# The Saarland, AN INTERNATIONAL BORDERLAND Social Geography from Field Study of nine Border Villages 1)

with 8 Figures

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The Saarland, a small area of international concern, has been studied previously by geographers from various viewpoints — physical, cultural, economic, political<sup>2</sup>). Less attention has

1) Herbert Lehmann was responsible at the opening stage for launching the field study represented in this paper. The author was first introduced to the natural and cultural landscapes of middle Germany in field excursions with Professor Lehmann and seminar sessions at the Geographical Institute of the University, Frankfurt am Main, in 1951, 1952 and 1953.

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<sup>2</sup>) See P. Vidal de la Blache, et L. Gallois: Le Bassin de la Sarre, Paris 1920.

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schau, vol. 8 (1956), pp. 1—8. H. Overbeck: Der kulturgeographische Bedeutungswandel am Beispiel der Kulturlandschaftsgeschichte des Moselbeen given to social aspects of occupance than to the others and this is understandable: social geography is not a highly developed branch of field research; social order is less obviously connected with the natural and the cultural landscape than are economic and political features; social phenomena are less subject to field observation and so require more intimate inquiry. A primary purpose of this study is to examine possibilities of field investigation in social geography and particularly to consider an areal pattern of social order in association with patterns of economic and political order within a background of nature and culture.

Reconnaissance of the area has taken account of the general patterns indicated here in two sketch maps (Figures 1—2) Detailed study has covered nine villages (Fig. 1) selected in view of the distribution of settlement, the localization of industry, the political subdivision of the area, and the natural and cultural features of the land-scape. The villages are viewed particularly with respect to their social order as component and representative units fitting into the whole complex of areal patterns, a geographic synthesis of elements outlined briefly in the following paragraphs and accompanying sketch maps.

#### Regional Structure of the Saarland

The Saarland is a German state bordering on France, in transition at the time of this study (1958—1959) from postwar association with France to full incorporation into Germany. This irregular and complex piece of territory, parts of several regions and landscapes, has emerged only recently as a distinct and definitely recognized unit and its present form has appeared only since the Second World War.

The area consists of a mid-section of the Saar Valley from Sarreguemines to Mettlach.

Saar-Nahe-Raumes. Rhein. Vierteljahresblätter 1953.

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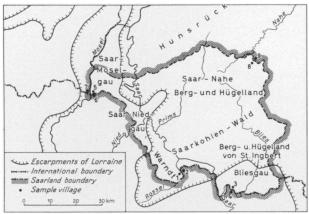


Figure 1: Some Elements of Nature.

Sample villages: 1. Großrosseln, 2. Petite Rosselle, 3. Habkirchen, 4. Frauenberg, 5. Perl, 6. Apach, 7. Schengen, 8. Wolfersweiler, 9. Gimbweiler.

To the west it extends upon the Triassic limestone plateau of the Niedgau, to the southwest upon the Buntsandstein upland of the Warndt and in the south to by the Bliesgau, a strongly dissected limestone plateau. To the northeast the Saarland expands into the basins of the tributaries Prims and Blies and of the upper Nahe river. Here we have in succession from SSE to NNW the sandstone upland of St. Ingbert, the Carboniferous highland of the Saarkohlenwald, and the Saar-Nahe hill country, the latter consisting of Lower Permian strata and stretching to the southern edge of the Hunsrück (Figure 1).

Geologically and geomorphologically the Saarland is situated on the eastern fringe of the Lorraine cuesta landscape. The eastern most escarpment of Lorraine (Triassic, i. e. 'Muschelkalk') is within its western horder (Figure 1)

within its western border (Figure 1).

Culturally the Saarland is within the old area of German language and culture which extends from Germany on into Lorraine to the southwest and Luxemburg to the west. Within this general culture-area several subdivisions cut across the Saarland without showing any consistent correspondence to present political boundaries — subdivisions of local dialects, of house types, and other local subdivisions less well defined, which date from former cultural associations with abutting territories: the electorate of Trier, Lorraine and the Palatinate<sup>3</sup>).

The modern territorial unit has some old roots so prominent and well known that it is sometimes

considered to be old in itself. The core of it was a domain of the Counts of Saarbrücken, with their castle overlooking the Saar. This was consolidated as a compact body of land and, after the Reformation, became distinguished as a small domain of Lutheranism standing between the larger Catholic units of Lorraine to the south and Trier to the northwest, and the Calvinistic Palatinate to the east.

But the modern Saarland is the expression of a different phenomenon, associated only fortuitously and in part with the old domain of Saarbrücken: This new domain is the coal mining and heavy manufacturing district of the Saar, and the surrounding area from which labor is drawn (Figure 2). This area was originally created as a special region, when it was put under French supervision, after the First World War, within the frame of the League of Nations, and again after the Second World War, within the frame of the European Council. As French supervision extended over adjacent areas on both sides of the Saarland, not only on the side toward France but also beyond in the French zone of Germany, the boundaries were set and re-set wherever and whenever changes seemed desirable. Thus casually the Saarland was given the form which it now has and which seems acceptable even as it changes to become a German state, the tenth in the Federal Republic.

# Pattern of the Economy of the Saarland

The area now defined as the Saarland was transformed in the latter part of the 19th century from a rural district (or parts of several districts) of farmlands and woodlands spreading over hills and valleys in a landscape pattern unlimited by political boundaries, to a well defined industrial district of two axes and the supporting area occupied by miners and factory workers (Figure 2). The two axes are those of the Saar Valley from southeast to northwest, and across this the coal basin, in which carboniferous rocks are exposed in an anticline plunging from northeast to southwest beneath the last outlying escarpment of Lorraine.

Population has become concentrated along the two axes. Villages have grown into towns, and Saarbrücken, at the fulcrum of the two axes, has grown into a modern city. Meanwhile people have continued to live also in villages at a distance from the coalfield and the river, and to commute to work in mines and factories by all available means of transportation over a developed system of railways and motor roads. Farm fields have become part-time gardens and idle lands. Farm houses have become workers' dwel-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>) Dialects of the regions of Trier, of the Palatinate and of Alsace; such house types as Einhaus, Gruppenhaus, etc. K. Hoppstädter and K. Mathias: Siedlungskunde des Saarlandes, Wiebelskirchen/Saar 1957.

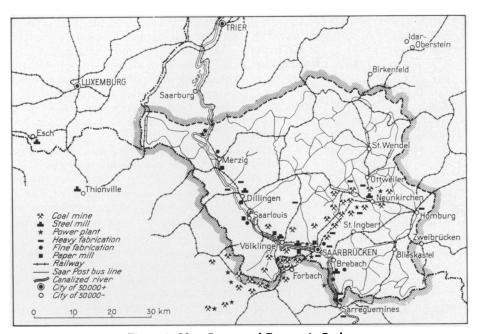


Figure 2: New Pattern of Economic Order.

Other categories of bus lines in the Saarland not shown; some categories of manufacturing, mainly non-metal, not included.

lings, with a barn door never used and a flower garden in place of the manure pile. Grocery stores provide food brought from elsewhere.

The boundary of the Saarland approximates the divide between places where people live who go to work daily in the mines and industries of the coalfield and the river, and those places where people devote themselves to farming or travel to work in an opposite direction. The boundary is emphasized by different regulations or currencies on opposite sides as hindrances to crossing to work, but these hindrances are slight and people do cross, in every direction: from the German Pfalz to work in the Saarland, or from the Saarland to work in Germany or France. This is made increasingly possible by ever greater mobility of modern transportation and flexibility in choice of employment.

So hours of travel are taken for granted as incidental to a satisfactory way of life: six hours of travel everyday for some people in outlying communities, for a total of 15 hours away from home, from daylight to after dark through much of the year. Eleven or twelve hours away from home is taken as normal. A question may be asked as to why people who have available farmland and ability to farm it commonly choose such a life. Young men answer that miners and factory workers have specified hours while farmers have to work all the time and that girls don't want to marry farmers. Farmwork is indeed hard for both

men and women here where farms are not modernized and where an old-fashioned small-scale fragmented farm layout makes mechanized modernization very difficult.

Another alternative would seem to be the easy choice of moving to a dwelling place near mines and factories, where there is plenty of space for new houses. But people of the Saarland are devotedly attached to their home community and feel secure there: children grow up and go to work and continue to live with the family or nearby. Rows of laborers' houses are indeed built near mines and factories and are occupied by newcomers. But new houses for miners and factory workers are built also in villages far-off throughout the Saarland.

## Pattern of Social Life in the Saarland

The pattern of social life reflects a cultural heritage conditioned by the special circumstances of village residence, industrial work and leisure time. Miners and factory workers of the Saarland may have very little time at home, but what little time they have is free to spend as they please and is not committed to the endless chores of farming. Members of a family who are not employed away from home may gain even more freedom to spend time as they please.

Accordingly social life seems to be no more centralized and no less active than it was before the change in working life. Almost all dwelling houses are within villages or towns and the social centers are village institutions. The very fact that workers prefer to continue living in the old home community suggests a continuance of social ties and activities. Inhabitants of the Saarland are fairly homogeneous in culture and their social life proceeds in habitual ways. Their working life has been revolutionized from small scale farming at home to large scale industry away from home. But their social life goes on more conservatively, on as small a scale as ever, and with as much time for it as formerly, or more. The distribution of villages represents the pattern of social life, dispersed now as in the past.

Much of the spare time is spent at home quite apart from sleeping and eating. Both men and women do part-time farming or gardening, for home supply and sometimes for market sale. Time is spent also in family work to improve the house, generally less in artistic handicraft than in modern mechanical handiwork, at least on the part of men.

Family ties are strong and are maintained not only within the household but between households and among scattered relatives. Visiting with relatives is one of the most common social activities, and goes on within and between villages and across every boundary. The times for visiting and other activities away from home are especially Sundays and sometimes other evenings.

The most prominent social center in almost every village is the church. On Sunday morning church-going is the most popular activity, especially among Roman Catholics, who are now in a majority in and around the Saarland. The domain of the Counts of Saarbrücken was Protestant after the Reformation, but the Saarland as now delimited includes adjacent areas which have always been Catholic, and in the past hundred years there has been immigration into the industrial district from Catholic areas of the Pfalz and the Rhineland.

The social program of the church is not confined to Sunday morning but goes on during some or all of the evenings of the week, especially in the larger villages where there is a parish hall. There is regularly a choir, a young people's society, a womens' club devoted to charity and a workingmen's club. Many of the priests come from the vicinity and identify themselves with the community.

After Sunday morning services secular social activities generally occupy the rest of the day, Sunday afternoon and evening, as well as other evenings of the week. In addition to visiting relatives, many people take long walks in the country with family or friends. A few go motoring.

For young men Sunday afternoon is the time for sports, especially soccer football. A social center second only to the church is the football field. There is one in almost every village, commonly a township enterprise improved with public funds. Leagues are organized under local government auspices, and games are played with teams of other villages in the same districts.

Football goes on throughout the year on Sunday afternoon and spectators come out to watch in winter snow or rain as well as in sunshine. Playing in snow or mud is considered better than playing in extreme summer heat.

Late Sunday afternoon and evening are times for the cinema, for dancing, for club meetings and for informally meeting friends and talking together. The most numerous social centers in every village are the taverns. Grouped under the heading of taverns are all the establishments which serve liquid refreshments. A few of these are restaurants serving meals and a few are cafes specializing in afternoon coffee rather than beer and wine. But in general there is similarity in and around the Saarland. Most of them are family affairs connected with a family dwelling, kept by a sociable senior member of the community with his wife and sometimes with the help of daughters and sons. Most of them have a bar and tables in one or two rooms. Some of them have private rooms for club meetings and some have a small hall for dances or other entertainments, sometimes for moving pictures.

Here the sedentary secular social life of the community goes on. Men congregate in the taverns much more than women, in late afternoon, working men after work and old men for longer periods, to drink a little, to talk a great deal, to play cards. Perhaps the popularity of taverns is due in part to the fact they are warm and friendly everyday and that winters are cold and living rooms at home are often unheated.

Most of the secular clubs meet in taverns. These include in all villages a volunteer fire company and in many villages a musical club, a sports club, a fisherman's club and several others.

Among social events mention should be made of weekly markets, in most villages. These are still held in the market place summer and winter, even where local farmers have disappeared and been replaced by dealers selling produce brought from distant areas.

Finally mention should be made of the annual fair, held for three or four days between May and November at each village in turn, each visited by people from all the villages around. In origin these are religious festivals on the day of a patron saint, and this aspect generally survives, but

attention now is directed largely to secular entertainment in a street carnival 4).

So much for the overall pattern of life in and around the Saarland. Differences from place to place and especially differences across the boundaries of the Saarland can better be discussed in and after a specific description of the nine border villages taken as examples.

## The Nine Villages

The villages chosen for study after preliminary reconnaisance are distinctively located in the general pattern of economic and political order. They are in four pairs or groups, all on political borders of the Saarland. The first pair is in the mining district. The other three groups are all at a distance from the area of mining and industry, on the borders of the three political neighbors: southeast on the border of France, far west on the border of Luxemburg (and France), and far north on the border of the German state of Rheinland-Pfalz (Figure 1).

## Grossrosseln and Petite Rosselle

The first two villages are named from the small stream, Rossel or Rosselle, on opposite sides of which they lie: Grossrosseln and Kleinrosseln, the old German names; or Grosse Rosselle and Petite Rosselle, the modern French names, or Grossrosseln in the German Saarland and Petite Rosselle in French Lorraine (Figure 3).

In spite of its name, Grossrosseln on the left (southwest) bank of the stream, in the Saarland, is smaller than Petite Rosselle on the right (northeast) bank in France — smaller by half. Grossrosseln has about 5,000 inhabitants and Petite Rosselle about 10,000. Grossrosseln is older and at first presumably was larger 5).

The boundary here following the little river is sometimes said to be very old, and in a way it is, but only in a complex and uncertain way. Perhaps it was a boundary of some sort in the ninth century after the partition of Charlemagne's empire. But it was not an international boundary between great states. In fact there was no fixed boundary between France and Germany then, and the incipient states themselves were

<sup>5)</sup> See E. Ennen: "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Großrosseln, Klarenthal und Fenne", in: Rheinische Vierteljahrblätter, Bonn, Vol. 5 (1935), pp. 15—69.

only loosely organized, particularly in the border zone between them. Local jurisdictions over lands and people were first on a small scale and local boundaries were like property lines today. On the banks of the Rossel jurisdiction over several separate establishments and tracts of land was held by different members of the secular nobility or by ecclesiastical authorities. This was a matter of local overlords in castles and monasteries in the vicinity and had little if any implication of national connections with faraway larger centers of political power.

The Rossel valley cuts through a district known as the Warndt, an area of steep slopes and sandy soils overlying Buntsandstein. The Warndt has remained largely wooded and for a long time was sparsely populated (Figure 1).

The Counts of Saarbrücken had a hunting lodge in the woods not far from the Rossel valley and in course of time, in the 17th Century, they consolidated their jurisdiction over the left bank of the stream at Grossrosseln. Meanwhile, the Lords of Forbach, gaining control of the country around about their castle a few miles upstream on the opposite side of the valley, held jurisdiction over Petite Rosselle. Forbach in turn came under the influence of the Dukes of Lorraine. But thus far there was still no sign of an international boundary between Grossrosseln and Petite Rosselle. Separate jurisdiction was still vested in separate branches of German nobility all within the loose and nominal structure of the Holy Roman Empire.

The only major distinction was that Forbach and Lorraine were Catholic while Saarbrücken became Protestant. So for a time Grossrosseln had a Protestant pastor while Petite Rosselle remained within the Catholic parish of Forbach. In the course of the Thirty Years' War the country was devastated and the villages on the Rossel were abandoned.

After the war Grossrosseln was resettled under the auspices of Saarbrücken and, in default of old inhabitants to be found and brought back, emigrants from the Tyrol were put there. The new inhabitants were Catholic and since the former inhabitants, some of whom returned, were still Catholic at heart, the church became Catholic again and remained so. The border between Saarbrücken and Forbach was practically ignored. Throughout the 18th century Grossrosseln and Petite Rosselle were together in one parish with one parish church. Life went on in the two villages and between them, little notice being taken of the stream as a boundary between separate local jurisdictions, even though in the meanwhile Lorraine had clearly become associated with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4)</sup> Schools and hospitals have been given consideration in reconnaissance as social institutions but have been omitted from discussion here as irrelevant to the topic. In this paper attention is directed mainly to adult leisure-time activity outside of the home. Maps of the service areas of social institutions would seem relevant here but could show only insignificant details. The service areas are the villages themselves in most cases.

Kings of France and Saarbrücken with the states of Germany.

In the Napoleonic era both villages were within the limits of French control. Then in 1815 the Rossel assumed more fully than before the role of boundary between Germany and France, and so continued until 1871. During that period mining and industry began to develop and the rural villages of peasant farming began to be mining towns.

In 1871 both villages came under German control, where they remained until the First World War. Mining and manufacturing grew and flourished. After 1919 both were under French control again until 1935, when by plebiscite the Saarland with Grossrosseln was returned to Germany while Lorraine with Petit Rosselle remained in France. The border reappeared as a line of greater international separation and strain than ever before. At the beginning of the Second World War people were evacuated from a zone along the German side of the border and so Grossrosseln was once more depopulated. But the next year the German army advanced into France, the people of Grossrosseln were allowed to return, and the boundary disappeared as a significant line.

At the end of the war, France took over again on both sides. Then again there was a plebiscite in the Saarland in favor of Germany and now Grossrosseln returns to Germany while Petite Rosselle remains in France.

No wonder that the people of Grossrosseln and Petite Rosselle do not look forward with pleasure to a new period of boundary separation. Their social and economic relations have been together; they have shared a common life in a common environment of nature and a common heritage of culture including language. Living and working and playing in their valley has been more dear and real to them than the national affairs of Germany and France. International rivalry has been a disturbance in their lives and not a primary concern for which to live and die.

What of the pattern of work and social life in Grossrosseln and Petite Rosselle? Of the 5,000 inhabitants of Grossrosseln about 2,500 are gainfully employed, 80% of them in mining and heavy industry. There being no mine nor heavy manufacturing within the village itself, 40% of the workers cross the boundary to work in Petite Rosselle in a French mine, 25% go to work in a Saarland mine which is close by (Figure 4), and 15% work in the Saarland steel mills of Völklingen, in the Saar Valley five miles away (Figure 8). The large number, half of the total, work-

ing in France reflects a well established habit developed through the years of little or no boundary separation and continued without any major disadvantages up to now. There is in fact a French family allowance which gives some advantage to miners having children.

The other 20% of the working population are employed in stores, taverns and offices in Grossrosseln, and a few of them in the township offices in a neighboring village. There are no longer any farmers, the last having given up within this decade.

Of the 10,000 inhabitants of Petite Rosselle about 5,000 are employed. Eighty per cent of these work in the mines in the village itself, and most of the others work also in the village in stores, taverns and offices. There are no longer farmers, and currently no workers cross the boundary to work in the Saarland. There has been employment enough in Petite Rosselle not only for the inhabitants but also for daily commuters from Grossrosseln and for some imported labor—about a hundred Italians and a few Algerians.

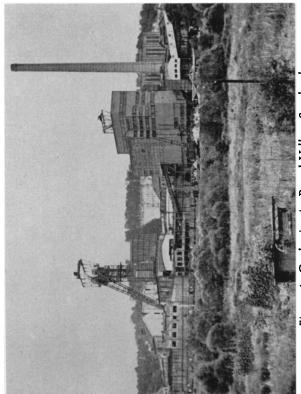
So much for the pattern of employment in the two villages on the Rossel. What of the pattern of social life?

A major center is the church. Each of the villages has a large Catholic church, each on a hilltop in the midst of its settlement, facing each other on opposite sides of the valley. A majority of the people on both sides of the valley are Catholics, and a majority of the church members go to church. So there is a series of crowded services on Sunday morning. In Grossrosseln all the sermons are in German; in Petite Rosselle there are three sermons in German and two in French.

The parish of Grossrosseln is older with a history going back to the 13th century and a church building dating in part from the 18th century, but largely rebuilt in the late 19th century in simple village style, possibly classified as Gothic in form but with rounded arches and decoration of plain Baroque style.

The Catholic parish of Petite Rosselle has had a short history but now under the stimulation of large population and full employment a 19th century church building has been replaced by a mid-20th century church designed by a Parisian architect and adorned with some of the most beautiful of modern stained glass from Chartres (Figure 3).

There is also a small Protestant church in each of the towns. Protestants are about 8% of the population in Grossrosseln and 5% of the population in Petite Rosselle, a minority representing the old Protestant population of the Saarland,



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Figure 4: Coal mine in Rossel Valley, Saarland.

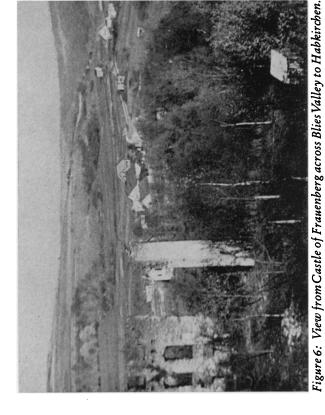
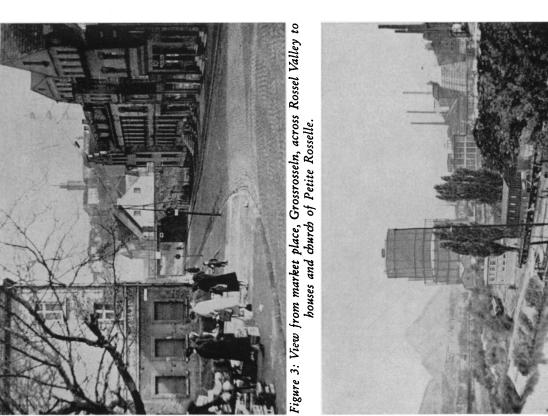


Figure 5: Steel mill, Völklingen, on the Saar in the coalfield near Saarbrücken.



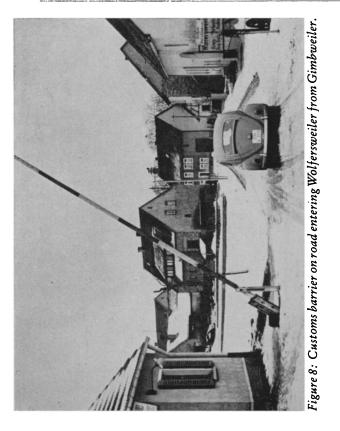




Figure 7: View down Mosel Valley from Apach to Schengen in left backound and Perlin far right background International freight ward in center not recent immigrants. Both churches are served by non-resident pastors, one coming to Grossrosseln from a nearby village in the Saarland and the other to Petite Rosselle from Forbach in France.

The social activity of the churches includes several societies or clubs. In each of the Catholic churches there is: a choir, a young people's society, a women's charitable society and a working men's club, each meeting once a week or less regularly in the parish hall.

Apparently the churches are similar in organization and activity, though their formal structure is separated to coincide with political jurisdiction. Grossrosseln belongs to the Diocese of Trier in Germany and Petite Rosselle to the Diocese of Metz in France. So both serve their parishioners in the same way while operating under different ecclesiastical hierarchs on opposite sides of the boundary.

Each town has an athletic field and a gymnasium as another sort of social center, particularly for young men, and most active on Sunday afternoon. Soccer football is the chief sport. Each town has one or more teams, playing scheduled games throughout the winter. In this also there is similarity on opposite sides of the border but formal separation of leagues on a national basis. Grossrosseln teams are matched with other Saarland teams, and Petite Rosselle with other French teams.

Taverns are the most numerous social centers: fifteen of them in Grossrosseln and about the same number in Petite Rosselle (Figure 6). After every shift in the mines taverns are filled with men. In each of the villages there is a volunteer fire company, a fisherman's club and a sports club, meeting regularly in a tavern. In Grossrosseln there is also a musical club, a glee club, a shooting club, a chess club, and a carnival club. In Petite Rosselle there is a motoring club, a dog club, and a flower club. In most cases the membership is from one or the other side of the boundary in conformance with political affiliations.

One social institution has a strong appeal across the border. This is the moving picture theater in Grossrosseln, where German moving pictures are shown. The theater in Petite Rosselle shows French pictures. But both communities are predominately German-speaking and people from Petite Rosselle patronize the theater in Grossrosseln in large numbers.

Finally to be mentioned among social institutions are markets and fairs. There is a market on one day a week in each of the villages and since these are on different days people often go marketing in the other village (Figure 3). For two or

three days every year there is a fair in each of the villages, and these are at different times and draw patronage from across the border.

In view of the ease of crossing the border by bridge on the main street (Figure 3), generally without even the formality of any official check, also in view of the large number of people living in Grossrosseln and working in Petite Rosselle, and finally in view of the similarity in language and way of life on both sides, it may be surprising that formal social activity is so largely separated at the boundary. Apparently the more conspicuous forms of group organization are hierarchical and not freely formed, following lines of political structure. Grossrosseln is in the Kreis of Saarbrücken and Petite Rosselle in the Arrondissement of St. Avold. Informal social activity is not so divided and extends easily back and forth between the villages.

## Habkirchen and Frauenberg

Habkirchen in the Saarland and Frauenberg in France are on opposite sides of the River Blies, a tributary of the Saar somewhat larger than the Rossel. This is the second pair of villages, taken to represent the Saarland border, at a distance southeast of the coal basin and industrialized valley (Figure 1). The Bliesgau is a district of rolling hills underlain by limestone, Muschelkalk (Figure 1). The valley itself is fairly deep and winding but bordered by open fields and rounded slopes less broken than the valley of the Rossel where it cuts through the sandy wooded uplands of the Warndt. On one side is Habkirchen dominated by a church and on the other is Frauenberg dominated by a castle ruin <sup>6</sup>) (Figure 6).

The name Habkirchen, referring to the church, has been traced back to the 9th century, making this the oldest parish in the Saarland. The name Frauenberg, referring literally to the hill with the chapel of Our Lady at its foot, has been applied since mediaeval times to the castle on the hill and the village below it. The castle of Frauenberg is not so old as the church of Habkirchen. Probably it did not exist before the 13th century. The river was a boundary between separate local jurisdictions much of the time in the late Middle Ages. But sometimes the church and the castle belonged together under one jurisdiction and much of the time they performed complementary functions as twin foci of ecclesiastical and secular order in the area.

As jurisdictions were crystallized and consolidated into larger political units the right bank of

the Blies with Habkirchen was included in the domain of Blieskastel, a petty German state, and the left bank with Frauenberg was included in the domain of Sarreguemines under the Dukes of Lorraine, associated with France.

Major events touched the villages in the Blies valley in about the same way as they did the villages on the Rossel. There was devestation in the Thirty Years' War: Habkirchen was depopulated and later repopulated; the castle of Frauenberg was evacuated, then taken over by a band of outlaws, then demolished by a French Army, then rebuilt late in the 17th century. During the 18th century both villages were in the same parish with the church in Habkirchen. Both sides of the valley were in the French Empire under Napoleon. The Blies was fixed as the boundary between France and the German states in 1815. Both sides of the valley came under German control in 1871. Both sides were put under French control after the First World War. Habkirchen in the Saarland was turned over to Germany in 1935, and Frauenberg in Lorraine was left in France. Both sides of the valley were occupied by the German army in 1940. Both sides were put under French control after the Second World War. Now Habkirchen returns to Germany while Frauenberg remains in France.

Unlike the villages of the Rossel, these have not found themselves in the midst of mining and industry, and still remain rural in appearance. But here again the common life of villages, similar in culture and connected by family ties as well as by a bridge across a small stream, has been disturbed by international rivalry in ways that are unwelcome and unreasonable from the viewpoint of the inhabitants.

The villages on the Blies are much smaller than on the Rossel but the pattern of work is not as different as might be expected. Habkirchen is a village of about 500 people and Frauenberg a village of about 400.

Nearly 300 of the people of Habkirchen are employed. Of these a majority, about 60%, work in the Saarland district of mining and industry. A few of these work in Saarland mines about 20 miles away; a larger number work in the nearest steel mill, at Brebach on the Saar, about 10 miles away; and a still larger number, including women, work in light industry and clerical occupations in or near Saarbrücken, 12 or 15 miles away. A minority are employed near home, about 20% of the total in the small stores and offices of the village, and about 20% as farmers and farm workers. There are seven full-times farms with farmsteads in the village, as well as a number of part-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>) See M. Thilloy: "Frauenberg", in: Mémoires de la société d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de la Moselle, Metz, vol. 7 (1865), pp. 159—204.

time farms, remaining from the time when the whole village was a community of farms.

About 200 of the people of Frauenberg are employed, and a large majority of these, about 85%, go to work in or near the French industrial and railway town of Sarreguemines in the Saar valley less than five miles away. A few, 3 or 4%, work in French mines at the south end of the coalfield about 25 miles away. A minority, 10 or 12%, work in the village itself in small places of business and in the four remaining full-time farms.

What of the pattern of social life in Habkirchen and Frauenberg? In Habkirchen the old church is a major center. None of the present building dates from the original founding in the 9th century as far as is known. The church tower was built in the 12th century and is Romanesque in style. A chapel near the church, dedicated to St. Anne, has for generations been a place of pilgrimage from the countryside 'round about, especially for mothers, for whom St. Anne is patron saint.

Frauenberg with its castle formerly had no church. For long periods it was included in the parish of Habkirchen and generally was served by the church there. Now with its castle a picturesque ruin Frauenburg has a church and a priest. A new church building in modern style is being completed in 1959.

In both villages most of the people are Catholic, and there is no Protestant church or school. Church-going is almost universal, at least in Habkirchen with its strong tradition. Church social activities other than the services are sligth. There are no church clubs for men, women or children. Habkirchen has a choir; Frauenberg has none.

The parish of Habkirchen is in the Diocese of Speyer in Germany and the parish of Frauenberg is in the Diocese of Metz in France. So here, as in the villages on the Rossel, the parishes are separate in organization in spite of a past history of belonging together.

In each of the villages there are two taverns as secular social centers, well patronized in the late afternoon and evening, especially by men and occasionally by people from across the border in either direction. Organized clubs are few and small. There is a motor club in Habkirchen and a touring club taking a vacation trip once a year in Frauenberg. Each village has a volunteer fire company.

Habkirchen has a football field and a team which plays other Saarland village teams on Sunday afternoon. Frauenberg has no organized sports program.

Unorganized social activities are more prevalent in both villages: visiting relatives on either side of the border, walking in the woods and meadows on Sunday afternoon, drinking a little and talking a great deal in the taverns.

Neither village has a market. It has been customary for people of both villages to go to market once a week in Sarreguemines, to sell garden stuff, buy supplies and visit with friends. It is not yet known whether this old and cherished custom will be interfered with by the establishment of a customs boundary at the river for the people of Habkirchen.

Each of the villages has a fair for three or four days once a year — Frauenberg in July, Habkirchen in November. Both of these are social events for both villages and for people from other nearby villages on both sides of the border.

So in these villages also the boundary is a line of separation in formal organization but not in spontaneous informal activity.

## Perl, Apach, and Schengen

A third group of villages selected for specific observation is at the western extremity of the Saarland, far from the coal field and from the Saar valley itself. In this 'Dreiländerecke', Three Land Corner, is Perl in the Saarland on the east side of the Mosel, Apach in France on the same side of the river, and Schengen in Luxemburg on the opposite side 7) (Figures 5 and 10).

The valley is wider and deeper and the river much larger than the Saar tributaries previously described, or than the Saar itself. Perl and Schengen were connected by a bridge built just after the First World War but destroyed in the Second and just now being rebuilt (1959).

The valley was well occupied in prehistoric and Roman times, as indicated by the findings of numerous remains, but the recorded history of the villages themselves is not so long. The present boundaries, as in the cases previously discussed, began as mediaeval property lines between jurisdictions of local gentry, which later by chance selection in the history of consolidation, happened to separate larger units. Perl became an outpost of the powerful Archbishop of Trier lower down the valley. Apach was held by the Lords of Sierck higher up the valley, who became subject to the Dukes of Lorraine, who became subject to the Kings of France. The castle of Schengen, southeastern outpost of the Spanish Netherlands, came under control of the Grand Dukes of Luxemburg at the upper end of their Mosel River frontier, and so it remains.

<sup>7)</sup> See N. Etringer, Schengen: Chronik einer Pfarrei, Luxemburg 1956.

Perl, Apach, and Schengen were all in the same parish before the Reformation, with their parish church at Perl.

Great events of history touched these villages as well as those previously discussed, and in similar ways, which need not be again repeated. Here also neighborhood friendship and common interest have normally prevailed and international rivalry has come from outside as an unwelcome intrusion.

Consider the pattern of working and living in Perl, Apach and Schengen. The three villages are located at a place where political influences from three directions reach their limit — or from four directions: France, Luxemburg, Germany and the Saarland. They happen to be also at a negative pole economically, where influences from three or four directions reach their limits: midway between the Saar valley to the east, the Luxemburg mining and industrial district to the west, French industry of the upper Mosel to the south, and German wine production of the middle Mosel to the north. Accordingly there are economic as well as political interests facing in four directions, and there are also local interests of this small community, itself relatively isolated.

Perl has a population of about 1,100 people. Of these nearly 600 are gainfully employed. A majority of nearly 60% work near home. Among these home-workers, 20% are employed in the stores and small business establishments of the village, which is a small shopping center for local people of the Saarland and the French countryside nearby over the border; 25 % are employed in government offices of this political outpost of the Saarland; 10% are wine growers or workers in vineyards and orchards around the village, an upstream outpost of the middle Mosel wine district. On the upland spur above the village vineyards spread over the south facing slope, and cherry orchards and strawberry fields occupy the north slope.

On the other hand a large minority, 40% or more, go to work in one or another of the industrial districts: workers in heavy industry to French iron and steel mills farther south up the Mosel valley; workers in light industry, especially women, to the nearest towns of the Saar valley, where light industry prevails below the coal and steel district; a few workers to a nearby town in Luxemburg, and a few miners to the nearest mines in the Saarland.

Apach, across the line in France, is a smaller shopping center but has larger working etablishments: railway shops and an international freight yard (Figure 7). Accordingly here too there is a

majority working near home and a minority commuting to distant factories.

The population is about 800, and about 400 are employed. Of these nearly 50% work in the workshops and freight yards of Apach, and 10% in the village business establishments and offices. About 5% are engaged in farming or horticulture. There is no wine growing, although the vineyards of Perl occupy the slope just north of the village down to the international boundary. In the 19th century there were vineyards in Apach, but after being nearly wiped out by the Phylloxer a disease, the vineyards were not fully restored and now have disappeared with no likelihood of reestablishment in competition with French wines more cheaply produced farther south. After the First World War strawberry growing was taken up as a specialty and has continued successfully together with cherry growing, carried on in part time and by women, for the market in the Saarland.

The minority of workers commuting to a distance, about 35%, go mainly to mills of the French industrial district to the south, in and around Thionville — both men and women, to heavy and light industries. A few miners travel to French mines at the south end of the coalfield 40 miles away, the same district to which a few miners travel from Frauenberg on the Blies, far off on the opposite side of the coalfield.

Schengen, on the other side of the Mosel from Perl and Apach, has a population of about 350, of whom 150 are employed. Here the pull of industry is even less and the continuance of conservative rural economy somewhat greater. About 70% are winegrowers or vineyard workers. Vineyards occupy the slopes everywhere above the village, and wine cellars line the street. This is the main interest and the pride of the village. An additional 10% are employed in small business establishments or in the customs office at the border. On the other hand, a minority of 20% commute to work; to the heavy industries of Luxemburg off to the west or to light work in the city of Luxemburg to the northwest.

Consider the pattern of social life in Perl, Apach and Schengen. In all three villages the population is largely Catholic, and each has a Catholic church as a major center. The church in Perl is ancient, or at least contains remnants that are ancient, and has an old Romanesque tower, a Gothic choir and a Baroque altar. This was the parish church of all three villages when Perl was a distinguished outpost up the Mosel of the Archdiocese of Trier. A chapel near the church has mediaeval traditions and has been a place of pilgrimage for centuries and the focal point of an

annual fair. Now Perl has also a small new Protestant church, to which a pastor comes once a week from Trier.

Apach was included in the Catholic parish of Perl until modern times, even when a political boundary intervened. But now it is a separate parish or subparish of Sierck and has a simple village church in the French diocese of Metz, served by a priest from Sierck.

Schengen has a Catholic church formerly attached to the castle, old in its present site but newly rebuilt in the old style, following destruction by fire after the war. The parish is in the Diocese of Luxemburg.

Church going is habitual in all three villages, and there are also church social activities other than the services; in each, a church choir, a young people's society and a women's charitable society. In Perl there is also a men's club and a community hall under the direction of the parish priest, used for various social gatherings. In all three villages there are volunteer fire companies. In Perl there is a musical club, a shooting club and a drama club; in Schengen a fishing club.

Schengen has no sports program; Perl has a football field and a team playing in a Saarland league. Apach has a handball court and a team playing in a French league of nearby villages.

Unorganized social activities are more common: talking and playing cards in the evenings in taverns; visiting relatives, walking in the country or motoring to a larger town. Much of this is without crossing an international boundary; but crossing is easy in any direction and is common: to visit relatives, especially between Apach and Perl; and boys date girls and marry them without regard to boundaries. These comings and goings are in addition to crossings on business, due not only to daily employment but to land holdings, especially of Schengen people in France and the Saarland, and of Apach people in the Saarland and Luxemburg.

There is a weekly market in Perl visited by people from the vicinity in the Saarland and France. Also each of the three villages has a fair at least once a year, all of them visited by people from across the borders. The fair in Perl especially draws visitors from far and wide, from the Saar valley to the east and the Mosel valley farther downstream in Germany, as well as from nearby France and Luxemburg.

So in these villages there is a three-way division in formal organization and a fairly intimate mixture in informal activity as well as overall cultural similarity.

Wolfersweiler and Gimbweiler

Along the northern side of the Saarland is the highland ridge of the Hunsrück and for a considerable distance there are no villages near the boundary on opposite sides. But in the northeast there are hills and valleys in an area of sedimentary rocks and igneous intrusives younger than the old slates of the Hunsrück. The valleys are open and covered with fields and meadows: the steep hills of igneous rock are wooded. In the valleys are headwater streams of the River Nahe, which flows northeastward from the Saarland through the Pfalz to the Rhine 8).

Here another pair of villages has been selected for examination: Wolfersweiler in the Saarland and Gimbweiler in Rheinland-Pfalz. These are not on opposite sides of a boundary stream, as in previous cases, but at higher and lower points on the same small stream, and the boundary cuts across the valley between the villages (Figures 1 and 8).

The two villages indicate by their names, ending in -weiler, that they belong to a period of settlement that was not the earliest — not so early as the first settlements along the Mosel or the Blies — but a fairly early period of settlement-expansion. Their history otherwise recorded is not so long. Wolfersweiler was a mediaeval farm village with an important parish church, first mentioned in the 13th century; and Gimbweiler was a farm village in the parish of Wolfersweiler. In fact, until the 20th century the two villages were always in the same political as well as the same ecclesiastical unit.

After the Reformation the parish became Protestant, together with the neighboring parishes within a small domain under a Protestant ruler. In the 19th century this domain was attached to the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, an outstandingly Protestant division of North Germany. The old church of Wolfersweiler is still Protestant, Calvinist Reformed and not Lutheran. The rearrangement of the sanctuary and of pews around the pulpit is like that of Reformed churches in North Germany and the Netherlands.

Only after the Second World War was a boundary drawn between Wolfersweiler and Gimbweiler, placing Wolfersweiler within the Saarland, under French control as an international territory of the European Council and leaving Gimbweiler in the French zone of Occupied Germany. This division has been temporarily significant as the customs boundary between France and Germany, but in 1959 the customs boundary is being moved to include the Saarland in the Germany economy,

<sup>8)</sup> See W. MÜLLER-WILLE: Die Ackerfluren im Landesteil Birkenfeld, Bonn 1936, pp. 33-35.

and the boundary between Wolfersweiler and Gimbweiler has become only an internal boundary between German states: the Saarland and Rheinland-Pfalz. The inhabitants are little concerned about this boundary which crosses their parish, and their work and social life go on as usual.

What of the pattern of work and life in Wolfersweiler and Gimbweiler? Wolfersweiler is a village of about 1,000 people, of whom about 500 are employed. A majority of about 60% work in or near the village: 20% of them in village shops and offices, including the erstwhile customs office and boundary patrol; and 40% as full-time farmers or farm laborers. Farming has declined and the farms do not now provide enough to feed the community. Groceries and meats are imported from regions outside the Saarland.

A minority of 40 % of the workers commute to mines and factories elsewhere. Here again is an area of rural occupance near the labor divide between industrial districts. Some of the workers living in Wolfersweiler travel southward to mines and heavy industries of the coal basin in the Saarland, principally to Neunkirchen, the northernmost coal and steel town. A smaller number, more women than men, travel to outlying light industries in the Saarland, or northward across the boundary to light industries in Idar-Oberstein, the leading town of jewelry manufacturing in Germany, or to county government offices in Birkenfeld, the seat of the county to which Wolfersweiler used to belong before being transferred to the Saarland.

Gimbweiler has been called a forgotten village — as having been forgotten when Wolfersweiler was put into the Saarland. Its only good road led into Wolfersweiler, and only recently has a good road been built in the opposite direction to connect it with the county seat without crossing the boundary.

The work pattern of Gimbweiler is similar to that of Wolfersweiler but with a larger majority working in or near the village, particularly on farms. The population is about 500 and about 200 are gainfully employed. A majority of 60% are farmers and farm workers. A number of refugee families from Eastern Germany have been received in Gimbweiler and have gone into farming, producing milk for a dairy in Birkenfeld. Such planned resettlement is characteristic of communities in West Germany and not characteristic of the Saarland, which has not been fully incorporated into Germany till 1957. About 10% of the workers are employed in village business

establishments and offices, including a now vanishing customs service and boundary patrol.

The minority of about 30% who work elsewhere scatter to the same areas as the commuters of Wolfersweiler: southward to mining and heavy industry in the Saar coal basin, westward to light industry in the Saarland, and northward to light industry and office work in Germany. It is apparent that Gimbweiler is near the extreme limit for such long-distance daily commuting, under present conditions of transportation. In stormy weather when motor cycles or bicycles are not usable for the first leg of the journey, men who work in the coal field leave home at 3:00 A.M., hours before daylight, walk for a half hour to Wolfersweiler, ride in a bus for a half hour to St. Wendel, and there take a train to Neunkirchen, arriving in time to start work at 5:00 A. M. After the day's work they return home by the same route, arriving after dark, with time to eat and sleep for a few hours before the next day's repetition.

What of the pattern of social life under such circumstances in Wolfersweiler and Gimbweiler? Understandably there is less leisure and less social activity in this area of farming and long-distance commuting.

The villages are 85% Protestant and have their old parish church in Wolfersweiler. On Sunday morning people from Gimbweiler walk to church across the border and join the congregation as they always have. In the church there is a choir and young people's, women's and men's societies meeting occasionally in the parish house, and attended by more people living nearby than by those from a distance on either side of the border. For the Catholic minority, there is an active church also in Wolfersweiler and also including Gimbweiler in its parish. In this there is a similar array of social organizations: choir, and young people's, women's and men's societies, similarly attended more by people living nearby. The Catholic church is in the Archdiocese of Trier, and the Protestant church is supervised from Birkenfeld, the old county seat across the border. In this case obviously the division between Protestant and Catholic congregations is greater than that between the villages.

Secular activities are not lacking. There are more for men than for women, in conservative rural style. In Wolfersweiler there are seven taverns and in Gimbweiler two, where men gather in the evening to talk and drink for a while, and where clubs meet occasionally. Both villages have volunteer fire companies and musical clubs, and each has a football field and a football team. The football leagues are divided along state lines: the

teams do not play against each other, but Wolfersweiler against other teams in the Saarland and Gimbweiler against other teams in the Pfalz. Here is a case of formal organization separated on state lines along with informal activity unlimited by the boundary.

Wolfersweiler has a weekly market to which people have gone habitually from Gimbweiler, though slightly hampered recently by the customs barrier (Figure 1). Each village has a yearly fair and each of these is a social event for both villages, particularly the larger fair in the larger

village of Wolfersweiler.

The case of these villages is different from any of the others in having an international boundary only recently and temporarily, in being less directly affected by France and in having Protestantism. But in important respects they are like the others: at or near the traffic divide for Saarland industrial labor, observing the boundary in some forms of hierarchical organization, ignoring the boundary in less formal local contacts, and prevailingly similar in culture.

# Political Boundary and Social Structure: Nationality, Subnationality and Supernationality

From reconnaissance of the Saarland and study of the nine villages some generalizations can be made. The relations of the region in general and of the villages in particular are by no means simple. The inhabitants look out in several directions to things nearby and far away. In local affairs they are concerned with their neighbors on every side, in national affairs they are linked with some neighbors and separated from others, in international affairs they are connected or separated on a wider scale.

The political boundary is a feature of occupance imposed on the landscape at some time in the distant or the recent past, with specific functions intended to limit the extension of certain activities across from either side to the other or to condition the interaction of organizations which meet there. The functions may be of any sort or of any degree of strength or weakness.

The boundary does not necessarily separate systems of areal organization except as explicitly required, and it does not tend to separate different uniformities of culture unless it has remained fixed and has functioned strongly for generations or centuries.

Most parts of the present boundary of the Saarland have not remained fixed nor functioned strongly for a long period of time. Even those parts that are considered ancient had formerly only local and limited functions as dividing lines between small units of jurisdiction and only re-

cently have been given new functions as international lines between extensive political and economic systems of organization. Parts of the boundary have been shifted even after becoming international and in some places have been newly imposed where no boundary of any kind existed before. Accordingly most parts of the present boundary separate systems of areal organization only as politically conditioned and do not coincide with boundaries of cultural uniformity.

Villages on opposite sides of the boundary have commonly belonged together in an single community, at some times or always in the past, and locally are still considered so. The boundary has of course separated them in systems of political organization, local as well as national. In addition systems of ecclesiastical organization have commonly adopted a national political frame; and other formal features of organization likewise adopt the same convenient frame — leagues for football and other competitive sports, for example.

But local politics, church going and ball playing go on similarly on opposite sides, and informal social relations are carried on freely across the boundary in every direction. Intermarriage over the border is recognized everywhere as a familiar phenomenon, and business goes on even where there is a customs barrier.

Between the Saarland and Rheinland-Pfalz it is difficult to detect cultural differences. Between the Saarland and Lorraine there are a few clear official differences (different street signs in a different language, a few different holidays, differences of clothes and way of life) as a result of the membership of Lorraine in the French state and its civilisation, and some vague and uncertain indications of other slight cultural differences (slightly greater social homogeneity and conformity in the Saarland). Between the Saarland and Luxemburg similarly there are vague indications of slight differences (less-conservative and less-rural interest in the Saarland).

Generally for inhabitants of the boundary area, the local uniformities of culture and nature and the local features of areal organization are as real and vital as national elements of culture and systems of organization. People are at home in the local environment of culture and organization; pressures and divisions imposed from outside by alien forces come as unwelcome intrusions into friendly communities.

At the same time local people have come to identify themselves and their ways of life with one or another of the national states. Formal organization separated at the boundary encourages this. Inhabitants of the Saarland right up

to the border commonly identify themselves with Germany, not with France to which they have been attached economically, and not with any potentially distinct unit called "the Saarland" separate from both France and Germany. For employment they look to the industrial district but this is not so much a separate object of loyalty as an extension of the local community within the nation. Inhabitants of Lorraine up to the border commonly identify themselves with France even though they may habitually speak German 9). Inhabitants of Luxemburg identify themselves with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, not yet commonly with Benelux and not with France or Germany, even though habitually speaking a German dialect and using French as an official language. Inhabitants of Rheinland-Pfalz identify themselves simply with Germany.

Accordingly it is evident that people are interested in their local communities on both sides of the boundary and also in the nations separated by the boundary. On every border it is apparent that people do not want strife but friendship in their local communities, and they want intercourse without interference across their borders, an absence of barrier functions — politically, economically and socially. At the same time they do not want the nations to dissolve and leave

only a massive undivided Europe. Inhabitants of the Saarland voted to belong to Germany and not to the Saarland as a separate unit in Europe, but they want Germany and France to be friendly members of a united Europe and not to be separated by a barrier boundary. Inhabitants of Lorraine want to be in France and to have France in a united Europe. Inhabitants of Luxemburg have an even greater desire to see Europe united, recognizing the weakness of their own national unit in major international rivalries.

People along both sides of each frontier have an almost pathetic desire to see Europe united immediately, especially along the Saar-French boundary as a new customs barrier. Along the border between the Saarland and Rheinland-Pfalz this desire is not so keen, since there the boundary becomes only a line between German states. In the forgotten village of Gimbweiler there is even a lack of interest in having the old county boundary restored to bring the parish church again into the same state.

So in villages on the borders of the Saarland people feel and express devotion to their national homelands separated by the boundary, and attachment to the local homeland where uniformities of nature and culture spread across the boundary, and desire for a united Europe transcending the boundary. Thus nationality is recognized and embraced, subnationality or locality is real and vital and ever present in everyday life, and supernationality or internationality is wishfully hoped for as a larger stabilizing frame.

#### BERICHTE UND KLEINE MITTEILUNGEN

BEMERKUNGEN ZUR GLIEDERUNG UND PALÄOKLIMATOLOGIE DES OBERITALIENI-SCHEN PLEISTOZÄNS, INSBESONDERE DES GARDASEE-GEBIETES¹)

> Mit 5 Fig. im Text Otto Fränzle

Summary: Stratigraphy and Paleoclimate of the Pleistocene in Northern Italy, with Special Reference to the Garda-Region

The first part of this paper gives a critical analysis of a recent article on the Garda-Region by K. A. Habbe. Hereafter some highly important fossil soils in Würm and Riss loesses are described and paleoclimatologically interpreted. The examples dealt with indicate that not only the temperature but also, and in a high degree, the drainage is of importance for the development of frost wedges. A reconstruction of the stadial paleoclimate with the aid of these structures implies, therefore, an adequate consideration of the respective soil properties.

Für die zeitliche Gliederung der gesamten südalpinen Pleistozänablagerungen ist das Moränenamphitheater des Gardasees wegen der Ausdehnung und des Reichtums der Ablagerungen sowie der Fülle seiner Formen von entscheidender Bedeutung. Es nimmt daher auch bei PENCK (1894, 1909) eine Schlüsselstellung ein. Auf Grund morphologischer und bodenkundlicher Kriterien stellte er alle Endmoränen ins Würm mit Ausnahme der flachen und verwaschenen Züge am Fiume Chiese, der das Moränengebiet im Westen begrenzt; diese sah er als rißeiszeitliche Bildungen an (in Abb. 1 gestrichelt dargestellt).

Demgegenüber kamen italienische Geologen (CORTI, 1895; COZZAGLIO, 1900/1902; NICOLIS, 1899) zu der Auffassung, daß die PENCKschen Rißmoränen ins Mindel gehörten und daß ein erheblicher Teil seiner

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9)</sup> In Lorraine some people speak in German and write in French as a consequence of a difference in home and school training. Now increasingly children in Lorraine are learning only French, perhaps portending greater cultural differentiation and social separation at the political boundary in the future.

<sup>1)</sup> Nachstehender Beitrag enthält eine Stellungnahme zur Arbeit von K. A. Habbe: Zur klimatischen Morphologie des Alpensüdrands — Untersuchungen in den Moränenamphitheatern der Etsch und des Gardasees. Nachr. Akad. Wiss., Göttingen, II. Math.-phys. Kl., Jg. 1960, Nr. 10.