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Professor Bunnell Lewis F.S.A.

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ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN SOUTH GERMANY.

By PROFESSOR BUNNELL LEWIS, F.S.A.

I do not propose, as may perhaps have been expected, to take a comprehensive view of Roman remains in South Germany; this would be a task beyond the limits of a memoir, and too extensive for my faculties, either of mind or body. I shall limit my remarks to objects of art and antiquity personally observed, or suggested as deserving notice by the local *savants* whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make.

On former but not very recent occasions I had the honour to read at meetings of the Institute descriptions of mosaics at Palermo and Avenches. I now invite your attention to a similar work of art at Rottweil, in the kingdom of Wurtemberg. This flourishing town is pleasantly situated in a beautiful country on the line of railway from Stuttgart to Schaffhausen, and therefore easily accessible.¹ In the year 1784 remains of walls, a tessellated pavement, and Roman coins were found on a hill south of Altstadt-Rottweil, which led to the conjecture that the Romans had a settlement here. In 1817 further excavations were undertaken, and brought to light more antiquities. In 1832 an archæological society was formed which vigorously pursued explorations. Two years later they succeeded in uncovering a locality containing a mosaic of about 24 square feet, divided into compartments, with the figure of Orpheus in the centre. This floor rested on stone slabs, supported by stone pillars (*pilæ*). As the soil was only ankle-deep above the mosaic, the cultivation of the land caused much

¹ Rottweil is not far from the source of the Neckar, and commands fine distant views—"mit schöner Fernsicht" (Baedeker, *Süd-Deutschland*, ed. 1876, 93). It lies south-west of Tübingen, which in situation surpasses other

universities in Germany, as Stuttgart does the capital cities. Its shady walks and general aspect please the educated Englishman, often reminding him of his own Alma Mater.

injury to it. On this account in 1865 it was removed to the Lorenzkapelle in Rottweil, and still remains there.¹ Experience proves that mosaics, if left *in situ* without protection, inevitably suffer deterioration; they must be preserved either by building a house over them, as at Nennig, or by removal to a church or museum where they will be under inspection and safe.²

Orpheus occupies the post of honour in a square, enclosed by two borders, one very narrow, the other broader and divided into eight compartments. They were adorned with some groups of which only fragments now exist; and for want of space these have not been replaced according to the order in which they were discovered. The Thracian bard, seated, wears a Phrygian cap, and from under it locks of hair show themselves. He has a youthful appearance, and is looking sideways and upwards.³ His right hand holds the *plectrum* close

¹ I have derived my information concerning the history of these discoveries from a small pamphlet published in 1881, whose title does not indicate the existence of any Roman remains—*Verzeichniss der altdutschen Schnitzwerke und Malereien in der St. Lorenzkapelle zu Rottweil*. But it contains an appendix—"Die römischen Alterthümer dieser Kapelle."

² Any person who has studied classical mosaics will be fully alive to the necessity of removing them or of erecting buildings over them, as he can recall instances where they would otherwise have perished, *e.g.*, those found at Lillebonne (*Juliobona*, *Guides-Joanne*, *Normandie*, ed. 1882, p. 306), Promenades de Reims, Vienne in the Département Isère, Nennig between Treves and Thionville.

Professor J. H. Middleton wrote an interesting article on mosaics of various periods, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., XVI, 849-855, with illustrations, Figs. 1-5; but he has not mentioned even by name any of those to be seen in France, which of all in continental Europe are the most accessible to us. He dwells on the mosaics of North Africa, and very naturally, as some of them are deposited in the British Museum. This essay, bearing date 1878, could of course contain no account of a tessellated pavement discovered in 1896, which is interesting from an artistic point of view, but surpasses the rest by its historic value—"Les Mosaïques

Virgiliennes de Sousse," *Planche XX*, fully described by P. Gauckler in one of the publications of the *Fondation Eugene Piot*. I abridge his account of this precious monument:—

"The poet clothed in an ample white toga, with narrow blue border, faces the spectator, is seated on a chair with a back to it, and rests his feet on a step in front. A roll on which are inscribed the following words lies open on his knees:

"Musa mihi causas memora quo
numine læso,
Quidve. . . ."

"With head erect, right hand on the breast, and forefinger raised, he listens to Clio and Melpomene; standing behind him they dictate his poems. The Muse of History holds with both hands a manuscript, the Muse of Tragedy a mask; the latter wears a rich costume of a red colour and embroidered with gold lace; she listens attentively while Clio reads."

³ We may not unreasonably suppose that Orpheus is looking up to the Muse for inspiration, as according to the mythographers he was the son of Calliope; and such an interpretation would agree with the designs of Monnus at Treves, which Dr. Hettner has described, with an illustration, in *Separatabzug aus der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, Jahrgang X, S. 209 fg.

to a five-stringed lyre resting on his thigh ; his left plays it with extended fingers. A red mantle is fastened by a brooch (*fibula*) on his right shoulder, and drawn back over the breast ; it falls behind on the seat, and thence to the ground. The under-garment is of a greenish blue colour, with a black border ; it reaches to the calf of the leg. A magpie on the spectator's left, and a raven on his right, are perched on trees ; they listen with closed beaks to the harmonious sounds, while below a dog opens his mouth wide, and looks up towards the musician. In the opposite corner we see a bird which might be a heron or an ostrich, but is too imperfect to be certainly identified.

The *plectrum* (πλήκτρον) was a short stick with which the player struck the chords. Its form is much better shown in a photograph of the Palermitan mosaic, which I exhibit, than in the compilations generally used for educational purposes ; here Orpheus is represented holding the *plectrum* almost at arm's length away from the lyre. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, lix, 149, says that his fellow-countrymen were accustomed to compare the tongue to the *plectrum*, the teeth to the strings, and the nostrils to the horns of this instrument.¹ At Palermo Orpheus wears only a short tunic that comes down to his knees, but the chief difference from that at Rottweil consists in the greater number of birds and beasts—nineteen altogether—that surround him.²

Philostratus Junior wrote a book which bears the title *Imagines* (Εἰκόνες). It professes to be an account of pictures which he had seen ; which, however, some suppose to have been only imaginary. It delineates in animated language the birds and beasts—all alike, wild and tame—listening to the music of Orpheus, and subdued by it ;³ but I refer to this passage especially be-

¹ "Ea (lingua) vocem immoderate profusam fingit et terminat, quae sonos vocis distinctos et pressos efficit, quum et ad dentes et ad alias partes pellit oris. Itaque plectri similem linguam nostri solent dicere, chordarum dentes, nares cornibus iis, qui ad nervos resonant in cantibus."

² This mosaic shows an utter want of arrangement, the various creatures being

scattered promiscuously ; it is just the opposite to that near Kreuznach, where symmetry prevails throughout the composition. See my paper on "Antiquities in the Museum at Palermo," *Arch. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 151-153.

³ On the other hand, at Corinium (Cirencester) we see the influence of music over savage animals indicated, and probably with a symbolic allusion.



ORPHEUS, FROM A MOSAIC PAVEMENT AT ROTTWEIL.

cause the description of Orpheus corresponds so well with our mosaic. "He is represented as a youth—the first down of a beard sprouting on his chin—wearing a tiara that gleams with gold, looking upwards with eyes expressing tenderness, inspiration and devotion to the service of the gods." Such enthusiasm, strongly marked in the countenance of Orpheus at Rottweil, is the feature by which it excels all other figures of the kind that I have seen in ancient pavements.

The story of Orpheus is one of the most interesting of the old Hellenic myths; I might even go farther, and say that for the inquiring archæologist it has more attractions than any other, whether he considers the earlier and later legends, the recurrence of the subject in Græco-Roman art, the adoption of this type by the Christians, or the frequent references to it made by our own epic poet. Even the difficulties that attend these researches only increase the fascination of the pursuit. At first we find the power of music symbolized by animals, trees, and stones moving at the sound of the lyre; afterwards a new myth was added, and Orpheus is punished by the gods for the benefits he had conferred upon men.¹

Very numerous are the mosaics, in localities far removed from each other, portraying the bard amidst birds and beasts, and it is not an improbable conjecture that the Romans preferred this subject as indicating the blessings of civilisation, which they diffused among barbarous races whithersoever they went and conquered. Professor Paul Knapp, in his treatise *Über Orpheusdarstellungen, Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1894-5 des Kgl. Gymnasiums in Tübingen*, reprinted separately, p. 29,

¹ Horace, *Carm.*, I, xii, 7-12.

"Unde vocalem temere insecutae

Orphea silvae,

Arte materna rapidos morantem

Fluminum lapsus celeresque ventos,

Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris

Ducere quercus."

Ars Poetica, 392-396, he couples Amphion with Orpheus, and gives us the legends in a different metre, but the subject is the same:—

"Dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor arcis,

Saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda

Ducere quo vellet."

Propertius, *Elegies*, IV (III), i, 1-4:—

"Orpheu, te lenisse feras et concita dicunt

Flumina Threïcia sustinuisse lyra;

Saxa Cithæaronis, Thebas agitata per artem,

Sponte sua in muri membra coisse ferunt

As in Horace, so here, Orpheus and Amphion are mentioned together. The name of the latter does not occur; however, the allusion cannot be mistaken.

has enumerated ten places where mosaics of this class have been discovered—at St. Marinella, near Civita Vecchia, Carnuntum (Lower Austria), Vienne (Isère), Isle of Wight, North Africa, etc. He omits the fine specimens which adorned the ancient villas in England. Foreign *savants* often show great ignorance concerning Romano-British antiquities, but we cannot censure them, being ourselves no better informed about continental monuments.

Orpheus occurs in sculpture also, not infrequently; but for the present a single example must suffice. That at Pettau (Poetovio, Colonia Ulpia Trajana Poetovio in Pannonia Superior) is described at length by a well-known archæologist, Professor Alexander Conze, of Berlin, in his *Römische Bildwerke Einheimischen Fundorts in Österreich* (*Separatabdruck aus dem XXIV Bande der Denkschriften der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1875). Plate V is an engraving of a tomb-stone at Pettau.¹ In the reliefs of the lower part, which has been much injured, we may still discern that the visit of Orpheus to the lower world is represented. On the spectator's right, Mercury, easily recognised by his *petasus* and herald's staff, stands behind a throne on which a male and female divinity are seated—Pluto and Proserpine, I presume. Orpheus stands in front of them, playing his lyre. The figures behind him are effaced to such an extent that the attribution is quite uncertain—one of them may possibly be "his half-regained Eurydice."² The most important

¹ *Poetorio* appears to be a more correct form than *Petovio* (v. Orelli's note on Tacitus, *Histories*, III, 1). Pettau is a town in the south-east of Styria (Steiermark) near the frontiers of Croatia and Carinthia (Krain); it is also a station on the railway from Pragerhof to Buda-Pest (Ofen). Many antiquities have been discovered there recently; some of them have been removed, as is usually the case in Continental Europe, to the capital of the province, Graz. The legion XIII Gemina was quartered at this place (my paper on Buda-Pest, *Arch. Jour.*, L, Appendix, sub finem).

² Milton, *L'Allegro* :—

"That Orpheus' self might heave his head

From golden slumber on a bed
Of heap'd Elysian flowers, and hear
Such strains as would have won
the ear

Of Pluto, to have quite set free
His half-regain'd Eurydice."

Ausführliche Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie, herausgegeben v. W. R. Roscher, 43 and 44 Lieferung, 1901, contains a very elaborate article on Orpheus—pp. 1058–1207. See esp. pp. 1202–1207. *Altchristliche Orpheus-darstellungen*, with figure 17. *Orpheus unter den Tieren; Rückwand eines Arcosoliums in S. Domitilla (nach Bottari, Scult. e pitt. sagre 2, 71)*. This class of monuments belongs to the second to fourth centuries.

group surmounts the inscription. Orpheus, wearing the Phrygian cap as usual, semi-nude, is seated, playing the lyre in the same attitude as at Rottweil; to right are an elephant, lion, ox, stag, and perhaps a fox; to left a camel and boar, with two other animals not easily distinguished. A border below is filled with animals running, and that above with birds, one of which seems to be a cock. Apparently these creatures have no connection with the story of Orpheus, as they show no sign of attention to his music. In the pediment is a female, whose limbs only are draped; she turns towards a recumbent figure. In each corner a winged boy holds a torch. Crowning the whole monument we see two lions, back to back, and a bearded human head, perhaps of Jupiter Ammon, between them. Compare Plate VII, a similar sepulchral relief, at St. Martin am Pacher.

The inscription filled a proportionately large space between the upper and lower groups, but is now nearly illegible, which may be accounted for partly by the exposed position of the monument in the market-place of Pettau, partly by its having been used as a pillory or whipping-post (*Pranger*), to which culprits were fastened by nails and bonds. However, we can still read DEC, the abbreviation for *Decurio*, a member of the senate in a *municipium* or colony, where the highest magistrates were called *Duumviri I. D. (juri dicundo)*.¹

Compare *C.I.L.*, III, i, 517, No. 4069, Pannonia Superior, Poetovio. The explanation of the group below the inscription seems to have been copied by Mommsen from some preceding antiquary, and is by no means satisfactory. I have followed Conze's interpretation, which corresponds well with the figures still visible on the stone. Poetovio was doubtless a town which grew up, like many others, around the camp of a legion; it must have been at one time an important place, as the inscriptions found there occupy pp. 510-520, Nos. 4015-4098, in *C.I.L.*, *l.c.*²

¹ *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 3rd ed., I, 637.

² Consult Jacobi, *Castrum zu Saalburg*. This book was specially recommended to me by Professor Adolf Michaelis, of Strasburg University, as giving the best description of a Roman

fortress. It should not be confounded with an earlier and much smaller work by Cohausen and Jacobi, which is only a *brochure*. The huts (*canabae*) of camp-followers, sutlers, cooks, etc., gradually developed into towns, of which we have an example at Regimund also

In the Antonine Itinerary, besides the form of the word given above, we find *Patavione* and *Petovione* (v. Index to Parthey and Pinder's edition); but the inscriptions in the place itself or its neighbourhood and the Florentine manuscript (indicated by the letter M, i.e. *Codex Mediceus*, in *Tacitus, Histories*, III, 1, edit. Orelli) have Poetovio. Πουτόβιον (Ptolemy, II, xiv, 4)¹ and Petobio (Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV, xi, 19) are examples of the common interchange between the letters B and V. This town was on the frontier of Noricum and Upper Pannonia, and probably on the right bank of the Drave (Drau); the modern Pettau is on the left. As it is a station on the railway from the junction at Pragerhof for Buda-Pesth, and about 20 miles south-east of Marburg, which is on the main line from Graz to Trieste, the traveller will easily make his way to it, whether he approaches from the side of Hungary or Styria. Many of the objects found here have been removed to the Landesmuseum Joanneum at Graz. I have received valuable assistance there from Professors Arnold Luschin Ritter von Ebengreuth and Wilhelm Gurlitt, who are members of the Curatorium, and I am sure that they will be pleased to exhibit and explain to the antiquarian visitor the monuments in their collection, Celtic, Roman, etc.

This institution issues annual reports containing accounts of recent discoveries and of additions to its treasures by purchase or donation, e.g. for the year 1895, published in 1896, pp. 50-59, C, prehistoric collection and cabinet of antiques and coins; p. 57, a tabulated list of new acquisitions. As a specimen of contemporaneous researches I may mention excavations in the Necropolis near Pettau (see *Römische Lampen aus Poetovio im besitze des Steiermärkischen Landesmuseums "Joanneum," von Dr. Otto Fischbach, mit 7 Tafeln*, Graz, 1896, especially p. 4. seq.).

If the digression may be allowed, I should like to notice a marble head engraved in Conze's memoirs on the

(Ratisbon). See my paper on "Augsburg and Ratisbon," Part II, s.f. *Arch. Jour.*, XLVIII, 408, especially Note 1, where inscriptions are cited.

¹ See the Notes in Car. Müller's edition of *Ptolemy*, I, 292, for various readings.

Roman sculptures found in Austria, Part III, pp. 11-13, Plate XVI, A, B (*Denkschriften d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. philos.-histor.*, Cl. XXVII, Bd. 1877). A young man's head with the horns and ears of an ox is figured here. It has been inserted in a wall of the passage through the so-called Old Gate at Cilli¹ in the south of Styria, near the frontier of Carniola (Krain). The ancient town was Municipium Claudium Celeia. The Romans settled there at an early period of the Empire,² as is proved by an inscription, No. 5232, recording citizenship bestowed upon an inhabitant by the deified Augustus. The name Claudium is derived from the Emperor Claudius (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* III, xxiv, § 146. The third volume of *C. I. L.*, ii, 631-648, contains the inscriptions found in the place, which has many architectural remains, and in its vicinity (*Ager Celeianus*).

Several conjectures have been proposed for the explanation of the sculptures above mentioned, by no means rare at Celeia, but the most probable is that adopted by Conze, viz. that they were intended for river-gods. Compare Horace, *Carmina*, IV, xiv, 25,

*Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui regna Daunī praeftulit Apulī,*

and see the notes in the editions of Orelli and Wickham, where parallel passages are quoted.³ Conze refers to the

¹ Cilli is a station on the railway from Graz to Trieste, south of the junction at Pragerhof. The ancient Celeia was in the south-east part of Noricum (Antonine *Itinerary*, Celeia civitas . . . mpm XXIII, edit. Wesseling, p. 129; edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 61).

² The Roman occupation is also indicated by the name of another station somewhat farther south, Romerbad—Slavonic, Tepplitza, "warmes Bad"—as well as by monumental stones (Baedeker's *Süd-Deutschland und Österreich*, edit. 1876, p. 448).

³ Comp. Euripides, *Ion*, v, 1261, ὦ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κηφισοῦ παῖτος, with Paley's note; Homer, *Iliad* XXI, 237, where the river Scamander endeavours to overwhelm Achilles with his swelling waves,

ὃ δ' ἐπέσσυτο οἰδματι θύων.
* * *

τοῖς ἐκβαλλε θύραζε, μεμυκὼς ἦυτε ταυρὸς;

Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, vv. 9-13, ποταμός, Ἀχελῷον λίγῳ . . . φοιτῶν ἐναργῆς ταυρὸς, . . . ἄλλοτ' ἀνδρείῳ κύτει Βούπρῃπος (cf. *ibid.*, 507, sqq., ποταμὸν σθέινος, ὑψικίῳ τετραποῦν φάσμα ταύρου, Ἀχελῷος ἀπ' Οἰνιάδαν); Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, 371 sqq.,

"Et gemina auratus taurino cornua
vultu,
Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia
cultu,
In mare purpureum violentior
effluit amnis";

Æneid, VIII, 77.

"Corniger Hesperidum fluvius reg-
nator aquarum";
with Conington's notes on both passages.

Maclean, in his edition of Horace, *loc. citat.* (*Bibliotheca Classica*), says that river-gods are not represented with horns in the ancient works of art that have survived. This assertion is contradicted by the statement of Conze mentioned above, and refuted by the

Salzburg Theseus-mosaic as a proof that a man's head with bovine horns was not unknown in Noricum as the type of a river-god; in this case water is flowing out of the horn. So on the coins of Gela (Sicily) the profile of a rushing man-headed bull, with eye shown in full length, represents the river-god Gelas¹ (*v. History of the Characteristics of Greek Art*, by the late Sir George Scharf, prefixed to Wordsworth's *Greece, Pictorial, Descriptive and Historical*, p. 41; and B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 121, Fig. 75, comp. 123, Fig. 76). The river Acheloius appears on some coins "usually attributed to Oeniadae, which may be preferably given to Stratos, the chief town of the Acarnanian confederacy" (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Plate XXIX, 15—autotype; Head, p. 281). It may be observed that Stratos was on the right bank of this river (see also Metapontum, with a remarkable legend AXEAOIO AEΘAON indicating that games were celebrated in his honour, at which these coins were prizes, *ibid.*, p. 63). Similarly the human and equine forms were combined in the centaur, but the parts united were not always the same. The earlier

evidence of coins (*v. Leake, Numismata Hellenica, s.v. Oeniadae, European Greece*, p. 79 *sq.*). Eckhel explained this class of medals as relating to the worship of Bacchus, but notwithstanding his great authority, in this case later writers have declined to follow him.

¹ Blakesley on Herodotus, VII, 153, discusses the name Gela, an Osean and Sicilian word for which Stephanus Byzantinus gives the Greek equivalent πᾶχνη (*pruina*)—probably akin to the Latin *gelu*, and expressing the cold temperature of the water.

Compare the Cydnus in Cilicia, where Alexander the Great is said to have bathed and caught a violent illness. Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri* M, § 19; also the *Apocalypse*, III, 15, 16, Epistle to the Laodicean Church, "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot" (*οτι ουκ εψυχρος τι ουκ ζεστος*). Professor W. M. Ramsay, in a letter to my brother, the late Rev. S. S. Lewis, 1888, says, "The hot stream . . . flows from springs at Hierapolis down through the plain, and disappears in a hole before reaching the Lycus. . . . Lycus, Caprus Asapus and Cadmus are all cold streams. These rivers are tributaries of

the Maeander, flowing northwards and carrying down melted snow from the neighbouring mountains. The Lycus valley is interesting because three Christian churches were planted there, also because it was 'in the highway of the world.'" Professor Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, pp. 274 and 359. Murray's *Handbook, Turkey in Asia*, edit. 1878, Route 11. *Four of the Seven Churches*, p. 309, Colossae, Laodicea and Hierapolis. The last is about 5 miles north of Laodicea. Here are the hot mineral springs of the celebrated ancient baths of Asia.

Alford has a long note on this passage in the Book of Revelation; however, it contains no allusion to the local circumstances which appear to have been present to the writer's mind. In these days an editor of the Greek Testament requires other qualifications besides a knowledge of various readings and German commentaries; he should avail himself of the researches of recent travellers and archaeologists, which, as illustrations of the sacred text, would prove most useful.

Greek art, as we know from the vases, exhibited the fore legs of a man and the hind legs of a horse ; but Phidias in the metopes of the Parthenon made them all equine.

Returning to Orpheus, we find proof that his memory was venerated at Rome in a place that bore his name—*Lacus Orphei*, on the borders of the Fifth Region (Esquiliae), near Trajan's Baths. Martial alludes to it in the following lines (*Epigrams*, X, xix, *edit.* Schneidewin) addressed to the younger Pliny, vv. 6–10 :—

*Illic Orphea protinus videbis
Udi vertice lubricum theatri,
Mirantesque feras avemque regis,
Raptum quae Phryga pertulit Tonanti.*¹

Line 5, *Altum vincere tramitem Suburae* assists us to define the locality, for the Subura was in “the valley formed by the extremities of the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline.” Moreover, the ancient name reappears in the neighbouring churches, Santa Agatha, Santa Lucia and San Martino in Orfea. The *lacus* was a semi-circular pool with steps, with a figure of the Thracian bard above it. Recent English editors have not understood the passage, but it seems to have been correctly interpreted by Friedländer in a note on the passage quoted above, and by Dr. Paul Knapp in his treatise *Über Orpheusdarstellungen*. Again, Lampridius (*Life of Alexander Severus*, XXIX) informs us that this Emperor honoured Orpheus by placing his statue together with Abraham and Christ in a *Lararium* or domestic chapel, where he worshipped them as deities.²

It is the adoption of Orpheus as a substitute for the Good Shepherd that has invested the heathen fable with new and extraordinary interest. In this case there can be no doubt, for the old classical type was sometimes followed without modification, of which practice the example in the catacombs of St. Calixtus at Rome is probably the best. The Christ-Orpheus is seated, and

¹ Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, II, 828, s.v. Roma. Martial desires Thalia to carry his book to his friend the younger Pliny.

² Aelius Lampridius, l.c., “In larario suo—in quo et divos principes sed optimos electos, et animas sanctiores, in quibus Apollonium et quantum scriptor suorum

temporum dicit Christum, Abraham et Orpheum et hujusmodi ceteros habebat, ac majorum effigies—rem divinam faciebat,” edit. Jordan and Eyssenhardt, Berlin, 1864 ; for notes v. Variorum edition Lugduni Batavorum, 1671.

playing the lyre, as usual, with trees on either side where birds are perched, and four-footed beasts at his feet. The group fills an octagon, and around it eight compartments form a circular border; here landscapes alternate with scenes from the Old and New Testament—Moses striking the rock opposite our Lord raising Lazarus, represented as a mummy, and Daniel in the lions' den opposite David holding a sling with a stone in it.

Many writers have supposed that the Good Shepherd bearing a sheep on his shoulders, so common in early Christian art, is derived from the pagan Hermes Criophoros, whose statue at Tanagra is mentioned by Pausanias, IX, xxi, 1; but there seems to be good reason for rejecting this interpretation.¹ The parable of the lost sheep supplies a sufficient motive, if we bear in mind the evangelist's words, "When he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing" (Luke xv, 5); and compare them with the expression which occurs twice in another gospel, "I am the Good Shepherd" (John x, 11 and 14). But this favourite idea manifested itself in various forms; so in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great, at Ravenna, we see the Bonus Pastor, a youthful figure, draped and seated, holding a cross in the left hand, and caressing with the right one of his sheep, while all the rest turn their faces towards him.² A bronze signet ring, noticed by Dr. Fortnum, shows us a shepherd

¹ Professor J. H. Middleton, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings*, now in the possession of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, devotes considerable space (pp. 52 to 56), to an account of a very fine and large Christian gem of exceptionally good execution, with illustration at p. 53, No. 48. Christ the Good Shepherd stands on an anchor, holding on His shoulders a horned sheep; at His feet are two lambs, and in the field on each side is a fish. Behind and extending over the figure of Christ is a tree, on the topmost branches of which three birds are seated. Professor Middleton follows the general opinion that this type was derived from an early Greek design of Hermes Psychopompus. At p. 84 a curious gem is engraved, which is a very rude representation of the Crucifixion, but inter-

esting as one of the earliest examples of this subject, perhaps of the fifth century A.D. Two figures are standing by; one is Longinus with the spear that pierced Christ's side. The Christians of the third and fourth centuries, inheriting the traditions of "the cheerful spirit of paganism," avoided the painful scenes of torture and death which mediæval artists delighted to portray (Kugler's *Handbook of Painting*, English translation edited by Sir C. L. Eastlake, I, 14). The genius of ancient manners and of ancient art, though these were inwardly shaken to their foundation, may still be seen to retain its influence.

² For a description of this mosaic refer to *Arch. Jour.*, XXXII, 426. A good photograph of it may be obtained at Ravenna.

holding an olive-branch towards two sheep—an apt illustration of our Lord's saying, "Peace I leave with you" (John xiv, 27).¹

A newly discovered sarcophagus at Salona, in Dalmatia, presents the same subject, but with some features different from those already mentioned. Christ, as the Good Shepherd, occupies the post of honour under a central arch supported by spirally fluted columns with Corinthian capitals. He wears a tunic and mantle, shoes and leggings, and has a pouch hanging at His left side; with a rapid movement He carries away a sheep on His shoulders. A peacock, holding the end of a festoon in his beak, sits on either extremity of the pediment that surmounts the arch. The sarcophagus was intended for the remains of a married pair, who are placed in similar but smaller niches, the husband on the spectator's right, and the wife on the left, with an infant at her breast. Behind these two statues of the deceased many small figures of different ages are crowded together. On the cover we perceive a female recumbent, holding a wreath. When the Christians in times of persecution saw these sacred emblems of the Good Shepherd in gems, marbles, mosaics and wall-paintings, their eyes must have rested upon them with peculiar pleasure, while they remembered that most tender of all invitations, "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (Matthew xi, 28).²

Some have supposed that the Virgin Mary with the infant Christ and Joseph were represented on the longer side of the sarcophagus; but Conze calls attention to the roll in the man's left hand, and quotes De Rossi, who says he has never seen Joseph in this attitude, which

¹ Dr. Fortnum has contributed to the same *Journal* many interesting memoirs. For our present purpose the following are the most important:—XXVI, 137–148, "On some Finger-rings of the Early Christian Period," especially p. 141 *sq.*, No. 6. Behind Him is an olive tree. . . . The two sheep, or lambs, may also be intended to represent the Church of the Circumcision and the Church of the Gentiles, to both of whom He offers the peace of His blessed

doctrine. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 266–292, and XLII, 159–170, Notice of a few more early Christian gems. These papers are copiously illustrated.

² "Römische Bildwerke einheimischen Fundorts in Österreich, herausgegeben von Alexander Conze," I. Heft, drei Sarkophage aus Salona, Tafel II (*Denkschriften d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. philos.-histor. Cl.*, XXII, 1872, pp. 12–16).

might be suitable for a prophet.¹ Moreover, the faces of these two personages have portrait features, not conventional or imaginary, but real. The sexes are divided in the groups of small figures, and it is difficult to explain them.

Virgil in the Fourth Georgic, vv. 453–547, relates the myth of Orpheus—the loss of his wife, his descent to the infernal regions, his music charming Pluto, the recovery of Eurydice, her return to the lower world, caught back when he looked upon her, his lamentation for this repeated loss, and at last his tragic death² :—

His gory visage down the stream was sent,
Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore.³

It is certainly the most pathetic of the beautiful episodes with which he adorned the finest didactic poem that has ever been written. This story was a favourite with Milton, as we may infer from his frequent references to it.⁴ I may be permitted to quote one at length, because it gives more details than other passages, and contains allusions, historical and biographical, that may have escaped the notice of many readers, *Paradise Lost*, Book VII, vv. 32–39 :—

But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers, the race
Of that vile roat that tore the Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture, till the savage clamour drown'd
Both harp and voice; nor could the muse defend
Her son. So fail not thou, who thee implores :
For thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.

(*Denkschriften d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. philos.-histor. Cl.*, XXII, 1872, p. 13, "De Rossi sagt vom Joseph in der altchristlichen Kunst 'non ricordo avergli giammai veduto in mano il volume'" (*Bullettino di Archaeologia Christ.* 1865, S. 25). Conze appreciates De Rossi justly: "Der wie nicht leicht ein Zweiter das in Betracht kommende Material beherrscht."

² Pope, in his *Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day*, has imitated Virgil, especially in Stanzas IV, V and VI (see Warburton's notes in his edition of Pope's works, 1760). I only quote the concluding lines:

"Of Orpheus now no more let Poets tell,

To bright Cæcilia greater power is given;

His numbers rais'd a shade from hell,
Her's lift the soul to heav'n."

Dr. Johnson criticizes this poem in his biography of the author, *Lives of English Poets*, IV, 178–180, edit. 1781. Compare Dryden's *Ode* with a similar title.

³ Milton, *Lycidas*, 62, which appears to follow Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 316 sq., "Vel qualis equos Threïssa fatigat Harpalycæ volucrumque fuga praevertitur Hebrum," where some have proposed to read *Eurum*. See the commentaries in Todd's edition of *Milton's Poetical Works*, III, 353; and the notes of Heyne and of Burmann in the edition of Virgil by the latter, I, 95–97, 1746, 4to. The various readings are fully discussed by Forbiger *in loco*.

⁴ *Paradise Lost*, III, 17; *L'Allegro*, 145; *Il Penseroso*, 105.

There seems to be here an oblique satire on the dissolute court of Charles II., and an expression of fear that the Royalists might take their revenge on an author who had pleaded the cause of the regicide government (*Defence of the People of England*).

By a very easy and natural transition the early Christians passed from the Good Shepherd to Orpheus in their artistic representations; as the former led his sheep and was known of them (St. John x, 14), so the latter, surrounded by animals, charmed them with the music of his lyre.

im / P · CAES · G · AVRE · VAL · DIOCLETIAN
p. C. 294. / SAR · MAX · PERS · MAX · TRIB · POT · XI · IN
IMP · CAES · M · AVR · VAL · MAXSIMI
MAX · PERS · MAX · TRIB · POT · X · IMP · VIII · CO
ET · VAL · CONSTANTIVS · ET · GAL · VAL
ESS · MVRVM · VITVDVRENSEM · AS
AVRELIO PROCVLO V · I / I / R

The history of this inscription is curious. It was seen at Constance by Leonardo Aretino, who was born at Arezzo in Tuscany 1369, and died 1444. He was usually called after his native city, though his family name was Bruni.² He informs us that he found at Constance a

¹ I have copied this inscription from Mommsen's work, which appeared in the *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*, Zehnter Band, 1854, and is entitled "Inscriptiones Confœderationis Helveticæ Latinæ," p. 47, § xix, Vitudurum, Vicus Helvetiorum (Oberwinterthur), No. 239. Mommsen also gives conjectures which have been added to complete the sense.

² So Italian painters often are not called by the names of their families, e.g., Raphael (Sanzio), Correggio (Antonio Allegri, whose initials AA may be seen in the Pinacoteca at Parma), Perugino (Pietro Vannucci). *F. index* to Vasari's *Lives of the Painters* at the end of Vol. V in Bohn's *Standard Library*. Leonardo Bruni studied Greek under Chrysoloras, and was a distinguished member of the band of learned Italians patronised by Cosmo de' Medici. He held the office of apostolic secretary to Popes Innocent VII, Gregory XII, Alexander V and John XXIII. His contemporary Carlo

Marsuppini was also called Aretino; Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, Vol. I, chap. I, p. 58, notes, 1819, edit. Bohn. At the time of the Reformation many great scholars changed their names by translating them into Greek or Latin equivalents, e.g., Schwarzerd became Melancthon (from μέλας and χθών), Hausschein Oecolampadius (from οίκος and λαμπρός), and Gerard Desiderius Erasmus, more correctly Erasmus, ἑρasmus: Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*, Vol. I, p. 3. "In his youth he took this name, having before gone by that of Gerard, which in the German language means amiable." Here I think the biographer has mistaken the signification of the syllable ger, which appears in many compounds: McMillan's *Historical Grammar of the German Language* (from Professor Behagel's *Deutsche Sprache*, Chap. VI, Proper Names, p. 143). But a better authority may be cited: Friedrich Kluge, Professor in the University of Freiburg in Breisgau, *Deutsches Etymologisches*

marble tablet containing ancient letters; none of the inhabitants could read it, but they thought there was some peculiar sanctity in it. With this superstitious notion, women (*mulierculae*) and other ignorant persons rubbed their hands on it, and then rubbed them on their faces, so that the letters were nearly effaced. Apianus, who flourished in the sixteenth century, says that the inscription was in the chapel of St. Blaise, near the choir of the cathedral, where it still remains.¹ A cast may also be seen in the Sammlung des Rosgartens.² Probably it

Worterbuch, p. 135, s.v. *Ger*, "Masculinum nach gleichbedeutendem Mittelhochdeutsche Althochdeutsche *ger* masc." Kluge gives the following examples:—*Gerbert* (ahd. *Ger*-braht eigentlich Speerglanzender); *Gerhard* (ahd. *Gerhart* Speerkühn); *Gertrud* (ahd. *Gertrut*); Vergl. *Gehren*, *Geisel*.

¹ Apianus is the latinised form of the German name Bienewitz (literally Bee-wit, i.e. skilful as a bee), being from *apis*, the diminutive of which, *apicula*, appears in the French *abeille*. This author was born in 1495 and died in 1552; he distinguished himself especially in geography, astronomy, and mathematics; of the last subject he was Professor in the University of Ingoldstadt. As a reward for his principal work, *Astronomicum Caesareum*, the Emperor Charles the Fifth presented him with 3,000 pounds in gold. But Apianus was also an archaeologist, and his book, entitled *Inscriptiones sacro-sanctae vetustatis, non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius fere orbis*, is frequently cited. See *C. I. L.*, III, Part 1, edit. Mommsen, *Index Auctorum*, p. xix; V, Part 1, ed. Mommsen, p. xiii, where the sources from which Apianus derived his collection are indicated; VI, Part 1, ed. Henzen, De Rossi, and Bormann, § XXV, which is the most important reference in *C. I. L.* The first edition of *Apiani Cosmographia* (*Cosmographicus Liber*) was printed at Landshut in Bavaria, 1524. The title page is copied in the Supplement to Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, published in 1878.

Apianus must not be confounded with Appianus (Ἀππιανός), of Alexandria, a Greek writer of Roman history (Πρωαικα), who flourished in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. He composed his work on a peculiar plan, not treating his subject as a whole and in the usual chrono-

logical order, but dividing it into separate parts, each of which was an account of a nation more or less connected with Rome, e.g., Gaul, Κελτική; Spain, Ἰβερική; Macedonia, Μακεδονική.

² Rosgarten Museum. An interesting and ornamental brochure has been published descriptive of this collection, *Führer durch die chorograph. Sammlung des Rosgartens in Konstanz*, 1889. Comparatively few Roman remains have been found in this city, accordingly a small space is devoted to them. Mention is made of graves discovered in the Husen-Strasse, named after the Reformer who suffered martyrdom outside of the town (No. 815, *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, Hagenau, 1500; Voynich's Second List of Books, 1900), fragments of buildings in the Münster-Platz, in the Konradi-Gasse and the western walls of Constance, probably of the third century after Christ. The collection also includes a Mithras-head, a stone tablet found at Eschenz with an inscription supplying evidence that Tasgetium stood there, figures of deities, especially those belonging to the worship of Priapus, from under the Rhine-bridge and the island of Reichenau. These relics of antiquity are important because they confirm our faith in history, and prove that we have not believed "cunningly devised fables." We learn from Velleius Patereulus and Strabo that Tiberius, afterwards Emperor, successfully waged war with the Vindelici and other tribes in South Germany; but, as far as I know, Dion Cassius is our only authority for the fact that he launched a flotilla on the Bodensee (Book LIV, Chap. 22, edit. Sturz, III, 295; *Adnotationes*, VI, 123, Note 186).

Lindau is supposed to have been the base of the military operations of Tiberius in his campaign against the South Germans; under the circumstances it

was removed from Vitudurum (Oberwinterthur) to its present position by some Bishop of Constance, who might wish to possess it as a proof that the origin of this city might be traced to the Emperor Constantius mentioned therein (v. 5). The monument being now in Badish territory, I thought I might fairly include it amongst the Roman antiquities of South Germany.

The *Tribunicia Potestas*, an annual office, enables us to fix the date exactly, as given above; IMP(erator) with a numeral after it would not answer the same purpose. In the preceding year an important event occurred in the annals of our own country. Carausius, who had for some years maintained an independent sovereignty in Britain, was murdered by Allectus. The medallic history of the former by the famous antiquary Stukeley is well known. Gibbon has remarked that the British Emperor displayed, on a variety of coins that are still extant, his taste and opulence—chap. xiii (Vol. II, p. 11, edit. Smith), and compare note 28 (p. 72).¹ Considerable difficulties beset the interpretation of this broken tablet. I have followed the text given by

suiting his purpose very well, being situated on a large island 100 Bavarian acres in extent (Schmidt's *Reisebücher*, *Berlepsch, Schweiz*, Route 23, p. 80, edit. 1882). "Die Heidenmauer unweit vom Schützengarten, vermeintlich einst rom. Warthurm, wie man annimmt unter Tiberius' Regierung (?) erbaut." (Meyer's *Reisebücher*, *Redaction Berlepsch, Schweizer Führer, Illustriert*, Route 1, p. 56, edit. 1870, *Alpen-Panorama von Lindau aus gesehen*). Comp. Keller's *Reisekarte der Schweiz*.

¹ SAR in the foregoing inscription may be expanded from the legend of a coin which I exhibited, VICTORIAE SARMATICAE. Cohen, *Les Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, 2^e édition, continuée par Feuillet, 1880-1892, tome VI, p. 489 sq., Nos. 487-492. Cohen, *op. citat.*, tome VII, p. 43, "Carausius, Diocletien et Maximien Hercule." Plate intercalated in the text. No. 1. Obverse, CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI, Buste radie de Carausius à gauche, accolé aux bustes de Diocletien et de Maximien Hercule, tous trois avec la cuirasse. The whole profile of Carausius is represented, and the other two heads are conjugated; so the faces of William and Mary, both

regnant, appear in our own coinage. T. Hawkins, Franks, and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, Vol. I, p. 659. No. 19, Pl. Busts of William and Mary face to face, 1689; Busts conjoined frequently, e.g., No. 90, Pl. *ibid.*, pp. 85-87, Nos. 49-54; Philip II. and Mary facing each other. Reverse, PAX AVGGG La Paix debout à gauche, tenant une branche d'olivier et un sceptre; dans le champ S.P.; à l'exergue C. (1042; de J.C. 289) fr Petit Bronze, 500 francs, *ibid.*, p. 1, une médaille très-remarquable. The abbreviation B appears to mean *Monumenta Britannica Historica*. This coin was published by Stukeley. Eekhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VIII, Pars II, p. 43, satirises his work mentioned above, "Quis enim in eo viro non continuo Harduinum quendam Britannicum non agnoscat?"

The money issued by Allectus is less important, but we may remark that the galley is an appropriate device (Cohen, *ibid.*, pp. 43-52, Nos. 81-85, "Vaisseau à la voile avec ou sans rameurs"), as, like his predecessor Carausius, he doubtless commanded a numerous and formidable fleet.

Mommsen, because he is a great authority on epigraphy, also because he assures us that he copied the letters carefully (*descripsi diligenter*). He differs in many cases from the preceding editors, Gruter and Orelli¹; e.g., they both have, with one slight discrepancy, as the last line,

CVRANTE AVRELIO PROCVLO V.C. PROV. MAX. SEQ.

Proculus is not an uncommon name; it occurs on oculists' stamps and elsewhere.² We also find another form of it, Proclus. V.C. as an abbreviation has many meanings; here it would be = Viro Clarissimo. The end of the last line was probably Viro Perfectissimo PRAESIDE provinciae.

There seems to be no proof that the letters CVRANTE and C. PROV. MAX SEQ were cut on the stone. In one MS. the text ended with "*in Helvetiis*," which was expunged and "*Rhaetiae primae*" substituted in the margin; this again was expunged, and "*melius prov. Seq. Max.*" was written.³

The *Notitia* gives a general view of the civil and military administration of the Roman provinces as they existed after the subdivision made by Diocletian and Constantine. In it we find chapter xxxv, *Occidentis*, has for its heading *Dux provinciae Sequanici*, and officials under him are mentioned, e.g. *numerarius*, accountant; *commentariensis*, registrar; *subadjuva*, assistant; *excep-*

¹ Gruter, I, clxvi, No. 7, "Constantiae ad lacum Briganticum in S. Blasii sacello; nunc quidem et lapide et inscriptione mutilis, sed utroque adhuc integro, anno CIO.IO.XX." Cf. *ibid.*, No. 9, "Ex Onuph. Panu. et Petro Apiano."

Orelli, *Inscr. Lat. Collectio*, Vol. I, No. 467, s.r. VITODVRI, with the notes of Orelli and Hagenbuch. "Ex *Notitia Imp. Occid.*" p. 133a:—"Tribunus Cohortis Herculeae Panoniorum Arbore colligitur Arborem Felicem pertinuisse ad Raetiam provinciam. Ergo Finis (Pfyn) inter oppida Winterthur et Arbon fuit limes inter Sequanos et Raetos."

- My paper on "Touraine and the Central Pyrenees" in *Arch. Jour.*, 1888, XLV, 222. There is a short article on Proclus the physician in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, III, 538a. He was

probably a native of Rhegium, and flourished before Galen. In this compilation we find 10 who bore the name *Proclus*, and 19 under the heading *Proculus*. Sometimes both forms of the word are applied to the same person. Of all these Proclus the philosopher is the most celebrated.

³ For these details I am indebted to Theodore Mommsen's *Inscriptiones Confederationis Helveticae Latinae*, 1854. A copious list, pp. i-xviii, of *Auctores praecipue adhibiti*, is prefixed; it contains much information concerning their works, and may be consulted advantageously. Again, Mommsen's book has been supplemented by Swiss savants in the *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*. The *Inscr. Helveticae* have not yet appeared in the *Corpus*, but I am informed that Dr. Schneider is preparing an edition of them for that series.

tor, amanuensis or shorthand writer. Britain supplies an analogy with MAX SEQ., i.e. Maxima Sequanorum, for it was composed of the following provinces :—Maxima Caesariensis, Valentia, Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Caesariensis.¹

From this mutilated inscription we learn that when the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian held the Tribunician power, the former for the eleventh time and the latter for the tenth, and Constantius and Galerius were Cæsars, they repaired the Wall of Vitodurum from the ground, and that the governor of the province dedicated it to their honour.

Some persons might think the inscription at Constance so imperfect as scarcely to deserve attention, but if we compare it with another still more imperfect at Cologne, A.D. 295, we shall see that the one we have been considering supplies *lacunae*, and makes the letters that remain to a great extent intelligible. I copy the latter from Brambach's *Inscriptiones Rhenanae, Regierungs-Bezirk Köln*.

IN H D ·D
PRO SALVTE IMPP
DIOC///E////////T MAXIM
////A/GCC////////N////
////MAXIM////////NOBB
////SSTE////////MARTI
////EL//TATSVEVS////
////LAPC\\V///VVP////V////
////CIM//ASOLO RESTI
////////////////////////V//OC
///////////////////////// 2

¹ The full title is *Notitia Dignitatum et Administrationum omnium tam civilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis*. Sir E. H. Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, chap. xxxi, "Roman Writers after Ptolemy," Vol. II, p. 698 seq. See *Notit. Occid.*, edit., Bocking, 1839-1853, Pars prior, cap. xxxv, Dux Provinciae Sequanici, p. 104*, with an engraving that represents a fortified town from a MS. :—

[§ 1] Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis provinciae sequanici;

Milites Latavienses Olinone; and p. 105* [§ 2], Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Dux hoc modo: [1] Principem ex Officiis Magistrorum Militum Praesentalium a parte Peditum, etc. Pars posterior, Annotatio, pp. 811*-817*. p. 811, Utrumque vocabulum Latavienses et Olinone, quid significet inexploratum est. Here the text is corrupt, and several conjectures have been proposed, more or less plausible.

² *Op. citat.*, p. 107, No. 467, Inscripção restituta.

In epigraphy, as in other sciences, we must argue from the known to the unknown. So DIOCLETIAN nearly complete, explains the fragmentary characters DIOC, and the same remark applies to many other cases that occur in both these historical documents. Similarly RESTI is evidently a part of RESTITVIT, which we have *in extenso* on a rock at Pène d'Escot, near Oloron (Basses Pyrénées).

L VAL VERANVS GER
II VIR BIS HANC
VIAM RESTITVIT,

where II VIR stands for *dumvir* or *duovir*. This monument deserves to be cited for another reason, *viz.* as an example of the attention the Romans paid to keeping their roads in good repair; doubtless their chief object was to preserve the military communications throughout their vast empire (*v. Arch. Jour.*, XXXV, 9.)

Roman inscriptions are often very difficult to decipher, not only on account of the injuries which they have sustained, as we have already seen, but also because they abound in abbreviations, and the same initial letter may stand for many words that differ widely in meaning from each other.¹

Badenweiler is situated in the Schwarzwald, "in a vale retired," but easily accessible either from Strasburg or Constance. We cannot wonder that the Romans chose this favoured locality for a settlement; the genial climate, fertile soil and picturesque scenery would remind them of beautiful Italy, for a portion of it might seem to have been transported across the Alps.² On the other hand,

IN · H · D · D
PRO · SALVTE · IMPP
DIOCLETIANI · ET · MAXIMI
ANI · AVGG · CONSTANTI
ET · MAXIMIANI · NOBB ·
CAESS · TEMPLVM · MARTIS
MILITARIS · VETVSTATE · CO
NLAPEVM · AVR · SINTVS · PRAEF
leg · I · MPA · SOLO · RESTI
TVIT · DIE · XIII · KAL · OCT
TVSCO · A · ANVLINO · COS

p. Chr. 295.

¹ Gerrard, *Siglarium Romanum*, initial article for the letter C, which means *Cæcubum*, *Cæsar*, *Caius*, &c.;

upon voting tablets *condemno*; so A = *antiquo* in the Comitia, and *absolvo* in the courts of justice.

² *Chronik der Vogtei Badenweiler* by Dr. Gustav Wever, 1869, p. 3, note *, Justinus Kerner nennt Badenweiler in einem Gedichte "ein Stück Italiens auf deutschem Grunde." A list of authorities is prefixed to this *Chronicle*, p. vii, from Etschenreuter, 1571, to E. Ch. Martini, 1869. The series includes Philippus Cluver, 1616, one of the most important among the earlier geographers; J. D. Schopflin, 1751, author of *Alsatia Illustrata, Celtica*,

the English tourist finds the place equally attractive ; he basks in brighter sunshine and surveys a more luxuriant vegetation than he left behind in the land which is his own. But besides the charms of external nature, the Roman baths, better preserved here than elsewhere in Germany, interest the antiquary as a subject for investigation that will stimulate curiosity and exercise ingenuity, suggesting problems by no means easy to solve.

The remains of walls for the most part do not exceed 8 feet in height, hence the structure above ground cannot be compared with the baths at Rome or Pompeii ; but the accumulation of rubbish, consequent on the destruction of the building by the barbarians, for centuries protected the lower part of it, so that the ground plan can be clearly traced. Its overthrow took place probably in the beginning of the fifth century, when the Germans not only invaded but ravaged the empire, when peace and prosperity disappeared, plunder and desolation universally prevailed. Salvianus in his treatise *De Gubernatione Dei* bears witness to the disastrous change,¹ and his evidence becomes more striking if we compare this work with the writings of Ausonius, who flourished about a hundred years earlier.² During the middle ages no mention of the monument was made by any author or chronicler ; it was uncovered only in 1784, and a description of it was published by Gmelin in the following

Romana, Francica, folio, Colmar, 1751 ; and C. L. Wieland, 1811, a celebrated writer, too well known to need description here.

¹ Salvianus lived from about 420 A.D. to the close of the fifth century. In his melancholy work, entitled, *De Providentia sive De Gubernatione Dei et de Justo Dei præsentique Judicio Libri*, the author enlarges on the misery caused by barbarian inroads. The line of argument may be compared with the treatment of the same subject by Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei*. The article "Salvianus" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, is very superior to that in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*; the former contains a good summary of the contents of the *De Gubernatione* and *Adversus Avaritiam ad Ecclesiam*, concluding with a bibliographical notice of the editions and manuscripts.

² Ausonius, about 310-394 A.D., was born under Constantine the Great, and died under Theodosius the First. His poems leave on the reader's mind a pleasing impression of a comparatively happy period. See especially "Clarae Urbes," "the praises of fourteen illustrious cities."

In the Delphin edition, 1730, pp. 209-226, "*Ordo nobilium urbium*" begins with Rome and ends with a mention of Divona (Cahors):—

"Divona Celtarum lingua, fons addite Divis,"

under the heading *Eurdigala* (Bordeaux). The edition of C. Schenkl, 4to., 1883, contains no explanatory commentary, but passages of earlier writers imitated, various readings, and Indices I *Scriptorum*, II *Nominum et Rerum*, III *Grammaticæ, Elocutionis, Rei Metricæ*.

year, with a valuable copper-plate showing the ground plan and section. The baths were evidently divided into two nearly equal parts, which led to the conjecture that one was intended for the army and the other for civilians; but the absence of any traces of military occupation, such as were found in other places, has caused this supposition to be abandoned. It seems almost certain that here separate apartments were provided for the male and female sexes. Promiscuous bathing was practised, as we know from Martial's epigrams; on the other hand, the Emperors issued edicts to check it.¹

The site of this establishment was well chosen, for a high hill (the Schlossberg) sheltered it from the west wind, which would blow with great violence across the broad valley of the Rhine. Its façade looked towards the north, and here fore-courts, probably surrounded by porticoes, accommodated visitors who promenaded (*ambulatio*) or engaged in gymnastic exercises; the walls were not so thick as in the great halls, whence we may infer that there was less height to support—a

¹ Overbeck, *Pompei*, Vol. I. ii, 3, "Die öffentlichen Gebäude," fünfter Abschnitt, "Die Thermen," p. 189, Figur 138, "Plan der älteren Bäder"; p. 202, "Getrennt von dem beschriebenen Mannerbad liegt das . . . Frauenbad, welches unser Plan durch dunkle Schraffirung unterscheidet, und welches dieselben Räumlichkeiten in grosserer Beschränkung enthält"; Fig. 145, "Ansicht des Frauenbades."

Vitruvius De Architectura, edit. Rode, Lib. V, cap. X, "Et item est animadvertendum, uti caldaria muliebria viriliaque conjuncta, et iisdem regionibus sint collocata, sic enim efficitur, ut in vasariis et hypocaustis communis sit usus eorum utrisque." *Atlas of Plates*, Lib. V, Forma XVIII, "Die römischen Bäder in der Markgrafschaft Baden zu Badenweiler." Vitruvius flourished in the Augustan age. This passage implies that men and women had separate apartments for bathing at that period. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, tome I, Première Partie, p. 661, Fig. 766, "Il est facile d'y reconnaître, comme nous l'avons vu à Pompei, un établissement pour les femmes placé à côté de celui des hommes. Les bains de Baden-

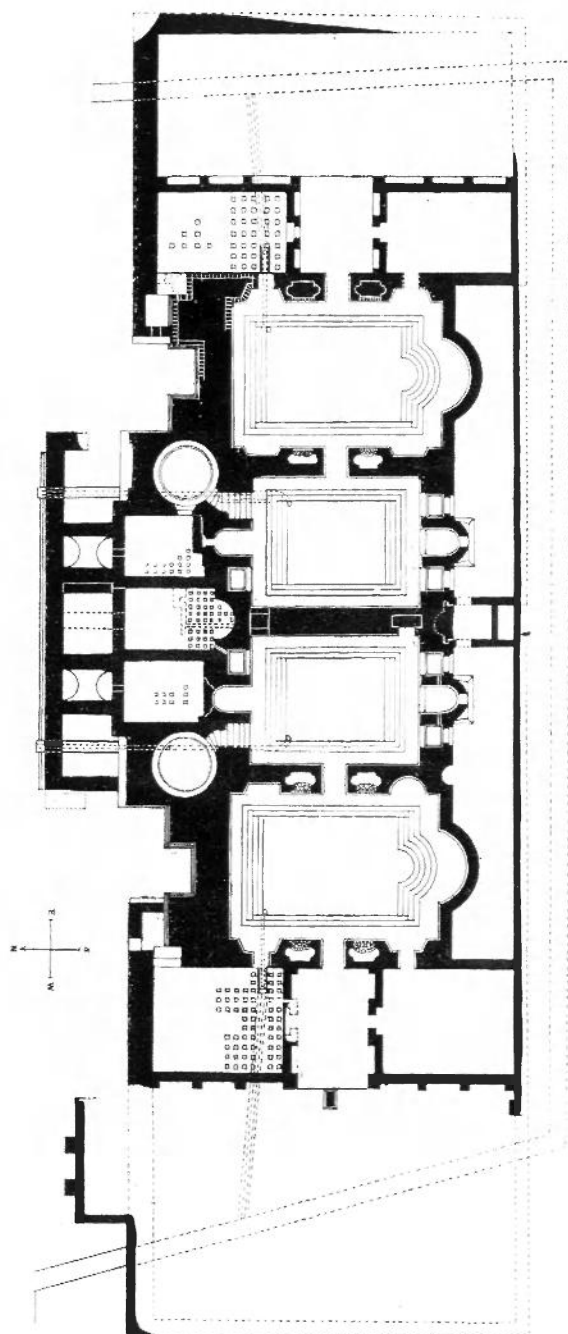
weiler dans la Forêt-Noire, offrent un exemple remarquable d'une pareille ordonnance." References in footnote 209.

Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, cap. 18, "Lavaera pro sexibus separavit. Here Casaubon has a learned note, reprinted in the *Augustan History*, I, 174. Capitolinus, *Marcus Antoninus Philosophus*, cap. 23. "Lavaera mixta submovit." Lampridius, *Alexander Severus*, cap. 24. "Balnea mixta Romae exhiberi prohibuit: quod quidem jam ante prohibitum . . . Heliogabalus permiserat." Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXIII, § 153. "Mulierum . . . cum viris lavantium."

This indecent practice prevailed in Christian times and even among ecclesiastics. Lege synodi Πενθέκτης . . . πρὸ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἱερώμενοι τινες καὶ μοναχοὶ, καὶ λαϊκοὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἐλούοντο. Casaubon, *loc. citat.*

J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, erster Theil, p. 282 seq., and note 1, p. 283, besides other authorities cites a decree of the Council at Laodicea. "Die mixta balnea bis tief in die christlichen Zeiten hinein sich erhalten und ein fortwährendes und doch nie wirksames Einschreiten weltlicher und geistlicher Behörden erfordert haben."

PLAN OF ROMAN BATHS AT BADENWEILER.



gradation which would produce a pleasing architectural effect. A central hall (*vestibulum*), flanked by two spacious rooms, led to the interior of the building; close to this hall stood an altar dedicated to the goddess who presided over the Schwarzwald, still bearing the inscription DIANAE//
ABNOB// i.e. *Dianae Abnobae*.¹ On the east side of the so-called *Frigidarium*, with an opening into it, were the *Apodyterium* or undressing room, and hypocaust, in which the ceiling (*suspensura*) was supported by short pillars (as at Corinium)²; they were standing when the baths were discovered, and are represented in Gmelin's plate. It is reasonable to suppose that above the hypocaust was a sweating-room, or a *cella tepidaria*, where the bathers anointed (*Elaeotheresium* or *Unctorium*) and shaved themselves. The middle wall, to which reference has already been made, divided the baths into two groups, each consisting of a larger and smaller hall. A similar separation appears in a vignette at the end of Leibnitz's book (*Die Römischen Bäder bei Badenweiler im Schwarzwald*); it is copied from

¹ Tacitus, tracing the course of the Danube, says that it rises in a part of Mount Abnoba, where there is a gentle ascent, "mollis et clementer edito . . . jugo" (*Germania*, cap. I). The phrase seems imitated from Virgil, *Eclogues*, IX, 7,

"Qua se subducere colles
Incipiunt, mollique jugum demittere
clivo."

How attentively the historian had read the poet, appears from many other passages.

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, IV, xii, 79, defines the geographical position of the source of the river, "Ex adverso Raurici Galliae oppidi." We find the same form of the word in *Ptolemy*, II, ix, 9, *Ἀγροῦσα Παυρικῶν*. The notes in the edition of Car. Müller supply references. The epitaph of Munatius Plancus near Gaeta, ends with the words:

"IN GALLIA COLONIAS DE-
DVXIT.

LVGDVNVM ET RAVRICAM."

Orelli, No. 590.

See especially *Mittheilungen der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel*. Neue Folge II. *Das römische Theater zu Augusta Raurica*,

von Th. Burekhardt-Biedermann, mit 5 Abbildungen, 4to, 1882; also my paper on "Roman Antiquities in Switzerland," *Arch. Jour.*, 1885, XLII, 196, with engraving. *Cæsar's Gallic War* has Rauraci, Book I, Chap. 5, vii, 75. This tribe joined the Helvetii in their invasion of Gaul, and is also mentioned amongst the allies of Vercingetorix when he made a supreme effort to shake off the Roman yoke.

Plotemy, II, xi, 11, gives the name Abnoba in the plural number, which is appropriate because it denotes a range of mountains. Πάλιν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν μὲν τῶν Ἀβνοβαίων ὀρέων οἰκοῦσιν ὑπο τοῦς Σνηβους Κασοῦδροι.

² Buckman and Newmarch, *Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester (Corinium)*, p. 63, *Suspensurae* are floors elevated above the level of the ground, generally upon a number of small supports or pillars (*pilae*); p. 64, woodcut section of the *pilae* in the room B. They are composed of bricks and squared blocks of stone. Plate VIII shows the position of the *pilae* of the floor A. Compare p. 66, woodcut 8, plan of *pilae* of Room A.

an ancient picture engraved for the first time by Bellori in his *Fragmenta veteris Romae*.¹ Underneath the building are inscribed the words AQVAE PENSILES, which seem to mean hot baths upon *suspensurae*.²

The larger hall had a semi-circular apse; it was 55 feet long, 30 feet broad, with a basin 5 feet deep (*natatio*), supplied from natural springs southward at the foot of the hill, so that the water must have entered on that side. It passed into both *frigidaria* by an underground leaden pipe 18 feet long, 8 inches in diameter,³ and was carried off by a drain in an oblique direction under the hypocaust

¹ The title *in extenso* is *Fragmenta vestigii veteris Romae ex lapidibus farnesianis, nunc primum in lucem edita, cum notis Bellorii*, Romae, 1673, in fol. This work must not be confounded with *Admiranda romanorum antiquit. ac veteris sculpturae vestigia*, a P. Sante Bartolo del. et incis. a notis Jo-P. Bellorii illustrata.

- We read in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XIX, v, § 64, "Cucumis . . . pensiles eorum hortos (movable frames) promoventibus in solem rotis olitoribus; campane portatili da agrumi. Cf. Columella, Lib. XI, Cap. III med., § 53, "Hac ratione fere toto anno Tiberio Caesari cucumis praebebatur. Compare Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXVI, xii, § 18, "Hicidem architectus (Sostratus Cnidius) primus omnium pensilem ambulationem Cnidi fecisse traditur," where *ambulatio* means a place for walking, as *cenatio* in Juvenal, VII, 183, is a dining-room. Sostratus built the Pharos of Alexandria for Ptolemy Soter, at an expense of 800 talents. *Caesar De Bello Civili*, III, 112, "Magna altitudine, mirificis operibus exstructa." Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, II, 160, "schwebende Spaziergang." Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, Plate 92, engraving of a medal showing the lighthouse with inscription, LH, which has been interpreted as indicating the eighth year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, named in the legend of the obverse. L is supposed to be the initial letter of Λυκάδαντος, genitive of Λυκάδας, the year, probably from the same root as the Latin *lux*, and βαίνω, the sun's course; however, this explanation may be disputed. H in the Greek alphabet, used as a numeral, stands for 8. Pharos is described *ibid.*, pp. 345-349; Sillig, *Catalogus Artificum*, pp. 426-428, where a list is given of four artists bearing this name.

In late writers we read of *Pensiles Horti*, hanging gardens, at Babylon, but as there is no early record of them, it seems doubtful whether they ever existed there.

The silence of Herodotus on this subject is the more noteworthy, as in the course of his travels he visited Babylon—*ipse testatur*, Baehr's edition of the author, IV, 394, *Commentatio de Vita et Scriptis Herodoti*, and Rawlinson's *Translation*, I, chap. II, 67, note 2. Moreover, the inscribed bricks of the great King Nebuchadnezzar (cited in Dr. Driver's *Essay on Hebrew Authority*) commemorate many edifices which he erected at Babylon, but no mention is made of hanging gardens (*Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane*, edited by D. G. Hogarth, 1899, p. 120 *seq.*).

³ This leaden pipe at Badenweiler reminds me of one found at Chester, in October, 1899. It is inscribed as follows:—

IMP. VESP. VIII T. IMP. VII. COS
CN. JVLIO AGRICOLA LEG.
AVG. P. R.

Expansion.

"Imperatore Vespasiano VIII. Tito Imperatore VII. Consulibus Cnaeo Julio Agricola Legato Augusti Praepatore."

This date synchronizes with A.D. 79, in which the eruption of Vesuvius took place, that overwhelmed Herculaneum and Pompeii. The inscription is specially interesting because it is the only one yet discovered bearing the name of Agricola, who governed Britain A.D. 78-85, made famous by Tacitus, his son-in-law and biographer (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Feb. 15, 1900, Second Series, XVIII, 97 *seq.*, with illustration).

(marked by dotted lines derived by Leibnitz from Gmelin's plan); this channel, arched and underground, was continued along the south side of the edifice, and besides receiving the bath-water, removed the moisture from the springs that penetrated the soil, and thus preserved the solidity of the foundations. On both sides of the *frigidarium* recesses were hollowed out in the thick walls, rectangular, having semi-circular niches at both ends, with a coloured dado, and 6 or 7 feet high; perhaps they were waiting-rooms (*Scholae*).¹ They are at present filled up with Roman masonry; hence, as in other parts of the building, we have proof of a change made before the destruction by the barbarians.

The so-called *Tepidarium* was somewhat smaller, 40 feet long, 32 feet broad, and the bath, as in the larger room, was quadrangular. At the south end were three separate baths (*solia*) in niches, which received light from broad perforations in the wall at the back. The analogy of similar buildings at Pompeii and the greater thickness of the walls lead to the conclusion that the larger halls were covered by a semi-cylindrical roof. Five rooms in front appear to have been *caldaria* or *Laconica* provided with sweating-baths (*sudationes*), hypocausts, a movable cover under an opening in the roof (*clipeus*) to regulate the heat,² and reservoirs of cold and hot water

¹ Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, I, 287: "Das *Labrum* stand in einer halbrunden Nische (*schola*); um dasselbe war ein Umgang gelassen, in welchem ausser den sich Waschenden auch die auf den Zutritt Wartenden Platz fanden." Note 1. "*Locum in balneis occupare*, sich zudrängen." Tertullian *adversus Marcionem*, III, 2, ed. Oehler, II, 124, "Eine sprüchwortliche Redensart" (proverbial saying). The Greek word *σχολή* signifies leisure, also a place for leisure and learned leisure; the Latin *ludus* somewhat resembles it in both the primary and secondary meanings. Vitruvius, Lib. V, cap. 10, "*Scholas autem laborum ita fieri oportet spatiosas, ut cum priores occupaverint loca, circumspicientes reliqui stare possint* (*Lexicon Vitruvianum*, s.v. p. 59, edit. Rode, 1800).

² See the Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum. *Reliefs exhibiting Scenes of Domestic Life*,

I, 311, No. 629 is a sepulchral monument of Jason, a physician. . . . He sits on a stool. Before him stands a boy undergoing examination. . . . On the right is a vessel of peculiar form, resembling a cupping glass, but this it cannot be on account of its great size, at least eight times as large as the man's head, and therefore out of all proportion to the group. Probably this bell-shaped object represents the *clipeus* (shield) or cover of the opening in the roof of the bath. I observed on the stone a curved line perhaps intended for the chain by which this cover was worked, so as to leave it open or shut according to the temperature required—Cf. *The Medical Magazine*, April, 1893, "Medical Epigraphs of the British Museum," by J. Keser, M.D., pp. 907-920, especially p. 913 sq. Marquardt, I, 291, "Unter dieser Oeffnung hängt eine eherner Scheibe (*clipeus*) an Ketten," etc.

If this interpretation is correct, the

for washing. There were doubtless passages from the hypocausts to the rotundas, and again from the latter to the tepidarium. Leibnitz supposes that water was admitted into these round chambers, and that two pipes found there, one of lead in the eastern basin, the other of clay in the western, were used to carry off the water by which the tepidarium or hypocaust might otherwise be flooded; but this explanation is doubtful. A small annexe leans against the south end of the great middle partition, and connects the establishment with the long enclosing wall. It was divided into two unequal parts, and according to Gmelin terminated in a semi-circular apse; and on the east and west sides were small rooms, perhaps intended for the use of the attendants; they probably had doors as a back entrance into the building.

Leibnitz has prefixed to his work a vignette of a painting said to have been discovered in the *Thermae of Titus at Rome*, which represents ancient baths with inscriptions over the compartments—*ELAEOTHES¹ FRIGIDARIV TEPIDARIV CONC. SVDATIO BALNEVM*, etc. It has often been quoted as an authority, but is now admitted to be modern. Canina in his *Architettura Antica*, III, pt. ii, 508, maintained that there

physician is represented as prescribing baths for his young patient, so that we have here in sculpture a commentary on Celsus, who gives many directions for this treatment as promoting health and curing disease, e.g. *De Medicina*, Lib. I, cap. III, p. 25, edit. Bipont: "Si quis vero exustus in sole est, huic in balneum protinus eundum, perfundendumque oleo corpus et caput; deinde in solium bene calidum descendendum est, tum multa aqua per caput infundenda, prius calida, deinde frigida. *Ibid.*, cap. IV, p. 32, et cap. XVII, pp. 87-89: "At balnei duplex usus est. Nam modo discussis febribus, initium cibi plenioris, vinique firmiter valetudini facit; modo febrem ipsam tollit," etc.

¹ In Greek *Ἐλαιόθσιον*, the room where oils and unguents were kept, and the bathers rubbed and anointed. Vitruvius, v. 11: "De palaestrarum aedificatione. Ad sinistram ephebei elaeothesium." Frequent allusion to this practice occurring in Celsus will account for the mention of oil in some inscriptions as forming part of *congiaria*

or distributions of largesses to the people. See my paper on "The Gallo-Roman Museum of Sens," *Arch. Jour.*, LVI, 224, 355-361, especially the last four pages; *Memoires des Antiquaires de France*, sixieme serie, tome quatrieme, "Inscriptions Antiques de la Quatrieme Lyonnaise," P. Arnauld, pp. 103-107; *ibid.*, tome cinquieme, "Une Façade dans la Capitale des Senones," G. Julliot, p. 142 seq.

Compare the folio Atlas of Plates appended to Rode's edition of Vitruvius, with brief explanations in Latin and German. Forma XVIII, "Balneae seu thermae Romanae prope Badenweiler (in der Markgrafschaft Baden) C. 1, 2, Unctuaria s. Elaeothesia (Salbezimmer) *Unctorium*, sc. *cubiculum*" corresponds exactly with the Greek *ἐλαιόθσιον* (αλειθσιον). Plinius Junior, Epp. II, 17, med. § 11: "Adjacet unctorium, hypocauston, adjacet propnigeon balinei." *προπνιγιον* means the mouth of the furnace, pure Latin *praefurnium*.

was no proof of its being genuine, and that it was a drawing made by some commentator on Vitruvius.¹

The date of the erection of these baths at Badenweiler is uncertain, because architecture, observing fixed rules and proportions, continued for a long period with very little alteration, while sculpture, requiring more genius and invention, rapidly deteriorated. Hence, some writers have assigned the edifice to Trajan's reign, and others to Diocletian's. The Antonine age seems more probable, as the Roman possession of the Decumates Agri was comparatively of short duration, lasting only about 100 years.² Here we must have recourse to conjecture, and it is by no means unlikely that the baths were the work of Hadrian. That great administrator travelled over every part of his dominions, and conferred substantial benefits wherever he went. Moreover, he may have taken a more active part than is generally supposed in strengthening the defences on the northern frontiers of the empire.³

¹ Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, Vol. I, pp. 277-279, "Angeblich (pretended) antikes Bild eines rom. Bades." This representation of an ancient bath first appeared as an illustration on the title-page of a book published in the year 1553; its history is given in detail by Marquardt. Cunina, *loc. citat.*: "Nessuna prova si accenna che faccia conoscere essere stato veramente un tale dipinto rinvenuto nelle designate terme e che lo dimostri essere opera antica." The supposed fresco has been accepted as an original authority and reproduced, sometimes with alterations, by several generations of scholars, amongst them by Rode in his edition of *Vitruvius*, and by Rich in his *Companion to the Latin Dictionary*.

² The *Decumates Agri*, title lands, were so called because the occupiers paid a tenth of the produce to the Roman government. This country was situated in the angle formed by the Upper Rhine and the Danube. Roman remains are comparatively few in this region, but the Museums of Karlsruhe and Stuttgart testify that many interesting objects have been found recently. Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 29: "Mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur," and Orelli *in loco*. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, octavo edition, Vol. VII, p. 216.

³ It seems highly probable that Hadrian took a part in constructing the boundary that protected the settlers from the attacks of barbarians. Spartianus, his biographer, chap. 12, § 6, gives us some information that favours this supposition: "Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus jactis atque conexis barbaros separavit." The next sentence begins with "Germanis regem constituit." See the long and learned note of Casaubon reprinted in the edition of the *Augustan History*, Lugduni Batav., 1671, I, 113 sq. He refers to Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 50, "Romanus . . . castra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munitis" (barricade of felled trees), and mentions the repair of frontier cities and fortresses by Diocletian. Dr. Hodgkin has called attention to the importance of the passage quoted above from Spartianus in his essay entitled "Pfahlgraben," contributed to *Archæologia Eliana*, 48. It is accompanied by a sketch map of the Limes Imperii Romani, between the Danube and the Rhine (*ibid.*, p. 4).

Hadrian travelled through all the provinces of his vast dominion—from the sultry plains of Egypt to the snowy hills of Caledonia—and conferred

Though many of the details cannot be explained satisfactorily, these baths are important, because, as I have already remarked, they are better preserved than any other buildings of the same class in Germany. Next to them I should place the *Thermae* of Trèves, at St. Barbara, near the Moselle; a plan has been published separately, as well as in the recent work of Arendt, *Das Monumentale Trier*.¹ Many small objects found at Badenweiler have been deposited in the museum at Karlsruhe.² I am sure that the antiquarian traveller who wishes to examine them, will meet with every attention from Professor Schumacher, the assistant director. The baths have been roofed over so that they present an appearance very different from the elevation as given in the plates of Leibnitz. By this means the place has been made so dark that I presume it would be difficult to take good photographs of the apartments.

I now proceed to make a few remarks on the Roman boundary wall. Our own countrymen have contributed their share towards the elucidation of this interesting subject. The late Mr. James Yates read a paper on the *Limes Transrhenanus* at the Newcastle Meeting of the Archæological Institute. After an interval of many years, Dr. Hodgkin published an elaborate memoir entitled the *Pfahlgraben*, about eighty pages of text, with

benefits on the inhabitants whithersoever he went. We may remark that a ruler so wise and so indefatigable would scarcely neglect the defence of the *Decumates Agri*, which were exposed to German incursions. Another argument for applying to the *Limes Transrhenanus* the words of Spartianus quoted above is derived from the fact that about A.D. 120 he caused to be built a boundary-wall in our own country, from Pons Ælii (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) to Luguwallium (Carlisle). Spartianus, *ibid.*, chapter 11: "Multa correat murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret."

¹ *Das monumentale Trier von der Römerzeit bis auf unsere Tage in Wort und Bild vorgeführt*, von K. Arendt, Staats-Architect in Luxemburg, 1892, folio.

Tafel II, Fig. 1. Erlauterter Grundriss der Thermen in St. Barbara.

2 und 3. Ansicht der Ruinen derselben im 17. Jahrhundert.

4. Ansicht der Ruinen nach den letzten Ausgrabungen.

5. Ansicht eines untererdischen Ganges.

6a. Der in den Baderruinen ausgegrabene Amazonen-Torso.

6b. Kopf eines Diadumenos.

6c. Arzt-Stempel für Balsamstabchen.

6d. Kamm und Haarnadeln aus dem Frauenbad.

7. Fragment eines römischen Schiffes, Steinrelief (Museum).

² *Grossherzogliche Vereinigte Sammlungen zu Karlsruhe. Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen*, von Karl Schumacher, mit zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text, 16 zinkographischen und 13 Lichtdrucktafeln, 1890. This catalogue has been carefully compiled and copiously illustrated, but I do not find in it any mention of bronzes from Badenweiler.

many maps and other illustrations. In 1884 Colonel Von Cohausen's book appeared, *Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutschland; Militärische und technische Beschreibung desselben*. It is accompanied by an atlas of fifty-two plates.¹ But the work of exploration has been undertaken again, and at the present time is being carried out vigorously. Portions of it are distributed amongst the German *savants*; in some cases I can from personal acquaintance bear testimony to their kindness, learning and industry.

Among the forts on this wall, that called the *Saalburg* deserves attention more than any other. Professor Herzog, of Tübingen University, informs me that it has been described very exactly and with a masterly hand by L. Jacobi in his work, *Das Romerkastell Saalburg bei Homburg vor der Höhe*, 1897, and that the book is specially instructive for the type of a *Kastell*.² The German Emperor intends to restore the *praetorium* and

¹ Taf. I, "Der römische Grenzwall von der Donau bis zum Rhein. Die britischen Romerwalle, Vallum Pii, Vallum Hadriani." Some of the illustrations are derived from Trajan's Column at Rome. Taf. II, Fig. 2, "Dazisehe Mauern, Trajans-Saule." Taf. III, Figs. 4-8, "Darstellungen auf der Trajanssaule." Taf. XIII, XIV, "Saalburg."

² This important work was preceded by *Das Romerkastell Saalburg*, von A. v. Cohausen, Oberst z. D. und Conservator und L. Jacobi, Baumeister, pp. 61, with two plates, a small and unpretending brochure, which, however, contains much information. The latter part of it is devoted to the Saalburg Museum in Homburg, pp. 42-61. "Die Fundstücke, Inschriftsteine und Bildwerke, Ziegel, Gläser, Gegenstände aus Eisen, die Bronzefundstücke, Münzen."

I have not found in Baumeister's elaborate treatise any notice of the *armamentarium* (arsenal), which one would suppose must have been required for storage of arms in the *castra stativa* (permanent camps), and I presume that there has been difficulty of identifying it with any site in particular. At Pola four angular towers at regular intervals project outside the circumference of the amphitheatre. . . . The late Sir Richard Burton suggested that they might have been *hoplothecae*, armouries for the

gladiators (*Arch. Jour.*, XLIX, 255, with illustration from a photograph). Jacobi's book is a large 8vo. volume, pp. 608, it contains 110 engravings intercalated in the text, with a map ("Karte der Saalburg und Umgegend," including Homburg and Frankfurt) and 80 full page plates.

The arsenal is mentioned in *Inscriptiones*, Gruter, Pag. C, 7, EX. DECVRIA . ARMAMENTARIA (an adjective omitted in ordinary Latin dictionaries); *ibid.*, Pag. CLXIX, 1 Apud Bataros, loco nunc appellato a Cattorum vico Catwreck . . . ad vetus ostium Rheni.

ARMA
MENTARIVM VETVSTATE CONLA
BSVM RESTITVERVNT.

In the original ligatures occur. For examples *vide* Akerman, *Numismatic Manual*, Plate IV, at the end of the volume. Orelli gives a similar inscription, No. 975, in *Anglia*.

Compare Juvenal, *Satire* XIII, 82 *seq.* :—

"Addit et Herculeos areus hastamque
Minervae,
Quidquid habent telorum armamen-
taria cœli."

("And every weapon that, to ven-
geance given,
Stores the tremendous magazine of
heaven.")

Gifford's Translation.)

the *porta decumana*, and to place in the former the future museum of the *Limes*.

The results of investigations have been made known by a series of monographs, one for each *Kastell*. They are parts of a great work entitled *Der Obergerm.-Ræt. Limes des Romerreiches im Auftrage der Reichs-Limes-Kommission herausgegeben von dem Militärischen und dem Archäologischen Dirigenten, O. von Sarwey, General-lieutenant z.d., F. Hettner, Museumsdirector*. I have selected three of these separate papers—"Osterburken," "Ohringen," and "Unterbobingen."

At Osterburken incomparably the most remarkable object brought to light is a Mithras relief, now deposited in the Altertumshalle at Karlsruhe. It was found in the spring of 1861, in a cellar 9 feet underground, close to a bridge over the Kirnach, not far from the railway station. In the Mithræa as yet known an *apsis* or *exedra* has not been met with, but it occurs in inscriptions No. 256 (*signum numinis cum absidata*), No. 239 (*cryptam cum porticibus et apparatorio et exedra*).¹ The discovery of a spring of water is interesting; I suppose it was used for ablutions and purifications. The tablet ranks among the first of its class for size (being 1·70 mètre in height and breadth), for Mithraic legends, mysterious deities and the union of Persian, Greek and Chaldæan elements.²

¹ *Apparatorium* appears only in inscriptions. "Locus prope sepulcrum muro circumdatus ac tectus, ad lustrationem sepulcri et caenas anniversarias funebres inter propinquos amicosque celebrandas," De Vit., *Lexicon*, s.v. Raphael Fabretti, *Inscriptions*, A.D. 1699, p. 232, Nos. 609-611, with a commentary. Gloss. Vet. Ἐξαρτήριον ab ἐξαρτίζω, *apparo, instruo*. In one inscription mention is made of a banquet and purification, but not of a tomb.

Exedra (Greek, ἐξέδρα), on the other hand, is a word which occurs sometimes in the authors usually read. Cicero, *De Oratore*, III, 17: "In eam exedram venisse, in qua Crassus posito lectulo recubisset"; v. Ellendt's edition, *Explicationes*, II, 357. He cites Vitruvius, V, II, init., p. 120, edit. Rode: "Constituantur in tribus porticibus exedrae spatiosae habentes sedes, in quibus philosophi rhetores reliquique, qui studiis delectantur, sedere possint,"

and distinguishes these apartments from *hemicyclia*. Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, I, 6. Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, zweite Auflage, 1886, p. 249, note 6, "*Exedra* ist ursprünglich ein in einer Säulenhalle nach innen hin ausgebaute Sitzplatz." *Dictionary of Antiquities*, third edition, I, 281, plan of *Thermae* of Caracalla; FF half-circular alcoves, in which there were seats for the philosophers to hold their conversations. The same plan is given by Rich, *op. citat.*, but the *exedrae* are marked with the letters E E, p. 657 *seq.*, s.v. *Thermae*. The numbers of the inscriptions quoted in the text are derived from Fr. Cumont, *vide infra*, list of references at the end of the Appendix.

- From the writings of the Christian Fathers we know how extensive was the spread of Mithraism, and I have in a paper on "Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine," *Arch. Jour.*, XLVII, 379, note 1, quoted Tertullian *De*



MITHRAS AND BULL, FROM OSTERBURKEN.

The central group, of large dimensions, consists of Mithras killing a bull, and fills the greater part of the niche; he is in the usual attitude, as we see him at the British Museum. The bull in mortal agony draws back his fore-leg and extends his tail upwards. From it three ears of corn are sprouting, perhaps to indicate the fertilising influence of the sun-god, causing vegetation to rise up out of the earth. Mithras looks back towards a raven, the messenger of Apollo; again there may be an allusion to the sun, with whom Apollo was identified. Under the bull a vase, snake and lion are said to symbolise the strife of the elements. On each side of the chief group stands a torch-bearer, dressed like Mithras, compare *τριπλάσιος Μίθρας* in inscriptions; so that some kind of trinity seems to be represented. These figures may have reference to the seasons, of which in the old Greek mythology there were only three. The signs of the Zodiac occupy the border over the niche, and may be traced to Chaldaean influence; immediately above them we see an assemblage of Olympian deities.

In the middle of the lower row, Jupiter is enthroned; Apollo, Mars and Hercules stand on his right; Juno, Minerva and Venus correspond with them on his left. Minerva with her attributes, helmet, shield and lance, is easily distinguishable. In the upper row, Victory behind

Praescriptione haereticorum, cap. XL, "Multae leges et regulae ponuntur, quas catholici cum haereticis agentes servare debent," as proving the fact. This author flourished under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and I now add earlier evidence from Justin Martyr, who presented his *Apologia* to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, probably about A.D. 171, edit. Benedictine, p. 83. After explaining the doctrine of the Eucharist, he proceeds: "ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις παρέδωκαν γίνεσθαι μιμησάμενοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες, ὅτι γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μνουμένου τελεταῖς μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν ἢ ἐκίστασθε, ἢ μαθεῖν δύνασθε." ("Atque id quidem et in Mithrae mysteriis ut fieret, pravi daemones imitati docuerunt. Nam panem et poculum aquae in ejus qui initiatur mysteriis, quibusdam verbis additis apponi, aut scitis aut discere potestis.)

Index Rerum, p. 634, s.v. Mithras. "Mithrae sacerdotes dicunt illum ex petra genitum," 168b. "Speluncam vocant locum ubi ab eo initiari dicunt qui ei credunt," *ibid.* . . . "Haec a diabolo inventa ut vaticinium Esaiæ imitaretur," 175c.

We may consider the Chaldaean symbols as illustrating Juvenal, *Satire* X, 92-94,

"Tutor haberi
Principis angusta Caprearum in
rupe sedentis
Cum grege Chaldaeo?"
("And keep a prince in ward, retired
to reign
O'er Caprea's crags, with his
Chaldaean train?"

Gifford's *Translation*, with notes.)
ὁ Τιβέριος ἐμπειρότατος διὰ τῶν ἀστρον
μαντικῆς ἦν. *Dio*, LVIII. Suetonius,
Tiberius, chaps. 14 and 69. Ruperti's
Commentary on Juvenal, in loco.

Jupiter holds a large palm-branch; the other personages are so much injured that we can hardly identify them.

On the left hand in the upper corner, the sun, nimbated, with flying drapery, drives a quadriga; over him hovers the morning star, holding torches. To right, the moon, who has a large crescent over her head, in a chariot drawn by two oxen, descends into the darkness of a cave, while the evening star, also holding torches, falls down from heaven.

The groups on the pillars are much mutilated, but beginning with the lowest on the left, proceeding upwards and then downwards along the right pillar, we may remark a head in a rosette; Earth and Atlas, the latter supporting a globe; the three Fates; Kronos (Saturn) handing over to Jupiter the thunderbolt, emblem of dominion over the world; and Jupiter contending with a giant.¹ In the left upper corner the birth and deeds of Mithras are the subject, and the most conspicuous figure is a youth, wearing the Persian cap as before, who is cutting leaves or flowers from a great tree. In the right upper corner the bull appears twice, alone and carried by Mithras on his back. At the top of the right pillar, Mithras draws water from a rock by striking it with an arrow;² one Asiatic stretches out his hand to receive it,

¹ Horace, *Odes*, III, i, 7. "Clari Giganteo triumpho." Comp. the cameo at Naples, representing Zeus Gigantomachos, signed ΑΘΗΝΙΩΝ, engraved in Milman's edition of Horace, "Neapolitan Gem of Jupiter and Titans. From an Impression." This book is illustrated by the late Sir George Scharf's drawings from the antique. For the Gigantomachia, see Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp. 545-555, especially p. 549 seq., "The Zeus Group." *Id.*, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts from the Antique in the South Kensington Museum*, pp. 99-101.

² Moses smote the rock twice, Numbers xx, 11; *ibid.*, vv. 8, 10; Cruden's *Concordance*. Cf. St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians x, 4, ἵπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ακολουθοῦσιν πέτρας, ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός. Alford's edition of the Greek Testament, Vol. II, p. 523 seq., πνευματικός typical, cf. Revelations xi, 8. The rock followed the Israelites in their journeyings, and gave forth water all the way. . . . How extensively the traditionary reliques of

unrecorded Jewish history were adopted by apostolic men under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the apology of Stephen may bear witness.

Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea* (Catacombs), tom. II, p. 101, fol. 1651: "Tabula unica cubiculi undecimi Coemeterii Marcellini et Petri inter duas Lauros ad S. Helenam Via Labicana." *Ibid.*, Lib. V, cap. XII, § 3, p. 482 seq.: "Mysteria aquarum e petra in deserto scatulentium. Petra in deserto Christum figurabat." *Ibid.* tom. I, pp. 450-461, lib. III, cap. XI, "De celebri Callisti Coemeterio. *Ibid.*, p. 546 seq., "Tabula Prima." No. iv, "Et demum Moysis virgae ictibus uberes aquarum rivos e petra educuntis." There are six full page plates of this catacomb.

Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1, "Altehrstliche Kunst." 3. "Bildneri und Malerei," pp. 250-252, "Moses mit dem Stabe Wasser aus dem Felsen schlagend," Fig. 170, "Wandgemälde aus den Katakomben von S. Calixtus."

another kneels thankfully before the god. Then come various scenes in the life of Mithras—he is hanging on the neck of the bull, and following the car of the sun-god, who in the next compartment kneels before him; thus the superiority of Mithras is indicated. He rides with a bent bow in his hand, and an attendant in oriental costume behind. The last compartment differs from the rest; Mithras and Sol are reclining on a couch with a small table before them. Compare the *Visit of Bacchus to Icarus* in the British Museum, and Bottiger, *Sabina*, Part II, Pl. XII, and description of the plates, pp. 255–257.

Beside the Kastell there was an additional building. We should observe that it was not continued on the same lines as the original construction of the camp, but took the form of an irregular trapezium. This deviation was doubtless caused by a declivity in the ground, which prevented the Roman engineers from carrying out their plans as usual.¹

Die Kastele bei Ohringen.—Near this place there were two Roman forts, Ost-oder Rendelkastell and Westoder Bürgkastell, and a bathing establishment (v. Pl. II, Fig. 2, where the low pillars of the hypocaust are distinctly marked; Pl. III, Fig. 2, is an attempt at a restoration of the baths). Many inscriptions have been found here and objects of various materials—gold, bronze, iron, glass, terra-cotta and stone. Some are preserved in the Collection of Antiquities at Stuttgart.

Das Kastell Unterböbingen is one of the greater camps in the series, and nearly square. The *Porta praetoria* faces the north and the *Limes*. There are two towers at the gates, not projecting beyond the wall, therefore not *propugnacula*, as at Treves and Ratisbon.² The *Porta*

¹ In this memoir I have placed three castella in the order of their geographical position, beginning with the most northerly and proceeding southwards. Osterburken is situated east of the river Neckar, in the latitude of Heidelberg; Ohringen, nearly as far south of Osterburken as Heilbronn is; Unterböbingen on the left bank of the river Rems in the same latitude as Stuttgart. A map giving a general view of the boundary wall is appended to each separate description of the forts,

“Uebersichtskarte des obergermanischen und raetischen Limes, ■ festgestelltes, □ vermuthetes romisches Kastell” (Grenzwall). There are also plans of each fort and maps of the immediate neighbourhood.

² Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und Umgebungen*, pp. 24, 25, two engravings of the *Porta-Nigra*, Stadtseite und Nordseite. Arendt, *Das monumentale Trier*, Taf. III, Fig. 1, “Persp. Ansicht der *Porta-Nigra*”; I bis. Grundriss, *ibid.*,

decumana (opposite the *praetoria*) had one entrance, the side gates two entrances; at the north-west end the foundations of a rectangular building for artillery were discovered. The ground-plan can be distinctly traced; while the position and form of the *praetorium* are normal, the *sacellum* has a striking peculiarity—a smaller apse was added to the larger one. Probably the smaller one was higher, and contained images of deities raised on a platform, with the wall of the larger apse as a façade. Rooms 9 and 10, Pl. I, were provided with apparatus for heating, and the floor in the hypocaust was supported by small pillars of tufa 50 centimetres high. Inequality of surface is the most remarkable feature in this camp; it seems to have been caused by a landslip during the Roman occupation. Among the objects found we may especially notice the fragment of a military diploma of honourable discharge (*honesta missio*), Pl. II, Fig. 3, fully explained in the text, p. 6, Bronzen 1.¹

p. 12, "Die gewaltige Porta Martis, spater Simeonskirche, Porta nigra genannt, an der Nordostseite, nach dem Vorort 'Maar' zu." *Arch. Jour.*, 1891, XLVIII, my paper on "The Roman Antiquities of Augsburg and Ratisbon," 398-402, text and notes, and illustration from a photograph of the Porta Praetoria at the latter city, facing p. 400.

Propugnaculum is also used as a nautical term, and means a tower on the deck of a ship from which missiles were discharged. Winckelmann, *Monumenti Antichi inediti*, Tom. II, Parte quarta, Capitolo XV, p. 280: "Queste torri . . . solevano essere due, una alla poppa, e l'altra alla prora," etc. Tom. III, pl. 207 (folio). Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, art. "Seewesen," p. 1608: "Das Deck der Kataphrakten trug nach Pollux I. 92, zuweilen holzerne Türme, *πύργια, turres, propugnacula*, die auf den *πυργίοις* ruhten." *Ibid.*, p. 1634, folding plate, Tafel IX. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXII, Sect. I, §3: "Sed armatae classes imponunt sibi turrium propugnacula, ut in mari quoque pugnetur velut e muris." *Tacitus*, *Annals*, XV, 9. "Interim Corbulo . . . naves magnitudine praestantes, et connexas trabibus, ac turribus auctas, agit per annem." The same word occurs in Horace's First Epode, one of his most beautiful poems, addressed to Maecenas before the battle of Actium:

"Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula."

Florus, lib. 4, cap. 11, § 5, describes Antony's ships. "*Turribus atque tabulatis allevatae, castellorum et urbium specie*." The edition of Graevius, Amsterdam, 1702, p. 500, has an engraving of a trireme from Trajan's Column.

¹ *Tabulae honestae missionis* are well known to English antiquaries, having been discovered in our own country. *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, pp. 3-8, Diplomata found at Malpas in Cheshire, Sydenham Common in Kent, and Riving in Yorkshire, folio plates in the same colours as the originals. Many have been brought to light subsequently to the publication of Orelli's *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1828, vide Nos. 737, 2652, 3571, 3577 seqq. Some of these "recens reperta" appear in the Supplement to that work by Henzen, see especially 6857, 6857A, from Carnuntum, Deutsch-Altenburg, on the southern bank of the Danube, and now deposited in the Kunst-Historischen Sammlungen at Vienna (v. Baron Ed. von Sacken in *Sitzungsberichte d. phil. hist. Classe der k. k. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Vol. XI, fasc. II seqq., tab. III). One of these documents may be seen in the Paulus Museum at Worms, and therefore not far distant from the boundary wall which we have been considering.

St. Bernard said *Respice, prospice, suspice*; and it is the privilege of the old to look backwards as well as forwards. When we contrast the position of antiquarian studies at present with what it was in the last century, and even nearer our own time, we may congratulate ourselves on the progress that has been made. Scholars formerly indulged in learned but fanciful conjectures which only exposed them to ridicule;¹ but now, by examination of existing monuments, by comparing them with each other, by observing the characteristics of different styles and periods, and conducting those researches in the light of the best revisions of ancient texts, archæology has been elevated into a science, and, purified from error, rests upon foundations both solid and secure.

APPENDIX.

The paragraph in Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 8-11, a part of which appears on the mosaic at Sousse, deserves to be quoted entire:—

“Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,
Quidve dolens, regina deum tot volvere casus
Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
Impulerit. Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?”

One clause, *quo numine laeso*, presents some difficulty, and has been variously interpreted. It cannot mean an inquiry as to what deity has been offended, which would be unnecessary because Juno has been mentioned by name in the fourth line. The participle in Latin is often used where the English idiom prefers a substantive, so that *numen laesum* would be equivalent to *laesio numinis*, an offence against the deity of Juno, as A.U.C. (i.e. *ab urbe condita*) is translated from the foundation of Rome. Henry explains *numen* = *arbitrium*. See the note in Conington's *Virgil*, edited by Nettleship, Vol. II, p. 4 seq., and the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XVII, No. 34, pp. 157, 158.

Sousse is the French form of the modern name *Susa*, on the site of the ancient *Hadrumetum*—the place to which Hannibal fled after the

¹ Stukeley's writings are a striking example of this style. A French critic in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* has estimated them correctly: “C'était un homme bon, mais bizarre, un savant remarquable, mais emporté par une imagination fouguese, que lui faisait commettre les erreurs les plus fan-

tasques.” The nearest parallel I know to this strange compound of learning and folly is to be seen in Bentley's notes on the *Paradise Lost*—characterised by Bishop Newton as the “Dotages of Dr. Bentley” in the preface to his edition of the poem.

decisive battle of Zama. *C. I. L.*, VIII, 1, p. 14, § VII, "Colonia Concordia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Frugifera Hadrumetum, postea Justinianopolis (*Susa*)."
Tribu Papiria Provincia Byzacena, Inscr. Nos. 59-67, with a sketch of its history.

Comp. Mrs. Jameson, *The History of our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art, etc.*, II, 144, "The Crucifixion," full page engraving, which also corroborates remarks made above concerning river-gods with horns, "Early ivory of the ninth century," "Classic personifications of Water and Earth," the one a bearded and horned river-god with a fish or an oar in his hand, sometimes riding on a dolphin, and with a stream issuing from his subverted urn.

For a very early representation of the Crucifixion, see *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings*, by Professor J. Henry Middleton, p. 84, with engraving. Two figures are standing by; one is Longinus with the spear that pierced Christ's side.

Ger appears to have the same root as the Greek *γαῖος*, for the change from S to R presents no objection, being very common; *e.g.*, we have the adverb *hier*, here, and the adjective connected with it, *hiesig*, in this place or country, native. Comp. *Key on the Alphabet*, p. 91 sq., *Lisen* iron, *Hase* hare, *Besen* broom; and s.v. *Ger*, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, by Friedrich Kluge. The Latin form of this Greek word is *gaesum*, which occurs in Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII, 661, where the poet describes the Gauls besieging the Capitol, represented on the shield of Æneas.

"Duo quisque Alpina coruscant
Gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis."

De Vit in his edition of *Forcellini's Lexicon* has a good article on *Gaesum*, and observes that two of these spears are frequently mentioned as being carried together. From ancient authors we learn that the *gaesum* was a Gallic javelin, but was also used by other nations. In the Third Book, *De Bello Gallico*, Chaps. 1-6, Cæsar relates the campaign conducted by his lieutenant Galba against the Nantuates, Veragri and Seduni, south-east of the Lake of Geneva (Lemanus). *Ibid.* Book IV, Chap. 10, where Cæsar traces the course of the Rhine from its source. We find the first of these tribes in most editions, but there must be some mistake in the manuscripts, because the geographical position of the Nantuates is far west of the river, being between Villeneuve and Martigny, north of Mont Blanc, and near Chamounix. The territories of these three tribes are accurately defined *lib. citat.*, Chap. I, init. "ab finibus Allobrogum, et lacu Lemanno, et flumine Rhodano, ad summas Alpes pertinent."

Galba, who commanded the twelfth legion, fixed his winter quarters at Octodurus (Martigny), where the Rhone receives the Drance; and we may notice that the Romans showed the same wisdom here as they did in choosing *Castra Vetera* (Xanten) for a military station at the junction of the Rhine and Lippe. Not many days had elapsed when the general was informed by scouts that the Gauls in great force had occupied the surrounding mountains.

A council of war was held, when it was decided to defend the camp. The enemy, after a short interval, rushed down on all sides, hurling stones and javelins (*gaesa*); at first they broke the rampart and filled up the trenches, but afterwards in a successful sortie

(*eruptione facta*) the garrison, surrounding the Gauls, slaughtered the third part of their army, and put the rest to flight in such confusion that they did not venture to take up a position even on high ground. Galba, satisfied with this victory, abandoned the camp and quickly retired to the Roman Province, which at that time was of the same extent as the modern Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc.

To the remarks already made the following references may be added:—Gustav Korting, *Lateinisch-romantisches Worterbuch*, “*Gaesum*. 2, Wurfspiess; franz: *gese*, Pike (altfrz. *gieser* = **gesarum*). See also Armstrong, *Gaelic Dictionary*, s.v. *Geis*, a spear, a javelin; a fishing spear. *Hesychii Lexicon*, I, 412: “Γαῖσος-ἐμβόλιον ὀλοσιόηρον. καὶ ὄνομα ποταμοῦ. οἱ δὲ μισθοῦ. ἢ ὅπλον ἀμυντηρίου. Pollux, *Onomasticon*, edit. Dindorf, 1824, II, 100, agrees with Hesychius in stating that this javelin was all iron, both head and stock, Lib. VII: κεφάλαιον ΔΓ. περὶ ποιητικῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. § 156, Δορυξοῦς, ὁρῶν ὀλοσιόηρον. καλεῖται δὲ γαῖσος, καὶ ἔστι Λιβυκόν. *Annotatones*, V, p. 458, nisi legendum fuerit Ἰβηρικόν pro Λιβυκόν.

It may seem strange that the foremost scholar of the sixteenth century should have selected for himself two names, neither of which is pure Latin. *Desiderius* does not occur even in the list of words which Forcellini has excluded from his *Lexicon of Classical Latinity*—“a nobis improbata et expulsa”—and admitted only into the Supplement; nor is it mentioned by Bailey in the *Auctarium* appended to Forcellini's work, or by Ducange in his *Glossary*. But we meet with it as a proper name at a late period, borne by the last of the Lombard kings, whom Charlemagne conquered and dethroned, about A.D. 775 (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, Chap. XLIX, Vol. VI, p. 156, edit. Dr. William Smith).

No less than five *Desiderii* are mentioned as saints. *Vide* Potthast's *Index to the Acta Sanctorum*: “Vollständigeres Verzeichniss der Heiligen, ihre Tage und Feste.” One of them, called by the French St. Didier or Dizier, is third in the catalogue of Bishops of Langres, but in the case of the earlier names accuracy cannot be guaranteed. *Memoirs of the local Archæological Society*, Vol. III, 1881. *Les Evêques de Langres, Étude Epigraphique, Sigillographique et Héraldique*, pp. 2 and 3. St. Didier is said to have been beheaded by Crocus, chief of a band of barbarians who besieged this city, having vainly endeavoured to intercede in favour of the inhabitants. The date of these events is assigned by some to the year 264, by others to 411, a discrepancy which may cause a shadow of doubt to pass over the biographies of the old annalists. Appended to the account of the martyrdom, we read in the *Acta Sanctorum* a history of the discovery and translation of his remains, 1314 A.D.: “*Pretiosum corpus . . . caput suum super pectus ejus in manibus tenens, a deputatis de tumultu est sublatum.*” He was buried in the Church of Sainte-Madeleine, afterwards called by the name of the martyr. At present the apse of this church has been included in the Museum building, and forms the hall of antiquities. The restored tomb of St. Didier occupies the centre; it bears an inscription ending with the words, “*Mort victime de son dévouement à la Ville*” (*Mem. de la Soc. Hist. et Archéol. de Langres*, III, 65 seq.)

and my paper on "The Antiquities of Langres and Besançon," *Arch. Jour.*, XLIII, 90, *Cathedral of Saint Mammes*.

I have already stated that *Erasmus* is an incorrect word. The Greek form is Ἐράσμιος, which occurs in Simonides, Æschylus, Xenophon and other ancient authors, and is obviously connected with ἐραμαι, amor; ἐράω, amo; ἐρω, amor. Erasmus himself afterwards discovered his mistake, and called his godson Joannes Erasmus Frobenius (Jortin, *op. citat.*, I, 3).

The passage in Dion Cassius referred to above, LIV, 22, is very important, Ἐσβαλόντες οὖν ἐς τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἅμα ἀμφοτέροι, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ὁ γε Τιβέριος καὶ διὰ τῆς λίμνης πλοίοις κομισθεὶς, ἀπὸ τε τούτου κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστοις σφίσι συμμιγνύντες, κ. τ. λ. etc. This historian, who seems to have composed his work in the earlier part of the third century, may be regarded as a sufficient authority for the foregoing statement. "He had access to many sources of information no longer extant, and proves himself able to make a good use of them." The campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius against the Rhaeti (Tirol) and Vindelici (Bavaria) are known to us from the writings of Strabo, IV, 6, 206, and Suetonius, *Vita Tiberii*, 9; and their victories are celebrated in the most martial of Horace's *Odes*, Carm. IV, iv, 17:—

"Videre Raetis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici";

and *ibid.*, xiv, 9:—

"Milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces et arees
Alpibus impositas tremendis
Dejecit acer plus vice simplici.
Major Neronum mox grave proelium
Commisit, immanesque Raetos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis."

See Bentley's note on the former passage. He substitutes Raetis for Rhoeti, and gives references to many authors. Orelli, in his commentary on the latter ode, quotes part of an inscription in *tropaeo Alpium* containing the names Breuni, Vindelici and Genaunos. We owe it to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III, xx, 24, §§ 136, 137, ed. Sillig, I, 263 *seq.* It states that the trophy was erected in honour of Tiberius, "*Quod ejus ductu auspiciisque gentes Alpinae omnes quae a mari supero ad inferum pertinebant sub imperium pop. Rom. sunt redactae.*" The total number of these nations amounts to forty-four, including four subdivisions of the Vindelici. The Breuni inhabited North Tirol; their name survives in the Brenner Pass, through which the railway from Innsbruck to Verona is carried, also in Bruneck, a station north-east of Brixen, on the line from Franzensfeste to Villach. Compare *C. I. L.*, III, 2, 706, "*De Raetiae Provinciae origine et finibus.*"

Tasgetium has been mentioned as the name of a town near the Lake of Constance. Tasgetius in Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, V, 25, is a nobleman of the highest rank among the Carnutes (Chartres), restored by Caesar to the kingdom which his ancestors had held. However, after a short reign he was openly assassinated. The coins of Tasgetius are numerous. *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises*, by Muret

and Chabouillet, p. 139, *seq.*, Nos. 6295-6307; *Atlas des Monnaies Gauloises*, by Henri De La Tour, Pl. XIX, No. 6295, "EAKESOORYIZ. Tete d'Apollon diadémée à droite; derrière, une fenille; Rev. TASHTIOS. Pegase galloping à droite." M. de la Saussaye supposed that EAKESOORYIX was the grandfather of Tasgetius: which would agree well with Cæsar's words *summo loco natus*; but M. de Longpérier thinks that we have here a surname of Apollo. The obverse of the coin is imitated from the gens Calpurnia, and the reverse from the Titia. Compare Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, I, 289-297, 300-302; II, 489-491.

As the coins of Tasgetius were copied from the Roman denarii Calpurnia and Titia, so those of Tatinus, a Gallic chief, imitated Titia and Marcia; they have the legend TATINOS on the reverse, with the device—Cavalier, au galop, à droite; sous les pieds du cheval, un rameau. *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises*, p. 98, Nos. 4382-4391. Adolphe Duchalais, *Description des Médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale*, 1846, pp. 109-111, "Imitations Consulaires," where various explanations of the obverse are cited, some of them highly improbable. For the reverse, compare Babelon, *op. citat.*, Vol. II, "Marcia," §§ 3, 4. Q. Marcius Philippus, L. Marcius Philippus, pp. 186-188, Nos. 11, 12, especially the latter. Revers—statue equestre représentant un guerrier qui tient une branche dans la main droite; sous le cheval, un rameau incliné. These coins are curious, showing one of the Philips, Kings of Macedon and the helmet ornamented with bull's horns, also the head of Philip V., helmeted with diadem and cheekpieces (*παρὰμαθες*)—a portrait like that on Macedonian money. Rich, *op. cit.*, s.v. *buccula, galea*; Juvenal, X, 134, "Lorica, et fracta de casside buccula pendens."

The flotilla which Tiberius launched on the Lake of Constance suggests to me an historical parallel, which seems not to have been noticed by preceding writers. In the year 1652 Ross Castle surrendered to the Parliamentary army under General Ludlow. It is situated on an island, or rather peninsula, in the Lower Lake near Killarney, and the superstitious natives believed in a prophecy that this fortress could not be taken till a ship should swim upon their waters; hence they were proportionately disheartened by the spectacle which Ludlow describes in his *Memoirs*, printed at Vivay (*sic*) in the Canton of Bern, MDCXCVIII, I, 416. "When we had received our Boats, each of which was capable of containing a hundred and twenty Men, I ordered one of them to be rowed about the Water in order to find out the most convenient Place for Landing upon the Enemy; which they perceiving, thought fit by a timely submission to prevent the Danger that threatened them." Doubtless the boats were brought from Killorglin up the River Laune to Lough Leane (both words were probably the same originally) called the Lower Lake by boatmen, guides and guide-books; not from Kinsale, as some have supposed which is too distant. Moreover, the transport across the mountains, and by bad roads in those times, was almost impossible, especially when we consider the size of the boats.

Ludlow voted for the execution of Charles I., and afterwards opposed Cromwell because he aimed at supreme power. "Il était républicain dans le parlement, il mourut républicain sur les bords du lac de Genève." *Biographic Studies on the English Revolution*, by M.

Guizot, English Translation, 29-58; see also Guizot, *Histoire de la République d'Angleterre et de Cromwell* (1649-1658), II, 171-177, for the conversation between the Protector and Ludlow, given *in extenso*.

The description of the museum referred to above deals chiefly with the prehistoric remains discovered in the neighbourhood of Constance. After a notice of objects in the collection which exhibit successive geological periods, an account is given of the earliest traces of human beings, and of researches that have made us acquainted with cave-dwellings, probably inhabited four thousand years ago.

From writers preceding Herodotus we learn the use of caves for habitation and for burial, but the father of history is the first to employ the term *Troglodytes*. Τρώγλη is evidently connected with the verb τρώγω, ἐτραγον, to gnaw, and properly means a hole made by gnawing. Compare τραγήματα, sweetmeats, Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, v. 1901 seq. :—

“ στέφανοι. μύρον, τραγήμαθ', αἱ πόρνοι πάρα,
αἰνυλοὶ, πλακοῦντες, σησαμοῦν-τες, ἱτριά,”

From τραγήματα comes the French word *dragées*. Stephens, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, edit. Didot, gives examples of τρωγλοῦτης and τρωγλοῦτικός from Aristotle, Pliny, and other writers, amongst them from *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*, p. 636 ult. : “ Διὰ θήκη Ζαβουλὼν περὶ εὐσπλαγχνίας καὶ ἐλεους.” Cap. 4, ἀφέντες γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν μεγάλην, ἐπορευθῆσαν διὰ τρωγλοκολλητῶν ἐν τῇ συντόμῳ,” so Dr. Sinker reads in his edition, p. 166, but in a footnote we find that Codex Oxoniensis has τρωγλοκυτων—MSS. Lat. *per asperos sinus*. If we accept this variant, the patriarch relates that the merchants to whom Joseph was sold by his brethren (Genesis, chap. xxxvii, vv. 23-28) left the high road, and went by a short way through the country of the Troglodytes. In τρωγλοκολλητῶν it might be supposed that, by the error of the transcriber or printer, *a* has taken the place of *w* : but this form of the word is supported by ἐτραγον and τραγήμα.

Herodotus, IV, 183, informs us that the Ethiopian Troglodytes were the swiftest men of whom he had received any account, that they lived on serpents, lizards, and similar reptiles, and that they did not speak a language like any other, but screeched like bats. An author quoted by Baehr *in loco* mentions as an Arabic saying that the English and the Fellahîn, the lowest class in Egypt, whistle like birds. This observation is by no means flattering to our national pride; it results from the too frequent occurrence of sibilant sounds in the language of *yes*. In the same chapter Herodotus speaks of the Garamantes (Ferzan) chasing the Ethiopian Troglodytes with four-horsed chariots, doubtless to carry them away and sell them as slaves.

But the geographer Strabo is a still more important authority than the early historian, because he mentions this people often, and gives many details. Lib. XVI, § 4, Vol. VI, p. 395, edit. Siebenkees, he defines their position from Hero to Ptolemaïs Theron or Ferarum, both on the western coast of the Red Sea; *ibid.*, § 17, pp. 424-427, he describes their manners and customs. Of the Latin authors for this subject Pliny is the most copious; the references in his *Natural History*, *s.v.* Trogodyticae (*sic*) occupy nearly one column and a half, closely printed, in Sillig's critical edition, Vol. VIII, p. 402 seq.

Keller's *Lake Dwellings in Switzerland and other Parts of Europe*, though not a recent work, is still a good authority for remains of this class brought to light in the neighbourhood of Constance. The English translation, by J. E. Lee, from whom I quote, appeared in 1866. He notices particularly Allensbach and Markelfingen on the Untersee, which is the western branch of the Bodensee, pp. 87-95; and Wallhausen on the Ueberlinger-See, the north-western branch of the same lake, pp. 96-122. At the last of these pages discoveries are shown in a tabular form. The same author gives a very interesting account of objects found in these settlements, especially articles manufactured from vegetable fibre and flax—e.g. cords, ropes, linen cloth—in a variety of patterns and excellent preservation; they were evidently suitable for the use of a population occupied in hunting, navigation and fishing (Plates LXXXII-LXXXVI).

Compare Anton Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, I, Altertum, Fünfte vermehrte Auflage, bearbeitet von Adolf Michaelis: "Die Reste von Flechtwerken, die in den Pfahlbauten gefunden wurden (Fig. 1), zeigen deutlich die natürliche Entstehung von Mustern, welche bereits vollständig den Reiz eines Ornaments besitzen und als Schmuckform seitdem die mannigfachste Verwendung gefunden haben." The illustration contains six specimens of textile fabrics, p. 2, Fig. 1, "Flechtarbeiten aus Schweizer Pfahlbauten." This excellent work is adorned by many engravings, admirably executed, in some cases derived from recent discoveries, and not to be found in ordinary compilations. It displays, as far as possible in one volume, the glories of ancient art—*res antiquæ laudis et artis*.

The Irish crannoges differ widely from the constructions we have been considering. They are islets in lakes, surrounded by stockades formed of rough piles of timber, generally oaken, by which an enclosed area was fortified. Thus they became a place of retreat for robbers and predatory chiefs. A short but instructive article in the *Archæological Journal*, III, 44-49, 1846, throws light not only on this subject, but also on the state of Ireland during the sixteenth century. In the year 1567, a witness, giving evidence before the Lords of the Council, stated that a native chieftain, O'Neil, razed his strongest castles which he did not trust for his safety, and "that fortification that he only dependeth upon is sartin *ffresh-water loghe's* in his country." Notices of several crannoges are appended from the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and they are said to have been very numerous in the County Monaghan, which is studded with small lakes. These islets were generally artificial, and many objects, especially weapons, have been found there; among them a bronze handle of a javelin with a loop attached to it would attract the attention of the classical antiquary, reminding him of the *amentum* mentioned by Virgil, *Æneid*, IX, 665: "Intendunt acres arcus, amentaque torquent." By means of this thong "a rotatory motion was given to the missile before it was discharged," which accounts for the use of the verb *torqueo*. Compare the phrase to *throw* silk, both the Latin and English words having a double meaning, *hurl* and *twist* (Professor Key, *On the Alphabet*, p. 99, § 3 of the letter T). In Lucan the verb *amento* occurs, *Pharsalia*, VI, 221:—

"Quum jaculum parva Libys amentavit habena."

For the form of the noun *amentum*, see *Vergili Maronis Carmina ad pristinam orthographiam, quoad ejus fieri potuit, revocata*, ed. Philip Wagner; fifth volume of Heyne's *Virgil* re-edited, p. 416, "Verius puto *amentum*, geminata *m*, ut ibi extat in Medic."; Festus, 25, "Qui hoc vocabulum a Graeco ἄμμα ortum tradit." Compare Greek ἀγκύλη, ἀγκυλῆσθαι, to hurl spears, and the compounds διαγκυλίζομαι, διαγκυλόομαι. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, iii, 28, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς.

Daremberg and Saglio have an excellent article s.v. *Amentum*, Vol. I, p. 226 *seq.*; it is well illustrated by engravings. Fig. 250, Mouvement droit; 251, 252, Mouvement de bas en haut; 253, Javelot muni de l'amentum; 254, Ansata hasta. Fig. 253 from *Museo Borbonico*, Vol. VIII, tav. XXXVI. "Un trait gisant à terre autour duquel s'enroule une courroie" (mosaic of the battle of Issus). To these we may add a drawing in Sir Wm. Hamilton's *Etruscan Vases*, copied in the *Dict. of Antiqq.*, s.v. *Hasta*; and notice the phrase *hasta ansatae*, which shows that *ansa* is equivalent to *amentum*.

For the Irish crannoges the most important references are Sir W. R. Wilde's *Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, and papers contributed to the *Proceedings* of this Society, I, 420-426; VII, numerous articles, especially pp. 147-153; Index to Vols. I-VII; VIII, 274-278, 412-427, with plans and engravings. See also in *Archæologia*, Professor Robert Harkness, "On a Crannoge found in Drumkeery Lough, Ireland," XXXIX, 483.

If we turn from ancient monuments to ancient authors, we have the testimony of two very celebrated writers—Hippocrates and Herodotus, whom I mention in chronological order. The father of history describes accurately lake-dwellings in the Strymonic lake Prasias, erected on platforms (ἱκρία) supported by piles (σταυροί) and notices that they had a narrow approach from the land by a single bridge. When Darius returned from his expedition into Scythia, Megabazus was left as commander-in-chief of the army in Europe; he subdued many Thracian tribes, and removed some of them to Phrygia, but failed in the attempt to conquer the "amphibious" lake-dwellers. Lake Cercinitis or Prasias is not to be confounded with Lake Bolbe, north of Chalcidice, and near Stagira, the birth-place of Aristotle. It is said that the fishermen of Lake Prasias still inhabit wooden cottages built over the water, as in the time of Herodotus.

Hippocrates is the other ancient authority for habitations of this kind; B.C. 460 has been generally accepted as the date of his birth; however, we have not good evidence for determining it exactly. Describing the people who live on the Phasis, he says: "περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν Φάσει, ἢ χωρὶς ἐκείνη ἐλῶδης ἐστὶ καὶ θερμὴ καὶ ὑδατινὴ καὶ εὐαεσία, ὁμβροὶ τε αὐτοῖσι γίνονται πᾶσαν ὥρην πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἰσχυροί. Ἡ τε διαίτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν τοῖς ἐλεσιν ἐστίν, τὰ τε οἰκήματα ξύλινα καὶ καλὰ μὲν ἐν ὕδασι μεμηχανημένα." *De aere locis et aquis*, p. 289, "Magni Hippocratis Medicorum omnium facile principis opera Anutio Foesio Mediomatrici medico auctore, Genæ, 1657-62." Anuce Foes was a celebrated Greek scholar and physician, born 1528, died 1595. This edition of Hippocrates is a ponderous folio of more than 1,800 pages, containing a Latin translation together with the Greek text;

Foës devoted his life to its preparation and to the exercise of his profession at Metz.

Hippocrates, *loc. citat.*, p. 290: "αὐτός τε ὁ Φάσις στασιμώτατος πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ ρέων ἡπιώτατα." Of this river in Colchis, at the east end of the Euxine, the *Rhion* is a tributary, and the ancient name remains in the modern *Rioni*.

"The salutation *pro imperio* and the salutation after a victory . . . are counted as similar units by every emperor who signifies the number of his acclamations among his list of honours. Thus, if we find Imp. IV attached to a name . . . the sum is made up by one accession to the throne and three victories. A Roman emperor took credit for the successes of the generals, because they were gained under his auspices." Hence it is evident that from this part of the legend on imperial coins we can only determine a date approximately. Under the Republic the title of Imperator followed the name, but the Emperors assumed it as a *praenomen* (Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. III, Chap. 74, with the notes of Lipsius and other interpreters).

The art of die-sinking continued to flourish longer than that of sculpture, which began to decline under the Antonines, as may be seen if we compare with each other the reliefs on the historical columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius at Rome. For a specimen of skilful workmanship in medals of a late period, see Cohen, *op. cit.*, VI, engraving on the title-page, "Postumus—one of the Thirty Tyrants."

Among the ancient Romans, as we learn from the authors, men and women stripped and bathed together. Martial, *Epigrams*, III, 51:—

"Cum faciem laudo, cum miror crura manusque,
Dicere, Galla, soles 'Nuda placebo magis,
Et semper vitas communia balnea nobis.
Numquid, Galla, times, ne tibi non placeam?'"

Cf. *ibid.*, Epigram 72.

Plato in his treatise *De Republica* seriously proposes the same arrangement for gymnastic exercises in the palaestra, Book V, p. 452: "Τί, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, γελοιότατον αὐτῶν ὄρας; ἡ δηλαδὴ ὅτι γυμνὰς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς παλαισταῖς γυμναζομένας μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ μόνον τὰς νέας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδη τὰς πρεσβυτέρας;"

Ibid., p. 457: "Ἀποδυντέον εἰ ταῖς τῶν φυλάκων γυναῖξιν, ἐπεὶ περ ἄρετήν ἀντι ἰματίων ἀμφιέσονται, καὶ κοινωνητέον πολέμου τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης φυλακῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλα πρακτέον."

In the context from which the preceding extracts are taken there is a striking coincidence with social delusions now prevalent among ourselves. Plato's argument is simply this: women have the same nature as men, therefore they ought to have the same duties, both in peace and in war; only, as the sex is weaker (*διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀσθενειαν*), the lighter portion of the task should be assigned to it. We need not go far to seek a refutation of such a theory. A distinction between the sexes has been deeply implanted, and it cannot be eradicated by the speculations of a Greek philosopher or the Acts of a British Parliament. Compare the Introduction to the Oxford translation of Plato's *Republic*, which bears Jowett's

name on the title page; some remarks are made on the supposed "equality of the sexes," p. 143 *seq.*

Abnoba has the penultimate syllable short, as we learn from the *Descriptio Orbis Terrarum*, by Rufus Festus Avienus, v. 430 *seqq.* :—

"Porro inter cautes et saxa sonantia Rhenus,
Vertice qua nubes nebulosus fulcit Adulas,
Urget aquas," &c.

v. 437 :—

"Abnoba mons Istro pater est, cadit Abnoba hiatu
Flumen; in eos autem convertitur axes,
Euxinoque salo provolvitur."

He says that the Rhine rises in Mount Adulas, and the Danube in Abnoba. Adulas, according to Sir Edward Bunbury, a great authority for classical geography, signifies the lofty mountain group about the passes of the *Splugen* and *S. Bernardino*, and at the head of the valley of the *Hinter Rhein*. See the article s.v. in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* bearing the initials E.H.B.

The poem of Avienus, quoted above, is a paraphrase of the work of Dionysius Periegetes (*Διονυσίου Οικουμενής Περιήγησις*), included in the *Geographi Graeci Minores*, edited by Car. Müller and published by Didot, II, 103–176. In the same volume we have Avienus, vv. 1394, pp. 177–189. See also *Poetae Latini Minores*, edit. Wernsdorf, V, ii, 621–1153, text and commentary. Another translation of Dionysius Periegetes, who probably flourished A.D. 300, was made by the grammarian Priscian for educational purposes, *Geogr. Graec. Min.*, *ibid.*, pp. 190–199.

Lastly, the testimony of inscriptions should be adduced :—

IN H. D. D
DEANAE ABN
OBAE CASSIA
NVS CASATI
V. S. L. L. M.
ET ATTIANVS
FRATER. FAL
CON. ET CLARO
COS.

Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.*, No. 1986, I, 351, text and note.

IN H. D. D. = in honorem Domus divinae, i.e. the Imperial family. The words *divina domus* remind us of an epithet which Tacitus often applies to deceased emperors, e.g. *Annals*, I, 8, and 42, where we have both *divus Julius* and *divus Augustus*.

After CASATI there is a *lacuna* which should be supplied by *filii*. V. S. L. L. M. may be expanded thus: *votum solvit libentissime merito*; but sometimes LL = *libentes*.

The date of the inscription, A.D. 193, is known from the Consuls; their names in full are Q. Sosius Falco, C. Julius Erucius Clarus. This year, A.D. 193, was a remarkable one, because in the course of it the Roman world had three rulers in the following order:—Pertinax, Julianus who bought the empire, and Septimius Severus.

ABNOBAE occurs alone, with omission of DIANAE, in an

inscription found near Roetenberg in the Black Forest (*Orelli*, Vol. II, No. 4974). I quote it *in extenso* :—

ABNOBAE
C. ANTONIVS
SILO 7 LEG. IA
DIVTRICISEr
LEG. II. ADIVTRI
CISSETLEGIIIAVG
ETLEGIIIIFF
ETLEGXICPF
ETLEGXXIIPFD
VSLLM.

After SILO we have the centurial mark 7; it is an abbreviation for *Centurio* or *Centuria*, and is supposed by some to represent a staff, made of a vine-branch, with which the officer chastised his soldiers. Juvenal, *Sat.*, VIII., 247 :—

“Nodosam post haec frangebatur vertice vitem.”

7 is often rounded off, and so resembles C reversed. For this mark see Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, 4to. edition, pp. 415–417, with five illustrations. The centurial stones may have indicated portions of work done by a troop, or perhaps pointed out space set apart for quarters in an encampment. One of them, figured p. 416, has a special interest, and is inscribed as follows :—

PED[ATVRA] CLA[SSIS]
BRI[TANNICAE]

The ground of
the British fleet.

Lapidarium Septentrionale, fol., 1875, p. 487, Index XIII, marks, abbreviations and peculiarities in spelling. Six examples are given under *Centuria*, *Centurio*, 7, 3, C, 3, CE, 3, with references.

FF in our inscription stands for Flavia Fidelis (or Firma); it might in other cases = Fausti Filius, Fecerunt, Felicissimus, Fortissimus (Imperator), or Filii.

The *Dict. of Antiq.*, third edition, s.v. *Exercitus*, Vol. I, p. 788 seq., has a list of legions in tabular form—Quarters, Special Distinctions, Duration of Existence. Compare *Res Gestae Divi Augusti ex Monumentis Ancyrano et Apolloniensi*, edidit Th. Mommsen, accedunt tabulae tres (facsimiles of the original inscriptions on a reduced scale, Plates I and II are Roman characters, Plate III is Greek). *Latina Inscriptio*, 3, vv. 35, 36; *Commentarii*, Caput XVII, pp. 44–50, esp. p. 46: “Laterculum legionum, quae extremis annis Augusti fuerunt, addita in singulis originis, ubi fieri potuit, et interitus aliqua indicatione, item provinciae, in qua primum castra quaeque habuisse invenitur,” p. 45. Laterculum (πλῖθιον), diminutive of *later*, a brick, means a register of offices and dignities in the Roman Empire—the name indicates its shape, which was rectangular, and not like the *volumen*, a roll. Mommsen writes *Hunc laterculum*, p. 47; but De Vit gives the neuter gender, following Forcellini, who appends a note s.v., “De genere ne ambigas neutrum facit Isidorus, Origines VI, 17.

Augustus built at Ancyra a magnificent temple of marble, and inscribed there a history of his deeds, almost in the style of an

Asiatic sovereign. This Ancyra (Angora) in the northern part of Galatia, also called Sebaste in honour of Augustus, west of the River Halys, must be carefully distinguished from another city with the same name in the north-west of Phrygia, near the borders of Mysia and Bithynia.

Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum in usum praecepue academicum*, gives a good list of abbreviations with expansions, Vol. II, Index XVI, Compendia Scripturae, pp. 710-737. See especially p. 736, V.S.L., etc. The book corresponds to its title, and the tyro in epigraphy will find it very useful for reference, but if he wishes to see reproductions as nearly as possible facsimiles of the originals, he should peruse Spon's *Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis*, Lugduni, 1685—Bell's *Chronological Tables of Universal History*, "Literature and Painters," Tab. IX, columns for France and Switzerland.

Quintus Curtius Rufus, the Roman historian of Alexander the Great, probably wrote under the Emperor Claudius, but the date is uncertain; this work is entitled *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni*. In the account of Babylon he says, Book V, chap. 5, "Pensiles horti sunt, summam murorum altitudinem aequantes, multarumque arborum umbra et proceritate amoeni," and enters into minute details of construction. Diodorus Siculus was a contemporary of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. In Book II, chap. 10, edit. Bipont, II, 35-38, we have a description of these gardens at still greater length—"ὁ κρεμαστός καλούμενος κήπος." He calls the vaults that supported the terraces *σύριγγες*. Cf. Strabo, lib. XVI, cap. I, § 5, p. 738: "κήπος, ἔχων ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι . . . συνέχεται ἐν ψαλιδῶμασι καμαρωτοῖς—fornicibus concameratis." Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXXVI, §§ 83, 94, 104. We cannot implicitly trust the accounts of these late writers, as they may have only copied the statements of predecessors who were inaccurate or ignorant.

But the buildings of the seventeenth century to be seen on the lake Maggiore may enable us to picture to ourselves the hanging-gardens of the ancients: L. Boniforti, "Il Lago Maggiore e dintorni con viaggi ai laghi e monti circonvicini"; Isola Bella, p. 101, "Per fondare nell' onda quella serie di solidissime volte, su cui poggia la piramidale scalea dei pensili giardini," with plate, Isole Borromee, facing p. 100, see also p. 103; Isola Madre, p. 105, "Cinque digradanti giardini." The resemblance between the old Roman and the modern Italian style of gardening appears not only in the general arrangement of parterres and flower-beds, but also in the *ars topiaria*, or method of cutting and clipping trees into fanciful shapes. To it Martial alludes, *Epigrams*, III, 19:—"De Vipera in ore Ursae."

"Proxima centenis ostenditur ursæ columnis,
Exornant fictæ qua platanona feræ."

Dict. Ant., third edition, I, 977. The article *Hortus* ends with an appropriate engraving from a painting at Herculaneum. Compare Pliny the Younger, *Ep.*, V, vi, 16, "Ante porticum xystus concisus in plurimas species, distinctusque buxo." See also *ibid.*, II, 17, "Descriptio villæ Laurentinæ." We may observe in § 9 the phrase *transitus suspensus*, a passage supported by pillars, where the adjective is used with the same meaning as *suspensura* mentioned

above. Overbeck, *Pompeii*, Vol. I, p. 278 *seq.*, "Garten . . . sehr anmuthiger, an der Casa di Sallustio," Fig. 186, and p. 279: "Da zur Anpflanzung von Bäumen und Gesträuchen zu wenig Raum vorhanden war, hat man sich begnügt, einen . . . Sandplatz 24 (plan of the house, Fig. 185, p. 276) mit gemauerten Behältern für Erde zur Blumenzucht zu umgeben und die fehlenden Bäume auf die Hinterwand zu malen, wo sie (jetzt höchlich ruinirt) von zahlreichen bunten Vögeln belebt, die Aussicht zu erweitern und zu begrenzen schienen oder scheinen sollten."

With reference to the construction of the *Limes Transrhenanus* et *Transdubianus*, I have made some allusion to the character and career of Hadrian. Gregorovius, *Geschichte des römischen Kaisers Hadrian und seiner Zeit*, I, i, 5.

Gibbon, Chap. XII, Vol. II, p. 46, edit. Sir William Smith, without sufficient reason attributes the boundary wall to Probus, who reigned A.D. 276-282; it is one of the comparatively few errors that disfigure his great work. When he says, "Its scattered ruins are universally ascribed to the power of the Daemon," he refers to its popular appellation *Teufelsmauer* (Devil's Wall). For the stories connected with this superstition see Dr. Hodgkin, *op. citat.*, p. 6 *seq.*

I subjoin a brief notice of publications concerning Roman Baths, which may be of some use to those who wish to study their construction. Vitruvius is the chief ancient authority; his work, *De Architecturâ Libri X*, probably appeared between B.C. 16 and B.C. 13. Among modern compilations a prominent place should be assigned to the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, by Daremberg and Saglio, article *Balneum*, *Balneæ* (Βαλανεῖον, λουτήριον), I, 648-664, Figs. 745-769; p. 661, Fig. 766, "Plan des bains de Badenweiler," which are described at length on the same and following page; 663, *Bibliographie*, "Voyez aussi les ouvrages cités dans les notes, relatifs aux bains de Pompei et d'autres localités."

On p. 662, col. a, *miliarium* occurs—"in baths a narrow vessel for drawing and warming water." It is usually spelt thus, when it has this meaning, but it is the same word as *milliarium* (*sic*) a milestone. In both cases the form of the object is similar, hence the appellation is identical. Vitruvius, V, 10, calls it *ahenum caldarium*: "Athena supra hypocaustum . . . ita collocanda uti ex tepidario in caldarium, quantum aquae caldae exierit, influat," etc. Italian, *caldia*, French, *chaudière*. Rich., *op. citat.*, s.v. gives from Pompeii as an illustration a *miliarium* restored according to the impression which it has left in the mortar of the wall against which it was set; the square aperture underneath is the mouth of the furnace, actually existing, over which it was placed. Some have derived the word from the plant *milium* (Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 216, "et milio venit annua cura") on account of some supposed likeness, but this seems to be erroneous. C. Knight's *Cyclopædia of Natural History*, Millet, s.v. *Sorghum*, Vol. IV, col. 858; Italian, *sorgo*. *Treasury of Botany*, by Lindley and Moore, Part II, p. 1074.

Of all the books on Pompeii with which I am acquainted, Overbeck's is the most useful, containing much information and far more convenient for reference than the works of Mazois and others, so bulky that they require a strong man to lift them. The title is

Pompeii in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken . . . , 2 vols., large 8vo., with full-page plates and woodcuts intercalated in the text, tables of contents, index at the end, and map on a large scale, "Plan der Stadt Pompeii Resultat der Ausgrabungen von 1748-1865." The parts not excavated are also indicated. For the baths see Vol. I, Section II, Cap. 3, "Die öffentlichen Gebäude, Fünfter Abschnitt, Die Thermen," pp. 186-224, Figs. 138-149. This work has been re-edited by August Mau, who has also written *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, with numerous illustrations from original drawings and photographs, 1899, one vol., 8vo.; "Baths," Chaps. XXVI-XXVIII, pp. 180-205, Plate V, facing p. 182, Apodyterium of the Stabian Baths, with the ante-room leading from the Palaestra. The bathing establishments at Rome are, as might be expected in the metropolis, much larger than those at Pompeii; but the latter are more interesting and instructive on account of their excellent preservation.

Armamentarium—*repositorum armorum*—often means a naval arsenal, as in Cicero, *De Oratore*, I, xiv, 62, "Philonem illum architectum, qui Atheniensibus armamentarium fecit" (with Ellendt's note); and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, lib. VII, cap. XXXVII, § 125, "Laudatus est . . . Philon Athenis armamentario mille navium." The reading CD, *i.e.* 400, is preferable. In the *De Oratore*, *ibid.*, we read, "Si huic M. Antonio pro Hermodoro fuisset de navalium opere dicendum." And here we must distinguish between two words which the compilers of some dictionaries have confounded. *Navalia* (νεώρια of Attic orators) were docks, "where ships were built or drawn up," usually in the plural number, which is used by Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 593, "Diripienteque rates alii navalibus?" but the poets sometimes have the singular. *Dict. of Antiq.*, 3rd edition, s.v. De Vit in his article "*Armamentarium*" says: "Quale item amplissimum illud, quod hodie Venetiis cernitur; *arsenale*." Murray, *Handbook for Northern Italy*, Route 31, remarks that the model-room still contains curious materials for the history of naval architecture; and it has been suggested that some mediæval galleys preserved there might throw light on the construction of ancient triremes.

In Shakespeare's *Othello* the following line occurs:—

"Lead to the Sagittary the raised search."

Act I, Scene 1. See also Act I, Scene 3. C. Knight's Pictorial Edition, cited by Halliwell, Vol. 15, p. 44, note 18, seems to explain correctly. "The Sagittary was the residence at the arsenal of the commanding officers of the navy and army of the Republic. The figure of an archer, with his drawn bow, over the gates still indicates the place."

It would be easy to collect examples showing how Mithraism was diffused in countries far distant from each other, *e.g.* at Trèves, "Kopf eines Cautopates, Hochrelief. Offenbar ist es der Kopf einer der fackeltragenden Jünglinge, welche neben den Mithrasbildern rechts und links dargestellt zu werden pflegen." Hettner, *Die Römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier*, p. 67, no. 114 [XV, 1]: "*Pates* wird aus dem persischen *pāta* 'geschützt' erklärt. . . . Für die erste Hälfte des Wortes ist eine Erklärung noch nicht gefunden." Perhaps it is akin to *καίω*, *καίωω*,

καῦμα, καύσις, καυσία, a broad-brimmed hat to keep off the heat of the sun.

The heterogeneous mixture of emblems in Mithraic monuments may remind us of the *grylli*—"grotesque figures formed of portions of various animals . . . combined into the outline of a single monster."

In addition to the authorities for the worship of Mithras cited in my paper on "Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine," *Arch. Jour.*, 1890, XLVII, 378-383, 395, and 402 *seq.*, with two illustrations, "Front and Back of Mithraic Tablet at Wiesbaden," I subjoin the following:—

W. Froehner, *Sculpture Antique du Louvre*, "Mithras," pp. 495-503, with engraving on p. 499, No. 569, "Le grand bas-relief mithriaque du Louvre."

Fr. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*.

C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 49, discussing the connexion of Mithraism with Christianity, remarks that Constantine adopted and retained long after his conversion the figure of the Sun with the legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI as being a personification either of the ancient Phœbus or the new Sun of Righteousness, equally acceptable to both Christian and Gentile. Compare Malachi iv, 2, "But unto you that fear My name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in His wings."

K. B. Stark, *Zwei Mithraeen der Grossh. Altertumsammlung in Karlsruhe; Festschrift zur Heidelberger Philologenversammlung*, 1865.

Last year (1900) the investigation of the Limes was extended to Austria, and results obtained were published by the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, with the title *Der Römische Limes in Österreich*. In this volume Carnuntum, on the right bank of the Danube, west of Presburg, occupies a large space, as it was an important military station, *castra stativa*.

We learn from inscriptions that the fifteenth legion, surnamed Apollinaris, in A.D. 73, under the Emperor Vespasian, built or restored the fort near Deutsch-Altenburg (auf der Burg); and there is evidence from sepulchral monuments that the Romans had occupied the site previously. Carnuntum does not occur in Tacitus, whose history, as now extant, ends with the War of Civilis in Germany, A.D. 70, and therefore the circumstance above mentioned cannot be included in it. On the other hand, the *Antonine Itinerary*, edit. Wesseling, pp. 247, 262 (*bis*), 266, 267, edit. Parthey and Pinder, pp. 114, 123 (*bis*), 127, 128, gives the distances in Roman miles from Carnuntum to Vindobona, 27; to Arrabona (Raab) by different routes, 52 and 55; to Scarabantia (Ödenburg), 38; they are also marked in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, edit. Mannert, Segmentum IV*b*, in the upper part of the plate Aequinoctio XIII, Carnunto, etc., but the figures are not exactly the same. *Rom. Limes in Österreich*, col. 47 *seq.*, Cap. III, "Das Strassennetz." Cf. *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis*, ed. Bocking, Cap. XXXIII, "Dux Pannoniae Primae," p. 99*, [§ I], [B], [4], "Equites Dalmatae Aequinoctiae, [E], [I], Praefectus Classis Histricae Carnunto sive Vindomanae a Carnunto translatae."

This work on the Limes in Austria, from which I have derived some particulars, contains a supplement devoted to inscriptions; the following examples may serve as specimens:—

“C. Cassio Mari | no Vel(ina) Aquil(eia) | filio ann(or)um VIII et |
Cassiae Prœculae | Vel(ina) Aquil(eia). sorori | ann(or)um XVI |
C. Cassius Aelia | nus (centurio) leg(ionis) [X]V Apol(linaris)
fecit.”

Col. 130 *seq.*, engraved Fig. 23.

Here we may observe that the tribe and birthplace of the centurion's son and sister, who were minors, are mentioned, but in his own case omitted. Compare Col. 103, No. 4, and Tafel V, “Die Gräberstrasse.”

“A. Eburius | Celer miles | leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) | (centuria)
Decci Maxsi(mini) ? ; | vix(it) ann(os) XXX, | stip(endiorum) VIII ;
h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | frater ei | fecit.”

Col. 131, engraved Fig. 24 on col. 130.

The Gentile name Deccius is very rare. Perhaps the centurion above mentioned is the same as that in an inscription found at Rome, “C. Deccius Maximinus b(eneficiarius) pr(aefecti) urb(is),” *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, Vol. VI, No. 2680 = 32658. *Beneficarii* were soldiers who had received from their commanding officer some honour or exemption from service, and are opposed by Festus to *munifices* required to perform their usual duties. Cæsar, *De Bello Civili*, mentions them twice, I, 75, “Barbarisque equitibus paucis, beneficiariis suis” (*i.e.* of Petreius), and III, 88, “Haec erant millia XLV, evocatorum circiter duo, quae ex beneficiariis superiorum exercituum ad eum convenerant.” B.F. frequently occurs as the abbreviation of this word, but these letters are also used with different meanings. See Gerard, *Siglarium Romanum*, B.F.—B.F.V., *e.g.*, B.F. LEG. LEG. II, Beneficiarius Legati Legionis Secundae. Orelli, *Inscr.*, No. 3462, SINGVLARIS BENEFIC. TRIBVN., with note 3. Forcellini, *s.v.*, has a copious article, containing several references to Gruter. Compare Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscr.*, Lat. Index XVI. *Compendia Scripturae*, II, 713. *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Nos. 189, 603, 681, 716.

Among the gravestones at Carnuntum we meet with other words that deserve notice. Fig. 28, *op. citat.*, *Praeconius*, is formed like *Lictorius*, and seems to imply that the *Praecones* (public criers) were a corporate body. Fig. 29, the *imaginifer*, bore the Emperor's image as a standard, the general term being *signifer*. Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, II, 25, “Signifero interfecto, signo amisso,” in his account of the war with the *Nervii* (B.C. 57), whom he defeated and slaughtered; *ibid.*, chap. 28, “Prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto.”

In late Latin the preposition *ex* denotes one who has retired from an office, just as we say ex-chancellor. *Aquilifer* is a compound like *imaginifer*. V. Hefner, *Das Römische Bayern in seinen Schrift- und Bildmalen*, 1852, p. 41, XXV, “Denkmal. Aschaffenburg,” Taf. IV, Fig. 9:—

EX · AQVILIFERO · LEG ·
I · ADIVTRICIS

and VII, *Index Rerum*, p. 363, col. 2, for other instances of *ex* in

composition. The use of the verb *exauctoro* is similar (Professor Key's *Latin Grammar*, § 1332).

"Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, II, 7, *imaginarii vel imagiferi, qui imperatoris imagines ferunt. Latius tamen accipi videtur, σημειοφόροι,*" (De Vit, *Latin Lexicon*, s.v.).

"Vibius Cn(aei) l(ibertus) | Logus | an(norum) XIX, nat(ione) [Er]mundur(us)."

Fig. 30. This inscription corroborates a passage in Tacitus, *Germania*, Chap. 41, where he speaks of the Hermunduri as allies faithful to the Romans, and in the same sentence appears to refer to Aelia Augusta (Augsburg), calling it "splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia." Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* has a good article s.v. Hermunduri by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz; it includes a notice of the contradictory statements made by ancient writers concerning them. This powerful nation may be described roughly as extending from the western mountains of Bohemia to the kingdom of Wurtemberg, or in other words to the Roman Grenzwall that protected the Agri Decumates.

Orelli, in his note on Tacitus, *loc. citat.*, quotes Zeuss D., p. 103, who defines the boundaries of the Hermunduri. "Von der Werra, Elbe, dem Harze und dem Walde Bacenis war das weite Land der Hermunduren umschlossen." He also gives a long extract from Dion Cassius, LIV, 10. The name must have been Ermundurus in the inscription, without the initial aspirate, as there is no room for H on the stone.

Statilius Taurus, a distinguished general in the Augustan age, was Praefectus Urbi and built the first stone amphitheatre B.C. 30.

Cohen, *Medailles Consulaires*, p. 305, No. 159, *Statilia*, says: "Famille inconnue avant l'Empire." This remark is erroneous, but the mistake has been corrected by Babelon in his *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, II, 468 seq.: "Marius Statilius commandait la cavalerie lucanienne qui lutta contre Annibal en 538 (216 avant J.—C). Plus tard, nous trouverons un L. Statilius compromis dans la conspiration de Catilina." Three coins are mentioned by both writers, e.g. TAVRVS · REGVLVS · PVLCHER. Rev., IIIVIR. A.A.A.F.F.S.C. ("Triumviri aere argento auro flando feriundo, Senatus consulto"). The *tres viri monetales* were directors of the Mint. Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, English translation, Vol. III, p. 552, places their introduction in the year 477 (483) u.c.

Livy, XXII, 42: "Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit (L. Aemilius Paullus)." Other Statilii are enumerated in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Vol. III, p. 901.

The importance of Carnuntum is proved by the fact that a Roman fleet which guarded the Danube was for a long time stationed there. Ermanno Ferrero, *L'Ordinamento delle Armate Romane*, 1878, supplies inscriptions relating to this subject, pp. 185-191, Nos. 535-544, "Classis Pannonica—Classis Moesica." *Ibid.*, *Iscrizioni e Ricerche Nuove intorno all' Ordinamento delle Armate dell' Impero Romano*, 1884, p. 64, No. 715.

As a continuation of the work on the *Limes* in Austria, the following part has been just published (April, 1901), *Der römische Limes in Oesterreich*, Heft II, M. von Groller, Graberfeld bei der

Villa Pálffy — Lager von Carnuntum — Retentura — Praetentura — Römische Waffen — Strassenforschung, etc., with 25 plates and 50 figures in the text.

In preparing this memoir I have made free use of *Die Römischen Bäder bei Badenweiler in Schwarzwald, nach der natur aufgenommen im sommer 1855, und mit rücksicht auf frühere editionen erläutert*, by Dr. Heinrich Leibnitz, and the Reports of the Obergerm-Raet-Limes des Römerreiches and of the Römische Limes in Österreich.