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TRADE BETWEEN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE FREE GERMANS¹

By OLWEN BROGAN

(Plate xi)

I. COMMUNICATIONS (p. 199, fig. 7)

The campaigns of Caesar and Augustus gave Italian merchants an opportunity of establishing relations with the free Germans.² Intercourse was maintained after the withdrawal of the legions to the west of the Rhine, and literary references to the trade which grew up, though few in number, testify to its continuance throughout the time here to be considered. The conception of an illimitable forest primeval stretching unbroken from the borders of the empire into the furthest recesses of barbarism is very far from the truth. Great as were the forests, there existed open or lightly-wooded areas suitable for the settlements of primitive man,³ and communication between such inhabited regions can be traced from very early times.⁴ All the great rivers have been guides or highways for migrants and for traders, though streams liable to floods have caused difficulty. The prevalence of marsh is largely responsible for the convergence of traffic upon certain points where not only can the rivers be forded, but where relatively firm ground approaches close to the banks. The Celto-German world knew nothing of elaborate roads of the Roman type, but primitive tracks came early into being, as burials

¹ The period surveyed in this article is, approximately, from the reign of Augustus until A.D. 400, and the term 'Roman' is applied to any goods made within the empire, whether in Italy or the provinces. The distribution-maps are based on lists compiled from works available in England and in the Archaeological Institute at Frankfurt. For reasons of space it has not been possible to publish the lists themselves here; furthermore, an exhaustive treatment of the whole subject is being prepared by a German scholar and will be published by the Römisch-Germanische Kommission.

The chief general accounts are: O. Montelius, 'Der Handel in der Vorzeit,' *Praehist. Zeitschr.* ii, 1910, 249-91; W. Stein, *s.v.* 'Handel,' Hoops, *Reallex. der germ. Altertumskunde*, ii, 1913-15, 382-90; E. Wahle, *s.v.* 'Handel,' Ebert, *Reallex. der Vorgeschichte*, v, 1926, 37-64. C. F. Wiberg, *Der Einfluss der klassischen Völker auf den Norden durch den Handelsverkehr*, 1867.

² Caesar, *BG* i, 39 (appearance of Germans described by traders); iv, 2, 3; vi, 25 (journeys across Germany taking sixty days); Dio, lvi, 18, 2.

The penetration of Roman goods among the Batavi before their incorporation within the empire has been shown by the excavation of Ubbergen, a Batavian *oppidum* destroyed in A.D. 70 (Breuer, *Oudheid. Med.* 1931). Most of the border tribes were at one time or another during the first and second centuries in client relationship to the empire, and there were frequent embassies from the Germanic peoples to Rome, all of which would help to stimulate barbarian interest in Roman goods (J. Klose, *Röms Klientel-Randsstaaten am Rhein u. an der Donau*, 1934).

³ O. Schlüter, *s.v.* 'Deutsches Siedelungswesen,' Hoops, *Reallex.* i, 1911-13 (with map); L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme*, 1911, 1934; G. Kossinna, 'Die Karte der germanischen Funde in der frühen Kaiserzeit,' *Mannus*, 1933, 6-40; see also G. Ekholm in *CAH* xi, 46 ff.

⁴ E. Sprockhoff, 'Handelsgesch. der germanischen Bronzezeit,' *Vorgesch. Forschungen* vii, 1930; J. M. de Navarro, 'Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy defined by the Amber Trade,' *Geog. Journ.*, 1925, 481-503.

along them show.⁵ The importance of the wagon to the German tribes implies the existence, in a forested country, of tracks along which it could be drawn. Traces of German road-building in marshy ground have been observed;⁶ the corduroy ways of north-west Germany and Holland may even be neolithic; the East Prussian examples seem to belong to the Roman period. Signs of a primitive bridge have been found at Fulda.⁷

It would appear that goods generally changed hands at the frontier, where strict watch was kept and customs dues were levied,⁸ but there seems no reason why some of the sailors of the Lower Rhine, largely Germanic themselves, should not have ventured far along the coast, despite the early rise of German piracy.⁹ The discovery of Roman objects across the base of Jutland and in great quantity in the Danish isles, and an early Saxon reference to a trade-route here,¹⁰ support the view that goods destined for Baltic trade were transported by land across the isthmus. If this was the case it seems plausible to guess that Roman traders may have got at least as far as the Elbe.¹¹ Germans, however, certainly sailed the North Sea from the beginning of our period,¹² and it is worth remark that the Frisians were particularly well placed to act as middlemen in a trade which found custom far along the Norwegian coast as well as in Denmark and up the German rivers. The Baltic had its own ships and sailors very early.¹³ A first-century ship has recently been dug up in south Sweden¹⁴; the well-known Nydam vessel belongs to the period about A.D. 400.¹⁵

A valuable study of prehistoric routes north-east of the Rhine, based on an examination of geographical factors, medieval records and archaeological finds, especially Roman coins, has been published by Dr. H. Krüger.¹⁶ He shows that the Lippe and the routes

⁵ Cf. sections on roads in 'Limes-Forschungen,' (ORL), and *infra*, notes 16, 20, 25. Caesar shows how well provided Gaul was with tracks and even with bridges.

⁶ R. J. Forbes, 'Notes on the History of Ancient Roads and their Construction,' *Allard Pierson Stichting* iii, 1934, 38-47. Cf. 'pontes longi' of Tac. *Ann.* i, 63. W. Gaerte, *Urgeschichte Ostpreussens*, 1929, 207-8.

⁷ J. Vonderau, *Denkmäler aus vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit im Fuldaer Lande*, 1931, 43, 54.

⁸ Tac., *Germ.* 41; *Hist.* iv, 64-5; Tert., *adv. Iud.* 7, 'Germani adhuc usque limites suos transgredi non sinuntur'; Samwer, 'Die Grenzpolizei des röm. Reichs,' *Westdeutsche Zeitschr.* v, 1886, 314.

⁹ Tac., *Ann.* xi, 18 (A.D. 47, raids of Gannascus and his Chauci); Pliny, *NH* xvi, 203. Cf. Tac., *Germ.* 2, 'oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur.' The Frisian coasts were certainly frequented by provincial fishermen (*CIL* xiii, 8830, end of first century; *Korrespondenzblatt des Westdeutschen Zeitschr.*, 1889, 4).

¹⁰ M. Ebert, *Truso*, 1926, p. 1 ff (the travels of Wulfstan, ninth century).

¹¹ Aubin ('Der Rheinhandel in römischer Zeit,'

Bj cxxx, 1925, 30) believes, presumably on the analogy of the Baltic trading-posts mentioned by Pliny (xxxvii, 45), that at the mouths of the great rivers there were German emporia, a probability for which there is no direct evidence, although Roman coins are frequent enough thereabouts.

¹² Strabo, vii, 2, 1; *supra*, n. 9.

¹³ Tac., *Germ.* 44 (Suiones); cf. the Bronze Age rock carvings of ships and sailors from Bornholm (W. Vogel, 'Von den Anfängen deutscher Schifffahrt,' *Praehist. Zeitschr. (PZ)* iv, 1-15; *s.v.* 'Felsenzeichnung,' Ebert, *Reallex.*) O. Almgren, *Die ältere Eisenzeit Gotlands* i, 1914, ii (with B. Nerman), 1923, 138-43, for Baltic trade. G. Ekholm, in 'Die Einfuhr von Bronzeschüsseln der röm. Zeit nach Skandinavien,' *Altschlesien*, 1934, 252-4, and in *op. cit. infra*, n. 74, has valuable discussions of trade routes to and in Scandinavia.

¹⁴ *Mannus-Bibl.* I, 69.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 63; K. Schuchhardt, *Vorgesch. von Deutschland*, 2nd edn., 1934, 280 ff.

¹⁶ 'Die vorgesch. Strassen in den Sachsenkriegen Karls des Grossen,' *Korrespondenzbl. des Gesamtvereins*, lxxx, 1932, 223-80.

associated with it are of first importance. Many tracks and their branches led to the Ems and Weser, and several of them converged upon Minden, an important crossing of the Weser. From Minden the journey to the well-populated regions of the Elbe and Saale would be comparatively easy, and an ancient route and the modern railroad both run by Hildesheim to Magdeburg.¹⁷

The Hellweg, running from the mouth of the Ruhr to Paderborn, is well marked by Roman coins. Opposite the mouth of the Ruhr at Asberg, lay a Roman fort, identified with the old German settlement of Asciburgium.¹⁸ It is unfortunately not yet possible to say whether Asciburgium continued to be a trading centre under the Romans, for the finds so far made there indicate no more than the usual life of a military station. At Paderborn roads branch off to the Weser crossings of Minden, Hameln and Hörter, and to another well-marked primitive road-centre at Warburg, once defended by a prehistoric stronghold.¹⁹ Another early track led from opposite Cologne to Düsseldorf along the open 'Heideterrasse,' on which settlements existed from neolithic to Frankish times. Other, medieval, roads known to lead north-east and south-east from Cologne (avoiding the Rothargebirge) have not yet been assigned to an earlier date.

Passing the Sieg valley,²⁰ where there is evidence of at least local trade of some magnitude, we enter the highland zone and the Limes country, in which forts are almost invariably situated at points where prehistoric roads cross the frontier.²¹ The Lahn valley near Giessen has yielded many Roman finds, which may have come from several directions—by the ridgeway north of the Lahn,²² or by roads passing Holzhausen or the High Taunus forts²³ or running north from the Wetterau,²⁴ the fertile gap between the Taunus and Vogelsberg. A prehistoric track, probably followed by Germanicus in his advance on Mattium and the Eder, led past Giessen and Marburg to Cassel. Another, crossing the Limes at Altenstadt and then passing through the Vogelsberg to Fulda, is called in Fulda records the *Antsanvia*—the Way of the Gods—and is mentioned in 743 as the road 'auf

¹⁷ Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* 236.

¹⁸ Tac., *Germ.* 3; Ihm, *P-W s.v.* 'Asciburgium'; E. Norden, *Die germ. Urgesch. in Tac., Germania*, 2nd edn., 1922, 187-93; R. Hennig, 'Die Stromverlagerungen des Niederrheins,' *Bf* cxxix, 1924, 172-5, holds that prehistoric Asciburgium lay on the right bank of the Rhine, which shifted to the east even in Roman times; other references in Grenier, *Manuel* ii, 580, n. 4.

¹⁹ The increasing study of such primitive strongholds will do much to fill the gaps in our knowledge of the old roads and of the various periods in which they were important.

²⁰ K. Schumacher, *Siedlungs- u. Kulturgesch. der Rheinlande* ii, 1923, 139, 340.

²¹ The Limes would serve to regulate traffic to

special points and thus facilitate the growth of markets. Kutsch, *Hanau Katalog*, 1926, 113, *ORL*, Bd. ii B. 16 *Arsburg*, p. 18, gives several examples; at Alteburg-Heftrich in the Taunus, just east of the Roman fort site, a market has been held thrice a year from time immemorial, yet it is far away from modern traffic-routes of importance (*ORL*, Bd. ii B. 9, p. 5).

²² *ORL*, Str. i, 149.

²³ Objects of German origin are common in the Taunus forts; Schumacher, *op. cit.*, 126-7 and *infra* p. 219, n. 137.

²⁴ Krüger, *op. cit.* 229-33 for routes leading north; K. T. C. Müller, *Alte Strassen und Wege in Oberhessen, ihre Erkundung und ihre Bedeutung für vor- und frühgesch. Forschung*, Marburg, 1929; Schumacher, *op. cit.*, 241-42.

welcher die Kaufleute von Thüringen nach Mainz ziehen,'²⁵ a statement almost equally appropriate to the Roman period.²⁶

In the German territory south of the Main finds of Roman and even of German objects have up to the present been few and far between.²⁷ The valleys of the Main, Tauber, Jagst and Kocher, however, are convenient channels for trade, and in the last were salt deposits which would be nearer at hand for the Main-Rems group of forts than any deposits within the empire.²⁸ But, though a few Roman coins have turned up in the Kocher valley, and prehistoric tracks lead from the salt area to both Upper Germany and Raetia,²⁹ proof of the existence of this salt trade³⁰ has yet to be found. An important discovery has been made recently at Baldesheim, near Aub, in Middle Franconia, where a German settlement with numerous Roman imports ranging from A.D. 180-230 has been unearthed.³¹ Baldesheim lies just east of an ancient route running from Augsburg to Miltenberg. Another route running north from Manching³² crosses the Limes near Denkendorf and is still apparently distinguishable seven kilometres outside the Limes as a Roman causeway.³³ This track would continue north up the Sulz valley to Nuremberg and eventually to Thuringia. It is unfortunate that we cannot yet point out the routes used by the Hermunduri concerning whom Tacitus made his well-known statement.³⁴ Evidence of the use of the Regen and Naab valleys by traders in the Roman period is strikingly scanty,³⁵ nor has the important Bronze Age route north from Kelheim any proven Roman counterpart. Raetia, however, was a poor province, with richer neighbours to west and east, and while the Bavarian Hermunduri may have carried on local trade and have acted to some extent as middlemen in trade northward bound to their richer kinsmen in Thuringia,³⁶ they lay off the

²⁵ Schumacher, *loc. cit.* Along it are Hallstatt and La Tène burials and at Fulda there are Roman finds. Vonderau (*supra* p. 196, n. 7), 11 ff.

²⁶ W. Schulz, 'Mitteldeutsch-Südwestdeutsche Beziehungen in der spätrömischen Germanenkultur,' *Schumacher Festschr.*, 319-22.

²⁷ This may be due partly to inadequate exploration, partly to thin settlement of an area largely covered with coniferous forest. See H. Zeiss, *Bay. Vorgesch. Blätt.* xi, 1933, 45; Reinecke, *Berichte Röm.-germ. Komm.* (referred to below as *Ber.*) xxiii, 1933, 144; *ORL* St. vii-ix, 13; xiii, 8; xiv, 12.

²⁸ E.g. Münster-am-Stein, Kreuznach, Nauheim; Aubin, *op. cit.* 20; Schumacher, *op. cit.* 56, 258.

²⁹ *ORL* Str. vii-ix, 145; xiii, 57; F. Winkelmann, 'Die vorröm. u. röm. Strassen in Bayern zwischen Donau u. Limes,' *Ber.* xi, 1918-19, 4-56.

³⁰ F. Winkelmann, *Eichstätt Museums Katalog*, 47. Such a trade would help to account for the rapid rise of the flourishing civil settlement at Öhringen; Weller, *Fundber. aus Schwaben*, xii, 1904, 15-31; E. Norden, *Altgermanien*, 1934, 49 ff. Amman. xxviii, 5, 11 shows the importance of these springs.

³¹ *Germania*, xiv, 1930, 40-42; xv, 83-9, 281.

³² *Ber.* xi, 5, 17-18 (roads from Manching). At Oberstimm near Manching the Romans built a fort, and at Oberstimm there is still held annually a fair which, says Winkelmann, must go back to Roman times at least, and probably to an earlier fair held in the oppidum (E. Norden, *Germ. Urgesch. in Tac. Germ.* 2nd edn., 505; *Eichstätt Kat.* 25).

³³ *Ber.* xi, 9, *Eichstätt Museums Kat.* 25.

³⁴ *Germ.* 41; H. Zeiss, *op. cit.*, 42, 44; Barthel, *Ber.* vi, 167.

³⁵ Wagner, *Die Römer in Bayern*, 4th edn, 1928, 81; cf. however, Schuchhardt's statement in *op. cit.*, 226, n. 17. 'Die Hermunduren reichen zur Römerzeit bis zur Donau, wo sie in Regensburg einen Hauptaustauschort an der Grenze haben, und bei den Weltherrschern grosses Vertrauen geniessen.'

³⁶ A. Götze, P. Höfer and P. Zschiesche, *Die vor- und früh-gesch. Altertümer Thüringens*, 1909, xxxv, draw attention to the La Graufesenque pot at Vippacheldelhausen and the Oberhof patera-handle as indications of early trade between the Thuringian Hermunduri and the south. The handle was found on a forest route leading to Raetia.

main routes into free Germany. From the archaeological point of view the Hermunduri of Thuringia are by far the more important, having widespread connections which have become increasingly clear in recent years; and throughout our period, despite changes in its inhabitants, Thuringia continued to play an important part in commerce and the diffusion of cultures.³⁷

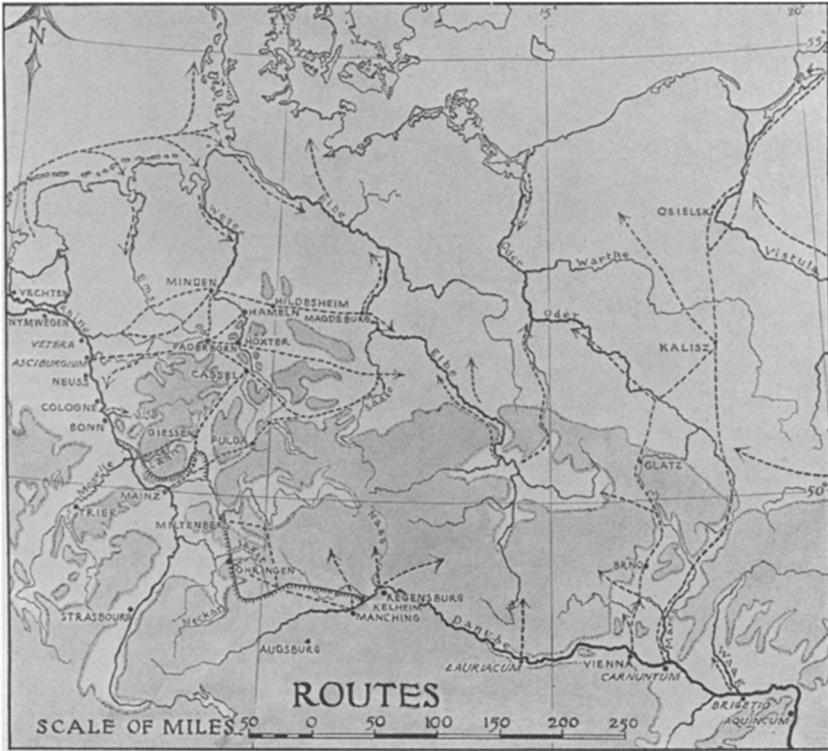


FIG. 7

The shaded part signifies a height over 1,000 ft.

Reinecke³⁸ has drawn attention to several prehistoric roads entering Bohemia from Raetia. Where most of them leave the Danube a few Roman objects have turned up, but they may only bear witness to local trade. More important was the route to the Budweis from Lauriacum, while from Vienna a route along the Lauschnitz led into the central, heavily-settled part of Bohemia. The easiest ways out from Bohemia to the north ran across the mountains to Dresden, Gorlitz and Glatz. The Marcomannic

³⁷ Schulz, *Fürstengrab* (*infra* p. 204, n. 70), 43-47.

³⁸ P. Reinecke, 'Die Westgrenze vorgesch. Besiedelung in Böhmen,' *Sudeta* vii, 26-38. Other

roads: H. Preidel, *Germanen in Böhmen im Spiegel der Bodenfunde*, 1926, 57-8.

kingdom played a leading, if brief, role in the development of trade.³⁹ The remnant of the Boii provided a sprinkling of Celtic subjects of whose skill the new lords of Bohemia could avail themselves, and Bohemia became a centre for the fusion of elements of Celtic, Germanic and even Roman culture. The Celtic substratum in both Bohemia and Noricum must have facilitated intercourse, and Maroboduus encouraged Roman merchants to settle in his new capital;⁴⁰ after his fall, cynically engineered from Rome, his kingdom was reduced to a clientship maintained well into the second century.⁴¹ Roman goods are abundant in Bohemian cemeteries of the first century. In the second century there are fewer imports and by the third century German goods have definitely gained the upper hand. A specially Marcomannic first-century product may be mentioned here, as its distribution and influence shows how widespread must have been the inter-relations between craftsmen throughout free Germany,⁴² namely, drinking-horn ornaments. Rims and tips closely resembling Bohemian specimens are found in Pomerania and in Denmark; identical examples of tips from Bohemia and the lower Neckar are known,⁴³ showing that the Marcomanni maintained touch with the Suebi Nicretes, who were themselves in close commercial relationship with the Roman Rhineland before their territory was incorporated in the empire.⁴⁴

We come to a route established beyond all doubt when we reach Carnuntum, with its ancient communications north and south.⁴⁵ The way from Carnuntum to the amber coast is the only one of the northern trade-routes of which we have specific literary information; first the passage in Pliny⁴⁶ referring to the Roman knight of Nero's time who started north from Carnuntum, and six hundred miles away, after a journey which (Montelius calculated) would have taken two months, reached the Baltic coast where he found a number of trading posts. After his time this route became increasingly important and points along it are indicated with surprising clearness by Ptolemy.⁴⁷ It led through the territory of the Quadi up the Manch valley into Silesia either through the Moravian Gates or the

³⁹ J. L. Piš, *Die Urnengräber Böhmens*, 1907; *Le Hradischt de Stradonitz*, 1906. H. Preidel, 'Über den Zusammenhang der markomannischen Kulturentwicklung mit der politischen Geschichte des Stammes,' *Germ.* xii, 156-61.

⁴⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* ii, 62.

⁴¹ J. Klöse, *op. cit.* (*supra*, p. 195, n. 2), 76.

⁴² O. Almgren, 'Zur Bedeutung des Markomannenreichs in Böhmen für die Entwicklung der germanischen Industrie in der frühen Kaiserzeit,' *Mannus* v, 1913, 265-78; *Schumacher Festschrift*, 282 (spur of Marcomannic type in Hungary); Preidel (*infra*, p. 204, n. 70), 1930, ii, 129 ff. In one or two cases the horn itself has been partially preserved (e.g. Lübsow, Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, 258).

⁴³ *Altertümer uns. heidn. Vorzeit* v, 1911, 371. (Cf. also 376, 411, 414).

⁴⁴ In their grave-furniture much Roman provincial work is found, including Belgic ware, which they were prompt to imitate. Cf. F. Behn, 'Zur ersten germanischen Besiedelung Starckenburgs,' *Schum. Fest.* 178; *Ber.* vii, 156, find of Aucissa fibula.

⁴⁵ M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed. 1926, 176; J. M. de Navarro, *op. cit.*, 496 ff. Cary and Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, 1929, 119.

⁴⁶ *NH* xxxvii, 45.

⁴⁷ *Geog.* II, xi; see discussion by G. Schütte, *Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe*, 1917. Ptolemy gives a number of settlements along the route and there seems some likelihood that Eburonum=Brunn (placed correctly 1° north of the Danube), Kalisia=Kalisz, and Askankalis=Osielsk.

Glatz Pass. An examination of the finds of the region⁴⁸ suggests that at first the latter was used, but that before long the more direct passage of the Moravian Gates came in for a specially heavy share of the traffic. Nowhere in free Germany are coins more thickly distributed than in Upper Silesia, and along the whole of the amber route numerous Roman objects have been found. An alternative route to Silesia followed the valley of the Waag, crossing the Carpathians by the Jablunkau Pass.⁴⁹ Passage along or across the Oder valley was complicated by swamps,⁵⁰ but at all times there seems to have been a culture stream along the Oder towards Denmark. After crossing the river, the amber route bore north-east to Kalisz, crossing the Warthe near Kolo, passing Lake Goplo and joining the Vistula near Bromberg. It followed the Vistula to the head of the delta, then turned off towards Samland. Whether the settlement of the Roman period found near Elbing can be regarded as one of Pliny's *commercias* must remain an open question for the present.⁵¹ Towards the end of the third century the route seems to have become very much less frequented (*cf.* p. 204 f., figs. 8, 9), but communication with East Prussia never entirely ceased.⁵²

The main line of traffic to Pomerania, apart from the Oder waterway, seems to have branched from the amber route near Kalisz and run north-westward to Grabow, Regenwalde and the Baltic.⁵³ Pomerania, the home of the Rugii, has yielded large numbers of Roman objects. Those of the first century are almost entirely Italian; in the second century Rhenish and Gallic goods enter the market, trade with the empire reaching its peak in the time of Antoninus Pius. There is a decline during the third century, but in the fourth there is another flow from the Rhineland, including coins from western mints, though this trade comes to an end about the middle of the century as it seems that most of the inhabitants had by then moved off towards lands which were being vacated by the Vandals.⁵⁴ The fifth-century overlordship of the Rugii in Noricum encouraged agriculture and trade.⁵⁵

The importance of Transylvanian gold in ancient commerce has long been recognised.⁵⁶ Sufficient data, however, for the discussion of trade between the Roman province of Dacia and the Germans

⁴⁸ M. Jahn, 'Die oberschlesischen Funde aus der röm. Kaiserzeit,' *PZ* x, 1918, 80-149, xiii-xiv, 127 ff.; 'Herkunft der schles. Wandalen,' *Mannus-Bibl.* xxii, 1922, 78-94; S. Bolin, *Fynden av Romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*, 1926; Beninger, 'Quadische und wandalische Kulturbeziehungen,' *Mitt. der Antrop. Gesell.*, Vienna, lxii, 78-100. It is worth noting that the chief medieval trade route here avoided the Moravian Gates themselves to swing across the Jeseniky a few miles to the west (Vidal de la Blache, *Géographie universelle*, iv, 2, 1931, 581); isolated finds of coins suggest that the Jeseniky road was also known and used in Roman times.

⁴⁹ Wiberg, *op. cit.*, 45.

⁵⁰ J. N. von Sadowski, *Die Handelsstrassen der Griechen und Römer*, 1877, 9-10. This work pays special attention to the swamps and crossings of east German rivers.

⁵¹ M. Ebert, *Truso*, 1926, 35 ff.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 35 n. 1.

⁵³ Jungklaus, *Röm. Funde in Pommern*, 1924, 112 f.

⁵⁴ L. Schmidt, *op. cit.* i, 2nd edn., 1925.

⁵⁵ Eugippius, *Vit. Severini* xxii, 2 (*cf.* ix, 1).

⁵⁶ V. Pärvan, *Getica*, 1926, 757, 794 (French summary); O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*, 1935, ch. viii.

north of it, are not yet available, though a few signs of its existence have been noted.⁵⁷ Roman roads seem to have cut across the plain between Danube and Theiss, and archaeologists are now beginning to pay some attention to this district.⁵⁸

Danubian trade is referred to in a number of Roman treaties. Those of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus with the Marcomanni, Quadi and Iazyges all contain some reference to trade,⁵⁹ notably one with the Marcomanni in which Marcus 'established the places and the days of their trading together (for these had not been previously fixed).' The restrictions imply that a much freer intercourse between Roman and barbarian had previously existed; the same may be deduced from a treaty of 369 between Valens and the Goths,⁶⁰ which stipulated that only at two places on the Danube should frontier trade henceforth be lawful.

The migration of the Goths to the Black Sea coasts and the Danube brought a new factor into the history of German trade and cultural relationships,⁶¹ which in many ways recalls the Celto-Scythian intercourse of the La Tène period. In their raids they gathered enormous quantities of booty and slaves, but there were intervals after the wars of Aurelian and Constantine in which more peaceful relations with the empire developed.⁶² The Goths rapidly assimilated the culture of the Black Sea region, and the Roman roads of the old province facilitated movement in Dacia.

The easternmost borderlands of the territory occupied by the Germanic tribes need to be mentioned, if not discussed. Had the great medieval route 'from the Varengars to the Greeks' (along

⁵⁷ A few coins have been found on the approaches to the passes through the Carpathians (Bolin, *Fynden av r. mynt*, Appendix, 119); the Samian found at Dzwiniogrod in Poland is far from other Roman finds and is thought to have come through Dacia (*Źamka, infra*, p. 216, n. 115); the Iazyges were allowed to trade with the Roxolani across Dacia, Dio lxxii, 19; Sadowski (*op. cit.*, 187-92) describes a route from the Bukovina to the Bug and the Baltic; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in S. Russia*, 1922, 215.

⁵⁸ H. Kiepert (*Atlas*) shows two hypothetical roads based on settlements noted by Ptolemy; at Szeged on the Theiss an inscription with the word 'mercator' was found recently, Klose, *op. cit.* 121 n.; finds in Iazygian-Sarmatian burials in the Alföld show strong Roman influence, and in the third century the German tribes pressing between the rivers must have come within the sphere of this trade (M. Parducz, 'Römerzeitliche Funde des grossen ungarischen Alföld' (German summary), *Dolgozatok* (Szeged), vii, 1931).

⁵⁹ Dio lxxi, 11, 15, lxxii, 2. Cf. *ILS* 395, *burgus* of *ā.d.* 185 near Aquincum: 'PRAESIDIIS PER LOCA OPPORTVNA AD CLANDESTINOS LATRVNVLORVM TRANSITVS OPPOSITIS.'

⁶⁰ Themistius, *Orat.* x, 135, Ammian. xxvii, 5, 7. For control of border trade, cf. *ILS* 775, inscription at Gran of 371: 'HVNC • BVRGVM • CVI • NOMEN •

COMMERCIVM • QVA • CAVSA • ET • FACTVS • EST • A FVNDAMENTIS • CONSTRVXIT • ET • AD • SVMMAM • MANVM • OPERIS . . . PERVERNIRI • FACIT.'

⁶¹ B. Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, 1904; M. Rostovtzeff (*op. cit. supra*, n. 57), 216; *PZ* 1, 1909, 74.

⁶² The rise of Christianity among the Goths and Vandals and the development of runes are important indications of the extent to which those tribes were open to influences from the empire. A number of Gothic cemeteries have been examined in South Russia, Hungary and Roumania, and their contents reveal considerable Graeco-Roman influence, see Schmidt, *op. cit.* i, 247-8; Ebert, *Südrussland im Altertum*, 1921; C. C. Diculescu, 'Die Wandalen und die Goten in Ungarn und Rumänien,' *Mannus-Bibl.* xxxiv, 1923; Brenner, *Ber.*, 1912, 262 ff.; Reinecke, *Mainzer Zeitschr.* i, 1906, 42-50. An even more distant connection is reflected in the hoard from Pietroasa, Transylvania, which includes two vessels of Sassanian workmanship—perhaps presents in the course of diplomatic relationship between Goth and Persian (A. Odobesco, *Le trésor de Pétroussa*, 1889-1900, Pt. iv, 91). Oszotropataka, north of the Theiss bend, is one of the chief early Vandal sites, and yielded rich Roman goods and a coin of Herennia Etruscilla (249-51).

Dvina and Dnieper) any counterpart in Roman times? ⁶³ The most recent collection of coin-finds of western Russia was made twenty years ago by T. J. Arné. ⁶⁴ In the Governments along, and to the west of, the Dnieper below the Pripet Marshes Roman coins are fairly common; north of Kiev they are much rarer. Scattered coins in the Governments of Chernigov, Mohilev, Kaluga and Vitebsk suggest some penetration but hardly a great trade-route. The precision of Ptolemy's knowledge of the routes from the Danube to the Baltic has been contrasted with his ignorance of what lay beyond the middle Dnieper. ⁶⁵ It would appear that the main body of the Goths migrated along the Vistula basin, ⁶⁶ but even so some of them may have come into contact with the Pripet Marshes, as Jordanes seems to record. ⁶⁷ The legends of the brilliant but short-lived empire of Hermanric the Ostrogoth ⁶⁸ imply that the Goths maintained touch with the Baltic by the eastern route, and some of the migrants may have travelled that way. Hints of the development of the 'Varangian' route towards the end of our period are provided by the finds of certain small enamel ornaments in Esthonia (p. 213, fig. 15) and around Kiev. ⁶⁹ This eastern route was increasingly used in succeeding centuries, but for our purpose it is not to be compared in importance with the routes which lay further to the west.

II. OBJECTS OF TRADE

A. Roman Exports ⁷⁰

Coins (figs. 8 and 9).—The commonest Roman objects in free Germany are coins. Most of the following remarks, together with figs. 8 and 9 are based on the important statistical study of the material

⁶³ Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* 214-15; T. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings*, 1930, chs. v and vi, Viking trade.

⁶⁴ T. J. Arné, *Det Stora Svitjod*, 1917, 16, also his 'Tenetid och romersk, järnalder i Ryssland med särskild hänsyn till de romerska denarfunden,' *Oldtiden*, vii, 1918, 207-8.

⁶⁵ Cary and Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, 1929, 110-11.

⁶⁶ Ebert, *Südrussland*, 359; Arné, *op. cit.*, 1917, 14; G. Kossinna, 'Zu meiner Ostgermanen-karte,' *Mannus*, xvi, 1924, 160-75; cf. his map with that of K. Tackenberg, 'Zu den Wanderungen der Ostgermanen,' *Mannus*, xxii, 1930, 268-95. For routes cf. M. Korduba, 'Die ostgermanischen Handelswege durch die Ukraine um die Mitte des ersten Jahrtausends vor Chr. Geb.' *Światowit*, xv, 1933, 179-91.

⁶⁷ Jordanes, *Getica* iv, 'magna ubertate regionum.'

⁶⁸ His reputed overlordship over the Aestii, Jordanes, *Getica* xxiii.

⁶⁹ H. Moora, 'Zur Frage nach der Herkunft des ostbaltischen emailverzierten Schmucks,' *SMTA* xl, 1934; *Die Vorzeit Estlands*, 1932, 40; M. Schmiedehelm, 'Über die Beziehungen zwischen

dem Weichselgebiet und Estland zur röm. Eisenzeit,' *Riga Congress*, 1930, 395-405.

⁷⁰ The chief publications used in the preparation of the distribution-maps are given below and will be referred to in later footnotes simply by the author's name or by a convenient abbreviation. Works dealing with single classes of objects are not given here, but under the appropriate section.

A. Auerbach, *Die vor- und frühgesch. Altertümer Ostburingens*, 1930.

R. Beltz, *Die vorgesch. Altertümer des Grossherzogtums Mecklenburg-Schwerin*, 1910.

E. Beninger und H. Friesing, *Die germ. Bodenfunde in Mähren*, 1933.

E. Beninger, *Die Germanenzeit in Niederösterreich*, 1934.

E. Blume, 'Die germ. Stämme und die Kulturen zwischen Oder und Passarge zur röm. Kaiserzeit,' *Mannus-Bibl.* viii, 1912.

P. Boeles, *Friesland tot de Elfde Eeuw*, 1927.

J. Eisner, 'Die vor- und frühgesch. des Landes Slowakei' (German summary), *Slovensko v Praveku*, 1933.

W. Gaerte, *Urgesch. Ostpreussens*, 1929.

A. E. van Giffen, 'Oudheidkundige aanteekeningen

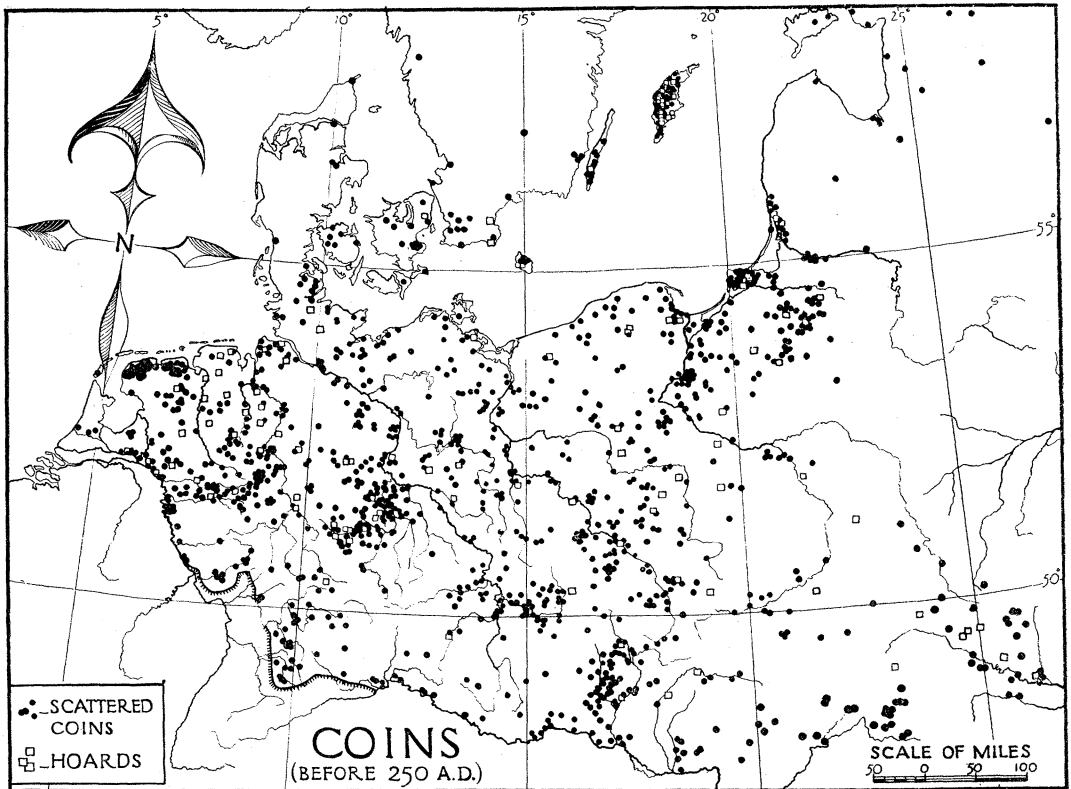


FIG. 8.

Based on Dr. S. Bolin's lists (See n. 71)

- over Drentsche vondsten,' *Nieuwe Drentsche Volksalmanak*, 1934, 85 ff.
- A. Götzte, P. Höfer and P. Zschiesche, *Die vor- und frühgesch. Altertümer Thüringens*, 1909.
- P. Grimm, *Die vor- und frühgesch. Besiedelung des Unternbarzes und seines Vorlandes*, 1930.
- A. Hackman, 'Die ältesten eisenzeitlichen Funde in Finnland,' *Mannus* v, 1913, 279-299.
- K. H. Jacob-Friesen, *Einführung in niedersachsens Urgesch.*, 2nd edn., 1934.
- E. Jungklaus, *Römische Funde in Pommern*, 1924.
- O. Krone, *Vorgesch. des Landes Braunschweig*, 1931.
- O. Kunkel, 'Einführgut im vor- und frühgesch. Pommern,' *Riga Congress*, 1930, 175-186.
- O. Kunkel, *Oberhessens vorgesch. Altertümer*, 1926.
- W. La Baume, *Vorgesch. von Westpreussen*, 1920.
- J. Mestorf, *Vorgesch. Altertümer aus Schleswig-Holstein*, 1885.
- O. Montelius, *Kulturgesch. Schwedens*, 1906, 163-213.
- S. Müller, *Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager*, (Jernalderen), 1895.
- J. L. Pič, *Die Urnengräber Böhmens*, 1907.
- H. Preidel, *Germanen in Böhmen im Spiegel der Bodenfunde*, 1926.
- H. Preidel, *Die germanischen Kulturen in Böhmen und ihre Träger*, vols. i, ii, 1930.
- P. Reinecke, 'Die kaiserzeitlichen Germanenfunde

- aus dem bayerischen Anteil an der Germania Magna,' *Ber.* xxiii, 1933, 144-204.
- H. Schetelig, *Préhistoire de la Norvège*, 1926.
- W. Schulz, 'Ost- und Elbgermanen in spätröm. Zeit in den Ostkreisen der Prov. Sachsen,' *Jahr. f.d. vorg. der säch. Thür. Länder*, 1931.
- W. Schulz and R. Zahn, 'Das Fürstengrab von Hassleben,' *R.-Germ. Forsch.* vii, 1933.
- Schumacher *Festschrift*, 1930.
- Stieren, *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens*, 1929.
- K. Tackenberg, 'Die Wandalen in Niederschlesien,' *Vorgesch. Forsch.* i, 1925.
- A. M. Tallgren, *Zur Archäologie Estis i*, Dorpat, 1922.
- J. Vonderau, *Denkmäler aus vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit im Fuldaer Lande*, 1931.
- H. Willers, *Die röm. Bronzezeimer von Hemmoor, Hannover*, 1901.
- H. Willers, *Die röm. Bronzezeimer von Hemmoor, Bronzeindustrie von Capua und von Niedergermanien*, 1907.
- The principal periodicals used were: *Berichte d. röm.-germ. Kommission* (Ber.); *Forwävänner*; *Germania*; *Mannus*; *Mannus Ergänzungsband*; *Mannus-Bibliothek*; *Mainzer Zeitschrift (MZ)*; *Röm.-germ. Korrespondenzblatt*; *Præhist. Zeitschr. (PZ)*; *Prussia*; *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*.

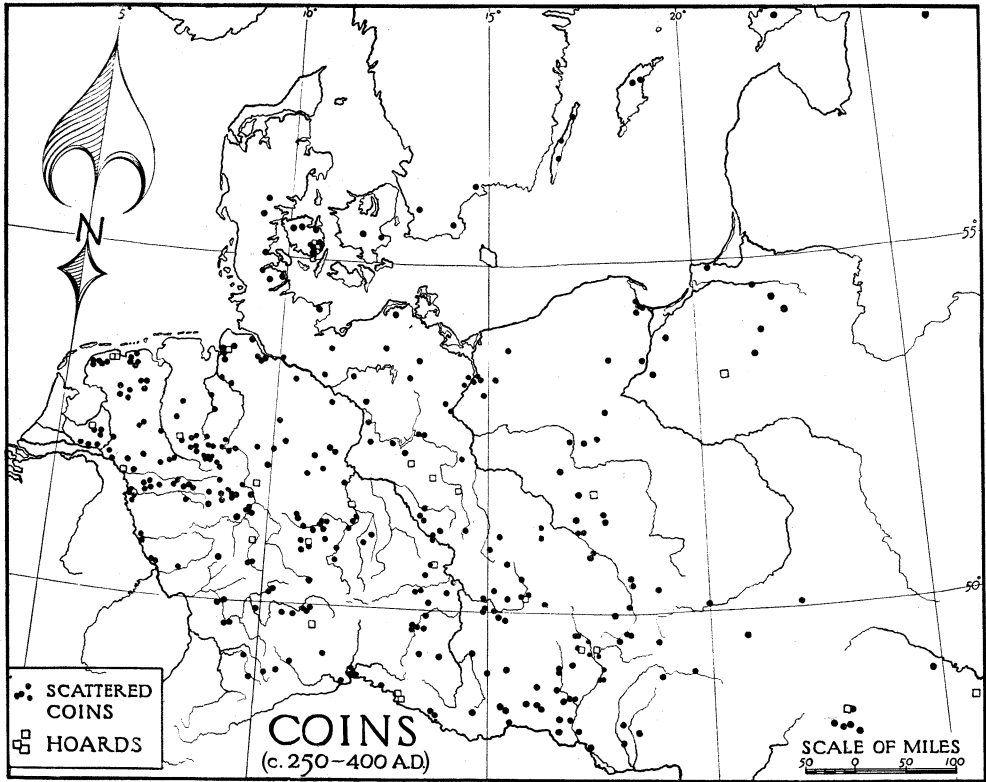


FIG. 9.
Based on Dr. S. Bolin's lists (See n. 71)

by Dr. Sture Bolin,⁷¹ which proves the widespread use of Roman coins in Germany long before money payments on a large scale by the Roman State to German tribes became important.

Tacitus writes that the frontier tribes used Roman coins, whereas those in the interior still engaged in barter.⁷² Republican coins,⁷³ and coins of the Early Empire are abundant in western Germany, and the frequency of Augusto-Tiberian hoards reflects the stormy history of this region. Old Republican *denarii* still circulated in the empire after Nero had issued his debased coinage, and this is the period when the recorded German preference for the older, heavier coins would have real point. In A.D. 107 the pre-Neronian coins were called in, and Bolin shows that they disappear from Germany as well as from the empire, which must mean that the Germans were

⁷¹ Sture Bolin, *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*, 1926; résumé in *Ber.* xix, 1929, 86-145; addenda in *Germ.* xv, 267-71, and in the 'Fundchronik' of later volumes and, for E. Prussia, in *Prussia*, 1926, 203-240. Also Reinecke, *Ber.* xxiii; Petsch, *Die vorgesch. Münzfunde Pommerns*, Univ. Greifswald, 1931. The finds shown on figs. 8 and 9 include hoards; numerous

grave finds (the coins are occasionally, as at Hassleben, found in the mouths of the deceased, a Mediterranean custom); rarer finds in known German settlements; and scattered surface finds.

⁷² *Germ.* 5.

⁷³ In a hoard of 62 denarii found at Aschendorf 61 were Republican, 1 Augustan, 41 had serrate edges. (Willers, 1901, 193.)

to some extent paying Romans for goods with coin. Thereafter the Germans had to be content with ordinary Roman currency. They kept mainly to silver; bronze coins are not found in quantity before the third century.

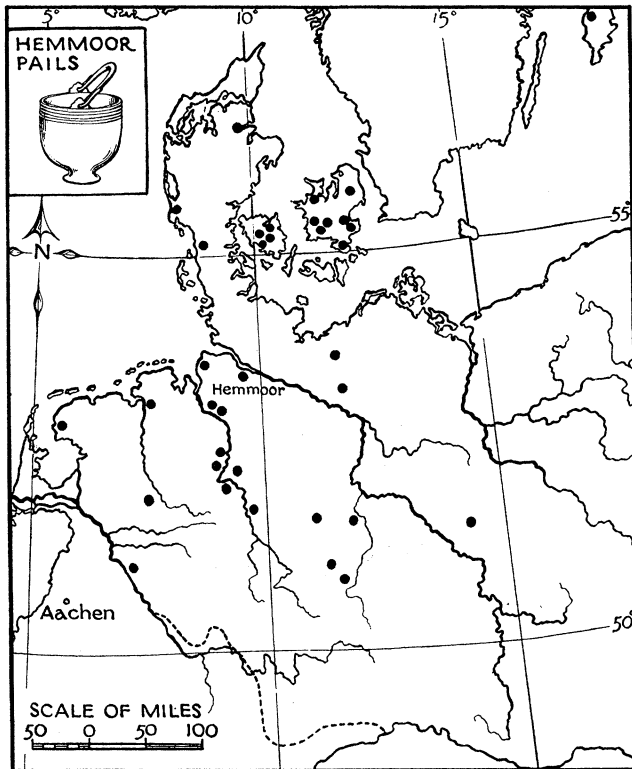


FIG. 10 (see p. 210)

Based on the map in H. Willers' *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie von Capua und von Niedergermanien*, 1906

Few hoards were buried during the first half of the second century. Numerous hoards mark the widespread unrest of the next decades, and the composition of those buried in Western and Northern Germany resembles that of contemporary Gallic ones, while those in the Danubian sphere resemble Pannonian examples. The troubles of the third century appear to have affected Rhenish trade less than that of other areas, and coins of the Gallic emperors are found up to and beyond the Vistula. In the middle of the century Central Germany was disturbed by the movements of the Burgundians and Vandals, and hoards have been found along the line of their migration from Poland and Silesia to the Main basin. Early in the

fourth century there began the flow of Constantinian *solidi* of which large numbers have been found.

Bronze Vessels (figs. 10-12).—A few of the bronzes in German cemeteries are types known to have been in use in Italy in the time of the later Republic,⁷⁴ and Willers concludes that these were exported across the eastern Alps as part of that growing commerce which had

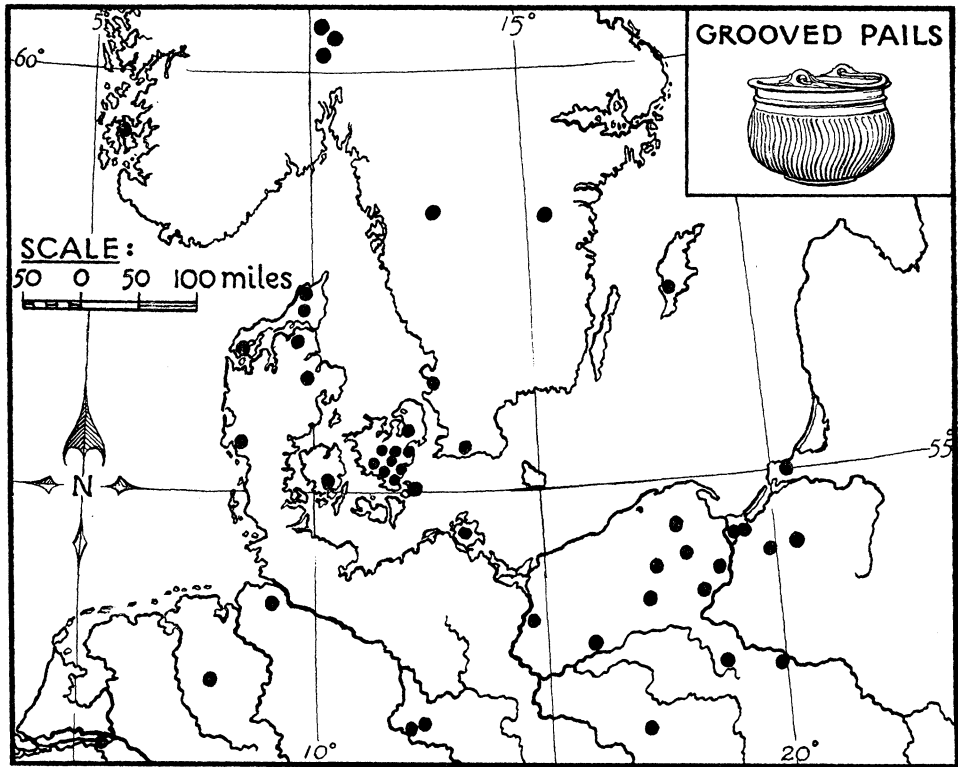


FIG. 11 (see p. 210)

Based on maps by Dr. E. Sprockhoff in 'Mainzer Zeitschrift,' 1928, and by Dr. G. Ekholm in 'Acta Archaeologica' vi

made of Aquileia an important emporium by the time of Augustus. In the first century A.D. Italian goods, the products in the main of Campanian workshops, dominated the market, and found their way to the north chiefly through the Danube lands, though examples near the Rhine are also known. Willers has dealt at length with the different classes of vessels—*paterae* (with or without sieves and

⁷⁴ E.g. vessels in Denmark and Hanover corresponding with forms found at Aylesford and Ornavasso (Willers 1907, 19, *Archaeologia*, lii, 1890, 378); in Bohemia the continuity from late La Tène to Roman times is specially noteworthy (Preidel, Pič); the early pails, which occur most frequently in Bohemia and along the Elbe, are types which

continued to be produced until the end of the first century B.C. and at the risk of some inconsistency these have been included in the map (see Willers, 1907, 1-29). G. Ekholm ('Zur Gesch. des röm.-germ. Handels' *Acta Arch.* vi, 1935, 49-98), records pre-Empire bronze vessels in Scandinavia.

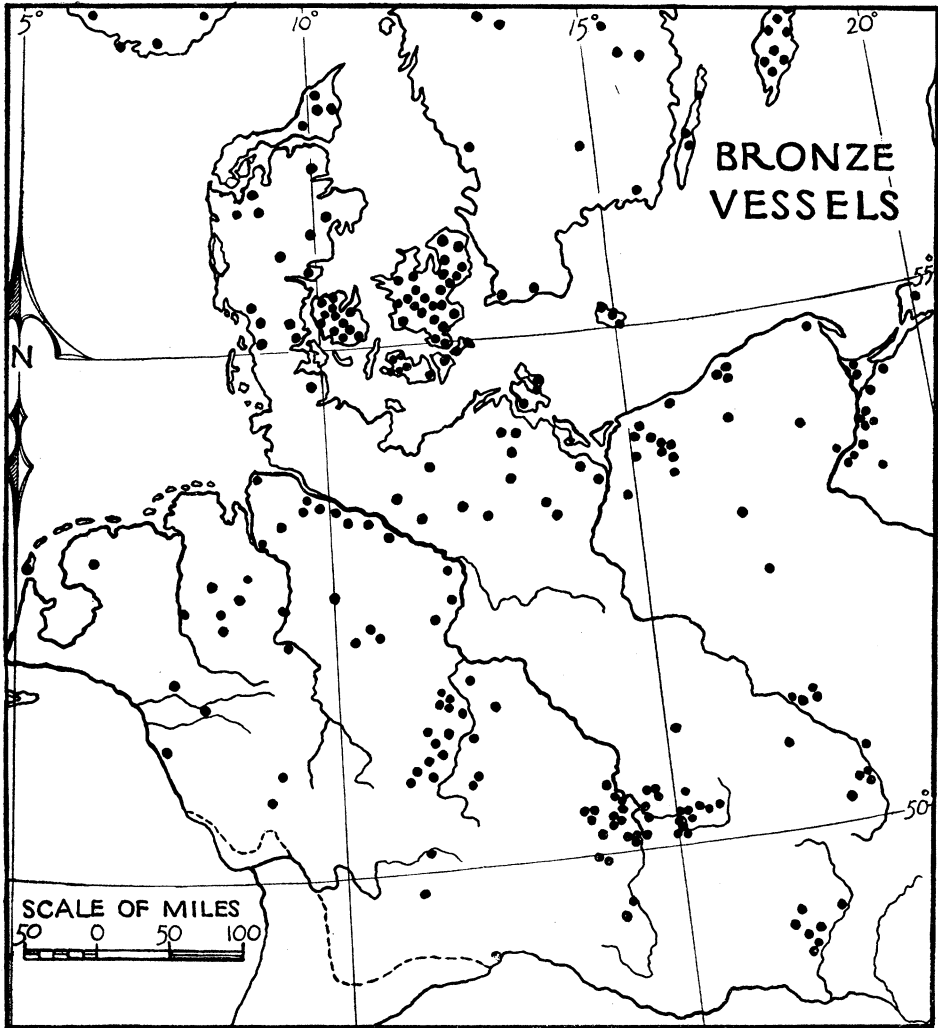


FIG. 12. THE GENERAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF BRONZE VESSELS OTHER THAN THOSE SHOWN IN FIGS. IO AND II (See n. 74)

frequently bearing the maker's stamp), pails, bowls, amphorae, jugs.⁷⁵ Only a few examples bear the names of Roman owners;⁷⁶ of these the Augustan patera from the Weser may have been lost in a campaign. Normally, bronze vessels were exported as new and not as second-hand goods.

By the second century Gallic wares, as the names on certain

⁷⁵ A lamp was found in central Esthonia (Moora, *Die Vorzeit Estlands*, 35).

⁷⁶ *Schumacher Fests.* 316-18; Willers (1907, 94-9) thought that some of these, such as the beautiful

situla dedicated to Apollo Grannus found at Fycklinge in Sweden, might represent a trade in outworn temple ornaments.

stamps show, began to have a market,⁷⁷ though Italian vessels were still exported. A careful examination of Scandinavian casseroles and buckets has enabled Ekholm to identify some of them as of Gallic

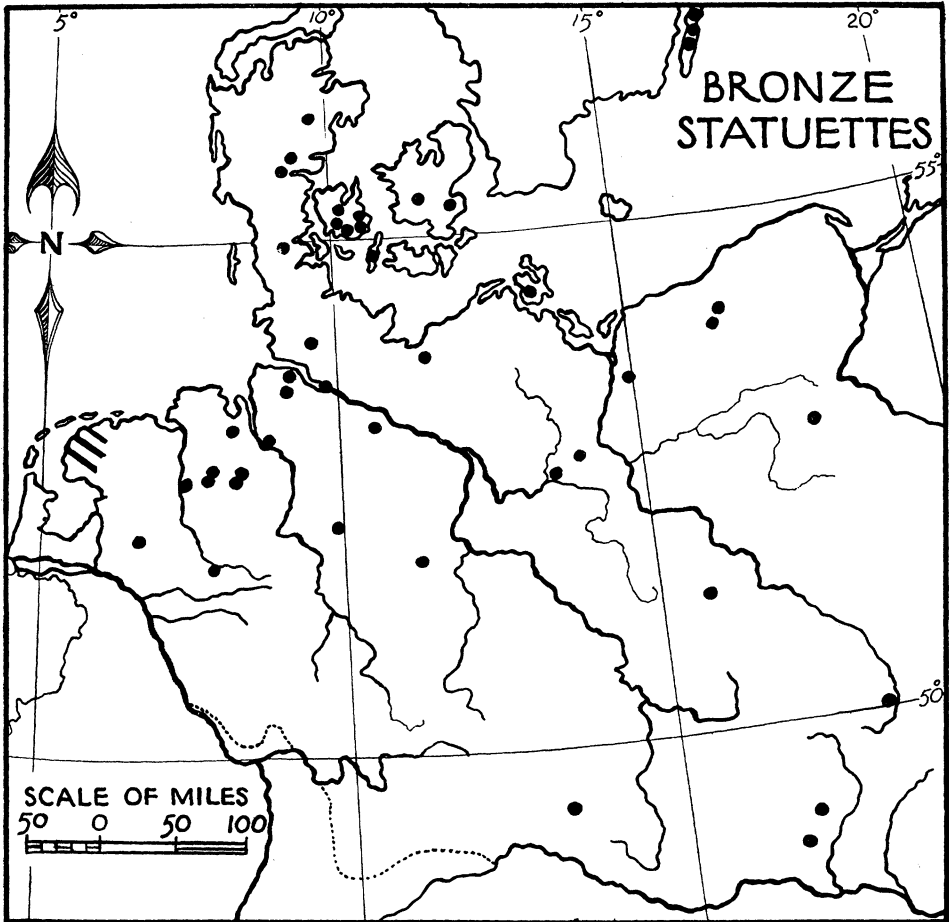


FIG. 13.

The diagonal marking in Friesland indicates a number of statuettes

make, probably from Lyons.⁷⁸ A metal industry has been identified at Eisenberg in the Palatinate, where, near the iron mines, the manufacture of bronze and brass goods also flourished. Certain forms of vessels common in the Palatinate were probably made here, such as a type of patera and sieve⁷⁹ which also occurs in Thuringian

⁷⁷ Willers, 1907, 62 ff.; *Germania* ix, 39, xvi, 221; Almgren, *Goiland*, i, 1914, fig. 271. The fine enamelled second-century bowls found at Maltbroek, Denmark, and in the sacred well at Pyrmont near the Weser, are Gallic (F. Henry, 'Émailleurs d'Occident,' *Préhistoire* ii, 1933, 112, 120). Mid- and

late-Empire: P. Steiner, 'Messing-Seiher mit Halbdeckel aus rhein. Werkstätten,' *Alt Schlesien* v, 1934, 255-66.

⁷⁸ 'Gallisk-Skandinaviska Förbindelser under äldre Kejsartid,' *Fornv.* xxx, 1935, 193-205.

⁷⁹ F. Sprater, *Die Pfalz unter den Römern*, ii,

graves. Another class of goods manufactured near the Rhine are the celebrated Hemmoor pails (fig. 10),⁸⁰ so-called from their occurrence in quantity in a certain third-century cemetery near the mouth of the Elbe. They appear in the mid-second century, reaching their peak in the later third century, and some were in use in the early fourth century. They are of brass, not bronze, and it is thought that they were made in the neighbourhood of Gressenich, near Aachen, where zinc occurs. Sprater believes that some pails of this description may have been made in the Palatinate.⁸¹

The bronze vessels on German sites are probably not all Roman. The Germans were certainly capable of making the rough cauldrons with iron handles, and in this connection the gift made by the Cimbri to Augustus of 'the most sacred cauldron in their country'⁸² may be remembered. A more elaborate bronze grooved pail appearing about A.D. 200 also deserves some attention (fig. 11). There has been some diversity of opinion about its origin, but the recent work of Dr. Ekholm⁸³ has shown conclusively that it is Roman, though the great majority of examples has been found outside the empire, in Scandinavia, Denmark, Pomerania and on the lower Vistula. Ekholm believes it to be Italian and points to its rapid degeneration as an example of the economic decay brought about in Italy through the disturbances of the third century. He distinguishes two well-marked types and uses their distribution to show the close trade relationship which subsisted between Norway and the Vistula at that period. Eggers⁸⁴ considers that a centre of manufacture further to the south-east of Europe cannot be excluded, noting that the distribution of the ribbed pail corresponds with that of the early fibulae with returned foot (fig. 15, no. 3).

Bronze Statuettes (fig. 13)⁸⁵.—Over eighty bronze statuettes, or fragments thereof, are recorded. At least a third seem to be of Gallic make and are found in Frisia, in north-west Germany, or in the Baltic islands, most dated examples being of the second century. Most of them are of male deities, especially Mars and Jupiter, thought by some to resemble Thor and Woden. Some may be curiosities taken home by mercenaries, and some, like a base from Marren, Westphalia,⁸⁶ with a votive inscription, may be loot.

Brooches and Small Ornaments (fig. 14).⁸⁷ The Germans were skilful metal workers, and the vast majority of fibulae found on German sites are German. Some northern brooches show Roman influence, and fibulae of Roman manufacture are also found, while other brooches

1930, 103; cf. Steiner (*op. cit. supra* n. 77,) 258; Schulz, *Hassleben*, 45, n. 3.

⁸⁰ Willers, *opera cit.*

⁸¹ Sprater, *op. cit.*, 104.

⁸² Strabo vii, 2.

⁸³ *Acta Arch.* vi, 82 ff.

⁸⁴ In a review of several works of Ekholm, *Germania* xx, 1936, 146-150.

⁸⁵ C. Fredrich, *Die in Ostdeutschland gefundenen römischen Bronzestatuetten*, 1912.

⁸⁶ Willers ii, 96 (VICIBICIUS CANICCI V · S · L · M. —a Celtic name).

⁸⁷ O. Almgren, 'Studien über nordeuropäische Fibelformen,' 2nd edn., *Mannus-Bibl.* xxxii, 1913. In the Pyrmont Well find, out of 225 brooches, 40 were Roman (Jacob-Friesen, 173).

of the first two centuries occur frequently both within and without the empire, and, whatever their origin, their provenance can only indicate widespread connections across the border, and this at a time before German mass immigration. The third and fourth centuries show growing German influence, though even in this late period Roman brooches still had some influence on certain northern types.⁸⁸

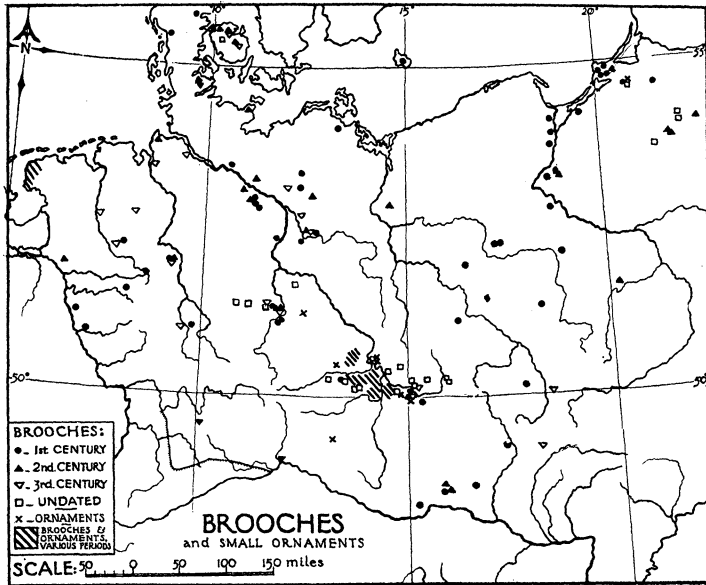


FIG. 14

Not included on this map: first-century examples from north and central Jutland; second-century examples from Oland; enamelled brooches from Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Gotland

Fig. 14 shows the distribution of definitely Roman brooches north of the empire. Small though the total is, they cover the same area as other Roman goods. First-century examples are commonest in Bohemia, though they are found too along the amber route and even in Lithuania. One of the most important is the 'Noric' or 'kräftig-profilierter' fibula (fig. 15, 1); another is the 'Wing' fibula (fig. 15, 4) a local Norican form, of which a few specimens have been found as far afield as East Prussia. These, and other small metal objects⁸⁹ (openwork buckles and the like) were exported to, and imitated in, the Marcomannic kingdom, which in turn influenced work in East Prussia, Thuringia and along the route to Scandinavia. Other early exports were the Gallic Thistle and

⁸⁸ H. Schetelig, *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, 1906, 9.

⁸⁹ *Supra*, p. 200, n. 42. Preidel, 1930, ii, 133.

Aucissa brooches.⁹⁰ Schulz⁹¹ has convincingly located the origin of the Eye fibula (fig. 15, 2, 2a) in Hermundurian territory in the Saale basin, under the influence of the Aucissa type. The open-work catchplates of the earliest Eye brooches, on the other hand, recall those of the Norican brooches, indicating a convergence of Gallic and Danubian influences among the Hermunduri. The Eye fibulae spread from the Saale country all over the German world and far into the Roman provinces as well.

A few enamelled fibulae of the type so characteristic on provincial sites (and mainly of Belgic manufacture) are found in free Germany. Disc-brooches similar to those found in Limes forts occur in East Prussia, Gotland⁹² and elsewhere on the Baltic coasts and, in the opinion of Dr. H. Moora,⁹³ brought about the development of an enamel industry in East Prussia by the early third century which spread to the East Baltic and in time to Russia. Some of the Prussian fibulae are horseshoe-shaped (fig. 15, 5) and appear to be derived from the common Roman penannular brooch.

The much-discussed fibula with returned foot (fig. 15, 3) is another important example of international intercourse.⁹⁴ It was developed fairly early in south-west Russia in a mixed Graeco-Roman-German environment, and spread west and north-west to become one of the main types of brooch in northern and central Europe in the third and fourth centuries, and even to appear in quantity in the provinces.

Gold and Silver objects. Silver objects of our period are not plentiful, since they must often have been melted down and re-fashioned in later ages. Those which have survived may be relics of a once-flourishing trade, or gifts from the Roman authorities to submissive chiefs, or booty; they show the richness of the treasures which the more fortunate Germans accumulated. The famous Hildesheim treasure⁹⁵ of first and second century vessels was found close by an important route near a German settlement (the Galgenberg). Fine silver drinking-cups, sometimes gilt, often in pairs, occasionally turn up. The Hassleben platter⁹⁶, Mecklenburg patera and Sacrau pail⁹⁷ deserve attention as being probably Gallic work, and the Hoby beakers as being signed by a Greek silversmith.⁹⁸ It seems that the Germans also imitated Roman silver vessels, judging

⁹⁰ Cf. R. G. Collingwood, *Archaeology of Roman Britain*, 1930, section on brooches.

⁹¹ W. Schulz, 'Zur Entstehung der Augenfibel,' *Germania* x, 1926, 110-12.

⁹² Almgren and Nerman, *Gotland*, ii, fig. 187.

⁹³ 'Herkunft des ostbaltischen emailverzierten Schmucks.' It has hitherto been generally believed that these ornaments developed among the Goths in SW Russia; cf. Gaerte, 240.

⁹⁴ Salin (*supra*, p. 202, n. 62). N. Åberg, *Franken und Westgoten in der Völkerwanderungszeit*, 1922,

Map I; Almgren, *Studien*, 250-2; M. Ebert, 'Zur Gesch. der Fibel m. u. F.,' *PZ.* iii, 1911, 232-7.

⁹⁵ Schuchhardt, *Vorgesch.* 254. K. H. Jacob-Friesen, 152. *Germania Romana* v, 2nd edn., plates 41-3.

⁹⁶ W. Schulz and R. Zahn (*supra*, p. 204, n. 70).

⁹⁷ Willers, 1901, 198, 181.

⁹⁸ Drexel, *Germania* iv, 85; K. Friis-Johansen, 'Hoby-Fundet,' *Nord. Fortidsminder*, Bd. ii, 3, 1923; cf. Tac., *Germ.* 5. D. P. Dobson, 'Roman influence in the North,' *Greece and Rome* v, 1936, 73-89.

by cups found at Lübsow.⁹⁹ Imported spoons, mirrors, hairpins and brooches also occur.

Gold objects are still rarer,¹⁰⁰ though rings are not uncommon and show fairly general distribution.

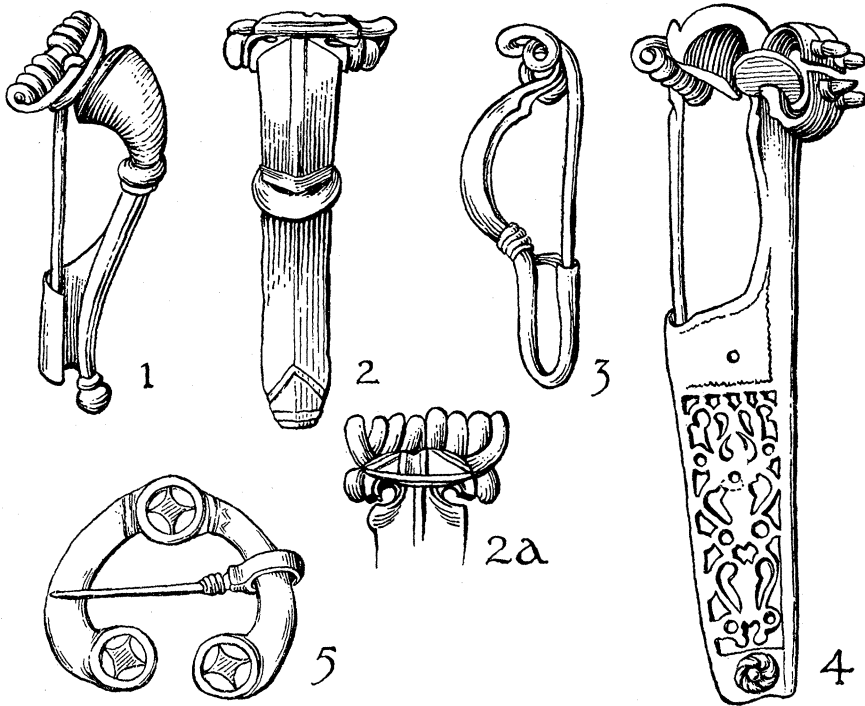


FIG. 15. TYPES OF BROOCHES: 1, 'NORICAN'; 2 AND 2a, 'EYE-FIBULA'; 3, 'RETURNED FOOT' TYPE; 4, 'WING'; 5, 'HORSESHOE-SHAPED (ENAMELLED) FROM ESTHONIA. NOS. 1-4 $\frac{1}{2}$, NO. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Nos. 1-4, after Almgren 'Studien über Nordeuropäische Fibelformen,' no. 5, after Moora, 'Die Vorzeit Estlands'

Arms and Tools. Occasional Roman arms or pieces of armour have been found. For a time the Roman short sword influenced the form of the German sword,¹⁰¹ though later the German long sword was to become the prevailing type within the empire. Much is made in northern legend of fabulous swords fashioned by trolls, giants or dwarfs who, some have asserted, may be an echo of the Romans, a half-legendary people of high technical skill, and Roman swords, some of fourth-century work, are not unknown in Scandinavia,¹⁰² despite the fact that in the later empire the export

⁹⁹ Kunkel, *Mannus Ergbd.* v, 1927, 122-3.

¹⁰⁰ The most remarkable collection is the Petroasa hoard, *supra*, p. 202, n. 62; Jacob-Friesen, 163 (gold objects from Lengerich, Hanove).

¹⁰¹ M. Jahn 'Die Bewaffnung der Germanen in der älteren Eisenzeit,' *Mannus-Bibl.* xvi, 1916, 213-

4; Preidel, 1930, i, 230 (spurs), 231 (swords); Gaerte (*supra*, p. 204, n. 70), 211. Almgren and Nerman, 596; *Germ.* xv, 71-75.

¹⁰² A. Lorange, *Den yngre jernalders svaerd*; H. Schetelig, *Préhistoire de la Norvège*, 1926, 143; Montelius, *Kulturgesch.*, 183.

of arms to the barbarians was prohibited.¹⁰³ Roman ploughshares and tools have been recorded near Cassel and in Thuringia.¹⁰⁴

Unworked Metals. Bog iron is common all over north Germany, and in Scandinavia and elsewhere there are easily-worked mines,¹⁰⁵ but the Romans probably exported the baser metals to some extent.¹⁰⁶ Copper and tin may have come largely, though not necessarily exclusively, from Bohemian and Thuringian mines; Roman bronze coins appear at times to have been melted down.¹⁰⁷ Silver and gold came from further afield. Montelius points out that very little silver occurs in Scandinavian graves before our era, but that it then becomes common.¹⁰⁸ Gold objects of northern manufacture frequently show Roman influence. Roman gold coins paid out to the barbarians were probably frequently melted down and re-used to make ornaments, but statistics as to the relative incidence of gold in northern finds during the Dacian, Roman and Gothic ownership of the Transylvanian gold region would be interesting.¹⁰⁹

Pottery (fig. 17).—Outside Holland, where it is specially frequent, Terra Sigillata has been found on over one hundred sites, and much of it must have gone overland—the number of examples near Minden, for instance, should be noticed. It might almost be suggested that the demand of the partially Romanised Frisians absorbed all the pottery that went by sea from the Lower Rhine. Augustan pottery is very rare, and the pottery trade did not become important until the second century; the great majority of Samian vessels are Rhenish wares of the second and third centuries.¹¹⁰ Westphalia has produced considerable quantities of Roman pottery, mainly of the third and fourth century. The Germans of the Sieg valley and around Giessen were steady customers, the latter buying Wetterau pottery among other types. Pottery, chiefly Samian, also reached Fulda and the rich Thuringian settlements, where one example of first-century La Graufesenque has been noted. A few scattered pieces have been found in Bavaria and Franconia, including Samian of the Limes and post-Limes periods, Eifel ware and black-glazed Rhenish wares. In Bohemia,

¹⁰³ *Cod. Iust.* 4, 41, 2 (Marcianus).

¹⁰⁴ Schumacher, *Ackerbau* (Röm.-Germ. Zentral-Museum, 1922), 22. Altenburg near Cassel; six Roman ploughshares—a merchant's stock in trade? Körner, a cache of tools—old iron? Schetelig (*supra*, p. 204, n. 70), 145; Norwegian tools under Roman influence.

¹⁰⁵ O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*, 1935, 172; W. Hansen, *Aus der Vorzeit von Hamburg und Umgebung*, 1933, 165; relevant articles in Ebert *Reallex.*; Reinecke, *Germania* x, 87-95; Tacitus, *German.* 43 (Cotini).

¹⁰⁶ Prohibition in later Empire: *Digest*, 39, 4, 11 (Paulus); *Cod. Iust.*, 4, 41, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Davies, *op. cit.*, 1. (He writes, following Undset, of copper coins imported as *bullion* by the Germans, but the studies of Bolin and others do not agree with this.)

¹⁰⁸ Cf. B. Nerman, *The Poetic Edda in the Light of Archaeology*, 1931, 12 (gold), 16 (silver).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. the dagger of Col. Lawrence now at All Souls' College, Oxford, with gold hilt and sheath made from melted down sovereigns paid out to the Arabs by the British government. Roman coins were also often pierced and used as pendants. Gold export prohibited, *Cod. Iust.* iv, 63, 2.

¹¹⁰ H. Dragendorff, 'Terrasigillatafunde aus Norddeutschland und Skandinavien,' *Zeit. f. Eth.*, xxxviii, 1906, 369-77. It is to be noted that very little Terra Nigra occurs because the trade did not get going early enough. But there is also some wheel-decorated Samian, of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, in Western Germany and in Thuringia (e.g. from Gotha, *Germania*, xx, 1936, 203; from Friesland, Boeles (*supra*, n. 70), 104).

Heiligenberg, Rheinzabern and south Gallic wares are found; in Silesia and Moravia, pottery imported from the Danubian provinces; in Lower Austria there was obviously much local trade.

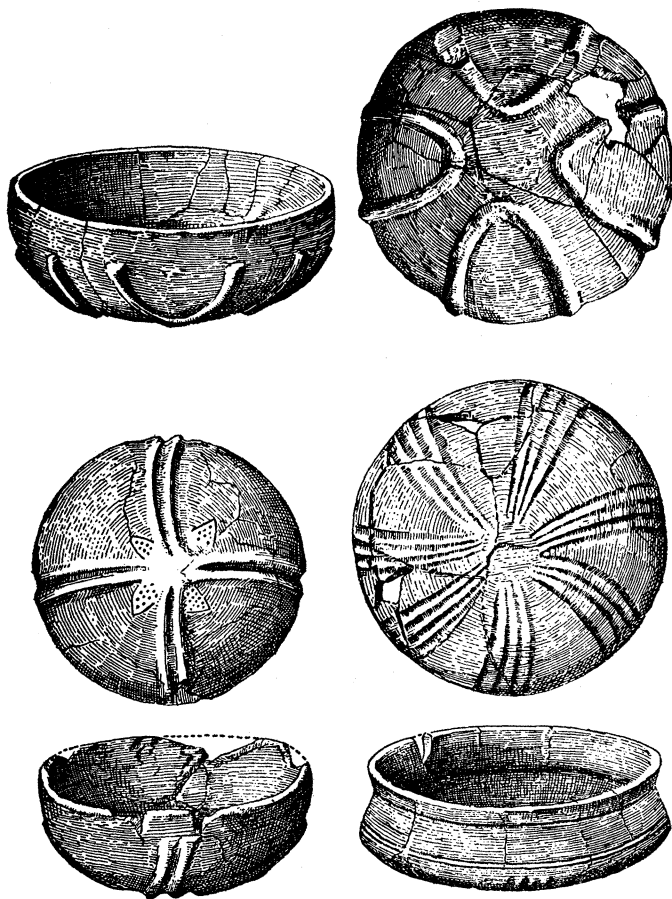


FIG. 16. VANDAL POTTERY IMITATING ROMAN GLASS FOUND IN A GRAVE OF THE LATE-SECOND OR EARLY-THIRD CENTURY AT NASSWITZ IN LOWER SILESIA ($\frac{1}{4}$).

After 'Die Wandelen in Niederschliesien' ('Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen i, 2), Taf. 23.

An interesting series of finds has been made in East Prussia and Poland (especially in the upper Warthe basin).¹¹¹ It includes first-century Banassac, also Lezoux, Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern ware. The latest specimen is a Westerndof pot of about A.D. 200 found in East Prussia.

The art of the Roman potter had some influence on the

¹¹¹ R. Jamka, 'Les vases en terre sigillée en Pologne,' *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, iv, 1930-32. Cf. W. Antoniewicz. *Rev. Arch.* lxxxiv-v, 1924, 295-300.

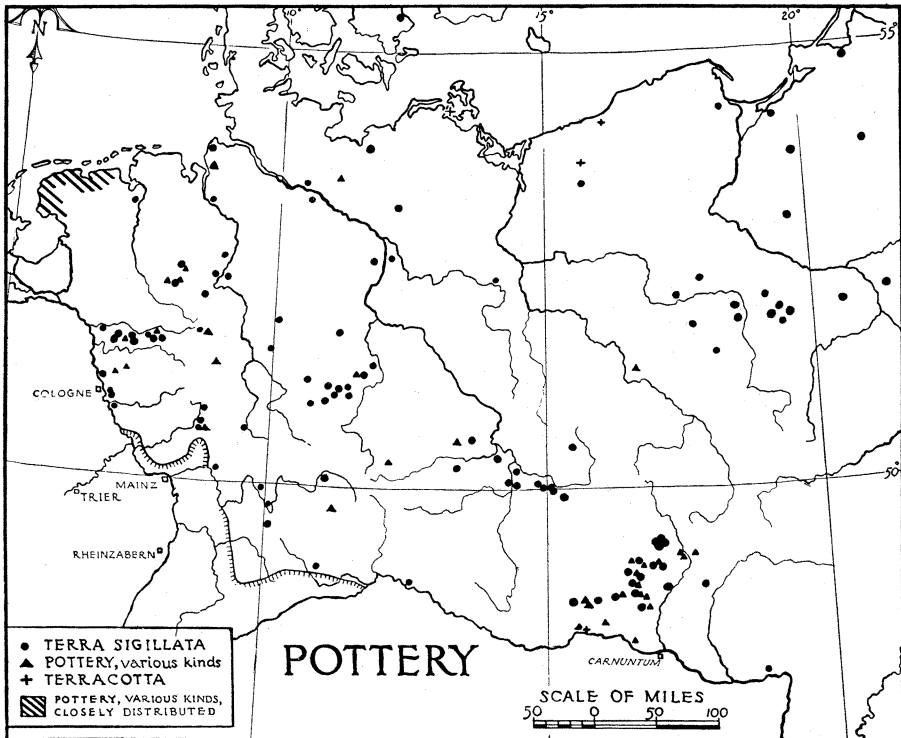


FIG. 17.

Germans.¹¹² The wheel was introduced into Thuringia and elsewhere during the third century. In the far south-east Greek influence made itself felt. Of interest also are examples of Vandal pottery imitating Roman glass (fig. 16).¹¹³

Lamps occur only occasionally, and terra-cotta goods are not common.¹¹⁴

Glass (fig. 18).¹¹⁵ Roman glass is found in the same regions as Roman metal work and was one of the chief exports of the later empire. Some first-century glass, mostly Italian or Syrian, also reached Germany,¹¹⁶ The later glass is much more abundant, and

¹¹² Scandinavia: Montelius, *Kulturgech. Schwedens*, 1906, 190. North and Central Germany: Schmidt 1, 114-5. Jahn, *Altschlesien* 1, 1926, 13 ff. *Riga Congress*, 1930, 177, fig. 3. *Schlesiens Vorzt.*, 1924, 20 f. Western Germany: *Ber.* vii, 169. Schuchhardt 282 (fourth-century Saxon). Friesland, J. H. Holwerda, *Nederland's Vroegste Geschiedenis*, 3rd edn., 1925, 147. Bavaria: Reinecke, *Germania*, 1934, 121 (late). Bohemia: *Zpravny* 1, 1929, 43-5 (second century); Preidel, 1930, 1, 160 ff. Austria: L. Franz, *Ber.* xviii, 140; Beninger u. Friesing, 118, 94-95. S-W. Russia: Ebert, *Südrussland im Altertum*, 1921, 362; Reinecke *MZ*, 1906, 42-50.

¹¹³ K. Tackenberg, *Die Wandalen in Niederschlesien*, 1925, Taf. 23.

¹¹⁴ *Lamps*: Preidel, 1930, 1, 171 (second- and third-century Rhenish, fourth-century Italian); Vonderau (*supra*, p. 204, n. 70), 22 (candlestick); Dr. Moora has kindly informed me of a Latvian example. *Terracotta*: Boeles, 1927, 5; van Giffen, *Drentsche Volksalmanak*, 1934, 94.

¹¹⁵ A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum*, 3 vols., with appendix to vol. iii, 1908, by O. Almgren, *Die Funde antiker Gläser in Skandinavien*, 903-20.

¹¹⁶ Almgren, *op. cit.*, 904; Ekholm, *infra*, n. 119.

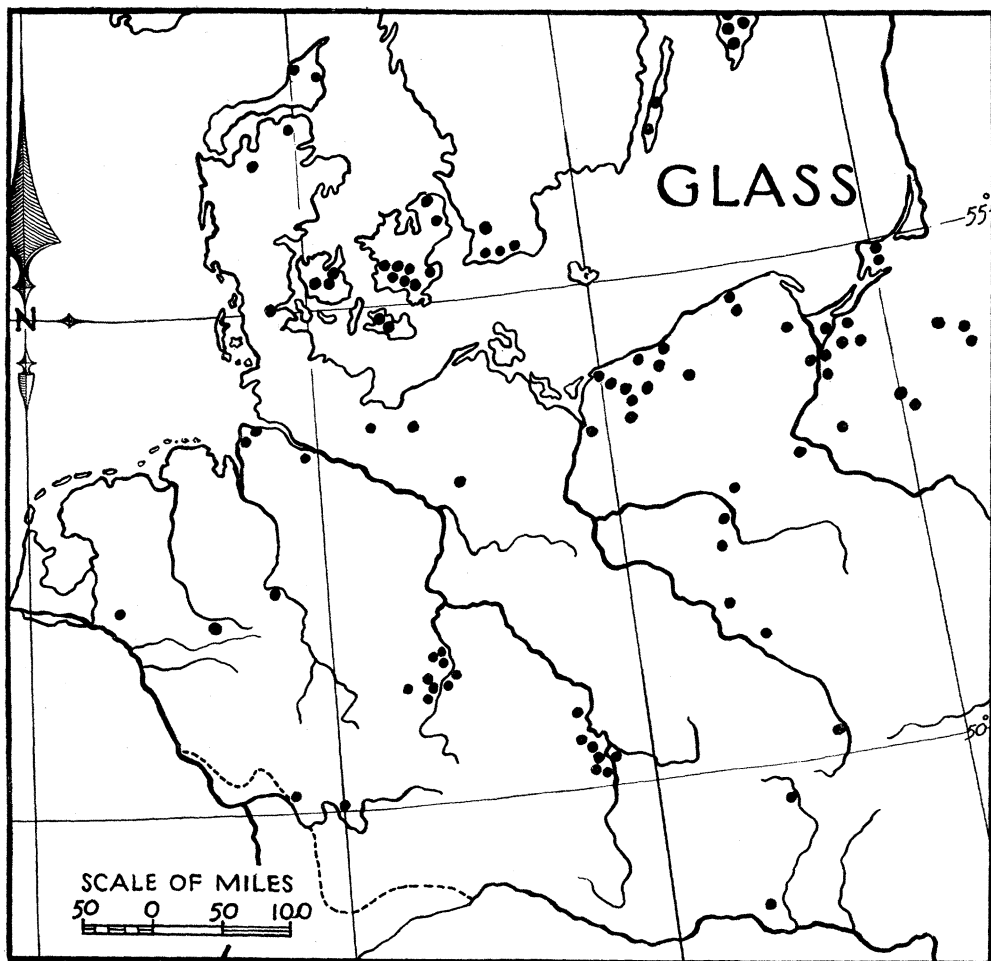


FIG. 18.

The Scandinavian discoveries include some glass vessels, the distribution of which has been mapped by Dr. Ekholm: see note 119

much, but by no means all of it, is Rhenish.¹¹⁷ In Bohemia a good deal of late Rhenish glass is found, which may conceivably have travelled from the west via Thuringia.¹¹⁸ The penetration of the provinces with German fashions was doubtless responsible for the fine glass drinking-horns made at Cologne, which were not only used

¹¹⁷ Almgren and Nerman, *Gotland*, 1923, fig. 452; Schetelig, 164; Karpinska, *Les Tumulus de la période romaine en Pologne*, 1926, 156 (view that glass went to Poland from SW Russia in the

third and fourth centuries); Egger, *Germania*, 1936, 150.

¹¹⁸ Preidel, 1930, 194 ff.; cf. Bolin's theory in regard to the coin-stream of the late second century.

in the empire but were exported to the north. A type of glass of probably oriental origin cut with oval facets, was common for several centuries and the later examples of it seem to have entered Europe from the Euxine¹¹⁹; it has been suggested that vessels of this type are the frosty goblets—the Hrimkalkr—of the Eddas.¹²⁰

Roman glass beads are very common in free Germany, and seem to have been widely imported. Records of them are at present rather patchy but, as an example of their frequency, their occurrence on forty sites in Pomerania may be noted.¹²¹

Wine. The word wine¹²² is common to all Teutonic languages—‘one of the earliest borrowings from the south’—and the quantity of exported vessels whose primary use was in mixing and drinking wine implies that the wine went too.¹²³ The scarcity of amphora-fragments in free Germany is irrelevant,¹²⁴ because the regular northern wine-container was then, as now, the barrel. It is probable that wine-merchants crossed the Rhine before the time of Augustus,¹²⁵ and the great development of the Rhine and Moselle vineyards during the middle and late empire,¹²⁶ coupled with the known love of the barbarians for strong drink,¹²⁷ helps us to believe that the trade was not suffered to languish. There was an interdict on the export of wine in the late empire.¹²⁸

Miscellaneous. In times of stress the Germans appear to have obtained corn from the empire.¹²⁹ Miscellaneous objects of which occasional examples are known, include ivory objects, gaming pieces, a wooden gaming-board, a stylus, weights,¹³⁰ semi-precious stones set in Roman rings, harness-ornaments, etc. The Roman type of circular millstone was adopted by the Germans and querns of Andernach basalt-lava have been found.¹³¹

¹¹⁹ S. Müller, ‘Juellinge-Fundet,’ *Nord. Fortidsminder* ii, 1, 1911; G. Ekholm, ‘Orientalische Glasgefäße in Skandinavien,’ *Eur. Sept. Ant.* x, 61–72.

¹²⁰ B. Nerman, *Poetic Edda*, 23; cf. Kisa ii, 206.

¹²¹ O. Kunkel, 1930; Jungklaus, 1923, 88 ff.; also Matthes, *Ost Prignitz* (mostly third century), Preidel, 1930, 316 ff.; H. Moora, *Die Vorzeit Estlands*, 1932, 35.

¹²² Hoops, *Reallex.* ii, 388 (a series of words derived from Latin); the etymology of the Gothic word *Kaupon* (Kaufmann), from Lat. *caupo*, innkeeper or petty tradesman, or *caupona* shop, or tavern, may be remembered for what it is worth.

¹²³ It is true that these vessels may to some extent have been used in consuming native drinks; cf. remains at Juellinge (n. 119, *supra*).

¹²⁴ A number of amphorae have been found at Ubbergen, the Batavian oppidum destroyed A.D. 70 (*supra*, p. 195, n. 2); another first-century find at Recklinghausen (Westphalia), C. Albrecht, *Mitt. des Landesmus. Westfal.* xvi, 1931; in the Siegkreis (C. Rademacher, *Mannus* i, 1909, 92).

¹²⁵ Schumacher, *Sied. u. Kult.gesch. der Rheinlande*, i, 169–70; *PZ* vi, 240, 245. Caes. *BG* iv, 26 (if the Suebi discouraged the wine trade, it was probably carried on by their neighbours).

¹²⁶ Schumacher, *op. cit.*, ii, 250; Willers, 1901, 200.

¹²⁷ Tac., *Germ.* 23; Dio, writing of the Bastarnae, (li, 24, 2, Loeb), says, ‘the whole Scythian race is insatiable in the use of wine and quickly becomes sodden with it.’

¹²⁸ *Cod. Inst.* iv, 41, 1.

¹²⁹ Amm. 27, 5, 7. Among the goods whose exports are forbidden are corn (*Dig.* xxxix, 4, 11) and oil (*Cod. Inst.* iv, 41, 1).

¹³⁰ Schetelig, *op. cit.*, 1926, 141 (also Norwegian system of weights derived from Rome).

¹³¹ Hörter, ‘Die Basaltlava Industrie bei Mayen,’ *Mannus* vi, 292–94, 1914 (example at Kiel). Examples at Waltrop (Westphalia), Stieren, *Bodenaltertümer*, i, 26, ii, 191; at Baldesheim, *Germania*, xv, 88; Paderborn (Koenen, *Mannus* xiii, 1921, 1906 military?); near Troisdorf, Siegkreis (*Mannus* i, 91).

B. German Exports

Cattle, etc. Our knowledge of the return traffic from Germany into the empire is meagre. Most of the goods were perishable,¹³² and hence have faded out of the archaeological picture. Bearing in mind the large armies and the number of considerable towns along the frontiers, some commerce in cattle¹³³ becomes highly probable, but of evidence there is naturally little. A wax tablet found near Leeuwarden recording the properly witnessed sale of an ox to a Roman by a Frisian is consequently of great interest.¹³⁴

The fish of the North Sea may account in large part for the quantities of Roman imports found in Friesland and Gröningen.¹³⁵

Grain is another possible item of trade. Large requisitions were made after successful wars.¹³⁶

Pottery from the Lahn valley¹³⁷ reached some of the Taunus forts during the late second and early third centuries; a possible *salt* trade,¹³⁸ and the occurrence of German *fibulae* within the empire have already been noted.¹³⁹

Great hordes of *slaves* are mentioned after the wars, but there is not very much information to be discovered about peaceful slave trade. One of the Tacitean attacks on Domitian¹⁴⁰ alleges that he bought German slaves to display as captives. This is not true, but it implies the possibility of buying slaves on the frontier. Tacitus has also a good deal to say about slaves among the Germans themselves,¹⁴¹ and the story of the Usipi¹⁴² is a clear case of traffic on the borders; one or two tombstones of German slaves exist,¹⁴³ and occasional references occur in literature.¹⁴⁴ It is significant that the old German word *mangon*, meaning merchant, is derived from the Latin *mango*, slavedealer.¹⁴⁵

¹³² A group of minor imports from the Rhenish borderland may be mentioned: We cannot be sure whether women's hair, or hair dye, or goose-feathers came from free Germany or from the Germans within the Empire. Pliny describes a certain herb 'Britannica' from the Frisian coast. Hair dye: Pliny, xxviii, 191, Martial, xiv, 26, 176, viii, 33, 20; Suet., *Cal.* 47; Silius, iii, 608; Ovid, *Am.* i, 14, 45; Tac., *Agric.* 39; Hoops, *Reallex*, s.v. 'Gans.' Herb: *NH* xxv, 20.

¹³³ *Germ.* 5, 'pecorum fecunda.' *Ann.* iv, 72, Frisian ox-hide tribute (leather was an important part of the Roman soldier's equipment). *Panegy.* *Lat.* iv, 9, 3 (A.D. 297): 'Arat nunc mihi Chamavus et Frisius . . . et frequentat nundinas meas pecore venali.' The procuring of wild beasts for the arena was doubtless mainly left to the troops, and many inscriptions have survived showing the importance of hunting along the frontiers (e.g. *CIL* xiii, 8639, an *ursarius leg.* at Xanten). The bison was shown in Rome (*NH* viii, 38). It has been suggested that the procurator of the imperial games who sent his emissary to the Baltic (*supra*, p. 200) may have instructed him to bring back animals and slaves as well as amber.

¹³⁴ Boeles (*supra*, p. 204, n. 70), 67; Girard, *Textes*⁶, 848 f.

¹³⁵ Cf. the firm in *CIL* xiii, 8830 (*supra*, p. 196, n. 9).

¹³⁶ *SHA Vit. Probi*, xiv, 3; Ammian, xvii, 10, 4 and 9; cf. *supra*, p. 218.

¹³⁷ R. von Uslar, 'Die germanische Keramik in den Kastellen Zugmantel und Saalburg,' *Saalburg-Jahrb.* viii, 1934, 61-96.

¹³⁸ *Supra*, p. 198.

¹³⁹ *Supra*, p. 211.

¹⁴⁰ *Agric.* 39.

¹⁴¹ *Ann.* ii, 24; xii, 27; xiii, 56; *Germ.* 24; Dio, lvi, 22, 4 (ransom of Roman prisoners); lxxi, 13.

¹⁴² *Agric.* 28, 'ac fuere quos per commercia venundatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit'; cf. Frisian slaves, probably coming into Roman hands, *Ann.* iv, 72.

¹⁴³ *Carnuntum Führer*, 58, NAT(IONI) ERMVNDVR; *CIL* iii, 11301.

¹⁴⁴ Barrow, *Slavery in the Roman Empire*, 1928, 18. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 3, 4.

¹⁴⁵ Stein, s.v. 'Handel' Hoops, *Reallex.* § 29; cf. *CIL* xiii, 8348, C AIACIVS P F STEL MANGO (from Cologne).

Amber became very fashionable early in the Imperial period,¹⁴⁶ but, important though the trade undoubtedly was—the bulk of the amber on the market came from Samland¹⁴⁷—it can account for only a fraction of the Roman goods that reached the Germans. Pliny gives much information about amber, and Tacitus describes the gathering of it on the shores of the Baltic by the Aestiones,¹⁴⁸ who knew it as *glaesum*, and who were surprised at the price paid for it. Aquileia, which has yielded the largest collection of Roman amber in existence,¹⁴⁹ was the chief emporium for receiving it, and an industry for making up fine carved amber articles seems to have flourished there (pl. xi). Objects of this kind are found from time to time on provincial sites, and probably most of them were made in Italy, largely in Aquileia itself. There are plentiful literary references, particularly among the writers of the first and second centuries, to the vogue for amber,¹⁵⁰ showing how it was prized for its ornamental, medical and magical properties. The most famous haul of amber recorded is that made by Pliny's knight,¹⁵¹ who brought such quantities back from the Baltic, including one lump weighing 13 lbs., that the very nets, arms and litters in the amphitheatre were decorated with it. Pausanias¹⁵² mentions a life-size statue of Augustus of amber (presumably a coating), made for Trajan's Forum, and the high price of carved amber goods receives comment.¹⁵³ Elagabalus is said to have lamented that he could not cover the floors of his palace with powdered amber.¹⁵⁴

Most of the amber objects¹⁵⁵ which are dated, notably those from Aquileian graves, are of the first or second century. After the second century, discoveries of amber and literary references to it become rare, and it is not mentioned in what survives of the Edict of Diocletian. The movements of the Goths killed this trade with the south so that the fashion for amber died out in Italy. But, no longer being sold at high prices to the southerners, it now becomes more frequent in the graves of the barbarians themselves.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁶ Blümner, P-W, *s.v.* 'Bernstein,' 295-304, 1897. Discussion of the nature of amber and the possibilities of distinguishing the Baltic from other types by W. La Baume, *s.v.* 'Bernstein' in Ebert, *Reallex.* and de Navarro, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁷ Pliny, *NH* xxxvii, 33. Some Pomeranian amber may also have gone south, thus accounting for the large quantities of Roman goods in Pomerania.

¹⁴⁸ *Germ.* 45.

¹⁴⁹ G. Brusin, *Aquileia, Guida storica e artistica*, 1929, 162-9; *Gli scavi di Aquileia*, 1934, 213, 232; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History*, 71, 506.

¹⁵⁰ Notes, *supra*, also *NH* xxii, 99, Martial, iii, 65, 5; iv, 32, 59; vi, 15; *Juv.*, vi, 573; ix, 50; *Clem. Alex.*, *Paed.* 3, 2; *Strom.* 2, 6.

¹⁵¹ xxxvii, 45.

¹⁵² v, 12.

¹⁵³ *NH* xxxvii, 49. (As Friedländer⁹ ii, 325—remarks, the necklaces worn as amulets by

Lombard peasant women cannot have been particularly costly.)

¹⁵⁴ SHA, *Vita Elagab.* 31.

¹⁵⁵ Fine pieces of Roman amber are relatively scarce, but there are small collections in some of the museums (*e.g.* British Museum, Louvre, Bibl. Nationale, Nimes, Brussels, Leiden, Utrecht, Wallraf-Reichart Museum at Cologne, Bonn, Trier, Worms, Terme Museum at Rome, Vienna, Budapest: Messrs. G. C. Dunning and A. D. Trendall have kindly helped me in collecting records). Brusin notes large quantities of amber objects at Aquileia, Udine and Trieste. Amber beads are not uncommon in collections of Roman and provincial antiquities. Chinese records of trade with Ta-'Fs'in (the Roman empire and Syria in particular) in the third century mention amber among its products: this may be re-exported amber (F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, 1885, 41, 73, 245).

¹⁵⁶ Preidel, 1930, i, 325, states that after 200 it is more common in Bohemian burials.

Fur.—It is often said that the Russian fur trade was flourishing in the time of the Greeks, but Professor Minns,¹⁵⁷ though agreeing that it existed—and the discovery of fur cloaks, one identified as sable, in Scythian graves makes that clear¹⁵⁸—says that so far as he can discover, the Greeks themselves, apart from those of the Bosporus, were not affected by it. From the Scythian tumuli to our chief Roman authority is a long step, but Jordanes writes in the sixth century of the splendid dark furs, *saphirinae pelles*, passed from people to people from the north to the Roman world.¹⁵⁹ Caesar, Tacitus and the rest refer to the barbarians wearing skins, but say nothing about Romans wearing fur coats; and the failure of the satirists to attack this luxury is striking. A much-restored Vatican relief shows an individual of northern type, more likely a Gaul than a German, wearing a skin mantle, probably a sheepskin;¹⁶⁰ the standard-bearers on Trajan's Column wear bearskin 'busbies,' but neither of these instances is very helpful. Hides were for a time paid as tribute to Rome by the Frisians;¹⁶¹ Tacitus refers to trade in skins among the Germans themselves.¹⁶² References to *pelliones*,¹⁶³ dealers in skins, or furriers, occur in the life of Severus Alexander, in the *Theodosian Code* and the *Digest*, but again there is no indication that they were engaged in what is meant to-day by the fur trade. Diocletian's Edict¹⁶⁴ fixes prices for a long list of skins (*pelles*), but these are not furs, with the exception of beaver and marten which may be a sign of a developing fur-trade consequent upon the introduction of barbarian customs and dress into the empire.¹⁶⁵ On present evidence it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if a fur trade with the north existed, it was late in developing. Settlements¹⁶⁶ of the Roman period have been found in the north-Russian and Finnish forests, whose inhabitants must have been largely dependent on hunting and trapping. They have been taken for the outposts of the great fur trade Jordanes writes of—but how far afield their wares penetrated can hardly yet be judged.

Military Service and Subsidies

There remains for consideration military service, and this, rendered or implied, was one of the most important means which

¹⁵⁷ E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 1913, 441; Herodotus is familiar with northern fur-bearing animals; Schrader, *Reallex. der Indogerm. Altertumsk.*, s.v. 'Pelzkleider.'

¹⁵⁸ Minns, 210, 248, 430; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, 22.

¹⁵⁹ *Cet.* iii, 21, 'alia vero gens ibi [isle of Scanzia] moratur Suethans quae velut Thuringi equis utuntur eximiis. Hi quoque sunt qui in usus Romanorum saphirinas pelles, commercio interveniente, per alias innumeras gentes transmittunt, famosi pellium decora nigredine.'

¹⁶⁰ W. Capelle, *Das alte Germanien*, 1929, Plate, p. 144; K. Schumacher, *Germanen-Darstellungen*, 1912, 81-82 (fig.).

¹⁶¹ *Ann.* iv, 72.

¹⁶² *Germ.* 17. Jacob-Friesen, *op. cit.*, 177, mentions a female corpse found in a peat bog near Juellinge, wearing a short fur cloak (*Fellmantel*).

¹⁶³ SHA, *Vita Sev. Alex.*, 24; *Cod. Theod.* xiii, 4, 2; *Dig.* l, 6, 6 (from Tarrutenus Paternus, probably time of Commodus).

¹⁶⁴ *CIL* iii, p. 23. Neither beaver nor marten need come from the far north (Juv., 12, 34); Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* v, 7, 4, 'pelliti . . . castorinati.'

¹⁶⁵ Minns, *op. cit.*, 441, n. 2, refers to a stele of a Greek furrier of the sixth century A.D. at Kertch.

¹⁶⁶ s.v. 'Finno-Ugrier,' Ebert, *Reallex.*

produced the money circulating so freely in German hands. German mercenaries¹⁶⁷ entered Roman service in various capacities from very early times, and in increasing numbers as time went on, and it is not necessary to assume that they all cut themselves off entirely from their former homes, and that they never returned bearing with them some of their earnings and other trophies of their sojourn in southern lands.¹⁶⁸ Still more important were subsidies¹⁶⁹ paid to client states from the beginning. It is well known how these payments increased during the later empire—how the later *foederati* were paid for refraining from attack rather than for promising services or friendship. From the economic point of view it is perhaps not unfair to represent these payments as acting as international loans for facilitating trade. Many of the Roman objects found in free Germany were thus probably paid for in hard cash, and the invisible export which earned that cash was the variable goodwill of German tribes.

¹⁶⁷ M. Bang, *Die Germanen im römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantius I*, 1906.

¹⁶⁸ E.g., repatriation of the bodyguards of Nero, Caracalla and Papienus.

¹⁶⁹ Klose, *op. cit.*, 150 (*Geldzahlungen*).



1. AQUILEIA : AMBER PYXIS NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM $\frac{1}{2}$ (See p. 220)

2. DITCHLEY, OXON : BRONZE TERRET ENAMELLED IN RED, FOUND IN A ROMAN HOUSE ; NOW IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD $\frac{1}{2}$ (See p. 258, note)

By courtesy of the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum and the 'Victoria County History of Oxfordshire'