The Riches of Rhenen

A practice of deposition during the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age

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1. Introduction

During prehistory and history many objects have been deliberately deposited in wet places, ranging from the Mesolithic Age until the Early Medieval period (Bradley 1990, 5). These objects are made of different materials, such as metal, pottery, bone and stone. Most of the depositions have been found during dredging activities and land reclamation of wet places during the 19th and 20th century (Bradley 1990, 6). There are many theories about the deposition of objects in wet places, such as displaying one`s high social status and wealth by offering valuables and maintaining scarcity of valuable materials and objects by removing the objects from circulation (Roymans 1991, 19-28). It is also thought that hoards of depositions played a role in defining the borders of territories (Fontijn 2008, 100) or had an economic function such as a temporary storage of valuable goods which for some reason were never retrieved (Verhart 2006, 152). The depositions could also be linked to a person`s identity. The deposited objects are inseparable from their life-history and the claims of their previous owners. According to this theory the objects are not just valuable items, but gain value because of their particular histories, which made them suitable for certain depositions (Brück and Fontijn 2013, 202, 203).

During a large part of the Late Prehistoric period *selective deposition* took place. Selective deposition means that specific objects ended in specific places in the landscape and not in other places (Fontijn, 2002 273). These specific places can be settlements, burials and natural places such as rivers and marshes. For example, during the Middle and Late Neolithic period objects of non-local origin and large axes were deposited in wet areas and objects such as wrist guards were deposited in graves (Wentink 2008, 151-153; Ter Wal 1996; Fontijn 2002, 76). During the Bronze Age objects made of stone were not deposited in either graves or wet areas. Instead only metal objects, such as axes, swords and spears, were deposited in wet areas and are remarkably absent from graves and settlements (Butler and Hielkema 2002, 539 – 545; Fontijn 2002, 97 – 103, 111). Due to this pattern in the presence and absence of

objects in certain places it is likely that the objects where not lost but deliberately deposited in certain areas.

The practice of deposition took place in entire landscapes. Rivers, hills, marshes and lakes were all part of this landscape of depositions. Unfortunately these landscapes are often disrupted by reclamation of land and the harvesting of peat. In this thesis objects found near the *Rhenense Meent* will be discussed. The peat located in the *Rhenense Meent* continued to be harvested till the 20th century, which is relatively late and the objects found during the harvesting of peat in the 20th century were documented relatively well. The *Rhenense Meent* is a small area with a variety of objects, which makes this area intriguing and raises the question if these objects were deliberately left behind. Therefore the *Rhenense Meent* is a suitable research area for this thesis.

The *Rhenense Meent* is located in a former peat land north of an ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*. South of this ice-pushed ridge the river the *Nederrijn* is located. The objects found near the *Rhenense Meent* (fig. 1) have never been studied and described thoroughly. A few of the objects can be found in a small museum in *Rhenen*, museum het Rondeel, but seem unknown to a lot of archaeologists. The objects in possession of museum het Rondeel are not submitted into ARCHIS, a database used by many archaeologists to analyse certain areas for research purposes. The objects found near the *Rhenense Meent* have mostly been found during reclamation of wet land during the 19th century or the early 20th century or as surface finds. This makes the determination of their context very difficult (Stichting voor Bodemkartering, 1973, 37, 43, 51).

Fig. 1: The *Rhenense Meent* marked by a blue line (area = ± 2 km²)

1.1 Research area, objects and periods

Fig. 2: Map of the location of the research area in the Netherlands

The research area is located in the Netherlands near the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 2). This research area is defined by a red line as can be seen in figure 3.

The border of the research area follows the edge of the ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, on the south-western end. *Rhenen* is located on this ice-pushed ridge. The western border follows a small stream named *de Valleikanaal*. This stream is also the border between the two provinces *Utrecht* and *Gelderland*. The north-western border follows a road, the *Noordelijke Meentsteeg*, this road is the border of the *Rhenense Meent,* a meadow that used to be owned by the habitants of surrounding villages.

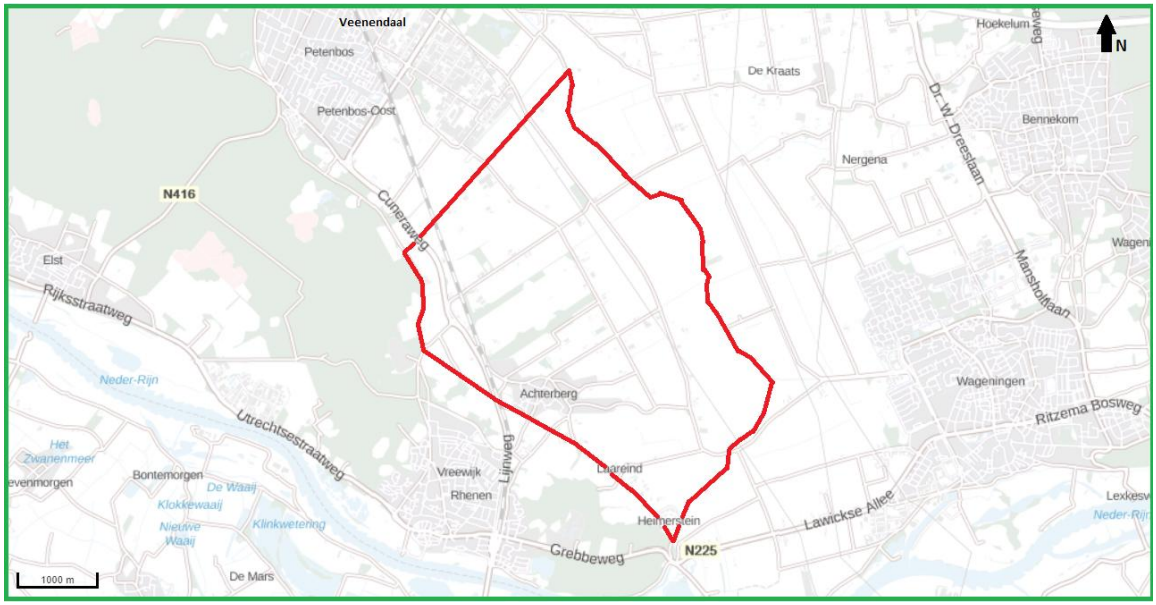


Fig. 3: Map of research area defined by a red line (area = ± 12,3 km²)

During the Weichselian the formation of peat began in the research area. During the Holocene this area of peat had grown considerably and covered a big area between *Veenendaal*, *Rhenen* and *Bennekom*. The research area used to be a wet area due to flooding of the valley during high water, but reclamation of land took place from the Medieval period onwards. With it, much of the peat disappeared and uncovered a layer of coversand (Spek 2008, 17)(Stichting voor Bodemkartering 1973, 43, 51).

In this thesis, only the objects made of metal, stone and flint found in the research area are discussed thoroughly. Other materials, and objects found outside the research area, are discussed superficially. This is done to limit the amount of objects that will be discussed.

The periods discussed in this thesis are the Neolithic period (*5.300 – 2000 BC)*, the Bronze age (*2000 – 800 BC)* and the Iron age (*800 - 12 BC)*. The dates of the periods are based on the dates used in ARCHIS. A broad period of time is chosen to study the possible tradition of deposition near the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* over a broader period of time. By doing this we can see if the people living near *Rhenen* had a tradition of depositing objects, and if so, when it started, when it ended and if there were periods in between without depositions or a diminished tradition of deposition.

1.2 Research Questions

Since the *Rhenense Meent* and the surrounding area used to be wet lands, it is suggested that the objects found in this area are deliberate depositions in wet contexts (Stichting voor Bodemkartering, 1973, 37, 43, 51). Therefore I will try to answer the following research question: *What is the context of the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age?* In which context means the total environment in which something receives its meaning. Since the objects seem to be clustered in a formerly wet area, the objects could be deliberate depositions. Therefore, we will also try to answer the question; *Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron age deliberate depositions into wet contexts?* To answer this question we first need to know what is known about depositions and deliberate depositions during the prehistoric period. Why were objects deliberately deposited? And how can profane depositions be distinguished from ritual depositions? What kind of objects and materials were usually deposited in western Europe during Late Prehistory and what was their context?

To answer the research question about the object`s contexts we also need to know more about the development of the prehistoric landscape near *Rhenen*. It is necessary to know what the landscape possibly looked like and when and where people lived so that a background can be created for the analysis of the objects found near the *Rhenense Meent* and their contexts. The subquestion answered here is: *What did the landscape of the Meent and Rhenen possibly look like in the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age?*

Finally, to answer the research question about the context of the objects found near the *Rhenense Meent* dated to the Neolithic period, Bronze age and Iron age, we have to look at the objects in question. As discussed before, it is known that selective deposition occurred during the Late Prehistoric period, each object had its own specific place where it should be deposited. Therefore subquestions here are: *What types of*

objects were found? What kind of materials were found? And, *in what contexts have these types of objects been found before?* This last question is used to clarify the meaning of the objects. The answering of the questions will be done by going to museum het Rondeel to study the objects which were found in the research area and study their documentation. Besides the documentation of the museum in *Rhenen*, ARCHIS will be used to analyse the objects found in the research area.

To sum up, the research question is: *What is the context of the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age?*

With the following subquestions:

- *Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron age deliberate depositions into wet contexts?*
- *What did the landscape of the Meent and Rhenen possibly look like in the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age?*
- *What kind of materials were found?*
- *What types of objects were found?*
- *In what contexts have these types of objects been found before?*

These questions will be discussed and answered in the following chapters:

Chapter 2: Theories of deposition,

chapter 3: The development of the landscape surrounding the research area,

chapter 4: Objects found in the research area,

chapter 5: Discussion,

chapter 6: Conclusion.

1.3 Expectations and methods

If the objects found near the *Rhenense Meent* were deliberately deposited into wet contexts, we would expect the objects to derive from locations that used to be or are

still wet. Furthermore, since the deposition of objects is an activity which was practiced all over Europe, we would expect the type of objects found in the research area to correspond with objects which have been found as deliberate depositions before. Therefore we have to study the development of the landscape, the objects and known traditions of deposition during Late Prehistory in the Netherlands.

The research question and its subquestions will be answered by studying the theories about materiality and depositions. The development of the landscape will be reconstructed by looking at the findings submitted in ARCHIS. This is done to create a background for the analysis of the objects found near the *Rhenense Meent* and their contexts. The development of the landscape will be discussed in chapter 3. In this chapter the Neolithic period, Bronze age and Iron age will be divided into nine periods; Early Neolithic period (5300 – 4200 BC), the Middle Neolithic period (4200 – 2850 BC), the Late Neolithic period (2850 – 2000 BC), the Early Bronze age (2000 – 1800 BC), the Middle Bronze age (1800 – 1100 BC), the Late Bronze age (1100 – 800 BC), the Early Iron age (800 – 500 BC), the Middle Iron age (500 - 250 BC) and the Late Iron age (250 – 12 BC). For each period ARCHIS will be used to determine if the landscape near and in the research area was inhabited, if certain activities took place and what kind of objects were found on the ice-pushed ridge, outside of the research area.

According to Verlaeckt (1996) it is very important to check the find circumstances of the objects as detailed as possible. Some of the objects found in the research area have been found in the first decades of the 20th century. Verlaeckt argues that the more time passes between the moment of discovery and the moment of documentation, the more the documentation of a find gets exposed to potential manipulation (Verlaeckt 1996, 33). The patina of an object can be used to determine its contexts, but we have to keep in mind that the patina observed on an object is not always the patina present at the moment of discovery (Verlaeckt 1996, 34). A few of the objects found in the research area are located in a museum in *Rhenen*, museum het Rondeel. These objects will be studied, photographed and drawn. The documentation provided by the museum will be studied. In this documentation the

origins, finder, material and age of the object is mentioned. If the documentation is thought incorrectly, I will provide alternative theories on the objects` origins, material and age. ARCHIS will provide more information on other objects found in the research area and which are not located in the museum het Rondeel. I will also look at the usual contexts in which these types of objects are found and if this corresponds with where it was found in the research area. After the chapter in which the objects are discussed, a discussion chapter will follow where will be determined if deposition took place in Late Prehistory near *Rhenen*. And if so, what kind of depositions were practiced in which period.

2. Theories of depositions

In this chapter theories and research of depositions will be discussed. What kind of objects and materials were deposited in wet areas and in which period? And why were these objects deposited?

2.1 Theories

The deliberate deposition of objects in wet places already occurred in the Early Neolithic period and was perhaps even practiced in the Mesolithic period and Palaeolithic period (Fontijn 2011, 433). According to Richards (1996) water was a fundamental element in the Late Prehistoric symbolic constitution. Water forms natural borders and boundaries. Since water constantly moves from the hills through the inhabited land and into the sea, Richards suggests it could also provide a metaphor for movement, journeys and progression. Since water is used to clean, it could also provide a metaphor for purity (Richards 1996, 313-316). According to Burkert (1996) the act of giving must be irreversible. Objects may be made unusable, by breaking before deposition or deposited in places where it is difficult to retrieve the object, such as swamps or rivers (Burkert 1996, 146).

Bradley (1993) proposes that monuments were a Neolithic creation and mirrors the changing perception of the world. 'Places', however, may have longer histories according to Bradley and seem to have already been important for mobile people (Bradley 1993, 24). These places were sometimes marked by carvings, paintings, or special offerings (Bradley 1993, 25). According to Brück and Fontijn (2013) the depositions in wet places could be linked to a person`s identity. The objects are inseparable from their life-history and the claims of their previous owners. According to this theory the objects are not just valuable items, but gain value because of their particular histories, which made them suitable for certain depositions (Brück and Fontijn 2013, 202, 203).

It is also thought that depositions played a role in defining the borders of territories (Fontijn 2008, 100) or had an economic function, such as temporary storages of

valuable goods which for some reason were never retrieved (Verhart 2006, 152). If some depositions had an economic function, how can we recognize the difference between ritual depositions and profane depositions? According to Fontijn (2002) two criteria can be proposed after a literature survey: context and contents. Is the context retrievable or irretrievable? And when looking at the content, the treatment of the objects, the types of objects, the association within the hoard and the ordering of the objects are important. Most authors seem to agree that the context of a deposition is the best variable and that objects placed in wet contexts can only be ritual depositions (Fontijn 2002, 15-16; Verlaeckt 1996, 33-38). According to Levy (1981) religious acts and believes are tied to political, economical and social organization and is a patterned behaviour. Therefore ritual acts should leave a patterned archaeological record (Levy 1981, 174).

A term that is sometimes used for describing locations in landscapes where a certain activity is carried out over a long period of time, such as the depositions of objects, is 'persistent place'. The term persistent place was first used by Sarah H. Schlanger in 1992. She explained that a 'persistent place' is a place that is used repeatedly during a long term occupation of a region. She introduced this term to link isolated finds and archaeological sites with landscapes (Schlanger 1992, 92). According to Schlanger a persistent place can fall into the following categories: First a persistent place may be suitable for certain activities, behaviours or practices due to unique qualities. Second, a persistent place may be noticeable by certain features which results in reoccupation. Third, a persistent place may occur in a certain landscape through long term occupation and revisitation which is reliant on the presence of cultural materials, but independent of cultural features (Schlanger 1992, 97). According to Schlanger, isolated finds can indicate that the use of a certain area is not tied to pre-existing cultural features, but it is the landscape itself that is a persistent place (Schlanger 1992, 101).

Other researchers have included the term 'persistent place' in their research. According to Thompson and Pluckhahn 2012, some persistent places have little material culture, such as small votive offerings in certain locations in the landscape

(Thompson and Pluckhahn 2012, 50). According to Shaw *et al*. 2016 the concept of a persistent place is useful to investigate the relation between fixed places and their changing environments. The landscape itself changes continuously due to geological, cultural and ecological factors (Shaw *et al*. 2016, 1439-1440) Shaw *et al*. say that persistence is indicated by particular paths and places being used more frequently and the increase of the deposition of materials at these places (Shaw *et al*. 2016, 1440).

Neolithic period (5.300 – 2000 BC)

Depositions in the Early Neolithic have not been studied well. It is probably best documented in Germany and Denmark. Here, hundreds of pots have been claimed to be depositions in wet locations. Some of the pottery contains remains of domestic animals. These practices occurred away from settlements, implying that depositions had their own place in the landscape (Fontijn 2011, 433). In the western and the northern parts of the Netherlands there are also some depositions known from the Early Neolithic period. One was found in Hardinxveld-De Bruin at the edge of a river dune and consisted of a pot, a bone, a piece of red deer antler, a log of ash wood and three short sticks. Also bones of domestic animals, such as goat, sheep and cattle were found nearby. Remarkable is that no domestic animal bones were found at the settlement and that these bones represent the earliest known domesticates in the Rhine-Meuse-Delta. The fact that they were deposited away from the settlement and the special nature of the deposit supposes a form of meaningful categorization of land (Fontijn 2011, 434; Louwe Kooijmans and Nokkert 2001, 91-96; Louwe Kooijmans 2001, 526). Another possible example was found at Hoge Vaart-A27. At this site three concentrations of flint were found in unusual locations and contexts. One concentration consists of twenty-one flint cores and flint nodules which were found beneath an oak trunk. A second concentration of hundred flint flakes was found in a pit which was dug in peat. All three concentrations were found in peat contexts (Peeters *et al*. 2001, 57). According to Fontijn (2011) it is clear that the Early Neolithic is the first period with ample evidence for deliberate deposition of objects. From this period onwards wet places become important as depositional landscapes. These

places were never associated with lasting, visible, monumental, humanly-made constructions (Fontijn 2011, 434). Fontijn (2002) suggests that ordinary things of daily life were chosen for deposition in the Early Neolithic period (Fontijn 2002, 59). This is in contrast to the Middle and Late Neolithic period, where mostly objects of non-local origin were deposited.

According to Wentink the axes deposited in the Middle Neolithic period played an important role in the Neolithic cosmology. He argues that the axes deposited in graves and the axes deposited in wet places had a different cultural biography (Wentink 2008, 151-152). In the Middle Neolithic period, axes were both placed in graves as in wet places, such as peat bogs. However, when looking at the size of the axes a pattern is visible. The smallest axes are found in graves, while the larger axes are found in wet areas (Wentink 2008, 153; Ter Wal 1996). Wentink (2008) argues that each kind of axe had its own meaning. Use-wear analysis shows that the small axes from the grave were heavily used, mostly involving woodworking. These axes were probably locally produced and were personal possessions. According to Wentink (2008) it was their use-life that made them suitable as grave gifts (Wentink 2008, 154). The axes found in wet places are often in mint, or even unfinished, condition and are imported from Germany and Denmark. The majority of the axes were so large that it is improbable that they were ever meant for everyday use. Therefore, it could be argued that these large axes were made for ceremonial purposes instead of functional purposes (Wentink 2008, 155, 156; Bradley 1990, 44-45).

Depositions in the Late Neolithic period are comparable to the ones in the Middle Neolithic period when looking at the northern and western part of the Netherlands. Besides axes, also depositions of other materials are known in both the Middle Neolithic period as the Late Neolithic period. In the south of the Netherlands, the Late Neolithic period was also the first period where few objects of metal appeared as depositions (Ter Wal, 1996, 146; Fontijn 2002, 60-68). This selective deposition of axes seems similar to the tradition of deposition in the Bronze Age, where axes were also deposited away from areas of habitation and burials.

Bronze Age (2000 – 800 BC)

According to Fontijn (2002) the introduction of metal did not change much regarding the usage of daily life objects. Objects made of flint, such as arrowheads or knives, are still being used, rather than objects made of metal. The only exception is the axe. In the Early Bronze age the stone axes made place for axes made of bronze. Other objects made of metal were probably made for display or ornaments (Fontijn 2002, 75; Sherratt 1994, 341).

There is some evidence that metal objects were regarded as esteemed objects. Some stone objects were made to look like they were cast, just like metal objects (Mariën 1952, 182, 190). Another argument is that in the Neolithic period it were the stone axes that were deposited in wet locations in the landscape. In the Bronze Age, metal objects were deposited in wet locations. Although it is known that imported stone ornaments, such as wrist guards, were deposited in graves during the Neolithic period. In the Bronze Age, no stone objects were deposited in either wet areas or as grave goods (Fontijn 2002, 76). Beside some changes, it can be said that the tradition of deposition is more of a continuation than a break when comparing the Late Neolithic period to the Early Bronze age; both products, flint and metal, had to be imported and in both periods the objects were deposited in wet locations in the landscape. It is, however, very much possible that the materials flint and metal were seen as very different from each other. Metal objects can be recycled by re-melting, they represent the raw material as well as the object. When a stone tool breaks, it could be reformed into a smaller object, but the original object could never be remade from the same material. The deliberate decision to not recycle the metal object, but to deposit the object, could mean a sacrifice of material as well as a usable object (Fontijn 2002, 76). The stone axes of the Middle and Late Neolithic period are polished. According to Bradley (2000) the place of origin of the axes is important rather than physical characteristics, axes are pieces of places. The distinctive colouring of the axes when polished may show the area of production (Bradley 2000, 85-90, 117-122; Bradley and Edmonds 1993, 49-50).

In the Middle Bronze age there is an increase in the number of metal compared to previous periods. An increase in finds coming from rivers can also be seen in this period (Fontijn 2002, 86, 87). In the first part of the Middle Bronze age, axes of the Oldendorf type are highly prevalent. Most of these axes were found in wet contexts. It is difficult to see if any special treatment was given to the axes. It does seem as though the axes were re-sharpened a final time before deposition. This could mean that the use life of an axe mattered for the selection for deposition. Remarkable is that after a long life of use while cultivating land, the axes where deposited in uncultivated natural places (Fontijn 2002, 91, 110, 111). A great amount of Middle Bronze age barrows and Middle Bronze age settlements have been excavated and have confirmed that axes have not been deposited in graves or settlements (Butler and Hielkema 2002, 539 – 545; Fontijn 2002, 97). Besides axes, objects such as spearheads, swords and daggers seem to have been deposited during the Middle Bronze Age. The majority of the swords has been found in big rivers, where they were probably deposited. Rivers seem to become increasingly important during the Middle Bronze age. Daggers and spearheads have been found in rivers as well as other wet places and are absent from graves (Fontijn 2002, 97-103, 111). At the end of the Middle Bronze age the palstave axe is the most frequent type of axe found in depositions. Again these axes show an intensive use-life and re-sharpening. Besides the continuation of axe, spear, sword and dagger deposits, new objects made their appearance and were deposited such as sickles and ornaments (Fontijn 2002, 116, 119, 124). Sickles dated to the Middle Bronze age were mostly found in wet contexts all over north-western Europe. In the Netherlands sickles were also found from settlement contexts and a few were recovered from graves. Outside of the Netherlands sickles are rarely found from settlements and graves (Arnoldussen and Heegstra 2016, 71). It remains unproven if the sickles were made locally. Although Arnoldussen and Heegstra (2016) argue that it is plausible. Moulds or miscast sickles are absent from the Dutch archaeological record. However, the traits of the sickles found in the Netherlands are scarce in sickles found outside of the Netherlands. Therefore, Arndolussen and Heegstra (2016) suggest a regional production of the sickles. Sickles in mint condition are rarely found. It seems

as though a use-life was required for the deposition of sickle blades. In the Netherlands half of the known sickles were found in settlements. This is remarkable since the more prevalent axes were absent from settlement contexts. It could be possible that the sickles were deliberately deposited in settlements. Since the sickles were made of bronze, it would be more likely that they would have been re-melted and re-used instead of discarded (Arnoldussen and Heegstra 2016, 98; Fontijn 2002, 144). Ornaments are more difficult to interpret as depositions. These objects are small and often overlooked, although a number of ornaments have been found during dredging activities in rivers (Fontijn 2002, 137). The large number of finds may be an indication of an increased practice of deposition during the Middle Bronze age.

During the Late Bronze age the practice of deposition is at a peak. However, a dramatic decrease in depositions can be seen during the transition to the Iron age. The Late Bronze age is considered to be one of the most densely populated periods of Late Prehistory (Kristiansen 1998, 104). Considerably more depositions and hoards from wet locations are being found compared to previous periods and bronze objects were also deposited in graves during this period (Fontijn 2002, 156, 157). Palstave axes were still used in the Late Bronze age, but the dominant type of axe was the socketed axe (Butler and Steegstra 2003, 201). During the Late Bronze age most axes still continued to be deposited in wet locations, just like sickles. New to the practice of deposition were the axes that had never been used or were made in such a way that they were probably never meant to be used. These axes were also deposited in wet locations. In the Netherlands another new addition to depositions are axe hoards. Which were deposited in semi-dry locations. Fontijn (2002) suggests that since axes were deposited in large amounts during the Late Bronze age it could mean that the significance of the individual axe had diminished, or that more people than before were involved in depositions (Fontijn 2002, 165, 166, 187, 251). During the Late Bronze age there is an increase in the deposition of bronze ornaments in graves and natural wet locations. Some ornaments, such as the *bombenkopfnadel* were also found in major rivers (Fontijn 2002, 174, 175, 177). Swords were also still deposited in major rivers during the Late Bronze age. Roymans (1991) thinks that the deposition of swords cannot be

analysed in religious terms alone, it also has a social dimension. He argues that sword depositions are a form of public display of wealth. According to Roymans (1991) regions where deposition took place were economically superior regions. The public discarding of esteemed objects might have been a way to regulate the supply of prestige goods and maintaining their restricted social role when the circulation of these objects was too abundant (Roymans 1991, 19-28). Despite that the deposition of metal in wet places diminished during the transition to the Iron age, the depositions of other materials still occurred in natural wet places (Fontijn 2002, 191). Champion argues that iron survives less well in the ground and is less likely to be recognized during activities such as ploughing or dredging which have led to most of the discoveries of bronze objects. This could have a marked effect on how the bronze-iron transition will manifest in the archaeological record (Champion 1971 in Thomas 1989, 265).

Iron Age (800 – 12 BC)

Not much is written on depositions during the Iron age. According to Thomas (1989) the deposition of metal hoards and the amount of metal objects in those hoards is in decline all over north-western Europe during the Early Iron Age (Thomas 1989, 264; Roymans 1991, 31). The metal depositions which can be dated to the Early Iron age are weapons, such as swords, and are found in rivers. These weapons were both locally made and imported. Other objects were also deposited in rivers, such as fibulae, coins and bracelets (Thomas 1989, 266; van den Broeke 2005, 669). During the Iron age people started to deposit objects in burials, such as amulets, but also weapons which used to be deposited in wet contexts, such as rivers, during the Bronze age (Fontijn and Fokkens 2007, 354). According to Kristiansen (1998) this could mean a more personal occupation with ritual objects. He argues that local and household rituals became more important. A shift can be seen from large communal rituals of axe hoard depositions to the deposition of household food sacrifices in pottery (Kristiansen 1998, 344, 345). Although the practice of deposition decreased significantly during the Early Iron Age, it did not disappear completely. Some argue that essential characteristics

changed and became devoid of meaning. The depositions became more lavish at the end of the Bronze Age: axes were deposited in large amounts. During the Iron Age only a few iron axes were deposited, but they were left behind in the same contexts as axes from the Bronze Age: wet contexts. Known depositions from this period are iron axes, bronze Wesseling and Geistingen axes, a few spearheads and bronze Gündlingen swords (Fontijn and Fokkens 2007, 364, 365).

During the Iron age an increase in the deposition of bog bodies can be seen. In the Netherlands quite a few bog bodies have been found. Unfortunately, most bodies have disappeared or were reburied after discovery. Seems that most of the bog bodies were intentionally killed. According to van der Sanden (2005) these bog bodies were votive depositions (van der Sanden 2005, 679, 680). Bodies of humans and animals have also been found underneath the foundation of buildings. According to van den Broeke (2005), people were sometimes sacrificed or their dead bodies were used to serve as protection of a building (van den Broeke 2005, 661). In Scandinavia also infants seem to have been deposited in wet locations besides being deposited in settlement contexts. Some of these infants even seem intentionally killed (Eriksen 2017).

3. The development of the landscape surrounding the research area.

In this chapter the development of the landscape surrounding the research area will be discussed. What did the landscape of the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* possibly look like in the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age? Did people live near the research area in the Late Prehistoric periods and if so, where did they live? This evidence of occupation near *Rhenen* in the Late Prehistoric period will also be discussed in this chapter. How is the evidence of occupation connected to the objects found in the research area? The study of the landscape surrounding the research area is necessary to create a background for the analysis of the objects found near the *Rhenense Meent*.

3.1 The development of the landscape near the research area.

Around 2.000.000 years ago, a glacier from Scandinavia reached the Netherlands and pushed the ground forward and out of the way (Spek 2008, 14, 15). Due to the weight of the ice, the ground underneath the glacier was pushed dozens of metres downwards, creating big valleys. Around 150.000 years ago the glacier reached the middle of the Netherlands where it formed the '*Utrechtse Heuvelrug*', a big ice-pushed ridge which was 75 to 100 metres high (Spek 2008, 14, 15). Today, the height difference between the valley and the top of the ice-pushed ridge is only 40 metres. Due to the rising temperatures after the Saale Glaciation the ice in the valleys melted, resulting in corrosion of the ice-pushed ridge. Besides melt water, rivers also caused erosion of the ridge (Spek 2008, 16, 17). The ice-pushed ridge from Utrecht and the ice-pushed ridge from *Ede-Wagening* used to be connected, but due to the erosion by melt water and rivers, the bridge between the ridges crumbled away. This resulted in an opening from the valley to the river causing floods into the valley by high water, resulting in the emergence of peat in the valley (Spek 2008, 17; Stichting voor Bodemkartering, 1973, 37, 43, 51)(fig. 4).

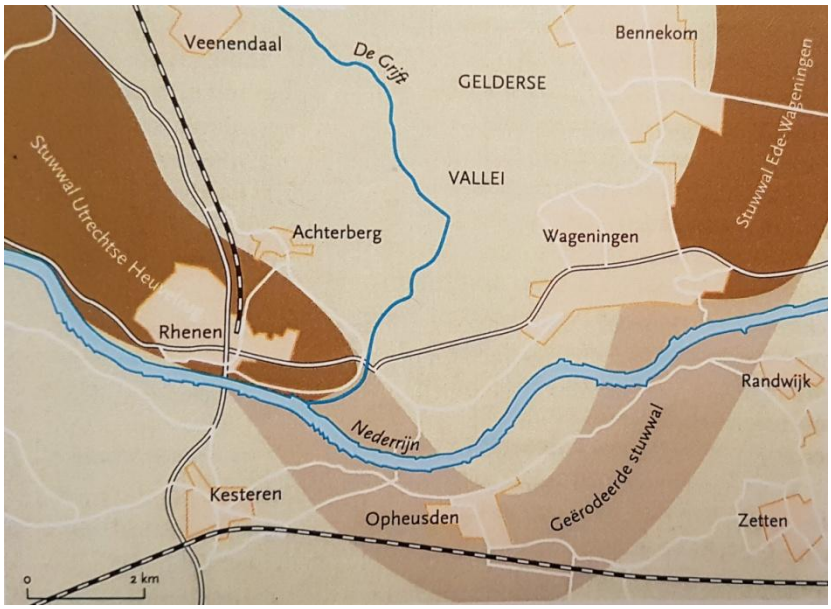


Fig. 4: The eroded ice-pushed ridge between the ice-pushed ridge from Utrecht and the ice-pushed ridge from Ede-Wageningen (Spek 2008, 17)

Before the Ice Ages the river the Rhine was a braided river with swift moving water. When the Holocene period started, the river changed in a broad meandering river with slow moving water. Due to younger courses of the river picking up the sediment of the old river courses, the courses of the river before 3.500 BC are unclear (Spek 2008, 47).

In the late prehistoric period people built their houses on the ice-pushed ridges and on the flanks of the ice-pushed ridges. In the area of *Achterberg* also a lot of finds from the Bronze Age and Iron Age have been found indicating settlements. East of *Achterberg* is the valley where over time a peat-soil was formed between *Veenendaal*, *Rhenen* and *Bennekom* (Spek 2008, 19; Stichting voor Bodemkartering, 1973, 37, 43, 51).

3.2 Prehistoric communities near the research area.

According to ARCHIS several structures and burials have been found dated to the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age near *Rhenen* and the research area. It is important to determine which structures and finds are dated to which period and found where on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* to be able to possibly connect these structures to the finds which were found in the research area. In ARCHIS some of the structures are described as ‘undefined types of structures’. Since these structures

could be anything, they are not taken into consideration when discussing the evidence of occupation and activity. However, 'undefined occupation structures' are included. Although these structures are undefined, we know one important aspect; they are occupation structures and indicate possible occupation of the area near *Rhenen* on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug.*

Another aspect which has to be considered when looking at the data found in ARCHIS, is that the dating of structures and objects is not always done precisely and by professionals. Sometimes the period to which a structure or object is dated, is very broad. Moreover, some of the same data has been submitted multiple times in ARCHIS and therefore it may appear as if more structures were present at a certain location than is truly the case.

3.2.1 Neolithic period (5.300 – 2000 BC)

ARCHIS shows that several findings dated from the Neolithic period could possibly indicate occupation near the research area. Also burial barrows have been found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* from this period onwards (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

On the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* traces have been found of flint processing. Evident is that most of the burials and structures that could indicate a settlement or occupation, are not found in the research area (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Early Neolithic Period (5.300 – 4.200 BC)

According to ARCHIS possible traces of the Early Neolithic period can be found at several locations on the ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 5). These traces consist of undefined occupation structures, burial barrows, places of flint processing and places of undefined industrial activity. Two of the undefined occupation structures are located within the research area. All other possible traces of the Early Neolithic period are located on the ice-pushed ridge. Possible evidence of occupation can be found in *Elst*, *Remmerden*, *Achterberg*, near *de Grebbeweg* and near *Veenendaal.* Burial barrows were possibly located in the areas surrounding *Remmerden*, *Elst* and *Veenendaal*. Evidence that flint was being processed is present at many locations on

the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*. Evidence of possible industrial activity was mostly present near *de Grebbeweg* (fig. 5)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

All undefined occupation structures, barrows and places of undefined industrial activity were dated to a broader period than just the Early Neolithic period and could therefore also date to a later period. Some of the structures were dated to the whole Neolithic period in ARCHIS since a more narrowed date could not be given and could possibly also date to the Early Neolithic period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Therefore we cannot be completely certain that any of the occupation structures, barrows or places of industrial activity were indeed present during the Early Neolithic period.

On the ice-pushed ridge, sixteen objects were found which could be dated to the Early Neolithic period, consisting of ceramics, a flint Ovalbeil, a diabase Ovalbeil, two flint axes, two stone axes, a flint hammerstone, a flint scraper, a flint point and a stone hammerstone (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). These objects are dated to a broader period than the Early Neolithic period and therefore could actually date later or earlier than the Early Neolithic period.

In the research area thirty-three objects have been found (appendix1: tab. 1). These objects are all dated to a broad period of time. These thirty-three objects consist of cooking stone fragments, a AA-burin, a A-burin, a flint blade, flint scrapers, flint cores, flint points, flint tools, flint flakes, flint chunk, splintered piece, unknown flint (fig. 5, fig. 6, appendix 1: tab. 1).

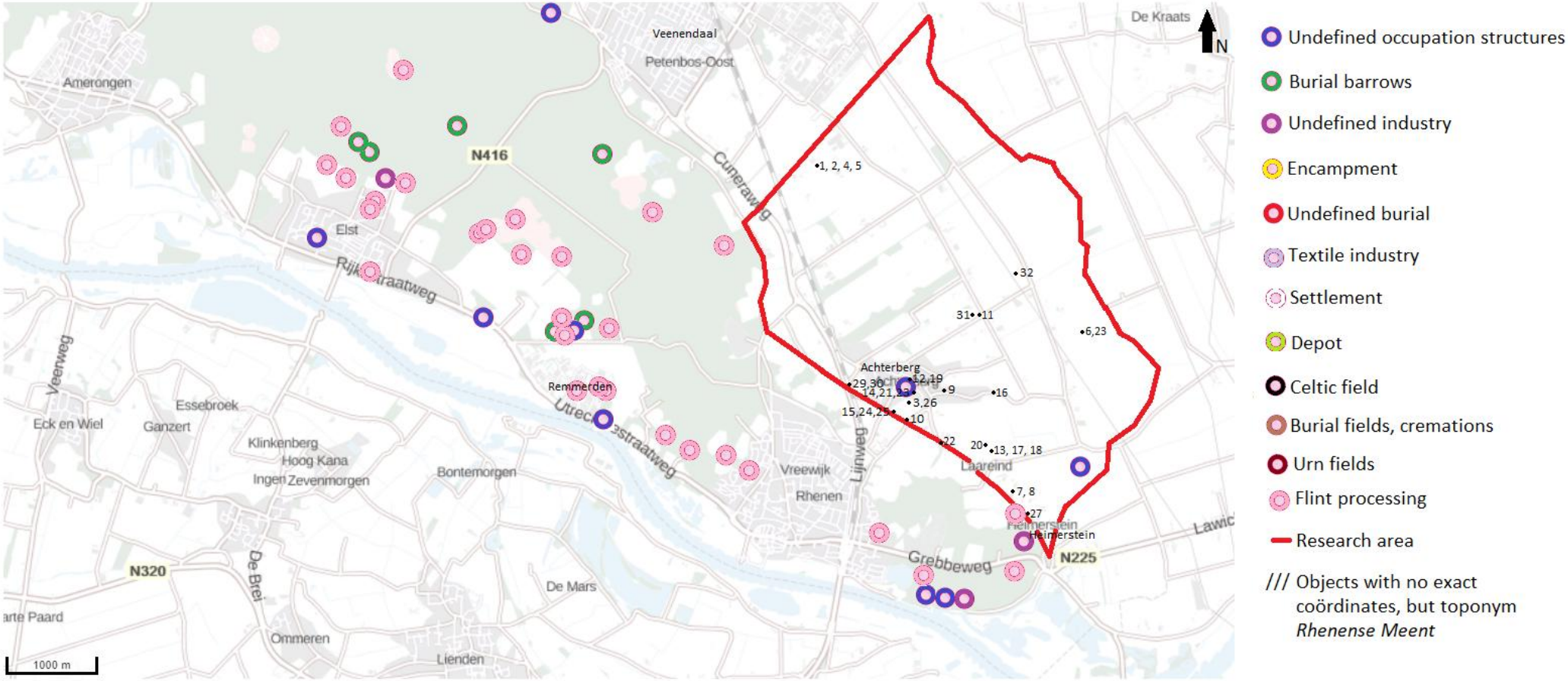
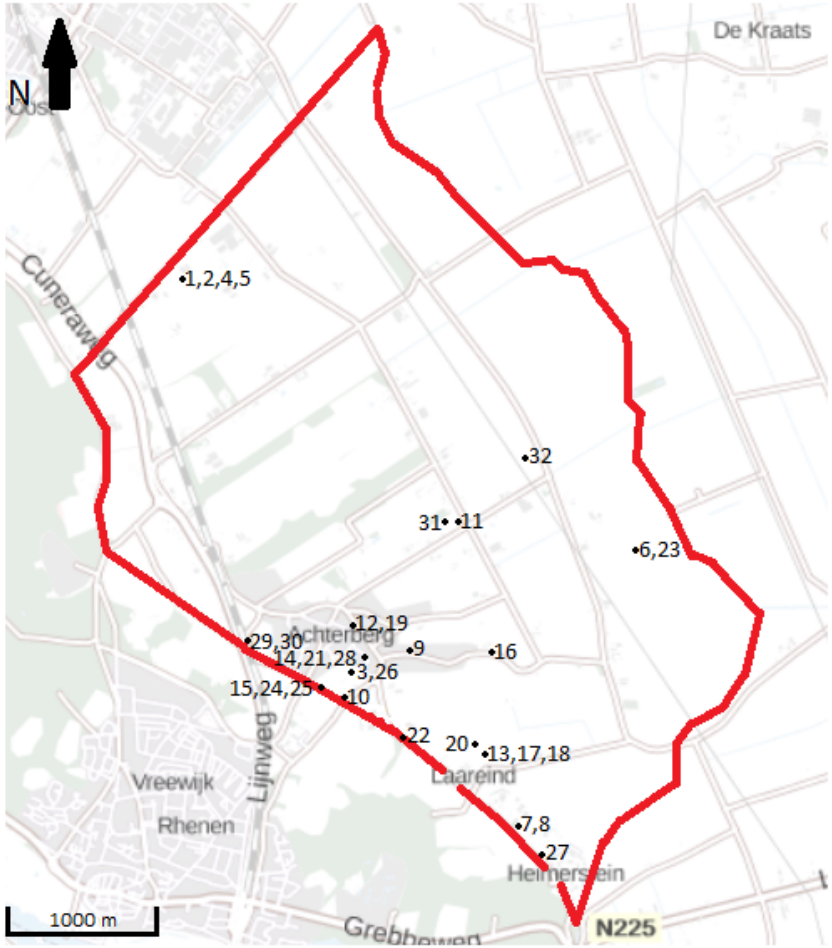


Fig. 5: Map of research area and surrounding landscape in the Early Neolithic period



1 - Cooking stone fragments
2 - AA-Burin
3 - A-Burin
4 - Flint blade
5 - Flint core
6 - Cooking stone fragments
7 - Flint points
8 - Flint tools
9 - Flint flakes
10 - Flint flake
11 - Unknown flint
12 - Flint core
13 - Flint core
14 - Flint core
15 - Flint core
16 - Flint chunk
17 - Splintered piece of flint
18 - Flint flakes
19 - Flint flakes
20 - Flint flakes
21 - Flint flake
22 - Flint flake
23 - Flint flake
24 - Flint flakes
25 - Flake scraper
26 - Unknown flint
27 - Flint flake
28 - Flint scraper
29 - Unknown flint
30 - Unknown flint
31 - Unknown flint
32 - Unknown flint

Fig. 6: Map of research area with findings dated to the Early Neolithic period

Middle Neolithic period (4200 – 2850 BC)

According to ARCHIS possible traces of the Middle Neolithic period can be found at several locations on the ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 7). These traces consist of undefined occupation structures, burial barrows and places of undefined industrial activity. Two of the undefined occupation structures are located in the research area. These occupation structures are dated to a broader period than just the Middle Neolithic period and could therefore also date from the Early Neolithic period, or to a later period. This is also the case for most of the other structures, the burial barrows and places of undefined industrial activity. Only one undefined occupation structure is dated to only the Middle Neolithic period and is located in the village *Remmerden* (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). The possible occupation structures are located in *Elst*, *Remmerden* and near *Rhenen* and *Veenendaal*. Burial barrows are mainly present in the areas surrounding *Elst* and *Remmerden*. Industry was possibly present near *Elst* and *Rhenen* and evidence of flint processing is highly prevalent on the entire *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 7)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to the data submitted in ARCHIS twenty-one objects which were found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* could possibly be dated to the Middle Neolithic period, consisting of ceramics of the Hazedonk 3 culture, TRB culture and Vlaardingen culture, a flint axe, flint points, a flint chisel, a flint tool, a diabase Ovalbeil, a diabase axe, a grinding stone and a piece of copper (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). These objects are all dated to a broader period than the Early Neolithic period and therefore could actually date earlier or later than the Middle Neolithic period. The piece of copper is remarkable and unlikely, since the oldest copper in the Netherlands dates to the Late Neolithic period, instead of the Middle Neolithic period. Copper has been found in the Hunebed of *Buinen,* a hunebed dated to the Middle Neolithic period. However, it is suggested that this copper was placed here in a later period (Van Gijn and Louwe Kooijmans 2005, 349; Fokkens 2005, 467).

In the research area no objects have been found which dated only to the Middle Neolithic period. The same objects possibly dated to the Early Neolithic period are

applicable here, these thirty-three objects could also date to the Middle Neolithic period, since they are dated to a broader period of time (fig. 7, fig. 8, appendix 1: tab. 1)

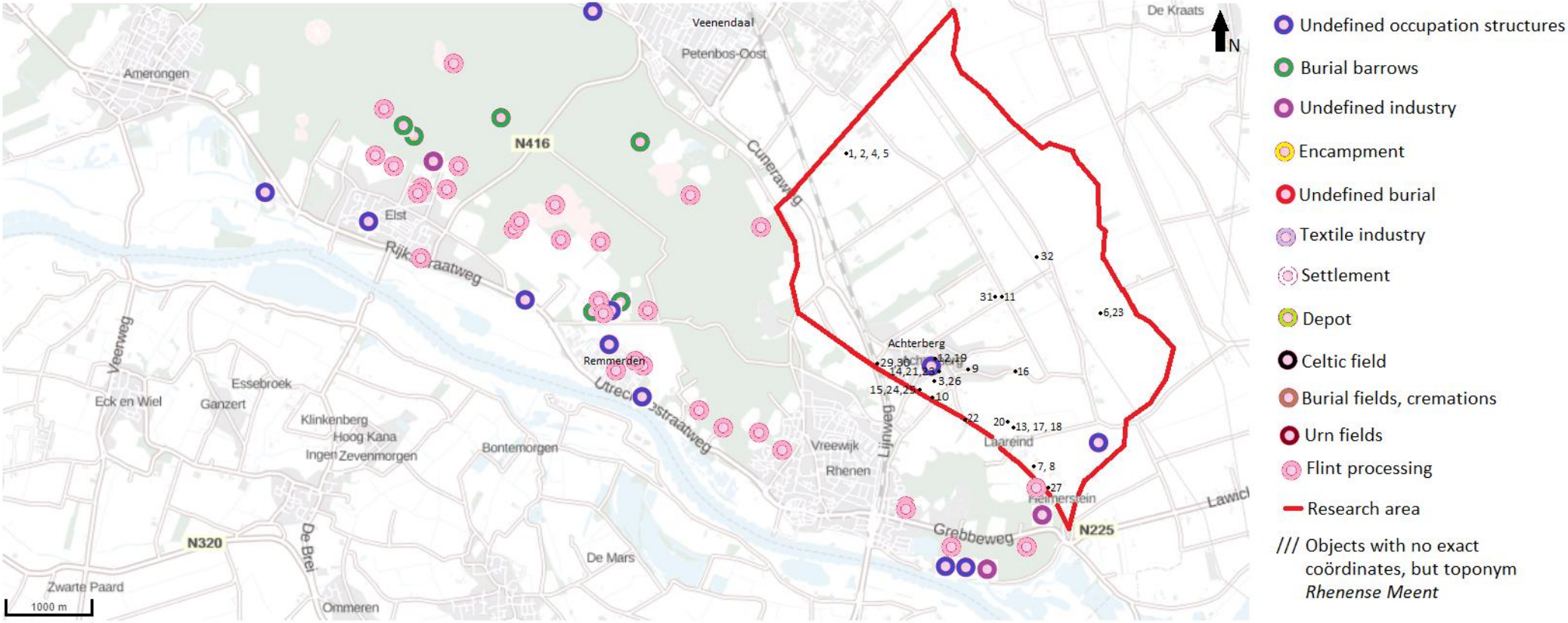
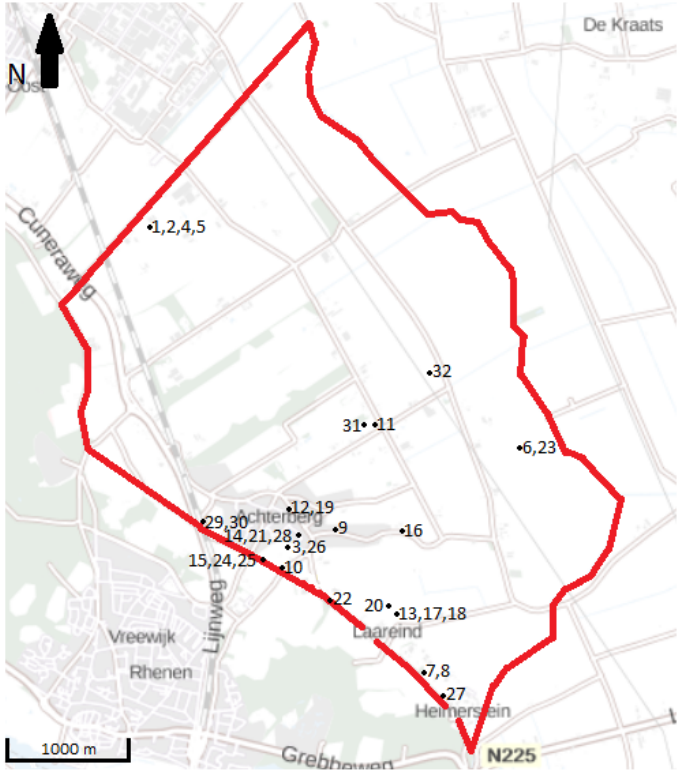


Fig. 7: Map of Research area and surrounding landscape in the Middle Neolithic period



1 - Cooking stone fragments
2 - AA-Burin
3 - A-Burin
4 - Flint blade
5 - Flint core
6 - Cooking stone fragments
7 - Flint points
8 - Flint tools
9 - Flint flakes
10 - Flint flake
11 - Unknown flint
12 - Flint core
13 - Flint core
14 - Flint core
15 - Flint core
16 - Flint chunk
17 - Splintered piece of flint
18 - Flint flakes
19 - Flint flakes
20 - Flint flakes
21 - Flint flake
22 - Flint flake
23 - Flint flake
24 - Flint flakes
25 - Flake scraper
26 - Unknown flint
27 - Flint flake
28 - Flint scraper
29 - Unknown flint
30 - Unknown flint
31 - Unknown flint
32 - Unknown flint

Fig. 8: Map of research area with findings dated to the Middle Neolithic period

Late Neolithic period (2850 – 2000 BC)

According to ARCHIS possible traces of the Late Neolithic period can be found at several locations on the ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 9). These traces consist of undefined occupation structures, encampments, undefined burials, burial barrows and places of undefined industrial activity. Two of the undefined occupation structures are located in the research area. These structures date to a broader period than just the Late Neolithic period and could also be dated to an earlier or later period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). This is also the case for most other undefined occupation structures, encampments, undefined burials, burial barrows and places of undefined industrial activity. The date of only four burial barrows and one undefined burial could be narrowed down to the Late Neolithic period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Most burial barrows date from the late Neolithic period to the Iron Age and it is clearly visible that the prevalence of burial barrows in the Late Neolithic period has largely increased compared to previous periods (fig. 9)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

On the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, 83 objects were found which could possibly be dated to the Late Neolithic period, consisting of two diabase axes, ceramics of the Bellbeaker culture and Vlaardingen culture, a stone axe, a flint axe, a flint Ovalbeil, flint daggers, flint points, a flint flake, a flint core, flint scrapers and a flint tool (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Almost all objects were dated to a broader period than just the Late Neolithic period. The objects which only dated to the Late Neolithic period are; a diabase axe, ceramics, a stone axe and flint points (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

In the research area the date of a few objects could be narrowed down to the Late Neolithic period; two wrist guards, a Romigny-Lérhy flint dagger and a flint Buren-Axe. Other objects dated from the Late Neolithic period onwards are a Scandinavian flint dagger, a flint tool and a flint flake (fig. 9, fig. 10, appendix 1: tab. 1). All the objects found in the research area which were dated to the Early Neolithic period and the Middle Neolithic period are also applicable to the Late Neolithic period considering the broad period they are dated to. The location of the wrist guards, flint Buren-axe and

the two flint daggers is not precisely known. Their toponym is *de Rhenense Meent* which is highlighted in fig. 9 and fig. 10.

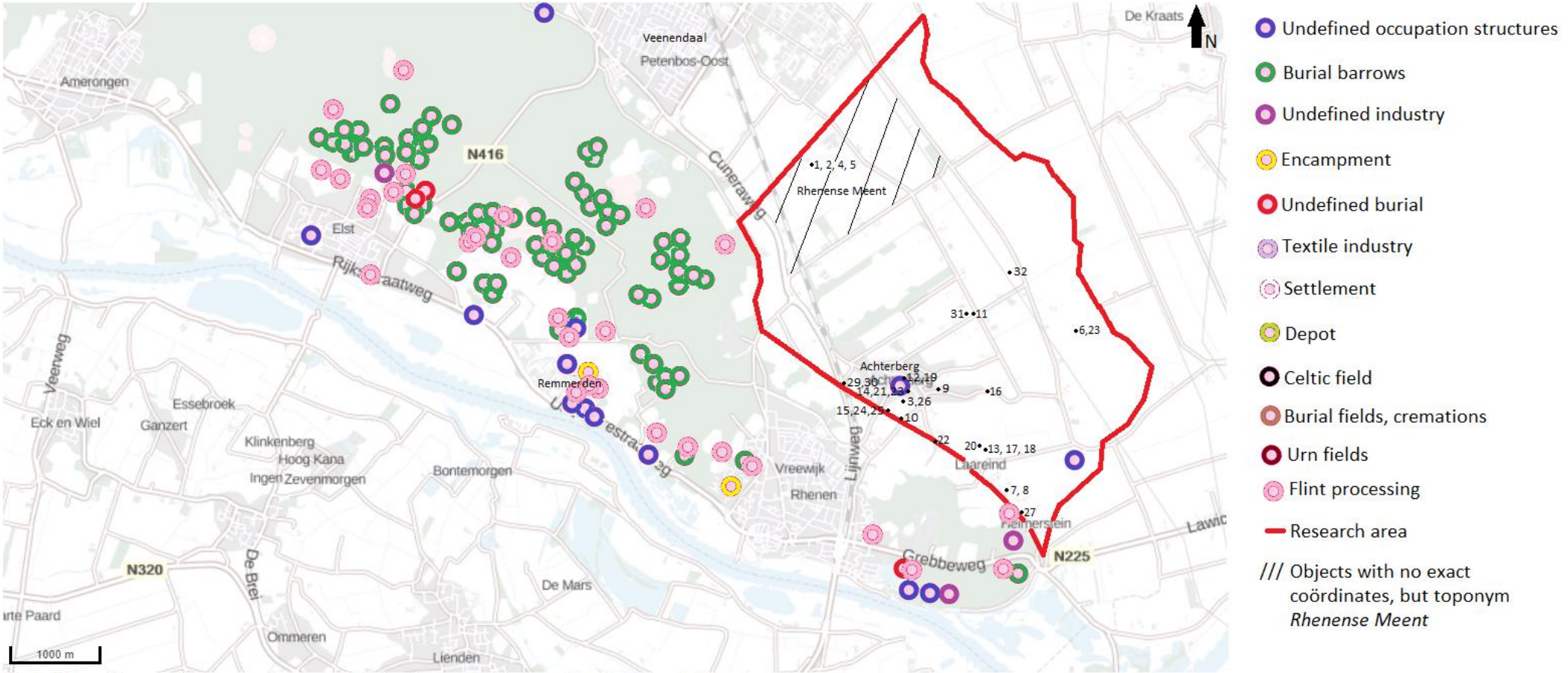
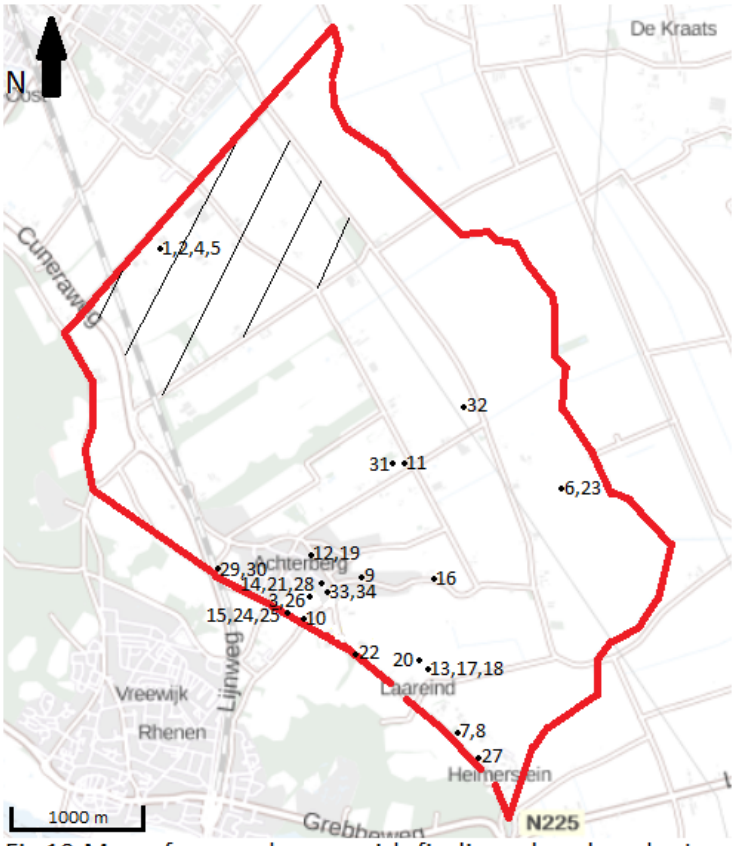


Fig. 9: Map of research area and surrounding landscape in the Late Neolithic period



1 - Cooking stone fragments
2 - AA-Burin
3 - A-Burin
4 - Flint blade
5 - Flint core
6 - Cooking stone fragments
7 - Flint points
8 - Flint tools
9 - Flint flakes
10 - Flint flake
11 - Unknown flint
12 - Flint core
13 - Flint core
14 - Flint core
15 - Flint core
16 - Flint chunk
17 - Splintered piece of flint
18 - Flint flakes
19 - Flint flakes
20 - Flint flakes
21 - Flint flake
22 - Flint flake
23 - Flint flake
24 - Flint flakes
25 - Flake scraper
26 - Unknown flint
27 - Flint flake
28 - Flint scraper
29 - Unknown flint
30 - Unknown flint
31 - Unknown flint
32 - Unknown flint
33 - Flint tool
34 - Flint flake

/// Wrist guards (toponym *Rhenense Meent*)
/// Flint Buren-axe (toponym *Rhenense Meent*)
/// Scandinavian flint dagger (toponym *Rhenense Meent*)
/// Romigny-Léhry flint dagger (toponym *Rhenense Meent*)

Fig.10:Map of research area with findings dated to the Late Neolithic period

3.2.2 Bronze Age (2000 – 800 BC)

ARCHIS shows that several findings dated from the Bronze Age could possibly indicate occupation. From this period onwards, evidence of multiple activities have been found the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*.

Most of the activities and structures are not present in the research area. However, there is some evidence of occupation, an undefined burial and undefined industry in *Achterberg* during the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Early Bronze Age (2000 – 1800 BC)

According to ARCHIS possible traces of the Early Bronze Age are present at many locations on the ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 11). These traces consist of undefined occupation structures, burial barrows, undefined industry, encampments, undefined burials, celtic fields and flint processing. A few undefined occupation structures, an undefined burial and possible traces of undefined industry have been found in the research area (fig. 11)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). The possible occupation structures were located in *Elst*, *Remmerden*, *Rhenen* and near *Veenendaal*. Burial barrows were present in the areas surrounding *Elst*, *Remmerden*, *Rhenen* and *Veenendaal*. Evidence of encampments were found in *Remmerden*. Undefined burials were present in *Rhenen* and near *Elst*. Evidence of possible industries and the processing of flint was highly prevalent at many locations on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*. Near *Elst* and the *Cuneraweg* evidence of possible celtic fields was found (fig. 11)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to the data in ARCHIS, the date of only a few structures and activities could be narrowed down to the Early Bronze Age; three undefined occupation structures, four burial mounds and one encampment. All other traces of structures and activities were dated to a broader period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Early Bronze Age sites are rare, but in the area near *Rhenen*, several Early Bronze Age burials and settlements were found. At *Remmerden* an Early Bronze Age Settlement has been found with a possible deliberate deposition in the form of a large pottery

vessel with Barbed Wire decoration. Near the *Donderberg* in *Rhenen* a low-flanged axe of the Neyruz type has been found. These kind of axes were often a deliberate deposition in the Early Bronze Age and are found all over the Netherlands (Fontijn 2010, 142-143).

According to the data in ARCHIS, 85 objects were found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* which could possibly be dated to the Early Bronze Age, consisting of ceramics, barbed wire ceramics, flint flakes, a stone flake, flint scrapers, a stone axe, flint points, a flint tool, a chunk of flint, a flint dagger, a stone hammer-axe, a flint core, a stone hammer-stone, cooking stones, a bead of glass, grinding stones, two bronze flanged axes and metal slags. Most of the objects found on the ice-pushed ridge are dated to a larger period than the Early Bronze Age. The few exceptions are a few ceramics, a hammer-axe, two bronze flanged axes and a flint point. The barbed wire ceramics all date to the Early Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to the documentation from museum het Rondeel and the data in ARCHIS, no objects from the research area were dated to only the Early Bronze Age. However, there are a few objects dated to the entire Bronze Age: two bronze lance or sword fragments, a razor of bronze and a hilt of bronze. Furthermore, a few objects dated to the Neolithic period, also date to the Bronze Age (fig. 11, fig. 12, appendix: tab. 1). A scandinavian flint dagger is dated from the Late Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age. This dagger does not have precise coordinates and therefore the area of its given toponym is highlighted (fig. 11, fig. 12). Most objects found in the research area dated to the Early Bronze Age are located in or near *Achterberg*, near the slope of the ice-pushed ridge. A few objects are further away from the slope. These objects consist of possible cooking stone fragments, flint flakes, flint chunks and unknown flint (fig. 11, fig. 12, appendix 1: tab. 1) (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(documentation museum het Rondeel).

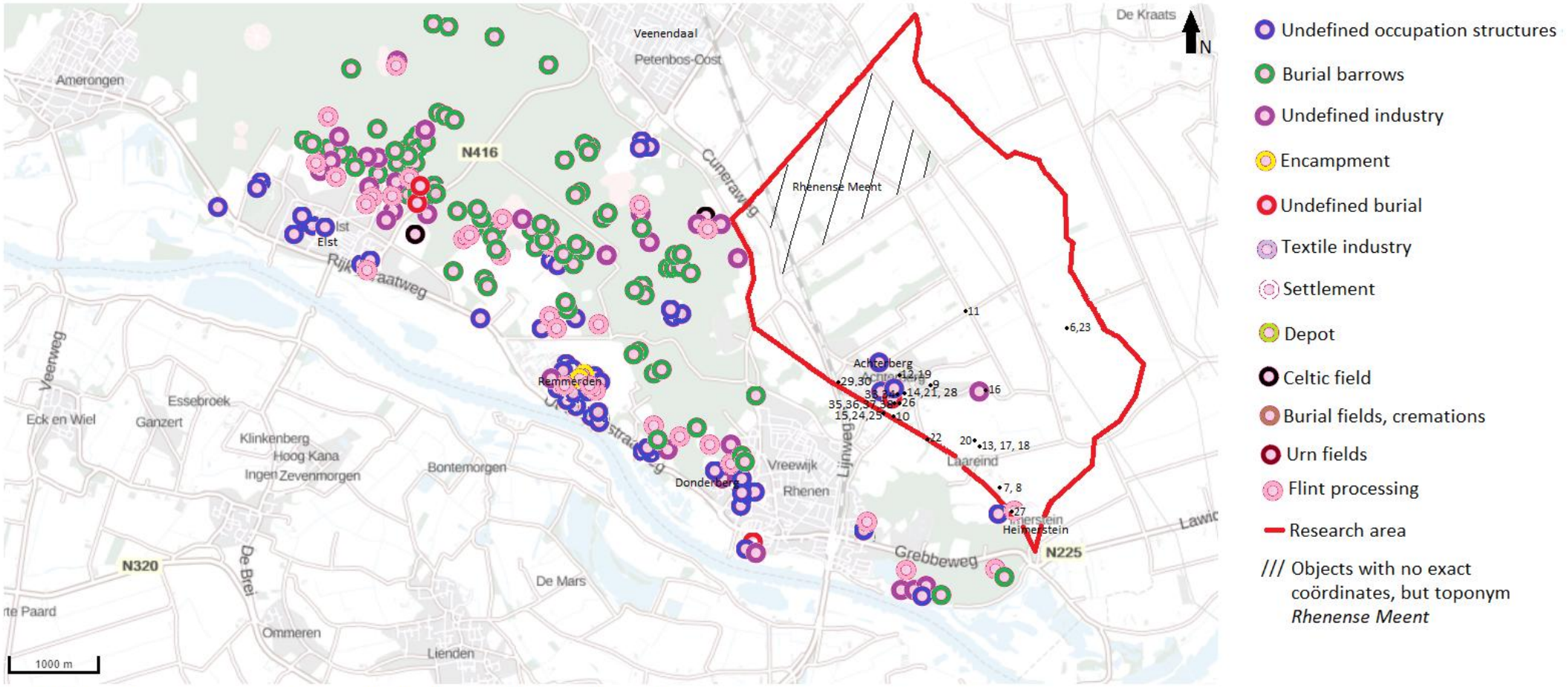
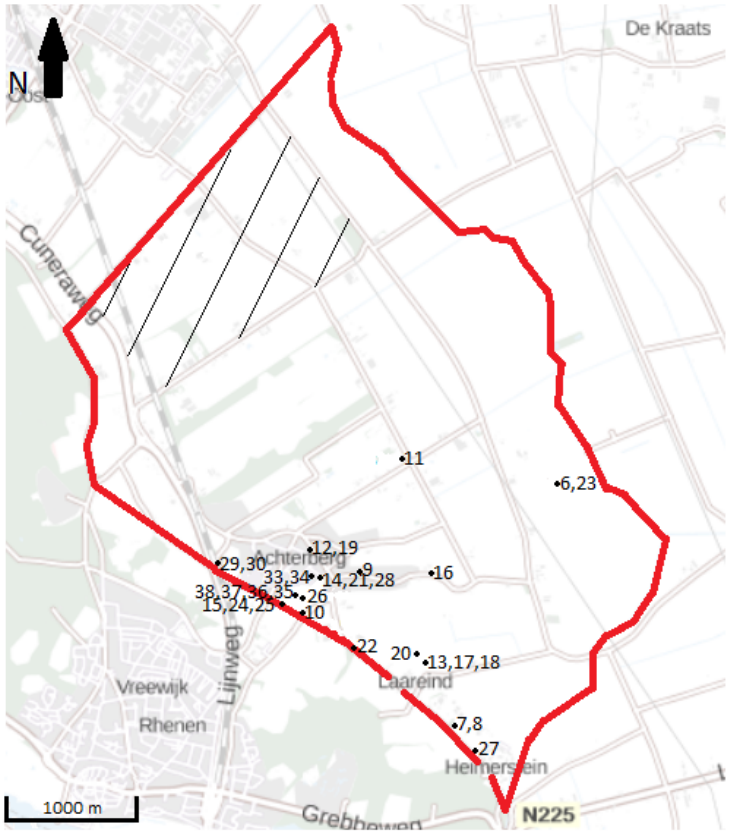


Fig. 11: Map of research area and surrounding landscape in the Early Bronze Age



6 - Cooking stone fragments
7 - Flint points
8 - Flint tools
9 - Flint flakes
10 - Flint flake
11 - Unknown flint
12 - Flint core
13 - Flint core
14 - Flint core
15 - Flint core
16 - Flint chunk
17 - Splintered piece of flint
18 - Flint flakes
19 - Flint flakes
20 - Flint flakes
21 - Flint flake
22 - Flint flake
23 - Flint flake
24 - Flint flakes
25 - Flake scraper
26 - Unknown flint
27 - Flint flake
28 - Flint scraper
29 - Unknown flint
30 - Unknown flint
33 - Flint tool
34 - Flint flake
35 - Lance or sword fragment
36 - Lance or sword fragment
37 - Razor
38 - Hilt
/// Scandinavian flint dagger (toponym *Rhenense Meent*)

Fig. 12: Map of research area with findings dated to the Early Bronze Age

Middle Bronze Age (1800 – 1100 BC)

Hilversum-period settlements appear near *Elst* and *Remmerden* during the Middle Bronze Age. At the burial barrow *Elsterberg* domestic activities were carried out in the immediate surrounding area. Here, a few pits were found filled with pottery fragments and cooking stones (Fontijn 2010, 143-145).

According to ARCHIS possible traces of the Middle Bronze Age are present at many locations on the ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 13). These traces consist of undefined occupation structures, burial barrows, undefined industry, encampments, undefined burials, celtic fields, urn fields and flint processing (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Evidence of a few undefined occupation structures, an undefined burial and undefined industry were found in the research area (fig. 13)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). On the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, undefined occupation structures were present at *Rhenen*, *Remmerden*, *Elst* and near *Veenendaal*. Burial barrows were present in the surrounding areas of *Rhenen*, *Remmerden*, *Elst* and *Veenendaal*. Encampments were only present in *Remmerden*, while an urn field was only present in *Rhenen*. Evidence of both possible industry and the processing of flint are highly prevalent on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Most of the structures and activities were dated to a broader period than just the Middle Bronze Age. Eleven undefined occupation structures, seven burial mounds and two encampments date to only the Middle Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to the data in ARCHIS, 65 objects have been found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* which possibly date to the Middle Bronze Age consisting of ceramics, Drakenstein ceramics, Hilversum ceramics, Laren ceramics, a flint scraper, a flint dagger, a flint core, flint points, stone chunks, a cooking stone, grinding stones, a bronze socket axe, a bronze palstave axe, and metal slags (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Most of these objects are dated to a broader period than the Middle Bronze Age. The exceptions are; a few pieces of Drakenstein, Hilversum and Laren ceramics, cooking stones, a grinding stone and a palstave axe which all dated to the Middle Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

In the research area several objects dated to the Middle Bronze Age (fig. 13, fig. 14, appendix: tab. 1). However, the location of these objects is not known precisely. The coordinates of five of the objects are unknown and only have a toponym: the *Rhenense Meent*. Therefore, the precise locations of these objects is unknown (fig. 13, fig. 14 appendix 1: tab. 1)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(documentation museum het Rondeel). These objects are; two bronze daggers, two bronze flanged axes and a bronze palstave axe.

Another object is the tip of a lance, with map number 40, and has the toponym the *Maatsteeg*, but the coordinates in ARCHIS are incorrect and therefore the precise location is unknown. This object is dated to the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Other objects found in the research area also dated to a broader period. Most of these objects were found near *Achterberg*, near the slope of the ice-pushed ridge (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(fig. 13, fig. 14)

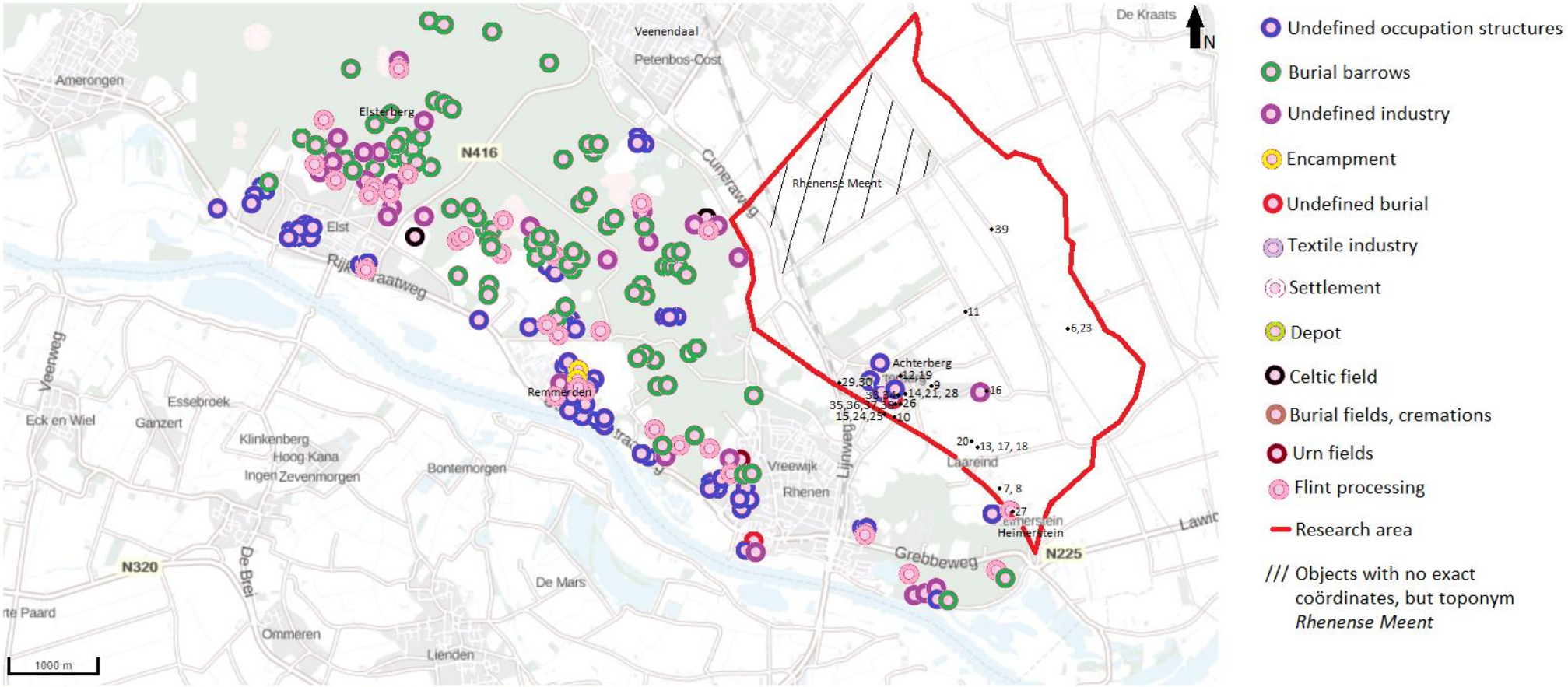
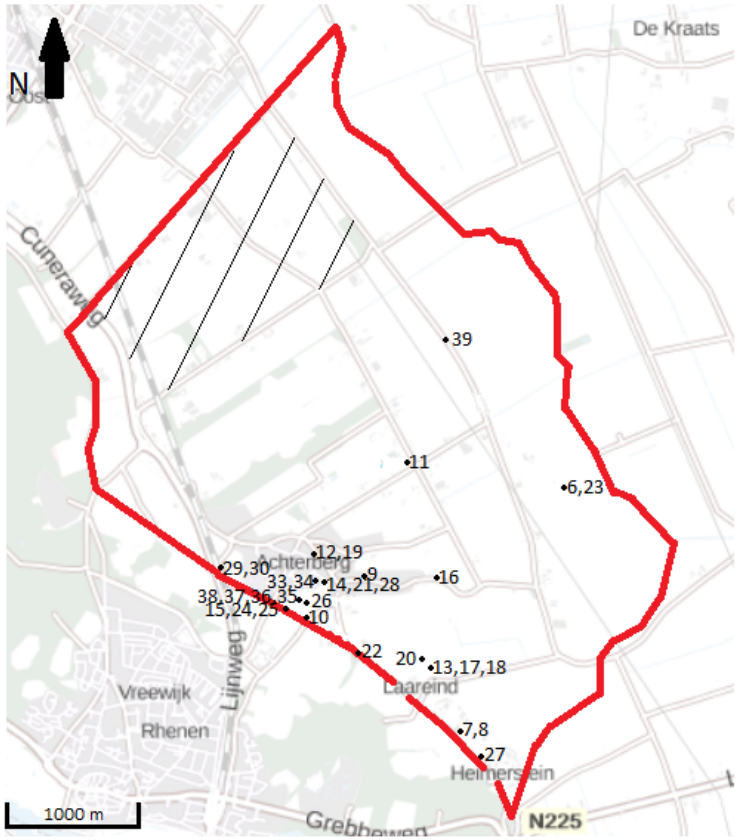


Fig. 13: Map of research area and surrounding landscape in the Middle Bronze Age



6 - Cooking stone fragments
7 - Flint points
8 - Flint tools
9 - Flint flakes
10 - Flint flake
11 - Unknown flint
12 - Flint core
13 - Flint core
14 - Flint core
15 - Flint core
16 - Flint chunk
17 - Splintered piece of flint
18 - Flint flakes
19 - Flint flakes
20 - Flint flakes
21 - Flint flake
22 - Flint flake
23 - Flint flake
24 - Flint flakes
25 - Flake scraper
26 - Unknown flint
27 - Flint flake
28 - Flint scraper
29 - Unknown flint
30 - Unknown flint
33 - Flint tool
34 - Flint flake
35 - Lance or sword fragment
36 - Lance or sword fragment
37 - Razor
38 - Hilt
39 - Spear/lance head

/// Bronze daggers (toponym *Rhenense Meent*)
/// Oldendorf Bronze flanged axes (toponym *Rhenense Meent*)
/// Bronze Palstave axe (toponym *Rhenense Meent*)

Fig. 14: Map of research area with findings dated to the Middle Bronze Age

Late Bronze Age (1100 – 800 BC)

According to ARCHIS possible traces of the Late Bronze Age were present at many locations on the ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 15). These traces consist of undefined occupation structures, burial barrows, undefined industry, an encampment, undefined burials, celtic fields, burial fields with cremations, urn fields and flint processing (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Possible occupation structures are located near *Rhenen*, *Elst*, *Remmerden*, *Heimerstein* and *Achterberg*. Burial barrows are primarily located in the areas surrounding *Rhenen*, *Elst*, *Remmerden*, *Achterberg* and *Heimerstein*. Traces of possible industry were found in *Rhenen*, *Elst* and *Remmerden* and near *Achterberg*. An encampment was found in *Remmerden* and undefined burials were only found in *Rhenen* and *Achterberg*. Celtic fields were located near *Elst*, *Remmerden* and the *Cuneraweg*. Evidence of burial fields with cremations were only found in *Rhenen*. Urn fields were primarily found in *Rhenen*, but also at locations near *Remmerden* and *Laareind*. Evidence of flint processing has been found at many locations on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). In the research area evidence of undefined occupation structures, an undefined burial and undefined industry were present (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to the data in ARCHIS, the date of only a few of these structures and activities can be narrowed down to the Late Bronze Age: two undefined occupation structures, one burial barrow, a burial field and cremations and an urn field (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). All other structures and activities were dated to a broader period than the Late Bronze Age.

According to ARCHIS, 54 objects have been found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*. These objects possibly date to the Late Bronze Age and consist of ceramics, bronze omega-bracelets, a bronze needle, chunks of stone, a chunk of flint, a flint flake, a stone Ovalbeil, a stone hammer-axe, a stone hammer-stone, a tip of a lance, grinding stones, a flint sickle and iron slags (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Remarkable is the location of the tip of a lance, which was found in the fill of a posthole. Only a few of these objects are dated to only the Late Bronze Age: a few pieces of ceramics, the bronze omega

bracelets found near *Elst*, the bronze needle and the tip of a lance found near *Remmerden*. All other objects are dated to a broader period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)

In the research area only one object dates only to the Late Bronze Age. This object is a socket axe found near *Achterberg*. Another socket axe is known to have been found in the *Rhenense Meent*. However, this axe is lost and can therefore not be dated with certainty. Other objects which are dated to a broader period are a grinding stone and a chunk of tephrite. Also the tip of a lance, discussed in the Middle Bronze Age section, possibly dates to the Late Bronze Age (Butler and Steegstra 2006, 236)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(fig. 15, fig. 16, appendix 1: tab. 1).

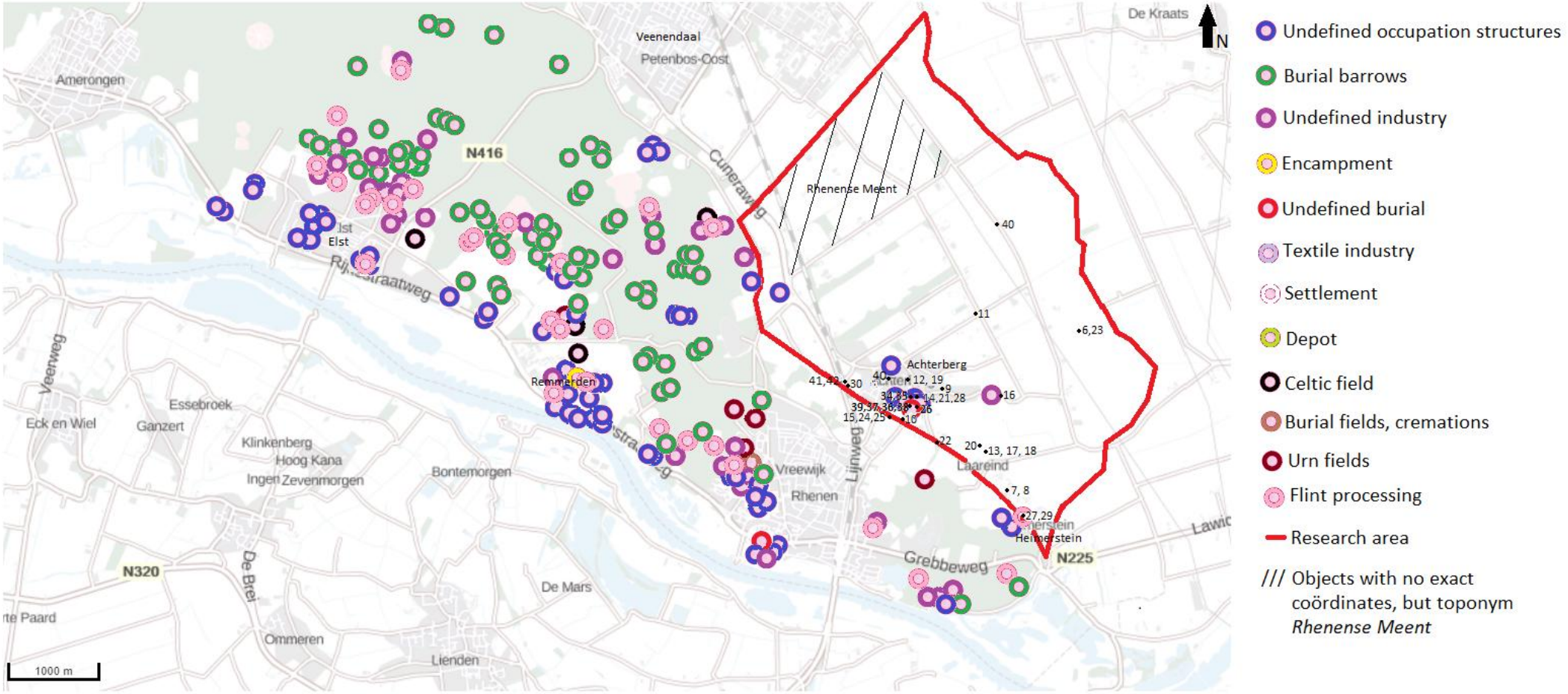
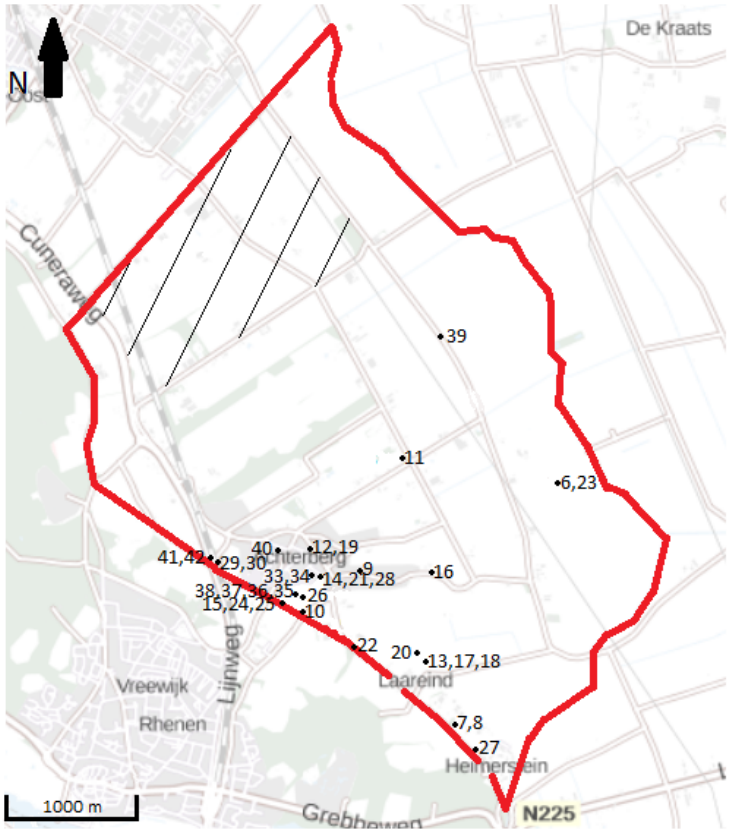


Fig. 15: Map of research area and surrounding landscape in the Late Bronze Age



6 - Cooking stone fragments
7 - Flint points
8 - Flint tools
9 - Flint flakes
10 - Flint flake
11 - Unknown flint
12 - Flint core
13 - Flint core
14 - Flint core
15 - Flint core
16 - Flint chunk
17 - Splintered piece of flint
18 - Flint flakes
19 - Flint flakes
20 - Flint flakes
21 - Flint flake
22 - Flint flake
23 - Flint flake
24 - Flint flakes
25 - Flake scraper
26 - Unknown flint
27 - Flint flake
28 - Flint scraper
29 - Unknown flint
30 - Unknown flint
33 - Flint tool
34 - Flint flake
35 - Lance or sword fragment
36 - Lance or sword fragment
37 - Razor
38 - Hilt
39 - Spear/lance head
40 - Bronze Socketed axe
41 - Grinding stone
42 - Chunk of Tephrite
/// Socketed axe (toponym *Rhenense Meent*)

Fig. 16: Map of research area with findings dated to the Late Bronze Age

3.2.3 Iron Age (800 – 12 BC)

Many findings in ARCHIS indicate occupation near the research area in the Iron Age. Besides occupation, evidence of multiple activities from this period have been found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). A survey of the ice-pushed ridge between *Elst* and *Rhenen* indicates that during the Iron Age all settlements were part of one continuous agricultural landscape, marked by farms, agricultural fields and burial mounds both at the higher and lower parts of the ridge (Fontijn 2010, 149-150).

Most of the activities and structures are not found in the research area, however, there is evidence of occupation in *Achterberg* and near *Heimerstein* during the Iron Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(fig. 18, fig. 20, fig. 22).

The Early Iron Age (800 – 500 BC)

Traces of the Early Iron Age are abundant on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 18). These traces consist of undefined occupation structures, burial barrows, undefined industry, encampments, undefined burials, textile industry, a settlement, celtic fields, burial fields with cremations, urn fields and a depot. This depot, consisting of a sword found in the river, *Nederrijn*, beneath *Rhenen*, is the only depot mentioned in ARCHIS which was found near *Rhenen* and dated to Late Prehistory. The exact location is unknown, since more than one location is mentioned in literature (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to ARCHIS the undefined occupation structures dated to the Early Iron Age are prevalent on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*. They are mainly found near *Rhenen*, *Remmerden*, *Elst*, *Heimerstein* and near *de Cuneraweg* and *de Grebbeweg*. The burial barrows are also highly prevalent on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* and are mainly located in the forest and heather areas surrounding the villages *Rhenen*, *Elst* and *Remmerden*. Encampments and undefined industries are mainly found near *Rhenen* and *Remmerden*. Undefined burials and a burial field with cremations were both only found in *Rhenen*. Urn fields were found near *Elst*, *Remmerden* and *Rhenen*. Celtic fields were mainly found near *Elst* and *Remmerden*, with one exception located near *Rhenen*.

Traces of textile industry were also found near *Elst*, *Rhenen* and the *Grebbeweg*. Evidence of a possible settlement was found in *Elst* (fig. 18) (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). In the research area, evidence of undefined occupation structures were present in *Achterberg* and near *Heimerstein* and the *Cuneraweg* (fig. 18)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

The date of a few of these structures and activities can be narrowed down to only the Early Iron Age: five undefined occupation structures, one depot, three burial barrows, one burial field with cremations and three urn fields (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). All other structures and evidence of activity are dated to a broader period.

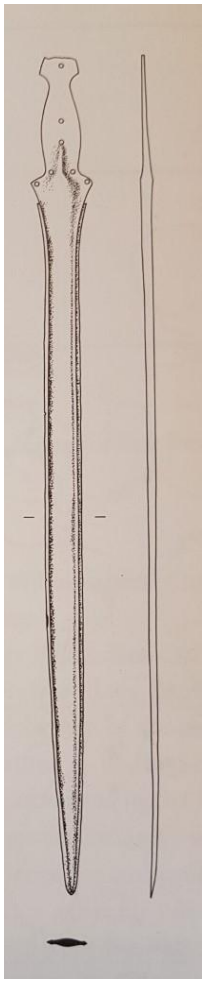


Fig. 17 Gündlingen sword found near Rhenen (after Roymans 1991)

According to the data in ARCHIS, 50 objects have been found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* which possibly date to the Early Iron Age consisting of ceramics, ceramic 'egg-cups', a flint flake, a chunk of flint, a bronze bucket, a hammerstone, a bronze palstave axe, a bronze staple, a bronze horse harness, a bronze Gündlingen sword and bronze pieces of a wagon (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). The Gündlingen sword is determined as an depot in ARCHIS (fig. 17). The pieces of the wagon, the sword, the bronze horse harness, the bronze bucket, the bronze staple and some of the ceramics were all dated to only the Early Iron Age. All other objects were dated to a broader period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

In the research area all objects are dated to the entire Iron Age or possibly to a later period according to ARCHIS. All objects were found near *Achterberg* or *Heimerstein*, where also evidence of undefined occupation structures were found. These objects are; grinding stones, a chunk of tephrite, a cooking stone and coffin fittings (fig. 18, fig. 19, appendix 1: tab. 1)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

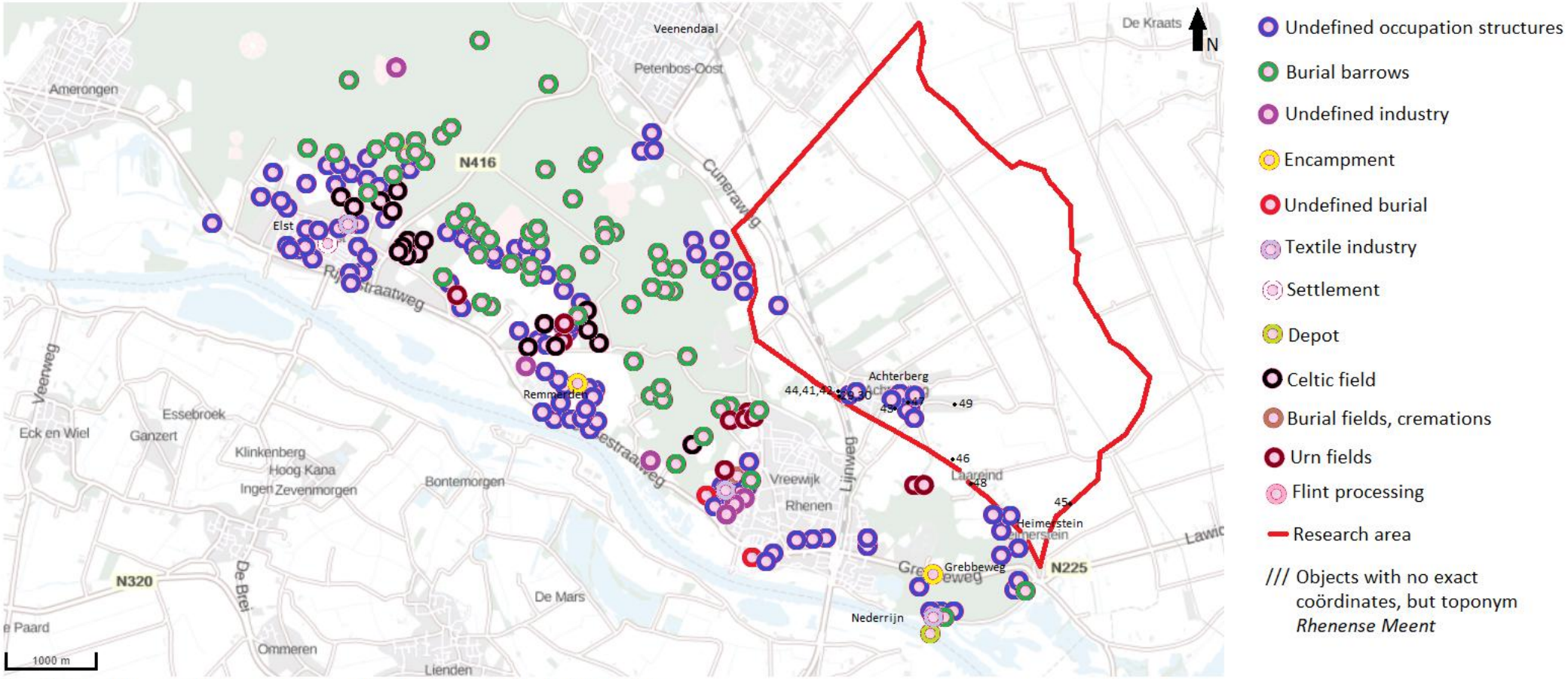
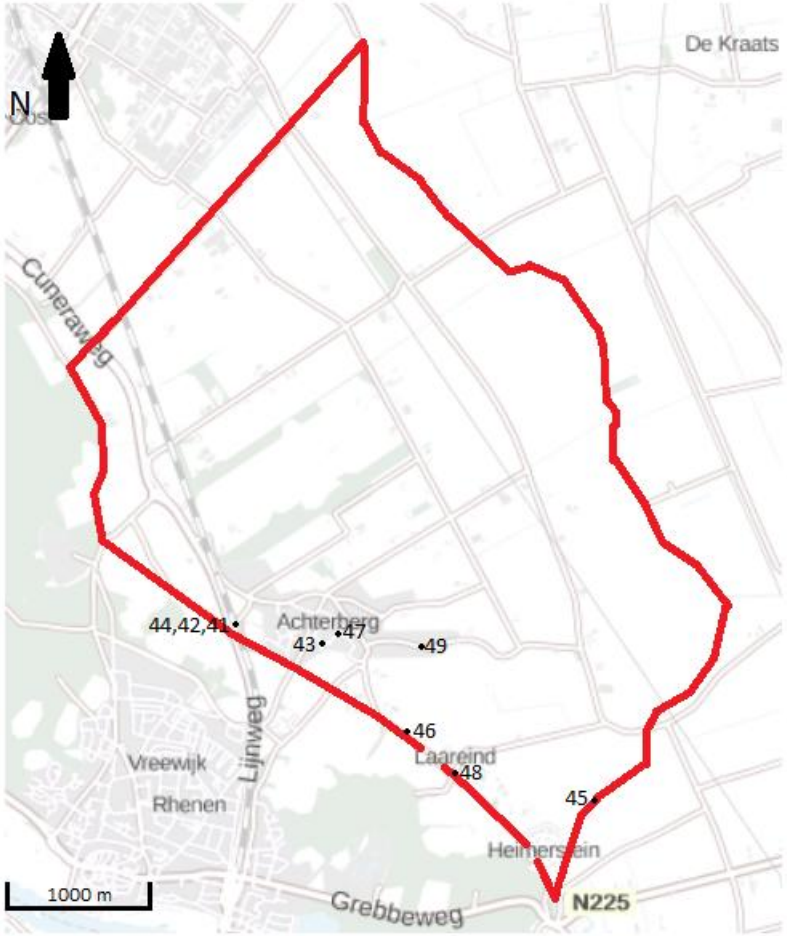


Fig. 18: Map of research area and surrounding landscape in the Early Iron Age



41 - Grinding stone
42 - Chunk of tephrite
43 - Cooking stone
44 - Grinding stones
45 - Grinding stone
46 - Grinding stones
47 - Grinding stones
48 - Chunk of tephrite
49 - Coffin fittings

Fig. 19 : Map of research area with findings dated to the Early Iron Age

The Middle Iron Age (500 - 250 BC)

According to ARCHIS there are many traces of the Middle Iron Age on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 20). These traces consist of undefined occupation structures, burial barrows, undefined industry, encampments, undefined burials, textile industry, a settlement, celtic fields, burial fields with cremations and urn fields (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Undefined occupation structures are highly prevalent on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*. These structures are mainly found near *Rhenen*, *Remmerden*, *Elst*, *Heimerstein* and near *Veenendaal*, *de Cuneraweg* and *de Grebbeweg*. The burial barrows are also prevalent on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* and are mainly located in the forest and heather areas surrounding the villages *Rhenen*, *Elst*, *Remmerden* and *Veenendaal*. Encampments and undefined industries are mainly found near *Rhenen* and *Remmerden*, comparable to the Early Iron Age. Undefined burials and textile industries are both found in *Rhenen* and in *Elst*. Celtic fields and urn fields are found near *Rhenen*, *Remmerden* and *Elst*. A burial field with cremations was only found in *Rhenen* and evidence of a possible settlement was found in *Elst* (fig. 20)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). In the research area, evidence of undefined occupation structures have been found in *Achterberg* and near *Heimerstein* (fig. 20)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to ARCHIS the date of a few of these structures and activities can be narrowed down to only the Middle Iron Age: an undefined burial, an undefined occupation structure, a burial barrow and a burial field with cremations. All other structures or activities are dated to a broader period than the Middle Iron Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to the data in ARCHIS, 80 objects have been found located on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* which possibly date to the Middle Iron Age consisting of ceramics, ceramic ‘egg-cups’, chunks of tephrite, a chunk of stone, hammer-axes, unknown iron, a bronze ring, a flint sickle, a whetstone, a spinning reel, loom weights and iron nails (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Only a few pieces of ceramics and a chunk of stone could

be dated to only the Middle Iron Age. All other objects were dated to a broader period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Just like in the Early Iron Age all objects found in the research area are dated to the entire Iron Age or possibly to a later period. All objects were found near *Achterberg* or *Heimerstein*. In and near these villages evidence of undefined occupation structures were found. These objects are; grinding stones, a chunk of tephrite, a cooking stone and coffin fittings (fig. 20, fig. 21, appendix 1: tab. 1)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

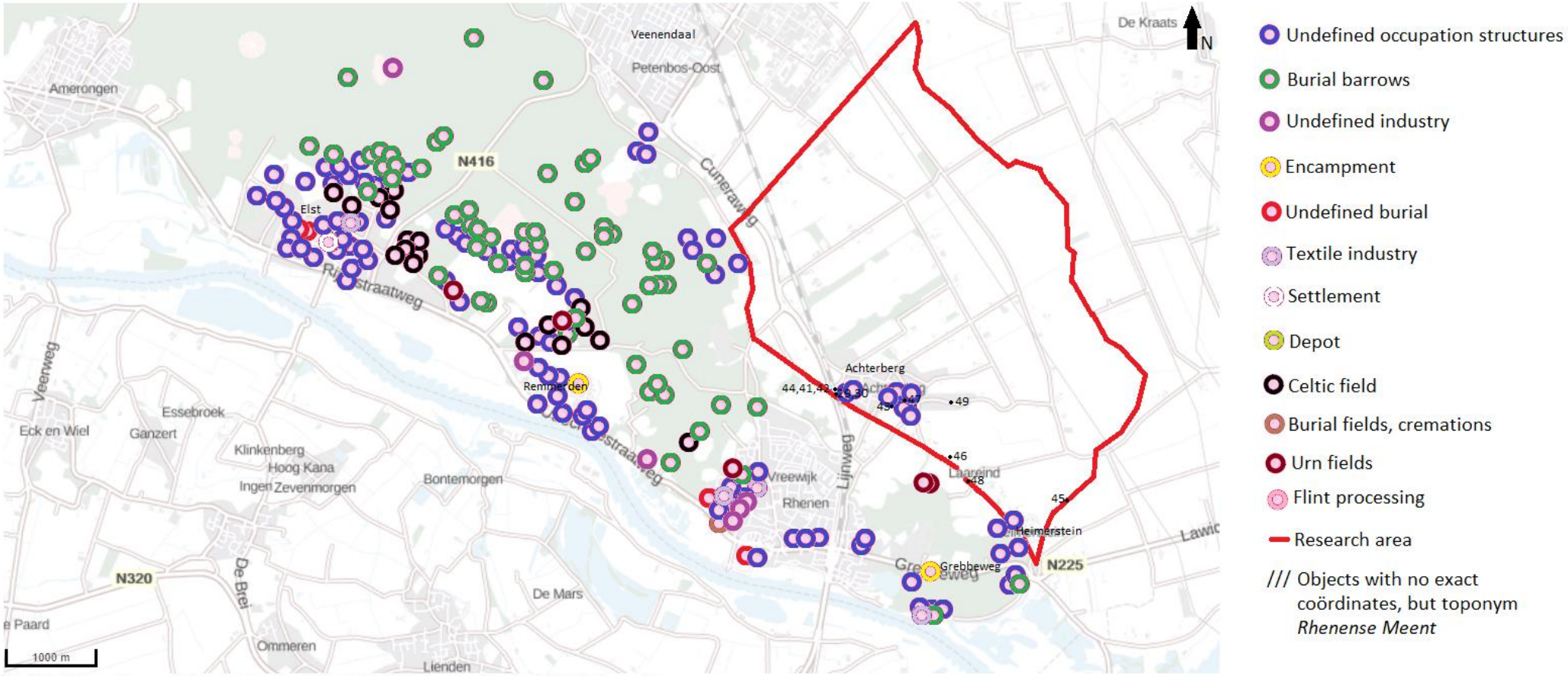
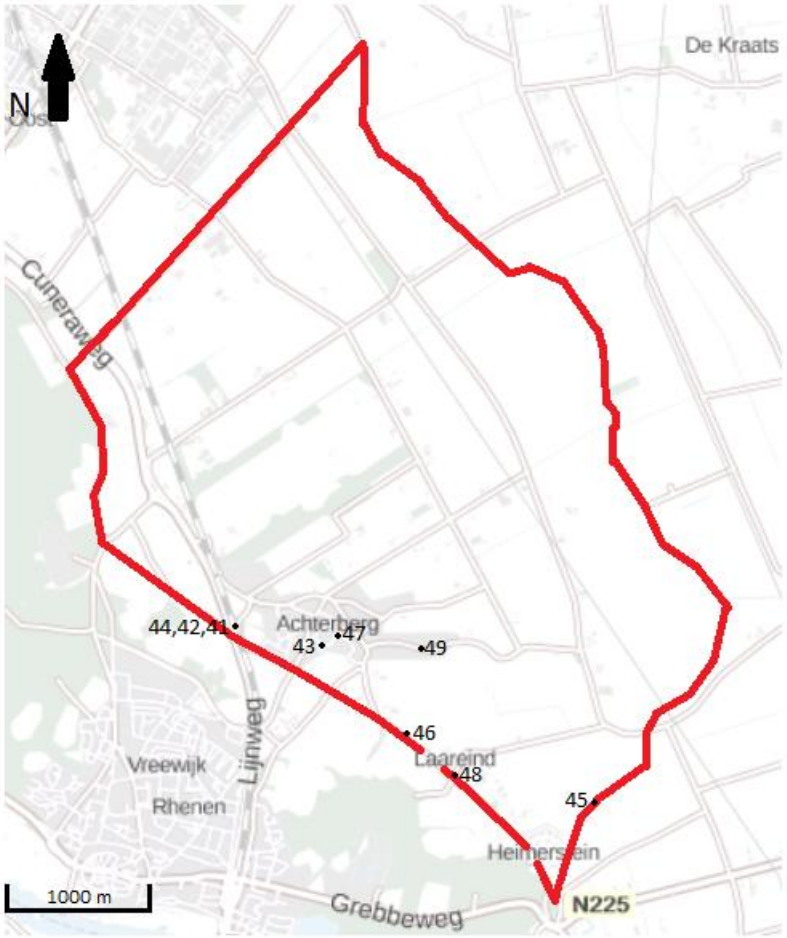


Fig. 20: Map of research area and surrounding landscape in the Middle Iron Age



41 - Grinding stone
42 - Chunk of tephrite
43 - Cooking stone
44 - Grinding stones
45 - Grinding stone
46 - Grinding stones
47 - Grinding stones
48 - Chunk of tephrite
49 - Coffin fittings

Fig. 21: Map of research area with findings dated to the Middle Iron Age

The Late Iron Age (250 – 12 BC)

Traces of the Late Iron Age are abundant on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (fig. 22)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). These traces consist of undefined occupation structures, burial barrows, undefined industry, encampments, undefined burials, textile industry, celtic fields, burial fields with cremations and urn fields (fig. 22)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Undefined occupation structures are highly prevalent and are located mainly in *Rhenen*, *Remmerden*, *Elst* and near *Veenendaal*, *de Cuneraweg*, *de Grebbeweg* and *de Remmerdense Heide*. Burial barrows are also highly prevalent and are mainly located in the forest and heather areas surrounding *Rhenen*, *Remmerden*, *Elst* and *Veenendaal*. Undefined burials and textile industries are both only located in *Rhenen* and *Elst*. Celtic fields were mainly found near *Elst* and *Remmerden*. Undefined industries and encampments were mainly found near *Rhenen* and *Remmerden*. Urn fields were found near *Elst*, *Remmerden* and *Rhenen*. A burial field with cremations was only found in *Rhenen* (fig. 22)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). In the research area several undefined occupation structures were found in *Achterberg* and near *Heimerstein* (fig. 22)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to ARCHIS, a few of these structures and activities can be dated to only the Late Iron Age; an undefined burial, eleven undefined occupation structures and one burial barrow. All other structures and activities were dated to a broader period than the Late Iron Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

According to the data in ARCHIS, 169 objects have been found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug,* which possibly date to the Late Iron Age consisting of ceramics, glass bracelets, glass bracelets La Tene type, coins, coins, glass bead, chunk of tephrite, chunk of stone, chunk of flint, flint flake, stone flake, flint core, grinding stone, unknown iron, rings of bronze, whetting stone, iron nails, spinning reel and loom weights (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Only a few of these objects are dated to only the Late Iron Age; ceramics, glass bracelets, glass bracelets La Tene type, a chunk of stone,

a ring of bronze, an iron nail, a spinning reel, a celtic coin and loom weights. All other objects are dated to a broader period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Just like in the Early Iron Age and the Middle Iron Age, all objects found in the research area are dated to the entire Iron Age or possibly to a later period. All objects were found near *Achterberg* or *Heimerstein*. In and near these villages evidence of undefined occupation structures were found. These objects are; grinding stones, a chunk of tephrite, a cooking stone and coffin fittings (fig. 22, fig. 23, appendix 1: tab. 1)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

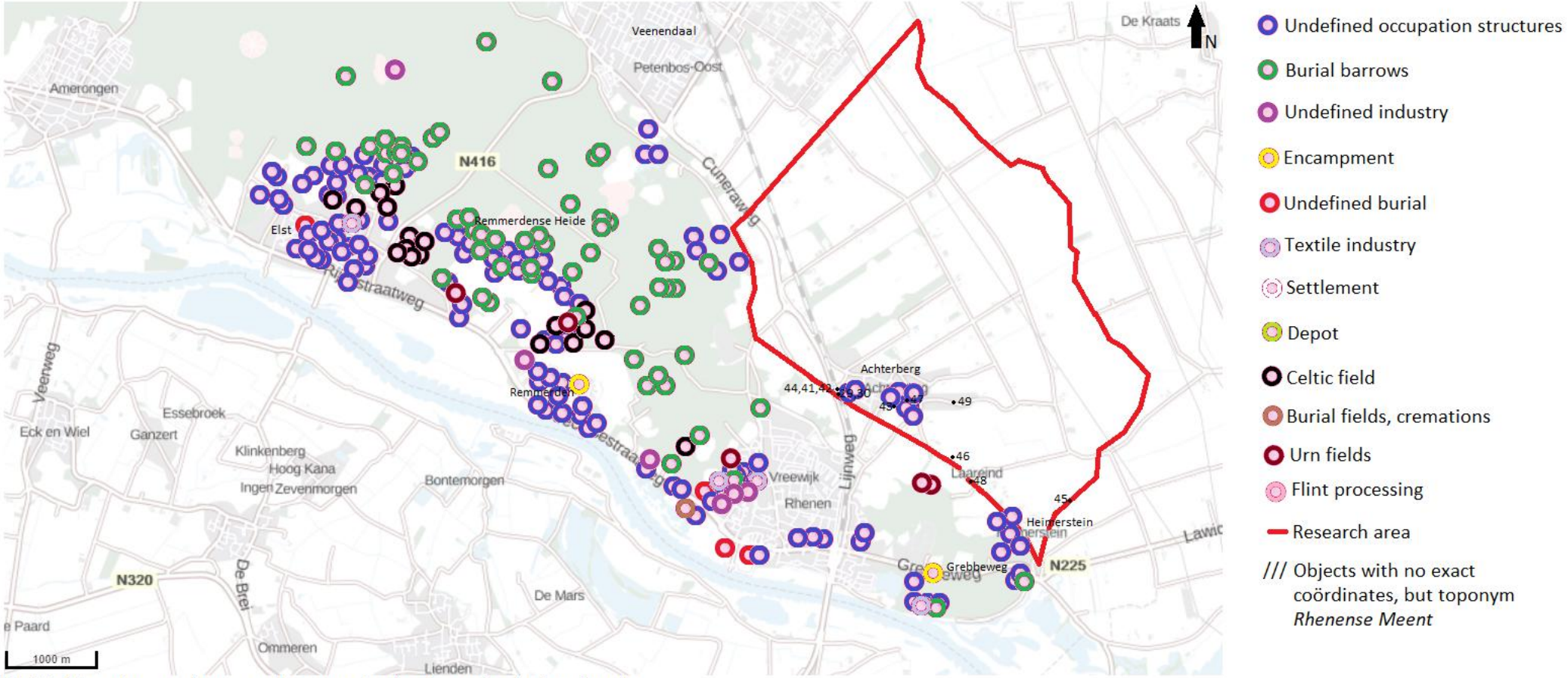
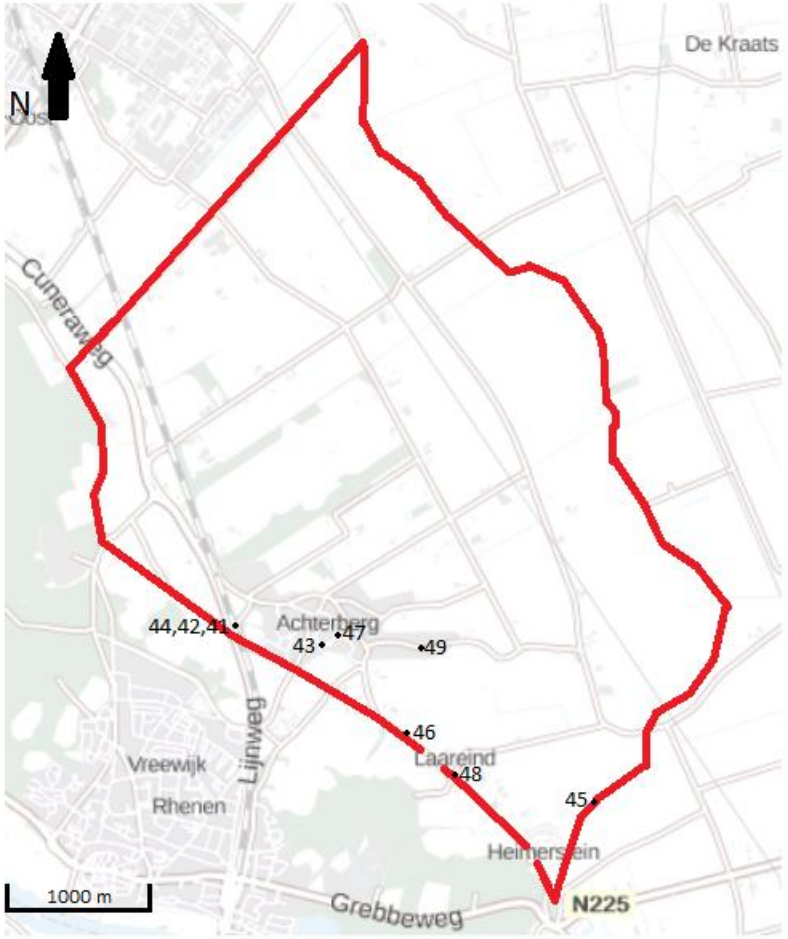


Fig. 22: Map of research area and surrounding landscape in the Late Iron Age



41 - Grinding stone
42 - Chunk of tephrite
43 - Cooking stone
44 - Grinding stones
45 - Grinding stone
46 - Grinding stones
47 - Grinding stones
48 - Chunk of tephrite
49 - Coffin fittings

Fig. 23: Map of research area with findings dated to the Late Iron Age

4. Objects found in the research area

In this chapter the objects found in the research area, the lower areas behind the pushing moraine, will be described in detail. This will give more insight in what kind of objects were found in this area and the trustworthiness of the circumstances in which they were found.

4.1 Objects

Wrist guard Aa007

Fig. 24: wrist guard Aa007 found near Achterberg, de Rhenense Meent (photo made by author)

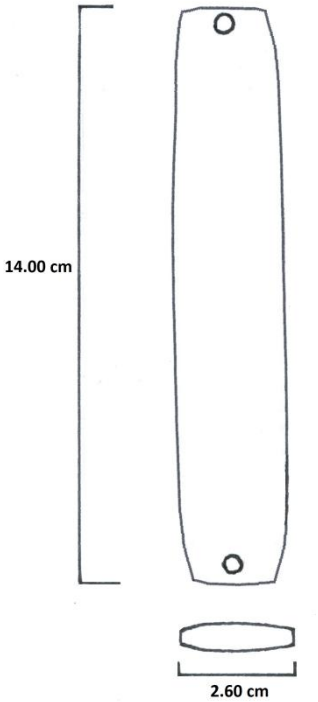


Fig. 25: drawing wrist guard Aa007 (drawing made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa007. The wrist guard is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 24, fig. 25).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent* in 1919, the finder is unknown. The object is a wrist guard made of basanite and is dated to the Neolithic period according to museum het Rondeel (Documentation museum het Rondeel). Based on the classification, which will be discussed into detail later in this paragraph,

the object can be dated to the Late Neolithic period, Bell Beaker culture. The object is a flat dark stone with a hole at both ends, two holes in total. The length of the object is 14.00 cm, the width is 2.60 cm and the thickness of the wrist guard is 0.72 cm. This object is thought to have functioned as archery equipment; to protect the wrist while shooting a bow (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 109). It is also thought to be an ornament, since the position of wrist guards found in burials does not always indicate a functional use (Fokkens *et al*. 2008, 116-120). Wrist guards appear in the graves of the Bell Beaker culture all over Europe (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 109-110). They appear as small, rectangular, thin stone plates which have two or more perforated holes. Broad wrist guards are mainly distributed in Central Europe, while narrow wrist guards occur in all European regions where the Bell Beaker culture is present (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 109-110).

When looking at the existing wrist guard classification system in Fokkens *et al.* 2008 (fig. 26), wrist guard Aa007 can be classified as A-G. This classification is based on broad and narrow forms, tapered, straight and waisted forms, the outline and number of holes (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 111). Wrist guard Aa007 has a narrow form with no waist and only two holes, one at each end.

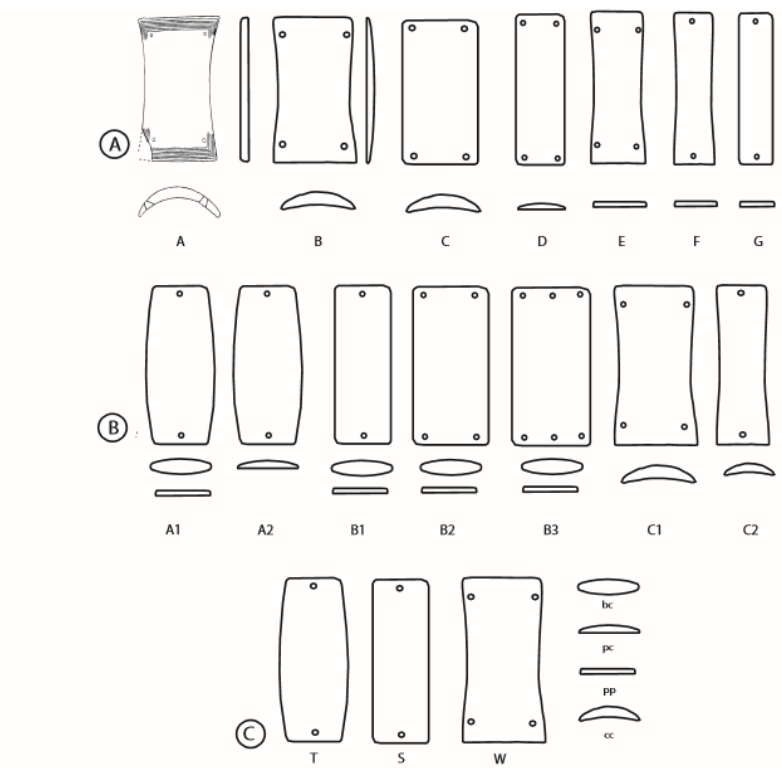


Fig. 26: classification system wrist guards (after Fokkens *et al.* 2008)

Wrist guards are mostly found in burial context from the Bell Beaker culture, such as barrows or flat graves. Only a few wrist guards are known from non-burial contexts: they were found in domestic contexts such as in pits or hearths (Woodward *et al.* 2011, 98-99). Wrist guard Aa007 was found in the lower wet areas behind the pushing moraine called the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, near *Rhenen*. This context is different than the contexts in which wrist guards are usually found, since burials are usually not found in wet areas and wrist guards are usually not deposited in wet contexts.

Wrist guard Aa006

Fig. 28: drawing wrist guard Aa006 (drawing made by author)

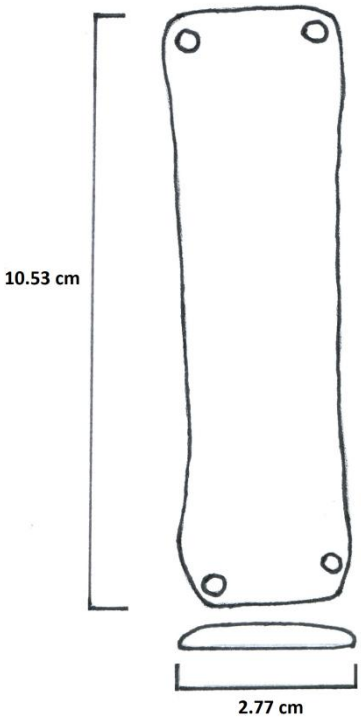


Fig. 27: wrist guard Aa006 found near Achterberg, de Rhenense Meent (photo made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa006. The wrist guard is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 27, fig. 28).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent* in 1952, the finder is unknown. The object is a wrist guard made of basanite and is dated to the Neolithic period according to museum het Rondeel (Documentation museum het Rondeel). As

will be discussed later in this paragraph, the wrist guard is associated with the Bell Beaker culture, therefore this object can be dated to the Late Neolithic period. The object is a flat dark grey stone with two holes at both ends, four in total. The wrist guard has a slightly waisted form. The length of the object is 10.53 cm, the width is 2.77 cm and the thickness of the wrist guard is 0.62 cm. Like the Aa07 wrist guard the Aa06 wrist guard is also made of basanite. The traditional theory is that this object was worn to protect the wrist while shooting a bow (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 109). However, since the position of wrist guards found in burials does not always indicate a functional use, it is thought that wrist guards could also be ornaments (Fokkens *et al*. 2008, 116-120).

As is mentioned before, wrist guards appear in the graves of the Bell Beaker culture all over Europe (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 109-110). Wrist guards are small, rectangular, thin stone plates which have two or more perforated holes. The broad wrist guards are mainly distributed in Central Europe, while the narrow wrist guards occur in all European regions where the Bell Beaker culture is present (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 109-110).

When looking at the existing wrist guard classification system Fokkens *et al.* 2008 (fig. 29), wrist guard Aa006 can be classified as A-E. This classification is based on broad and narrow forms, tapered, straight and waisted forms, the outline and number of holes (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 111). Wrist guard Aa006 has a relatively narrow form with a slight waist and four holes in total, two at each end. In fig. 29 the holes of A-E appear to be placed slightly more towards the middle of the rectangular stone plate than the holes of wrist guard Aa006, which are located more in the corners of the wrist guard and slightly less towards the middle.

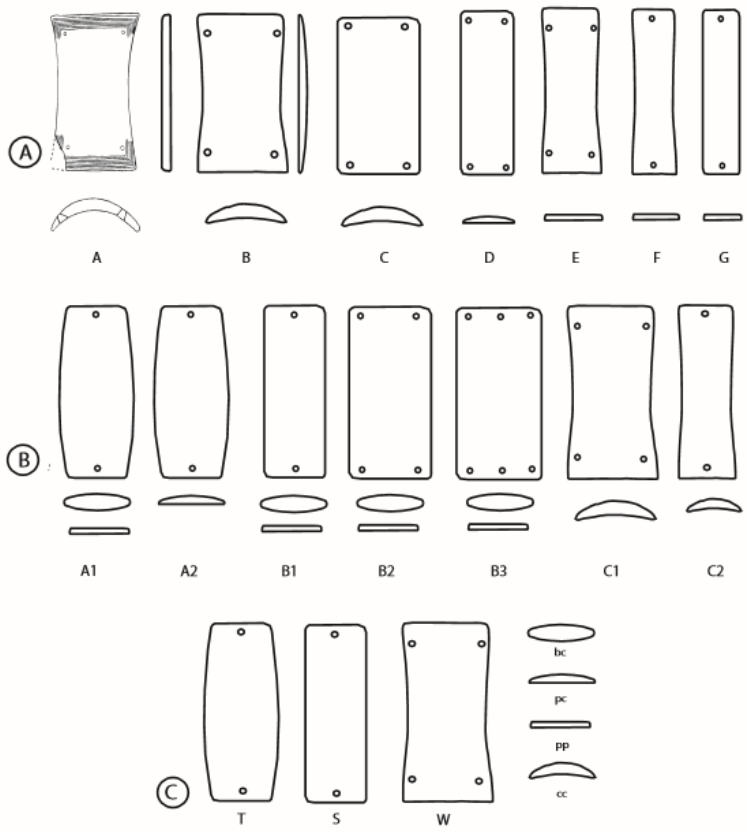


Fig. 29: classification system wrist guards (after Fokkens *et al*. 2008)

According to Woodward *et al.* wrist guards are mostly found in burial context from the Bell Beaker culture, such as barrows or flat graves. Only a few wrist guards are known from non-burial contexts, they were found in domestic contexts such as in pits or hearths (Woodward *et al.* 2011, 98-99). Wrist guard Aa007 was found in the lower wet areas behind the pushing moraine called the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, near *Rhenen*. This context is different than the contexts in which wrist guards are usually found, since burials are rarely found in wet area contexts. Therefore it is especially remarkable that two of these Bell Beaker wrist guards were found in wet contexts. Even if there would have been a grave, normally only one wrist guard is buried with the individual, since wrist guards are rare (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 124-125).

Flint Axe Aa042

Fig. 30: flint axe Aa042 found near Achterberg, de Rhenense Meent (photo`s made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa042. The axe is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 30, fig. 31).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent* in 1911 by Mrs. W.J. Lechius de Ridder. The object is an axe made of flint and is dated to the Late Neolithic period according to the Rondeel museum (documentation Rondeel museum). The axe has a grey colour with darker and lighter spots. The cutting edge is sharp. The side of the axe is a bit rough. The shape of the axe is oval. The object has a length of 8.39 cm, a width of 4.4 cm and a thickness of 3.12 cm.

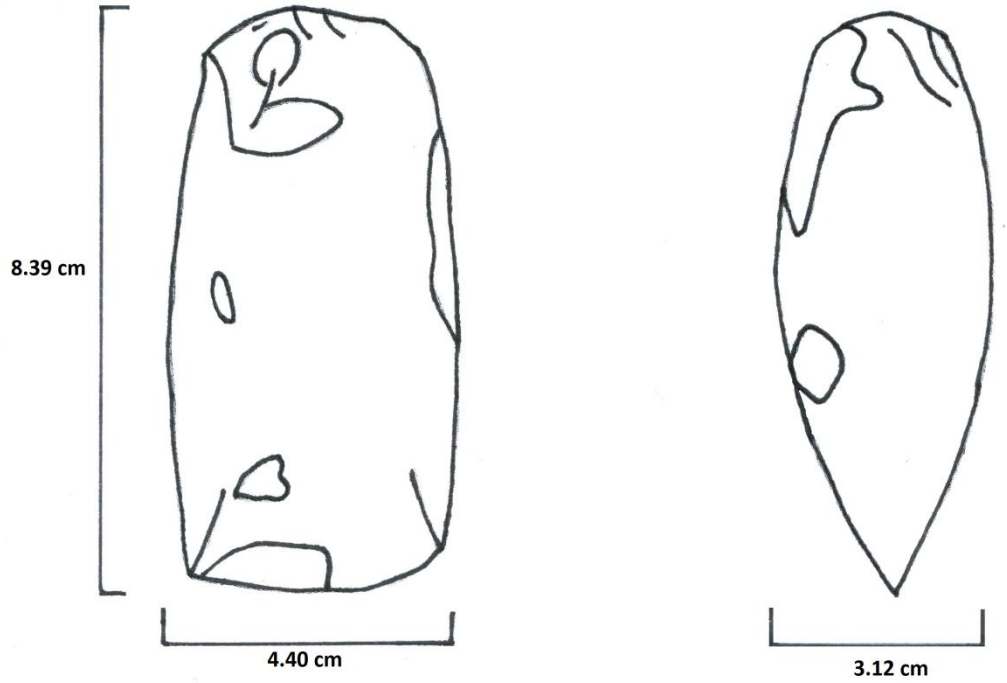


Fig. 31: drawing flint axe Aa042
(drawing made by author)

West European oval flint axes derive from flint mines and outcrops in the southern Benelux and northern France (Bakker 2006, 247). Flint axe Aa042 is a Buren Axe, a subtype of the Flint-Ovalbeile. These axes, formerly known as 'Vlaardingen Axes', have a pointed-oval cross-section. The surfaces of its sides are sharpened into facets, the side has a zeppelin-like form. The Buren Axe was used from 4.000 BC to 2.500 BC by the Vlaardingen, Michelsberg, Stein, Seine-Oise-Marne, and TBR cultures (Bakker 2006, 257: ter Wal 1996, 127). According to Bakker (2006) Buren Axes are found in settlement contexts and sometimes in burial contexts. Several Buren Axes have been found in wet contexts, such as rivers and bogs, possibly as votive depositions (Bakker 2006, 247). The axes usually have a grey or dark colour flint with sometimes white patches. The context in which an axe is found, has an influence on which colour or patina the axe takes, such as peat, clay or sand, below or above ground water. Unless recent fractures are present, the original colour of the axe is difficult to detect. Some small axes are also made from the brownish Lousberg flint (Bakker 2006, 262). The axe Aa042 was found in the lower wet areas behind the pushing moraine called the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, near *Rhenen*. This context is consistent with the contexts in which these axes are normally found. The axe Aa042 is small compared to other Buren Axes, which normally range between 15 cm and 25.5 cm, and the colour of the axe is light grey with lighter spots (Bakker 2006, 257).

Dagger Aa051

Fig. 33: drawing flint dagger Aa051 (drawing made by drawing)

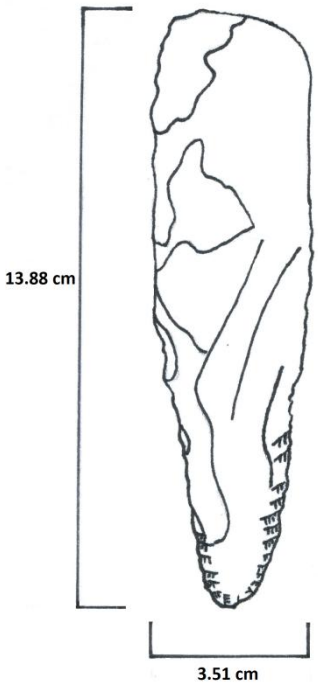


Fig. 32: flint dagger Aa051 found near Achterberg, de Rhenense Meent (photo made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa051. The flint dagger is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 32, fig. 33).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent* in 1912, the finder is unknown. The object is a dagger made of flint and is dated to the Late Neolithic period until the Early Bronze Age according to museum het Rondeel (documentation museum het Rondeel). The broadest side of the dagger is broken off. The colour of the dagger is brown with light spots. The edges of the dagger are sharp and retouched on the rounded side of the blade. The dagger is slightly bent, with the hollow side of the blade very smooth. The length of the object is 13.88 cm and the width is 3.51 cm. The knife has a thickness of 1.25 cm.

In the museum the flint dagger is classified as Grand Pressigny flint (documentation museum het Rondeel). However, after reconsideration I suggest that the flint dagger

Aa051 will be classified as Romigny-Léhry flint. The flint mine of this flint is located in northern France, the present day city of Reims (van Gijn 2010, 19-20). Romigny-Léhry flint has colours ranging from dark brown to almost white. Daggers found of this flint are often grey-brown with white inclusions (Polman 1993, 3). Grand Pressigny flint has a honey-brown colour. The colours of dagger Aa051 are more similar to the colours of Romigny-Léhry flint. However, the shape of the dagger Aa051 is similar to the daggers of Grand Pressigny flint, causing this Romigny-Léhry flint to be possibly wrongly identified (van Gijn 2010, 19-20). The import of this flint possibly first took place during the Michelsperiod and again during the Single Grave culture. The Romigny-Léhry daggers are similar to the Grand-Pressigny period during the latter period and are made with the same method of processing. According to Polman (1993) daggers of Romigny-Lérhy flint date to the Late Neolithic period (Polman 1993, 4, 14; van Gijn 2010, 19-20). Since dagger Aa051 is similar to the daggers of Grand Pressigny flint, it can be assumed that this dagger was imported during the Single Grave culture, which dates this dagger to the Late Neolithic period. To determine with certainty which flint this dagger is made of, a mineralogical research should be performed. Not much can be said about the usual context of Romigny-Lérhy daggers since not many Romigny-Lérhy daggers have been found from an archaeological context in the Netherlands (Polman 1993, 14).

Dagger Aa48

Fig. 34: flint dagger Aa048 found near Achterberg, de Rhenense Meent (photo made by author)

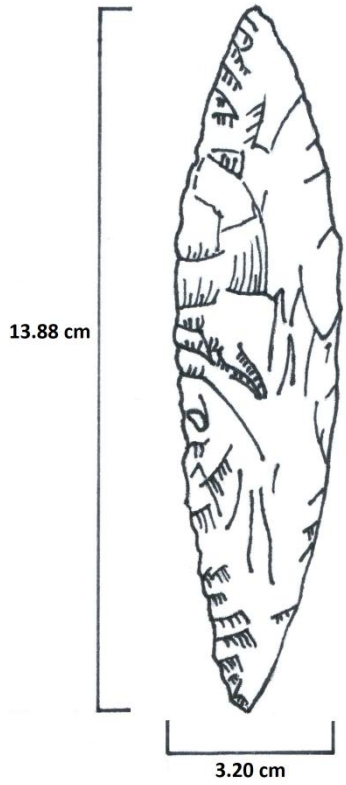


Fig. 35: drawing flint dagger Aa048 (drawing made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in Rhenen, the object number is Aa048. The flint dagger is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 34, fig. 35).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent* in 1912, the finder is unknown. The object is a dagger made of flint and is dated to the Early Bronze Age according to museum het Rondeel (documentation museum het Rondeel). After reconsideration, I would suggest to date dagger Aa048 from the Late Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age, as will be explained later in this section. The dagger is a light grey and has sharp edges on both sides. Both sides are retouched as well. The length of the object is 13.88 cm with a width of 3.20 cm. The dagger has a thickness of 1.51 cm.

In the museum the flint dagger is classified as Grand Pressigny flint. After reconsideration I suggest that the flint dagger Aa048 will be classified as a possible Scandinavian dagger which was imported into the Netherlands based on the shape and

colour of the dagger. Aa048 has the shape of a typical Scandinavian dagger and the colour of dagger Aa048 is not the typical honey-brown of the Grand Pressigny flint, but is similar to the colours of Scandinavian daggers. These daggers were brought into the Netherlands during the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (van Gijn 2015, 76). The Scandinavian flint daggers were produced on mass scale from ca. 2.350 BC to 1.500 BC and distributed over a large area in north-western Europe (van Gijn 2015, 76: Bloemers 1968, 50). Lomborg 1973 distinguished six types of Scandinavian flint daggers. In the Netherlands it concerned predominantly type I, II and III (Bloemers 1968, 48-49: van Gijn 2015, 76: Lomborg 1973)(fig. 36, fig. 37, fig. 38). Type I has a lanceolate form, the hilt of these daggers is as thick as the blade. Type II also has a lanceolate form, the hilt of these daggers is twice as thick as the blade. The blade of type III has a lanceolate form, with a rectangular hilt which is thicker than the blade. Based on this classification, the flint dagger Aa048 can be classified as a type I-A Scandinavian dagger (Lomborg 1973, 32-47: Bloemers 1968, 48-49).

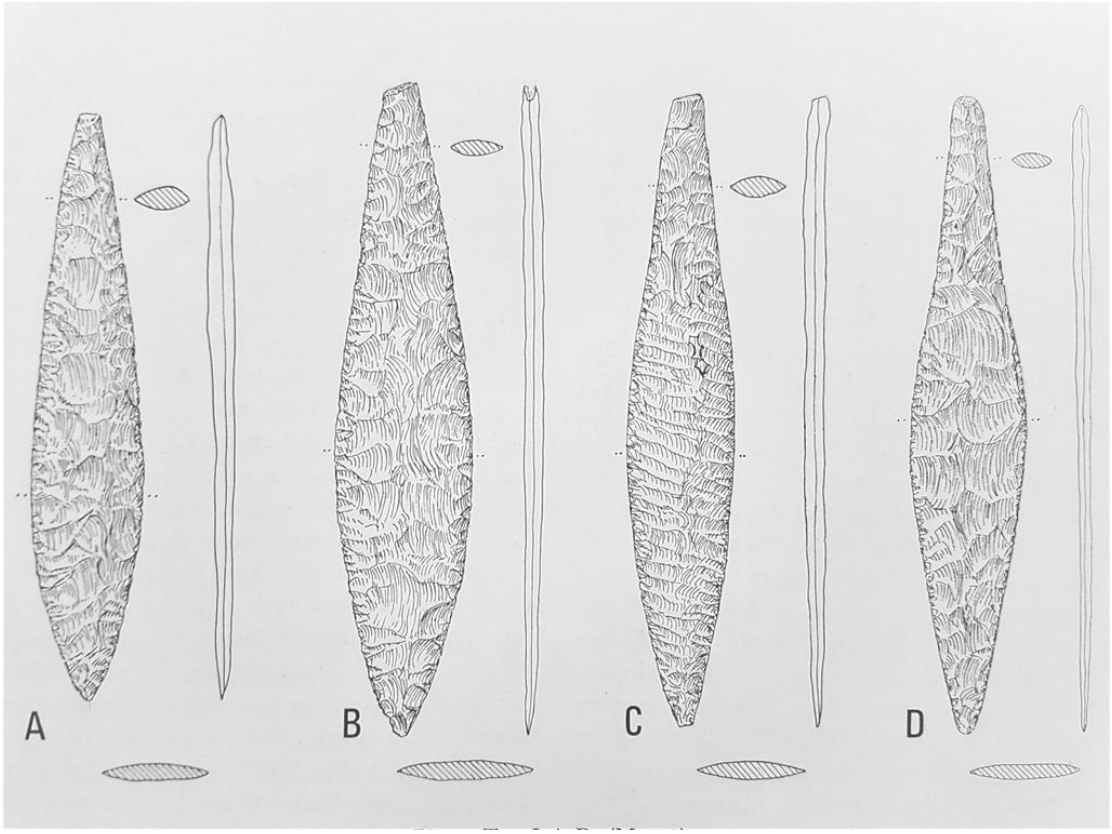


Fig. 36: scandinavian flint daggers Type I A-D (after Lomborg 1973)

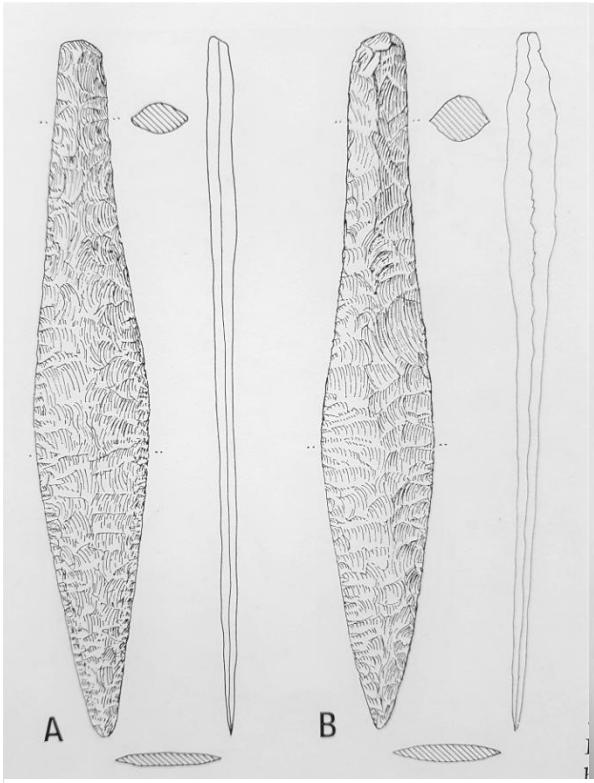


Fig. 37: scandinavian daggers type II A-B (after Lomborg 1973

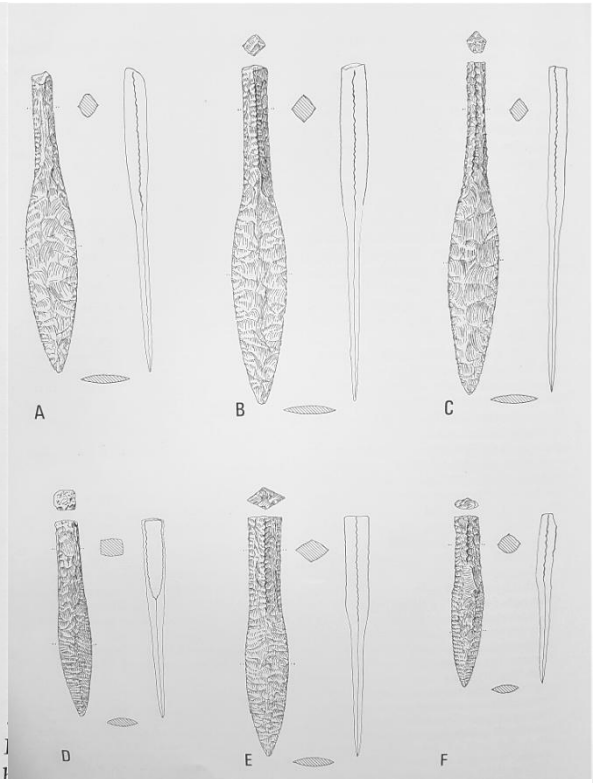


Fig. 38: scandinavian daggers type III A-F (after Lomborg 1973)

The daggers possibly first appeared in the Netherlands from the Bell Beaker period onwards. Type I is assumed to be related to the Bell Beaker culture, type II is related to the transition of the Bell Beaker culture to the Early Barbed Wire culture and type III is related to the entire Bronze Age (van Gijn 2015, 76). These daggers were imported as finished products, no waste or indication of production of these daggers have been encountered in the Netherlands until now (van Gijn 2015, 76-81). The daggers were mostly found in peat areas, with no association to settlements or funerary contexts. It is suggested that the type I and II daggers are especially deposited in wet areas adjacent to settlement areas. The type III daggers are deposited in wet areas further into the peat (van Gijn 2015, 76-81). Flint dagger Aa48 was found in the lower wet areas behind the pushing moraine called the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, near *Rhenen*. Which is consistent with the contexts in which other Scandinavian daggers of the same type were found. The relation to the Bell Beaker culture suggests a date from the Late Neolithic period to the Early Bronze Age.

Dagger Aa005ˣ

Fig. 39: bronze dagger Aa005ˣ found near Achterberg, de Rhenense Meent (photo made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa005ˣ. The bronze dagger is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 39, fig. 41).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent*. When the object was found and by whom is unknown, but the object was first mentioned in 1989. The object is a bronze dagger dated to the Middle Bronze Age according to the museum het Rondeel (documentation museum het Rondeel). The dagger has two rivet-holes at the broader end of the blade with a small rivet still inside one of the rivet-holes. The blade is slightly bend around the broadest part of the blade and seems unnatural. The blade has recently been broken on the small end of the blade, which can be seen by the difference in colour compared to the rest of the blade. The blade as an overall dark colour which could indicate it was found in a wet context. The length of the blade is 13.34 cm and the width is 3.76 cm. The dagger has a thickness of 0.36 cm.

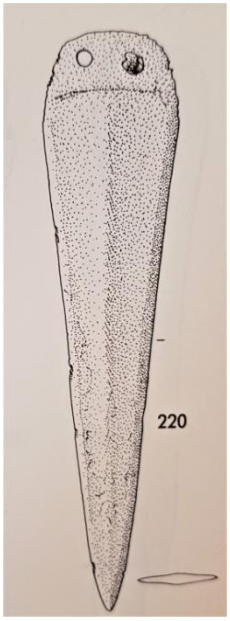


Fig. 40: group 2, 220 classification system (after Burgess and Gerloff 1982)

Fig. 41: drawing bronze dagger Aa005ˣ (drawing made by author)

To classify this object the classification of Burgess and Gerloff 1982 is used. Dagger Aa005ˣ is classified as group 2, 220 (fig. 40, fig. 41). These kinds of weapons are described as having blades that are generally plain, showing a central ridge, with more or less trapezoidal butts and two rivets in rivet-holes and are dated to the Acton Park phase, a phase during the Middle Bronze Age (Burgess and Gerloff 1982, 19, plate 134). Group 2, 220 has a poorly defined butt and a triangular blade. It has two rivet holes. According to Burgess and Gerloff this kind of blade ranges between the 15 and 20 centimetres in length (Burgess and Gerloff 1982, 33). Although Aa005ˣ has a similar shape as group 2, 220; the butt is poorly formed, the blade is triangular and it has two rivet-holes, Aa005ˣ is a bit smaller than group 2, 220 with a length of 13,34 centimetres. However, the end of Aa005ˣ is missing and could possibly have reached the 15 centimetres when it used to be whole. The central ridge, described by Burgess and Gerloff, is visible in Aa005ˣ.

Dagger Aa005^{xx}

Fig. 42: bronze dagger Aa005^{xx} found near Achterberg, de Rhenense Meent (photo made by author)

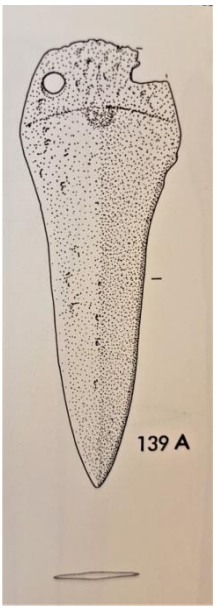


Fig. 43: group 2, 139A classification system (after Burgess and Gerloff 1982)

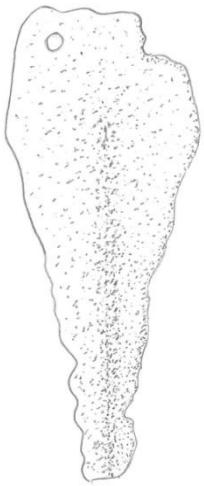


Fig. 44: drawing bronze dagger Aa005^{xx} (drawing made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa005^{xx}. The bronze dagger is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 42. Fig. 44).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent*. When the object was found is unknown, but the object is first mentioned in 1989. The object is a bronze dagger dated to the Bronze Age according to museum het Rondeel (documentation museum het Rondeel). As will be discussed later in this paragraph, the period to which the dagger is dated can be narrowed down to the Middle Bronze Age, Acton Park.

The dagger has two rivet-holes at the broader side of the blade. The colour of the blade is greenish, which could indicate a burial context. The blade is damaged and not in a good condition. It seems that the blade has been used intensively. The length of the

dagger is 6.99 cm, the width is 2.81 cm. The thickness of the blade is 0.25 cm.

To classify this object the classification of Burgess and Gerloff 1982 is used. Dagger Aa005^{xx} is classified as group 2, 139A (fig. 43, fig. 44). These kinds of weapons are described as having blades that are generally plain, showing a central ridge, with more or less trapezoidal butts and two rivets in rivet-holes and are dated to the Acton Park phase, a phase during the Middle Bronze Age (Burgess and Gerloff 1982, 19, plate 134). Group 2, 139A has a broad, plain blade with a wide, low trapezoidal butt and has two rivet-holes. According to Burgess and Gerloff these blades are between 10 and 20 centimetres long (Burgess and Gerloff 1982, 27). Although the shape of Aa005^{xx} is similar to group 2, 139A: Aa005^{xx} has a broad, plain blade with a wide, low trapezoidal butt and two rivet-holes, Aa005^{xx} does not show a central ridge and is smaller than group 2, 139A with its length of 6,99 centimetre. Aa005^{xx} is very damaged and worn, possibly heavily sharpened, which makes a classification difficult.

Bronze flanged Axe Aa008

Fig. 45: bronze flanged Axe Aa008 found near Achterberg, de Rhenense Meent (photo made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa008. The bronze axe is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 45).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent* in 1919, finder unknown.

Fig. 46: bronze flanged axe Aa008 with traces of sharpening (photo made by author)

The object is a bronze flanged axe dated to the early Middle Bronze Age according to museum het Rondeel (documentation museum het Rondeel).

The axe is classified as an Oldendorf axe, from the northern Netherlands or northern Germany. The axe has flanged edges with a

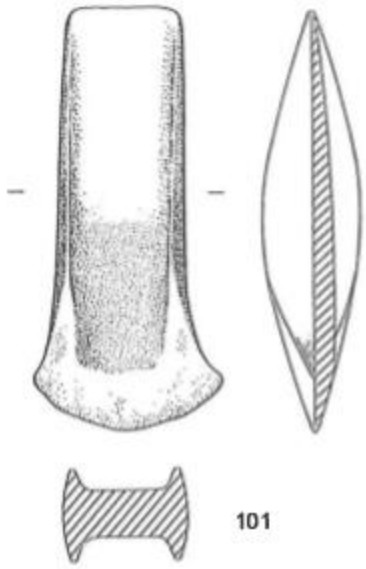


Fig. 47: drawing bronze axe Aa008 (Butler 1996)

very small transverse ridge. Traces of re-sharpening are visible on the cutting edge (fig. 46). The length of the axe is 9.00 cm and the width is 2.66 cm. The axe is 1.97 cm thick.

This flanged axe is classified as a parallel-sided flanged axe of Type Oldendorf, with a septal ridge (AXRO2) by J.J. Butler (1996). The axe was possibly found in association with sherds of a decorated urn, although this urn is Merovingian. It is slightly possible that the prehistoric axe is reused in a Merovingian burial (Butler 1996, 209)(fig. 47). The Oldendorf axes distinguish from other parallel-sided types by having a shorter and thicker body, higher flanges and a somewhat expanded blade (Butler 1996 204).

According to Kibbert (1980) the possession of a transverse septal ridge is typical for the Oldendorf type. The bronze axe Aa008 has very small transverse ridge. In the Netherlands a lot of the Oldendorf type axes show re-sharpening of the cutting edge (Kibbert 1980, 138: Fontijn 2002, 90).

In the Netherlands there are no natural sources of copper and tin, so in the beginning metal objects had to be imported from other areas (Butler 1996, 159). Due to this a diversity of types can be found in the Netherlands. A high percentage of these imported metal objects would have been recycled (Butler 1996, 159). Oldendorf axes are the earliest metal tools found in considerable numbers in the Netherlands (Fontijn 2002, 88). They are often found in wet contexts, this is consistent with the context in which bronze axe Aa008 was found (Fontijn 2002, 91).

Bronze flanged Axe Aa009

Fig. 48: bronze flanged Axe Aa009 found near Achterberg, de Rhenense meent (photo made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa009. The bronze axe is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 48).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent* in 1919, finder unknown.

Fig. 49: bronze flanged axe Aa009 with traces of sharpening (photo made by author)

The object is a flanged axe dated to early Middle Bronze Age. The axe is classified as an Oldendorf axe, originated from the northern Netherlands or northern Germany. The transverse ridge is not visible, but is clearly tangible. The

cutting edge has clear traces of re-sharpening (fig. 49). The length of the axe is 8.71 cm and the width is 2.60 cm. The axe is 2.22 cm thick.

This flanged axe is classified as a parallel-sided flanged axe of Type Oldendorf, with a septal ridge (AXRO2) by J.J. Butler (1996)(fig. 50). The Oldendorf axes distinguish from other parallel-sided types by a having a shorter and thicker body, higher flanges and a somewhat expanded blade. According to Kibbert (1980) the possession of a transverse septal ridge is typical for the Oldendorf type. The bronze axe Aa009 has very faint transverse ridge, not clearly visible but tangible. In the Netherlands a large number of the Oldendorf type axes show re-sharpening of the cutting edge, as is the case with axe Aa009 (Kibbert 1980, 138: Fontijn 2002, 90).

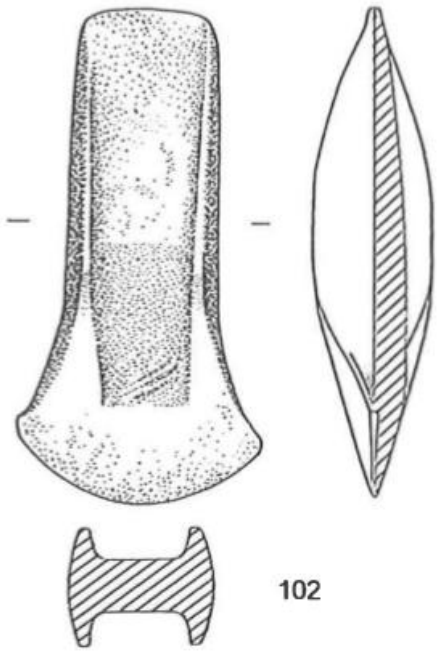


Fig. 50: drawing bronze axe Aa009 (Butler 1996)

In the Netherlands there are no natural sources of copper and tin, so in the beginning metal objects had to be imported from other areas. Due to this a diversity of types can be found in the Netherlands. A high percentage of these imported metal objects would have been recycled (Butler 1996, 159). Oldendorf axes are often found in wet contexts, this is consistent with the context in which bronze axex Aa009 and Aa008 were found (Fontijn 2002, 91).

Bronze Palstave Axe Aa010

Fig. 51: bronze palstave Axe Aa010 found near Achterberg, de Rhenense Meent (photo made by author)

This object is in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa010. The bronze palstave axe is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 51).

This object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent* in 1919. The object is a bronze palstave axe dated to the Middle Bronze Age. There is a transverse ridge connected to the flanges at the side of the axe. The cutting edge does not have the common shape of a fan, but looks straight. It is possible that the end is sharpened after it broke. The colour is a mottled green, the axe seems corroded and seems to contain casting flaws. This type of axe is developed from the Oldendorf type axe (Aa008 and Aa009)(fig. 52). The length of the axe is 9.29 cm and the width of the axe is 2.55 cm. The palstave axe is 2.04 cm thick. The Axe is also classified by Butler and Steegstra (1998) as a plain palstave axe with parallel H-sides (Butler and Steegstra 1998, 217).

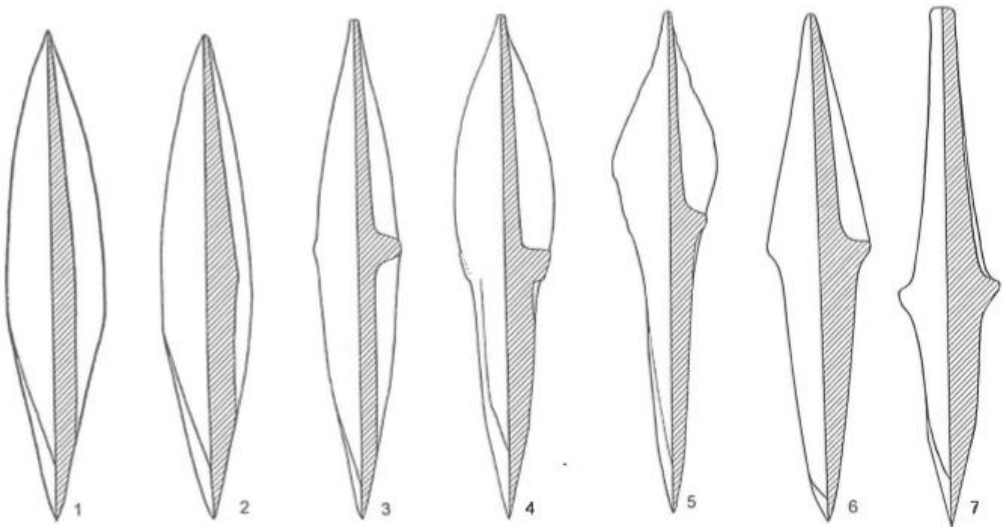


Fig. 52: side views and logitudinal sections illustrating the development from high-flanged axes to later palstaves in the Netherlands (Butler and Steegstra 1998)

That palstave axes were used as tools is inescapable, according to Butler and Steegstra (1998). Almost none have the form or decoration suggesting weapons or prestige objects, the few exceptions are imported palstave types. Many show signs of heavy use and drastic re-sharpening resulting in having the blade shortened. The palstave axes were probably used to work wood. This has also been tested by using replicas to construct replica Bronze Age houses (Butler and Steegstra 1998, 165). According to Butler and Steegstra it is more probable that in the case of Aa010, the object was functionally considered as a chisel rather than a axe. Although Aa010 still has the form of a palstave axe (Butler and Steegstra 1998, 217) (fig. 53).

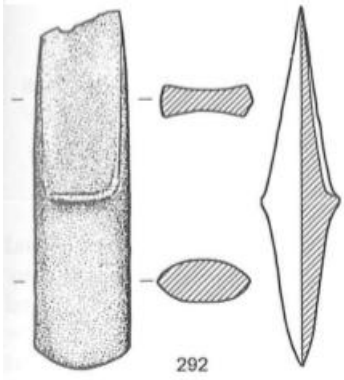


Fig. 53: drawing bronze palstave axe Aa010 (Butler and Steegstra 1998)

Bronze Socketed Axe 103

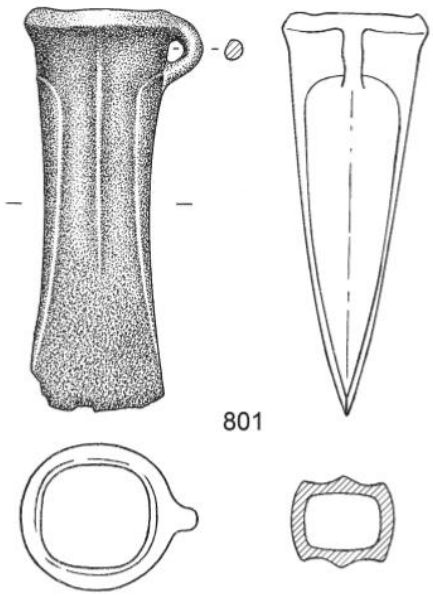


Fig. 54: drawing of bronze socket axe 103 (Butler and Steegstra 2006)

This object is in the possession of the Amersfoort museum. The object number is 103, the bronze socketed axe is not yet submitted into the ARCHIS database (fig. 54).

The object was found in *Achterberg* in 1962 according to the Amersfoort museum. How it came into the possession of the museum is unknown. Therefore it is difficult to determine if this object is an ancient or modern import (Butler and Steegstra 2006, 226). The socketed axe is dated to the Late Bronze Age (Butler and Steegstra 2006, 226). The socketed axe has a nearly circular mouth with a bulging collar from which springs the small D-loop. The axe has six ridges. It is probably cast. The cutting edge is sharpened, but also anciently battered. One tip of the blade is broken off. The patina of this object is a glossy brown, partly peeled off with underneath a light green. The length of the object is 8.3 centimetres with a width of 3.0 centimetres (Butler and Steegstra 2006, 226).

This socketed axe is classified by Butler as a Lausitz type socketed axe. Axe 103 is the only Lausitx type socketed axe found in the Netherlands. Normally these kinds of socketed axes appear in the Elbe-Oder area, eastern Germany (Butler and Steegstra 2006, 225). The classification of the axe as a Lausitz socketed axe has to be treated with care, since this type of axe is rare and normally not found in the Netherlands.

Bronze Socketed Axe Aa67

This object used to be in the possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen*, the object number is Aa67. The object was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent*.

However, the bronze socketed axe has been lost and is also not submitted into the ARCHIS database. Also no drawing is available (Butler and Steegstra 2006, 236).

Sword or Lance fragment 749059

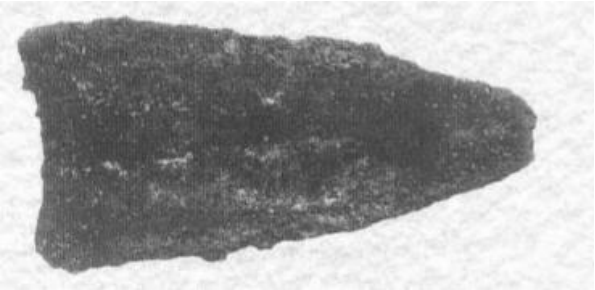


Fig. 55: bronze sword or lance fragment 749059 (De Kok *et al.* 1990-1991)

Only one end of the object (object number: 749059 and ARCHIS-2 number: 23814) was found. It could possibly be a fragment of a lance or a sword. Length: 8.68 cm, width: 4.43cm, thickness: 0.18 cm, weight: 25.4 gr. The object was found in *Achterberg*, *Molenweg* in 1989 by E.A.N. van Hagen and J.Th.M. Mom during construction work (fig. 55). The object is dated to the Bronze Age and is made of bronze (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). It was found in association with a bronze hilt (see 6.17) and a thick, course tempered piece of ceramics (Kok *et al*. 1990-1991, 56). It is probable that this object is the same as object 733501 since the location and finders are the same. The objects are described the same. The only difference is that according to ARCHIS object 749059 was found in 1989 and object 733501 was found in 1990. When looking at the Chronicles of Utrecht, an object described the same way as objects 749059 and 733501 was said to be found in 1990 (similar to object 733501) with the same measurements described in ARCHIS for object 749059 (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Lance or Sword fragment 733501

Fragment of a lance or sword (object number 733501 and ARCHIS-2 number: 33079). It was found in *Achterberg*, *Plant Horst-Molenweg*, by E.A.N. van Hagen and W.J. van Tent in cooperation with the Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek (ROB). The object was found in 1990 and is dated from the Early Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age. The object is made of Bronze (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). It was found in association with a bronze hilt (object 733502) and a thick, course tempered piece of ceramics (Kok *et al*. 1990-1991, 56). It is probable that this object is the same

as object 749059 since the location and finders are the same. The objects are described the same. The only difference is that according to ARCHIS object 749059 was found in 1989 and object 733501 was found in 1990. When looking at the Chronicles of Utrecht, an object described the same way as objects 749059 and 733501 was said to be found in 1990 (similar to object 733501) with the same measurements described in ARCHIS for object 749059 (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl

Razor 750724

This object is a razor (object number: 750724 and ARCHIS-2 number: 23814), with an annular shaped hilt. The razor was found in *Achterberg*, *Molenweg*, by J.Th.M. Mom and E.A.N. van Hagen. The object was found in 1989 and dated to the Bronze Age. The object is made of bronze. Razors have both been found in peat contexts as in burial contexts (Butler 1990; Harding 2000, 386-413)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). E.A.N. van Hagen suspects that this object may be the same as object 7335-2, the hilt.

Coffin Fittings 735945

The coffin fittings (object number: 735945 and ARCHIS-2 number: 58269) were found in 1993 near *Achterberg*, *de Dijk*, by M. Feenstra. The object is drawn and described by T. van Rooijen and dated from the Iron Age to the Late New Time. Unfortunately, T. van Rooijen passed away and his drawing of this object is missing from his documentation. Since the object is made of an unknown metal, and coffin fittings are not normally found in the prehistoric period, it is improbable that this object is dated to the Iron Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(Utrechts depot).

Hilt 733502

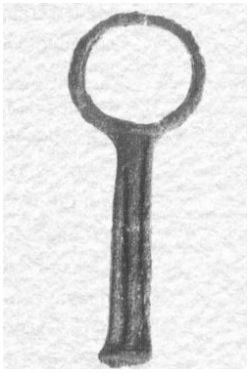


Fig. 56: bronze hilt 733502
(De Kok *et al.* 1990-1991)

This possible hilt (object number 733502 and ARCHIS-2 number: 33079) is made of bronze. It was found in *Achterberg*, *Plan Horst-Molenweg*, in 1990 by E.A.N. van Hagen and W.J. van Tent during construction work (fig. 56). The object is dated from the Early Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). The length

of the object is 7.38 cm and it has a weight of 12.2 gr. The hilt was found in association with a fragment of a sword or lance (object 733501 and object 749059) and a thick, course tempered piece of pottery (Kok *et al*. 1990-1991, 56).

Lance 791526

This object (object number: 791526 and ARCHIS-2 number: 26979) is the point of a lance and is made of bronze. It was found behind the ice pushed ridge near *Rhenen*, *de Maatsteeg*. The coordinates in ARCHIS give another location, but in this case the toponym is the more probable location since people living in *Rhenen* remember the object being found near the *Maatsteeg.* The finder is unknown and when the object was found is also unknown. The object has a length of 19.4 cm and is dated from the Middle Bronze Age A to the Late Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Cooking stone 735252

This object (object number: 735252 and ARCHIS-2 number: 43591) is a cooking stone made of an unknown stone. It was found in *Achterberg*, de Horst, by an unknown finder in 1992. The object is dated to the Iron Age. Near this find, the remains of a possible Iron Age house plan were found (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Broken stones are often incorrectly called cooking stones, therefore the objects which are termed cooking stones in ARCHIS have to be treated with care.

Cooking stone fragments 841105

These objects (object number: 841105 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417696) are two possible fragments of a cooking stone and are made of sandstone or quartzite. They were found near *Achterberg*, *de Noordelijke Meentsteeg* by E.A.N. Hagen in 1992. The object was dated from the Late Palaeolithic B to the Neolithic period. E.A.N. van Hagen noticed that the finds were located on a slight elevation of the landscape (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(see object 841106, object 841107 and object 841108) Broken stones are often incorrectly called cooking stones, therefore the objects which are termed cooking stones in ARCHIS have to be treated with care.

Possible cooking stone fragment 649471

This object (object number: 649471 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417742) is an unknown stone. It was found near *Achterberg*, *de Maatsteeg*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1990. The object was dated from the Late Palaeolithic B to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Broken stones are often incorrectly called cooking stones, therefore the objects which were termed cooking stones in ARCHIS have to be treated with care.

Grinding stones 834053

These objects (object number: 834053 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417674) are two grinding stones made of tephrite. They were found in *Achterberg*, *Ruiterpad*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1990. They are dated from the Iron Age to the Late Medieval period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Grinding stone 344286

This object (object number: 344286 and ARCHIS-2 number: 435135) is a grinding stone made of tephrite. It was found in *Achterberg* near the slope of the ice pushed ridge by Archol (Archaeological Research Leiden company) in 2012. It is dated from the Late Bronze Age to the Late Medieval period. Near this find, remains of an Iron Age settlement have been found consisting of post holes, stake holes and pits. These are the first remains of an Iron Age settlement found on the northern slope of the ice pushed ridge. In the Netherlands grinding stones made of tephrite are not dated to the Late Bronze Age but from the Iron Age onwards (Kars 1983, 114). Since tephrite emerges from the Iron Age onwards and this object was found near a possible Iron Age settlement in *Achterberg*, it is very probable that this grinding stone also dates from the Iron Age onwards and not from the Late Bronze Age onwards as is suggested in ARCHIS (see object 344287 and object 344284)(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Grinding stones 344287

These objects (object number: 344287 and ARCHIS-2 number: 435135) are two grinding stones made of sandstone or quartzite. They were found in *Achterberg* near the slope of the ice pushed ridge by Archol (Archaeological Research Leiden company) in 2012. They are dated to the Iron Age. Near this find, the remains of an Iron Age settlement have been found consisting of post holes, stake holes and pits. These are the first remains of an Iron Age settlement found on the northern slope of the ice pushed ridge(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(see object 344286 and 344284)

Grinding stone 656420

This object (object number: 656420 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417720) is a grinding stone made of tephrite. It was found near *Heimerstein*, *Grebbe* by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1987. The grinding stone is dated from the Iron Age to the Early Medieval period. E.A.N. Hagen noticed that the grinding stone was found at the western bank of the *Grebbe* while the water was extremely low. The grinding stone was located in a position where the surface of a layer of cover sand meets a layer of clay and found near a piece of pottery and a fragment of an animal skull (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Grinding stones 745214

These objects (object number: 745214 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417788) are two grinding stones made of tephrite. They were found near *Achterberg*, *Laareind*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1987. The objects are dated from the Iron Age to the Late Medieval period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

AA-burin 841106

This object (object number: 841106 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417696) is an AA-burin made of flint. It was found near *Achterberg*, the *Rhenense Meent*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1992. The object is dated from the Late Palaeolithic to the Neolithic period. E.A.N. van Hagen noticed that the find was located on a slight elevation of the landscape (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(see object 841105, object 841107 and object 841108).

A-burin 820683

This object (object number: 820683 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417654) is an A-burin made of flint. It was found in *Achterberg*, *Molenweg*, by J.Th.M. Mom in 1992. The object is dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Neolithic period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flint Scraper 710478

This object (object number: 710478 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417640) is a scraper made of flint. It was found in *Achterberg*, *Noordweg*, by J.Th.M. Mom in 1994. The object is dated from the Neolithic period to the Bronze Age and was found together with other objects on the surface of a agricultural field (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(see object 710480 and object 710479).

Flint Points 638679

This object (object number: 638679 and ARCHIS-2 number: 27041) is an unknown amount of flint points. It was found near *Achterberg*, *Laareind*, by an unknown finder in 1969. The object is dated from the Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flint Tool 737524

This object (object number: 737524 and ARCHIS-2 number: 43591) is a flint tool. It was found in *Achterberg*, *De Horst*, in 1992 by an unknown finder. The object is dated from the Late Neolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flint Tools 638678

This object (object number: 638678 and ARCHIS-2 number: 27041) is an unknown amount of flint tools. It was found near *Achterberg*, *Laareind*, by an unknown finder in 1969. The object is dated from the Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Blade 841107

This object (object number: 841107 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417696) is a blade made of flint. It was found near *Achterberg*, *the Rhenense Meent*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1992. The object is dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Neolithic period. E.A.N. van Hagen noticed that the find was located on a slight elevation of the landscape (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(see object 841105, object 841106 and object 841108).

Core 834054

This object (object number: 834054, ARCHIS-2 number: 417674) is a flint core. It was found in *Achterberg*, *de Horst*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1990. The core is dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Core 841108

This object (object number: 841108 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417696) is a flint core. It was found near *Achterberg*, *de Rhenense Meent*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1992. The object is dated from the Late Paleolithic B to the Neolithic period. E.A.N. van Hagen noticed that the find was located on a slight elevation of the landscape (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(see object 841105, object 841106 and object 841107).

Core 703964

This object (object number: 703964 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417784) is a flint core. It was found near *Achterberg*, *Laareind* by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1987. The object is dated from the Late Paleolithic Period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Core 710479

This object (object number: 710479 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417640) is a flint core. It was found in *Achterberg*, *Noordweg*, by J.Th.M. Mom in 1994. The object was dated from the Late Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age and was found together with other objects on the surface of a agricultural field (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(see object 710480 and object 710478).

Cores 779319

These objects (object number: 779319 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417532) are two flint cores. They were found in *Achterberg, Boslandweg*, by J.Th.M. Mom in 1994. The cores are dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Chunk 790456

This object (object number: 790456 and ARCHIS-2 number: 43894) is a chunk of flint. It was found in *Achterberg*, *De Dijk*, by C.H.H. Delfin- van Mourik Broekman in 1974. The object is dated from the Late Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Chunk 344284

This object (object number: 344284 and ARCHIS-2 number: 435135) is a chunk of tephrite. It was found in *Achterberg* near the slope of the ice pushed ridge by Archol (Archaeological Research Leiden company) in 2012. This object is dated from the Late Bronze Age to the Late Medieval period. Near this find remains of an Iron Age settlement have been found consisting of post holes, stake holes and pits. These are the first remains of an Iron Age settlement found on the northern slope of the ice pushed ridge (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(see object 344287 and object 442863).

Chunk 809706

This object (object number: 809706 and ARCHIS-2 number: 26894) is a chunk of tephrite. The exact amount of chunk pieces is unknown. It was found in *Achterberg*, *Laareind* by C.H.H. Delfin- Van Mourik Broekman in 1969. This chunk of tephrite is dated from the Iron Age to the Late Medieval period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Splintered piece 703963

This object (object number: 703963 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417784) is a splintered piece of flint. It was found near *Achterberg, Laareind*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1987.

The piece is dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flakes 703962

These objects (object number: 703962 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417784) are two flint flakes. They were found near *Achterberg*, *Laareind*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1987. The flakes are dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flakes 834049

These objects (object number 834049 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417674) are two flint flakes. They were found in *Achterberg*, *de Horst*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1990. The flakes are dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flakes 703965

These objects (object number: 703965 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417786) are two flint flakes. They were found near *Achterberg*, *Laareind*, by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1987. The flakes are dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flake 710480

This object (object number: 710480 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417640) is a flint flake. It was found in *Achterberg*, *Noordweg*, by J.Th.M. Mom in 1994. The object is dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age and was found together with other objects on the surface of a agricultural field (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(see object 710478 and object 710479).

Flake 759179

This object (object number: 759179 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417488) is a flint flake. It was found near the slope of the ice pushed ridge, *Achterberg*, *Laarsenberg*, by J.Th.M.

Mom in 1992. The object is dated from the Late Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flake 681115

This object (object number: 681115 and ARCHIS-2 number: 44103) is a flint flake. It was found near the slope of the ice pushed ridge near *Heimerstein* by C.H.H. Delfin-van Mourik Broekman in 1975. The object is dated from the Neolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flake 736975

This object (object number: 736975 and ARCHIS-2 number: 43591) is a flint flake. It was found in *Achterberg*, *De Horst*, in 1992 by an unknown finder. The object is dated from the Late Neolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flake 649470

This object (object number: 649470 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417742) is a flint flake. It was found near *Achterberg*, *Maatsteeg,* by E.A.N. van Hagen in 1990. The object is dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age and was found on a ridge of cover sand (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flake 827234

This object (object number: 827234 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417478) is a flint flake. It was found near the slope of the pushing moraine in *Achterberg*, *Boslandweg*, by J.Th.M. Mom in 1989. It is dated from the Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flakes 346003

These objects (object number: 346003 and ARCHIS-2 number: 435780) are three flint flakes. They were found near *Achterberg*, *de Dijk*, by ADC Archaeology Projects in 2009. The flakes were dated from the Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age. These

flakes were found in drilled sand. Two are possibly worked flint, one of these two was burned (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flakes 779318

These objects (object number: 779318 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417532) are six flint flakes. They were found in *Achterberg*, *Boslandweg*, by J.Th.M. Mom in 1994. They were dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Flake Scraper 779320

This object (object number: 779320 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417532) is a flint flake made into a scraper. The object was found in *Achterberg*, *Boslandweg,* by J.Th.M. Mom in 1994. The object is dated from the Late Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Unknown Flint 642223

This object (object number: 642223 and ARCHIS-2 number: 26898) is an unknown flint object. It was found in *Achterberg*, *Friesesteeg*, by C.H.H. Delfin- Van Broekman Mourik in 1969. The object is dated from the Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Unknown Flint 820684

This object (object number: 820684 and ARCHIS-2 number: 417654) is an unknown flint object. It was found in *Achterberg*, *Molenweg*, by J.Th.M. Mom in 1992. The object is dated from the Late Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Unknown Flint 819400

This object (object number: 819400 and ARCHIS-2 number: 133951) is an unknown flint object. It was found near *Achterberg* by H.C.J. Visscher in 1995. The object is dated from the Neolithic period until the Late New Age. The flint was burned (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Unknown Flint 660922

This object (object number: 660922 and ARCHIS-2 number: 59570) is an unknown flint object. It was found near *Achterberg*, *Friesesteeg*, by C.H.H. Delfin- Van Broekman Mourik in 1969. The object is dated to the Neolithic period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Unknown Flint 817370

This object (object number: 817370 and ARCHIS-2 number: 133951) is an unknown flint object. It was found in *Achterberg* by H.C.J. Visscher in 1995. It was dated from the Neolithic period to the Late New Times. The object was found in drilled sand (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Unknown Flint 706150

This object (object number 706150 and ARCHIS-2 number: 30502) is unknown flint of an unknown amount. This object was found near *Achterberg*, *Velderbroek*, by ROB (Civil Service for Archaeological Soil Research) in 1995. The unknown object is dated to the Neolithic period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

5. Discussion

According to Levy religious acts and believes are tied to social, economic and political organization and is a patterned behaviour. Therefore ritual acts, such as deliberate depositions, should also leave a patterned archaeological record (Levy 1981, 174). A lot of objects and materials have been found in the research area, but is the suggestion that these objects are the result of deliberate deposition true? The research question of this thesis is: *What is the context of the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age?*

With the subquestions:

- *What did the landscape surrounding the Rhenense Meent possibly look like in the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age?*
- *What types of objects were found in the research area?*
- *In what contexts have these types of objects been found before?*
- *Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age deliberate depositions into wet contexts?*

In this chapter we will discuss and try to answer the subquestions for each period based on what was discussed in the previous chapters. This chapter will be concluded with a summary in which also the use of ARCHIS will be discussed.

5.1 Discussion Neolithic period

5.1.1 Early Neolithic period

What did the landscape surrounding the Rhenense Meent possibly look like in the Early Neolithic period?

According to the data in ARCHIS, a few undefined occupation structures appear in the Early Neolithic period surrounding the research area as well as inside the research area, in *Achterberg*. This could mean that *Achterberg* was already a dry location during the Early Neolithic period. Other evidence for the presence of people in this region is evidence of flint processing found all over the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug.* There are a few burial barrows which possible date to the Early Neolithic period. On the *Utrechtse*

Heuvelrug objects such as axes which possibly date to the Early Neolithic were present (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

What types of objects were found in the research area?

No objects found in the research area were dated to just the Early Neolithic period, however, several objects were dated to the whole Neolithic period. Two material categories were found, stone (sandstone or quartzite) and flint. Cooking stone fragments were found made of sandstone or quartzite and the following type of objects were made of flint: A-burin, AA-burin, flint blades, flint points, flint tools, flint flakes, flint scraper, flint cores, flint chunks and unknown flint. These objects were found all over the research area, near the *Rhenense Meent*, *Laareind*, *Heimerstein* and *Achterberg*.

In what contexts have these types of objects been found before?

The objects found in the research area that could possibly date to the Early Neolithic are the kind of objects that are used in daily life and can be found at settlements (Louwe Kooijmans 2001; Peeters *et al.* 2001). During the Early Neolithic period daily life objects were sometimes deliberately deposited (Fontijn 2002, 59; Peeters *et al.* 2001, 57). An example is the deposition at *Hardinxveld-De Bruin* where a pot, a bone, a piece of red deer antler, a log of ash wood and three short sticks are suggested to be deliberately deposited. Another possible example was found at *Hoge Vaart-A27*. At this site three concentrations of flint were found in unusual locations and contexts (Peeters *et al*. 2001, 57). According to Fontijn (2011) the Early Neolithic is the first period where there is ample evidence for the deliberate deposition of objects (Fontijn 2011, 434).

Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent which dated to the Early Neolithic period deliberate depositions into wet contexts?

Although objects used in daily life were deposited during the Early Neolithic period, and objects used in daily life were found in the research area, it cannot be concluded with certainty that these objects were deliberate depositions into wet contexts.

The objects found in the research area are objects that are also found in settlements. Traces of possible occupation were found on two locations in the research area, in *Achterberg* and near the southern border of the research area. Most of the flint objects were found in or near *Achterberg*. Also the pottery was only found on the ice-pushed ridge, *de Utrechtse Heuvelrug,* or in *Achterberg*, a location where possible traces of occupation were found. The objects found in and near *Achterberg* could be the result of waste deposition instead of deliberate deposition.

The few objects that were not found in or near *Achterberg* are an AA-burin, cooking stone fragments, flint blades, flint flakes and flint cores. These objects were surface finds or were found during archaeological drill research (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

The area in which these objects were found was possibly wet and a peat land, although we cannot know for certain if these locations were truly wet during the Neolithic period. The area of peat was smaller during the Neolithic period than in later periods. Therefore the locations where these objects were found could have been dry during the Neolithic period while wet during the Bronze Age and Iron Age (appendix 2)(www.archeologieinnederland.nl; Spek 2008, 17; Stichting voor Bodemkartering, 1973, 37, 43, 51). Since most depositions from the Early Neolithic period consist of several objects used in daily life, like the deposition in *Hardinxveld-De Bruin* or the flint hoards of *Hoge Vaart-A27*, it is difficult to determine whether the objects found in the research area and away from possible occupation are in fact deliberate depositions (Louwe Kooijmans and Nokkert 2001, 91-96; Louwe Kooijmans 2001, 526; Peeters *et al.* 2001, 57). They are not found in high concentrations. The highest concentration was of five objects, three flint objects and 2 possible cooking stone fragments. The objects are also not found with other unusual objects, such as the piece of red deer

antler in *Hardinxveld-De Bruin* (Louwe Kooijmans and Nokkert 2001; Louwe Kooijmans 2001). Although these objects were found in possible wet locations, no evident evidence was found which could determine if the objects were deposited deliberately. The whole context of these objects cannot be determined with certainty.

5.1.2 Middle Neolithic period

What did the landscape surrounding the Rhenense Meent possibly look like in the Middle Neolithic period?

According to the data in ARCHIS the landscape during the Middle Neolithic period did not differ from the landscape during the Early Neolithic. Objects such as axes were found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* and possibly date to the Middle Neolithic period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

What types of objects were found in the research area?

Like the Early Neolithic, no objects found in the research area were dated to just the Middle Neolithic period, however, several objects were dated to the whole Neolithic period. Two material categories were found, stone (sandstone or quartzite) and flint. Cooking stone fragments were found made of sandstone or quartzite and the following type of objects were made of flint: A-burin, AA-burin, flint blades, flint points, flint tools, flint flakes, flint scraper, flint cores, flint chunks and unknown flint. These objects were found all over the research area, near *de Rhenense Meent*, *Laareind*, *Heimerstein* and *Achterberg*.

In what contexts have these types of objects been found before?

Since the objects discussed here, are the same objects discussed in the Early Neolithic section, the discussion about the Early Neolithic period can also be applied to the Middle Neolithic period. The objects possible dated to the Middle Neolithic are objects that were used in daily life and can be found at settlements (Raemakers 2005: Raemaekers 1999, 166 - 179). In the Early Neolithic period the objects used in daily life

were sometimes deliberately deposited in wet areas. In the Middle Neolithic period objects of non-local origin were mostly deposited (Wentink 2008: Ter Wal 1996).

Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Middle Neolithic period, deliberate depositions into wet contexts?

The objects found in the research area which possibly date to the Middle Neolithic period are objects that were used in daily life.

During the Middle Neolithic period, a transformation can be seen from the deliberate deposition of local objects used in daily life to the deposition of non-local objects such as axes, adzes and chisels which seem to have never been used and were sometimes too large to be functional. Instead of several objects being suitable for deposition, it seems as though the axe is the only object suitable for deposition in the Middle Neolithic period (Fontijn 2002, 59: Ter Wal 1996: Wentink 2008, 155, 156; Bradley 1990, 44-45).

No axes, adzes or chisels dated to the Middle Neolithic period were found in the research area. If a tradition of deposition took place in the research area during the Middle Neolithic period, it was probably not a tradition where axes, adzes or chisels were deposited. Interesting is the fact that axes and chisels were found outside of the research area on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug,* which mean these kind of objects were present in this region during the Middle Neolithic period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

The objects which were found in the research area were daily life objects such as cooking stone fragments, made of sandstone or quartzite, pottery and objects made of flint. Most of the objects were found in and near *Achterberg* and could be the result of waste deposition instead of deliberate deposition, since traces of possible occupation were found in *Achterberg* (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). The other objects were found in or near the *Rhenense Meent*. Although these objects were found in possible wet locations, no clear evidence was found which could determine if the objects were deposited deliberately. No big concentrations of objects were found and no evidence has been found that the objects were placed at unusual locations or with unusual

objects. We also have to keep in mind that it is possible that these objects were not originated from wet places at all, since the area of peat used to be smaller during the Neolithic period compared to later periods (appendix 2)(www.archeologieinnederland.nl). The whole context of these objects cannot be determined with certainty.

5.1.3 Late Neolithic period

What did the landscape surrounding the Rhenense Meent possibly look like in the Late Neolithic period?

During the Late Neolithic period we see the emergence of a great amount of burial barrows in the area surrounding the research area. A few possible occupation structures and encampments were found. These structures were also found in the research area in *Achterberg*, indicating that *Achterberg* was possibly a dry location during the Late Neolithic period. Besides in the research area, objects such as axes were also found on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* in this period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

What types of objects were found in the research area?

Besides daily life objects made of pottery, flint and other stones, which were dated to the whole Neolithic period, we see the emergence of objects like a Scandinavian flint dagger, a Romigny-Lérhy flint dagger, a Buren-axe and wrist guards. The wrist guards and the Buren-axe are dated to the Late Neolithic period. The Romigny-Lérhy flint dagger is dated to the first half of the Late Neolithic period and the Scandinavian flint dagger is dated from the Late Neolithic period to the Early Bronze Age.

In what contexts have these types of objects been found before?

The objects used in daily life are still found in settlement context, but not so much in wet contexts (Fontijn 2002, 59; Garcia-Diaz 2014, 85). The Scandinavian flint dagger is a type I-A dagger (Lomborg 1973, 32-47: Bloemers 1968, 48-49). Scandinavian daggers were mostly found in peat areas, with no association to settlements or funerary

contexts. It is suggested that the type I daggers are especially deposited in wet areas adjacent to settlement areas (van Gijn 2015, 76-81). The usual context of the Romigny-Lérhy flint dagger is difficult to determine, since only two daggers of this type of flint have been found in an archaeological context (Polman 1993, 14).

According to Bakker (2006), Buren Axes are found in settlement contexts and sometimes in burial contexts. Several Buren Axes have been found in wet contexts, such as rivers and bogs, possibly as votive depositions (Bakker 2006, 247).

Wrist guards are usually not found in wet context. According to Woodward *et al.* (2011), wrist guards are mostly found in burial context from the Bell Beaker culture, such as barrows or flat graves. Only a few wrist guards are known from non-burial contexts, they were found in domestic contexts such as in pits or hearths (Woodward *et al.* 2011, 98-99).

Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Late Neolithic period, deliberate depositions into wet contexts?

In the Late Neolithic period the tradition of depositions is similar to the one during the Middle Neolithic period. Non-local objects and axes seem to be deposited away from areas of habitation and burials. It is also in this period that in the south of the Netherlands the first objects of metal appeared in depositions (Ter Wal 1996, 146; Fontijn 2002, 60-68)

In the research area we see the appearance of flint daggers from non-local origins, wrist guards and a buren-axe. Buren-axes and Scandinavian flint daggers of type I have been found as deliberate depositions before in wet contexts in the Netherlands (Bakker 2006, 247; van Gijn 2015, 76-81).

Wrist guards are usually found in grave contexts, such as barrows and flat graves. Even if there would have been a grave, usually only one wrist guard was buried with the individual. The fact that two wrist guards were found in the research area from wet contexts is remarkable, since this type of object is quite rare (Woodward *et al.* 2011, 98-99; Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 124-125).

Since there seems to be a tradition of deliberate deposition of rare or non-local objects, I suggest that the Buren-axe, the Scandinavian flint dagger, the Romigny-Lérhy flint dagger and the wrist guards are possible deliberate depositions into wet contexts during the Late Neolithic period. Besides being found in wet contexts these objects are either rare, non-local or have been known to be deposited in wet contexts before.

5.2 Discussion Bronze Age

5.2.1 Early Bronze Age

What did the landscape surrounding the Rhenense Meent possibly look like in the Early Bronze Age?

According to the data in ARCHIS, more burial barrows appear during the Early Bronze Age. Also more possible occupation structures appear on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* as well as in the research area in *Achterberg.* A possible burial was also found in *Achterberg.* Again, indicating that the location of *Achterberg* was probably dry during Early Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

What types of objects were found in the research area?

According to the data in ARCHIS, some flint and stone objects used in daily life, such as scrapers, cores, points and cooking stones, which possibly dated to the Neolithic period, could also date to the Bronze Age. A fragment of a lance or sword, a razor and a hilt have been found in the research area in *Achterberg* and are dated to the whole Bronze Age according to ARCHIS (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). The Scandinavian flint dagger of type I which possibly dated to the Late Neolithic period, could also possibly date to the Early Bronze Age (documentation museum het Rondeel; van Gijn 2015, 76).

In what contexts have these types of objects been found before?

In the Bronze Age there is a continuation of the use of flint and stone objects in daily life, although the stone axes made place for bronze axes (Fontijn 2002, 75; Sheratt

1994, 341). Lance and swords have been found in wet contexts during the Bronze Age. The fragment of the lance or sword found in the research area was found in *Achterberg.* A location we now know was possibly inhabited and dry during Late Prehistory. The possible hilt and razor were also found in *Achterberg*. Razors have both been found in peat contexts as in burial contexts (Butler 1990; Harding 2000, 386-413). As was told before, it is suggested that Scandinavian daggers of type I are usually deposited in wet areas adjacent to settlement areas (van Gijn 2015, 76-81).

Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Early Bronze Age, deliberate depositions into wet contexts?

It can be said that the tradition of deposition is more of a continuation than a break when comparing the Late Neolithic period to the Early Bronze Age. Since both products, flint and metal, had to be imported. And in both periods the objects were deposited in wet locations in the landscape (Fontijn 2002, 76).

The only object I would suggest to have been deposited deliberately into a wet context is the Scandinavian dagger which dates from the Late Neolithic period to the Early Bronze Age.

The sword or lance fragment, the hilt and the razor were found in *Achterberg*. A location which was probably inhabited and dry during the Bronze Age. According to the data ARCHIS these objects were found nearby a location where also a burial was found. It could be possible these objects were associated with this burial. Therefore these objects were probably not deposited into wet contexts in the research area, although these kind of objects have been found in wet contexts before (Butler 1990). It seems as though the tradition of deliberate deposition diminished during the Early Bronze Age in the research area (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

5.2.2 Middle Bronze Age

What did the landscape surrounding the Rhenense Meent possibly look like in the Middle Bronze Age?

According to the data in ARCHIS more burial barrows and possible occupation structures appeared during the Middle Bronze Age. According to ARCHIS possible celtic fields also appeared in this period, but for the most part not much changed after the Early Bronze Age. Possible occupation structures and a possible burial are still present in *Achterberg* in the research area, indicating that this location was probably still dry during the Middle Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

What types of objects were found in the research area?

Beside the daily life objects made of flint and stone, and the fragment of the sword or lance and the hilt and razor which were dated to the whole Bronze Age, we see the emergence of bronze axes and daggers. Two bronze daggers, two Oldendorf flanged axes, one palstave axe and a spear/lance head were found from wet context inside the research area. The axes and daggers are dated to the Middle Bronze Age, the spear/lance head is dated from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl; Documentation museum het Rondeel; Butler 1996, 209).

In what contexts have these types of objects been found before?

The sword or lance fragment, the hilt and razor from *Achterberg* have been discussed in the previous section about the Early Bronze Age. During the first part of the Middle Bronze Age the Oldendorf axes are highly prevalent and found mostly in wet contexts. At the end of the Middle Bronze Age the palstave axe is the most frequent type of axe found in depositions. Besides these axes, objects such as spearheads, swords, daggers and sickles have been deposited during the Middle Bronze Age and were mostly found in big rivers (Fontijn 2002, 91, 97-103, 110, 111; Arnoldussen and Heegstra 2016, 71).

Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Middle Bronze Age, deliberate depositions into wet contexts?

During the Middle Bronze Age an increase in the number of metal finds can be seen compared to the previous period in the Netherlands. There is also an increase in finds from river contexts (Fontijn 2002, 86, 87). As said before Oldendorf flanged axes and palstave axes are highly prevalent in the Middle Bronze Age and are often found in wet contexts. It seems as though these axes were re-sharpened a final time before deposition (Fontijn 2002 91, 110, 111). The axes found in the research area also showed traces of re-sharpening. The two Oldendorf flanged axes and the palstave axe were found in wet contexts. Since these kind of axes were traditionally deposited in wet contexts during the Middle Bronze Age, we can assume that the same applies here and that these axes were deliberately deposited in wet contexts behind the ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*.

Other objects which were traditionally deposited during the Middle Bronze Age were swords, daggers, spearheads and sickles (Fontijn 2002, 91, 97-103, 110, 111; Arnoldussen and Heegstra 2016, 71). Two bronze daggers and a spear/lance head were found in the research area from wet contexts. Since these kind of objects have been found in these kind of wet contexts before, we can assume that also the daggers and the spear/lance head were possibly deliberately deposited into a wet context.

During the Middle Bronze Age we see a possible increased tradition of deliberate depositions in the research area.

5.2.3 Late Bronze Age

What did the landscape surrounding the Rhenense Meent possibly look like in the Late Bronze Age?

Again, according to the data in ARCHIS not much changed in the landscape between the Late Bronze Age and its previous period, the Middle Bronze Age. A few more possible occupation structures, celtic fields appeared on the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*. We also see the emergence of urn fields in this period. In the research area in *Achterberg*

we still see the presence of possible occupation structures and a possible burial which suggests that this location was also dry during the Late Bronze Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

What types of objects were found in the research area?

The spear/lance head discussed in the previous section dated from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age. This could mean that this object could also have been deposited in the Late Bronze Age instead of the Middle Bronze Age. The razor, hilt and lance or sword fragment found in *Achterberg* dated to the whole Bronze Age.

Dated to the Late Bronze Age are two socketed axes, although one of the axes should be treated with caution since how it came into the possession of the Amersfoort museum is unknown and this socketed axe is classified as a Lausitz type socketed axe, which usually only appear in the Elbe-Oder area, eastern Germany. This type of axe is rare and normally not found in the Netherlands (Butler and Steegstra 2006, 225).

Finally a grinding stone made of tephrite and a chunk of tephrite have been found in the research area and are dated to the Late Bronze Age according to ARCHIS. Since tephrite emerges from the Iron Age onwards and these last objects were found near a possible Iron Age settlement in *Achterberg*, it is very probable that this piece of tephrite and the grinding stone made of tephrite are not dated to the Late Bronze Age but from the Iron Age onwards (Kars 1983, 114). Other objects which possible date to the Late Bronze Age are flint and stone tools.

In what contexts have these types of objects been found before?

Weapons such as axes and spearheads are normally not found in burial or settlement contexts in this period, but derive from wet contexts such as rivers and marshes (Fontijn 2002, 165, 166). The sword or lance fragment, the hilt and razor from *Achterberg* have been discussed in the previous section about the Early Bronze Age. The daily life tools found in the research area, made of flint and other stones, were mainly found in *Achterberg* and near the slope of the ice-pushed ridge, *de Utrechtse*

Heuvelrug. These kinds of objects were also found in settlement contexts (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Late Bronze Age, deliberate depositions into wet contexts?

The razor, the hilt and the fragment of a sword or lance dated to the entire Bronze Age have been discussed in previous sections and are not considered deliberate depositions into wet contexts. The spear/lance head which was also discussed in the previous section, the Middle Bronze Age, is assumed to be a possible deliberate deposition. The socketed axe which was found in *Achterberg* can less certainly be called a deliberate deposition. Besides the axe questionable history and its classification as a Lausitz type socketed axe, this socketed axe is said to have been found in *Achterberg. Achterberg* was probably a dry location during the Late Bronze Age and traces of occupation have been found here (Butler and Steegstra 2006, 225). The other socketed axe, which was found near the *Rhenense Meent* is slightly more probable to be a deliberate deposition. The *Rhenense Meent* is located in a former peat land, a context where these type of axes have been found before as depositions. Unfortunately the socketed axe has been lost and cannot be studied further (Butler and Steegstra 2006, 236).

We see a slight decrease in possible deliberate depositions into wet contexts during the Late Bronze Age. Worth mentioning, however, is the deposition of a lance tip in the filling of a posthole, found on the ice-pushed ridge near *Remmerden* (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

5.3 Discussion Iron Age

5.3.1 Early Iron Age

What did the landscape surrounding the Rhenense Meent possibly look like in the Early Iron Age?

According to the data in ARCHIS we see an increase in possible occupation structures during the Early Iron Age at the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug.* We also see an increase in urn fields and celtic fields during this period. A depot, a Gündlingen sword, was found in the river *Nederrijn*. We also see an increase in possible occupation structures in the research area near the slope of the ice-pushed ridge and in *Achterberg* (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

What types of objects were found in the research area?

During the Iron Age mostly daily life objects were found in the research area, according to the data in ARCHIS. Such as grinding stones and cooking stones. Remarkable is the mentioning of 'coffin fittings' in ARCHIS, since no coffins were used in burial rituals during the Iron Age. A drawing of this object was made by T. van Rooijen, but unfortunately this person passed away and the drawing cannot be found in his documentations. These coffin fittings and most of the daily life objects are dated to a broader period than the Iron Age and could therefore also date to another period. Only a possible cooking stone and grinding stone were dated to just the Iron Age (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

In what contexts have these types of objects been found before?

During the Early Iron Age metal depositions in wet contexts still occurred, although in significantly decreased amounts. Instead of depositing weapons in wet contexts, weapons were deposited in burials. During the Iron Age only a few iron axes were deposited, but they were left behind in the same contexts as axes from the Bronze Age: wet contexts. Known depositions from this period are iron axes, bronze Wesseling and Geistingen axes, a few spearheads and bronze Gündlingen swords (Fontijn and

Fokkens 2007, 364, 365). Kristiansen (1998) argues that local and household rituals became more important during the Iron Age. A shift can be seen from large communal rituals of axe hoard depositions to the deposition of household food sacrifices in pottery (Kristiansen 1998, 344, 345). The objects found in research area are mostly daily life objects and could, according to literature, be deliberate depositions.

Were the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Early Iron Age, deliberate depositions into wet contexts?

According to the data in ARCHIS, the objects found in research area are mostly daily life objects found in *Achterberg* or near the slope of the ice-pushed ridge. Locations which were probably dry during the Iron Age and where traces of habitation were found. These daily life objects can be found in settlements, but also as depositions. Since, except for one, all daily life objects were found in *Achterberg* and near the slope of the ice-pushed ridge, where the land was probably dry during the Iron Age, it is more probable that these objects were not deliberate depositions.

The exception, a grinding stone, was found somewhat away from the slope of the ice-pushed ridge near a small stream, the *Grebbe.* E.A.N. Hagen noticed that the grinding stone was located at the western bank of the *Grebbe* while the water was extremely low. The grinding stone was located in a position where the surface of a layer of cover sand meets a layer of clay and was found near a piece of pottery and a fragment of an animal skull both dated from the Iron Age to the Early Medieval period (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl). Unfortunately these objects have no further documentation to make the context of the objects more clear and to discern if the objects were found in clear association with each other. It is slightly possible, however, that these objects were deliberately placed at this location.

The coffin fittings were also found further away from *Achterberg* and the ice-pushed ridge, but since this object dates to a very broad period, coffins were not present during the Iron Age in the Netherlands and no further documentation or drawings of this object can be found, we cannot make any assumption on whether this object was deliberately deposited.

We see that no clear deliberate depositions were done in the research area during the Early Iron Age. We do see the deposition of a Gündlingen sword in the river *de Nederrijn*, outside of the research area (fig. 17, chapter 3).
As in the literature, we see a decrease in the practice of depositions during the Early Iron Age (Thomas 1989, 264; Roymans 1991, 31).

5.3.2 Middle Iron Age

All objects in the research area are dated to the entire Iron Age or a broader period. The discussion in the previous section, the Early Iron Age, also applies to the Middle and Late Iron Age. Therefore these periods will be discussed more briefly.

The landscape surrounding the *Rhenense Meent* did not change much after the Early Iron Age. There are still a lot of burial mounds, possible occupation structures, urn fields and celtic fields (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

Except for the coffin fittings, only daily life objects have been found in the research area. Most of these objects were found in *Achterberg* or near the slope of the ice-pushed ridge. Since these objects were found on land that was probably dry during the Iron Age and possible traces of occupation have been found nearby, it is unlikely that these objects were deliberate depositions into wet contexts. The exception is the grinding stone found at the western bank of the *Grebbe*, together with a piece of pottery and a fragment of an animal skull. The coffin fittings are dated to a very broad period and since coffins were not present during the Iron Age in the Netherlands and no further documentation or drawings of this object can be found, we cannot assume that this object was deliberately deposited (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

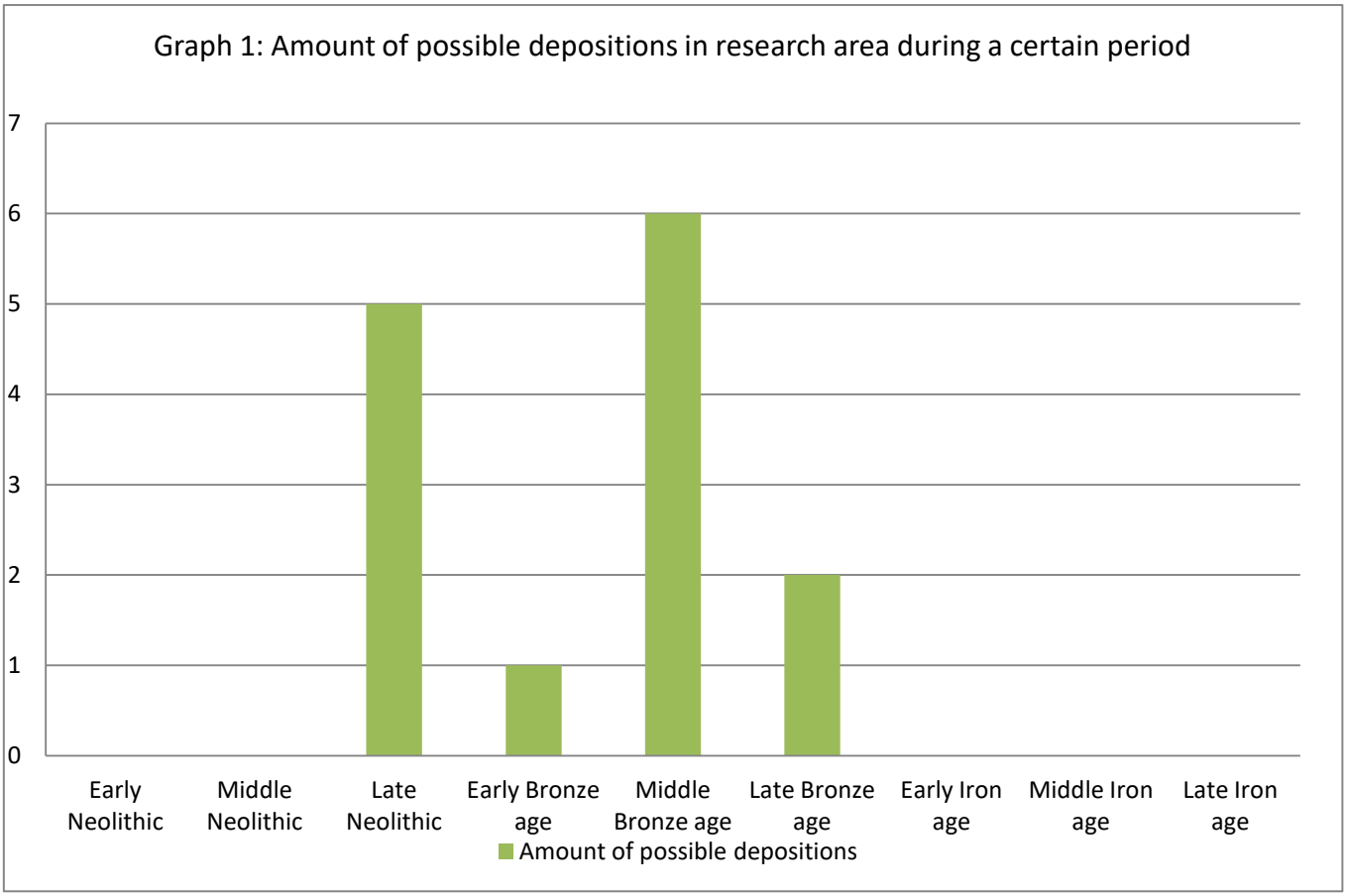
5.3.3 Late Iron Age

Nothing has changed between the Middle Iron Age and the Late Iron Age. The objects found in the research area are the same as in the Early and Middle Iron Age. Therefore this section will be discussed briefly (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

The landscape surrounding the *Rhenense Meent* during the Late Iron Age did not change much since the Early and Middle Iron Age. We still see a large prevalence of burial mounds, possible occupation structures, celtic fields and urn fields (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

As in the Early and Middle Iron Age, mostly daily life objects have been found in the research area. Most of them were found from dry locations which make them unlikely to be deliberate depositions into wet contexts. The grinding stone found on the western bank of the *Grebbe* was dated to the entire Iron Age to the Early Medieval period and could therefore also date to the Late Iron Age. Although not much is known about this find, we cannot exclude the possibility that this object is a deliberate deposition into a wet context. As has been said before, the coffin fittings have to be treated with caution, since it is dated to a broad period and no coffins were present during the Iron Age. We cannot assume that this object was deposited deliberately (zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl).

5.4 Summary discussion



Total amount of objects deposited = 12

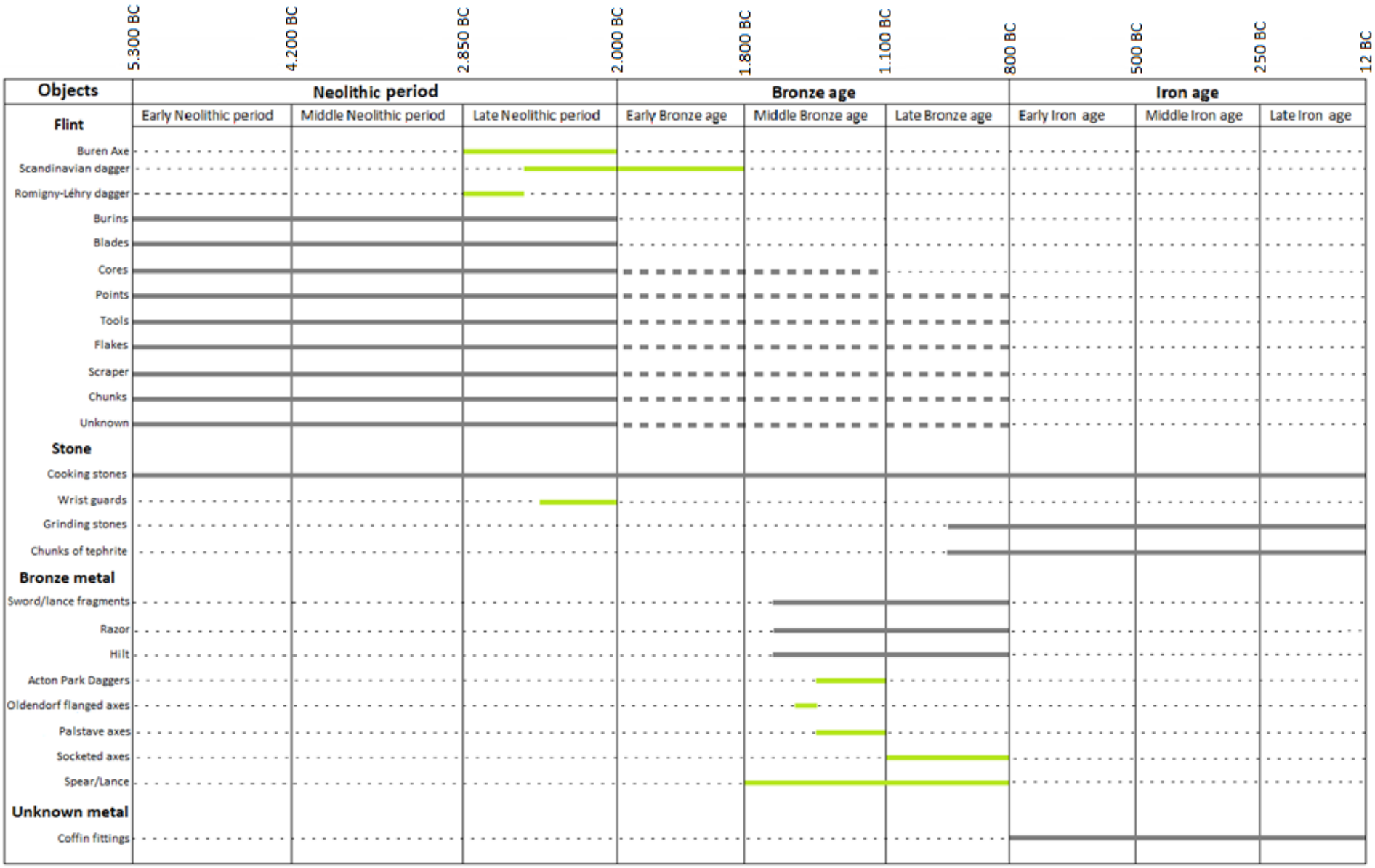
When we look at the possible depositions during the Neolithic period, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, we see that during the Early and Middle Neolithic period probably no tradition of deliberate depositions was present. The objects found in this period are mainly objects used in daily life made of flint or stones (tab. 2)(graph. 1). It is possible that the area of peat was a lot smaller during the Early and Middle Neolithic period and therefore these objects may have originated from dry locations instead of wet locations (appendix 2)(www.archeologieinnederland.nl).

A change occurred in the Late Neolithic period. It is in this period we see the emergence of more special and non-local objects from wet context (tab. 2)(graph. 1). The deposition of these objects mostly agree with literature, such as the Buren-axe and the type I Scandinavian dagger. The wrist guards, however, are usually not found in wet contexts, but in burial contexts. It could be possible that a burial was present in

the research area. However, two wrist guards were found while usually only one wrist guard is deposited in a burial. Since in the Late Neolithic period a tradition of depositing rare and special objects exists, the wrist guards could very well also have been deliberately deposited into a wet context (Woodward *et al.* 2011, 98-99; Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 124-125). Not much is known about daggers of Romigny-Lérhy flint, but since the dagger of Romigny-Lérhy flint was found from a wet context and is non-local, it could very well be a deliberate deposition (Polman 1993, 14)(tab. 2).

During the Early Bronze Age the only possible deliberate deposition is the Scandinavian dagger which dated from the Late Neolithic period to the Early Bronze Age. It seems as though the practice of deposition decreased during the Early Bronze Age. This is remarkable, since according to literature we should see an increase in the practice of deposition during the Early Bronze Age and its culmination during the Middle Bronze Age (Fontijn 2002, 56). This culmination during the Middle Bronze Age is visible in the research area behind *de Utrechtse Heuvelrug* (tab. 2)(graph. 1). During the middle Bronze Age there are six objects which were probably deliberately deposited into a wet context: two Oldendorf axes, a palstave axe, two bronze daggers and a spear/lance head. This last object dates from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age.

Table 2: Dating ranges of the objects discussed in the text. Green are possible depositions into wet contexts, grey cannot be determined to be deliberate depositions with certainty



During the Late Bronze Age we see again a decrease in the practice of deposition. Only two objects are possible depositions (tab. 2)(graph. 1). The spear/lance head dated from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age and a socketed axe found near the *Rhenense Meent.* Unfortunately this last object is missing. Another socketed axe, a hilt, a razor and a sword or lance fragment were found in *Achterberg.* Since this location shows traces of habitation and was probably dry during the Late Bronze Age, we cannot determine with certainty that these objects were depositions into wet contexts, although these kind of objects have been found in wet contexts before (Butler 1990).

No clear possible depositions have been found from the research area dated to the Iron Age (tab. 2)(graph. 1). Interesting is the grinding stone found on the western bank of the *Grebbe,* together with pottery and a fragment of an animal skull. Unfortunately, we cannot assume that these objects were deposited deliberately with this information alone. The coffin fittings are also questionable and cannot be considered depositions. One deposition outside of the research area has been found however. A Gündling sword dated to the Early Iron Age was found in the river, *Nederrijn.*

Fig. 57: golden necklaces found in research area dated from the Roman period to the Early Medieval period (photo made by author)

The practice of deposition in the research area, an area behind the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* near *Rhenen*, seems to have lasted for approximately 2000 years. Starting in the Late Neolithic period and ending during the Late Bronze Age. Remarkable is that during the Roman and Medieval periods objects are still left behind in this wet area behind the ice-pushed ridge. Two golden necklaces, dated from the Roman period to the Early Medieval period, have been found well away from settlements and are labelled as depots in ARCHIS (fig. 57)

(zoeken.cultureelerfgoed.nl)(documentation museum het Rondeel). An indication that the landscape behind the ice-pushed ridge still held a special meaning to the people who lived nearby long after Late Prehistory and could perhaps even be called a persistent place (Schlanger 1992).

The term 'persistent place' is used to describe locations in landscapes where a certain activity is carried out over a long period of time. According to Schlanger (1992) a persistent place can fall into the following categories: A persistent place may be suitable for certain activities, behaviours or practices due to unique qualities; A persistent place may be noticeable by certain features which results in reoccupation; A persistent place may occur in a certain landscape through long term occupation and revisitation which is reliant on the presence of cultural materials, but independent of cultural features. The *Rhenense Meent* does have noticeable features, such as the ice pushed ridge and the nearby rivers and peat areas, which could result in the reoccupation we have seen during the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age. According to Schlanger (1992) a persistent place could also be suitable for certain activities, behaviours and practices due to certain qualities. In the case of the *Rhenense Meent* it could be said that the multiple wet places, such as the rivers and peat areas, are certain qualities of the landscape that could evoke the practice of deposition. The last definition of a persistent place, that of a long term occupation which is reliant on the presence of cultural materials does not apply to the *Rhenense Meent.* There are no resources near the *Rhenense Meent* to be exploited, a lot of the objects had to be imported.

According to Schlanger (1992) the activity at a persistent place is carried out over a long period of time. The definition of a 'long period of time' is not given. The practice of deposition in the *Rhenense Meent* seems to have lasted for circa 2000 years during Late Prehistory and the peat areas near *Rhenen* were still used for this same purpose during the Roman period and Early Medieval period. So although we do see a certain decrease and possible end of the practice of deposition during the Iron Age, it seems as though this practice was not entirely forgotten during later periods. Therefore we

can conclude that the research area was a persistent place as is defined by Schanlger (1992).

The find circumstances of the objects of this thesis were checked as detailed as possible. Unfortunately, not all objects had a complete documentation. Most of the objects were found as surface finds or during land reclamation or construction work. Most objects in possession of museum het Rondeel in *Rhenen* lacked information about the object`s finder and sometimes even the year in which the object was found. These objects were found in the first decades of the previous century, so potential manipulation of the find circumstances is possible.

ARCHIS

ARCHIS is very useful to learn more about the environment of a research area in a certain period. Unfortunately we are dependent on what is submitted into ARCHIS. When an object is found, sometimes it is not submitted into ARCHIS. The consequences are that these objects are missing from the data. Therefore some important objects can be overlooked, because their existence is unknown. ARCHIS does not give a complete image of all findings of a certain area and therefore one should be cautious when using ARCHIS as a database. An example is this thesis. Most of the objects indicating a practice of deposition, eleven out of twelve, were not submitted into ARCHIS and only known from the documentation of museum het Rondeel or the documentation of museum Amersfoort. If only ARCHIS was used to study this research area, this thesis would probably have had a different conclusion: no practice of deposition.

It is possible more objects were deposited behind the ice-pushed ridge near *Rhenen.* Not all findings from the research area have been submitted into ARCHIS, such as the objects in the museums. And since most of the objects are surface finds, it could be possible that more objects have been found on this surface without ever being reported and thus missing from the documentation of museums or the ARCHIS database.

6. Conclusion

The *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* is relatively small. In less than half an hour one can walk from one slope of the ice pushed ridge to the other slope. We now know that the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug* was probably inhabited during the Neolithic period, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Even some evidence of habitation was found in Achterberg. This means that the wet areas where deposition took place were not located somewhere far away. Especially during the Bronze Age and Iron Age where the peat area would have been more nearby than in previous periods (appendix 2)(www.archeologieinnederland.nl). Besides the peat areas, two large rivers were also close by. These rivers were in direct contact with the peat area due to an opening from the valley to the river. This opening caused floods into the valley by high water, contributing to the growth of peat in this area. One could assume that these floods had an influence on the lives of the people living nearby (Spek 2008, 17; Stichting voor Bodemkartering, 1973, 37, 43, 51).

As has been discussed in chapter 5, the *Rhenense Meent* was a persistent place as defined by Schlanger (1992). The landscape surrounding the *Rhenense Meent* had noticeable features, such as the ice pushed ridge, the rivers and peat areas. This landscape also had certain qualities which were suitable for the practice of depositions, such as peat and rivers. These qualities and features can result in revisitation and occupation of the landscape. The landscape surrounding the research area was probably inhabited, reoccupied and revisited during the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age. Even in the Roman period and the Early Medieval period this landscape was still visited and used for deliberate depositions, such as the golden necklaces. This indicates that the practice of deposition in this area was still remembered at later periods and that this landscape was used for deliberate depositions for a long period of time.

The research question of this thesis is: *What is the context of the objects found near the Rhenense Meent dated to the Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age?* In which contexts means the total environment in which something receives its meaning.

To create a background for the analysis of the objects found in the research area and their context, the landscape of the ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, has been reconstructed by looking at the findings submitted into ARCHIS. We knew from literature that a large area of peat existed in the research area. After studying the data submitted into ARCHIS it could be concluded that *Achterberg* was probably a dry and inhabited location during Late Prehistory (Spek 2008, 19; Stichting voor Bodemkartering, 1973, 37, 43, 51). Finds deriving from *Achterberg* were probably not deposited into wet contexts, but possibly came from settlement contexts or dry deposition contexts, such as burials.

The objects not found in or near *Achterberg* probably derived from wet contexts and could possibly have been deliberate depositions into wet contexts. To see if these objects indeed came from wet contexts as a deliberate deposition, the objects were studied thoroughly and literature was used to compare similar finds or objects at other sites. From this study came a few objects which could possibly have been deliberate depositions into a wet context. The documentation and location of most daily life objects found in the research area could not provide enough evidence to determine with certainty if they were deliberate depositions into wet contexts. Therefore the complete contexts of these daily life objects cannot be given.

The context of the non-local objects and special objects is more clear. Objects such as the Buren-axe, the Scandinavian flint dagger, the Oldendorf flanged axes, the palstave axe and the two bronze daggers have been found as deliberate depositions in wet contexts before and seem to have been deposited in this research area as well.

The context of the wrist guards, the Romigny-Léhry flint dagger and the socketed axe from the *Rhenense Meent* are slightly less clear. Wrist guards are usually not found in wet contexts and are quite rare, to be found in a wet context here is remarkable. There is not much known about the usual context of the Romigny-Lérhy flint dagger since it is not often found in the Netherlands. Therefore, to find this object in this research area is also quite remarkable. Since it was usual to deposit rare and non-local objects during the Late Neolithic period, the period to which both the wrist guards as the Romigny-

Léhry flint dagger date, it is still very much possible that these objects were deliberately deposited into a wet context. The socketed axe which is said to be found in the *Rhenense Meent* is unfortunately missing and can therefore not be studied further to see if its patina corresponds with its supposed context.

We can conclude that probably to deliberate depositions occurred during the Early and Middle Neolithic period. Object found from this period are daily life objects and although daily life objects were deposited in these periods, the objects showed no clear deposition context. The area of peat was a lot smaller during the Early and Middle Neolithic period and it is possible that these objects did not derive from wet lands, but from dry locations. A change occurred during the Late Neolithic period. In this period we see the emergence of depositions of special and non-local objects. The objects found in the research area and dated to the Late Neolithic period correspond with literature about deliberate depositions during the Late Neolithic period. During the Early Bronze Age we see a possible decrease in the practice of deposition. This is remarkable since according to literature we should see an increase in the practice of deposition during this period with its culmination during the Middle Bronze Age. We do see a culmination of possible deposited objects in the research area during the Middle Bronze Age with again a decrease in possible deliberate depositions during the Late Bronze Age. No clear possible depositions have been found in the research area dated to the Iron Age.

Since most finds were surface finds and not all objects are submitted into ARCHIS, it could very well be possible that objects are missing from this research. As was told in the discussion, without the documentation of museum het Rondeel and only the use of the data from ARCHIS it would have given us the impression as if no practice of deposition took place near *Rhenen* during Late Prehistory. We should recognize the possibility that missing objects can change some of the outcome of this thesis.

Further research

In thesis the focus lies on the objects made of flint, stone and metal to limit the amount of objects which have to be studied. Further research could focus on other material categories, such as pottery which was sometimes deposited during the Neolithic period and the Iron Age.

The research area discussed in this thesis is located near Rhenen and Veenendaal, but this peat land once covered a larger area than what is covered by the research area. This peat land located between Rhenen and Veenendaal extended all the way to Bennekom. Since Bennekom is also located near an ice pushed ridge, it would be interesting to see if more possible deliberate depositions were found in this area of peat.

Abstract

In this thesis the context of several objects found near the *Rhenense Meent* has been studied. Since the *Rhenense Meent* and the surrounding area used to be wet lands, it is suggested that the objects found in this area are deliberate depositions in wet contexts. The practice of deposition occurred all over Europe, therefore one would expect the type of objects found in the research area to correspond with objects which have been found as deliberate depositions before. To see if this is the case the known traditions of depositions during Late Prehistory in the Netherlands have to be studied. To create a background for the analysis of the objects found in the research area, it is necessary to study the landscape surrounding the research area. Objects dated to the Neolithic period (5.300 BC – 2000 BC), Bronze Age (2000 BC – 800 BC) and Iron Age (800 BC- 12 BC) will be discussed in this thesis. ARCHIS was used for the analysis of the objects and landscape surrounding the research area. ARCHIS does not give a complete image of all findings of a certain area and therefore one should be cautious when using ARCHIS as a database.

We can conclude that probably no deliberate depositions occurred during the Early and Middle Neolithic period. Objects found from this period are daily life objects and although daily life objects were deposited in these periods, the objects showed no clear deposition context. The area of peat was a lot smaller during the Early and Middle Neolithic period and it is possible that these objects did not derive from wet lands, but from dry locations. A changed occurred during the Late Neolithic period. In this period we see the emergence of depositions of special and non-local objects. The objects found in the research area dated to the Late Neolithic period correspond with literature about deliberate depositions during the Late Neolithic period. During the Early Bronze Age we see a possible decrease in the practice of deposition. This is remarkable since according to literature we should see an increase in the practice of deposition during this period with its culmination during the Middle Bronze Age. We do see a culmination of possible deposited objects in the research area during the Middle Bronze Age with again a decrease in possible deliberate depositions during the

Late Bronze Age. No clear possible depositions have been found in the research area dated to the Iron Age.

Even in later periods, such as the Roman period and the Early Medieval period, the practice of deposition was not forgotten. Indicating that the research area and its surrounding landscape was a possible persistent place.

Samenvatting

In deze thesis zijn de context van enkele objecten die gevonden zijn in de buurt van de Rhenense Meent onderzocht. Aangezien de Rhenense Meent en het omringende gebied vroeger nat gebied was, wordt er gesuggereerd dat de objecten die hier gevonden zijn mogelijk bewuste deposities in natte context zijn geweest. Deze bewuste deposities vonden over heel Europa plaats, daarom zou men kunnen verwachten dat de type objecten die gevonden zijn in het onderzoeksgebied overeenkomen met de type objecten die eerder als bewuste deposities zijn gevonden. Om aan te tonen of de objecten uit het onderzoeksgebied wel of geen bewuste deposities zijn geweest, is het belangrijk om de traditie van deposities tijdens de Late Prehistorie te bestuderen. Om een achtergrond te creëren voor de analyse van de objecten die in het onderzoeksgebied gevonden zijn, is het nodig om het omliggende landschap te bestuderen. Dit zal worden gedaan met ARCHIS. Alleen de objecten daterend uit de Neolithische periode (5.300 v. Chr. – 2.000 v. Chr.), Bronstijd (2.000 v. Chr. – 800 v. Chr.) en de IJzertijd (800 v. Chr. – 12 v.Chr.) die in het onderzoeksgebied zijn gevonden zullen gedetailleerd besproken worden. Ook hiervoor zal ARCHIS worden gebruikt.

Een nadeel van ARCHIS is dat het niet een compleet beeld geeft van alle sporen en vondsten die gedaan zijn in een bepaald gebied. Niet alle vondsten zijn in deze database ingevoerd. Hierdoor kunnen er dus dingen missen en daarom moet men voorzichtig met deze data omgaan.

We kunnen concluderen dat tijdens de Vroege en Midden Neolithische periode er waarschijnlijk geen bewuste depositie plaatsvond. De objecten uit deze periode zijn objecten uit het dagelijks leven. Hoewel er wel bewuste deposities van dagelijkse objecten uit deze periodes bekend zijn, tonen de gevonden objecten geen duidelijke depositie context. Het veengebied was kleiner gedurende het Vroeg en Midden Neolithicum vergeleken met latere periodes en daarom is het mogelijk dat deze objecten niet in natte gebieden achtergelaten werden, maar juist op droge gebieden. Er is een verandering te zien tijdens het Laat Neolithicum. In deze periode zien we de

opkomst van bewuste deposities van non-lokale en bijzondere objecten. De objecten gevonden in het onderzoeksgebied komen overeen met de objecten die volgens de literatuur in natte context achter gelaten werden. Tijdens de Vroege Bronstijd zien we een mogelijke vermindering van het aantal deposities. Dit is opvallend, aangezien volgens de literatuur in deze periode juist een stijging in deposities te zien zou moeten zijn met een hoogtepunt gedurende de Midden Bronstijd. Dit hoogtepunt tijdens de Midden Bronstijd is echter wel terug te zien in het onderzoeksgebied. Waarna tijdens de Late Bronstijd er weer minder mogelijke deposities in het onderzoeksgebied terug te vinden zijn. Geen duidelijke bewuste deposities in het onderzoeksgebied dateren uit de IJzertijd. In latere periodes, zoals de Romeinse tijd en de Vroege Middeleeuwen, zien we dat de traditie van deposities in natte context niet geheel vergeten is. Dit toont aan dat het onderzoeksgebied en het omliggende landschap mogelijk een 'persistent place' is geweest.

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Figures:

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Appendix 1

Table 1: Objects found in research area dated to Late Prehistory

Period	Objects research area	Date	Archis-2 number/ museum number	Map number
Neolithic	cooking stone fragments	Late Palaeolithic - Neolithic period	417696 (Archis-2 number)	1
	AA- Burin	Late Palaeolithic - Neolithic period	417696 (Archis-2 number)	2
	A-Burin	Late Palaeolithic - Neolithic period	417654 (Archis-2 number)	3
	flint blade	Late Palaeolithic - Neolithic period	417696 (Archis-2 number)	4
	flint core	Late Palaeolithic - Neolithic period	417696 (Archis-2 number)	5
	possible cooking stone fragment	Palaeolithic period – Bronze Age	417742 (Archis-2 number)	6
	flint points	Palaeolithic period– Bronze Age	27041 (Archis-2 number)	7
	flint tools	Palaeolithic period– Bronze Age	27041 (Archis-2 number)	8
	flint flakes	Palaeolithic period– Bronze Age	435780 (Archis-2 number)	9
	flint flake	Palaeolithic period– Bronze Age	417478 (Archis-2 number)	10
	unknown flint	Palaeolithic	26898 (Archis-2 number)	11

		period– Bronze Age		
	flint core	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417674 (Archis-2 number)	12
	flint core	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417784 (Archis-2 number)	13
	flint core	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417640 (Archis-2 number)	14
	flint cores	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417532 (Archis-2 number)	15
	flint chunk	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	43894 (Archis-2 number)	16
	splintered piece of flint	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417784 (Archis-2 number)	17
	flint flakes	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417784 (Archis-2 number)	18
	flint flakes	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417674 (Archis-2 number)	19
	flint flakes	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417786 (Archis-2 number)	20
	flint flake	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417640 (Archis-2 number)	21
	flint flake	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417488 (Archis-2 number)	22
	flint flake	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417742 (Archis-2 number)	23
	flint flakes	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417532 (Archis-2 number)	24
	flake scraper	Late Palaeolithic	417532 (Archis-2 number)	25

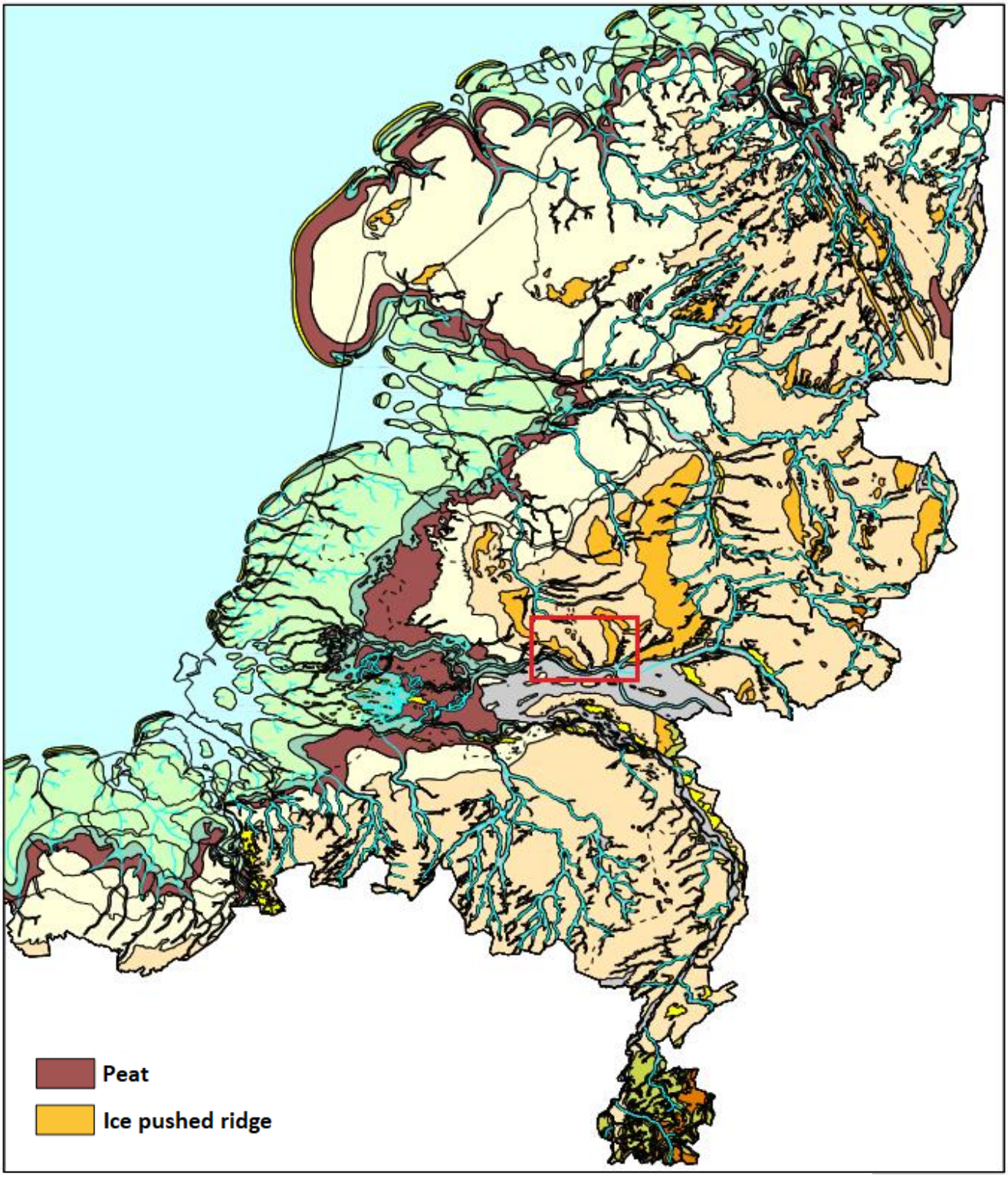
		– Bronze age		
	unknown flint	Late Palaeolithic – Bronze age	417654 (Archis-2 number)	26
	flint flake	Neolithic – Bronze age	44103 (Archis-2 number)	27
	flint scraper	Neolithic – Bronze age	417640 (Archis-2 number)	28
	unknown flint	Neolithic – Late New age	133951 (Archis-2 number)	29
	unknown flint	Neolithic – Late New age	133951 (Archis-2 number)	30
	unknown flint	Neolithic period	59570 (Archis-2 number)	31
	unknown flint	Neolithic period	30502 (Archis-2 number)	32
Early Neolithic period	-	-	-	-
Middle Neolithic period	-	-	-	-
Late Neolithic period	wrist guard	Late Neolithic	Aa007 (Rondeel museum)	/////
	wrist guard	Late Neolithic	Aa006 (Rondeel museum)	/////
	flint Buren-Axe	Late Neolithic	Aa042 (Rondeel museum)	/////
	Scandinavian flint dagger	Late Neolithic – Early Bronze age	Aa051 (Rondeel museum)	/////
	Romigny-Lérhy flint dagger	Late Neolithic	Aa048 (Rondeel museum)	/////
	flint tool	Late Neolithic - Bronze age	43591 (Archis-2 number)	33
	flint flake	Late Neolithic - Bronze age	43591 (Archis-2 number)	34

Bronze age	lance or sword fragment	Bronze age	23814 (Archis-2 number)	35
	lance or sword fragment	Bronze age	33079 (Archis-2 number)	36
	razor	Bronze age	23814 (Archis-2 number)	37
	hilt	Bronze age	58269 (Archis-2 number)	38
Early Bronze age				
Middle Bronze age	bronze dagger	Middle Bronze age, Acton Park	Aa005[x] (Rondeel museum)	/////
	bronze dagger	Middle Bronze age, Acton Park	Aa005[xx] (Rondeel museum)	/////
	bronze flanged axe	Middle Bronze age	Aa008 (Rondeel museum)	/////
	bronze flanged axe	Middle Bronze age	Aa009 (Rondeel museum)	/////
	bronze palstave axe	Middle Bronze age	Aa010 (Rondeel museum	/////
	lance	Middle Bronze age- Late Bronze age	26979 (Archis-2 number)	39
Late Bronze age	bronze socketed axe	Late Bronze age	103 (Amersfoort museum)	40
	bronze socketed axe	-	Aa67 (Rondeel museum, missing)	/////
	grinding stone	Late Bronze age – Late Medieval period	435135(Archis-2 number)	41
	chunk of	Late Bronze age	435135 (Archis-2 number)	42

	tephrite	– Late Medieval period		
Iron Age	cooking stone	Iron age	43591 (Archis-2 number)	43
	grinding stones	Iron age	435135 (Archis-2 number)	44
	grinding stone	Iron age – Early Medieval period	417720 (Archis-2 number)	45
	grinding stones	Iron age – Late Medieval period	417788 (Archis-2 number)	46
	grinding stones	Iron age – Late Medieval period	417674 (Archis-2 number)	47
	chunk of tephrite	Iron age – Late Medieval period	26894 (Archis-2 number)	48
	coffin fittings	Iron age – Late New Time	58269 (Archis-2 number)	49

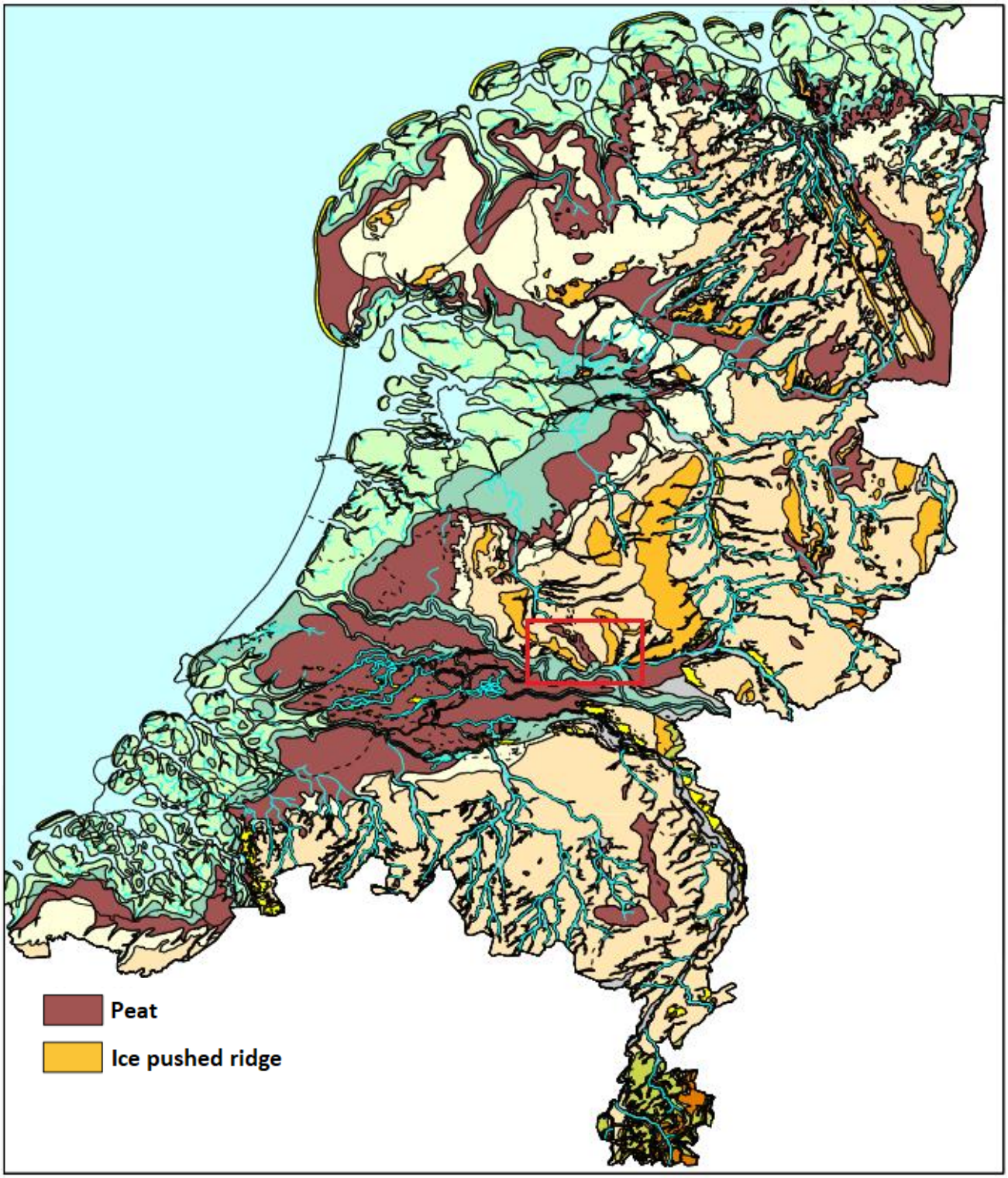
Appendix 2: Maps of the Netherlands during Late Prehistory (after Vos, P. and S. de Vries, 2013)

Map of the Netherlands around 5.500 BC, research area is indicated with a red line.



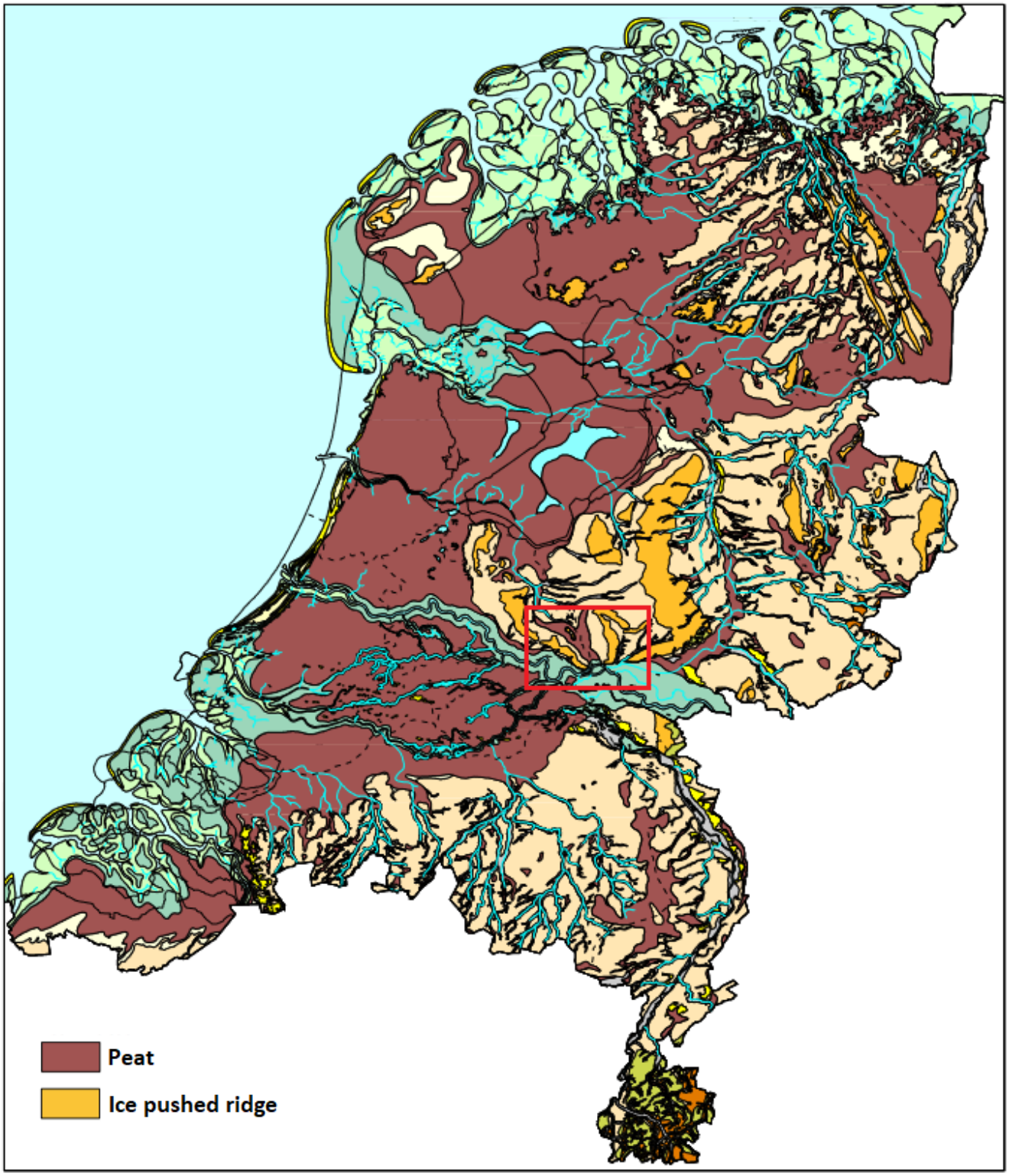
Vos, P. & S. de Vries 2013: 2e generatie palaeogeografische kaarten van Nederland (versie 2.0). Deltares, Utrecht. Op *02-06-2018* gedownload van www.archeologieinnederland.nl.

Map of the Netherlands around 3.850 BC, research area is indicated with a red line.



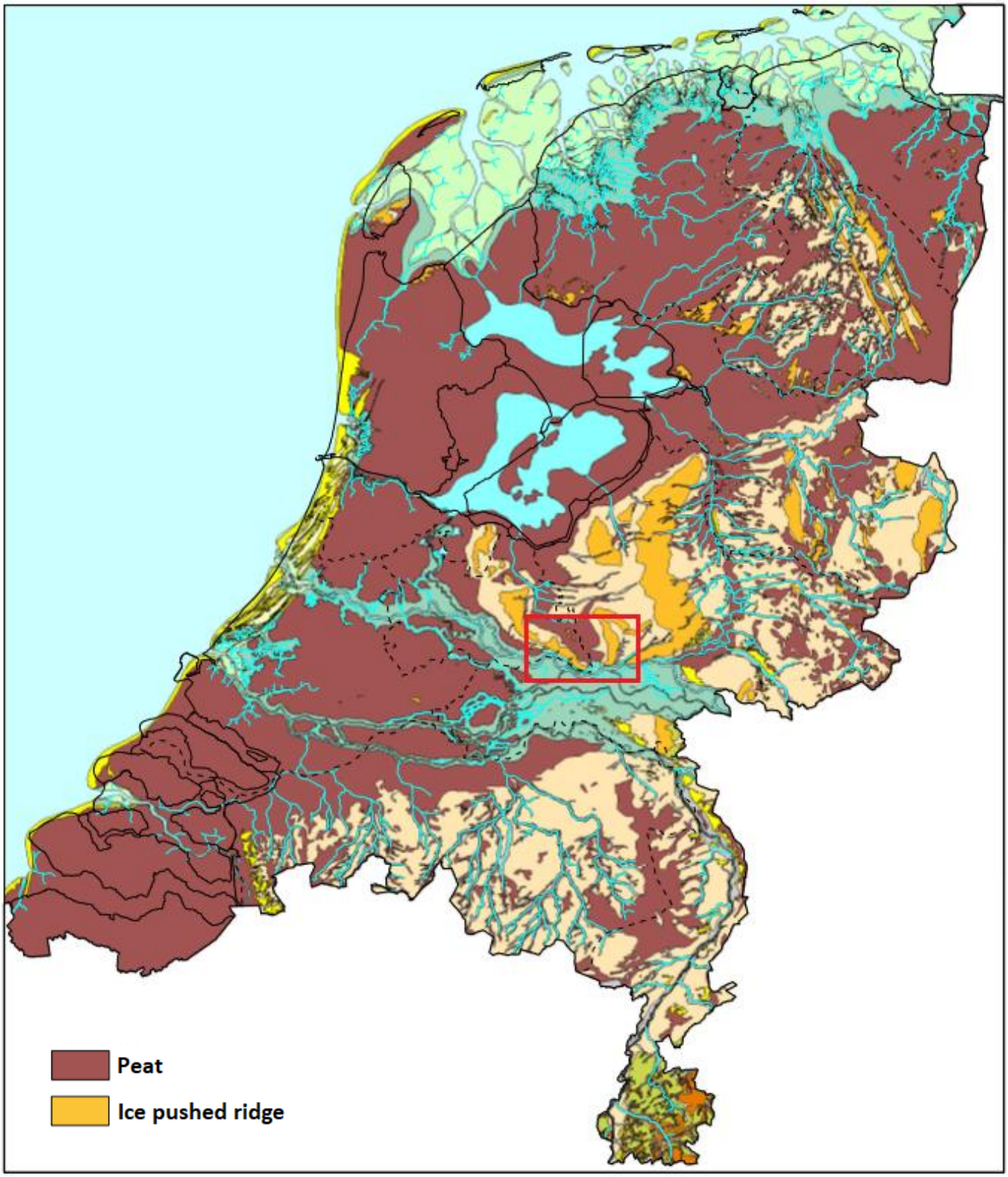
Vos, P. & S. de Vries 2013: 2e generatie palaeogeografische kaarten van Nederland (versie 2.0). Deltares, Utrecht. Op *02-06-2018* gedownload van www.archeologieinnederland.nl.

Map of the Netherlands around 2.750 BC, research area is indicated with a red line.



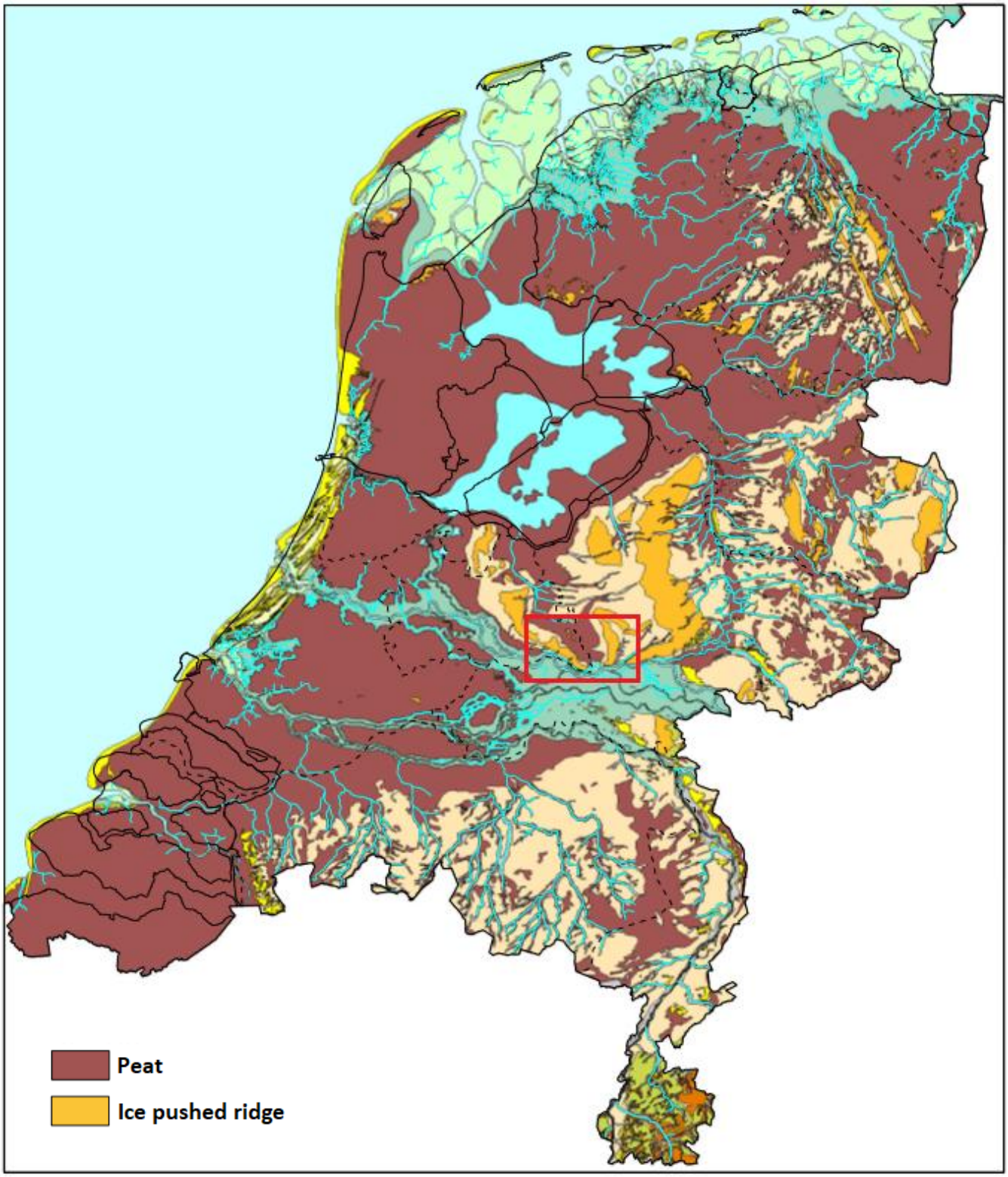
Vos, P. & S. de Vries 2013: 2e generatie palaeogeografische kaarten van Nederland (versie 2.0). Deltares, Utrecht. Op *02-06-2018* gedownload van www.archeologieinnederland.nl.

Map of the Netherlands around 1.500 BC, research area is indicated with a red line.



Vos, P. & S. de Vries 2013: 2e generatie palaeogeografische kaarten van Nederland (versie 2.0). Deltares, Utrecht. Op *02-06-2018* gedownload van www.archeologieinnederland.nl.

Map of the Netherlands around 500 BC, research area is indicated with a red line.



Vos, P. & S. de Vries 2013: 2e generatie palaeogeografische kaarten van Nederland (versie 2.0). Deltares, Utrecht. Op *02-06-2018* gedownload van www.archeologieinnederland.nl.