XV. *The Graves of the Alemanni at Oberflacht in Suabia.* By W. M. WYLIE,
Esq. B.A. F.S.A.

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It is pleasant to refer to the archæological opinions of the last century in England, when antiquarian alchymy could transpose the ornamental beads of the Saxon tomb into "Druid snake-eggs," and throw a Roman halo round relics it was too impossible to ascribe to the Celts. Nor were matters better in France. Every sepulchral discovery was classed as Gaulish, or Gallo-Roman; and even Montfaucon could assume the ponderous belt-buckle of a Merovingian warrior to belong to female head-gear.* At this time, indeed, the Saxon and Frankish periods seem to have been altogether ignored; but archæology has at length cast off such erring traditions.

Thanks to Douglas^b and his modern followers, we have arrived at a more correct apprehension of our own national antiquities. Not content with this, our more zealous antiquaries are ever seeking to increase our still scanty stock of information on this all-important subject, by such comparison with the remains of the cognate races of continental Europe as the isolated efforts of individuals may effect. The zealous writings of the Abbé Cochet,^c and Dr. Rigollot,^d in France, and of Herr Lindenschmit,^e in Germany, have rendered infinite service, by setting vividly before us, in detail, their discoveries of the remains respectively of the Salic and the Ripuarian Franks.^f

I would now, then, solicit the attention of the Society to some remarkable relics

* *Antiquité Expliquée*, tom. v. p. 192, planche 137.

^b *Nenia Britannica*.

^c *Normandie Souterraine*, 2^e edition, Paris, 1855.

^d "Recherches Historiques sur les Peuples de la Race Teutonique," in vol. x. of the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*.

^e *Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen, Mainz*, 1848.

^f To our learned colleague Mr. Roach Smith we owe a valuable commentary on these works in the second volume of his *Collectanea Antiqua*.

from a source altogether new to us—the Alemannic. In these vestiges of the inhabitants of a remote valley of the Black Forest, near the sources of the Danube, we may trace the same salient peculiarities which pourtray the habits and customs of the conquerors of Gaul and Britain. It is indeed very probable that the same family assimilation will ever be found to exist in all Teutonic remains assignable to the Heathen period. At this moment, when the fearful struggle for mastery between the rival races of Teuton and Slave seems about to convulse the world, such retrospective inquiry as may recall the primæval kindred ties and brotherhood of Frank, German, and Saxon, may not be altogether useless or uninteresting.

When at Stuttgart, during the past summer, I had an opportunity of examining these Alemannic relics with Captain von Dürrieh, of the Würtemberg Engineers, to whom we are indebted for their discovery. This took place at Oberflacht, in Suabia, so far back as 1846, and an account appeared in the yearly memoirs of the Antiquarian Society of Stuttgart. Beyond a passing allusion to the fact in the preface to the English edition of Worsaae's "*Primæval Antiquities*," I believe we have hitherto remained without notice of these exceedingly remarkable Teutonic remains.

Oberflacht is a village about two leagues distant from Tutlingen, a small town on the confines of Würtemberg and Baden, not far distant from the sources of the Danube at Donaueschingen. On one side of the Oberflacht valley rises the lofty hill of Lupfen, with a fir wood on its summit; on the opposite side is another hill, termed the Karpfen. When the Alemannic tribe were in possession of the valley, it would seem to have been a sylvan region, abounding with large oaks; but, with the exception of the firs on the Lupfen, the spot is now totally void of forest trees. The valley is all meadow ground, through which the brook Elda^a winds its way, and, after uniting its waters with the Faulbach, enters the Danube below at Tutlingen.

Just out of Oberflacht is a hillock,^b marked by a wooden cross, which from time immemorial has borne the name of "*Kreuzbühel*." It was here that a neighbouring brickmaker, searching the ground for clay, made the original discovery

^a It is quite worthy of attention how frequently the vicinity of water has been selected for the sites of Teutonic burial-places. We notice the fact at Selzen; at Envermeu, Londinières, Douvrend, in France; and in England, at Wilbraham, Fairford, Harnham, and Wingham. Further inquiry would, perhaps, enable us to cite many other spots.

^b This swelling hillock was once probably very much higher. It seems to resemble that at Linton Heath, opened by the Hon. R. C. Neville, and found to contain so many Saxon interments. (*Journal of Archæol. Institute*, vol. xi. p. 95.)

of these Alemannic remains. No record exists which hints at the application of this spot to sepulchral uses; nor does any such tradition linger among the village peasants, who for ages have buried their dead in the parish cemetery on the side of the opposite hill of Karpfen. The discovery, therefore, took all parties by surprise; but as the brickmaker, after breaking up several interments, desisted from the troublesome task, it seems to have excited little attention, and so remained for some years in abeyance.

In the autumn of 1846, circumstances led Captain von Dürrieh and Dr. Wolfgang Menzel to make a prolonged and scientific examination, which, it will be seen, was conducted in the most satisfactory manner. We owe much to these gentlemen for their records and drawings *in situ*, ever the most valuable. Many of the most remarkable objects were of wood, which, though perfect when discovered, rapidly became disorganised on exposure to the air, and were only saved at all by skilful chemical appliances.

The mode of burial pursued by this tribe of Alemanni is most remarkable. We find no traces of cremation. The right of inhumation was pursued in two ways, both having singular regard to the preservation of the corpse. The more prevailing mode seems to have been, to fell a massive oak, cleave the bole into nearly equal parts, and hollow out the interior to serve for a sarcophagus (Pl. XIII. fig. 6). After the body and the various accompanying relics were placed in this tree-coffin (*todtenbaum*) the two parts were refitted, and firmly pegged together. In the whole of this process no trace of the saw appears. It was managed with the axe or adze alone, and hence it follows that the stems are frequently found unevenly divided. On the outside the bark was merely removed, and the inequalities smoothed off. On the upper part, or lid, of such coffins as contained the corpses of *men*, the crested forms of snakes are rudely carved on the whole length in full relief (Pl. XII.). The heads of these reptiles, which are furnished with teeth, and horns, or ears, project at either end, and serve for handles:

“ ——— adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis
Septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit,
Amplexus placidè tumulum.”^a

In some cases the stems of pear-trees have been used, and have always been found in a very decayed state. These tree-coffins were mostly found at a depth of from four to five feet. Those of the men were about nine feet long; those of women and children were shorter.

^a Virgil. *Æneid.* iv. l. 242.

The other description of interment was on a couch or crib (*totten-bettstatt*), the framework of which consisted of four posts, connected by a tastily-carved wooden rail (Pl. XI. fig. 2).

On one occasion, this death-couch was divided horizontally into two stories (Pl. XI. fig. 3); while another, not less than eleven feet and a-half in length, was found to be divided into three compartments.

Another again was furnished with a covering like a gable roof (Pl. XII. fig. 3), on the ridge of which the usual guardian snakes were carved. The bodies lay with the heads to the west, and the variations from this direction were very trifling.

The smaller coffins were found merely lying in the clay, and were generally in a state of decay. Those of a better class, however, were protected from the incumbent soil by a covering of massive oaken planks placed sometimes lengthways, sometimes across the grave. In the latter case the cross beams were occasionally found in two layers; the upper layer being so arranged as to overlap the divisions of the lower. The richer interments again were completely cased, as though in a chest, with massive oak trees. In several graves the roofing was higher at the extremities of the interments than at the middle, apparently for the purpose of more effectually protecting the serpents' heads carved on the coffin lids.

The wood has generally become hard and black like ebony, and is admirably adapted for the purposes of the cabinet maker.

This extraordinary state of preservation of the coffins, as also of the relics of wood they contained, is most probably to be attributed to the tenacious nature of the clay in which they were embedded, and, as it were, hermetically sealed up. The water, too, which had penetrated at the junctions, had deposited a slimy coating of clay, which insinuated itself everywhere. The tannin and gallic acid contained in the green oak stems must also have contributed a powerful antiseptic principle. Such at least was Dr. Buckland's opinion respecting a similar British interment found near Gristhorpe, in Yorkshire, and now preserved in the Scarborough Museum. A careful analysis of the soil and water might perhaps further assist us in explaining the remarkable preservation of objects so naturally liable to decay.

Not to weary the Society, I have endeavoured to be as concise as possible in the foregoing introduction of our subject. The account of the individual graves and their contents will, I am sure, be far more useful and acceptable if given at full in the able words of Dr. Menzel, who was present at their examination. The translation has, therefore, purposely been made as literal as possible:—

“ It must be first remarked that we opened possibly a dozen graves in which no relic was met with, none at least possessing any characteristic value. Such graves

we have not noticed. It will also be borne in mind that all the coffins were of oak, when it is not otherwise expressly mentioned.

“ The grave No. 1, under the way-side cross, was opened by Mr. Baader, post-master of Tutlingen, and contained a tree-coffin (*todten-baum*), with the snakes' heads; also an oval-shaped wooden bowl, and an exceedingly well preserved bow, six feet long (Pl. XIII. fig. 5).

“ No. 2 was opened by Judge Hartmann, of Spaichingen, and also contained a tree-coffin with snakes' heads. In this lay a male skeleton, which we received entire; a piece of the skull had been cleft out by a powerful blow; it still retained a strongly offensive smell of corruption. On the right of the skeleton lay a stout rusted iron sword, in a wooden scabbard, bound about in the upper part with birch-bast. All the swords we met with afterwards were, like this, two feet and a half long, one inch and a quarter broad, and two-edged; there was also a strong bow, seven feet long, like all those last found, with the remains of arrows, so withered up that we at first took them for bowstrings. Between the leg bones lay a gourd, with its round form still preserved, of four inches diameter, a walnut, and fifteen hazel-nuts. The feet were in handsome leather sandals (Pl. XIII. fig. 4). The leather, like all the rest found in the graves, was very thin and flabby, but manifestly only rendered so by time.

“ No. 3 and the rest of the graves were opened by the editors. This grave, with the two next, were opened in the spring of 1846. It contained a very decayed tree-coffin of pear wood. Embedded in leaves and moss within it lay an equally decayed female skeleton. In the middle of it, in the mire, we found a remarkable comb of black horn (Pl. XIII. fig. 1), ornamented with white rings, in a case of the same material similarly ornamented. By it lay an almost entirely oxydised iron buckle, with four purple glass studs at the corners (Pl. XIV. fig. 9). Lastly, a massive bronze ring of two inches in diameter.

“ No. 4. Decayed tree-coffin of pear wood. It contained an equally decayed male skeleton, with a dark woollen cloth round the middle. The texture is close, with a lozenge-shaped pattern.

“ No. 5. In an inclosure of thick planks was a large death-couch (*todten-bettstatt*), neatly constructed in two stories (Pl. XI. fig. 3). A thick pole lay crossways in the upper chamber from south-east to north-west; at the feet was a handsome wooden bottle (Pl. XIV. figs. 2 and 3). In the lower division was a tolerably decayed but still distinguishable skeleton, with arms and legs crossed, and a white, barked, hazel-rod placed between the legs. On either side of the head were two very remarkable shoes, most beautifully carved in wood. On the hips were found rags of the same dark

cloth as in grave 4. Between the legs, also, was a large wooden bowl, on which a smaller one was still standing, covered with the same cloth. On the left of the dead was the shell of a large gourd, but it had not retained its round form; and in the right hand was a cherry-stone. Crossways, before the feet, was a piece of wood, carved like bamboo.

“No. 6, with all the following graves, was opened by us in the autumn of 1846, and contained in its inclosure of thick boards a tree-coffin with the snakes' heads. On the foot of the coffin stood a deep large wooden bowl, on the which lay a second one, but shallower, which formed the cover. Inside was a bow and three arrows. The arrows in all the coffins were alike—two feet long, thicker above than below. The remains of the cement, with which the feathers had been fastened, was still visible. No metal points were found; only sometimes the small rivets with which the missing points had been fastened. The blunted end, on which the point had been, was on some arrows stained of a cinnabar-red colour.

“No. 7, beneath a double covering of boards, but without the side-walls, contained a tree-coffin, on the upper snake-head of which the horns and fangs were preserved. Outside the tree, on the right of the feet, lay an iron lance-head, thrust through a delicately turned little wooden bowl; near was an earthen jug. Within was a well-preserved male skeleton, which we brought away with us, together with the tree. On its right lay a well-preserved iron sword. On the left were two iron swords still sharp; a horizontal piece of bronze, ornamented with snakes' heads, whereon probably a pouch had hung; bronze tweezers; a stylus of the same metal; a remarkable piece of wood; an iron buckle with inlaid purple glass studs, as in No. 3; two flints; some felt; and a little rag of dark cloth. At the feet was a wooden bowl.

“No. 8 contained a tree-coffin. Outside, at the feet, was a well-preserved wooden bowl. Inside was a broken bowl of pottery; a large wooden bowl, with some remains of a dark thick porridge, and on it a well-preserved wooden bottle; near this was a small wooden bowl. On the right side again were three arrows. The long bow lay athwart the body. In the middle of the coffin, at the very bottom, lay two flat pieces of wood in the form of hands (Pl. XIII. fig. 2), and of natural size, near a handsome pair of bronze tweezers.

“No. 9, a tree-coffin (Pl. XIII. fig. 6). At the foot, on the left, a great earthen jug. On the right was a wooden candlestick, just like those still in use in this place. On the right side was again a bow, and three arrows.

“No. 10, a skeleton in a decayed coffin. The neck was standing straight up, while the head rested between the two feet, with the face turned to the body. The

neck joints were not cut through, but the first was wanting. On the right side a bow was lying, cut into three equally divided pieces. Near this were three arrows and a long rod lying lengthwise on the skeleton. Could this have been the grave of some person who died by the hand of the executioner? and could the bow have been thus cut up as a mark of infamy?

“No. 11, very shattered, but containing at the right of the feet a well-preserved earthen jug with a spout, and blackened on one side, perhaps by its long service at the fire on the hearth. Also the remains of bows and arrows, with cinnabar-red points, and of two wooden bowls. In the very middle of the coffin lay fifty-eight cherry-stones in a heap in the mire.

“No. 12 was deep, and contained the small coffin of a child, almost entirely decayed. We only found in it six staves of a little tub, and the remains of a wooden bowl.

“No. 13 had gone to pieces, and was empty. It only merits mention because flat stones lay over it instead of wooden beams.

“No. 14 had a boarded roofing, forming, as usual, a long quadrangle, with the corners unusually rounded off. Beneath it lay a smoothed and perfectly round tree-coffin, without the snakes' heads, which contained female remains covered with water, in which seven pears were swimming about. These were brown and shrivelled, but the rind, the insides, and stems, of an inch to one and a half in length, were very distinguishable. By the remains were a tattered rag, as in No. 4, and of lighter and browner texture; a cloth like that of No. 7; and a fine bordered riband, two inches long, that we at first took for linen, but afterwards found to be silk. It is strongly woven, and of brown colour. Also two little wooden instruments, which doubtless appertained to female occupations.

“No. 15, very decomposed, but in it was a well-preserved bow, an arrow, and a rusted knife, with a small whetstone much used. A little key was found in the ground outside, quite close to the coffin.

“No. 16, a little child's couch, resting on pillars. Within, on the right, was a little black earthen vessel, and the remains of a large wooden bowl. Crossways, over the feet, was a wooden stool. About the middle of the body was a bronze finger ring, and a stone spindle-twirl. On the neck were seven large glass beads. Near the body, on the left, lay a large, sceptre-formed, piece of wood.

“No. 17 contained a couch. In it were a singular pair of leather gloves, strongly laced on the back of the hand, and lined in the inside with a soft cloth, almost perished. On the right was a little vessel, neatly turned out of a single piece of oak. At the feet were two large and one small wooden bowls.

"No 18, entirely in decay. It contained a large knife, with a bronze handle, unfortunately almost entirely perished; the rich ornamentation upon it was scarcely recognisable.

"No 19, a decayed tree-coffin. Within, at the feet, was a large black earthen jug, set on a broad wooden platter, in the which some thick brown porridge yet remained. A thick bed of well-preserved moss, which we brought away with us, filled up the whole coffin. Upon it was lying a female body; the red hair was still in good preservation; but, on exposure to the air, it turned brown. A hair-pin was still fastened in it, and close by were the remains of a little leathern hood, and a kind of slag-ashes. Round the neck were twenty small variegated glass beads. By these was also a lot of pears, with long stems.

"No. 20, decayed. A single yellow glass bead was where the neck had been; on the feet two leathern sandals; and a wooden bowl.

"No. 21, quite perished. It only contained a broken wooden bowl of the bellying-out pitcher form.

"No. 22, quite perished, and full of a sticky, almost dry clay, out of which we extracted twenty-nine glass beads, fourteen of amber, and a peach stone furnished with a shank. This last lay with the glass beads, and belonged to the necklace.

"No. 23, quite perished. It only contained two grooved pieces of wood, with a button and a hazel-nut.

"No. 24. Tree-coffin, with snakes' heads. Outside, on the right of the feet, was a wooden candlestick (Pl. XIII. fig. 3); inside, at the feet, was a decayed wooden bottle, and a small wooden bowl within a large one, with a buckle, and a wand seven feet long.

"No. 25 was quite perished. Out of the thick clay we extracted twenty-three glass beads, five of amber, and an oval one of amethyst.

"No. 26, perished; with the coffin, probably, of a boy. At the feet, a very neat earthenware bowl, black, with ornamentation in silver or lead glaze; a well-preserved tub; the remains of a wooden platter; and a solitary cherry-stone in the middle of the coffin.

"No. 27, very perished. At the feet, on the left, was a set of weaving implements in perfect preservation. Between two thin boards, of an oval and somewhat pointed form, one foot five and a half inches long, were eight very thin boards, two spindles or knitting-pins, and a very pretty reed, which closely corresponds to the measure of a Würtemberg foot. The very perished skeleton of a female lay embedded in straw, tolerably well preserved; near it was a handsome wooden bowl.

"No. 28. A tree-coffin, with snakes' heads, within a well-constructed railed inclosure (Pl. XII. figs. 1 and 2). Outside, on the right, was a handsome iron lance-head, fastened to the shaft with gilt nails, which was bound round with a thin leather strap spiral-wise. On the left were the remains of an oval wooden shield, covered with some white material, and this again with leather, two feet and a half long, and one foot and a half broad. Below the tree lay two long thin hazel rods, probably of a mystic import, for they would have been too weak for staves. Inside was a decomposed male skeleton of unusual size, (a still preserved thigh-bone measures nineteen inches,) also a little black hair, an iron sword, which this time exceptionally lay on the left side, high up towards the head, in a wooden scabbard covered with leather, and bound round with birch-bast. Also a thick bronze buckle, and a small one, a wooden bottle, a single cherry-stone, and several pear-pips. At the feet was a handsome black jug, with fifty-five hazel nuts.

"No. 29 contained a coffin with snakes' heads, in which, contrary to the usual rule, there lay, not a man's, but a woman's skeleton. This skeleton we brought away with us; with the exception of the upper jaw, it is in a good state of preservation. Round the neck were twenty-one beads of glass, and nineteen of amber; also two bronze fibulæ, ornamented with purple glass (Pl. XIV. figs. 5 and 8), to hold the dress together, and a bronze ring; also two more wooden implements of work like those mentioned in No. 14; near them was a wooden spindle-twirl. At the feet was a handsome wooden dish. In this interment, too, were found three well-preserved walnuts, and a plum-stone.

"No. 30. A very wide couch, unfortunately almost entirely perished. We got out of the soft clay a superb fibula (Pl. XIV. figs. 4 and 7). The plate of thin gilding, laid on a strong cement, is covered with filigree ornament. The central cross-formed relievo ornamentation, in red glass, bears three very small glass studs at each of its four corners. The other side is plated, and has some marks scratched on it, the meaning of which is not distinguishable. Here, also, was further found a small bronze buckle, and two large beads.

"No. 31, the largest grave we have met with. At the depth of seven feet it contained a couch eleven feet and a half long, and three and a half broad. Its length was divided into three chambers; in the first chamber, seven feet long, was a male skeleton, probably of a youth, from the disproportioned stature. The head was bent to the right and reclined on a handsome iron sword, the double-guard and pommel of which still remained, and on a kind of stringed instrument of wood; both of these were lying on the right arm. About the middle of the body

was found a very wide belt-buckle with two broad gilt studs, and a large pointed knife in a superb sheath. The knife is eleven inches long, and single-edged; it has a broad back, and is slightly curved underneath. The sheath is double the width of the knife; the wooden or leather frame with which it must have been furnished was gone, but its form was to be made out from the three gilt bands, and the gilt and richly ornamented scabbard point, which clearly is of some amalgam like pinchbeck. In this division of the tomb there was also found a small knife, and a hundred and seventy-two hazel nuts. In the second chamber lay a well preserved iron horse-bit, with rosettes also of iron; the very richly-designed ornamentations of these are inlaid with fine silver wire. With these was also a number of clasps and buckles of perished straps, all of very skilful workmanship, either embossed, or of iron inlaid with silver wire. The third chamber had two subdivisions; in the left were the remains of a wooden saddle, and a horse breast-belt of bronze with escutcheons. On the right was a wooden candlestick, with two flint-stones; a large wooden bowl with four circles round it; a mystic wooden shoe, not like the ornamented ones in No. 5, but simply a form cut and well modelled to the shape of the foot; also a wooden slab with devices carved upon it. Close by, outside the chamber, on the right, was an iron lance-head, much oxydised.

“No. 32, much perished. It contained a necklace of fifty-five handsome glass beads, the half of a hollow bronze ring, the remains of a bronze border, some fragments of leather, and some hazel nuts.

“No. 33, much decayed. It contained a finger-ring, and a small bronze buckle, a mysterious little dark grey stone, and a stud.

“No. 34, very shattered. Within was a sword entirely oxydised, but on which the very remarkable wooden scabbard still adhered. At the right side a bow with three arrows; in the middle a large iron buckle; and at the feet a well preserved pail, with a wooden jug, turned in the most skilful manner, and an elegant wooden bowl. In the last was a dark mass of spoon-meat, and by it two curious transparent skins, one round as a bladder, the other long-shaped, giving the idea of a sausage.

“No. 35, much perished. It contained a wooden cup, and five flints.

“No. 36 only had a bronze buckle, with two flints.

“No. 37 only contained some pieces of leather, and a singular piece of wood, a foot long.

“No. 38, also sadly perished. Above appeared a straight comb with two rows of teeth. By it was some black hair, and fragments of cloth, as in No. 7. A sort

of spindle whirl-stone seemed to betoken a woman's corpse, but we must take it to be the pommel of a sword,^a as we found the sword by it. A long rod in the coffin also pointed out a male interment. The comb also belonged to a man's head-dress. Outside also was a knife, and a bronze stud. Between the feet was a large wooden bowl, with spoon-meat, and remains of bones; also a small wooden bowl. At the feet, on the right, was an earthen pot, wherein also were remains of spoon-meat, and bones.

"No. 39, very perished. It contained a long hazel wand, some tattered leather sandals, a bronze buckle, a flint stone, a hazel nut, and some straw.

"No. 40 disclosed itself in the form of a death-couch, with a regular gable roof (Pl. XII. fig. 3), on the top of which lay the two snakes. The inside, unfortunately, was much destroyed. Besides thirty hazel nuts, we found several interesting objects at the feet of the dead, a very thin round piece of brass, a long plate with a small escutcheon, a tall thin glass (Pl. XIV. fig. 1), with white ornamentation burnt in, unfortunately broken; a small but still elastic strap of leather, a wooden platter, a broken wooden bottle, two wooden shoes, and some hog's bristles. On the coffin were some pieces of resin. In the surrounding earth was also a rusted knife."—*Jahreshefte des Württembergischen Alterthums Vereins*, iii.

After hearing Dr. Menzel's interesting and minute account of the result of the Oberflacht excavations, we can have but little doubt as to the general Teutonic character of these graves. With the remains of the Celts there is manifestly nothing in common, while they differ from those purely Scandinavian, or the more hybridised memorials of Livonia, Courland, or Esthonia. On the other hand, they strongly assimilate with the remains found throughout Rhenish Germany, Belgium, and France, which we distinguish by the term of Frankish. Assuming these graves then to be Teutonic, to which branch of this large family may they correctly be assigned? Dr. Menzel, apparently with great reason, considers them Alemannic. On the *Völkerwanderung*, or general migration of the German nations, which overthrew the Roman power, this country became peopled by the Alemanni. This name probably represents the union of many tribes, like the Frankish and Saxon confederations. Dr. Menzel further considers these Alemanni to have been the direct progenitors of the present inhabitants. This again appears probable enough from the following inferential evidence deduced from archæology. In the Lupfen neighbourhood, the coffins of common use still bear the old appellation of *todten-bäume*—literally, "trees of the dead." It is even now not unfrequently the custom to inter the dead in their usual attire, and, till very lately,

^a It was probably one of the amuletic beads we find in Anglo-Saxon graves under similar circumstances.

with many a favourite object of their household stuff. So long will old heathen observances linger on in a rustic district! Lastly, the inhabitants of the Black Forest itself still greatly affect the use of wooden bowls and platters, and maintain their reputation as expert carvers and turners in wood.

When coins and inscriptions are altogether wanting, it is always difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at the date of such sepulchral remains. The unusual absence, however, of Roman pottery, or other relics, the well finished sword-blades, and the frequent occurrence of this weapon, the richness of the *damasquinure* work, the peculiar style of the fibulæ, perhaps, also, the fashion of the wooden utensils, especially of the bottles, all seem to concur in leading us to assign the late Carolingian period as the probable date of these graves. Such an opinion is at least fortified by the experienced authority of Herr Lindenschmit. Further evidence to this effect also exists in the very deteriorated state of the composition of the bronze, which is always found to be the result of a late debased period of the arts. Professor Fehling, of Stutgard, who analysed the Oberflacht bronze, gives a result of—

87·68 Copper.

6·94 Tin.

1·15 Lead.

4·13 Zinc, mixed with a little Iron.

99·90

The same deterioration in the bronze of the late Merovingian period is shown by the skilful analysis of Professor Girardin, of Rouen.^a A mirror of the rich bronze period, from the Gallo-Roman cemetery of Cany, gives a very different result:

Copper, 78·5.

Tin, 21·5.

100·0^a

It is, however, but right to state that Dr. Grimm is disposed to assign a far earlier date to these remains, to which he twice alludes in his *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*.^b

The great novelty we meet with, in these singularly preserved witnesses of the domestic requirements of a thousand years ago, undoubtedly consists in the many

^a Analyses de plusieurs produits d'art d'une haute Antiquité. 2^e Mémoire, par J. Girardin, Professeur de Chimie, de la Ville de Rouen.

^b Pages 5 and 499.

articles of wood which we thus see formed so essential a part of a Teutonic ménage.^a One is almost led to think that, but for "decay's effacing fingers," we should frequently meet with such wooden vessels in other graves of cognate nations; but never before have remains, so singularly preserved, been submitted to our examination.

With regard to the facts before us of interments in the hollowed-out stems of trees, it is not improbable that this custom was tolerably general among the Teuton tribes of the continent at a very early period, especially in the wooded districts. Some little inquiry into this part of our subject may not be without interest. Among the Anglo-Saxons, indeed, such tribes as practised the right of inhumation seem, for the most part, to have committed their dead to the earth in the very simplest form, unprotected by coffin, or aught that could delay the work of decay. The sole example of a *todten-baum* in our own country, therefore, is that of Gristhorpe, in Yorkshire, and this belongs to the Celtic period. But it was not so with the Franks. Round Merovingian graves a black residuum will often be noticed, as I have myself witnessed, which might easily be taken for charcoal, but which has been shown by chemical analysis^b to be formed by decomposition of wood. This residuum is very solid, and, as nails do not appear to be met with, it is most probable that these old Frankish *noffi*, *naufi*, or *sarcophagi*,^c were in fact formed from solid trunks of trees. In a Merovingian cemetery, discovered just outside the gates of Metz, M. Victor Simon found the marble column of some Roman edifice, which had been sawn asunder and hollowed out to receive the remains of a Frankish chieftain, in lieu, perchance, of the more perishable *todten-baum*. Herr Lindenschmit also has met with the same circumstance at Mayence. The opinion too finds further confirmation in a remarkable passage in Gregory of Tours,^d relating the cruelty of Rauchingus, a Merovingian noble, who caused two of his slaves to be interred alive for marrying without his consent. It is stated that a tree was cut down for the purpose; the bole was cleft with wedges, and hollowed out to receive the offending lovers. The words "*ibique puellam ut mortuam componens*" is very significative of the accustomed funeral employment of such a *noffus*. This was about the middle of the sixth century, and the

^a "Die, wegen ihres wohl erhaltenen Holzwerkes, so merkwürdigen Gräber von Oberflacht." Lindenschmit, Germ. Todtenlager.

^b Cochet's Normandie Souterraine, p. 227.

^c Leg. Salic. Tit. xvii.—"In noffo, aut in petra, quæ vasa ex usu sarcophagi dicuntur."

^d Hist. l. v. c. iii. M. Victor Simon is strongly of opinion that this mode of burial was common among the Franks at a very early period, in confirmation of which he pointed out to me this passage in Gregory of Tours.

Christian priest had the coffin exhumed, but too late to save the woman.^a The word *naufus*, or *noffus*, with its many readings and corruptions,^b which in its primary sense represents tree-burial, appears to be derived from a very ancient Frankish word, *nau*, meaning a small boat.^c

In the old Gothic the word *naus* means a corpse. The Sanscrit, again, has the word *nau*, so used in its uninflected form in composition, but which, when inflected, becomes in the nominative before certain letters, *nau-h*, or *nau-s*, sometimes *nau-r*, and means a *boat* or *ship*. This ancient derivation of *naufus*, and its close correspondence with what we learn of the old Scandinavian sepulchral rites, is very striking.

This derivation stands remarkably in relation with the mysterious fancies of Teuton heathenism, as to the wanderings of the soul after death, and its passage over the dark waters which encircled the land of spirits.^d The Scandinavian rovers too seem to have frequently been buried in their vessels,^e and in the old poem of Beowulf, indeed, we find a hero's corpse placed with all honours in his ship, and so abandoned to the will of the winds and the waves. So too, in the Vilkina Saga, Wieland hollows out the stem of a tree, in which he incloses himself and his mystic treasures, and is floated over the sea to another land.

Going still further north, we learn from Scheffer^f that the Laplanders thus buried their dead in the trunks of trees, or, these failing, *in their sledges*. Such interments too were similarly fenced in with wooden planks, the better to protect the body from the assaults of beasts of prey and from decay. Scheffer's account

^a In a letter of Maurice, Archbishop of Rouen, in 1238 (D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. 11, p. 522), we may observe a reminiscence of the old custom. His words are, "Sepeliri vel in terra, vel super terram, in plastro, *vel in trunco*, vel alioeunque modo." *Truncus*, taken here for any wooden coffin, undoubtedly had its origin in the old mode of tree-burial.

^b Ducange, Gloss. Pithœi.—*Naufu*, *Sarcofago ligneo*, quibusdam quod *navis* formam referat, quæ Francis nostris olim *nau* dicta.

^c *Nau*, biere, cercueil. C'est ainsi que nos anciens appellaient un bateau. Ménage, Dict. Etymologique.

Mr. Akerman has directed my attention to a parallel instance in our own language. He observes that in the south and west of England a *trough* is called a *trow* = A. S. *τρεop* (a *tree*) from which a *trough* was made by cutting the trunk in halves and hollowing them out. Such were the canoes of the primitive inhabitants of these islands, of which more than one example is known. There is one in the British Museum—and the long, attenuated barges on our canals are still called *Trows*.

^d Deutsche Myth. p. 790, *Überfahrt*. Compare Dante, Purgatorio, Canto ii. l. 16.

^e Gísla Surssonar Saga. The custom of boat-burial is said to still exist among the Greenlanders.

^f Lapponia, c. xxvii. p. 314, ed. Franc. M.DC.LXXIII. Compare also account of the barrow of Thyre Danebrod, in Jütland, with its sepulchral chamber of wood. Worsaae's Primeval Antiquities, p. 163: also, see Gretla Saga.

indeed wonderfully coincides with these discoveries at Oberflacht, and the sledge mode of burial stands especially in remarkable apposition with that in the couches (*totten-bettstatt*). Guichard, an old French writer of the sixteenth century, gives also a strikingly similar description of the mode of interment among the Circassians.^a

The serpent forms sculptured on the coffin lids would alone suffice to convince us of the Heathen-Teutonic character of these graves, even if all further evidence were wanting. In the old legends and superstitions of Germany and Scandinavia, the serpent or dragon is a very favourite myth, and passes for the guardian of hidden treasures.^b Such an interpretation would not be out of place in the present instance, but there may be yet a deeper and more mystic symbolism.

The serpent was sacred to Odin, and Scandinavian mythology has assigned the names of Ofnir and Sfenir^c to the two serpents of this god, who guard the nether world. In this, perhaps, we have a clue to the serpent-ornamentation of the Bauta and Runic stones;^d of the old Scandinavian ships; and of articles of dress.

Again, the serpent was known to the German nations as the emblem of the soul; that is, of life, health, and immortality. In this light indeed it was of old sacred to Æsculapius among the Greeks and Romans.^e Under the image of a golden serpent the Lombards,^f who came from the north of Germany, appear to have worshipped Odin himself. The Lithuanians too seem to have worshipped the serpent.^g In fact, it would appear that the tribes of Northern Germany and Sclavonia generally regarded the serpent with feelings of superstitious reverence

^a Ils vous prennent un gros arbre, et du tronc le plus gros et massif; ils en taillent une piece capable pour la longueur, puis la fendent en deux, creusans tant que le corps y puisse entrer à l'aise avec une partie des dons que les parens et autres luy auront faict: et, ayant mis le corps dedans le creux de bois, le posent au lieu ordonné pour la sepulture, où se trouve grande multitude de gents, qui luy dressent la tombe, à scavoir un grand mōceau de terre cōme un haut tetre." *Funerailles, et diverses manieres d'ensevelir*, descrites par Charles Guichard, Lyon, MD.LXXXI. Livre iii. pp. 408-9.

^b Saxò Gramm. lib. ii. and vi. *Beowulf*, passim.

"Pinge duos angues, pueri, sacer est locus."

Persii sat. i. ver. 113.

From this line of Persius we gather that it was the custom at Rome to paint two snakes on any wall it was wished to preserve from defilement, just as the modern Romans paint a cross with the same intent, and, probably, the same success.

^c W. Müller's *Geschichte und System der altdutschen Religion*, Göttingen, 1844, p. 206.

^d Keysler, *Ant. Sept.* 136-8.

^e Macrobius, *Saturnal. lib. i. c.* 20.

^f "Langobardi qui viperam auream et quasdam arbores adorabant." *Cronica di Milano*, in vol. xvi of *Rer. Ital. Scriptores of Muratori*; also see *Vita di S. Barbato*, in *Acta Sanct.* 19 Febr. p. 139.

^g "Dracones adorant cum volucris." *Adam. Bremen. lib. iv.* 17.

and awe, which in heathen minds would readily induce actual worship (*schlangendienst*). On this subject Dr. Grimm, in a reply with which he has favoured me to inquiries on this subject, observes, "It would be desirable to collect all the notices of the serpent forms (*schlangenbildungen*) of antiquity, for the purpose of establishing inductions."

In strong relation too with these sculptured guardians of the Oberflacht tombs stands the serpent Caduceus of Mercury :

" Hâc animas ille evocat Orco

Pallentes, alios sub tristia Tartara mittit."^a

But the serpent-myth of Greeks, Romans, and Scandinavians, was possibly derived from one primeval Eastern source.^b

In a review of the contents of the interments, the arms, perhaps, first claim our attention, and it will be seen that these differ very considerably from the weapons we are accustomed to meet with. Of the lance, above all others the Teuton weapon, we find but three examples here, while the sword, elsewhere usually so rare, occurs no less than six times in not more than twenty-five graves, which may be assigned to males of every degree.^c The wooden scabbards, bound about with birch-bast, remind us of those of Selzen. One of the lances presents the peculiarity of a quadrilateral haft, such as we occasionally see in examples of the Angon. This lance was pointing upwards, by the head of the skeleton, as we find in Anglo-Saxon graves. (Pl. XII. fig. 1). The solitary shield enumerated is not furnished with a boss, but is merely a plain wooden targe of oval form, covered with leather. It will be remarked that the wood used in its construction is linden, which coincides with a passage in Beowulf,^d and leads us to suppose this was the favourite material of the shield-wright. No spicula present themselves, and the

^a Æneid. l. iv. 242. ^b The serpent indeed was formerly an object of worship in some parts of India.

Dr. Menzel's remarks on some of the German superstitions in connection with our subject are very interesting. "A white crowned snake, dwelling beneath a hazel-bush, plays its part in German superstition under the name of the hazel-worm. But it elsewhere appears under the same tree in human form clothed with white, like a beneficent fairy which favours the sleeper beneath the hazel-tree with prophetic dreams, &c. Compare Prætorius's Glückstopf, 21; Bechstein's Thüringischer Sagenschatz, ii. 108; Gödsche's Schlesischer Sagenschatz, 103. The pagan fairy beneath the hazel-bough was changed in the popular tradition of the later period into the Christian Madonna. Compare Curiositäten, vi. 41; Gumpenberg's Marianischer Atlas, i. 47. The numerous hazel staves, and hazel nuts, are possibly in relation with this serpent symbol." Jahreshefte des Württembergischen Alt. Vereins. iii.

The hazel staves had some mystic import. In the Eigil Saga we find the judges at a solemn trial fenced in from the crowd by a circle of hazel rods, or staves.

^c The hilt of the sword from grave 31 resembles in its construction that found in Kent, figured in Akerman's Pagan Saxondom, Pl. xxiv.

^d See also the Rigsmal-Saga.

absence of the francisca, and the scramasax would at once certify these are not the graves of Franks. On the other hand, in the bows of yew we have a weapon of this early period quite new to us. Probably this is the first time bows have been exhumed from a Teuton grave. Of these there are no less than eight examples. The most perfect strongly resemble the English long bow, and are so well preserved as to appear fit for use, though the force of the internal wood-fibre, no doubt, has perished. Dwellers in deep forests, as this tribe were, the bow must have been an important weapon of the chase. It would not be easy to recognise the arrows in their present withered state. When first discovered they bore a different appearance. The place of the feathers, which Captain von Dürrieh pointed out, would have been plainer, and the red stains on the points brighter. We all know how rapidly objects long buried in the earth lose their colour and consistency of form on exposure to the external air. How we are to interpret the circumstance of the arrows being deposited headless in the tomb, or account for the ruddy stains upon them, archæologists will, perhaps, be able to determine. Captain von Dürrieh is disposed to consider the latter circumstance caused by the arrow points having been dipped in some poisonous mixture. Ovid, indeed, alludes to such a cruel custom among the savage Sarmatians^a of the Euxine, though we might have doubted its existence among a German tribe of the ninth century. Yet we find an old law of the Bavarians^b imposes a fine on wounding with poisoned arrows. There is also an old Salic law^c to the same effect. The same detrimental effects of atmosphere are also visible in the curious relic from grave 31, which Doctor Menzel conceives to be the frame-work of a musical instrument. Probably it was a kind of rebec, or perhaps a rude guitar or lute.

Others of the wooden vessels again are in admirable preservation, and afford evidence of the skilful application of the turner's art at this early period. Several of the articles, especially a long-shaped keg, such as agricultural labourers carry, are turned out of a solid block of wood. The number of these domestic vessels for various uses sufficiently disproves the idea of their being placed in the graves as articles of value. The manufacture of such wares must have been very common, for of the mere household vessels, as bowls, platters, &c. we count at least thirty,

^a *Aspicis et mitti sub adunco toxica ferro,
Et telum causas mortis habere duas.*

Ovid. ex Ponto, l. iv. ep. 7, v. 7.

^b *Siquis cum toxicata sagitta alicui sanguinem fuderit, cum xii. solid. componat.—Tit. xxi. Leg. Baiorum.*

^c *Tit. xx. 2.*

besides broken ones. The scanty chronicles of those gloomy ages are little likely to furnish details of wooden cups and platters, yet a passage in Gregory of Tours^a points to their use by the Franks. Among the presents sent into Spain by Queen Brunichilde, we find enumerated two wooden pateræ—"quas vulgo Bacchinon vocant"—inlaid with gems and golden ornamentation. The marginal note explains *Bacchinon* to be the German *Becken*, or French *Bassin*. This was in the latter part of the sixth century.

The wooden candlesticks are also well preserved, and render us aware of another curious fact in Heathen interments. The flints deposited by the candlestick in grave 31 point out its intended use. The early councils,^b and late capitularies,^c afford sufficient evidence of the idolatrous use of candles and torches at spots which Heathenism had consecrated, as at certain trees, rocks, fountains, and the cross roads. It is not improbable, therefore, that lighted candles may have been placed in these tombs after the manner of the lamps of the Romans.

In Teuton belief, the warrior rode his steed to Valhalla;^d hence in their graves the remains of horses are found.

"Quorundam igni et equus adjicitur," observes Tacitus^e of old. In the present case decay has probably removed such remains, which we may suppose were once placed here, since we find the fragments of a saddle, with a bit, and the richly-worked bronze and *damasquinure* ornamentations of horse trappings, in grave 31. The remains of horses, however, occur sufficiently rarely to lead us to suppose that they were only sacrificed on the decease of some noble, whose renown or wealth procured this mark of distinction. The grave in question, indeed, would appear,

^a Greg. Turon. Hist. l. ix. c. 28.

^b Concil. Arelatense II. A.D. 452.

^c Baluze, Capit. L. vii. 316.

^d Worsaae's Primeval Antiquities, p. 100—"König Ring liess den König Harold in einem grossen hügel beisetzen, das pferd tödten, auf dem er in Brävallaschlacht geritten hatte, und den *sattel* mit begraben, dass er nach Walhalla reiten könne."—Grimm, D. Myth, p. 796.

^e De Mor. Germ. 27. This fact is remarkably exemplified in the interments of a Teutonic tribe which settled themselves on what is now the Würtemberg shore of the Lake of Constance. Their large tumuli are found to contain skeletons, buried in the plain earth after the manner of the Anglo-Saxons; long and broad iron swords, spear heads, iron finger-rings, umbones of shields in unusual number, spurs occasionally, and ordinarily bridle ornaments, with other parts of horse-trappings in bronze.

Compare also Marco Polo's account of Tartar usages, p. 127 (Bohn's edit.); Tooke's account of ancient Tartar burial-places, *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 224; Cochet's *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 375. For instances of the custom in England, see *Journal of Arch. Inst.* vol. vii. p. 36; and *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 334. Lindenschmit's valuable work furnishes many instances of the occurrence of remains of horses, or their trappings, during sepulchral researches in Germany.—Germ. *Todtenlager*, p. 28.

from the whole of the equipments to have been that of a chieftain of the tribe.^a The musical instrument tells us of the milder taste of this young warrior, who, perhaps, like another Sintram, could sound his lute in these wild scenes to softer themes than war and bloodshed. It is an early record of knighthood and minstrelsy.

For the first time in the annals of archæology have we had the early implements of the important operations of spinning and weaving presented to our inspection; yet such, as we have just heard, does Dr. Menzel conceive the remains from grave 27 and others to be. The weaving apparatus would seem to be about $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length (Württemberg measure). The distaff does not appear, but the so-designated spindle-pins are about twelve and thirteen inches long (E. m.)

SPINDLES, OR KNITTING PINS, AND CARVED REED, FROM GRAVE 29.

There are also the perforated rounds of stone which were probably affixed to the ends of the spindles, to cause them to revolve more rapidly by their weight, obedient to the twirl of the industrious housewife.^b

This manual operation, so indispensable in early times, furnished the jurisprudence of Germany and England with a term to distinguish the female line, *fusus*; and a memento of its former importance still remains in the appellation of *spinster*. Alfred, in his will,^c speaks of his male and female descendants by the

^a "Horses ornamented on the cheek . . . on one of which stood a saddle variegated with work, and rich with treasure: that was the war-seat of a lofty king."—Kemble's *Beowulf*, l. 2066.

^b "And turn the adamantine spindle round."

Milton's *Arcades*.

— teretem versabat pollice fusum.

Ovid. *Met.* vi. 22.

^c Codex Diplom. *Ævi Saxon.* vol. ii. p. 116.

"Hæreditas ad fusum a lancea transeat."

In lege Angliorum et Werinorum. Tit. vi. 8.

terms of the spear-side and spindle-side, with which the *gladius* and *fusus* of the Germans^a are in remarkable apposition.

We notice here the bronze tweezers and the combs so generally found in all graves of the class, and which give us the idea of great personal cleanliness as among the virtues of these people. The peculiarity in the comb from grave 3 consists in its ornamental case. Among the articles of dress are some iron buckles, probably once plated, set with coloured glass, which resemble those found in the Frankish cemetery of Envermeu by the Abbé Cochet. The most beautiful of the fibulæ is that from grave 30, gilt on the face, and silvered on the back, which exhibits a greatly advanced state of art and taste in its workmanship. The raised twisted thread, winding among the red glass ornamentations, possesses no inconsiderable degree of elegance. To the figure of the cross upon it we can attach no importance. It may have been adopted as a mere ornamental device, as often seems to have been done elsewhere; or the fibula may originally have been in Christian hands. These graves of Oberflacht are unmistakably of the Heathen period. The buckle from grave 35, of a somewhat unusual form, closely resembles one found at Sittingbourne, Kent.^b

Another ornamental appendage from Oberflacht is the suspensory bronze rod of the purse or pouch worn at the girdle. The re-curved ends are fashioned in the forms of birds' or serpents' heads. This object varies little from those worn at a far later period. The buckle, by which it was once attached to the girdle, is still fixed on it.

The use of beads, inlaid with various coloured substances, for the purpose of ornament, seems to have been common to all the Northern nations. Among these found at Oberflacht are some plain red ones of remarkable brilliancy of colour, and in such perfect preservation, that it would be desirable to ascertain by chemical analysis what so enduring element has been employed in their construction. I have observed these beads in other Alemannic graves, but in no others. The beautiful crystal bead, spirally striated, may possibly be a reminiscence of Roman times. The inlaid ornamentation of beads is often so pleasing and artistic, both in colour and design,^c that it is manifest the Teuton ladies exercised the taste natural to their sex in the selection of such embellishments of their toilettes. Hence it may be inferred that the rude unseemly pieces of pierced amber found here, as in all such graves, were worn, not as decorations of the person, but in a

^a Speculum Saxonicum, lib. iii. art. 15, sec. 3.

^b Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i. pl. xxxvi. fig. 6.

^c Pagan Saxondom, pl. xii. and xxi. Saxon Obsequies, pl. xviii. to xxi.

superstitious faith in some in-dwelling amuletic virtue.^a We have no positive information on this point; but, among the many remains of heathen superstitions enumerated by Saint Eloy early in the seventh century, is the use of amber necklaces by the women. It must be remarked too that Saint Eloy, in his celebrated homily, not merely forbids this practice, but classes it with the invocation of Minerva and other heathen deities (*infaustas personas*) during the operations of weaving, &c.^b We shall therefore perhaps not greatly err in supposing these strings of amber beads to be included among those amuletic devices termed *ligaturæ*, which we find prohibited by the early Councils of France and Germany.^c

Beowulf furnishes us with an apt illustration of the early Teuton belief in amulets. "About the crest of the helm, the defence of the head, it held an amulet fastened without with wires, that the sword, hardened with scouring, might not violently injure him when the shield-bearing warrior should go against his foes." In supposing this amulet to have been a bead of some description, we are borne out by a handsome fibula in the Wiesbaden Museum, to which a ball of dusky quartz crystal is attached by wire loops. This fancy was handed down to later times, when it obtained the name of *blut-stein*, and was supposed to prevent effusion of blood. The Kormak Saga also speaks of the amuletic life-stone. The amethystine bead from grave 25 not unfrequently occurs in England, chiefly in Kent.^d

A number of fire-flints were found in these graves, as might have been expected. This symbolic representation of the power of light over darkness, immediately derived from the worship of Thor and Odin, is an essential superstition of Northern heathenism. With the abstract belief in the protection from evil spirits,^e rendered by the fiery element, was probably mingled the grosser fancy of the need of light amidst the legendary gloom of the northern Hades.^f Still the traditions quoted by Grimm,^g of the efficacy of the hearth-fire in preserving the house from lightning,—and again, that "the hearth-fire must be kept burning till the new-born child is baptized," would tell us of a faith in the preservative sanctity of fire, which, perhaps, had its origin in a far distant Eastern land. We find flints and

^a Fairford Graves, p. 33.

^b Vita S. Eligii, l. ii. c. 15.

^c "Dicunt quoque se vidisse ibi mulieres pagano ritu phylacteria et ligaturas et in brachiis et cruribus ligatas habere." Epistle from St. Boniface to Pope Zachariah.

^d Pagan Saxondom, pl. v. Collect. Antiqua, vol. i. p. 105.

^e Saxo, viii. 165. "Um einen spukenden zu vertreiben muss man mit stahl und stein funken schlagen." Märk. Sagen. s. 385.

^f Scheffer's Lapponia, c. xxvii. Mallet's Northern Antiquities, c. x.

^g Deut. Myth. p. 568.

steel in the graves of the various Northern tribes, from Lapland to our own country,^a and I almost doubt any heathen Teutonic cemetery being without them. Our attention, however, has only lately been called to this point by Mr. Akerman, in his recent researches at Harnham;^b but we may, henceforth, expect to hear of the more frequent observation of these symbolic relics.

The slag-ashes from grave 19 are curious. These repeatedly occurred in the Fairford graves, but I do not remember to have heard of their presence elsewhere. It is difficult to understand their import, unless, indeed, there was the same amuletic belief in the products of the furnace that there seems to have been in those of the smithy.^c

The whetstone, grave 15, also occurs in Saxon interments. The small dark grey stone, from grave 33, would seem to have been a delicate celt, or chisel, of the Celtic period. The great amount of animal and vegetable remains found in the funeral vessels demonstrates beyond all doubt the prevalence of these "*sacrificia mortuorum*," which the clergy found so difficult to eradicate, during the long period of transition from Heathenism to Christianity. We, accordingly, see this heathen practice repeatedly referred to and forbidden^d in the Councils; in the Sermons of St. Eloy;^e in the *Indiculus Paganiarum et Superstitionum*; in the Homilies and Epistles of St. Boniface;^f and, later still, in the Capitularies of Charlemagne himself. We may infer, from the affection of a portion of our own population, at the present day, for the feasting and revel of a "lyke-wake,"^g that this sensual grossness must have increased the difficulty of repressing these *spurcitiae*, as the Church termed them. But the heathenism of the Teutons and their Roman predecessors, though widely differing in many respects, concurred in the super-

^a Todtenlager bei Selzen; Sepultures à Remennecourt, in the 3rd. vol. of *Mémoires de la Société Philomathique de Verdun*; *Mémoires of the Luxembourg Society*, vol. vii.; Cochet's *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 258.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. XXXV. p. 259.

^c W. Müller, *Geschichte*, p. 243.

^d *Sunt etiam qui in festivitate cathedræ domini Petri Apostoli cibos mortuis offerunt, et, post missas, redeuntes ad domos proprios, ad gentilitium revertuntur errores, et post Corpus Domini, sacratas dæmoni escas accipiunt.*" Second Council of Tours, Can. 22, A.D. 567.

^e *Vita S. Eligii*, lib. ii. c. 15, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*.

^f *Ep. S. Bonifac.* 44 and 84. Also *Serm. vi. de peccatis mortalibus*. Third Conc. Germ. (742). Conc. Leptin. and *Indiculus*, Can. 1 and 2.—From a passage in a letter from the Pope Zachariah to St. Boniface, it would seem that some of the ignorant German clergy had encouraged the error among the Thuringians. Burchard, *Decret.* x. 38. "*Non licet Christianis prandia ad defunctorum epulchra deferre, et sacrificare mortuis.*" *Capitul.* vi. c. 197. Compare *Joh. Belet.* c. lxxxiii. and Durandus, *Rat.* l. vii. c. 8.

^g "Thou needest care no further than this about my corpse-feast." *Beowulf*, l. 895. In *Gisla Sursonnar Saga*, we read that Vestein's lyke-wake lasted for several days.

stitution of propitiating the manes of the dead by material offerings.^a The inveterate evil, therefore, which the clergy found it not possible to abolish, they attempted to divert. Hence pious vessels of holy water, and embers on which incense was burnt to scare away the evil spirit, began to take the place of these profane meat and drink offerings; and, in France at least, the custom, thus originated, is found to have existed as late as the sixteenth century.^b

There is but little to be said of the pottery, which consists of two kinds: the one, a hard kind of grey stone ware; the other, the usual soft earthen manufacture, coloured with plumbago, which we so generally meet with in all these interments. The usual angular form of the Frankish pottery is altogether absent in these vessels, which adhere to the bowl and jar forms. As at Selzen, and in our own Saxon graves, some of these vessels are furnished with handles,^c but the whole number of interments only render seven examples of pottery, which apparently was little used, except in actual culinary operations at the fire. The vessels in more common use are of wood, and we find them in great profusion, and of every size. They are all the manufacture of the turner, and consequently the forms are those of bowls, basins, saucers, or pateræ.

The wooden bottles with handles seem to be of the most curious description. The same form will occasionally be found in mediæval pottery.

The only glass vessel found is of a very remarkable character. In form it closely assimilates with some found in Kent;^d also in Cambridgeshire, by the Hon. R. C. Neville; and at Envermeu by the Abbé Cochet.^e A very perfect example may also be seen in the museum at Rheims. Most of these are of a white glass, coated with some reddish-brown stain, the residuum of wine or blood, but this of Oberflacht is of a pale green colour, and is very full of air-bubbles. It bears a white undulating pattern, strongly burnt in, after the manner occasionally seen in Roman glass (Pl. XIV. fig. 1).

The graves present us with an interesting summary of the fruits which flourished in the valley at this early period. The peach was no doubt a rarity, for we find the solitary peach-stone fitted with a shank, and worn with beads on a necklace.

^a Scheffer's *Laponia*, c. xxvii. p. 317.

^b Cochet's *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 413. Durandus, *Rat. l. vii. c. 35*. *Notices sur les Tombes Gallo-Frankes*, in vol. vii. of *Mémoires of Luxembourg Arch. Society*.

^c *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. lii.

^d *Nenia Britannica*; *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xvii.

^e *Normandie Souterraine*, pl. x. fig. 3, p. 328. The Abbé cites other examples found in various parts of France.

The number of the hazel-nuts, and their repetition in the Selzen and other graves,^a would indicate this fruit was a favourite offering in such "sacrificia mortuorum."

We come now to perhaps the most singular relics of these graves, the wooden symbols, which Dr. Menzel considers as representing the mythological *todtenschuh*, or death-shoe of the ancient funeral rites.

The old Northern mythology supposed departed souls had to encounter great difficulties and inconveniences in their way to the spirit-land. In fact they had to pass through just such an uncomfortable Valley of the Shadow of Death as John Bunyan alone could depict. It was befitting therefore to furnish shoes for so disagreeable a journey.^b Such shoes were termed in Germany *todtenschuhe*, or dead men's shoes; in Scandinavia *helske*, or shoes for Hela, *i. e.* Hell, or Hades. A very positive account of this singular custom exists in the Gísla Surssonar Saga,^c and runs thus; On Vestein's death by the hand of Thorgrim, as they were preparing the body for burial, Thorgrim drew near and said, "It is the custom to furnish men with death-shoes to tread their path to Valhalla—this office I will render to Vestein." This done, he added, "I know not how to bind on the death-shoe if these come undone."

We have also another illustration of the custom in Aubrey's Old Yorkshire Lyke-wake Dirge—

" This ean night, this ean night,
Every night and awle,
Fire and flete, and candle-light,
And Christ receive thy sawle.

" When thou from hence doest pass away,
Every night and awle,
To Whinny-moor thou comest at last,
And Christ receive thy sawle.

" If ever thou gavest hosen or shoon,
Every night and awle,
Sitt thee downe, and putt them on,
And Christ receive thy sawle.

" But if hosen nor shoon thou never gave nean,
Every night and awle,
The whinnes shall pricke thee to the bare beane,
And Christ receive thy sawle."

MS. Lansdowne, 234, p. 114.

^a Germ. Todtenlager, p. 28.

^b Grimm, Deut. Myth. p. 795; W. Müller's Geschichte, p. 408.

^c Keysler, Antiq. Sept. p. 170; Müller's Sagabibliothek.

There is another variation of this ancient dirge in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.^a We can hardly doubt it to have been a remnant of the *todtenschuh* superstition, introduced into Yorkshire by the Saxons or Danes. The clergy would readily dove-tail it with the doctrine of alms-giving and purgatory, just as we see so many other practices of heathenism sanctified to the uses of the Church.

Close inquiry, however, may be disposed to question whether these mysterious wooden forms in the sepulchres of Oberflacht really ever were designed to shadow forth the *todtenschuh* of old superstitions; and whether they may not have had another and not less remarkable import. Dr. Menzel is inclined to consider that the representation of a shoe, or of the bare human foot, may alike have been an acknowledgment or offering to Hela. May it not, however, be reasonably urged that the positive account just quoted from Gísla Sursonnar Saga represents a *real* shoe, sandal, or slipper, and that too placed on the foot, as employed in the Scandinavian funeral rites? We have seen that such sandals did exist on the feet of the skeletons at Oberflacht (Pl. XIII., fig. 4), and these more probably represent the last fond office of duty or affection than do the supposed enigmatical symbols of wood. That the *todtenschuh* rite long existed, and that its remembrance is not yet obliterated in some parts of Germany, we have the authority of Dr. Grimm.^b It also seems to have been known to the Romans. In a perfectly preserved Roman tomb of the cremation period, discovered at Avisford, Sussex, in 1817, a pair of sandals, studded with hexagonal brass nails, were found, with a number of other objects.^c

The Abbé Cochet has also met with sandals in Gallo-Roman tombs.^d

It must also be observed that the custom of interring the dead with sandals or shoes seems long to have remained extant. From the remarkable allusion to it by

^a In the notes, Scott, on the authority of Ritson, gives the following illustrative citation from a MS. in the Cotton Library, which unfortunately we cannot trace. The reference given by Scott is incorrect;—

“ When any dieth, certaine women sing a song to the dead bodie, recyting the journey that the partye deceased must goe; and they are of beliefe (such is their fondnesse) that once in their lives it is good to give a pair of new shoes to a poor man, for as much as, after this life, they are to pass barefoote through a great launde full of thornes and furzen, except, by the meryte of the almes aforesaid, they have redemed the forfeyte; for, at the edge of the launde, an old man shall meet them with the same shoes that were given by the partie when he was lyving; and after he hath shodde them, dismisseth them to go through thick and thin without scratch or scalle.”

^b Deut. Mythol. p. 795.

^c Collect. Ant. vol. i. pl. xlv. p. 123.

^d Normandie Souterraine, pp. 49 and 63.

the old liturgist John Beleth, in the twelfth century,^a and again by Durandus,^b bishop of Mende, we are led to think the *todtenschuh* rite was added to the Christian Officia by sanction of the Church, in common with many other deeply rooted heathen customs. Without multiplying instances, it may suffice to refer to the *chaussure* of Bernard king of Italy and grandson of Charlemagne, found on the opening of his tomb at Milan, A.D. 1638.^c Bernard died A.D. 818, probably the approximate date of the Oberflacht interments. It will be remembered that sandals were found on the lately discovered remains of bishop Lyndewode, which carries evidence of the continuance of the custom down to the middle of the fifteenth century.^d

It seems difficult, therefore, without much more conclusive authority, to ascribe these wooden forms of feet to such a symbolical purpose. The pair from grave 5, so singularly carved, alone possesses any similitude to the fore part of a foot invested with a shoe; and even these were placed by the head, not feet, of the skeleton. Both sides of the object are carved, and the design is slightly diversified. It will be noticed that these forms are evidently parts of some other object.

CARVING IN WOOD, FROM GRAVE 5.

^a Div. Off. Explicatio, c. clix. "Habeant et soleas in pedibus, quo significant ita se paratos esse ad iudicium."

^b Rationale, lib. vii. c. 35.

^c Superstites adhuc e corio rubeo calcei utrumque pedem contegebant; iidemque ligneam quisque soleam, hinc inde coriaceis insutam habebant." Puricelli, Monum. Basil. Ambros.

^d Archæologia, XXXIV. p. 403.

It may perhaps be suggested with greater reason that these forms serve to elucidate a very obscure article in the *Indiculus Paganiarum et Superstitionum*, entitled, “*De ligneis pedibus et manibus, pagano ritu.*” This article has been thought to refer to the *ex voto* offerings at heathen shrines by persons whose hands or feet had suffered from some accident or malady—just as we see done at the shrines of favourite saints in Roman Catholic^a countries. But had this been altogether so, the *Indiculus* would never have confined its prohibition to forms of *hands and feet* merely, of all the many parts of the human frame. Gregory of Tours indeed gives an example of such a heathen shrine at Cologne,^b but we may infer from his words that these offerings of carved wood were of a somewhat varied nature—“*membra secundum quod unumquemque dolor adtigisset, sculpebat in ligno.*” The superstition must have had another application. In fact more than a century prior to the *Indiculus*, St. Eloy had found occasion to rebuke these offerings of wooden feet, for he only mentions *feet*, the manufacture of which he forbids, and further directs to be burnt whenever found. From this passage in his celebrated charge^c we learn the custom was to place these wooden forms, not in heathen temples, but at the junction of the cross-roads. What may have been the precise import of such a superstition we do not gather; as such spots were sacred to Diana Trivia, it was possibly a vestige of some idolatrous rite, there performed in her honour, and with this the wooden feet from Oberflacht would seem more in relation than with the *todtenschuh*.

It would be presumptuous to speak otherwise than with great caution on so obscure a subject. Such a discovery has probably never before been made, or is likely ever to be made again. Yet in archæology, as in other sciences, it is only by the recurrence of facts, under similar conditions, that we can hope to establish sound inductions. I have only suggested such explanation of the forms in question as seemed most consistent with probability and historical record. It may be that such wooden forms not unfrequently formed part of Teutonic funeral rites, together with other perishable objects. It is indeed rare to meet with vestiges of wood in heathen graves.

As to the wooden relics found in grave 8 (Pl. XIII. fig. 2), it may be doubted

^a In the cathedral of Aachen, for instance. Samuel i. c. vi. 5.

^b De Vita Patrum, c. vi.

^c “*Pedum similitudines quas per bivia ponunt fieri vetate, et ubi inveneritis, igne cremate.*” Vita S. Eligii, l. ii. c. xv. The temples, or rather altars, of the heathen Teutons were mostly at the junction of cross-roads. Hence the place of execution was there, criminals being sacrificed to the gods; hence, too, suicides were buried at the cross-roads to give as strong an impression as possible of a heathen burial.

whether they were designed to represent *hands*. If indeed such were the case, it would greatly strengthen the foregoing hypothesis, for it might be assumed to be a still further illustration of the article *De ligneis pedibus et manibus*. They are, however, merely flat pieces of very thin wood, which could scarcely have been considered representations of the human hand by the skilful carvers of the other relics. They may have been the implements of some domestic manufacture.

In conclusion, I am glad to be able to add the following extracts from a letter just received from Captain von Dürich, in reply to further inquiries, and accompanied by the drawings now exhibited :—

“ When my occupations first led me into this country, I discovered the graves during the erection of a cross. In digging the hole for this a piece of black oak was thrown out. This led me to inquiry, and, from what I learnt in Oberflacht, I soon ascertained the fact of the interments. I see but little to add to the very accurate account given by Dr. Menzel. However, the accompanying drawings, which the artist of the Württemberg Antiquarian Society has accurately taken and coloured from my original sketches, will certainly supply any possible hiatus in the narrative.

“ Plate XI. The Todten-bettstatt was constructed of wood of the wild pear ; the inclosure and cover are of oak.

“ Plate XII. fig. 2. The coffin, with the inclosure, is of oak ; the serpents' heads and horns are of a white wood. The shield, still partly covered with leather, is of linden wood. This coffin was hermetically sealed, as it were, in the stiff lias clay, and filled with water ; on the surface of this a fatty mass of the corpse was floating, which diffused a strong stench.^a Fig. 3. The coffin and partitioned chamber of wild pear-tree wood soon went to pieces ; but the oaken inclosure is well preserved.

“ Plate XIII. The well-preserved bow is six feet long, and of yew (*taxus baccata*).

“ Plate XIV. The very thin drinking-glass is of a pale green colour. In some of the empty settings of the handsome fibula may still be seen fragments of a brownish yellow colour, probably the remains of precious stones. The iron buckle is almost entirely rusted away, but the thinly beaten silver plating can still be distinctly made out.

“ The very ornamental latten plate is certainly a fragment of a woman's girdle. I have often met with similar fragments.”

^a One would not expect that corruption should still be at work after the lapse of a thousand years ; but the Abbé Cochet observes of graves (p. 226, Nor. Souterraine), “ J'en ai même rencontré qui exhalait une forte odeur.” The same circumstance was noticed on opening some of the graves at Fairford.

The latten plate here alluded to by Captain von Dürrieh was found in one of the interments originally broken up by the brickmaker in his early excavations, together with various other objects which got scattered over the place, and were for the most part lost.

Such are the Alemannic graves of Oberflacht.

We are deeply indebted to Captain von Dürrieh, both for rendering the discovery so available and useful, and also for his further assistance and information on the occasion of this present notice. It is only by attentive examination of these archæological discoveries in continental Europe that we can hope to thoroughly study the history of the great migration of the Teutonic nations; and a closer correspondence with foreign societies would most certainly be attended with mutual advantage.

W. M. WYLLIE.

United University Club,
Feb. 17, 1855.

ABSTRACT OF ARTICLES FOUND AT OBERFLACHT, AND TAKEN AWAY.

		Graves.			Graves.
I.					
<i>Todtenbäume.</i>			A similar one, much oxydised, in . . .		18
1. Mr. Baader's		1	Two smaller, still sharp, in . . .		7
2. Mr. Hartmann's		2	Another in		31
3. The coffin on which the snakes' heads			Another, with a whet-stone, in . . .		15
still retain their fangs and horns . . .		7	Another.		
4. Coffin from		28	<i>Spear-heads.</i>		
5. The planed or smoothed coffin of a			A very handsome one in		7
female		14	A similar one with gilt nails . . .		28
6. Remains of a bronze decoration were			One much oxydised in		31
in this one.			<i>Bows.</i>		
II.—WEAPONS.			In graves 1, 2, 15, 34, 10		
<i>Swords.</i>			Remains of bows in 8, 9, 11		
In graves 2, 7, 28, 31, 34, 38			<i>Arrows.</i>		
<i>Knives.</i>			Only three entire from 10		
A large knife in a superb broad gilt			Fragments.		
sheath		31	<i>Shield.</i>		
			A fragment in		28

<i>Wands.</i>	Graves.
In	2, 5, 10, 24, 39

III.—VESSELS.

Hard Stoneware.

Large round jar of grey stoneware	9
Jug with spout	11
Pot with remains of meats	38
Broken bowl in	8

Soft Pottery, coloured black.

Small vessel in	16
Small vessels with glazed ornamentation	26
Large vessel full of hazel-nuts	28

Glass.

Handsome drinking cup	40
---------------------------------	----

Wood.

Large platters in graves	5, 6, 8, 17, 24, 26, 31, 34
(besides many broken ones not counted)	
Small bowls in graves	7, 8, 17, 28
(besides many broken)	
Bellying-out bowl, in	29
Bellying-out small jug	34
Tub	35
Barrel	17
Bottles of usual form in	5, 8, 24, 40
One of peculiarly thick form in	28
Pails in	26, 12, 34

IV.—UTENSILS.

Bronze.

Beautiful ornamentation of horse-bit, and remains of girth-trappings	31
Curious plate, damaged	40
Curious bronze rod with snakes' heads	7
Two pairs of tweezers	7, 8
Stylus	7
Small fragment of bronze	

<i>Iron.</i>	Graves.
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Horse-bit	31
Ornamental rosettes inlaid with silver wire	„
Key	15

Wood.

Musical instrument	31
Weaving implements, 13 pieces	27
Two small implements of female work	14, 15
A spindle-twirl	29

Candlesticks.

In graves	9, 24, 31
The child's wooden stool	16
Fragment of saddle	31

Stone.

A number of flints from graves	7, 31, 35, 36, 40
A whetstone	15
A stone spindle-twirl	38

V.—SYMBOLIC OBJECTS.

The wooden <i>todtenschuhe</i> in	5, 31, 40
The wooden hands in	8
Mystic tablet of wood	27
Very small stone with sharpened edge, of the form of a small axe or chisel. Similar stones, but generally larger, have often been found in other graves	33
A wooden tablet bearing devices	31

VI.—ARTICLES OF CLOTHING.

Leather.

Strongly plaited glove	47
Sandals in	2, 20, 39
Very many fragments.	

Woven Stuffs.

A small piece of fine silk riband	14
Fragments of figured cloth	4, 5
Ditto of coarse cloth plain	7

Graves.

VII.—ORNAMENTS.

Bronze Rings.

A large hollow one	32
Arm-ring	3
Small finger rings in	16, 29, 33

Bronze Buckles.

In graves	24, 28, 30, 33
Iron ditto inlaid with dark red glass	3
Same	7

Bronze Fibulæ.

Superb one	30
Another handsome one	
Two smaller.	29

Horn Combs.

A woman's comb	3
Man's ditto	38

Precious Stones.

An amethyst on a necklace, of the form and size of an almond	25
Amber, 38 pieces on three necklaces	22, 25, 29

Beads.

166 in all, of pure white glass, coloured opaque glass, clay and porcelain, various coloured glass with patterns. Among these is a white glass ball, of the size of a walnut, with spiral-formed lines.	
A yellowish-green bead, shaped like a twirl, skilfully smelted from many small ones	
Two large cylinder-formed beads with variegated pattern	30

Graves.

Seven large beads with variegated eyes, stars, spiral lines, &c.	16
The rest are cylinder-shaped, egg-shaped, striated, pearl-shaped, &c. in graves 19, 20, 22, 25, 29, 32	

VIII.—ORGANIC REMAINS.

Human Beings.

Three male skeletons found in	2, 7, 28
That in grave 2 having the skull split.	
A female skeleton in	29
Woman's hair, red	20
Man's hair, black	28

Brutes.

Horse-hair in	29
Hog's bristles	40
Bones of animals in several of the pots with food.	

Plants.

Moss, a whole basketfull, from	20
Straw and leaves in almost every coffin.	
Hazel rods in several coffins.	
Hazel nuts, 307, in graves	2, 5, 28, 31, 40
5 walnuts in	2, 15, 29
Plumstone in	29
Peachstone in	22
Two gourds in	2, 5
Pears, seven large ones in	14
Several smaller in	32
Besides these, many pear-stalks were scattered in several graves.	
Cherrystones, 92 were found in	11, 29
and several single ones in other coffins.	
Spoon meats in most of the vessels; the material cannot be ascertained.	

EXPLANATORY REFERENCE TO THE PLATES.

	Graves.		Graves.
PLATE XI.		Fig. 5. Bow from 1	
Illustrates the interment in grave	5	„ 6. Illustrates interment in grave	9
PLATE XII.		PLATE XIV.	
Figs. 1 and 2 illustrate interment in	28	Fig. 1. Glass from grave	40
Fig. 3, ditto	40	„ 2 and 3. Front and side view of wooden bottle from	5
PLATE XIII.		„ 4 and 7. Fibula from	30
Fig. 1. Horn comb from	3	„ 5 and 8. Fibula from	29
„ 2. Wooden objects, termed hands	8	„ 6 Fibula.	
„ 3. Wooden candlestick	24	„ 9. Fibula from	3
„ 4. Sandal, represented open and closed, from	2		

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

G. Eberlein del.
From sketches by Capt. von Dürrich.

J. Basire sc.

INTERMENTS OF THE ALEMANNI AT OBERELACHT.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 28th April 1855.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

10 5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet (German)

G. Herlein, del.
from sketches by Capt. von Dürich.

J. Baskin, sc.

INTERMENTS OF THE ALEMANNI AT OBERFLACHT.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1855.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

3 feet
Vormum

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.