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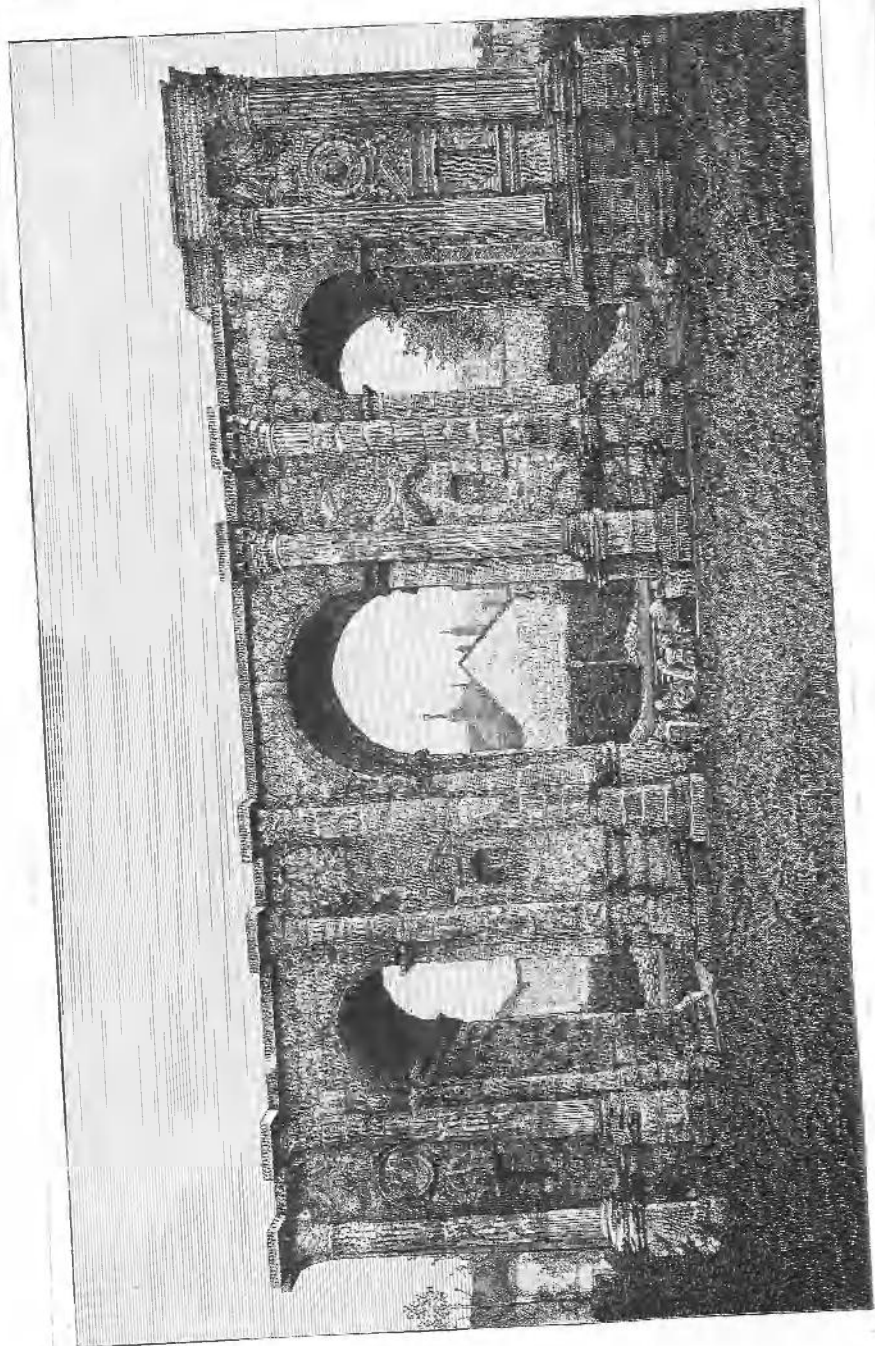
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JUNE, 1884

## THE GALLO-ROMAN MONUMENTS OF REIMS.

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

Reims' is well known as a place of historical interest: the French kings for many centuries were crowned there, but this ceremony was peculiarly imposing when Charles VII received the rite of consecration, and Joan of Arc stood by with her victorious banner unfurled.<sup>2</sup> The cathedral in which these celebrations took place has a world-wide fame; architectural grandeur, gorgeous colouring in the windows, and statuesque decoration outside, form a combination unsurpassed in France, I might even say, in the world.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, comparatively few are

<sup>1</sup> In the Middle Ages the name of this city was written *Rains*; in the sixteenth century the form *Reims* was adopted; at the beginning of the present century it was changed to *Rheims*, but the letter *h* is now rejected by the French universally.

The modern spelling agrees with classical usage, as we find in *Cæsar Remi*; De Bell. Gall. ii, 3, &c. A distinguished contributor has, I presume, inadvertently, prefixed *Rheims* as a heading to his article in the *Saturday Review*, February 5, 1879, vol. xxix, p. 181.

From *Rains*, which resembles *raincel* and *rainceau* (*rinceau*) *i.e.*, foliage, the armorial bearings of the city are derived; they consist of a branch covered with leaves, and may be seen figured on the title-page of the *Congress Scientifique de France*, treizième session, Septembre, 1845: *Notices sur Reims et ses Environs*, p. 95 *sq.*, *Memoir* by Mons. Ch. Lorique, on Reims, ses principales Institutions et ses Accroissements successifs. These *armes parlantes* "canting arms," resemble the devices on Greek coins, which symbolize the name of the city where they were struck. Compare *Boutell's Heraldry*, pp. 15-18, Allusive

quality of Early Armory; p. 139, *Mottoes*; pp. 148 *sq.*, *Rebus*.

<sup>2</sup> The Cathedral at Reims was the Westminster Abbey of France. Moreau's admirable engraving of the *Sacre de Louis XVI* exhibits a display of feudal magnificence then witnessed for the last time; it contains 485 figures, many of which are portraits. This celebrated artist is known as Moreau le Jeune; his works are described by Portalis et Beraldi, *Graveurs du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 1882, vol. iii, p. 137; Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *L'Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, *Onzième Fascicule*, 1883, sec. vii, pp. 192-195; H. Draibel, *Œuvre de J. M. Moreau le Jeune*, 1874. In some books the reference for the coronation of Louis XVI is given under *Serment*, the oath which the king took.

<sup>3</sup> Amiens Cathedral has been often praised as the finest in France, but the writer in the *Saturday Review*, *loc. cit.*, justly remarks that "Amiens outside is simply shapeless, Rheims forms as well designed a whole as any church can that lacks that crown of the central tower, which English and Norman eyes will always crave as indispensable to a perfect outline."

acquainted with the early history of this city, or with the monuments still existing that bear witness to its political importance and advanced civilization at a period long antecedent to the erection of that magnificent temple.<sup>1</sup> These remains of Gallo-Roman times I shall now attempt to describe, and I hope to show that from various points of view they deserve to be considered attentively.

I. Among them the *Porta Martis* is indisputably the most conspicuous, and holds the same position at Reims as the gates of Arroux and St. André at Autun. It stands in the north-eastern part of the *Promenade Publiques*, and at the north end of the *Rue de Mars*, or, if we describe it with reference to ancient topography, at the beginning of a street which traversed the town and ended at the gate called *Basilicaris*. The facade towards the country is 33 mètres wide, and 13 mètres 50 centimètres high. There are three large arches with a cornice above them, which is supported by eight fluted Corinthian columns on bases. The superstructure that surmounted this order has altogether perished. In each intercolumniation we see a rectangular niche with a pediment, and above it a medallion enclosing a bust. This latter ornament reminds us of Constantine's Arch at Rome, belonging, I think, to the same period;<sup>2</sup> where two medallions are placed over

<sup>1</sup> Previously to the Roman occupation the city bore the name of *Durocortorum*, and *Cæsar*, *Bell. Gall.*, vi, 44, is the first author to mention it. We have here a compound of two Gallic words, *dour* and *cort*, the former signifying water, and the latter an enclosure. This etymology suits the position of Reims, which is situated on the river *Vesle* (sometimes written *Vele*), a tributary of the *Aisne*. *Dour* appears in *Adour* and *Douro*; *cort* is only another form of the Gaelic *cuairt*, more nearly related to the Greek *χορτος* and the Latin *cohors*. *Durum*, like *dunum*, occurs both as a prefix and as a suffix; *Durocortorum* resembles *Durobrivæ* (*Rochester*), *Durolipons* (*Godmanchester*) and other places in our own country; but *Divodurum* (*Metz*) is formed like *Batavodurum*, *Boiodurum*, &c., see *Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary*, s.v. *Dur*, *duir*. This author improperly writes *Durocortum*, and *Bergier* makes the same mistake; *Durocortorum* is supported by the authority of *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus Byzantinus*, the *Itinerary of Antoninus* and the *Peutingerman Table* (*segm. I. c.*)

Some have absurdly explained *Durocortorum* by referring to *Durocordum* which occurs in a text of the ninth century; according to this interpretation Reims would be the city of hard-hearted people; *Durocort* ou les *Remois* sous les *Romains* par feu *Jean Lacourt*, pp. 95 and 262 (note J); *conf. ib. pp. 83-87*. Many valuable notes have been added to *Lacourt's* work by the editor, *L. Paris*.

We learn from *Strabo* that Reims was a flourishing city in the early days of the Empire; *Geogr. Lib. iv, cap. iii fin.* Ῥημοί, καὶ ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῶν Δουρικορτόρα μάλιστα συνοικεῖται, καὶ δέχεται τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνας.

<sup>2</sup> *Texier* and *Pullan* think that the *Porta Martis* was erected in honour of the Emperor *Julian*, to commemorate his great victory gained over eight allied German Kings near *Argentoratum* (*Strasbourg*); and cite *Ammianus Marcellinus* xv, 8; xviii, 2; xxi, 1: *Byzantine Architecture*, illustrated by examples of edifices erected in the east during the earliest ages of Christianity . . . by *Charles*

each of the side entrances, taken from an earlier building erected in Trajan's reign, and representing scenes in the private life of that emperor. The remainder of the space between the columns is filled with winged genii (perhaps Victories), drapery, and caducei or standards arranged cross-wise.<sup>1</sup>

One architectural feature in this monument should be specially mentioned, as it is rare, if not unparalleled. Though the central vault is higher and broader than the other two, its imposts are in the same horizontal line as those of the lateral ones.

Considered as a whole, the façade bears marks of decadence, especially in the profusion of its ornaments; but on the other hand, both the proportions and the execution of details show that the precedents of a better age had not yet become obsolete. The soffits, or lower surfaces of the arches, are the parts most interesting to the student of art and antiquity, because they contain designs, of which the middle one is, as might be expected, more elaborate than the other two. (1) The principal group occupies a square inscribed in a circle, it consists of a seated personage holding a cornucopie in each hand, and four surrounding figures, two standing and two seated, the latter pair offering baskets of fruit. According to Monsieur Loriquet we have here Vertumnus and the four seasons, but in an old engraving by Colin the seated figure is more like a female, and is so described in the accompanying text.<sup>2</sup>

Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan, p. 15. According to these writers the foliage and mouldings and ornaments of the interior of the arches have all the character of Byzantine art; but this view seems to me exaggerated. They apply the word *fericulum* to the circular discs or bucklers on which heads are carved; *clipeus* would be more appropriate here.

<sup>1</sup> With these sculptures compare devices on denarii: Cohen, *Medailles Consulaires*, Planche, x, Carisia, Nos. 11 and 12, trophy with spears crossed; Pl. xx, Julia, Nos. 11 and 12, trophy with two Gallic trumpets in opposite directions, the specific name for which is *carnyx*, (*κάρυξ, κάρων*); Pl. xxxv, Postumia Junia, No. 9.

In the bas-reliefs on the Arch of Titus, trumpets are similarly placed, together with a table on a *fericulum* or portable

platform: Rich, *Companion to the Latin Dictionary s.v.*; C. O. Müller, *Denkmaler*, Part I, Pl. LXV, No. 345 d, from Bartoli and Bellori, *Arcus triumphales*; tab. 4-8.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, English translation, p. 549, sec. 404, says that Vertumnus has not yet been anywhere recognized with certainty. It is difficult to distinguish him from Silvanus, who is usually represented with pruning knife, stem of a young tree and pine wreath: Cf. Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, Zweites Heft, S. 172 sq., Pl. XXIV, 10.

Texier and Pullan explain the central personage in the soffit as the Genius of Abundance.

In cases of this sort, old engravings, through their inaccuracy, afford very imperfect assistance towards identifying the subjects. Similarly, winged genii

A coin of Commodus bears on the reverse two cornucopiae and the legend TEMPOR. FELIC.<sup>1</sup> which suggests the notion that the artist may have intended to personify prosperity. It should be observed that in these reliefs there are two adults and two children, which makes it doubtful whether the seasons are here represented; in that case we should expect them to be of uniform size, as they appear on another coin of Commodus which is well known.<sup>2</sup> The interstices between the square and enclosing circle are filled up with foliage; ornamentation of the same kind and a maeander pattern form two concentric borders within an outer square, the spaces between the curves and right lines, like spandrils in architecture, being decorated with branches and leaves, arranged as scrolls. Around this design there were originally twelve compartments, each containing a separate scene, and supposed by some to correspond with the twelve months of the year—a subject that occurs frequently in mediæval churches and cathedrals.<sup>3</sup> But this seems doubtful, because we cannot trace that sequence of occupations which such a supposition requires.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps we have here only *res rustice*, agricultural labours, that an inhabitant of Reims would see in the country about him. Seven groups are all that remain in Colin's engraving, the rest being totally effaced; viz., (1) breeding of horses; (2) mowing with a scythe, and reaping with a sickle; (3) harrowing the ground; (4) hunting, man on horseback hurling a dart at a stag; (5) the vintage, man treading

have been mentioned above, who sustain the medallions inclosing long-haired heads, probably of barbarian chiefs; but these figures may be Victories—an interpretation which would agree with the analogy of other triumphal arches; see the Plates in Montfaucon, *Antiquitee Expliquee*, tome iv, p. 170, Restes de l'Arc de Cavaillon, Arc de Tite, and p. 172; Supplement, tome iv, p. 78, L'Arc de St. Remi en Provence.

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, *Description Historique des Monnaies frappees sous L'Empire Romain*, tome iii, p. 170 *sq.*, Nos. 753, 754. Compare the Egyptian series, where the cornucopia occurs frequently; it is seen double on the coins of Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus: Green, *Atlas Numismatique de l'Histoire Ancienne*, Pl. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 171, Nos. 755-758,

TEMPORVM FELICITAS (legend in the exergue), "Quatre enfants debout avec les attributs des quatre saisons; trois sont nus; celui qui represente l'hiver est habille." This coin is engraved in Milman's edition of Horace, p. 209. Carm. iv, 7, "from the French collection."

<sup>3</sup> See my paper on the Antiquities of Autun, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xl, pp. 115, 119, 120 and foot-notes; also *Archæologia*, vol. xlv, pp. 137-224. *Memoir on Mediæval Representations of the Months and Seasons*, by James Fowler, Esq., F.S.A.; *ibid.*, vol. xlvii, p. 360. Pl. IX, Eleven Signs of the Zodiac, from the Porch of St. Margaret's Church, York.

<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the variation from chronological order may have been caused by copying some original carelessly.

grapes, and others holding fruits; (6) two men shearing sheep; (7) a waggoner driving a cart drawn by an ox. The space in the soffit on both sides is filled with half-length genii, who support long fillets and festoons on which birds are perched, some of them pecking fruits.

The general arrangement of the central portion of this design reminds us of mosaic pavements; for example, in the tessellated floor at Corinium (Cirencester) we also find concentric circles inscribed in a square, and the "triangles at the corners relieved by leaves."<sup>1</sup>

II. Jupiter, in the form of a swan visiting Leda, is the subject that adorns the arch to the spectator's left. She reclines, leaning on an urn from which water issues—an attitude which is quite usual for river gods and similar deities, but not particularly appropriate here. Cupid hovers above, and holds a blazing torch. With this action we may compare a gem in the Stosch collection, where Cupid appears in the air, shooting an arrow at Leda.<sup>2</sup> An old French antiquary has given an allegorical, I might almost say rationalistic, interpretation of the group in this vault: it may at least amuse, if it does not instruct us. He says that the city of Reims is symbolized; as Leda was the mother of Castor and Pollux who presided over laws, so Reims was the mother of the judges who composed the Council; the torch of Cupid shows the need of a burning zeal for equity, and of enlightenment to penetrate the obscurities of litigation.<sup>3</sup> The design is enclosed, as it were, in a rectangular frame decorated with rosettes in squares and octagons, arranged alternately. Next comes a broad border covered with arms of different kinds, defensive and offensive—helmets, shields, cuirasses, battle-axes and swords; at each corner there is a winged Victory seated, carving with a mallet and chisel an inscription upon a shield.<sup>4</sup> This part of the sculptures at Reims resembles the reliefs on the arch at Orange, where, as in the monument now under consideration, the

<sup>1</sup> Buckman and Newmarch, *Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester*, p. 32, coloured engraving, Barton Pavement.

<sup>2</sup> Winckelmann *Pierres Gravees du feu Baron de Stosch Mythologie Sacree*, pp. 55, 56, sec. xi, *Les amours de Jupiter*; Tassie's *Gems*, Pl. XXI, Nos. 1195, 1199, 1211; *Marlborough Gems*, catalogued by M. H. Nevil Story-

Maskelyne, pp. 3, 4, Nos. 17, 19.

<sup>3</sup> This absurd attempt at an explanation is appended at the foot of Colin's engraving.

<sup>4</sup> A fine example of this subject is supplied by W. Froehner's great work, *La Colonne Trajanne* . . . reproduite en phototypographie, vol. iv, Pl. III.



side facing the country is better preserved. Speaking generally, the style of ornamentation is the same in both cases; but in the southern example, naval as well as military subjects are introduced over the lateral entrances; besides arms, trophies and standards, we see tridents and the *aplustria* of vessels.<sup>1</sup>

3. Romulus and Remus, suckled by a she-wolf, are figured in the arch on the right; behind this group are Faustulus and another shepherd. This central design is surrounded by the same kind of borders as those in the left entrance; but the cornice on both sides of this arch is supported by three half-length Caryatides on pedestals. The wolf and twins were adopted by the Romans as an emblem of their empire, and repeated on their monuments like the lion and unicorn on our own. They are specially frequent in colonial coins and gems, so that we need not be surprized to find them at Reims, far away from the capital.<sup>2</sup>

No better illustration of these reliefs can be given than that which the *pierres gravées* of the Florentine museum supply, as described by Gori; for they show us not only the principal figures, but accessories corresponding with Livy's narrative—Larentia, the wife of Faustulus; the Lupercal or cave of Mars; the Ficus Ruminalis, and the woodpecker perched thereon.<sup>3</sup>

It is not difficult to fix, at least approximately, the

<sup>1</sup> Monuments Antiques a Orange, arc de triomphe et theatre . . . par Auguste Caristie; Montfaucon, Ant. Expl., tome iv, Pl. CVIII, p. 170. Gallic shields occur on the denarii of the gens Julia; Cohen, Médailles Consulaires, Pl. XX, Nos. 11-16, pp. 156-58, 170.

<sup>2</sup> Millin, Galerie Mythologique, Explication des Planches 655-7, especially 656, Pl. CLXXXVIII. La louve de Mars nourrit Romulus et Remus dans la grotte du Mont Palatin, appelée le Lupercal; deux bergers, coiffés de galeus, sont étouffés de ce spectacle. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vii, p. 31 sq, s.v. Antoninus Pius, Lupa in antro gemellos lactans. Prodigium . . . innumeris publice monumentis consecratum, et quoddam velut rei Romanæ symbolum habitum, ac speciatim coloniarum. Cohen, Med. Cons., Pl. XXXIII, Pompeia, No. 1, p. 259, Rev. SEX. PO. FOSTLV.S. ROMA; p. 264 (Eclaircissements) he calls attention to the device, as being "un des revers les

plus intéressants de la suite consulaire." Winckelmann, Op. Cit., pp. 429, 430, Histoire Romaine, Nos. \* 129-138, vide esp. \* 136.

<sup>3</sup> Gori, Gemmæ Antiquæ Musei Florentini, tome ii, Tabula XIX, Fig. 1. Colonia militum Romanorum ex Legione XI in Africam, Ægyptum et Hispaniam deductæ. For the explanation of this elaborate design, cf. *ibid.*, p. 51. The provinces are indicated by female heads, with appropriate symbols; the letters LXICPF signify Legio Undecima Claudia Pia Felix.

Tab. LIV contains five engraved gems; it exhibits the same subject and accompanying figures; in one case the head of Mars, father of Romulus and Remus, is added; vide pp. 104, 105.

See also a Memoir by Professor Bursian on Aventicum (Avenches), Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich, Band XVI, Abtheilung I, Heft 3, Taf. IX.

date at which this monument was erected. Some have attributed its construction to Julius Cæsar, but this exaggeration of antiquity is so absurd that we need not attempt to refute it. I should be disposed to assign the *Porta Martis* at Reims to the same period as the gates at Autun, viz., the fourth century. In the former case, however, we have evidence which is wanting in the latter; the multiplicity of ornaments shows the decline of art, and contrasts strongly with the simplicity observable at Autun, where the purer style of an earlier age has been retained. Besides this argument from the general appearance of the structure, proof can be adduced relating to the chronology more directly. An inscription is extant which records that the baths (*Thermæ*) in this city were built by Constantine II, who reigned A.D. 337-340.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, coins of this emperor and of his brother Constantius were found in 1752, when the *Porte Bazée* was demolished because it obstructed a much-frequented thoroughfare.<sup>2</sup> Constantius Chlorus and his more famous son, Constantine the Great, resided at Trèves, which will, to some extent, account for the architectural activity that prevailed during the fourth century in this part of Gaul.

The history of the *Porta Martis*, from the middle ages down to our own days, can be traced accurately. According to Flodoard, in the tenth century, it was used as a gate of the city; in the twelfth, it was walled up and

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is given at length by Mons. Ch. Loriquet at p. 274 of his treatise, *Reims pendant la domination romaine d'après les inscriptions*, which occupies pages 46-339 of the *Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims*, vol. xxx, 1859-60. We may observe in it the fulsome flattery of a degenerate age; after an enumeration of the Emperor's titles, the following words are added, *toto orbe victoriis suis semper ac feliciter celebrandus*. This city is no longer *Remorum fœderata civitas*, but *civitas sua*: Loriquet, pp. 276, 277; Gruter's *Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. clxxviii, No. 1; Orelli, *Collectio Insc. Lat.*, No. 1096. There were probably several *Thermæ* at Reims, a fact which seems to be proved by numerous remains of drains and aqueducts: *Congrès Scientifique de France, Treizième Session, tenue à Reims*, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> The *Porte Bazée* stood on the *Via Cæsarea* which led to *Basilia*, and from

this place the name seems to be derived, just as another gate at Reims was called *Porta Treverica*, because it looked towards Trèves (*Augusta Treverorum*); so at the present time there is a *Porta Romana* at Milan, and a *Köln Thor* at Aix-la-Chapelle. M. Loriquet discusses the etymology at great length, pp. 278-285. *Basilia* is mentioned in the *Antonine Itinerary* as the first station on the road from *Durocortorum* (Reims) to *Divodurum* (Metz), and ten Roman miles from the former, p. 364, ed. Wesseling, p. 173, ed. Parthey and Pinder. This place must be distinguished from *Basilia* (Bale or Basel) in *Helvetia*.

A fragment of the *Porte Bazée* may be seen in the *Rue de l'Université*; it is inserted in the east wall of the *Lycée*, and consists of a bas-relief in stone, representing a Roman personage between two pilasters; *Reims et ses Environs*, pp. 192, 220, and plan at the end of the book, No. 2.

buried under the defences of the archbishop's castle: a circumstance which, as in the case of Pompeii, contributed to its preservation. This fortress having been demolished in 1595, the arch of Romulus and Remus was disinterred; and the remainder of the upper half was cleared in 1677 by order of M. Dallier, Lieutenant of Reims, the council and aldermen (Échevins). A reprint of an old engraving in my possession shows the building as it then appeared, partially exposed to view.<sup>1</sup> This state of things continued till 1812, when some progress was made in removing the soil; at last, in 1857, the structure was completely uncovered.

A long period of neglect was followed by *nimia diligentia*, too much restoration; and this was carried, in spite of many remonstrances, to such an extent that the visitor hardly knows whether he is looking at an antique or a modern edifice.

Recent excavations prove that there was a large Roman quarter extending towards the north; hence it is most probable that the Porta Martis was not originally, as its name might seem to imply, a gate of the city, but a triumphal or commemorative arch, bestriding one of the principal streets.<sup>2</sup>

II. No less than twenty mosaics have been discovered at Reims, seventeen ancient and three mediæval. Of the latter, the most curious existed at St. Remi till the great Revolution, and deserves a passing notice, because it was a kind of encyclopædia in stone, comprising all branches of human knowledge. Besides scriptural subjects, such

<sup>1</sup> In Colin's engraving of the Porta Martis an irregular line drawn across the middle of the plate marks the part which was then above ground.

Colin was not a great celebrity, for Nagler's *Kunst-Lexicon* only says of him, *Kupferstecher zu Reims, stach von 1660-96 verschiedene Bildnisse*. A full account of his works will be found in the *Académie Imperiale de Reims*, vol. xxix, année 1858-1859, pp. 43-52, "Jean Colin Graveur Remois au xviii<sup>e</sup> Siècle par M. Max Sutaïne, membre titulaire." His chef-d'œuvre seems to have been "La Marche observe a la Moutre de Messieurs les Chevaliers de toutes les villes venu au prix generale. Faict a Reims, le 15 Juin, 1687. Le tout par Alphabet." M. Sutaïne remarks, "L'artiste a choisi le moment où les diverses confreries, sortant de

l'Hotel de l'Arquebuse, defilent dans la Rue Large pour se rendre aux Promenades où devait avoir lieu le tir général." The municipality allowed M. Quentin Dailly to reprint Colin's four engravings of the Porta Martis from the old plates which were preserved in the *Cartulaire*.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, there were two arches at Pompeii near the centre of the town, placed one at each end of the *Strada del Foro*; they are marked E.B., *i.e.*, *Ehrenbogen* in the *Plan der Stadt Pompeii, Resultat der Ausgrabungen von 1748-1865*, at the end of Overbeck's second volume; see also vol. i, p. 65 *sq.*, and Fig. 33, *Aeusserer Ansicht des s.g. Triumphbogens*. Sir H. Ellis, *Pompeii*, vol. i, pp. 103 *sq.*, 106-108. Sir W. Gell, *Pompeiana*, vol. i, *Plan of Excavations opposite p. i, and cf. p. 29.*

as Paradise, Moses, and the writers of the Old and New Testaments, it exhibited the four cardinal virtues and the seven liberal arts (*trivium et quadrivium*).<sup>1</sup> But the mosaic of the Promenades transcends all the rest in importance; and as an illustration of Gladiatorial combats will sustain a comparison with those discovered elsewhere. Though there has been much discussion about its removal, it still remains *in situ*, half way between the railway station and the Porte de Mars.<sup>2</sup> For the protection of this beautiful pavement a booth (*baraque*) has been erected, which is lighted only from above. The public are excluded, and I only obtained admission by presenting an official introduction at the Mairie. These precautions, however, are quite insufficient to preserve the mosaic; for, as most householders know by their own experience, a skylight or glass roof cannot be kept perfectly watertight. I paid my visit on a very wet day, and was eye witness of the mischief caused by rain dropping on the medallions. The *gamins* aggravate this evil by stone-throwing, there being no custodian to check them. It would be a great advantage if a gallery were erected, at a slight elevation, round the mosaic, which would enable visitors to inspect it without walking upon it, and would prevent injuries from sticks and umbrellas. But the best plan would be to remove all that is left of the monument to the museum at the Hôtel de Ville.

In the year 1860 the municipality were improving the approaches to the railway station, and laying out those beautiful gardens which every traveller admires as soon as he alights. Deep trenches were cut in order to plant trees or drain off water; and in the course of their operations the workmen found the mosaic.<sup>3</sup> It is eleven metres long by eight broad, including the borders, and consists of thirty-five pictures in squares and lozenges placed alternately. The usual cable pattern encloses not

<sup>1</sup> For details, see *Congres Archeologique de France*, xxviii Session tenue à Reims, 1861, pp. 15-18. There is an engraving of the "Mosaïque trouvée sur la Promenade" facing p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> It is marked No. 15 in the Plan appended to Reims et ses Environs.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ibid.* p. 198. At the same time the statue of Colbert, near the *gare*, was erected.

In the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xi, pp. 38-44, there is a Notice of a Decorative Pavement in the Church of St. Remi at Reims, by the Rev. Edward Trollope F.S.A. It should be observed that this is *not* a mosaic. Forty-eight slabs remain, containing Scriptural subjects, "the design on each quarry has been incised, and then filled in with melted lead."

only each compartment, but also the whole composition. This is succeeded by a foliated scroll carried round the four sides, and forming by its graceful curves an agreeable contrast to the rectilinear designs within. A maeander, or Greek fret, added at the top and bottom completes the symmetrical arrangement.

I shall not attempt to describe all these subjects in detail, because this has been already done with minute accuracy by Monsieur Loriguet;<sup>1</sup> but I propose to notice some important particulars, and to consider them specially with reference to the Satires of Juvenal and the Epigrams of Martial. The numbers in the following account are reckoned from right to left and left to right alternately, beginning with the design at the right-hand extremity of the lowest row.<sup>2</sup>

Nos. 1 and 2 are combatants who wear feathers (*pinnæ*) in their helmets. So when Juvenal, Sat. iii, 158, is speaking of the sons of gladiators who sat on the cushioned benches appropriated to the knights, he uses the word *pinnirapus*, *i.e.*, one who carried off the plume as a trophy. An inscription in Henzen's Supplement to Orelli has *pinnensis* in juxtaposition with *s.v.*, *i.e.*, spectatus victor; hence it would appear that the first term denotes a victorious gladiator decorated as we see him in the mosaic.<sup>3</sup>

No. 3 is said to be a Myrmillo. He has a crested helmet, a vambrace on the right arm which was not protected by the shield, a girdle, and a covering for the front half of the left leg. These details correspond exactly with Juvenal's description of the accoutrements of a female gladiator:—

<sup>1</sup> The title of M. Loriguet's elaborate work is *La Mosaïque des Promenades et autres trouvées a Reims, Etude sur les Mosaïques et sur les Jeux de l'Amphitheatre*, 1862.

The photograph at p. 345 (Planche xviii) is a *Reduction au quarantieme d'apres le dessin de M. E. Deperthes*.

<sup>2</sup> We, therefore, look at these pictures as we read early Greek inscriptions of the class called *βουστροφῆδον* (ox-turning-wise) "in which the direction of the lines alternated, as in the course of a plough." Key, on the Alphabet, p. 29;

Hicks, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 5-7, Böckh, Corp. Insc. Græc., vol. i, No. 1, p. 2; No. 8 (Sigean), p. 14 *agg.*; C. T. Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, Cnidus and Branchidæ, vol. ii, Part II, Text, p. 784, No. 72, Pl. XCvii, and p. 787, No. 72<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Orelli, *Insc. Lat.*, vol. iii, p. 230, No. 6171. On the stone the line stands thus: THR-PINNESIS-S-V. See Henzen's note, in which he refers to *Actt. Acad. arch. pont. Romæ*, 1845, *cf.* Prof. Mayor's *Juvenal*, 2nd edit., loc. cit., vol. i, p. 199.

“Balteus et manicæ et, cristæ crurisque sinistri  
Dimidium tegimen,”

where the meaning of the last words is made clearer by their being opposed to *ocrea* (greaves), mentioned immediately afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

No. 7 is a Retiarius. He wears a close-fitting jacket (*justaucorps*), and holds a trident in the right hand, a short dagger in the left. But the inquirer may ask, Where is the net (*rete*) from which he derives his specific name? Juvenal supplies us with an answer :

“Movet ecce tridentem,  
Postquam librata pendentia retia dextra  
Nequidquam effudit ;”<sup>2</sup>

after having cast his net in vain, he prepares to defend himself with his trident against the advancing foe. English antiquaries may be interested in observing that the peculiar weapon which is absent here appears conspicuously in the very curious tessellated pavement at Bignor, described by Lysons, *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, p. 211. The short upper garment of the Retiarius at Reims is only a diminutive tunic, and therefore corresponds with Juvenal's epithet *tunicatus*.<sup>3</sup>

No. 8 is called by M. Loriguet, with great probability, a Rabdophorus. This figure occupies the middle position

<sup>1</sup> Sat. vi, v. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. viii, v. 203.

<sup>3</sup> Sat. ii, v. 143 Tunicati. fuscina Gracchi. Cf. Suetonius, Caligula, c. xxx. Retiarii tunicati quinque numero gregatim dimicantes, sine certamine ullo, totidem secutoribus succubuerant ; cum occidi juberentur, unus, resumta fuscina, omnes victores interemit.

Lysons' article extends from p. 203 to p. 221 ; Pl. xix at p. 203 contains a plan of the buildings, and figures of gladiators at foot. A similar mosaic was discovered at Avenches in 1708, and is noticed by De Schmidt, *Recueil d'Antiquites de la Suisse*, 1771. The resemblance between these two pavements is so close that Lysons says “there seems good ground for conjecturing that they are the work of the same artist.” I may add that remains of this class in Switzerland deserve more attention than they have received hitherto.

For the dress and arms of gladiators see Overbeck *Pompeii*, Vol. i, pp. 174-

177, *Das Amphitheater* ; Fig. 129, *Gladiatorenkämpfe von einem Grabrelief* ; Fig. 130, *Fortsetzung des vorigen Reliefs*. Vol. ii, p. 36, *Die Gräber und Grabdenkmäler* ; Fig. 236, *Grab des Scaurus*. Winkelmann, *Monumenti Inediti*, Tomo ii, Parte IV, Capitolo x, *Gladiatori*, pp. 258-260, Tavv. 197-199. The names of gladiators are appended—Astianax, Calendio, Bato, &c. As an illustration of the feathers on helmets mentioned above comp. a figure in the lower row, Tav. 198, and p. 259, “Inoltre l'elmo d'uno de' gladiatori e guarnito di due ali.” Mazois, *Ruines de Pompei*, Part II.

We find in inscriptions the abbreviations RET. TR. MVR. for Retiarius, Threx, and Myrmillo ; Mons. J. G. Bulliot gives examples, *La Stèle Funeraire du Gladiateur Eduen* Columbus, *conservée au Musée de la Maison-Carree, a Nîmes* (with facsimile), *Extrait des Memoires de la Societe Eduenne (Nouvelle Serie)*, Tome xi.

between the Retiarius and the Secutor, whom he is trying to separate. He holds a curved rod that extends above his head. There can be little doubt that we have here an officer appointed to keep order in the arena, and acting like a constable or policeman in a place of public entertainment. Such a functionary is sometimes called *Ῥαβδούχος* —the term used by St. Luke for the attendants on the Philippian magistrates, and translated “serjeants” in our authorised version. The Bignor mosaic presents some examples exactly like the one before us; but Lysons explains them as *Rudiarii*, veteran gladiators who superintended the combatants.<sup>1</sup>

No. 10 differs widely from all the other designs in the series; it is a *Hermes* or terminal statue, consisting of a bust and truncated arms on a long pedestal. The head is decorated with a crown of leaves and red ribbons hanging down on the shoulders. On the left side, a large angular shield leans against the pillar, and a palm branch is placed between them; on the right, there is a helmet with visor closed, holes for the eyes, and a conical crest. The Augsburg mosaic contains a similar *Hermes* and a trident in front of it.<sup>2</sup> It is unnecessary to prove that this medallion represents the rewards offered to victorious combatants; but we may remark that the garland of foliage at Reims is the corruptible crown contrasted by St. Paul with that which fadeth not away.<sup>3</sup>

No. 11, *Agitator*, so called. This figure holds a whip and chases a wild beast, which a pikeman prepares to pierce with his spear. From the prominence of the breast one might suppose that the artist intended to portray a female; and this supposition would agree with many passages where women are mentioned as fighting on the

<sup>1</sup> Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, edit. Didot, vol. v, p. 605. *Μαστιγόφοροι*. *Flagelliferi*, *Lictores* qui *agonothetas* in *sacris certaminibus* comitabantur ad *summovendas turbas* et *cohibendas seditiones*, Cf. *μαστιγονόμος*. Act. Apost., xvi. 35, *Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς ραβδούχους*.

<sup>2</sup> Gruter, *Inscriptiones Romanae*, vol. i, p. cccxxxvi, with full-page engraving. P. Giampietro Secchi, *Il Mosaico Antoniniano rappresentante la scuola degli atleti*, Roma. 1843 in 4to. In this pavement, now preserved at the Lateran, there is a *Hermes* like the one at Reims; it

occupies the lowest compartment on the the right-hand side, pp. 83-89. *Premii degli Atleti vincitori espressi nel Musaico Antoniniano*.

<sup>3</sup> First Epistle to the Corinthians, ix, 25, *ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀφθαρτὸν*. M. Bulliot, op. citat., p. 7, mentions an inscription in which the words *COR TRIVM* occur, “*Ces couronnes etaient une guirlande de fleurs entortillée de rubans de laine appelés lemnisques, qui etaient placees sur la tete du gladiateur dont on voulait honorer la bravoure.*”



arena against animals.<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether Monsieur Loriquez has in this case chosen the best appellation; I should be inclined to prefer *Provocator*, one who excites or irritates, as in Orelli's Inscriptions, No. 2566, we read PARDVS. PROV. VET., *i.e.*, Provocator Veteranus, the gladiator apparently deriving his name from the leopard whom he challenged or provoked.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Agitator is specially applied to the driver of an animal or chariot. Gruter, vol. i, p. 337, has Agitator Circensis; and Virgil uses the same word when he describes the rustic loading his slow donkey with oil and apples.<sup>3</sup> Besides the whip, we see at the feet of this figure a large spherical object, probably the ball (*pila*) mentioned by Martial, which would make the creature still more infuriated.<sup>4</sup>

No. 14. A bear rushes at the Bestiarius with agitated ears and open mouth, as if going to devour him. The head and forepart are drawn with great spirit, but the hind quarters are carelessly executed. Though the Romans were very familiar with this animal's appearance, from seeing great numbers and various kinds in the arena, representations of it are comparatively infrequent. Unlike the graceful forms of the lion, antelope, or swan, this ugly creature does not readily lend itself to artistic purposes. However, we meet with it on the arch of Constantine, where the Emperor Trajan appears taking part in a bear hunt;<sup>5</sup> and in a coin struck by Orgetorix, generalissimo of the Helvetians, the Alpine bear is depicted with admirable realism.<sup>6</sup> But our medallion is more appositely

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal. Sat. i, v. 22—

Maevia Tuscum  
Figat aprum, et nuda teneat venabula  
mamma;

and the bold fair  
Tilts at the Tuscan boar, with bosom  
bare;

Gifford's translation.

See also Rupert's Commentary and footnote. Martial, De Spectaculis, vi, *Femine in Amphitheatro cum leone certamen*.

<sup>2</sup> Mart. Spect., xv—

Et volucrum longo porrexit vulnere  
pardum;

Præmia cum laudis ferret, adhuc  
poterat.

<sup>3</sup> Georgic i, 273—

Saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli  
Vilibus aut onerat pomis.

*Cf.* Rich, Companion to the Latin Dic-

tionary, s.v. Agitator, and woodcuts.

<sup>4</sup> Spect. xix, Sustulerat raptas taurus  
in astra pilas. *Cf. ibid.*, xxii, fin.

<sup>5</sup> Montfaucon, *Antiquité Explicquée*, English Translation by Humphreys, vol. iv, p. 108, double-page engraving, Emil. Braun, Ruins and Museums of Rome, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *L'Art Gaulois: ou les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles* par Eugene Hucher, Pl. LXXII, No. 1, p. 27. The legend on the obverse is EDVIS; on the reverse ORGETIRIX. We have, therefore, here a *Monument historique*, corroborating Cæsar's account of the league formed between the Helvetians and the Gauls, Bell. Gall., i, 2-4. In Mons. Hucher's work the engravings are on a very large scale, which often gives occasion to inaccuracy.

The bear is the Heraldic device of



illustrated by a similar one of octagonal form in a mosaic pavement discovered at Nennig near Trèves. The group consists of three combatants and a bear. The men are armed with whips, and hold small narrow shields in their left hands; one of them who has fallen is being trampled on by the bear, but defends himself with his shield, while his comrades are trying to drive the animal away.<sup>1</sup>

The keeper was called *ursarius*—a word which is not found in classical authors or in the Latin dictionaries generally used, but in an inscription at Xanten (*Castra Vetera*), on a stone dedicated to the god *Silvanus*. This term is said to have been applied to those who had the charge of other animals also, that were kept in a menagerie (*armamentarium*) till they were required for the amphitheatre.<sup>2</sup>

No. 16 is a man seen in profile, holding a bow unbent, and running to right. He is preceded by two dogs (17, 18), who bark and pursue a buck with branching antlers and a doe (19, 20). It should be observed that five consecutive compartments, forming an entire row of subjects, are devoted to a hunting scene, which, as we know from the poets and historians, was a very popular spectacle

Bern, and frequently meets the traveller's eye in that city, but it would be difficult to trace his descent from the ancient prototype.

<sup>1</sup> J. N. Von Wilmsky, *Die Römische Villa zu Nennig und ihr Mosäik*, Bonn, 1865, folio, with fine coloured plate. *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, edit. W. Oncken, Abtheilung 64, *Mosaikfussboden in der römischen villa zu Nennig bei Trier*, double-page engraving.

<sup>2</sup> Brambach, *Inscriptiones Rhenanæ*, No. 211.

DEO SILVANO  
CESSORINIVS  
AMMAVSIVS  
VRSARIVS LEG.

XXXV. V. S. A. V. S. L. M.

where V.V.S.A. *Ulpia Victorica Severianæ Alexandrianæ*, v. Orelli *Insc.*, No. 3395, and comp. Henzen's Supplement, p. 335. "Cf. *cum custode vivarii*, Or. 22." *Ibid.* No. 6148, *ursos quoque crudeles occidit* X, No. 6170; Orelli *Insc.*, No. 2252, *Præpositus armamentario ludi magni*.

*Ursarius* is omitted by Forcellini, but will be found in Quicherat, *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*, with the explanation

*ursorum custos*; he quotes from the above-mentioned Rhenish inscription incorrectly.

For examples of the bear in ancient art, see *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxv, pp. 103-105, Memoir by the Rev. C. W. King, On an antique cameo found at South Shields; *Ibid.* 402, *sq.*, my remarks on the Polar bear.

With the existing monuments compare the following passages: *Martial*, *Spect.* vii, *Nuda Caledonio sic pectora præbuit urso*; *Ibid.*, xi, and xv,

*Ille et præcipiti venabula condidit urso,*

*Primus in Arctoi qui fuit arce poli.*

*Capitolinus*, *Gordiani Tres*, c. iii, *Feras*

*Libycas una die centum exhibuit, ursos*

*una die mille. Vopiscus in Probo*, c. xix,

*Venationem in Circo amplissimam dedit*

*—Addidit alia die in Amphitheatro una*

*missione centum jubatos leones—Editi*

*ursi simul trecenti.*

Turning from classical to mediæval art, we find that in the symbolical systems of the latter the bear appears as the emblem of luxury, violence, or anger; Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort, an architect of the thirteenth century, edited by Professor Willis, p. 31, Pl. VI, Note i.

with the Romans. However, I need not enlarge on the *Venationes*, because Gibbon has described them with such power of word-painting, and such fulness of details, as leave his successors but little to add.<sup>1</sup>

No. 21, a pikeman waving a cloth. This is one of the best preserved figures in the whole series. The cloth must be explained with reference to the lion in the next compartment; the man has held it up either to frighten the beast, or to protect himself by covering its eyes.

Nos. 24, 25, bull and toréador, a group that reminds us of Spain. The bull, with head lowered, butts at his adversary, who was called *Taurarius* or *Taurocenta*, for both names occur in the same inscription (Orelli, No. 2530). The movement of the animal is very similar to what we see on a coin of Thurium; there a Victory appears flying down from heaven, with a palm branch and crown to reward the conqueror, as in the medallion of Hermes mentioned above. The man holds in his left hand a shield, curved and oval in the lower part; in his right a short dart with a broad iron head, which would cause a large wound.<sup>2</sup>

No. 26, a stag wounded in the breast by a spear which he has broken in his flight. The soil below is reddened with blood.

No. 27, Mansuetarius (tamer) holds in his left hand a ring, possibly to entangle the head or foot of the animal in the next medallion; in his right hand there is a piece of cloth for the same purpose as before, No. 21. I should be inclined to call this figure *circulator*, juggler or mountebank, who was so named from rings (*circuli*) used in tricks performed by trained animals, bears, dogs, monkeys, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Decline and Fall, chap. xii, vol. ii, p. 53 *sq.*, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith. Overbeck, Pompeii, vol. i, p. 168, Fig. 126. Gemälde an der Brüstungsmauer. Thierkampf—eines Stiers mit einer gewaltigen Mollosserdogge; *ibid.*, pp. 177-180, Figs. 131-135. Uebung eines Bestiarius, Kampf mit dem Bären, Thierkampf, Jagdszenen; comp. Tomb of Scourus mentioned above.

On a coin of L. Livineius Regulus we see two gladiators fighting—one with a lion, the other with a tiger—and a wounded bull in the background: Cohen, *Med. Consulaires*, p. 187, Pl. XXIV, Livineia, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> So Mons. Loriquet explains the coin: "la couronne et la palme destinees au toréador vainqueur de l'animal, p. 316. Carelli, *Numi Italiae Veteris*, Pl. CLXVII, No. 27, p. 91; but comp. the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Italy, s.v. Thurium, Nos. 96, 113, 115, 122, 143, "Nike crowning a bull," whence it might be supposed that the artist intended to represent the animal as victorious.

Merovingian javelins have been found resembling that in No. 25; one of them is preserved in the Museum at Reims, Loriquet, p. 317, Note 1.

A good example may be seen in Rich's Dictionary, copied from an ancient terra-cotta lamp. Exercises of this sort were carried by the ancients to great perfection, as we learn from the monuments and the authors. Suetonius relates that the Emperor Galba in his prætorship exhibited elephants walking on a tight rope.<sup>1</sup>

No. 30, a wild boar pierced on the side by a spear. He is represented in profile, thrown down upon the ground, with eye closed, mouth open, tongue projecting, and blood streaming from the wound. A similar figure of a boar is given by Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. i, pl. xxx, No. I, with the addition of a pikeman, who faces the animal, and attacks him with his lance. Hence it is doubtful whether the mosaicist meant to convey the idea that the spear on the side was the cause of death. In lightness of limbs and length of dorsal ridge this figure resembles the famous Erymanthian boar, as he appears in Greek sculpture and painting; but it is said that the modern varieties differ widely from those with which the ancients were familiar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Martial, Spect. xvii, De Supplice elephantæ, Non facit hoc jussus, nulloque docente magistro. XVIII, Lambere securi dextram consueta magistri. Tigris, ab Hyrcano gloria rara jugo. Lampridius, Heliogabalus, c. 21. Habuit et leones et leopardos exarmatos in deliciis (as pets); quos edoctos per mansuetarios subito ad secundam et tertiam mensam jubebat accumbere.

Gori, Museum Florentinum, vol. 2, Tab. XVIII, No. 2, p. 49 sq., has an engraving of a remarkable gem (perrara); the subject is a trainer who exhibits a dancing bear. Rich has copied the plate, but omitted the inscriptions on both sides of the stone, ΕΤΤΥΧΙ (for ΕΤΤΥΧΕΙ) ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΕ, *Felix esto, Marcelle*; ΕΙΡΗΝΗ, *Pax*; and ΑΤΖΕΙ ΤΥΧΗ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, *Crescit fortuna Antiochensium*. Gori refers to a curious inscription in Gruter's Thesaurus, vol. i, p. 637, No. 1, which begins thus:

Ursus togatus vitrea qui primus pila  
Lusi decenter cum meis lusoribus,  
Laudante populo maximis clamoribus  
Thermis Trajani Thermis Agrippæ et  
Titi.

*Ibid.*, the bear is called *pilicrepus*, ball-player; *scholasticus*, learned; *exodiarius*, actor in a comic interlude.

For the performances of elephants, see Suetonius, Galba c. vi, Novum spectaculi

genus, elephantos funambulos, edidit: Ælian, De Animalium Natura, lib. ii, c. ii, translated by Sir Emerson Tennent in his Natural History of Ceylon, Appendix to chap. vii, pp. 237-240.

<sup>2</sup> Caylus explains the Plate *ibid.* p. 90 sq. Representations of the boar and boar-hunts will be found in the following works:—Panofka, Bilder Antiken Lebens, Tafel V, No. 1, Eberjagd, No. 2, Transport des erlegten Ebers. Millin, Galerie Mythologique, Pl. CLXXII, No. 628; Explication des Planches, vol. ii, p. 108. Rev. C. W. King's Antique Gems and Rings, vol. i, p. 453, woodcut in the text, described p. xix, Combat between Hound and Wild Boar of prodigious size: *ibid.*, vol. ii, Pl. XL, No. 1; Pl. LIV, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and Description of woodcuts. Bellori, Picturæ Antiquæ Sepulcri Masonum, Romæ MDCCCIX, Tab. XXIX, p. 60 sq. Apri Venatio, a most important illustration of the subject. Catalogue of Roman Medallions in the British Museum by Mr. H. A. Grueber, Hadrian, No. 10, Pl. IV, Fig. 3; Marcus Aurelius, No. 2, Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3. In both cases the Emperor is hurling a javelin at a wild boar before him.

My Paper on Constantinople, Section IV, sec. 5. *Archæol. Jour.*, vol. xxxix, p. 148 sq., gives many references, especially for the Calydonian Hunt.

No. 31, pikeman advancing towards a panther or leopard against whom he points his spear. The transverse bar immediately below the head of the weapon should be noticed; it was placed there to prevent the lance penetrating too far, and so bringing the animal too close to his adversary. This appendage was sometimes, as in the present instance, of a crescent shape; sometimes, on the contrary, it widened at both ends. Rich, in his Dictionary, explains it well, s.v. *Mora*.<sup>1</sup>

No. 34, lion rushing to left, with tail elevated. He is not a mere repetition of No. 5, as his body is longer and his mane less strongly marked. In the mosaic a man contends with the lion; but this part, as we know from Martial, was sometimes performed by a woman.<sup>2</sup> The monarch of the forests afforded entertainment to the Romans by his ferocity and his docility. We have an example of both in the pavement at Nennig, where a medallion represents the end of the venatio. A lion has devoured a wild ass (onager), of which only the head is left; he places his paw angrily upon it, but submits to be led away by his keeper, an old slave who strokes him on the back.<sup>3</sup> Martial has written six epigrams on a lion carrying a hare in his mouth without hurting it—a subject which became so popular that it was repeated as an ornament on terra cotta vases.<sup>4</sup>

III. Before describing the tomb of Jovinus, a few words concerning his biography seem necessary by way of explanation. His birthplace is not certainly known, though, according to an ancient tradition, he was a native of Reims. He played a conspicuous part in the political history of the fourth century; and, if not on the throne

At Reims the bear is seen not only in the Mosaic but also on the tomb of Jovinus, cf. infra.

Professor Hartog has suggested that the difference between the modern animal and his representative in ancient monuments may arise from a conventional treatment that copied inaccuracies. Dr. Günther tells me that the bear in the Mosaic at Reims is the same as that which is common throughout Europe, except the British Isles.

<sup>1</sup> The man holds his spear level as in Caylus's Plate mentioned above. See the spear-heads engraved by Rich, loc. cit. "The sharp curved points, like teeth,

are the *κνῆδορες*; the straight ones with widening ends, like wings, the *πτερυγες*; . . . they are included by the Latin writers under the one general name of *mora*."

<sup>2</sup> Spectac. VI. *Feminae in Amphitheatro cum leone certamen.*

Hæc jam feminea vidimus acta manu.

<sup>3</sup> Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, edit., W. Oncken. Abtheilung 64. The engraving from Wilmowsky is very well executed.

<sup>4</sup> Epigr., i, 7,—

Nunc sua Cesareos exorat præda leones,  
Tutus et ingenti ludit in ore lepus.

Loriquet, Op. Cit. p. 253 sq. and note.

itself, he mounted the steps that led to it. Under Julian the Apostate (or Philosopher, as some have called him), Jovinus commanded armies in Gaul and Illyricum; but he gained his highest distinction in the war against the Alemanni, whom he defeated in three battles—at Scarponna (Charpoigne), on the banks of the Moselle, and in the Catalaunian plains (Châlons-sur-Marne). This last victory was a most decisive one, and long remembered in that part of Gaul, as we infer from frequent allusions made to it. The Emperor Valentinian not only came from Paris to meet Jovinus, but as a reward for his services, raised him to the consulship in the following year, A.D. 367. According to Gibbon, Jovinus assumed the imperial purple at Mainz, A.D. 411, and was soon afterwards put to death by Adolphus, king of the Goths. But there is surely some mistake here, for we can hardly believe that Jovinus was commander-in-chief in a most important campaign, that he disappeared for a period of forty-four years, and then re-appeared as a pretender to the throne. Gibbon might well say that every circumstance in this short reign is dark and extraordinary. It is far more probable that the usurper was a member of the same family, who belonged to the following generation.<sup>1</sup>

Jovinus is supposed to have fixed his residence for some time at Reims, partly from laws dated there, which he himself may have suggested,<sup>2</sup> partly from the fact that he built in this city the church of Saints Agricola and Vitalis, and selected it as his burial place. It may be observed, in passing, that the importance of Reims is also shown by the long stay of the Emperor Valentinian, who must have remained there in the year 367 until August 6th, at least.

Inscriptions throw little light on the family of Jovinus.

<sup>1</sup> Decline and Fall, Chaps. xxii, xxv, xxxi, vol. iii, pp. 115, 119, 126, 258 *sq.*, ed. Dr. Wm. Smith. The chief ancient authority for the life of Jovinus is Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxi *passim*; xxii, 3; xxv, 8; xxvii, 2, 10; *Cf.* Orosius, vii, 42. Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. v, p. 33 *sq.*, p. 680, note xxv.

Jovinus is connected with the history of our own country: *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i, p. 140. "A.D. 367, Jovinus is appointed Præfect in

Britain, and sends Provertuides thither before him, lxxiii, 2."

<sup>2</sup> Dom. Bouquet. *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. i, p. 754, Ex Codice Theodosiana.—Anno Christi 370. Imp. Valentinianus, Valens et Gratianus AAA. ad Jovinum Magistrum militum. *Commoneat tua Sinceritas hac Sanctione Veteranos ut loca absentium squalida . . . quantum vires unius cujusque patientur, exercent.* The object of the statute is to encourage the cultivation of land by the Veterans.

There is one at Rome, where Jovina, a female infant, is mentioned:—

>P<  
FLIOVINA. QUAE VIXIT  
ANNIS. TRIBVS. D. XXXII. DEPOS  
NEOFITA. IN. PACE. XI. KAL. OCTOB.<sup>1</sup>

Another gives us the name of Flavius Jovinus, general of an army in Istria; it was found in Hungary, and the forms of the letters prove that it belongs to a late period.<sup>2</sup>

This sarcophagus is 2 mètres 84 centimètres long, 1 mètre 40 centimètres broad, and 1 mètre 50 centimètres high; it consists of one block of white marble, which is not good in colour and unequal in grain: a crack in front extends to nearly two-thirds of the height. The figures on this side stand out in high relief, but those at the ends, though they form a part of the same subject, are only sketched, perhaps by some inferior artist. This composition contains fourteen statues, differing in age, sex, condition and dress; but they all wear a mantle (*sagum*), which a brooch on the right shoulder fastens.

The chief personage occupies the last place but one to the spectator's left. He has short hair and no beard; his costume indicates a military officer of high rank. Like the soldiers in the bas-reliefs on Trajan's Column, he wears drawers (*feminalia*),<sup>3</sup> extending a little below the knees, and a tunic (*colobium*), which also is short, and only covers the upper part of the arms. His cuirass is of the kind called *plumata* or *squamata*, because it imitates the feathers of a bird or the scales of a fish; a double row of leather straps is appended to it, as a protection for the thighs; and on the shoulders there are similar straps, nearly corresponding to our epaulettes. This part of the armour

<sup>1</sup> Gruter, p. 1504, No. 1. Ducange in his Glossary gives the form Neophytus also, Cf. Suidas, νεοφυτῆς. See Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, art. Neophyte. The newly baptized for eight days wore a white dress, hence we find the expressions *in albis* and *albatu*; Fabretti, Inscriptions, pp. 577 sq., 735.

<sup>2</sup> Orelli, Insc. Lat., vol. iii. p. 345, No. 6734, Supplement by Henzen. In Pannonia, in comitatu *Stuhlweissenburgensi* Hungariæ; . . . litteræ ævi recentis.

<sup>3</sup> Mons. Loriquez has given a full

account, to which I am greatly indebted, of this monument in the *Traux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims*. Trentième Volume, Année, 1859-1860; it forms parts of his treatise, *Reims pendant la Domination Romaine d'après les Inscriptions*, and has been published separately, with the title, *Le Tombeau de Jovin*. He sometimes uses forms of Latin words which are not strictly correct, e.g., *femoralia* for *feminalia*, *clipeus* for *clipeus* or *clupeus*. *Pharetræ* occurs for *phalæra*, through a typographical error, Acad. de Reims, Op. citat. p. 180.

may be very well seen in the figure of Caracalla, so called, at Constantinople, a photograph of which I exhibited two years ago. The Byzantine example, however, is more ornate than the present one.<sup>1</sup> A short mantle, fastened in the usual manner, is thrown over the *lorica*. The boots resemble the *cothurnus*, but, having the toes exposed, they would be more correctly designated by the term *campagus*; at the top they are decorated with the heads of animals and foliage, a fashion of which Montfaucon supplies many instances.<sup>2</sup> Of the right hand the fingers are broken off, but the left arm is preserved only as far as the wrist.

Around this figure four others are grouped: a young man, with flowing curls and wearing a Phrygian cap, holds by the bridle a horse ready for his master to mount; another, on the left end of the sarcophagus, whose tunic has long sleeves (*manicata*), presents a helmet with chin pieces; a naked child looks up to the chief personage, and also offers a helmet—a repetition which seems meaningless; in the back-ground a man with a curly beard is talking to the one first mentioned.

Next, to the right, we see a young female standing in a firm commanding attitude, and looking towards the principal action as if she were prepared to take part in it. She wears a crested helmet, from which one lock of hair escapes, descending on her shoulder. Her right arm and breast are exposed (*expapillata*), her left shoulder is covered by a garment which forms many folds there. This Amazon's tunic, like those of her male companions, does not quite reach to the knees.<sup>3</sup> Her boots also

<sup>1</sup> See my Paper on Constantinople, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxix, p. 143 sq., with engraving of Roman Emperor.

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, tome iii, Part 1, pp. 54-66, Plates XXXIII-XXXV, see especially lib. ii, c. v, sec. vi. Le *campagus* chaussure des Empereurs et des principaux officiers de l'armée—qui différait peu de la *calige* des soldats; sec. vii, qui par intervalles laissaient une partie du pied decouvert: Cf. *ibid.*, tome v, Part 1, p. 158, lib. iv, c. x, Apothéose d'Auguste dans l'agathe de la Sainte-Chapelle (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Ducange, s.v. *Campagus*, explains the derivation, a Græco *καμπή* crus, quod crura tegetet.

For Roman armour generally and the

cuirass in particular, Hope's *Costume of the Ancients* may be consulted with advantage, vol. i, p. 46 sq.; vol. ii, Plates CCLII, CCLVI.

<sup>3</sup> The general appearance of this figure recalls to mind the goddess Roma on large brass coins, e.g., those of Vespasian, Cohen, *Med. Imp.*, tome i. frontispiece, and p. 315, Rome assise a droite, adossée a sept collines, tenant un parazonium. Better illustrations are supplied by Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, pp. 183-185, Die Dämonen der Städte; the latter part of the section gives a full account of the personification of Rome in ancient art: Cf. Taf. xvi, 2, Sculptures representing the apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina; also Taf. xxv, 15-19.

Auf dem Bogen *Constantin's* ist sie



resemble the *campagus*, previously described; they are pierced with eyelets (*ansæ*), through which a thong (*obstragulum*) passes. In her right hand she holds a spear (*venabulum*), of which a small portion is visible, and in her left a large oval shield (*clipeus*). Below, there are two animals, a wild boar and a creature that seems intermediate between a stag and a reindeer.

The central place in these bas-reliefs is occupied by a man on horseback; he has hair cut close, is beardless, and wears a tunic with long sleeves; his left hand holds the reins, his right a short spear which does not project beyond the hunter's breast; with it he is going to pierce a lion who advances towards him, though already wounded by another weapon.<sup>1</sup> In front of the rider a man who has been thrown down, now half erect, is defending himself with a shield against the lion, who plants his fore-paws upon it. The dress of this figure should be noticed, as it differs from all the rest. He wears long trousers (*bracæ*), the ends of which are tucked inside his shoes (*calcei*). His countenance accords with his costume; both alike indicate a barbarian.<sup>2</sup>

In the back-ground there is a second personage on horseback, clothed like the first; his action also is the same, as he hurls a javelin at the lion; but his face presents a decided contrast, for his hair is long and in disorder; moreover he has a beard and moustache. Then come two men on foot; the one with an open tunic (*exomis*) seems to be an assistant of the horseman; the

(Roma) in Relief gleich einer Amazone gebildet, wo sie den von Dacien rückkehrenden Traian stehend empfängt, p. 185.

In the celebrated Vienna Cameo the helmeted female seated beside Augustus is usually considered to be the goddess Roma, but Mr. King calls her Livia, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii, p. 70, *Description of Woodcuts*, Plate LII, 1 (*Gemma Augustæ*). The subject is discussed by Wieseler, notes added to C. O. Müller's *Denkmäler*, Part I, No. 377. *Tassie's Catalogue*, vol. i, Nos. 8295-8325. Grueber's *Roman Medallions*, Antoninus Pius, No. 13, p. 9, and Plate XI, Fig. 1 (Autotype process); comp. Index IV, Types, s.v. Roma.

In some cases the identification of Roma is easy, because a special attribute has been inserted; in others it is difficult

to distinguish her from Minerva. The engraved gems exhibit the single lock of hair escaping from the helmet, as on the sarcophagus at Reims.

<sup>1</sup> A lion-hunt appears on a coin of Hadrian; Grueber, *Op. citat.*, p. 6, No. 18 (No. 8 is a mistake in Index IV), Reverse, VIRTVTI AVGVSTI: Emperor wearing paludamentum, on horse galloping r.; he hurls, with r. hand, javelin at lion running before him.

<sup>2</sup> Fröhner, *La Colonne Trajane*, Paris, 1865, 8vo, p. 86, un pantalon de toile plissé par le bas et serre dans la chaussure: Note (1) *ibid.* and Fig. 11: Ovid, *Tristia* IV, 6, 47. *Vulgus adest Scythicum, braccataque turba Getarum*. V, 7, 49. *Pellibus et laxis arcent male frigora braccis*. Fabretti, *La Colonna Trajana*, Tav. viii, &c.



second, like the child who presents a helmet, has a mantle for his only covering; his left arm is broken off in the upper part. These men are separated by some foliage; the interval between them and the second horseman is filled by a head which has short hair and no beard.

At the right end of the sarcophagus we see two figures clothed in tunic and mantle; one of them holds a spear and leads a dog by a string, the other appears to be departing. There are three other dogs in the composition, but as their noses are mutilated, the species cannot easily be determined; each of them wears a collar ornamented with borders and projecting studs. The horses are caparisoned with the skin of an animal (*stragulum*), whose head has been divided into two parts and re-united in front of the chest; the bridles are decorated with lace, studs, and metal pendants on the head stall; at their necks is a kind of martingale from which hang a crescent (*humula*), bells, and ivy leaves alternating with trefoils. This part of the harness is like the *crepundia* on the breast of a child, as figured by Rich in his Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s. v.<sup>1</sup>

At the left hand corner of these bas-reliefs a pilaster, covered with a scroll-pattern and ivy leaves, supports a cornice. The capital is adorned with reeds, in the midst of which a river-god reclines in a semi-recumbent posture, as usual; his right hand holds some aquatic plant, his left arm leans upon an inverted urn, from which water issues: a cataract is also descending in front of him. M. Loriqueu endeavours to explain this subject by reference to an old cosmogony that regarded water as the origin of all things; he thinks that it symbolized life and continued existence,

<sup>1</sup> Loriqueu, Acad. de Reims, vol. xxv, p. 189. Il y a aussi tels details, dans le harnachement des chevaux, par exemple, qui se retrouveront sur la colonne d'Antonin (?), sur celle de Marc-Aurele, sur l'arc de Septime-Severe et d'autres monuments du II<sup>e</sup> Siecle, mais pas au-delà, que nous sachions.

Engelhardt, Denmark in the Early Iron Age, Chap. III, sec. 7, pp. 59-62. Harness (Thorsbjerg, Plates XIII to XVI, and Nydam, Plate XIV.) Many interesting particulars are mentioned in this section. "The only tolerably well preserved *head-stall* which is left from

antiquity was found in Thorsbjerg, and is represented in Plate XIII, Fig. 1, some details being drawn full-size in No. 1<sup>a</sup> to 1<sup>d</sup>, p. 60. A very great number of ornamental *studs* and bosses for placing along the leather straps, as may be seen in our figure of the complete headstall, and in representations of such objects on Roman sculptures of the first centuries after Christ. They occur in a great variety of shapes, figured in Plate XIII, Fig. 2-11, p. 61." Index to the Plates, Horse Harness and Riding and Driving Gear, p. 79.

and was therefore adopted as a funereal emblem.<sup>1</sup> But this interpretation seems far-fetched; it reminds one of those German critics who always find some deep significance where nothing of the kind was ever intended. Montfaucon, Tome V, p. 148, Pl. cxxv, describes a similar figure painted on a tomb as the Styx, and though M. Loriquet calls his reasons inadequate, this opinion is supported by a comparison with other groups in the same plate. However, it is possible that we have here neither a symbol of perpetuity nor the Styx, but only a river-god introduced by way of ornament, just as we see sometimes in ancient mosaics marine deities or monsters which are not specially appropriate.<sup>2</sup>

This sarcophagus was formerly deposited in the church of St. Nicaise, now demolished, on the right side of the principal door; it was supported by three columns of grey marble, as shewn in an old print which I exhibit. In 1540 a storm threw down the window over the grand portal, and covered the interior of the church with fragments of stone: probably this was the cause of the fracture in the monument which has been noticed above. In 1800, it was removed to the Cathedral, of which only a part was then used for Divine Service, in order that it might be more accessible to the public. Last September (1882) I saw it in the crypt (*chapelle basse*) under the great hall of the Archevêché, a vault so cold and damp that it was impossible to remain and examine the sculptures carefully.

The tomb of Jovinus formerly bore this inscription:

“Verna Dei basis fidei jacet hic Jovianus,  
Restituit quod destituit nequam Julianus.”

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the coins of Smyrna, Hunter's Catalogue. Tab. li, No. 4, *Figura fluvii decumbens ad sinistram, dextra arundinem, sinistra urnæ innixa*; see also Nos. 5 and 6; the latter has on the reverse MEAHC, whence Homer was called Melesigenes; Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Report and Communications, 1880-1881, No. 23, p. 46, Memoir on the Portrait of Homer upon an unpublished Coin of Niœa in Bithynia, by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

According to Thales, *water*, or some liquid element, was the origin of all things: Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, Chap. XII, p. 132, edit. 1838.

M. Loriquet, *op. citat.* p. 181, refers, as illustrations, to two bronze medallions struck at Ephesus in honour of Antoninus, where there is a similar personification of a river, with Jupiter above, hurling a thunderbolt and pouring down rain upon the earth.

<sup>2</sup> So in the mosaic at Jurançon, near Pau, and therefore remote from the sea, we meet with a colossal bust of Neptune, Nereids, dolphins, fish and anchors; My Paper on Antiquities in the South West of France, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 18 *sq.*: Le Cœur, Mosaïques de Jurançon et Bielle (Basses-Pyrenees), Notices et Dessins, Plate III coloured.

These lines are evidently mediaeval, and *Jovianus* has been substituted for *Jovinus* on account of the rhyme. They cannot, therefore, afford evidence to prove in whose honour the monument was erected.<sup>1</sup>

Some say that the subject here is Jovinus killing a lion in Persia, though we have no proof that he ever was in that country; others, with as little reason, think that the design refers to his three victories over the Germans. The excellence of the workmanship sufficiently refutes both hypotheses. For the same reason we must reject the fanciful absurdities of Lacourt, who saw in this monument a whole imperial family. Valentinian, according to him, pierces the lion, an emblem of the barbarians; the Emperor's wife, Valeria Severa, stands by his side, accompanied by young Gratian who received the title of Augustus when he was only eight years old; Valens is at the end on foot; and the general on horseback near Valentinian is Jovinus.<sup>2</sup>

M. Colin, a friend of Bergier,<sup>3</sup> author of the celebrated work on Roman Roads, thought the man killing a lion was Hadrian, and the child holding a helmet Antinous. This theory is not, like the preceding, contradicted by the style of art, but it would require the Emperor's favourite to be represented much older.

The chase is a common subject on sarcophagi. We have a fine example in the Cathedral of Girgenti (Agrigento), usually explained as relating to Hippolytus and Phædra;<sup>4</sup> but M. Loriguet finds in it only allegorical portraiture of the brevity of life and the suddenness of

<sup>1</sup> Moreover, a false quantity is made by lengthening the first syllable of *basis*: Cf. Morell, *Lexicon Græco-Prosodiacum*, edit. Dr. Maltby. *Sæcis*, gressus. 2, pes. 3, fundamentum.

Jovianus was quite a different person from Jovinus. The former immediately succeeded the Emperor Julian, and reigned A.D. 363-364: Gibbon, Chap. XXIV, vol. in. pp. 216-232, ed. Dr. Wm. Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. v, p. 31. Gratian is called *nobilissimus puer*; Cf. Gibbon, Chap. xxv.

<sup>3</sup> Bergier also wrote a History of Reims; Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, No. 24506, table methodique. He figures in the Alphabetical List of Celebrities, born at or near the city. Notices sur

Reims et ses Environs, p. 153. Comp. *Congrès Scientifique de France, Treizième Session, 1845, Circulaire de la Commission d'Organization*, p. xiii. Grævius's *Thesaurus*, vol. x, contains a Latin translation with notes by Henninius, of Bergier's book entitled, *Histoire des grands chemins de l'Empire romain*: *Dictionary of Antiquities*, ed. Dr. W. Smith, s.v. Via.

<sup>4</sup> These sculptures are well described by Gsell-Fels, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien*, in *Meyers Reisebücher*, second edition, 1877, p. 418, s.v. Dom S. Gerlando. *Vordere Langseite*: Hippolyt in Begleitung von Jägern erlegt den Eber—Unten am Sockel . . . . in den Ecken Löwen, Tiger, Greifen, Hunde, Hirsch-kämpfe.

death! For other instances we may consult Spon's *Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis*, p. 312; Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, tome iv, pl. cix;<sup>1</sup> and the collections of the Louvre.<sup>2</sup> Such comparisons have given rise to mythological explanations; accordingly some have discovered here the Calydonian boar hunt, with Meleager and Atalanta sustaining the principal parts. On the other hand we may remark that the lion is too prominent, and the costume is not exclusively Greek.

The Abbé Pierret says that the sculptures exhibit life contending against, and triumphing over, death; and that the former principle is represented by human beings, the latter by animals. This view is too subtle; it may harmonize with Christian ideas; but we must remember that the design and execution of these bas-reliefs are altogether pagan.

Lastly, M. Loriquet, rejecting all these interpretations, endeavours to show that we have here a funereal hunt (*chasse funèbre*). In the earliest times slaves and captives were immolated at the pyre of the deceased; at a later period gladiatorial fights were substituted for human sacrifices; other entertainments were also provided in honour of the departed—dramatic performances, boar hunts, combats of men (*bestiarii*) with wild beasts, and of animals with each other. Thus, although at first sight the chase appears to have no connection with mortality and burial, when we consider these ancient usages, we understand why subjects of this class are frequently introduced on sarcophagi and sepulchral urns.

The great variety of persons and dress observable here is quite in accordance with the accounts of exhibitions in the amphitheatre by writers of the first and second centuries. One example of this correspondence must suffice. The Amazon in these reliefs by her costume calls to mind the *Mævia* of Juvenal (*Sat. i, 22 sq.*):—

<sup>1</sup> The bas-reliefs on this monument, which was at Barcelona when Caylus wrote, "sous la Porte du Grand Archidiacre de la Cathedrale," represented four scenes quite distinct in character.

*Ibid.*, Plate CXIX is the Tombeau de Jovin, so called: Caylus discusses the attribution in his text, p. 390 *sq.* and concludes his remarks with the following

words "Si ce Bas Relief est en effet de Jovien, il a été exécuté par un Artiste plus sçavant que ceux de son siècle, dont nous connoissons les ouvrages."

<sup>2</sup> Clarac. *Musee de Sculpture, Texte*, tome ii, pp. 475-478, Nos. 183 *bis*, 188, where references to the volume of Plates will be found.

“Mævia Tuscum  
Figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma.”

“And the bold fair  
Tilts at the Tuscan boar, with bosom bare.”

These scenes on sarcophagi are similar to what we find on lamps and vases of red glazed pottery; for the former class compare Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*,<sup>1</sup> and for the latter Mr. Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*.<sup>2</sup> But it would be absurd to imagine that these representations were in all cases funereal.

M. Lorient's view has the merit of ingenuity, but I think we are dealing with a case where certainty is unattainable. As many passages in ancient authors contain obscure allusions to persons and events now unknown, so the sculptural monuments present problems which baffle all attempts at a solution. The subject here may be some historical incident, of which no record exists; or it may be some mythological story, into which successive artists have introduced additions and alterations until its original features can no longer be traced.<sup>3</sup>

IV. The Roman Inscriptions found at Reims itself are not as numerous as might be expected, seeing that it was the capital of a nation second only to the Aeduans among the allies of Caesar, and that it became under the Empire the residence of a provincial governor. On the other hand, many stones are still extant in various parts of Europe, bearing the name of Remi. From them I have selected some which specially illustrate our own Romano-

<sup>1</sup> Tome v, Part II, CXC Pl. a la 228 page, Fig. 3, and CXCI Pl. a la 230 page.

<sup>2</sup> P. 94, Scenes from the Sports of the Amphitheatre frequently occur: Plates XXIV, 1; XXVI, 5; XXVIII, 3: Dr. Birch, *On Ancient Pottery*, vol. ii, p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> On reconsideration, I am strongly inclined to think that the subject is *Imperial*, and I draw this conclusion from the Amazon and the principal male figure in juxta-position with her. A comparison with other monuments goes far to prove that these personages are the goddess Roma and an Emperor: *Cf.* omnino Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum ac veteris sculpturæ vestigia . . . a Petro Sancti Bartolo delineata incisa . . . notis

Io. Petri Bellorii illustrata, No. 24, Primo loco, Balbinus, ut videtur, Imperator militari habitu conspicuus, utraque manu pugionem seu parazonium tenet, quem Roma, palmæ ramum gerens, comitatur. Capitolini Maximus et Balbinus, cap. viii, Augustan History, vol. ii, p. 149, edit. Lugd. Batav., 1671. Unde autem mos tractus sit ut proficiscentes ad bellum Imperatores munus gladiatorum et venatus darent, breviter dicendum est.

M. Alphonse Gosset in his dissertation on Reims Monumental, Reims et Ses Environs, p. 217, assigns the Tombeau de Jovin to the fourth century; I should be disposed to date it earlier, and this opinion is supported by the authority of Caylus, loc. citat.

British antiquities.<sup>1</sup> Considered from this point of view the following seems most interesting.

(1) MARTI-CAMVLO  
SACRVM-PRO  
SALVTE-TIBERII  
CLAVDI-CAESARIS  
AVG-GERMANIC-IMP  
//// IVES-REMI-QVI  
//// EMPLVM-CoNSTITV  
ERVNT  
O.C.S.

“Marti Camvlo sacrvm pro salvte Tiberii Claudi Caesaris Avgvsti Germanici imperatoris cives Remi qvii templvm constitvervnt.

Ob cives servatos.”

“Dedicated to Mars Camulus for the safety of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor by citizens of Reims, who have erected a temple (in his honour).

On account of the preservation of citizens.”

Following the reading of the earlier editors I thought that we had here mention of the Emperor Claudius and of the god Camulus, as they are in juxta-position, so to speak, at Colchester, a place whose antiquities were carefully investigated by the Institute on the spot in 1876. After all that has been said and written on the subject, I need not now stay to prove that this town is on the same site as *Camulodunum*, which means the Hill of Mars, and is therefore equivalent to Areopagus.<sup>2</sup> A magnificent temple was erected there in honour of Claudius, and Tacitus, in relating the fact, uses the very word with which our inscription terminates.

Templum, divo Claudio *constitutum*, quasi arx æternæ dominationis aspiciebatur.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have endeavoured to call attention to this branch of international archaeology in my Paper on Autun, section iii, Ceramic Inscriptions, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xi, pp. 46-48.

<sup>2</sup> Act. Apostol., xvii, 22. Σταθéis δε δ Παυλος εν μέσσω του 'Αρείου πάγου εφη. Conybeare and Howson. Life and Epistles of St. Paul, vol. i, pp. 440-443, ed. 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Annals, Book XIV, chap. 31. Dr. Latham in his article Colonia (Smith's Dict. of Classical Geography, vol. i, p. 645)

which shows strange neglect of existing monuments at Colchester, identifies Camulodunum with Maldon; and Orelli reproduces the same opinion in his note on Tacitus, Ann. xii, 32: both these writers seem to have been deceived by false derivation. The absence of remains of Roman buildings at Maldon may be regarded as conclusive. See two excellent Papers in the *Archæol. Journ.*, Camulodunum, by the Rev. Prebendary Searth, vol. xxxiii, pp. 325-334; and Roman In-

But on closer examination, it seems almost certain that instead of *Tiberii* in the third line we ought to substitute *Neronis*. Brambach in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum* states that the surface of the stone where *Tiberii* is engraved shows a depression and marks of some tool that has been employed to alter the letters: moreover, the genitive case *Tiberii* is formed differently from *Claudi*.<sup>1</sup>

*Camulus*, according to one reading, occurs in an inscription preserved at Rome; it is placed over a figure of Mars with attributes, and immediately follows *Arduinne*, the Gallic Diana, who carries a bow and quiver.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman monuments of England, as far as I know, supply no example of this name in its simple form; we have only the compound mentioned above, but an altar found near Kilsyth in Scotland, and now in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow, was erected to *Mars Camulus*.<sup>3</sup> At first sight the abbreviation *CAMVL* on the coins of *Cunobeline* might be taken for *Camulus*, but a comparison of many instances shows that it stands for the name of the town *Camulodunum*.<sup>4</sup>

scriptions at Colchester, by W. Thompson Watkin, vol. xxxiv, pp. 76-82: also Mr. Freeman's Opening Address, *ib.*, p. 49 sq.; and Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 291 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Index iv, s.v. Mars Camulus, No. 164; p. 49, s.v. Rindern. Gruter, vol. i, p. lvi, No. 12, gives the same inscription, but less accurately. *Camula Attica* occurs in *Reinesius*, *Nov. Repert. inscript. antiq.* Append., p. 809, quoted by Loriquet, p. 73; and *Camulinus Oledo* in Brambach, *ib.*, No. 825, p. 166 (Trier, pars antica saxi quadrati).

In Romano-British epigraphy we find the names of a legate and of an emperor, probably *Elagabalus*, effaced; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, edit. 4to., pp. 320-322; *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, pp. 166-168. But the Arch of Severus at Rome supplies the most remarkable instance of an erasure, Caracalla having removed the name of his brother Geta from the inscription on the attic.

<sup>2</sup> This form of the name appears in Loriquet's engraving opposite p. 53; Gruter, vol. i, p. xl, No. 9, has *Arduinne*; the editors of Caesar's Commentaries adopt *Arduenna*, v. Oudendorp, *Bell. Gall.* v. 3. The modern varieties are *Ardennen*, *Ardenne*, and *Arden* in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. Fabretti adds some

details not mentioned by Gruter, *Inscr. Domest.*, *Emendationes Gruterianae*, p. 1 Henzen, Supplement p. 168, note on No. 1960 of Orelli's *Inscriptions*, says: *Ardoinnam* Ligorius videtur introduxisse, ut Gallicam deam Remo Gallo adjungeret.

The etymology of *Arduenna* is obscure; it is evidently a Celtic word, and the first syllable suggests a comparison with the *Armoricae civitates* of Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* vii, 75; the second may be related to the Gaelic, *domhainn*, deep, profound, which seems to be the same with *don* in *Bas Breton*.

It is said that the worship of Diana continued in the Ardennes down to a late period of the Middle Ages; if this statement is correct, it would be a curious illustration of the word *pagan*, which means primarily, one who lives in a rural district, v. Ducange, s.v. *paganus*.

<sup>3</sup> Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae*, c. lxvi, Vallum Pii, sec. v. *Westwood*, *Statio per lineam valli tertia?* No. 1103. *Comp. Map of Britain*, and *Map of the Antonine Wall on an enlarged scale (1,500,000)* at the end of the volume.

<sup>4</sup> On the gold coins of *Cunobeline* the word *Camulodunum* is more or less abbreviated; on a copper coin we have *CAMVL-ODVNO* in two compartments of a tablet: Evans, *Op. Citat.*, p. 337; *Plates*, IX, 1-14; XI, 1-4; XII, 9-14;



Similarly, a British deity *Cocidius* was identified with Mars. The combination of these two names was first discovered at Lancaster upon an altar, which Mr. Thompson Watkin has engraved and described in his interesting work entitled *Roman Lancashire*.<sup>1</sup> The *Lapidarium Septentrionale* records the name of another deity, *Belatucader*, as associated with Mars; though worshipped in the north of England, if we would seek his origin, he must be traced back to the far distant East.<sup>2</sup>

On the back of the altar are the letters O.C.S. within a wreath of oak-leaves, which form the civic crown. The medals of Roman Emperors, notwithstanding their limited space, enable us to expand what is here abbreviated, for on them we sometimes read in full the words OB CIVES SERVATOS with the same surroundings.<sup>3</sup>

This inscription was found at Rindern, not far from Clèves, to which place it was transported in 1793; it was

XIII, 1-4, Pl. XII no 9 and esp. Lelewel, *Monnaies Gauloise et Celtique*, Pl. VIII, 51-56.

Hübner, *Op. citat.*, p. 33, quotes passages relating to *Camulodunum* from Pliny, Dio, Tacitus, and Seneca in *divi Claudii αποκοκιντώσει*; *ibid.*, p. 34. Nomen vero oppidi vetustum ejusdem stirpis esse atque *Camuli Gallorum et Britannorum dei cum Marte Romanorum componi soliti recte a multis observatum est. Gruter is mistaken when he says, vol. i, p. lvi, No. 11, Lingua Sabina sic (i.e. *Camulum*) appellari Martem constat ex inscriptione 9, folii xl.*

The Catalogue of the Slade Collection, now in the British Museum, contains a notice of a curious specimen of embossed glass, recently found at Colchester; Part I, sec. II c, *Roman Glass blown in a mould*, p. 33, No. 198. It is an entire cup. Over four charioteers are their names; the conqueror is addressed AVE, the three others VALE.

In the Colchester museum the following objects deserve special attention:—an earthenware vase ornamented with bas-reliefs and bearing an inscription, a Sphinx in oolite, a bronze head of Silenus, and large glass cinerary urns. For a description of the sepulchral monument of a centurion, found 1868, see a pamphlet by Rev. B. Lodge; with the vine branch in his right hand comp. Juvenal, viii, 247; xiv, 193; Tacitus Ann., i, 23.

Mons. Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois*, p. 20, notices a very curious medal, with the legend CAMVLO, figured Pl. 101, No. 6.

It is attributed, with great probability, to *Camulogenus*, chief of the *Aulerici Cenomani*, who played a prominent part in the final contest (*la lutte supreme*) with *Julius Cæsar*: *Bell. Gall.* vii, 57, *Summa imperii transitur Camulogeno Aulercio*, qui, prope confectus ætate, tamen propter singularem scientiam rei militaris ad eum est honorem evocatus; cf. *ibid.* cc. 59, 62. M. Hucher remarks on the type of the reverse, on y retrouve l'idée d'indépendance caractérisée par le cheval bondissant en liberté.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. vi, *Lancaster*, p. 170. This altar was found 1797, in clearing away some earth for improving and enlarging the Castle.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 309, 310, D[E]O MARTI BELATVCADRO. "From the name of the god we are necessarily led to suppose that he was allied to the Baal of the Syrians;" cf. No. 182, and Index I, Names and Attributes of Deities, s.v. *Belatucaderus*.

Cf. *Apollo Maponus*, Mr. Thompson's *Roman Lancashire*, pp. 131-135, esp. p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> These words appear on the copper coinage of *Caligula* and *Claudius I, Cohen*, *Med. Imp.*, vol. i, p. 150, No. 22; *ib.*, p. 164, 77. A reverse of *Vitellius* exhibits the phrase abridged, OB CIVIS SERV., being inscribed upon a shield placed against a palm tree, *Cohen, ib.*, p. 265, No. 92. We also find OB CIV SER. *Admiral Smyth, Descriptive Catalogue of Roman Imperial Large-Brass Medals*, pp. 30, 34, 53.



still there in 1866, when Brambach wrote. Whatever may be the situation of the stone at present, it certainly remained for many years in the Castle at Clèves, where the Princess Anne, Henry the Eighth's "Flanders Mare," was born.<sup>1</sup>

We cannot say with certainty on what occasion, or by whom this altar was erected. Some suppose that the whole body of citizens resident at Reims dedicated it to Claudius out of gratitude for the privileges he had conferred on the Gauls; but why should the Rëmois have chosen for this purpose a site so remote from their capital? It seems more probable that the cives Remi here mentioned were colonists who lived near Clèves, on the banks of the Rhine.

(2) DEO· MERCVRIO· ET· ROS  
MERTE· CANTIVS. // // // // // T // //  
FILIVS· EX· V // // T // // //

Deo Mercurio et Rosmertae Cantius Titi filius exvoto.

Erected in honour of the god Mercury and Rosmerta by Cantius, son of Titus, according to a vow.

Montfaucon, who seems to have been badly informed by his correspondent at Langres, reads FORTE. VERTE, *i.e.*, Fortunae revertenti, to returning Fortune.<sup>2</sup> Gruter has POSTVERTE instead of ROSMERTE; his mistake in the first letter was probably caused by a part of the R being obliterated.<sup>3</sup>

That *Rosmerta* is here associated with Mercury, the patron of traders, and so we find them together in an inscription at Sion, *Senita Leucorum*;<sup>4</sup> and in Henzen's Supplement to Orelli, N°. 5908, *Rosmerta* is called *Mercurialis*; moreover the dedicator of the last monument was an *adjutor tabulariorum*, and therefore was employed

<sup>1</sup> See memoir on "The Remonstrance," of Anne of Cleves in the *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii, pp. 249-264.

<sup>2</sup> Ant. Expl. tome ii, p. 415. Orelli, Insc. Lat. No. 1415, gives another explanation, *Vertenti*, instabili.

Montfaucon says that the two heads in a semi-circular recess above the inscription are those of Mercury and Fortune.

<sup>3</sup> P. L, No. 9. "POSTVERTA Dea

. . . parturientibus propitia," Orelli, loc. citat: but this interpretation is doubtful. See Forcinelli, Lex. s.v.

<sup>4</sup> Discovered in 1320; *Memories de la Societe des Antiquaries de France*, t. in, p. 475; t. XIII, p. 208, ap. Lorient, p. 78.

Cf. *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Serie, vol. xl, p. 81; "Rosmerta, si souvent associée à Mercure dans les ex-voto des Vosges."

to keep accounts.<sup>1</sup> From these circumstances we may infer that Rosmerta was a commercial deity.<sup>2</sup>

This inscription was found at Langres (*Andemantum*); others containing the name of the same goddess are to be seen at Trèves and Luxemburg; so that the provenance shows the origin of her worship to be Celtic.

For Cantius Gruter reads C. Antius,<sup>3</sup> but Cantius occurs on a leaden pipe of an aqueduct at Arles, of which Montfaucon gives a full-page engraving, *Antiquit. Expl. Supplém.*, Tome III, p. 165, plate LXI; upon it the following words are inscribed, C. CANTIVS. POIHINVS. FAC.<sup>4</sup> As in the case of the last inscription, so here again we are reminded of our own country, the part of it nearest to France being called by Caesar *Cantium*. He also remarks that the manners and customs of the inhabitants resembled those of the Gauls—neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine.<sup>5</sup> These words afford the clue that should be followed in our enquiries: the two countries are so closely connected by their historical monuments that neither can be thoroughly studied apart from the other.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nos. 5907, and 5909 which also contains the word *tabularius*.

<sup>2</sup> M. Loriequet, p. 78, places Rosmerta in the same category with Nundina, "qui, dans d'autres contrées, a été trouvée également associée au dieu des marchands." Classical scholars are familiar with *nundinae* (the ninth day, the market day) and derivatives such as *nundinatio*, *nundinari*, &c., and the phrase *trinum nundinum*; Keightley's second edition of Ovid's *Fasti*, Introduction, p. xv; in the *Fasti* that have been discovered the letters on the left A—H denote the *nundinae*; *ib.*, after p. xviii, *Tabula Maffei*; Orelli, *Insc. Lat.*, vol. ii, chap. xxii. *Kalendaria Antiqua*, pp. 379-413 *esp.*, p. 406 *sq.* Arguing from analogy one might expect to find Nundina, goddess of markets, as M. Loriequet implies, but I have not met with this divinity in any ancient author or inscription. The Nundina mentioned by Macrobius is a totally different personage, and not in any way connected with trade: *Saturnalia I.*, xvi, 36. *Est etiam Nundina Romanorum dea a nono die nascentium nuncupata, qui lustricus dicitur. Est autem dies lustricus quo infantes lustrantur et nomen accipiunt; sed is maribus nonus, octavus est feminis.* On this passage Ludov. Janus, a recent editor, has the following note: *Hæc hoc*

*solo loco commemoratur a scriptore vetere, cf. Hartung (Die Religion der Römer) i.*, p. 151, et ii, p. 244. The *Dies lustricus* when the child was named is like the Jewish Circumcision and our Christening: *St. Luke*, i, 59-63; my Paper on Constantinople, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxix, p. 148, and note on p. 148, description of reliefs on a sarcophagus in the Museum. With these rites compare the Attic festival *Ἀμφιδρόμια*, (*Dict. of Antiquities and Liddell and Scott*, s.v.): Plato, *Theætetus*, 160 E, *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τόκον τὰ ἀμφιδρόμια αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν κύκλῳ περιβρεκτέον τῷ λογῶ*, *Schol.* and Heindorf's note.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly the earlier editors, e.g. Lambinus and Taubmann, write M. Accius Plautus, but Ritschl calls this author T. Maccius Plautus; so he reads in the *Mercator*, prolog. v. 6. *Eadém latine Mécator Macci Titi.* The line as it stands in Bentley's note on Terence, *Phormio*, Prol. 26, *Eadem latine Mercator Mactici* is metrically defective.

<sup>4</sup> Montfaucon remarks, "Ce qui est certain, est que *Poihinus* ne se peut souffrir," and proposes to substitute *Pothinus*, which seems very plausible. Gruter, vol. i, p. clxxxiii, No. 9, has C. CANTHIVS PONTINVS. FAC.

<sup>5</sup> Bell. Gall., v. 14 unit.

(3)

D. IVL D. FIL/////
   
CAPITONI
   
FLAM IVI EN. IIVIR
   
///// PVBLIC. PER
   
/// IIVIR. AERA /////
   
PRAEF. FABRV. TRIB
   
MIL. L. /////
   
GEM /////
   
REMI FOEDERATA

D. D. D.

Decimo IVLio Decimi FIL(io VOLTINia) || CAPITONI, || FLAMini  
 IVvENTutis, IIVIRO || (locorum) PVBLICorum PER sequendorum  
 || IIVIRO AERA(RII), || PRAEFecto FABRVm, TRIBuno || MILItum  
 L(EGionis II ADIVTricis) || GEM(inae CIVITates VIENNA COLonia  
 || ET) REMI FOEDERATA || (Loco) Dato Decreto Decurionum.<sup>1</sup>

Erected in honour of Decimus Julius son of Decimus, of the Voltinian tribe, surnamed Capito, priest of the goddess Youth, triumvir for inspecting public places, duumvir of the treasury, president of artizans, military tribune of the second legion (assistant), by two states, the colony of Vienne and the confederate city of Reims.

The site was granted by a decree of the decurions.

There is some doubt about the interpretation of the word *Geminae*. I have followed Monsieur Loriquet who connects it with *Civitates*; but Chorier supposes that it is an epithet qualifying *Legionis*.

This inscription has been selected for consideration on account of the words *Praefectus Fabrum*, which correspond with similar expressions on a sepulchral stone found at Bath, and engraved by the Rev. H. M. Scarth in his work entitled *Aquæ Solis*, Pl. xxi, p. 59.<sup>2</sup> What is wanting in

<sup>1</sup> This inscription and the expansion of it are given by M. Loriquet on pages 80 and 83 respectively: the attentive reader will observe that they do not harmonize exactly, but the *lacunae* are so numerous that we must be contented with a probable interpretation. The original was formerly at Vienne (Dauphine) and has been lost; its deficiencies are supplied, to a great extent, from another inscribed stone still extant in the Museum at the same place. Spon, who wrote at Lyons and saw the monument, in his *Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis*, p. 203, Sectio v, Geographica &c., corrects the mistakes of Gruter, vol. i, p. 421, No. 8: "Hanc ibi ultimam Inscriptionem foede apud Gruterum mutilatam restituit et explicat (Chorier):" cf. Orelli, No. 3841 and note. It is evident

that the letters were carved on the pedestal of a statue of Capito.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Scarth discusses the ancient name of Bath, pp. 3, 4, and writes *Aquæ Solis*, following the Antonine Itinerary, ed. Wesseling, p. 486, ed. Parthey and Pinder, p. 233; but Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinæ*, cap. ix, p. 24, with good reason, I think, prefers *Aquæ Sulis*, "ex titulis deæ Sulis Minervæ ibi cultæ," Nos. 38-44, 53: and so Lysons, *Reliq. Brit. Rom.* i, 1813, p. 9, adn. c, "Sed neglexit veritatem is quoque qui nuperrime urbis monumenta composuit (Scarth)." *Sul Minerva* is another example of a barbarian identified with a Roman divinity, like Mars Camulus mentioned above, Apollo Toutiorix, and Diana Abnoba; Scarth, p. 47, McCaul, *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, p. 191.

the French monument is supplied by the English, and *vice-versa*. The latter records the burial of Julius Vitalis, an armourer (*fabricensis*), who was attached to the 20<sup>th</sup> legion, and states that he was interred at the expense of his guild (ex colegio fabricæ elatus). *Fabricensis* here has a military meaning, as in the Theodosian Code,<sup>1</sup> but *fabri* in the French inscription are probably work-people employed for the purposes of civil life, and their president (præfectus) would in most cases be some influential person who held other municipal offices. M. Lorient calls Vitalis *un Belge*, but this may mislead the reader: he was not a Belgian in the usual acceptation of the word, but one of the British *Belgæ*, a tribe inhabiting Hampshire, Wiltshire and Somersetshire.<sup>2</sup>

The latest archaeological novelty at Reims, as far as I know, is an inscription communicated by the Baron J. de Baye to the French Society of Antiquaries, and discussed in their Proceedings on October 5, 1881.<sup>3</sup> It is on a cippus of the ordinary form, and 60 centimetres high. Besides the stone, a skeleton was discovered in good preservation, together with a cinerary urn containing human bones imperfectly burnt. The words are as follow:—

. . MECA MEMO  
RIATVAM

M. Héron de Villefosse expands it thus: [a] meca?, *memoria tuam*, for am[i]ca(?), *memoria[m] tuam [feci]*. The form of the letters shows that they belong to a late period. *Memoria* is not used here as in classical Latinity, but means a memorial or monument; so Ducange, Glossary s.v., explains it by *monumentum sepulcrum, μνημείον*; he gives examples from Jerome and Augustine,

<sup>1</sup> Codex Justinianus, Cod. XI, Tit. X (IX), De Fabricensibus; Corpus Juris Civilis, ed. Beck, vol. ii, p. 357. Cf. Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. ii, p. 663, Index x, Collegia, s. v. Fabrum.

<sup>2</sup> Wright. The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon, pp. 22, 40.

The inscription at Bath is given by Hübner, Op. Cit. No. 49, p. 27, who thinks it belongs to the second century. He says that the device in the triangular top is Medusa's head; according to Mr. Scarth, it consists of fruit and flowers. See Orelli,

vol. ii, No. 4079, who explains *fabricensis*, ex fabrica ferraria s. officina armamentaria legioni cuique adscripta: cf. Henzen. Suppl. No. 6751. Præfectus Fabricæ, sc. armorum. McCaul, Op. Citat. p. 187, notes, has some observations on the words *fabri, fabricensis, fabrica, elatus* and *collegium*.

<sup>3</sup> It was found near the Goods' Department of the Railway Station. Remarks on the Baron de Baye's letter were made by M. Héron de Villefosse: *Memoires de la Societe Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, tome xlii, Bulletin, p. 241.

and notices their frequent occurrence in ancient inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> *Titulus* has the same signification in the phrase *titulum ponere*, which we meet with on a slab near Brougham Castle: this expression is rare in Britain, but the German museums afford many instances of it.<sup>2</sup>

From Epigraphy we pass by an easy transition to coins bearing legends. Speaking generally, those of the Remi are not remarkable; in variety of types and beauty of execution they must yield to other tribes, especially to the Arverni and Aedui. But one of them deserves notice, partly on account of the controversy about it. The obverse exhibits three male heads, conjugated, with their hair cut close in Roman fashion; the device of the reverse is a winged victory in a *biga*, holding a whip, and the reins in both hands: the legend REMO appears on either side of the coin. Some connoisseurs see here the tricephalous deity that has been found on altars at Reims and in the neighbourhood. This theory may be rejected, because the resemblance is not sufficiently close.<sup>3</sup> M. Loriquet thinks that the three heads represent three provinces, Belgica, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior; in support of his opinion he refers to a medal of Galba, on which there are three heads in a horizontal line with the legend TRES GALLIAE.<sup>4</sup> But it should be observed that in this latter case the personification of the

<sup>1</sup> In Orelli, Nos. 4469, 4512, 4536, 4549, we find the phrases, *memoriam facere alicui*, and *comparare sibi memorias* II.

<sup>2</sup> See my Paper in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Second Series, vol. vi, p. 388 sq., and reference in a foot-note to Zehetmajer, *Lexicon Etymologicum Comparativum*, s.v. *Titulus*.

<sup>3</sup> Six of these altars (or rather *stelae* shaped like altars) are in the Collection of M. Duquenelle et Reims, one is in the Musée retrospectif at the Hôtel de Ville; Loriquet Op. Citat. p. 62, note 1. Cf. omn. the memoirs by M. Alexandre Bertrand, entitled *L'Autel de Saintes et les Triades Gauloises* in the *Revue Archeologique*, 1880, Nouvelle Serie, vol. xxxix, pp. 337-347, vol. xl, pp. 1-18, 70-84, with engravings and photographs, esp. pp. 6-13 *La Triade et les Tricephales*; the latter part of this section is devoted to the *pays remois*, the district which has been hitherto most fertile in monuments of this kind. In

No. 6 three heads are united, having three noses and three mouths, but only two eyes. M. Bertrand connects the coin above-mentioned with the Tricéphales, and cites M. Hucher as an authority in favour of this view, but does not represent him correctly; for, though in the *Art Gaulois*, Part I, p. 41, he says "trois têtes ... qui nous avaient semble offrir l'effigie d'un Dieu Tricéphale tres-honore a Reims," in Part II, p. 103, he shows himself disposed to call them the *Triumvirate*.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen, *Medailles Impériales*, vol. i p. 219, s.v. Galba. *Trois tetes de femme à droite*. (Les Gaules aquitaine, narbonnaise et lyonnaise.) Pl. XIV, No. 8. It will be remarked that this account of the provinces differs from M. Loriquet's interpretation. He also thinks that Galba's coin was imitated by the Remi (p. 236, note), but the altered arrangement of the heads seems a fatal objection to this view.

provinces is, as usual, female, so that the analogy fails.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, M. Hucher in his *Art Gaulois* calls attention to some features which render it probable that we have here the effigies of the Roman Triumvirate. He says that the face on the right has an aquiline nose, like that of Mark Anthony as it appears in his denarii, but that the face on the left does not show any nasal curve, and in this respect agrees with the likeness of Octavian: also that the time of life here indicated suits very well with the Triumvirs, as one head is youthful and the other two middle-aged; for when this coalition was formed, Octavian was only twenty years old, Mark Antony was about forty, and Lepidus could not have been much younger, as he held the office of praetor six years previously.<sup>2</sup>

Another coin of the Remi is interesting, because it illustrates an important passage in Caesar, and assists us to correct the text. The device of the obverse is a head with curls arranged in large masses; that of the reverse is a horse galloping and a wild boar underneath. Here, as in the preceding example, the legend is repeated, ANDECOM—ANDECOMBO. At first sight we might suppose that this is the name of a chief not mentioned by Caesar, for no such word occurs in the editions commonly used. But where they read *Antebrogium*, Oudendorp gives among the *variae lectiones Andocium Borium, Andecumborium, Andecomborium, Andocumborium, Anodocuburium*. The true reading *Andecomborium* is therefore, I think, ascertained by comparing the coin with the manuscripts, though Monsr. Hucher prefers *Andecombogius*: see the learned note in his *Art Gaulois*, Part I, p. 63.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, Zweites Heft, p. 178, Tab. XXV, XXVI, Die Dämonen bestimmter Länder, Gegenden, Örter, &c., esp. p. 179. *Stattliche Frauen, mit der Thurmkrone auf dem Haupte, und das Szepter tragend.*

<sup>2</sup> In the *Art Gaulois*, Part II, p. 103, we have, "une bonne representation de la charmante médaille de Reims;" it has been, I think injudiciously, enlarged, which detracts from the value of the evidence it supplies. The repetition of the legend is not uncommon; Rollin and Feuardent's Catalogue gives many examples; e.g. p. 8, No. 101, TOGIRIX, reverse, TOGII; p. 14, No. 166, COAIMA, rev., COAIMA; p. 25, No. 284, PIXT...

rev., ...TILOS. With the Victory on the Remish coin we may compare a denarius of the gens Afrania, Cohen, *Méd. Consulaires*, Pl. II, p. 14, Victoire dans un bige au galop à droite, tenant un fouet. The features of Mark Antony are as well known to us as those of Augustus himself, see Cohen, *ibid.*, s.v. Antonia, Pls. IV, V, pp. 23-34; the head of Lepidus appears, s.v. *Æmilia*, Pl. II, No. 18.

M. Hucher's explanation of the coin at Reims is corroborated by one struck at Ephesus, which has the heads of the triumvirs similarly placed; it may be seen in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Bell. Gall. lib. II, c. 3, edit. Oudendorp; Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex

V. It would be impossible on the present occasion to describe in detail the Cathedral which presents so many interesting features of different kinds, but I beg permission to notice the external sculptures, because they excite the curiosity of the most superficial observer, and neither ordinary guide-books nor general works on architecture will afford the information he desires. My account is chiefly derived from an unpretending, but very instructive, work by the Abbé Tournour, entitled *Description Historique et Archéologique de Notre Dame de Reims*.<sup>1</sup>

The north transept has three arches; the central and that on the left are richly decorated, that on the right is walled up.<sup>2</sup> In the former the middle place between the two doors is occupied by a figure of colossal size wearing long robes, a conical cap and a cope fastened by a breast-plate in which twelve precious stones are set.<sup>3</sup> This

Belgis sunt, ad eum (Cæsarem) legatos, Icium et Antebrogium, primos civitatis, miserunt. With the former part of the word *Andecombogius*, Hucher compares *Andes* (Anjou), *Andematunum*, *Andecamulum*; and with the termination, *Vercombogius* (Gruter, p. DCCLVIII; No. 11), &c. Lelewel, *Monnaies Gauloise et Celtique*, PL III, Nos. 44, 45. Hucher, *Art Gaulois*, Pt. I, p. 29; PL 62, fig. 1; Pt. II, p. 103, and p. 139, *Catalogue Critique des Legendes des Monnaies Gauloises*.

A general account of the coins of the Remi is given by Barthelemy, *Numismatique Ancienne* (Manuels-Roret), *Gaules, Belgica*, p. 100.

"Types: Trois bustes de profil, dans une couronne de feuillage; bige; tete imberbe tournée a droite; lion arrete, la queue passee entre les pattes.

*Legendes*: REMO; REMOS.

Metal: Bronze. On lit sur les monnaies des Remi le nom du chef ATISIOS."

Rollin and Feuardent in their *Catalogue de Medailles de la Gaule, Chefs Remois*, p. 32, Nos. 354-358 give, besides ATISIOS, the following names:—AΘHAIAC (sic), ECCAIOS, and VENECTOS. For the first of these De Saulcy reads AΘHDIAC, and ingeniously conjectures that it is the Greek form of ATISIOS, cf. Cæsar Bell. Gall., I, 29: in the last case he prefers VENEXTOS: Hucher, *Op. citat.*, *Catal. Crit.*

<sup>1</sup> The fourth edition of this book was published at Reims in 1880. See also the *Iconographie intérieure de la Cathédrale de Reims*, *Histoire et Description des*

Vitraux et des Statues by the same author; and for the Liturgy of angels, Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> On this side, previously to 1793, a door opened on a hall named *Pretiosa*, because the canons assembled there to hear the martyrology read, and the service began with the words, *Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints, Psalm cxvi, 15.

<sup>3</sup> This part of the vestment is derived from the "breast-plate of judgment" mentioned among Aaron's garments, Exodus xxviii, 2-4, 15. It is called in the Septuagint *λογειον των κρίσεων* or *της κρίσεως*, and *περιστήθιον*; and in the Vulgate *rationale*. Cf. Isaiah lix, 17, *ἐνεδύσατο δικαιοσύνην ὡς θώρακα*; Ephes. vi, 14, I Thess. v, 8. B. Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini *De Adoratione in Spiritu et Veritate*, lib. xi, p. 384 sq., edit Aubert, Paris, 1638. Philo Judeus *De Vita Mosis*, lib. iii, p. 670, Paris, 1640. *Καὶ κατὰ τὸ στήθος ἄλλοι λίθοι πολυτελεῖς διαφέροντες ταῖς χροαῖς, σφραγισίων εἰκότες, ἐκ τριῶν τετραστοιχεί, ib.*, p. 672.

Ducange's article *Rationale* extends over more than three columns in Henschel's edition. The Rev. Wharton B. Marriott in his *Vestiarium Christianum* quotes and translates many passages from ancient authors: Introduction p. iv, sq., pp. 1, 5, 17, 22, etc.

The Vakass, a vestment peculiar to the Armenian Church, has a breast-plate attached to it: *Smith's Dictionary of*



personage raises his right hand to bless, and holds a book in his left. Some suppose that St. Sixtus, others that St. Peter is here represented. The figurines on the pedestal symbolize the episcopal virtues, gentleness, fortitude and charity. There are three statues on each side of the porch: on the left, St. Nicaise, head in hand, between an angel perfuming him with incense and his sister Eutropia: on the right, a corresponding group, St. Remi holding the Sainte-Ampoule (*holy vial*) said to have descended from heaven, between an angel and Clovis who wears the dress of a catechumen.

The Tympanum contains five rows of sculptures:—

1. St. Nicaise kneels before an altar on which his head is deposited; this subject is repeated, but in the second case the saint presents his head to the barbarians for decapitation; Eutropia stands by, and strikes the Vandal king in the face, that she may share her brother's martyrdom. Proceeding towards the right we see the baptism of Clovis by St. Remi: the former is in the font, behind him are his wife Clotilde and Frankish lords; the latter receives from heaven the Sainte Ampoule, and is followed by his clergy.

2. An angel announces to Montanus the birth of St. Remi; Montanus in his turn informs Cilinia. St. Remi, while yet an infant, commences his thaumaturgic career; on his mother's knees he restores sight to the aged Montanus, anointing him with his mother's milk. Clad in episcopal robes, the saint expels a demon from a girl at Toulouse, and on this occasion is attended by two acolytes, one of whom scatters holy water with a brush; he also chases evil spirits, three adults and a young one, from the City of Reims. The devils form the most animated group in the whole composition; amazement and terror are

Christian Antiquities, s.v. It is said that the *Rationale* adorned with precious stones is a sign of a papal legate, and therefore appears on Archbishops of Reims, in sculpture and glass-painting.

Similarly in the Greek Church some parts of the ritual may be traced back to a Jewish origin; the wooden screen (*Εικονόστασις*), for which a curtain would be a temporary substitute, reproduces the veil that hung before the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem: Epistle to the Hebrews, ix,

3. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα σκηνῆς ἢ λεγομένη Ἁγία Ἁγίων. *ib.*, vi, 19; x, 20, and the By-Altar of Proposition, *Πρόθεσις* (Ducange, Glossarium Græcitatibus), corresponds with the table of shewbread, for which the same word is used in the LXX. Dr. Covell's account of the Greek Church, Camb. 1722; his Plates are derived from Goar's Notes on the Greek Ritual (*Εὐχολόγιον*).

The Rev. W. R. Churton, B.D., favoured me with some of the foregoing references.



depicted in the countenances of the elders, but the juvenile like an impudent *gamin*, looks up at the saint defiantly. These grotesque beings contrast well with the solemn gravity of the ecclesiastics.

3. Job appears as the chief personage; he is seated on a dunghill or heap of ashes, for it is not easy to determine which of the two is intended: Satan lays one hand on the patriarch's head, and with the other raises his left leg. These gestures correspond with the Biblical text: "So went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown."<sup>1</sup> Behind Job his three friends are consulting together; then comes a repetition of this group, with a tree between;<sup>2</sup> Job's wife closes her mouth with both hands. In front of Job the same persons are reproduced, but the wife's attitude is different, for she now stops up her ear. The remaining space is filled by the maid of Toulouse and friends who surround her. The story from the Old Testament has been introduced out of place; it breaks the continuous series of the acts of St. Remi.

4. The Saint restores to life the Toulousaine, who died after the demon had been expelled. To the right, he makes the sign of the cross before a cask from which wine issues, the butler on the other side of it expresses astonishment by his uplifted hand. We have here a representation of the miracle worked at Celtus (*Cernay*). According to the *Acta Sanctorum* there was a deficiency of wine, when St. Remi visited this place; but while he was praying for a larger supply, and before he had risen from his knees the wine overflowed the pavement, so that the servant exclaimed, "In the name of Christ who ever saw such a thing (In nomine Christi quis unquam tale vidit)!"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Job, chap. ii, v. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. The Bayeux Tapestry elucidated by Dr. Bruce, Plate I opposite p. 23, II p. 40, III p. 45, etc.; and C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler der Alten Kunst*, part i, Pl. LXX, No. 382, Trajan's Column, Die beidem Baumstämme zur Rechten und Linken trennen die scene von andern Kriegsbegebenheiten. See also the illustrated works of Fabretti and Froehner *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> This legend seems to be an absurd exaggeration of the turning of water into wine at the marriage-feast in Cana of Galilee. The Life of Saint Remi is related

at great length in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Oct. 1st) vol. 47, pp. 59-187. Sancti nativitas a Sancto Montano prædicta, p. 65; historia energumene Tolosane per Sanctum liberatæ et vitæ redditæ, p. 71. 'Ενεργούμενος means a demoniac in ecclesiastical writers; whence comes the French word *energumene*, now commonly used. Ib. p. 133 (Vetus Caputum Partitio) Qualiter de parvo liquore in villa Celto vinum redundare fecit ex vasculo non modicæ quantitatis. These exploits of Saint Remi were too wonderful even for the Bollandist editors; accordingly they describe his life written by Hincmar as *prolixior fabulis*

5. The triangular space at the top is occupied by Our Lord seated, holding the book of the Gospels, between two angels who kneel and offer crowns.

Most of the figures in the tympanum are erect; in the voussoirs, on the contrary, they are all seated. These latter occupy three bands, viz: twelve bishops on the interior, fourteen patriarchs on the middle, and sixteen popes with tiaras on the exterior.<sup>1</sup>

Under the left arch of the North Transept colossal statues are arranged on the basement in the same manner as those previously mentioned. Our Lord stands in the centre, raising his right hand in benediction, holding the globe of the world in his left, and treading on a basilisk.<sup>2</sup> This statue is so beautifully executed that it goes by the name of *Le Beau Dieu*. On the side-walls we see six apostles distinguished by characteristic signs. Our Lord also appears in the summit of the tympanum seated as a judge, his feet resting on a stool, which indicates his power. The Virgin and St. John the Baptist adore him, while two angels display the instruments of his passion. Below this group are two rows of figures rising from their tombs; but the repetition does not produce satiety, because their attitudes are sufficiently varied. The third row is divided into two compartments by a tree in the centre; on the left are three theological and the four cardinal virtues, on the right impure vices, greatly mutilated. Immediately over the lintel the souls of the righteous are represented by infantile forms which angels carry to Abraham's bosom; the wicked, amongst whom there is a bishop and a king, are dragged by Satan to a cauldron; two demons fill it with the spirits of the lost, and a hideous toad climbs up on its edge, while the flames are blazing all around.<sup>3</sup> On the voussoirs, angels blow

respersa. To use Gibbon's phrase, of which a friend has reminded me, we may read these pretended miracles "with a smile or a sigh."

For the Church of St. Remi at Reims v. *Congres Archéol. de France*, 1861, pp. 87-102, and *Congres Scientif.*, 1846, pp. 276-278.

*Hincmari Archiepiscopi Remensis Anales*, A.D. 861-882, are contained in Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, tom i, pp. 455-515.

<sup>1</sup> The treatment of drapery in this

transept is admirable, while on the other hand the nude figures are very inferior. The excellence in the former case arose from imitation of the antique; the defect in the latter from ignorance of anatomy. For this remark I am indebted to the Rev. C. W. King.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm xci, 13. Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot.

<sup>3</sup> There is a similar scene in the tympanum of the Cathedral at Autun: see

trumpets or hold the book of judgment; the wise and foolish virgins have their place next the tympanum; at the top are two temples, one open for the former, the other closed against the latter, with the awful announcement, *Clausa est janua*, the door is shut!

The sculptures of the West front are of course far more numerous and elaborate than those in the transept, but in many cases, the subjects being of frequent occurrence, less explanation is required. Four young men emptying urns surmount the abutments of the porches; they are supposed to be the four rivers of Paradise, mentioned in Genesis.<sup>1</sup> As the Cathedral bears the name of Notre Dame, we cannot be surprised to find the design of the chief entrance specially Mariolatrous: everything here from the rez de chaussée to the apex is consecrated to the Virgin's honour. She stands in the middle under the rose window presenting the Divine Child to the worshippers as they approach. At her feet Adam and Eve eat the forbidden fruit, and are driven from Paradise. On the exterior surfaces of the jambs the twelve months are represented by appropriate labours; on the inner, thirty angels, in various habits, form the cortège d'honneur that waits on the Queen of Heaven. Twelve colossal statues are grouped round her; eight of them relate to the Annunciation, Visitation and Purification; the meaning of the other four has not been ascertained. Originally the lintel exhibited the Nativity, Presentation and Death of Mary, but in 1802 a Latin inscription was placed here which still remains.<sup>2</sup> The tympanum is filled up by a rose window,<sup>3</sup> and the gable

my Memoir on the Antiquities of that city, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xl, p. 118, with illustration.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. ii, vv. 11-14; Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel (or Tigris) and Euphrates. With the symbolism here compare the river-god in the Tombeau de Jovin mentioned above: Lorique, Reims pendant la Domination Romaine, Pl. opposite p. 125, fig. 9, and p. 180 sq. See also Hirt *Bilderbuch für Mythologie, die Gewässer des festen Landes*—p. 156, Gewisse Attribute sind ihnen gemeinschaftlich . . . ein Schilfrohr und ein umgestürzter Krug, aus dem Wasser strömt; p. 158, a painting at Herculanum is described, where the river Ascanius appears together with a group of nymphs who carry off Hylas, Pl. XX, fig. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Deo optimo Maximo, sub invocatione Beatæ Mariæ Deiparæ Virginis, templum xiii<sup>o</sup> sæculo reedificatum.* These words are legible in M. Trompette's photograph, *Vue d'ensemble du grand Portail.*

<sup>3</sup> This substitution of a window and open work (à jour et vitre) for a tympanum covered with figures is an unusual arrangement, but it has the advantage of causing the interior to be as well lighted at the west end as at the apse: Tourneur, *Description*, p. 29. The statues seem as if they had mounted into the pediments above the doors. Speaking generally, throughout this façade the proportions of the various members and the details of decoration are equally admirable.

end over it contains the principal subject—the Coronation of the Virgin by Our Lord in the presence of Seraphim and Angels. She is seated, with the sun overhead and the moon at her feet, as the woman is described in the Apocalypse, xii, 1. A series of canopies, rising to the summit of the pediment, however beautiful in themselves, produce a bad effect, because they interfere with the architectural lines. There are no less than seventy-five statues on the voussoirs. Beginning with the interior row, the sequence is as follows—Angels and kings with musical instruments; prophets and typical personages of the Old Testament; martyrs, saints and virgins of the Christian dispensation. Many figures here were clumsily restored between the years 1742 and 1792.

Left Porch—eleven colossal figures adorn the side-walls of the entrance; amongst them are St. Nicaise, St. Remi<sup>1</sup> and Eutropia. On the lintel the conversion of St. Paul is represented; dazzled by a supernatural light he falls from his horse at the gates of Damascus. On the inner surface of the door-cases there are sixteen guardian angels; on the outer, arts and sciences corresponding to the manual labours of the central porch. The gable contains the Crucifixion of Our Lord, the executioner piercing his side, and the soldier presenting a sponge. St. John and the Virgin stand at opposite sides lower down. The sculptures on the lateral arch at the extreme left and on the voussoirs of this porch exhibit scenes in the life of Christ, from the Temptation to the Ascension, together with the discovery of the cross by St. Helena. Above this legend we see a female of great size, probably intended for the Synagogue and as counterpart of the Church at the other end of the façade.

Right Porch—In the basement statues of Abel, Abraham, Moses and Isaiah occupy one side; Simeon and St. John the Baptist are fitly placed with them, because they announced the mission of Jesus. On the other side of the entrance we have the saints who first preached

<sup>1</sup> St. Remi (Remigius) must be distinguished from others who bore the same name:—St. Remi, archbishop of Lyons in the 9th century, who had a controversy with Hincmar about predestination and grace; Nouvelle Biographie Generale,

s.v.; and Remigius first Norman bishop of Lincoln, shortly after the Conquest; Art. on the Architectural History of Lincoln Cathedral by the Rev. Precentor Venables in the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xi, p. 160.

Christianity in Gaul. The lintel continues the history of St. Paul; Ananias restores his sight, and baptizes him. The jambs also continue subjects previously noticed, and express the idea of moral culture by means of virtues, opposite vices, and lawful amusements.<sup>1</sup> The designs on the voussoirs resemble those in the left tympanum of the North Transept, but they follow the Apocalyptic vision more closely. They include St. John writing his Revelation, the Seven Churches, heresies, the tree of life, angels beheading the wicked, hell, the book of judgment, Michael contending with Satan and the Son of man, from whose mouth a two-edged sword goes forth.<sup>2</sup> In the gable Our Lord, as judge, pronounces sentence, attended by angels. The side-arch may be regarded as an appendage to the porch, both in architecture and in sculptural decorations; the latter exhibit the bottomless pit, Christ victorious, the book with seven seals and the souls crying beneath the altar. A similar arch, turned towards the Archevêché, contains the legend of St. John: he is plunged into boiling oil which has no effect on him, drinks poison unhurt, and is carried up into heaven.

First Story of the Façade—We admire here four colossal statues placed on the buttresses; Our Lord and St. John on the spectator's left hand, the Virgin and St. Peter on the right. David and Solomon beneath the great rose window, and scenes from their history on the arch immediately above it. In the spandrils David slings a stone at Goliath, and cuts off his head.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These amusements are appropriate to the seasons of the year, e.g. summer-heat is indicated by a naked figure, preparing to bathe: as, on the contrary, winter is draped on a coin of Commodus to which reference has already been made. Here, as in many other cases, the traditions of classical art were closely followed. Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecourt, an Architect of the XIIIth Century, edit. Professor Willis, p. 39, Pl. X, Divine honours paid to an Emperor. "This drawing shows that mediæval artists had more respect for works of antiquity than is generally supposed, and that architects attempted to imitate them in their constructions, as the troubadours did in their poems." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33, Pl. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. i, 16, Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὀξεῖα ἐκπορευομένη. See Forcellini's Lexicon, and Rich's Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s.v. Rhomphæa.

<sup>3</sup> The Abbe Tournier, Description p. 41, says that David and Solomon are here as ancestors of Mary; but I should rather think that they have been inserted in the composition, because they were the most famous kings of the Old Testament, and therefore are fitly placed next the kings of France in the façade of a building, where the latter were crowned for many generations. David is dressed as a shepherd: Goliath holds a spear and shield, and wears a coat of mail, like a knight of the Middle Ages.

Second Story. Fifty-six personages adorn this étage; the series of figures form as it were a diadem, crowning the edifice, and conspicuous from afar.<sup>1</sup> The baptism of Clovis fills the space between the towers.<sup>2</sup> The king stands nude in the font, his Queen Clotilda and Montanus are on his right, the latter holding royal robes; on his left St. Remi receives the Sainte Ampoule, and St. Thierry carries the metropolitan cross; a sceptred king occupies a niche at each of the corners.<sup>3</sup>

On some former occasions I have had the honour to read before the Institute memoirs on Antiquities situated in remote localities and difficult of access; to day I have invited your attention to objects lying on a most frequented route, on the direct line between London and Switzerland. The majority of travellers pass through

<sup>1</sup> From their superior elevation the regal statues at Reims produce a better effect than at Notre-Dame, Paris, where they are arranged immediately over the three entrances of the West front: Galignani's Guide, p. 313 *sq.*, Galerie des Rois.

Mr. M. L. Rule informed me that Clovis was prepared for baptism by St. Vedast (Vaast) Bishop of Arras (Atrebatensis): he is commemorated on Feb. 6th, Acta Sanctorum, vol. iii, pp. 782-815; see also vol. lxxvii, pp. 77 c d f, 78a. Interim Rex Chlodoveus ... apud Tullum oppidum eum (Vedastum) agnovit: eoque socio itineris assumpto ad Sanctum Remigium baptizandus properavit, p. 783. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 792, Vita brevior, cap. 3. Two other saints of the same name are mentioned by Potthast, Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke Europäischen Mittelalters von 375-1500; Vollständigeres Verzeichniss der Heiligen, ihrer Tage und Feste, p. 254, Vedastus episcopus 1 Oct., Vedastus martyr 26 Oct.

A church in Foster Lane, Cheapside, the work of Sir Christopher Wren (1697), is dedicated to St. Vedast. "The spire is a charming composition of varieties; the square, the concave, the convex, and the square repeated in the pyramidal termination give hard and soft shadows most agreeably distributed." Roy. Inst. Brit. Architects, paper by John Clayton, Assoc., April 5th and 26th, 1852. Comp. Pictorial Handbook of London in Bohn's Illustrated Library, p. 195, *sq.* (woodcut).

Clovis I is well known, but historians

give a meagre account of Clovis II and III (Martin, Histoire de France, vol. ii, p. 141 *sq.*, 146, 159, 171). The last of these kings is said to have reigned A.D. 691-696; but on this subject see a brochure by M. Charles Grellet-Balquerie published in 1882, "Deux Découvertes Historiques. Histoire de Clovis III, nouveau Roi de France, 672 ou 673 à 677-678. Authenticité et date précise de la translation du Corps de St. Benoit en France an I<sup>er</sup> de Clovis III," with *fac-simile* of inscription on the tomb of St. Mummole or Mummolenus (end of seventh century).

Clovis is called in Latin Chlodoveus; Martin, in his index, uses the form Chlodowig.

<sup>3</sup> St. Remi himself relates that after baptism he anointed Clovis with holy oil (sacri chrisomatis unctione ordinavi in Regem), but the story of the descent of the Sainte Ampoule from heaven was invented by Hincmar 360 years afterwards. This vial was broken in 1794; it seems to have been one of the kind improperly called lachrymatories, which were used to perfume the ashes of the dead: Biographie Universelle, vol. ix, p. 135, note 3; Art. Clovis by Walckenaer.

It is recorded that the baptism of Clovis was solemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and hence perhaps we may, in some measure, account for the scene being twice figured among the exterior sculptures at Reims.

Reims without stopping, and some devote only a single day to it. My remarks have by no means exhausted the subject, but I trust they may induce archaeologists to stay a little longer, and (though they may forget "the drudge and pioneer") to explore more carefully the monuments of the city, both classical and mediaeval.

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#### APPENDIX.

Besides the Inscriptions investigated above, there are some others connected with Reims, by their provenance or contents which deserve attention. M. Loriquet, *Op. Citat.*, p. 308, says that the following letters are inscribed in relief on glass—

F I R M  
HILARI  
ATYLAR

which he expands thus :—*Firmi Hilari ἀντι τυλώσεως ἀραιᾶς, Collyre de Firmus Hilaris contre les callosités naissantes de l'œil.*

The bottle was found at Clairmarais, near Reims : see Figs. 16 and 17 of Plate opposite p. 125. M. Loriquet derives his interpretation from a passage in a treatise ascribed to Galen, and entitled, *Εἰσαγωγή, ἢ Ἱατρός, Introductio, seu Medicus* (c. 15). He has mis-spelt the name of the Greek physician, calling him Gallien, *i.e.*, Gallienus ; he has also mis-read the inscription. A notice of the corrections by Count Conestabile and M. Detlessen, with ample references, is contained in the Catalogue of the Slade Collections, p. 32, No. 192 (Roman glass blown in a mould.) The true reading is *FIRMI HILARI HYLAE*, which is simply the glass-maker's mark. This inscription, therefore, must not be placed in the same category with two oculists' stamps (*pierres sigillaires*) discovered at Reims, which resemble those described by Von Sacken und Kenner, *Das K. K. Münz-und Antiken-Cabinet, Oculisten-oder Aliptensteine*, p. 127 *sq.*

For this subject, in addition to the authorities cited by Dr. McCaul, *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, p. 176, see the *Revue Archéologique*,



Nouvelle Série, vol. xxxix, pp. 178-182. Un nouveau cachet d'oculiste Romain : the article ends with a list of books (Bibliographie), amongst which the works of Grotefend and Desjardins are particularly important ; it also included Memoirs by the Abbé Thedenat, and M. Duquénelle, an antiquary resident at Reims. Cf. Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. ii, p. 665 sq., Index XIII Notabilia Varia, s.v. Medicinæ.

Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. vii, pp. 260-262, Pl. LXXIV, Fig. IV, notices an inscribed vase belonging to this class. From the coarseness of the material and workmanship he infers that the contents were used to cure diseases of the eye, not in human beings, but in the inferior animals.

M. Loriquet, p. 308, says that marks on glass are very rare, but the Catalogue of the Slade Collection supplies nine examples, pp. 25, 31-33, and 51 ; one of them found at Colchester has been mentioned above, but the most interesting is the handle of a *Poculum* of sapphire-blue glass, bearing the stamp APTAC - CΕΙΑω on one side, and ARTAS - SIDON on the other. This fragment shows that the vessel was made by Artas in Roman times at Sidon, where the manufacture of glass was said to have been invented, No. 199, p. 33.

Another inscription is remarkable because it contains the names of *Crescens* and *Briton*—

T · FLAVIVS  
CRENSCES  
EQV · ALE  
TAMVE  
X · BRIT · AN · XXX · STIP · XV  
DOM · DVROCORREM  
H · S · E · FLAVIVS · SILVANVS · DEC · A // // // FVS D  
H · F · F

T. Flavius Crescens, eques alae Tamianae vexillarius Britonum, annis xxx, stipendiis xv, domo Durocortoro Remus hic situs est. Flavius Silvanus decurionum a(dministrandorum) funerum sententia defuncti haeres factus fecit. Loriquet, p. 144.

The expansion of the foregoing inscription is somewhat doubtful. Borghesi reads vexillationis Britannicae ; another critic has proposed Tam-pianae ; and Henzen thinks that DVROCORREM is some town in Britain, otherwise unknown, *Suppl. to Orelli*, No. 5253.

*Crensces* is an unusual form of *Crescens* ; with this variety we may compare *conjux* and *cojux* ; the latter I have seen on a sarcophagus-shaped cinerary urn.

In an affecting passage of St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy,<sup>1</sup> written during his second and more severe imprisonment<sup>2</sup> at Rome, Crescens is mentioned among the friends who had deserted the Apostle. Crescens, a freedman of Nero (Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 76), and Tarquinius Crescens, a centurion who served in the war with Vologeses (*Tac. Ann.*, xv, ii) belonged to the same period, and in the middle of the second century

<sup>1</sup> iv. 10. Δημῶς . . . ἐπορεύθη εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην, Κρήνης εἰς Γαλατίαν.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* ii, 9. ἐν ᾧ κακοπαθῶ μέχρι δεσμῶν ὡς κακούργος.

Crescens, a cynic philosopher was refuted by Justin Martyr; Burton's Church History, p. 214. Hence we may infer that this name was not uncommon in Ancient Rome.

Similarly Euodia and Trophimus appear in Palermitan inscriptions and in the Onomasticon of the New Testament; see my remarks on this subject in the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 159, Notes 3-5, p. 160, Note 2.

I possess a coin attributed to the Remi, which resembles one of Tenedos, and may have been copied from it. The device on the obverse is a head with two faces, female on the left and male on the right; in the Greek example the relative positions are reversed. Some have called this head (*caput bifrons*) Janus, but he is represented with two faces looking in opposite directions, both *bearded*, as in the oldest Roman ascs, see the engraving, Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, second edition, p. 140. Comp. Mionnet, Description de Médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, vol. ii, p. 672, Nos. 266, 267. Double tête, l'une barbue et laurée, l'autre de femme avec un diadème. Rev. ΤΗΝΕΔΙΟΝ, Hache à 2 tranchans; dans le champ, mouche et grappe de raisin; le tout dans un carré creux. Hunter's Catalogue, p. 318, tab. lvii, Fig. 7, with a reference to Pellerin, tab. cxiii, Fig. 4. Aristotle in his *Τενεδίων Πολιτεία* says that the double head represents parties convicted of adultery, but Eckhel thinks that it is an allusion to the story of Tennes and Hemithea, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii, p. 488 sq. Leake, justly rejecting these interpretations, supposes that the Janiform heads are Jupiter and Juno, Numismata Hellenica, Insular Greece, Ægean Sea, p. 42 sq., s.v. Tenedus. Perhaps Dione is intended, a female Titan, and mother of Aphrodite; her name is only a feminine form of Zeus (genitive Δίως), compare "Dianus or Janus, the god of light (dies) in Roman mythology; Diana or Jana, the goddess of light." Key on the Alphabet, p. 56, *ib.* p. 70 sq. In the Guide to the Coins of the Ancients published by the British Museum, it is suggested that the two faces are Bacchus Dimorphus, but this theory seems to me improbable. Rollin and Fenardent, Catalogue de Médailles de la Gaule, Remes, p. 32, No. 353, mention "Double tête imberbe"; the account is incorrect if meant for the coin described above. They add that it may be assigned to the Leuci, a nation between the Remi and the Sequani (Franche Comté). Whatever explanations we give of the device, it may be regarded as a testimony to the strong Greek influence in Gaul, which I have already noticed; see my Paper on Autun, sec. ii, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xl, p. 43 sqq.

With this combination on the coin we may compare the not infrequent case of deities sharing the same temple or altar—*σύνναοι θεοί, σύμβωμοι*, also *πάρεδροι* (assessors or associates), and in Latin *contubernales*: Ernesti, Clavis Ciceroniana, Index Græco-Latinus, s.v. *σύνναοι*. So at Dodona Zeus was associated with Dione, a fact which is abundantly proved by inscriptions recently discovered there, and published by Carpanos in his work entitled Dodone et ses Ruines; v. Texte, p. 39 sqq., Quatrième catégorie, Divers Ex-voto et fragments d'ex-voto en bronze portant des inscriptions dédicatoires à Jupiter Dodonéen et Naïos et à Dioné, &c.; p. 68 sqq. Sixième catégorie. Planches, fac-similes, Inscriptions de l'oracle sur plaques de plomb, e.g., xxxiv, No. 2; xxxvi, No. 2 *Διώναν* (*sic.*) Many of the inscriptions are in dotted lines, au pointillé.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. i, pp. 228-241, esp. p. 231, and notes to p. 233 *sqq.*; vol. ii, pp. 106-108.

Strabo, lib. vii, c. vii, sec. 12. *σύνναος τῷ Διὶ προσαπεδείχθη καὶ ἡ Διώνη.*

I am indebted to Professor Ridgeway for this illustration of the subject, and for the following reference. Dowson's Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature, p. 274. "Sakti, the wife or the female energy of a Deity, but especially of Siva." See Devi, p. 86 and Tantra, p. 317. Compare Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, p. 101 *sq.*, and Index, s.v. Skati: and Sayce's Herodotus, p. 414 *sq.*, Appendix on the Phœnicians.

See also Birdwood, The Industrial Arts of India; Part I, The Hindu Pantheon, with illustrations at the end, esp. pp. 54, 56, 58.

Much curious information concerning the Cathedral of Reims will be found in the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honcourt, edited by Professor Willis; it is doubly interesting because the writer not only lived in the thirteenth century, but also, as we learn from internal evidence, resided for some time in the city. At the end of the volume is a set of drawings of the eastern part of Reims Cathedral (Plates LIX-LXIII, pp. 205-236), which was to be taken as a model for Cambrai, the dependence of the latter see on the former being "expressed architecturally by similarity of plan or style" v. Plate XXVII. The following particulars deserve notice; Pl. III, p. xxv, is a warrior in mailed and hooded hauberk, like Goliath in the west front at Reims; Pl. v, p. 29, exhibits a contrast of virtues and vices, as we see them in the door-cases (*chambranles*) of the right porch of the façade. Mr. Hartshorne has done good service by mentioning this book, *Archæol. Jour.*, vol. xl, p. 301, note Art. on Kirkstead Abbey, Lincolnshire; he rightly calls it "the most important volume in the world upon Gothic architecture."

Among recent authorities one of the most important is Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture française, du xi<sup>e</sup> au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, vol. ii, p. 316, Plan of Reims Cathedral, *ibid.* p. 322; vol. vii, p. 424, *Cependant, parfois, les tympans des portes furent percés de clairesvoies, de véritables fenêtres vitrées . . . C'est là une particularité qui semble appartenir à l'école champenoise, &c. Cf. omn. Index (Table), vol. x, s.v. Reims.*

See also the Abbé J. J. Bourassé, Chanoine de l'église métropolitaine de Tours, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Sacrée, royal 8vo, 2 vols., Paris 1862-63, article Cathédrale (Eglise) pp. 723-895, Reims, pp. 794-797; Les Cathédrales de France, 8vo., Tours 1843, Notre Dame de Reims, pp. 56-69.

In the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is a manuscript which came from Reims, and in which we find the so-called Athanasian Creed. The Rev. S. S. Lewis has favoured me with a description of it. "No. cclxxii, 0, 5,—Psalter and Litany written at—or in the diocese of—Reims shortly before the end of 884 A.D.; the names of S. Remigius and S. Abundus are given in golden letters. It contains a prayer for Marinus (Pope 882-884) and for Carloman II (King 881-885.) After the canticles and 'hymnus angelicus' occurs the 'fides catholica,' and Ave Maria gratiæ plena added by a much later hand, probably of the fourteenth century." The date of this invocation, which is in the margin, should be observed. The words *See Remigi* are

in gold capitals. See Dr. Swainson, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, &c., 1875, pp. 357-9, sec. 7. He also gives some account of Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, and of his controversy with the Saxon Godeschalk, chap. xxviii, pp. 302, 326, 414-422. Dr. Swainson describes Hincmar as an ambitious and arrogant prelate, who sought to maintain in his own person the independence of the Church of his Province against the growing encroachments of the Church of Rome.

A beautiful example of mediæval sculpture and street-architecture is supplied by the *Maison des Musiciens*, Rue Tambour, near the *Hôtel de Ville*. There are five ogival niches, with a seated statue in each—four musicians and a central figure which formerly held a falcon. This bird, with other projecting ornaments, was removed when Charles X was crowned at Reims. The violinist is the chef d'œuvre in this façade. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné du Mobilier français de l'époque, carlovingienne à la Renaissance*; vol. ii, quatrième partie, *Instruments de Musique-Viele (Viola)*, Figs. 1-6, pp. 319-327. Fig. 3, p. 322, *Le Vieux*. "La forme de l'archet, qui est ancien, est intéressante; c'est un progrès sur les formes adoptées au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Congrès Archéologique de France, xxviii<sup>e</sup> session à Reims, 1861; *Relation de la visite faite par le Congr. Archéol. des vieilles maisons de Reims*, par. M. Ch. Givélet, pp. 273-279; *Reims et ses Environs*, p. 223 *sq.* with references.

#### *Bibliography.*

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Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims, contenant l'état civil et ecclésiastique du pays*, 1843-45. This work appeared previously in Latin, 1666, 1679.

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Augustin Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1846, Nos. xx and xxi. *Histoire de la commune de Reims*.

J. B. F. Gérusez, *Description historique et statistique de la ville de Reims*, 1817, 2 vols., 20 plates: *Antiquités Romaines*, vol. i, chap. ix, pp. 259-292; p. 264, Pl., *Reste de la Porte Barée, démolie en 1752*. This book contains notices of many monuments which have disappeared. *La Chronique de Champagne*.

The following authors may be consulted as illustrating the great mosaic of the Promenade at Reims:—Il Musaico Antoniniano rappresentante la Scuola degli Atleti, Trasferito . . . dalle Terme di Caracalla al Palazzo Lateranese, descritto e illustrato dal P. Giampietro Secchi, Roma, 1843, 4to. *Tavola II* shows the whole mosaic, like the one at Reims, it exhibits *single* figures or busts in compartments, but names are annexed, IOBIANVS,

IOVINVS, ALVMNVS, &c. ; the French pavement, on the other hand, is *anepigraphé*.

W. Henzen, *Explicatio musivi in villa Burghesia asservati, quo certamina amphitheatrici repraesentantur, Roma, 1845.*

Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, tome xii, pp. 73-157 ; Plates with figures of the original size. We have here many examples of the *Venatio*—combats with animal, the panther, bull, goat, stag, lion, &c. *Praemissae sunt breves de ludorum amphitheatrici origine atque historia, deque ipsorum gladiatorum conditione, generibus, armaturis commentationes.*

Gruter's *Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 337, *Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg)* . . . . pavementum . . . tessellatum sectile, with full-page engraving. There are pairs of gladiators in the medallions, and in one of them a group of three figures. "Ex Velsero, a quo petenda horum uberior interpretatio."

Johann Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen, Description of the Mosaic at Nennig*, pp. 117-125.

*Collectanea Archaeologica*, vol. ii, pp. 303-310, Paper on the Roman villa at Nennig by J. W. Grover, compiled from the German of V. Wil-mowsky. The engraving is very inferior to that given by the latter author.

*Catalogue de la Vente Charvet, with chromo-lithograph and vignette, Paris, 1883, p. 159, No. 1716, Poterie Gallo-Romaine ; Grand vase sphérique (uter) sans anses, decore de reliefs a la barbotine. Il représente deux Gaulois nus, combattant des taureaux dans l'amphitheatre. 'A la naissance du goulot inscription, ESCIPE (excipe) . ET . TRADE SODALI VTRE (utrem.) C'est le plus grand vase connu de cette fabrique. Bonner Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande ; Ueber ein barbotingefass der ehemaliger Sammlung Disch, t. lxvi, pp. 110-112, Pl. III, 1. This object is remarkable, not only for its size, but also for its form and good preservation. It is now in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.*

Gori, *Gemmae Antiquae Musei Florentini*, vol. ii, tab. xvii, Figs. 1, 4, p. 47 sq. ; tab. lxxii, Fig. 5, p. 120.

For recent discoveries see :—

Auguste Nicaise, *Le Cimetiere Gallo-Romain de la Fosse Jean Fat, Urnes a visage, Stèles funéraires avec inscriptions et sculptures, a Reims, 1883.* A ce texte est joint un album renfermant quatre planches in-folio, dont trois en chromo-lithographie.

*Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 2<sup>e</sup> Trimestre, 1883, p. 71 sq. Sepulchral inscriptions on a quadrangular cippus, found September, 1882, in excavations made near the Porte de Mars ; communicated by the Abbe Thedenat.

*Ibid*, 3<sup>e</sup> Trimestre, 1883, Paper by M. A. Heron de Villefosse on a small bronze plate, formerly attached to a wooden casket (*arca aerata*). Globules of different sizes, imitating heads of nails, form a rectangular frame, enclosing the inscription, *UTERE FELIX* in dotted lines, au pointillé. De Villefosse, *Inscriptions de Reims, de Stenay et de Mouron.*

Excellent photographs may be obtained from M. Trompette, 29 Rue des Tapissiers, Reims : he has published 48 of the city and its monuments ; 117 of the exterior, interior, and furniture of the Cathedral ; 90 of the treasure (*trésor de Notre Dame*).

On some points I have differed from M. Loriguet's conclusions, but I am bound to acknowledge my great obligations to his learned writings, especially to the *Mosaiques trouvées à Reims*. The least satisfactory part of the work is that relating to Natural History: *e.g.* M. Loriguet describes the animal in compartment no. 12 (Lozange) as Leopard or Jaguar. The latter is impossible, being neo-tropical, or, in other words, unknown before the discovery of America. Cuvier, *Le Règne Animal*, Tome 1. *Les Mammifères*, p. 191, says *Tigre d'Amérique*, just as the puma is called a lion. Compare St. George Mivart, *The Cat*, p. 397; and Darwin, *Naturalist's Journal*, *Habits of the Jaguar*, p. 135. *sq.*

M. Loriguet has also published an account of the Tapestry of the Cathedral, in atlas shape, with illustrations: the principal subjects represented are the Life of the Virgin and the History of Clovis.