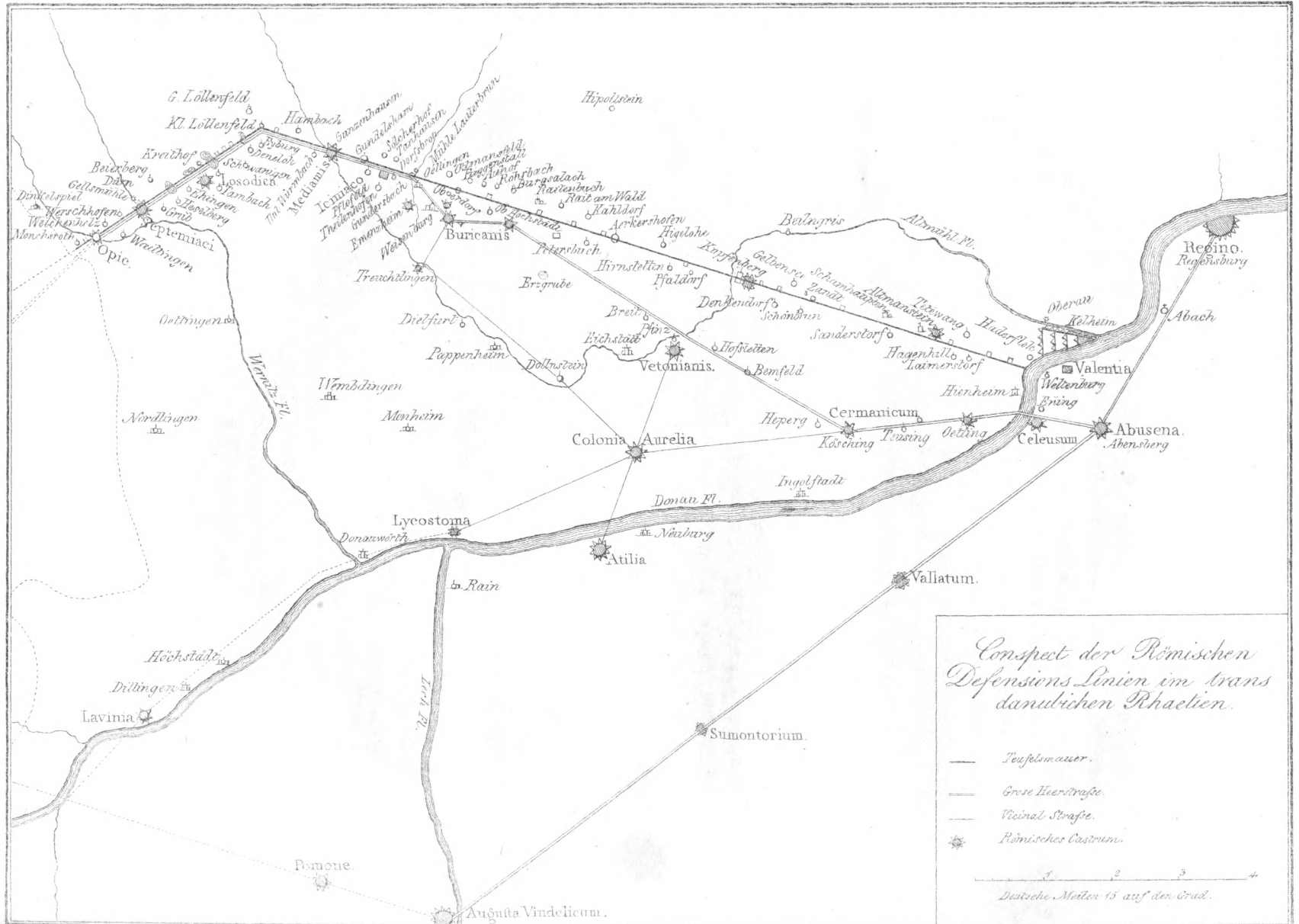


Extract from a German Pamphlet, intitled "A Tour along the Devil's Wall," published as a Specimen of a projected History of Bavaria, by J. ANDREAS BUCHNER, Professor at the Royal Bavarian Lyceum at Regensberg, translated by the Rev. HUGH SALVIN.

THE fortification-line of the Romans upon the left bank of the Danube, called the Devil's Wall, may be reckoned among the great works of this people, hitherto unique in the history of the world. The Emperor Hadrian, who during his glorious reign from the year 118—137, visited all the provinces of his empire, to provide upon the spot whatever might be necessary, first projected the plan of this undertaking.

Every where, at the extremities of his dominions, where the inroads of the barbarians were not opposed by rivers or other natural boundaries, skilfully constructed walls or mounds arose at his command. One such was built in Britain, eighty Roman miles long, from one sea to the other, from Newcastle upon Tyne to Carlisle in Cumberland. The Emperors Antoninus and Septimius Severus caused two others to be built, the latter thirty-two Roman miles in length, on the borders between Scotland and England.

The Britons have left nothing undone to make known to the world the remains of these wonders of their land, as they themselves call them, in expensive publications, adorned with the most costly plates. Who does not know the labours of a Camden, a Buchanan, Alexander Gordon, and others? And yet their three walls taken together scarce equal the length of that, which, at this day more complete than the British was three hundred years ago, runs through the middle of Germany, and



Conspect der Römischen
Defensions Linien im trans
danubischen Rhaetien.

- Limesmauer.
- Große Heerstraße.
- - - Vicinal Straße.
- ☼ Römische Castrum.

4 2 3 4
Deutsche Meilen 15 auf den Grad.

every where displays the remains of Roman greatness. The Britons could only discover fragments: our Nordgau Woods exhibit this great Roman work in an unbroken line of more than one hundred and fifty Roman miles from 5—6 foot thick, in many places still 5 above and 3—4 under the surface of the ground. With its 150 towers and upwards, it passes along over the steepest mountains, over the most frightful abysses, through rivers and lakes, through the thickest woods: 1500 years have not been able to efface the vestiges of these towers, more than 50 of which still rise above the wall, often to the height of 12 feet. On its inner side, upon mountains, on the banks of rivers, and the public roads, are found large remains of castles and camps, and innumerable barrows cover the ashes of those, who on this boundary fell in battle for their sinking country. A work of this description, above all others connected with our native land, merits the especial regard of the antiquary. Such a passage in our history would richly reward his researches concerning its builders, its destination, direction, size, original and present form, the public roads connected with it, and the forts, camps, and colonies lying along their track.

I. That after the time of Hadrian, the Emperors Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, and his son Caracalla; and further, Alexander Severus and Maximinus, and others, laboured in prosecution of this work, to make it a bulwark against the incursions of the Germans, is no unfounded supposition; but the person who brought it to completion, and gave it that form, which is exhibited in its remains, was undoubtedly the Emperor Probus, between the years 276—280 after Christ. To him we must ascribe the masonry and the towers, probably also the roads, many castles and colonies. He gave to the Alemanni, who were the soldiers upon the frontiers, this land which had been taken away from them, upon condition that, in future, all the sons of such proprietors of the land, as soon as they had reached the age of eighteen, should enter into the Roman service, and defend the borders against the enemy. Under the protection of these bulwarks, the

descendants of these border soldiers were enabled for 100 years longer to cultivate the fruitful lands, which stretch from Kellheim along the left bank of the Danube by Ingolstadt, Donaworth, Lauingen and Ulm, towards the south; then through Riess to Gunzenhausen, Dunkelspiel and Ellwang. The many Roman roads, of which the traces are to be seen here more abundantly than elsewhere, the extraordinary number of barrows, camps and forts, a quantity of Roman coins, rings, gems, statues, armour, sepulchral urns, and other pieces of antiquity, which have been found here in abundance for hundreds of years, and are still found, prove that in these regions, so highly favoured by nature, a numerous body of Romans had kept up a well-appointed establishment.

2. The original destination of this work was not so much defence, but rather to determine the boundaries of the Roman territory, and to form a line of separation from the Germans. With this intention the Emperor Hadrian caused a line to be drawn, from the place where the Danube ceased to be a natural line of defence, and strong piles of wood to be driven into the earth along its banks, near which ran a trench and a continued mound of earth, in the manner of a wall. The Germans called this boundary line (*Pfahl*) or the "Stakes," from the materials of which it was composed. The name has been retained to this day; *Pfahl*, *Pfahlwerk*, *Pfahlranken*, *Pfahlrain*, *Pfalhecke* are the expressions by which the inhabitants in the neighbourhood denote this work: the name "Devil's Wall," is not the primitive name, but had its origin in the superstition of the middle ages. Even many neighbouring districts, meadows, fields, wells, brooks, woods, &c. have borrowed their name from the *Pfahl*, or mound of Stakes, and either begin or end with this syllable. It also serves, even at this day, the purpose for which it was originally intended, as a line of demarcation between two places. Afterwards, on the decline of the Roman power, when the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Buri, and other neighbouring German tribes broke through the line of wooden piles, and ravaged the Roman territory, a

wall built of stone succeeded to the mound of stakes, the boundary line became a line of defence, and assumed the form of a large, well defended fortification, with towers, camps, castles, trenches, palisades. That it was not the work of one year, nor even of a century, but the result of the continued exertions of the Roman legions and cohorts under several Emperors, will not be considered as an absurd supposition by him, who has inclination and opportunity to take a view of the prodigious ruins of it which still remain. It was remarked by a peasant, a hundred years ago, to Döderlein, who had the merit of being the first to make enquiries about it, that its size and extent was so great, as to exceed the power of man to execute; for that even to remove the superfluous rubbish, would require the labour of all the men and beasts of burthen in the surrounding country for years.

The Emperor Probus put the finishing hand to it; he built camps and castles, even beyond the line of the mound, upon the enemy's territories, in the most convenient situations. Fortresses also were erected on his own side of the line, along the great road, and camps with mound and ditch; forming a second line behind the first. The traces of this road, and of these camps and castella are not only not destroyed, but considerable ruins of them are still visible. The Peutingerian table, composed in those times, points out several of them. If Clarenna is the Drakuina of Ptolemy, and this, as there is much reason to suppose, is the modern Ehingen on the Danube; it is more than probable that the eleven stations between Abusina and Clarenna were castella placed in succession upon the road along the mound. The scale of miles given in the table, corresponds pretty exactly with the length of the road lying along the now well ascertained direction of the mound.

3. The whole line of the fortification has been laid down and executed not by chance, but according to a well digested plan. Beginning, middle, and end—Celeusum, Medianis, and Ad Lunam, are nearly at equal distances, 50—60 Roman miles from Augsburgh, the

point from which it seems to have been projected. Celeusum, more properly Kellhusum—from the Greek word *κίλλω* and the Celtic *hu-sum*, lies three Roman miles west of Abensburg, close to the Danube, 400—500 paces above the village of Enning: traces of the castellum or camp, which the Romans constructed here, to protect the passage over the Danube, are still visible on the right bank. That on the opposite side, and also a part of the road, have been washed away by the waters of the river. The inhabitants of this country, from that time till now, have always been called by the name of Kellesgauer. A little brook, which breaks out from a mountain above Oetling, pure as silver, and cold as ice, with so much force, that in the space of its short course, hardly an hour long, it drives six mills, is called Kellsbach: the city itself, which the Romans probably built on the angle where the Altmühl runs into the Danube, is named Kellhusum (Kelheim) the landing place for the ships, which sail down the Danube, and the first point of transit from Regensburg across the river. The fortifications which they constructed for the defence of this place were enormously large; it was inclosed by five trenches (the two outermost of which were each two Roman miles in length, and two rivers. Even at this day, after the lapse of 1500 years, the outermost trench to the N. W. which extends 5 Roman miles from the waters of the Altmühl to those of the Danube, is 50—60 feet high, and 20—30 feet broad. Over against it, on the right bank, on a hill, at whose foot the monastery of Weltenberg lies in a wild romantic solitude, similar constructions are visible. Aventinus places a city upon this height, and gives it the name of Valentia, and further above a second, the well-known Artobriga of Ptolemy. The mound of stakes begins a Roman mile above Valentia, and five miles still further above, over against the Artobriga of Aventinus, the station Celeusum, or the modern village of Enning, the Roman road begins beside the trench which is still visible, and is continued along its banks.

4. The mound of stakes, which we shall henceforth call the Roman

boundary wall, takes at its origin, close by the banks of the stream, a direction towards the N. W. and declines from the meridian at an angle of only 70 degrees. It proceeds in this direction 58 Roman miles, and is not deflected by any natural impediment, however great, from a straight line, over the modern districts of Altmanstein, Zandt, Küpfenberg, Erkertshosen, Raitenbuch, Oberdorf, Gündersbach, Gundelshalm, Gunzenhausen, and Löllendorf, through all of which it runs. No mountain is so high, no abyss so steep, no wood so thick, no morass so profound, through which it does not penetrate. After having passed over a space of 58 Roman, or about 12 German miles, it makes the first angle, turns round, and takes the direction to the S. W. making an angle with the meridian of 60 degrees to the South, towards Eyberg and Deneloh, and over the Margraviate of Weyer to Hammerschmiede and Kreithof: it leaves Heselberg and the beautiful village of Ehingen lying at its foot, about a mile to the South, and continues its course in a straight line, cutting the mill of Untermüchelbach not far from the town of Möncksroth, across the Bavarian frontier into the Wirtemberg territory; after which it passes, as one may conjecture, through Pfahlheim, Ellwangen, Gmünd, and Göppingen, towards Albe over against Urach, and thence to the sources of the Danube at Rottweil, in the neighbourhood of which ruins betray the former existence of a great Roman city.

5. That a deep trench ran along the wall on its northern side, may not only be concluded from other circumstances, but it is yet to be seen in many places. When the wall was broken through and destroyed by the Germans in the fifth century, the stones were employed to fill up the trenches; and therefore it is not possible, from the present remains, to determine, with certainty, its breadth, nor to speak of its height. I found it in many places 4—6, in others 10—12 feet broad. We may therefore perhaps conclude that its medium breadth was 6—7 feet, and that its height, as corresponding to this breadth, might have been from 18 to 24. According to the form of the ground its founda-

tions are two or three feet deep ; in many places I found it sunk in the earth from 5 to 6 feet. Any one who examines it may convince himself, that it is built in the usual manner of masonry, and its stones cemented together with a kind of mortar. The foundations of the round towers, projecting on both sides, I often found to the height of 6—12 feet. The internal circumference of the stone work was about 60—80 feet, the external as many paces. The traces of most of these towers have been annihilated by the revolutions of centuries, which have been employed in the destruction of this work. Yet I often found two in succession, and always at the distance of half an hour (or two miles); once even three at the same distance, whence I conclude that all these towers, (whether intended for observation or battle,) stood at the regular interval of one Roman mile. Barrows on both sides of the wall, both the German and Roman, meet the eye in great numbers, generally in the neighbourhood of the place, where stood the ruins of a camp, or fortified tower. That the Romans built camps and fortresses in advantageous situations can admit of no doubt. The remains of a camp are visible close at the beginning of the wall, not far from the bed of the Danube southward towards Hienheim; on eminences which the ploughshare of the peasant has not been able to annihilate in 1500 years: still more distinct and larger on Michel's Mount, near Küpfenberg. Roman castella stood at Schlossberg and Altmanstein. I have also found large remains of such castella in several places, as for instance, not far from the village of Petersbuch, by the entrance into the wood; near Raitenbuch, near the linden tree at Höhberg; upon the Weil, at Hammerschmiede, &c. Their extent, their position upon hills, on streams, and at the confluence of rivers, evidently shews that they were more than private buildings, that they were camps provided with garrisons.

6. Fortresses, still larger than these, lay behind upon the road, which ran at some distance from the wall. As the wall with its castella and towers formed the first and outward, so this formed a second line of

defence. The road came from Regensburg and Abensberg, and ran, as we have already said, by Celeusum, two Roman miles above the beginning of the wall across the Danube; thence in a rectilinear direction to Oetling, where the enormously thick walls of a castle, sunk in the marshy ground of Kell, indicate its origin from the times of the Romans. From Oetling its direction passes through Teusing to Kösching, which is two miles distant from the point of passage over the Danube. Aventinus found in the castle three stones with inscriptions, one of which is older than the year of Antoninus Pius's death. He names the place *Caesarea*, without giving his reason: but since the *Germanicum* of the [Peutingerian] table agrees with this country, I believe one may with more probability place this station (i. e. *Germanicum*) here, and transplant *Vetonianis* to Pfinz (ad Pontes) 12 Roman miles from *Germanicum*, upon the river Altmühl. The coincidence of the distance, the straight direction of the road over Hepperg and Bemfeld to this place, the evident remains of a Roman fortress in the same place, and a district in the neighbourhood, which at this day bears the similar name of *Wimpasing*, are the reasons which determine me to this conclusion. Near Pfinz, the road, without deflecting in the least from a straight line, takes a direction towards the village of Breit, and after passing forward three German or 14 English miles, in the district of Raitenbuch it approaches to the wall, and in the district of Függenstall, not far from Oellingen is at last united with it, after dividing itself into two branches. At the place, where it sends an arm westward past Wildsburg to Weissenburg, which is about 7 Roman miles distant, are to be seen considerable ruins of a fortress, to all appearance of great size. I consider them to be the remains of *Buricianis*. The distance from Pfinz to Oberhöchstadt, from which they are only one Roman mile, agrees tolerably well with the 18 Roman miles of the table, but entirely so with the position of Weissenburg, and still better with that of the old castle, which is a Roman mile off. The road which leads to it takes a direction full west. For the space of about 5 Roman miles it is in a high state of

preservation. We know that the Burgundii, and their neighbours the Burii have come into this country; is it not likely that the Romans may have given their name to the piece of land which they took from them, and the castle built upon it? A stone inscription, discovered at Abdach, bears testimony of a war with the Burii; they opposed Marcus Aurelius in the war against the Marcomanni. But we should grossly deceive ourselves if we supposed this emperor to be the builder of Buricianis. That the Romans had great establishments here, and especially in the neighbourhood of Weissenburg, is proved by the numerous fortresses, the foundations of which exist every where, by the great number of barrows in the vicinity of the old castle, and the Roman monuments at Emenzheim, Treuchtling and other places.—Next in the table follows Iciniacum 7 Roman or $1\frac{1}{2}$ German miles from Buricianis. The distance agrees with Theilenhofen upon the Weil, and the neighbouring castle of Weissenberg. Numerous tumuli, fragments of urns, vessels, arms, and coins, which are constantly found here, announce the former existence of a Roman colony in this spot. Whether the road ran from thence along the wall, or over the district of Weimersheim, I cannot venture to decide, as all the pains I took to discover its traces from Weissenberg were ineffectual. But that it united with it at Gunzenhausen, and with it passed over the Altmühl, is the more probable; because the wall from hence becomes so broad, that one may suppose it to serve both for the road and the boundary line of defence. A castle stood on the hill near Gunzenhausen, not far from Sommerkeller; and from this circumstance the wood still bears at this day the name of Burgstall (or Castle-stead); and the existing burrows and other antiquities found on the spot attest its Roman origin. It was intended to cover the passage over the Altmühl. It was the central point of the whole line of fortification, and it is very probable, that it was that station, which the table calls Medianis—the middle of the second line: for 1 German mile (or 5 Roman miles) towards the north-west, near Löllendorf, lies the turning point or angle of the

first line or boundary wall. From thence to the ruins near Hammerschmied, not far from Tambach, are exactly eleven Roman miles; I can therefore hardly err, if I consider the Roman camp, which, according to accounts which may be relied upon, was found here, as the Losodica of the table. Seven Roman miles farther, on the spot where the wall passes the Sulz, stood Septemiaci, and at an equal distance farther on, the castle of Opie, which defended the passage over the Wernitz into the district of Willburgstetten. The succeeding station of Aquilia lies in the kingdom of Würtemberg. I dare not decide upon its exact position, till I have visited the country. If it lay upon the boundary wall, the curious enquirer might find its ruins in the district of Gemünd, perhaps near Pfalbrunn; but if, as I think is more probable, it lay upon a road situated more to the south, we must look for it in the district of Aalen, and more especially near Wasser Alfingen, on account of the resemblance of the name. The station Ad lunam, 20 Roman miles off, we must seek for upon the mountain, which the Roman Historian calls by its present name, the Alba, and at a point, 52 Roman miles from Augsburg and 22 from Ehingen, near Geislinger Steig. In the mean time; till actual inspection proves the contrary, we must believe that the boundary wall itself does not decline from the straight line, but takes the direction towards Urach, in the neighbourhood of the Neckar:

7: Whoever casts an eye upon the whole line of the mound hitherto described, and of the castella connected with it, and situated behind it, will soon satisfy himself, for what use it was intended. They formed a large advanced work upon the river which the Romans looked upon as the boundary of their empire, and which they did not consider as sufficiently deep and broad for this purpose, between its sources and the district of Regensburg; and therefore strengthened it with a double line of defence. Within it they had planted colonies in the places intended for agriculture, forming a military population appointed to defend it. As it can be shewn that many of these were established in the time of the Antonines, I might ascribe almost the whole of the second line to

Marcus Aurelius, and suppose that he built it during the war against the Marcomanni—from A. D. 167 to 180, as a defence against the German tribes leagued against him.

8. Instead of pay, the soldiers, as we before observed, had portions of land allotted to them, from the cultivation and produce of which they were to maintain their families. This arrangement would serve as an additional motive to them to exert their utmost efforts in defence of their country. The biographer also of the Emperor Probus relates that here, on this boundary, the contest was carried on with unremitting obstinacy—*nec cessatum est unquam pugnari*.

The names of these colonies are not distinctly pointed out by any Roman historian. We can find out many of them from the numerous Roman antiquities, of which this district is a rich mine, and from the traces of the bye-ways, which are still visible.

The colonists lived dispersed through the district, in granges, hamlets, and perhaps in villages, as the nature of their business required. We may reasonably however conclude that they had points of union, and formed various associations; the bond of union was probably the same protecting divinity, and a temple built for his service. If we allow this position to be well founded, we may assume, that in Rætia beyond the Danube there were at least four large colonies; of which one had its point of union at Nassenfels, a second at Lauingen, a third at Weisenberg, and a fourth at Heselberg.

Gateshead, Nov. 20th, 1821.

NOTES.

Page 219, l. 18.—Æl. Spartianus in vitâ Hadriani c. 12.—Per ea tempora—124. p. c.—et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus *dividuntur*, stipitibus magnis, in modum muralis sepi fundatis, jactis, atque connexis, barbaros separavit—germanis regem constituit—c. 11. Britanniam petiit, in quâ multa correxerit, murum que per octoginta millia passuum primum duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.

Capitolin. in vitâ Antonini Pii c. 5. Britanniam per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespicio, submotis barbaris, ducto.

Spartian. in vit. S. Severi, c. 18. Britanniam, quod maximum imperii ejus decus est, muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem Oceani munivit.—Eutrop. l. v. c. 9. says,—“vallum per xxxii. millia passuum à mari ad mare deduxit.”

Page 221, l. 12.—Vopiscus in vitâ Probi, c. 13. Et cum jam in nostrâ ripâ, imo per omnes Gallias (Alamani) securi vagarentur, cæsis propè quadringentis millibus, qui Romanum occupaverant solum, reliquias ultrâ Nicrum fluvium et Albam removit. Tantum his prædæ barbaricæ tulit, quantum ipsi Romanis abstulerant: contrâ urbes Romanas et castra in solo barbarico posuit, atque illic etiam milites collocavit: agros et horrea et domos et annonam Transrhenanis omnibus fecit, iis videlicet, quos in excubiis collocavit, nec cessatum est unquam pugnari, &c.—Post hæc Illyricum petiit: et . . . Rætias sic pacatas reliquit, ut illic ne suspicionem quidem ullius terroris relinqueret

It is evident that he is here speaking of Rhetia and that part of it which lies beyond the Danube. Those who are versed in history need not be reminded that Alba is not the Elbe; it agrees better with the Altmühl, and still more with a chain of mountains, which at this day, under the name of Alba, begins between the Neckar and the Danube, and passes towards Ulm and Tubingen. Probus drove the Alamani across this chain of hills, and then over the Neckar.—c. 16. Veteranis omnia illa, quæ angusta adeunt Isauriæ loca privatis donavit, addens, ut eorum filii ab anno octavo decimo mares duntaxat ad militiam mitterentur.—What Probus did in Isauria, must also have happened in Rhetia. The Romans called these possessions “terres limitaneas,” the Franks gave them the name of “bona feudalia”—amongst the latter as well as the former, they were rewards for the performance of military services.

Note by the Translator, p. 226, l. 11. Peutinger's table has received its name from Conrade Peutinger, in whose library it was found after his death, by the noble and learned Mark Velsler, who sent it to Ortelius for him to publish; but Ortelius, dying before he could effect it, left the care of it to John Moret, by whom it was published, in the year 1598.—For a further account of this table, see Reynold's *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 113.