

# DROUWEN: END OF A 'NORDIC' RAINBOW?

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**ABSTRACT:** This article has three parts. Section 1 describes the Late Bronze Age hoard of bronzes in a pot, found near the village of Drouwen, Drenthe in December 1984.

Section 2 examines the character, origins and dating of this hoard. The pot and almost all of the bronzes are of types which were previously totally absent or very rare in this region. The hoard was apparently a collection of old objects imported as scrap metal, intended to be melted down for the manufacture of new bronzes. It seems to have originated in the Middle or Lower Elbe area, c. 200 to 300 km to the east.

Section 3 is a brief survey of the remarkable series of finds of Bronze Age material in the vicinity of Drouwen: the Early Bronze Age 'Sögel' chieftain's grave; the Late Bronze Age hoard of 1939, and other finds from the urnfield; a Scandinavian sword found nearby. These suggest some sort of extraordinary connection between Drouwen and the North European cultural area in the Bronze Age, especially in the Late Bronze Age.

**KEYWORDS:** Drouwen (Drenthe, the Netherlands), Late Bronze Age, hoard, bronze (scrap metal), social structure, Late Bronze Age.

## 1. THE DROUWENERVELD HOARD OF 1984<sup>1</sup>

A pot full of bronzes - about 70 Late Bronze Age objects and fragments of objects, almost all broken or incomplete (figs 2-8), weighing c. 1100 g - was recovered in December 1984 in the Drouwenerveld, approximately 1 km southwest of the present village centre of Drouwen, and of the site of the Late Bronze Age urnfield just west of the village (fig. 1). The new hoard is the largest Late Bronze Age hoard found in the north of the Netherlands. It came to light almost exactly 45 years after the discovery of the other rich hoard found in 1939 in the Drouwen urnfield (figs 20-22). The relationship of these two hoards with other finds in the neighbourhood, and with the South Scandinavian-North German culture area, will be discussed in section 3.

### 1.1. Find circumstances

The circumstances of the find have already been described by Kooi (1986), and need be reviewed only briefly here. Drouwen is a village lying along the eastern edge of the sand-covered old moraine ridge, the Hondsrug. It is roughly equidistant from the north end (Groningen) and the south end (Emmen) of the ridge. To the east was the Bour-tanger Moor, certainly a formidable barrier to communication; and we do not know whether there were Bronze Age trackways here, as there certainly were in the Emmen area (Casparie, 1984). The site

of the find is a featureless-looking field through which runs a slight sand ridge. In November 1984 the field was ploughed, to a depth greater than previously. As the field in question was known to have yielded flints, sherds and other archaeological material (not, however, of the Bronze Age), it was walked over hopefully by a number of amateur archaeologists. Among them was Mr. G. Holtrop of Rolde, Drenthe. On this occasion Mr. Holtrop found a number of fragmentary bronzes with unpatinated, recently broken edges, and potsherds, suggesting the presence of a hoard. Mr. Holtrop marked the spot and reported his finds to the Drents Museum in Assen, which in turn notified the Biologisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in Groningen. An investigation followed.

Then, a trial cutting of 2 x 2 metres was excavated. At the base of the plough soil, the top of the hoard - most of a pot, with bronzes inside it - became visible, and could be plotted in on the map.

The earth at the level of the hoard was naturally deposited sand, partially penetrated from above with ironpan. The hoard had presumably been deposited in a pit, but no trace thereof had survived the ploughing; nor were other archaeological soil traces observable.

Because of dark, threatening weather, it was decided to remove the pot in a block of earth and transport it to the B.A.I. in Groningen for detailed further examination. Some days afterward, the pot (about two-thirds of which had still been in situ,

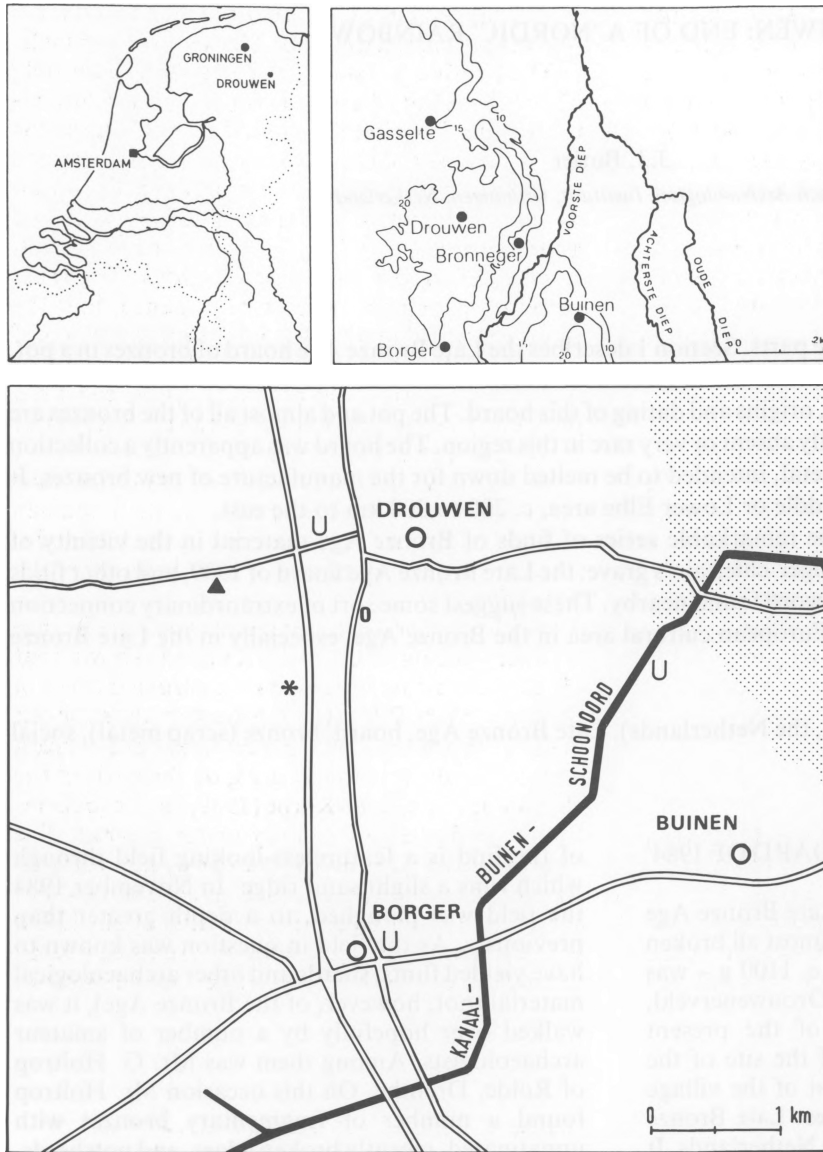


Fig. 1. Situation of Drouwen and its Bronze Age finds. O Early Bronze Age warrior's grave; ▲ Late Bronze Age sword; U Late Bronze Age urnfield; \* Drouwenveld, hoard of 1984; stippled area former Bourtanger Moor.

lying on its side) and its contents (about 70 bronzes and fragments) were carefully 'excavated' at the B.A.I. by the technician K. Klaassens, in the presence of the original finder Mr. Holtrop, members of the B.A.I. and Drents Museum staff, students, photographers, press, and the present writer. Dr. P.B. Kooi made drawings of the position of the objects within the pot as the mini-excavation proceeded.

It appeared that the pot had simply been crammed full of bronze objects, mostly broken before deposition; many of the objects are represented only by one or more fragments. Only a socketed axe and a large number of buttons were quite intact. Some ploughed-out fragments found on the surface by Mr. Holtrop could be matched with pieces still in

the pot. Other ploughed-out fragments are not likely to have escaped being found in the plough-soil, as the ground concerned was checked with a metal detector.

A subsequent excavation at the find-spot, conducted in March 1985 by J.N. Lanting (B.A.I.) in which an area 20 x 20 metres was opened, failed to yield any further objects or soil traces relevant to this find.

The inventory of the hoard includes tools, weapons, ornaments, and a number of fragments of bronze casting waste. It is evidently a collection of scrap metal, intended for melting down and the casting of new objects.

There is no evidence as to why the hoard was deposited where it was, or why it was left in the



ground there. Opinions are divided as to whether such metal-worker's deposits are to be regarded as purely functional (e.g. Levy, 1982) or are to be considered as ritual deposits (e.g. Hundt, 1955). To import a load of scrap metal from a considerable distance, and then deposit it as a votive offering, would be rather self-defeating; unless, perhaps, it was part of a larger shipment, and only this part was used as an offering. Or it could have been deposited for safekeeping by a smith or a trader, and abandoned for whatever reason. This would imply some sort of workshop or storage building close by; but no traces of structures have so far been found.

In section 2 below we shall go into detail as to the origin of the material in the hoard. Here we can anticipate our findings by noticing the remarkable fact that practically all the objects in the hoard - the pot, the bronze types - are strangers to this area, being either totally unknown hitherto, or at least very scarce, in the Netherlands and Northwest Germany. The hoard seems to have been imported as a whole from the lower or middle Elbe area, but it also includes some South Scandinavian objects, and at least one of Central European origin or inspiration.

## 1.2. Dating

The dating evidence for the individual types contained in the hoard will be discussed in detail in chapter 2. Here we can say, in general, that the Scandinavian and 'Middle Elbe' types in the hoard are mostly types that originate in Northern Period IV, but continue to be used and deposited in Period

V. The tanged knife (fig. 4:15) and the socketed axe (fig. 4:4) seem, indeed, to be Montelius V products.

The Urnfield socketed knife (fig. 4:30) is the only object in the hoard of a type which is well represented in other finds in this region (i.e. the Netherlands and Northwest Germany), where its associations are invariably with types with a North European dating of Montelius V. But the Drouwen socketed knife seems to be an early example of its kind, with Central European HaBl connections. We must therefore conclude, on present evidence, that the Drouwenerveld hoard, despite the presence in it of possibly older objects (not in itself surprising in a scrap-metal hoard), was probably deposited within the North German Period V, though probably at an early date within that phase.

The Drouwenerveld hoard of 1984 was thus deposited within the same period as the Drouwen urnfield hoard of 1939, the period which includes most of the Late Bronze Age hoards found in the Netherlands.

Dendrochronological evidence from Late Bronze Age settlements in the Swiss lakes has shown that HaB3 settlements were being constructed there in the 9th century B.C.<sup>2</sup> The 8th-century date for our main 'Hunze-Ems' Late Bronze Age hoard horizon which we have previously used, on the basis of the chronology of Müller-Karpe (1959, etc.), can therefore be updated by a century or thereabouts. The Swiss tree-ring chronology can now, according to recent publications, be accepted as accurate and not subject to further corrections (Becker et al., 1985); how the archaeological materials are to be related to it will, of course, be subject to further refinement.

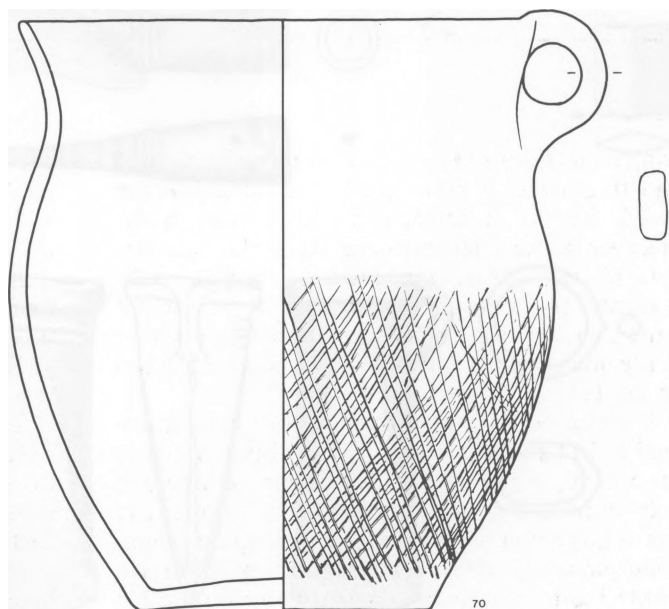


Fig. 2. Drouwenerveld 1984: the pot (70). Scale 1:2.

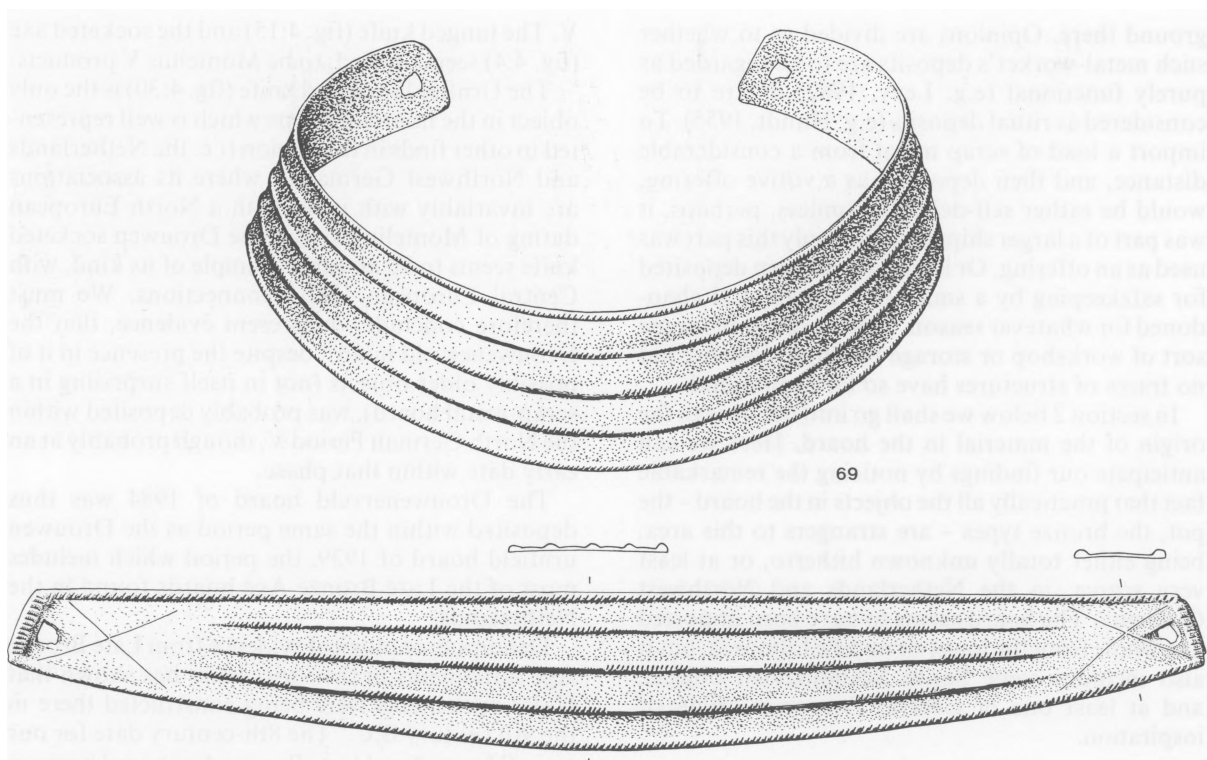


Fig. 3. Drouwenerveld 1984: the collar (69). Scale 1:2.

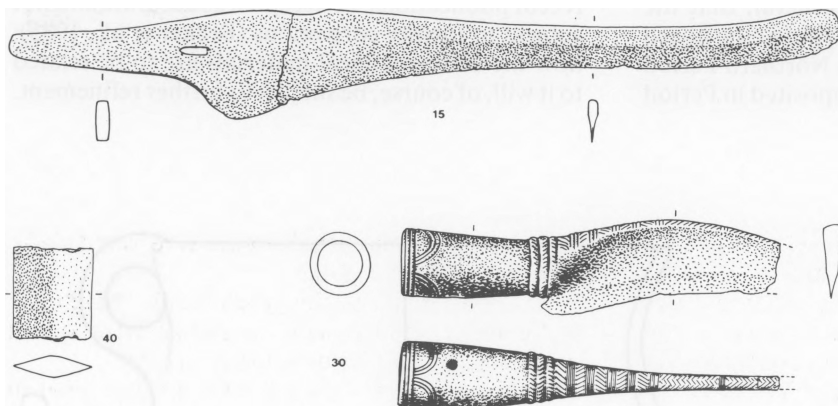


Fig. 4. Drouwenerveld 1984: tanged knife (15), socketed knife (30), knife fragment (40), socketed axe (4). Scale 1:2.

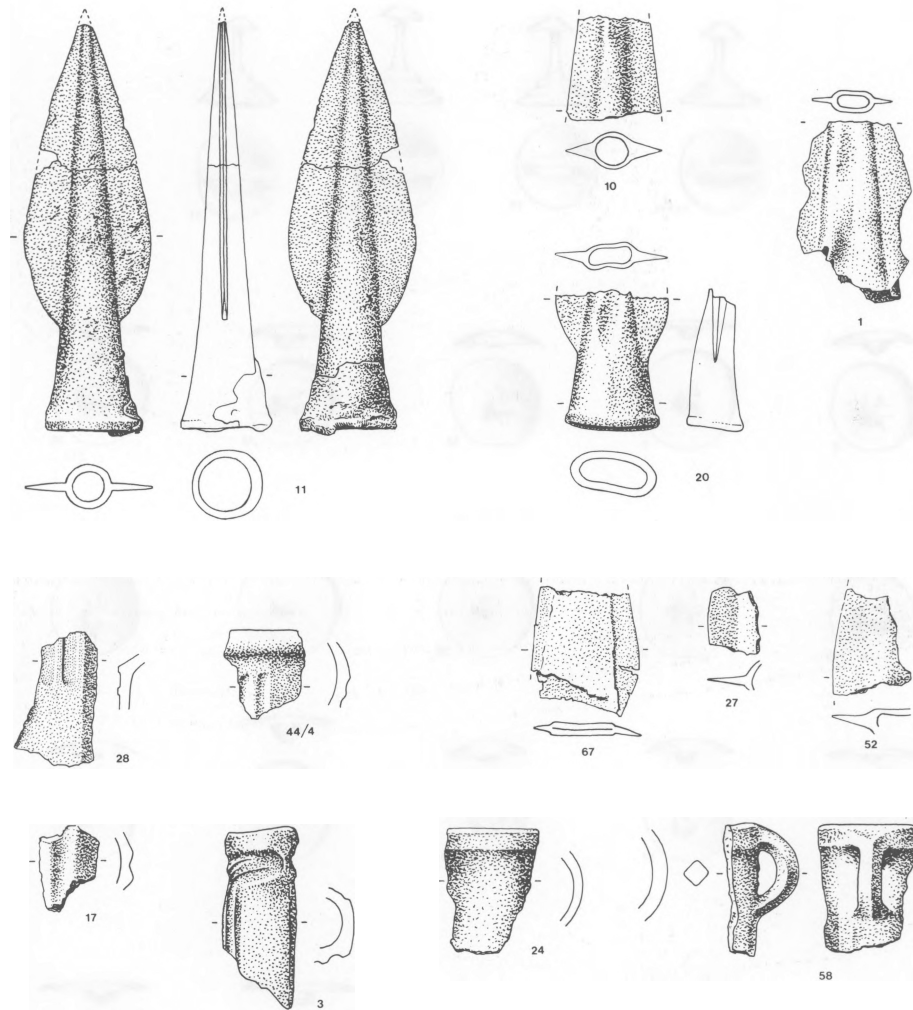


Fig. 5. Drouwenerveld 1984: spearheads (1, 10, 11, 20, 27, 52, 67), socketed axe fragments (3, 17, 24, 28, 44/4, 58). Scale 1:2

Period V in North Germany and Scandinavia has voluminous trade contacts with Central Europe in the Late Urnfield period (HaB3), and these two phases must be more or less contemporary; so that the absolute dates for HaB3 can also be regarded as applying, more or less, to Montelius V. The Drouwenerveld hoard could therefore have been deposited somewhere around 850 BC.

## 2. ORIGINS AND DATING OF THE HOARD OF 1984

### 2.1. General observations

The most striking facts about the Drouwenerveld hoard can be summarized as follows:

1. The hoard consists of Late Bronze Age objects, mostly of types previously unknown, or at least of very rare occurrence, in the Northwest German-Northern Netherlands region.

2. The pot in which the bronzes were found is also a stranger to this region.

3. The hoard is not characteristically 'masculine' or 'feminine'; it includes tools and weapons as well as ornaments, and also founders' scrap.

4. Almost all of the objects were deposited in fragmentary or damaged condition.

From this it must be clear that we have to do with an imported collection of old bronzes, not intended for use or exchange as finished objects, but rather as old metal which could be melted down for the manufacture of new objects. Such scrap metal finds (*Bruchersfunde* in German) are well-known in many parts of Europe, but no sizable example was previously known in the north of the Netherlands. Since there are no natural sources of metal in this region, all metal would necessarily have to be imported: either as ingots, new or second hand objects, or scrap. Ingot finds are unknown in this region, so finished objects and scrap must have been the most important elements in the supply.

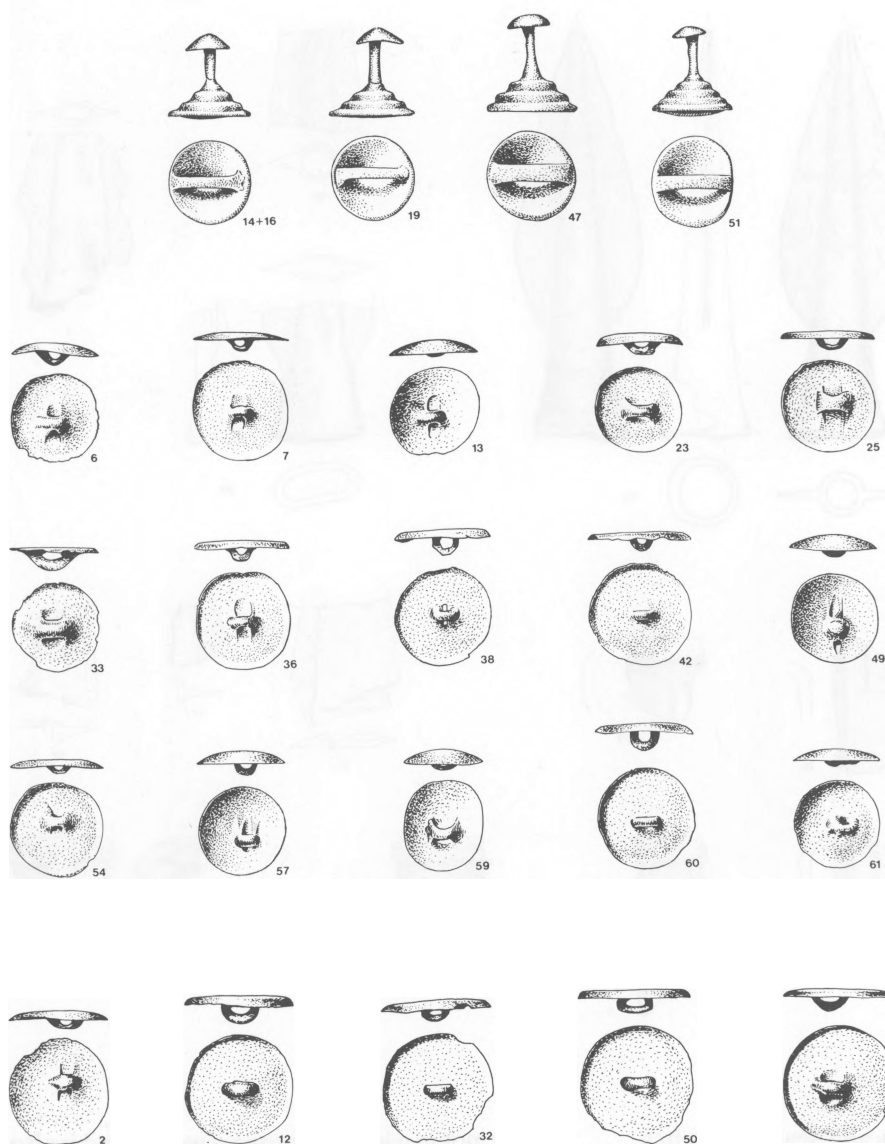


Fig. 6. Drouwenerveld 1984: tutuli (14+16, 19, 47, 51) and buttons. Scale 1:2.

The source of the Drouwenerveld scrap can be determined at least broadly on the basis of the types contained in the hoard. Some of the types are, of course, too general in their occurrence to be useful as source indicators, but others can be pinned down to a region of origin. Among these we can distinguish types of 'Middle Elbe' origin; types characteristic of the South Scandinavian cultural area; types generally 'North European' but not specifically pinned to a smaller sub-region; and (in only one case) a type of ultimate West Central European 'Urnfield' background. The types concerned can now be considered in detail.

## 2.2. Types of middle/lower Elbe origin

A Late Bronze Age 'Kulturprovinz Mittelbe' was

defined by Sprockhoff (1937: pp. 60-61, Abb. 20, Karte 33), on the basis of the distribution of certain characteristic metal types; among these were the stepped tutuli with mushroom-shaped head. Actually, as later writers have pointed out (cf. Tackenberg, 1971; von Brunn, 1968: p. 227; Horst, 1981), the Mittelbe concept does not hold together very well. The tutuli concerned (fig. 6) have, indeed, a 'Lower Elbe' rather than a 'Middle Elbe' centre of distribution (fig. 9; von Brunn, 1968: Karte 16). The horizontally ribbed collar occurs in much the same area (though it also has a secondary centre farther east: cf. fig. 10). In this lower Elbe region we also find many types of South Scandinavian origin, which commonly occur together with the Elbe types in hoards^

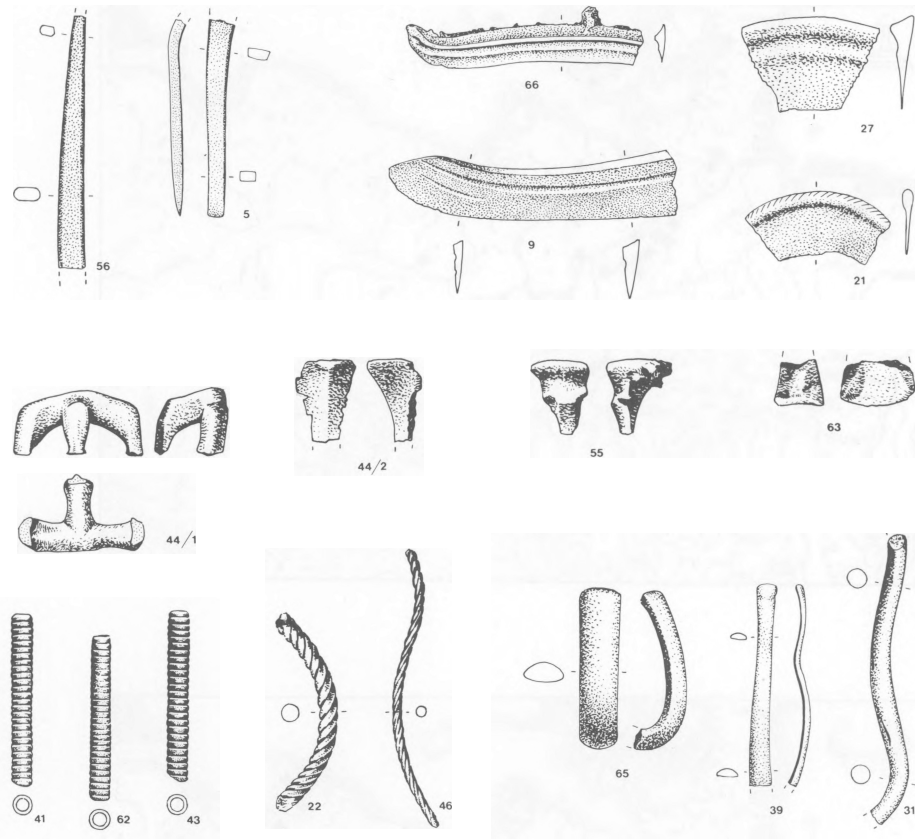


Fig. 7. Drouwenerveld 1984: punch fragments (5, 56), sickle fragments (9, 21, 27, 66), casting jets (44/1, 44/2, 55, 63), ribbed tubes (41, 43, 62), twisted wire fragments (22, 46), bracelet fragments (39, 65), plain wire (31). Scale 1:2.

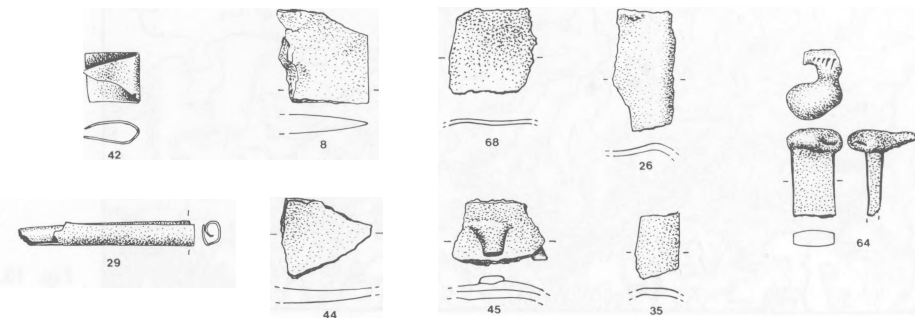


Fig. 8. Drouwenerveld 1984: miscellaneous fragments. Scale 1:2.

### 2.2.1. *The tutuli* (fig. 6)

These are a sort of decorative button, with a central pointed projection. Numerous varieties were in use in Eastern, Central and Northern Europe in many different periods. A special variety, with stepped sides and a lens-shaped (mushroom-shaped) cap, derived from Middle Bronze Age predecessors common in Northern Europe (e.g. Schubart, 1972: p. 34), begins toward the end of Period III in Mecklenburg. This variety (made by *cire perdue* casting, according to Drescher, 1956) is known

from 27 finds in North Germany, and, rarely, Scandinavia. There are several remarkable things about their distribution (fig. 9; Struve, 1979: Tafel 62 has a few erroneous spots). There is one main concentration east of the Elbe - in Mecklenburg - and another south and west of the Elbe, in the Lüneburger Heide and Altmark areas. Mecklenburg has many examples; in half a dozen hoards (presumably trader's stocks) no less than 279 examples were found. The most extravagant single find, however, is the only major find east of the Oder: the Period V hoard from Hohenwalde, Kr.

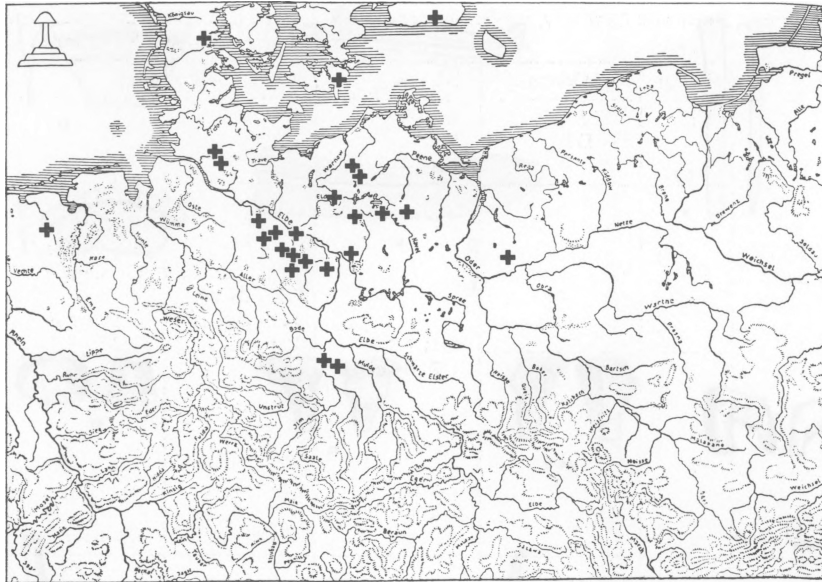


Fig. 9. Stepped tutuli with lens-shaped cap. After Sprockhoff, 1937, with additions from Von Brunn and Thrane.

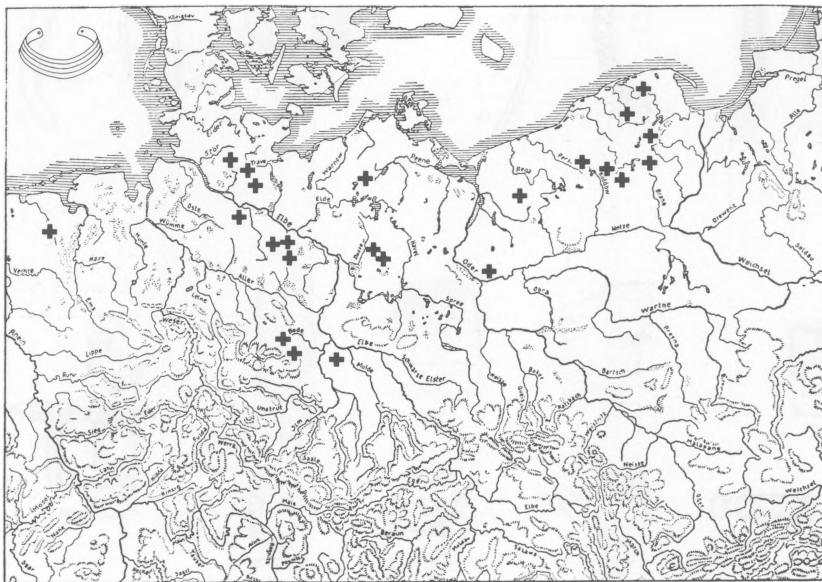


Fig. 10. Horizontally ribbed collars. After Sprockhoff, 1937.

Landsberg an der Warthe (cf. Pescheck, 1949/50: pp. 21-25, Abb. 1; Landsberg is now Gorzów Wielkopolski), where no less than 326 tutuli occurred in the one find!

Remarkably, in view of its abundance in the 'Mittel-elbe' (Unterelbe) province, there are no finds at all of such tutuli in Northwestern Germany west of the Lüneburger Heide, or in the Netherlands, until we come to Drouwenerveld, with its four examples.

Although we cannot now say whether our Drouwen specimens came from Mecklenburg or from the

Lüneburger Heide, there can hardly be doubt that they are Lower Elbe products. Most of the datable finds (chiefly hoards, a few graves) are of Period IV, but some important hoards (the Hohenwalde find already mentioned, the Central German hoard of Bernburg with 172 examples, the North Jutland hoard of Saesing) are assigned to Period V.

### 2.2.2. *The ribbed collar* (fig. 3)

Various sorts of ribbed and unribbed bronze collars were common both in the Central European tumu-

Chronological table. Central and Northern Europe, Northwest Germany, the Netherlands.

					Hoards and Rich Graves	
D.D.	Central Europe		N.Eur.	NW Germany	NL	NL
	HaCl	HALLSTATT	VI	WESSEN- STEDT	LATE URN- FIELDS	
850	HaB3 (B.f.IIIb)	LATE (späte) URNFIELDS/ EARLIEST HALLSTATT	V	V	MIDDLE URNFIELDS	Bäk, Schinna Oberbeck Bargfeld Rethwisch
	HaB2(?)	YOUNGER (jüngere) URNFIELDS				
950 1000	HaB1 (B.f.IIIa)		IV	IV	EARLY URNFIELDS	Drouwen 1939 Havelte Schoonebeek Drouwen 1984 Barger- oosterveld 1900
1050	HaA2 (B.f.IIb)	MIDDLE (mittlere) URNFIELDS				
	HaA1 (B.f.IIa)	EARLIER (ältere) URNFIELDS	III	TANGEN- DORF	B	Epe Elp Weerdinge
	D (B.f.I.)	EARLIEST (frühe) URNFIELDS/ LATE TUMULUS		BERGEN- BLECKMAR	MIDDLE	
	C2	YOUNGER (jüngere) TUMULUS	II	BONS- TORF	BRONZE	
	C1	MIDDLE (mittlere) TUMULUS		WESTEN- DORF	AGE	
	B	EARLIER (ältere) TUMULUS	I	SÖGEL- WOHLDE	A	Overloon Drouwen 1927
1650	A2 (A3, A4)	(later part of) EARLY BRONZE AGE			EARLY BRONZE AGE	Wageningen
	A1	(earlier part of) EARLY BRONZE AGE				

Notes to the chronological table:

D.D. = Dendrochronology: absolute dates (slightly rounded off) for the founding of settlements in Switzerland

850: Auvemier Nord (HaB3)

950: Cortaillod Ost (HaB1)

1050: Greifensee-Böschchen (HaA2)

1650: Meilen-Schellen (last phase of the Early Bronze Age; variously cited as Langquaid phase, A2, A3, or *Stufe* 4)

Roman numbers = South Scandinavian periods, according to Montelius/Broholm/Baudou

Names in capitals = standard period names (NL after Lanting & Mook)

HaCl ... A1 = former period designations (Miiller-Karpe, etc.)

B.f.I ... B.f.IIIa = Bronze final I... IIIA, East French period designations according to Hatt, adapted by Briard/Mohen/Blanchet

Lower case names = find-spots of hoards or graves with characteristic content



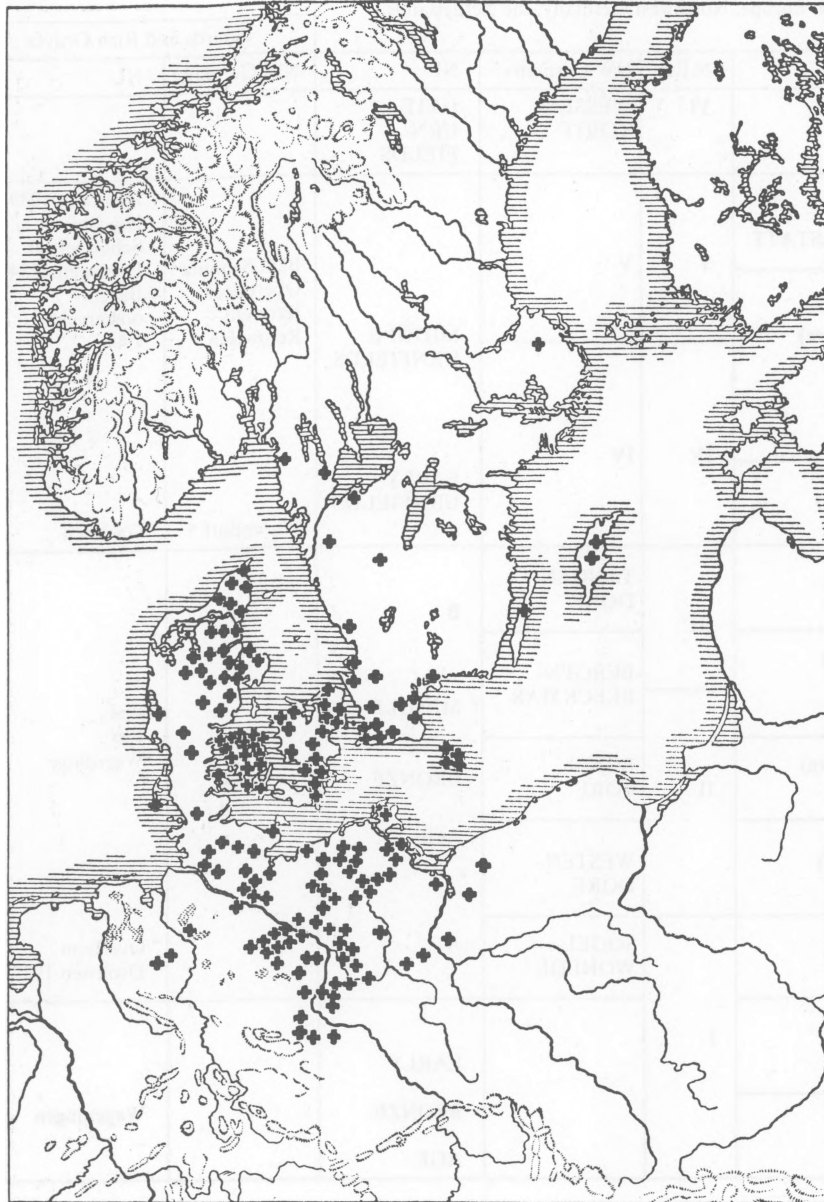


Fig. 11. The South Scandinavian culture area in the Late Bronze Age, as defined by hoards of Period IV (left) and Period V (right). After Sprockhoff, 1937.

lus culture and in North Europe during the Middle Bronze Age. The special variety of ribbed collar as it occurs in our Drouwenerveld hoard, usually with the triangularly perforated end-panels as we have at Drouwen, is known from 24 finds (cf. fig. 10) in the German literature. Sprockhoff discusses this type under the name *steile längsgerippte Halskragen* (1937: pp. 41-42, 89-90, Karte 20; 1956, I: pp. 19, 141-143; II: Taf. 24:1-2).

More than half of them occur (fig. 10) in an area centring on the river Elbe, extending north-south from Holstein to Central Germany. Mecklenburg has only one find (most surprisingly, since its Period III predecessors are common there); where-

as there are three finds in Central Germany, and there is a considerable group in the east, roughly between the Oder and the Vistula, occurring there sometimes in hoards of Period V, though the dated finds of the 'Mittel-elbe' area are of Period IV.

The ribbed collar, the tutuli, and the bronze buttons are perhaps part of a costume set; the combination is not unknown in the Elbe region.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.3. Types of 'South Scandinavian' origin

By 'South Scandinavian' we mean, in this context, the South Scandinavian Late Bronze Age cultural area, sometimes in the past described as the *Nor-*



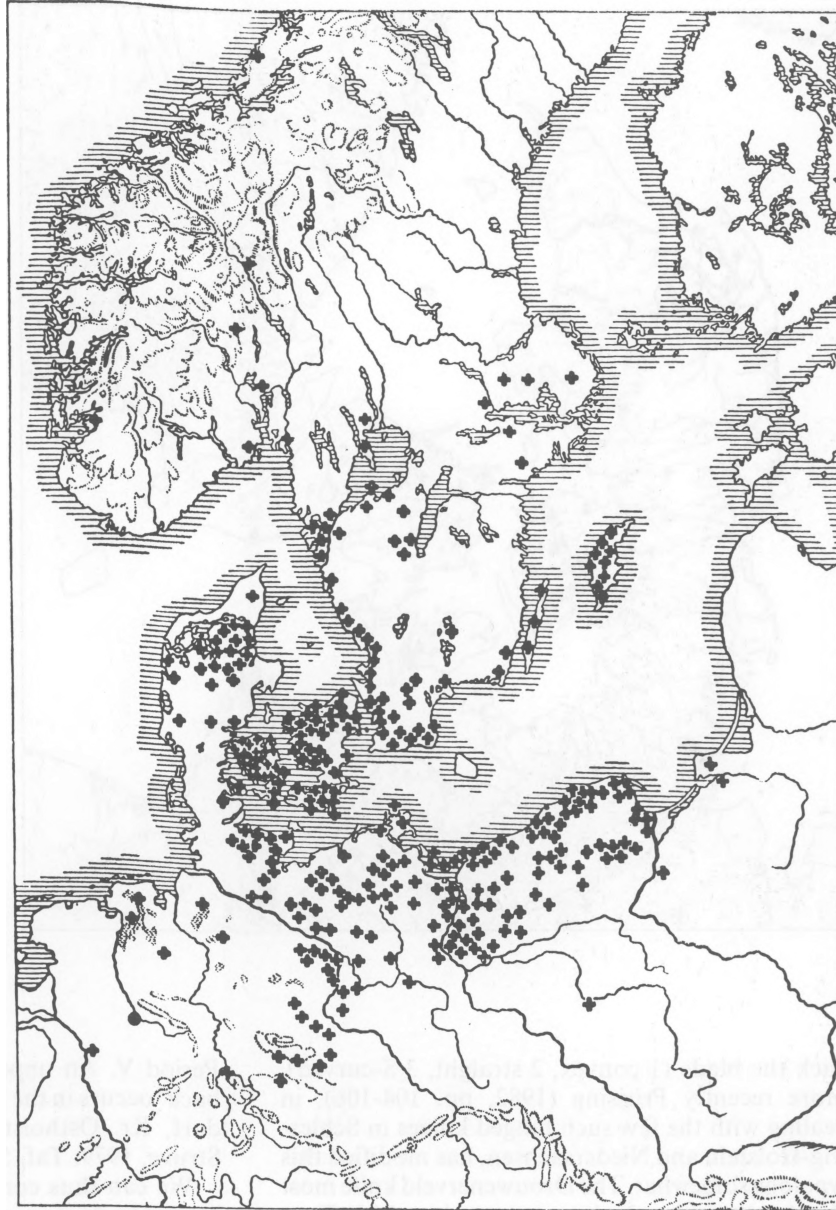


Fig. 11 (cont.).

*dische Kreis*, which is archaeologically defined by the distribution of its many characteristic types. Its extent can perhaps best be visualized with the help of the distribution of hoards with 'Nordic' material (fig. 11; Sprockhoff, 1937: Karte 1, 2; 1956, II: Karte 53; Baudou, 1960; Struve, 1979: Tafel 39). This area includes not only Denmark, Southern Sweden and Southern Norway, but also Schleswig-Holstein and some adjacent parts of Central North Germany. In Period IV it extends roughly to the Oder; in Period V it goes farther to the east, as far as the Vistula mouth area.

### 2.3.1. *The tanged knife* (fig. 4:15)

In the Scandinavian literature, tanged knives such as that from the Drouwenerveld hoard have been discussed under the title of *Griffangelmesser*. Baudou (1960: pp. 28-29, Taf. VII, XB) counted 130 examples, of which more than half have a perforation (usually round) in the tang. They are most common on Sjaelland and Fyn, relatively rare in South Sweden and Jutland. Thrane (1972: pp. 213-214, 219, fig. 22) has published a map of the *Griffangelmesser mit Nietloch* he lists about 60 examples (his *Fundliste* 4, pp. 227-228). He divides them into three varieties, based on the outline of the



Fig. 12. Tanged knives with perforation in tang. After Thrane, 1972.

back the blade (1 convex, 2 straight, 3 S-curved). More recently Prüssing (1982, pp. 104-106), in dealing with the few such tanged knives in Schleswig-Holstein and Niedersachsen, has modified this typology somewhat. The Drouwenerveld knife most closely resembles the larger examples of his Type Bunsoh. The few examples of this type occur in Ditmarschen and on the Lüneburger Heide (Prüssing's No. 232-236). Characteristic for this small group of knives is the jog in the line of the back caused by the irregular junction of the blade and the tang. Interestingly, the find from Armstorf (Prüssing's Taf. 27H; his No. 236 and 238) contains both a Bunsoh knife (though a small example) and a small, atypical knife with an elongated perforation: the only published example we know of with a perforation resembling that of the Drouwenerveld knife. Whether examples with the 'Bunsoh back' and/or the 'Armstorf perforation' also occur in Denmark is not clear from the literature. If examples with the 'Bunsoh back' exist in Denmark, they would presumably be classified by Thrane in his Variety 3, with ogival back line, which he dates to

Period V. An unperforated knife with a 'Bunsoh back' occurs in the Period V hoard from Hemmelsdorf, Kr. Ostholstein (Prüssing, 1982: No. 245; Struve, 1979: Taf. 59).

We can thus conclude that the Drouwenerveld tanged knife is an import from the South Scandinavian area, but perhaps is a representative of the small 'Bunsoh' group from the periphery of that area (fig. 12). It is, in any case, the only known example of a Nordic *Griffenangelmesser* this side of the Lower Elbe area.

As to dating, Baudou states that the *Griffenangelmesser* occur for two-thirds in Period IV and one-third in Period V. Prüssing, however, specifically assigns his Type Bunsoh knives to Period V, on the basis of two examples with Period V pins and, in one case, a Period V neckring, as well as on a typological argument, namely that the shape of the back is a variant of the HaB *Krückenrücken*. A Northern Period V dating for the Drouwenerveld tanged knife would thus be probable.

### 2.3.2. The lugged sickle (fig. 7:66)

The lugged sickle, represented in the Drouwenerveld hoard by the fragment No. 66, is a purely South Scandinavian type (Baudou, 1960: p. 47, Typ XIV B, *Rückenzapfensichel* list pp. 230-234; Karte 27). Baudou gives the number of known find-spots as totalling c. 240 in Denmark, c. 100 in Sweden, and only 7 in Schleswig-Holstein; there were none south of Schleswig-Holstein, nor in Norway or Finland.

On the basis of c. 70 associated finds, the larger number belong to Period IV, a smaller number to Period V; Baudou does not go into further detail.

### 2.3.3. The fragmentary socketed axes

The socketed axe fragment No. 28 (fig. 5:28) has flat-bottomed grooves on the face, which suggest, despite the smallness of the fragment, that it comes from one of the *Tüllenbeile mit geraden Blenden* (Baudou, 1960: Type VIIA1, pp. 17-18, Karte 8). The distribution is practically limited to the Danish Islands and Skane.

Fragment No. 3 (fig. 5:3) apparently comes from one of Baudou's *Tüllenbeile mit Y-förmig verzweigten Blenden* (his type VIIA2, pp. 18-19, Karte 9), with a similar distribution.

Both of these are very common and characteristic Scandinavian types.

The other socketed axe fragments (fig 5:17, 24, 44:4) are not closely definable as to type.

## 2.4. Types of generally 'North European' origin

### 2.4.1. The complete socketed axe (fig. 4:4)

The complete socketed axe in the hoard (No. 4) has a large arch-shaped facet on each face, and thus belongs to the large family of socketed axes which Sprockhoff (1956: pp. 90-91) has grouped under the designation *keilförmige Tüllenbeile mit bogenförmigen Breitseiten* or, as Tackenberg (1971) prefers, *mit glockenförmig abgesetzten Breitseiten*. Sprockhoff subdivides these according to the number and arrangement of horizontal ribs under the socket-mouth moulding. If there are no ribs, we have to do with Typ Schinna; if there are one to four ribs, it belongs to Typ Oberneck; if there is a complicated rib pattern, it belongs to the type *Tüllenbeil mit profiliertem Tüllenmund* (cf. Butler, 1960a; 1960b; Kibbert, 1984: pp. 136-139 under Typ Bargeröosterveld). Tackenberg has added additional finds to Sprockhoff's lists, and has carried the subdivision slightly further by listing and mapping the examples with a single neck rib separately (his Liste 6 and Karte 12).

Our Drouwenerveld axe is remarkable in that its two sides differ: on one face there are two ribs below the socket-mouth moulding, but these ribs are

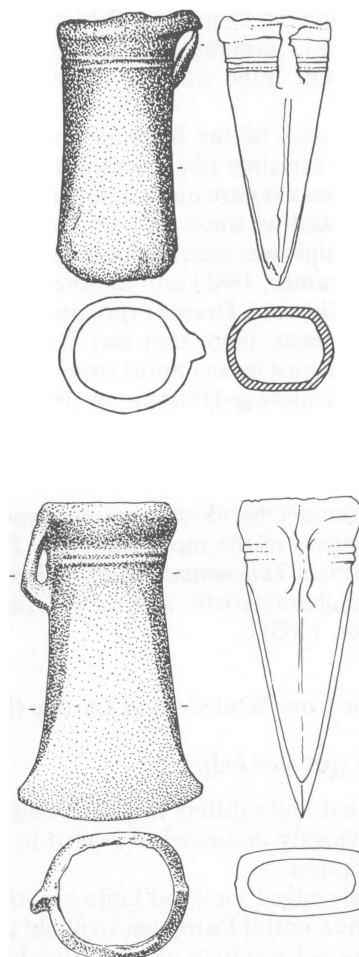


Fig. 13. 'Oberneck' socketed axes from Frederiksoord, Drenthe, and Leeuwarden, Friesland. Scale 1:2.

absent on the other face. (A small number of axes with this kind of duality are mentioned by Tackenberg, 1971: pp. 255-256, Liste 6: Nos 1,6,18). In the typology of Sprockhoff the face without the ribs belongs to Typ Schinna, whereas the ribbed face is an example of Typ Oberneck.

Axes of this family seem to have originated in Southeastern Europe (Petrescu-Dîmbovița, 1978: Taf. 223 ff; Kemenczei, 1984: pp. 74-76, 169-170, Taf. CXC VII), and from there to have jumped somehow (largely skipping Central Europe) to North Germany and Scandinavia. Most common in the north is the Schinna type; the ribbed-necked Oberneck variants have a similar distribution but are comparatively scarce (for the Schinna type, Sprockhoff and Tackenberg list nearly a hundred examples in North Germany; for all the variants of the Oberneck type together they list only 22 examples, and only five of these are specifically described as being two-ribbed). Taking all these varieties together, it is noteworthy that they are

quite common in Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, and Northwest Germany, yet strangely uncommon on the Middle Elbe and in Central and East Germany.

Socketed axes of the Schinna and Oberneck varieties are certainly not common in the Netherlands. Schinna axes are quite unknown this side of the border, and we know of only two Oberneck axes: an example was recently found in Leeuwarden (fig. 13a; Kramer, 1985) and another (fig. 13b) is from Frederiksoord, Drenthe (private possession).<sup>4</sup>

It would seem, then, that our Drouwenerveld socketed axe must be an import from somewhere in Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein or Niedersachsen. At present we are unable to localize its origin more narrowly than that. A detailed special study could possibly narrow down the possibilities.

The Schinna/Oberneck axes are typologically the forerunners of the more elaborate *Tüllenbeile mit profiliertem Tüllenmund* which in Period V are among the characteristic axes of the Ems-Hunze area (Butler, 1965).<sup>5</sup>

## 2.5. A type from West Central Europe (fig. 4:30)

### 2.5.1. *The socketed knife*

The socketed knife differs from the objects in the hoard previously discussed in regard to its origin and distribution.

The single-edged socketed knife has its ultimate origin in the Central European Urnfield culture. It is one of the end-products of a long development of Urnfield knives, extending over a period of something like 500 years. But the socketed knife does not occur everywhere within the Central European Urnfield area; the eastern Urnfield area used knives with other types of handle attachment. But there is a strong concentration of finds of socketed knives in the lakeside settlements of Western Switzerland and Eastern France: especially along the lakes of Biel, Neuchâtel, Lemán and Bourget. In some of these settlements, too, casting moulds for socketed knives, made of clay or stone, have been found; which is why Sprockhoff (1950-51; 1956) discussed the socketed knives under the name *Pfahlbau-messer* and this area is considered by most commentators as being the primary home of this type.

As to distribution, the main difference, at least with respect to our concerns in this article, is this: while finds of the 'Middle Elbe' and South Scandinavian types discussed above were all almost completely absent in Western Germany and the north of the Netherlands, socketed knives are rather uncommon in the former areas, and comparatively well represented in the latter. The distribution map (fig. 15) makes this abundantly clear.

This distribution (in so far as the finds were then known to him) led Sprockhoff to describe the



Fig. 14. Urnfield socketed knives in the Netherlands.

socketed knives as one of the *Leitformen der Ems-Weserkreis*. The comparatively large number of socketed knives in the Netherlands (with Drouwenerveld, now, 14 examples; listed in Appendix I, below; cf. figs 14-15) has been unrecognized in the international literature (though we published a list of them in Butler, 1968/69).

Sprockhoff and subsequent authors have given thought to the question as to whether the socketed knives found up north are to be thought of as actual imports from the West Swiss-East French lake area, or whether there might have been a manufacture of such knives in the northern part of Europe. There is general agreement that such local manufacture in the north is possible, and indeed probable. Unfortunately, there is no agreement as to which knives are import and which knives are northern imitations: when it comes to identifying criteria for distinguishing import and imitation, there is a somewhat embarrassing lack of definition.<sup>6</sup>

It might be interesting to survey briefly the range of possibilities. From the Swiss-East French lake area there was apparently a radial spread of the socketed knife in all directions except (with few exceptions) eastward. The numerous North Italian socketed knives, recently published by Bianco Peroni (1976), are obviously related to the West Central European ones, but are sufficiently different that one unhesitatingly has classified them as local variants. The socketed knives in the Rhône area and Southern France do not, insofar as we can

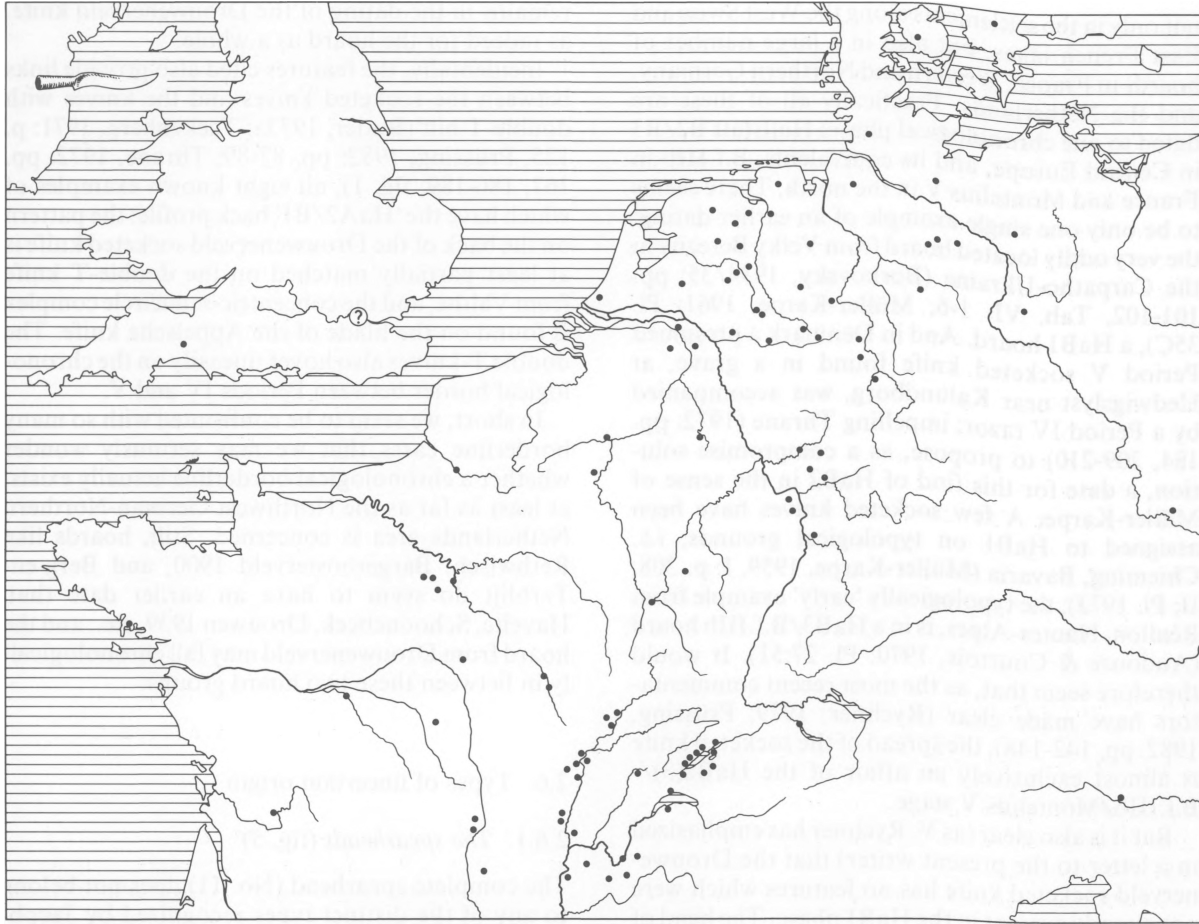


Fig. 15. Urnfield socketed knives in Europe. After Hundt, 1986, with additions and corrections.

oversee them (the state of publication is not entirely favourable), seem to differ significantly from those of the core area. The same seems to be true of the socketed knives that spread to the west, to the valleys of the Seine and the Loire, and even farther to the Vénat hoard in the southwest, the Locmariaquer hoard in Brittany, the Amiens-le Plain-seau hoard on the Somme, and even, rarely, England (Jockenhövel & Smolla, 1975; Jockenhövel, 1980a).

To the north, there seem to be several tiers of penetration. In the first instance, there are a number of finds, chiefly in hoards, in the Rhine-Main area, with a few outliers in the Saarland and Lorraine. The following tier consists of an east-west belt of finds extending from the Rhine-Lippe junction on the west to Saxo-Thuringia. The finds in Belgium (including the remarkable group of ten examples from the Han-sur-Lesse cave exit) and those along the Maas and the Ems can reasonably be viewed as a further radiation from that belt, as can the finds in the east and north of the Nether-

lands on the left flank and those along the Elbe and on the Lüneburger Heide on the right. The final tier would be the few known examples in Denmark.

Tackenberg has rightly called attention to the lack of homogeneity among the socketed knife finds on the North European plain. Not only is there a considerable variation in form, but the various West Central European decorative styles, with incision, *pointillé*, and ribbing, all seem to occur with equal abandon in the north, though undecorated examples are the most numerous in both regions. There is no regional socketed knife style on the North European plain. We cannot, therefore, say whether any particular knife occurring in the north was made in the West Swiss-East French area, the Rhine-Main area, the Lippe-Saxo-Thuringian tier, the Lower Elbe, or the Hunze-Ems area. It does seem certain, however, that socketed knives were not manufactured east of the Elbe or in the Scandinavian cultural area.

And now the dating evidence for our socketed knife. Urnfield socketed knives have been found

not only in the settlements along the West Swiss and East French lakes, but also in a large number of hoards in France, Western and Northern Germany, and the Netherlands. Practically all of these are dated to one chronological phase: Hallstatt B2/B3 in Central Europe, and its equivalents, B.f.IIIb in France and Montelius V in the north. There seems to be only one single example of an earlier dating: the very oddly located hoard from Velky Berezny in the Carpatho-Ukraine (Borkovsky, 1934/35: pp. 101-102, Tab. VI: 1-6; Müller-Karpe, 1961: Pl. 35C), a HaB1 hoard. And in Denmark a presumed Period V socketed knife found in a grave, at Hedwigslyst near Kalundborg, was accompanied by a Period IV razor; impelling Thrane (1972: pp. 184, 209-210) to propose, as a compromise solution, a date for this find of HaB2 in the sense of Müller-Karpe. A few socketed knives have been assigned to HaB1 on typological grounds; i.e. Chieming, Bavaria (Müller-Karpe, 1959, I: p. 308; II: Pl. 197J); the typologically 'early' example from Réallon, Hautes-Alpes, is in a HaB3/B.f.IIIb hoard (Audouze & Courtois, 1970: Pl. 27:51). It would therefore seem that, as the most recent commentators have made clear (Rychner, 1979; Prüssing, 1982: pp. 142-148), the spread of the socketed knife is almost exclusively an affair of the HaB2(3)/B.f.IIIb/Montelius V stage.

But it is also clear (as V. Rychner has emphasized in a letter to the present writer) that the Drouwenerveld socketed knife has no features which were not already current in the HaB 1 phase. The bend of its back is not close to the handle, as is customary in HaB3, but rather the earlier (HaA2/HaB1) gradual curve. The decoration on the back of the blade is typically HaB1; so also are the concentric semicircles on the socket. The cord-imitation ribs at the junction of the blade and socket do not occur on any other knife known to us, but similar ribbing is found, for example, at the socket mouth of 'Saxo-Thuringian' spearheads also decorated with incised motifs of the concentric-semicircle family. Rychner suggests that the Drouwenerveld knife belongs to the very rare group of HaB1 socketed knives in the style of the Réallon knife, which is typologically assignable to HaB1 (although the Réallon hoard itself is considered, despite some possibly earlier components such as the knife, to belong to the French Bronze final IIIb (= HaB3) phase).

But, alas, the typologically HaB1 features all seem to persist into HaB3/Montelius V. This can be shown typologically (i.e. the HaB1 patterns occur also on knives with the HaB3 hump: cf. the socketed knives from Aurich, Sterley, Havelte, the tanged knife from Forstort Fortwinkel: Prüssing Nos 286, 287, 266; Butler, 1961: fig. 14; Havelte and Forstort Fortwinkel are Montelius V hoards) and, as already mentioned, by the associations in the many other hoards. A certain ambiguity thus

remains in the dating of the Drouwenerveld knife, as indeed for the hoard as a whole.

Incidentally, the features cited also provide links between the socketed knives and the knives with double-T hilt (Butler, 1973a; Tackenberg, 1971: p. 125; Prüssing, 1982: pp. 87-89; Thrane, 1972: pp. 167, 186-189, fig. 1), all eight known examples of which have the 'HaA2/B1' back profile: the pattern on the back of the Drouwenerveld socketed knife is at least partially matched on the double-T knife from Valthe, and the concentric-semicircle complex is found on the blade of the Appelscha knife. The double T-knives also hover uneasily on the chronological border between Periods IV and V.

In short, we seem to be confronted with so many borderline cases that we may seriously wonder whether a chronological borderline actually exists, at least as far as the Northwest German-Northern Netherlands area is concerned. Still, hoards like Rethwisch, Bargerosterveld 1900, and Berg-en-Terblijt do seem to have an earlier date than Havelte, Schoonebeek, Drouwen 1939, etc.; and the hoard from Drouwenerveld may fall chronologically in between these two hoard groups.

## 2.6. Types of uncertain origin

### 2.6.1. *The spearheads* (fig. 5)

The complete spearhead (No. 11) does not belong to any of the distinct types recognized by Jacob-Friesen (1967) in Northern Europe. Two rather similar spearheads are known from a rich urn grave in a stone packing in Central Germany, at Düsedau, Kr. Osterburg (Magdeburg district), and were published recently by Horst (*Inventaria Archaeologica* DDR 25). Horst assigns this grave to his *Stufe Zedau-Stölln* of his Elbe-Havel Gruppe, Period (IV)/V. A possibly related example is the spearhead from Schnega, Kr. Lüchow-Dannenberg (Niedersachsen), in a Period IV hoard (Sprockhoff, 1963: p. 81, Abb. 28).

### 2.6.2. *The buttons* (fig. 6)

Buttons with D-loop, of the two varieties found in the Drouwenerveld hoard, seem to be quite common throughout the Late Bronze Age of the Central European and North European areas. They are, in fact, so common that it has not seemed worth any one's trouble to list and map them, so that we do not have concrete information available as to their possible origin. It is, however, noteworthy that they have often been found together with the tutuli, ribbed collars, and others of the types we have discussed above (see Note 3), and are presumably part of a costume set involving such components. There is no reason to suppose that they

could not also have been manufactured in the 'Middle Elbe' province.

A rich grave found in Western Poland, at Banie, pow. Gryfino (formerly Bahn, Kr. Greifenhagen in Pomerania) included, along with an elaborate collection of women's ornaments, 24 looped buttons (Hommerberg, 1946: pp. 74-78, Bild 75-76).

We have no information concerning the occurrence of these buttons in Northwest Germany. In the Netherlands they are, apart from the 20 examples from Drouwenerveld, certainly very scarce. A single example is present in the Drouwen hoard of 1939; another (but with a bar rather than D-shaped loop) is in the hoard from Hijken (Butler, 1965: fig. 10). An example of that type is also present in the richest Belgian Late Bronze Age hoard of women's goods, that from Port Arthur, Gent (Mariën, 1952, with previous references).

### 2.7. The pot (fig. 2)

It is not possible to say much at present on the origin of the pot which contained the Drouwenerveld bronzes. It does not seem to be related to local Late Bronze Age pottery. Nor, for that matter, do we at present know of close parallels anywhere else.

It is, however, noteworthy that many pots in the Lausitz and sub-Lausitz tradition in the central part of the North German plain, of quite varied forms, are decorated, on the lower half only, by incision, sometimes in fairly neat lattice patterns, more often as vertical incisions or rather at random. This is rather rare farther west, but is known occasionally (e.g. a settlement pot in Westphalia, from Telgte-Raestrup; Wilhelmi, 1983: p. 59, Abb. 50), or the urn in the Harpstedt tradition, with fingernail-impressed rim, from the Drouwen urnfield itself (excavation 1951, burial No. 1, in a deep pit, with sherds of another pot and 'some bronze': Kooi, 1979, pp. 91-94, figs 91, 92:1, la).

More detailed study will be needed before we can put the Drouwenerveld pot in its place; but we would not be surprised were it to appear that the pot as well as the bronzes were imported all together.

Professor W. van Zeist (B.A.I.) has pointed out that the grain of bread wheat in the side of the pot might point in this direction, as bread wheat grows best in a richer soil than would be found in Drenthe, but might be more appropriate to the North German morainic soils.

## 3. DROUWEN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

Can it be pure coincidence? Or is there a deeper underlying significance in the fact that both in the Early Bronze Age, around 1600-1500 BC, and again in the Late Bronze Age, perhaps 600 years later, the

neighbourhood of Drouwen has produced striking evidence for prestigious presences? And that in both of these cases a strong North European connection is involved?

The question we thereby pose is at present unanswerable; in this article we can only attempt briefly to summarize the existing archaeological evidence, and invite the reader to judge for himself.

### 3.1. Drouwen and Sogel: the Early Bronze Age

In the year 1927, A.E. van Giffen (1930, I: pp. 84-93; II: Abb. 78; cf. Butler, 1971, with further references) excavated the battered fragment of a prehistoric burial mound at Drouwen, and uncovered one of the richest Early Bronze Age graves ever found on the North European plain (fig. 16a-c). For richer Early Bronze Age burials we must go as far as the *Fürstengräber* of the Saale valley in Saxo-Thuringia, or the equally pretentious tumuli on the western end of the Armorican peninsula, or the richest of the chiefly graves of Wessex.

By luck, the central inhumation burial under the Drouwen tumulus was still almost entirely undisturbed when van Giffen got there. He found, in a rectangular pit under a four-post mortuary house, a warrior's grave, presumably that of a chiefly person. None of his grave goods - the sword with decorated blade; the flanged axe (*geknickte Randbeil*); the set of finely worked flint arrowheads; the polished

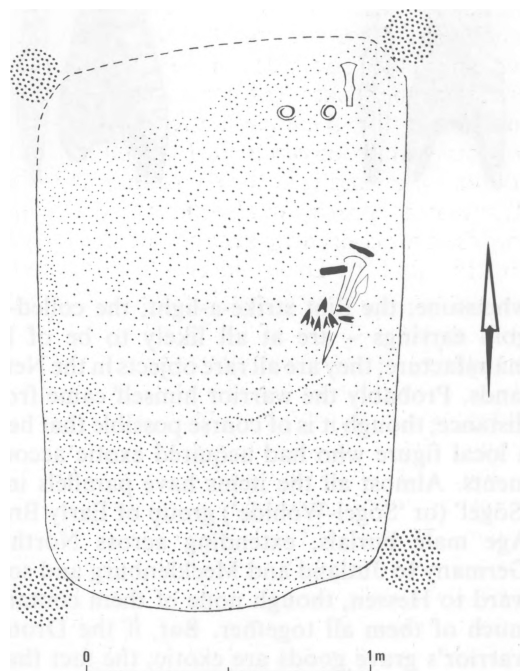


Fig. 16a. The Early Bronze Age 'Sogel' grave from Drouwen. After Butler 1969.



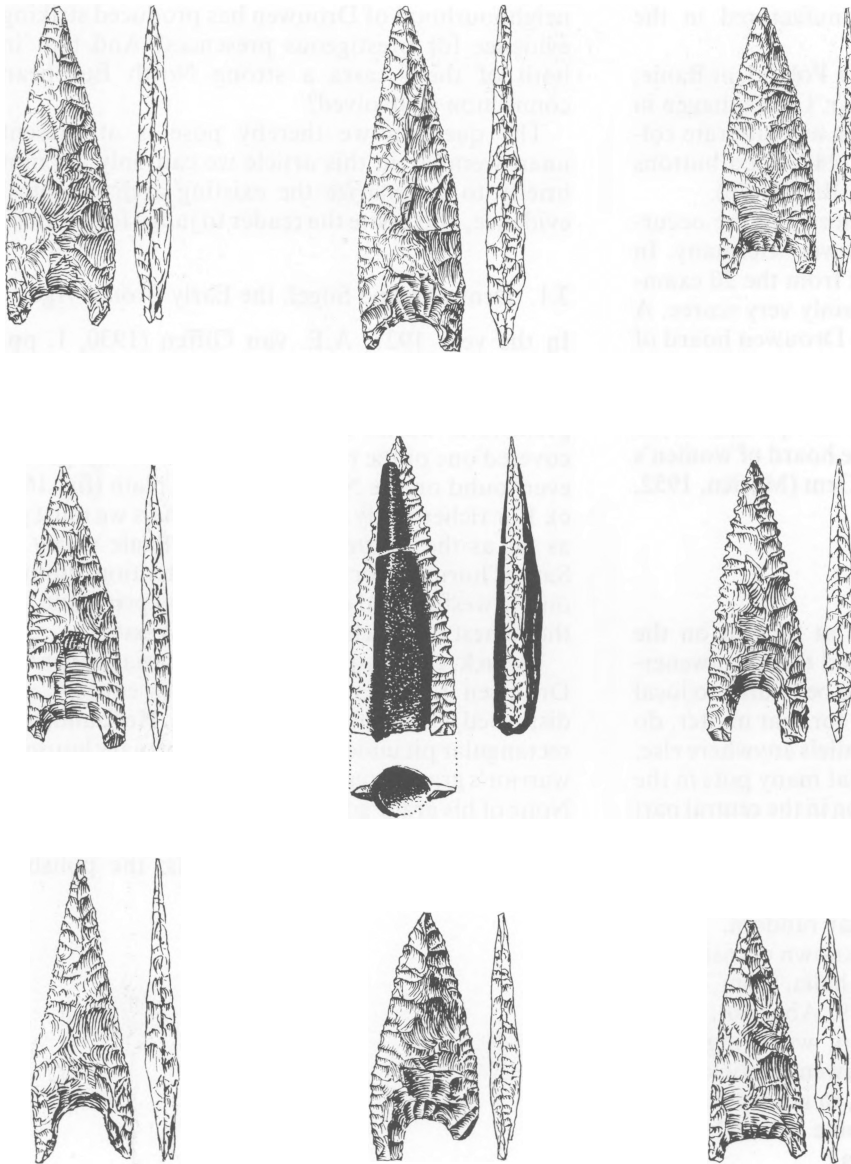


Fig. 16b-c. The finds from the Early Bronze Age 'Sögel' grave from Drouwen. Drawings P.C. van der Kamp, B. Kuitert. Scale: 16b 1:1, 16c 1:2.

whetstone; the flint strike-a-light; the coiled-wire gold earrings - are at all likely to be of local manufacture; they are all rare objects in the Netherlands. Probably the warrior himself came from a distance; though it is of course possible that he was a local figure who had acquired exotic accoutrements. Almost all the items have parallels in the 'Sögel' (or 'Sögel-Wohld') group of Early Bronze Age male burials, extending across Northwest Germany to Jutland and Mecklenburg and southward to Hessen, though none of them contain so much of them all together. But, if the Drouwen warrior's grave goods are exotic, the fact that he was buried there under a monumental tumulus (a recent excavation by J.N. Lanting, in October 1985,

has shown that the tumulus was surrounded by a ring-ditch some 30 metres in diameter) argues that in life he must have had local authority.

### 3.2. The gap: the Middle Bronze Age

We do not have evidence of anything in or near Drouwen which might suggest a dynastic continuity from the Sögel warrior through the Middle Bronze Age to the period to be discussed below. This may simply be a matter of chance, or it might represent a real gap in the history of Drouwen as a seat of authority. Interestingly, however, a Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age connection has only just come to light near Drouwen:<sup>7</sup> the half of a typically



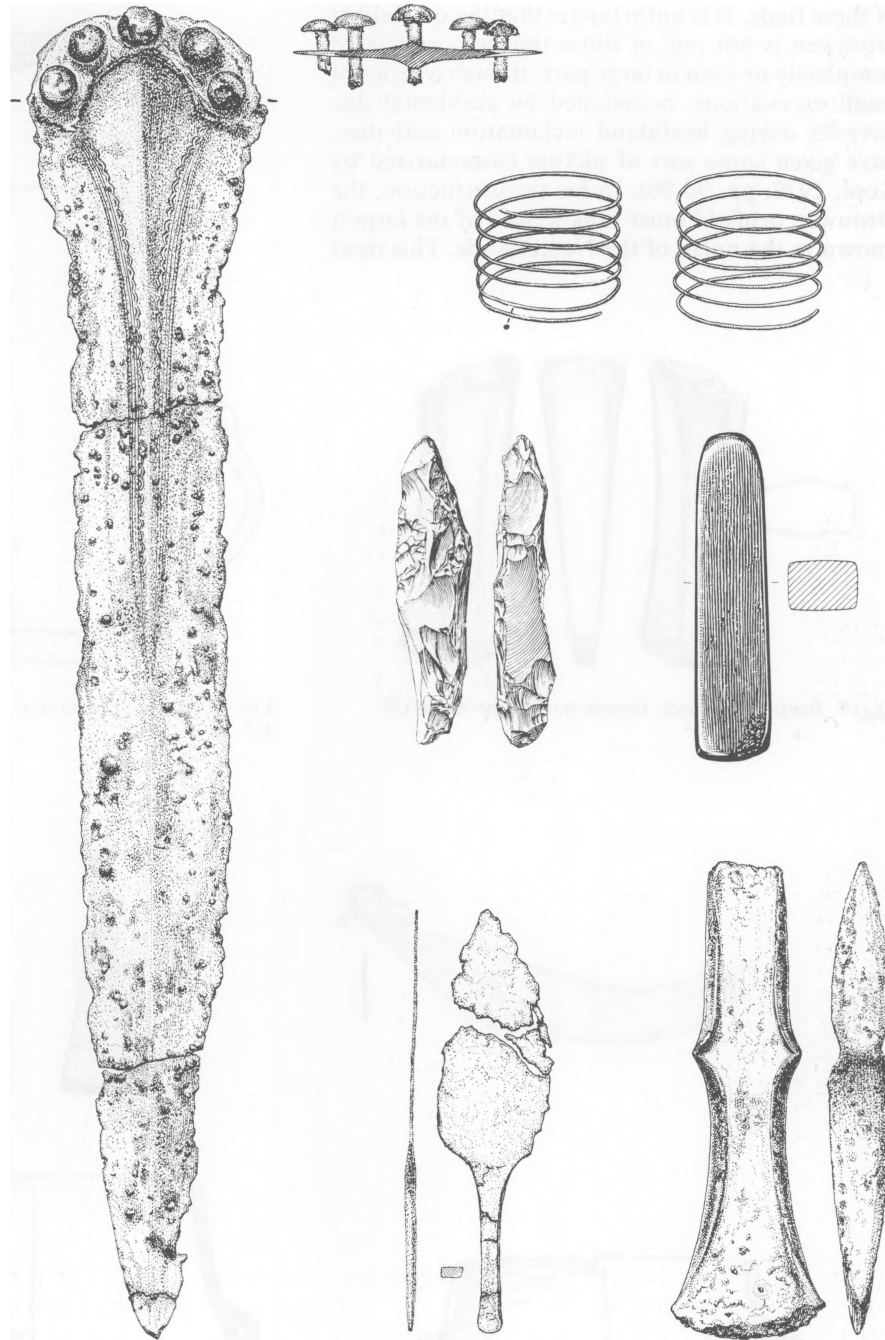


Fig. 16c.

Scandinavian palstave (fig. 17), a type very rare indeed in the Netherlands and Northwest Germany. Unfortunately, the find is without context, and the exact significance of its presence in the area is obscure; it does, however, indicate some kind of contact (direct or indirect?) with Northern Europe in Period II.

### 3.3. Drouwen and Northern Europe in the Late Bronze Age

After the gap of the preceding period, there is a remarkable series of finds connecting Drouwen with the North European cultural area in the Late Bronze Age. These include several urnfield burials, the two bronze hoards, and one probably ritual deposit of a bronze sword.

The Drouwen urnfield is a link between a number

of these finds. It is unfortunate that the urnfield at Drouwen is not one of those that was excavated completely or even in large part, though a series of small excavations, occasioned by accidental discoveries during heathland reclamation activities, have given some sort of picture (summarized by Kooi, 1979: pp. 90-96). In his reconstruction, the Drouwen urnfield must rank as one of the largest known in the north of the Netherlands. This need

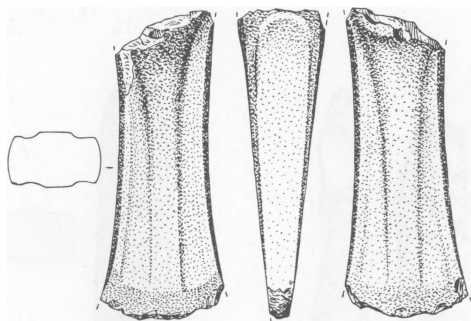


Fig. 17. Palstave fragment. Drouwen, Drenthe. Scale 1:2.

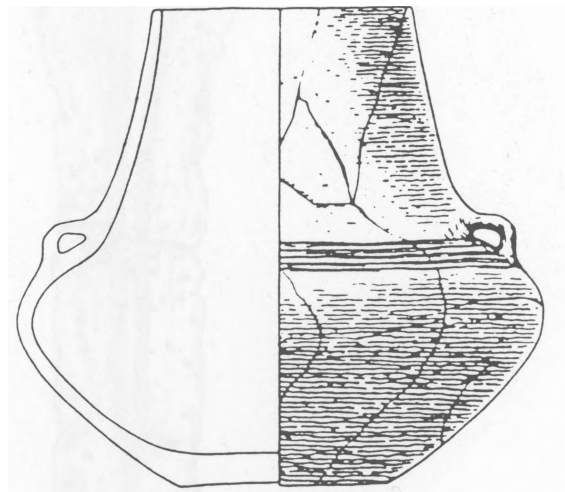


Fig. 19. Razor from Grave 1941:57, Drouwen urnfield. Scale 1:2.

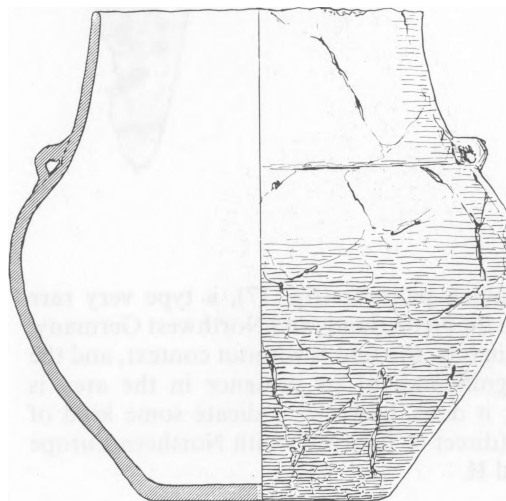
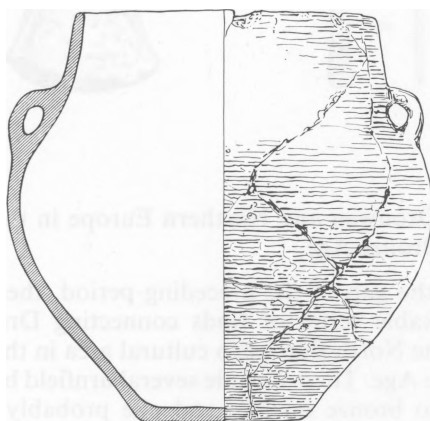
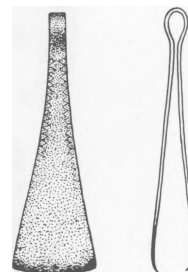


Fig. 18. Urns, razor and tweezers from the stone-packed grave 1939:8 of the Drouwen urnfield. Scale 1:2.

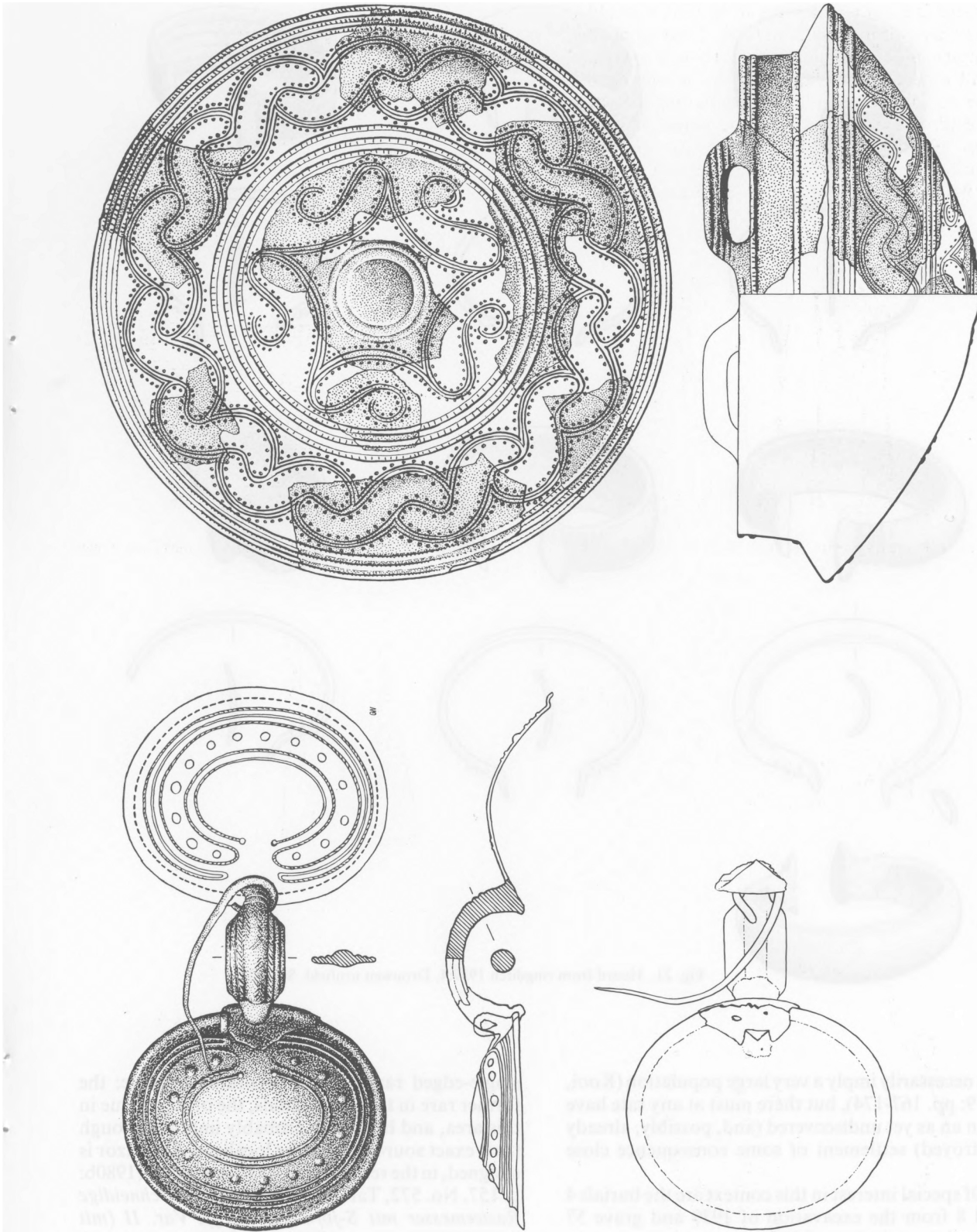


Fig. 20. Hoard from ringditch 1939:4, Drouwen urnfield. Scale 1:2.

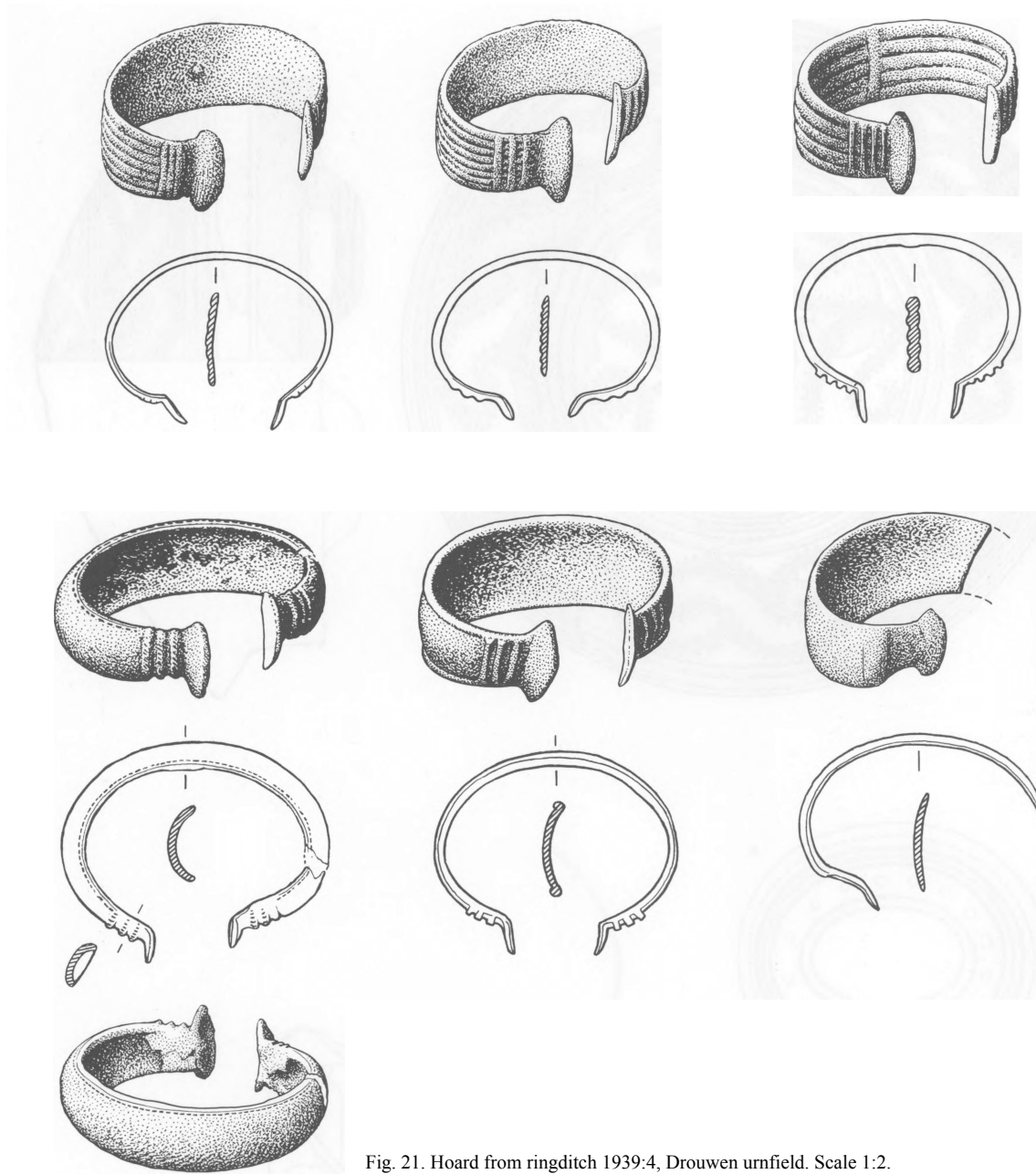


Fig. 21. Hoard from ringditch 1939:4, Drouwen urnfield. Scale 1:2.

not necessarily imply a very large population (Kooi, 1979: pp. 167-174), but there must at any rate have been an as yet undiscovered (and, possibly, already destroyed) settlement of some consequence close by.

Of special interest in this context are the burials 4 and 8 from the excavation of 1939 and grave 57 from the excavation of 1941.

Grave 8 (fig. 18) was in a pit with a stone packing (in itself a most unusual grave form in the Netherlands) and contained two urns of the *zweiheuklige Terrine* form. In one of the urns was a 'Nordic'

single-edged razor and a decorated pincette: the former rare in the Netherlands, the other unique in this area, and both very probably imports, though their exact source cannot be localized. The razor is assigned, in the recent study by Jockenhövel (1980b: p 157, No. 572, Taf. 82D) to his type '*einschneidige Rasiermesser mit S-förmigem Griff, Var. II (mit nach oben gebogenes Klingenende)*'. It is dated by him to Period V, with reference to German finds at Wittenhusen, with a Period V socketed knife, and Albersloh, with a Period V *kleine Kugelkopfnadel*. The association of *zweiheuklige Terrine* and razor

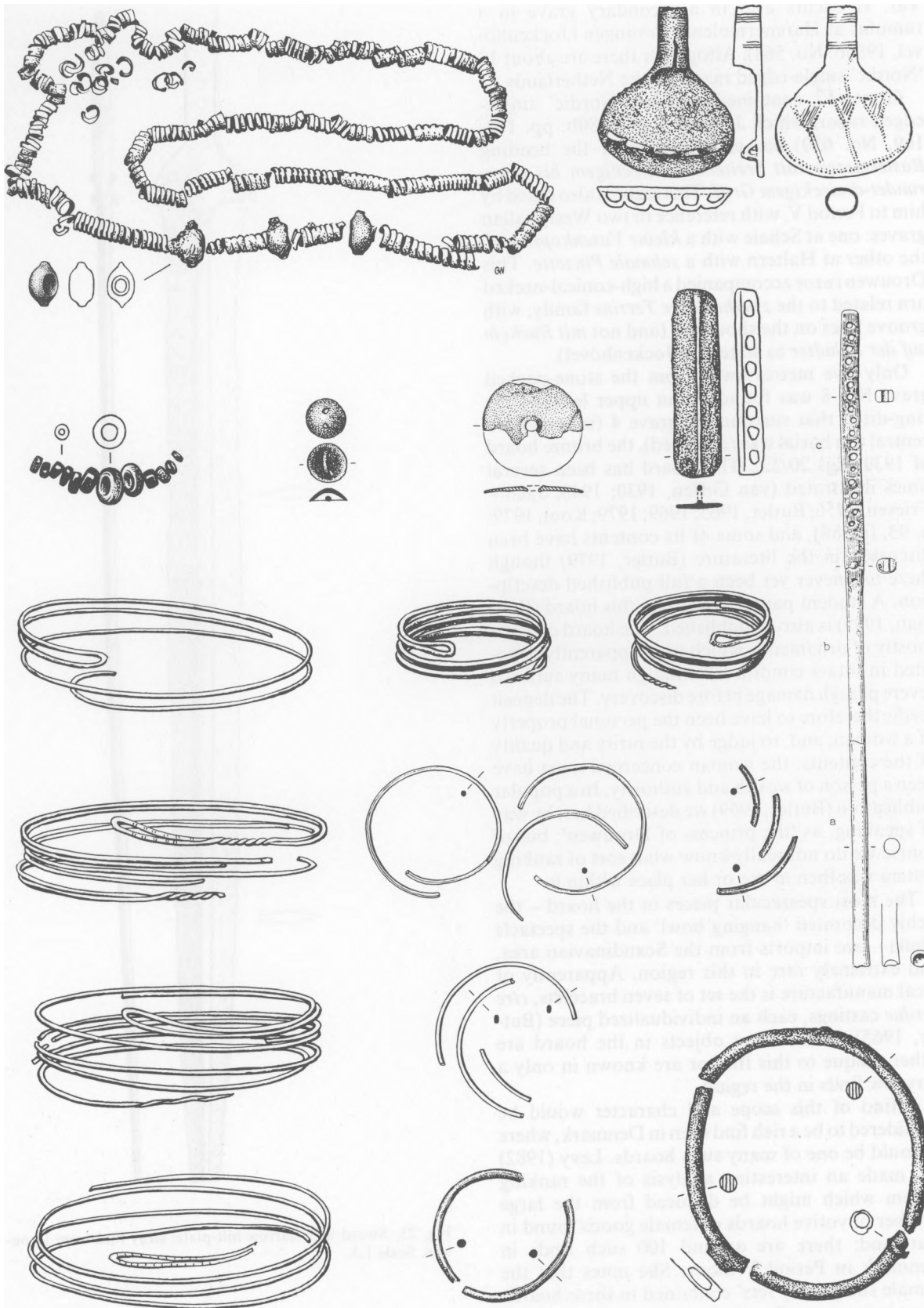


Fig. 22. Hoard from ringditch 1939:4, Drouwen urnfield. Scale 1:2.

Var. II occurs also in a secondary grave in a tumulus at Harenmolen, Groningen (Jockenhövel, 1980b: No. 568). Altogether there are about 10 'Nordic' single-edged razors in the Netherlands.

Grave 57 contained another 'Nordic' single-edged razor, which Jockenhövel (1980b: pp. 168-169, No. 630) has classified under the heading *Rasiermesser mit breitem, rechteckigem bis abgerundet-dreieckigem Griff*. This razor is also dated by him to Period V, with reference to two Westphalian graves: one at Schale with a *kleine Vasenkopfnadel*, the other at Haltern with a *schmale Pinzette*. This Drouwen razor accompanied a high-conical-necked urn related to the *zweiheklige Terrine* family, with groove lines on the shoulders (and not *mit Buckeln auf der Schulter* as stated by Jockenhövel).

Only five metres away from the stone-packed grave No. 8 was found, in an upper level of the ring-ditch that surrounded grave 4 (in which no central urn burial was recovered), the bronze hoard of 1939 (figs 20-22). This hoard has been several times illustrated (van Giffen, 1930; 1943; Jacob-Friesen, 1956; Butler, 1965; 1969; 1979; Kooi, 1979: p. 93, fig. 88), and some of its contents have been discussed in the literature (Butler, 1979) though there has never yet been a full published description. A student paper concerning this hoard (Bouman, 1985) is also unpublished. The hoard consists mostly of ornaments, which were apparently deposited in intact condition, although many suffered severe plough damage before discovery. The deposit seems therefore to have been the personal property of a woman; and, to judge by the rarity and quality of the contents, the woman concerned must have been a person of wealth and authority. In a popular publication (Butler, 1969) we described her, by way of speaking, as 'the princess of Drouwen'; but of course we do not really know what sort of ranking system was then in use or her place within it.

The most spectacular pieces in the hoard - the richly decorated 'hanging bowl' and the spectacle fibula - are imports from the Scandinavian area, and extremely rare in this region. Apparently of local manufacture is the set of seven bracelets, *cire perdue* castings, each an individualized piece (Butler, 1965). Some other objects in the hoard are either unique to this find or are known in only a very few finds in the region.

A find of this scope and character would be considered to be a rich find even in Denmark, where it would be one of many such hoards. Levy (1982) has made an interesting analysis of the ranking system which might be deduced from the large number of votive hoards of female goods found in that land: there are around 100 such finds in Denmark in Period V alone. She notes that the 'female sumptuary sets' contained in these hoards often have up to five main components: hanging vessel, belt plate, neckring(s), bracelet(s) and fibula.

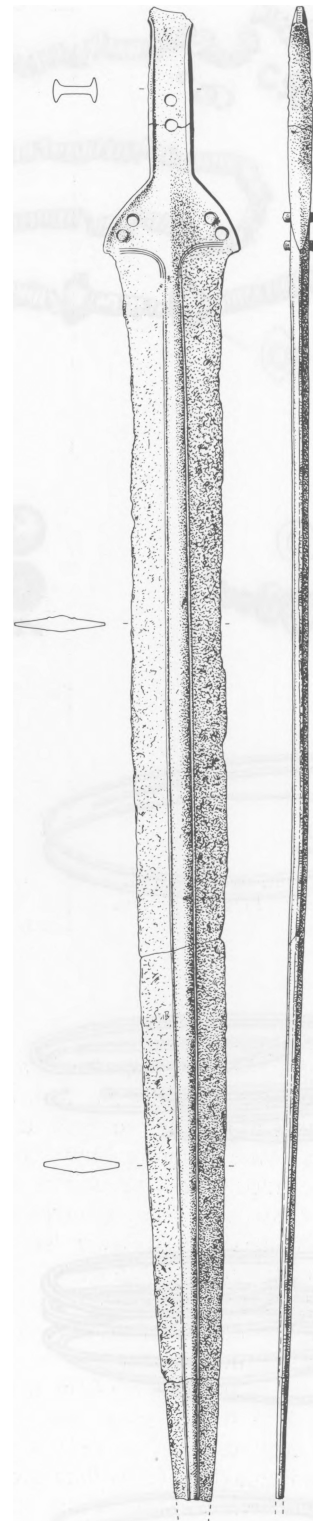


Fig. 23. Sword with narrow hilt-plate: stray find from Drouwen. Scale 1:3.



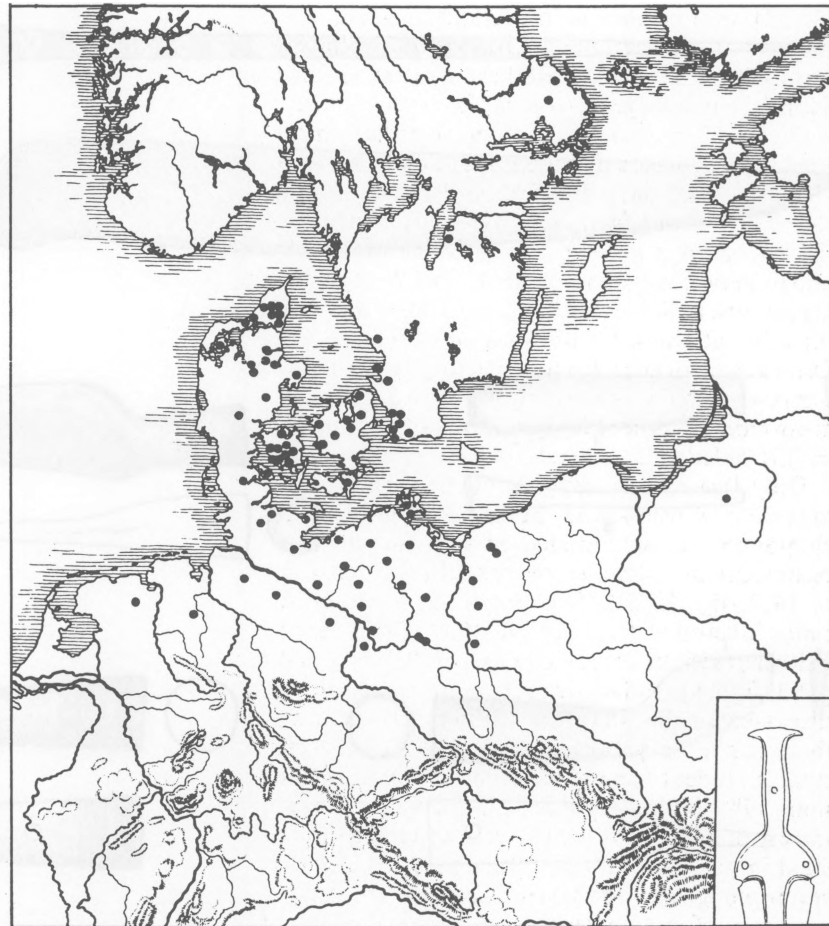


Fig. 24. Swords with narrow hilt-plate. After Sprockhoff, 1931 (Drouwenerveld 1984 added).

Of the hundred hoards, only four have all five of these components, and 12 have four components. Our Drouwen hoard has at least three of these components - the hanging bowl, the fibula, the bracelets; perhaps four of them if we may consider the string of beads as being equivalent to a neck-ring. On this basis, the Drouwen lady's find could be considered to rank by Danish standards with the top 16%. In our region, where it is a find of quite exceptional character, its relative importance is obviously very much greater.

Roughly 2 km southwest of the urnfield, apparently in a low boggy spot, was ploughed up, somewhere around or before 1941, a bronze sword with narrow flanged hilt (*Grebtungesvaerd met smal tunge, Schwert mit schmaler Zunge*; fig. 23). This sword has been in private possession since its finding, and only became known in 1985; it has not previously been published. We are grateful to J.N. Lanting for the details, and for his permission to illustrate it here.

Once again we have to do with a type characteristic of the Scandinavian Late Bronze Age culture

area (fig. 24; Sprockhoff, 1931: pp. 26-35, Taf. 29; Broholm, 1946/49: pp. 32-34, Pl. 4; Baudou, 1960, pp. 9-10, Typ Ia1, list p. 153, supplementary to Sprockhoff's list, Karte I). The Danish islands seem to be its primary centre of distribution, with radiations to North Jutland, Scania and North Germany. But its rarity in Northwest Germany is striking; until the Drouwen find there was only one example known west of the Weser (Sprockhoff, 1931: p. 101, No. 7; from Huntlosen, Amt Wildeshausen, Oldenburg, found in a *Hügelgrab* with other, unknown objects).

Swords of this type belong traditionally to Period IV. Sprockhoff (1931: pp. 28-33) found that a number of the closed finds in which these swords occurred were of Period V date, but Broholm (1946/49) and Baudou (1960) did not follow him in this, at least with respect to the Danish and Swedish finds, which they attribute uniformly to Period IV. It seems, however, that at least the North German hoard from Stölln, Kr. Westhavelland (Sprockhoff, 1956: pp. 63-64; cf. Jacob-Friesen, 1967: p. 276, No. 420) must be continued to be regarded as a HaB3/M

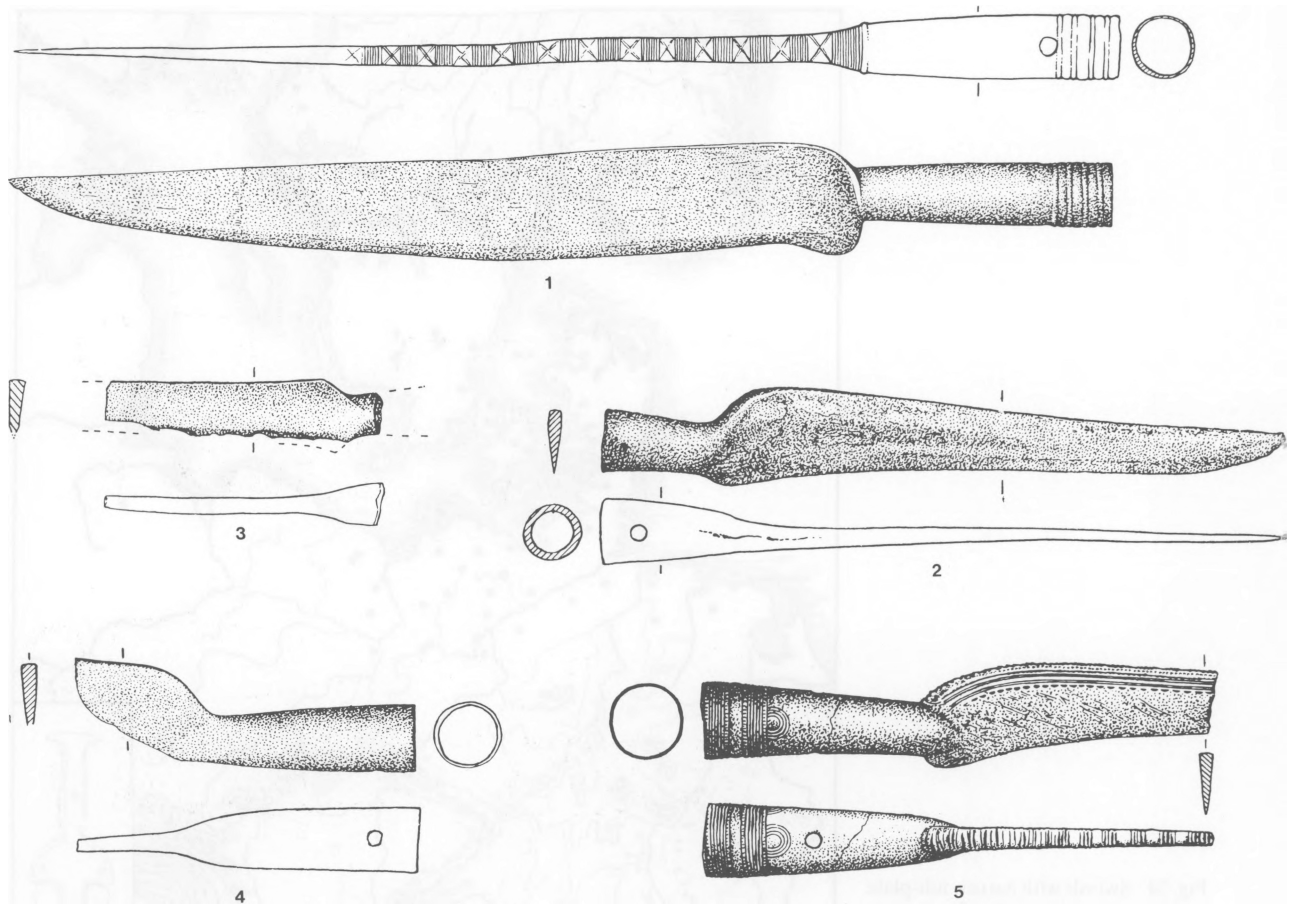


Fig. 25. Socketed knives from hoards in the Netherlands. 1,2 Schoonebeek, Drenthe; 3 Bruggelen, Gelderland; 4 Elzen, Overijssel; 5 Havelte, Drenthe.

V find; it contains for example an Auvernier sword).

The sword found at Drouwen must have been deposited in a wet environment; the present owner told J.N. Lanting that when originally found the sword still had part of a wooden haft preserved. Part of the parcel in which the sword was found was indeed formerly a boggy depression, according to Lanting. The sword was thus presumably a one-piece votive deposit in a bog or pool.

Swords of this type were evidently objects of considerable value in their homeland. Particular evidence of this is the fact that five examples have hilts decorated with gold leaf, and one with gold wire. In Central Sweden (thus at the extreme opposite end of their distribution) an example was placed in a rich grave in Kung Bjorns Hog near Uppsala, a classic example of a Bronze Age *Fürstengrab*. The Drouwen sword is the only Scandinavian sword known in the Netherlands, and one can presume that its owner was a person of no small importance here.

Prehistoric chance finds and systematic research at Drouwen have thus managed to assemble - uniquely for the Late Bronze Age in this region - a varied assortment of personalities: the very prestigious female figure represented by the hoard of 1939; the authoritative male figure symbolized by the sacrificed sword; the presumable male buried with the razor, pincette and urns in the grave with stone packing; the other presumable male with the razor and grooved urn; the bronze smith implied by the hoard of scrap metal imported from along the Elbe - all in addition to the rather undifferentiated mass of ordinary burials in the large urnfield. And we have surely emphasized sufficiently the fact that all the leading characters have some connection with the South Scandinavian culture area and/or the 'Mittelbe' province, although such connections are otherwise rare in this region.

Our grasp of what was really going on at Drouwen is limited by the fragmentary nature of the available evidence. For one thing, we cannot say exactly what length of time was involved with these



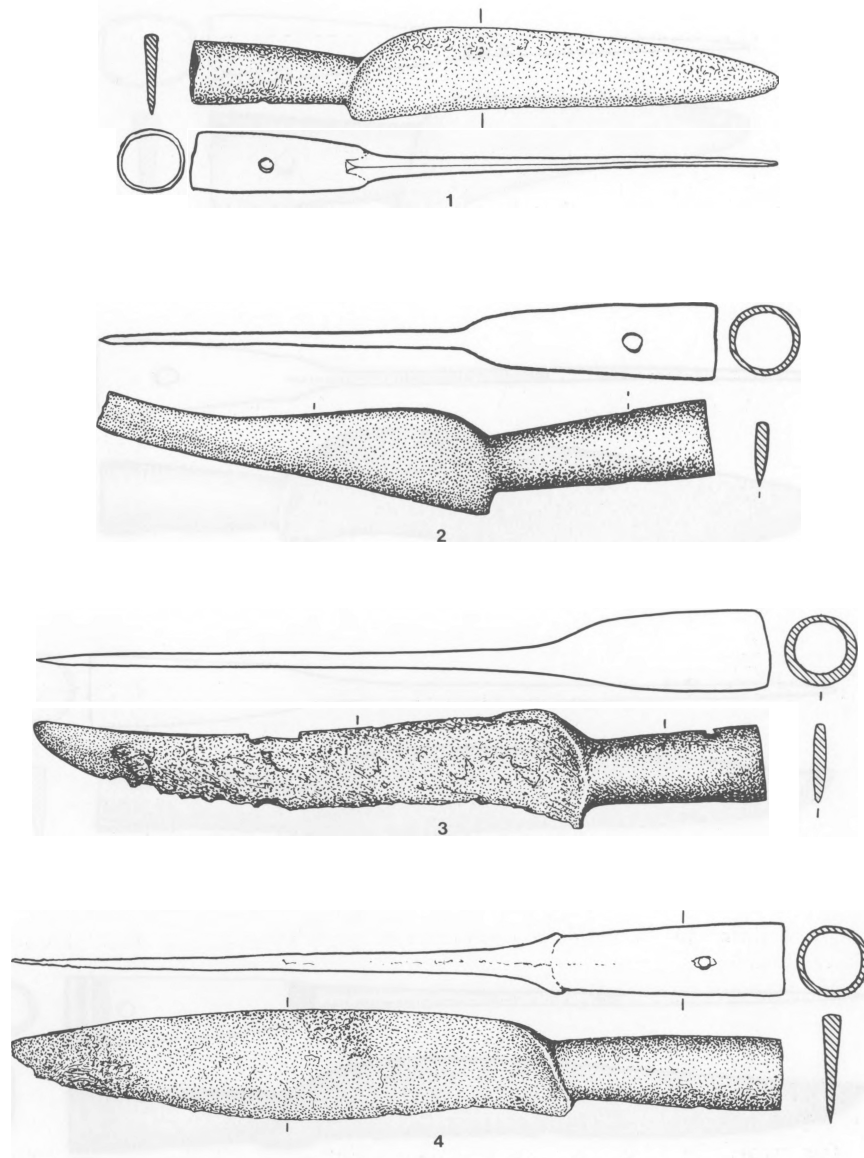


Fig. 26. Socketed knives from the Netherlands. 1 Nijmegen, Gelderland; 2 between Weper and Haule, Friesland; 3 *gem.* St. Oedenrode, North Brabant; 4 near Denekamp, Overijssel.

events. The archaeological evidence tells us that types of Northern Period IV, Period IV or V, and Period V are involved, but that their deposition was very probably all in Period V. But are we to imagine that these deposits were all very close together in time - say, all in the same generation, at one extreme - or whether they were spread out over something like a century? Another uncertain point: does our cast of characters at Drouwen consist of actual Northerners, settlers from afar: did we have an influx of Two-eared Terrineans from the Elbe Mouth region, or Keyhole Ditchers from Westphalia, or such-like? Or do we have to do with local folk somehow acculturized to 'Urnfield' rituals, who have, thanks to some sort of special contact situation, been able to acquire an unusual share of

North European metal prestige goods? Or are we dealing with an intrusive overlord (m/f) and his/her attendants, who have, by invitation or imposition, established a hegemony over the local population?

There is little doubt that chiefdoms existed in the rich South Scandinavian-North German cultural area in the Late Bronze Age (cf. for example Levy, 1982). Whether this was true also of the poorer, fragmented areas west of the Weser is another question. Van der Waals (1987: pp. 13-16, 46) has lately asserted a presupposition that the north of the Netherlands remained in a tribal, pre-chiefdom state at least up to the Middle (pre-Roman) Iron Age, i.e. around 500 BC. Are, then, our chiefly Bronze Age figures at Drouwen chiefs without a chiefdom?

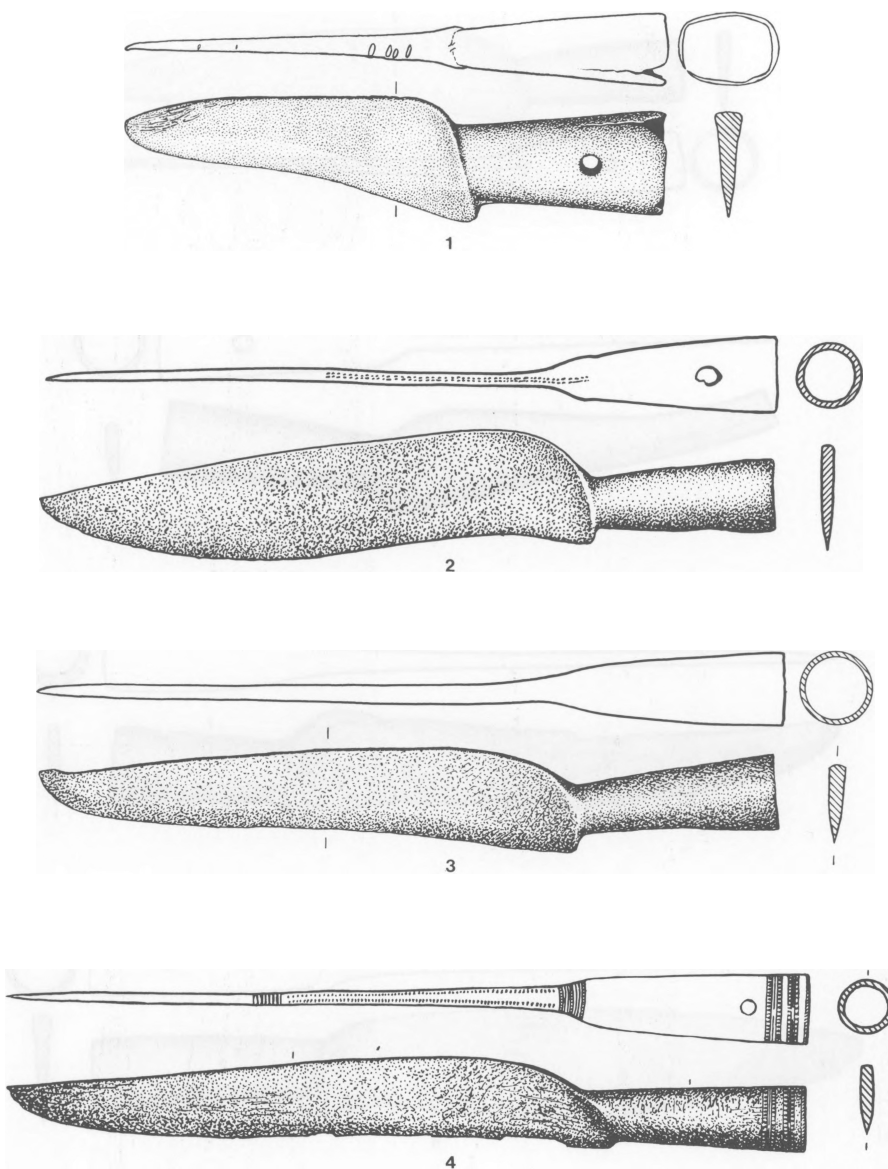


Fig. 27. Socketed knives from the Netherlands. 1 near Venlo, Limburg; 2 near Aalten, Gelderland; 3 Voorschoten, South Holland; 4 Oud-Schoonebeek, Drenthe.

We do not believe that we can at present decide whether Late Bronze Age Urnfield Society in Drenthe was at the 'tribal' or the 'chiefdom' level of social organization, or at some intermediate level between these ideal types. There is, admittedly, little evidence for 'chiefdom' complexity in this area. But chiefs can and do exist at the tribal level, even if their status is less institutionalized than it would be in a chiefdom society. We can, therefore, have our chiefs at Drouwen in either case.

Personally, we like to imagine a marriage to a local person of a chiefly figure from the Elbe area - perhaps from the Lüneburger Heide, or from Holstein, or from Mecklenburg - coming with rich exotic gifts, bringing along a subservient smith with

loads of scrap metal, and other retainers. Drouwen might then have constituted a territorial power centre. Was it the chiefly capital of the Hondsrug, or of the whole of the north of the Netherlands, or the whole of the Hunze-Ems region?

In the present state of knowledge, it would seem that the Emsland, the Münster basin, and the north of the Netherlands had a common culture in the Late Bronze Age. They had in common, at least, pottery types such as those of the *Doppelkonus* family (most recent maps Tackenberg, 1985: Karten 26-27), burial monuments such as the keyhole-shaped ditches (latest map Wilhelmi, 1983: Abb. 13). In the same areas the 'Hunze-Ems' socketed axes circulated. If there was an ethnic and economic

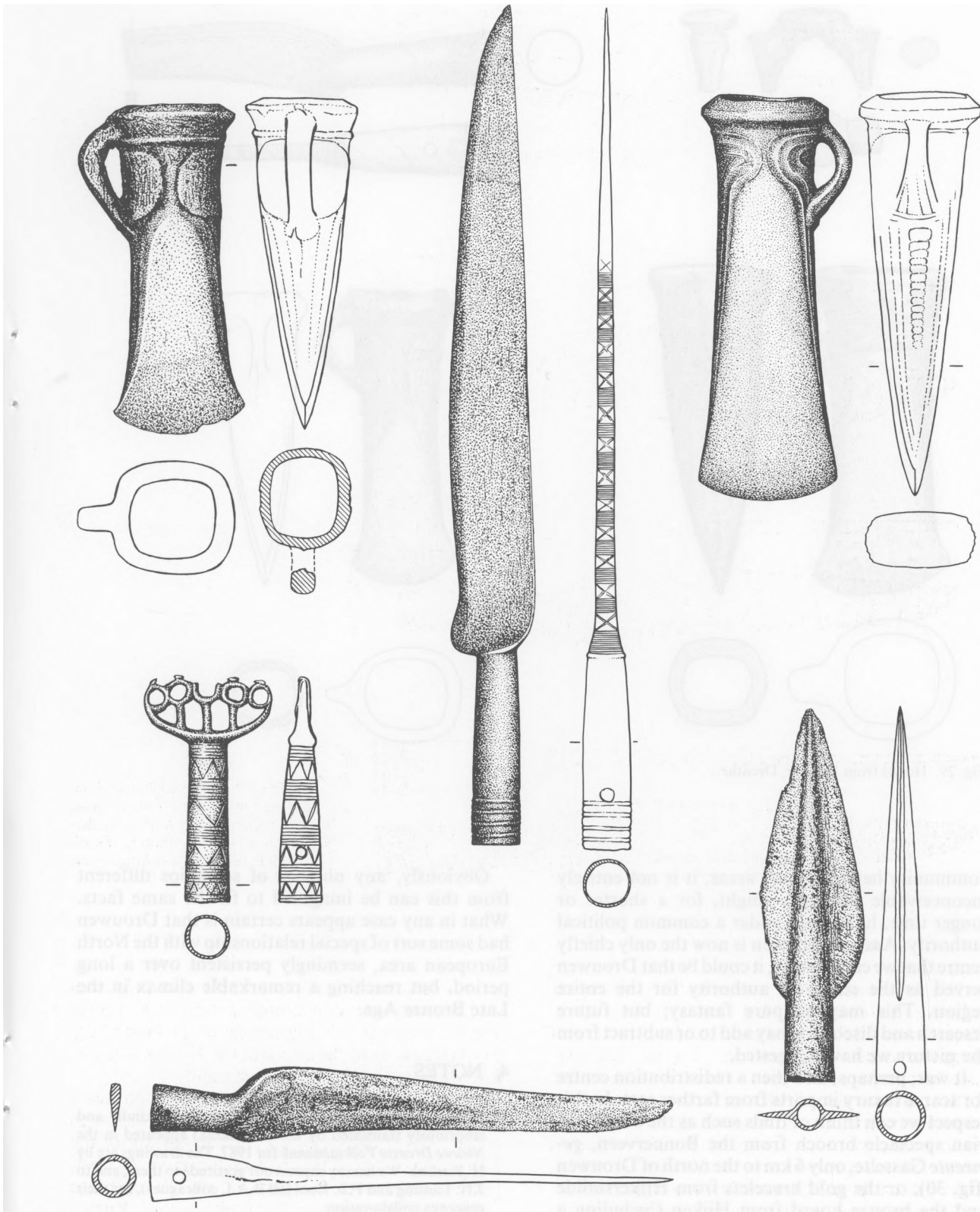


Fig. 28. Hoard from Schoonebeek, Drenthe.

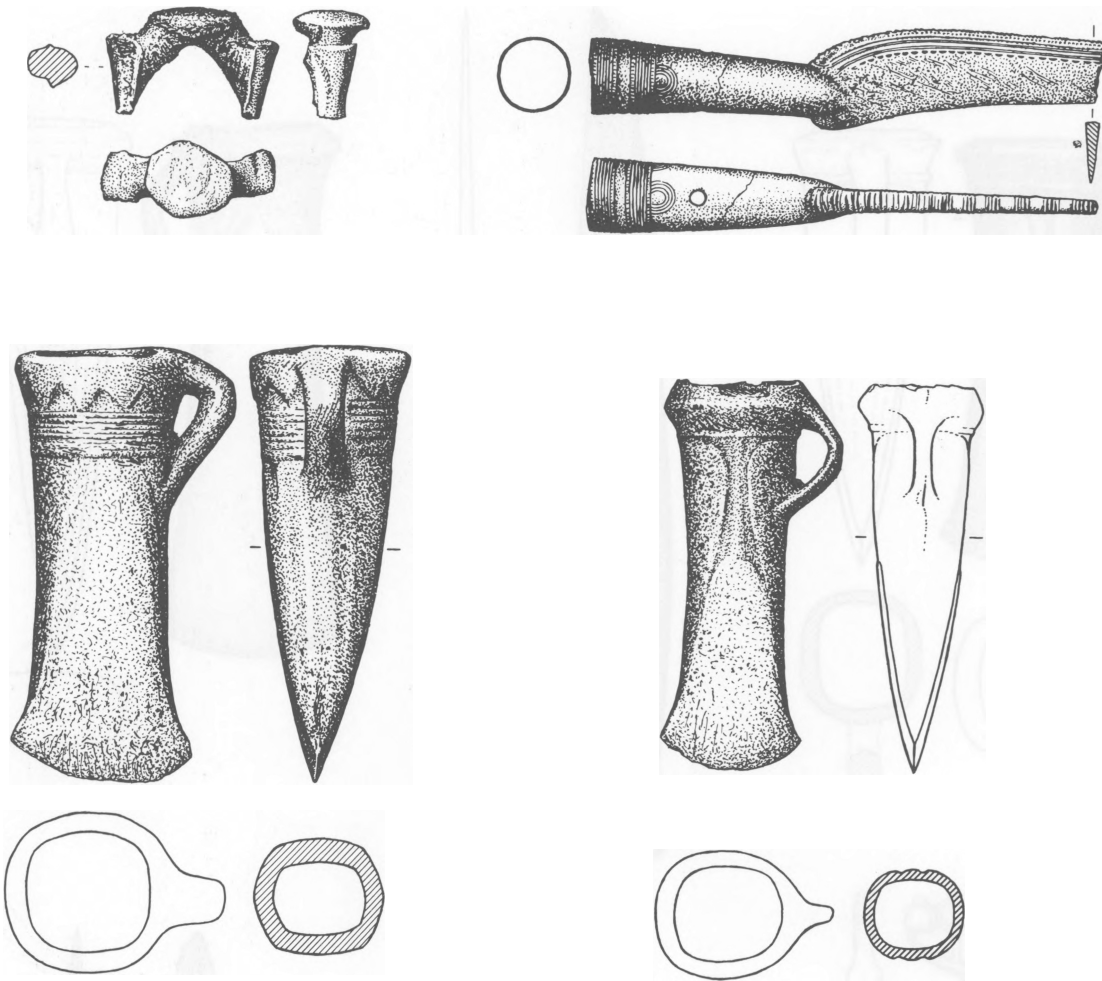


Fig. 29. Hoard from Havelte, Drenthe.

community between these areas, it is not entirely inconceivable that they might, for a shorter or longer time, have lived under a common political authority. And as Drouwen is now the only chiefly centre that we can identify, it could be that Drouwen served as the centre of authority for the entire region. This may be pure fantasy; but future research and discovery may add to or subtract from the picture we have suggested.

It was, perhaps, also then a redistribution centre for scarce luxury imports from farther east. In this respect we can think of finds such as the Scandinavian spectacle brooch from the Bonnerveen, *gemeente* Gasselte, only 6 km to the north of Drouwen (fig. 30), or the gold bracelets from Hijkersmilde and the bronze hoard from Hijken (including a socketed knife, bracelets related to those of the 'Princess', and a looped button), c. 25 km farther west (Butler & van der Waals, 1960; Butler, 1965: figs 9-10).

Obviously, any number of scenarios different from this can be imagined to fit the same facts. What in any case appears certain is that Drouwen had some sort of special relationship with the North European area, seemingly persistent over a long period, but reaching a remarkable climax in the Late Bronze Age.

#### 4. NOTES

1. A Dutch version of this article (Butler, 1987; kindly and laboriously translated by O.H. Harsema) appeared in the *Nieuwe Drentse Volksalmanak* for 1987. The drawings are by H. Roelink. We hereby express our gratitude to them, and to J.N. Lanting and P.B. Kooi (all B.A.I. colleagues), for their generous collaboration.
2. This is not to say, however, that some part of HaB3 may not eventually be shown to continue on into the 8th century, as suggested tentatively by Gross (1984). Müller-Karpe (1959, etc.) divided the Central European Later Urnfield period into three parts, then referred to as

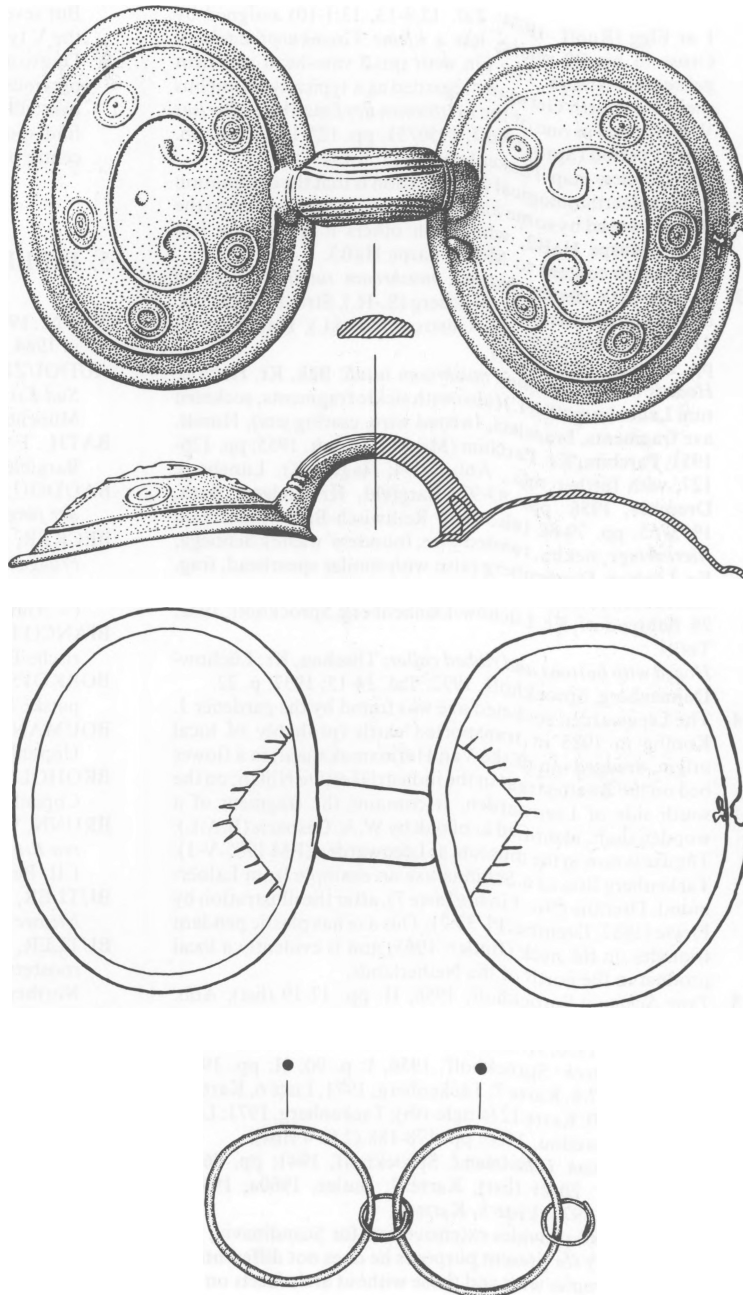


Fig. 30. Hoard from Bonnerveen, gem.  
Gasselte, Drenthe.

HaB 1, B2 and B3 respectively; later (1974) he substituted the designations *jüngere Urnenfelder* (B1 and B2) and *späte Urnenfelder* (B3). This usage has been followed by many recent writers.

While HaB1 and HaB3 have long established and generally accepted contents, the Müller-Karpe HaB2 phase has not been clearly identifiable in many areas, and its existence is doubted or denied by various specialists. The concept is, however, still used by some (e.g. Kibbert, 1984: p. 151, who regards such hoards as Obernbeck, Rethwisch, Berg-en-Terblijt, Niederolm, Ostrhauderfehn, and Onstwedder Holte as having been deposited during the MK HaB2 phase, if also containing older types). In Switzerland it has recently been

suggested by Gross (1984: pp. 69-70) that there is room, on the basis both of pottery typology and absolute chronology, for a HaB2 phase at around 950-875 BC. This phase has not yet been found in the West Swiss lakeside settlements, but he names some grave finds and hill settlements which he would assign to HaB2 on the basis of pottery typology (graves at Elgg and Rafz; settlements Bischofsstein bei Sissach; Wittnauer Horn, Courroux *unterer Hüttenplatz*).

Where, however, there is no HaB2, it is not generally agreed whether the B2 metallic material claimed by Müller-Karpe and his followers should be properly assigned to HaB1 or to HaB3.

It is interesting, however, to notice that in Switzerland Grave

- 1 at Elgg (Ruoff, 1974: Taf. 12:9-13, 13:1-10) assigned by Gross to his B2 phase, has a *kleine Vasenknopfnadel mit gebogenem Schaft*. The pin with small vase-head and bent shaft is in North Germany regarded as a typically Montelius V object, and as one of the *Leitformen des Ems-Weser Kreises* in that period (Sprockhoff, 1950/51: pp. 125-126; 1956: pp. 229-230; new map Tackenberg, 1985: Karte 7). A related terminological complication is that the designation 'HaB2' is used by some authors in Switzerland to refer to the Müller-Karpe HaB2, while with others it is more or less identical in content to Müller-karpe HaB3.
3. *Hoard with similar buttons, mushroom tutuli, and ribbed collar*. Lentföhrden, Kr. Segeberg (S.-H.), Struve, 1979: Taf. 47-49; Hinzenhagen, Kr. Güstrow (Meckl.), Hundt, 1955: pp. 127-128, Abb. 4:1-21.  
*Hoard with buttons and mushroom tutuli*: Bäk, Kr. Herzogtum Lauenburg (S.-H.) (also with sickle fragments, socketed axe fragments, bractelets, twisted wire, casting jets), Hundt, 1951; Parchim, Kr. Parchim (Meckl.), Hundt, 1955: pp. 126-127, with further refs., Abb. 2:1-4; Hagen, Kr. Lüneburg, Drescher, 1956: pp. 83-92; Bargfeld, Kr. Uelzen, Bath, 1953/55: pp. 79-82 (also with Rethwisch-Bargeroosterveld *Nierenringe*, sickles, twisted wire, founders' waste); Schnega, Kr. Lüchow-Dannenberg (also with similar spearhead, frag. Oberneck socketed axe), Sprockhoff, 1963: pp. 29-31, Abb. 28. Bahrendorf, Kr. Lüchow-Dannenberg, Sprockhoff, 1932: Taf. 1.  
*Hoard with buttons and ribbed collar*. Tüschau, Kr. Lüchow-Dannenberg, Sprockhoff, 1932: Taf. 14-15; 1937: p. 22.
  4. The Leeuwarden socketed axe was found by the gardener J. Koning in 1985 in transported earth (probably of local origin, dredged out of the Van Harinxmakanaal) in a flower bed on the Zwettestraat in the industrial estate Nijlân, on the south side of Leeuwarden. It contains the fragment of a wooden shaft, identified as of oak by W. A. Casparie (B. A.I.). The axe is now in the museum at Leeuwarden (FM 1985-V-I). Tackenberg lists as a Schinna axe an example from Exloërmond, Drenthe (No. 1 in his Liste 7), after the illustration by Pleyte (1882, Drenthe: Pl. 33:7). This axe has plastic pendant triangles on the neck (Butler, 1965) and is evidently a local product in the north of the Netherlands.
  5. *Type Schinna*: Sprockhoff, 1956, II: pp. 17-19 (list), Abb. 17:5, Karte 6; Tackenberg, 1971: p. 256, Liste 7, Karte 7; Sprockhoff, 1956, II: Karte 6.  
*Type Oberneck*: Sprockhoff, 1956, I: p. 90; II: pp. 19-20 (list), Abb. 17:6, Karte 7; Tackenberg, 1971, Liste 6, Karte 6; Baudou, 1960: Karte 12 (single-rib); Tackenberg, 1971: Liste 5, Karte 5; Baudou, 1960: pp. 178-188 (2 to 4 ribs); *mit profiliertem Tülenmund*: Sprockhoff, 1941: pp. 86 ff; 1956, II: pp. 20-21 (list), Karte 7; Butler, 1960a; 1960b; Tackenberg, 1971: Liste 8, Karte 8.  
Baudou (1960) provides extensive lists for Scandinavia, but unfortunately for present purposes he does not differentiate between examples with and those without arch-facets on the face.  
Kibbert (1984: pp. 136-137), who had only a few examples to deal with in his West German area, combines all the ribbed variants under the term Typ Løvskal (after a Danish hoard); he says that there are 36 examples in Denmark and 17 in South Sweden.
  6. While it is difficult to cite features on socketed knives that occur in the north and not in the West Swiss-East French area, it is perhaps worth calling attention to a converse point that has practically been overlooked in the literature. The junction between blade and socket can take two different forms. The first we can call Form V: the socket is externally projected into the back of the blade. The other can perhaps be called Form T: the cone is truncated where it joins the blade. Both forms occur in the West Swiss-East French knives; whereas Form V seems to be absent on the North European plain (only the Havelte knife has a hybrid form). But seven of the ten specimens from the cave of Han are of the V type (Mariën, 1984).
  7. Due to a misunderstanding, we reported the find-spot of this previously unpublished palstave fragment as 'Borger' (the next village south of Drouwen) in Butler, 1987. The correct find-spot was, according to the finder, about 1 km east of the centre of the village of Drouwen, along the Stobbenweg.

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APPENDIX I. Drouwenerveld 1984: Description of the objects

All of the objects (pot and bronzes) were acquired by and are inventorized in the Drents Museum, Assen, under the numbers 1984.XII. 1-70. A summary list, in numerical order, has previously been published (*Nieuwe Drentse Volksalmanak* 103, 1986: pp. 147-150); in the following the objects are grouped by type.

The *pot* (No. 30), c. 2/3 preserved and restored. Of thin-walled, burnished brown fabric, with fine sandy and crushed-granite grits. S-shaped outline. Single strap-handle preserved, 4 x 1.8 cm, descending from rim. The circular perforation has a diameter of 1.5 cm. The lower half is decorated with a dense lattice pattern, incised with a round-ended instrument. There is a very slight base protrusion. Height 15.5 cm; diameter at rim 14 cm; body width 14.5 cm; base 8 cm.

A grain impression in the pot wall has been identified by van Zeist (verbal comm.) as bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*).

The *bronzes* (all with dull green patina, somewhat encrusted with sand cemented by iron pan):

*Socketed axe* (No. 4): complete and well preserved. Mouth opening oval, from which springs a moderate-sized D-shaped loop. Axe body of oval cross-section. Each face has an arch-shaped flat facet, the lower edge of which is the cutting edge. The tips of the blade edge have been hammered flat so as to continue the straight line of the sides, which are parallel. On one side of the axe there are two thin horizontal ribs on the neck; these ribs are absent on the other side. There are prominent casting seams, partially smoothed by hammering. There is a horizontal rib inside the socket, at its base (= Baudou's *Stützleiste* Type A). The cutting edge is still sharp in part. There is a modern plough nick on one side. Length 8.9 cm; width 4.5 cm (with loop); blade width 3.4 cm; weight 197.5 g.

*Socketed axe fragments*:

(No. 3) Fragment of upper part of an axe. Single socket-mouth moulding; curved ribs and grooves on face. All breaks patinated. Length 4.8 cm; width 2.0 cm;

(No. 17) Small fragment, with groove and rib. Length 2.25 cm; width 1.7 cm;

(No. 24) Rim fragment, with single flattish moulding. Length 3.4 cm; width 2.45 cm; thickness 0.4 cm;

(No. 28) Body fragment, with part of face-side angle. The axe was apparently of hexagonal cross-section. On the face are parts of flat-bottomed grooves. Length 3.6 cm; width 2.2 cm;

(No. 44/4) Rim fragment. Single biconical socket-mouth moulding. Length 2.4 cm; width 2.15 cm;

(No. 58) Rim fragment, with D loop springing from single, flattish mouth moulding.

*Knives*

*Tanged single-edged knife* (No. 15): the more or less triangular tang is of rectangular section, and has a slit-like perforation (0.7 x 0.2 cm) by which handle-plates could have been fastened to the tang. The slightly concave back of the blade is rounded in section. The concave cutting edge suggests that there has been considerable re-sharpening. The knife was, presumably, bent so that it would go into the pot; the break is, however, recent plough damage. Original length c. 22 cm; maximum width 2.8 cm; thickness 0.4 cm.

*Socketed single-edged knife* (No. 30): truncated-conical socket; peg-hole top and bottom. Blade with curved, blunt rounded back. Incised decoration at base of socket, at junction of blade and socket, and on blade back. The cutting edge is barbed at its base. The tip of the blade was anciently broken off (break patinated). The lower part of the blade is slightly hollowed from sharpening. Length now 10 cm; width 1.4/1.9 cm.

*Two-edged knife* (blade fragment; No. 40): lozenge section; edges parallel. Length 2.5 cm; width 2.1 cm; thickness 0.6 cm.

*Sickle fragments*

(No. 9) Blade fragment. Flat on one face, a groove on the other. The back is concave and sloping; the convex edge is sharp. Length of fragment 7.6 cm; width 1.7 cm; thickness 0.5 cm. (A similar fragment is in the hoard from Bak).

(No. 66) Blade fragment. Curved blade with slightly recurved tip. Lug on the back; groove on the blade face. Break ancient (patinated). Present length 6.3 cm; width 1.0 to 1.5 cm; thickness 0.2 cm.

(No. 21) Fragment from middle of blade; flat on one face, the other with a single, rounded backing rib. Breaks ancient (patinated). Present length 3.85 cm; width 1.6 cm; thickness 0.3 cm.

(No. 37) Fragment from middle of blade; flat on one face, two ribs on the other. Breaks ancient (patinated). Present length 3.65 cm; width 2.4 cm; thickness 0.6 cm.

*Chisel fragments*

(No. 5) One end straight and sharp; body of rectangular section, widening gradually; slightly bent, break ancient (patinated and corroded). Present length 5.15 cm; width 0.7 x 0.4 cm; length of cutting edge 0.45 cm.

(No. 56) Tapering, slightly curved shaft with flat faces, rounded sides. Preserved end is blunt. Break ancient (patinated and corroded). Present length 7.0 cm; width 0.8 cm; thickness 0.4 cm.

*Spearheads*

(No. 11) Complete but broken; the break is recent (unpatinated). Small example without peg-holes; leaf-shaped blade; a slight rib strengthens the socket-mouth opening. Part of the socket was anciently repaired by casting on (*Überfangguss*). Length 10.8 cm; width 3.4 cm. Inside the socket are remains of a brownish substance, perhaps pitch, apparently intended to hold the spearhead fast to its shaft.

(No. 1) Middle section (now 4.8 x 3.0 cm). Socket has been hammered flat. Breaks ancient (patinated).



(No. 10) Middle section (now 2.7 x 2.5 cm). Breaks ancient (patinated).

(No. 20). Basal section (now 3.7 x 3.0). Slight rib strengthens the socket-mouth. Short socket part (only 1.9 cm long). The socket has been hammered flat. Breaks ancient (patinated). Greyish matter inside socket.

(No. 27) Middle section; very small fragment. Length 1.9 cm.

(No. 52) Middle section (now 2.8 x 2.1 cm).

(No. 67) Middle section (now 3.2 x 2.9 cm). Breaks ancient (patinated). Socket tube hammered flat.

#### Collar

(No. 69) Almost complete, but recently broken into three pieces and deformed by the plough. Only a small fragment, about one cm square, is missing. The collar was originally cast with one side flat and the other side longitudinally ribbed. The reverse side still shows traces of casting roughness; the ribbed side was finely finished. The two outer ribs run round the ends, and thus form one continuous edge rib, given an imitation-cord pattern by diagonal nicking with a punch. The three horizontal ribs inside stop short of the ends, thus leaving end-panels, each of which bears a large incised X and a small, irregularly triangular perforation. The three inner ribs are also nicked, but not continuously, rather with an alternation of nicked and plain zones.

It is not easy to see what damage might pre-date the modern plough damage, but it obviously could not have fit into the pot unless it had previously been folded. Flattened length 32.1 cm; width 4.2 cm.

#### Tutuli

Four virtually identical examples. Hollow conical body with stepped external surface, surmounted by thin shaft with a mushroom-shaped cap. Inside, a horizontal flat bar. Cast in one piece, apparently by *cire-perdue*.

(No. 14+19) Width 2.3 cm; height 2.4 cm; (No. 16+34) Width 2.2 cm; height 2.25 cm; (No. 47) Width 2.45 cm; height 2.55 cm; (No. 51) Width 2.4 cm; height 2.35 cm.

#### Buttons

Twenty examples; some dome-shaped, other flattish with turned-down edges; all with small cast D-shaped loop on the underside. They vary from c. 22 mm to 31 mm in diameter.

Dome-shaped: (No. 2) diameter 2.8 cm; (No. 13) diameter 2.3/2.4 cm; (No. 49) diameter 2.4 cm; (No. 57) diameter 2.35 cm; (No. 59) diameter 2.1/2.4 cm; (No. 61) diameter 2.3 cm.

Flattish, with turned-down edges: (No. 6) diameter 2.4 cm; (No. 7) diameter 2.65 cm; (No. 12) diameter 2.9 cm; (No. 23) diameter 2.2/2.35 cm; (No. 25) diameter 2.5 cm; (No. 32) diameter 2.95 cm; (No. 33) diameter 2.35 cm; (No. 36) diameter 2.65 cm; (No. 38) diameter 2.65 cm; (No. 42a) diameter 2.8 cm; (No. 50) diameter 3.1 cm; (No. 53) diameter 3.0 cm; (No. 54) diameter 2.4/2.6 cm; (No. 60) diameter 2.55 cm.

#### Bracelet fragments

(No. 39) Thin, of D section; slightly thickened end. Distorted. Break ancient (patinated). Present length 5.3 cm; width 0.6 cm at the break; thickness 0.3 cm.

(No. 65) Thick, of lenticular section; flattened end slightly widened end. Break ancient (patinated). Present length 4.2 cm; width 1.1 cm; thickness 0.65 cm at terminal.

#### Ribbed tubes

(No. 41) Cast cylinder, with 25 incised grooves, giving the effect of 26 ribs. One end is irregular, the other diagonal. Length 4.6 cm; outer diameter 0.6 cm; perforation diameter 0.35 cm.

(No. 43) Virtually identical with No. 41. More heavily worn than No. 41 and 62. 24 ribs; length 4.5 cm; width 0.55 cm; diameter perforation 0.4 cm.

(No. 62) Ditto; but 26 ribs. Length 4.4 cm; width 0.55 cm; tube diameter 0.3 cm.

#### Twisted wire fragments

(No. 22) Z-twist; worn. Ends patinated. Length 5.2; thickness 0.45 cm.

(No. 46) Thin, with Z-twist; worn smooth on one side; now with S-curve. Ends patinated. Length 7.6; thickness 0.25-0.35 cm.

#### Casting jets

(No. 44/1) Three runners with seams. Ends patinated. Length 3.4 cm. (No. 44/2) Single runner, with seams. Length 2.15; width 1.4 cm. (No. 55) Single runner, with seams. Length 1.95; width 1.7 cm. (No. 63) Single runner. Length 1.0; width 2.0 cm.

#### Miscellaneous fragments

(No. 31) Wavy bar; irregularly rounded section. Ends patinated. Length 7.6; thickness 0.75 cm.

(No. 42b) Sheet fragment.

(No. 45) Irregular cast fragment. Breaks patinated. 2.5 x 1.8 x 0.7 cm.

(No. 26) Irregular cast fragment. Breaks patinated. 3.2 x 1.6 x 0.3 cm.

(No. 35) Irregular cast fragment. Breaks patinated. 1.6 x 1.2 x 0.35 cm.

(Nos 48a, 48b) Two tiny fragments.

(No. 64) Fragment of bar of rectangular section; one end has an irregular swelling. Break patinated. Length 2.4 cm.

(No. 68) Irregular fragment. Breaks patinated. 2.2 x 2.2 x 0.15 cm.

(No. 8) Small fragment (of knife blade?). One edge is sharp. Breaks patinated. 2.5 x 2.5 x 0.5 cm.

(No. 44/3) Irregular triangular fragment. Breaks patinated. Length 2.4; thickness 0.4 cm.

## APPENDIX II. List of urnfield socketed knives in the Netherlands and Belgium

### Netherlands

#### Limburg

1. near Venlo. Mus. Maastricht 2434 (formerly Venlo 23). Subrectangular socket.

#### North Brabant

2. *Gem.* St. Oedenrode. Mus. 's-Hertogenbosch 23.

#### Gelderland

3. Nijmegen. Mus. Nijmegen 4.1947.4. Purchased from dealer Esser.

4. Bruggelen. Fragment in hoard. Mus. Arnhem, GAS 1958.2.11.

5. Aalten. Mus. RMO Leiden, e. 1925.11.1. *Pointillé* on back.

#### Overijssel

6. Denekamp. Mus. Enschede. Ex coll. Eshuis.

7. Elzenerveen. Fragment in hoard. Mus. RMO Leiden d. 1949.12.5.

#### Drenthe

8. *Gem.* Borger. Drouwenerveld. Hoard. Mus. Assen, 1984 (present paper).

9. Havelte. 'Het Lok'. Hoard. Mus. Assen, 1872.1.16. Incised decoration on blade, blade back, and socket.

10. *Gem.* Schoonebeek. Oud-Schoonebeek. Mus. Assen, 1907.-X1.3. *Pointillé* and incised decoration on back; incised at socket mouth.

11. *Gem.* Schoonebeek. Schoonebeek. Hoard. Mus. RMO Leiden, c.94.11.1. Decoration.

12. *Gem.* Schoonebeek. Schoonebeek. Hoard. Museum, Assen, 1894.XII.1b. Undecorated.

## Groningen

13. *Gem.* Onstwedde. Hidsmeden. Mus. Groningen, 1964.-VIII. 1. (Butler, 1968/69: pp. 206-223, fig. 2, Pl. 4).

## Friesland

14. *Gem.* Ooststellingwerf. Between Weper and Haule. River Kuinder. Mus. Leeuwarden, 218-44.

## South Holland

15. *Gem.* the Hague. Voorschoten. 1st Dune. Mus. the Hague HH 26-55 (loan ex coll. Eggink). De Wit, 1964.

*Belgium*

## Prov. Namur

16. Thy-le-Chateau. Mus. Namur, 7536. Unpublished.

17-26. Han-sur-Lesse. 10 examples, from the river Lesse at its exit from the Han cave. One specimen (No. 4708) with two horizontal lines on face; nine (4701, 4702, 4704, 4706, 4713, 4714, 4718, 4720, 4721) undecorated. Mariën, 1984, No. III: pp. 13-22. Mus. Han-sur-Lesse.