

3. PERIPHERY IN PRE-AND PROTOHISTORY: STRUCTURE AND PROCESS IN THE RHINE-MEUSE BASIN BETWEEN C. 600 BC AND 500 AD

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Introduction

During the last decades, the western world has attempted to digest its colonial and imperialistic past; historical research has also made contributions to this end as witnessed, for example, by the 1980 volume **History and Underdevelopment. Essays on Underdevelopment and European Expansion in Asia and Africa**¹ Several insights gained through study of structures and processes during expansion can be usefully applied in research of the time in which our own area was the goal of 'imperialistic' expansion: the Roman period. In his description of the terps along the southern coast of the North Sea Pliny recorded how our ancestors reacted: 'Twice daily, the land is flooded there, and becomes dry again, such that one does not know if it is land or water; the people live on self-made mounds; by flood-tide, they are like sea-farers, by ebb, more like castaways. And when conquered by the Roman people, they say that is ... slavery!'

By way of introduction, a number of understandings must be described: firstly, the relation between core area and periphery; secondly, the socio-political terms such as tribe, state and empire; and lastly, the place and time of the events of protohistoric West Europe between about 600 BC and 500 AD.

Today, the concepts core and periphery are used, by Wallerstein among others², in analysis of European colonialism and the relationship between the western and third world. The core has a relatively high degree of development, with a high degree of socio-economic differentiation; the periphery, in contrast, is less developed and has a simple economic and political structure. The periphery functions as a strategic and economic buffer zone in relation to the core area. The borders are flexible between these areas. In the relationship western world:third world, the concept of imperialism plays an important part, and is understood to be the pursuit of domination by stronger and more highly developed states over the weaker and less developed.³ According to most current theories on imperialism, the causes of impetus behind western imperialism must be sought exclusively within the core itself, in its conscious striving for expansion, due to economic or socio-political motives.⁴ More interesting are the ideas about 'peripheral imperialism' developed by Fieldhouse and Robinson.⁵ Imperialistic expansion not controlled by the core can be at least partially caused by factors in the periphery: collaboration within the elite, maintenance of peace and order, and high-handed actions taken by core representatives in the periphery. The elite in the periphery are willing to collaborate with the core area to strengthen their own internal position. Their position can be undermined in instances of too fervent cooperation, internal rivalries, or core representative interference, and the result may be revolt, often nationalistic in character. The core then in that case may be tempted to maintain the status of the collaborating party by direct intervention, and the step towards actual expansion is thereby easily accomplished. High-handed actions by core representatives in the periphery are induced by various factors: ambition and quest for glory, as a bolster to one's position in the core, or difference in opinion on policy to that held by the central authority. The expansion of the sphere of influence is not consciously sought but results from an unavoidable and uncontrollable process. Johan Galtung has relatively recently attempted to combine core and periphery theories of imperialism into one model. A structural dependence relation exists between core and periphery which is based on co-operation of the elite from both areas for serving mutual interests (Fig. 3.1).⁶

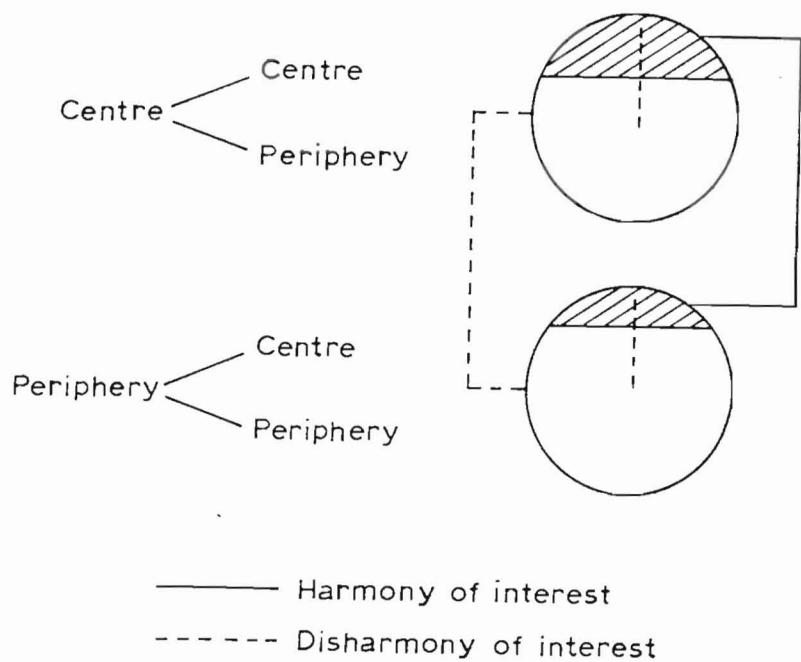


Fig. 3.1: Structure of imperialism. After Galtung 1973

Secondly, a number of socio-political systems must be described: the tribe, the state, and the empire. The distinguishing characteristics are, among others, the degree of social stratification, of centralized government, of economic independence and the degree to which these are determined by factors such as kinship, inheritance, achievement and occupational specialization. These traits are used to rank societies in an evolutionary series of increasing complexity. Of course, all manner of intermediate stages occur such as the highly developed tribe or chiefdom, and the early state. The simplest form of tribal society is egalitarian, knows no central authority and is economically self-supporting to a great extent. The economic system is not commercialised but rather embedded in the network of social relations of a society and between societies. The state is differentiated through social stratification, centralized control and authorized means for maintaining unity; through centralized control there is a degree of redistribution of available resources and the economy provides for state apparatus maintenance. The imperium has the same characteristics as the state, but combines, under one denominator, different cultural or ethnic groups and political structures of varying levels. The economic system is often only partially commercialized in early states and in the peripheral areas of developed states and empires.⁷

What is the connection between the themes of core and periphery, peripheral imperialism and socio-political development? The more highly developed core can so accelerate development in the periphery that, for example, secondary state formation begins; that is, a state develops in a peripheral area because of influence by the state in the core. Important to the process is the nature and extent of the exchange and warfare networks, through which much information and energy is exchanged and in which the elites of core and periphery have an important part. By consideration of the above in combination, insight may be gained into the ways and degree of the periphery is part of the sphere of influence of the core and how it subsequently develops.

Finally, I must fix the time and place of the events and the roles within the three act protohistoric play in conjunction to the understandings mentioned above. The period stretches from about 600 BC to 500 AD, the transition from prehistory to protohistory. I shall subdivide the discussion into three phases: the pre-Roman through to the late second century BC; the early-Roman ending in the late first century AD; and, a mid and late Roman period extending from the late first to the late fifth century AD. The research area includes the river basins of the Schelde, Meuse, Rhine and Ems insofar as they are to the north of the Ardenne, Eitel and Sauerland watersheds (Fig. 3.4). Comparable in size to England, this area is a geographical unit which allows an extended study of structure and process within a specific framework.⁸ For more than a thousand years, it had a position peripheral to the core of the then acknowledged European World, the Mediterranean. The roles are divided among the tribes of Germania, in the north; the Romans, but also the Greeks and Etruscans, in the Mediterranean area; and in between, the Celts, including the later Gauls.

The Pre-Roman Period

Early states and city states developed in the western Mediterranean during the seventh to the fifth centuries BC. The political and economic spheres of influence of the Greek cities and colonies, of Etruria, and of Carthage were in equilibrium although of course conflict was not absent. Craft production and trade flourished as never before. The sea offered good long distance trading lanes and facilitated expansion. Massilia, the present Marseille, is the most famous of a series of new trading centres which arose at this time.

During the same period in the area to the north of the Alps, in central France, southern Germany, and the Saar-Moselle region, large fortified settlements and exceedingly rich graves appear which is an indication of increasing tribal complexity.⁹ One of the salient symptoms of this development is the numerous and costly items imported from the Mediterranean area: Attic ware, amphorae and Greek-Etruscan bronzes.¹⁰ (Fig. 3.2) Generally the finds are associated with wine consumption. As a rule, these so exceptional items belong to the inventory of the very rich graves of the local or regional elite. These elite lent countenance to their status even in death by taking with them to the grave prestige goods they had gained during life through contacts with the Mediterranean. Contact could have been of an economic nature of, for example, supplying natural resources or manpower to the Mediterranean area. The southern prestige goods can therefore represent the socio-political equivalents that contributed to maintaining and strengthening relations and position.¹¹

The reflections of these contacts are also visible in the Schelde-Meuse-Rhine-Ems area. Mediterranean imports are sporadically found: Etruscan bronzes at Eigenbilzen in Belgian Limburg; Attic ware from the Kemmelberg in Flanders.¹² These items must have reached our region through mediation by the southern societies, as also applies to the earlier acquired bronze situlae and bridle bits.¹³ The level of social organization here however was less developed than that of Central Europe.

Important changes are seen in the Mediterranean during the fourth to the late second century BC. The Roman and Carthaginian spheres of influence grew at the cost of Etruria and Greek cities of the west. Roman hegemony became clear when Carthage was defeated around 200 BC. During the same period, the Italian and Greek world was confronted with a series of Celtic invasions. In 390 BC, Rome fell into Celtic hands; in 225 BC they advanced far into Italy. Northern Italy became permanently occupied.

In the Celtic territories to the north of the Alps, regional centres and rich graves are not so clearly represented as previously.¹⁴ Costly imports from the Mediterranean are scarce, but conversely there are signs of contact of an entirely different nature. The Celtic military campaigns must have resulted in varied types of booty, the quality and quantity of which might be surmised from the sum paid by the Romans in 390 for Celtic withdrawal: in excess of 300 kg gold! Celtic mercenaries were enlisted by Massilia and Carthage, and they served for northern Italian tribes. They were paid in gold coin.¹⁵ Significantly, representations on the earliest Celtic coins - dating to the third and second centuries BC - were borrowed from Mediterranean examples; the staters of southern and central Gaul were similar to those from Macedonia; those of the Belgae in the north were copies from Tarentum.¹⁶ The precious metals of coins - gold and silver - and the relatively great weight indicates the importance of the intrinsic value of the coins rather than their nominal worth.¹⁷ A money economy was as yet non-existent and the many but small coin-issues and the absence of large fortified settlements point to limited stratification and centralization.¹⁸ The Schelde-Meuse-Rhine-Ems basins remained apparently untouched by these processes.

The Mediterranean filled the role of core area during this pre-Roman period which saw important social, economic and political developments. Rome finally gained supremacy. Most discussions on Roman imperialism therefore concentrate on the third and second centuries BC. Two main approaches can be defined: aggressive imperialism and defensive imperialism. According to the first, Roman expansion was a conscious enterprise; the second maintains

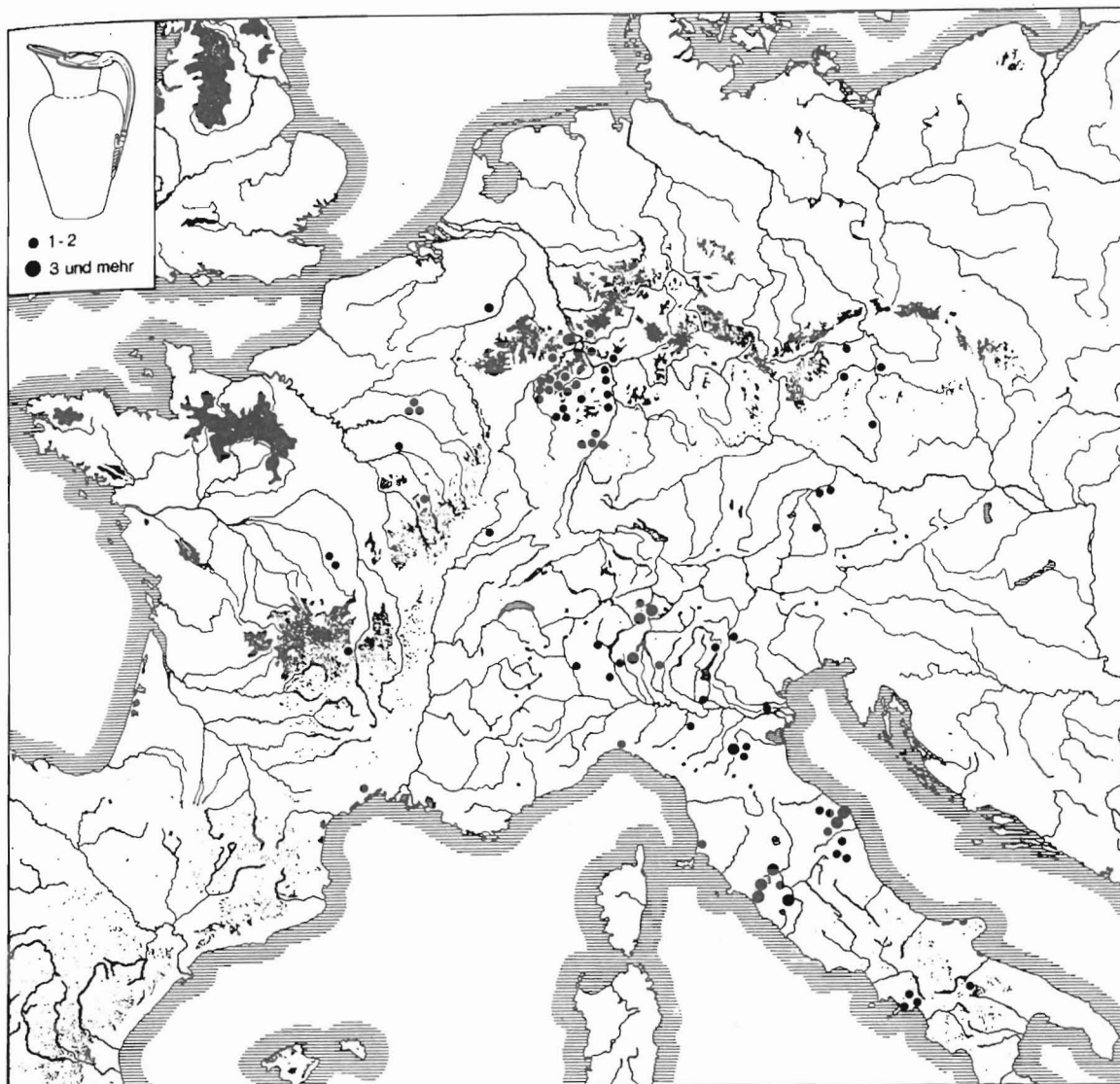


Fig. 3.2: Distribution of Etruscan bronze **Schnabelkannen**. After Kimmig 1983

expansion stemmed from an unintended series of causes and effects. The latter approach exhibits parallels to that of modern peripheral imperialism.¹⁹

Contacts existed between the core and the clearly peripheral area to the north and west of the Alps. The nature of conflict was diverse: warfare, trade in prestige goods in exchange for natural resources and military manpower, and later, perhaps slaves. Contacts led to the exchange of information between the periphery and the core area. On the one hand, reports find form in those contemporary historical and ethnographic sources written by Pliny, Livy and Posidonius.²⁰ On the other hand, the core influenced the socio-political organization in the periphery and its development towards a more complex society.²¹

The Early Roman Period

Illustrative for an explanatory model of peripheral imperialism is the way Rome took on a series of obligations during the early Roman Period in Gaul which resulted finally in conquest of the area. A request for assistance made by Massilia caused a confrontation in 125 BC with the Gallic Allobroges, who in their turn called on the Arvenii. The result was a victory for Roman forces, establishment of the province Gallia Narbonensis and a treaty with the adjacent tribe of the Aedui who had long maintained good contact with Massilia. These same Aedui were to call for Caesar's help sixty years later against the encroaching Helvetians and the Germanic Suebi led by Ariovistus. Although Caesar was merely proconsul of Gallia Cisalpina and Illyria, he dealt with the problems to the west of the Alps to strengthen his internal position at home in relation to Pompeius and Crassus.²² The conquest of entire Gaul between 58 and 50 BC shows the numerous greater and lesser examples of the way Caesar became involved in one unexpected situation after another. A request by the Ubii, a Germanic tribe to the east of the Rhine, for aid against the Suebi resulted in Caesar crossing the Rhine. The aid extended by British tribes to the Gauls induced him to cross the channel. The bitter uprising of Eburones in northern Gaul was barely suppressed when a more threatening revolt broke out in 52 BC to the south when even Caesar's trustworthy allies, the Aedui, abandoned him.²³ Roman arms were finally triumphant due in part to the relatively advanced state of Gallic political and economic organization, Roman knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, and the willingness of a number of Gallic tribes to cooperate with the Romans.

Nash believes the tribes of southern and central Gaul had started to exhibit signs of early state formation including a centralized administration maintained by the community, controlled by nobles, magistrates and priests, the Druids.²⁴ The archaeological reflections thereof are seen in the appearance of very extensive fortified settlements in addition to changes in the coinage system. In area, the 'oppida', as Caesar called the settlements, were often larger than 50 hectares.²⁵ Coinage came to include small units in silver and bronze: the emissions are found over larger regions than previously and they can be more easily divided into groups, which could coincide with tribal areas. Previous to, but certainly during, the Gallic wars these coins must have been important for paying Gallic troops.²⁶

Acquaintance with the area of operation was essential. In addition to political contacts, trade must have resulted in much information about Gaul for the Romans. This is reflected not only by the classical ethnographic and historical literature, but is seen also archaeologically in the vast amount of amphora fragments. Wine was so well-liked by the Gauls that they would trade a slave for a wine-filled amphora.²⁷

Of great importance to Caesar was the willingness to support him shown by powerful tribes such as the Aedui in the south and the Remi in the north. Whenever possible, advantage was taken of rivalries existing between leading families by strengthening the position of the more Roman-minded members such as those among the Treveri. The elite or their children were kidnapped if this tactic failed. By these means, Caesar procured winter quarters, provisions and auxiliary troops.

Consolidation of Caesar's successes generated an entirely new undertaking of even greater proportions: annexation of Germania up to the Elbe. Germanic tribes to the east of the Rhine continued after Caesar departed to cause unrest and to offer aid to rebellious elements of Gaul. The defeat of the Gallic magistrate Marcus Lollius in 16 BC caused Augustus to initiate extensive military operations in the area between the rivers Rhine and Elbe. Thirty-two years later, his successor Tiberius was to abandon the attempt to conquer Germania. The attitude taken by Germanicus, the commander of forces in Germania, is typical for the mechanisms of peripheral imperialism. Germanicus disagreed with the decision and extended his operations for a year.²⁹ Broadly, the Rhine would remain the border of the Roman Empire until the early fifth century BC.

Conquered only a few decennia earlier, Gaul played an important part as hinterland during the Germania enterprise and the succeeding period of consolidation of the Rhine frontier. Gaul supplied many auxiliary troops which are at times identifiable through designation of their areas of origin.³⁰ Numerous bronze coins issued in the name of northern Gallic tribes are found at the Augustan bases of Velsen, Nijmegen, Xanten, Neuss and Mainz which were constructed along the Rhine, and which were used to launch the attack against Germania. The tribal areas reflected by the coins along the northern Rhine were those of the Remi, Treveri and Tungri of the regions of Reims, Trier and Tongeren, respectively. The coins were used in paying auxiliaries recruited from these areas (Fig. 3.3). The importance of Gaul for the army of the Rhine can also be judged by the origin of pottery found in the forts. The fine tableware - the terra sigillata - came originally from Italy, but by about 10 AD, the production centre had shifted to southern Gaul. Plain wares show Gallic origins in form and technique.³¹

The socio-political organization of Germanic groups to the northeast of the Rhine had probably not yet passed that of tribal society. As Tacitus reports, the tribe or warrior leaders gained their position through achievement rather than descent and their authority was grounded in giving advice rather than orders. Kinship relations were important in, for example, troop formation. Limited to slaves and freemen, social differentiation was without professional, administrative or priestly classes.³² Political and economic centres were lacking which is also supported by the archaeologically gained picture of settlements and cemeteries. These are no large fortified settlements but rather small groups of farmsteads such as are known from Fochtelloo and Noord-Barge in the province of Drenthe, The Netherlands, and Flögeln in West Germany.³³ To the west of the Elbe, the dead were deposited very simply. Germanic coinage was unknown and would not be introduced later.

Roman contact with the Germans was achieved less easily than with the Gauls during the previous phase. Early Roman import finds are scarce in northwestern Germania and they are even exceptional in settlements close to Roman offensive bases along the Rhine. However, Rome had attempted to create bridgeheads in the area to be conquered by making allies of tribes or groups through contact with their leaders. The Ubii gained permission to settle in the Cologne region if

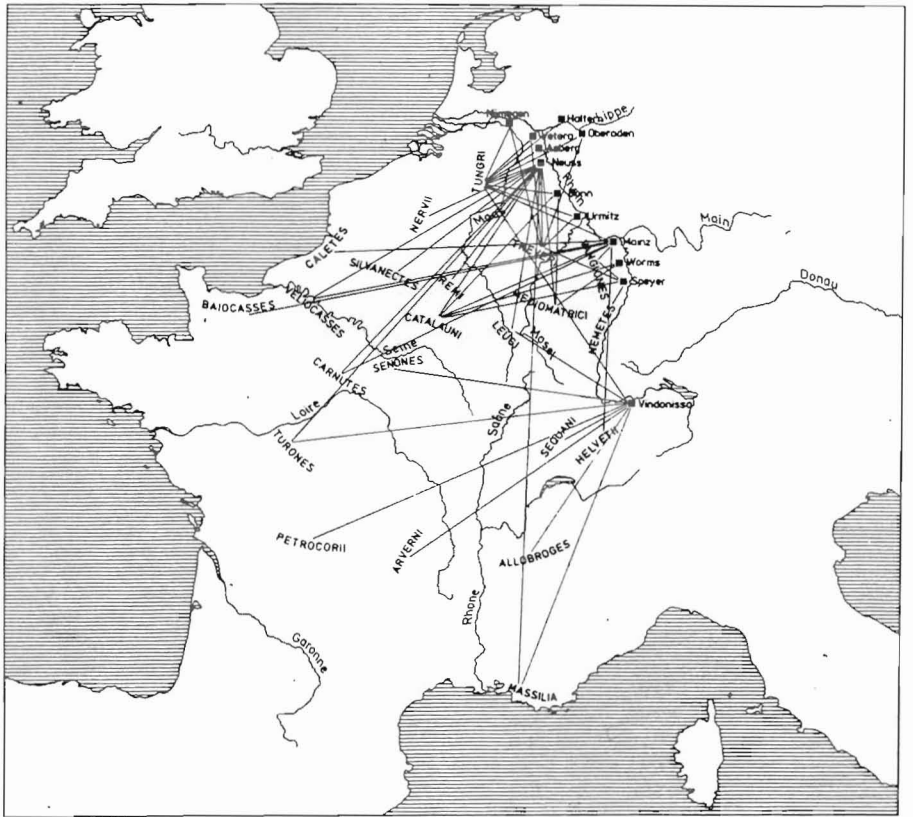


Fig. 3.3: Origin of the Celtic coins found in the Roman military sites along the Rhine from the Augustan period. After Gechter 1979

they guarded against infiltration by other Germanic tribes.³⁵ As the expected political-religious centre of a future province Germania, Cologne became the site where an 'Ara Ubiorum' - an altar of the Ubii - was erected between 8 BC and 6 AD. Significantly, a prominent member of the Cherusci tribe from the trans-Rhine region became priest of the sanctuary.³⁶ The Romans attempted to establish a support base near the Weser through contact with a well-disposed faction within the same tribe. The Ubii and Cherusci, but also the Cananefates, Batavi and Frisii, supplied varying numbers of troop contingents to the Roman army. Their elite led these troops in war with the Germanic tribes; some native commanders later organized resistance against the Roman intruders and in so doing gained a place as the first national freedom fighters in our history books: in the Dutch, the Batavian Civilis, and for the Germans, Arminius of the Cherusci.³⁷

The Roman Republic was altered to Empire during this early phase. Moreover, Rome took two important steps on the way to conquering West and Central Europe. Step one - Gaul - was successful; the other - Germania - was not. Destabilization threatening southern and central Gaul due to attacks made by the Suebi could have been dangerous for Italy, and Caesar made welcome use of the situation to advance his internal political position. It is very doubtful that conquest of Gaul all the way to the Rhine was initially planned. The operation was at least partially successful due to the peripheral situation of Gaul already held for hundreds of years in relation to the Mediterranean core area. Development of a more complex society possibly to the level of early state in some areas had been stimulated whereby central places came to exist allowing access to the system. Some tribes and factions were inclined towards collaboration with Rome which had relatively good information on the country and its inhabitants. Finally, the logistical links with the core area were comparatively short.

The situation encountered about forty years later in Germania was fundamentally different. At that time, Germania had been only briefly in a peripheral position to the newly acquired Roman territory. The lower level of political and spatial organization offered far fewer points of contact.³⁸ There was little further development as Germania had been little stimulated through exposure to warfare and trade. Knowledge of country and people must have been limited. Most of the detailed descriptions, Caesar's excepted, date to the period of military campaigns in Germania or to the succeeding period.³⁹ Lines of communication were very long as northern and central Gaul were not ready to replace the logistical position of the Italian and somewhat later southern Gaul core areas. Hence, military excursions were less successful in Germania than in Gaul.

The Middle and Late Roman Period

After the end of the first century AD, Roman emperors abandoned further attempts at extensive territorial expansion on the West European continent. They directed more attention to fortifying and developing the frontier zone along the Rhine. The importance of Gaul as hinterland quickly grew as craft specialization, agriculture and trade developed. Factory production of high quality pottery such as terra sigillata was relocated from Southern Gaul to the north, in the region of Metz and Trier. North Gallic potters of more everyday wares set up shop in the Rhine zone. The Somme region presents an impressive picture of dense agricultural activity on fertile loess soils in Northern France and southern Belgium.⁴⁰ Traders from Gallia Belgica were responsible for transporting products from these areas to the north, as is evident from the altars dredged up from the Oosterschelde near Colijnsplaat.⁴¹ On the other hand, the

presence of traders from Trier in Lyon illustrates contacts with southern France involving then, as now, wine in casks.

Germanic territory held to the southwest of the Rhine became the province of Germania Inferior with its capital at Cologne. The tribal regions of the Cananefates of Zuid-Holland, the Batavi of the river region, the Cugerni of the Xanten area and the Ubii around Cologne formed civitates (Fig. 3.4). Administrators were culled from the local elite. Flavius, the son of Vihirmas, filled the somewhat mysterious position of 'high magistrate' during the mid-first century in the Batavian civitas. The native origin of later magistrates is usually masked by latinized names, although altars to indigenous gods or presence of goods show their connection to tribal regions.⁴³ The now regulated auxiliary troop recruitment must have formed a noticeable demographic and social burden for the native population. The Batavi alone supplied eight infantry divisions and a cavalry unit, at normal strength a total of about 5000 men.⁴⁴ Such a drain on the tribes' manpower decreased the likelihood of rebellion, but it was, in the end, one of the motives for the famous revolt of the Batavi in 69 AD. Another important measure taken was the creation of a dense chain of forts along the south bank of the Rhine; the 'limes'. Valkenburg, Zwammerdam and Nijmegen are the best known and researched of these forts in the Netherlands.⁴⁵ By about 100 AD, around 35,000 troops, later reduced to about 25,000, were garrisoned in Germania Inferior.⁴⁶ The border province became economically dependent on neighbouring Gallia and Germania Libera due to these large troop numbers, rise of cities and villages and the growth of the rural population.

Although Germania to the northeast of the Rhine was not formally included in the Roman empire, a broad zone - possibly extending to the Weser - came unofficially under its influence. Italicus, Arminius's son who was raised in Rome while held hostage, became the new leader of the Cherusci in 47 AD through Roman influence. Roman arms procured an allied ruler among the Bructeri, another tribe of Westphalia.⁴⁷ During the second century, Roman import of goods greatly increased in Germanic territory. A zone of about 200 km wide along the Rhine is characterized by relatively cheap goods, mainly pottery. More costly items such as bronze, silver and glass vessels dominate only at greater distances.⁴⁸ Coin circulation in the area adjacent to the Rhine appears to have differed in extent, but not in relative composition to distribution below the Rhine: copper and silver coins are found in the same proportions in both areas.⁴⁹ Tacitus' description of exchange contacts with the Germans is typical for trade only partially commercialized, whereby payment was in money as well as in natura.⁵⁰ A likely explanation of these contacts is that Germania Libera could supply part of the economic needs of the 'limes' zone, particularly insofar as supplying livestock and livestock by-products. Moreover, the Frisii regularly sent troop units to the Roman army.⁵¹ (Fig. 3.5)

The Rhine border preserved an unsteady equilibrium between Gaul and Germania Libera which however became increasingly difficult to maintain after the beginning of the third century. Central imperial authority was undermined in Gaul, Germania and Britain through rebellion by magistrates and army commanders. The legitimate answer to these signs of disunification was decentralization. The empire was divided into four: Trier became one of the imperial residences. After reorganization of the monetary system, Trier, Lyon and London became the most important mints in the northwest of the empire.⁵² Entire regions had in the meantime become depopulated and the economy was disrupted. Germans were allowed to settle in the north Gallic agricultural regions, so important for safeguarding the border, to serve as a peasant militia for reviving crop production and defensive systems. In their burial ritual, they can be delineated from the Gallo-Roman in weapons, fastenings and jewelry.⁵³

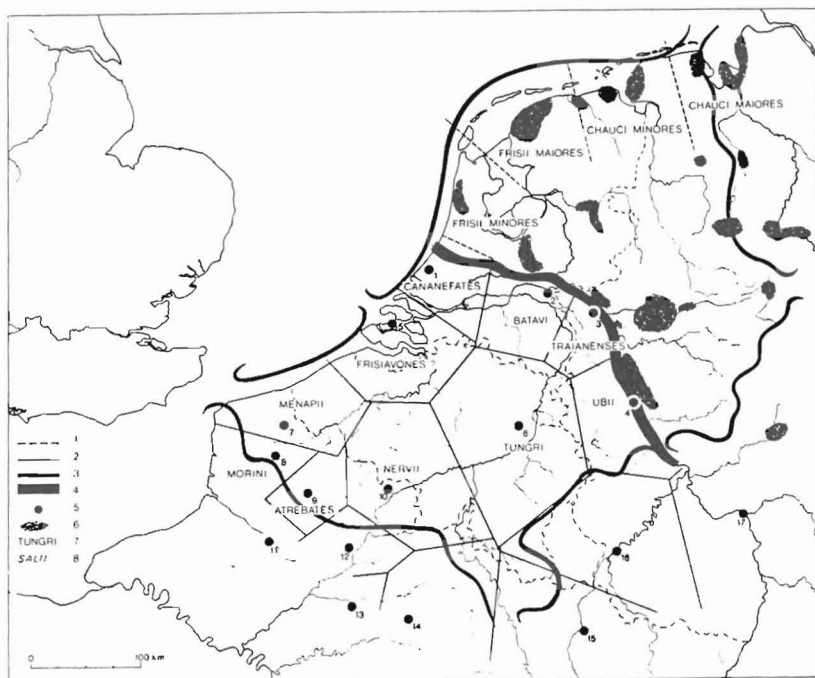


Fig. 3.4: Delta and hinterland of Schelde, Meuse, Rhine, Vecht and Eems (1st-3rd century A.D.) 1. boundaries of polygons (uncertain); 2. boundaries of polygons (likely); 3. limits of research area; 4. frontier of the Roman empire between c.50 and 400 A.D.; 5. capitals of civitates; 6. concentrations of native habitation; 7. tribes, known from 1st-3rd century sources

Capitals of provinces and civitates: 1. Forum Hadriani/Municipium Aelium or Aurelium Cananefatum (Voorburg-Arentsburg); 2. Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum (Nijmegen); 3. Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Xanten); 4. Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Cologne); 5. Gauventa (?); 6. Atuatuca Tungrorum (Tongeren); 7. Castellum Menapiorum (Kassel); 8. Tarvanna (Théroutanne); 9. Nemetacum (Arras); 10. Bagacum (Bavai); 11. Samarobriua (Amiens); 12. Augusta Viromandorum (Saint-Quentin); 13. Augusta Suessionum (Soissons); 14. Durocortorum (Reims); 15. Divodurum (Metz); 16. Colonia Augusta Treverorum (Trier); 17. Mogontiacum (Mainz)

It was disastrous for the Rhine zone that internal anarchy coincided with growing aggression taken by the Germanic tribes to the east of the Rhine. Franks and Saxons attacked the frontier zone of the Lower Rhine during the third and fourth centuries. Farmstead settlements were abandoned and cities declined. The western Netherlands was also ensnared by a more dangerous enemy: the rising sea level. The first symptoms were manifested by 200AD at the outlets of the Meuse and Rhine, and it seems plausible that the late Roman Dunkirk II transgression was an important cause of fourth century coastal area depopulation.⁵⁴ Pollen analysis indicates forest regeneration at the cost of cultivated land. Military organization especially underwent drastic alteration. The narrow chain of forts along the Rhine gained greater depth through defenses built in the hinterland. Exceedingly mobile troops could intercept intruders who had penetrated the Rhine line.⁵⁵ Taxation in natura was levied, the *annona militaris*, for provisioning the army which may suggest a relative decrease in the importance of coinage.⁵⁶

Not only the threat but also part of the salvation was to stem from *Germania Libera*. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, a military and civilian organizational plan for the fourth century empire, summarizes the trans-Rhine tribes which supplied units to the armies of the Germanic and Belgic provinces (Fig. 3.6). For the most part, they came from the region between the IJssel, Weser and Ruhr; they became collectively known as the Franks. In the cemeteries near late Roman forts along the border and in the hinterland such as Oudenburg, Nijmegen, Kreteld and Tongeren, the same fastenings and jewelry are present as in those Frankish and Saxon regions northeast of the Rhine.⁵⁷ More than a quarter of the Germanic officers in Roman service were of Frankish origin; some succeeded to the highest ranks.⁵⁸ (Fig. 3.7) Further, as in earlier and more prosperous times, attempts were made to win over Frankish rulers, or at least to dissuade them from aggression. Monetary bribes helped in the face of insufficient military might. Noticeably large gold hoards have been found dated especially to the period of 375 to 425 exactly in those tribal areas which supplied troops (Fig. 3.8 and Fig. 3.9)). The Beilen hoard, consisting of more than one-half kilo gold coin and jewelry directs attention to the nearby Wijster settlement. The large number of more than twenty farmsteads, the distinctive compound with special house, and the huts for weaving and other artisan activities could indicate stratification and specialization within the settlement and the region. The juxtaposition of considerable amounts of gold and large village could be seen as characteristic for other areas where large gold hoards have been recovered.⁵⁹

In the middle and late Roman period, Gaul took over the role of the Mediterranean area. Economic and political independence became so great that legal and illegal decentralizing measures no longer occurred. Unauthorized independent action taken by magistrates and military commanders is symptomatic of peripheral imperialism, which nevertheless did not now lead to further expansion, but rather to a weakened position and ultimately the loss of territory conquered. The Rhine and adjacent Germanic regions together formed the periphery of the empire. Population increase during the second century through urbanization and extension of the *limes* resulted in vulnerable frontier provinces. Good relations with the trans-Rhine region were essential for stability. Providing provisions and troops and the political alliances formed between local elite and the Roman Empire advanced socio-political development and integration of this peripheral area. It is not a coincidence that various Germanic tribes came collectively mentioned in historical sources as Franks or Saxons, or that regional centres delineated through troop recruitment and gold hoards are presented northeast of the Rhine by the end of the fourth century. The Germanic elite had a key role therein. Some with their followers entered



Fig. 3.5: Housesteads. Altar erected by the cives Tuihanti, who belong to the cuneus Frisiorum. After Collingwood/Wright 1965, no. 1594 (h. 123,6 cm)

Roman service and so learned the fine points of administration and warfare. They subsequently became rulers in the fifth century when Rome abandoned the provinces of the Rhine and Belgica. Alliances bound them to the Roman territory of central Gaul. They created the Merovingian kingdom from the northern Gallic provinces.⁶⁰

Conclusion

Without wanting to ignore the internal dynamics of tribal society in West Europe during the periods discussed above, it is clear that their political and economic development was stimulated through influence stemming from the more evolved Mediterranean area. Through incorporation in the formal or informal sphere of influence of this area that had itself achieved the level of empire, tribal society in the periphery advanced to the level of early state. In a certain sense, the Roman empire hereby brought about its own end. Expansion of the core area over the periphery was effected through the network of warfare and trade. The imperialism model of relations between western and third world developed by Fieldhouse, Robinson and Galtung focuses attention of the deficient controlability of a similar process and the decisive part taken by the elite of both areas. As a rule, the elite are those who are best remembered through written sources, their goods and monuments. These types of data are relatively scarcely sown in the region of Schelde-Meuse-Rhine-Ems, such that we concentrate on the archaeology of the common man - the auxiliary soldier or the native farmer. Culturally, the area was mainly peripheral during pre- and protohistory which has resulted in the opportunity to study encounters between differing cultural systems. Geologically, as the area was a transition zone between land and water, inhabitants were forced to extreme adjustments. These characteristics of the river basin area contribute to the very attractive possibilities for archaeological study directed at pre- and protohistoric societies, their socio-economic organization, their response to the natural milieu and their adjustments to new cultural systems.

Acknowledgement

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NOTES

This paper is the unchanged version of an inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Amsterdam on 31 January 1983.

- 1 Blussé/Wesseling/Winius 1980
- 2 Wallerstein 1980
- 3 Brewster 1980, 80; Ekholm/Friedman 1980, 71.
- 4 S. a.o. Marx and Schumpeter; Mommsen 1980², 81.
- 5 Robinson (1972) 1976; Fieldhouse 1981.
- 6 Galtung 1973 and 1981.
- 7 Tribe: Service 1971², 125-6; Kloos 1976³, 28; State: Claessen/Skalnik 1981, 485-9; Empire: Service 1971², 166; Thapar 1981, 410; Ekholm/Friedman 1980, 70; economic system: Dalton 1968, XII-XVII; Smith 1976.
- 8 Bloemers 1980 and 1983. For a comparable approach: Hingley 1982.
- 9 Frankenstein/Rowlands 1978; Wells 1980, 47-51, 97-102, 116 and 141-2; Kimmig 1983, 50-65.
- 10 Wells 1980, 16-21; Bittel a.o. 1981, 256 Abb. 147, 258 Abb. 249 and 267 Abb. 157; Kimmig 1983, 34-43.
- 11 Fischer 1973, 455-9.
- 12 Van Doorselaer 1971, 10, De Laet 1979, 555-7.
- 13 Kossack 1953; Kimmig 1962-3, a.o. Abb. 5, but see also Pauli 1971; Verwers 1976; Bloemers/Willems 1980-1, 39.

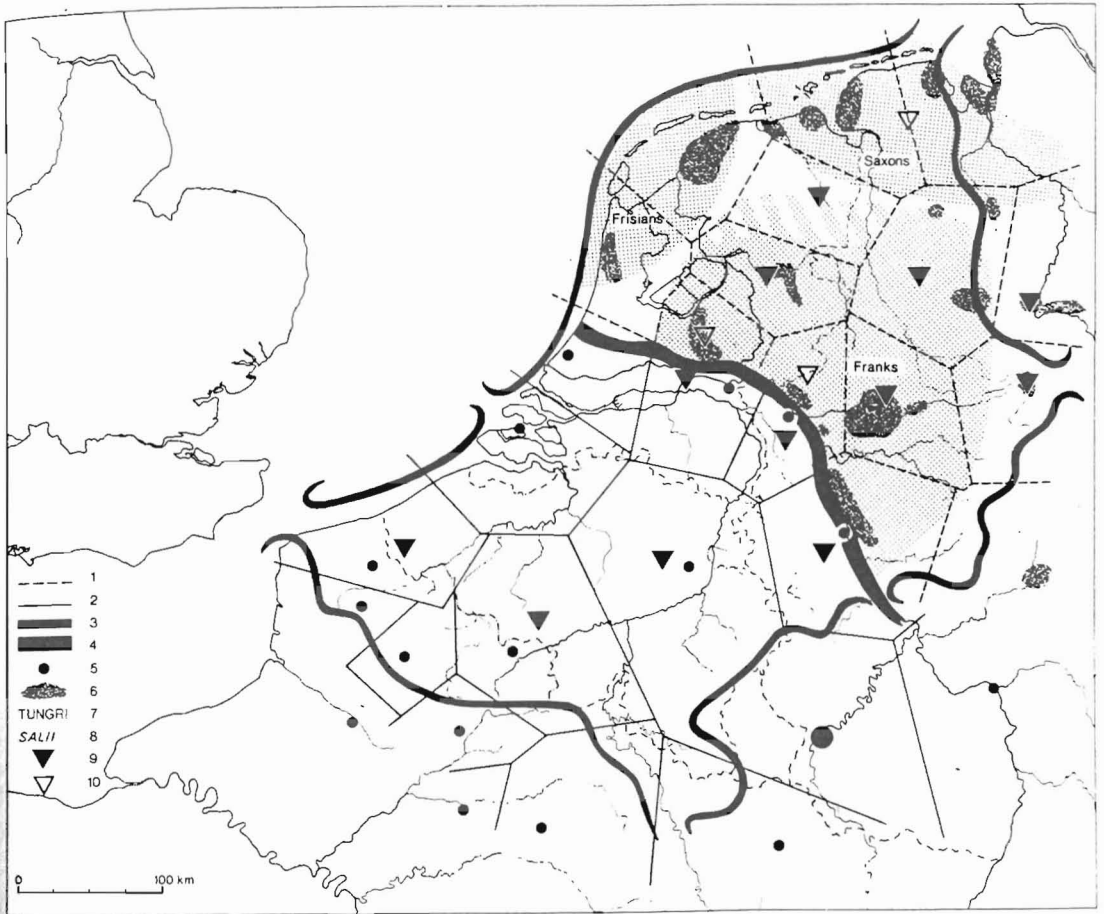


Fig. 3.6: Delta and hinterland of Schelde, Meuse, Rhine, Vecht and Eems (4th century A.D.) 1. boundaries of polygons (uncertain); 2. boundaries of polygons (likely); 3. limits of research rea; 4. frontier of Roman empire between c.50 and 400 A.D.; 5. capitals of civitates (see Fig. 4); 6. concentrations of native habitation; 7. tribes, known from 1st-3rd century sources; 8. tribes, known from 3rd and 4th century sources; 9. tribes, whose names were used in the 4th century to designate army units mentioned in the Notitia Dignitatum (after Hoffmann 1969); 10. tribes, whose names were used in the 4th century to designate army units mentioned in other sources

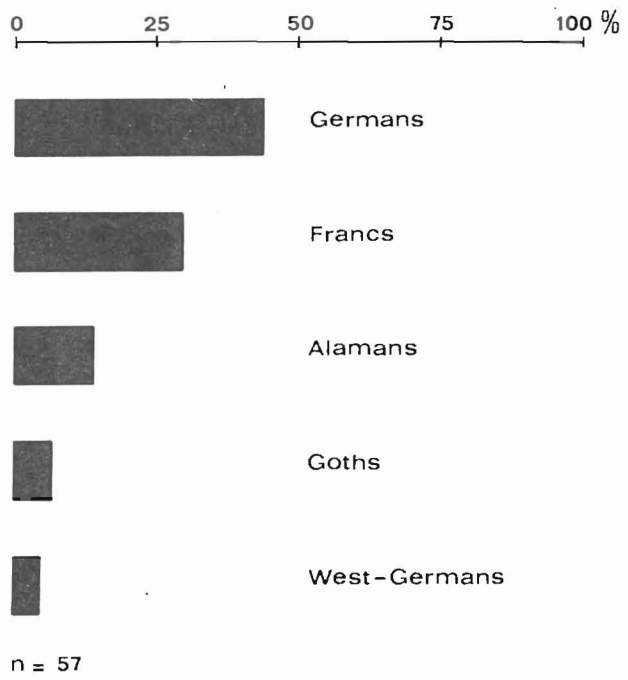


Fig. 3.7: Germans in Roman service in the 4th century A.D. After Waas 1965

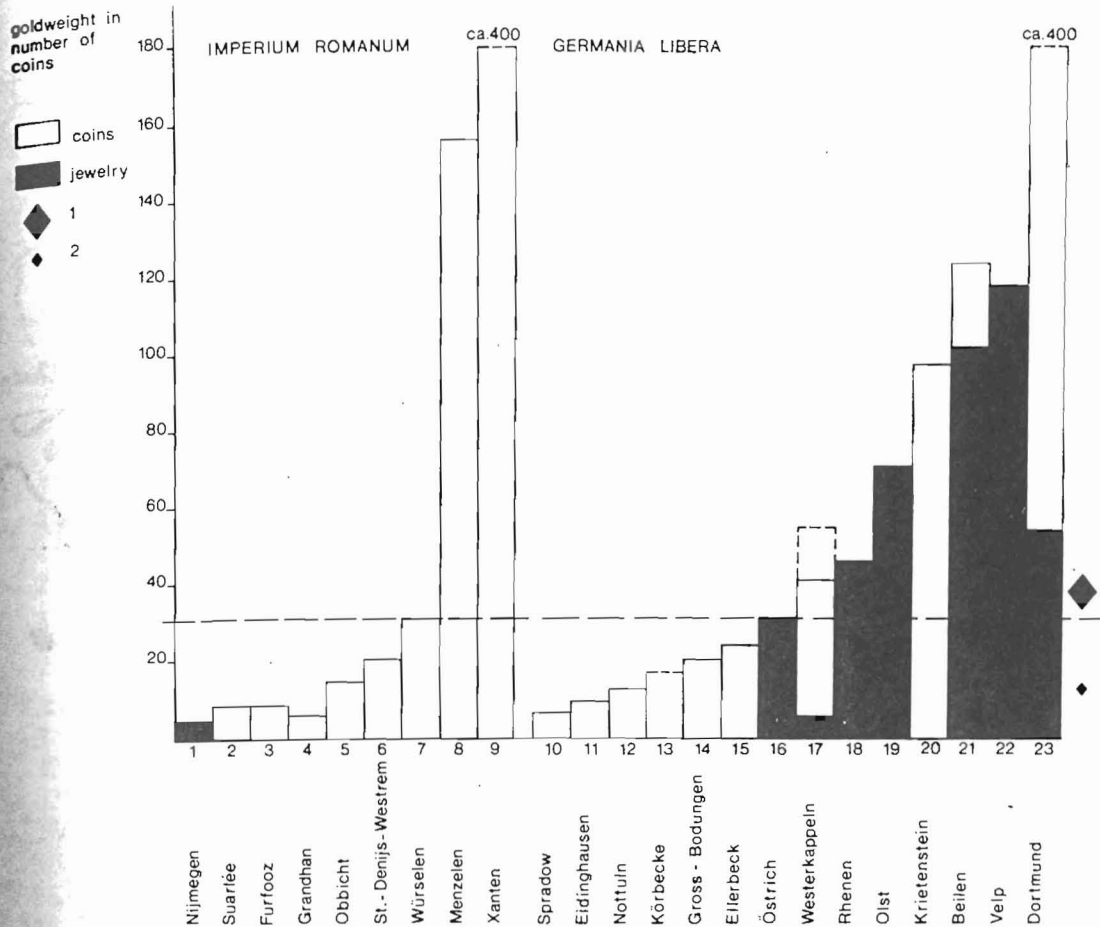


Fig. 3.8: Gold hoards (probably) hidden in the period c.375-425/450 A.D. Weights expressed in numbers of gold coins (solidi) of c.4.5 gr. on average. 1. 'large' gold hoards; 2. 'small' gold hoards

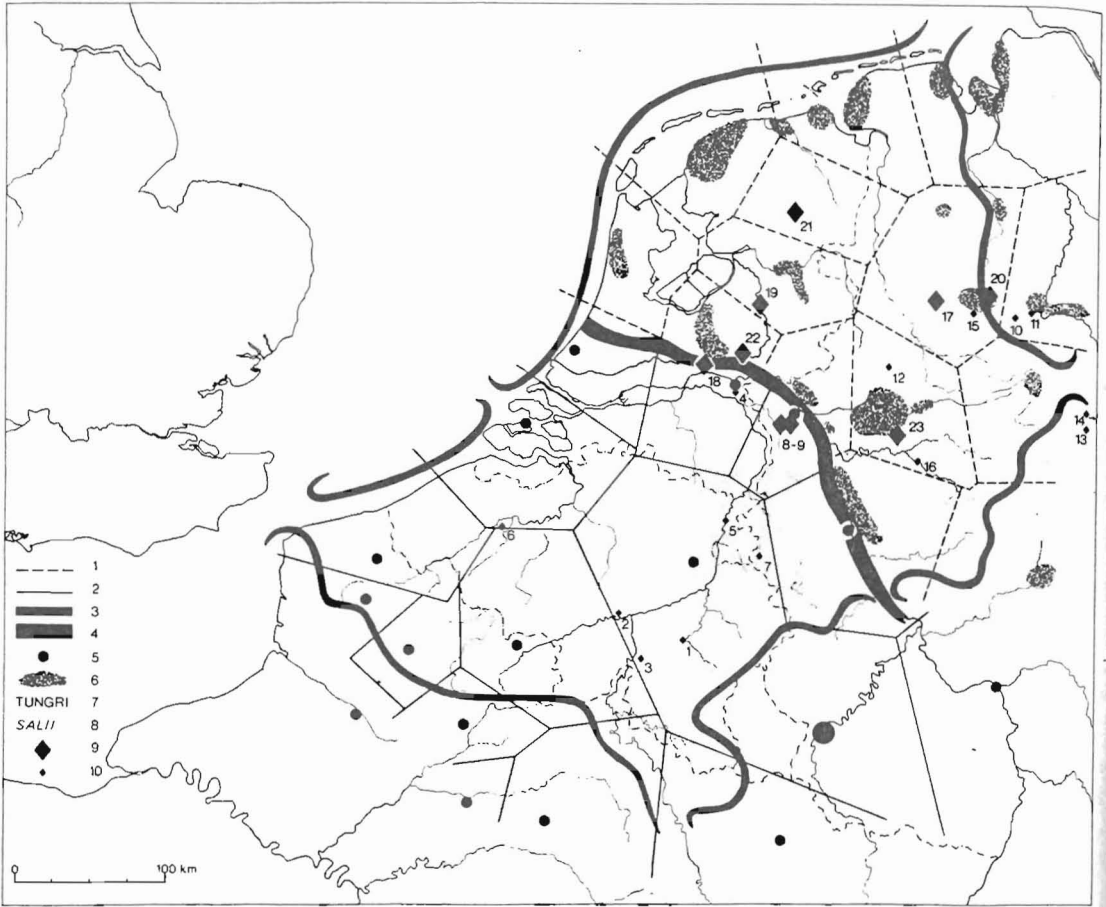


Fig. 3.9: Delta and hinterland of Schelde, Meuse, Rhine, Vecht and Eems (4th century A.D.). 1. boundaries of polygons (uncertain); 2. boundaries of polygons (likely); 3. limits of research area; 4. frontier of Roman empire between c.50 and 400 A.D.; 5. capitals of civitates; 6. concentrations of native habitation; 7. tribes, known from 1st-3rd century sources; 8. tribes, known from 3rd and 4th century sources; 9. 'large' gold hoards (see Fig.3.8); 10. 'small' gold hoards (see Fig.3.8)

- 14 Bittel a.o. 1981, 68-9; Collis 1982, 77 note 1.
 15 Nash 1981, 15; Scheers 1981, 23 note 8; Stary 1981, 302.
 16 Colbert de Beaulieu 1973, 173-80, Nash 1976, 123 Fig. 11; Scheers 1977,
 17 and 1981, 23 note 10. For the chronological aspects: Polenz 1982, 133-
 46.
 17 Nash 1981, 13
 18 Nash 1978, 467-8
 19 A.o. Garnsey/Whittaker 1978, 1-2; North 1981
 20 A.o. Tierney 1959-60, 193-7.
 21 Frankenstein/Rowlands 1978, 109-10.
 22 Caesar, **De Bello Gallico** I; Brunt 1978, 179.
 23 Caesar, **De Bello Gallico** IV.16 (Ubii), IV.10 and VI (Britannia), V. 26 sqq.
 and VI (Eburones), VI (Arverni a.o.).
 24 Nash 1978, 467-70; 1981, 15-6; 1984, 95-8; Caesar, **De Bello Gallico** VI.
 13-6 and 20.
 25 Collis 1975, 32-6 and 1982, 74 Fig. 9.1.
 26 Nash 1976, 125-6 and 1981, 12-3; Scheers 1977, 17-8.
 27 Nash 1976, 114-7 and 1978, 458-60; Tchernia 1983; Galliou 1984.
 28 Auxiliaries: a.o. Caesar, **De Bello Gallico** 11.24 (Treveri); IV.34 and VI.7
 (Atrebatas); VIII.11 (Remi/Lingones); VII.67, 70, VIII.,10, 13 and 36
 (Germans); III.25 and VIII.10 (Galli). Intrigue and hostages, Caesar, **De**
Bello Gallico V.3 and II.5.
 30 Kraft 1951, 25-6; Alföldy 1968, 78.
 31 Gechter 1979, 3-38 and 71-6.
 32 Cassius Dio LVI.18; Tacitus, **Germania** 7, 11, 15 - 16; Timpe 1970, 85-8.
 33 Schmid/Zimmerman 1976; Harsema 1980, 36-43.
 34 Wilhelmi 1967, 15-31.
 35 Tacitus, **Germania**, 28.
 36 Tacitus, **Ann.** 1.57-8; Rüger 1968, 20.
 37 Alföldy 1968, 77-8 and 111-6; Timpe 1970, 55-62.
 38 Groenman-van Waateringe 1980, 1037-44.
 39 Krüger 1976, 46-9.
 40 Agache 1978.
 41 Deae Nehalennia 1971; Schlippschuh 1974, 148-9.
 42 Bloemers 1978, 208-15; Casparie 1978; Krier 1981, 172.
 43 Bogaers 1960-1, 268-71; Ruger 1968; Van Es 1981², 235-6; Bechert 1982,
 47-51
 44 Alföldy 1968, 86.
 45 Bogaers/Ruger 1974.
 46 Alföldy 1968, 151 and 160-1.
 47 Plinius, **Min. Ep.** 11.7.2; Tacitus, **Ann.** XI.6.
 48 Hedeager 1978.
 49 Van Es 1960; Boersma 1963 and 1967.
 50 Tacitus, **Germania** 5.
 51 Bloemers 1983.
 52 Carson/Hill/Kent 1965.
 53 Roosens 1967; Böhme 1974.
 54 Jelgersma e.o. 1970, 144; Roeleveld 1974, 112.
 55 Luttwak 1976; Von Petrikovits 1978, 218-30; Willems 1983.
 56 Van Berchem 1976.
 57 Böhme 1974.
 58 Waas 1965.
 59 Waterbolk/Glasbergen 1955; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1955; Van Es 1967.
 60 Von Petrikovits 1978, 277-81; Ewig 1980, 9-17.

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