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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')

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Appendices

1 LIST OF ALL HOARDS FROM THE STUDY REGION

For these and all following appendices: P means 'primary' information and S stands for 'secondary' information, which means that it was reconstructed by the author (see chapter 4, section 4.3.2. Note that 'primary' information does not necessarily mean that this information is more reliable than 'secondary' information (a find

from an antique dealer who says that it was dredged from the river counts as primary information as well!)! Use traces: all indications of use, but they may include preparations related to deposition as well (for example: resharpening of axes just before they were placed in the water)

Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
LN/EBA					
<i>Wageningen (NL: Gelderland)</i>					
1 halberd, 1 Migdale axe, 1 knife, 2 penannular rings, 2 ring fragm., 1 ingot bar, 1 stone polished axe, 1 awl, 2 halberd rivets, 1 bar, 5 fragm. of sheet metal	Dagger: worn edges, other tools unknown, 1 halberd rivet unfinished	On gentle slope, dry. In vicinity: LN barrows	All: light green	S	Butler 1990, 68-71; this book fig. 5.14; 5.15
<i>Gemert-Nuenen 'Kollse hoeve'</i>					
1 flanged axe with 'British affinities' (but Unétice metal), allegedly with two flint polished 'Vlaardingen' axes	-	Stream valley. Allegedly under large stone, which is dubious since these are not locally available. Association with flint axes is dubious as well. Interpretation as hoard must be doubted	-	S	Butler 1995/1996: no. 26, pers. comment N. Arts (Eindhoven)
MBA A					
<i>Overloon (NL: Limburg)</i>					
2 Wohlde rapiers, 1 nick-flanged axe, 1 Bagterp spearhead, 1 Torsted spearhead, 1 Bargloy pin	Rapiers have been sharpened, spearheads resharpened	Objects were deposited in overlapping position (fig. 6.7) in hillock in or near marshy stream valley	All: fine dark green	S	Butler 1990, 74-6; this book fig 6.5; 6.7
MBA B					
<i>Escharen-Raam (NL: Noord-Brabant)</i>					
1 Rosnoën rapier, 1 spearhead, 1 dagger, 1 bracelet	Dagger made out of sword blade?	Objects were found together in marshy stream valley 'at short distance from each other'	All: d. bronze	P	Verwers 1988, 26-7; this book fig. 7.11

Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
<i>Holset (NL: Limburg)</i> 2 knobbed sockles and type Bühl spearhead	All: resharp.	Found in large barrow (d. 23 m) with drystone constructions, objects were found close together, but no asso- ciation with burial was attested	-	P	Butler 1990, 98-9
<i>Kessel (NL: Limburg)</i> 2 regional palstaves, one midribbed, the other with parallel-sided hafting	-	Found at the same spot (but not at the same time) in what was once a marshy area	Both 'well-preserved'	S	Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998, nos 318 and 365; this book fig. 7.6
<i>Neeroeteren/Maaseik- Waachteren (B: Limburg)</i> 4 Mid-winged Grigny axes	All: resharp.?	In peaty stream valley	D. bronze	P	Warmenbol 1989a; this book fig. 7.8
<i>Nijmegen-Heesche Poort (NL: Gelderland)</i> 3 palstaves: 1 Rosnoën type, 2 regional types (with parallel hafting and with sinuous outline)	Rosnoën axe: broken before deposition, the others: edge sharpened, later damaged	In watery place, near river Waal: very old find and said object association therefore dubious	Brown/d. green, unknown and bronze	S	Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998: nos. 229, 289 and 320
<i>Sevenum-Molenbeek (NL: Limburg)</i> Regional palstave (parallel-sided hafting) and spearhead (now lost)	Axe: sharpened	In stream valley	Bronze/ black (axe)	S	Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998: no 309; this book fig. 7.7
<i>Swalmen-Hillenraad 1 (NL: Limburg)</i> Mid-winged Grigny axe and whetstone	Sharpened	Placed in barrow, no direct association with grave. Adjacent barrow: comparable hoard in mound (below)	Green-black	S	Butler 1990, 100-2
<i>Swalmen-Hillenraad 2 (NL: Limburg)</i> 2 mid-winged Grigny axes	One sharpened, other unknown	Placed in barrow, no direct association with grave. Adjacent barrow: comparable hoard in mound (above)	One d. green, other unknown	S	Butler 1990, 100-2
LBA					
<i>Antwerpen-Kattendijkdok (B: Antwerpen)</i> 9 socketed axes (local Plainseau-'Jail Window' variety)	-	In peat of stream valley of the Schijn, close to the place where it flows into the river Scheldt (fig. 13.4)	All: brown-black	S	Warmenbol 1984a, 1987a; this book fig. 13.4

Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
<i>Berg en Dal (NL: Gelderland)</i> At least 2, possibly 3 Geistingen axes (Mus. Nijmegen: nos AC 19-20, possibly also xxx.d.39).	Unsharp.	Very similar patina, acquired by museum in one party. Accounts on find circumstances lacking: interpretation as hoard dubious	Green-black	S	Butler 1973, 341
<i>Berg en Terblijt-Vilt (NL: Limburg)</i> 2 Mid-winged 'Head and Shoulders' axes, one Niedermaas axe, 1 socketed chisel, 3 sickles, 1 pseudo-flame shaped spearhead, 7 fragm. of bracelets, 1 twisted armring, spiral	Sickles and axes: (re)sharpened	In gully on hills of Geul valley, near natural source. Only selection of items found survived	D. green	S	Butler 1973; Van Hoof 2000; Habets 1865; this book fig. 8.19
<i>Deurne (NL: Noord-Brabant)</i> 2 socketed chisels, 1 gouge	Resharp.	Very similar patina, indicating long stay in peaty environment. Detailed information is lacking. Interpretation as hoard dubious	Black-bronze	S	Butler 1963a, 126
<i>Echt (NL: Limburg)</i> 3 Helmeroth axes	-	Similar patina, indicating long stay in peaty environment. Detailed information is lacking. Interpretation as hoard is dubious	Brown-green	S	Butler/Steegstra in press nos. 538, 539, 544
<i>Geistingen-Letterveld (B: Limburg)</i> 26 or 28 Geistingen axes	Sharp. and unsharp.	Dry place? On high plateau plateau with gullies that may carry water in the wet seasons. The axes were allegedly placed in a circle, tied together with a rope	Most d. green, some brownish	P	Van Hoof 2000; Wielockx 1986: Hu 16-37
<i>Heppeneert –Wayerveld (B: Limburg)</i> 47 socketed axes (mainly Plainseau type, 1 faceted British axe) 1 spearhead fragm.	Most sharp.	Dry place? On high plateau plateau with gullies that may carry water in the wet seasons.	Green to brown	P	Van Impe 1994; this book fig. 13.2
<i>Hoogstraten (B: Antwerpen)</i> c. 20 socketed axes, mainly Plainseau type, jail-window variety, 1 Niedermaas axe	-	Dry place on sand plateau between two streams	-	S	Warmenbol 1984

Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
<i>Lutommel-Konijnepijp</i> (B: Limburg)					
9 socketed axes (mainly Plainseau), 6 rings, 3 biconical beads, 3 tubular ribbed beads, 2 Omega-shaped bracelets, 8 fragm. of armrings.	Axes: sharpened	Originally much more ornaments and axes (possibly 44). Located on gentle sandy slope, possibly high water table. In the vicinity: several urnfields and possibly a settlement (fig. 12.2)	D.green-bronze	S	Van Impe 1995/1996; this book fig. 12.1; 12.2
<i>Maastricht-Caberg</i>					
2 Geistingen axes, allegedly a knife was also part of this hoard, but this is doubtful	Unsharpened	On a high, dry plateau. Interpretation as hoard dubious	Green-black	S	Butler 1973, 341, note 25 and pers. comm.
<i>Montfort (NL: Limburg)</i>					
2 Niedermaas axes	Resharpened	In a marsh	-	P	Butler 1973, Abb. 11 and pers. comm.
<i>Nieuwrode (B: Brabant)</i>					
5 Niedermaas axes	Resharpened	Unknown	D.green-grey	-	Warmenbol 1987e
<i>Nijmegen-Hengstberg</i>					
1 geometrically decorated socketed axe of unknown type, 1 Plainseau axe	Plainseau axe: resharpened	On a high hill, commanding a fine view of the river valley of the Waal. In or directly near a LBA urnfield	-	S	Butler/Steegstra in press: no. 509 (Plainseau axe only); documentation Mus. Leiden
<i>Nijmegen-Roomsche Voet</i>					
6 socketed axes, probably lost	-	Unknown	-	-	Reuvs: Antiquiteiten 1823, 221-2.
<i>Oirschot (NL: Noord-Brabant)</i>					
2 Plainseau axes	Sharpened	Found together in dump of ROB excavation; similar patina and there- fore likely to have been a hoard. Patina suggests wet context	D. bronze	S	Drenth 1994; this book fig. 8.7
<i>Overpelt-De Hoven (B: Limburg)</i>					
2 Socketed axes, 1 leg/arm spiral, fragm. of other spirals	-	Unknown	-	-	Inderherberg 1984
<i>Pietersheim (B: Limburg)</i>					
4 socketed axes (type uncertain, 1 Niedermaas and 3 Plainseau), 1 end-winged axe	-	Allegedly in (natural) stream which was included in the defensive system of the castle	-	S	Heymans 1985
<i>Pulle (B: Antwerpen)</i>					
8 spearheads, fragm. of 5 different swords, 1 Niedermaas axe	Edges light sharpened, most objects are bent and damaged, a few show traces of fire	In stream valley, the items were lying in each other's immediate vicinity but not together. Objects must have been intentionally damaged before deposition (chapter 8)	'well preserved'	S	Van Impe 1973

Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
<i>Rijkevorsel-Scheidhaag</i> (<i>B: Antwerpen</i>) 5 or 6 axes, a flint axe, a hammerstone. Only one axe has come down to us (faceted socketed axe)	-	In peat layer. The objects were allegedly found in some sort of wooden box. The surviving axe may well have come from a peaty location	Brownish	-	Wielockx 1986: Hu 117
<i>Rotem-Vossenbergh (B: Limburg)</i> 4 Niedermaas axes, 1 sickle	Resharpended	On dry, high place commanding a wide view, near the edge of the plateau	D.green	P	Van Impe/ Creemers 1993
<i>Stiphout-castle of Croy</i> (<i>NL: Noord-Brabant</i>) 1 or 2 Plainseau axes, 1 socketed chisel	Sharpened	In peaty layers of stream valley. Hermans mentions three axes, Van der Bruggen van Croy speakes of 2 axes without making clear that they were found together. Interpretation as hoard is dubious	Brown	P	Butler/Steegstra in press: no. 514, 524
<i>Susteren-Eilandje (NL: Limburg)</i> 3 axes, 2 Wesseling, 1 Niedermaas type	Sharpened	In marsh	D.bronze	P	Butler 1998/1999; Butler/Steegstra in press: no. 484; Van Hoof 2000; this book fig. 8.5

2.1 FLAT AXES

Flat axes in the research region and from the central part of the Netherlands ('Veluwe'). B. no. 14 = Butler 1995/1996 no. 14; R.Sharp. = Resharpened

Site	Type	Date	Metal	Use	Context	Patina	I.	Reference
NL: Gelderland								
Arnhem	Migdale	LN-EBA	-		Dry?	-	S	B. no. 14
Beek	Bygholm	EBA	Ösenring	R.sharp.	-	Green	-	B. no. 5
Wageningen	Migdale	LN-EBA	Singen	Sharp.	Dry hoard	Green	S	B. no. 13
Wijchen	Migdale	LN-EBA	-	none	Stream/marsh	Black	S	B. no. 18
NL: Limburg								
Haler	Migdale	LN-EBA	-	R.sharp.	Dry-wet trans.	-	S	B. no. 15
Unknown	Bygholm	LN-B	BB-metal	Sharp.	-	Green	-	B. no. 2
NL: Noord-Brabant								
Escharen	Double axe	LN-B?	-	None	Bank of stream	Green	P	B. no.11; this book fig. 5.9
Escharen	Altheim	LN-B	-	Sharp.	Stream valley	Gr.black	P	B. no. 7
Halder	Erpolzheim	LN-B	-	-	Stream valley?	R.brown	S	B. no. 10
Hapert	Migdale	LN-EBA	-	-	Stream valley	Gr.brown	S	B. no. 16
Hoogeloon	primitive	LN-B	-	-	Stream valley	D.green	P	This book, fig. 5.6
NL: Gelderland (north of research area)								
'Veluwe' 52	Bygholm	LN-B	Singen	Sharp.	Hoard with no. 53 in wet place?	Brown	S	B. no. 3; this book fig. 5.7
'Veluwe' 53	Bygholm	LN-B	BB-metal	Sharp.	Ibid.	Brown	S	B. no. 4; this book fig. 5.7

2.3 OLDENDORF AXES

Legend: Var. = variety; B. no. 97 = Butler 1995/1996 no. 97

Site	Var.	Use	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland						
Huissen	1	-	River	D.bronze	P	B. no. 97
Nijmegen-Waal	2	Ground	River	Black-green	P	B. no. 110
Nijmegen-Margrietpaviljoen	2	Resharp.	Dry	D.green	P	B. no. 98; fig. 6.4
Nijmegen	2	Ground, pouched	-	Black-brown	-	B. no. 118
Nijmegen	2	Ground	-	D.green	-	B. no. 116
Nijmegen-Waal	3	Resharp.	River	Black	P	B. no. 130
Wageningen-Papenpad	1	Pouched	-	Green	-	Butler, unpublished
Wageningen-De Drie	4	Resharp.	-	<i>Edelpatina</i>	-	B. no. 134
NL: Limburg						
Asselt	2	Ground, pouched	-	Black-green	-	B. no. 106
Baexem	1	Re-sharp.	Stream valley	Green	S	B. no. 84
Echt	1	Re-sharp.	Marsh	-	S	B. no. 91
Echt-‘achter St. Joost’	2	-	Marsh	-	S	Unpubl., mus. Echt no. 34942
Echt-‘near Koningsbosch’	2	Ground	Dry?	green	S	Butler, unpublished
Grathem	1	Resharp.	Marsh	-	S	B. no. 81
Grubbenvorst-Lovendaal	2	Reduced blade	Wet?	Blue-green	S	B. no. 105
Meerlo-Karrewiel	2	Sharp., pouched	Marsh	‘Well preserved’	S	B. no. 122
Meerlo	2	Ground, Sharp.	Marsh, near barrow	Green-l.brown	S	Unpublished, coll. Dittrich, Maastricht
Melick-Centeberg	2	Sharp., pouched	-	Black	-	B. no. 109
Montfort-Rozendaal	-	Re-used fragment	Stream valley?	-	S	B. no. 136
Neeritter	2	Sharp., expand. blade	(near) Marsh?	d.green	S	Butler, unpublished
Posterholt	1	Damaged blade	-	l.green	-	B. no. 87
Reuver	2	Ground, pouched	-	Black	-	B. no. 104
Roermond	2	Sharp., later blunted	-	Black-green	-	Butler, unpublished, Mus. Maastricht 2924A
Unknown	2	Sharp., later battered	-	D. green	-	B. no. 108
Unknown, Maas	1	-	River	D. bronze	P	Butler, unpublished, Mus. Maastricht 3752A
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Best	1	Ground, pouched	-	Brown-green	-	B. no. 86
Breda	1	-	Stream valley	Black	P	B. no. 85

Site	Var.	Use	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
Gassel-Blauwe Sleen	2	Ground, pouched	River sediment?	Black-d.green	S	B. no. 120
Hapert-De Vliegert	1	Resharp.	(near) Stream valley	D.green-black	S	Butler, unpublished
Oisterwijk (Moergestel?)	1	-	-	-	-	B. no. 95
's-Hertogenbosch	2	Pouched	-	-	-	B. no. 115
Son en Breugel-Breugelse Beek	?	-	Stream valley	-	S	AW no. 82
B. Limburg						
Elen	2	-	-	Well preserved	-	Warmenbol 1994 no. 18
Opoeteren-Driepaalhoeve	2	Resharpended?	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1987 no. 22
Ophoven (or Kessenich)	1	Resharpended	Marsh? Allegedly with other objects	Brown-green	P	Wielockx 1986: Ra 16, Van Hoof 2000 (see 'Geistingen hoard')
B: Oost-Vlaanderen (just west of border research region)						
Beveren	1	-	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1994 no. 29

2.4 OTHER MBA A AXES

Legend: B. no. 172 = Butler 1995/1996 no. 172; BS no. 243 =
Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998, no. 243

Site	Type	Use	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland						
Lathum-Lathumse Gat	Stopridge, Vlagtwedde	Ground, pouched	River	D. bronze	P	B. no. 172
Nijmegen-Hunerberg? (dubious provenance)	Nicked palstave-chisel	-	-	Green	-	Unpublished, Mus. Nijmegen AC 38
Rijnwaarden-Bijlandsche Waard?	Nick-flanged	Ground, sharp.	River	Well preserved	S	B. no. 75
Rijnwaarden-Bijlandsche Waard?	Nick-flanged	-	River	-	S	B. no. 76
Unknown, Rijn/Waal	Stopridge, Vlagtwedde	-	River	-	P	Hulst 1989, 143
NL: Limburg						
Aijen	Stopridge, Bannockburn	Ground, sharp.	-	Black	-	B. no. 150
Buggenum	Stopridge	-	-	L. green	-	B. no. 176
Maastricht-Maas	Stopridge, Plaisir	-	River	Black	P	B. no. 157; this book fig. 6.9
Overloon	Nick-flanged	-	Weapon hoard, with 2 swords, 2 spears and a needle	D. green	S	B. no. 78; this book fig. 6.5
St.-Odiliënberg	Arreton	Sharp., battered	-	Black	-	Butler unpublished
Unknown	Stopridge	-	-	-	-	B. no. 175
Unknown	With high- placed flanges	-	-	Bronze	-	B. no. 62
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Alphen	Flanged, unclassified	-	Burial, (<i>ringwalheuvel</i>), primary grave	green	P	B no. 141; this book fig. 6.6
Hoogeloon-Zwartenberg	Nicked palstave-chisel	-	Burial (<i>ringwalheuvel</i>), primary grave	green	S	BS. no. 243; this book fig. 6.8
Rijsbergen-Bakkebrug	With high- placed flanges	Edge expanded	Stream valley	D.bronze	S	B. no. 61, pers.comm. J. Verhagen (Tilburg)
B: Antwerpen						
Antwerpen	Arreton	-	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1994 no. 2
Antwerpen-Oosterweel	Stopridge	-	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1994 no. 4
Antwerpen-Oosterweel	Arreton- Tréboul	-	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1994 no. 3
B: Brabant						
Brussegem-Ossel	Arreton	-	-	brown	-	Warmenbol 1994 no. 9
B. Limburg						
Negenoord-Meuse	Nick-flanged	-	River	-	P	Butler 1995/1996, 203

2.5 IMPORTED PALSTAVES AND OTHER AXES

Legend: W =western European,C=central European; ND north Dutch types. BS no. 429 = Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998, no. 429. AXPASW Butler's and Steegstra's code for a sinuous-shaped

palstave with flanged, wide blade section; AXPASW: the same, but with an arch-shaped ornament on its sides and no flanges; AXPAGSW: similar but with a groove

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland Berg en Dal	ND: AXPASW	-	-	Brown	-	BS no. 428
Doorwerth-Italiaanse weg	C: Niedermockstadt, var. Reckerode	-	Barrow, primary grave	-	S	BS no 239
Nijmegen	ND: AXPFSW	Ground	-	Black	-	BS no. 358
Nijmegen-Heesche Poort	W: Rosnoën, looped	(broken in antiquity)	Hoard in wet location? With 2 regional palstaves	Bronze	S	BS no. 229
Wijchen-Nijmegen	W: Wantage	-	-	Brown	-	BS no. 214
Weurt-Waal	W: Rosnoën, looped	Sharp.	River	D.bronze	P	BS no. 230
Zaltbommel-Waal KM 932	W: Looped, narrow blade	Reworked loop, sharp.	River	D.bronze	P	BS no. 235
Zoelen	W: Midrib, flanged, wide-bladed	Broken in antiquity	-	L.green	-	BS no. 225
NL: Limburg Asselt	W: Wantage	Not sharp. blunt!	River	D.green-black	P	Unpublished, coll. Van Kaathoven, Schijndel
Beesel	ND: AXPAGSW	Ground, sharp., battered	(Near) marsh	Black-green	S	BS no. 429
Eerselen	W: Stibbard	-	Marsh	D.green	S	BS no. 217
Leunen/Brukske	W: Normand	+	(Near) marsh	Brown	S	BS no. 220
Melick	W: Normand	-	-	D.green/Brown	-	Unpublished, coll. Dahmen, St. Odiliënberg
Roermond-Maas	W: Wide, trapeze blade	-	River	Blackish, traces of wood	P	BS no. 237
Stevensweert-Maas	W: Wantage	Resharpended	River	Well preserved	P	BS no. 213
Venlo-Hamburger Singel	W: Rosnoën, looped	Reworked	-	-	-	BS no. 231
Vlodrop	W: Primary shield palstave	Sharp.	-	D.Green	-	BS no. 207
Wessem?-Maas	W: Primary shield palstave	Sharp.	River	D.Bronze	S	BS no. 212; this book fig. 7.4
NL: Noord-Brabant Beek en Donk-iversnest	W: Wide, trapeze blade	-	Stream valley	D.brown	S	BS no. 236
Breda	W: Portrieux	-	-	-	-	BS no 226
Esbeek-Molenheide	ND: AXPASW	Ground, sharp.	-	Black, well preserved	-	BS no. 427
Goirle-Tum. VI	C: Unclassified	-	In primary burial in barrow with bronze tweezer, ring and 2 indet. bronze items	Green	P	B no. 72; this book fig. 7.9

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
Vught	C: Niedermockstadt, var. Reckerode	-	-	Brownish	-	BS no. 240
B: Antwerpen Antwerpen	W: Birchington	-	River	-	P	O'Connor 1980 list 8: 5
Antwerpen	W: Broadward	-	River	-	P	Verlaeckt 1996: A11

2.6. REGIONAL PALSTAVES, MIDRIBBED

Legend: BS no. 378 = Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998 no. 378. AXPMI: Butler's and Steegstra's code for a midribbed or midridged palstave; AXPMT: the same but now with trumpet-shaped ornament; AXPL:

a looped variety; F with flanged blade; S: sinuous-shaped; W with wide blade; C crinoline-shaped blade outline; < small variety; > large; >< medium

Site	Type	use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland						
Eimeren-De Cradillen	AXPLMIS<	Sharp.	-	-	-	BS no. 378
Nijmegen (dubious)	AXPMIFSW	-	River?	Green	P	BS no. 390
Nijmegen-Hunerberg?	AXPLMIS<	Sharp.	-	Brown	-	BS no. 384
Waal/Rijn (dubious)	AXPMIS>	Ground	River?	Bronze	P	BS no. 364
Weurt	AXPMIC	Sharp.	River?	D.green/bronze	-	
Weurt	AXPMISC>	Sharp.	-	Green/bronze	-	BS no. 360
Wijchen (dubious)	AXPMISW	Sharp.	-	-	-	BS no. 386
NL: Limburg						
Baarlo	AXPMIS	Resharp.	Wet?	Black	-	
Broekhuizen-De Kolk	AXPMIS<	Sharp.	River	-	S	BS no. 375
Buggenum-Maas	AXPMI/\	-	River	L.green/D.bronze	P	BS no. 394
Graetheide	AXPMVSW	-	-	Well preserved	-	BS no. 397
Heythuizen	AXPMISC>	-	-	Green	-	BS no. 361
Kessel	AXPMIS>	-	Hoard in marsh with other palstave (AXPP/\)	D.green	S	BS no. 365; this book fig. 7.6
Kessel	AXPMISW	Sharp.	-	Green	-	BS no. 387
Leveroij	AXPMTSW	Ground, sharp.	-	Black/D.green	-	BS no. 395
Linne	AXPMVSW	Resharp.	-	Green	-	BS no. 399
Montfort	AXPMIS><	Sharp.	Stream valley	-	S	BS no. 369
Roermond-Maas	AXPMIS><	Ground, sharp.	River	Bronze	P	BS no. 370
Roggel en Neer	AXPMIS<	Sharp.	Wet?	Brown/green	S	BS no. 374
Stevensweert-Maas	AXPMISW	-	River	D.bronze	P	BS no. 388
Susteren-Gebroek	AXPMISC>	Sharp., battered	Marsh	Brown-green	S	BS no. 362
Susteren-Dieteren	AXPMTSW	Ground	Stream valley?	Well preserved	S	BS no. 396
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Beers-Tongelaar	AXPMIS<	Re-ground	Prehistoric river channel?	Black	S	BS no. 373
Beers-Tongelaar	AXPMIS><	-	Prehistoric river channel?	-	S	BS no. 371
Deurne	AXPMRS	RS	Marsh	Black	-	
Escharen-De Schans	AXPLMIS<	Expanded blade	-	Black	-	BS no. 381
Haps	AXPLMIS<	Sharp.	-	-	-	BS no. 383
Oerle	AXPMVSW	Resharp.	-	D.green	-	BS no. 398
Volkel-Zeeland	AXPLMIS<	Resharp.	Peat bog (Peel)	Grey-green	S	BS no. 379
B. Limburg						
Maaseik	AXPAMV...	-	-	-	-	Wielockx 1986, Hi 17

2.7 REGIONAL PALSTAVES, PLAIN, SINUOUS-SHAPED AND PALSTAVES WITH TRAPEZE OUTLINE (SEE CHAPTER 7)

Legend: BS no. 317 = Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998, no. 317. AXPP: Butler's and Steegstra's code for a plain palstave; AXPP\, the

same, but with trapeze outline; S: sinuous (ogival) blade outline; W: with wide blade; H: parallel-sided hafting; C: crinoline blade outline. <, > etc. see appendix 2.6

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland Batenburg-Maas (dubious)	AXPP\	Sharp., expanded blade	River	Black	P	BS no. 317
Beek-Oorsprong	AXPPSW	Hammered blade	Natural well on steep slope	D.green	S	BS no. 285
Nijmegen-Hees	AXPPS	Sharp., later battered	-	Green	-	BS no. 261
Nijmegen-Heesche Poort	AXPP\	Sharp., later damaged	Hoard in wet location	D.Green-Black	S	BS no. 320
Nijmegen-Heesche Poort	AXPPSW	Sharp., later battered	Hoard in wet location	-	S	BS no. 289
Nijmegen-Heesche Veld	AXPPSW	Sharp., later blunted	Wet	Brown/d.green	S	BS no. 282
Nijmegen (dubious)?	AXPP\	Sharp.	-	Brown	-	BS no. 319
Waal/Rhine (dubious)	AXPP\	Sharp.	River	Black	P	BS no. 315
Wijchen-Berendonck	AXPPS	Broken in antiquity	-	Brown	-	BS no. 250
Woezik	AXPPS	Sharpened	-	Black	-	BS no. 263
NL: Limburg Belfeld-Meelderbroek	AXPLPH	-	Marsh	D.bronze	P	BS no. 340
Berg en Terblijt-Vilt (dubious)	AXPP\	-	Allegedly in LBA hoard (which is doubtful)	D.bronze	-	BS no. 322
Buggenum-Maas	AXPPS	Ground, expanded blade	River	D.bronze	P	BS no. 252
Buggenum-Maas	Mould for AXPP\	-	River	-	P	BS no 323
Dubbroek-Blerick	AXPLPS><	Ground, sharp.	-	D.green	-	BS no. 329
Echt	AXPPHC	Resharp., re-worked blade	-	D.green	-	BS no. 306
Eerselen-Groen Bosch	AXPPS	Blunted edge	Marsh	Black-green		
Herten-Ool	AXPPS	-	River	-	S	BS no. 253
Kessel	AXPP\	-	Hoard in marsh with other palstave (AXPMIS>)	Well preserved	S	BS no. 318; this book fig. 7.6
Kessel?	AXPPSW	Ground, sharp.	(Near) marsh	Black-green	S	BS no. 283
Kessel	AXPPSW	-	-	Brown	-	BS no. 284
Koningsbosch	AXPPS<>	Resharp.	Dry?	Green		
Leunen-Op de Steeg	AXPP\	Sharp.	Stream valley	Green/brown	S	BS no. 313
Lottum?	AXPPS	Sharpened	-	D.brown/green	-	BS no. 265
Montfort	AXPP\	-	Marsh?	D.green-black	S	BS no. 314
Montfort-Schrevenbroekje	AXPPSW	-	Marsh/stream valley	Green	S	BS no. 291
Pepinusbrug	AXPP\	Sharp.	-	L.green	-	BS no. 310

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
Roermond	AXPP^	Sharp.	-	Green	-	BS no. 316
Sevenum	AXPP^	Sharp.	Hoard in stream valley, with spearhead	Bronzel/black	-	BS no. 309; this book fig. 7.7
Sevenum-Dorperweiden	AXPPH<	Sharp.	-	Green	-	BS no. 294
Venlo-Hagerhof	AXPPSW	Sharp.	-	D.green-black	-	BS no. 279
Vlodrop	AXPPSW	Resharp.	-	D.groen	-	-
Wessem-Maas	AXPP^	-	River	D.bronze	P	BS no. 321
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Aanschot	AXPPS<	-	-	Blackish	-	BS no. 268
Bergen op Zoom	AXPPSW	-	Marsh	Black/l.green	S	BS no. 277
Bericum	AXPPHJ	Ground, sharp.	-	Black/bronze	-	BS no. 304
Best-'Moeras'	AXPPS	Sharp., edge blunted in antiquity	Marsh	Black	P	BS no. 244
Boxmeer	AXPLP><	Resharpened	Dry, n. edge plateau, n. MBA settlement	D.green	S	BS no. 332
Eindhoven-Stratum	AXPPS	Ground, later blunted	-	Black/green	-	BS no. 258
Eindhoven	AXPLPS><	Resharp. Reworked blade	-	D. brown	-	BS no. 331
Esbeek-Lange Gracht	AXPPS	Sharp., edge battered in antiquity	-	Black-brown	-	BS no. 249
Gemonde	AXPPS<	-	-	Black	-	BS no. 270
Grave/Zeeland	AXPPSW	Sharp.	Stream valley	Black	-	-
Peel	AXPPHC	2 re-grinding facets	Peat bog	Dark bronze	P	BS no. 305
St. Oedenrode	AXPPLPS><	-	-	-	-	BS no. 330
Velp-Maasdijk	AXPPS	Expanded blade	Prehistoric river channel? Allegedly with 2 pottery sherds	L.green	S	BS no. 259
NL: Utrecht (just north of research region)						
Rhenen-Meent	AXPPH<	Sharpened	Marsh	Green	S	BS no. 292
B. Limburg						
Molenbeersel	AXPP^	-	-	Well preserved, brown-grey	-	Wielockx 1986, Hi. 19

2.8 UNCLASSIFIED PALSTAVES

Unclassified palstaves (not included in the studied sample, or unclassifiable due to damage or loss).

Legend: BS no. 440 = Butler/Steegstra 1997/1998 no. 440

Site	Remarks	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Limburg						
Heythuizen?(dubious)	-	-	-	-	-	Wielockx 1986, 73
Montfort-Vlootbeek	-	-	Stream valley?	-	P	BS no. 436
Putbroek	Fragm.	-	Marsh?	-	S	BS no. 430
St.Joost	-	-	-	-	-	Felix 1945, no 223
Unknown	Fragm.	Broken in antiquity	-	L. green	-	BS no. 431
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Alphen-Molenheide	-	Expanded blade	Stream valley	-	S	Verhagen 1984, 56
Cuijk-Maas (dubious)	-	Sharp.	River	Black	P	Unpublished, Mus. Leiden k. 1940/6.1
Geldrop-along E3 highroad	-	-	-	Green?	-	Documentation G. Beex, Geldrop.
Vierlingsbeek	Looped	-	-	-	-	BS no. 440
B: Antwerpen						
Antwerpen (dubious)	-	-	River?	-	-	Verlaeckt 1996: A24
Battel-Dijle	-	-	River	-	P	Warmenbol 1987, 47
Oud-Turnhout	Regional type?	-	-	-	-	O'Connor 1980: list 9:1
B. Limburg						
Louwel-Slagmolen	-	-	-	-	-	Wielockx 1986, 71
Maaseik	-	-	-	Grey-green	-	Wielockx 1986, 71
Tongeren	-	-	-	L.green	-	Wielockx 1986, Hi. 31

2.9 MID-WINGED AXES

Mid-winged axes of type Grigny and 'Head and Shoulders' (=H & S).

Legend: BS no. 442 = Butler/Steegstra 1999/2000 no. 442. *: according to Van Hoof (2000; personal comment) this axe is probably a fake. Butler is of the opinion that it is a genuine piece.

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland						
Elst	Grigny, small	Resharp.	-	Green	-	BS no. 442
Lent	Fragm.	-	Dry	Green	P	BS no. 475
Hemmen	H & S	Sharp.	-	D.green	-	BS no. 458
NL: Limburg						
Baarlo	Grigny?	Broken in antiquity, re-used as wedge	Marsh	Blackish green	S	BS no. 451
Belfeld	H & S	-	-	Black-green	-	BS no. 460
Berg en Terblijt (Vilt)	H & S	Sharp.	Lavish LBA hoard on land near natural source	D. green	P	BS no. 455
Berg en Terblijt (Vilt)	H & S	Edge sharp., later battered	Ibid.	D.green-black	P	BS no. 456
Bergen-Meuse	H & S	Resharp., traces of wood on septum	River	Bronze	P	BS no. 462
Buggenum?	Grigny	Hammered wings, sharp.	-	Green-brown	-	BS no. 446
Heijen	Grigny	-	-	Green	-	BS no. 444
St.Joost-Boonenbroek	Decap.	Reworked	Marsh	D.green-brown	S	BS no. 464
Susteren (dubious)*	Grigny	Resharp.	-	L. green	-	BS no. 445
Swalmen-I	Grigny	Sharp.	Hoard with fragm. of whetstone in burial mound	Green-black	P	BS no. 448
Swalmen-Hillenraad tumulus II	Grigny	Sharp.	Hoard with next Grigny axe in burial mound	-	S	BS no. 447
Swalmen-Hillenraad tumulus II	Grigny var. Swalmen/Altrip	-	Hoard with above Grigny axe in burial mound	D. green	S	BS no. 449
Unknown (dubious)	Grigny, small	-	-	Brown	-	BS no. 452
Venlo	Grigny, small	Resharp.	-	Brownish	-	BS no. 443
Wessem-Maas	H & S	Sharp.	River	D.brown	P	BS no. 461
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Hapert-Hoogeloose weg	H & S	-	-	D.green	-	BS no. 463
Vierlingsbeek (dubious)	H & S	Resharp.	-	D.bronze	-	BS no. 459
B: Antwerpen						
Antwerpen (dubious)	Fragm.	Resharp.	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1989a: no. 2
B. Limburg						
Neeroeteren/ Maaseik-Waachten	4 Grigny axes	Resharp.?	Hoard in Marsh	Dark bronze	P	Warmenbol 1989a

2.10 SOCKETED AXES OF THE NIEDERMAAS TYPE

Legend: BS no. 486 = Butler/Steegstra in press no. 486. AW = Arts/Van de Wijdeven 2001

Site	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland					
Batenburg-Maas (dubious)	Resharpended	River	D.bronze-black	P	BS no. 486
Nijmegen (dubious)	Resharpended	-	Grey-green	-	BS no. 490
Wijchen	-	-	Brown	-	BS no. 492
Zaltbommel (dubious)	-	-	D. bronze	-	BS no. 498
NL: Limburg					
Berg en Terblijt-Vilt	Sharpened, later battered	Large hoard on land near source	D. green	P	BS no. 488
Bemelen	Sharpened	Allegedly associated with LBA pottery sherds	L. green	-	BS no. 489
Blerick	Sharpened	-	-	-	BS no. 497
Echt-Echterbroek	Resharpended	Marsh	Green	S	BS no. 478
Grevenbicht-Berg	-	-	-	-	BS no. 480
Montfort	Sharp., battered				
		and broken in antiquity	-	D. green	- BS no. 477
Montfort-St. Odiliënberg	-	2 Niedermaas axes in hoard in marsh	-	P	BS no. 481, 487
Ottersum	Sharpened	-	D. bronze	-	BS no. 494
St. Joost	-	-	Green	-	BS no. 496
Susteren-Eilandje	Sharp., use marks on cutting edge	Hoard in marsh with 2 Wesseling axe	D. bronze	S	BS no. 484; this book fig. 8.5
Venray	Sharpened	-	D. green	-	BS no. 495
NL: Noord-Brabant					
Beek en Donk	Sharpened, battered	Stream valley	D. green	S	BS no. 479, AW no. 95
Escharen	-	-	Brown	-	BS no. 483
Heeze	-	Stream valley	D.bronze-black	S	BS no. 482, AW: no 93
Megen-Meuse	Resharpended	River	Bronze	P	BS no. 500
Nieuw-Gassel-Krekelberg (affiliated to Niedermaas)	-	-	-	-	Verwers 1981, 28-9
St.Oedenrode-Groot Laar	-	Stream valley	-	S	AW no. 70
Ter Aalst	Sharpened	-	Well preserved	-	Butler unpublished, coll. Vriends-Gaymans
Volkel-Zeeland	-	Marsh?	Grey-green	S	BS no. 491
B: Antwerpen					
Hoogstraten	-	1 Niedermaas axe in large hoard of Plainseau axes; on dry land	-	S	Warmenbol 1987a: no. 16; this book section 13.5
Pulle	Heated and bent	Hoard: with broken/bent/ heated swords and spears in peaty stream valley	-	P	Van Impe 1973
St. Katelijne-Waver	-	-	-	-	O'Connor 1980: list 126: no. 2

Site	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland Batenburg-Maas (dubious)	Resharpended	River	D.bronze-black	P	BS no. 486
B: Limburg Elen-Watering Slegers	-	In marsh	-	P	Wielockx 1986: Hu 11
Gruiten	-	In marsh	-	P	Wielockx 1986: Hu 39
Heppeneert-Wayerveld		1 Niedermaas axe, part of large hoard of almost 50 (Plainseau) axes; on dry land			Van Impe 1994: no. 12; this book section 13.5
Lutlommel-Konijnepijp	-	2 Niedermaas-related axes, part of large hoard consisting of many Plainseau axes and ornaments; on dry land	-	S	Van Impe 1995/1996: no. 16 and 40; this book section 12.5.3; 13.5
Rotem-Vossenbergh	Resharpended	Hoard of 4 Niedermaas axes and a sickle, on dry high place near edge of plateau	D.green	P	Van Impe/Creemers 1993
Pietersheim	-	1 probable Niedermaas axe, part of probable hoard containing socketed axes and a winged axe in stream	-	S	Heymans 1985; Butler/ Steegstra in press
B: Vlaams Brabant Nieuwrode (5 axes)		5 axes in hoard,	D. green	-	Warmenbol 1987

2.11 SOCKETED AXES OF THE HELMEROOTH TYPE

Legend: BS no. 532 = Butler/Steegstra in press no. 532

Site	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland Nijmegen-Winsseling	Split in side	River	D. brown	S	BS no. 532
NL: Limburg Diergaarde-Contine	-	Marsh, associated with no. 538 and 539? (= Echt hoard)	D. brown	S	BS no. 544
Maasbracht	-	Marsh	Brown-green	P	BS no. 543
Meerlo-Swolgen	Sharpened	-	D. green	-	BS no. 540
Ohé en Laak/'Roosteren'-Maas	Sharpened	River	D. brown	P	BS no. 545
Peij	-	Marsh	D. brown	S	BS no. 533
Peij-Pepinusbroek	-	Marsh, associated with no. 539 and 544	Brown-green	P	BS no. 538
Peij-Pepinusbrug	-	Marsh, associated with no. 538 and 544?	Brown-green	P	BS no. 539
Roermond-Maas (bronze mould for Helmeroth axe?)	-	River?	-	P	BS no. 549
Stevensweert (dubious)	Sharpened	River?	-	P	BS no. 537
Susteren-de Mehre	-	Stream valley	D. green	S	BS no. 541, this book chapter 1
Vlodrop-Kroddel	Blunted edge	Marsh	Black	S	BS no. 548
Wessem	-	River	Bronze	S	BS no. 542
NL: Noord-Brabant 's-Hertogenbosch-Meijerij	Blunted edge	Marsh?	Black	S	BS no. 535
NL: Utrecht (just north of study region) Wijk bij Duurstede (dubious)	Sharpened	River	D. bronze	P	BS no. 534

2.12 SOCKETED AXES OF THE GEISTINGEN TYPE

Site	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland Berg en Dal	-	2 axes, very similar patina: hoard? Possibly including no. 555 as well	Green	S	BS no. 553-4
Nijmegen	-	-	Green	-	BS no. 552
Nijmegen	-	-	D. green	-	BS no. 562
Unknown	Battered edge	Possibly part of Berg en Dal hoard?	Black	S	BS no. 555
Unknown	-	-	-	-	BS no. 556
NL: Limburg Herten-Ool	Impossible to shaft due to projecting internal casting seams	River	Black	P	BS no. 560; fig. 8.6
Herten-Oelerveld-Maas	-	River	D. bronze	P	BS no. 561
Maastricht-Caberg	None, but sharp edge; one broken in antiquity	2 Geistingen axes, probably hoard on dry plateau. Allegedly with Ha A2 knife, but this should be doubted	Black-green	S	BS no. 550-1
Vierlingsbeek (dubious)	Sharpened	-	D. brown	-	BS no. 557
B: Limburg Geistingen-Letterveld	-	26 or 28 similar axes, allegedly tied together with a rope. On high plateau that may carry water in the wet seasons	D.green-brownish	P	Van Hoof 2000; Wielockx 1986 Hu 16-37

2.13 SOCKETED AXES OF THE PLAINSEAU TYPE

Legend: BS no. 502 = Butler/Steegstra in press no. 502

Site	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland					
Lienden-Tollerwaard	-	-	Brown	-	BS no. 502
Nijmegen	-	-	Black	-	BS no. 506
Nijmegen	-	-	D. brown	-	BS no. 526
Nijmegen-Hengstberg	Resharpener	Probably with other axe of unknown type, on high hill in or near urnfield	Green-black	S	BS no. 509
Nijmegen-Waal	Sharpened	River	Green-black	P	BS no. 519
NL: Limburg					
Belfeld	Battered edge	-	D. green	-	BS no. 531
Bergen	Sharpened	-	D. bronze	-	BS no. 501
Borgharen	-	-	D. bronze	-	BS no. 525
Breda (dubious)	-	Stream valley	D. bronze	S	BS no. 521
Kesseleik	-	-	Green	-	BS no. 527
Meerlo	-	-	Green	-	BS no. 518
Posterholt	Blunted edge	-	D. green, very well preserved	-	BS no. 508
Posterholt	-	-	Brown	-	BS no. 511
Swalmen	-	-	Bronze-black	-	BS no. 528
Wessem-Maas	Sharpened	River	D. bronze-black	P	BS no. 522
NL: Noord-Brabant					
Bladel-De Pals	Sharpened, later blunted	Stream valley	Black	S	BS no. 529
Boxmeer	Resharpener	Marsh	D. brown	S	BS no. 510, doc. G. Beex
Cuyk	-	Allegedly in urn with cremation and bronze bead: this information is not generally accepted	D. green	-	BS no. 515
Oirschot	Both sharpened	2 Plainseau axes, probably hoard in wet place	Black	S	BS no. 513, 523, Drenth 1994; this book fig. 8.7
Stiphout-castle of Croy	-	2? Plainseau axes, 1 socketed chisel: possible hoard in boggy stream valley	D. brown, d. bronze	P	BS no 514, 524
Unknown	-	-	D. green	-	BS no. 530
B: Antwerpen					
Antwerpen-Kattendijkdok	-	9 Plainseau axes ('jail-window variety') in peaty stream valley, close to the place where it flows into the Scheldt	Brown-black	S	Warmenbol 1984a; 1991
Antwerpen-Krankelooipolder	-	River?	-	S	Verlaeck 1996: A29
Antwerpen-Krankelooipolder	-	River?	-	S	Verlaeck 1996: A30

Site	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
Antwerpen-Schijn	-	Stream valley/marsh	-	S	Warmenbol 1987d: no 14
Antwerpen-Zuiderkasteel	-	-	-	-	Verlaeckt 1996: A20
Antwerpen-Zuiderkasteel	-	-	-	-	Verlaeckt 1996: A21
Hoogstraten-Vlamingstraat	-	c. 20 Plainseu axes, mainly Plainseu 'jail-window' variety, 1 Niedermaas axe. Hoard on dry place on sand plateau between 2 streams	-	S	Warmenbol 1987a
Mechelen	-	-	-	-	O'Connor 1980: list 123: no. 4
Turnhout	-	-	-	-	Desittere 1976, 91
Turnhout-Merksplas Borch	None	Stream valley?	Bronze	S	Wielockx 1986: Hu 102
B: Limburg					
Hamont	-	-	Brown	-	Wielockx 1986: Hu. 40
Heppeneert-Wayerveld	Most sharpened	47 axes, mainly Plainseu, 1 faceted British axe, 1 Niedermaas axe, 1 spearhead. Dry. On high plateau with gullies that may seasonally carry water	Green to brown	P	Van Impe 1994
Lutlommel-Konijnepijp	Sharpened	9 axes, mainly Plainseu, originally possibly 44 axes. Together with several ornaments. Located on gentle slope, possibly high-water table. In the vicinity: urnfields and possible settlement	D.green-bronze	S	Van Impe 1995/1996
Pietersheim		3 Plainseu axes, 1 Niedermaas, 1 winged axe in stream?	-	S	Heymans 1985

2.14 SOCKETED AXES OF TYPE WESSELING

Legend: Socketed axes of type Wesseling (* just outside research area)

Site	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland					
Arnhem-Mariendaal	-	-	-	-	Felix 1945: no. 10
Batenburg-Maas (dubious)	Sharpened	River	Black	P	Felix 1945: no. 24
Beek* (mun. of Bergh)	-	-	-	-	Felix 1945: no. 29
Groesbeek	-	-	-	-	Felix 1945: no. 179
Kernhem*	-	-	-	-	Butler unpublished, coll. De Koeijer
Lienden-Tollerwaard (or faceted type)	-	-	-	-	Modderman/ Montforts 1991, 149
Nijmegen	Resharpened	-	Brown	-	Unpublished, Mus. Nijmegen no. AC 15
Nijmegen	-	-	-	-	Unpublished, Mus. Nijmegen no. GAS 1958.9.29
Nijmegen-Hunerberg	Sharpened	Dry on high plateau?	Green	S	Felix 1945, no. 300
Nijmegen-Kops Plateau	Blunt edge, damaged	At rectangular cult place, where stone-paved pathway joins corner	Green	P	Fontijn/Cuijpers 1998/1999
NL: Limburg					
Belfeld-Bakerbosch	Sharpened	Stream?	D. brown	S	Wielockx 1986: Hu 1; doc. Butler
Echt	-	-	-	-	Butler unpublished mus. Echt: no. B3
Echt-Slek Bolven	-	Marsh	-	S	Butler unpublished, mus. Echt no. B2
Montfort-Echt-Klinkhei	-	Marsh?	-	S	Butler unpublished (dbno. 715)
Obbicht (dubious)	-	River	-	-	Unpublished, mus. Leiden I.1950/2.1
Susteren-Eilandje	Sharpened	2 Wesseling axes, 1 Niedermaas in marsh	D. bronze	P	Butler 1998/1999; BS no. 484; Van Hoof 2000; this book fig. 8.5
Venlo-Maas	-	River	-	P	Felix 1945: no. 425
NL: Noord-Brabant					
Alphen-Poppelse Leij	-	Stream valley, possibly ford	-	S	Unpublished, pers. comm. J. Verhagen (Tilburg)
Asten (now lost; axe seems to have been reburied!)	Sharpened	Peaty stream valley	Brown	S	Unpublished, pers. comm. J van Weerden
Boxmeer	-	-	Black-green	-	Butler unpublished, coll. Hermers (Boxmeer)
Boxmeer-Boxmeerse Broek (lost)	-	Marsh	-	S	Butler unpublished, doc. ROB
Den Hout-Hespelaar	Resharpened	-	Black	-	Butler unpublished, coll. J. Buster (Waspik)
Deurne	-	-	-	-	Verwers 1986, 29-30
Deuteren (lost)	Blunted	Marsh?	-	S	Unpublished, doc. FAL (J. Boogerd, excavation Meerlo)
Someren-Punderman	Sharpened	Stream valley	D. brown	S	Unpublished, pers. comm. F. Kortlang (Eindhoven)
NL: Utrecht (just north of research region)					
Rhenen	-	-	-	-	Butler unpublished
B: Limburg					
Geistingen	-	-	-	-	Wielockx 1986: Hu. 16
	-	-	-	-	Wielockx 1986: Hu 15

2.15 OTHER SOCKETED AXES AND EARLY IRON AGE IRON AXES

Legend: BS no. 574 = Butler/Steegstra in press no. 574

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland						
Arnhem	-	-	-	-	-	Unpublished, mus. Nijmegen 10.2.22.3
Arnhem	-	-	-	-	-	Unpublished, mus. Nijmegen 10.2.22.4
Batenburg/Nijmegen (dubious)	Armorican	None	-	-	-	Unpublished, mus. Leiden: e.1948/8.1
Bemmel-Lingewal	North Dutch (Hunze Eems)	-	-	Green	-	Butler unpublished, dbno. 20
Doorwerth-Duno* (dubious)	Armorican	Sharpened	Dry on high plateau?	Green	S	BS no. 574
Herveld	North Dutch (Hunze Eems)	-	-	-	-	Felix 1945: no. 205
Lienden-Tollerwaard	-	-	River?	-	-	Unpublished, Mus.Nijmegen G89-19
Nederasselt	-	-	-	Brown	-	Felix 1945: no/ 272
Nijmegen (dubious)	Armorican	Never sharp., anciently damaged	-	Green	-	BS no. 586
Nijmegen (dubious)	Armorican	Never sharp., anciently damaged	-	Green	-	BS no. 588
Nijmegen-Roomsche Voet (lost?)	-	-	Wet hoard of 6 axes	-	-	Reuvens, 'Antiquiteiten' 1823: 221-2
Nijmegen-Lennepe Kamer (lost?)	-	-	River (near)	-	S	Butler unpublished, dbno. 2394
Nijmegen-Waal	Faceted	-	River	-	-	Unpublished, mus. Leiden e.1906/1.3
Oosterhout-Van Boetzelaarstraat site 8	-(fragm.)	-	-	L. green	-	Pers. comm. P. van den Broeke (Nijmegen)
Overasselt (dubious)	Armorican	Never sharp.	-	D. green	-	BS no. 569
Overasselt (dubious)	Sompting	Resharp.; wood of shaft preserved	Wet	D. green	S	Unpublished, mus. Leiden: e.1949/6.1
Rijnwaarden	Iron axe	Wood of shaft preserved	Peaty stream valley	-	P	Hulst 1990, 189
Slijk-Ewijk (dubious)	-	-	-	-	-	Unpublished, Butler coll. Roefs (Boekel)
Wijchen	-(burnt)	-	Part of Ha C chieftain's grave; bronze situla, horse gear etc. from exceptionally rich burial	-	-	Pare 1991
Wijchen-Wijchense Meer	North-South hybrid	-	River	Bronze	S	Van der Sanden 1980
NL: Limburg						
Bergen	-	-	-	-	-	Felix 1945: no. 42
Blerick-Maaszijde	-	-	River?	Green	S	Wielockx 1986: Hu 5

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
Echt (dubious)	Italian type	-	-	-	-	Butler unpublished, dbno. 1876
Echt-Annendaal	Faceted	-	-	-	-	Butler unpublished, dbno. 1006
Gennep-Maas	-	-	River	-	P	ARCHIS 16052
Hout	-	-	-	-	-	Unpublished, mus. Leiden I.1938/6.55
Maastricht	Faceted	-	-	-	-	Wielockx 1986: Hu 100
Milsbeek-Ven Zelderheide	Related to Amelsbüren?	To thin to be used, not sharp.	Marsh	D. green	S	This book, section 8.4.2. fig. 8.9
Montfort-broek	-	-	Marsh	-	S	Felix 1945: no. 268
Neer	-	-	-	-	-	Willems 1983, 210-1
Neer	(fragm.: Niedermaas?)	-	-	-	-	-
Neer	-(fragm.)	-	-	Brown/green	-	Butler unpublished, coll. Van Lier (Neer)
Posterholt	-(fragm.)	-	-	Brown	-	Butler unpublished, dbno. 547
Roermond-Hatenboer	North-South hybrid	-	River	-	P	Butler unpublished, mus. Leiden I. 1971/11.5
Roermond-Hatenboer	Faceted	-	River	Bluegreen	P	Wielockx 1986: Hu. 118
Stevensweert-Maas	Faceted	Sharp.	River	Bluegreen	P	Butler unpublished, dbno. 2425
St. Joost/Nijmegen (dubious)	Armorican	Never sharpened	-	Green	-	BS no. 576
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	Felix 1945, no. 281
Unknown ('moeras')	-	-	'Peat'	—	-	Butler unpublished, dbno. 388
Venray-Maas	-	-	River	-	P	Butler unpublished, dbno. 2109
Venray-Venrayse Broek (lost)	-	-	Marsh	-	P	Doc. ROB (obs. No. 16186)
Wessem-Maas (dubious)	Armorican	Sharpened, anciently damaged	River?	Green/black	P	BS no. 564
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Beek en Donk	North-South hybrid	Sharp. but later battered	Stream valley	D. green	S	AW: no. 95
Beugen-Maas (dubious)	Armorican	-	River?	D. green	P	BS no. 568
Bergeyk (dubious)	Armorican	-	-	Green	-	Butler unpublished, museum Den Bosch no.8562
Berghem-Waatselaar	-(fragm.)	-	-	-	-	Verwers/Beex 1978, 5-7
Biezenmortel (lost; dubious)	-	-	Allegedly 3 socketed axes in urn	-	P	Beex 1954
Budel-Driebokstraat	North-South hybrid	-	Stream valley	D.bronze	S	Pers. comm. N. Arts (Eindhoven)
Cuyk-Padbroek	-(fragm.)	Broken in antiquity	Wet?	Brown-black	S	Butler unpublished, coll. Koeling
Katwijk (dubious)	-	-	-	-	-	Unpublished, mus. Leiden k.1949/5.2
Lith-Kessel	Iron axe	Wood preserved	River	-	P	Verwers 1988, 30-1; this book fig. 8.10
Lith-stuw	-	-	River	-	P	Felix 1945: no. 239

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
Oss-Vorstengraf	Iron axe	-	From chieftain's grave: bronze situla, horse gear, iron Mindelheim sword and other items in extremely large barrow	-	P	Roymans 1991: table 4
Zeeland	-	-	-	-	-	Butler unpublished, dbno. 2439
B: Antwerpen						
Antwerpen	Faceted	-	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1987d
Hoogstraten (dubious)	Armorican	-	Allegedly hoard of 33 Armorican axes: unreliable	-	-	Warmenbol 1987b, 48, pers. comm.
Rijkvorsel-Scheidhaag	Faceted	-	Hoard of 5 or 6 axes (type unknown) in peat; objects were allegedly placed in wooden box; also flint axe and hammerstone	-	P	Wielockx 1986: Hu 117
Turnhout	Armorican	-	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1987b, 48
Turnhout-Marck	-	-	-	-	-	Unpublished
B: Limburg						
Heppeneert-Wayerveld	Faceted	-	Part of large axe hoard (Plainseau), 1 spearhead; on dry plateau with gullies that may seasonally carry water	Green	P	Van Impe 1994
Hunsel	Sompting	-	-	-	-	Mariën 1952: fig. 200: no. 3
Maaseik (dubious)	Armorican	-	-	-	-	Wielockx 1986, (catalogue), 295
Maaseik-kerkhof						
Neerharen	Armorican	-	-	-	-	Wielockx 1986: Arm. 26
Neerpelt	Armorican	-	-	D. groen	-	Wielockx 1986: Arm. 27
Rekem-de cup						
Tongeren (very dubious)	Armorican	-	Allegedly 1 or 2 hoards of Armorican axes:	-	-	Wielockx 1986: (catalogue), 284

2.16 END-WINGED AXES

Legend: BS no. 467 = Butler/Steegstra 1999/2000, no. 467

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland						
Nederasselt	Homburg	-	-	Green	-	BS no. 467
Nijmegen	Geseke-Biblis	Sharp.	-	D. green	-	BS no. 474
NL: Limburg						
Maasbracht	Homburg	Sharp.	-	D. green	-	BS no. 471
Peij	Homburg	Sharp., later battered	-	Black	-	BS no. 472
Roermond	Homburg	-	River	Brown/d. green	S	BS no. 469
Susteren-broek	Homburg	Blunt edge	Marsh	Black/green	S	BS no. 468
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Megen	Homburg	Resharp.?	River?	-	S	BS no. 466
Nuenen	-	-	-	-	-	BS no. 476
B: Antwerpen						
Antwerpen-Schelde	Homburg	-	River?	-	P	Warmenbol 1989, 291: no. 1
B: Limburg						
Maaseik-Tost (lost)	-	-	River?	-	-	Unpublished, doc. author
Pietersheim	Homburg	-	With 3 Plainseau and 1 Niedermaas axe in stream	-	S	Heymans 1985

3 SICKLES, KNIVES, CHISELS AND GOUGES FROM THE MIDDLE
AND LATE BRONZE AGE

Site	Dating	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland (NL) Bemmel	Knife, tanged, LBA	-	River?	L.green	S	Butler unpublished dbno. 2506
Dodewaard	Sickle, MBA	Resharp.	Settlement, debris layer	-	P	Drenth/Bulten 1998, 36
Eigenblok-5	Sickle, MBA	Heavily resharp.	Settlement, debris layer	Brownish	P	Hielkema 2002
Opheusden	2 sickles, MBA	Resharp.	Settlement, debris layer	Green	P	Modderman/ Montforts 1991, 149
Nijmegen	Sickle, MBA/LBA	-	-	Bronze	-	Unpublished, mus. Leiden, e.1931/2.295
Nijmegen (dubious)	Socketed knife, LBA	-	-	L.brown	-	Unpublished, mus. Nijmegen no. 4.1947.4
Nijmegen-Brakkenstein	Knife, MBA	-	-	D. green	-	Fontijn 1996b
Wijchen (dubious)	Sickle, MBA/LBA	-	-	-	-	Unpublished, mus. Leiden, e.1948/3.4
NL: Limburg Beegden	Sickle, MBA/LBA	Resharp.	Marsh?	D. green	S	Butler unpublished, coll. Dahmen (St. Odiliënberg)
Berg en Terblijt (Vilt)	3 sickles, LBA	All resharp.	In lavish hoard on land near source	D. green	P	Butler 1973
Holset	2 sickles, MBA	Resharp., worn	In mound of barrow	-	P	Butler 1990, 99
Maastricht-Maas	Blade of knife (MBA/LBA)	-	River	-	P	Sprenger 1948, 21.
Posterholt-Zwarte berg	Sickle, MBA/LBA	Fragm., Resharp.	-	D. green	-	Butler unpublished, coll. Dahmen (St. Odiliënberg)
Venlo-Zuiderbrug	Sickle, MBA/LBA	-	-	-	-	Butler unpublished
Venray-Hoogrieboek	Sickle, MBA	Resharp., worn	Settlement, in pit related to house construction	Green	P	Krist 2000
NL: Noord-Brabant Beek en Donk	Sickle, MBA/LBA	-	Stream valley	-	S	AW 2001: no 100
Beers	Sickle, MBA/LBA	Resharp.	River	D. green	S	Verwers 1992, 149
Berghem	Sickle, MBA/LBA	Fragm.	-	Green	-	Verwers/Beex 1978, 5-7
Boxmeer	Chisel (MBA)	-	In silo, near house	Green	P	Van de Velde 1998, 32-3
Breda-Moskes	Sickle, MBA	-	Pit near house	-	P	Pers. comm. C. Brandenburgh; Van den Eynde/ Berkvens 2001
Deurne	Gouge, 2 chisels (LBA)	Resharp.	Possibly hoard in marsh	Black/bronze	S	Butler 1963a, 126

Site	Dating	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
Katwijk (dubious)	Sickle, MBA/LBA	-	-	-	-	Unpublished, mus. Leiden no. k.1949/5.1
Lith-Meuse	Sickle, MBA/LBA	-	River	-	P	Verwers 1983, 21-2
St.Oedenrode (dubious)	Sickle, MBA/LBA	-	-	-	-	AW 2001: no. 69
St. Oedenrode	Socketed knife, LBA	-	-	-	-	AW 2001: no. 68
Teteringen	Sickle, MBA/LBA	Fragm.	Marsh	Green	S	Verwers 1992, 149
NL: Utrecht						
Wijk bij Duurstede-De Geer	Chisel, sickle (MBA)	Sickle: worn	Settlement	-	P	Unpublished; Drenth 1996, note 3
B: Antwerpen						
Antwerpen-left bank	Knife, Roth type II, LBA	-	River	Green	P	Verlaeckt 1993
B: Limburg						
Lommel (LBA?)	Tanged knife	-	-	-	-	O' Connor 1980, list 140: no. 7
Rotem-Vossenber	Sickle, LBA	-	In hoard on high, dry land	Green	P	Van Impe/Creemers 1993
Tongeren (dubious)	Sickle, MBA/LBA	-	-	-	-	Van Impe/Creemers 1993, no. 8
B: Brabant						
Rotselaar-Heikant	Sickle, MBA/LBA	-	In urnfield, but uncertain whether it was a burial gift	-	S	Van Impe/Creemers 1993, no. 9

4.1 ORNAMENTS MAINLY FROM THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE B

Site	type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland						
Eigenblok-5	Spiral	-	Settlement	Brownish-green	P	Hielkema 2002
Eigenblok-6	Roll-headed pin	-	Settlement	Brownish-green	P	Hielkema 2002
Eigenblok-6	3 spirals	-	Settlement	Brownish-green	P	Hielkema 2002
Lienden-Woonwagenkamp	Roll-headed pin	-	Settlement	Brownish	P	Unpublished, AAO 14, find no. 108.6.186
Molenhoek	Wheel-headed pin	-	Dry	Green	S	Butler unpublished, coll. J. de Jong; this book fig. 7.15
Nijmegen-Hunerberg or Waal	Wheel-headed pin	-	-	Light green	-	Unpublished, mus. Nijmegen AC 40
Nijmegen-Waal	Wheel-headed pin	-	River	Black green	P	Unpublished, mus. Leiden e.1931/2.77
Nijmegen-Waal (dubious)	4 pins, 1 round-headed, 3 conical headed, dating uncertain	-	River	-	P	Unpublished, mus. Leiden e.1949/4.1- 4.4
NL: Limburg						
Blerick	Pin, type unknown	-	Settlement	-	P	Unpublished, personal communication L. Theunissen
Roermond-Isabellagriend	Wheel-headed pin	-	River	Bronze-green	P	Butler unpublished, coll. J. Danser (Tegelen)
Roermond (probably)	Wheel-headed pin	-	-	L. green	-	Butler unpublished, coll. Hoofwijk
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Alem	Wollmesheim pin	-	River	-	P	Braat 1964
Alem	Courtavant	-	River	-	P	Braat 1964
Deurne	Disc-headed, decorated shaft	-	Peat bog	Brownish	S	Butler unpublished, coll. Wiegersma
Escharen-Raam	bracelet	-	Weapon hoard in stream valley	Dark bronze	P	Verwers 1988, 26-7
St.Oedenrode (fragm.)	Kolbenkopf pin	-	Settlement	Green	P	Van der Sanden 1981
Vorstenbosch	Disc-headed, decorated shaft	-	-	-	-	Modderman 1959
B: Antwerpen						
Battel-Dijle	Courtavant pin	-	River	Dark bronze	P	O Connor 1980, list 81: no. 10

4.2 ORNAMENTS FROM THE LBA/EIA FROM OTHER CONTEXTS
 THAN GRAVES

Site	type	Use traces	Context	patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland Hees-Nijmegen (very dubious!)	Curved bow-brooche	-	-	-	-	O'Connor 1980, list 257: no. 14
Hees-Nijmegen (very dubious)	Spiral brooche, type Haslau Regelsbrunn	-	-	-	-	O'Connor 1980, list 262: no. 5
Hees-Nijmegen (very dubious)	Brooche	-	-	-	-	Van Buchem 1941, Pl. F: no. 4
Nijmegen-Waal (dubious)	<i>Bombenkopfnadel</i> , type Ockstadt	Worn head	River	Brown/black	P	Kubach 1977, 506: no. 35; this book fig. 8.17
Nijmegen-Waal (very dubious!)	Elbow brooche	-	-	-	-	O'Connor 1980, list 220: no. 6
Nijmegen-Hunerberg (very dubious!)	Curved bow-brooche	-	-	-	-	O'Connor 1980, list 257: no. 13
Nijmegen (very dubious!)	Curved bow-brooche, bow swollen	-	-	-	-	O'Connor 1980, list 255: no. 8
Nijmegen (very dubious!)	Curved bow-brooche	-	-	-	-	O'Connor 1980, list 257: no. 15
Oosterhout-Verburgskolk	Large <i>Bombenkopf- nadel</i> , type Ockstadt	Worn, damaged head, reworked	River/side gully of major river	D. green	S	Wassink 1984; this book fig. 8.17
Oosterhout Verburgskolk	Small <i>Bombenkopf- nadel</i>	-	At same place where large one was found; river or side gully of major river	D. green	S	Hulst 1988, 187; this book fig. 8.18
NL: Limburg Berg en Terblijt-Vilt	7 fragm. of bracelets, 1 twisted armring, spiral (originally much more ornaments)	-	Hoard with 2 winged axes, 1 Niedermaas axe, 3 sickles, 1 socketed chisel, 1 pseudo-flame shaped spearhead. In gully on hills of valley, near natural source	D. green	S	Butler 1973; Van Hoof 2000
Herten	<i>Bombenkopfnadel</i>	-	River	D. bronze	P	Butler unpublished, coll. Van Gasselt
Tegelen	Large convex-headed pin, decorated	-	River sediment?	Well preserved	S	Bloemers 1975, 28-9
NL: Noord-Brabant Maren-Kessel	Decorated bracelet, slightly everted terminals	-	River	-	S	Letter G. van Alphen to author (25-8-2001)
Unknown/Ravenstein	<i>Bombenkopfnadel</i>	-	River	-	P	Felix 1945, no. 359

Site	type	Use traces	Context	patina	Info	Reference
NL: Utrecht (just north of research region) Rhenen/unknown	<i>Bombenkopfnadel</i> , type Ockstadt	Head is worn	-	-	-	Wassink 1984 Abb 1: 3
B: Antwerpen Antwerpen-left bank complex	1 bracelet, ring, 2 <i>Brillspirale</i> , 1 decorated pin, decorated disc-headed pin,	-	River, uncertain whether objects were originally associated; also: knife, stud, dagger, 12 (bronze) fishhooks	-	S	Verlaeckt 1993; 1996
Battel	2 <i>Bombenkopfnadel</i>	-	River	-	P	Warmenbol 1987b, 55
Zwijndrecht-Vlaams hoofd	Biconical-headed pin	-	-	-	-	Verlaeckt 1996: A27
B: Limburg Lutlommel-Konijnepijp	Several Plainseau ornaments: at least: 6 rings, 3 biconical beads, 3 tubular ribbed beads, 2 Omega-shaped bracelets, 8 fragm. of armrings;	-	Together with many Plainseau axes (44?) in hoard located on sandy slope, possibly high-water table; several urnfields and possible settlement in vicinity (fig. 12.2)	D. green-bronze	S	Van Impe 1995/1996
Overpelt-De Hoven	1 leg/arm spiral, fragm. of other spirals	-	Possible hoard, with 2 socketed axes	-	-	Inderherberg 1984

5.1 SWORDS AND DAGGERS (DA.) FROM THE MBA A

Site	Type	Use	Context	Patina	Info	Reference
NL: Gelderland Eigenblok	Wohlde (da.)	Heavily worn	Settl. debris	Brownish	P	Hielkema 2002
Lobith-Rijn	Weizen	None visible	River	D.bronze	P	Unpublished, Mus. Leiden e.1925/1.2
Nijmegen-Hunerberg	Sögel (fragm.)	Sharp.	Dry	Green	S	O'Connor 1980 list 25: 4
Nijmegen-Waal	Wohlde	Sharp.	River	Brown/ l.green	P	O'Connor 1980, list 26: 5
Nijmegen-Waal (dubious provenance!)	Sögel	Sharp.	River	Bronze	P	O'Connor 1980, list 25: 3
Nijmegen (dubious provenance!)	Gamprin	-	-	Bronze	-	Unpublished, Mus.Leiden e.1940/11.1
River Waal	Tréboul-St. Brandan	Sharp.	River	Brown/bronze	P	Fontijn 2001; this book fig. 6.12
NL: Limburg Borgharen-Maas	Sögel-variety	Sharp.	River	D. bronze	P	Butler 1969, Pl. 5; this book fig. 6.12
Heel	British type (da.)	Sharp.	-	Brown	-	Butler unpublished
Kessel-Maas	Sögel-related (da.)	Sharp.	River	Black-bronze	P	Felix 1945, no. 227
Overloon	2 Wohlde rapiers	Ground, sharp.;	Weapon hoard in/ near stream; with 2 spearheads, pin and nick-flanged axe	Both d. green	S	Butler 1990, 74-6
Stevensweert	British type (da.)	-	River	-	P	Stoepker 1990
Tungelroyse beek	Sögel (da., fragm.)	-	Stream valley	-	P	Bruekers 1986
Venlo-Maas (dubious provenance?)	Wohlde	Sharp.	River	Bronze	P	Butler 1990, 76
Venlo-Maas	Wohlde	-	River	-	P	Butler 1990, 76
NL: Noord-Brabant Deurne	Sögel (da.)	Sharp.	Marsh?	Black	-	Unpublished, Mus. Leiden no. k.1911/5.1
NL: Utrecht (just north of research area)						
Jutphaas	Plougrescant- Ommerschans	Not sharp., Not used	Marsh	Dark bronze	S	Butler/Sarfati 1970-71; this book fig. 6.13
B. Antwerpen Battel-Dijle	Tréboul-St.Brandan	Sharp.	River	-	P	Warmenbol 1992, fig. 42b
Unknown (‘Halle-Zoersel’)	Tréboul-St.Brandan	-	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1992, fig. 42a
Unknown (‘Zwijndrecht’)	Wohlde	-	-	-	-	Warmenbol 1986
B. Limburg Plokrooi	Sögel (da.)	-	-	D. Bronze	-	Van Impe/Creemers 2001

5.2 SWORDS AND DAGGERS FROM THE MBA B

Griffplatten-, *Griffangelschwerter*, reworked sword blades, and a mould which may have served to produce daggers (all discussed in

chapter 7). The swords are *Griffplattenschwerter* unless stated otherwise. Their hilt-blade connection is secured with rivets unless stated otherwise

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	References
NL: Gelderland Dodewaard-site no. 20	Dagger with side-notches	-	Settlement site	-	P	Jongste 1997, 14, afb. 6
Hedel-Meuse	Dagger, dating uncertain	-	River	-	P	Felix 1945, no. 187, Abb. 252
IJzendoorn	Dagger, reworked butt, dating uncertain	Sharp.	River	Bronze	P	Unpublished, mus. Leiden e.1967/6.1
Lobith-Rhine	Rapier, reworked butt	Resharp.	River	Brown-bronze	P	Unpublished, mus. Nijmegen 12.1943.1
Meteren-De Bogen	Rapier	-	In inhumation grave with 2 arrowheads; primary grave under barrow	D. green	P	Butler/Hielkema 2002
Nijmegen-Waal (dubious)	Sword fragm. Reworked into dagger w. side-notches	Sharp.	River	D.bronze	P	Felix 1945, no. 306, Abb. 247
Unknown/ Weurt?	Rosnoën rapier	-	-	-	-	Felix 1945, no. 459, Abb.259
NL: Limburg Herten-Ool	Rosnoën sword (leaf-shaped, side notches)	Resharp.	River	D. bronze, well preserved	P	Butler unpublished, coll. Hansen
Herten-Ool	Rosnoën rapier	-	River	-	P	Butler 1987 note 7: 2; this book fig. 7.13
Heythuysen-Arenbosch	Dagger, type Keelogue?	Fragm.	-	D.green	-	Butler unpublished, coll. Heymans (Ittervoort)
Kronenberg	Rosnoën rapier	Reshaped butt, Resharp., Impact marks	Marsh	D.bronze	P	Bloemers/Willems 1980-81, 35-6.; this book fig. 7.13
Linne	Rosnoën rapier	Torn rivet holes	-	-	-	Butler 1987 note 7: 3
Maasbracht-Meuse	Trapezoidal-hilted rapier	-	River	-	P	Felix 1945, no. 246, Abb. 255
Middelaar-Meuse	Rosnoën rapier?	Reshaped butt	River	Bronze	P	Willems 1984, 365
Milsbeek-Meuse KMP 158	Appleby rapier	Shortened blade?	River	D.bronze	P	ARCHIS no. 38540
Montfort-Gemeentebroek	Rosnoën? Side notches	Sharp., in sheathe?	Peat	Blackish	P	Unpublished, mus. Leiden 1.1976/11.405
Panheel-Meuse	Grigny rapier	Resharp.	River	-	P	Willems 1983, 211-2
Posterholt	Dagger, dating uncertain	Fragm.	-	Green	-	Smeets 1979
Roermond	Rosnoën rapier, side notches	-	River?	-	-	Butler 1987, note 7: no. 5
Stevensweert-Meuse	Rixheim	-	River	-	P	Desittere 1961, fig. 3

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	References
NL: Gelderland Dodewaard-site no. 20	Dagger with	-	Settlement site	-	P	Jongste 1997, 14, afb. 6
Venray-St. Odapark	Dagger, reshaped butt	Reworked	-	-	-	Willems 1984, 365-6
NL: Noord-Brabant Cuijk-Meuse (dubious)	Dagger, type Keelogue	-	River	-	P	Lost? Doc. museum Leiden
Cuijk	Mould for dagger or spearhead	-	Settlement site	-	P	Coll. J. de Wit, Grave
Den Dungen-Donksestraat	Rosnoën rapier	Sharp, deposited with haft	Marsh/stream	Bronze	S	Drenth/Kleij 1998
Escharen-Raam	Rosnoën rapier and dagger of unknown type	Dagger: made out of sword blade?	Hoard (?) in stream	D.bronze	P	Verwers 1988, 26-7; this book fig. 7.11
Escharen	Dagger w. side notches	-	Wet?	Green	S	Unpublished, coll. J. de Wit, Grave
B: Antwerpen Antwerpen-Appelstraat	Local type	-	Stream/river	D.bronze	S	Warmenbol 1985
Battel	Cloontia	Torn and repaired(?) rivet holes	Stream	-	P	Warmenbol 1986b, 155-6

5.3 SWORDS FROM THE HA A2 (HA A1)- HA B1 PHASE

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	References
NL: Gelderland						
Heumen	-	Sharp.	River?	Brown	S	O'Connor 1980: list 76: no. 7
'River Waal'	Flange-hilted	Sharp.	River	Green, gravel corroded to sword	P	Unpublished, mus. Nijmegen no. xxx.c.8
NL: Limburg						
Arcen-Blitterswijk	Erbenheim	-	River	D. bronze	P	Cowen 1955, 131: no. 18
Buggenum	<i>Vielwulst-schwert</i>	Sharp., but not used	River	Bronze, well preserved	P	This book, section 8.5.2, fig. 8.12
Herten-Oolergriend	Nenzingen	-	River	-	P	Butler unpublished
Maastricht	Locras	-	River	-	P	Cowen 1955, 142: no. 6
Maastricht-Bosserfeld	Sprockhoff type 1	Shortened (modern repair?)	-	-	-	Cowen 1955, 122: no. 28
Neer-Kappersberg (dating uncertain)	- (fragm.)	-	Dry?	-	S	Bloemers/Willems 1980/1981, 116-7
Tegelen-Maas	Erbenheim	-	River	Bronze	P	Cowen 1955, 131: no. 17; this book fig. 8.14
Venlo	Hemigkofen	Worn?	-	-	-	Cowen 1955, 137: no. 38
Wessem (dating uncertain)	<i>Griffangel-schwert</i>	-	River	Bronze	P	Willems 1986, 215-6; this book fig. 8.13
NL: Noord-Brabant						
Lith	Flange-hilted	-	River?	-	S	Verwers 1990, 36-7
Unknown	Atlantic, leaf-shaped	Sharp.	-	Black-bronze	-	O'Connor 1980, list 111: no. 70
B: Antwerpen						
Pulle	Fragm. of 5 swords, Atlantic <i>épées</i> <i>pistilliformes</i>	Intentionally burnt and broken	Hoard in stream valley, together with 8 spearheads, 1 Niedermaas axe, also damaged and some burnt	-	S	Van Impe 1973, this book: section 8.5.3

5.4 SWORDS FROM THE HA B2/3- PHASE

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	References
NL: Gelderland Lobith-Rijn	Carp's tongue	-	River	-	P	Butler 1987, 33, fig. 19
Millingen-Biesterveld	2 Ewart Park swords	Sharp.	River (swords from same find spot)	Green-bronze	S	Hulst 1970, 32-3
Nijmegen	Tachlovice	-	River	Green-black; gravel in corrosion	P	O'Connor 1980, list 150: no. 6
Nijmegen-Waal-spoorbrug	Thames	Sharp.	River	D. green	P	Cowen 1967: no. 21
Nijmegen	Carp's tongue (dubious)	Sharp.	River	Bronze	P	O'Connor 1980, list 158: no. 29
Nijmegen/Arnhem-Rijn/Waal	Ewart Park	-	River	-	P	Roymans 1991. 75: fig. 8e
NL: Limburg Blerick (lost; dating uncertain)	-	-	-	-	-	Pers. comm. J. Mooren
Herten (dubious)	Carp's tongue	-	River	-	P	Bloemers 1973, 17-9 (incorrectly assigned to the Nenzingen type)
'Maas'	Ewart Park	-	River	-	P	Bloemers 1973, 17-8
Meers	Ewart Park	'Blade worked'	River	D. green	P	Hendrix 1995
Montfort-Sweeltje (dating uncertain)	-(fragm.)	Broken in antiquity	Stream valley/marsh	Black	S	Butler unpublished, coll. Glezer (Maasbracht)
Susteren-Neerechterbos (dating uncertain)	-(fragm.)	-	Marsh	Black/green	S	Pers. comm. L. van Hoof (Leiden)
Tegelen/Blerick	Möriegen	Never used	River	Black-bronze	P	O'Connor 1980, list 149: no. 5
Velden-Lomm (dating uncertain)	-(2 fragm.)	-	River	-	P	Unpublished, mus. Leiden l. 1936/9.1
Weert-Boshoven	chape	-	Allegedly in grave	-	P	Warmenbol 1988, 247
Wessem	Ewart Park	Sharp.	River	Bronze	P	Willems 1986, 215-6; this book fig. 8.13
Wessem	Maçon	-	River	-	P	Roymans 1991, 23, 76, fig. 7e
NL: Noord-Brabant Bergeyk	Möriegen	-	Marsh/stream?	Black-brown	S	Müller-Karpe 1961, 74: no. 8; Roymans 1991, app. I
Unknown	Auvernier	-	River?	-	S	Müller-Karpe 1961, 80: no. 21; Roymans 1991, app. I
B: Antwerpen Boom (-Rupel?)	Carp's tongue	Shortened blade	River	-	S	Cowen 1971, 165: no. 1
B: Oost-Vlaanderen (just west of research area)						
Hamme (dubious)	Carp's tongue	-	River?	-	-	De Laet 1982, 508
Hamme (dubious)	Port Nidau	-	River?	-	-	De Laet 1982, 507

5.5 EARLY IRON AGE SWORDS (MADE OF BRONZE AND IRON)

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	References
NL: Gelderland Heumen-Overasselt (dubious)	Bronze Gündlingen	-	River	Blackgreen	P	Cowen 1967, 440: no. 148; this book fig. 8.14
Millingen-Kekerdom (dubious)	Bronze Gündlingen	-	River	D. brown	P	Cowen 1967, 440: no. 146
Nijmegen-Waalkade	Bronze Gündlingen	-	- (River?)	-	-	Roymans 1991, app. 2
Wijchen	Iron (fragm.)	-	Grave, with wagon parts, bronze vessel, horse gear, bronze axe (burnt)	-	P	Pare 1991
NL: Limburg Arcen-Velden	Bronze Gündlingen	Sharp.	River	Black-bronze	P	Cowen 1967, 440: no. 143
Heythuizen-Bisschop	Iron	-	Grave?	-	S	Roymans 1991, app. 2, table 4
Horst-Hegelsom	Iron	Folded up	Grave, large barrow	-	P	Roymans 1991, app. 2, table 4
Maastricht-Heer-Vroendael	Bronze Gündlingen	Broken	Unclear, near urnfield	-	P	Dijkman 2000
Meerlo	Iron	-	Grave? Also: horsegear	-	S	Roymans 1991, app. 2, table 4
Montfort	Bronze Gündlingen, double ricasso	-	Marsh?	Bronze	S	Cowen 1967, 439: no. 138; Roymans 1991, app. 2
Roermond	Bronze Gündlingen	-	In river	Very well preserved	S	Cowen 1967, 439: no. 139
Weert-Boshoven	Bronze Gündlingen (fragm.)	-	In separate grave in tumulus O	-	P	Gerdsen 1986: no. 284a
Weert-Boshoven	Bronze Gündlingen (fragm.)	-	In separate grave in tumulus O	-	P	Gerdsen 1986: no. 284a
Weert-Boshoven	Bronze Gündlingen (fragm.)	-	In separate grave in tumulus O	-	P	Gerdsen 1986: no. 284a
NL: Noord-Brabant Cuyk-St. Agatha	Bronze Gündlingen	broken	River	-	P	Cowen 1967: no. 144
Heusden	Bronze Gündlingen	-	River	-	P	Cowen 1967: no. 145
Oss-Vorstengraf	Iron, Mindelheim	Sword folded up	In grave, with bronze vessel, horse gear, iron axe, dagger (?), knife (?). In extremely large barrow (D= 52 m)	-	P	Roymans 1991, app. 2, table 4
Someren-Philipscamping	Iron	-	Grave	-	P	Roymans 1991, app. 2, table 4
Someren-Kraaienstark	Iron	-	Grave	-	P	Roymans 1991, app. 2, table 4

Site	Type	Use traces	Context	Patina	Info	References
NL: Utrecht (just north of research area) Rhenen-Rijn	Bronze Gündlingen	-	River	-	P	Cowen 1967, 440: no. 147
B: Antwerpen Battel-Dijle	Iron, short, with bronze hilt	-	River	-	P	Warmenbol 1987b,60
Battel-Dijle	Iron, short	-	River	-	P	Warmenbol 1987b,60
Meer	2 iron short swords?	-	-	-	-	Roymans 1991, app. 2
B: Limburg Rekem-grave 72	3 bronze Gündlingen	Deliberately damaged	In grave with 2 bronze chapes, 3 spearheads; allegedly cremation remains of 3 adults (2 male, 1 female)	-	P	Van Impe 1980: no. 72; Warmenbol 1988, 248, 250

5.6. MBA SWORDS FROM THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM:
DEPOSITION IN GRAVES VERSUS DEPOSITION IN WATERY PLACES
Including weapon graves without swords but sets of bronze
arrowheads. Excluding unprovenanced finds and Ha A1/2 swords

(D= diameter). The finds are mapped in fig. 11.2; (3) = fig. 11.2,
site no. 3

Site	Objects	Context	Province	Reference
<i>Northern and Central Netherlands</i>				
Agelo (MBA A)	Sögel sword (fragm.)	-	Overijssel	Butler 1990, 73
Bergsham-tum. 3 (MBA A-B) (11)	Wohlde sword	Primary grave in eight-post mortuary house under barrow with peripheral circle of posts; sword presumably from cremation grave	Gelderland	Butler 1990, 76 and references cited there
Drouwen (MBA A) (2)	Sögel sword, razor, nick-flanged axe, 2 gold coils, whetstone, flint strike-a-light, 9 flint arrowheads,	Primary grave (inhumation) in four-post mortuary house, under barrow (D= c. 9 m)	Drenthe	Butler 1990, 71-3; this book fig. 11.1
Hijken tumulus 9; find no. 39 (MBA A-B) (3)	10 arrowheads, 2 pins (all bronze), 2 gold coils, flint strike-a-light	Primary grave under barrow, coffin inhumation	Drenthe	Butler 1990, 64-7
Monnikenbraak-find no. 13 (MBA A) (7)	Wohlde sword, flanged axe, whetstone, ceramic bowl	Allegedly from burial under barrow	Overijssel	Butler 1990, 76-8
Monnikenbraak (MBA A-B) (7)	Wohlde sword, spearhead?	Allegedly from burial mound, association uncertain	Overijssel	Butler 1990, 76
Ommerschans (MBA A-B) (5)	Ceremonial sword, Plougrescant-Ommerschans type; giant version; with razor, chisel, pins, rods and sheet metal, flint and stone implements	On platform of birchwood stakes in peat bog	Overijssel	Butler 1990, 86-91; Fontijn 2001
Putten (MBA A-B) (10)	Wohlde sword	Allegedly from burial mound	Gelderland	Butler 1990, 76
Sleenerzand-De Galgenberg (4)	Palstave, ring, 14 arrowheads, tweezer fragm., (all bronze), 2 gold coils,	Primary grave, phase 2 in barrow with postcircle	Drenthe	Butler 1990, 86
Vries-tumulus 2 (MBA A-B) (1)	1 arrowhead	Secondary coffin inhumation grave in barrow	Drenthe	Van Giffen 1941, 17
Vriezenveen-Weitemanslanden (6)	Wohlde sword	Peat bog	Overijssel	Butler 1990, 76
<i>Southern Netherlands/ North Belgium (=study region)</i>				
Antwerpen-Appelstraat (MBA B) (25)	Sword, local type	Stream-river	Antwerpen (B.)	Warmenbol 1985
Battel-Dijle (MBA A) (26)	Tréboul-St. Brandan sword	River	Antwerpen (B.)	Warmenbol 1992
Battel (26)	Cloontia sword	Stream		Warmenbol 1986, 155-6
Borgharen-Maas (MBA A) (24)	Sögel-variety sword	River	Limburg (NL.)	Butler 1969, Pl. 5
Den Dungen (MBA B) (14)	Rosnoën sword	Marsh?	Noord-Brabant (NL.)	Drenth/Kleij 1998
Escharen-Raam (MBA B) (18)	Rosnoën sword, spearhead, bracelet, dagger	Hoard in stream/marsh?	Noord-Brabant (NL.)	Verwers 1988, 26-7

Site	Objects	Context	Province	Reference
Herten-Ool (MBA B) (22)	Rosnoën sword	River	Limburg (NL)	Butler 1987, note 7: 2
Herten-Ool (MBA B) (22)	Rosnoën sword	River		Butler unpublished; this book
Jutphaas (MBA A-B) (12)	Ceremonial sword, Plougrescant- Ommerschans type; dirk size	Marsh	Utrecht (NL.)	Butler/Sarfati 1970-71
Kronenberg (MBA B) (21)	Rosnoën sword, reworked	Marsh	Limburg (NL.)	Bloemers/Willems 1980-81, 35-6
Linne (MBA B) (22)	Rosnoën sword	-	Limburg (NL.)	Butler 1987, note 7: 3
Lobith-Rijn (MBA A) (16)	Weizen-sword	River	Gelderland (NL.)	Unpublished; this book
Lobith-Rijn (MBA B) (16)	Sword with reworked butt	River		Unpublished, this book
Maasbracht (MBA B) (22)	Trapezoidal-hilted sword	River	Limburg (NL.)	Felix 1945, no. 246
Meteren (MBA B) (13)	Sword, 2 tanged arrow- heads, wire and indet. item (all bronze)	Primary grave in large barrow	Gelderland (NL.)	Butler/Hielkema 2002
Middelaar-Maas (MBA B) (17)	Rosnoën (?) sword, reworked butt	River	Limburg (NL.)	Willems 1984, 365
Milsbeek-Maas (MBA B) (17)	Appleby sword	River	Limburg (NL.)	Unpublished; this book
Montfort-Gemeentebroek (MBA B) (22)	Rosnoën (?) sword	Marsh	Limburg (NL.)	Unpublished; this book
Nijmegen (MBA A) (15)	Gamprin-sword	-	Gelderland (NL.)	Unpublished; this book
Nijmegen-Hunerberg (MBA A) (15)	Sögel sword (fragm.)	Dry		Unpublished; this book
Nijmegen-Waal (MBA A) (15) (dubious)	Sögel sword	River		O'Connor 1980, list 25: 3
Nijmegen-Waal (MBA A) (15)	Wohlde sword	River		O'Connor 1980, list 26: 5
Nijmegen-Waal (MBA B) (15) (dubious)	Sword fragm. reworked to dagger	River		Felix 1945, no. 306
Overloon (MBA A) (20)	2 Wohlde swords, 2 spearheads, nick-flanged axe, pin	Hoard in or near stream	Limburg (NL.)	Butler 1990, 74-6
Panheel-Maas (MBA B) (22)	Grigny sword	River	Limburg (NL.)	Willems 1983, 211-2
River Waal (MBA A)	Tréboul-St. Brandan sword	River	Gelderland (NL.)	Fontijn 2001
Roermond (MBA B) (22)	Rosnoën sword	River	Limburg (NL.)	Butler 1987, note 7: no. 5
Stevensweert-Maas (MBA B) (23)	Rixheim sword	River	Limburg (NL.)	Desittere 1961, fig. 3
Unknown ('Halle-Zoersel') (MBA A)	Tréboul-St. Brandan sword	-	?	Warmenbol 1992, fig. 42a
Unknown ('Weurt')	Rosnoën sword	-	?	Felix 1945, no. 459
Unknown ('Zwijndrecht') (MBA A)	Wohlde sword	-	?	Warmenbol 1986
Venlo-Maas (MBA A) (dubious) (19)	Wohlde sword	River	Limburg (NL.)	Butler 1990, 76
Venlo-Maas (MBA A) (19)	Wohlde sword	River	Limburg (NL.)	Butler 1990, 76
<i>Western Netherlands (coastal area)</i>				
Velserbroek (9)	Sword, palstave, gold coiled rings,	Inhumation burial in a natural dune, no barrow, surrounded by rectangular ditch	Noord-Holland	Butler 1990, 94-5 (sword not mentioned)

Site	Objects	Context	Province	Reference
Zwaagdijk grave 3 (MBA B) (8)	Sword, 4 amber beads, allegedly also: piece of worked flint, piece of sandstone, indet. animal bone	Inhumation in flat grave, one of at least 5 such graves	Noord-Holland	Butler 1990, 102
Zwaagdijk? (lost) (8)	Allegedly: sword, pair of coiled gold wire	-	Noord-Holland	Butler 1990, 103-4
<i>West Belgium</i>				All: Verlaeckt 1996
Dendermonde (MBA B) (27)	Rosnoën sword (related to)	River?	Oost-Vlaanderen	No. 28
Gent (MBA B) (29)	Narrow-butted sword	River		No. 57
Geraardsbergen (MBA B) (30)	Sword, type Grigny	River		No. 71
Gottem (MBA A-B) (29)	Sword, Tréboul-St. Brandan	-		No. 76
Grembergen (MBA B) (27)	Rosnoën sword (related to)	-		No. 77
Melle (MBA A) (29)	Gamprin sword	River		No. 99
Melle (MBA B) (29)	Ceremonial sword, Wandsworth	River		No. 100
Moerzeke (MBA B) (27)	Rosnoën sword	River?		No. 115
Oudenaarde (MBA B) (29)	Reutlingen sword	-		No. 121
Schellebelle (MBA B?) (29)	Indet; <i>Griffplattenschwert?</i>	River?		No. 133
Schoonaarde (MBA A-B) (28)	Sword, local type?	River		No. 156
Schoonaarde (MBA) (28)	Indet. sword (fragm.)	River		No. 157
Wichelen (MBA) (28)	Indet. sword (fragm.)	River		No. 227
Wichelen (MBA B) (28)	Rosnoën sword	River		No. 228
Wichelen (MBA) (28)	Indet. sword (fragm.)	River		No. 229
<i>South Belgium</i>				
Huy (MBA A) (31)	Wohlde sword	River?	Liège	De Laet 1974, 298
Huy (MBA B-LBA) (31)	Arco-Terontola sword	River		Warmenbol 1992, 84-6
Huy-Statte (MBA B) (31)	Rixheim sword	River?		Warmenbol 1992, 86
German Rhineland				
Xanthen	<i>Griffplattenschwert</i>	River	-	Weber 1993