

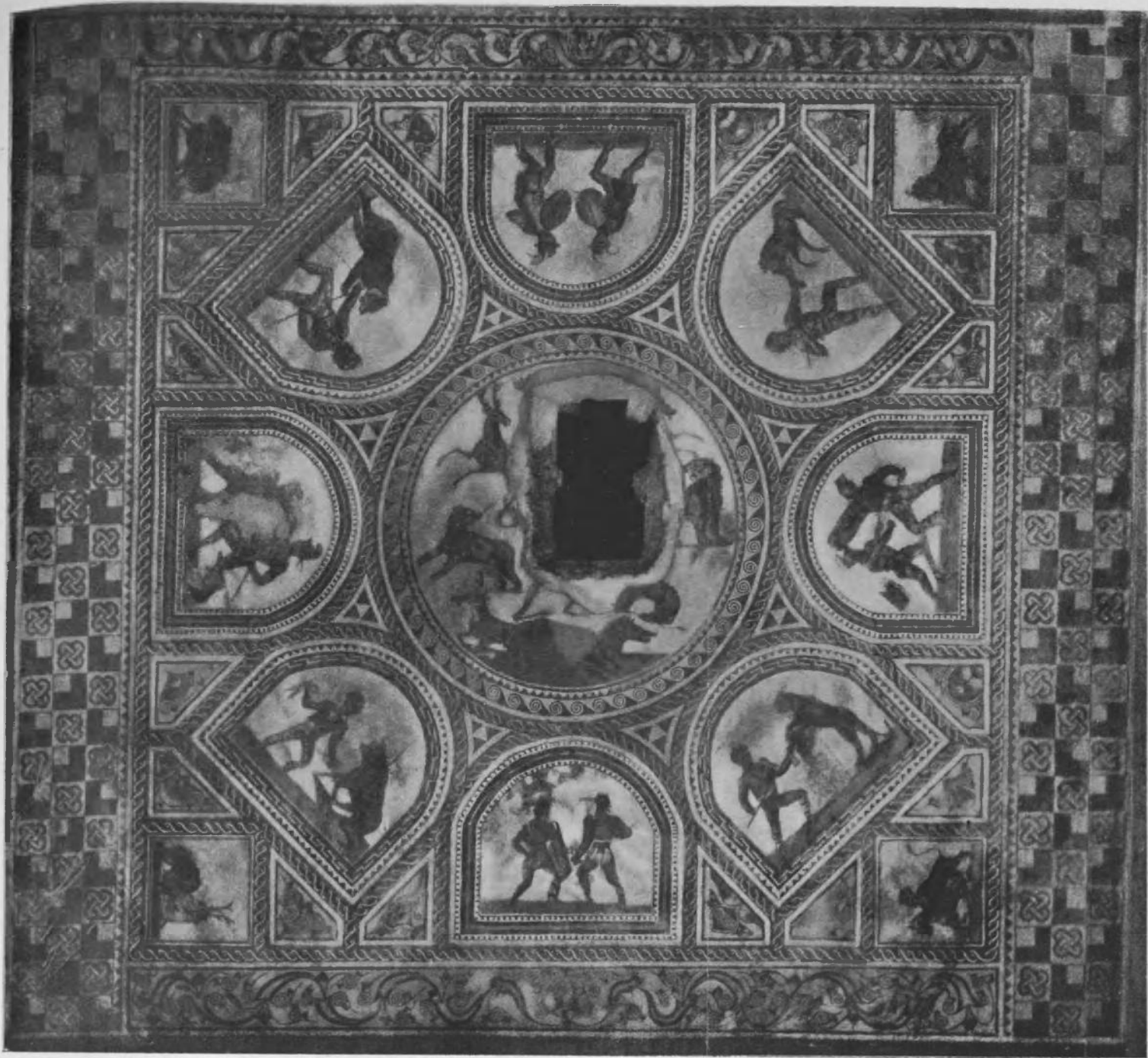
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE RHINELAND.

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

On former occasions I had the honour to read before the Institute memoirs treating of Roman antiquities in the Rhineland and adjacent regions. But the theme is far from exhausted, and I return to it with the hope of inviting attention to monuments that have received little or no notice from English archaeologists. The crisis through which our Church and nation are now passing, leads our thoughts to the Reformation, German as well as English, and some of the places I visited are more frequently mentioned in that connection than in any other. But I must pass on to the subjects with which we are more immediately concerned at present, and proceed to give some account of researches at Creuznach, Frankfurt, Worms, and Speier.

The Roman villa containing a great mosaic of gladiators is situated on the slope of a hill within a short drive from Creuznach; it was probably built about A.D. 300, and destroyed by the Germans a century later, so that it nearly synchronizes with the monuments which make Trèves of all cities north of the Alps the most attractive to the classical tourist. The ruins were gradually covered by landslips, and in the winter of 1893-94 laid open by the proprietor of the ground. The state-room of the villa measures 7 mètres 40 centimètres, by 6·72; and the adjoining apse, which contains the mosaic, 3·80 by 1·80.

This mosaic is nearly square, and a symmetrical arrangement prevails throughout. (*See illustration.*) A rectangle fills each of the four corners, in which we see a wild animal overpowering a tame one. The pairs consist of a panther and ass (*Waldesel*), a lion and bullock, a leopard and hog, a bear and stag. There are four arched compartments, one in the middle of each side of the square; all exhibit two gladiators fighting. That facing



MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN A ROMAN VILLA AT CREUZNACH.

the spectator contains a Samnite (*secutor*) and a *retiaris*; the former has the upper part of his body and his legs naked, and wears an apron round the hips; a helmet with visor on his head, and a shield supported on the right knee, are distinctly visible.

The adversary must be supposed to have cast his net, for it is not represented; with a spear, probably a trident, he is endeavouring to strike the Samnite's knee. His left arm is bandaged; this feature is better shown in the coloured plate, No. 11 of Wilmowsky's book on the Mosaic at Nennig. (See the copious explanations, pp. 8, 9 and 10 of the text,¹ *Erklärung*, Tafel VI. "Die Gladiatoren mit dem Lanista.")

Proceeding from right to left, we observe that the other three compartments contain the following subjects: a Thracian contending with a Samnite; he has lost his shield, and seems to raise his right hand in an attitude of supplication, imploring mercy from the spectators or the exhibitor of the games.² Two *mirmillones* with

¹ Especially p. 9, Retiarii and Mirmillones (*μυρμιλλος*, a fish for the crest on the helmet). Die ersteren scheinen ursprünglich im Fischfang geübte Küstenbewohner gewesen zu sein; die Andern sollen nach Festus ihren Helm von den Galliern entlehnt, und dieses die Veranlassung zu dem bekannten Lied der Retiarii beim Kampfen mit den Mirmillonen: Non te peto, piscem peto; quid me fugis, Galle? gegeben haben. Netz und Harpune oder Dreizaack passen wenigstens wohl zu dem Seefisch. This interpretation seems very plausible, but has been disputed. Baumeister, *Denkmaler des Klassischen Altertums*, 3 Band, Seite 2099, remarks that hitherto no example of the fish on the helmet occurs among the ancient monuments. An illustration, p. 2095 *op. cit.* shows both the net and the trident of the retiarius. The net is generally wanting; it appears distinctly in a small relief (Schieferrelief), which is said to be unique, found at Chester, *ib.* p. 2097, Abb. 2341. See Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 201 *seq.*, with woodcut. It was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1743, and is engraved in Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, ii. 431. Mr. Watkin notices the place of discovery. According to one account, "This sculp-

ture is upon a blue marble peculiar to the Isle of Man." It is engraved in *Vetusta Monumenta*, i. 65; but the stone has disappeared. Compare *Archaeologia of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, "Representations of the Retiarius," xi. 48, pl. II. "Bas-relief found at London among the ruins of a house at Islington"; Vol. xviii. 203, 211.

Winckelmann, *Monumenti Inediti*, tom. iii. fig. 197, shows two scenes of the contest between the *retiaris* and the *secutor*. The plate is repeated and fully described by Baumeister, *loc. cit.* p. 201. There seems to be some inaccuracy in the drawing, the original of which Winckelmann had not seen, so that we cannot quote it as an authority with implicit confidence. *Monumenti Inediti*, Text, Parte Quarta, Capitolo X. Gladiatori, p. 259 Reziarj.

² Baumeister, *op. cit.* 2101, War der Verwundete nicht im stande den Kampf fortzusetzen, so hob er die Hand und erwartete die Entscheidung der Zuschauer ob er begnadigt werden oder vom Sieger sterben sollte. Scholiast on Persius, *Satire* V. 119, Ostensione digiti veniam a populo postulabant. Cicero, *De Consolatione*, fragm. 7, edit. Orelli Ciceronis Opera, vol. iv. pars. ii. 490. Tum autem quum

feathers on their helmets, and carrying small round shields, stand face to face. A helmeted gladiator thrusts with his lance; the other figure has for the most part perished.

With the subjects previously mentioned the following alternate: in each compartment a hunter (*venator*) pierces with his lance a dangerous quadruped, panther, boar, bear, or bull:¹ two of the men carry a piece of cloth, which would at the same time protect the forearm and irritate the beast.

Unfortunately the central picture of our mosaic, which is of course the most important, has suffered greater injuries than any other. It is enclosed by a circular border of scroll-work, surrounded by the usual cable pattern. Two hunters are engaged in a combat with nine animals. Of the one in the lower part of the medallion only the legs are preserved, of the upper only the right hand. Below them we see a stag, bull, and

amiserit carissimam filiam, victum se a fortuna turpiter confitetur: Cedo, inquit, et *manum tollo*: quoted by Lactantius, *Divinarum Institutionum*, lib. III. cap. 28, § 9; edit. Le Brun et Dufresnoy, i. 264.

The supplication for mercy reminds us of the case when the gladiator's request was not granted. For this branch of the subject we have an important passage in Juvenal. *Sat.* III. v. 37, edit. Ruperti, 1818, reads

“verso pollice vulgi
Quem libet occidunt populariter.”

Heinrich, 1839, has the same words with one exception, he substitutes *quum* for *quem*; Otto Jahn, 1851, has *vulgus quem jubet*; Buecheler, 1893, *vulgus cum jubet*. Here two kinds of difficulties present themselves. Some interpret *verso pollice* turning the thumb towards the spectator's person, others, down towards the ground. The reading *jubet* suits well with *populariter*, i.e. *in gratiam populi*; those who exhibit the games kill the gladiator in compliance with the order given by the spectators' gesture.

¹ Augustus exhibited hunts of wild beasts at Rome, as he himself informs us by an Inscription at Ancyra (hodie Angora). [Venationes b[est][ia]] rum Africanarum meo nomine aut filio[rum] meorum et nepo[t]um in ci[r]] co

aut[i]n [f]oro aut in amphit[h]eatris popul[o d]edi sexiens et vicieni, quibus] confecta sunt bestiarum circiter [tria]] [mill]ia et quingentae (Expansion). “Monumentum Ancyranum,” ed. Th. Mommsen, p. lii, facsimile, Latin, 4, 39-42; p. 65. After citing parallel passages from Dion Cassius and Pliny, he remarks on *amphitheatris*, *crediderim vocabulum, quod hic primum opinor invenitur nec vere Graecum est, initio plurali numero solo usurpatum esse, cum essent amphitheatra tanquam theatra duo.* Lipsius, *De Amphitheatro cum aeneis figuris Antverpiae, apud Christophorum Plantinum, cId, Id, lxxxv, Caput V. p. 19.* To this work is appended *De Amphitheatris quae extra Romam libellus, in quo Formae eorum aliquot et typi.* Suetonius, ed. Burmann, 1736. ii. 156-159, *Monumentum Ancyranum ex Justii Lipsii auctario*, with Isaaci Casauboni, *Animadversiones*, pp. 161-166. This volume also contains many inscriptions, and engravings of coins, Tab. I-XXXIV.

In the inscription above mentioned the animals are not specified; but this deficiency is to some extent supplied by the Seventh Eclogue of Calpurnius Siculus, vv. 58-63:

“Hic niveos lepores, et non sine cornibus apros,
Hic raram silvis etiam, quibus editur, alcen

boar, bleeding to death; to the right are a panther crouching, a lion standing, and a stag leaping; to the left a bear, who has broken off and holds fast the spear with which he had been wounded, and two stags leaping; half of one remains, but only the hind feet of the other.

The Creuznach mosaic did not impress me favourably at first sight; the colours are faded, not so bright as I have seen in our own and other countries. But, unlike many things and persons, the more we study it, the more it excites our admiration. The general design is one upon which our eyes rest with pleasure, as we survey harmonious composition surrounding a central group, while the details gratify our curiosity by the varied positions and gestures both of men and animals, as well as by the floral and geometrical patterns that decorate the interstices and borders. The spectator is not disgusted by the brutal faces of athletes as in the tessellated pavement from the baths of Caracalla at Rome,¹ or wearied with a monotonous

Vidimus et tauros, quibus aut cer-
vice levata

Deformis scapulis torus eminet,
aut quibus hirtae

Jactantur per colla jubae, quibus
aspera mento

Barba jacet, tremulisque rigent
palearia setis."

Alce is the elk described by Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, VI. 26, as one of the most remarkable animals found in the Hercynian forest. *Deformis scapulis torus eminet* corresponds exactly with the *hump* on the buffalo, see the coloured plate in Cuvier's *Règne Animal*, Texte, Tome I. Mammifères, Ruminans, Les Bœufs, pp. 323-326, especially 324; Le Bison d'Amérique, Buffalo des Anglo-Américains—Atlas, Planches 94 et 95, fig. 2. Neither the fiercest animals, such as the tiger, occur in these lines of Calpurnius, nor wild beasts fighting with each other.

¹ See *Il Musaico Antoniniano rappresentante la Scuola degli Atleti*, descritto e illustrato dal P. Giampietro Secchi. Two Plates are appended to this book; Tav. I. Pianta della parte media delle Terme di Antonino Caracalla; A. Essedra (hemicycle) orientale in cui fu rinvenuta una parte del musaico figurato; B. Essedra occidentale in cui fu rinvenuta altra parte del musaico figurato. Tav. II. Musaico . . . la Scuola

degli Atleti ora collocato nel Palazzo Lateranese. "The pavement . . . was divided into squares and parallelograms each containing a full-sized figure or bust." Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 1897, p. 540. This mosaic in the baths of Caracalla is rightly called "Antoniniano," as the name of the Emperor was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, but like Caligula (from *caliga*, a soldier's shoe), he is usually known by his nickname, which means a long tunic worn by the Gauls and afterwards introduced at Rome. Martial, *Epigrams*, I, xcii. (xciii.), 6 sq.

"Cerea si pendet lumbis et scripta lacerna,

Dimidiasque nates Gallica braca tegit."

var. lect. *palla*. Cerea. See Friedlaender's note, *Wie* IV. liii, 5: Cerea quem nudi tegit uxor abolla grabati von langem Gebrauch gelb geworden. Rich, *Lat. Dict.* cites Strabo IV. iv. 3. Ἀντι δὲ χιτῶνων σχιστοὺς χειρῶν τοὺς φέρουσι μίχρι αἰδοίων καὶ γλουτῶν, loco tunicarum utuntur veste fissili manicata usque ad pudenda et nates demissa. However, the garment was made longer by Caracalla: *vide Augustan History*, "Life by Spartianus," chap. 9, Ipse Caracalli nomen accepit a vestimento, quod populo dederat, demisso usque ad talos.

arrangement of single figures in frames of the same size and shape as in the *Mosaïque des Promenades de Reims*.¹

This class of Roman monuments revives a thought which has often occurred to my mind, a conviction of the superiority of ancient to modern art, especially in fertility of invention. Other causes might be assigned, but I will only mention one: "the elegant mythology of the Greeks" supplied artists with innumerable themes on which their fancy might disport, *e.g.* in representing marine deities and combinations of human and animal forms. At the Renaissance genius was cramped by the perpetual repetition of the same subjects, a Madonna and Child, a Holy Family, or a Patron Saint.

The Historical Museum at Frankfort contains a very remarkable pillar called the *Gigantensäule*, excavated at Heddernheim, which is near this city and in the same direction as Homburg. On the top of it a Roman general on horseback runs down a fierce giant, prostrate on the ground. Many monuments of this kind found in the Gallo-German boundary provinces of the Roman Empire belong to the same category, but with variety in architectural proportions, arrangement of reliefs, and composition of giant-groups. Forty-one examples have been discovered, on both sides of the Vosges, on the banks of the lower Neckar and Main and of the Moselle, in the Rhenish Palatinate and Luxemburg, and in the Meurthe and Saar districts. Among all these only one besides the column under consideration has supplied fragments sufficient for a certain reconstruction, *viz.* that found at Merten near Saarlouis.² Between the two there are some differences in details, while a general similarity prevails. That from Heddernheim³ must be regarded as decidedly

¹ My paper on the "Gallo-Roman Monuments of Reims," *Arch. Journ.* 1884, xli. 113-121, in which I have referred to M. Loriquet's work, *La Mosaïque des Promenades et autres trouvées à Reims*," &c. 1862. It deserves more attention than it has received in our country, containing eighteen plates, plan of the excavations, objects found, compartments of the mosaic Nos. 1 to 35 intercalated in the text, and photograph of the whole.

² The chief authorities are Dr. E.

Wagner and M. Auguste Prost, *vide infra*. Dr. E. Wagner quotes Pausanias I. ii. 4, *του γαού δι' οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶν ἴστιν ἐφ' ἵππου, δῶν ἀφείεις ἐπὶ γίγαντα Πολυβώτην*. Compare *Musee Gallo-Romain de Sens*, 1869-1896. Troisième Partie, Planche xxxv. Bas-relief representant Neptune combattant, arme de son trident, perhaps Polybotes. Photographure Dujardin. This sculpture is only a fragment.

³ The most remarkable object in the Museum at Wiesbaden is the Mithraic

more important, because it bears a dedicatory inscription of eleven lines nearly complete. They occupy one side of the quadrangular pedestal, and inform us that C. Sedatius Stephanus, Decurio of the Taunenses, and Caturigia Crescentina, his wife, with others, restored this pillar on the third day before the Ides of March, in the Consulate of Sabinus (for the second time) and of Venustus, *i.e.* 13th March, A.D. 240. The exact date should be observed, as it affords a starting point, or, to use the French phrase, *une base solide*, for further inquiries. *Restituo* occurs frequently in accounts of the repairs of Roman roads or buildings, as well as on coins. The side of the pedestal opposite the inscription shows us Hercules holding his club (*claviger*)¹ in the right hand, and the apples of the Hesperides in the left. He stands between Juno and Minerva on the other two sides.

The small figures that adorn the hexagon immediately above the pedestal (*Zwischensockel*) are much weathered; they seem to represent: 1, Mars; 2, a Genius with *patera* for libations and a cornucopiae; 3, a female with cornucopiae and inverted torch; 4, another female holding a bowl with fruits in her left hand, and perhaps ears of corn in her right; 5, Venus; 6, Victory. Maximus, Maximinus, Festa, Maximina, Honorata, and Crescentina, names occurring in the inscription, are placed over these six figures

Tablet found at Hedderheim. The front and back of it are shown in reproductions of photographs, *Arch. Journ.* 1890, xlvii. between pages 378 and 379.

¹ We find *Claviger* as an epithet of Hercules in Ovid, *Fasti*, IV. 68.

Hospes Aventinis armentum pavit in herbis Claviger:

here the word is a compound of *clava* (a club) and *gero*; it is also used in a different sense, derived from *clavis* (a key) and *gero*. These nouns must not be confounded with *clavus* (a nail), which has other meanings, especially a purple *stripe* on the tunic, *latus* for senators, *angustus* for knights.

Hercules Claviger is well shown in Müller-Wieseler's *Denkmaler der alten Kunst*, Pt. I. Pl. XXXVIII. Nos. 151, 152, 154-157, No. 152, Die Farnesische Colossalstatue des Herakles, Nachbildung eines Lysippischen Originals durch den Athener Glykon. Real

Museo-Borbonico (now Nazionale), Vol. III. Tav. XXIII. xxiv. Ercole in riposo, conosciuto sotto il nome di Ercole Farnese . . . alta pal. 11, the first plate is the front view, the second the back of the figure. C. O. Müller, *Ancient Art and its Remains*, p. 106, § 129, Remark 2. "Of little bronze figures there is no reckoning the number, scarcely any other famous original has so many." Compare *ibid.* 553-562, §§ 410, 411, "Form and Labours of Hercules," &c. In Baumeister's *Denkmaler des klassischen Altertums*, the article "Hercules" extends from p. 651 to p. 672, with engravings 721-735 and many references at the end.

See also full page plate at p. 598, No. 639, *Der farnesische Herakles-Neapel* (p. 670), "den ermüdeten Kämpfer auf seine Keule gestützt und in der rechten auf den Rücken gelegten Hand die Hesperidenapfeln haltend zeigt.

respectively, so that we must regard them as tutelary deities or as emblems having reference to the persons who offer sacrifice. In the execution of these smaller sculptures an inferiority may be noticed when we compare them with the larger ones below; in the upper part of the shaft the stone also is of a worse quality; hence both seem to belong to the restoration by Stephanus. The Germans may have found the pedestal too strong for them to overthrow it speedily, and therefore contented themselves with destroying what offered less resistance. A human head between the acanthus leaves adorns each side of the capital, which is of the Composite order. We see here an old woman whose head-dress descends on her shoulders as worn by some Italian women at the present day, two beardless male heads, and a middle-aged female.

I exhibit three views of the giant-group, one in front and two of the sides seen lengthwise.¹ It will be observed that the rider's left thigh is broken off in splinters, but the right almost uninjured; thus one engraving becomes the complement of the other. On the upper surface of the giant's head the stone has been left rough and untouched by any tool, because it could not be seen by the spectator below. Obviously for this reason the back of the fine statue of Augustus found in the Palace of Livia, and originally placed in a niche, was left unfinished.²

¹ These views accompany a publication of which I give the title *in extenso*, Hedderheimer Ausgrabungen den mitgliedern des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde zu Frankfurt am Main dargebracht an stelle des Neujahrs-Blattes für 1885 und 1886. Die Hedderheimer Brunnenfunde. I. Das Juppiter-Heiligthum. II. Sol und Deus Lunus. III. Die Gigantensäule, von Otto Donner-von Richter and Professor Dr. A. Riese. Mit Fünf Tafeln in Lichtdruck, 1885. From this brochure I have derived much information concerning the details of the monument.

² Good preservation, beauty of design and execution, and historical importance are here combined, so that we may regard the figure as one of the most interesting that antiquity has bequeathed to us. Duruy, *Histoire des Romains*, has appropriately selected it for the frontispiece of Vol. IV.

containing the reign of Augustus, "Statue en marbre, trouvée en 1863, à la villa de de Livie" (Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 14). Mr. W. Copland Perry, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts from the Antique in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 112 seq., No. 241, has given a full account of this work of art, which relates to the restoration of the standards taken from Crassus. The central group on the cuirass of Augustus represents him receiving a Roman eagle offered by a Parthian king. Mr. Perry quotes Horace:

Et signa nostrò restituit Jovi,
Drepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus,

as occurring in the *Carmen Saeculare*, it should be Carm. lib. IV. xv. 6.

Here Numismatic science comes to our aid, and supplies a good commentary on the sculpture. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vi. 94-96, coins of

The rider's left foot rests on the left hand of the giant, who is endeavouring to push it away from himself.¹ I exhibit for comparison similar groups from the Museum at Mayence. In some cases the giant is more erect than at Frankfurt, in others two giants lie under the horses' feet.²

Various attributions have been proposed for the rider

Augustus with legend, SIGNIS RECEPTIS; p. 128, struck after his death, legend DIVVS AVGVSTVS S.C., Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain. Médailles Impériales*, i. 51, No. 84, Rev. CIVIB · ET · SIGN · MILIT · A PART · RECVP; see also p. 62 *seq.* Arc de triomphe sur lequel on voit Auguste dans un quadrigé entre deux Parthes, tenant, l'un, une enseigne militaire, et l'autre une aigle légionnaire. Dean Milman's edition of Horace has an engraving of this medal; the illustrations in this book were contributed by the late Sir George Scharf. One of the smaller figures above-mentioned has a bow, the weapon specially characteristic of the Oriental nations. Tacitus in his history of Corbulo's campaign on the banks of the Euphrates attributes his success partly to his superiority in artillery, the Roman engines propelled greater weights to a longer distance than the Parthians were able to attain with their bows and arrows, *Annals*, XV. 9. Catapultisque et balistis proturbat barbaros, in quos saxa et hastae longius permeabant, quam ut contrario sagittarum jactu adaequarentur. We have recently seen a parallel case, when the Americans were at war with the Spaniards; the former had heavier guns with longer range, but the latter being inferior in cannon as well as ships were unable to return the fire of their adversaries.

¹ This cruel type, a rider trampling on a prostrate foe, reappears even in Christian times, as we learn from the coins of Roman emperors in the fourth century. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, tome vi. pl. vi. No. 56, Constantin II. Medaillon de Bronze, p. 222. Rev. DEBELLATORI GENTI BARBARR. Constantin galopant a droite, et poursuivant un ennemi, qui fuit et qui a laisse tomber son bouclier. Constant I (Constans), Pl. VII. *bis*, No. 104. Banduri, *Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum a Trajano Decio ad*

Palaeologos Augustos, Tom. II. plates on p. 330, Constantinus Junior and pp. 348, 349, and II. Index Inscriptionum quae in aversis partibus nummorum leguntur. D, where six examples of the legend above-mentioned are given.

With the group that crowns the column at Frankfurt compare *Die Alterthümer Unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit*, 1864, by Dr. L. Lindenschmit, Director of the Romisch Germanischen Centralmuseum in Mainz, Erster Band—Drittes Heft, Tafel VII. Nos. 1 and 2 aus Worms. The shields, both of the Roman and the conquered German, are unusually large, the boss also (*umbo*) is very prominent. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, i. 303, "Some Egyptian shields were of extraordinary dimensions," fig. No. 24, and foot-note with references, *Aeneid* II. 227, Sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur, &c. See, by the same author, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des Römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rheinischen Denkmale und Fundstücke*, 1882, Tafel VII. p. 23, Nr. 3. C. Romanus (von den Hilfstruppen), gefunden bei Mainz, aufbewahrt im Museum dasselbst.

Inschrift: C(aius) Romanus equ(es) Alae Norico(rum) Claud(ia triba) Capito, Caleia, an(norum) XL stip(endiorum) XIX h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Romanus sprengt in voller Rüstung über einem gefallenen, nur mit einem kleinen Mantel bekleideten Gegner, die gezückte Wurflanze in der Rechten, am linken Arm einen sechseckigen Schild.

² Taf. VIII. p. 24, Nr. 1. Der Signifer (standard-bearer). C. Carminius is in the same attitude as most of the Roman riders on Rhenish gravestones, but we may notice that here the conquered enemies are represented by two half-naked men protecting themselves with great oval shields.

who tramples on his enemy; some interpret the figure as Jupiter, drawing this inference from engraved gems, others as Neptune, mistaking the serpent's tail for that of a fish, others again as a Roman Emperor, perhaps Caracalla. The giant in any case would symbolize conquered Germany.

I presume that the column found at Merten supplies the best illustration of the one from Heddernheim. It has been fully described by Monsieur Auguste Prost, a well-known French antiquary who resided at Metz, in the *Revue Archéologique*.¹

Among the antiquities of the Historical Museum at Frankfurt we may place the Helios-Mosaic as next in importance. It was found in the autumn of 1894 (I think), and described by Koehl in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1895, No. 78. The central space has for its subject the sun-god in a chariot drawn by four prancing

¹ Nouvelle Série, xxxvii. 1-20 and 65-83, with plates; see also "Memoirs" by Dr. E. Wagner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, Jahrgang I. Heft I. p. 42 sqq. And by Dr. Hettner, *ibid.* Jahrgang IV. Heft IV. pp. 365-388. This Memoir is entitled *Neptun im Gigantenkampf auf römischen Monumenten*. Von dem grsh. Conservator E. Wagner in Karlsruhe. Hierzu Tafel I, containing figs. I-IV, pp. 36-49. Fig. IV is taken from a green paste in the Stosch Collection of gems now deposited in the Berlin Museum, p. 48, nach den anderen Analogien als gesichert anzusehende Poseidon den mit Schlangenbeinen dargestellten Giganten vom Pferde herab bekämpft. The writer describes each object with a minuteness of detail truly German. For the Gigantomachia see my paper on the "Gallo-Roman Museum of Sens," *Arch. Journ.*, vol. LVI. pp. 365-367, 1899.

Juppitersäulen. Von Museums-director F. Hettner in Trier. This essay, giving fifteen examples, is a copious discussion of the subject, and I might almost say exhaustive. Some writers have detected historical allusions in the groups and columns mentioned above. On the other hand, Wagner and Hettner contend that the motive is mythological. Arguments in support of their opinion may be derived from the *provenance* in many parts of North-Eastern France and South-Western

Germany, the similarity of the design in engraved gems, and the frequent occurrence of the Inscription I.O.M., i.e. Jovi Optimo Maximo. *Ibid.* 373, Wagner hat das grosse Verdienst, durch Zusammenstellung der ihm bekanten Exemplare, die Häufigkeit der Gruppe, und ihre vorwiegende Verbreitung über Südwestdeutschland und Nordwestfrankreich gezeigt, sie der historischen Deutung, an der Stark (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 44 S., 27 ff.) und Prost (*Revue Arch.* B. 37, p. 1 ff.) festhielten, entrückt und in den Kreis der Mythologie eingestellt zu haben.

However, it seems quite possible that these groups, at least in some cases, may have been both mythological and historical, as at Pergamon the sculptures on the frieze of the great altar represented the battle of gods and giants, but at the same time had reference to the victory of Greeks over Gallic invaders: W. C. Perry, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts from the Antique in the South Kensington Museum*, Nos. 205-208, pp. 99-101. Livy, lib. XXXVIII. cap. 16, Primus Asiam incolentium (stipendium dare) abnuit Attalus, pater regis Eumenis: audacique incepto, praeter omnium opinionem, adfuit fortuna, et signis conlatis superior fuit.

Those who have not access to these publications may read some account of the monument in my paper on Trèves and Metz, *Arch. Journ.* xlii. 403-406.

horses, the two in the middle looking inwards, the other two outwards. Sol's head is radiated, in his right hand he holds a whip, as in a *denarius* of Alexander Severus. This type closely resembles what we see in the coins of Gordian III., Probus, and Constantinus II., belonging to the third and fourth centuries after Christ, from which we may infer that the date of the mosaic nearly synchronizes with that recorded on the giant-column, viz. A.D. 240.¹ It is said that the form of the chariot leads to the same conclusion. On the other hand, the signs of the Zodiac occupy a circular band drawn round the central group, and inscribed in a square frame, with goblets, like *canthari*, filling up the interstices at the four corners; and many details here, e.g. in *Aquarius*, *Libra*, *Taurus*, etc. by their better execution, might seem to indicate an earlier period; but they may be explained as imitations of preceding works

¹ Cohen, *Medailles Imperiales*, iv. 24, Alexander Severus, No. 181, Rev. P.M. TR.P. XII. COS. III.P.P. Le Soleil radie marchant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un fouet. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* Alex. Severus, vii. 275, 277. Rev. *flagellum* frequent. *Sonderabdruck aus den Berichten des Freien Deutschen Hochstiftes zu Frankfurt am Main, Das Helios-Mosaik im Historischen Museum zu Frankfurt a. M. und die Zeit seiner Entstehung*, von Herrn Dr. F. Quilling, Städt. Histor. Museum, Wissenschaftl. Hilfsarbeiter. H. A. Grueber, *Catalogue of Roman Medallions in the British Museum*, 1874, p. 48, Gordian III. No. 14, Rev. PAX. AETERNA Emperor . . . sacrifices at a lighted altar; behind him, Victory, crowning him with wreath and holding palm; before him, in the background, Sol in quadriga, facing, holding whip . . . beneath the chariot are two river-gods, the Tigris and the Euphrates. Compare the illustration that accompanies Dr. Quilling's *Memoir*.

Probus, SOLI INVICTO, the Sun in quadriga. This legend and type, often repeated, lead us to conclude that when we meet these words in inscriptions, *Soli* is the dative of Sol, not a case of *solus*, *a*, *um* (alone). The latter interpretation has caused some to translate

SOLI INVICTO DEO in inscriptions, the only invincible god, i.e. Mithras, and hence to construct the theory that Mithraism, proclaiming the unity of the Deity, prepared the way for Christianity. *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, edited by Dr. Collingwood Bruce, No. 63, DEO INVICTO MYTRAE, Nos. 188-192, with plates of a tablet and altars containing inscriptions—one has DEO SOLI INVICTO MYTRAE, Nos. 436, 437, the Persian sun-god, 675; Sol, Nos. 64, 65, 189, 190. *Invictus* may, perhaps, refer to the intolerable heat of Eastern climes, and therefore be an appropriate epithet for the Sun; p. 101, some account is given of Mithraic rites and worship.

Cohen, v. pl. viii., No. 37, Or, Rev. Le Soleil radie debout dans un quadriga de face, levant la main droite et tenant un globe et un fouet. Constance II. (Constantius) *ib.* pl. vii. *bis*, No. 31, L'Empereur nimbe, debout de face, dans un quadriga de face, lançant des pieces de monnaie, etc.; legend GLORIA ROMANORVM, in the exergue SMANT. Dr. Quilling explains this medal as Sol auf dem Viergespann, but I think he is mistaken, because the figure has not the radiated head, as is usual with the Sun, and the distribution of money seems to represent the *congiarium*, a largess to the Roman people.

the rounds (ἐφόδεια, Polybius)¹ to ascertain that the sentinels are doing their duty.²

Flavius Vegetius Renatus flourished in the latter part of the fourth century after Christ, under Theodosius I., and our inscription may belong to the same period. He is said to have dedicated his work to this Emperor. The date of Vegetius is discussed in Lang's Preface, pp. vi.-viii. : "Cum igitur de ipso imperatore cui Vegetius libellum suum inscripserit, ex hoc certi nihil constet, Theodosium autem fuisse verisimile saltem sit, etc." Gibbon is of a different opinion.³ The series of calamities which he marks compel us to believe that the *Hero* to whom he dedicates his book is the last and most inglorious of the Valentinians.

Circitores sometimes occur in inscriptions.⁴ That *circitor* here is a legionary officer is proved by the words in line 8, TRIB. LEG., *C.I.L.*, vol. v. part ii. "Gallia Cisalpina," p. 751, No. 6784 (*Eporedia, Ivrea*).

CIRCITOR
DE VIXILLATI
ONE CATAFR
CTARIORVM

This inscription suits our present purpose, because it contains *catafractariorum* in extenso, and so is the complement of another which I am going to cite, and

¹ Polybius VI. (EK THΣΣΣ) 35, 9, Ἡ δὲ τῆς ἐφοδείας πίστις εἰς τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἀνατίθεται, ed. Bekker, Vol. I. p. 529, the passage that begins with these words gives a detailed account of the elaborate precautions taken to ensure the efficient circulation of passwords by means of tablets (*tesserae*). It is translated in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, third edition, s.v. *Castra*, i. 377. Cf. Livy, XXVII. 46, *Tessera per castra ab Livio consule data erat, ut tribunum tribunus, Centurio centurionem, eques equitem, pedes peditem acciperet.* Diodorus Siculus, Lib. XX. Cap. XVI. καὶ σχεδὸν αὐτῶν μεσοπύργιον ἤδη κατελήφθων, ἢ κατὰ τὸ συνῆδες ἐφοδία παραγενομένη κατενόησε. See the excellent note of Wesseling, reprinted in the Bipont edition, *Argentorati*, 1793-1806, ix. 437, *Annotaciones* in lib. XX. *Hesychius*, ii. p. 243, 30, edit. Schmidt, 1860, ἐφόδία τὸ ἐπιέναι

τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν ἄρχοντα. Other references will be found s.v. ἐφόδεια in Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, re-edited by Hase, and G. and L. Dindorf, published by Didot, 1835.

² *Vegetius De Re Militari*, III. 8, p. 84, edit. Lang, 1869: "Idoneos tribuni et probatissimos eligunt, qui circumeant vigiliis, et renuntiant, si qua emerit culpa, quos circumitores appellabant; nunc militiae factus est gradus et circitores vocantur."

³ *Decline and Fall*, Chap. XXVII. fin.; Vol. iii. p. 404 seq., edit. Sir Wm. Smith, note 125: *Vegetius*, l. i. c. 20.

⁴ *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* Vol. iii. edit. Mommsen, Part ii. "Moesia Superior," p. 1020, No. 6292, line 10, CIRCIT, now in the Imperial Museum at Vienna; Von Sacken and Kenner, *Sammlungen des K. Münz- und Antiken Cabinets* (1866), note 206a, p. 80.

which only has the abbreviation *Kata*. Catafractarius is derived from *καταφράσσω*, cover, clothe in full armour. Compare *ibid.*, p. 787, No. 6999, Taurini (*Torino*), CIRCITORIS, where the sculptured stone shows that this officer was mounted, *Vir equo insidens hastam longam tenens*.

Circuitores, another form of *circitores*, are mentioned in connection with aqueducts.¹ It was their duty to inspect the water-conduits, and to report any case of defect or fraud, in order that a remedy might be applied.² Sextus Julius Frontinus, the immediate predecessor of Agricola in the government of Britain, is our best authority for this subject.³

¹ For the Roman aqueducts consult Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Sect. xiv. pp. 47-59, figs. 19-24; fig. 19, Map of Aqueducts; fig. 23. *The Seven Aqueducts at the Porta Maggiore*, p. 58, Supply of water in Ancient Rome, tabulated. Doubtless many details will be found more fully treated in another work by the same author, *Topographia di Roma Antica*, I. Commentarii di Frontino, Rome, 1880, but I have not access to it at present. Among these aqueducts the Claudian is not only the best preserved monument of its class, but "the grandest ruin outside the walls of Rome," a line of arches extending for six miles, almost parallel to the railway from the capital to Naples, and thus making an impression on the traveller so deep that lapse of time cannot efface it. Murray's *Handbook of Rome and the Campagna*, sixteenth edition, with ninety-four maps and plans, 1899, Introduction p. 48, especially map of the Appian Way facing p. 414, where the Aqua Claudia is marked by a dotted line; see also p. 417.

There is a very fine *Heliogravure* (No. VII) of it in the Atlas of Plates that accompany *Les Travaux Souterrains de Paris*, II. Première Partie, Les Eaux, Introduction, p. 237, *Les Aqueducs Romains*, par M. Belgrand, Paris, 1875; Arcades de Claudia a Roma Vecchia, 5 milles de Rome (Pierre de taille) Audessus Anio Novus (Briques). Compare Text, Chap. III. Details de construction, pp. 41-59, Plates II.—VIII., especially for Claudia, Pls. IV., V., VI. Frontinus calls this aqueduct *opus magnificentissime consummatum*.

² *Dictionary of Antiquities*, third edition, i. 156, and article *Aquarii*. Letter of Coelius in Cicero ad Familiares, VIII. 6. Nisi ego cum tabernariis et aquariis pugnam, veteris civitatem occupasset. Haec autem faciebat tanquam aedilis, ad quem harum rerum cura pertinebat. Note of Graevius and Paulli Manutii Commentarii in Cicero ad Familiares, edit. Elzevir, ii. 389, Lugduni Batavorum, c1o 1o c LXXVII.

³ "De Aquaeductibus," Section 117, Utraque autem familia (body of slaves) in aliquot ministeriorum species diducitur, villicos, castellarios (superintendents of reservoirs), *circitores*, *silicarios* (paviours), *tectores* (plasterers), *aliosque opifices*, *C.I.L.* v. part i. p. 416, No. 4100, Cremona, now at Milan, in the Palazzo di Brera. Compare Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. ii. p. 57, No. 3204, CIRCIT. SVB CVR IVSTI, *circitori sub cura Iusti*.

Frontinus succeeded Cerialis, and his able administration of the province is briefly related by Tacitus, *Vita Agricolae*, Cap. XVII. Et Cerealis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset, sed sustinuit molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus quantum licebat, validamque et pugnam Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus. The same author mentions him as holding the office of *praetor urbanus*, and resigning in favour of Domitian, *Histories*, Book IV. Chap. 39.

We have also the testimony of another contemporary witness; Pliny the Younger, speaking of his own election to the office of augur, says,

The first part of M. Belgrand's work, to which I have referred in a former paper, is illustrated by an atlas folio containing a map of the courses of the Roman aqueducts, and on the same sheet a plan of Rome, divided into fourteen regions, on which the principal lines of distribution are marked. There are also ten *helio-gravures*, among which No. IV. specially deserves notice. *Porte majeure, à gauche Claudia surmontée par Anio Novus, à droite Marcia. Tepula et Julia passant sur la culée de l'Arche construite dans le mur d'enceinte.*¹

I have translated *contubernalis* in our inscription by tent-companion, following the German editor (*Zeltgenoss*). The word is derived from *taberna*, which is akin to *tabula*, and corresponds closely with the Greek *ὀμόσκηρος*.²

Epistles, IV. 8; Mihi vero illud etiam gratulatione dignum videtur, quod successi Julio Frontino, principi viro (leading man) qui me, nominationis dio, per hos continuos annos, inter sacerdotes nominabat, tamquam in locum suum cooptaret. See Buchner's note in the edition of Corte and Longolius, 1734, p. 262. *Ibid.* IX. 19, Vetuit extrui monumentum: sed quibus verbis? "Impensa monumenti supervacua est: memoria nostri durabit, si vita meruimus." Verba Frontini . . . in librum in vulgus editum relata, Gesner's note, p. 667 edit. Corte and Longolius, in *loco* Buchner cites Cicero, "Tusculan Disputations," Book I. chaps. 43-45; in the last chapter, § 109, we read: Sed profecto mors tum aequissimo animo appetitur, quum suis se laudibus vita occidens consolari potest.

¹ See also Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 1897, p. 55, fig. 23, the seven aqueducts at the Porta Maggoire.

² Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antt. Roman.* edit. Reiske, vol. ii. p. 1211, lib. VI. cap. 74, πολλά δὲ σώματα συγγενῶν τε καὶ ἑταίρων καὶ ὀμοσκήρων ἀποβαλόντες. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, II. i, 25, Ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀμοσκηρῶν ἔδδκων μὲν αὐτῷ ὠφελεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγῶνα τοῦτο, ὅτι ἑώρων ἀλλήλους ὁμοίως τρεφομένους. *Infra*, § 26, ὀμοσκήρια. Suidas, *Lexicon Graecae et Latinae*, edit. Gaisford and Bernhardy, 1853, with critical notes, vol. ii. col. 988, s.v. *Συσκήρια*, *συνοκία*, quotes in *extenso* Xenophon, *loc. cit.* In the earlier edition of Suidas by Kuster the article is not so complete. Livy, XXXIV. 19,

deni saepe munimenta eorum, velut communi pacto commercio, privatis induciis ingredientes. The historian, in his account of the campaign of Cato in Turdetania (Andalusia), informs us that in time of war the Romans brought provisions from the enemy's forts and fields, as if commercial intercourse had been sanctioned by authority, and that they went in parties of ten (*deni*) within the Spanish walls. I suppose that this number is stated because ten soldiers occupied the same tent together. Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, lib. II. cap. XIII. Rursus ipsae centuriae in contubernia divisae sunt, ut decem militibus sub uno papillone degentibus unus quasi preesset decanus, qui caput contubernii nominatur. The distributive here has its full force, which is not always the case. Professor Key's *Latin Grammar*, pp. 35-40, §§ 247-272, presents the Latin numerals with unusual clearness; Arabic and Roman symbols, Cardinals, Ordinals, Distributives and Adverbs are given in a convenient tabular form. For the abbreviations, see § 251. Livy, *loc. cit.* the later editions of Madvig, 1863, and Weissenborn, 1883, read *deni*; that of Drakenborch, 1741, has *dein*, which does not suit with the context. Drakenborch reprints the notes of Glareanus, Sigonius and J. Fr. Gronovius, adding one of his own; but they are all more or less unsatisfactory. We may remark that in *deni* and *dein* the letters are the same, and only differ in the transposition of N and I. The change may remind one of Bentley's ingenious emendations, where the form of the words is slightly altered, e.g.

There were usually ten men in the same tent, whom an officer called *decanus* commanded. Hence the French *doyen* and English *dean* are obviously derived.

Young Romans of high families were also called *contubernales* when they accompanied a magistrate to his province in order to learn, under his superintendence, the arts of warfare and of civil administration. Horace refers to this practice in the Ninth Epistle of the First Book, v. 4, addressed to Tiberius, afterwards Emperor,

Dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis.

On which Orelli remarks :

Utpote qui in contubernium convictumque tuum recipi mereatur.

And again in v. 13 :

Scribe tui gregis hunc, et fortem crede bonumque.

But we may go further, and say *significatio latius patet*. *Contubernium* is used to mean the dwelling of a slave, and the connection of two slaves, or of a freeman and a slave, which could not be a legal marriage. Tacitus (*Histories* I. 43), is relating the murder of Piso, who had been adopted by the Emperor Galba ; he fled for refuge to the apartment of the sacristan in the temple of Vesta, *exceptus misericordia publici servi, et contubernio ejus abditus*. [Compare *Ibid.* III. 74, and Horace, *Satires*, I. viii. 8, *angustis cellis*.¹]

POSSV(it) is an unusual form of the verb for *posuit*. Considering the late period of the inscription, it seems more reasonable to ascribe it to barbarism than to lay the blame on the stonecutter's negligence.

Horace, *Ars Poetica*, v. 65, he reads *palus prius for diu palus*, and thus corrects a metrical fault.

¹ Tacitus, *Histories*, III. 74 ; similarly, Domitianus prima inruptione apud aeditium occultatus . . . , potiente rerum patre, disjecto aeditui contubernio, with notes in Spooner's edition of the *Histories*, 1891, p. 348. Suetonius, Domitianus, cap. 1. Bello Vitelliano confugit in Capitolium . . . , sed, irrumptibus adversariis, et ardente templo,

apud aeditium clam pernoctavit : ac mane Isiaci celatus habitu, etc., with parallel passages from *Philostratus and Dio Cassius in Orelli's note*. Merivale, *op. cit.* vi. 469, 8vo, "Domitian contrived with a freedman's help, to disguise himself in priest's robes, and found an asylum with a servant of the temple." Horace, *loc. cit.* ; Orelli appositely quotes Seneca, *Epistle* 18 (?) Miseris mediastinorum cubiculis, plerumque subterraneis.

while the letters D· M· take their usual place as a heading, their order is changed, and D is inverted as one sees it in a glass. The first word that deserves attention here is *numerus*, not used in republican times with reference to military affairs, but under the Empire frequently both in books and in epigraphy. It is a general term for cohorts, maniples, squadrons and wings of cavalry; in Greek *σπείρα* and *τάγμα*; the former of which occurs in the New Testament, Acts of the Apostles, x. 1, where Cornelius is said to be a centurion of the Italian band.¹ Two examples will suffice here: Tacitus (*Histories*, I. 6, *multi ad hoc numeri*), describing the forces with which Rome was filled when Galba entered the city, includes among them companies from Germany, Britain and Illyricum. [Other instances are supplied by *De Vit's Lexicon*, s.v. § V. 17–20, *de ordinibus militaribus*, from Pliny's Epistles, Suetonius, Vopiscus in the Augustan History, and Ammianus Marcellinus.] We read in *Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani*, edit. Mommsen, No. 1947, *Campania, Abellae, in foro, basis*:

— PRAEPOSIT· NVMEROR
TENDENTIVM· IN· PONTO fissura
scrip. A B
SARO· TRIB· COH· III· VIG anti-
quior
PATRON· COLON
D D

¹ N often stands as an abbreviation for *numerus*. Some examples of the use of this word as a military term have a national interest for us. Wisely did the Roman government remove the provincial recruits of its armies from the countries in which they were born; so we learn from the monuments that Britons were quartered in the South of Germany, and Spaniards (Astures, Asturias) in the North of England. *The Roman Wall*, 3rd ed. 4to, 1867, by Dr. Collingwood Bruce, v. Index *Astures*, *Inscriptions*, p. 109. *Genio alae pri [mae] Hispanorum*; p. 64, *curatori alae II. Asturum*, pp. 158–161, 366, 412.

Die Römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs, herausgegeben von Ferdinand Haug und Dr. Gustav Sixt, Mit 227 (bez. 244) Abbildungen und einer Fundkarte. II. Teil (Schluss), 1900. Sect. 397; Abb. 176, p. 301, *seq.* Stempel des N(umerus) B(rittonum) L(unensium?) Abteilung der Brittoner na der Lein. *Numerus*, die allgemeinste

Bezeichnung für eine "Truppenabteilung welche unter einheitlichem Oberbefehl eines Offiziers steht," kommt seit dem 2. Jahrhundert namentlich für die zur Bewachung der Grenzen verwendeten Hilfstruppen vor, soweit sie nicht in Alen oder Kohorten eingeteilt sind. *Ibid.* § 398, Abb. 177, Stempel des N(umerus) B(rittonum) C(ivium) R(omanorum?) Abteilung der Brittonen, römischer Bürger (?). See also § 445 Abb. 203, and § 446.

Corp. Inscr. Lat., Vol. VIII. Pars Posterior, Tabula III. NVMERVS SYR· ORVM is marked in the West of Mauretania. In Brambach's *Inscr. Rhenaecae* we find N as an abbreviation of *numerus* in its ordinary signification, and associated with Roman capitals used as numerals; consult Index XV. (*Notarum*) Nos. 114, 216, 853, 1076, 1397. N might also = *nepos* or *noster* and many other words, for which see the collections of Gerrard and Orelli.

It is not quite certain that KATA should be understood as meaning *cataphracti*, but it is highly probable. The word being, as mentioned above, of Greek origin, the initial K has been substituted for C. Another variant also occurs, and F is written instead of PH; so in Italian we have *filosofia, Filippo*. [Compare Orelli, *Inscriptions*, i. 193, No. 804——PRAE. ALAE||GALLOR.|| ET PANNONIOR. CATAFR.]

Among the monuments unquestionably the best illustration is to be found in Trajan's Column, see the folio plates by Fabretti and others, 1846, Tav. XV. No. 147. "Sciolto il freno di destrieri corrono i Sarmati al soccorso del Re Decebalo . . . cavalieri armati di lorica hamata. Anche i loro cavalli sono coperti da una eguale armatura." Compare Tav. XIX. No. 161, and XXXIII. No. 203. In the last section Virgil is cited, *Aeneid*, III. 466 :

Loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem,

words repeated, book V. v. 259 sq. with the epithet *levibus*. These lines are the subject of a learned essay by the late Rev. C. W. King, which appeared in the *Archaeological Journal*.² *La Colonne Trajane décrite*, par W. Froehner, 1865, a smaller work in 8vo. supplies some additional particulars, *Indice Alphabetique Cataphractaires*, p. 96, &c. : "Les yeux mêmes des chevaux sont couverts d'une plaque ronde percée de plusieurs trous"; and see especially plate No. 27, facing p. 102.

Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, has an excellent Article, s.v. *Waffen*, vol. iii. p. 2059, fig. 2273, "Links Panzerreiter, rechts Germanen" (*Zu Seite* 2058); and on the same page, fig. 2274, "Rechts Schleuder" (*Zu Seite* 2058). Many references are given, e.g. to Lampridius, *Life of Alexander Severus*, chap. 56,³ and *Livy*, XXXV. 48. The ambassador of King Antiochus describes the cavalry of his sovereign's army: "Equitum innumerabilem vim trajici Hellesponto in

¹ I have selected two Inscriptions from Dr. August Weckerling's *Memoir*, No. 1, p. 54, and No. 2, p. 55.

² Vol. xxxii. pp. 48-54.

³ See the notes of Casaubon and Saumaise (Salmasius) in the Variorum edition.

Europam, partim loricatos, quos cataphractos vocant"; cf. *ibid.* XXXVII. 40.¹

The following work throws much light on the accoutrements of Roman soldiers, particularly those serving in the regions where some of the preceding inscriptions were found. It is entitled: *Tracht und Bewaffnung des Römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rheinischen Denkmale und Fundstücke*. Dargestellt, in zwölf Tafeln und erläutert von Ludwig Lindenschmit, Braunschweig, 1882. For chain-armour, see p. 29, Taf. XII. No. 12, plate of *Lorica hamata* of iron, found in Nydam Moor, now preserved in the Museum at Kiel; each ring is fastened by a rivet in the broader part of it. This brochure of 30 pages contains much information in a small compass concerning armour and weapons: helm, *Lorica*, *Cingulum*, *Dolch* (*pugio*), *Pilum*, *Hasta*, *Hasta amentata* (furnished with a strap or thong), *Scutum*, *Ocreae*, also military decorations, *Verdienstzeichen-torques*, *armillae*, *phalerae*. The plates selected by the learned editor as it were replace monuments not easily accessible, thus imparting light and life to our study of classical writers. The first among them shows us one of the most remarkable figures that still remain in Germany as records of Roman times, Manius Caelius, an officer who fell in the defeat of Varus, sculptured in relief on his tomb-stone.² In the second line of the inscription the first word has disappeared except the final letter O. It had therefore been conjecturally supplied by *optio*, *legato* or *tribuno*, but *evocato* has also been proposed, and this reading is plausible, for the *evocati* were discharged veterans called out as volunteers (*voluntate sequentes*), who commanded centuries (*ordines*), and had the rank of centurions. Caesar mentions them repeatedly: in the *Gallic War* (Book VII. chap. 65) he informs us that he made use of

¹ *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 2nd edition, p. 256, has a good article, *Cataphracti* (καταφρακτοί), called περιπεφραγμένοι by Pollux, *Onomasticon*, i. 140, who speaks of the προμετωπίδιον, παρώπιον, παρήιον, &c., names expressing the parts of the body which were protected.

² We might infer from the military decorations of the bust that they were frequently worn in ancient times as we see them now on the Continent. It is also engraved with a copious commentary in another work by the same author, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Sechstes Heft, Tafel V. Skulpturen B, Römische Grabsteine.

their horses for some German auxiliaries who were not well mounted.¹ In the *Civil War* (Book I. chap. 17) Domitius Ahenobarbus, besieged in Corfinium, promised grants of land to the soldiers out of his own estates, and proportional donatives to the centurions and *evocati*. We also read that two thousand soldiers of this class served under Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, III. 88.²

Tacitus (*Histories*, I. 79), describes the effects of the *cataphractes*. He is relating the victory gained by the Romans over the Sarmatians in Otho's short reign: he says it is composed (*consertum tegimen*, the former word we have already seen in *Virgil*) of iron plates or of very hard leather, impenetrable by blows, but so heavy that the wearer once prostrated by the enemy's attack could not possibly rise again. Two passages in Ammianus Marcellinus, a late but valuable authority, deserve to be cited, XVI. x. 8. The *cataphracti* appeared among the troops that escorted Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, when he visited Rome; according to the historian they looked more like statues, polished by the hand of Praxiteles, than human beings, and their armour, consisting of these rings, adapted itself to every movement of the body.³ In another place, XXII. xv. 16, he applies the term we have been considering to the scaled hide of a crocodile, which is so strong that military engines could scarcely pierce it, *vix tormentorum ictibus perforentur*.⁴

We find another name also, *clibanarii*, for heavy-armed cavalry. De Vit says that their cuirass was not composed of scales, but of solid steel bent in the form of a *clibanus*, a covered earthen vessel wider at bottom than at top, wherein bread was baked by putting hot embers round it: Liddell and Scott *s.v.* κλίβανος. This

¹ Caesar's words may remind us of the *remounts* in our own armies fighting against the Boers, a term with which the newspapers have made us familiar.

² *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 3rd edit. pp. 761, 791.

³ Sparsique cataphracti equites, quos clibanarios dicitant, personas thoracum muniti tegminibus et limbis ferreis cincti ut Praxitelis manu polita crederes simulacra, non viros: quos lamminarum circuli tenues apti corporis flexibus ambiebant per omnia membra deducti, ut quocunque artus necessitas com-

movisset, vestitus congrueret junctura cohaerenter aptata.

⁴ The expression may be illustrated by reference to Cuvier's *Regne Animal*, tome 3, "Reptiles, Les Sauriens, Les Crocodiles," p. 27, "le dos et la queue couverts de grandes écailles carrées tres-fortes, relevees d'une arete sur leur milieu. . . . Les écailles du ventre carrees, minces et lisses." See also the accompanying *Atlas of coloured Plates*, 2, fig. 1, "Le Caïman a lunettes"; fig. 2, "Le Gavial du Gange"; 10, fig. 1, "Le Crocodile à deux aretes."

produced a more equable heat than an ordinary oven, and is still practised in some remote districts. According to *Herodotus*, II. 92, the Egyptians who wished to have the papyrus in thorough perfection for eating, cooked it in a *clibanus*.¹ The word occurs in the New Testament, St. Matthew's Gospel, vi. 30, where the Authorized Translation, "the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven," is retained by the Revisers; it appears once in the Septuagint, Genesis xv. 17, in the account of Abraham's vision, "behold a smoking furnace" (κλίβανος καπνιζόμενος). Sometimes the second letter is R instead of L, an interchange of liquids by no means uncommon. In Egyptian as in some other languages, no clear distinction existed between *r* and *l*. The actual sound probably hovered between the two.²

The Notitia Dignitatum Orientis furnishes us with additional examples: Cap. IV. *Magister Militum Præsentalis*, I. § I [A] [B] p. 19, edit. *Bocking*. *Comites Clibanarii*. *Equites Cataphractorii Biturigenses*. *Equites Primi Clibanarii Parthi*. Consult Index for references to Commentary, especially p. 186 *seq.*

Lastly, we find troops of this class called *cruppellarii* by Tacitus (*Annals*, III. 43, note, edit. Furneaux). This is the form in the Florentine Manuscript, usually indicated by the letter M. Lipsius prints with one *p*. The historian is relating the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir in Gaul. The latter was leader of the Aeduans (Burgundy), and occupied their capital Augustodunum (Autun). In addition to other forces he had slaves, who had been intended to serve as gladiators, armed with a coat of mail (*continuum ferri tegimen*) so heavy and closefitting that they were equally incapable of inflicting and suffering blows.³ As the word is not

¹ The *clibanus* must have resembled the dome-shaped roof of a kiln. *Herodotus*, *l.c.*, δι δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστέη τῇ βύβλῳ χρασθαί, ἐν κλίβανῳ διαφανεὶ πνίξαντες οὕτω τρώγουσι, with Blackesley's note in the *Bibliotheca Classica*. "The oven was heated by burning dry dung, which was heaped round the base," *Illustrated Biblical Treasury*, edited by Dr. Wm. Wright,

p. 348. Those who wish to pursue the subject further may consult Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. Oven, vol. iii. p. 637, and see *Bread, Furnace*.

² Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet. An account of the Origin and Development of Letters*, 108. "The Egyptian Prototypes."

³ Tacitus, *loc. cit.* inferendis ictibus inhabiles, accipiendis impenetrabiles.

found elsewhere, Muretus proposed to substitute for it *clibanarii*. It is evidently, as Orelli says, *Gallica vox*,¹ by no means to be derived from *κρύφαλος* or *κεκρύφαλος*, which means a woman's head-dress of net, to confine the hair (*reticulum*), seen in the medallion of Syracuse: "B. V. Head, Coinage of this city. Dionysian dynasty, B. C. 405-345," plate IV. figs. 6, 7, decadrachms; *Id.*, *Historia Numorum*, p. 154, fig. 101. *Cruppellarii* may be connected with the Celtic word *Crupag*, a wrinkle, fold or plait: *Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary*.

One of the most important passages relating to the *cataphracti* is an oration delivered in the Senate by the Emperor Alexander Severus, and reported in the acts of that body; see the *Life by Lampridius*, chap. LVI. 5. In an account of his victory over the Persians, he says: "We have killed 10,000, and armed our own soldiers with their arms." It should be observed that very different opinions have been expressed concerning this war with Artaxerxes (*Ardshir*) and its results. Gibbon (chap. viii. s.f. ed. Milman, viii. 354-356, who is followed by Niebuhr in his *Lectures on Roman History*, iii. 276 sq.), maintains that Alexander Severus was unsuccessful, and that "he led back to Antioch an army diminished by sickness, and provoked by disappointment." On the other hand, Guizot agrees with Eckhel that we should regard as conclusive the evidence derived from medals and inscriptions, which is corroborated by the virtuous character of the Emperor.²

¹ De Vit, *Lexicon*, s.v. J. C. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, editio altera, 1871, contains Indices nominum et vocabulorum: 1. Hibernicorum; 2. Cambri-
corum; 3. Cornicorum; 4. Aremori-
corum; 5. Gallicorum (et Britannicorum
veterum), but I have not found therein
any etymology of *Cruppellarii*.

² *Doct. Nam. Vet.* vii. 275, sq. U.C., 986, P.X. 233. "De Persis triumphat." Compare Cohen, *Medailles frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, iv. 33, *Medaillons de Bronze*, No. 238. Rev. P.M. T.R. P. XII, COS. III, PP. "Alexandre a droite en habit militaire tenant une haste et un parazonium et couronne par la Victoire qui est debout derrière lui; a ses pieds le Tigre et l'Euphrate couchés en sens contraire,

tenant chacun un roseau et appuyé sur une urne."

Those who wish to study the use of weapons offensive and defensive in the classical period, and to extend their researches into the Middle Ages, will find their curiosity gratified by perusing Sir Samuel R. Meyrick's *Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour, as Illustrated by a Series of Illuminated Engravings*, three volumes, folio. See especially "Introduction," p. xiii. sq.; p. xiv. plate III. "Asiatic Armour"; p. xl. "Equites Cataphracti." Abundant references will be found in the Index to the *Archæologia*, Vols. I.-L. p. 28 sq., the Index to the *Archæological Journal*, Vols. I.-XXV. and "Memoirs by Baron de Cosson" in subsequent volumes.

The Paulus Museum contains some relics of Roman times which do not present an appearance attractive to a superficial observer, but have great value for the antiquary.¹ I refer to six leaden tablets, inscribed with magical incantations, found near Kreuznach in the summer of 1885; two of them in a Roman urn containing copper coins of Vespasian, which of course assist us to fix the date approximately. The most remarkable case of this kind is the employment of witchcraft against Germanicus.² We are interested by the excellent character of that accomplished prince, whose merits stand out as it were in high relief, contrasted with the faults of his near relatives, "the dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius";³ and that interest is heightened by the narrative of Tacitus, pre-eminent among Roman historians for pathos as well as profundity of thought. He informs us [*Annals*, II. 69] that in the house where Germanicus died remains of exhumed bodies were found, magic formulae, spells, and his name inscribed on leaden tablets (*plumbeis tabulis*), ashes half-burned and besmeared with gore, and other instruments of witchcraft, by which it was supposed that souls were devoted to infernal deities. Niebuhr (*Lectures on Roman History*, iii. 177 sq.), is inclined to believe that the death of Germanicus was a natural one, and in note 2, p. 178, mentions two similar cases of suspected poison in the royal family of France; that of the

¹ *Society of Antiquaries of London, Proceedings*, Second Series, xviii. 110-112.

² Another instance is supplied by Tacitus, *Annals*, XVI. 30-32; Servilia, daughter of Barea Soranus, at his trial was accused of selling her jewels to purchase the performance of magic rites. Prostrate on the ground weeping and silent for a long time, at last she embraced the altar, and spoke in self-defence, "nullos" inquit "impios deos, nullas devotiones, nec aliud infelicibus precibus invocavi quam ut hunc optimum patrem tu, Caesar, vos, patres, servaretis incolumentem," chap. 31. Comp. Virgil *Eclogue* VIII. 66, conjugis ut magicis sanos avertere sacris Experiet sensus.

³ This series ends with "the timid

inhuman Domitian and the beastly Vitellius." We cannot but admire the felicitous diction with which the emperors are characterised. The term "feeble" applied to Claudius is justified by his incoherent harangue entitled, *Claudii Imperatoris De jure adipiscendorum in urbe honorum Gallis concedendo*. What remains of it has been preserved in the Museum at Lyons on bronze tables, printed by Gruter, *Corp. Inscr.* p. DII, and again by Orelli at the end of Tacitus, *Annals*. Bk. XI. in the edition of this author revised by Baiter, 1859, i. 342 seq. As we might have expected, the historian has improved upon the original speech. *Catalogue Sommaire des Musees de Lyon*, "Discours de Claude," p. 92.

Duc d'Orleans, and of the Duc de Choiseul charged with having poisoned the Dauphin, son of Louis XV.

Most tablets of this class bear Greek characters, which will not surprise anyone who has read *Caesar's Commentaries* attentively. He says that the Romans found in the Helvetian camp lists of men who could carry arms and of non-combatants drawn up in Greek letters; *Bell. Gall.* I. 29. Again, when Quintus Cicero (brother of the orator) was besieged by the Nervii and their allies, Caesar sent him a despatch consisting of Latin words written in Greek characters, to prevent the enemy from reading it (*ne intercepta epistola nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur*), so that in this case the Gauls could not have known even the Hellenic alphabet; *ibid.* V. 48. The Druids, however, made use of it, being better educated than the rest, *ibid.* VI. 14 (*publicis privatisque rationibus*). Caesar's statements are confirmed by numismatic evidence, e.g. the Senones inscribed on their coins as a legend ΑΓΗΘ, i.e. "Agedicum," their capital; and the Meldi (*Melun*) ΕΠΗΝΟC, a Gallic chieftain.¹

As from a centre, civilization spread northwards from Massilia, a Phocaean colony, which caused the Gauls to be so fond of the Greeks (*φιλλέλληνας*) that they used Greek letters in their forms for contracts.²

Sir C. T. Newton (*History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, ii. 719 *seqq.*), gives a detailed account of tablets containing incantations which were found in a temple at Cnidus. Full-page engravings 4-14 are fac-similes of inscriptions on leaden tablets; they are repeated in ordinary characters, with a copious commentary, Nos. 81-95. Their subjects are *Dirae*, solemn dedications of certain persons to Demeter, Persephone, and the other infernal deities,

¹ *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1889, pp. 172, 175.

See the Atlas, folio, accompanying this work, Plate XXX. Senones, No. 7467. Potin; Pl. XXXI. Meldi, No. 7617, Bronze. Agedicum occurs in Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* VI. 44; VII. 10, 57. There are various forms of the word: Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and*

Roman Geography, s.v. article by George Long.

² *Strabo*, p. 181, edit. Casaubon, Lib. IV. cap. I. § 5.

Strabo, *loc. cit.* Didot's edition, p. 150, 'η πόλις μικρόν μιν πρότερον τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀνεῖτο παιδευτηρίον, καὶ φιλέλληνας κατεσκεύαζε τοὺς Γαλάτας ὥστε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἑλληνιστὶ γραφεῖν. *Strabo* devotes Sections 4 and 5 of this chapter to an account of Massilia (*Μασσαλία*).

the name of the person thus dedicated and the cause of offence are stated. I think this author is mistaken when he translates *carmina* in Tacitus, *loc. citat.* by "poems," the word here means magic *formulae*, not necessarily in verse.¹ In the middle of No. 82 holes may be observed, probably made for nails by which the tablets were fastened to the walls. So in the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon, on slabs representing a procession of horsemen, there are rivet-holes for the reins, which were of gilded bronze.² Likewise in the *diplomata (tabulae honestae missionis)* we see holes in two sheets of metal, through which thongs, or more probably wires, passed to unite them. Good examples of these documents, reproducing the colours of the originals, are supplied by the *Lapidarium Septentrionale, the Malpas, Sydenham and Rivington diplomas*, pp. 3, 4, 7; they belong to the time of Trajan and Hadrian. [Compare Orelli's *Inscriptions*, i. 180. Cap. II. § 10, Galba; observe note 1, "Sex illa O foramina referunt tabulae plicatilis."]

To return to the Museum at Worms, the tablets deposited there are the only monuments of the kind that have been discovered in the parts of Germany that belonged to the Roman Empire up to the date of Dr. Weckerling's *Catalogue raisonné*, 1887.³ I proceed now to describe the first in his list. Together with No. 2, it was found rolled so as to form a cylindrical shape about as thick as a finger; its dimensions are 101–105 millimètres long, 72 mm. broad, about 1 m. thick; near the edge are two incisions 7 mm. long, perhaps made to attach a thread or wire; irregular lines across the tablets were probably caused by careless unrolling. On the outside we read *inimicorum | nomina ad | inferos*

¹ Platonis Gorgias, p. 513A, edit. Stephanus, cap. LXVIII. vol. II. sect. I. p. 297, ed. Stallbaum, *πεισόμεθα οπερ φασι τας την σελήνην καθαιρουσας, τας Θετταλίδας.*

Horace, *Epodes*, V. 45 :

Quae sidera excantata voce Thessala
Lunamque caelo deripit.

Ibid. XVII. 4 :

Per atque libros carminum valentium
Rexia caelo devocare sidera.

² *Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, part VIII. p. 187, pl. XLV.; p. 197, plate L: "Professor Adolph Michaelis, Parthenon"; plate XIII. "Nordfries II." folio.

³ Weckerling gives a copious commentary on this tablet (1 Tafelchen), pp. 68–71, to which he has prefixed a general introduction on the imprecations devoting the obnoxious person to the deities of the lower world (die unterirdischen Gotter).

(*deferuntur*)¹; on the inside these words are reproduced as a superscription. The outside letters were engraved as an endorsement after the tablet had been rolled up; this appears from the narrow space which it occupies: these characters are not so distinct as those inside. Traces still remain of former writing, beginning under the *O* of *nomina*, but only the letters LMV are legible, so that this side resembles a palimpsest manuscript. The inner side contains nineteen rows of words, and a twentieth added in a vertical direction on the right side.

- (3.)
1. inimicorum nomina
 2. Optatus Silonis ad infe
 3. ? ? ros
 4. —ius Nesso (?)
 5. Atticinus Ammonis
 6. Latinus Valeri(i)
 7. Adiutor Juli(i)
 8. Tertius [D]omiti(i)
 9. Mansuetus Senotaeuni ?
 10. Montanus materiarius
 11. Aninius Victor
 12. Quartio Severi
 13. Sint[o] Valentis
 14. Lutumarus lanius
 15. Similis Crescentis
 16. Lucanus Silonis
 17. Communis Mercatoris
 18. Tul ? lius offector
 19. Nime ? ius Silvanus
 20. Co[s]sus Matui [n ?]i

[] indicates emendations or restorations of missing letters;

() expansion of abbreviations. See Dr. Weckerling, *op. citat.* 69.

¹ In this Inscription we have a one-sided account, and are left in ignorance about the enemies, what they might say as an apology, or what counter-accusations they might bring forward. Those who were tradespeople might complain that their employer was slow to pay his bills, or had not paid at all. Inscriptions containing denunciations of

individuals may remind us of Livy's *History of the Punic Wars*, which represents the Roman view of events, while, on the other hand, no Carthaginian record has been preserved. We can only hope that some day or other a discovery may enable us to realize the truth of the proverb, *Audi alteram partem*.

The name of the person who devoted his enemies to the infernal gods does not occur, and it is only a conjecture that the imprecation emanated from the individual whose remains were found near the tablet. In three instances occupations are mentioned: Montanus was a timber-merchant, Lutumarus a butcher, and Tullius or Publius a dyer. *Materiarius* is properly an adjective, and occurs with *negotianti* in an Inscription, *Orelli*, cap. XVIII. *Artes et Opificia*, No. 4248; with *faber* in *Gruter*, DCXLII, 6 (a carpenter); it is a substantive, as above, in Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, act III. sc. III. v. 46, and in the same sense, *i.e.* a timber-merchant. Professor Key's *fragmentary Latin-English Dictionary*, published posthumously, 1888, has a copious Article, divided into ten sections, on *Materia*, which he derives from *mater*, so that its primary meaning is the parent stem of a tree (as opposed to the branches), trunk; and he appositely quotes *Cicero de Oratore*, II. xxi. 88, where it is contrasted with *sarmenta*.¹ *Lanius* (in the Digest *lanio*) is a common word, used by Terence, Livy, Phaedrus, and Cicero, apparently as frequent as the English equivalent, *butcher*, among ourselves. It should be distinguished from *macellarius*, dealer in meat or other provisions. Observe that *lanius* has the first syllable short, and *laneus* (woollen) has it long; but in rapid speaking the pronunciation of both words would be nearly the same. We have here a good example of the importance of attending to metrical quantity, which, in consequence of the omission of Latin versification as a part of education, is now frequently and disadvantageously neglected.²

¹ Cicero, *De Oratore*, *loc. cit.* Nam sicut facilius in vitibus revocantur ea, quae sese nimium profuderunt, quam, si nihil valet materies, nova sarmenta cultura excitantur, ita volo esse in adolescente unde aliquid amputem, with Ellendt's note in the "Explicationes," vol. II. of his edition, p. 206 *seq.*

Some derive the name Madeira from *Materia*, the island having been covered with timber (Sp. *madera*), when it was discovered by Portuguese vessels under Genoese captains. T and D are sounded by the same organs of speech, hence they are frequently interchanged; so *civitas* becomes *ciudad*; for similar

examples, *vide* Del Mar's *Spanish Grammar*, 9th edition, p. 286.

² Prosody deserves to be studied: it induces us to observe and appreciate not only the melody of the poets but also the rhythmical structure of sentences by the prose writers; moreover it also has a close relation to philology and especially to etymology, if we are not content merely to follow usage and authority, but investigate the reason why a syllable is long or short. Persons holding high positions in our Universities are now making false quantities which formerly school boys would have been ashamed of. Such mistakes, if uttered in public

Offector, a dyer, is unusual, but is mentioned by the grammarian Festus. *Offectio*, colouring, dyeing occurs in Arnobius, a late Christian writer. These words must not be confounded with *officio* to hinder. We should rather expect to find in our Inscription *infector*, as Caesar uses *inficio*, speaking of our ancestors, *Bell. Gall.* V. 14, "Omnes se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem"; so Plautus, *Aulularia*, act III. sc. V. v. 47 says, *infectores crocotarii*, who prepared saffron-coloured garments; a curious passage, where many trades that minister to female finery are enumerated. Such words as *materiarius* and *offector* show that the study of Epigraphy produces a twofold advantage; for letters engraved on monuments, important or unimportant as the case may be, sometimes reveal the facts of history, and at other times extend our philological knowledge. Lastly, "Mercator," No. 17 in the Inscription, seems to indicate not an occupation but a *nomen proprium*. [Comp. Nos. 15, "Similis Crescentis," 16 "Lucanus Silonis"; hence the genitive denotes the father.] I have only seen Mercator once, as the name of an author, who wrote against the Pelagian and Nestorian heresies in the fifth century.¹

In the Paulus Museum at Worms the best specimen of glass is a flagon, 26 centimètres high, the lower part of which is in the form of a Janus-head, with two faces looking in opposite directions, figured in plate VIII, 1a, 1b of the Catalogue. It stood in a coffin that was uninjured, and thus, with the exception of some small cracks, was itself completely preserved. One cannot help remembering that the famous Portland (or Barberini) Vase owed its

speaking, may excite in the audience a contemptuous smile. Some recent writers maintain that versification is unnecessary, and only a waste of time which might be better employed. On the other hand, we might reply that the labour of finding words that will suit both sense and metre is a good discipline for the intellect, and that knowledge so laboriously acquired remains almost indelible, κτήμα ἑσαεί, a possession for ever. Thucydides. I. 22, κτήμα τε ἐς αἰεὶ μάλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς το παραχρημα ἀκούειν ζύγκεται. For this purpose and the use of synonyms, the old *Gradus ab uno e Societate Iesu* may be found

useful, though it suggests many questions without answering them.

¹ The date of Mercator is known from an Epistle of St. Augustin addressed to him. In Smith's Dictionary of Biography, s.v. A.D. 218, is a typographical error for 418: Augustini Opera, Benedictine Edition, tom. II cols. 710-715, Ep. exci. in which he combats the doctrine of Pelagius. The name occurs in Inscriptions: De Vit, Onomasticon, s.v. Marius Mercator, and in the Preface to his Lexicon in *Indice Auctorum*, p. clxxxvii. et seq.; List of twenty-seven books by Mercator, chiefly translations from the Greek. Migne, Patrologia Latina 48.

safety to the same cause, having been found at Monte del Grano near Frascati in a sarcophagus attributed to the Emperor Alexander Severus. In front of the faces the glass is as thin as paper. The bottle has received from oxidation a silvery lustre, exceptionally bright. This example is superior to one in the Royal Museum at Berlin, which wants the foot, and is also of a heavier and thicker material.¹

The upper part reminds us of Serapis, because its funnel-shaped form resembles a *modius* on his head, the usual attribute that distinguishes him; see *Tassie's Descriptive Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, Serapis, Nos. 1391–1506; and Plate XXIV. In No. 1490 we read $\Sigma\Upsilon\Xi\text{ } \Sigma\text{I}\Theta\text{ } \Sigma\text{I}\Pi\text{A}\text{P}\text{A}\text{C}\text{O}$, the characters being retrograde, which has been interpreted, There is but one living and animating Zeus, Serapis. I exhibit a cornelian formerly in the possession of the late Rev. C. W. King, inscribed **B EI CA**, apparently with the same meaning; but the difficulty lies in the first letter, which has not been explained satisfactorily hitherto. Two peculiarities are to be observed here, the late form **C** for Σ , as in the Codex Alexandrinus and other manuscripts; also **A** for ϵ in the name Serapis. We meet with Sorapis in Suidas and Soroapis in "Clement of Alexandria," cited by Orelli,

¹ Further details and comparison with similar glass vessels in other collections are given by Dr. Weckerling, *op. cit.* p. 107, *seq.* I saw at Este in the Museum, opened in July of this year (1902), a head of Janus Quadrifrons described in the Guida Sommaria del Museo Atestino, p. 46, No. 203. Testa di Giano Quadrifronte, in pietra d' Istria, in proporzioni colossali. Dovea servire di coronamento ad una fontana. Rinvenuta nel 1884, nei lavori di sterro per l'arvine ferroviario Este-Legnago; etc. This small town is situated at the foot of the Euganean hills, within a short distance (about 18 miles) by railway from Padua.

Under the Roman Empire it was an important place, which appears from the manner in which Tacitus, *Histories*, III. 6, mentions it, where he couples it with Padua as one of the cities occupied by Antonius Primus, commander in chief of Vespasian's army opposing the Vitellians: *Inde Patavium et Ateste partibus*

adjunxere. Sir E. H. Bunbury, in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, 1854, says that Este "contains no ancient remains, except numerous inscriptions." A perusal of the Museum Catalogue will show that this statement is no longer true. Comp. Martial, *Epigrams*, X. 93 :

Si prior Euganeas, Clemens, Helicaon's oras

Pictaque pampineis videris arva jugis,
Perfer Atestinae nondum vulgata Sabinae
Carmine, purpurea sed modo culta
toga.

Helicaonis Sohn des Antenor, Iliad, I 124, des Gründers von Patavium; Pausanias, X. 26, 7, Vgl. XIV, 152, 2. This note in Friedlaender's Edition of Martial, shows that the passage is quite parallel to the expression of Tacitus, *loc. cit.*

Este is on the line of railway from Padua to Mantua, and very near Arqua (where Petrarch died), which might also be approached from Monselice.

*Excursus III ad Tacitum Hist. lib. IV. cap. LXXXIII.*¹

I now proceed to notice briefly another class of objects in the Worms Museum: surgical instruments. 1, A silver probe (*sonde*); the Latin name is *specillum*, which occurs in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, III. xxii. fin. § 57, where he mentions its invention.² 2. Three bronze cupping-glasses, *cucurbitae*; the word primarily means a gourd, and was applied afterwards to an instrument of the same shape. It is known to us from Juvenal, *Satire XIV. v. 58*:

*Cum facias peiora senex, vacuumque cerebro
Jam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat;*

where he is pointing out the effects of a father's bad example:

whose . . . brainless head
Long since required the cupping-glass's aid!

Gifford's Translation.

Rich's Dictionary, s.v. "Cucurbita" (*κολοκύνθη, σικύα*)³ gives an example representing an ancient original

¹ C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, i, 266 *seq.* Serapis (who . . . almost engrossed the devotion of the later Roman mind) necessarily arrogates to himself an immense number of fine gems, particularly camei in the class of heads, etc.; *ibid.* ii. 48. Description of the wood-cuts, pl. XII. nos. 4-8, especially 7, Serapis, borne up by the eagle of Jupiter, with the legend ΕΙC ΖΕΥC CΑΡΑΠΙC. Some regard Serapis as an ancient Egyptian divinity, others think that his worship was introduced into that country from Sinope in Pontus. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, iv. 360-366, quotes in his text and notes many ancient authorities, Plutarch, Clemens Alexandrinus, Pausanias, Strabo, Tacitus and others. A later writer gives, I think, a better explanation of the origin of Serapis. Christian C. J. Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, English Translation, 1848, vol. I. The word Serapis is a corruption of Osiri-Api, 431 [445]. The statue of Serapis was brought from Sinope to Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria 431 [445]. Numerals between brackets [] refer to the second edition of Vol. I.

Among the Roman authors perhaps

the most important passage is that in which Tacitus relates the visit of Vespasian to Alexandria, and the miraculous cures said to have been performed by him at the suggestion of this deity: *Histories*, IV. 81, 83, 84. This leads him to discuss the origin of Serapis, and to give a detailed account of the circumstances under which a colossal image of the god came to Egypt; and he mentions specially that the king was influenced by the sight of a divine figure appearing to him in a dream. The following words in chap. 83, *oblatum per quietem . . . qui moneret, and Ptolemaeus . . . sacerdotibus Aegyptiorum quibus mos talia intelligere nocturnos visus aperit*, leave no doubt as to the author's meaning.

² *Loc. cit.* Aesculapiorum primus Apollinis, quem Arcades colunt, qui specillum invenisse primusque vulnus dicitur obligavisse . . . tertius Arsiippi et Arsinoeae, qui primus purgationem alvi dentisque evulsionem, ut ferunt, inventit.

³ *Κολοκύνθη*, is said to be the round gourd or pumpkin; *σικύα*, the long one. *Ἀποκολοκιντωσίς*, is the title of a book attributed to Seneca; it means the reception of the Emperor Claudius

made out of a pumpkin, now preserved in the Vatican Library. I have not met with a similar illustration elsewhere. Among recent compilations, the most elaborate article will be found in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments*; *Chirurgia*, χειρουργία, tome I. deuxième partie (C) pp. 1106–1115, by Dr. Rene Briau, figs. 1369–1415. Our information concerning ancient surgery is chiefly derived from the writings of Celsus, who flourished at the beginning of the first century A.D. and discoveries made in a house at Pompeii (*Strada Consulare*) said to have belonged to a medical man. [See Overbeck's *Pompeii*, ii. 88, fig. 278, "Chirurgische Instrumente, a-h"; and *Museo Borbonico*, tome XV. plate XXIII. which shows a *catheter* corresponding in form with the description of it by Celsus, *vulsella*¹ forceps, and *specillum* probe; the Greek word *κναθισκομήλη* indicates that there was a small cavity at the end of the instrument.] Remains of a Roman hospital have been recently excavated at Baden, in the Canton Aargau. Considering the diligence and accurate scholarship displayed by the Swiss savants on former occasions, we may expect

among the pumpkins, and is a play upon the term *ἀποθῆωσις* (deification), for which the Latin word is *consecratio*, as we learn from the medals. See the article Seneca (by George Long), No. 14 in the list of his works, Smith's *Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*, iii. 781. Colocynth is well known in pharmacy as a cathartic remedy for constipation.

¹ *Vulsella* here means a kind of pincers used for extracting the fragments of a bone (Forcellini's *Lexicon*, s.v.); but sometimes it has a different signification, viz. *tweezers*, for pulling up hairs by the roots, *τριχολάβιον*. It occurs in Plautus, *Curculio*, act IV. sc. 4, v. 21, edit. Lambinus, folio, Lutetiae M.D.LXXXVII. p. 301, and commentary on the following page. The scene is an amusing one: a soldier quarrels with a pander (*leno*). The former swears by his weapons, the latter by articles of the toilet. At ita me volsellae, pecten, speculum, calamistrum meum. Bene me amassint, meaque excutia, linteumque extersum, where

Lambinus has substituted by conjecture *excutia* for *axitia*, "quae vox non est Latina." In the second line Ussing's edition, *Hauniae*, 1878, ii. 253, v. 578, reads, meaque axicia linteumque extersui; *Commentary*, p. 575, *axicia* forfices (scissors); *extersui*, i.e. ad extergendum. With *calamistrum*, curling-iron, comp. *ciniflo*, Horace, *Satires*, I. ii, 98, and *cinerarius*, Catullus, LXI. v. 134 (138).

Nunc tuom cinerarius

Tondet os.

Martial, lib. IX. epigr. XXVII. ed Schneidewin (XXVIII.), v. 5.

Purgentque saevae cana labra volsellae;

I have found no classical authority for *vulsellum*, the form of the word given in a table-case of the British Museum. On a subsequent occasion I exhibited at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute three photographs of surgical instruments in the National Collection, artery-forceps, retractor and probe, scarifier, etc.

To face page 349.



BRONZE STEELYARD WEIGHT IN FORM OF A TRITON'S HEAD FOUND AT
SCHWARZENACKER, NOW IN THE MUSEUM OF SPEIER.

valuable results from their investigation of any objects that may be brought to light. If any coins or inscriptions should enable us to fix or approximate to a date, they might decide the question whether this hospital belonged to Pagan or Christian times. Inquiries of this kind have not always been conducted with perfect impartiality, the morality of heathenism has been underrated, and the cause of Christianity injured by ignorant or prejudiced advocates.

The most conspicuous object in the Museum at Speier is a legionary eagle of gilt bronze from Rheinzabern, and acquired for 200 florins by the Historical Society of the Palatinate. Experts have come to the conclusion that it is not an antique: partly because it was bought of a notorious forger, and partly because the wings are not like those of a Roman eagle as it appears on the coins. Moreover, a pedestal inscribed LIIIG is stated to have been found near it. The suspicion concerning the eagle is corroborated by the absence of any mention of the *Legio quarta gemina* elsewhere.¹

On the other hand, a bronze Triton's head used as a weight in a steel-yard, which has not given rise to any doubts, may compensate us for disappointment in the last case caused by critical inquiries. (*See illustration.*) Pointed goatish ears might at first sight lead us to suppose that we have here a Satyr; but the bushy locks of "dank and dropping"⁵ hair massed together, and the eyes wide

¹ Professor Dr. Harster, *Katalog der historischen Abteilung des Museums in Speier*, p. 23. Der die Schwingen zum Fluge lüftende Adler eher einem Napoleonischen Feldzeichen gleicht als einem römischen, wie wir sie mit den senkrecht emporgerichteten Fittigen beispielsweise aus den zahlreichen Legionsmünzen des Antonius kennen. Cohen, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, pls. V. VI. Médailles Consulaires en or et en argent; Antonia, Nos. 39-71, pp. 34-36, Nos. (69)-(105) médailles légionnaires, *Eclaircissements*, p. 39.

² Milton's smaller poems, edit. Todd, *Poetical Works*, iv. 314:

the sacred wall declares to have
hung
My dank and dropping weeds
To the stern god of sea.

Horace, *Odes* I. v.
where Milton has misunderstood the

construction; *potenti* governs *maris* (ruling the sea). The mistake is the less excusable, because in *Ode* II. v. 1 of the same book we read *Diva potens Cypri*, and in *Ode* VI. v. 10, *lyrae Musa potens*.

The same author, *Paradise Regained*, III. 295: "By great Arsaces led," has made a false quantity in Arsaces, lengthening the penultima which is short. Again, *ibid.* IV. 68 *sq.*,

In various habits on the Appian road,
Or on th' Emilian,
he speaks of the latter road as if it led out of a Roman gate, like the *Via Appia*, whereas it extended from Ariminum (Rimini) to Mediolanum (Milan), being a continuation of the *Via Flaminia*. In the Hymn on the Nativity he has written *Delphos* instead of Delphi; v. 178, edit. Todd, iv. 254.

open as if gazing on a boundless sea, unmistakably prove that the deity is marine. His eyes and teeth are of silver, and the whole surface bears a beautiful *patina*. According to an old tradition this bronze came from Schwarzenacker, near Zweibrücken (*Deux-Ponts*), well-known in the history of literature, the Bipont editions of Greek and Latin authors having been printed there. The Museum also possesses some curious objects which were ornaments of harness; amongst them one is remarkable, because it represents the contest of an eagle with a serpent, which reminds me of the eagle and hare on Agrigentine coins (Girgenti), corresponding with a passage in the *Agamemnon of Aeschylus*, who had visited Sicily.¹

Both Worms and Speier are closely connected with the history of the Reformation; at the former place Luther stated his doctrines, and concluded with the famous words, *Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders, Gott helfe mir. Amen*; at the latter, a majority of the Diet passed decrees condemning his tenets, which led to a *protest* from the evangelical princes and States, whence the name *Protestant* is derived.² Dr. Harster in his essay entitled *Versuch einer Speierer Münzgeschichte*, pp. 133–135, describes some medals struck by this city relating to the Reformation, with the legend on the reverse, E = | VANG · | REPVRGA = | TI . A° MDXVII | NVMMVS . IVBI | LÆVS . A° | MDCXV-

¹ Harster, *op. cit.* p. 19, die beliebte Darstellung des Kampfes zwischen Adler und Schlange. Æschylus, *Agamemnon*, vv. 135–138, Poetae Scenici, edit. Dindorf.

οἴκη γὰρ ἐπιφθόνος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνα,
πτανοῖσιν κυσι πατρός,
αὐτότοκον προ λόχου μογεραὺν πτάκα
θυομέναισι.
στουγεῖ δὲ δειπνον αἰετῶν.

For the queen of the chase abhors the
race,

The winged hounds of her father
Jove:—

For they ate a tame creature all quick
with its brood:

The eagles she hates, and their banquet
of blood:

Conington's Translation.

For notes see Verrall's edition of the
play, p. 14 *seq.* (1889) Eckhel, *Doct.*

Num. Vet. Sicilia, Agrigentum, vol. I. p. 192—pagurus, et aquila . . . serpentem, columbam discerpens. Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, Insular Greece, Section II. Sicily and adjacent islands, pp. 48–50; Supplement, Europe, p. 125. Appendix to the Notes, p. [23 “Elis, its autonomous coins ascribed by Eckhel (I. 90–92) and others to Faleria in Etruria, Eu. 49.”]

² On his way to Worms, when attempts were made to dissuade him from entering the city, Luther said, “Und wenn so viel Teufel in Worms waren, als Ziegel auf den Dachern, dennoch wollt ich hinein.” Tillotson, in few words, but with a masterly hand, has drawn Luther's character, “a bold, rough man, but a fit wedge to cleave in sunder so hard and knotty a block.”

II, in commemoration of the Jubilee of a purified Gospel. I am informed, on good authority, that these pieces are very rare, and consequently expensive.¹

Most of our fellow-countrymen travel on the Continent for health and pleasure, many of them "march heedless on" to places of fashionable resort; but the serious student of history and antiquity cares little for the *gaudia vulgi*, and turns aside from the pursuits of a too material age; he willingly lingers in old cities like Worms and Speier, around which ennobling associations gather. There he may recruit his moral vigour, dwelling on the memory of those who fought a good fight, who laboured and struggled for truth, liberty and reform. If I may be allowed to express my own sentiments, I would adopt the words of a great scholar, and say, "O that their example and their teaching may arouse others to a like zeal in the same most holy cause."²

APPENDIX.

The trident of the *retiarium* is also called *fuscina*, which is akin to *furca*, where we may observe R is convertible with S. "This change occurs to such a degree in the Latin language that one is almost at liberty to affirm that at an early period the letter *r* was unknown to the language, for every *r* in the Latin dialect seems to have been

¹ With the medal mentioned above comp. Harsted, *op. cit.* p. 148 *seq.* REFORMATIONSMÜNZEN VON 1717. A · REFORMATIONE · EVANGELICA · IVBILÆVM · SPIRENSE · SECVNDVM · The date MDXVII has reference to Luther's ninety-five theses against Indulgences, which he posted on the doors of the Schlosskirche at Wittemberg. It has generally been accepted for the beginning of the movement which ended in a separation from the Church of Rome. Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 96 *sq.* English Translation. Merle D'Aubigné, *Histoire de la Réformation*, tome I. livre III. pp. 353-360, edit. Paris, 1853. Then follows a selection of these propositions, occupying pp. 360-366. For the important date in Church history, 1517, which had

escaped my memory, I am indebted to the kindness of the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Moule). In the same year the Lateran Council (Leo X.) held its last sitting. Dollinger, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 367. The Pope and Cardinals were warned of the storm that was then gathering, but they fancied themselves secure.

² Archdeacon Julius Charles Hare, who edited the third Volume of *Dr. Arnold's History of Rome*, published posthumously. The words which I have applied to the Reformers of the fifteenth century are the concluding sentence of the Preface by the Editor, an intimate friend of Bishop Thirlwall, who dedicated to him the "History of Greece" that appeared originally in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.

preceded by an s;” *Professor Key on the Alphabet*, p. 91 seq. an Article that contains many examples. Compare Juvenal, *Satire II.* 143 :

“Vicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi,”

with viii. 203 :

“movet ecce tridentem,
Postquam librata pendentia retia dextra
Nequidquam effudit,”

and xiii. 81 :

“Perque tuum, pater Ægaei Neptune, tridentem.”

In Greek *τρίαινα* seems to be the most common word ; but we find also *τριόδους* and the variant *τριώδους*, closely resembling the Latin.

Compare with Juvenal, *Sat.* III. v. 37, cited above, J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung. Dritter Band, Die Spiele von Ludwig Friedlaender*, p. 564, note (10), refers to *Prudentius adversus Symmachum*, lib. II. *vv.* 1096—1100, speaking of the Vestals present at gladiatorial contests :

“illa
Delicias ait esse suas pectusque jacentis
Virgo modesta jubet converso pollice etc.,”

edit. Dressel, 1860, p. 298, with foot note on *converso pollice*.

As to the date of Calpurnius, a great variety of opinions have been expressed. According to Gibbon, the poet wrote during the reigns of Carus and his son Carinus, and he supposes the First Eclogue to have been composed on the accession of the former. *Decline and Fall*, chap. XII. ii. 53, Milman’s edition, re-edited by Sir Wm. Smith. *In Calpurnius, ibid.* v. 50 seq.

“Nullos jam Roma Philippos
Defebit, nullos ducet captiva triumphos.”

The historian sees here “a very manifest allusion” to Zenobia, Queen of the East, who followed, as a captive, Aurelian’s triumphal car, A.D. 274. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vii. 41, 8vo. edition, assigns Calpurnius to the time of Domitian, apparently drawing this conclusion from *Ecl.* VII. 82 sqq.

“utcumque tamen conspeximus ipsum
Longius, ac, nisi me visus decepit, in uno
Et Martis vultus et Apollinis esse putavi.”

These lines resemble the fulsome flattery of that Emperor so conspicuous in Martial. The following may serve as specimens of his style of adulation :

Epigrams V. iii. 5, 6.

“Sors mea quam fratris melior, cui tam prope fas est
Cernere, tam longe quem colit ille deum ;”

ibid. v. 1, addressed to Sextus, the Emperor’s librarian,

“Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Minervae,
Ingenio frueris qui propiore dei ;

* * * * *

7. Ad Capitolini *caelestia* carmina belli
Grande cothurnati pone Maronis opus ;”

ibid. viii. 1

“Edictum domini deique nostri,” with Friedlaender’s note.

VIII. ii. 6

“Terrarum domino deoque rerum.”

IX. xxxvi.

1. “Viderat Ausonium posito modo crine ministrum
Phryx puer, alterius gaudia nota *Jovis*.”

Scholars now generally agree in assigning Calpurnius to Nero’s reign. Haupt led the way in an essay entitled *De Carminibus Bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani*, 1854, and others have followed in his track. Moreover, a comparison with the prose writers leads us to infer that the poet belongs to the beginning of the Neronian period, when the Emperor, under the guidance of Burrus and Seneca, excited in his subjects the hope that he would govern righteously. I cite two examples in which the diction of the poet presents a striking coincidence with the statements of the historian Tacitus and the biographer Suetonius:

Eclogue I. 69—73, Prediction of Faunus,

“Jam nee adumbrati faciem mercatus honoris,
Nee vacuos tacitus fasces et inane tribunal
Accipiet consul, sed legibus omne reductis
Jus aderit, moremque fori vultumque priorem
Reddet, et afflictum melior deus auferet aevum.”

Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII. 4, Consilia sibi et exempla capessendi egregie imperii memoravit . . . nihil in penetibus suis venale augere ambitioni pervium . . . teneret antiqua munia senatus.

Ecl. VII. 23—25. Description of a wooden amphitheatre:

“Vidimus in coelum trabibus spectacula textis
Surgere, Tarpeium prope despectantia culmen,
Immensosque gradus, et clivos lene jacentes.”

Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII. 31, Nisi cui libeat, laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, queis molem amphitheatri apud campum Martis Caesar exstruxerat, volumina implere.

Suetonius, *Nero Claudius Caesar*, cap. 12, init. “Munere, quod in amphitheatro ligneo, regione Martii Campi intra anni spatium fabricato, dedit, neminem occidit, ne noxiorum quidem.”

See the Appendix to *Ecl.* VII. in Professor Keene’s edition of *Calpurnius*, to which I am greatly indebted, pp. 197—203, where (p. 198) a parallel passage from *Strabo*, book V. iii. 8, p. 236, ed. Didot, p. 196, illustrates the second extract from *Tacitus*, πλησιον ἔστι τοῦ πεδίου τούτου (*i.e.* Campus Martius) . . . καὶ θέατρα τρία καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον. Among the earlier editors of *Calpurnius*, Wernsdorff is one of the best; in the *Poetae Latin Minores*, tom. II. he devotes pp. 1—214 chiefly to this author. Many of his notes are valuable, but we need not follow him implicitly; *e.g.* on *Ecl.* VII. 23 he makes the following remarks: “E sola materia lignea confectum, noli ex hoc loco colligere. Pastor pro captu et opinione sua describit.”

Wernsdorff, Gibbon, and Merivale suppose that Calpurnius here

refers to the Colosseum, but obviously the words *trabibus textis* are not applicable to the Flavian amphitheatre, a massive structure of great solidity, such as we see it to be even now, after all the injuries which many generations have inflicted upon it. Nibby, *Roma Antica*, i. 410-420, especially p. 412: "Durante la occupazione del Colosseo per parte de' Frangipani, l' edificio fu altamente malmenato, ed a quella epoca debbonsi attribuire que buchi che a viva forza si fecero nella commettitura delle pietre, onde portar via il piombo ed il ferro de' perni che legavano fra loro i massi, buchi che così miseramente deformano le pareti non solo di questa fabbrica, ma ancora di molte altre della stessa specie." Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, 1854. The Palazzo di Venezia, the Cancellaria Vecchia, the Palazzo Farnese and Palazzo Barberini were built with stones taken from this gigantic mass.

Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the light of recent Discoveries*, 1889, p. 15. Colosseum regarded as a mere stone quarry in the 15th century. For a general account of the Colosseum, cf. *omnino. Id. Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 1897, book iv. sect. xiv. 369-385. *Id. The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, 1899. *Panoramic View of Rome*, by Balthasar Jenichen, of Nuremberg (folding plate), is the frontispiece, reproduced from the original in the British Museum, No. 7103; probable date between 1560 and 1577. The distances are in many cases very incorrect, but the map is of great interest, as it shows monuments no longer existing. A key is appended, without which it would be difficult to identify some of the buildings, and the Colosseum amongst them.

Compare with the engraving as given by Lanciani those in G. Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572, of the same period as Jenichen, but on a much larger scale. Book 4, folding Plate, "Roma antiqua duabus tabulis," Nos. 54 and 55; here the roads also leading out of the city are distinctly marked. Book 2, "Roma antiqua cum moderna"; *vid. Index generalis alphabeticus* prefixed to Book 1.

Though Gibbon is mistaken as to the date of Calpurnius, his references to this author's seventh *Eclogue* deserve our attention. *Decline and Fall*, chap. XII. notes 84, 88, 92, 95, 97, 98. *Conf. omnino* No. 95, *Eclogue* VII. 64-73. These lines are curious, and the whole eclogue has been of infinite use to Maffei (*Verona Illustrata*).

The reader may peruse with great advantage Professor Charles Keene's excellent edition of these poems, pp. 211; it contains a copious Introduction, and notes both critical and explanatory, 1887.

I have noticed the medal struck by Augustus which commemorates the recovery of standards from the Parthians. Upon it we see one figure with a bow, specially the Oriental weapon. A good illustration of it is furnished by *Lindsay's History and Coinage of the Parthians*, Plates 1-4, exhibiting 96 examples, chiefly drachms, where the bow appears almost without exception. *Eckhel. Doct. Num. Vet.* III. 545. *Reges Parthiae*, § IV, "In aversa drachmarum unicus typus: *Parthus insidens sellae plerumque quatuor fulcrorum arcum inversum protendit*"; *ibid.* p. 552, *Reges Persiae*, Numi *Darici* seu *Sagittarii*, B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum, Parthia*, pp. 691-696, *Arsacidae*; *ibid.* Persia, pp. 698-701. *Darics* (gold), king kneeling right on one knee, in his right long spear, and in his outstretched left a bow, figs. 365, 366.

See also Benjamin Richard Green: *Atlas Numismatique de l'Histoire ancienne en Vingt-et-une Planches*, folio, engravings of gold, silver and copper coins, distinguished by their respective colours, and arranged in parallel columns according to chronological order, e.g. *kings of Syria (Seleucidæ) and Parthia*, plate XVI. This book may be very conveniently used as a companion to historical studies.

If we turn from coins to sculptures, we find the same weapon very conspicuous. Sir A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, sixth edition, ii. 340, Plate, Assyrian warriors fighting with the enemy; p. 341: "The bows were of two kinds—one long and slightly curved, the other short and almost angular." Perrott and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldaea and Assyria*, English translation, ii. 54, fig. 22, Town besieged by Sennacherib, from the British Museum. Similar figure, 23, from Layard; fig. 31, Chariot for three combatants. *History of Art in Persia*, plate XII. facing p. 420, Susa "The Archer's Frieze," coloured; p. 424, "The guards . . . carry a bow strung on the left shoulder, and a quiver hung at the back, ornamented with top-knots and embroidery." Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte, Erstes Buch. Die alte Kunst des Orients*, Kap. II. "Die Kunst des mittleren Asiens A., Babylon und Ninive." Fig. 31, "Assyrische Hofbeamte." Fig. 32, Kriegsscene, Relief von Nimrud. The latter shows the king in his war chariot pursuing his enemies. Here the bow appears five times, and we may observe that the string is placed where we should not expect to find it, behind the archer's face. Lübke justly remarks that the Assyrian sculptures are not ideal, but interesting from their naive realism. Wilkinson, *op. citat.* i. 304–312, gives a full account of the bow, "the principal weapon of offence" used by the Egyptians, the mode of stringing it and holding it, etc. figs. 25–33, including arrows. Compare figs. 53A and 57, war chariots.

Mention of this arm occurs in the Old Testament thirty-six times, e.g. Genesis xlix. 24: "his (Joseph's) bow abode in strength" (*Cruden's Concordance*); in the New Testament once, Revelation vi. 2: "And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow." Here the Apocalyptic imagery, as in many other cases, seems derived from a Hebrew source, Zechariah vi. 1–6, the vision of the four chariots, v. 3, "And in the third chariot white horses" (*Bloomfield's Commentary, in loco*), with parallel passages in the margin. When we compare these undesigned coincidences between the existing monuments and the Scriptures, especially of the Old Testament, we cannot but observe that they furnish the strongest confirmation of the sacred text.

The bow as represented in ancient monuments may remind us how much it contributed to the success of our ancestors in the great battles of Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt. Sir John Froissart's *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and adjoining Countries*, translated by T. Johnes, 1839, chap. CXXIX. p. 165, sq.: "The English archers . . . shot their arrows with such force and quickness, that it seemed as if it snowed." These arrows pierced their arms, heads and through their armour: illustration, "Battle of Crecy," from a MS. *Froissart of the 15th Century*, chap. CLXI. p. 218, "the horses, smarting under the pain of the wounds made by their bearded arrows, would not advance, but turned about, and by their unruliness threw their masters"; p. 219,

“the English archers were of *infinite service* to their army.” In Strutt’s *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, Book II. “Rural Exercises generally practised,” chap. I. “On Archery,” pp. 48–70, relates chiefly to amusement. It is adorned with coloured engravings, 9–13. P. 63, the author remarks that the arrows used by the English at the memorable battle of Agincourt were a full yard in length.

The group, consisting of a rider on horseback and a prostrate foe, placed at the top of a column (Juppitersäulen), has led me to speak of the Gigantomachia, and I therefore add some references on this subject, Winkelmann, *Description des Pierres Gravées du feu Baron de Stosch. Seconde Classe. Mythologie Sacree.* § IX. La Guerre de Jupiter et des autres Dieux, contre les Titans, ou Géants. No. 110. Pate ant. Jupiter sur une quadrigue, qui combat Typhon, un des Titans, avec le foudre. Le même sujet avec deux Géants, exécuté en camee avec une grande finesse par un Graveur nommé ΑΘΗΝΙΩΝ, se trouve au Cabinet Farnese. The latter illustrates Horace, *Carm.* III. 1–7.

“Clari Giganteo triumpho.”

C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, 1872, vol. II. pl. XI. no. 4; Description of the Wood-cuts, p. 48. The famous cameo by Athenion, with signature in relief (Naples). *Marlborough Gems*, catalogued by Story-Maskelyne, “The Gods—Zeus,” No. 15, a copy. C. O. Müller, *Ancient Art and its Remains*, English translation, p. 425, § 351, Remark 2. Zeus Gigantomachos. Millin, *Galerie Mythologique*, plate IX. no. 33, text, pp. 110 *seq.*, with references to other Plates.¹

Pausanias mentions incidentally the success of Attalus in his war with the Gauls, I. VIII. 2 (*Attica*): Μέγιστον δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ τῶν ἔργων Γαλάτας γὰρ ἐν τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, ἀναφρηγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. *Ibid.* XXV. 2, Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν Μυσία φθοράν. *Ibid.* X. XV. 2, a curious passage, where the same author informs us that Phaennis in an oracle had predicted the defeat of the Gauls a generation before it took place:

τάχα γὰρ σφιν ἀοσητήρα Κρονίω
 Ὀρμήσει, ταύροιο διοτρεφέος φίλον υἱόν,
 Ὃς πᾶσιν Γαλάτησιν ὀλέθριον ἡμαρ εἴψησει.
 Παιῖδα δὲ εἶπε ταυρου τὸν ἐν Περγᾶμω βασιλεύσαντα
 Ἄτταλον.

Frazer’s *Translation of Pausanias*, v. 312, *seq.* “Commentary on Book X.” note, the Oracle is quoted by Suidas (*s.v.* Ἄτταλος). It predicts that Attalus (ταυρόκερως, bull-horned) and his children’s children will attain to royal dignity.

Pausanias, *loc. citat.* ed. Siebelis, iv. 205, gives this Oracle in Greek, with a note, “Et Alexandrum Magnum ut Ammonis filium, et successores ejus in numis cornigeros conspicit, Facius monuit (Sebastian Faesch). Spanheim De praestantia et usu numismat. antiquor.” i. 387–403, *De Cornutis Alexandri M. et Successorum numis*. Compare horn on the head of Alexander the Great as Zeus Ammon, coin of Lysimachus; Sir William Smith’s *Classical Dictionary*, last edition, 1894, *s.v.* Ammon.

¹ See also in Vol. II. *Explication des Planches*.

Congiarium occurs in earlier writers, also in Suetonius, *Augustus*, c. 41, "Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, sed diversae fere summae : modo quadringenos, modo trecenos, nonnunquam ducenos quinquagenosque numos." *Id.*, *Tiberius*, c. 20. Nero, c. 11, "Sparsa et populo missilia omnium rerum per omnes dies." Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, tome premier, deuxième partie (C), p. 1443, col. 2 figs. 1894, 1895, 1896, and especially 1897. "Sur un bas-relief de l'arc de Constantin à Rome, l'empereur est représenté distribuant un *congiarium* ; la scène se rapproche beaucoup de celles qui sont figurées sur les monnaies." Art. by the Abbe Thénénat. *Eckhel*, *op. citat.* vol. VIII. 117, coin of Constantius II. : "Novum nunc in numis nomen LARGITIO cum antea pro hoc *Liberalitas*, *Congiarium* in usu esset." *Conf.* Cohen, vol. vi. plate vii. No. 164, described p. 303.

For the Vangiones the most important passages are the following : Tacitus, *Annals*, XII. 27 "Dein L. Pomponius legatus auxiliares Vangionas ac Nemetas, addito equite alario (*immittit*). Duo hi populi inter se vicini fere semper junguntur." *Germania*, c. 28 Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes, with Orelli's copious note.

Ptolemy II. ix. 9, Νεμήτων μὲν Νοϊόμαχος Ῥουφιανάνα, Ὀναγριμόνων ἔε Βορβητόμαχος Ἀργεντόρατον Δερίμων ἢ Σεβυστή (VIII.), Τριβόκων ἔε Βρεγκόμαχος Ἐλκηβος. Turning from the historian and geographer to documents still extant, we find the capital of the Vangiones in the Antonine Itinerary and the Table of Peutinger.

A Mediolano (Milan) per Alpes Penninas Mogontiacum.

Tabernis (Rheinzabern)	...	...	...	mpm XIII
Noviomago (Speier)...	...	...	...	mpm XI
Borbitomago (Worms)	...	...	...	mpm XIII
Bauconica (Oppenheim)	...	...	...	mpm XIII
Mogontiacum (Mainz)	...	...	...	mpm XI

Item a Treviris (Trèves) Argentorato (Strasbourg).

No. 6. Borbitomago, on this route also.

Itin. Antonini edit. Parthey and Pinder, pp. 168. 178 ; edit. Wesseling, pp. 355, 374.

The Table, Segmentum II. B, edit. Mannert, has Bonconica, XI. ; Borgetomagi XIII. ; Noviomag °XII. It will be observed that the Table differs sometimes from the Itinerary not only in the names of towns, but also in the distances.

We often meet with *magus* as a termination of ancient Gallic towns, e.g. Juliomagus (Angers), Rotomagus (Rouen). *Conf. omnino* Zeus, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 4 (6), a long note.* "Vox—*magus* frequentissima in nominibus locorum gallicis compositis cum nominibus propriis ut Caesaromagus, Juliomagus, Drusomagus, Borbetomagus . . . Noviomagus, Nivomagus, Rigomagus, &c. Hibernice simpliciter *mag* significatur campus . . . campus quem Scoti vocant *Magh* Sceithi, i.e., campus scuti." *Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary*, s.v. *Magh*, a field, a plain, a level country, a field of battle, a surface. Durocort ou les Remois sous les Romains par feu Jean Lacourt, Chanoine de Notre-Dame de Reims, Chapitre X. Nom gaulois de la ville de Reims, p. 87.

The importance of the collection at Worms is shown by the refer-

ences made to it in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second Series, xviii. 110-112, "Notes on a bronze ewer found at Wheathampstead, Herts," woodcut on p. 111, by C. H. Read, Secretary. It is explained by comparison with a bronze vessel from a woman's grave at Wonsheim, now in the Paulus Museum. *Ibid.* 117, paper by F. Haverfield, F.S.A., "on an inscribed Roman ingot of Cornish tin, etc." Illustration showing stamps upon it, to face p. 118: DD (?) NN. probably = *dominorum nostrorum*. "This formula occurs on a lead pig found at Worms and now preserved in the museum there." Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. VIII. cap. VI. De titulo *Dominus Noster* et ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Augustis Caesaribusque dato. In numis Antiochiae Pisidiaequae cum capite Caracallae et Getae VICT. DD. NN.

Martial mentions a Frontinus twice, *Epigrams*, X. xlvi. 20, ed. Friedländer :

"De Nomentana vinum sine faece lagona,
Quae bis Frontino consule trima fuit."

The Delphin edition and Schneidewin read *prima*.
Ibid. LVIII. Ad Frontinum, *vv.* 11-14 :

"Sed non solus amat qui nocte dieque frequentat
Limina, nec vatem talia damna decent.
Per veneranda mihi Musarum sacra, per omnes
Juro deos, et non officiosus amo."

Martial's life extended from A.D. 43 to the close of the first century, and Frontinus was consul for the second time in the year 98; Friedländer's edition of the poet, *Einleitung*, Sect. III. *Chronologie der Epigramme Martials*, S. 65. Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. 27, 85, 87. The date in the first extract should be observed, as it coincides with the latter part of Martial's life. In the second extract the lines agree with what we know from other sources concerning the high social position of Frontinus. Martial excuses himself for not paying him the attentions which were usually due from a client to a patron. Hence, though absolute certainty cannot be attained, we may regard it as highly probable that the Frontinus of Martial is the same as the author of the *De Aquaeductibus* and *Strategematicon*. Frontinus held the office of *curator aquarum*, A.D. 97, so that he had abundant opportunities of studying this branch of architecture: *De Aquae Ductibus Urbis Romae Liber*, cap. 102. Imperatore Nerva III. et Verginio Rufo III. consulibus, ad nos cura translata est.

Niebuhr refers to the *Strategematicon* in his account of the Third Samnite War, *Roman History*, English Translation, iii. 361 *seqq.* and notes 615-618, 620; and notices fragments usually ascribed to Frontinus in his *Dissertation on the Agrimensores or Rei Agrariae auctores*, *ibid.*, ii. 634-644, Appendix II. Descending to a much later period, we find an important passage, *Strateg.* I. III. 10, "Caesar Domitianus Augustus, cum Germani more suo e saltibus et obscuris latebris subinde impugnant nostros tutumque regressum in profunda silvarum haberent, limitibus per centum viginti milia passuum actis non mutavit tantum statum belli, sed et subjecti ditioni suae hostes, quorum refugia nudaverat. Duruy, *Histoire des Romains*, iv. 698 *seqq.* especially 700 and notes. Here it is worth while to compare with Frontinus similar expressions in the *Life of Hadrian* by Spartianus, chap. XII.

Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepi funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit; quoted by T. Hodgkin in "The Pfahlgraben," an essay on the Roman Boundary-Wall, reprinted from the *Archaeologia Eliana*, p. 48. See the notes of Casaubon and Salmasius (Saumaise) in loco, *Augustan History*, edit. Lugduni. Batav, A° MDCLXXI, pp. 113-115. Hadrian, though well known to us on account of his Roman Wall in Britain, has not obtained from posterity all the credit due to him as a constructor of barriers. Domitian, like Nero, began with good government, which did not last long: Suetonius, *Life of this Emperor*, chaps. 7-9.

The testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus also is valuable, lib. XXVIII. ii. 1, edit. Eyssenhardt, 1871, p. 406. "Valentinianus . . . Rhenum omnem a Rhetiarum exordio ad usque fretalem Oceanum magnis molibus communiebat, castra extollens altius et castella turresque assiduas per habiles locos et opportunos, qua Galliarum extenditur longitudo." *Id.* XXVIII. vi. 2. "Valentinianus enim studio muniendorum limitum . . . flagrans, trans flumen Histrum in ipsis Quadorum terris quasi Romano juri jam vindicatis aedificari praesidiaria castra mandavit, ed. Eyssenhardt, p. 457. These authors receive their best elucidation from the Reports of the Reichs-Limes-Kommission; *Der Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes*, and similar publications for Austria issued by the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. On the other hand, explorers would act wisely if, before they began to excavate, they studied carefully the Greek and Latin authors, especially Strabo, Pausanias and Pliny, who often supply indications as to the localities in which interesting remains are likely to be found. From neglecting these literary suggestions, we have often remained long in ignorance of buildings and sculptures by which they were adorned.

The temple of Diana at Ephesus is mentioned by Fergusson, *History of Architecture* (1865), i. 224: "It covered 93,500 feet, an area exceeding that of any ancient temple out of Egypt . . . Even its site, however, is now a matter of dispute;" *ibid.* 244-246, "Not a vestige of it has come down to our days." Now the researches of Mr. T. J. Wood, formerly Consul at Smyrna, have made us well acquainted with it. In the introduction to his work entitled *Discoveries at Ephesus*, 1877, he says, "many even doubted whether such a building ever existed." See his Plan of the Ruins, with the site of the temple of Diana, near a swamp, built there to protect it from earthquakes. *Confer. omnino Pliny, Nat. Hist.* lib. XXXVI. cap. XIV. § 95, edit. Sillig, "In solo id palustri facere ne terrae motus sentiret aut hiatus timeret; rursus ne in lubrico atque instabili fundamenta tantae molis locarentur ea substravere carbonibus, dein velleribus lanae." *Ibid.* V. XXIX. § 115, "Fons in urbe Callippia et templum Dianae complexi e diversis regionibus duo Selenuntes." Marshes are marked in the map on both sides of the river Cayster.

Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum, with maps and plans, 1890, published by order of the Trustees, p. 14, "Room of Archaic Greek Sculpture—Ephesus." "Fragments from an earlier

temple." P. 16, *seq.* The most remarkable object here is a sculptured drum from one of the columns of the temple. It is supposed to represent "Thanatos (Death) and Hermes conducting Alcestis from Hades." Wood, *op. cit.* 188-190, gives an account of the discovery of this interesting fragment: *Pliny*, XXXVI. 95, *columnae centum viginti septem a singulis regibus factae, LX pedum altitudine, ex iis XXXVI caelatae, una a Scopis*, where the epithet *caelatae* should be particularly noticed. "It is supposed that only the lowermost drum was sculptured, the rest being fluted." The group of figures above mentioned, now deposited in the British Museum, is engraved as the frontispiece of Wood's book on Ephesus.

Tacitus, *Annals*, book III. chaps. 60-63, gives an account of embassies to the Senate from Greek cities in Asia claiming the right of asylum for their temples, c. 60. "Graecas per urbes licentia atque impunitas *asyla* statuendi." c. 61, "Ephesii adiere . . . auctam hinc concessu Herculis . . . *caerimoniam* (sanctity) templo, neque Persarum *dicione* deminutum jus"; post Macedonas, dein nos servavisse." *Περιβολος* is an enclosing wall (*maceria*), surrounding the sacred *precincts*. Furneaux, second edition of the *Annals*, 1896, has a good note on the last clause, with reference to Wood, *op. citat.* Appendix, p. 2, Inscriptions from the Peribolus of the Artemisium and the Augusteum. Imp. Caesar divi f. Aug . . . ex reditu (from the revenues of the temple) Dianae fanum et Augusteum muro muniendum curavit. The *περιβολος*, as fixed by Augustus, has been discovered, *cf.* text, pp. 131-133, and wood engraving on last page.

For the right of sanctuary in Christian times, consult Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, eleventh edition, 1856, iii. 302 *seq.* chap. ix. part I. "State of Society." "In the rapine and tumult of the Middle Ages, the right of sanctuary might as often be a shield to innocence as an immunity to crime." Allusions to this right will be found at a late period: Manzoni, I Promessi Sposi. *Storia Milanese del Sec. XVII.* edit. 1833. Tomo I. *Capitolo IV.* p. 85, "Sarebbe stato lo stesso che rinunziare ai proprii privilegi, screditare il convento presso tutto il popolo, attirarsi l' animavversione di tutti i cappuccini dell' universo per aver lasciato ledere il diritto di tutti, concitarsi contra tutte le autorità ecclesiastiche, le quali allora si consideravano come tutrici di questo diritto."

The Article "Asylum (*ἄσυλον*)" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth edition, ii. 825, ends with a quotation from Livy, XXXV. 51, "Templum est Apollinis Delium, imminens mari: quinque millia passuum ab Tanagra abest . . . Ubi et in fano lucoque ea religione et eo jure sancto, quo sunt templa, quae *asyla* Graeci appellant . . ." This Delium must not be confounded with the island Delos which Livy mentions XLIV. 29, also with special notice of its sacred character, "Sanctitas templi insulaeque inviolatos praestabat omnes."

The following Inscription, in which the name of Maxentius occurs, is copied from Hefner's *Römische Bayern in seinen Schrift- und Bildmalen*, München, 1852, p. 273, No. CDVIII, *Denkmal. Rom.*, Taf. V. fig. 8.

D. N. MAXENTI AVG

P. PR

CK

Form. Ein runder *Stempel* aus Blei mit sehr tiefgeschnittenen Buchstaben, von denen D N MAXENTI AVG in einem Kreise herumlaufen, PPR und CK in der Mitte in 2 Zeilen stehen. Die Schrift ist zum Abdruck bestimmt und verkehrt. DN=Domini Nostri. P.PR=Pro Praetore. CK=Conjugi Karissimo, or in the feminine gender. Vide Gerrard, *Siglarium Romanum*. De Vit, *Onomasticon*, gives a list of three Maxentii in historia Ecclesiastica. Among them is No. IV. "Episcopus Tigamibenensis, inter eos recensitus, quos *Humericus* Vandalorum rex ob fidem Catholicam in exilium pepulit a. 484." I have not been able to identify with certainty Tigamibenensis as belonging to any town in North Africa; the name that comes nearest to it is Thigiba (Tigiba), *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vol. VIII. part I. "Africa," No. 2568, line 78.

L ORBIVS PROVINCIALIS TICIB.

For the Arian persecution of the Vandals, see *Gibbon*, chap. XXXVII. edit. Milman, vi. 265-274; he describes in detail "the most cruel and ignominious treatment of the Catholics," p. 272.

Σπείρα sometimes is equivalent to *manipulus*, or two centuries, as in Polybius, XI. (IA). xxiii. 1: τρεῖς σπείρας (τοῦτο εἶ καλεῖται τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν πεζῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίους κοόρτις). This word occurs three times in the New Testament, and means a *cohort*: Acts of the Apostles x. 1, Ἀνὴρ δὲ τις ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ὀνόματι Κορνήλιος, ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς. Alford, *in loco*, cites *Gruter Inscr.* vol. I. p. ccccxxxiv. *Foro Semproniū*, a town of Umbria, hodie Fossombrone, on the river Metaurus; the last lines are

COH . MIL . ITALIC . VOLVNT
QVAE . EST . IN . SYRIA . PRAEF
FABRVM . BIS

Cohors militum Italicorum voluntaria fabrum bis. *Comp. Dict. of Antiqq.* third edition, 1890, i. 791, *s.v.* *Exercitus*, "Special Extra Legionary Troops," § 2, "Cohortes civium Romanorum." Acts xxi. 31, Ἀνεβη φάσις τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τῆς σπείρης ὅτι ὅλη συγκέχυται Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Here the word χιλιάρχος serves to explain σπείρης in juxtaposition with it, for the former is literally the commander of a thousand men. and corresponds, though not exactly, with the Roman *tribunus militum*. The phrase ἀνεβη φάσις (tidings came up) should be noticed, because the fortress Antonia and barracks within it (*παρεμβολή*, not *castle* as in the Authorized and Revised Versions) were on high ground, and afforded a view of the Temple. So it is said that the tribune ran down (*κατέδραμεν*), and stairs, ἀναβαθμοί, are mentioned below, verse 34. Antonia, formerly called Baris, was re-named by Herod the Great in honour of his friend Mark Antony the Triumvir: Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (1860, 4to.) ii. 259-262. This book contains in foot notes many references to Josephus, both the History of the Jewish War and the Jewish Antiquities, and it is interesting to observe how closely in topographical details his statements coincide with St. Luke's narrative.

Acts xxvii. 1: we read at the beginning of the account of St. Paul's voyage to Rome, *παρεϊσίουν τὸν τε Παῦλον καὶ τινας ἑτέρους δεσμώτας ἑκατοντάρχη ὀνόματι Ἰουλίῳ σπείρης Σεβαστῆς* (cohortis Augustae). Alford has a long note on this passage, he appears to follow Wieseler

in identifying the *σπειρα Σεβαστή* with the *evocati Augusti*. *Dict. of Antiqq.*, *loc. citat.* p. 792. Compare Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV. 15, Tuncque primum conscripti sunt equites Romani, cognomento Augustanorum, aetate ac robore conspicui. Suetonius, Nero Claudius Caesar, c. 25, sequentibus currum ovantium ritu plausoribus, "Augustianos, militesque se triumphij ejus," clamitantibus. Dion Cassius, *History of Rome*, LXI. 20, has *Ἀγροῦστοι*.

It will be remembered that St. Paul was tried before this Emperor, and it is not an improbable conjecture that he pleaded his cause in the Basilica Æmilia on the north side of the Forum Romanum. It was rebuilt three times. A denarius of this gens bears the legend AIMILIA REF M. LEPIDVS S. C. (REF is the abbreviation of *refecta*), and shows two rows of columns, one above the other. We may remark that the Romans favoured a vertical arrangement, but that the Greeks cultivated a horizontal style of architecture. Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, Planche I. Æmilia, No. 8, text, p. 10; Babelon, *Monnaies de la Republique Romaine*, p. 114. Compare Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, IV. xvi. 14. Paullus in medio foro basilicam jam paene texuit iisdem antiquis columnis: illam autem, quam locavit, facit magnificentissimam. *Conf. omnino* Tacitus, *Annals*, III. 72. "Isdem diebus Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam Pauli, Æmilia monimenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque, erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia; nec Augustus arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbum hostiles exuvias aut exundantis opes ornatum ad urbis et posterum gloriam conferre. quo tum exemplo Lepidus, quamquam pecunie modicus, avitum decus recoluit," with the notes of Lipsius and Orelli. These passages are the best commentary on the coin above mentioned, which being of the republican period shows an archaism, AI for ÆE, in the first syllable of the legend; so we have AIDILIS three times in Orelli's *Inscriptions*, p. 149, from the tomb of the Scipios; and DVELONAI = Bellonae in the beginning of the "Bacchanalian Inscription," 2nd line, now preserved in the Museum at Vienna: *Uebersicht der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Saal, XIII. p. 88, "die älteste aller erhaltenen römischen Staatsurkunden und eines der wichtigsten Documente für die Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache." Drakenborch's 4to. edition of *Livy* contains a good facsimile of the inscription as an illustration of the text, vol. vii. p. 197. The commentary on this inscription extends from page 197 to 222.

Some have supposed that there was a connection of clientship between Paul's family and the Æmilian house. However this may be, the Apostle bore the same name as the most distinguished member of that gens, Lucius Æmilius Paullus Macedonicus, who defeated Perseus in the battle of Pynda, B.C. 168. *Conybeare and Howson*, i. 187, note 3; ii. 578, note 3, 8vo. edition.

Gibbon calls Claudius "feeble," but there were some redeeming features in his character. He wrote histories both in Greek and Latin; he was also an antiquary, and is said to have restored the Duilian Inscription. Moreover, his taste for architecture appears in the aqueduct which bears his name, *Aqua Claudia*, a structure which the traveller from Rome to Naples will never forget, because for a considerable distance it is parallel to the line of the railway.

The use of the word *carmen* when it does not mean a poem is well

explained in De Vit's edition of *Forcellini's Lexicon*, 16 ("Item pro incantamento, quod verbis fit; *incantesimo*, 17). Praeterea dicuntur *carmina* formulae quaedam certis verbis compositae ut Jurisconsultorum, Praetorum, Facialium, Imperatorum in obsidione urbium Deos evocantium, se devoventium, etc., "Cicero, *Pro Murena*, cap. XII. § 26." Praetor interea ne pulchrum se ac beatum putaret, atque aliquid ipse sua sponte loqueretur, ei quoque *carmen* compositum est, cum ceteris rebus absurdum, tum vero in illo: 'SUIS UTRISQUE SUPERSTITIBUS PRAESENTIBUS ISTAM VIAM DICO: ITE VIAM.' Here evidently *carmen* is applied to prose composition. So Halm explains it by "*Spruch, Formel*," fifth edition of this oration, 1893, p. 29.

Compare with Monnaies Gauloises cited above, pp. 172, 175, Duchalais, *Description des Médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale*, p. 150, seq. Nos. 432, 433. Senones, Agedineum. Deux chevres debout opposees l'une à l'autre. M. de Longperier . . . y a reconnu avec rasion une imitation des médailles frappées dans les villes macedoniennes de Thessalonique et Amphipolis. *Catalogue of Hunter's Collection*, by Combe, 1782, p. 24, Amphipolis. Duo hirci erecti coniscantes; *ibid.* p. 328, Thessalonica, similar type. *Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection*, edited by Macdonald, 1899, Vol. I. "Italy, Sicily, Macedon, Thrace, Thessaly," p. 276. Two goats contending, on their hind legs, face to face; *ibid.* p. 366. Leake, "Numismata Hellenica," *European Greece*, p. 11, Amphipolis; p. 104, Thessalonica.

For variants of Agedincum consult the *Antonine Itinerary*, edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 183, Item a Caracotino Augustobonam usque, which has Agedincum. Comp. *Ptolemy* II. viii. 9:

Σένορες ἰν πόλις Ἀγγήδικον (hodie Sens).

In the notes we find agredincum, agredicum. *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana*, ed. Mannert, Segmentum I. c. has "Agetincum." The site of Caracotino is doubtful, and it has therefore been assigned to different places, "*Criquetot* (Reichard), *Château-Cretin* (Lapie); Harfleur (Mannert, Walckenaer)." See the index to *Parthey and Pinder*. Comp. Brunet, *Supplément au Manuel du Libraire—Dictionnaire de Géographie ancienne et moderne*. *Caracotinum*, Gravelle, pres Harfleur, etc. *Augustobona* was the city of the Tricasses in Gallia Lugdunensis; *Ptolemy*, II. viii. 10, Τρικάσιοι καὶ πόλις Ἀυγουστόβωνα, hodie Troyes. In the Table of Peutinger it is marked Aug. Bona. Brunet, *op. citat.* s.r. Trecae (Augustobona), gives a detailed account of the topography of Troyes.

This place by its name reminds us of Juliobona near the embouchure of the Seine, and opposite Quillebeuf; here also we have a word compounded of a Roman prefix and a Celtic termination. It is the first station after Caracotinum in the section of the Itinerary mentioned above, and its importance is shown by the roads leading hence to Rotomagus (*Rouen*), Noviomagus (*Lisieux*), and Lutetia (*Paris*). In the modern name Lillebonne the initial letter L is an abbreviation of the article. Orderic Vitalis says, "barbari nunc Illebonam nuncupant." The same change occurs in the Département de Lot, which is so called from the River Oltis (L'Olt). See article "Juliobona" in *Smith's Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, by G. Long. Ordericus flourished in the twelfth

century, and wrote the *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1123–1142. It has been fairly estimated by M. Guizot, also by M. Leopold Delisle in the *Nouvelle Biographie Generale*.

Lillebonne is about twenty miles east of Havre, and easily accessible by a branch railway from Breauté-Beuzeville on the main line of the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest. It contains considerable remains of a Roman theatre which are well known; but a mosaic discovered 8 March, 1870, is less likely to have attracted general attention. This interesting work of art was announced for sale at the Hôtel des Ventes, Paris, 16 May, 1885. MM. Rollin and Feuardent were employed as experts, and published a *Notice Explicative*, 4to., with three lithographs on a large scale. The mosaic lay buried in a garden of the Saint-Denis quarter, only 50 centimetres below the surface of the soil, nearly perfect, and 50 square metres in extent. It was divided into twenty-two portions, and great pains were taken to prevent injuries during the removal. Apollo pursuing Daphne is the principal subject, surrounded by four scenes with figures of smaller dimensions. She is represented on her knees and semi-nude. Apollo is recognised by his laurel crown; so Horace says, *Odes* IV. II. 9, with reference to Pindar,

Laureâ donandus Apollinari.

Compare *Virgil, Eclogue*, VII. 62,

Fornosae myrtus Veneri, sua laurea Phoebæ.

These two personages occupy the central space enclosed by a circular cable-pattern; outside is a square border whose four interior angles are filled by four vases (*canthari*) of elegant shape, and palm-branches on both sides of them. The four lateral compartments offer to the spectator a variety both of human beings and animals. Here we see men on horseback hunting hares and stags in a forest, and in one division a sacrifice to Diana, goddess of the chase, whose image stands upon an altar.

Above and below the chief personages we read two inscriptions, black letters well formed on a white ground.

1. T(itus) . SEN(nius) . FILIX . C(ivis) . PVTEOLANVS . F(ecit).

2. ET . AMOR . C(ivis) . K(arthaginiensis) . DISCIPVLVS.

Made by Titus Sennius Felix, citizen of Puteoli, and by Amor, citizen of Carthage, his pupil.

Hence it appears that a mosaicist, doubtless eminent in his profession, was brought from the Bay of Naples to a remote city in Gaul. For the same purpose Italians have been frequently employed in our own country; however, as the decorations of St. Paul's prove, we are now beginning to design and execute such work for ourselves. The unusual form FILIX for FELIX should be observed. On a coin of the Gens Cornelia FEELIX occurs, which may remind us that E is long in the ordinary spelling of the word. De Vit, *Lexicon*, gives various forms, Fiilix, felex, filix, filicissimus. *Conf.* the Art. FELIX in his ONOMASTICON (*nomina propria*), where he cites many recent authorities. Cohen, *Medailles Consulaires*, plate XV. No. 25, obv. FEELIX; p. 108, Tête de Bocchus? à droite diadémée et avec la peau de lion. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 422, no. 60, Buste de Jugurtha . . . avec la peau de lion sur les

epaules. Rev. FAVSTVS : pp. 420-424, § 12, contain a full explanation of the coins struck by Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of the Dictator.

Ovid tells the story of Apollo and Daphne at great length in the first book of his *Metamorphoses*, vv. 452-567, edit. Burmann, ii. 59-68. Fabula IX, Argumentum, Daphne Penei filia in laurum. He ends with a lively description of the use of the laurel in historic times :

“Semper habebunt
Te coma, te citharae, te nostrae, laure. pharetrae.
Tu ducibus Latiis aderis, cum laeta triumphum
Vox canet ; et longae visent Capitolia pompae.”

Compare Horace, *Odes*, III. xxx. fin.

“et mihi Delphica
Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.”

The readers of Milton will remember the following lines in the *Paradise Lost*, book IV. vv. 272-275 :

“nor that sweet grove
Of Daphne by Orontes, and th’ inspir’d
Castalian Spring, might with this Paradise
Of Eden strive.”

“The Castalian spring there, of the same name as that in Greece, and extoll’d for its prophetic qualities,” note in the excellent edition by Thomas Newton, D.D., some time Bishop of Bristol. *Strabo*, lib. XVI. p. 750, edit. Casaubon ; vol. VI. p. 306, edit. Siebenkees, “Υπερκειται δὲ τετταράκοντα σταδίουσ (about 5 miles) ἡ Δάφνη, κατοικία μετρία μέγιστ δὲ καὶ συνηρηφὲς ἄλσος, διαρρέομενον πηγύοις ὕδασιν. Apart from his usual, though not unfailing accuracy, we should here expect an exact description, as the author was a Greek of Asia Minor, born at Amasia, capital of the kingdom of Pontus, on the River Iris. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. XXIII. vol. IV. pp. 110-112, edit. Milman, notes 104-109. Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 4to. edition, i. 135, with notes 1-8. Facing page 132 is a fine engraving of Antioch as it now appears, and at p. 134 a plan of ancient Antioch, on which the Daphne Gate is marked.

The glass vessel at Worms in the form of *Janus bifrons* assists us to understand an allusion in Persius, *Satire* I. 58 :

“O Jane, a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit,
Nec manus auriculas imitata est mobilis altas,
Nec linguae, quantum sitiatis canis Appula, tantum!
var. lect. albas.

O Janus, happiest of thy happy kind!—
No waggish stork can peck at thee behind ;
No tongue thrust forth, expose to passing jeers ;
No twinkling fingers, perk’d like ass’s ears,
Point to the vulgar mirth.”

Gifford’s Translation,

with his note, “I have frequently seen the modern Italians follow an unfortunate wight *occipiti caeco*, and ridicule him with the most expressive and ludicrous signs. The ‘ass’s ears’ and ‘the stork’s bill’ are still the popular modes of scoffing.” The Scholiast explains, “ciconia dixit, quia manus solent formare inrisores ad similitudinem ciconini rostri.” But for Janus the *locus classicus* is Ovid, *Fasti*, Book I. vv. 65-288.

The primary meaning of *ciconia* (Fr. *cicogne*) is a stork, the secondary is a derisive gesture with the hand like a stork's bill. The stork appears among the emblems of the months in the great mosaic found at Vienne and now deposited in the Louvre; also on the *denarii* of the gens *Caecilia*; Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, plate VIII. figs. 10 and 11; Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 275, Nos. 43, 44. See my paper on the antiquities of that city, *Archaeological Journal*, 1895, li. 377-379.

In the prose writers the most important passages relating to Janus are St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Book VII. Chaps. VII.-X. 7th vol. of the Benedictine edition, folio, and Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I. ix. 7. The title of Chap. VIII. in the former is, *Ob quam causam cultores Jani bifrontem imaginem ipsius finxerint, quam tamen etiam quadrifrontem videri volunt*. He refers to the derivation of Janus from *janua*, and ends with the words, *Ego sum janua*. St. John's Gospel, x. 7, ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων. Macrobius, *loc. cit.* Sed apud nos Janum omnibus praeessse januis nomen ostendit, quod est simile *θυραίων*. *Ibid.* § 8, Pronuntiavit Nigidius Apollinem Janum esse Dianamque Janam. *Ibid.*, § 11, *Cicero . . . non Janum sed Eanum nominat, ab eundo*. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II. xxvii. 67, with the notes of Davies. Here, as elsewhere, this author is not successful in etymology. See the copious Index (II.) to Macrobius, ed. Ludovicus Janus, 1852. Compare Preller (French Translation), *Les Dieux de l'ancienne Rome*, *Janus*, pp. 124-136, p. 125, Janus serait la meme chose que Dianus, le masculin de Jana ou Diana, La Lune. Comp. *Professor Key on the Alphabet*, p. 56, "Di before a vowel is changed into a g or j, as Dianus or Janus, the god of light (dies) in Roman mythology; Diana or Jana, the goddess of light. So Diespiter and Jupiter are the same name." From the Latin *diurnus* the French and English word *journal* is obviously derived.

Numismatists are familiar with representations of Janus, because it is a device usual in the Roman copper coinage; we also find it on pieces which appear to have been struck in imitation of the Greek drachma. Babelon, *op. cit. Classement chronologique*, i. 21-23, Tête laurée et imberbe de Janus; p. 34, AEs grave libral, Tête barbue de Janus bifrons; p. 50, Tête laurée de Janus; au-dessus I, Rev. ROMA. Proue de navire; à droite I. Recherches sur la Monnaie Romaine depuis son origine jusqu'à la mort d'Auguste, par M. Pierre-Philippe Bourlier, Baron D'Ailly, tome I. planches iii. iv. v. *As*, Droit; tome II. 2^e partie, planches lxxviii.-lxxxvii. *bis*, where Janus with two faces appears on every page.

I have mentioned Arqua on account of its proximity to Este. It is situated in the beautiful scenery of the Euganean hills, and often visited, as Petrarch was buried there. His tomb of red Verona marble stands on four pillars in the churchyard. Murray, *Handbook for Northern Italy, Venetian Province, Route 32*, p. 401, edit. 1863. The Inscription is given by Baedeker, *Italie Septentrionale*, 1899, p. 283. Lord Byron has made this village still more famous by stanzas in *Childe Harold*, Canto IV. xxx. - xxxii.

"There is a tomb in Arqua; — reared in air,
Pillared in their sarcophagus, repose
The bones of Laura's lover:"

See also *Historical Notes to Canto the Fourth*. ix. Petrarch, Moore's edition of *Byron's Life and Works*, viii. 288—290. Two sepulchral monuments of similar construction are to be seen at Bologna near the Church of San Domenico, founder of the Inquisition; one of them is the tomb of a learned jurist, Passaggeri, *Murray's Handbook*, *op. cit.* p. 485. The traveller in Italy will find old Guide-books useful as well as new ones, because they contain much information about interesting monuments visited in the days of posting, but now neglected, either wholly omitted or slightly noticed, by recent compilers, who adhere too closely to railway routes. He who would investigate the Antiquities of that country and explain them to others must resemble "an householder who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old," *καὶνὰ καὶ παλαιά*, St. Matthew's Gospel, xiii. 52.

For the visions (*Tacitus, Hist.* IV. 81, 83, *loc. cit.*) of enthusiastic patients and the healing of their maladies, see *Two Lectures by Dr. Caton on the Temples and Ritual of Asklepios at Epidaurus and Athens*. Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, 1899, illustrated by many plates; *conf. omnino* Inscriptions on stone tablets, pp. 33—35. The subject may remind us that the Wise men were warned in a dream not to return to Herod, and that an angel in the same manner commanded Joseph to take refuge in Egypt: Matthew ii. 12, 13. Similarly, a vision appeared to Paul in the night, Acts xvi. 9.

In Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII. cap. V. sect. 19, § 75, ed. Sillig, we read the following passage, (1) *se autem scribente* (Theophrasto), *esse in Tyro Herculis templo stelen amplam e zmaragdo (emerald) nisi potius pseudozmaragdus sit . . . Apion cognominatus Plistonices paulo ante scriptum reliquit esse etiam nunc in labyrintho Aegypti colossum Serapis e zmaragdo novem cubitorum,*" where the words *nisi potius pseudozmaragdus sit* should be noticed, as they refer to the imitation of emeralds in glass. Apion, whom Pliny cites as an authority, flourished in the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula, and is often mentioned by Josephus. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* iii. 88—103, gives a detailed account of the invention of glass and its principal uses, also of false stones, p. 99, quoting Pliny, *ibid.* cap. XII. sect. 75 § 197: "Non est zmaragdo alia imitabilior gemma mendacio vitri." Of course it would be absurd to suppose that a statue thirteen feet and a half in height could be made of any jewel, hence the word *pseudozmaragdus* (a counterfeited emerald) is certainly correct.

Catalogue of the Slade Collection. Printed for private distribution, 1871. Edited by Alexander Nesbit, with very fine illustrations; 22 plates are coloured. "Glass-making in Egypt," pp. III.—V.

For the probe as used by the ancients see Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, published by Didot, vol. iv. col. 2042. *Κυυθίσκος τῆς μήλης* dicitur Chirurgici specilli pars altera concava, in parvi cyathi modum, qua aliquid vel extrahi vel infundi potest. *Conf. omnino* Article *μήλη*, vol. V. cols. 975—977, especially 975, containing quotations from *Celsus*, V. 28; VII. 21, 27. Many improvements might have been made in modern Greek Lexicons if the compilers had consulted this valuable work more frequently. A similar observation will apply with still greater force to the Egyptian papyri of the Ptolemaic period discovered within the last few years. See the

Athenaeum, 18 October, 1902, Article on "Classical Philology," p. 517 *seq.* *Lexicon Graecum Suppletorium et Dialecticum*, H. van Herwerden. "The new papyri alone have added hundreds of words to the vocabulary—many of them, especially in the Petrie collections, being no jargon, but good classical words," &c.

Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 61, 62 and 146—151, furnishes us with a detailed account of the papyrus and the mode of making paper from it; but as his book was published in the year 1837, we must not expect to find in it recent discoveries which have given extraordinary interest to this plant in connexion with language and literature. Papyrus in *Herodotus* is called βύβλος. Euterpe, II. 92, with Bachr's note, *De byblos loci primarii, cum Nostro conferendi, sunt Theophrasti Hist. Plant.* IV. 9, p. 54 (IV. 8, ed. Schneider), et *Plinii hist. nat.*, XIII. cap. XII. sectt. 23—26, §§ 74—83, ed. Sillig, ii. 387—389; beginning with Praeparantur ex eo chartae diviso acu in praetenuis sed quam latissimas philuras (thin layers). The word Hieratica, which we see sometimes in our stationery, is well explained by Pliny's words religiosus tantum voluminibus dicata. In the same passage other kinds of paper are described.

The Paulus Museum at Worms is so-called from the Pauluskirche, the collections having been deposited in the interior of this Church, restored in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Baedeker 19 route, p. 125, edit. 1886.

There is no need to relate here the proceedings of the Diet held at Worms in 1521, when Luther appeared before the Emperor Charles the Fifth; but attention may be directed to the great Reformer's monument in this city—one of the finest groups of historical statuary that have ever been executed; once seen, it cannot be forgotten. In the middle Luther stands on a lofty pedestal; his face is turned upwards with trust in God; his attitude expresses confident assertion, and his left hand holds the Bible. This figure is said to be the most characteristic representation of him in Art. As we gaze upon it, we seem to hear him uttering the memorable words, "Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders, Gott helfe mir! Amen!" At the four corners of the pedestal are seated precursors of the Reformation—Savonarola, Huss, Wycliffe and Peter Waldo. The personages surrounding the central statue are learned men and princes who embraced the Reform; with these are placed allegorical figures of cities which espoused the same cause, Augsburg, Speier, and Magdeburg, whose mournful aspect indicates sufferings endured in war. This magnificent memorial was unveiled in 1868, and in the following year an interesting pamphlet, pp. 88, appeared, entitled *Wormser Luther—Buchlein oder Luther und die übrigen Kämpfer des Wormser Lutherdenkmals*; within a few months five large editions were sold. It is divided into four sections: 1. The Precursors of the Reformation (*Vorkämpfer*); 2. Dr. Martin Luther. See especially *The Diet (Reichstag) at Worms*, pp. 41—48; 3. Luther's associates, Melancthon and others (*Mitkämpfer*); 4. Description of the Monument. On the front of the cover is an engraving of the group of statues, and on the back a ground-plan. Photographs, large and small, can be easily obtained.

In addition to the references already cited for the Vangiones and their capital Borbetomagus, we may notice also Tacitus, *Hist.* lib. IV.

The historian in the earlier chapters of this book has related the formidable revolt of the Batavian chieftain Civilis, and the disasters which befell the Roman armies. But at last the tide turns, chaps. 68-70. Mucianus shows the utmost energy, pours the legions through the Alpine passes Great and Little St. Bernard, and summons troops even from Spain and Britain, acting on the principle so clearly enunciated by Lord Nelson, "Numbers alone can annihilate." At the same time Vindonissa (Windisch), a most important military station, is occupied by Sextilius Felix. Under these circumstances the Vangiones, as we learn from chapter 70, where they are twice mentioned, at first serve under the Treveran leader Tutor, and afterwards, at the approach of the Roman forces, return to their former allegiance, *honesto transfugio rediere*: *Merivale*, vi. 514-517, 8vo. edition.

Books descriptive of coins, generally without Plates, must be supplemented by others containing engravings or photographs. For the eagle in ancient medals the following may be consulted: *Catalogue of the Hunter Collection at Glasgow*, edited by Combe, Tabulae 68, better than earlier works of the same kind, in which artists too often have not copied the originals faithfully. Combe has assigned to Faliscian types which belong to Elis, mistaking the digamma for the Latin F. *A new Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow*, is now in course of publication, edited by G. Macdonald; two volumes 4to. have already appeared: I. *Italy, Sicily, Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly* 1899, Pls. I.-XXX.; II. *North Western Greece, Central Greece, Southern Greece and Asia Minor*, 1901. Pls. XXXI.-LXII. These are some of the finest examples of the eagle in Greek art. B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 353-357, figs. 232-236. For illustration the Numismatic Chronicle of the Numismatic Society will be found most useful, each quarterly part containing photographic reproductions, e.g. Pls. XV. XVI. XVII. 1902, Pt. IV. A collection of 686 coins, chiefly of Gaul, has been recently acquired by the British Museum, which was previously weak in this department.

Natural history as portrayed in coins is well represented in the following work, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des Klassischen Altertums von Imhoof-Blumer und Otto Keller*. XXVI. phototypische tafeln mit 1352 Abbildungen. Tafel IV. Vogel, Nos. 28-40, p. 28 sq., esp. No. 29, Zwei Adler l. einen Hasen zerreisend; im Felde r. Heuschrecke.

Rev. ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ. Quadriga im Galopp l., von einem Jüngling geleitet; darüber l. emporfliegender Adler; unten eine Krabbe. Prachtvolles Stück.

No. 30. ΣΤΡΑΩΝ. ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙ—NON. Adler l. auf eine Schlange zuffliegend. Rev. Tafel VII. No. 2.

No. 34. Adlerkopf rechtshin.

Rev. Geflügelter Blitz zwischen F—A in einem Blatterkranz.

Hemidrachme von Elis.—Brit. Museum.

The eagle appears on an interesting gem. *Tassie's Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 575, No. 9923 Eschyle . . . portant le gobelet a la bouche, pendant qu'un aigle vole audessus de lui ayant entre ses griffes la tortue fatale, qu'il fit tomber sur sa tête chauve. Donaldson, *Theatre of the Greeks*, sixth edition, Introduction, p. 73, "the story is evidently an invention."

Valerius Maximus, lib. IX. c. 12, ext. § 2, p. 726, ed. Carolus Kempfius, 1854, Aeschylī vero poetae excessus quemadmodum non voluntarius, sic proper novitatem casus referendus, *et seqq.*

Another medal struck at Speier deserves attention, because the design is complicated and the historical interest is great. The obverse and reverse are engraved as the frontispiece of Dr. Harster's book already cited. A hand stretched out from the clouds pours water on two hands similarly placed. This reminds me of the Divine arm seen in the later Roman coins, symbolizing a special Providence interposing in human affairs. Near the centre of the medal a hand holds a crucifix, with words immediately under it, MORIAR . QUA . FALLĀ. Below, a lion lies holding a dog with his fore-paws, MENS . GENEROSA underneath. A legend is inscribed on the border ALTERIVS * ALTERA * POSCIT * OPEM * PARCIT * SVBIECTIS * 1627 * XBR—Reverse. A garden surrounded by a stone balustrade, and divided in parterres; in the centre we see a bee-hive on a massive platform, a flower blooming under it, and the words SEN . SPIR. The back-ground is occupied by the Cathedral, a plantation, and part of the town wall with four towers close together. Above these buildings are the sun, crescent moon and the armorial bearings of a Dean. Inscription on the border, Winckelmann, Description des Pierres Gravees du feu Baron de Stosch, 1760. *Quatrième classe, L'Histoire Ancienne*, section I. p. 417, No. 51, Pâte antique. Eschyle . . . est represente portant la Tasse a la bouche. *Idem*, Monumenti Inediti, Tomo II. *Parte Terza*, p. 223. Capitolo V. Eschilo. L'artefice . . . non contento dell' atto dell' aquila . . . sovrastante al poeta, sembra averci voluto far ravvisar anche costui dal soverchio diletto ch' egli aveva di bere sino a non saper compor le tragedie ch' e'l fece, se non era riscaldato dal vino. This interpretation might be supported by a reference to Horace, *Epistles*, I. xix. 5 *seqq.*

“Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus :
Ennius ipse pater nunquam, nisi potus, ad arma
Prosiluit dicenda.”

with note in the edition of Obbarius, who quotes the epithets that Homer applies to wine, p. 496, ἐνήνορα, μελιχρονα, μελιγεα, θειον ποτον, ἡένηποτον.

Baumeister, *Denkmaler des Klassischen Altertums*, i. 34, s.v. Aischylos, Göttinger ingeniously explains the gem as a symbol of *Apotheosis*. Die χελαώνη, d.h. die Lyra erhebt sich auf den Adlerfittigender Poesie zum Himmel, während der Dichter in der Gabe des Dionysos (Bacchus) schwelgt. Abb. 36. The illustration is excellent. Again we may appeal to Horace in favour of this widely different opinion as to the motive of the artist. *Odes*, III. xi. 3, Tuque testudo resonare septem Callida nervis; compare the Homeric hymn, Merc. 51, Hom. : ed. Ernesti, vol. V. p. 38, Glasgow, Ἐπὶ δὲ συμφώνουσι ὄων ἐτανίσσαστο χορδαί, cited by Wickham *in loco*. According to this view the eagle is carrying the lyre up to heaven, as he bore aloft Ganymede to wait upon Olympian Jove; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmaler*, pl. XXXVI. No. 148, p. 27; see my paper on the “Antiquities of Sens,” *Archaeological Journal*, lvi. 367, *seq.* text, and note 2. Hermes is said to have invented the lyre by stretching strings on the shell of

the tortoise (*testudo*), which acted as a sounding board. Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, $\chi\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$ ($\chi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$).

Testudo as a military term means a covering to protect besiegers, arched like a tortoise-shell. W. Froehner, *La Colonne Trajane, Premiere Guerre Dace, Troisieme Campagne*, § 56, p. 117, *Retranchement dace attaque par les legionnaires qui se sont ranges en tortue* Plate intercalated in the text. Fabretti, *Colonna Trajana*, folio, *Tavola XXXVII. No. 212.* La scultura presenta la forma della Romana Testuggine, con la quale i soldati serrati e coperti dal loro scudo, si assicurano dal grandinare dei sassi, e dall' impeto dei dardi scagliati dall' inimico. Rich, *Companion to the Latin Dictionary*, has a good illustration, *s.v. Testudo*, taken from the Antonine Column repeated in *Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities*, third edition, ii. 808.

For the eagle as a decoration of harness we may compare Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, Zweites Heft—Tafel V, ii Gerathe. C. Eisenperiode. Beschläge von Wagen- und Pferdegeschirr. Romisch. No. 4. Vorderes Diechselbeschlag in Gestalt eines Adlerkopfes mit dem sogenannten Aufhalter in Form eines Hahnenkopfes. Erz.*

A parallel case in our own country is supplied by the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 13 June, 1901, Second series, xviii. 373, Report by Robert Munro, M.A., M.D., Local Secretary for Scotland, Section II (a), Excavations on Roman Stations conducted under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. "The presence of these clay sling-bolts (found at Ardoch), together with the few ornamented *harness-mountings*, may therefore suggest that Late-Celtic civilisation had also preceded the advent of the Romans into North Britain." Dr. Munro mentions the discovery of 75 pellets of burnt clay, conically shaped at both ends like the leaden sling-bolts used by the Romans.

* DVLCIS * CONCORDIÆ * FRVCTVS * DANTE * DEO * DVRABIMVS.—1627.

The city of Speier was condemned by the Imperial Chamber to compensate the Prince-Bishop for the destruction, in league with Pfalz, Baden and Wurtemberg, of the fortifications of Udenheim. The Bishop demanded 175,000 reichsthaler; his claim was reduced to 100,000, with interest at 4 per cent., and 4,000 florins yearly. Speier applied to the Imperial Cities (free towns), Frankfort, Nuremberg and Strassburg for a loan. Neither capital nor interest was paid. In 1649 the Town Council obtained from the Imperial Court a revision of the litigation about this debt. This was opposed on the part of the Bishop, and a new law-suit commenced, which was not decided even in 1776. I have abridged Harster's narrative of these proceedings, *op. cit.* p. 138, *seq.*

In some of the coins of Speier we may note the combination of the Imperial and Royal titles, which was by no means common at the period.

Otto I. the Great (936–973, Emperor from 962).

+ OTTO REX IMP. Reverse, + ∞ PIRACI. Harster, p. 95, No. 1. It is like what finds place in the case of his present Majesty:
BRITT : OMN : REX F : D : IND : IMP :

Otto III. (983-1002, Emperor from 996).

+ OTTO + IMP AVG. Rev. ∞ CA MARIA, Church.

We may observe that the legend here describes the Cathedral as dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In a document dated 782 (Charlemagne), it is mentioned as *ecclesia domne Marie, vel domni Stephani* (the proto-martyr) *in civitate Nemetense seu Spirense*; but afterwards as *domus sancte Marie virginis*. Harster, pp. 95-97.

Heinrich III. (1039-56, Emperor from 1046).

(+ HE)INRICVS (REX) king's head bearded. Rev., NEME (TIS CIVIT)AS. Galley with cabin or church. Ein auf ein Schiff gestelltes Kirchengebäude . . . so dass dadurch die Bedeutung der Stadt zugleich als eines von Konrad II. und Heinrich III. mit herrlichem Dome geschmückten. Bischofssitzes und eines vielbesuchten Handels- und Ueberfahrtsplatzes am Rheinstrom bezeichnet würde, *ibid.*, p. 99, *seq.*

For the money of the Othos see Lelewel, *Numismatique du Moyen-Age. Troisième Partie. Les Trois Ottons* (936-1002), pp. 127-139; *Naissance de la monnaie épiscopale sous les Ottons*, 960-1000, pp. 139-149; *Monnaie des seigneurs laïques des duchés de Souabe et de Lotharingie sous les Ottons* (936-1002), pp. 149-151. *Conf. Atlas, Tables Chronologiques*, Tab. XIV.; et *Planches Numismatiques*, Pl. XVIII. Otho the First well deserves the title of Great, because he restored and appropriated the Western Empire, enlarged the Kingdom of Germany on every side, obtained the nomination of the Popes, and gained a decisive victory over the Turks: Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, edit. Milman, ix. 188, 194; x. 205, 206. The historian invites our attention especially to the authority which the Emperors exercised at Rome, vol. ix. chap. xlix. p. 194, note 127. *Firmiter jurantes, nunquam se papam electuros aut ordinaturos praeter consensum et electionem Othonis et filii sui* (Liutprand), l. vi. c. 6, p. 472.

A Diet was held at Speier in the year 1526; it was favourable to the Reformers, and enacted that the Princes should manage the religious concerns of their respective territories, as they saw fit, until a general Council was called. In the second Diet, 1529, this decree was annulled, the proceedings at Worms were confirmed, and no further innovations were allowed, Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, English Translation, iii. 123-126. However, the Emperor was unable to carry out these ordinances, as the Turks were advancing towards Austria, and he needed the assistance of the German princes to repel them. The next Diet was held at Augsburg, 1530, when the famous Confession, named from this city, was published, being founded on the 17 Torgau Articles composed by Luther, but enlarged to the number of 28. The translator has supplied a summary of them in the notes, Mosheim, *op. cit.* iii. 138-141. They are followed to some extent in the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England.

Luther could not be present at this assembly, because he was an outlaw, under the Ban of the Empire, but he approved of the Confession drawn up by Melancthon, which bears the impress of his character; Merle d'Aubigne, *Histoire de la Réformation*, iv. 193, Melancthon . . . s'appliquait a faire une exposition de la foi chretienne, douce, modérée, et qui s'éloignat le moins que possible de la doctrine de l'Eglise latine. When this document was sent to Luther for his opinion,

he replied, "Magister Philipps Schrift gefallt mir sehr wohl, und ich weiss nichts daran zu bessern, noch zu ändern ; würde sich auch nicht schicken, denn ich so sanft und leise nicht auftreten kann. Christus, unser Herr, schaffe, dass sie viel und grosse Frucht bringe, wie wir hoffen und bitten. Amen!" Wormser Luther Büchlein, Speyer und Augsburg, pp. 57-59. The Confession was presented to the Emperor, Charles V. in a hall of the Bishop's Palace, now called the *Residenz*. For the general history of this period, see D'Aubigné, *op. cit.* iv. 186-303.