





GERRIT HEINRICH KROON  
(1868-1945)

RURAL RICHES AND THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF POST-ROMAN  
NORTHERN GAUL

ZESENVEERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT

GEHOUDEN VOOR DE  
STICHTING NEDERLANDS MUSEUM  
VOOR ANTHROPOLOGIE EN PRAEHISTORIE

TE AMSTERDAM OP 5 APRIL 2024

DOOR

PROF. DR. FRANS THEUWS

EMERITUS HOOGLERAAR MIDDELEEUWSE  
ARCHEOLOGIE VAN EUROPA  
UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN,  
FACULTEIT DER ARCHEOLOGIE



## INTRODUCTION

Almost everyone in Europe learned at an early age about the collapse of the Roman state in the West.<sup>1</sup> We also learned that it was no good. Civilisation disappeared. The reasons for its collapse which have been proposed are manifold, but the one that is best remembered by the public is that it was overrun by pillaging barbarians and that mass migration contributed to the deplorable state of post-Roman western Europe often indicated as the Dark Ages or Migration period. At the start of our ERC funded Rural Riches project, our question was how deplorable this state was. We were especially interested in for whom it was deplorable and what the role of the rural population was in the re-development of the most desolated region of all: northern Gaul. Despite its supposed impoverished starting position, it developed into the core of the Carolingian Empire several centuries later. What happened over the centuries that allowed aristocrats from northernmost Gaul to rule a large part of Europe?

Indeed, northern Gaul was hit hard in late Roman times as the wealth of the villa-form of exploitation disappeared from the countryside,<sup>2</sup> but what is most remarkable is not the villae's disappearance but their non-resilient character; villae did not recover. Habitation decreased but did not disappear altogether. Today, the debate is no longer about whether there was continuity of habitation from late Roman times into the early Middle Ages, but rather on the size of the remaining or of the new communities. The debate boils down to what there actually was in the middle third of the fifth century. The material culture of the late fourth and first third of the fifth century is well-defined today, and many of

---

1 This lecture is a product of the Rural Riches project, financed by the European Research Council as an advanced grant project with number 741340 (Horizon 2020).

2 Derks/Roymans 2011.

the early medieval cemeteries started in the last third of the fifth century. But what came in between? Cemeteries that were in use in that period show very small burial communities, for example in the Rhenen or Krefeld-Gellep cemeteries.<sup>3</sup> What is still a badly understood phenomenon is the massive creation of new cemeteries in the last third of the fifth century. The founding communities are usually very small, such as in the famous cemeteries of Rügenach near Koblenz or Bulles in northern France, to give just two examples.<sup>4</sup> It is justified to say that the middle third of the fifth century is an all-time low, in terms of population density, in northern Gaul. What happened then is astonishing. The whole of northern Gaul was colonised in one or two generations, and those involved buried their dead with a lavish set of objects. In what follows I will deal with three aspects of our research of the late fifth, sixth and seventh centuries in northern Gaul. First, the wealth in the hands of the rural population and the demand they created; second, the connectedness of the rural population and third, the presence of elites and the near absence of an extractive economy.

---

3 Wagner/Ypey 2011; Pirling 1966, 1974, 1979, 1996a, 1996b.

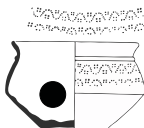
4 Neuffer-Müller/Ament 1973; Wiczorek 1987; Legoux 2011.

## THE WEALTH OF THE RURAL POPULATION

At the end of the fifth century there were major changes in burial rites: a more diverse set of objects was placed in the graves than before, and most people were buried fully dressed. This, however, did not happen overnight. The research by Femke Lip-pok shows how deposition patterns developed from the late fifth to the late sixth century and how informed burial communities were about the norms prevailing in large parts of Europe. Take, for instance, the deposition of weapons. In the late fifth and early sixth century, it was mainly axes that were deposited, objects that should not be considered weapons but rather as symbols of reclamation, and of claiming land. This is important in a colonizing context and the creation of communities in a relatively depopulated region. It is only in the next phase that other weapons enter the deposited ensembles in any substantial numbers, such as swords and shields, adding an element of protection to the symbolism of the burial rites, that is protection of, by now, established communities. These deposition patterns changed again later in the sixth century when the weapon ensembles were dominated by seaxes and lances expressing again different values in the burial rites, although it is not easy to ascertain which ones. It's astonishing that these patterns changed simultaneously, and over large distances, indicating that values relating to death and burial were widely shared in northwestern Europe. The deposition of ceramics even indicates an increasing homogeneity in that aspect of burial rites: the various bowls, jugs, and pots regularly found in the earliest graves on early medieval cemeteries were largely replaced by one single, often black or grey pot by the end of the 6th century (fig. 1). Again, this is a widely shared development, and one wonders how burial communities established and maintained the social connections that must have been the basis for such increasing similarity.



Grave 548-13  
Black



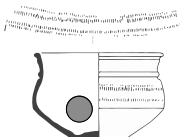
Grave 48-1  
Black



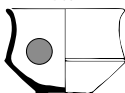
Grave 719-10  
Black



Grave 362-3  
Black



Grave 699-1  
Grey



Grave 74-1  
Grey

### Bulles



1:3



Grave 896-2  
Grey



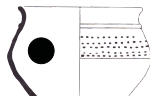
Grave 918-7  
Black



Grave 962-4  
Grey

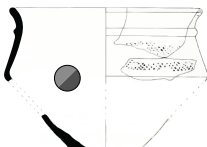


Grave 885-7  
Grey



Grave 675-5  
Black

### Cutry



16 Grave 103-4  
Grey-Darkgrey



4 Grave 338-1  
Black engobe



18 Grave 302-1  
Grey-Darkgrey



5 Grave 290-1  
Darkgrey



7 Grave 384-1  
Grey-Darkgrey

### Nouvion



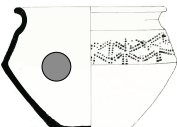
3 Grave 76-3  
Darkgrey



5 Grave 352-1  
Black



11 Grave 118-9  
Black



18 Grave 457-1  
Grey

### Verlaine- Oudoumont



Grave 99-5  
Black



Grave 62-3  
Black



Grave 70-2  
Black



Grave 77-4  
"Glossy" Black



Grave 287-8  
Black

### Saint-Sauveur



Grave 114-2  
Lightgrey



Grave 59-1  
Black engobe



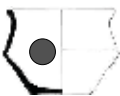
Grave 219-3  
Black



MA2  
Grave 12-2  
Greybrown

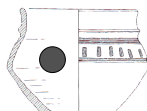


Grave 56-4  
Lightgrey



Grave 1418-1  
Darkgrey

### Müden



Grave 83-9  
Darkgrey



Of course, there were also clear regional variabilities in what was deposited in the grave,<sup>5</sup> and interestingly, the first indications show that these regionalities, especially in the deposition of jewellery, correspond with communication axes along river systems.

Both the weapon and jewellery elements of the new burial rites show a surprising expression of gender roles whereby those of men and women are most clearly visible, giving us the impression that in their value system they operated a binary gender categorisation. But what about those dead whose gender is not expressed in such a way? Why was it not deemed necessary to express gender explicitly in one of the two categories in the binary system for quite a few dead persons? Some dead did not even receive grave goods at all.<sup>6</sup> In the past and still today this was considered evidence of a poor social position of this deceased person in life. There are serious objections to this interpretation in terms of vertical organized social positions which I will explain at the end of this presentation. The fundamental question remains why the new colonizing groups deemed it necessary to stress this gender difference. Femke Lippok showed that this process was more complicated than it may appear at first sight, for women do seem to have gotten a gender ‘treatment’, decades earlier than men did. Rephrased in archaeological terms, graves with fancy dress accessories appear sooner than graves with weapons, that

---

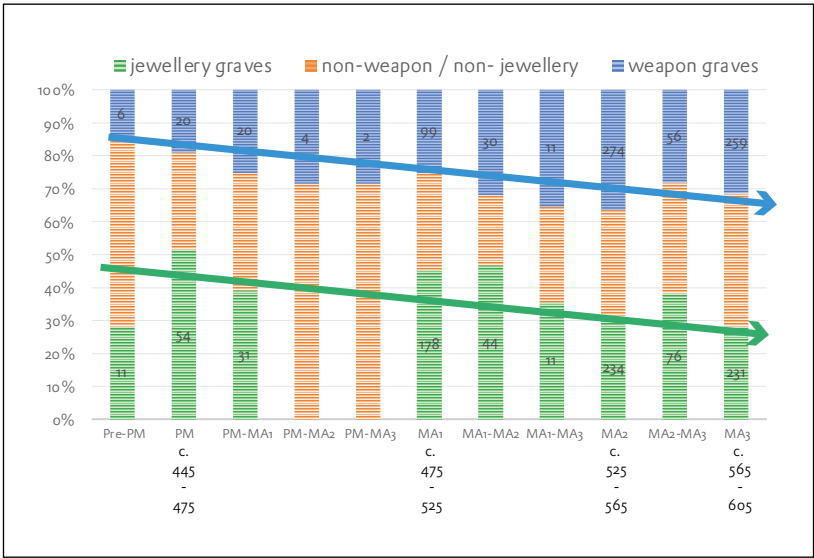
***Fig. 1 Black and grey pots from various cemeteries: their comparability represents the homogenisation of this aspect of burial rites from the middle of the 6th century onwards in dispersed cemeteries. This commonality may signal the increasingly strong networks of rurals through which ideas and values spread, as well as objects and people. Redrawn by F.E Lippok based on the cemeteries' publications.***

---

5 See also Brownlee 2021.

6 There may have been perishable goods that we cannot observe anymore.

is to say, real weapons such as swords and shields. Why would this be so? Could it be that the fundamental symbolic aspect of female gender, such as reproductivity and thus continuity of the colonizing group was considered of higher value than the protection expressed by depositing swords and shields in men's graves? It suggests that we should re-evaluate the symbolic role of women in such a colonization process, the more so because, as Lippok has shown, the relative number of jewellery graves declined in comparison to weapon graves over the sixth century (fig. 2). The question is whether female gender was deemphasized and if so, why? We also must reconsider the changing role of the male gender in the development of burial communities. The question is what the relationship is between gender expressions and communities that are increasingly anchored in the landscape and in a process of stabilisation.



**Fig. 2** This graph shows the gradual decrease of female-gendered graves, as well as the increase in male-gendered graves throughout the late fifth and sixth centuries. Lippok suggests that weapon- and jewellery graves may convey complementary messages around the creation and maintenance of communities. The values expressed in male and female-gendered graves changed throughout the 6th century and so may the roles of women and men in society have shifted as well. Plotted by F.E. Lippok based on data from 16 dispersed cemeteries (Broechem, Bulles, Cutry, Ekst, Goudelancourt, Haillot, Junkersdorf, Krefeld-Gellep, Lent, Müngersdorf, Müden, Nouwion, Rödigen, Rügenach, Saint-Sauveur, Verlaine-Oudoumont).

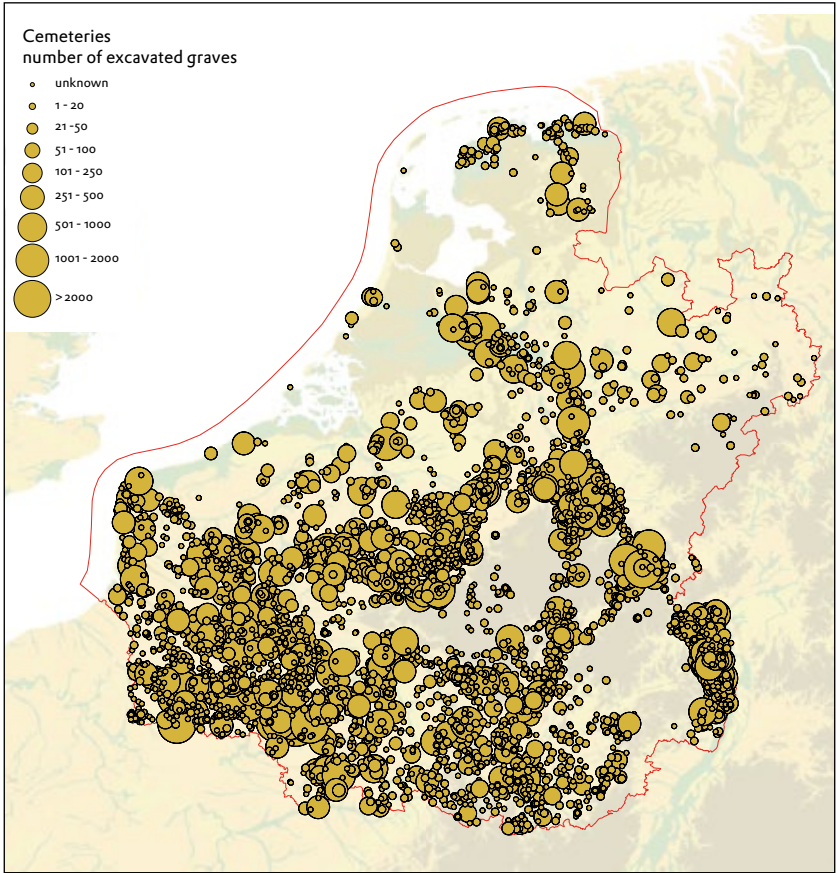
## INVESTING IN BURIAL RITES

With the investment of wealth in the burial rites we come to a central hypothesis of the project. In the traditional theory on the peasant mode of production, peasant societies did not have real incentives for economic growth, for in a subsistence system the extra, marginal investment of energy such as reclaiming new land did not weigh up to the gains. Peasant societies in this view only start growing economically when confronted with feudal lords extracting rents or penetrating markets. However, the anthropologist Eric Wolf showed that there is an aspect of peasant household economics that is of great importance to our situation in northern Gaul in early medieval times.<sup>7</sup> It is the so-called ceremonial fund, the funds needed to keep up a social life, make friends and throw a party when your daughter marries. Merovingian<sup>8</sup> communities obviously invested heavily in burial rites and possibly other rites we cannot see such as those at marriage. This calls for extra investments, triggering growth. Looking at the map with Merovingian cemeteries in northern Gaul recorded in the Rural Riches database, created by the Rural Riches group under the critical guidance of David Schaper, our IT specialist and Roeland Emaus, our GIS expert, one can easily perceive the huge number of objects that were buried every year (fig. 3). Tons of iron were deposited, not to be recovered, pottery went into the ground in great numbers, but also gold and silver and glass vessels were buried in abundance. It is astonishing that we, early medieval archaeologists, never really asked ourselves what the contribution of the rural population was to the development, especially the economic development of northern Gaul. One reason is our focus on the production side of the economy. However, since John Maynard Keynes we know how important the

---

7 Wolf 1966.

8 Merovingian in this paper is a chronological term referring to the period c. 450 - 725, not an ethnic indication or a reference to a royal group.



*Fig. 3 The distribution of Merovingian cemeteries in Northern Gaul with indication of the number of excavated graves (from the Rural Riches database, see portal <https://earlymedievaleurope.org/>).*

demand side of the economy is.<sup>9</sup> We tend to forget the demand side in looking at the early Middle Ages. Production and demand may seem like two sides of the same coin, yet by not focusing on the demand at all, we tend to forget to give credit to the bulk of the population for their role in the development of early medieval Europe. The Rural Riches project wanted to answer the question about the distribution of wealth in society.<sup>10</sup> Having pots and iron is one thing, having gold and silver, which we used as indicators of wealth, another. How likely is it that rural cultivators were in the possession of gold and silver? This is not easy to establish. Of course, we have gold and silver in the cemeteries of northern Gaul, but how common was its possession? What we tried to do is to record the presence of gold and silver and other precious objects which were important but may not have been the only indicators of wealth and prestige.<sup>11</sup> They are the ones we can see. However, there are some aspects that create biases in the distribution patterns we have. The first and foremost important one is the burial rite itself. The presence of gold and silver in graves is not a one-to-one reflection of its circulation in society. Decisions taken during the burial rite determine whether precious objects were deposited. Next, there is the discovery history of cemeteries and graves. For each cemetery, we tried to record its date of discovery. This is important because many cemeteries discovered in the nineteenth century were explored, if not robbed out to fill the stores of museums and for the antiques market. One can imagine that this way of exploring cemeteries had disadvantageous effects on the preservation of grave goods. Moreover, local museums in France suffered from World War One.

---

9 On Keynes and other interesting economists: Van Staveren 2016.

10 I skip for the moment the discussion of how wealth in the early Middle Ages should be defined, and what the relation between wealth and power was (Piketty 2020 [2019]).

11 Other indicators might not be easily observable by archaeologists, such as the number of cows or friends, having special abilities, or surviving children.

We created a map with cemeteries discovered in each twenty-five years between 1800 and 1918. This is a staggering number. The quality of the dataset of cemeteries in the southern part of the research area can only be assessed by looking at cemeteries recently discovered, well-excavated, and published. There are not too many of them if one considers cemeteries discovered after 1970 with more than 100 graves excavated. So, the presence of gold and silver, and for that matter, any category of objects is a minimal image, there must have been a lot more. Arent Pol recorded gold coins from the Merovingian period. The distribution map of gold coins in Gaul suggests that in principle one can find these on almost every rural site.<sup>12</sup> Even in a very peripheral region such as the Kempen in the southern Netherlands one can find these and other gold and silver objects in the graves of the inhabitants of small communities. We are in the process of recording all sixth-century bow brooches in Europe to follow this aspect of rural wealth in more detail.<sup>13</sup> The distribution of the silver ones in our research area shows concentrations in the Rhineland and northwestern France. That they are less found in the area in between is probably related to choices in the burial rites, rather than any lack of them in living society. An odd distribution is also shown by glass vessels which we recorded almost comprehensively in the research area.<sup>14</sup> They are usually considered to be in the possession of the wealthier people. There is a large concentration along the Rhine River, but relatively few were recorded in northwestern France where there are also many large cemeteries. However, the relative distribution, that is glass vessels compared to the number of graves shows a more balanced distribution. Marieke van

---

12 Remember that metal detecting in France is not allowed, which means that gold coins discovered with the help of a metal detector are hardly recorded.

13 Starting with the work by Kuhn 1940, 1974, 1981; Koch 1998. Thanks to Bram van Heusden for the invaluable help with the recording of these brooches.

14 Starting from the work by Feyeux 2003, Maul 2002, and Koch 1987.

Winkelhoff suggested that these non-standing vessels of the sixth and seventh centuries were used as lamps, rather than as drinking vessels which is substantiated by experiments we conducted. If that is the case, we must reconsider their role in the burial rites especially when the perception of light might have been related to Christian thoughts. If we add Christian cult places to the map we see that these are mostly found in the west. The distribution of these data points reveals interesting contrasting patterns. Glass vessels hardly co-occur with Christian cult-sites. One could readily jump to the conclusion that glass lamps were deposited by non-Christians. However, we prefer the interpretation that we are looking at a distribution determined by what Julia Smith has coined do-it-yourself Christianity in situations where there is a lack of church infrastructure.<sup>15</sup> All this suggests that the old idea that glass vessels are luxurious goods that were limited to the wealthy in society cannot be substantiated based on the present evidence. They are deposited for specific reasons and cannot be used to qualify the western part of the research area as poor. They do not seem to have been deposited in graves to mark differences in wealth and vertical social hierarchical relations. For the moment I would like to leave the topic of the distribution of precious objects in society with the remark that a growing body of evidence shows that gold, silver, and precious objects were widely available to almost everyone in sixth- and seventh-century north-western Europe. For now, we have only mapped bow brooches: if we start to map the silver bird brooches and so-called S-brooches the map would soon be filled with dots. We did record the so-called garnet brooches, the stones of which are important to the next topic. The question is: how did the rural population acquire all this?

---

15 Smith 2005.



## CONNECTIONS BY THE MASS OF THE RURAL POPULATION

This question relates to the second topic: the connectedness of the rural population. In the past prestige-goods models and other hierarchical social models stipulated that the lower ranks of the population obtained precious goods through the channels of the aristocracy, which are top-down models. Are we dealing with such a situation in Merovingian northern Gaul? We can easily see that local communities were in the possession of local, regional, and far-away produced products. Based on those top-down models, one would expect a mass of local products, less regional products and few exotic products in the hands of the rural population. This last observation is, however, not the case. There is a mass of exotic products in northern Gaul, not just along the large rivers connecting regions but also inland. We used two material categories, beads and garnets of which the beads have been analysed in great detail by Mette Langbroek.<sup>16</sup> We recorded over 200.000 beads. A comparison of the distribution of cemeteries and the occurrence of beads shows that everyone had access to these (fig. 4). Mette Langbroek also was able to create groups of beads that can be dated quite well, criticizing the idea that beads are no good to date. Based on their method of production and chemical composition, which was analysed for thousands of beads by mass spectrometry it is possible to determine their origin. A telling example is a necklace found in the grave of a young girl in the Lent cemetery near Nijmegen (fig. 5). She has, in the words of Langbroek, the whole world around her neck with beads from the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the near East and India. In the sixth century bead exchanges are part of a world system that can be made visible exactly with beads. Northern Gaul is part of this sys-

---

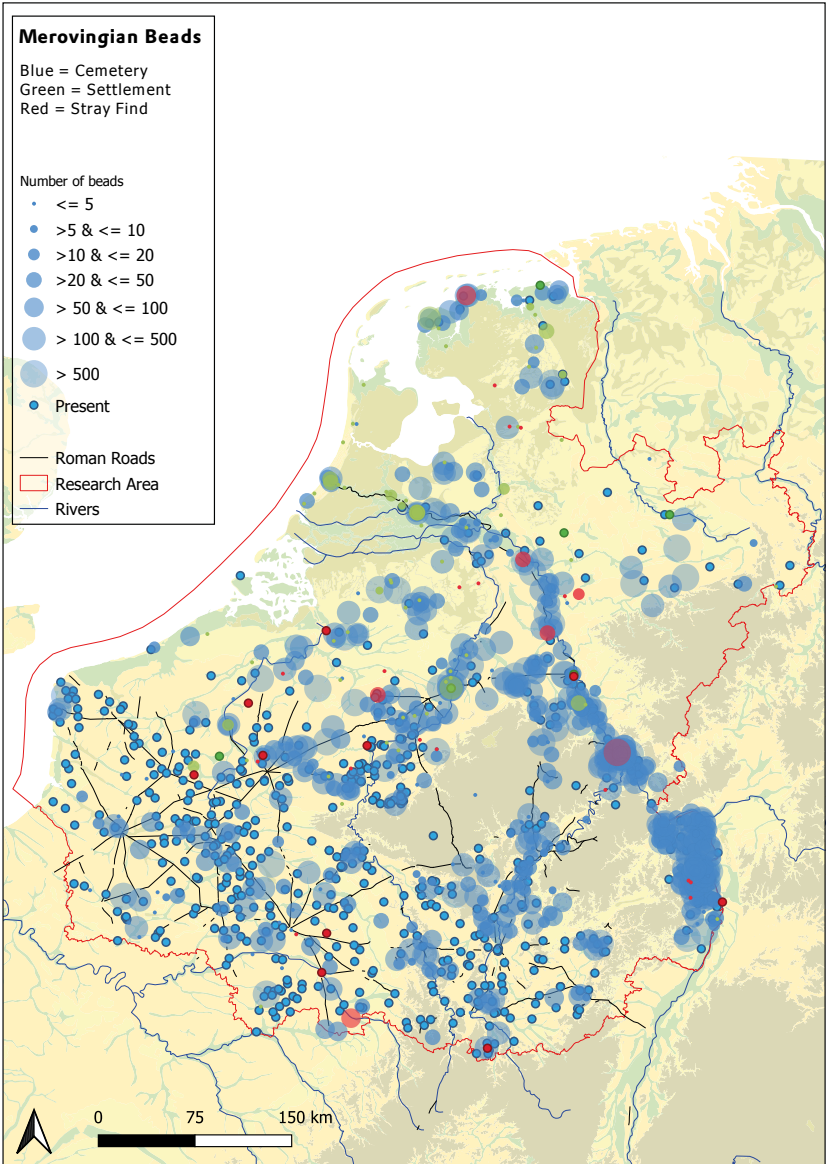
16 For a proper study of the overall distribution of garnets we need to record several other sets of brooches such as bird and S-brooches. We are in the process of doing so.

tem in the sixth century which can be shown by mapping those beads from the Mediterranean, the Near East and India. Again, a comparison with cemeteries that certainly date to the sixth century shows that in principle were such beads available to everyone. No community seems to have been excluded from access to the networks in which these beads circulate. In Langbroek's view there are too many beads everywhere for the distribution to be controlled by the elite. Exchange of beads from far away into the hands of the rural population is especially prevalent in the first half of the sixth century, when elite presence is not that evident, as we will see later. The exchange mechanisms through which the rurals obtain these beads will have been a complicated system of commodity and gift exchanges with their related changing values. There is an important change in bead production in the second half of the sixth century. The production of beads in Europe itself starts to really dominate the bead spectrum and pushes the foreign imports into a marginal position. This development is not an isolated phenomenon. Line van Wersch has shown that the import of Mediterranean raw glass to the middle Meuse valley ends at that time as well, to be replaced by recycled glass.<sup>17</sup> Pottery production goes through a change as well. A centralized production place like that in the Argonne hills stops exporting its products to the north, where production of biconical fine wares and coarse cooking ware developed in many places.<sup>18</sup> Langbroek explains this in terms of the growing demand by an increasing rural population, stressing again the role of demand by the mass of the population for explaining important changes in production. It is also important to see that bead distribution is comparable all over Europe independent of ethnic identities, mountain ranges, rivers, and seas. This can be shown by the easily recognizable millefiori beads and silver-in-glass beads. This image of a

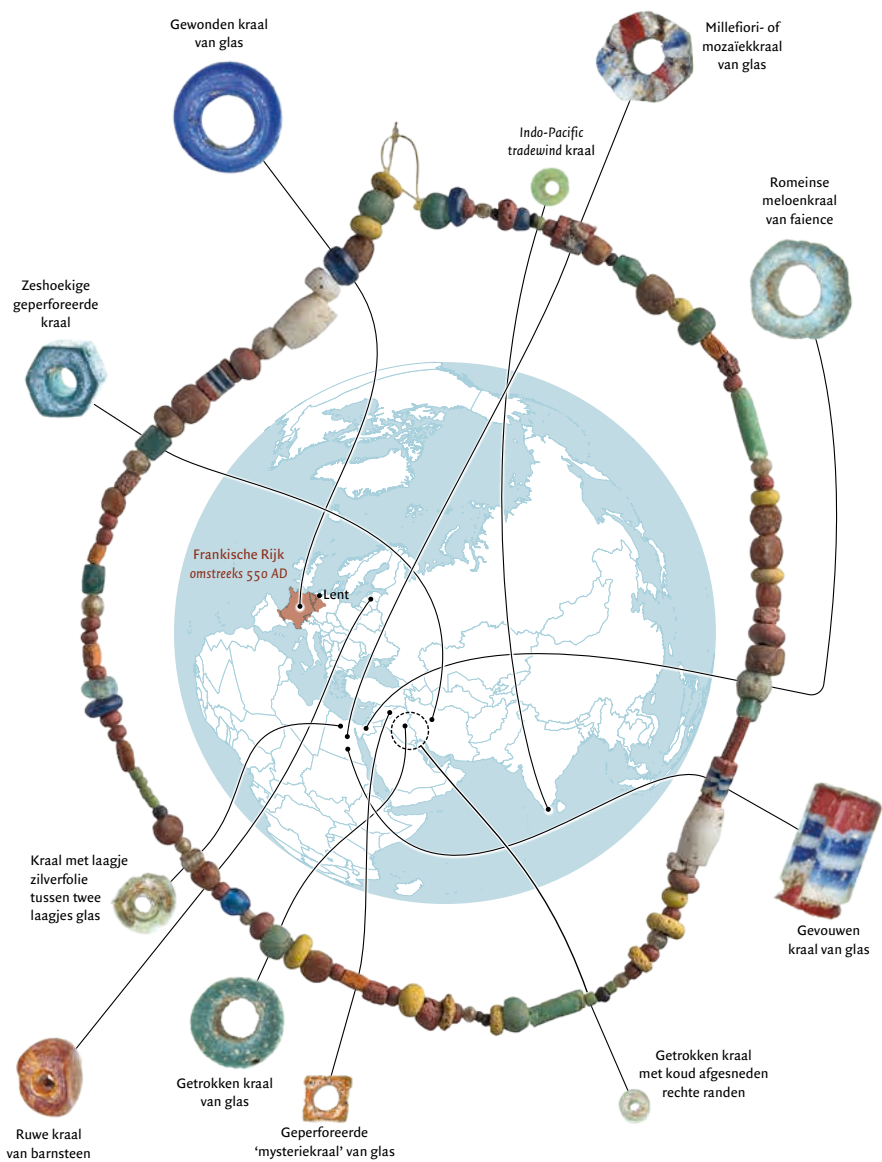
---

17 Van Wersch 2012; Van Wersch/Geesbergen/Vrielynck 2010.

18 Van Wersch 2012; Verhoeven 2015.



**Fig. 4** Find locations of beads dating to the Merovingian period in northern Gaul (from the Rural Riches database, see portal <https://earlymedieualeurope.org/>).



pan-European distribution continues when production is taken over by European workshops during the late sixth and ongoing seventh century. What is surprising is that the chemical analyses not of single beads but of whole batches of beads from single strings show in all probability that the necklaces in the later stages of their biography were exchanged as necklaces, not as bundles of separate and single beads. The big question is: when and where beads were assembled into those necklaces and what was the nature of bead exchange before the moment of assemblage? This sets the presence of comparable strings of beads in different parts of Europe in a new light, although that light is not yet easily explained. There are clearly shared ideas on what beads and strings should look like and it is highly interesting to see that information on these aspects circulated widely. We wonder how, but we accept that beads and their associated ideas are a good proxy for analysing the circulation of ideas among the mass of the population, and thus not just those on how a necklace should look like. The same connectedness can be seen when analysing the distribution of garnet-decorated objects. It is clear by now that in the sixth century those garnets came from India and Sri Lanka.<sup>19</sup> We recorded the so-called sixth-century garnet brooches which were found all over northern Gaul.<sup>20</sup> A map of all types of garnet decorated objects probably will make the background map disappear:

---

*Fig. 5 This string of 121 beads of glass, amber and faience was found around the neck of a girl of 5 or 6 years old in grave 40 from the 6th century cemetery of Lent-Lentseveld. The beads in this string were made with varying techniques and have origins in Europe, the Baltic, the Near East, Egypt, the Middle East and India. Photos by: A. Dekker and M. Langbroek, design by: F. Ruys, Vizualism, in cooperation with J. Hendriks.*

---

19 Pion/Gratuze/Périn/Calligaro 2020.

20 Starting from the work by Vielitz 2003.

they are everywhere and thus indicate the massive circulation of foreign goods all over the research area.

One possible answer of how this circulation might have come about is provided by the very detailed ancient DNA, isotope and  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating research carried out on the skeletal remains of the Lent cemetery near Nijmegen in the context of the Rural Riches project. The cemetery was excavated by the town of Nijmegen under the direction of Joep Hendriks.<sup>21</sup> There were 55 inhumation graves containing the remains of 57 individuals and 23 cremation graves containing 24 individuals, all dating to the sixth century. In terms of grave goods, the cemetery is rich and only two or three graves have been partly reopened. Constance van der Linde analysed the skeletons morphologically. The results of this research are extremely important for an understanding of the composition of such a burial community. Eveline Altena and Lisette Kootker will explain on another occasion the details of their research which in my view are flabbergasting when they are understood in their full richness and in comparison, with the ensembles of grave goods in the graves. What will be a concern to archaeologists who try to understand burial communities represented by a cemetery and who interpret them in terms of number of families that buried their dead there, is that only half of the people in the Lent cemetery are closely genetically related to someone else in the cemetery. This questions a way of thinking in terms of families as the basis of a burial community. We archaeologists fundamentally have to reconsider what a cemetery is and what a burial community is.<sup>22</sup> What is very interesting in view of the previous debate on the Europe-wide exchange of objects, is the genetic relations of those buried at the Lent cemetery in the sixth century with

---

21 Hendriks/Den Braven 2015.

22 See also the research of cemeteries at Lake Balaton in Hungary: Amorim et al. 2018; Vyas et al. 2023.

people elsewhere. Eveline Altena compared the DNA of those from Lent with other persons across Europe using the data in the “Allen Ancient DNA Resource”<sup>23</sup>, a curated compendium of ancient human genomes. She found several distant relatives, genetically related in the sixth degree or further away, from before, contemporary to and after the Lent cemetery. This means that these people can be related vertically or horizontally. For example, in case of a sixth-degree vertical kinship this would mean an ancestor or offspring that lived approximately 150 years earlier or later, respectively, and in case of a sixth-degree horizontal kinship we should imagine distant cousins, sharing an ancestor some four generations ago.

We must go through the archaeological context of each of those persons to establish what can be the case. In case of a sixth-degree vertical relation, assuming a generation time of some 25 years, an ancestor lived around 400 CE. In case of a sixth degree purely horizontal relation those persons share great-grandparents or great-great-grandparents only four generations back. These distant relatives to the people from Lent are spread-out all-over Europe, but predominantly from England, Central Europe and Italy. A mind-blowing map. Such a distribution is clear evidence of the high mobility, or rather high individual mobility of people all over Europe. We must consider how this relates to different types of society and possible elite control of the rural population. This leads us to the third topic.

---

23 Mallick et al. 2024

## ELITE CONTROL AND THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF AN EXTRACTIVE ECONOMY

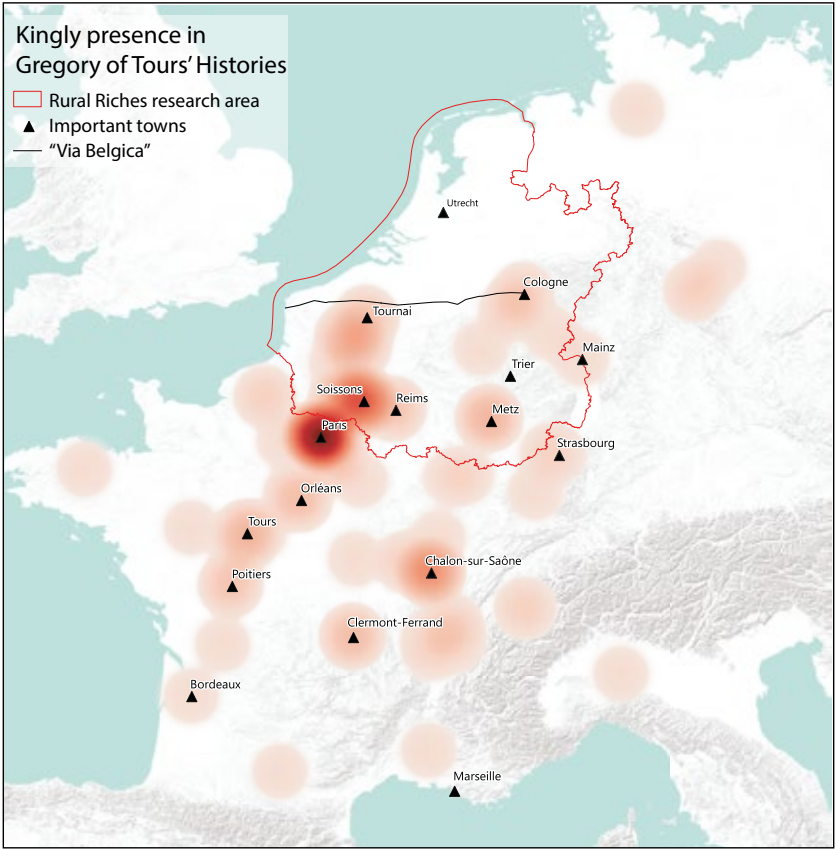
To have an idea of to what extent an aristocracy could control the rural population of northern Gaul in Merovingian times and to what extent society was hierarchically organized or organized top-down it is necessary to analyse the presence of aristocrats in northern Gaul. Jip Barreveld, the ancient historian in our project, concentrated on finding out for the sixth century what aristocratic presence there was in northern Gaul based on written texts. Aristocrats who could control the circulation of the goods we analysed. This is not an easy task because the sources we must rely on are mostly narratives, poems even and a handful of royal charters. The factual evidence in that type of source will depend to an important extent on the agenda of the authors of the texts. However, those authors probably wrote with an elite audience in mind. Telling stories beyond the imagination or the sense of reality of that audience does not seem to have been their objective so that even in the case factual truth such as we appreciate today, is not always given credit, the text must relate to the world view of the audience or even contribute to developing such a world view. Social practices might have been different from those recounted. Gabrielle Spiegel called this the social logic of the text.<sup>24</sup> The geographical information given by those authors, which we recorded in our database, is also determined by their agenda, but Barreveld expects that there was what he coins a topographic logic of the text, which allows us to at least form an idea about the geographical perceptions by the elite of the sixth century. Starting from that idea he reconstructed the whereabouts of Merovingian kings in the sixth century (fig. 6). This clearly shows that they were present in the southern part of our research area and that there was a Merovingian royal heartland on both sides of the southern

---

24 Spiegel 1999.



limit of this research area. He stresses that this royal demarcation line is not visible in the archaeological record. Both north and south we see rural communities with access to wide-ranging networks, judging by what they deposit in the graves. The map can be nuanced chronologically for the northern area, for instance, is qualified by the early presence of petty kings in Clovis' time around 500 CE but is less visited in the sixth century although there are occasional visits such as those of Childebert II to Maas-tricht in 594/5. This image coincides to some extent with the spatial perception of Gaul by Gregory, the bishop of Tours, writing at the end of the sixth century, an interesting example of the topographic logic of texts. In his world, the North plays only a marginal role and if he speaks of it, it was probably because of the presence of friends of his. Friendship is an important element in aristocratic networks, made visible through the writing of letters and meetings on special occasions. Jip Barreveld was thus able to analyse and make visible the social network of Venantius Fortunatus, also writing at the end of the sixth century. The most literate aristocracy of the northern world, also called Austrasia, was connected through letter writing with a large network of persons mostly with a classical education. One man got Barreveld's special attention, a person called Gogo. It is possible to reconstruct the topographical logic of Venantius Fortunatus in one of his poems related to Gogo. It shows an area that largely coincides with the eastern part of our research area. So, the conclusion must be that there were aristocrats in the region, although probably mostly in the southern part of it, and there were, of course, bishops. But what was their impact on society at large? Jip Barreveld looked at the possible landed property possessions of bishop Remigius at the beginning of the sixth century and that of Adalgisl Grimo in the early seventh century based on their wills and concluded that these property complexes were relatively small and not yet very coherent. The impact of the aristocracy on the rural population and their economic control of them seems to be limited.



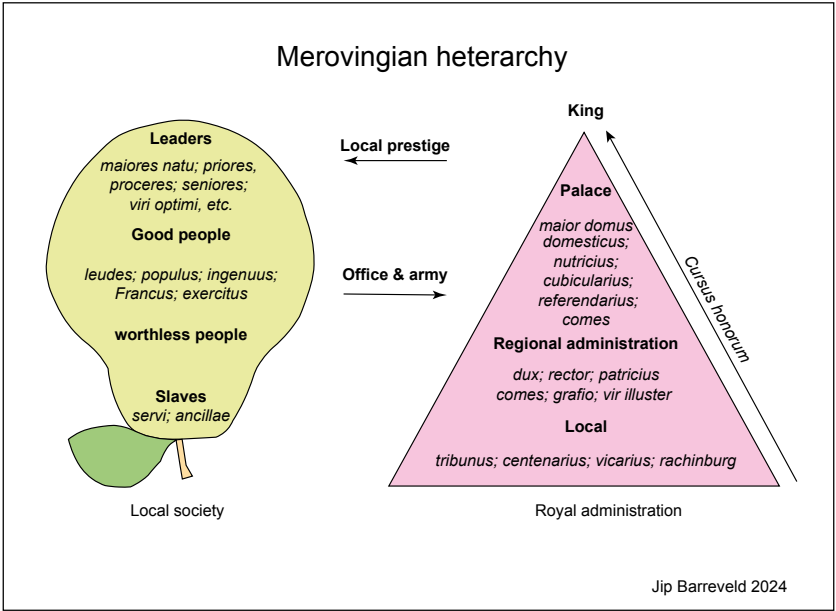
*Fig. 6 Heatmap showing the relative presence of Merovingian kings in Gaul in the sixth century as recorded in the Histories of Gregory of Tours (research Jip Barreveld).*

An important problem is the enormous discrepancy between the textual presence of aristocrats in parts of the research area and the archaeological invisibility of them in towns and countryside. Who will show us the architecture of a Merovingian royal palace?

Jip Barreveld wrapped up the ideas on Merovingian society presented by previous modern authors and formulated four basic models of it. He suggested that we must imagine a complex relationship between hierarchical organized parts of society such as the royal administration represented by a pyramid and local societies where a large amount of 'good people' make up the population which is barely hierarchically organized and can be represented by an upside-down pear (fig. 7). This combination can be called a heterarchical society. The question is what the impact of each element is in various regions. We suggest that in much of our research area, the left part represented by a pear dominated society for a large part in Merovingian times and that the pyramid developed very gradually from the seventh century on to gain full strength in the Carolingian period only. This went hand in hand with the development of an extractive economy, and as with all extractive economies, it did not last long.<sup>25</sup> The Carolingian empire hardly existed for a hundred years, but that empire is the subject of another study.

---

25 Acemoglu/Robinson 2013 [2012].



**Fig. 7** *Graphic representation of the model of a heterarchically organized Merovingian society (research Jip Barreveld).*

## TOWARDS A PARADIGM SHIFT

Having said all this, I arrive at explaining what, in my view, is an important, possibly the most important insight of the Rural Riches project. It is an answer to the question of the relevance of early medieval archaeology today. The answer is connected to the struggle we had relating written sources to the material remains of early medieval Europe. There is not always a neat match, but do we need such a match? Written sources of the early Middle Ages are usually narrative sources like the famous *Historia* of Gregory, the bishop of Tours supplemented by a handful of charters, mostly royal charters. Such texts are what they are: narratives produced by a very limited group of literate people, originating from the upper classes of society and mostly embedded in the church. Since the 'literary turn' in historiography, we are aware of the agendas of the authors, such as the agenda of our Gregory who nevertheless being a representative of the Gallic church had the role of the church as a supra structure above the kingdoms of Europe in his mind.<sup>26</sup> The church as a superior guardian of the well-being of, of who? In very general terms one can indicate our main narrative sources as representing the ideas and ideologies of the leading classes. They represent the idea that society is created by the heroic deeds of kings, aristocrats, bishops and saints, a society according to the ideals of the upper class. Historiography created models of early medieval Europe based on these narratives already in the nineteenth century as if they represented social practices. These models were unavoidably embedded in the spirit of the times of the nineteenth century, a time when national states were forming, such as Germany and Italy, and a small country like the Netherlands got its constitution defining its status as an independent state. Historiography provided a legitimization back in time of these new states, which was found in the

---

<sup>26</sup> Reimitz 2015; See also Pohl 2019.

fragmented organization of post-Roman Europe.<sup>27</sup> The early medieval ethnic formations got center stage in the models of what was seen as a proper organization of modern Europe. Archaeology followed suit and copied those models, tasked with the recognition of these models in the material culture. So, up to this day scholars refer to, especially on the continent, a Frankish material culture, an Alemannic one, a Saxon one, a Lombard one, a Slavic one, a Gothic one, etc. that were eagerly utilised in a debate on the blessings of the national state. By now, after the literary turn, historiography has recognized to what extent this image created in the narratives of the ancient writers supported the ideology of the leading classes. In archaeology, there are certainly voices who criticize the use of those models in interpreting the material culture of the early Middle Ages, but those voices are still, in my view, in a minority position on the continent.<sup>28</sup> Mainstream archaeology and the public are still thinking along those ethnic terms and a fragmented Europe. By using the ideas of the ancient writers for nationalistic purposes, archaeologists also copied their views on the best organization of society, which is a vertical, hierarchically organized society with that group from which the authors originated in the lead. Because many of those writers were in service of God, elite domination was in their view also a sacrosanct order of society, God-given, sacred, and thus one that was not to be questioned or changed. To modern archaeologists, this order may seem self-evident for a pre-modern society, and thus we copied that vertical hierarchic thinking and interpreted everything we see in cemeteries in ethnic terms or in terms of vertical social hierarchies. In short: gold signifies aristocracy, glass vessels signify the well to do. We have seen that even a superficial inquiry debunks that image. So, we archaeologists of the early Middle Ages not only

---

27 For critical notes see Geary 2002; Fehr 2010.

28 Halsall 1992, 2010; Brather 2004; Fehr 2010; Theuvs/Alkemade 2000; Theuvs 2009, 2019; Von Rummel 2002.

mined the written sources for facts to identify in the archaeological record and to date our material culture, whatever those facts mean but also, probably unconsciously, copied the ideology of the ancient writers promoting the overall importance of ethnic groups controlled by kings and a vertical hierarchical social organization. Historiography had its literary turn; we early medieval archaeologists need a 'material turn'. That means for instance understanding the rhetorical strategies of the burial rites, rather than blindly accepting that they represent the ethnic identities and vertical social organization of living people.<sup>29</sup> Today the national or at times even nationalistic bias of early medieval archaeology is well understood and described, but less described is that the models of early medieval society we use and reproduce with almost every new cemetery that is excavated were also created in a pre-democratic Europe. The general models we use originate from a time when the emancipation of large groups in society had yet to start, that of the workers, the women, the persons with sexual orientations other than what the church prescribes, the people of color, etc. Early medieval archaeology is not exactly an inclusive archaeology yet. If early medieval archaeology must play a societal role in the future it has to leave behind these ancient models of the migration period, at times eagerly used by politicians. Remember, using early medieval models of migration in a modern debate is automatically associating them with the collapse of civilization. The word barbarians used by the ancient writers with an agenda on their mind is still used today to qualify non-Romans. It shows on the covers of monographs and serial publications. It was and is a disqualification. We showed that the migration period is rather a period of great creativity when it comes to building up society. This is quite important to notice because it is exactly the old models of early medieval Europe that play a role in modern Europe today, more than those of for in-

---

29 Theuvs 2019.

stance the Iron Age or the Neolithic. So, what is the role of early medieval archaeology in the near and distant future? First, I would like to advocate not to try to merge historiography and archaeology. This sounds as we say in the Netherlands like '*cursing in the church*' focused as we are on interdisciplinary research. This does not mean that we should forget about historiography, but we must realise that we can only meet at a high intellectual level. If historiography is based on narrative sources written by authors with an agenda, then in my view, the task of historiography is to find out about what Gabrielle Spiegel coined the social logic of the text, the meaning of the text in relation to the world views of the audience. Something similar is not easily recognized in the early medieval material record, but we can try. What is the social logic of the material absence of Merovingian kings? It will not be easy for us archaeologists, but we must acknowledge that the epistemic values of texts and material culture are different, and that knowledge produced based on each type of source cannot simply be pieced together, or archaeological knowledge cannot simply be reduced to what is known from written sources. They produce different kinds of knowledge. It is not useful, even possible, to create one single metanarrative, instead we must consider those types of knowledge as the basis for a debate on the past in the service of the present. A debate so to say between Gregory of Tours and a peasant woman in one of our settlements. Today in a more inclusive perspective of the past that is possible, in the sixth century that would be unthinkable, but we today can help her. My answer to the question asked before about the role of early medieval archaeology is inspired by the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben and his views on the past in the present. On the difficulty, if not impossibility to really know the contemporary, the present.<sup>30</sup> The past in his view is something that yet has to happen and that has to be taken from history so that it can

---

30 Also: Ebeling 2017.



happen.<sup>31</sup> In his *'The highest poverty'* Giorgio Agamben analyses the rules by which medieval monks lived not just to identify rules but to identify what is a 'Form of Live' in the expectation that he could find a possible future political practice.<sup>32</sup> The models we extract from the past are not just there to take notice of but have the potential of playing a fundamental role in the debate on the nature of future society. The task of early medieval archaeology is to produce models of early medieval Europe that can play a role in the debate on future society in Europe which in my view cannot be another one than an inclusive and highly connected society. Models that differ from what we inherited from scholars created 150 years ago. Models that provide a perspective on a future Europe. For that reason, I believe early medieval archaeology must go through a fundamental change of paradigm. We need not insult historians and discard their models, but we must get rid of models with origins in the nineteenth century and those inspired by the ideological agendas of past writers. We can start with the idea that early medieval society was not only created by the heroic deeds of kings, aristocrats, bishops, and saints eloquently recounted in the narratives of ancient writers, but also, maybe even more so, by the hundreds of thousands of daily actions by the rest of the early medieval community not recounted in the narratives or even hardly present in the written sources at all. We would call them today, quoting David Graeber and others, the 99%.<sup>33</sup> A central element in such a paradigm shift is a bottom-up approach such as we tried in our project and is advocated by other archaeologists such as Juan Antonio Quiros Castillo in Spain with his attention to the archaeology of peasant society<sup>34</sup> and Kim Bowes

---

31 Agamben 2015.

32 Agamben 2013.

33 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/We\\_are\\_the\\_99%25](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/We_are_the_99%25).

34 See his extensive bibliography on: <https://ehu.academia.edu/JuanAntonioQuirosCastillo>.

with her Roman peasant society project.<sup>35</sup> To achieve this, we need a pan-European non-national perspective. It is an eye-opener to see that rural people in northern Gaul were abandoning their ancient ancestral cemeteries in the second half of the seventh century, which is quite something to do in those days, and that rurals in northern Italy did the same at the same time.<sup>36</sup> The 99% were probably much more connected and shared many more ideas than the image of a fragmented Europe suggests. The movement of people, the spread of burial rites, the distribution of beads and brooches were apparently not bothered by ethnic identities, mountains, rivers, or seas. What we archaeologists can show is a connected Europe instead of a fragmented Europe of separate nationalities. This would be a project of early medieval archaeology that makes a significant contribution to a future Europe. But it is not an easy task for we currently lack the instruments to do so. One instrument that we developed is our database, the only one for the archaeology of the early Middle Ages, or at least one of the very few that encompasses multiple European countries and has the potential to transform in a Europe-wide platform for early medieval archaeology in the service of scholarship and the public.<sup>37</sup> All archaeological databases are nationally organized, which reinforces the application of the nationalist nineteenth-century models. Early medieval archaeology needs a fundamental paradigm shift in which the central elements are: a recognition that texts and material culture have different epistemic values, a much more inclusive character and a pan-European perspective. Only then it can produce models that play a role in the debate on the future of Europe. Looking at political developments in Europe today this is an urgent task. Early medieval archaeology has a special role in this, because its old

---

35 <https://www.sas.upenn.edu/romanpeasants/index.html>.

36 Possenti 2014.

37 <https://earlymedievaleurope.org/>

models played an important role in creating an ideology of a fragmented Europe, the results of which in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and even today are reasons of concern. We should do better in the twenty-first, although the first signs of growing nationalism are not very promising. It is for that reason a bad omen that today early medieval archaeology finds itself in an existential struggle at universities Europe-wide. Thank you very much for listening.

The Rural Riches Projectteam consisted of: Frans Theuws (PI), Femke Lippok (changing burial rites), Mette Langbroek (exchanges and beads), Jip Barreveld (kings and aristocrats), Line van Wersch and Martine van Haperen (production), David Schaper (IT expert), Roeland Emaus (GIS expert and agriculture), Arent Pol (coinage), Eveline Altena (aDNA research), Lisette Kootker (Isotope research), Joep Hendriks (Lent cemetery), and a small army of student assistants.

I thank Mette Langbroek, Femke Lippok, Jip Barreveld and Eveline Altena for comments on earlier versions of this paper.



## LITERATURE

- Acemoglu, D./J.A. Robinson, 2013 [2012]: *Why nations fail. The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*, London.
- Agamben, G., 2013: *The highest poverty. Monastic rules and Form-of-Life*, Stanford.
- Agamben, G., 2015: Europa muss kollabieren, *Die Zeit* 27. August 2015.
- Amorim, C.E.G. et al., 2018: Understanding 6th-century barbarian social organization and migration through paleogenomics, *Nature Communications* 9, 3547 (<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-018-06024-4>).
- Brather, S., 2004: *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. geschichte, grundlagen und Alternativen*, Berlin/New York.
- Brownlee, E., 2021. Grave goods in Early Medieval Europe: regional variability and decline, *Internet archaeology* 56. <https://doi.org/10.11141/ia.56.11>
- Derks, T./N. Roymans (eds.), 2011: *Villa Landscapes in the Roman North. Economy, Culture and Lifestyles*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 17).
- Ebeling, K., 2017: *The contemporary condition. There is no now: an archaeology of contemporaneity*, Berlin.
- Fehr, H., 2010: *Germanen und Romanen im Merowingerreich: frühgeschichtliche Archäologie zwischen Wissenschaft und Zeitgeschehen*, Berlin (Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde Ergänzungsband 68).
- Feyeux, J.Y., 2003: *Le verre mérovingien du quart nord-est de la France*, Paris.
- Geary, P., 2002: *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton/Oxford.

- Hallsall, G., 1992: The origins of the Reihengraberzivilisation: forty years on, in: J. Drinkwater/H. Elton, (eds.), 1992: *Fifth-century Gaul: a crisis of identity?*, Cambridge, 196-207.
- Hallsall, G., 2010: *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul. Selected Studies in History and Archaeology, 1992-2009*, Leiden/ Boston.
- Hendriks, J./A. Den Braven, 2015: Nijmegen vóór Karel de Grote. Kanttekeningen bij de bewoningscontinuïteit van de oudste stad, *Archeobrief* 19, 8-15.
- Koch, U., 1987: *Die Glas- und Edelsteinfunde aus den Plangrabungen 1967-1983*, Heidelberg (Der Runde Berg bei Urach 6).
- Koch, A., 1998: *Bügelfibeln der Merowingerzeit im westlichen Frankenreich 1-2*, Mainz (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Monographien 41).
- Kühn, H., 1940: *Die Germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit in der Rheinprovinz*, Graz, (Rheinische Forschungen Vorgeschichte 4) (reprint in 1965 as *Die germanische Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit 1*).
- Kühn, H., 1974. *Die germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit in Süddeutschland, Die germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit 2*, Graz.
- Kühn, H., 1981: *Die germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkwanderungszeit in Mitteledeutschland. Die germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit 3*, Graz.
- Legoux, R., 2011: *La nécropole mérovingienne de Bulles (Oise)*, Saint-Germain-en-Laye.
- Mallick, S., Micco, A., Mah, M., Ringbauer, H., Lazaridis, I., Olalde, I., Patterson, N., Reich, D., 2024: The Allen Ancient DNA Resource (AADR) a curated compendium of ancient human genomes. *Sci Data* 11, 182 (2024).
- Maul, B., 2002: *Frühmittelalterliche Gläser des 5.-7./8. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Sturzbecher, glockenförmige Becher, Tümmeler und Glockentümmeler*, Bonn.

- Neuffer-Müller, C./Ament, H., 1973: *Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Rübenach, Stadt Koblenz*, Berlin (Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit B 7).
- Piketty, Th., 2020 [2019]: *Capital and Ideology*, Harvard.
- Pion, C./B. Gratuze/P. Périn/Th. Calligaro, 2020: Bead and Garnet Trade between the Merovingian, Mediterranean, and Indian Worlds, in: B. Effros/I. Moreiro (eds.), 2020: *The Oxford handbook of the Merovingian world*, Oxford, 819-859.
- Pirling, R., 1966: *Das Römisch-Fränkische Gräberfeld von Krefeld-Gellep*, Berlin. (Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit, serie B 2).
- Pirling, R., 1974: *Das römisch-fränkische Gräberfeld von Krefeld-Gellep 1960-1963* (Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit B8), Berlin.
- Pirling, R., 1979: *Das römisch-fränkische Gräberfeld von Krefeld-Gellep 1964-1965* (Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit B10), Berlin.
- Pirling, R., 1996a: Krefeld-Gellep in der Spätantike, in U. Koch/U. Gross/A. Wiczorek/K. von Welck (eds.), 1996: *Die Franken, Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren: König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, Mainz, 81-84.
- Pirling, R., 1996b: Krefeld-Gellep im Frühmittelalter, in U. Koch/U. Gross/A. Wiczorek/K. von Welck (eds.), 1996: *Die Franken, Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren: König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, Mainz, 261-265.
- Pohl, W., 2019: Die Christliche Dimension ethnischer Identitäten im Frühmittelalter, in U. Heil (ed.), 2019: *Das Christentum im frühen Europa. Diskurse-Tendenzen- Entscheidungen*, Berlin (Millenium Studien 75), 35-49.
- Possenti, E. (ed.), 2014: *Necropoli longobarde in Italia. Indirizzi della ricerca e nuovi dati. Atti del Convegno Internazionale 26-28 settembre 2011. Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento*, Trento.
- Reimitz, H., 2015: *History, Frankish identity and the framing of western ethnicity, 550-850*, Cambridge.



- Smith, J., 2005: *Europe after Rome. A New Cultural History 500-1000*, Oxford.
- Spiegel, G. M., 1999: *The past as text. Theory and practice of medieval historiography*, Baltimore/London.
- Theuws, F., 2009: Grave goods, ethnicity, and the rhetoric of burial rites in Late Antique Northern Gaul, in T. Derks/N. Roymans (eds), 2009: *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity. The role of power and tradition*, Amsterdam, 283-319.
- Theuws, F., 2019: Burial archaeology and the transformation of the Roman world in northern Gaul (4th to 6th centuries), in S. Brather-Walter (ed.), 2019: *Archaeology, history and biosciences*, Berlin (Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 107), 125-150.
- Theuws, F./M. Alkemade 2000: A kind of mirror for men: sword depositions in Late Antique northern Gaul, in: F. Theuws/J. Nelson (eds.), 2000: *Rituals of power from late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden, 401-476.
- Van Staveren: I., 2016: *Wat wij kunnen leren van economen die (bijna) niemand meer leest*, Meppel.
- Van Wersch, L., 2012: Céramiques et verres mérovingiens dans la vallée mosane: miroir d'une civilisation en évolution (du milieu du Ve au VIIIe siècle), in R. Annaert et al. (eds), 2012: *The very beginning of Europe? Cultural and Social Dimensions of Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation (5th-8th century)*. *Archaeology in Contemporary Europe*, Brussels (Reclicta Monografieën 7), 205-213.
- Van Wersch, L./D. van Geesbergen/O. Vrielynck, 2010: Les coupes en verre à décor chrétien découvertes en Belgique (fin Ve-début VIe siècle), *Archéologie Médiévale* 40, 115-147.
- Verhoeven, A., 2015: La fin de monde Franc, Aperçu de la production et de la consommation de céramique mérovingienne aux Pays-Bas, in: F. Thuillier/ E. Louis (eds), 2015, *Tourner autour du pot... Les ateliers de potiers médiévaux du Ve au XIIIe siècle dans l'espace européen*, Caen, 499-509.

- Vielitz, K., 2003: *Die Granatscheibenfibeln der Merowingerzeit*, Montagnac (Europe médiévale 3).
- Von Rummel, Ph., 2002: *Habitus Barbarus: Kleidung und representation spätantiker Eliten im 4. Und 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Freiburg.
- Vyas, D.N. et al., 2023: Fine-scale sampling uncovers the complexity of migrations in the 5th-6th century Pannonia, *Current biology* 33, 3951-3961 (<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cub.2023.07.063>).
- Wagner, A./J. Ypey, 2011: *Das Gräberfeld auf dem Donderberg bei Rhenen. Katalog*, Leiden.
- Wieczorek, A., 1987: Die frühmerowingischen Phasen des Gräberfeldes von Rübenach, *Berichte der Römisch-Germanische Kommission* 86, 355-477.
- Wolf, E.R., 1966: *Peasants*, Englewood Cliffs.





- EERSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1971)  
G. Bosinski, *Die Tierdarstellungen des Magdalénien Fundplatzes Gönnersdorf bei Neuwied*
- TWEEDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1975)  
F. Anders, *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe Altmexikos*
- DERDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1977)  
C.B.M. McBurney, *Archaeology and the Homo Sapiens Sapiens Problem in Northern Africa*
- VIERDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1978)  
Raymond H. Thompson, *Mesoamerica and the Goals of Archaeology*
- VIJFDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1981)  
J.K.S. St Joseph, *Air Photography and Archaeology: Achievements and Prospects*
- ZESDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1983)  
Glynn Isaac, *Early Stages in the Evolution of Human Behavior: the Adaptive Significance of Stone Tools*
- ZEVENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1984)  
H.T. Waterbolk, *Archeologie en Landschap*
- ACHTSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1985)  
Tim D. White, *Acheulian Man in Ethiopia's Middle Awash Valley: The Implications of Cutmarks on the Bodo Cranium*
- NEGENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1986)  
M. Biddle, *The Thames and the Rhine: urban origins in the Channel-region (paper presented for the Ninth Kroon-Voordracht (1986); manuscript for publication never received)*

TIENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1987)

J.D. van der Waals, *De kolonisatie van het terpengebied – een ethno-archeologische benadering*

ELFDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1988)

Jane E. Buikstra, *The mound-builders of eastern North America – a regional perspective*

TWAALFDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1990)

David R. Harris, *Settling down and breaking ground: Rethinking the Neolithic Revolution*

DERTIENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1991)

W.A. van Es, *Van Maastricht naar Rhenen, een wandeling in de Laat-Romeinse tijd*

VEERTIENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1992)

J.D. Lewis-Williams, *Vision, Power and Dance: The Genesis of a Southern African Rock Art Panel*

VIJFTIENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1993)

B.W. Cunliffe, *Fertility, Propitiation and the Gods in the British Iron Age*

ZESTIENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1994)

J.T. Urtāns, *Latvian Hillforts: the Originality of the Archaeological Reality*

ZEVENTIENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1995)

Ph.V. Tobias, *The communication of the dead: earliest vestiges of the origin of articulate language*

ACHTTIENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1996)

O. Crumlin-Pedersen, *Archaeology and the sea*

NEGENTIENDE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1997)

George Eogan, *The discovery programme: Initiation, consolidation and development*

TWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1998)

Leendert P. Louwe Kooijmans, *Between Geleen and Banpo, the Agricultural Transformation of Prehistoric Society, 9000 – 4000 BC*

EENENTWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (1999)

Colin Renfrew, *Loot, Legitimacy and ownership: The ethical crisis in archaeology*

TWEEENTWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2000)

Erika Hagelberg, *Genetics in the study of human history: problems and opportunities*

DRIEENTWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2001)

João Zilhão, *Anatomically archaic, behaviorally modern: The last Neanderthals and their destiny*

VIERENTWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2002)

S. von Schnurbein, *Augustus in Germanien, neue archäologische Forschungen*

VIJFENTWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2003)

S.W. Hillson, D.R. Brothwell and G.J.R. Maat, *Wealth, health and human remains in archaeology*

ZESENTWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2004)

Miranda Aldhouse-Green, *Beyond the gods: biographies, values and cosmologies in 'celtic' iconography*

ZEVENENTWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2005)

Maarten J. Raven, *Architectural principles in theory and practice: The New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqara (Egypt)*

- ACHTENTWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2006)  
 Paul Halstead, *What's ours is mine? Village and household in early farming society in Greece*
- NEGENENTWINTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2007)  
 Peter de Knijff, *Archaeology by means of DNA: hype or here to stay?*
- DEERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2008)  
 Hermann Parzinger e.a., *Der Skythenzeitliche Krieger aus dem Eis: neue Entdeckungen im Mongolischen Altaj*
- EENENDERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2009)  
 Bernard Wood, *The Human Fossil Record: Challenges and Opportunities*
- TWEEENDERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2010)  
 Wil Roebroeks, *The Neandertal Experiment*
- DRIEENDERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2011)  
 Johannes Müller, *Megaliths and Funnel Beakers: societies in change 4100-2700 BC*
- VIERENDERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2012)  
 Albert Zink, *From Tutankhamun to Ötzi: the use of modern scientific methods in mummy research*
- VIJFENDERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2013)  
 J. Francis Thackeray, *Human evolution from an African perspective: with reference to Charles Darwin palaeoclimate and the problem of defining a species*
- ZESEENDERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2014)  
 André F.L. van Holk, Jerzy H.G. Gawronsky,  
 Jonathan R. Adams and Henk Dessens, *Maritime Archaeology*



- ZEVENENDERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2015)  
Lee R. Berger, *Five years after Australopithecus Sediba. New discoveries changing our understanding of human evolution*
- ACHTENDERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2016)  
Fred Spoor, *Evolving primates: a palaeontologist's view of his tribe*
- NEGENENDERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2017)  
Graeme Barker, *A tale of three caves: why was our species so successful at colonising new environments*
- VEERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2018)  
Michael Parker Pearson, *Science and Stonehenge: recent investigations of the world's most famous stone circle*
- EENENVEERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2019)  
Jean-Jacques Hublin, *The rise and spread of homo sapiens*
- TWEEENVEERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2020)  
Corrie C. Bakels, *Man: manipulator of his physical environment*
- DRIEENVEERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2021)  
David R. Fontijn, *'Give Peace a Chance' on Violence and Warfare in Prehistory and Why it Matters*
- VIERENVEERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2022)  
John D. Speth, *Archaeology, ethnohistory, early hominins, and some cherished scientific myths*
- VIJFENVEERTIGSTE KROON-VOORDRACHT (2023)  
Frido Welker, *Protein tales of the Human pasts*



KROON-VOORDRACHTEN

REDACTIE: WILLY H. METZ

*Printed by*

DRUKKERIJ J. BOUT & ZN., HUIZEN

ISBN/EAN 978-90-829-481-6-5

