ROMAN TOMBS IN THE NECROPOLIS AT CUMÆ.

XIX.—*The City of Cumæ, and the recent Excavations there. Communicated by*
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Read 18 June, 1857.

THERE is scarcely a district in the world endowed with such singular beauty, and possessing such deep points of interest, as that extending about ten or twelve miles westward from Naples. A sky of such brilliancy as only Italy can shew; a sea of colours like the transparent hues of the sapphire and emerald; mountains on land and mountainous islands rising from the sea twice and thrice the height of those in Wales, and crowned with snow for a third of the year. The air of extraordinary clearness and purity, and redolent with the odours of the myrtle, orange, and citron. The earth covered with rich crops of maize, the vine hanging in a cordage of festoons from tree to tree, huge groves of figs and olives twisted in every fantastic form, and interspersed with the feathery palm, forests of pine, leccio, and cypress, all form a scene of beauty difficult to describe. But how

is the interest heightened when we reflect on the history of the spot! We are in the scene so exquisitely described by Virgil in the *Æneid*. Here are the Isles of the Sirens and of Circe, the Tomb of Misenus, the Grotto of the Sibyl, the mysterious River Cocytus, the Lake Avernus, and the Elysian Fields. Here, too, the great poet is supposed to have been interred. The heights are crowned with the remains of sumptuous villas, where Cæsar, Crassus, Pompey, Lucullus, and Augustus feasted, and where Cicero penned his best philosophical works. At Baïæ was the favoured haunt of Horace; "Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucebat amœnis,"^a are his words to Mæcenas. Here, too, was the Ager Falernus, which produced the wine which he celebrates with such gusto.^b Here, also, is the spot to which we shall especially have to refer,—Cumæ, the seat of the sibyl Deiphobe, the "vacuæ Cumæ" of Juvenal,^c the "quieta Cyme" of Statius,^d and probably so called as a contrast to the bustling and licentious Baïæ. It is here the great poet has fixed the residence of his friend Umbricius, in one of those noble, those immortal Satires, described by Dr. Johnson as taking the highest moral tone, as pronouncing the greatest moral truths, next to the sacred Scriptures themselves.

The aspect, however, of the greater part of this country has been changed by a most singular and most marvellous circumstance.^e In September, 1538, a succession of shocks of an earthquake, sometimes twenty in a day, suddenly upheaved the whole coast for a length of six or eight miles, so that the sea appeared to recede 200 feet, and fish were left on dry land. Shortly after the ancient trachytic lava, the subsoil of the district, sank to a depth of from 14 to 20 feet, volumes of steam burst forth from the ground, and clouds of heavy black ashes covered the whole country, some of which reached Naples itself, eight miles off. The lighter ashes are said to have been driven, in the form of very fine dust, as far as the Val di Diano in Calabria, a distance of 150 miles. On the third day it was found that a mountain had been formed, now called Monte Nuovo, 440 feet above the level of the sea, and nearly two miles round. In Sir William Hamilton's time the crater was nearly as deep as the mountain was high. It may easily be imagined what a change was made in the country: the Lucrine Lake, where the Roman navy were

^a Horat. Epist. i. 1. 83.

^b Horat. Carm. i. 20, 10; ii. 3, 8. See also Pliny, xiv. 6, 8.

^c Juven. Sat. iii. 2.

^d Statius, Sylv. iv. 3, 65.

^e The best account of these eruptions is given by Simone Porzio, a physician, in a tract, called "*De Conflagratione Agri Puteolani*," afterwards reprinted in his collected works. There are also three MSS. in the collection presented to the British Museum by Sir William Hamilton, written by Francisco di Nero, Marcantonio dei Falconi, and Pietro di Toledo.

accustomed to lie, was half filled up, and the connexion between it and the sea cut off, so that the water rose into the Grotto of the Sibyl. It is probable there have been several alternate depressions and elevations on this coast as well as the one last described, for the Temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli has evident marks of sea-worms on the columns, which are now much above the sea level.^a At any rate, all round the coast are the ruins of houses, villas, baths, pavements, now submerged in the ocean. I know no sight more affecting than to watch these remains below the deep clear water, and to see the fish gliding over the marble pavements, and the seaweed clinging to the gilded walls once covered with beautiful pictures.

Before narrating the discoveries, the subject of this paper, I will shortly describe the spot, which is almost unknown to the ordinary traveller. The ancient town of Cumæ was situate on the east side of the Bay of Gaeta,^b lying between the three lakes, Licola,^c Averno, and Fusaro;^d and it apparently formed a triangle of considerable size. Its only gateway now remaining is the Arco Felice, which crosses the road from Naples, in a deep cutting through the hills. It is of brick, 60 feet high, having a single arch about 18 feet wide. There are wing walls likewise of brick with several niches. As at the Highgate Archway, a road crossed at the top joining hill to hill, the main road entering the city under the great arch: an aqueduct is also supposed to have traversed it. Within the precinct of the old city is a quantity of waste land covered with myrtle, leccio, and underwood of the thickest growth. Here and there are some very fine vineyards, with a few scattered cottages of the contadini. Above the city towers the ancient arx, or citadel,^e on a steep rock accessible only on one side, and that with difficulty: it has probably been of volcanic formation. On it are the remains of the old fortress, huge masses of almost cyclopean masonry surmounted by Roman reticulated brickwork, and this again by the walls of the Gothic castle. It was the resort of a nest of pirates in the thirteenth century, and was taken by storm by Godfrey of Montefusco, who dismantled it entirely. On this arx, or acropolis, was the celebrated Temple of Apollo, and close by, a cave, "antrum immane," where the Sibyl dwelt, both described by Virgil.^f Of the former, the only probable remains are a portion of a Doric fluted column and one capital, all in

^a See paper by Sir Edmund Head, read at the Society, Dec. 10, 1857, hereafter printed.

^b Sinus Caietanus.

^c Supposed to be the "Litrna Palus" of Silius Italicus, vii. 278 (though the passage is vague), and of Statius, Sylv. iv. 3, 66, immediately following the passage *supra*.

^d There is little doubt, from Pliny, iii. 9, that the Lago Fusaro must be the Palus Acherusia, as he says the Acherusian Marsh, or Lake, is near Cumæ.

^e Now called "La Rocca di Cuma."

^f *Æneid*, vi. 41.

the oldest style. A vast dark opening is said to be the entrance to the Cave of the Sibyl, though the more popular account says its site was near the Lake Avernus, in a cave which has been often described. The remains still visible are those of a large amphitheatre, the middle of which is filled by earth, trees, and vines: the external part is visible, and seems to have had a colonnade; there are the vestiges of twenty-one ranges of steps, and of the place for the velarium. There are also the remains of a square vaulted cella, now called the Temple of the Giant, from a colossal statue of Jupiter found there, which is now in the Museo Borbonico. In 1606 a temple of Augustus was discovered by Cardinal Acquaviva, from whence some statues were taken; but this is now quite destroyed. In 1839 a temple of Serapis was found, from whence some large Egyptian objects were obtained. All these have been described in various works.

The real difficulty in excavating the city is simply that the land and the vines on it are so valuable; it is said, indeed, to produce the finest grapes on that side of Naples; and there is little doubt, with proper care, a wine might be made there equal to the famous *Lacrima Cristi*, from the foot of Vesuvius. The destruction, therefore, of the vines entails a most serious loss to the proprietor, besides the cost of the labour of the excavation itself. Notwithstanding this, the Prince of Syracuse, so favourably known to the artistic and archæological world, determined to devote some considerable time and expense to developing the remains of antiquity which might be found there, and, with extreme kindness, an opportunity was given me of being present on one of the occasions.

On arriving at the spot I found an excavation in the middle of the old city about 7 feet deep, in which were some large sculptured blocks of white marble, and Corinthian columns of cipollino. The greater part of these columns had been removed to Naples, as the proprietor seemed very anxious to have his ground made good again as soon as possible. I was informed the temple had been about 100 feet long, and had a semicircular end. From a statue of Diana with a dog, it was very naturally concluded to be a temple dedicated to that deity. The work was very beautifully executed, though of a late style of art. I made a sketch of one of the capitals, which seem of the Imperial period. Three inscriptions were found, or rather fragments of inscriptions. One on a piece of a frieze,

LVCCE ETIS' S' P ;

another on a small marble base—

CN · LVCCEIVS · CN · F · GEML
FRATER . . .

and on another fragment—

. LVCCEI

A . . .

The Lucceii were a well-known ancient family at Rome; one of them, Cneius Lucceius, was friendly with Marcus Brutus, and visited Cicero^a at his villa at Pozzuoli. Several inscriptions are there found to that family, which show them to have been of importance; and it seems more than probable that the first inscription here quoted, being on a frieze, and having the letters S. P. "suâ pecuniâ," proves the temple to have been founded by one of them. There was probably a statue to another of the family, according to the second inscription. A piece of lead pipe was also found here bearing the name M · BENNI · RVFI, who is supposed to have been Consul with Q. Cæcilius, A.D. 7.

Close to this building are some large steps of marble, which appear to mark the site of another important building, or to be those leading to the open space of a forum.

After examining these objects, I proceeded to the great necropolis of the city, with little doubt one of the most curious in the world. Here rest the remains of the dead of Cumæ during many centuries. The Roman sepultures are immediately under the present surface, some not more than 4 feet. Those of the Greek period are below these, while about 30 feet below the present surface are found interments of a very curious and archaic character. Each of these classes deserves an account in its turn.

The first excavation^b I visited measured about 15 feet by 20 feet, and was about 4 to 5 feet deep. This seems to have been the necropolis of the poor, who are congregated together in large numbers, lying side by side in some instances, in others crosswise, the feet being to any point of the compass. This method of sepulture is extremely simple; two ranges of common tiles, measuring about 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot 5 inches, are placed edgewise, meeting together at the top like the sides of the roof of a house. On this top is a range of semicircular tiles,^c which in fact form a sort of ridge. Within these structures hundreds of bodies

^a Cicero ad Atticum, xvi. 5.

^b See vignette, p. 316.

^c These exactly resemble the interments found near York in 1768 by Dr. Burton, and given in the *Archæologia*, vol. II. p. 177, with this exception, that the sloping tiles at Cumæ are quite straight on the face, and not curved or bent, as those described above. The sizes are just the same. The Italians still call such tiles *tegola*, and the ridge-tiles *imbrice*—the old Roman *tegula* and *imbræx*.

are found. As has been said before, the feet of the dead were laid to any point of the compass. There were a great many different objects found in nearly all of them. Small vessels, of different sorts, pateræ, jugs of the form of "prochoos," coins, and in almost all what used to be called a lachrymatory, but which is more probably considered as a vessel for containing ointment or balsams. In these Roman tombs, which are easily distinguished by the coins found in them (some as late as Diocletian), the objects are almost always placed at the side of the body, as all the workmen agreed in informing me. The method of proceeding with the excavation is very simple. On arriving at the ridge-tiles the earth is carefully cleared away, the tiles lifted one by one, and the objects removed by hand. The tool principally used is the long-handled *vanga*, a species of heart-shaped spade, or a large hoe.

Besides these interments under tiles, large ollæ, or coarse pots,^a about a foot in height, and rather more in width, are found. Some of these have two ears or handles, others only one. The opening at the top is about six inches wide. These are filled with calcined bones and ashes; but in none of these, they told me, do they find coins. They are probably the interments of a better class: the poor being buried and not burned, as the fuel for the funeral pyre was expensive. The absence of coins is curious. Whether the richer classes were above the superstition of Charon's penny, or whether the money was usually lost in the pyre among the ashes, is not clear.

But there are other Roman tombs belonging to the rich of much greater pretensions, and these are mostly regular chambers, like those scattered all over Italy. In one of these, which was opened by the Prince himself, a most curious discovery was made. The tomb was nearly square, measuring a little more than 9 feet each way. The lower part was of rough tufo, the upper of brick, and it was vaulted. It had a very narrow doorway, which was blocked up with masonry, on removing which a very singular scene presented itself. Round three sides of the cell was a sort of raised platform or shelf, about 2 feet 6 inches wide, on which were the remains of four skeletons. Two lay separately, one on the right of the door, and one fronting the entrance; and two occupied the left bench or shelf, and lay side by side. As the light entered the tomb, Professor Minervini says, a most startling sight presented itself. The heads of these two last seemed to be entire, while the rest of the figure was a bare skeleton, and the eyes seemed open, and glistened as the light fell on them. A second glance showed these heads were of wax, and the eyes of a sort of glass paste. All the skeletons were without skulls,

^a See vignette at the end of this paper, p. 334.

and it was clear the place of the missing heads in these two had been supplied by wax models previous to their interment. One was evidently that of a female, the other of a male. The first, unluckily, on being touched, fell into powder; the second escaped with a slight fracture, was most carefully removed, and placed under a glass in the Museo Borbonico, in one of the rooms containing the frescoes from Pompeii.

A most careful search was immediately instituted into the other contents of the tomb. There were found first a number of very thin plates of bone, about 5 or 6 inches long, and an inch wide. These were supposed with great reason to have been the "sticks," as we call them, of a lady's fan. There were also six small vases of glass, of the most beautiful workmanship: two of red-coloured glass, with flowers of a lighter colour inserted into the mass itself of the glass; two were of green glass, with small concentric circles in relief; and two were of white glass, with coloured flowers, also inserted in the body of the vase. An inkstand of bronze was also found, and a small casket of wood, the material of which was so decayed that the letter S only of an inscription thereon could be decyphered. It had a lock made of bronze, and contained a few small vials, some pieces of gilt terra-cotta, the remains of a necklace, two hair-pins, and a small mirror: it was evidently the dressing-case of the lady whose remains had been there entombed. Some ashes, as if those of a dead body, were scattered about; but the most instructive of all the objects found was a small brass coin of Diocletian, evidently proving the interment must have been of his period, or shortly afterwards.

So singular a discovery excited the greatest interest among the learned; and of course the first question was, whose remains they were, and why this hitherto unheard-of circumstance—the wax heads? That the Romans were acquainted with the art of working in wax every scholar knows. It was the custom at the funerals of great men to carry with them the effigies of the dead, "*cerâ expressi vultus*,"^a which were taken home after the body was burnt, and placed in cases (wooden cases, says Polybius^b), and exhibited on solemn days in the "atria" of

^a Pliny, xxxv. 2. The passage is very curious, and, though often cited, has hardly ever been given at length. After describing a great number of ways of making likenesses, as pictures, bronzes, &c. he says, "It was otherwise with our ancestors of those things which we see in their halls (*apud majores in atriis*); they are not statues (*signa*) of foreign artists, nor bronze, nor marble, but their faces pressed in wax are disposed in separate closets (*singulis armariis*), so that they may be images which may accompany the funerals of those of gentle blood" (*gentilitia funera*). We have no exact word in English to express "*gens*:" it is more analogous to the Scotch word "*clan*" than any phrase we have.

^b Polybius, Hist. vi. 51. He gives a long account of the Roman funerals and the images carried there in procession, and an eloquent appeal to the feelings of those who witness the procession of the representation

the houses. On these "imagines" were placed the "tituli," or rank and quality of the deceased.^a Becker says, and with reason, this right, or "jus imaginum," was the exclusive privilege of the "nobiles;" and we also learn from two passages of Juvenal, and one of Tacitus,^b that in cases of treason, or any great crime, these figures were delivered up to the executioner to be destroyed publicly. The way in which these predecessors of Mrs. Salmon and of Madame Tussaud proceeded is described by Pliny, lib. xxxv. cap. 43, 44. He says it was the invention of Lysistratus of Sicyon, the brother of Lysippus; that they first took the form of the face in gypsum (plaster of Paris), in the way invented by Dibutades, and then squeezed wax into this form or mould, and so obtained the likeness. Thus were made the "imagines" which were placed in the Roman halls, like the family pictures in our houses. In this sepulchre the wax heads had been attached to the rest of the body, the real heads, or skulls, being quite gone, and had formed part of the interment. What was the cause of this? It seemed clear the bodies had been decapitated, and the heads taken away, and were missing at the time of the funeral.

It was said immediately—There is a coin of Diocletian; that emperor was a notorious persecutor; therefore these are the bodies of Christian martyrs, beheaded by him on account of their faith, and that the inkstand was a reliquary, and what was supposed to be ink was the blood their sorrowing friends had gathered at the time of the execution. Some years ago this opinion would have been eagerly credited, and new names added to the calendar of saints and martyrs; but the aid of chemical analysis was called in, and the remains in the bottle proved clearly to be ink. Besides this, it was asked, Why should the coin of their persecutor and murderer be placed in the tomb of the victims? In all probability, the coin was a "naulus," or offering to Charon, the passage-money of his grim ferry-boat. It was also asked, Why, if they were Christians, were they interred among the heathen? why should they be laid among idols and their worshippers, a thing we know to be very repulsive to the habits and feelings of the early Christians? Again, the heads are representations of persons living, and having the eyes open. The probability is, that, were these the representations of departed Christians, they would have been shown with the eyes closed in the sleep of death: the of departed greatness. He says, "When they have buried them, and have performed all the rites, they place the images of the departed in the most conspicuous parts of the houses, surrounding them with small wooden shrines" *ξύλινα ναῦδια*.

^a We should gather from the passage in Pliny, that sometimes the "stemmata" or pedigrees were placed on or under the "imagines."

^b Juvenal, viii. 18, x. 58; Tacitus, Annal. vi. 2, alluding to the fall of Sejanus.

very word used by them for their places of interment being *κοιμητηριον*, "cemetery; or place of the sleepers." Besides this, no symbol whatever of martyrdom, no emblem, trace, or vestige of Christianity, in any shape was found. One very curious circumstance was, that the ears of the male figure were pierced with two holes, evidently intended to receive ear-rings. These ornaments are of the remotest antiquity. Homer (*Iliad*, xiv. 182) mentions them among part of Juno's dress; Xenophon (*Anabasis*, iii. 1, 31) mentions them as part of the dress of the Lydian men, as Diodorus (v. 45) does of the Persian men; and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xi. 50)^a mentions the custom of women wearing pearls in their ears, and adds, "In the East it is thought honourable for men also to wear gold in their ears." From this circumstance the bodies were immediately pronounced to be those of foreigners; some supposing them to be Persians, others from Alexandria, although there was nothing of Oriental character about either the tomb or the articles found there. It is not improbable, however, from the ornaments and apparent wealth of the parties, that they were "libertini," or emancipated slaves, who, as we know, frequently amassed considerable wealth. In the first Satire of Juvenal^b the libertinus says, "I am first—why should I be backward in keeping my place, though I was born by the Euphrates? The effeminate holes (*molles fenestræ*) in my ears would prove this, even if I should deny it. But I have got five shops, which bring me in forty sestertia (about £320). I am richer than Pallas or Licinius:" the two last named were also freed men—the one of Claudius, the other of Augustus.

Then came the question, how did these four bodies lose their heads? Was it by the hand of the executioner? This, it was said, could not be the case, as the bodies of those who were beheaded were dragged along to the next river by a hook, and thrown in, to become a prey to the fishes or birds. Passages in Juvenal, Suetonius, and many other authors, were cited to prove this. But much more to the purpose was a passage from Ulpian (*Digest.* xlviii. tit. 24), "Let not the bodies of those condemned to be beheaded be denied to their relations, though sometimes this is not to be permitted in case of those condemned for treason:" proving that before this time the bodies of those beheaded were invariably denied the rights of sepulture.

Then came a most singular theory, that the heads had been taken away for magical purposes; and passages were quoted from Apuleius and Lucan as to the plunder of tombs and dismemberment of corpses by the witches for the purposes of incantation; an idea which prevailed up to Shakespeare's time, and, in fact, very

^a There are many other authorities among classic writers.

^b Juvenal, Satir. i. 102.

much later. But I remarked to Professor Minervini how absolutely improbable it seemed that the witch who broke open the tomb should be at the trouble of getting two wax heads made, and placing them where no one would ever see them; and why such a thing should be done in two cases only, instead of all the four? I ventured to remind the Professor of the passages in Plutarch; and Dion Cassius,^a describing the assassination of Cicero by Antony's soldiers, "They cut off his head, which was afterwards given to Fulvia;" and of course the body was burnt or buried without it. I suggested, that probably the skeletons were those of some wealthy freedman and his family, who had been murdered in some of the tumults so common between the times of Diocletian and Constantine, that their heads were carried away as trophies, a price probably having been placed on them. I also suggested the family might have possessed busts or casts of the heads of two of them taken during their lives, for it is clear, from the expression of the features, particularly the nostrils, these heads were not made from casts taken after death; in fact, had they possessed the real heads, what need of wax? These busts would not be kept as "imagines," for it is clear the parties were not "nobiles;" and thus the survivors may have thought them best employed in supplying the place of the missing heads. How near the truth these suggestions may be I cannot say, but I think they are free from many of the objections made to the others.

We now come to the consideration of the second stratum of tombs, so to speak, which are about 15 feet below the surface, and which are evidently of Greek origin. These are very numerous, and are mostly formed of blocks of stone, the tufo of the country. Some are only just long and wide enough to contain the body and a few vases, and are covered with large flat stones; others are somewhat larger, and are covered by long stones, laid sloping like a roof; others are a sort of small houses, also covered with long slabs of stone in single lengths, leaning against each other, and meeting in a sharp point or ridge, forming a steep roof, and with an entrance at one end. Of course, I inquired what peculiarities had been remarked, and was told that in the Greek tombs the feet of the bodies were always turned to the west, while in the Roman interments they are to any point of the compass. The various objects found in Greek tombs are mostly at the feet; a large vase is invariably found in that position; while in the Roman tombs they are almost always by the side of the body. Again, in the Roman tombs what used to be called "lachrymatories" are almost always found; in

^a Plut. in Vita Cic.; Dion Cass. 46.

Greek tombs they never exist. It will be remembered that the tombs are generally identified as being Greek or Roman, by the coins found in them.

Many of these tombs have been opened and plundered at some very remote period, certainly not later than Roman times; others contain articles of the greatest value and curiosity. Fourteen tombs were opened, thirteen averaging 7 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet 6 inches high; one (in which were two bodies) was of the same length, but nearly 4 feet wide, and 2 feet 9 inches high. It may serve to elucidate the subject if I state that in these the following articles were found:—

GOLDSMITHS' WORK.—Two ear-rings of silver, covered with very thin plates of gold, and several fragments of silver rings.

GEMS.—A scarabæus representing, on a plane face, Hercules seizing a stag by the horns with his left hand, and about to strike it with his club with the right.

BRONZE.—Four circular and one square mirror without engraving, a small spoon, a small circular vessel, and two strigils.

IVORY AND BONE.—A small sitting figure of Minerva in bas-relief, with helmet, spear, and shield, about 3 inches high, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide; and a fragment of another figure representing Mars; and some dice.

ALABASTER.—A great many small unguentaries, some of the form "lekythos," and others of those called "alabastron."

TERRACOTTAS.—A large number of vases of the usual types, with Bacchic subjects.

GLASS.—A number of small vases, some coloured and some plain; a few very small amphoræ; and some objects supposed to be playthings.

COINS.—A great many of bronze, in bad preservation, except a few, having the head of Apollo crowned with laurel on one side, on the other a demi-bull with a human face, the inscription ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ.

Among others a very curious Greek tomb was discovered, 7 feet long, 4 feet 9 inches wide, and 4 feet 3 inches high, to the beginning of the roof; this was of tufo, rough outside, and worked fair inside; the door was of one huge piece of stone, also rough on the outside. Lines in red, white, and black were painted round the circular aperture over the door. The inside was painted white, with a sort of red skirting; on the walls some red lines, between which was a Greek meander painted in black; besides this, on the end opposite the door, was painted in red, yellow, and black a very large palmette, which nearly filled up the end. On a sort of raised shelf was a quantity of ashes and burnt bones. A vessel of bronze of the form "prochoos," and some common

vessels of clay, were found. Besides this was some beautiful pottery of Greek workmanship, with an excellent jet black glaze, sparingly ornamented with gold near the handles; and there was one which excited the greatest interest. It was a vase of similar manufacture, with an inscription in gold. There were but two words, but those words were Oscan, and no doubt read VPILS UFIIS.

This was probably the name of the tenant of the tomb, for it seems too large and conspicuous to be read as the name of the potter, and was no doubt the ancient form of Opilius Ofius. That such an inscription should be found in what might be designated as a family tomb or vault excited the greatest interest. About the year 420 the City of Cumæ was conquered by the Samnites, as will be shown hereafter: the Cumæans, who were Greek colonists, were defeated, the city pillaged, such of the men as could not escape to Neapolis were put to the sword, and their wives and daughters seized by the conquerors; it was held by the Samnites as a colony, and so it remained till, like the rest of Italy, it

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became absorbed into and fused with the Roman nation. It was inferred, and I think fairly, from these circumstances, that the account of Livy (x. 20) is confirmed, as to the Samnites speaking Oscan; that they were not without some knowledge of the arts, though they used nearly pure Greek and not Etruscan forms; and that the tomb was later than the Samnite conquest, which took place about the time of Pericles. At a time when the learned are so earnestly occupied with investigating everything relating to the Oscan and Etruscan languages, every line, every word, almost every letter, is of deep interest; especially when there can be no doubt as to the locality of the discovery.

Another tomb (Plate VII.) had just been opened, much larger than any of the others;^a but, as it seemed to have been plundered, it excited but little attention. On visiting it, I was much struck by its size; a stone had been removed from the top, leaving a large aperture, and I determined to explore it. Taking a vine-dresser's rough ladder, I descended, when the workmen seemed seized with a panic; they think every tomb is haunted (at Fiesole they used to call the vaults under the theatre "buchi delle fate," or fairy-holes), and they all ran to my friend, and told him I had gone into the tomb. He thought they said I had fallen in, and came in a great hurry to my assistance, and was as much struck with it as myself. It is nearly 10 feet square, the walls 4 feet high, and to the point of the ridge is nearly 13 feet high. Its cubic contents are five or six times as large as most of the others. But the most curious fact was that it was roofed with large pieces of stone overlapping each other till they met in a ridge, and afterwards worked fair inside, not in a curve or false arch, like the treasury of Atreus, or the walls of Tiryns, or the entrance to the Regulini-Galassi Tomb, but perfectly straight; the courses are about 2 feet deep. I could not see the outside or back of the roof, on account of the great accumulation of rubbish, but the workmen told me that the stones were about 2 feet 6 inches in width, or bed; their lengths varied, but, if the men were correct, none weighed much less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ ton. There had been a door with a sort of canted head, but this had disappeared, and the opening was filled up with late masonry, probably Roman. On two sides of the tomb was a raised shelf, about a foot high; but the tomb had been stripped of everything, except the vestiges of a few bones. Of course I mentioned this very singular discovery, and found no one could recollect such an instance anywhere, and arrangements were made for taking careful plans of it. This, however, seems never to have been done, for I received a note from Naples the other day requesting copies of the plans, &c. which I had taken; a request, of course, I instantly and gladly complied with. It was deeply to be regretted that neither coin nor vase was

^a See section, page 327.

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J. Basire, sc.

INTERIOR OF LARGE GREEK TOMB AT CUMA.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1858.

found from which a date might be inferred. From the general design, and from its position, it clearly is of the Greek period; and, being too large to be covered with pieces of stone in one length from the wall to the ridge, the system of corbelling over was adopted. The probability is, the tomb was constructed before the invention of the arch, or at any rate by a people ignorant of that method of covering open spaces. That the Etruscans were acquainted with the use of the arch is easily shown from the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, and from several tombs discovered by my friend Mr. Dennis; and these works must have been executed during the palmiest days of Cumæ. What the Greeks knew of the arch we have yet to ascertain.

We come now to the third or lowest series of the tombs. These are found from twenty to thirty feet below the surface, and are chiefly mere interments in the ground. Hollow places or caves have been dug, large enough to receive the body, and in many instances it is but a sort of common grave, roughly covered with pieces of stone. The skeletons are so far decayed as to fall to powder on exposure to the air. There are other interments, which seem to be those of persons of higher rank. These consist of large ollæ,^a which are filled with burnt bones, ashes, &c. and are surrounded and covered with large pieces of tufo, apparently for the protection of the contents. In these graves are many vases, rings, fibulæ, beads, &c. but there is nothing of Italo-Greek work, as might be expected; they contain, however, very curious and rude archaic vases, which will presently be described.

After I had left Italy, some excavations were made in a piece of ground adjacent to that of the Prince, and some articles dug up of similar description. One very fine cenochoe, and some specimens of alabastra, bombylii, &c. a bronze fibula, a curious little bronze vessel for heating water, or burning incense, and a very singular and, I believe, unique scent-bottle were kindly sent to me.^b There were also found some objects in glass of great curiosity, which were consigned to me, with a request to forward them to the Duc de Luynes, but with permission to sketch them. One was a Roman funereal urn of the usual shape, full of burnt bones and pieces of charcoal; there are several of similar form in the British Museum. Another is a most curious and singular article, said to be entirely unique. It is the flat vessel, formed of a rim of bronze, with a bronze handle, like the handle of a common pail, to which is attached a chain; the bottom is very flat, made of glass, with radiating ribs, and six knobs, forming short feet for the vessel to stand on. It is $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches across, and but $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep. The glass is of great antiquity, as is evidenced by its iridescence. The use of the

^a See vignette at the end of this paper.

^b See vignette, page 331.

GLASS FUNERAL VASE FROM CUMÆ.

GLASS AND BRONZE VESSEL.

vessel is very problematical : the chain would lead us to infer it had been suspended over a fire as a cooking-vessel, or it may have been used for religious purposes. I made a careful drawing, from which the following representation is taken. But a far more curious article of glass was a small elegant statuette, apparently of a deity, standing on a small pedestal. This was also consigned to the Duc de Luynes ; and, having read the description, I certainly opened the case with the greatest expectation. To my amazement I found a pedestal, it is true, of ancient glass, but on it, instead of an elegant figure, was a strange grotesque monster. It had a flat head with open jaws, something like that of a crocodile, and a tail which finished with a sort of cup. It was covered with a species of bulbs, and was hollow, and seemed to have been intended for a lamp. The upper part appeared to be of Venetian work, and yet it was covered with a very early iridescence. I took these articles over to Paris myself ; and, on showing this to my friend who had discovered them, he instantly exclaimed, "This is not what I saw dug up." "No," I replied, "I suppose not, but how shall we proceed to investigate it?" At last we determined to turn a jet of steam on the junction of the stem and upper part, when we found the former had been

dexterously attached to the latter by a sort of wax cement ; the flakes of iridescent glass likewise came off, and the cheat was proved. The fact is that the statuette of glass was of the greatest value, probably quite unique, and either the

person intrusted with it, or some one at the Italian Custom-house, had stolen it, and, being obliged to send over something, had substituted a piece of mediæval grotesque.

But to return: among the lower range of tombs, as has before been stated, are a great number of very early articles of pottery. Some are of the simplest and rudest manufacture; others have plain lines or bands on them; others are ornamented with figures. The ground is without glaze, of a common greyish yellow colour; the figures black, relieved here and there with red, and with lines etched or rather scratched on them with a sharp tool. The figures on them are mostly huge birds, almost like turkeys, animals of the feline tribe with very sharp noses, somewhat like that of the lynx, antelopes, large birds with female human heads; many of the animals have two bodies joined to one head, and all are of a very archaic character. Vessels of similar forms are scattered about through Italy, and it is clear are of the earliest work there. Here, at Cumæ, they are found in great numbers among the very early interments, and it is not too much to suppose were the work of those buried there.

On discussing the matter I found they were frequently called Egyptian, but there seemed nothing about them like the emblems of that nation. It is true the early rude pottery of all countries is very much alike. A common pot of common

GROUP OF VASES, ETC.

[The circular vessel is of clay of pale colour, and is probably unique. It is supposed to have been a scent-bottle, and that a string passed through the loops at the side by which it was suspended from the wrist or neck. The small vase with the dolphin at the top is of bronze.]

clay is much the same everywhere; but as soon as it begins to be ornamented we may guess where it was made. Now there is no lotus, no scarabæus, nor any Egyptian emblem: the bird with a woman's head may be said to be a species of sphynx; but it is not an Egyptian sphynx, which is a lion, with the head of a man, and always without wings. They are not at all likely to be the work of the aboriginal tribes, for they are found in the tombs of the early settlers, and are covered with representations of animals (the antelope, panther, &c.) which did not exist in Italy. It was then suggested they might be Etruscan or Phœnician.

A very long and interesting discussion arose, when I suggested we should go to the library, and look a little closer into the history of the place. We have the clearest evidence from Strabo (v. 243), that Cumæ was the earliest Greek colony in Italy. His account is very clear and conclusive. He says it was formed by a joint colony from Chalcis in Eubœa, under Megasthenes, and from Cyme in Æolis, under Hippocles; and that by an arrangement between the two it took the name of its Asiatic parent, Cyme, or Cume. Its Asiatic origin is alluded to again and again by poets and historians. The fertility of the land, and its fine harbour, speedily brought it into reputation as an important town. It founded Naples as a colony, and is also said to have done the same for Nola and Abella. About the year 500 it seems to have attracted the envious notice of the Etruscans, who were then rapidly overrunning Italy; and we have a very long and circumstantial account of the transactions that followed in the seventh book of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. An enormous army of Etruscans, Umbrians, and Daunians was levied, but was repulsed by the Cumæans with great triumph. This was about the year 500 B.C. The Etruscans about thirty years after took a safer way to weaken and humble their enemy. They joined their fleet with that of Carthage, impeded their commerce, and threatened the safety of the city. The Cumæans, however, formed a league with the famous Hiero, king of Syracuse, who, joining his fleet with theirs, engaged the Etruscans in a naval battle,^a and gained such a victory that they never recovered their naval power. There is a very full account of this in Diodorus (xi. 51), and it is mentioned in one^b of Pindar's Pythian Odes. Scarcely half a century afterwards, as we learn from Diodorus, xii. 76, Livy, iv. 44, and Strabo, v. 243, the Samnites made themselves masters of Capua: they fought the Cumæans, and, after defeating them in the field, sacked the city, as has before been stated, killing all the men except those

^a The bronze helmet of an Etruscan form, dedicated by Hiero to Jupiter Olympius, from the spoils of the battle off Cumæ, was found at Olympia, and is now preserved in the British Museum. See Rose, *Inscriptiones Græcæ*, p. 66.

^b The first.

who escaped to Naples, and made Cumæ, as Velleius Paterculus^a states, an Oscan city.

Now in this account there is not a word about anything Phœnician. The colony is not of that origin, but from Greece and Asia Minor. The Phœnicians, it is true, were a most active maritime people, and had colonies in Sicily, and nearly all round the coast of Africa eastward of the Nile. But it is equally true they had no colonies in Italy. What distinguishing features their arts may have had we do not know, but there is every probability they were unlike Greek. They were a Semitic people, spoke a Semitic language, and, if we are to believe Herodotus, l. i. 7, 89, who made a voyage himself to Tyre to inquire into their antiquities, they were but strangers and colonizers in Palestine, having come from the Erythrean sea. I must confess it seems to me as much begging the question to call these objects Phœnician as Egyptian. Are they, then, Etruscan? It is true many similar things are found in Etruria; but the Etruscans never had dominion in Cumæ; they tried, it is true, and failed signally. On the vases may be some things in common with objects found in Tuscany, such as panthers and deer, but no positive Etruscan emblem or inscription has been found.^b The form of the government of Cumæ was that of a Greek Republic; that of Etruria a mixture of aristocracy and theocracy—of Lucumones and Augurs. The Cumæan tomb is the last resting-place, the Etruscan the banqueting-hall, of the departed; the former is a narrow inclosure roofed in to prevent the earth pressing heavily on the dead, the latter a direct imitation of a dwelling-house, palace, or temple. It would be presumptuous in me to speak positively, but at present I see little analogy between the people.

It may be said, that it matters little whether the Phœnicians, the Greeks, or the Etruscans formed these unimportant vessels; but, in truth, the investigation possesses considerable interest, as it may possibly throw some little light on the greatest ethnological problem of all,—whence came the civilization of Western Europe? The general opinion is that it came from India, and a very probable opinion it is; but by what route did the arts, knowledge, and refinements of the East pass to us, and through what hands were these precious gifts conveyed? Did they travel from the Ganges to the Euphrates, from the Euphrates to the Nile, and then cross thence to the Tiber? Did the Chaldee and Assyrian instruct the

^a Vell. Pater. i. 4. Cumanos Osca mutavit vicinia.

^b I have stated that the devices on this pottery seem to betoken an Eastern origin, and accordingly we find vases with very similar designs near Corinth, and in other parts of Greece proper, the Greek Islands, and even in Asia Minor itself. They also occur not unfrequently at Nola, which I have already mentioned as probably a colony from Cumæ.

Egyptian? and was his lore the foundation of Etruscan knowledge? This has been often asserted, but there is much anomaly, much difficulty in the way: the greatest, that there is no direct trace of either the language or the religion of Egypt in Italy. Did civilization pass to Syria, and was it then conveyed by the Phœnicians to Europe? They have left no trace of either their language or religion in Italy, though they have at Carthage. There is nothing Semitic in the Italian dialects, nor did Italy ever receive the worship of Ashtoreth, or Baal; they did not erect the conical stone, nor plant the grove on the mountain top. Is it possible that from India arts and literature passed first into Asia Minor, and thence to Western Europe? If this were so, it would then be easy to conceive how the Sanscrit of Hindostan became the Greek of Asia Minor, and how the language of Homer reached Italy, and there, blended with the Oscan, became Latin; and it would be easy to conceive why the cold, gloomy, indigenous deities gave way to Zeus, Hera, and Hermes, and how the rude Saturnian verse took Greek forms, proceeding from the hexameter of Ennius to the Sapphics of Horace; how one by one the graces and conveniences of life sprung up till the people possessed

——— Delicias quoque vitæ funditus omnes,
Carmina, picturas, et dædala signa polire.

Should this have been so, the course must be traced through the history or remains of the earliest colony, and this was clearly the one we have had under our consideration, Cumæ, for we have the express authority of Strabo, that this was the earliest Greek colony either in Italy or Sicily, a colony never Phœnician, never Etruscan.

If this attempt would incite any other Fellows of the Society to follow the clue I have ventured to throw down, I shall feel myself amply repaid for the time which I have bestowed on this subject, which I believe to be one well worthy the attention of all Archæologists.

ROMAN FUNEREAL URN, OR OLLA.