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A shorter history of Maastricht: Maastricht from Roman times to the Middle Ages

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Publication date

2009

Document Version

Submitted manuscript

Published in

Guidebook: 60th Sachsensymposium 19-23 September 2009 Maastricht: Transformations in North-Western Europe (AD 300-1000)

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Panhuysen, T. A. S. M. (2009). A shorter history of Maastricht: Maastricht from Roman times to the Middle Ages. In T. Panhuysen (Ed.), *Guidebook: 60th Sachsensymposium 19-23 September 2009 Maastricht: Transformations in North-Western Europe (AD 300-1000)* (pp. 38-44). University of Amsterdam/Gemeente Maastricht.
<http://www.sachsensymposion.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Maastricht-2009.pdf>

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A SHORTER HISTORY OF MAASTRICHT

Maastricht from Roman times to the Middle Ages

by

Titus A.S.M. Panhuysen

INTRODUCTION

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

Closely associated with the Roman as well as the subsequent Christian period is the person of Servatius, the first Bishop of nearby Tongeren, who, according to legend, is said to have been buried in Maastricht (d. 384 ?) and has been for centuries patron saint of the town. The legendary fame of Servatius and his successors, plus the manifest presence of the majestic church which marks his resting place, have meant that the city's historic past has never been put into question. Thanks to Servatius and an early conversion to Christianity, Maastricht is a city which traditionally shows less of a hiatus between ancient times and the Middle Ages than elsewhere in the Netherlands. Whether or not Maastricht was a Roman settlement with urban characteristics, it certainly became an important centre of power in the early Middle Ages. Written sources, increasing in number from the 6th century onwards, clearly illustrate this. Despite the loss of the Episcopal see to Liège at the beginning of the 8th century, Maastricht consolidated and strengthened its position. The Servatius Abbey, founded on the site of the memorial church of the saint during the Merovingian period, played an important role in this development.

For a long period this abbey was the focal point for the spiritual and secular leaders to struggle for domination over Lower-Lorraine. Until Maastricht was walled in the early 13th century, the abbey lay outside the town, on the west side, where the ancient burial-grounds were situated alongside the road to Tongeren. In the beginning of the 10th century Duke Gislebert of Lorraine is said to have renewed a wall around the abbey and the imperial palace. Traces of this defensive wall, and a 2

metre wide and 35 metre long part of the northern back facade of the palace, seem to have been discovered between 1980 and 1990 west and north of the Vrijthof-area.

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

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

The town plan of Maastricht is an important basis for numerous comparative historical studies. However, it is a pity that the rigid pattern of the late Middle Ages has left little that can be recognised from the earlier development. Written records also provide us with little concrete information to form proper judgments about earlier times. It is only since organized and large-scale archaeological research has been carried out beneath the streets of Maastricht from 1979 onwards that we have gained a new source of information for the period before 1000. Countless archaeological finds can provide a great stimulus for the continuing research into the earliest history of the development of Maastricht. The collection of archaeological finds and data in Maastricht would appear to give us an excellent base on which to study continuity from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages and for studies into the origins of the fortified medieval town. The University of Amsterdam and the Town of Maastricht agreed in 2003 to cooperate in researching and publishing a range of old excavations from the 20th century in the so-called Saint Servatius Project.

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

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

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

law of the first Roman emperor Augustus (27 BC - 14 AD), who was then governor in Gallia (20-19 BC). Most of the settlements along this road date from the second decade BC.

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

A WALLED FORT (4th CENTURY AD)

Finds which date from the last decades of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century are scarce. It seems as if a large part of the settlement, but not all of it, was destroyed around 270 AD. There are indications for the construction of a slapdash fortification shortly after, but a real fort was not built on the site before the second quarter of the 4th century. In fact it was no more than a bridgehead, a small castrum, on the west bank of the river Meuse, cut through by the old, slightly westward-shifted, road from Tongeren. The first traces of this fort were discovered in the early 20th century. During the renovation of the Stokstraat area in the 1950s and 1960s, more discoveries were made and in recent years a plan of the castrum could be almost completely reconstructed. Through dendrochronological dating of the oak foundation pillars of one of the riverside wall towers, it was possible to establish the construction date of the wall: the oaks were chopped down in the spring of 333 AD. The fort had a rectilinear plan of approximately 170 metres long by 90 metres wide, the longitudinal side bordering on to the river. The fort had 10 circular wall and corner towers and two solid rectangular gates. A wide and largely dry ditch was dug outside the walls. At the same time as the fort was completed, it is likely that the old crossing across the Meuse was restored. Exactly how the internal morphology appeared within the walls is still a point for conjecture. One building, mistaken since its discovery in the beginning of the last century for the 6th-7th century episcopal church, dates from the first building phase of the fort and undoubtedly functioned originally as a horreum or grain store. This type of building is often found in 4th century supply stations for the army. Next to the west gate and set against the inside of the defensive wall, was what was probably a storeroom or barracks, built on the remains of the previous enclosure wall of the sanctuary and a series of reused blocks originating from destroyed buildings and impressive decorated funeral monuments. Some rooms belonging to the former bath-house were once again used for this purpose or put to other uses. There is some uncertainty about the inhabitants of the fort in its early stages.

Obviously the castrum was built for military purposes (food supply and bridge surveillance) and initially not necessarily as a refuge for the local population.

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

TONGEREN, SERVATIUS AND CHRISTIANITY

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

Legend has it that Servatius wanted to move the bishop's see from Tongeren to Maastricht. Whatever influence Servatius may or may not have had in this, it was not until the 6th century that the first bishops of Maastricht appear in front of historical footlights. We have to conclude that the Episcopal see didn't move to Maastricht until the beginning or the middle of the 6th century. The exact reasons for the promotion of Maastricht to cathedral city are not known, but one can suspect that it had something to do with the decline of Tongeren as an urban centre and the rise of Maastricht as centre of power, with its much more favourable geographical position on the river. Maastricht must have had a flourishing Christian community from the late 4th or early 5th century onwards. The evidence for this may be found in a series of early Christian gravestones, and also in the many unfurnished inhumations from that period under the St. Servatius Church. At this time Samian ware with Christian motifs also came particularly into fashion in Maastricht. Between the middle of the 4th century and the end of the 5th century, the population both within and outside the fortified centre increased.

Evidence of traditional high-grade stone construction is lacking, but instead we find remains of timber framed building. Outside the walls there are traces of pit houses. The nature of the remains

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

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

AN EARLY MEDIEVAL CITY: URBS TREIECTENSIS

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

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

provided many weapons as grave goods. The Boschstraat site however showed the existence of a simpler, probably agrarian, population with a predominance of women and children.

What did the settlement look like during this period? A number of the older topographical elements provided important landmarks. For example, the castrum probably accommodated the domus ecclesiae of the bishops. Excavations in 1981-82 to the south of the Roman fort showed that a new ditch had been made around it at the end of the 5th or in the early 6th century. During excavations under Hotel Derlon in 1983 almost no artefacts from the period 500-700 were found within the walls. This information could argue the supposition that the bishop founded his cathedral and the domestic and utility buildings within the walls of the Maastricht castrum. The most important argument for this, however, is the only church which is ever likely to have had the status of cathedral: the church of Our Lady. In contrast to the minor elevation of the ground level within the fortifications resulting from the site's special function, black layers of rubbish accumulated during these centuries outside the fort. The surface level rose so quickly that the Roman fortifications themselves became 'sunken'. The new ditch must soon have been filled in, since the population built their dwellings right up against the defensive walls. The castrum must have remained a visible element in the topography of the settlement until the 10th century. This meant that the plan of the Roman fort influenced the pattern of streets around it and that this pattern developed in the early Middle Ages.

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

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

The west cemetery, which was certainly used by Christians, became a factor of increasing importance. As usual under Roman custom, these burial grounds lay outside the settlement. Perhaps the (family) tomb of the Late Roman bishop Servatius was here, or maybe this was only an invented tradition. Since the construction by Monulf in the middle of the 6th century of a burial church in honour of Servatius near his burial chapel we notice around the (so-called) saint's grave the growth

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

The church of St. Servatius was probably not the oldest church in Maastricht. That has to be sought elsewhere in the settlement, firstly within the walls of the 4th century fort. It concerns the original parish church of the Christian community, possibly afterwards the cathedral. Everything seems to suggest that the church of Our Lady can lay claim to this. The present Romanesque building, like so many other churches of its kind, lies at the corner of the former Roman castrum. Just north of the church and extending under its cloister, the enclosure of a Roman sanctuary had been uncovered in 1983 and 1996, probably preceded by a Celtic equivalent. The church is dedicated to Saint Mary, as was the first cathedral in Tongeren and the bishop's later Episcopal church in Liège. Archaeological arguments pointing to the residence of the bishops during at least two centuries within the walls of Maastricht, in particular in the immediate surroundings of the church of Our Lady have already been discussed above. However, no traces of this hypothetical early Christian church have ever been found yet. During the 1920s, the plan of a rectangular building, measuring inside 30.90 by 15.30 meters and divided into three naves, was discovered between the church of Our Lady and the Stokstraat. This was thought to be the Merovingian episcopal church, but proof of this has never been substantiated. Now we can conclude with some certainty that this was a 4th century grain store, built at the same time as the fort itself. However, this does not exclude the possibility that the hall was converted into a church building in the early Middle Ages.

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

The historical sources show that Maastricht was sometimes used as a residence for the Merovingian kings. This would mean that they had their own accomodation in the town. Although it is almost

certain that the later Roman-German sovereigns and the Dukes of Lorraine had a real palace in the neighbourhood of the St. Servatius Abbey from the early 10th century onwards, we must locate the Merovingian residence inside the fortified Roman castrum, as in numerous parallel cases. However, up to now, there has been not the slightest archaeological evidence to support this idea.

A reconstruction of the living quarters within the settlement presents a major problem. Systematic archaeological research carried out in the last decades of the last century has certainly given us more information on the residential quarters than merely an idea of their general location. In many places throughout the city centre, a more than one metre thick black layer has been found dating from this period, unfortunately only occasionally together with concrete indications of ground plans and infrastructure. The finds show evidence of long-lasting and intensive occupation and future research of these rich layers will offer us more important information about the nature of the settlement. However, some remains of houses have been found, such as on the south side of the Our Lady's Square where the stone foundations of half timber-framed houses dating from the 6th and 7th centuries were revealed. Elsewhere small parts of cobbled streets have been found, as well as boundary ditches. Traces of craft activities found at numerous locations have proved to be of special interest. These include worked bone material, bronze buckle and jewellery moulds, and pottery wasters as well as a number of kilns. In the Jodenstraat, the complete remains of a 6th century glass-bead manufactory were found.

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

TOWARDS THE WALLED CITY OF THE 13th CENTURY

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

It was between 700 and 1200 that Maastricht developed into a medieval town, at least in terms of size, function and the law. Of course there was not one specific moment we can distinguish when Maastricht suddenly became a city. It was, of course, granted numerous privileges as a town and the right to construct a city wall in 1229 was an important event in the ongoing process. However, despite the relative wealth of archaeological data from the period after 1000 and the 'frozen' topographical situation created by the wall's construction in 1229, we are still unable to make a reliable reconstruction of the city's urban development process.

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

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