

EDITH MARY WIGHTMAN

Rhineland 'Grabgärten' and their context

In the course of the last decade, aerial photography in the Rhineland, as in other places where it has been systematically applied to archaeological questions, has greatly increased the number of known archaeological sites of various types and periods¹. One kind of site which is particularly frequent and has clearly recognizable characteristics is the square or nearly square enclosure, outlined by a ditch with or without bank, and having either a flat or raised interior. It is the ditches which form the typical feature on the photographs by showing up darker against the ripening crop because of the moisture which they contain, but sometimes too the spread of the bank, which may be either inside or outside the ditch, can be seen as a lighter band. The enclosures known from air photography are clearly of the same type as others long known to field archaeology which, excavation has shown, normally contain cremation burials of Iron Age or Roman date, and are sometimes referred to by the local name of 'Grabgärten'². The purpose of this article is two-fold, firstly to publish a catalogue and map of the sites discovered by air-photography between 1959 and 1968, and secondly to summarize what is known from other sources of the distribution of similar sites as well as their relevance for the study of religious practices and settlement patterns.

The accompanying map (fig. 1) requires a few words of explanation. It is intended only to illustrate the catalogue, and thus is not a complete record of all the sites known even in the area which it covers³. The omissions include some of the best-preserved examples, known from field archaeology whether or not accompanied by excavation: these owe their preservation to surrounding woodland and are thus not accessible to aerial photography, while conversely sites obvious from the air at the right season have usually been almost completely levelled by cultivation. What the catalogue and map give is, in effect, the distribution of sites where soils and crops make conditions

¹ My thanks are due to Prof. H. von Petrikovits for the facilities which he put at my disposal in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum at Bonn, and to Dr. Irwin Scollar who besides giving me access to the photographs, catalogues and maps offered much help and advice throughout. — I should also like to thank Mrs. Marion Cox for drawing figs. 6 and 7.

² The article of K. V. Decker — I. Scollar, *Antiquity* 36, 1962, 175 ff., summarizes the then state of knowledge. For bibliography, other important articles are W. Haberey, *Bonner Jahrb.* 143/44, 1938/39, 423 ff.; I. Stead, *Antiq. Journ.* 41, 1960/61, 44 ff.; P. Bonenfant, *Ann. Inst. Arch. Lux. (Arlon)* 1961 (*Arch. Belgica* 57); K. Schwarz, *Jahresber. Bayer. Bodendenkmalpflege* 1962, 22 ff.; P. Bonenfant, *Ant. Class.* 35, 1966, 507 ff.; I. Scollar, *Archäologie aus der Luft* (Düsseldorf 1965).

³ Each dot represents a single site, and may include a number of enclosures. The co-ordinates are plotted from maps of scale 1 :25,000, which can be inspected at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. As all the views are oblique, accuracy to better than ± 25 m. cannot be guaranteed.

favourable for aerial photography and which, moreover, lie within the range of a light aircraft operating from Bonn; bureaucracy as well as geology has its part to play in the consequent appearance of the map. Even within the accessible area, absence of dots does not necessarily mean absence of sites, but rather the presence of woodland or of water-retentive soils which do not easily produce crop-marks⁴. Thus the gap between the two main centres of distribution, on the one hand the lower Mosel valley and the Neuwied basin, on the other the northern foothills of the Eifel, is partly explicable in terms of the steep wooded valley of the Ahr. This is not however the whole story, because the division corresponds to a noticeable difference in the enclosures themselves, those to the south being square or very nearly so, while most (but not all) of the northern group are less regular, being either rectangular or trapezoidal in shape, and on average larger⁵. Whether they are all of similar date and function is a question which aerial photography alone cannot settle, and to which excavation has so far failed to provide a clear answer, largely because of the ravages of the plough⁶. The basic similarity between the groups is however sufficient to suggest that we are dealing with local variations rather than something completely different. The Ahr valley itself seems to have formed a boundary in prehistoric times: in the late Iron Age the area south of the Ahr belonged to the Treveri, while to the north were the Eburones and related tribes. Well enough known from the pages of Caesar, the Eburones have proved almost as elusive to the archaeologist as their king to the Roman general, but their cultural connections probably lie as much to the north as to the south⁷.

Distribution

Squarish ditched funerary enclosures of Iron Age or Roman date are of course by no means confined to the Rhineland. Examples known from excavation lie as far apart as Czechoslovakia, Champagne and East Yorkshire: though each group has its own peculiarities, the similarity is much more striking than are the differences⁸. Meanwhile, air photography has added not only to the total numbers but also to the known distribution: the typical features have been seen and photographed in and around the valleys of Somme, Marne, Seine, and Yonne, as well as further west in Touraine and Berry⁹. In consequence, it immediately becomes doubtful whether the gaps between the groups correspond to reality, although to assume a uniform distribution from

⁴ I. Scollar, in: *Colloque Internationale d'Archéologie Aérienne* (Paris 1964) 39 ff.; cf. J. K. St. Joseph, *Antiquity* 36, 1962, 279 ff.

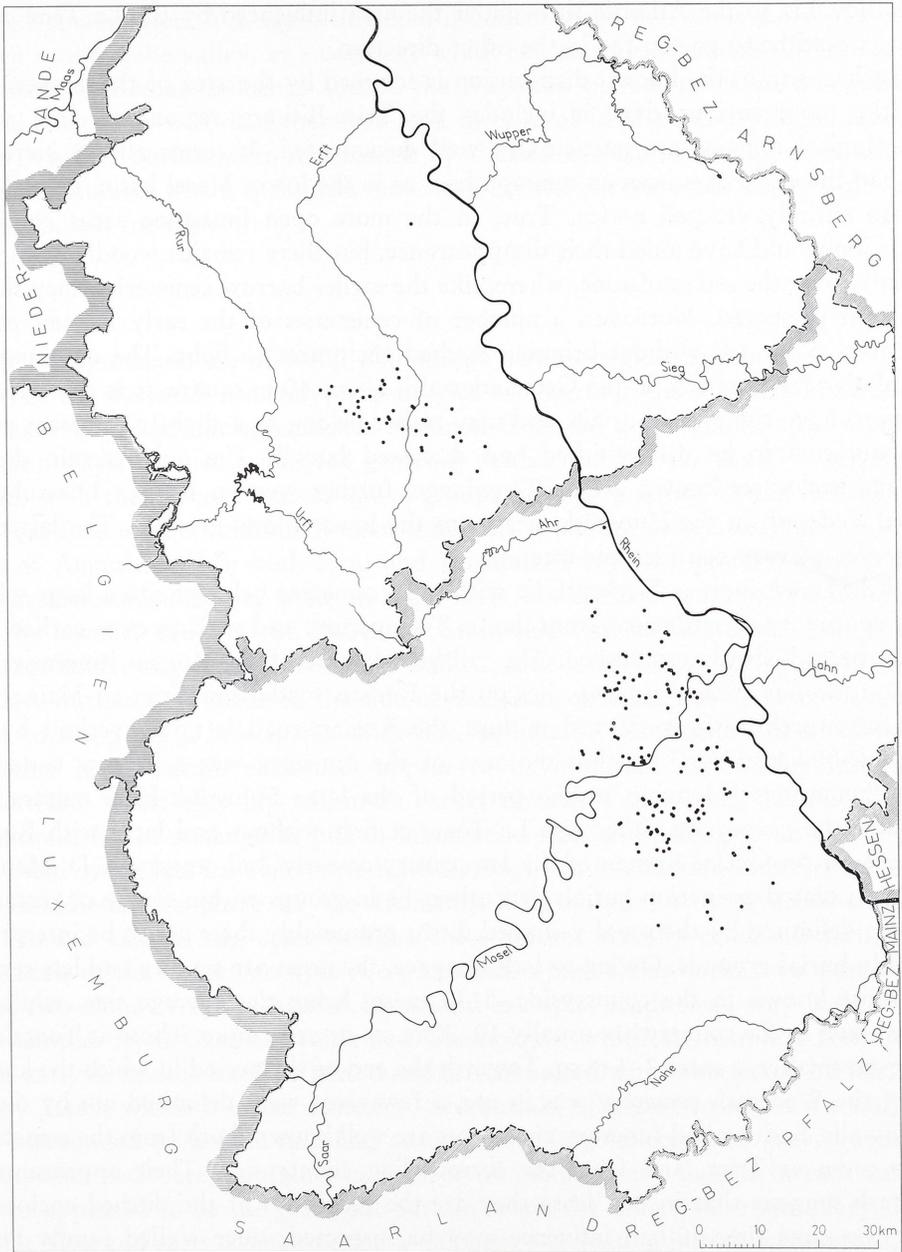
⁵ I. Scollar, in: *Studies in Ancient Europe, Essays presented to S. Piggott* (Leicester 1968) 227 ff.

⁶ L. Barfield, *Bonner Jahrb.* 165, 1965, 167 ff.

⁷ There is no up-to-date synthesis of the material. For a discussion of some of the problems involved: R. Hachmann – G. Kossack – H. Kuhn, *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten* (Neumünster 1962) *passim*.

⁸ B. Benedik – E. Vlček – C. Ambros, *Keltische Gräberfelder der Südwestslowakei* (Bratislava 1957) 15. 23 ff., figs. 3. 6–7. – A. Brisson – J.-J. Hatt, *Rev. Arch. Est et Centre-Est* 6, 1955, 313 ff.; 11/12, 1960/61, 7 ff. – I. Stead, *op. cit.* (note 2) and *The La Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire* (York 1965).

⁹ J. K. St. Joseph, *op. cit.* (note 4). – R. Agache, *Vues aériennes de la Somme et recherche du passé* (Amiens 1962) pl. 18 and *Archéologie aérienne de la Somme* (Amiens 1964) pl. 42. – D. Jalmain, *Bull. Soc. français de Photogrammetrie* 5, 1962. – P. Parruzot, *Rev. Arch. Est et Centre-Est* 5, 1954, 71 ff.; 11, 1960, 265 ff., pl. 3, figs. 100–103. – R. Diehl, *Bull. Soc. Préhist. Française* 52, 1955, 507 ff. – G. Cordier, *Bull. Amis du musée du Grand Pressigny* 1955, 58 ff., espec. pl. 1.



1 Distribution map of Rhineland sites known from air photography. – Scale 1 : 1 250 000.

Czechoslovakia to the Atlantic throughout the area influenced by the La Tène civilisations would be to go too far in the other direction.

One curious gap in the known distribution is for med by the area of the Treveri, and it is the more curious since it includes the Trier-Bitburg region, an area where archaeological remains are particularly well documented. It seems almost incredible that, had the enclosures been as common here as in the lower Mosel basin, they should have so entirely escaped notice. True, in the more open limestone areas continual cultivation would have aided their disappearance, but there remains woodland enough, especially over the red sandstone, where, like the earlier barrow cemeteries, they should have been preserved. Moreover, a number of cemeteries of the early Roman period have been excavated without bringing ditched enclosures to light. The only possible example is near Eisenach, in the Gemeinewald; about 40 m square, it is not certainly known to have contained burials, and may rather belong to a slightly different group of monuments to be distinguished and discussed later¹⁰. The only certain ditched funerary enclosures known are at Tontelange, further west in Belgian Luxembourg, and at Wederath in the Hunsrück, nearer to the lower Mosel group¹¹. The latter site is however of very considerable interest.

The ditched enclosures at Wederath lie within the cemetery belonging to a large village where continuity of settlement from the La Tène period, and perhaps even earlier, into Roman times is firmly established. The village, identified from Roman itineraries and an inscription as *vicus Belginum*, lies on the Roman road from Trier to Mainz: this was also a prehistoric route and in turn the Roman road is now overlaid by the Hunsrück-Höhenstraße¹². Within the area of the cemetery was a barrow connected with inhumations belonging to the period of the later Hunsrück-Eifel culture, but otherwise the graves are either late La Tène, at first without and later with Roman influence, or provincial-Roman of the 1st century or early 2nd century A.D. Many of these are isolated cremation burials, but others lie in groups within square or rectangular areas delimited by the usual v-shaped ditch: presumably these are to be interpreted as family burial grounds. Owing to lack of space, the areas are smaller and less regular than those known in the countryside, 5–10 m sq. being the average size, while the isolated ones in the country are usually 10–20 m sq. or even more. Those at Tontelange were even smaller, a mere 2–3 m sq. Towards the end of the period in which the known area of the Wederath cemetery was in use, a few areas were delimited not by ditches but by walls. Such walled funerary enclosures are well known, both from the cemeteries of the town at Trier, and from the surrounding countryside. Their appearance at Wederath suggests that in one sense they are the successors of the ditched enclosures, yet at the same time Italian influence may be suspected, since walled family burial grounds are also well known in Italy, for example at Ostia¹³. The absence of the ditched enclosures in the immediate surroundings of Trier could then be partly due to

¹⁰ J. Steinhausen, *Ortskunde Trier-Mettendorf* (Bonn 1932) 92.

¹¹ P. Bonenfant, *op. cit.* (note 2). – E. Gose, *Germania* 39, 1961, 196–199.

¹² CIL XIII 7555a. – J. Hagen, *Römerstraßen der Rheinprovinz* ² (Bonn 1931) 354 ff. – W. Kimmig, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 13, 1938, 21 ff.

¹³ S. Gollub, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 29, 1966, 162 ff. and for a similar example at Arloff, Kr. Euskirchen, H. v. Petrikovits, *Germania* 34, 1956, 112 ff. – Ostia: G. Calza, *Le Necropoli del Porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra* (Rome 1940).

earlier Romanization. Yet again this does not seem to be the whole story. At Hoppstädten in the Nahe valley, in a cemetery which contained graves both of late La Tène type without Roman influence and of the Augustan period, no trace was found of ditched enclosures¹⁴. It does therefore look as if local fashions and preferences determined whether burials were surrounded by ditched enclosures or not, even allowing for some instances where enclosures may have existed but were not discovered because no one looked for them.

D a t i n g

Before the systematic use of aerial photography in the region, and before the investigation of the Wederath cemetery, a number of enclosures in the Rhineland had already been excavated and dating evidence obtained from the grave-goods, mostly pottery. Almost always, the cremations fell generally within the late La Tène – early Roman period, with the earliest attested grave-groups belonging either to the last phase of local La Tène culture without Roman influence, or to the period beginning with the reign of Augustus, when both local and Romanized types of pottery were in use¹⁵. Certain enclosures however went on being used into the 2nd century or even into the 4th, for instance some in the Koblenzer Stadtwald and an interesting group in the Mayener Stadtwald, to which reference will be made later¹⁶. Not infrequently, some of the later burials were made in the side of the ditch, whether out of laziness, it being easier to scoop out a hole in the ditch-side, or because the ditches had silted up. On the other hand certain enclosures appear to have started earlier, for instance at Wallertheim where they lay within an earlier cemetery: the central burials, although cremations, lay in rectangular pits of inhumation size, and belong to an earlier phase than usual of the late La Tène¹⁷. At Kärlich, too, in an inhumation cemetery belonging to a middle-to-late phase of the Hunsrück-Eifel culture, two squarish enclosures (7 x 7 m and 12,5 x 13 m) came to light: these did not actually contain burials, but in the middle of the larger one were two pits which were neither burials nor post-holes¹⁸. These two alone of the excavated Rhineland examples reach some way back towards the examples from Czechoslovakia and Champagne, which in their first form belong to the early or middle La Tène period and are connected with inhumation burials. Near Horný Jatov, within a larger cemetery, two burials, of a woman and a warrior, were each surrounded by a ditch and had an unusually large selection of grave-goods. The Champagne enclosures contained a number of inhumations, though in each case one or two appeared to be the principal burials, while the others were secondary. In the late La Tène and early Roman period a number of cremation burials were added, some

¹⁴ A. Haffner, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 32, 1969, 71 ff.

¹⁵ E. g. examples in *Bonner Jahrb.* 134, 1929, 134. 149. 151; 133, 1928, 263. 270; 132, 1927, 174; 135, 1930, 180; 140/41, 1936, 433. 492; 143/44, 1938/39, 423 ff.; 145, 1940, 322. 337; 146, 1941, 337. – For Koblenzer Stadtwald and Mayener Stadtwald, see below note 16.

¹⁶ R. Bodewig, *Westdt. Zeitschr.* 19, 1900, 32–34; cf. K. V. Decker, *Jahrb. f. Gesch. u. Kunst d. Mittelrheins*, Beiheft 1 (1968) 138–140 (Koblenzer Stadtwald). – K. A. Seel, *Bonner Jahrb.* 163, 1963, 323 ff. (Mayener Stadtwald).

¹⁷ P. T. Kessler, *Mainzer Zeitschr.* 24/25, 1929/30, 125 ff. – G. Behrens, *Germania* 14, 1930, 24 ff. – Cf. B. Stümpel, *Mainzer Zeitschr.* 54, 1959, 47 ff.

¹⁸ J. Röder, *Bonner Jahrb.* 48, 1948, 417 ff. and *Trierer Zeitschr.* 18, 1949, 5 ff.

within the enclosures, some in the ditches, and as frequently in the Rhineland the latest belong to the 1st or early 2nd centuries A.D.¹⁹. If the attractive thesis is correct that the burial enclosures of E. Yorkshire, some of which belong to an early phase of La Tène, were introduced there by the Parisii arriving from their continental homeland, it is only to be expected that the French examples should start as early or earlier. Unfortunately, we cannot be sure exactly where the continental Parisii lived at this stage, as considerable displacement of tribes may have taken place before the time of Caesar, when they were established in the Seine valley around the township which was later to bear their name²⁰.

In any case we must beware of interpreting the phenomenon of funerary enclosures as something exclusive to the La Tène cultures or peculiarly connected with the tribes known to have inhabited the areas in historical times. That the custom is even more widespread both in place and time is shown by the appearance of squarish ditched enclosures in the middle of an urnfield cemetery at Destelbergen-Eenbeekeinde near Gent (Belgium), and with early La Tène cremations at Nijnsel (Noord-Brabant, Holland)²¹.

Variations in type and function

Although the basic similarity of the ditched square enclosures leads one in the first instance to treat them as a single group, it quickly becomes clear that they are not uniform in type. It has already been seen that although the majority of examples contain burials, some do not (even though occurring within cemeteries), and others, it will be found, do not seem to be related to cemeteries at all, although their connection with religious cults of some sort is demonstrable. The wide distribution of these enclosures both in space and time, and the variation in type, become more understandable, however, when one bears in mind that the primary function of the ditch is to delimit a certain portion of land; in this particular case, it separates what is sacred, whether to the shades of the dead or some divinity, from what is profane.

Each sub-group raises its own interesting problems. Not the least of these, to deal firstly with the cemeteries, is the connection between the squarish ditched enclosure and the ring-ditch with round barrow²². Occasionally, as at Kärlich, Rhineland 'Grabgärten' are found within or at the edge of an earlier cemetery containing round barrows, some with ring-ditches. Here, the cemetery has continued in use, and the ring-ditches can with probability be ascribed to an earlier date than the square ones²³.

¹⁹ See above note 8.

²⁰ I. Stead, *The La Tène cultures of Eastern Yorkshire* (York 1965) 18 ff.

²¹ S. J. de Laet, *Van Grafmonument tot Heiligdom* (Brussels 1966) 11; a stimulating study to which I owe much. When unexcavated enclosures of Grabgarten type are found near monuments of pre-Iron Age date such as the 'cursus' at Karden (see catalogue), there is always the possibility that they are of earlier date. — R. Hulst, *Ber. v. h. Oudheidk. Bodemonderzoek* 14, 1964, 74 ff.

²² J. Röder, *Germania* 25, 1941, 226 gives a list of 'Kreisgräben'; cf. H. Schermer, in: *Festschr. 100 Jahre RGZM. Mainz* 3 (Mainz 1952) 139 ff. and H. Aschemeyer, *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens* 9 (Münster 1966) 33 ff.

²³ R. Bodewig, *Westdt. Zeitschr.* 19, 1900, Taf. 2; *Bonner Jahrb.* 142, 1937, 287. — W. Dehn, *Katalog Kreuznach* (Berlin 1941) 2. 99. — J. Röder, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 18, 1949, 5 ff.; cf. J. K. St. Joseph, *Antiquity* 36, 1962, pls. 36. 37. — Other examples of continuity are at Cheny (Yonne) (*Gallia* 12, 1954, 516) and Vert-la-Gravelle (Marne) (*Gallia* 12, 1954, 151).



2 Ney (Kr. St. Goar). A single ring-ditch (with burial ?) in a dispersed group of square enclosures. – Photo Rhein. Landesmuseum Bonn DK 16; freigeeg. Reg.-Präs. Düsseldorf 16/22/2375.

Air photography has now produced a number of examples where an isolated square enclosure, or group of enclosures, is closely accompanied by one or more ring-ditches (fig. 2) which do not belong to a larger cemetery²⁴. The question therefore arises whether the ring-ditches, which presumably once contained round barrows, now ploughed flat, belong to an earlier period, which would again point to continuity of a sacred site, or are contemporary with the square ones. That the idea of the ring-ditch lived on into and through the latest phase of La Tène is shown by its appearance, admittedly infrequent, round or under barrows of the Roman period²⁵. That the round barrow itself survived, or gained a new lease of life, is clear enough from the large number of tumuli in the tribal territories especially of Treveri and Tungri²⁶. Much commoner than a ring-ditch is however an enclosing wall, or a circular stone foundation within the barrow. The ritual significance of the ditch as opposed to the wall, or of the round barrow as opposed to the square enclosure, escapes us. Equally, it is uncertain whether square 'Grabgärten' with noticeably raised interiors or barrows within the ditches form a transitional type between Hunsrück-Eifel barrows and late

²⁴ See catalogue for further examples. – Cf. Nijnsel (R. Hulst, note 21), where they seem contemporary.

²⁵ L. Kilian, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 30, 1967, 70 ff.

²⁶ H. Koethe, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 14/15, 1939/40, 113 ff.

La Tène flat graves. Equally probable, and on present evidence more probable, is that local customs had a large part to play in the choice of funerary monument, just as in Roman times the typical grave-stones of the Treveri are distinguishable from those of the Mediomatrici.

Another idea which was widespread both in space and time, from Neolithic cultures until Gallo-Roman times and even later, is that of the 'house of the dead', usually a simple rectangular wooden hut, the remains of which have been noted below barrows²⁷. The persistence of this idea and the force it had for educated and uneducated alike is shown by its translation into the simple house-shaped grave-stones (normally arranged within a walled cemetery) of Mediomatrici and Treveri in the Roman period, and into more sophisticated monuments such as the Simpelveld sarcophagus (perhaps the clearest example), where the interior walls are carved to represent the dead woman reclining on a couch, with other furniture and a partial view of the villa in which she had lived²⁸; it also survives undaunted in a much later story told by Gregory of Tours, in which the ghost of a Christian bishop complained that the removal of the lid of his sarcophagus was allowing the rain to get in²⁹.

Although the area marked out by the ditches must have been thought of as the abode of the dead, only in a limited number of cases have central post-holes been found which could belong to a 'Totenhäuschen'. More often, when post-holes do occur, as for instance at Rückweiler and perhaps at Hambuch, they are to be interpreted with equal or greater probability as posts standing above ground level to mark the grave, rather than as an actual or symbolic hut³⁰. Nevertheless, striking examples do occur, but up until now in the Champagne group rather than the Rhineland. Even here, however, at Fin d'Écury and Écury-le-Repos, there is a difference, in that the central feature consisting of post-holes outlining a square is clearest to be seen precisely in those enclosures which may not originally have contained burials. At Fin d'Écury, enclosure C was a later addition to earlier enclosures, belonging to the 1st century A.D., but the example at Écury-le-Repos, where the burials look secondary, is securely enough dated to early La Tène³¹.

Although the links are not yet so clear as one would like, it has been convincingly argued that it is in structures such as that of Écury-le-Repos that the origin is to be sought for the well-known type of so-called Romano-Celtic temple, square, polygonal or round, sometimes with portico or verandah, almost invariably lying within a larger enclosure delimited either by ditch, bank or wall. The essential features are already to be seen: the enclosure or temenos which separates the sacred area from the profane, and the internal feature which forms the actual shrine or abode of the deity. Below the later Gallo-Roman temple in the forest at Essarois near Châtillon-sur-

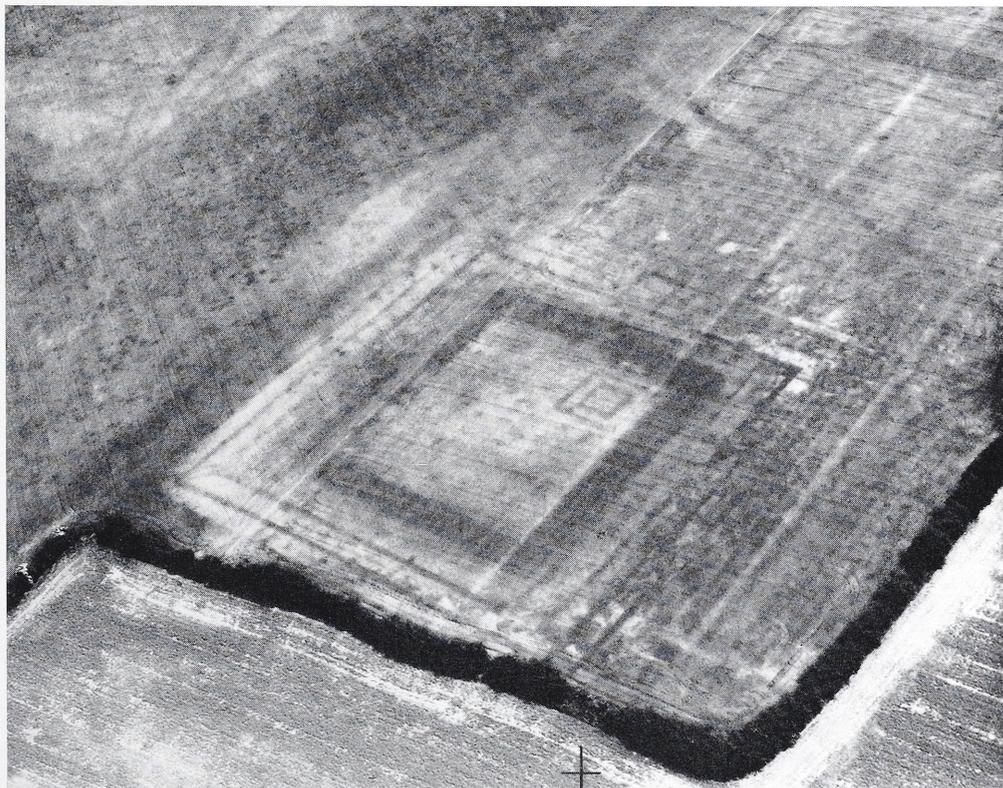
²⁷ P. Steiner, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 10, 1935, 99 ff., – J.-J. Hatt, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Champenoise* 50, 1957, 1–5 ff. – More generally, S. J. de Laet, *Van Grafmonument* (cf. note 21).

²⁸ E. Linckeheld, *Les stèles funéraires en forme de maison chez les Médiomatriques et en Gaule* (Strasbourg 1927). – For an opposing view: F. Oelmann, in: *Studi Aquileiesi offerti a Giovanni Brusin* (Aquila 1953) 177. – For the Simpelveld sarcophagus: J. H. Holwerda, *Arch. Anz.* 1953, 56–75; J. Liversidge, *Furniture in Roman Britain* (London 1955) 65 f., fig. 68. 69.

²⁹ *Greg. Tur.*, *Gloria Confessorum* 17 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 71, 839).

³⁰ J. Röder, *Germania* 25, 1941, 231 gives list.

³¹ See above note 8. – Cf. Nijnsel (*R. Hulst*, note 21).



3 Gosbecks Farm near Colchester. Romano-Celtic temple and enclosures. –
By permission of the Committee for Aerial Photography, University of Cambridge.

Seine lies an arrangement of four post-holes, at least once renewed, identical with that of Écury-le-Repos, nor is this the only example³².

To form the traditional Gallo-Roman temple, it was the internal element which was developed. Under the influence of Roman techniques the older shrines were rebuilt in stone, and became more stereotyped. The surrounding ditch was also usually replaced by a wall. To the central shrine, the abode of the deity into which probably the priests alone dared enter, a surrounding verandah was added where worshippers could deposit offerings and processions could take place. This developed form of the temple seems to be amazingly anticipated by the little 'shrine' excavated below Heathrow air-port, belonging to an early phase of La Tène³³. It is not certain however that the outer row of close-set post-holes is architecturally the predecessor of the verandah rather than a solid palisade, perhaps performing the same delimiting function as a ditch.

Yet another group of monuments related to the 'Grabgärten' and perhaps derived from them, is formed by the so-called 'Viereckschanzen', best known from Bavarian examples

³² R. Paris, *Rev. Arch. Est et Centre-Est* 11, 1960, 168 fig. 59; cf. *Gallia* 20, 1962, 447 ff.; 24, 1966, 390 f. – The double ditched enclosure at Cheny (*Gallia* 12, 1954, 516 fig. 31) should also be noted in this context.

³³ F. W. Grimes, *Archaeology* 1, 2, 1948, 74 ff.; cf. *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, ed. S. S. Frere (London 1958) 25.

and now clearly to be interpreted as cult areas³⁴. Here it is the idea of the outer enclosure that has developed, until it reaches much greater dimensions, the largest of the Rhineland group being small in comparison³⁵. Internal features are also present. At Holzhausen, there was a wooden temple, twice rebuilt, in the northwest corner, although it is the ritual shafts (one 36 m deep) with their remains of organic material and burnt matter, which have attracted more attention. Comparable with the Bavarian ones are a group in the lower Seine basin. Again, as in the forest of La Londe, near Rouen, they either contain temples or lie very near to a temple³⁶. A further example is offered by the temple precinct at Gosbecks Farm near Colchester, where an original square ditch and bank was later surrounded by a precinct wall with double portico, and contained in one corner a Romano-Celtic temple of usual type. It is instructive to compare an aerial view of this site (fig. 3) with Bavarian and Rhineland examples³⁷. Whether here, and at Holzhausen, the centre of the enclosure was occupied by some feature such as a sacred tree or grove is not known. Excavation at Holzhausen has however uncovered wider possibilities, since the bank and ditch were secondary to an initial phase where the precinct was enclosed only by a palisade – a type of monument which is unlikely to be found unless later replaced by something more durable. Did the sacred groves mentioned by Caesar and other writers sometimes take this artificial form? One literary source which can readily be brought into connection with the large square enclosures comes from Athenaeus quoting Poseidonius. Lovernios, king of the Arverni and father of Bituitus, a man of wealth and magnanimous habits, issued to his people a general invitation to a feast: the wine and food, enough for several days, were provided within a specially constructed enclosure exaggeratedly described as 12 stades (1½ miles or 2½ km) square. Athenaeus treats the feast as a secular occasion, but did it perhaps really mark some religious festival, and was the débris buried in pits³⁸?

The 'Viereckschanze' is most at home in Bavaria, and local preferences must again have been at work to provide such a thick distribution of particularly large enclosures. The wider distribution, so far as it is known from field archaeology, is again a very strange one, with the gap between southern Germany and the Seine basin bridged by a very few examples, including the enclosure at Eisenach north of Trier which probably belongs to this class³⁹. In this instance, however, the gap is certainly more apparent than real. Admittedly air photography alone cannot date a monument or explain its function, but if we examine the Rhineland examples more closely, differences in size and grouping become apparent. The single enclosure, often with bank, and sides in the order of 40 m in length, bears a clear resemblance to the Bavarian Viereckschanze:

³⁴ K. Schwarz, in: *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland*, ed. W. Krämer (Berlin 1958) 203 ff. and *Jahresber. Bayer. Bodendenkmalpflege* 1960, 7 ff.; 1962, 22 ff.

³⁵ K. Schwarz, *Atlas der spätkeltischen Viereckschanzen Bayerns* (München 1959). – Rhineland examples hardly exceed 40–50 m in length (except for some of the larger ones north of the Ahr), which is equivalent to the smallest of the Bavarian ones.

³⁶ K. Schwarz, *Jahresber. Bayer. Bodendenkmalpflege* 1962; I have myself seen an unpublished MS at Rouen relating to some of these enclosures.

³⁷ R. Hull, *Roman Colchester* (Oxford 1958) 259 ff., pl. 39; M. J. T. Lewis, *Temples in Roman Britain* (Cambridge 1966) 5. 49. 132. 196 fig. 112; pl. III. A photograph of this site is here reproduced by courtesy of Dr. J. K. St. Joseph and the Committee for Aerial Photography, University of Cambridge.

³⁸ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 4, 152 d–e.

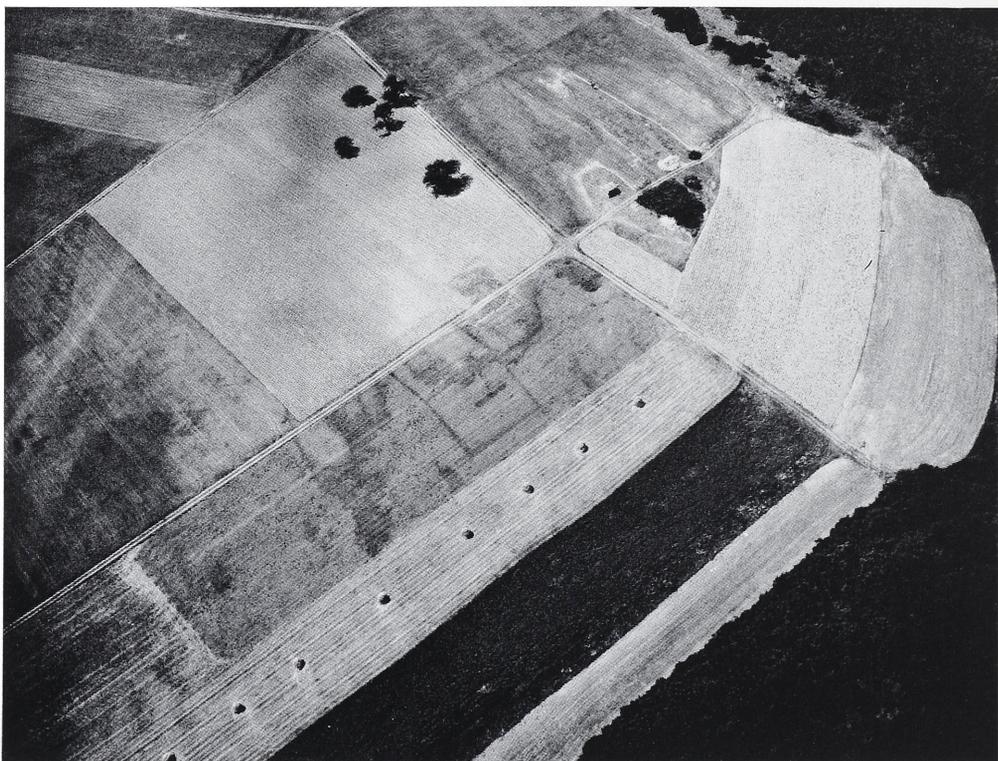
³⁹ K. Schwarz, *Jahresber. 1962*, Beilage 5. – For Eisenach, see above note 10.



4 Polch (Kr. Mayen). Enclosure with external quarry ditches and internal circular features.
Photo Rhein. Landesmuseum Bonn 85/5; freigeeg. Reg.-Präs. Düsseldorf 16/25/3265.

examples include sites at Kobern and Burgen⁴⁰. The smaller enclosures of 10–20 m length and breadth, frequently occurring in groups of up to eight, are, as excavation has shown, the cemeteries belonging to small countryside settlements, although the settlements themselves have been identified only in exceptional cases. Sometimes dark patches are visible in the middle of the enclosures, which may be graves but could also be ritual pits or shafts as known from Bavaria. Some of the larger squares contain other features which could be shrines of one kind and another: one near Polch (fig. 4) contains what appears to be a circular banked enclosure (perhaps the remains of a very large mound) and is surrounded by quarry-pits, and the same commune provides

⁴⁰ Best illustrated in I. Scollar, *Einführung in neue Methoden der archäologischen Prospektion* (Düsseldorf 1970) cover.



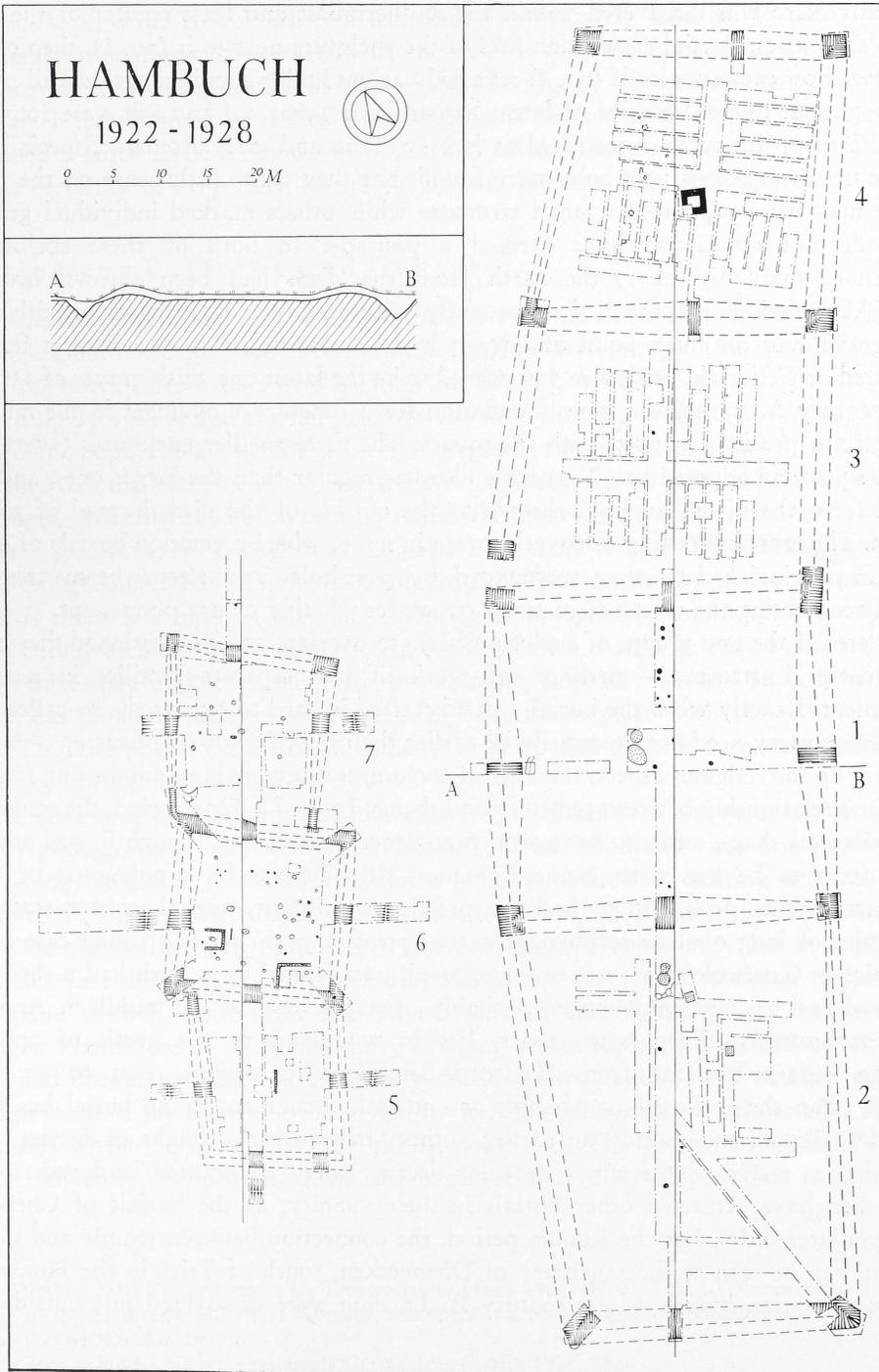
5 Polch (Kr. Mayen). Large linked enclosures with various internal features.
Photo Rhein. Landesmuseum Bonn BQ 3; freigeig. Reg.-Präs. Düsseldorf 16/22/1622.

another strange example (fig. 5) where two or three largish enclosures, also with internal features are, unusually, linked together⁴¹.

While the large enclosures are normally single, the smaller ones frequently occur in groups. More often than not the grouping is fairly loose, with the squares roughly aligned but not actually touching, and sometimes they are dispersed rather haphazardly over a considerable area. Other groups are more closely knit, in some cases with ditches in common. One such group, at Hambuch (fig. 6), has been excavated, though not completely⁴². Attention was drawn to the site when a grave containing a coin of the

⁴¹ See catalogue. Although care has been taken to reject doubtful examples from the catalogue, it may yet contain a few of which the interpretation might be queried. Some of the less regular enclosures north of the Ahr could be profane sites of one sort or another, though there are no traces of the well-defined entrances, field systems or general untidiness which are to be expected from a habitation site. But cf. J. K. St. Joseph, *Antiquity* 36, 1962, pl. 41 (a) and G. Cordier, *op. cit.* (note 9). As the normal types of Grabgärten are already well known from the publications of Dr. Scollar, it has been decided to illustrate some of the more unusual ones in this article.

⁴² W. Haberey, *Bonner Jahrb.* 128, 1923, 136 f. 145; 130, 1925, 316–7. 339–40; 133, 1928, 260; 134, 1929, 173 f. – A large group of closely linked enclosures is known from aerial photography at Briedel (Kr. Zell) where dark marks in the centre also suggest pits or burials: see *Antiquity* 36, 1962, pl. 23 (b) and (in colour) the cover photo of I. Scollar, *Luftbild und Archäologie* (Düsseldorf 1961). I am indebted to Dr. H. Eiden, Staatliches Amt für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein, for allowing me to have unpublished plans of the excavations at Hambuch re-drawn (fig. 6).



6 Hambuch (Kr. Cochem). Excavated site. - Scale 1 : 750.

emperor Nero was discovered within the southernmost and least regular of the four large enclosures. Partial excavation first of the enclosure next to it (no. 1), then of the southernmost enclosure itself (no. 2) revealed various hollows and scoops, not all necessarily graves, though remains of burnt human bones, charcoal and ash were found in some. Pottery found was described as late La Tène and early Roman. Especially in enclosure 1, numerous post-holes were found, but they make little sense on the plan. Some may have supported a small structure while others marked individual graves: they do not appear to have formed a palisade. In both of these enclosures, but more markedly in 1, the earth from the ditch had been thrown inwards to make a bank. Enclosure 3, the most fully excavated, was disappointing, with only one grave, and the main point of interest is the entrance gap in the ditch, a feature repeated at Wederath. Enclosure 4 appeared to be the latest one, with graves of 1st and 2nd century A.D., and the stone foundation for a funerary monument in the middle, though not precisely aligned with the square. The three smaller enclosures (averaging 18 m square as opposed to 30 m) were also less regular than the larger ones, and the earth from the ditch had been thrown to the outside of the ditch instead of to the inside. The most interesting discoveries were in no. 6, where cremation burials of early Roman-provincial date were surrounded by post-holes and sleeper-beam trenches, clearly indicating the existence of small structures whether or not permanent.

The dates of the two groups of enclosures seem to overlap, and as mentioned they were differently constructed – perhaps the work of two separate families in a small settlement. Exactly when the burial ground started is hard to say, as the so-called late La Tène pottery need not necessarily be earlier than the reign of Augustus.

To sum up the religious aspect, the ditched enclosures illustrate in an interesting fashion the close relationship between cemetery and shrine. In the La Tène period, the square or quadrilateral shape seems to have won precedence over others, though it was not the only form to be met with. Some Romano-Celtic temples have polygonal or oval precincts which probably go back to pre-Roman origins, and there are scattered examples of long oval or rectangular sacred areas, a particularly striking case being Libenice in Czechoslovakia, where a long oval area defined by a ditch had a shrine at one end and a single inhumation, probably of a priestess, in the middle⁴³. Another such enclosure, outlined with stones, lies in woodland to the north of another Roman village not far from Wederath-Belginum: its origins seem to go back further than the Gallo-Roman temple at one end, though so far no burial has been found⁴⁴. Tertullian, quoting an earlier author, tells that the tombs of heroes were regarded as sacred places where oracular dreams might be granted, and such tombs may then have attracted other burials in their vicinity, as the burials of Christian martyrs later did⁴⁵. For the Roman period, the connection between temple and burial ground can be seen at the sanctuary of Dhroncken, south of Trier in the Hunsrück, where cremation burials of 1st century A. D. date were discovered just outside the

⁴³ A. Rybová, – B. Soudský, Libenice, sanctuaire celtique en Bohème centrale (Prague 1962); cf. S. J. de Laet, *Van Grafmonument . . .* (cf. note 21). – More generally on this subject, A. Grenier, *Comptes rendus Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lettres* 1943, 360 ff.; 1944, 221 ff.; 1947, 130 ff.

⁴⁴ H. Cüppers, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 30, 1967, 258 f.; cf. *Aulnay aux Planches (Marne)*: A. Brisson. – J.-J. Hatt, *Rev. Arch. Est et Centre-Est* 4, 1953, 193.

⁴⁵ Tertullian, *de Anima* 57; Zwicker, *Fontes historiae religionis Celticae* 1 (Berlin 1934) 9.

precinct wall, or at Newel, where a temple lay immediately adjacent to barrows and a funerary monument, the cemetery of the near-by villa⁴⁶. From medieval books of penance we know that the custom of bringing offerings to cemeteries remained in force long after the nominal spread of Christianity in the countryside⁴⁷. Ancestral spirits remained a force to be reckoned with, and one of the functions of ditch or wall was almost certainly to keep them in their place and prevent them haunting the living⁴⁸.

Settlement Patterns and Continuity

As mentioned, the square enclosure cemeteries sometimes lie on the edge of earlier barrow fields, but more often are to be found in small isolated groups. This is well illustrated in the north-eastern part of the Hunsrück (fig. 7), which, because the landscape is broken up by valleys and the soil is less fertile than the area around Mayen, supported a less dense population, with the result that typical forms of distribution can more easily be seen. Here the barrows of the Hunsrück-Eifel culture are to be found on the tops of the ridges, generally in wooded country, while the square enclosures lie further down the slopes⁴⁹, sometimes far enough into the valleys for them to be well preserved in woodland, though unavailable for aerial photography. Thus continuity in the use of cemeteries is much less obvious than in Champagne, though how much this corresponds to an actual break in settlement pattern rather than a change in burial customs is in the present state of knowledge hard to determine. Probably we are dealing with the social and economic changes which seem to have taken place with the advent of the latest La Tène phase: these remain difficult to grasp and even to date, and this is not the place to enter into controversy⁵⁰.

In the same area of the Hunsrück, the soils are so suitable for the recovery of ditches by air-photography that, with the addition of the woodland sites known to field archaeology, one can feel confident that a high proportion of existing sites has been discovered. This is particularly true of the area between Kastellaun (Kr. Simmern) and Dommershausen (Kr. Simmern). Here each modern community lies in a plateau area cleared from forest, while the valley slopes too steep for cultivation retain their woodland growth, and forest also covers part of the higher ground between the villages. Plantations of evergreens have in many places replaced a thinner covering of bush and deciduous trees, but essentially the landscape cannot have changed greatly, though much of the clearing process had to be repeated in medieval times after several centuries when the area was very thinly populated. The groups of Grabgärten lie most frequently, as mentioned, on the edges of the valley slopes, that is to say in

⁴⁶ F. Hettner, *Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande* (Trier 1901) 37 ff., Taf. 2 (Dhronecken). Newel is due to appear shortly in *Trierer Zeitschr.*, and there is a plan in E. M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London 1970).

⁴⁷ C. Clemen, *Fontes historiae religionis Germanicae* (Berlin 1928) 65.

⁴⁸ Sir Ian Richmond once told me of a new cemetery in Cumberland where villagers were unwilling to bury their dead because there was no wall round it.

⁴⁹ I am indebted to Dr. H. Eiden, who showed me a number of these sites on the ground.

⁵⁰ Continuity may have been greater in the Saarland than nearer the Rhine. — For Horath and Marpingen see most recently R. Schindler, *Studien zum vorgeschichtlichen Siedlungs- und Befestigungswesen des Saarlandes* (Trier 1968) 147 ff. But cf. A. Haffner, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 32, 1969, 123 ff.

marginal territory on the edges of easily cultivated land⁵¹: many of the modern communities contain 2 to 3 such groups. This distribution would allow to the settlement connected with each group an area of 50–100 ha, figures very similar to those observed elsewhere in connection with the smaller types of Roman villas⁵²: in this particular area, unfortunately, the Roman settlements are so far less well known than the Grabgärten.

The survey made at the beginning of this century of an area in the Koblenzer Stadtwald already suggested that the groups of Grabgärten belonged to settlements which continued to be occupied at least during the first century and a half of Roman rule, and sometimes longer. Near the Hambuch enclosures, too, surface indications suggest Roman settlements at two points, though the exact nature of them remains unknown. More recently, the excavation, albeit partial, of cemetery and settlement in the Mayener Stadtwald shows what we may expect to find elsewhere⁵³. Here the settlement was less grand than even the simplest of villas, consisting of two wooden huts, almost certainly thatched, resting on dry-stone foundations: one consisted of two rooms, and in addition there were sheds for animals and storage. The cultivable area belonging to this settlement consisted of about 100 ha., again a plateau surrounded by steep valleys and bounded on one side by a Roman road: remains of long narrow terraced fields are still to be seen, and as there is evidence that this area has been woodland since early medieval times, these should be contemporary with the settlement. This little farm seems to have been occupied throughout the Roman period: the cemetery, consisting of at least 8 square enclosures (two containing barrows), again lay at the edge of the valley slope, and was used until the 4th century. Some of the groups in the Koblenzer Stadtwald also produced late pottery: unfortunately it is not clear whether the settlements here were of much the same type as the one near Mayen, or whether they developed into small villas which were badly excavated⁵⁴. The one certain fact is that the settlements were scattered, and did not form a village in the modern sense.

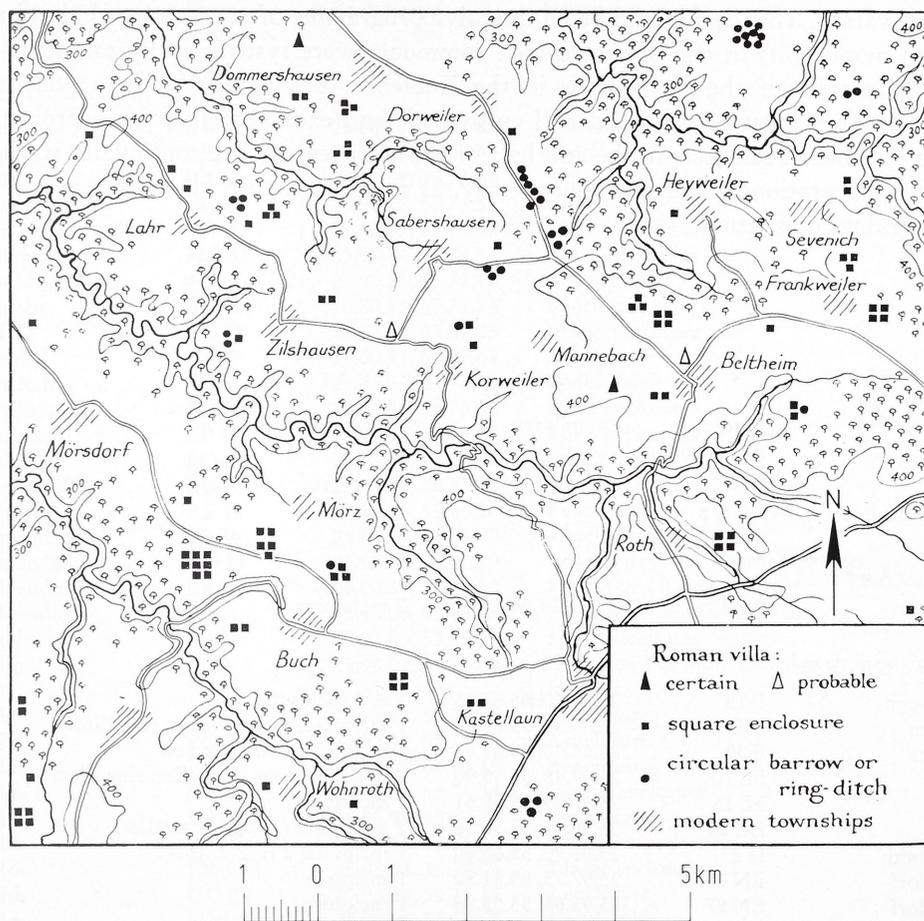
The Champagne enclosures have a different story to tell. Here the La Tène burial enclosures were in use until the middle or end of the 1st century A. D., but there followed a gap which lasted until the 4th century, when inhumation burials were laid in the immediate vicinity: 2nd and 3rd century burials are very rare in the countryside. This ought to reflect a change in settlement pattern, probably the creation of large estates centred on villas. In the 4th century, there was a return to the original cemetery, which had clearly not been forgotten: the type of grave-goods, including belt-fasteners and strap ornaments, suggests that the new settlers were soldiers, whether

⁵¹ The earlier barrow cemeteries may once have lain in marginal territory on the upper edges of cultivable land; it seems unlikely that they were originally constructed in thick woodland, and the growth of woodland thereafter would be encouraged by the fact that the cemetery areas rarely came under the plough.

⁵² H. v. Petrikovits, *Germania* 34, 1956, 99 ff. – A. Kolling, *Berichte d. Staatl. Denkmalpflege im Saarland* 8, 1961, 80 ff.; 10, 1963, 82. – Cf. J. Curschmann, *Mainzer Zeitschr.* 18/19, 1921/24, 79 ff.

⁵³ K. A. Seel, *Bonner Jahrb.* 163, 1963, 323 ff.

⁵⁴ R. Bodewig, *Westdt. Zeitschr.* 19, 1900. – These settlements require reconsideration in view of the 'native' settlements known in the Vosges (C. E. Stevens, *Rev. Arch.* 6th s. 9, 1937, 26 ff.) and more recently discovered near Landscheid (Kr. Wittlich) (R. Schindler, *Trierer Zeitschr.* 32, 1969, 1 ff.).



7 Distribution of 'Grabgärten' and related sites in the Hunsrück. – Scale 1 : 100 000.

the Laeti known from literary sources or a unit of *comitatenses* billeted on the land⁵⁵. According to Ausonius, there were also such settlements (of Sarmatians) in the Hunsrück in the 4th century, but so far archaeology has not been able to grasp them⁵⁶. Thus a study of the Rhineland Grabgärten leads to far-reaching questions concerning the settlement pattern both in pre-Roman and Roman times. At first sight the 'Grabgärten' and their original settlements seem to correspond to the *aedificia* or isolated homesteads mentioned by Caesar rather than to his *vici*, which ought to be nucleated settlements⁵⁷, though in the case of the larger groups a hamlet rather than a single family may come in question. But this and related questions will only finally be settled

⁵⁵ See above note 8. – Also Gallia 5, 1947, 445 ff. (Normée); 12, 1954, 516 (Cheny); A. Brisson – J.-J. Hatt – P. Roualet, Mémoires de la société d'agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts du département de la Marne 82, 1967, 30 ff.

⁵⁶ Ausonius, Mosella 9.

⁵⁷ Caes., Bell. Gall. 1, 5 (Helvetii); 2, 7 (Remi); 6, 43 (Eburones).

by excavation. The ideal would be an intensive programme of research in which all the known monuments in one or two chosen communes were systematically sampled – a modern version of the excavations in the Koblenzer Stadtwald. Unfortunately the difficulties are great – woodland and cultivated land each pose their own problems, while excavation resources in the 2nd half of the 20th century are continually strained by rescue operations – and archaeology may, as so often, remain all too dependent on the workings of Fortuna.

Catalogue of Grabgärten

| Location | Photo archive no. | Co-ordinates | Description of site |
|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--|
| I. South of the Ahr | | | |
| Kreis Ahrweiler | | | |
| Sinzig | FG 13 | 25.89.78, 56.02.18 | 2 enclosures |
| Kreis Cochem | | | |
| Binningen | F 15 | 25.89.70, 55.64.36 | 1 or 2 enclosures |
| Karden | BX 35 | 25.93.30, 55.63.66 | 1 enclosure, end of cursus, ring-ditches |
| Klotten | F 39 | 25.85.40, 55.61.68 | 1 enclosure, 2 ring-ditches |
| Lahr | FL 10 | 25.97.48, 55.55.90 | 1 large enclosure, 2 smaller, ring-ditch |
| Lahr | FL 15 | 25.97.69, 55.55.61 | 1 enclosure |
| Lieg | DL 26 | 25.96.41, 55.56.36 | 2 enclosures (1 large, 1 smaller) |
| Möntenich | D 2 | 25.91.80, 55.66.80 | 1 enclosure, 2 ring-ditches |
| Mörsdorf | EN 75 | 25.97.75, 55.51.50 | 1 enclosure |
| Mörsdorf | EN 87 | 25.95.65, 55.53.86 | 1 enclosure |
| Moselkern | E 34 | 25.96.32, 55.63.20 | 1 enclosure |
| Moselkern | FP 84 | 25.97.46, 55.63.62 | 2 enclosures (1 with internal features, pits or burials) |
| Müden | E 31 | 25.96.82, 55.62.39 | 1 enclosure |
| Müden | E 33 | 25.96.20, 55.62.44 | 1 enclosure |
| Müden | E 43 | 25.94.18, 55.63.18 | 1 enclosure, ring-ditches |
| Müden | BX 22 | 25.96.64, 55.62.76 | 1 enclosure |
| Müden | GC 73 | 25.94.84, 55.62.32 | 1 enclosure |
| Roes | AU 14 | 25.91.30, 55.68.10 | Group of at least 4 enclosures |
| Wirfus | D 14 | 25.86.46, 55.63.96 | 1 enclosure, stretch of ditch |
| Wirfus | AU 37 | 25.86.24, 55.64.42 | 1 enclosure |
| Zilshausen | AF 46 | 25.99.66, 55.54.16 | 2 enclosures |
| Zilshausen | DL 40 | 25.98.38, 55.53.62 | 1 enclosure |
| Zilshausen | DL 42 | 25.98.56, 55.55.16 | 1 enclosure |
| Zilshausen | 76/9 | 25.98.85, 55.55.35 | 3 enclosures |
| Kreis Koblenz | | | |
| Kobern | DK 38 | 26.01.34, 55.78.08 | 1 or more enclosures |
| Kobern | BT 12 | 26.00.63, 55.74.94 | 1 enclosure |
| Kobern | BT 20 | 26.01.17, 55.78.12 | 1 large enclosure |
| Kobern | GF 57 | 33.90.70, 55.77.64 | 1 enclosure |
| Kobern | DK 26 | 26.01.46, 55.77.56 | 1 enclosure, ring-ditches, traces of walls |
| Rübenach | FQ 1 | 33.92.98, 55.79.15 | 1 enclosure |
| Winningen | BR 21 | 33.94.10, 55.77.95 | 1 enclosure |
| Wolken | DX 20 | 33.92.30, 55.79.61 | 1 enclosure, stretch of ditch |

| Location | Photo archive no. | Co-ordinates | Description of site |
|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---|
| Kreis Mayen | | | |
| Glees | BW 15 | 25.88.55, 55.87.86 | 2 or more enclosures |
| Glees | ER 95 | 25.87.94, 55.89.58 | 1 enclosure |
| Gondorf | E 13 | 26.02.68, 55.73.68 | 1 enclosure |
| Gondorf | FP 94 | 33.90.12, 55.74.51 | 1 enclosure |
| Gondorf | BW 33 | 26.03.07, 55.74.98 | 1 or 2 enclosures |
| Hausen | HA 52 | 25.90.84, 55.78.54 | 1 or 2 enclosures |
| Hausen-Betzing | 47/2 | 25.90.23, 55.77.16 | 1 enclosure |
| Lehmen | BV 30 | 26.00.73, 55.71.74 | 1 enclosure |
| Löf | FK 53 | 26.02.12, 55.67.25 | 1 large enclosure |
| Lonnig | BT 15 | 26.00.61, 55.75.64 | 1 enclosure |
| Mertloch | DX 3 | 25.93.51, 55.71.73 | 1 enclosure |
| Mertloch | BR 10 | 25.93.56, 55.73.00 | 1 or 2 enclosures |
| Naunheim | EP 67 | 25.91.58, 55.69.05 | 2 or 3 enclosures |
| Nickenich | EO 47 | 25.96.78, 55.88.07 | 1 enclosure |
| Obermendig | BU 36 | 25.89.98, 55.83.00 | 2 enclosures |
| Ochtendung | AE 18 | 25.96.26, 55.80.16 | 1 enclosure |
| Ochtendung | BP 46 | 25.99.65, 55.78.85 | 3 enclosures |
| Ochtendung | FO 15 | 25.97.50, 55.80.79 | 1 enclosures with internal features |
| Ochtendung | BP 47 | 26.00.35, 55.79.10 | 1 enclosure, 5 ring-ditches |
| Ochtendung | A 9 | 25.95.00, 55.80.10 | 1 small enclosure, ring-ditches |
| Plaidt | BZ 3 | 25.97.69, 55.85.23 | 1 or 2 enclosures |
| Polch | A 22 | 25.90.02, 55.75.02 | Group of 3 or more linked enclosures, internal features. |
| Polch | BQ 16 | 25.89.92, 55.73.84 | 3 enclosures |
| Polch | BQ 32 | 25.92.39, 55.75.88 | 2 enclosures |
| Polch | BR 1 | 25.92.66, 55.73.19 | 2 enclosures (one small, one large) |
| Polch | BR 19 | 25.94.72, 55.76.34 | 1 small enclosure |
| Polch | BS 15 | 25.95.95, 55.77.27 | 2 enclosures |
| Polch | BS 16 | 25.93.36, 55.76.60 | 1 or more enclosures |
| Polch | ER 51 | 25.95.94, 55.77.03 | 1 large enclosure |
| Polch | GU 29 | 25.96.24, 55.77.18 | 1 enclosure |
| Polch | SCE 20 | 25.90.46, 55.74.65 | 1 enclosure |
| Polch | 85/5 | 25.90.92, 55.74.64 | 1 large enclosure with circular bank or mound inside (fig. 4) |
| Polch | BQ 30 | 25.92.11, 55.74.97 | 2 small enclosures inside larger, ring-ditches |
| Polch-Kaan | AD 25 | 25.95.96, 55.73.79 | 3 or more enclosures, ring-ditch |
| Rüber | EQ 61 | 25.98.59, 55.73.42 | 1 enclosure |
| Rüber | 13/12 | 25.97.06, 55.73.56 | 1 or more enclosures |
| Saffig | BT 23 | 26.00.25, 55.84.18 | 1 enclosure |
| Saffig | FC 34 | 26.00.27, 55.84.28 | 1 enclosure |
| Saffig | FC 70 | 25.99.65, 55.82.68 | 2 or more enclosures |
| Saffig | GU 19 | 26.00.78, 55.83.92 | 1 enclosure |
| Thür | BU 20 | 25.93.06, 55.80.60 | 3 enclosures (one with internal ? mound) |
| Thür | BU 29 | 25.93.60, 55.80.38 | 2 enclosures, since destroyed |
| Trimbs | BS 33 | 25.92.12, 55.77.65 | 2 enclosures |
| Wehr | FQ 63 | 25.88.02, 55.87.26 | 1 enclosure with internal feature (pit or burial) |
| Wierschem | FP 78 | 25.96.28, 55.64.89 | 2 enclosures, ring-ditch |
| Kreis St. Goar | | | |
| Beulich | H 20 | 26.03.94, 55.61.50 | 4 enclosures |
| Brodnenbach | EE 1 | 33.90.51, 55.65.50 | 3 or more enclosures |
| Buchholz | DK 1 | 33.95.65, 55.65.32 | 3 enclosures |
| Burgen | H 10 | 25.98.33, 55.61.48 | 1 large enclosure with external bank |
| Dommershausen | AG 6 | 25.99.85, 55.56.12 | 4 enclosures |
| Dommershausen | DL 25 | 25.99.20, 55.56.86 | 2 enclosures |
| Dommershausen | FK 93 | 25.99.85, 55.56.71 | 3 enclosures |

| Location | Photo archive no. | Co-ordinates | Description of site |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|--|
| Emmelshausen | AJ 10 | 33.95.96, 55.58.04 | 1 or more enclosures |
| Halsenbach | AJ 14 | 33.99.22, 55.61.65 | 3 enclosures |
| Hausbay | DN 20 | 33.96.94, 55.52.60 | 1 enclosure |
| Herschwiesen | H 14 | 33.93.32, 55.64.48 | 2 enclosures |
| Herschwiesen | H 16 | 33.93.45, 55.64.88 | 1 enclosure |
| Hungenroth | ED 14 | 33.99.62, 55.56.91 | 1 enclosure, 2 or 3 ring-ditches |
| Kratzenburg | DK 3 | 33.96.24, 55.62.84 | 1 enclosure |
| Kratzenburg | DK 4 | 33.96.42, 55.63.00 | 6 enclosures |
| Kratzenburg | DK 7 | 33.96.77, 55.62.66 | 4 enclosures, 1 or more ring-ditches |
| Kratzenburg | DK 10 | 33.97.09, 55.62.44 | 1 enclosure |
| Kratzenburg | DK 12 | 33.97.18, 55.62.28 | 2 enclosures |
| Kratzenburg | DK 14 | 33.97.21, 55.61.68 | 1 enclosure |
| Laudert | EP 11 | 33.99.40, 55.49.75 | 3 enclosures, 1 ring-ditch |
| Mermuth | EM 27 | 33.92.22, 55.61.15 | 1 enclosure |
| Morshausen | ER 18 | 26.03.35, 55.62.33 | 1 enclosure |
| Ney | DK 16 | 33.94.50, 55.62.18 | 3 enclosures, 1 ring-ditch (fig. 2) |
| Ney | DK 22 | 33.94.75, 55.61.28 | 1 enclosure |
| Ney | EP 35 | 33.94.74, 55.62.43 | 1 enclosure |
| Niederfell | BY 1 | 33.91.28, 55.74.28 | 3 enclosures |
| Niederfell | BY 4 | 33.91.88, 55.73.46 | 2 enclosures, 1 ring-ditch |
| Niederfell | FQ 9 | 33.90.73, 55.73.55 | 1 enclosure |
| Nörtershausen | DJ 41 | 33.93.62, 55.68.14 | 1 enclosure |
| Oberfell | H 29 | 33.91.75, 55.69.65 | 1 enclosure |
| Oppenhausen | FK 77 | 33.91.88, 55.63.10 | 2 or more enclosures, ring-ditches |
| Schwall | AG 18 | 33.96.16, 55.57.11 | 1 enclosure |
| Schwall | AG 20 | 33.96.75, 55.57.25 | About 6 enclosures, 1 ring-ditch |
| Kreis Simmern | | | |
| Argenthal | FG 35 | 33.98.07, 55.38.48 | 2 enclosures |
| Belgweiler | GD 60 | 33.92.65, 55.35.96 | 5 enclosures |
| Bell | ED 20 | 26.01.70, 55.48.75 | 2 enclosures |
| Beltheim | ER 26 | 26.04.00, 55.53.91 | 4 enclosures |
| Beltheim | ER 32 | 26.03.76, 55.54.02 | 3 enclosures |
| Beltheim | ER 41 | 26.04.22, 55.52.81 | 2 or more enclosures |
| Beltheim | FH 1 | 33.91.31, 55.53.14 | 2 enclosures, ring-ditch |
| Bubach | AJ 27 | 33.96.64, 55.30.20 | 1 enclosure, 1 ring-ditch |
| Buch | AG 14 | 26.00.90, 55.49.78 | 1 enclosure |
| Buch | DW 18 | 25.98.51, 55.49.79 | 2 enclosures (1 large, 1 small) |
| Buch | ED 27 | 25.99.97, 55.50.43 | 5 enclosures, ring-ditch |
| Buch | AG 11 | 25.98.89, 55.50.83 | 4 enclosures |
| Buch | ER 47 | 26.00.65, 55.48.96 | 4 enclosures |
| Buch | FQ 27 | 25.97.96, 55.50.51 | 2 enclosures |
| Buch | FQ 33 | 25.98.05, 55.50.65 | 4 enclosures |
| Buch | FQ 39 | 25.97.90, 55.50.72 | 2 enclosures |
| Frankweiler | AF 32 | 33.92.29, 55.53.90 | 3 or 4 enclosures |
| Frankweiler | DQ 1 | 33.91.02, 55.54.31 | 1 or more enclosures |
| Frankweiler | FK 16 | 33.91.25, 55.54.55 | 1 enclosure |
| Gödenroth | AJ 17 | 33.92.86, 55.50.47 | 1 enclosure |
| Heyweiler | AF 49 | 26.04.36, 55.55.23 | 1 enclosure |
| Horn | SM 18 | 33.96.95, 55.47.04 | 2 enclosures |
| Kirchberg | AK 12 | 25.99.06, 55.34.98 | 1 or more enclosures |
| Kisselbach | EQ 4 | 33.99.68, 55.47.94 | 1 enclosure |
| Kludenbach | AK 14 | 25.98.11, 55.39.18 | 2 enclosures |
| Korweiler | AF 44 | 26.01.58, 55.53.53 | 1 enclosure |
| Korweiler | AF 39 | 26.01.46, 55.53.84 | 1 enclosure, ring-ditch |
| Krastel | AK 22 | 25.98.70, 55.45.12 | 1 or more enclosures |
| Mörz | FQ 17 | 25.98.84, 55.51.00 | 2 enclosures (1 with internal feature, ?mound) |

| Location | Photo archive no. | Co-ordinates | Description of site |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Nannhausen | FG 85 | 33.92.32, 55.39.14 | 3 or 4 enclosures, ring-ditch |
| Nannhausen | FG 91 | 33.92.20, 55.38.93 | 1 enclosure, ring-ditch |
| Ohlweiler | FG 63 | 33.92.25, 55.37.32 | 2 enclosures, ring-ditch |
| Rayerscheid | EP 25 | 33.99.26, 55.44.12 | 4 or more enclosures |
| Rheinböllen | EP 4 | 34.03.46, 55.41.85 | 6 enclosures |
| Roth | FK 48 | 33.90.37, 55.51.35 | 4 or more enclosures |
| Sabershausen | GM 106 | 26.01.88, 55.54.68 | 1 enclosure |
| Sevenich | AF 24 | 33.92.00, 55.55.21 | 3 enclosures |
| Sevenich | FH 15 | 33.92.10, 55.56.13 | 2 enclosures |
| Tiefenbach | EQ 19 | 33.94.62, 55.34.44 | 1 enclosure |
| Wohnroth | FL 45 | 26.00.04, 55.47.48 | 1 enclosure |
| Wohnroth | FL 49 | 25.98.88, 55.47.66 | 1 enclosure |
| Wüschheim | AK 20 | 26.01.67, 55.43.48 | 1 enclosure |

Kreis Zell

| | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Altstrimmig | GM 76 | 25.92.50, 55.52.02 | 2 enclosures |
| Altstrimmig | GM 86 | 25.92.64, 55.52.08 | 1 or more enclosures |
| Belg | AK 10 | 25.94.35, 55.39.40 | 4 enclosures |
| Briedel | AK 3 | 25.89.40, 55.38.52 | 8 linked enclosures |
| Grenderich | EK 9 | 25.86.98, 55.48.23 | 5 enclosures, ?ring-ditch |
| Mastershausen | EK 1 | 25.95.62, 55.47.27 | 4 or 5 enclosures |
| Sosberg | EN 100 | 25.95.55, 55.48.67 | 2 enclosures |

II. Enclosures north of the Ahr

Kreis Bonn

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|--------------------|---|
| Buschhoven | EG 26 | 25.69.60, 56.15.94 | 1 small square enclosure |
| Dünstekoven | GQ 69 | 25.65.44, 56.18.06 | 1 or more enclosures |
| Fritzdorf | EJ 76 | 25.77.92, 56.08.41 | Part of 1 enclosure |
| Miel | DF 17 | 25.65.61, 56.16.70 | 1 square enclosure |
| Ollheim | FI 1 | 25.64.30, 56.17.38 | 1 small square enclosure, cutting ring-ditch; 2 other ring-ditches |
| Rheinbach | Z 2 | 25.68.34, 56.11.66 | 1 trapezoidal enclosure |

Kreis Düren

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|--------------------|---|
| Disternich | EJ 39 | 25.48.90, 56.24.02 | 1 square enclosure |
| Disternich | FU 1 | 25.47.70, 56.23.22 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Disternich | FZ 76 | 25.48.12, 56.22.32 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Disternich | 70/6 | 25.47.80, 56.23.40 | 2 enclosures (1 rectangular, 1 trapezoidal) |
| Froitzheim | GA 29 | 25.42.26, 56.20.37 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Ginnik | Q 8 | 25.38.59, 56.18.73 | 1 large trapezoidal enclosure |
| Gladbach | FA 62 | 25.43.05, 56.24.73 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Kelz | FA 52 | 25.41.74, 56.25.27 | 1 rectangular enclosure, 2 ring-ditches |
| Lüxheim | HC 48 | 25.43.60, 56.25.80 | 1 nearly square enclosure, ring-ditches |
| Müddersheim | FA 25 | 25.47.88, 56.25.10 | 1 small square enclosure |
| Müddersheim | GD 26 | 25.46.64, 56.25.16 | 1 trapezoidal enclosure |
| Pier | FB 46 | 25.29.02, 56.35.80 | 1 square enclosure |
| Sievernich | DE 9 | 25.44.80, 56.22.70 | 1 square enclosure |
| Sievernich | DE 16 | 25.44.90, 56.22.85 | 1 square, 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Sievernich | EV 26 | 25.45.88, 56.21.63 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Sievernich | FZ 84 | 25.48.24, 56.20.68 | 1 trapezoidal enclosure with 1 round corner |
| Sievernich | GT 49 | 25.47.32, 56.21.22 | 1 squarish enclosure, central feature |

| Location | Photo archive no. | Co-ordinates | Description of site |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--|
| Kreis Euskirchen | | | |
| Erp | DY 14 | 25.51.97, 56.25.39 | 1 rectangular enclosure, 2 ring-ditches |
| Erp | EA 5 | 25.52.63, 56.26.15 | 1 small rectangular enclosure |
| Erp | EE 56 | 25.52.20, 56.26.95 | Part of enclosure, ring-ditch |
| Frauenberg | EW 1 | 25.52.34, 56.16.50 | 1 trapezoidal enclosure, 2 ring-ditches |
| Großbüllesheim | SBP 20 | 25.59.63, 56.17.62 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Großvernich | GT 15 | 25.59.68, 56.20.82 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Kleinbüllesheim | EZ 21 | 25.58.86, 56.15.67 | 1 square enclosure cutting ring-ditch |
| Kleinbüllesheim | EZ 33 | 25.58.97, 56.15.17 | Parts of 2 enclosures, ring-ditch |
| Lechenich | EE 46 | 25.54.95, 56.27.39 | 1 trapezoidal enclosure |
| Lechenich | FM 45 | 25.53.30, 56.30.92 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Lechenich | FS 64 | 25.54.78, 56.28.78 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Lommersum | Z 27 | 25.59.12, 56.20.32 | 1 trapezoidal enclosure |
| Lommersum | GL 28 | 25.59.38, 56.20.30 | 1 trapezoidal enclosure |
| Lommersum | 66/3 | 25.55.68, 56.18.72 | 1 large trapezoidal enclosure |
| Metternich | FS 1 | 25.64.08, 56.22.12 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Nemmenich | GR 57 | 25.49.02, 56.18.18 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Niederberg | GI 15 | 25.54.10, 56.21.86 | 1 square enclosure |
| Oberelvenich | BD 45 | 25.49.53, 56.19.64 | Part of an enclosure |
| Oberelvenich | 88/5 | 25.49.90, 56.18.90 | 3 rectangular enclosures |
| Palmersheim | FB 8 | 25.63.84, 56.11.20 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Sinzenich | GS 55 | 25.44.90, 56.14.02 | 2 rectangular enclosures |
| Vernich | FS 33 | 25.57.65, 56.22.32 | 1 square enclosure |
| Vernich | FS 38 | 25.57.36, 56.22.50 | 1 trapezoidal, 1 square enclosure, part of another |
| Weiler i. d. Ebene | EF 9 | 25.50.14, 56.24.09 | Part of 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Wichterich | GF 72 | 25.53.28, 56.20.74 | 4 rectangular enclosures (2 cutting one another) |
| Wichterich | GF 82 | 25.51.64, 56.20.38 | 2 trapezoidal enclosures |
| Wichterich | GM 24 | 25.53.31, 56.20.50 | 1 square enclosure |
| Wichterich | SCK 6 | 25.52.90, 56.19.74 | 1 rectangular enclosure |
| Wüschheim | FI 38 | 25.58.03, 56.18.50 | 1 square enclosure |
| Kreis Köln | | | |
| Pulheim | HC 99 | 25.56.80, 56.53.26 | 1 trapezoidal enclosure |