

60TH SACHSENSYMPOSIUM 2009



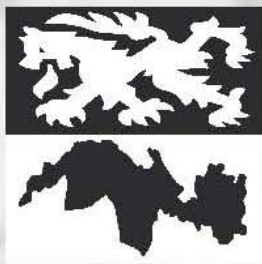
TRANSFORMATIONS IN NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE

MAASTRICHT 19TH – 23RD SEPTEMBER



UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

LGOG



*Gemeente Maastricht*

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# GUIDEBOOK 60 th Sachsensymposium 19 - 23 September 2009 MAASTRICHT

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TRANSFORMATIONS IN NORTH-  
WESTERN EUROPE (AD 300-1000)

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Organised by the University of Amsterdam, Faculty  
of Humanities, Amsterdam Archaeological Centre &  
the Town of Maastricht, Heritage Department.

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**The congress has been made possible by:**

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## Internationales Sachsensymposion

Das „*Internationale Sachsensymposion. Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Archäologie der Sachsen und ihrer Nachbarvölker in Nordwesteuropa*“ wurde 1949 in Cuxhaven unter dem Namen „*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Sachsenforschung*“ gegründet. Sie hat sich zur Aufgabe gestellt, die Geschichte der Altsachsen, der Angelsachsen und der mit ihnen verbundenen altgermanischen Stämme durch gemeinsame Forschungsarbeit aufzuhellen und darüber hinaus alle Wechselbeziehungen zu erörtern, die im Zusammenhang mit diesem Forschungsziel in den Anliegerländern der Nordsee und des Ärmelkanals nachweisbar sind.

In jedem Jahr findet eine Jahrestagung statt, die die Bezeichnung „Symposion“ des „Internationalen Sachsensymposions, Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Archäologie der Sachsen und ihrer Nachbarvölker in Nordwesteuropa“ führt.

Website: <http://www.sachsensymposion.org>

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## Programme ISS 60

### Maastricht 2009 19-23 September

Organised by the University of Amsterdam, Faculty of Humanities, Amsterdam Archaeological Centre and the Town of Maastricht, Centre Céramique

#### TRANSFORMATIONS IN NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE (AD 300 – 1000)

Early Medieval Europe (c. 300-1000 AD) went through a series of transformations as a consequence of which the medieval world of North-Western Europe was created out of the culture of the late antique period. These transformations varied according to time and place. Modern scholars stress their multilayered nature and variability instead of speaking of THE transformation of the Roman World into an Early Medieval Europe. Another aspect of these transformations is their multilocations; different groups went through different transformations in different regions and in very diverse landscapes. Important themes, such as ethnicity and economic change, are viewed in different and more nuanced ways than say forty years ago. Cultural aspects related to gender and age have been put forward. Interdisciplinarity has grown.

For most archaeologists the fundamental question remains: what do changes in material culture mean as markers of a social change in the context of a transforming Europe? These changes can be observed in burial rituals, the organization of settlements, or in the visible aspects of objects. To what extent do we as archaeologists follow paradigms based on textual evidence or do we develop our models on the various transformations in material culture which we have observed taking place? How do we relate changes at the local level (observed by archaeologists) to changes at the 'national' level (primarily observed by historians), or, even better, at the international European level?

Another basic problem to be confronted is the nature of transformations in terms of speed and duration. Is there one large transformation going on throughout our period or can we observe episodes of relatively rapid change and episodes of

slow change or stability? Is the period around AD 400 a time of rapid change or not? Does this period show us a real break-up of the current culture in some regions, and if so, what parameters in the material culture make us believe it is happening? And do we see the same process occurring in every region studied by our members, or can we discern a great variety with diverging implications for our interpretation? Are the decennia around 700 AD in Northern Gaul a period of rapid change? Is the seventh century a period of stability? Is there a middle Saxon Shuffle? Does Denmark change rapidly in the tenth century or was it the eighth century which was the decisive time for the creation of a Danish kingdom? Did the Saxon society in northern Germany change rapidly after its conquest by Charlemagne?

Every region will have known various transformations between 300 and 1000 AD.

During the 60th Sachsensymposium 2009 in Maastricht, we want to explore the theme of European Transformations by bringing together a number of papers in which transformations in our various regions are presented (Gaul and Francia, Frisia, Saxony, England, Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe). We could do this by using a fixed set of parameters, but as it is difficult to 'measure' culture we have opted for an open strategy whereby different scholars present their subject as they seem fit, being aware of our goals. It can, however, be suggested that, for instance, burial rituals can be included in the analyses without the paper just being a presentation of changing burial rites. Another topic that could be dealt with in this light is the transformations of central places, be they towns, cult places, monasteries, etc. Our presence in the town of Maastricht with its Roman roots invites us to consider this theme too.





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PROGRAMME

6:

### **Seat of the 60<sup>th</sup> Sachsensymposium**

Amrâth Grand Hotel de L'Empereur

Stationsstraat 2

6221 BP MAASTRICHT – NL

Telephone +31(0)43 321 3838

E-mail [info@hotel-empereur.nl](mailto:info@hotel-empereur.nl)

### **Information**

Congress secretary : Isolde Scheltinga

University of Amsterdam - Faculty of humanities -  
Amsterdam Archaeological Centre

Address:

Turfdraagsterpad 9 (room 2.09)

1012 XT Amsterdam - The Netherlands

Phone + 31 (0)20 525 5830

E-mail : [sachsensymposium-fgw@uva.nl](mailto:sachsensymposium-fgw@uva.nl)

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Egge Knol, Museum of Groningen, Groningen

Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig

### **Complementary excursions**

In addition to the conference programme an excursion is  
organised to the Belgian Meuse Valley on Tuesday 22  
September (Liège, Amay, Thier d'Olné, Namur).

Organisation :

Division du Patrimoine de la Région Wallonne (Denis  
Henrard, Jean Plumier, Sophie de Bernardy de Sigoyer,  
Chatherine Peters, Jean-Marc Leotard), Cercle  
Archéologique d'Hesbaye-Condruz (Jacques Witvrouw)  
and the Town of Namur (J.-L. Antoine).





### Posters exhibition

The posters will be exhibited in the Hotel lobby during the symposium.

Ager, Barry

*The Vale of York Viking Hoard.*

Aufderhaar, Iris

*Forschungen zum eisenzeitlichen Zentralplatz von Sievern im Elbe-Weser-Dreieck – Verlagerung von Machtstrukturen im Kontaktbereich von Geest und Marsch.*

Finoulst, Laure-Anne

*Les sarcophages du Haut Moyen Âge découverte dans l'actuel Benelux.*

Gutsmiedl, Doris

*Archaeology of Female Lifeworlds of Western Scandinavia in the Context of Continental Relations from the Roman to the Migration Period.*

Henrard, Denis

*Excursion, presentation des sites à visiter.*

*Excursion, carte archéologique des sites.*

*Excursion, Thier d'Olné.*

Neiss, Michael

*Transformations in Viking Age Animal Art.*

Mückenberger, Kai

*Ufermärkte und Landeplätze der römischen Kaiserzeit im nordwestdeutschen Küstengebiet.*

Thomsen, Lone Gebauer

*Textile Production at Tissø – the transformation from household to specialized production?*

Panum Baastrup, Maria

*The Transformations of Artifacts – from the Continent to Denmark in the Viking Age.*

### Saint Servatius Project exhibition

A photo exhibition will give you a foretaste of results and marvellous objects in the coming publications of the Merovingian cemeteries of the Vrijthof and the Servaas-Pandhof .

#### Exhibition hall:

De Hoofdwacht

Vrijthof 25

6211 LE Maastricht





## Programme ISS 60

### Saturday 19 September 2009

14:00 – 18:00 *Arrival*

of the conference participants in Maastricht

and *Registration*

at the conference desk in the *Amrâth Grand Hotel de L'Empereur* (in front of the Railway Station), Stationsstraat 2, 6221 BP Maastricht

14:30 – 15:30 – 16:30 – 17:30

*Guided city promenades* (English and German) starting point: the lobby of the Amrâth Grand Hotel de L'Empereur (in front of the Railway Station), Stationsstraat 2, 6221 BP Maastricht.

Guides:

Régis Delahaye, Frank Hovens, Émile Ramakers, Gilbert Soeters

### 20:00 – 22:00 *Opening Programme*

In the former church of the Black Friars, nowadays Bookshop Selexyz Dominicanen, Dominikanerkerkstraat 1, 6211 Maastricht

20:00 *Welcome*

Ton Harmes (managing director Selexyz-Dominicanen)

20:05 *Opening*

Prof. Dr. Claus von Carnap-Bornheim (president Internationales Sachsensymposium)

Drs. Jean Jacobs (alderman of Culture of the Town of Maastricht)

20:30 – 21:15 *Keynote lecture*

Prof. Dr. Frans Theuws (Amsterdam)

*Maastricht in the Centre of a Transforming World.*

21:30 *Drinks* (offered by the University of Amsterdam)

### Sunday 20 September 2009

The sessions will be held in the Conference Room of the *Amrâth Grand Hotel de L'Empereur*, Stationsstraat 2, 6221 BP Maastricht

#### BURIAL CUSTOMS

09:00 – 10:30 *Lectures and discussion* (moderator: Claus von Carnap-Bornheim)

Siegmüller, Annette

*Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Dunum, Ostfriesland, als Spiegel politisch-religiöser Wandlungen des 7.-10. Jahrhunderts im Küstenraum.*

Peters, Daniël

*Am Vorabend der Sachsenkriege: Aufkommen und Abbruch der sog. sächsischen Gräber in Westfalen am Beispiel von Soest.*

Knol, Egge

*The beginning of the early medieval cemeteries along the northern Dutch coasts and its significance for the Anglo-Saxon migration.*

10:30 – 11:00 *Coffee break*

11:00 – 12:30 *Lectures and discussion* (moderator: Frans Theuws)

Sørensen, Anne Birgitte

*Changes in burial customs seen from Ostergard (South Jutland) in the period from Older Roman Iron Age to Younger Roman/Germanic Iron Age.*

Tania Dickinson & Andrew Richardson

*Early Anglo-Saxon Eastry: burials and the beginnings of the 'eastern district' of the Kingdom of Kent.*

Annaert, Rica  
[& Koen Deforce & Marit Vandenbruaene]

*The cremation graves at the Broechem cemetery (Belgium, province of Antwerp).*







12:30 – 14:00 Lunch

14:00 – 15:30 Lectures and discussion (moderator:  
Luc van Impe)

Vrielynck, Olivier

*Le cimetière mérovingien de Bossut-Gottechain  
(commune de Grez-Doiceau, Belgique). Rites  
funéraires, tombes privilégiées, perles ...*

Panhuysen, Raphaël

*The complementary nature of Merovingian  
cemeteries in Maastricht.*

Smal, Dieuwertje

*Grave constructions in Maastricht: concepts,  
typology and data.*

15:30 – 16:00 Tea break

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

16:00 – 17:00 Lectures and discussion (moderator:  
Chris Loveluck)

Vanderhoeven, Alain

*The archaeological excavations in Our Lady's  
basilica at Tongeren and the transformation of an  
urban quarter of the Roman civitas capital of the  
Tungri from the 4th to the 10th century.*

Reichmann, Christoph

*Zu den Anfänge des Kirchenbaus im Umfeld des  
fränkischen Fürstensitzes von Krefeld-Gellep.*

17:00 Enjoy your evening free in Maastricht

Monday 21 September 2009

#### TRANSFORMATIONS (continuation)

09:00 – 10:30 Lectures and discussion (moderator:  
Ulf Nässman)

Welch, Martin

*The archaeological evidence for state formation in  
southern England: a comparison of the early  
kingdoms of Kent, Sussex and Wessex.*

Hills, Catherine & Sam Lucy

*Spong Hill : Chronology and Synthesis.*

Watt, Margarethe

*Sorte Muld, Bornholm, an example of  
transformation and regional contacts during the  
5th to 7th centuries in the Baltic Sea area.*

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee break

11:00 – 12:30 Lectures and discussion  
(moderator: Karin Høilund Nielsen)

Nieuwhof, Annet

*Discontinuity in the northern Netherlands coastal  
area at the end of the Roman Age.*

Dijkstra, Menno & Henk van der Velde

*Plots, places, pots and pins. Transformations in the  
Rhine estuary during the Early Middle Ages.*

12:30 – 14:00 Lunch

#### CENTRAL PLACES

14:00 – 15:30 Lectures and discussion (moderator:  
Egon Wamers)

Näsman, Ulf

*Central Places in South Scandinavia - a  
transformation twenty years after.*





Rundkvist, Martin

*Central Places in First Millennium Östergötland: Transformations in Elite Settlement from AD 400 to 1000.*

Loveluck, Christopher & Reno Fiedel & Karen Høilund Nielsen

*From hamlet to central place to manor: Transformation of the character and social networks of the 100-hectare settlement at Stavnsager, eastern Jutland, AD 400-1100.*

15:30 – 16:00 Tea break

16:00 – 17:30 Lectures and discussion (moderator: Anthonie Heidinga)

Hamerow, Helena

*A High-status Anglo-Saxon Settlement Complex at Sutton Courtenay, Oxfordshire*

Scull, Chris

*Ipswich: transformations of community and settlement in the 7th and 8th centuries.*

Larsson, Lars

*Burnt houses – transformation of power at the central place Uppåkra, southernmost part of Sweden.*

18:00 Reception in the Town Hall of Maastricht (Markt) and drinks offered by the Town Council & group photograph in the monumental Townhall

19:00 KA-Meeting (Town Hall, Merretkamer)

Tuesday 22 September 2009

#### EXCURSION

08:15 – 19:00 Excursion by bus into the Belgian Meuse Valley

8:15 Departure from Maastricht (Amrâth Grand Hotel De l'Empereur, frontside = Parallelweg)

9:15 – 10:30 Visit of Liège (Place Saint-Lambert, Archéoforum) conducted by Denis Henrard.

11:30 – 13:00 Visit of Amay conducted by Jacques Witvrouw and Sophie de Bernardy de Sigoyer

13:00 – 14:30 Visit of Thier d'Olne conducted by Jacques Witvrouw and Sophie de Bernardy de Sigoyer

15:30 – 16:15 Visit of the Citadelle de Namur conducted by J.-L. Antoine.

16:30 – 17:30 Parliament of Namur with an introduction by Jean Plumier

Drinks offered by the Walloon Government

19:00 Arrival at Maastricht

#### CONFERENCE DINNER

20:00 Conference buffet dinner (in the Dining Room of the Amrâth Grand Hotel De l'Empereur)





**Wednesday 23 September 2009**

TRANSFORMATIONS

09:00 – 10:30 *Lectures and discussion* (moderator:  
Torsten Capelle)

Wamers, Egon

*Die Bärenkämpfer von Torslunda, Sutton Hoo und Eschwege. Transformationen eines frühmittelalterlichen Bildmotivs.*

Pesch, Alexandra

*Die schwedischen Goldhalskragen. Zwischen antiker Technik und germanischer Innovation.*

Gräf, Julia

*Die Entwicklung der Gerbereitechnik am Übergang der Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter.*

10:30 – 11:00 *Coffee break*

11:00 – 12:30 *Lectures and discussion* (moderator:  
Leslie Webster)

Fabech, Charlotte

*War and rituals. Changes in rituals and transformations of power.*

Schaub, Andreas

*Aachen zwischen Römerzeit und Karolingerzeit.*

Panhuysen, Titus

*The key to the imperial status of the Saint Servatius Abbey.*

12:30 – 13:00 *Closure of the congress*

Prof. Dr. Claus von Carnap-Bornheim  
(president Internationales Sachsensymposium)

13:00 – 14:00 *Lunch*

14:00 *Goodbye*





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Map of Maastricht c. 1672 (based on the first edition of G. Braun and F. Hogenberg, c. 1588).







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## Abstracts ISS 60

Annaert, Rica & Koen Deforce & Marit Vandenbruaene

*Flemish Heritage Institute (VIOE), Brussels*

*Sunday 20 September 2009, 12:00 h.*

### **The cremation graves at the Broechem cemetery (Belgium, province of Antwerp)**

Since 2007 the Flemish Heritage Institute has the opportunity to undertake further excavations at the Merovingian cemetery of Broechem (prov. of Antwerp) in adjacent plots to the north of the area that was exposed in 2001-2003. The cemetery, located on a 13 metre high sandy-loam ridge flanking the alluvial Nethe valley, should clearly be considered as one of the more important regional burial grounds in this remote region of Northern Austrasia historically known as the *Pagus Renensis*. This microregion with distinctive geographic, toponymic and soil features is situated to the south-east of the city of Antwerp and forms part of the Scheldt valley area.

To date, at least 388 burials have been recorded. The large majority, at least 334, are inhumation burials - including 3 horses, orientated either west-east (first phase) or south-north (second phase). Scattered among them, and later, are at least 54 cremation burials. Despite grave-robbing during the medieval period, many inhumation burials still contain grave goods. These show that the cemetery was in use from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. Some of the richer graves contain 'exotic' grave goods which indicate the presence of a local elite who had contacts with the higher nobility of other regions with great political power. Whether the nature of these contacts was economic (trade) or social (marriage or other alliances) is unclear. Although most graves seem to be of Frankish origin, certain practices such as cremation and the north-south orientation of inhumation graves appear to indicate the presence of immigrants from a more northerly region.

The cremation graves have a high scientific importance, because they provide the only material human remains in this cemetery. Due to the acidic nature of the sandy loam, skeletal parts

of the inhumation burials are not preserved. Moreover, different types of cremation burial rituals appear to have been practised. Both un-urned graves with pyre-remains (*Brandgrubengräber*) and pits with a compact selection of cremated bones (*Knochenlager*) are present, as well as at least one urn burial and a cremation grave associated with a wooden structure or 'cremation house'. Can these incinerations be compared to the Gallo-Roman cremation rituals and are these graves to be interpreted as a survival of Gallo-Roman or even older Iron Age traditions? Or are these cremation graves rather an indication of new arrivals of overseas and trans-Rhine colonists? Interdisciplinary archaeological, physical-anthropological and charcoal research will certainly reveal more interesting features.

Dickinson, Tania & Andrew Richardson

*University of York / Canterbury Archaeological Trust*

*Sunday 20 September 2009, 11:30 h.*

### **Early Anglo-Saxon Eastry: burials and the beginnings of the 'eastern district' of the kingdom of Kent**

Eastry in easternmost Kent is potentially a most pertinent case-study for illuminating how evolving burial practices helped to structure and transform a social and political landscape, namely that of the emergent Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent. As Sonia Hawkes sketched in 1979, it offers a tantalising intersection of data. On the one hand, it is widely agreed that its place-name, meaning 'the eastern district' and linked to a royal vill, was archaic and already obsolete by the time that it appeared in several late 8th- and early 9th-century charters of Christ Church, Canterbury. With the analogous place-names - Sturry and Lyminge - it testifies to a presumptively pre-7th century division of Kent east of Canterbury into three folk territories, which recur as three lathes in Domesday Book. On the other hand, the present-day village of Eastry is the focus of a remarkable concentration (even for Kent) of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites, which provide the best contemporary evidence for hypothesising what that 'eastern district' was and how its central focus developed. The full possibilities eluded Hawkes, however, because of



long-established misconceptions about the location and nature of burial finds made during the 18th and 19th centuries. Our current research project, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Eastry' (conducted together with Chris Fern and supported by the British Academy) addresses the problem by combining critical re-assessment of the antiquarian finds with publication of small-scale interventions made recently within Eastry village, and sets these into the context of other finds, old and new, made in the neighbourhood. This paper outlines our conclusions.

The primary cemetery in the south of the village was discovered in 1792 at a property known in the 19th century as Southbank and now as Cross Farm (Eastry I). Situated beside the Roman road from Dover to Richborough and Canterbury, it was compact and regularly organised, with grave-goods representative of early Merovingian and North Sea Coastal Zone material culture of the fifth to mid-sixth century. Find-spots of cognate material, whether from burials or often as isolated (metal-detected) finds, are quite limited in Kent, though the new site at Ringlemere, just 2 km to the north-west, reported to the Sachsensymposium in 2007 by Sonja Marzinzik, provides many parallels. Primarily concentrated along the lower fringes of the chalk dip slope and in valleys draining into the Wantsum Channel, the sites of these finds may exemplify the founder communities of the three folk districts. By the early 6th century well-known cemeteries within 2-3 km of Eastry, such as Finglesham and Gilton (Ash), as well as others even closer indicated recently by metal-detecting, testify to the emergence of some very prosperous leading kindred. The role of the Roman road as a centralising force for the district is further demonstrated by the distribution of casual finds of metalwork along it, especially north towards Woodnesborough, the place-name of which may reflect, following Charlotte Behr, the focus of a 6th-century royal Woden cult.

In the later 6th century, a number of discrete wealthy graves, probably all under barrows, were constructed on or close to this road, including at Coombe, just north-west of Woodnesborough, and in the north of Eastry village itself (Eastry II west, Eastry House, published in 1979 by Hawkes, and Eastry II east, Thornton). We also argue from re-assessment of the antiquarian and (sadly) disassociated material now in Maidstone Museum that others existed on Updown, some 500-700 metres to the south. At least two or three feminine

burials and three sword-graves are represented. One of the swords was most likely associated with a suite of fittings for a horse's harness and saddle, 21 arrows and a long throwing spear, constituting the residue of a late 6th-century 'horse-and-warrior' burial, as wealthy a male grave as any known from Kent and a plausible candidate for a local aristocrat and royal familiar, such as might have held authority in an early folk district. These burials were precursors to or even part of the partially excavated large 7th-century ('Final Phase') cemetery beside the Roman road at Updown (Eastry III).

So far there is no evidence for early or middle Anglo-Saxon settlement within Eastry village, let alone for the site of a royal vill or for the existence of a Middle Saxon minster, so whether and where a central place for the 'eastern district' existed and when Eastry village acquired the district name is debatable. The relatively high density of 5th- to mid 9th-century coin-finds from the parish, however, also points to its general importance. Thus, whilst the overall distribution of burials in the neighbourhood was extensive, and in principle any of the well-endowed sites might have become the focus for the district, our research suggests that it was the early and continuous role of the Roman road between Eastry and Woodnesborough for demonstrative burial, both communal and elite, and especially perhaps in the late 6th and early 7th centuries, that was crucial in configuring a sense of place and of centrality.

#### *Select bibliography*

Behr, C. 2000. 'The origins of kingship in early medieval Kent', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9, 25-52.

Hawkes, S. C. 1979. 'Eastry in Anglo-Saxon Kent: its importance, and a newly-found grave', in S. C. Hawkes, D. Brown and J. Campbell (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 1*, BAR British Series 72, 81-113.

Hawkes, S. C. and Grainger, G. 2006. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham, Kent* (Oxford).

Welch, M. 2008. 'Report on excavations of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Updown, Eastry, Kent', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 15: 1-146.

Webster, L. E. and Davidson, H. R. E. 1967. 'The Anglo-Saxon burial at Coombe (Woodnesborough), Kent', *Medieval Archaeology*, 11, 1-41.



*Forthcoming:*

Dickinson, T. M., Fern, C. and Richardson, A., with contributions from A. Holton and P. Walton Rogers. 'Early Anglo-Saxon Eastry: Archaeological Evidence for the Beginnings of a District Centre in the Kingdom of Kent', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 17 (for 2010).

## Dijkstra, Menno & Henk van der Velde

*University of Amsterdam / ADC Amersfoort*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 11:30 & 12:00 h.*

### **Plots, places, pots and pins : Transformations in the Rhine estuary during the Early Middle Ages**

During the last decade, archaeological research in the estuaries of Rhine and Meuse has profoundly enhanced our knowledge of habitation in the Early Medieval Period. This paper will present an overview of the transformations that took place in the region of West Frisia, by studying changes in material culture of three spheres of interaction: settlement, exchange and cemeteries.

The settlements consisted of small clusters of farms. It is difficult to discern a hierarchy between them, but some farm plots had more outhouses than others and longhouses of better workmanship. An interesting development was the introduction of two-aisled barns from c. 550 onwards, probably as large granaries.

Villages of the 6th to early 8th century show a wide range of artisanal activities, but it is difficult to assess their scale. The presence of imported pottery, quern stones, metal, grains and wine indicates that it was no problem to produce a surplus for trade. Their widespread distribution shows that the exchange network was accessible for all settlements. To what extent the elite controlled this trade is uncertain. Did competitive families control the Frisian entrepreneurs who traded by sea and river or did they just profit from part of the revenues?

The four cemeteries known to date contain cremations as well as inhumations and date from the 6th to the early 8th century. Most were used by only a few families at the same time. The number of discovered sites is quite low and there is reason to believe that the corpses of part of the

population were disposed of in a different way. The question then is whether the known cemeteries were used by certain family-groups or were reserved for only a part of the population. The oldest churches in the region were mostly built near to these known cemeteries, which suggests continuity in the existence of local centres.

Over the centuries one can see different transformations at work, depending on the available archaeological and historical sources. The 6th century was characterized by a steady growth in population (after a severe late Roman decline) consisting of an influx of peoples from the neighbouring regions. The somewhat isolated geography seems to have led rather quickly to a coastal identity on different levels: a regional, 'West Frisian' house type and the use of Domburg-type pins in an interregional 'Frisian' context. The emerging regional identity led to the development of an elite, cumulating in the historically known Frisian kings (or overlordship) in the second half of the 7th and early 8th century. The Frankish political threat must have been a major stimulus for this outcome. The second period of transformation concerns the founding of churches and royal manors and the shift of part of the settlements to new locations. Trade must have flourished, but how it was organized at settlement level remains somewhat obscure. The archaeological picture of this later period is less clear, due to the lack of excavated settlements of the Carolingian period.

## Fabech, Charlotte

*University of Kalmar*

*Wednesday 23 September 2009, 11:00 h.*

### **War and rituals – Changes in rituals and transformations of power**

Archaeological remains, which were the result of rituals, are found in different archaeological settings: bogs, settlements, grooves, hills, etc. We know much about dating, provenience, and distribution of small finds, but we lack studies of the character of the sites, of the rituals that produced them, and of their context in the surrounding landscape/society.

Tacitus' story about the cult of Nerthus is a rare description of a whole ritual. The ritual was not limited to the bog where Nerthus' wagon was



hidden, but involved a whole landscape. The story illuminates why an investigation of the landscape surrounding a ritual site is needed.

Among the most remarkable ritual finds in Scandinavia are the offerings in bogs and lakes of weaponry and warriors' gear from the Roman Iron Age and the Migration period. However, weapons depositions found at central places like Uppåkra and Sorte Muld show that weapon rituals also took place at settlements, at the residences of the elite. Complicated rituals can be surmised: weapon dances, ritual fighting, perhaps a re-enactment of events from the battle field. Weapons deposited at central places demonstrate that the residences were as sacral as the old bogs.

The centuries when weapon offerings were practiced were turbulent, and especially the last period, between 400 and 600, seems to be a time of disintegration and transformation, out of which new social formations appeared. The weapon offerings reflect the battles of the period. They have traditionally been interpreted as being of different characters, from primitive plundering raids to well-planned campaigns of conquest. Today I would add that some might reflect internal struggles between defenders of an established social order and new emerging elites who, as a result of their European experiences, wished to reform society.

The last half of the 5th century appears in South Scandinavia to have been the most violent. Can the frequent Scandinavian wars be related to events in Europe? It is possible that Scandinavian troops, who had been enrolled in the armies of the European wars, returned to their native homes after the defeat of the Hunnic coalition at the Battle of Nedao in 454. If the returnees did not get their way, they may have taken it by force as their experience in the wars had taught them. The new elite had acquired other qualifications than those of the old tribal society in Europe. The archaeological record demonstrates that they were influenced by an multicultural martial elite dominated by the Goths and with Nomadic elements.

The wars of the Migration period were fought to get control of people and wealth, but it was stories and myths about the legitimacy of power and the divine descent of the leader which made warriors go to war. In Scandinavia, old traditions were attacked by new ambitions. Stories about heroic deeds and genealogical myths about divine origin

were used by both the defenders and the challengers of the existing system. It is in this light we have to see both the weapon sacrifices and the Nordic animal art.

## Gräf, Julia

*Niedersächsisches Institut für historische Küstenforschung, Wilhelmshaven*

*Wednesday 23 September 2009, 10:00 h.*

### **Die Entwicklung der Gerberei am Übergang von der Spätantike zum Frühen Mittelalter**

Durch alle Zeiten hinweg ist Leder einer der wichtigsten Rohstoffe des Menschen. Er findet in fast sämtlichen Lebensbereichen wie Kleidung, Bewaffnung, Schmuck, Mobilität, Transport, Unterkunft oder Nahrungsaufbewahrung Verwendung. Um eine tierische Haut für den Menschen nutzbar zu machen, muss sie behandelt werden, da sie sonst trocken und steif wird oder verrottet. Wichtig ist zunächst die Unterscheidung in echte Gerbungen, in der prämodernen Zeit zählt hierzu ausschließlich die vegetabile Gerbung, und Pseudogerbungen, die sich nur unter sekundär gerbenden Bedingungen erhalten. Je nach Gerbmethode und Behandlung erhält das Leder unterschiedliche Eigenschaften, die für bestimmte Zwecke genutzt werden können.

Ein Nachweis des Gerbverfahrens ist schwierig. Als mögliche Quellengruppen dienen Anlagen zur Gerberei (Feddersen Wierde und Flögeln, zum Vergleich: Pompeji, Contrebia Belaisca, Berlin-Spandau, Einbeck), Geräte, die bei der Gerberei genutzt wurden sowie die Lederfunde an sich. Eine chemische Analyse ist bei archäologischem Leder fast unmöglich, da sekundäre Prozesse im Zuge der Bodenlagerung die chemische Zusammensetzung verändern können. Jedoch sind auch durch die Bedingungen, unter denen Leder erhalten blieb, Aussagen möglich ob es sich um echte Gerbungen oder Pseudogerbungen handelt.

Im römischen Reich war die vegetabile Gerbung allgemein üblich, weshalb von römischen Fundplätzen eine große Anzahl Lederfunde aus Feuchtbodenerhaltung bekannt sind, wohingegen im nordwestdeutschen Gebiet Lederfunde fast ausschließlich in Mooren mit sekundär gerbender Wirkung gefunden wurden. Eine Ausnahme bildet vor allem der Fundort Feddersen Wierde, der jedoch auch die früheste mutmaßliche





Lohgerbgrube aus der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh. aufweist. Dieses Bild ändert sich ab dem 4./ 5. Jh. mit vereinzelt Funden aus einem Grab der Fallward und einem Siedlungsfund aus Westerholt, bei denen eine sekundäre Gerbung wahrscheinlich auszuschließen ist. Bei beiden handelt es sich um Schuhe. Aus dieser Zeit gibt es in Nordwestdeutschland generell kaum Funde. Aus den angrenzenden Gebieten sind jedoch vergleichbare Lederfunde von einigen Fundorten wie zum Beispiel Morken, Saint Denis, Trossingen, Oberflacht oder den Gräbern unter dem Kölner Dom zu verzeichnen. Erst im 7. Jh. scheint sich dann die vegetabile Gerbung durchzusetzen. Es tauchen erstmals größere Fundkomplexe aus Siedlungszusammenhang auf, angefangen mit Hessens (7.- 10. Jh.) bis hin zu Haithabu (9./ 10. Jh.). Es lässt sich im Nordwesten Deutschlands die verzögerte Übernahme einer technischen Entwicklung in der Gerberei feststellen, die im Römischen Reich schon fest zum Repertoire der Handwerker gehörte.

## Hamerow, Helena

*University of Oxford*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 16:00 h.*

### **A high-status Anglo-Saxon Settlement Complex at Sutton Courtenay, Oxfordshire**

Since E.T. Leeds' excavations of Anglo-Saxon Grubenhäuser at Sutton Courtenay in the 1920s and 1930s, aerial photographs revealing a group of large timber buildings, as well as metal-detector finds of ornamental metalwork and coins, have indicated that the settlement was both more extensive and of higher status than Leeds had imagined. Indeed, it suggests that this was an early 'central place' in Wessex, with high-status burials, 'Great Halls' and a probable market in the 7th and 8th centuries. It is likely to have been a royal vill of the early kingdom of Wessex and is the only such complex where evidence for associated buildings, burials and a market has been recovered. The paper will review the evidence and describe the results of fieldwalking, geophysical survey and excavation undertaken in 2003.

## Hills, Catherine & Sam Lucy

*University of Cambridge / Cambridge Archaeological Unit*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 9:30 h.*

### **Spong Hill Chronology and Synthesis**

Spong Hill remains the largest early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery ever excavated in Britain, and the only example of comparable size to have its full extent revealed. All the material from the cemetery was published in the series *East Anglian Archaeology* between 1977 and 1994, together with detailed reports on the cremated bones, and prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlement on the site.

The aim of the current project is to publish the final discussion volume on Spong Hill, to refine the chronological understanding of the burial and settlement sequences at the site, investigate the social and cultural associations of the burial rites, and set the cemetery firmly within its contemporary local, regional, national and international context. This paper will outline the preliminary results of the analyses.

## Loveluck, Chris & Reno Fiedel & Karen Højlund Nielsen

*University of Nottingham / Kulturhistorisk Museum Randers*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 15:00 h.*

### **From Hamlet to Central Place to Manor : Transformation of the character and social networks of the 100-hectare settlement at Stavnsager, eastern Jutland, AD 400-1100**

This contribution will present the preliminary results from the pilot project of integrated surveys and excavations conducted on the 100-hectare settlement at Stavnsager, on the southern edge of the wetlands along the Oxenbæk, a tributary of the Alling Å, which runs into the Grund Fjord to the east of Randers, in east Jutland.

The settlement zone at Stavnsager was discovered as a result of chance finds through ploughing and metal-detecting, and through exploratory excavations by Reno Fiedel and his colleagues from the Kulturhistorisk Museum Randers. The range of



artefacts, and the quantities, currently being discovered at Stavnsager are directly analogous to the high-status central places at Gudme, on Funen, Tissø on Zealand, and Sorte Muld on Bornholm. Unlike these latter settlements, however, the Stavnsager concentration of finds indicates continuous activity from 400 up to 1100.

The finds known to date demonstrate linkage with the contemporary societies around the Baltic, North Sea, English Channel, and at times Irish Sea coasts, at different periods within the activity sequence. The character of the artefacts, typified by aristocratic dress jewellery, weapons, gold bullion in the form of 'hack gold', weights and silver coinage; together with fine metalworking debris and other artisan activity, also attest to the high social standing of a proportion of the inhabitants, and the regional and inter-regional importance of this centre. There is also a concentration of Viking Age monuments in the locality around Stavnsager – Pagan as well as early Christian. To the south-west of the finds concentration is the stave church of Hørning, built directly on top of a Late Viking Age barrow with a chamber grave, which had itself covered graves from a 10th-century cemetery. The chamber grave dates from AD 1000 approximately, and the Stave church is dated to between 1060 and 1070, on the basis of dendrochronology.

Since 2005, the settlement area has been the subject of more systematic study in a collaborative research venture undertaken by the Kulturhistorisk Museum Randers, Nottingham University and Karen Høilund Nielsen, sponsored by the British Academy, Nottingham University and Kulturhistorisk Museum Randers. This systematic research has involved the spatial plotting of all chance and metal-detected finds, alongside the preliminary excavation data, to establish that the likely occupation area of the settlement was at least 100 hectares in extent.

The second stage of the project involved a superimposed and multi-scaled survey programme, involving 25 hectares of magnetometry at several locations within the settlement area, with multi-element geochemical surveys superimposed on the same grid. The aim of the integrated use of the geophysical and multi-element techniques was to investigate both structural features (reflected by geophysics) alongside potential refuse or other zones of land use, more susceptible to geochemical detection. Trial excavation trenches were sited at several locations within the 25-hectare area, in

order to explore different zones of settlement space, hinted at by the superimposed survey results. Two 15m-by-5m trenches were excavated in 2005, and three 30m-by-30m trenches were excavated in 2008.

The excavations identified several zones of specific land use within the settlement area. The first zone comprised an area immediately behind an embankment that seems to have lined the edge of a likely navigable watercourse, corresponding in extent to the modern-day Oxenbæk and its wetland periphery. This zone was occupied by longhouses and smaller post-built and post-in-trench buildings, involved in industrial activities/craft-working and exchange/trade activities. To the south of the watercourse and the trading zone were other concentrations of longhouses and Grubenhäuser, with the latter buildings being in the majority – over 80 Grubenhäuser have been excavated to date at Stavnsager. This second zone seems to reflect a large population involved in agriculture and craft-working. The third zone on the periphery of the 6th to 11th century settlement area comprised a zone of pits from the Pre-Roman Iron Age. The various zones of the settlement were linked by route-ways, some of them metalled with fire-cracked granite. Several wells and processing areas (flax-retting pits) also structured settlement layout. The metal finds (found by metal detecting and ploughing) and the artefacts recovered from the Grubenhäuser clearly show that copper-alloy casting, iron smithing, and textile manufacture were undertaken on a significant scale, some perhaps for export.

Two principal objectives of the survey and excavation project were to identify the spatial organisation of the settlement and its development over time. The preliminary results indicate an early phase in the fifth century when Stavnsager was a 'typical' rural settlement for the period – a hamlet. Early in the 6th century, however, the character of the settlement changed. Traces of specialist craft-working and a greater range of high-temperature industries appeared, and trade and religious ritual became more overtly important. The settlement seems to have been transformed into a central place, something that seems to be linked to general social changes of this period in the western Baltic. In the seventh century, a possible aristocratic settlement element appeared and high-status metal objects suggest that the central place was possibly controlled to a



certain extent by an elite family. A key feature is the stability of occupation throughout the 100-hectare area, with the whole settlement area occupied from the 6th to the 11th centuries AD.

During the Viking Age, the focus of the aristocratic centre seems to have moved to nearby Hørning, overlooking the bridge crossing the Alling Å at Sjællebro to the south of Stavnsager. A 10th-century cemetery, the fore-mentioned barrow with a rich female burial dating from c. AD 1000, and the early stave-church, were found beneath the present church. Both the barrow burial and the early church suggest that the family(ies) who sponsored these monuments belonged to the upper elite. Geophysical survey in the fields around the church hints at a larger enclosure around it, suggesting the emergence of a manorial centre at Hørning during the first half of the 11th century. The area at Stavnsager, however, was still in use. Metal finds of a quality also suggesting linkage with the upper elite were found there, as were traces of textile manufacture and metalworking. The relationship of the Stavnsager community and the manorial centre at Hørning is still to be established for the 11th century, although a direct link is likely.

During the twelfth century, the trading and artisan activities disappeared at Stavnsager, possibly reflecting the silting up of the navigable watercourse. The settlement may have shrunk to become the hamlet of Moeskær, which has survived until the present day. An open field system was established, traces of which cut the 5th to 11th-century remains in all the trenches excavated in 2005 and 2008. A raised wooden track, which used wood cut down in 1108, also crossed the silted-up waterway between Stavnsager-Moeskær and likely settlements on its north bank.

## Knol, Egge

*Groninger Museum, Groningen*

*Sunday 20 September 2009, 10:00 h.*

### **The beginning of the early medieval cemeteries along the northern Dutch coasts and their significance for the Anglo-Saxon migration**

The North Netherlands coastal area, which was densely populated in Roman times, was largely abandoned in the 4th century. The details of this event, such as its duration and regional differences

in occupancy, as well as geographical situations, require further intensive research (see also Nieuwhof at this congress). In the course of the 5th century, new inhabitants began to arrive. After all, the open coastal strip was fertile, extremely suitable for keeping livestock, and winter flooding could be dealt with by making use of artificial mounds on which the dwellings were placed. The 'guide fossils' of this new lifestyle include cruciform brooches and the so-called 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery. These items provide a strong indication that migrants from the coastal strip of the German Bight were responsible for this recolonization. The same items can be found in the German Bight area and in England, where ongoing Anglo-Saxon occupation is characterized by barred zoomorphic combs, annular brooches, and small long brooches, among other things. Such items have also been found in Friesland. The runes in Friesland have a strong correlation with those in England. However, the question remains whether or not the occurrence of these objects can be explained in this straightforward way.

This paper will consider the remarkable phenomenon of the burial fields. They are remarkable because there is hardly any evidence for the funeral ritual from the previous period of occupancy (c. 500 BC – AD 300). One possibility may be that bodies were cremated outside the settlement without an archaeologically conspicuous funeral ritual. This changed from the 5th century AD onward. At least from the point of view of continuous occupancy, there was a transformation. However, if these burial fields are compared to those in the Elbe Weser triangle, for example, whether there was a transformation or not remains the question.

In Friesland, the burial fields in Beetgum-Besseburen (1886-93), Hoogeteintum (1904-05) and Oosterbeintum (1988-89) have been more comprehensively described, but only the Oosterbeintum site has been properly excavated. In addition to these burial fields, one or more graves have been documented at dozens of sites. Originally, they will probably have been part of larger burial fields. Before the excavation of 1988-89, Oosterbeintum consisted of one loosely documented grave. The burial fields have much in common with cemeteries in the area of the German Bight, as described recently by Schön and others. Both display a variety of forms of burial rites at one location, skeleton graves with the knees drawn up, a range of grave gifts. However,





the German burial fields clearly begin in the 4th century. Careful study of the oldest grave finds in Friesland has shown that they originate from the 5th century, and primarily from the second part of that century. What we see are mainly instances of female graves, with cruciform brooches, small long brooches, beads and several other conspicuous objects. Male graves, with weapons for example, are extremely rare. Weapons and parts of weapons are rarely found, either as incidental finds or as metal-detector discoveries.

In Groningerland, there is only one well-documented burial field, in Godlinze (1919), and dozens of poorly documented ones. These burial fields seem to originate from a slightly later date. The Anglo-Saxon earthenware is much more uncommon and there are only a few pots that could be regarded as belonging to a burial field (four in Aalsum and one in Leermens). Cruciform brooches and small long brooches have also been found in Groningen, but tend to be rare. Up to the present day, none has been documented in a burial context. In this way, there seems to be a clear difference between Friesland and Groningen.

In the Pleistocene hinterland of Drenthe, the situation is again quite different because this area was continuously inhabited. An important part of the earthenware, decorated in the Anglo-Saxon manner, displays form a natural transition with the previous earthenware. The burial fields, too, seem to reach back to earlier and less conspicuous interments at the same location.

After the determination of the documented findings and regional differences, the question remains: what exactly do these signify? Partly due to a lack of alternatives, we regard the graves as giving some kind of signal. Do the perceived graves with cruciform fibulae belong to immigrants? Or do they perhaps belong to surviving descendants of the original population who adapted to the imported majority? Or both? Can we identify founder graves where later inhabitants were interred? Do the graves with the cruciform fibulae form a kind of claim to the land? Or are we interpreting the signs from beyond the grave completely wrongly? The best thing which could happen would be the discovery of a number of burial fields that could be excavated to modern standards. However, these do not seem to be lying in wait in the coastal area.

Larsson, Lars

*University of Lund*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 17:00 h.*

**Burnt houses – transformation of power at the central place Uppåkra, southernmost part of Sweden**

Main excavations of the central place Uppåkra in Scania, in the southernmost part of Sweden, have been in progress since 2000 (Larsson 2002, 2007). The excavations have focussed on a central area with a concentration of detector finds of high quality.

A special ceremonial/cultic house has been documented (Larsson & Lenntorp 2004). Since 2005, an area to the west of this special purpose house has been excavated. Several large houses dating from the Roman Iron Age to the Viking Age have been found. At least three houses had been burnt down. Partly burnt human remains were found in them, which possibly indicates that they were set to fire intentionally with members of the household still inside. Finds date the burnt houses to the 5th and 6th century.

Several houses at central places within Scandinavia have shown traces of burning, but none had human remains. In the Nordic Saga literature, there are some references to the practice of house burning in order to kill individuals or family members so as to get rid of leaders or leading families. The burnt houses might indicate similar struggles of power between leading families of the central place at Uppåkra.

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## Näsman, Ulf

*University of Kalmar*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 14:00 h.*

### **Central places in South Scandinavia – a transformation twenty years after**

The first identifications of so-called central places around 1990 have profoundly changed our view on South Scandinavia during the first millennium AD. I will discuss what central places represent now, twenty years after the concept was introduced.

In the 1980s, the use of metal-detectors led to discoveries of a large number of sites characterised by plenty of metal finds. In 1989, a number of Scandinavian archaeologists gathered and discussed the relation between 'region' and 'centre'. It was concluded that Gudme on Funen was the most convincing example of a pre-Viking Age central place which could be identified in South Scandinavia. The concept of a 'central place' was soon applied to this new category of settlements.

The concept has been used to identify settlements with a rich collection of finds, which reveals that they fulfilled various functions. Central places are complex, multifunctional, and the functions can be distributed on a number of sites close to one another. The extended concept 'central place complex' signifies that specific functions were often delegated to a number of sites in the landscape. This means that the central place organised and constructed its surrounding landscape. Excavations at central places demonstrate the significance of the hall as the centre of the ideal life of the elite with ceremonies, ritual meals, gift giving, and so forth.

To grasp the complexity of central places, the surrounding landscape must also be investigated. Thus the profits of a multidisciplinary landscape approach are evident. Present Scandinavian landscape archaeology has developed as a cooperation between archaeology, geography, history of religion, and names studies.

Scandinavian societies during the time when central places prospered, the 3rd–8th centuries,

have to be viewed in wider perspectives. Studies of small finds as well as buildings reveal that the development in Scandinavia cannot any longer be studied as an isolated Scandinavian prehistoric Iron Age. Instead, these centuries have to be understood as a long transformation of Northern tribal cultures into early medieval European polities. Instead of an archaic social order, a 'barbaric' civilisation appears. This means that earlier assumptions about a pagan North has to be reconsidered and European perspectives applied. For instance, central places served as an interface to Christian Europe through which Christian symbols and ideas were conveyed as early as the 5th-6th centuries.

It was a mistake when Helgö in 1974 was called eine Vorform der Stadt. It is a mistake today to call them 'prehistoric towns.' They are not. The first urban communities are the well-known towns Birka, Hedeby, and Ribe from the 8th -9th centuries. Central places are not town imitations; they are rather emulations of Roman centres (towns, forts, and villas) as well as the centres of the successor states (towns, elite residences, and monasteries). Central-places arose in rural settings. They are specialised sites, developed to meet new societal demands as a result of interactions covering Europe from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean. Primarily central places were a domestic adaptation of traditional settlements to a new changing situation. They were instrumental in the transformations of Scandinavian societies, but their role has yet to be addressed in depth.

## Nieuwhof, Annet

*University of Groningen*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 11:00 h.*

### **Discontinuity in the northern Netherlands coastal area at the end of the Roman Period**

There are many indications that habitation of the coastal area of the northern Netherlands came to an end in the late Roman Iron Age, and that immigrants from the north-east ('Anglo Saxons') came to occupy the area from the end of the 4th century AD onwards. This has already been discussed, in particular by Bazelmans and Gerrets in the 1990s, and later by Taayke and Nicolay. However, these ideas did not reach a wide audience since they were mainly published in regional archaeological journals.



Discontinuity is hard to prove from archaeological evidence, while migration is not a popular model to explain change in archaeology, therefore discontinuity and immigration are still not widely accepted as an explanation of the changes that occurred in this area at the time. Moreover, it is not clear what caused this break in habitation. Various push-and-pull factors have been mentioned: increased flooding, epidemics, (political) pressure coming from the east, an economic crisis caused by the collapse of the Roman Empire, or the attraction of the Roman Empire when it collapsed.

The presentation will go into the evidence for discontinuity that has been found so far: a decreasing number of finds in the Roman Period, a new material culture (pottery, houses, brooches) and new funerary rites which appear from the end of the 4th century AD.

Recent research on the ceramic material of the inland settlement of Midlaren-De Bloemert now makes it possible to show what continuity in this area might look like, thereby implicitly showing how we may recognize discontinuity. The pottery from Midlaren will be compared to pottery assemblages from the coastal area, thus supporting the discontinuity hypothesis.

The presentation will also discuss the reasons for the break in habitation. Natural causes may have played an important role, although this has been downplayed as a cause before as being too ecological deterministic. Still, recent excavations in coastal settlements in Friesland, as well as in Groningen, have provided some evidence for prolonged periods of flooding from the middle Roman Iron Age onward.

It will be concluded that prolonged periods of flooding may have been the primal cause, and that this enhanced other potential causes: malaria may have become a real problem, the attraction of the receding Roman Empire increased, and the economy collapsed for natural, social and political reasons.

## Panhuysen, Raphaël & Frans Theuws

*University of Amsterdam*

*Sunday 20 September 2009, 14:30 h.*

### **The complementary nature of Merovingian cemeteries in Maastricht**

Fifty years ago archaeologists excavated a Merovingian cemetery in Maastricht for the first time. Since then several archaeological finds have contributed to our knowledge about the burial ritual in Merovingian Maastricht. During this period, burial places in Maastricht vary in size, location, burial types and grave goods. A recent contribution to the picture of burial practices in Maastricht is the find of small clusters of burials (ranging from one to four inhumations).

In recent years the majority of the graves, grave goods and human remains from these sites have been studied. This presentation will provide a brief description of the various burial sites and will focus on the demographic characteristics of the individuals buried at these sites. Based on these characteristics and the distribution of stature and trauma among these sites, the authors argue that the burial sites in Merovingian Maastricht were complementary. Envisaging these cemeteries as being directly related to the nearest co-resident group can not fully explain the distribution of people over the burial sites.

This paper will further discuss possibilities to analyse the processes that created this constellation of complementary cemeteries. One of the tools that will allow us to learn more about the factors determining the place of burial, could be the provenance of an individual. Looking at the aspect of human mobility, individual life histories can provide new information concerning the composition of a cemetery population. The results of a small trial studying strontium isotopes are promising, but only are a first step. The results of this trial and possible complications in the application of this technique will constitute the last part of the presentation.

## Panhuysen, Titus

*Universiteit van Amsterdam*

*Wednesday 23 September 2009, 12:00 h.*

### **Die Nachweisbarkeit der Kontakte zwischen der Servatiusabtei zu Maastricht und dem Hof in Aachen**

In Maastricht gibt es seit dem hohen Mittelalter aufgrund einer mehr legendenhaften als geschichtlichen Überlieferung die Überzeugung, daß Karl der Große selbst der bedeutenden, dem Heilige Servatius geweihten Abtei besonders zugetan war. Ja man schrieb ihm sogar eine Erneuerung der Basilika zu. Den Grund für diese Bevorzugung sah man darin, daß der Heilige Servatius als Ortsheiliger bei den Karolingern in ihrem Kernland besondere Verehrung genoß. Rom, in dem Karl zum Kaiser gekrönt wurde, hatte das Grab Petri. Aachen, das „altera Roma“ entbehrte einer solchen Attraktion. Die Funktion der Grablege eines bedeutenden Heiligen im Bereich der Königspfalz Aachen könnte die Basilika St. Servatius in Maastricht erfüllt haben. Aber im Itinerar Karls des Grossen fehlt das nahe Maastricht. Auch sonst gibt es keine direkten Belege für seine Anwesenheit an diesem Ort. Wohl ergibt sich aus der Lage Maastrichts und seiner Ausstattung seit der Antike eine hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß Karl diesen Ort besucht und vielleicht sogar dort verweilt hat. Seinen bevorzugten Paladinen Alkuin und Einhard überließ er diese Abtei, was daraus zu schließen ist, daß beide Laienäbte der St. Servatius-Abtei waren.

In der Nachkriegszeit haben allein in und um St. Servatius und um den Vrijthof herum acht Ausgrabungskampagnen stattgefunden. Besonderes Aufsehen erregte die Grabung 1981 im nördlichen Querschiff der Kirche, weil Mauerzüge darauf hindeuteten, daß es in Maastricht einen mit der Pfalzkapelle von Aachen vergleichbaren karolingischen Zentralbau gegeben habe. Die Grabung im südlichen Querschiff knapp zehn Jahre später, ergab dann aber eine südliche Entsprechung, die sich nunmehr zusammen als polygonale Abschlüsse des Querhauses einer großen vorromanischen Basilika darstellten. Einen Neubau zur Zeit Karls des Großen gab es nicht. Wohl war die Kirche vor dieser Zeit schon mehrfach umgebaut und erweitert worden. Die historischen und die archäologischen Quellen weisen Maastricht in der vor- und

nachkarolingischen Zeit als bedeutenden Ort (oder bedeutende Abtei?) aus, von dem aus sich über Alkuin und Einhard Bezüge zum Hof in Aachen herstellen lassen. Der mögliche Ursprung und Bedeutung der St. Servatius-Abtei als Reichsabtei lässt sich kaum weiter als bis Einhard zurückverfolgen. Haben wir vielleicht einen unerwarteten Schlüssel zu diesem Wissen?

## Pesch, Alexandra

*Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf, Schleswig*

*Wednesday 23 September 2009, 9:30 h.*

### **Die schwedischen Goldhalskragen : zwischen antiker Technik und germanischer Innovation**

Die drei schwedischen Goldhalskragen von Älleberg, Färjestaden und Möne gehören zu den Spitzenprodukten frühmittelalterlichen Schmiedehandwerks in Europa. Ihr komplizierter Aufbau, ihre feinen Filigranverzierungen und vor allem ihre applizierten Tier- und Menschenfiguren faszinieren die Betrachter und fordern zur wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigung mit den Objekten auf. Daher werden die Stücke jetzt in Kooperation des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums (Mainz) mit dem Zentrum für Baltische und Skandinavische Archäologie (Schleswig) im Rahmen eines interdisziplinären Projektes umfassend monographisch bearbeitet.

Neue Materialanalysen und die Auswertung konstruktiver Details, beobachtet bei der Untersuchung der Kragen in Mainz, zeigen die schmiedetechnische Leistung hinter der Anfertigung eines solchen Stückes. Von der Zusammenfügung geeigneter Legierungen über die Anfertigung der Bleche, die Biegung und Lötung der Röhren und Wulste, die Gravierung der Figuren, die Herstellung und Aufbringung der filigranen Applikationen bis hin zur Schwierigkeit der dauernden Wiedererhitzung des Werkstückes für die Befestigungen (ohne dabei die zarten Figuren und Filigranaufgaben anzuschmelzen!), mußten die Feinschmiede das höchste Niveau meisterhaften Handwerks beherrschen. Die Überlegung, daß zu den Werkzeugen auch Geräte gehört haben müssen, die nach heutigem Forschungsstand erst Jahrhunderte später erfunden worden sind, läßt erahnen, welche Qualitätsstandards die Werkstatt der Goldhalskragen erreichte. Ob dies mit



Technologietransfer durch germanische Spezialisten zu erklären ist, die beispielsweise in byzantinischen Werkstätten gelernt hatten, oder durch die Ansiedlung von eingereisten Feinschmiedern aus Gegenden mit entsprechenden Traditionen, ist Gegenstand der Forschung.

Typisch germanisch sind jedenfalls die Bildprogramme der Krüge mit ihren Tier- und Menschenfiguren, Masken und Filigranornamenten. So ist zumindest die Konzeption der Stücke aus einheimischen Traditionen und Vorstellungen entwickelt - wenn diese auch grundsätzlich, wie der Tierstil generell, wiederum durch antike Bilder angeregt worden waren. Zur Ergründung der genauen Bedeutung und Funktion der Darstellungen kann die vergleichende Vorlage aller Komponenten der drei Goldhalskrüge in Text und Bild und deren Gegenüberstellung mit zeitgleichen, aber auch mit älteren und jüngeren Bildern derselben wie auch anderer Bildersprachen helfen.

Die spezialisierte Werkstatt der Goldhalskrüge war für mächtige Auftraggeber tätig. Diese hatten Zugang zu den Metallressourcen, konnten die Schmiede schützen und bezahlen und waren bemüht, sich zu ihrer Repräsentation mit einer einzigartigen Gattung von Objekten auszustatten. Zu den spannenden Fragen der Untersuchung gehört es auch, die eigentliche Funktion der Krüge zu erklären und Ansätze zu ihrer Bedeutung für die sie nutzenden Menschen, ihre Gesellschaft und ihre weltanschaulichen Vorstellungen zwischen Antike und Mittelalter zu gewinnen.

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## Peters, Daniel

*Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt am Main*

Sunday 20 September 2009, 9:30 h.

### **Am Vorabend der Sachsenkriege: Aufkommen und Abbruch der sog. sächsischen Gräber in Westfalen am Beispiel von Soest**

Das Erscheinungsbild des bereits 1930 entdeckten frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldes von Soest wird maßgeblich durch zwei gegensätzliche Grabformen bestimmt: Einer kleinen Gruppe reich ausgestatteter Kammergräber steht eine wesentlich größere Anzahl einfacher, fundarmer Baumsargbestattungen gegenüber. Nach dem stratigraphischen Befund konnten die Baumsärge, ebenso wie einige Pferdebestattungen, frühzeitig als die jüngere Grabform identifiziert werden. Im Einklang mit der historischen Überlieferung war demnach in Soest exemplarisch die Abfolge und Überlagerung fränkischer Gräber zu sehen, die als Zeugnis einer sächsischen Südausdehnung vor den Sachsenkriegen Karls des Großen gewertet wurde. Entsprechend erstellten zunächst Karl Hucke und in dessen Folge v.a. Wilhelm Winkelmann maßgeblich anhand des Soester Friedhofes einen Merkmalskatalog sächsischer Kennzeichen in Westfalen, welcher die Forschungsgeschichte bis in jüngste Zeit dominiert.

Konnten beim Sachsensymposium 2006 in Münster Aspekte der Kammergräber vorgestellt werden, erscheint es angesichts des Themas „Changes in burial customs“ des Sachsensymposiums 2009 nur konsequent, nunmehr den Blick auf die jüngeren, als sächsisch interpretierten Grabfunde zu richten, sowie den Übergang beider Formen und ihr Verhältnis zueinander zu betrachten.

Zunächst ist der Blick zurück auf die Kammerbestattungen zu werfen; entgegen der älteren Forschungsmeinung, die von einer Beschränkung der Grabform auf die Zeit um 600 n.





Chr. ausging, zeigt sich eine kontinuierliche Abfolge vom 6. bis zum 7. Jh., womit deutlich wird, dass der Übergang zu den Baumsargbestattungen, bislang pauschal ins 7./8. Jh. datiert, zeitlich deutlich näher und abrupter von statten ging, als bislang angenommen. Dabei lassen sich weder Hiatus noch chronologische Überschneidungen feststellen, sondern eine nahezu nahtlose Übernahme des Bestattungsareals um 700 n. Chr. durch eine Bevölkerung, die sich in nahezu allen Aspekten von der vorher fassbaren Sepulkralgemeinschaft absondert. Kein Wunder also, dass in diesem völlig neuen Erscheinungsbild auch eine neue ethnische Bevölkerung gesehen wurde.

Zwar lässt sich ein Wandel der Bestattungssitten und der den Friedhof nutzenden Population aufzeigen, dessen Bedeutung für die lebende Gemeinschaft kann jedoch unterschiedlich bewertet werden. Der umfassende Bruch geht jedenfalls ebenso mit einem Wandel des Grabbrauches in den fränkischen Regionen einher. Nicht das Ende der Kammern, sondern allenfalls die neue Grabform unterscheidet Westfalen somit z.B. vom Rheinland. Aber auch im „sächsischen“ Horizont der Baumsärge stammen viele Parallelen im Fundgut gerade aus diesen fränkischen Regionen. Wenig spricht also für einen Bevölkerungswechsel im Sinne einer Vertreibung der Franken und einer sächsischen Eroberung; vielmehr sollte der soziale Wandel in den Vordergrund gestellt werden.

Wie bei jeder ethnischen Deutung muss auch hier die schriftliche Überlieferung herangezogen werden, die unter Umständen entgegen bisheriger Lesarten keineswegs eindeutig auf die Anwesenheit von Sachsen im Hellwegkorridor schließen lässt.

## Reichmann, Christoph

*Museum Burg Linn, Krefeld*

*Sunday 20 September 2009, 16:30 h.*

### **Die Anfängen des Kirchenbaus im Umfeld des fränkischen Fürstensitzes von Krefeld Gellep**

Kurz nach der Erhebung Chlodwigs zum gesamtfränkischen König (vor 511) zog ein neuer Herr in das ehemalige römische Kastell Gelduba. Bis dahin gehörte es wahrscheinlich zum Herrschaftsbereich des Kölner Königs Sigibert. Mit gutem Grund vermutet R. Pirling, dass der

Neuankömmling, dessen Name, Arpvar, auf einem der Grabgefäße gefunden wurde, ein Gefolgsmann König Chlodwigs gewesen ist. Mit seinem Auftreten beginnt die Belegung eines neuen Abschnittes im Gräberfeld, während die ortsansässige Bevölkerung weiterhin im angestammten Bereich bestattet. Die Gräber überlagern hier vielfach ältere Bestattungen aus spätrömischer Zeit. Wegen der vor allem in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. und in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts sehr stark verbreiteten Beigabenlosigkeit, ließ sich die alte Ortseelite im Gräberfeld bislang nur schwer fassen. Eine 2008 vorgenommene Nachsuchung des schon 1934 durch A. Steeger ausgegrabenen Bereiches förderte nun jedoch die Spuren mindestens eines ausgemalten oberirdischen Grabbaues zu Tage. Die zwar kleine, aber aufwendig ausgestattete cella memoriae wurde anscheinend in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts errichtet. Anders als in vielen anderen spätantiken Orten an Rhein und Maas (z.B. Xanten, Maastricht, Köln und Bonn) bildete die cella jedoch in fränkischer Zeit nicht den Ausgangspunkt für eine Kirchengründung, obwohl sie anscheinend erst im 7. Jahrhundert niedergelegt wurde. Auch sonst fehlen bislang alle Hinweise auf fränkische Kirchengründungen sowohl im Bereich der Gräberfelder als auch im Bereich des spätantiken Kastells. Allein im vicus scheint der Kölner Bischof – seinem Recht in den anderen Kastellorten entsprechend – im 6. Jahrhundert eine Peterskirche gegründet zu haben. Eine archäologische Untersuchung fehlt jedoch. Sie kann auch nicht nachgeholt werden, da der Standort offenbar im 13. Jahrhundert einem Hochwasser zum Opfer fiel.

Umso erstaunlicher ist es nun, dass während des 7. Jahrhunderts rings um den mutmaßlichen Besitzkomplex des Gelleper Fürstenhofes zahlreiche Kleinkirchen entstanden sind. Zwei von ihnen konnten archäologisch genauer untersucht werden. Insgesamt handelt es sich jedoch um mindestens sieben Kirchen. Gemeinsam ist diesen offenbar alle ursprünglich auf Königsgut gegründeten Kirchen, dass sie anders als gewöhnliche Eigenkirchen – wie entsprechende Feldforschungen gezeigt haben – nicht unmittelbar in den Siedlungen bzw. auf den jeweiligen Zentralhöfen sondern ganz offenbar auf freiem Land zwischen den verschiedenen Siedlungen angelegt wurden. Nicht zuletzt dieser Umstand führte anscheinend dazu, dass sich nur drei von ihnen zu Pfarrkirchen weiterentwickeln konnten, die übrigen dagegen Kapellen blieben oder ganz untergingen. Da es sich zudem von Anfang an um



solide Steinkirchen gehandelt zu haben scheint, ist zu vermuten, dass ihre Errichtung einer zentral gesteuerten Initiative verdankt wird. Als Initiator in Betracht kommt hier der als tatkräftig bekannte Kölner Erzbischof Kunibert (ca. 626-660), zumal er zu den Räten König Dagoberts gehörte und nach dessen Tod (634) zusammen mit Herzog Adalgisel die Regentschaft für den unmündigen Sigibert im austrasischen Reichsteil ausübte. Die Patronzinien der Kirchen scheinen dies zu bestätigen, denn sie verweisen sowohl auf Kunibert, als auch auf das merowingische Königshaus und den westfränkischen Bereich. Diese Beobachtung lässt an ältere Forschungen von G. Hövelmann denken, der am unteren Niederrhein an der Grenze zum friesischen Einflussbereich für die späte Merowingerzeit eine auffällige Häufung westfränkischen Klosterbesitzes festgestellt hatte. Auch hier kam die Vermutung auf, dass es sich um gelenkte Aktionen gehandelt hat, bzw. kirchliche Institutionen schon unter den Merowingern gezielt zur Befestigung und Verteidigung des Landes eingesetzt wurden. Im Norden zeigten sich mit den vordringenden Friesen vor allem äußere Bedrohungen. Gellep lag entsprechend am Endpunkt des Hellweges und damit an einem potentiellen Einfallstor der Sachsen. Allerdings konnte der Ausbau kirchlicher Institutionen sicher nicht nur gegen Bedrohungen von außen von Nutzen sein, sondern auch gegen unbotmäßige Adelige im Inneren.

## Rundkvist, Martin

*University of Chester*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 14:30 h.*

### **Central Places in First Millennium Östergötland : Transformations in Elite Settlement from AD 400 to 1000**

This paper reports the main results of a four-year research project aiming at the identification of elite settlements and the study of political geography of the post-Roman and Viking era in the Swedish province of Östergötland. This province is one of the country's richest regions throughout all periods of prehistory and history, and formed part of the Medieval Swedish kingdom's core.

A main departure from previous work is the detailed study of the evidence in as fine time slices as possible. This has enabled the charting of transformatory shifts in the power pattern century

by century. In addition to a comprehensive survey of archives and museum collections, the project has instigated fieldwork at seventeen sites, including excavations of a boat burial and a 40-metre barrow, both of the 9th century, and of a 6th century elite settlement site. The project has also established Swedish archaeology's first sustained collaboration with indigenous amateur metal detectorists.

The project's main discovery is the aforementioned settlement site at Sättuna in Kaga parish near Linköping, which is currently the province's best candidate for a 6th century royal seat. Notably, a die for *guldgubbar* gold foil figures is the northernmost find so far of this rare category. Among the Sättuna finds is also ample evidence for copper-alloy casting.

Advances and setbacks have been communicated continuously to the public by means of a web blog, where readers have been invited to respond with comments and suggestions. Detectorists and web blog correspondents have been cited in interim publications. A final volume under the title 'Mead-halls of the Eastern Geats' is slated to appear in 2010.

## Schaub, Andreas

*Stadt Aachen*

*Wednesday 23 September 2009, 11:30 h.*

### **Aachen zwischen Römerzeit und Karolingerzeit**

Lange Zeit war man davon ausgegangen, dass nach dem Ende der römischen Besiedlung im späten 4. Jahrhundert in Aachen eine Siedlungslücke entstand, die bis zum Erscheinen der Karolinger, in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts angedauert hätte. Schwierige Überlieferungsbedingungen durch fortwährende Überbauung der Innenstadt und fehlende wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung vorhandener Funde und Dokumentationen haben maßgeblich zu dieser Ansicht geführt.

Erst in den letzten Jahren wurden einige Grabungen in der Innenstadt durchgeführt, deren Funde ein neues Licht auf Aachen während der dunklen Jahrhunderte wirft. Obwohl auch hier noch keine abschließende Auswertung erfolgt ist, kann man doch schon einige erste positive Ergebnisse erkennen.



Die spätantiken Funde erreichen sicher das 5. Jahrhundert. Von einer bisher angenommenen Siedlungsreduktion in römischer Zeit kann nicht die Rede sein. Im Kern und im näheren Umfeld der karolingischen Pfalz gibt es einen Fundniederschlag des 6./ 7. Jahrhunderts. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist der Neufund zweier ostgotischer Bronzeprägungen des 6. Jahrhunderts aus den laufenden Domgrabungen. Spätestens seit dem 7. Jahrhundert ist ein Friedhof unter dem späteren Dom belegt, dem mittlerweile verlagerte Grabbeigaben sowie vier Grabsteinfragmente zugeordnet werden können. Ein Blick über die bekannten römischen Gräberfelder zeigt auffällige chronologische Anschlüsse. So endet der Friedhof in der Alexanderstraße im 5. Jahrhundert, während das Gräberfeld auf dem Königshügel in diesem Jahrhundert einzusetzen scheint. Mit dem Ende dieses Friedhofs im fortgeschrittenen 7. Jahrhundert wiederum setzt vermutlich das Gräberfeld unter dem Dom ein. Noch ist unklar, ob sich dahinter jeweils eine räumliche Verlagerung des Aachener Ortsgräberfeldes verbirgt.

Mit Funden der späten Merowingerzeit beginnen zwei Fundstellen nördlich bzw. nordwestlich der karolingischen Pfalz. An beiden Stellen setzt sich die Besiedlung nahtlos in der Karolingerzeit fort.

Künftige Forschungen müssen zeigen, ob wir in Aachen mit einer flächendeckenden merowingerzeitlichen Besiedlung rechnen müssen oder ob es inselartige Hofstrukturen gab, die sich in der ehemaligen römischen Siedlung Aquae Granni etabliert haben. Sicher ist allerdings, dass das karolingische Herrscherhaus in Aachen bestehende Strukturen vorgefunden haben muss und sie ihre Pfalz nicht auf einer unbewohnten römischen Ruinenlandschaft gründeten.

## Scull, Christopher

*English Heritage, London*

*Monday 21 September, 16:30 h.*

### **Ipswich: transformations of community and settlement in the 7th and 8th centuries**

Ipswich is one of the main trading and manufacturing settlements (wics or emporia) of Middle Saxon England. Drawing on the newly-published (2009) analysis of the Boss Hall and Buttermarket cemeteries, and their regional settlement contexts, this paper will examine the

archaeological evidence for the changes associated with the emergence of a major urban pre-cursor, and consider the political and economic contexts at a regional and inter-regional scale. It will emphasize the need to integrate the human scale in archaeological appreciations of continuity and change.

## Siegmüller, Annette

*Niedersächsisches Institut für historische Küstenforschung, Wilhelmshaven*

*Sunday 20 September 2009, 9:00 h.*

### **Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Dunum, Ostfriesland, als Spiegel politisch-religiöser Wandlungen des 7.-10 Jahrhunderts im Küstenraum.**

Während der Nutzungszeit des Bestattungsortes von Dunum, Landkreis Wittmund, ist die Region vielfachen politischen und religiösen, aber auch wirtschaftlichen Wandlungen unterworfen. Diese spiegeln sich auch in der Bestattungs- und Beigabensitte. Teilte sich das Feld zunächst noch in fünf voneinander abgegrenzte Familien ein, nivellieren sich diese Unterschiede mit dem Fortschreiten der Belegungsdauer. Dabei ist auch die gleichzeitige Anlage von Körper- und Brandgräbern über einen längeren Zeitraum hinweg bemerkenswert. In dem durchlässigen Sandboden der Geestzunge haben sich die Skelette nicht oder kaum erhalten, an den metallenen Beigaben der Körperbestattungen sind jedoch zahlreiche organische Reste (Leder, Textil und vegetative Reste) konserviert. Diese sind Teil einer neuen Detailuntersuchung und ermöglichen genaue Einblicke in die spezifischen Ausprägungen des Grabrituals, wie beispielsweise die Beigabe von Pflanzen oder Federn. Die Grabbeigaben erwecken bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung den Eindruck einer vergleichsweise homogenen Gesellschaft mittleren Wohlstands, geführt von wenigen, herausragenden Persönlichkeiten, die durch besondere Beigaben gekennzeichnet werden. Vor allem im 8. Jahrhundert treten vereinzelt auffällig reiche Gräber auf. Die Analyse der organischen Beigaben eröffnet nun erneut eine Ebene auf der einst Wohlstand demonstriert wurde jetzt wieder erfasst werden kann. Eine spezielle Bedeutung kommt bei der Diskussion der sozialen Staffelung auch den so genannten Stabdornen zu, die möglicherweise als Statussymbol betrachtet werden müssen.





Die Fragen, ob die Lage der Siedlung am Geestrand mit Zugang zum überregionalen Handel die Mitglieder der Oberschicht relativ zügig in den Kontakt mit dem Christentum brachte und wie schnell dieses denn auch von den unteren sozialen Gruppen übernommen wurde, sind Teil der Detailanalyse des Fundmaterials. Es ist bereits bekannt, dass die christliche Missionierung ausgehend von dem fränkischen Reichsgebiet entlang der Fernhandelswege Richtung Nord- und Ostsee vorangetrieben wurde. In diesen Prozess wird auch die Bevölkerung von Dunum mit einbezogen gewesen sein. Möglicherweise kann mit den reichen Gräbern die regionale Führungsschicht erfasst werden, die am Aufbau von Seehandelsplätzen im Nord-Ostseeraum und einem organisierten Handelsnetzwerk beteiligt war. Alle wesentlichen politischen und religiösen Entwicklungen des 7.-10. Jahrhunderts spiegeln sich im Bestattungs- und Beigabenritus auf dem Gräberfeld Dunum wieder. Dabei erstrecken sich die Übergänge jedoch teilweise über lange Zeiträume hinweg. Die fortschreitende Missionierung gipfelte schließlich in der Aufgabe des Gräberfeldes und der Anlage einer Kirchwurt in Sichtweite zum heidnischen Bestattungsplatz. Durch die lang anhaltende Beigabensitte kann jedoch auch der Zugang zum Handel und der regionale Stand der technischen Spezialisierung im Handwerk über die Jahrhunderte hinweg schlaglichtartig beleuchtet werden.

## Smal, Dieuwertje

*University of Amsterdam*

Sunday 20 September 2009, 15:00 h.

### **Grave constructions in Maastricht: concepts, typology and data**

Death and the subsequent cremation and/or burial of the dead are among the most impactful events in the human existence. The material culture found in early medieval burials and cemeteries is an impressively rich source to archaeologists. Most of the attention has been given to the objects found in the graves, such as swords, belt sets, necklaces, glass and earthenware vessels, and many other objects made of bronze, iron, silver and gold. It is these finds which have inspired long lived cemetery research themes, like ethnicity, social status and symbolism. The last decades have seen a shift towards the study of human skeletal

remains, enabling gender, age categories, subsistence and migration to be taken into account.

But a grave is more than the burials, gifts and skeletal remains within. It is a feature – a hole dug into the ground – where a variety of containers surround the body and the burial gifts, such as shrouds, coffins, chambers, stone built structures or sarcophagi, combinations of these, or even nothing at all. This architecture of the grave and the structure of the cemetery can give very specific insights into the choices, acts and practices, thoughts, and meanings surrounding the burial. The way that the body was handled, protected or contained, may be accessed through these grave structures.

In this lecture an attempt will be made to formulate a conceptual framework for grave structures, including a typology of grave containers. A number of cemeteries in and around Maastricht will illustrate the great variability that can be uncovered – a variability which may add new meaning to existing ideas about early medieval cemetery research.

## Sørensen, Anne Birgitte

*Museum Sønderjylland Arkæologi Haderslev*

Sunday 20 September 2009, 11:00 h.

### **Changes in burial customs seen from Østergård (South Jutland) in the Iron Age, especially in the time about 400/500 AD.**

The archaeological site at Østergård is situated at a characteristic hill site in central South Jutland. It was excavated in the period 1995-2001. More than 110,000 sq. metres were excavated. The site revealed traces of settlements from Early Bronze Age, Early Roman Iron Age, Later Roman Iron Age – Germanic Iron Age (c. 3rd-7th century), Early Viking Age (8th century) and Early Middle Ages (late 10th to late 12th century). Some of the burial sites belonging to these settlements were found and excavated. These burial sites illustrate transitions in burial customs and thus subsequently transitions in belief.

The settlement of the Early Roman Iron Age was founded as a small settlement. South-west of the settlement, a burial site with urn graves was situated. They seemed to have been placed in two



concentrations, perhaps representing two farms or families.

Some time in the 3rd century, a new settlement was founded at Østergård, which continued until some time in the 7th century. There was no continuity between this and the earlier settlement.

About 20 inhumation graves from the Younger Roman Iron Age were excavated. The graves were placed together in small groups of 3-5 graves. Presumably these were family burial sites, as each group contains both adult as well as child burials. There were five such family burial sites, which belong to the earliest part of the settlement (1st-2nd centuries AD).

The newest burials excavated at the site were cremation graves in connexion to or with mortuary buildings. These constructions can be dated to early Germanic Iron Age (about AD 450-500). The graves were generally very poorly preserved. Only a few proper urn graves were found. The rest appeared as cremation pits or just a few fragments of burnt bones found in the postholes of the constructions.

## Theuws, Frans

*University of Amsterdam*

*Saturday 19 September 2009, 20:30 h.*

### **Maastricht in the Centre of a Transforming World**

Keynote lecture – no abstract.

## Vanderhoeven, Alain

*Flemish Heritage Institute (VIOE), Brussels*

*Sunday 20 September 2009, 16:00 h.*

### **The archaeological excavations in Our Lady's basilica at Tongeren and the transformation of an urban quarter of the Roman civitas capital of the Tungri from the 4th to the 10th century**

The urban development of Atuatuca Tungrorum, the caput civitatis of the Tungri, in the early Roman period is relatively well documented. Much less is known of its history in the late Roman period. Ammianus Marcellinus mentioned Tongeren as a

large and prosperous town, which is archaeologically confirmed by the remains of a monumental town wall and numerous rich burials, discovered or excavated in the last century. However, until recently, no late Roman buildings had been discovered inside the town. The settlement's fate in the early mediaeval period was completely unknown. Recent rescue excavations in Our Lady's basilica, made necessary by the restoration of the church and the installation of a floor heating system, has shed new light on the urban developments of Tongeren in the late Roman and early mediaeval period.

In the 2nd to 3rd centuries, the site was occupied by a rich and large urban dwelling, with a complex history of rebuilding. In the second half of the 3rd century, it was finally destroyed by fire, but a hall with an apse, situated in the west wing, which was probably the ancient aula of the domus, remained in use. West and north of it, a small bath with a basin was built. These two constructions were in use at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century. After the construction of the near-by town wall around the middle of the 4th century, a monumental basilica was erected on the site of the former domus. East of the basilica, foundations of piles of another, probably older and unfinished, basilica were found.

Some elements of the interior of the building – the foundations of a small circular or octagonal monument and the remains of a bench (both in the apse), and partition-walls between the apse and the nave of the basilica – suggest that it was built and used as a church. The partition walls between the apse and nave were on two occasions replaced by new ones, each time enlarging the 'presbytery'. It gives the impression that the building was in use over a long period, probably extending far into the 5th century. In the 5th or 6th century, a small church was built on the site, re-using the eastern outer wall of the apse of the late Roman basilica. This church's western wall was rebuilt in the 6th or 7th century and the whole church, except for the apse, was enlarged in the 9th or 10th century. A cemetery surrounded the early mediaeval church, at least from the 7th century onwards. The oldest burials were situated west of the building, in front of the entrance.



## Vrielynck, Olivier

*Service public de Wallonie, Namur*

*Sunday 20 September 2009, 14:00 h.*

### **Le cimetière mérovingien de Bossut-Gottechain (commune de Grez-Doiceau, Belgique)**

Grez-Doiceau est une commune rurale située en province de Brabant wallon, 30 km au sud-est de Bruxelles (Belgique). Le projet de construction d'un tronçon de route nationale y a entraîné la découverte en 2002 d'une vaste nécropole mérovingienne, fouillée intégralement de 2003 à 2006.

L'état de conservation des vestiges était assez médiocre. Une centaine de tombes sur les 436 fouillées avaient été pillées à l'époque mérovingienne, les matières organiques et osseuses ont presque entièrement disparu, et certaines sépultures étaient détruites totalement ou en partie par l'érosion et diverses activités anthropiques récentes (extraction de limon et sylviculture). Malgré ces dégradations, le site s'est révélé d'un grand intérêt tant du point de vue structurel que mobilier. La qualité et la quantité du matériel exhumé placent ainsi Grez-Doiceau parmi les plus riches nécropoles connues en Belgique.

Le site a été utilisé durant un peu plus d'un siècle et demi, depuis le dernier quart du 5e siècle jusqu'au milieu du 7e siècle. Le plan du cimetière présente plusieurs groupes de tombes d'orientations différentes. Le début de l'utilisation du site est caractérisé par l'inhumations simultanée de défunts selon les axes O/E (tête à l'ouest) et S/N, indiquant l'existence de coutumes funéraires distinctes. L'orientation S/N disparaît vers le milieu du 6e siècle. La tendance sera ensuite au passage progressif de l'orientation O/E à celle SSO/NNE.

Les défunts ont tous été inhumés dans des contenants en bois. Plusieurs types de « cercueils », dont l'usage a évolué avec le temps, ont été observés : troncs d'arbre évidés (majoritaires avant le milieu du 6e siècle), cercueils assemblés posés sur une paire de traverses ou encore petites chambres. Trois tombes au moins étaient mises en évidence dans le paysage par une superstructure en bois, dont il restait les trous de poteaux (tombes 83, 250 et 300 : respectivement 2, 6 et 4 poteaux).

De nombreuses sépultures étaient privilégiées à des degrés divers par la nature et la richesse de leur contenu. La tombe non pillée la plus somptueuse est la sépulture féminine 146, baptisée « Dame » de Grez-Doiceau », bien datée par un solidus au nom de Théodebert.

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## Wamers, Egon

*Archäologisches Museum, Frankfurt am Main*

*Wednesday 23 September 2009, 9:00 h.*

### **Die Bärenkämpfer von Torslunda, Sutton Hoo und Eschwege : Transformationen eines frühmittelalterlichen Bildmotivs**

Was bedeuten die Darstellungen von Männern und Bären auf den Modellen von Torslunda, auf Helmbleden von Vendel Grab 1, auf der goldenen Börse von Sutton Hoo oder auf den Phaleren von Eschwege? Dies ist in der Forschung höchst umstritten. Die einen sehen in ihnen Darstellungen nordischer Berserker, die für Rudolf Simek Ausdruck eines kultisch-ekstatischen Maskenkriegertums des germanischen Altertums sind. Oder sind sie vom eurasisch-samischen Bärenkult beeinflusst, der bis in die Neuzeit in der arktischen Hemisphäre beheimatet war und der bis in die europäischen Märchen nachwirkt ? Oder sind sie Ausdruck eines eigenständigen germanischen Bärenkultes, wie er sich im 1. Jahrtausend in zahlreichen Amuletten und Bestattungen mit Bärenfellen äußert ? Für Kurt





Böhner hingegen stellen die nordischen Bärenkämpfer eine "interpretatio scandinavica" des mediterranen Motivs Daniel in der Löwengrube dar. Doch auch das kann nicht recht überzeugen, da manche ikonographische Besonderheit unberücksichtigt bleibt.

Abgesehen von der älteren schwedischen Forschung blieben kontinentale Parallelen des Mittelmeerraumes, die an einen ganz anderen Ursprung dieses weit verbreiteten Motivs denken lassen, bislang weitgehend unbeachtet. In der römischen und spätantiken Bilderwelt waren Bären und Bärenkämpfer hingegen beliebte Motive und allgegenwärtig - sowohl in der militärischen Welt wie auch in der der Zirkusspiele. Der Vortrag will versuchen, der Geschichte und Transformation dieses Bildmotives nachzuspüren, das wie so viele andere Motiv-Transformationen von der Mediterranisierung der Welt nördlich der Alpen zeugt.

## Watt , Margrethe

*formerly Bornholms Museum, Dyssegård  
(Copenhagen)*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 10:00 h.*

### **Sorte Muld, Bornholm, an example of transformation and regional contacts during the 5th to 7th centuries in the Baltic Sea area**

The large Sorte Muld settlement complex is a prime example of how some stray finds, made in the 1980s, and the subsequent excavations and reconnaissance of the area, have revealed a large, complex and extremely find-rich settlement area covering more than one square kilometre. Much of the detailed reconnaissance work was done in close cooperation between the Bornholms Museum and a group of conscientious amateur archaeologists. The need to understand the significance of the tens of thousands of finds covering the whole of the first millennium AD led to the development of a low cost extensive sampling program, funded by the Danish Ministry of Culture and carried out in a number of campaigns between 1996 and 2006. This has provided an understanding of the size, settlement structure and time frame of more than 40 actively farmed, find-rich settlement sites and complexes of which Sorte Muld is the most important. The wider application and limitations of this work will be reviewed both in a super-regional context and

as a basis for both current and future work on Bornholm.

Around 2,500 gold foil figures, which were found on the central settlement within the Sorte Muld complex, have become a trade mark for the island, but – important as they may be – they should not be allowed to overshadow the evidence which can be gleaned from the multitude of other finds and information. This evidence enables us to analyse the possible strategic role of Bornholm for the development of a political structure in the Baltic and south Scandinavian area throughout the Late Roman and Post-Roman Periods.

The great variety of finds from Bornholm reflects not only far reaching, but also changing contacts. Sorte Muld naturally had very close and long lasting relations with the similar centre at Uppåkra, in south Skåne, as well as with other areas bordering on the Baltic Sea. Particularly during the Late Roman and Migration Periods, contacts with south-eastern Europe and the Black Sea area via the Polish rivers, seem to have been extensive. During the Migration Period, the focal point gradually changed westwards to the Frankish area. The nature and cause of these changes will be discussed.

The 5th to 7th centuries saw many changes in southern Scandinavia with the establishment of petty kingdoms. Bornholm seems to have been one of them with Sorte Muld at its centre.

## Welch, Martin & Sue Harrington

*UCL Institute of Archaeology, London*

*Monday 21 September 2009, 09:00 h.*

### **The archaeological evidence for state formation in southern England: a comparison of the early kingdoms of Kent, Sussex and Wessex**

This paper will report on key findings from a research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust: 'Beyond the Tribal Hidage: Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in southern England AD 400-750'. Our contention is that the processes of state formation are best addressed through comparative studies. This is explored here through the analysis of material culture and archaeologically-determined space and also by adopting a bottom-up methodology. This assesses the evidence at the base level, as opposed to conceptualising state formation as an



implacably top-down process. Our research questions have been concerned with the early Anglo-Saxon landscape and its relationship to its Late Roman precursor. They have examined whether changing economic processes and the formation of kingdoms went hand-in-hand and whether state formation was a coherent and uniform process across our study region.

The project has created a detailed database of all the early Anglo-Saxon sites in England south of the Thames and mapped them in a GIS format. The sites were assigned to one of three phases in a relative dating sequence in order to reveal changes in settlement patterns and the consumption of raw materials represented within burial assemblages over time. By drawing together a wide range of data, including geology, soil types and topography, together with mapping the major ancient routes, including Roman roads and the major sites from the Roman period, the project has been able to identify the core areas that developed into the various kingdoms within our study region, as first recorded in written sources of the seventh and eighth centuries. We have adopted methodologies developed by Stuart Brookes for his recently-published study on the social and economic development of the early kingdom of Kent, enabling us to compare the other kingdoms with Kent.

The results presented and discussed in this paper specifically concern the earliest phases of Anglo-Saxon settlement. We consider the locational selection of sites, which are not invariably on the best soils, but can possess a strategic value. We can observe their access to Roman sites providing potential resources in scrap iron and copper alloy. Then there are the changing consumption patterns of iron, that make up 50 per cent of the artefacts recovered from Anglo-Saxon burials. Key to our understanding of all of these issues is the enduring centrality of Kent to the economics of the entire region of southern Britain, but within a context in which Wessex emerges as a regional power, albeit developing along a different trajectory and with a less readily determinable economic base. Other sub-regions, known to us now as Surrey and Sussex, appear as contested areas in a buffer zone between these two larger kingdoms. The impact of the emerging super-power of Mercia on the northern margins of our study region along the Thames Valley also makes itself felt in the later phases. The project has identified continuity in some aspects of the development of the study

region, but discontinuity in other areas, although generally only as factors within a more long-term transition to fully-formed kingdoms.





## A SHORTER HISTORY OF MAASTRICHT

Maastricht from Roman times to the  
Middle Ages

by

Titus A.S.M. Panhuysen

### INTRODUCTION

Amongst the modern cities of the Netherlands Maastricht holds a special place. It is quite exceptional for this region that a city has remained continuously inhabited since its founding in the Roman period. In this respect Maastricht shows more in common with towns and cities in more southerly countries. Traditionally its inhabitants (Dutch: the 'Maastrichtenaars') have always been proud of their Roman past and some claim that it was Julius Caesar who founded the city. However there is no material evidence to support this time-honoured story. It was not until the 1840s that the first remains of the Roman period were discovered. Nor do other historical sources shed much light on Maastricht during this period. There are no known texts or inscriptions which directly relate to the settlement, except a passage in the *Historiae*, written by the Latin historian, Tacitus, at the beginning of the 2nd century AD, which may perhaps refer to Maastricht. It concerns the Roman general Labeo who held the bridge across the Meuse - *pons mosae fluminis* - during the Batavian uprising (69-70 AD), whilst Julius Civilis together with his allies, marching from Cologne in a westerly direction, attempted to seize it. It is the oldest known account of a battle for the Meuse crossing. The town's Latin name - *Traiectum ad Mosam* (Crossing on the Meuse) - first occurs in the Middle Ages.

Closely associated with the Roman as well as the subsequent Christian period is the person of Servatius, the first Bishop of nearby Tongeren, who should have been buried in Maastricht according to legend (d. 384 ?) and for centuries patron saint of the town. The legendary fame of Servatius and his successors, plus the manifest presence of the majestic church which marks his resting place, have meant that the city's historic past has never been put into question. Thanks to Servatius and an early conversion to Christianity, Maastricht is a city

which traditionally shows less of a hiatus between ancient times and the Middle Ages than elsewhere in the Netherlands. Whether or not Maastricht was a Roman settlement with urban characteristics, it did become an important centre of power in the early Middle Ages. Written sources, increasing in number from the 6th century onwards, clearly illustrate this. Despite the loss of the Episcopal see to Liège at the beginning of the 8th century, Maastricht consolidated and strengthened its position. The Servatius Abbey, originating on the site of the memorial church of the saint during the Merovingian period, played an important role in this development.

For a long period this abbey was the focal point for the spiritual and secular leaders to struggle for domination over Lower-Lorraine. Until Maastricht was walled in the early 13th century, the abbey lay outside the town, on the west side, where the ancient burial-grounds were situated alongside the road to Tongeren. Duke Gislebert of Lorraine should have renewed in the beginning of the 10th century a wall around the abbey and the imperial palace. Traces of this defensive wall and a 2 metre wide and 35 metre long part of the northern back facade of the palace seem to have been discovered between 1980 and 1990 west and north of the Vrijthof-area.

It is likely that even the settlement of Maastricht was walled as early as the 10th or 11th century, but there is no historical or archaeological evidence to support this theory. The enclosed area must, in any case, have been smaller than the 36 hectares of the fortified town in the 13th century.

In many respects the urban development of Maastricht is of exceptional interest. Maastricht can be considered to have been an outpost of central European cities, and in particular a fine example of the towns in the Meuse valley, which gave rise in Carolingian times to the development of the fortified towns, common in later times.

The town plan of Maastricht is an important basis for numerous comparative historical studies. However, it is a pity that the rigid pattern of the late Middle Ages has left little of recognition from the earlier development. Written records also provide us with little concrete information to form proper judgments about earlier times. It is only since organized and large-scale archaeological research has been carried out beneath the streets of Maastricht from 1979 onwards that we have gained a new source of information on the period





before 1000. Countless archaeological finds can provide a great stimulus for the furthering research into the earliest history of the development of Maastricht. The collection of archaeological finds and data in Maastricht would appear to give us an excellent base on which to study the continuity of the Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages and for studies into the origins of the fortified medieval town. The University of Amsterdam and the Town of Maastricht agreed in 2003 to cooperate studying and publishing a range of old excavations from the 20th century in the so-called Saint Servatius Project.

#### THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT (1st to 3rd century AD.)

The early Roman settlement of Maastricht is of no great relevance in its urban development, although it did provide a starting point with its infrastructure. Evidence suggests that during the second half of the 3rd century there was a break in the habitation. The nature of the 4th century settlement is totally different from that in previous times and was of greater importance for medieval development.

Evidence of some settlement activity during the later Iron Age on the location of the Roman vicus has now been confirmed. Even at the heart of the city, under the layers of Roman remains, finds have been made of the last prehistoric period. These could include a cobbled street, which ran obliquely from the southwest underneath the later Roman road where the present Plankstraat is situated. It is part of the oldest known infrastructure and follows a different line to all later roads. The most decisive moment in the history of the development of Maastricht is certainly the construction of the impressive military road which linked the inner Gallic provinces over the new founded civitas capital Atuatuca Tungrorum with the planned capital of Germania, Cologne. This strategic highway crossed the Meuse here just to the north of the Ardennes massif where the valley sides became gentler, and at the confluence of the river Jeker, on the west bank, and the river Geul, on the east bank, with the river Meuse. A combination of gravel and stone was used to construct the road through the marshy Jeker delta leading to the bridge across the Meuse which could have seen a first building phase at the same time as the road. The construction of this road is generally credited to Agrippa, the brother-in-law of the first Roman emperor Augustus (27 B.C. - 14 AD), who was then governor in Gallia (20-19 BC). Most of the

settlements along this road date from the second decade BC.

The river, road and bridge together formed the central elements to the Roman settlement. A fourth element, perhaps, was provided by a sanctuary at the mouth of the Jeker dissected by the military highway and situated directly below the present site of the Cloister of Our Lady's (Onze Lieve Vrouwe) Church. This sanctuary, a bath-house and some incomplete residential premises are the only larger Roman buildings which have been (partly) excavated as yet. They were situated along the Roman road and on the banks of the river Meuse; all were found within the recognized Roman area within the Maastricht city centre in the neighbourhood of the Stokstraat. Other finds elsewhere have also been made from this period, most notably in the area of the present day major shopping streets, the Grote Staat and the Kleine Staat, but because of the presence of a large number of business premises, no serious research has been carried out and lots of important archaeological traces have been lost there in the sixties of the last century. On the basis of the facts that we know of, we cannot imagine Maastricht being an urban agglomeration, more a vicus, a small street settlement with several hundred meters of rectilinear development stretching along the roads and a higher density of public buildings on the riverbank. In order to improve our understanding of this development more research will be necessary.

#### A WALLED FORT (4th CENTURY AD.)

Finds which date from the last decades of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century are scarce. It seems as if a large part of the settlement, but not all of it, was destroyed around 270 AD. There are indications for the construction of a slapdash fortification shortly after, but a real fort was not built on the site before the second quarter of the 4th century. As a matter of fact it was no more than a bridgehead, a small *castrum*, on the west bank of the river Meuse, cut through by the old, a little bit westward shifted road from Tongeren. The first traces of this fort were discovered in the early 20th century. During the renovation of the Stokstraat area in the 1950s and 1960s, more discoveries were made and in recent years a plan of the castrum could be almost completely be reconstructed. With the aid of growth rings on the oak foundation pillars of one of the riverside wall towers it was possible to establish the construction date of the wall: the



oaks were chopped down in the spring of 333 AD. The fort had a rectilinear plan of approximately 170 metres long by 90 metres wide, the longitudinal side bordering on to the river. The fort had a number of 10 circular wall and corner towers and had two solid rectangular gates. A wide and largely dry ditch was dug outside the walls. At the same time as the fort was completed, it is likely that the old crossing across the Meuse had been restored. Exactly how the internal morphology appeared within the walls is still a point for conjecture. One building, mistaken since its discovery in the beginning of the last century for the 6th-7th century Episcopal church, dates from the first building phase of the fort and undoubtedly functioned originally as a *horreum* or grain store. This type of building is often found in 4th century supply stations for the army. Next to the west gate and set against the inside of the defensive wall was probably a storeroom or barracks, built on the remains of the previous enclosure wall of the sanctuary and on series of reused blocks originating from destroyed buildings and impressive decorated funeral monuments. Some rooms belonging to the former bath-house were once again used for this purposes, or put to other uses. There is some uncertainty about the inhabitants of the fort in its early stages. Obviously the castrum was built for military purposes (food supply and bridge surveillance) and initially not necessarily as a refuge for the local population.

Unfortunately there have been few traces of the presence of soldiers in the context of most of the 4th century fortifications and settlements. Neither is it possible, for similar reasons, to give an indication of how and where the population outside the defensive walls have lived during this period. Once again most of the stray finds have been made along the Roman road between the Vrijthof and the Jodenstraat, along the Grote Staat. A new feature of the settlement was the development outside the known vicus of an extensive cemetery along the road to Tongeren where this road starts to ascend the western slope beyond the Vrijthof. In contrast to the provisional absence of older burial grounds in Roman times except for some graves along the Brusselsestraat, a higher number of old discoveries along the Roman road on the east bank and numerous in the Late Roman bridge reused blocks from ancient tombs, we can view this as a possible evidence of an increase in population from the 4th century onwards.

#### TONGEREN, SERVATIUS AND CHRISTIANITY

Some 15 kilometres distance to the west of Maastricht is the town of Tongeren, founded under August in the second decade BC as the capital of the *Civitas Tungrorum*. Maastricht belonged to its district and was so part of the military province of *Germania inferior* (founded under Domitian) which had Cologne as its capital. Since the reign of emperor Diocletian (284-305 AD) the region around Tongeren was obviously included within the new Roman province of *Germania Secunda* that replaced *Germania inferior*. Tongeren was an impressive town with walls of the 2nd century up to 4500 metres in length, but reduced to 2800 metres in the 4th century. According to the customs of the time the Episcopal see of the *civitas* was installed here. The first known bishop of Tongeren was Servatius, whose passed down deeds are covering the middle decades of the 4th century (343-359). Servatius is traditionally supposed to have died on the 13th May 384, an invented year without any scientific support. Remarkably, Servatius should not have been buried in Tongeren, but on the burial grounds along the Roman road in Maastricht.

Legend has it that Servatius wanted to move the bishop's see from Tongeren to Maastricht. Whatever influence Servatius may or may not have had in this, it was not until the 6th century that the first bishops of Maastricht appear in the front of historical footlights. We have to conclude that the Episcopal see didn't move to Maastricht until the beginning or the middle of the 6th century. The exact reasons for the promotion of Maastricht to cathedral city are not known, but one can suspect that it had something to do with the decline of Tongeren as an urban centre and the rise of Maastricht as centre of power with its much more favourable geographical position on the river. Maastricht must have had a flourishing Christian community from the late 4th or early 5th century onwards. The evidence for this can be found in a series of early Christian gravestones and the many inhumations from that period too without grave gifts under the St. Servatius Church. Samian ware with Christian motifs particularly came into fashion in Maastricht at this time. Between the middle of the 4th century and the end of the 5th century, the population both within and beyond the fortified centre increased.

Evidence of traditional high-grade stone construction is lacking, but instead we find remains of timber framing. Outside the walls there are







traces of pit houses. The nature of the remains seem to indicate that the population had its roots still in Roman culture. Features of Germanic culture are in short supply however. Complete data on this is still lacking, once again because reliable studies in the modern business heart of the city cannot be carried out and the studies on the Vrijthof cemeteries are not published yet. There are good reasons for arguing that the centre of population may be located close to the river.

It is difficult to determine the exact status of Maastricht in these times of transformation. It may well have superseded Tongeren in a short time span and taken on the status of the old *civitas* capital in the 5th or 6th century. Archaeological research does not contradict such suppositions, but to come to concrete conclusions on this is premature. It is a fact that many excavations have yielded 5th century remains in the city centre in the last decades. So we are presented with an image of a settlement which no doubt is comparable with its 4th century predecessor and quite categorically shows no break with the succeeding Merovingian period. In contrast excavations in Tongeren with regard to the 4th and 5th century and later, have only recently made a start with the discovery of the possible cathedral of Servatius and some dwellings of the 4th century. However, the recent excavations brought almost nothing to light about the settlement and its habitation from the 5th century onwards.

#### AN EARLY MEDIEVAL CITY: URBS TREIECTENSIS

In the 6th century, we find the phrases '*Urbs Treiectensis*' or '*Traiectum*' in the written records, the oldest known name given to Maastricht. The bishop of Tongeren now has his see here, the Merovingian kings arrive there to issue decrees. It functions as the centre of a district, the region of the Masuarii and we know of a large number of mintmasters who minted their coins in Maastricht. In addition the tomb of the first known bishop of the diocese, Servatius, is here, certainly since the 6th century. One of his successors, bishop Monulf, decides c. AD 550 to build a large church, the *magnum templum* near to the old burial chapel, supposed housing the saint's grave, and to remove the saint's body from its tomb placing it at the altar. The church subsequently becomes one of the important religious centres in Austrasia.

During this period, one of the more remarkable phenomena is the increase in burial sites. We already know of the large cemetery under and

around the St. Servatius Church, the traditional burial ground in service since the 4th century and in continuous use after as monastic cemetery and medieval graveyard. During the construction of an underground car park in the north-eastern corner of the Vrijthof, a second burial site, dating from the 6th-7th century was discovered in 1970. Again this lay adjacent to the old military highway, but may have belonged to a different group of population. In 1981 and in subsequent years another was found further to the north, east of the Boschstraat and within the second late medieval city extension. This burial site belonged to a separate hamlet in the agglomeration. Other burial sites have been located south of the city, about one kilometre from the city centre, at a village called Saint Peter. We have indications that there are yet more burial sites in the medieval centre, both on the western and eastern banks of the Meuse. It appears that the St. Servatius burial site was used originally for the post-Roman population. The cemetery certainly contains a Christian and an elite complement. The other burial grounds dispersed throughout the city probably served as cemeteries for a variety of sections of the population, amongst them warriors and 'ordinary' settlers. So the excavations of the Vrijthof burial site provided many weapons as grave goods. The Boschstraat site however showed the existence of a simpler, probably agrarian, population with a surplus of women and children.

What did the settlement look like during this period? A number of the older topographical elements provided important landmarks. For example, the castrum accommodated probably *domus ecclesiae* of the bishops. Excavations in 1981-82 to the south of the Roman fort showed that a new ditch had been made around it at the end of the 5th or in the early 6th century. During excavations under Hotel Derlon in 1983 almost no artefacts from the period 500-700 were found within the walls. This information could argue the supposition that the bishop founded his cathedral and the domestic and utility buildings within the walls of the Maastricht castrum. The most important argument for this, however, is the only church which is ever likely to have had the status of cathedral: Our Lady's Church. In contrast to the minor elevation of the ground level within the fortifications resulting from the site's special function, black layers of rubble accumulated during these centuries outside the fort. The surface level rose so quickly that the Roman fortifications themselves became 'sunken'. The new ditch must





soon have been filled in, since the population built their dwellings right up against the defensive walls. The castrum must have remained a visible element in the topography of the settlement until the 10th century. This meant that the plan of the Roman fort marked the pattern of streets around it and that this pattern developed in the early Middle Ages.

Another permanent feature of the settlement was the bridge across the Meuse. At least this is what we can interpret from the reference to the main road and the public bridge in the writings of Gregory of Tours in the later 6th century. Another reference in a 10th century source leaves no doubt that also here was meant the old (Roman) bridge. The present stone-arched 'Servaasbrug' lies about 100 metres downstream from the Roman bridge and its construction in 1280 led to significant alterations to the morphology on both banks of the river. The Roman road, for which Maastricht owed its existence, remained in use during the early Middle Ages, although narrower and in a poorer state of repair and its importance became no greater than a number of smaller roads running to the north and south.

We know that the west, or Maastricht riverbank, was in a continuous process of silting up and since the date of the earliest settlement until the late Middle Ages the quayside moved 80 metres eastwards. This may have led to a large scale digging of the eastern bank to form a new channel for shipping here. In the early Middle Ages, the river Jeker had much less of an influence on the site of the settlement around the Roman road than previously. On the one hand, this was a consequence of the elevation of the ground level by an average of 3 metres in this area as a result of long-term residence activities. On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that attempts had been made to rechannel the delta of the river Jeker, which were probably carried out in the late Roman period. In any case, large terrains to the south-west of the castrum and the Roman road which had traditionally been scarcely settled gradually became used for habitation in the early Middle Ages.

The west cemetery, which certainly was used by Christians, became a factor of increasing importance. As was usual under Roman custom, these burial grounds lay outside the settlement. Maybe here existed the (family) tomb of the Late Roman bishop Servatius, maybe this was only a legendary tomb by invention. Since the

construction by Monulf in the middle of the 6th century of a burial church in honour of Servatius near his burial chapel, we notice around the (so-called) saint's grave the growth of an important religious community, a centre of ecclesiastical and secular power, whereas traces of a new residential area are missing here up until now. The terrains to the east and south-east of the Servatius complex, including the Vrijthof, were originally low and marshy under influence of the Jeker. The area was only inhabited for the first time in the Carolingian period and was artificially elevated from the 10th and 11th century onwards. The stone church of bishop Monulf close to the tomb of St. Servatius was erected on the slopes to the west of the marshy depression. As far as is known from written records, this should be the oldest church in the Netherlands and it was finally revealed in excavations during the latest renovation of the church (1981-1990). It lies under the crossing of the present church and is 14 metres wide, although its length is not known since the eastern section cannot be studied. Also found was a Late Roman square-shaped *cella memoriae* on the west side of the 6th century church, unfortunately without any trace of the original burial. It was subsequently covered by a later choir annex and the central altar of the Carolingian basilica. Remains of walls of a possible housing estate for priests have also been uncovered in the vicinity of the oldest church. Although written sources for the first time refer to a monastery near the Servatius Church at the beginning of the 8th century, it has now become more likely that it already existed in the 6th or 7th century. The presence of graves with rich grave goods from the first half of the 6th century onwards suggest that the burial site was chosen as a last resting place by the ruling Merovingian elite even before the construction of the church. This seems to point to the early existence of a considerable privileged class in Maastricht by the time and their involvement in the building activities of the bishop.

The church of St. Servatius was probably not the oldest church in Maastricht. That one has to be sought elsewhere in the settlement, firstly within the walls of the 4th century fort. It concerns the original parish church of the Christian community, and after possibly the cathedral. Everything seems to suggest that Our Lady's Church can lay claim to this. The present Romanesque building, like so many other churches of its kind, lies at the corner of the former Roman castrum. Just north of the church and extending under its cloister, the





enclosure of a Roman sanctuary had been uncovered in 1983 and 1996, probably preceded by a Celtic equivalent. The church is dedicated to Saint Mary, as was the first cathedral in Tongeren and the bishop's later Episcopal church in Liège. Archaeological arguments pointing to the residence of the bishops during at least two centuries within the walls of Maastricht, in particular in the immediate surroundings of Our Lady's Church have already been discussed in this text. However, no traces of this hypothetical early Christian church has ever been found yet. During the 1920s, the plan of a rectangular building, measuring inside 30.90 by 15.30 meters and divided into three naves, was discovered between Our Lady's Church and the Stokstraat. This was thought to be the Merovingian Episcopal church, but proof of this has never been substantiated. Now we can conclude with some certainty that this was a 4th century grain store, built together with the fort itself. Not in the least, however, this will exclude the theory that the hall was converted into a church building in the early Middle Ages.

The third possible early medieval church in Maastricht is dedicated to St. Martin and is built on the eastern bank of the Meuse between the river and the Roman military highway which led in a north-easterly direction through the Geul valley to Heerlen and Cologne. Archaeological research has as yet not been carried out in this area.

The historical sources show that Maastricht was sometimes used as a residence for the Merovingian kings. This would mean that they had their own accommodation in the town. Although it is almost certain that the later Roman-German sovereigns and the Dukes of Lorraine had a real palace in the neighbourhood of the St. Servatius Abbey from the early 10th century onwards, we must locate the Merovingian residence inside the fortified Roman castrum, as in numerous parallel cases. However, up to now, there has been not the slightest archaeological evidence to support this idea.

A reconstruction of the living quarters within the settlement presents a major problem. Systematic archaeological research carried out in the last decades of the last century has certainly given us more information on the residential quarters than merely an idea of their general location. In many places throughout the city centre, a more than 1-metre thick black layer has been found dating from this period, unfortunately only incidentally with concrete information of ground plans and

infrastructure. The finds show evidence of long-lasting and intensive occupation and future research of these rich layers will offer us more important information about the nature of the settlement. However, some remains of houses have been found, such as on the south side of the Our Lady's Square where the stone foundations of half timbered houses dating from the 6th and 7th centuries were revealed. Elsewhere small parts of cobbled streets have been found, as well as boundary ditches. Traces of craft activities found at numerous locations have proved to be of special interest. These include worked bone material, bronze buckle and jewellery moulds, pottery wasters as well as a number of kilns. In the Jodenstraat, the complete remains of a 6th century glass-beadmaker's production were found.

The historic picture we can reconstruct is that of a town in its earliest stages, where ecclesiastical and secular authorities came together, where craft production, trade and markets were concentrated, and where people lived and visited for whatever reason. This picture is reinforced each time archaeological finds are made. Maastricht was emerging as a medieval city particularly in view of its diversity of activities. On the other hand however, Maastricht was still functioning as a rural node with a few fixed landmarks and with shifting centres of habitation. Archaeological records for this period in Maastricht, particularly when compared with other places in surrounding areas, are of great importance and offer exceptional chances for future research.

#### TOWARDS THE WALLED CITY OF THE 13th CENTURY

Almost 500 years separates the 7th century Merovingian pre-urban settlement with the town which in the 13th century became walled and was controlled jointly by the principality of Liège and the Duke of Brabant. The 13th century fortifications around the city remained a permanent reminder of the way in which the structure of the town had developed in previous centuries, and any changes which did take place, such as the building of a new bridge, the Servaasbrug, were few and far between.

It was between 700 and 1200 that Maastricht developed into a medieval town, at least in terms of size, function and the law. Of course there was not one specific moment we can distinguish when Maastricht suddenly became a city. It was, of course, granted numerous privileges as a town and



the right to construct a city wall in 1229 was an important event in the ongoing process. However, despite the relative wealth of archaeological data from the period after 1000 and the 'frozen' topographical situation created by the wall's construction in 1229, we are still unable to make a reliable reconstruction of the city's urban development process.

Neither written sources or archaeological findings could offer us anything substantial over this period as yet, but we can hope that the latter will be able to provide us more information in the near future on the basis of results of recent excavations in town. After 1300, an end was put to the continuous raising of the ground level since rubble and rubbish were systematically carried away after this period. This has denied us an important source of material. Further (re)construction activities after 1400 often including the digging of cellars and the laying of deep foundations for fire-proof walls has also meant that much archaeological evidence has vanished. It is, however, quite remarkable to note that the topographical landmarks which played an important role in the earliest days of the settlement still formed a part of the 13th century city landscape. Indeed, the old Roman fort is responsible for determining the outlay of the Stokstraat quarter, the Roman road transecting the former settlement can still be recognized in the plan of the city's major streets coming from the west and the three earliest medieval churches coincide with the three inner city convents or parishes. The oldest hand-drawn town plans date back to the 16th century. The assumption that the street pattern depicted on this maps also represented to a great extent the situation which existed in the 13th century, may well be borne out by future archaeological research. A question which remains is whether Maastricht possessed earlier medieval defence works than the stone walls of the 13th century and their immediate predecessors of earth and wood. On the basis of comparative studies of other towns and cities in the Meuse region, it would be a quite reasonable proposition. It would seem that urban development on the west bank of the Meuse occurred mainly in a northerly direction away from the delta of the Jeker. Between the 11th and 17th centuries, the administrative centre shifted from the Plankstraat via the Kersenmarkt and the Grote Staat eventually to the northerly Houtmarkt, the present marketplace. The subsequent walls of 1229 and the 14th century show this development even more strongly. An earlier wall would have to

be sought to the east of the current Vrijthof, if these developments are extrapolated back in time. The St. Servatius Abbey within its own enclosure was an independent entity and only came within the town's wall in the 13th century.

In recent years, research into the uncertain and relatively unknown period between the 7th and 11th centuries has focused on excavations in the St. Servatius area. Not only has this resulted in new information on the architectural history of the church and the monastery, but it had also led to findings from previously hidden layers which may help us to reconsider finds made elsewhere in the city. The discovery of large scale rebuilding works on the St. Servatius Church from the later 10th century onwards led to questions about the possible involvement of the first Dukes of Lorraine and their Carolingian descendants. The regional poet Henric van Veldeke, for example, sings the praises of Duke Giselbert (928-939) who considered Maastricht as his capital. The major excavations of 1988 and 1989 on the northern side of the Vrijthof unearthed the remains of an impressive 10th-11th century wall belonging to a spacious building, possibly the dukes' residence or palace. It was already known that the level of the Vrijthof was raised during these centuries, which was after its use as burial field in the early Middle Ages and some settlement activities afterwards. We should consider the rectilinear open square as a majestic planning concept of the 10th or 11th century symbolically joining ecclesiastical and secular power.

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## Bookshop Selexyz Dominicanen, Maastricht : the most visited church in the Low Countries

The Dominican church is an Gothic  
monastery church situated in the  
Dominikanerkerkstraat 1 in Maastricht.

After a large renovation and restoration the church  
(865 sq. metres) has been restored in its full  
splendour from the design of interior architects  
Merkx and Girod, and the expertise of Satijnplus  
Restoration architects.

The sacral elements such as the stained-glass  
windows, fresco's, vaults and the incidence of light  
have been saved. To keep the view of the height of  
the church, a steel a-centric 'book tower' with two  
floors was erected (400 sq. metres).

From the second floor the exposed fresco's of  
saints, dating from 1619, are visible in the peak of  
the roof. The restoration of another wall fresco  
depicting the life of St Thomas Aquinas (Dominican  
and philosopher) at the northern wall has been  
finished recently. Under the supervision of the  
city's architects, a cellar has been built, making  
room for technical installations, toilets and  
storage.

The choir, which now situates a lunchroom, has a  
good view of the whole interior. The church has  
been transformed into a contemporary bookshop  
with c. 25.000 titles and c. 45.000 books, which all  
have a chip that allows both staff and customers to  
trace them (RFID technology).

### Some facts:

Built in the 13th century of marl stone on a  
foundation of millstone-grit, consecrated in 1294.

1796: end of the church's ecclesiastical function, its  
later uses have been as stables, a bike shed,  
exhibition space and a party hall.

2002: start of meetings with the owner of the  
church, the city of Maastricht, on the new purpose  
of the church.

2005: The beginning of the restoration and  
renovation of the church into a bookshop

November 2006: Opening of Selexyz Dominicanen





## PARTICIPANTS

Ager, Barry	<a href="mailto:bager@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk">bager@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk</a>	London	England UK
Annaert, Rica	<a href="mailto:henrica.annaert@rwo.vlaanderen.be">henrica.annaert@rwo.vlaanderen.be</a>	Brussels	Belgium
Aufderhaar, Iris	<a href="mailto:aufderhaar@nihk.de">aufderhaar@nihk.de</a>	Wilhelmshaven	Germany
Axboe, Morten	<a href="mailto:morten.axboe@natmus.dk">morten.axboe@natmus.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark
Behr, Charlotte	<a href="mailto:c.behr@roehampton.ac.uk">c.behr@roehampton.ac.uk</a>	London	England UK
Bender Jørgensen, Lise	<a href="mailto:lise.bender@hf.ntnu.no">lise.bender@hf.ntnu.no</a>	Trondheim	Norway
Best, Werner	<a href="mailto:Werner.best@lwl.org">Werner.best@lwl.org</a>	Bielefeld	Germany
Blackmore, Lyn	<a href="mailto:Lblackmore@museumoflondon.org.uk">Lblackmore@museumoflondon.org.uk</a>	London	England UK
Bojsen, Else	<a href="mailto:Morten.axboe@natmus.dk">Morten.axboe@natmus.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark
Brieske, Vera	<a href="mailto:vera.brieske@lwl.org">vera.brieske@lwl.org</a>	Münster	Germany
Briscoe, Diana	<a href="mailto:ASArchive@talktalk.net">ASArchive@talktalk.net</a>	London	England UK
Bärenfänger, Rolf	<a href="mailto:baerenfaenger@ostfriesischelandschaft.de">baerenfaenger@ostfriesischelandschaft.de</a>	Aurich	Germany
Capelle, Torsten	<a href="mailto:altertumskommission@lwl.org">altertumskommission@lwl.org</a>	Münster	Germany
Creemers, Guido	<a href="mailto:gcreemers@limburg.be">gcreemers@limburg.be</a>	Tongeren	Belgium
Dahlin Hauken, Åsa	<a href="mailto:aasa.d.hauken@uis.no">aasa.d.hauken@uis.no</a>	Stavanger	Norway
De Bernardy de Sigoyer, Sophie	<a href="mailto:sophie.debernardydesigoyer@spw.wallonie.be">sophie.debernardydesigoyer@spw.wallonie.be</a>	Liège	Belgium
Deckers, Pieterjan	<a href="mailto:p.deckers@vub.ac.be">p.deckers@vub.ac.be</a>	Brussels	Belgium
De Clercq, Wim	<a href="mailto:w.declercq@ugent.be">w.declercq@ugent.be</a>	Gent	Belgium
Dickinson, Tania	<a href="mailto:tmd2@york.ac.uk">tmd2@york.ac.uk</a>	York	England UK
Dickmann, Elisabeth	<a href="mailto:edickmann@t-online.de">edickmann@t-online.de</a>	Stadt Borken	Germany
Dijkstra, Juke	<a href="mailto:j.dijkstra@archeologie.nl">j.dijkstra@archeologie.nl</a>	Amersfoort	Netherlands
Dijkstra, Menno	<a href="mailto:m.f.p.dijkstra@hetnet.nl">m.f.p.dijkstra@hetnet.nl</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands
Eagles, Bruce	<a href="mailto:bruce.eagles@ntlworld.com">bruce.eagles@ntlworld.com</a>	Bournemouth	England UK



Ethelberg, Per	<a href="mailto:peret@museum-sonderjylland.dk">peret@museum-sonderjylland.dk</a>	Haderslev	Denmark
Fabech, Charlotte	<a href="mailto:charlotte-eketorp@telia.com">charlotte-eketorp@telia.com</a>	Svalöv	Sweden
Fischer, Svante	<a href="mailto:swantowraetrana@hotmail.com">swantowraetrana@hotmail.com</a>	Saint-Germain-en-Laye	FR
Gilbrich, Wilfried	<a href="mailto:wilfried.gilbrich@dbmail.com">wilfried.gilbrich@dbmail.com</a>	Ville d'Avray	France
Gräf, Julia	<a href="mailto:juliagraef@gmx.de">juliagraef@gmx.de</a>	Wilhelmshaven	Germany
Grünewald, Christoph	<a href="mailto:christoph.gruenewald@lwl.org">christoph.gruenewald@lwl.org</a>	Münster	Germany
Gutsmiedl, Doris	<a href="mailto:doris.gutsmiedl@uni-bonn.de">doris.gutsmiedl@uni-bonn.de</a>	Bonn	Germany
Haas, Maaïke de	<a href="mailto:Maaïke.deHaas@student.uva.nl">Maaïke.deHaas@student.uva.nl</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands
Hamerow, Helena	<a href="mailto:helena.hamerow@arch.ox.ac.uk">helena.hamerow@arch.ox.ac.uk</a>	Oxford	England UK
Haperen, Martine van	<a href="mailto:martine.vanhaperen@student.uva.nl">martine.vanhaperen@student.uva.nl</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands
Heidinga, Anthonie	<a href="mailto:haheidinga@hetnet.nl">haheidinga@hetnet.nl</a>	Edam	Netherlands
Hendriks, Joep	<a href="mailto:j.hendriks@uva.nl">j.hendriks@uva.nl</a>	Nijmegen	Netherlands
Henrard, Denis	<a href="mailto:denishenrard@hotmail.com">denishenrard@hotmail.com</a>	Liège	Belgium
Hills, Catherine	<a href="mailto:ch35@cam.ac.uk">ch35@cam.ac.uk</a>	Cambridge	England UK
Hollevoet, Yann	<a href="mailto:yann.hollevoet@pandora.be">yann.hollevoet@pandora.be</a>	Brussels	Belgium
Hårdh, Brigitta	<a href="mailto:Brigitta.hardh@ark.lu.se">Brigitta.hardh@ark.lu.se</a>	Lund	Sweden
Høilund Nielsen, Karen	<a href="mailto:karen.hoilund.nielsen@webspeed.dk">karen.hoilund.nielsen@webspeed.dk</a>	Aarhus	Denmark
Jöns, Hauke	<a href="mailto:joens@nihk.de">joens@nihk.de</a>	Wilhelmshaven	Germany
Kars, Mirjam	<a href="mailto:M.Kars@uva.nl">M.Kars@uva.nl</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands
Knol, Egge	<a href="mailto:eknol@groningermuseum.nl">eknol@groningermuseum.nl</a>	Groningen	Netherlands
Kristoffersen, Siv	<a href="mailto:siv.kristoffersen@uis.no">siv.kristoffersen@uis.no</a>	Stavanger	Norway
Larsson, Lars	<a href="mailto:Lars.Larsson@ark.lu.se">Lars.Larsson@ark.lu.se</a>	Lund	Sweden
Ljunkvist, John	<a href="mailto:john.ljunkvist@arkeologi.uu.se">john.ljunkvist@arkeologi.uu.se</a>	Uppsala	Sweden
Lorren, Claude	<a href="mailto:claudelorren@unicaen.fr">claudelorren@unicaen.fr</a>	Caen	France
Loveluck, Christopher	<a href="mailto:christopher.loveluck@nottingham.ac.uk">christopher.loveluck@nottingham.ac.uk</a>	Nottingham	England UK
Lucy, Samantha	<a href="mailto:sjl18@cam.ac.uk">sjl18@cam.ac.uk</a>	Cambridge	England UK



Ludowici, Babette	<a href="mailto:babette.ludowici@nlm-h.niedersachsen.de">babette.ludowici@nlm-h.niedersachsen.de</a>	Hannover	Germany
Magnus, Bente	<a href="mailto:bente.magnus@comhem.se">bente.magnus@comhem.se</a>	Stockholm	Sweden
Marzinzik, Sonja	<a href="mailto:smarzinzik@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk">smarzinzik@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk</a>	London	England UK
Mückenberger, Kai	<a href="mailto:mueckenberger@nihk.de">mueckenberger@nihk.de</a>	Wilhelmshaven	Germany
Neiss, Michael	<a href="mailto:michaelneiss@hotmail.com">michaelneiss@hotmail.com</a>	Kiel	Germany
Nicolay, Johan	<a href="mailto:j.a.w.nicolay@rug.nl">j.a.w.nicolay@rug.nl</a>	Groningen	Netherlands
Nieuwhof, Annet	<a href="mailto:a.nieuwhof@rug.nl">a.nieuwhof@rug.nl</a>	Groningen	Netherlands
Näsman, Ulf	<a href="mailto:ulf-eketorp@telia.com">ulf-eketorp@telia.com</a>	Kalmar	Sweden
Panhuysen, Raphaël	<a href="mailto:raphael.panhuysen@gmail.com">raphael.panhuysen@gmail.com</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands
Panhuysen, Titus	<a href="mailto:tasmpanhuysen@gmail.com">tasmpanhuysen@gmail.com</a>	Maastricht	Netherlands
Pesch, Alexandra	<a href="mailto:alexandra.pesch@schloss-gottorf.de">alexandra.pesch@schloss-gottorf.de</a>	Schleswig	Germany
Peters, Daniel	<a href="mailto:peters@rgk.dainst.de">peters@rgk.dainst.de</a>	Frankfurt am Main	Germany
Petersson, Maria	<a href="mailto:maria.petersson@raa.se">maria.petersson@raa.se</a>	Linköping	Sweden
Proos, René	<a href="mailto:rhp.proos@pzh.nl">rhp.proos@pzh.nl</a>	Den Haag	Netherlands
Ravn, Mads	<a href="mailto:Mads.ravn@uis.no">Mads.ravn@uis.no</a>	Stavanger	Norway
Reichmann, Christoph	<a href="mailto:ch.reichmann@krefeld.de">ch.reichmann@krefeld.de</a>	Krefeld	Germany
Resi, Heid Gjøstein	<a href="mailto:h.g.resi@khm.uio.no">h.g.resi@khm.uio.no</a>	Oslo	Norway
Richardson, Andrew	<a href="mailto:andrew.richardson@canterburytrust.co.uk">andrew.richardson@canterburytrust.co.uk</a>	Dover	England UK
Rindel, Per Ole	<a href="mailto:Rindel@hum.ku.dk">Rindel@hum.ku.dk</a>	Kopenhagen	Denmark
Ruhmann, Christiane	<a href="mailto:christiane.ruhmann@erzbistum-paderborn.de">christiane.ruhmann@erzbistum-paderborn.de</a>	Paderborn	Germany
Rundkvist, Martin	<a href="mailto:arador@algonet.se">arador@algonet.se</a>	Stockholm	Sweden
Schaub, Andreas	<a href="mailto:Andreas.Schaub@mail.aachen.de">Andreas.Schaub@mail.aachen.de</a>	Aachen	Germany
Scheringa, Jelmer	<a href="mailto:j.f.scheringa@quicknet.nl">j.f.scheringa@quicknet.nl</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands
Scheschkewitz, Jonathan	<a href="mailto:jonathan.scheschkewitz@rps.bwl.de">jonathan.scheschkewitz@rps.bwl.de</a>	Esslingen	Germany
Schmauder, Michael	<a href="mailto:Michael.Schmauder@lvr.de">Michael.Schmauder@lvr.de</a>	Bonn	Germany
Scull, Christopher	<a href="mailto:chris.scull@english-heritage.org.uk">chris.scull@english-heritage.org.uk</a>	London	England UK





Semple, Sarah	<a href="mailto:s.j.semple@durham.ac.uk">s.j.semple@durham.ac.uk</a>	Durham	England UK
Siegmüller, Annette	<a href="mailto:a.siegmuller@gmx.de">a.siegmuller@gmx.de</a>	Wilhelmshaven	Germany
Smal, Dieuwertje	<a href="mailto:dieuw@smal.org">dieuw@smal.org</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands
Soeters, Gilbert	<a href="mailto:gilbert.soeters@maastricht.nl">gilbert.soeters@maastricht.nl</a>	Maastricht	Netherlands
Soulat, Jean	<a href="mailto:jean.soulat@gmail.com">jean.soulat@gmail.com</a>	Saint-Germain-en-Laye	FR
Stauch, Eva	<a href="mailto:estauch@uni-muenster.de">estauch@uni-muenster.de</a>	Münster	Germany
Stoepker, Henk	<a href="mailto:hstoepker@hetnet.nl">hstoepker@hetnet.nl</a>	Wijlre	Netherlands
Straume, Eldrid	<a href="mailto:eldrid.straume@khm.uio.no">eldrid.straume@khm.uio.no</a>	Oslo	Norway
Stylegar, Frans Arne	<a href="mailto:Frans-Arne.Stylegar@vaf.no">Frans-Arne.Stylegar@vaf.no</a>	Kristiansand	Norway
Sørensen, Anne Birgitte	<a href="mailto:ansr@museum-sonderjylland.dk">ansr@museum-sonderjylland.dk</a>	Haderslev	Denmark
Theuws, Frans	<a href="mailto:F.C.W.J.Theuws@uva.nl">F.C.W.J.Theuws@uva.nl</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands
Van Impe, Ki	<a href="mailto:lf.vanimpe@telenet.be">lf.vanimpe@telenet.be</a>	Leuven	Belgium
Van Impe, Luc	<a href="mailto:lf.vanimpe@telenet.be">lf.vanimpe@telenet.be</a>	Leuven	Belgium
Vanderhoeven, Alain	<a href="mailto:alain.vanderhoeven@rwo.vlaanderen.be">alain.vanderhoeven@rwo.vlaanderen.be</a>	Tongeren	Belgium
Velde, Henk van der	<a href="mailto:H.van.der.Velde@archeologie.nl">H.van.der.Velde@archeologie.nl</a>	Amersfoort	Netherlands
Verbeeck, Marie	<a href="mailto:Marie.verbeeck@spw.wallonie.be">Marie.verbeeck@spw.wallonie.be</a>	Namur	Belgium
von Carnap-Bornheim, Claus	<a href="mailto:Carnap@schloss-gottorf.de">Carnap@schloss-gottorf.de</a>	Schleswig	Germany
von Freeden, Uta	<a href="mailto:freeden@rgk.dainst.de">freeden@rgk.dainst.de</a>	Frankfurt am Main	Germany
Vrielynck, Olivier	<a href="mailto:Olivier.Vrielynck@spw.wallonie.be">Olivier.Vrielynck@spw.wallonie.be</a>	Jambes	Belgium
Wamers, Egon	<a href="mailto:egon.wamers@stadt-frankfurt.de">egon.wamers@stadt-frankfurt.de</a>	Frankfurt am Main	Germany
Watt, Margrethe	<a href="mailto:margrethewatt@mail.dk">margrethewatt@mail.dk</a>	Dyssegård	Denmark
Webster, Leslie	<a href="mailto:arachne55@tiscali.co.uk">arachne55@tiscali.co.uk</a>	London	England UK
Welch, Martin	<a href="mailto:m.welch@ucl.ac.uk">m.welch@ucl.ac.uk</a>	London	England UK
Wersch, Line van	<a href="mailto:line.vanwersch@ulg.ac.be">line.vanwersch@ulg.ac.be</a>	Liège	Belgium
Wicker, Nancy	<a href="mailto:nwicker@olemiss.edu">nwicker@olemiss.edu</a>	Oxford	USA
Ystgaard, Ingrid	<a href="mailto:ingrid.ystgaard@vm.ntnu.no">ingrid.ystgaard@vm.ntnu.no</a>	Trondheim	Norway



Zimmermann, Gunthild

[zimmermann@nihk.de](mailto:zimmermann@nihk.de)

Wilhelmshaven Germany

Zimmermann, Haio

[zimmermann@nihk.de](mailto:zimmermann@nihk.de)

Wilhelmshaven Germany



## LIST of MEMBERS ISS

monday 31 august 2009

Name	E-mail	Town	Country	Phone
<b>BELGIUM</b>				
Annaert, Rica	<a href="mailto:henrica.annaert@rwo.vlaanderen.be">henrica.annaert@rwo.vlaanderen.be</a>	Brussels	Belgium	+32 2 481 8043
Dierkens, Alain	<a href="mailto:adierken@ulb.ac.be">adierken@ulb.ac.be</a>	Brussels	Belgium	
Ervynck, Anton	<a href="mailto:anton ervynck@rwo.vlaanderen.be">anton ervynck@rwo.vlaanderen.be</a>	Brussels	Belgium	
Hollevoet, Yann	<a href="mailto:yann.hollevoet@pandora.be">yann.hollevoet@pandora.be</a>	Brussels	Belgium	
Van Impe, Luc	<a href="mailto:lf.vanimpe@telenet.be">lf.vanimpe@telenet.be</a>	Leuven	Belgium	
Verslype, Laurent	<a href="mailto:laurent.verslype@uclouvain.be">laurent.verslype@uclouvain.be</a>	Louvain-la-Neuve	Belgium	+32 10 474 988
<b>DENMARK</b>				
Axboe, Morten	<a href="mailto:morten.axboe@natmus.dk">morten.axboe@natmus.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	+45 3347 3156
Boye, Linda	<a href="mailto:Linda.boyer@kroppedal.dk">Linda.boyer@kroppedal.dk</a>	Tåstrup	Denmark	
Dobat, Andres	<a href="mailto:farkado@hum.au.dk">farkado@hum.au.dk</a>	Aarhus	Denmark	
Ethelberg, Per	<a href="mailto:peret@museum-sonderjylland.dk">peret@museum-sonderjylland.dk</a>	Haderslev	Denmark	+45 7452 7566
Henriksen, Mogens Bo	<a href="mailto:mbhe@odense.dk">mbhe@odense.dk</a>	Odense	Denmark	
Højlund Nielsen, Karen	<a href="mailto:karen.hoilund.nielsen@webspeed.dk">karen.hoilund.nielsen@webspeed.dk</a>	Aarhus	Denmark	+45 8693 7455
Imer, Lisbeth	<a href="mailto:lisbeth.imer@natmus.dk">lisbeth.imer@natmus.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	+45 33 47 30 88
Jørgensen, Lars	<a href="mailto:lars.ioergensen@natmus.dk">lars.ioergensen@natmus.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	
Lund Hansen, Ulla	<a href="mailto:ulhansen@hum.ku.dk">ulhansen@hum.ku.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	
Lund, Jørgen	<a href="mailto:farcil@hum.au.dk">farcil@hum.au.dk</a>	Aarhus	Denmark	
Mannering, Ulla	<a href="mailto:manner@hum.ku.dk">manner@hum.ku.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	
Nørgård Jørgensen, Anne	<a href="mailto:anj@kuas.dk">anj@kuas.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	
Panum Baastrup, Maria	<a href="mailto:maria.baastrup@natmus.dk">maria.baastrup@natmus.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	+45 33 473111
Pauli Jensen, Xenia	<a href="mailto:Xenia.Pauli.Jensen@natmus.dk">Xenia.Pauli.Jensen@natmus.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	+45 33 473087
Rasmussen, Birgit	<a href="mailto:farkbr@hum.au.dk">farkbr@hum.au.dk</a>	Svendborg	Denmark	
Rindel, Per Ole	<a href="mailto:Rindel@hum.ku.dk">Rindel@hum.ku.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	
Ringtved, Jytte	<a href="mailto:farkjr@hum.au.dk">farkjr@hum.au.dk</a>	Aarhus	Denmark	
Skibsted Klæsøe, Iben	<a href="mailto:skibsted@hum.ku.dk">skibsted@hum.ku.dk</a>	Kokkedal	Denmark	
Sørensen, Anne Birgitte	<a href="mailto:ansr@museum-sonderjylland.dk">ansr@museum-sonderjylland.dk</a>	Haderslev	Denmark	+45 73523461
Thomsen, Lone Gebauer	<a href="mailto:lone.g.thomsen@natmus.dk">lone.g.thomsen@natmus.dk</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	+45 33 47 31 48
Watt, Margrethe	<a href="mailto:margrethewatt@mail.dk">margrethewatt@mail.dk</a>	Dyssegård	Denmark	
Wiell, Stine	<a href="mailto:stine.wiell@graasten.mail.telia.com">stine.wiell@graasten.mail.telia.com</a>	Copenhagen	Denmark	
<b>ENGLAND</b>				
Ager, Barry	<a href="mailto:bager@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk">bager@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk</a>	London	England	+44207323 8723
Behr, Charlotte	<a href="mailto:c.behr@roehampton.ac.uk">c.behr@roehampton.ac.uk</a>	London	England	+44208392 3069
Blackmore, Lyn	<a href="mailto:lblackmore@museumoflondon.org.uk">lblackmore@museumoflondon.org.uk</a>	London	England	+44207566 9325
Briscoe, Diana	<a href="mailto:ASArchive@talktalk.net">ASArchive@talktalk.net</a>	London	England	+44207794 6300
Brookes, Stuart	<a href="mailto:tcnrsjb@ucl.ac.uk">tcnrsjb@ucl.ac.uk</a>	London	England	
Carver, Martin	<a href="mailto:martincarver@yahoo.co.uk">martincarver@yahoo.co.uk</a>	York	England	
Dickinson, Tania	<a href="mailto:tmd2@york.ac.uk">tmd2@york.ac.uk</a>	York	England	+441904 433906
Eagles, Bruce	<a href="mailto:bruce.eagles@ntlworld.com">bruce.eagles@ntlworld.com</a>	Bournemouth	England	+441722 338906
Evison, Vera		Harrow	England	
Gaimster, Mairit	<a href="mailto:mgaister@pre-construct.com">mgaister@pre-construct.com</a>	London	England	
Geake, Helen	<a href="mailto:hg260@cam.ac.uk">hg260@cam.ac.uk</a>	Cambridge	England	
Hakenbeck, Suzanne	<a href="mailto:seh43@cam.ac.uk">seh43@cam.ac.uk</a>	Cambridge	England	
Halsall, Guy	<a href="mailto:grwh2@york.ac.uk">grwh2@york.ac.uk</a>	York	England	
Hamerow, Helena	<a href="mailto:helena.hamerow@arch.ox.ac.uk">helena.hamerow@arch.ox.ac.uk</a>	Oxford	England	+441865 278245
Hills, Catherine	<a href="mailto:ch35@cam.ac.uk">ch35@cam.ac.uk</a>	Cambridge	England	+441233 333528
Hines, John	<a href="mailto:hines@cardiff.ac.uk">hines@cardiff.ac.uk</a>	Cardiff	England	
Loveluck, Christopher	<a href="mailto:christopher.loveluck@nottingham.ac.uk">christopher.loveluck@nottingham.ac.uk</a>	Nottingham	England	+44115951 4835
Lucy, Samantha	<a href="mailto:sjl18@cam.ac.uk">sjl18@cam.ac.uk</a>	Cambridge	England	+447973 924940
Marzinzik, Sonja	<a href="mailto:smarzinik@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk">smarzinik@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk</a>	London	England	+44207323 8233
Pestell, Tim	<a href="mailto:tim.pestell@norfolk.gov.uk">tim.pestell@norfolk.gov.uk</a>	Norwich	England	
Powlesland, Dominic	<a href="mailto:d.powlesland@btinternet.com">d.powlesland@btinternet.com</a>	North Yorkshire	England	
Reynolds, Andrew	<a href="mailto:a.reynolds@ucl.ac.uk">a.reynolds@ucl.ac.uk</a>	London	England	+44207679 1522
Richards, Julian	<a href="mailto:jdr1@york.ac.uk">jdr1@york.ac.uk</a>	York	England	
Richardson, Andrew	<a href="mailto:andrew.richardson@canterburytrust.co.uk">andrew.richardson@canterburytrust.co.uk</a>	Dover	England	+441227 462062
Sayer, Duncan	<a href="mailto:duncansayer@aol.com">duncansayer@aol.com</a>	Oxford	England	+447718899537



Schuster, Jörn	<a href="mailto:j.schuster@wessexarch.co.uk">j.schuster@wessexarch.co.uk</a>	Salisbury	England	+441722 343426
Scull, Christopher	<a href="mailto:chris.scull@english-heritage.org.uk">chris.scull@english-heritage.org.uk</a>	London	England	+442079733089
Semple, Sarah	<a href="mailto:s.j.semple@durham.ac.uk">s.j.semple@durham.ac.uk</a>	Durham	England	+44191334 1115
Stoodley, Nicholas	<a href="mailto:nick.stoodley@winchester.ac.uk">nick.stoodley@winchester.ac.uk</a>	Winchester	England	
Tipper, Jess	<a href="mailto:jess.tipper@et.suffolkcc.gov.uk">jess.tipper@et.suffolkcc.gov.uk</a>	Bury St Edmunds	England	+441284352197
Ulmschneider, Katharina	<a href="mailto:worc1108@herald.ox.ac.uk">worc1108@herald.ox.ac.uk</a>	Oxford	England	
Webster, Leslie	<a href="mailto:arachne55@tiscali.co.uk">arachne55@tiscali.co.uk</a>	London	England	+44208888 8612
Welch, Martin G.	<a href="mailto:m.welch@ucl.ac.uk">m.welch@ucl.ac.uk</a>	London	England	+44207679 1350
Williams, Howard	<a href="mailto:howard.williams@chester.ac.uk">howard.williams@chester.ac.uk</a>	Chester	England	
Yorke, Barbara	<a href="mailto:barbara.yorke@winchester.ac.uk">barbara.yorke@winchester.ac.uk</a>	Winchester	England	
<b>FINNLAND</b>				
Schauman-Lönnquist, Marianne	<a href="mailto:marianne.schauman-lonnqvist@nba.fi">marianne.schauman-lonnqvist@nba.fi</a>	Helsingfors	Finnland	
<b>FRANCE</b>				
Fischer, Svante	<a href="mailto:swantowraetrana@hotmail.com">swantowraetrana@hotmail.com</a>	Saint-Germain-e. L.	France	
Lebecq, Stéphane	<a href="mailto:s.lebecq@free.fr">s.lebecq@free.fr</a>	Lille	France	
Lorren, Claude	<a href="mailto:claudel.lorren@unicaen.fr">claudel.lorren@unicaen.fr</a>	Caen	France	
Nissen-Jaubert, Anne	<a href="mailto:anne.nissenjaubert@univ-tours.fr">anne.nissenjaubert@univ-tours.fr</a>	Tours	France	
Van Ossel, Paul	<a href="mailto:paul.van-ossel@mae.u-paris10.fr">paul.van-ossel@mae.u-paris10.fr</a>	Nanterre	France	+33146692423
<b>GERMANY</b>				
Bärenfänger, Rolf	<a href="mailto:baerenfaenger@ostfriesischelandschaft.de">baerenfaenger@ostfriesischelandschaft.de</a>	Aurich	Germany	+4941179922
Bemmann, Jan	<a href="mailto:Jan.Bemmann@uni-bonn.de">Jan.Bemmann@uni-bonn.de</a>	Bonn	Germany	
Best, Werner	<a href="mailto:Werner.best@lwl.org">Werner.best@lwl.org</a>	Bielefeld	Germany	+495215200253
Böhme, Horst W.	<a href="mailto:vorges@staff.uni-marburg.de">vorges@staff.uni-marburg.de</a>	Marburg	Germany	
Brandt, Karl-Heinz	<a href="mailto:irmtrudbrandt@hotmail.com">irmtrudbrandt@hotmail.com</a>	Bremen	Germany	
Brather, Martina-Johanne	<a href="mailto:Martina-Johanna.Brather@bldam-Brandenburg.de">Martina-Johanna.Brather@bldam-Brandenburg.de</a>	Wünsdorf	Germany	
Brieske, Vera	<a href="mailto:vera.brieske@lwl.org">vera.brieske@lwl.org</a>	Münster	Germany	+492515918991
Brugmann, Birte	<a href="mailto:birte.brugmann@heritage-consultant.de">birte.brugmann@heritage-consultant.de</a>	Mannheim	Germany	
Capelle, Torsten	<a href="mailto:altertumskommission@lwl.org">altertumskommission@lwl.org</a>	Münster	Germany	+492515918990
Dickmann, Elisabeth	<a href="mailto:edickmann@t-online.de">edickmann@t-online.de</a>	Stadt Borken	Germany	
Gebühr, Michael	<a href="mailto:gebuehr@gmx.de">gebuehr@gmx.de</a>	Schleswig	Germany	
Grünewald, Christoph	<a href="mailto:christoph.gruenewald@lwl.org">christoph.gruenewald@lwl.org</a>	Münster	Germany	+492512105256
Hardt, Matthias	<a href="mailto:hardt@rz.uni-leipzig.de">hardt@rz.uni-leipzig.de</a>	Leipzig	Germany	
Härke, Heinrich	<a href="mailto:h.g.h.harke@reading.ac.uk">h.g.h.harke@reading.ac.uk</a>	Coppenbrügge	Germany	+495156 785001
Hässler, Hans-Jürgen	<a href="mailto:hjhaessler@gmx.de">hjhaessler@gmx.de</a>	Hannover	Germany	
Heidemann Lutz, Lene	<a href="mailto:lene.heidemann@web.de">lene.heidemann@web.de</a>	Flensburg	Germany	
Jöns, Hauke	<a href="mailto:joens@nihk.de">joens@nihk.de</a>	Wilhelmshaven	Germany	+494421 915112
Koch, Ursula	<a href="mailto:Ursula-Koch@t-online.de">Ursula-Koch@t-online.de</a>	Mannheim	Germany	
Laux, Friedrich		Hamburg	Germany	
Ludowici, Babette	<a href="mailto:babette.ludowici@nlm-h-niedersachsen.de">babette.ludowici@nlm-h-niedersachsen.de</a>	Hannover	Germany	+495119807719
Pesch, Alexandra	<a href="mailto:alexandra.pesch@schloss-gottorf.de">alexandra.pesch@schloss-gottorf.de</a>	Schleswig	Germany	+494621 813463
Pirling, Renate	<a href="mailto:R.Pirling@arcor.de">R.Pirling@arcor.de</a>	Krefeld	Germany	
Pöppelmann, Heike	<a href="mailto:Heike.Poepplmann@museen.magdeburg.de">Heike.Poepplmann@museen.magdeburg.de</a>	Magdeburg	Germany	
Reichmann, Christoph	<a href="mailto:ch.reichmann@krefeld.de">ch.reichmann@krefeld.de</a>	Krefeld	Germany	
Ruhmann, Christiane	<a href="mailto:christiane.ruhmann@erzbistum-paderborn.de">christiane.ruhmann@erzbistum-paderborn.de</a>	Paderborn	Germany	+4952 11251552
Scheschkewitz, Jonathan	<a href="mailto:jonathan.scheschkewitz@rps.bwl.de">jonathan.scheschkewitz@rps.bwl.de</a>	Esslingen	Germany	
Schmid, Peter	<a href="mailto:zimmermann@nihk.de">zimmermann@nihk.de</a>	Wilhelmshaven	Germany	
Schön, Matthias D.	<a href="mailto:schoen@burg-bederkesa.de">schoen@burg-bederkesa.de</a>	Bad Bederkesa	Germany	
Stauch, Eva	<a href="mailto:estauch@uni-muenster.de">estauch@uni-muenster.de</a>	Münster	Germany	
Tempel, Wolf-Dieter	<a href="mailto:w.d.tempel@web.de">w.d.tempel@web.de</a>	Rotenburg/Wümme	Germany	
Thieme, Wulf	<a href="mailto:wulf.thieme@helmsmuseum.de">wulf.thieme@helmsmuseum.de</a>	Hamburg	Germany	
von Carnap-Bornheim, Claus	<a href="mailto:Carnap@schloss-gottorf.de">Carnap@schloss-gottorf.de</a>	Schleswig	Germany	
von Freeden, Uta	<a href="mailto:freeden@rgk.dainet.de">freeden@rgk.dainet.de</a>	Frankfurt am Main	Germany	+4969 97581829
Wamers, Egon	<a href="mailto:egon.wamers@stadt-frankfurt.de">egon.wamers@stadt-frankfurt.de</a>	Frankfurt am Main	Germany	+4969 21238571
Westphal, Herbert	<a href="mailto:herbert.westphal@lwl.org">herbert.westphal@lwl.org</a>	Paderborn	Germany	
Zimmermann, Haio	<a href="mailto:zimmermann@nihk.de">zimmermann@nihk.de</a>	Wilhelmshaven	Germany	+4944 219150
<b>THE NETHERLANDS</b>				
Bazelmans, Jos	<a href="mailto:J.Bazelmans@racm.nl">J.Bazelmans@racm.nl</a>	Amersfoort	Netherlands	+3133 4227630
Dijkstra, Juke	<a href="mailto:j.dijkstra@archeologie.nl">j.dijkstra@archeologie.nl</a>	Amersfoort	Netherlands	
Heidinga, H. A.	<a href="mailto:haheidinga@hetnet.nl">haheidinga@hetnet.nl</a>	Edam	Netherlands	
Knol, Egge	<a href="mailto:eknol@groningermuseum.nl">eknol@groningermuseum.nl</a>	Groningen	Netherlands	+3150 3666555
Nicolay, Johan	<a href="mailto:j.a.w.nicolay@rug.nl">j.a.w.nicolay@rug.nl</a>	Groningen	Netherlands	+3150 3637689
Nieuwhof, Annet	<a href="mailto:a.nieuwhof@rug.nl">a.nieuwhof@rug.nl</a>	Groningen	Netherlands	+3150 3637688
Panhuysen, Titus	<a href="mailto:tspanhuysen@gmail.com">tspanhuysen@gmail.com</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands	+3143 3255027
Taayke, Ernst	<a href="mailto:nad.nuis@drenthe.nl">nad.nuis@drenthe.nl</a>	Nuis	Netherlands	
Theuws, Frans	<a href="mailto:F.C.W.J.Theuws@uva.nl">F.C.W.J.Theuws@uva.nl</a>	Amsterdam	Netherlands	+31 20 5255174
Velde, Henk van der	<a href="mailto:H.van.der.Velde@archeologie.nl">H.van.der.Velde@archeologie.nl</a>	Amersfoort	Netherlands	



Verwers, W. J. H.	<a href="mailto:pimviemeel@planet.nl">pimviemeel@planet.nl</a>	Hoevelaken	Netherlands	
<b>NORWAY</b>				
Bårdset, Gro Anita	<a href="mailto:g.a.bardseth@khm.uio.no">g.a.bardseth@khm.uio.no</a>	Oslo	Norway	
Bender Jørgensen, Lise	<a href="mailto:lise.bender@hf.ntnu.no">lise.bender@hf.ntnu.no</a>	Trondheim	Norway	+4773 59 02 53
Bergsvik, Knut Andreas	<a href="mailto:Knut.Bergsvik@ahkr.uib.no">Knut.Bergsvik@ahkr.uib.no</a>	Bergen	Norway	
Dahlin Hauken, Åsa	<a href="mailto:aasa.d.hauken@uis.no">aasa.d.hauken@uis.no</a>	Stavanger	Norway	+4751 84 60 00
Engevik, Asbjørn	<a href="mailto:Asbjorn.engevik@ark.uib.no">Asbjorn.engevik@ark.uib.no</a>	Bergen	Norway	
Gansum, Terje	<a href="mailto:teriega@vfk.no">teriega@vfk.no</a>	Tønsberg	Norway	
Hedeager, Lotte	<a href="mailto:lotte.hedeager@iakk.uio.no">lotte.hedeager@iakk.uio.no</a>	Oslo	Norway	
Henriksen, Merete Moe	<a href="mailto:merete.henriksen@vm.ntnu.no">merete.henriksen@vm.ntnu.no</a>	Trondheim	Norway	
Kristoffersen, Siv	<a href="mailto:siv.kristoffersen@uis.no">siv.kristoffersen@uis.no</a>	Stavanger	Norway	
Lund, Julie	<a href="mailto:julie.lund@iakh.uio.no">julie.lund@iakh.uio.no</a>	Oslo	Norway	
Ravn, Mads	<a href="mailto:Mads.ravn@uis.no">Mads.ravn@uis.no</a>	Stavanger	Norway	+4751 832600
Resi, Heid Gjøstein	<a href="mailto:h.g.resi@khm.uio.no">h.g.resi@khm.uio.no</a>	Oslo	Norway	
Røstadv, Ingunn	<a href="mailto:i.m.rostadv@ukm.uio.no">i.m.rostadv@ukm.uio.no</a>	Oslo	Norway	
Solberg, Bergljot	<a href="mailto:Bergljot.Solberg@ark.uib.no">Bergljot.Solberg@ark.uib.no</a>	Bergen	Norway	
Stenvik, Lars F.	<a href="mailto:Lars.stenvik@vm.ntnu.no">Lars.stenvik@vm.ntnu.no</a>	Trondheim	Norway	
Straume, Eldrid	<a href="mailto:eldrid.straume@khm.uio.no">eldrid.straume@khm.uio.no</a>	Oslo	Norway	
Stylegar, Frans Arne	<a href="mailto:Frans-Arne.Stylegar@vaf.no">Frans-Arne.Stylegar@vaf.no</a>	Kristiansand	Norway	+4748049020
Wiker, Gry	<a href="mailto:gry.wiker@iakh.uio.no">gry.wiker@iakh.uio.no</a>	Oslo	Norway	
Ystgaard, Ingrid	<a href="mailto:ingrid.ystgaard@vm.ntnu.no">ingrid.ystgaard@vm.ntnu.no</a>	Trondheim	Norway	+477359 21 70
<b>SWEDEN</b>				
Andersson, Eva	<a href="mailto:eva.andersson@ark.lu.se">eva.andersson@ark.lu.se</a>	Lund	Sweden	
Andersson, Kent	<a href="mailto:kent.andersson@sau.se">kent.andersson@sau.se</a>	Stockholm	Sweden	
Arrhenius, Birgit	<a href="mailto:birgit.arrhenius@arklab.su.se">birgit.arrhenius@arklab.su.se</a>	Stockholm	Sweden	
Dahlgren, Mikael	<a href="mailto:Mikael.dahlgren@umea.se">Mikael.dahlgren@umea.se</a>	Lund	Sweden	
Fabech, Charlotte	<a href="mailto:charlotte-eketorp@telia.com">charlotte-eketorp@telia.com</a>	Svalöv	Sweden	
Gråslund, Anne-Sofie	<a href="mailto:Anne-Sofie.Graslund@arkeologi.uu.se">Anne-Sofie.Graslund@arkeologi.uu.se</a>	Uppsala	Sweden	+4618471 7553
Hagberg, Ulf Erik	<a href="mailto:Ue.hagberg@telia.com">Ue.hagberg@telia.com</a>	Uppsala	Sweden	
Hårdh, Brigitta	<a href="mailto:Brigitta.hardh@ark.lu.se">Brigitta.hardh@ark.lu.se</a>	Lund	Sweden	
Helgesson, Bertil	<a href="mailto:bertil.helgesson@regionmuseet.m.se">bertil.helgesson@regionmuseet.m.se</a>	Kristianstad	Sweden	
Herschend, Frands	<a href="mailto:Frands.herschend@arkeologi.uu.se">Frands.herschend@arkeologi.uu.se</a>	Uppsala	Sweden	
Lamm, Jan Peder	<a href="mailto:janpeder.lamm@bredband.net">janpeder.lamm@bredband.net</a>	Stockholm	Sweden	+468 51955665
Lamm, Kristina	<a href="mailto:kristina.lamm@bredband.se">kristina.lamm@bredband.se</a>	Lidingö	Sweden	
Larsson, Lars	<a href="mailto:Lars.Larsson@ark.lu.se">Lars.Larsson@ark.lu.se</a>	Lund	Sweden	+46 462227939
Ljunkvist, John	<a href="mailto:john.ljunkvist@arkeologi.uu.se">john.ljunkvist@arkeologi.uu.se</a>	Uppsala	Sweden	+4618 471 2096
Lundqvist, Lars	<a href="mailto:lars.lundqvist@raa.se">lars.lundqvist@raa.se</a>	Sturefors	Sweden	
Magnus, Bente	<a href="mailto:bente.magnus@comhem.se">bente.magnus@comhem.se</a>	Stockholm	Sweden	
Näsman, Ulf	<a href="mailto:ulf-eketorp@telia.com">ulf-eketorp@telia.com</a>	Kalmar	Sweden	+46480 446177
Nicklasson, Påvel	<a href="mailto:pavelnicklasson@brikks.com">pavelnicklasson@brikks.com</a>	Lund	Sweden	
Petersson, Maria	<a href="mailto:maria.petersson@raa.se">maria.petersson@raa.se</a>	Linköping	Sweden	
Ramqvist, Per	<a href="mailto:Per.ramqvist@arke.umu.se">Per.ramqvist@arke.umu.se</a>	Umeå	Sweden	+4690 786 95 93
Rundkvist, Martin	<a href="mailto:arador@algonet.se">arador@algonet.se</a>	Stockholm	Sweden	+4670 9295628
Stjernqvist, Berta	<a href="mailto:berta.stjernqvist@ark.lu.se">berta.stjernqvist@ark.lu.se</a>	Lund	Sweden	
Zachrisson, Torun	<a href="mailto:Torun.Zachrisson@ark.su.se">Torun.Zachrisson@ark.su.se</a>	Stockholm	Sweden	
<b>UNITED STATES</b>				
Wicker, Nancy L.	<a href="mailto:nwicker@olemiss.edu">nwicker@olemiss.edu</a>	Oxford, Mass.	USA	+1 662 2346858

