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DAVID R. FONTIJN

SACRIFICIAL LANDSCAPES

CULTURAL BIOGRAPHIES OF PERSONS, OBJECTS AND 'NATURAL' PLACES
IN THE BRONZE AGE OF THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS, C. 2300-600 BC



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*Non multo post in Cantabriae lacum fulmen decidit repertaeque sunt duodecim
securae, haud ambiguum summae imperii signum.*

(Suetonius, book VII: Galba, Otho, Vitellius)

*Und dast Sterben, dieses Nichtmehrfassen
Jenes Grunds, auf dem wir täglich stehn,
Seinem ängstlichen Sich-Niederlassen -:*

*In die Wasser, die ihn sanft empfangen
Und die sich, wie glücklich und vergangen,
Unter ihm zurückziehn, Flut um Flut*

(R.M. Rilke 'der Schwan')

contents

Preface xvii

PART I PROBLEM, APPROACH, SOURCE CRITISM 1

1 Introduction: the problem of bronze deposition and the aim of this study 3

1.1 Introduction 3

1.2 The social significance of metalwork among European Bronze Age societies 3

1.3 The phenomenon of bronze deposits and its interpretation as ‘ritual consumption’ 5

1.4 Problems in the current interpretation of bronze deposits: ‘selective deposition’ 5

1.5 The southern Netherlands as a promising region for studying ‘selective deposition’ 6

1.6 Research questions and spatial and chronological framework 6

1.7 How the problem will be approached 9

2 How archaeology has made sense of object depositions: the distinction between ‘ritual’ and ‘profane’ deposits 13

2.1 Introduction 13

2.2 Seeing bronze deposits primarily in profane terms: *Verwahrkunde* and *Versteckfunde* 13

2.3 Accepting bronze finds as permanent deposits and interpreting them as ‘ritual’ 15

2.3.1 The distinction between ‘ritual’ and ‘profane’ depositions 15

2.3.2 Levy’s theory: is the Bronze Age ritual-profane distinction supported by ethnographic parallels? 17

2.4 *Explaining* ritual deposition: economic and competitive consumption 18

2.5 How ‘ritual’ is reconciled to assumptions on the universality of rationality 19

2.6 Problems we face when using the ‘ritual/ profane’ distinction for the interpretation of deposits 20

2.6.1 Problems raised by the empirical evidence 20

2.6.2 Epistemological problems 20

2.7 How can we get round the problems of the ‘ritual/profane’ distinction? 21

2.8 Final remarks 21

3 Theoretical framework for the study of selective deposition 23

3.1 Introduction 23

3.2 The concept of ‘meaning’ 23

3.3 Objects as ‘things’ and objects that are ‘like persons’ 25

3.4 How meaning comes about: the cultural biography of things 26

3.5 Kinds of biographies: valuables associated with communal versus personal identities 26

3.6 The start of a biography: production 27

3.6.1 The crucial position of the smith as a creator of potential valuables 27

3.6.2 Material and techniques 28

3.6.3 Concept of form and style 28

3.6.4 Functional possibilities 30

3.7 The life of an object 30

3.7.1 Metalwork circulation as an exchange of gifts *and* commodities; long-term and short-term exchange 31

3.7.2 Transformation of commodities into gifts or valuables and the archaeological indications that they took place 31

3.7.3 The archaeological correlates for circulation 32

3.7.4 The archaeological correlates for ‘use’ 32

3.7.5 The deposited objects as a skewed representation of the objects in circulation 33

3.8 Deposition 33

3.8.1 The practice of deposition as constituted by relations between object, people and location 33

3.8.2 Deposition as performance 35

3.8.3 What deposition brings about 35

3.9 Concluding remarks 35

4 Source criticism: limitations and possibilities of the available evidence 37

4.1 Introduction 37

4.2 How to recognize permanent depositions 37

4.3 How the data were collected and evaluated 38

4.3.1 Assessing the reliability of data 39

4.3.2 Retrieving information on find context 41

- 4.4 Explaining presence and absence of finds: post-depositional processes 42
- 4.4.1 Natural processes 43
- 4.4.2 Anthropogenetic processes 43

4.5 Explaining presence and absence of finds: research factors 45

4.6 Conclusion: which set of data is informative on selective deposition? 45

PART II SELECTIVE DEPOSITION THROUGHOUT THE BRONZE AGE 53

5 Late Neolithic B and Early Bronze Age 55

5.1 Introduction 56

5.2 Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age societies in the southern Netherlands 57

5.3 Discussion of the available evidence 60

5.4 Late Neolithic metalwork 60

5.4.1 Local production and the 'Dutch Bell Beaker metal' 61

5.4.2 Flat axes 63

5.4.3 The double axe from Escharen 65

5.4.4 Gold ornaments 66

5.4.5 Daggers 67

5.4.6 Conclusion: selective deposition in the Late Neolithic B? 68

5.5 Early Bronze Age metalwork 68

5.5.1 Low-flanged axes 68

5.5.2 Halberds 71

5.5.3 The Wageningen hoard 72

5.5.4 Metalwork from burials and settlements 73

5.5.5 Conclusion: selective deposition in the Early Bronze Age? 74

5.6 From stone to bronze 75

5.6.1 How metal replaced stone in daily life 75

5.6.2 The cultural attitude towards metals and stones 75

5.6.3 The life of metals and new elements in the cultural biography of things 76

5.7 Patterns in the biographies of metalwork: production and circulation 77

5.7.1 Circulation: the importance of being imported 77

5.7.2 Open systems: the interplay between imported objects and local products 78

5.8 Deposition: the incorporation of metalwork in Neolithic offering traditions and their subsequent transformation 78

5.8.1 Continuity and change 78

5.8.2 Fluctuations in the rate of deposition 79

5.8.3 Conclusion 79

5.9 Deposition: graves and wet places as contrasting depositional contexts 79

5.9.1 The Beaker burial ritual and the significance of objects as valuables of personhood 80

5.9.2 The deposition of axes in wet places 82

5.10 Conclusions 83

6 Middle Bronze Age A 85

6.1 Introduction 86

6.2 The transition from Early to Middle Bronze Age: developments in society and landscape 86

6.3 Discussion of the available evidence 87

6.4 High-flanged and stopridge axes 88

6.4.1 Oldendorf axes 88

6.4.2 Nick-flanged or *geknickte* axes 91

6.4.3 Atlantic imports? Arretton axes and axes with high-placed short-flanges 93

6.4.4 Two ‘unique’ axes 93

6.4.5 Stopridge axes 96

6.4.6 Conclusion 97

6.5 Spears 97

6.6 ‘Swords’ and daggers 100

6.6.1 Dirks, rapiers and daggers of the Sögel, Wohlde, Weizen and Gamprin types 100

6.6.2 The Overloon weapon hoard: the deposition of personal warrior sets 103

6.6.3 Tréboul-St. Brandan swords 103

6.6.4 The ceremonial dirk from Jutphaas 104

6.6.5 Other finds: two daggers of British type 105

6.6.6 Sword biographies 105

6.7 Developments in the structure of the metalwork repertoire 106

6.7.1 The category of specialized weapons and what it implies: the significance of martiality 106

6.7.2 Transformations in existing material culture categories 107

6.8 Metalwork circulation 107

6.8.1 The restructuring of spheres of exchange? 107

6.8.2 The southern Netherlands in the north-west European world 109

6.8.3 Bronze circulation and the problem of the ‘Hilversum culture’ 109

6.9 Patterns in metalwork deposition 110

6.9.1 Fluctuations in the rate of deposition 110

6.9.2 Axe deposition 110

6.9.3 Weapon deposition as the surrender of the paraphernalia of personhood 111

6.9.4 Conclusion 112

6.10 Conclusions 112

7 Middle Bronze Age B 115

7.1 Introduction 116

7.2 Landscape and society during the Middle Bronze Age B 116

7.3 Discussion of the available evidence 116

7.4	Palstaves and mid-winged axes	119
7.4.1	Imported palstaves	119
7.4.2	Regional palstaves	121
7.4.3	Mid-winged axes	125
7.4.4	The Goirle axe: the remarkable life-path of an old, much-travelled axe	127
7.4.5	Conclusion: axe biographies	129
7.5	Spearheads	129
7.6	Swords and daggers	131
7.6.1	Rosnoën swords	132
7.6.2	Other <i>Griffplatten</i> - and <i>Griffangelschwerter</i>	133
7.6.3	Reworked sword blades	133
7.6.4	Conclusions: life-cycles of swords	133
7.7	Ornaments	134
7.8	Sickles and other tools	137
7.9	Moulds	137
7.9.1	The bronze mould from Buggenum	138
7.9.2	The clay mould from Cuijk	138
7.9.3	The clay mould from Oss-Horzak	138
7.9.4	Conclusions	141
7.10	Metalwork and contemporary material culture	141
7.11	Regional bronze production	142
7.12	Metalwork circulation	143
7.12.1	General developments: reorientation of exchange networks	143
7.12.2	Patterns of procurement	143
7.13	Deposition	144
7.13.1	Deposition in and around houses	144
7.13.2	Axe and weapon deposits: depositional zones as places of historical significance	147
7.13.3	Deposition of objects in burials	147
7.13.4	Deposition of objects in burial monuments	148
7.14	Conclusions	148
8	Late Bronze Age	151
8.1	Introduction	152
8.2	Society and landscape during the Late Bronze Age	152
8.2.1	North-western Europe	152
8.2.2	Southern Netherlands	154
8.3	Discussion of the available evidence	154

8.4	Socketed and end-winged axes	157
8.4.1	Regional socketed axes	157
8.4.2	Imported socketed axes	161
8.4.3	End-winged axes	164
8.4.4	Iron axes	164
8.4.5	Conclusions	165
8.5	Weapons: spears, swords, chapes and daggers	166
8.5.1	Early <i>Griffzungenschwerter</i>	166
8.5.2	The <i>Vielwulstschwert</i> from Buggenum	166
8.5.3	The weapon hoard from Pulle	169
8.5.4	<i>Griffzungen</i> - and <i>Vollgriffschwerter</i> from the Ha B2/3 phase	170
8.5.5	Gündlingen swords	171
8.5.6	Mindelheim swords	172
8.5.7	Conclusion: sword biographies	172
8.6	Ornaments and dress fittings	172
8.6.1	Deposition in major rivers	175
8.6.2	Deposition of ceremonial ornaments: the giant <i>Bombenkopfnadel</i> of type Ockstadt	175
8.6.3	Ornaments in multiple-object hoards	178
8.6.4	Conclusion: selective deposition of ornaments	182
8.7	Other tools	182
8.8	The place of metalwork among contemporary material culture	184
8.9	Regional bronze production	186
8.10	Metalwork circulation	186
8.11	Deposition	187
8.11.1	Axe and tool deposition	187
8.11.2	Weapon and ornament deposition: evidence for a structured sacrificial landscape?	188
8.11.3	New places for deposition?	191
8.11.4	Change and tradition in the practice of deposition	192
8.12	Conclusions	193
9	Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age: metalwork from burials	197
9.1	Introduction	197
9.2	Discussion of the available evidence	197
9.3	The urnfield burial ritual and the provision of artefacts	197
9.4	Ornaments and toilet articles in urnfield graves	198
9.5	Deposition of weaponry	201
9.6	Stages in the burial ritual and the inclusion of artefacts	203

9.7	The decorated dead	204
9.8	Local and supra-local personal identities	206
9.9	Conclusions	207
PART III UNDERSTANDING SELECTIVE DEPOSITION 209		
10	Selective deposition: its characteristics, development and structure	211
10.1	Introduction	211
10.2	Some general characteristics of metalwork deposition	211
10.3	The long-term patterns of selective deposition	215
10.4	Selective deposition as an indication that different objects had different meanings	215
10.5	How objects became meaningful: the significance of their cultural biography	217
10.6	Depositions in burials versus depositions in natural places	217
10.7	Long-term history of selective deposition	218
10.8	Development of the argument in the next chapters	219
11	Weapons, the armed body and martial identities	221
11.1	Introduction	221
11.2	The distinction between multifunctional tools and weapons before the Middle Bronze Age	221
11.3	Weapons of the Middle and Late Bronze Age	221
11.4	The nature of Bronze Age conflicts and warfare	224
11.5	Warfare as ideology	226
11.6	Warrior identities	226
11.6.1	Sword fighting and becoming a person	227
11.6.2	The evidence of warriors' graves	227
11.6.3	Warrior identities and 'imagined communities'	229
11.7	Weapon deposits as graveless grave goods?	229
11.8	Warriorhood as an ambiguous, temporary identity	231
11.9	The shift from rivers to graves	232
11.9.1	Ha C chieftains' graves as reflecting a different kind of elite?	232
11.9.2	How did a shift to burial deposition become socially acceptable?	233
11.9.3	Conclusion: the continuing ambiguity of warrior statuses	236
11.10	Conclusions	236

12	Ornament deposition: the construction and deconstruction of personhood	239
12.1	Introduction	239
12.2	Ornament deposition in natural places versus deposition in burials	239
12.3	Selective deposition of ornaments and dress fittings during the Middle Bronze Age	239
12.4	The significance of supra-regional ornament styles: the implications of the Oss mould	240
12.5	Selective deposition of ornaments and dress fittings during the Late Bronze Age	241
12.5.1	Ornaments and the construction of local identities in urnfield graves	241
12.5.2	Placing ornaments and pins in rivers and sources	241
12.5.3	Deposition of special ornament types in hoards: the Lutlommel hoard	242
12.6	Conclusion: the contrast between local and non-local identities	244
13	The cultural biographies of axes	247
13.1	Introduction	247
13.2	The significance of imported adzes and axes for non- or semi-agrarian communities	247
13.3	The deposition of single, used bronze axes: the generalized biography of an axe	248
13.4	There is more to axes than just the tool	250
13.5	Late Bronze Age axe hoards	252
13.6	Axe hoards as representing deliberate permanent deposits	252
13.7	Linking 'ritual' deposition to the flow of metal	253
13.7.1	How gift and commodity exchange are linked	254
13.7.2	Object deposition as a way to transform items from commodities into gifts	255
13.8	What happened at the transition from the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age?	255
13.8.1	Understanding lavish hoards in relation to a collapsing bronze circulation	256
13.8.2	Changes within the depositional practices themselves	256
13.9	Conclusions	257
14	The landscape of deposition	259
14.1	Introduction	259
14.2	Deposition in a historical landscape	259
14.2.1	The system of selective deposition as reflecting structured perceptions of the land	259
14.2.2	Multiple-deposition zones and the landscape of memory	260
14.2.3	What does the difference between adjacent multiple deposition zones imply?	263

14.3	Deposition and the landscape of daily life	264
14.3.1	Depositional zones as remote and peripheral areas	264
14.3.2	Depositional zones as natural, unaltered places	264
14.4	Depositional zones in a social landscape	265
14.5	Depositional zones in a cosmological landscape	266
14.5.1	Wet zones as cosmological boundaries	266
14.5.2	Deposition in watery places: gifts to gods?	267
14.6	Deposition and cultural attitudes towards the land	268
14.6.1	Exploitative and communalist attitudes	268
14.6.2	Depositions and notions on reciprocal relations with the land	269
14.6.3	Depositions and the logic of taking and giving	269
14.7	Depositional practices and the construction of communities	270
14.8	Conclusions	271

15 Final reflections: what is selective deposition and what does it bring about? 273

15.1	Introduction	273
15.2	Circulation of foreign materials and social realities	273
15.3	Bronzes and the significance of non-local identities	274
15.4	Accepting <i>their</i> logic: a sacrificial economy	274
15.5	Deposition as a practice	275
15.6	Deposition as ritual	276
15.7	What does selective deposition bring about?	277

epilogue 281

references 285

appendices 305

1	List of all hoards from the study region	305
2.1	Flat axes	310
2.2	Low-flanged axes	311
2.3	Oldendorf axes	312
2.4	Other MBA A axes	314
2.5	Imported palstaves and other axes	315
2.6	Regional palstaves, midribbed	317
2.7	Regional palstaves, plain sinuous-shaped and those with trapeze outline	318
2.8	Unclassified palstaves	320

2.9	Mid-winged axes	321
2.10	Socketed axes of the Niedermaas type	322
2.11	Socketed axes of the Helmeroth type	324
2.12	Socketed axes of the Geistingen type	325
2.13	Socketed axes of the Plainseau type	326
2.14	Socketed axes of type Wesseling	328
2.15	Other socketed axes, Early Iron Age axes, iron axes	329
2.16	End-winged axes	332
3	Sickles, knives, chisels, gouges from the Middle and Late Bronze Age	333
4.1	Ornaments mainly from the MBA B	335
4.2	Ornaments from the LBA/EIA from other contexts than graves	336
5.1	Swords and daggers from the MBA A	338
5.2	Swords and daggers from the MBA B	339
5.3	Swords from the Ha A2 (A1) until Ha B1 phases	341
5.4	Swords from the Ha B2/3 phase	342
5.5	Swords from the Early Iron Age (made of bronze and iron)	343
5.6	MBA swords from the Netherlands and Belgium: deposition in graves versus deposition in watery places	345
6.1	Spearheads from the MBA A	348
6.2	Spearheads from the MBA B	349
6.3	Spearheads without precise dating (plain pegged spearheads) and arrowheads	350
7.1	Daggers, knives, halberds and ornaments from the LN B/EBA, mainly from burials	356
7.2	Burial gifts from the MBA and deposits in barrows (metalwork and other materials)	358
7.3	Metalwork from urnfield graves in the Dutch part of the research region	361
7.4	Metalwork from urnfield graves in the Belgian part of the research region	370
8	Indications for metalworking (Middle and Late Bronze Age)	373
9	Metalwork finds from settlements	374
10.1	Metal types distinguished by Butler and Van der Waals	376
10.2	Metal analyses of flat and low-flanged axes	376
10.3	Metal analyses of tanged daggers and awls from burials	377
10.4	Metal analyses of halberds, riveted knives and an awl	377
10.5	Metal analyses of objects from the Wageningen hoard	378

samenvatting (Dutch summary) 379

acknowledgements for the figures 389

acknowledgements 391

PART I

PROBLEM, APPROACH, SOURCE CRITICISM

Introduction: the problem of bronze deposition and the aim of this study

1.1 INTRODUCTION

October 2001: during the construction of a road at a location in the municipality of Susteren (in the south of the Netherlands, province of Limburg), a drag-line unearths a dark-green bronze object. A local amateur archaeologist, who happened to be there, quickly jumped into the already excavated pit and saved the object from destruction. The object appeared to be a well-preserved socketed axe dating from the Late Bronze Age. Further inspection of the find-spot made it clear that the place where the axe was found did probably not consist of secondarily moved earth, but no further objects or soil traces could be detected.

The find almost immediately caused commotion. The reason for this was that it was found in an area that had seen a systematic archaeological survey not long before, uncovering a number of archaeological sites. None of these dated to the Bronze Age, however (Ball *et al.* 2001; Polman 2000;). The find-spot of the axe was just 200 m away from the location where the commercial excavation company of the Faculty of Archaeology (*Archol*) in Leiden had carried out an excavation of an Iron Age site (site no. 1; Ball *et al.* 2001, 5-11). Even closer to the find-spot, there was another site recognized during the surveys (no. 2; Polman 2001), but this one did not yield a shred of evidence for Bronze Age occupation either.

The Susteren axe does not stand alone: in the Netherlands there are currently over 2000 bronze objects known, of which only a few have been found during professional archaeological excavation. For the southern Netherlands only 4 % are excavation finds.¹ This is remarkable given the fact that this region is known for its high number of excavations of Bronze Age settlements, barrows and entire cemeteries, sometimes resulting in the large-scale excavation of entire landscapes.² Among these uncontextualized bronze finds there are objects that rank among the most remarkable finds of the European Bronze Age, like for example the ceremonial dirk of Plougrescant-Ommerschans type that was found in Jutphaas (this book, chapter 6). That bronze objects are so rarely found in settlements and burial sites would at first sight be understandable in view of the general scarcity of bronze in a region like the southern Netherlands, hundreds of kilometres removed from the nearest sources of copper

and tin (fig. 1.1). However, the numerous objects collected by amateurs and museums illustrate that such objects did circulate in considerable numbers in this region. Where, then, were all these objects found? Why did all this metal enter the archaeological record in the first place? After all, there is evidence that this region had a thriving bronze production of its own, drawing on recycling and importation of existing metal (Butler 1973). What is it about the sites at which bronzes entered the ground that they are hardly ever the locations we select for excavation?

This book will try to deal with a question that is perhaps the most significant one to be asked by archaeology: why did objects enter the ground? Are there ways to make sense of the fact that so much metal ended up in the ground? Why did this apparently take place in locations outside the ones best known to us, in places in the Bronze Age landscape that have so far failed to attract wider archaeological attention? Thus, the intention is to integrate the evidence on bronze finds in the wider picture of Bronze Age landscape use, structuration and perception.

In this chapter the research goals, the data and the spatial and chronological framework will be defined. First, however, a brief outline will be presented of current views on the significance of bronze objects and their deposition in specific places in the landscape.

1.2 THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF METALWORK AMONG EUROPEAN BRONZE AGE SOCIETIES

Around the end of the third millennium BC, prehistoric communities in north-west Europe began to use, exchange and produce objects made of bronze. This period, roughly coinciding with the beginning of what is traditionally called the Bronze Age, was and still is seen as a crucial phase in the social evolution of European societies. It is also generally accepted that it was the very adoption of metalwork that set these developments in motion (Champion *et al.* 1984, 197). This notion goes back to the realization that the presence of –especially– bronze objects in many north-west European regions is in itself noteworthy. After all, a large part of north-west Europe is far removed from the natural occurrence of the main constituents of bronze, viz. copper and tin. Fig. 1.1 shows that southern Scandinavia, northern

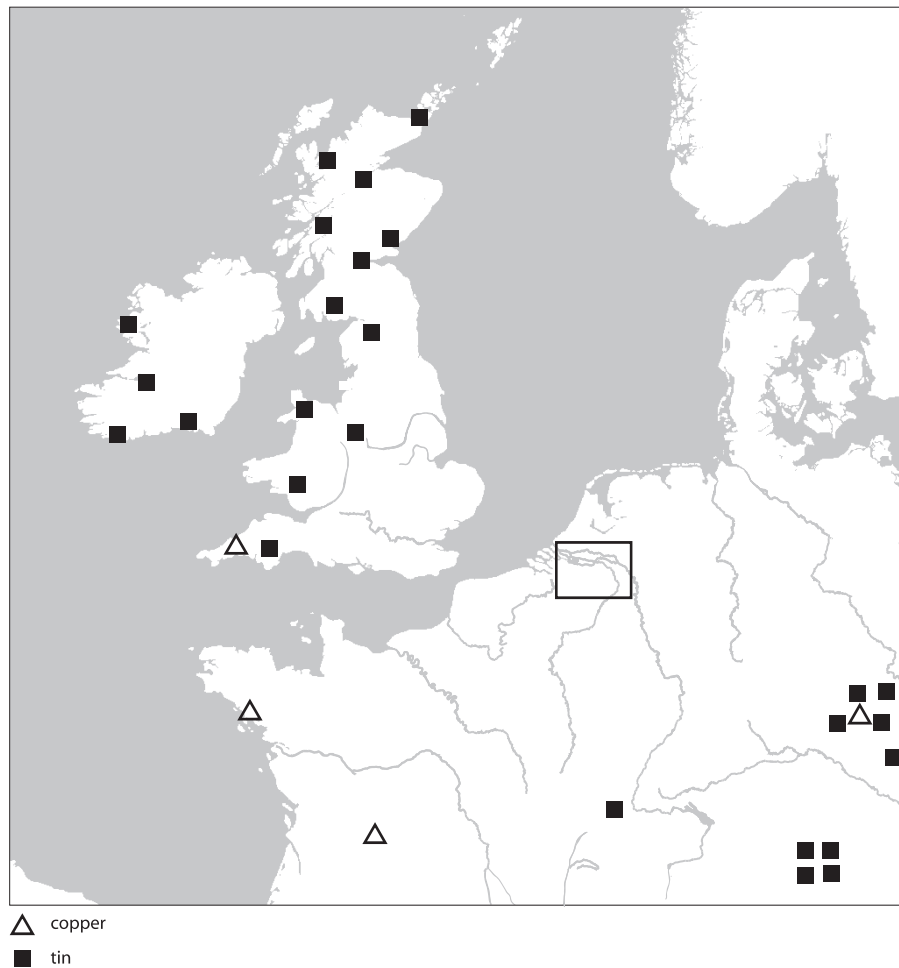


Figure 1.1 Copper and tin ore sources in north-west Europe and the location of the southern Netherlands (after Champion *et al.* 1984, fig. 6.11).

Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium all share this peripheral position. Nevertheless, since bronze is known to have been used in all these non-metalliferous regions throughout the Bronze Age, it must have been imported from abroad on a regular basis, as raw material or finished objects. Since long, it has therefore been argued that bronze circulated across wide areas, in increasing numbers and frequency as the Bronze Age wore on. Montelius (1910), Childe (1930) and others stated that for prehistoric societies to establish such a bronze circulation there had to be widespread and complex contact and exchange networks that covered large parts of Europe, connecting social groups hundreds of kilometres apart. Such circulation has of old been considered to represent some form of trade.³

Central to this idea is the assumption that bronze objects were crucial utilitarian implements in the first place, technologically superior to the stone tools they replaced and therefore in great demand (Childe 1930, 1, 4; Coles/Harding 1979, 16).

From the 1960s on, the interpretation of bronze circulation as trade and of bronzes as superior commodities came under fire. Renfrew (1969; 1972; 1973) rejected Childe's trade model as anachronistic on the basis of the point made by Polanyi and others (1957) that it is only in classical Greece that the first traits of a market economy can be recognized. It would be more in line with the nature of Bronze Age society to suppose that the main exchange transactions were gift exchanges (Renfrew 1973, 268; Sherratt 1972, 507).

The significance of bronze, so it was argued, would have been more in the symbolic than in the practical field. The point was made that since bronzes were rare and non-local objects in most north-west European regions, they must have been prestigious status objects in the first place (Sherratt 1976, 557; Randsborg 1973; 1974). Although the notion of a 'European bronze trade' did not disappear altogether (e.g. O'Connor 1980), bronze circulation now increasingly came to be seen as the exchange of symbolic prestigious items. This new interpretation has particularly become known by the influential studies of Rowlands (1980; 1994) and Kristiansen (1998).⁴ Drawing on Marxist theories of gift exchange developed in anthropology, both authors argue that bronze objects circulated in what is termed a 'prestige goods economy'. It is fundamental to such an economy that individuals could achieve status and hence power by possessing such prestige goods and by controlling their supply and distribution. According to Rowlands (1994, 2), the overwhelming impression in many parts of Europe is of a network of dispersed élites that expanded their power through such highly ritualized exchange of prestige goods. In his 1998 book *Europe before history*, Kristiansen develops the argument that from approximately 2000 BC onwards the general need for metalwork created a dependency in terms of supplies of metal and know-how between different regions. The resulting expansion of international exchange accelerated the pace of change in regional cultural traditions, adding a new dimension to social change and tradition. A changed balance of international exchange relations might now affect local and regional polities hundreds or even thousands of kilometers away (1998, 3). One of the changes thought to be effected by unbalanced exchange relations is an increasing social hierarchization and the formation of more competitive alliance systems in the later part of the European Bronze Age (Rowlands 1980).

1.3 THE PHENOMENON OF BRONZE DEPOSITS AND ITS INTERPRETATION AS 'RITUAL CONSUMPTION'

One of the most puzzling phenomena is that almost everywhere in Europe Bronze Age communities buried large numbers of these valuable bronzes in the ground, without ever retrieving them. Such 'depositions' of bronze are known from large parts of Europe (Louwe Kooijmans 2001, fig. 1; Hänsel/Hänsel 1997). Leaving behind so many valuable objects seems rather odd, particularly when it was practised in non-metalliferous regions. Numerous scholars have therefore tried to discover the logic behind this 'wasteful' activity (Coles/Harding 1979, 517).

Various interpretations have been offered in the course of the last 125 years, ranging from views that take it to be a non-problem to theories that consider bronze deposition as one of the most meaningful ritual practices (Bradley 1990: chapter 1;

Verlaeckaert 1995 chapter 3). A number of these interpretations will be discussed later on in this book (chapter 2). For the moment it suffices to describe briefly what can be seen as the most current and most widely accepted interpretation of bronze deposits. This is the theory which sees bronze deposition as a ritual act related to the prestigious value of metalwork. Deliberate deposition of such bronzes would have been regarded as some sort of offering: a gift to the gods. As such, it had an economic function as well: it would have served to create scarcity, thus maintaining the prestigious value of bronze in circulation. Kristiansen (1978; 1998) in particular has elaborated on how such a ritual consumption of bronzes was related to the construction and maintenance of the value of bronzes in circulation.

1.4 PROBLEMS IN THE CURRENT INTERPRETATION OF BRONZE DEPOSITS: 'SELECTIVE DEPOSITION'

The interpretation of bronze deposits as a form of ritual consumption is attractive in many ways. An important advantage of this interpretation is that bronze circulation is no longer understood as separate from bronze deposition; the two are seen as inextricably linked. However, there are also some problems with this interpretation. These become conspicuous if one studies bronze deposits in a more detailed way. It is to the problems that we must now turn.

It has long been attested that bronze deposition is no more than a general term concealing a tremendous variety. All sorts of bronze objects existed, ranging from efficient practical tools to the most elaborate ornaments or ceremonial objects. This alone makes it questionable to simply distinguish between bronzes that were 'commodities' or 'symbolic' objects. The German archaeologists Hundt (1955) and Von Brunn (1968) remarked that bronze deposition was a heterogeneous, but far from arbitrary practice. On the basis of regional studies, both scholars concluded that there were clear patterns in the way people deposited bronze objects. Particular types of objects were only observed in particular contexts, avoiding others. Also in the case of multiple object deposits (hoards), characteristic associations between object types were observed. For the southern Netherlands, an example is the deposition of swords during the Ha B2/3 phase. These were almost never deposited in burials, but were placed in major rivers in considerable numbers (Roymans 1991). Having recognized this, the authors assume that this implies that there was a 'taboo' on placing weapons in burials (Roymans/Kortlang 1999, 56). Apparently, depositional practices seem to have been structured: there were rules, prescribing which object should be deposited in which context. Such patterns have also been recognized on the British Isles (Needham 1989) and in Late Bronze Age Denmark (Sørensen 1984; 1987; 1991). Needham refers to such patterns in deposition as *selective deposition*, and I shall also use this term.

If deposition was patterned, how does this accord with the prevailing interpretation of bronze deposition as 'ritual consumption'? After all, what is fundamental in the 'prestige goods' interpretation is that the objects are made of the prestigious bronze. This, however, cannot explain why bronze deposition was selective. If it was just their metal content that counted in deposition, then we might expect that weapons for example were treated in the same way as ornaments. After all, both are made of the prestigious material bronze. But on the basis of patterns in deposition it can be observed that this was not the case, and that weapons and ornaments were as a rule not associated in deposition, but kept apart. How can we make sense of such patterns?

This question brings us to a more theoretical problem. Explaining bronze deposition as a prestige-enhancing practice merely says something about the social effect this particular practice must have had. It very much is an *etic* explanation. It does not make clear why the practice was constituted as it was (as a structured, selective deposition), only what it brings about. As such it is also a functionalist explanation, potentially applicable to a much wider range of object sacrifices than just those of the European metalwork. Although I do not want to play down the importance of its political-economic aspects, the prestige-good interpretation relegates deposition merely to an arena where prestige can be gained. It does not really give information on deposition itself: what was this practice? Why was it practised in the way it was? If we want to deal with such questions, we should be more concerned with what object deposition *meant* to the Bronze Age communities practising it. This brings us to the more specific *emic* meanings of metalwork. To us, the observation that deposition was selective and structured might serve as a clue for discovering such meanings. After all, if we are right in observing that swords were so strictly kept away from burials, but preferably deposited in major rivers, then there must have been some specific understanding of both swords and burials that made the two to be kept separate.

1.5 THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS AS A PROMISING REGION FOR STUDYING 'SELECTIVE DEPOSITION'

In this book, I want to find out whether it is possible to make more sense of bronze deposition by studying the phenomenon of selective deposition. I want to do this not only by tracing patterns in deposition, but also by trying to integrate the evidence on bronze deposits with other fields of evidence on Bronze Age societies. The case of the axe find from Susteren may serve to exemplify the problem. The prevailing tendency has been to treat bronze deposition as a category in itself. It is hardly known how the locations where bronze was deposited fit within the wider cultural landscape of the Bronze Age.

Thus, in order to study selective deposition we do not only need a region with a high number of bronze finds from different contexts; we should also be relatively well-informed on other fields of practice of the communities in question. The southern Netherlands are a region that meets both requirements (fig. 1.2). Due to the work of Jay Butler and Brendan O'Connor it is clear that the southern Netherlands and Belgium have yielded an interesting array of metalwork finds.⁵ It is of pivotal importance that there are strong indications that the bronze finds reflect selective deposition. I have already alluded to Roymans's observation on the selective deposition of swords.

On top of that: there has been intensive collaboration in the southern Netherlands between amateurs, metal-detectorists and professional archaeologists. This has led to the situation that bronze finds are not only known from the major find-spots like rivers, but also in large numbers from the interior parts of the country. For many a region this is not the case.⁶

Another advantage of choosing the southern Netherlands as a region for study is that extensive excavations of Bronze Age sites have been carried out here (Gerritsen 2001, fig. 2.5). In the first place, the excavations of Bronze and Iron Age settlements carried out in and near Oss should be mentioned (Fokkens 1996). These rank among the largest excavated areas in Europe. Large-scale excavations of cemeteries were carried out in Nijmegen and in the interior of the southern Netherlands. The numerous recent excavations of well-preserved settlement sites and graves in the Betuwe should also be mentioned (fig. 1.3).⁷ Moreover, the interior part of the region is well-known for its high number of barrows and urnfields, many of which have seen professional excavation (Theunissen 1999; Roymans 1991). The prospects for analysing bronze deposition as part of a much wider prehistoric landscape thus seem promising.

A major set-back is the lack of a complete catalogue of metalwork finds from the region. Butler has taken on the heavy task of making such a catalogue. But while this book is being written, only a part of Butler's catalogue has been published (a catalogue of axes and some hoards).⁸ Also, the majority of the finds published by Butler and O'Connor (1980) has not yet been studied with an eye to their possible role in depositions. This implies that a lot of work still has to be done before a study of depositional practices can begin.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SPATIAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The questions that are central to my research can now be formulated as follows:

- 1 Is there any evidence that permanent deposition of metalwork took place in the Bronze Age of the southern Netherlands?

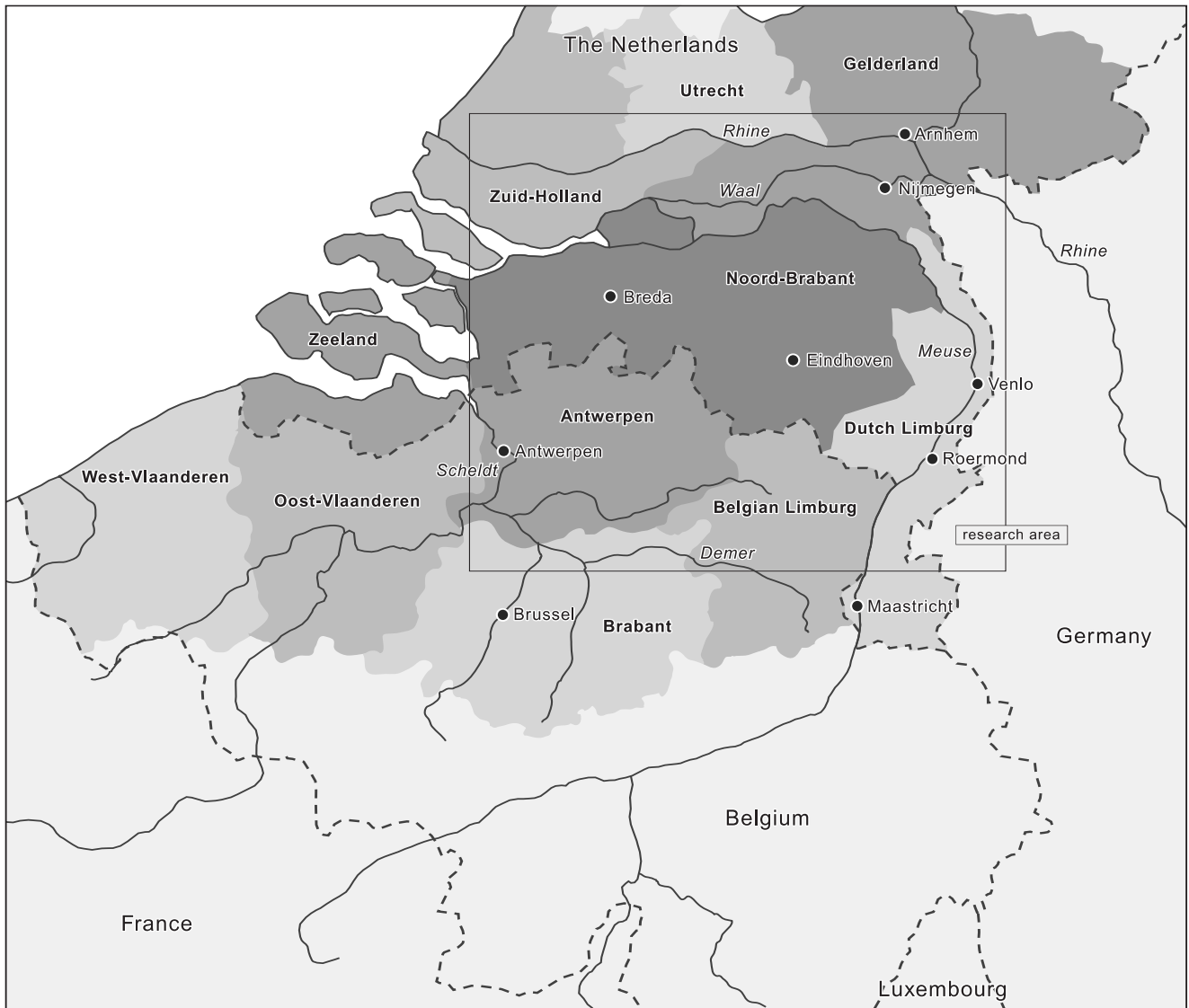


Figure 1.2 Provinces and important modern towns in the southern Netherlands and adjacent areas.

- 2 If so, which patterns in deposition can be observed among them? How was selective deposition structured?
- 3 How should we understand such patterns? Can we make sense of the meanings of objects from their role in selective deposition?

A brief description of the research area

I take the southern Netherlands to comprise the present-day provinces of Dutch Limburg, Noord-Brabant and Gelderland with the river Rhine as its northernmost boundary (fig. 1.2 and 1.3). Since the Dutch-Belgian border constitutes a quite

arbitrary boundary, the Belgian provinces of Antwerpen and Belgian Limburg are also included, with the river Demer as the southernmost boundary. Thus, the region comprises what is often indicated as the 'Meuse-Demer-Scheldt' region (Roymans/Theuws 1999), to which the Dutch central river area has been added. This more or less comes down to a region that consists of a Pleistocene coversand plateau of some 250 kilometres (east-west) by 120 kilometres (north-south), bordered in the west, east and north by the major rivers Scheldt and Meuse (fig. 1.2). The northern river area is characterized by Holocene fluvial clay cover-layers.

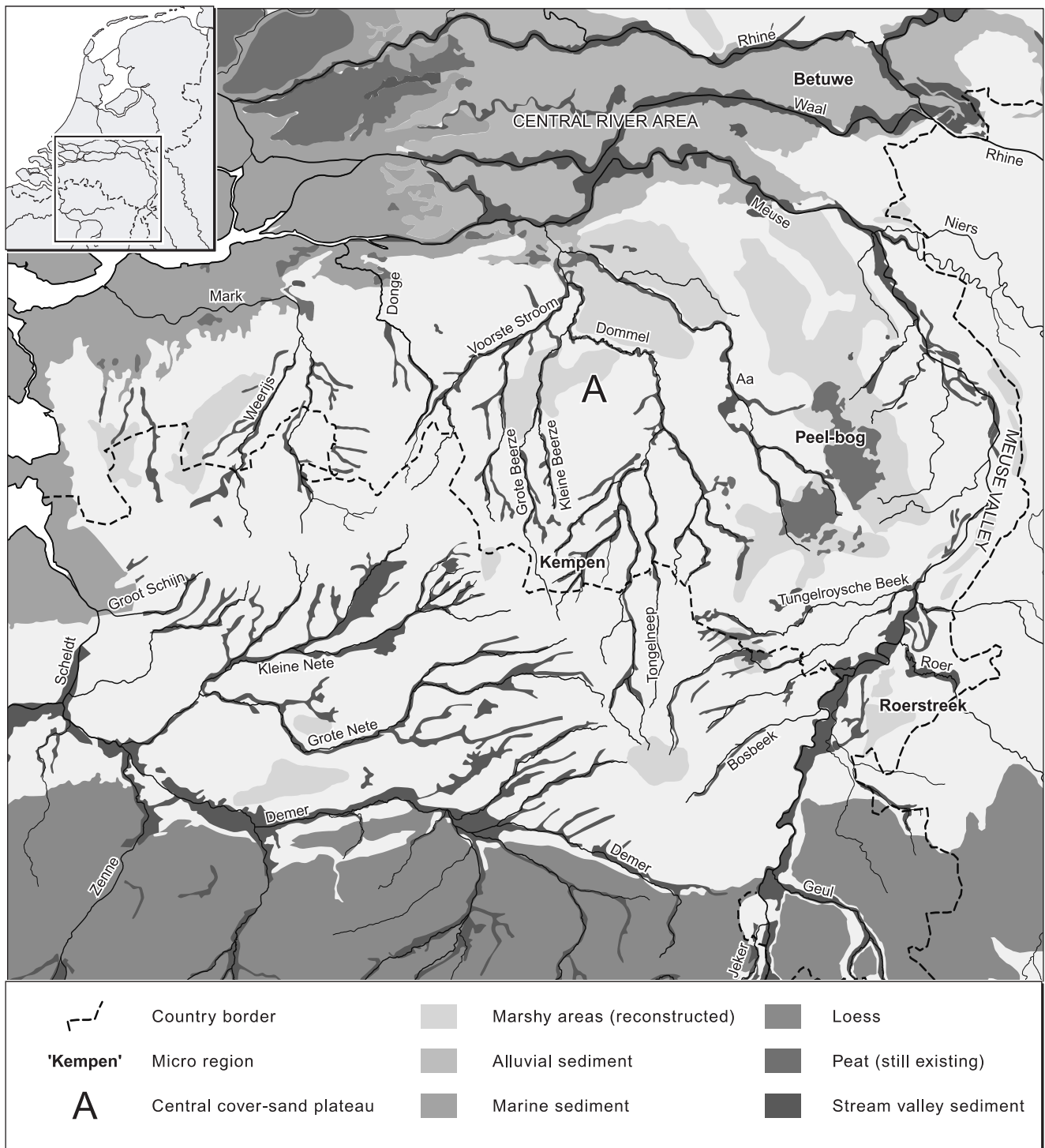


Figure 1.3 General map of the region indicating the most important environmental entities, streams, rivers and marshes and micro-regions.

In the southern part, Pleistocene loess sediment surfaces. I distinguish between three major zones in the landscape: the central coversand plateau, the Meuse valley, and the central river area (fig. 1.3).

The central coversand plateau consists of numerous sand ridges and small plateaus, flanked and defined by various stream valleys, marshes and fens. Although the region is nowadays known as a relatively 'dry' area, maps from the mid 19th century make it clear that it was covered by numerous marshes, fens and peat bogs (Theunissen 1999, 40 and references cited therein). The majority of these watery areas has disappeared due to the large-scale reclamations of the late 19th and early 20th century.⁹ Micro-regions that will be referred to in this book are the *Kempen*, in the heartlands of the study area, Western Brabant, and the Maaskant micro-region. An important characteristic of the entire sand plateau is the presence of thick medieval *plaggen* soils, the so-called *essen*. These anthropogenic soils are of interest as they cover up entire areas, thereby often concealing and preserving prehistoric traces. Around the *essen*, there were traditionally heath lands. These are the zones in which prehistoric barrows and urn-fields have been left largely intact. The eastern part of the sandy plateau is marked by the largest peat bog of the southern Netherlands, the Peel.

The Meuse valley is characterized by Pleistocene terraces, generally subdivided in a lower (the present river-bed), a middle and a high terrace. In general, the middle terraces were the most favourable areas for agrarian settlement. All terraces are subdivided by smaller streams discharging in the Meuse. An important environmental element for this research is the presence of swamps that were generally situated on the transition from the middle to the high terrace (nowadays mostly reclaimed). For practical reasons, I distinguish between the micro-regions Northern Limburg (around Venlo), Middle Limburg (with Roermond as its centre), and southern Limburg. The latter region is characterized by loess and loamy soils.

The central river area consists of a complex of fluvial deposits (Berendse/Stouthamer 2001). The recent excavations in this area have made it clear that many parts were intensively occupied in the Bronze Age. Due to the high water-levels, preservation circumstances are often very good in this area. Conspicuous parts in this landscape are the high and steep ice-pushed sandy ridges of Arnhem, Nijmegen and Rhenen, all of which were also inhabited during the Bronze Age.

Although it will be attempted to deal with the evidence of this entire geographical entity, the focus will be on data from the Dutch part. Reason for this is that the data from the Belgian part are much more biased towards areas outside the major river valley (this problem will be set out in detail

in chapter 4). Therefore, I shall omit phrases like the 'Rhine-Demer-Scheldt region', and instead speak of the 'southern Netherlands'. The available evidence from the Belgian provinces of Antwerpen and Limburg will be incorporated in the research. For pragmatic reasons, I consider these regions as part of the southern Netherlands.

Remarks on the chronological framework

Chronologically, the entire Bronze Age will be covered (c. 2000-800 BC), as well as the preceding phase in which copper and bronze were first introduced, the Late Neolithic B (2500-2000 BC). Although the Early Iron Age in our region signals a general decrease in the use of bronze, in most aspects there is a direct continuation of what happened in the Late Bronze Age. For this reason, the Early Iron Age Hallstatt C- phase (Ha C) will also be discussed to place bronze deposition in a chronological perspective.

The Dutch chronology is illustrated in fig. 1.4 in relation to those of adjacent regions.¹⁰ Unlike chronologies from other regions, the Dutch chronology is hardly based on metalwork evidence, but predominantly on developments in burial practices (Fokkens 2001). This is immediately apparent from the lack of overlap in phases like Middle Bronze Age B to the French and Belgian terminology of *Bronze final I-II*, which is determined by the typo-chronology of bronzes. The entire chronology of the Dutch Bronze Age illustrates how –in this case– burial evidence and metalwork finds have been treated separately. A fundamental problem for the Dutch bronzes is that they are mainly single finds, without associated datable finds and without ¹⁴C-datings. Seriation of hoards, as recently successfully done by Vandkilde (1996) for Denmark, is impossible. There is no foundation for building a chronology on the basis of the finds from the region itself. This implies that we will have to work with typo-chronologies from other regions, mainly from northern France, Belgium, Middle Germany and the Nordic area. This generally results in long dating ranges, making it often difficult to assess whether specific types of bronzes were contemporary to nearby settlements or graves. At the moment this cannot be remedied. For that reason, in discussing objects from for example the Middle Bronze Age B, attention will be paid to the different dating ranges of the object types involved, and in what way they constrain the identification of contemporary patterns.

1.7 HOW THE PROBLEM WILL BE APPROACHED

Essential to the present study is the collection of a representative database. The existing syntheses of Butler (1963) and O'Connor (1980) are no longer up-to-date, not only with regard to typochronological interpretations, but also because of the large number of new finds. There is nothing in the way of a more recent synthesis. Butler and Steegstra

South Germany		Eastern France	North-west France (Brittany, Normandy)	the Netherlands (south) traditional	Great Brittain		South Scandinavia Schleswig-Holstein		
					Needham 1996	Lanting/van der Plicht <i>in press</i>			
500		1er Âge du Fer	Armorican Scoketed Axes						
600	Ha D					Early Iron Age		VI	
700	Ha C								
800						Gündlingen		Llynfawr	
900	Ha B2/3	Br. Final IIIb	Br. Final Atl. III Carp's Tongue	Late Bronze Age		Ewart Park	V		
1000	Ha B1	Br. Final IIIa	Br. Final Atl. II St. Brieucs-des-Iffs			Blackmoor	IV		
1100	Ha A2	Br. Final IIb			Wilburton				
1200	Ha A1	Br. Final IIa	Br. Final Atl. I Rosnoën	Middle Bronze Age B		Penard	III		
1300	D	Br. Final I			Taunton	II			
1400	C2	Br. Moyen III	Br. Moyen Atl. II Bignan				Acton Park	I B Sögel-Wohlde	
1500	C1	Br. Moyen II	Br. Moyen Atl. I Tréboul						
1600	B	Br. Moyen I							
1700	A2	Br. Ancien III	Br. Ancien	Middle Bronze Age A	4	4	I A		
1800	A1	Br. Ancien II		Early Bronze Age = Late Neolithic C	3	3	LN II		
1900						A1b			
2000		A1a late					2	LN I	
2100	A1a early	Br. Ancien I							
2200	Endneolithikum	Néolithique final/ Chalcolithique	Néolithique final / Chalcolithique	Late Neolithic B	2	(Bronze Age) I			
2300									
2400							1		Middle Neolithic B III
2500								Late Neolithic	
2600									

Figure 1.4 Chronological terminology of north-west European regions in use for the period under study (2500 - 500 BC). Based on Fokkens 2001 (the Netherlands), Lanting/Van der Plicht in press, Needham 1996 (Britain) and Vandkilde 1996 (south Scandinavia from LN 1 to Period IB).

(University of Groningen) are currently working on the publication of a new database of the Dutch finds, some parts of which have already been published (Butler 1990 (Early and Middle Bronze Age hoards), Butler 1995/1996 (flat and flanged axes) Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998 (palstaves); idem 1999/2000 (winged axes) and in press (socketed axes)). I did not want to duplicate their efforts by bringing out another catalogue. Instead, a useful form of cooperation developed. I carried out a detailed survey of the literature and studied two important museum collections (see chapter 4 for a more detailed description) and checked my results with those of Butler and Steegstra. The confrontation of our results led to a rich database, as both parties appeared to have been fuelled by different amateur and information networks on recent finds. Butler and Steegstra focussed on the detailed study of typo-chronology of finds and the retrieval of all existing records on individual finds. This made it possible for me to focus on the analysis of the find context of bronzes, to pave the way for a study on the role of these objects in deposition. For a detailed find catalogue in the classic sense, the reader is referred to Butler and Steegstra's publications mentioned above, and forthcoming ones. This book will publish all used data, with specific attention to those variables that are thought to be important (see appendices).

In order to structure the discussion, the book is divided into three parts. Part I introduces the problem in question (this chapter), how to approach it (chapter 2 and 3), and it discusses the limitations and possibilities of the available evidence (chapter 4).

Part II presents the data in chronological order, following the approach set out in chapter 3 and 4. For every period, an outline is given of the most important developments taking place (chapters 5 to 9). For pragmatic reasons, the burial finds of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age urnfields are discussed in a separate chapter (chapter 9). In part II, two of the three research questions are dealt with: (1.) did ritual deposition of metalwork take place, and (2.) if so, what patterns can be observed?

Part III will deal mainly with the third research question: how should we understand such patterns in selective deposition? This part starts with a chapter in which a general outline is given of the main characteristics of selective deposition in the southern Netherlands, how it was structured, and how it developed through time. In the following chapter, separate themes that were relevant to deposition are dealt with from a long-term perspective: these are the deposition of weapons (chapter 11), ornaments (12), and axes (13). Then the attention shifts from objects to context. In chapter 14, the question is broached how depositions structure the landscape. Finally, chapter 15 brings together the different threads of thought developed in this part, and places the findings in a wider context.

notes

1 Large objects like axes, swords, spears and ornaments are mentioned here. In Late Bronze Age urnfields, a minority of the graves contains small and often fragmented parts of ornaments or dress fittings (this book, chapter 9). These are not included here.

2 Fokkens 1996; Gerritsen 2001, fig. 2.5; Lohof 1991; Roymans/Fokkens 1991; Theunissen 1999.

3 Butler 1963; Childe 1930; Clark 1952, 256; Déchelette 1910, 406; De Navarro 1925; Hawkes 1940; Pauli 1985; Sommerfeld 1994; Stjernquist 1965/1966.

4 Other examples are Bradley 1984; Frankenstein/Rowlands 1978; Larsson 1986; Parker Pearson 1984; Thorpe/Richards 1984; Shennan 1986a; 1986b.

5 Butler 1963; 1987; 1990; 1995/1996; Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998; 1999/2000; in press; O'Connor 1980.

6 A case in point is the west-Belgian province of Oost-Vlaanderen, adjacent to the study area. Verlaeckaert (1996) has recently published an impressive survey of the metalwork finds from this province. The overwhelming majority are from the river Scheldt and were collected in the early 20th century. Not much bronze finds are known from the area beyond the river valley. However, the high number of Bronze Age find-spots (especially barrows) makes it clear that people did inhabit this area (Ampe *et al.* 1996).

7 Nijmegen: Fontijn 1996a and b; recent urnfield excavations in the sandy parts of the southern Netherlands: see the contributions in Theuvs/Roymans 1999; Betuwe: for example: Jongste 2002; Meijlink 2001.

8 Butler 1995/1996; Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998; Butler/Steegstra 1999/2000 and in press.

9 *Grote Historische Atlas van Nederland. 1: 50.000. 4 Zuid-Nederland 1838-1857* and *Grote Historische Provincie Atlas 1: 25.000. Limburg 1837-1844* (both Wolters-Noordhoff Atlasproducties), Groningen. The geographical background used for the find-distribution maps in this book (chapter 5 and further) shows the extension of swamps before their reclamation as known from these historical maps.

10 The chronology of the Bronze Age used here is the one introduced in the synthesis of Dutch prehistory (Fokkens 2001; Louwe Kooijmans *et al.* in prep.; Theunissen 1999, 54). When the first draft of this book was completed, Jan Lanting (University of Groningen) kindly provided me with the draft of an article which proposes a new chronological terminology for the Dutch Bronze Age (Lanting/van der Plicht in press). A lack of time prevented me from discussing the implications of this new chronological system. The new datings of the German and French chronology are already drawn from this article, but for pragmatic reasons I did not apply the new chronological terminology.

