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### ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF THE MIDDLE RHINE.<sup>1</sup>

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The classical archæologist must be a traveller as well as a student, that he may be able to describe ancient monuments with a freshness, vigour and fidelity, which can only be the outcome of personal observation, and therefore can never result from perusing the works of others.<sup>2</sup> He should start on his journey, equipped with a sufficient knowledge of Greek and Roman authors; otherwise he will see objects with the outward eye, but will be unable to discern their significance and mutual relations. A mere bookworm who has spent his life in libraries cannot prosecute researches of this kind successfully, for a realistic treatment of the subject is required; we have to deal with things rather than words, and ought to learn from foreigners facts unknown to our own countrymen.<sup>3</sup> We must be prepared to spend time, labour and money, to

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 4th, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the sentences with which Mr. Freeman begins his article on Augusta Treverorum in the *British Quarterly Review*, July 1, 1875. Of all periods of the world's history there is none which so imperatively calls on him who would master it to unite the characters of student and traveller as the great transitional time of European history. The days when the Roman and the Teutonic elements of modern society stood as yet side by side are days which cannot be studied in books only.

<sup>3</sup> Hence for these investigations the modern languages are as requisite as the ancient, not only in order to converse with persons who do not understand English (though their number is rapidly

diminishing), but also to study foreign literature that has not hitherto been translated. In the latter case the difficulty increases; at the revival of learning, and long afterwards, scholars wrote for the most part in Latin, but now they employ the vernacular more and more. Even the Hungarian authors are discontinuing this ancient and universal medium of communication, which was used for parliamentary debates, as I am informed, even later than 1830, and remained a part of the speech of the common people longer in this country than anywhere else. Or to take an example from an opposite quarter, no one could compile a satisfactory account of Scandinavian antiquities without a knowledge of Danish, such at least as would be sufficient for literary purposes.

risk health and suffer hardship, visiting remote and sometimes dangerous localities. I have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to act in accordance with these views, and the Institute has done me the honour to accept my humble contributions. But on the present occasion I confine myself to the most beaten path of all, the Rhine-land; and my task is the more difficult, because I tread on the footprints of distinguished predecessors.<sup>1</sup>

As Mr. Roach Smith has remarked in the 2nd vol. of his *Collectanea*, p. 119, Trèves and Mayence, considered with reference to antiquities, differ widely from each other. At Trèves they constantly met us; the gigantic mass of the Porta Nigra towers over the principal street dwarfs the adjacent buildings, and seems, if I may so speak, always to stare us in the face; the Basilica is near the market place; the Roman baths are only a few minutes' walk from the bridge; the Palace and Amphitheatre are within an easy distance. On the other hand, the traveller who perambulates Mayence sees nothing older than the Cathedral, which was begun in the tenth century, but repeatedly destroyed by fire.<sup>2</sup> Memorials of Roman times must be sought in the Museum—a vast collection rivaling those of the European capitals, but having a character of its own strongly marked that makes it specially interesting. It is historical rather than artistic, military rather than civil. The admirable classification, due to the learned Director Dr. Lindenschmit, enhances the utility of the objects preserved here; and casts of similar monuments in other districts have been added for the purpose of comparison.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I refer here, not to German publications, but to memoirs by our own countrymen—Professor Westwood and Mr. Roach Smith. The former has described many objects of mediæval art—carved ivories, enamels and illuminated manuscripts, etc., found at Mayence, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Darmstadt and other places: *Archæological Journal*, vol. xix, pp. 219-235; xx. 141-157, Notes made during a Tour in Western Germany and France. The latter has confined his attention chiefly, but not exclusively, to Roman remains: *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, pp. 65-152, plates xxiv-xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest part now remaining seems to belong to the eleventh century. Many details of the building will be

found in Baedeker, *Die Rheinlande von der Schweizer bis zur Hollandischen Grenze*, pp. 187-201, with plan of the Cathedral. Speaking generally, the series issued by this publisher will afford the antiquarian traveller all the information to be expected within the limits of a pocket-guide. The volume for the Rhine is particularly copious; and this may be easily accounted for, as it appeared in its earliest form at Coblenz more than forty years ago. Bibliographical references, however, are wanting, a deficiency which will be felt by those who have been accustomed to use the larger editions of Joanne for the departments of France.

<sup>3</sup> This Museum occupies the Kurfürstliche Schloss, Palace of the Electors of

Again, the Roman remains at Trèves and Mayence differ from each other in kind as well as in position; they present the same contrast as those in the North and South of England—for example, the Wall of Hadrian and the luxurious villas in Gloucestershire. In the former city the buildings above-mentioned suggest the ideas of governmental administration, civilization and prosperity; in the latter everything reminds us of warfare, offensive and defensive. And this leads me to observe how fully these fragmentary relics of former times correspond with the statements of Latin authors. We learn from Florus, *Rerum Romanarum* lib. iv., cap. 12, §26, that the Romans had a (*direxit*) chain of more than 50 fortresses on the Rhenish frontier.<sup>1</sup> Now of these Mogontiacum was the centre and the chief, so that the contents of the Museum, conspicuously martial, are just what we should *a priori* expect to find there.<sup>2</sup>

Mayence, which must be distinguished from the Grossherzogliche Schloss (Deutsch-Ordenshaus), also on the Quay and in close proximity to the former. Baedeker enumerates the contents of each room with minute accuracy.

<sup>1</sup> Loc. citat. Drusus . . . in tutelam provinciarum praesidia atque custodias ubique disposuit, per Mosam flumen, per Albim, per Visurgim. Nam per Rheni quidem ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxit.

Florus should be read in the edition of Jo. G. Graevius, which is profusely illustrated. Some remarks in the preface deserve to be quoted.

Cum primum illi manum admoverem, constitueram non nisi nummos et monumenta quaedam antiqua quibus illustraretur adponere, ut ex iis cognosci possent et virorum insignium vultus, et primo intuitu intelligi quid essent fasces, ancilia, Palladium, Janus bifrons, sellae curules, et si quae sunt hujus generis alia non pauca. His mire et ad antiquitatis studium et ad historias cognoscendas incitari adolescentes saepius cognoram, et facilius quae legerant et audierant memoriae infigi.

Graevius was well qualified to express an opinion concerning the educational value of archaeology, because he had experience of it as a Professor at Utrecht, and also published the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum* in 12 vols, folio, 1694-1699. Classical studies would have been cultivated with greater advantage,

if subsequent critics and teachers had followed the suggestions offered long ago. The portrait of Graevius adorns the sumptuous work entitled *Richardi Bentleii et doctorum virorum Epistolae, partim mutuae*, Lond. 1807 4to., which was edited by Dr. Charles Burney, but appeared anonymously; see Bishop Monk's instructive and entertaining *Life of Bentley*, 2nd edition, 1833, vol. i, p. 49, and ib. 159, note 21. The Delphin Florus bears on the title page the name of Madame Dacier, Anna Tanaquilli Fabri filia; there are no engravings, and her notes are comparatively unimportant.

<sup>2</sup> Lipsius, edit. Tacitus, Antverpiae, 1607, prints Magontiacum, but two of the best among recent editors, Orelli, 1848, C. Halm, 1864, give the form as above in my text. I think this is more likely to be correct; Magontiacum may have proceeded from unconscious imitation, approximating to later and modern names of the city.

Ammianus Marcellinus, who flourished in the latter half of the fourth century, calls this city Mogontiacus, and makes it feminine; similarly he writes *Argentoratus* for *Argentoratum*: edit. Eyssenhardt, lib. xv, cap. 11, § 8; xxvii, 10, 1, Mogontiacum praesidiis vacuum.

Ptolemy has another form, *Μογοντιακόν*, *Geographia*, lib. ii, cap. 9, § 8. Carol Müller's edition, vol. i, p. 223, contains the following note, *Apud ceteros auctores urbs vocatur Mogontiacum et Maguntiacum, et seriore aevo Maguntia, Maguncia,*

Tacitus, in the fourth book of the *Histories*, relating the war with Civilis, the most formidable opponent the Romans encountered during the Upper Empire, mentions Mogontiacum no less than ten times, and each time in connection with military operations and events. The great historian—great equally in pictorial narrative and philosophic reflection—has devoted many chapters to this revolt, the forerunner of so many disasters, like drops of rain falling heavily on the ground, portending the long and angry storm that was to burst upon and shatter the fabric of Imperial dominion. He describes the march of the legions that had surrendered to the Gauls and Germans; he tells us how the hour of departure was more dismal than any expectation of it; how the busts of the Emperors were torn down and the standards untrimmed, while the ensigns of the Gauls were resplendent; how the army advanced silently as if it were a funeral procession, and their enemies crowded from the houses and fields to glut out their eyes with the unaccustomed spectacle. Then the Picentine squadron would not brook the insults of a rejoicing rabble, but forced its way to Mogontiacum, as to a safe harbour of refuge.<sup>1</sup>

No better illustration of the concluding statement can be imagined than that which is afforded by a Roman gravestone now in the Museum at Mayence.

SILIVS · A · TTONIS · F  
EQ · ALAE · PICENN  
AN · XLV · STIP · XXIV  
H · F · C<sup>2</sup>

*Inferiori Germaniae ascribitur perperam. Error ex eo pendet quod urbs ex earum numero est quas Ptolemaeus justo magis boream versus collocat. For other varieties see the Antonine Itinerary. edit. Parthey and Pinder, pp. 350, 355 and 374 (the pagination being that of Wesseling added in the margin).*

In the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, edit. Mannert, 1824, *Segmentum ii B*, Mogontiacum (sic) is distinguished by two towers, like *Augusta Treverorum*; this is the sign of an important city. Dr. Konrad Miller has published the Table, which he calls the *Weltkarte des Castorius* (1888), with the same colours as the original; here the upper part of the towers is purple, and the lower yellow.

Brunet's *Supplément au Manuel du*

*Libraire, Dictionnaire de Géographie ancienne et moderne*, besides other information, includes *Les recherches bibliographiques les plus étendues sur l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans les différentes villes de l'Europe*. Hence the article on Mayence, where printing was invented by Gutenberg (*Gensfleisch*), is unusually elaborate.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Hist. iv.*, 62, *Et volgata captarum legionum fama cuncti, qui paulo ante Romanorum nomen horrebant, procurrentes ex agris tectisque et undique effusi insolito spectaculo nimium fruebantur. Non tulit ala Picentina gaudium insulantis vulgi, spretisque, Sancti promissis aut minis Mogontiacum abeunt.*

<sup>2</sup> The *Ala Picentina* has a special interest for English readers, because we

## Expansion.

Silius, Attonis filius, eques alae Picentinae, annorum quadraginta quinque, stipendiorum viginti quattuor: heres faciendum curavit.

## Translation.

Silius, son of Atto, a horse-soldier of the Picentine squadron, 45 years old, served in 24 campaigns: his heir erected this monument.<sup>1</sup>

know it was one of the bodies of Roman troops that occupied our own country. It occurs in a military diploma of Hadrian found at Rivington, near Stannington, Yorkshire: *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, pp. 6-8. Six alae and twenty one cohorts were mentioned. Opposite p. 7 is a coloured fac-simile of both sides of the remaining plate. With the Cavalry and Infantry here enumerated comp. Map at p. 1, showing approximately the localities from which many of the Forces doing battle in the Mural District were drawn.

See also *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Inscr. Britanniae Latinae, edit. Hübner, p. 215, cap. lxxv., *Privilegia militum veteranorumque de civitate et conubio* . . . vulgo appellantur non recte tabulae honestae missionis, contra breviter diplomata militaria dici possunt. P. 218 sq., No. 1195, he gives the name thus PICENT[A], and the expansion Picent [i] a [n(a)]. The characters were engraved on two sheets of metal folded together, and fastened by thongs passing through holes which are still to be seen. Forcellini correctly explains the word *Diploma*, ita dictae (literae) a forma, quia formabantur in modo tabellarum duplicium, like a diptych.

Orelli, *Collectio Inscr. Latinarum*, vol. i., No. 737, honestae missionis formula; note 1, Sex illa O foramina referunt tabulae plicatilis; ib. No. 2652; vol. ii., Nos. 3571, 3577, 3592.

It is said that the *ala* usually consisted of 300 cavalry: comp. Livy, bk. iii., chap. 62, equites duarum legionum sexcenti fere ex equis desiliunt; but the number, as is the case with our own regiments, seems to have varied according to circumstances. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, s. v. Exercitus, p. 507, § 8; p. 509, § 12. The *ala* (wing of an army) was subdivided into 10 turmae; hence Milton says,

Legions and cohorts, turms of horse  
and wings.

Paradise Regained, Book IV., v. 66: on which Bishop Newton has the following

note, Troops of horse. A word coined from the Latin *turma*. Virg. *Aen.* v. 560 *Equitum turmae*.

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is the more valuable because the *ala Picentina* is not mentioned elsewhere by Tacitus or any other writer: v. Orelli's Commentary, Tac. Hist. iv., 26. Forcellini explains the adjective in this passage as derived from Picentia in Campania, and refers to Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. iii., cap. v., § 70 (edit. Sillig), a *Surrento ad Silarum amnem triginta millia passuum ager Picentinus fuit Tuscorum, templo Junonis Argivae ab Jasone condito insignis. Intus oppidum Salerni, Picentia (the coast of Amalfi)*. But I think that the great lexicographer is mistaken; more probably *ala Picentina* should be connected with Picenum than with the obscure Picentini. In a letter from Pompey to Domitius inserted in Cicero ad Atticum, after the 12th Epistle of the 8th book, and marked C, *Picentinae cohortes* occur; and from the context, where he speaks of Umbria and Luceria, we may infer that these troops were raised in Picenum, all these places being on the Adriatic.

Of this province Ancona was the chief town and only port; the journey to it is a tedious one, but the classical traveller is compensated for his fatigue by the sight of Trajan's beautiful arch—remarkable for the dazzling splendour of its white marble, fine proportions, and inscriptions recording the names not only of the Emperor but also of his wife Plotina and his sister Marciana: Francke, *Zur Geschichte Trajan's und seiner Zeitgenossen*, pp. 593—595, *Hafenbauten*, esp. p. 594, the three inscr. in full: Orelli, vol. i., p. 190, No. 792.

Cicero de Senectute iv., 11, uses the adjective Picens from Picenum; and Horace has Picens, Sat. ii., 3, 272, Picens excerpens semina pomis; *ibid.*, 4, 70. Ptolemy calls the people who lived on the southern side of the mountains between the bays of Naples and Salerno *Πικεντινοί*, and the inhabitants of Picenum *Πικηνοί*, Geogr. lib. iii., c. 1, §§ 7, 18.



It was found about ten miles south of Mayence, in Rhenish Hesse, between Dienheim and Ludwigshöhe, villages on the left bank of the Rhine, near Oppenheim (*Bauconica*), and therefore at a spot nearly equidistant from Mayence and Worms (*Borbitomagus*) the capital of the Vangiones, and afterwards of the kingdom of the Burgundians who came from the Baltic. This city is marked twice in the Antonine Itinerary; 1, on the road from Milan (*Mediolanum*) to Mayence through the Pennine Alps; 2, on the road from Trèves to Strassburg (*Argentoratum*).<sup>1</sup>

Above the inscription is a relief that represents a man reclining on a couch with cushions, and a tripod table before him, on which vessels for eating and drinking are placed; at the side there is a slave in attendance. With this scene we may compare plate xii, fig 1 in the second volume of Bottiger's *Sabina*, facing p. 173, where we see a father of a family at the dinner-table together with his wife, he is semi-recumbent, she is seated beside him.<sup>2</sup> But a parallel example may be found at home; the British Museum possesses a fine bas-relief of which the subject is Bacchus received by Icarius in the garden of a villa. Close to the couch upon which the latter reclines stands

<sup>1</sup> For Oppenheim see Baedeker, *Rheinlande*, p. 121, and map of Rhenish Hesse, No. 12, opposite p. 122.

I subjoin from the Antonine Itinerary the latter part of the route a *Mediolano per Alpes Penninas Mogontiacum*, edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 169, Wesseling, p. 355

Noviomago (Speier) ... mpm. xi

Borbitomago (Worms)... mpm. xiii

Bauconica (Oppenheim) ...mpm. xiii

Mogontiacum (Mainz) .....mpm. xi.

Cf. Ptolemy, *Geogr.* II, 9, § 9, 'Ὀυαγγίωνων δὲ Βορβητόμαγος; on which Car. Müller has the following note, vol. i, p. 229, *Borgetomagi Tabula Peutling*; *Bormitomago Itin.* p. 355, 3,374, 6 *codices longe plurimi*.

Ammianus Marcellinus (relating the campaigns of the Emperor Julian) xvi, 2, 12, *Audiens itaque Argentoratum Brotomagus Tabernas Salisonem Nemetas et Vangionas et Mogontiacum civitates barbaros possidentes*; comp. the German nations enumerated by Caesar in the account of his battle with Ariovistus, *Bell. Gall.* i, 51. *Brotomagus*, otherwise *Brocomagus*, *Ptol* ii, 9, 9 *Βρευκόμαγος*

*hodie Brumat*, is situated a little north of Strassburg on the ancient road from that city to Cologne (Col. *Agrippina*). It must not be confounded with *Borbitomagus*, which Ammianus indicates by the word *Vangiones*, substituting the name of the people for that of their chief city, just as we see it done in the map of modern France, *c.g.* *Caesarodunum* is now called *Tours* from *Turones*. *Borbitomagus* was corrupted into *Wormatia*, from which *Worms* is derived: *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, s.v. *Vangiones* etc.

For the topography of the whole district see the *Notitia dignitatum in partibus Occidentis*, edit. Bocking, cap. xxxix, *Dux Moguntiacensis*, p. 116\* sq., *Annot.* pp. 958\*—981\*; and esp. for *Vangiones* and *Wormatia al.* *Warmatia*, *Guarmatia* pp. 966\*—968\*.

<sup>2</sup> This bas-relief was found in the island of Samos by the celebrated botanist Tournefort, and described by him in the *Relation d'un voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roi*, Tome ii, p. 167, edit. 4to. Bottiger has copied his engraving; *Op. citat* *Erklärung der Kupfertafeln*, zur achten Szene p. 255.

a tripod table, bearing a cantharus (two-handled drinking cup), fruit and cakes. Description of the Ancient Marbles by Taylor Combe, part ii, plate iv, show the details very accurately.<sup>1</sup> We find the same subject in Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis*, p. 310, pl. xviii, with the addition of Erigone, daughter of Icarius, and amplified by a more numerous assemblage of figures; but the *provenance* is not stated. Below the inscription is a man wearing a broad mantle that falls symmetrically in front and behind, slit up on both sides, and over it a *sagum* fixed by a brooch on the right shoulder; he leads a horse with saddle and bridle. In the upper part of the man's helmet we observe undulations that seem to imitate curls of human hair; his garment, reaching to the knees, has a fringe at the bottom. The horse, ornamented as usual with bosses (phalerae), carries the rider's shield on his left side; three straps hang down from each end of the saddle which is placed on a cloth. Both reliefs were formerly painted. The material employed is limestone, and the dimensions are:—height, 2 mètres 45 centimètres; breadth 84 cent.; thickness, 32 cent.<sup>2</sup> I exhibit an engraving of the lower portion of this monument,<sup>3</sup> also of another

<sup>1</sup> Taylor Combe devotes more than five pages to this subject, and cites many Greek and Latin authors at length. Much the same information may be obtained from Sir H. Ellis's *Townley Gallery*, vol. ii, pp. 141-145, woodcut opposite p. 141. The text and notes are learned, but, as might be expected in a cheap and popular work, the illustration is very inferior.

<sup>2</sup> References to the literature connected with this Inscription are given in Jacob Becker's *Catalog*, entitled *Die römischen Inschriften und Steinsculpturen des Museums der Stadt Mainz*, 1875, p. 72, No. 222. Brambach, *Corpus Inscr. Rhennanarum*, No. 915.

<sup>3</sup> The design below the inscription is accurately described by Dr. Lindenschmit—the best living authority, as far I know, for the accoutrements of the Roman army: *Tracht und Bewaffnung des römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rheinischen Denkmale und Fundstücke, dargestellt in zwölf Tafeln und erläutert*, 1882, p. 24, Taf. viii, No. 2.

In tripartite monuments of this class, the reliefs under the epitaph are, I think, usually, as here, specific; i.e., they indi-

cate the profession or occupation of the deceased. A. Müller considers that Silius belonged to the *Equites Singulares*, or *Singularii*. They are thus described by De Vit (s.v. *singularis* § 11), who has added much to the original article in Forcellini's lexicon, *Fuerunt militum genus praetorianis proximum tum custodiae munere, tum praetenturae vicinia in castris, ex provincialibus institutum*. . . . *Equites praetoriani latere dextro praetorii, singulares imperatoris latere sinistro tendere debent*. *Inscr.* apud Gruter, 367, 2; 516, 8; 1028, 2; 1041, 12; Henzen, in *Annali dell' Istituto Archeologico*, a. 1850. De Vit makes a distinction between these troops and the *ala singularium* in Tacitus, *Histories* iv, 70; v. Orelli *in loco*, who quotes Raph. Fabretti, p. 354.

In a Roman camp the *Praetentura* above mentioned extended from the *Porta Praetoria* facing the enemy (as we see it now at Ratisbon, *Castra Regina*), to the *Via Principalis*. The central division was called *Latera Praetorii*; and the part behind it, towards the *Porta Decumana*, was the *Retentura*: *Dictionary of Ant.*, pp. 252-254 with plan, s.v. *Castra*: The Roman Castellum Saalburg, by Col. Von

belonging to the same class, viz., Roman cavalry. The grave-stone which it represents was found at Zahlbach, near Mayence, where considerable remains of an aqueduct still exist. Under the group of figures in relief is the following Inscription;—

ANDES · SEX · F ·  
CIVES · RAETI  
NIO · EQ · ALA ·  
CLAVD · AN · XXX ·  
STIP · V · H · S · E · H · F · C · 1

Andes, Sexti filius, cives Raetinio, eques alae Claud-  
ianae, annorum triginta, stipendiorum quinque, hic situs  
est: heres faciendum curavit.<sup>2</sup>

Andes, son of Sextus, a citizen of Raetinium, a horse  
soldier of the Claudian squadron, thirty years old, who  
served in five campaigns, lies here. His heir erected this  
monument.<sup>3</sup>

Cohausen and L. Jacobi, p. 13, plate ii,  
English Translation.

Neither Silius nor Atto occurs in  
Romano-British epigraphy. The former,  
a *nomen gentile*, is not uncommon in  
literature, and especially frequent in  
Tacitus; the inscriptions also furnish ex-  
amples. We meet with P. SILIVS at Car-  
thagera (*Carthago Nova*), Hübner, *Inscr.*  
*Hispaniae Latinae*, No. 3414. Probably  
P. Silius Nerva is meant, who was Consul  
under Augustus, B.C. 20, the year when  
the Parthians restored the Roman stan-  
dards. Of all who bore the name, the  
best known is Caius Silius passionately  
loved by the notorious Messalina: Juvenal,  
*Sat.* x, 331 seqq.

Optimus hic, et formosissimus idem  
Gentis patriciae rapitur miser extin-  
guendus

Messalinae oculis.

Lo! this most noble, this most beauteous  
youth,

Is hurried off, a helpless sacrifice

To the lewd glance of Messalina's eyes!

Gifford's Translation.

<sup>1</sup> Becker, *Op. citat.*, p. 72, No. 223.  
Brambach, *Inscr.* Rhenan. 1223.

<sup>2</sup> Orthography requires us to write  
*heres* rather than *haeres*. The early  
scholars Manutius and Cellarius express  
this opinion, which is supported by the  
testimony of manuscripts and the  
stronger evidence of inscriptions. Some-  
times the aspirate is omitted: Gruter,  
521, 7, ERES B.M.F.; 526, 7, EREDES  
FECERVNT. Comp a similar variety in  
*herus* and *erus*. De Vit, s.v. *Heres*,  
written without the diphthong, prevents  
confusion with *haeres* 2d. pers. ind. act.  
of the verb *haereo*.

Bentley in his celebrated edition of  
Horace prints *heres* uniformly, as far as  
I have observed; the index, however,  
has *haeres*, but it is of no authority, as  
coming from another and inferior hand.  
Professor Key's Latin-English Diction-  
ary, which alas! is only a fragment  
derives *heres* from the obsolete *her*, *heris*  
akin to the German Herr, owner, heir,  
and explains *ed* = *eg*, a diminutive  
suffix, which is in Greek *ay* or *ak*; comp.  
*merces*, *mercedis*, *pinguedo*, *gravedo*,  
*dulcedo*, *teredo*; hence the word means  
literally young owner. In Plautus  
*Menaechmi*, iii, 2, 12, edit. Ritschl  
apstuli  
Hanc, quouis heres nūquam erit post  
hūc diem.

One manuscript (A) has HAERES.

<sup>3</sup> Every classical scholar is familiar  
with Andes, a village near Mantua, the  
birth-place of Virgil; according to tra-  
dition it is represented by the modern  
Pietola. The name occurs three times  
in Caesar as equivalent to Andecavi or  
Andegavi, a Gallic tribe in the lower  
valley of the Loire: Bell. Gall., ii. 35;  
iii, 7; vii, 4. They joined with other  
Gauls bordering on the ocean in the  
confederacy led by Vercingetorix, which  
vainly endeavoured to shake off the  
Roman yoke. Lucan appears to have  
another form of the name, *Andus*,

In nebulis, Meduana, tuis, marcere  
perosus

Andus, jam placida Ligeris recreatur  
ab unda.

Pharsalia, i, 438, sqs.

but Burmann has marked the passage as  
spurious, and Bentley says that it is not  
found in any of the MSS. that he colla-



An engraving, on a reduced scale, one-ninth of the original, is given by Dr. Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Heft XI., Tafel 6 (Römische Grabsteine). The group consists of a rider, an attendant and a German lying on the ground: of these figures the first has a helmet with cheek pieces, a lance in his right hand, and an oval shield in his left; his sword is on his right side, but I cannot see any belt by which it was attached. However, the most interesting part of the composition is the barbarian—proved to be so by his wild expression of countenance, pointed beard and hair turned back. Moreover, he attempts to wound the horse with a short curved sword,<sup>1</sup> such as we see amongst the spoils taken from the Germans in the ensign of a cohort, figured by Dr. Lindenschmit, Heft VII., Taf. 5. He wears close-fitting trousers, a part of German costume, fastened by a girdle, and covering the calf of the leg. It is worthy of notice that Lucan, *Pharsalia*, lib. I., v. 431, speaks of the Vangiones (Worms) as imitating the loose trousers of the Sarmatians,

Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,  
Vangiones.

Raetinium, called by Pliny Rataneum, is now Rudunich, a town of Dalmatia, near the coast, between Salonae and the island of Melita.<sup>2</sup> In the map which accompanies

ted. The Antonine Itinerary mentions the Andium Insulae, Itinerarium Maritimum—In mari Oceano quod Gallias et Britannias interluit, Andium Sidelis Uxantis (Ouessant, Ushant) Sina (Sein), edit. Wesseling, p. 50, 9. Hinc colligi potest Andes aliquando fines suos usque ad mare protulisse; De Vit, *Onomasticon*, s.v. Andes.

I have not met with Andes as the name of a man elsewhere, but in our own country we find some abbreviations that resemble it. Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Lat.*, No. 143 AND, in castris Romanis prope Trawsfynnyd ad viam Romanam, now . . . at Tan-y-bwlch Hall, Merionethshire; *ibid.* No. 1331<sup>11</sup> ANDON, Camulduni (Colchester) in ansa amphorae aut in margine catini.

<sup>1</sup> The attitude of this figure admirably illustrates a passage in Tacitus: *Annals*, bk. ii, ch. 11, Chariovalda dux Batavorum . . . congestis telis et suffosso equo labitur. *Comp. Caesar, Bell. Gall.* iv, 12, where he relates the war with the

Usipetes and Tenchteri, German tribes on the right bank of the Rhine (*hodie Westphalia*),—suffossisque equis, compluribusque nostris dejectis, and *ibid.*, equo vulnerato dejectus.

An English translation published by Talboys, Oxford, and professing to be a literal version renders *suffosso equo* by "his horse being killed;" but this is inadequate, because the force of the preposition *sub* (under) is not expressed. Tacitus means that the animal was stabbed in the belly. The Italian interpreter, Bernardo Davanzati, does not succeed much better with his phrase *mortogli sotto il cavallo*. Translations of the classics have often been made by second-rate scholars, who through ignorance and carelessness have misrepresented the originals; so they have verified the proverb, *Traduttori, traditori*.

<sup>2</sup> We are accustomed to the form *Dalmatia*, and most editions of Horace in the *Odes*, ii, 1, 16, have

Dalmatico peperit triumpho,

Mr. A. J. Evans's Researches in Illyricum, Archæologia, vol. xlviii, between pages 2 and 3, Runovic seems to correspond with the situation of Rataneum. According to Hardouin, the modern name is Mucarisca. Dion Cassius relates that it was set on fire by the inhabitants, and taken by Germanicus; he says the Romans suffered great loss, being burnt as well as wounded. An illustration of this locality is supplied by a monument discovered at Bingen in 1860, erected to a soldier of the third cohort of Dalmatians (DELMATARVM).<sup>1</sup>

We may remark that natives of distant provinces served in the army on the Rhenish frontier; so in the next inscription, Becker's Catalogue, No. 224, mention is made of a soldier buried near Mayence, who came from Celeia in Noricum (Styria). Similarly, the Lapidarium Septentrionale records the presence of Spanish troops in Britain—the first and second Ala, and the second Cohort of Astures. It was evidently part of the wise policy of the Romans to distribute their forces in such a way that there should be no danger of sympathizing with disloyal subjects.<sup>2</sup>

where the victory of Pollio is referred to; but Orelli reads *Delmatico* with the following note: Scripturam *Delmatia* præbent Inscriptiones (Grut. p. 96, l. in inscript. a.u.c. 763, BELLO DELMATICO) interdum et Codices, ut h.l. antiquissimus noster B. Similarly Florus, Epitome Rerum Romanarum, lib. iv, cap. xii, § 11, relating a former war with the Dalmatians, says Hos jam quidem Marcius (i.e., C. Marcius Figulus, Cos. B.C. 162) incensa urbe Delminio quasi detruncaverat, v. the note of Freinshemius in the Variorum Commentary of Graevius's edition, p. 528. In the map mentioned above the DELMINENSES are marked East of Salonæ.

Mr. Arthur Evans has adopted the form Salonæ, which is more usual than Salona; both the singular and plural occur in Greek as well as Latin—Σαλώνα, Σαλώνας. The place derives its celebrity chiefly from having been the retreat of Diocletian: Gibbon, chap. xiii, vol. ii, pp. 101–103, edit. Dr. W. Smith. Comp. Lucan, Pharsalia, iv, 404, Qua maris Hadriaci longas ferit unda Salonas, Et tepidum in molles Zephyros excurrit Iader.

In Smith's Dict. of Classical Geography this reference is given incorrectly.

The modern city of Spálato is near the ruins of the ancient Salona, and is built chiefly on the site of Diocletian's Palace. *Spálatro* is incorrect, because the name comes from the Latin *Palatium*: in this respect books of reference may mislead.

<sup>1</sup> See Lindenschmit, Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, zehntes Heft, Tafel v. Besides the Inscription, this monument is remarkable for the ornament covering the lower part of the abdomen (somewhat like the *sporran* worn by our Highland regiments), which is unusually well preserved; also for two bas-reliefs of figures from the Mithraic cycle.

<sup>2</sup> Lapid. Septent., Nos. 27, 28, 116, 121, 943, 285, 288; Bruce, Roman Wall, edit. 4to.; First Ala of Astures, Benwell, p. 109; Second Ala of Astures, Chesters, pp. 64, 158; Second cohort of Astures, Great Chesters, pp. 63, 235. Now that many attempts are being made to dismember our own country, it would be well for us to study the lessons of history, and consider by what means the Romans consolidated their empire, enabled it to resist external attacks, and made it last so long.

The cenotaph of Manius Caelius holds a foremost place among the antiquities of the Rhine-land, on account of its intrinsic importance and the event which it commemorates; and I beg permission to describe it as an example parallel to the leading features of the Mayence collection. Mr. Roach Smith has treated this subject in his *Collectanea*, vol ii, but by no means in an exhaustive manner, so that some new particulars may be added on the present occasion.

M' CAELIVS

M · L ·

PRIVATVS ·

M' CAELIVS

M · L ·

THIAMINVS ·

M'CAELIO · T · F · LEM — BoN —

— O LEG · XIIIX · ANN — LIII<sup>s</sup>

· CIDIT · BELLO VARIANO OSSA

· NFERRE · LICEBIT · P · CAELIVS · T · F ·

LEM · FRATER · FECIT ·

Manius Caelius, Manii libertus Privatus. Manius Caelius, Manii libertus Thiaminus.—Manio Caelio, Titi filio, Lemonia (tribu) Bon (onia, lega)to legionis duodevicesimae, annorum quinquaginta trium semis. (Ce)cidit bello Variano. Ossa (i)nferre licebit. Publius Caelius, Titi filius Lemonia (tribu) frater fecit.

Manius Caelius Privatus, freedman of Manius. Manius Caelius Thiaminus, freedman of Manius—To Manius Caelius, son of Titus, of the Lemonian tribe, of Etonia, general commanding the eighteenth legion, fifty-three and a half years old, He fell in the war of Varus. The bones may be brought here. Publius Caelius, son of Titus, of the Lemonian tribe, his brother, erected this monument.<sup>1</sup>

The great difficulty here is in the beginning of the second line, where the military rank of the deceased is indicated. I have translated the inscription according to Overbeck's supposition, viz., that we have here the termination of the word *legato*. Some read O (inverted C)

<sup>1</sup> Varns was defeated by the German chieftain Arminius, and his three legions were nearly destroyed, A.D. 7, in the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, Teutoburger Wald. Hence Tacitus, *Annals*, bk. ii, chap. 15, puts into the mouth of Arminius these taunting words, *Hos esse Romanos, Varii exercitus fugacissimos* (the worst runaways), with which he

encourages his troops to oppose Germanicus.

A colossal statue of Hermann, the national hero, has been erected on the spot where the battle is supposed to have been fought. It can easily be visited in an excursion from Detmold: Murray's *Handbook for the Rhine and North Germany*, 20th edition, 886, p. 178 sq.

instead of TO and explain it as the abbreviation of *Centurioni*, which agrees very well with the *vitis* (staff made of a vine-branch) in the hand of Caelius; but this view cannot be accepted because the letter on the stone is an O fully closed. As there is not room for three large capitals, one of the critics has proposed TR O as a solution of the problem, these characters would of course stand for *Tribuno*, we may compare BoN for Bononia in the preceding line, and account for the disappearance of the R by the fact that the stone is here much weathered. Lastly, it has been conjectured that O stands for *Optio*, the assistant of the centurion (captain) or vice-centurion as the Germans translate it.<sup>1</sup> The lexicographer Festus uses the word *adjutor* to explain *Optio*; and hence probably modern dictionaries have rendered it by *adjutant*, the officer who has charge of the drill in a regiment, as the adjutant-general superintends the discipline of the army. But the centurion's deputy had no special functions of this kind, so that, I think, our military title *lieutenant* would be more equivalent. One would expect to find the Dative here, in apposition with the name Caelio which precedes; but if *Optio* is read, it must be in the Nominative, and constructed with the following verb *cecidit*.<sup>2</sup>

On each side of Manius Caelius is the bust of a freed-man whom he had manumitted, surmounting a pedestal.

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck thought that the letters on the stone were LRO, but admits that there is no other example of this abbreviation of *legato* in Roman lapidary inscriptions. Dr. A. Müller, of Flensburg, follows the opinion that Caelius was a vice- or sub-centurion: see his elaborate and copiously illustrated article *Waffen* in Baumeister's *Denkmaler des Klassischen Altertums*, 3 Band, p. 2049 sq.

At first sight one would infer from the number and magnificence of his decorations that Caelius was of higher rank than a centurion; but the argument is by no means conclusive, because the effigy of an officer who belonged to this class, the Veronese Q. Sertorius, presents an appearance even more splendid. Lindenschmidt, *Op. citat.*, Heft vi, Taf. 5, discusses fully the interpretations above mentioned, and cites an apposite passage from Velleius Paterculus, who records the heroism of Calpurnius Caelius, taken

prisoner in the same war, *Ilist. Rom. lib. ii, cap. 120, § 6*, edit. J. C. Orelli; p. 74 B, edit. Lipsius, 1607.

<sup>2</sup> *Optio* occurs on a votive altar found at Saalburg, and now deposited in the Museum at Homburg.

IN . H . D . D . GENIO  
C . SO . OVPITI .  
PRIMIUS AVSO  
. OPTIO . POSIT

Das Romercastell Saalburg von A. V. Cohausen, Oberst. z. D. und Conservator und L. Jacobi, Baumeister, p. 46; English Translation, p. 24. This inscription has been carved over an earlier one, like a palimpsest. I suspect that in some cases the letters have not been copied correctly.

Riddle and Arnold in their English-Latin Dictionary propose *sergeant* as a translation of *optio*, but the inferiority of a non-commissioned officer renders this term unsuitable.

In this case, as usual, the *libertini* received the *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium* of the patron. We have a famous example of this practice in the comic poet Publius Terentius Afer, the freedman of Publius Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator.<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of remark that these two busts are smaller than that of the chief personage. So in the Cathedral at Mayence, among the monuments of the episcopal electors, Bishop Peter von Aspelt is represented as large as life, while the emperors whom he had crowned are only half the size.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Egypt supplies illustrations of a date long antecedent to the group now before us. The first plate in vol. i. of Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians shows Rameses III returning with his prisoners to Thebes; he looks like a giant surrounded by a generation of dwarfs, for, as compared with the monarch, both the captives and his sons, who attend as fan-bearers, are quite diminutive.

However, the central figure demands much closer attention than the subordinate ones, the superiority of Caelius being indicated not only by size, but by position and decorations. He wears the *corona civica*, one of the most honourable distinctions, and conferred on him who had saved the life of a fellow citizen in battle. It consisted of a wreath of oak leaves and acorns,<sup>3</sup> which in this case were united by a medallion. Round the neck is a *torquis* standing out prominently, so that it cannot be confounded with the folds of the under clothing.<sup>4</sup> Two armlets (*armillae*) are suspended by ribbons in front of

<sup>1</sup> Bentley in the Preface to his edition of the Fables of Phaedrus and the Proverbs (*Sententiae*), of Publius Syrus, bound up with Terence, calls attention to the emancipation of these authors—*Hi tres pari conditione Liberti et Peregrini*.

The manumitted slave was called the *libertus* of his former master, but he was said to belong to the class of *libertini*. This distinction is explained in the Dictionary of Antiquities, p. 705. Art. by Mr. G. Long, and in Adam's Roman Antt. p. 28, edit. 1834.

<sup>2</sup> Murray's Handbook for North Germany, &c., notices this fact; comp. Baedeker, Rheinlande p. 200. The name is variously spelt, Aichspalt and Asfeldt.

<sup>3</sup> A good example is supplied by the brass coins of Vespasian, which are large

enough to show clearly both the leaves and the acorns: legend of reverse

R.S.P.Q.R. ADSECTORI LIBERTATIS PVBLICAE

Dans une couronne de chêne. Cohen, Médailles Impériales, tome i, p. 326 sq., Nos. 462-464; also S.P.Q.R. OB CIV. SER, i.e. *cives servatos*, Nos. 465-469. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vi, p. 329—Thesaurus Morellianus, tom. iii, Nummi aurei Imperatoris Vespasiani, Tab. v, num. 30; Tab. vi, 8, 9, 10. Numismata Vespasiani ex Ære Magno, Tab. xiii, 15, 16; Tab. xiiii, 17, Scriptum intra coronam queream ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΑΝΚΙΟΣ ΟΥΑΡΟΞ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΞ.

<sup>4</sup> Rein, ap. Baumeister Art. Waffen, conjectures that the large ring round the neck is the *torquis major*, and that the smaller ones on the breast are the *torques*



the breast, and smaller bracelets adorn the wrists; but the bosses (*phaleræ*) are still more conspicuous, being five medallions arranged in two rows; in the upper Medusa's head takes the central place between two others that are ivy-crowned and evidently Bacchanalian: below, one medallion is for the most part concealed behind the wrist; the other, which is distinctly visible, exhibits a lion's head.<sup>1</sup> Caelius wears a leathern cuirass (*lorica*); this may be inferred from the appearance of the shoulders, where there is no sign of joints or hinges, which would be required if the armour was metallic, in order that the arms might work freely. He holds in his right hand the vine-staff (*vitis*), usually indicating a centurion, but also carried by *evocati* who had the same military rank.<sup>2</sup>

The classical tourist ought not to leave the Museum without taking a turn in the court yard and examining

*minores*, which seems very plausible. In support of this opinion, he refers to an inscription in Gruter, p. xcvi, 1, quoted above for another purpose. It is given with some variation by Orelli, No. 1584, \*IANO PATRI || AVG. SACRVM || C. IVLIVS C. F. STR || ATOR AED. DONATVS AB. TI. CAES. || AVG. F. AVGVSTO TORQVE || MAIORE. BELLO DELMATICO. OB HONOREM || II VIRATVS CVM LIBERIS || SVIS POSVIT. The editor remarks *Mihi . . . de fraude suspecta est*, but the asterisk prefixed implies that he doubted whether the inscription is genuine.

<sup>1</sup> *Phaleræ* were originally metal ornaments attached to the harness of horses, and were afterwards worn by soldiers on their breasts. There were two kinds, plain and figured; of the former we see an example in the monument of Cneius Musius, an eagle-bearer (*aquilifer*), engraved by Lindenschmit, Op. citat., Heft iv, Taf. 6; they consist of nine round discs—the same shape as Polybius denotes by the term *φιάλη* (*patera*), lib. vi, cap. 39, § 3, τῶ δὲ καταβαλόντι καὶ σκυλευσαντι τῷ μὲν περὶ φιάλην, τῷ δὲ ἑπτὰ φάλαρα. Of the latter variety some specimens were found in 1858 at Lauersfort between Moers and Krefeld, closely corresponding with the decorations of Caelius: they are nine medallions with the devices in high relief—Gorgons, youthful Bacchus, Venus, Silenus, lion, etc.

Persius uses the word *phaleræ* in a secondary and figurative sense to mean external advantages that make a show: Sat. iii, v. 30, Ad populum phaleras: ego te intus et in cute novi.

Away! these trappings to the rabble show:

Me they deceive not; for your soul I know,

Within, without.

*Gifford's Translation.*

Heinrich has a good note in his Commentary. *Phaleræ*, Pferdeschmuck, Putz überhaupt, Blendwerk. "Das ist Blendwerk für den grossen Haufen, nicht für den Denkenden, den Weisen!"

<sup>2</sup> Representations of centurions in military costume are by no means common, but a very interesting one was discovered by Mr. George Joslin near Colchester, August, 1868. The Rev. B. Lodge has written an accurate description of this sepulchral monument, in which the figure carries a *vitis*. This memoir is accompanied by a good engraving, which, I think, has been repeated in Lewin's Life and Epistles of St. Paul. Comp. Juvenal, Sat. viii, v. 247, sq.,

Nodosam post haec frangebatur vertice vitem.

Si lentus pigrâ muniret castra dolabrâ; and Tacitus, Annals, lib. i, cap. 23. Centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militariibus facetiis vocabulum "cedo alteram" indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. See the instructive notes of Brotier and Orelli.

Juvenal says that the knotty vine-staff was broken about the head of Marius, if he was slow to work with his adze in fortifying the camp. Tacitus, narrating the mutiny of the Pannonian legions,

the remains of a Roman bridge deposited there:<sup>1</sup> the piles (*Pfahlrost*), were removed from the Rhine in 1881, and are arranged as they stood originally. We have not direct statements of historians or evidence of inscriptions to prove the exact date of erection; but we should bear in mind that, according to Florus, Drusus placed garrisons on the Meuse, Elbe and Weser, and as mentioned above, built a chain of more than fifty fortresses on the Rhine.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Tacitus mentions his fort on the Taunus, and Dion Cassius another erected by him in the country of the Catti, close to the Rhine, which seems to be Castel opposite Mainz. Hence we may conclude, with great probability, that he at least began the bridge, of which we now see the substructions, in order to preserve the communications with the right bank, and to make both sides of the stream thoroughly Roman, as they afterwards became.<sup>3</sup>

A leaden medallion found in the Saône at Lyons in the

mentions that the rioters put to death Lucilius, a centurion nicknamed *cedo alteram* (give me another), because, when he had broken his cane on the back of a soldier, he used to call aloud for another and then another. These two passages, written about the same time, are mutually illustrative; what is wanting in the poet is supplied by the historian and *vice versa*.

As the bust of a freedman is placed on either side of Caelius, so at Colchester the inscription informs us that the sepulchral monument was erected by two freedmen of the deceased: *VERECUNDVS ET . NOVICIVS . LIB . POSERVNT*.

The *vitis*, being a special badge of distinction, was used to express the centurion's office: *Ælii Spartiani Hadrianus*, cap. 10, §6, *locum castris caperet, nulli vitem nisi robusto et bonae famae daret*, with the note of Salmasius in the *Variorum* edition, Lugduni Batav, 1671. For other illustrations see the woodcuts in Rich's Companion to the Latin Dict., s. v. *Evocati* and *Vitis*.

<sup>1</sup> He can hardly see these relics without thinking of Cæsar's bridge over the Rhine described in his *Gallie War*, book iv, chap. 17. An engraving of it is given in Oudendorp's excellent edition, 4to., 1737, p. 187, *Pontis figura a Cæsare decem diebus ad Rhenum trajiciendum effecti*; it also appears as a frontispiece to Moberly's edition, 1879. But the two representations do not altogether agree; the latter is, I think, preferable, as coin-

ciding more closely with Cæsar's account; it shows the diagonal braces (*fibulae*) "passing from the head of each pile to the middle point of the next pile up or down stream." Note p. 269 s. f.

Cæsar broke the bridge down, *pontem rescidit*, *ibid.* c. 19, and its position cannot be determined exactly: some authorities place it near Bonn, but the majority are in favour of a site a little below Coblenz, near Andernach (*Antun-nacum*) on the left bank, and Neuwied on the right. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, edit. 8vo., vol. i, p. 46 sq. and note: C. Julii Cæsaris *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, edit. Prof. Hermann Rheinhard, *Illustrierte Schulausgabe*, 1889, pp. 87-89, Taf. V<sup>a</sup>, V<sup>b</sup>; pp. 243-245, *Addenda*, *Zum Bau der Rheinbrücke*.

<sup>2</sup> Florus, iv. 12, 26, *loc. citat.*, and see the note of Freinshemius in the *Variorum* Commentary, edit. Graevius, tom. i, p. 514.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, i, 56, speaking of Germanicus the son of Drusus, says, *positoque castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno, expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit*. Some suppose that the Saalburg, near Homburg, is meant; *vid. interpp. in loco*. Dion Cassius, lib. liv, cap. 33, *καὶ ἕτερον (i.e. φρούριον) ἐν Χάρτοις παρὰ τῷ Ῥήνῳ*.

Among the later Roman Emperors two deserve to be noticed in connection with the occupation of this region, Probus and

year 1862 seems to indicate that the arches were of stone. It was first published in the *Revue Numismatique*, but the most complete account of it is by Becker in the *Annalen des Vereins für Nass. Alterthumskunde und Geschichtsforschung*, IX, p. 152 ff, and X., p. 158 ff.<sup>1</sup> The ancient bridge was in the space between the present which is of iron, and the site of an earlier one of boats, but very much nearer the former position. I have not yet been able to study the details of construction, and must refer the inquirer to two German Memoirs: *Der Römische Brückenkopf in Kastel bei Mainz und die dortige Römerbrücke*, von Julius Grimm, 1882; and *Die römische Rheinbrücke bei Mainz*, von Baurath Heim und Dr. Wilh. Velke in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte u. Alterthümer in Mainz*, Band III., Heft 4, 1887. These publications are illustrated by plans and drawings on a scale sufficiently large.<sup>2</sup>

I have already said that nothing Roman can be seen at

Valentinian. The former is supposed but incorrectly, to have constructed the *Limes Transrhenanus* which protected the Agri Decumates (Suabia). Gibbon, chap xii (edit. Smith, vol. ii, p. 46), makes this statement, but does not give any ancient authority for it; and no evidence of the kind exists. See Mr. Thomas Hodgkin's Memoir quoted below, *The Pfahlgraben*, etc., pp. 82-88, especially p. 86 sqq. Again, it has been said that the culture of the vine was introduced on the Rhine and Moselle by the same Emperor; this account does not agree well with a passage in Vopiscus, *Life of Probus*, c. 18 § 8, *Gallis omnibus et Hispanis ac Britannis hinc permisit ut vites haberent vinumque conficerent, ipse Almam Montem in Illyrico circa Sirmium militari manu fossum lecta vine conseruit*. Perhaps we ought to read *conseruit* (planted): comp. Virgil, *Eclogue i*, v. 73, *en, quis conseruimus agros!* Cicero, *De Senectute* xvii, 59, *agrum diligenter consitum*. In Livy, x, 24, Drakenborch's text has *quam arborem conseruisset*, but the recent editors, Madvig and Weissenborn adopt the conjecture of Glareanus *conseruisset*.

Gibbon, in his narrative of Valentinian's campaigns and the defence of the Gallic frontier, remarks "The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and convenient towers,"

chap. xxv, edit, Smith, iii, 260 sq. It should be observed that the historian rightly uses the plural number in the beginning of the sentence. Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*, chap. xvii, *Valentinien sentit plus que personne la necessite de l'ancien plan; il employa toute sa vie à fortifier, les bords du Rhin, à y faire des levees, y batir des chateaux, y placer des troupes, leur donner le moyen d'y subsister*.

<sup>1</sup>This medallion is now preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and was shown to me by M. Ernest Babelon, bibliothécaire au Cabinet des Antiques. The reverse is perfectly plain.

<sup>2</sup>Four plates are appended to the former work: Taf. i Kastel, Situation des Romercastells und der Brücke. Taf. ii Längenprofil in der Linie A-B des Situationsplanes mit geometrischer Ansicht der reconstruirten ersten Römerbrücke. Längenprofil C-D, 30<sup>m</sup> nördlich von A-B. Taf. iii, 1, Rom. Medaille nach Frohner, 2 Castellmauer. Taf. iv Kastel, Nach einer amtlichen französischen Aufnahme von 1807.

The latter memoir is illustrated by six plates, Taf. ix-xiv: the following may be mentioned as specially interesting; ix, Situation der Pfeilerreste der römischen Rheinbrücke bei Mainz; xi, Pfahlrost der röm. Rheinbrücke (aufgestellt im Hofe des kurfürstl. Schlosses); xii

Mayence outside the precincts of the Museum; this is true for the city, but in its immediate neighbourhood the citadel contains a monument which is Roman both in name and in reality. It is a tower, now about twelve mètres high, at the south-west corner of the fortress, which stands on a hill and has succeeded the ancient *castrum*. The modern name of this structure, *Eigelstein* or *Eichelstein*, has been derived from the German *Eichel*, an acorn, because its shape is supposed to be similar. But this etymology seems fanciful and far-fetched, it would be better to connect the name with the Latin *aquila* (French *aigle*), especially as an old tradition relates that the building was erected by the legions in honour of Drusus. The words *Eigel* (*Eichel*) and *aquila* resemble each other more closely than appears at first sight, because the Romans pronounced QU as K or the hard C which is interchanged with G, as in the name Caius, frequently written Gaius.<sup>1</sup> It is said that games

Römische Werkzeuge von der Rheinbrücke. Hübner, after investigating the inscriptions, concludes that the Bridge should not be attributed to Drusus, but that it was probably erected about the end of the first century of our era.

There is an important and well known passage in Eumenius relating to this subject; Panegyricus Constantio Caesari, i.e. Constantius Chlorus (the Pale) father of Constantine the Great, Emperor, A.D. 305-306, cap. ii. A ponte Rheni usque ad Danubii transitum Guntiensem devastata atque exhausta penitus Allemannia. Guntia has been identified with Günzburg, which is situated a little east of Ulm, at the junction of the river Günz with the Danube; see the French translation "Discours d'Eumène" by Landriot and Rochet, note p. 176 sq. Cf. Brunet, Dict. de Géographie, s.v. Some authorities, however, assign Guntia to a different position: v. index to the Antonine Itinerary, edit. Parthey and Pinder.

Ammianus speaks of a bridge at Mayence constructed by the Emperor Julian, lib. xvii, c. 1, § 2 petiturus ipse Mogontiacum, ut ponte compacto transgressus in suis requireret barbaros, cum nullum reliquisset in nostris, refragante vetabatur exercitu.

The most recent discovery with which I am acquainted is that noticed in the Independence Belge of September 11, 1889. Un travail exécuté à Mayence pour l'agrandissement d'une usine a mis à nu, et dans un parfait état de conservation sous sa gangue de plâtre, une des

piles du vieux pont romain de l'antique Mogontia. Ce précieux débris a 6 mètres d'épaisseur.

The same No. of the Zeitschrift quoted above contains an article by Dr. Jakob Keller entitled Die neuen römischen Inschriften des Museums zu Mainz, Zweiter Nachtrag zum Beckerschen Katalog, which forms a valuable supplement to preceding publications.

<sup>1</sup> We infer that among the Romans qu was equivalent to k, from the fact that the preceding vowel is short in such words as *aqua*, *equus*; if qu had been pronounced, according to our English usage, as kw, that vowel would have been long by position. Moreover, *ecus* sometimes occurs instead of *equus*, e.g., in Heyne's Virgil edited by Wagner, Æneid vii, 189, Picus eum domitor, i.e. equorum; ibid. v. 651; and ix. 26, Dives eum: cf. Monro's note on Lucretius, i, 477. Accordingly, qu, like k, interchanges with the Greek Gamma: *quidem* is the same word as γε; cf. *equidem* εἰρωγε *siguidem* εἴγε. Key's alphabet, &c., Essay on Terentian Metres, p. 141 sq., and Latin Dict., 1888, s. v. *quidem* §13.

The explanation of Eigelstein given above is confirmed by the case of Aquileia, parallel both in form and derivation. Strabo, lib. iv, c. vi, §9, sqq. calls this city Ἀκυλία. and Ptolemy lib. iii, c. 1, §25 Ἀκουλία καὶ Ἀκωλία (Pape, Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen). The place received its name from the accidental omen of an eagle at the time of its foundation; Eustathius, commentary

and military spectacles were exhibited here on the anniversary of the death of Drusus. I have not found the authority for this statement; but if correct, it would tend to support the local tradition. We have already commented on the cenotaph of Cælius, which records one of the greatest disasters that ever befell the Romans, ranking with the surrender at the Caudine Forks, the battle of Cannæ, and the ignominious defeat of Crassus. Here, as we stand on the height which commands an extensive view over Mayence, the Rhine, and Mount Taunus in the horizon, we are reminded of a Roman prince, distinguished equally by his high lineage and his personal achievements. He was descended on the father's side from C. Claudius Nero, and on the mother's from M. Livius Salinator—the generals who defeated Hasdrubal on the river Metaurus, and by this decisive victory saved Rome in the second Punic war.<sup>1</sup> He was the stepson of Augustus, the father of Germanicus and the Emperor Claudius. But his brilliant, though brief career, attracts our notice far more than the deeds of his ancestors or his relation to the Imperial family. Drusus carried on the war against the Rhæti and Vindelici (Tyrol and Bavaria) which the verse, of Horace celebrate,<sup>2</sup> administered the province of Gauls invaded Germany, penetrated into the interior of that country as far as the Elbe, made a canal between the Rhine and the Zuyder Zee, erected a fort at Aliso on the Lippe, and died under thirty years of age. He was a favourite with the Romans, because they thought he would restore their old republican government, and so popular with the army that the soldiers wished to keep his body; which, however, was removed by order of Augustus, and burnt in the Campus Martius; the ashes

on Dionysius Periegetes v. 378 (381); see Sir E. H. Bunbury's Art. s.v. in Smith's Dict. of Classical Geography. Comp. the figure of an eagle-bearer (*aquilifer*) engraved in Dr. Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Heft iv, Taf. vi, with copious explanations, monument of Ch. Musius; *ÆQVILIF.* occurs in the inscription under the effigy. The eagle, which is very conspicuous, holds an acorn in its beak and a thunderbolt in its claws. In the same plate No. 2 shows a *signifer* (standard bearer); comp. Heft xi, Taf. vi, also a *signifer*;

the eagle appears as one of the ornaments of the *signum*.

<sup>1</sup> Horace, Odes iv, 4, 37 sqq.

Quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus,  
Testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal

Devictus et pulcher fugatis  
Ille dies Latio tenebris.

See the note in Wickham's edition, 1874, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. 17 sq.

Videre Raeti bella sub Alpibus  
Drusum gerentem Vindelici.

where Bentley and Orelli read *Raetis*.



were deposited in that Mausoleum of the Emperor which is well known as one of the chief monuments in the Eternal City.<sup>1</sup>

The feminine form *Drusa*, as far as I know, does not occur in the authors, but we are all familiar with the diminutive of it, *Drusilla*, wife of the governor who trembled while Paul preached before him.<sup>2</sup>

If the visitor is willing to extend his walk, and proceed for about half an hour from one of the western gates of Mayence (Gau Thor or Binger Thor), he will reach the aqueduct that supplied the Castrum. Its remains are

<sup>1</sup> This Mausoleum, described by Strabo, v, iii, 8, is situated in the northern part of the Campus Martius, between the Corso and the Tiber. In modern times it has been converted into a place of public amusement; when I was at Rome, I observed many placards on the walls announcing equestrian performances in the Mausoleo di Augusto, as in a hippodrome.

The death of Drusus was caused by his horse falling on his leg, which we learn from the Epitome of the last book of Livy, edit. Drakenborch cxl, edit. Madvig cxlii. It is worthy of notice that the historian ends his great work with the death of Drusus, for he thus indicates that the event was one of national importance.

Eutropius, lib. vii, c. 13, mentions the erection of a memorial in honour of Drusus at Mayence; it may remind us of another at Rome—the arch that bears his name within the Porta S. Sebastiano, where the Via Appia issues from the city. Suetonius, Claudius, c. 1, Senatus, inter alia complura, marmoreum arcum cum tropaeis via Appia decrevit. Rossini has three very fine engravings of this Arch—Avanzi dell' Arco di Druso (1), dalla parte interna della Città (2) dalla parte esterna della Città; the third plate, Ristauero, shows the adjoining aqueduct constructed subsequently in the time of Caracalla, together with illustrative medals.

For an account of the campaigns of Drusus and an estimate of their permanent results see Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, edit. 8vo, vol. iii, chaps. xxxv, xxxvi, esp. p. 238 sq. In the Index, art. Drusus, some of the numerals are incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> Acts, xxiv, 24, Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς παραγενόμενος ὁ Φηλιξ σὺν Δρουσίλλῃ τῇ γυναίκί, οὐσῇ Ἰουδαία, μετεπέψατο τὸν Παῦλον. This Drusilla was sister of

Agrippa and Berenice mentioned *ibid.* xxv, 23. Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii, p. 352. Tacitus, Histories, v, 9, speaking of Felix, says Drusilla *Cleopatrae et Antonii nepte* in matrimonium accepta; but this statement may be reasonably doubted.

De Vit in his Onomasticon enumerates four Drusillae; one of them is well known from the coins of Caligula: Cohen, *Med Imp.*, vol. i, p. 148, pl. ix, No. 13, Grand Bronze; the reverse bears the legend AGRIPPINA DRYSILLA IVLIA, the three sisters are represented as Security, Concord and Fortune, each with appropriate emblems. Comp. another medal in the same plate, and text p. 155.

The diminutive suffix of the name has lost its force, as is also frequently the case with common nouns, e.g. the Italian *sorella* sister, *fratello* brother; so *fratelli* is the term used for brothers who are partners in business, where no idea of littleness can be supposed. Moreover, Prisca and Priscilla are said of the same person, apparently without any difference of meaning; comp. Acts, xviii, 2, καὶ εὐρωπῶν τινὰ Ἰουδαῖον ὀνόματι Ἀκύλαν, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει . . . . . καὶ Πρίσκιλλαν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, with Romans, xvi, 3, Ἀσπάσασθε Πρίσκαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν τοὺς συνεργούς μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, and 2 Tim. iv, 19: Alford's Greek Testament note on Acts, xviii, 2; Conybeare and Howson, vol. i, p. 455 sq., text and notes. Priscus and Prisca occur frequently in inscriptions: for examples v. C.I.L. for Gallia Cisalpina and Hispania, Cognomina virorum et mulierum.

Ἀκύλας, "which is merely the Greek form of Aquila," corroborates what has been previously said about the pronunciation of *qu*.

I have followed the Authorised Version in using the word "trembled;" the Revisers have substituted "terrified"; this is less graphic, but accurately corresponds with the original ἐμφοβος γενόμενος.

situated on rising ground above the village of Zahlbach, near which many inscriptions have been found, because the burial place of the legions and of the earliest Christian church was in this suburb. The water-course was in great part carried over arches, like those that we see radiating from Rome through the Campagna. It began at Königsbrunnen (Königsborn) near *Finthen*—a name connected with *fons* (Italian *fontana*)—and pierced the hills which the road to Bingen traverses. Between Draies and Gonzenheim foundations of a wall have been discovered, extending 1062 paces, and continuous with it are substructions of piers, about 270 in number, over a plain named Addach. From this place to Zahlbach it is supposed that there was a row of 245 piers; but at the latter point fifty-nine, called by the common people Langsteine, stand to this day, so that conjecture gives place to certainty here. Some have still a height of twenty to thirty feet, though they shared the fate of many ancient edifices, and were used in the twelfth century as building materials for a monastery. Hence, for a distance of 250 paces, the aqueduct crossed the Wildbach to the plateau where the *Castrum* was erected. The exact site of its termination has not been discovered; Murray and Baedeker mention the Entenpfuhl (Ducks' pool) between Forts Stahlberg and Philipp, but Colonel Cohausen, who excavated there in 1853 to a depth of ten feet, could find no traces of a reservoir, but only soldiers' graves, buttons of uniforms, &c., belonging to the Revolutionary War.<sup>1</sup>

The total length is 8000 Schritt, rather less than 7000 yards.<sup>2</sup> Somewhat more than half of the aqueduct is underground or upon the soil; the remainder is carried

<sup>1</sup> For the details of the Aqueduct I am indebted to a memoir entitled *Die römischen Wasserleitungen von Trier, Mainz und Köln, und ein ähnliches Project für Frankfurt*. Vortrag, gehalten im Alterthumsverein den 16 März 1866 von dem kon. preuss. Oberstlieutenant A. v. Cohausen; v. esp. pp. 149-151. *Mittheilungen des Gesch.-Ver. Frankfurt*, iii, 1868. This eminent antiquary is best known by his important work on the Roman Boundary wall in Germany, 1884, which is copiously illustrated; Taf. i shows the *Limes Transrhenanus*,

together with the Vallum Hadriani and the Vallum Pii in Britain—all on the same scale. In the Supplement, 1886, will be found a list of the author's numerous publications.

From existing remains it is evident that the Aqueduct at Mayence far surpassed that at Treves in architectural magnificence.

<sup>2</sup> Hilpert, German Dictionary, s.v. *Schritt* [as a measure or scale of distance] a pace, a step. *Ein gemeiner Schritt*, a common pace or step of the usual length [*i.e.*, five-sixths of a yard.]

over about 500 pillars and arches. The higher piers taper from three feet at the base to two in the upper part: their depth at the springing of the arches is between seven and eight feet, and the interval from one to another is between sixteen and seventeen feet.

It is known from marks on bricks that the 14th legion built the Aqueduct, as from inscriptions on tools we learn the names of the legions employed in constructing or repairing the bridge; the latter are given in Tafel xiv., accompanying the Memoir by Heim and Velke in the *Zeitschrift*, quoted above.<sup>1</sup> No trace of the masonry forming the canal remains except a gutter-stone now preserved in the Museum at Mayence; but from the depth of the piers, and by comparison with other aqueducts, it may be inferred that the breadth was from 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and the height from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 feet.<sup>2</sup>

Considering the importance of Mayence, some persons might be surprised at these small dimensions, and expect to find here the colossal grandeur that we admire at Metz. But I think the difference is not difficult to explain. In the former case the design was simply to meet the requirements of the Roman garrison, without regard to the towns-people, Moguntiacum being a great military station,

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift . . . der Rheinischen Gesch. u. Alterthümer in Mainz*, 1887, Band iii, Heft 4, Verzeichniss der Tafeln at the end of this Part. Taf. xiv, fig. 2, Holzschlagel (Funde i, 1); L (ucius) VALE (rius) LEG xiiii. Fig. 3 Gusstück aus Blei (Funde i, 2); LEG xvi, with letters reversed as in a seal. Fig. 4 Legionbaustein (Funde ii, 21).

LEG' XIII  
G . M . V .  
> . G . VELSI . SECV  
Expansion  
Legio xiiii

Gemina Martia Victrix  
centuria G (sic) Velsi Secundi.

Observe here >, the abbreviation of *centuria*. Dr. Bruce, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 13, No. 5, says "The angular mark is supposed to represent a vine sapling, the badge of the centurion's office." But I should rather think that it is a C reversed, and the initial letter of *centuria*, formed in an unusual way to denote a special application, and to distinguish it from c used to mean *Caius*, *centum* etc., just as k stands for the reverse of a medal. Besides it would be

easier to cut two right lines than to form the curve of c on a stone. See examples in Lapid. Septent. index xiii; and in Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*, edit. 4to pp. 415-417, five woodcuts of Centurial Stones; they generally indicated the portion of work which the troop had done. Comp. Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, p. 94, n, Nos. 145, 147-150. c also stands for centurio, Orelli Inscr. Nos. 488, 894 : Key, Latin Dict. initial article c, § 53.

<sup>2</sup> The student of the history of Mayence should consult Brambach's *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*; there is a separate article, to which a table of contents is prefixed, under the heading Moguntiacum et Castellum Mattiacorum, pp. 190-257, Nos. 974-1377. Of the sections the most apposite for my Paper are B. Extra moenia sive in ipsis moenibus. 17 Zahlbach, 1136-1271; Legio xiiii occurs frequently 1172-1196. D. In ripa Rheni sive in ipso Rheno, 1301-1309; E. Castell. Mattiacor., Kastel 1310-1359.

but neither an imperial residence nor a commercial centre. On the other hand, the Aqueduct at Metz, which some have attributed to Drusus, more probably belongs to the latter half of the fourth Century and to the reign of Valentinian the First or some other Emperor of that period, when the frontier was threatened by the Germans, and the Romans, alive to their own interests, endeavoured to secure the fidelity of the provincials by undertaking public works that were both magnificent and useful. At Mogontiacum they built for themselves; at Metz for the population around them. The aqueduct we have been investigating is more analogous to the one at Luynes which I had the honour to describe to you in my paper on Touraine: *there* the only motive of construction was to supply the fortress that commanded the valley of the Loire.<sup>1</sup>

*(To be Continued).*

<sup>1</sup>Archaeol. Journ, 1888, vol. xlv, pp. 235-237. The aqueduct is well shown in

Sauvagère's Plate; it has also been photographed.

## ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF THE MIDDLE RHINE.

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

(Continued.)

The Mithraic Tablet is unquestionably the most remarkable object in the museum at Wiesbaden. English travellers have noticed it, but, as far as I am aware, they have not published any detailed account hitherto. This monument was brought from Heddernheim (Hetternheim in Baedeker's Map, Oestlicher Taunus), a place about half way between Frankfort and Homburg, but East of the direct line, where many antiquities have been found, which, however, have been removed, so that a visit to the locality would be labour in vain. It is scarcely necessary to enlarge now upon the worship of Mithras, as much has been written about it, both by our own countrymen and by foreign savants. But I may be allowed to observe that there are two circumstances which make it interesting to us. Several memorials of this cult have been found in England. some of which are preserved at York; <sup>1</sup> and so many allusions to it are made by the early Fathers, that it has come to be inseparably connected with ecclesiastical history. In fact we may infer from the express statements of Tertullian and the acrimonious spirit in which he writes, that this system was a very formidable

<sup>1</sup> See a descriptive account of the Antiquities in the grounds and in the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society by the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, 5th edition, pp. 110-112, No. V. A. sculptured tablet representing the sacrifice and mysteries of Mithras: a full explanation is subjoined. Comp. the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society giving some account of the present undertakings, studies, and labours of the ingenious in many considerable parts of the world, vol. xlv, for the years 1749 and 1750, No. 493, vi. Bas-relief of Mithras found at York described by the Rev. Dr. Stukeley, F.R.S. Bruce,

Roman wall, altars to Mithras, and Mithraic Tablet, esp. p. 127 sq.; 398 sq., with woodcuts. Lapidar. Septentr., Indices at the end of the vol., § I, names and attributes of Deities, s.v. Mithras, Sol and Apollo. Corp. Inscr. Lat., Britannia, Indices, cap. V, Res sacrae, § I, Dii Deae Heroes, p. 331, 1st and 2nd columns, deus Mitra Cautus Pates Sol invictus, &c.

We have evidence that the worship of Mithras prevailed also in the part of Gaul nearest to our own shores. Monsr. V.-J. Vaillant of Boulogne informed me that a Mithreum had been discovered in that town,





FRONT OF MITHRAIC TABLET AT WIESBADEN.



BACK OF MITHRAIC TABLET AT WIESBADEN.

antagonist to the Gospel. He says that the devil who perverts the truth imitates the divine sacraments by mysterious rites, baptizes devotees, promises remission of sins, counterfeits the resurrection, and offers the crown of martyrdom.<sup>1</sup> Our theme reminds us that in like manner the Suabian peasant ascribed to the agency of the Dæmon a rampart, on which he gazed with ignorant admiration—the Roman boundary-wall that extended from the Rhine to the Danube.<sup>2</sup>

The British Museum possesses two groups belonging to the class now under consideration, very similar to each other, but differing in a few particulars. On the other hand, the bas-relief at Wiesbaden, though the principal figures (Hauptbild) are the same as we have in London, presents many additional details, which deserve attention, and are in some cases not easy to explain.<sup>3</sup>

The Mithrasbild, as the Germans call it, stood originally in a sanctuary, consisting of a nave and two side aisles, twelve mètres five cent. long, and eight mètres sixteen cent. broad; it occupied the choir, in which there was just room enough for it to turn on a pivot, which was necessary that the congregation might be able to see the sculptures on both sides. So placed it corresponded nearly with the altar-piece of a church.<sup>4</sup>

We have here a central compartment containing the chief subject, and a frame round it. Mithras, with flying mantle, has leaped on a bull, his left hand seizes the animal's nostrils, his right pierces its neck with a sword. A dog springs up to help his master, and lick the

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, De præscriptione hæreticorum, cap. xl, edit. Oehler, tom. ii, p. 38 (Diabolus) ipsas quoque res sacramentorum divinorum idolorum mysteriis æmuletur. Tingit et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos; expositionem (var. lect. expiationem) delictorum de lavacro repromittit.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon, chap. xii, vol. ii, p. 47, edit. Smith. The Pfahlgraben by Thomas Hodgkin, 1882, p. 6 sq. "In most of the earlier part of its course the wall is known by the name of *Teufelsmauer* (Devil's Wall.) Afterwards, that is from Weissenburg westwards, it is more often called the *Pfahl* or the *Pfahlrain*." Then follows a notice of traditions about mysterious horses and riders, together

with legends concerning the diabolical origin of the wall and visits from the Evil One.

<sup>3</sup> Sir H. Ellis, Townley Gallery, vol. i, chap. vi, pp. 282-289 with illustrations—an excellent article containing many references in the foot notes.

<sup>4</sup> Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung. Zwanzigster Band, II Heft, 1888. Führer durch das Altertums-Museum zu Wiesbaden von A. V. Cohausen. Raum iii, pp. 213-216, Nos. 1-11, Tafel V. Den vornehmsten Platz des Raumes iii nimmt das Mithraeum ein. This engraving is small and inadequate; I exhibited a photograph of the Tablet on a much larger scale, taken expressly, and well executed.

blood issuing from the wound. The bull's tail ends in three ears of corn, which, in one of the groups at the British Museum, appear on his body close to the incision. Hence there can be little doubt that the vivifying power of the sun, agriculture, and especially the fertility caused by ploughing are here represented. On the mantle a raven perches, perhaps with reference to divination, as the bird was sacred to Apollo, the god of prophecy; and we learn from Porphyry that the priests of Mithras were called ravens.<sup>1</sup> Under the bull are a vase, scorpion and serpent, which a small lion is calmly looking at. On each side of the principal figures stands a youth wearing the Phrygian bonnet, like Atys, Paris or Mithras in the scene before us—a proof that the cult was Oriental in its origin—and holding a torch upright or inverted. As Mithras was the invincible sun-god, so these two accessories may be reasonably explained to symbolize Day and Night. On the spectator's right, a tree rises immediately behind the torch; round its stem a snake is coiled, while his head projects from amidst the foliage. Our thoughts naturally revert to the Mosaic account of our first Parents' Fall, the Tree of Life, and the seductive Serpent.

Over-arching these reliefs we see the signs of the Zodiac, for the most part very distinct, beginning with Aries and ending with Pisces. In the spandrils of the vault, on either side, is Mithras with a bow as a hunter, and a man kneeling in front of a cave. The god is said by Justin Martyr to have been born from a rock, whence the epithet *πετρογενής* is applied to him.<sup>2</sup> A rectangular space above is divided by three trees into four compartments,

<sup>1</sup> Horace, Odes III, 27, 11,

Oscinem corvum prece suscitabo  
Solis ab ortu.

Vide note in the Delphin edition, *Ore futura praeincentem*: quotations from Aulus Gellius and Pliny are added. C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, Eng. Translation, p. 447, § 361, Remark 5, Apollo as possessor of the *Pythian* tripod (§ 299) sitting between the *ἄρα* in a vase-painting from Volci (§ 1432). Forcellini's Lexicon, s.v. *Corvus*: Statius, *Thebais*, iii, 506, comes obscurus tripodum; Petronius, *Satyricon*, cap. 122, v. 177, Delphicus ales, note of Nic. Heinsius on v. 176 in Burmann's edition, 4to, vol. i, p. 754. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii, 534 sqq.

and v, 329. Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, Apollo Tab. iv, Die attribute des Apollo; p. 34, No. 6, Der Dreifuss charakterisirt ihn als Weissager der Zukunft, dessen Haupt-Orakel zu Delphi war. In fig 10 of Tab. IV. we see a bird perched on a tripod. C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, part i, Taf. lii, No. 237, Apollo an den Dreifuss gelehnt, silver coin of Seleucus ii, Callinicus.

<sup>2</sup> Edit. Benedictine, Paris, 1742, p. 163 b. *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo*, cap. 70 init. "Ὅταν δὲ οἱ τὰ Μίθρον μυστήρια παραδιδόντες, λέγωσιν ἐκ πέτρας γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ σπήλαιον καλῶσι τὸν τόπον, ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς πειθόμενους αὐτὰ παραδίδουσιν, κ.τ.λ.

the separation of different scenes being made just as in the sculptures of Trajan's column at Rome, which portray various operations in his Dacian wars.<sup>1</sup> A man appears growing out of a tree; Mithras, three times repeated, drags by the hind-legs a bull from which a snake is escaping, touches the radiated crown of the Sun-god, and takes by the hand a man kneeling before him.<sup>2</sup> A broad border encloses the scenes already described, and each corner of it is occupied by a medallion containing the winged head of one of the Four Winds—a subject which is best represented in the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens. In the upper part of the frame divided by trees, on the left, Mithras invited by the Sun-god mounts a chariot ascending a hill<sup>3</sup>; on the right, the Moon-goddess drives her descending steeds. Here both deities ride in a *biga*; frequently the Sun has four horses (*quadriga*), and thus, as the superior power, is distinguished from the Moon, who has only two.<sup>4</sup> The two perpendicular sides show us full length figures and profiles vertically arranged in panels, not easy to identify as attributes are wanting; though amongst the latter Cohausen sees Flora and Isis.

At the time of discovery the back of the Tablet lay uppermost, and was much injured by the ploughshare.

<sup>1</sup> See Froehner, *La Colonne Trajane*, 8vo, woodcuts, at p. 93 Nos. 20 and 21, at p. 97; Nos. 22 and 23. Les scènes sont comme d'habitude, divisées par un arbre. Comp. Fabretti, *La Colonna Trajana*, folio Plates, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> It should be observed that Mithras here is different from the Sun, with whom he is usually identified in inscriptions, e.g. at the Louvre, DEO SOLI INVICTO MITHR., NAMA SEBESIO. The former clause is engraved on the bull's side, the latter, a little higher up—just below his neck. Perhaps SEBESIO is equivalent to σεβαστόν, and then the phrase would mean "sacred stream," and refer to the blood flowing from the victim. Others say that we have here a corruption of Persian or Sanscrit words, or the Phrygian deity Sabazius, son of Rhea or Cybele who was worshipped as mother of the gods. The dimensions are height 2·54 mètres, length 2·57, and therefore very inferior to those of the tablet at Wiesbaden.

On the other hand this bas-relief, now in the Louvre, but formerly in the

Borghese Collection, surpasses other Mithraic representations on account of its artistic excellence; it has also a special interest, as coming from the Capitol at Rome, so that the *provenance* shows how an Eastern religion had penetrated into the sanctuary of the Empire. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, Band ii, p. 925, fig. 996, has a very good engraving of this subject, *Das Mithrasopfer*.

<sup>3</sup> Here again Mithras is not the same as the Sun-God: comp. Catalogue of Antiquities at York, loc. citat., "In the sculptured tablets he appears in a different character, as the first of the celestial beings, called Izeds, or good genii, the source of light, and the dispenser of fertility."

<sup>4</sup> See my paper on Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, sect. ii, where an account is given of a gem belonging to the Marquis de Biencourt, on which Diana Tauropolos is figured, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xlv, p. 229, text and notes 1 and 4; and page 230, note 1.



Above the arch which corresponds with that in the front, we observe only scanty remains of a hunter surrounded by dogs and game. Under it the slaughtered bull lies stretched on the ground; behind him is the Phrygian cap, with radiated crown round it, placed on the top of a pole. This trophy, for such is its appearance, occupies the space between two figures: a man fully draped on one side holds in his left hand a hunting-spear, and in his right a cluster of grapes, which he offers to Mithras standing opposite to him. Here also two genii appear, but instead of torches, they hold baskets filled with fruit. One branch of archæology frequently illustrates another; in reliefs upon the gravestone of a Dalmatian soldier, found in the burial-place on the Rupertsberg near Bingen, we meet with the same two figures; a proof of the extent to which this Oriental cult had spread. The monument is engraved and described by Dr. Lindenschmit, *op. citat.*, Heft x, Taf. 5, and he mentions another of an archer, discovered at the same place, in this respect quite similar. The museum at Wiesbaden contains votive altars and fragments of statuettes belonging to the same cycle of ideas, which do not deserve to be mentioned separately; and speaking generally we may remark that repetition prevails so much in this class of remains, that we can seldom glean from them an additional fact to throw light on our researches. Reviewing the whole subject—doctrines, symbols and existing monuments—I feel by no means inclined to agree with the Father of the church who regarded Mithraism as the work of the devil, but rather with those who see in it something higher and nobler than “the elegant mythology of the Greeks,” a religion that was feeling after God if haply it might find Him, as a greater than Tertullian has said,<sup>1</sup> that strove to embody, nay more, to still the longings of mankind for a divine

<sup>1</sup> St. Paul's Sermon on Mars' Hill, Acts xvii, 27. *ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, εἰ ἔρα γε ψηλαφῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εὐροῖεν.* Ψηλαφᾶν, *to feel, grope*, like a blind man or as in the dark; Liddell and Scott's Lexicon s.v. Alford, *in loco*, quotes an apposite passage, Aristophanes, Pax. 691, *ἐψηλαφῶμεν ἐν σκοτῇ τὰ πράγματα.*

Stukeley, Philosophical Transactions, loc. citat., says, “The Mithraic ceremonies, as likewise the mysteries of the antients, were but the expiring remains of the antient patriarchal religion, and worship of the true God . . . Mithras is but another name of a Messiah, in his priestly character.”

deliverer, or, in other words, to meet those demands of our moral nature which christianity alone can satisfy.<sup>1</sup>

Of all the health resorts near the Rhine, perhaps none is more frequented than Homburg; accordingly two accounts of its museum have appeared in our vernacular; hence a long description will not be expected from me; but, on the other hand, a few words may not be altogether superfluous. The English Catalogue should be read with caution, because it seems to have been written by a foreigner, imperfectly acquainted with our language; it contains doubtful and incorrect statements, and it abounds with typographical blunders; e.g. the Myrrhine vases are said to be named from Murrha "where the most costly were made;" and the small glass bottles (lacrymatories so called), found in graves, to have been used for tears; in another place we read of the head of a catapult discharged from a moveable wooden fort.<sup>2</sup> In the name of Trajan *Vipius* is written for *Ulpus*, and in a coin of Elegabalus

<sup>1</sup> Amongst modern authorities the most important is Felix Lajard, *Recherches sur le culte public et les mysteres de Mithra en Orient et en Occident* (ouvrage posthume), Paris, 1867 folio, with numerous illustrations. This writer may be sometimes rash in his conclusions, but his learning and industry cannot be disputed.

<sup>2</sup> I have found no such place as Murrha or Myrrha in Smith's Dictionary and other works relating to classical geography; the nearest approach to it is Myrrhinus, one of the Attic demi. Lycophron, v. 829, uses the expression *Μύρρα αἶον* with reference to Byblos in Phoenicia, but it is evident that *Μύρρα* here cannot be the name of a town: Pape, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. Some have supposed that the Myrrhina (*vasa*) were made of fluor spar, but most recent writers, from Gibbon down to our own time, consider that they were Chinese and Japanese porcelain: Heinrich's note on Juvenal, *Erklärung*, Sat. vi, v. 155 sq. *Grandia tolluntur crystallina, maxima rursus*

Myrrhina, deinde adamas notissimus, etc. cf. vii, 133. Various forms of the word are found in the manuscripts: Ruperti, *Annotatio critica* on vi, 156; cf. edit. Otto Jahn, 1851—Myrrina, Mirrina, Myrina, Myrrhia, Murrhina. From the context in the passages of Juvenal we gather that these vases were articles of luxury and very expensive.

The different opinions of many writers will be found in Rupert's explanatory Commentary on Juvenal, vi, 155; see also the foot note *ibid.* Comp. Rich's Dictionary and the Dict. of Greek and Roman Ant., s.v. Murrhina. Gibbon, chap. xxxi, note 43 (vol. iv, p. 79, edit. Smith), should not be overlooked.

It is now generally admitted that the so-called tear-bottles were used for perfumes, and as an argument against the notion of *lacrimatories* we may notice the fact that the word *lacrimatorium* as a noun does not occur in classical Latin; accordingly Forcellini has not admitted it into his Lexicon. It appears in the Glossarium of De Vit with the explanation *locus lacrymarum*. *Lacrimatorius*, a, um occurs in a medical writer as an adjective, *ad lacrimas eliciendas inserviens*: Sex. Placit. de Medic. 17.1. Becker's Gallus, Roman scenes of the time of Augustus, Eng. transl., p. 519, Bottles, filled with perfumes, were placed inside the tomb, which was besprinkled *odoribus*. These are the tear-flasks, or lacrimatories so often mentioned formerly: Orelli, *Inserr. Lat.*, cap. xx, *Sepulcralia*, No. 4832.

*Ac teretes onyches fuci gracilesque alabastr.*

*Catapulta* is an engine for hurling missiles; rarely, if at all, the missile thus projected.

DACERD for SACERD, ELEGAT for ELEGAB.<sup>1</sup> Greater, but by no means perfect accuracy will be found in the English translation of the Roman Castellum Saalburg by Col. Cohausen and Mr. Jacobi, 1882, to which an introduction by Mr. Thomas Hodgkin is prefixed. It would be desirable, however, to consult the original German, of which an edition with a good plan, "Uebersichtsplan der Saalburg und Umgebung," has appeared subsequently to the Catalogue, Cohausen being a Colonel of Engineers, and Jacobi an architect, they both brought to the investigation of the fortress, exceptional qualifications, derived from their professional studies and experience. Mr. Hodgkin published an elaborate paper on the Pfahlgraben in the *Archæologia Æliana*, 1882, which is, I believe, the most important contribution to a knowledge of the Wall made by our own countrymen, since the late Mr James Yates wrote his memoir "On the Limes Rhæticus and Limes Transrhenanus," 1852. Preceding authors—such as Steiner, Paulus and Herzog—had written on portions of this rampart, but Cohausen has treated the subject in its whole extent, from Regensburg (Ratisbon) to Andernach; his work, fully illustrated by an atlas of plates, is entitled "Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutschland. Militärische und technische Beschreibung desselben. 1884."<sup>2</sup>

Saalburg is the best known among the *castella* on the Limes, and the excavations there have yielded a rich harvest of antiquities. They have been lodged and care-

<sup>1</sup> The English catalogue referred to above is entitled, "The Museum, Hom-bourg V-d H." *i.e.* Vor der Hohe, thus distinguished from other places of the same name—an der Rossel (Oberhom-burg) and in der Pfalz. This anonymous publication bears no date; it was printed by C. Langhorne, at Stoke.

<sup>2</sup> Ratisbon, though not mentioned by Roman authors, is proved to have been an important fortress under the Empire by inscriptions found there, and, above all, by the Gate recently laid open: die Blosslegung der Porta praetoria des Mark-Aurel'schen Castrums im Bischofshofe. See p. i, Rechenschaftsbericht des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg für das Jahr 1885, which forms an Appendix to the Transactions (Verhandlungen) for the same year.

In the Table of Peutinger, Segmentum

iii, C. Regino (*sic.*) is marked opposite the Marcomanni, who are North of the Danube; two towers are drawn on the site, which indicates an important place, as in the case of Mantua, Verona etc. Aquileia, a city of much greater consequence, has eight towers. These buildings are coloured, red in the upper part and yellow in the lower: Dr. Konrad Müller's edition of the Table "in den Farben des Originals herausgegeben."

It should be observed that Reginum (Castra Regina) has the penultima short, and is only a Latinized form of the name of the river Regen, which joins the Danube near Regensburg. Lamartinière explains Ratisbonne as coming from *bona ratis*, "*i.e.*, endroit propre pour l'abord des bateaux:" v, Charnock's Local Etymology, a derivative Dictionary.

fully arranged in a hall of the Kurhaus at Homburg; they have thus been not only preserved, but rendered very accessible. It is half a day's work to make the excursion to Saalburg, but the visitor finds in this collection everything that was portable deposited close to his own door. The articles disinterred are very miscellaneous; I was struck by the number and variety of utensils in iron and bronze—tools of trades, field and garden implements, and especially locks and keys, the construction of which is well explained by Cohausen and Jacobi in the *brochure* cited above, page 29. On the wall of the Museum is suspended a large plan of Saalburg, showing not only the fortress, but also the adjoining Villa, civil settlements and burial place (Buergerliche Niederlassungen und Begrabnisstaette).<sup>1</sup>

A classical tourist accustomed to admire the vast structures built by the Romans—triumphal arches, baths, aqueducts and temples—magnificent even in ruins, can scarcely avoid feeling some disappointment when he sees here on the slope of the Taunus only foundations or walls rising a few feet above the soil. This state of things is easily accounted for. During the first century of our era Artaunum, as Ptolemy calls the place, was repeatedly taken and burnt<sup>2</sup>; in the thirteenth it suffered the same misfortune as the Aqueduct at Mainz, having supplied building materials for the Convent Maria-Thron in the neighbourhood<sup>3</sup>; subsequently, it was used by peasants and miners as a convenient quarry. Even after public

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the Plates at the end of "The Roman Castellum Saalburg," op. citat., translated by F. C. Fischer; i, fig. 1, map of the Saalburg and environs; fig. 2, Profile of the Vallum and Ditches of the Castellum, now and formerly; ii, Plan of Camp; iii, The time of reign of the Roman Emperors and number of their coins found in this locality. See also the lithographs inserted in Mr. Hodgkin's Memoir at pp. 62, 64. Suburban settlement, Porta Decumana looking North, Praetorium from the West, Porta Praetoria from within the camp.

An important work, by Cohausen and Jacobi, on the Saalburg was promised some years ago; but when I was at Homburg in the Autumn of 1888, it had not appeared.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy, ii, 11, 14, Germania Magna, edit. Car. Müller, vol. i, p. 272,

\**Ἀρκταυον*: with the following note, \**Ἀρταυον*, supra scripto κ, φ, \**Ἀρταυον* cett. Nomen ex latino *arx Tauni* ortum esse conjicit Ukertus... Tacitus, Annals, i, 56 (speaking of Germanicus), posito castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno, expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit. The form \**Ἀρκταυον* obviously supports Ukert's conjecture.

<sup>3</sup> The convent of Dahlheim, which itself has disappeared, stood near the piers of the Roman aqueduct still remaining at Zahlbach, a suburb of Mainz. Brambach, Corpus Inscr. Rhenanarum, No. 1,139, "mutilus arae lapis, quem . . . in Dahlheimensi virginum monasterio inter murorum ruinas erui feci." Fuchs. Cf. 1,149, "mutilus hunc lapidem in parthenone Dahlheimensi inveni." Id.

attention had been directed to the spot and excavations were made, the walls discovered, for want of adequate protection, crumbled away. However, not to speak of the delightful prospect which the site commands, in spite of all these dilapidations, enough remains to indicate the dimensions and arrangement of a Roman camp, the General's head-quarters (Prætorium), the four gates (Prætoria, Decumana, Principalis dextra and Principalis sinistra) and the roads that led to them. The baths and the storehouse are also ascertained.

Darmstadt, capital of the Grand Duchy of Hesse, is usually described as a dull, uninteresting place, where there is little to see or do; and it is so in comparison with Frankfort, one of the busiest cities in Germany. The collection of Antiquities at the Schloss scarcely offers more attractions than the streets in the town, with one exception, which I proceed to notice—a great mosaic, twelve paces long and eight broad (about ten yards by seven yards) from a Roman bath excavated near Vilbel, in April, 1849. Hitherto, as far as I am aware, no English traveller has published an account of it. Vilbel, a market-town, about four miles north of Frankfort, is situated on the River Nidda, a tributary of the Main; and it is also a station on the railway from Frankfort to Giessen. Considering the natural advantages of the place—surrounded by hills gently rising above the valley, and sheltered from north winds by the Taunus—and that it was defended against barbarian enemies by the Grenz-wall, we might expect to find here a villa in which the Romans would seek to reproduce the luxuries and enjoyments of their own country, as far as a Transalpine climate would allow. The name seemed to harmonize with this view, for it was generally explained as equivalent to the Latin *villa bella*. But there is reason to doubt the etymology, because the geography of interior Germany would very rarely furnish us with examples of *nomina propria* similarly derived. Another interpretation has been proposed. Various forms of the word occur in the records from the eighth century downwards<sup>1</sup>—Felwile,

<sup>1</sup> The earliest instance is mentioned by Dr. Bossler, Die Römerstätte bei Vilbel und der im Jahre 1849 daselbst entdeckte Mosaikboden. Aus dem Archiv für Hessische Geschichte und Alterthums-

kunde (x Bd. i Heft Nr. 1) besonders abgedruckt. P. 1 in einer Lorscher Urkunde vom 30. Mai 774 und zwar unter dem Namen Felwile im Nitachgowe vorkommt.





MOSAIC PAVEMENT AT DARMSTADT,  
FROM BOSSLER, DIE RÖMERSTÄTTE BEI VILBEL.

Velavilre, Velwila, Vilewile, Vilwile, &c. Now, in old High German *felawa felwa*, in middle High German *velewe velwe* signify a willow, a tree that is said to abound at Vilbel, and to attain a remarkable height; and the latter part of the name may come from the Latin *villa*, the interchange of B. and V. being so common as to call for no further remark here. Hence, the whole word is equal to Weidendorf, Willow-town, as in the East end of London we have Willow walk and Primrose-street, though neither tree nor flower has grown there for many a year.<sup>1</sup>

As early as 1845, vestiges of a Roman settlement at Vilbel had been discovered—foundations of walls, fragments of pottery, and amongst them Samian ware (*terra sigillata*), decorated as usual. Four years later, some small cubical stones, dug up at the station of the railway connecting the Main with the Weser, were brought to the notice of the Inspector of Works, who at once perceived them to be Mosaic. Henceforth excavations were conducted with the greatest care, and resulted in bringing to light a large tessellated pavement; it soon afterwards found a permanent and appropriate resting place in the first Hall on the middle story of the Schloss at Darmstadt.<sup>2</sup>

The figures here belong to the cycle of Neptune, but they are of two classes: real creatures—dolphins, swans, ducks, eels, shell-fish; and imaginary beings—sea-centaurs, hippocamps, sea-lions, sea-dragons. One might at first be surprised at a representation so marine at such a distance from the ocean; but we should remember that the mosaic was executed to decorate a bath-room, and with the view of expressing symbolically the pleasure the Romans found in the watery element.<sup>3</sup> Ancient art delighted to convey

<sup>1</sup> Bossler, *ibid.*, note 1, p. 2, Der zweite Theil des Namens ist das vom lateinischen *villa* abstammende althochdeutsch *wila* mittelhochdeutsch *wile* (jetzt-weil)=Dorf und in der Form *Velavilre* das gleichbedeutende dem lateinischen *villare* entsprechende *wilari*, *wilre* (jetzt-weiler).

<sup>2</sup> At Darmstadt the mosaic occupies the same horizontal position as it had originally. Both in the British Museum and in the collection of Antiquities at the Guildhall, for want of space, Roman pavements have been affixed to the walls:

my Paper on Ravenna, *Archaeol. Journ.* vol. xxxii, 1875, p. 420, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> With the pavement at Darmstadt we may compare a similar design at Naples, engraved by Paderni, *Raccolta de' più belli ed interessanti Dipinti, Musaici ed altri monumenti rinvenuti negli Scavi di Ercolano, di Pompei, e di Stabia che ammiransi nel Museo Nazionale, Napoli*, 1865, No. 100, *Vivaio di diverse specie di pesci*. No less than thirteen fish are represented here; a bird, perched on a rock, is preparing to seize one of them with his beak. Human figures are absent,

an idea by some allegorical form; it was more elegant and refined than the matter-of-fact style of modern art (if it deserves the name), which denotes maritime commerce by a ship and lighthouse on a penny, or mortality by a death's head and crossbones at the entrance to a church-yard.<sup>1</sup> In such a case, this simple explanation may suffice, and we should not be misled by a vain transcendentalism to hunt after some recondite myth or deep significance, which the mosaicist no more intended than Grinling Gibbons when he decorated the temples that Wren's fertile genius had designed. The Thermæ at Pompeii afford two examples of a Neptunian subject in stucco, one in the Apodyterium, the other in the Tepidarium.<sup>2</sup>

On the upper of the two long sides of the rectangle, beginning at the left hand we see a Cupid (Eros) floating on the water with outspread wings, like sails, carrying him onwards. His left arm gently rests on a dolphin, but he seems scarcely to require its support. A kind of sea-beetle and a fish separate this group from a sea-lion; the latter, with waving mane and uplifted paw, prepares to pounce on a serpent, which, aware of the danger, rapidly glides away.<sup>3</sup> Above the lion a swan extends its neck

with the exception of winged Genii inserted in the beautiful border of arabesques. The ordinary guide-books notice this fine mosaic very briefly, or omit it altogether.

A similar treatment of marine subjects may be seen near Pau. Mosaïques de Jurançon et de Bielle (Basses-Pyrénées) notices et Dessins par Ch.-C. Le Coeur, Architecte, Planches i, ii, iii, two of which are coloured. These plates are repeated in a larger work by the same author, Le Bearn, Histoire et Promenades archéologiques, viz., Nos. 21, 22, 23, inserted as illustrations of chap. ii, part i, Thermes de Jurançon, pp. 145-163, but without the colouring, which is an important omission, because it prevents the reader from being able to appreciate the beauty of the originals. See esp. Pl. ii, Bassin E, Grande quantité de poissons variés et dont les couleurs sont nuancées avec art, pl. iii. Salle L., Un trident passant sur le côté gauche de la poitrine, et s'élevant au-dessus de la tête, indique une figure de Neptune; ibid. Salle M., Buste colossal. Sur cette figure une ancre est disposée, &c, Text, pp. 14, 18, 20. Comp.

my Paper on the South-West of France Archaeol. Journ. vol. xxxvi, pp. 16-20, 1879.

<sup>1</sup> Mons. Pulsky showed me a gem on which an actor was figured taking a garland off his head, to denote the end of a dramatic performance, and the close of life symbolically.

<sup>2</sup> Bechi, Real Museo Borbonico, tom. ii, tav. 50, 53; pp. 15 and 1, 2. He speaks of these decorations as being in the *spogliatoio* (undressing-room) or *apodyterium*—an apartment which some say was at Pompeii the same as the frigidarium, but the opinion is, I think, erroneous: Dict. of Antt., s.v. Balneæ, p. 189. Overbeck, Pompeii, vol. i, Drittes Capitel, Fünfter Abschnitt, Die alteren Thermen. p. 192, fig. 139. Ansicht des Apodyterium, and text p. 193; p. 196, fig. 142. Deckenwölbung des Tepidarium; and p. 216, full-page Figur 149 Apodyterium der neuen Thermen.

<sup>3</sup> This water-beetle perhaps belongs to the sub-order Hydrophilus, v. Cuvier, Règne Animal. tome 6, Insectes I, S. Genre Hydrophile. Pl. 38; cf. ibid. Pl. 26, fig. 6, Haliple imprime: but at

gracefully curved, and directs its beak towards the beetle in front. Proceeding in the same direction, we find in the opposite corner of the smaller side, a sea-centaur; the upper part of his body as far as the hips, human; the lower composed of a horse's legs, that end not in hoofs but web feet, and of a fish's tail with many convolutions; in this and similar figures throughout the mosaic fins and scales are wanting. The centaur turns his head to look at the beings behind, with his right hand outstretched he invites them to follow him, under his left arm he carries a shell-fish. Next comes a hippocamp which has the hoofs as well as fore-legs of a horse, and the tail of a fish with fewer curves; so that considerable variety is introduced. His head is erect, and the action more spirited than in the last case. A young dolphin divides the two more important figures. Behind the hippocamp two ducks claim attention by the beauty of their colouring; in one of them the effect is produced by using a vitreous paste instead of small marble cubes. On the lower side of the mosaic only a single group remains; it consists of a sea centaur blowing a trumpet, and a Cupid riding on a dolphin, <sup>1</sup> who holds the reins with his left hand, while he raises his right arm in an attitude of astonishment, and turns his head to listen to the notes of the instrument.

The great *lacuna* in the composition which we observe

Darmstadt the treatment is so conventional that in many cases we cannot with certainty identify the creatures represented. On the contrary, in the marine mosaic at Naples the style is realistic; all the fish, portrayed with great fidelity, belong to the Mediterranean, and we can easily recognize the torpedo, pecten (scallop), and pinna (a kind of shell-fish). Similarly, periwinkles are visible among the flowers in the border.

The lion chasing a serpent has its analogue at Corinium: Buckman and Newmarch, Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester. Pl. vi. The Pavement B from Dyer street, p. 36. A winged sea-dragon, with two strong fore-legs, in active pursuit of a fish, also a sea-leopard following another fish. Heads of Neptune with "tangled sea-weeds" and lobsters' claws. These details are well exhibited in a coloured engraving, 4to size.

<sup>1</sup> Deities belonging to the cycle of

Neptune, in various attitudes, were a favourite subject with the ancient artists. Gori, Gemmae Antiquae Musei Florentini, vol. ii., p. 99, Tab. li., fig. ii. Amor a delphinis vectus. . . . Amorem regem per mare alii Cupidines comitantur. Cf. Tab. xxxviii, xlvi, xlviii. Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum, Nos. 613, 614, Plate G (photograph), Poseidon driving two hippocamps; Nos. 620-627 Nereid; No. 881, Eros riding on a dolphin. Millin, Galerie Mythologique, Explication des Planches, No. 177, Pl. xlii; No. 298, Pl. lxxiii; No. 632, Pl. clxxii. C. O. Müller, Denkmäler, part i., taf. xl., fig. 175; pt. ii., liii, 672; cf. ibid. vii., 78-81, 85; with 79 coin of gens Crepereia comp. Babelou, Description historique et chronologique des Monnaies de la République Romaine, 1885-6, tome i, p. 439 sq., with 2 woodcuts.

here was probably filled by an animal without any admixture of the human form, so as to correspond with the lion above mentioned; this may be inferred from the symmetry prevailing the design, which, however, as in the Parthenon pediments, was not carried so far as to appear mechanical and monotonous.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, as we turn round the corner, we come upon a sea-centaur, well-drawn, and, fortunately, well-preserved; his right hand holds up a rudder, and his left points to some monster of the deep, who was doubtless advancing towards him.

All the figures described hitherto are adjacent to the border of the Mosaic; many others similar in character occupied the interior, and evidently bore some relation to the central subject. A winged Cupid and a dolphin are still complete; we see also the fore-quarters of a sea-dragon, which has ears shaped like horns and strange projections (antennae) from his nostrils; but the counterparts on the opposite side have disappeared. In the midst, a great blank renders it difficult to ascertain the meaning of the few fragments that still remain; these consist of snaky locks, two fishes rising out of them, and a serpent. The undulating tresses suggest the idea that the artist intended to represent Medusa's head, which occurs in mosaic as well as in sculpture and engraved gems. But it is more reasonable to suppose that we have here a river-god, both on account of the fishes, and because such a deity would harmonize better with the surroundings.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cockerell, on the Antique marbles in the British Museum, part vi., quoted by Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, i., 235, "An exact *symmetry* of the masses or groups, in correspondence with the architectural arrangement, was essential in the decoration of an edifice in which order and regularity were the chief sources of effect. To these groups the sculptor's art was to give every *variety* consistent with this principle, and the nature of the work contributed to this important result." Ibid. ii., 18, "The head of one of the horses of Night projected over the cornice, thus breaking the line which might seem too rigidly to confine the composition of the frontispiece." Der Parthenon von Adolf Michaelis, Text mit einer Hilfstafel, 1871; Atlas of Plates, Taf. 6, fig. 5, Der Ostgiebel nach Carrey; Taf. 7, Westgiebel i., figs. 1-6, Aeltere Zeichnungen: Text, p. 154 sq. Erklä-

rung der Tafeln. Asymmetrie, Symmetrie des Contrastes.

<sup>2</sup> In the marine Mosaic at Naples, mentioned above, the central group is entire. At first I thought it was a *Gryllus*, such as we see in King's Handbook of Engraved Gems, woodcut opposite p. 81, No. 4; i.e., a grotesque figure formed by combining portions of various animals of the most diverse species into the outline of a single monster: v. Description of the woodcuts, *ibid.*, p. 377, and Copper-Plate, No. 34. But Professor Hartog explained to me that the subject we have here is a cuttle-fish devouring a prawn, which would correspond well with the general design. It may interest some readers to compare with this antique picture Cuvier's *Règne Animal*, tome 5, text, Mollusques, Céphalopodes, pp. 12-24; and Atlas of Plates, Nos. 1-7. Genre Seiche. *Sepia*. Sous-Genre Poulpe. *Octopus*. S. Genre Calmar. *Loligo*, &c.



The inscription should not be passed over, especially as examples on Mosaics occur but rarely. It informs us that *PIIRVINCVS* was the artist; there are also some letters, which should probably be read *RECIT*.<sup>1</sup> These words are formed with black tessellæ on a white ground, and included within a framework of vertical and horizontal lines, so as to present the appearance of a tablet. A Roman potter of this name is mentioned by Mommsen in his *Inscriptiones Confoederationis Helveticæ Latinae*; it is also found on the Rhine and the Danube, and in the South of France.<sup>2</sup>

I have already ventured to descend the stream below my prescribed limits, may I now be permitted for a few moments to proceed in the opposite direction? Strasbourg (Argentoratum) is not famous for Roman remains, but it interests the scholar as the seat of a University adorned by many illustrious names; and if he has studied the monuments themselves on the Rhine and the Moselle, he may here with great advantage consult the books that have been written concerning them. The Library contains more than 600,000 volumes, chiefly collected since the siege in 1870; as might be expected, it is very rich in Alsatian literature, which fills one apartment exclusively. I remember with pleasure that an employé said to me, "On donne toutes les facilités," and that he amply fulfilled his promise. However, Strasbourg possesses

<sup>1</sup> The letters *II* are frequently used as equivalent to *E*: My paper on Antiquities in the Museum at Palermo, *Archæol. Journ.* 1881, vol. xxxviii, p. 160 sq., note 3, containing a reference to Torremuzza. In this case, one inscription supplies ten examples. Torremuzza's work is a cumbersome and expensive folio, but the words which I have cited will be found in a recent and handy publication: *Catalogo del Museo dell' Ex-Monastero di S. Martino delle Scale presso Palermo*, compilato da A. Salinas, p. 11, No. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, zehnter Band; No. 214, p. 40. Monument at Amsoldingen near Thun,

MAT. PERVINC

VS. PATR. F. C

Orelli's Collection, 1st edition, 1828, cap. xxiii, *Analecta nonnulla*, p. 451, No. 5,066, gives the inscription very differently.

Zürich, *Mittheilungen*, *ibid.*, Vasa, in

*testis reliquis impressa vel inscripta*, No. 352, 159, p. 96. [Basil.]

PIIRVINCI. F

Bruckner, p. 3,075, *Römische Altertümmer von Augst*. Mittheil. der Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Alterthümer in Basel. Die Römischen Inschriften des Kantons Basel von Dr. K. L. Roth, p. 13, II Topfernamen, p. 14, A. Namen im Nominativ mit dem Zusatz *Fecit*, and note 21). PIIRVINCI.F.

Dr. Bossler, *op. citat.* p. 27, note 54, quotes five examples of this name from Gruter's Collection, but in each case by mistake he has attributed them to Graevius. One of them contains a remarkable word, *exsignifer*, a soldier who had been a standard-bearer, so that the use of the preposition here is the same as we have in *Ex-Chancellor*, *Ex-Premier*, &c. Comp. the phrase *ex pauperrimo dives factus*. Cicero *ap. Key*, *Lat. Grammar*, 1st edition, p. 311, § 1,331 (from being very poor you have become rich).

a collection of local antiquities that deserves a visit; many objects have been discovered in digging for the new fortifications, and a Catalogue is being prepared.<sup>1</sup> As a very eminent and zealous Archæologist resides in the city, he will, we may be sure, "gather up the fragments that remain that nothing be lost."<sup>2</sup>

On former occasions I have acknowledged my obligations to French Antiquaries; in my last tour I was so fortunate as to make the acquaintance of Dr. Lindenschmit, Colonel von Cohausen and Professor Michaelis, to whom I am deeply indebted for their kind co-operation. The German savants may not have that fascinating charm of manner which makes our nearest neighbours so agreeable; but they equal their rivals in cordiality; they surpass them in profound and varied erudition.

#### APPENDIX.

Julius Grimm, in his treatise, entitled *Der Römische Brückenkopf in Kastel bei Mainz*, has translated the words of Florus, loc. citat. *Per Rheni quidem ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxit*, Vollends am Ufer des Rheines errichtete er mehr als fünfzig Castelle. This rendering would correspond with *erexit*; but *direxit* implies a continuous series

<sup>1</sup> This Museum is on the right bank of the river Ill, and not far from the Minister: Baedeker's *Rheinlande*, p. 155, edit., 1886, *Die Sammlungen des elsassischen Alterthumsvereins*; comp. Plan of Strasbourg between pp. 146 and 147. After crossing the bridge one should proceed by the Wilhelmer Gasse.

<sup>2</sup> I refer especially to the learned author of the great work on the Parthenon, cited above, and of the *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*—books I cannot read without shame, because a foreigner has surpassed all English writers in describing our own collections, both public and private. However, Prof. Michaelis is not without *collaborateurs* at Strasbourg, as may be seen by consulting the *Bulletin de la Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace*.

A very copious account of the Gallo-Roman Cemetery is given by A. Straub, chanoine titulaire de la cathédrale, in the *Publications of this Society*, II<sup>e</sup> Serie.—Onzième volume (1879-1880), Deuxième Partie.—Mémoires, avec gravures et planches, pp. 3-135. The text is illustrated by three plans: I., *Vue cavalière des alentours de la Porte Blanche de Strasbourg avant la demolition des*

anciens remparts; II., *Plan Masse du Cimetière Romain et de ses alentours à 1/2000*; III., *Cimetière Romain de Strasbourg*. Plates i-vi. show glass and pottery found in excavating; see *Repertoire (Index)* at the end of the Article, s.v. *Aigüières*, *Ampoules*, *Fioles* et *Flacons à essences*, *Flacons et bouteilles de grandes dimensions*, *Poterie*, *Verres Romains*. In the same neighbourhood a valuable cup was found, of the kind called *Diatreta* (pierced, bored, *διὰ τρητος*, of *διὰ τρητῶν*). It unfortunately perished during the siege, together with many other vases, on the disastrous night of August 24, 1870; op. citat., p. 6 sq. These glass vessels were contained within a sort of network, or open tracery, also of glass: Rich. Dictionary, s.v. with woodcut, Dict. of Antt., s.v. *Vitrum*, p. 1211; *Martial Epigrams*, XII., 70, 9, *O quantum diatreta valent et quinque comati!*

The cemetery at Strasbourg may advantageously be compared with the one at Ratisbon, on both sides of the road from that city to Kumpfmühl. An elaborate plan of it, giving many details, has been published by Herr Dahlem.

or chain of fortresses, as distinguished from those that might be built promiscuously, whenever an opportunity presented itself.

Livy, bk. v, chap. 55, affords a most apposite illustration of this word: *Festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum, omisso sui alienique discrimine, in vacuo aedificant.* The historian is relating the *Instauratio Urbis* after its capture and burning by the Gauls; and his narrative reminds us of the parallel case in our own metropolis after the Great Fire, when Sir Christopher Wren's magnificent design was rejected, and the irregular rebuilding of London ensued.

Cf. Persius, Sat i, v. 65,

Scit tendere versum

Non secus ac si oculo rubricam dirigat uno.

Since every verse is drawn as straight and fine,

As if one eye had fix'd the ruddled line.

Giffords Translation, p. 21.

See also the note of Is. Casaubon *in loco*, edit. Paris, 1615.

P. Silius, in No. 3414 of the Spanish Inscriptions, C.I.L., has been identified above with P. Silius Nerva, Consul B.C. 20; this explanation is confirmed by the letters being well formed, "*litterae sunt optimae aevi Augusti.*" The Index gives his name thus P.SILIVS, denoting by capitals a man of senatorial rank. We also find the feminine Silia. Coins of gens Silia, according to Cohen, are interesting, because they show the mode of voting by ballot at elections; cf. Cassia: *Médailles Consulaires*, Silia, No. 155, pp. 301-303, Pl. xxxviii; Cassia, No. 35, p. 81 sq., Nos. (8), (9) and p. 84; Pl. xi, Nos. 4, 5; obs. *Eclaircissements* in the text. But Babelon, following the attribution of earlier numismatists, assigns the pieces in question to the family Licinia, instead of Silia: *Monnaie de la République Romaine* tome ii, p. 128 sq., No. 7, and woodcut, cf. p. 461.

For Atto see Brambach, Corp. Inscr. Rhenan, Nos. 605, 825, 857, 915, 1,483, 1,769. No. 915 is the inscription at Mainz given above *in extenso*. The Index to Hübner's Inscr. Hispan. has \*Atto m. 2,835, which means that the name is doubtful, and that the person mentioned was a male. Turning to the reference I find that ATTO is on the stone; this seems to be the termination of some proper name that we are unable to supply. De Vit's Onomasticon omits Atto, but contains the gens Attonia, "*parum nota.*" Mommsen, Inscr. Helveticae, cap. xxv, Colonia Augusta Raurica (Basel-Augst), p. 59, No. 287. Basileae hinter der Münsterkirche: Roth, Die Römischen Inschriften des Kantons Basel, op. citat., p. 11, No. 23 and note 16: Orelli, vol. ii, p. 125, cap. xiv, §6, Honesta Missio, No. 3,580.

In the second inscription which I have quoted CIVIS occurs for CIVIS, nominat. sing. Gruter, pag. lxiv, 6, Augustae (Vindelicorum) in aedibus Peutingeri, SEX. ATTONIVS. PRIVATVS CIVIS (*sic*) TREVER; *ibid.* dlvi, 4, In oppido Lauginga CIVIS BRIVINES: Orelli, No. 3,523 Cives (*sic*) Mediomatrica; he calls attention to the feminine gender of *civis*, and refers to Gruter, xlii, 5, Civis Trevera: comp. my paper on Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, part ii, Archæol. Journ., vol. xlv, p. 334; the lady probably came from Trèves to drink the waters at Luchon. This use of *civis* corresponds with the French *citoyenne*. There was also an archaic form *ceivis*; hence the long syllable in the penultima of *civis* can be accounted for. An example

occurs in the Senatus-Consultum (so-called) De Bacchanalibus, of which Drakenborch's Livy. edit. 4to., gives a fac-simile, vol. vii, p. 197, &c. With CEIVIS cf. ibid. PREIVATOD. IBEI, VOBELIS. Vide Ariodante Fabretti, Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum antiquioris aevi ...et Glossarium Italicum, 1867, quoted by De Vit. p. 817, s.v. CEIVIS=Osc.CEVS, et CEIVITAS; v. CEVS, p. 836 sq.

The geographical position of Raetinium is thus defined by Pliny, Nat. Hist. iii, 22 (26), §142. Ab his castella Peguntium, Rataneum, Narona colonia tertii conventus a Salona lxxxii m. pass., apposita cognominis sui fluvio a mari xx m. pass. For the campaign of Germanicus in Dalmatia and the capture of Raetinum see Dion Cassius, lib. lvi, cap. 11 edit. Sturz, vol. iii, p. 438 'Εντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ράιτινον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀπήλλαξαν.... ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἀπώλοντο, τῇ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι, τῇ δὲ καιόμενοι.

In the passage cited above Dr. Lindenschmit describes the part of the armour protecting the lower region of the abdomen and the pudenda—8 Lederstreifen, welche mit Metallbuckeln beschlagen sind, und an ihren Enden bewegliche, in Scharnieren hängende Schlussknöpfe haben: cf. ibid, Heft iv, Taf. 6. The metal bosses or studs upon the leather straps show that this appendage to the *lorica* was defensive as well as ornamental. The Greek name for it is πτέρυγες (wings), apparently from some resemblance of form; the Latin equivalent is not known, *lacinia* (lappet or flap of a garment) would perhaps come nearest; it is used with reference to *chlamys*, *pallium*, *toga* and *tunica* (Rich, Dict. s.v.) but I have not met with any case in which it is applied to military uniform.

Two interesting passages in Xenophon corroborate what has been already said, De Re Equestri, xii, 4, Περὶ δὲ τὸ ἦτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ κύκλω αἱ πτέρυγες τοιαῦται καὶ τοσαῦται ἔστωσαν, ὥστε στέγειν τὰ μέλη. Anabasis, iv, 7, § 15 (speaking of the Chalybes in Pontus), εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἦτρον, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ τῶν σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἔστραμμενα. Vid. Stephens, Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, edit. Didot, s.v. πτέρυξ; Dict. of Antt., p. 712 sq., art. *Lorica* by Mr. Jas. Yates: Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums, s.v. Waffen, pp. 2015-2078, i Griechen, ii Römer, with many illustrations, for the whole subject of ancient armour and weapons; pp. 2,033 links unten, 2060 lu. for the πτέρυγες.

The *Sporran* (pronounced *Spurran*) of our Highland regiments looks very like the ornament described above, and the definition of *Sporan* in Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary would almost suit for its Roman analogue, viz., a shaggy purse made of the skin of badgers and of other animals, which is fastened by a belt round the middle, and hangs down in front of the philibeg with tassels dangling to it. Comp. Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary, s.v., with two woodcuts.

A remarkable chapter in Tacitus, Annals, ii, 9, is illustrated by the decorations which we have observed in the monument of Caelius. The historian relates a conversation between Arminius, the German chief, and his brother Flavus (not Flavius, as in some editions), who is serving in the Roman Army, and had lost an eye in battle. The latter says that he had been rewarded with increased pay, a collar, a crown and other military honours, but Arminius scornfully calls them the contemptible wages of a slave—*vilis servitii pretia*. This figure of Caelius has been

reproduced in the Musée d'Antiquités Nationales at St. Germain—a collection which is not limited to objects found in France, as its name would seem to imply. For the purpose of comparison casts of antiques in other countries have been judiciously added.

*Phaleræ* and *torques* were worn by the Romans like the stars, crosses and ribands of our own time; so they remind me of lines quoted by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, I know not from what author—

“Those emblems Cecil did adorn,  
And gleamed on wise Godolphin's breast.”

Caelius perished, as we have already seen, in the defeat of Varus and his legions. It was probably on the occasion of some similar reverse that the Germans captured a service of plate, known as the Hildesheimer Silberfund (from Hildesheim, south of Hanover); it was complete for three persons, and contained about seventy pieces. They were dug up by soldiers working at the foot of the Galgenberg, in 1868, and are now deposited in the Antiquarium of the old Museum at Berlin. This is the most important discovery of the kind that has been made in Germany. Electro-plate copies by Christoffe may be seen at the South Kensington Museum, in the hall of reproductions. Brockhaus, *Conversations Lexicon*, s.v. *Ausgrabungen*, vol. ii., p. 241, thirteenth edition: Murray's *Handbook for the Rhine and North Germany*, p. 192, edit. 1886.

Pape, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*, gives *Μιθραιον*, Heiligthum des Mithras, as the Greek form for Mithraeum; comp. *θησειον*, Temple of Theseus. Larousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, has a copious article on this deity. He says that the sun is *mhr* in Persian, that Aspamitras in Ctesias means *friend of horses*, and Mithridates *given by Mithras*. For the tablet found at Heddernheim, see Lajard, op. citat., Plate cvi; comp. Pls. xc, xci, bas-reliefs de gris.

The term *μεσίτης* is applied to Mithras: Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, chap. xlvī, μέσον δὲ ἀμφὸν τὸν ΜΙΘΡΗΝ εἶναι διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν μεσίτην ὀνομαζουσιν. Cf. Milman, *History of Christianity*, I, 70-73. Mediator—The Word; in the New Testament this is a title of our Lord: Epistle to the Hebrews, viii, 6, κρείττονός ἐστιν διαθήκης μεσίτης; *ibid.* ix, 15, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν.

Mosheim, *Church History*, vol. 1, pp. 264—266.

C. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archæologie der Kunst*, § 322, Remark 4 (English Translation, pp. 323—325) gives the names of noted workers in mosaic (*musivarii*; in the Theodosian Codex, distinguished from *tessellarii*), besides Sosus, Dioscorides and Heraclitus (§ 209, Rem. 1). Proclus and J. Soter, Fuscus at Smyrna (?), Prostatius (?)—vide supra Fourth Period of Art, § 163, Rem. 6, Eng. Transl. p. 121 sq. With the Darmstadt pavement we may compare that found at Lillebonne, which also is inscribed. An account of it was written long ago by the Abbé Cochet, author of *La Normandie Souterraine*: it has been published recently by Messrs. Rollin and Feuarent, with three illustrations of 4to. size.

The meaning of the preposition *ex*, prefixed to a noun, is explained by Dr. Joseph von Hefner, *Das Römische Bayern in seinen Schrift und Bildmalen*, p. 153 sq., No. clxxiv., Denkmal. Regensburg.

D. M.

SEP· IMPETRATO VET LEG· III· ITAL·  
M· H· M· EXT B C Vī· AN· LIII· . .



Diis Manibus. Septimio Impetrato, veterano legionis III. Italicae, misso honesta missione, extribuno cohortis VI., annorum LIII. . .

EXTB has been explained as the abbreviation for *extribuno* or *extibicine*, but the former seems preferable. Hefner says that *ex* here denotes that a man has resigned his dignity or office, but does not imply that he has been advanced to a higher rank. These compound words generally occur in the Ablative and rarely in the Nominative (like *proconsule propraetore*, and later *proconusul propraetor*), but no other cases are used: cf. *ibid.* p. 270, No. cccxciv. Denkmal. Rom. Taf. V. Fig. 19a. b.

CLODI  
HERMO  
GENIAN  
IVC EXPR  
EFFECTO  
VRBL. . .

Clodii Hermogeniani, viri clarissimi, expraefecto Urbi.

Sometimes a dot separates *ex* from the following word. For other examples vide *ibid.* (vii.) Index Rerum—Exaquilifero legionis i. adjutricis, p. 41; Exbeneficiario consulis, p. 185; Exequite legionis iii. Italicae, pp. 191, 213; Exsignifero legionis iii. Italicae, pp. 150, 151. Comp. Das mittelalterlich—romische Lapidarium und die vorgeschichtlich—romische Sammlung zu St Ulrich in Regensburg. Von J. Dahlem, p. 22, Nr. 59.

EXSIGNIF LEG III;

*ibid.* p. 12, Nr. 2, we have SIGF, the abbreviation for Signifer.

Der Ober-Donau-Kreis des Königreichs Bayern unter den Römern, Von Dr. v. Raiser. III<sup>te</sup> Abtheilung, Die Römer-Monumente und Ueberreste aus der Römer-Zeit zu Augsburg und in der nächsten Nachbarschaft, p. 81, liv<sup>tes</sup> Monument. Kupfer tafel (Tab) ix., fig. i.

This use of *EX* in composition has escaped the attention of many grammarians and lexicographers; I have therefore enlarged upon it.

We have met with *Pervincus* as the name of a mosaicist, the feminine *Pervinca* also occurs: Raiser op. p. citat. p. 83. lxii<sup>tes</sup> Monument. Secundinae *Pervincae*; Hefner 164 sq. clxxxviii. Denkmal. *Biberbach*. The gravestone was erected by the lady's husband,

CIVLIANIVS·IVL·DEC·MVN·  
III VIRALIS..

*Caius* Julianius *Julius* decurio municipii quatuorviralis.

It is said that under the Empire there were four chief magistrates (Quatuorviri) in the municipia, and two (Duumviri) in the colonies: Mezger, Die Römischen Steindenkmäler, Inschriften und Gefass-Stempel im Maximilians-Museum zu Augsburg, 1862, p. 7. Anmerkung. Gruter gives *Pervinca Paterni* (filia), at Gundershofen in Alsace. There is another form of the name, *Pervinia*, but it seems doubtful: Hefner p. 153. Nr. clxxiv. Denkmal. *Regensburg*.

Edward Gerhard's Archäologische Zeitung contains an excellent article on the Darmstadt Mosaic by Otto Jahn: he has treated the subject copiously and accurately—in a manner worthy of so eminent a scholar and antiquary: Achtzehnter Jahrgang, 1860, pp. 113-123—Neptunische Mosaike, Tafel cxlii, Römische Bäder zu Vilbel, Grundriss im gross-herzogliche Museum zu Darmsdadt; cxliii, Neptunisches Mosaik aus

Vilbel; cxliv, D<sup>o</sup> aus Constantine im Museum des Louvre (which cannot be seen at present on account of alterations in the building.) The author observes that the Darmstadt mosaic is composed partly of small coloured marble cubes, and partly of small coloured and gilt glass pastes; in a note he gives a list of mosaics in which marine subjects (Seeschöpfen) are portrayed—at Olympia, Constantine, Philippeville, Oudnah, Barcelona and Orbe, with references; and he calls attention, as I have already done, to the absence of any special motive for the composition. According to Otto Jahn no other Pervincus is known as a mosaicist, but a potter with this name is mentioned by Frohner. *Inscr. terr. coct. vas.* 381. Lastly, he describes at length the great mosaic at Constantine representing Poseidon and Amphitrite in a quadriga, Nereids and fishermen. Judging from the engravings I should think it was executed later than the one at Darmstadt. See *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie*—a magnificent collection of engravings, in folio—plate 139, 140 uncoloured, general view, *i.e.* group of figures surrounded by thirty-six rosettes, each of a different pattern. Plates 141—146 are coloured; the first shows genii holding a canopy over the god and goddess, two boats with masts and sails, sepia (cf. *Dominicis, Repertorio Numism.* i, 480 sq. s.v. Polpo; *Hunter's Catalogue*, s.v. Gortyna, tab. xxviii, fig. 20), and other varieties of fish; then follow the rosettes on a large scale. This work was edited by Ad. H. Ab. Delamare; it contains 193 plates, but no explanatory text. For the mosaic at Orbe v. my Paper on the Roman Antiquities of Switzerland, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. xlii pp. 191—194, esp. p. 193.

I subjoin the titles of some books on Alsatian Antiquities.

Ingenieur Major F. von Apell, *Ein Beitrag zur Ortsgeschicht von Strassburg in Elsass, mit zwei photolithographirten Planen*, 1884.

De Morlet—*Notice sur les voies Romaines du Département du Bas-Rhin.* (Arrondissements de Strasbourg, de Saverne et de Wissembourg), with map, and part of the Theodosian Table showing roads to Metz, Mayence, and Bâle, 1861.

Wilhelm Wiegand, *Die Alamannenschlacht vor Strassburg, A.D., 357, eine Kriegsgeschichtliche Studie, mit einer Karte und einer Wegskizze*, 1887. These three books were specially recommended to me by Dr. Waldner, one of the librarians at Strassburg.

Goldberg and J. G. Schweighaeuser—*Antiquites de l'Alsace*, vol. i, Haut-Rhin; vol. ii, Bas-Rhin; folio with large engravings: the latter author is the son of John Schweighaeuser, the celebrated editor of Herodotus and other Greek writers. Vol. i contains an Historical Introduction, pp. xi, without an Index; *Routes, Villes Romaines*, pp. 123—126; Vol. ii, *Monuments Romains*, pp. 1-24, with map and plates.

Maximilien de Ring, *Tombes Celtiques de l'Alsace*, folio, with fine coloured plates, in four parts.

Félix Voulot, of Épinal, *Les Vosges avant l'histoire*, 4to. This writer has taken great pains to investigate the district, but his theories are fanciful.

J. Naehrer, *Die römischen Militärstrassen und Handelswege in der Schweiz und in Südwestdeutschland insbesondere in Elsass-Lothringen*, 1888, with two maps, 1. corresponding with the title; 2. the Roman Military Way from Argentoratum to Tres Tabernae on a large scale, and

plan of the Castellum at Strassburg. The author justly remarks that by studying these roads we shall perceive their great importance as strategic lines of march and basis of operations for resisting attacks of the Germans on the Roman frontiers. More information may be obtained from this work than the title-page would lead us to expect. The first map shows the route from Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) to Vienna (Vienne), and its continuation through Lugdunum (Lyon), Andematunum (Langres) and Divodurum (Metz) to Augusta Treverorum (Trier, Trèves): vide Index, Inhaltsverzeichniss der Heerstrassen, opposite p. 1.

Dr. Kraus, Kunst und Alterthum im Unter-Elsass, three vols. a republication, I think, of memoirs that appeared in the Bulletin de la Société pour la Conservation des Monuments historiques d'Alsace. The first volume was mentioned to me by Professor Adolf Michaelis, who is so well known in England for his valuable works on the Parthenon and the Ancient Marbles in the private collections of our country. It contains some remarkable friezes to be seen at Strassburg Cathedral, and not described by the compilers of ordinary guide books: figs. 149-150.

Engel and Lehr, Les Monnaies d'Alsace, texte français 1887, are the best authorities for Alsatian coins; the letter-press is said to be good, but the plates rather inferior. This province had no Roman mint, and no Roman gold coins have been found there; it was probably supplied, like our own country, from the great *ateliers monétaires* of Treves.

Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande, commonly quoted in the abbreviated form—Bonner Jahrbücher.

Ernst aus 'm Werth, Kunstdenkmäler des Christlichen-Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden, 1857-1880, i. Abtheilung, Bildnerei; ii. Abtheilung, Wandmalereien, large folio, many Plates beautifully coloured. As in old French Churches, so here in Germany, the subjects are frequently taken from the Apocalypse, which is proved by the inscriptions annexed, e.g. *Hi secuntur Agnum quocunque ierit, gaudeamus et exultemus quia venerunt nuptiae Agni*. This work will prove very useful to those who wish to pursue their inquiries beyond the limits of the Classical period, and extend them into the Middle Ages.

The author's name deserves notice: it means literally *from the island in a river*. *Werth* in this sense is not given by the Dictionaries commonly used, because it is obsolete. V. Kiliani Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum, tom. I, s. v. Weerd, Anglo-Saxon voorth, voeorth. Hinc Keyzers-weert, Bomels-weert, q. d. Caesaris insula, Bomeli insula: Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch: Band III. VF-Z: Nachträge 1876-1878. Wert insel, halbinsel, erhohtes wasserfreies land zwischen Sümpfen: Weigand, Deutsches Wörterbuch, 1881, der Werth Flussinsel. Histrichtig ohne das Dehnungs-h *Wert* Bayer. auch *Worth*, mhd der *wert*, ahd der *warid*, *werid*; 1540 bei Alberus dictionar. Bl. R. 4 *werd*, auch s. v. a. Vor-u. Schutzdamm des Ufers. S. Werder. Compare Nonnenwerth or Rolandswerth, and Grafenwerth—*islands in the Rhine* near the Siebengebirge; and Donauwerth on the Danube, between Augsburg and Nuremberg (Castrum Woerth). The Bavarian *Worth* reminds us of English names of places—Worth, a village in Sussex, and Sawbridgeworth, a town in Hertfordshire. For some of these references I am indebted to Dr. Hessels.

I have been informed that there are some remains of an embankment made by Valentinian at Alta Ripa, near the junction of the Neckar

with the Rhine. Being unable to verify the statement, I can only propose it as a subject of investigation to English travellers. The modern name is Altrip, corresponding with Hauterive. Plusieurs localités portent ce nom en France: Brunet, Dictionnaire de Géographie Ancienne et Moderne, Supplément au Manuel du Libraire, p. 50. Ammianus Marcellinus says that Valentinian changed the course of the Neckar to prevent injury to his fortifications: lib. xxviii, c. 2, §§ 1-4, p. 406 sq., edit. Eyssenhardt. Denique cum reputaret munimentum celsum et tutum, quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis, praeterlabente Nicro (Neckar) nomine fluvio, paulatim subverti posse undarum pulsu inmani, meatum ipsum aliorum vertere cogitavit, &c.

Tillemont, Gibbon's "incomparable guide," gives some account of Valentinian's operations supra impacati Rheni semibarbaras ripas: Histoire des Empereurs, 1720, tome cinquième, Art. xxi, pp. 49-51. Valentinien fortifie les bords du Rhein, &c. L'an de Jesus Christ 369. On remarque principalement celui (château) qu'il bastit sur le Nekar, c'est à dire sans doute au lieu où cette rivière se rend dans le Rhein, et où est aujourd'hui la ville de Manheim—il passa une partie de l'année sur les bords du Rhein. Car selon les dates des loix . . . il était le 19 du mesme mois (Juin) à Altrip entre Manheim et Spire. The authorities quoted in the margin are abbreviated, but the expansion will be found in the Table des Citations prefixed to the volume. Gibbon, chap. xxv, vol. iii, p. 259 sq. edit. Smith. The Museum in the Schloss at Mannheim might throw some light on this subject, as it contains Romisch-germanische Funde aus der Umgegend, etc. Baedeker's Rheinlande, 1886, p. 46.

I possess a double denarius of Valentinian, which has not been published. Obv. D.N. VALENTINIANVS. P.F.AVG.; bust to right with diadem (diadematum cum margaritis, Eckhel, viii, 150) and *paludamentum*. Rev. VOT · V · MVLT · X in a laurel wreath; in the exergue SMAQ, i.e., signata moneta Aquileiae, money struck at Aquileia. Cohen, Méd. Imp., vol. v, pp. 402-404, esp. nos. 37-48, gives many similar coins, but none, with AQ in the exergue; nor does AQ appear in the list prefixed to the descriptions, *ibid.*, p. 390, Lettres, nombres et symboles qui se rencontrent sur les médailles de petit bronze de Valentinien; but in the Supplément, vol. vii, p. 402, no 7, we find these words "Le n<sup>o</sup> 53 (revers RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE) avec SMAQS à l'exergue." This is evidently not the same coin as mine; however, as far as the exergue is concerned, it differs only by a single letter.

With the embankment of this Emperor we may compare the levée on the Loire represented in Sauvagère's Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules, pl. xvi, p. 159. According to Brunet, Alta Ripa on the Rhine is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary; but I can find there only Ripa Alta (sic) in Hungary: p. 244 edit. Wesseling, "prope Duna Szent-György (Reichard), Paks (v. Renner)", under heading p. 241, edit Wess., Item per ripam Pannoniae a Tauruno in Gallias ad leg. xxx usque; edit. Parthey & Pinder, pp. 112-118. This Alta Ripa is also marked in the Table of Peutinger, Segmentum V.A., North-East of Siscia (Sissek).

Atlases and maps commonly used do not give Altrip, which is an insignificant village; but it appears in an early edition of Baedeker's Rheinreise von Basel bis Düsseldorf, Coblenz 1846, situated on the left bank of the river, south of Mannheim, about one third of the way to

Speyer : v. the latter of two maps of the Rheinthal, on a large scale, at the end of the volume. *Alt*, the first syllable of this word, must not be confounded with the German adjective *alt* old, the identity of form being of course accidental.

I have already noticed the Emperor Probus : he displayed the greatest activity as a military commander in this region. For a medallie biography of him see *Étude historique sur M. Aur. Probus, d'après la numismatique du règne de cet Empereur*, par Émile Lépaulle, Lyon, 1884, pp. 111 ; and for the part relating to Germany, chapitre iv, *Guerre des Gaules et de Germanie*, pp. 51-68. At p. 71, and p. 108 note (57) he describes a coin of this Emperor which has the following legends: Obverse, IMP *erator* Caesar PRGBVS AVGVSTVS CONSUL II ; Reverse, VICTORIA GERMANICA ; exergue, VI (sic) XX.T., minted at Tarragona : "c'est le seul exemplaire qui nous ait donné une date précise sur la fin de cette grande expedition de Germanie." Unfortunately for the reader, this work is not accompanied by engravings ; but the deficiency may to a great extent be supplied from the Collection de M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt, *Catalogue de Monnaies romaines*, pp. 86-88, nos. 570-583 (*photogravures* taken from plaster casts and very well executed). Comp. Cohen, *Medailles Impériales*, vol. v, pp. 221-313 ; Pl. viii, opp. p. 221, part of Pl. ix, opp. p. 315 ; and esp. nos. 47, 48.

I exhibited several coins found on the banks of the Rhine, which I obtained from M. Adolph E. Cahn, of Frankfort-am-Main, with a view to illustrate the Roman occupation ; they have great interest, as showing its military character, and thus corroborating the accounts of Ammianus and other historians. With only a single exception, the devices and legends are expressive of warlike achievements—trophies, standards and captives ; VICTORIA GERMANICA, FIDES MILITVM, CONCORDIA MILIT, LEG. III. The types of these *denarii* furnish a commentary on a passage in Tacitus, *Annals* iv., 5, where he tells us that the chief strength of the Roman army lay on the Rhine ; eight legions defending that frontier, while in Spain only three were required : *sed praecipuum robur Rherum juxta, commune in Germanos Gallosque subsidium, octo legiones erant. Hispaniae recens perdomitae tribus habebantur*. Cf. *ibid.* i., 3 ; and Gibbon, chap. 1, vol. 1, p. 153 sq., edit. Dr. Wm. Smith.

One of the legends, HERC. DEVSONENSI, deserves notice, because it contains an uncommon epithet ; it occurs on a *denarius* of Postumus, and is explained by some with reference to Deutz, a town opposite Cologne ; but the ancient name of this place seems to have been Divitia, and Ammianus has the derivative Divitenses, xxvi., 7, 14 ; xxvii., 1, 2, edit. Eyssenhardt : in the Middle Ages it was called Duizia. Others prefer Duisburg in Kleveberg, north of Düsseldorf ; v. De Vit, s.v. *Deusonensis*, in the *Onomasticon* appended to his edition of Forcellini's *Lexicon* ; he mentions Deuso, a barbarous name, and Deusa (see also *Desanaus*). The adjective may denote some place in which Hercules was specially venerated, cf. HERCVLI MAGVSANO, Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vii., p. 443 sq., probably from a town called Macusa or Magusa. Hercules often appears on the coins of Postumus to signify victories over his enemies ; sometimes the busts of the hero and emperor are conjugated (*accolés*) : Cohen, *Med. Imp.* tome v., p. 15, No. 8 ; *ibid.* p. 21, No. 52 ; in the note to p. 19 he cites the Baron de Witte, who has published



an extremely interesting article on the coins of Postumus, that exhibit the labours of Hercules, in the *Revue Numismatique* de 1844. See also Collection d'Amécourt, Nos. 538, 539.

We find the same myth on the coins of Probus "who passed the Rhine, and displayed his invincible eagles on the banks of the Elbe and the Neckar." Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vii, 504, justly remarks, *Herculis elogium, si quis alius, promeritus est Probus*. Cohen, vol. v, p. 241, No. 96, pl. ix; Hercules appears in the legend of the reverses, p. 264 sq., Nos. 278-291; various forms of the name occur—*ÆROCVLI*, *HERCVLI*, *ERCVLI*, v. note p. 264. Collection d'Amécourt, p. 88, No. 583. The sun also is a frequent type in the medals of Probus.

Another class of coins found in the Rhine-land is interesting, but for a totally different reason, viz., because they show us the last stage of degeneracy reached by the barbarous imitations of the Greek prototype—the Macedonian Philippus, known to the tiro as *regale nomisma*, Horace, *Epistles* ii, 1,234. I refer to the *Regenbogenschüsseln* (rainbow-dishes), which are of gold—so-called from some superstition that connected them with the rainbow, and from their concave shape, resembling some examples in the Byzantine series. If we compare these rude coins with the British and Gaulish, we shall see at once that they are still further removed from the Greek—indeed at first sight it is hard to identify therein any features of the original from which they are derived.

Of the *Regenbogenschüsseln* I exhibited two specimens—the larger one (weight 110 grains) being like some figures in Mr. Evans's *Ancient British Coins*, e.g., plate B, Nos. 5 and 6. The obverse shows locks of back hair, wreath and "a rounded projection where the face should be." On the reverse we see five balls, one of them rests on two supports, and another on three, thus having the appearance of a tripod; these rude combinations are intended to represent the legs of a horse. The smaller example (weight 28 grains) has on the obverse a device, in which we may perhaps recognise a human face; on the reverse only a cross, that may probably be explained as a descendant from the earliest type in the British series. Evans, *op. citat.*, Pl. A, Nos. 1 & 2, where we observe a cross band, at right angles to the wreath copied from the Philippus; *ibid.* p. 29, Pl. C, No. 7, "the head beginning to assume a cruciform appearance;" pp. 26-30 progressive degradation.

Keary, *Morphology of Coins*, reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v, 3rd series, pp. 165-198; esp. pp. 173, 181; Pl. viii, no 19; *ibid.* nos. 20-22, "Gaulish coinage descended from that of the Spanish colony of Rhoda," for which see Heiss, *Monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, p. 84 sq. pl. i. Mr. Keary refers to special monographs on this subject, Streber, *Regenbogenschüsseln*, Friedländer in *Bulletino di Archeologia*; *Revue Numismatique*, 1861, p. 141 (Longpérier): and v. Mons. P. Charles Robert on the *Regenbogenschüsseln*.

Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, zweite Ausgabe, 1844, vol. ii, cap. xxii. Himmel und Gestirne, p. 694 sq. Indessen haften noch abergläubische Überlieferungen. das Volk wohnt, an der stelle, wo der regenbogen aufsteht, sei eine *goldne schüssel*, oder liege ein schatz verborgen; aus dem regenbogen fallen goldmünzen oder pfenninge nieder, gefundene goldbleche heissen *regenbogenschüsselein*, patellae Iridis, die sonne verzettelt sie im regenbogen. In Baiern nennt man den regenbogen

*himmelring, sonnenring*, jene münzen himmelringschüsseln (Schm. 2, 196, 3, 109) vgl. oben. s. 333. For the mythology of the rainbow see also a more recent work, *Die Deutsche Volksage* von Dr. Otto Henne-Am Rhyn, 1879, Erstes Buch, Dritter Abschnitt. Die Elemente, I Die Luft, p. 58 sq.

Those who wish to compare this rainbow-gold with Gaulish money will find ample illustrations in French books on numismatics, e.g.—

Eugène Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois ou Les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles*, 1868, 101 plates of coins, much enlarged, and classified as *Avant César* and *Du Temps de César*, besides woodcuts intercalated in the text.

Joachim Lelewel, *Type Gaulois ou Celtique*, 1841, with Atlas, Planches i-xii, of the same size as the originals.

F. De Sauley, *Lettres à M. A. De Longpérier sur la Numismatique Gauloise*, 1859, with engravings at the end of the volume.

For the worship of Mithras, to the references given above, I add the following:—

Henne-Am Rhyn, op. citat., Drittes Buch. Die Götter und Helden-sage. Dritter Abschnitt. Die Götter als Helden, II Geheimnisvolle Herkunft; p. 612 sq., Mithras. Er ist der Mittler zwischen dem guten und dem bösen Element. 1 Timothy II, 5, *Εἰς γὰρ θεὸς, εἰς καὶ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς*, one mediator between God and men. The meaning of this word is explained by Alford in his note on Hebrews, VIII, 6; cf. *ibid* XII, 24, and Galatians III, 20. The verb *μεσιτεύω* also occurs, Heb. VI, 17.

Milman, *History of Christianity*, vol. 1, p. 40, "Every foreign religion found proselytes in the capital of the world; . . . and at a later period the reviving Mithraic mysteries, which in the same manner made their way into the Western provinces of the Empire." Creuzer's *Symbolik*, translated by M. de Guigniaut, and published with the title *Religions de l'Antiquité*, I, 363; and note <sup>9</sup>p. 743. See also Milman, *ibid*. II, 266 sq. The phrase Light of Light, applied to the second Person of the Trinity in the Nicene Creed, presents a remarkable coincidence with the character of Mithras as the Sun-god: comp. Heb. I, 3, *ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης* the effulgence of his glory; so the Revised Version, which in this case is clearly preferable to the Authorised: Wisdom of Solomon, VII, 26. *ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀδύτου*. A similar idea is expressed in the account of the appearance of God to Moses in the burning-bush, Exodus III, 2-6 (cf. Numbers XXV, 4) Henne-Am Rhyn, *ibid*, p. 613. Milman, op. citat., ii, 278, Vestiges of every kind of religion, Greek, Asiatic, Mithraic have been discovered in Gaul, but none was dominant or exclusive.

*Archaeologia*, vol. xlviii, pp. 1-105, esp. 19-25, *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum* by Mr. Arthur John Evans, accompanied by a map of parts of Roman Dalmatia, between pp. 2 and 3, and another showing the course of the Roman road inland from Epitaurum (Ragusa Vecchia), facing p. 100—here the Mithraic monuments are marked. This paper is a very valuable one, on account of the information in the text and the references in the notes. At p. 22 sq. white carnelian, streaked appropriately with blood-red, is mentioned. There may perhaps be an allusion to Mithraic gems of this kind in the Apocalypse II, 17, To him that overcometh will I give. . . a white stone (*ψῆφον λευκήν*), and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that

receiveth it. Such engraved stones were given to the candidate on the successful conclusion of his probation, as a token of admission into the brotherhood, and for a means of recognition between its members: King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, 1st edition, p. 61. Alford's Commentary, *in loco*, reproduces many unsatisfactory interpretations of the passage just quoted.

Archæologia, Index to vols. 1-50; esp. xlviii, 241-243, symbols of this cult found in London.

C. W. King, op. citat., pp. 47-64, Mithraic monuments. The Twelve Tortures or Tests—Mithraic Talismans. The Roman Mithras in his Chapel.

Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 1815, chap. vii, pp. 180-274. On the Religion, History Antiquities, and Character of the Inhabitants of Persia before the Mahomedan conquest; p. 183 and Index, Parsees or Guebers; p. 185, Primeval religion of Persia. Worship of fire first introduced by Houshung: see Plate facing p. 259, Sculpture on the face of the rock near the Tank-E-Bostan; a figure, supposed to be the prophet Zoroaster, . . . his feet rest upon a star, and his head is covered with a glory, or crown of rays. A friend informs me that the worship of the modern Guebers is, in many respects, analogous to the old Mithraicism.

Burns, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 271, Temple of Mithras or Apollo on the Vatican, close to the Circus of Nero, but the exact site is not known; p. 371, House of his priests excavated at Ostia.

Xenophon is the earliest Greek author who mentions this deity, *Cyropaedia*, vii, 5, § 53, where Artabazus swears by him, *μὰ τὸν Μίθρην*; cf. *Economicus*, iv, 24, *ὀμνυμί σοι τὸν Μίθρην*, said by Cyrus the Younger to Lysander. See Stephens, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, edit. Didot, s.v., and esp. at the end of the article, *Persis hodie Mithr.*

*Optio* (a lieutenant in the army): is a conjecture that has been proposed to fill up a *lacuna* in the inscription on the monument of Caelius. Words ending in *tio* of the masculine gender occur very rarely, but feminines with the same termination are common enough; hence the former must be carefully distinguished. *Quinquertio* is another example, *i.e.*, one who practises the quinquertium (quinque, ars.) Greek *πενταθλον*, five exercises—leaping, foot-race, throwing the quoit, throwing the spear, and wrestling. Festus, edit. C. O. Müller, p. 257, Livius quoque (Andronicus) ipsos athletas sic nominat: "Quinquertiones praeco † in medium vocat:" De Vit says that the archaic form *praecod* should be read *metri gratia*. Dawson and Rushton, *Latin Terminational Dictionary*, p. 84, Third or Consonant Declension, Masculines—*io*, *ion-is*, *ion*; they write *quinqu-ert-io* (sic); *opt-io* is formed similarly.

In describing Roman antiquities on the Rhine I have had occasion to refer to the campaigns of Varus and Drusus. Hildesheim is situated between Hanover and Göttingen, not far from Detmold in the Teutoburger Wald, and Elsen, a village in Westphalia, at the confluence of the rivers Alme and Lippe. The former district was the scene of the great defeat of Varus by the German chieftain Arminius, and at the latter place, called Aliso in ancient times, Drusus erected a fortress, Hence it is probable that the objects found at Hildesheim belonged to an officer of high rank in the army either of Varus or of Drusus. See a monograph by Wieseler, and *Tresor de Hildesheim*—Notice par M. A. Darcel, Designation et prix des pièces d'orfèvrerie...reproduites en fac-simile galvanique par MM. Christefle et Cie.

Dr. J. Keller's Memoir in the Mainz Journal of Antiquities, quoted above, pp. 499—552, is interesting from a philological point of view, because these inscriptions increase our knowledge of Latinity, exhibiting some words and expressions which occur very rarely, or not at all, in the authors that remain to us, e.g., *MANTICVLARI: NEGOTIATORES*, p. 502, probably retail dealers as opposed to wholesale (*magnarii*); cf. Festus, ed. C. O. Müller, p. 133, *Manticularia dicuntur ea, quae frequenter in usu habentur, et quasi manu tractantur: DVP*, pp. 507, 516 *duplarius*, a soldier who receives double pay: Vide Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Lat.*, *duplarius* No. 571, *uplicarius* No. 1090.

I have said that *qu* had the same sound as *k* in Latin; it must be admitted that some grammarians do not agree with this opinion; possibly two different pronunciations were adopted simultaneously, as is the case with many words in our own language, where no rule is fixed by any recognised authority.

Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 8vo. edition, i., 456, note 11, remark, "So, in Martial, Tacitus and Suetonius, Livia and Livilla, Drusa and Drusilla, are used of the same person." I have not found Drusa in these writers.

It is to be regretted that accounts of antiquities at Mayence are *dispersed*; no archaeological and historical handbook for this city has appeared corresponding to Leonardy's *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, or to Regensburg in seiner *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* by Hugo Graf von Walderdorff.

I subjoin some additional references for the vexed question of the Murrhina. Propertius, iv. 10, 22,

Et crocino nares murreus uncat onyx,

with Paley's note on v. 5. 26. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, Contents p. viii, pp. 111 sq.: he inclines to the opinion that the murrhine was fluor spar, and that the Egyptian porcelain was the false murrhine of the ancients. Bottiger's *Sabina, Sach-und Wortregister*, vol. i, p. 44; vol. ii, p. 33. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, 1885, p. 228, note 1. The red glass referred to in the Chinese authors may have been an imitation murrhine. For the trade between Rome and China see pp. 225—228, and Contents, p. xv.

I have already mentioned the use of perfumes in connexion with cremation and funeral rites. Cicero, *De Legibus* ii, 24 (*Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 559 s.v. *Funus*), calls this practice *sumptuosa respersio*. Cf. Persius, *Satires*, iii, 104,

crassisque lutatus amomis.

vi, 34—36,

urnae

Ossa inodora dabit, seu spirent cinnama surdum,

Seu ceraso peccent casiae, nescire paratus.

v. Giffords Translation and Heinrich's note on the latter passage. Beim *ossilegium* pflegte man Wohlgerüche mit in die Urne zu legen, namentlich *cinnama*, κένναμον, s. Schneider, s.v., und *casia* eine Arabische Staude mit zimmtartiger Rinde, &c.

Subsequently to Dr. Hodgkin's essay on the Pfahlgraben, two papers have appeared on the same subject in the journals of our learned Societies—one by Mr. James Hilton, entitled "The Pfahlgraben and Saalburg Camp," *Archaeol. Journ.*, 1884, vol. xli, pp. 203-210; the other by Mr. F. G. Hilton Price in the *Proceedings of the Society of*

Antiquaries, March 20, 1890, 2nd series, vol. xiii, pp. 110-120—"Notes on recent excavations on the Saalburg, near Homburg." The former memoir treats of the Limes Transrhenanus in relation to the Roman walls and camps in Northumberland, v. esp. p. 206; the latter is interesting because it gives us intelligence concerning discoveries made in August, 1889, and a detailed account of the objects previously deposited in the Homburg Museum.

For the Inscriptions see the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 1885, Jahrgang IV. Heft IV., pp. 388-403, *Die Inschriften der Saalburg bei Homburg*. Von A. Hammeran. The text is accompanied by numerous fac-similes, of which the most important is given on p. 389, with the expansion p. 392 sq.

Section 322 of C. O. Müller's Handbook of Archaeology is the most important for Mosaics, because it contains the fullest details as well as references to other parts of his book. It comes under the head of *Technics of the Formative Art*, B 2, and is entitled *Designing by the junction of solid materials, mosaic-work*. As an accompaniment to treatises, such as those of Müller and Winckelmann, it would be well to consult Sillig, *Catalogus Artificum*. He has arranged the architects, sculptors, painters and engravers in alphabetical order, and given many passages, particularly from Pliny, *in extenso*, e.g., p. 428: *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxvi, 25, § 60, where the doves of Sosus are described.

Like the Darmstadt mosaic, the one at Lillebonne (Juliobona) bears, as stated above, an inscription: *Grande Mosaïque antique trouvée à Lillebonne (Seine Inférieure)*. Notice explicative, 1885, Pl. i-iv, p. 6. *Apollon poursuivant Daphné*. On lit dans deux cartouches blancs en lettres noires bien formées.

En haut: T(itus). SEN(nius) FELIX. C(ivis). PVTEOLANVS. F(ecit).

Et. en bas: ET. AMOR C(ivis) K(arthaginiensis) DISCIPVLVS.

(Fait par Titus Sennius Felix, citoyen de Pouzzolles, et par Amor, citoyen de Carthage, son élève).

Byzantine mosaics are briefly noticed by Müller, op. citat., § 212, Remark 4. To his references add Theophilus (Rugerus), lib. ii, cap. xv, *De vitro Graeco quod musivum opus decorat*; and Preface to Hendrie's Edition and Translation, p. xxxvi, note 2, where instead of *psēphōsis* read *ψήφωσις*.