THE PFAHLGRABEN:

AN ESSAY TOWARDS A DESCRIPTION OF THE BARRIER OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE BETWEEN THE DANUBE AND THE RHINE.

BY THOMAS HODGKIN.

DURING the summer of 1881, having occasion to spend some weeks at a watering place in the neighbourhood of the Taunus Mountains, I became much interested in the remains still existing there of the great works by which the Romans once bound together the military lines of the Rhine and the Danube. The Earthen Wall, six times as long as our line of defence against the Caledonians—the camps, in many respects so like our Northumbrian camps, yet with some characteristic differences—the altars and inscribed stones with which the local Museums are filled—all fired my enthusiasm, and compelled me to visit the second-hand booksellers of Frankfurt and Würzburg in order to acquire as complete a collection of literature relating to the *Pfahlgraben* (for so the *Limes Imperii* is locally called) as lay in my power. By a well-known law of mental energy, thought, which is taken up from the pages of a German Monograph, is bound to return to paper in the shape of an English Article, and hence has sprung the Essay which I now lay before my fellow-antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne. I may, however, state, that I do not write solely in order to give clearness to my own ideas on this subject, but partly in order to stimulate that further interchange of views between English and German archæologists, that further examination of the Pfahlgraben by Englishmen, and of the Northumbrian Wall by Germans, from which I think great benefits may be derived to the cause of accurate historical knowledge which both they and we have at heart.

Previous Notices in English.

Before going further I must briefly refer to the only Essays on the subject of the Pfahlgraben, which, as far as I know, have yet appeared in English.

a.—The first, which appeared in the 1st volume of the "Archæologia Æliana" (1822), I mention only to condemn. It is an "Extract from a German pamphlet, entitled '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 Regensburg, translated by the Rev. Hugh Salvin." It was a serviceable thought of the English clergyman to translate for the antiquaries of Newcastle this notice by a German historian, of a similar work in Germany. But unfortunately he followed a bad guide. In the very same year that Salvin translated Buchner, there was appearing in a scientific periodical at Munich the first of an elaborate series of papers by the Roman Catholic priest, Maier, devoted to a most thorough and pains-taking description of the Wall; and by the cautiously accurate words of Maier much of what Buchner has written stands condemned as inaccurate. Without spending more time on this paper I will simply warn the reader that, especially when the magnitude of the German *limes* and its excellent state of preservation are referred to, he must not take anything for granted because Buchner has said it.[1]

b.—Of a very different quality is the paper "On the Limes Rhæticus and Limes Transrhenanus of the Roman Empire," prepared by Mr.

[1] I append some instances of Buchner's inaccuracy, though it is right to state that his *later* labours upon the *limes* are spoken of with respect by German archæologists. "The Wall, at this day more complete than the British was 300 years ago, runs through the middle of Germany, and everywhere 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 150 Roman miles from 5 to 6 feet thick; in many places still 5 feet above and 3 to 4 feet under the surface of the ground." [As there is no masonry about the wall properly so called, it can nowhere be traced under the surface of the ground.] "Fifteen hundred years have not been able to efface the vestiges of these towers, more than fifty of which still rise above the surface of the Wall, often to the height of 12 feet." "The person who brought the Wall to its completion, and gave it that form which is exhibited in its remains, was *undoubtedly* the Emperor Probus [276-280 A.D.] He gave to the Alemanni this land which had been taken away from them on condition that their sons, on reaching the age of 18, should enter into the Roman service. 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 Kelheim along the left bank of the Danube," and so on. Scarcely a word here corresponds to the facts.

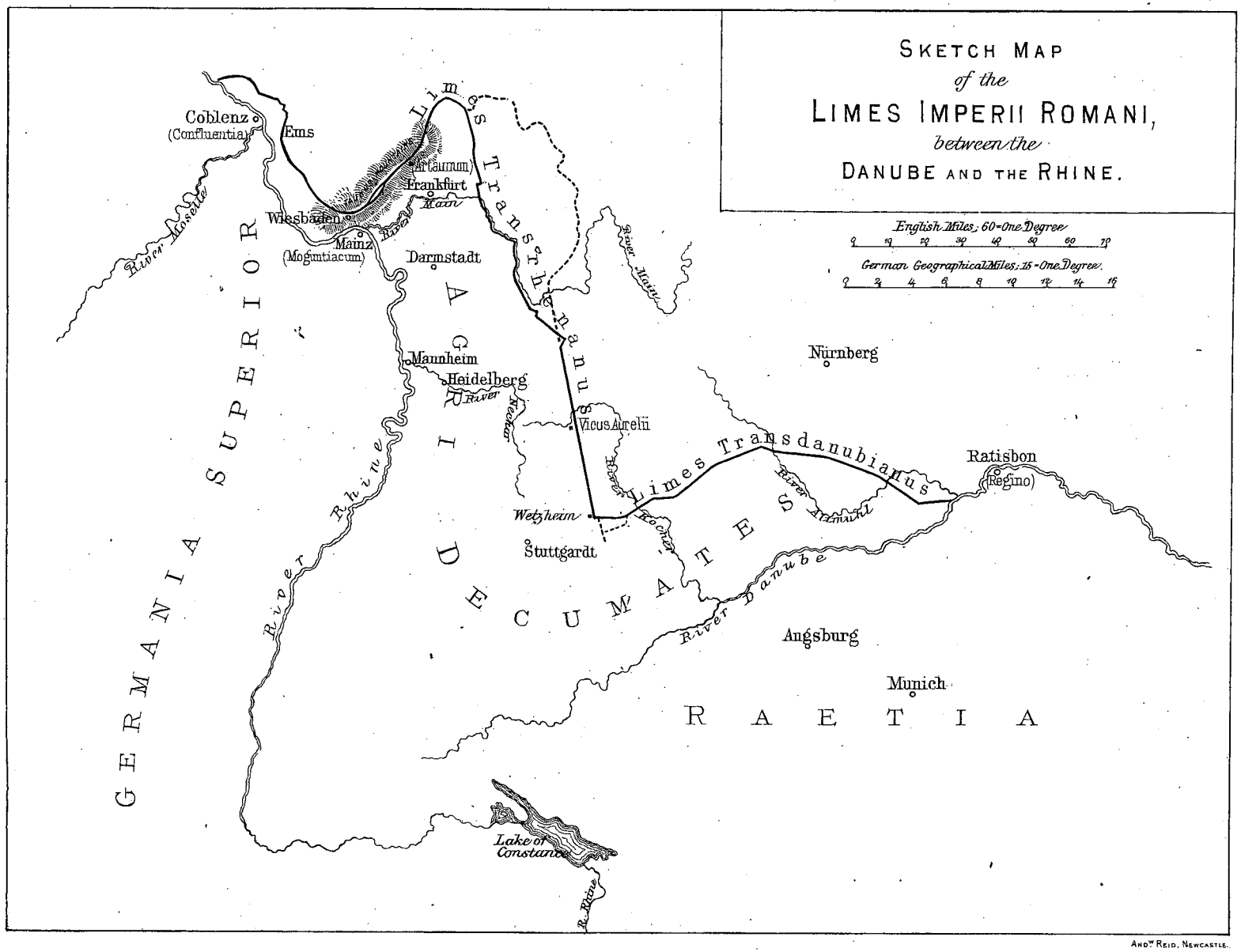
James Yates, F.R.S., for the Newcastle Meeting of the Archæological Institute, 1852, (Memoirs illustrative of the History of Northumberland, I., 97–134). The author, who was a Unitarian minister, was an enthusiastic antiquary, and wrote a treatise on the Art of Weaving among the Ancients. He was specially qualified for the task which he set himself in his paper on the *limes*, having studied when a young man under some of the most eminent professors at Berlin. His work was frequently mentioned to me by German antiquaries, and they always spoke of it in terms of respect, even when they found a difficulty in pronouncing the author's name. Dr. Emil Hübner says of it, "Notwithstanding its brevity and many obvious deficiencies, it is nevertheless far the best upon the Wall as a whole that has yet appeared." This is indeed "laudari a laudato viro." Yates translated his pamphlet into German himself, and in this form it is well known by German booksellers.

In this paper Yates first makes some general remarks (illustrated by engravings from Trajan's Column) on the plan pursued by the Romans in erecting their mural ramparts. The *palisade*—and here he very properly enlarges on the evidence furnished by the name of the *Pfahl*-graben in the various forms which it assumes—the *fossa* and the *vallum* are described, and some profiles of the two latter are exhibited. The watch-towers, or, as we in Northumberland call them, *mile-castles*, next come under consideration, and are also illustrated by engravings from Trajan's Column. Yates then proceeds to discuss the question of certain lofty towers (from 60 to 80 feet high) still existing, not precisely on the *limes*, but generally at no great distance from it, for which a Roman origin has been claimed. From the style of building he pronounces them to be not Roman but mediæval; and in this verdict, as I understand, the best German antiquaries fully concur. He then proceeds to describe the *limes* in some detail. For the Bavarian portion he rests chiefly on the labours of Dr. Anton Maier, but not entirely, as with reference to the castle at Kipfenberg (and perhaps other points) he speaks from personal observation. Here, again, his denial of the Roman origin of the tall square keep of the Castle of Arnsberg is accepted, I believe, by all the German antiquaries of to-day. His suggestion, however, that the *limes*, when it crossed alluvial plains watered by large rivers, consisted of a moveable stockade taken up at

the end of autumn and relaid at the approach of spring, has not been so fortunate, and has met with a little good-natured banter from subsequent writers. In the kingdom of Würtemberg, Yates rests chiefly on Buchner (the author from whom the Rev. H. Salvin borrowed the notice previously referred to for the Archæologia Æliana); but he also speaks as an eye-witness of the fine condition of the wall at Jagsthausen, in the northern part of this state. So too with reference to that portion of the *limes* which runs through "the rich and beautiful district of the Wetterau," in Hesse-Darmstadt; he is here particularly explicit and helpful. The important section of the *limes* which runs through the territory of Nassau, coinciding for the most part with the line of the Taunus range, he describes, I think, only from hearsay, giving, however, for the part near the Saalburg, an interesting letter and sketch, with which he had been supplied by Mr. Albert Way. The excavations at the Saalburg itself, which have now revealed to us probably the finest Roman camp to be seen out of Britain, were barely commenced in 1852, when Mr. Yates wrote his paper. His slight notices of the *limes* between the Taunus Gebirge and the Rhine are based on the valuable work of the two Habels. A few remarks on the abundant Roman remains in the country of the Mattiaci and on the general character of the *limes*, close this very well-written and helpful sketch.

c.—Two short notices in Mr. Roach Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua," Vol. II., p. 196, and Vol. III., p. 210, are, I believe, entirely correct in the details supplied by them. The latter deals chiefly with the work of Habel, the son, and indicates the commencement of the excavations at the Saalburg.

Some of the *German literature* relating to the *limes*—of which I do not profess to give an exhaustive sketch—will be dealt with in detail as I describe the different portions of the wall. I must, however, at once discharge a debt by expressing my obligations to two excellent papers bearing the honoured signature of Dr. Emil Hübner, the Editor of the British volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. These papers, which appear in the 63rd and 66th volumes of the "Jahrbuch des Vereins von Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande," under the title of "Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutschland," furnish us with a complete survey of all that has hitherto been done by way of exploration of the remains of the Wall, from the Danube to the Rhine. They are



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accompanied by an excellent map (prepared by H. Kiepert), which, it is stated, will be from time to time revised as new light is thrown on disputed questions as to the course of the wall.[1]

Proceeding now to describe the course of the *limes* in detail, I come first to

(A) THE BAVARIAN DIVISION,

that portion of the barrier which, leaving the Danube at a point about 16 miles above Ratisbon, pursues in the main a westerly direction, till it reaches the frontier between Bavaria and Würtemberg, near Dinkelsbühl, about half way between the extreme northern and southern limits of the Bavarian kingdom.

As to this part of the Wall, I cannot at present speak in the character of an eye-witness, but as I have studied with some care the description given by the best German authority on the subject, I shall devote a few pages to the summary of the results obtained by him. This authority is the same to whom reference is made by Mr. Yates, Dr. Franz Anton Maier, the Roman Catholic Priest of Gelbelsee, near Kipfenberg. This enthusiastic antiquary, whose parish abutted on the Wall, seems to have devoted a large part of his middle and later life to the careful examination of the 80 miles (or thereabouts) of the Roman *Limes Imperii* which are included in the kingdom of Bavaria. It is to be regretted that his memoranda, which are so exceedingly minute that they form a complete hand-book to this portion of the Wall, are entombed, with many other papers on different subjects, in three quarto volumes of transactions published by a learned society at Munich.[2]

[1] The article commences with the following generous tribute to English Archæology:—"Thanks to the earnest labours of English and Scottish antiquaries, like Mr. John Collingwood Bruce, of Newcastle, and his predecessors, such as the late General Roy, and thanks especially to the munificence of English patriots like the Duke of Northumberland and Mr. John Clayton of Chesters Hall, we have now for a considerable time been in possession of the fullest possible information concerning the mighty double Border-Lines which the officers of the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, men of education and of natural insight, drew from sea to sea across the Province of Britain to secure it against the Northern Barbarians."

[2] The first part of the "Genaue Beschreibung der unter dem Namen der Teufelsmauer bekannten Römischen Land-marken" (describing the wall from the Danube to Kipfenberg), is published in the "*Denkschriften* der Königl Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München für 1821 and 1822: Classe der Geschichte" (pp. 1-72). The second part (from Kipfenberg to the road near Ellingen) is in the "*Abhandlungen* der Philosophischen Philologischen Classe der Königl Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," I. Vol. (pp. 1-42). The third part (from Ellingen to Klein Lollenfeld) is in the II. Vol. of the same Abhandlungen (pp. 256-298). The fourth part (Klein Lollenfeld to the frontier of Würtemberg) is in the same volume (pp. 755-778). Thus the whole memoir occupies nearly 190 quarto pages.

Page after page consists of such sentences as the following:—"After 200 steps the Wall again becomes visible crossing a lonely heath. A pear tree, in full blossom when I was there, marked the point where it again enters cultivated ground. For 150 steps the Wall vanishes, having to pass through arable land. Then we come to the stone which marks the boundary of two *communes*," and so on. All this information, which the best local map fails to make interesting to the student in a University Library, would be invaluable to the pedestrian exploring the line of the *limes* on the ground; but what pedestrian, in addition to his other *impedimenta*, would wish to burden himself with three big volumes of "Abhandlungen" when starting on such a pilgrimage? Notwithstanding his occasional tediousness, there is something very attractive to the reader in the character of this brave and persevering old priest, who, in his brief holiday-times, so patiently tramped, note-book in hand, along mile after mile of a dull embankment, in order to settle the frontier between Roman and Barbarian Germany sixteen centuries ago. In one passage he describes how in his early middle life he used often to sit on a summer afternoon with the work of one of the Roman historians in his hand, looking towards the distant outline of an encampment, and mentally re-peopling the landscape with the struggling forms of the long vanished combatants. He has also a keen appreciation of old popular traditions, and carefully notes down not only the material but also the moral vestiges of the Wall, the traces which it has left of itself in the speech and even in the superstitions of the inhabitants of the country through which it once passed.

In most of the earlier part of its course the Wall is known by the name of *Teufelsmauer* (Devil's Wall). Afterwards, that is from Weissenburg westwards, it is more often called the *Pfahl* or the *Pfahl-rain*. The reason for the former appellation, beyond the general inclination to attribute every work of power and mystery to the evil one, is not very clear. A quotation is given from Döderlein, formerly Rector of the Lyceum at Weissenburg, whose book on the subject (published in Nuremburg in 1723) was the chief authority before Maier wrote, and whose labours to acquire and diffuse information about the Wall had produced a result which was still visible in Maier's time, a century later, in the wonderfully accurate knowledge

possessed by all the people of Weissenburg as to everything that concerned the great Roman barrier. This author says that the reason why people call it the Teufelsmauer is because so many strange and terrible midnight adventures have happened among its ruins. Sometimes in the neighbourhood of Oberhochstädt, horses have been ridden at night-time in a mysterious way by invisible riders. One excellent horse was seen to snort, to pant, to bound high in the air, evidently as feeling the spurs of some diabolic horseman. But the more generally accepted explanation of the name Teufelsmauer is derived from the legend which states that the Devil obtained from the Almighty a grant of so much of this earth as he could encompass with a Wall in one night before cock-crow. With dæmonic energy he proceeded to build a Wall round the whole world, and was just putting the last coping-stone upon it when he heard the crowing of a cock. In his rage and disappointment he dashed down every portion of the Wall, except the 300 miles or so which still run through south-western Germany.

Pfarrer Maier enquired with much care after the vestiges of a tradition connected with this story, that once every year, on the blessed Christmas Eve, the sad Archangel goes the round of the Wall which he reared long ago, and that, therefore, those rustics whose houses are built over any ground which it once covered, do wisely on that night to take out one or two tiles from the great family-stove, that the Devil may so find a way of escape for himself without shaking down any of their walls. This story was gravely told of "the former owner" of a house at Erkertshofen. It was also told of a house at Günthersbuch, but Maier did not believe in the genuineness of the tradition in this case, because the Wall was several hundred yards distant from the house. He asked a *Bauer* whom he chanced to meet in the neighbourhood a "leading question" about the Devil. The rustic answered, with a laugh, "I know quite well what you mean. I am the owner of the house that this nonsense is talked about, and no one knows better than I that the saying is a fable." The same story was told about the former owners of the Gelzmühl, near Ammelbruch. "But I could not make out," says the Pfarrer, "that there was anything in it. The miller and his wife only laughed when I wanted to talk to them about it." The Saga has, however, dispersed itself to places distant some 30 or 40 miles from one another.

On the *character and object* of the Wall Maier has one or two observations to make, which he repeats with great energy, and so often as to become sometimes monotonous. In opposition to most of his predecessors, notably to Döderlein and Buchner,[1] he assures us that the *Wall*, strictly so called, is utterly destitute of mortar and masonry. "I have lived by it," he says, "16 years. I have gone countless walks along it. I have excavated it in more than a hundred places, and been eye-witness when the peasants were breaking it up in order to enlarge their fields; and except the foundations of the towers [mile castles] I have never seen a deepening of the ground, never a fragment of mortar, never a trace of regular masonry, never a sign that the height of this heap of stones ever exceeded three or four feet." As far as the Bavarian portion is concerned it is generally three to three-and-a-half feet high, and almost invariably ten feet broad, measuring from bottom to bottom. It is always laid flat on the surface of the soil, without foundations of any kind. It consists of stones of the neighbourhood, of any size that was convenient, thrown together anyhow, without lime or mortar, generally of a softish, slaty kind, but this depends on the character of the district through which it is passing. In a word it corresponds to the *vallum*, not to the *murus*, in our Northumbrian system of fortifications.

The other point which Maier labours at, is the proof that it was a Wall only, and could never have been intended by the Romans as a road. It is true that it is in some places now used by the country-people as a track; but that the line of it could never have been devised by the Roman engineers, for the line of a road to be travelled by baggage-mules, war-horses, heavy-armed legionaries, Maier proves triumphantly. In order to establish this point he climbed conscientiously up every steep hill-side and down every rocky ravine which the Wall surmounts or into which it plunges. He describes, for instance, a difficult scramble which he had on a hill near Altmannstein. "It wants much trouble and wariness to do this bit of work. If you have not a firm foot, a well-chosen staff, and strength enough in your hands to hold on ever and anon to a trunk of a tree, you may come crashing down a dozen times or so, with the chance of rolling half-dead into the ravine below." Again, when he has climbed up the Bibersteig (near Hirnstätten) he

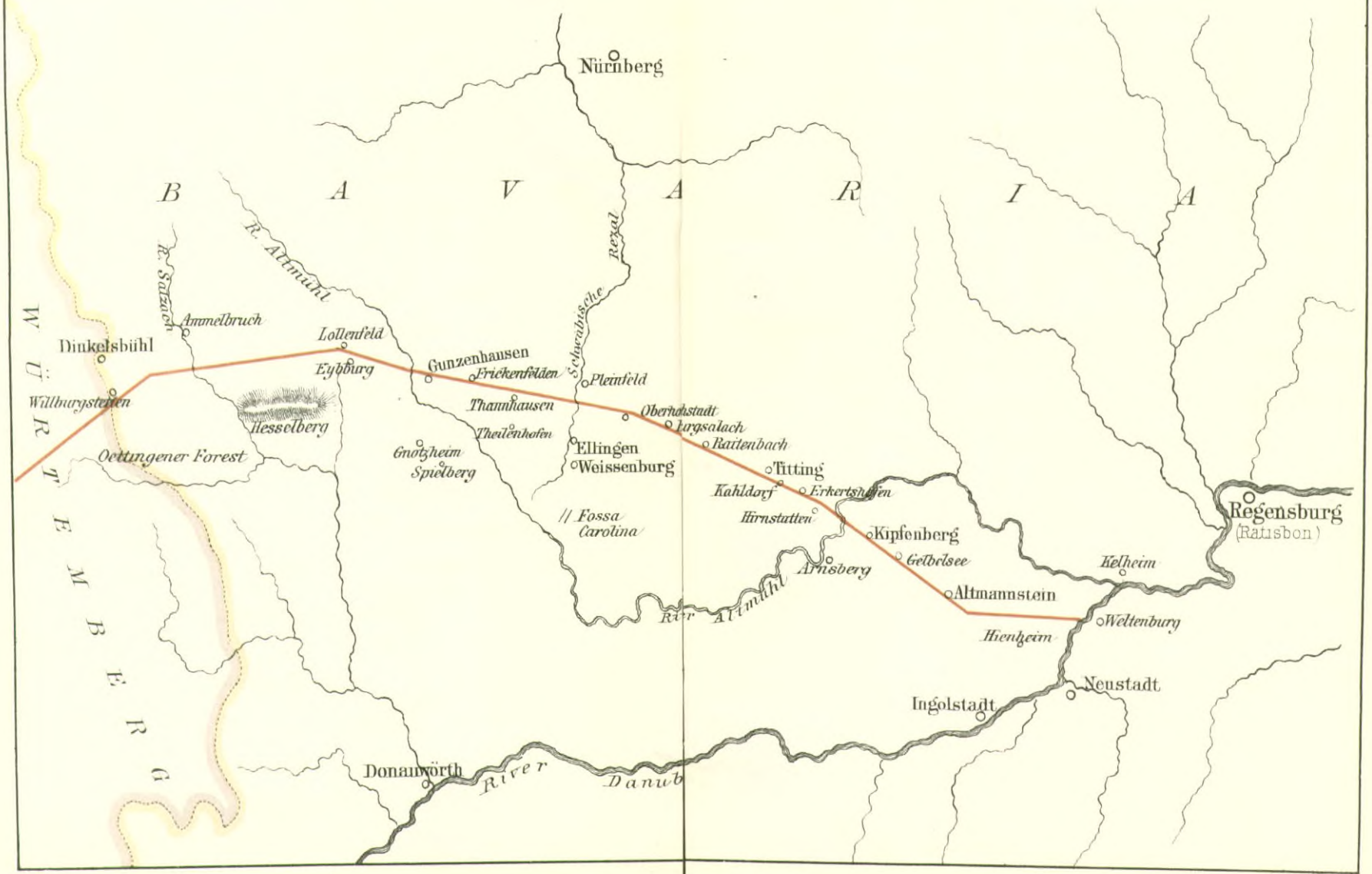
[1] See the passage quoted above from the extract in the "Archæologia Æliana."

THE PFAHLGRABEN

FROM THE DANUBE TO THE FRONTIER OF BAVARIA.

English Miles; 60 = One Degree

German Geographical Miles; 15 = One Degree



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says, "It is just as high and steep as its predecessor. Both have made themselves quite unforgettable to my poor feet and back." The remembrance of all these experiences makes him quite surly when he is reminded of the words of some unfortunate advocate of the road-theory of the Wall. "And yet," he says, "people are found to say that heavily-laden sumpter-mules, perhaps even chariots, travelled over this line, up and down all these break-neck places. Only Stupidity can advocate such a theory."

But if one error has arisen from the attempt to turn the Wall into a Roman road, another, and the opposite error, has been made, he says, by some of the earlier German antiquaries, who have tried to read the road, the undoubted military road of the Romans running southwards of the Barrier, into the Wall. The exaggerated account which some writers (Döderlein included) have given of the height of the Wall and of the abundance of antiquities upon it in its earlier course, results from their mistake in confusing the Wall with the road to the south of it, upon which there are, or were in their day, clear traces of Roman cities.

It is now time to give in detail the results obtained by the good priest as to the course of the Wall through Bavaria. Travellers who are intending to follow his example will, as a matter of course, buy the necessary sheets of the Ordnance Map of the country,[1] on which they will find the Teufelsmauer, where visible portions of it remain, laid down with beautiful clearness. But many, though not all, of the places which I shall have to name will be found on the map of Germany in a tolerably complete English atlas, such as Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas (Edinburgh, 1861).

The Wall leaves the Danube at a point a little above (and on the opposite bank to) Weltenburg, which is 18 miles S.W. of Ratisbon (Regensburg), and it pursues an almost due westerly course for 8 miles to the neighbourhood of Altmannstein, and thence north-westerly for 14 miles to Kipfenberg. The name by which it is at its commencement known is *Pfahl-ranken*, no man, woman, or child in Maier's time recognising the appellation of Teufelsmauer. At the point of actual departure from the Danube it is of very lowly and inconspicuous appearance, but as it wends its way through the forest of Hienheim it

[1] Ask for the following sheets of the *Militair-Stabs-Karte*-Ingolstadt, Dietfurt (West), Weissenburg, Dinkelsbühl."

becomes, says Maier, "ever statelier," though whether any but an enthusiast would apply the adjective "stately" to a bank at most 3½ feet high and 10 feet broad, may perhaps be doubted. Altmannstein, situated in a hilly country, near the scene of one of the pastor's most dangerous scrambles, is evidently an interesting point. Traces are to be found here of a Roman camp situated in a commanding position and overlooking a great range of the Wall. From this point onwards the name Teufelsmauer supersedes that of Pfahl-ranken.

For part of the distance between Altmannstein and Kipfenberg the Wall is no longer traceable; but wherever it is visible it has a companion, namely, a fosse ("graben"), which is dug at 17 paces distance on the north side of the wall, and which accompanies its course with the greatest regularity. East of Altmannstein and west of Kipfenberg this fosse cannot be traced.

At Steinsdorf, a little place south of the Wall, about four miles west of Altmannstein, Maier is inclined to place a Roman camp, and he thinks that excavations might be undertaken there with some hope of interesting results. "The old forester," he says, "who acted as my guide, told me that from a point near here, before the trees were grown up, one could see a great stretch of the Wall. One of the inhabitants showed me, in a meadow adjacent to the village, a certain elevation, and maintained that whenever one struck sharply upon it, or drove over it, it gave out a peculiar hollow sound, and he was sure that a vault was hidden under this elevation. Some years ago, when he was making himself a new garden, he picked a great many fragments of pottery out of the ground, and was consequently sure that it was the site of an old building."

In approaching Kipfenberg the good pastor gets upon his own ground, his church of Gelbelsee being only about two miles to the east of it, and this part of his work is consequently rather prolix. "In 1812," he says, "the *halb-bauer* [petty farmer] of Gelbelsee, to whom this wood and the adjoining fields belong, broke down a mass of stones from the Wall, destroying it to the ground, and therewith built a dry wall round his acres. I often looked on at this work of destruction. Much as I rejoice whenever the agriculturist improves or beautifies his lands, I am equally grieved that this important work of the Romans should have to contribute materials for the purpose."

At Kipfenberg the river Altmühl is crossed by the Wall; and in perfect conformity with what we see of the military arrangements of the Romans in our country, the barrier was evidently most carefully strengthened at this point. The two castles of Kipfenberg and Arnsberg, distant about two miles from one another, occupy apparently the site of two Roman camps north and south of the Wall. In fact Maier supposed that the still existing square tower at the latter place, 22 feet wide and about 60 feet high, was itself of Roman origin. As before remarked, Yates has successfully combated this theory, which certainly does not recommend itself to those acquainted with the existing remains of Roman stations in other countries. On the Schellenburg, about four miles north of Kipfenberg, in a commanding position overlooking two branches of the Altmühl, "enthrones itself," says Maier, "one of the goodliest and strongest Roman camps." A little to the west of it on another hill are some ruins called Rhumburg, possibly a corruption of Römerburg. Near Kipfenberg is situated the "Ebersbache Grube," of which Maier gives an interesting but perplexing description. It is apparently a rectangular space surrounded with walls about 530 yards in circumference, depressed in the centre, and formerly containing two fountains. Maier thinks it was constructed by the Romans as a reservoir. It is difficult to form any judgment without having seen the place, but his description sometimes suggests the idea of a camp, sometimes of an amphitheatre.

The next section of the Wall, from Kipfenberg to Ellingen, about 25 miles (passing near to Titting, Raitenbuch, Pleinfeld), appears to be, on the whole, in good preservation, a fact which is probably due to its course not lying through arable country, but chiefly through the large forests of Raitenbuch and Weissenburg. As before said, the fosse, which for some distance accompanied it with undeviating regularity at a distance of 17 feet, henceforth disappears. Near the east end of this section (a little south of Hirnstätten), Maier, to his great delight, discovered, in 1829, a Roman grave. There were in it some burnt human bones, a grave-lamp, a so-called lachrymatory, and a silver coin of the last year of Antoninus Pius (Tribunicîâ Potestate xxiii. = A.D. 160). A little further on (600 steps from the little village of Petersbuch, and just before entering the Raitenbucher Forest), "the Wall," says Maier, "becomes more stately than I have seen it at any point since its com-

mencement." Near to the village of Burgsalach are some ruins of a tolerable height which both Maier and the Ordnance Map agree in treating as Roman. They are in a forest[1] on the line of the Roman road, and Maier suggests that they mark the site of one of the ancient Mansiones or highway-inns.

About this point the *name* of the Wall undergoes some curious changes. At Kahldorf the people always call it *Pfahl*, but with a wrong gender, not *der* but *die Pfahl*. At Burgsalach it is as it ought to be, *der Pfahl*, and the name Teufelsmauer is quite unknown. "If," says Maier, "I asked shepherds or labourers, or girls, about the *Teufelsmauer*, they laughed at me, or else referred me to the 'Saustrasse,'" the Roman road, which here, in a state of good preservation (as indicated by the Ordnance Map), accompanies the Wall at a distance of about half-a-mile to the south-west. A little further on (before coming to Oberhochstadt), the Wall is crowned for some distance by a high continuous hedge, and it is here called "die Pfahl-*hecke*." A little further westward still, it is generally known as the Pfahl-*rain*.

At the close of this second section of the Limes we are in the neighbourhood of Weissenburg, a town of some importance, which lies two or three miles to the south of the Wall. Here, as before related, lived Döderlein, head-master of the Weissenburg Grammar-school in the early part of last century, and his enquiries gave to the common people an interest in the remains of Roman dominion which to some extent still continues. At the little village of Emmetsheim, a mile from Weissenburg, was found the following inscription :—

PRO SALVTE AN
TONINI IMP[ERATORIS]
MERCURIO SA
CRVM FLA [VIVS] RAE
TICVS OPTIO
EQ[VES] AL[AE] AVR [ELIAE]
V[OTVM] S[OLVIT] L[IBENS] L[UBENS] M[ERITO]

The inscription records a vow for the safety of the Emperor Antoninus (Caracalla?) made to Mercury by Flavius Raeticus, "optio" of the horsemen of the Ala Aurelia. The optio was a sort of adjutant, either

[1] "The wood of Harlach;" not known by that name on the Ordnance Map.

to the centurion, or, as in this case, to the prefect in command of an Ala of cavalry. Several other inscriptions have been found at Weissenburg and in its immediate neighbourhood, and a coin of Aurelian, which probably (I say probably, because there is of course the possibility that the coin thus found was in circulation among the barbarians) brings down the Roman occupation as low as 270–280, a late date for this part of Germany. A statue of Priapus was also found here, and was destroyed by order of the Pfarrer as recently as 1771, because of some superstitious practices which were connected with it.

An interesting reminiscence of the revived Empire of the West also clings to this locality. Just at the end of this, which I call its second section, the Wall traverses a little stream known as the *Schwäbische Rezat*. While almost all the other streams which take their rise in this part of the Bavarian highlands flow in a southerly or easterly direction to the Danube and the Black Sea, this streamlet flows northwards into the Main, and thus its waters eventually mingle with the Rhine, and pass into the German Ocean. The Emperor Charles the Great formed the magnificent project of deepening its channel, connecting it with the Altmühl, from which it is barely a mile distant, and thus forming a great internal system of navigation between the sea which washes the coasts of Sussex and that which reflects the towers of Constantinople. In 781 he commenced the work, but was soon forced to abandon it by the necessity of undertaking a campaign against the Saxons, by an unusually wet season, and by the unskilfulness of his engineers. The traces of his enterprise still remain in a trench about five miles S.W. of Weissenburg called the Fossa Carolina. "What a change," as Maier truly remarks, "what stir and what activity, would have filled these quiet plains if the grand scheme of Kaiser Karl had been realised, and this tiny streamlet, the Rezat, had seen the interchange of the products of East and West."

The third section of the Wall, from Ellingen to Lollenfeld, a distance of about 15 miles, is not upon the whole a favourable specimen of the work. At first it is true that Maier says, "I have never seen the Wall so majestic [a majesty of 42 inches] as in the pine-wood of Heresloh" (or Horterloh). But this majesty is soon dethroned. The line of the wall ceases to be marked on the Ordnance Map, and Maier himself observes—"If the whole course of the Wall from Ellingen to

Lollenfeld be divided into fifths, I venture to say, that two of these fifths are quite obliterated, two partially visible, and only one in a good state of preservation. Truly a lamentable proportion.[1]"

Near Thannhausen are the ruins of a Roman Castellum, 190 paces in circumference, and the whole plain south of the Wall at this point, from Theilenhofen to Gnotzheim (a distance of 6 or 7 miles), is one row of Roman settlements, a perfect quarry of Roman antiquities. Not seldom does one come upon old masonry, and again and again on detached bits of Roman roads. Coins of the Emperors come to light in such abundance that the Bauers often paid for their beer with Roman coins. "The church tower of Theilenhofen announces itself" [but we rather distrust these announcem nts reported by Maier] "as a Roman building. In the neighbourhood of this village many years ago a Roman *Sudatorium* was discovered." The coins found in the neighbouring villages of Gnotzheim and Spielberg reach from Agrippa and Nero, to Alexander Severus, Maximin, and Valerian (253). Everything concurs to prove that Roman dominion in this part of the *Agri Decumates* did not long survive the disastrous period of the Thirty Tyrants (261-268).

At Frickenfelden the schoolmaster of the place who used to dine with Maier at the Gast-haus, in reply to a question as to the name Teufelsmauer, asserted that the two magicians Jannes and *M*ambres (*sic*), who withstood Moses, divided the world into two halves, a hemisphere to each, and in order to prevent mutual encroachments, put this Wall all round the world as a boundary between them. As they could only have done this by magic and the Devil's aid, it was rightly called *Die Teufels Mauer*. When pressed as to the origin of this story the schoolmaster said, "It is so written in Ancient Chronicles." The Bauers of the same neighbourhood, whom Maier met in the fields and interrogated as to the origin of the Wall, more intelligent than the schoolmaster, unanimously replied that it was "Römerwerk."

Near Gunzenhausen, where the traces of the Wall itself are very feeble, and where it a second time crosses the river Altmühl, our Pfarrer gives us the somewhat perplexing intelligence of the existence of "a

[1] Near the Laüterbrunnenmuhle the Wall "is only 2 feet high, and is made of the red sandstone of the neighbourhood." But from Maier's previous statements this of course must not be understood to mean that it is of hewn stone.

Druid's grave." On the front is a Pentalpha, or, as the common people call it, "a Druid's foot," in half relief, on the hinder part an inscription (but this is avowedly modern) "Grabstätte eines Druiden."

The fourth section of the Wall as surveyed by Maier reaches from Lollenfeld to the frontier between Bavaria and Würtemberg, a distance of about 15 miles. Here again the condition in which it now exists is unsatisfactory, and even the line which it followed is often not to be traced without difficulty.[1]

The Wall pursues for some miles a very straight course about two points to the south of west, passing under the boldly marked and solitary hill which is known as the Hessel Berg. On this hill Gustavus Adolphus is said to have sat in 1632 watching the movements of his troops who were encamped on the "Hohe Ried," three miles to the west of the mountain, and to this day a place is pointed out on the Hessel Berg which still bears the name of "Gustav's Ruhe-platz."

Having skirted the northern base of the Hessel Berg, the Wall, which now becomes more visible, turns suddenly to the south (near Ammelbruch), making an angle of about 110 degrees with its former course. Maier rather fancifully says that it is as if the great Emperor Hadrian, having drawn his line of demarcation so as to include the fairer portion of "the broad Bavarian lands," had suddenly relented; said to himself, "We must really leave these poor Germans something;" and accordingly had curved in his boundary so as to bring it somewhat nearer to the Danube. But the prose of the matter, as any one may see by looking at a map on a sufficiently large scale, is simply that the Wall intends here to pursue a course nearly parallel with the Danube; and as that river here flows S.W. and N.E., the Wall decides to follow its example, though with an intervening distance of 30 miles. Its width here is not, as formerly, 10 feet, but is increased to 14 feet, but it is never after this point more than 2 feet high, so long as it continues in Bavaria. The names of the fields bordering upon it hereabouts, show that its proper title is *der Pfahl*, and that Teufelsmauer is a recent innovation. After skirting the northern edge of the Oetlingener

[1] The remains of a Roman castellum at the little village of Eybburg give Maier occasion to remark, that the castella on hills at some little distance from the Wall, are always connected with it by a lateral rampart. So Flügelsburg, Romburg, Kipfenberg, the castle on the Michelsburg, Arnsberg, Ammenburgerburg, and here again at Eybburg. This string of names, though uninteresting, may possibly be useful to the traveller bent on identifying the several castra.

Forest, and passing close to the little town of Willburgstetten, it quits the Bavarian dominions, almost exactly at the 49th parallel of latitude.

"How warmly," says the good pastor, "did my heart beat when, at the frontier which divides the two kingdoms from one another, I threw myself down on the moss under the rustling trees, and thought over the difficulties, the dangers, and the joys which had accompanied my antiquarian pilgrimage from the shores of the Danube hither. How heartily did I thank the gracious God who, amidst the many and pressing duties of my profession, and notwithstanding my advanced age, had enabled me to offer to archæologists a true account of this fair Roman monument, about which so many false statements have been made, for the whole course of its passage *through my fatherland.*"

The battle of Sadowa has changed many things. One would scarcely now find even a parish priest of Gelbelsee so calmly limiting the scope of "my fatherland" to the horizon of the kingdom of Bayern.

In parting company with the good pastor I may say a word as to his chief merits and defects in the capacity of guide to the Wall. His great merits are, first, the untiring patience and perseverance with which he follows the work of the Roman legionaries, up-hill and down-dale, into the village and through the forest; and, secondly, the care with which he treasures up the mental curiosities which cannot be stored in any museum, the legends, the stories, and the peculiar modes of speech which illustrate the effect that the Roman work produced in the Middle Ages, and to a certain extent still produces, on the minds of the people. His chief deficiency—and this no doubt results in part from a slenderly filled purse—is the want of detailed information as to the *camps* which existed at intervals along the line of the Wall. I have recorded in this paper the greater part of his memoranda as to these structures, and it will at once be seen how meagre they are. I am not aware that any subsequent explorer has supplied this deficiency. If this be so, a series of careful and scientific explorations of such Roman camps as can yet be traced in the kingdom of Bavaria is one of the first labours which Archæology has a right to look for at the hands of her German disciples.[1]

[1] I find from Dr. Hübner's paper (pp. 25-26) that an archæological survey of the Bavarian part of the *limes* has now been made by Professor Christ and Herr Ohlenschlager, and that these gentlemen have found six large *Castra Stativa* without reckoning Augsburg (*Augusta Vindelicum*) and Ratisbon (*Regina Castra*). The results of their survey are, however, I believe, not yet published.

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About the *Mile-castles* (as we call them) Maier is relatively much more explicit, though, if we are right in our notions about them, he has not exactly apprehended their real nature. He calls them "*Zelte*" (tents), *tentoria* or *contubernia*. They are now round hillocks, 51, or in some cases, 52 steps in circumference. There is wonderful regularity in these measurements. He says of the first example of the kind (I. 14)—"We have here the remains of a regularly walled tower wherein the soldiers lived, made a fire for themselves, and stored their provisions. We may, therefore, call this tower a little *caserne*. The trench round it results from a tent. This tent was surrounded with a trench, and the trench with a paling. The roof [as we infer from the representation on Trajan's Column] consisted of leather or hides, stretched out with cords. In these *contubernia* ten soldiers, with their *decanus* or under-officer, usually abode."

From Maier's enumeration of distances it is not easy to make out the exact intervals between the various "*Zelte,*" but these are some of them—1,181 steps, 778, 818, 978, 1,218. These distances correspond with sufficient general accuracy to the intervals between our "Mile-castles." There are two points, however, which make this identification difficult. In one case (I. 35) he says, "This tent again stood not *beside* but *upon* the Wall, so that a half-circle of the still existing trench lies on its right and the other half-circle on its left side." This description will not suit one of our Mile-castles. And again, why the difference between round and square towers? He is on the look-out for the latter, and notices their appearance when they occur; but most of his favourite "*Zelte*" appear to be circular.

I should be glad to hear the judgment of more experienced antiquaries on this subject.[1]

We now come to

(B) The Würtemberg Division.

Crossing the frontier which separates the kingdom of Bavaria from her sister kingdom of Würtemberg, we at once become sensible of a

[1] For the last three sections of Maier's journey the enumeration of the "Zelte," and the measurement of the intervals between them, will be found at the following places:—Vol. I., p. 9, l. 14; 12, l. 20; 28, l. 15; 30, l. 2 (from bottom); 32, l. 3. Vol. II., p. 268, l. 5; 271, l. 9; 272, l. 21; 276, l. 21; 277, l. 6; 282, l. 12; 283, l. 14 and 26; 289, l. 13; 292, l. 3 (from bottom); 293, l. 12 and 8 (from bottom); 295, l. 2 (from bottom); 761, l. 20.

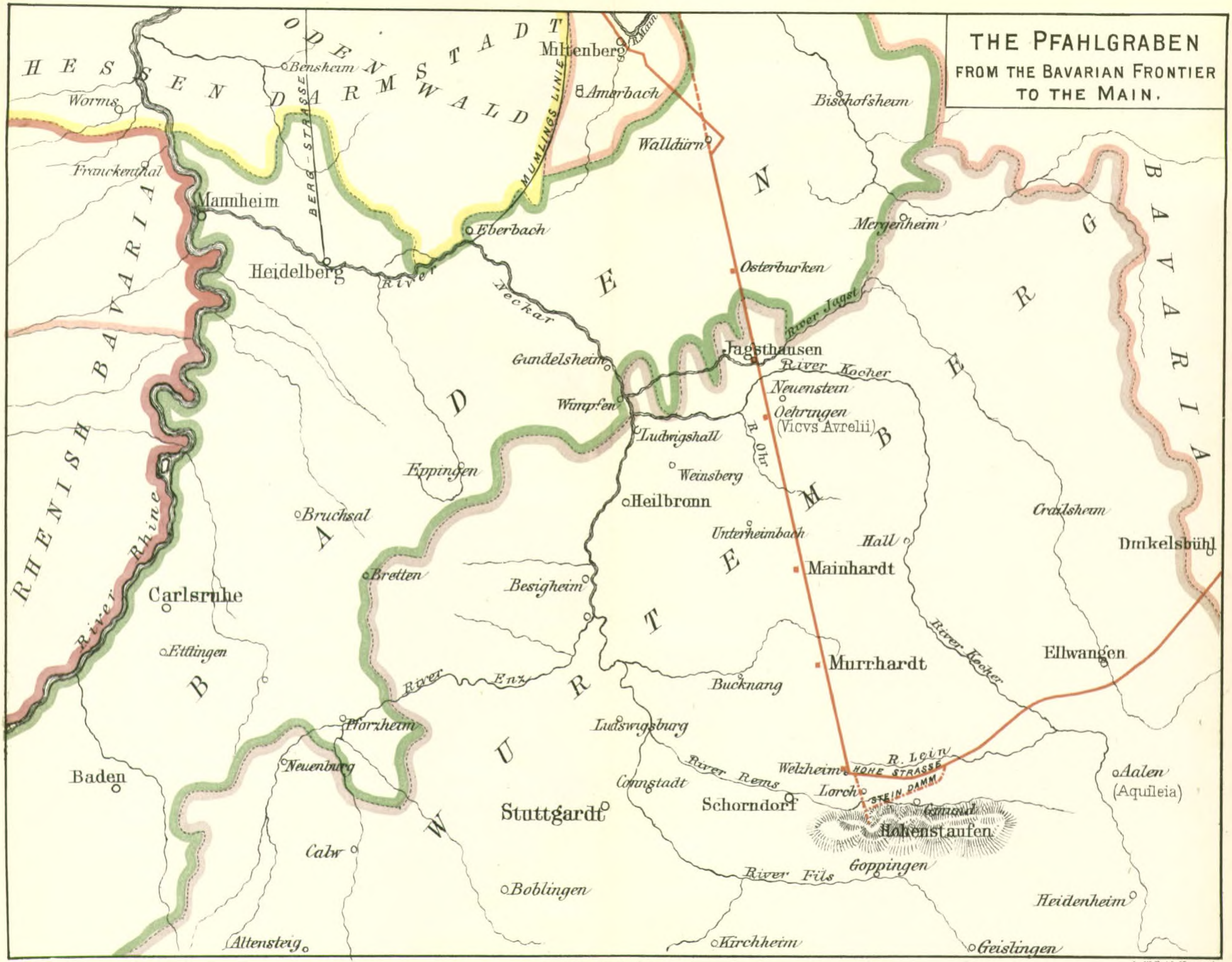
great change in the character of our guide, and we are also, I regret to say, immediately entangled in that which is only second to a theological controversy in bitterness and long endurance—a controversy between archæologists.

Our guide is now no longer the somewhat gossipy but enthusiastic pastor of Gelbelsee. Instead, we have Dr. Ernst Herzog, Professor of Classical Philology at Tübingen, a scholar, and, if one may judge from his work, a man of an accurate and business-like turn of mind. He was entrusted by the Government of Würtemberg, in 1877, with a commission to survey the course of the Roman Wall in that country. Two associates were assigned to him, Lieut.-Col. Finck, of the Statistical and Topographical Bureau, and Professor Paulus, himself an archæologist, and the son of Dr. Von Paulus, who spent the greater part of a long life in studying the Roman antiquities of Würtemberg. The elder Paulus had carefully, and step by step, traced what I am going to call "the North and South portion of the Wall" in the year 1862, and the result of his labours was published in a pamphlet—"Der Römische Grenzwall vom Hohenstaufen bis an den Main" (Stuttgart, 1863)—which I have not yet seen.

The present party devoted seventeen days in September, 1877, and two days in October, 1878, to a personal examination of the *limes*. They also consulted the very careful parish maps *(Flur-karten)* which exist everywhere in Würtemberg, and upon which, I believe, the registration of land is based. The result of their labours appears in a thin memoir of 47 pages communicated to a learned periodical, and also published separately at Stuttgart (1880).[1] It is, as before hinted, accurate, methodical, and slightly dry.

The first 32 miles of the *limes* in Würtemberg run in a south-west and westerly direction to a point a little south of Welzheim, and it is to this part of the border that the thorny controversy above referred to has attached itself. At Welzheim the Wall makes a very sharp turn, forming an angle of 105 degrees with its former direction. From this point onwards it pursues a course of extraordinary straightness, one point to the west of north, till it arrives in the neighbourhood of the river

[1] "Die Vermessung des Römischen Grenzwalls in seinem Lauf durch Württemberg, von Dr. Ernst Herzog." Stuttgart, 1880. (Sonderabdruck aus den Wurtt. Vierteljahrsheften für Landesgeschichte, 1880.)


THE PFAHLGRABEN
FROM THE BAVARIAN FRONTIER TO THE MAIN.
HESSEN DARMSTADT
ODENWALD
BAVARIA
RHENISH BAVARIA
BADEN WURTEMBERG
Worms
Bensheim
Miltenberg
R. Main
Amorbach
Bischofsheim
Walldürn
Frankenthal
Mannheim
BERG-STRASSE
MUMLINGS LINIE
Eberbach
Heidelberg
River Neckar
Mergentheim
Osterburken
River Jagst
Jagsthausen
Gundelsheim
River Kocher
Neuenstein
Wimpfen
Oehringen
(Vicvs Avrelii)
Ludwigshall
R. Ohr
Eppingen
Weinsberg
Heilbronn
Crailsheim
Bruchsal
Unterheimbach
Hall
Dinkelsbühl
Mainhardt
Bretten
Besigheim
Carlsruhe
River Rhine
Ettlingen
River Kocher
Ellwangen
Murrhardt
Bucknang
River Enz
Pforzheim
Ludwigsburg
Welzheim
R. Lein
HOHE STRASSE
Aalen
(Aquileia)
Baden
Neuenburg
River Rems
Cannstadt
Lorch
STEIN DAMM
Schorndorf
Stuttgardt
Hohenstaufen
Calw
Goppingen
River Fils
Boblingen
Heidenheim
Altensteig
Kirchheim
Geislingen
English Miles, 60 One Degree
German Geographical Miles, 15 = One Degree
And.r Reid, Newcastle.

Main. This north-pointing section of the Wall, which emerges from Würtemberg, and traverses part of Baden, before it once more comes in contact for a little space with the soil of Bavaria, is about 86 kilometers in length, equivalent, say, to 55 English miles.

If we look at the map we see at once the reason for this sudden alteration in the plan of the Wall. Hitherto, that is till it reaches that corner by Welzheim, it has been following more or less closely the course of the Danube. Now, the Rhine, from which it is at first about 70 miles distant, prescribes its general direction. Hitherto it has been the Limes Trans-Danubianus; now it is the Limes Trans-Rhenanus. Evidently the point from which the "new departure" is taken is one of capital importance to a student of the Wall. It has even been held by some that at this point a change took place in the provincial administration of the country enclosed by the barrier, the part east of it being subordinated to the governors of Raetia, while the region west and north of it was assigned to the province of Germania Superior. But this is not settled: there are some arguments for fixing the frontier further eastwards at Aalen (Aquileia.)

However this may be, we need not be surprised at finding a considerable difference of style and character between that part of the *limes* which runs north and south and that which runs east and west. But the question is now raised by our Würtemberg guides, "Was the *limes* east of Welzheim a wall at all? Was it not really a military *road?* We admit that the section which runs north and south, the *Limes Trans-Rhenanus*, is a wall. We know, too, that every one who comes from the east expects to find a wall here. But we believe we have got no wall to show you, only two roads, one with a stone foundation and one without."

This is disappointing, and as Dr. Hübner says (of some other disputes between different schools of limes-students) it "necessarily makes on a remote critic a bewildering impression." ("Es macht auf den ferner stehenden Beurtheiler nothwendig einen verwirrenden Eindruck.") Whatever the differences might be between the manner of fortifying Germania and Raetia, it is quite certain that the mere accident of our having passed from the modern kingdom of Bavaria into the modern kingdom of Würtemberg can make no alteration in the character of the *limes*. If, therefore, Professor Herzog is right in

treating the boundary-mark from Willburgstetten to Welzheim as only a road, we have almost certainly been wrong in allowing Pastor Maier to speak of his portion as a wall. But to do the Professor justice I will endeavour to put his view of the case in his own words, although it is not easy to do so, for he is so convinced that he is right that he treats the matter as almost too clear for argument:—

"The Limes Raeticus is sketched by the Bavarian enquirers as a wall, furnished throughout its whole course with pallisades and trenches; in short, precisely similar to the Limes Germanicus. Maier especially defends this proposition in a very lively manner. They all start from the spectacle furnished by the extreme eastern portion of the work, exhibiting fosses whose traces are still to be discerned in front of the line, and fortifications which are to be seen not only behind the Wall, but actually upon it. My plan does not make it necessary for me to say anything about the Bavarian section of the work; but in any case I hold it to be unsafe to argue from a part to the whole, or to judge from that which was last completed as to the origin and first intention of the work. As far as we are in a position to inquire more accurately—that is, on the Würtemburg side [eastward of Welzheim]—there are nowhere traces of a fosse, not even in the woods, where, upon the other [north and south] line, the fosse often shows itself so well. Moreover, the construction is, as will appear from the previous descriptions, *throughout, that of a road—an agger viae.*[1] In many places the construction allows us to ascertain accurately the original height of the whole from the ground, and there it is so small that it never could have been a wall destined for purposes of defence."

It will be seen from this extract that Herzog's "road" is raised somewhat above the surface of the ground, at any rate in places; it is what our country-people would call a *dyke*, only not high enough, he thinks, ever to have been a military wall of defence. He gives the line of this work, be it road or wall, for about 16 miles south-westward, till it comes into the neighbourhood of Aalen, which undoubtedly represents the important Roman station of Aquileia (not to be confounded with the Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic). The "*Damm*," as he calls it, is in this part of its course sometimes a foot-and-a-half high and 12 feet broad, sometimes $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 14 feet broad; in fact, just such a wall as Maier has been describing for us in Bavaria, only undoubtedly not "stately." Herzog gives us a section (a copy of

[1] "As a testimony of some weight I may quote an observation of Hansselmann's (in the continuation of his 'proof') when he discusses the question, 'Wall or Road?' 'I may add that the waller, who was brought to examine this piece of work, pronounced it to be no wall but a paved country road.'"

which is annexed), which shows more stone-work and of a more regular kind than we might have expected from Maier's description.

Three small towers (corresponding to our "Mile-castles") are, or were recently, visible along this portion of the line. The dimensions of one of them are given, 15 yards by 10 yards.

At the point near Aalen, the line which we are following (I will not call it the Wall) makes a rather sharp turn to the left. From this corner we have our choice of *two* lines, both described with some little detail by Herzog. One, which is, and as he says, has been from time immemorial, called the *Hochstrasse*, goes for 15 miles due west along the highest part of the table-land between the rivers Lein and Rems, and finally joins what I have called "the North and South Wall," a little below Welzheim. Herzog thus describes the character of this work:—"By excavating 12, or in some cases only 6 inches under the turf, we come to roughly dressed stone-slabs or slab-like squares, and rubble placed upright. The edging-stones could still be recognised as such. The breadth was 9 feet. Small stones with mortar were nowhere to be seen. That we have here to do with a Roman road is proved, not only by the style of its construction, but also by the direction, which does not lead to any modern localities."

The other line, of about equal length, is called by our author the *Stein-damm* (Stone-dyke), and keeps a course a little to the south of west, till it meets "the North and South Wall," produced, at the town of Lorch. This latter town, the ancient name of which was probably Laureacum, is situated on the banks of the Rems, commands the valley in which that river flows, and was evidently a place of great importance in Roman times. A limestone architrave of classical architecture, built into the old Abbey-church, and such names as "Venus-berg" and "Götzenbach" (Idols-stream) in the neighbourhood of the town, confirm the conclusions that we are here upon the site of a Roman camp. To this place the line of the "Stein-damm" leads, keeping upon a lower level, nearer to the bed of the river Rems than the table-land-traversing Hochstrasse. Its course is in some parts hard to trace, but there are

certain places in which it is quite clearly visible, two feet to two-and-a-half above ground and twelve feet broad. It traverses a very broken country, and goes straight up hill and down hill, shunning no declivity however precipitous. Upon this Herzog remarks (and I imagine that the hint is meant for Maier and the other Bavarian advocates of the wall-theory):—"We are going along a line which absolutely can be nothing else but a road, but which travels straight up the steepest hills and down again on the other side with the most determined adherence to the right line, a road which, although built with care, since the metal for it was brought from the bed of the Rems, cannot possibly have been used in this place by horsemen or charioteers."

To sum up, then, Herzog believes that at this part of the *limes* at any rate, there is not and never was any Wall, only a road, the Hochstrasse, which probably itself marked the line of frontier, which being carried at a uniform height was available for wheeled traffic, and which may have been protected by mile-castles and a camp or two in its rear, though of these no traces have been preserved. South and south-west of this runs another road, paved with stone, the Stein-damm, which is still visible in places as a dyke, two or three feet above ground, which went straight up and down over the most precipitous places, and was only available for foot passengers.

Though it seems presumptuous to differ from so competent an observer, who has investigated the question on the spot, I confess that I am not convinced by this reasoning, but am strongly inclined to believe that at any rate the Stein-damm represents the actual continuation of the Wall as we have traced it in Bavaria.

It is curious to observe how the difficulties which beset us English students of the *Linea valli* when we pass from the bleak moors of Northumberland into the fertile valleys of Cumberland, and find our Wall vanishing before the plough of the husbandman, seem also to harass the German archæologist when he passes, perhaps by a similar transition, from Bavaria into the rich corn-lands of Würtemberg.

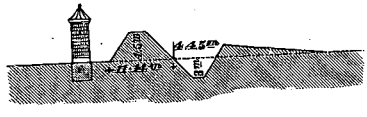
When we have rounded the corner at Welzheim, and begun to trace the "North and South" portion of the Wall, we emerge from the region of controversy, and find ourselves face to face with a phenomenon which is as far as I know unique in the history of Roman fortifications. We have here undoubtedly to do with a Wall (not of masonry, but of

earth or rubble—Herzog always calls it "der Erdwall"), and this Wall goes with absolute geometrical straightness, as straight as the boundary of any American territory, till it approaches the river Main. There have been many speculations as to the means employed by the Romans to draw a perfectly straight line for so great a distance, and some nonsense has been talked about their necessary acquaintance with the mariner's compass. Of course they possessed sufficient knowledge of astronomy and geometry to enable them to draw a line of this length due north, or at such an angle to the west of north as they might desire. Observations drawn from the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies would enable them to check their work as it proceeded, and test its mathematical accuracy; but probably the ordinary labour of wall building would be guided by signals and land-marks raised in conspicuous positions. One such land-mark was prepared for them by nature, and was almost certainly made use of by the Roman engineers. Visible for many miles around, a little to the south of Lorch, rises the high conical rock of Hohenstaufen. It is not precisely the point to which the Wall, running from north to south, directs its course, but it is scarcely a mile east of that point, and there can be no doubt that for a long space of their work it was a most helpful guide to the builders of the Wall. This is the same rock of Hohenstaufen from whose castle the Swabian Emperors took their name. How little did the Roman *legatus* or *tribunus*, who saw its cone cleaving the southern horizon, dream that a day would come when the German owners of that rock should be Emperors of the West and Lords of Rome! How bewildered would he have been could any Augur or Sibyl have revealed to him the destruction of Milan by the mighty Barbarossa, or the brilliant and stormy life of his grandson, the second Frederick!

The name by which the Wall is known in Würtemberg appears to be generally the *Pfahl*, the Bavarian Teufelsmauer not having penetrated so far westwards. Occasionally, however, we meet with the curious name of *Schweins-graben* or *Sau-graben* (Hog's ditch or Sow's ditch), and the fields through which it passes are spoken of as *Sau-äcker*. Remembering the frequent representations of the solemn sacrificing of a hog, a sheep, and a bull (*Suovetaurilia*), which we meet with on Trajan's column, one is inclined to ask whether any traditions of this curious military-religious rite can have lingered on among the Germanic

tribes of Swabia, and so given rise to this mysterious name. The popular *saga* about the matter, as told in the year 1803, by a man far advanced in years, who had learned it from his fore-elders, was that "a crowing cock and a hog in one night built this Wall, which with its fosse encircles the whole world. When asked what sort of a cock and a hog they could be who accomplished such a work he replied—That every man of understanding can picture to himself."[1]

The Wall from Welzheim to the northern frontier of Würtemberg appears to be on the whole in a very fair state of preservation. It is sometimes altogether obliterated for two or three miles; but the knowledge of the mathematical directness of its course makes it easy, with the help of the compass, to recover the first indication of its renewed presence. Herzog, having examined it carefully in section, speaks with great positiveness of the entire absence (in this part) of any *stone* nucleus of the Wall. From the profiles which he gives, and of which a sketch is subjoined, it appears to be often six and occasionally seven feet high,



but sometimes only four feet six. The sloping side sometimes measures 28 feet. One steep mound, one ditch not quite so deep as the mound is high, and one small gently sloping mound, seem to complete the ideal section of the barrier.

The "mile-castles" still extant, or described on good authority, are laid down with great precision on Professor Herzog's map. There appear to be 48 of these, occurring at somewhat irregular intervals along a line of 60 kilometers, equivalent to $37\frac{1}{2}$ miles (from Welzheim to the frontier of Würtemberg). As some no doubt have disappeared, leaving no trace of their existence, this is a larger allowance than is necessary for "mile-castles" proper. Possibly some of what we call turrets (the little sentry boxes which occur at intervals of somewhat more than a furlong from each other) may have been counted in by error. Besides the mile-castles there are clear indications of five large camps, Welzheim, Murrhardt, Mainhardt, Oehringen, and Jagsthausen, dispersed

[1] Herzog, p 7, n 3.

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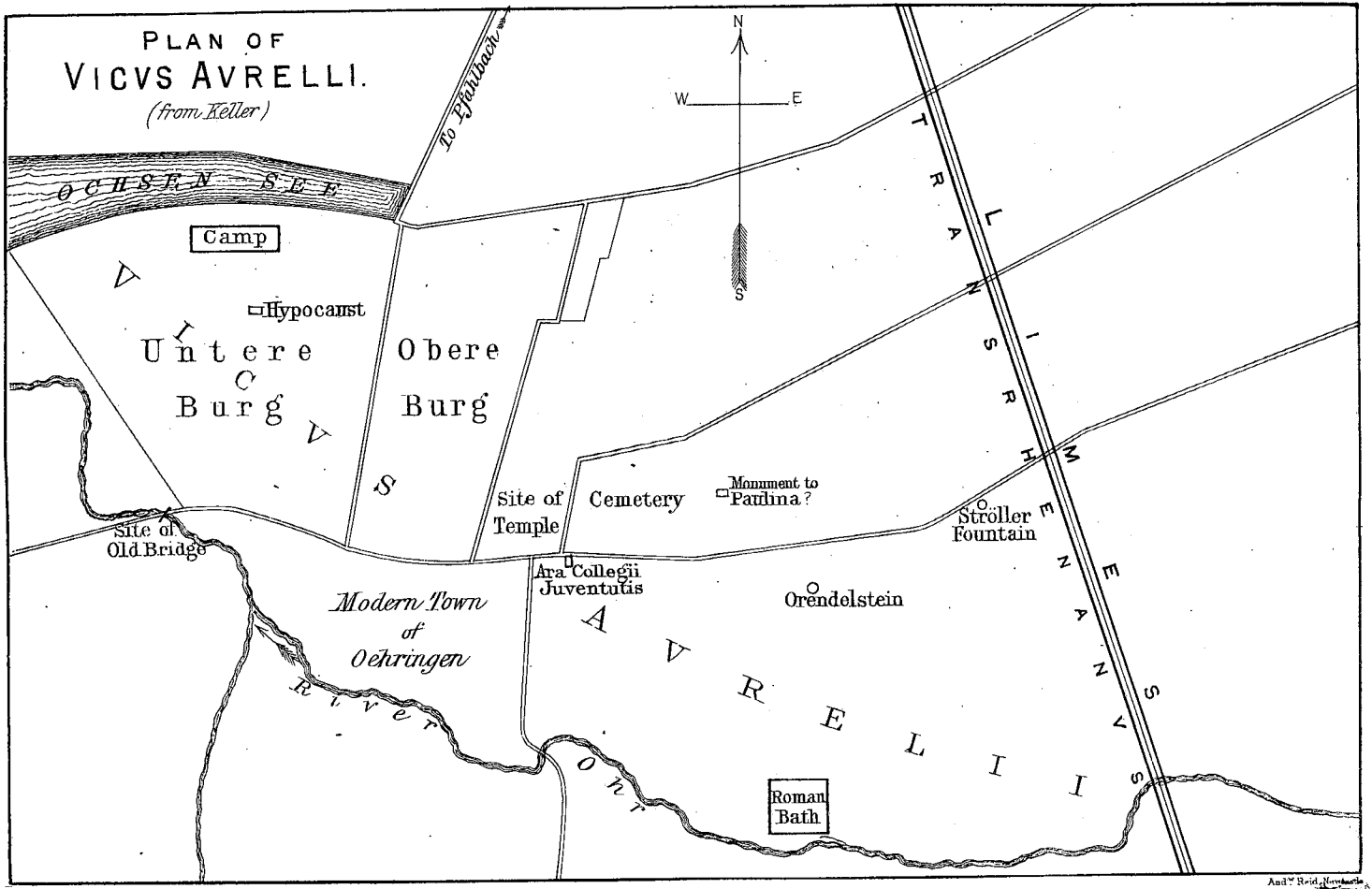

PLAN OF
VICVS AVRELLI.
(from Keller)
To Pfahlbach
N
W
E
S
OCHSEN SEE
Camp
Hypocaust
Untere Burg
Obere Burg
VICVS
TRANSRHENANVS
Site of Temple
Cemetery
Monument to Paulina?
Stroller Fountain
Site of Old Bridge
Ara Collegii Juventutis
Orendelstein
Modern Town of Oehringen
River
AVRELII
Ohr
Roman Bath

at nearly equal intervals along these 38 miles of wall, the average distance between each being a little more than 7 miles. They are always on the inner or western side. I will venture to bring before you my own personal impressions received during a visit to Oehringen, the most northerly camp in Würtemberg but one.

OEHRINGEN, the Vicus Aurelii of the Romans, is situated in the fertile valley of the Kocher, and is a station on the Heidelberg and Nuremberg railway, about a third of the distance from the former to the latter.[1] This rather sleepy but pleasant little town was formerly the capital of the dominions of the Hohenlohes, a princely house which was "mediatised" by the congress of Vienna, its dominions being transferred to Würtemberg. The celebrated miracle-worker of half a century ago, and the present ambassador of the German Empire to Paris, have both sprung from this family, which also contains some of the nearest relations of our own Queen.

In this little Hohenlohe capital lived in the middle of the 18th century the worthy Privy-Councillor Christian Ernest Hansselmann. In the year 1741 there was discovered at Oehringen, an inscribed stone of the year 237, bearing in remarkably fine and bold characters the name of the Emperor Maximin (the Thracian). A few years later (in 1748) the Academy of Berlin offered a prize for the best essay on the subject:—"How far the Roman power, after crossing the Rhine and Danube, penetrated into Germany, as evidenced by still existing remains of antiquity." The essays offered all dealt only with the subject of *northern* Germany, but the discussions on the subject stimulated enquiry, brought into prominence the important discovery of the inscription of Maximin, and prompted Hansselmann to devote himself to the study of the antiquities of his native town. Twenty years later (in 1768) he produced a small folio volume with the title—"Proof how far the Roman power in its wars with the various German nations penetrated into the lands of Franconia." This book, which was profusely illustrated, was the outcome of long and careful study, though, characteristically enough for that age and that state of society, the Privy-Councillor never went more than two days' journey from home

[1] Heilbronn on the Neckar, and Swabian Hall on the Kocher, are its two largest neighbours, each about 12 miles distant on opposite sides, and either of these towns furnishes very fair quarters to the traveller.

on his antiquarian quest. He fixed, however, with perfect accuracy the position of the three most northerly Roman camps[1] in Würtemberg, and of Osterburken beyond the frontier of that state; and his book, though written in somewhat formal pedantic style, gave the first great impetus to the study of Roman antiquitiès in Germany, and is still an authority on the literature of the *limes*.[2] The best book, however, now, on the special antiquities of Oehringen, is "Vicus Aurelii oder Oehringen zur Zeit der Römer," by Dr. O. Keller, late Rector of the Lyceum at Oehringen (Bonn, 1871, 4to, 63 pp., with maps and excellent illustrations).

On the last day of June, 1881, I went from Heidelberg by railway to Oehringen, passing on my way Wimpfen (on the site of the Roman *Cornelia*, said to have been destroyed by Attila); Ludwigshall, with its salt-works and collection of Roman antiquities; Heilbronn, with its memories of Kättchen and Götz von Berlichingen, its busy timber-wharves, and its somewhat peculiar-looking cathedral; and, lastly, Weinsberg, with its ruined fortress of Weiber-treue, from which, as the story goes, the wives of the starved-out garrison issued forth in long procession under the nose of the imperial besieger, each carrying, according to stipulation, her greatest treasure, which treasure proved to be her husband.

I reached Oehringen about 5 P.M., meaning to devote the long summer-evening to exploring the place, and on the following day to visit the camp of Mainhardt, lying next it on the south. The Stadt-Pfarrer,[3] however (Rev. A. Bacmeister), to whom I had been recommended to introduce myself, informed me that the camp at Mainhardt, which was opened out two or three years ago, had been all closed in again, in fulfilment of a pledge to that effect given to the Bauers to whom it belonged, and that there would be nothing there to repay me for a visit, and I, therefore, devoted not only that evening but the greater part of the following day to a thorough exploration of Oehringen and its neighbourhood. The great kindness shown me by the Stadt-Pfarrer (to whom I

[1] Mainhardt, Oehringen, and Jagsthausen.

[2] "Dessen etwas zopfige Schriften," says Hübner, "mit ihrem umständlichen Titel 'Beweiss wie weit der Römer Macht auch in die nunmehrige Ost-Fränkische, sonderlich Hohenlohische Lande eingedrungen' Schwäbisch Hall 1768, und die Fortsetzung ebendaselbst 1773, noch immer nicht ganz veraltet sind."

[3] Town-Pastor.

had not a single line of introduction), and by the Rector of the Lyceum (Herr Boget), made my visit a most enjoyable and successful one. One of the delights of "the quest of the Wall" is that it constantly takes you into beautiful scenery which you would otherwise never have visited. Another is the interesting acquaintances that it gives you an opportunity of forming, and so I found it in this instance. I have few pleasanter remembrances of Continental travel than those of the golden evening hours spent in walking over the Obere and Untere Burg, discussing many things besides Archæology with my new-found friends, and listening to the cheery "*Grüss Gott*," and the conversations about the coming harvest interchanged between the Pastor and his Swabian parishioners.

The camp itself at Oehringen is now virtually obliterated by agriculture and the railroad, but its site is marked out with almost complete certainty, and of the large finds of coins, inscriptions, and other objects of interest which have been made there, some of the trophies are to be seen in the museum at Neuenstein, an old castle of the Hohenlohes, about three miles east of Oehringen.[1] The ground to which I was first guided is known by the names of Die Obere Burg and Die Untere Burg; this word Burg, like our own Borough, is constantly found on the track of a Roman *burgum*.[2] As we walk across the line of railway and through the green uplands towards the "Obere Burg" we are constantly though slowly rising, and at length, when we stand in the Obere Burg itself, we see what a wide view it, like almost all the Roman stations, commanded. The little town of Oehringen lies at our feet. On the southern horizon is the ridge of low hills which intervenes between us and Mainhardt. We can imagine the vallum crossing these hills, coming straight towards us across the plain with a line nearly as well marked in the days of its glory as one of the Roman aqueducts across the Campagna, and then passing our present position on its journey northward about half-a-mile to the east of us. But of this there is nothing, or scarcely anything,

[1] N.B.—A permit to visit this castle has to be obtained from the officials *in Oehringen*. All the more recent finds are deposited at Stuttgart.

[2] "Quod si ultra ictum teli, in clivo tamen civitatis subjecta sit vena, castellum parvulum quem *burgum* vocant inter civitatem et fontem convenit fabricari ibique ballistas sagittariosque constitui, ut aqua defendatur ab hostibus" (Vegetius, IV., 10). Of course, this passage describes a much smaller castle than that at Vicus Aurelii, or than most of those which have preserved the name "burg" or "borough."

now to be seen. The only trace of the Pfahlgraben hereabouts is to be found at a place called Pfahlbach, about half-an-hour's walk north-east of Oehringen. I went to see this, and found it simply a long and perfectly straight ditch, perhaps 100 yards in length, between two grassy mounds, the right-hand (easternmost) one of which is higher than the other. I had not at that time seen the Vallum Antonini, (Graham's Dyke), but having since visited it I am struck by the resemblance of some parts of it, particularly that which is visible in the Park of Callender, to this portion of the *limes*. It might, perhaps, be doubtful which of the two *mounds* of the *Pfahldöbel* (that is the name by which it is here known) belonged to the Roman work, but there is no doubt about the *ditch*, and the interest of it lies in the perfect straightness of the line, and in its exact accordance with the position which it should occupy, as forming part of the long line of fortification from Welzheim to Miltenberg.

Returning to the Obere Burg, in company with the Pfarrer and the Rector, I learned from them that this was not strictly the site of the camp. That, as will be seen on reference to the plan, was on the somewhat lower hill to the west, the Untere Burg. Why was not the higher ground chosen for the encampment? The answer is evident. The Untere Burg was nearer to the little river Ohr, which was here crossed by a Roman bridge, and was, besides, strengthened on the north by the water of the Ochsensee, a kind of moat or morass long since dried up, but the site of which is still known by that name, and which formerly communicated with the river. But though the camp was on the Untere Burg, there is no doubt that the Roman city overpassed its limits and covered also part of the Obere Burg. All the fields in the space thus denoted teem with stones, evidently of Roman origin. Very unpopular they are with the German agriculturist, who suffers enough from the naturally rocky character of the soil without this superadded annoyance. With many a grunt and a curse the sulky Bauer pitches these stones off his field into the adjoining cart-way. Then the pupils of the Lyceum, who well know what will please their master, give him the first news of the appearance of a likely specimen. The Rector comes and gropes about to see if there is any trace of the sculptor's hand, or any fragment of an inscription on the stone. In this way he has rescued several monuments of the Roman sway from

EMPRESS PAULINA.

from Keller

MINERVA.

And.r Reid Newcastle

destruction. One fine large stone, perhaps three feet square by six inches thick, was lying on the Rector's table when I visited him. This was all that we could together make out of the inscription :—

[Name probably of an Emperor obliterated.]

(VETE)RANIS ET PER
(EG) RINIS HER . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . LVGEN (TES)
(PA)TRI SVO

A rubbing had been sent to Professor Mommsen, who, as yet, however, has not succeeded in deciphering more than is here set down.

The great epigraphic prize, however, of Vicus Aurelii, is still the Maximin-inscription which was found in the middle of last century, and which stimulated Hansselmann to commence his antiquarian studies. This inscription, which I saw in the Hohenlohe museum, runs as follows :—

MAXIMINVS
X TRIB·POT III
OS·ET
B CAES

It belongs to the year 237, and is expanded thus :—

[C·IVLIVS VERVS] MAXIMINVS [PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MA]X[IMVS TRIB[VNICIA] POT[ESTATE] III [IMPERATOR V CONSVL PROC]ONS[VL] ET [C·IVLIVS VERVS NO]B[ILIS] CAESAR.

It is thus an inscription upon some monument dedicated by the Emperor Maximin the Thracian and his son. Close by this inscription was found also the head of a woman carved in sandstone, and with the coiffure appropriate to a Roman Empress. (See Plate I.) The conjecture is not a violent one, and is generally adopted, that we have here the likeness of Paulina, the gentle and popular spouse of the harsh bully, Maximin, the lady who often interfered to mitigate his cruel sentences,[1] and whose bracelet he sometimes wore as a ring round his

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the wife of Gallus, says that she "abrupte mariti fortunas trudebat in exitium praeceps, cum eum potius lenitate feminea ad veritatis humanitatisque viam reducere utilia suadendo deberet, *ut in Gordianorum actibus factitasse Maximini truculenti illius imperatoris rettulimus conjugem.*"—XIV., i., 8.

own gigantic thumb.[1] If it is really her statue, it was probably raised in her honour by her husband and son.

The Maximin inscription and the supposed monument to Paulina were discovered (as will be seen from the plan) in a spot some distance from the two "Burgs," lower down in the plain, and almost due east of the modern town. Between this place and the Obere Burg, lies a piece of ground in which several statues of deities have been found, and which Dr. Keller—perhaps on rather slender evidence—pronounces to be the site of a temple. A little to the east of this appears to have been situated the cemetery, which shows traces of the blended practices of cremation and sepulture. This variety in the funeral rites is probably due to the different nationalities of the cohorts that formed the garrison of Vicus Aurelii. An altar, with the following interesting inscription, has been found on the southern confines of the cemetery:—

. . . . . A U V
. . . . R I C O L L E
G I V M I V V E N T
V T I · D E V O T I S S I
M I N V M I N I E I V
S · S A C R A N T · K
A L · N O V · I M P · S
E V E R O A L E X A
N D R O · A V G · C O S

It is thus expanded:—(Jovi Optimo Maximo pro salute Imperatoris M. Aureli Sev | eri Collegium juventuti(s) devotissimi numini ejus sacrant kal(endis) Nov(embribus) Imp(eratore) Severo Alexandro Aug(usto) Cons(ule). We have here before us the record of an altar, erected on the 1st November, 222, in honour of the Emperor Alexander Severus by the *Collegium Juventutis*. We know the fondness of the Romans, in the early ages of the Empire, for the institution of all sorts of guilds or collegia,[2] and here we have the Collegium of the young men, probably the young soldiers of Vicus Aurelii, paying an appro-

[1] "Pollice ito vasto ut uxoris dextrocherio uteretur pro anulo."—(Hist-Augusta Maximin VI.)

[2] One of the latest writers on Christian antiquities suggests that the church itself probably appeared to the educated Romans of the second century only as one Collegium the more.—*Hatch's Bampton Lectures.*

priate tribute of respect to their young Emperor, Alexander Severus, within nine months from his accession.[1] It would be interesting to know how many of the youthful Collegium, who thus expressed their devotion to Alexander, hailed with enthusiastic plaudits the entrance into Vicus Aurelii of his murderer, Maximin.

About 300 yards to the east of the place where the Ara Collegii Juventutis was found, we come upon that which is perhaps the most interesting, at any rate the most mysterious, of the existing antiquities at Oehringen. This is the *Orendelstein*, a monument of a curiously double character. Below, it is a cylinder of very hard stone, slightly tapering towards the top, but without inscription or sculpture of any kind visible upon it. The upper part, fastened on to the lower by iron clamps, is a stone of a much softer kind, bearing, in the circle at the top of it, a rude representation of the Crucifixion. This upper part originally bore the date, 1519, but was restored in 1714. There seems to be no doubt that the lower part of the column was Roman, but I have not, as yet, met with any satisfactory explanation of its original purpose. It forcibly reminded me of the Roman mile-stones, of which I saw a collection at Schloss Ambras, in the Tyrol, and also of that mile-stone which still stands in its original position on the road between Mittenwald and Innsbruck, a most interesting relic of Roman dominion.[2] But I make this suggestion with considerable hesitation, because the same thought would doubtless have occurred to other observers had there not been some good reason against it. The *name* of this singular hybrid monument is the subject of some interesting remarks in Dr. Keller's Essay. He derives it from King Orendel of Trier, who with his father, Eigel, is a great hero of early German fable. Eigel, before he attains royalty, performs precisely the same feat of shooting the apple off his son's head which later Sagas attributed to William Tell; and his remark about the spare arrows, to the cruel king of Denmark who set him this trial of skill, is almost exactly the same as Tell's reply to Gessler. Orendel, when he reaches manhood, visits the tomb of Christ and wanders at large over the world, a Teutonic Ulysses. Upon him ac-

[1] See Boissier's Religion Romaine, II., 300, for some remarks on the specially religious character of the "Collegia *Juvenum*." This, rather than "juven*tutis*," appears to be the form hitherto made known to us by the inscriptions.

[2] In England we have Roman mile-stones *in sitû* at Chesterholm and Temple Sowerby.

cordingly are fathered many of those monuments of the slain civilisation of Rome, which the perplexed Teuton intellect could not otherwise account for. To him they are attributed, and to his father; and hence we have the Orendelstein of Oehringen, and that marvellous record of middle-class Roman life in the second century, the Ygel monument at Trier.

South of the Orendelstein were to be seen last century the remains of a spacious public *bath*, erected apparently during the reign of Caracalla. There were several apartments, all deep down under the surface, and underlaid by a hypocaust. They were surrounded by walls of hewn sandstone covered with plaster, which was painted red, green, blue, or yellow. The building seems to have measured 82 feet from east to west: its other dimension is not stated. The water came from a fountain (the Ströller) about a quarter of a mile distant, situated close to the line of the *Vallum*, and ran away into the little river Ohr, which almost reflected the walls of the Balneum. Unfortunately all this has now to be spoken of in the past tense. Hansselmann, to whom we owe these details, conducted his excavations in a very thorough but somewhat destructive way, and no sufficient care seems to have been taken with the subsequent covering-in of the buildings. Hence, apparently, there are now no remains of the bath left. Truly did a German archæologist say to me: "The greatest of all destroyers are the antiquaries."

I had, however, the pleasure of seeing in the Museum at Neuenstein the beautifully carved foot of a statue, resting on a massive block of stone, upon which were inscribed the well-known letters, H · D · D *(In honorem domus divinae)*, and which was found close to this bath in 1769. I fancied that there was a lightness and springiness about the attitude of the foot which suggested the idea of a winged Victory having once stood poised upon it. I saw also there an inscription found behind the western wall of the bath, to which Hansselmann attaches great importance:—

PED · D · IVL · SILVA
NI · SVB · CVRA
VATERCVLI PRO
CVLI · < · LEGIO
VIII · AVG · OPVS PER

"*Pedatura centuriae Julii Silvani sub curâ Vaterculi Proculi Centurionis Legionis Octavae Augustae opus perfecit.*" Hansselmann compares this inscription with that in Scotland in honour of Antoninus, which records that he "perfecit opus valli," and thinks that it commemorates the completion of some important link in the chain of the *limes* fortifications. Perhaps the words hardly bear the weight of such an argument.

The mention of the 8th Legion in this inscription brings before us the subject of the *troops* by whom Vicus Aurelii was garrisoned. These were drawn at first from the 8th and afterwards from the 22nd Legion. But, to whichsoever Legion they belonged, it seems that the smaller divisions, which were stationed here, remained unchanged. These were the *Cohors Prima Helvetiorum* and the two *Numeri Brittonum* of the latter, one with the addition *Caledoniorum*, the other with a surname (M or Mu) which has not yet been deciphered.

This last portion of the garrison of Oehringen has naturally an especial interest for us. We are familiar with the inscriptions which show the nations of Spain, of Holland, of Friesland, and of Rhineland, stationed on our moors and by our rivers. We now learn somewhat as to how the return visit was paid: we see our countrymen or our Caledonian neighbours doing sentry duty for the Romans on the hills of Swabia. The British troops seem, perhaps on account of the similarity of their native climate to that of Germany, to have been especially selected for garrison work on the *limes*. At Eining on the Danube, at Beckingen on the Neckar, at Amorbach and Aschaffenburg, and some obscure places in North-Western Bavaria, at Heddernheim near Frankfurt (the *Novus Vicus* of the Romans), at Niederbieber on the Rhine, at Utrecht, and at Nymegen in Holland, British *cohortes* or *numeri* were stationed. Some of those quartered in North Würtemberg were designated *Brittones Triputienses*, a name perhaps derived from Tripontium, which is by some identified with the modern Rugby.[1]

How hard it is fully to appreciate the inter-penetration of the Roman *Orbis Terrarum* by all the various nationalities which obeyed the great city! How little, even in our own days of rapid and constant locomotion, do the European peoples know of one another in comparison

[1] I take this list from Keller's "Vicus Aurelii," p. 11. The names not mentioned in the text are Schlossau and Eulbach in Würtemberg, and Holdreut in Holland (?) The soldiers at Heddernheim were Brittones Curvedenses. There was also a cohort of Britons in Noricum, but these were off the line of the *limes*.

with the close intercourse which then subsisted between them! What do the inhabitants of the Asturias now know about Benwell or Chollerford; the shepherds on the Cheviots about the little Swabian town of Oehringen; the parishioners of Rugby about Amorbach or Aschaffenburg?

We see in the museum tiles stamped with the names of these two bodies of troops:—

NB R C A L
and C O H H E L

We can also see the sickles with which they probably cut grass for their horses, the iron shoes of their mules, the stirrups, the saws, the keys which they may perhaps have used, besides the usual female frippery, needles, bodkins, glass phials, and so forth, which belonged to the wives of the officers or to the well-to-do citizenesses of Vicus Aurelii.

We also derive some little light as to the recipients of the *religious* veneration of the soldiers, though, unfortunately, those mysterious objects of worship in our neighbourhood, Cocidius, Antenociticus, and Coventina, are not named.[1] Minerva, however, was greatly honoured here, as throughout the other garrison towns of the Agri Decumates; and two fine statues of that goddess, with the Gorgon's head upon her breast, but, unfortunately, in both cases wanting the head of Pallas herself, are figured in Keller's Memoir. (See Plates II. and III.) A head of the goddess with a curious helmet, in which is moulded a human face, has also been found. (See Plate I.)

Of the goddess *Epona*, the tutelary deity of the stable (two altars to whom have been found in our island),[2] we possess not the name but the likeness, in a bas-relief which was discovered near Oehringen. This goddess also has lost her head, but she sits with long draperies in

[1] Keller tells an amusing story against poor Privy Councillor Hansselmann, who seems in his latter years to have lost the faculty of discerning between true and false antiquities. He accepted a piece of pottery stamped "KREUZ. 5," notwithstanding the Arabic numeral, as genuine Roman; and a wise man at Ratisbon endeavoured to explain the too-evident "Fünf Kreüzer" by an elaborate reference to some early British Divinity!

[2] At Magna (Carvoran) and at Auchindavy (on the Vallum Antonini). To the lines from Juvenal (Sat. viii., 158), quoted in the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," I may add the following from Tertullian (Apologia xvi., where he is defending the Christians from the calumny about their worship of an ass's head):—"Vos tamen non negabitis et jumenta omnia et totos cantherios *cum sûâ Eponâ* coli a vobis."

STATUE OF MINERVA.

From a Photo.

And.r Reid, Newcastle.

STATUE OF MINERVA.

PLATE IV.

EPONA.

from Keller

Andw Reid, Newcastle

Bas-relief at Unterheimbach.

from Keller

GATESHEAD PUBLIC LIBRARY

a tranquil attitude, holding in her lap something which we are told should be a basket-full of flowers, but which might just as well be a quartern of oats. Four horses are in motion behind her, two towards the right-hand and two towards the left; but those towards the edge of the composition have suffered considerable damage at the hands of the barbarians, and those in the centre, by what Dr. Keller calls a painful mistake on the part of the sculptor, seem as if they must be-dashing their heads against one another. We only see their plump hind-quarters: the actual collision of the heads is hidden from us by the calm figure of Epona. (See Plate IV.)

About four miles to the south of Oehringen there was discovered last century a beautifully carved bas-relief, which is now built into the wall of Unterheimbach, and of which a copy is annexed. (See Plate V.) The relief is of yellow sandstone, about five feet broad by three high. Three female forms are represented sitting on rocky seats, with river-reeds in their hands, and with wreaths bound above their flowing tresses. Two sea-horses ramp above them. Dr. Keller asserts that these are undoubtedly intended for sea-nymphs, but thinks that the Caledonian and Helvetic soldiers in that inland region would care nothing about oceanic nymphs, and would probably transfer to these female forms the worship which they had been taught by their Celtic forefathers to pay to the awful "Deae Matres." This is, of course, only a conjecture, and, as it seems to me, not a very probable one, since few representations can be more unlike one another than the stiff, conventional, barbaresque sculpture of the Deae Matres and the graceful *abandon* of these daughters of the wave. Is it not possible that, notwithstanding the somewhat marine character of the monsters above them, these three nymphs may be meant to symbolise the three streams, Ohr, Kocher, and Jagst, which flow past this portion of the *limes?* Whatever may be the value of this suggestion, it will, I think, be admitted that there is a certain general resemblance of design between this bas-relief and that of the three Naiads found in the well of Coventina at Procolitia, though undoubtedly for poetical feeling and artistic execution the palm must be assigned to the Swabian monument.

Reviewing the whole history of Vicus Aurelii as far as it is revealed to us by the ruins and inscriptions—as to coins our information is not

quite so full as we could desire—our authorities come to the conclusion that it was at first an unimportant camp, erected upon the line of the *limes*, possibly by order of Domitian, and that it may have thus continued during the greater part of the second century, sharing doubtless in the general prosperity of the *Agri Decumates* in the Antonine period. Only one inscription of this period has been discovered, bearing the date which corresponds to A.D. 169.

With the accession of Caracalla, however (211-217), a period of much greater importance opened for the settlement in the Ohr. The emperor, in his campaign against the Alemanni, probably visited this place and decided that the little isolated fort should be increased into a city, to which he gave his own name (Vicus Aurelii), he having, as many inscriptions show us, ever loved to pose, not only as Jan Antoninus, but as namesake of the revered *Aurelius*. A passage from Xiphiline's epitome of Dion Cassius illustrates the vanity of this emperor, though it can hardly be taken as exactly applying to the case of Oehringen. After Dion has told us of Caracalla's affectation of Spartan simplicity and equality with his soldiers in food, in dress, and in dirtiness, and at the same time of his deficiency in the more important qualities of a general, in science, method, and valour, the Epitomist informs us that "the Celtic natives saw through the hollowness of his character, and looked upon him as a silly trickster and coward. Moreover, Antoninus [Caracalla], when making war against the 'Alambanni,' if he saw any place suitable for habitation, would at once give his orders, 'Let a fort be erected here;' and he gave to some places names derived from his own, no change being made in the inhabitants, some of whom never knew of their new name, and others looked upon it as a joke."

As before remarked, this description does not precisely fit the undoubtedly Roman character of Vicus Aurelii, but it does illustrate its name, and perhaps explains why, at that late period of Roman domination east of the Rhine, a city should have sprung into existence on the banks of the Ohr. The climax of the city's greatness may have been reached when the Guild of the youths dedicated their altar to Alexander Severus, or when his murderer, Maximin the Thracian, erected the statue to his gentle wife. As one result of the convulsions which shook the empire during the reign of Gallienus, at the time of the so-called

Thirty Tyrants, the country which we now call Würtemberg was lost for ever to the Roman sway. While Aurelian was measuring his forces against Tetricus on the plains of Gaul (A.D. 271), the Alemanni burst over the *limes*, carrying fire and sword through the fruitful Agri Decumates, and Vicus Aurelii fell, never to rise again as a Roman city.[1]

Gradually, as we may suppose, did the barbarian immigrants—first the Alemanni, and, after the battle of Tolbiac (496), *their* conquerors, the Franks—begin to erect their ignoble dwellings for the convenience afforded by the convergent roads and neighbouring bridges hard by the ruins of the desolated city. But here, as in so many other instances, they did not build on the very site itself; and hence comes the space (now cut through by the intervening railroad), between the two Burgs, the *Obere* and *Untere*, and the modern town. How one would like to be able to reproduce the feelings with which, in that mysterious dawn of the Middle Ages, the barbarians, beginning to yield to the influences of civilization and Christianity, looked upon those vast and sombre ruins, the baths, the temples, the mutilated statues, which their ancestors had demolished!

The next station north of Oehringen is *Jagsthausen*, which I will not describe with any detail, as I have not yet been able to visit it. Keller, in his "Vicus Aurelii," gives a plan and some details concerning it, from which it appears that this camp was situated much closer to the *limes* than that at Oehringen; in fact, only about 300 yards from the line of that barrier. It must have occupied a very strong position, the river Jagst sweeping round it in a curve like the figure 2. Here, as at Oehringen, the Roman remains which have been found point to a somewhat late period of occupation, *after*, rather than before, the flourishing period of the Antonine emperors. The earliest legible inscription is of the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the latest (A.D. 221) belongs to that of Elagabalus. I append a copy of an inscription which

[1] It should be stated that several coins of Constantine and of his successor, Constantius, have been found at Oehringen; but in the absence of all inscriptions belonging to that period, Dr. Keller is probably right in attributing the presence of these coins to the commercial intercourse between the empire and the barbarians. Might they not, however, be partly accounted for by *Julian's* successful, though transient, raids into the territory of the Alemanni (357-361)?

has, in the original, some curious *literae ligatae*. The names of the emperors have been effaced, but it probably once bore those of Caracalla and Geta :—

IMP · CÆS . . . . . .
. . . . . P · F · INVICT · AVG . . . . .
. . . . . BALNEVM
COH · I · GERM · A . . . . . .
VETVSTATE · CONLABSVM · RE
STIVERVNT · CVRANTE · Q ·
CAEC · PVDENTE · V · C · LEG · AVGG
PR · PR · INSISTENTE · Q · MAMIL
HONORATO · TRIB · COH · S · S ·

This inscription is thus restored and expanded by Keller :—

"Imperator Cæsar M. Aurelius Antoninus
Pius Felix Invictus Aug. et Imp. Cæs.
P. Septimius Geta Anton. Aug. balineum
Cohortis primae Germanorum Antonini-
anae (?) vetustate conlabsum restituerunt
curante Q. Caecilio Pudente viro clarissimo
Legato Augustorum pro praetore, insistente
Q. Mamilio Honorato Tribuno Cohortis supra scriptae."

The restoration of the bath, "vetustate conlapsum," the obliteration of the names of the emperors, and of the epithet Antoninianæ, probably by order of Maximin, belong to a class of phenomena with which the student of the Northumbrian camps is already familiar.[1]

Another object of interest found at Jagsthausen is a round altar about 2½ feet high, upon which are carved the figures of the seven gods from whom the days of the week were named, Sol, Diana, Mars, Mercurius, Jupiter, Venus, Saturnus. This altar was found in 1772, and is now in the museum at Neuenstein with the Oehringen antiquities. Keller considers the work very beautiful ("*von sehr hübscher Arbeit*"), but I have noted it in a memorandum made at the time of my visit as "very rude."

[1] Compare the very similar inscription found at Cilurnum ("Lapid. Septen.," p. 67). Possibly the obliterated names of the emperors should be replaced by Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, as in that inscription.

Near Jagsthausen, on the west, is the little village of Olnhausen, which was formerly a Roman civil settlement, not apparently a camp, and where several Roman remains have been found. A little further off, on the east, is the ruined castle of Berlichingen, from which the celebrated robber-knight, Götz of the Iron Hand, took his title.

A few miles further on we cross the frontier and leave the kingdom of Würtemberg.

FROM THE WÜRTEMBERG FRONTIER TO THE RIVER MAIN (BADEN AND BAVARIA).

This is a short, and, in itself, not very important or interesting portion of the Wall (about twenty-seven miles in length), but I solicit the reader's especial attention to it, because, by the kindness of a German archæologist (Herr Kreisrichter Conrady, of Miltenberg), I am enabled here to lay before him some results which have not yet been published even in Germany.

Herr Conrady is himself an antiquary by inheritance. His grandfather, C. F. Habel, who was styled "Hofkammerrath," and who lived 1747–1814), was virtually one of the founders of the *Nassauischer Alterthumsverein*, though he did not live to see it actually called into being. He wrote two essays (in the years 1812 and 1813, when Gaulish chiefs of our own day were crossing and recrossing the German river in a somewhat momentous manner) on the question of Cæsar's passages over the Rhine. He settled by personal inspection the course of the Pfahlgraben across the valley of the Lahn, and the year before his death he undertook an antiquarian pilgrimage to Oehringen in the interests of *Limes*-exploration.

His son (Herr Conrady's uncle), Fried. Gust. Habel, who is usually called "Archivar," and who lived 1792–1867, is one of the most conspicuous figures among the German archæologists of this century. For many years he *was* practically the Antiquarian Association (Alterthumsverein) of Nassau, and the treasures of the beautiful Museum of Antiquities at Wiesbaden are due chiefly to his labours and excavations. Being a man of some property and very economical in his personal habits, he devoted himself, as his father had done before him, to the purchase of mediæval MSS. and works of art, a pursuit which was much facilitated by the changes of ownership accompanying

and following the stormy period of the French Revolutionary Wars. He was also passionately fond of acquiring old and ruined castles, which, when he first came into the market, were still looked upon as little better than stone quarries for the enterprising builder. Four or five castles in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, some of them of great renown in the guide books, were at the same time in his possession. He is figured to us in the "Beiträge zur Geschichte des nassauischen Alterthumsvereins" (1871) as a tall stately-looking man, with clear blue eye and somewhat cold demeanour, a perfect enthusiast for archæology, but not always on the best terms with other votaries at the same shrine. He was in fact driven from his throne in the Wiesbaden Museum, in 1851, by a sort of revolutionary movement in the Antiquarian Society of Nassau, suggested perhaps by the success of those larger revolutions which convulsed Germany in 1848 and 1849. He felt his expulsion keenly at the time, but the dispute was in some degree smoothed over, though he never resumed the administration of the affairs of the Society, of which he was, however, in 1862, by general acclamation, nominated an honorary associate.

Habel was no mean authority on mediæval monuments, but his especial delight was to follow up that quest of Roman antiquities, and pre-eminently those inquiries into the *Limes Transrhenanus*, into which he had been initiated by his father. In 1852 he was nominated president of the *Limes-Commission*, a learned body which accumulated much valuable material, but which seems to have failed, perhaps from the German fault of over-thoroughness, in achieving any great practical result. A few sentences from the essay above quoted bring the earnest, self-concentrated antiquary vividly before us:—

"When he was pursuing his inquiries in the open field his attention was never distracted by any other subject. With restless energy he took sections, made signals, measured distances, and forgot even to eat and drink unless it occurred to his thoughts that the servant who accompanied him required some bodily nourishment. Often it was not till evening that master and man shared a frugal meal under the simple roof of a village ale-house. Even in his external appearance, especially in his attire, his taste for antiquity showed itself, and everything that told of the fashion of the day remained strange to him. His heavy cloak, originally of a dark blue colour, whose only and old-fashioned ornament was a silver clasp and chain, was at length worn so threadbare that a relative with whom he was

conversing ventured to call his attention to the propriety of consigning that piece of antiquity to a well-earned repose, but pleaded in vain. He was never seen in a dress-coat ('frack') except once a year, at the meetings of the Archæological Association (Gesammtverein), which he never missed if he could help doing so, and at which he, the president of the *Limes*-Commission, used to appear in his dress-coat and deliver his regular report of investigations into the *limes*. But this coat was so little in harmony with the ideas of the present day in cut and shape that it attracted the attention even of the archæologists, not generally very observant of such matters, and this relic of antiquity used to be called by them 'the *Limes-frack.*'"

Besides Habel's general work at the *limes*, he was the presiding genius in the early years of the excavations at the Saalburg, which I shall have occasion to describe hereafter. He also wrote an elaborate description of a Mithraic temple at Heddernheim, considered, I believe, the finest in Germany, the bas-reliefs from which are now in the museum at Wiesbaden. He laboured hard and successfully to establish the site of the old Roman camp and town at the Aquae Mattiacae, recording their traces as they were on the point of vanishing before the rapidly-extending and prosperous town of Wiesbaden; and on the occasion of the discovery of a figure of a Capricornus, which had once formed the ensign of a Roman cohort, he wrote a long and valuable essay on the military insignia of the Roman army, especially those of the 22nd Legion, which was for so long a time stationed in Germania Superior.

Habel bequeathed his property, his fine old castle at Miltenberg on the Main, which he had turned into a perfect museum of Roman and mediæval antiquities, and his own unpublished manuscripts, to his sister's son, Herr Conrady, who formerly filled the office of *Kreis-richter* (County Court Judge), and who in his picturesque feudal abode carries on with enthusiasm the favourite pursuits of his grandfather and his uncle. Having received, by the kindness of a friend, an introduction to the Kreisrichter, I hoped to explore under his guidance the remains of the Roman work in his neighbourhood. This expectation, however, was disappointed, Herr Conrady having been suddenly called away from home at the time appointed for my visit. Since my return to England, however, having written to ask that gentleman for information on some points which were not clear to me, I have received from him a most courteous reply, accompanied with a map

illustrating the course of the Wall between Jagsthausen and Miltenberg on the Main. I feel that I cannot do better than avail myself of the writer's kind permission to place his yet unpublished facts before my fellow-members:—

Translated Extract from a Letter by Kreisrichter Conrady, dated Miltenberg, 16th November, 1881.

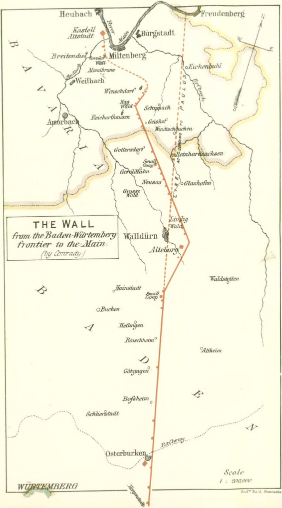
"This view" (hereafter to be stated, as to the course of the Wall north of Miltenberg) "receives its essential confirmation from the discoveries which I myself have been so fortunate as to make in reference to the line of the *Limes*-Wall southwards from the Main. By these it is proved beyond a doubt that *the mathematically straight direction* of the *Limes Transhenanus* which it assumed near Welzheim, and which it maintained past Murrhardt, Mainhardt, Oehringen, Jagsthausen, and Osterburken, *continues only to a point near Walldürn, not, as Paulus supposed, to the River Main and the town of Freudenberg.* Instead thereof, about three miles south of Walldürn, the *limes* deviates from this straight line, and at different angles runs across the townships of Glashofen, Geroldshahn, Gottersdorf, Reinhardsachsen, Reichardshausen, and Wenschdorf, till it touches the Main near *Miltenberg.*

"The extraordinary fact discovered by Paulus that the Limes Trans-Rhenanus runs in a *mathematically straight* line from near Pfahlbrmn to the valley of the Main, was first fully established, *as far as Würtemberg was concerned,* by a scientific commission charged to investigate the subject." [Herr Conrady then refers to Professor Herzog's pamphlet mentioned above.]

"In the same way have I found, as the result of repeated journeys (partly in conjunction with Herr K. Christ, of Heidelberg), the lineally straight direction also prevail along the further portion from the Würtemberg frontier, between Hergenstadt and Hopfengarten, as far as the southern edge of the district *(Gemarkung)* of Walldürn. Along the whole of this portion [about twelve miles] the straight line theory is fully verified.

"But from this point onwards the details given by Paulus (with the exception of one notice as to a heap of *débris* in Weissen-Kreuz-Schlag) are all 'in the air.' The worthy *savant* has evidently, with his implicit faith in his own theory of the lineal continuation of the Wall as far as the Main, seen things along the last portion of it which were not really there, or which, at any rate, were not what he takes them for.

"Throughout this whole interval, in spite of the most thorough search, not the slightest Roman remains have been discovered. By a singular coincidence, just at the point where the straight line produced would intersect the River Main, there is situated a *fortress* on a steep hill overhanging the river. Hitherto it has always been taken for a small Roman camp; but it has now, after repeated excavations which


Heubach
Freudenberg
Kastell Altstadt
River Main
Bürgstadt
Breitendiel
Miltenberg
Eichenbühl
Weilbach
Wenschdorf
Hag Wald
Schippach
Amorbach
Reicharthausen
Geisshof
Windischbuchen
Gottersdorf
Reinhardsachsen
Small Camp
Geroldfahn
Neusas
Glashofen
Grosse Wald
PAULUS LINE
Walldürn
Altenburg
Waldstetten
Hainstadt
Small Camp
Buchen
Hettingen
Rinschheim
Altheim
Götzingen
Bofsheim
Schlierstadt
Railway
Osterburken
Scale
1 : 200,000
WÜRTEMBERG
B A V A R I A
B A D E N

THE WALL
from the Baden-Würtemberg frontier to the Main.
(by Conrady)

I carried on there, and in which absolutely *nothing* of the Roman period came to light, proved itself to be an early mediæval castle (*'Wallburg'*) of a very peculiar type. The one fact mentioned by Paulus, which I have above indicated as correct, relates to the remains of a real [Roman] watch-tower (the *Steinernes Haus* or *Hönehaus*, in the Lindigwald near Glashofen); but this lies fully 300 steps eastwards, that is, outside of the supposed line of Paulus, and belongs, as many indications show, to the true line discovered by me in the autumn of 1879.

"I now proceed to trace this latter, the true line of the Wall. In the 'Great Wood' of Heltingen there is a little mile castle ('zwischenkastelle'), 39 to 45 metres square, undiscovered by Paulus At a distance of 900 steps beyond this, on the southern border of the district of Walldürn, the Wall bends from the north-west direction, which it has hitherto followed, to the north, so as, about three miles further on, to include the camp *Alteburg*, in the territory which was once Roman. This camp, near Walldürn, was formerly, without any reason alleged, left by Paulus a quarter of a mile (three-eighths of a kilometer) *outside* of the line drawn by him.

"Our line then turns again at an obtuse angle towards the north-west, runs in this direction for about nine miles along a high table-land perfectly straight through the Lindig wood (belonging to Walldürn), across the farm of Glashofen, through the middle of the village of Neusass, passes to the south-west of Reinhardsachsen, and to the north-east of Geroldshahn, and then cuts the Baden-Bavaria frontier in the neighbourhood of Geisenhof, reaching the Hag wood near Reichardshausen.

"It is true that along this portion we find clear traces of the former Wall and ditch only for a length of about 1,200 steps, and that for the most part in greatly obliterated profiles. But the direction is established beyond all doubt by the remains of *fifteen watch-towers* [turrets] and a *small manipular camp*, 42 metres by 53 [equal to 140 feet by 175], near Reinhardsachsen. All these I have been able to prove by excavations. The watch-towers are, as a rule, small quadrangular stone huts, generally 15·8 feet square, and with walls 2½ to 3 feet thick, and in some cases with six to nine layers of stone still visible. They were found by me at intervals of 600 steps apart, and sometimes still in an unbroken series. Unfortunately the finds in them, with the exception of one small inscribed altar in the camp near Reinhardsachsen, consisted solely of insignificant pottery.

"In the Reichardshaüser Hag-wood we again find the line diverge at an obtuse angle towards the north, this time manifestly in order to go round a marshy hollow; and here were discovered the remains of two watch-towers in a total distance of 1,500 steps. Thenceforward, however, for about 2¼ miles, all traces of the Wall utterly vanish. With some confidence, however, I express my conjecture that the Wall, on emerging from the before-mentioned swampy valley near Wenschdorf turned westwards up to the plateau overhanging the River Main, went over the closely-adjoining low summit of the Grein-

berg, which is surrounded by a stone ring-fence of Germanic origin, and then down over the western slope of the mountain in a direct line to the extensive camp of Altstadt, which lay at its base.[1]

"Besides a certain internal adaptation and probability, this conjecture is favoured, not only by the characteristic names of farms, '*Saugraben*,' '*Hag-wald*,' *and* '*Hag-Aecker*,' which accompany the greater part of this bit of line, but also by the circumstance that on the summit of the Greinberg so lately as the year 1845 there were still to be seen the *debris* of a little building (since destroyed), with many votive stones dedicated to Mercury; and, further, that I myself, in September of the current year [1881] discovered a small Roman building, in the direction conjectured above, on the slope of the same eminence. This building also contained a votive stone dedicated to Mercury, as well as the fragments of two statuettes of the same god. Considering that in its size ($13\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $13\frac{1}{4}$) and the thickness of its walls (1·48 feet to 2·31 feet) it deviates from the ordinary watch-towers, the conjecture seems not entirely excluded that we have here [in this and the other similar building now destroyed] to do not with two *speculae*, but with two *sacella* (chapels).

"It is true that in that case the line of the *limes*, which might otherwise be considered to be settled beyond doubt, must in its very last portion be somewhat different from that which I have supposed, since *sanctuaries* can hardly be thought of so close to the border.[2] The wall must then have reached the Main somewhere *above* Miltenberg, which, however, is not probable, on account of the whole nature of the ground, the unusual distance of the protecting camp from the *limes* (nearly two miles), the difficult communication therewith by the steep cliffs overhanging the river, and the occasional interruption of all intercourse by inundations. Unfortunately I have now but little hope of *fully* clearing up this difficulty, as, in spite of my most earnest endeavours, I have so far been unable to find any further undoubted points of contact for the interval between Wenschdorf and this place. It was the expectation of still discovering such points that restrained me hitherto from publishing my discoveries, though they have an important bearing on the whole question of the *limes*. I should have liked to be able everywhere to speak with *certainty*, and to indulge in no mere conjectures. Now, however, I shall no longer delay. After the completion of some other and more pressing work I shall at once proceed to publish a paper on the Roman Frontier-Wall from the Würtemberg boundary to the Main.

[1] The existence of this camp is fully established by excavations. It measures 525 feet by 557 [= more than six acres in extent]. At Burgstadt, on the other hand, three miles higher up the Main, where Paulus wished to place the quarters of a garrison (as is also indicated by his map), there are no Roman remains to be seen.

[2] I doubt whether this concession is necessary. At Condercum there is a temple—that in which the altar of Antenociticus was found—scarcely 100 yards from the Wall; and the Mithraic cave at Borcovicus is not half-a-mile from the same boundary.—T. H.]

"Meanwhile, though my own discoveries are not yet published, I place them entirely at your disposal for your article on the Pfahl-graben. To make the subject clearer I subjoin a tracing of the country taken from Reymann's map, but without any indication of the contour-lines." [See Map.]

My kind correspondent adds some remarks about the course of the *limes* between the Main and the Taunus Mountains, the substance of which is embodied in the following section:—

BAVARIA AND THE TWO HESSES (FROM THE MAIN TO THE TAUNUS).

We have come to another archæological battle-field. The two chief combatants are Dr. Albert Duncker, teacher in the Real Gymnasium at Wiesbaden, and Karl Arnd, formerly an architect at Hanau (he died in 1867), but one who plunged in sprightly, enthusiastic, dilettante fashion into many other subjects besides architecture.[1]

A glance at the political divisions and natural features of the country is necessary to enable us to understand the dispute. We have here to deal unfortunately with some of the smallest of the pieces into which the German Reich was split up before the impulse towards unity came in our own days to change the face of central Europe. First a little outlying corner of Bavaria, then the two detached pieces of territory which between them make up Hesse Darmstadt (or Grand-Ducal Hesse) and a long thin shank of Hesse Cassel ("Kur Hessen," or Electoral Hesse) intervening between them, form the subject of our enquiries in the present section and lead us onwards to the equally small, or even smaller, state of Nassau, on the frontiers of which the line of the *limes* closes. It is true that two of these little principalities (Kur-Hessen and Nassau) are now assimilated by the magnificent digestion of Prussia, but the old names and some of the old feelings of local patriotism still survive, and it will be more convenient for our purpose to take the map of Germany as it was before the changes of 1866. That feeling of *particularismus* which led Pfarrer Maier to speak of his work as ended when he reached

[1] The essays of these two authors are *Beiträge zur Erforschung und Geschichte des Pfahlgrabens im unteren Maingebiet und der Wetterau*, von Dr. Albert Duncker (Kassel, 1879) and *Der Pfahlgraben nach den neuesten Forschungen und Entdeckungen*—von Karl Arnd. (Frankfurt a.m. 1861.)

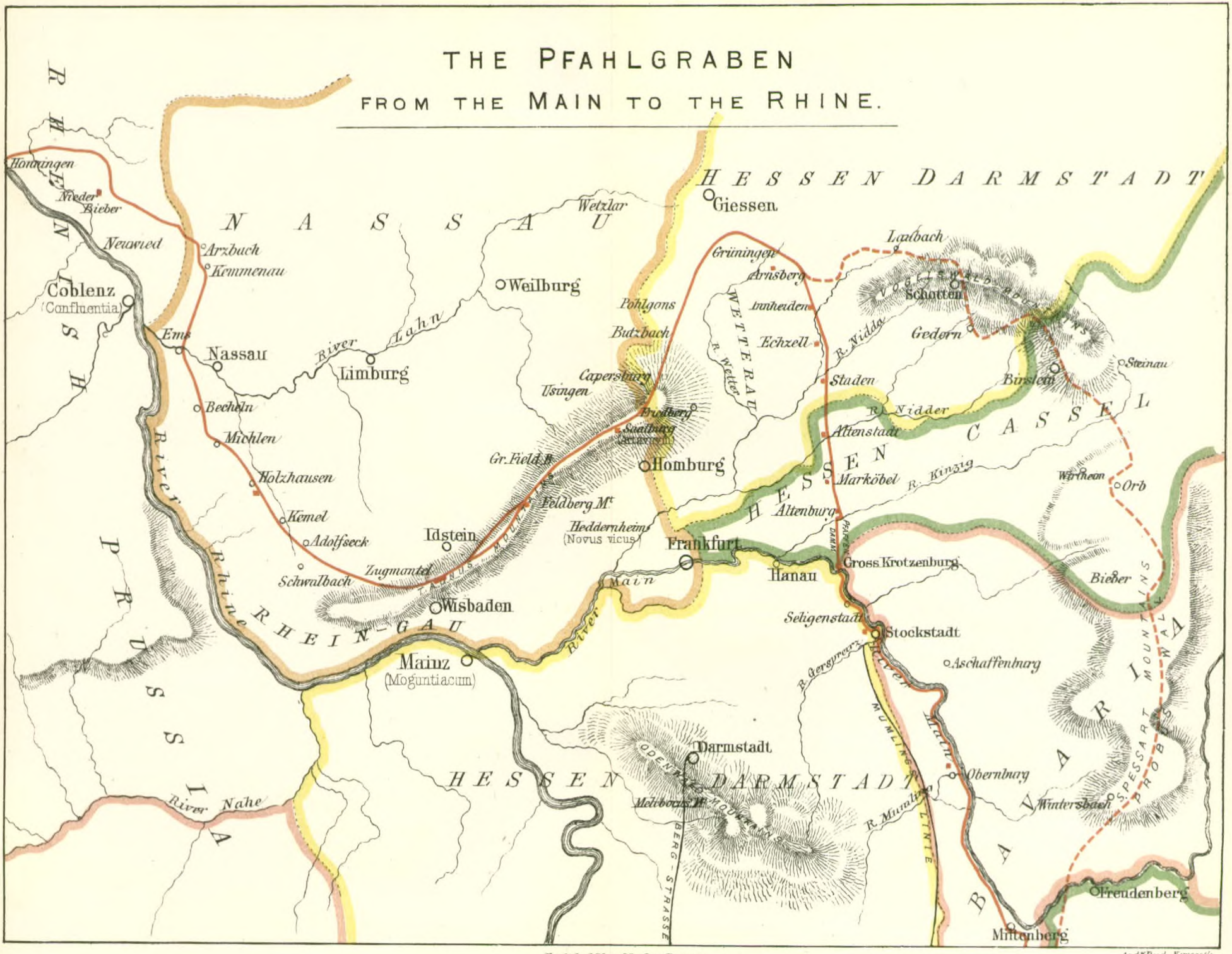
the frontier of Bavaria, and which caused Professor Herzog to stop n the middle of the "North and South Wall" as soon as he descried the parti-coloured posts of the Grand-Duchy of Baden has prevailed also here. The writers who treat of the *limes* in Electoral Hesse are somewhat less thorough when they reach the Grand-Ducal region, and a patient and accurate describer of its course through Nassau[1] gives us no hint of his opinions as to its track across either Hesse. *Particularismus* in German Archæology is perhaps dying out, but while it lives it greatly adds to the labour of a foreign student.

Now for the natural features of the country. The River Main, which seems bent on writing the letter V as often as possible before it falls into the Rhine, gets to the bottom of one of its V's (a very blunt one I admit) at Miltenberg. From that place to Hanau it runs for about forty miles in a north-westerly direction. On its right bank stretches away to the next loop of the Main, the wild forest tract of the Spessart, a remnant, says Murray, of the primeval *Saltus Hercynius*, hilly, thinly-inhabited, savagely beautiful. It is the home (says another of my informants) of the stag and the wild boar. On the left bank of the Main, filling up a good deal of the southern half of Hesse Darmstadt, rise the wooded heights of the Odenwald, the chief of them, the conical Melibocus, mounting to an elevation of 1,632 feet, and conspicuous far over the Rhine and Main lands. At present the Odenwald, though lonely and romantic, being well furnished with the ruins of mediæval castles, has a somewhat less desolate appearance than its wild neighbour, the Spessart. Soon after reaching Hanau, the Main turns westwards, and continues with a pretty straight course, fronting the southern slope of the Taunus hills till it reaches the Rhine at Maintz, north-east of Hanau; and pretty nearly filling up the interval between the Taunus and the Spessart, stretches the wide and fruitful district of the Wetterau. This district is intersected by three streams of no great size, besides the Wetter, which gives it its name. These three streams are the Kinzig, the Nidder, and the Nidda, and they come pouring into the Main from a little range of hills in the north-east called the Vogelswald, which may perhaps be considered as the point to which the Taunus and the Spessart ranges converge.

[1] Rossel.

THE PFAHLGRABEN

FROM THE MAIN TO THE RHINE.



And.w Reid. Newcastle

Starting now from Miltenberg on the Main, the point to which we traced the *limes* in the last section, if we ask what is the next portion of the boundary, we receive from Dr. Duncker a somewhat startling reply. He says, "For the next thirty-two miles or so of its course, as far as the little village of Gross Krotzenburg, *the River Main is itself the boundary*, and no wall or earthworks supplemented it here." There are, however, slight traces of the existence of four camps, Miltenberg, Obernburg, Stockstadt and Seligenstadt, along the left bank of the river,[1] and there is no doubt that behind this line the region of the Odenwald was very strongly held for Rome, *first*, by what the Germans call the Mumlings linie,[2] a line of earthwork about five miles west of the Main which crosses the Mumling and ends on the river Gersprenz near Stockstadt; and, *secondly*, by the Bergstrasse, the old Roman road at the base of the Odenwald, which is represented by the road that still runs from Darmstadt to Heidelberg.[3]

The suggestion that the river itself, unprotected by any wall, formed the *limes* at this point is not yet universally accepted. Hübner criticises it pretty sharply. Conrady, in the letter which I have previously quoted, gives it his entire sanction, and it must be admitted that the the new light which he has thrown on the course of the *limes* south of the Main, renders it much more probable. For if the *limes* came up to the Main at Freudenberg, that would seem to indicate an intention to cross the river there and traverse the hilly country of the Spessart. But if it came from Walldurn and touched the Main at Miltenberg, just at the point of the V, it would find the onward course of the river (the downstroke of the V) so exactly following the course which it had re-

[1] This is rather implied than actually stated by Dr. Duncker (p. 42). It is clear that this part of the *limes* requires a more thorough investigation than it has yet received.

[2] One is disposed to ask why should not this "Mumlings linie" have been itself the *limes*. I presume the reason for the negative is the existence of traces of camps closer to the river. Besides, each end of the "Mumlings linie" falls within the ascertained line of the *limes*.

[3] Murray's Guide describes the Riesensäule (Giant's Pillar), a column of hard syenite, 30 feet long by 4 in diameter, and a huge block of the same stone called the Riesenaltar, lying near it, and attributes these remains still existing in one of the loneliest glades of the Odenwald to Roman artificers.

cently been pursuing that nothing would be more natural than for it to make the Main itself the bulwark for the next forty miles of its journey.

We can hardly say that our Northumbrian analogy counts for much in either direction. The Main at this point is, I imagine, a river of about the same volume and rapidity as our own Tyne. We see that the Romans have not chosen to make that river their *limes* but have carried their road to the north of the river and protected it by Murus and Vallum stretching over the bleak moorlands of Northumbria. On the other hand, at Segedunum (Wallsend) the Wall comes down to the river very much as the Pfahlgraben comes down to the Main at Miltenberg, and then for the remaining five miles of its course the work of defence does devolve upon the Tyne, which though broad and abundantly navigable, is, after all, a river here and not an estuary. Thus an argument may be drawn from our experience both for and against the theory that the Main itself formed the *limes*.

The passage, however, in Spartianus's life of Hadrian (cap. xii.), which describes his activity as a constructor of barriers for the empire, deserves especial notice here:—"Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis in quibus barbari *non fluminibus sed limitibus* dividuntur, stipitibus magnis, in modum muralis sepis, funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit." We see that here the absence of a river as a line of division seems to be insisted upon as the reason for building a wall. Therefore, when a river offered precisely the boundary required, possibly a wall might be dispensed with.

However this may be, it is clear that at a village called Gross Krotzenburg, about five miles south-west of Hanau, in Hesse-Cassel, we have the remains of a strong Roman camp built to command the passage of the Main, and that here the *limes* leaves the river and strikes off for the north. Its reason for doing so is obvious. The Main might have been a very good boundary, terminating its course as it does after a westward flow of some thirty miles by a confluence with the Rhine opposite the strong Roman station of Moguntiacum (Maintz). But the Romans were determined to include within the circle of their subject lands the fair and fertile Wetterau and Rheingau. For this purpose it is that the *limes* makes that bold stroke northwards and then

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works round by west and south-west to the end of the Taunus range of mountains.

The camp of Gross Krotzenburg, though it has suffered much from the necessities of German village-life, is still evidently worth an antiquary's visit. According to the calculations given by Dr. Duncker, it was about 196 steps long by 150 broad—say 600 feet by 450, giving an area of 30,000 square yards, or something more than six acres, larger, therefore, than our Amboglanna. Its junction with the Wall seems to be somewhat peculiar. In the other camps of the German *limes* a greater or less space intervenes between the camp and the Wall, the former being put, so to speak, behind the latter. Here the camp is interposed bodily between the Wall and the river, and receives the former near the middle of its longer side.

There are traces of a civil suburb on the west side of the camp, a burial place in the sandy soil which the Romans preferred, and a spring whose waters bubble out into the Main, and which still goes by the name of Romans' Well (Römerbrunnen). Several coins were found in this well, though not apparently in such enormous numbers as in the well of our Northumbrian Coventina. Among them is distinctly specified a denarius of Hadrian.

Dr. Duncker is not very explicit as to the past and present state of preservation of the walls of the camp. I infer, however, that in 1837, when his predecessor, Steiner, wrote, there was a good deal more to be seen both of the walls and gates than at present. "Now," he says, "of the wall of the camp at Gross Krotzenburg there is only a very small trace still visible above ground. It is at the south end of the church, 27 feet thick, and protrudes from the garden-wall with which the sacred edifice is enclosed. The material consists of unsquared basalt stones, such as we find in the neighbouring Gross-Steinheim. They are bound together with the well-known excellent Roman mortar."

Many tiles have been found bearing the stamp of the 22nd Legion and of the Fourth "Cohors Vindelicorum," and the oven in which they are supposed to have been baked has also been discovered. But the most interesting monument is an altar discovered in 1835, and which expresses the good wishes of a certain Ajacius (probably an officer) for the victorious return of Severus and his sons from their campaign (probably against the Caledonians) and for the welfare of the "Mother

of the Camp," Julia Domna. The following is the exact wording of the inscription, which is assigned apparently on sufficient grounds to the years 209–211 :—

PRO · SALVTE · VICTORIA · ET
REDITV · IMPP · CAESS · L
SEPTIMII · SEVERI · PERTINAC
IS · ET · M · AVRELI · ANTONINI
E (T) P · SEPTIMII . . . PIORVM
AVGGG · ET · IVLIÆ · DOMNÆ
AVGVSTÆ · MATRIS · AVGG · ET
(CA) STRORVM · Q · AIACIVS
(MO) DESTVS · CRESCENTIA
(NVS) LEG . . . G . . . OIV . . .
. . . . . .

Thus we have here again evidence of the active influence of the Emperors of the house of Severus in this part of the Agri Decumates. It will be observed that the name of Geta has been erased, as usual, by the order of his brother.

The latest coins which have been discovered at Gross-Krotzenburg belong to the reign of Gordian III. (238–244). We have, therefore, no proof here of any recovery of the power of Rome after the disastrous period of the Thirty Tyrants.

For about five miles northwards of Gross Krotzenburg we have a really satisfactory specimen of the *limes*. This is the so-called *Pfaffendamm* which carries the line of defence on from the Main to the Kinzig, running accurately north and south. As there is a slight difference between the two accounts of it, testifying, I fear, to some destructive agencies at work, and as the district is one which the traveller may easily visit, lying near, as it does, to the important railway station of Hanau, I will translate the two passages verbatim.

Arnd (in "Der Pfahlgraben," 1861, p. 16), says :—"The coupling together of the Kinzig and the Main was accomplished by the so-called Pfaffendamm. This runs in a course of 26,700 feet (of Cassel), that is to say something over a German mile [5 English] from Gross Krotzenburg to a little below Rückingen on the Kinzig. Where it is best preserved it has a height of five, and a breadth of forty feet. Of fosses there is nothing any longer to be seen. Between the fields of Gross

Krotzenburg it exists only as a road, and in the meadow valley near Rückingen you can now only recognise its position in autumn by the browner colour of the turf and by the boundaries of the fields converging towards it; moreover, in two marshy places, there are short gaps in it. The most noteworthy thing about this Wall is the circumstance that throughout its entire length it makes only one straight line, and that that line falls exactly upon the meridian."

Duncker (Beiträge, etc., 1879, page 22) says:—"The *limes*, which becomes a road immediately before the village [of Gross Krotzenburg], and is called the *Dammsweg*, ran exactly in the meridian line between the camp at Rückingen [Altenburg] and that at Gross Krotzenburg. Just before entering the wood [going northwards] it is intersected by the embankment of the Hanau and Aschaffenburg Railway. In the wood north of the village it is still preserved to the height of one metre (40 inches), and it either itself forms the road or else runs very near to it. At a place in the 'Niederwald,' which is overgrown with grass, it suddenly vanishes without a trace for more than a hundred steps, to re-appear again in the 'Oberwald.' The explanation of this is furnished by the circumstance that there has recently been a cutting of turf here, and while this operation was going forward the Pfahlgraben which ran through the morass was also obliterated. At present the whole gives one the impression of a low-lying meadow."

I do not remember to have met with any explanation of the curious *name* of this part of the Wall, *Pfaffendamm*, or the Parsons' Embankment. Readers of Carlyle's "History of Frederick the Great" may remember his contemptuous reference to the *Pfaffen-Kaiser*, Parsons' Emperor (Charles IV., 1347–1378):—"A sorry enough Kaiser, much blown to and fro, poor light wretch, on the chaotic winds of his time—steering towards no star." I do not know whether any note of contempt lies hid in this word Pfaffendamm, nor, if so, why it should be so.

From this point onwards the course of the Pfahlgraben has to be conjectured rather than clearly proved. The following camps are pretty satisfactorily ascertained:—Rückingen (or more strictly Altenburg, a short distance to the south west of it), Marköbel, Altenstadt, Staden, Echzell, Innheiden, Arnsburg. These camps occur for the most part with great regularity at intervals of five miles, and the *limes*, therefore,

since it quitted the Main at Gross Krotzenburg, accomplishes a distance of about thirty-five miles till it reaches Arnsburg. Its course is first northerly, then north-westerly, with a more decided curve westwards towards the close. Arnsburg, about eight miles south-east of Giessen, is evidently an interesting place, and would probably repay one for a visit, but I have not yet met with any detailed description of it. From Arnsburg the *limes* continues its course to the west-north-west till it passes Grüningen, around which place it makes a sharp turn to the south-west, passes between Butzbach and Pohlgöns, and at length, about five miles west of Friedberg, emerges from the territory of Hesse, or rather continues for about four miles to be itself the boundary wall between Hesse-Darmstadt and Nassau. This last part of its course, from Arnsburg to the point where it first touches Nassau territory, is about twenty-four miles. I am not able to say anything about the position of the *camps* beyond Arnsburg.

In this latter portion there would appear from the maps to be a good deal of the Wall as well preserved as we shall find it in Nassau; but in the earlier portion, as already remarked, there have to be large demands made on the antiquarian imagination to see any wall whatsoever. The bit between the Kinzig and the Nidder, from Altenburg to Altenstadt, seems to be the least obliterated of any, and here (between Marköbel and Altenstadt) we meet with the curious name with which we are already familiar, the *Schweinygraben*. Dr. Duncker gives (p. 46) some really affecting details of the quite recent destruction of parts of the Wall, pieces which Arnd says that he saw ten feet high being carted away while Duncker was writing, and a fine piece of the Pfaffendamm having been removed in 1871. "Thus," he says, "are the traces of the *limes* vanishing with greater rapidity from year to year, and therefore we plead with all the more confidence for an early, adequate and scientific exploration before the last trace of the Wall shall have been annihilated." Fortunately one part of this scientific exploration does not depend on the forbearance of the German *bauer*. The very elaborate maps and registers of property (Flurkarten) preserve for us in many instances the names which particular fields have borne for centuries; and these names where the property was situated close to the Wall have very frequently some word like Pfahl, or Pol, or Sau, or

Schwein, or Graben, or some similar tell-tale epithet in their composition. Duncker pleads for a more thorough and systematic search of these registers than has yet been made.

The whole of this portion, however, will probably be set in a new and far clearer light when Col. von Cohausen, of Wiesbaden, shall have published his great work on the Pfahlgraben, and in the mean time the information here recorded must be looked upon as only of a provisional character.

As I said at the beginning of this section there is a controversy connected with it upon which as yet we have not entered. The line of *limes* hitherto described is in general accepted by all archæologists. But the question is raised—"Was there not also another line stretching away some twenty miles or so to the east of that which we have traced, leaving it near Arnsburg, and after a zig-zag course of some eighty or ninety miles, rejoining it between Miltenburg and Freudenberg, near the bottom of the V, in the river Main, which was before described?" If this be the course of the barrier, or of an outwork of the barrier erected by Rome, it must have traversed chiefly the hilly country of the Vogelswald and the wild forest-land of the Spessart, passing near to the towns of Schotten, Birstein, Wirtheim, and Bieber, and crossing the present course of the Maintz and Würzburg Railway about ten miles east of Aschaffenburg.

There seem to have been some writers in the 17th and 18th centuries[1] who, on various grounds, chiefly conjectural, drew the course of the *limes* in a direction similar to that above described. But when attention was again directed to the question about the middle of this century, explorers who went to examine the line of the supposed Wall on the spot, returned saying that they could find no trace of Roman works in either Vogelswald or Spessart, the very places where, by all analogy, from the uncultivated state of the soil, they should have existed in the greatest perfection.[2] Then arose Karl Arnd, architect, of Hanau, and said that the Wall should be found. An upright and

[1] Winkelmann (Beschreibung von Hessen), 1697: P. Fuchs (Geschichte von Mainz), 1771: Wenk (Hessische Landesgeschichte), 1789.

[2] This was the report of Dr. Dieffenbach, of Friedberg (Schwartz's Beiträge zur Geschichte des nassauischen Alterthumsvereins, p. 315).

enthusiastic man, but one who tried too many things, and whose work seems to have suffered from his dilettante character, he is thus painted to us by the not very friendly but apparently judicial hand of Dr. Duncker.

"The unmistakeable zeal with which, at some cost to himself, he devoted himself to the exploration of the district of the *limes*, would certainly have led him to more accurate results if he had been able to avail himself of the assistance of some man of a good archæological and historical education. For Arnd in the domain of history was absolutely self-taught ('vollkommen Autodidakt'), as is clearly shown by the representation of his intellectual career contained in his Autobiography [*Karl Arnd's Leben, von ihm selbst beschrieben:* Frankf. 1869], and is, besides, sufficiently shown by divers passages in his historical works. The bare mention of his numerous writings, touching on the most various spheres of human knowledge, political economy, the theory of taxation, (external and internal), history, statistics, philosophy, and so forth, must inevitably suggest to the reader, before he knows anything of their contents, that this man was either a genius of the highest order, or else with something of a busy-body's interest ['mit dem Interesse eines Polyhistors'], mixed himself up dilettante-fashion with many departments of thought that were not properly his own."

This was the man who, when the *Limes*-Commission was appointed in 1852, under the excellent but slowly-moving Habel, took the north-eastern part of the *limes* for his province, and determined that at whatever cost of time and money the line of the Wall through the Vogelswald and the Spessart should be found. And he *has* accordingly found a series of earthworks, not unlike the Pfahlgraben, with long intervals of obliteration between them, which may, by only a moderate exercise of imagination be combined into a system. The course of this *Probus-Wall*, as Arnd calls it, for a reason hereafter to be explained, is indicated by a dotted line on the annexed map, and its general direction has already been indicated. Arnd himself says of one portion near Laubach, which ends in a wall 2,000 feet long, with two embankments 8 feet high, and three fosses, in all 100 feet broad, "no impartial person who examines this structure in its whole extent can doubt its Roman origin. Its length of four miles, and its colossal

profile, do not allow of any other origin being attributed to it." Again near Birstein, "decending the water-shed on its southern side, we reach the beech forest of Sotzbach, here we find a very well preserved piece of the *limes* a mile and a half long. It consists of three embankments five feet high, with four fosses, and a collective breadth of 120 feet. Here too we must ask for the especial attention of the antiquary. The work is on open ground and can be taken in at a glance, and no one can long remain in doubt as to its nature and origin. This bit of Wall is very easily accessible, being intersected by the high way from Birstein to Steinau." When he gets into the Spessart woods he admits that his examination is less thorough than in some earlier parts of his course, notably between Schotten and Gedern, but here, also, he directs our especial attention to some remains near Echterspfahl, a ranger's house about ten miles south-east of Aschaffenburg (apparently on the high road from the latter place to Würzburg):— "On the right side of the road, and close to it, in the fir plantation, are three embankments five feet high, for a length of about 100 feet, with a single fosse on the northern side." A little further on, "at the guide-post to Wintersbach and Hainbuchenthal, the hollow way is in the middle of what was once the *limes*, and the traces of it are still visible as far as the forest-chapel, a mile and a half above Krausenbach. These traces show themselves at first on the left of the road in the grass, as a triple embankment with accompanying fosses. Further on the embankments are found in a thick forest, and a little further on still they appear on the right side of the road. To these two bits I direct the especial attention of all who are interested in the subject. It is true that they do not belong to the most magnificent and the best preserved portions, but by their prolongation for a mile and a half, they must be considered as affording the clearest proof that the entire Roman Wall had its continuation even through the Spessart."

In all, forty-eight bits of supposed Roman embankment are fitted into the "*Arndsches System*." Detailed criticism is obviously impossible in such a paper as the present; in fact, not even his antagonist, Duncker, has attempted it. And when we remember that this alleged portion of the *limes* was at least eighty miles long, seven miles longer, that is to say, than the whole course of our Barrier from Wallsend to Bowness, we see that some gratitude is due to Carl Arnd

for courageously undertaking in the evening of his days so heavy a piece of work as the investigation of the whole of it, and that he deserves respectful mention, whether we agree with his results or not.

It must, however, be confessed that the most trustworthy archæologists among those who have examined the subject personally entirely dissent from Arnd's conclusions, and have, in fact, almost ceased to consider them worth discussion. As Herr Conrady says, in the letter from which I have previously quoted, "Arnd has, notwithstanding all his merits, evidently, with insufficient critical perception, muddled up mediæval fortifications with the Roman *limes*, and his hypothesis as to the so-called Probus-Wall, which he asserts to have been drawn through the wild Spessart country to the Main, proves to be altogether untenable. It yields more and more to the true view that from Gross Krotzenburg to Miltenberg the River Main, which along this part keeps substantially the same north-east and south-west direction that the limes has hitherto pursued, *takes the place of the boundary-wall.* . . . . With the downfall of the supposed passage of the Main by the Wall at Freudenberg, which has no existence in fact, falls utterly away all probability of a continuation of the *limes* through the inhospitable Spessart, which to this day has never been able to produce any remains of Roman occupation."

This is the one great, and, in the opinion of most enquirers, fatal objection to Arnd's views. Not only in the Spessart, but in all the broad belt of territory between what he calls the first and second Roman lines (between the full and the dotted lines on the map), *not a trace apparently of Roman occupation has been discovered*, except a few doubtful remains at Aschaffenburg, which is itself almost close to the "first line." Just compare this state of things, and the entire absence of camps and mile-castles, with the rich harvest of inscriptions and coins, the clear evidence of supporting stations, along every other portion of the Wall. Pressed by this difficulty, which he is too honest not to admit, Arnd has developed a theory, the main support of which, I regret to say, is a paragraph in our usually accurate Gibbon. The historian of the "Decline and Fall," in a passage which I shall have to criticise at the end of this paper, attributes to the Emperor Probus the construction of a "stone wall of considerable height, strengthened by

towers at convenient distances," and reaching from the Danube to the Rhine. There is really nothing in the imperial historians to justify this statement, nor have any inscriptions or monuments been found to give it the least degree of probability. And Probus, though a most brave and capable Emperor, one whose fame seems to rise higher the more this epoch is investigated, and one who thoroughly understood the military maxim that "the greatest victories are won with the spade," had certainly in his short reign (276–282), largely occupied as it was with wars in Gaul and Pannonia, no sufficient leisure for the execution of such an immense work as Gibbon here attributes to him.

Arnd, however, who was himself very superficially acquainted with the course of events under the Empire,[1] seized upon this paragraph in Gibbon to confirm from it his own discoveries. "True," he says, "the line of Hadrian, the line which formed the boundary of the Empire for a century and a half, was that which you suppose; but Probus's Wall, the Wall which reached from the Danube to the Rhine, came through this wild Spessart country by the line which I have traced. It was soon lost again, soon overleaped by the invading Alemanni; and that is the reason why no Roman remains are found upon it, but it was a Roman *limes*."

To this Dr. Duncker replies—

(1.) By showing Arnd's utter want of preparation for deciding a delicate point like this in the history of the third century;

(2.) By proving, what every careful enquirer admits, the baseless character of Gibbon's Probus theory;

(3.) By analysing Arnd's conclusions as to the course of the true *limes*, between the Kinzig and the Nidder, and convicting him even there of inability to distinguish between that which is mediæval and that which is Roman in character.

[1] This is abundantly shown by his section, "Die Römer in der unteren Maingegend," which is full of errors. He muddles up Septimius Severus and Alexander Severus; and makes the latter, who was never in Britain, and who was killed in 235, "return from Britain in 236." He calls Claudius II. Aureli*an*, and apparently confounds him with the emperor of that name; puts his accession at Cologne instead of in Italy; mis-dates the accession of Probus, and so on in many other instances.

The only confutation which seems still to be required is that which would be furnished by an actual *visit* to the Spessart and the Vogelswald in order to see Arnd's alleged Roman Wall, and decide its character on the spot. There seems an exceedingly strong probability that he has mistaken some earthworks reared in the Middle Ages, possibly as boundaries between neighbouring *Gemarkungen*, for the work of the spade of the Roman legionary. Still Arnd says that he has seen something, and till his opponents have examined that which he has seen it seems hardly consistent with the spirit of the inductive philosophy to condemn his theory on purely *a priori* grounds, solid as these grounds certainly seem to be.

NASSAU.

We now come to the last and most interesting portion of the *limes*, that which traverses the territory till lately known as the Duchy of Nassau, and which finally abuts upon the Rhine in the provinces of Rhenish Prussia.

Here the vallum, though still destitute of anything like hewn stones, and composed only of earth or rubble stones, attains a greater elevation than in the other parts of its course. I myself have frequently seen it at a height of 8 and sometimes of 10 feet, 30 feet wide, and with a boldly marked fosse on either side. In this region it is generally spoken of as the *Pfahlgraben*, the *Pfahl*, or the *Pol*, sometimes as the *Römergraben*, never as the *Teufelsmauer*.

Without going at length here into the question of who were the builders of the Wall, it may be said that many indications point to this as the earliest portion of the *limes*. Possibly the brother and nephew of Tiberius, Drusus and Germanicus, who undoubtedly built and restored *camps* in this part of Germany, may also have ordered their legions to erect the vallum.

Whoever may have been the builders of the Wall, there can be no doubt of their intention, which was to seize the great natural buttress of the Taunus range of hills, and turn them into a barrier for the Transrhenane subjects of Rome against her barbarian foes. These subjects of the Empire were the Mattiaci; her enemies upon this part of the frontier were the Chatti, the germ of that which became in the third century the powerful Alemannic confederacy. The character of

the cultured and peaceful Mattiaci is sketched by Tacitus in the 29th chapter of the "Germania;" that of their harsh and cruel but disciplined foes, the Chatti, in the 30th and 31st chapters of the same book.

The country abounds in mineral springs, sometimes of a high temperature. The hot springs of Wiesbaden (Aquae Mattiacae) are mentioned by Pliny; and probably some of the other famous "Quellen," at Ems, at Homburg, at Selters, may have been known to the Romans, whose high appreciation of the bath both for health and for luxury need not be enlarged upon. Close to the river Rhine nestles the sunny Rheingau, that fertile district into which the Romans themselves probably introduced the culture of the vine. Cold and comparatively barren uplands, available, however, for the cultivation of wheat, fill the middle of the province. Behind rise the ranges of the Taunus[1] and Rheingau Gebirge, mountains for the most part higher than Cheviot, but lower than Helvellyn, with rounded forms covered now with endless forests of beech, perhaps interspersed with oak forests in the days of the Romans.[2] Snow falls early in these regions and lies late. The Roman soldiers, except such as were drawn from yet more northerly regions, like the Brittones Curvedenses at Heddernheim, would need much acclimatising before they became used to the severity of a winter "*in Tauno.*"

Our chief guides through the archæology of this interesting district are Von Cohausen and Rossel. Colonel von Cohausen, a retired officer of the Prussian army, is conservator of the very interesting and admirably arranged Museum of Antiquities at Wiesbaden. He has thus succeeded to the post once occupied by Archivar Habel, whose work he has also taken up in connection with the excavations at the Saalburg. In this work he has been ably assisted by Herr Jacobi, an

[1] Taunus is the classical literary name for these hills, and was only brought into common use by the influence of German savants during last century. This range used to be called simply "die Höhe," a name which still survives in that of "Homburg an der Höhe."

[2] That is, if we adopt Max Muller's theory (Lectures on the Science of Language, ii., 222), that throughout these lands the fir has given place to the oak, and that again to the beech. A surviving oak grove near Schwalbach is spoken of with great respect, and travellers are taken to see it as one of the antiquities of the place.

architect of Homburg, residing close to the scene of operations. These gentlemen have jointly published a little pamphlet on "Das Römercastell Saalburg" (Homburg, 1878), which is the precursor of a more important monograph on the same subject, now, I believe, in the press. Colonel von Cohausen, who is the admitted authority on all questions relating to the Taunus section of the *limes*, and has written much on archæological subjects in scientific periodicals,[1] has collected materials for a complete treatise on the Pfahlgraben from the Main to the Rhine, but there is some delay for want of an enterprising publisher. In England a learned society would soon be found to honour itself by undertaking such a work. Is it too much to hope that the Prussian Government, to whose initiative we owe the publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, may also enable Von Cohausen to bring before the world the result of the researches of a lifetime into these early and deeply interesting pages of German history?

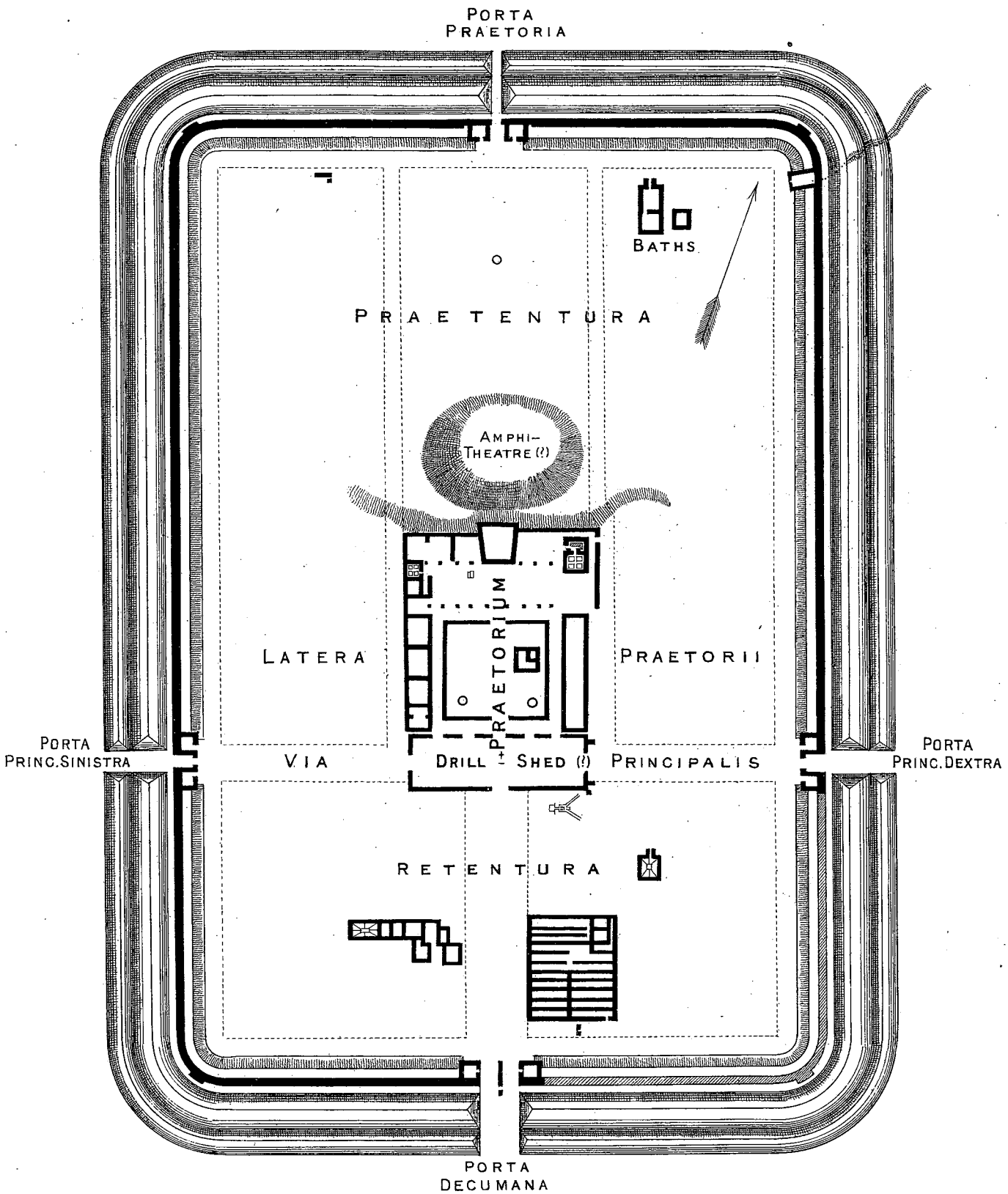
Failing Von Cohausen's monograph, we must resort to the help afforded by the late Dr. Rossell, Keeper of the Records of Nassau. His book ("Die Römische Grenzwalle im Taunus," Strassburg, 1872) is dry, and has suffered a little from his not having lived to put the last touches to it himself; but it is well furnished with maps and diagrams; and if the reader brings a little enthusiasm to the perusal, he will find it not altogether unenjoyable.

There are six well-ascertained camps of considerable size along the fifty miles or so of vallum which intervene between the Darmstadt-Nassau frontier and the valley of the Rhine (near Neuwied). Probably there were others, the traces of which have disappeared, as a large proportion of those which are preserved are in the hilly country of the Taunus. The following are the names and areas of these camps in their order from east to west. The names, it will be observed, are all modern German, a fact which is easily explained when we remember that we have not here the invaluable assistance of the *Notitia* to tell us how the mouldering fortifications of to-day once figured in the Army List of the Roman Empire:—

[1] One of Von Cohausen's special subjects is the determination of the points at which Cæsar crossed the Rhine. His mastery of this question caused Napoleon III. to invite his co-operation in the Imperial *Vie de César*.

PLAN OF
CAMP AT SAALBURG.

(from v. Cohausen & Jacobi.)



And.w Reid. Newcastle.

	Metres.		Metres.		Hectares.
1.—Capersburg	122	×	134	=	1·6348
2.—Saalburg	221	×	146	=	3·2266
3.—Feldberg	92	×	72	=	·6624
4.—Zugmantel	163	×	113	=	1·8419
5.—Holzhausen	136	×	107	=	1·4552
6.—Niederbieber	264	×	198	=	5·2272

Arranging these in order of size, reducing the measurements to acres, and placing side by side with them some English camps, for the purpose of comparison, we get the following results:—

	Acres.		Acres.
1.—Niederbieber ...	12·89		
2.—Saalburg	7·98		
		a Amboglanna	5·57
		b Cilurnum	5·26
		c Condercum	5·13
		d Borcovicus	5·08
		e Hunnum	4·43
3.—Zugmantel	4·54		
4.—Capersburg	4·04		
		f Vindobala	3·72
5.—Holzhausen	3·58		
		g Procolitia	3·48
		h Magna	3 00
		i Aesica	2·95
6.—Feldberg	1·53		

Of these camps on the Taunus I visited four, Saalburg, Feldberg, Zugmantel, and Holzhausen. Incomparably the most interesting and the best preserved is the SAALBURG, and it is the only one which I shall describe with any detail.

This camp, identified almost beyond doubt with the *Artaunum* of the Romans, is built upon a sort of saddle in the Taunus range, having higher hills both to east and west of it, and is evidently meant to command this passage over the mountains. Looking southwards towards the valley of the Main we see from it the modern cities of Frankfurt and Homburg. In the same direction the Roman soldier would see the settlement of *Novus Vicus*, now called Heddernheim. Northwards the Pfahlgraben, running a little below the crest of the Taunus mountains, passes about half-a-mile outside the camp. It is here in very fine proportions, 8 to 10 feet high, and continues on this scale for several miles in either direction.

One of the most striking features of the camp is the large extent of buildings to the south of it, testifying to the existence in Roman times of a large civil, probably trading, population clustered round it. The road from *Novus Vicus* passed through a most extensive cemetery. Thousands of graves lie round us here on either side, some of which have been recently opened—these are marked by a small stone stuck upright—but the greater part of which are still untouched. All bear witness to the practice of cremation, not sepulture. They are about 18 inches square, and contain generally two cinerary urns, a bone or two, an unguent-flask, and some fragments of pottery. No inscriptions, I think, have yet been found in any of the graves; and indeed the whole settlement of the Saalburg has been disappointingly bare of epigraphic treasures, a peculiarity which is attributed to the hard, unworkable character of the stone (schwarzit) which is found in the neighbourhood.

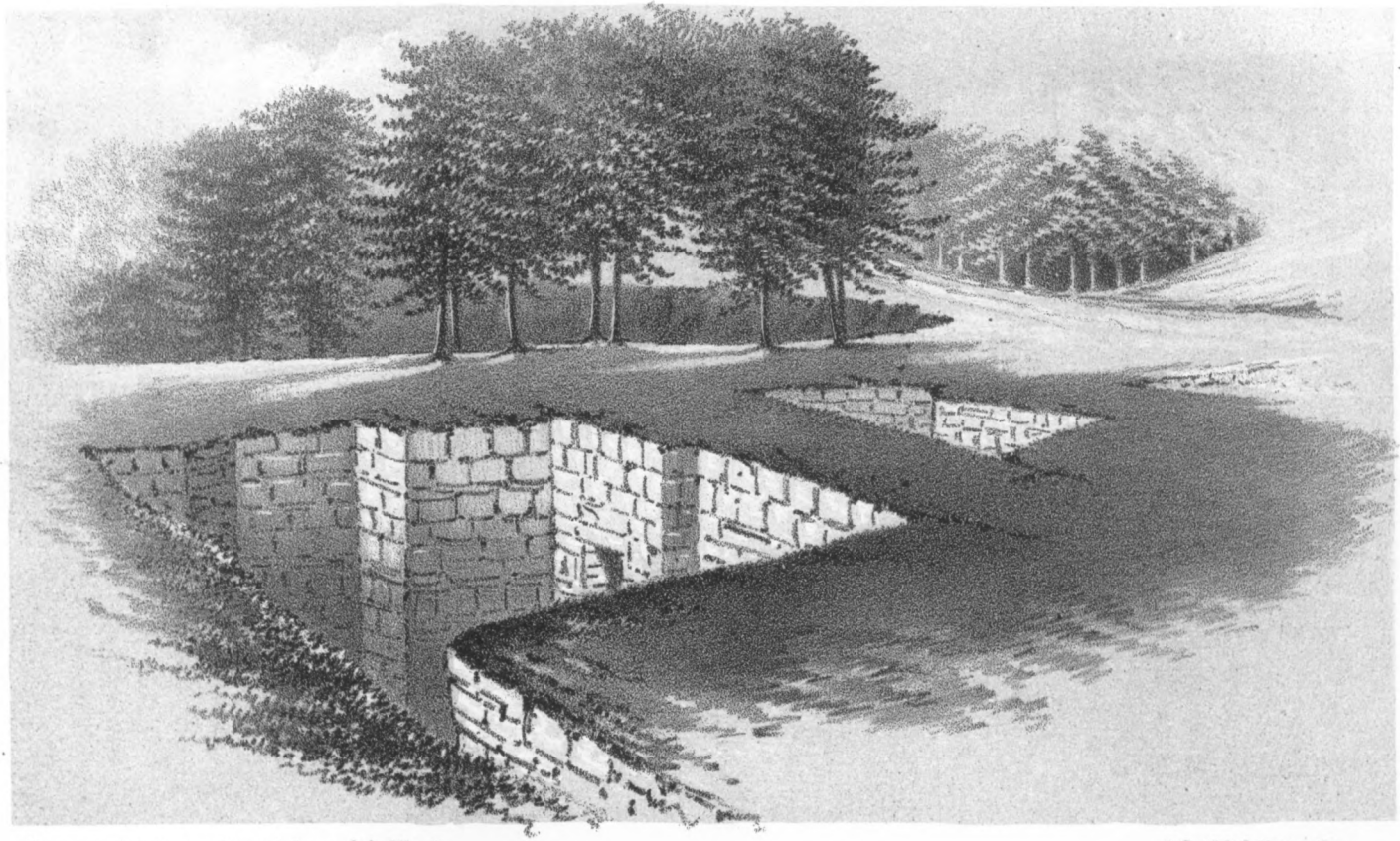
On a little hillock below the cemetery is a plot of ground which, from the quantity of ashes there discovered, is supposed to have been formerly the place of cremation.

Still mounting by the Roman road (which came nearly straight from *Novus Vicus*) we come to the remains of extensive buildings called by the German antiquaries "Die Bürgerliche Niederlassung," or as we should say, "the Civil Quarter." Those on the right are poor and mean, mere rubble-walling, and that badly done. These are supposed to be the cellars of the *Cannabæ*, or suttlers' cottages. On the left are hypocausts, well-built cellars, and the remains of a villa, 120 feet by 70, in which Caracalla may have banqueted after a battle with the Alemanni.

Reaching the camp itself we find the Porta Decumana, built of remarkably fine proportions. It is a double gateway 26½ feet wide, with the remains of a pedestal (in front of the central pier) upon which a statue was probably placed. Except for this pedestal it is precisely like one of our best gateways at Borcovicus or Cilurnum. I saw, however, no traces of the walling up of either of the two well-preserved guard-chambers, and I looked in vain for the stone seats, worn smooth by generations of Roman soldiers sitting upon them, which are so noteworthy in those two Northumbrian camps.

I may state that the walls, as now laid bare by the excavations, are generally about four or five feet above the ground. The whole camp

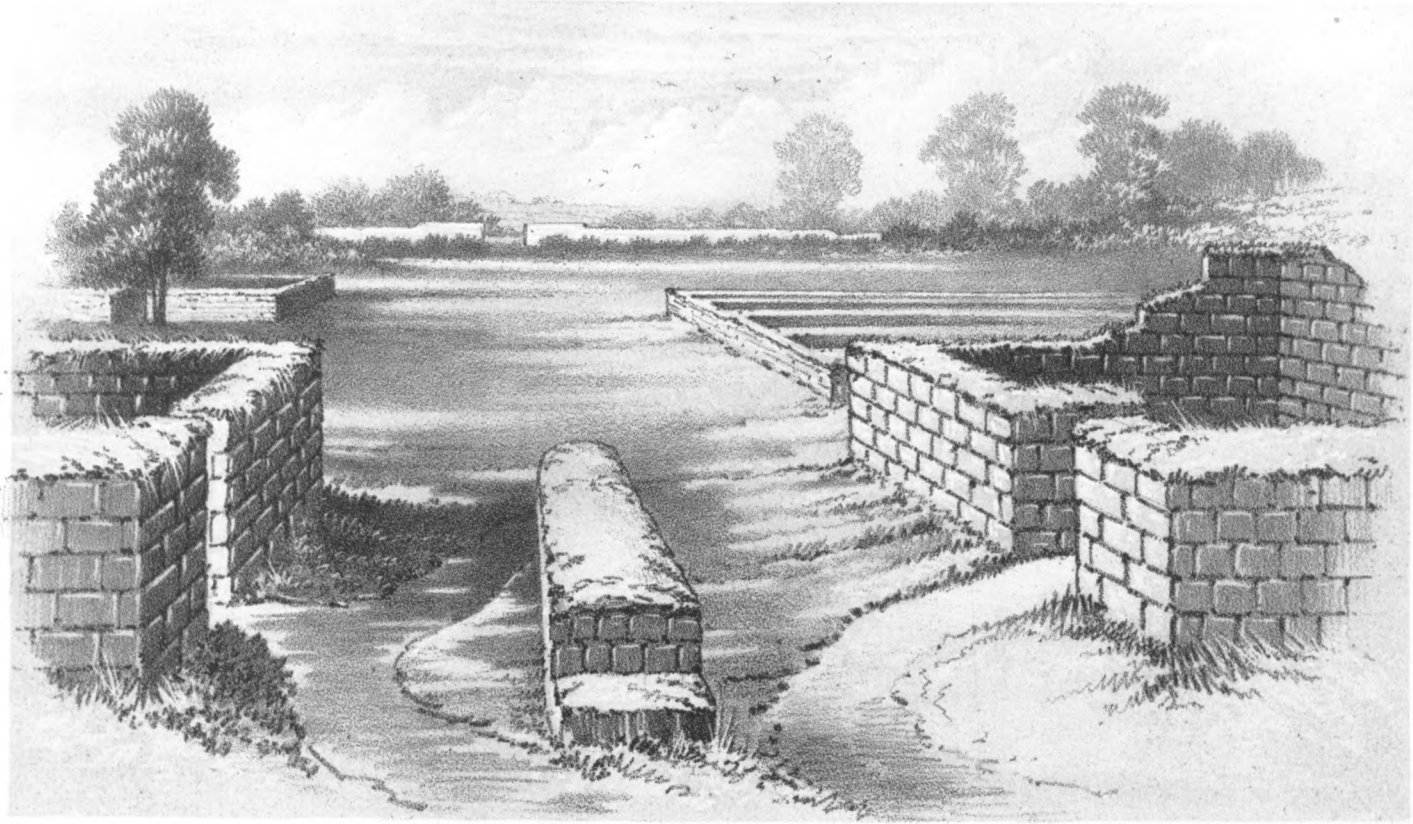
Saalburg Suburban Settlement.



Drawn by C. J. Spence from a lithograph by Vömel.

A. Reid lith. Newcastle.

SAALBURG PORTA DECUMANA
LOOKING NORTH.



Drawn by C. J. Spence from a lithograph by Vömel.

A. Reid lith. Newcastle

is in an excellent state of preservation; no cattle or sheep are allowed to pasture there; and the walls have been most carefully covered with sods of turf, a slight hollow being made in the stones of the topmost course, in order to retain sufficient moisture to keep the turf fresh and green. The whole place is like a well-preserved museum in the open air.

Colonel von Cohausen has carefully studied the camp according to the light derived from the treatise of Hyginus, "*De Munitionibus Castrorum*," and has named the parts of it according to the terms used in that work. Much of course must always be conjectural in the reconstruction of a Roman camp, but I confess it seems to me that Hyginus, who probably wrote under the Emperor Trajan, and whose book is extremely minute and painstaking, is a safer guide to the camps of the empire than Polybius, and I greatly desire that one or two of our Northumbrian camps could be carefully and scientifically examined to see if they do not correspond to his instructions.

In the *Retentura*, the first third of the camp on Hyginian principles, the most noteworthy building is one divided into a number of small compartments (on our right hand as we go through the camp), in the most northerly of which were found some bones of animals. This is believed to have been the magazine of provisions, or in other words the larder. Two hypocausts and one well are also to be found in the *Retentura*.

The *Via Principalis* [1] ends of course in the two usual gates, Dextra and Sinistra, each of which has double guard-chambers, and is 12 feet in width. The most noticeable feature about it is the remains of a large building about 130 feet long by 40 feet broad, which seems to have stretched across the Via Principalis, abutting on the Prætorium. It did not absolutely close the Via Principalis, since there is a wide gate

[1] I follow my German authorities in calling this the Via Principalis. At the same time I confess that Rossel seems to me to be right in contending that, according to the treatise of Hyginus, we ought to look for the Via Quintana here, and for the Principalis beyond the Prætorium. I believe there is nothing in the aspect of the camp to support his suggestion that there were once at the Saalburg two gates in the position, where on such a hypothesis we should look for the Porta Dextra and Sinistra Principalis. But the fact that both at Amboglanna and Cilurnum there are *two* gates in each side wall of the camp certainly increases the probability of Rossel's suggestion. This seems to be further confirmed by Habel's discovery at Heddernheim of an inscription indicating the existence of a *Forum quintanum* and *Platea quintana* in the Roman Camp of Novus Vicus (Schwartz, "Beiträge," etc., p. 230.

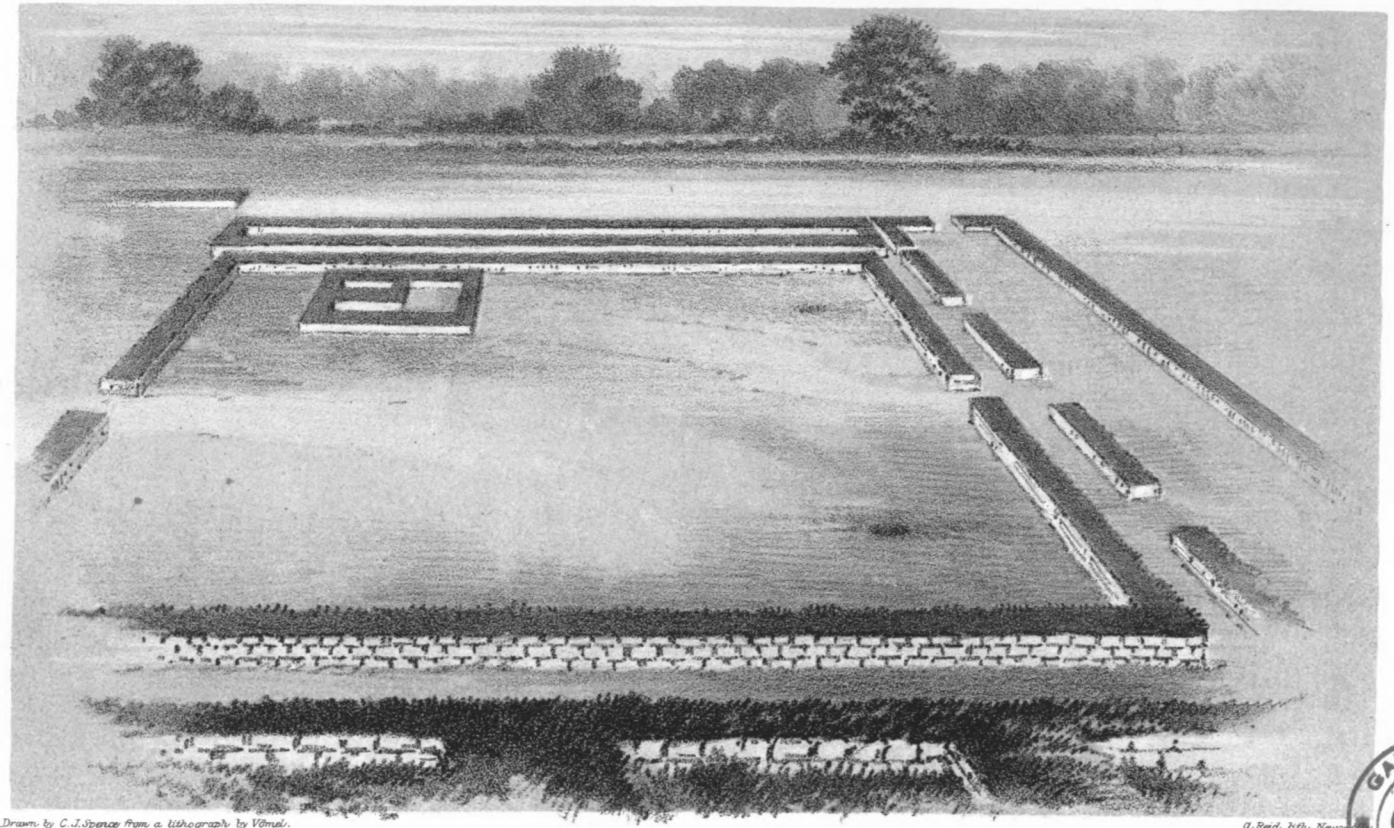
at each end of it, which, when opened, would leave a thoroughfare, though a somewhat restricted one; still it is singular to find a building of any kind just in this position. I was inclined to look for the indications of a *Forum*, but von Cohausen, after careful examination, has come to the conclusion that this is probably a drill-shed (Exercierhaus) such as Vegetius recommends the erection of, in order that the soldiers might have the opportunity of practising the hurling of the pilum under cover when bad weather prevented them from doing so outside the camp.[1] As the pilum could only be hurled with accuracy for a space of about 60 feet, Von Cohausen supposes that two batches of soldiers would be stationed back to back in the "Exercierhaus," and would throw their missiles against the targets placed at the two opposite ends of the house, the great gates opening in the Via Principalis being of course closed.

The Prætorium itself shows many of the arrangements of a Roman house, such as we see at Pompeii. The square capacious *Atrium*, measuring 72 feet each way, has in it two wells, and in the north-east corner contained a chapel (sacellum), in which were probably erected the statues of the Emperor and of the Genius Loci. Four small *cubicula* are arranged along the left, a long narrow room, perhaps a dining-room, on the right. Passing through the atrium we come to a spacious court, the Peristyle, lined with a double row of pillars, and measuring 96 feet long by 30 broad. Two slabs of sandstone were found near the centre of this hall; near them some folds of drapery, a palm-branch, and a finger, which had apparently once belonged to a statue of Victory, half as large again as life.

On the right-hand side of the Peristyle were some chambers warmed by hypocausts; beyond it, and with its back to the middle portion of it, was the Oecus (about 26 feet by 20, but not an exact square). This was probably the loftiest part of the whole Prætorium, and may have been provided with a balcony from which the general could address his troops or witness the sports in the amphitheatre, of which some slight indications remain in that part of the Prætentura, which is immediately in front of the Oecus.

[1] "Missibilia quoque vel plumbatas jugi perpetuoque exercitio dirigere cogebantur, usque adeo ut tempore hiemis de tegulis vel scindulis, quae si deessent, certe de cannis, ulvâ vel culmo et porticus tegereutur ad equites et quaedam velut basilicae ad pedites, in quibus tempestate vel ventis aere turbato sub tecto armis erudiebatur exercitus." (Vegetius, Epitoma II. 23.)

SAALBURG. PRAETORIUM
FROM THE WEST



Drawn by C. J. Spence from a lithograph by Vömel.

A. Reid lith. Newcastle.

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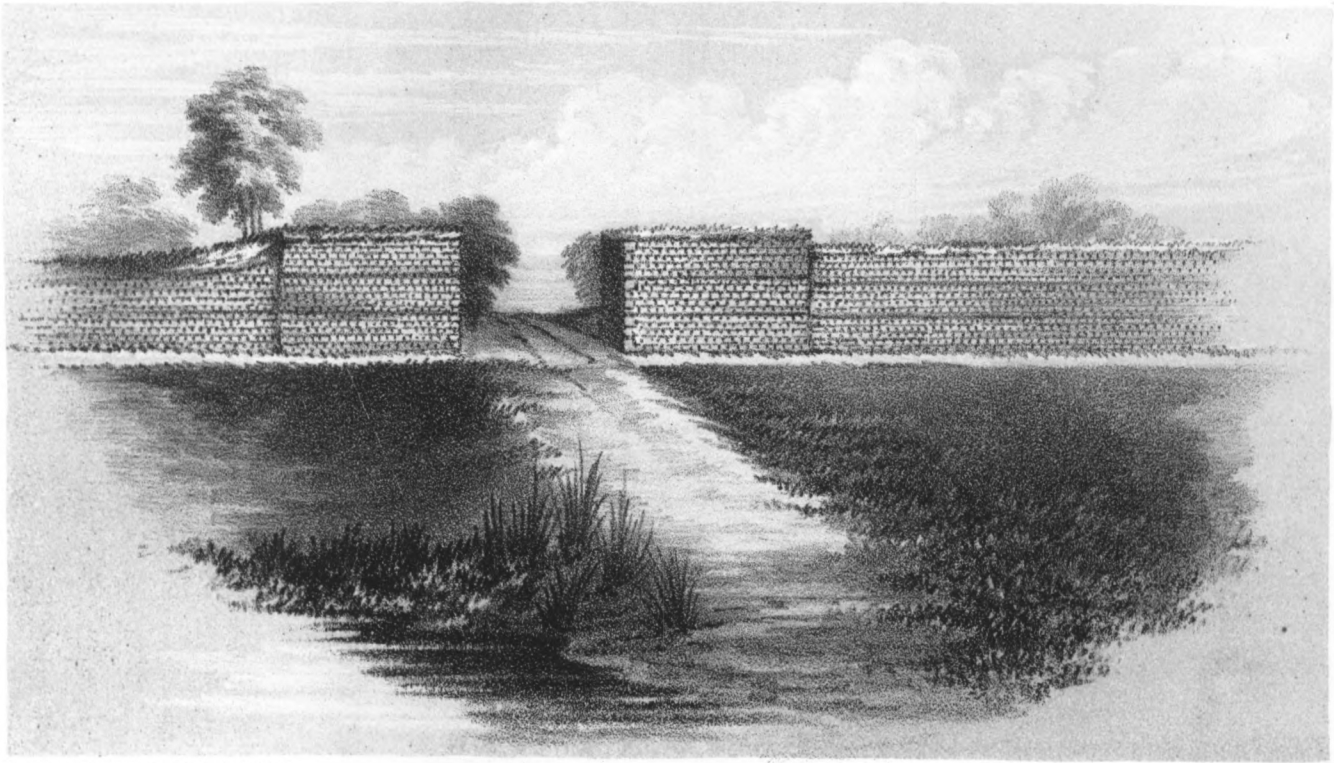
SAALBURG. PORTA PRAETORIA

FROM WITHIN THE CAMP



Drawn by C. J. Spence from a lithograph by Vömel. *A. Reid. lith. Newcastle.*

The *Prætentura* (the last section of the camp) has scarcely yet been touched by the excavations, and is still, for the most part, covered with a tangle of low shrubs and brushwood. There are, however, the remains apparently of a hot and cold bath in the furthest corner on the right-hand; and traces of a *latrina*, and of a drain leading away from it, are also visible close to the inner side of the wall of the camp.

The ramparts of the camp were battlemented, there being a space of some eight feet between each battlement, and the battlements themselves being rather more than three feet broad by five feet high, let into a breastwork two feet in height. The whole battlement, from top to bottom, would thus afford ample protection to the legionary soldier, retreating behind it after he had discharged his javelin.

Finally, the Porta Prætoria, by which we emerge from the camp, is much narrower than the Decumana, being only $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide as compared with the $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet of the latter. The mason-work, particularly of the exterior face, seemed to me very inferior to that of the other gates, a difference perhaps due to its destruction and hasty restoration.

All the corners of the camp are rounded off precisely like those *per lineam Valli*, in Northumberland. Of *inscriptions*, as was before said, the harvest at the Saalburg has not been plentiful. Of two found in the Peristyle one is assigned conjecturally to the reign of Hadrian, and another clearly records a dedication to Antoninus Pius. Two lines denote the reign of Septimius Severus. His son, whom we call Caracalla, has left a longer memorial. In the White Tower of the Palace at Homburg (now occasionally used as a summer residence by the Crown Prince of Germany) appears the following inscription built into one of the walls:—

. . . . P · CAES · M . . .
ANTONINO · PIO . . .
– ICI · AVG · PONTIF .
MAX · BRITAN · MA
PARTHICO · MAX
TRIBVNIC · PO TE S . .
TATIS $\overline{XV}$ · COS · II . .
P · P · PROCOS · COH . .
ANTONNA
VOTA . NVM

This, which is one of the usual expressions of loyalty from the Antoninian Cohort to the Emperor, bears a date corresponding to our A.D. 213.[1]

In the other inscriptions—they are eleven in all—which have been discovered at the Saalburg, there are no features of especial interest except that in one—

I · O · M ·
DOLICHEN
(T) IB · CL · TIB · FILIV
I · CANDIDV
. . . . M

we have the record of a vow paid to Jupiter Dolichenus, that mysterious oriental divinity whose worship—perhaps akin to the Mithraic religion, with which it was contemporary—overspread the Roman world in the second and third centuries,[2] and to whom we have inscriptions at Benwell, Great Chesters, Bewcastle, and elsewhere.

Another inscription records the payment of a vow to Fortuna by the Præfect of the Second Rhætian Cohort; and a third the dedication of a votive altar, "in honorem domus divinæ," by the Optio (Adjutant) Primius Auso. It is not stated of what "ala" or "cohors" Auso was adjutant. He has, however, been somewhat parsimonious in his offerings to the honour of the Imperial House, seeing that his inscription is carved over the half-effaced letters which record the dedication of the same votive altar "in honorem domus divinæ" by a certain centurion, Sattonius, whose labours Auso has calmly appropriated. We have thus here a real palimpsest in stone.

Though poor in statues and inscriptions the Museum at Homburg, in which the spoils of the Saalburg are deposited, is rich in other objects of interest, tiles (with the stamps of the 8th and 22nd Legions, the 4th Vindelician, and 2nd Rhætian Cohorts), jet ornaments from Whitby, keys in great number and variety of form, glass vessels, javelin heads, pens, inkstands, fibulæ, and so forth, all of which are better seen than described.

[1] We must no doubt read Cos. iiii. and the 16th year of the Tribunician power which corresponds to A.D. 213.

[2] Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung III. 82.

Leaving the camp we walk along the ridge of the hills, taking the Pfahlgraben—here in excellent preservation—for our guide, and come in about half-an-hour to three small circular mounds just upon the line of the Wall. There are several such clusters of earthworks along this part of the Pfahlgraben, but only in the hill-country. Sometimes there are two of them, sometimes three, sometimes four, always, however, in close proximity to the Wall. One of this cluster has been examined by Herr Jacobi and closed up again, nothing of great interest having been found inside. Some still show a trace of the quadrangular form, but others, if I am not mistaken, not only are but always have been circular. There can be no doubt that they were once watch-towers or sentry-boxes of some kind, but it is equally clear that they are not precisely like either our "turrets" or "mile-castles." I invite the particular attention of Northumbrian antiquaries to these remains, unlike, as I suppose, to anything that is to be found on our line of Wall, but certainly resembling Maier's description of the *Zelte* which he met with in Bavaria, except that those are apparently always *single*.

Still keeping along by the easily-traced Pfahlgraben, the pedestrian arrives after about two hours' walk at a point of the ridge where he will find a guide-post (or rather many guide-posts) erected by the public-spirited "Taunus Club," pointing his upward path to the summit of the Feldberg, the highest mountain in the whole Taunus range. He will do well to follow their friendly indications, though doing so involves a digression of an hour or so from the Pfahlgraben. On the summit of the Feldberg stands an inn with a tower beside it from which a magnificent view is obtained, first over the Alt-König, the nearest rival to the Feldberg among the Taunus summits, which is crowned by a very fine *pre-Roman* line of fortifications, and over the other lower hills of the range. Then you see Reifenberg, Königstein, Falkenstein, picturesquely perched upon the lower slopes, and each one boasting its ruined feudal tower. In the middle distance Homburg, Frankfurt, the silvery Main, the silvery Rhine. Further off the "sea-like plain" of the Rhein-gau; and dim in the south the picturesque outline of Mount Melibocus and the hills of the Odenwald. On the summit of the Feldberg itself, about 100 yards from the hotel, is an enormous mass of grauwacke rocks, known as "Brunechildis Bette," from some legend of the Queen of Austrasia having once take refuge there from her pur-

suers. These rocks are very conspicuous from afar, a sort of wart upon the face of the Feldberg, and make it easy to identify that mountain, which is itself a noble land-mark for all visitors to the Pfahlgraben.

Descending the sides of the Feldberg we come again to the Wall, and observe that here, as in some other places where the Romans have not chosen to carry the line of fortification actually *over* the highest points of a mountain range, they have contrived that at least such highest point shall be on their side of the *limes*, so as to enable them to command it from above.

We come down then by steep forest paths upon the camp of the Feldberg. This, as will be seen from the list given on page 133, is the smallest of all the Taunus camps. The walls are easily traceable. It is almost an exact square, with the usual rounded corners. There is one well-marked rectangular fortification inside, lying west of the central line, and with a gateway in the north wall apparently opening towards it. This camp is just inside the forest. You step out to the green and somewhat marshy meadow across which the Pfahlgraben runs, and before you reach that embankment, perhaps 30 yards north of the camp, you come to the so-called Heidenkirche, a small collection of mounds, the ground-plan of which looks remarkably like that of a church, and almost justifies the curious name (Heathens'-church) which it has borne from time immemorial. Dr. Rossel calls it an outwork of the camp; Colonel von Cohausen believes it to have been a villa. This interesting little edifice has been rather harshly treated by archæologists. In 1846, partly by gift and partly by purchase, it became the property of the Antiquarian Society of Nassau. Several hypocausts were then visible, and the place was in a very fair state of preservation. The Society excavated for inscribed stones, and the peasants rummaged for building material, and between them they have made the Heidenkirche the mere heap of rubbish which the traveller now finds it. And what makes the destruction more melancholy is that no proper record of the excavations appears to have been published in the Transactions of the Nassau Antiquarian Society, and that a few tiles in the Museum at Wiesbaden seem to be the only and insufficient justification for all this ruin. The tiles bear the stamps of the 22nd Legion, the 4th Cohort of Vindelici, and a "Numerus" of soldiers from Catthara, in Dalmatia.

Shortly after passing Feldberg the Wall leaves the mountains and descends into the high uplands, which constitute the greater part of the territory of Nassau. From our Northumbrian experience we know what to expect from this transition, and, in fact, the Pfahlgraben henceforward for the most part disappears before the plough. Two small "manipular" camps (Glashütten and Triangel), however, have been preserved, and when the Wall re-enters the forests it again becomes easily traceable.

Idstein, which we are now approaching, is a place that the antiquarian tourist will find worth a visit. It is more accessible than many of the places which I have mentioned, being only about an hour from Wiesbaden, on the Limburg Railway. A picturesque little town it is, finely situated in a curving valley, and dominated, when I saw it, by a somewhat imposing castle. This castle, which is situated on the site of one in which Kaiser Adolf, of Nassau, was born, was till lately devoted to the storage of the voluminous archives of the little Duchy. Here the late "Archivar" Rossel—one of our guides to the Wall—lived and laboured. Here, before him, toiled the industrious, but perhaps somewhat superficial, Friedemann, leader of the "active" party in the Antiquarian Society of Nassau, the story of whose wars against Dictator Habel, crowned eventually by victory, is told with much spirit by Dr. Schwartz in the "*Beiträge zur Geschichte des nassauischen Alterthumsvereins*," which I have already quoted. Now, however, the archives of the little State—itself an independent State no longer, but annexed to Prussia—have been carted away to Wiesbaden, and the castle, stately but condemned as unsafe, is about to be demolished. It was a curious sensation to wander through the empty rooms of the deserted fortress (ornamented everywhere with the red lion of Nassau protruding an unsightly tongue), to look upon the countless cupboards and pigeon-holes in which all the diplomatic and bureaucratic lumber of one little German State had been stored away, and to have to check a slight feeling of alarm lest the whole building might come tumbling about our ears while we surveyed it.

The interest, however, of the neighbourhood of Idstein for a student of the *limes* lies in the fact that here, for some reason which is not very clearly explained, but which is probably connected with the fact that we are cutting across a valley and a river, and are near

to the important settlement of *Aquae Mattiacae* (Wiesbaden), we find traces of a "reduplication of the Wall" (*Verdoppelung des Pfahl*, as it is called by the Germans). A second line of Wall leaves the first about ten miles south-east of Idstein, runs nearly parallel to it on the southern side at a distance of three or four miles, and eventually rejoins it about three miles to the south-west of that place. Dr. Rossel, who, as before stated, lived for some time at Idstein, has given such elaborate descriptions and maps of this part of the Wall, that a stranger, with his book in hand, would not find it difficult to trace this curious offshoot of the Pfahlgraben, which might possibly illustrate the connection of our Vallum with the Murus.

A drive over a fine undulating country, well wooded and affording extensive views, leads us to the little village of Eschenhahn. There we quit the *chaussée*, and enter upon a good sandy cross-road. We are now in the forest, and once more the Pfahlgraben is easily discoverable, I think, about one hundred yards from the road. About an hour or an hour and a half after leaving Idstein we come to the cross-roads near which is situated the camp of *Zugmantel*,[1] formerly called *Die Alte Burg* (the old castle). All that is now to be seen of this camp is the quadrangular embankment (rounded, of course, at the corners) which once enclosed it. Some of the gateways are very clearly indicated by depressions in the mound, the northern one, if I remember rightly, particularly so; and the height of the embankment above the bottom of the fosse is still in some places considerable, amounting at the south-east corner to as much as 11 feet. But the place, though still interesting, is rather a melancholy object to an antiquarian explorer, who learns that so recently as 1780 the walls, apparently faced with masonry, were still standing four feet high. It was then systematically pillaged of its stones, of which four hundred cartloads were carried away to mend the roads. An immense quantity of fragments of Samian ware, Roman coins (the types not recorded), and tiles, bearing the marks of the 22nd Legion and the 3rd Cohort of Treveri, were found at the time of this devastation. Three inscribed stones were also found, and these, which the spoilers had the grace to preserve, are now in the Museum at Wiesbaden.

[1] The "Militair Stabskarte" is more helpful here than Rossel's map and indications, which are both somewhat confused.

One of these inscribed stones, on the pedestal of a mutilated statue, of which the feet only remain, runs thus:[1]—"In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae). G(enio) C(enturiae) Aviti (?). Gentiano et Basso Coss." The consulship of Gentianus and Bassus coincides with A.D. 211, the year of the accession of Caracalla.

The second inscription, which is unfortunately without a date, records the completion of ninety-six paces of the "pedatura" of the Treveri, under the superintendence of their centurion, Crescentinus Respectus:—

PEDAT · TREVEROR
VM · P · LXXXXVI
(? Some obliterated name.)
SVB · CVR · AGENTE · CRES
CENTINO RESPECTO ❯
LEG · VIII · AVG

The third, which bears a date, perhaps[2] corresponding with A.D. 223, shows traces of the obliteration of the name of Alexander Severus after the murder of that Emperor by Maximin:—

IMP · CAES . . . . . .
. . . . . X · · · PIO
FELICI AVG ONTIFICI MA
XIMO · TRIB · POTEST · T ·
COS · PP · PRO
TREVEROR
. . . . . (This part of the stone
EODE · VOTA is broken away.)
MVRVM · AS
MAXIMO ET

Thus expanded by Rossel:[3]—

[1] It is written in *literae ligatae*, which I do not attempt to reproduce.

[2] I speak thus doubtfully, because there appears to be little or no authority from the inscription itself for supplying AELIANO as the name of the second consul. Maximus and Aelianus were consuls in 223, Maximus and Paternus in 233, Maximus and Urbanus 234, all in the reign of Alexander Severus.

[3] I copy Rossel's expansion exactly, but there seems room for some number, say III., after "cos" in the fifth line; there must evidently have been some word after "Alexandriana" in the seventh; and in Rossel's own plate it seems as if there were a stop between "de" and "vota."

"Imperatori Caesari (M. Aur. Severo Alexandro) pio felici Augusto pontifici maximo tribunicia potestate, consuli, patri patriae pro(consuli cohors) Treverorum (Alexandriana) eo devota murum a (solo restituit) Maximo et (Aeliano consulibus.)"

Thus all our epigraphic evidence, slender as it is, points to the early part of the Third Century as a time when the legionaries were busily employed here, as at Oehringen. The only two coins found here, of which a record has been kept, belong, one to the reign of Alexander Severus, the other to that of Constantius, whether the First or Second of that name I do not know.

Such then were the results of the great demolition of the camp a century ago. In 1853, the Historical Society of Nassau completed the ruin by a series of excavations, which do not appear to have brought anything to light but a quantity of iron nails, some spear-heads, the top of a *vexillum*, and three earthenware bowls, which were either unbroken or not past the possibility of mending. After the archæologists had done their work the place was handed back to Nature. Trees were planted there; and now, in order to explore the camp, one has to work one's way through the thick tangle of that which one supposes to be "the forest primeval," but which really is of less than thirty years' growth. Most truly does Dr. Rossel say—and his words rang in my ears like a refrain all the time that I was groping about the camp—"Die stelle im Zusammenhang ist nicht mehr zu erkennen." (It is no longer possible to judge of the place as a whole.)

One feature, however, interesting but perplexing, may still be discerned. The *long* diameter of the camp (which measures 520 feet by 370) is not, as usual, at right angles to the line of the Pfahlgraben, but parallel to it—that is to say, taking the general direction of the Pfahlgraben as from east to west, the camp runs east and west also, instead of north and south. The Decuman and Praetorian Gates thus lose their accustomed significance. The gate apparently most exposed to the enemy is the Porta Principalis Dextra; that most sheltered from them, the Porta Principalis Sinistra. No doubt there is some explanation of this peculiarity, but I have not met with it. The Pfahlgraben, which is about 300 yards distant from the camp, seems to pursue the even tenour of its way towards the west, and there is no

sudden curve towards the south to account for the camp being thus twisted round at right angles to its normal position.[1]

A little distance west of Zugmantel the Wall, after being reduced in height from 8 feet to 4, disappears, and for the next ten or twelve miles its course is a matter of antiquarian research rather than of ocular demonstration.[2] It is pretty clear, however, that it went in a south-west direction to the little village of Born, then west, crossing the valley of the Aar a little north of Adolfseck, by Lindschied to Kemel (where its traces are slightly more distinct), and so north-west towards Holzhausen-an-der-Heide. One interesting memorial of Roman tarriance may be noted in the valley of the Aar. About three miles north of Schwalbach, in a little wood belonging to the Frankenburger Mühle, is a rock[3] (known as the Justinus Fels) on which some Roman hand, probably that of a soldier or quarryman, has carved the name IANVARIVS IVSTINVS). The rock is much worn by the weather, and the cross-markings of the stone interfere in a rather puzzling way with the letters which they intersect. Still there can be no doubt about the wording of the inscription nor about its Roman character, and it naturally reminds a Northumbrian visitor of the similarly scrawled PETRA FLAVI CARANTINI at Fallowfield Fell. It is a curious coincidence that the names of the Consuls for the year 328 were *Januarius* and *Justus*. Probably, however, only a coincidence, as the

[1] There is a little round fortification (very hard to discover for the trees) immediately north of the camp, between it and the Pfahlgraben, but this, Von Cohausen thinks, is not Roman, but barbarian, probably erected by the Alemanni to guard them against the Franks.

[2] The antiquarian tourist will no doubt at this point, if not before, visit Wiesbaden. Though the prosperity of the town has, I believe, destroyed the last vestiges of the Roman camp properly so called, the Heidenmauer, a piece of wall some 20 or 30 feet high, supposed to have been erected in haste as a defence against the Alemanni, and still showing the holes of the scaffolding poles, yet remains, a most interesting relic; and the admirably arranged museum (in the Wilhelmsstrasse) is a monument of the successful labours of Habel and von Cohausen.

[3] Frankenburger Mühle is about a mile north of Adolfseck, itself a favourite place of resort with visitors to Schwalbach. The rock is about a quarter of a mile on the Schwalbach side of the Frankenburger Mühle, but the best plan is to go on to the Mill and ask to be guided back to the Justinus Fels, which you reach by a little path through the woods. The rock itself is just where the wooded hill abuts upon the meadow. From this point the visitor, who has Rossel's book in his hand, may, with some little trouble, find out the two small earth-works between this point and Lindschied which the Doctor believes to be of Roman origin. Von Cohausen, however, denies this.

Roman settlements in these regions seem to have been broken up fifty years before this date, and, besides, the form of the inscription does not agree with the theory that it is a quotation of the names of the Consuls of the year.

For my last camp (Graue Kopf, near Holzhausen), and my last impression of the Pfahlgraben, I will transcribe a few notes of a carriage drive from Schwalbach to Ems, and a short stay at the latter place:—

"We left Schwalbach at a quarter past two, and drove up the long Emser Strasse, earning grand views of all the familiar heights, especially of the well-known but now distant Feldberg. At length we passed pretty near to the conical Gallows Hill, and went through the picturesque little village of Kemel. Then began a very long straight stretch of Roman road, from which I thought we could at times discern on our right hand the signs of a 'clearing,' where the Pfahlgraben was indicated in a dotted line on Col. von Cohausen's map. When we were getting near to the Graue Kopf, we left the carriage to proceed to Holzhausen-an-der-Heide, while we went on foot by a lane leading off to the right towards the camp. We found it with very little difficulty, thanks to the excellent 'Militair-Stabs-Karte.' The mounds which mark the lines of the walls and the depressions for gates are very clear; but like so many of these camps it is almost all overgrown with forest trees. In this case they are young and easily pushed through, but they prevent one from getting the place 'in its *Zusammenhang*,' and the members of our party were constantly losing and finding one another in the most laughable way. My impression about it, however, is that it is about one-half or two-thirds [really more than three-fifths] of the size of the camp at Chesters. A conspicuous feature is the way in which the southern part of it is hollowed out, so that you ascend perhaps 10 feet from the outside to mount the southern rampart, and descend at least 20 into the camp. We found some delicious strawberries, the taste of which seemed almost to palliate the Romans' covetousness of the land where such lovely little fruits grew wild.

"Having found one another for the last time close to the Porta-Decumana, we left the camp and walked on along the Pfahlgraben, which is here discovered with little difficulty. A charming walk it was through a not too tangled forest, and our path generally lying on the top of the Pfahlgraben. This is here what the German archæologists call 'Colossal.' It is difficult to know how to estimate the height of it,

since it is much deeper and steeper on the north side than on the south, but I think that eight feet in perpendicular height, at any rate on the

side presented to the barbarians, is an under-estimate. At length we emerged from the woods and saw the road to Holzhausen straight before us. A good meal was awaiting us at the inn (at the extreme north end of the village on the left hand); the house looked very comfortable; the landlord was well informed on all matters relating to this portion of the Pfahlgraben; and altogether the place seemed one that would repay a longer sojourn if one was making a more leisurely exploration of the Wall.

"From the latter we parted company about five miles further on, after passing through the little village of Pohl (no doubt a modification of Pfahl). It bears off rapidly to the left, through Berg, Geizig, Dornholzhausen, Schweighausen, and Becheln, to Ems. We kept on over the high table land, and at last descending a very steep hill into the valley of the Lahn we found ourselves just under the towering ruined castle of Nassau, *Stamm-Schloss* of William the Silent and our own William III., as well as of the recently-deposed Ducal house of Nassau. On this hill, just below, are the ruined castle of Stein and the Stein Monument. Thus you may say that from the same hill sprang the destroyers of two tyrannies, that of Philip II. and that of Napoleon; or, to put it in another way, that the castle of Nassau unconsciously looked down for centuries on the house of him who was to prepare the way for her Prussian overthrower. Nassau is now a pretty little town, about the size and character of Moffat, very much given up to villas and water-cure establishments. As daylight faded and moonlight increased we trotted down the picturesque valley of the Lahn (a little spoilt by the railway), through the town of Dansenau, still almost entirely encircled by its mediæval walls; and about a quarter before nine the lights of Ems were before us, and our driver got down to light his carriage lamps to save himself from a fine of three marks.

"Ems itself is very picturesquely situated in the deep valley, one might almost call it the gorge, of the Lahn. Its hills are all forest-covered; the long jagged edge of rock which is crowned with the Concordia Thurm and Moss Hütte, the river Lahn sweeping through the town, the bridges, the gardens lit up at night by pretty disc-shaped lamps, and, when we were there, the full-orbed moon rising behind the Concordia Thurm, made up altogether a picture long to be remembered."

From Ems one can, in the compass of two easy excursions, trace the Pfahlgraben backwards as far as Becheln and forwards by Kemmenau to Arzbach. For the former you climb the Winterberg, a pretty steep hill on the south bank of the Lahn, opposite Ems. You come at once to the so-called Römerthurm, a modern erection, but which professes to be an exact copy of one of the forts depicted on Trajan's column, and to be situated on the foundation of one of the towers of the Pfahlgraben.

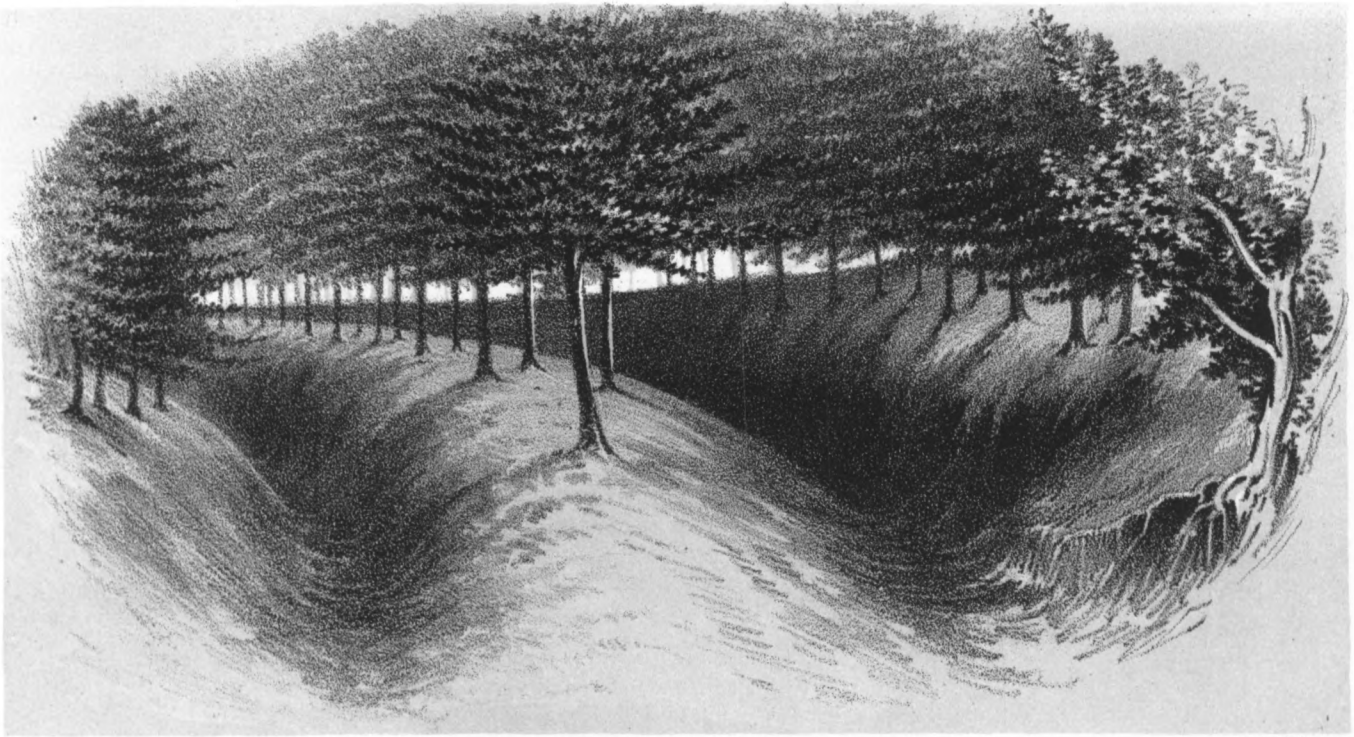
"I kept along the hill-top for some time cheered by occasional but not very clear or satisfactory traces of the Graben, or *Römergraben*, as it is always called here. At length I reached the little out-of-the-way farm-house of Heinrichshof. The owner, of whom I enquired my way to the Römergraben, told me that he had to carry a sack of potatoes to Becheln, and he would show me the way. It was pretty steep up-hill work for some way, the day (11th July) was one of the hottest in that memorably hot early summer, and in short I was glad that the farmer, not I, had to carry the potatoes. Suddenly he struck off from the path on the right into the very thickest of the forest, and after about five minutes we reached a place where there had been an *ausgrabung*, made, as I understood, by some English gentlemen connected with the formation of the railway. Not much had been discovered, and there was very little left to see, but I believe it was the site of a Roman "mile-castle." When I arrived at Becheln, a little village high up on the watershed between the Rhine and the Lahn, with some grand views of the mountains stretching towards the Sieben Gebirge, after making many enquiries for the Römergraben, all that I could learn was that it was in a wood off to the left bordering on the Sulzbach road. From the map I saw that it ran parallel with the road to Schweighausen, south-east of Becheln, and this was how I proposed to attack it. But the local direction, to go by the Sulzbach road, is the best, because you thus get it very decidedly in section, and can then trace it as far as you like, both north-west and south-east. The point where the Sulzbach road cuts it is about a kilometer beyond Becheln. It runs through forest on both sides of the road, and is, I think, about six feet in perpendicular height. A little path on the outskirts of the forest runs by its side for some way, I believe in the northern fosse. This is probably the result of the Pfahlgraben having been used as a boundary in the Middle Ages."

The remains of the Wall on the north side of the Lahn were more interesting than on the south.

"We started about 5 p.m. in a landau for the point known as Schöne Aussicht, near Kemmenau. I told our driver, a very civil and intelligent man, that I particularly wished to see the Römergraben. After we had climbed and wound round the hill for about half an hour, he carefully took an 'orientirung' by the Forst Haus on the opposite (southern) hill, and said, 'Here it is.'[1] There it was, sure enough, a magnificent piece of the Pfahl 40 feet wide and 9 feet high, abutting on the road above and below us. [See Plate.] I went some way down through the "graben," slippery with dead beech-leaves, and saw far below me the roofs of Ems. Having got the clue, we followed

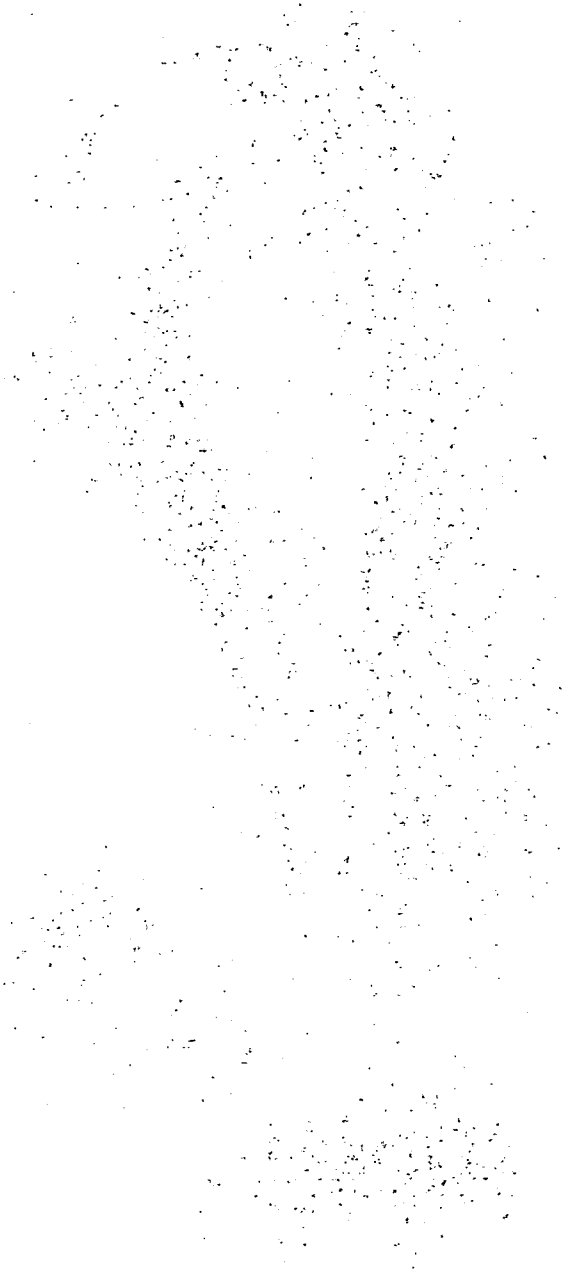
[1] This piece of the Pfahl is near the "first top" of the hill which is crowned by Schöne Aussicht. While the greater part of the road runs north or north-west, this point is situated upon a short and sharp turn *due west*, and it is just before one comes to a wooden seat by the road side.

PFAHLGRADEN ABOVE EMS.



Drawn by C. J. Spence from a Sketch by L. A. Hodgkin.

A. Reid, lith. Newcastle



it upwards for a long way. I stuck to it after the road to Schöne Aussicht had diverged to the left, and traced it till it emerged from the forest into a field (where it temporarily disappeared) above the little village of Kemmenau.

"Next morning, notwithstanding the intense heat, I set off on foot to explore the bit of the Pfahlgraben nearest to the town on the north side. You go up Graben Strasse, turn off to the left just before you come to a house called Stadt Breslau, and then continue up the steep, shaly path, quite unrewarded for your trouble, till you touch the forest. There you at once find the great bank with the two ditches full of dead beech-leaves on either side of it, just as we saw it from the road above the day before. It was very hot, and hard work climbing up the steep path as slippery with the dead leaves as with snow, but I succeeded in tracing the Wall up to the precise point where we saw it yesterday, and in fact a little further up, to the second point where it is intersected by the Schöne Aussicht road."

This bit of the Pfahlgraben must surely have been a barrier and nothing else. The skilful engineers of the Roman army would never carry a road or even a path up such a preposterous gradient as this.

At this point ends my personal experience of the Pfahlgraben. As marked on Colonel von Cohausen's map it goes from Kemmenau north-east and then west to Arzbach, skirts the Montabaur Wald to Höhr, then works round to the west, and crosses the valley of the Sayn at a point not precisely determined, but probably near the town of that name. Here it takes a wide sweep to the north, passes Oberbieber, and comes down again within about a mile of the Rhine, near the village of Niederbieber. All this, together with the evidently very interesting camp of Niederbieber (asserted by some to be the Victoria of the Romans), I leave for the present undescribed, hoping that either I or one of my fellow-members may at some future time take up this and other of my "dropped stitches" in this sketch of the Pfahlgraben. Fortunately Niederbieber is one of the most easily accessible spots along its whole course, being within three miles of Neuwied on the Rhine, in the museum of which place, apparently, most of the antiquities discovered at the camp have been deposited.[1]

According to Kiepert's map, appended to Hübner's essay, the Wall finally touched the Rhine at Hönningen, about ten miles north-west of

[1] For the camp of Niederbieber Hübner refers his readers to C. F. Hoffmann:—"Ueber die Zerstörung der Romerstädte an dem Rheine zwischen Lahn und Wied," Neuwied, 1823, and W. Dorow, "Römische Alterthümer in und um Neuwied, Berlin, 1826.

Niederbieber. Other works of fortification are to be found on the further bank of the Lower Rhine, extending even to Holland, and enclosing the great river as in a sheath; but the Limes Transhenanus, the boundary by which the Agri Decumates were enclosed, may fairly be considered as ending in the neighbourhood of Niederbieber, if indeed it can be prolonged so far.

CONCLUSION.

Let us sum up a few of the chief results of this examination of the frontier-wall of the Roman Empire in Germany.

I.—Its *length* may be approximately stated as follows:—

	English Miles.
Bavarian Section	69
Würtemberg Section[1]	70
Baden Section and onwards to the Main	27
The river Main itself the *limes* for	32
Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt (the Wetterau region) ...	59
Nassau and onwards to Hönningen on the Rhine[2] ...	80
	337

A total, that is to say, of 337 English miles, equivalent to 73 German miles, or to 539 kilometres, for its whole extent from the Danube to the Rhine.

Dividing this total between the two portions of the *Limes Transdanubianus* and the *Limes Transrhenanus* we find that the former (from Weltenburg to the Welzheim corner) stretches 101 miles, and the latter (from the Welzheim corner to Hönningen) 236 miles. The *Limes Transrhenanus* was therefore more than twice the length of the *Limes Transdanubianus*.

II.—The *mode of its formation* has been, I hope, sufficiently indicated. It is clear that, from one end to the other, we have no trace of anything like a wall lined with facing stones. Loose stones and rubble have generally been piled together to form the embankment. In some cases, only earth has been used for the purpose. There is a passage

[1] Thirty-two miles to the Welzheim corner; thirty-eight miles from thence to the frontier of Würtemberg.

[2] The windings in the course of the Wall make it difficult to estimate this portion with any approach to accuracy. The distance is about sixty miles "as the crow flies."

in Yates's memoir (page 105), where a peasant is described as spreading the earth from the Pfahlgraben over his field. Altogether, it is clear that this *limes* is far more nearly related to our *Vallum* and to Graham's Dyke in Scotland (the Wall of Antoninus) than to the North-umbrian *Murus*. Unfortunately the Scotch barrier has by this time been almost improved off the face of the earth, but I imagine that if it could have been compared a century ago with its German kinsman the resemblance would have been found especially striking.

The *height*, as has been said, varies in the different portions of the work. In Bavaria it never exceeds three-and-a-half feet, while in Nassau it frequently rises to eight or nine. Wherever the Wall can be found at all, we are almost sure to find two, sometimes three, fosses accompanying it. The reader will remember the additional fosse drawn parallel to the Wall at 17 feet distance on its northern side, between Altmannstein and Kipfenberg; but this phenomenon seems to be unique in its history.

Wherever the Wall has been carefully examined, *watch-towers*, corresponding more or less accurately to our mile-castles, have been found. In no part of its course has this feature of the Wall been more closely examined than in Würtemberg, between Welzheim and Jagsthausen. In addition to the memoir and map of Professor Herzog, I may refer on this point to his predecessor, Eduard v. Paulus, who in his pamphlet, "Der Römische Grenzwall,"[1] says:—

"Along the Wall on its inner (western) side there stood watch-towers, the remains of which in many places have been partly discovered by me, partly proved by oral tradition to have once existed. During my earlier researches in 1835 I discovered these watch-towers at a distance of about 1,000 steps from one another, but my latest enquiries have convinced me that they were placed at intervals of about 500 steps. At least that is the distance which I found between them in well-preserved portions of the Wall, and thence I conclude that this was once the disposition of them along its whole course.

"The watch-towers themselves, whose foundations I caused to be excavated in many places, were quadrangular, generally nine feet across, inside measurement, and with walls two feet five inches thick. The entrance was over against the Wall. Sometimes, especially at points of strategic importance, we find the watch-towers somewhat larger and more solidly built. In the inside I often found fragments of Roman

[1] Referred to on p. 90. Since that part of the paper went to press I have been able to procure a copy of this useful work.

utensils, and the place marked by charcoal and ashes, where the fire used to be lighted. The walls themselves were built not of dressed but only of squared stones ('nicht aus behauenen sondern nur aus zugerichteten Steinen') of moderate size, and with plenty of mortar between them, while the stones at the corners were larger and somewhat better squared. The position of the watch-towers was either close to the Wall or at a moderate distance behind it, and, when possible, in a commanding position."

The apparently circular towers in Bavaria, which Maier calls "*Zelte*," and the curious *clusters of watch-towers* on the heights of the Taunus, are phenomena unlike anything with which we are familiar in England, and seem to require further explanation.

The supporting *camps* have been found in all cases where they have been properly looked for. As in Northumberland, they are generally from five to ten miles apart, placed so as to command the widest possible view of the surrounding country, oblong, rectangular, but with the corners rounded off, varying in size between two acres and seven, generally destined for the reception of one Cohort, or perhaps, in rare instances, two, too large for a Maniple and too small for a Legion. The traces of a suburb, probably mercantile rather than military, formed behind and under the shelter of the camp, are, in one or two instances, very manifest. So, too, are the traces of a burial place, especially in the case of the Saalburg.

III.—As to the popular *name* of the Wall, we have seen that upon the whole Pfahl is the prevailing term, but subject to various modifications (Pohl, Pol, &c.), and entering into various combinations (Pfahlgraben, Pfahlrain, Pfahldöbel, Pfahlhecke, and the like). There appears to be no doubt that Pfahl is the Latin word Palus, Germanised, just as Pfalz is the Germanised form of Palatium. In classical Latin *palus* means a single stake; in mediæval Latin it seems to have acquired the meaning of a series of such stakes, or as we say, a *paling*, or a *palisade*. Hence it came also to mean the boundary formed by such a series of stakes; and here again, in "the Irish *Pale*" we have an exact analogy to this use of the word, as well as an admirable illustration of the purpose which the Pfahl in Roman days served, of marking off civilisation from barbarism.

Pfahlgraben then, the name of the Roman work which was most widely prevalent in the Middle Ages, means the *palisade* and *fosse*

(*graben* being the ordinary German word for a trench), and thus expresses the aspect which the Roman work may probably have borne far on into the Middle Ages. The trenches and the embankment we still see through long portions of its course: some sort of fence probably crowned the embankment, at any rate during the Merovingian and Carolingian ages, and perhaps much later.

Of the other compounds of Pfahl, *Pfahlhecke*, the Paling-hedge, and *Pfahlrain*, the Paling-ridge, are easily understood, and were perhaps applied where the fosse had become somewhat obliterated. *Pfahldöbel* I must confess puzzles me.

The German writers, with scarcely an exception, agree to refer to this name, Der Pfahl, a curious passage in Ammianus Marcellinus (xviii. 2 16), in which he speaks of Julian in one of his German campaigns (A.D. 359) as arriving at "the region called *Capellatium* or *Palas*, where there were boundary stones to mark the frontiers of the Alemanni and Burgundians" ("ad regionem cui Capellatii vel Palas nomen est, ubi terminales lapides Alamannorum et Burgundiorum confinia distinguebant"). They strengthen this reference by another passage from Ammianus (xxviii., 5-11), in which he says that the "Alemanni and Burgundians had frequent disputes about boundaries and salt-springs" ("salinarum finiumque causâ Alamannis saepe jurgabant"), and they conclude that the part of the Pfahl here referred to is that near Oehringen, close to the great salt deposits of Ludwigshall. Some see in the first syllable of *Ca*pellatium the Latinised form of a Teutonic reduplication, and think that the barbarians were then calling the barrier *Gepfahl*. All this may be true, but one cannot help seeing that there are several weak links in the chain.

The curious names *Teufelsmauer* and *Schweingraben*, and the popular superstitions connected with them, have been sufficiently discussed in the early part of this paper. I ought perhaps to refer to the compounds with *Hag* (Hag-Wald and Hag-Aecker), which, according to Conrady, indicate the course of the *limes*. Hag, like its kinsman Haag in Holland, is the equivalent of our *hedge*.[1]

The presence of a Roman camp is generally indicated by the word *Burg*, which thus plays the same part in the German language that Chester does in our own.

[1] Hence "the Hague," as we spell it, the name of the Court-city in Holland, which the French always translate *La Haye*.

IV.—Last of all comes the question, after reviewing the whole course of this great barrier of the Empire, "*To what Emperor or Emperors are we to attribute its construction?*"

It must at once be confessed that we have not in the Roman historians any statements so clear and definite, with reference to the Wall in Germany as a whole, as those of Spartianus and Capitolinus with reference to the Walls in Britain. The clearest and best statement that we have, only accounts for 120 Roman miles, or just a third of the total extent of the German *limes*. However, the passages in the Latin and Greek authors bearing on the subject, arranged in chronological order, are as follows :[1]—

Reign of Augustus.—FLORUS (writing between A.D. 99 and 138) says[2] that Drusus, the father of Germanicus, after subduing the Cherusci Suevi, Chatti, and other German tribes east of the Rhine, "everywhere established forts and garrisons for the defence of the [new] provinces along the River Meuse, the Elbe, and the Weser. Along the bank of the Rhine he erected more than fifty castles." This has not much bearing on our special subject, but, taken in connection with the next passage, it makes it probable that at any rate some of the camps on the Taunus owe their origin to Drusus.

Reign of Tiberius.—TACITUS says[3] that Germanicus, A.D. 15, the year after the mutiny of the legions in Germany, took with him four legions and 10,000 auxiliary troops across the Rhine. "Having erected a fort upon the ruins of his father's stronghold on Mount Taunus, he dashed into the territory of the Chatti with a lightly equipped army." By general consent this "castellum in monte Taúno" is identified with the Saalburg; and if this conjecture be

[1] I cannot be sure that the list is an exhaustive one, but I think that I have included all quoted by my German authorities.

[2] "Praeterea in tutelam provinciarum praesidia atque custodias ubique disposuit, per Mosam flumen, per Albim, per Visurgim. Nam per Rheni quidem ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxit" (iv. 12).

[3] "Posito castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno, expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit" (Ann. i. 56). The passage in Ann. i. 50, "At Romanus agmine propero sylvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio coeptum scindit," tantalises us with an apparent offer of information as to the author of the *limes*, but the scene of that campaign is a hundred miles or so further down the Rhine than the most northerly point of the *limes* which we are now considering. Still, the use of the word *limes* here, and its connection with Tiberius and Germanicus, are worth noting.

correct, we learn from this passage of Tacitus the first three events in its history—its foundation by Drusus, its destruction by the barbarians (Chatti), probably soon after the defeat of Varus, and its restoration by Germanicus.

Reign of Domitian, 82–96.—FRONTINUS, in his "Strategematicon," written about A.D. 84, says[1] "the Emperor Domitian, observing that the Germans, according to their usual custom, dashing out of their woods and obscure lurking places, suddenly attacked our subjects, and then were able to retreat in safety to the recesses of their own forests, *drew a frontier line for* 120 [*Roman*] *miles* against them, and thereby not only changed the whole character of the war, but even subjected the enemy, now deprived of their previous shelter, to his own dominion."

This is the passage above referred to as giving the clearest statement that we possess as to the author of the *limes*, and it is especially valuable as coming from a strictly contemporary writer. It is, however, to be remarked that it only accounts for 120 Roman miles, equivalent to 110 English, out of a total of 337 between the Danube and the Rhine. Nor is it easy to see what section we can separate from the rest, and attribute on the authority of this passage to Domitian. Hübner ("Jahrbuch," etc., lxiii. 32) is inclined to make it refer to the Taunus section, as being nearest to the Roman headquarters at Maintz. I am rather tempted, by the approximation to the distance from the Danube to the Welzheim corner (about 112 Roman miles according to my reckoning), to assign it to the *Limes Transdanubianus*. But this is evidently mere guess work.

Another point which has to be considered is that the passage seems rather to describe the clearing of a broad belt of woods[2] than the building of a wall. It is true that the two processes would very likely go on side by side with one another.

Reign of Trajan, 98–117.—Further information as to the result of

[1] "Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus, cum Germani more suo e saltibus et obscuris latebris subinde impugnarent nostros tutumque regressum in profunda silvarum haberent, *limitibus per cxx. m.p. actis* non mutavit tantum statum belli, sed et subjecit ditioni suae hostes, quorum refugia nudaverat" (Frontinus Strateg., i. 3, 10). Not having access to a copy of Frontinus, I give this quotation on the authority of Dr. Hübner and Professor Herzog.

[2] Consider especially the words, "Cum tutum regressum in profunda silvarum haberent . . . . hostes quorum refugia *nudaverat*."

the formation of the *limes* is given us by TACITUS, in a well-known passage which we may take as describing the state of things in this corner of Germany under the conqueror of Dacia. He says:[1]—"I would not count among the nations of Germany, though they do dwell beyond the Rhine and the Danube, those who till the tithe-lands (*Decumates Agri*); for all the floating population, made daring by hunger, has pressed in to take possession of that debateable land. Afterwards, a border-line having been drawn, and our garrisons pushed forward, this territory has been looked upon as a corner of the Roman Empire and part of a province."

Of the personal activity of Trajan in these regions (in which he held military command as *legatus* at the time of his adoption by Nerva) we have evidence in the existence of a fortress, the ruins of which were still called *Munimentum Trajani* when Julian, two centuries and a half later, in his campaign against the Alemanni, determined on its reconstruction.[2] The diploma of Weissenburg, which bears a date equivalent to our A.D. 108, shows clearly that at that point in the reign of Trajan the country between the Danube and the "Teufelsmauer" was occupied by Roman troops.[3]

For the *reign of Hadrian*, 117-138, we have the very important passage of his biographer, SPARTIANUS, which has been already quoted (page 120), and which, notwithstanding the late date of this author (about A.D. 280 or 300), we cannot afford to disregard, so slenderly are we fur-

[1] "Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos qui Decumates Agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopiâ audax dubiae possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur" (Germania, xxix.) Notice particularly the phrase "*limite acto*," precisely corresponding with the expression used by Frontinus.

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. 1-11:—"Et dum nullus obsisteret, munimentum quod in Alamannorum solo conditum Trajanus suo nomine voluit appellari, dudum violentius oppugnatum, tumultuario studio reparatum est" [a Juliano]. Hübner (page 30) thinks this fortress was in the neighbourhood of the Odenwald. Some previous expressions of Ammianus would incline me to think that it was beyond the Main, perhaps in the Wetterau; but we have really no sufficient indication of its position.

[3] But Herzog's argument (page 37) that, because Tacitus in the Germania (xli.) seems to put the Hermunduri next to the Danube, therefore this extension must have been made by Trajan after the Germania was written, is surely too subtle; especially so, as he speaks of the Hermunduri as loyal to Rome ("Hermundurorum civitas fida Romanis"), and on unusually friendly terms with the Empire. In fact, his words might very fairly describe the condition of a German tribe dwelling within the *limes*.

nished with contemporary evidence of the acts of this great Emperor. "At that time" [soon after A.D. 120], "and often at other times, in very many places in which the barbarians are divided [from us], not by rivers but by boundaries (*limitibus*), by means of large stakes, after the fashion of a mural hedge, fixed deep into the ground and connected with one another, he separated the barbarians" [from the Empire]. ("*Stipitibus magnis, in modum muralis sepis, funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit.*") The uncouth words will only admit of an uncouth translation. They tantalise our curiosity by telling us just so much about the "mural hedge" or "palisade," whose name lingers on in the *Pfahl*graben, as makes us wish to learn more. But the general principle that river boundaries were to be supplemented by artificial lines of demarcation is very clearly stated. Hadrian is spoken of as the great developer of this scheme of defence at various times and in various places, and, upon the whole, the German antiquaries are probably warranted by this passage in attributing to that Emperor more than to any other single name the construction of the *Limes Transdanubianus et Transrhenanus*. I say, "more than to any other single name," because it seems to me most probable that neither the German Wall nor the British was entirely the work of one man. The German camps, some of them at any rate, had probably been in existence for a hundred years or more. By Domitian's orders a commencement was made towards a well-defined and continuous *limes*. It was probably the glory of the whole series of Adoptive Emperors, from Nerva to Aurelius, to have a share, more or less, in the completion of this great work; but no one symbolised their activity in this respect to the eyes of posterity so vividly as the great Emperor AELIUS HADRIANUS.

With this quotation from Spartianus our *literary* information as to the origin of the Wall really comes to an end. The *inscriptions* give us a trace of the exertions of subsequent Emperors, particularly those of the house of Severus (Septimius, Caracalla, Alexander), in repairing camps, baths, and other edifices adjoining the Wall; and no doubt the same energy would be, in some measure, expended in restoring ruined places in the Wall itself. The curious quotations already given from Dion Cassius and Xiphiline, with reference to Caracalla's operations on the Alemannic border (see page 108), are well illus-

trated by these inscriptions. The monuments also entirely confirm the view which, from the words and from the silence of the historians, we should already have been disposed to take, that the reign of *Gallienus* (261-268), the period commonly known as that of the Thirty Tyrants, saw the close of the continuous and settled Roman domination beyond the Rhine and Danube. A victorious general like Probus or Julian might, after this, make a successful inroad on the territory of the barbarians, burn their homes, and compel them to sue for a temporary peace, but of any abiding re-conquest of the Agri Decumates by the forces of the Empire we find no trace either in literature or on the monuments.

The mention of *Probus* (who reigned from 276 to 282) reminds us to notice that mistaken theory, for which our great countryman Gibbon is mainly responsible, which makes him the chief builder of the Wall. The inscriptions in this part of Germany are, I believe, silent as to his name. The only notices of him in the historians which have any reference to this subject are contained in the "Augustan History," in the life usually attributed to Vopiscus. After describing his victories over the barbarian invaders of Gaul, and his dispersion of the remnants of their armies beyond the river Neckar and the Rauhe Alp (ultra Nicrum fluvium et Albam),[1] he continues, "Opposite to the Roman cities he also placed camps in the territory of the barbarians, and therein stationed his soldiers."[2] He then goes on to describe the generous gifts of lands, houses, and corn which he made to all his Trans-Rhenane soldiers whom he had stationed in these outposts, the lively manner in which the war proceeded, stimulated as it was by a reward of one *aureus* (sixteen shillings) for every head of a barbarian that was brought into the camp, and finally the arrival of nine petty kings of various tribes, who prostrated themselves at the feet of Probus imploring peace. The Emperor ordered them to furnish hostages to bring in corn, cows, and sheep for his army. All these

[1] By a strange oversight, which has been noticed by many commentators, Gibbon has extracted from this passage the statement that Probus "displayed his invincible eagles on the banks of *the Elbe* and the Neckar." He has mistaken [Mons] Alba for [Fluvius] Albis.

[2] "Contra urbes Romanas et castra in solo barbarico posuit atque illic milites collocavit" (c. xiii). A possible translation would appear to be—"On the other hand" (the biographer has just been describing the barbarian incursions into Gaul) "he placed Roman cities and camps on the barbarian soil," etc.

commands were complied with. Then, with some asperity, he told them to cease from using their own swords in self-defence, and to rely on the Roman succour if attacked. "It appeared, however, that this policy could not be carried through unless the *limes* were extended, and the whole of Germany became a Roman province."[1] He severely punished those of the barbarians who did not disgorge the plunder of Gaul, and imposed on them a levy of 16,000 recruits, whom he distributed by fifties and sixties in various provinces of the Empire, saying that the presence of barbarian auxiliaries must be felt, not seen. "Having thus settled matters in Gaul,"[2] and having evidently spent but a short time altogether on either bank of the Rhine, he went to Illyricum. The rest of his brief seven years' reign was passed there or in the East. Eighteen months is the utmost time that can be allowed for the whole sojourn of the Emperor in what had once been the Agri Decumates.

The reader has now before him all the evidence upon which the claim for Probus as the builder of the Wall rests. What does it amount to? A successful raid into the territory on the right bank of the Rhine, which may have been once Roman but was now "barbaricum solum," the construction or re-construction of some Roman camps like Castell, Wiesbaden, possibly Aschaffenburg, as *têtes du pont* on the barbarian bank of the Rhine, and perhaps of the Main, a temporary reduction of some German chieftains to vassalage, and a rhetorical flourish about what might be done *if*—an obvious impossibility—the *limes* were extended and the whole of Germany were turned into a Roman Province. Not one word about building the Wall, or about any real extension of the Empire beyond the limits which bounded it under the Antonines. The reader who carefully examines the passage, and who is familiar with the boastful, inflated, official-bulletin style of Vopiscus, will probably have his own doubts as to whether a temporary re-establishment even within those limits was accomplished; but that is not what we have now to discuss.

Turning now to Gibbon's twelfth chapter,[3] we find a most

[1] "Sed visum est id non posse fieri nisi si *limes* Romanus extenderetur, et fieret Germania tota Provincia" (c. xiv).

[2] "Compositis igitur rebus *in Galliâ*" (c. xv).

[3] (Vol. ii. p. 46. Ed. Smith.)

marvellous edifice erected out of nothing. The settlement of the *Agri Decumates* is told with reasonable accuracy. Hadrian's palisade is also fairly enough described. But then come two astounding sentences, "In the place of so rude a bulwark the Emperor Probus constructed a stone wall of a considerable height, and strengthened it by towers at convenient distances. From the neighbourhood of Neustadt and Ratisbon on the Danube, it stretched across hills, valleys, rivers, and morasses as far as Wimpfen on the Neckar, and at length terminated on the banks of the Rhine after a winding course of near 200 miles." Almost every word here except Neustadt and Ratisbon is wrong. We have no evidence that Probus ever built any wall. The Wall which was built, was not of stone, that is to say, not of hewn stone. It did not reach as far as Wimpfen, nor come within fifteen miles of the Neckar. It is much more remarkable for the straightness of some of its portions than for its "winding course," yet notwithstanding its straightness it measures, from river to river, "more than 300" instead of "near 200" miles.

Gibbon's reference to the "Notes de l'Abbé de la Bléterie à la Germanie de Tacite" accounts for and to some extent excuses his mistake. Owing to his imperfect acquaintance with German he could not consult the then existing native authorities, Döderlein and Hansselmann, who would have given him better information than this, though they might have led him into some errors; and he has, therefore, been obliged to rely on the compilation of a French Abbé, who, though he did useful work in illustrating the history of Julian, evidently knew very little about the German *limes*.

It is time to bring this paper to a close. It may seem to some readers a waste of time to endeavour to settle precisely the boundary of the Roman Empire between the Rhine and the Danube. But in Archæological as in other Science we must not let the question "Quid refert?" prevent us from pressing forward to the highest degree of accuracy which is attainable. And in truth the Roman occupation of South-Western Germany had an important bearing on the history of Mediæval and Modern Europe. We see, with ever-increasing clearness, that wheresoever Roman civilisation had once been established, the new Teutonic social system was, to use a geological phrase, always more or less of a "conformable deposit" on the top of it. The fact that the

larger part of German Austria, half of Bavaria, nearly the whole of Würtemberg and Baden, and all the Rhine lands, were Romanised, must have powerfully influenced character, manners, and forms of government in those countries through the Middle Ages down to the present day. The hero of the *Nibelungen Lied* is represented as born at Xanten, a place now of little note but evidently then illustrious by the memory of the great Roman colony of Vetera, which it represented. The three Ecclesiastical Electors of the Reich had their seats in three of the greatest military stations of the Romans, Colonia, Moguntiacum, and Augusta Treverorum; and the thoroughly Roman character of the Church of Santa Maria in Capitolio, at Cologne, in which the wife of Pepin d'Heristal lies buried, helps one to understand the still lingering influences of Roman civilisation along the banks of the Rhine, under which the Austrasian princes grew up, and out of which the mighty Charles himself, great-grandson of Pepin, evolved that vision of a restored Empire to which we owe Mediæval and Modern Europe.

NOTE TO PAGE 123, LINE 31.

In Professor Schneider's useful little essay on the Wetterau portion of the *limes* ("*Der Römische Pfahlgraben von der Wetter bis zum Main*," Düsseldorf, 1879) I find the explanation of this word *Pfaffendamm*. He says that it undoubtedly originated in the fact that the embankment in early times was church-property [not very profitable property, one would think]. A legend prevails in the neighbourhood that the Pfaffendamm was originally hollow (!) and that the Catholics used in old times to walk through this hollow passage, from Rüdigheim to Gross Krotzenburg, "on their way to church and confession."