is perfectly smooth.[2] Amongst the fragments of the cornice under the gargoyles an owl's beak has been found. Can it be regarded as an indication that the temple was dedicated to Minerva, who has this bird for an attribute?[3] External evidence would lead us to suppose that Saturn was the deity worshipped here; Gelo imposed it as a condition of peace on the Carthaginians that they should not offer human sacrifices to Saturn, and Himera being the only independent Greek city in these parts would be naturally exposed to Punic influences.[4] An argument in favour of this opinion may be derived from a silver coin bearing the head of this god with his name in Greek characters, ΚΡΟΝΟΣ.[5] However, the attribution of the temple is at present uncertain, and we can only hope that further researches will decide it.

The gargoyles are larger than we should expect, judging from the small size of the columns that have already been found, but this apparent want of symmetry may, like

[1] In the British Museum there are ten lions' heads belonging to a cornice of the Mausoleum, all different; the examples from the Temples of Athene Polias at Priene and Diana at Ephesus present fresh varieties.

[2] Mr. C. T. Newton, ib. vol. ii, pt. i, page 171, Restoration of the Mausoleum. At intervals were antefixal lions' heads, which served as spouts to the gutters at the back. . . . The bottom of the gutter inclines slightly towards the centre, in order to carry off the water through the lions' heads. Their position in the cymatium is shown, Pls. xviii south side, xix west front, xxii Details of the Order; Pl. xxx exhibits on a large scale three views of a Lion's head.

[3] Mr. Dennis, "Handbook for Sicily," p. 174, describing the Temple E (see his plan p. 169) on the eastern height at Selinus, says that the becco di civetta or owl's-beak moulding occurs in the Capitals of the Antae.

[4] Thucyd. vi, 62. ἤπερ μόνη ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς Σικελίας Ἑλλας πόλις ἐστίν. Cf. vii, 58.

[5] Salinas speaks of this coin, which is a litra, as unique, and as belonging to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer of Winterthur: I have seen one that agrees with his account in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

other difficulties, be explained when the site has been fully cleared.

Perhaps the most interesting feature in this discovery is the evidence of polychrome which it supplies; as soon as the fragments were disinterred a red tint in the lips of the lion was observed, and afterwards, on placing the objects in a better light, Professor Salinas noticed that the altered surface (patina) of the cornice showed traces of a painted maeander and an ovolo immediately under it; what the original colours of these ornaments were, cannot now be even conjectured.[1]

Abundant illustrations of the use of lions' heads as gargoyles are supplied by the Unedited Antiquities of Attica, published by the Dilettanti Society. Plate 3, chapter iii, proves that this ornamental spout was adopted in the Ionic order as well as in the Doric. "The back of the cymatium of the cornice was channelled for the purpose of forming a gutter, and the lions' heads in front were perforated." But the best examples are from the Temple of Diana-Propylaea, plates 3 & 4, chap. v, in the former of which we see each block of the sima ornamented with two lions' heads of bold projection.[2]

III. The Mosaics are the glory of Palermo; they are the first objects that rivet the attention of the traveller,

[1] For the painted decoration of Greek Temples in Sicily see Hittorff, "Restitution du Temple d'Empedocle à Selinonte," 8vo. vol. of text with atlas of fine coloured plates, *Paris*, 1851.

[2] Stuart, "Antiquities of Athens," vol. ii, c. i, Pl. 6, Elevation of the Portico of the Parthenon; Pl. 9, capital and entablature of the columns of the Portico. Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia herausgegeben von E. Curtius, F. Adler und G. Treu, Vol. i, pl. xxvii, 2 Lowenkopfe mit sima vom Zeus-Tempel; pl. xxx, architectur fragmente in Thon und Marmor, &c. Dr. Birch, "Ancient Pottery," ii, 253, has a section on gutter-spouts of terra-cotta. The most ordinary form was a lion's head, but masks comic and tragic, with open shell-shaped mouths, and heads of dogs and panthers were also used. These objects were generally of the same piece as the gutter-tile, so that in this respect they resembled the gargoyles at Himera. Vitruvius does not give us any word exactly corresponding to gargoyle, but *colliquiae*, akin to liqueo, liquor, liquidus, occurs in his writings, and means a gutter for carrying the water from the roof into the impluvium; vi, 3, colliquias ab angulis parietum ad angulos tignorum intercurrentes: cf. Forma iii, f. colliquiae, Einkehlen, ed. Rode.

The gargoyles of the Middle Ages differ considerably from the classical types: they show greater variety of grotesque forms — animal, human, and daemoniacal; they generally project much further from the wall; they are often furnished with leaden pipes from which the water issues; and they are sometimes placed in front of a buttress. In ancient gargoyles no signs of lead have been found, as far as I am aware, and buttresses were very rarely employed by the Greeks and Romans, because their roofs were lighter, and their walls were not weakened by the insertion of windows. Parker's Glossary, Text, and Illustrations in vol. ii, pt. i, Pl. 95; Architectural Publication Society, "Dictionary of Architecture," engravings chiefly of examples in Somersetshire churches.

and when he has left this beautiful city, they remain most deeply engraved on his memory. Architecture in their case is subordinate to painting, and we, therefore, look back on the Cappella Palatina and the Duomo of Monreale as shrines inclosing the chefs-d'œuvre of mediæval mosaicists.[1] These magnificent works charm the lover of the picturesque by their gorgeous colouring, their colossal size, and their variety of subjects, at the same time that they interest the historical enquirer by an intermixture of different styles—Classical, Byzantine, Arabic, and Norman—for which it would be hard to find a parallel.[2] But, after all, these monuments are not the highest art, for they were executed under the influence of a degenerate sacerdotalism, and though the figures have a solemn and mysterious grandeur that inspires the beholder with awe, they want the beauty and animation which we admire in ancient Greece.[3]

Palermo contains examples of mosaics in this better style, which are not generally known, and have not been described by any English traveller. They were found amongst the remains of a building in the Piazza Vittoria, formerly called Reale, a large open space with the Royal Palace on its west side, and the Corso Vittorio Emanuele on the north. A glance at these pavements is sufficient to show their superiority, and to convince all except those who depreciate classical antiquity, and reserve their praise for clumsy imitations of it executed in later ages. The discovery was made accidentally in December, 1868, on the occasion of a fête offered by the city to Prince Umberto and his Consort, now King and Queen of Italy.

[1] Il Duomo di Monreale illustrato e riportato in Tavole chromo-lithografiche da D. Domenico-Benedetto Gravina, Abate Cassinese, folio, reproduces the drawing and colouring of the mosaics with great fidelity; cf. Serra di Falco, Del Duomo di Monreale e di altre Chiese Siculo Normanne.

[2] Gally Knight quoted by Dennis, "Handbook for Sicily," p. 72.

The Cappella Palatina contains within a small space columns with Corinthian capitals, the Temple of Jerusalem depicted as a Byzantine church, Saracenic honeycomb work in the roof, and Norman chevrons in the pulpit; Dennis, ibid. 72—77.

[3] Lübke, Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte I, 261. In diesen Formen, in diesen Satzungen eines ausserlichen Ceremoniells erstarrt die byzantinische Kunst und bewährt aufs Neue, dass nur aus wahrhaft geistigem Leben eine Entwicklung der Formen entspringen kann, und dass ein ausserlicher Dogmatismus der Tod aller Entwicklung ist. Kugler, "Handbook of Painting," Italian Schools, edit. Eastlake, vol. i, 25 sqq., The Byzantine style.

A popular account of the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and Monreale is given by Mr. G. F. Rodwell, South by east, "Notes of Travel in Southern Europe," pp. 189-193; the frontispiece and engraving opposite page 190 show their position in the buildings.

For some time the mosaics remained in situ, only protected by a shed (tettoja), and were much injured by exposure to rain ; they were, therefore, removed for better preservation to the National Museum, where they are now accessible to visitors.[1]

No account has been given of this building either by writers contemporaneous with the probable date of its erection, or by those who flourished subsequently. Hence, a wide door stands open for the conjectures in which Italian archæologists have freely indulged. The Abate Di Marzo sees here the Aula Regia mentioned by Falcando as being under the new palace of the Norman Kings. Signor Pitrè, agreeing with the French and German authorities, assigns the edifice to Roman times ; he considers that it was originally public, but afterwards applied to private uses ; he also expresses an opinion that it was once the palace of the Quaestors.[2] This last notion seems improbable, as under the Republic there were two Quaestors for Sicily, one residing at Lilybaeum, and the other at Syracuse ; which was obviously a convenient arrangement, because these two places were remote from each other. I believe there is no mention of a Quaestor at Panormus (Palermo), nor was the city sufficiently important at this period to require the presence of such an officer.[3] Signor Starabba endeavours to refute Di Marzo's opinion, remarking that the extent of the monument excavated does not correspond with the place in which William I. assembled the people, and still less with the vast structure that, according to the Arabic historian—Ibn Giobair—included a hall of Council, residences for courtiers, a Roman amphitheatre, etc.[4]

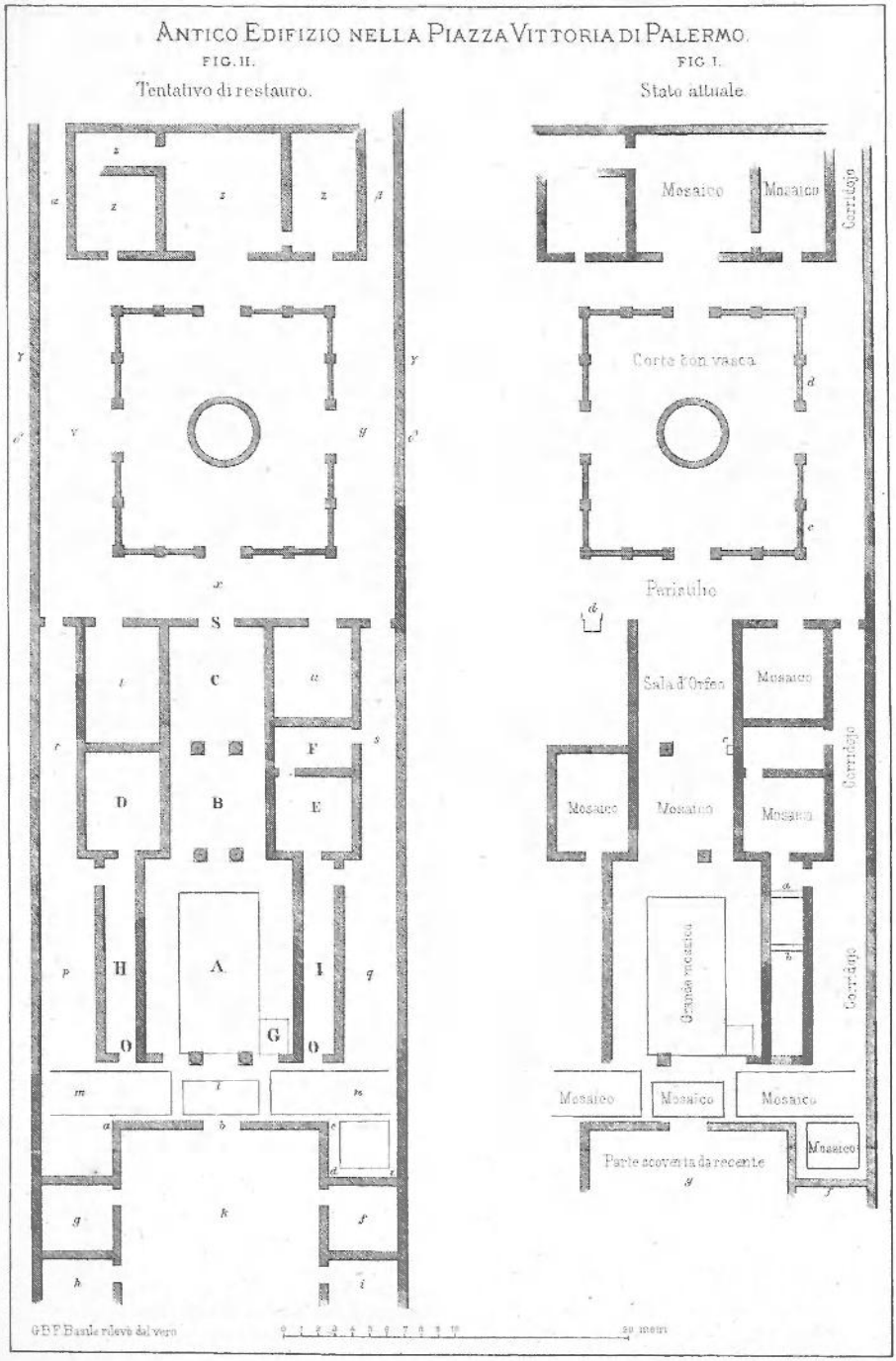
Professor Basile, in a memoir recently published by the Academy of Science, Literature and Art at Palermo, has considered this building almost exclusively from an architectural point of view. M. Aubé's plan being defective,

[1] Sull'antico edifizio della Piazza Vittoria in Palermo Memoria del Socio, Prof. G. B. F. Basile, p. 3.

[2] Prof. Basile, ib. p. 6.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, Act. ii, lib. ii, c. 4, s. 11. Quaestores utriusque provinciae, qui isto praetore fuerant, cum fascibus mihi praesto fuerunt. Cf. Pro Plancio xxvi, 64, 65. Cicero served as Lilybaean Quaestor under the Praetor Sextus Peducæus. An interesting narrative of his administration of the province and return thence to Rome will be found in Middleton's "Life of Cicero," vol. i, 65-69.

[4] The Norman Ugo Falcando has described the Palace of the Arabian Emirs at Palermo ; see a quotation from his writings in Gregorovius, "Siciliana," p. 132.



FROM BASILE, SUL ANTICO EDIFIZIO NELLA PIAZZA VITTORIA, PALERMO.

because it did not distinguish ancient constructions from modern, the Professor has appended to his essay a diagram where ancient walls of which only the foundations exist are marked with a single line, those which still appear above ground with a double line and shading, and recent ones with a double line and no shading between. This diagram is accompanied by an attempted restoration, which supplies, from analogy, the parts that are now wanting; so in Fig. II. we have the corridor H and room *t* added as counterparts to corridor I and room *u* respectively. The rooms *h*, *i*, are indicated, but not fully defined, because there is no evidence in the remains to show how far they extended; transverse walls have been drawn in accordance with the symmetry which must have prevailed. These ground plans prove that the usual arrangements of a Roman private house are not carried out here; we do not see the succession of prothyrum, atrium with cubicula round it, tablinum, and peristyle, as in the house of Pansa at Pompeii,[1] which is probably contemporary or nearly so, but in the centre of the building there are three great halls opening into each other. Such a disposition of the apartments seems to indicate that a public office, or basilica, was combined with a private residence; and this theory is confirmed by the double corridors on both sides of the central halls. The inner ones, H and I, would be used by persons approaching the halls, A, B, C, from D, E, etc., ante-rooms for attendants, suitors, or witnesses. It would obviously be convenient that the public halls should have means of ingress and egress distinct from the long corridors, *p*, *q*, that communicated with the private apartments at either end of the building.

An objection to this supposition might be founded on the fact that there is no evidence here of a semi-circular apse, in which basilicæ usually terminated.[2] We might

[1] Gell and Gandy, "Pompeiana," vol. ii, p. 181, give a plan of the House of Pansa with a detailed account of the apartments. Mr. Scharf's "Guide to the Pompeian Court in the Crystal Palace," pp. 38, 39, exhibits many varieties of construction in the private dwellings at Pompeii. Overbeck, Erster Band, s. 296, says of the House of Pansa, "am meisten von allen die Regel darstellt und die characteristichen Raumlichkeiten am vollständigsten enthalt."

[2] The semi-circular arch was used exclusively by the Romans; it appears in their aqueducts, bridges and drains; we see a similar form in the shrines of their deities and in the alcoves (hemicyclia, exedrae) where they met for conversation. Hirt, Die Lehre der Gebaude bei den Griechen und Romern, V Abschnitt § § 4—8, mentions the halbzirkliches Tribunal, and gives many examples: Taf. xxii [vii] Figg. i-vii.

quote in reply instances of the rectangular form, *e.g.*, at Pompeii, where, as in Sicily, Greek influence was strong enough to modify the style usually adopted by the Romans.[1] Professor Basile remarks that other cases are known in which a basilica was combined with a mansion, and calls attention particularly to the palace on the Palatine.

These mosaics here are interesting for two reasons. In the first place they are Græco-Roman, and so belong to a class of which we have few examples in Sicily, though there are abundance of antiquities, both earlier and later. Secondly, they are finer than we might have expected. Sicily, as is well known, suffered much from the exactions of Verres, but injuries still deeper and more lasting were inflicted by the civil wars between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius; the island never recovered its former prosperity, and consequently does not exhibit in its architecture, like other parts of the empire, many proofs of Roman luxury and civilization.[2]

This building was of considerable size, and its decorations sumptuous. Fragments of Corinthian columns with beautiful capitals, mural paintings and tessellated floors bear witness to the skill of the artists employed upon it. In the Mosaics we observe a rich variety of mythological scenes, a fertile invention untramelled by hieratic rules, a natural pose in all the figures, maidenly grace and sweetness in some of the heads, masculine force and animation in others. This monument therefore deserves to be classed among the best of the kind, and will sustain comparison with any that have been excavated at Pompeii.[3]

The most important of these pavements are the following:—1. The Death of Hippolytus; 2. The Great Mosaic

[1] Gell and Gandy, "Pompeiana," vol. ii, Pl. 44, Plan of Forum and Basilica, especially Nos. 14-21. Overbeck i, 128-134; at p. 130 he remarks that there was no apse in this building, though some have regarded it as the criterion of the basilica: cf. Fig. 101, Raum unter der Tribune.

[2] We know the desolate condition of Sicily from the testimony of Strabo, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius, Lib. vi, p. 272, *ἡ δ' ἄλλη κατοικία καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ποιμένων ἡ πλείστη γεγένηται· οὔτε γὰρ Ἰμέραν ἔτι συνοικουμένην ἴσμεν οὔτε Γελαν οὔτε Καλλίπολιν οὔτε Σελινοῦντα οὔτ' Εὐβοιαν οὔτ' ἄλλας πλείους, κ. τ. λ.*

[3] With respect to composition the great mosaic at Palermo is decidedly inferior to the Battle of Issus at Pompeii, but individual heads in the former—*e.g.*, those of Neptune and Apollo, Spring and Autumn, equal, if they do not surpass, any in the latter. Overbeck, "Pompeii," vol. ii, p. 225, has a fine coloured plate "Die Alexander Schlacht."

in the central hall; 3. Orpheus surrounded by birds and beasts: they would be seen in this order by the visitor who proceeds from the principal entrance through the interior. With respect to the first, we may remark that it is too elaborate to have been placed immediately inside the door, as was at one time supposed. In the Pompeian vestibules we only find a simple figure and brief inscriptions, such as *Salve* and *Cave Canem*, but no complicated subjects.[1] The Great Mosaic consists of numerous designs enclosed in ovals, circles and octagons; a double border, the inner part of which is the usual cable pattern, encompasses the whole. Each oval space is filled by a fish, a device that would naturally occur to the inhabitants of a sea-port; it reminds us of the tunny on the coinage of Agrigentum and the dolphin on the Syracusan decadrachms.[2] A seated figure occupies each of the three octagons that form the lowest row[3]; the one in the left hand corner is best preserved, and evidently represents a tragic poet. He supports his chin with his hand in a posture of meditation. On his right is a roll and on his left a mask, which, on account of its height, we may infer to be tragic.[4] The back of the chair is semi-circular, as

[1] The death of Hippolytus figured in relief occupies one end of a sarcophagus in the Duomo at Girgenti, now used as a baptismal font: Dennis, p. 197; Baedeker, p. 275. At Pompeii there is a wall painting which represents Phaedra disclosing her guilty passion for Hippolytus, Gell, vol. ii, Pl. lxxvii. For the dog collared and chained in the action of barking see the Vignette, and the vestibule in the Plan of the House of the Tragic Poet. Gell, vol. i, pp. 142, 143, 145.

[2] Dr. Leith Adams has pointed out to me that the dorsal fins of the fish in one of the ovals enable us to identify it with the marine perch; cf. Cuvier, "Regne Animal," tome iv, p. 16, Les Percoïdes; p. 29. Les Serrans propres, Vulgairement Perches de mer; Atlas, Poissons, Pl. 6, "Ses deux dorsales;" Pl. 7a, Genre Pomatome, "plus abondant du cote de la Sicile."

Admiral Smyth, "Sicily and its Islands," pp. 21-25, under the head Resources, gives an account of the Sicilian fish and fisheries; in the Appendix, No. vi, p. lxvi, is a list of the fish that frequent the Sicilian coasts and waters: for various kinds of perch see p. lxx.

[3] Of the second figure only the legs and feet remain, but to the right of it we see a box (scrinium) containing six rolls according to Heydemann, though there are only four in Basile's engraving; as part of an arm chair is also left, and the design resembles the preceding, we may infer that the subject is a comic poet. The lower half of the third figure is still extant, but there are no accessories by which to identify it.

[4] Tragic masks were usually higher than comic: Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, *s.v.* persona tragica, "the grand *superficies* for stately tragedy"; cf. Juvenal vi, 502, altum ædificat caput, and Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* ὄγκος: Gell, "Pompeiana," i, Pl. 45, Mosaic Pavement in the House of the Tragic Poet: Overbeck, "Pompeii," i, 138, Fig. 106, Eine Reihe Masken; p. 142 "um durch einen hohen Haaraufsatz (den Onkos) das Maas der handelnden Personen zu erhöhen": Rheinhard, "Album des Classischen Alterthums," iv, Theater, 55, Chor.

in the case of the celebrated statues of Menander and Posidippus.[1]

Above the lowest row there were originally four medallions that contained heads of the Seasons: Spring wears a chaplet of leaves and flowers, Autumn has a falx or knife for gathering grapes, Summer is not so clearly defined by special attributes, and Winter has wholly disappeared.[2] It is gratifying to the English antiquary to compare these symbols with relics of Roman art in his own country. A beautiful mosaic at Corinium exhibits in three of the corners as emblems of Spring, Summer and Autumn, heads of Flora, Ceres and Pomona, crowned with flowers, ears of corn, and fruits. These goddesses are here very well distinguished, but we must admit that they are deficient in the beauty of form and expression, which are so striking in their counterparts at Palermo.[3] In the octagon enclosed by the medallions is a female of whom nothing is left but the bust and right arm; she wears a necklace and armlets.[4] On the left of this figure we have a satyr pursuing a Bacchante, the former holds a pedum or shepherd's crook, which is often carried by Pan or attendant Fauns; the latter is recognised by the thyrsus entwined with vine-leaves, and the tambourine (tympanum) used in the worship of Bacchus or Cybele.[5] The corresponding space on the right side is occupied by Jupiter and Leda; the god visits her in the form of a swan, as he is often portrayed on engraved gems. It will

[1] For the roll and curved back of chair compare the plates in Visconti, "Iconographic Ancienne," Pl. 7, No. 1, Moschion; Pl. 17, No. 3, Pythagoras, both seated: Clarac, "Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne," Pl. 841, No. 2118, Menauder; ib. No. 2120, Posidippus; the portrait-statues of these two comedians are well described by A. W. Von Schlegel, "Lectures on Dramatic Literature," xiv, fin. p. 199, English Translation.

[2] Heydemann says that Spring, Summer, and Winter are here portrayed; he distinguishes them by their drapery, Spring having little clothing and Summer less, while Winter is covered to the throat.

[3] The Mosaics at Corinium (Cirencester) are fully explained and illustrated by coloured plates in the work of Messrs. Buckman and Newmarch; the *Archæological Journal* may also be consulted for this subject, *v.* General Index. Cf. Prof. A. H. Church, "Guide to the Corinium Museum," p. 19.

Representations of the Seasons are a frequent subject in Mosaics; *e.g.*, there is probably a reference to them in those discovered at Carthage: Davis, p. 183, Ground Plan of a Punic Mosaic Pavement; p. 191, coloured engraving of head of Ceres.

[4] To the right of the figure we may observe some traces of the golden shower in which Jupiter visited Danae, so that the female may be identified, although so much of the composition has perished.

[5] Jupiter, metamorphosed into a Satyr, pursued Antiope; Ovid, Met. vi, 110.

Addidit, ut Satyri celatus imagine pulchram
Jupiter implerit gemino Nycteïda foetu:

If the group contains allusion to this story, we have three myths of Jupiter in three octagons in the same line.

be observed that there is a certain symmetry in these groups, which is quite in accordance with the practice of ancient art; thus in the pediments of the Parthenon at Athens, and the Temple of Minerva at Ægina, the statues on each side are arranged so as to be parallel with each other.

In the centre of the next row Apollo is seen riding on a griffin, probably with reference to his wanderings amongst the Hyperboreans, as this fabulous animal is said to have lived in Scythia and to have guarded the gold which the Arimaspians endeavoured to obtain.[1] Accordingly we find the griffin on the coins of Panticapæum and the Tauric Chersonesus, Greek cities near this country; but the best analogy for our present purpose is derived from the money of Chalcedon, where Apollo is represented exactly as he appears in the Palermitan mosaic.[2] The octagon on the left encloses the head of Apollo, the one on the right that of Neptune; the former is radiated to show that he is identified with the sun, the latter is distinguished by his trident, and by his "dank and dripping hair."[3] These two deities surpass every other part of the composition; not only are the heads much larger than the rest, but the artists have successfully exerted themselves to exhibit with a pleasing contrast in Apollo a type of youthful beauty, in Neptune a vigorous and venerable age, while a divine sublimity pervades both alike.

The medallions in the centre of the next row contain two heads of Pan, horned as usual;[4] but on the right a

[1] Professor Basile in the memoir quoted above gives an engraving in outline of the Great Mosaic, and a coloured plate of Apollo riding on a griffin, Tav. iii, Dettaglio del Mosaico scoverto nella Vittoria in Palermo, 1869. Forcellini, *s.v.*, Gryps, quotes "Claudian de Sexto Consulatu Honorii," v. 30.

At si Phoebus adest, et frenis grypa jugalem
Riphaeo tripodas repetens detorsit ab axe.

For the combats of griffins with Arimaspians see Herodotus iii, 116, iv, 27, passages which are illustrated by Taylor Combe, "Terra-cottas of the British Museum," Pl. vi, Nos. 7 and 8, and C. O. Müller, "Denkmaler," Pt. ii, Pl. xiii, No. 143, Kampf der Arimaspen mit den Greifen um das Gold in Rhipaïschen Gebirgen.

[2] Eckhel describes the coins of Panticapaeum, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. ii, p. 3; (comp. Hunter's "Catalogue," Gryphi alati cum capite radiato pars anterior ad sinistram) and those of the "Tauric Chersonesus," *ib.* p. 2. A bronze coin of Chalcedon is engraved in the "Denkmaler," loc. cit. No. 141. Apollon auf einem greife herabschwebend. Æschylus, "Prometheus," v. 809, applies the epithet *ὀξύστομος*, sharp-beaked, to the griffins; this feature is very conspicuous in the mosaic.

[3] The white hair of Neptune, perhaps, represents the foam of the sea.

[4] In expression and general appearance these heads bear some resemblance to Pan, as seen on the coins of Panticapæum (Hunter's "Catalogue," Tab. xli, No. 10) or in a Terra-cotta in the British Museum (Plate xxiv, No. 45); comp.

peculiarity presents itself. The semi-circular space near the edge is decorated with an arabesque pattern, which proves that this edifice was inhabited by the Saracens, or by Normans who employed workmen of that nation. The succeeding line also shows a novel feature; Byzantine crosses, somewhat like Maltese, composed of little triangles, will be observed in the centre of each octagon where the original design has been obliterated, so that here again we have evidence of occupation by a people differing in religion from the first builders.[1] Enough, however, remains of the Roman work to enable us to explain its motives. On the left we have probably Diana seated on a stag, represented as in a bronze coin of Faustina Senior;[2] the central octagon is filled by the group of Jupiter, in the form of a bull, and Europa, the latter draped to the feet;[3] on the right a nude female is seen riding on a marine monster, perhaps a Nereid. A symmetrical arrangement is adopted here, as before.

Beyond this line the tessellated pavement has suffered so much injury that a full account of the designs is impossible. A square is drawn in the centre with a medallion at each corner enclosing a large star.[4] On the right side of this square is part of a female figure crowned, veiled, and carried aloft on the back of a bird. This group is probably Juno seated on a flying peacock. In repairing the mosaic a pattern has been inserted which bears some

"Denkmaler," Part ii, Pl. xlii, No. 523; Pl. xliv, No. 556: Hirt., "Bilderbuch für Mythologle," Zweites Heft., s. 161, Taf. xx, xxi. But perhaps the projections on the top of the heads are not horns, they may be stiff curls or fins; the latter, taken in connection with the green colour of the hair, would indicate marine deities.

[1] Crosses of different kinds are a striking characteristic in the Byzantine series; some approximate to the Maltese, *e.g.*, John I. Zimisces, Reverse; Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, Pl. xlviii, No. 5.

[2] Apollo and Diana are twins, similar in character and form, with the sexual distinction but slightly marked; their actions and attitudes are often the same, so here Apollo rides on a griffin, and Diana, if my attribution is correct, on a stag: Müller, "Archaol. der Kunst.," sec. 364, Remark 5. "Artemis with torches, borne by a stag, coin of Faustina, Pedrusi v, 13, 3." More frequently she drives a chariot drawn by stags, as in the Phigaleian Frieze (Sir H. Ellis, "Elgin Marbles," vol. ii, p. 193, and Pl. xi at p. 198), and in some Roman Denarii (Cohen, "Medailles Consulaires," Ælia or Allia, p. 7, Pl. i, Ælia, No. 3,) Diane dans un bige de cerfs à droite, tenant deux torches; Axia, p. 55, Pl. vii, Axsia, Nos. 1, 2.

[3] Perhaps we have here Pasiphae and the bull; Virgil, Æneid, vi, 24,

Hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto Pasiphae.

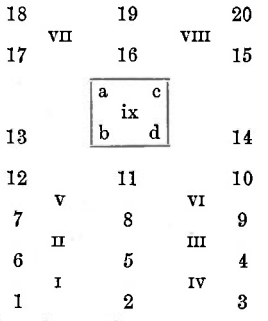
Heyne in his note on this passage refers to Winckelmann, "Monumenti Antichi Inediti," Parte Seconda, pp. 127-129, Tav. 93 and 94; both these engravings of bas-reliefs show Pasiphae standing near the bull, as in the Mosaic.

[4] Four females—one at each corner of the square—support with extended arms a medallion placed in their midst.

resemblance to the lunated shield (pelta) of the Amazons, viz., a crescent with two semi-circular indentations. On the opposite side nothing remains but the hoof and part of the leg of some animal. Above the square two heads and a sea-horse are visible in a fragmentary condition; some arabesques and Byzantine crosses have been subsequently interpolated.[1]

The next hall takes its name, Sala d'Orfeo, from the subject of the mosaic there. It is better preserved than the one just described, but decidedly inferior both in the drawing of individual figures and in the general composition; critics have assigned it to a later period, and some have conjectured the Age of the Antonines as its date. The design reminds us of a wall-painting in the catacombs of San Calixtus at Rome; but in the latter case there is much less variety, Orpheus being attended by two camels, a bull, and lions, while some birds are perched on the branches of trees behind him.[2] At Palermo Orpheus occupies the centre; his importance is shown by his size, which is disproportionately larger than that of the surrounding creatures. He is seated on a rock under a tree, holding the plectrum in his right hand, and supporting a lyre of four strings with his left. He wears, as usual, the Phrygian bonnet, and is clothed in a short tunic extending only as far as the knees, not unlike that in which the Good Shepherd is sometimes represented.[3] Attracted

[1] I have revised my account of the Great Mosaic with the assistance of Heydemann's Article, Antiken in Palermo, "Archaologische Zeitung" for 1869, pp. 38-40, from which the following plan is copied:—



In this scheme the compartments are indicated by numbers, the Arabic representing octagons, and the Roman circles. The mosaic is fifteen paces long by eight broad; it was found about one metre below the present level of the pavement on the north side of the Piazza Vittoria. The entrance of the house to which it belonged looked towards the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, formerly called Cassaro. Before this discovery no important vestiges of the Græco-Roman period had been brought to light at Palermo.

[2] Kugler, "Handbook of Painting," edit. Eastlake, vol. i, p. 15, engraving.

[3] For the similarity of costume between Orpheus and the Good Shepherd, see Lübke. "Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte," vol. i, pp. 251, 252, 255; and compare Fig. 170, Wandgemalde aus den Katakomben von S. Calixtus, with Fig. 174, Aus den Katakomben von S. Agnese. In both these cases the dress is short, but in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna the subject of the Good Shepherd is treated in a different

by the power of music, beasts and birds assemble round the performer, and show by their gestures that they are listening in mute attention.[1] It is easy to identify the horse, bear,[2] bull, lion, stag, hare, antelope, snake, tortoise, and lizard, besides these there are some four-footed animals so imperfectly executed that their denomination is uncertain. Among the birds the ostrich, peacock, and crane are most conspicuous; one perched on the tree seems to be a jay, another to the right of it is perhaps a raven,[3] and a third to the left is possibly a magpie. We may remark that the Fauna of Africa appears in the ostrich and antelope with long straight horns; this is easily accounted for by the proximity of Sicily to that continent, and its close relations, commercial and political, with the Carthaginians.

If we compare this mosaic with the Barton pavement at Corinium, our national vanity may be flattered by observing that the domestic example is, in some respects, superior to the foreign one. In the former case the lyre is kept in its place by the left hand and knee of the musician; in the latter, he awkwardly puts the fingers of his left hand against the strings of the lyre instead of supporting its frame. Secondly, the Corinium mosaic expresses more vividly the influence of music over a savage nature; the beasts of prey have a stealthy look, and move with measured pace, "subdued not maddened" by the Orphic strains. We may also notice another difference between the two compositions; at Corinium the central medallion is surrounded by a circle devoted to birds,[4] and this is separated by a wreath of bay-leaves

manner; he is seated amidst his flock, wears a long robe with ample folds, has a glory round his head, holds a cross in his left hand and caresses a sheep with his right.

[1] There are also shrubs growing out of rocks; probably both are supposed to listen while Orpheus plays on his lyre, Horace, "Odes," i, 12, 12.

Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
Ducere quercus.

Milton, "Paradise Lost," vii, 34.

The Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture.

[2] The bear seldom occurs in ancient works of art: see my remarks, *Archæological Journal*, for 1878, vol. xxxv, p. 402, with reference to Mr. C. W. King's "Memoir" on an antique cameo in which a bear is figured; cf. engraving ibid. p. 103.

[3] The raven seems to be placed over the head of Orpheus because this bird is sacred to Apollo; cf. King's "Antique Gems and Rings," vol. ii, Pl. xv, 7.

[4] Viz., "the duck, goose, hen, peacock, common and silver pheasant. . . . . walking around the circle with rapid strides."

from an outer circle in which the lion, panther, leopard and tiger are portrayed; on the other hand, at Palermo no attempt at classification has been made, but birds, beasts and reptiles are intermingled promiscuously.[1]

This mosaic is in a good state of preservation, which may perhaps be partly accounted for by its subject. The myth of Orpheus was a favourite with the early Christians, and that for more reasons than one. Orphic precepts were held in respect by the Fathers of the Church: no other allegory expressed in a form so attractive the soothing and controlling power of Religion; and, lastly, this old pagan bard with his lyre, surrounded by subject creatures, called to mind the Good Shepherd amidst his flock, with his pastoral flute in his hand—an emblem which the Lord Himself had selected, and which sculpture and painting had rendered most familiar.[2]

IV. Of the smaller objects in the Museum the most remarkable is a Byzantine gold ring. It was discovered by a stone-cutter in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, together with numerous coins and ornaments, in the year 1872. Many pounds' weight of gold from this find were sold at Catania, and some bracelets are said to have been exported to Malta. The ring, however, remained at Syracuse where it was purchased by Professor Salinas; he deposited it in the Museum at Palermo, thus inaugurating a series of Byzantine goldsmiths' work, afterwards increased by the treasure from Campobello.[3]

This ring is of solid gold and weighs 23·1 grammes.

[1] Buckman and Newmarch have fully described the Barton Pavement in their work on "Remains of Roman Art at Cirencester" (Corinium), pp. 32-34, Pl. vii. coloured.

[2] Kugler, "Handbook of Painting," ed. Eastlake, vol. i, p. 8: Seroux D'Agincourt, "History of Art by its Monuments," vol. iii, Painting, Tav. vi. Pitture di diverse camere sepolcrali antiche e di Catacombe Cristiane, II secolo; No. 3 shows Orpheus in an octagon, like those of the Great Mosaic at Palermo, surrounded by eight compartments in which Scriptural subjects and rural scenes alternate: comp. Nos. 1 and 2 of the same plate, and Denkmaler, Part i, No. 431, Wall-painting from Aringhi, "Roma Subterranea," tom. ii, p. 101.

Gregorovius, "Siciliana," p. 44, mentions Orpheus in the Catacombs of Naples "Christus wird als Orpheus vorgestellet." In the same passage he traces back the characteristics of Byzantine art to these subterranean abodes of the early Christians, and thus accounts for the gloomy, almost cadaverous, figures, by which it represented Christ and the Saints.

This mosaic is much smaller than the one previously described, measuring only five paces by four. For some details of the description I am indebted to Heydemann's Article, "Antiken in Palermo."

[3] Salinas, "Del Real Museo di Palermo Relazione," gives an engraving of the ring that reproduces the size and colours of the original. A memoir upon it appeared in the "Archivio Storico Siciliano," N.S., Anno iii, fasc. i, 1878, and has been republished separately.

Inside it is circular, but outside it has seven facets, each nine millimètres long and seven broad. In some of them the artist has introduced as many as five figures of whitish gold, silver, or some other metallic substance. All the subjects are derived from the Gospel history, and we have here perhaps the most minute representations ever executed of the Annunciation, Visitation of Elizabeth, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism of Christ, Ecce Homo, and Women at the Sepulchre. In the centre of these compartments is a shield bearing figures of an emperor and empress standing, and Christ between them, also erect, apparently in the act of uniting the two august personages.[1] As in the case of the caduceus, the value of this precious relic is considerably enhanced by the inscription upon it, OCω ΠΛΟΝΕΥΔΟΚΙΑCΕCΤΕΦΑΝΟCΑCΗΜΑC, which is nielloed and circular. No one can doubt that this motto is derived from the last verse of the fifth Psalm, ὡς ὅπλῳ εὐδοκίας ἐστεφάνωσας ἡμᾶς, and that it contains a punning allusion to some princess named Eudocia.[2] But as there are no less than eleven mentioned in Byzantine history, it is difficult to determine who is meant here. Of these ladies the earliest occurs in the fourth century, the latest in the twelfth, and some of them were called Eudoxia as well as Eudocia. In this long series the wife of Arcadius stands out most prominently on account of her persecution of Chrysostom, who is said to have reviled her as Jezebel and Herodias; but two of her successors distinguished themselves more honourably by literary performances, and deserve to be classed with the historian Anna Comnena.[3]

[1] In consequence of the very small size of the figures it is difficult to distinguish whether the central one is intended for Christ or the Virgin; it has been suggested that the artist might have preferred to introduce the latter out of compliment to Eudocia. This view is to some extent supported by the prominence given to the Empress in the legends upon the coins of Romanus IV. and Eudocia; see the "Memoir" quoted in the last note, pp. 17 and 18. Again, the head-dress appears to be a wimple, square and straight over the forehead, and coming down the sides of the face, as we see it in illuminated manuscripts, *e.g.* head of St. Thecla in a Greek Psalter from Byzantium, shown me by Mr. Thompson of the British Museum; comp. Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, Pl. l, No. 12, Romain IV. et Eudocie.

[2] Similarly the words Ἀγάθυνον, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ σου τὴν Σιων, καὶ οἰκοδομηθητω τὰ τείχη Ἱερουσαλήμ. Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem, Psalm li (ed. Bagster), 18, were applied to Eudocia, wife of the Emperor Theodosius II; she spent many years at Jerusalem, and repaired its walls; Glicas, Annales, in the "Byzantine History," tom. ix, p. 202 A.

[3] The Eudocia mentioned in the preceding note wrote poems chiefly on Scriptural subjects; Eudocia Macremboli-

Byzantine Gold Ring.

If we look to internal proofs and to external circumstances connected with this ring, the choice of attribution seems to lie between Eudocia Fabia, wife of Heraclius I, and Eudocia Macrembolitissa,[1] wife of Constantine XIII (Ducas) and afterwards of Romanus IV (Diogenes). The former of these empresses died in the earlier part of the seventh century, and the latter probably towards the close of the eleventh. As they are thus separated by an interval of more than four hundred years, it might be expected that the style of workmanship would indicate which date we ought to prefer. But this kind of evidence will not afford a sure criterion, because the Byzantine goldsmiths wrought for centuries in the same fashion: Constantinople being the only great city in Europe not pillaged by the barbarians, its traditions were unbroken, and therefore, as in ancient Egypt, the sequence of art was uninterrupted.[2]

Professor Salinas says that the ring was certainly worn by an imperial personage; he draws this inference from the superiority of the execution, the name of Eudocia, the allusion in the motto, and the great value of the find.

tissa, or Delassena, as she is sometimes called, compiled a dictionary which bore the fanciful title Ἰωνιά, violetum, a bed of violets; it contains accounts of gods, heroes and heroines, their genealogies and metamorphoses, &c., and is addressed to her husband Romanus Diogenes, the Emperor loving Christ, most pious, victorious, gaining trophies; it was published by Villoison, "Anecdota Græca."

[1] Macrembolitissa is a name difficult to explain. Finlay, "Byzantine and Greek Empires," MLVII—MCCCCLIII, p. 28, Note 2, gives the form Makremvolitissa, and says that its origin is unknown. Pape, "Worterbuch der Griechischen Eigennahmen," s.v. Μακρεμβολίτης, thinks it means fighting at a distance; Langenlotz, d.i., lang hin oder in die Ferne hin kampfend. Professor Ugdulena mentions Macrembolitissa, and adds "ossia da Macremboli;" so the writer in Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Biography, "of Macrembolis," as if it was the name of a town. But the word is derived from μακρὸς ἔμβολος, signifying a long portico or colonnade. Ἔμβολος was also used to mean a street with porticoes, as we see them at Bologna; hence it was applied to the adjoining quarter. Macrembolitissa therefore means a lady belonging to a family that lived in a street or neighbourhood of this kind. Du Cange, "Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Græcitatis," s.v. Ἔμβολοι, quotes many passages to illustrate the use of the word, *e.g.*, αὐτὴ ἐκειτο ἐν τῶ ουτικω ἐμβόλῳ τῆς αυτῆς πλατείας, cf. "Glossar. mediæ Latinitatis," in *Embolus, Imbolus*, urbis angiportus; Cinnamus, vi, 10, Στενωπὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὃν Ἔμβολον ονομάζουσιν ὁ πολλὶ: see "Constantinopolis Christiana," lib. i, c. xxiii. Dr. Paspati, the most learned antiquary among the residents at Constantinople, translates μακρεμβολίτης, un homme qui demeure dans un long endroit du commerce, and says that Pape's interpretation would correspond with μακροβόλος.

[2] Byzantine art resembles Egyptian in its hieratic rigidity as well as in its long duration: Plato, de Legibus, lib. ii, p. 656. edit. Orelli, p. 556, 16-47, Τὰ μυριοστὸν ἔτος γεγραμμένα ἢ τετυπωμενα, . . . τῶν νὺν δεδημιουργημένων οὔτε τι καλλίονα οὔτ' αἰσχίω, την αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπειργασμένα; this important passage has been inaccurately translated by Professor Jowett. Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians. iii, 87, 275; my paper on Ravenna in the "Archæol. Journal," under the heading *Byzantine Influence.*

He proceeds to argue that Eudocia here mentioned must be the wife of Heraclius I, because the ring was discovered in Syracuse, together with many gold coins of her grandson Constans II, who, after an ineffectual attempt to transfer the seat of empire from Constantinople to Rome, took refuge in Sicily, resided there more than five years, and was assassinated at Syracuse, A.D. 668. This view calls for some remarks. In the first place it may be questioned whether the ring was worn by any emperor or empress. Many of the same pattern might have been made to commemorate a marriage or coronation, or both events, and presented to courtiers as marks of favour. Secondly, the reasoning from the money found is by no means conclusive, as a great number of coins were melted down by the goldsmith Russo of Catania, so that, for all we know to the contrary, they might have formed a series extending over a long period.[1]

While the circumstances of the finding favour Salinas's theory, an examination of the ring itself would rather lead us to assign it to Eudocia Macrembolitissa. On the death of Constantine XIII, A.D. 1067, she assumed the government together with her sons Michael, Constantinus, and Andronicus. Though her husband in his last illness had bound her by a most solemn oath not to marry again, when she found her provinces overrun by the Saracens, and her capital distracted by rival generals, she raised one of them, Romanus Diogenes, from a prison to a throne, and their nuptials were celebrated with a haste which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been indecent. But Zonaras expressly informs us that Eudocia associated him as a colleague with herself because he was a man of great energy, of tried ability in war, and incomparable strength, and she trusted in his vigorous arm to repel the attacks of the barbarians. The historian's words seem like a commentary on the motto of the ring, Ὡς ὅπλον Εὐδοκίας ἐστεφάνωσας ἡμᾶς, Thou hast crowned us as a defence of Eudocia.[2]

[1] Piu libbre di monete di oro, che l'orefice Russo di Catania mi assicura di avere liquefatto, Salinas, Relazione sul Museo di Palermo, p. 57: comp. Lettera del P. Giuseppe Romano, p. 12, Archivio Storico Sicil., loc. ; from the latter authority I have chiefly derived the arguments relating to the date of the ring.

[2] Zonaras, "Annales," tom. ii, 217 A, Ἑαυτῃ προσαρμόσαι τον Διογενην . . ὡς ἄνδρα δραστήριον, καὶ τὰ πολεμια δόκιμον, καὶ την ἰσχὺν ἀπαράμιλλον . . . ἵν' ἡ βαρβαρικὴ φορὰ ἐπισχεθείη ποσως, ἀυτου τούτοις ἀντερείσαντος τοὺς βραχίονας.

This attribution is supported by comparing an aureus of Eudocia and Romanus, where the device is similar to that described above. On the obverse Christ appears standing on a pedestal in the centre of the field, and crowning Eudocia and Romanus; this figure is higher by the shoulders than the other two, just as in the pediments of Greek temples deities exceed heroes in size. The reverse shows the three sons of Eudocia, Michael, the eldest, holding a sceptre (*νάρθηξ*) or the labarum between Constantinus and Andronicus, each of whom carries the orb and cross.[1] A similar subject may be seen on a leaden seal engraved by Marchand. Again, the combination of a sacred with an imperial personage in one group belongs specially to that period in Byzantine history which followed the Iconoclast reigns. Though an instance occurs at an earlier date, it was only after A.D. 840 that the practice became habitual, as is proved by Sabatier, Plates xliv and following.[2]

If we turn from the device on the bezel to the motto of the ring we shall find new analogies between it and some varieties of the coin to which reference has been made. In the words adapted from the Psalm the empe-

[1] See the description in Sabatier, vol. ii, p. 169, Pl. L, No. 11. Many variations occur both in the legends and in the device, *e.g.* sometimes the Augusti stand upon cushions or stools, and the crosses on their orbs are adorned with pearls; but these accessories sometimes disappear, perhaps through jealousy on the part of the imperial couple. De Saulcy, "Essai de Classification des Suites Monétaires Byzantines," p. 297, Pl. xxv, No. 4. Another confirmation of the date assigned to the ring is supplied by an ivory cover of the Gospels, which was formerly preserved in the church of St. John, at Besançon, and of which Du Cange gives a large engraving in his "Familiae Augustae Byzantinae," p. 136. Our Saviour is here represented of superhuman stature, erect on an elaborately ornamented pedestal, between Romanus and Eudocia, on whose heads he places his hands. The names are inscribed in Greek characters IC-XC, PΩMANOC BACILEUC PΩMAIΩN, EUΔOKIA BACILIC ROMAIΩN. Westwood's "Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum," '58, 26, where some additional particulars are given: Didron, "Annales Archeologiques," vol. xviii, p. 197.

[2] Eudocia married Romanus Diogenes under circumstances like those which caused the union of Pulcheria with Marcianus six hundred years before. Hence we find these events commemorated by similar types. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," viii, 191, 192, describes a coin preserved in the Hunterian collection, which has on the reverse the legend FELICITER NVBTIIS (sic), and exhibits Marcianus and Pulcheria joining hands, with Christ between them; compare Sabatier i, 124, and "Numismatic Chronicle," 1878, New Series, No. lxix, p. 47, and No. lxxi, p. 199. A still earlier example of Christian emblems in connexion with an Emperor is afforded by a cameo in the possession of Herr Tobias Bieler, which is supposed to refer to the victory of Constantius II over Magnentius. The former has a roll in his hand which is perhaps the Gospel, and a banner with the monogram of Christ is raised higher than the standard that bears the letters S.P.Q.R., cf. "Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine I, the Great, his Family, and his Successors," by F. W. Madden; "Numismatic Chronicle," New Series; and "Catalogue of the Borrell Collection," pp. 82—104, especially p. 96.

ror is mentioned as a defence of Eudocia, and therefore, to a certain extent, as inferior to her: similarly in the legends he takes a subordinate place, she is Βασιλὶς, he is only Δεσπότης, and in the supplicatory formula CRPΔ, *i.e.*, Κύριε or σταυρὲ βοήθει Ρωμάνῳ δεσπότῃ, his name is only represented by an initial. The word στεφανόω, which in the Septuagint is used figuratively and means to *surround* or *protect*, occurs here in its primary sense of *crowning*, but it may also have the signification of *uniting in marriage*, like στεφανώνω in modern Greek.[1] If the epigraphist intended this latter allusion, we should have another reason for believing that the ring belongs to a late period.

The discovery at Syracuse cannot be regarded as an unanswerable objection to the preceding attribution, which has been proposed by Giuseppe Romano. When Romanus returned from captivity among the Saracens to Constantinople, he was pursued with unrelenting hostility by John Ducas, brother of Eudocia's first husband, Constantine XIII, while the empress herself was driven from the palace and compelled to retire into a convent. Amidst this disorder the imperial treasures might easily be dispersed, and thus a memorial of her ill-fated connection with Romanus would pass into other hands.

Lastly, it should be observed that not only all the scenes depicted on the facets are of a sacred character, but that four of the seven are closely connected with the Virgin Mary, viz., the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Adoration of the Magi. As I have pointed out in my paper on Ravenna, the worship of the Virgin does not occur in Christian art so early as some have imagined; accordingly in the Byzantine series of coins she appears prominently for the first time during the reign of John Zimisces towards the end of the tenth century;[2] and the cameos of the Lower Empire, in which the Annunciation is a common subject, may with great probability be assigned to the eleventh century.[3] Thus, an examination

[1] Contopoulos, Modern Greek and English Dictionary. Στεφανόνω, to crown, to marry; στεφάνωμα, στεφάνωσις, coronation, wedding: similarly στεφανωτής has a double meaning.

[2] Sabatier, vol. ii, p. 141, Pl. xlvii, Nos. 17, 18; De Saulcy, pp. 244-246, Pl. xxii, 1, 2. Compare the mariolatrous Legend ΔЄCΠOINA . CωZOIΣ . ЄTSЄBH . MONOMAXωN. "Domina salva pium Monomachum," ib. p. 270. Mr. C. W. King says that the Panagia begins with John Zimisces. The "Numismatic Chronicle," N.S., No. lxxi, pp. 177-188, contains an elaborate account and chronological table of the types of Christ and the Virgin.

[3] King's "Antique Gems and Rings," vol. i, pp. 306-8.

of the facets leads us to the same conclusion concerning the date as has been already drawn from the bezel and the motto.[1]

V. Many of the inscriptions now in the Museum at Palermo were brought thither from the suppressed Monastery of San Martino delle Scale, a few miles distant from the city.[2] They cannot, like the great mosaic of the Piazza Vittoria, claim a foremost place among monuments of their own class; but they present too many points of interest to be passed over altogether. In the first place, we find here names which occur in the New Testament, but rarely or not at all in any classical author, so that epigraphy affords a confirmation of the sacred text which is otherwise deficient. Trophimus, the the Ephesian, is well known to us; he was a faithful companion of St. Paul, and shared his labours and dangers in the propagation of the faith:[3] a person of this name is mentioned in No. 57a of Salinas's Catalogue as having erected a sepulchral monument for his daughter;[4] another example is supplied by the Roman Catacombs, where the words TROFIMUS FOSSOR may be read.[5] Again, in the Epistle to the Philippians, Euodia is exhorted by St. Paul to be of the same mind with Syntyche; the former

[1] The Rev. Churchill Babington, in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," vol. ii, p. 1800, has written a detailed description of the Scriptural subjects on the ring; he seems inclined to attribute it to Eudocia, wife of Heraclius.

We have seen above some instances of the changes in the Greek Alphabet made under the Lower Empire; some remarks on this subject will be found in Kopp "Palæographia Critica," iii, 516, sec. 427. "Maximam . . . . literarum et linguarum confusionem Byzantiorum temporibus:" ib. iv, 350, sec. 864, nummus Constantini XIV ap Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." viii, 273, ΑΥΤωΚΡΑΤωΡ, Ω pro O.

[2] The monastery is so called in consequence of the steep ascent, Le Scale, from Monreale. It lies north-west of this place and is marked Badia di S. Martino in Bædeker's map, I contorni di Palermo; it must not be confounded with the Convento de Baida, which is nearer the capital: Dennis, "Handbook for Sicily," pp. 131-136.

[3] Acts of the Apostles, xx, 4. Συνείπετο δε αὐτῳ ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας Σώπατρος . . . Ασιανοι δε Τύχικος καὶ Τρόφιμος. Ib. xxi, 29; cf. Tim. ii, 4, 20. Conybeare and Howson, "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," ii, 105, ed. 8vo.

[4] Torremuzza, "Siciliae Veterum Inscriptionum Nova Collectio," 1784, classis xii, No. 4, p. 152. In a foot-note the words wanting in the original are supplied from Burman's "Latin Anthology." The references in Salinas's "Catalogue" correspond with the *second* edition of Torremuzza's work, which is a great improvement upon the first.

[5] Maitland, "Church in the Catacombs," p. 72, "There existed formerly on the walls of the Catacombs many paintings, representing persons . . . employed in excavating an overhanging rock, with a lamp suspended from the summit;" and see the engraving annexed. The name Trophimus must have been common in Spain; cf. Hübner, "Inscriptiones Hispanicae," Index, Cognomina virorum et mulierum; of the feminine Trophime examples are still more numerous. One instance of Trophimus occurs in London, Hübner, "Brit. Inscc," 1331, No. 115, Londinii in ansa amphoræ, E VALER TROPH.

name is an uncommon one, for it does not appear in the copious collection of Gruter, but we have an instance in No. 84, which is also sepulchral.[1]

The dates of the inscriptions could, of course, be ascertained approximately from the mode in which the letters are cut, but it may be inferred without seeing the originals. We meet here with proper names, *e.g.*, Aelia Sabina, Mauricus, Quietus, that synchronize with the Epistles of the Younger Pliny, the works of Tacitus, and the Augustan History, or in other words belong to the close of the first or the commencement of the second century. However, some illustration, even of an earlier writer may be found here: BETTIOC is only another form of Vettius or Vectius. This name occurs in the latter part of the Republican period as well as under the Empire, and Cicero in his Verrine Orations, which are a treasury of information concerning ancient Sicily, mentions P. Vettius Chilo who was engaged in farming revenues of the province, and another P. Vettius who was quaestor of Verres.[2]

One of the inscriptions is not by any means remarkable for its subject, but deserves notice because it contains ten examples of II for E.

DIS M P MAMMI
VS FORTVNATVS. VIX
ANNIS. LXX. MIINSIBVS
VIII DIIIBVSIX HORIS III
ARIILLIA FIILICIA PA
RIINTISVO BIINIIMII
RIINTIFIICIT[3]

[1] Torremuzza, "Sic. Vet. Inscc.," Cl. clxii, No. 49, p. 161. Philipp., iv, 2. Εὐοδίαν παρακαλῶ καὶ Συντύχην παρακαλῶ τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν Κυρίῳ. Stephens and Alford read Εὐωδίαν; Griesbach, Tischendorf, and Cardinal Mai in his edition of the "Codex Vaticanus," Εὐοδίαν; the former word means fragrance, from ὀζω, ὀδωδα; the latter, a good journey, success, from ὁδός; either would be suitable and complimentary as a female name. As the inscription containing EVODIA is in Latin prose it does not assist us to determine which of the two Greek forms should be preferred. Εὐοδία is analogous to FELIX in the line immediately preceding, and to FIILICIA in No. 75 of Salinas's "Catalogue." Orelli, "Collectio Inscript. Lat.," gives the form EVHODIA, No. 1503. The words JVLIA EVODIA were found in an epitaph in the Roman catacombs without any signs of Christianity, hence some persons too hastily inferred that there was a Saint who bore this name. "Mabillon," quoted by Maitland, p. 132, mentions this "remarkable instance of carelessness in the manufacture of Saints."

[2] Torremuzza, "Sic. Vet. Inscc.," cl. xiv, No. 22, p. 177; who mentions that the stone was found near Enna: he gives a fac-simile of the original with a Latin translation. Cicero in Verrem, Act ii, lib. iii, c. 71; lib. v, c. 44. Ad Atticum, ii, 24, L. Vettius is mentioned, who supplied Cicero with information concerning the Catilinarian conspiracy. Comp. Cohen, "Medailles Consulaires," p. 327, sq., Pl. xl., Vettia 1, 2; the former of these coins is attributed by Borghasi to the father of the quæstor of Verres in Sicily.

[3] Torremuzza, "S. V. I.," cl. xii, No

The "Lapidarium Septentrionale" gives only a single instance of this peculiarity, viz. from Hunnum, Halton Chesters.

CHO. VIII
> CAECILI
CLIIME[1]

No. 80, an elegaic couplet, records in epigrammatic terms the death of a centenarian.

D. M.
CAESIVSAEQUIDICUSIAM
CENTUMCLAUSERATANNOS
FELICESANNOSTOTTVLIT
HORABREVIS
P. P.

Cæsius Æquidicus had completed his hundredth year; a brief hour ended so many happy years—erected at the public expense.[2]

We come now to another class of inscriptions, quite different from the preceding with respect to the nature of their contents and the material on which they are stamped, These historic documents refer to the potteries and were impressed upon bricks, tiles, and other ceramic products. They are in a high degree both difficult and interesting. The obscurity results from three causes; in the first place, there is often no mark, like the cross in Saxon or Early English coins, to show where the sentence begins; secondly, there are many ligatures which may be interpreted in different ways; thirdly, mistakes were made by the labourers who cut the stamps or dies. The substance employed being comparatively of little value, we cannot expect that the same care would be taken as when an inscription commemorating an important event was engraved on bronze or marble, and placed in a temple or basilica. But the interest also is manifold: the chronologist finds

42, p. 160, in his note says that II is the same as the Greek H, and refers to cl. xiii, No. 3, which ends with BHNH MHRHNTI FHCHR. The combination of the two languages in the inscriptions at Palermo bears witness to the mixed character of the population that inhabited Sicily in ancient times.

[1] "Lapid. Septentr.," p. 55, No. 100; Bruce, "Roman Wall," 4to. ed., p. 142; in both cases a fac-simile is engraved. Dr. Bruce observes that the substitution CHO for COH is not uncommon. The inscription may be translated—the century of Cæcilius Clemens belonging to the Eighth Cohort.

[2] Torremuzza, "S.VI.." cl. xiv, No. 27, p. 178; this epitaph is contained in Gruter's collection and in the Latin Anthology; the latter has a various reading, *vixerat* for *clauserat*. Torremuzza is sometimes quoted as Castellus or Castello; his full name and title are Gabriele Lancillotto Castello, Principe di Torremuzza. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," calls him Princeps T.M., *i.e.* Turris Mutiæ.

in these objects, that seem so trivial, a long series of Roman consuls, names of provincial magistrates and indications of epochs; the topographer is assisted in determining the site of ancient edifices; and the historian derives information which throws light on many social questions, especially on the distribution of property, the management of estates, and the occupations of slaves and freedmen.[1] It is known that the potteries were in active operation during the prosperous reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines; and as the inscriptions on bricks at Palermo seem to belong to this period, they may be regarded as corroborating the evidence which other collections supply.

But to proceed to details, the following seem worthy of special notice.

No. 100—101 DOLEX PRAE D. CAESAR N
C AQVILIAPRILIS[2]

Pot-work from the estate of Caesar our lord and the manufactory of Caius Aquilius Aprilis.

The first line written in full would be Doliare ex praediis Domini Caesaris nostri, and DOL is an abbreviation for opus doliare. The title dominus is given to Trajan by Pliny the Younger in his "Epistles," but the earliest example in earthenware occurs under Hadrian; afterwards it became common. Hence the letters D.N. enable us to approximate to the date, and fix it between the latter reign and the political disturbances in the third century which accelerated the decline of architecture, and caused these memorials on buildings to disappear. The estates of the emperors were managed by freedmen and slaves, and from his having three names we may infer that the person mentioned in the second line belonged to the

[1] See Dr. Birch, "History of Ancient Pottery," part iv, chap. i, vol. ii. pp. 239-251, for an account of Inscriptions on Tiles, Stamps, Farms, Potteries, Manufactories, and Makers, Legionary Tiles, Devices; the Appendix, No. x, p. 404, supplies a useful list of books on this subject. Fabretti, "Inscriptionum Antiq. quæ in ædibus paternis asservantur explicatio," cap. vii, Romæ, 1699 and 1702, may be consulted with advantage.

[2] Compare the circular inscription on a stamp, Birch, ubi sup. p. 242, OPVS DOL. DE FIGVL. PVBLINIANIS EX PREDIS AEMILIAES SEVERAES: and "Descriptive Account of the Antiquities belonging to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society," pp. 81, 82, Nos. 1, 2, fragments of bricks: the latter is inscribed, EXPRDPFLVCILLAE ODOL FEC MAPR LAEL CAES II P COEL BALBN COS (*i.e.* Ex Praedio Domitiae Publii Filiae Lucillae Opus Doliare Fecit M. Aper Lucio Æl. Caes. II P. Coel. Balbin Consulibus). Domitia Lucilla was mother of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Her name occurs twice in Torremuzza, "S. V. I.," cl. xv, No. 69, and Note, p. 214. From evidence of this kind we learn that under the Empire women possessed much landed property.

former class. Aprilis seems to denote the month in which he was born, as it is analogous to the surnames Martialis, Decembris and Januarius.

Nos. 104—105. DOL. DE FIG IVLAE. PROCVL. TIG. F L V. NEG.[1]

I am inclined to read the inscription thus: (Opus) doliare de figlinis Juliae Proculae Tig (?) felix liberum vindicandum neglectu. Pot-work from the potteries of Julia Procula, auspicious, free, to be protected from neglect.

If this interpretation is correct, the last words have nearly the same meaning as the close of No. 96, H. M. D. M. A., *i.e.*, Huic monumento dolus malus abesto, Do no mischief to this monument. The brick probably served as a memorial, and therefore, was to be distinguished from the rest that were only used for constructive purposes—a view which is confirmed by the abbreviations CO. S. T., *i.e.*, continens sacros titulos[2]

No. 106. : : : ANAVGGDQVINTIAIR

The letters AVGG indicating the plural number show that this inscription cannot be earlier than the reigns of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius, for this was the first instance of two Emperors having the title of Augustus simultaneously. It is probably later, as Augusti do not appear on the coins till Severus associated Caracalla in the Government with himself.[3]

[1] Torremuzza, "S. V. I.," cl. xvi, No. 42, p. 236, prints the first line with ligatures, DOL DE FG IVLÆ PROCV TIG.

[2] This explanation is founded upon the interpretation of FLV in Gerrard's "Siglarium," appended to Forcellini's Lexicon, ed. Bailey; he gives Pancirolus (Pancirolli) as his authority, but I have been unable to verify the reference. Dr. Dressel, of the German Archæological Institute at Rome, has proposed another version, which, on consideration, I think preferable. He reads the inscription thus:

TEG DOL DE FIG . IVLIÆ . PROCV
F L V . NEG

And suggests that the words in the second line may stand in inverted order NEG · FLV, as the stamp is circular. According to his view the sentence in full would be Teg(ula) dol(iaris) de fig(linis) Juliae Procul(ae) neg(otiatore) F L V. The word negotiator is supplied from the following inscriptions :—

EXPREDIO HORTESI PAVLI
NI NEG METILI PROCL
(Fabretti, p. 516, No. 241.)

NEGOT METILIO PROCVLO FIGVL ZOSAN
EXFIG PROPETIANIS
(Marini, syll. dol. inscr. 1053.)

FLV is probably an abbreviation of the name of the agent employed to negotiate the purchase of the bricks.

[3] Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. viii, p. 354, &c., cap. iv, "De Nomine Augusti;" p. 357, "Aurelius and Verus;" p. 358, "Severus and Caracalla." Cohen, "Medailles Imperiales," tome iii, p. 236, Nos. 23, 26, ANNONAE AVGG : p. 283, Nos. 410-416, VICTORIAE AVGG : p. 329, No. 6, IMPP INVICTI PII AVGG, Bustes laures accoles à droite de Severe et de Caracalla jeune. Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," chap. vi, note 10, vol. 1, p. 265, ed. Dr. Wm. Smith.

Many examples of inscriptions on bricks will be found in the following works :

Gruter, p. clxxxiii, Nos. 10-12, "Romæ in antiq. figlinis;" p. clxxxiv, Nos. 1, 2, quadrilateral brick with circular stamp in the centre ; cf. Nos. 10 and 12, ib.

Caylus, "Recueil d'Antiquities," tome iii. pp. 253-255, Pl. lxviii, No. 3; the

There is reason to suspect that some Inscriptions at Palermo are forgeries of the last century, but documents of the class just described are so full of errors and obscurity that we cannot without great difficulty distinguish the true from the false.

Resplendent as a pearl set in a golden shell—conca d'oro—Palermo surpasses the other cities of Sicily in the natural beauty of its situation ; it is equally pre-eminent for its ecclesiastical buildings, enriched with most gorgeous master-pieces of mediæval art, but it has no historical associations like those which crowd on the spectator's mind when he looks down from Epipolæ on the scene of a battle that decided the world's destiny ; nor can it show a single seat of a theatre or column of a temple to perpetuate the memory of Hellenic culture or religion. However, its Museum contains, as we have seen, besides well-known monuments, others that should detain the classical traveller for a while. But this is not the only reason why he should halt at Palermo before commencing a Sicilian tour. He will here receive advice and protection from our Consul General, the highest British official resident in the island—advantages he ought not to forego if he wishes to pursue his journey safely. Moreover, as Palermo is the seat of the national University, and the place of meeting for learned Societies, it includes among its residents many eminent men, able and willing to assist a stranger by the influence of their social position as well as by directly communicating information. In this class the Archbishop of Palermo, the Abate Mondino, the Conte di Tasca and the Duca di Reitano may be mentioned : but Professor Antonino Salinas is specially qualified, both by his studies and his office, to promote archæological research ; this gentleman unites a patriotic enthusiasm with a profound knowledge of the works of foreign savans, and he has the latest intelligence concerning recent explorations. I feel sure he will extend to others the kindness and courtesy which I have experienced

letters here are in three rows, Gruter gives them only in a single or double row.

Orelli, "Collectio Inscript. Lat.," pp. 371-374, Hagenbuchii, "Criticæ Observationes," sec. 22, De Figlinis in circulo sive in orbem inscriptis, where some difficulties in this branch of epigraphy are discussed.

Torremuzza, "Sic. Vet. Inscc." cl. xv, pp. 203-215, Figulinæ Chronologicæ ; this section throws great light on the Sicilian names of months and magistrates ; cl. xvi, pp. 232-242, Sigilla Figulina.

at his hands, and which I now beg permission publicly to acknowledge.

APPENDIX.

I add a list of works relating to Sicilian Antiquities with the hope that it may assist the enquirer in his researches.

Thucydides, lib. vi, cc. 2—5.

Cicero, Verrine Orations.

Filippo Paruta, La Sacilia descritta con medaglie.

Graevius, Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Siciliae, Sardiniae, Corsicae, &c. 15 vols. folio.

Antonio Mongitore, Bibliotheca Sicula sive De Scriptoribus Siculis. . . notitiae locupletissimae.

Brydone, Tour through Sicily and Malta.

Swinburne, Travels in the Two Sicilies.

Sir R. C. Hoare, Classical Tour through Italy and Sicily.

Torremuzza, Siciliae et Objacentium Insularum Veterum Inscriptionum Nova Collectio: Siciliae Populorum et Urbium, Regum quoque, et Tyrannorum Veteres Nummi.

Serra di Falco, Le Antichita della Sicilia: Del Duomo di Monreale e di altre Chiese Siculo-Normanne.

Gravina, Il Duomo di Monreale illustrato, &c.

Admiral Smyth, Sicily and its Islands.

Ferd. Gregorovius, Siciliana.

Salinas, Relazione sul Museo di Palermo: Le Monete delle antiche citta di Sicilia, incomplete.

Amari, Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia.

Gally Knight, The Normans in Sicily.

E. H. Bunbury, Article Sicilia in Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography.

Watkiss Lloyd, History of Sicily with Elucidations of Pindar.

Goethe, Italianische Reise, chapter on Sicily.

G. Dennis, Handbook for Travellers in Sicily.

Gsell-Fels, Unter-Italien und Sicilien.

Holm, Geschichte Siciliens in Alterthum, with useful maps.

Schubring, Versuch einer historischen Topographie und Denkmälerkunde von Akragas.

Edmond Le Blant, Revue Archeologique, Dec. 1877. La Vierge au Ciel representée sur un Sarcophage antique.

Renan, Revue des Deux Mondes, Nov. 15, 1875. Vingt Jours en Sicile.

Lichtenthal, Manuale Bibliografico del Viaggiatore in Italia, pp. 199-208 Sicilia, Descrizione, Storia, Letteratura, Iscrizioni, &c.

G. F. Rodwell, Etna, A History of the Mountain and its Eruptions.

Barclay V. Head, On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse, with autotype illustrations.

E. A. Freeman, Five articles in Macmillan's Magazine, Sketches from Eastern Sicily.

The collection of Graevius above mentioned usually forms a part of his great work, Thesaurus Antiquitatum Graecarum et Romanarum. This compilation contains Cluverius, Sicilia Antiqua; Mongitore, Regni Siciliae Delineatio; Fazelli, De Rebus Siculis Decades duae; Falcando, De Rebus gestis in Siciliae regno historia; Paruta, Sicilia Numismatica ed. Havercamp. Vol. viii includes more than 200 plates of coins—Greek, Roman, Carthaginian, Gothic, Saracen, Norman, and modern, ending with Charles III. and Viceroys. The old writers edited by Graevius must be read in a critical spirit, and their errors corrected with the aid of more recent investigations.

Torremuzza published 23 separate works, the most important of which relate to coins and antiquities; a complete list of them will be found at the end of his Siciliae Veteres Inscriptiones; the series extends from 1749 to 1784.

Mr. Dennis's Handbook is a mine of Archæological information, and quite indispensable to the student; but as a traveller's guide it has become in some respects obsolete; for this purpose Gsell-Fels was specially recommended to me by Professor Salinas.

The Christian Sarcophagus described by M. Le Blant in the Revue Archéol. was found in the catacombs of Syracuse. Cavaliere Arezzo di Targia, director of the Museum in that city, informed me that he could not altogether agree with M. Le Blant's attributions.