

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES AT BADEN (SWITZERLAND) AND BREGENZ.¹

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In the year 1885 a paper by me appeared in the *Journal* of the Institute on the "Roman Antiquities of Switzerland."² It was an endeavour to give a general account of the subject, with special reference to inscriptions, roads and mosaics. On the present occasion, I shall confine my remarks for the most part to one locality, and to one class of remains found there.

Switzerland and Tirol are not good hunting-grounds for the classical antiquary; they contain no great buildings erected by the Romans, no temples or aqueducts, and but scanty remains of two amphitheatres. The former country has little to show in this department of archaeology, and the latter still less. It would seem that the masters of the civilised world never intended to reduce Rhaetia to a province of the empire. This would have cost them a large expenditure of blood and treasure, both in the first acquisition and in the permanent defence. They probably preferred that this region should be a kind of buffer-state on the German frontier, like Afghanistan between the Russians and ourselves. So may the paucity of Latin inscriptions and other monuments in Tirol and Vorarlberg be easily accounted for. In this respect also the case of the Decumates Agri, in the angle between the Rhine and Danube, is similar, since the period of Roman occupation extends only over one hundred years. However, even in these regions, we may here and there find some relic of antiquity that throws light on manners and customs, or serves to explain an author previously misunderstood.

The principal subject of this paper is the Roman military hospital at the Swiss Baden. By way of

¹ Read before the Institute 4th July, 1900. ² xlii, 171.

introduction to this hospital it is necessary to say a few words concerning Vindonissa,¹ a place in the same neighbourhood, which affords an argument *à priori* corroborative, if not convincing in itself. It was a garrison-town of great importance, and some provision would be almost necessary for invalided soldiers. The Romans had selected a military position, with their usual foresight, at the meeting of the rivers Aar, Reuss and Limmat, as in Lower Germany *Castra Vetera* (Xanten) was their chief station at the junction of the Rhine and Lippe; and *Moguntiacum* (Mainz), where the Main flows into the Rhine, was the strongest of all their fortresses north of the Alps. There can be no doubt that the permanent camp of Vindonissa was included in the great plan of defence (*Tacit. Ann.* IV, 5), which protected the Roman Empire against the attacks of Gauls and Germans. From this central town the legions could easily march northwards to *Augusta Vindelicorum* (Augsburg), or in the opposite direction maintain communications with the forces in Italy. Tacitus mentions Vindonissa twice in his narrative of those dark and dreadful days, when the nations on the Rhenish frontier, taking advantage of the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, rose in revolt, and endeavoured to shake off the Roman yoke. The author's notices of Vindonissa (*Windisch*) are brief, but significant. We read in Tacitus² that when the winter-camps of the cohorts, cavalry and legions were overthrown and burnt, Vindonissa and *Moguntiacum* still held out; and that when events were beginning to take a favourable turn, the XXIst legion, reinforced by auxiliaries, advanced from Vindonissa into Upper Germany. These statements are abundantly confirmed by inscriptions, especially by those on tiles (*tegulae castrorum*).

Descending to the lower empire, we find this place again the scene of warfare. In A.D. 298 Constantius gained victories over the Alemanni at Langres, and soon afterwards at *Windisch*, where, according to Eumenius, the fields were filled with slaughtered enemies, and still covered with their bones when he delivered his Panegyric in the presence of Constantine, A.D. 310.³ It is also

¹ The name is preserved in *Windisch*, east of Basel.

² Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv, 61 and 70.

³ *Eum.* iii, 6.

stated¹ that Constantius attacked and defeated the Alemanni, under the walls of Langres, and afterwards *on the same day* at Windisch in Switzerland. This is impossible, because the towns are too remote from each other. The mistake seems to have been caused by carelessly reading a passage in Eutropius,² which refers only to the former place (Lingones). Again, in Gibbon, we meet with sentences which happily epitomise the history of the region we are now considering, and therefore deserve to be quoted. "Within the ancient walls of Vindonissa, the castle of Hapsburg, the abbey of Königsfeld, and the town of Bruck, have successively arisen. The philosophic traveller may compare the monuments of Roman conquest, of feudal or Austrian tyranny, of monkish superstition, and of industrious freedom."³

Long ago it was well known that traces of an amphitheatre existed near the railway station of Brugg, at Windisch, which, even in Keller's large map of Switzerland, is marked as an insignificant village. So late as August, 1897, a local society undertook systematic excavations, which were continued until December of the same year. At the commencement of their labours, the workmen uncovered in a level field called the Breite (Broad) a temple of Mars, and the attribution was proved by a stone altar and five parts of votive tablets with dedicatory inscriptions. We need not wonder at the fragmentary character of these discoveries, for the ancient Vindonissa was the quarry from which later generations helped themselves. It furnished building materials for Altenburg, Brugg and the monastery of Königsfelden. The exploration of the amphitheatre began at the south-west corner, and together with small objects in bronze, glass and iron, a stamp of the twenty-first legion, surnamed *Rapax*, was found; its presence there is also proved by other monuments, for which see the collections compiled by Orelli and Mommsen. A contributor to the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*,⁴ states that this legion had its quarters in Lower Germany, but makes no

¹ *Troduction des Discours d'Eumène*, par M. L'Abbé Landriot et M. L'Abbe Rochet, *Precis des faits generaux*, p. 374.

² *Die una adversam et secundam*

fortunam expertus est. Eutrop. ix, 23.

³ Vol. iv, p. 349, cap. xxxviii, note 23, ed. Dr. William Smith.

⁴ Third ed., ii, 789 s.r. *Exercitus*.

mention of its being stationed in Switzerland. As the workmen dug trenches across the slopes and the low ground beneath, they met with many indications that the Roman settlement had been destroyed by a conflagration. The accounts of historians concerning invasions and ravages by barbarians were abundantly confirmed. By persevering efforts the walls on the south-west side of the structure with a semi-circular projection of double the usual thickness, and two rooms, were laid bare; here an object belonging to a good period of classical art rewarded the patient explorers; it is a silver bowl or patera 18 centimètres in diameter and 9 centimètres in depth; but the chief interest is connected with the highly ornamented handle (Plate I). In the upper part we see the bust of a Roman general, helmeted, and a large rosette on each side; his breast-plate is adorned with Medusa's head and below it a festoon consisting of flowers, grapes and other fruits. A statuette of Mercury, seated, occupies the narrower space immediately under the bust. He has the customary attribute, wings on his hat, holds the caduceus in the right hand, and rests the left on a bag for carrying money. On the left of Mercury there is a small figure of the kind called *Hermæ*, that is a head usually of this or another deity, sometimes Bacchus, surmounting a quadrangular pillar (τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τετράγωνον). Two wild fowl appear at the feet of Mercury in different attitudes, one flying, the other standing. In the lowest compartment we find two goats between a palm-tree and an altar, also on the right and left of the handle, at the edge of the bowl, a fat ox approaching a low altar on which the sacrificial fire blazes. On the back of the handle we read an inscription:

O. CALVI. MERCATORIS. ANTO. SALONINI

Officina Calvi mercatoris, Antonini Salonini. (The workshop of the merchant Calvus, belonging to Antoninus Saloninus.¹)

¹ The inscription is given differently by Otto Hauser, p. 7. The abbreviation O or OF for *officina* frequently occurs both in our own and in foreign countries; many examples are given in the

Mémoires de la Société Éduenne, iii, Poterie Rouge Lustree dite Samienne. Noms de Potiers, pp. 356-394, Planches des Inscriptions Céramiques, i-xi.



HANDLE OF SILVER BOWL FOUND AT VINDONISSA (WINDISCH).

Hence we have what the French numismatists call a *base solide* for chronology; but the date is only approximate, not definite as in the large Roman imperial Brass, where the number of the *Tribunicia Potestas*, an annual office, fixes the year exactly. The names of the prince above mentioned are Publius Licinius Cornelius Valerianus Saloninus. He was son of the emperor Gallienus and Salonina, received the title of Caesar A.D. 253, and was put to death by Postumus, A.D. 259, when he was about seventeen years old. In our inscription he bears the name Antoninus, which I have not met with elsewhere, either in Gruter, Eckhel or Cohen. Perhaps it may have been assumed in this case, as Septimius Severus changed the name of his son from Bassianus to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

In the course of the summer few objects were found in the amphitheatre, but amongst them we may notice a probe and an alembic (*Brennkolben*), because they relate to our inquiry about a Roman hospital. The amphitheatre at Vindonissa, whose external diameters are 344 by 325 feet, would probably contain 10,000 spectators; but it has been incorrectly described as next in size to the Colosseum, for those of Verona, Arles, Nîmes and Pola in their dimensions far exceed it. In some rooms adjoining the arena, bones of animals of very different kinds have been found, which leads us to suppose that they were cages for wild beasts that fought with men or with each other. This entertainment was called *venatio*; it is often referred to by Latin authors, and has its best illustration, as far as I know, in the coloured plates of the grand mosaic at Nennig, published by Wilmowsky. The principal entrances were from the south-west and north-east, and the smaller ones from the north-west and south-east.

I have already hinted that Baden was a likely site for a Roman military hospital; it was so on account of its proximity to Vindonissa, which had a garrison consisting of one legion and auxiliary cohorts, in all about 10,000 men besides the settlements of traders and other civilians (*canabae*) near the camp, as at Saalburg bei Homburg.¹

¹ Jacobi, *Das Romerkastell Saalburg*, 112, 116.

Moreover, the mineral waters, good for rheumatism, sterility and other disorders, would have great attractions for a bath-loving people. We have seen Vindonissa mentioned twice in the *Histories* of Tacitus: the same work (I, 67) contains a description of Baden; he is relating the cruel ravages of Caecina, the Roman general, who revolted to Vitellius, and laid waste the adjacent country, plundering a place which in the course of a long peace had become like a municipal town, and to which many visitors resorted for the benefit of its salutary waters *amæno salubrium aquarum usu frequens*.¹ That gambling prevailed amongst them is proved by the dice so numerous that a field near Baden derives its name Würfen Wiese (dice-meadow) from the great quantity of *tesserae* dug up in it. The Helvetians, unable to resist the Roman legionaries and Rhaetian cohorts, fled for refuge to Mount Vocetius,² the modern Botzburg, a few miles west of Brugg on the railway from Zurich to Basel.

For the ancient name of Baden we have sometimes only *Aquae*, but also *Aquae (Thermae) Helveticæ* or *Verbigenæ*. The latter appellation is somewhat doubtful. Caesar, who says that Helvetia is divided into four cantons,³ only gives the names of two, *Tigurinus* and *Verbigenus*; some commentators read *Urbigenus*,⁴ and connect it with *Urba*, now *Orbe*, near Yverdon at the south-west end of the Lake of Neuchâtel. Baden is on the Roman military road from Vindonissa to Vitudurum (Oberwinterthur)⁵ where many coins and antiquities have been found.⁶

In 1872-74, when the Kurhauspark was laid out, traces of Roman occupation appeared; in 1891-92 during the construction of the Protestant minister's house, a large block of buildings was discovered; iron and bronze objects had previously been disinterred, many of them very valuable and in good preservation. Herr Meyer observed that along certain lines grass and young trees would not

¹ For the use of these salutary waters in the fifteenth century, see *Pogii Florentini De Balneis prope Thuregum sitis Descriptio* (with French translation, 1876). Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, edit. Bohn, 60-62; and 484, note 21.

² Tacitus, *ibid.* 68.

³ *Bell. Gall.*, I, xii. :

⁴ Compare *ibid.* xxvii.

⁵ *Itiner. Antonini*, Wesseling, 251.

⁶ See the map appended to Mommsen's collection of Swiss Latin inscriptions, *Tabula qua indicantur Confoederationis Helveticæ loci in quibus tituli Latini reperti sunt*; and my paper in the *Archæological Journal*, xlii, 208.



EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

grow, hence he inferred that there might be stone-work underneath. The digging commenced in March, 1893; four walls of a large room were laid bare; two were 12·5 mètres long, the other two 10·35 mètres long. The workmen found earthenware marked with names of manufacturers, fragments of pottery, fibulae, and two amphorae entire; but medical and surgical instruments were the most interesting results which the excavations yielded; 120 probes (*specilla*), small bone spoons, spatulas, alembics, a piece of a catheter and a forceps that would grasp well. Later on, the interior was thoroughly searched, and two balances were brought to light, apparently used for weighing drugs, with scales saucer-shaped, so that the contents would not fall out. Salves of lead ointment, and mirrors, like those now in use for looking at the throat, also point to the conclusion that a Roman hospital was here.

Examples of representative ancient surgical instruments now in the British Museum are shown in Plate II.

The building was of considerable extent, as it contained fourteen rooms varying from 27 to 3 mètres in length. Pedestals of columns still remain, which seem to prove that the façade was adorned with a portico. Copper coins of Claudius, Nero and Domitian, silver coins of Vespasian and Hadrian were found, which assist us in determining the date. With this evidence an inscription coincides, mentioning the Vindonissenses and the year A.D. 79, when Vespasian died and Titus succeeded—remarkable for the eruption of Vesuvius in which the elder Pliny perished.

Among the instruments collected at Baden in the course of explorations, as far as I know, a cupping-glass does not appear, but we see it represented on the reverse of a coin of Epidaurus, with the head of Aesculapius on the obverse;¹ its shape corresponds with an original in the British Museum. This object illustrates the lines of Juvenal:

Quum facias pejora senex, vacuumque cerebro
Iam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat.

Satire XIV. 57,

which in the use of the word *ventosa* show a wrong conception of the action of the *cucurbita*, the blood being

¹ British Museum, *Gr. Coins Peloponnesus*, 157, plate xxix, No. 15.

extracted by means of a partial vacuum, not by a current of air. Celsus¹ devotes a whole chapter to the use of the *cucurbita*, "In *aeneam* linamentum ardens conjicitur, ac sic os ejus corpori aptatur, imprimiturque donec inhaereat." The method was evidently the same as that employed by surgeons in the earlier part of the last century.²

Epigraphy supplies good illustrations of a Roman military hospital; one may be fitly cited here; it was found on an altar at Lambèse (N. Africa) in the camp of a legion, near the praetorium, and is now deposited in the Cabinet des Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris.³

DOMVI
DIVINAE
AVGGg
L. CAECILI
VS VRBA
NVS OPT
VAL CVRO
PERIs ARM
POSVIT

a. 209/211

AVGGg--the three Augusti (if G is rightly supplied) here mentioned are Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta, who were associated with him in the empire. Vv 6-8 may be expanded thus: OPTio VALEtudinariii CVRator OPERI(s) ARMamentarii. The officer who erected this altar seems to have been vice-centurion, director of the hospital, and master of the ordnance. But there is some doubt about armamentarii, as it would be difficult to find an example where it occurs with this meaning (ordnance). Orelli, Inscr., No. 3476, ARM, ARMCV, perhaps to be read *armorum custos*. *Optio* is masculine here, and must not be confounded with *optio* feminine, choice, option. The former word (used as

¹ *De Medicina* lib. ii, cap. xi.

² Compare *Real Museo Borbonico*, Vol. xiv, Tav. xxxvi, pp. 1-17, Bernedetto Vulpes. *Strumenti di Chirurgia (in bronzo) trovati in Ercolano ed in Pompei*, Vol. xv, Tav. xxiii, pp. 1-5, Bernardo Quaranta. Some of the attributions have been disputed. Overbeck's *Pompeii*, 2nd ed., Vol. ii, p. 8, gives an account of three chemists' shops in this city, tablets, pills, fluids in glass bottles dried up, a medicine chest of bronze with compartments and

a drawer under it, also a spoon for ointment, and a small porphyry plate on which it could be rubbed; *ibid.* p. 88, fig. 278. *Chirurgische Instrumente, Bauliche Ueberreste von Brigantium*, von Conservator Dr. Samuel Jenny. The surgeon's house with figures of probes and of a small spoon from which the handle is broken off.

³ C.I.L. *Inscriptiones Africae Proconsularis et Numidia*, Vol. viii, Pars. i, p. 296, No. 2563, edit. G. Wilmanns.

a military technical term) has been improperly translated by *adjutant*. In the monument of Manius Caelius, who fell in the defeat of Varus, found near Xanten in 1633, and now preserved in the museum at Bonn, OPTIO has been proposed as a conjectural restoration, and very plausibly.¹

An inscription at Wettingen, near Baden, is interesting, as it serves to explain another, which, though spurious, has become celebrated, because a great poet has surrounded it with the halo of his genius. I refer to Lord Byron's *Childe Harold*, Canto III, stanza xvi:

And there—oh! sweet and sacred be the name!—
 Julia—the daughter, the devoted—gave
 Her youth to Heaven; her heart, beneath a claim
 Nearest to Heaven's, broke o'er a father's grave.
 Justice is sworn 'gainst tears, and hers would crave
 The life she lived in; but the judge was just,
 And then she died on him she could not save.
 Their tomb was simple, and without a bust,
 And held within their urn one mind, one heart, one dust.

The epitaph appears in Gruter as follows:²

Aventici
 IVLIA · ALPINULA · HIC · IACEO
 INFELICIS · PATRIS · INFELIX · PROLES
 DEAE · AVENT · SACERD
 EXORARE · PATRIS · NECEM · NON · POTVI
 MALE · MORI · IN · FATIS · ILLI · ERAT
 VIXI · ANNOS · XXIII
 a Paulo Guil. Lipsius

Paul Wilhelm was a notorious forger, and in the *Quarterly Review*,³ he is said to have fabricated this inscription from a passage in Tacitus,⁴ where the author relates that, after the surrender of Aventicum (Avenches), the Roman general Caecina inflicted capital punishment upon Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, as having caused the Helvetian revolt. But this is only a part of the truth, for Wilhelm made use also of the above-mentioned inscription at Wettingen, which Mommsen has carefully edited, after examining the plaster-cast in the

¹ Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii, 2050, Art. Waffen. Orelli, *Inscr.* No. 3462, OPTIO VALETVDI. OPTIO ARCARI

et arcarius, vide Reines, *Inscr.* 12 and 14.

² Vol. i, p. cccix, no. 10.

³ June, 1846, lxxviii, 61.

⁴ Tacit. *Hist.* i, 68.

ii, 105, note 2, *De Optt. valetudinarius*

Zurich Museum and the stone itself; it is numbered 241, s.v. Aquae. Compare two other inscriptions, 154, 155 Mommsen, *op. cit.*

DEAE ISIDI EMPLVM A SOL^o
L ANNVSIVS MAGIANVS
DE SVO POSVIT VIK AQVENS^B
AD CVIVS EMPLI ORNAMENTA
ALPINIA ALPINVLA CoNIVNX
ET PEREGRINA FIL X C DEDE
RVNT & L . D . D . VICANORVM

In v. 3 Hagenbuch, following Scaliger, read VIR AQVENS B, and explained these words by *Sexvir Aquensis bis*—here Mommsen has improved on his predecessors, “vikanis Aquensibus legendum.” For the inconsistency in VIK and VICANORVM, he refers to Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti de’ fratelli arvali scolpiti già in tavola di marmo*, p. 29 seq. With the last line compare Orelli, No. 1,693 LOCO D.D.D., where we should notice that LOCO occurs *in extenso*. D.D.D = dato Decurionum decreto; the decuriones were the senate of municipia and the colonies. This title does not find place in the Wettingen inscription; the omission is significant, and the words VIK and VICANORVM agree with the historian’s statement¹ “*in modum municipii extructus locus*,” which implies that Aquae (Baden) was not a free city, governed by its own laws, but a town of lower rank, only a *vicus*. So we have here one of those undesigned coincidences which furnish the strongest arguments to confirm our faith in ancient history.²

Notices of the Brigantii in Greek and Latin authors are few and meagre. This need not cause us any surprise, if we remember that they occupied territory on the borders of the Empire, far remote from the seat of government, and that the Romans must have regarded the Keltic population of this region as aliens in race and language, savages or at best semi-barbarous. Ptolemy places Brigantium near the source of the Rhine; but Strabo couples it with Campodunum (*hodie* Kempten), a city of Vindelicia, which extended from the south-east of

¹ Tacit. *loc. cit.*

² Compare Paley, *Horæ Paulinae*, edit. 1805, Exposition of the Argument, pp. 1–19, where the word *undesignedness*

occurs twice; chap. ii contains the first example taken from the Epistle to the Romans and the Acts of the Apostles.

Baden to north Tirol, and included the north-east of Switzerland. I need scarcely add that the latter opinion is correct; the modern name Bregenz would be itself almost sufficient to prove it. This city, on account of its advantageous position, must have become important at an early period. It had communication by water on the lake of Constance, and by road (1) with Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) through Campodunum; (2) with Argentoratum (Strasburg) through Fines and Rauraci (Augst); (3) with Mediolanum (Milan) through Curia (Coire) and Comum. Moreover, the Roman fortress at Brigantium commanded the entrance of the valley by which the Rhine issues from the mountains of Switzerland. The connection with other cities is well shown by the Peutinger Table, ed. Konrad Miller, *e.g.*, *seg.* III, 5, Brigantio, Arbor Felix X, Ad fines, XXI, the second and third places being stations on the Roman military road, south of that river and nearly parallel to it.¹ This Brigantium must not be confounded with another in Gaul, modern Briançon, Department of the High Alps, where the roads branch (1) west, through Grenoble to Vienne, (2) through Embrun (Ebrodunum) to Gap (Vapincum).

My information concerning the antiquities of Bregenz is derived partly from a visit to the place and inspection of the museum there, partly from a sketch of its Keltic and Roman history by Dr. Karl Ludwig, but especially from the numerous contributions of Dr. Samuel Jenny to the Series usually called *K.K. Central-Commission*, published at Vienna; these memoirs, containing an account of his researches, profusely illustrated, are indispensable, and in themselves constitute a monument of erudition, an important work of labour and skill. He, *indefessus agendo*, has not only at his own expense made costly excavations, but also presented most of the objects found to the Vorarlberg provincial museum at Bregenz.

There can be little doubt that the Romans built their earlier town on the site now occupied by the Alt- or Oberstadt; the coins discovered there, the position being easily defensible, and the remains of ancient fortifications,

¹ See Dr. Jenny's essay, *Die Römische Heerstrasse Brigantium—Ad Rhenum*, with plate, ground plan, elevation, etc.

all point to this conclusion. Lindau, within sight of Bregenz, was also in their possession, and according to some authorities the island on which it is built formed the base of operations for the naval war of Tiberius against the Vindelici, which Strabo expresses by the word *ὀρμητήριον*. Thus the Romans had the east end of the Boden See under their control. Proceeding in a westerly direction we come to Arbon, Romanshorn and Constance, the names of which are significant. The first town was under the Empire, Arbor Felix, mentioned above, and the castle is said to rest on Roman foundations; the second, opposite Friedrichshafen, was Cornu Romanorum; the third speaks sufficiently for itself; this city was founded as a fortress by Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, about A.D. 304. Seeing that the greatest military nation of antiquity held all these strong positions for centuries, and that once at least, as recorded by a trustworthy writer, it launched a flotilla on these waters and crossed them, we may go further and say, without fear of contradiction, that the Boden See, at all events for strategical purposes, became a Roman lake.

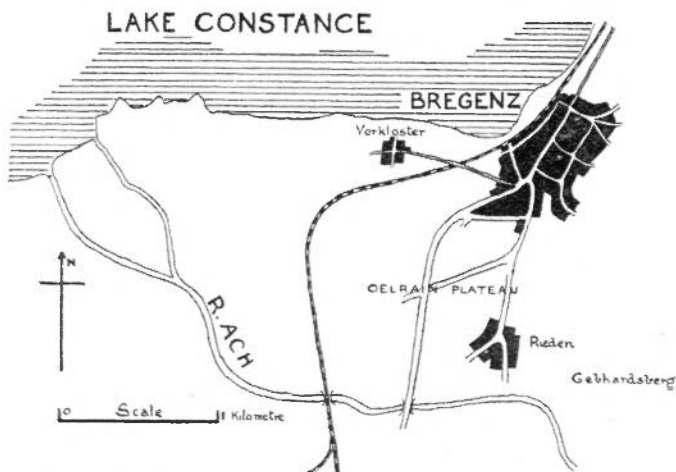
A plan of Brigantium Municipium (Plate III) and a rough sketch map of the environs accompany this paper.¹ Unfortunately they do not show differences of altitude, but they enable us to appreciate the results obtained by the indefatigable explorer to whom we are so deeply indebted. The Roman military road is shown, leading in one direction to the Rhine, in the other to Campodunum, and describing a great curve through the town inhabited by civilians: this road was discovered at a depth of 20 to 60 centimetres below alluvial deposits of the river, with a breadth of 7·5 to 9·5 mètres. An earlier road, which took a slightly different line indicated on the plan by the position occupied by the numbers 1, 2 and 3, had been abandoned on account of a conflagration, which left many débris not removed; the new road was carried over them, and the soil was consequently raised by this accumulation. So in modern Rome, for the same reason, it is not easy to recognise

¹ The plan is adapted from one which appeared in the *Beilage zur Seite 107 der Mittheilungen der K.K. CentralCom-*

mission für Kunst und hist. Denkmale, Jahrgang 1898, Seite 157.

all the seven hills (*Septimontium*) mentioned by ancient authors.

No less than fifty-three Roman buildings are enumerated by Dr. Jenny; only the most important and some of the details are shown on the accompanying plan. In passing, No. 17, the *Canabenses*, may be noted, the settlements of artisans, retail-traders, workmen and innkeepers, such as usually accompany a permanent *castrum*: a good example is to be seen at Saalburg, which deserves to be cited, because it has been described by Jacobi more fully than any Roman camp by other writers, and because, on account of its proximity to Homburg, it is easily accessible to English travellers.



ROUGH SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE ENVIRONS OF MODERN BREGENZ.

In the Oberstadt or upper town, in addition to the remains shown on the inset plan, a monument to Drusus was found. This relic of antiquity, now deposited in the museum, consists of a single slab of local sandstone 1 metre in height and breadth, and contains the earliest inscription at Bregenz, which has also an historical interest. The letters still extant are

. . VSO. TIB. F ESARI

Expansion = Druso Tiberii Filio Caesari. The Drusus here mentioned, son of Tiberius, must not be confounded with the elder Drusus, brother of that emperor. In

EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.

The solid lines represent Roman remains.

The dotted lines show modern features.

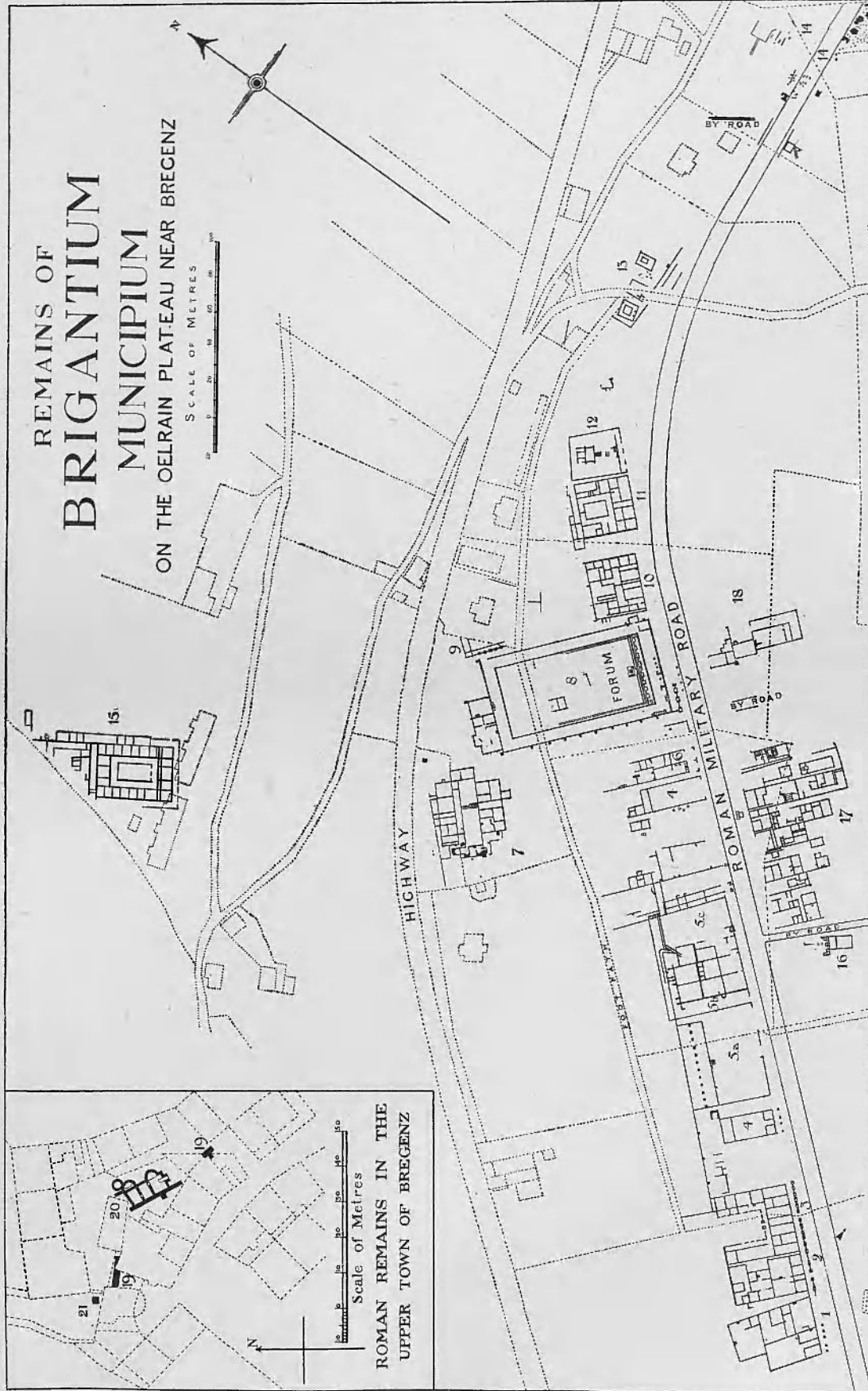
REMAINS IN THE OELRAIN DISTRICT OF BREGENZ.

No. on Plan.

1. Country villa with courts, barns, stables and living rooms
bases of pillar in front of one-half of the building.
2. Large dwelling house with shops and store houses in front,
family living rooms in the rear, bases of pillars along
the whole front.
3. Public building with colonnades in front and round the sides
of the court in rear, devoted perhaps to commerce or
to justice and administrative business.
4. Store house (horreum) or market with small square dwelling
in rear for the officials attached thereto.
5. Public Baths:—(a) open court with colonnade in rear;
(b) heating apparatus; (c) ambulatio. The block of build-
ings between 5 (c) and 5 (b) were the baths proper
with separate rooms for men and women.
6. Posting stage house (?) with portico and great gates.
7. Villa of some great man with baths attached.
8. Forum with portico and steps in front, immediately behind
which stood a large monument with bronze statues.
In the rear, hall and administrative offices for use in
the cold season.
9. Colonnade of a temple or scola (?)
- 10, 11. Dwelling houses with shops in front, the rear serving as a
residence.
12. Temple. The small building in the middle of the court is
the temple podium with steps, immediately in front
of which stood the altar.
13. Great sepulchral monuments.
14. Minor monuments, burial ground and ustrina. (The small
lines and dots represent spots on which skeletons were
found.)
15. Large country house with workshop for fullers and cellar
with stables and outbuildings; a pergola ran round one
side of the house.
16. Hospitium.
17. Industrial quarter of Brigantium.
18. Country house.

REMAINS IN THE OBERSTADT OR UPPER TOWN (inset plan).

19. Remains of castrum wall.
20. Baths of a villa built in front of castrum wall.
21. Site of Epona sculpture over gate.



praise of the latter, Horace wrote one of his finest odes,¹ comparing the Roman prince to the eagle that carried off Ganymede, and referring to his campaigns in Rhaetia and Vindelicia, which might lead to the mistake:

Videre Rhaetis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici;

Drusus the younger was sent by Tiberius into Illyricum, and promoted dissensions among the Germans on the principle of the motto "Divide and conquer"; the inscription corresponds with the statements of historians.

The Epona-relief (No. 21 on the inset) plan, represents the goddess between two colts, as she appears in sculptures found on the Boundary or *Limes Transrhenanus et Transdanubianus*. For many centuries the original remained at the entrance to the old town: it is now in the Vorarlberg museum and has been replaced by a modern imitation.

We have also an inscription on a votive altar of Mercury beginning

IN Honorem Domus Divinae
DEO MERCURIO
ARCECIO;

where we may notice the combination of a Keltic with a Latin name of a deity, which is not uncommon. It proves the disposition of the Romans to identify the gods of other nations with their own. Similarly, *Camulus* was considered to be the same as *Mars*, and *Camulodunum* (Colchester) is equivalent to Areiopagus, Mars Hill in the Authorised Version. In Bregenz itself we find a dedication

DJS DEABVSQ = diis deabusque,

without any proper name, indicating a kind of cosmopolitan pantheism, which must have presented great obstacles to the spread of Christianity, a new religion that claimed universal and uncompromising supremacy.

A leaden plate was found in a lady's grave inscribed on both sides. The subject is a *defixio* or imprecation. The outside is deciphered by Zangemeister as follows:

¹ Lib. IV, iii.

² See the *Stemma Caesarum*, No. 70 in Brotier's edition of Tacitus, and the

Index to this author, edit. Orelli or Halm.

Domitius Niger et / (L) olius et Julius Severus et Severus Nigr
 serus (servus), adve(rs)ari(i) Bruttæ, et quisquis adve/rsus il(l)am
 loqu(us est) : omnes / perdes.

In a prayer of this kind the deceased implored the vengeance of the infernal deities against his or her adversaries. Of such enchantments the most remarkable example is that relating to Germanicus, mentioned by Tacitus,¹ who uses *devotio* as equivalent to *defixio*.

Roman inscriptions at Bregenz extend from the reign of Tiberius to Valerian, A.D. 253-259, but coins are found there over a still longer period, from Augustus to Theodosius, B.C. 14—A.D. 395. Some pieces struck by Albinus, Otacilia, wife of Philip, Carinus and Decentius, are rare. However, a more interesting discovery has been made in a neighbouring turf-bog called Lauteracher Ried, near the west of the town and in the same direction as the Roman road to Arbor Felix. Twenty-four denarii and three Gallic quinarii were found, together with some silver ornaments, also of Gallic *provenance*. All the Roman coins belong to the republican period, from the earliest silver mintage in the year B.C. 269 till Sulla's time. One of the gens Titinia, instead of X = 10 ases, bears XVI., i.e., 16 ases, belonging to the year B.C. 167, A. U. C. 587. In this series nineteen families are represented; Pomponia shows *nummi serrati*, i.e., with edges notched, the kind of money which, according to Tacitus, the Germans preferred.

The contents of the museum are by no means interesting from an aesthetic point of view; so far were the inhabitants from producing anything beautiful that they seem not to have had even the taste to import such objects. A statuette of Mercury without the usual attributes, represented as the patron of pugilists, a double figure in which Mercury and Maia (or perhaps Rosmerta) are combined, and a small Venus of potter's clay—these are all the works of art which the collection can show. On the other hand, it abounds in terra-cotta and glass vessels, amphoræ, lamps, so-called lachrymatories, and articles of ordinary use, of iron, bronze, bone and ivory. The stamps on earthenware indicate well-known firms, and among

¹ *Annals*, ii, 69.

them some have been traced to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), which was famed for its ceramic industry.

Brigantium, on account of its geographical position, was a commercial centre rather than a military station. For a long time it had only an auxiliary cohort within its walls, and at a late period, under the emperor Marcus Aurelius, a part of the Third Italian legion was transferred thither, and with these troops some marines of the fleet that held the Bodensee were associated, for we read in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (a kind of Army List) *Praefectus numeri barcariorum Confluentibus sive Brecantiae*.

NOTE.—In compiling this paper, I have made use of two pamphlets: *A Roman Military Hospital*, published at Zürich n.d., kindly lent to me by Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., and *Das Amphitheater Vindonissa*, Zürich, 1898.

The student of Roman antiquities in Switzerland should not fail to consult Otto Hauser, *Vindonissa: Das Standortquartier Römischer Legionen nach seinen Ausgrabungen in Wort und Bild dargestellt*. Zürich, Polygraphisches Institut, 4°, 22 pp. 58 plates, 4 in colours, 1904, favourably noticed in the *Revue Archéologique*, Sept.–Oct. 1906, p. 334. This important work contains the best account I have ever read of an excavation of ancient monuments. The text gives the most minute details; the illustrations are numerous and admirably executed, especially plates 60 and 61, which show fragments of glass-work.

I am much indebted to the kindness of the Editor, Mr. G. D. Hardinge-Tyler, for the preparation of maps of Brigantium and the explanation of the localities.