From Attila to Charlemagne

Arts of the Early Medieval Period in
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia

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Arts of the Early Medieval Period in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Edited by
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and Charles T. Little

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
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Director's Foreword

The arts of the Early Medieval period form a major, yet little known, part of the outstanding collection from the Middle Ages in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Recent research on this fascinating period from approximately A.D. 400 to 800 yields a more comprehensive picture of what has been traditionally referred to as the Dark Ages or the Migration period. These centuries—bridging the Antique and Medieval worlds—experienced epochal changes. One was the spread of Christianity throughout Western Europe from its cradle in the Near East. Another was the movement southward and westward of huge numbers of Germanic and other peoples, prompted by the raids against the eastern Roman Empire of Attila, the charismatic, yet savage, Hunnic chieftain (d. 453). Only the intervention of Pope Leo I saved the Italian peninsula. Attila's actions, which earned him the title "Scourge of God," altered forever the face of the ancient world. At the other end of the chronological spectrum is Charlemagne, who was crowned Holy Roman emperor by Pope Leo III in 800 and who ultimately established a Christian Europe. By then, the transformation from the Ancient to the Medieval world was complete. The Metropolitan's rich collection of material vividly illuminates these changes.

With the appearance of **From Attila to Charlemagne: Arts of the Early Medieval Period in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,** the Museum introduces a new series. In this inaugural volume of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia, the vast wealth of objects assembled by J. Pierpont Morgan serves as a springboard for the first modern assessment of this pivotal Early Medieval European material by a distinguished team of specialists. In approaching a portion of its holdings from a more comprehensive and analytical point of view, the Metropolitan seeks to present an informed overview that will be of interest to diverse audiences. Future volumes will offer a variety of topics, but we begin with a glimpse of the rarely highlighted but exquisite Early Medieval collection. The 500-plus photographs in this volume dramatically testify to the depth, breadth, and beauty of this collection.

This publication also coincides with the opening of the Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries. In these galleries, a large selection of objects of rich personal adornment from the Byzantine and Early Medieval periods will be on view alongside objects from related artistic traditions and cultures.

Philippe de Montebello
Director

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Editors'
Preface

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is exceptionally rich in the arts of the Early Medieval period. These centuries that bridge Antiquity and the Middle Ages, from about A.D. 400 to 800, were ones of political turmoil, the result of extensive migrations of Germanic and other peoples and subsequent territorial consolidation. It was also a great age of "portable art," in which were produced objects ranging from elaborate weapon fittings and ornate buckles to gold brooches and other intricately designed and decorated jewelry. Besides their eminently practical function, such items affirmed positions of status and power among the many cultures and peoples, both barbarian and Christian—such as the Ostrogoths, the Langobards, the Franks, and the Anglo-Saxons—that formed post-Roman Europe.

Among the riches of the Metropolitan the vast extent of J. Pierpont Morgan's encyclopedic collecting activity is nowhere more evident than in the objects from the Early Medieval period. In fact, there are over eleven hundred objects in this area of Morgan's collecting that were donated to the Museum by his son in 1917. They form the nucleus of the Department of Medieval Art, which is also celebrated for its great treasures from Byzantium and the West in the High Middle Ages as well as for its little-known, but choice, collection of European antiquities from the Late Bronze Age through the first millennium of the Christian era.

The purpose of the present volume is to decipher and make available the wealth of Early Medieval material by placing it in its proper historical, cultural, and artistic context. For this purpose, extensive research was carried out by a team of distinguished international scholars. The origin of this material from many different locations across Europe is reflected in the maps opposite and on pages 14 and 19, indicating the find spots of known objects or sites from which they reportedly come. Among the important results of the research for this volume has been the establishment of provenances for pieces that had no recorded history.

The inspiration to study this rich collection began with J. Pierpont Morgan himself who commissioned the noted manuscript specialist Seymour de Ricci to catalogue his holdings. The three publications were privately printed in the years 1910 and 1911. Although only one hundred and fifty copies of each were available, the volumes were heavily illustrated. As de Ricci observed in his Introduction, "A photograph is the best of all descriptions."

The core of the present volume consists of papers that were delivered at a symposium entitled "The Morgan Collection and Related Migration Period Material" that was held at the Museum on May 22 and 23, 1995. These have been supplemented by papers given as lectures, subsequently delivered at the Museum, or by invited contributions. There are three linking essays (5, 11, and 18), drafted by Dafydd Kidd. The first provides a historical context for the wider discussion of the objects. The other two highlight selected themes and technical aspects running throughout the collection and put into context some recent acquisitions and related objects in other departments. Finally, an extensive checklist includes all the objects in the Museum's collection that are illustrated in this volume, representing about one-third of the holdings in this area. For this, much new

Oliver and Barbara Deppert-Lippitz indicate the complex historical and contemporary Mediterranean influences on the Early Medieval European jeweler.

A series of regional studies by Inciser Gürçay Damm, Lidia Paroli, and Gisela Ripoll López emphasize the wide geographical extent of the collection, from southern Russia and Italy to Spain, while Volker Bierbrauer and Wilfried Menghin treat the wide-reaching significance of outstanding individual pieces of jewelery.

The paper by the late Otto von Hessen reinterprets the Museum's collection of Langobardic gold earrings, and Horst Böhme takes a key Provincial Roman group and puts it in its historical and political context. The cultural enigma still surrounding a Balkan gold treasure is demonstrated by Csanád Bálint and Éva Garam.

The papers of Max Martin and Patrick Périn, emphasizing the role of jewelry within contemporary Merovingian costume, are complemented by studies of individual artefact types by Vera Evison and Birgit Arrhenius. All of these underline the outstanding importance of the Merovingian component of the collection.

The richness of the animal style of ornamentation is evident from the contributions of John Hines, Helmut Roth, and Jan Peder Lamm. In the concluding paper, Victor H. Elbern examines an outstanding fusion of pagan and Christian art at the beginning of the Carolingian era.

The Early Medieval European objects assembled over the years by J. Pierpont Morgan are outstanding in the Americas. The international collaboration in this publication by some of the most outstanding scholars in Europe and the United States is a mark of the pre-eminent position of this collection among museums of the world. At the same time, these objects belong not only to the heritage of Europe, but also to that of the New World, since they now form the single most extensive collection of its kind in the Americas.

The organization of this volume into its present form is due in large measure to a remarkable team effort at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The creation of a comprehensive database for tracking information, captions, and technical information is the work of the Department of Medieval Art's Senior Technician and deus ex machina, Thomas Vinton. Christine Brennan and especially Theo Margelony of the Department of Medieval Art gave shape to both the database and the manuscript. The early decision to generate all new digital photographs for this publication, while posing many technical challenges, has been accomplished professionally and with artistic élan by Anna-Marie Kellen of the Museum's Photograph Studio under the direction of Barbara Bridgers. The new knowledge gained about the physical aspects of the objects studied here, their materials, construction, and condition, is due to the efforts of Pete Dandridge, Conservator in the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation. In addition, many objects have been newly conserved and treated by Pete Dandridge so that their beauty and originality are now clearly visible. Lisa Pilosi, Conservator in the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, worked on the Migration period glass.

Colleagues in related departments generously made objects available for study, particularly Joan Mertens, Curator, Greek and Roman Art, Stuart Pyhrr and Donald J. LaRocca, Curators, Arms and Armor, and Jessie McNab, Associate Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. Merantine Hens ably superintended the intricacies of technical production. Complementing the visual presentation are new maps created by Adam Hart of the Museum's Design Department, a project for which Lydia Carr provided research. Other research interns, especially Françoise Barbe, Sarah Spinner, and Nicole Carnevale supplied welcome aid. In the Department of Medieval Art, Helen Evans, Curator, and Melanie Holcomb,

KNOWN FIND SPOTS OF OBJECTS
FROM THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD
ILLUSTRATED IN THIS VOLUME

Find spots "said to be from" a particular site, or from its vicinity, are in italics.
For find spots within area indicated by square box, see figs. 3.1 and 3.8.

information has been gained from physical examination, technical analysis, and conservation in the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation.

The richness and eclecticism of the Morgan material and the diverse scholarly backgrounds of the authors are reflected in the variety of approaches and presentations of the papers. No attempt has been made to impose a standard format or an artificial uniformity. The resulting volume amply

demonstrates the possibilities and limitations of the collection.

William Wixom and Katharine Brown begin by setting the collecting activities of J. Pierpont Morgan in their American context, while Françoise Vallet and Elke Nieveler sketch the background of European collecting during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the period in which the majority of the Early Medieval collection was originally brought together. Andrew

Colorplates

1, 2 Late Roman and Byzantine Styles

Pair of bracelets. Gold. Late Roman, 5th century. From near Antinoë or Assiût, Egypt. Diameter 7 cm. (17.190.1669, back view; .1668, front view)

Pair of bracelets. Gold, silver, pearl, amethyst, sapphire, glass, quartz. Byzantine, 6th–7th century. From near Antinoë or Assiût, Egypt. Diameter 8.2 cm. (17.190.1671, front view; .1670, back view)

3 The Vermand Treasure

(A) Rectangular mount. Gilt silver, niello. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Length 9.4 cm. (17.192.144)

(B) Spear-shaft mount. Gilt silver, niello. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Length 12.2 cm. (17.192.145)

(C) Spear-shaft mount. Gilt silver, niello. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Length 3 cm. (17.192.143)

(D) Buckle. Gilt silver, niello. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Length 6 cm. (17.192.146)

4 The Continuity of Ornament

Buckle. Gilt silver, garnet. Ostrogothic, second half 5th–early 6th century. Length 16.4 cm. (95.15.103)

5 Garnet-Inlaid Gold Jewelry of the Fifth Century

(A) Bow brooch. Silver with gold sheet overlay, garnet. Eastern Germanic, first half 5th century. Length 16.7 cm. (47.100.19)

(B) Collar pendant. Gold, garnet, glass. Ostrogothic, late 5th–early 6th century. From Domagnano, Republic of San Marino. Length 4.4 cm. (17.190.698)

(C) Buckle. Gold, garnet. Hunnic (?), first half 5th century. Length 4.1 cm. (17.190.697)

(D) Attachment plate and tongue from a buckle. Gold, garnet. Frankish (?), second half 5th century. Length 4.9 cm. (95.15.93 and 95.15.102)

(E) Buckle. Gold, garnet. Byzantine, second half 5th–early 6th century. From Komárom-Szöny, Hungary. Length 3.4 cm. (1986.341)

6 Mediterranean Styles: Italy and Kent, ca. 600

(A) Disk brooch. Gold, gilt silver, niello, garnet, glass, gypsum paste. Anglo-Saxon (Kentish), early 7th century. From Teynham, Kent. Diameter 4.7 cm. (1987.90.1)

(B) Pendant. Gold, garnet. Anglo-Saxon (Kentish), early 7th century. From Teynham, Kent. Diameter 2.8 cm. (1987.90.2)

(C) Pendant. Gold, garnet. Anglo-Saxon (Kentish), early 7th century. Diameter 2.8 cm. (1987.90.3)

(D) Disk brooch. Gold, glass, onyx. Langobardic, first half 7th century. Diameter 6.1 cm. (95.15.101)

(E) Disk brooch. Gold. Langobardic, late 6th–mid 7th century. Diameter 7.7 cm. (52.30)

7 Merovingian Brooches of the Sixth Century

(A) Bird brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, late 6th century. Length 3.7 cm. (17.192.181)

(B) Bird brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, late 5th–early 6th century. Length 3.1 cm. (17.191.167)

(C) Cloisonné bird brooch. Gold, garnet, glass, pearl. Frankish, first half 6th century. Length 3.3 cm. (17.191.165)

(D) Rosette brooch. Gilt silver, niello, garnet. Frankish, 6th century. Diameter 2.6 cm. (17.191.158)

(E) S-brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. 6th century. Length 3 cm. (17.192.184)

(F) Cloisonné star-shaped brooch. Gilt silver, garnet, glass, pearl. Frankish, 6th century. Diameter 2.2 cm. (17.191.154)

(G) Cloisonné disk brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, first half 6th century. Diameter 2.6 cm. (17.191.149)

(H) Lobed disk brooch. Gilt copper alloy, niello, garnet. 6th century. Diameter 3.3 cm. (17.192.38)

(I) Cloisonné disk brooch. Gilt silver, garnet, mother-of-pearl (?). Frankish, first half 6th century. Diameter 2.2 cm. (17.191.147)

(J) Cloisonné disk brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, second half 6th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter 2.4 cm. (17.193.7)

(K) Brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, second half 6th century. Diameter 3.6 cm. (17.191.38)

(L) Cloisonné rosette brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Second half 6th century. Diameter 3 cm. (17.191.142)

8 A Masterpiece of Germanic Animal Ornament

Radiate-headed brooch. Gilt silver, niello. Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century. Length 15.7 cm. (55.56)

9 Merovingian Filigree Gold Brooches

(A) Filigree disk brooch. Gold, silver, iron, glass, mother-of-pearl. Frankish, mid 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter 4.4 cm. (17.193.83)

(B) Filigree disk brooch. Gold, copper alloy, glass, garnet. Frankish, first half 7th century. Diameter 3.1 cm. (17.191.140)

(C) Filigree lobed disk brooch. Gold, glass, mother-of-pearl. Frankish, second half 7th century. Diameter 3 cm. (17.192.92)

(D) Filigree bossed disk brooch. Gold, glass, silver, iron. Frankish, second half 7th century. Diameter 4.5 cm. (17.191.27)

10 Merovingian Filigree Gold Brooches

(A) Filigree disk brooch. Gold, copper alloy, glass, garnet, calcite. Frankish, second half 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter 5.8 cm. (17.193.59)

(B) Filigree bossed disk brooch. Gold, copper alloy, glass, garnet. Frankish, second half 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter 4.5 cm. (17.193.70)

(C) Filigree bossed quatrefoil brooch. Gold, garnet, glass, pearl, silver. Frankish, second half 7th century. From Férebrianges or Petit Troussy, France. Diameter 5 cm. (17.191.134)

(D) Filigree quatrefoil brooch. Gold, moonstone, glass, garnet, mother-of-pearl, pearl. Frankish, second half 7th–early 8th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter 5.8 cm. (17.193.90)

11 A Langobardic Drinking Horn

Glass. Langobardic, 6th–7th century. Length 21 cm. (91.1.1407)

12 The Earlier Glass Vessels

(A) Bowl with ring foot. Glass. Gallo-Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Steinfort, Luxembourg. Height 9.2 cm. (81.10.163)

(B) Claw beaker. Glass. Merovingian, 6th century. From Bellenberg-Vöhringen, Germany. Height 18.5 cm. (81.10.189)

13 The Later Glass Vessels

(A) Palm cup. Glass. Frankish, 7th–early 8th century. Height 7.0 cm. (17.193.403)

(B) Globular beaker. Glass. Frankish, late 6th–7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 9.5 cm. (17.193.333)

(C) Globular beaker. Glass. Frankish, 6th–7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 7 cm. (17.193.335)

14 The Mediterranean Continuity of Inlaid Iron

Horse bit. Iron, silver, brass, gold. Byzantine or Hispano-Visigothic, 7th–early 8th century. From Andalucía, Spain. Length 27 cm. (47.100.24)

15 The Merovingian Development of Inlaid Iron

Belt set: (A) counter plate, (B) buckle; (C) backplate. Iron, silver, copper alloy. Merovingian, late 6th–early 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Length 11.2 cm; 15.3 cm; 7.3 cm. (17.193.161-.163)

16 Scandinavian Eighth-Century Animal Interlace

Detail of decoration on bow of disk-on-bow-brooch. Gilt copper alloy, garnet. Vendel period, 8th century. Length of detail 8.1 cm. (47.100.25)

17 Back Cover of the Lindau Gospel

Silver gilt, garnet, and enamel. Carolingian, late 8th century. Height 34 cm., width 26.4 cm. (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M. 1)

18 The Vrap Treasure: The Gold and Silver Vessels

(clockwise from left)

Bucket. Silver. Byzantine, 7th century. Height 18.5 cm. (17.190.1707)

Chalice. Gold. Byzantine, 7th century. Height 16.8 cm. (17.190.1711 a)

Chalice with personifications of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Cyprus (?). Gold. Byzantine, 7th century. Height 17 cm. (17.190.1710)

Chalice. Gold. Byzantine, 7th century. Height 17 cm. (17.190.1712 a)

Ewer with inscription. Silver, partly gilt. Byzantine, 7th century. Height 23.2 cm. (17.190.1704)

Bowl. Gold. Avar (?), 7th–8th century. Height 4.7 cm. (17.190.1708)

Bowl. Gold. Avar (?), 7th–8th century. Height 5 cm. (17.190.1709)

Bowl. Silver. Byzantine, 7th century. Height 6.5 cm. (17.190.1705)

Plate 1

Plate 2

A   B   C

D

Plate 3

From Attila to Charlemagne

Plate 4

B

A

D

C

E

Plate 5

From Attila to Charlemagne

A

B

C

D

E

Plate 6

A   B   C

D   E   F

G   H   I

J   K   L
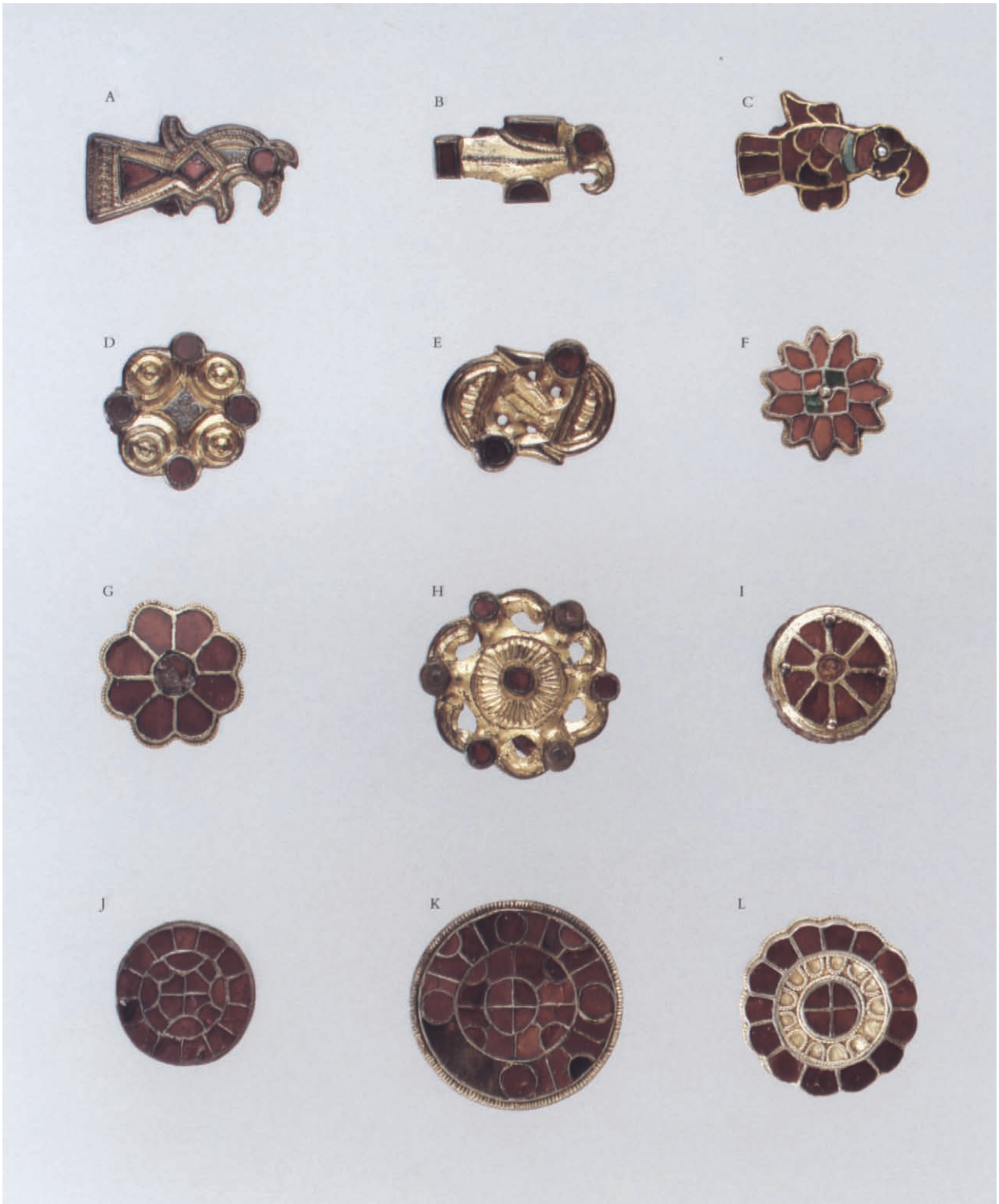
Plate 7

From Attila to Charlemagne

Plate 8

Plate 9

From Attila to Charlemagne

Plate 11

From Attila to Charlemagne

Plate 10

Plate 14
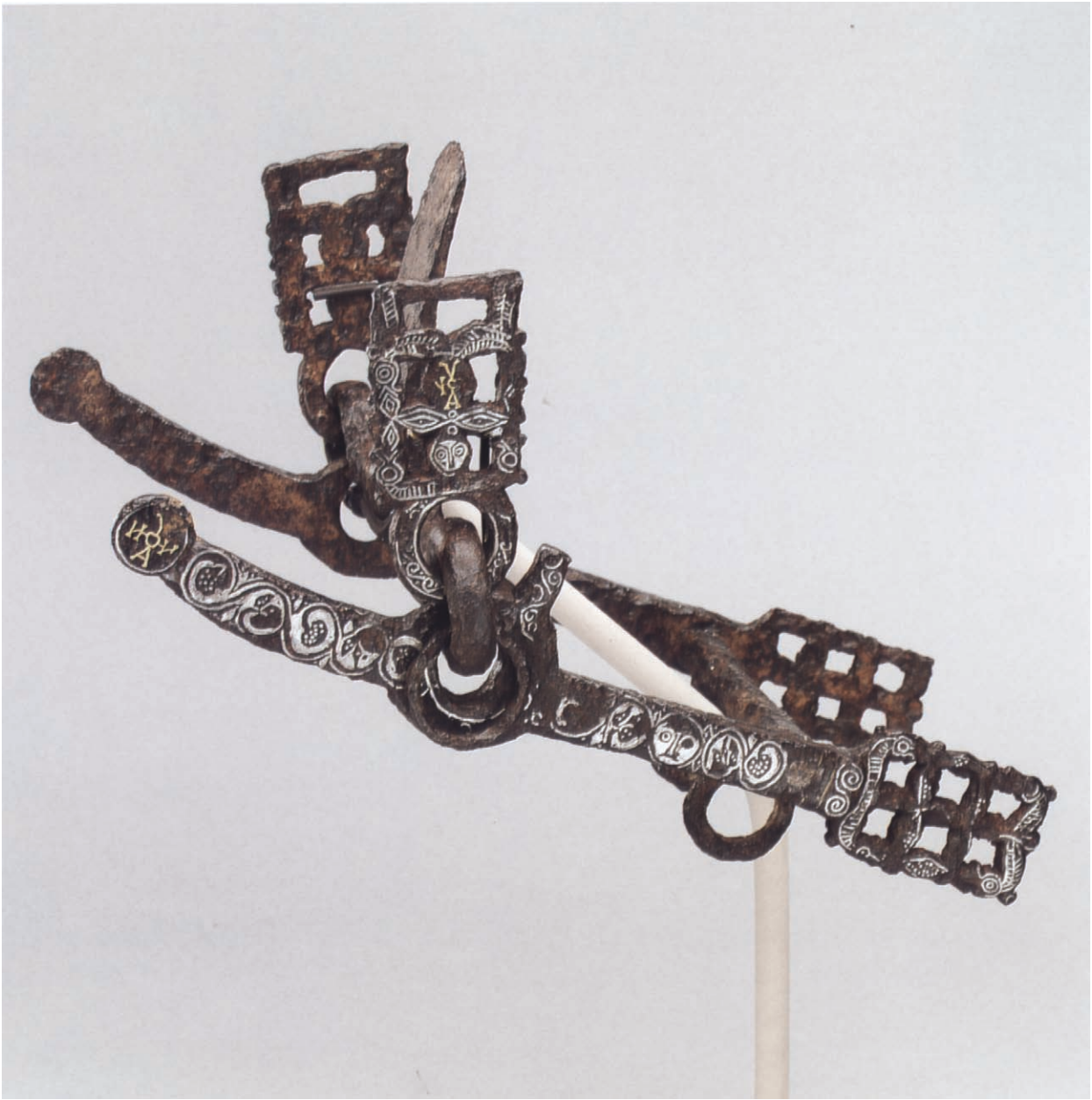
From Attila to Charlemagne

Plate 12

Plate 13

Plate 16

From Attila to Charlemagne

Plate 15

Plate 18

From Attila to Charlemagne

Plate 17

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia

From Attila to Charlemagne

1. Morgan—The Man and the Collector

J. Pierpont Morgan was born in 1837 into a socially and economically well-established New England family. He was schooled in Hartford, Connecticut, and in Vevey, Switzerland; he studied for a year at the University of Göttingen in Germany. He traveled throughout Europe with his family and again, before he was twenty, with a cousin from Hartford, James Goodwin.[1] He continued and expanded his father's international banking interests and, in time, played a pivotal role in resolving the financial panics of 1893 and 1907, the United States Treasury crisis of 1895, and the billion-dollar steel merger of 1901.[2] The portrait of Morgan made in 1903 by the great photographer Edward Steichen suggests a man of commanding authority and strong will (fig 1.1).[3] Steichen wrote that Morgan's eyes were "like the headlights of an express train bearing down on you."[4] Certainly Morgan, large and portly, six feet in height, was an impressive physical presence.[5] He was a man of great intelligence, will, and, at times, formidable stubbornness. Yet, the testaments of those who knew him honored his cultivation, taste, and vision for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the city of New York, and the country.

His philanthropy, both timely and of major proportions, was based on his keen sense of public spirit and his idealistic vision. He also endeavored to honor his father with several of his gifts, such as the Morgan Memorial Wing at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford and three buildings given to the Harvard Medical School.[6] His largesse extended to many other institutions and causes: the National Gallery in London with the purchase of Velázquez's Rockeby Venus, the rebuilding of the collapsed Campanile in Venice, the building for the American Academy in Rome, the fund for the synod building and Cathedral of Saint John the Divine in New York, the library at Holyoke, Massachusetts, the American Museum of Natural History, the Metropolitan Opera, and last, but not least, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.[7] It was Morgan's son who established the Pierpont Morgan Library as a state-chartered reference library in 1924. The estimated total value of the cash gifts made during the elder Morgan's lifetime is over ten million pre-1914 dollars.[8]

Morgan, benefactor, trustee, and president of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, died in Rome on March 31, 1913, at the age of seventy-five. The Museum's trustees adopted a resolution the following day that both honored him and gave a revealing remembrance of his character. Five years later, they recorded an even longer resolution. Then, in 1920, they erected a commemorative plaque that was originally placed on the northwest pier supporting the central dome of the Great Hall.[9] With the renovation
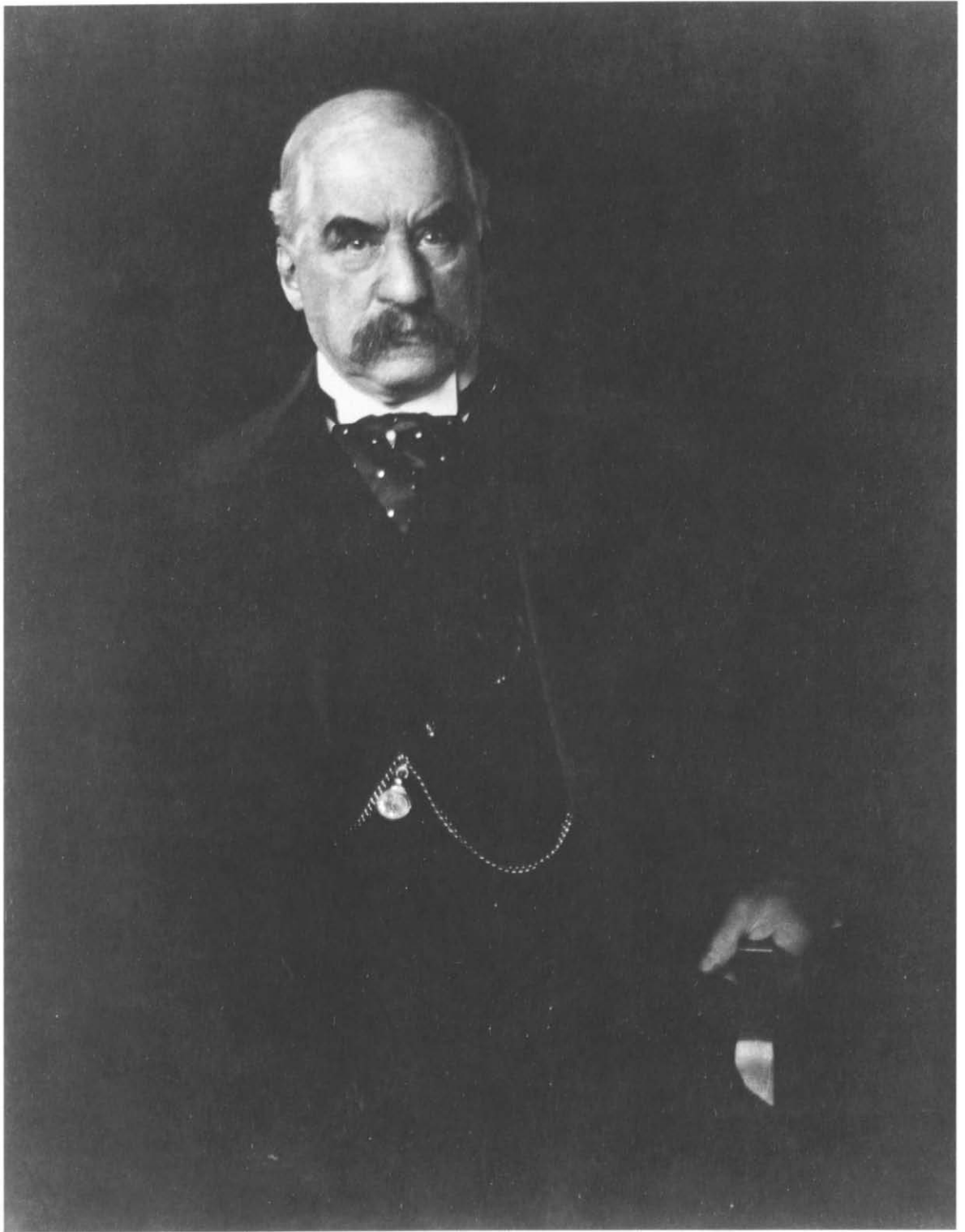
1.1 Photographic portrait (1903) of J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) by Edward Steichen (1879–1973). Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.55.167)

of this area in the 1970s, the memorial was moved to its present location at the south end of the Fifth Avenue vestibule. This relief, commemorating Morgan's service to the Museum, was commissioned from the American sculptor Paul Manship, who was assisted by Gaston Lachaise. Figures representing Commerce, Finance, and Science are on the left, while those for Art, Literature, and Archaeology are on the right (fig. 1.2). In the center the trustees recorded their sentiments, which read in part:

> He Was in All Respects a Great
> Citizen • He Helped to Make
> New York the True Metropolis of
> America • His Interest in Art Was
> Life Long • His Generous Devotion
> to It Commanded World Wide
> Appreciation • His Munificent
> Gifts to the Museum are Among
> Its Choicest Treasures

Morgan's collecting was wide-ranging and vast in scope.[10] He assembled 50 European paintings, more than 75 European sculptures, 260 Renaissance bronzes, 39 tapestries ranging from the Gothic period to the eighteenth century, 140 Italian majolicas, 700 eighteenth-century porcelains, 150 Renaissance and Baroque examples of Continental silver, 550 enamels of all kinds, 225 ivories (from the Middle Ages through the Baroque period), 900 portrait miniatures, 260 watches and clocks, and 140 examples of jewelry and objects in amber and crystal. There were many Old Master drawings; the Fairfax Murray collection, which he purchased, alone contained 1,500 sheets. There were a number of important examples of French eighteenth-century furniture. Many fine examples of incunabula also made up a significant part of his collection: rare printed books and bindings, autographs, which he started collecting in his youth, music manuscripts, and medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts too numerous to count. The distinguished group of Gallo-Roman, Germanic, and Merovingian antiq-

uities, the focus of the present publication, also attests to Morgan's broad taste and intense curiosity. These antiquities, as well as others, set Morgan's collection apart from the contents of the Wallace collection in London and the various Rothschild collections, which a number of commentators have cited as Morgan's models. The collection at Morgan's death in 1913 was valued at between fifty and sixty million dollars, but this figure is probably too low. If accurate, however, it represented nearly half of his entire fortune.[11]

The frenetic activity in assembling this enormous collection in the last ten to fifteen years of his life gave rise to a certain amount of international criticism. Wilhelm Bode, director of the then Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, lamented in *Kunst and Künstler* (1902–3) that Americans tried to dominate the art trade, purchasing "entire collections through agents, middlemen, and negotiators of a special kind. As they assembled their trusts [he is referring to Morgan, of course], they also endeavor to assemble their collections . . . They need art as advertisement, for their surroundings, and as a distraction. They lack the time, the knowledge, and the leisure to collect themselves; they only have the money with which to obtain anything . . . Those gentlemen from the iron trust stepped indeed with iron feet into the art market, stamping out the old order and creating a peculiar new one."[12] Bode was himself engaged a few years later by Morgan to write a catalogue of his Renaissance bronzes. In lieu of a cash honorarium, Morgan gave Bode a small panel painted by Fra Angelico, which is now part of the Berlin museum collections.[13] Of course Morgan had, and still has, the reputation as a buyer of whole collections, such as those of Oppenheim, Gréau, Ward, Queckenberg, Hoentschel, Le Breton, Marfels, Gutmann, Mannheim, Pfungst, Swenigorodskoi, and others.[14] Yet Morgan also demonstrated a keen interest in the individual work of art. His paintings, tapestries, Italian Renaissance majolica, Sèvres

ERECTED·BY·THE·MUSEUM
IN·GRATEFUL·REMEMBRANCE
OF·THE·SERVICES·OF
JOHN
PIERPONT
MORGAN
FROM·1871·TO·1913
AS·TRUSTEE·BENEFACTOR
AND·PRESIDENT
HE·WAS·IN·ALL·RESPECTS
A·GREAT·CITIZEN·HE
HELPED·TO·MAKE·NEW·YORK
THE·TRUE·METROPOLIS
OF·AMERICA·HIS·INTEREST
IN·ART·WAS·LIFELONG·
HIS·GENEROUS·DEVOTION
TO·IT·COMMANDED·WORLD
WIDE·APPRECIATION·
HIS·MAGNIFICENT·GIFTS·TO
THE·MUSEUM·ARE·AMONG
ITS·CHOICEST·TREASURES
VITA·PLENA
LABORIS
M·C·M·X·X

1.2 Limestone tablet in memory of
J. Pierpont Morgan (carved by Paul Manship,
1886–1966). Erected in the Great Hall of
The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1920.

porcelain, and ancient bronzes were certainly purchased individually.

While he sought the advice of experts—who were then engaged to write catalogues of parts of the collection—he was noted for exercising his own judgment decisively, sometimes even in the face of critical opinion from others. Against the advice of Edward Robinson, later director of the Metropolitan, he purchased a Roman cameo glass cup of the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. through Arthur Sambon (a dealer in Paris). This prized cup was later acquired by the Corning Museum of Glass.[15] A dealer once told Morgan that the Byzantine silver David plates from the Second Cyprus Treasure (actually made in seventh-century Constantinople), now the pride of the Metropolitan's Byzantine collection, were the work of a Neapolitan goldsmith. Morgan is reported to have replied, "Anything else this gentleman created, I should be interested in purchasing."[16] Thus, he had already achieved a disciplined taste of his own, cultivated since his youthful travels and study abroad.

There seems to have been an underlying plan to complete certain categories in the collection—Greek art, Renaissance bronzes, French porcelains, and others. But what was the purpose of Morgan's great collecting effort? Almost certainly the Metropolitan trustees answered this question in their resolution of 1918, stating that Morgan "believed that the happiness of a whole people can be increased through the cultivation of taste, and he strongly desired to contribute to that end among his own countrymen."

At the time of Morgan's death in 1913 and in the year after, the Metropolitan mounted two exhibitions with significant loans of Morgan objects that had been shipped from London, Paris, and elsewhere in Europe.[17] Other loans were already on view in various departmental galleries, such as a portion of the medieval works from the Hoentschel collection, as well as the Merovingian and Germanic antiquities and Egyptian and Graeco-Roman objects.

Certainly, the special exhibitions gave a glimpse of the broad scope and quality of Morgan's collecting efforts, though Morgan's own will did not specify his intentions for the future of the collection.[18] This task was entrusted to his son, who was faced with distributing the senior Morgan's generous financial bequests to members of his family, with the possible jeopardy of the Morgan bank, and with other concerns.[19] The result was the breakup and dispersal of the collection by gift or sale, starting in 1917. The Metropolitan received a vast assemblage of works ranging from antiquity to the nineteenth century, including some American paintings. The Morgan Memorial Wing at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford received a handsome group of objects as well. More than thirteen hundred pieces went there, including ancient glass and bronzes, a Roman porphry bathtub, Italian Renaissance majolica, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century silver-gilt works and ivories, seventeenth-century Venetian glass, eighteenth-century English ceramics, and eighteenth-century French and German porcelains.[20]

Other works, especially the paintings, the Chinese porcelains, and the best of the Renaissance bronzes and tapestries, were sold. Some of these may now be seen in the Frick Collection in New York, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles.[21]

The Pierpont Morgan Library, which was private before becoming semipublic in 1924, retained significant works. Manuscripts and book covers were, of course, of major importance to both Morgan and his son.[22] The Lindau Gospels, still housed at the Morgan Library as Morgan Manuscript 1, came originallyzfrom the monastery of that name on Lake Constance. At the urging of his nephew, Junius Spencer Morgan, who often acted as his agent, Morgan had purchased this late-eighth–late-ninth-century composite masterpiece in 1899 from the heirs of the fourth Earl of Ashburnham.[23]

One wonders whether the remarkable back book cover (see fig. 26.1 and pl. 17) may have had a sensitizing influence on Morgan as an immensely engaging introduction to, and a culmination of, several of the major traditions of Migration-period and Insular art.

Germain Seligman, in his book *Merchants of Art*, quotes a French aristocrat as saying of Morgan that he was "infinitely more a real lover of art than any of his compatriots and possessed a soul above dollars."[24] It was this soul that expanded in the love of art to include his fellow Americans. He wanted to make what he possessed "permanently available for the instruction and pleasure of the American people."[25] Such was his instruction to his son, as provided in his will. The dual thrust of his generosity to the nation and to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in particular was acknowledged shortly after his death on the cover of the Museum's *Bulletin* for April 1913, with the following words:

<div align="center">

J. Pierpont Morgan
Great Citizen
Of Great Heart, Great Mind
Great Will

Knowing that Art is Necessary to
Upholding the Ideals of a Nation, He
Gave to the Museum Generously of
His Possessions and More Generously
of Himself

</div>

1. Hedberg 1987, pp. 12–13.
2. L. H. Roth 1987, p. 26; Chernow 1990, pp. 58, 66, 71–73, 82–86, 99–100, 121–29; Strouse 1999, pp. 5, 14, 318–24, 400–411, 477, 565.
3. Chernow 1990, p. 86; Strouse 1999, p. 650.
4. Hibbard 1980, p. 19.
5. Strouse 1999, p. 3.
6. Hedberg 1987, p. 15; Chernow 1990, p. 119; Strouse 1999, pp. 282, 426.
7. Saarinen 1958, pp. 77, 79–80; Hedberg 1987, p. 24, no. 18; Harris 1987, p. 53.
8. Hedberg 1987, p. 24, no. 18.
9. Metropolitan Museum 1920, pp. 266–67 and unpaginated full-page illustration.
10. See Burroughs 1913a and L. H. Roth 1987, pp. 26–42.
11. Saarinen 1958, p. 63; Seligman 1961, p. 77; Chernow 1990, p. 119; Strouse 1999, pp. 7, 14.
12. Translation quoted from Weitzenhofer 1986, p. 63.
13. Bode 1995, pp. 106, 139 (ill.), no. 21.
14. Seligman 1961, pp. 69–73; Hedberg 1987, p. 19; L. H. Roth 1987, pp. 30, 36.
15. L. H. Roth 1987, p. 29, fig. 4.
16. Hibbard 1980, p. 102.
17. See note 10 above.
18. Dell (1995) quotes a codicil written less than three months before Morgan's death; Strouse 1999, pp. 684–85.
19. Chernow 1990, pp. 159, 172–73; Strouse 1999, pp. 684–85.
20. See L. H. Roth 1987.
21. See ibid., Appendix, p. 203 (a partial list). Important additions to this account should include: a Crucifixion triptych with Saints Nicholas and Gregory by Duccio and workshop, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; *Genoese Noblewoman with Her Child* by Anthony van Dyck, in the Cleveland Museum of Art; and *A Lady Writing* by Johannes Vermeer, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
22. Ibid., pp. 202–3; and Pierpont Morgan Library 1993, pp. 17–18.
23. Pierpont Morgan Library 1993, pp. 174–77, nos. 2, 3, ill.
24. Seligman 1961, p. 38.
25. Dell 1995, p. 30.

2. Morgan and the Formation of the Early Medieval Collection

"John Pierpont Morgan, [who was] born April 17, 1837, [and] died March 31, 1913, was the most powerful and dominant per-sonality in the field of finance during the period between the American Civil War and the Universal War of 1914."[1] Through the generosity of his son, most of the fine art and archaeological collection that Morgan had formed, immense in its scope, came to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1917.[2] A record of a meeting of the trustees of the Museum details the Early Medieval objects included in the donation thus:

> Ancient Art—A collection of ancient glass, as well as pottery, bronze, and marble, ranging in date from about 3,000 B.C. to the fifth century A.D., known as the Gréau Collection, numbering 831 pieces ... European Art—Gallo-Roman, Germanic and Merovingian: the art so called, covering the period from the end of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the Carolingian era (fourth to eighth century A.D.), serves as a connecting link in the North between the classical and medieval periods. These objects, comprising several hundred in gold, bronze and glass principally, are all articles of personal adornment or use buried in early tombs and

> recovered by two collectors, Stanislas Baron and a German antiquary named Queckenberg, from various parts of France ... and from the village of Niederbreisig between Coblenz and Bonn ...They include brooches or fibulae of every shape, size and material, belt buckles, studs of every description, purses, rings, armlets, earrings, hairpins and combs, pendants, châtelaine-plaques, necklaces, daggers and horse trappings, and illustrate the culture and vigorous art of this period.[3]

The Early Medieval archaeological material acquired by the Museum between its founding in 1870 and the Morgan dona-tion in 1917 is relatively inconsequential. Under the Museum's first director, Louis Palma di Cesnola (1879–1904), who laid the foundation of the Greek and Roman Department, the collection of "Etruscan and Roman Jewelry" accumulated by Samuel T. Baxter in Florence was purchased in 1895. At the time of acquisition only a few of the gold objects were recognized as definitely Langobardic, but, since then, some thirty-five Langobardic and eastern Germanic pieces have been identified as Early Medieval; of these, a few are now recognized with hind-sight as prominent landmarks in the develop-ment of the Museum's collection.[4] In 1898 the purchase of excavated material from Kerch (Panticapaeum), Ukraine, included fifth–sixth century objects now seen to be of particular interest (see pp. 102-9), though traditionally such non-Classical material had not been highly regarded.

Seymour de Ricci laid out this back-ground in the preface to his first catalogue of Pierpont Morgan's Merovingian antiquities in 1910:"The taste for Merovingian or
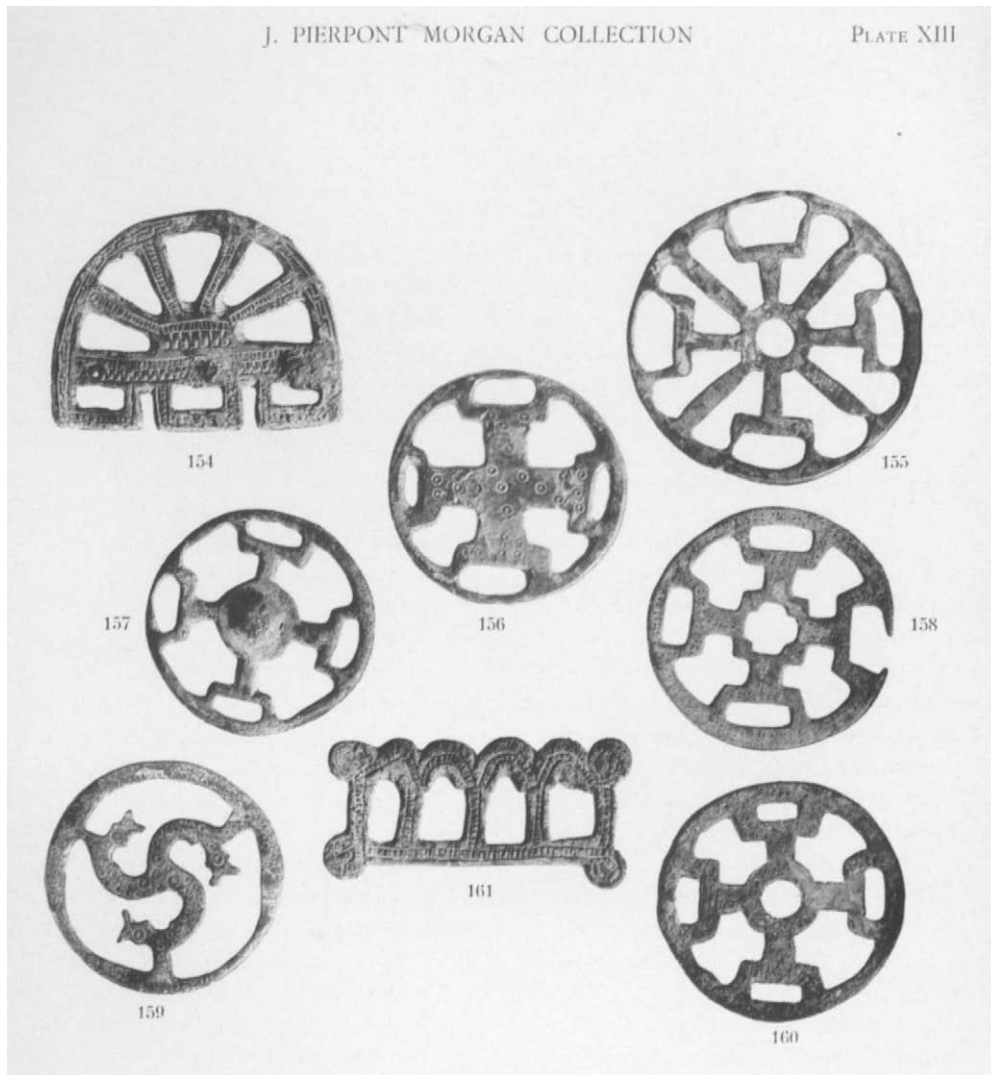
2.1 A typical plate from the first catalogue of Morgan's Frankish antiquities illustrating examples of seventh-century openwork belt fittings (chatelaines) (after de Ricci 1910a, pl. 13, reduced)

Frankish antiquities is quite a modern one. The collectors of the second half of the nineteenth century, . . . seem to have considered barbarian art as unworthy of their attention. . . . and it is only of late years that such objects have been deemed worthy of a place in distinguished cabinets."[5] De Ricci's catalogue was one of three volumes, published privately between June 1910 and July 1911, documenting Morgan's purchase of four major, largely Merovingian, collections from France and Germany. Only 150 copies of each volume were printed and circulated, but for their time they were models of brevity in text and comprehensive illustration (see example in fig. 2.1).

De Ricci felt able to state in the first catalogue: "Few museums and fewer private collections can boast of such an extensive and comprehensive series of fine Merovingian antiquities."[6] Morgan had acquired, de Ricci wrote, the collection of a "clever and energetic Paris dealer, the late Stanislas Baron," accumulated in the previous twenty years

during Baron's travels in the south of France. This acquisition was supplemented by "choice objects" acquired from the collector Jumel of Amiens that came largely from the depredations of an unscientific excavator, Jean-Baptiste Lelaurain, in northern France (see pp. 13-15 below). De Ricci notes, "We have here the *mobilier funéraire* practically complete (except of course for ceramics and glass)."[7] The French phrase is particularly redolent of the title of Boulanger's great compendium of 1902-5. De Ricci had deprecated the "absence of definite provenances" for the material catalogued in that first volume.[8] This absence probably led Pierpont Morgan to purchase, in 1909, the Queckenberg collection: the objects in this collection were all said to have been dug up at Niederbreisig in the Rhineland (see pp. 28-41 below) and sold on the death of its owner. This purchase provided "an excellent opportunity to complete a beautiful series of precious objects by a large collection of unquestionable scientific importance . . . The main object . . . in acquiring the antiquities . . . has been to complete [Morgan's] collections by bringing together in one room a large series of contemporaneous objects from a single burial-field . . . The whole contents of Frankish tombs, male and female, are illustrated in the accompanying plates."[9] Glass vessels and iron weapons were now included, but the pottery vessels also found regularly in Merovingian graves were on offer but not purchased.

Pierpont Morgan soon acquired two other French collections. The major one had been excavated in the Marne and Aube valleys; the other included material from the Delamain collection originating in the Charente (pp. 22-24 below). These two collections were featured in a single volume, with a list of sites only for the former group: "The result is a collection which supplements in a remarkable way the important series described in the two former catalogues . . . all the important types of Merovingian jewellery are now illustrated by fine examples in the Pierpont Morgan collection."[10] In essence, then, the goals that motivated contemporary

archaeology—the obtaining of a coherent collection, with secure provenances and associations, and the immediate publication of such objects—had been achieved.

Further light on these remarkable purchases was shed in 1947. James J. Rorimer, then curator of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, and later director of the Museum, secured permission from Belle da Costa Greene, the first librarian of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, to consult the dealers' files in the archives there. He discovered the bills from Jacques Seligmann, the Paris dealer and Pierpont Morgan's principal agent, for "40 boxes containing Franconian and Merovingian antiquities coming from the late postmaster Queckenberg in Niederbreisig on the Rhine, dated May 25, 1910, and for three boxes containing the principal portion of the collection of M. Baron, Merovingian objects, dated May 23, 1910."[11] In a letter dated September 2, 1910, Seligmann wrote to Morgan:

> I send you today two copies of the two catalogues which according to your instructions I had made for the collections of Merovingian Antiquities and Germanic Antiquities which you bought from me this summer. . . . You will find out in looking over them that they have been made in a very careful, instructive and exact manner. The author of these catalogues, M. de Ricci, who has been assisted in his work by several French savants of repute, has suggested that copies of the printed catalogue be sent to several of his masters: Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, Bibliothèque du Musée de St.-Germain-en-Laye, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; M. Salomon Reinach, Membre de l'Institut; M. W. Froehner; M. Pottier, Conservateur au Musée du Louvre; M. J. Pilloy, St. Quentin (Aisne); M. Théophile Eck, Directeur de Musée de St. Quentin; M. Déchelette,

Directeur du Musée de Roanne;
M. Cumont, Musée de Cinquante-
naire, Bruxelles; M. le Commandant
Espérandieu, Ministère de la Guerre,
Paris; James Loeb, Munich.[12]

In other words, Seymour de Ricci, who
was in reality a specialist in medieval manu-
scripts, had consulted almost every French
archaeological luminary from the turn of the
century, which explains why his volumes still
stand as complete and, in most cases, accurate
descriptions of the collections. That these
antiquities were purchased specifically for
the Museum is expressed in a letter, dated
October 31, 1911, from Seligmann to
Morgan: "In accordance with the desire
you expressed to me while in Paris, I am
delivering the two united collections to
M. [Edmond] Pottier [Curator of Oriental
Antiquities at the Musée du Louvre] with
instructions to forward them at once to the
trustees of the MMA."[13] The preceding para-
graphs of this letter had discussed de Ricci's
catalogue of 1911, containing the 363 Gallo-
Roman and Merovingian artifacts, which
was compiled with the assistance of the same
luminaries as the two previous ones; and as
with the two catalogues of 1910, Morgan's
instructions to Seligmann concerned the
recipients of the numbered volume: "1–5 to
my New York house; 6–10 to the MMA; 11
to M. Pottier; 12 to Mr. Rey; 13 for me . . ."
    In 1911 the Vrap Treasure of eighth-
century gold (pp. 170–79 and 180–87) was
offered to the Metropolitan Museum. John
Marshall, the Museum's agent in Rome,
noted that "one of the three gold chalices
[of the treasure] has representations of Rome,
Alexandria, Constantinople and Cyprus. . . .
The work is most primitive, childish, ugly (to
my mind) but of unheard of importance for
the history of Byzantine Art."[14] In a letter
dated January 24, 1911, Edward Robinson,
director of the Museum from 1910 to 1931,
responded: "The 'Byzantine gold' of which
you wrote in your letters of the 1st and the
9th, I can do nothing about, because so far as
the Museum is concerned, the things are too
expensive and I have had no opportunity of

discussing them with Mr. Morgan, who has
been very busy . . . and has not yet decided
whether he will go direct from Naples to
Egypt or will give up Egypt altogether and
remain in Italy. It is therefore possible that
you may soon have the opportunity of laying
the Byzantine proposition before him in per-
son."[15] This clearly was done to some effect,
for Pierpont Morgan later went ahead and
purchased the whole group on offer.
    Here it seems appropriate to quote
Gardner Teall on Morgan: "The collecting
of objects of art . . . has . . . seemed, to many
people, a simple enough thing if one has
enough money behind it all. But it takes
more than that—knowledge; furthermore,
brains to make that knowledge useful. . . .
One must put to his credit the fact that it
takes brains to detect brains, and knowledge
to be sure of the knowledge of others."[16]

1. Robert W. de Forest, president of The Metropolitan
   Museum of Art, quoted in the minutes of a meeting
   of the Board of Trustees, April 15, 1918. I am grateful
   to Jeanie James, archivist of the Museum, for her
   many hours of resourceful assistance.
2. See Wixom essay in this publication.
3. See note 1 above.
4. Brown 1996.
5. De Ricci 1910a, p. III.
6. Ibid., pp. IV–V.
7. Ibid., p. IV.
8. De Ricci 1910b, p. III.
9. Ibid.
10. De Ricci 1911, preface.
11. I am very indebted to Marica Vilcek, department
    head of the former Acquisitions and Catalogue
    Department, for entrusting these notes to me.
    These notes (p. 16, nos. 193, 200) are now in the
    Department of Medieval Art. An unpublished
    resource on the prehistoric and Migration period
    material in the Museum are the volumes by Stephen
    Foltiny. They are also housed in the Department of
    Medieval Art.
12. Seligmann V dealer's files in the Pierpont Morgan
    Library archives.
13. Ibid.
14. See notes in the Department of Medieval Art
    archives. See also Garam and Bálint essays below,
    and Daim et al., n.d., forthcoming.
15. See notes in the Department of Medieval Art
    archives.
16. Teall 1909, p. 131.

3. The Golden Age of Merovingian Archaeology

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although the tomb of the Frankish king Childeric (d. 482), the father of Clovis, was discovered at Tournai, Belgium, in 1653 and its contents were rapidly and carefully published by Jean Jacques Chifflet in 1655, Merovingian archaeology was not born until the middle of the nineteenth century.[1] The first sizable French excavation, begun in 1830, was an investigation of the cemetery of Charnay (Saône-et-Loire). It was funded until 1860 by the lawyer Henri Baudot (1799–1880), a member of the Academy of Sciences of Dijon, who in his will of 1870 bequeathed only a few objects from the excavation to the Commission of Antiquities. The essential part of Baudot's collection was auctioned off publicly in 1894, at which time the remarkable objects from Charnay were acquired by the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Among the most beautiful pieces is the famous brooch with a runic inscription, which had been the subject of correspondence between Baudot and the president of the Society of Antiquaries of the North. At the beginning of the excavations in 1830 Henri Baudot had not recognized the Merovingian nature of the site. By 1840, however, when the Congress of Scientific Societies of France was held at Besançon, in the session dedicated to "agrafes" (belt fittings of copper alloy or silver-inlaid iron), Arcisse de Caumont, the illustrious founder of the French Society of Archaeology, compared the discoveries made at Charnay with those that he had made in Normandy and confirmed their Merovingian character.

From this time on, several French archaeologists began to identify the Merovingian content of graves, among them Auguste Moutié, who was working at the "Butte des Gargans" at Houdan in the Paris region and whose correspondence with Abbé Cochet on this subject is so illuminating. One part of the grave contents from that site is today preserved at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City and the other at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Dreux. Likewise, in Picardy about 1841, the collector Armand Gustave Houbigant attributed to the Franks weapons that had hitherto been considered Gallo-Roman. In 1846, Abbé Lefèvre,[2] the priest of the parish of "La Rue Saint Pierre" (Oise), published the contents of the famous tomb at that site. Among them was the sword with a hilt covered in sheet gold that had been brought to light the previous year, next to the wall of the cemetery of this commune. He wrote that "one might be led to believe that it belonged to a Frankish chief, since the objects found near him seem to belong to the Merovingian period."

Research into, and the first correct identification of, Merovingian grave goods appeared almost simultaneously in Germany. The first large German excavation was that of the cemetery at Nordendorf, which was discovered in 1843, during construction of a railroad, and published in 1846 in Latin. In 1848, the Lindenschmit brothers were able to date correctly the Rhineland cemetery at Selzen, Germany, which they had explored in 1845, thanks to the discovery of a coin of the Byzantine emperor Justinian (r. 527–65).

Ludwig Lindenschmit founded the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Mainz, and his brother was a celebrated Romantic painter of historical subjects. Educated circles became interested in the Gauls and Germans, and antiquities that supposedly shed light on the national past were the fashion: the *Récits des temps mérovingiens* of Augustin Thierry, for example, which retold stories from Gregory of Tours's history, appeared in 1840.

Merovingian archaeology progressed under the Second Empire. Napoleon III had more than one thousand tombs excavated in Merovingian cemeteries near his palace at Compiègne (Oise). Notebooks mention the objects found, tomb by tomb. The finds from these excavations at Chelles, Champlieu, Vieux-Mont, and Gury, as well as numerous purchases of antiquities, were deposited in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales, which the emperor established in the Château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Among those who profited from this exploration of Celtic and Merovingian cemeteries for the emperor was Benoni Lelaurain (d. 1869), "the manager of the imperial farm" at Piémont, near Châlons-sur-Marne. With the growing prestige of archaeology, the price of antiquities increased. The culmination of this was a lawsuit concerning the ownership of grave goods discovered during the exploration of the cemetery at Waben (Pas-de-Calais). The judgment in favor of the owner of the land, a certain Bodescot, against the archaeologist, the scholar Abbé Haigneré, precipitated the sale and dispersal of these pieces to European collections.

THE COLLECTORS AND THE EXCAVATORS

Between 1870 and 1914 an impressive number of Merovingian cemeteries were excavated and the essential part of the great Merovingian archaeological collections was formed. Among the major collectors were John Evans, who purchased the Merovingian objects, including the outstanding jewelry from Picquigny (Somme), that are now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford;[3] the Lyons painter Louis Carrand, who bequeathed his collection to the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence;[4] the Baron Johannes von Diergardt, who acquired numerous French pieces, sometimes directly, sometimes also through the dealers Altmann and Reiling in Mainz. From 1914, he began to place part of his collection in the former Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (now the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte), and today his objects enrich museum collections in Berlin and Cologne.[5] Very beautiful pieces were also bought at this time by the British Museum.[6] The contents of the same tomb were sometimes divided among several collectors. Thus, Carrand possessed one of the pair of cloisonné bow brooches from Picquigny, John Evans the other.[7] Other pairs of jewelry were similarly separated, such as brooches from Marchélepot, of which John Evans acquired one specimen, with the corresponding ones going to the Musée des Antiquités Nationales[8] and to the collection of Diergardt.[9] The prices to be obtained for these items resulted in the opening of tens of thousands of tombs.

Jean-Baptiste Lelaurain

Men such as Jean-Baptiste Lelaurain (d. 1905), and thereafter Léandre Cottel (see below), lived from the proceeds of "their excavations" and "their archaeological trade."[10] Lelaurain[11] first explored the cemeteries of the Marne in the neighborhood of Reims; moving to Marchélepot in the Somme, he pillaged a cemetery of almost four thousand tombs (fig. 3.1). Subsequently he turned his attention to the cemetery at Vorges in the Aisne before excavating Late

13
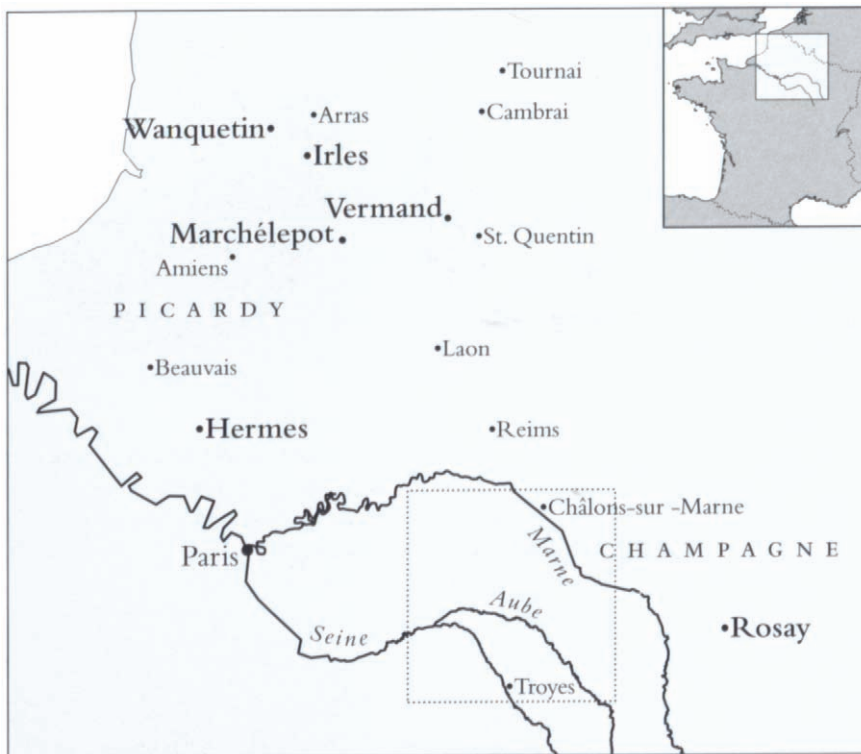
3.1 Northeastern France, with provenances of objects in the Morgan collection. (For find spots within area indicated by dotted line, see fig. 3.8.)

Roman cemeteries in the towns of Vermand (Aisne) and Boulogne-sur-Mer, which furnished him with such precious spoils as the weapons and mounts from the celebrated chieftain's tomb at Vermand (see pp. 78–89 below), glass flagons with the maker's name, Frontinus, and engraved glass cups.[12] Next, he opened the Merovingian cemeteries of Ercheu (Somme) and Monceau-le-Neuf (Aisne).

Froehner, in the introduction he wrote to Camille Boulanger's 1909 work on the cemetery at Marchélepot, described Lelaurain's conduct as follows: "He sold in the evening what he found during the day to collectors from the neighboring towns who gathered at the first sign, and toward the end of autumn he arrived in Paris to sell off what he had concealed." De Ricci, in his preface to the 1910 catalogue of Merovingian antiquities owned by Pierpont Morgan, also commented on Lelaurain's methods: "Throughout the eighties an enthusiastic but

not too scientific digger, named Lelaurain, excavated thousands of Merovingian tombs in the North of France, but chiefly in Picardy, in the departments of the Aisne and the Somme. Baron [see below] bought extensively from him, choosing only the interesting objects and leaving the commoner rubbish to the thrifty local collector." Théophile Eck's obituary of the archaeological entrepreneur mentions the interesting fact that Lelaurain excavated "at least 22,000 graves," doubtless a low estimate. As Eck lamented, "a certain tendency led him to be not always correct nor exact in the identification or the attribution of the objects he sold to collectors; he took a malicious pleasure in throwing his clients off the track by bold falsification."

Several beautiful pieces from Marché-lepot[13] entered Morgan's collection without their provenance, though they can now be identified from Boulanger's publication of 1909, such as a repoussé disk brooch

decorated with a bust in profile (fig. 3.2)[14] and a pair of remarkable bird brooches, each covered with a sheet of gold decorated with filigree (fig. 3.3).[15] The latter are decorated in the center with a fish in relief. An exact parallel from Chelles (Oise) is in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales. Unfortunately only the base plate of this brooch, 4.6 cm long, remains, but originally a sheet of precious metal, probably decorated with filigree, was attached to it by seven rivets.[16] The association of fish and birds occurs on a series of Merovingian objects.[17] The general form of the brooch, with a suggestion of claws joining the extremity of the bird's beak, recalls that of brooches of the "Vorges type,"[18] and so a date in the middle or even the second half of the sixth century appears probable (see p. 237 below).

Albert Jumel

Boulanger attributes the Marchélepot brooches reproduced in his work of 1909 to "a collection," without additional information, that was probably that of the lawyer Albert Jumel of Amiens. The catalogue of an exhibition held at Amiens in 1886 lists no. 1398 as from "a collection of jewelry found at Hermes, Fluy, and Marchélepot." Cited as particularly notable are the "fibulas in bronze covered with a sheet of gold ornamented with filigree and assuming the form of parrots" and "some bronze fibulas representing a dog attacking a wild boar."[19] The celebrated pieces from Vermand also appear in the catalogue: the shield boss as no. 1399, the spearhead as no. 1400, the silver-gilt mounts as no. 1400 *bis*. Nos. 1402, 1403, and 1404 are "trophies": fibulae, pins, plaques, weapons, and bead necklaces from Fluy, Marchélepot, and Hermes. Diergardt, mentioned above, acquired the Vermand spearhead[20] and the weapons from Hermes.[21] Stanislas Baron apparently purchased the shield boss and the silver-gilt pieces from Vermand, along with the gold bird brooches from Marchélepot and the Gallo-Roman brooches representing a dog attacking a boar, whence they passed into the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan.

3.2 Engraving of pseudo-coin brooch from Marchélepot, France (after Boulanger 1909, pl. xx.2), and corresponding repoussé disk brooch. Gold, copper alloy. Frankish, 7th century. From Marchélepot, France. Diameter 2.7 cm. (17.191.24)
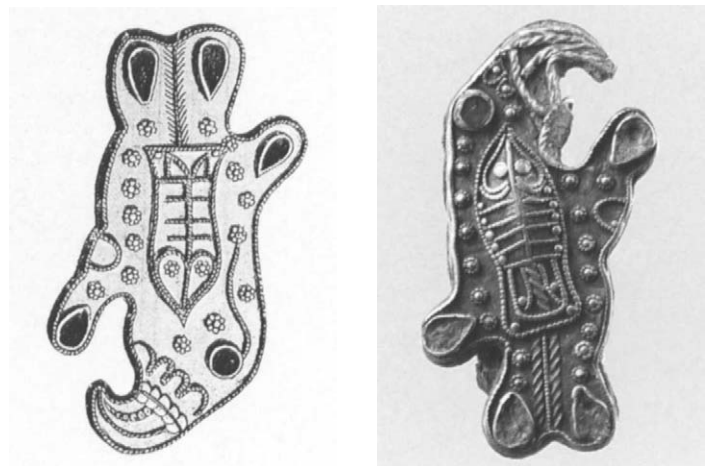
3.3 Engraving of bird brooch from Marchélepot, France (after Boulanger 1909, pl. vi.1), and corresponding bird brooch, one of a pair. Silver with gold overlay. Frankish, late 6th century. From Marchélepot, France. Length 4 cm. (17.192.176). The engraving indicates filigree on the beak, a 19th-century restoration.

3.4 Filigree bossed disk brooch and back, showing manuscript label: N° 1490 Trouvé à Hermes, 8bre 1897. Gold, copper alloy, gilt silver, glass. Frankish, 7th century. From Hermes, France. Diameter 2.6 cm. (17.191.21)

Stanislas Baron

The first collection of Merovingian antiquities acquired by Morgan, in 1910, was formerly that of Stanislas Baron. The preface to de Ricci's catalogue of the Morgan collection contains the following vignette. The items, it said, had been "collected within the last twenty years by a clever and energetic Paris dealer, the late Stanislas Baron. He began his career as a wine-merchant: touring through Spain, he had many occasions to purchase works of art and finally gave up selling indifferent wine and dealt instead in valuable antiquities." Baron began with material from the excavations of Lelaurain in Picardy, discussed above, thus laying "the foundation of a collection, to which he largely added from his own purchases in the South of France. He put the crowning-stone to the building by obtaining a series of choice objects from the collection of

Monsieur Jumel at Amiens, including the interesting inscribed plaque from Hermes and the priceless contents of the *Tombeau militaire de Vermand*. The latter were considered so important by the well-known collector Monsieur Boulanger, that he prevailed on Jumel to let him exhibit them in Paris, in 1900, under *his* (Boulanger's) name: they were greatly admired by the numerous visitors of the *Exposition Universelle*." De Ricci's catalogue of the Baron collection purchased by Morgan had 260 entries.

Abbé Hamard

Several other sources relating to material that ended up in Pierpont Morgan's collection are known. From 1878 Abbé Hamard, a priest living in Hermes, excavated a late Roman–Merovingian cemetery containing more than two thousand tombs in this Oise commune.[22] He dispersed the contents to anyone who would buy (fig. 3.4). Diergardt thereby acquired a beautiful clawed glass cup, an important collection of pottery, and a group of metal objects. It is interesting to note that at least some of the objects from Hermes belonged to the Jumel collection, and that the belt set from the famous tomb of a late Roman warrior from the same site was sold in 1902 by Cottel to the Musée des

3.5 Sketch in notebook of the Abbé Hamard (Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye) and corresponding remains of buckle attachment plate. Iron with silver overlay. Frankish, late 5th century. From Hermes, France. Length 6.2 cm. (17.192.166)
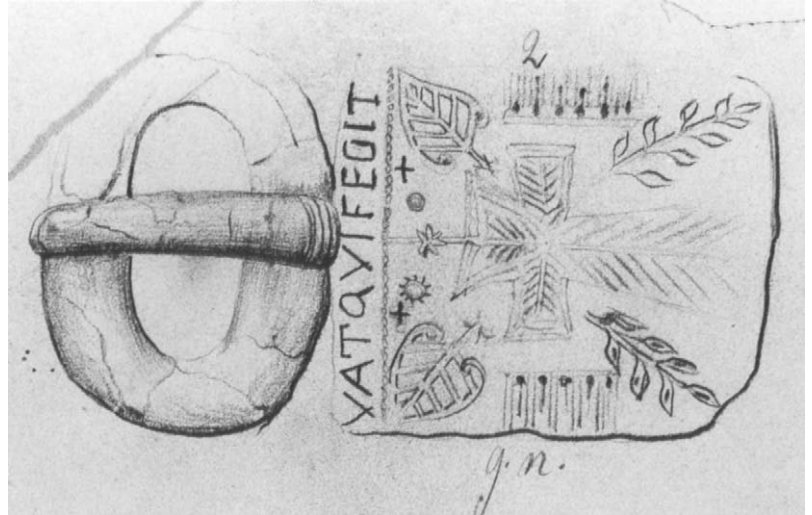
Antiquités Nationales in a group of objects deemed to have come from cemeteries "on the confines of the Somme and Pas-de-Calais." The Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye possesses an excavation album of the Abbé Hamard. This manuscript corresponds to only a part of the excavations, and numerous pages have been torn out. The text, not always very comprehensible or even plausible, comprises only a simple enumeration of the contents of each tomb. It is accompanied by some plates and drawings.

A beautiful rectangular buckle attachment plate from the site, which came to the Metropolitan (fig. 3.5), was sketched by the abbé while it still retained its loop. The context of the discovery is unknown. It is of iron, covered with a sheet of silver bearing a repoussé cross, between the arms of which are leaves and fronds. Dating probably to around 500, it can be compared, for example, to a belt buckle stamped with a cross pattée that was discovered by F. Moreau in a tomb in the Aisne.[23] The foliated cross is symbolic of the Resurrection. The inscription *vat qui fecit*, or similar ones, is found on numerous paleo-Christian objects, for example, on a strap end with stamped decoration on a Late Roman belt from Clastres

(Aisne).[24] The buckle from Hermes is comparable with a group that has small rectangular attachment plates of iron covered with silver sheet decorated with Christian repoussé. These were produced in northern Gaul during the second half of the fifth century in a Late Roman tradition.[25] On one such attachment plate, on a buckle from Bifrons in Kent,[26] England, the full inscription *vivat qui fecit*—long life to him who made it—completes the sense of that on the Hermes piece.

3.6 Openwork belt fitting (chatelaine).
Tinned copper alloy. Frankish, 7th century.
From Wanquetin, France. Height 10.5 cm.
(17.192.163)

3.7 Openwork belt fitting (chatelaine).
Tinned copper alloy. Frankish, 7th century.
From Irles, France. Diameter 6.8 cm.
(17.192.164)

Léandre Cottel

Léandre Cottel was an excavator in the style of Jean-Baptiste Lelaurain.[27] First in the Pas-de-Calais at Saint-Amand, where he was a primary school teacher, then at Martinpuich and at Haucourt, he participated in the robbing of graves in the northeast of France. He dug in the Pas-de-Calais cemeteries of Irles in 1892 and 1893[28] and of Wanquetin in 1894. In 1895 Oswald Dimpre of Abbeville sent to the Musée des Antiquités Nationales for molding three openwork chatelaine disks and two buckles and strap ends that had been acquired from Cottel.[29] Unfortunately, the molds of only the chatelaine disks are extant today; those of the buckles from Irles and the strap ends from Wanquetin do not seem to have been made, although the museum's inventory mentions them. One of the chatelaine disks,[30] published already in 1894 by Jules Pilloy[31] and officially reported by Cottel, was said to have come from

Wanquetin (fig. 3.6), a second from Irles (fig. 3.7).[32] The three disks subsequently went into the Morgan collection. (For the unprovenanced piece, see fig. 21.49.)

Cottel soon abandoned teaching and lived off the profits of his excavations and the antiquities market. He was on excellent terms with Jean-Baptiste Lelaurain, with whom he exchanged numerous items. In 1902 the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye bought its first objects from Cottel, who concealed their true provenance. After his death, several of his notebooks, photographs of objects in his possession, and the remainder of his collections were sold by his son to the museum in 1937.

The unscrupulous nature of Léandre Cottel was at least equal to that of Jean-Baptiste Lelaurain. Cottel's name was found on a paper among objects from Diergardt's collection that went to the Musée des Antiquités Nationales following the seizure

of German and Austrian assets during the First World War.[33] Those pieces that remained in France included a number of objects that were of doubtful authenticity or that had been visibly restored in order to make them more attractive for sale, such as iron purse mounts without decoration that had been transformed into cloisonné pieces by the addition of glass. That dealers restore jewelry before selling it has been shown with regard to the brooch from Maroeuil, where restorations complete the garnetry or missing glass with modern faceted garnets or clear glass placed over a red background.[34] Contemporary correspondence, for instance, a December 1904 letter of Camille Boulanger, accuses both Lelaurain and Cottel of dealing in copies: "These two scoundrels understand each other wonderfully and have their for-geries made in Paris and Saint-Quentin . . . Lelaurain had *phalerae* made in silver-gilt by Proy, a jeweler in Saint-Quentin who still has a dozen examples. Cottel sold some to M. Baron. I saw them in his collection and examined them superficially. There must be other forgeries. I warned M. Baron, but he has unlimited confidence in Cottel." The sketch of a large pin with a pendant in the form of a crescent, similar to that of Vermand, accompanied Boulanger's charge. A similar piece in electrum is part of the Morgan collection and is illustrated in de Ricci's catalogue with an account of its origin.[35] In the 1920s Claudius Côte warned the Musée des Antiquités Nationales about scramasaxes falsified by means of a modern engraving.[36] At the same time, other dealers did not hesitate to multiply their discoveries
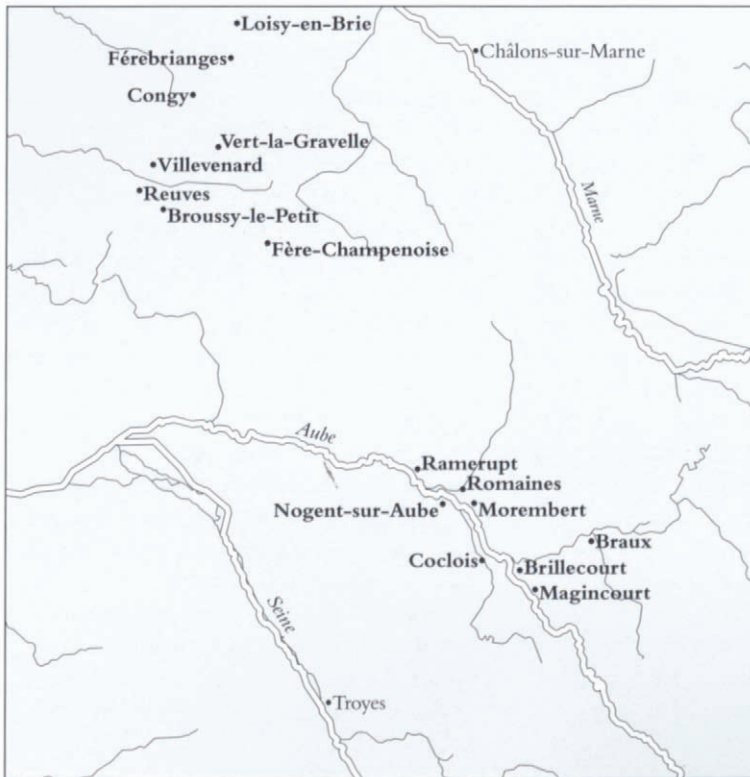
3.8 The Marne and Aube regions, with find spots of objects in the Morgan collection. (See note 43 below.)

and to make copies of famous pieces. For example, the bow brooches of Monceaux (Oise) in the Diergardt collection were made into pairs with modern copies.[37] The remarkable griffin-shaped brooches from Lens inspired an entire series of forgeries; a pair of faked griffin brooches is to be found in the Morgan collection.[38] The provenances Cottel gave should also be considered with prudence, since he sometimes sold objects he himself had purchased alongside the fruits of his excavations,[39] while dealers sometimes attributed to famous cemeteries objects they wanted to sell.

Cottel also investigated several cemeteries in the Marne and the Aube (fig. 3.8).[40] He was, beyond doubt, the "Paris dealer" denounced by Georges Goury in 1908:

> Unfortunately the Marne has undergone true plundering for about forty years. Plantations of fir trees created at the end of the Second Empire having brought to light the first graves, an army of excavators appeared, just anybody, without any archaeological instruction and often even completely illiterate. These sinister vampires ravaged only for the money to be had ... Only what seemed saleable was gathered up: necklaces, bracelets, fibulas. The finds are disposed of here or there to the highest bidder, and often with a false indication of provenance. In effect, the excavator, to assure he will profit by exploiting a cemetery over a period of several years, takes care not to reveal the exact location of his discovery ... In recent years, a Paris dealer has profitably worked in rich and extensive Merovingian cemeteries at Fèrebrianges and at Vert-la-Gravelle; he found, it appears, beautiful objects, but naturally he kept the results of his excavations absolutely secret.[41]

A celebrated sword from the Diergardt collection comes from Fèrebrianges.[42] Among the cemeteries of Champagne that, according to de Ricci, furnished jewelry acquired by Morgan in 1911, several are known for having included Merovingian tombs.[43] Congy, Fère-Champenoise, and Villevenard were explored by Cottel between 1900 and 1910,[44] and Loisy-en-Brie by Lelaurain.[45] As for Vert-la-Gravelle, an announcement in the *Union Républicaine* of April 5, 1905, sought buyers for Merovingian objects that farmers had dug up in a "barbarian cemetery."[46] Information concerning the sites in the Aube is lacking in the absence of such contemporary regional publications, though it can be verified that a certain number of objects in the Metropolitan, said to have come from Champagne, really do have parallels in this region.[47] To be noted as well is that some of the objects purchased from Cottel's son by the Musée des Antiquités Nationales are likewise attributed to Arcis-sur-Aube.

The Rosay Group

In 1903 about twenty tombs were discovered at Rosay (commune de Val-de-Vière, arrondissement de Vitry-le-François, Marne) in the course of exploiting a chalk quarry.[48] From these tombs came some remarkably beautiful objects, such as a pair of cloisonné garnet disk brooches, two bow brooches, and two gold earrings (fig. 3.9). Fortunately, they

3.9 Group of re-identified jewelry, from Rosay, France. Frankish, first half 6th century. (Upper) pair of cloisonné disk brooches, gilt silver, garnet, and glass, diameter 2.7 cm. (17.191.137, .150); (center) pair of bow brooches, gilt silver, garnet, and glass, height 8.5 cm. (17.191.174, .175); (lower) pair of earrings, gold, garnet, and glass, diameter ca. 3.8 cm. (17.191.86, .87)
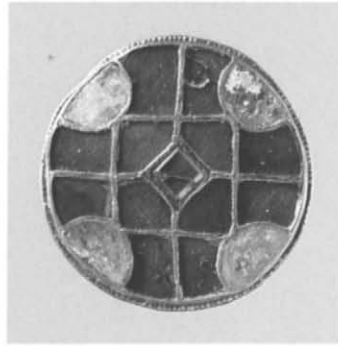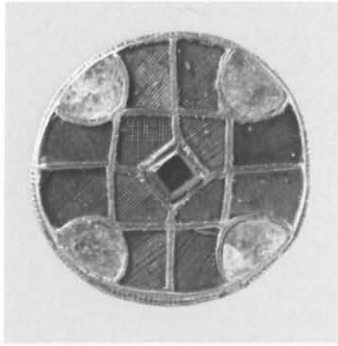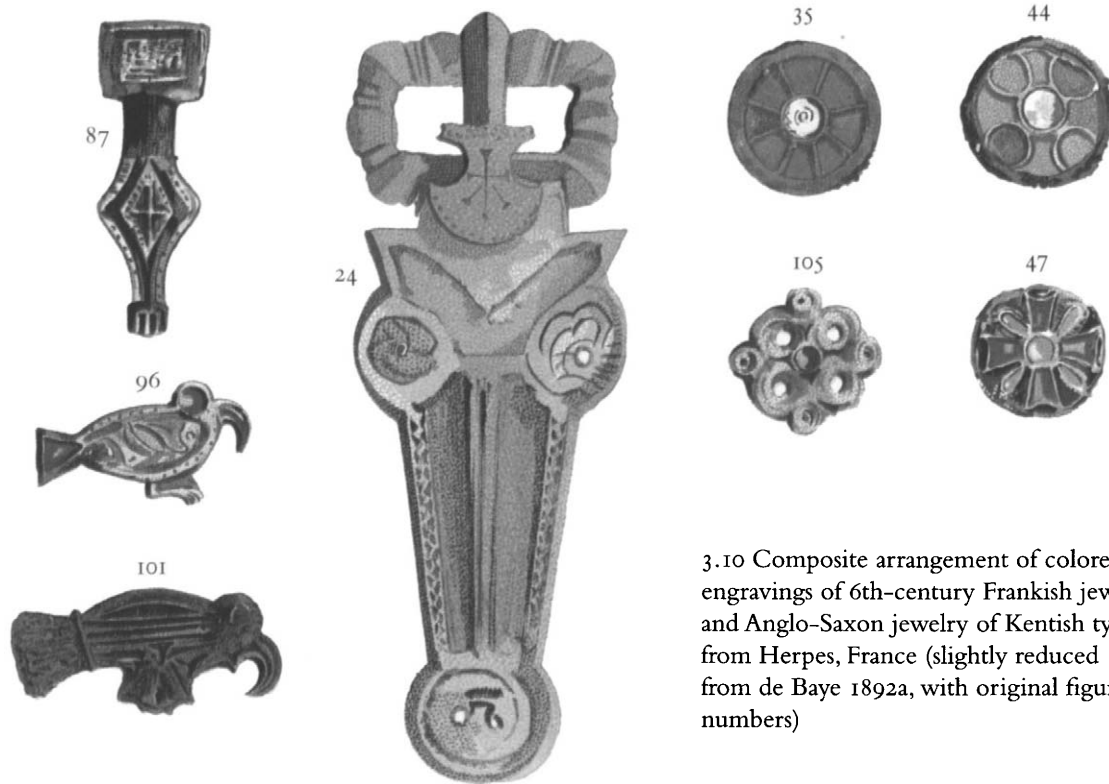
3.10 Composite arrangement of colored engravings of 6th-century Frankish jewelry and Anglo-Saxon jewelry of Kentish type, from Herpes, France (slightly reduced from de Baye 1892a, with original figure numbers)

were reproduced in an article by L. Mougin and in the papers of the archaeologist Émile Schmit,[49] and can be identified today in the collection of the Metropolitan.[50] The most interesting of the graves, described by Schmit and Goury, contained a pair of gold polyhedral earrings, decorated with a rare cloisonné motif that makes them easily identifiable, and a pair of bow brooches each with its foot inlaid with garnets.[51] With these objects were found two unusual copper-alloy strap ends in openwork, each with a bird-head terminal, similar to those of grave 124 of Louvres,[52] a small pendant in the form of a lancet,[53] a necklace of amber and glass beads, and an imitation of a gold tremissis of Anastasius (r. 491–518). The last item furnishes a terminus post quem for the grave. It is interesting to note that the remark "Rosay à voir" appears in a 1908 notebook of Cottel, preserved in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales. Perhaps he served as an intermediary for the purchase of the jewelry? A name that seems to read "Baron" is scrawled several times in this same notebook. Cottel was very likely one of Stanislas Baron's chief suppliers.[54]

The Delamain Collection
Thanks to studies by the British Museum of the cemetery of Herpes (Charente), excavated by Charles Delamain, the presence of hitherto unrecognized pieces from this site in the Metropolitan has already been noted (figs. 3.10–3.13).[55] Some of the identifications rest on a comparison with published pieces, and others on unpublished
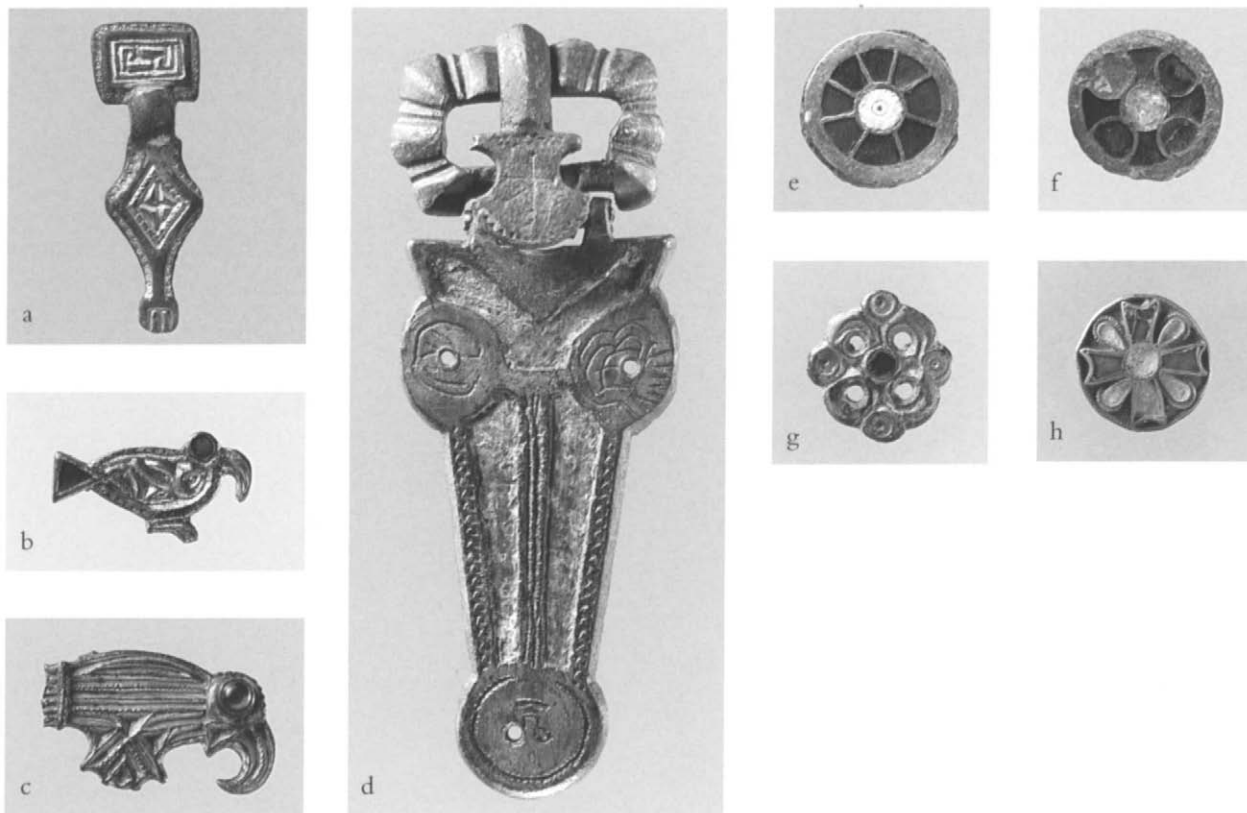
3.11 Jewelry from Herpes, France, in the Morgan collection, corresponding to objects in fig. 3.10, after modern conservation. The re-identifications are based on de Ricci 1911.

(a) Miniature square-headed brooch. Gilt copper alloy. Length 4.5 cm. (17.191.46)

(b) Bird brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Length 3.1 cm. (17.191.19)

(c) Bird brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Length 2.9 cm. (17.191.41)

(d) Buckle. Tinned coppy alloy. Length 11.1 cm. (17.191.40)

(e) Cloisonné disk brooch. Gilt silver, iron, garnet, mother-of-pearl. Diameter 2.2 cm. (17.191.35)

(f) Cloisonné disk brooch. Copper alloy, garnet, and glass. Diameter 2.3 cm. (17.191.13)

(g) Rosette brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Diameter 2.2 cm. (17.191.25)

(h) Disk brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Diameter 1.8 cm. (17.191.23)

3.12 Cloisonné disk brooch. Gilt copper alloy, garnet, glass, mother-of-pearl. Frankish, 6th century. From Herpes, France. Diameter 2.6 cm. (17.191.17)

3.13 Belt mount. Copper alloy. Frankish, 6th century. From Herpes, France. Length 4.3 cm. (17.191.79)

family archival photographs in France (figs. 3.12 and 3.13; see also p. 288). The way in which Pierpont Morgan came into possession of the Herpes objects remains something of a mystery. The history of the collection has been interpreted as follows:[56] most of the Delamain collection was bought by the Paris dealer Houzeau in 1901 for the collector Édouard Guilhou, who kept the rings and resold the other

pieces in March 1905. At this sale, the dealers Rollin and Feuardent, who had offices in both London and Paris, acquired the collection, which they then resold to the British Museum. Delamain probably retained some pieces that were not sold until after his death in 1902. A part of the collection eluded the British Museum in 1905, and, according to Whelan, the agent of Rollin and Feuardent, it was in the hands of a rich industrialist who kept only the gilded and other striking pieces. This could have been Diergardt, who did indeed have some material from Herpes. But, to the present author at least, this selection of only "gilded and other striking pieces" appears to be just as characteristic of the Pierpont Morgan collection as of Diergardt's.

The Pichon Collection
Other beautiful pieces in the Metropolitan were doubtless acquired from now unknown Parisian dealers. These include an exceptional bossed disk brooch of gold decorated

with filigree (pl. 9D),[57] which formerly belonged to the collection of Baron Jérôme Pichon.[58] Many similar re-identifications of objects in the Morgan collection may be expected in the future.

1. For the history of Merovingian archaeology, see Périn 1980 and Vallet 1986.
2. Lefèvre 1846, pp. 40–43.
3. MacGregor 1997.
4. *Arti del Medio Evo* 1989.
5. Werner 1961.
6. British Museum 1923. After its exhibition in 1900, the museum bought the important collection of Léon Morel in 1901. According to Goury (1908, p. 9 n. 5), the British Museum was supposed to have acquired the Duquénelle javelin (angon) for the considerable sum at that time of 1,000 francs. In 1905 the museum purchased part of the collection of Charles Delamain (see below).
7. *Arti del Medio Evo* 1989, p. 324, no. 114.
8. MacGregor 1997, p. 129, no. 65.2; *La Picardie* 1986, p. 131, no. 55; and the brooch in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales, no. 56900.
9. MacGregor 1997, p. 136, no. 65.20; Werner 1961, p. 21, no. 52, pls. 13, 50e.
10. Seillier 1997.
11. For a biography of Lelaurain: Lefèvre 1993, pp. 98–99.
12. In an offer of sale sent to the Musée des Antiquités Nationales on July 29, 1889, Lelaurain wrote, "The price of the Gallo-Roman glass of which you have photographs and which forms the core of this collection is 7,000 francs." The glass offered by Lelaurain could be seen on the premises of Albert Jumel, who seems to have been a depository or an intermediary as well as a collector. The museum, not wishing to go beyond 1,000 francs, failed in its attempt at purchase. Albert Jumel's collection of glass appeared as no. 1397 in the Amiens exhibition of 1886. Most of these beautiful pieces remained in a private collection until offered for public sale on June 3–4, 1985 (Hôtel Drouot sale 1985, and Vallet 1986, p. 7).
13. At the time of the formation of the Morgan collection, the beautiful pieces from the cemetery at Marchélepot, excavated about 1885, had already been dispersed. Several of them were in the collection of Princess Dzialinska at the Château Goluchow in Prussia (Froehner 1897).
14. Danicourt 1886, p. 100, pl. IV-5: "fibula covered with a sheet of repoussé gold and representing rather exactly the type showing a head juxtaposed with a cross seen on the gold coins of Clovis III, or of his successor, Childebert III, who reigned from

695–711 . . . This brooch was a composite piece and we know absolutely that it was found in situ." Boulanger 1909, pl. XX, 2; according to Boulanger, the "gold bracteate" is "placed on a plate of bronze which projects beyond it and forms a green frame with a grayish tint." It was then in the "museum of Péronne." According to its ordinances, this museum, in addition to its permanent collection, exhibited a number of temporary loans. It is therefore not surprising to find that this brooch was ultimately acquired by Pierpont Morgan (de Ricci 1910a, pl. II, no. 24).
15. Boulanger 1909, pl. VI, no. 1; de Ricci 1910a, pl. XV, pp. 175–76.
16. Vallet 1977a, p. 88, no. 11.
17. Quast 1990–91, pp. 493–510.
18. This type of brooch (identified in Werner 1961, pp. 60–61, list 8, pl. 54) appears to be a late form. One notes, for example, the presence of a Vorges-type brooch with a circular buckle in the tomb at Bulles from the second half of the sixth century (*La Picardie* 1986, p. 195, no. 131, p. 196, fig. 167). At Klepsau (Koch 1990, pl. I, A2), the Vorges-type brooch in tomb I is associated with the S-shaped brooch attributed by the author to the beginning of her level III (565–90/600).
19. Possibly identical with the Gallo-Roman brooches in de Ricci 1910a, pl. XII, nos. 147, 148; Caillet 1997, pp. 52–53 and fig. 4.
20. *À l'aube de la France* 1981, p. 173, no. 289.
21. Inventory of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin.
22. Renet 1880 and Vallet 1986–87.
23. This buckle was found by F. Moreau in grave 1680 at Caranda, Commune de Cierges, Aisne; it is certainly of interest to note that the grave produced a pottery jug with circular mouth, of a type in use during the fourth and fifth centuries. Moreau 1877, pl. XXXII.4. See also Renet 1880, pl. VI, fig. 1; Le Blant 1892, pp. 73–75, no. 51; de Ricci 1901, pp. 252–53; *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 6, part 2 (1925), cols. 2298–99, fig. 5570.
24. Pilloy 1893, pp. 61–66.
25. Werner 1953b, pp. 38–44, pl. 6, nos. 7–9.
26. Ibid., pls. 6, 7.
27. See Seillier 1997.
28. For those excavations Cottel obtained the bronze medal of the French Society of Archaeology on the occasion of its Congress at Abbeville.
29. Musée des Antiquités Nationales, nos. 35048–52. The provenance of the openwork disk, the mold of which has the number 35042 (de Ricci 1910a, pl. XIV, no. 165), was even then unfortunately unknown to Oswald Dimpre.
30. De Ricci 1910a, pl. XIV, no. 163; mold, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, no. 35048. The strap ends (the molds bear the number 35049) were found with this openwork disk. Openwork disks associated with

strap ends terminating the straps of chatelaines are particularly common.

31. Pilloy 1894, pls. 149–67, p. 154, fig. 9.

32. De Ricci 1910a, pl. XIV, no. 164, corresponding to mold no. 35050 in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales.

33. In 1923 France liquidated German and Austrian sequestered property deposited at the Crédit Lyonnais.

34. *Trésors archéologiques* 1997, no. 168.

35. Boulanger's letter is preserved in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales. The pin is de Ricci 1910a, pl. XIX, 242, where it is attributed to a Saint-Quentin goldsmith about 1886.

36. Letter preserved in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales. It is interesting to note that Cottel possessed a decorated scramasax of which the authenticity does not, however, appear to have come into question; the piece is genuine (Joffroy 1973, pp. 58–61). As this scramasax was thought to have come from Chaouilley, Cottel's son wrote in 1937 to the Society of Archaeology of Lorraine to obtain the publication of the excavation carried out in this cemetery by Voinot. His request was referred to Salin. Perhaps Cottel had executed some copies of the scramasax for sale.

37. *La Picardie* 1986, no. 105.

38. Seillier 1988, pp. 47–53; and de Ricci 1910a, pl. III, 44–45.

39. Vallet 1978. Several objects sold by Cottel came in fact from purchases or exchanges. Thus, a circular copper-alloy buckle decorated with a central human mask (Musée des Antiquités Nationales inv. no. 77500S), as coming from Irles (Somme), is found labeled in a photograph given to the museum in 1937 as coming from the excavations of Arcis-sur-Aube. According to Kühn (1973, pp. 57–76, no. 26), however, this same piece was, until 1933, in the possession of M. Poliac, director of the Arsenal, and then on the market in Paris.

40. A photograph that entered the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in 1937, associated with Merovingian objects, has the label "Maroeil, Warlus, Arcis 1900–04." Excavations took place at Congy and at Broussy in 1908 according to a certificate given by the mayor of Congy in 1937 and a notebook in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales; and at Villevenard in 1909 (Coutil and Roland 1913). The authors of the Villevenard excavation describe the operations of Cottel thus: he dug "one trench after another as if exploiting a quarry rather than following each grave; his concern was to find objects that could be sold . . . we were not able to see the objects quickly taken away and then sold."

41. Goury 1908, p. 2 and n. 4.

42. Behmer 1939, pl. 36.5.

43. De Ricci 1911, Introduction. The pieces reproduced on pls. VI–XXVIII were the result of ten years of excavation in the cemeteries of the Marne and the Aube. Enumerated for the Marne are: a site known as Braye (?), Congy, Fère-Champenoise, Loisy-en-Brie, a site known as Petit-Mesnil (?), Petit Troussy (would this be, in fact, Broussy-le-Petit?), Roeuwes (actually Reuves), Vert-la-Gravelle, and Villevenard. For the Aube: Nogent-sur-Aube, Brillecourt, Magnicourt, Braux, Maurenberg (actually Morembert), Coclois, and Romaine. Fèrebrianges is also mentioned in De Ricci's Introduction, and the site of Rameruth (Aube), now Ramerupt (?), is given as the provenance for nos. 92 and 368 in the catalogue. One notes that all the sites of the Marne are in a radius of about seven kilometers around Vert-la-Gravelle (in a zone excavated earlier by the Baron de Baye), and that all the sites of the Aube are very close to one another, from twelve to twenty-seven kilometers to the east of Arcis-sur-Aube. In addition, all these sites in the Aube, with the exception of Braux, are located along the river.

44. Schmidt 1928, pp. 159 (Congy, a site known as "les Châtaigniers"), 177 (Fère-Champenoise, boulevard du Nord), 289 (Villevenard). For the dates of the Cottel excavations in the Marne, see n. 40 above.

45. Ibid., 1928, p. 195, for Loisy-en-Brie, barn of a farm of M. Anchier.

46. Ibid., p. 278, for Vert-la-Gravelle.

47. The glass cup with the molded inscription (Cabart 1993, and pp. 267–77 below) or the openwork plaque (Renner-Volbach 1970, no. 33) of which the closest to it is no. 32, which comes from the Marne (Morel collection).

48. Mougin 1904, pp. 721–73, and Schmidt 1904–5, pp. 115–22.

49. Mougin 1904; Departmental archives at Châlons-sur-Marne, folio mss. 61, 97, with photographs at half scale. I would like to thank warmly M. Charles Poulain, who communicated the results of his investigations in the archives of the Marne. It is due to the photocopy of his notes that we have been able to identify the Rosay objects.

50. De Ricci 1911: pair of cloisonné disk brooches, pl. VIII, 137, 150; pair of bow brooches, pl. IX, 174–75; pair of earrings, pl. VI, 86–87; jewelry reproduced by Mougin 1904, figs. 1–3. Kühn 1974, vol. 2, p. 943, has catalogued the radiate-head brooches, but confused this Rosay (commune de Val-de-Vière, Marne) with that in Seine Inférieure and incorrectly ascribed them to the Dieppe area and the Musée des Antiquités Rouen. This mistake has been followed by A. Koch (1998, pp. 107, 645, no. 484 and pl. 16.6), according to whom the Metropolitan pieces and their closest parallels are unprovenanced.

51. Schmidt 1904–5, pp. 119–21; Goury 1908, p. 53. According to Goury: "The richest was that of a woman who wore a pair of gold earrings of type I

with a polyhedral pendant ornamented with red glass; a necklace of amber and glass beads; two bronze fibulae in the form of a comet of which the terminals are decorated with red and green glass. The head of the fibula is covered with a sheet of gold over relief zigzag designs. The foot of the fibula has eight colored squares between an interlace of wolf's teeth; two bronze strap ends; a small bronze pin 6 cm long with an eye; and finally an imitation of a gold tremissis of Anastasius."

52. *Archéologie de la France* 1989, p. 389, nos. 242–46.
53. This small toilet article is probably silver, as are numerous parallels (Lavoye, tomb 307; Chaouilley, tomb 19). As the silver of Merovingian jewelry is always impure, it is often impossible to identify this metal without scientific analysis. See Martin 1984.

54. It should also be noted that Cottel owned a café in Lille around 1895 (letter at the Musée des Antiquités Nationales) and that Stanislas Baron had originally been a wine merchant (de Ricci 1910a, Introduction). Did they know each other?
55. Haith 1988, p. 78. Thanks to the illustrations in the publication of Delamain's collection and to archival photographs, Haith identifies sixteen objects as coming from Herpes, including the following: de Ricci 1911, pl. II, 13, 14, 17, 19, 23, corresponding to de Baye 1892a, pl. VIII, 44 and 47, pl. XV, 96; de Ricci 1911, pl. III, 34–35, corresponding to de Baye 1892a, pl. VI, 24, pl. XV, 101, pl. XIV, 87; de Ricci 1911, pl. V, 79.
56. Haith 1988, pp. 77–78.
57. De Ricci 1911, pl. III–27.
58. Pichon sale 1897, no. 170.

4. The Niederbreisig Collection

INTRODUCTION
The Merovingian collection said to be from the Frankish cemetery at Niederbreisig, in the Rhineland, is the only major group of Early Medieval archaeological material in the Morgan collection to have such a specifically localized find spot. It consists of the 410 entries published in de Ricci's 1910 catalogue. While some individual finds and find categories are separately treated in several papers in this volume, the present essay will discuss the historical and topographical context of the site and the history of the collection and its discovery, as well as offer a partial evaluation of its contents.[1]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
In Roman times Niederbreisig belonged to the Imperial province of Germania Inferior, the southern border of which was marked by the river Vinxtbach, which flows into the Rhine, just south of the present town.[2] From the third century Roman writers reported that Frankish groups were invading the Rhine area, and the great number of fortifications there is an impressive monument to the rising threat of this time.[3] After the murder of General Aetius in 454 by the Roman emperor Valentinian III, the province of Germania Inferior could no longer be held.[4]

In the early sixth century Clovis, the king of the Salian Franks, ruled over this part of the Frankish kingdom, for which, during the sixth century, the name Austrasia came into use. According to a contemporary law code, the *Lex Ribuaria*, the former Roman *civitas* of Cologne was organized from the seventh century as a dukedom, which was, temporarily at least, divided into several regions called *gaus*. Niederbreisig belonged to the so-called Bonngau.[5] In the nearby towns of Remagen and Sinzig extensive royal property was to be found in Carolingian times.[6] The convent of Essen, founded in 852, received properties in Niederbreisig as part of its estate of Breisig, to which belonged vineyards in Nieder- and Oberbreisig, Gönnersdorf, Brohl, and Nieder- and Oberlützingen. Despite earlier speculation that the donation had been made as early as 898 by King Zwentibold, according to the most recent
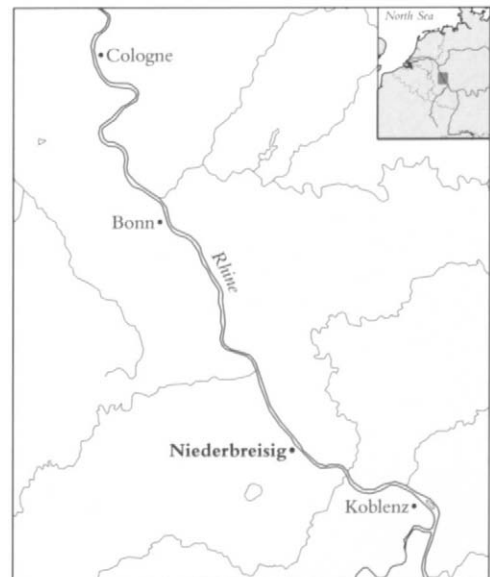
4.1 The location of Niederbreisig in the Rhineland

investigations it seems more likely that this can be traced back to Mathilde, the abbess of the convent of Essen (973–1011) and a granddaughter of Emperor Otto "the Great."[7] According to the earliest written tradition, Oberbreisig at first occupied a position of primacy over Niederbreisig. In 1041 the parish church of Saint Victor in Oberbreisig is mentioned, upon which the chapel of Saint Nicolaus in Niederbreisig was dependent until the eighteenth century.[8] A tithe court of the convent, independent of the other farms associated by feudal law, existed until the fourteenth century in the medieval center of Niederbreisig, not far from the chapel and later parish church.[9]

TOPOGRAPHY

North of Andernach, the Rhine cuts deeply into the Rhenish highlands, the highest terrace of which reaches 150 to 160 m above sea level on either side of the river.[10] Typical of the middle-Rhine area north of Cologne are areas in which natural conditions are particularly favorable to settlement on the lower and middle terraces on both sides of the river. Sheltered from both wind and rain by the heights of the *Schiefergebirge*, the valleys have a relatively warm climate, the so-called Riviera climate.[11] Most of the meadowland between Niederbreisig and Sinzig occupies the lower terraces of recent glacial origin.[12] The use of the productive meadows, 55 to 60 m above sea level, is difficult in the flood plain of the Rhine, but the sandy loam areas, 61 to 66 m above sea level, are safe from high water and can be cultivated the entire year. The medieval center of Niederbreisig, with its church, market, tithe court, and Frankish cemetery, lies on such a small terrace extending along the Rhine, 63 m above sea level (fig. 4.2).[13] Exploiting the safety
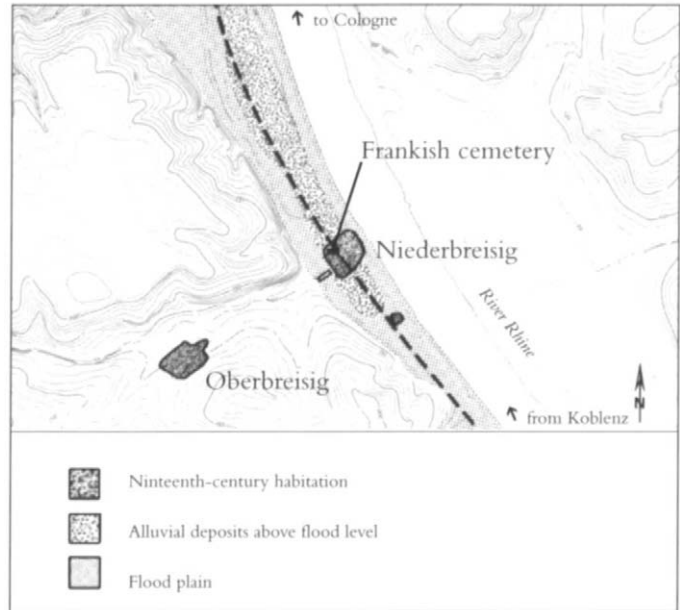
4.2 The topography around Niederbreisig

from high water, it was situated at a crossroads: one was the main road that existed from Roman times, running from Bingen to Cologne and Nijmegen along the Rhine, while the other followed the sharply cut course of the river Frankenbach, westward up onto the main terrace. Niederbreisig was a station on the eighth–ninth-century military road from Aachen to Frankfurt, and on the medieval trade route from Cologne, via Koblenz and Mainz, to Frankfurt. South of the center, the carbonic and mineral springs are marked by names such as *Geiersprudel, Mariensprudel,* and *Ludgerussprudel*; these are still used as thermal springs or sources of mineral water.[14]

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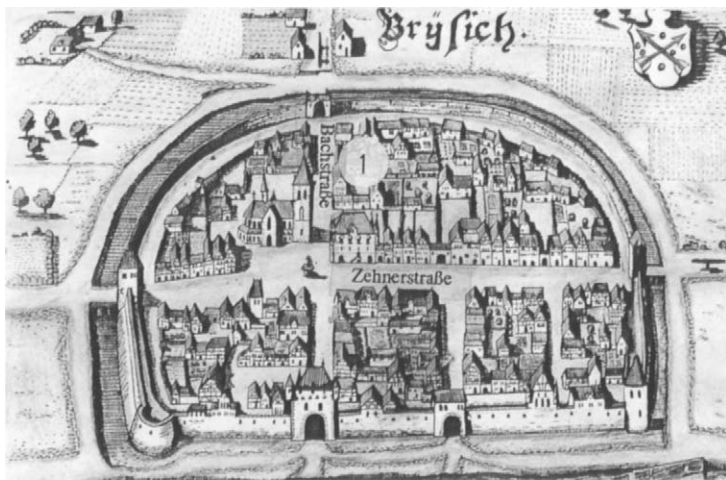
4.3 View of "Brysisch" published by Merian in 1647, with the site of the Frankish cemetery (1) and adjacent modern street names superimposed

In this area, so favorably located and endowed, several finds from the Roman period have been made,[15] but all the known early find spots lie far from the medieval center[16] and cannot be connected directly with the area of the Frankish cemetery. This center is clearly shown on the prospect of the town of *"Brysisch"* published in 1647 by Merian (fig. 4.3), although it is doubtful that this engraving accurately reproduces contemporary architecture.[17] It is certain that the embankment road along the Rhine and the access roads to the river and to Oberbreisig along the valley of the Frankenbach were always decisive for settlement.[18] The chapel and tithe court lay at the crossing of these roads, and between them is the Frankish cemetery discovered in 1890 (marked 1 on fig. 4.3).[19]

COMPOSITION OF THE COLLECTION
The Niederbreisig finds in The Metropolitan Museum of Art illustrate the range of known types from Frankish graves in the Rhineland of the sixth and seventh centuries, particularly the seventh century. These finds, which

included some Roman glass[20] as well as a Late Roman copper-alloy buckle and a terra nigra cup that were purchased by the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn in 1899,[21] came directly from the excavator, Friedrich Queckenberg.[22] Since the exact find place is not mentioned in the Bonn inventory book, the likely beginning of the cemetery in Roman times cannot be proved. One of the earliest Merovingian finds in the Morgan collection is an iron buckle with an inlay of copper-alloy strips on the oval loop and a kidney-shaped attachment plate that is overlaid with copper alloy (fig 4.4).[23] Buckles of this type can be found in graves from the second half of the fifth century (see p. 302 below).[24] Of the finds now in Bonn, it should be noted that a handmade pot with ribs is not Frankish. Similar pieces from other Rhineland Frankish cemeteries, such as at Nettersheim,[25] Meckenheim,[26] and Remagen,[27] suggest parallels among central German material. Most of these date to the sixth century and mark a migration of people from central Germany.[28]

There can be no doubt about the authenticity of most of the finds,[29] but the combinations of items in the grave groups seen in
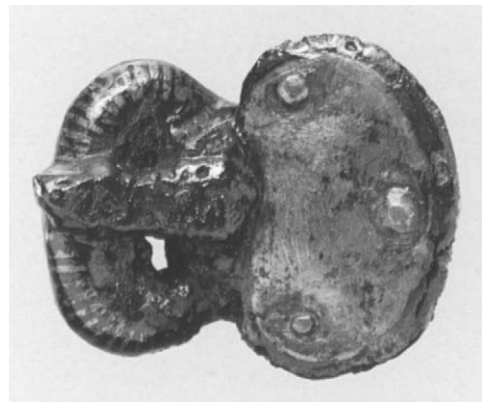
4.4 Buckle. Iron, copper alloy. Frankish, second half 5th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Length 4.7 cm. (17.193.49)
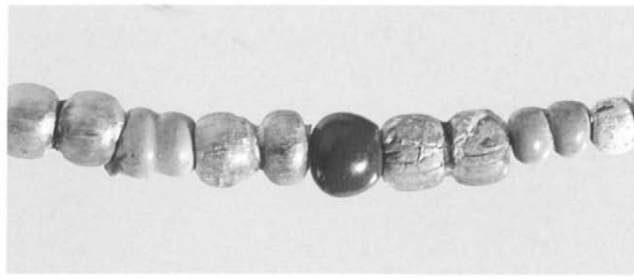
4.5–4.6 Beads from two necklaces. Glass. Frankish, early 6th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Above: segmented forms, some with gold or silver underlay, length .9 cm. (17.193.222). Below: small black forms, diameter .25 cm., among later elongated forms, with white or yellow decoration on red, of the 6th and 7th century (17.193.6)

de Ricci's plates must have had an aesthetic justification or perhaps served to help in selling the pieces. Regardless of the sex of the deceased or the date of the burial, the grave groups, as reproduced by de Ricci, are suspiciously consistent in their contents. The objects appear to have been arranged in such a way that each grave offers a sample of every type of find. A large single brooch or a pair of bow brooches, for example, appears on every plate, as does, in most instances, a necklace.

The combination of beads in individual necklaces likewise seems governed by aesthetic criteria rather than find circumstances.[30] In several necklaces, translucent beads, black beads, beads of rock crystal, and beads with a fine gold or silver underlay, all of which date from the end of the fifth to the early sixth century, appear together with beads from the late sixth and the seventh century, such as amethyst beads, almond-shaped beads, shell disks, and the so-called *Flockenperlen* (glass beads with colored spots).[31] One necklace has a figurative decorated glass bead of Roman type, not to be found in the Frankish period.[32]

Bead types, whether singly or in combination, are important for determining chronological phases.[33] Recent studies, applying a statistical analysis, especially of beads in combination, have supported this.[34] Because of the obvious mixture of the finds from Niederbreisig, only some characteristic types will be mentioned and illustrated.

A typology of bead types in combination has been established for the northern part of the Rhineland. It shows that Late Antique translucent beads, mostly of light color, appear singly in Frankish necklaces of the early sixth century.[35] Characteristic of early Frankish necklaces are: glass beads with a gold or silver underlay (fig. 4.5);[36] small black beads (fig. 4.6); and blue glass tubular
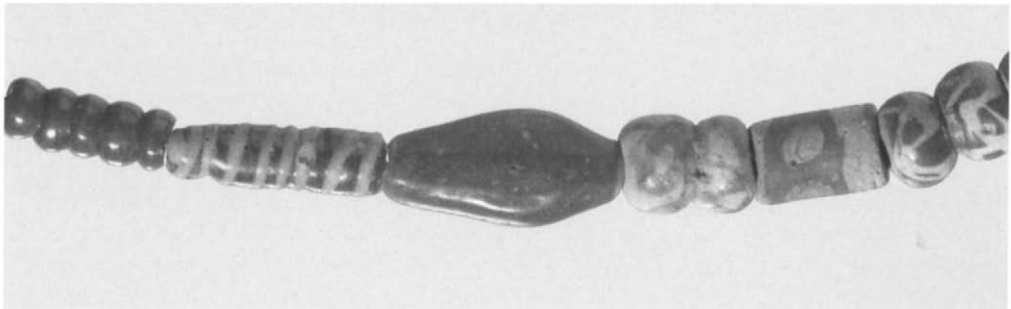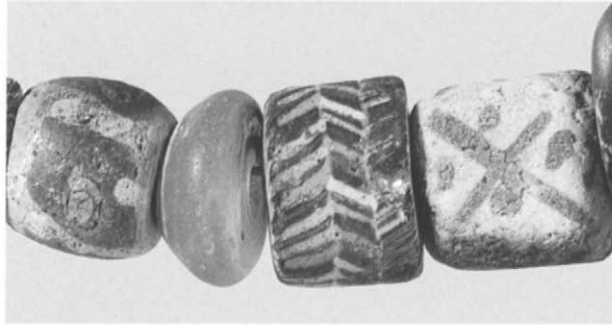
4.7–4.10 Beads from one necklace. Glass. Frankish, late 6th–early 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. (17.193.45).

Above: bead with twisted ribbon pattern, blue trailing across brown and white (right), length 1.4 cm; alongside three beads decorated with an "eye," in red, blue, and white, and others with yellow decoration on red.

Center left: bead with reticella pattern, in red and yellow, diameter 1.5 cm; and cuboid form with blue and red decoration on white. Center right: bead with combed-stripe pattern in red and yellow, diameter 2 cm.

Below: flat almond amethyst bead, length 1.7 cm; segmented aquamarine glass and cylindrical form with white decoration on red (left) and blue and white, green and yellow, and red and yellow (right).

beads.[37] At the end of the sixth century decorated beads are predominant, for example, with a twisted-ribbon pattern (fig. 4.7),[38] as are biconical orange beads (fig. 4.14) and undecorated multiples.

From this it appears that the Niederbreisig beads belong to various phases. One necklace (figs. 4.7–4.10), for example, exhibits seventh-century bead types, such as luxury beads, so-called *Prunkperlen* (here, a cubical bead with colored edges and dots, fig. 4.8, right),[39] almond-shaped beads (fig. 4.10),[40] and large beads with a combed-stripe pattern (fig. 4.9);[41] but it also has "reticella" beads (fig. 4.8, center), which for the most part are to be found in necklaces of the sixth century.[42] Another necklace, besides luxury beads, has a mosaic bead, an imported type in use over a long period (fig. 4.11),[43] alongside small black beads, which occur in large numbers primarily in early Frankish necklaces (fig. 4.6).[44] A third necklace has disk-shaped beads made from shell (fig. 4.12). In the Frankish period they were produced from the shell of a Mediterranean oyster (spondylus gaederopus l.),[45] and then transported to the Frankish realm over the passes of the Alps;[46] they are found primarily in late Frankish graves in the lower Rhine valley.[47] Other imported beads include those made from amethyst (figs. 4.10, 4.13), which start to appear in necklaces in the second half of the sixth century.[48]

The so-called cowry shells (Cypraceae) further illuminate the extent of trade with the Mediterranean in this period. They and conical bone pendants, called after their shape "Hercules clubs," along with iron keys were attached to women's belts as pendants.[49] The chronology of these belt components cannot be fixed precisely, whereas others, such as characteristic openwork disks, or chatelaines, were mostly in use during the first half of the seventh century (figs. 21.48–21.50).[50]

Among the necklaces, the Metropolitan uniquely possesses five gold-sheet pendants (fig. 4.14), one with a central boss. Such filigree-decorated pendants appear in rich female graves in Frankish, Alemannic, and Langobardic regions.[51] Since numerous parallels demonstrate the frequency of this type at the end of the sixth century, a span ranging from the middle of the sixth century to the beginning of the seventh century is likely. Comparable pendants can already be found in a grave from Krefeld-Gellep, no. 1803,[52] that is dated to after the middle of the sixth century; the grave of an old woman from Schleitheim belongs to the second quarter of the seventh century;[53] and a comparable pendant along with a coin of Madelinus, which gives a date after 630, is among the grave goods from a site at Beuningen, Gelderland, Netherlands.[54]

Unique at the Metropolitan is a pair of bow brooches of gilt silver (fig. 4.16) with a rectangular headplate decorated in what is described as deluxe Animal Style I. The uniqueness of this group lies in its many variants, which makes it difficult to arrange typologically.[55] The Niederbreisig pair is placed among the so-called relief brooches of Scandinavian type[56] in a series characterized by the semicircular border of the foot, a feature that links the Niederbreisig brooches in New York with examples in Mannheim, also said to have come from Niederbreisig.[57] Animal Style I ornament is rare in this series, but the vertical division of the headplate, with symmetrically arranged animals, can also be seen on brooches from Chessel Down, in the Isle of Wight, and from near Nordendorf and Darmstadt in western Germany.[58] A large number of the English brooches terminate in a disk, with or without a human mask,[59] but the terminal with a semicircular border links the Niederbreisig brooches with Langobardic-influenced brooches of the "Cividale" type. Interestingly, a neighboring find, from Krefeld-Stratum, also displays this element.[60] Such brooches with a rectangular headplate are to be found in women's graves of the second third of the sixth century.[61]

Another characteristic of the New York collection from Niederbreisig is the wealth of high-quality brooches, especially the gold
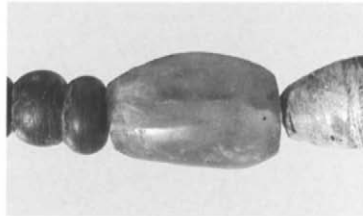
composite types from the seventh century (see figs. 21.13, 21.14, 21.16, 21.17, 21.25, and pls. 9A and 10A, B, D).[62] There is also a remarkably large number of pins, a frequency also matched at the cemetery of Kobern-Gondorf, about thirty kilometers south of Niederbreisig.[63] The Niederbreisig pins in New York include one *Schleiernadel*, a type with a large gilded globular head that was in use at the Frankish court in the seventh century.[64] For the most part the pins are of copper alloy with a polyhedral knop on the shaft or a spatulate terminal (fig. 21.55). They belonged to the hairdress of Frankish women or were used for fastening the cloak (p. 260). In Frankish

4.11–4.13 Beads. Frankish, 6th and 7th centuries. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Above: mosaic-patterned, glass, length 2 cm. (17.193.6). Center: group of disk-shaped shell and biconical monochrome glass beads, maximum diameter 1.2 cm. (17.193.181). Below: tear-shaped amethyst (right), length 1.6 cm., and segmented blue glass (left) (17.193.112)

graves of the Rhineland, decorative pins of this type are found mostly in the seventh century.[65]

Frequent among the material in New York are simple combs (fig. 4.15), some with a double row of teeth,[66] used by men as well

as women during the entire Frankish period.[67] Combs with cases and often with a loop,[68] found in women's graves, suggest they were suspended from the belt. The occurrence of combs with cases in the northern Rhine valley appears to have been limited to women's graves of the sixth century.[69]

Although pottery vessels are not preserved among the grave goods in New York, there are two items that can probably be linked with other types of containers, namely, a wooden box[70] and a leather bag.[71] Boxes with copper-alloy or iron fittings appear in richly furnished graves of the sixth to the beginning of the seventh century.[72] As an example from a grave at Cologne-Saint Severin shows, these containers were used for storing clothes and fabrics.[73] They can be traced to late Roman times and are also distributed among Germanic graves in "Germania libera."[74] A man's grave, no. 2 at Apahida, has a box dating back to the fifth century.[75] An undecorated box with iron fittings, dated to phases 3 to 6,[76] has been found in grave no. 2606 from Krefeld-Gellep,[77] and another in Müngersdorf, grave no. 91,[78] is dated to phase 4. Their use is documented until the seventh century in graves from Rhenen,[79] Dannstadt-Schauernheim,[80] Weilerswist-Lommersum I,[81] and Düren-Birkesdorf.[82]

The copper-alloy fittings on the leather bag find their closest parallels nearby in a bag from Lich-Steinstraß (Erftkreis, Cologne).[83] This type of accessory belongs to the grave goods of rich Frankish women, mostly in Belgium and northern France (pp. 259–60).

This brief enumeration highlights the range of the New York grave goods. It is clear that the Niederbreisig material demonstrates intense local contacts as well as connections and exchanges between peoples over long distances during the Frankish period. The grave goods as grouped at present could not have come originally from graves with such a mixture of items. Consequently, it is advisable to reexamine the history of the cemetery and its excavation in order to assess the status and significance of the New York collection.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

When Seymour de Ricci published in 1910 the Niederbreisig material purchased by Morgan, he indicated that it all came from one place in Niederbreisig, which had been excavated by the local postmaster, Friedrich Queckenberg, and that it had been sold after Queckenberg's death in 1909. There were few hints as to the history of the excavations, the origins of the finds, or even the exact localization of the find place.[84] De Ricci's information about the origins came from the periodical *Bonner Jahrbücher*, which for the most part dealt with Roman finds, the find place of which also can not be exactly determined.[85] Herbert Kühn and, later, Stephen Foltiny assumed that all the pieces had been sold by Friedrich Queckenberg to the Mainz dealer David Reiling, who in turn sold them in their entirety to Morgan.[86] But it was the postmaster's heir, his brother Joseph, a famous and somewhat notorious collector, who actually sold the finds. As indicated below, suspicion about the authenticity of the latter's own collection arose later.

Between 1934 and 1937 Hermann Stoll, at the prompting of the conservator of the Rhine Province, F. Oelmann, compiled a catalogue of all the Frankish finds discovered in the Rhineland,[87] the so-called Frankenkatalog. Besides the Morgan purchase, he documented material said to have come from Niederbreisig that was preserved in eight other museums.[88] In addition to the excavations of Friedrich Queckenberg, Stoll also noted the further excavations by Fritz Littauer in 1914. While finds from Niederbreisig were still stored in Frankfurt, Mannheim, Berlin, and Leiden,[89] the finds in Cologne and Darmstadt had been transferred to the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn and were recorded there between 1935 and 1939.[90] Herbert Kühn's study of the 410 pieces conserved in New York[91] is based on de Ricci's catalogue,[92] but more than a thousand additional finds said to have come from Niederbreisig are now known, so that the original extent of the cemetery can certainly be compared in size with the Merovingian
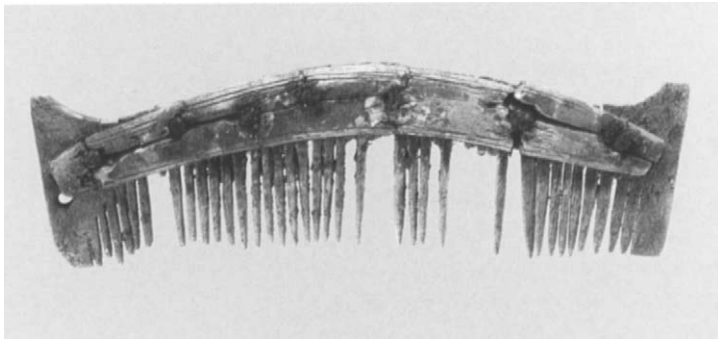
4.14 Necklace with pendants. Gold, glass.
Frankish, second half 6th–first half 7th cen-
tury. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Length
13.5cm. (17.193.128)

4.15 Comb. Bone, iron. Frankish, 7th cen-
tury. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Length
16.5cm. (17.193.123)

4.16 Square-headed bow brooch. Gilt silver,
niello. Frankish, mid-6th century. From
Niederbreisig, Germany. Length 10.3cm.
(17.193.64b)

discoveries at Kobern-Gondorf, for example. The connection between the Niederbreisig find complexes, which became known at different times, will be treated in the following discussion.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERIES

About 1890/92 Gottfried Lindlohr and Jacob Schmitz from Andernach and Friedrich Queckenberg from Niederbreisig discovered two Frankish cemeteries: one at Niederbreisig, the other at Oberbreisig.[93] While the finds from the former site caused great excitement in the ensuing years and appeared in several auctions, the fate of finds from the latter remains obscure. The possibility cannot be ruled out that they were sold with those said to have come from the more famous, and therefore more profitable, find place of "Niederbreisig." Excavations began there in the garden of the hotel "Zum weißen Roß" in Zehnerstraße; Friedrich Queckenberg subsequently extended them to include properties along Bachstraße (fig. 4.3).[94] With the expansion of the post-office building between today's Bachstraße and Zehnerstraße, the excavations began in earnest.[95]

As early as November 1892 the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg purchased several saxes at a public sale held by the auctioneers Lempertz in Cologne.[96] In September 1892 representatives from the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Frankfurt visited the excavations and purchased from "Joseph" Schmitz[97] pieces that are still stored there.[98] Letters of July 21, 1893, August 12, 1893, and July 16, 1894, written by Jacob Schmitz, a dealer in antiquities from Andernach, survive in which he announced the auction of new finds and offered them to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. In the August 1893 letter he reported that fifty belts with silver-inlaid fittings, six gold brooches, and fifty necklaces had been found. This number corresponds exactly to the number of finds conserved in Nuremberg.[99] In 1893 and 1894 the Berlin Völkerkundemuseum also purchased

Frankish finds from Niederbreisig.[100] When Lempertz in Cologne sold two collections in 1895, a reputedly Merovingian horseshoe was on offer.[101]

In 1896 the Cologne auction house of Offermann sold finds from Niederbreisig; Jacob Schmitz and Friedrich Queckenberg were identified as the owners in the flyleaf of the catalogue.[102] Among the items were twelve belts with inlaid fittings, two saxes, three spathas, four spearheads, seventeen necklaces, nine brooches, and many neck- and armrings. But not all these finds can be considered Merovingian. The Reiss-Museum at Mannheim acquired pieces for its Niederbreisig collection at this auction,[103] and purchased further finds from David Reiling of Mainz between 1896 and 1898. According to the Frankenkatalog, attached to the items purchased in 1898 was a note reading "Sammlung Queckenberg 1898."[104] Also in 1896 the museum in Mainz purchased a gold disk brooch from Niederbreisig.[105] On October 10, 1899, the Provinzialmuseum in Bonn purchased, apparently direct from Friedrich Queckenberg, a Merovingian-period ribbed jar together with a vessel of form Alzei 30, a terra nigra cup, and a Late Roman copper-alloy buckle, all said to have come from the same grave.[106]

After that, there was a lull in the appearance of spectacular finds from Niederbreisig, probably due to the exhaustion of the find place. When Friedrich Queckenberg died in 1909 his heirs, principally his brother Joseph, began their efforts to sell pieces from the collection to the highest bidder. A letter of January 15, 1910, from the director of the Provinzialmusem in Bonn to the heirs, did not result in acquisition.[107] On March 6, 1910, Heinrich Dreesen, who lived as a pensioner in Sinzig, offered to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London a "magnificent private collection" for the "very reasonable price of 300,000 Marks," plus the costs of packing, insurance, and shipping.[108] He mentioned neither the owner nor the origin of this collection, but in order to impress on

the English its value he remarked that German provincial museums were making every effort to get hold of "this outstandingly valuable collection." He enclosed a list of items of the "finest and most spectacular, most singular collection of this kind in the world," in which were included oil paintings, Roman and Frankish coins, gems, weapons, pottery vessels, glass, buckles, and also "eighteen Frankish grave groups pinned together on boards . . ." Photos of six of these groups were enclosed. They show the finds from Niederbreisig arranged exactly as they later appeared in de Ricci's plates I, II, IV–XII. Other photos showed Roman and Frankish glass vessels and weapons. The offer was passed on to the British Museum, which declined to purchase because of the high price. The collection was also offered to museums in Berlin and Darmstadt, supported with a letter from the director of the Provinzialmuseum in Bonn, who had made efforts to keep the collection in the Rhineland.[109]

On May 25, 1910, Morgan, with the assistance of the dealer Jacques Seligmann, in Paris, purchased part of Dreesen's material for £10,000. On the bill is noted: "Merovingian antiquities coming from the late Post Master Queckenberg in Niederbreisig on the Rhine."[110] The reasons for the decision not to purchase the 140 pottery vessels noted on Dreesen's list, and to obtain only some of the 75 glass vessels listed, are obscure. On Morgan's instructions, Seligmann entrusted de Ricci with compiling the catalogue of the collection, oversaw the printing of 150 copies, dispatched these to selected libraries and collectors in France, Belgium, and Germany and to the board of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and shipped the collection itself to New York (see p. 10 above).[111]

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS
After 1911 Joseph Queckenberg offered for sale more prehistoric, Roman, and Frankish finds from the Rhineland, among them pieces from Niederbreisig that belonged to his own collection. His wife and her sister also visited London and offered several finds to different museums.[112] In 1912 a heated exchange between the director of the Provinzialmuseum in Bonn, Hans Lehner, and Joseph Queckenberg appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* concerning the authenticity of the finds and the legality of their sale.[113]

Such skepticism existed concerning this later collection that in 1913 H. P. Mitchell visited Joseph Queckenberg in Niederbreisig on behalf of the British Museum. His report is relevant to Morgan's 1910 purchase since Mitchell looked into the long-standing doubts concerning the integrity of the Queckenberg family's actions. He noted the rumor that, on the death of Friedrich Queckenberg in 1909, his collection had contained four grave groups, but had emerged for sale with twenty-five, exactly the number illustrated in the plates in de Ricci's catalogue. He did not discuss who might have been responsible for this discrepancy. In the end, Mitchell wrote that doubts concerning Queckenberg stemmed from the jealousy of professional archaeologists toward a layman and that the integrity of Joseph Queckenberg could not be doubted.[114]

In a private arrangement, a local nobleman became the owner of the material. Consequently, the auction of the collection of Max Freiherr von Geyr und Schweppenburg on November 25, 1919, caused a sensation in the archaeological world because the authenticity and origin of the finds in the collection were in considerable doubt. Following the damning critique of the auction catalogue of his collection that appeared in the journal *Germania* in 1920,[115] Max Freiherr von Geyr und Schweppenburg published a statement in 1921 in which he sought to show he had been deceived by Joseph Queckenberg, who had bought finds from elsewhere or had falsified them.[116]

This complicated history shows the relevance of doubts, not about the authenticity but rather about the exact origin of the finds said to have come from Niederbreisig.

The explosive public debate that the sales aroused from 1911 onward led finally to the so-called *Preußisches Ausgrabungsgesetz* of March 26, 1914. This statute forbade excavations by private persons without scientific credentials, and mandated the delivery of any finds to local museums. It is fitting that it was also popularly called the "*Lex Queckenberg*."[117]

1. I want to thank all the colleagues without whose assistance I could not have completed this article: K. Brown, New York; D. Kidd, London; H. Ament, Mainz; H. Roth, Bonn; J. Giesler, Bonn; M. Bertram, Berlin; U. Koch and A. Wieczorek, Mannheim; E. Wamers, Frankfurt; and T. Springer, Nuremberg.

2. Heyen 1979, p. 298.

3. Kunow 1987, pp. 83, 88; Wieczorek 1996, pp. 243–45.

4. Ewig 1980, pp. 13–14.

5. Ibid., p. 50; Ewig 1973, pp. 424–45.

6. P. Clemen in *Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Ahrweiler*, 1938, p. 13.

7. Weigel 1960, pp. 42–45; Schilp 1989, iii.1, p. 4. Compare the map of the estate of Breisig: Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf, map 2565, published in Schilp 1989, pl. 3. Stausberg 1963, p. 15.

8. Schilp 1989, ii.2, p. 2. Clemen in *Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Ahrweiler* 1938, p. 426.

9. Schilp 1989, iii.1, p. 4; to Pröferhof, ibid., i.6, p. 1.

10. Müller-Miny 1959. Map in fig. 4.2, with acknowledgment, is based on Kaiser, Hoffmann, and Ahrens 1939, sheet 3157.

11. Müller-Miny 1959, pp. 213–19.

12. Kaiser, Hoffmann, and Ahrens 1939, pp. 20, 40.

13. Nineteenth-century habitation after Tranchot and v. Müffling 1978, sheet 122; alluvial area and flood plain after Kaiser, Hoffman, and Ahrens 1939, sheets 3157, 5409.

14. Kaiser, Hoffmann, and Ahrens 1939, pp. 28–29.

15. See Kleemann 1971, pp. 95, 98. The reports of Roman finds start in 1609; see Breitbach 1954, pp. 9–10.

16. Schilp 1989, ii.2, p. 2, and ii.5, p. 3.

17. *Topographia Westphaliae* 1647. The prospect shows an impressive church and a complete fortification with walls, ditches, and towers. See Schilp 1989, pl. 2; and Clemen in *Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Ahrweiler* 1938, p. 430.

18. Schilp 1989, ii.3, ii.5, p. 3.

19. Breitbach 1954, pp. 141–42.

20. De Ricci 1910b, pl. xxvi, nos. 329–31, and p. 36, nos. 402 and 404.

21. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. nos. 13114–13117.

22. See also note 4 above.

23. De Ricci 1910b, pl. II, no. 49. Department of Arms and Armor, inv. no. 17.193.49. De Ricci called the inlay gold, but recent analysis by Pete Dandridge, Conservator, Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, shows it is not (personal communication).

24. Type S-Gür 1.3; see Nieveler and Siegmund 1999 and Martin 1989, p. 122.

25. Nieveler 1995, pl. 184,7.

26. Information courtesy of J. Bongardt, Bonn.

27. Werner 1935, pls. 2, A3.

28. See Wieczorek 1989, particularly pp. 60–65.

29. Ament n.d., forthcoming, n. 5. Some pieces could not be examined in the original. The phases, as discussed below, correspond to the chronological scheme published in Nieveler and Siegmund 1999, which analyzes all finds of the Frankish period from the northern Rhineland. This scheme is based on a new typology of the finds, especially ceramics. The total material was analyzed on the basis of combinations in three separate analyses, each producing a seriation (female graves, male graves, necklaces). In addition, topo-chronological analyses were made of the cemeteries at Krefeld-Gellep, Köln-Müngersdorf, Köln-Junkersdorf, Iversheim, Stockum, and Walsum. On this basis, the material from the early fifth to the mid-eighth century was arranged in eleven chronological phases.

30. The following necklaces could not be examined in the original because they were deaccessioned and sold after 1980: inv. nos. 17.193.74, .253, and .279, corresponding to de Ricci 1910b, pls. IV, 74; XIX, 253; and XXI, 279.

31. Combination groups I–III, phases 3–5 (end of the fifth to the second third of the sixth century): late Roman translucent beads (17.193.101, .112, .222, .264, .299); beads with a fine gold or silver underlay (17.193.101, .222, .264); hexagonal "millefiori" beads (17.193.222); reticella beads (17.193.45, .322); beads of rock crystal (17.193.112, .231); translucent green glass with white "Fiedermuster" (17.193.45). Combination groups IV and V, phases 5–8, some until phases 10/11 (mid-sixth to the end of the seventh century); amethyst beads (17.193.45, .112); almond-shaped beads (17.193.67, .85, .121, .134, .222, .231, .264, .289, .299, .322); shell disks (from the second third of the seventh century; 17.193.85, .181, .214, .222 , .231, .411); *Flockenperlen* (from the second third of the seventh century; 17.193.6, .45, .101, .112, .181, .222, .264, .299, .322); big beads of stone (17.193.289).

32. Inv. no. 17.193.222. See also Dubin 1987, p. 338, no. 354, p. 339, no. 474.

33. U. Koch 1977, pp. 16ff. For a survey of research in this area, see Sasse and Theune 1997, pp. 118–19.

34. See, for example, Wieczorek 1987, pp. 355ff.; Roth and Theune 1988; Siegmund 1998, pp. 57ff.

35. Siegmund 1998, p. 58.
36. On the derivation of this technique from Roman traditions, see Fremersdorf 1955, p. 85.
37. Siegmund 1998, p. 58.
38. Ibid.
39. U. Koch 1997b, p. 145, pl. 7, no. 67,1 (Iversheim grave no. 141, here together with a cross-shaped brooch of the late seventh century). See also Neuffer-Müller 1972, pl. 41,4a; and Nieveler and Siegmund 1999, p. 18.
40. Siegmund 1998, p. 65; Ament 1977, p. 308.
41. Siegmund 1998, p. 65.
42. Ibid., p. 67.
43. U. Koch 1974, pp. 515ff. and fig. 3.
44. Siegmund 1998, p. 67.
45. Siegmund and Weiss 1989; and U. Jux in Siegmund 1998, pp. 77–78.
46. Henning 1996, pp. 794–95.
47. Nieveler and Siegmund 1999, chronological phases 8–10; Siegmund 1998, p. 77.
48. U. Koch 1977, p. 72.
49. Arends 1978, pp. 168ff. On the so-called Hercules clubs (inv. nos. 17.193.31 and .32), see Werner 1964; also, Siegmund 1998, p. 83. Cowry shells: inv. nos. 17.193.38 and .263.
50. Nieveler and Siegmund 1999, p. 17.
51. Unterthürheim: Grünewald 1988, pp. 93–94 n. 97.
52. Pirling 1974, pl. 54.
53. U. Koch (1977, p. 74) ascribed those in Schretzheim to her phase 4 (end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century), Martin (1976, pp. 76–77) to the last quarter of the sixth century. Bänteli and Ruckstuhl 1986, pp. 73 and 77, fig. 7,1.
54. Ypey 1973, pp. 441–58, fig. 1C. The status of the grave goods from this site is still unsettled.
55. Vierck 1967, p. 104.
56. Nissen Fett 1941, p. 37 (her series IIA).
57. Ibid., pl. XIII,39.
58. Bakka 1958, p. 17, fig. 7; Kühn 1965, pp. 307–13, pls. 103;40,3 and 104;12–13. For a recent discussion of that style, see Haseloff 1981, pp. 479–85. Also Göldner 1987 (p. 251, pl. 39b) for this type.
59. An exception is the brooch from Londesborough, York Museum. Åberg 1926, p. 69, fig. 110.
60. Kühn 1965, p. 314 and pl. 104.
61. Nieveler and Siegmund 1999, p. 11.
62. Nine gold composite disk brooches are stored in New York; others are in Bonn, Frankfurt, and Mannheim.
63. Schulze-Dörrlamm 1990, p. 132, table 2.
64. Ibid., p. 132. Inv. no. 17.193.124.
65. Siegmund 1998, p. 44; Nieveler and Siegmund 1999, pp. 15–17.
66. Inv. nos. 17.193.86, .95, .185, .215, .226, .238, .255, .267, .275, .288, .298, .306.
67. Siegmund 1998, p. 116.
68. Inv. nos. 17.193.37, .322.
69. Double-sided combs with cases from the following dated finds: For Junkersdorf, see La Baume 1967: grave no. 43, p. 151; grave no. 139, pl. 8,139.5; grave no. 148, pl. 8,148.3; grave no. 163, pl. 10,163.1; grave no. 248, pl. 17,248.2; grave no. 356, p. 212. For Müngersdorf grave nos. 88, 91b, and 116, see Fremersdorf 1955, pls. 14,88.6; 16,24; and 20,116.7, respectively. For Rübenach grave nos. 153, 163, 212, 214, see Neuffer-Müller and Ament 1973, pls. 9,8; 10,12; 12,28; 13,3, respectively; also p. 143, fig. 5, phase B1/2, second half of sixth century. For Schwarzrheindorf grave nos. 12, 15, 28, see Behrens 1947, figs. 12,3; 15,4; and 27,8, respectively. For Siersdorf grave no. 2, see Bonner Jahrbücher 146 (1941), pl. 58. For Xanten Saint Victor grave no. 89 and Orsoy grave no. 5, see Siegmund 1998, pls. 238,12 and 132,4, respectively.
70. Inv. no. 17.193.213.
71. Inv. no. 17.193.130, .131.
72. U. Koch 1990, pp. 172–73 and n. 485.
73. For a summary, see Schulze-Dörrlamm 1990, p. 130 and n. 1.
74. Ibid., p. 131.
75. Horedt and Protase 1972, pp. 210–11, figs. 11 and 12.
76. On the chronological phases, see Nieveler and Siegmund 1999.
77. Pirling 1974, pl. 45,9–10.
78. Fremersdorf 1955, pl. 16.
79. Grave no. 413, dated in Ypey (1964, p. 88) to "around 600"; the associated finds are not shown.
80. Grave no. 5: Polenz 1988, pl. 15,8–13; here together with seventh-century beads; see also ibid., pl. 14, 3–5, phases 5–8.
81. Neuffer-Müller 1960, p. 244 (grave no. 42).
82. Grave no. 2/[1901]: Plum 1994, pl. 120,3; here together with a broad-rimmed tumbler.
83. Päffgen and Becker 1994, p. 48; Janssen 1980, grave 62A.
84. De Ricci 1910b, Introduction, pp. iii–iv.
85. Ibid., p. iii.
86. Kühn 1937b, p. 139; Foltiny 1972, p. 53. This idea appears to derive partly from photos Kühn saw of the objects in the files of David Reiling, taken before they came to the Metropolitan (confidential note recorded in archives of Department of Medieval Art) [eds.].
87. This catalogue is still kept in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. Along with the lists of graves and photos or drawings of the finds, it is an invaluable resource for Frankish finds of the Rhineland. It allows the exact identification and determination of finds mixed up or lost in World War II. The work of Stoll was supplemented by Wilhelmine Hagen, who examined the stores of the museums in Bonn, Cologne, Neuß, and Remagen, and by Kurt Böhner, who examined all finds in the Landesmuseum at Trier. See Stoll 1938 and Böhner 1958a, p. 11.

88. Leiden, Rijksmuseum; Berlin, Völkerkunde-
    museum; Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum
    (Sammlung Niessen); Mannheim, Zeughaus-
    museum; Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum;
    Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum;
    Frankfurt am Main, Museum für Vor- und Frühge-
    schichte; Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum.

89. Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. nos. 13114;
    35,32; 35,39–46; 35,277; 35,326; 38,532–534; 39,1035;
    39,1039; 44,139; 44,164. Mannheim, Reiss-Museum.
    Frankfurt, inv. no. x 15048–15211. Nuremberg,
    inv. nos. 1384, 1386–1389, 1391, 1396–1403, 1405,
    1407, 1408, 1524, 1525, 1527, 1528. Berlin inv. no. Ii
    1620–1628.

90. Kleemann 1971, pp. 95–96.

91. Three of the pieces catalogued by de Ricci have
    been sold: inv. nos. 17.193.253, .279, and 74.58;
    other pieces, including knives, saxes, axes, and
    spearheads, were de-accessioned because of their
    condition. Some of these pieces can probably be
    found among the weapons without an inventory
    number in the Department of Arms and Armor.

92. Kühn 1934, p. 110; Ament n.d., forthcoming.

93. For Oberbreisig, see Kleemann 1971, p. 101, no. 3.

94. *Breisiger Amtsbote* 7, no. 34 (1873–74), p. 4.

95. Ament n.d., forthcoming; O. A. Koblenz, Frage-
    bogen 1924/25; Kühn 1934, p. 11; Hommen 1993,
    pp. 72–73. Hommen gave exact information about
    these excavations, but it cannot be proved, because
    the files of the Landeshauptarchiv, Koblenz, that he
    cited (p. 78) cannot be found (information provided
    by Mr. Neupert, Landeshauptarchiv, Koblenz,
    March 19, 1997).

96. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv.
    no. 1386–1888.

97. Report of the Städtisches Commission für Ankäufe,
    September 4, 1892 (Wamers 1986). Is Jacob Schmitz
    meant?

98. Wamers 1986, pp. 6–7.

99. Ortsakten des Germanischen Nationalmuseums,
    Nuremberg.

100. Ament n.d., forthcoming; also, M. Bertram, Museum
    für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin (March 24,
    1997), kindly provided information regarding the
    purchase of the Forrer collection. Compare cata-
    logues of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte,
    Berlin: Menghin 1994, p. 171; and Bertram 1995,
    pp. 9, 76.

101. *Katalog der reichhaltigen Antiken-Cabinete der Herren
    Rentner F. Herm. Wolff in Köln und Prof. Dr. E. aus'm
    Werth in Kessenich bei Bonn* (sale cat., J. M. Heberle
    at H. Lempertz' Söhne, Cologne, July 8–10, 1895),
    p. 58, lot 761.

102. *Katalog der reichhaltigen und ausgewählten Sammlung
    germanischer und fränkischer Alterthümer aus dem
    Besitze der Herren Fr. Queckenberg in Niederbreisig, Jac.
    Schmitz in Andernach nebst einer hervorragenden
    Sammlung römischer Alterthümer aus Kölner Privatbesitz*
    (sale cat., Erstes Kölner Antiquitäten- und Kunst-
    Auctionshaus Carl Offermann & Co., Cologne,
    June 8–9, 1896). I thank D. Kidd, British Museum,
    London, for a copy of this catalogue.

103. Certainly ibid., lots 58, 59, 91, 92, 95, 98, 100, and
    101. Perhaps the earrings and necklaces, inv. nos.
    1524, 1525, 1528, and the equal-armed brooches,
    inv. nos. 1526–27, were purchased afterward,
    because the museum's inventory book records the
    years 1893 and 1894 as their find dates.

104. See note 87 above. Certainly the two bird brooches
    without number, a gold disk brooch (Franken-
    katalog, no. 19), and two copper-alloy disk brooches
    (Offermann sale 1896, lot 94; Frankenkatalog,
    nos. 35 and 36). According to the Frankenkatalog,
    all these pieces are stored in Mannheim with the
    numbers from the Offermann auction catalogue.
    Because there were several auctions, some numbers
    can be found repeated, so that exact identifications
    of the pieces and the dates of purchase are not
    always possible to determine.

105. *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 15 (1896), p. 371.

106. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. nos. 13114–
    13117.

107. Transcript of the letters, originally directed to the
    Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in the files
    of the British Museum, London. I thank D. Kidd
    for the copies.

108. Files of the British Museum, London, P. no. 883.

109. Lehner 1912.

110. Archives of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

111. Invoice of September 2, 1910; J. Seligmann to
    Morgan, letters of September 2, 1910, and Octo-
    ber 31, 1911. J. P. Morgan first gave the finds to
    the museum on loan; see *Kunstchronik*, no. 23
    (April 21, 1911), p. 368.

112. Letter from Cecil Smith, director of the Victoria
    and Albert Museum, to C. H. Read, the British
    Museum, October 21, 1913, enclosing the report of
    H. P. Mitchell, dated October 16, 1913, concerning
    Mitchell's visit to view and evaluate the Queckenberg
    collection in Niederbreisig. Files of the British
    Museum, London. I thank D. Kidd for the copies.

113. See Lehner 1912.

114. See report of Mitchell (see note 112 above), point 9.

115. *Germania* 4 (1920), pp. 40–43.

116. *Germania* 5 (1921), pp. 92–94.

117. See Lehner 1912.

5. From Attila to Charlemagne

In the centuries during which Late Antiquity metamorphosed into the Middle Ages, two personalities stand out in the popular imagination. One is Attila (?405–453), the demonized but ephemeral warlord of the Huns whose campaigns precipitated the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West. The other is Charles "the Great" (Charlemagne, r. 768–814), the most powerful of the Frankish kings, crowned Emperor of the Romans by the pope on Christmas day in the year 800, in Rome.[1]

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

From its legendary foundation in 753 B.C., Rome grew to dominate the Italian peninsula. It became a Mediterranean-based, imperial superpower, attaining its maximum area in the early second century A.D. By the fourth century, when the Roman Empire extended from northern Britain to southern Egypt, and from the Atlantic coast of Spain to the borders of Persia, aggressive expansion had given way to frontier defense in depth, the fortification of towns, and the husbanding of economic resources to support the empire's huge military and bureaucratic establishment. To control the unwieldy empire, Diocletian (r. 284–305) divided it into an eastern and western half, each of which had its own co-emperor. Constantine "the Great" (r. 313–37) became sole ruler of this divided realm, but, in 330, he transferred the imperial capital eastward to the ancient city of Byzantium in recognition of the importance of the rich eastern provinces and the military threat from Persia. Byzantium was then renamed Constantinople. Constantine also extended permanent toleration to Christianity in 313. He thereby ended a long period of official persecution of the religion, and his authority over the Church was established in 325. Theodosius (r. 379–95) went even further, proscribing paganism in an attempt to impose Christianity as an official religion. The partition of the empire became permanent after his death, and while Rome remained the religious center of the West, the fortress city of Milan and, later, Ravenna, with its defended port on the Adriatic, successively became the capitals of the western empire.

In the centuries before the fifth-century collapse, the European frontiers of the Roman Empire were largely defined by the rivers Rhine and Danube, with northern Britain defended by Hadrian's Wall. Within those borders, much of the provincial population was of Celtic origin, and many of those residing in the towns and on big country estates were familiar with Christianity and the Latin language. Beyond, from Scandinavia to the Black Sea, lay Germania Libera, a broad zone occupied by agricultural Germanic tribes interspersed in the Carpathian basin, with nomadic groups of Eurasian origin. While there were attacks on the frontiers of the empire, as when Gaul was ravaged by the Goths in the mid-third century, there was also considerable peaceful interaction. Germans increasingly served in the imperial armies, some settling on the lands they defended, others returning home with pay and expertise. From the mid-fourth century the Goths, for example, were converted to the Arian form of Christianity and were provided with writing and a vernacular Bible. Manufactures, such as

Jutes
Angles
Frisians
Saxons
ANGLES
SAXONS
JUTES
Franks
Thuringians
Vandals
FRANKS
Burgundians
Rugians
KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS
ALEMANNS
Alemanns
Sueves
ATLANTIC OCEAN
LANGOBARDS
HUNS
Ostrogoths
ALANS
KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS 418 to 507
KINGDOM OF THE BURGUNDIANS 443 to 532
Visigoths
GOTHS
SUEVES 411—585
GEPIDS
KINGDOM OF THE
BLACK SEA
KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS 507 to 711
OSTROGOTHS
Rome
493 to 553
Constantinople
KINGDOM OF THE VANDALS 429 to 534
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

□ . . . . Western Roman Empire
□ . . . . Eastern Roman Empire
ITALIC CAPITALS . . . . Non-Germanic Groups
Italic . . . . Germanic groups ca. 400 A.D.
SMALL CAPITALS . . . . . Principal Germanic groups ca. 500 A.D.

glass, metalwork, and luxury goods from all over the empire, were exchanged for raw materials. The wealth acquired by the Germanic groups, from the control of trade and from imperial subsidies in bullion to secure alliances, stimulated the military and political development of these tribes.

THE FIFTH-CENTURY MIGRATIONS

In the 370s the Huns, highly mobile Eurasian horsemen, moved westward into the Ukraine. They defeated the Germanic Ostrogoths in 375 and pushed the Visigoths across the Danube frontier. The controlled resettlement of the Visigoths became an invasion in which

5.1 The extent of the late Roman Empire in the West and the location of some major Germanic groups, ca. 400. The location of the principal Germanic successor kingdoms by ca. 500 are superimposed.

the eastern Roman emperor, Valens, was killed in 378, at the battle of Adrianople, while defending the road to Constantinople. Some Huns remained in the Carpathian basin, menacing their neighbors. This threat precipitated further migrations westward and southward by

Germanic tribes whom the western Roman Empire could not always now manage or contain. The Goths ravaged the Balkans and Greece, entering Italy in 401 and sacking Rome in 410. The consequent redeployment of imperial troops to face this challenge depleted the forces defending the Rhine frontier, and, in 406/7, Germanic tribes broke through. Britain was in turn militarily abandoned. Gaul was ravaged by the Sueves, who, with the Vandals and Alans, progressed into Spain in 409. The latter proceeded to conquer northern Africa in 429. In northeastern Gaul the Franks seized new territory west of the Rhine, and in the southwest the Visigoths settled the Bordeaux-Toulouse region from 416. To the east of them the Burgundians finally settled around Geneva by 443.

In the 440s the main body of Huns, who had been active in Eurasia, moved westward, looting and demanding tribute until, in 451, an alliance of Roman and Germanic troops brought them to a halt in central Gaul. The Huns finally retreated eastward in 453, on the death of their leader, Attila. In Gaul the Franks, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Alemanns consolidated and extended their new territories. Italy had been under Germanic military rule since 476, and in 488 the Ostrogoths were sent there by the eastern Roman emperor, Zeno, in an attempt to regain control. The Ostrogoths instead occupied the peninsula and the western Balkans, becoming effectively independent under their king, Theodoric (see p. 132). In just a single century, while the eastern provinces of the empire had escaped largely intact by deflecting the invaders westward, the empire in the West had been partitioned among Germanic rulers, many of whom enjoyed imperial recognition. In 476, when the last emperor of the West, Romulus Augustulus, had been deposed by Germanic troops, Constantinople was nominally the capital of a re-unified empire. In reality the Roman Empire consisted largely of its former eastern part, which was consequently to develop into a predominantly Greek state.

THE GERMANIC KINGDOMS

The continuity of provincial populations and institutions in the West during this movement of peoples differed from area to area, and depended on the numbers as well as the willingness of the newcomers to assimilate. These included groups of Eurasian origin, such as Huns, Sarmatians, and Alans. Primarily, however, they were groups of Germanic origin. Some had originally served as mercenaries, hired to support the Roman authorities against rebels and invaders (p. 88), and had exploited the internal weaknesses produced by the migrations to pursue their own objectives. Those military leaders who had achieved high imperial rank while still ruling over their often very mixed followers were able to seize power directly or through puppet rulers. Some groups defended the empire in return for territory that was legally ceded to them. In the absence of central authority backed by force, the owners of large estates reached an accommodation with the newcomers in return for protection. Germanic tribes that had converted to the Christian teachings of Arius, which were declared heretical in 381, constituted a relatively small ruling elite over a Catholic population. Among these were the Ostrogoths in Italy and the Vandals in north Africa, relatively few in number, who occupied the strong points and parts of the towns, alongside the local population. Kept separate by law and custom, they did not intermarry with the Catholic provincials, and their cultural influence did not survive military defeat. After a long period of similar isolation, the Visigoths and Langobards accepted Catholicism.

The new rulers, generally attempting to preserve provincial organization in order to gather taxes, continued to need the services of craftsmen, bureaucrats, and traders. In the Rhineland, many towns remained active centers, changing gradually with economic and political developments. In the south and east of Britain, by contrast, towns seem to have declined, and heavy rural settlement by the invaders led to the dispossession of the

indigenous Celtic population and the temporary disappearance of Christianity. The dominance of a new, Germanic, language in these areas contrasts with linguistic survival of Latinate tongues in other former Roman provinces. Such changes in the rural population and land ownership differed from area to area, and consequently the long-term cultural effects in these areas also varied. Often, what were changes in the ruling elite had little effect on the basic survival of the local population.

BYZANTINE RECONQUESTS IN THE WEST

The eastern Roman Empire, today referred to as the Byzantine Empire after the original name of its capital, Byzantium, underwent a massive reorganization in response to the fifth-century loss of the West to the Germanic invaders. By the early seventh century, it extended from Gibraltar to the river Euphrates and had vital trade and diplomatic interests extending to central Asia. Under Justinian (r. 527–65), Byzantine naval superiority led to the conquest of the Vandal kingdom in northern Africa in 533, parts of Spain, and the major islands. In Italy the Ostrogothic kingdom was destroyed by 553, and the western Mediterranean was again under imperial control.

During the second half of the sixth and seventh centuries, events in the Balkans and the East began to divert resources from the western theater. In 568, the Langobards, a Germanic tribe from the Carpathian basin, invaded northern Italy, establishing a powerful Arian kingdom and semi-independent duchies in the peninsula. Unsuccessful Byzantine attempts over several centuries to defeat the Langobards were ruinous. The re-occupied Spanish territories were also lost to the Visigoths, who had converted from Arian to Catholic Christianity during the late sixth century and gradually integrated with the provincial population. From 730 to 843 the Byzantine controversy over the veneration of religious images led to the banning of images, an episode known as iconoclasm.

Consequent social unrest on a massive scale further weakened Byzantine power, resulting in a loss of territory, particularly in Italy, where the imperial center of Ravenna fell in 751 and the rift with the Western church widened.

THE ARAB TRANSFORMATION

The Persian Empire, which was always a military threat to Rome, reached its zenith under Sassanian rule in the second half of the sixth century. Military campaigns to recover its lost territory in the early seventh century weakened the Byzantine Empire and left it vulnerable to the followers of the Prophet Mohammed, who emerged from Arabia in the 630s and conquered Persia. The Byzantine provinces of Syria and Palestine soon fell, then Egypt. Constantinople itself was several times besieged. Arab conquests extended to central Asia, while by 711 the invaders had occupied northern Africa and entered Spain. Within a decade the Visigothic kingdom had been conquered, and it was only in 732 that the Arab advance into France was defeated at Poitiers. The Arabs retired behind the Pyrenees, but by the early ninth century they had occupied Sicily and Sardinia, from where they attacked Italy. A huge arc of Islamic territory from Syria to Spain effectively ended the maritime unity of the Mediterranean basin.

INVADERS FROM THE STEPPE

From the 530s imperial territory along the Black Sea coast and the lower Danube frontier was increasingly attacked by Eurasian groups, such as the Huns, Bulgars, and Avars, who occupied the western steppe. In the 550s the ethnic balance of central Europe fundamentally changed when the Avars moved westward to settle in the Carpathian basin. There they defeated the Germanic Gepids and drove out the Langobards in 568. The Avar threat to the region accelerated Slav migrations southward into the Balkans and Greece, thereby breaking the Danubian frontier in 602, and northward and westward into areas that had been abandoned by

5.2 Map of Europe, ca. 814, showing the expansion of Frankish territory from the death of Clovis (511) to the death of Charlemagne (814)

Germanic tribes. Taking advantage of Byzantine reverses in the East, Avar and Slav groups besieged Byzantium in 626 but were utterly defeated. The Avars suffered losses against Charlemagne in the 790s, leading to collapse around 800 and their subsequent disintegration under increasingly powerful Bulgar attack. The Bulgars, who had earlier settled west of the Black Sea, moved south of the Danube around 680. Because of the

proximity of their state to the imperial capital, the Bulgars asserted themselves whenever the Byzantine Empire was weak, killing the emperor in battle in 811, for example.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST

During the fifth century, a patchwork of newly established Germanic kingdoms and surviving provincial administrations extended from the Pyrenees to the river Rhine, and from the Alps to the Channel coast. In north-eastern Gaul the Frankish king Childeric (r. 457–81) conquered other Frankish groups both east and west of the Rhine (an area later known as Austrasia), and in 486 his son Clovis (r. 482–511) extended his conquests

further west to the whole area north of the Loire (an area later called Neustria). This core territory was extended by a series of victories over other Germanic tribes, such as the Alemanns in 497. Around 507 Clovis converted from Arian Christianity to the Catholicism of the provincial population. In return, local magnates and ecclesiastical authorities supported the campaigns of Frankish rulers against Arian Germans. In 507 the Visigoths were driven into Spain, where they consolidated a powerful, independent kingdom. The sons of Clovis conquered the Thuringians in 531, the Burgundians in 534, and the Bavarians in 536. In the sixth and seventh centuries this major power block was ruled by the Merovingian dynasty, a Frankish clan claiming Meroveus, the grandfather of Clovis, as its common ancestor. Its territory was periodically consolidated, then divided among the heirs according to custom, producing a long period of Merovingian decline. Two principal families were rivals for power, one with its power base in Neustria, the other in Austrasia. In 687 the battle of Tertry established the supremacy of the latter. From then, the Austrasian group ruled in fact, and the last Merovingian king was formally deposed in 751.

One of the new family, Charles "the Hammer," defeated the Arab invaders at Poitiers in 732. In 754 his son Pepin was crowned king, which established the succession, in 768, of his sons. This Frankish clan was subsequently known as the Carolingians (from the Latin form of its founder's name, Carolus). In 771 Charles "the Great" (known, from the medieval French form of this name, as Charlemagne) became sole ruler. The Carolingians had no rival in the Christian West following the Arab destruction of the Visigoths and occupation of Spain. They extended their rule in a broad zone southward to include Basque lands beyond the Pyrenees and the Langobard kingdom of Italy. Eastward, conquests and protectorates included the Frisians, the Saxons to the river Elbe and the Danish border, along with Bavaria, Bohemia, and parts of the Carpathian basin. Charles was crowned emperor by pope Leo III in Rome in 800, a ceremony symbolic of the restoration of the Roman Empire in the West. The pope, embodying continuity with Western imperial tradition, legitimized Charles's authority and asserted his equality with the ruler of the eastern Roman Empire. The protection of Charles's military power freed the pope from the threat of subordination to the Byzantine emperor and the hegemony of the Greek church. Charles died in 814, and his son Louis succeeded as sole ruler. After the latter's death, the territory over which the Carolingians reigned was divided between his sons by the treaty of Verdun in 843, thus destroying its physical unity, although the concept of empire remained strong throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.

THE BRITISH ISLES

Germanic troops served in the late Imperial army in the Roman province of Britannia, and Germanic mercenaries orchestrated the breakdown of the subsequent Romano-British administration during the fifth century. Groups of Angles, Saxons, Frisians, and Jutes migrated across the North Sea in the fifth and sixth centuries to settle the south and east of the former Roman province. There followed a steady expansion of these groups, at the expense of the Romano-Celtic population, and a political consolidation of seven Germanic kingdoms by the seventh century. That of eastern Kent, in particular, developed a rich material culture with contacts to Merovingian Gaul, and was the first to be converted to Christianity by a mission from Rome in 597. The grave of an east Anglian king, dating from ca. 625, in a ship placed beneath a mound at Sutton Hoo, in Suffolk, shows the wealth and diversity of Anglo-Saxon contacts with both the Mediterranean and the Celtic world. The subsequent rise in power of several such kingdoms, and the consequent decline of others, reflects the same political and economic consolidation that was occurring on the Continent.

5.3 Penannular brooch. Copper alloy,
enamel. Irish, 7th century. Length 6.2 cm.
(53.48.5)

5.4 Penannular brooch. Gilt silver, amber.
Pictish, early 9th century. From near Galway,
Ireland. Length 9.3 cm. (1981.413)

Christianity and Latin survived in the
north and west of the former province, in
those areas not absorbed by the newcomers.
Further north and west, Ireland and much of
modern Scotland had always remained inde-
pendent of the Roman Empire. The inhabi-
tants of these areas—Irish, Scots, and Picts—
continued to develop vigorous and distinctive
material cultures (figs. 5.3 and 5.4),[2] largely
independent of ethnic changes in the south
and east. Christianity flourished in Ireland,
particularly from the fifth century, and
monasticism from the sixth. Later, Celtic
Christian monks, particularly the Irish, were

influential in spreading monastic foundations
both in England and on the Continent.

POSTSCRIPT

The transformation of Late Antique Europe,
which had been accelerated and shaped by
the great migrations and subsequent political
consolidation, continued with a second major
episode of ethnic and linguistic change. In
the north, the pagan Germanic tribes of
Scandinavia made steady economic and
political gains. In the late eighth and ninth
centuries northwestern Europe was attacked
by Scandinavian pirates, the Vikings, who
raided the coasts, penetrated deep inland by
river and ventured into the Mediterranean.
These incursions were succeeded by large-
scale land-taking, principally in the British
Isles and Normandy, and by the colonization
of Iceland, Greenland, and, around the year
1000, Newfoundland. In central Europe the
Magyars, a group of Eurasian origin who are
the ancestors of modern Hungarians, moved
westward from the steppe and entered the

Carpathian basin in 896. Their devastating raids into France, Germany, and Italy were only halted by a crushing defeat at Lechfeld in Bavaria in 955.

1. Modern authors often differ in the exact year of an important event, such as the death of Childeric (481 or 482), the breaking of the Rhine frontier on the last day of 406/7, or, quite radically, the conversion to Catholicism of Clovis, which occurred between 496 and 508. Regnal dates differ from those of life span, and dates of co-rule from those of sole rule. The conquest of a territory was often not a single event but the result of many campaigns or of progressive acquisition.

   The geographical location of Early Medieval peoples is complicated by the fragmentation and rapid migration of some groups. Hence, the earlier popularity of maps with numerous arrows. Contemporary sources are not always consistent in nomenclature or location of even the principal groupings, which often included other peoples and whose cohesion was sometimes ephemeral. It is open to debate how far Early Medieval tribes, kingdoms, or protectorates can be indicated with the conventions used for geographical and ethnic units familiar from modern political maps. In many parts of the western Roman Empire that fell under Germanic control, the indigenous population always remained as a substratum, on the land.

2. For fig. 5.3, see Brown 1995, p. 40, fig. 54. For fig. 5.4, see ibid., p. 41, fig. 58; and Little 1999, p. 49, no. 63, with bibliography.

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6. Some Classical Elements in Migration Period Jewelry

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The northern coast of the Black Sea was the frontier between the Greek world and the land known to the fifth-century–B.C. Greek historian Herodotus as that of the Scythians. The Greeks had established colonial cities in this region to trade with local populations: in Tyras in the Danube delta, Olbia at the mouth of the river Bug, Chersones (modern Sebastopol) and Panticapaeum (modern Kerch) in the Crimea, and Tanais at the mouth of the river Don, to name just a few of the many cities located in this region. For the historian of ancient jewelry, the burial grounds of the northern Black Sea coast have yielded Greek and Scythian gold and silver, especially of the period from the sixth to the third century B.C. Their fabulous treasures are now among the glories of the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg.[1]

THE SARMATIANS

From about 250 B.C., the Sarmatians, who had previously lived east of the Don, moved into the region and gradually mixed with the Scythians. By the first century A.D., some of the Sarmatian tribes had reached the Carpathian Mountains in what is today Romania, while others had remained around the northwest coast of the Black Sea.

Notably under the emperors Augustus and Nero, Sarmatian horsemen, who still lived a nomadic life in the hinterland, periodically moved south, seeking to cross the Danube frontier into the Roman Empire. These raids were ultimately checked through a combination of diplomacy and force of arms. The Romans sought to establish the Sarmatian tribes along the coast as cooperative client states because of the commercial assets possessed by the regions they inhabited. Exports of salt, preserved fish, and grain were profitable ventures for foreign businessmen and a source of income for local people. As in past centuries, these commodities were paid for in gold and silver, and some of this precious metal was turned by craftsmen into jewelry.[2]

Sarmatian Earrings

The Sarmatians buried their dead with jewelry and other possessions, just as had the Scythians. Twentieth-century research in the Ukraine and adjacent regions has revealed much about Sarmatian culture contemporary with the late Hellenistic Greek and early Roman Imperial periods. The jewelry worn by these people has its own distinct typology and stylistic flavor. Burials scientifically excavated during the past several decades allow us to place in its cultural context jewelry in Western collections that is without a secure provenance.

This is the case with two pairs of gold earrings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art that were acquired at auction in New York in 1922 (figs. 6.1, 6.2). They were part of the Chmielowski collection of antiquities, said to have been excavated at the ancient site of Olbia.[3] For decades, until the Russians began formal excavations, the local inhabitants of nearby Parutino had been unofficially excavating the cemeteries of Olbia; it was from this source that the Metropolitan's
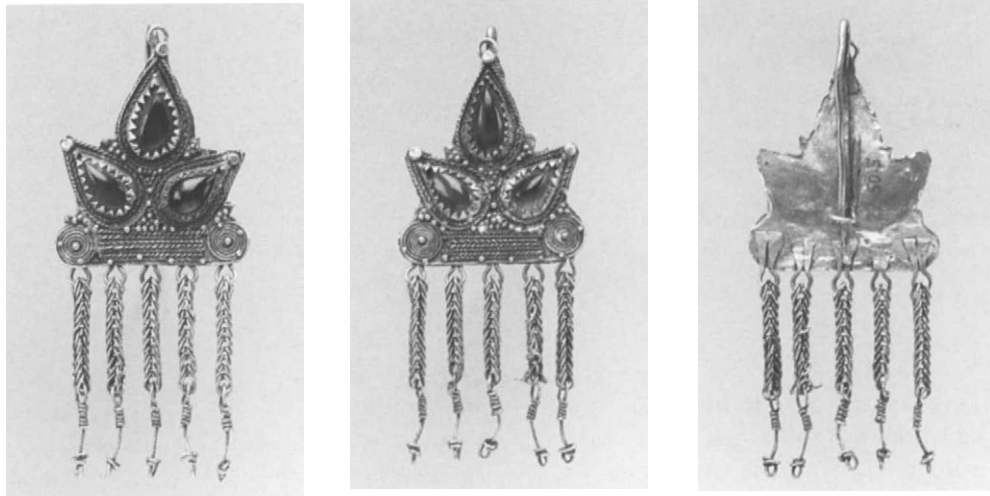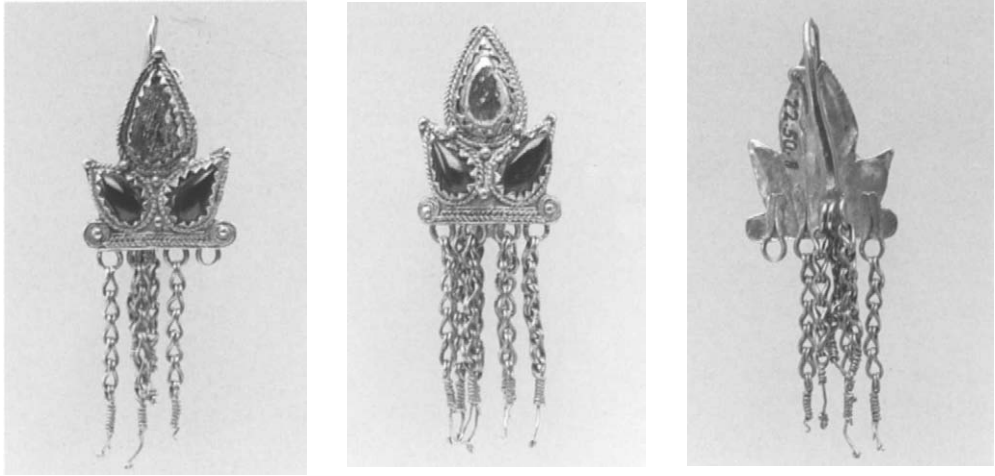
6.1 Pair of earrings and back view of one with details of construction. Gold, sardonyx. Sarmatian, mid-1st century. Height 5.8 cm. (22.50.5, .6)

earrings came. Both pairs have three teardrop stones in serrated, or dogtooth, settings; on one of them the upper "stones" are actually glass. Their pointed ends face upward, imparting a lively appearance to the arrangement. The earrings of one pair have five pendant chains (fig. 6.1), the others have seven (fig. 6.2); all the chains once had beads at the ends. The missing beads were probably of glass, which accounts for their disappearance, because glass can readily corrode in burial conditions. The back of each pair is flat. On one (fig. 6.1) the chains are secured by loops, each of which has the ends flattened for attachment. The hoop and catch are formed of a single wire bent to shape and flattened in the middle for attachment. On the other (fig. 6.2), the hoop is broader,

narrowing to pointed ends and supports at its base, with loops for attaching three of the seven chains.

Related to these is a pair of earrings in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, also said to be from Olbia. Henry Walters acquired these earrings in the 1920s through the Bachstitz Gallery, from the collection formed after 1912 by the Frankfurt industrialist F. L. von Gans.[4] They have a pyramid of three round stones arranged on top of a crossbar and, below that, a row of six pendant chains ending in tassels. Here too there were once beads at the ends of chains; all that remain are the rounded gold caps that once covered the tops of the beads.

Two further pairs of earrings, both from controlled excavations and known since the beginning of the twentieth century, exhibit a stylistic relationship to the Metropolitan pieces, with one marked difference: both display a mounted stone bead as a centerpiece between the pendant chains. One pair is known to have been excavated near Olbia.[5] Above the crossbar is a large oval stone in a

6.2 Pair of earrings and back view of one with details of construction. Gold, garnet, glass. Sarmatian, mid-1st century. Height 4.5 cm. (22.50.7, .8)

beaded setting bracketed on each side by a curved wire ending in volutes at the top and bottom. Below the crossbar, amid the pendant chains, is a rock-crystal bead mounted in gold to form a miniature amphora. The earrings were found together with a fancy necklace containing gold-mounted beads that is now in the Walters Art Gallery, which also came from the von Gans collection through the Bachstitz Gallery. But the earrings went elsewhere, never having become part of that collection, and their present whereabouts appears to be unknown. The other pair, from Kerch (ancient Panticapaeum), is today presumably in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.[6] Above the crossbar is a quasi-pyramidal arrangement of six stones, rounded teardrops of various sizes also bracketed by wires ending in volutes; below the crossbar, centered among the pendant chains, is a banded agate, again mounted in gold so as to resemble the body of a miniature amphora.

The most recently discovered member of this group is a pair of earrings from Sokolova Mogila, the "Falcon Burial Mound," a tumulus located west of the town of Kovalevka, about forty kilometers up the river Bug from Nikolaiev. The finds from this extraordinarily well preserved burial of a rich woman are now in the museum in Kiev.[7] Each earring has an oval red stone mounted horizontally above the crossbar and, as a pendant, an amphora-shaped bead of rock crystal flanked by four chains, two on each side, once again ending in beads that are now missing. Because of the exceptional state of preservation, the scientific team was even able to salvage large fragments of the clothes in which the deceased woman had been buried. These included a red dress of silk and a blue cape, strikingly ornamented with gold embroidery and spangles. The burial at Sokolova Mogila can be assigned to the mid-first century A.D., which gives the first reasonable clue as to the date of this group of earrings. The burial also clarifies the position that such earrings occupied within a set of jewelry. The deceased was wearing a full complement, which included three necklaces, one of which was a double gold chain, another gold chain with mounted stone pendants, and the third a string of pierced, shaped stones. In addition, there was a pair of

gold bracelets, hinged so as to be readily slipped on or off, and additional bracelets formed from strings of pierced beads. A gold brooch with mounted stones and a large gold fibula were also found, the brooch apparently worn on her dress, the fibula thought to have secured her cape in front. She also wore a string of beads around her head.

In effect, all these earrings are quite two-dimensional. The essential elements consist of one or more mounted stones concealing part of the wire hook; below this is a crossbar and, hanging from the crossbar, a set of pendants. The general type is known around the Mediterranean from the first century A.D. onward, but the Sarmatian versions, while not all alike, are readily distinguished from others by their own regional flavor. Their particularity accords with what little is known culturally about the people of Olbia, where some of the earrings were said to have been found. The Greek orator and philosopher Dio Chrysostom, who visited Olbia in the late first century, reported that the inhabitants no longer spoke standard Greek because they lived in the midst of barbarians.[8] In the same way, the Sarmatians and the Greeks of Olbia wore jewelry of general Mediterranean design, manufactured with a local accent. As Michael Rostovtzeff recognized long ago, the owners of the jewelry from the burials in Olbia were either hellenized Sarmatians or Olbians of Greek descent exhibiting Sarmatian taste.[9]

THE GOTHS
In the early centuries of the first millennium the Goths, a Germanic people, migrated to the region north of the Black Sea. In the 260s they raided the Roman provinces in the Balkans and Asia Minor, but were turned back by superior forces. Constantine (r. 306–37) concluded a formal peace in 332 that lasted into the 360s, and the Goths settled as agri-cultural people in the region north of the Danube. This arrangement collapsed in the late fourth century as the Huns, moving west from central Asia, forced many Goths to

cross the Danube to seek sanctuary in Roman territory. Peace was not arranged until late in the century. What is significant for us now are not the exact chronology and the routes of the migrations or the precise identities of the people involved, but rather the high degree of diplomatic, political, and cultural contact between the Goths and the eastern Roman Empire in the fourth century, of which historical sources provide evidence.[10]

The Germanic Luxury Bow Brooch
From this period, the fourth century, comes the second item to be discussed, a sheet-gold–covered silver bow brooch (pl. 5A), so called because of the bridge or bow con-necting the head- and footplates. The upper surfaces are decorated with garnets in box settings, symmetrically arranged in a field sprinkled with granulation and rings of wire (fig. 9.1). The borders of the plates are lined with beaded wire, the bow with multiple rows of twisted wire. The spring of the pin is still preserved on the back of the headplate (see detail, fig. 9.1). The bow brooch was a dress pin, originally one of two, worn head down at the shoulders. This object has been well described and illustrated in a paper devoted to it in the present volume (see Bierbrauer, below), though its provenance and history are still subject to controversy. Repeated discussions have not resolved the issue of its cultural origin. Some scholars have considered this brooch Gothic, others Vandalic, still others Gepidic. The recent archaeological literature, while noting that the culture that produced the brooch cannot readily be determined, has placed it as a mid-fifth-century product of a goldsmith trained in South Russia.[11] It has been most recently associated with a Gepid owner (p. 99 below).

The Metropolitan's brooch belongs to a recognized group, fourteen pairs of which are known. More than half, eight pairs, formed part of the second treasure of Szilágy-Somlyó (Şimleul-Silvanei, Romania) (fig. 9.6).[12] The remaining six pairs came

from individual graves, two of which were determined to be women's graves. These six pairs come from Rábápordány; from a woman's grave at Regöly (see Bierbrauer, below); from Völe (Velt); from near Nezin in the region of Chernigov, Ukraine; from a woman's grave at Untersiebenbrunn, lower Austria; and from near Airan (Calvados) in Normandy.[13] In addition there are five pairs of a somewhat squatter design: a pair in Cologne, mistakenly said to be from Varese, Italy; a pair from the Dnieper-basin region now in Warsaw; a pair in Moscow, from a grave on Hospital Street in Kerch, found in 1890; a pair in Saint Petersburg, also from Kerch, found in 1904; the fifth, a pair of somewhat different design from Koudiat Zâteur, is now in the museum at Carthage.[14]

Regardless of size and minor variations, all of the bow brooches, including the one in the Metropolitan, form a compact group sharing the same basic features of design. All are of silver covered with gold sheet, and all display garnets in box-settings in fields of subsidiary granulation and wire. In addition, the upper surfaces of all but one are edged with beaded or twisted wire. Most of the brooches have semicircular heads with a knob at the end, though some have additional knobs, two on each side, namely, the pair from Untersiebenbrunn and the pair from Nezin. Though now missing on the pair from Airan, they were indicated as present in early drawings, and such knobs may also have once been present on others. A few brooches, the one in the Metropolitan among them, have a rectangular head with the outer corners trimmed. The five squatter brooches display abbreviated versions of the surface decoration present on the longer ones.

Dimensions of the standard long brooches vary: the smallest are those from Völe (11 cm), the largest are two of the pairs from Szilágy-Somlyó (24.6 and 24.8 cm). The length of the one in the Metropolitan is 16.7 cm, close to that from Regöly, which it matches in design. The lengths of the squatter ones are 8 cm (the Cologne pair) and

8.1 cm (the Moscow pair). Size may have had status implications, but perhaps no less important was the weight of silver involved. Late-third- and early-fourth-century gold brooches for men were equivalent in weight to multiples of gold coins.[15] The weights of only the pairs from Untersiebenbrunn and Airan are known: the former weigh 140 and 147 g, for a total of 287 g; the latter approximately 140 g apiece, for a total of approximately 280 g. These weights include, of course, the silver cores, the garnets, and the gold settings and decoration. In any event, the weights of the pairs approach a Roman pound (ca. 325 g). It is worth speculating that the weights of the others may correspond to half a Roman pound (the smaller ones) or two Roman pounds (the larger ones).

In her discussion of the Diergardt collection, Damm has provided a full discussion of the origin and disposition of the finds from Kerch, drawing attention, for our purposes, to the skepticism justifiably expressed about the Italian provenance of the Cologne brooches.[16] There seems little doubt that the Black Sea and the Danube basin were the principal areas of distribution, which tells us nothing about the site or sites of manufacture, merely the extent of distribution. Viewed in the broad context of European brooches, these sheet-gold–covered ones, studded with stones, are just one type among brooches of many different styles and techniques, regional variants made over several centuries. Some are more closely related to one another in shape or technique than others. It is worth drawing attention to the pair of brooches "said to be from Desana" (Vercelli), which come not from a formal excavation but from a dealer. They share the shape and contours of these brooches, but are decorated in cloisonné technique.[17]

From the evidence provided by controlled excavations we know that pairs of brooches in general, not just those discussed here, were positioned on the shoulders of bodily remains, a clear indication that they

were worn pinned to clothes at the shoulders. It seems further apparent that some of the brooches were connected by chains, hanging across the chest rather like a necklace. The brooches from Airan in Normandy, for instance, were so equipped. Moreover, we know that some of the eagle brooches ornamented in cloisonné technique were also worn in this fashion. Such is the case with the brooches and necklace from the splendid set of jewelry found at Domagnano in the Republic of San Marino (see pp. 132–39, below).[18] Obviously the style of dress determined how a brooch or pin was worn: in some periods and regions, only one brooch was used to secure a garment; at other times and places, as with these, two were placed symmetrically on the shoulders.

The symmetrical arrangement of pins has a long cultural history. One should note, for instance, that in the early Hellenistic period, that is, in the late fourth and the third century B.C., the well-to-do of several regions of Greece and adjacent regions to the north secured a garment with matching sets of four or six brooches worn on each shoulder, sometimes with the addition of a chain suspended from them. There are three such sets in silver: a set of five brooches (originally six) together with a silver chain from a tomb in Bukjovic, Bulgaria; four brooches with a necklace attached to two of them from a tomb in Elis in western Greece; and four with chains from a burial at Sindos in northern Greece.[19] Jacobsthal demonstrated years ago that the fashion of brooches connected by chains survived into the Roman period.[20] Here now is evidence that it persisted into Late Antiquity. A pair of Visigothic brooches from Spain (fig. 17.2 and p. 190) was probably also similarly linked.

What sets the brooch in the Metropolitan and pairs like it apart from many others of this period is not only the presence of gold wire and granulation, derived directly from the Roman craftsman's vocabulary of ornament, but also the use of colored stones set on the gold sheet surfaces. The ostentatious display of colored stones was a widespread hallmark of jewelry worn by women on the borders of the Roman Empire, to judge from the wealth of such stones from burials at Black Sea sites in the Ukraine and Russia. It is true that colored stones had already found their way into Greek jewelry in the third and second centuries B.C., but not in the abstract arrangements so striking in south Russian jewelry and to a lesser extent in jewelry from the eastern Roman provinces. This polychrome style, in which irregular stones are often casually arranged on the surface of the metal, comes not from the Classical world but from the East, in all likelihood from India. By way of example one may cite a second- or third-century stone statue in Gandharan style that shows a bodhisattva wearing an extensive array of jewelry that includes a square on his upper right arm decorated with irregularly shaped stones.[21] India was also the source for the taste in colored stones in Greek Hellenistic jewelry, introduced in the wake of the exploits of Alexander the Great and his successors, although in that case in a quite different, more restrained, style.

In order to understand better the source of the polychrome style in fourth-century cultures of the Black Sea and the Danube basin, we should turn to a passage in the historical abstracts of George Cedrinus, an eleventh-century Byzantine compiler, in which is mentioned an obscure diplomatic episode during the reign of Constantine (r. 306–37).[22] According to Cedrinus, who relied on earlier historians, a certain Metrodorus, said to be of Persian ancestry, went to India at that time and visited the Brahmans there. He returned to Constantinople carrying with him pearls and stones, having shipped another supply by an overland route. The latter shipment was intercepted by the Persian king, who declined to respond to a request from the emperor to give it up, whereupon Constantine declared war. Modern historians have traditionally doubted the veracity of the episode involving the credulity

of Constantine and the "lies of Metrodorus," arguing that the Persian king's refusal to hand over the goods could not have been an excuse for going to war. Despite such skepticism, several scholars have argued that certain aspects of the Metrodorus story have merit and that the episode of the jewels could indeed have taken place without affecting foreign policy.[23] It is worth noting a report of Eusebius, the church historian and biographer of Constantine: at about the same time, in connection with the marriage of Constantine's son, Constantius, the Indians sent a delegation with gifts that included precious stones.[24]

Whatever the case, immediately after describing this episode, Cedrinus goes on to report that the emperor (or, more likely, craftsmen under his direction) made objects with some of these stones and sent them as gifts to people living on the other side of the Danube. The Byzantine policy of providing the Goths and others living beyond the frontier with money, clothing, and other provisions, as well as jewelry, is well known from reliable ancient historians. This aspect of Imperial foreign policy during the peace from 332 to the 360s was not so much tribute as it was a demonstration of cultural superiority. Although Cedrinus's text does not specify what kind of work was ornamented with stones, it may be that semiprecious stones, whether from Metrodorus's supplies or from elsewhere, were incorporated into ostentatious jewelry. Such diplomatic presents might have encouraged or revived a

taste for stone-studded jewelry in the regions of the Danube basin and the north coast of the Black Sea.

A possible Imperial Byzantine involvement in jewelry made expressly for "barbarians," in particular the use of stones in such work in the fourth century, dovetails with the long-standing proposal that Constantinopolitan workshops are the source of fifth-century gold and garnet jewelry from European sites (see pp. 215–16). In the early 1970s Arrhenius proposed that Gepidic and Frankish kings may have commissioned their gold and garnet jewelry from Constantinople,[25] but this notion has a much older history. In the catalogue of the collection at Dumbarton Oaks, Marvin Ross quotes a statement to this effect made in 1940 by Otto von Falke in a written expertise that accompanied an acquisition of gold and garnet jewelry. Ross himself doubted the idea, preferring rather to see a south Russian origin.[26] The idea was also put forth in Alois Riegl's celebrated *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, first published in 1901.[27] An even earlier source of the idea was Jules Labarte, who in the 1840s proposed a Byzantine origin for the garnet jewelry from Childeric's tomb.[28] Despite its existence for a century and a half, not everyone agrees with this hypothesis, yet if it can be sustained, it would be an analogous fifth-century counterpart to a related proposal concerning a fourth-century link between Constantinople and jewelry beyond the Danube.

1. Herodotus, *The History*, IV.1–82, 99–117. For the archaeological background, Minns 1913 is still useful.

2. On the location of Sarmatian tribes: Strabo, *Geography*, VII.iii.17. On Roman contact with the Sarmatians cited by ancient historians: Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, II.28–29; Tacitus, *History*, I.79; Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, VII.90–95. On an inscription giving the career of a local Roman governor dealing with Sarmatian threats: Millar 1982, p. 8.

3. American Art Association, New York, sale cat., February 24, 1922, lots 691, 692. One of the Metropolitan pairs, 22.50.5, .6, has recently been attributed, erroneously, to the fifth century: *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987, p. 115, no. 21.

4. Walters Art Gallery, inv. 57.382, .383; Oliver 1979a, pp. 98–99, no. 284; Zahn 1921, pp. 29–30, pl. 25:D.

5. Oreshnikov 1894, pp. 1–13, pl. I:1.

6. *Otchet Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Kommissii* 1904, p. 45, fig. 62.

7. Kovpanenko 1986, pp. 27–28, figs. 23, 24 (earrings); Kovpanenko 1991, pp. 221–26.

8. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration*, 36.9.

9. Rostovtzeff 1931, p. 586.

10. Matthews 1989, pp. 318–42; Heather 1991, esp. pp. 107–21.

11. Brown 1996, pp. 229–30, fig. 9. One should also note Leeds 1951.

12. Alföldi 1932.

13. The pair from Rábápordány in Budapest: Alföldi 1932, p. 37, pl. X:1; the pair from Regöly in Szekszárd: Mészáros 1970; the pair from Velt in Bucharest: *I Goti* 1994, p. 163, III.4.a; the pair from Untersiebenbrunn in Vienna: *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987, p. 343, no. 33a, pl. 45; the pair from near Nezin in Kiev: *I Goti* 1994, p. 129, II.4.d; the pair from Airan near Caen: Salin and France-Lanord 1949, pp. 119ff.; *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, p. 195, no. 304; Kazanski 1982, pp. 19–22; *Attila* 1990, pp. 54–56, 63–65.

14. The pair in Cologne: Damm 1988, pp. 142–44, no. 59, figs. 115–17; *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987,

pp. 100–101, no. 1,5.c; the pair from the Dnieper River area in Warsaw: Fettich 1953, p. 194, pl. 31:6–7; the pair from the 1890 find at Kerch in Moscow: de Baye 1894, pl. 3, 2–2a; the pair from the 1904 find at Kerch in Saint Petersburg: *I Goti* 1994, pp. 116–17, no. III.1.k; the pair from Koudiat Zâteur, now in Carthage, National Museum: Rostovtzeff 1923, pp. 150–51, fig. 23, and *Carthage* 1995, p. 282.

15. On weights of brooches, see Oliver 1979, pp. 302–3, text to no. 275; Deppert-Lippitz 1996, pp. 241–42.

16. Damm 1988.

17. Reggio Emilia, Civico Museo Chierici di Paleontologia: *I Goti* 1994, pp. 204–6, no. III.29.a.

18. One of these brooches is in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum: *I Goti* 1994, pp. 194–98. Its pair is in the Lauder collection in New York: Ganay sale 1987, lot 37.

19. From Bukjovic, now in Sofia, National Museum: Filov 1934, pp. 198–99, fig. 211; from Elis, now in London, British Museum (1904.7-7.1): Williams and Ogden 1994, p. 52, no. 6 (illustrating two fibulae with a chain); from Sindos, now in Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum: Vokotopoulou et al. 1985, pp. 220–21, nos. 251, 252.

20. Jacobsthal 1956, pp. 117–18. See also Amandry 1963, pp. 209–12.

21. Private collection in Japan: Jenkins 1991, p. 91, fig. 16. For an Eastern origin of the style, see also Rupp 1937, esp. pp. 16–30, cited in Salin and France-Lanord 1949, p. 128 n. 1.

22. Cedrinus 1838–39, pp. 516–17.

23. Warmington 1981, pp. 464–68; Matthews 1989, p. 135 and n. 12; Fowden 1994, pp. 149–50.

24. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, IV.50.

25. Arrhenius 1971, pp. 177–78, and Arrhenius 1985, pp. 84, 113–18, 124. Both are cited in Brown 1996, p. 232.

26. Ross 1965, pp. 119–20.

27. Riegl 1901. More convenient is the second edition: Riegl 1927, p. 338.

28. Labarte 1847, pp. 137–38.

7. Late Roman and Early Byzantine Jewelry

INTRODUCTION

A precise understanding of the development of jewelry from the Late Roman to the Early Byzantine period obviously depends upon proper dating. Regrettably, most of the known material is ill-documented, often lacking any external evidence for a date. Even generally accepted provenances are based only on information given by dealers. Some of the jewelry of this period in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, however, mainly gifts from J. Pierpont Morgan, does allow us to glimpse the development of the goldsmith's art between the fourth and the seventh century while illustrating major stylistic trends, decorative techniques, technical particularities, and idiosyncrasies of Late Roman and Early Byzantine jewelry.[1] Gold was by no means scarce during the period. For example, in the course of the fifth century, Byzantium gave up more than 100,000 pounds of gold as tribute to the barbarians threatening its safety.[2] Such lavish payouts continued during the sixth century, when the Persian kings alone received nearly 65,000 pounds of gold. From the sixth century onward, gold was accumulated by the Church.[3]

THE PIAZZA DELLA CONSOLAZIONE TREASURE

Around 1910, a hoard of Late Roman jewelry was discovered during restoration work in the Piazza della Consolazione at the foot of the Capitoline Hill in Rome. No complete record of it was made at the time, and the exact number of items remains unknown. Part of the treasure was exhibited in Paris in 1913:[4] four necklaces and two breast chains, one bracelet, twelve or more finger rings, five pairs of earrings, and two heads from pins connected by a chain. Attached to one of the necklaces is a mounted gold coin of the emperor Honorius (r. 395–423), which provides a terminus post quem. The jewelry had been hoarded for safety. The sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410 and by the Vandals in 455 would have been major occasions to hide personal valuables in the center of the city. A date in the first half of the fifth century is confirmed by comparison with other contemporary jewelry, also discovered in such hoards. The Hoxne Treasure from East Anglia, England, is a very large hoard of coins, silver plate, and jewelry that was hidden sometime after 407, when the Romans abandoned control of Britain.[5] The Carthage Treasure, a group of silverware and jewelry, discovered on the Hill of St. Louis in Carthage, is believed to have been hidden during the time of the Germanic invasions of northern Africa, either in 429 or 438.[6] The Olbia Treasure represents the grave goods of a wealthy Germanic lady buried in the early fifth century in southern Russia.[7] The Thetford Treasure contains a group of jewelry and silver spoons found at Gallows Hill, Thetford, in Norfolk, England.[8] In contrast, a group of contemporary jewelry in the J. Paul Getty Museum most likely comes from the eastern part of the Roman Empire.[9]

The Piazza della Consolazione Necklaces

Of the four necklaces from the treasure, three are in Dumbarton Oaks[10] and one is in Liverpool Museum.[11] The three necklaces in

7.1 Necklace, with detail of pendant. Gold, pearl, sapphire, quartz. Byzantine,
6th–7th century. Said to have been found near Assiût or Antinoë, Egypt. Length
45.2 cm. (17.190.1667)

Dumbarton Oaks are all comparatively plain gold chains fitted with emerald and sapphire beads and pearls. All three exemplify a type the focus of which is such precious colored gems, which also include garnet or red glass and pearls. The use of gold is reduced to a minimum, but the necklaces' attractiveness relies not only on the expensive material but also on the design that determined the combination of the different colors and shapes. This subtle elegance that early Byzantine goldsmiths were able to achieve in creating necklaces that had the display of precious gems and pearls as their focus is illustrated by a necklace in the Metropolitan that belongs to the Assiût hoard (fig. 7.1), a group of jewelry discussed below.[12] Attached to the chain,

which is ornamented with small plain gold bosses arranged in groups of three, are fifteen cruciform pendants, alternately composed of sapphires and pearls (see detail, fig. 7.1).[13]

Completely different is the necklace in the Liverpool Museum, which may well be a combination of at least two ornaments,[14] a short chain of gold wire links, terminating in cylindrical cuffs made from corrugated gold sheet, and an even shorter length of a similarly constructed chain, terminating in three-dimensional lion-head finials. The two parts are linked on one side by a solidus of Honorius mounted in a small ornamental frame decorated with a *kymation*[15] and, on the other side, by a roundel featuring two repoussé busts in profile, facing each other,
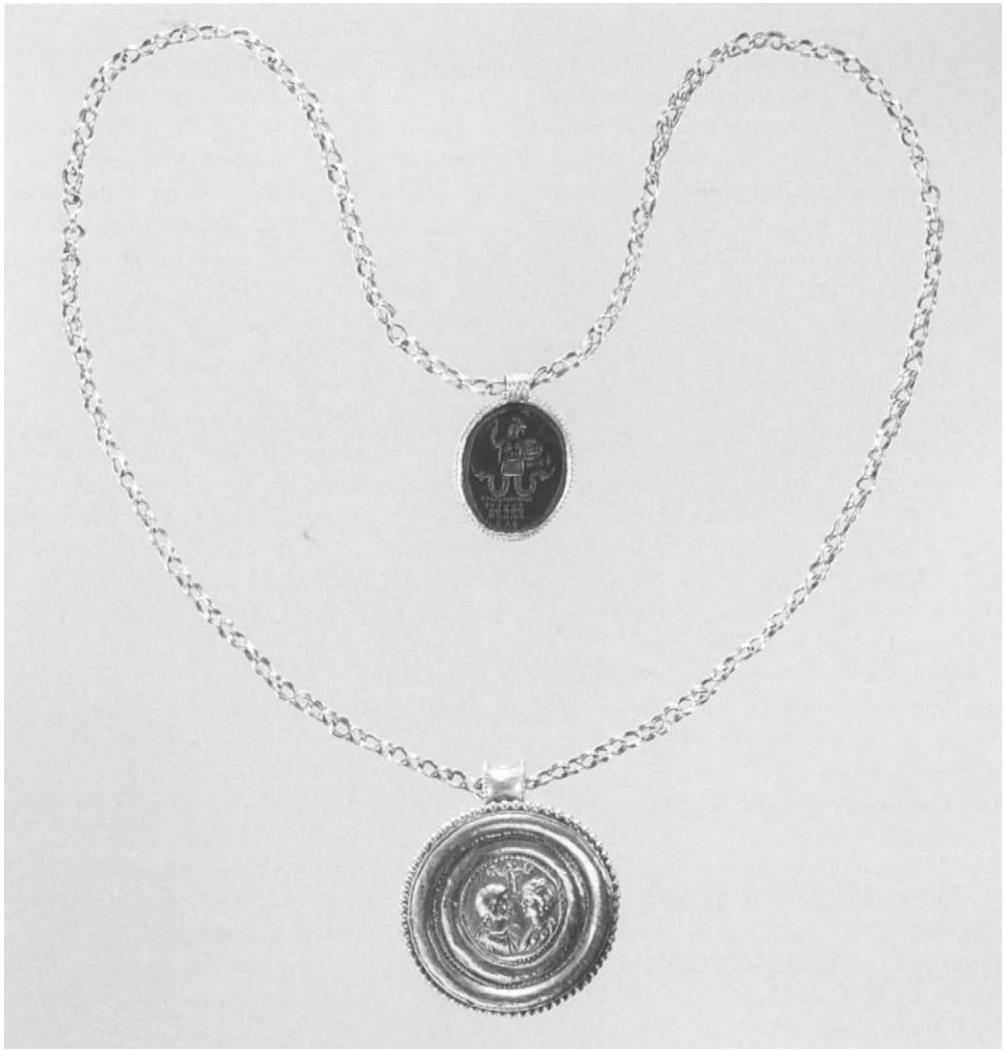
7.2 Breast chain. Gold. Late Roman, early 5th century, with 2nd-century hematite amulet. From Piazza della Consolazione, Rome. Length 79 cm.; diameter of medallion 6.5 cm. (58.12)

7.3 Detail of medallion from breast chain (fig. 7.2)

with a tiny frontal figure between them. The roundel is set in a plain frame surrounded by a ribbed flange, a decorative device particularly popular in the late second and the early third century. The details of the man's bust are not clearly defined, while those of the woman are clear enough to see that her coiffure resembles that of empresses of the first half of the third century. This detail suggests that the roundel was either reused in antiquity or that it was added to the neck ornament in the course of its later history. The most interesting elements are the two lion-head finials attached to one of the two chains. The facial details and the mane are delineated by deep lines, while the fur is indicated by stippling. Similar lion heads occur on a loop-in-loop chain in the Carthage Treasure, a necklace in the Olbia Treasure, and a breast chain in the Hoxne Treasure, all dating from the early to mid-fifth century, and on a neckring of uncertain date in Dumbarton Oaks.[16]

The Piazza della Consolazione Breast Chains

The two breast chains from the Piazza della Consolazione Treasure, one privately owned,[17] the other in the Metropolitan, measure 106 cm and 79 cm, respectively.[18] Both follow a concept that differs completely from that of the necklaces from the same treasure. While the latter are basically an assemblage of precious stones and gems, arranged in a certain order and held together by a minimum of gold wire, the main purpose of the breast chains is to support a single pendant upon which the attention of the viewer is meant to focus. The first chain consists of links made from small strips of gold set together at right angles,[19] a characteristic technique of fine goldwork chains for at least the next two centuries. Attached to it is a large circular pendant made of two gold disks, held together by beaded edging.[20] The front is embellished with a floral pattern rendered in repoussé. Small settings with colored glass or stone inlays are integrated into the repoussé design. The reverse displays a large rosette, again in repoussé, set against a

stippled background. Colored inlays on the front of a piece of jewelry combined with a repoussé decoration on the back seem to be a characteristic feature of Late Roman–Early Byzantine goldwork. A pendant in the Olbia Treasure,[21] the central ornament of a belt in the Getty Museum,[22] a gold ornament found in a Germanic grave at Cluj-Someşeni in Transylvania,[23] and a diadem from Ravenna[24] are only a few examples that follow this decorative scheme.

The breast chain in the Metropolitan (fig. 7.2) consists of a loop-in-loop chain made from doubled links in the form of figures-of-eight and of a large pendant of a type known from mounted coins.[25] A gold medallion with the confronted busts of a couple is set in a frame decorated with a punched beaded circle and a beaded edging (fig. 7.3). Both the man and the woman are portrayed with remarkably individualized features. He is shown in profile wearing a cloak that is draped over his body and fastened at the right shoulder. On the left it falls down in carefully arranged pleats. Hairstyle and facial features suggest a Theodosian date (late fourth–early fifth century).[26] She is shown in three-quarter view, the head in profile. Part of her hair seems to form a fringe covering the front and the temples, but most of it is gathered in a crown tress. Noteworthy features are large pearl earrings and a necklace. A light tunic emphasizes the physical details of the body, while a heavier cloak is draped over the back and the shoulders. Above and between the two busts is a small figure facing front, both arms stretched to the side, a wreath in each hand. Judging from similar representations, this may signify Christ Pronubis.[27] No indication of the identity of the couple is given. The man wears a circular brooch and not the crossbow fibula that was part of the official attire of this period. As he does not wear a diadem, he can hardly be an emperor. The pendant was made either for a wedding ceremony or to commemorate the marriage.

An amuletic gem, set in a gold mount, is attached as a pendant on both the Metropolitan

7.4 Pair of earrings. Gold, pearl. Byzantine, 6th century. Said to have been found near Assiût or Antinoë, Egypt. Height 8.3 cm. (17.190.1666, .1665)

chain and the privately owned one. The gems, dating to the second century A.D., were mounted at a later stage, possibly when the breast chains were made. It is tempting to interpret the reuse of magical gems as an indication that the original owner of each was still a pagan, but in all probability the gems reflect only a general tendency to superstition, found in Late Antiquity among Christians as well as pagans.

The Piazza della Consolazione Earrings
Five pairs of earrings which were part of the treasure are now in Dumbarton Oaks.[28] With only one exception they are variations of the most common type of ear ornament of this period, the earring with composite pendant. This is basically a plain hoop to which is attached a small ring holding a single pendant formed of pierced or mounted precious stones and pearls, alternating with spacers in

the shape of gold beads and granulated circlets. The basic scheme allowed certain variations of detail. On one pair, for instance, the pearls are pierced and then set into a circular frame that has a six-petaled rosette rendered in openwork fitted as a back.[29] Precious stones might be pierced and threaded on gold wire or mounted in box-settings of square, rectangular, or circular shape. Typologically, it was only a short step from the hoop with single composite earring to a similar earring from which several pendants hung. A characteristic example of this slightly later stage in development is illustrated by a pair of earrings in the Metropolitan that was part of the Assiût hoard (fig. 7.4).[30] Attached to each hoop are four small rings, each of them engaging a short length of a ropelike loop-in-loop chain that terminates in a large pearl.

The Piazza della Consolazione Pins
The pins, also in Dumbarton Oaks, are typologically and artistically noteworthy.[31] Only the gold heads are preserved, while the silver shafts have corroded. Each piece consists of a long tube that supports an arrangement of four box-settings, each containing a pointed garnet. In the opening between the settings are C-shaped volutes made from gold wire. This small ornamental device occurs quite often on other jewelry dating to the same period, for instance, on bracelets in Paris[32] and in Berlin.[33] In the sixth century it would be replaced by tiny rosettes.[34] Four arches of beaded filigree crowned by a mounted pearl top the arrangement.

The Piazza della Consolazione Finger Rings
According to information from the art market, twelve or more finger rings from the treasure were purchased by the French collector Édouard Guilhou.[35] There is, however, only one finger ring that can be attributed to this treasure with certainty, the one described in detail in the 1913 catalogue of the Paris exhibition.[36] It is an octagonal ring with the inscription SEPTIMINE SEBERINA VIVAS and a Christogram.

The Piazza della Consolazione Bracelet

The most important object from the treasure is a single bracelet (fig. 7.5).[37] The typological range of early Byzantine gold bracelets is not very wide. Bangles and articulated bracelets formed of a hoop and a separate, movable section, with both parts held together by hinges, represent the two basic categories. The Metropolitan bracelet, belonging to the second, more numerous, group consists of a penannular hoop the ends of which are hinged to a circular central section. One end is fastened permanently, while the other has a removable hinge-pin allowing the piece to be opened. The hoop consists of two penannular rings of twisted gold wires that are soldered together in a herringbone pattern with a plain wire set between them. Both ends terminate in small cylindrical cuffs made from corrugated gold sheet and framed by beaded wire. Each cuff supports two flat loops of a tripartite hinge. The third, central loop of the same hinge is attached to the movable section, a tondo mounted in a raised circular setting with beaded edging.[38] The tondo shows the frontal representation of a female bust rendered against a stippled background in repoussé, the latter being one of the decorative techniques favored by goldsmiths of this period.

The bust on the tondo of the Metropolitan bracelet has long, wavy hair, a crested helmet with the cheekpieces turned upward, a plain garment with sleeves, and an elaborate necklace with drop-shaped pendants (fig. 7.6). The oval face is dominated by circular eyes surrounded by heavy lids in the shape of pointed ovals. Directly beneath the upper lids, the pupils are indicated by single strokes with a dome-shaped punch. The eyes are directed toward the viewer. The short nose is straight, the mouth small. The plain surface and projecting elements of the helmet as well as the cheeks contrast with the textured surface of the stippled background, an effect that adds to the expressiveness of the figure. The only indication concerning its identity is the crested helmet, which has

7.5 Bracelet. Gold. Late Roman, early 5th century. From Piazza della Consolazione, Rome. Diameter 6.9 cm. (17.190.2053)

7.6 Enlargement of tondo, diameter 4.4 cm. (fig 7.5)

led to the figure's being interpreted as Athena.[39] As the bust lacks an important attribute of Athena, the aegis, an interpretation as Roma, the personification of the city of Rome, seems to be more likely.[40] The

motif of the frontal female bust links the bracelet to a number of gold objects with similar representations. The differences in these representations do not necessarily reflect a stylistic or chronological development in Early Byzantine goldwork, but rather the enormous differences in style and craftsmanship.

Related Goldwork

Of the numerous parallels only a few can be mentioned here. First is the refined, sophisticated portrait bust of an empress on a gold brooch from the Ténès Treasure, to which the Metropolitan image has been related.[41] The stylistic differences, however, are overwhelming. With the bust of an empress on a circular pendant in the Getty group, coin-dated to about the same period as the Ténès Treasure, the Metropolitan Roma shares the straight nose and the small mouth.[42] The general expression of the Roma is much livelier, however, and we do not have the drooping shoulders that characterize the Imperial bust on the Getty pendant and on the brooch from Ténès. On a small gold roundel in Dumbarton Oaks a bust of the Tyche of the city of Constantinople is shown in a frontal representation with a necklace not unlike the one worn by the Metropolitan Roma.[43] The details are surprisingly similar—an oval face with large staring eyes, a straight nose, and a small mouth—but these details are rendered in a very linear way and the motif has lost all liveliness.

The rather linear, strictly stylized interpretation of the female bust by no means became the rule. Two female busts offer a naturalistic understanding of the motif. These are of a Charis (the personification of Grace), according to the accompanying inscriptions on the central, circular section of a pair of bracelets from the art market.[44] The proportions are different from those of the Roma, but the expression is lively and the rendering of the details quite naturalistic. The busts, covered by a pleated garment, are much larger and the shoulders are drooping. A close-fitting cap replaces the helmet, and

instead of the wavy hair there are tight curls; but the oval face with large eyes, straight nose, and small mouth is the same and the necklace is very similar.[45] The hoops of the Charis bracelets are semicircular in cross section and decorated in repoussé with a floral scroll animated with birds. Shape and decoration are similar to a pair of gold bracelets in Dumbarton Oaks for which a late-sixth-century date seems to be most likely, as the design of the central section features a representation known from coin medallions of this period.[46]

A last stage in the representation of the frontal female bust in Early Byzantine jewelry is seen on a pair of bracelets in the British Museum, said to have come from Syria (see p. 147).[47] The central tondo features a nimbused Virgin Orans in relief enclosed by a border of openwork lozenges. The hoop is decorated in openwork with a central vase from which emanate two running scrolls with peacocks and swans. Although the main characteristics of the Late Roman type of bracelet with movable central section have not changed, the decoration, style, and technique differ considerably. In comparison to the Piazza della Consolazione bracelet, which in concept, style, and workmanship is still very much in the Roman tradition, the Syrian pair reflects a stage in the history of jewelry where the transition from Late Antique to Early Byzantine has been completed.

THE "ASSIÛT HOARD"

At about the time of the discovery of the Piazza della Consolazione Treasure in Rome, a rather miscellaneous collection of jewelry turned up on the art market in Cairo. First reported to have been found at Tomet near Assiût in Upper Egypt, it was later believed that the place of discovery was the ancient city of Antinoë. It is doubtful that all the pieces that became known as the Assiût hoard were found together or that they represent the complete hoard. Most likely, several objects were added to the original find, and others from it sold separately. The Assiût group was bought by several collectors and is
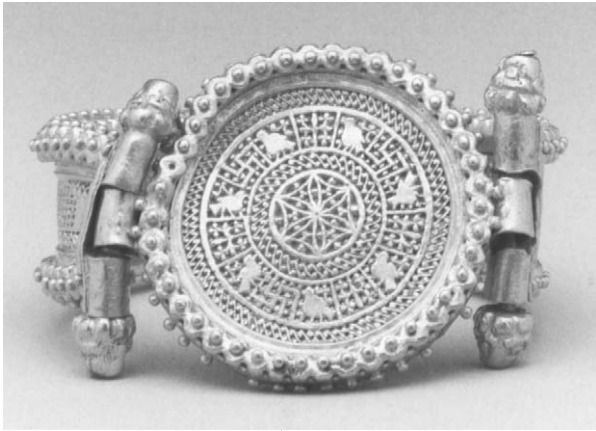
7.7–7.8 Pair of bracelets. Gold. Late Roman, 5th century. Said to have been found near Assiût or Antinoë, Egypt. Diameter 7 cm. (17.190.1669, front view; .1668, back view)

7.9 Enlargement of lion-head terminal (fig. 7.7)

now divided among museums in New York, Washington, London, and Berlin. It was published in 1918 in a comprehensive and still valid monograph by Dennison.[48]

The Assiût Bracelets
Of the four pairs of bracelets and a single one, two pairs were given by J. Pierpont Morgan to the Metropolitan (figs. 7.7–7.8 and 7.14–7.15, also pls. 1, 2), while the remainder went with the von Gans collection to the Antikensammlung in Berlin. Typologically, all belong to the same group of articulated bracelets with movable central section as that from the Piazza della Consolazione Treasure, but otherwise none of them resembles it. This lack of resemblance cannot be ascribed to chronological differences because at least one pair dates to the same period as the latter treasure, the early fifth century A.D., while the others date to not much later. The Assiût bracelets exemplify other stylistic and technical trends that dominated Late Antique and Early Byzantine jewelry: *opus interrasile*, the characteristic Roman openwork technique (figs. 7.7–7.8); the use of precious stones and pearls

(figs. 7.14–7.15 and in three pieces in Berlin); and the use of coins or their imitations, illustrated by a pair of bracelets in Berlin and a pectoral in the Metropolitan (fig. 7.18).

Opus interrasile, a punched openwork technique that was introduced by Roman goldsmiths about A.D. 200, is probably the most important contribution of these craftsmen to the history of jewelry. The technical

process is rather simple. The decoration is
built up from holes that are punched into
gold sheet and then slightly opened up as
determined by the intended design.[49] The
individual stages in the process have been
described in detail by the twelfth-century
monk and goldsmith Theophilus Presbyter,
in chapter 72 of book III of *De Diversis
Artibus*. The process allowed a certain individ-
uality, and the tools also might have differed in
the course of time and probably from work-
shop to workshop, but the basic principle
remained constant.

The use of this technique to decorate
jewelry essentially entails the transformation
of a design into a sort of fret or trellis work.
Some patterns and motifs are easier to con-
vert into openwork than others, and for this
reason they were repeated for a longer
period. Two of the Assiût bracelets in the
Metropolitan, for instance (figs. 7.7–7.8), fea-
ture a stylized leaf pattern and a cable
formed of a double spiral already well
known from the first half of the third cen-
tury onward.[50] Though integrated into well-
established *opus interrasile* motifs, these
bracelets surprisingly have plain areas in the
shape of shadowlike doves, spaced out over
the pierced surface. The bird motif occurs on
a number of other gold objects dating to
about the same period,[51] such as a bracelet
from Ténès in Algiers,[52] a brooch of
unknown provenance in the Louvre,[53]
another one from the Palatine in Rome,[54]
and one from the treasure found at Reggio
Emilia.[55] On the Ténès bracelet and on the
Palatine brooch, the doves are integrated into
running scrolls, while on the brooch from
Reggio Emilia they are encircled by frames.
Most advanced is the solution found by the
goldsmith to whom we owe the Louvre
brooch. The decoration is reduced to shadow
images of antithetically arranged birds, more
chickens than doves, without any additional
opus interrasile framework, a predecessor of a
Byzantine type of openwork found in the
sixth and seventh centuries.[56]

A date about A.D. 400 has been sug-
gested for the openwork-decorated Morgan

bracelets.[57] This date is confirmed by a com-
parison of the tiny lion heads (fig. 7.9)
forming the heads of their hinge-pins with
similar lion heads found in a grave in
Fécamp[58] and on a silver folding stool,[59]
both dating from the late fourth to the early
fifth century. This is the period suggested for
the Ténès bracelet. The brooch in the
Reggio Emilia treasure can be given a reli-
able terminus ante quem of 476–77 from
coins in the treasure, but there is no chrono-
logical evidence concerning the other two
brooches. We do not know where the open-
work bracelets from the Assiût group, or any
of the other pieces, were made. The use of
the same motif on different objects, for
instance, the dove or the lion head, is not
necessarily evidence that they all originated
from one or the same workshop, only that
the particular motif was popular. The attri-
bution of jewelry based on find spots, style,
and quality can be completely misleading.

The Apahida Crossbow Brooch
In style and decoration the closest parallel
to the Assiût openwork bracelets is a gold
brooch found in a princely Germanic grave
at Apahida in Transylvania (fig. 7.10),[60] par-
ticularly its meander bands and the border of
double spirals on its catch plate. The similar
execution is not necessarily an indication
that the objects originated from the same
workshop, but it certainly betrays the same
level of craftsmanship and spirit. An associ-
ated signet ring bore the name of its owner,
Omharus, otherwise unknown to historians.
Besides the gold brooch, other Roman objects
in this grave included an officer's belt buckle,
silver and glass vessels, numerous appliqués,
buckles, and fittings.[61] Based on the historical
situation, a date shortly after 453 has been
convincingly suggested for the burial. Appar-
ently Omharus was one of the Germanic
chieftains who profited from the Roman
strategy of avoiding military conflicts. Accord-
ing to written sources, the Imperial govern-
ment transferred in the fifth century alone
more than 100,000 pounds of gold to bar-
barian tribes threatening the empire.[62] In
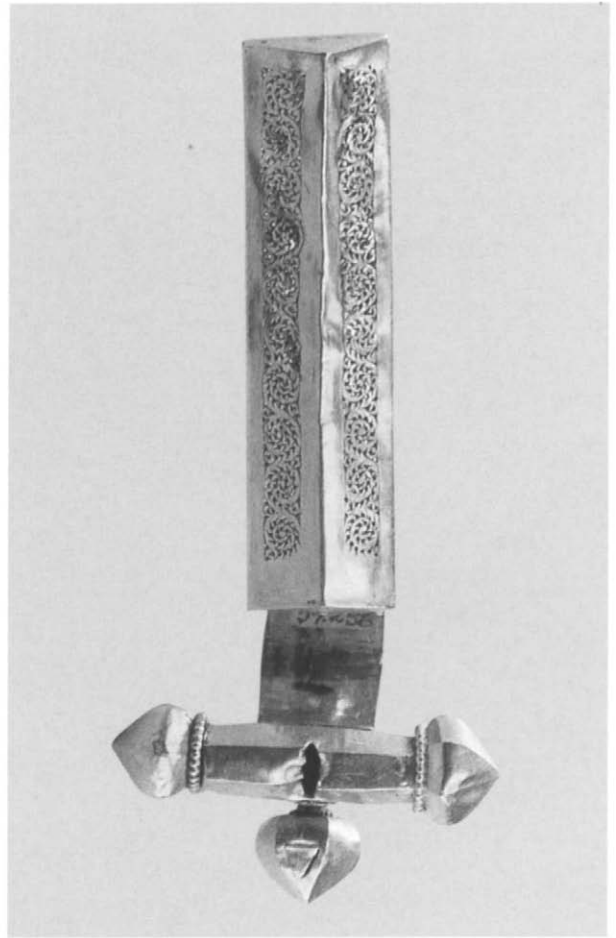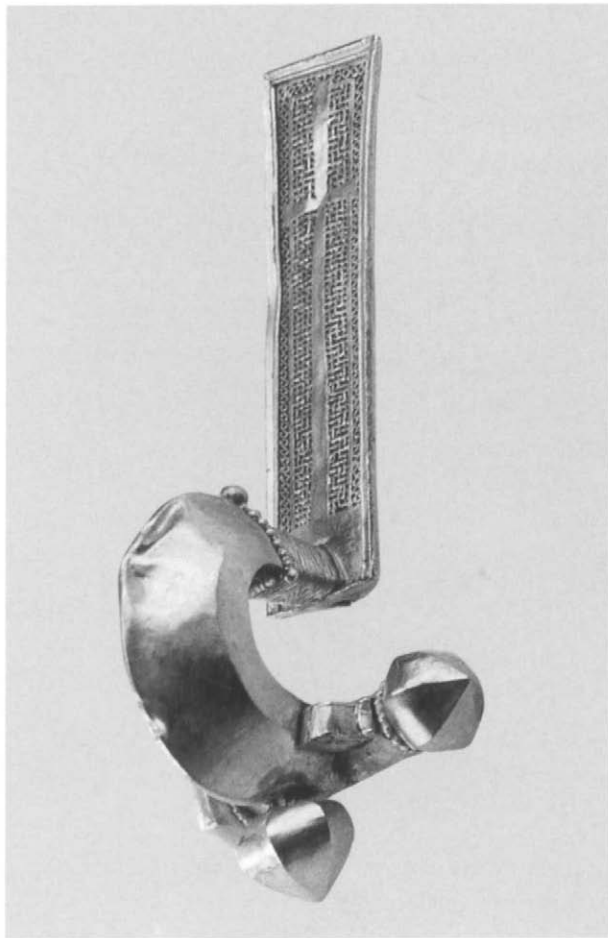
7.10 Gold crossbow brooch, front and back views. From Apahida, Romania, first half of 5th century (Muzeul National de Istori a Romaniei, Bucharest)

addition, the rank of a Roman official was occasionally bestowed on chieftains of barbarian tribes. In the mid-fifth century, the Apahida area seems to have been important enough for such an honor to have been bestowed on the local ruler. And this gave him the right to wear a gold brooch.

We do not know where the Apahida brooch was made. It has been suggested that such gold brooches were commissioned by the emperor and produced in Imperial workshops, but more likely the brooch itself was not given, only the right to wear it, accompanied by an Imperial largesse in the form of gold. It seems to have been up to the recipient to decide how much to spend—a larger amount for a gold brooch, less if he considered a gilded copper alloy piece sufficient to mark the honor. The remarkable differences in decoration suggest personal preferences.

The Apahida brooch measures 11.5 cm; with a weight of 54.29 g—two *unciae,* or one-sixth of a Roman pound—it is the equivalent of twelve solidi. It is a characteristic crossbow brooch of rather traditional shape, except that the footplate is triangular in cross section with a flat top. All three sides are decorated in the
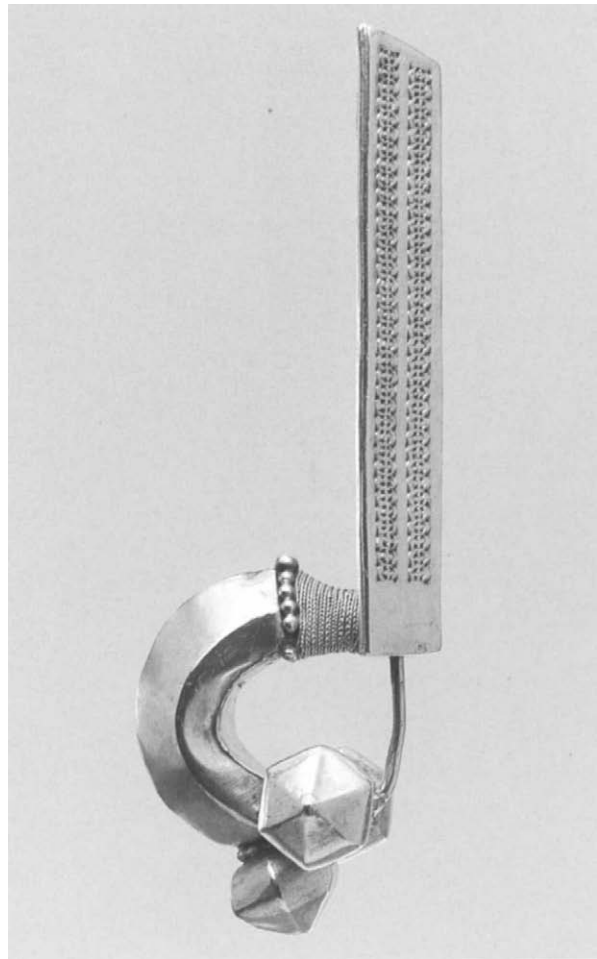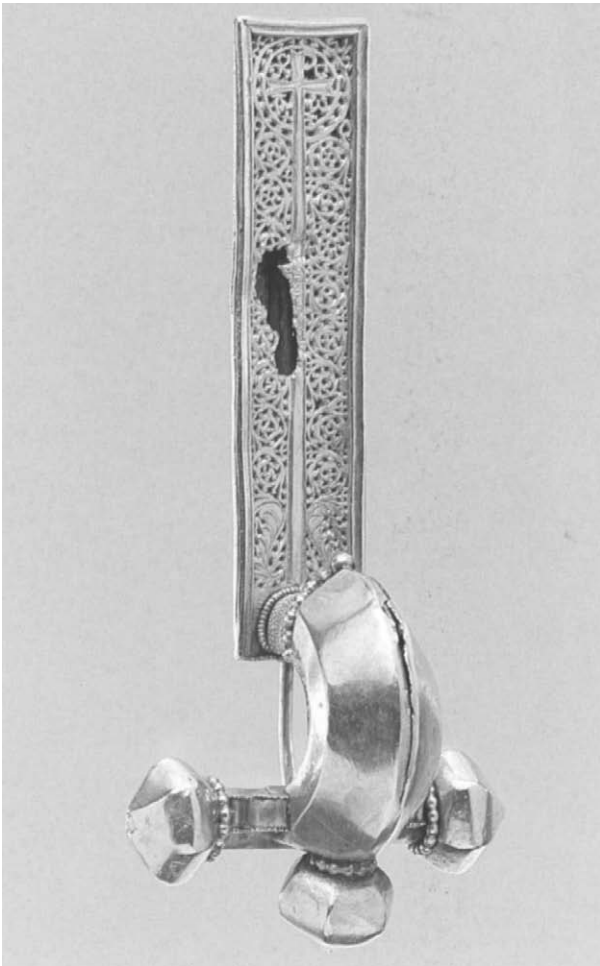
7.11 Crossbow brooch: front view, side view, and (opposite) back view. Gold. Late Roman/Early Byzantine, first half 5th century. Length 11.9 cm. (1995.97)

opus interrasile technique. Framed by a molded cornice, the top plate features an elongated Latin cross with flaring ends. It is placed against an openwork background consisting of an outer border of interwoven zigzag lines and of two bands, each in the form of a complicated meander. Most remarkable is that the artist ignored the small line separating the outer openwork border and the inner field, thus placing the cross visually against the openwork background. The side panels of the foot are decorated with acanthus scrolls which, although rendered in the same openwork technique as the top, differ in style and workmanship.

The Metropolitan Crossbow Brooch
A piece recently acquired by the Metropolitan (fig. 7.11)[63] is the largest gold crossbow brooch known, with a length of 11.9 cm. Its closest parallel in size, shape, proportions, and even in decoration is the brooch from Apahida. Again, the foot is triangular in cross section, while the headplate is framed by a molded rim. The dominant decoration is a *crux monogrammatica*, which emanates from two antithetically arranged acanthus leaves. It is a Latin cross with the axis terminal shaped like the Greek letter *rho* (*P*) and flanked by the letters *alpha* and *omega* (fig. 7.12), all in a circular frame. The shaft of the cross creates
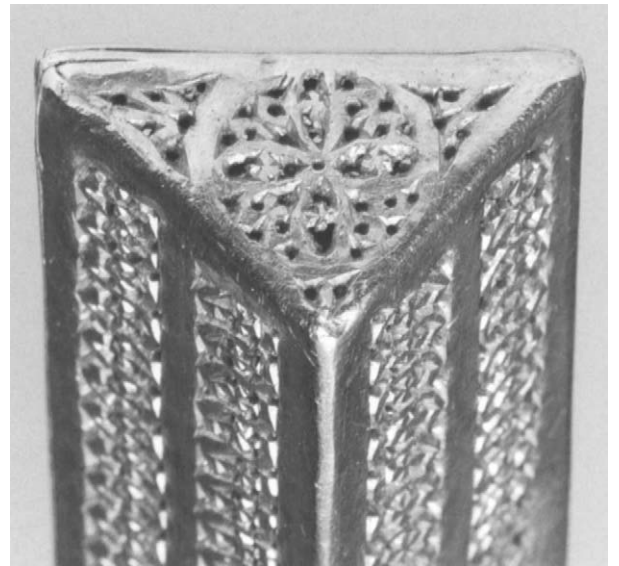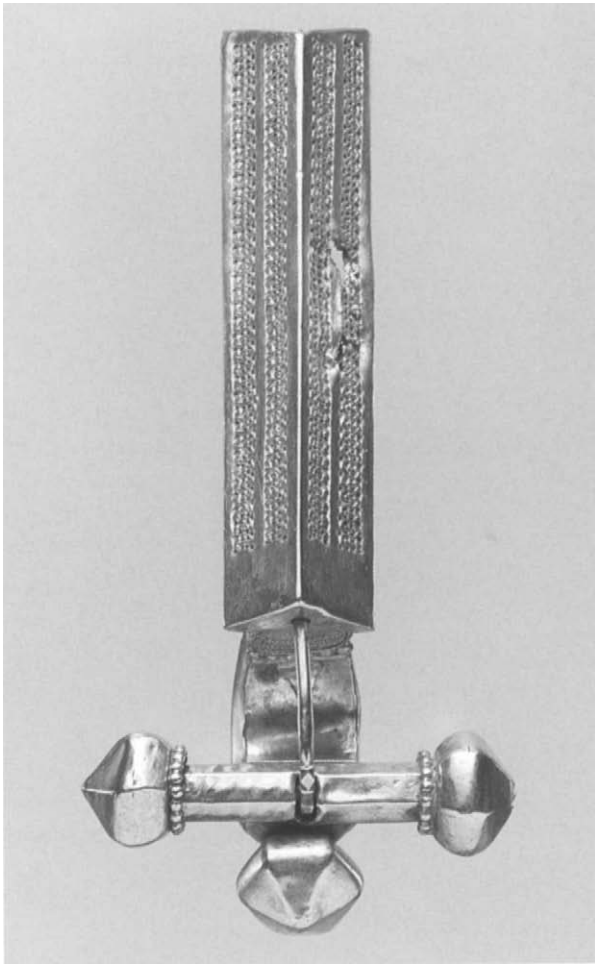
7.12 Detail of front of crossbow brooch (fig. 7.11)

7.13 Detail from end of foot of crossbow brooch (fig. 7.11)

two panels, each decorated with a floral scroll. The underside of the footplate is also decorated in openwork (fig. 7.13). Design and execution are comparatively simple, however, with each panel featuring two rows of cable pattern and integrated quatrefoils.

Typological similarities, primarily the footplate, which on each piece is triangular in cross section, suggest that the Apahida brooch, the Metropolitan brooch, and those from the Palatine in Rome and from Reggio Emilia all belong to the first half of the fifth century, while certain differences in style and decoration among the four indicate the existence of several important workshops

active at about the same period.[64] Their predecessors seem to be a brooch decorated in openwork from the Ténès Treasure and a similar piece from Desana.[65] On both of these the footplate is triangular in cross section with a small ridge along its apex, flanked by separately made openwork panels, and a plain rectangular plate at the bottom. The next step seems to have been to use the rectangular plate as the top and to turn the triangular cross section upside down.

King Childeric's Brooch

A later stage in the development is illustrated by the gold crossbow brooch from the grave of the Frankish king Childeric[66] and by another found in the eastern part of the empire, now in the Burton Y. Berry collection.[67] There is historical evidence for close relations between Childeric and Byzantium in 463 or again in 469, years in which he must have been appointed a Roman official.[68] His death, in 482, offers a terminus ante quem. In comparison to the brooches that can be dated to the first half of the fifth century, a remarkable change seems to have taken place. The footplate is no longer triangular in cross section, but semicircular. It is also completely covered by a dense ornament of rhomboids, rendered in openwork, each circumscribing a tiny Greek cross or a quatrefoil. Exactly the same pattern is found not only on the brooch in the Berry collection but also on a diadem from a hoard found near Varna in Bulgaria[69] and on an articulated bracelet with movable central section in the Louvre.[70]

According to archaeological evidence, crossbow brooches were worn up to the second half of the fifth century. They seem to have developed from comparatively simple pieces, with an undecorated rectangular plate on the underside of the foot; to splendid examples, with a rectangular plate at the top and decoration on all three panels of the triangular-section foot; to the semicircular-section footplate of the Childeric brooch. Surprisingly, pictorial representations of

Roman officials wearing a brooch do not support the archaeological evidence. In the apse mosaic of the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Rome, dating from the pontificate of Felix IV (526–30), Saint Theodore is shown wearing a crossbow brooch that in size, shape, and decoration—there is even a Latin cross on the foot—is close to those from Apahida and in the Metropolitan.[71]

Early Byzantine Openwork

On the second pair of Morgan bracelets (figs. 7.14–7.15, pl. 2), the openwork decoration is restricted to the back of the movable central section, each of which is decorated with a large sapphire surrounded by pearls.[72] It consists of an outer border of running spirals and of symmetrically arranged vegetal scrolls circumscribing three-petaled flowers. Although these are also motifs that had been part of the standard repertory of Roman goldsmiths, the aesthetic and technical approach has changed. The piercing has been reduced in favor of comparatively large areas that form the pattern. Style and decoration are closer to Byzantine openwork-decorated jewelry of the sixth and seventh centuries than to Roman *opus interrasile* (see pl. 1).[73]

The further development of Early Byzantine openwork decoration is illustrated by a pair of articulated bracelets from Cyprus, now in the Benaki Museum in Athens.[74] The hoops, semicircular in cross section, are decorated in repoussé with an acanthus-leaf scroll with curled-up shoots and florets. The movable separate section repeats the same motif, this time in openwork with engraved details.[75] Related to these is a pair of gold bracelets in the Metropolitan, from the so-called Second Cyprus, or Lambousa, Treasure (figs. 7.16–7.17).[76] Typologically, they repeat the basic scheme of Late Antique articulated bracelets with movable section, although their openwork decoration, no longer pierced but built up from separately made elements, is Early Byzantine. The hoop consists of a flowing vine scroll set in a plain frame. The vine is a

thick wire to which five-pointed leaves and triangular bunches of grapes, the details rendered in repoussé, are attached. On the circular section a similarly constructed vine scroll encircles a plain octagonal plaque. In spite of its importance, the Cyprus Treasure is less famous for its jewelry than for the nine silver plates with scenes from the life of the biblical hero David.[77] Imperial stamps on the back of each give a terminus post quem of 613–629/30, a date supported by four associated medallions and eight solidi struck in commemoration of the first consulship of the eastern Roman emperor Mauricius Tiberius in 583, all mounted on a magnificent belt (fig. 11.1).[78] The treasure, found in a storage pot under a floor, was most likely hidden in the years 653 to 654, during the Arab attack on Cyprus.

Polychromy and Naturalism

Although monochrome gold jewelry was obviously much in favor—and the majority of goldsmiths of the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods skillfully mastered sophisticated techniques—the agglomeration of precious gemstones is usually considered the predominant feature of Early Byzantine jewelry. The preference for one or the other was probably a question of personal taste, but, even on jewelry displaying lavish use of gems and pearls, the variety of treatments is remarkable. Perfect examples of this period are articulated bracelets (figs. 7.14–7.15) the hoops and central section of which are encrusted with precious stones, glass imitations, and pearls. Even the hinges are fitted with pearls. Emerald green plasma in square box-settings alternate with oval sapphires in mounts fitted with prongs. Along the edges of each hoop and the central section revolve pearls on fine gold wire kept in place by gold loops.

The general rule was to use circular or oval settings for all stones but emeralds (or their imitations in paste), which were always mounted in square settings. Among the few exceptions is the single bracelet

7.14–7.15 Pair of bracelets. Gold, silver, pearl, amethyst, sapphire, glass, quartz. Byzantine, 6th–7th century. Said to have been found near Assiût or Antinoë, Egypt. Diameter 8.2 cm. (17.190.1671, front view; .1670, back view)

from Assiût in Berlin. Claw settings, tentatively introduced by Roman goldsmiths in the second half of the third century and fully developed by their Early Byzantine successors, secured amethysts or sapphires. A noteworthy innovation is the flat, slightly

7.16–7.17 Pair of bracelets. Gold. Byzantine, 6th–7th century. From Karavás, Cyprus. Diameter 6 cm. (17.190.149, front view; .148, back view)

The splendor of the Assiût bracelets relies on the sheer beauty of the colored inlays, arranged in such a way that the pearls contrast and enhance them. The decorative concept is completely abstract. A different approach is illustrated by a pair of bracelets from the Assiût group now in Berlin.[79] Here the hoop consists of an unframed undulating vine scroll. A strong gold wire forms the stem, wire spirals create vine tendrils, and clusters of small box-settings with emeralds and garnets suggest grapes and vine leaves.[80] Three larger box-settings contain mother-of-pearl inlays. Hinges shaped like rows of gold beads link the hoop and the movable section, which has the shape of a large, six-petaled double rosette. This section is decorated on the front in cloisonné with gems, colored glass, and pearls, whereas the back features a simple star enclosed in a circle, executed in repoussé. This pair is an impressive example of naturalistic tendencies in Early Byzantine jewelry. The bracelets from the hoard found near Karavás, known as the Second Cyprus, or Lambousa, Treasure (figs. 7.16–7.17), and a particularly splendid pair in the Varna hoard, are variations on the same concept.

The hoops of the Varna bracelets are formed by arabesque-like vine scrolls framed by strips of molded and heavy braided gold.[81] The scrolling itself is rendered in filigree, while triangular clusters of box-settings with green glass or pearls as inlays represent leaves and grapes. The contrast between these naturalistic motifs and the decoration adopted for the circular section of the Varna bracelets could hardly be sharper. On the latter, an entirely different concept has been applied— a highly stylized, polychromatic cloisonné design using light green and lilac-colored glass arranged in circles around a large central pearl. The reverse is decorated in repoussé, displaying a bird within an octagon. Tripartite hinges with screw pins terminating in tiny lion heads, not unlike the lion heads on the Assiût bracelets (fig. 7.9), join the hoop and the circular section.

grooved rim on the top of box-settings, probably intended to enhance the gems by contrasting their color with the sheen of the gold. Pearls, pierced and threaded on gold wire, are also known from Roman jewelry, but the particular method of framing all or part of an object with rows of revolving pearls is an invention of Early Byzantine goldsmiths.

Cloisonné Work

In jewelry, "cloisonné" is the term generally used for the complete covering of the surface with polychrome inlays inserted into a pattern formed by cells that are soldered to a backplate.[82] The inlays are usually flat slices with a thickness ranging from 1.5 to 2 mm. The technique was supposed to have originated in southern Russia during the period of Gothic settlement in this area, and it is, indeed, the most characteristic decorative technique of Germanic jewelry from the Migration period onward (pp. 214–15 below). After the discovery of cloisonné-decorated jewelry in graves of the second and third centuries at Armaziskhevi near Tbilisi in Georgia, it was assumed that the technique had its origin in the Caucasus region, from which it spread to the eastern shore of the Black Sea and to the Pontus region.[83] But it was hardly produced locally. Like most of the jewelry and silver plate found in Armaziskhevi, it was made by Roman craftsmen and was either imported or sent as official gifts. The use of colored inlays is rooted in the tradition of Graeco-Roman jewelry, and, in essence, the cloisonné technique is the logical development of the well-established, individual box-setting.[84] The Late Roman as well as the Early Byzantine goldsmith had the technical knowledge and skill to find a new solution for the formal problems of polychrome surface decoration.

In contrast, Germanic jewelry is traditionally monochromatic up to the fourth century. There is fine goldwork, but colored inlays are unknown. As a result, Germanic goldsmiths had no experience in mounting single stones, let alone complicated cloisonné work. Germanic craftsmen were not familiar with gem-cutting techniques and probably did not even have access to the necessary mechanical devices and tools. The sudden appearance in Germanic contexts of cloisonné-decorated jewelry in the mid-fifth century reflects a complete break with Germanic tradition. In all probability such material originated in Roman workshops, which had a

long tradition in gem cutting and mounting—hence the use of Roman types and shapes. Cloisonné-decorated belt buckles found, for instance, in the graves of Childeric and Omharus represent types that were worn by Roman officers.[85] Technical analysis has revealed that these pieces originated in the same workshop; in each case, they were probably given on the same occasion as the associated brooches. Fine-quality goldwork found in Germanic graves of the mid- to third quarter of the fifth century is restricted exclusively to objects used by men, probably because only they were recipients of official gifts from the Roman emperors.

The Assiût Coin-Set Neckring

Technically, the use of coins or imitations of coins in jewelry is closely related to that of colored inlays, as the former were mounted in settings exactly like precious gems or glass. The monochromatic effect, however, is completely different. From the late second century, coins were worn as pendants, in finger rings, on bracelets, and, from the fourth century, on belts.[86] Among the few pieces in the Assiût group with a reliable terminus post quem there are two coin-decorated pectorals, one in the Metropolitan (fig. 7.18),[87] the other in Berlin at the Staatliche Museen. Their shape is similar to that of the *maniakia*, or neckring, worn by the Imperial guard, but an inscription on one of the pectorals leaves no doubt that it had been worn by a woman. Both consist of a neckring formed by a hollow tube, an elaborate centerpiece, and a large flexible pendant. All parts are joined by hinges, with a screw pin on one side for opening the neckring.

The centerpiece features an arrangement of mounted coins and two niello-decorated disks with Greek crosses (fig. 7.19). In the center is a large pseudo-medallion with the bust of an emperor, possibly Justinian, surrounded by a decorative border with a filigree scroll and a beaded edging. The coins range in date from the reign of Theodosius (379–95), Justinian I (527–65), and Justin II (565–78)

7.18 Pectoral. Gold, niello. Byzantine, mid-6th century. Said to have been found near Assiût or Antinoë, Egypt. Diameter 24 cm. (17.190.1664)

7.19 Detail of pectoral (fig. 7.18), actual size

to that of Mauricius Tiberius (582–602), suggesting an early-seventh-century date. The interstices between the coins are covered with small trefoil rosettes, matching the floral effect of the decorative bands. The pendant belonging to the pectoral in the Metropolitan is now in the Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C. It is a large medallion of Theodosius I mounted in a setting that matches that of the pseudo-medallion in the center of the ornament from which it is suspended.[88] An ornate frame with a decoration of C-shaped filigree volutes, small rosettes, and hollow globules mounted on protruding pins surrounds the mount.[89]

The pendant attached to the pectoral in Berlin seems to have been a later addition.[90] Two circular gold plaques decorated in repoussé with a representation of the Annunciation on the front and of the Miracle at Cana on the back are joined by a large frame with a stylized openwork design based on the lotus bud and palmette motif. It is difficult to decide whether an original pendant got lost or what caused its replacement. The pseudo-Imperial medallions, the medallion issued by Theodosius, and the assemblage of coins are all an expression of the Imperial tradition, emphasizing the secular Roman heritage. However, the Annunciation pendant is an example of the narrative art of the sixth and seventh centuries and of the influence of religious ideas, even on objects of luxury.

Two pairs of bracelets, one from Assiût,[91] the other from an unknown find spot,[92] can be assigned to the workshop that created the two pectorals. The former consist of a large hollow ring, the molding of which suggests a multiple loop-in-loop chain, and a separate central ornament set with two mounted coin imitations. The hoop and centerpiece are linked by hinges, their fastening pins ending in faceted heads. The same trefoil rosettes as were used for the pectorals cover the space between the two coins. The second pair is similar except that it is fitted with five solidi of the emperors Mauricius Tiberius, Phocas (602–10), and Heraclius (610–41). As they were hardly likely to have been made

after the Arab invasion of Egypt in 640, a date between 615 and 640 seems likely.

CONCLUSION

Jewelry of technical brilliance has been found in all parts of the Byzantine world and beyond the borders of the empire. Among scholars, there has been a general tendency to assign most of this jewelry to ateliers in Constantinople and preferably to Imperial workshops.[93] However, when trying to assess material that can safely be attributed to a metropolitan setting, we are impeded by an almost total lack of evidence. So far as the production of precious metalwork and jewelry in Imperial workshops is concerned, we know from literary sources that it was controlled by the Imperial treasury, or *officinum* of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, as was its proper name.[94] Literary sources offer certain information about the duties of the treasury, which included the supervising of Imperial factories that made precious metalwork and jewelry. The existence of independent goldsmiths is confirmed by an edict of the emperor Justinian I, proclaiming that Imperial ornaments were to be made only in the palace.[95] At about the same time the use of pearls, emeralds, and sapphires was reserved for Imperial adornments.[96] The necessity of such a regulation reveals that, at least until the sixth century, jewelry so embellished did not necessarily originate in an Imperial atelier. Early Byzantine jewelry is far from homogeneous, and the variety of stylistic tendencies and preferences is so amazing that it can be explained only by the activity of numerous ateliers. In the absence of compelling evidence, it is nevertheless reasonable to assume that numerous workshops were scattered throughout the empire, with principal cities having the largest share.

The jewelry presented here shows that the goldsmith of the Early Byzantine period was immensely indebted to his Roman predecessor. The tradition was so coherent that quite often it is difficult to decide whether a piece of jewelry should still be

called Late Roman or is already Early Byzantine. To define what exactly distinguishes Early Byzantine from Late Roman is often not easy. A clear line as well as a fundamentally new attitude in the treatment of ornament, in the use of color, in the range of types and motifs, and even in technique can already be observed in the course of the fourth century. The trends generated during this period continued for the next two centuries and beyond.

1. For Early Byzantine jewelry in general, see Deppert-Lippitz 1995a, pp. 275–81.
2. Iluk 1985.
3. Ibid., p. 97.
4. Sambon 1913.
5. Bland and Johns 1993.
6. Dalton 1901, nos. 242–48; British Museum 1976, no. 186; Kent and Painter 1977, pp. 50–52.
7. Ross 1965, no. 166; cf. Ament 1968, p. 150; Arrhenius 1985, pp. 101f., 119, 123, 151, fig. 63 s.
8. Johns and Potter 1983.
9. Deppert-Lippitz 1993a.
10. Ross 1965, no. 1, A–C.
11. Ogden 1996, p. 87, fig. 2; Zahn 1929, no. 112.
12. Dennison 1918, no. 10; Brown 1979, fig. 6.
13. For related pieces, see Rudolph 1995, no. 84 A.
14. See note 11 above.
15. For the coin, see Cohen 1880–92, vol. 8, p. 178, no. 20 var.
16. Ross (1965, no. 45) has interpreted this neckring as a bracelet or armring. Typologically, however, it is a simpler version of the same type as the pectoral from Assiût, now in the Morgan collection. See Dennison 1918, pp. 109ff., no. 1.
17. Weitzmann 1979, no. 283.
18. Ibid., no. 281.
19. Ibid., no. 283.
20. For a technical analysis of the hollow beading of this period, see Ogden and Schmidt 1990, pp. 8–12.
21. Ross 1965, no. A, pls. 79, 80.
22. Deppert-Lippitz 1993a, figs. 24 a–d.
23. Ibid., fig. 25 a, b.
24. Rupp 1937, p. 63, pl. XIII, 6–7.
25. For coin pendants, see Bruhn 1993.
26. Kollwitz 1941, passim; Kitzinger 1976, figs. 1–6.
27. Buckton 1994, no. 9 a.; Harden 1987, no. 157, see also no. 160; Walter 1979, pp. 83–91.
28. Ross 1965, no. 1 E-I.
29. Ibid., I E, pl. III.
30. Dennison 1918, nos. 16, 17.
31. Ross 1965, no. 1, D.
32. Metzger 1990.
33. Greifenhagen 1970, pl. 51, 2.
34. Ibid., pl. 52, 5–6.
35. Ross 1965, p. 3. Three finger rings in the Guilhou collection allegedly belonged to the treasure; see Guilhou sale 1937, lots 283 and 473. The latter is de Ricci 1912 no. 813.
36. Sambon 1913, p. 15. See also de Ricci 1912, no. 815; and Guilhou sale 1937, lot 446.
37. Weitzmann 1979, no. 282.
38. The shape of the bracelet is similar to that of a pair shown on a fourth-century mosaic; see Levi 1947, vol. 2, p. 278, pls. LXIV, a, and CLXXXIII, d.
39. For a Late Antique representation of Athena-Minerva, see Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 83.
40. For personifications of Roma, see Bühl 1995. For an Early Byzantine representation of Athena/Minerva, see Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 83.
41. Heurgon 1958, pls. I, XXXIV; Weitzmann 1979, no. 282; Deppert-Lippitz 1993a, fig. 3.
42. Deppert-Lippitz 1993a, fig. 1b.
43. Ross 1965, no. 32.
44. One bracelet was published in *Treasures from an Ancient Jewel Box*, sale cat., Numismatic Fine Arts, Los Angeles, n. d., p. 18, lot 27, the other in *Fine Antiquities*, sale cat., Christie's, London, July 6, 1994, lot 484.
45. A bronze plaque with a similar representation and the same inscription has been found in Dalmatia; see *Parures dans la Dalmatie du Nord* 1981, nos. 153 and 228, fig. 8.
46. Ross 1965, no. 2 A-B.
47. One bracelet is in the British Museum, London, while the whereabouts of the second one, published in 1897, is unknown; see Buckton 1994, no. 99.
48. The objects donated by Morgan to the Metropolitan in 1917 are illustrated in Dennison (1918) as follows: the coin-decorated pectoral (no. 1), a chain with two coin pendants (no. 8), the necklace with sapphire and pearl pendants (no. 10), the pair of earrings (nos. 16, 17), and the two pairs of bracelets (nos. 26, 27).
49. The process has been described in detail in Dandridge 2000 and in Ogden and Schmidt 1990, pp. 5–8. See also Yeroulanou 1999, pp. 15–26, and Deppert-Lippitz 1993a, pp. 69–72. Still valuable are the observations of Henkel from the beginning of the twentieth century (1913, p. 311) and of Zahn 1916, p. 16, n. 2.
50. For early examples of the stylized leaf pattern, see a gold brooch from Osztrópataka: Eichler in Beninger 1937, pp. 148ff.; *Bonner Jahrbücher* 124 (1917), p. 59, fig. 40; Marien 1982, pp. 175–80. For the double S-spirals, see also the brooch from Osztrópataka and a finger ring from a mid-third-century treasure: Fasold 1985, p. 256, fig. 203.
51. Brown 1982.
52. Heurgon 1958, pl. v.
53. Theune-Grosskopf 1995, no. B 12, fig. 123.
54. Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome, ibid., no. B 3.
55. Theune-Grosskopf 1995, no. B 8, fig. 79.

56. For Byzantine openwork, see Yeroulanou 1988, pp. 2–10, figs. 5–7; Yeroulanou 1999, pp. 16–19, figs. 9, 10; Niemeyer 1997, pp. 191–206; Niemeyer 1998, pp. 87–96.

57. Brown 1982.

58. Böhme 1974b, pl. 122.

59. *Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1977, p. 59, no. 42.

60. Deppert-Lippitz 1996, pp. 240ff., figs. 9, 10; Theune-Grosskopf 1995, p. 102, fig. 75, p. 117, fig. 80, no. B 9.

61. For the contents of the grave, see *Goldhelm, Schwert und Silberschätze* 1994, no. 102.

62. Iluk 1985.

63. Inv. no. 1995.97. See Deppert-Lippitz 2000 and Dandridge 2000.

64. For a different opinion, see Heurgon 1969, pp. 790–99.

65. Theune-Grosskopf 1995, p. 82, fig. 54, no. B 4, p. 158, fig. 120, no. B 10. *I Goti* 1994, no. III.29 e.

66. Deppert-Lippitz 1996, pp. 235–43, fig. 8.

67. Ibid., figs. 1–7.

68. *Die Franken* 1996, pp. 879–83.

69. Dimitrov 1963, pp. 65–79.

70. Metzger 1990, pp. 7–12.

71. Deichmann 1958, pls. 358–366; Theune-Grosskopf 1995, figs. 66, 92, no. H 11.

72. Weitzmann 1979, no. 300; Brown 1979, fig. 5.

73. Compare Brown 1984, pls. IV, 5, 17f., figs. 12, 13.

74. Bromberg 1990; Weitzmann 1979, no. 297; Brown 1979, fig. 9.

75. Closely related to Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 35; Weitzmann 1979, no. 291.

76. Weitzmann 1979, no. 292; Brown 1979, fig. 8.

77. Weitzmann 1979, pp. 475ff., nos. 425–33.

78. Ibid., pp. 71f., no. 61.

79. Deppert-Lippitz 1995b, p. 122, fig. 86, no. E 2.4; Weitzmann 1979, no. 298; Brown 1979, fig. 12; Greifenhagen 1970, pls. 51, 2–3 and 52, 1–6.

80. Dennison 1918, pp. 161ff., nos. 32, 33; Greifenhagen 1970, pl. 52, 1–4.

81. Brown 1979, figs. 10, 11; Weitzmann 1979, no. 299.

82. Linas 1887; Cabrol and Leclercq 1936, vol. 12, part 2, cols. 2507ff.; Arrhenius 1985.

83. H. Roth 1980.

84. One of the earliest examples of garnet cloisonné occurs on a finger ring found in the west of France and safely dated to the first half of the third century: Effenterre 1956, pp. 51–59.

85. Brown 1996, p. 232, figs. 14–16.

86. For jewelry with mounted coins, see Bruhn 1993.

87. Dennison 1918, nos. 1–4; Greifenhagen 1970, pls. 46–48; Weitzmann 1979, pp. 318–21, nos. 295, 296.

88. Dennison 1918, no. 2, pls. X, XI.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., nos. 3, 4.

91. Ibid., pp. 159ff., nos. 30, 31; Greifenhagen 1970, pl. 52, 5–6.

92. Ross 1965, no. 46.

93. Ross in Weitzmann 1979, pp. 297ff.; for a remarkable exception, see Brown 1982.

94. Kent 1961, pp. 35–45; MacMullen 1962, pp. 159–66.

95. Hill 1983, esp. p. 145 n. 23.

96. Ibid., p. 144 n. 17.

8. The Vermand Treasure

INTRODUCTION

Among the most remarkable pieces from the famous grave at Vermand in northern France, now preserved in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, are four silver objects produced in the cast chip-carving technique, partly gilded, and decorated with niello (pl. 3).[1] They are a buckle (fig. 8.1), a cylindrical mount (fig. 8.2), a long, narrow rectangular plaque (fig. 8.3), and a long semicylindrical mount with marginal backward-glancing animal figures (fig. 8.4). The technique of chip-carved decoration on metalwork (*Keil-* or *Kerbschnitt*), executed in the manner of chip carving in wood, was a typical Late Roman art style. It spread widely within the Roman Empire during the last decades of the fourth and the early fifth century.[2] Its diverse Classical patterns, including rows of running spirals, scrolls, rosettes, six-pointed interlaced stars, stepped patterns, swastikas, and marigolds, often completely filled the surface of the metal objects. These frequently have various animal representations on the edges, such as sea lions with trilobate tails or animal heads. The patterns were already deeply cast during production and were later worked over with a chisel. In some cases, the surface was gilded or received niello-inlaid ornament. In this way, craftsmen achieved vivid effects of light and shadow on two-dimensional art objects. Such effects accorded particularly with Germanic taste.

Several hundred copper-alloy pieces, but only a few of silver, are known in this style—mostly fittings from Roman military belts or other equipment used by Germanic mercenaries (fig. 8.5). For this reason, Late Roman chip-carved decoration is designated as a military style.[3] This characteristic style was adopted by several Germanic tribes during the fifth century, to embellish brooches and belt buckles, and is nowadays accepted as the source of Germanic animal ornament, designated Style I by Bernhard Salin (see p. 309).[4] For more than a hundred years the Late Roman chip-carved ornament became the predominant style of Germanic jewelry, the Scandinavian and Merovingian inheritance, so to speak, of the Late Roman world.

8.1 Buckle. Gilt silver, niello. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Length 6 cm. (17.192.146)
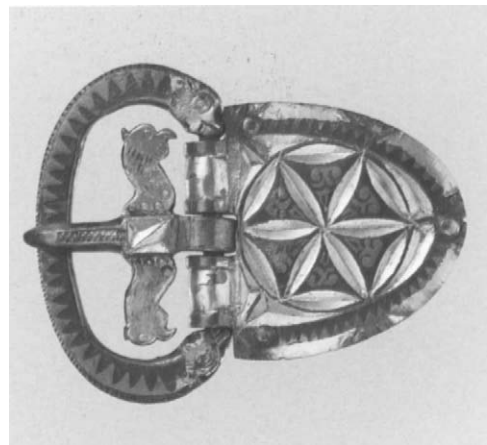
8.2 Spear-shaft mount (above), two views. Gilt silver, niello. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Height 3 cm. (17.192.143)

8.3 Rectangular mount (below). Gilt silver, niello. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Length 9.4 cm. (17.192.144)

8.4 Spear-shaft mount (lower right), front and side views and (above right) a detail, enlarged. Gilt silver, niello. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Height 12.2 cm. (17.192.145)
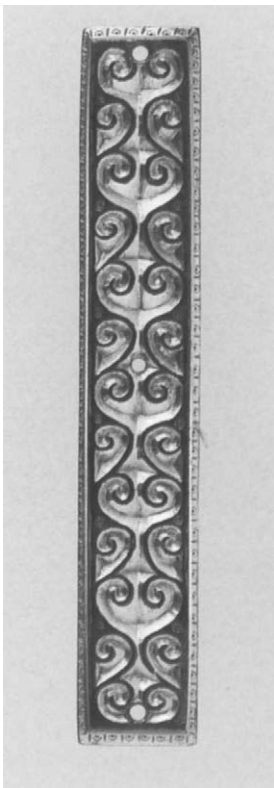
8.5 Distribution of Late Roman metal objects in the chip-carving technique (after Böhme 1986, fig. 8)

8.6 Topography of Vermand with the Late Roman cemeteries (Römische Gräberfelder) I, II, III and the warrior grave (Kriegergrab) (after Böhme 1974a, fig. 57)

THE FIND HISTORY

More than a century ago, in 1885, French amateur archaeologists discovered the grave of a richly furnished warrior beside the old town walls of Vermand, near Saint Quentin.[5] It belonged to a huge Late Roman cemetery situated outside this important stronghold in northern Gaul, the *Civitas Viromanduorum* (fig. 8.6). Within an unusual sepulchral chamber of masonry was found a sarcophagus nearly three meters in length, constructed of dressed-stone slabs (fig. 8.7).[6] A round wooden shield with its boss and grip (fig. 8.8.10, .11) and the remains of its red-colored, partly gilded leather covering were found outside the sarcophagus. There were also ten slender spearheads (fig. 8.8.8), obviously once in a quiver, and the point of a spearhead originally inlaid with rich decorations (fig. 8.8.12). All the other grave goods were found in the coffin, which had already been robbed in antiquity. The dating of this extraordinary warrior grave to about 400, or to the beginning of the fifth century, is suggested primarily by a gold solidus of the emperor Arcadius, who reigned from 383 to 408. It was presumably found inside the burial, because the scientific investigator of the find, Théophile Eck, wrote that he had good reason to accept that such a coin had originated from the grave.

In spite of intensive excavations for more than a century afterward, archaeologists in France and the Rhineland have never again discovered such a splendidly furnished burial of a barbarian warrior. The exceptional position of the Vermand Treasure, as it was called soon after J. Pierpont Morgan acquired the six finest pieces in 1910, has been maintained until today. And though it surpasses the other 180 warrior graves of this period—for example, at Rhenen, in the Netherlands; at Furfooz, Samson, and Oudenburg in Belgium; at Hermes, Misery, Monceau-le-Neuf, and Vron, in France[7]—this larger historical context should always be kept in mind when discussing the splendid objects of the Vermand burial and in interpreting the

nature of the grave goods and the social status of the deceased.

THE MILITARY BACKGROUND

To date, nearly two hundred cemeteries are known west of the Rhine and north of the Loire, which are datable to the late fourth and the fifth century. Very often they yield burials of a population that was certainly not Roman. Significantly, most of these burial areas belong to Late Antique forts or other strongholds, so they can probably be characterized as military cemeteries.[8] Examples of some of the unusual, non-Roman objects typical of these graves are weapons and daggers, which were never deposited in the burials of Roman common soldiers. Other finds include military belts with numerous copper-alloy fittings, iron buckles, women's brooches and hairpins, spindle whorls, single-sided triangular combs of Germanic style, iron shears, and bronze-banded wooden buckets.[9]

Many of these objects are of Germanic manufacture. Both their prototypes and their more developed forms are found in Germanic areas east of the Rhine, especially the numerous brooches from specific Germanic female costume.[10] These were often worn in precisely the same way both there and in northern Gaul: a brooch on each shoulder fastening the peplos dress, and one or two other brooches on the chest holding together a sleeveless garment, such as a cloak or mantle. This arrangement was completely different from the dress of provincial Roman women, who did not use brooches to fasten their clothing (see pp. 226–28). The discovery of jewelry disposed about the body as to suggest the same kind of dress fastened in the same fashion is a further strong link between the cemeteries of northern Gaul and the Germanic ones of the Netherlands, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony.

As at Vermand, the identification of most of these male graves as Germanic is based not only on the presence of heavy weapons but also on their location beside
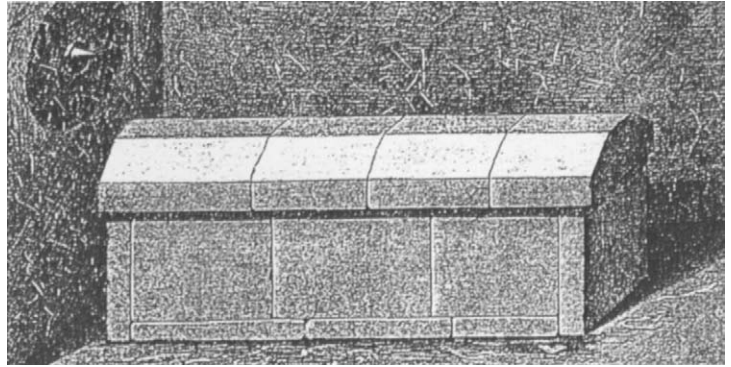
8.7 Burial chamber and sarcophagus in the warrior grave at Vermand (after Pilloy and Jumel 1887, p. 215)
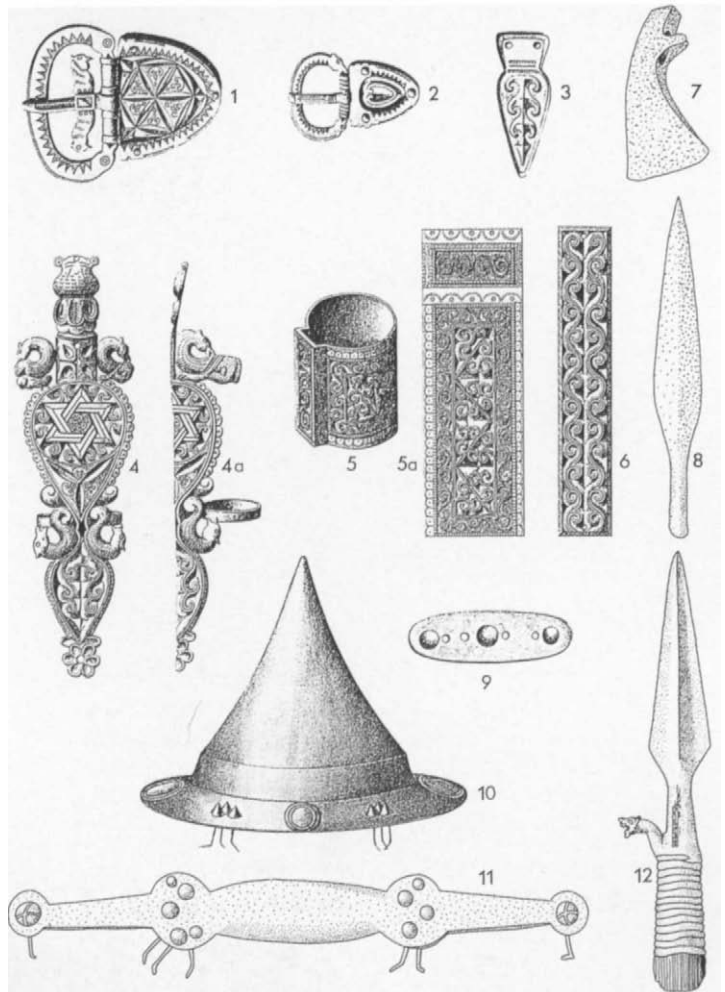
8.8 Grave goods from the warrior grave at Vermand (after Böhme 1974a, pl. 137)
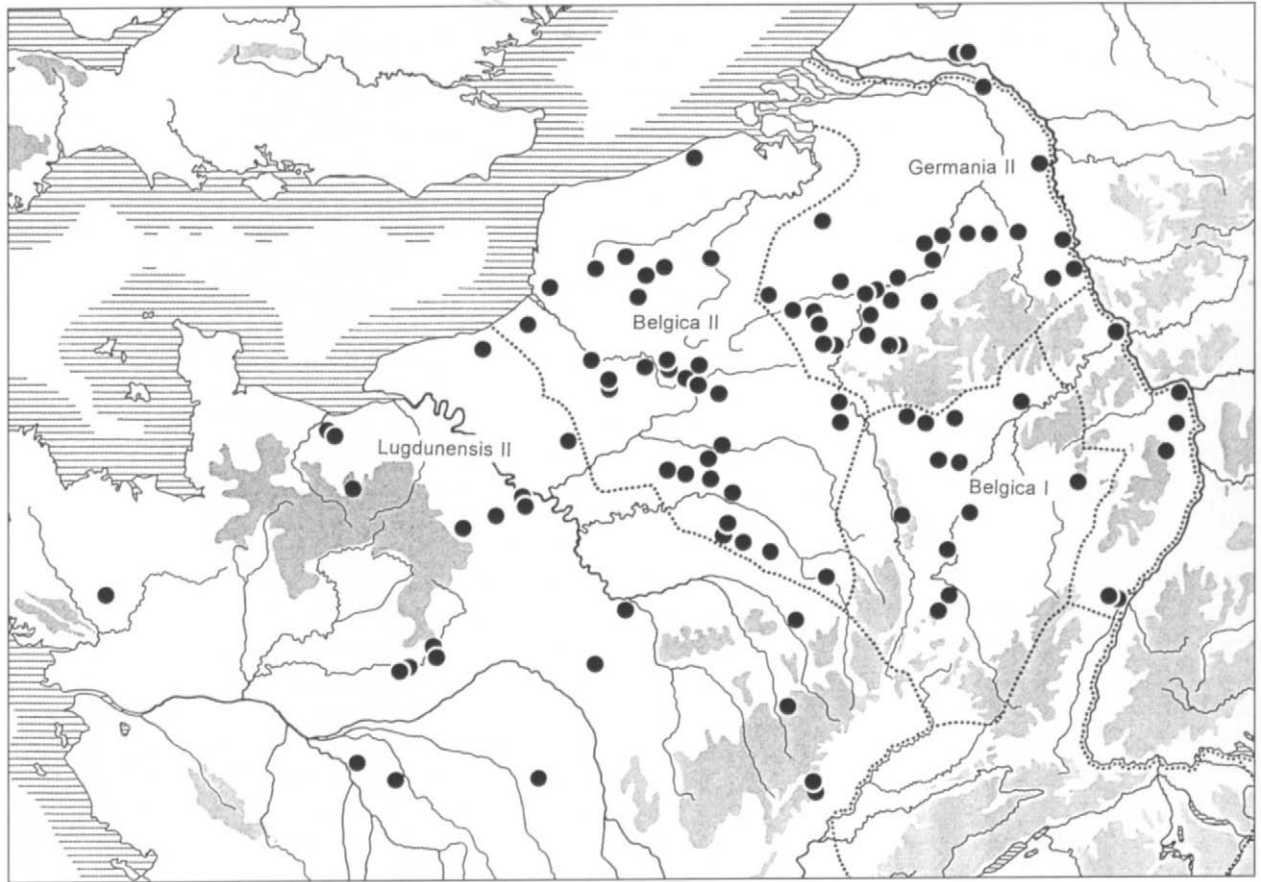
8.9 Distribution in northern Gaul of Late Roman cemeteries containing Germanic warrior graves (after Böhme 1996, fig. 69)

women's graves furnished with typically Germanic jewelry, notably tall conical silver brooches, the so-called tutulus brooches (see below, fig. 8.14.1 and .2).[11] Other such brooches, always worn in pairs, are known from Cortrat, Vert-la-Gravelle, and Fécamp, all in France. As many of these graves were unearthed in cemeteries with a military character, it seems reasonable to connect them with Germanic soldiers who came, with their families, into the service of the late Roman Empire (fig. 8.9). This interpretation, first proposed a century ago, is nowadays accepted by many archaeologists. Only the

legal position and the nature of the employ-ment of these soldiers remain the subjects of discussion.

After the catastrophic Germanic inva-sions during the second half of the third century, the emperor Gallienus (r. 253–68) began a reorganization of the army, which came to a preliminary halt about 300, in the reign of Constantine. Decisive in this reor-ganization was the division of the army. In addition to troops along the border, the emperors created a strong mobile troop, the so-called field force (*comitatenses* in Latin), with garrisons spread over the whole region.

These elite troops could successfully attack enemies who had penetrated the hinterland without exposing the border. Besides the legionnaires were the barbarian auxiliaries (*auxilia*), who held the highest rank in the army. A characteristic symbol of the military class was a broad belt with many metal fittings, the *cingulum militiae*.[12]

This reorganization produced not only an innovative military strategy but also an enormous increase in the number of soldiers and fortifications. In Gaul alone the army increased to 75,000 soldiers; more than before, the Romans were forced to recruit soldiers from outside the empire. Therefore it is not surprising that most of the troops in Gaul were composed of warriors of Germanic origin.[13] The employment of barbarian, especially Germanic, soldiers had been a practice since late Republican and early Imperial times, but the enormous number of such recruits in the reign of Valentinian I (r. 364–75) and his successors is remarkable. They finished their service in Gaul, where they were buried like the high-ranking lord of Vermand, or they returned to their native regions and were buried with tokens of their former service. A distribution map of Late Roman military belt fittings from Germanic graves east of the Rhine illustrates where most of these soldiers came from.[14] Sarmatians or eastern Germanic peoples, like the Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Gepids, may have participated sporadically in Roman service, as is shown by graves from Krefeld-Gellep, Rheims, or Dijon,[15] but they are not responsible for the widespread burial customs that appear in Vermand and all the other Franco-Belgian cemeteries of the Late Roman period.

THE VERMAND FINDS

The masonry sepulchral chamber at Vermand is unique in northern Gaul. The burial of a Germanic soldier inside a sarcophagus is also extremely rare and shows the importance of this military chief. A rare parallel is the burial of a warrior in Bonn with a sword, a gilt copper-alloy brooch, silver fittings on a military belt, and a dagger with silver inlays.[16] Another, found in Bourges, in central France, contained a single-edged dagger and a heavy iron spearhead inscribed *Patricius regius*, which refers to a high-ranking court official during the Visigothic rule of southwest France.[17] Inside the looted sarcophagus at Vermand, Eck reported, were the oxidized remains of a long, double-edged sword; a small silver plate (fig. 8.8.9) probably belonged to a special form of its scabbard chape,[18] well known from contemporary graves. How the sword, the grip, and the scabbard might have been decorated may be seen from the outstanding fittings of a Late Roman sword from Vrasselt in the lower Rhine area.[19]

Among the pointed weapons is a heavy spearhead (fig. 8.8.12), formerly 50 cm in length, with a strong midrib and two animal heads projecting from the socket (now lost). The unsuccessful attempt to restore this spear, now preserved in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, destroyed most of the rich silver inlays, which consisted of complicated ornament and Latin inscriptions.[20] Three gilt-silver fittings from the shaft, richly decorated with chip carving and niello (fig. 8.8.4–6), belong without doubt to the most elaborate and finest specimens of Late Roman silversmithing in northern Gaul. They were obviously produced in an outstanding workshop of this country, probably in a *fabrica*, such as is mentioned in the muster role of the Late Roman army and government directory, the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The high quality is almost unequaled when compared with the best chip-carved metalwork found in other rich graves and treasures of the western Roman Empire, such as the silver pieces from the Coleraine Treasure in northern Ireland (fig. 8.10)[21] or the copper-alloy belt buckles of Herbergen,[22] Mainz, and Misery.[23] In northern Gaul, thirteen such luxury spearheads are known (fig. 8.11), used mainly for ceremonial boar hunts in Late Roman times. Two especially impressive pieces inlaid with silver, copper, and brass,
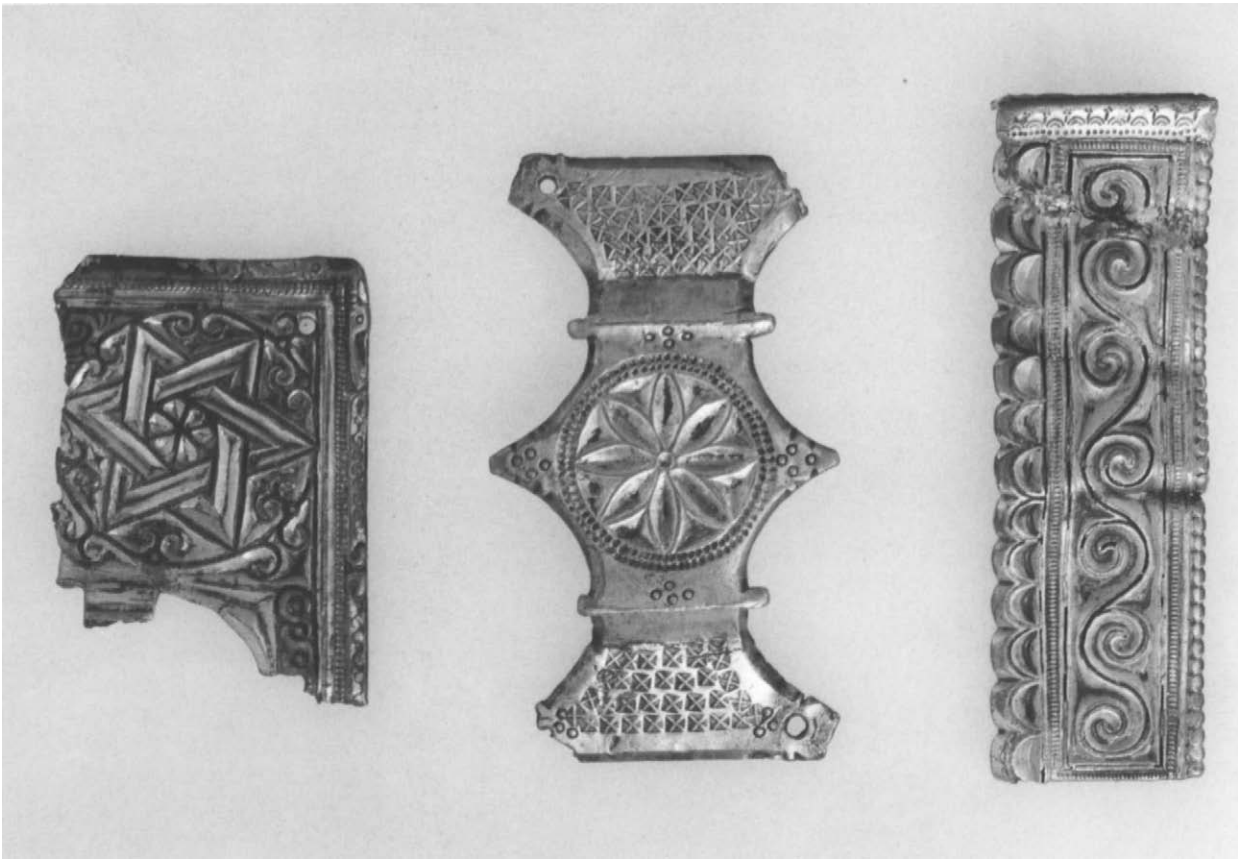
8.10 Gilt silver and niello buckle fragment and sword-sheath mounts from the early-5th-century treasure found at Coleraine, Northern Ireland (British Museum, London)

from Cutry in Lorraine, and Bargen in southwest Germany,[24] may give an impression of the former appearance of the Vermand specimen. Such special spearheads are possibly more than aristocratic hunting weapons; for example, bearing in mind a similar example from Trier, ornamented with the busts of two emperors,[25] they may also be symbols of power and command.

A battle-ax and ten small spearheads were also found in the Vermand grave. The small iron ax (fig. 8.8.7), only 12 cm long, with peculiar projections near the shaft hole, is widespread both in northern Gaul and in northern Germany during the late fourth and the fifth century.[26] These weapons, normally not used by Roman soldiers, were distinctive of Germanic mercenaries, originating among the tribes east of the lower Rhine, such as the Franks and Saxons. Other Germanic peoples utilized different axes or none at all. The ten small spear- or arrowheads (fig. 8.8.8) were obviously deposited in a quiver. Normally, only three symbolic examples are found in warrior graves of this and the subsequent period. The curious custom of using a complete quiver as a grave good is typical of the Germanic-settled area
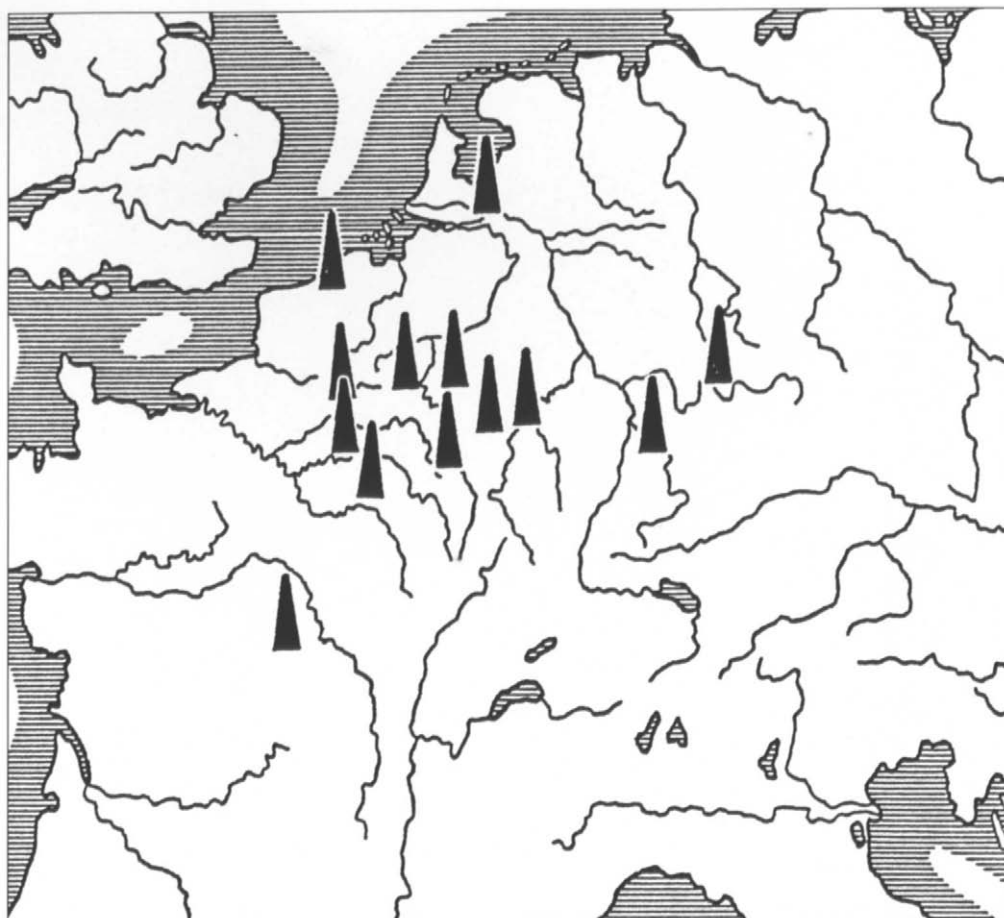
8.11 Distribution of heavy Late Roman spearheads with silver inlays (after Böhme 1974a, fig. 40)

between the lower Elbe and the Seine. Most of the twenty-two such burials known are dated to the fifth century.[27]

A particularly striking find from the Vermand grave is a conical iron shield boss some 20 cm in diameter and 16 cm high (fig. 8.12). It is covered with a thin sheet of gilded silver and has a grip covered with an ungilded silver sheet (fig. 8.13). Its broad rim has four groups of three rivets in a triangular configuration, each with a domed head. These secured it to the wooden shield board, which was 80 cm in diameter. In four collars placed between them are glass cabo-

chons that clearly imitate chalcedony. Such exquisite ornament serves to emphasize the high status of the shield's owner and accords with its red leather covering, ornamented with gold. Such shields were the symbol of elite troops, recognizable in the colored illustrations of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. In the late fourth and the fifth century a great variety of conical shield bosses is found among the Germanic tribes, but only six have gilt-silver appliqués,[28] and these are in northern Gaul, a further indication that the Vermand finds were manufactured there. From the grave of a warrior at nearby Misery comes a

8.12 Shield boss. Iron, gilt-silver overlay, glass inlays. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Height 16 cm. (17.192.141)

8.13 Shield grip. Iron, silver overlay. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Vermand, France. Length 36.4 cm. (17.192.142)

silver-covered shield boss with a workshop stamp MAR, which is an abbreviation of MARTENSES, alongside the figure of an emperor. This military formation belonged to the *Tractus Armoricanus* military district, along the Channel coast of France.

Though the coffin had already been robbed, a few objects from it survive: a large animal-head buckle (fig. 8.8.1) and two comparable, but smaller, buckles (fig. 8.8.2), with matching pointed strap ends.[29] All five fittings are of cast silver, gilded, and richly decorated with niello. Pilloy long ago

identified the two small buckles and strap ends (the latter are now lost) as shoe fittings. Such fittings are a rare phenomenon in central and western Europe. They first appear in the Alemannic area, especially in rich female graves. One of the earliest examples from the first half of the fifth century comes from a woman's grave at Eschborn, west of Frankfurt-am-Main.[30] Here, too, were found small animal-head buckles and disk-shaped strap ends, larger versions of which normally belong on the military belts of men. The Vermand fittings, datable to the early fifth

From Attila to Charlemagne

century, are the earliest manifestation of this new fashion in western Europe and again emphasize the exceptional status of this grave. The animal-head buckle with its rounded triangular attachment plate and crossbar on the tongue has a close parallel in copper alloy, decorated with niello, at nearby Abbeville-Homblières.[31] Such buckles have a variety of forms and, as a distribution map shows,[32] are typical products of Gallic workshops in the decade around 400, placed in graves during the first third of the fifth century.

A SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GRAVE

Near the grave of the Vermand warrior, in grave 24, was found the burial of a Germanic woman, whose peplos garment was fastened with gilt-silver brooches of the tutulus and supporting-arm types (figs. 8.14.1 and .2 and 8.14.6 and .7, respectively).[33] The woman's high status was further indicated by a neck-lace of gold beads, a gold finger ring, and a gold coin of Valentinian I. Buried perhaps at the beginning of the fifth century, she belonged to a small group of conservative aristocratic women who retained their tradi-tional dress with its brooches,[34] which served to set them apart from the local women. Such a fashion comes from the area between the Rhine and the lower Elbe. When these Germanic women came with their men to northern Gaul they wore their accustomed clothing, in which they were later buried. Their distribution corresponds strikingly with that of the weapon graves (fig. 8.9).

The majority of these warrior burials, some 80 percent, normally contain an ax, while those containing more than one weapon, particularly a long sword, number only 10 percent. Sword graves from the sec-ond half and the end of the fourth century are extremely rare; only three are known.[35] From the beginning of the fifth century the appearance of a sword as a grave good increases, and by the middle third of the century it has already become general. A sword was already standard in rich male
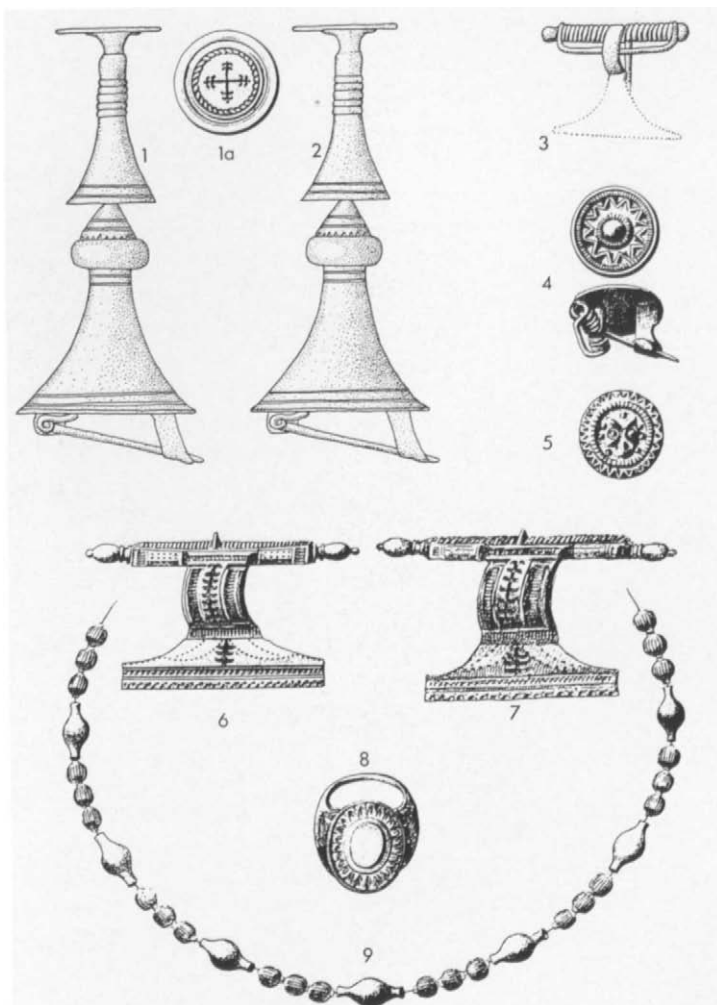
8.14 Germanic jewelery from the woman's grave at Vermand (after Böhme 1974a, pl. 138)

graves in the reigns of the Frankish kings Childeric and Clovis (ca. 460–511). The fashion of burying the dead with weapons, which in the fourth and the early fifth century had not yet become normal among Germanic troops in northern Gaul, subsequently developed and spread in the course of the fifth century. The Vermand warrior clearly played a pioneer-ing role in this process at the beginning of the century.

About fifty years ago Joachim Werner attempted to associate the undoubtedly Germanic graves in northern France and Belgium with the *Laeti*.[36] This predominantly Germanic group consisted of prisoners of war who had fought the empire and who were compulsorily settled, subject to military service, in northern Gaul from the late third through the fourth century. He considered the Vermand warrior a *Praefectus Laetorum*, that is, a senior officer in such a military unit. Some twenty-five years ago the theory was superseded.[37] There is a chronological gap of fifty to one hundred years between the first mention of the Laeti and the appearance of the Germanic graves. The principal distribution of Late Roman graves, particularly the weapon graves, does not correspond with that of the historically attested settlement area of the Laeti. The extremely inferior social and legal status of the Laeti, as indicated by written sources, does not correspond with the notably rich goods in these graves, which clearly represent a Germanic aristocracy.

Twenty years ago I suggested that these were *Foederati*, that is, Imperial allies. Among these I included contingents from allied Germanic tribes, for instance, the Salian Franks, who settled in Toxandria in 340/50 and who, either under the command of their own leaders or as volunteers on a personal basis, joined the Roman army. The choice of the rather widely adopted term *Foederati* was not a good one, and I later gave it up. Today, like a number of other archaeologists, I think that most of the "barbarian" graves in northern Gaul belonged to Germanic peoples associated with military detachments.[38] Such men might be the followers or retainers (*Gefolgschaft*) of princes or kings from the right bank of the Rhine. They were regular Roman forces of Germanic origin called auxiliaries, rather than independent and self-contained bands of free warriors.

A recorded example of Roman army recruitment may be advanced to support this idea. In 372, Fraomar, the king of an Alemannic tribe, the Bukinobantes, abdicated upon his entry into Imperial service and became the commander of a *numerus Alamannorum*, that is, a detachment of Alemanni who had perhaps been recruited from among his followers and who were posted at that time in Britain. Similar arrangements governed the entry of other Germanic princes into Roman military service, as in the case of the many Franks who became generals and were elevated to the office of consul. Such officers as Merobaudes, Teutomer, Richomer, Bauto, and Arbogast held the highest military command in Gaul, that of *magister militum*, the senior military position under the emperor, in a continuous sequence between 372 and 394. Bauto's daughter Eudocia married the emperor Arcadius (r. 395–408) and was the mother of the emperor Theodosius II (r. 408–50), a figure so significant in the history of the fifth century.[39]

CONCLUSION
It is clear how important was the position enjoyed in the Roman state by Germanic military leaders, from the reign of Valentinian I, and how significant these leaders were in the military system at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. Coming from among Germanic nobles and even royalty, they clearly belonged to the Late Antique military aristocracy,[40] without whom the defense of the Roman Empire would have been inconceivable. One may consider the possibility that the Vermand military leader had ruled a group of Franks from the right bank of the Rhine. On account of his high military position he was posted to northern Gaul in the late fourth century and there, among many of his fellow tribesmen and followers, he was interred in the first decade of the fifth century. Luckily his rich grave goods have been partially preserved and are displayed in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, where, after sixteen centuries, they give us a fine impression of the standing and position of this Frank in Roman service.

1. Forsyth 1951, pp. 236ff.; Evison 1965, p. 119, pl. 1.
2. Riegl 1927, pp. 291–321; Behrens 1930, pp. 285–94.
3. Böhme 1986, figs. 8, 12.
4. Salin 1935, pp. 123–28, 153ff.; Haseloff 1973; Böhme 1974b, pp. 305ff.
5. Pilloy and Jumel 1887, pp. 213ff.; Eck 1891, pp. 22f.
6. Pilloy and Jumel 1887, pp. 215f.
7. Böhme 1974a, pls. 59–69, 88–90, 94–101, 125, 128–131; *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, pp. 149–85.
8. Böhme 1996, p. 92.
9. Böhme 1974a, pp. 7–132.
10. Ibid., pp. 158–60, map 1–8; Böhme 1996, p. 94, fig. 68.
11. Böhme 1974a, pls. 117, 118, 122, 144–145; Böhme 1996, p. 93, fig. 67.
12. Demandt 1989, pp. 255–72; Lémant 1985, pl. 16.
13. Böhme 1996, p. 95, fig. 69.
14. Ibid., p. 98, fig. 73.
15. Kazanski 1993, pp. 183–86; Schorsch 1986, pp. 17–34.
16. Haupt 1973, pp. 315–26; *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, pp. 147f., fig. 216.
17. *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, pp. 141f., fig. 205.
18. Böhme 1974a, pl. 137, 9.
19. *Bonner Jahrbücher*, vols. 143–44 (1938–39), pp. 436ff., fig. 52 and pl. 81, 2; *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, p. 140, fig. 202.
20. *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, pp. 173f., fig. 271; Schorsch 1986, p. 22, figs. 14, 15.
21. *Antiquity* 11 (1937), pp. 39–45, pl. 4.
22. Böhme 1974a, pl. 23, 1–2.
23. *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, p. 179, fig. 325; Evison 1965, frontis.
24. *Gallia informations*, vol. 2 (1992), p. 84, fig. 2; *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, p. 143, fig. 207.
25. *Trier* 1984, pp. 294ff., fig. 155a–c.
26. Böhme 1974a, pp. 104–6.
27. Ibid., pp. 110f.
28. Ibid., pp. 113f., fig. 46, pl. 128, 6.
29. Ibid., pl. 137, 2–3.
30. Ament 1992, pp. 23–25, pl. 1, 14–17.
31. Böhme 1974a, pl. 113, 1.
32. Ibid., p. 95, fig. 35.
33. Ibid., pl. 138.
34. Böhme 1996, pp. 93–95.
35. These are the graves from Abbeville-Homblières, grave 67, Monceau-le-Neuf, grave 2, and Bonn-Jakobstraße. Böhme 1974a, pls. 113, 2–10 and 130–131; Haupt 1973, pp. 322–24, fig. 8.
36. Werner 1950b, pp. 23–32.
37. Böhner 1965; Böhme 1974a, pp. 195–207.
38. Böhme 1996, pp. 92, 100f.
39. Demandt 1989, pp. 158, 262.
40. Demandt 1980, pp. 617–20.

9. A Luxury Brooch from the Second Szilágy–Somlyó Treasure?

FIND HISTORY

Among the treasures of The Metropolitan Museum of Art is a large polychrome brooch from the first half of the fifth century. A letter in the archives of the Department of Medieval Art from R. Martins Reay of Brooklyn, New York, dated March 17, 1934, first mentioned this piece in his collection but without further information. Nothing more was then recorded of the brooch, in particular when and where it had first appeared. When it was auctioned by Sotheby's in London on July 28, 1936, as lot 79, however, its provenance was given as "Szilágy-Somlyó (Transsylvania)." This information apparently came from the collector Reay, from whom Sotheby's had received the brooch, and is quoted as such in its first scientific publication.[1] It was purchased by the Brummer Gallery in New York, which then showed it in several exhibitions. In 1947, on the death of Joseph Brummer, it went to the Metropolitan, which purchased the brooch with a subvention from the Fletcher Fund. Between then and now nothing has emerged concerning the original discovery of the brooch.

The concluding sections of this article will discuss the two hoards discovered at Szilágy-Somlyó, the first in 1797, the second in 1889. It is to the latter find that the Metropolitan brooch has been attributed (see p. 97 below). It remains an open question whether the entire contents of the "second treasure" did, in fact, enter the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest or the museum of Cluj-Napoca in present-day Romania.[2] But the second treasure contained only brooches in pairs as they were worn, in total ten pairs (see below, fig. 9.6). If the Metropolitan brooch had indeed been part of this treasure, there should exist somewhere a single brooch corresponding to it. But none is known. That the Metropolitan brooch came from the second treasure can therefore be neither proved nor assumed. It could have come from a totally unrelated grave and then been given the provenance of the famous material to increase its attractiveness and, consequently, raise its selling price.

DESCRIPTION

The brooch (fig. 9.1, pl. 5A) is 16.7 cm long. The headplate, bow, and footplate are each made of sheet silver. The headplate has straight sides except at the top, where a quarter-circle has been removed from both corners. The footplate has a long, rhomboidal form with five roundels around the edge. The entire surface is covered in gold sheet that was bent around the edges of the silver to attach it. Besides a border of beaded wire, other decoration is soldered to the gold sheet. This consists of differently shaped collared settings with a border of twisted wire, each containing an irregular garnet. They are arranged symmetrically. Between the cells are gold granules, each attached by a collet of plain wire.[3] In a central position on both head- and footplate is a large circular setting composed of two concentric cells in which only one small garnet survives. On the roundels of the footplate is a cabochon almandine in each of the settings secured with beaded wire.
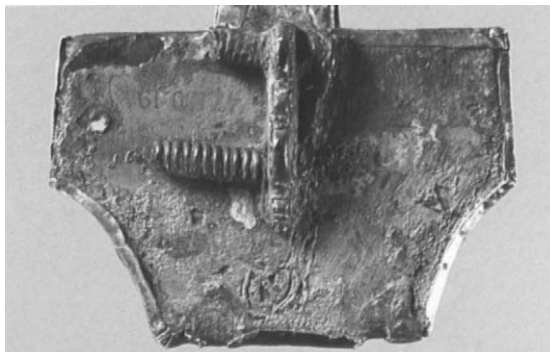
9.1 Bow brooch, with two enlarged details and back view of headplate to show construction. Silver with gold sheet overlay, garnet. Eastern Germanic, first half 5th century. Length 16.7 cm. (47.100.19)

From Attila to Charlemagne
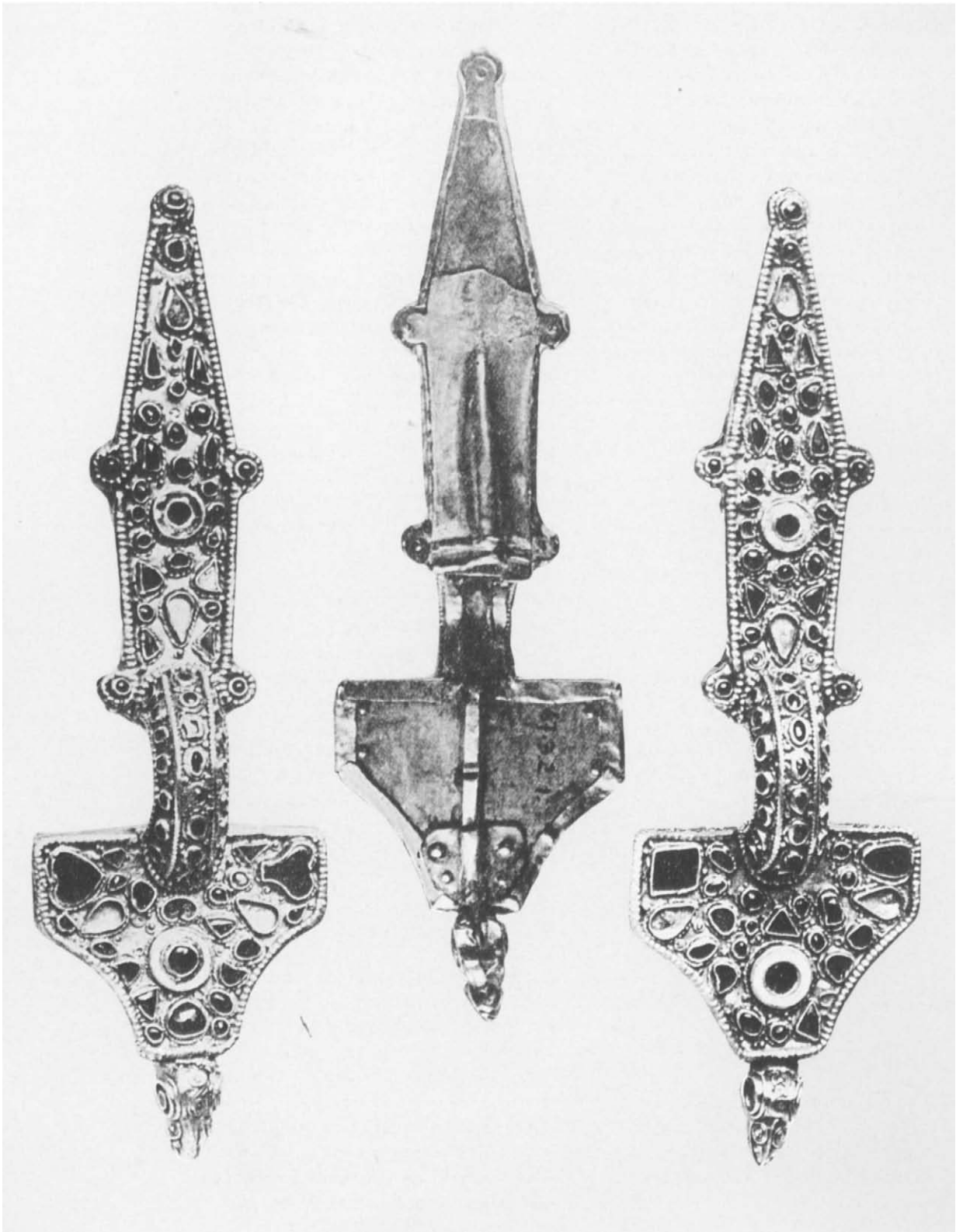
CHRONOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The brooch is a luxury version of the more common sheet-silver brooches, and its dating derives from their chronological system. These brooches appear in the first half of the fourth century in areas of the Ukraine settled by the Ostrogoths (the Cerniachov culture), and over a wide area of Romania settled by the Visigoths (the Sîntana de Mureş culture). In the fourth century (phase C3) the brooches are initially very small, having a length of between 4 and 9 cm.[4] From 375 to the middle of the fifth century, pairs of such brooches are characteristic of female costume of the eastern Germanic tribes in a broad region of the middle and lower Danube. This time span includes the Ostrogothic move to this region from 370/80 to 440/50 (phases D1 and D2), in connection with the collapse of both Gothic states in 375 after the westward expansion of the Huns. By the latter date the brooches were very much larger, attaining a length of between 20 and 27 cm. In the period between approximately 400/10 and 420/30 (phase D2a) they had a palmette-like decoration at each end of the bow, and in phase D2b (ca. 420/30 to 440/50) such sheet palmettes often gave way to much larger ones decorated with repoussé spirals or geometric patterns as well as bird-head protomes on the upper edge of the headplate and similarly decorated appliqués attached to the vertical sides of the headplate.[5]

The luxury versions of the sheet-silver brooches, those decorated with gold and precious stones, were in use during the whole period in which the silver ones were fashionable. Both versions fastened a peplos-like garment at the shoulders.[6] In other words there was no functional or chrono-

logical distinction between the two, but rather a purely social one. In addition to the ten pairs of luxury brooches in the second Szilágy-Somlyó treasure and the Metropolitan example, a further eight finds are known, mainly of pairs of brooches from eastern Germanic female graves. Since the style of cabochon decoration itself offers no possibilities for chronological differentiation, the rich polychrome versions can be dated only by means of related characteristics among the sheet-silver types.[7] The Metropolitan brooch can accordingly belong to the period from approximately 400/10 to approximately 440/50 (phase D2). A closer dating to either of the sub-periods (ca. 400/10 to 420/30, phase D2a; or ca. 420/30 to 440/50, phase D2b) is not possible. The problem of dating is difficult because a head-plate with quarter-circle insets and a foot-plate with peripheral roundels are not usual on sheet-silver brooches.

THE GRAVE AT REGÖLY

The only close parallel to the Metropolitan brooch is a pair of luxury brooches from the grave of an eastern Germanic woman at Regöly, County Tolna, situated to the south of Lake Balaton in Hungary (fig. 9.2).[8] Her jewelry included a costly and ostentatious belt buckle of silver with gold cells inlaid with garnets, and two unpaired gold armlets (fig. 9.3). There was also a small gold finger ring and a garment that extended to the feet, perhaps a cloak, with 120 gold appliqués attached (fig. 9.4; compare fig. 10.2). The grave goods included a drinking set consisting of a pottery jug decorated with an eagle's head, a glass beaker (fig. 9.5), and a pottery jar.

The Regöly brooches correspond to the Metropolitan brooch in every important respect: in the detailed shape of the head-plate; in the elongated footplate with five small roundels around the edge; in the double circular setting placed centrally on both foot- and headplate; and in the gold granules between the cabochons, secured with plain wire. The length of the Regöly brooches,

9.2 Pair of brooches (length 18 cm) and back view of one to show construction, from a rich female grave at Regöly, Hungary (Balogh Ádám Múzeum, Szekszárd, Hungary)

9.3 Belt buckle (length 9 cm) and bracelets from the grave at Regöly (Balogh Ádám Múzeum, Szekszárd, Hungary)
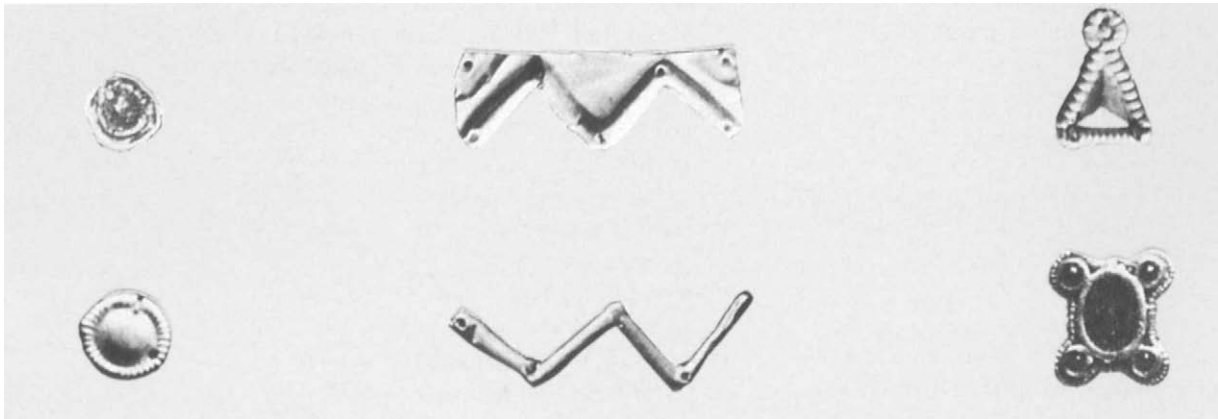
9.4 Finger ring and appliqués from the grave at Regöly (Balogh Ádám Múzeum, Szekszárd, Hungary)

18 cm, approximately matches that of the Metropolitan piece. These correspondences are so close that all three may well be from the same workshop.[9] In date, the woman's grave from Regöly belongs to the period between 400/10 to 420/30 (phase D2a), because the leaf-green glass beaker, decorated with blue blobs, is unknown in later contexts.[10] However, a later date of between 420/30 to 440/50 (phase D2b) should not be ruled out because the formal characteristics of the head- and footplates of the three brooches can also be found in a group of very much smaller ones, mainly of sheet copper alloy, known as Vyskov type, that cannot be dated more precisely within the fifth century.[11] Certainly, a broad dating of both the Regöly and Metropolitan brooches in the first half of the fifth century cannot be doubted.

SOCIAL AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND

The site of manufacture of such polychrome luxury brooches in southeastern Europe cannot be closely defined. Wherever sheet-silver brooches were a regular part of female costume among the eastern Germanic upper class, the luxury versions served for social differentiation. These areas included the middle and lower Danube, the Carpathians, and the Black Sea coastal area in which were relict groups of Ostrogoths who had not moved with the main part of the tribe to the Danube in the last quarter of the fourth century.[12] The costume accessories and jewelry of the Danube region and of the Black Sea coast display identical workshop characteristics, which must reflect a high degree of individual mobility among the eastern Germanic aristocracy at least until the mid-fifth century. Thus, the lady at Regöly could have come from the Black Sea coast since her gold armlets with animal-head terminals also have close parallels there.[13]

Such women, clearly the very richest, form a group linked by their outstanding accoutrements: costume accessories of gold inlaid with precious stones, especially on

the luxury brooches; and rich gold jewelry, such as collars with pendants, armlets, and several finger rings set with precious stones. In individual cases a drinking set may also be interred. In the four graves with luxury brooches similar to that in the Metropolitan, from which the grave goods were retrieved in their entirety, the women were interred with garments adorned with gold sheet appliqués: at Untersiebenbrunn in lower Austria, at Airan in Normandy, and from Hungary those at Regöly and Rábápordány. The grave found at Bakodpuszta may also be included as it has a sheet-silver brooch decorated with precious stones at each end of its bow.[14] Garments decorated with such gold appliqués are restricted to this small social group and signify a status symbol clearly recognizable in the archaeological record.

The attribution of these few graves to the highest rank of an eastern Germanic tribe is even clearer when a comparison is made with the large number of graves with sheet-silver brooches and a silver belt buckle: in these, with the exception of graves at Hochfelden (Alsace) and Sinjavka (Ukraine), gold appliqués are never found. These few elite women also belong to an upper-class group that is additionally distinguished by their manner of burial: single graves and small groups buried apart from the rest of the population.[15] Their graves correspond with a few individual male burials, such as at Apahida graves 1–3 (Romania), Blučina (Czech Republic), Untersiebenbrunn (lower Austria), and Lengyeltóti (Hungary). They are characterized by possessions of gold decorated with precious stones, such as luxury costume accessories, weapons of display, decorated horse harnesses including saddles, tableware, and marks of rank or insignia (e.g., cloak brooches), large ceremonial rings (*Handgelenkring*), and finger rings.[16] At Untersiebenbrunn the burial site of such an aristocratic family was discovered with both a male and a female grave, plus that of a child whose garment also had gold appliqués.[17]

9.5 Pottery jar (height 38.5 cm) and glass beaker from the grave at Regöly (Balogh Ádám Múzeum, Szekszárd, Hungary)

This wealth of gold in the aristocratic burial sites, which is also to be seen in the two eastern Germanic royal treasures of Szilágy-Somlyó and Pietroasa, had no antecedents among eastern Germanic peoples in the fourth century or any successors in the second third of the fifth century. The phenomenon is readily clarified through the comprehensive and detailed report of Priscus, the secretary to an embassy led in 449 by a high official, Maximinus, to the court of Attila on behalf of the eastern Roman emperor Theodosius II (r. 408–50). The conflict between Byzantium and the emerging Hunnic superpower was largely

managed by means of tributes and gifts. The yearly tribute that the Huns extorted from the eastern Roman Empire reached at least eighteen thousand pounds of gold between 430 and 450—more than six thousand kilos. It is certain that the Germanic kings who were sworn to serve the Hunnic empire as vassals, and whose adherence to its military structure greatly contributed to its status as a superpower, also shared in this huge amount of gold. The Ostrogothic king Valamir and the Gepid king Ardarich were among the closest intimates of Attila. After the collapse of Hunnic power in 454, considerable yearly payments continued to flow into the

From Attila to Charlemagne

Carpathian basin, to the Ostrogoths and to the Gepids also, whom the Byzantine Empire wished to bind in alliance.[18]

There are three major problems in making a specific attribution of the female graves with luxury brooches. First, there are interregional or international similarities in grave goods. Second, there is difficulty in defining the precise settlement area of specific eastern Germanic tribes, such as the Goths, Gepids, Skirians, and Heruls, in the Carpatho-Danubian area during the period of Hunnic overlordship from 375 to 454 and also to some extent in the second half of the fifth century. Last, the chronology of the archaeological material is not accurate enough to allow dating by specific decades for these regions. Based only on archaeological sources, the separate burial of the aristocracy in the broad Carpatho-Danubian region in the first half of the fifth century can be characterized only in general terms as eastern Germanic.[19]

THE FINDS AT SZILÁGY-SOMLYÓ

Szilágy-Somlyó, in the former county of Szilágy, in northwestern Siebenbürgen, is now called Şimleul-Silvanei, in the Salaj district of Romania. Two hoards were discovered there, the first (I) in 1797, and the second (II) in 1889. Since the find spots were so close to one another, on the same parcel of land, each was certainly a component of the same "treasure,"[20] despite their being totally different in contents and in period of acquisition. In summary, hoard I contains fourteen gold medallions of an original seventeen (of which two are barbarian imitations), a ceremonial chain of gold with numerous pendants, twenty-four rings of gold, and a finger ring with animal-head terminals.[21] The dating of the hoard, or rather the period of accumulation, is indicated primarily by the medallions of five emperors, dating from 286 to 383, which are multiples of thirty-six and seventy-two solidi. There is relatively heavy wear on some of these, particularly the latest pieces, and settings with deep geometric chip carving on five of these brooches are most

likely later additions. It is generally agreed that such medallions were given on particular occasions to barbarian leaders as marks of distinction or as presents known as donatives. Hoard II (fig. 9.6) contains nine pairs of the luxury brooches discussed, a pair of bossed disk brooches (fig. 9.6.3) with similar polychrome decoration and each with two loops for pendants, a gold brooch set with a large oval onyx (fig. 9.6.5), a knobbed gold ring (*Knotenring*) (fig. 9.6.2), and three gold vessels set with precious stones.[22] The brooches are datable to between 370/80 and 440/50 (phases D1 and D2), and four pairs belong to the latter phase (ca. 400/10 to 440/50). They have a length between 17.4 cm and 24.8 cm and include three pairs with each end of the bow decorated in cloisonné to imitate the palmette decoration that was usual on contemporary sheet brooches.[23]

The contents of the two hoards were accumulated during a period of about 150 years. The treasure itself was buried around the middle of the fifth century. Weighing some 5.5 kilos of gold, it was most probably in the possession, over several generations, of a single family that may be described as royal. But whether the family's seat of power lay where its treasure was buried, in northwestern Siebenburg, is unknown. The royal status of its owner is clear, not only because of the succession of gifts of medallions from a number of Roman emperors,[24] but particularly because of the large gold brooch set with an oval onyx (fig. 9.6.5). The brooch has been interpreted as a Late Antique or Byzantine product belonging to an emperor,[25] and also as an imitation of an emperor's brooch made in barbarian territory.[26] An intensive study of this particular brooch and its parallels has recently concluded that it was made within the borders of the empire and consequently is a Late Antique or Byzantine product.[27] The decisive factor is the fastening system. It corresponds entirely to that of contemporary crossbow brooches,[28] which, according to recent research, were worn well into the

From Attila to Charlemagne
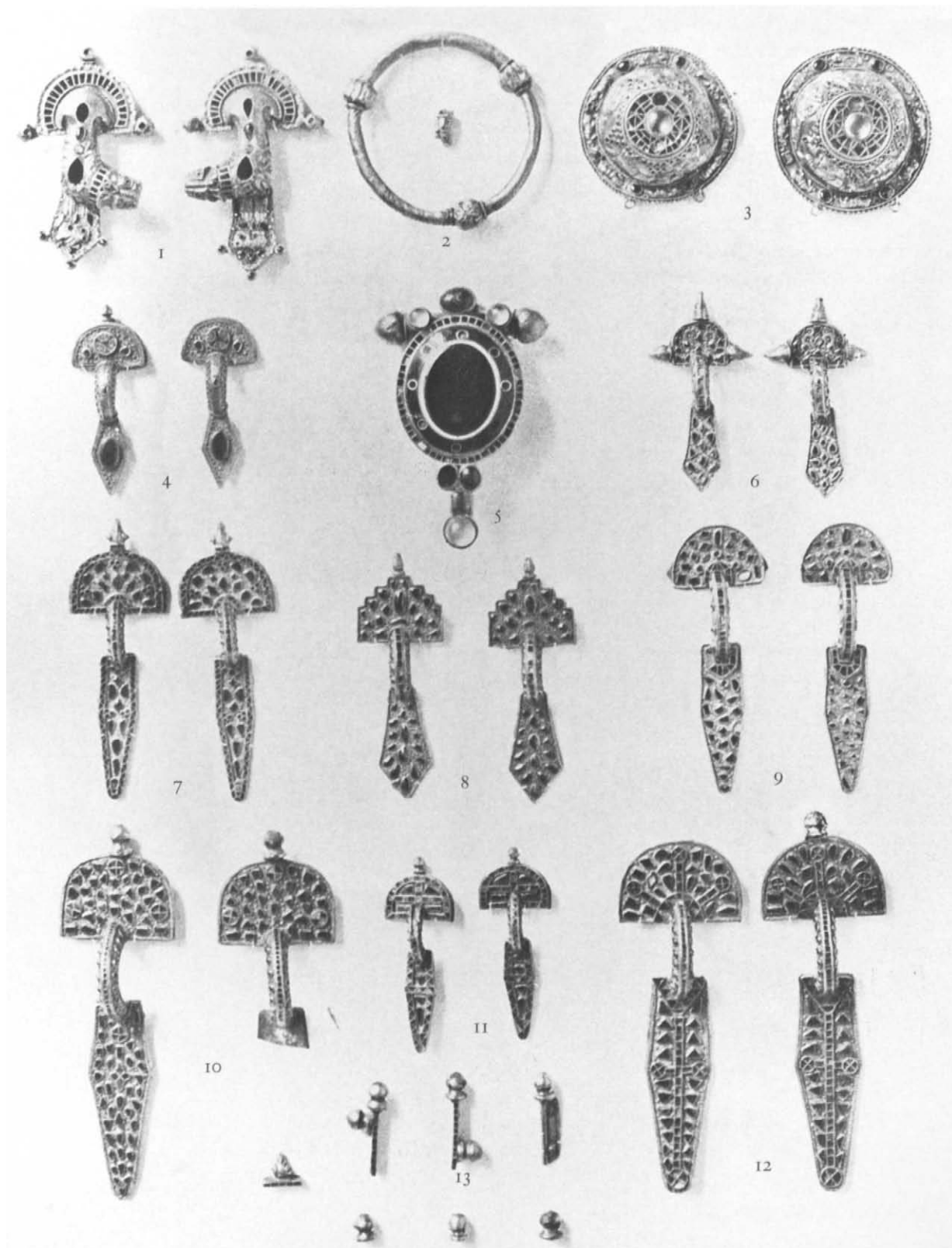
9.6 Brooches from the second Szilágy-Somlyó Treasure (after Fettich 1932, pl. 1, where they are illustrated headplate uppermost)

first half of the fifth century.[29] Though the Szilágy-Somlyó onyx brooch cannot be dated more precisely than late fourth–mid-fifth century, it does not employ the succeeding system of fastening the crossbow, which has a threaded screw mechanism.[30]

No brooches belonging to an emperor are preserved, and an interpretation of the Szilágy-Somlyó onyx piece in the context of Imperial brooches of the fourth to the sixth century must rely on well-known iconographic and literary sources.[31] The principal characteristics of these brooches are their large circular or oval decorative fields set with precious stones and their pendants. In these correspondences the Szilágy-Somlyó brooch may be interpreted as an Imperial jewel.[32] The last, or perhaps the next-to-last, owner could have obtained it only on a particularly important occasion, such as is known in other instances.[33] The concrete event is not to be gleaned from written sources relating to Germanic kings in the Carpatho-Danubian area in the late fourth to the first half of the fifth century, but it must have been very significant, because the dispatch of Imperial insignia to foreign princes or kings took place only in exceptional circumstances.[34] The brooch fits the historical situation with difficulty, however, since a German, perhaps a Gepid, so honored at that time must have been a vassal of

the Hunnic empire. An alternative suggestion, that it was given after 454, when the eastern Roman Empire made a pact of peace and friendship with the Gepids,[35] corresponds neither with the chronology of the brooch nor with the overall assemblage in the second treasure.

CONCLUSION

That the owners of the Szilágy-Somlyó treasure were a royal dynasty is indicated by the gift of medallions from a number of Roman emperors to successive generations into the fifth century and the dispatch of an Imperial jewel in the late fourth or the first half of the fifth century, perhaps by the eastern Roman emperor Theodosius II. The ten pairs of richly decorated brooches, set with precious stones, from the second treasure can be related without difficulty to the contents of royal hoards known from written sources.[36] Despite the difficulty of making specific attributions, strong evidence for a Gepidic connection exists in the Tiszadob-Ártánd area of northeastern Hungary:[37] a particular assemblage from the second half of the fourth century, then a series of single graves containing eastern Germanic sheet brooches in the first half of the fifth century, and cast costume ornaments in the second half.[38] Decisive in this attribution is the continuity and regional stability extending into the period of the sixth-century row cemeteries (*Reihengräber*) known from literary sources to have been Gepidic.[39] Therefore, if the Metropolitan brooch did originate from the second Szilágy-Somlyó Treasure, it formed part of what was probably a Gepid royal treasure.

1. On p. 15 of the sale catalogue (now in the British Library) is the following handwritten entry: "Brummer J [and] £225." According to Kühn 1937a, pp. 142–43, the purchaser from Sotheby's was the Brummer Gallery in New York. Following the sale catalogue, Kühn records: "Wie das Stück zu Mr. Reay gekommen ist, konnte ich nicht mehr feststellen. Der Fundort . . . ist immer den Besitzern bekannt gewesen." The brooch was shown by Brummer in two exhibitions, in Worcester, Massachusetts (*Dark Ages* 1937, no. 76: "from Transylvania") and Baltimore (*Early Christian and Byzantine Art* 1947, p. 163, no. 835: also "from Transylvania"). James Rorimer at the Metropolitan noted on March 10, 1953: "I arranged in '36 for Brummer to sell us this piece. He showed it to me in Paris at dinner . . . and then year after year refused to sell it to us" (archives of the Department of Medieval Art). Ostoia, in a definitive publication (1953), called the piece "Ponto-Gothic" and referred to its Szilágy-Somlyó provenance with no supporting documentation (p. 150); but in 1970 (p. 68, no. 28), she wrote, "Possibly Transylvania (Szilagy Somlyó?)." Kühn (1974, vol. 2, p. 557) attributed it "vermutlich" to Szilágy-Somlyó, while Foltiny (1976, p. 103) doubted the association with Szilágy-Somlyó and followed Ostoia. The exhibition catalogue *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* (1987) gave the provenance without question (p. 217, VI.b.). In Brown (1995, pl. 1), it is "Said to be from Szilágy-Somlyó (Hungary)," which is effectively repeated in Brown 1996, p. 229. I am indebted to Dafydd Kidd (British Museum) for the historical information.

2. The second treasure was purchased in 1895, six years after its discovery. A further brooch could be obtained only in 1902 from its then owner, a schnapps distiller; it certainly belonged to the group because its pair was already there. In each case it is pairs of brooches that are represented, for a total of ten: Kiss 1991c, pp. 249–50, also n. 5.

3. Further characteristics to note are the cabochons along the broad, badly damaged bow and the parallel lines of beaded and twisted wires on the lightly angled sides. Of the pin spring for attachment, only the remains of the two axis lugs survive, each with remains of the pin spiral. The footplate is damaged and repaired.

4. Bierbrauer 1994, pp. 105–17, 121–34.

5. See Bierbrauer 1995 for the chronology of eastern Germanic material of the fifth century in southeastern Europe (including phases D1–D3), in particular the sheet brooches and luxury versions of these, the polychrome brooches.

6. Martin 1995b, pp. 662–73.

7. Bierbrauer 1995, pp. 560–62.

8. Mészáros 1970, pp. 66–74, pls. 3–9.

9. These correspondences put to rest any lingering suspicion that the Metropolitan brooch is a fake, since the Regöly grave was only discovered in 1967.

10. References to the literature can be found in Bierbrauer 1995, p. 562, also n. 61.

11. Bierbrauer 1989a, pp. 149–57.

12. Bierbrauer 1994, pp. 117–21.

13. Most recently Kiss 1994, pp. 174–75, with fig. 4 (find spot Sennaia Stanitsa on the Taman peninsula), and a similar gold armlet from the Kerch catacomb grave of June 24, 1904 (a very good illustration in *I Goti* 1994, p. 116, pl. II,6). In addition there is a pair of similar armlets from the richly furnished grave of a woman at Untersiebenbrunn: Kubitschek 1911, pls. 2, 6, 7. Examples of further correspondences of workshop-similar luxury goldsmiths' work are from the grave at Dunapataj-Bödpuszta (a pair of hinged armlets and a neck chain with pendants): Kiss 1983, pp. 105–12, with figs.; Kiss 1994, pp. 177–81; Bierbrauer 1995, pp. 560–64, esp. p. 568.

14. For these graves (and literature): Kiss 1994; Bierbrauer 1995, pp. 560–64; also Bierbrauer 1980b, pp. 138–40.

15. In general: Bierbrauer 1980b; 1989a; 1994, pp. 137–38; 1995; Hochfelden and Sinjavka: Bierbrauer 1995, p. 560, also n. 55, and p. 566, also n. 80. See also Bierbrauer 1989b, pp. 75–84.

16. Bierbrauer 1980b, pp. 139–40; Bierbrauer 1989b, pp. 77–81; for Apahida III: Horedt 1986, pp. 18–19.

17. Kubitschek 1911; Keller 1967.

18. Most recently, with further literature: Kiss 1986, pp. 108–9; Kiss 1991a, pp. 115–17; Pohl 1992. Iluk (1985, p. 87) calculated for the period between 422 and 474 a huge total weight of 53,950 Roman pounds, the equivalent of 17,666 kg of gold.

19. Bierbrauer 1980b, pp. 140–42; Bierbrauer 1992, pp. 272–75; Bierbrauer 1995, passim. Some Hungarian researchers are more optimistic about ethnic attributions: e.g., Kiss 1991b, pp. 253–58; Kiss 1981 and 1983. Sheet brooches and the luxury variants were also worn by Alani women: see most recently Bóna 1991, pp. 153–66, and Kiss 1994.

20. Kiss 1991b, pp. 249–51.

21. Pulszky 1890; Hampel 1905, vol. 2, pp. 15–26, vol. 3, pls. 14–19.

22. Fettich 1932.

23. Kiss 1988; Bierbrauer 1995, p. 562, also n. 60; color photographs of the three brooches with imitation palmettes in Bóna 1991, pls. 4–6.

24. Pieces struck at six mints in the western empire and five in the eastern empire are represented.

25. For example, Bélaev 1930, p. 109; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, pp. 678–79; Bierbrauer 1987a, pp. 741–42; Kiss 1991b, p. 255.

26. For example, Fettich 1932, p. 59; Bierbrauer 1989b, pp. 78–79.

27. Schmauder 1998.

28. These are classed as Type 5 brooches. Schmauder 1998.

29. These are classed as Types 6 and 7. Pröttel 1991, pp. 364–69.

30. Ibid., pp. 369–71.
31. For example, Bélaev 1930, esp. pp. 55–62; Delbrueck 1932; Alföldi 1935, p. 65; Deér 1952, pp. 47–54; Bierbrauer 1987a, pp. 741–42.
32. Schmauder 1998.
33. Bélaev 1930, pp. 59–60; for the dispatch by the emperor Justin I of royal insignia to Zathis, king of the Lazes, in Colchis, on the southeast coast of the Black Sea (Georgia) in 522 (Agathias, *Hist.*, III. 15. 2), and to five Armenian satraps by Justinian (Procopius, *De aedificius*, III. 1. 17–23); see also Procopius, *Bell. Vand.*, I, 25 (king of the Mauri). For Zathis, king of the Lazes, see Seibt 1992, pp. 139–40.
34. Claude 1989, p. 26.
35. Jordanes, *Getica,* 264. Compare this suggestion to the most recent (Kiss 1991b, pp. 255–66), which attempts a very hypothetical solution to the problem.
36. Claude 1973.
37. Compare, for example, Kiss 1991c, pp. 253–54; and Istvánovits 1993.
38. Find spot in Bierbrauer 1980a, figs. 16, 17, also p. 140 n. 64.
39. Bóna 1981, p. 367; Bóna 1971b, pp. 274–75. For research since the writing of this article, see Seipel 1999.

10. Huns and Goths: Jewelry from the Ukraine and Southern Russia

INTRODUCTION

During the late fourth to the seventh century the steppe regions of the Ukraine and southern Russia were a melting pot of various cultures. Sarmatians, Huns, Alans, and Ostrogoths settled there, and their cultural heritages survive in archaeological finds. Such material is also a testimony to the contact between these peoples and the two neighboring empires, Sassanian Persia and Byzantium. The Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses a small, but important, group of objects from this area, linked by their typology with finds further west as well. As these are all single finds without a provenance or detailed background, this essay attempts to fit these objects into a chronological and sociological framework by means of parallels with known find circumstances.

FIFTH-CENTURY GOLD

The first group consists of gold items current among the aristocracy in both eastern Germanic society and the Hunnic empire. They demonstrate a cross-cultural dissemination of high-prestige fashions in the fifth century.

The Gold Neckring

A solid gold neckring is one of the most important pieces in the Metropolitan, with its considerable weight of 101.5 g (fig. 10.1).[1] It is made of a single rod that is thicker at the center and narrower toward the ends. These are doubled over to form a hook and an eye and are then twisted around the base of each terminal four times. The internal diameter is 14.1 cm, and the length 44.3 cm. The gold is particularly flexible, essential for opening the neckring when putting it on or taking it off.

Comparable neckrings, known from the graves of both eastern Germanic and nomadic peoples of the first half of the fifth century, are distributed throughout Europe. There is, however, a concentration of finds in southeastern Europe, in the area between the Danube and Prut rivers, where the neckrings have been found in both graves and hoards. One was found in the grave of an Ostrogothic man at Untersiebenbrunn in Austria, another in the grave of a Hunnic prince at Szeged-Nagyszéksós in Hungary, and a third in the grave of an Ostrogothic prince at Conceşti in Romania, dated to the early fifth century.[2] A further neckring, in the grave of a Hunnic youth at Keszthely, in Hungary, was found in situ around his neck.[3] Another close parallel is the solid gold neckring in the incomparably magnificent Ostrogothic royal treasure from Pietroasa in Romania, which contained outstanding gold vessels and regal insignia made of gold and precious stones.[4] Similar in form and material are a neckring in the eastern Germanic hoard from Starcevo in Serbia, dated to around A.D. 400, and the gold neckring from the eastern Germanic grave found at Czernowitz on the Moldau.[5]

Further east, analogous gold neckrings appear in the Ukraine in graves of the last quarter of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century, in the Black Sea region, and in the Pontic cultural sphere. At Kerch, in the Crimea, in the chamber tombs excavated in

1904 on Hospital Street, nine gold neckrings were found, two around the necks of children.[6] There was a gold neckring in the Hunnic male burial at Musljumovo, in the district of Shadrinsk, in the Perm region of Russia, from the first half of the fifth century; a swastika was engraved on the front.[7] The Hunnic female burial at Korushak near Ossipjenko in the region of Berdjansk in the Ukraine contained a gold diadem with garnets and a gold neckring.[8] The woman in Shipovo, in the region of Orenburg, also wore a diadem with red stones and had a twisted bronze neckring covered in gold foil around her neck.[9] These suggest that neckrings were not restricted to men but were also worn by noblewomen of the Hunnic tribes.

Gold neckrings of the Migration period can be traced back to Germanic models of the second half of the third and the first half of the fourth century, as demonstrated by rich "princely" graves with heavy gold neckrings in *Germania libera*. They are also found in the graves of high-status women of the Germanic tribes.[10] In the steppes of the Ukraine and southern Russia, the solid gold neckrings have a much longer history, appearing in rich Sarmatian graves from the first to third centuries A.D. These neckrings, which continued earlier Scythian traditions, have animal-head terminals. The neckring in the grave of the Bosporan king Rheskuporis III (r. 210/11−226/27) at Kerch-Glinishche furnishes further proof that among the ruling families of the Sarmatian aristocracy a gold neckring was worn as a symbol of noble descent.[11] Thus, among the eastern Germanic, Sarmatian, and Hunnic tribes a gold neckring was a sign that the wearer belonged to the privileged ruling class.[12]

The weight of the neckrings expressed personal ownership of an unusual amount of precious metal, corresponding to a large
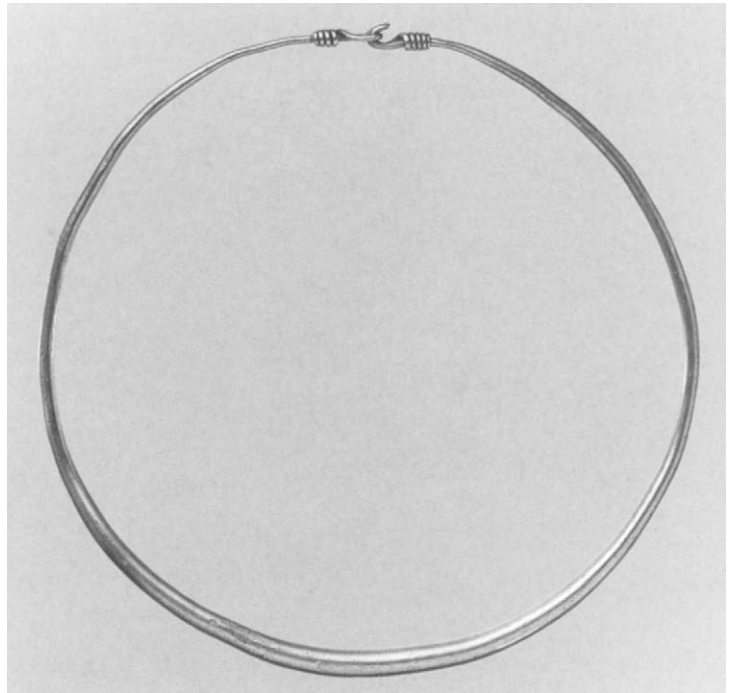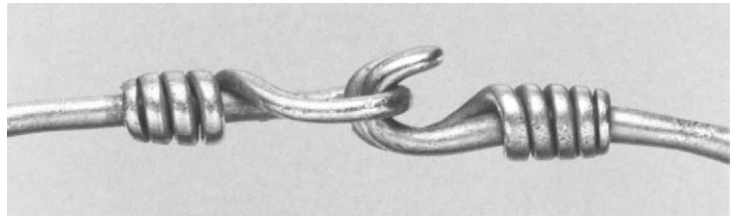
10.1 Neckring and detail of fastening. Gold. Ostrogothic or nomadic, 5th century. Diameter 14.7 cm. (27.122.16)

number of gold coins. In relation to a Roman gold solidus, which weighed 4.54 g in the fifth century, twenty-two and a half such coins were required to make the Metropolitan neckring. The number of coins needed for other neckrings ranges from eighteen to one hundred.[13] Written sources confirm the archaeological evidence: the late-fifth-century historian Zosimus states that members of an elite Gothic military force, personally selected by the Roman

10.2 Range of appliqués, enlarged to show detail. Gold sheet. Ostrogothic or nomadic, first half 5th century. From Kerch, Ukraine. Actual size 0.8–4.4 cm. (98.11.54–.62, .68–.76. .90a–h)

From Attila to Charlemagne
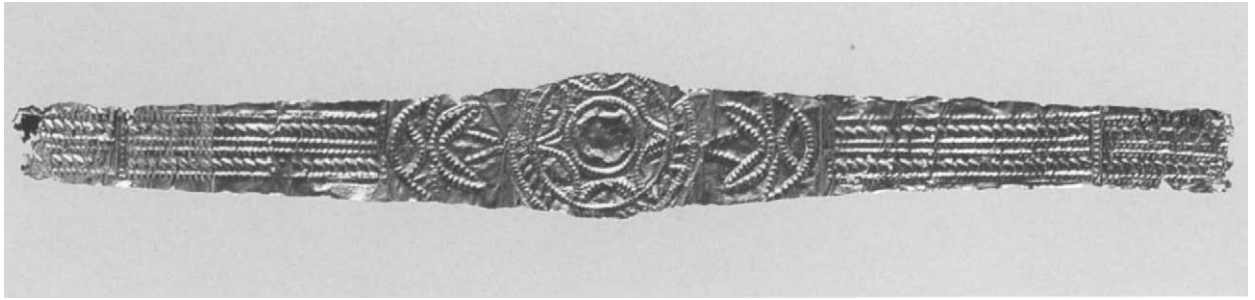
10.3 Diadem. Gold sheet. Ostrogothic or nomadic, first half 5th century. From Kerch, Ukraine. Length 12.6 cm. (98.11.67)

emperor Theodosius I (r. 379–95) for their noble status, wore gold neckrings that they had been awarded by the emperor.[14] The Byzantine historian Procopius of Caesarea, who lived in the sixth century, reports that the eastern Roman general Belisarius (ca. 500–565) was extremely generous to his soldiers during the wars against the Goths. When one of them especially distinguished himself, a gold neckring was conferred on him.[15]

The Gold Appliqués

Another fashion common to both eastern Germanic and nomadic groups is the sewing of gold appliqués on clothing. There are various forms of appliqué made of thin gold foil in the Metropolitan (fig. 10.2).[16] Punched or pressed in a matrix, the appliqués have relief contours and details enhanced by beaded borders. The patterns are geometric, composed of simple or double triangles with a circle on the point, circles or double circles with a raised center, double spirals, rectangles, and zigzags. Some are in the form of oak-leaf pendants. On the edges are small pierced holes by means of which the appliqués would have been sewn on.

The use of such ornaments to decorate clothing, headdress, or shoes had a long tradition among the nomadic tribes in the south Russian steppes and can be found in Scythian graves as early as the fifth century B.C.[17] Several hundred gold foil appliqués, which

had been sewn onto clothing, have been found in Sarmatian graves of the first to the third century A.D. in the northern Black Sea area and in the northern Caucasus.[18] The decoration of festive and official attire with small gold appliqués was an old tradition in the Crimea at the time of the Bosporan kingdom. The Bosporan ruler Rheskuporis III, mentioned above, had a robe decorated with several hundred punched gold foil appliqués.[19] Such appliqués are found in the graves of both men and women.

The Metropolitan pieces were found at Kerch (Panticapaeum) in the Ukraine, on the Black Sea, in an unknown context.[20] According to Rostovtzeff, they were found together in semiofficial excavations with a pair of bow brooches (see below, fig. 10.8), a gold diadem with embossed geometric ornament (fig. 10.3), and several pieces of jewelry that have since disappeared.[21] Many comparable gold appliqués with the same ornament have been found at Kerch in the Hospital Street chamber tombs.[22]

Undisturbed graves reveal appliqués lying directly atop the skeletal remains of the deceased, a clear indication that they were sewn onto the clothing. In one grave five circular appliqués appeared in a line one below the other, the apparent remnants of a striking vertical ornament that would have extended from the belt to the hem of the woman's long gown, which was made of a
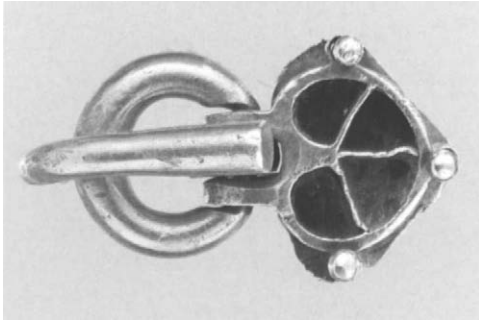
10.4 Buckle for shoe or sword harness. Gold,
garnet. Hunnic (?), first half 5th century.
Length 4.1 cm. (17.190.697)

dark brown woolen fabric with a fine corded
vertical structure in the weave.[23] No fewer
than fifty-five circular gold appliqués were
found in another woman's grave; these pre-
sumably adorned the neckline and sleeves
of her dress.[24]

Grave finds from the first half of the
fifth century indicate that Germanic tribes
adopted the eastern custom of decorating
clothes with appliqués. In the grave of an
Ostrogothic woman from Hochfelden near
Strasbourg in France, thirty-one circular
appliqués lined the neck of the dress, while
diamond and double-spiral shapes were sewn
along the edge of the wide sleeves.[25] From
the position of the appliqués it can be
assumed that the gown was not open in the
front. Comparable gold appliqués have been
found in the graves of other Ostrogothic
women, such as at Airan in France, Untersie-
benbrunn in Austria, and at Regöly, Bakod-
puszta, and Papkeszi in Hungary.[26] At Regöly,
zigzag gold appliqués were on the neckline
and at the waist, with circular and triangular
ones scattered over the whole dress; small
round appliqués (fig. 9.4) were sewn onto
the shoes. The grave of a Vandal woman at
Koudiat-Zâteur, Carthage, in North Africa,
contained 169 pieces of gold foil with perfo-
rations to attach them. In the same grave
were also found a necklace, a pair of gold

earrings, a gold fibula with a folded-back
foot, three gold finger rings, and several
thousand tiny gold tubes. A pair of cloisonné
almandine bow brooches and a cloisonné
garnet gold buckle comparable to one dis-
cussed below (fig. 10.4) would date the grave
to the middle of the fifth century.[27]

Gold appliqués were also found in
the tomb of a Hunnic prince at Szeged-
Nagyszéksós that contained the above-
mentioned gold neckring, and the grave of
an eastern Germanic woman at Bakodpuszta
contained almost identical gold.[28] In 1927, a
large number of gold appliqués similar to
those from Kerch were found in the grave of
an Ostrogothic man at Obojansk near Bolshoj
Kamenec in the Kursk region of the Ukraine,
on the periphery of the Black Sea steppes.[29]

Judging from the finds in graves with
comparable gold appliqués, as described
above, the Metropolitan pieces can be
dated to the first half of the fifth century.

The Garnet-Inlaid Gold Buckle
Another widely disseminated fashion from
the East is represented by a garnet-inlaid
buckle of solid gold with a circular attach-
ment plate and a circular loop (figs. 10.4 and
19.3, pl. 5c).[30] The garnets on the plate are
inlaid in the cloisonné technique with gold
foil behind the stones. The piece, weighing
39.5 g, corresponding to about eight con-
temporary Roman gold coins, poses interest-
ing questions concerning its actual use. The
length of the rivets indicates that the buckle
was made for a strap approximately 2 mm
thick. This strap, which would have been fas-
tened to an attachment plate 2.3 cm wide,
had to be pulled through a 1.4-cm–wide
loop, thereby requiring the ends of the strap
to be narrower than the rest of its length. The
buckle is too small and delicate to be a belt
buckle since positively identified examples
have a strap width between 2.4 and 3 cm.[31]

The buckle probably ornamented a
man's costume, as a large number of buckles
comparable in size, material, and technique
were found in positively identified male
graves. Two such gold cloisonné buckles

come from the grave of a Hunnic warrior at Jakusowice in Poland, five from the Hunnic prince's grave at Szeged-Nagyszéksós in Hungary, three from the grave of an Ostrogothic man at Fürst, and one from Wolfsheim in Germany.[32] In the Ostrogothic grave at Untersiebenbrunn there was a buckle that, like the neckring, probably came from a male burial.[33] The most westerly find is from the grave of an Ostrogothic warrior at Beja, Baixo Alentejo province, in southern Portugal, which contained two gold buckles.[34] In the Ukraine, comparable buckles are known from chamber tomb 1890 (previously Novikov collection), from the chamber tombs at Kerch,[35] and from Hunnic male burials in the south Russian steppes.[36] Unfortunately, none of these buckles was adequately observed during the excavation, thus making it impossible to identify their exact purpose with certainty.

Other graves, better observed, do permit us to draw some conclusions about the original function of buckles like the Metropolitan's, with an inner loop width between 0.9 and 1.4 cm. In the grave of an Ostrogothic man at Laa, on the Thaya in Austria, dated to the first half of the fifth century, were found four comparable buckles, the positions of which indicate that they came from boots or shoes, from a sword belt, and from a costume belt.[37] In the grave of a Hunnic warrior at Lengyeltóti in Hungary was a pair of comparable gold buckles, one found at the occupant's feet, obviously belonging to his footwear.[38] Two gold cloisonné buckles were found in the Ostrogothic "princely" grave at Pouan, in France: the larger was a belt buckle, while the smaller served to attach the sword.[39] These graves suggest that such small buckles were either boot buckles or sword-belt buckles; that is, they fastened the ends of the sword belt to the costume belt, or they were used to fasten bags.

The distribution of this type of fifth-century buckle extends from Siberia to southern Russia, from the Danubian area into western Europe, and reaches as far as North Africa. As in the case of the neckrings, there is a concentration of these buckles in the Danubian area, which was ruled by the Huns in the first half of the fifth century. Their appearance in graves gives no indication of the ethnic origin of the deceased but does demonstrate a high social status. The barbarian dignitaries buried in these graves were in some cases of Hunnic and Alanic origin, but predominantly of eastern Germanic and probably even of Persian origin. They were called Logades by the Greek historian Priscus of Panion (Thrace), who personally participated in a Byzantine embassy to the court of the Hunnic king Attila in 448. Priscus suggests something of the context for buckles like the Metropolitan's, when he recounts that the sword belts and boot straps of these high dignitaries and also their horses' bridles were decorated with gold and precious stones.[40]

GOTHIC WOMEN'S JEWELRY

The second group of items from the steppes region to be considered includes objects belonging to women's dress and adornment.

The Polyhedral Earrings

Three pairs of earrings belong to the group known as polyhedral earrings, after the shape of the bead on the end of the hoop. This bead consists of a cube or a block with sloping corners, which always has fourteen sides, eight of which are triangular and six diamond-shaped. One pair is cast in a base silver alloy (fig. 10.5) with circular hoops made of a thick rod. The polyhedral beads of a second pair are formed of thin gold sheet over a core of a beige and pale yellow crystalline substance for stability (fig. 10.6).[41] At the corners and in the center of each surface are small gold granules. The circular hoop is of twisted wire. The provenance of both pairs is Kerch. The third pair has a polyhedral bead. Two of its faces are of gold sheet, each with a ring of filigree; four diamond-shaped and eight triangular faces are inlaid with garnets (fig. 10.7). The hoop of each earring is a plain, circular-section gold wire. One end forms a hook, the other end projects through the center of the bead and terminates in a
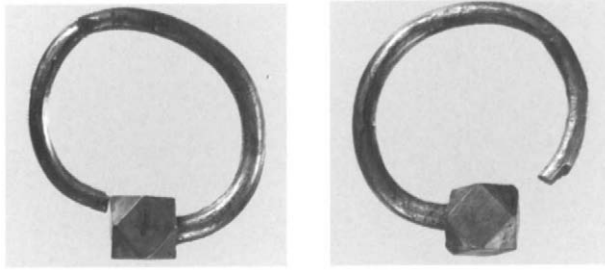
10.5 Pair of earrings. Silver. Ostrogothic, 5th–6th century. From Kerch, Ukraine. Maximum diameter 2.9 cm. (98.11.105, .106)
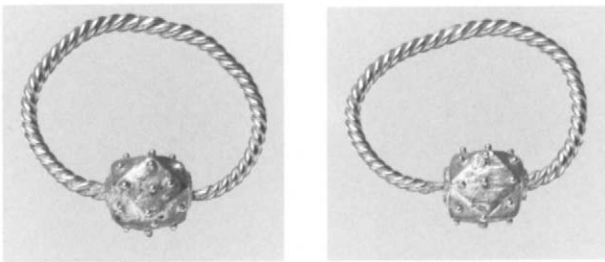
10.6 Pair of earrings. Gold. Ostrogothic, 5th century. From Kerch, Ukraine. Maximum diameter 2.5 cm. (98.11.94, .95)
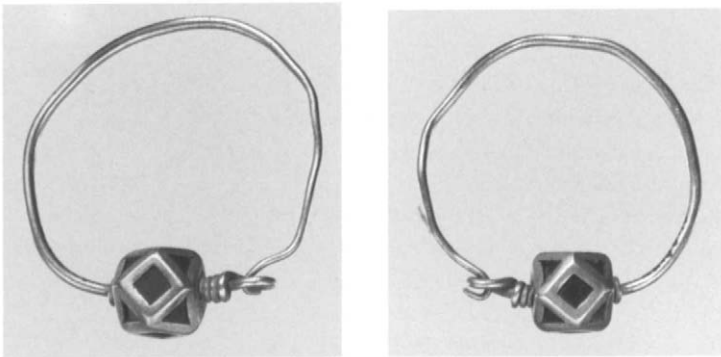
10.7 Pair of earrings. Gold, garnet. Ostrogothic, 6th century. Maximum diameter 4 cm. (22.50.9, .10)

loop with the end of the hoop coiled beneath. This pair may have come from the ancient city of Olbia in the Ukraine.[42]

The earliest examples of earrings with a solid polyhedral terminal of silver or gold appeared in the last quarter or at the end of the fourth century in the Roman Danubian provinces, as demonstrated by the finds from Intercisa in Hungary and coin-dated finds from graves at Lauriacum in Austria.[43] This evidence leads to the conclusion, already indicated in the archaeological literature, that these earrings are of Roman origin and can be traced back to the copper-alloy and silver pins with polyhedral heads of the Late Roman period.[44] This new type of earring was adopted in the fifth century by eastern Germanic women and was popular, with variations, over a wide area for a long period of time.

Characteristic of the first pair (fig. 10.5) are the rather sharp-edged polyhedrons and the thick hoop, which remains equally thick in cross section right up to the open end. The earrings are massive and compact. Identical in form and size are examples in gold and silver from the graves of Ostrogothic women from the first half of the fifth century at Regöly in Hungary, at Sinjavka near Tanais, at Kerch in the Ukraine, at Djurso near Novorossijsk in the northern Caucasus, as well as in France at Hochfelden near Strasbourg and Balleure at Chalon-sur-Saône.[45] At Regöly and Sinjavka, at Kerch in the chamber tombs June 24, 1904, as well as at Hochfelden, where the gold appliqués were also found, Ostrogothic women wore gold polyhedral earrings. In the second half of the fifth century, polyhedral earrings are the most common type worn by eastern Germanic women, such as the silver pair from Bratei, district of Sibiu in Transylvania in Romania.[46] Polyhedral earrings with a massive head and a thinner hoop that narrows toward the end are also found in native contexts in Italy from the fifth to the seventh century.[47] Silver polyhedral earrings with a small massive head and a small hoop are also found in western Germanic contexts, such as the

Alemannic graves 101 and 126 at Basel-Kleinhüningen in Switzerland.[48]

The second pair of polyhedral earrings in the Metropolitan (fig. 10.6), with a granulated ornament and a hoop made of two twisted wires, represents a sophisticated and delicate example of the goldsmith's art. Almost identical in the construction of its polyhedron is a granulated gold example from Kerch, now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, although it has a smooth hoop with notching on the sides only.[49] There appears to be no dated find complex containing this variant. Comparable gold earrings made of granulated gold with a twisted hoop, but with garnets added in cloisonné technique, are known from eastern Germanic grave finds of the fifth century, for example, at Beograd-Cukarica Ostruznica in Serbia, or at Perjamos in Hungary from the second half of the fifth century.[50] There is a pair of gold polyhedral earrings with a smooth hoop and a filigree head, with additional granulation, in the inventory of the coin-dated grave of an eastern Germanic, in this case Gepidic, woman at Bácsordas in Hungary.[51]

Parallels to the third pair of polyhedral earrings (fig. 10.7) in the Metropolitan include finds from both eastern and western Germanic contexts, often found in graves.[52] In the case of the Metropolitan pair, the hook-and-eye fastening is striking and very unusual. This type of fastening appears in the second half of the sixth century on an earring from Lutschistoe in the Crimea and also on some Merovingian pieces in France.[53] Consequently, similar polyhedral earrings decorated with red stones, glass, or garnets can be found in Ostrogothic, Frankish, and Alemannic graves in the areas of Germanic settlement in the fifth and sixth centuries (see fig. 3.9). Up to the seventh century the gold or silver polyhedral earring inlaid with polychrome stones remained an important part of the jewelry repertory of both groups, and indeed represented the most popular and widespread type of earring on the continent,
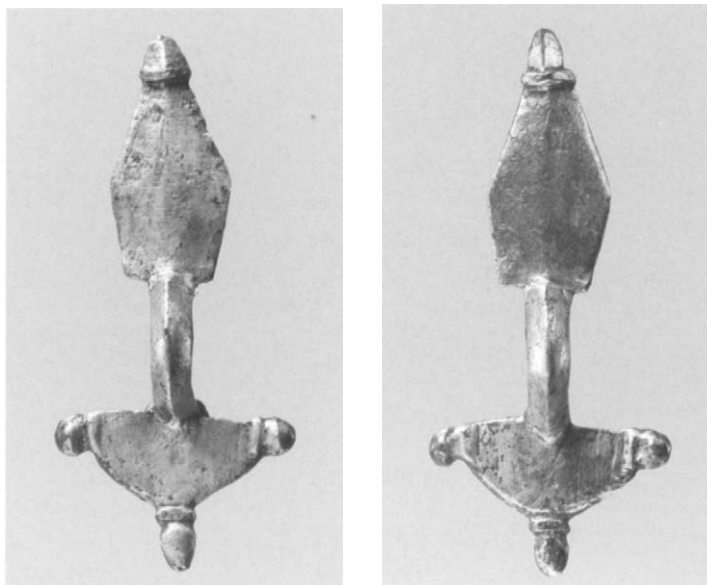
10.8 Pair of bow brooches. Silver. Ostrogothic, first half 5th century. From Kerch, Ukraine. Maximum length 7.3 cm. (98.11.107, .108)

to judge from the variants of all three types of polyhedral earrings known from the fifth to the seventh century. The reason for its frequency lies, perhaps, in the simple form that lends itself to both plain and sophisticated execution.

The Bow Brooches

One of the two pairs of bow brooches is made of silver (fig. 10.8),[54] with rounded triangular headplates and bows of triangular cross section. The long rhomboidal footplates narrow toward the terminal, which is a very rudimentary cast animal head. The headplate is decorated with two knobs and also terminates in a schematic zoomorphic head. This pair is said to have been found with the gold appliqués discussed above (fig. 10.2) and formed part of the costume of an Ostrogothic woman.[55] In form and size it is comparable to the south Russian bow brooches of the fifth century.[56] Since comparable pieces from

10.9 Pair of radiate-headed bow brooches.
Gilt silver, garnet. Ostrogothic, first half
6th century. Length 10.6 cm. (17.192.149,
.150)

graves with secure find circumstances are not
known, dating the two brooches requires a
consideration of their length, the construction
of the zoomorphic heads, and a possible asso-
ciation with gold foil appliqués. With these
criteria in mind, we may date them typologi-
cally to the first half of the fifth century.

The second pair of bow brooches
(fig. 10.9) is of cast silver, decorated in low
relief and gilded.[57] The same models were
used several times over in the production of
the molds, and the decoration of raised lines
and spiral ornaments gradually becomes
flatter on the later examples. The semicircular
headplate has five radiating knobs, three inlaid
with a cabochon almandine.[58] The rhom-
boidal footplate has four almandines at the
corners, the two lower ones in the form of
the heads of stylized birds. The perforations in
the heads of the birds were drilled later. The
terminal is in the shape of a stylized zoomor-
phic head with oval eyes and a rounded
snout. Both brooches display signs of heavy
wear, indicating that they had been worn a
long time before being placed in the grave.

As this pair is a variant of the Ostro-
gothic bow brooches, an eastern provenance
is indicated. Further, from their wide bow

and long knobs, from their spiral decoration executed in very low relief rather than in the chip-carving technique, as well as from the degenerate form of the animal-head terminal, they can be dated to the first half of the sixth century.

Seven pairs and six single examples of such bow brooches are known, almost identical in form, decoration, and size. All the stones used are almandines. Except for one from Bulgaria, all were found in south Russia.[59] Ten are now in the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, one is in the museum in Kerch, and a further pair in the museum in Simferopol in the Crimea. Two identically patterned pairs, found in south Russia in an unknown context, are in the Diergardt collection in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne,[60] while another, from Kerch, is in the Berthier de la Garde collection at the British Museum.[61] A similar pair was found in the grave of a woman at Gornje Pecine, in Bosnia, together with a pair of silver polyhedral earrings.[62] The type is known, above all, from Ostrogothic graves in the Crimea. Two identical pairs were found in chamber tombs 152/1904 and 180/1904 at Kerch, apparently in the position in which they were worn, indicating that the women were buried in full dress.[63] They had been placed on the shoulders of the women with the headplate pointing downward, sligthly slanted toward the center of the body. Both graves can be dated to the first half of the sixth century.

The concentration of these finds points toward a single center of production, namely Kerch in the Crimea.[64] The production of these brooches and their initial dissemination can be dated to the first half of the sixth century, while their presence in certain grave assemblages indicate they were in use during the whole of the sixth century.[65] However, this particular type, dating to the first half of the sixth century, spread westward, through Italy, Germany, and as far as France, and was certainly not only produced in the Crimea. Some pieces were probably made in the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy.[66]
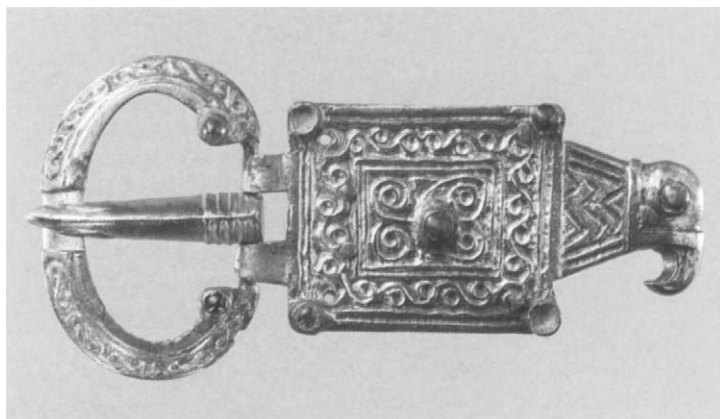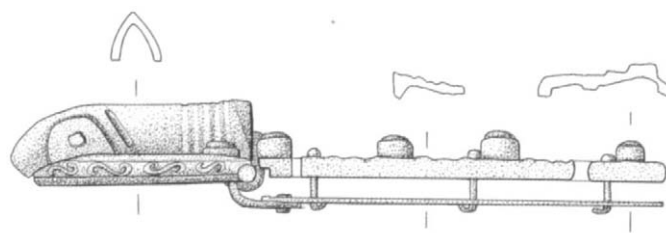
10.10 Section to show construction of buckle (below) (drawing by Silke Haase)

10.11 Buckle. Silver, garnet. Ostrogothic, 6th century. Length 12.4 cm. (95.15.100a, c, .104b)

10.12 Buckle loop. Silver, garnet. Ostrogothic, 6th century. Length 5.5 cm. (95.15.100b)

The Eagle-Head Belt Buckles

The Metropolitan collection also contains the remains of several women's belt buckles, all of cast silver, some with traces of gilding.[67] Only one buckle is complete, comprising attachment plate, loop, and tongue (fig. 10.11). The rectangular attachment plate is decorated with scrollwork in cast relief

and garnet cabochons. Its terminal is in the shape of an eagle head with a prominent beak, garnet eye, and broad trapezoidal neck decorated with zigzags. Scrolls and garnets also appear on the loop, while the tongue terminates in a form that suggests a bird. The attachment plate was cast in one piece with a small projection folded over to attach the buckle loop and tongue. Rivets would have fastened it to a now-lost backplate in order to secure it to a belt (see construction diagram, above).[68]

The other buckles exist only as fragments: an attachment plate, a loop, and a tongue that likely came from three different buckles. The isolated attachment plate shares many of the characteristics of the plate from the complete buckle, having an eagle-head terminal, garnet cabochons, and zigzag and scrollwork decoration. The isolated tongue terminates in a zoomorphic head—complete with eyes—that is more readily discernible than that found on the tongue discussed above. The isolated loop differs substantially from the other loop, being smooth with the head of a bird of prey at each end (fig. 10.12). This piece was once thought to belong to the second attachment plate, but, in light of other finds, it can only be assigned to one with a simple rectangular form, not to one with an eagle-head terminal.[69]

Belt buckles with identical ornament have been found in numerous graves in the Crimea: three came to light in chamber tomb 152/1904 at Kerch, with evidence of two successive chronological phases. The later phase included the grave of a woman who had been buried in her festive clothing:[70] two buckles, one of gilt silver and the other in copper alloy, were found at her waist; a pair of gilt-silver, radiate-headed brooches lay on either side of her breast. The latter are identical in size, form, and decoration to the bow brooches in the Metropolitan (fig. 10.9). The woman also had three smooth silver bracelets, one on the right wrist and two on the left, as well as six amber beads and six beads of blue glass and four of gold glass at her neck. Three glass

vessels had been buried with her, similar to those which are characteristic of sixth-century finds.[71] Another comparable buckle was found in situ at the waist of the woman in chamber tomb 180/1904 at Kerch.[72] It was completely covered by the remnants of some fabric, indicating that the woman had worn a textile belt and that the buckle had lain between the folds of her clothing. On her shoulders lay large copper-alloy bow brooches, with the same decoration as the Metropolitan pair (fig. 10.9), which is thus dated to the first half of the sixth century. At her neck were seven colored glass and amber beads; on her right wrist was a silver bracelet, on the left a copper one; three glass phials stood next to her head. This buckle, in particular, is identical in pattern to the Metropolitan examples, leading to the conclusion that they may also have originally come from Kerch.

Further buckles with the same decoration were found at Kerch, Eski-Kermen, and Chersones.[73] Several dozen comparable buckles have been found in Crimean cemeteries; since many of them are almost identical, it may be assumed that they were probably made in workshops at Kerch.[74]

The coins found in the graves at Suuk-Su near Gurzuf in the Crimea are of great importance in dating the eagle-head buckles. Found in grave 56,III were a pair of bow brooches, a pair of polyhedral earrings, bell-shaped pendants, a bracelet with flat hammered ends, an eagle-head buckle, and a coin of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (r. 527–65). In grave 56,V a woman had been buried in her festive clothing with a pair of bow brooches, seven triangular gold segments from a necklace, two gold polyhedral earrings, a gold bracelet with flat ends, an eagle-head buckle, and a coin of the Byzantine emperor Justin I (r. 518–27). In grave 77 was a coin of the Byzantine emperor Mauricius Tiberius (r. 582–602): again, the deceased was buried in her festive clothing, this time with a pair of gold polyhedral earrings, a pair of bow brooches, bell-shaped pendants, two silver bracelets with

flat ends, and an eagle-head buckle. The coins date the graves to the sixth and beginning of the seventh century,[75] though it is probable that production of the grave goods had already begun in the second half of the fifth century. The shape and ornamental features of a buckle from Kerch,[75] with its sharp-edged, chip-carved decoration, the cloisonné technique used in the center of the rectangular attachment plate, and the garnet-inlaid loop, enable us to date the buckle to the second half of the fifth century, as has already been suggested by Matzulevich, Gaidukevich, and Aibabin.[77]

Comparable buckles can also be found in the Danubian area in Gepidic graves, such as graves 15 and 77 at Szentes-Nagyhegy and grave 124 at Szandaszöllös, where they are dated to the early Avar period, between 568 and 600.[78] However, their number is small compared with the finds in the Crimea.

The find circumstances allow something to be said about the way the buckles were worn (fig. 10.13). Given the find circumstances at Kerch, it can probably be assumed that the belt was made from a strip of fabric.[79] The width of the attachment plate indicates that the belt was 4.3–4.5 cm wide. The thickness is indicated by the space between the two plates, about 3 mm. The belt, drawn through the loop and secured only by the tongue with its saddle-shaped cross section, fitted into the downward-sloping recess, thereby allowing the belt to be pulled tight. Its loose end would have simply hung down, so that the richly decorated buckle loop and attachment plate remained visible.

Rich grave goods are limited to a particular segment of the female population, as only a privileged class would wear such costume accessories of precious metal. The reconstruction (fig. 10.13) shows the appearance of a sixth-century Ostrogothic woman excavated at Suuk-Su near Gurzuf in the Crimea.[80] The main outer garment was an ankle-length dress (peplos) consisting of two panels of woolen material held together at the shoulders with bow brooches, joined by a chain attached to the back of the headplates.

10.13 Reconstruction of a costume of a 6th-century Ostrogothic woman (drawing by Silke Haase)
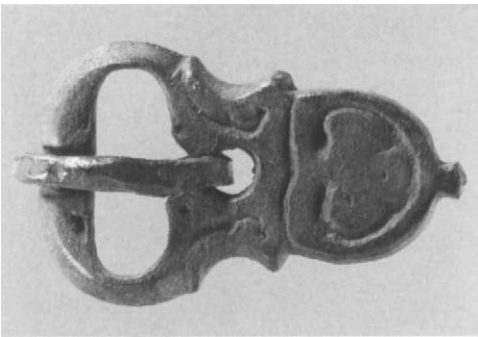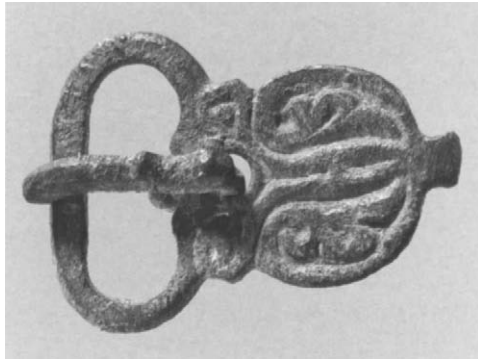
10.14 Buckle. Copper alloy. Byzantine, 6th–7th century. Length 5 cm. (20.118.1)

10.15 Buckle. Copper alloy. Byzantine, 5th–6th century. Length 3.4 cm. (20.118.2)

The front panel was loosely draped. The belt pulled the dress together tightly at the waist, with the buckle visible as shown here. Underneath this outer garment was worn a long-sleeved shirt (chiton) of silk or linen. Ordinarily, the women wore polyhedral earrings inlaid with polychrome stones, necklaces of amber and polychrome glass beads, and bracelets and finger rings of silver or gilt silver.

BYZANTINE-INFLUENCED GOODS

The third group of items from this region is associated with the Byzantine Empire. Worn by a broad section of the population in the sixth and seventh centuries, these items are an important indication that the entire northern Black Sea area had cultural connections with the Byzantine world. Such elements are represented by two buckles with a foliate decoration that is related to that on the gold belt fittings from Vrap (pp. 170–79 and, e.g., figs. 15.9, 15.10, 15.15,).[81] Both are cast of copper alloy with the plate and loop in one piece. The larger example (fig. 10.14) has an inner loop width of 2.7 cm. This buckle is distinguished by its broad, U-shaped attachment plate terminating in a small projection. Two tendrils extend along the edge of the attachment plate before folding inward and terminating in a three-leaf palmette, while others terminate in small leaves. A hole secures the tongue, which has a rudimentary protuberance typical of Byzantine buckles. Two perforated lugs, cast onto the back of the attachment plate, were inserted through the belt and secured behind it with a pin. This type spread in the early sixth century from Byzantium and Italy throughout the whole area north of the Alps.[82]

The second buckle, a variant of the first, is smaller (fig. 10.15), with an inner loop width of 1.8 cm. The U-shaped plate has a small projection and is decorated with a central three-leaf palmette, with folded palmettes above flanking the hole for the tongue. The oval loop broadens toward the front.[83]

The first buckle is an example of a type of "mass-produced article executed in a stereotyped manner."[84] A small group of comparable buckles from the vicinity of Istanbul was published by Csallány in 1954.[85] Known as the "Syracuse type," these buckles were first noticed in Sicily,[86] but are distributed from the Caucasus through the Crimea and the Danube basin to central Europe, Macedonia, the Aegean, and the western Mediterranean, along the coast to Italy and North Africa.[87] They do not appear at all in Spain. Decorated exclusively with Byzantine palmette motifs, both their ornament and attachment mechanisms point to a

Byzantine origin for this very popular sixth- and seventh-century type.

The earliest datable find complex was found in Sicily, in male burial 51 at Piana degli Albanesi, in the area of S. Agata.[88] The deceased was about forty years old. The most significant find in this burial for dating purposes was an unused North African, specifically central Tunisian, terra sigillata lamp classified as Hayes type II A. These lamps are dated by Hayes to between 420 and 500, and by Pröttel to between 400 and 520.[89] The glass jug found in the same grave also fits this time span. Consequently, a fifth-century date is suggested for the buckle, but since the majority of datable finds are from the second half of the sixth and first half of the seventh century, a date around 500 may be preferable, which is still earlier than previously assumed. The only coin-dated buckle of this type was found in a grave at Corinth, with coins of the Byzantine emperor Constans II (r. 641–68).[90]

Proof of the existence of metal workshops at Chersones in the Crimea rests primarily on the identical chemical composition of the copper alloy of the Byzantine buckles of Syracuse type with slag and casting molds found there. Furthermore, the museum at Chersones possesses two copper-alloy buckles that are miscast and, consequently, could not have been imports.[91] One is datable to the sixth century, the other, of Corinth type, to the seventh century. A stone mold for rectangular belt buckles of the seventh century has also been found there. Belt mounts of Syracuse and Corinth types have been found in the mountains of Crimea and on the Ukraine steppes. It may be concluded that the products of the Chersones jeweler were widely distributed among the population of the Crimea and other areas of the northern Black Sea coast.

Two pairs of small silver buckles are both cast with the loop and attachment plate in one piece.[92] One has a kidney-shaped loop with tongue-rest and a semicircular attachment plate with a pointed end (fig. 10.16).
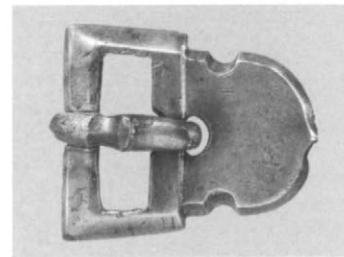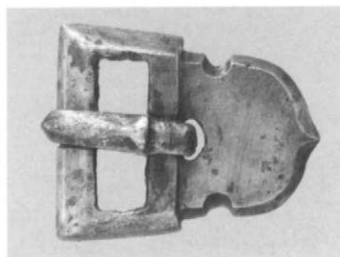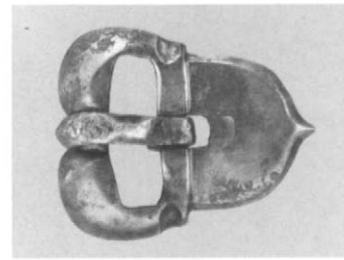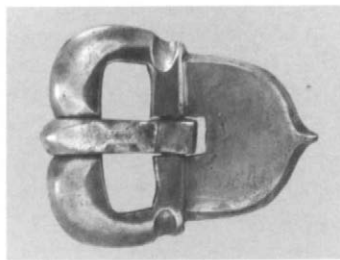
10.16 Pair of shoe buckles. Silver. Byzantine, 7th century. From Crimea, Ukraine. Length 2.9 cm. (17.191.184, .185)

10.17 Pair of shoe buckles. Silver. Byzantine, 7th century. From Crimea, Ukraine. Maximum length 2.4 cm. (17.191.177, .178)

The other has a rectangular loop, simple tongue, and a shield-shaped attachment plate (fig. 10.17). Their size and appearance in pairs indicate their use as boot or shoe buckles. Both are of Byzantine type, and appear in Gothic graves of the late sixth and the early seventh century in the Crimea.

More problematic and of the same date is a silver mount that belonged to a multiple set of belt ornaments.[93] Characteristic of Sassanian-Byzantine sword belts, they were also worn by the peoples of the steppes and have been attributed to the same cultural complex as the famous find from Marty-novka in the Ukraine.[94] Such pieces are examples of a new style that appeared in the late sixth century, the so-called heraldic style. The main features are the shape, which resembles a heraldic shield, and the faceted borders. Objects of this kind were produced

mainly by workshops in the Byzantine and Sassanian empires. The role of Germanic and Hunnic groups in transmitting such fashions as they moved westward is a complex subject of major importance.

1. Brown 1995, p. 26, fig. 22: "said to be from Kerch"; Brown 1996, pp. 230–31, fig. 11; *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987, p. 114, no. 19, fig. 1,19: attributed to south Russia, provenance unknown.

2. Untersiebenbrunn: Kubitschek 1911, pp. 41–42. The diameter is 19 cm, the length 55 cm. Noll 1974, p. 77, M 7, fig. 52. Keller 1967, pp. 110–20, nos. 1–6. According to Keller, the inventory of the woman's grave in Untersiebenbrunn includes some items usually found only in men's graves. It is consequently not impossible that a man is also buried at Untersiebenbrunn. According to Bierbrauer (1980b, p. 139), this would therefore be "the burial place of an 'aristocratic' Germanic family" at Untersiebenbrunn. I would agree with this opinion. *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987, pp. 342–44, pl. 46, no. VII,33.f. Szeged-Nagyszéksós: Fettich 1953, p. 119, pls. IV,1 and V,1. *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987, pp. 163–66. Bóna 1991, pp. 187–88, 284, no. 78, colorpl. 24. The diameter is 19.8 cm. Conceşti: Matzulevich 1929, p. 124, fig. 32. The diameter is 16 cm. Chapman and Dolukhanov 1993, p. 223. Because of the presence of the metal vessels, Kazanski (1993a) considers the Conceşti grave to be that of a Gothic military commander.

3. *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987, p. 181, no. III,50, pl. 10. Bóna 1991, p. 282, colorpl. 23. The diameter is 12.9 cm.

4. Odobesco 1889–1900, vol. I, pp. 219–356, pl. II. The diameter is 16.7 cm. Harhoiu 1977, pp. 12–13, pl. IX,1. *Goldhelm, Schwert und Silberschätze* 1994, pp. 230–35, fig. 98,5.

5. Starcevo: Noll 1974, p. 69, no. 1, fig. 41. Diam. 18 cm. Czernowitz: Noll 1974, p. 68, no. 1. Diam. 18 cm.

6. Hospital Street chamber tombs June 24, 1904: *Otchet Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Kommissiia* 1904, p. 79, no. 9,11–14, fig. 124. Matzulevich 1934, pp. 71–72, figs. 12, 16. Zasetskaia 1993, pp. 51–52, nos. 77–80, pls. 23–25. *I Goti* 1994, pp. 114–19, fig. II,4,5. Hospital Street chamber tomb 165/1904: Škorpil 1907, pp. 47–50, fig. 19. Zasetskaia 1993, p. 84, nos. 276, 299, pl. 55.

7. Fettich 1953, p. 192, pl. XVIII, 13; Zasetskaia 1975, p. 56, no. 41; Zasetskaia 1994, p. 141, pl. 43. Diam. 16 cm.

8. Kovaleva 1962, p. 235.

9. Burial 2 at Shipovo: Minaeva 1929, pp. 195–97, no. 4, figs. 1, 7.

10. For example, the rich grave of a man at Czéke-Cejkov in Slovakia: Beninger 1931, pp. 186–87, fig. 2. Diam. 15.5–15.8 cm, weight 96.7 g. Noll 1974, p. 64, no. 3, fig. 43. Werner 1980, pp. 16–17, no. 2. The first grave at Osztropataka-Ostroviany in Slovakia: Noll 1974, p. 66, no. 1, fig. 44. Werner 1980, p. 18, no. 4. Diam. 20.1–20.5 cm, weight 589.1 g. The first grave at Sackrau-Zakrzów in Poland: Grempler 1887, p. 13, nos. 20, 21, pl. V. Inner diam. 15 cm, weight 177.6 g. The rich grave of a woman at Haßleben-Weimar in Germany: Schulz and Zahn 1933, pp. 5, 7, 34, pl. 1,2. Inner diam. 14.8 cm, weight 127.5 g.

11. Gaidukevich 1971, pp. 443–44.

12. Hauck 1954, pp. 159–60, 174, 189. Werner 1956a, p. 84.

13. The Untersiebenbrunn neckring weighs 212.8 g, corresponding to approximately 47 coins. That from the Hunnic grave at Szeged-Nagyszéksós weighs 407.7 g, with one end missing, requiring approximately 100 coins. The neckring in the Pietroasa treasure weighs 182 g, corresponding to 40 coins; the Conceşti neckring weighs 200 g, corresponding to 44 coins; the neckring from the grave at Keszthely weighs 84.6 g, corresponding to 18 coins; that in the Starcevo treasure weighs 208.1 g, corresponding to approximately 46 coins; and the one from Czernowitz 179.8 g, corresponding to 39.5 coins.

14. Zosimus, *Historia nova*, IV.40.28.

15. Procopius 1963, p. 229, *De bello Gothico*, III.1.

16. This group (98.11.1–116), kept in the Department of Greek and Roman Art, was purchased from Tiffany and Co., New York, in 1898, which supplied the provenance. Besides earlier and later material said to be from the same tomb, there are some 350 gold appliqués, most of which are fifth century in date (98.11.1.68–.90). I am grateful to Joan Mertens, Curator, Department of Greek and Roman Art, Metropolitan Museum, for her kind assistance.

17. The Scythian gold foil appliqués have figural motifs and are larger: Artamonov and Forman 1970, pp. 18, 104–33, figs. 35, 43–50, 77–81, pls. 99–112. Gaidukevich 1971, p. 285. *Gold der Steppe* 1991, pp. 106–10, figs. 4b, 5–8.

18. Gaidukevich 1971, pp. 386, 396.

19. Ibid., pp. 444, 490.

20. Rostovtzeff 1923, pp. 115–17, figs. 10–12: "Quelques centaines de ces plaques se trouvent aussi au Musée métropolitain de New York [fig. 10] avec un mince diadème d'or à ornamentation géométrique au repoussé [fig. 11] et plusieurs bijoux et fibules [fig. 12] qui présentent des analogies frappantes avec notre trouvaille."

21. For parallels to the gold diadem, see *I Goti* 1994, p. 125, fig. II.27.a, and Zasetskaia 1993, pl. 21. For the bow brooches, see present text and note 54 below.

22. Damm 1988, pp. 168–75, figs. 171–78. These gold appliqués were found in south Russia. Chamber tombs June 24, 1904: Zasetskaia 1993, pp. 54–55, nos. 94–97, pl. 25. *I Goti* 1994, pp. 114–16, no. II.1n, fig. II.3. Hospital Street chamber tomb 145: Škorpil 1907, p. 35, no. 19. Zasetskaia 1993, p. 42, no. 23, pl. 12. Hospital Street chamber tomb 165, burial 4: Škorpil 1907, p. 48. Zasetskaia 1993, p. 83, no. 287,

pl. 53. Hospital Street chamber tombs 167–69:
Škorpil 1907, p. 50. Zasetskaia 1993, p. 87, no. 319,
pl. 57. Hospital Street chamber tomb 175: Škorpil
1907, p. 52. Zasetskaia 1993, p. 87, no. 323, pl. 57.
Hospital Street chamber tomb 177: Škorpil 1907,
p. 54, no. 3. Zasetskaia 1993, p. 89, no. 343, pl. 58.

23. Hospital Street chamber tomb 154/1904, burial 2:
Škorpil 1907, pp. 42–43. Zasetskaia 1993, pp. 74–75,
no. 225, pl. 48. Damm 1999, pp. 78–80, fig. 57.

24. Hospital Street chamber tomb 165/1904, burial 4:
Škorpil 1907, pp. 48–49. Gaidukevich 1971, p. 491.
Zasetskaia 1993, p. 83, no. 287, pl. 53. Damm 1999,
pp. 81–82, fig. 61.

25. Hatt 1965, pp. 250–55, figs. 1, 3, 4.

26. Airan: Salin and France-Lanord 1949, pp. 124–25,
131–32, pls. XIII,4 and XIV,3,4,7. Untersiebenbrunn:
Kubitschek 1911, pp. 43–47, fig. 12, pl. V,5–6, 12–35.
Menghin 1985, pp. 42, 44, pl. 4. Regöly: Mészáros
1970, pp. 76–80, 87, 92, fig. 3,13–15. Bakodpuszta:
Fettich 1951, pp. 120, 122, 126, pl. XVII,5–10. Kiss
1983, pp. 101–12, fig. 5,5. Papkeszi: Alföldi 1932,
pp. 59–60, fig. 16.

27. Rostovtzeff 1923, pp. 150–53, fig. 23. Koenig 1981,
pp. 308–9, 319, 324–28, pl. 49.

28. Szeged-Nagyszéksós: Fettich 1953, pp. 119, 190,
pl. III, 21–63. Bóna 1991, pp. 187–88, 284, pl. XXIV.
Bakodpuszta: see note 26 above.

29. Matzulevich 1934, pp. 50–52, fig. 9.

30. Brown 1995, p. 23, fig. 16; Brown 1996, p. 231, fig. 12:
"said to have been found in northern France." But
there is no evidence for this as it was registered sepa-
rately from the French collections acquired by Pier-
pont Morgan. Bóna (1991, pp. 105, 255, fig. 40,15),
gives as its provenance "South Russia?"

31. Wolfsheim: Behrens 1921–24, p. 74, fig. 2,4. Blučina:
Tihelka 1963, pp. 476, 491, 495, fig. 6, 4–5. Apahida I:
Fettich 1953, pp. 145–47, pl. XXIII,8. Apahida II: Horedt
and Protase 1972, pp. 182, 191–92, pl. 39,3a–c.

32. Jakusowice: Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren 1987,
p. 180, pl. 8, III,49.e. Length of buckles, 3.9 cm and
3.4 cm; inner width of loops, 1.1 cm and 1 cm.
Szeged-Nagyszéksós: Fettich 1953, pp. 115–17, pl. I,
2–3, 4–6. Length of buckles: 3.9 cm, 3.6 cm,
2.7 cm, 2.2 cm; inner width of loops: 1.6 cm, .9 cm,
1 cm, .7 cm. Fürst: Werner 1960, pp. 170–77,
pl. 15,2–4. Length of buckles: 5.2 cm, 4.7 cm,
4.1 cm; inner width of loops: 1.3 cm, .9 cm.
Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren 1987, p. 183, pl. 12,
III,54.b–d. Wolfsheim: Behrens 1921–24, pp. 73–75,
fig. 2,6. Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren 1987, p. 183,
pl. 13, III,55.f. Length of buckle, 4.8 cm; inner
width of loop, 1.2 cm.

33. Kubitschek 1911, p. 42, fig. 9, pl. I, 5. Germanen,
Hunnen und Awaren 1987, pp. 342–44, pl. 48, VII,33.k.
Length of buckle, 4.6 cm; inner width of loop,
1.1 cm.

34. Raddatz 1960, pp. 144–45, 147–48, pl. 60,1–2;
Koenig 1981, pp. 346–49, pl. 52,a.c. Koenig corrects

the identification of the buckles in line with the
Museum's inventory of gold items. Length of buck-
les, 5.3 and 2.3 cm; inner width of loops, 1.4 and
1.2 cm.

35. Hospital Street chamber tomb 1890: de Baye 1890,
pp. 362–63, pl. 3, 4–5. Fettich 1953, p. 192, pl.
XX,1–3. Damm 1988, pp. 194–95. Kerch-Glinishche
chamber tomb 1896: von Stern 1897, pp. 1–5, 14–15,
pl. I,II.13. Bóna 1991, pp. 126, 258, fig. 51. Hospital
Street chamber tombs June 24, 1904: Zasetskaia 1993,
pp. 56–57, nos. 103–106, pl. 26. I Goti 1994,
pp. 116–17, 123–24, figs. II.7.8.9.10.q, II.27.aj.ap.aq.as.
Damm 1988, p. 97, no. 5, pp. 102–3, no. 14, p. 160,
no. 84. Hospital Street chamber tomb 145/1904:
Škorpil 1907, p. 34, no. 1. Zasetskaia 1993, p. 43,
no. 26, pl. 13. Damm 1988, p. 196, no. 13.

36. Novogrigorevka cremation IX: Minaeva 1927,
pp. 97–100, no. 12, fig. 37. Zasetskaia 1975, p. 67,
colorpl. VIII. Bóna 1991, pp. 129, 259, fig. 52. The
author mentions two gold cloisonné buckles and
describes them as "boot-strap buckles." Zasetskaia
1994, p. 163, pl. 2. Kislovodsk in northern Caucasus:
Runitch 1976, pp. 259, 264, fig. 3,12. Bóna 1991,
pp. 67, 244, fig. 22,3.

37. Beninger 1929, pp. 144–45, 147, figs. 26–27, 29.

38. Bakay 1978, p. 155–56, 161–62, fig. 3,3–4. Length of
buckles, 3.9 and 3.7 cm; inner width of loops, .9 and
1 cm.

39. Salin and France-Lanord 1956, pp. 72–73, figs. 15, 18.
Length of small gold buckle, 5.4 cm; inner width of
loop, 1.5 cm. Kazanski 1982, pp. 25–26.

40. Priscus, p. 144, v. 18–31.

41. Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren 1987, p. 114, no. 1,20.b.

42. Ibid., p. 114, no. 1, 20a. From the collection of Joseph
Chmielowski, a Russian émigré, auctioned (American
Art Association) in New York, February 23–25, 1922,
lot 710. This catalogue, prepared by the collector him-
self, suggests that the collection had been excavated at
the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the
twentieth century in Olbia. But a close reading of his
preface indicates only that most of the collection
came from there. The section containing the gold
lots is introduced by a caption that mentions Olbia,
Kerch, Chersones, and Beresan (an island near Olbia)
among their provenances. The relationship between
the earrings and a necklace composed of similar
beads, lot 711, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Balti-
more, should be noted: Ross 1961, pp. 48–49, and
Jewelry, Ancient to Modern 1980, p. 134, fig. 369.

43. Intercisa: Borzsak 1957, pp. 431–32, 563. Lauriacum:
Kloiber 1957, p. 83 (burial 9/1952), pl. 55,3: a bronze
polyhedral earring with a coin of Valentinian I from
the year 366; p. 103 (burial 1/1953), pl. 55,4: a bronze
polyhedral earring with a coin of Valens, r. 364–378;
pp. 121–22 (burial 23/1953), pl. 47,10: a bronze poly-
hedral earring with a coin of Valens from 366; p. 89
(burial 23/1952), pl. 46,8: a pair of bronze polyhedral
earrings with a coin of Flavius Victor from 387–388.

44. Hampel 1905, p. 358. Vago and Bóna 1976, pp. 196–201. Salamon and Barkóczi 1971, p. 63.

45. Regöly: Bóna 1991, pp. 160, 288, pl. 100: a pair of gold polyhedral earrings. Sinjavka: Kameneckij and Kropotkin 1962, pp. 237–38, fig. 2,1: a gold poly-hedral earring. Kerch burial 19/1904: Škorpil 1907, pp. 7–8: a pair of bronze polyhedral earrings. Kerch chamber tombs June 24, 1904: Zasetskaia 1993, no. 12, pl. 11: a pair of gold polyhedral earrings; no. 86, pl. 22: a pair of gold polyhedral earrings; no. 305, pl. 55: a silver polyhedral earring. *I Goti* 1994, pp. 116–17, fig. 11,8.i: a pair of gold polyhedral earrings. Djurso: Dmitriev 1979, pp. 227, 228, fig. 10,15: a pair of sil-ver polyhedral earrings. Hochfelden: Hatt 1965, pp. 250–53, figs. 1, 3, 4: a pair of gold polyhedral earrings. Balleure: *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, pp. 194–95: two small gold polyhedral earrings.

46. Segesvár in Romania: Csallány 1961, pp. 198, 270, pl. 213,9–10: a pair of Gepidic gold earrings. Bratei in Romania: *I Goti* 1994, p. 160, fig. 111,15.a: a pair of Ostrogothic silver earrings from the grave of a woman.

47. Bierbrauer 1987b, pp. 150–51, fig. 22, pp. 427–29, pls. 49,1, 63,15.

48. Giesler-Müller 1992, pp. 19, 1–2, and 26, 2–3. According to a personal communication from Giesler-Müller, grave 101 has been dated to the late fifth century, while grave 126 is coin-dated to around 475.

49. Damm 1988, pp. 124–25, fig. 71.

50. Ostruznica: *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987, pp. 207, 232, pl. 23, V,26.a. Perjamos: Hampel 1905, pp. 358–59, fig. 953.

51. Csallány 1961, p. 230, pl. 274,2–3.

52. Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 162–67, fig. 14, pp. 244–48. Von Freeden 1979, pp. 249–98, 416–23.

53. Polyhedral earrings of the sixth century from a woman's grave at Lutschistoe: *Unbekannte Krim* 1999, pp. 136–37, fig. 144. From Merovingian burials at Marchélepot (Somme) in France: Boulanger 1909, pl. 8, 1,3,4.

54. Rostovtzeff 1923, pp. 116–17, fig. 12; Kalitinskii 1928, p. 294, pl. 39, 78–79 (who quotes and accepts the statements made by Rostovtzeff); Kühn 1974, p. 524, no. 20, pl. 219, 51.20, p. 529, no. 79, pl. 223, 51.79. Kühn mentions the same pair of bow brooches twice: his 51.20 and 51.79 are identical. In the case of 51.20 he quotes Kalitinskii and copies the quote from Rostovtzeff with the wrong page numbers. For 51.79 he writes: "South Russia. Exact find spot unknown." The number 46635 that Kühn gives is the Metropolitan negative number. Brown 1981, p. 8, fig. 9; Brown 1995, pp. 6–7, fig. 2.

55. See notes 19, 20 above.

56. Aibabin 1990, pp. 18–19, fig. 10,9.

57. De Ricci 1910a, p. 31, nos. 149–50, pl. 12, 149–50. Kühn (1934, pp. 110–13, pl. 21, 1) gives the negative number 39909 as the inventory number. "Conse-quently, the New York piece was manufactured around 550. It is of Ostrogothic-Frankish style and must have been found in France. This is consistent with the fact that Morgan bought mainly from the dealer Stanislas Baron who in turn was supplied by the excavator Lelaurain. Lelaurain excavated thousands of Merovingian graves for the purpose of selling the finds. He excavated principally in the north of France, in the Départements of Aisne and Somme, and in Picardy. It is therefore prob-ably not amiss to assume that the provenance is northern France." Kühn (1940, pp. 99–100, no. 25, pl. 65.4,25) gives the provenance of the bow brooches as northern France. This assertion must remain hypothetical.

58. Almandines, a variety of garnets, are red with a violet hue.

59. Zasetskaia 1998, pp. 445–48, pls. IV–V, 65–68.

60. The collection belonging to Johannes Freiherr von Diergardt was purchased by the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, in 1934. Werner 1961, pp. v–ix, 1, 29–30, pl. 26,108–109. Zasetskaia 1998, pp. 446–47, nos. 54–55 and 62–63.

61. The collection owned by the Russian archaeologist General Berthier de la Garde was acquired by the British Museum in 1923. Martin 1896, p. 4. Dalton 1924, pp. 259–62, pl. 37,19. *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987, pp. 110–11, no. 1,16.f. Zasetskaia 1998, p. 447, no. 61. Andrási n.d., forthcoming.

62. Salin 1904, pp. 28–32, fig. 62. Bierbrauer 1975, p. 100 n. 41, pl. 68,1–2.

63. Kerch Hospital Street chamber tomb 152/1904: Aibabin 1990, pp. 18–19, fig. 10, 9. Škorpil 1907, pp. 39–41. Matzulevich 1926, pp. 41–49. Zasetskaia 1998, pp. 447–48, no. 65–66, pl. 18. Damm 1999, pp. 82–83, fig. 62. Kerch Hospital Street chamber tomb 180/1904: Škorpil 1907, pp. 57–58, fig. 22. Damm 1988, pp. 201–2. Aibabin 1990, p. 21, fig. 15,5–6. Zasetskaia 1993, pl. 4,21–22. Damm 1999, p. 83, fig. 64.

64. Zasetskaia 1998, pp. 401–6, 414–17, figs. 3, 4–7.

65. Ibid., p. 417.

66. For instance, the finds at Altenerding-Klettham in Germany: Sage 1984, pp. 174–75, pl. 83,5–6, pl. 189,5–6. Lörrach in Germany: Garscha 1970, pp. 204–5, 207, pl. 16 A, 1a–1b. Torriano in Italy: Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 89–90, 318–19, pl. 42.1–2. Udine-Planis in Italy: Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 89–91, 328–30, pl. 46.1. France: Lindenschmit 1858, pt. 10, pl. VIII.2. Kühn 1934, p. 112, pl. 21.7.

67. Brown 1996, pp. 226–27, figs. 3–5.

68. Rusu 1959, pp. 504–7, figs. 10,2 and 11,3. Enough of the back of this buckle is preserved to show how the belt was fastened to the bird's head.

69. Aibabin 1990, p. 30, fig. 25, 4–6. Eagle-head buckles always have a flat loop decorated with scrolls with the head of an animal at each end.

70. Škorpil 1907, pp. 39–41. Matzulevich 1926, pp. 41–46.

Aibabin 1990, pp. 32–35, fig. 35,4. Zasetskaia 1998, pp. 447–48, no. 65–66, pls. 5 and 18. Damm 1999, pp. 82–83, fig. 62.

71. Harden 1964, pp. 51–52, fig. 10.
72. Burial no. 7 in chamber tomb 180/1904 at Kerch: Škorpil 1907, pp. 57–58, fig. 22. Zasetskaia 1968, pp. 55–57, no. 83. Damm 1988, pp. 201–2. Aibabin 1990, pp. 21–22, fig. 15,6. Zasetskaia 1998, p. 446, nos. 57–58, pls. 4, 57–58 and 19. Damm 1999, p. 83, fig. 64.
73. Kerch: Burial 1/1905: Aibabin 1990, pp. 32–35, fig. 35,3. Gaidukevich 1971, pp. 509–10, fig. 157 below. Burial 88/1904: Škorpil 1907, p. 21. Matzulevich 1926, p. 48. Burial 113/1904: Škorpil 1907, pp. 26–27. Chamber tomb 52/1867 and burial 1875: Matzulevich 1926, p. 49. Kazanski 1996, p. 329, fig. 4. Eski-Kermen burial 315: Aibabin 1990, fig. 35,1. Chersones: Aibabin 1990, fig. 29, 3.
74. Rusu 1959, pp. 513–15. Gaidukevich 1971, pp. 509–10.
75. Götze [1907], pp. 18–20. Matzulevich 1926, p. 47. Pudovin 1961, pp. 183–84.
76. De Baye 1890, p. 359. Götze [1907], p. 17, pl. 8,2. Aibabin 1990, fig. 26,2.
77. Matzulevich 1926, pp. 47–50. Gaidukevich 1971, p. 509 n. 40. Aibabin 1993, pp. 163–66, figs. 1,1; 2,4.
78. Csallány 1961, pp. 357–59. Szentes-Nagyhegy grave 15: ibid., pp. 47–48, pl. 31. Szentes-Nagyhegy grave 77: ibid., pp. 57–58, pl. 33. Szandaszöllös grave 124: ibid., pp. 211–12, pl. 246.
79. See note 70 above.
80. For the reconstructions of women's dress from the chamber tombs at Kerch, see Damm 1999, pp. 78–83, figs. 57, 59, 62, 64.

81. Werner 1986, pp. 31–41, figs. 6–7, pls. 13, 25–26.
82. Werner 1984, p. 21, n. 80, p. 23, fig. 4,1, pls. 26b, 28, 2.
83. See note 81; for a parallel in Cologne and the recent literature, see Riemer 1995, p. 794, fig. 18.
84. Werner 1955, p. 35.
85. Csallány 1954, pp. 340–44, pls. II,7–9, III,1–7 (Mészáros Collection, Istanbul).
86. Werner 1955, p. 37, fig. 2,1–3, pls. 5, 8–9, 11–12, 14–16.
87. For a list of finds and a distribution map: Riemer 1995, pp. 798–801, fig. 30.
88. Di terra in terra 1993, p. 174, with figure.
89. Hayes 1972, pp. 313–14. Pröttel 1996, pp. 76–81.
90. Pallas 1981, pp. 298–99, fig. 5. Other datable find assemblages include grave 156 in the Langobardic cemetery at Nocera Umbra, in Italy, from the early decades of the seventh century: Åberg 1923, p. 114, fig. 206. Grave 1 at Balta Verde, in Romania, from the early Avar period between 560 and 600: Fiedler 1992, pp. 88–91, fig. 14. Graves 29, 32, and 58 of the Crimean-Gothic cemetery at Suuk-Su from the last third of the sixth and the early seventh century: Repnikov 1906, pl. 10,19. Graves 278 and 471 at Skalistoe and Lutschistoe, in the Crimea, from the late sixth and the first half of the seventh century: Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, pp. 51, 118, figs. 31,5, 85,4; Veimarn and Aibabin 1995, pp. 134, 141, fig. 6, 2.4–5.
91. Aibabin 1990, p. 43, fig. 2, 122, pl. 42, 6–7; Aibabin 1993, pp. 167–68, fig. 8,5.
92. De Ricci 1911, pl. 9, nos. 177–178 and 184–185.
93. Ibid., pl. 9, no. 179. Pletneva 1981, pp. 83–84, fig. 61,1.
94. Pekarskaja and Kidd, 1994, p. 77, no. 73, pp. 163–73, pl. 37,6.

11. On the Frontiers of Byzantium

The Byzantine Empire (so called after the name of the Greek city Byzantium, renamed Constantinople in 333, see p. 45) had great influence on other Early Medieval cultures, across Europe and beyond. It possessed wealth and embodied a ceremonial rooted in the old order. The ostentatious display of both, as a means of state propaganda, was legendary among the tribes beyond its borders. The late-sixth-century ceremonial gold belt from a hoard found near Karavás in northern Cyprus, known as the Second Cyprus Treasure, with its weight of gold and iconography, both as a symbol of office and donative, encapsulates the spirit of empire (fig. 11.1).[1] Gold-mounted belts had wide-spread significance as a status symbol (figs. 13.8–13.12 and 15.2–15.20). The historical background has long been known from written sources, but only recently has the detailed study of contemporary objects begun to shed light on contacts between Byzantium and the Germanic kingdoms.[2] The collection of objects from the Early Medieval period in The Metropolitan Museum of Art contains some outstanding examples to illustrate this theme.

Furnished burial had largely ceased among the local Christian population in the Mediterranean world. It is, therefore, the graves of Germanic mercenaries and their women and those of the new Germanic settlers, such as Vandals and Visigoths, that preserve many objects of Byzantine manufacture in the Metropolitan collections.

11.1. Two medallions of Maurice Tiberius, mounted in a ceremonial belt: obverse (left) and reverse (right). From Karavás, Cyprus. Gold. Byzantine, late 6th century. Diameter 5.5 cm. (17.190.147)

11.2. Horse harness pendant. Copper alloy. Visigothic, 6th century. Diameter 8.5 cm. (1990.77)

Germanic graves outside the empire also contain such items, which had been exported to those regions (see below). Until more workshops located in Byzantine towns and cities are excavated, and their debris is studied, the range of their products remains unknown, particularly those made in centers outside the capital. Thus, the place of manufacture of the fifth-century jewelry found at Domagnano, just south of the major center of Ravenna, remains unresolved (pp. 136–39). The present distribution of finds of such Byzantine objects as the buckle (fig. 11.10) reflects neither the point of origin nor the area of prime use. Equipment and jewelry in Langobardic graves, for example, derives from local workshops still working in the Mediterranean tradition (see pp. 140–55, pp. 164–69). Similar problems surround the origins of the gold belt mounts in the Vrap Treasure and their place in relations between Byzantium and the Balkans (pp. 178–79).

Sometimes Early Medieval artifacts lack a precise date or find spot and are difficult to correlate with the dramatic changes of the period in some areas. Still, they clearly show that Byzantine culture exercised an influence far distant from its center. Such is the case with a group of horse-harness fittings from Spain, decorated in the Late Antique tradition. One is a cast openwork disk enclosing a mounted rider (fig. 11.2). The rider's hand is raised in a traditional gesture of victory (see copies of this in figs. 3.6–3.7 and 21.49), and the horse has a clear mark, perhaps a brand, on the haunch. The incised foliate tendril around the border is not accomplished, but its irregularity of form has parallels (fig. 15.13). The disk is one of a known group found in Spain, few of which have a context or a precise date, but most are assumed to have come from Visigothic graves.[3] Such pieces may be associated with Germanic riders who

had been buried with their horse harness, if not alongside the animal itself, as was still the custom among a few Germanic elites. However, the objects were produced in provincial workshops that survived in southern Spain or were revived during its temporary Byzantine reoccupation. A more central Byzantine workshop may have produced the iron horse bit inlaid with silver, gold, and copper alloy, also from Spain (pl. 14, p. 306).[4] The decoration of the bit, with human masks set within elaborate vine scrolls and between confronted animal heads, is an absolutely outstanding expression of Late Antique style. The gold-inlaid monograms emphasize the owner's importance and the piece's outstanding quality. Both pieces reflect the appropriation by the Visigoths in Spain of status symbols marking degrees of social differentiation and the adoption by this Germanic people of aspects of Mediterranean culture (p. 148).

CONTINUITY OF MOTIFS

Some characteristic patterns can be traced throughout the Morgan collection, in different materials and at different scales. While it

11.3. Belt mount. Tinned copper alloy.
Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century.
Height 7.4 cm. (57.161.2)

11.4. Buckle. Gilt silver. Gepid, mid 5th
century. Length 12.5 cm. (1990.184)
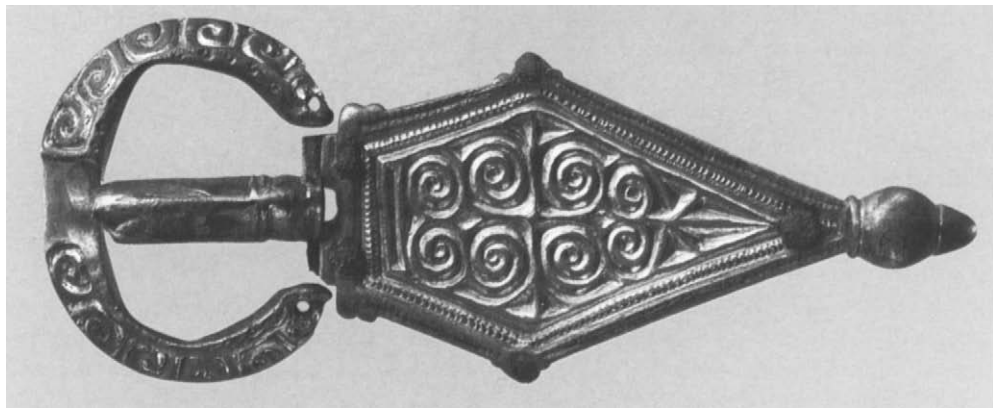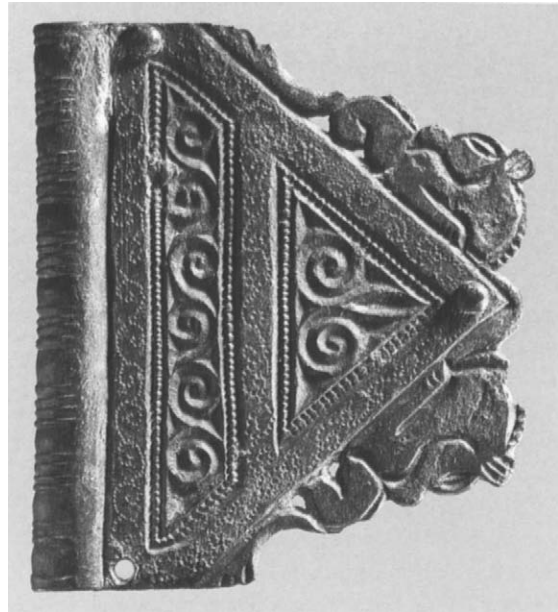
is the cast chip-carved geometric and zoo-morphic motifs that predominate in the Late Roman material from Vermand, the wide range of foliate decoration includes many motifs often depicted at small scale in niello (figs. 8.1, 8.2, 8.4, frontispiece), that reappear on later pieces in a different medium. Similarly, scrolled tendrils both cast and in pointille on a Late Roman belt end (fig. 11.3) can be traced in the Metropolitan collections on a Gepid buckle (fig. 11.4),[5] on Ostrogothic jewelry (figs. 12.9, 12.11, and 13.1), and on Merovingian brooches (figs. 20.11 and 20.14). Versions of a bud flanked by

scrolled tendrils or leaves (figs. 11.3, 11.4) appear variously on a Byzantine buckle (fig. 11.5),[6] in openwork on two pendants from a necklace (fig. 11.6),[7] and in filigree on the pendant of an earring (fig. 11.7). The elaborate variety of foliate motifs represented on the pendants (figs. 11.5–11.6) may be compared with the range current in the Balkans during the first half of the eighth century century, represented at Vrap (figs. 15.9–15.18), and on the horse bridle from Spain (pl. 14). The use of circular and comma-shaped punch marks within the leaves on these pendants (fig. 11.6) gave rise

11.5. Buckle. Gold. Byzantine or Langobardic, 6th-7th century. Length 5.9 cm. (17.190.1662)

11.6. Two pendants from a necklace. Gold. Byzantine, 6th-7th century. Height 4.8 cm. (17.190.1656)

to a style (often known as point and comma decoration) in which the punch marks came to represent the whole leaf (pp. 144, 303).

It is tempting to see religious significance as an explanation of the widespread appearance in the later sixth and the seventh century of one motif, a V-shape with inward scrolled ends. The motif appears variously: flanked by birds on a Byzantine earring (fig. 11.7), composed of two scrolled tendrils on a Byzantine buckle (fig. 13.12), and forming a border around an equal-armed cross on contemporary Kentish jewelry (pl. 6B, C). All may represent simplified versions of a leaf with inward scrolling ends, similar to those beside a cross on a paleo-Christian buckle from France (fig. 3.5).

Other long-lived pagan motifs rooted in the past were adopted and adapted by the new religion. Thus, the continuing popularity of the vine scroll and grapes, for example, partly rests on its multiple Christian meanings.[8] Appropriately, the vine appears carved along the length of two marble columns of fifth- or sixth-century date, from the church of Nôtre Dame de la Daurade in Toulouse, now in the Metropolitan.[9] The columns have lost their original gilt and paste inlays, but analysis, suggesting that the style is not of the highest quality, indicates isolation from mainstream Mediterranean art. While the com-

mission demonstrates the general continuity of Church organization in the town, the columns cannot be dated precisely enough to identify an exact historical context. From 418, the city was the center of the kingdom of the Visigoths; after their expulsion by the Franks in 507, it became part of the Merovingian kingdom.

On the jewelry in the collection, the most naturalistic vine appears on a pair of Byzantine gold bracelets (fig. 7.15) and on the brow band of a sixth-century Byzantine helmet found in France (below). There the
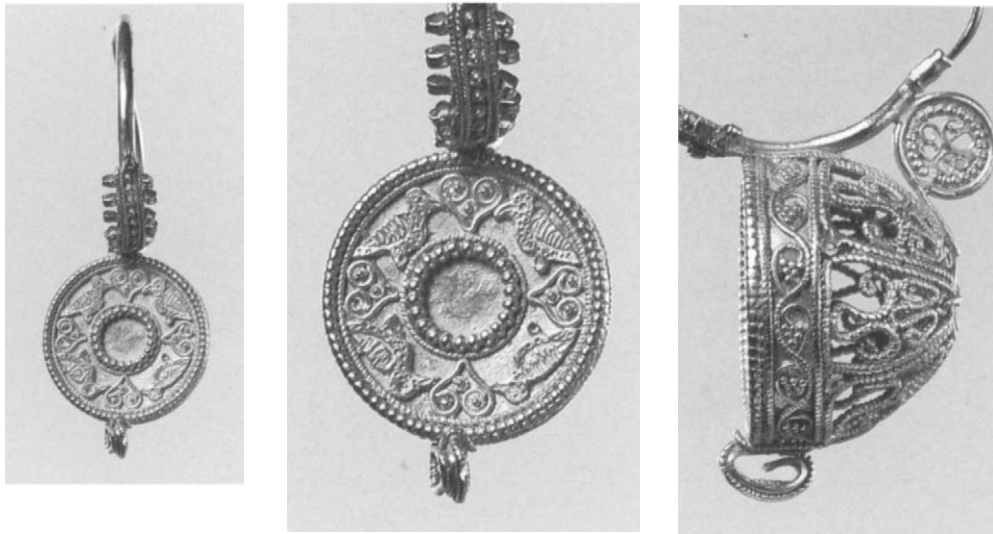
11.7. Earring, actual size, with front and side views, enlarged. Gold. Byzantine, 6th–7th century. Length 5.8 cm. (17.191.6)

vine is inhabited by naturalistic birds, depicted at too small a scale to determine their species (fig. 11.8). Confronted birds appear on the front of an earring pendant, the edge of which is decorated with a vine and bunches of grapes (fig. 11.7). Of outstanding elegance and craftsmanship, and almost certainly from a central Byzantine workshop, the gold earring has fittings on the hoop for attaching pearls and a basket-shaped pendant. It has no provenance, but is certainly related to a series of sixth- and seventh-century variants from Italy (figs. 14.5–14.9). Such juxtapositions may suggest the birds' Christian significance in this context. Similar, rather anonymous, small birds, appear flanking a cross pattee on a Late Roman bracelet (fig. 7.7) and beneath a Latin cross on the bezel of a seventh-century Merovingian silver finger ring (fig. 23.62). All may represent a dove.[10] The eagle, which was predominantly the symbol of empire, took on a Christian significance, standing for the Evangelist John, the Resurrection, and even Christ.[11]

STATUS SYMBOLS

Some symbols of high rank manufactured within the empire conferred status on an owner beyond the frontiers, and their wide distribution shows the "international" character of such elite fashions. One of these in the Metropolitan is a helmet from the first half of the sixth century (fig. 11.8). Of a type called a Spangenhelm, it has a conical cap made of six iron plates, with a frame of T-shaped copper-alloy elements topped by a cast knob and horizontal browband.[12] Below the rim of the helmet hung chain-mail to protect the neck, along with two cheek-pieces. All the organic components, such as the padding and the lining of the interior and around exposed edges, have decayed, leaving only the rivet holes that secured them. Leather thongs may have attached the two cheek pieces and the chain mail protecting the neck, both of which would have been lined. The rivet holes above the eyes of some may also have secured a fitting, including a light nasal guard.

Many helmets were decorated on all available surfaces with protective symbols,
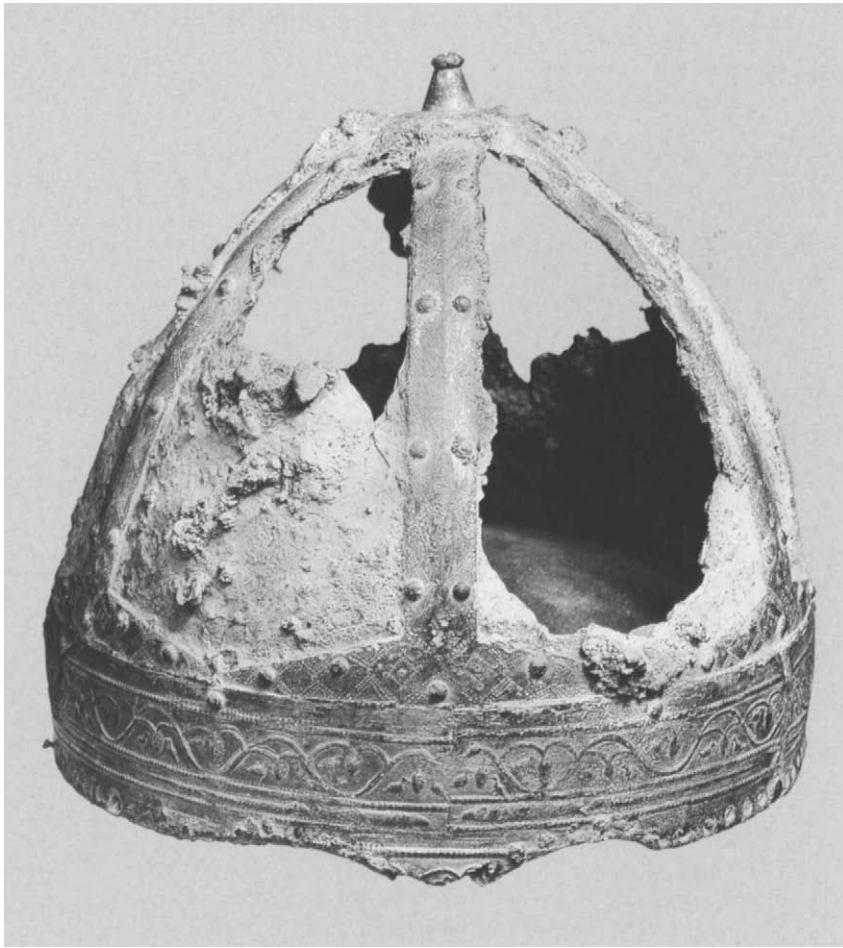
11.8. Helmet, with schematic partial reconstruction of a similar type (right), and detail of decoration (below). Iron, gilt copper alloy. Ostrogothic or Byzantine, first half 6th century. From near Chalon-sur-Saône, France. Height 21.8 cm. (42.50.1)
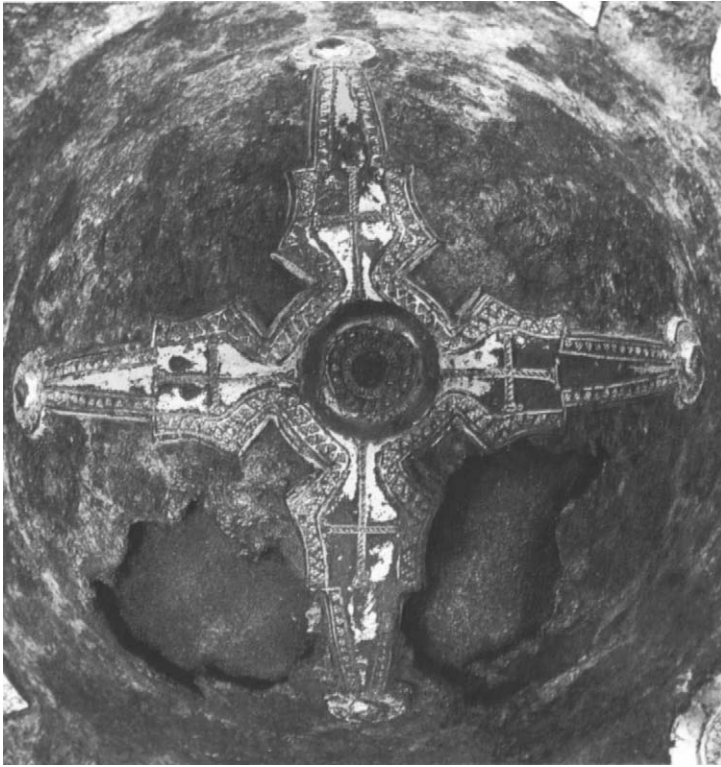
11.9. Mount from an iron shield boss. Gilt copper alloy. Langobardic, late 6th–7th century. Diameter 9.1 cm. (1984.184.2)
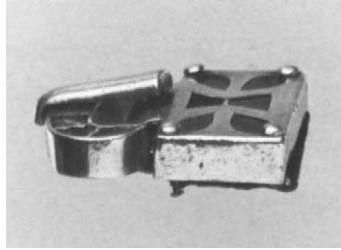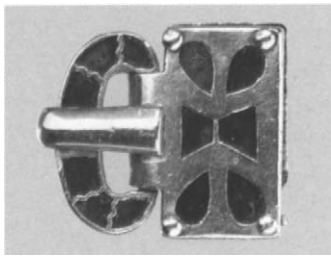
11.10. Buckle, top and side views. Gold, garnet. Byzantine, second half 5th–early 6th century. From Komárom-Szöny, Hungary. Length 3.4 cm. (1986.341)

including Christian ones, such as the cross, stag, dove, and fishes. The present brow band consists of a repoussé strip containing a vine scroll with bunches of grapes flanked by birds and with a line of fishes and perhaps serpents beneath (see detail, fig. 11.8). A well-preserved helmet found in an outstandingly rich grave of an early-sixth century Frankish warrior at Krefeld Gellep in the Rhineland shows how impressive the gilded metal and glittering decoration would have been.[13] Remains of some thirty helmets of this type have been found, often in Germanic graves, extending from Italy, the Balkans, and the middle Danube to the Rhineland. Some were decorated using the same tools, suggesting they were part of a series production from a Late Antique armory, possibly located in Ravenna or even Constantinople. The Metropolitan example was dredged from the river Saône, near Chalon-sur-Saône, in France. Its date and discovery near the find of a second helmet[14] give rise to the speculation that both might have been connected with Frankish campaigns against the Burgundian kingdom in the 530s, unless they had continued in use longer, as heirlooms.

Protective symbols also appear on the mount of a shield boss, probably from a late-sixth- or seventh-century Longobardic grave (fig. 11.9). The central mount has the form of an equal-armed cross, in each arm of which is set a Latin cross with its foot pointing to the center. The intricate detail of the punched decoration, complemented by a stamped border, caused the gilt surface to glitter as did the decoration of the helmet.

Other prestige items made in Byzantine workshops, and found in the graves of Germanic warriors, include gold buckles for a belt or sword harness (figs. 13.8 and 13.12). One of the most splendid in the Metropolitan was found in 1880 in a grave outside the fortified Roman town of Brigetio, on the middle Danube in Hungary (fig. 11.10. pl. 5E).[15] Also found were a double-edged sword and single-bladed battle dagger with their jeweled sheath-mounts, a combination of weapons carried by the highest Germanic
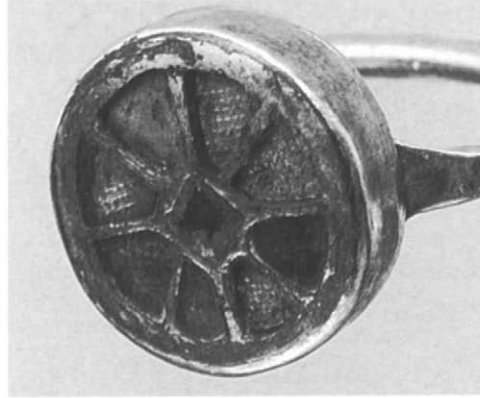
11.11. Signet ring, actual size and enlarged. Copper alloy. Frankish, 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter of bezel 1.4 cm. (17.193.14)

11.12. Finger ring, actual size and enlarged. Gold, gilt silver, garnet, glass. Frankish, 6th century. Diameter of bezel 2.2 cm. (17.191.96)

aristocracy. The area was probably occupied at this time by a group of Sueves, an eastern Germanic tribe.[16] The buckle is of heavy gold inlaid with garnets, each of which has a patterned gold foil beneath to reflect the light and give the inlay its blood-red quality (see also fig. 11.12). The combination of the densely serrated edges of each cloisonné garnet on the loop (similar to those on figs. 19.2, 19.14) and the tear-shaped garnets set in individual holes cut through the top of the attachment plate suggests a date of manufacture in the second half of the fifth or the early sixth century.

SYMBOLS OF BELIEF

The Chi-Rho symbol is one of the most unambiguous symbols of Christianity, appearing in the Metropolitan collection, for example, on a late-sixth-century Byzantine medallion (fig. 11.1, right) and on a Merovingian signet ring (fig. 11.11). It dominates the Latin cross that decorates the foot of an early fifth-century crossbow brooch (fig. 7.13). On a series of late-fifth- or early sixth-century brooches from Kent, a Latin cross dominates the layout of each footplate, each limb elegantly expanding toward the end (figs. 23.4 and 23.5).

A cross pattee dominates a contemporary polychrome cloisonné brooch with large simple inlays from France (fig. 19.6), emphasizing both here and elsewhere in the collection the Mediterranean and Christian connections of the manufacture and decoration of such jewelry (p. 291).[17] In some sixth-century Merovingian cloisonné disk and rosette brooches the cross is emphasized by a different color inlay between the arms (fig. 19.6), but where the arms are not

differentiated the cross may still be inferred (fig. 20.20). Circles composed of eight segments can contain a cross with a space between each arm, or a cross with each arm containing two segments, as on the finger ring (fig. 11.12). The cross's orientation is indicated by reference to the central setting.[18] In the seventh century the cross pattee regularly adorns a series of Merovingian composite brooches in a variety of forms (figs. 21.6–21.7 and pls. 9, 10). The fashion for such polychrome decoration appears on locally made jewelry in Kent following the conversion of the kingdom's court by a mission from Rome in 597 and renewed impulses from the Mediterranean (pl. 6A–C and p. 290). Elsewhere an equal-armed cross appears at very small scale, almost hidden within larger compositions (such as figs. 7.13 and 24.18).

POLYCHROME STYLES

The most splendid examples of the multicolored style in the collections are the Byzantine bracelets (pl. 2) and the Merovingian brooches (pls. 9, 10). Contemporary with these is an example of Mediterranean cloisonné that appears on a seventh-century gold finger ring set with an antique chalcedony intaglio, probably of third-century date, portraying a bearded head (fig. 11.13). The border is of cloisonné garnet with very small inlays in an intricate, mosaic-like pattern. Its interlocking semi-circles outline pairs of the same leaves as decorate the edge in filigree. The style is similar to that on the early-seventh-century book cover of the Langobardic queen Theodelinda, where antique gems are also re-used (fig. 26.2). The ring comes from the vicinity of Benevento in southern Italy, the seat of a powerful Langobardic dukedom, and such jewelry was worn only by the highest dignitaries in Italy,[19] as at Castel Trosino (fig. 13.16). The use of gold signet rings was long-established as a Mediterranean fashion, but, among other Early Medieval Germanic groups, such elaborate finger rings appear regularly only among the Franks (figs. 23.59–23.64).
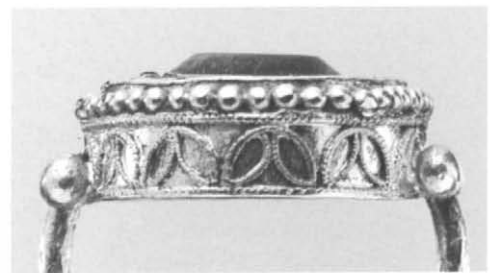
11.13. Signet ring, actual size and enlarged (top and side views). Gold, garnet, 3rd-century chalcedony intaglio. Byzantine or Langobardic, 7th century. From the region of Benevento, Italy. Length of bezel 2.2 cm. (17.230.13)

11.14. Buckle. Gilt copper alloy, glass, garnet, malachite. Byzantine, second half 5th–6th century. Length 6 cm. (1991.173)

11.15. Buckle. Rock crystal, gold. Byzantine (?), 6th–7th century. Length 4.5 cm. (1995.54)

Similar three-dimensional polychrome decoration appears on an inlaid buckle, heavily gilded to imitate gold (fig. 11.14). Its D-shaped attachment plate has a large central cabochon of glass, now corroded, that is highlighted by a flat border of garnet and green malachite. It is similar to a group of Mediterranean buckles and brooches with cabochon and flat inlays in similar color combinations.[20] They have been found in Germanic contexts of the late-fifth and early sixth century in north Africa, for example, and across Europe where they are clearly imports.[21]

A complete contrast in color and texture is furnished by a buckle loop of unknown provenance (fig. 11.15).[22] It is made of rock crystal, an exotic material, quarried possibly on Sassanian territory. Spherical pendants made of it are known from Late Antique contexts and in Merovingian and related female graves from Kent to the middle Danube, where perhaps it was thought to have had amuletic properties. Rock crystal buckles occur in late-fifth and sixth-century Ger-

manic graves from the same area, and, while the loops are clearly imported, their metal tongue often appears to have been added locally. The elaborately molded gold tongue of the Metropolitan piece, now repaired and misshapen, has an incised cross pattee at its base (ribbed like fig. 13.8), indicating Byzantine use, and possibly where the rock crystal itself was worked. Similarly exotic raw materials appear elsewhere in the Metropolitan collection, among jewelry from women's graves at the Merovingian cemetery at Niederbreisig, in the Rhineland, for example. They include a ring of elephant ivory worn around a locally made fitting, suspended from the belt, cowry shell pendants, and beads of amethyst and shell (figs. 4.12–4.13).[23] Some of these may have followed the same trade routes from India and the Red Sea as the raw garnet, and the frequency with which this stone is found inlaid in high-class Byzantine and Germanic jewelry should not mask its exotic origin (p. 243), although alternative sources have been proposed (p. 225 n. 27).

11.16. Pair of earrings. Gold. Avar, 6th–
7th century. Maximum height 5.6 cm.
(17.191.4, .5)

11.17. Belt mount. Gilt copper alloy. Avar,
early 8th century. Length 4.7 cm. (52.51.2)

THE AVARS

Even when relations were mutually hostile,
some neighboring cultures adopted fashions
from the Byzantine repertoire. The Avars, for
example, until their definitive defeat in 626,
exploited Byzantine weakness to extort
massive amounts of tribute in gold during
the second half of the sixth century (p. 171).
Such wealth fuelled a proliferation of early
Avar jewelry and fittings in sheet gold,
which combined Eurasian traditions with
strong Byzantine influences. In the Metro-
politan, for example, is a pair of early Avar
woman's earrings, an outstanding example
of a widespread type (fig. 11.16).[24] Each has
a pendant composed of hollow spheres of
different sizes, with an elaborate pattern of
granulation that masks the join of each com-
ponent. The hoop appears to be made of
individual wires, twisted and bound up, but
it is really a strip with ribbed repoussé deco-
ration, helically twisted to form a hollow
tube. Six circular and three lozenge-shaped
settings are divided into cells that originally
contained inlays of colored glass. In both

form and technique the pair has much in
common with Late Antique prototypes.
A different technology predominated in
the Late Avar period, when cast fittings sud-
denly became the fashion. Finds of Avar
cast gold are extremely rare, but from the
use of heavy gilding on copper alloy their
existence can be presumed.

The repertoire of late Avar motifs
changed and included Late Antique, Byzan-
tine, and Sassanian elements, some related to
those in the Vrap Treasure. Particularly char-
acteristic was foliate scrollwork, some of it
broadly related to that on the buckle from
Vrap (fig. 15.9). A typical but high-quality
Late Avar product in the Metropolitan is
an early-eighth-century openwork mount,
containing the powerful image of a griffin
(fig. 11.17).[25] This mythical animal, with the
body of a lion and the beak and wings of an
eagle, regularly adorns sets of Avar mounts
from the composite belt worn by adult men
as a mark of status. A loop composed of foli-
ate scrolls would have been hinged on at the
base of the mount. The griffin appears

where in the Metropolitan collections on a
contemporary mount in the Vrap treasure
from Albania (fig. 15.8) and on earlier
Merovingian buckles showing eastern
Mediterranean influence (figs. 21.43 and
21.44). Its head also appears, sometimes
highly stylized, on a series of seventh-
century Hispano-Visigothic buckles the
form of which owes much to Byzantine
influences (figs. 17.10–17.15).

THE TRANSMISSION OF
BYZANTINE CULTURE

In the sixth and seventh centuries particu-
larly, the extent of Byzantine territory and
maritime connections facilitated the devel-
opment of a circum-Mediterranean culture.
Byzantine court fashion was highly influen-
tial beyond the empire and set fashions in
female costume for some Germanic high
aristocracy, as seen in the Metropolitan col-
lection (pp. 226ff. and 242ff.). An intricate and
wide-reaching Imperial strategy to protect
or advance its frontiers, both in the east and
west, involved diplomatic gifts and subsidies.
The empire was a source of bullion and
luxury manufactures, the acquisition and
redistribution of which reinforced the social
structure within the new Germanic states.
Church dignitaries also traveled with diplo-
matic presents since a range of exotic mate-
rials for both religious and secular purposes
was consumed throughout the West, such as
ivories, papyrus, silks, wine, and oils. Long-
distance, high-value trade regularly took place,
attested both from contemporary documents
and from finds in the excavations of quays
and wrecks at such ports as Marseilles, for
instance.[26] War and border raids led to the
seizing of loot and also to the displacement
of craftsmen, some enslaved to work for new
masters, during the Avar raids on northern
Italy, for example. Many possible processes
can be invoked to explain the movement of
the prestige items now in the Metropolitan
collections, from where they were produced
to where they were discovered.

1. Weitzmann 1979, pp. 71–72, no. 61.
2. But in this volume, see Oliver p. 56, and Arrhenius
pp. 215–16.
3. Ripoll López and Darder Lissón 1994. For the
Metropolitan piece, see ibid., pp. 326–27, no. 73; and
Brown 1995, pp. 42–43, no. 53. Another piece in this
general group in the Metropolitan depicts two con-
fronted felines (1990.52). Darder and Ripoll 1989;
Brown 1995, p. 42, no. 52.
4. *Art of Medieval Spain* 1993, pp. 68–69, no. 28.
5. Brown 1999, p. 40, n. 48. See also A. Kiss 1984 and, for
a possible provenance, *Sirmium* 1982, pl. II:3, fig. XVIII:1.
6. Weitzmann 1979, p. 326, no. 304.
7. Yeroulanou 1999, p. 207, no. 25, with a close parallel
from Mersin, Turkey, no. 26.
8. For instance the parable of Jesus including "I am the
vine and you are the branches; he that abides in me
and I in him, the same brings forth much fruit"
(John 15.5).
9. Weitzmann 1979, pp. 668–69, no. 595, with further
bibliography.
10. For instance, the gospel accounts of the baptism of
Jesus and the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form
of a dove (John 1.32; Luke 3.22), but also more
generally, the soul of the blessed.
11. Kidd 1988. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1
(1991), s.v. Birds and Eagles. Cabrol and Leclerq.
12. Böhner 1996, with numerous parallels. For the
Metropolitan piece see ibid., p. 471, no. 9, fig. 18.
13. *Die Franken* 1996, fig.193 (the Krefeld helmet), and
figs. 192–96 (associated goods from grave 1752).
14. The exact findspot is uncertain. Böhner (1996)
repeats a provenance for the Metropolitan piece as
published in 1949, but it is amended by L. Bonna-
mour (1985–86, p. 28), who also gives details of the
nearby find quoted.
15. Kidd 1990; Brown 1995, p. 26, pl. 4; Brown 1999,
p. 31, no. 37.
16. Andrási n.d., forthcoming.
17. Quast 1999, fig. 3, nos. 5 and 9.
18. For the finger ring, fig. 11.12, see Brown 1979a,
p. 253, fig. 4.
19. Lusuardi Siena 1992, pp. 145 ff.
20. Quast 1996a; for the Metropolitan piece see ibid.,
p. 359, no. 20. Brown 1995, pp. 23–24, fig. 17; Brown
1999, p. 41, no. 50.
21. H. Roth 1980.
22. Brown 1999, p. 41, no. 51; Quast 1996b.
23. De Ricci 1910b, pl. IV,80 for remains of ivory ring;
pls. I,38, VIII.114, and XX.268, for cowry shells; p. 34
above for disk beads of shell.
24. Brown 1995, p. 34, fig. 43. Garam and Kiss 1992,
p. 44, pl. 36, for comparable earrings, and pp. 46–54
for comparable cloisonné work.
25. Stadler 1990; Daim 1990.
26. *Die Franken* 1996, pp. 789–801, with references.

12. The Domagnano Treasure

INTRODUCTION

The Domagnano Treasure, traditionally said to be one of the most famous single finds in Italian Migration-period archaeology, dates from a time when Germanic kings ruled the heart of the Roman Empire.[1] The first of these was Odoacer, prince of the Skirians, an eastern Germanic tribe that was defeated in a battle against the Ostrogoths in the Danube basin in 469. After this defeat, Odoacer fled to Italy, where he joined the Roman military. He was elected king by the Germanic troops in Italy, and in 476 he deposed the last western Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus. Without the legal recognition of the authorities in Constantinople, he then ruled as "Rex Herulorum," king of the Heruls, in Italy.

In 488, the eastern Roman emperor Zeno ordered the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, who was, like Odoacer, a general in the Roman army, to put an end to the usurpation in Italy. Theodoric set out from Novae in the province of Lower Moesia, present-day Bulgaria, with a following of 100,000 that included women, children, serfs, and about 20,000 well-trained warriors. On his march he defeated the Gepids near Sirmium (modern Belgrade). Crossing the Julian Alps in spring 489 he fought his first battle against Odoacer's army beside the river Isonzo. After

a series of battles in northern Italy, Odoacer retreated to Ravenna, where the Ostrogoths unsuccessfully besieged him. In 493, the two warlords made an agreement to rule Italy together. But Theodoric treacherously broke the treaty and murdered Odoacer at his own palace in Ravenna. Theodoric, later called "the Great," ruled legally over both the Ostrogoths and the Romans until he died in 526. His realm, which comprised peninsular Italy and provinces both beyond the Alps and across the Adriatic in Illyricum, had an important influence on the development of Early Medieval kingdoms in Europe.

After the death of Theodoric, the emperor Justinian I (r. 527–65) sought to restore the Roman Empire. To this end, the so-called Gothic war in Italy lasted over twenty years until finally, in 554, the kingdom of the Ostrogoths was crushed. For fifteen brief years, Italy was again part of the empire, until the invasion in 568 of the Langobards, a Germanic tribe from the middle Danube region.

We are relatively well informed about the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy from literary sources: Cassiodorus, who was the *magister officiorum*, that is, state chancellor to the Ostrogothic kings; Procopius and Agathias, reporters of the Gothic war with the Byzantine Empire; and finally Jordanes, who, in the sixth century, made an abridgement of Cassiodorus's now-lost history of the Goths entitled the *Getica*. In contrast, contemporary archaeological remains are rare. This lack is due to the small number of Ostrogothic and other Germanic immigrants in Italy, the system and structure of their settlements, and their funerary customs. In addition, there are difficulties in the precise dating of certain objects, in particular whether some belong to the time before, or after, the Ostrogothic invasion of Italy. One

such object, a gilt-silver belt buckle, comes from the collection of Samuel Baxter, formed in Florence (fig. 12.1 and pl. 4). Nothing is known of its history, although it is very clearly related to the eastern Germanic examples found in both the middle Danube region of Hungary and Italy, and thus dates from the second half of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century.[2]

When the Ostrogoths came to Italy they had been Christians for generations but were of the Arian persuasion. They buried their dead in formal dress, but without weapons or other grave goods. Women's graves are characterized by pairs of bow brooches worn on the shoulders, earrings, necklaces, and splendid belt buckles. Several silver buckles from the Baxter collection (figs. 10.11, 10.12) are related to such remains. Although they have close connections to examples found in the Crimea (see pp. 111–13), the area to which some of the Goths had retreated, two are of a type

different from Crimean parallels that have previously been found in Italy and published. If these Metropolitan examples were indeed found in the Italian peninsula, then they may represent continued connections between Gothic groups well into the sixth century. The graves of Ostrogothic men cannot, to date, be identified at all.

The Goths lived in small groups in scattered urban and rural settlements that were concentrated in the north and along the Adriatic coast of Italy between Ravenna and Ancona. Their acculturation and Romanization progressed rapidly, although marriages between the Arian newcomers and the
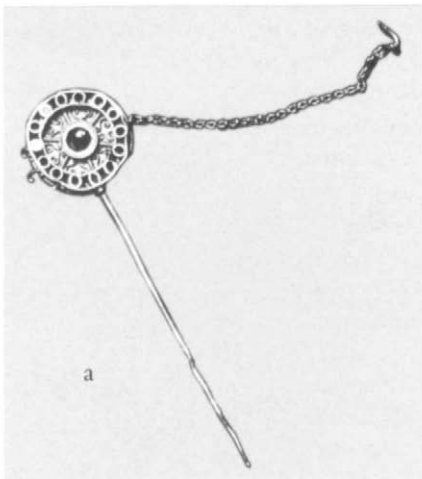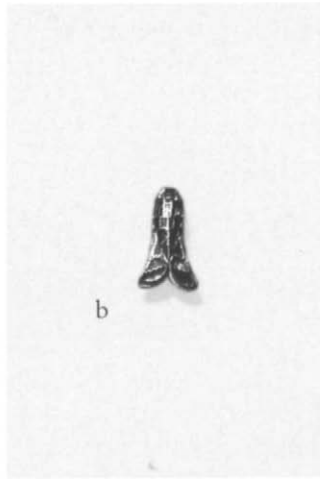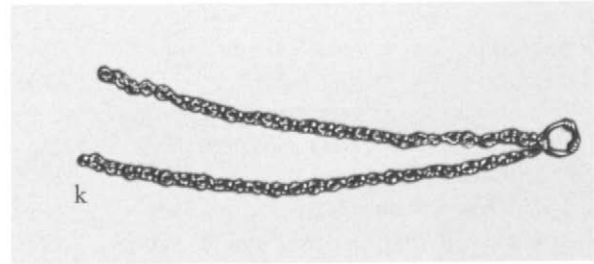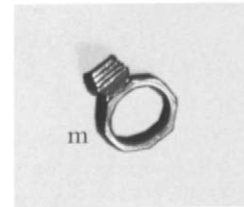
12.2 The gold and garnet treasure from
Domagnano, Republic of San Marino,
late 5th or early 6th century, reunited and
exhibited in 1995 at the Palazzo Pergami-
Belluzzi, San Marino. Length of eagle
brooch (right) 12 cm.

Roman Catholic population were forbidden. Remaining traces of paganism disappeared. Theodoric's order that gold and silver not be put into graves, for "it is of no use to the dead and it is needed by the living," may explain why four generations of Ostrogoths left so few archaeological traces that all Italian finds could be contained within one book.[3] At the same time, such circumstances emphasize the extraordinary importance of the Domagnano Treasure for the Early Medieval archaeology of Italy.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIND

Today, twenty-three pieces said to be from the Domagnano Treasure are known (fig. 12.2). Eight are conserved in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg; eleven in the British Museum; one is in the Museum of San Marino; one piece is in a private collection in New York; another piece is part of the collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art; and still another is in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin.[4] The history of the find was discussed at length by Volker Bierbrauer in 1973 and 1975 and summarized most recently in 1995.[5] According to Bierbrauer, the find was made by chance in 1893 on a farm in San Marino called Lagucci that was owned by a certain Vito Serafini. The traditional location of the find was shown to Bierbrauer by the farmers of Lagucci in 1971. It lies about 500 meters southwest of the village of Domagnano and has no connection to any major antique site. The via Flaminia from Ancona to Rimini passes at a distance of fourteen kilometers east of the village. When the treasure was found, neither the museum in San Marino nor the office for the preservation of ancient monuments at Ancona was informed. No scientific excavation took place, nothing concerning the find circumstances was documented, nor was there an exact indication of the contents or the context. It may never be known whether the material was a buried hoard, or whether it came from several graves in a cemetery or from a single grave.

It is not even known how Serafini, who was an engineer and a landlord of sorts, came into possession of the jewelry. Before 1896, he had already sold the major part of the treasure to G. Sambon, a well-known antiquities dealer in Milan. The find is first mentioned in the literature in 1894, when one of the eagle brooches was described in a publication by de Rossi (fig. 12.2f).[6] Vito Serafini is mentioned as its owner, and Domagnano as the place where it was found. In 1896, Sambon offered the treasure to the Hungarian National Museum, giving its place of origin as "Cesena," a town some distance from Domagnano. That museum bought one pin with a disk-shaped head (fig. 12.2a), one earring (fig. 12.2c), one oval mount (fig. 12.2h), one small rectangular mount (fig. 12.2j), a gold chain (fig. 12.2k), three collar mounts (figs. 12.2e), a pair of knife-sheath chapes (fig. 12.2l), and one finger ring set with a garnet (fig. 12.2m).[7] The rest of the items in Sambon's offer went back to the antiquities trade. In 1898, the Germanisches National-museum in Nuremberg purchased one of the pair of eagle brooches (the left-facing one, fig. 12.2g), one earring, and four collar mounts (fig. 12.2e) from the dealer David Reiling in Mainz.[8] Between 1899 and 1904, the matching eagle brooch (the right-facing one) entered the Ganay collection in Paris.[9] In 1905, the museum in Nuremberg bought a fifth collar mount directly from Sambon in Milan.[10]

In 1917 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired its collar mount (figs. 12.2e, 12.3 and pl. 5B) along with the rest of the Morgan collection jewelry. The mount was registered in a different group from the Merovingian collections, which gave rise to a mistake that appears in all the recent literature and that goes back to its original publication in 1938, namely, that it had come from the collection of Samuel Baxter.[11] Nothing is known about how Pierpont Morgan came by the piece. In 1920 Serafini sold to the museum in San Marino a small rectangular mount (fig. 12.2i), the pair of that bought by the museum in

12.3 Collar pendant, actual size and enlarged. Gold, garnet, glass. Ostrogothic, late 5th–early 6th century. From Domagnano, Republic of San Marino. Height 4.4 cm. (17.190.698)

Budapest in 1896. By 1928 another collar mount entered the Sabauda collection in Turin, said to be from the Stroganoff collection but not documented. It has only recently attracted notice.[12] In 1933, the Hungarian National Museum sold its part of the treasure to the British Museum.[13] In 1987, the eagle brooch in the Ganay collection was auctioned by Sotheby's in Monaco[14] and went to a New York private collection.

The fate of the so-called Domagnano Treasure says much about the attitude of antiquities dealers, and not only in the nineteenth century. Find places, circumstances, and dates of discoveries become uncertain. To make more profit, complete complexes are divided, or other objects are added to increase the value of the sale. Something similar is evident in the case of the Domagnano find. In addition to the circumstances outlined above, a small brooch in the form of a winged insect, such as a bee or a cicada (fig. 12.2b), made of gold and inlaid with red garnets and green glass, was bought in Milan by Wilhelm von Bode in 1892, a year before Serafini allegedly found the treasure.[15] This object, in Nuremberg from that time onward, was only recognized as part of the Domagnano find in 1934.[16] The affinity of this small brooch to that find was again established during the restoration of the objects kept in the museum in Nuremberg by the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz in 1974.[17] Despite the uncertainty concerning the history and the context of the find, it seems clear that the eagle brooches, the earrings, the collar mounts, and the cicada brooch are original components of one original set of jewelry (fig. 12.4).

THE ORIGINAL JEWELRY GROUP
Some of the principal pieces from the Nuremberg ensemble are truly magnificent. The eagle brooch is of gold, inlaid with red garnets, lapis lazuli, and ivory inlays in 246 cloison cells. Its length is 12 cm. This eagle, one of a pair, faces left, with its breast shaped

as a convex round shield containing a cross motif. The pin on the back is of copper alloy. The weight of gold without the garnets is 128.44 g. The earring, also one of a pair, is of gold inlaid with garnets, green glass, and pearls. It has three parts: a ring, a triangular middle section, and, originally, three pendants in the form of a fish. Its length is 9 cm, and its weight 17.85 g. The collar mount, created in two sections, is of gold also inlaid with garnets, green glass, and a pearl. It is 4.3 cm long and weighs 8.67 g. It matches the Metropolitan piece and forms part of a single collar of which ten pieces are now known (fig. 12.2e). The brooch, in the form of a cicada or a winged insect, is of gold inlaid with garnets and green glass. Its pin holder was altered in antiquity. The brooch is 3.5 cm in length, 1.5 cm in height, and weighs 8.67 g.

All the pieces analyzed consist of almost pure gold, 93 percent pure, melted from coins or reused jewelry, and all are constructed in an identical manner. The same observation can be made with regard to the garnets and the glass, ivory, and lapis lazuli inlays, which, though differing in thickness, all manifest a faceted finish around the upper edges. The small, pierced freshwater pearls also appear to come from the same region. There seems to be no doubt that the jewelry was produced by one goldsmith on a single occasion for a specific, single customer. But the other items associated with the treasure do not belong to this group. The gold is of a consistency different from that of the jewelry set, and the patterns and motifs on the rectangular and oval mounts, although showing some parallels in their various surface levels, are quite different. The knife-sheath chapes and the disk-headed pin are very uncommon in the tradition of Gothic costume and are definitely of a more recent date than the eagle-brooch jewelry set.

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The outstanding value of the jewelry set is immediately clear from the sheer weight in

12.4 Reconstruction of the original jewelry set from Domagnano, including composite collar, pair of eagle brooches, brooch in the form of a cicada, and pair of earrings (drawing by James Farrant, adapted from Kidd 1995)

gold, equivalent to more than seventy contemporary gold coins, and from the number of cells—1,176—inlaid with precious garnets and other exotic materials, both of which emphasize the high social rank of the person to whom the jewelry belonged. At the same time, the exclusivity of this jewelry complicates questions concerning its origins and its date.[18]

Eagle brooches were not very common in the costume of eastern Germanic women. Only two examples are known from Italy: a pair from Rome, via Flaminia, and a single piece from Milan, San Ambrogio. In both cases, they were found in the graves of Germanic women within cemeteries of the late Roman population. But aside from the eagles

and the way in which they were worn, they are scarcely comparable with Domagnano. The gold brooches with inlaid garnets from Rome have a length of 4.6 cm; the single one from Milan is made of gilded copper alloy, inlaid with glass, and measures 8 cm. From the point of view of form and technique, the latter is close to numerous eagle brooches from Visigothic cemeteries in southwestern France and Spain.[19] The large brooches from Alovera (Guadalajara) and Castelsagrat (Tarn-et-Garonnne) are also of gilded copper alloy and have inlays of red and green glass. Unfortunately, they cannot be dated more precisely than to the late fifth or sixth century.

In addition, the pair of brooches from Rome has a parallel in an eagle brooch from Oßmannstedt near Erfurt in Thuringia.[20] This golden brooch with garnet inlays set on silver-gilt patterned sheet foils is 6.3 cm long. At the tips of its tail are three loops for now-lost pendants. On the back the gold is engraved with a naturalistic design of feathers. The example comes from the single grave of a young woman with an artificially deformed skull. The same grave yielded gold earrings inlaid with garnets and a gold and silver belt buckle inlaid with red garnet and white shell. This grave dates to the second half of the fifth century, and the brooch, which was probably used to fasten the shroud, shows signs of long wear. Though it is impossible to give a more exact date than the second half of the fifth or the early sixth century for the Domagnano brooches, it is obvious that eagle brooches are a phenomenon of Gothic graves in Italy, France, and Spain. The example from Oßmannstedt should be seen in the same context, but such brooches are unknown from the Danube region, the Ukraine, and southern Russia. On the other hand, the eagle was a very important symbol among nomadic cultures of the Eurasian steppes, as we can see from the brooches from Pietroasa or the gold, garnet-inlaid saddle mounts from Apahida, Romania, which date from the second half of the fifth century.[21]

In contrast, the small brooch in the form of a cicada has numerous parallels in different materials and designs in the Danube basin and the Ukraine during the fifth century (see fig. 18.20).[22] The motif is also to be found on the horse-harness mounts in the grave of Childeric (d. 482).[23] The Domagnano necklace, on the other hand, with its particular form, is unique in the archaeological material of this period. Presumably it derived from collars worn by noblewomen at the court of Constantinople. The extravagant earrings, with a total length of 9 cm, must be seen as belonging to the same tradition. Parallels are known from graves at Olbia in the Ukraine and from Varna in Bulgaria, while the best and most important examples come from a treasure found at Reggio Emilia in Italy in 1957.[24] There, such earrings were found together with jewelry for both men and women, silver vessels, gold finger rings, and sixty gold coins. One pair, the rings from which have been lost, is made of gold inlaid with garnets and pearls. The upper section is in the form of a lunula with two pearls, and the middle is shaped like a cicada containing a cross motif. Beneath are three pendants, two with pearls and one with green glass. Without the rings, each measures 5.6 cm, a length that corresponds to the Domagnano earrings, and their weights, 17.6 g and 17.8 g, show almost identical values. The Ukrainian and Bulgarian earrings are of the same type and also depict a cicada.

Although there are differences in the design of the central sections of the earrings—a triangle in the case of Domagnano, a lunula and cicada at Reggio Emilia—the analogies between the pieces are obvious. This connection offers the only possibility of dating the Domagnano jewelry set. The latest coins in the hoard from Reggio Emilia, solidi from the reigns of Basiliscus and Marcian, give a terminus post quem of 476 for its concealment, the year in which Odoacer deposed the last western Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus. One of the gold finger rings from Reggio Emilia is

From Attila to Charlemagne

inscribed inside with the names Ettila and Stafara, undoubtedly eastern Germanic male and female names, which associate the Reggio Emilia treasure with the new occupiers of Italy. A pair of silver-gilt bow brooches of the Ostrogothic "Reggio Emilia type" are evidence that the Domagnano jewelry set was not hidden earlier than 489, the year Theodoric conquered Italy. Under these circumstances we can follow Bierbrauer in dating the hoard from Reggio Emilia and, because of its affinities, also the treasure of Domagnano, to a period around 500.[25]

If this dating is correct, then the jewelry set found at Domagnano is in fact the splendid adornment of an Ostrogothic princess from the time of Theodoric the Great.[26] Though there is still much mystery surrounding the set—how it came to be in the ground, whether as a burial gift or as a hoard, and under what circumstances, when and where it was produced, and who the original owner was—the Domagnano Treasure is one of the most outstanding Germanic finds from Italy.

1. Burns 1984 is a convenient summary of scholarship on the history of the period.
2. Bierbrauer 1975, pl. LXXIX.3, pp. 357–58.
3. Bierbrauer 1975.
4. The complete material is illustrated in *I Goti a San Marino* 1995, which includes the most up-to-date summary discussion. See also *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987, pp. 419–33, and Kidd 1988.
5. Bierbrauer 1973; Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 272–81, pls. 18–21; Bierbrauer 1995a, pp. 34–47.
6. De Rossi 1894, pp. 158–63, pl. 8; de Waal 1899, pp. 324–28, pl. 11.
7. Kárasz 1896; Hampel 1894–97.
8. Hampe 1899.
9. Froehner 1905–12, part 1 (1905), pp. 13–14, pl. 3:1.
10. Menghin 1977.
11. Kühn (1937c, p. 141) gives the correct inventory number (17.190.698) but mistakenly says it is not Morgan collection. He confuses it with the Baxter collection, purchased in 1895 (95.15.1–350) [eds.].
12. Kidd 1995, p. 59, no. 11.
13. Smith 1934.
14. Ganay sale 1987, pp. 22–25.
15. Menghin 1983a.
16. Helm 1934, fig. 1.
17. Kohl 1982.
18. Bierbrauer 1975.
19. Rupp 1937.
20. Behm-Blancke 1973, pl. 65.
21. *Goldhelm, Schwert und Silberschätze* 1994, p. 234, no. 98.9-10, pp. 244–45, no. 101.26.
22. For a summary and further literature, see Kidd 1988.
23. See Kidd 1989 for further contexts of this form.
24. Varna: Bierbrauer 1975, pl. 86, 2–4; Olbia: Ross 1965, pp. 117–19, no. 166F, pls. 79 and 82E; Reggio Emilia: Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 302–9, pls. 32–35.
25. Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 204–7.
26. See Nawroth 2000.

13. The Langobardic Finds and the Archaeology of Central Italy

INTRODUCTION

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a rich collection of Early Medieval archaeological material from Italy. A large part came in 1895 from the collection of Samuel T. Baxter, who lived in Florence. His earlier material is discussed above (p.133), and a series of sixth- and seventh-century gold earrings is described below (pp. 164–69). Much of the remainder of this collection has been published over the years, but it will be reexamined here in light of the most recent archaeological research on Langobardic Italy. With the exception of one large group of objects for which it has been possible to reconstruct a provenance with some degree of certainty (fig. 13.1), the pieces lack their original context. Only a gilt-silver S-shaped brooch with garnet decoration (fig. 13.20) and a gilt-silver bow brooch (fig. 13.21) can be considered fully Langobardic, insofar as they derive from the distinctive metalworking tradition of that Germanic group; the other pieces (figs. 13.18 and 13.19) belong to the Byzantine-Mediterranean metalworking tradition, although they come in most cases from Langobardic graves.

THE CASTEL TROSINO ASSEMBLAGE

First to be discussed are a number of objects from a Langobardic grave, discovered in 1872 at Castel Trosino, Ascoli Piceno, in central Italy. It contained the grave goods of a very rich horseman, and numerous elements are in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (figs. 13.2–13.17).[1] These objects were published for the first time in 1876 by Baxter as coming from a Langobardic tomb at Arcisa near Chiusi,[2] but are now attributed by all scholars to the contents of a grave discovered by chance at Castel Trosino, at a place called Pedata. Since this discovery occurred some twenty years before the regular excavations of the large Early Medieval cemetery there, carried out by Mengarelli between 1893 and 1896,[3] the grave goods were immediately split up. The most valuable pieces, sold on the antiquities market with the false provenance of Chiusi, are now divided between the United States (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)[4] and France (Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye).[5] The weapons and the other pieces were lost, with the possible exception of the sword pommel (discussed below). Local newspapers of the time published notices of this extraordinary discovery, and Mengarelli repeated their reports in the introduction to his publication on the Castel Trosino cemetery in 1902. Further information about the lost objects from the grave and illustrations of the saddle mounts and of the harness fittings now in Saint-Germain-en-Laye are to be found there.[6] Many years later this publication permitted the material to be reattributed to the tomb discovered in 1872.[7]

The available information allows us to compile the following list of grave goods from what was a Langobardic horseman's grave (fig. 13.1): (a) a sword with a ring pommel and gold mounts; (b) a dagger with a scabbard of wood and ivory with gold mounts; (c) a dagger with inlaid decoration and silver rivets; (d) a spearhead; (e) a shield boss with gilt attachment rivets; (f) a helmet;

13.1 Reconstruction of the assemblage from the Langobardic warrior grave at Castel Trosino, Ascoli Piceno, Italy, late 6th–early 7th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art pieces (a, b, o, q, r, s, t, u) are shaded; others are in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France, or are lost (adapted from Paroli 1995, fig. 1)

Even if the tradition for some pieces—for instance, the helmet and the inlaid dagger—is not very clear, their possible elimination from the context would not necessitate substantial changes in the evaluation of an assemblage that belongs typologically among those of Langobardic leaders buried in the late sixth or the early seventh century.[8]

It is probable that this grave belonged to the leader of a Langobardic group that had recently settled at Castel Trosino. The grave was found isolated at Pedata, a site near Saint Stefano where most of the Early Medieval cemetery was concentrated.[9] Current research indicates that the oldest graves with weapons and bow brooches appear in the Castel Trosino cemetery in a phase that can be dated
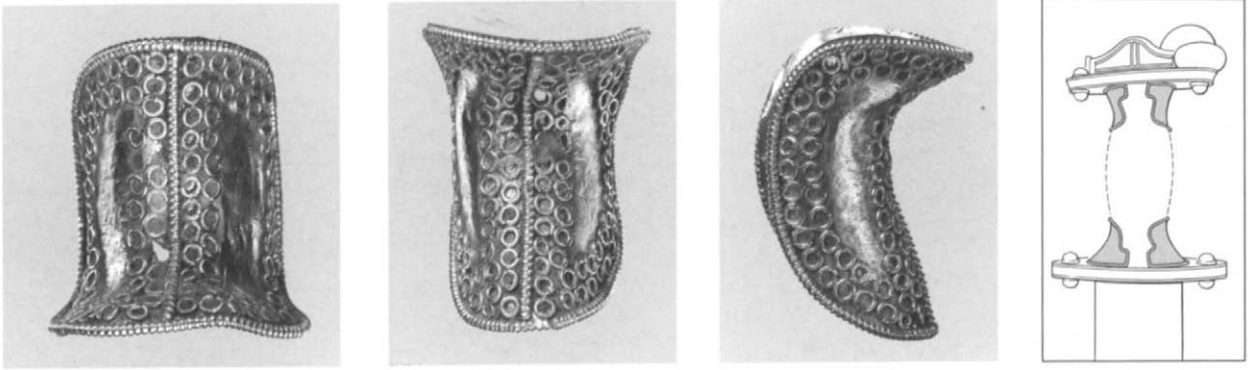
13.2 Two mounts from a sword grip, with side view of one. Gold. Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century. From Castel Trosino, Italy. Maximum height 2.7 cm. (95.15.89, .90)

13.3 Reconstruction of mounts on sword grip. From grave 32 at Nocera Umbra, Italy (drawing by James Farrant after *Umbria Longobarda* 1996, pl. 32)

between the late sixth and the early seventh century.[10] Thus, the reconstruction of their context allows the various elements in the present grave, including the composite gold belt, the most interesting item, to be placed in a rather detailed chronological setting.

The Castel Trosino Sword-Grip Mounts
Two curved and slightly asymmetrical sheet-gold mounts with beaded wire borders belong to a sword grip (fig. 13.2).[11] They are each divided in half by a line of beaded wire and decorated with small filigree circles soldered in double rows. They belong to a type of fitting requiring four mounts applied in pairs to each end of the grip.[12] Two exactly corresponding pieces are kept at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and together with the ones in New York they constitute the upper and lower parts. A good example of this

type, from grave 32 at Nocera Umbra, has a sword with a ring pommel, which provides a very precise parallel for the decoration (fig. 13.3).[13] The mounts are attached by means of three gold rivets, one at the top and two at the bottom. This type of construction is to be found on the sword from Reggio Emilia.[14] The rivets are not preserved on the Metropolitan mounts, but there is a hole for one.

The Langobardic graves so far discovered in Italy containing swords with a ring pommel are all dated to the late sixth or the early seventh century, including Nocera Umbra graves 1 and 32, Trezzo grave 1, and the Reggio Emilia grave.[15] There is, furthermore, a very precise correspondence both in the typology of the grave goods overall and in the individual pieces.[16] It is therefore possible to attribute with certainty the four gold plaques to a sword with a ring pommel. The latter fitting has recently been identified with a gilt copper-alloy pommel with cloisonné decoration from Italy, kept in the British Museum.[17]

The Castel Trosino Dagger with P-shaped Scabbard Mount
The Castel Trosino burial included a dagger in a scabbard with gold suspension mounts.[18] All that remains are a fragment of the blade with gold suspension mounts (fig. 13.4)[19] and two gold fittings, one originally mounted as a terminal for a dagger grip (fig 13.5), the other at the end of the scabbard as a chape

(fig. 13.6). The overall length can be calcu-
lated at 30–32 cm.[20] The single-edged blade
was sheathed with the edge toward the
P-shaped mount. This sort of dagger, gener-
ally of modest size, is derived from a knife-
like weapon of Late Antique tradition, the
scabbard of which is often fitted with metal-
lic mounts. According to a recent hypothesis,
these knives were the prototype from which
the single-edged dagger (sax) developed, a
weapon that was destined to become very
popular among Germanic groups.[21]
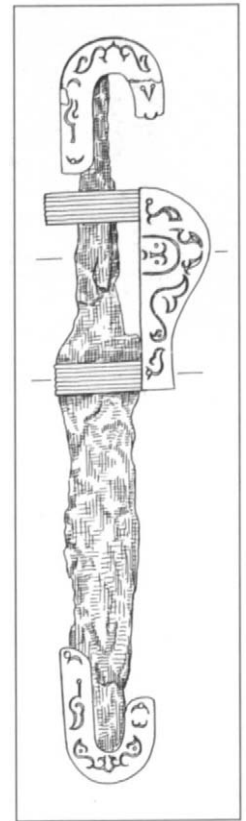
13.4 Dagger remains with suspension mounts (above left).
Iron, gold. Byzantine–Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century.
From Castel Trosino, Italy. Length 13.3 cm. (95.15.88)

13.5–13.6 Terminal (center above) from grip of dagger (fig 13.4)
and chape (center below) from the dagger sheath. Gold.
Byzantine–Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century. From
Castel Trosino, Italy. Maximum length 4.8 cm. (95.15.92, .91)

13.7 Dagger (right) with silver mounts, type as fig. 13.4. From
grave 84 at Nocera Umbra, Italy (after Pasqui and Paribeni
1918, fig. 141)

The front of the Metropolitan scabbard was made of ivory, while the back was of wood. The handle of the dagger was probably also of ivory. The scabbard was reinforced by a system of three horizontal gold bands. The upper two bands, of which the topmost is lost, were joined to a P-shaped attachment, and the third was joined to a semicircular projection. The P-shaped mount is decorated with a sea monster and a dolphin surrounded by small volutes, and the decoration on the surviving horizontal band is a compendium of the ornamental themes on the P-shaped mount. The third horizontal band is slightly tapered toward its outer end, where there is an attachment rivet. The part of this band that is decorated appears to consist of an even more reduced version of the same decorative motifs, here a single lion's head on the semicircular projection into which the band is inserted. This projection is hollow and closed on the back by a sheet, onto which is soldered a small ring that served to hang the scabbard from the belt. The use of beaded wire borders on all these pieces is to be noted.

Two U-shaped mounts of slightly different size, with the short edge cut diagonally in opposite directions, completed the weapon's enrichment (figs. 13.5 and 13.6). The lower mount was a chape originally attached to the end of the scabbard, which has left considerable traces of ivory inside the chape. The upper mount is filled completely by a block of ivory. It shows obvious signs of forcing along the right side, which may be the cause of its deformed profile. Both mounts were attached by a pair of rivets. On the front of each is a panel with a border of beaded wire, on which appears the incised head of a sea monster springing from a volute, while the outer border is filled with a series of volutes and a dolphin. The back is smooth, except for the edge, along which the usual finishing fillet is soldered.[22] The placing of the two pieces, one at the point and the other at the end of the handle, is confirmed by comparison with the dagger in grave 84 at

Nocera Umbra (fig. 13.7), grave F at Castel Trosino, and various other examples.[23]

Scabbards with P-shaped attachments for suspension from a belt are documented in Italy only in the burials previously mentioned,[24] although they are widely distributed in eastern Europe and in Asia.[25] The Langobardic tombs constitute the westernmost points of their distribution.

The Italian finds undoubtedly come from Byzantine workshops, some of which were still active in Italy in the seventh century, as we know both from written sources for Sicily, for example, and from the dump of a workshop at the Crypta Balbi in Rome.[26] The latter site produced the entire range of luxury products—in precious metals, inlaid iron, bronze, ivory, bone, and precious stones—that were used during the seventh century in the Byzantine territories. These products correspond perfectly to the goods actually found in Langobardic graves at Nocera Umbra, Castel Trosino, and other Langobardic cemeteries of Italy, to the extent that many objects can be attributed to the Roman center of production.[27]

Among the material from the Crypta Balbi, all the most common decorative motifs on Byzantine metalwork of the sixth and seventh centuries are amply attested, such as "point and comma" decoration and vegetal and animal ornament, among which marine subjects with dolphins, tritons, and other fantastic animals are particular favorites. A buckle mold displays the figure of a sea lion,[28] altogether similar to the one incised on the gold sheet of the Metropolitan dagger scabbard. The theme, which comes from the Classical tradition, belongs to the group of fantastic animals that forms a basic constituent of the ornamental repertory used by both eastern and western Byzantine workshops.[29] In Italy it appears in eighth-century stone sculpture,[30] transmitted along with many other motifs by the great Byzantine workshops of the seventh century, for which the excavation of the Crypta Balbi has given the most direct archaeological evidence.
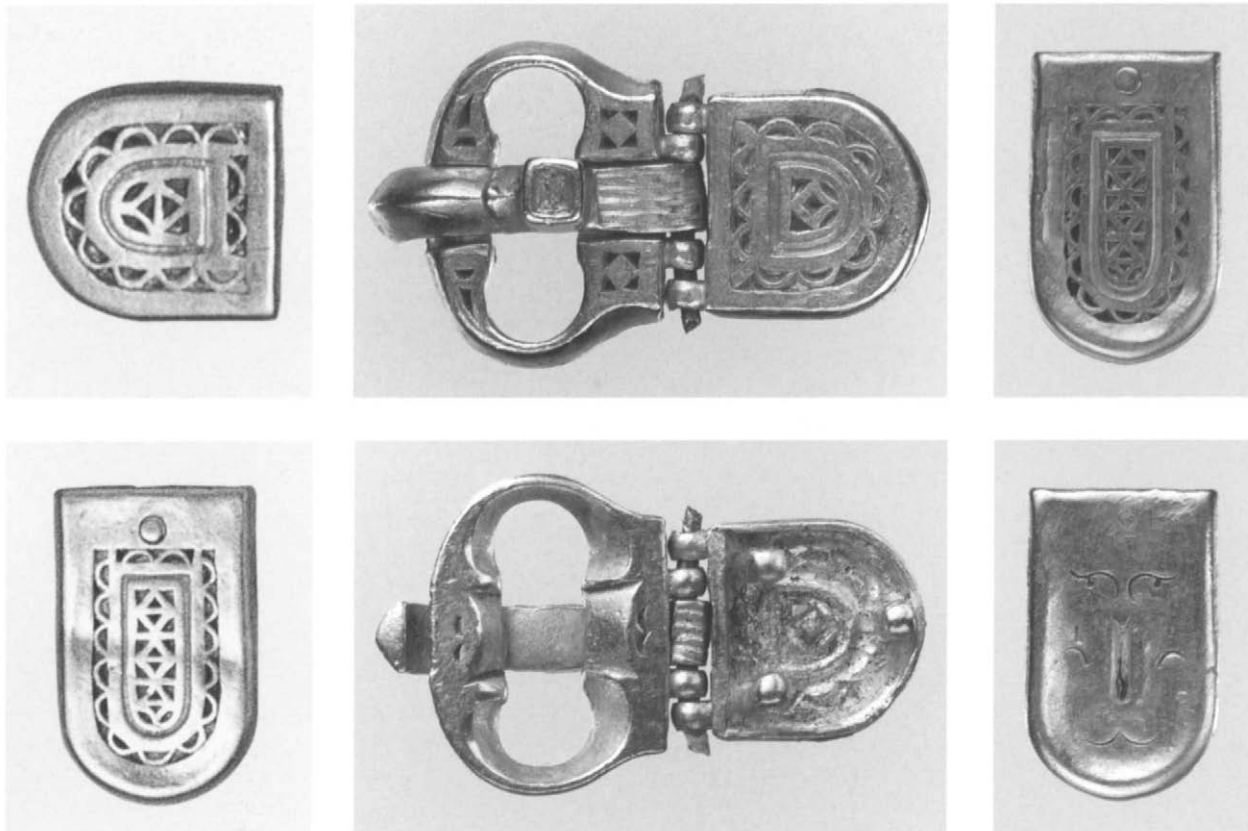
The Metropolitan dagger, therefore, belongs in full to this metalwork tradition. Moreover, the incised decorative motifs on the gold sheet of the scabbard correspond not only to those of the dagger with the P-shaped scabbard mount from grave 84 at Nocera Umbra[31] but also to another series of silver products found there and at Chiusi.[32] However, in regard to these undoubtedly serial products, the extraordinarily formal quality of the decoration on the Metropolitan dagger must be emphasized. It is decidedly superior to that on any piece found so far in Langobardic cemeteries, while the Metropolitan mounts stand out for their beaded borders, a feature not seen on other Italian pieces with P-shaped mounts. In light of recent discoveries, an Italo-Byzantine workshop cannot be ruled out. At the same time, the origin of this dagger in an eastern

13.8 Gold counter plate (upper left) to buckle (fig. 13.10) (Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France)

13.9 Strap end (lower left). Gold. From Castel Trosino, Italy (Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France)

13.10 Buckle (center), front and back views. Gold. Byzantine-Langobardic, late 6th– early 7th century. From Castel Trosino, Italy. Length 5.3 cm. (95.15.98a)

13.11 Strap end (right), front and back views. Gold. Byzantine-Langobardic, late 6th– early 7th century. From Castel Trosino, Italy. Length 3.4 cm. (95.15.98b)

Byzantine center of production, which is definitely the origin of the composite belt discussed below, remains equally likely.

The Castel Trosino Composite Belt

The composite belt set had seventeen fittings in cast gold with stamped decoration. Fifteen of these are now in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye,[33] including a counter plate (fig. 13.8) and strap end (fig. 13.9), which match exactly the buckle (fig. 13.10) and strap end (fig. 13.11) in the Metropolitan. The buckle, which belongs to the type with a hinged attachment plate of U-shaped form, has three attachment loops on the back. It contains a panel with a pierced geometric pattern that also appears on the strap end and on the other belt elements. The base of the tongue is decorated with a series of longitudinal grooves and a square setting that must originally have held a garnet. The buckle loop is characterized by two square fields at its base with a stamped lozenge, while point and comma decoration adorns either side of the tongue rest and the back. The U-shaped strap end is hollow and has a continuous median groove around the edge, as does the attachment plate of the buckle. The front panel with *à jour* decoration seems to have been made separately and then applied. In its present state it is difficult to establish whether the cavities were originally filled with polychrome glass paste, as is documented in other cases. Like the other strap ends and the larger belt end, this piece is also decorated on the back with point and comma decoration.[34] Near the squared end is an attachment rivet.

From the typological point of view the belt belongs to the well-known group of composite belts distributed over the same geographical area as the P-shaped sheath mounts, from the Eurasian steppes to the Sassanian and Byzantine empires, to eastern and central Europe as far as Italy. The model spread also to some Germanic groups, in particular the Alemanns and Bavarians, who

had more direct links with Italy,[35] where such belts with mounts made of precious metals are well documented in Langobardic graves.[36] It is probable that they were produced locally in large specialized workshops, such as the one at the Crypta Balbi in Rome. There, a series of embossing models was found for making the fittings for composite belts very similar to those found in the Langobardic cemeteries of northern and central Italy.[37]

To this locally produced material in the Byzantine tradition, the Metropolitan belt presents considerable differences. The hinged attachment plate of the buckle is not found on the Italian composite belts,[38] and the decoration of the various components has no parallel among the large quantity of Langobardic-period metal objects found in Italy. Two buckles from Sicily are an exception; Ross has dated them to the seventh century and attributed them to a workshop in Constantinople.[39] One appears to be particularly close to the Metropolitan example, not only in the form of the attachment plate but also in the geometric decorative motifs that preserve polychrome glass paste inlays of green, red, and white. A similar treatment can perhaps be postulated for the Metropolitan belt. Otherwise there is no comparative material from Italy, apart from single decorative elements present on isolated pieces that are not of serial production and that can hardly be attributed to local workshops.[40]

The same motifs are, however, very common in the eastern Byzantine area,[41] where the closest comparisons for the Metropolitan belt are to be found, in each case related to objects of extremely high quality. One example is a brooch in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, in which there is an association of the arch motif with triangles divided by a vertical element, as on the Metropolitan belt. This precious piece of jewelry, the so-called Pronay agraffe (clasp), is attributed to a Byzantine workshop, perhaps located in Constantinople, and is dated to the seventh century.[42]
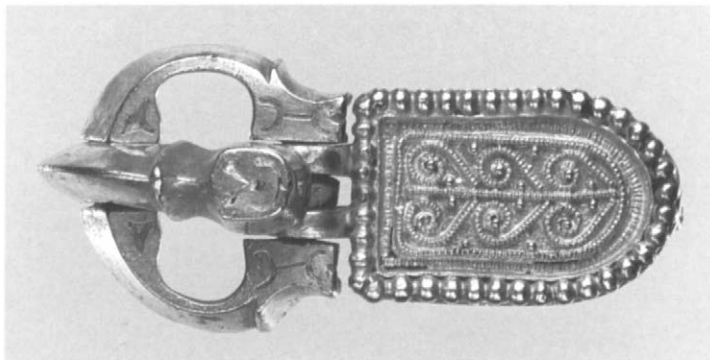
13.12 Buckle, front and side views. Gold. Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century. From Castel Trosino, Italy. Length 5.9 cm. (95.15.99)
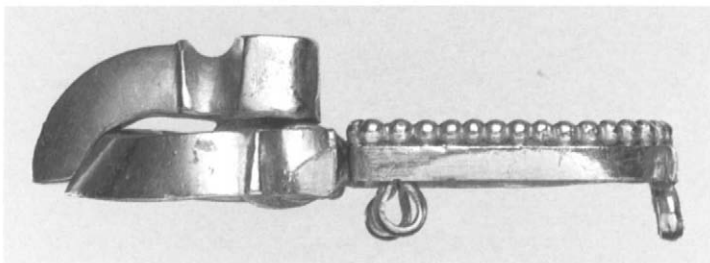
Frames consisting of semicircles are universally present throughout the eastern Byzantine area: for example, in the Kamunta plaque with stamped decoration imitating cloisonné,[43] and in a bracelet with a screw mechanism and an orans figure in the British Museum (see p. 64). In the latter, the frame is associated with a rhomboidal grid similar to the one on the Metropolitan belt.[44]

The rhomboidal grid is also the dominant motif in another series of very prestigious Byzantine jewelry from the burial complex of Maloe-Pereshchepino in the Ukraine, to be dated somewhat after the middle of the seventh century.[45] The grave goods there include a pair of bracelets with red glass paste in the rhomboids and green in the triangles. On other pieces, such as the gold buckle and strap end, the decorative motif is simply pierced.[46] These last two are exceptional in Byzantine products of the first half of the seventh century and can be compared to the buckles in the Abegg Stiftung at Riggisberg (Bern)[47] and, more distantly, to the buckles from the Mytilene Treasure.[48]

Finally, another extremely important comparable piece of seventh-century Byzantine jewelry is the buckle of the sword strap found in the tomb of an Avar khagan at Kunbábony, Hungary.[49] The Metropolitan belt shares not only its decorative technique, a sort of cloisonné carried out by means of punches with white, green, and red glass paste,[50] but also the form of the buckle loop, with two square fields flanking the tongue. The latter is an extremely rare element that demonstrates a very precise connection between these pieces, which could have come from the same zone of production.

In conclusion, therefore, the composite belt in the Metropolitan from the Castel Trosino tomb cannot be considered a local Italian product. The belt has numerous and consistent points of contact with all the most important Byzantine jewelry of the first half of the seventh century in the East, in particular with those pieces characterized by the impressed cloisonné technique with the insertion of colored glass paste. These could all derive from a single production center,

probably located, as Ross suggests, at Constantinople.[51] The Metropolitan belt, which can be dated to the late sixth or the beginning of the seventh century on the basis of its context, is one of the earliest examples of this production. Such production does not seem to have continued in the Byzantine province of Italy, and other composite belts in Italy with fittings made of precious metal are much simpler in both technique and decoration.

The Castel Trosino Belt Buckle

The buckle is cast gold, with a richly decorated hinged attachment plate of U-shaped form (fig. 13.12).[52] This plate has a large beaded wire border that encloses two rows of filigree wire, one thinner than the other. The central field is decorated with opposing filigree spirals enriched with gold granules flanking a central beaded wire. The back of the plate has three attachment loops. The buckle loop is oval, its upper surface flat and decorated with variants of the point and comma design. The tongue has a decorated disk at its base.

This is the standard type of Byzantine buckle of the late sixth or the seventh century and is represented by innumerable variants that are more or less luxurious. Gold examples, mostly with lyre-shaped attachment plates, are relatively common in the eastern Byzantine area, but rare in Italy. The presence of the beaded border is to be emphasized, as it is known in other classes of material that are, in part at least, local products.[53] As far as the buckle from the Castel Trosino grave is concerned, there are elements that speak in favor of an Italian production. Among the material from the Crypta Balbi workshop, for example, are several lead models for buckle loops that correspond exactly to this piece.[54] Its decoration fits without difficulty into the range of locally produced Byzantine jewelry, for which the use of spirals is widespread, as a recent list of such decoration clearly shows.[55] The best parallel for the ornament on the Metropolitan buckle, however, is on the strap end from grave 13 in the Frankish cemetery of Klepsau, dated approximately to the middle of the sixth century and also considered to be of Italian origin.[56]

Not only were gold belt buckles highly esteemed as luxurious objects, but they also distinguished rank within Byzantine society and were accepted as such by the barbarian aristocracies settled in the territories of the empire.[57] The presence of one of these belts in the grave of the Langobardic horseman at Castel Trosino is thus perfectly consistent with the process of rapid assimilation of Byzantine styles that characterizes Langobardic culture about the year 600.

The Castel Trosino Stud

A circular gold stud with an attachment loop on the back belongs among the grave goods
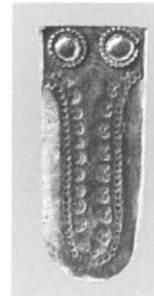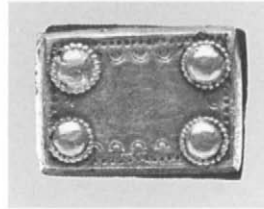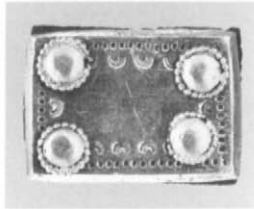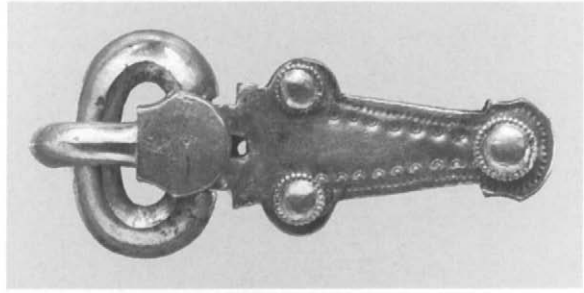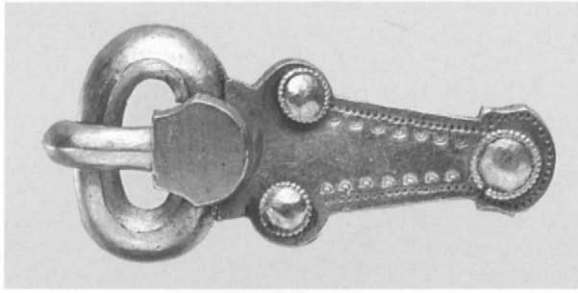
13.14–13.15 Pair of shoe buckles, strap ends, and backplates. Gold. Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century. From Castel Trosino, Italy. Maximum length 5.4 cm.; 2 cm.; 3 cm. (95.15.96a-c; 95.15.97 a-c)

(fig. 13.13). It has a beaded wire border around an incised human mask.[58] Given the uncertainty about the original number of studs actually present in the grave, only suggestions regarding their function can be made. The studs most likely belonged to a horse harness, with which they are often associated in graves of the late sixth and the early seventh century.[59] The Castel Trosino grave had the remains of gold fittings for a

horse harness, including saddle mounts (fig. 13.1p), and there are ample parallels among the grave goods of Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino.[60]

The Castel Trosino Shoe Fittings
A pair of small gold buckles with a hinged triangular attachment plate, a pair of tongue-shaped strap ends, and a pair of small rectangular backplates (figs. 13.14 and 13.15) belong to shoe fittings.[61] Each plaque has a backplate of silver sheet attached by rivets at the four corners, with a space in between for a leather strap to be inserted. The domed heads of the rivets each have a separate beaded wire border. The stamped decoration consists of a row of points along each edge and, within, a line of two concentric minuscule semicircles.

13.16 Finger ring with antique intaglio. Gold. Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century; and Etruscan 2d-century B.C. agate. From Castel Trosino, Italy. Diameter 2.4 cm. (95.15.4)

Typologically the buckles fit perfectly into the group with a triangular attachment plate used in Italy in the last third of the sixth century. They are characterized by a tongue with a shield-shaped base, as here. There are also numerous comparisons among Italian material in the decoration of the buckles, in particular with a series of products typical of the Byzantine metalworking tradition. Small half-moon impressions occur not only on finished gold and silver products from the cemeteries of Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino, but also on an embossing model for a belt mount from the Crypta Balbi and on unfinished pieces from the same workshop.[62] Although the buckles can be placed perfectly in the context of Italian products, this set is, nevertheless, exceptional because it represents the only one in gold to have been found in Italy, proving the extraordinary wealth of the grave from which the buckles come.

A silver shoe buckle that is incomplete but corresponds entirely in its typology was found in grave 100 at Nocera Umbra, also dated to about 600.[63]

The Castel Trosino Seal Ring

The gold finger ring consists of a circular hoop with an applied circular bezel (fig. 13.16). Two small spheres were applied to each shoulder, where the bezel is soldered to the hoop. The setting contains an oval intaglio agate on which two nude warriors with helmets are shown supporting a kneeling warrior who, turned to the right, holds a helmet and shield. The ring served as a seal.[64] From the typological point of view it belongs to a large group of seal rings of the Merovingian period, with a bezel containing a gem, often an ancient reused stone (see also fig. 11.13).[65] This gem, an especially prized piece because of its antiquity and quality of carving, can be attributed to Italic workshops of an Etruscanizing style, active principally in Rome between the end of the third and during the second century B.C. These workshops were greatly influenced by late-Etruscan products, from which they adopted themes taken from the Trojan cycle, reproduced in archaizing form according to the canons of the Severe Style.[66] Groups of warriors of the sort represented on the
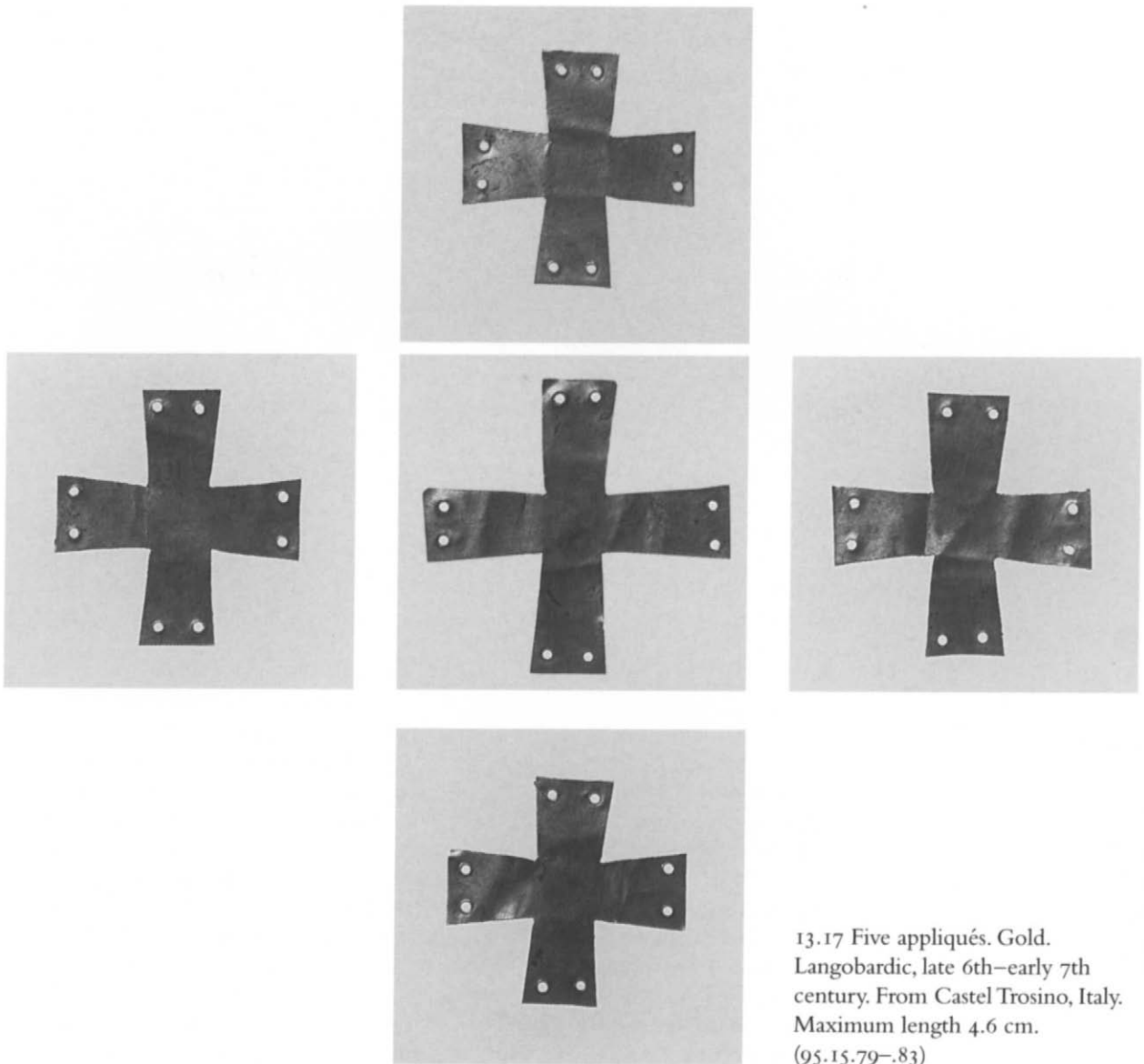
13.17 Five appliqués. Gold. Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century. From Castel Trosino, Italy. Maximum length 4.6 cm. (95.15.79–.83)

Metropolitan gem also belong to the Trojan cycle, although it is not always possible to assign them to a specific episode of the epics.[67] In Langobardic Italy seal rings were the prerogative of personages of the very first rank, many of whom seem to have carried out public functions, such as those of the king's representatives, judges, or notaries.[68]

All the grave assemblages in which seal rings are found are always of a very high status,[69] and the Castel Trosino horseman's is perhaps the richest of the series. At present it is impossible to establish whether this eminent person from the Langobardic aristocracy also held a political and administrative position in the duchy of Spoleto.

The Castel Trosino Cross Appliqués

Finally, there are five equal-armed crosses of gold sheet, one larger than the others (fig. 13.17). The arms expand slightly at the ends where there are pairs of small holes through which the thread passed that fixed them to the shroud. The crosses are undecorated, as are almost all such pieces found in the central Italian cemeteries.[70] As has been stated before, such a large number of them among the grave goods is exceptional and is characteristic only of the graves of those of the very highest rank.[71] The crosses had a purely funerary function, but the origin and meaning of the custom in Langobardic graves are still greatly debated. This specifically Langobardic burial element was introduced into the ritual only in the Italian phase. One must suppose an influence, even if indirect, from the Byzantine sphere, where the funerary use of crosses is attested only rarely.[72]

COMPOSITE DISK BROOCHES

We turn now from this rich assemblage to two gold disk brooches of Italian type preserved in the Metropolitan (figs. 13.18, 13.19 and

13.18 Disk brooch and detail of decoration. Gold. Langobardic, 7th century. Diameter 7.7 cm. (52.30)

pls. 6D, 6E).[73] Both belong to the group of composite circular brooches with a backplate, most often of silver, and an upper disk of gold, often embossed and decorated with filigree, glass paste, and ancient gems. Such brooches are found both in Italy and north of the Alps, and all derive from shared Byzantine prototypes that inspired regional workshops, each of which varied the decorative elements.[74]

The Brooch of Castel Trosino Type

The gold sheet top and sides are preserved, while the backplate, to which the pin fittings were soldered, has been lost (fig. 13.18).[75] The decoration is embossed to create the parts in relief, and filigree or twisted wires are soldered to the surface and around the edge to create the various decorative motifs (see detail, fig. 13.18). The decoration

13.19 Disk brooch and detail of decoration. Gold, glass, onyx. Langobardic, 7th century. Diameter 6.1 cm.(95.15.101)

applied to the top of the central ring, on the other hand, consists of a narrow, obliquely ribbed gold strip flanked on either side with a filigree wire. Around the base is a similar strip. Such "wavy ribbons" constitute a particular decorative technique found only on some brooches.[76]

Because of its structural and decorative elements, this brooch can be considered close to a particular group of disk brooches from Castel Trosino decorated with embossing and filigree.[77] They represent provincial Byzantine products of high quality, distinguished by particular typological elements that make them an extremely homogeneous group and that are almost a trademark of the workshop. All the Castel Trosino disk brooches, except those from graves 16 and 220, are characterized by a central ring in

relief that divides the surface into two concentric parts. The decoration in the outer zone consists of eight (more rarely four) circular bosses that alternate with S-shaped filigree motifs. The relief elements can all be embossed, as here, or alternate with settings of various forms containing glass paste inlays. The inner disk contains filigree decoration around a central element, such as a boss, inlaid gem, or cloisonné glass paste. The relief ring is sometimes divided into four quadrants by segments of filigree or small circles, or is sometimes decorated along its entire length by a row of small circles, by a twisted wire, or by an obliquely ribbed strip or wavy ribbon soldered along its top.

It must be emphasized that no products attributed to this same workshop have a secure provenance outside the Castel Trosino cemetery.[78] In other words, the products of the workshop that supplied Castel Trosino do not seem to have circulated beyond that locality.[79] At Castel Trosino these disk brooches are found in the first Langobardic phase of the cemetery, that is, from the late sixth century and during the first half of the

seventh.[80] In the earliest phase, brooches with embossed and filigree decoration are particularly common, in some cases associated with Langobardic bow brooches in grave assemblages. On the other hand, brooches with glass paste inlays are also associated with bow brooches in grave groups, such as grave G, which can be attributed to the same chronological phase.[81] They are, however, found associated mostly with reduced grave goods, in which the Romanized characteristics of female dress are more pronounced, allowing a wide range of dating between the first and second quarter of the seventh century.

The Metropolitan brooch belongs to the group of brooches with embossed and filigree decoration but without glass paste, which, without contextual information, can only be dated generally between the late sixth and the mid-seventh century. A somewhat more precise date can perhaps be deduced from the decorative elements. The obliquely ribbed strip occurs only on brooches with glass paste, which is associated with Romanized grave goods.[82] Among such brooches, the most comparable in its general decorative layout and execution of motifs is the one from Castel Trosino grave B, associated with grave goods buried after the beginning of the seventh century.[83] These obviously very weak indications permit us to suggest that the chronological range of this brooch be defined as the last years of the sixth and the first decades of the seventh century.

The Cameo-set Brooch

The Metropolitan possesses a cameo-set brooch of which the front and sides of gold sheet remain, while the backplate has been lost (fig. 13.19, pl. 6D).[84] From the typological point of view the brooch can be compared to Thieme's group I.3, characterized by a flat surface divided by filigree work into two zones, namely, a circular outer ring around a central disk (see figs. 21.20–21.21).[85] In the Metropolitan example the center is occupied by a large Roman gem surrounded by continuous S-shaped filigree motifs. The outer

zone is decorated with eight inlays of green, red, brown, and white glass paste, alternating with pairs of facing filigree S-shapes (see detail, fig. 13.19). The finish around the outer edge of the brooch is very complex: there are two smooth wires twisted together around the side, while the border consists of two obliquely ribbed strips or wavy ribbons soldered together, creating a fishbone pattern with a filigree wire around both edges.[86] The Roman gem in the center is an onyx cameo with alternating brown-blue-brown layers. A charioteer with a whip is depicted, urging on a pair of horses galloping to the right. The racing theme is rather common in the glyptic art of the Roman period, with variants such as a two-horse or four-horse chariot, which is galloping or going slowly, driven by a charioteer or a personification, such as Victory. Sometimes the cameos are so stereotyped in their execution that it is difficult to identify and date them, but, so far as this piece is concerned, the mostly likely date is the second or third century A.D.[87]

The Metropolitan brooch bears a general resemblance to the Castel Trosino group, but only in the decorative elements, since it lacks a central relief ring, which is the distinctive structural element of that group. It belongs, therefore, to another production center that certainly had relations with the Byzantine area, while presenting markedly provincial stylistic traits. The monotony and stiffness of the ornament reveal the craftsman's difficulty in imitating his model. He did not have the same familiarity with Byzantine decorative motifs seen on the Castel Trosino brooches. From this point of view the piece seems closer to pieces from the Alemannic area.[88] At present it has no precise parallels in northern Italy. Only the gold brooch from Brenz, Val di Non, Trentino, shows some similarities, but it is certainly later than the Metropolitan piece.[89] On the basis of comparison with material in Italy and north of the Alps, it can be dated to the second third of the seventh century, while the Metropolitan brooch is to be placed in

the years around 600. This isolation is all the more singular if we consider the wide distribution of disk brooches with filigree work and glass paste beyond the Alps, in particular in the Alemannic, Frankish, and Burgundian areas (pls. 9, 10). The Metropolitan example, therefore, fills a gap in the archaeological record, showing a certain distribution of this kind of brooch in Langobardicia Major as well. Its production center is probably to be found in this area, although it cannot be located at present.

THE S-SHAPED BROOCH

The S-shaped brooch in the Metropolitan derives its name from the strongly curved form of the animal body that constitutes it and that terminates at each end in the head of a bird of prey (fig. 13.20).[90] It is made of gilt silver, cast and finished in the chip-carving technique. A continuous band of cloisonné garnet inlays runs along the body, and there are circular garnets for the eyes. It is a type widely distributed in the Langobardic area. In this form the brooch is already represented in the Pannonian phase,[91] that is, before 568, when the Langobards still occupied part of present-day Hungary; it attained its greatest diffusion in the second half of the sixth century. If the numerous variants correspond to chronological differences, this brooch is one of the latest, no longer connected with pieces from Pannonia. According to Koch, what characterizes the latest examples is the shape of the head, which is in Animal Style II, where the circular or triangular eye is finished with a contour line. A zigzag line runs below the eye, representing the animal's jaw, and ends in the form of a curved beak.[92]

Brooches belonging to this group are documented in northern Italy at Cividale, Friuli, and at Imola and Fiorano, Emilia-Romagna.[93] The fragmentary brooch from Wiesbaden in Alemannic territory,[94] where some variants of the S-shaped brooches found in Italy are present,[95] gives another extremely relevant comparison. As far as the date of the brooches found in the Langobardic area is
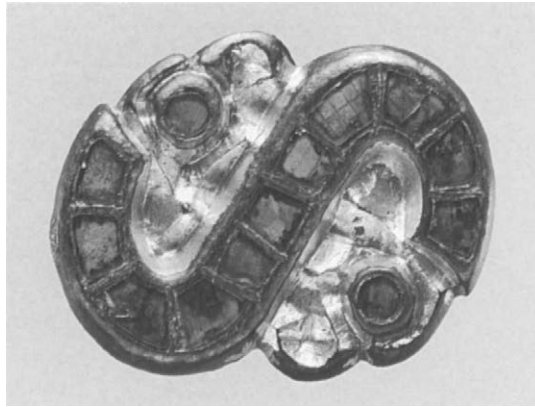
13.20 S-shaped brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Langobardic, late 6th century. Length 3.6 cm. (17.191.199)

concerned, detailed information on their original contexts exists only in the case at Fiorano, which was a burial with a necklace datable generally to the period from about 570 to 590.[96] In the Nocera Umbra cemetery such brooches belong to types that are typical of graves datable to the last third of the sixth century.[97] A closer date is possible, however, for the comparative pieces from Alemannic territory: the brooch from grave 192 at Schretzheim is placed about 590 and that from grave 23 at Klepsau is also attributed to the same chronological range.[98] On this basis it is possible to date the Metropolitan example to the late sixth century. So far as its place of production is concerned, there is a considerable distribution of these late S-shaped brooches north of the Alps.[99] A contemporary production of the type on either side of the Alps is, therefore, rather likely.

THE RADIATE-HEADED BOW BROOCH

The Metropolitan bow brooch is one of the loveliest Langobardic brooches to have survived (pl. 8 and fig. 13.21).[100] It is of gilt silver, cast and finished in the chip-carving technique. Its borders have punched triangular

13.21 Radiate-headed bow brooch. Gilt silver, niello. Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century. Length 15.7 cm. (55.56)

decoration that is filled with niello, as are the details of the animal heads projecting from the edges of the footplate. The headplate is semicircular, originally with eleven animal-style composite knobs radiating from it. The bow has a beaded wire applied around each end. The footplate is oval and terminates in a
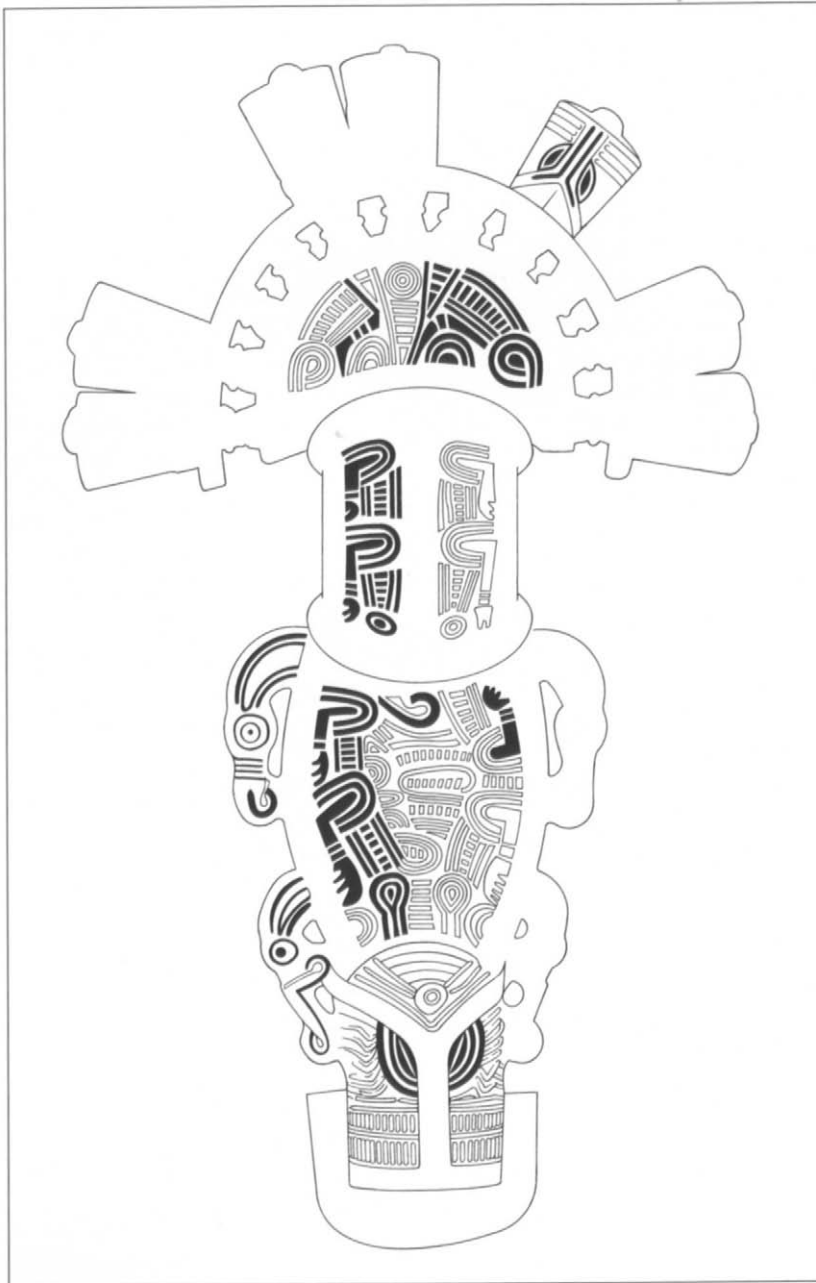
large animal head with a broad flanged border and stamped decoration. On the back is a silver hook, inserted into the axis of the pin spring, from which perhaps hung a chain. There is a representation of a stylized human head in the cavity behind the terminal of the footplate (fig. 13.23).

13.22 Analysis of animal art on bow brooch, left (drawing by James Farrant, adapted from H. Roth 1978b)

13.23 Back of footplate, actual size, from radiate-headed bow brooch (fig. 13.21)

The brooch is decorated in Animal Style I (see fig. 13.22 for an analysis; compare also fig. 18.11). Crouching quadrupeds seen in profile, with hatched ribbonlike bodies and heads with long jaws, are represented on the headplate, the bow, and the footplate. On the footplate the animals are placed back to back, but are separated by a central band bearing a poorly legible tangle of hatched ribbons, from which some zoomorphic details emerge only incoherently.[101] Roth compared this brooch to one of the type found at Nocera Umbra grave 2, with which the decoration of the Metropolitan footplate has many points of similarity: the hind leg turned backward on the right-hand-side animal on both, for example. The other brooch closely related to these is in the Diergardt collection, now in Cologne.[102] Large brooches with developed Animal Style I decoration are characteristic of the Italian phase of Langobardic art. They are dated by Roth to the last three decades of the sixth century but no later,

because of the style of ornament.[103] More recent research has shown that Animal Style I characterized Langobardic bow brooches for a longer time than previously supposed. It coexists, in fact, with the other decorative styles, the so-called knotted-ribbon decoration (*Schlaufenornamentik*; see fig. 24.9) and Animal Style II, down to the last phase in the use of bow brooches.[104]

These brooches display an extremely conservative structure. The only tangible development during the Italian phase was the disappearance of a simple headplate in favor of a radiated head, a brooch type that is itself part of the Pannonian Langobardic heritage. Brooches with footplates lacking animal heads also became rarer. In the latter type of brooch, Animal Style I decoration alternates with Style II and knotted-ribbon decoration.[105] Increased dimensions are most characteristic of the Italian-phase brooches, as is the transition from the use of brooches in pairs to that of a single brooch, which marks the stage before the complete disappearance of the bow brooch from Langobardic dress.

In the cemeteries of Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino are numerous examples of bow brooches belonging to the mature phase of Italian production. Rupp places the appearance of the developed brooches at Nocera Umbra in phase II of the cemetery, dated between 590 and 610: the pair of brooches from grave 2 is dated to about 600.[106] A similar chronology can be proposed for grave 3 in the Arcisa cemetery near Chiusi, which has grave goods datable to between the end of the sixth century and the early years of the seventh.[107] Among them was a brooch almost identical to that from grave 29 at Nocera Umbra,[108] also attributed to the second phase of the cemetery.[109] In both cases they are single brooches of large dimension. They are important in evaluating the Metropolitan piece because all three share a detail in the heads on the edge, namely, the boar's head that ends with a volute. On the Metropolitan brooch this detail appears to be on the whole more carefully executed, while

on the brooches from Nocera Umbra and
Chiusi these details are much more simplified.
It would seem, therefore, that the Metropoli-
tan brooch, which certainly belongs to the
circle of central Italian workshops, could
almost have been the prototype for the other
two examples. In any case, it seems plausible
to propose a date around 600 for the Metro-
politan brooch.

According to a recent hypothesis,[110]
bow brooches remained in use in Lango-
bardic female dress for the entire first half of
the seventh century, a conclusion based prin-
cipally on the analysis of some burials at
Castel Trosino, but that does not seem to be
confirmed at the much more traditional
cemetery of Nocera Umbra. In the third
and last phase of this cemetery, datable to
between 610 and 620/30, the Langobardic
use of brooches appears to decline greatly or
to have been abandoned altogether.[111] A date
for the grave goods with bow brooches after
the first or second decade of the seventh
century seems altogether unlikely also for
Castel Trosino.[112]

1. The objects in the Metropolitan are items (a), (b),
   (o), and (q)–(u) in fig. 13.1. Paroli 1995, pp. 17ff.,
   fig. 1; Vallet 1995, with earlier bibliography.
2. Baxter 1876, pp. 103ff., pls. I–III.
3. Mengarelli 1902, pp. 145ff.
4. See note 2 above.
5. Published in Undset 1891, pp. 33–35, figs. 40–47,
   50–53, to which the horse bit must be added: Vallet
   1995, p. 336, fig. 2; 7, 2–3.
6. Mengarelli 1902, pp. 149–51, figs. 2–3.
7. Von Hessen 1975, pp. 13–20, figs. 1–4; for a detailed
   reconstruction of the affair, see Vallet 1995, esp. p. 335.
8. The burial belongs to the same chronological range
   as grave 1 at Trezzo: Roffia 1986, pp. 11ff.; as graves 1
   and 79 at Nocera Umbra: Pasqui and Paribeni 1918,
   pp. 155ff., 271ff.; Arti del fuoco 1994, pp. 47–52; Rupp
   1995, pp. 60ff.; as grave 3 at Verona, via Monte
   Suello: Modonesi and La Rocca 1989, pp. 63ff.; as
   the grave discovered at Reggio Emilia in 1947:
   Sturmann Ciccone 1977, pp. 12ff., pls. 2–3 and 20;
   as grave 1 at Cividale: Menis 1990, pp. 402ff., X. 75.
   In all of these cases the graves belong to horsemen
   with more than average grave goods and very simi-
   lar characteristics. For the chronological position of

9. Mengarelli 1902, pp. 151ff.
10. The Castel Trosino cemetery has been the subject
    of various interpretative hypotheses that are often at
    variance with one another: see in particular Bier-
    brauer 1980a; Martin 1988; Bierbrauer 1991; Jørgen-
    sen 1992; von Hessen 1993. For the dating of the
    first Langobardic phase of the cemetery to ca. 590–
    610, see most recently Paroli 1995, pp. 199ff. and
    Paroli 1997.
11. Baxter 1876, p. 108, pl. III, 8; Delogu 1974, p. 160,
    fig. 1,8; Vallet 1995, pp. 337–38, figs. 4, 5.
12. Vallet 1995, p. 337, fig. 4,5–6.
13. Pasqui and Paribeni 1918, p. 227, fig. 71; most
    recently, Rupp 1996, p. 113, pls. 31–32.
14. Sturmann Ciccone 1977, pls. 3,5–6, 20,5–6. Falsifi-
    cation is highly improbable, as the mounts were
    discovered in 1872, the first found in Italy, and pub-
    lished in 1876 and 1891 (Baxter 1876, p. 108, pl. III,
    8; Undset 1891, p. 35, fig. 53). The swords from
    grave 32 at Nocera Umbra and from Reggio
    Emilia, the only ones that could have inspired a
    counterfeiter, did not come to light until later: the
    one from Nocera Umbra in 1897 was published
    only many years after the discovery (see note 13
    above); the Reggio Emilia one in 1947 (Sturmann
    Ciccone 1977, pp. 12ff.). It is important to note
    that neither Baxter nor Undset was aware of the
    function of the mounts. Baxter (1876, p. 108) in
    particular struggled to find an explanation, suppos-
    ing they belonged to a warrior's glove. Aside from
    these antiquarian and documentary details, consid-
    erations of an archaeological nature lead one to
    exclude these mounts as false, namely, their perfect
    coherence with the tomb's context, including func-
    tion and date.
15. The question is examined exhaustively in Vallet
    1995, pp. 337–38. For swords with ring pommels,
    see in particular Menghin 1983b, pp. 258ff.; for the
    dating of grave 1 at Nocera Umbra, see note 8
    above; for grave 32 at Nocera Umbra, see note 13.
16. In the Reggio Emilia grave, for example, there is a
    quatrefoil-shaped gold plaque among the horse
    harnesses: Sturmann Ciccone 1977, pl. 3, 2: 20, 2, as
    in the Pedata grave at Castel Trosino: Vallet 1995,
    p. 336, fig. 1,2. In the Castel Trosino grave, "comma"
    decoration appears as a secondary decoration on
    the gold mounts: Vallet 1995, pp. 336–37, fig. 3,2,
    exactly as happens on the composite belt from
    grave 1 at Trezzo: Roffia 1986, p. 19, figs. 2–3, pl. 4.
    A silver strap end with comma decoration was
    found also in grave 32 at Nocera Umbra: Rupp
    1996, p. 115, fig. 29,7, pl. 34, a.
17. Vallet 1995, p. 338; for an illustration of the British
    Museum piece, see Menghin 1983b, p. 317, no. 111.
    But see also Kidd 1988, p. 136 n. 24.

18. Following its first publication in Baxter (1876, pp. 105–6, pls. I–II), the dagger has often been reproduced: Åberg 1922, p. 239, fig. 394; Åberg 1923, p. 101, fig. 76,14–15; Kühn 1938, p. 180, pl. 61,2–3; Åberg 1945, pp. 86–87, fig. 82,1; Nickel 1973, pp. 134–35, n. 6 fig. 9; Ambroz 1986, p. 66, fig. 7,4; Vallet 1995, p. 338, fig. 6; Brown 1996, p. 225, fig. 2a–2b.

19. Surviving length: 115 mm.

20. The dagger is closely comparable to the one from grave F at Castel Trosino, the overall length of which is 32 cm: Mengarelli 1902, p. 197, pl. V,8; the other pieces with grips with P-mounts known from Italy are considerably smaller: 22.6 cm from grave 84 at Nocera Umbra; 10 cm from grave 6 in the same cemetery: Pasqui and Paribeni 1918, pp. 280–81, fig. 141; p. 179, fig. 25.

21. Martin 1993, p. 397.

22. The technical examination at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, with regard to the problem of the find's authenticity, contains a detailed description of the way the dagger was made and of its state of preservation. The blade and scabbard look to be old, but the mounts appear modern. On this question, see also Brown 1996, p. 224. The same reasons set forth above (note 14) regarding the mounts of the sword grip speak in favor of the complete authenticity of the fittings of the dagger. The prototype could only be the dagger from grave F at Castel Trosino discovered in 1893, almost twenty years after the publication of the Metropolitan dagger (Baxter 1876). The metal mounts of the scabbard for the dagger from grave F at Castel Trosino do indeed present impressive analogies in manufacturing technique, which are particularly obvious on the back of the scabbard, leading one to think of the same workshop. Earlier, not a single P-shaped scabbard was known in Italy or elsewhere.

23. See note 20 above. Compare also the dagger, now lost, from grave 119: Mengarelli 1902, p. 290, pl. XII,5. Two silver U-shaped mounts corresponding to the point and the grip can also be found among the smaller knives with P-plaques, for example, on the piece from Castel Trosino, grave 124: ibid., p. 300, fig. 200.

24. See note 20 above.

25. The bibliography on the subject is vast. Among the most recent contributions, see Nickel 1973, pp. 134ff.; Bálint 1978, pp. 173ff.; Werner 1984, pp. 26; Ambroz 1986, pp. 53ff.; Bálint 1992, esp. pp. 338ff.; Garam 1993, p. 190; Pekarskaja and Kidd 1994, pp. 50f.

26. For a collection of sources, see Claude 1985. The most recent archaeological discoveries have profoundly changed the prospects for the study and interpretation of the Early Medieval economy of Italy. Among the numerous contributions, see Paroli

and Delogu 1993; Francovich and Noyé 1994. For handicraft production and trade, see several recent contributions with updated bibliography: Citter et al. 1996; Delogu 1998; Ricci 1997; Saguì 1998.

27. This could be the case of the dagger from grave F at Castel Trosino, closely related to the Metropolitan piece, which has a very close parallel in the Crypta Balbi material: see Ricci 1997, fig. 3,4. Another significant case is that of the saddle mount from grave 90 at Castel Trosino, which is practically identical to a mold found in the Crypta Balbi workshop: ibid., fig. 3,8.

28. Ibid., fig. 2,10.

29. For some examples from the eastern Mediterranean, see the copper-alloy belt attachment plate from Damascus: Schlunk 1939, pl. 44, no. 136; from Velestínon in Thessaly: Kidd 1992, p. 513, fig. 2,g; in the western regions the series of small Late Antique buckles is well known: Martin 1995a, pp. 647–49, fig. 22; on ornamental themes of the seventh century, see Åberg 1945, pp. 78ff.; Peroni 1984, pp. 229ff.

30. See, for example, the celebrated so-called Theodote's plaque at Pavia: Peroni 1984, fig. 166, pl. VIII,6.

31. Observe especially the dolphins and the volutes: Pasqui and Paribeni 1918, p. 280, fig. 141.

32. See in particular the silver fittings of the horse harnesses from graves 16, 36, and 79 at Nocera Umbra: ibid., p. 193, figs. 41–42; p. 234, figs. 73–74; p. 274, fig. 129; and Arti del fuoco 1994, pl. II,b. For the fittings from grave 5 in the Arcisa cemetery at Chiusi: von Hessen 1971, pl. 10.

33. The two Metropolitan pieces were first published by Baxter 1876, pp. 106–7, pl. III,1; the pieces kept at Saint-Germain-en-Laye were published by Undset 1891, p. 33, figs. 40, 42–45. Since then the various elements of the belt have been mentioned or reproduced in numerous works: Åberg 1923, p. 164; Kühn 1938, p. 179, pl. 59,3–4; Delogu 1974, pp. 161–62, fig. 1,1, pl. V; Werner 1974, p. 121, pl. VI; von Hessen 1975, pp. 14–16, figs. 1–2, which is the first complete publication of all the elements of the belt; Weitzmann 1979, pp. 325–26, no. 303; Archéologie comparée 1982, pp. 277–78; Bálint 1992, pl. 28; Tóth and Horváth 1992, pp. 97ff., fig. 41,9; Byzance 1992, pp. 135–36, no. 91. See in particular Vallet 1995, pp. 336–37, fig. 3,2–3, for an exhaustive examination of the belt from a technical point of view (measurements and weight). Finally, Brown 1996, pp. 224–25, fig. 1.

34. For an illustration of the back, see Bálint 1992, pl. 28,24; for the decoration on the backs of the other strap ends, see Vallet 1995, fig. 3, 2.

35. Vallet 1995, nn. 29–30; see esp. Werner 1974; Bálint 1992, esp. pp. 343ff.

36. See Vallet 1995, pp. 336ff., with bibliography.

37. Ricci 1997, pl. 2,18–31.

38. The composite belts in precious metal found in Italy generally lack buckles, with the exception of the gold belt in grave 119 at Castel Trosino, which has a buckle with a fixed attachment plate: Mengarelli 1902, pp. 140–41, pl. V,4.

39. In the Dumbarton Oaks collection: Ross 1965, pp. 8–10, no. 5, pl. XI,A–B.

40. Thus we see the motif of semicircles or arches along the edge of a buckle in the Museum of Cagliari (Sardinia), associated with the bird with a "scarf," a motif that is well known in the East but completely isolated in Italy: Pani Ermini and Marinone 1981, p. 106, no. 169. The decoration with opposing triangles is present in a simplified version along the edge of a strap end from the Langobardic cemetery of Arsago Seprio, near Varese (Lombardia): De Marchi 1989, pp. 119ff., pl. LX, fig. 1a–b; in this case too it is a piece entirely without parallel in Italy, but with close affinities to an embossing model from Adalia (Asia Minor): Werner 1974, pl. IX,2. The decoration of the phalera from Hüfingen with a medallion showing Saint George and the dragon in a stamped frame of small arches also appears to be isolated: Fingerlin 1995, p. 19, fig. 1.

41. Compare the strap end with pierced decoration from Egypt: Werner 1974, pl. IX,6; the buckle of the Latakia treasure from Syria: Ross 1965, pl. VII,2, dating to the late sixth century.

42. Garam 1993, p. 73, no. 72; p. 162, pl. 37,1.

43. Bálint 1992, pl. 34,14.

44. Werner 1984, pl. 24,2.

45. Ibid., p. 24

46. Ibid., pp. 19ff., pls. 25–26 and 28.

47. Ibid., pl. 27.

48. *Byzantine Art* 1964, no. 392.

49. Tóth and Horváth 1992, pp. 25ff., no. 1, pl. 1.

50. Ibid., pp. 97ff., pl. 1; for this particular type of cloisonné, see Bálint 1992, pp. 348–50.

51. Ross 1965, pp. 8–10, no. 5.

52. Baxter 1876, p. 107, pl. III,2; Åberg 1923, p. 116, fig. 222; Kühn 1938, p. 178, pl. 59,2; Delogu 1974, p. 160, fig. 1,2; *Romans and Barbarians* 1976, p. 136, no. 162; Bálint 1992, pl. 28,23; Vallet 1995, fig. 3,4.

53. For some pieces in gold from Italy, see von Jenny 1940, pp. 23, 24, pl. 31; Vinski 1967, p. 34, pl. XXVI,1. In Italy, bronze examples with tongue-shaped attachment plates are, on the contrary, much more numerous: Åberg 1923, pp. 117–18, figs. 227–29; von Hessen 1974, pp. 545ff., figs. 5,5, 7, 9–10; Pani Ermini and Marinone 1981, nos. 157–88, sometimes with a beaded edge or with the decoration of the attachment plate placed symmetrically to the sides of a central axis, as on the Metropolitan piece. For the production in Rome of objects with beaded edges, see Ricci 1997, fig. 2,18, and 24; fig. 8,10; see note 50 above for the list of comparisons from Italy.

54. Ricci 1997, fig. 1,8–9.

55. A. Kiss 1991b, pp. 132–35.

56. U. Koch 1990, p. 179, fig. 115, pl. 16,17; among Italian material the piece is perhaps closest to the gold strap end from Montecchio (Reggio Emilia): Sturmann Ciccone 1977, pl. 16,3.

57. Von Hessen 1982, pp. 23–29.

58. Baxter 1876, p. 107, pl. III,4. The author specifies that more than one stud was found. The stud has now been published in Vallet 1995, p. 337, fig. 4,2, which has some comparisons. Studs of this type are also found in connection with composite belts. A very significant case is that of grave 119 at Nocera Umbra, dated to approximately 600, with a gold belt associated with a single stud with point and comma decoration: see Pasqui and Paribeni 1918, p. 308; Rupp 1996, pp. 118–19, no. 7a–q, fig. 32, pl. 35,a. As far as the human mask decoration is concerned, see a silver shield-shaped plaque from a horse harness from grave 3 at via Monte Suello at Verona: Modonesi and La Rocca 1989, p. 66, no. 55, pl. VI,22.

59. For the Nocera Umbra cemetery, see most recently Rupp 1996, pp. 110–12, 122; for the Castel Trosino cemetery, see most recently Paroli 1995, p. 321.

60. Oexle 1992, pp. 285–86, no. 579; most recently Vallet 1995, p. 336, fig. 1,1–2; for the quatrefoil-shaped plaques, note the close parallel with the silver ones from grave 42 at Nocera Umbra, dated to ca. 600: Rupp 1996, pp. 110–12, pl. 30,a; unfinished pieces are present among the Crypta Balbi material at Rome: see Ricci 1997, fig. 3,12.

61. Baxter 1876, p. 107, pl. III,3; Åberg 1923, p. 108, fig. 180; p. 11, fig. 190; Delogu 1974, p. 160, fig. 1,3; Vallet 1995, p. 337, fig. 4,4. Baxter specified that it was a pair of buckles with the related accessories, as is indeed the case, but he illustrated only one fitting. The pair consists of identical elements.

62. See Ricci 1997, fig. 2,25, for comparisons.

63. Rupp 1996, p. 104, nn. 10–12, pl. 27,b; for a complete piece in inlaid iron from grave 9 at Niederstotzingen, see Paulsen 1967, pl. 40.

64. Baxter 1876, p. 108, pl. III,7; Delogu 1974, p. 160, fig. 1,7; Vallet 1995, p. 338, fig. 4,3.

65. Roffia 1986, pp. 21ff.; Päffgen 1992, vol. 1, pp. 420–22, with bibliography. For the reuse of gems, see Ament 1991 and Sena Chiesa 1995.

66. Sena Chiesa 1966, pp. 38ff.; Richter 1971, pp. 11ff.

67. Among the gems with a group of three warriors (usually identified as Agamemnon and Machaon carrying Menelaos, wounded by Pandaros's arrow), the closest from a stylistic point of view is one in the British Museum: Walters 1926, no. 975. Corresponding perfectly from an iconographic point of view, but certainly more recent, is a gem from Aquileia: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 890. For other pieces with the same theme, see Furtwängler 1900,

pls. XX,23, XXIII,2; Dalton 1912, no. 455; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, vol. 2, no. 732, pl. 164, dated to the second century B.C.

68. The debate on the functions carried out by "ring lords," reopened by the exceptional discovery of three seal rings in the cemetery at Trezzo sull'Adda (Milan), is still ongoing. For an excellent definition of the state of the question and an exhaustive bibliographical note, see Lusuardi Siena 1992, pp. 145ff., in particular n. 28.

69. Vallet 1995, p. 338, with the main bibliographical references.

70. Baxter 1876, p. 107, pl. III,5–6; Delogu 1974, p. 160, fig. 1,5–6; Brown 1981a, pp. 311–14, pl. LI,a; Brown 1995, p. 35, fig. 46;Vallet 1995, pp. 338–39, fig. 4,7. For crosses in central Italian cemeteries, see H. Roth 1973, pp. 235ff., with previous bibliography.

71. Most recently, Vallet 1995, p. 339.

72. Rupp 1996, pp. 105–6, for a definition of the state of the question and an updated bibliography.

73. The pieces were published in Brown 1987. For one of them (fig. 13.18) a north Italian provenance is suggested. It is from the collection of Samuel Baxter, who lived in Florence.

74. Ibid., with comparisons and bibliography; for the area north of the Alps, see esp. Thieme 1978.

75. Brown 1981b, pp. 23–24, fig. 36; Brown 1987, pp. 447–48, fig. 2.

76. The wavy strip is present on the brooches from graves B, L, and 177 at Castel Trosino: Fuchs and Werner 1950, C36, C27, C37. For grave B, see also Paroli 1995, p. 269, fig. 168. For the technique of production, see Devoto 1997, p. 279, pl. III,a; the author emphasizes "la costante regolarità di spaziatura di creste e depressioni dovuta allo stampaggio meccanico." Wavy ribbons occur also on the Metropolitan brooch from northern Italy: see following paragraph.

77. For the Castel Trosino brooches, see Fuchs and Werner 1950, C25–37.

78. With the probable exception of the brooch found between 1900 and 1907 in the cemetery of S. Egidio della Vibrata, not far from Castel Trosino, the present location of which is unknown: Paroli 1995, pp. 108–9. Gold brooches were almost certainly discovered in 1859 in the cemetery at Civitella del Tronto, on the border with the Marche: ibid., pp. 105–6.

79. Despite great morphological and decorative similarities, within the group described above, the brooches with a gold base plate rather than one of silver (graves H and 115) must be kept apart, as they very probably come from another center of production (Rome?): see Paroli 1995, pp. 280–84, grave 115.1.

80. On this point there is no disagreement among scholars, in spite of differing interpretations of the overall development and the chronology of the various phases of the cemetery: see note 10 above.

81. For a distribution map of the brooches, Bierbrauer 1980a, pl. 10; for a detailed examination of the associations in the material from grave goods, see most recently Jørgensen 1992, pp. 2ff.

82. Graves B, L, and 177: see note 76 above.

83. For grave B, see most recently Paroli 1995, pp. 269ff., figs. 218–221.

84. Brown 1981b, p. 24, fig. 37; Brown 1987, pp. 447–49, fig. 2, for data on the discovery and bibliography; see also Brown 1995, p. 34, pl. 7.

85. Thieme 1978, pp. 418ff.

86. For decoration with "wavy ribbons," see note 76 above.

87. For a purely thematic comparison, see Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 859, dated to the first or second century A.D.; the same subject, with minor variations, occurs again on a gem set into a medallion, from the grave at Uč Tepe, dated to the third century: Bálint 1992, pl. 18,5.

88. See, for example, the brooch from Altenerding-Klettham (Kr. Erding), dated to ca. 600: H. Roth 1979, p. 319, no. 310e. Rather close connections with the Alemannic area can be seen also in a disk brooch from Cividale: Fuchs and Werner 1950, C18, esp. the comment on p. 62.

89. Rasmo 1976, p. 152, fig. 150.

90. A provenance from northern France is indicated as probable: Brown 1981b, pp. 21–22, fig. 32. But this refers to the collection as a whole, not each individual piece.

91. Rácalmás, grave 16: Bóna 1976, fig. 48.

92. For an exhaustive discussion of the typology and chronology, see U. Koch 1977, esp. p. 66; U. Koch 1990, pp. 138–39.

93. Von Jenny 1940, p. 23, pl. 29; Fuchs and Werner 1950, p. 61, B43–45, pl. 34 (from Cividale); p. 61, B60, pl. 35 (from Imola); furthermore, Gelichi 1989, p. 165, fig. 4 (piece from Villa Clelia, Imola); pp. 176–77, fig. 8 (from Fiorano, Modena).

94. Fuchs and Werner 1950, p. 51, XXXIII, pl. 54.

95. U. Koch 1977, p. 66, pl. 94,14 (from Schretzheim, grave 192); U. Koch 1990, pp. 138–39, pl. 21, A1 (from Klepsau, grave 23).

96. Gelichi 1988, pp. 568–69, figs. 508–510.

97. Fuchs and Werner 1950, p. 33, B62–66; Rupp 1995, pp. 38ff., fig. 7; Rupp 1996, pp. 29ff., fig. 8; p. 89, pl. 4.

98. See note 95 above.

99. U. Koch 1977, p. 66.

100. H. Roth 1978b, pp. 534ff., pl. 65; H. Roth 1978a, pp. 23ff.; Brown 1981b, pp. 24–25, fig. 38; Brown 1988, pp. 517–18; Brown 1995, pp. 33–34, fig. 42.

101. For a precise description of the decorative motif and an exhaustive stylistic analysis, see H. Roth 1978b.
102. Ibid., pp. 539ff.
103. H. Roth 1973, pp. 271ff.
104. Jørgensen 1992, p. 10.
105. Ibid., p. 10.
106. Rupp 1995, pp. 65ff.; for the brooches from grave 2 at Nocera Umbra, see *Arti del fuoco* 1994, pp. 67ff., fig. 36.
107. Von Hessen 1971, pp. 27ff., pls. 5–7.
108. H. Roth 1973, pp. 60ff., pl. 7.
109. Rupp 1995, pp. 65ff., fig. 7 in text.
110. Jørgensen 1992, pp. 2ff.
111. Rupp 1995, pp. 65ff.; Rupp 1996, pp. 29ff.
112. Paroli 1997.

Otto Prinz von Hessen†

14. Some "Langobardic" Earrings

INTRODUCTION

Two types of gold earrings in The Metropolitan of Art, which in all likelihood come from Italy, derive their names from the form of their pendant: "basket" earrings and "trilobate" earrings. They have already been published.[1] Even though many of the earrings have similarities, they were all produced singly and never in series. Each one must be considered and assessed on the basis of its individual details. While their general shape is largely dictated by the fashions of the period, it is only by scrutinizing the minute details that we can establish the provenance of these objects and study the craftsmen who made them.

BACKGROUND

The first group, the basket earrings, has been studied in depth by Elisa Possenti, whose excellent work puts into perspective the examples both in Italy and in collections abroad, including those in the Metropolitan.[2] A major problem facing those who would classify these objects by style or chronology is that most of those in museums outside Italy have been acquired from antiquities dealers and therefore lack clear information about the circumstances of their discovery and provenance. Thus, many questions remain unanswered, although new and systematic excavations in Italy may shed some

light on these. With a number of others, a reasonable amount can be determined with regard to where they were discovered. The earrings from the Langobardic cemeteries at Castel Trosino[3] or Nocera Umbra,[4] for example, provide a chronological reference point. Similarly, certain women's graves discovered in central Europe contain comparable earrings among other artifacts and thereby provide useful markers for establishing Italian chronology.

The formal and chronological developments of the basket earrings in Italy are clear in outline.[5] The prototypes of these earrings have been found in graves and treasures from the late fourth century and carry on through the fifth and sixth centuries. Excellent examples are items unearthed among the treasures from the Piazza della Consolazione in Rome, now in the Dumbarton Oaks Museum in Washington, D.C. (see p. 62 above).[6] Here we see jewelry that was developed by Roman goldsmiths. Even though the items might have been worn by Langobard women after their arrival in Italy, they were, nevertheless, produced by local craftsmen. Such definitions as "Byzantine" or "Langobard" no longer correspond to reality, as exemplified by the earring with gold filigree basket pendant and birds surrounding a central element (fig. 11.7).

Type 1 Basket Earrings

The basket earrings can be subdivided into main and subsidiary groups, of which two are dealt with here. The first, referred to as Type 1, is slightly earlier than Type 2. It contains earrings on which the basket is of copper-alloy sheet folded in the form of a fluted goblet. The pair (fig. 14.1) and a single example (fig. 14.2) from the Baxter collection in the Metropolitan are of this type. Earrings of this shape are to be found in
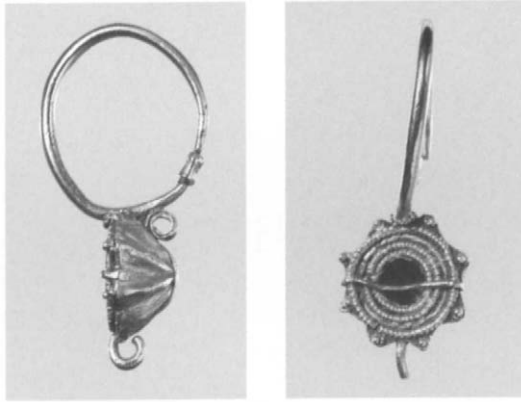
14.1 Pair of earrings, side and front views. Gold. Italian, 6th–7th century. Height 4.6 cm. (95.15.118, .119)
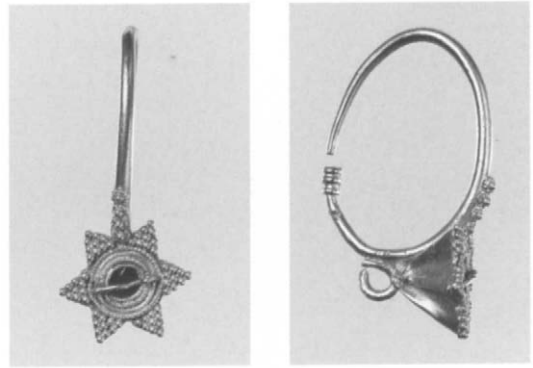
14.2 Earring, front and side views, with enlarged detail. Gold. Italian, 6th–7th century. Height 4.1 cm. (95.15.127)

14.3 Distribution of Type 1 basket earrings in Italy (adapted from Possenti 1994, fig. 1)

14.4 Distribution of Type 2 basket earrings in Italy (adapted from Possenti 1994, fig. 2)

165
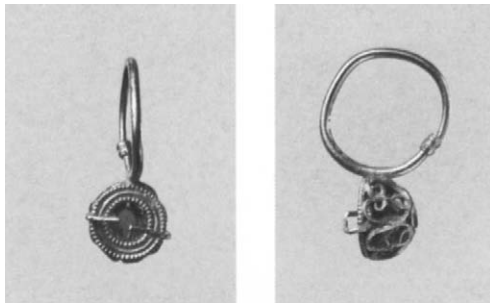
14.5 Earring, front and side views. Gold. Italian, 6th–7th century. Height 2.7 cm. (95.15.120)

14.6 Pair of earrings, front and side views, actual size and detail, enlarged. Gold, pearl, glass. Italian, 7th century. Height 4.5 cm. (95.15.124, .125)

two distinct subgroups that are distributed mainly in northeastern Italy (fig. 14.3) and the adjacent areas of Austria, Slovenia, and southern Germany.[7] Another group with this form, however, is found in central Italy and Sardinia. The pair from the Baxter collection most probably comes from central Italy, for which the pair from Nocera Umbra, grave 4,[8] offers comparisons. From the Baxter collection comes a further pair of Type 1 earrings (95.15.338 and .339), made of silver, the surface condition of which is poor. Each fluted sheet pendant is covered with a hemispherical boss with a large applied granule in the center.

Type 2 Basket Earrings
Type 2 basket earrings have a pendant that is shaped as an openwork hemisphere which may be executed in real or pseudo filigree. Numerically, this is the largest group known so far, with many variants. Examples are found throughout Italy and Sicily (fig. 14.4), but have also appeared in graves of the Keszthely culture in Hungary, in Bavarian and Alemannic graves, and even in areas ruled by the Franks.[9] The two examples from the tomb of Queen Arnegunde (ca. 565–70), grave 49, discovered in 1959 at the Basilica of Saint Denis in Paris, exemplify this.[10]

The type is also often found in female graves in cemeteries that are clearly identifiable as Langobardic. One earring from the Baxter collection at the Metropolitan,

which has a number of good parallels to items found at Castel Trosino, belongs to this group (fig. 14.5).[11] It may be that the pair came from that very cemetery, because Samuel Baxter purchased gold fittings that had been found at Castel Trosino before the official excavations began (see p. 140).[12] The Baxter earrings can be further subgrouped

14.7 Earring, front and side views. Gold, garnet. Italian, 6th–7th century. Height 5 cm. (95.15.126)

14.8 Earring, front and side views. Gold, garnet. Italian, 7th century. Height 5 cm. (95.15.121)

14.9 Earring, front and side views. Gold. Italian, 6th–7th century. Height 4.2 cm. (17.191.9)

14.10 Earring, front and side views. Gold, stone, glass. Italian, 7th century. Height 4 cm. (17.191.10)

with about thirteen examples that are known from Italy but for which the provenance is known in only two cases: those from Borgomasino, and a pair from the tomb at Santa Cristina di Bolsena.[13] In these the cover of the basket is decorated with settings containing stones or glass paste. This particular type, which should be generally dated from the seventh century, is represented in the Metropolitan by one pair (fig. 14.6). So far the type is known only among examples in museums

and not from excavations. Therefore, the suggested date is based mainly on observations regarding their style.

Other subgroups of Type 2 in the Metropolitan collections show a range of variation in decorating the basket cover. On one (fig. 14.7), a zone of rectangular garnets on patterned foils surrounds a line of granulation around a central circular setting (now missing). It resembles another (fig. 14.8), but in this case a zone of wavy

14.11 Pair of earrings, front and side views. Gold. Italian, 6th–7th century. Height 4.5 cm. (95.15.84, .85)

14.12 Earring, front and side views. Gold, glass. Italian, 6th–7th century. Height 4.2 cm. (95.15.86)

ribbon is applied around the center. Both have a line of rectangular cloisonné cells for inlays around part of the hoop. A broad band of filigree S-scrolls can be seen on another piece (fig. 14.9), flanked by a filigree border around the central setting. Thus the Metropolitan collections display the variety of basket earrings, a form of jewelry worn by the local peoples in Italy between the fifth and the seventh century.

Type 3 Basket Earrings
The Metropolitan has an example of the Type 3 basket earring, which has a closed basket made of gold sheet (fig. 14.10), and it is included here for completeness. The decoration on the front of the pendant is almost exactly the same as that of a Type 2 example (fig. 14.6). The back of the pendant is decorated with small rings of applied wire, forming a cross with expanded ends.

The Trilobate Earrings
With regard to the second group in the Metropolitan, the so-called Langobardic earrings with three-lobed, box-shaped pendants, it is

more difficult to give a precise classification because there is no information so far regarding the date and circumstances of their discovery (figs. 14.11–14.13). Approximately twenty-five examples of this type are known in about ten museums around the world; every item has come from the antiquities market or from collections that have been donated. Though none provides information about where it was discovered, other than an occasional indication that the item is "from Italy," the manufacture and the details of the ornament correspond so closely to the basket earrings that it is likely these earrings were produced in the same period and probably came from the same goldsmith's workshop.

Only one recent publication, by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Cagliari in Sardinia, which appeared in 1987, has shed new light on the provenance of these earrings.[14] At Dolianova, gold earrings were discovered with pendants that, though flat, have the trilobate outline or shape. One of these has small pendant bells.[15] By coincidence, one of the basket earrings of Type 1 also has a similar pendant bell.[16] The com-

14.13 Earring, front and side views. Gold, glass. Italian, 6th–7th century. Height 4.4 cm. (95.15.87)

parison would tend to confirm that both types were produced in the same period and the same workshop. Together, the observations regarding the Sardinian objects and the strong similarity of decoration on both types of earring tend to bear out what was suggested earlier, even though concrete evidence is lacking.

These observations, based admittedly on the very few Sardinian items, may lead us closer to understanding the provenance of the trilobate earrings. The earrings seem to have been acquired by various museums in the second half of the nineteenth century, the very period in which many excavations were taking place in Sardinia, particularly at Tharros. Many objects in the British Museum come from such excavations, and some of these are mixed together with Early Medieval finds. Consequently the hypothesis that these pieces also originally came from Sardinia may be put forward. The total absence of similar finds from mainland excavations leads us to suggest, albeit cautiously, that the trilobate earrings *a scatolina* (in folded metal) represent a local Sardinian variety

that was produced toward the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century in a local style, by goldsmiths from the mainland, for wealthy Sardinians.

Conclusion

The forms of Early Medieval basket earrings are clearly part of a sequence of development in Italy, based on earlier models. The trilobate forms, which are more localized in their distribution, are related to the basket earrings by their decoration. Both types, from Italy and Sardinia respectively, were primarily destined for local inhabitants and were probably produced by the same craftsmen, without any real Langobardic or Byzantine influence.[17]

Translated by Jeremy Magorian

1. Brown 1980, pp. 272–75.
2. Possenti 1994. The pieces figured here are reproduced in her book as follows: fig. 14.1—pl. XLV, 3, 4, p. 105, no. 2; fig. 14.5—pl. XLV, 5, 6, p. 105, no. 4; fig. 14.6—pl. LI, 4, 5, p. 110, no. 30; fig. 14.7—pl. L.2, p. 109, no. 26; fig. 14.9—pl. XLVII, 2, p. 107, no. 13; fig. 14.10—pl. LIII, 4, pp. III-2, no. 37.
3. Mengarelli 1902.
4. Pasqui and Paribeni 1918.
5. Possenti 1994, p. 46.
6. Ross 1965.
7. Possenti 1994, p. 113, List 1, with maps p. 50, fig. 1, and p. 114, fig. 3.
8. Ibid., pl. IV, 1–2.
9. Ibid., p. 115, List 2, with maps p. 50, fig. 2, and p. 114, fig. 4.
10. Fleury and France-Lanord 1979.
11. Possenti 1994, pl. XLV, 5, 6.
12. Von Hessen 1975, pp. 13ff.
13. Ibid., pp. 62–63.
14. Serra 1987, pp. 105ff., pls. II and IV.
15. See the pair from Sardinia in Santoni 1989, p. 269, no. 33.
16. Possenti 1994, pl. IIV, 1–3.
17. Due to the sudden death of the author before completion of the editorial process, this article largely represents the paper delivered on May 23, 1995, with only minimal additions for completeness. Its clarity and elegance make the presentation a highly desirable contribution to the volume, and the editors accept full responsibility for any errors or deficiencies in this version. The editors wish to thank Dr. Elisa Possenti for her advice and assistance.

Éva Garam

15. The Vrap Treasure

INTRODUCTION

In 1917 the Viennese scholar Josef Strzygowski[1] published what remains the standard work on a remarkable treasure, the discovery of which is known only in outline. In 1901 near the town of Vrap, south of Tirana in present-day Albania (see fig. 15.1), a copper cauldron was found containing various artifacts. These included ten metal vessels: a silver jug, a silver bucket with a handle, four gold chalices, and four small bowls, three of gold and one of silver, each with a grip handle (pl. 18). In addition, there were two fittings from a gold candlestick, thirty gold belt mounts, including some that were only half-finished, and several gold bars and strips. According to the Munich scholar Joachim Werner, who supplemented Strzygowski's study in 1986,[2] the total weight of gold in the treasure was 5,554 g and of silver 1,483 g.

Many of the objects were acquired by the Austrian consul in Durazzo, Rémi de Kwiatkowski, between 1902 and 1907. In 1911, after he had moved to Rome as consul general, they were unsuccessfully offered to The Metropolitan Museum of Art and subsequently to J. Pierpont Morgan, who acquired them. After the latter's death in 1913, they went to the Metropolitan. Of the other pieces originally from Vrap, one bowl in the Economo collection in Paris is now in the

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (fig. 16.1), and a chalice is in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul. Ever since Strzygowski's magisterial study, the Vrap Treasure has been associated with archaeological material belonging to the Avar period in the Carpathian basin on the basis of the form and decoration of the belt mounts. Werner tried to reconstruct the history of the Vrap objects' manufacture and concealment, and he dated them, according to his rather contentious theory of late Avar chronology, to the end of the seventh century.[3]

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the seventh century much of Europe and Asia had been influenced by the eastern Roman Empire, the center of which, since 330, was Constantinople. This eastern part of the former Roman Empire developed a special amalgam of different cultures. Based on a Latin, Greek, and Hellenistic heritage, and permeated by the influences of barbarian and nomadic cultures of Far Eastern and Scythian origin, a new culture began to be formed. This so-called Byzantine culture attained its peak in the sixth century, during the reign of Justinian (527–65).[4] This extensive empire encompassed a network of commercial roads, distributing the products of goldsmiths, weavers and leather-workers, glass blowers, potters, and armorers from such centers as Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Thessalonica. The empire became a market, but traders were not the only ones using these roads: they also served as routes for the craftsmen themselves, who sometimes traveled a long distance from home. They settled in foreign towns and sought to satisfy the taste of the local people.

As a preface to what follows, it should be said that there is no way of studying the related archaeological material, or even groups of

material, without considering the interaction between these different cultural and artistic characteristics. The theory "Orient *or* Rome," which sought to evaluate the influences that shaped Byzantine culture but, in doing so, polarized the two principal sources of influence,[5] is now seen to be old-fashioned. Instead, in order to understand Byzantine civilization we must also consider the cultures of central Asia, Sassanid Iran, and the nomadic world, but never as opposing forces. According to a remarkable paper by Csanád Bálint, the theory "Orient *or* Rome" should be corrected to "Orient *and* Rome."[6]

Avar delegates were sent to Justinian in 558, the year the Avars, a people of Central Asian origin, were attacked by the Turks. Their mission was to ask for land and permission to settle within Byzantium's borders in exchange for service to the empire. Consequently, from 567/68 the Carpathian basin became their home. Despite periods of war, the Avars always maintained active contact with Constantinople by means of diplomatic missions, by trade during times of peace, and by the Byzantine payment of tribute, all of which accounts for the great number of Byzantine products found among Avar material of the sixth and seventh centuries.[7]

In 626, the Avar empire suffered a defeat at the hands of Byzantium, which caused a break in contact between the two powers. In 680, the appearance of a new, half-feudal nomadic population group in the lower Danube region put an end to direct Avar-Byzantine territorial contact. This group of Bulgar-Turkish-speaking people founded their new state in the area west of the Black Sea, a predecessor of what is now Slavonic-speaking Bulgaria. In their former homeland, the Dnieper-Dniester region, this people had been in contact with the Byzantine Empire and also with the Avars of the

15.1 The location of Vrap and related finds

Carpathian basin. Their khagan or chief ruler, Kuvrat, died around 650. According to Werner, the outstanding Ukrainian grave find of Maloe-Pereshchepino, which contains products of Sassanid, Persian, Byzantine, Avar, Onogur-Bulgar, nomadic, and Christian character, should be regarded as his burial.[8] A study of historical sources by István Bóna leads to the conclusion that, in the last third of the seventh century, Kuber, one of Kuvrat's sons, moved into the Carpathian basin and became a subject of the Avar khagan. In 680 Kuvrat's other son, Asparuch, became the first ruler of the new Danubian-Bulgar empire.[9] Such is the brief historical background of central and eastern Europe at the time of the deposit of the Vrap Treasure.

THE VRAP TREASURE
The theory, generally accepted until now, that the gold objects of Vrap belonged to a khagan's treasury of the late Avar period, is

15.2–15.3 Two belt mounts. Gold sheet. Second half 7th–first half 8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 3.8 cm. (17.190.1685 a–d); length 3.9 cm. (17.190.1695)
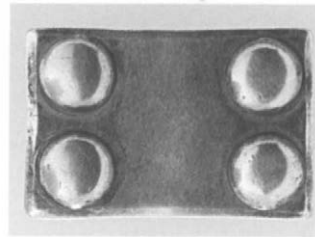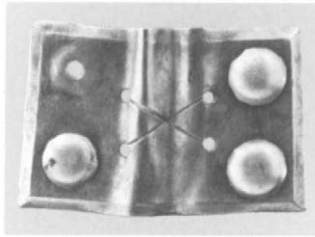
15.4–15.5 Two belt mounts. Gold sheet. Second half 7th–first half 8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 2.6 cm. (17.190.1694a); height 1.9 cm. (17.190.1694b)
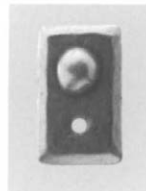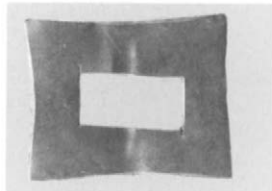
based on a number of observations. First, the appearance of half-finished articles among the treasure rules out the possibility that it is a grave find. Second, the belt fittings from Vrap have a shape and decoration similar to ones from the Carpathian basin datable to the eighth century. Third, there are several graves known from the Carpathian basin of early Avar chiefs, dating from the seventh century and all rich in gold objects. According to Werner, most of the Vrap objects, both the vessels and the half-finished products, belonged to a goldsmith working for the treasury and were destined to be melted down as raw material.[10]

The Vrap Treasure came to light in an area six hundred kilometers south of the Carpathian-basin center of the Avar empire, in an area hitherto lacking related finds (fig. 15.1). Its two major component groups are the vessels (pl. 18) and the belt fittings. The vessels are discussed in greater detail in paper 16, below. Several of them are undoubtedly Byzantine products: the gilt-silver jug or ewer, the silver-handled bucket,

and the gold "chalices" decorated with a fish-scale pattern or figural motifs. The small gold and silver bowls with grip handles are regarded as a "nomadic" type of vessel.[11] The scrollwork pattern on the handle of one of these bowls resembles the decoration of the belt mounts in the treasure. On the basis of shape, the jug, the four chalices, and the four bowls could be considered pieces belonging to the same set. The function of the small bucket is still not clear. Each one of the ten vessels could be associated either with seventh- to eighth-century Avar material from the Carpathian basin, or with rich seventh-century graves belonging to the Onogur-Bulgars in the Dnieper-Dniester region. But if these vessels in the Vrap Treasure had indeed come from a grave, they would constitute the richest burial of an Avar chief so far known.

THE BELT FITTINGS
The belt fittings have a considerable number of parallels, decorated with scroll and griffin motifs, but, cast of bronze, they are so far
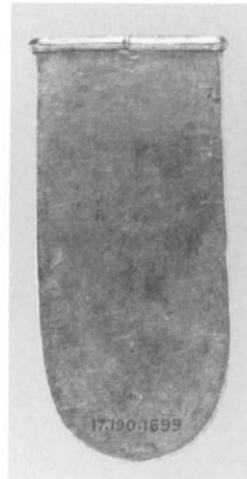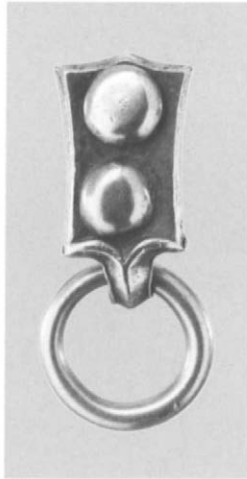
15.6 Belt mount, one of two (front and back). Cast gold. Second half 7th–first half 8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 5 cm. (17.190.1690)

15.7. Strap end, one of seven. Gold sheet. Second half 7th–first half 8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 5.6 cm. (17.190.1699)

found only among the Avar material of the Carpathian basin. According to the parallels and to their context, both the sheet fittings (figs. 15.2–15.7) and the cast (figs. 15.8–15.20) fittings are all contemporary and belong to the same material horizon. Belt fittings of this type found in the Carpathian basin were manufactured in the first third of the eighth century and continued in use until the middle of the century. Taking Vrap as a whole complex, the seventeen different kinds of belt fittings represented in the find show a complete range of types. The Hungarian scholar József Hampel's great catalogue was the only work available on the subject before 1901, and it contains only a limited number of parallels resembling the Vrap belt fittings.[12]

The same may be said of parallels published since Hampel that differ in the means of attachment, the shape of the suspension mounts, and the pattern of scrollwork. Among the many thousands of cast copper-alloy belt fittings in the Carpathian basin there is no one single piece that would be a perfect parallel to any of the Vrap mounts. It is inconceivable that anyone at the beginning of the twentieth century would have chosen only the right combination from among the copper-alloy belt mounts to create what now appear to be perfectly authentic belt fittings in gold.

During an investigation of the Vrap belt fittings in the Metropolitan, significant variations in the degree of use or wear could be observed. Some pieces show no signs of use, while others are very worn. The sheet mounts have plates of variable thickness (e.g., figs. 15.2–15.7). Several of the rectangular fittings are very worn, particularly one with marked traces of wear on the edges and on the rivets (fig. 15.3). Of the two mounts with a pendant ring, one is hardly worn at all, while the other (fig. 15.6) shows more use. Seven tongue-shaped, hollow strap ends (e.g., fig. 15.7) have no signs of wear. Earlier, these undecorated small strap ends were generally considered to be "old" pieces of the treasure, but they turn out to be half-finished products: they have no rivet holes for fastening them to the strap. This type of strap end was still in use at the beginning of the eighth century. Examples can be found together in the same belt set with the type of sheet mounts that also appears with cast belt fittings.[13] The other sheet mounts in the Vrap Treasure—for instance, the rectangles (figs. 15.2–15.4) and those with a circular suspension element (fig. 15.6)—are well-known Avar types of the late seventh and the early eighth century. They can also be found in southern Russia[14] and in the lower Danube area[15] during the same period, and they even appear in Albania
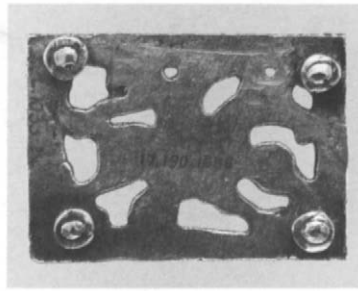
15.8 Openwork belt mount (front and back). Cast gold. First half 8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 4.2 cm. (17.190.1686)
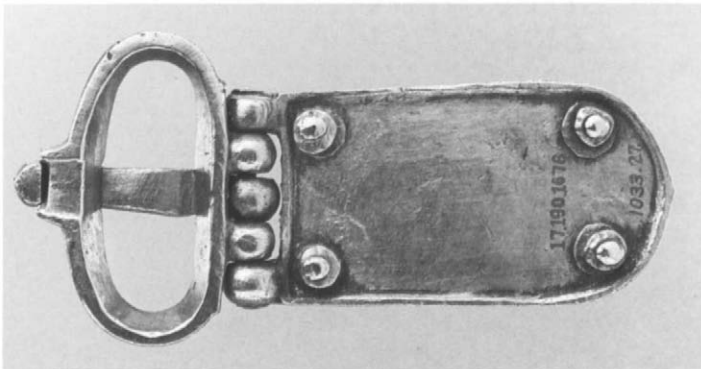
15.9 Buckle (front and back). Cast gold. First half 8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 8.8 cm. (17.190.1678)

in graves of the Comani culture.[16] All of these were made of copper alloy, rather than of gold as at Vrap.

Only one other mount with a circular suspension element made of gold is known from the Carpathian basin, but unfortunately its exact provenance is unknown.[17] A silver mount of this type from Somoşeni in Transylvania (Romania),[18] found in a grave dug into

the side of a Slav burial mound, is in size and shape very similar to the one from Vrap. It is part of a belt set (fig. 15.21a–c) containing a plain buckle and horseshoe-shaped hole guards which, in terms of their shape, scrollwork pattern, and means of attachment, are also like those from Vrap (figs. 15.13 and 15.14). The rectangular sheet-gold mounts have parallels from rich graves of the Onogur-Bulgars and other steppe nomads in south Russia.[19]

The cast-gold fittings from Vrap are almost all decorated with scrollwork. The exception is the rectangular mount with griffin ornament (fig. 15.8), the only one in the group with animal decoration and also with no signs of wear. The buckle (fig. 15.9) is hardly worn at all. The other fittings also show few signs of wear. These include four mounts, each with a pendant loop (e.g., figs. 15.10–15.12), and three horseshoe-shaped mounts called "hole guards" (e.g., figs. 15.13, 15.14), used to reinforce the adjustment holes in the belt. Two rectangular hollow mounts, each of which served to retain the end of the belt after it had passed through the buckle loop, show traces of wear, one more than the other (figs. 15.15–15.16). In contrast, the large openwork belt end (fig. 15.17) is conspicuously worn, especially around the terminal. With the exception of this piece and the two belt retainers, all the mounts have attachment rivets cast or soldered on the back. It should be noted that a group of three casts, previously called half-finished, are, in fact, defective pieces (figs. 15.18–15.20).

The cast-gold belt mounts from Vrap have no known parallels in that metal, except some pieces with the rather uncertain prove-

15.10–15.12 Three belt mounts. Cast gold. 7th–8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Maximum length 5.7 cm. (17.190.1681, .1693, and .1689)

15.13–15.14 Two belt hole guards with one back view. Cast gold. First half 8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Maximum length 2.6 cm. (17.190.1688 and .1698)
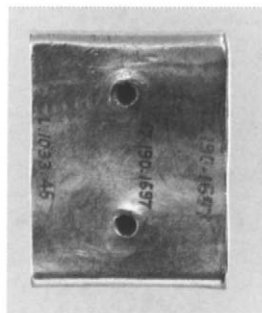
15.15–15.16 Two belt retainers. Cast gold. First half 8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 3.3 cm. (17.190.1683 and .1697)

nance of Erseke in Albania, the so-called Avar Treasure.[20] There are mounts with a similar shape and decoration from the Carpathian basin, but they have a different means of attachment, and all are made of copper alloy or are at most gilded.

Cast-silver belt mounts are also very rare in the late Avar material. A large mount and a horseshoe-shaped hole guard from Komárno, Slovakia (fig. 15.21d and e)[21] are both decorated with scrollwork ornament like the ones from Vrap. This hole guard also

15.17 Openwork belt end.
Cast gold. First half 8th century.
From Vrap, Albania. Length
12.7 cm. (17.190.1673)
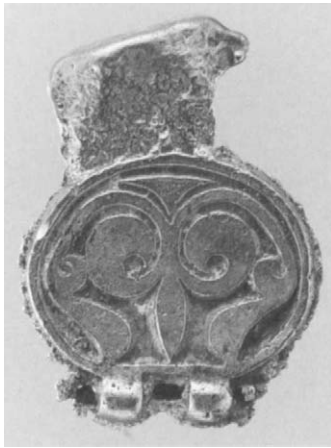
15.18–15.20 Three miscast and
unfinished belt mounts. Gold.
First half 8th century. From
Vrap, Albania. Maximum length
5.5 cm. (17.190.1701, .1676,
and .1696)

has the same method of attachment as one from Vrap. There is even more resemblance among some recently found cast-silver and gilt copper-alloy mounts from Bulgaria: a similarly shaped buckle with scrollwork decoration and a shield-shaped belt fitting from Zlatare (fig. 15.21f and h);[22] and a large strap end with scrollwork and another one with a griffin-decorated upper part from Velino near Pliska[23] (fig. 15.21g and i). The latter has a similar border to the mount with griffin ornament at Vrap. There are cast-silver belt fittings and shield-shaped mounts decorated with a bird motif from Fativizh, in south Russia; from the same area, at Stolbica, come cast-bronze belt fittings with scrollwork that are dated to the first third of the eighth century by coins of Theodosius III and Leo II.[24]

THE KHAGAN PROBLEM

These comparative finds, which have already been discussed by Werner,[25] have caused a reconsideration of the generally accepted view that the Vrap Treasure belonged to a khagan's treasury or to his goldsmith's workshop. There are several reasons for doubting this view. No burial of any late Avar khagan is known; thus, it is unknown what might have belonged to such a treasury. Since all the vessels from Vrap could have turned up
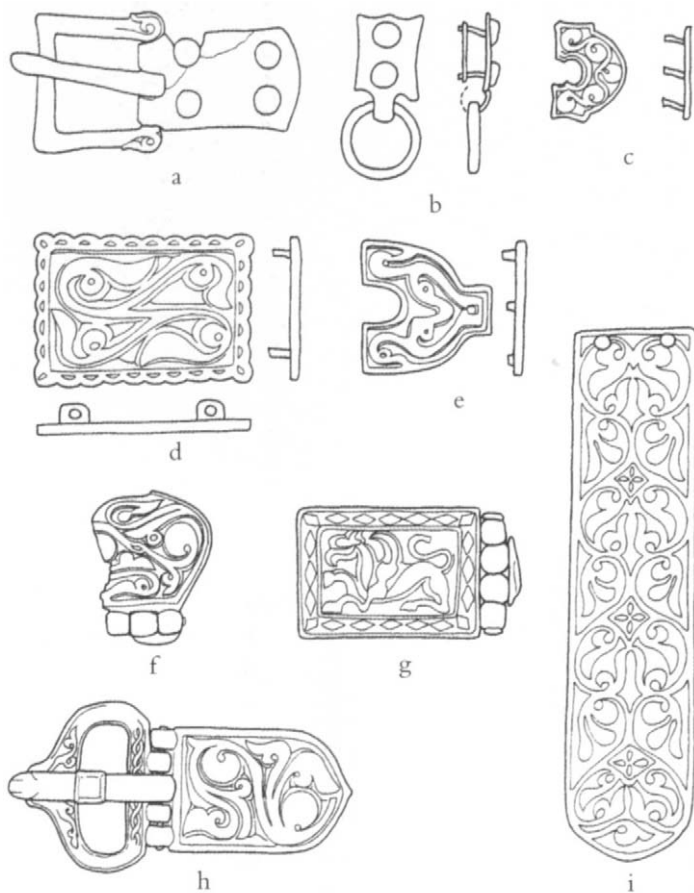
15.21 Silver and copper-alloy belt fittings: from Somoşeni, Transylvania, Romania (a–c); from Komárno, Slovakia (d, e); from Zlatare, Bulgaria (f, h); from Velino, Bulgaria (g, i)

in any of the regions bordering the eastern Roman Empire, they would not necessarily belong to one of the Avar chiefs living in the Carpathian basin. According to the latest research, it is becoming certain that the twenty-three vessels in the famous treasure from Nagyszentmiklós (now Sînnicolaul Mare in Romania) did belong to an Avar khagan's treasury,[26] probably concealed after the political downfall of the Avar empire at the end of the eighth or the very beginning of the ninth century.

Considering the striking technical and artistic differences in quality between the two treasures, there is no doubt that the objects from Vrap could only have belonged to a chief of lower rank. The Nagyszentmiklós type of gold belt mounts are small

in number but well known. These are of gold, cast and decorated with a highly stylized scroll motif, such as have been found at Mátészalka and Prestovác.[27] These finds show the existence of gold fittings from the late Avar period, but they differ in both shape and decoration from the ones at Vrap. The Vrap-type belt fittings made of silver were in graves of the general population, at least in those cases where the circumstances of the finds are known.[28] It is misleading to imagine that the belt mounts of a late Avar khagan would be identical with those of the general population, except made of gold. This is not the case in the well-known graves of chiefs among the Avars and Onogur-Bulgars, whose cast gold pseudo-buckles and granulation-decorated belt fittings are

copied by only a few poor-quality versions known from graves of the general population. On the other hand, some types of gold mounts from such graves cannot be found in the burials of chiefs. Why should it be assumed, then, that the eighth-century Avar khagans wore exactly the same kind of belts as their people, but with mounts made of gold?

Gold-mounted belts with the so-called pseudo-buckles were an indication of high rank in the early Avar period, from the mid-sixth to the mid-seventh century, both within and outside Avaria. Whole belt sets or individual fittings of this type have been found at six find spots in the Carpathian basin, at two places in southern Russia, and at one in Bulgaria.[29] Almost the same applies to the mounts decorated with granulation, with a slight difference in the frequency of their distribution: more come from southern Russia, with only two from the Carpathian basin and another one from Bulgaria.[30] All have a Byzantine method of attachment, especially the pseudo-buckles. It should be noted, however, that Byzantine tools and matrices for producing sheet ornaments have been found in early Avar goldsmiths' graves. All these products, therefore, coming from a large area, appear to be similar and of the same period, all made with the same technique and decorated with the same ornaments.

Naturally, objects that had the same origins were altered, and both shapes and decoration were improvised. In this way variants of the same main type became popular, widespread, and generally used. In some cases, however, the first pieces, the prototypes, went to faraway lands as gifts or by trading, but did not become popular. Something of the kind must have happened with the late Avar belt mounts and those that were similarly ornamented. The earliest of them in gold, silver, or sometimes copper alloy have the same method of attachment as Byzantine buckles, that is, with small, cast attachment loops or attachment shanks on the back. Objects with a similar method of attachment are known from the Crimea,

Caucasus, the Carpathian basin, Bulgaria, Italy, Sicily, and also from the coast of northern Africa. They include buckles with openwork decoration in the form of a griffin and mounts with scrollwork ornament. Several examples from Bulgaria with a griffin ornament that is similar to ones from the Carpathian basin have a different basic shape.[31] These therefore cannot be considered pieces originating from Avar territory.

Taking into account recent studies, it may be concluded that the style incorporating a griffin and scroll is a result of the cultural interaction between the Orient and Rome.[32] In the eighth century this ornament was in full bloom, in its own characteristic way, in the Carpathian basin. It became a popular and widespread motif there, while its appearance only sporadically outside the region reflects the shared roots. Unfortunately the period of the griffin-and-scroll style in the Carpathian basin is illuminated by no written source at all. One thing is certain: the relative chronology of finds from coin-dated graves and from stratified graves and the typology of the cast belt fittings[33] prove that the belt mounts of Vrap type in the Carpathian basin cannot be dated before the first third of the eighth century. The suggestion that belt mounts with griffin-and-scroll decoration were already in use around 680 is untenable.[34]

CONCLUSION

The belt mounts of the Vrap Treasure belong to one material horizon. If they had been part of an Avar khagan's treasury, they must have been produced, concealed, and stolen at almost the same time. To the best of our knowledge, eighth-century Avar history has no significant event that could be associated with the treasure or with its location and concealment at Vrap. It cannot be proved that the Vrap Treasure reached Albania from Avar territory, or that it belonged to an Avar khagan's treasury or to his goldsmith as part of a raw-material supply. In the lower Danube region, however, the descendants of the once-rich Onogur-Bulgar ruler Kuvrat

might have possessed similarly decorated gold mounts and vessels. Written sources reveal that Byzantium was paying tribute to the Bulgar empire at the beginning of the eighth century. From 715 to 716 the Bulgar khagan even held the Imperial rank of "Caesar" and was presented with various rich gifts and clothing by Byzantium.[35]

Finally, the provenance of the Vrap Treasure must be considered in relation to that of the mysterious "Avar Treasure," handled in 1981 by Sotheby's, and to objects from the less-researched Comani culture in Albania, for instance, suspension mounts with anchor-shaped ends similar to the ones in the Avar Treasure. The Vrap pieces were purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan some ten years after they had come to light and already been dispersed. Were the half-finished or miscast products created in this period? Might the gold ingots (of which there were originally seven; 17.190.1680) and strips (17.190.1643–1645) have been added as well? A metal analysis of the gold would be crucial in establishing the chronological relation between the individual pieces. Further studies and research are needed to answer numerous questions about the material. To sum up: the vessels and belt mounts of the Vrap Treasure could have come from the Carpathian basin, but, in view of the historical, economic, and cultural background of the Avars, and also the results of archaeological research into this people, alternative explanations are also possible.[36]

1. Strzygowski 1917.
2. Werner 1986.
3. Ibid., pp. 19–23, 65.
4. Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968.
5. Strzygowski 1917.
6. Bálint 1992.
7. Bóna 1984.
8. Werner 1984.
9. Bóna 1970.
10. Werner 1986, pp. 66–69.
11. Ibid., p. 37.
12. Hampel 1894–97.
13. Similar, though not identical, parallels to the Vrap belt fittings can be found from many other cemeteries of the Avar period. Apart from analogies already cited, important parallels can be found in the Tiszafüred cemetery excavated by the author (Garam 1995). In this cemetery, graves 25, 46, 199, 474, 496, 537, 680, 871, 1019, 1084, 1142, 1194, 1197, 1221, and 1264 contain buckles and belt fittings with shape and ornament similar to those from Vrap. Especially to be noted is grave 388, with five unornamented small strap ends of copper-alloy plate, together with such square fittings of plate that can also be found in cast sets.
14. Erdélyi 1982, figs. 6 (Borisovo), 10 (Pereshchepino), 29 (Stolbica).
15. Fiedler 1992, vol. 2, pls. 102:7, 106:29: Drivolje.
16. Spahiu 1964, pl. 5:1–2.
17. Garam 1984, fig. 4.
18. Macrea 1958; Werner 1984, fig. 4.
19. For Kunbábony, see Tóth and Horváth 1992, colorpl. II, pls. XV:4, XV:10–11; for Pereshchepino, see Bobrinskoi 1914, pp. 110–20, fig. 40.
20. See Avar Treasure sale 1981; Werner 1986, pls. 27, 28.
21. Čilinská 1982.
22. *Pliska-Preslav* 1981, pl. 24:53–4.
23. Stanilov and Atanasov 1993.
24. Erdélyi 1982, figs. 79, 80.
25. Werner 1986, fig. 18, pl. 29:4–5.
26. Bóna 1984, pp. 344–45; Bálint 1989, pp. 187–92.
27. For Mátészalka, see Garam 1984, fig. 7; for Prestovác, see Hampel 1905, vol. 3, pl. 320:1–2,4–5.
28. For Komárno-Váradi ul. 14, see Čilinská 1982; for Someşeni, see note 18 above.
29. Tóth and Horváth 1992.
30. For Russia, see Bálint 1992; for Hungary, see Garam 1988; for Bulgaria, see Mikov 1934, p. 429.
31. Stanilov 1991, pl. IV.
32. Daim 1990; Bálint 1992.
33. Garam 1991; Garam 1992.
34. Werner 1986, p. 65.
35. Fiedler 1992, p. 27.
36. Since submission of the manuscript for this article (May 1995), two articles have been published concerning the Vrap Treasure: G. Kiss 1995 and Fiedler 1996.

16. Some Avar and Balkan Connections of the Vrap Treasure

INTRODUCTION

Despite Josef Strzygowski's 1917 monograph[1] and the work of the Munich scholar Joachim Werner,[2] the Vrap Treasure can still only be regarded as published in a preliminary way and not fully interpreted.[3] Yet, as a recently published exhibition catalogue shows, there is enduring international interest in this material.[4] All research on Vrap has so far been carried out in two spheres, one always ignoring the other: Byzantine archaeologists study only the Byzantine objects of Vrap, contenting themselves with publishing photographs of the chalices and the bucket (pl. 18), while the Avar archaeologists ignore all the other objects that came to light together with the belt mounts, apart from the bowl with the decorated grip handle (fig. 16.1).

The truth is that Vrap seems too "barbaric" to the Byzantinists and too Byzantine to the Avar specialists. On the one hand, the Byzantine character of the treasure has always been beyond doubt, but, on the other hand, its Avar and nomad connections cannot be verified. This dual aspect of the treasure is supplemented and supported by the unusual cultural-geographical location of the provenance, in what is present-day Albania, far from the centers of both the Byzantine and Avar empires. It is clear that Vrap cannot and must not be discussed as only part of, or as solely emanating from, Avar culture. The

pressing need for a monograph on the Vrap Treasure reflects its difficulty for, in contrast to the Byzantine metalwork of the sixth and seventh centuries, little is known about that of the eighth and ninth centuries. For some scholars Vrap is Byzantine with some Avar "connections" or steppe "influences," but nobody details what such "connections" and "influences" can mean in concrete terms.[5]

The Avar connections of the Vrap Treasure are supported on the basis of only two types of objects: the belt mounts (figs. 15.2–15.20) and the bowl with decorated grip handle (fig. 16.1). Based on the illustrations in Strzygowski's book, Nándor Fettich stated that, while the belt end (fig. 15.17) and some, but not all, of the fittings are extremely worn and show traces of long use, the griffin-ornamented mount (fig. 15.8) does not.[6] What is also well known since Strzygowski's publication is that some of the belt mounts are half-finished products or defectively cast pieces (figs. 15.7 and 15.18–15.20). From the typological point of view, the fittings preserved in The Metropolitan Museum of Art cannot be regarded as part of the same belt set: the rectangular mount with griffin decoration, the shield-shaped mounts, and the belt end are all decorated with typologically different ornaments. The fact that the Avar-type belt mounts from Vrap do not belong to a complete belt puts their historical situation in a totally different light from that suggested by Werner in 1986.

RELATED FINDS IN THE BALKANS

Since 1917, archaeological research has progressed in the Balkans, especially in the last decades, and today cast belt mounts from this region are known that are typologically and ornamentally very similar to those of the Carpathian basin. The Vrap belt mounts are not so closely related to Avar belt mounts, but rather to those from the Balkans. Conse-

16.1 Bowl. Gold. Avar (?), 7th–8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 17.8 cm. (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore)
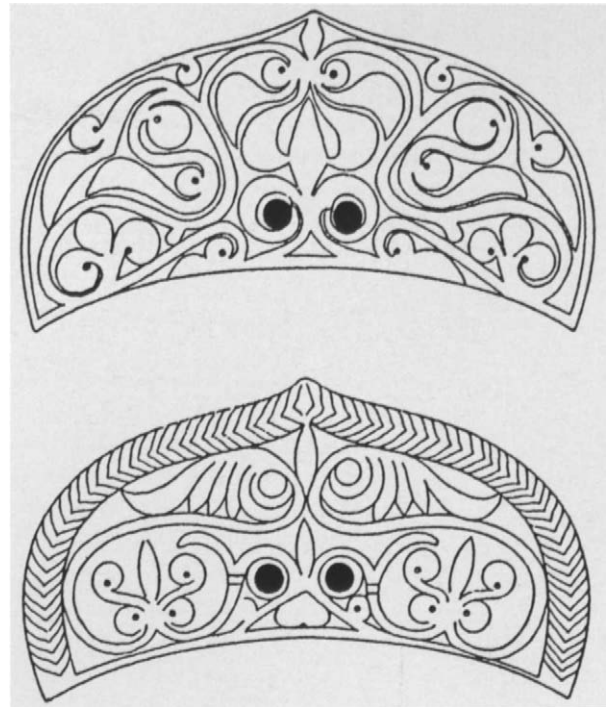
16.2 Decoration on upper and lower surface of grip handle of bowl above, approximately half actual size (after Werner 1986, fig. 6)

quently, theoretical and especially historical questions on the Avar connections of the Vrap belt mounts can no longer be considered without including the Balkan finds. The existence of Avar-type finds from the western Balkans has been known for a long time. The "Avar" finds of Dalmatia have been well published since archaeology was born there at the beginning of the twentieth century, but stray finds from Serbia and Bosnia have been considered only since the 1960s; Albanian archaeology is only in its formative stage. The major problem is whether these finds are evidence of Avar export or should rather be regarded as a more general phenomenon.

In Romania the first of the new finds is the horse grave from Tîrgşor, north of the lower Danube.[7] It was the first find to draw the attention of specialists studying the connections of late Avar belt fittings toward the Balkans. Despite its geographical distance from the Carpathian basin, scholars connected the horse grave with the Avars by

positing a simplified solution, namely, the presence of a kind of Avar garrison.[8] Since then the dating of the grave to the end of the middle Avar or to the beginning of the late Avar period, that is, to about A.D. 700, and consequently its proto-Bulgar attribution have been obvious.[9] The significance of the find in theoretical terms still remains: a belt buckle of Avar type worn outside Avar territory.

The "Avar Treasure" of Sotheby's[10] was a sensation for Avar as well as Balkan archaeology when it was auctioned in 1981. There is a mystery concerning the find circumstances and subsequent history of the "treasure," which was allegedly found in 1894 at Erseke in Albania. Several famous scholars and museums were negative or skeptical regarding its authenticity, but others have come around to recognizing it as genuine.[11] Only after a hands-on study of the belt mounts, which would include an evaluation of their technical and ornamental details, can it be clearly determined whether the treasure is

genuine. Werner, who took a positive stance on this crucial question, had not studied all these aspects.

Although the ethno-cultural background of the Tîrgşor grave can be the subject of further discussions, newly published finds from Bulgaria,[12] the most important of which have recently been evaluated and are summarized here, shed new light on the problems (fig. 15.21f–i). A large strap end and rectangular mount from Velino provide surprisingly close parallels to those of Vrap in typology, technical standard, and stylistic treatment, while the belt with a griffin-decorated buckle from grave 15 at Karamanite and the belt buckle of Avar type from Zlatare can by no means be regarded as Avar. The Balkan finds are important for Avar archaeology and for the study of Vrap because, in comparing these finds with those of the Carpathian basin, the traditional home of Avar-type cast belt mounts, we find close typological similarities but essential ethnic differences. These differences put the matter of the origin of the Vrap belt mounts, and the general origin of the central, eastern, and southeastern European cast-bronze belt sets, in a different light.

Since Karamanite, Velino, and Zlatare became known, further late Avar–type belt mounts have been made known from Bulgaria.[13] In typology, decoration, and mode of attachment they are identical to hundreds of belt mounts from the Carpathian basin that are decorated with either circular scrolls or small leaf ornaments. The small griffin-decorated belt fitting is the only piece with its decoration different from the late Avar griffins, instead faithfully following Late Antique antecedents. There are belt mounts found in the Balkans that show considerable similarities to those of the Avars but that certainly do not represent the presence of Avars. Among the pieces from belt sets found outside Avar territory there is only one exception, the belt set at Smrdelji in Croatia, which can be regarded as typologically complete. From a cultural point of

view it is of great importance that there were most probably eighth–ninth-century "ancient Croat," but certainly not Avar, graves around this find.[14]

Earlier, in the sixth and seventh centuries, in the whole of central and eastern Europe where belts were worn with any metal decoration at all, they were all of the same sheet type as that worn by the Avars. Their first appearance and diffusion are dated to the very same period, that is, about the middle or second half of the sixth century. They were in fashion for more than a century. The appearance of cast mounts can be dated relatively securely to the end of the seventh and very beginning of the eighth century, all over eastern Europe: in the Kama region, on the territory of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture, diffused between the Caucasus, the Volga, and the Dnieper, and also in the Crimea and in the Balkans. This distribution is remarkable, but it is of the greatest importance to note that none of this simultaneous diffusion of cast copper-alloy belt mounts can be explained by the migration of ethnic groups. The similarities among them are sometimes so great that if they had been found in the Carpathian basin, they would be considered Avar products. A quarter of a century ago, an active debate among archaeologists of the Carpathian basin concerned whether the widely distributed eighth-century belt sets could be regarded as the exclusive products of Avar culture or whether these belt sets were manufactured by Byzantine or Byzantine-cultured craftsmen. The fact that there are many thousand late Avar belt sets makes it obvious that their origin must be sought only within the Avar khaganate—their manufacture yes, but what about their cultural roots?

SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A first question is whether belt mounts of the Avar type to be found in the Balkans are products of commerce. For this to be the

case, there would need to have existed a mature Avar economy and society capable of export activity and possessing surplus production after having fulfilled the needs of the Avar population; there would also need to have been Avar merchants and regular commercial relations between the Avars and the outside world. Additionally, there would need to have been a cultural or even psychological need for prestige among the Romanized and Slav population in the Balkans that would have induced these people to wear Avar-type belt mounts. The eighth-century Balkans, however, offers no historical indication of possible Avar political or military influence or of the presence of an Avar administration. Consequently, Avar-type objects found outside the Avar khaganate cannot be regarded as evidence of Avar export or of Avar influence. A brief glance at the situation in the north is enough to prove this: in evaluating late Avar belt mounts found in present-day Poland,[15] no one would think of an Avar ethnic presence or regular commerce. Therefore, the theory of an "Avar khagan's treasury" in relation to Vrap and also the assumption of export products must both be rejected. It is much more likely, as some scholars have already suggested, that the Vrap belt mounts are the raw materials of a craftsman.[16]

Despite the general acceptance of an eighth- or eighth–ninth–century dating of the deposition of the Vrap Treasure, Werner sought to show that this treasure belonged to Kuber, whose father, Kuvrat, had been the ruler of Great Bulgaria in the Kuban region until the mid-seventh century. According to a Byzantine written source, Kuber fled to Avaria about 680, going to the Balkans some years later.[17] Consequently, according to Werner, the Vrap belt mounts would have been made before 680, in the Avar khagan's workshop.[18] This theory is not only unstable in its historical aspects, but totally impossible with respect to Avar chronology.[19] The Vrap Treasure was first associated with Kuber two decades before Werner's study,[20] but

the idea has not been accepted by specialists in Avar archaeology. It is certain that the appearance of cast Avar belt mounts in the Carpathian basin cannot, for clear chronological reasons, be connected with Kuber's migration to the region.

Stadler has established that there are mounts decorated with griffins with sickle-shaped wings from thirty-two sites in the Carpathian basin and mounts virtually identical with the one from Vrap from a further five sites.[21] There is also one from Oltenia and one from south Dalmatia. On the basis of parallels within the Carpathian basin, Stadler suggested that the workshops were around Szeged and in the Vienna-basin area. It cannot necessarily be concluded from their density within Avar territory that the finds outside the Carpathian basin are exports. According to Stadler, all variants of the griffin ornaments with sickle-shaped wings should be dated chiefly to the eighth century, a dating that corresponds to their traditional chronology. However, it is reassuring that his chronology has also been supported by a huge collection of material analyzed by Jozef Zábojník.[22] An exotic curiosity is the idea of Mircea Rusu, who, without any chronological analysis, attempted to connect the Vrap Treasure with a certain Acamir, a Slav prince in the Balkans at the end of the eighth century.[23] None of his conclusions can be regarded as archaeologically or historically proved, and his method of mixing very different data and theories cannot be accepted.

SOME NOTES ON THE VRAP VESSELS

The three bowls, each with a grip handle, belong to the other group of objects from Vrap that have parallels in the Avar goldsmith's craft. Since their publication by Strzygowski, they have always been dealt with as if only the one with a scrollwork-decorated handle existed (figs. 16.1 and 16.2). It is now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. The other two (figs. 16.3 and 16.4)
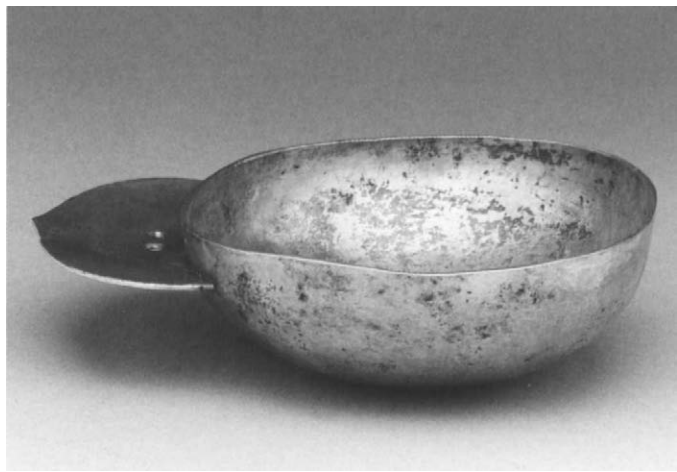
16.3 Bowl. Gold. Avar (?), 7th–8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 17.8 cm. (17.190.1708)

16.4 Bowl. Gold. Avar (?), 7th–8th century. From Vrap, Albania. Length 18 cm. (17.190.1709)

were only mentioned as being of "nomadic form" by Werner. The resemblance of the Walters one to a similar bowl in the Nagy-szentmiklós treasure was observed by many scholars as far back as the beginning of the twentieth century (fig. 16.5), and a huge literature arose concerning this latter treasure.[24] The grip-handled bowls from Vrap have a parallel also in a find from Ada (Serbia) in the lower Tisza region,[25] datable to the late Avar period, that is, the eighth century (fig. 16.6). In several details the silver bowl from Ada is a close parallel to the Nagyszentmiklós piece, but it only belongs to the same general type as the bowl with decorated grip handle from Vrap.[26] This Vrap bowl is almost round, and its handle, which is narrower and higher than that of the two others, was attached in the same way and at the same height as the one from Nagyszentmiklós.

As far as the "nomadic" form of these bowls is concerned, it is only a roughly acceptable definition, since similar objects

have indeed been found only on the steppe. However, their interpretation becomes difficult for not only do they occur rarely, but they also all belong to later centuries. The direct typological antecedents of these bowls cannot be found on the steppe in the Early Medieval period. Their origin therefore must be regarded as unknown, but they may have a relationship with late Roman and early Byzantine trullae.[27]

There is no doubt about the Byzantine origin of the other vessels from Vrap, that is, the jug, the bucket, and the chalices (pl. 18). Their technical standard indicates, however, that they are more likely to have been manufactured in a provincial rather than a central workshop of the empire. They present many problems for specialists in Byzantine metalwork of the sixth to ninth centuries, and each one requires special study: for example, the considerable resemblance between two different illustrations of guinea fowls, one on the Vrap chalice now kept in Istanbul, and the other on a horse-harness mount (?) from
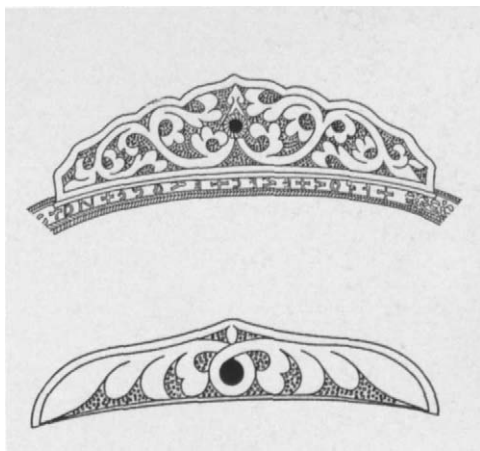
16.5–16.6 Decoration of grip handle of gold bowl from the Nagyszentmiklós treasure (now Sînnicolaul Mare, Romania) and of silver bowl from Ada, Serbia, greatly reduced (both after Werner 1986, fig. 5)

16.7 Bucket. Silver. Byzantine, 7th century. From Vrap, Albania. Height 18.5 cm. (17.190.1707)

the Amlash region of northwestern Iran.[28] A study of this one example will likewise involve a study of the whole interaction between Byzantine and Sassanian art. Nor should it be forgotten that, among the jewelry of Byzantine origin of the first half of the seventh century in the Zalesie Treasure, there is a silver plate with a guinea fowl in its center, though of poorer quality.[29] Did the craftsman depicting the Iranian guinea fowl copy a Byzantine form or vice versa? This relationship between the two in terms of their ornament and composition is certainly not an isolated case, nor is it accidental. The same question arises with the similarities between the oblique grid pattern on the handled bucket from Vrap (fig. 16.7) and with a footed bowl made in the Far East[30] under Sassanian(?) inspiration.

Another group of questions concerns the relationship between the gilt-silver jug or ewer in the Vrap Treasure (fig. 16.8) and its parallels in the Balkans. This jug and another one, from lower Danube, Serbia,[31]

are similar in form, and each has an inscription from the same biblical psalm: "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters" (Psalms 29.3).[32] The jug from Kostol was found in a house dated to the second half of the ninth century, if this dating is right.[33] As the jug from Vrap is dated to the seventh century by its official stamps (fig. 16.9),[34] this type and the quotation from the Bible were not characteristic of only a short period. But this typological relationship could also be the result of the extremely long use of the jug from Kostol: it could have been made in the eighth but buried only in the ninth century. Alternatively, it could also be considered an heirloom found accidentally, through grave robbery or among ruins, for example. Its generally Byzantine origin is supported by two similarly shaped copper-alloy jugs that came to light in Corinth, one of poorer quality and with no inscription, the other of squatter form with the same execution of its bottom part and the same technology of casting as that from Kostol.[35] The close
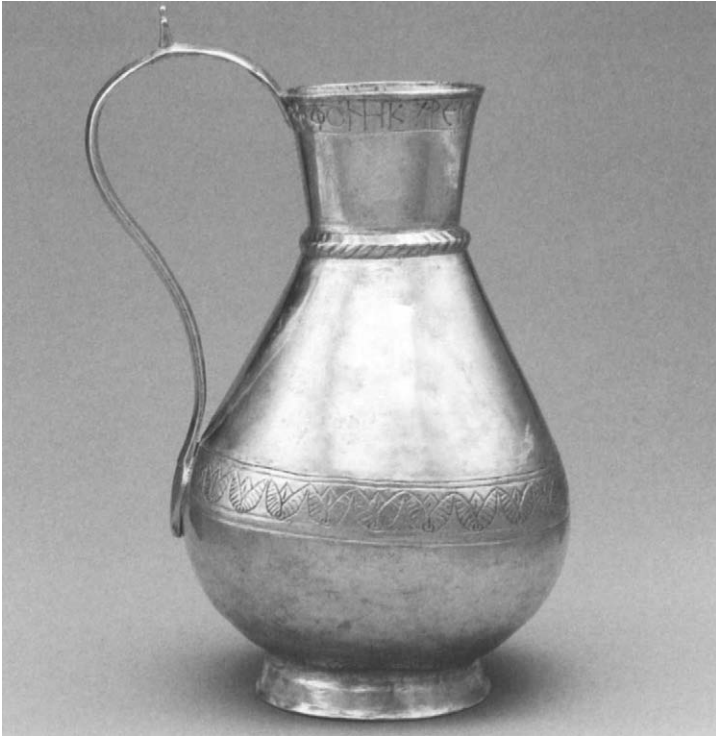
16.8 Ewer with inscription. Partially gilded silver. Byzantine, 7th century. From Vrap, Albania. Height 23.2 cm. (17.190.1704)

16.9 Base of ewer left. Diameter 8.2 cm.

typological relationship between the Vrap and Kostol jugs may be considered as archaeological proof of the often-cited conservatism of Byzantine art.

FINAL REMARKS

It is certain that the area of Vrap always belonged to the Byzantine Empire. Vrap itself is in the province of Epirus Nova, in the immediate vicinity of the Via Egnatia,[36] on one of the mountains halfway between Dyrrachion, the capital of the province, and the Byzantine fortress at Skampa.[37] The Early Medieval archaeology of Epirus Nova is considerably less researched than that of the former province Praevalis, in present-day northern Albania, where the Koman-Krujë culture was widespread from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the ninth century.[38] Much intensive exploration and publication work are needed to secure reliable archaeological data concerning the population of Albania in the sixth to tenth centuries.

The identity of the original owner of the Vrap Treasure will possibly never be worth investigating. Generally, the work of both Avar and Balkan goldsmiths must be regarded, to a greater extent, as part of Byzantine culture. Vrap is a lonely island in the ocean of the largely lost, and still almost entirely unknown, provincial Byzantine border culture of the eighth century. If belt mounts and objects ornamented with griffin and scrollwork from southeastern Europe can no longer be considered solely and

necessarily Avar products, further research
has to answer fundamental questions that
have not yet even been formulated, such as,
for instance, what is "Avar"? And the ques-
tion to follow: what is "Byzantine"?

1. Strzygowski 1917.
2. Werner 1986. A long paper on the treasure, written
   by the late H. Spahiu (Tirana, Albania), remains in
   manuscript: "Nje veshtria nbi thesarin e Vrapit."
3. This lack of research has also been pointed out by
   Rusu 1986, p. 187.
4. Stadler 1996, pp. 432–38.
5. For a survey of the archaeological literature on Vrap,
   see Rusu 1986, p. 187, n. 2, p. 193, n. 18.
6. Fettich 1965, p. 98.
7. Diaconu and Diaconu 1962, pp. 165–78; Bálint 1989,
   pp. 126, 145, n. 60.
8. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1975, p. 272; Bálint 1983, p. 137.
   Diaconu (1993, p. 296) considers it an Avar burial
   from about the end of the sixth or beginning of the
   seventh century.
9. Fiedler 1992, pp. 326–28.
10. Avar Treasure sale 1981.
11. For doubts on the authenticity of this "hoard" based
    on the weights of the pieces, see A. Kiss 1986, p. 114,
    n. 37; Pohl 1988, p. 181: "Vrap und sein (in der Echt-
    heit nicht unbestrittenes) Pendant von Erseke."
    For those considering it genuine, see Stadler 1986,
    pp. 105–18, ills.; and Stadler 1988–89.
12. Pletn'ov and Pavlova 1992; Stanilov and Atanasov
    1993, pp. 43–53; Fiedler 1996, pp. 249–50, fig. 1, 2;
    Stanilov n.d., forthcoming.
13. Stanilov n.d., forthcoming.
14. This find has an abundant literature in the (former)
    Yugoslav research; in other countries it is less well
    known: Karaman 1940, p. 24, fig. 20; Kovačević 1966,
    pp. 61–64; Dimitrievic 1966, pp. 59, 72, n. 26; Kol-
    lautz 1968, p. 151, fig. 8. For the first complete publi-
    cation of the whole belt set, see Belošević 1980,
    p. 65, pl. LXXXIII:1–12.
15. Zoll-Adamikowa 1992, p. 299, fig. 1; Profantová
    1992, pp. 658–93.
16. See, for example, Klanica 1972, p. 99; Fiedler 1996,
    p. 261. Zimmermann even thought that the crafts-
    man came from Cyprus: Riegl and Zimmermann
    1923, p. 80.

17. Beshevliev 1981, pp. 159–72. For an excellent survey
    of the problems connected with Kuvrat, see Pohl
    1988, pp. 278–80. (It is not the task of this article to
    criticize the dating of the flight of Kuber to the
    Avars in the 630s.)
18. This possibility was, however, first suggested in
    László 1955 and again in László 1977, p. 229.
19. In the archaeological research Vrap has always been
    dated to the 8th–9th centuries: Horváth 1935, p. 119;
    Benda 1965, p. 405; Kollautz and Miyakawa 1970,
    p. 51; Horedt 1987, p. 16. Only Ugrin (1987, p. 82)
    dated it incomprehensibly and without basis to
    such an early time (6th c.): a printer's error? For
    criticism of Werner's dating: Garam 1987, p. 857;
    Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986; Pohl 1988, pp. 283, 444,
    n. 60; Fiedler 1992, p. 327; Fiedler 1996, p. 260.
20. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1971, pp. 473–77.
21. First typology: Kovačević 1966, p. 65; Stadler 1990,
    pp. 310–12.
22. Zábojník 1991, fig. 1.
23. Rusu 1986; Rusu 1993.
24. I am preparing a work on the archaeological prob-
    lems of the treasure of Nagyszentmiklós.
25. Nagy 1972, pp. 111–14, pl. 21:1.
26. Bálint and Garam n.d., forthcoming.
27. See note 24 above.
28. Böhner, Ellmers, and Weidemann 1975, p. 44.
29. Ugrin 1987, p. 78.
30. Grabar 1967, p. 119, fig. 33.
31. Marjanović-Vujović 1987, pp. 137–42.
32. Bálint 1989, p. 170, n. 45.
33. For published materials, see Marjanović-Vujović
    1985, pp. 192–97; Marjanović-Vujović 1990,
    pp. 238–46.
34. Dodd 1961, p. 276.
35. Davidson 1952, pl. 51, nos. 556–58.
36. A connection between Vrap and the Via Egnatia was
    suggested both by K. S. Painter (in Kent and Painter
    1977, p. 91) and by Popović (1984, p. 242, n. 166)
    before J. Werner.
37. Werner 1986, p. 9, fig. 1; Popović 1988, p. 207, fig. 2.
38. Anamali and Spahiu 1963; Anamali 1964; Anamali
    1971, pp. 183–99; Anamali and Spahiu 1988. For new
    finds, see Eggebrecht 1988; for actual state of the
    research in Albania, see Kamberi 1994, pp. 20–22.
    For the history of Albania in the early Middle Ages,
    see Stadtmüller 1966; for excellent surveys of the
    historical and archaeological problems, see Popović
    1988 and Schramm 1999.

17. Visigothic Jewelry of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries

INTRODUCTION

One of the principal problems presented by the Late Antique archaeological material of *Hispania* is that the majority of objects classified as personal jewelry is devoid of any archaeological context.[1] A vast quantity of objects derived from old excavations has been stored in museums with no precise order or classification, which has led to material from different graves being mixed. Such is the case with many burials in the famous cemetery of Duratón in the province of Segovia.[2] In addition, the material is seldom associated with coins, which would give an absolute dating; nor are plans available showing the distribution of graves within cemeteries.[3] These shortcomings have impeded the full and detailed study of the artifacts themselves and a determination of the chronological and social development of the sites from which they came. An artifact with no archaeological context cannot be used to provide historical evidence; instead it becomes an object with only relative artistic or stylistic value. Finally, and this is the case with the material in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, many of these objects emerged from the international antiquities trade.[4]

The objects presented here have precisely these characteristics. All that can be intuitively sensed about them is their Hispanic provenance, by comparing them with objects found in the Iberian peninsula, and their probable date, based on parallels. The material in the Metropolitan, acquired as the result of gifts and purchases, spans a period from the late fifth or the early sixth to the end of the seventh century.[5] It includes objects that can be clearly characterized as products of Visigothic workshops and others, of later date, that are of Mediterranean or Byzantine origin. The pieces have been organized for the purposes of this paper into chronological units or levels and, within this order, into types as appear in Figure 17.1.[6]

SIXTH-CENTURY VISIGOTHIC JEWELRY

The Metropolitan possesses two pairs of bow brooches and three belt buckles, each with a large rectangular attachment plate. The Hispanic provenance is indisputable (figs. 17.2–17.6). All are characteristic of Visigothic metalwork and are of types recorded in the center of the Iberian peninsula. The majority of such items are from cemeteries in use at the beginning of Visigothic occupation, datable to the early sixth century, although it would seem that the production and use of the objects reached a peak from about 525 onward. This date is supported by an analysis of graves in the cemeteries of the Castilian plateau and of the small funerary sites found in the rest of the peninsula. The establishment of a relative chronology makes it possible to ascribe these pieces of personal adornment to Level III, which began about

17.1 Chronological development of Visigothic jewelry: Level II (upper left), ca. 480/90–525; Level III (upper right), ca. 525–560/80; Level IV (lower left), ca. 560/80–600/40; Level V (lower right), ca. 600/40–710/20 (after Ripoll López 1998, figs. 1–4)

525 and continued until the second half of the sixth century (see fig. 17.1).

Thanks to such material, it has been possible to identify the majority of Visigothic settlements in the Iberian peninsula. These are situated for the most part on the Castilian plateau and basically reflect small agricultural and herding establishments with a limited number of inhabitants.[7] It is in this area that the largest number of cemeteries classified as Visigothic, in the strict sense of the word, have been recorded, although this observation should be qualified (see below). The majority occur in this region, but are not located exclusively on the Castilian plateau. These large cemeteries are related to the first generations of Visigoths to settle in Hispania and to the period of formation and integration of the *Regnum Gothorum* in the peninsula. Visigothic rule did not reach its maximum expansion until well into the seventh century.

Even though a substantial number of Visigoths formed the population, they also lived alongside Hispano-Romans. If a funerary site reflects an organized community, probably a *vicus* or village, we can state that Visigoths and Romans lived together from the early sixth century onward, a coexistence that extended to their burial sites. Studies on the cemeteries of Duratón (Segovia)[8] and El Carpio de Tajo (Toledo)[9] confirm that the population was mixed, at least in the area between the Duero and Tagus valleys. A new interpretation of the latter cemetery, based on a topochronological analysis, points to a development with horizontal expansion taking place at the same time as a process of intensification. The oldest burials in El Carpio de Tajo cemetery containing typically Visigothic material, the so-called founders' graves, are located in the central part, around which the burial area was structured, where they follow family and social criteria. Different groups are identifiable, including elements that are no longer strictly speaking Visigothic, but that display rather manifest Roman features. This allows us to speak of mixed Visigothic and Roman settlement, which no longer reflects only the traditional Visigothic hierarchy and social structure.

The Bow Brooches

Datable to the first half of the sixth century is a pair of Visigothic copper-alloy bow brooches with five knobs radiating from the headplate (fig. 17.2). Each is a single piece cast in the same two-piece mold and has cast geometric chip-carved decoration covering the entire surface.[10] The terminal of the elongated spatulate foot is rounded with a small rounded knob on each corner. The semicircular headplate is divided into two continuous elliptical panels, each decorated with two criss-crossing diagonals. The footplate contains two parallel friezes containing rectangles, each divided by a diagonal. The bow has a central ridge incised with small lines. It appears that this pair of brooches was found in the cemetery of Castiltierra (Segovia), one of the largest burial sites excavated in the 1930s. But the associated grave goods from each individual burial in the cemetery remain unknown, since no inventory was drawn up and only a partial plan is available. Since about 1940, additional finds have been acquired by museums in Madrid, Barcelona, and Nuremberg as well as by the Metropolitan.

At first sight these bow brooches could be considered standard, unremarkable among Visigothic women's ornament in the Iberian peninsula. Of all such brooches found in Hispania, however, this is the only pair to display certain features:[11] a generally longer and more pointed foot; the small knobs located on the outer edges of both head- and footplate; and the deeply cast, chip-carved geometric decoration. Nevertheless, this pair is a variant of the series made up by types 16 or 17, corresponding to the fully developed phase of Level III.

A second pair of bow brooches each has a flat triangular headplate, a plain but pronounced bow, and a long triangular footplate

terminating in a large disk (fig. 17.3)[12] At the corners are projecting birds' heads, the eye of each being marked with a ring and dot. The surface is covered with punched, incised geometric, and ring and dot decoration. The two brooches were each cast as a single piece, probably in the same two-piece mold, since their shape is identical. After the casting, the flashes were removed and some retouching was carried out with a file. The surface decoration was executed afterward, which is confirmed by certain differences in the layout of the concentric circles. The brooches probably date from the second half of the sixth century.

Although this type of brooch, with its schematic bird-head projections, has been recorded elsewhere, it is not particularly common.[13] One pair is known from grave 25 of the cemetery of Herrera de Pisuerga (Palencia) and another from the small burial site at Espirdo (Segovia). The largest number was found in the cemetery at Madrona (Segovia) where three pairs were found in graves 33, 83, and 164; single examples were recorded in graves 31 and 213. As far as manufacture is concerned, they are all the same, except that the foot terminal of the two from Espirdo is straight rather than rounded. The decoration may be punched, as in the Metropolitan pieces, or dotted or geometrically hatched. The characteristic common to all are the projections representing birds' heads.

This type of brooch is nearly always found associated with cloisonné-decorated belt buckles belonging to types J to R, which are largely attributable to Level III

17.2 Pair of bow brooches. Tinned copper alloy. Visigothic, first half 6th century. From Castiltierra, Segovia, Spain. Length 15.2 cm. (47.100.20, .21)

17.3 Pair of bow brooches. Copper alloy. Visigothic, second half 6th century. Length 12.7 cm. (1990.193.1, .2)
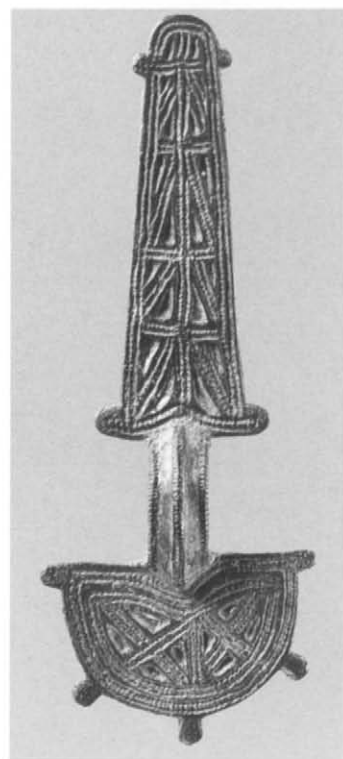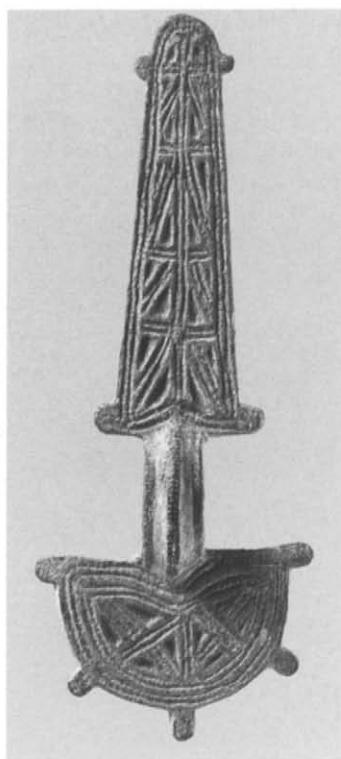
(see fig. 17.1). In this typological table they correspond to type II, attributable to the same level, although the possibility of a certain mobility between this and the earlier Level II cannot be ruled out.

The Buckles

Three buckles will be considered here. The first, another Visigothic piece from the first half of the sixth century, is a copper-alloy buckle with an oval loop and tongue secured to the attachment plate with a folded flap (fig. 17.4). The attachment plate is covered with allover cloisonné with a central cabochon. Its decoration is primarily of clear, light green and amber-colored glass, although it is partially reset. The pattern seems to depict a number of insects. Behind each of the inlays is a gold sheet, which rests on an amalgam for attachment, to reflect light. After having been cast, the copper alloy was mercury-gilded.

A buckle of a different type, also from the first half of the sixth century, has a heavy cast loop with tongue rest (fig. 17.5).[14] The tongue has at its base a rectangular setting for a now-missing glass inlay. The rectangular attachment plate has a folded flap to secure the loop and tongue. Its cast design has a central rectangular setting, around which are

17.4 Buckle. Gilt copper alloy, glass. Visigothic, first half 6th century. Length 13 cm. (47.100.22)

17.5 Buckle. Copper alloy. Visigothic, first half 6th century. Length 11.1 cm. (20.153.19)

17.6 Buckle. Gilt copper alloy, garnet, lapis lazuli, cuttlefish bone, glass. Visigothic, second half 6th century. Length 13.6 cm. (1988.305 ab)

two concentric zones, containing undulating foliate motifs and rectilinear lines that were subsequently retouched with a file. Inlays originally filled the central setting and the lentoid-shaped cell in each corner. According to the original label in Spanish, the piece is from Duratón (Segovia).

A buckle from the second half of the sixth century has a cast loop and tongue with a rectangular setting for four cloisonné inlays of red glass (fig. 17.6).[15] The large rectangular attachment plate has allover cloisonné decoration. The copper-alloy cell walls form a pattern of concentric rectangular zones around a central rosette. The cells are filled predominantly with red glass.
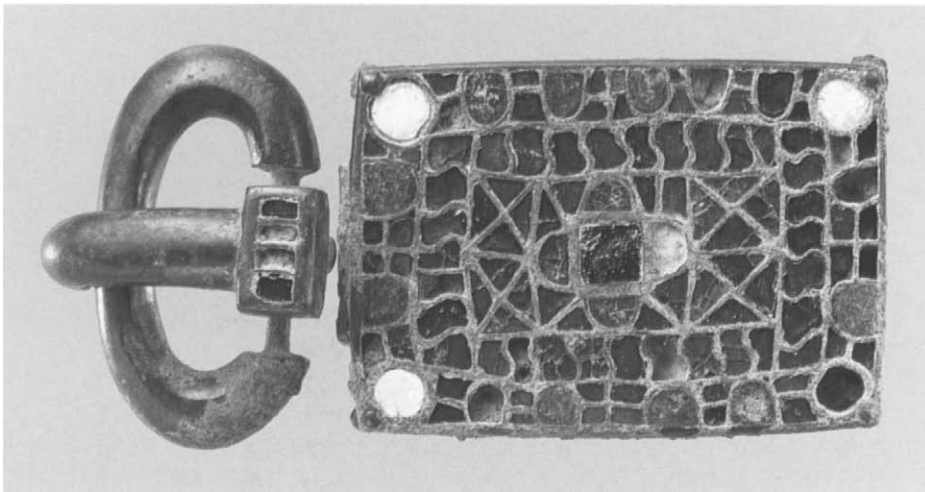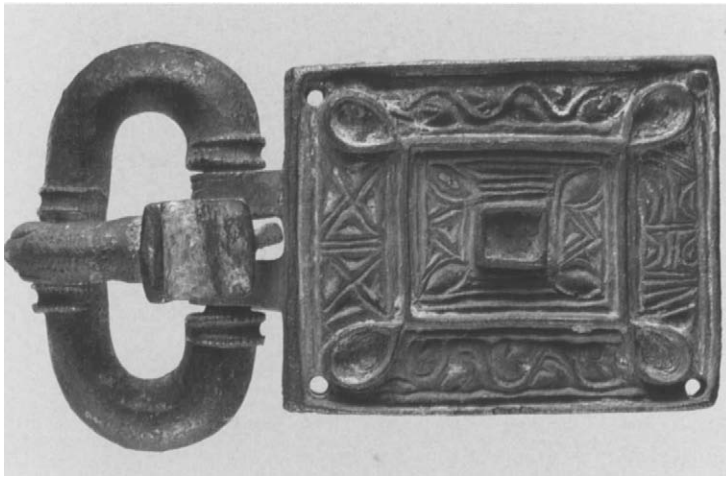
Cuttlefish bone fills circular settings in the corners. A series of semicircular cells occupied by lapis lazuli are set around the edge of the plate, while others surround the central cabochon of green glass paste. The remaining rectangular, triangular, and S-shaped cells are inlaid with red glass. The interior of the plate retains its white paste filler, which supports the fine sheets of gold that were originally behind each of the glass inlays and made them more translucent.

The first of the buckles discussed above (fig. 17.4) is of particular interest in explaining connections between the decorative metalwork found in Narbonensis and that from Hispania. It falls within the so-called insect-pattern type, classified as type A (see fig. 17.1).[16] Together with type B, these buckles almost always appear associated with large bow brooches and plate brooches made of three sheets (type 1). The techniques of manufacture, although very similar to those used to produce other cloisonné buckles, are noticeably far more sophisticated and careful; only the color of the pieces of cut glass varies from one piece to another. A well-known example of this type and its association with large brooches is in

grave 756 of the cemetery at Vicq in Yvelines (France).[17]

Examples are known in the Iberian peninsula from the cemeteries of Castiltierra and Duratón, both in the province of Segovia. As has been noted, buckles of type B also appear in these cemeteries as well as at El Carpio de Tajo (Toledo) and at Estagel (Perpignan). Research carried out in the south of Gallia, particularly on Narbonensis, suggests that they were produced in a workshop located in this zone.[18] It must thus be supposed that the examples from Hispania, like those from the rest of Gallia, were either widely traded or are indicative of the first generation of Visigoths to settle on the central Castilian plateau (Level II).

The second buckle (fig. 17.5) represents a stage between the first and the third (fig. 17.6). This type of belt buckle should be included within type G, although there is a great variety of subtypes (see fig. 17.1).[19] A large number of pieces have been found in Hispania, particularly in the center of the peninsula, and their production center is likely to have been on the central Castilian plateau in the first half of the sixth century. Associated material, appearing particularly in the earliest cemeteries with Visigothic associations, suggests a place in Level II. Similar finds have been made in other zones where an Ostrogothic presence is noticeable.[20] Insofar as Hispania is concerned, however, it would be difficult to propose a direct link between the ownership or production of these pieces and the Ostrogoths.

The third buckle (fig. 17.6) is characteristic of sixth-century Visigothic female jewelry. Because of its form and manufacture, it can be considered to belong to Level III, dated to about 525 and continuing well into the second half of the sixth century. However, its appearance slightly before that date should not be ruled out, since certain elements characteristic of Level III might be ascribed to Level II, which lasted from the late fifth to the early sixth century. It can be classified as a variant of types J to R,

probably subtype K or L, as it has cuttlefish bone inlays in its corners, cabochons, semicircular or beehive-shaped cells, and S-shaped cells. Its closest parallels are in the cemeteries of Castiltierra and Duratón.

THE LATE SIXTH CENTURY

The final phases of use of so-called Visigothic cemeteries of the central Castilian plateau are characterized by a decline in Visigothic female jewelry and the appearance of other personal adornments. The clearest examples of these new trends are belt buckles with a fixed loop, of which there are several very good examples in the Metropolitan collections. This form could be considered fairly common since a substantial number of these buckles are scattered throughout the Iberian peninsula. A classic example of the type was formerly in the Bachereau collection in Paris, which may suggest a provenance in Narbonensis, where similar types have been found. It has an elongated shape, rounded at one end with a narrow rectangular loop at the other (fig. 17.7). Along both sides is a simple geometric decoration of schematic, braided cablework. There are substantial traces of wear in the center and at the end. The piece was cast in a two-piece mold and was reinforced by means of stretchers placed lengthwise on the reverse to prevent it from breaking. Five lugs on the back are perforated for attachment to the belt.

Even though different types exist, with a rectilinear outline, with concave sides, or a central rib, as well as openwork examples, these buckles with a fixed attachment plate form a relatively homogeneous group. Their great variety of decoration ranges from simple geometric patterns to animal scenes on either side of a central motif, such as a kantharos, a tree of life, or the prophet Daniel.[21] Their widespread distribution throughout the Iberian peninsula is not limited to funerary sites of the central Castilian plateau; at the same time, there are also many examples from Merovingian cemeteries.[22] Despite the
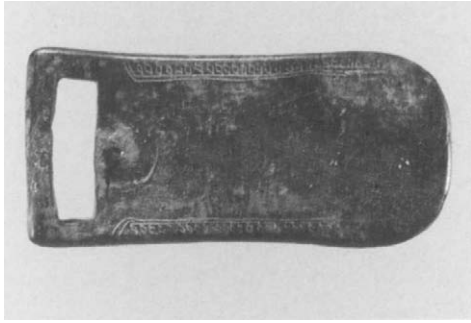
17.7 Buckle. Copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, late 6th–7th century. Length 12.6 cm. (20.152.39 a)

17.8 Buckle attachment plate fragment with openwork inscription. Copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, late 6th–7th century. Length 5.2 cm. (20.152.1)

17.9 Buckle attachment plate. Hispano-Visigothic, late 6th–7th century. From Sierra Elvira, Granada, Spain (drawing by James Farrant after Ripoll López 1998, fig. 12.1)
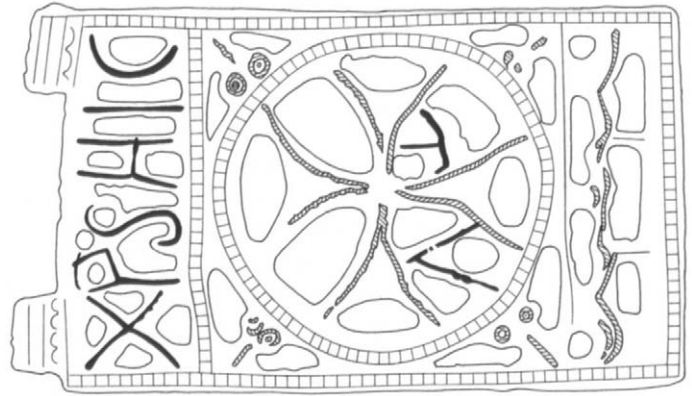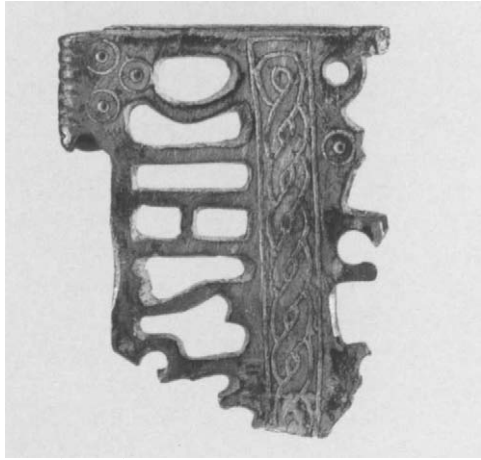
large number of known pieces, it has so far proved difficult to establish their chronology with any degree of certainty.

This lack of precision arises from the absence of details concerning the burials themselves. While it seems clear that the production of these buckles should center upon the late sixth century, some scholars have advocated a survival in certain cases into the first half of the seventh century.[23] In the Iberian peninsula they are found in cemeteries of Visigothic tradition next to, but not among, graves of the first half of the sixth century but also in burial sites from which only seventh-century material is recorded.[24] This pattern might suggest that they started to be produced when typically Visigothic material entered a period of decline within the second half of the sixth century. The

end of their use should perhaps be placed after the arrival of the first belt buckles of Mediterranean-Byzantine type, which were copied by local workshops. For all these reasons, they should be included within Level IV in the overall chronological chart, including the latter part of the sixth century and the first few decades of the seventh.[25]

An Openwork Buckle
This fragment (fig. 17.8), late sixth or early seventh century in date, was cast in copper alloy, subsequently retouched with a file and heat-gilded. Its braided cablework design, laid out longitudinally, must have been surrounded by concentric circlets, as indicated by surviving examples. Despite this fragmentary nature, it probably is part of an openwork rectangular attachment plate from a
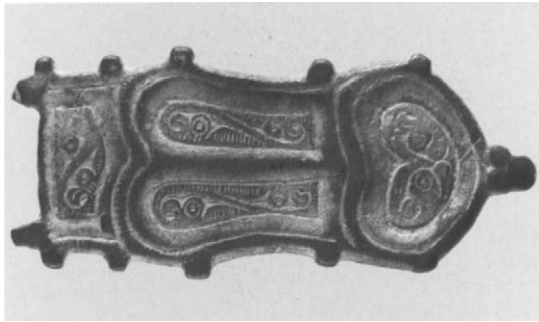
17.10 Buckle attachment plate. Tinned copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, 7th century. Length 8.2 cm. (20.153.10)

buckle, judging from other very similar examples; on the back is a perforated lug for attachment to the belt. Between the hinge fittings and the ornamental motif is a series of openwork letters. The inscription, in squared imperial capital letters, reads .PSHIC. From this, it can be deduced that it is an invocation: (X)PS HIC, that is, Christus hic. The inscription is usual on other pieces, Christus being abbreviated to (X)PS.

Among such pieces known to date, there is one from Sierra Elvira (Granada) that has the same characteristics as the one in the Metropolitan (fig. 17.9).[26] The openwork inscription XPS HIC occupies one end, while in the center is a cross with expanded ends of the arms and an alpha and omega within a circle; at the far end is a strip that may represent the rivers of Paradise. The system of enclosing a cross within a circle is fairly common, seen, for example, in the sculptural friezes running round the inside of the apse of the church of San Pedro de la Nave (Zamora) or on other pieces of sculpture from Lusitanian workshops. Several symbolic images or iconographic scenes that were reproduced both in sculptural form or on personal items are known, and the craftsmen involved would seem to have had models in common, such as the pieces here.

Two other inscribed openwork pieces are known, one from Ortigosa de Cameros (Logroño),[27] the other from the Seville region.[28] It is noteworthy that they are of exactly the same design and have the same openwork inscription: XPSSIT / TECUMX

(Christus sit tecum). This inscription is laid out in two friezes beginning and ending with an X, which has both an epigraphic and a symbolic value. The formulae Christus hic and Christus sit tecum are standard in sixth- and seventh-century epigraphic repertories, as are vivas, vivas cum tuis, vivas in Christo, etc.[29] A buckle found in the cemetery of Cerrillo Salido (La Guardia, Jaén) has an openwork attachment plate with a foliate scroll enclosing three different birds.[30] Such decoration is also very similar to that found on sixth- and seventh-century sculpture, as was the case with the inscription buckles. These include the pilasters from Lusitanian centers or the ornamental friezes on the apse exterior of the church at Quintanilla de las Viñas (Burgos).

SEVENTH-CENTURY CHANGES IN FASHION

It is possible to detect in the late sixth and in the seventh century a series of changes in politics, culture, and population in Hispania. The main transformations occurred during the reigns of Leovigild (568–86) and his son Recared (586–601), and it is highly likely that the Visigothic population started to disperse throughout the Iberian peninsula at this time. This dispersal led to the total or partial abandonment of a large number of cemeteries attributable to the first phase of settlement, which was centered on the Castilian plateau. In practice, typically Visigothic fashions were gradually abandoned for more Latin and Mediterranean tastes, a change stimulated by the presence of commercial ports on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and by the existence of well-established East-West trade routes.
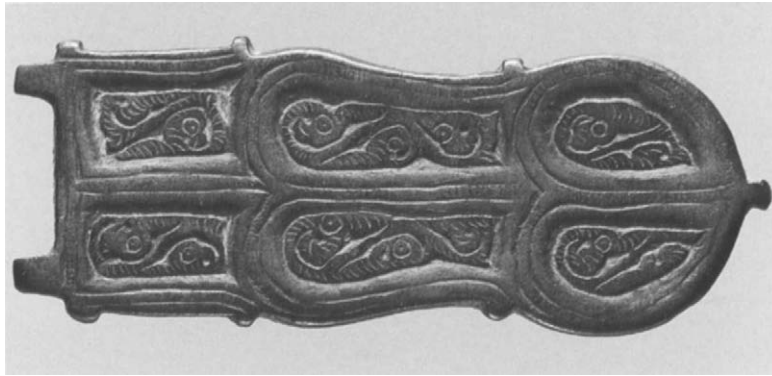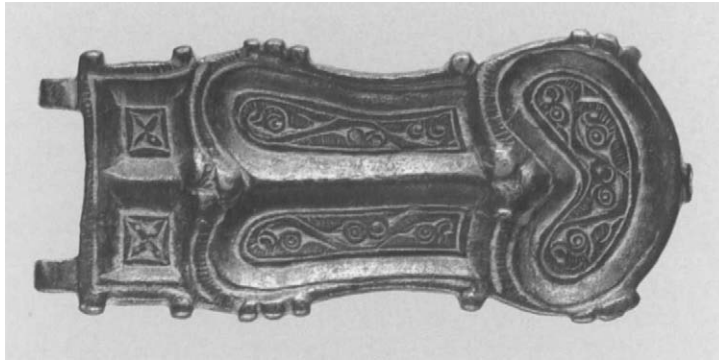
The Lyre-Shaped Attachment Plates from Belt Buckles

The Metropolitan houses a large collection of belt buckles with lyre-shaped attachment plates cast of copper alloy, datable to the entirety of the seventh century (Level v). Eight examples of this Latin and Mediterranean fashion have been selected to show their representational repertoire. On each of these the plate was originally attached by means of a hinge to the loop and tongue, which in most cases are now lost. The plate was cast in a two-piece mold and had three or five lugs on the back, perforated for attachment to the belt. One of these (fig. 17.10) is made up of three sections, separated by means of molded ribs and incised lines. The panel at the hinged end is almost rectangular and occupies the whole width. At right angles to this is the central, arched panel, divided down the center. Projecting from the kidney-shaped terminal

17.11 Buckle attachment plate. Tinned copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, 7th century. Length 10.5 cm. (20.153.6)

17.12 Buckle attachment plate. Copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, 7th century. Length 11.7 cm. (20.152.14)

is a trilobate element. Each section encloses schematic animal motifs, probably griffins, as they exhibit a circular head and eyes, a beak, and what may possibly be interpreted as a feather-covered body. The outer edge has a series of small projecting knobs, each with a circular incision, which gives the decoration of the piece greater flow.

On another piece (fig. 17.11) the panel at the hinged end is rectangular, but is
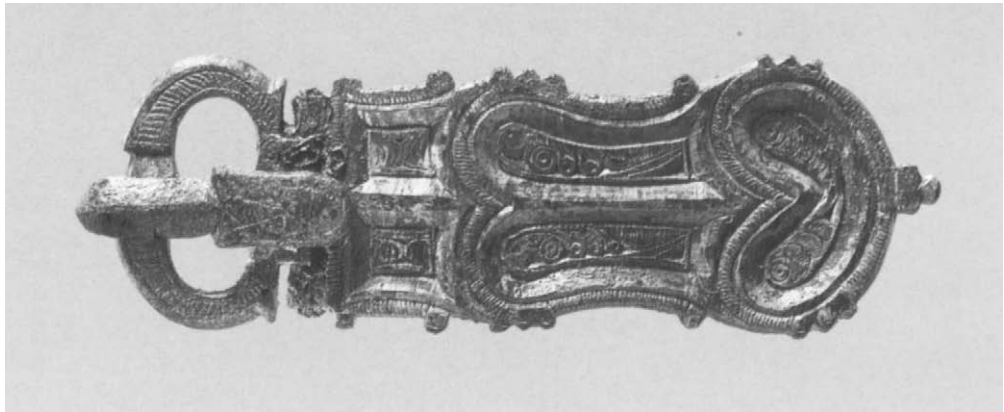
17.13 Buckle. Copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, 7th century. Length 14.8 cm. (1990.193.3 ab)

divided by a broad central rib into two square fields, each decorated with a schematic four-petaled rosette. The two rectangular panels with rounded ends in the center and the terminal kidney-shaped panel enclose motifs organized on both sides of an undulating line. They are schematic representations of animals, probably griffins, since they display the same characteristics as the above buckle. The outer edge has a series of small projections that give greater flow and help delimit the ornamental registers. A further example (fig. 17.12) was formerly in the Bachereau collection in Paris, which may indicate a possible provenance in Narbonensis. The decoration is organized into six ornamental panels in two rows, separated by a broad central rib. Within each register are schematic animal motifs on each side of an undulating line. They are probably griffins as they too exhibit all of the same features mentioned above. Moldings separate the different ornamental panels, and, even though extremely worn, they display a series of incised parallel lines on the central ridge. The outer

edge emphasizes the ends of the ornamental fields by means of small globular knobs.

A complete example (fig. 17.13) retains the oval loop and tongue.[31] Two continuous incised lines follow the outline of the rectangular-section loop and enclose a zone of oblique hatching. In the middle is a tongue rest. The tongue has a semicircular cross section, and its base is shield-shaped and decorated with fine incised lines. The attachment plate is defined by small rounded knobs on the outer edges, of which the terminal knob is larger, being composed of two superimposed rectangles. Three ornamental panels, clearly separated by means of ribs obliquely incised to give the effect of cablework, divide the attachment plate. The end panel is almost rectangular in shape and in turn encloses two more rectangles containing opposed undulating lines. The central part is composed of two panels, side by side, within which motifs schematically represent the upper parts of animals, probably griffins, with a circular head and eye, beak, and feather-covered body. The almost round terminal end contains a kidney-shaped field divided into two ellipses in which the schematic griffin motif is repeated. The attachment plate, loop, and tongue were made separately in two-piece molds from different melts.
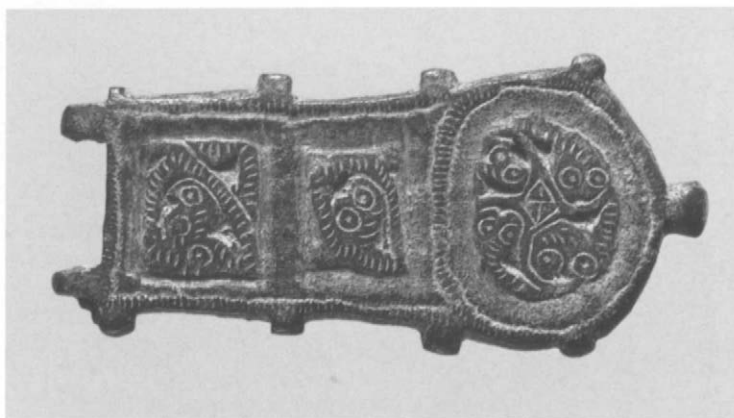
17.14 Buckle attachment plate. Tinned copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, 7th century. Length 8.7 cm. (20.153.8)

17.15 Buckle attachment plate fragment. Tinned copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, 7th century. Length 6.5 cm. (20.153.5)

A different type of attachment plate (fig. 17.14) has its decoration organized in three panels: those at the end and center are square and extend across the width, while the terminal one is circular. Within each ornamental field is the same decorative motif, probably a completely abstract depiction of the standard animal-griffin motif, in which stand out what might be the circular

eyes and elongated body with small linear incisions. The circular terminal is structured about a cruciform pattern with curving arms around a rhomboidal center. Between the arms is the same motif as in the two square panels. Around each panel is a broad flat frame; and around the edge of the plate, and completely around the circular field, is a hatched border. Each panel along the outer edge is distinguished by means of small rectangular protuberances.

On another piece (fig. 17.15) the decoration is structured around a central rhomboid framed by small globular protuberances. In this field a schematic plant motif is flanked by what also seem to be abstract griffins. The same design is repeated at the terminal. The latter is almost circular and ends in a double globular knob. In spite of the fragmentary nature of the piece, it seems quite
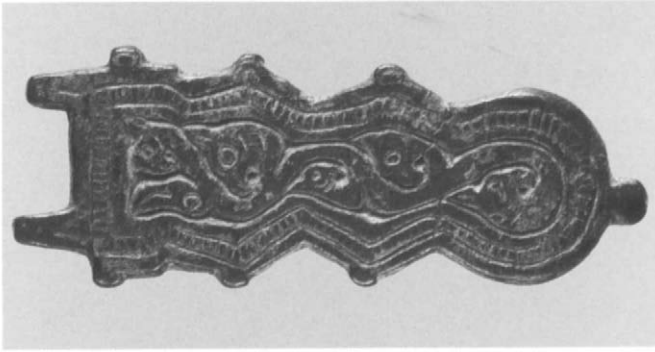
17.16 Buckle attachment plate. Tinned copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, 7th century. Length 8.4 cm. (20.153.7)

17.17 Buckle attachment plate. Copper alloy. Hispano-Visigothic, 7th century. Length 8.9 cm. (20.153.17)

probable that the arrangement of the design on either side of the central rhomboid was symmetrical.

The Tongue-Shaped Attachment Plates from Belt Buckles

A different decorative organization appears on a tongue-shaped attachment plate cast in a two-piece mold (fig. 17.16). Its outline traces a series of undulating triangles, at the top of each of which is a small protuberance.

The end of the plate is almost circular, terminating in a knob larger than the others. There is one continuous decorative register, consisting of a schematic plant stem from which spring various animal or griffin heads, six altogether. The identification of these as griffins is clear, since, in addition to the circular head and eye and the beak seen before, there is a small ear. The ornamental frieze is framed by a double-border strip, the outer border with incised hatching.

A similar type of tongue-shaped attachment plate was also cast in a two-piece mold, and the decoration retouched and the frame polished (fig. 17.17). It has an elongated rectangular shape with a semicircular terminal end. The decoration is a continuous frieze surrounded by one plain broad frame and an outer hatched one. The motifs are structured around an undulating line, on both sides of which appear schematic animal or griffin heads. A degree of abstraction is achieved by indicating the head and the eye only by means of two circles and the down-turned beak with a semicircle. Externally the outline has a series of almost globular projections.

Analysis of Lyre- and Tongue-Shaped Attachment Plates from Belt Buckles

All of these items (figs. 17.10–17.17) were produced in the Iberian peninsula. It can be stated with a certain degree of probability that several of them (figs. 17.10–17.13) were produced in the workshops of Baetica, more precisely in a workshop in the region of Hispalis (Seville). This assertion is based on various pieces of evidence, mainly the number of finds from that region,[32] the morphology of the pieces themselves, and finally the ornament of the pieces. As far as finds in Baetica are concerned, however, it should be emphasized that this type of object is not found exclusively in the region, for very similar lyre-shaped belt buckles are known from other zones as well as from the late phases of certain cemeteries on the Castilian plateau, such as Herrera de

Pisuerga (Palencia); in addition there are some stray finds from Lusitania and places on the coastline.[33] One lyre-shaped attachment plate (fig. 17.14) bears the same morphological and decorative pattern as the other examples discussed, although its craftsmanship is far coarser and less care was taken with its decoration. These observations provide no indication as regards its possible place of origin, since such pieces are found in the same areas as the more typical lyre-shaped plates.

The piece in which a central rhomboid structures the entire design (fig. 17.15) is a quite unusual find, although a very similar piece from Castillo de Inirlegui (Navarre), in the north of the Iberian peninsula, is recorded.[34] Among the extensive series of lyre-shaped attachment plates, this group is likely to reflect a late phase of production within the seventh century and may well have continued in use beyond the legendary date of 711, the year of the Arab conquest of a large part of the Visigothic kingdom.

The tongue-shaped plates (figs. 17.16 and 17.17) are usually included within the lyre-shaped category even though the outline is not lyre-shaped, and the decoration, rather than being distributed in several ornamental panels, lies instead in a single panel that generally occupies the entire surface and presents a continuous motif. A certain number of examples of this type are now being found, but for the moment, as with the group of lyre-shaped pieces, this group is most commonly known from the zone of Hispalis (Seville).[35]

Even though the morphology of each of these pieces is different, there does exist a certain broad homogeneity as far as decoration is concerned. In the entire series, the common ornamental motif is that of a schematic and abstract griffin. It should be remembered that the griffin is a four-legged animal with the beak and wings of an eagle, the head and claws of a lion, and the tail of a dragon. In the case of the pieces studied

here, the head is depicted by means of a circle, as is the eye, while the body can be extended or cut short depending on the space available. Such decoration can sometimes be recognized with great ease (figs. 17.10–17.13), whereas on other items (figs. 17.14–17.17) it is so schematic as to make identification difficult if the series and prototype are not known. The example with the animal motifs on either side of an undulating plant tendril (fig. 17.16) best demonstrates the development. The griffin's head here has a pointed ear as well as a downturned beak, as is usual in their representation, and the interpretion of these animals as griffins becomes evident if this plate is taken as our starting point. Excellent parallels can also be found for it in other pieces from the Iberian peninsula, such as the belt buckle found at Hinojar del Rey (Burgos).[36] In this way, it is easier to interpret the remaining plate (fig. 17.17) since it is the result of the abstract development of a decorative panel composed of griffins' heads.

The lyre-shaped belt fittings form a class of material with a wide geographical distribution, basically along the coasts of the provinces of Tarraconensis, Carthaginensis, and Baetica, where the largest number of finds is concentrated.[37] Two large collections of objects, one preserved in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid[38] and the other in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz,[39] the provenance of which seems to be related to the lower Guadalquivir valley, suggest Hispalis as one of the key centers for the production of such pieces.

Joachim Werner[40] and Pere de Palol[41] drew attention to the wide Mediterranean diffusion of this category of metalwork some years ago, although its origins should be sought on the Black Sea. Even though the original model for these pieces is likely in the eastern Mediterranean, as is demonstrated by the earliest type,[42] it is likewise true that in most cases, at least in the West, these objects were made by local artisans in imitation of such original models. A comprehensive study of all the material supposedly coming from

the Seville region has made it possible to define a series of types according to morphology and decoration.[43] The Seville prototype, group A, is represented in the Metropolitan by lyre-shaped belt fittings (figs. 17.10–13). The lyre-shaped plate (fig. 17.14) represents prototype B, which is characterized by its circular end. Subtypes (figs. 17.16 and 17.17) are known as type G, the principal feature of which is the continuous development of the decoration in a single frieze orientated lengthways.

The fact that belt fittings of types A and G are the most common in Baetica does not allow complete certainty that a workshop existed in this area. Several production centers may quite possibly have existed within the peninsula, and only one in this region. However, in spite of the morphological similarities to other finds from the Mediterranean basin, types A and G can be considered typical products of Hispania.

Reference has already been made to the tendency toward schematization of the griffin to a concentric circle representing the head, with curved lines to depict the body. This motif can degenerate even further into simple plant compositions. These decorative motifs are closely related to the openwork decoration between the cabochons on the arms of the processional cross from the Guarrazar Treasure, found in Toledo in the mid-nineteenth century.[44] Åberg has pointed out that the openwork motifs adopt the shape of plant stems terminating in griffin heads.[45] This detail provides a better understanding of the decoration as well as a certain indication of date. The piece that best illustrates these elements in conjunction is one found in a burial from Hinojar del Rey (Burgos).[46] The production of this type of object is usually dated from the mid-sixth century[47] and throughout the seventh century.[48] Important chronological evidence is provided by the "royal" grave of Maloe-Pereshchepino located in the mid-Dnieper valley, dated to approximately 650.[49] In the case of the Hispanic objects, production

began toward the end of the sixth century, and, quite significantly, the phase of maximum output should be attributed to the whole of the seventh century. Manufacture of such pieces came to an end at the turn of the eighth century, although they could have continued in use beyond this date. A chronological horizon can be established in the same period as the fittings belonging to the Byzantine series of Corinth, Balgota, Bologna, and Syracuse types[50] and as another series was starting to acquire importance, namely, the buckles with cruciform attachment plate.[51] Reference has also already been made to decorative parallels with the processional cross from the Guarrazar Treasure, which falls between the dates of two reigns, those of Suinthila (621–31) and Receswinth (649–72).

Translated by P. Banks

1. Ripoll López 1991a, 1993a, and 1998.
2. The Duratón cemetery has been the subject of several articles by different researchers, all of them based on Molinero Pérez 1948.
3. There are few cemeteries for which plans exist; for the present, the only complete example is that of the cemetery of El Carpio de Tajo that was located by the Museo Arqueólogico Nacional several years ago. See Ripoll López 1993–94.
4. One specific example of these networks is the collection at the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz (cf. Ripoll López 1993a and 1998); another is the recent acquisition by Ariadne Galleries (Demirjian 1991).
5. The Visigothic material at the Metropolitan can be found in both the Department of Arms and Armor and the Department of Medieval Art. The pieces studied in this article do not comprise all such material. A considerable number of objects in the Department of Arms and Armor, almost all of which are lyre-shaped attachment plates of different types, cannot for reasons of space be included. These objects were formerly part of the collection of José Florit in Madrid, who collaborated with the Metropolitan toward the end of the second decade of this century, when he was curator of the Royal Armory in the Royal Palace in Madrid. I wish to thank Donald J. LaRocca for his invaluable help with the documentation in this department.

6. A complete explanation of the topochronological analysis employed here can be found in Ripoll López 1998.

7. A general summary of the problems arising from these objects of personal adornment can be found in Ripoll López 1991b.

8. Bierbrauer 1980a, cf. pls. 2–4.

9. Ripoll López 1993–94, pp. 241–44.

10. Brown 1981b, p. 9, fig. 10.

11. Ripoll López 1991a, p. 264, pl. XIV.

12. Brown 1995, pp. 7–8, fig. 4.

13. Ripoll López 1991a, p. 262, pl. XII.

14. Dean 1921, pp. 61(B)–62; Rorimer 1940, pl. 9.

15. Brown 1989; also Brown 1993a, pp. 61–62, no. 17; and Brown 1995, p. 13, pl. 8.

16. James 1977, p. 249; James 1980, p. 236; Ripoll López 1991a, pp. 129, 134–37, and 150–51.

17. Servat 1979; Kazanski and Servat 1994.

18. See note 16 above.

19. Ripoll López 1991a, pp. 130, 136–37, 150–51.

20. Bierbrauer placed them in his group A, under the name of Lubiana-Dravlje (from the find spot) and dated them to between 450 and 530; see Bierbrauer 1975, pp. 130–32; Slabe 1975, grave 1; Vinski 1978, p. 35, pl. 6,5.

21. Palol considered that these objects were produced at the same time as the liturgical bronzes precisely because of their similar decoration; see Palol 1950a, p. 118.

22. Fingerlin 1967; Périn 1980, pp. 158–61, fig. 41.

23. Gaillard de Sémainville 1980b, p. 84; Vallet 1977b, p. 38.

24. Ripoll López 1993a, pp. 81–103.

25. Ripoll López 1986, pp. 58–60; Ripoll López 1991b, p. 114.

26. Vives 1969, no. 404 (although the location and function are incorrect); Palol 1990, pp. 141, 224 n. 115. It is preserved in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (inv. no. 61.804). The maximum width of the piece is 5.7 cm, while that in the Metropolitan measures 5.3 cm. Its fragmentary nature—the X is missing—must be taken into account. Like the Sierra Elvira piece, it must have been of rectangular shape.

27. Garin Modet 1913; Zeiss 1934, pp. 93, 195, pl. 15.2; Vives 1969, no. 399; Ripoll López 1991a, p. 547.

28. It is preserved in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz; see Ripoll López 1993a, p. 244 n. 43, p. 557, fig. 40; Ripoll López 1998, pp. 96–101.

29. In the first instance, Garin Modet (1913) and Vives (1969, no. 399) considered it possible to attribute a fifth-century date to these pieces. However, because of both the inscription and, more significantly, the methods involved in their production and the attachment system, the two must be dated to the late sixth or the early seventh century. See Ripoll López 1991a, p. 547; and Ripoll López 1993a, pp. 94–95.

30. Palol 1955–56; Schlunk and Hauschild 1978, pp. 227–28; Ripoll López 1991a, p. 652.

31. Brown 1993b, pp. 66–67, no. 25; Brown 1995, p. 37, fig. 50.

32. In Ripoll López 1986, all the pieces come from that area. The same is the case with fifty-eight new pieces: Arias Sánchez and Novoa Portela 1996.

33. Ripoll López 1991a, p. 245, pl. II-B.

34. Zeiss 1934, pp. 95, 181, pl. 21.5; Ripoll López 1991a, p. 672.

35. Ripoll López 1998 includes a large number of pieces of this type, permitting an in-depth study of the stylistic evolution of the decorative motifs.

36. Next to the hinge of the buckle is the inscription +EVAENICIVA+. See Ripoll López 1991a, pp. 607–8; and Ripoll López 1998, pp. 144–46.

37. Ripoll López 1991a, pp. 197–200, 244–49, 306.

38. Ripoll López 1986, pp. 58–64; Arias Sánchez and Novoa Portela 1996.

39. Ripoll López 1993a, pp. 112–29 and 545; Ripoll López 1998.

40. Werner 1955.

41. Palol 1950a.

42. Schulze-Dörrlamm 1989a, pp. 801–4, pl. 63; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1989b, p. 804, pl. 64.

43. Ripoll López 1993a, p. 545; Ripoll López 1998.

44. Ripoll López 1993b.

45. Åberg 1922, p. 239, pls. 365 and 392.

46. Brown 1993b, p. 67, no. 26.

47. Ross 1965, p. 4.

48. Werner 1955, p. 39; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1989a, p. 802.

49. Werner 1984, p. 43.

50. Ripoll López 1994.

51. Ripoll López 1993a, pp. 136–40, 506–9, 549–50.

18. Artistry in the West

18.1 Touchstone for testing the purity of gold. Quartz. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter 3.4 cm. (17.193.149)

Early Medieval Germanic art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is represented principally in miniature, on the fine metal jewelry and decorative fittings found in graves or in buried treasures. Such objects were originally seen alongside garments of dyed or embroidered cloth, fur, figured silk, and stamped leather, which now only rarely survive. Also largely decayed are many other organic materials, such as wood, sometimes carved on a monumental scale, or bone and ivory. Stone carving is represented in the Metropolitan by a few choice fragments that only hint at the original wealth of such art.[1] The products of the contemporary potter are poorly represented in the Morgan collection, and those of the blacksmith, an artisan of major importance, by only a few specialized products, such as weapons.[2]

THE JEWELER
Contemporary literature contains a small amount of incidental information about craftsmen, including the jeweler (p. 243 and pp. 302, 306).[3] Archaeological finds reveal additional evidence of the techniques involved in the creation of Early Medieval jewelry. Mold fragments, lead models, crucibles, and small plaques used to fashion the patterned gold foils set behind garnet inlays have all been found on a number of settle-

ment sites.[4] The find in Rome of waste and debris from a seventh-century metal workshop (pp. 144–48) has also added greatly to an understanding of methods of production. A grave of the early seventh century at Wallerstätten, Hessen, Germany, contained, besides a horse harness and weapons, the equipment needed for handling fine metal, such as a balance scales, a touchstone, a weight, gold waste, a gold coin, and a crucible.[5] This combination of grave goods suggests that in some Germanic areas the supply of the fine metal itself was controlled by the armed elite. The Merovingian graves at Niederbreisig contained several touchstones (fig. 18.1), as have other Merovingian cemeteries in the Rhineland.[6] A piece of bullion would be rubbed across the surface of these black stones to create a streak so that the gold content of the bullion could be evaluated by comparing its color with one of known purity.[7] A Langobardic grave from the first half of the sixth century at Poysdorf, in lower Austria, contained not only tools but also two copper-alloy models to create

18.2 Pair of square-headed bow brooches. Gilt copper alloy. Langobardic, first half 6th century. Length 6.4 cm. (17.192.138 and .139)

the molds for casting an S-brooch and a square-headed brooch, suggesting the deceased may himself have been an artisan.[8] The latter form was used to produce brooches almost identical to an unprovenanced pair in the Metropolitan (fig. 18.2). The Poysdorf models and the Metropolitan pair are most closely paralleled by pieces from Keszthely and Racálmás in western Hungary, with only minor differences on the headplate and animal mask terminal.[9]

SOME SURFACE EFFECTS

The important techniques of garnet inlay and of inlaying silver and brass on iron are discussed in specialist papers (19 and 24) below. A study of the technique of casting, based on Merovingian copper-alloy buckles similar to those in the Metropolitan (figs. 21.39–21.40), is described below (pp. 250–51). The process needed to finish such casts is visible in the different stages represented by the gold belt mounts in the Vrap Treasure (figs. 15.18–15.20).[10] Finishing involved the removal of casting jets, the trimming off of surplus metal from the edges, chasing—that is compressing the surface to sharpen the pattern—abrading the surface until it was free of flaws, after which it would be given a final polish.

Throughout the period the front, but usually not the back, of an object was sometimes treated to make the object appear more valuable than it was. To imitate gold, silver or copper alloy was gilded by applying a mixture of gold and mercury, after which the latter would be driven off by heating, leaving the gold securely fixed. To imitate silver, a coating of tin or of tin and lead, perhaps in powder form, was applied to copper alloy. Upon heating, it formed a thin surface layer, which gave a silvery effect, although it often survives now only where the surface has been protected from wear. Rarely, both gilding and tinning appear on the same piece, such as the brooches mentioned above (fig. 18.2). This type of brooch is often made of silver, but this particular pair is made of copper alloy, gilded on the front, and tinned on the back. The viewer was deceived, but also, perhaps, the wearer. Similarly, a copper alloy was created containing so much tin (15 to 30%) that the metal had a silvery appearance.[11] Since casts made of this mixture were very brittle, they were usually employed to produce decorative fittings (fig. 18.3) or buckle loops that had an iron core for reinforcement. Such casts present the same elegant outline with a plain shiny
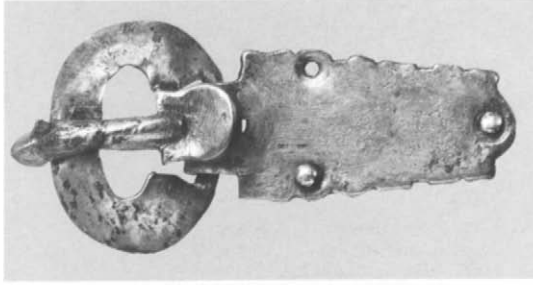
18.3 Belt mount. High tin bronze. Frankish, 6th century. Height 2.7 cm. (17.191.77)

18.4 Shoe buckle, one of a pair. Silver. Frankish, late 7th century. Length 6.3 cm. (17.191.171)

18.5 Belt mount. Tinned copper alloy. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. Length 7.2 cm. (57.161.1)

surface unbroken by decoration, as do a pair of shoe buckles in the collection that are of silver, simply hammered to shape (fig. 18.4).

Many techniques seen on Late Roman metalwork continued on Germanic pieces, especially those designed to create surfaces that glittered and scintillated (fig. 18.2). One of the most characteristic, a casting technique known as "chip-carving," is represented most strikingly in the Vermand Treasure (pl. 3 and p. 78). Contrasts of light and shade are created by means of deeply cut curvilinear and recti-linear decoration with facetted surfaces meeting at sharp angles. Scrollwork decoration in the technique appears on a Late Roman, tinned copper-alloy belt mount (fig. 18.5) and continues on a series of later Germanic buckles and brooches (figs. 10.9, 10.11, 11.14, 12.1, 20.1, and 20.14). Later developments of the technique represented in the collection come from Vrap in Albania (fig. 15.10) and Scandinavia (figs. 25.2, 25.5).

Secondary decoration of a cast surface could also add to the effects of light, such as the systematic notching of cast ribs or the use of pointille decoration on flat fields (fig. 18.5). Punching and stamping similarly enlivened flat surfaces, such as a Late Roman gilded rivet head in the form of a wheeled cross (fig. 18.6). The latticed form of the stamp used there also appears, for example, on the foot of an early-seventh-century Langobardic brooch (fig. 13.21). Similarly, lines of punched ring-and-dot or small concentric semi-circles appear on the Late

18.6 Decorative rivet head. Gilt copper alloy, on tinned copper-alloy baseplate of 7th-century composite disk brooch. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. Diameter 3.5 cm. (17.191.18)

18.7 Terminal disk from a tutulus brooch, one of a pair. Gilt silver, niello. Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. Diameter 2 cm. (17.191.37 a)

Roman Vermand Treasure (fig. 8.4), on an early sixth-century Kentish brooch (fig. 23.11), and on early seventh-century Langobardic shoe-fittings (fig. 13.14). Another contrast in light and dark was created by inlaying niello in incised lines, in patterns of small punched triangles, or in small sunken fields. The niello, usually in the form of a copper or silver sulphide powder, was heated *in situ* to create a shiny black amalgam.[12] This technique can be seen at Vermand (figs. 8.1–8.4), on the terminals of a pair of late-fourth-century gilt-silver brooches (fig. 18.7; for brooch type, see fig. 8.14.1), and throughout the collection.

Sheet surfaces were decorated, for example, by applying metal strips, both plain and decorated (fig. 13.19), or filigree wires, sometimes twisted together and fixed side by side to create patterns (figs. 9.1 and 13.18).[13] The wire might be notched with a blade or beaded by hammering in a form to give the effect of a row of individual globules of metal. Granulation is the application of a single globule, or of a series arranged in a line or a cluster. On a brooch (fig. 9.1) and earrings (figs. 8.14.6, 14.13), each globule is set on a wire circlet, while on another earring (fig. 11.7) the granulation creates the effect of bunches of grapes on a vine. Filigree and granulation in combination created plastic decoration, as on a disk brooch (fig. 18.8), on a bifacial hollow pendant (fig. 18.9), and on a series of filigree disk brooches (pls. 9, 10). Although such applied decoration required time and skill for individual products, it could be imitated by working metal sheet from behind (*repoussé*), sometimes in a die or with a model, to create multiple copies. Thus the repoussé decoration of the sheet-gold appliqués (fig. 10.2) copies the applied wire and granulation on an early-fifth-century brooch (fig. 9.1), including the stone settings. The effect is named pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation. Repoussé was also used to create multiple ribbing, for example, on the cylindrical mount of a sixth-century knife handle, while on the top were applied patterned strips, filigree, and
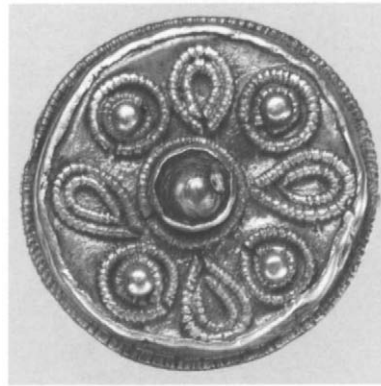
18.8 Filigree miniature disk brooch, actual size and enlarged. Gold, pearl. 7th century. Diameter 1.6 cm. (17.191.125)

18.9 Pendant from a necklace, two views, actual size, and one enlarged view. Gold. 7th century. Length 2.5 cm. (17.191.8)
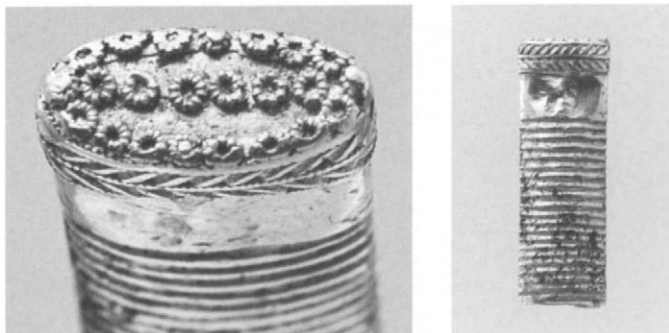
18.10 Mount from a knife handle (top view, enlarged, and side view, actual size). Gold. Frankish, 6th century. From Ramerupt, France. Length across top 1.2 cm. (17.191.92)

granulation that emphasized the quality of the piece (fig. 18.10). Similarly mounted knives are found in pairs in the richest Merovingian graves.[14] Other examples of repoussé decoration in the collection range from coin-like brooches (figs. 21.27–21.29) to pendants with animal ornament (figs. 25.4 and 18.15).[15]

THE ANIMAL STYLES

A favored theme in Early Medieval art is the representation of both real and imaginary creatures. The Metropolitan has some fine examples demonstrating the complicated regional and chronological development of this animal art, much of it associated with Germanic taste. The earliest examples are the Late Roman animals (see pl. 3 and figs. 11.3 and 18.5), which start the series. The principal Germanic animal styles, as currently defined, include only a part of contemporary artistic expression. Those dating from the fifth to the eighth centuries have been named Style I (papers 4, 13, 23); Style II (papers 13, 21, 24, 25); and Style III (papers 25, 26).[16] The last mainland example presented in this volume is the eighth-century Lindau Gospel cover (fig. 26.1 and pl. 17). Later developments of

animal style decoration in the collection from Scandinavia extend from the late eighth to the eleventh centuries (figs. 25.10–25.14). The styles often overlap in use and are named after a defining characteristic or the site at which their most famous examples are found.

Several principles of composition operated throughout the period. One called *horror vacui,* is a distaste for unfilled spaces, which led to a proliferation of ornament on all available surfaces (pl. 8). Another, *pars pro toto,* is the concept that a single element, such as a limb or the head of an animal, can represent the whole entity. A diversity of naturalistic images abounds (figs. 20.18, 20.21–20.25, 25.1), but some convey a visual pun, such as the birds that contain a fish (fig. 3.3) or a quadruped (fig. 23.2). Along the edges of some brooches (fig. 10.9) and buckles (fig. 12.1) complete animals and birds are depicted, and terminals are regularly decorated with animal masks and bird heads. The radiate head of a bow brooch has a frieze of bird heads (fig. 21.13), while such heads completely encircle a disk brooch (pl. 7H). Some S-shaped brooches represent a body with two animal-head terminals (figs. 13.20, 20.2–20.4). One of these (fig. 20.4) contains two creatures within it, each with a pointed oval face and two prominent eyes. Similarly, some buckle loops are transformed by a profiled head at each end (figs. 8.1, 10.11, 12.1).

Some animal art repays careful study, such as two outstanding examples of late Style I in the collections (figs. 13.21 and 18.11).[17] Each contains representations of quadrupeds seen from the side, complete, and with the individual parts in their approximate anatomical position, but schematized. The animals of each have a recognizable head with prominent eye and sometimes jaws, as well as a body with pear-shaped haunches and two limbs ending in a paw with elongated digits. In one (fig. 18.11) the headplate contains two crouching animals confronted, with prominent fore- and back legs. The center of the footplate contains two pairs of limbs with paws that appear in isolation. On
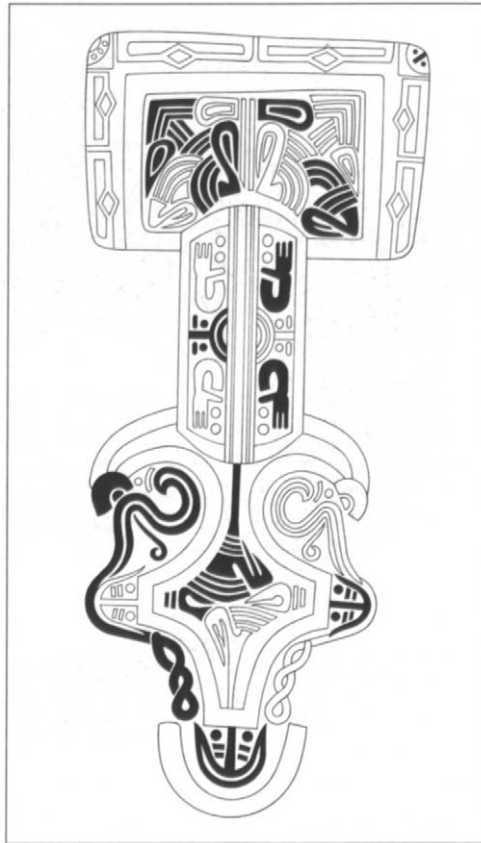
18.11 Square-headed bow brooch, with (right) an analysis of decoration. Gilt silver, niello. Frankish, mid 6th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Length 10.3 cm. (17.193.64 b) (drawing by James Farrant, adapted from Haseloff 1981)

18.12 Mount from an iron shield boss. Gilt copper alloy. Langobardic, late 6th–early 7th century. Diameter 7.1 cm. (1984.184.1)

both brooches appear animal masks and heads on arching necks, similarly isolated (compare fig. 23.14).

Three animal heads on arching necks, dynamically arranged in a triskele formation, constitute a mount from a shield boss (fig. 18.12). Such an arrangement of animal heads with a triangular chin traditionally belongs to Style II, and resemble the two profiled heads on a buckle (fig. 18.13), one at each end of an arched neck. On another

18.13–18.14 Schematic representations of Style II animals on two Frankish first-half-seventh-century copper-alloy buckles (figs. 21.46, 21.47) (drawings by James Farrant, based on de Ricci 1910b)

18.15 Pendant from a necklace (fig. 4.14, enlarged), with the composition of its Style II animal interlace decoration schematized (right). Frankish, first half 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter 1.5 cm. (17.193.128) (drawing by James Farrant)
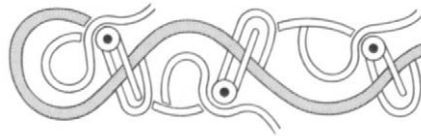
18.16 Schematic representation of Style II interlace animals from a seventh-century silver-inlaid iron belt fitting (drawing by James Farrant, based on de Ricci)

buckle (fig. 18.14), two profiled boars' heads, each with a tusk, are clearly depicted, as are a rudimentary interlace of bodies and two pairs of paws. A classic example of Animal Style II interlace crafted to fit the circular field appears on a seventh-century gold pendant (fig. 18.15).[17] The animal's double-ribbon body is S-shaped, with a head and gaping jaws at each end. The tongues of each head join at the center, and at the back of each head is a curlique that interlaces around the looping body. In another classic piece, an elongated panel contains an undulating serpent's body ending in a profiled head that curves around to bite itself (fig. 18.16). The

head has a prominent eye with a sinuous frame behind it. The lower jaw has a curved end, while the upper one extends to become the neck of a further head, the upper jaw of which becomes the neck of a further head. The development of Style II can best be seen on the Merovingian silver-inlaid iron belt fittings in the Metropolitan collection (figs. 24.6–24.19). Style III demonstrates the extent to which the fashion for elongating and interlacing animal limbs and bodies could go (figs. 25.5–25.7, 25.12, pls. 16–17).

The subtle construction of many Merovingian interlace patterns, even the apparently simple, can be best appreciated on
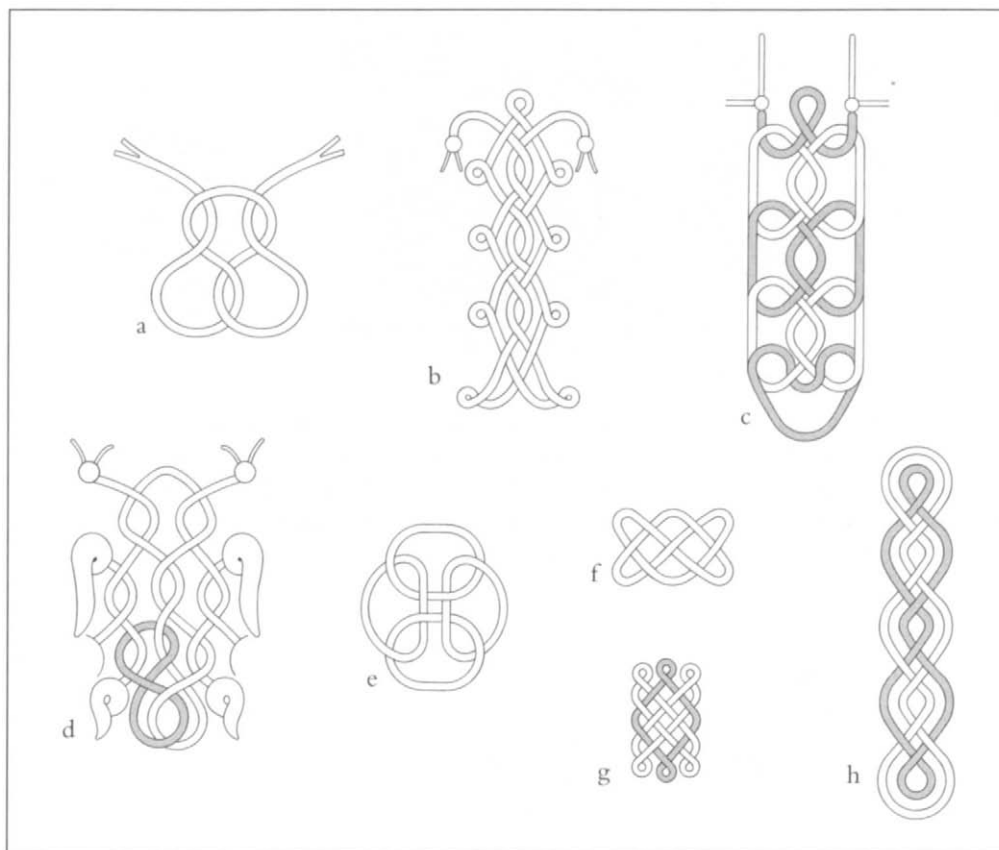
18.17 Schematic representations of Style II animal interlace and geometric interlace, based on seventh-century silver-inlaid iron belt fittings (drawings by James Farrant, based on de Ricci)

the silver-inlaid iron fittings excellently represented in the Metropolitan.[18] Sometimes the true nature of the interlace as animal bodies is only revealed by the gaping jaws of schematically represented animal heads, which in turn are recognizable only with reference to other examples (fig. 18.17a). The pattern can also be so complex that it is not obvious that only one line is involved (fig. 18.17b). In another example, two chains of individual D-shapes, linked at each end and down the center, appear to be the bodies

belonging to two animal heads with gaping jaws at the end (fig. 18.17c); in reality, the heads are independently linked by a short body with a loop in the middle. Some patterns, which at first sight seem to be regularly constructed, require an insert to balance the composition (fig. 18.17d). Purely geometric patterns can be composed of overlapping and interlocking elements (fig. 18.17e), while some geometric interlace motifs are composed of a different number of individual components, with one, two, or three continuous individual ribbons (fig. 18.17f–h).

Many Early Medieval images are clearly discernible but difficult to interpret, and contemporary perceptions themselves may not have remained the same. Complicating any interpretation is the survival of pagan iconography alongside Christian belief and the assimilation by the new religion of much
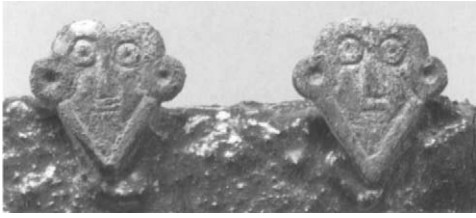
18.18 Two studs. Copper alloy. Frankish, 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 2 cm. (17.193.353)

18.19 Strap end. Tinned copper alloy. Frankish, second half 7th century. Length 12.7 cm. (1993.109)

older pagan traditions. It seems likely that much of the art of the period was related to a rich oral tradition of myth and fable, of which only a part was recorded, and it cannot be assumed that all the imagery that survives can be explained by these fragments. For example, anthropomorphic masks can now only be firmly identified by means of an inscription or a juxtaposition with a cross (figs. 21.39 and 21.44). Without a context, even the most striking images are difficult to identify, such as the studs mounted along the edge of the sheath of a single-bladed dagger known as a scramasax (fig. 18.18). An anthropomorphic mask and a hand with prominently displayed thumb but no other anatomical parts appears on either side of the bow of one brooch (fig. 18.11). Here and on Merovingian buckles, where it appears schematically on the buckle tongue (figs. 21.46–21.47) and on the back of a Langobardic brooch (fig. 13.25), an anthro-pomorphic mask is seen alongside animals and birds of prey that may have a protective significance. All these elements form a com-position, the popularity and extent of which may possibly be associated with the spread of Christianity.[19] A late-seventh-century strap end presents similar problems of interpretation (fig. 18.19).[20] While one of its motifs has a sim-ilarity to some openwork belt fittings (fig. 2.1), and another may be a pale imitation of a foli-ate scroll, the meaning of other elements, such as the animal mask, and the reason for their juxtaposition appear to have been lost.

An extremely long-lived generic motif with a Eurasian distribution, and a multiplic-ity of meanings, is that of the winged insect.[21] Brooches of such a form were popular in several Roman provinces in the West from the second century onward, particularly in the middle Danube region (fig. 18.20).[22] The motif spread widely in central and east-ern Europe among both Germanic and nomadic groups, connected with Hunnic and Ostrogothic movements during the late fourth and the fifth century. Its popularity survived into later Germanic art,[23] where
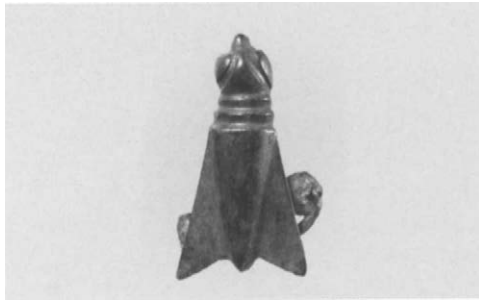
18.20 Brooch in the form of a winged
insect. Copper alloy. Eastern Germanic, 4th
century. Length 3 cm. (1993.263)

various species are differentiated by size and
anatomical details. Mounts of gold and gar-
net, interpreted as bees, appear in the grave
of the Frankish king Childeric (d. 481)
(p. 215), while the collar pendants from
Domagnano and related pieces are said to
represent cicadas (fig. 12.2e, p. 136–38). The
wings and body of an insect are also repre-
sented schematically by groups of three
cells with colored inlays on Merovingian
disk brooches in the collection (figs. 21.25–
21.26).[24] It is worth noting that on the
Lindau Gospel cover (fig. 26.1), within the
two arms of the Cross, appear garnet inlays
depicting what appear to be a small circular
head with two projecting antennae and an
elongated abdomen. On the longer elements
of the shaft, a circular thorax is also included.
Each is the body of a winged insect, such as
a butterfly, whose outspread wings fill the
large panel extending on either side of the
insect's body. The image of the butterfly has
traditionally represented the soul, and, for
Christians, more specifically that of resur-
rected souls.[25] Even on a piece with such
clear religious significance as the Lindau
cover, it is not certain whether the interlaced
animals between the arms of the Cross are
protective or represent the forces of evil
dominated by it.

1. See paper 11, n. 9, for 5th–6th century columns from
Toulouse; see Brenk 1992 for four Langobardic
8th–9th century lintels.
2. A useful modern account of some of the principal
crafts is to be found in specific chapters of Roth
1986a and Die Franken 1996, both with bibliography.
3. Roth 1986a, particularly pp. 303–4 for sources.
4. See ibid. for the range of evidence involved; the
exhibition catalogues listed on p. 49, above, contain
more regional information. Thrane 1987 summarizes
material from the Danish site of Gudme, and Helgo
Studies (KVHAA Stockholm) bring together the-
matic volumes of data on this important Swedish site.
5. Die Franken 1996, pp. 618–19.
6. De Ricci 1910b, pls. XI, 140, XII, 156, XIV, 188.
7. Oddy 1993.
8. Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren 1987, pp. 565–66,
pl. 85, XIV, 18p.
9. Kühn 1974, pp. 996–1006, with the Metropolitan
pieces p. 1003, no. 21, pl. 293, no. 34, 21; Göldner
1987, pp. 195–96, map 33 11a–1h.
10. Daim et al., n.d., forthcoming.
11. Meeks 1993.
12. La Niece 1983 and 1998.
13. The relevant chapters in Ogden 1982 provide an
excellent survey of techniques; Whitfield 1998 exam-
ines the different processes for wire manufacture.
14. Werner 1968.
15. Klein-Pfeuffer 1993.
16. Salin 1904; Haseloff 1981; Åberg 1947.
17. Roth 1978b for the Langobardic brooch; and
Haseloff 1981, pp. 479–85 for the Niederbreisig
brooch.
18. Menghin 1994, pp. 42–49.
19. Arrhenius 1986; Haseloff 1986; Roth 1986c.
20. Brown 1999, p. 47, no. 59.
21. The significance for earlier cultures of these now
rather despised creatures, and the importance of
cicadas, bees, flies, moths and butterflies in both
fables and religious teachings, is clear from a bestiary
that includes Biblical and patristic references.
22. Brown 1995, p. 21, no. 15. Brown 1999, pp. 40–41,
no. 49. For relevant parallels, see Fitz 1986, with
bibliography.
23. Kidd 1989.
24. First suggested in Kühn 1937b, p. 141, fig. 12.
25. The common theme is the victory of eternal life
over death, following that transformation, such as
in the teachings of Saint Paul (I Corinthians).
The analogy made by Pope Gelasius I, between a
caterpillar emerging from the tomblike chrysalis
as a butterfly and the progress of a Christian to
the afterlife, is part of a long tradition. A number
of images of insects both with and without
wings have been noted on other seventh-century
filigree brooches, in Thieme 1978 figs. 1:37–50
and 2:10–15, for example. See also Cabrol and
Leclerq.

19. Garnet Jewelry of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries

INTRODUCTION

The Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses an impressive collection of garnet jewelry from the European Migration period (pl. 5). The material mostly derives from the Morgan collection and originally seems to have come from different purchases in western Germany and northern France, some perhaps from eastern Europe. This article treats only the characteristics of some individual pieces, without trying to identify different find spots or related archaeological remains. It seems appropriate first to try to establish how and where the production of garnet cloisonné jewelry started, and why such jewelry was so highly appreciated in Germanic areas.

THE HISTORICAL USE OF GARNET

The production of garnet cloisonné began in the Black Sea area around the third century A.D.,[1] and came about through the discovery that garnets can be split into thin slices. The most common natural state for a garnet is a cubo-octahedric (eight-sided) crystal, which cannot be cleft, and most garnets, especially those used in modern jewelry, do not permit splitting along the crystal faces. However, if the garnets undergo a secondary change in connection with metamorphic

processes, some of the faces of the garnet crystals may be destroyed. The garnets consequently take on a layered structure that permits cleaving, which characterizes the stones used in cloisonné work. The cleaving can be done by heating the metamorphosed garnets, which split on cooling. This discovery seems to have been crucial in the development of garnet cloisonné, since thin slices of garnets can be shaped using templates and a high-speed wheel. The use of templates for shaping the garnets is a necessity with more complicated cloisonné work, as an individual adjustment of the garnet's shape is not only time-consuming but is also restricted by the general hardness and brittleness of the mineral. The creation of cloisonné work therefore demands great skill and is among the highest achievements of ancient technology. It is a development that must have grown out of the Hellenistic gem cutter's skills.

It should be added that the garnet was a highly prized stone in Hellenistic art, and an understanding of the development of this sophisticated gem-cutting technology must be accompanied by an appreciation of the importance of the symbolic value of precious stones in antiquity. A belief in the celestial powers of precious stones, which still has some resonance in modern astrology, can be traced back to early Egyptian times. In late Roman times such a belief was universal among different pagan religions and, in its gnostic manifestations, among early Christians also. Garnets seem to have symbolized life and love among the gods as well as among humans. In a manual of medieval lapidary[2] the garnet is said to endow a ruler with love. Consequently the garnet was used for relief-cut gemstones depicting not only the emperor but also Eros and often Isis, the latter being originally an Egyptian fertility goddess, one of the most beloved fertility

goddesses in antiquity.[3] The book of Exodus relates that the garnet was one of the gems on the breastplate adorning the Jewish high priest. Each of these stones represented one of the twelve tribes of Israel. The garnet, being the symbol of the tribe of Judah,[4] became for Christians a symbol of Jesus Christ himself. As a Christian symbol, however, the garnet does not occur before the end of the fifth century, and earlier examples of ecclesiastical items with garnet cloisonné have not been found.

The Gothic tribes encountered oriental beliefs concerning the magical properties of gemstones when they reached the Black Sea region in the first centuries A.D. In this area the cult of Isis, to which many magical beliefs were attached, was held in the highest esteem in late Roman times, and through Tacitus we know that, already in the first century A.D., Germanic tribes practiced the cult of Isis. In the fourth century the Roman writer Ammianus Marcellinus reported that the Alemannic king Chlodomachus was so devoted to Isis that he renamed his son Serapis.[5] The proposal has been made that the Frankish king Childeric (d. 482) might have been a devotee of Isis.[6] There are certain items in his grave in Tournai, discovered in 1653, which could have been associated with the cult of Isis. These include the ornament or insignia in the form of a large bucranium head with a solar disk, which is no doubt the head of Apis, a sacred bull of the ancient Egyptians.[7]

Heads of this type are, however, also found in other Germanic graves.[8] Such items, originally belonging to the oriental Isis cult, may have been used to express a fertility cult in Germanic areas, where the goddess Freya and her brother Freyr took on many attributes from the cult of Isis and Osiris (Serapis). The impressive garnet jew-elry also found in Childeric's grave, adorning weapons and the belt, is significant in this connection because an enormous brooch with garnet inlay is one of the items of jewelry worn by the Germanic goddess Freya.[9] A large number of small mounts, each in the shape of an insect with wings inlaid with garnets, are also found in Childeric's grave. Such insects, a typical pattern in early cloisonné garnet art that could have derived from similar motifs cut as intaglios or in relief in garnet,[10] are an old oriental symbol for fertility and underline a possible connection between Childeric and a pagan fertility cult. That this fertility cult was Germanic, although borrowing expression from oriental cults, is shown by the sacrifice of horses in their own graves, located in a circle around the royal burial mound.[11]

THE FRANKISH BACKGROUND

The mixture of oriental and Germanic elements in the equipment buried with Childeric characterizes Frankish culture in the second half of the fifth century, with the garnet jewelry in the king's grave itself providing an excellent illustration of this mixture. Most probably the greater part was made in Byzantium (see below). For several reasons it has been proposed that a central workshop for garnet cloisonné existed in Constantinople, attached to the imperial court.[12] In this period garnet cloisonné could have been distributed either as panels to be mounted locally, using different kinds of cement, or as finished jewelry that had been mounted in gypsum cement by the same central Byzantine workshop at which the garnets had been cut. The cloisonné jewelry from Childeric's grave shows that most parts of the weapon equipment were from a central workshop. There are two very important exceptions: the upper and lower guards
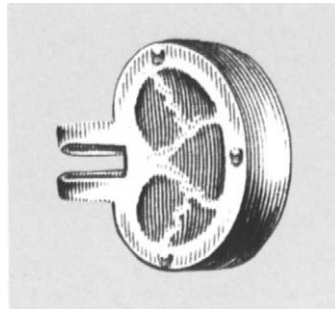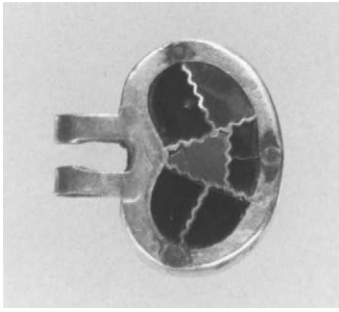
19.1 Buckle attachment plate. Gold, silver, garnet. Frankish(?), second half 5th century. Length 3 cm. (95.15.102)

19.2 Gold and garnet buckle remains from the tomb of Childeric, d. 482, at Tournai, Belgium (after Chiflet 1655)

of the king's sword, which are mounted with calcite.[13] It may be that the sword was once broken and repaired, but it seems more plausible that these guards were added by a Frankish goldsmith at the time Childeric was to wear the equipment, because double guards are characteristic of Germanic swords as opposed to Byzantine ones. The calcite mounting might also indicate that the equipment was not originally meant for Childeric. So, even if the equipment originally came from Constantinople, it might be that Childeric had it at second hand.

The alleged connection between Childeric and the Roman general Aegidius should be recalled in this connection.[14] The latter may have received a treasure from Emperor Majorian (d. 461) to disperse among his Germanic allies. Because of the great esteem in which the Germanic leaders held garnet cloisonné, this treasure would have had a high content of such material. That Childeric had close connections with someone high in the Roman administration is also demonstrated by the gold crossbow brooch found in his grave. Gold crossbow brooches

are found in several rich Germanic graves from the period (see pp. 66–70 above), but since they are also depicted being worn by Roman consuls they are thought to indicate a strong connection with the Roman administration.[15] Perhaps even this symbol was given to Childeric in recognition of his campaigns, together with Aegidius, against other Germanic armies.

The importance of garnet jewelry is underlined by the fact that, from Childeric onward, cloisonné jewelry was made in the Frankish area. Initially this production utilized imported panels mounted locally, but, later, garnets were used that were actually cut in the area employing a design typical for the Franks. Of importance here is the gnosticism of the fourth and fifth centuries, which sought to unify the mysticism of oriental religions with Christian beliefs. Thus Isis was read as Jesus Christ, and the use of garnet as a symbol for life and love did not have to change when the Franks under Clovis (d. 511) converted to orthodox Christianity, since Arian Christians also used this symbol. Still, though gemstone garnets seem to become just as important among Christians as among non-Christians, there was a lapse of time before their use won approval among the former. From the end of the fifth century ecclesiastical items, such as book covers, shrines, and religious vessels, were adorned with garnet cloisonné.[16] There are many reasons to suppose that such cloisonné work was made in the same imperial workshop as the secular items discussed above and below.

The Fifth-Century Buckles
The complicated pattern formed by stepped garnets became a kind of a hallmark: for cutting stepped patterns a template is needed, and the known finds indicate that the size of the steps more or less characterizes the workshop at which the garnets were cut.[17] Such a stepped pattern can be studied on an oval attachment plate from a gold buckle in the Metropolitan (fig. 19.1 and pl. 5D). The steps have a height of 1.2 mm, and under a

microscope it appears that they have a some-what rounded design. Such a pattern is typical for the garnet cloisonné found in the grave of King Childeric (fig 19.2), including that on several buckles, two of which were most probably used as fasteners on leather boots. The Metropolitan buckle is now somewhat broken and has no trace of cement, making it impossible to locate the workplace where the cloisonné was mounted. It was common to import cut garnets, often set in a thin panel surrounded by a flat strip, which would then be mounted locally in a more durable frame filled with a cement of calcite or aragonite. This seems to have been the technique em-ployed for the buckle, as its border strip is fastened to the outer frame with three rivets of silver. As it was mounted locally, with an imported garnet panel, this type of buckle could have secured the shoe of a barbarian officer,[18] quite possibly a Frank attached to the troops of Childeric.[19] Still to be explained is how it became part of the collection of Samuel Baxter in Florence, particularly the date and manner by which it reached Italy.

Another garnet and gold buckle in the Metropolitan (fig. 19.3 and pl. 5C), a small one, has an almost circular attachment plate. This type of buckle is often called Hunnic as examples of it are found in finds attributed to the Huns (see p. 107 above). But since they have a wide distribution,[20] this attribution is not very plausible. Some of the buckles indi-cate that the garnets are of a quality different from that in the Byzantine finds from the Childeric period, which might indicate their production in Roman Pannonia. The garnets are very simple in shape without any stepping or other more intricate pattern. Imperial workshops existed in Roman Pannonia, and it seems quite possible that these buckles, like other items with garnets of this quality, were produced in such an imperial *officina*. They served as gifts to barbarians to persuade them to become Roman allies. For example, in Roman Aquincum, close to Budapest, there had been a production of Roman gems and intaglios, and in such surroundings a workshop
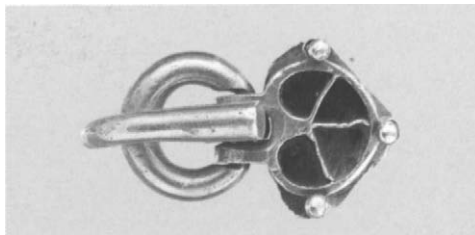
19.3 Buckle. Gold, garnet. Hunnic (?), first half 5th century. Length 4.1 cm. (17.190.697)

for garnet inlay might have existed for a limited period.[21]

The Frankish Purse Mount

A very typical item in upper-class Frankish graves is a purse with a mount decorated with garnet cloisonné. The purse mount (fig. 19.4) in the Metropolitan is a good example. It consists of an iron plate with a buckle attached and has two terminals each in the shape of an animal head, most prob-ably imitating that of a horse. In the plate is set a cloisonné panel with cell walls of low-grade silver. The cloisonné setting does not look very impressive now because of the damage caused by corrosion of the iron. Originally, however, it was a multicolored jewel with garnets and green glass. In the eyes of the horse heads are set tiny garnet cabo-chons (fig. 19.5). These small cabochon-cut garnets, not exceeding 3 mm in diameter, have an interesting distribution. They replace rivet heads on buckles, such as those from the Childeric find. One of their earliest occurrences is on the panther-shaped han-dles of one of the bowls from the treasure from Pietroasa (Romania),[22] which can be dated, at the earliest, to the first half of the fifth century. Another very early occurrence is on a gold necklet from Ravlunda in Sweden, most probably imported from southeastern Europe.[23] Such pinhead cabo-chons seem to be an eastern product that,
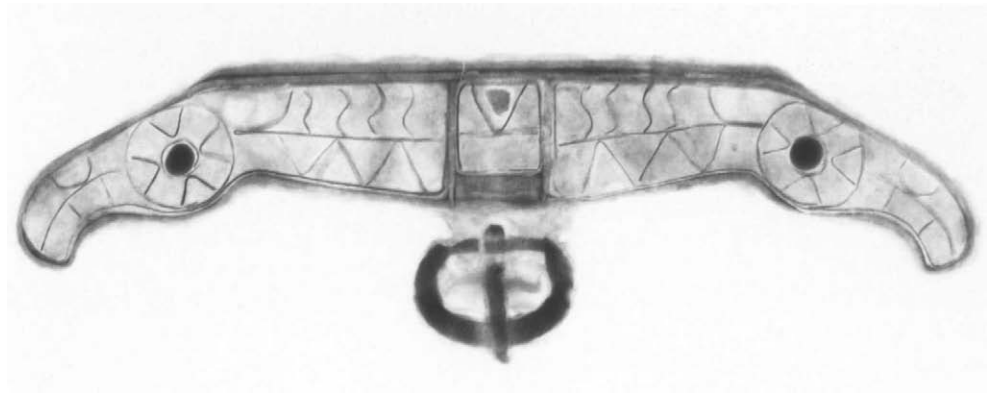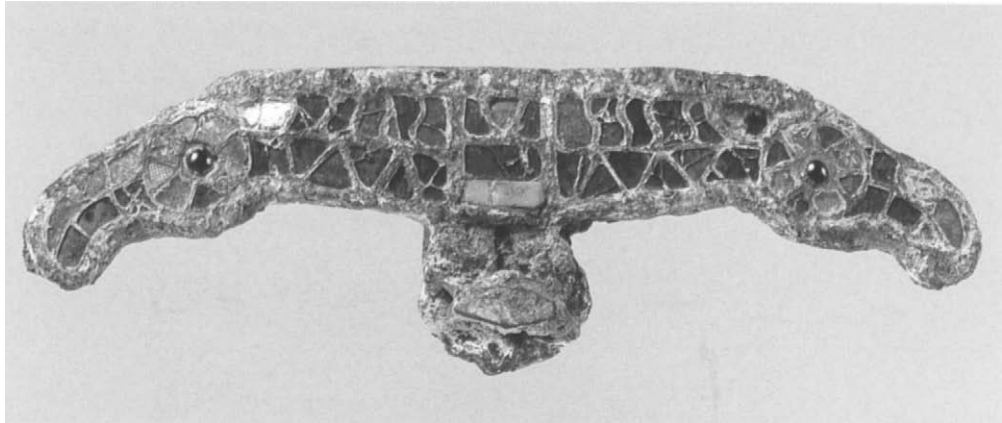
19.4 Purse mount, with radiograph to show details of construction. Iron, silver or copper alloy, garnet, glass, cuttlefish bone. Frankish, late 5th–early 6th century. Length 10.2 cm. (17.191.162)

however, does not occur after the turn of the sixth century except as replacements of older stones more or less singly. This observation would therefore date the purse mount to the last decades of the fifth century.

The Merovingian Brooches
Parallel to the garnet cloisonné in Frankish male graves of the later fifth century, the period of Childeric, is the cloisonné jewelry consisting of small disk brooches in contemporary female graves. The earliest brooches have an outer shell made of iron. A pair of

Frankish origin, said to have come from the Charente region (see pp. 22–24 and fig. 11f), are in the Metropolitan (fig. 19.6) and are technically very similar to the polychrome purse mount. In the center, however, the brooches have a circular setting consisting of mother-of-pearl. Originally these small brooches, only 2 cm in diameter, had an inlay of vertical silver strips around the border of the iron shell. Most of the inlay is now corroded, and these brooches, originally so beautiful, look much less complex than they are. The technique of inlay with silver strips,

From Attila to Charlemagne
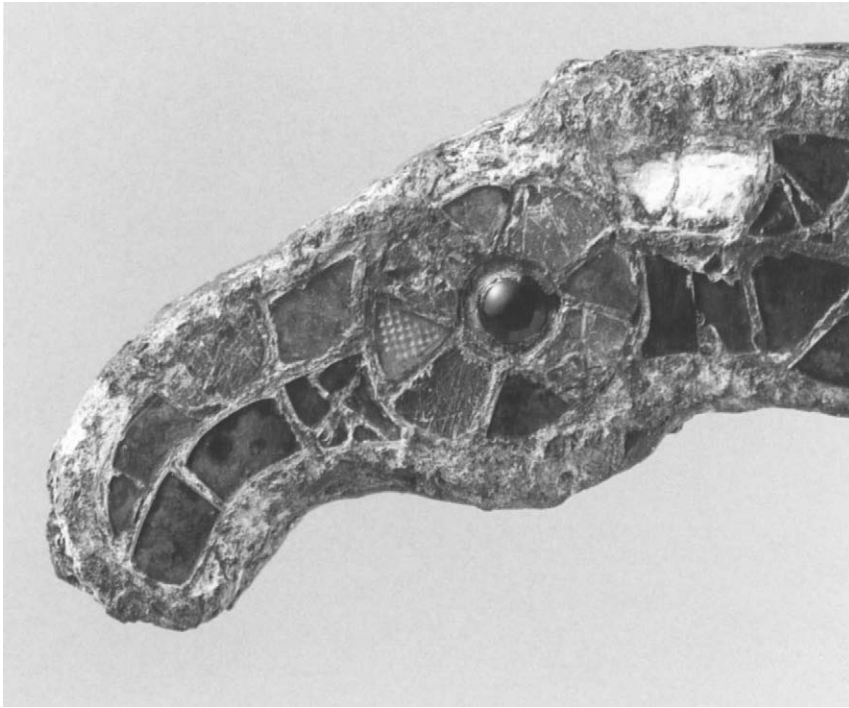
very typical for early Frankish metalwork, was developed to perfection. Since this was originally a Roman technique, it may be that, from the beginning of the Frankish period, the art was practiced by Roman artisans who remained under Frankish rule. At the end of the sixth century and during the seventh century this technique came to dominate Frankish art in metal and more or less superseded cloisonné production (pp. 292–307).

Several types of brooch adorned female Frankish dress (pp. 226–37), and the small disk brooches formed an important component.[24] Small garnet brooches, made at first mostly in pairs, seem to have adorned the upper part of the costume, either to fasten a peplos-like garment at the shoulders or to close it at the waist (fig. 20.6). The bow brooches, which characterize all Germanic tribes, seem at this period to have been placed on the lower part of the costume,
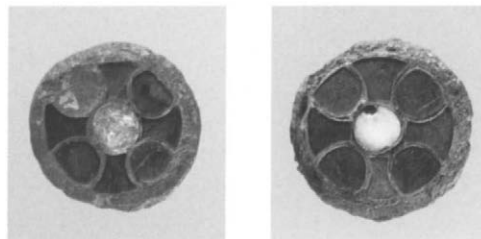
19.6 Pair of cloisonné disk brooches. Copper alloy, iron, silver, garnet, glass. Frankish, late 5th–early 6th century. From Herpes, France. Diameter 2.2 cm. (17.191.13, .14)
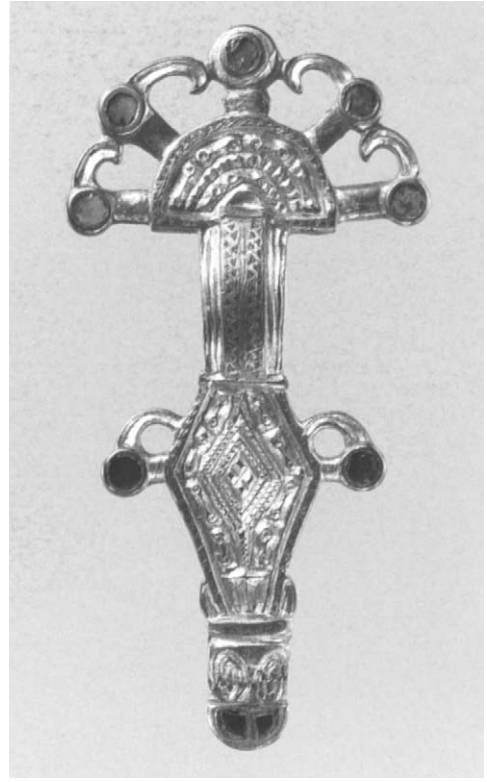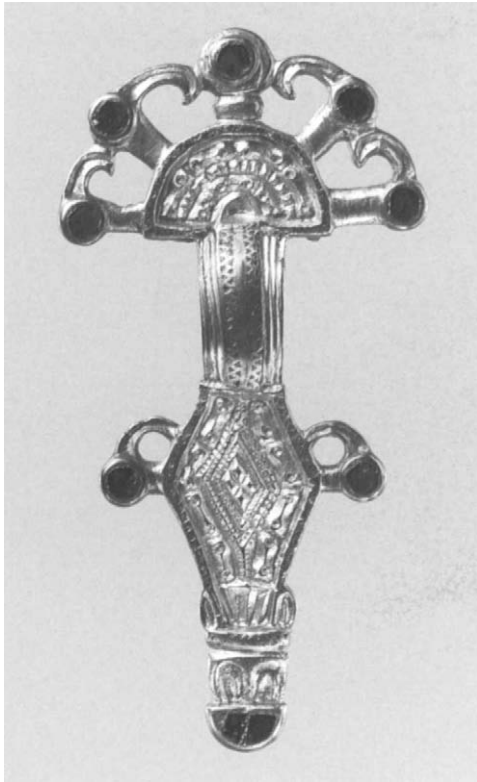
19.7 Pair of radiate-headed bow brooches. Gilt silver, niello, garnet. Frankish, Alemannic, Thuringian, or Ostrogothic, first half 6th century. Length 9.5 cm. (17.191.172, .173)

either closing a coat or hanging from decorative bands from the girdle (see p. 228).[25] In the Metropolitan is a pair of this type decorated with flat garnet disks set in the eyes of a bird's-head frieze around the headplate and in the mouth of the animal-head terminal on the footplate (figs. 19.7 and 20.13).

The cloisonné brooches (see pl. 7 and figs. 20.19–20.20) seem to have been very important and highly regarded. Though they may have originated in the Roman disk brooches set with a precious stone or intaglio,[26] brooches with a cloisonné setting became very characteristic of the dress of Frankish women, probably belonging to the nobility. At first such brooches were made in the same technique as the garnet panels seen mounted on weapons. These panels were most probably imported and mounted locally. In the first decades of the sixth century, however, an indigenous garnet cloisonné industry started in the Frankish area. Among the characteristics of this local production, the use of sand putty as a backing paste is crucial in the early phase. Around 530, such cloisonné seems to use another mineralogical type of garnet, probably cut in the Frankish area but originally imported as raw material, perhaps from Bohemia.[27] The size of the garnets is now smaller, and the stepped pattern is denser, with the height of the steps only .8 mm.[28]

From Attila to Charlemagne
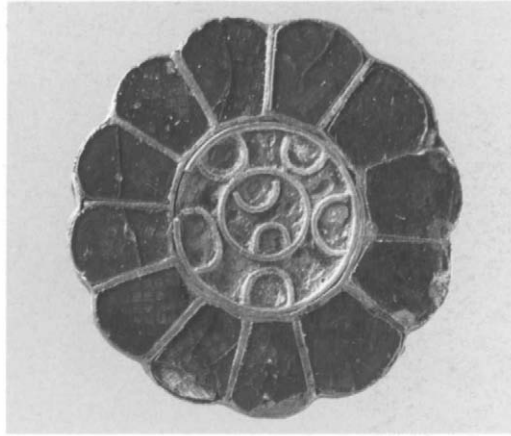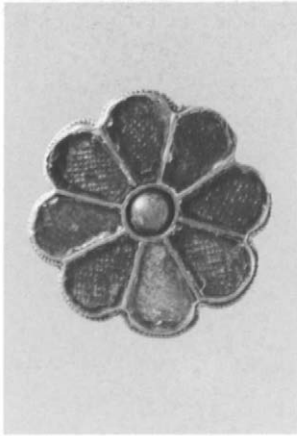
19.8 Cloisonné rosette brooch. Gilt silver, garnet, glass. Frankish, 6th century. Diameter 2 cm. (17.192.34)

19.9 Cloisonné rosette brooch. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, 6th century. Diameter 3.2 cm. (17.191.201)

The shape of the garnets is fairly uniform over a wider area, but several workshops seem to have been engaged in mounting. These workshops can be distinguished by the different mixtures of sand putty they used. One or more, situated along the North Sea, used a more or less clean calcite mixture. In the area around Cologne a brown putty consisting of a sand of silicates has been found in several cloisonné items, but around Mainz the putty is more gray in color and appears to be a mixture of silicates and calcite. We might tentatively hypothesize that brown and gray sand putty characterized workshops situated in Cologne and Mainz, respectively, whereas workshops using pure calcite seem to have been distributed both along the Frisian coast as well as in Anglo-Saxon England.[29] However, these different workshops seem to have utilized the same cut garnets, probably imported from a central site that engaged in the actual cutting of the stones. It has been proposed for several reasons that this central workshop should be localized in Trier.[30] In the material examined at the Metropolitan no examples from the Cologne workshop appear to be represented, but two examples of disk brooches with the grayish sand putty said to be typical of the Mainz workshop occur. In the center of the one brooch (fig. 19.8) is set a blue glass bead, and in the center of the other (fig. 19.9) is a decoration of silver filigree wire.

An Outstanding Frankish Group

A most exquisite set of cloisonné in the Metropolitan consists of a small brooch in the shape of a star with twelve points (fig. 19.10 and pl. 7F), a finger ring with a cruciform bezel (fig. 19.11), and a pair of bird brooches (fig. 19.12 and pl. 7C). The brooches and the finger ring are made of gold. The cloisonné consists of garnets and also of green glass set in the center of the star brooch and forming a collar on the bird
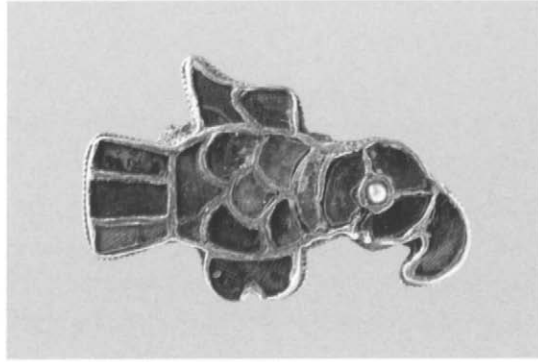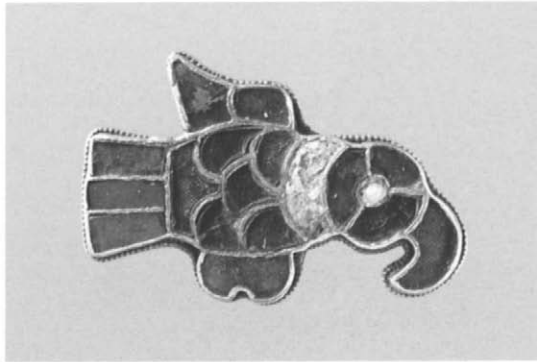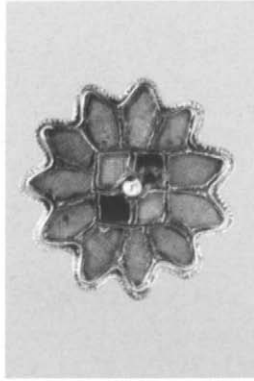
brooches. Below the green collar are three garnets of a lighter color that could have been achieved by using thinner slices so as to make more visible the gold foil beneath the garnets. The use of different colors of garnets is a refinement that comes in the later part of the sixth century and that is also seen on large Frankish cloisonné brooches.[31] The birds' eyes and the center of the star brooch are each set with a small pearl, which on the latter brooch is pierced. It is most probable that pearls reached the Franks through the Byzantine trade, which was flourishing in the third part of the sixth century. In this period female dress was also changing from the use of two garnet brooches to a single larger one, worn on the cloak.[32] The set described here is illustrative of this change, besides indicating the wealth lavished on the female jewelry ensemble.

By this time, a change in the fashions of female dress brought a stronger emphasis

19.10 Cloisonné star-shaped brooch. Gilt silver, garnet, glass, pearl. Frankish, 6th century. Diameter 2.2 cm. (17.191.154)

19.11 Finger ring. Gold, garnet, mother-of-pearl. Frankish, 6th century. Diameter 2.1 cm. (17.192.229)

19.12 Pair of cloisonné bird brooches. Gold, garnet, glass, pearl. Frankish, 6th century. Maximum length 3.3 cm. (17.191.164, .165)

19.13 Cloisonné quatrefoil brooch. Gilt silver, garnet, glass, mother-of-pearl. Frankish, second half 6th century. Diameter 3.2 cm. (17.192.29)
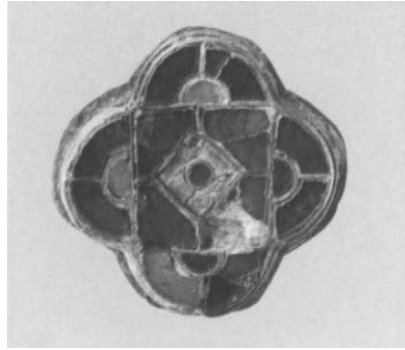
19.14 Cloisonné strap mount. Gilt copper alloy, gold, garnet. Frankish, first half 6th century. Length 6.2 cm. (51.125.5)

19.15 Gold and garnet mount. Frankish, early 6th century. From Krefeld-Gellep, Germany. Diameter 3.7 cm. (after Arrhenius 1985, fig. 189)

on a central brooch for fastening the cloak (see fig. 21.1). Such brooches became more polychromatic and could have a quatrefoil design, such as one said to have been found at Niederbreisig in the Rhineland (fig. 19.13). The analysis of the cement of this brooch indicates that it was manufactured in one of the workshops situated along the North Sea.[33] Besides the garnets, the brooch has semicircular settings of blue glass and, in the center, a piece of bone or ivory with engraved circles. The increasing use of colored materials for inlays probably occurred as garnet sources diminished,[34] but, of the later types in this series, there is no example in the Metropolitan collection.[35]
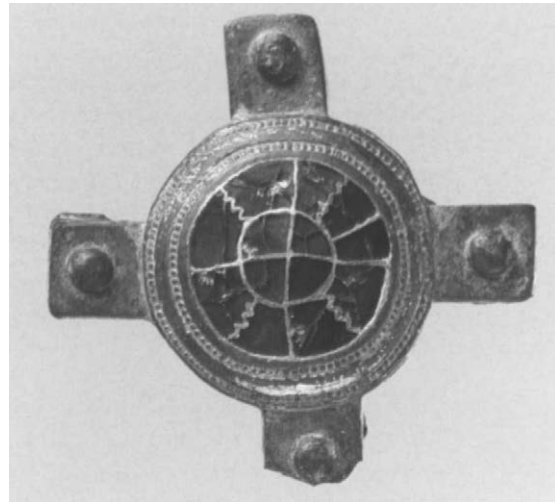
The Horse-Harness Mounts
One mount in the Metropolitan is cruciform in shape (fig. 19.14). Mounts of such form belong to horse harnesses, on which they mask the crossing of straps on the head. A close parallel to this piece occurs in the rich grave at Krefeld-Gellep (fig. 19.15).[36] The Metropolitan mount is made of copper alloy, and the central cloisonné disk is set into the copper-alloy plate. This setting has cell walls of gold, while the garnets have the dense Frankish stepped pattern. The cloisonné, covering the domed center, is set with garnets

that all have a slightly curved surface to create the convex shape. It is very delicate gold-smith's work, and to the same harness set there must have belonged several jeweled rectangular mounts. Without a closer examination of the cement, it is not possible to make a definite determination of the workshop that produced the mount. Most probably it is Frankish, from the first quarter of the sixth century, although this kind of horse equipment is also found among the Thuringians and Alemanni and in Ostrogothic Italy.

Another mount from a harness is rectangular (fig. 19.16), but, with its multicolored cloisonné, it probably belongs to the end of the sixth century. The rectangular bar has inlays of green glass paste, and some of the red inlay does not quite resemble garnets. Visigothic Spain and southern France yield buckles, among other objects, with red translucent inlays that are, however, not garnets but glass. To make a definite determination of the material, one has to use a petrographic microscope and x-ray diffraction analyses.

The Distribution of Cloisonné Jewelry

The production of Byzantine garnet jewelry seems to have been overseen by the imperial administration, and took place in an *officina,* actually located in Constantinople, or in a provincial *officina* located in Pannonia. Cloisonné jewelry was used as important diplomatic gifts, but there seems also to have been a distribution of semimanufactured articles, either as cloisonné panels or as cut garnets, and in Pannonia even of simply split garnets.

In late Roman times, the use of semimanufactured items was widespread in the mosaic industry. So-called *emblemata,* complicated mosaic designs that were assembled in special workshops, were manufactured to be mounted over a wider area as complete units in plainer wall or floor mosaics.[37] It has been argued that, to a large extent, cloisonné jewelry was also distributed in a semimanufactured state,[38] which did not change the diplomatic aspect of the distribution.

19.16 Rectangular mount. Copper alloy, garnet, malachite. Frankish, second half 6th century. Length 3.8 cm. (17.192.190)

When the Franks began their indigenous production they also seem to have attached a certain diplomatic function to this kind of jewelry, which explains why luxury golden sword pommels with garnet cloisonné, made in the Rhineland, are found in Scandinavian treasures.[39] It also demonstrates that gold sword pommels were made in the same workshops as the simpler disk brooches discussed here. Whether these brooches were also distributed as a part of Frankish diplomacy is unknown, though the occurrence of this type in Langobardic graves, such as at Szentendre in Hungary, hints at this link. Research has shown Mainz was an important source of such jewelry. One possible source of this distribution can be explained by the practice of exogamy, whereby Frankish noblewomen were married into the Langobardic nobility. For this reason, perhaps, the Frankish prince Theodebert (d. 548) became engaged to the Langobardic princess Wisigarda. When Frankish brides were sent to Hungary, they most probably carried with them their jewelry, which could have come from the royal workshops.[40]

The spread of Austrasian cloisonné jewelry to the west Frankish area could have a similar explanation. Clovis's son and the king of Austrasia, Theoderic I (d. 534), Theoderic's son Theodebert, and Clovis's grandson Theudebald all had connections of varying closeness with other rulers of the Frankish empire. After Theudebald's death in 555, Lothar I (d. 561), the fourth son of Clovis, also took over this part of the empire; some years later, he was, like Clovis, the sole ruler of the whole empire. After his death in 561 it was again divided into three parts, corresponding to the original division of the Merovingian realm.[41] As described by Gregory of Tours, there were not only many battles but also alliances between the Merovingians, and the latter might have resulted in marriages as well as in gift exchanges. When more garnet cloisonné has been analyzed, this material will give us a deeper knowledge of interrelations within the Frankish empire.

1. For the development of cloisonné art around the Black Sea, see Arrhenius 1985, pp. 43ff.
2. See Studer and Evans 1924.
3. For the cult of Isis in Roman times, see Solmsen 1979; Vidman 1970; and Witt 1971.
4. Arrhenius 1985; Kunz 1971, pp. 125ff., 275ff.
5. For the cult of Isis among Germanic peoples mentioned by Tacitus, see Timpe 1992. For the cult of Isis among the Alemanni, see Vidman 1970, pp. 156f.
6. Bernal 1987, p. 151. See also Arrhenius 2000.
7. For the relation between Apis and Isis, see Solmsen 1979, pp. 20f.
8. Arrhenius 1985, p. 163.
9. Arrhenius 1969.
10. Arrhenius 1985, fig. 137; Brandt 1968, pl. 49, fig. 434.
11. Brület 1990; Werner 1992.
12. See Arrhenius 1985, pp. 101ff.
13. Ibid., p. 102.
14. James 1988, pp. 64ff.
15. Werner 1971.
16. Arrhenius 1985, pp. 115ff.
17. Ibid., pp. 62f.
18. Brown 1996, p. 232.
19. James 1988, n. 14.
20. Brown 1996, p. 231.
21. Arrhenius 1985, pp. 44ff.
22. See Harhoiu 1977; and Odobesco 1889–1900.
23. Arrhenius 1990, p. 123.
24. Martin 1995b.
25. See Clauss 1989; Martin 1995b; and Zeller 1996.
26. For the origin of the disk brooches, see Martin 1995b, p. 652.
27. On the basis of the chemical composition of the garnets in Frankish jewelry, some mineralogists have recently proposed an origin in India or Sri Lanka (see Schüssler in Quast and Schüssler 2000; Farges 1998; Greiff 1998). As Schüssler emphasizes, however, a similar composition can also be found in garnets from places in Europe. The essential element in making the plates used for cloisonné was the ability to split the garnets into thin slices. That these slices were made by splitting and were not flattened by grinding is indicated by the mineralogical observations Mellis has made (1963) of garnets used in cloisonné jewelry. These have shown that the flat surfaces of the garnet slices were oriented along the crystal faces. This property indicates a natural splitting. It should be added that, lacking modern equipment, it would have been almost impossible to grind so exactly along the crystal. Furthermore, grinding is a time-consuming procedure, whereas splitting is simple and straightforward. As I have shown (1985, p. 31), a source of garnets embedded in amphibolite, which is easy to split into thin slices and which shows the same chemical composition as the Frankish garnets, is found in the Kutna Hora area at Zbyslav, near Cáslav, in Bohemia. My investigations suggest that they would have been suitable for splitting. In sum, the evidence strongly supports a Bohemian origin for the garnets as more plausible than a more easterly one, especially since we only know of the exploitation of crystaline garnets from the Indian subcontinent.
28. Arrhenius 1985, pp. 157f.
29. Ibid., p. 130.
30. Ibid., pp. 163ff.
31. Ibid., p. 176.
32. Martin 1995b.
33. Arrhenius 1985, pp. 136f.
34. Ibid., pp. 36f., 160.
35. Rademacher 1940.
36. Pirling 1966.
37. For the trade in mosaic emblemata, see R. Wilson 1982.
38. Arrhenius 1985, p. 100.
39. Ibid., p. 197.
40. Ibid., p. 193.
41. Wood 1994, pp. 55ff., for a detailed account of the development of the Merovingian kingdoms in the sixth century.

20. Early Merovingian Women's Brooches

INTRODUCTION

Thanks to the gift of J. Pierpont Morgan and some later acquisitions, The Metropolitan Museum of Art is in possession of a splendid collection of brooches that once embellished Germanic female costume of the early Merovingian period, that is, between about A.D. 450 and 600.[1] These brooches, the most characteristic component of female costume that has been preserved, are represented by two main types. The first group comprises the so-called bow brooches (*Bügelfibeln*), normally worn as a pair (fig. 20.1).[2] These attain an overall length of between 7 and 10 cm, rarely more, and then only among later types. Such a brooch consists, as a rule, of three integrated parts: the footplate, which may be a lozenge-shaped or oval form or simply a narrow strip; a headplate, often semicircular or rectangular; and a bow portion linking these two.[3] The second group consists of pairs of small brooches (*Kleinfibeln*) that show considerably more variation in shape: there is a great diversity of zoomorphic forms, such as birds, horses, and fish; and of geometric forms, such as circular, rhombic, and S-shaped brooches. Normally their size lies between 3 and 5 cm.

THE FUNCTION OF BROOCHES

Before a discussion of the objects themselves, a few words should be said about the function of the brooches on the costume, an issue that calls for reflections about origins and prototypes.[4] Prior to the first century A.D., large parts of Europe shared in common a female costume with identical major elements. The main part of this was a tubular, untailored garment, a gown called a *peplos,* the name of the Doric costume of classical Greece.[5] This garment was made from a rectangular piece of cloth draped like a tube around the body and fastened at each shoulder by a brooch, normally worn as a pair. This type of garment, without sleeves, was the main female one. In addition, a shirt-like garment was worn underneath. Over the peplos, a wrap or light cloak might be worn.

In the western provinces of the empire and by means of Roman, that is, Mediterranean, influence, a new garment made its appearance from the first century A.D. onward: the *tunica.* This was, again, a rectangular piece of cloth, not worn as a tube but, through a slot for the head, draped over the shoulders, with the sides sewn together. Unlike the peplos, there were usually sleeves, sewn onto the rectangular part or woven with it (fig. 20.5).[6] The result was also a shirt-like garment but one not requiring any brooches, particularly not pairs of them fixed on the shoulders as with the peplos. This change is important for archaeologists who usually find in graves only metal elements from the dress.

During the Roman period the peplos was still worn outside the empire, in large regions of Germania Magna. In late Roman times, when the western Germans, such as the Franks, Alemanni, and Thuringians, came into contact with the population of the
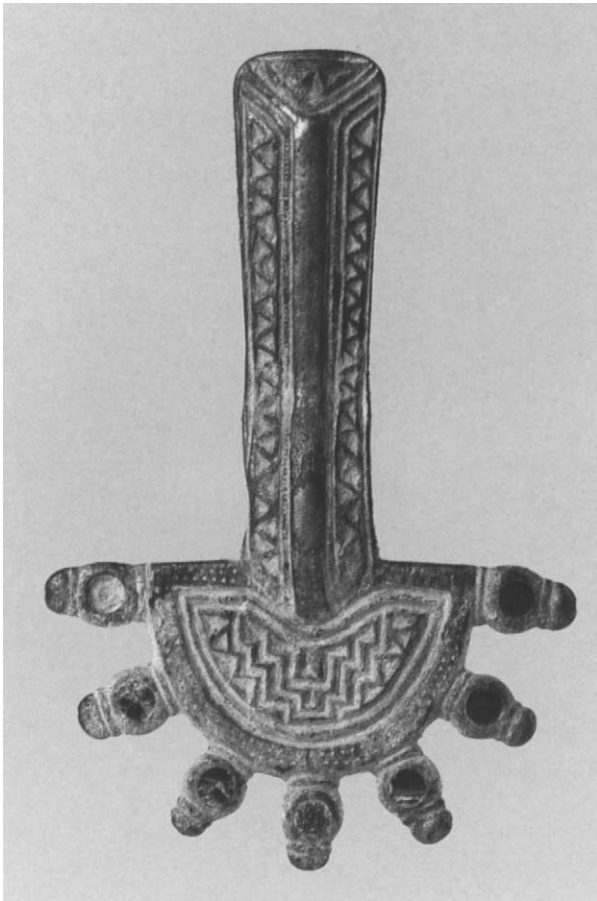
20.1 Radiate-headed bow brooch, one of a pair. Gilt silver, niello, garnet, glass. Frankish, first half 6th century. Height 10.8 cm. (49.56.6)

20.2 Brooch in the form of an "S," one of a pair. Gilt silver, niello. First half 6th century. Length 2.6 cm. (17.192.39)
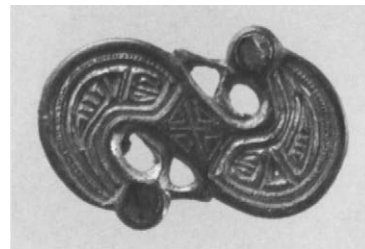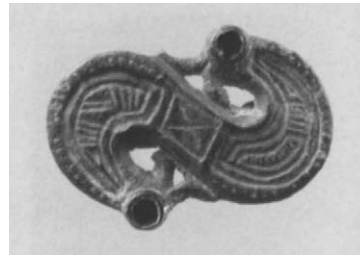
20.3–4 Two brooches in the shape of an "S," each one of a pair. Tinned copper alloy, gilt copper alloy, garnet. 6th century. Maximum length 4 cm. (17.191.80, 17.192.1)
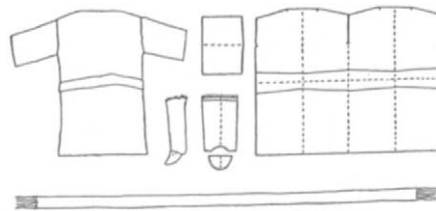
20.5 Tunic with girdle and leggings, from a Roman-period female burial at Les Martres-de-Veyre, dép. Puy-de-Dôme, France (after Martin 1995a, fig. 21)

northwestern Roman provinces, there were many varieties of tunica to be seen, but nowhere the archaic peplos, which, to the eyes of the provincial population, was old-fashioned. The peplos was worn only by the women of the Germanic soldiers stationed with their families within the frontier areas of the empire, chiefly on the Rhine and in northern Gaul, during the fourth and the first half of the fifth century A.D. (see pp. 81–87).[7] Already by the beginning of the Merovingian period in the middle of the fifth century A.D., Roman influence led western German women, though not those of eastern and northern Germany, to abandon the peplos and adopt the tunica.[8] Therefore, brooches disappeared from the shoulder. This contrasts with the custom in the Crimea (see p. 111), where bow brooches continued to be worn in that position (fig. 10.13).

Nevertheless, in the Merovingian period brooches were still in use, and sometimes more than before. Women of the upper classes from among the Franks, Alemanni, and Thuringians even wore two pairs of brooches: the bow brooches and the small brooches, both pairs normally made of gilt silver. The positions in which these have been discovered in the graves of western Germanic women have been very well recorded (figs. 20.6, 20.8, 20.15):[9] the small brooches lie at the neck or on the upper part of the chest, frequently at a regular distance from each other, indicating that they served to fasten a wrap or light cloak at the chest.[10] A single brooch, worn in that position, can be seen on many Late Antique and Early Medieval figural representations from Spain to Mesopotamia. Through Mediterranean influence, the single brooch became usual in the Merovingian empire at the end of the sixth century (see p. 243 and fig. 21.1). The small brooches of the second half of the fifth and of the sixth century already fulfilled the same function, as is shown by their being found in the same position on the body as the single disk
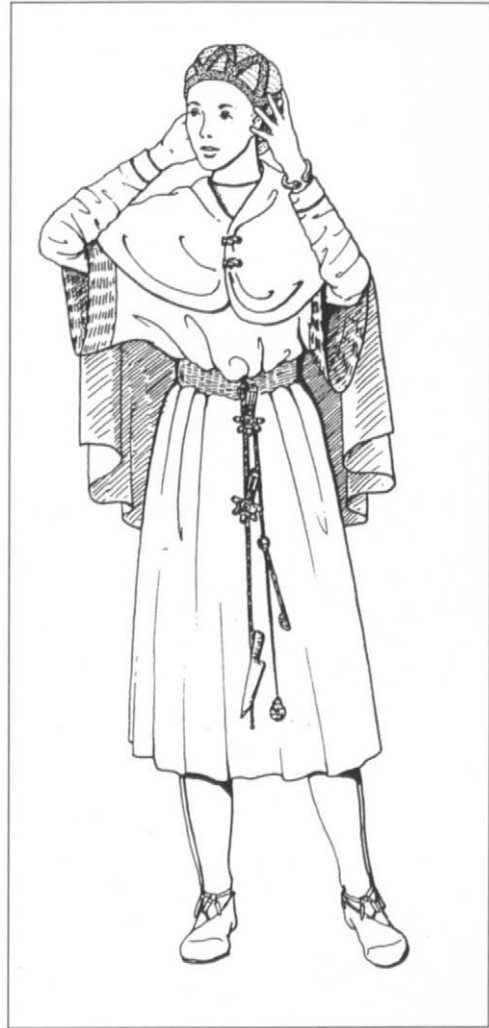
20.6 Reconstruction of a woman's costume from sixth-century grave no. 607 at Altenerding, Bavaria, Germany (after Martin 1997, fig. 390)

brooch. Langobardic women in Pannonia, for example, still used the two pairs of brooches, the bow brooches and the small brooches. Both were indispensable to an upper-class woman of the western Germanic peoples during the early Merovingian period, but after their immigration into Italy in 568, the Langobards immediately
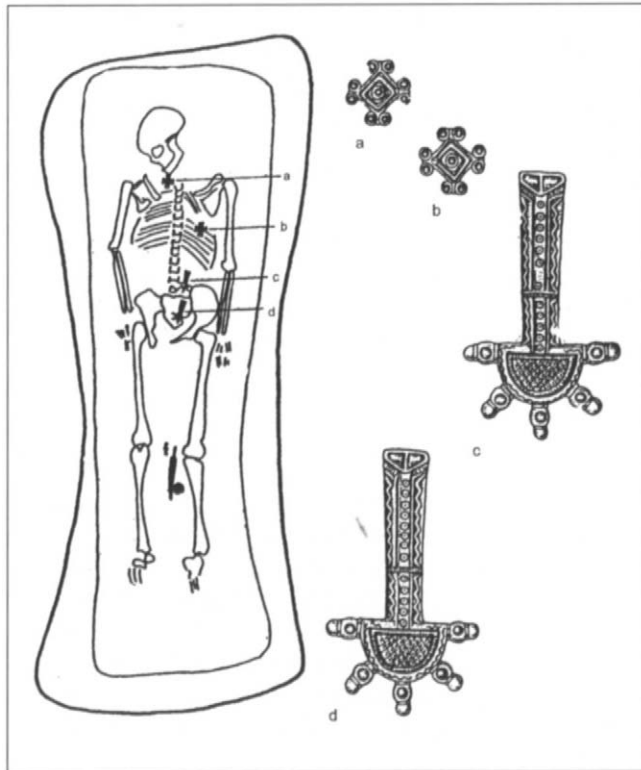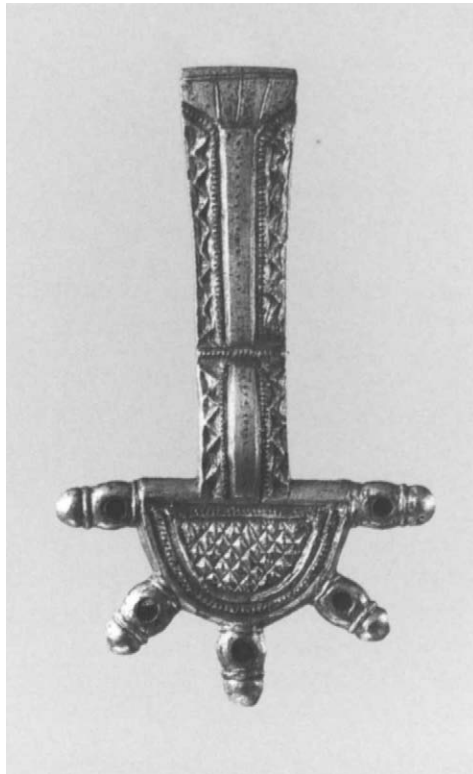
20.7 Pair of radiate-headed bow brooches. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, first half 6th century. Maximum height 8.4 cm. (17.192.140, .151)

20.8 Plan of grave 30 at Rübenach near Koblenz, Germany, showing position of brooches on body (after Neuffer-Müller and Ament 1973, fig. 7.30)

20.9 Distribution of bow brooches (fig. 20.7) with garnets on footplate terminal, showing concentration along the Rhine around Mainz and Koblenz
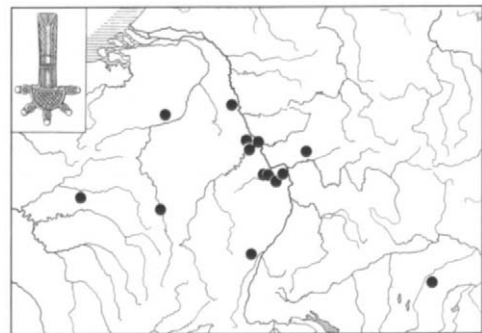
rejected the small brooches and adopted the single Mediterranean-style brooch (pp. 152–55).

The bow brooches, on the other hand, are found in different positions above or on the pelvis or between the thighs, but never on the upper part of the body or at the shoulders. Research in this area confirms that there is a close connection between the bow brooches and one or more amulets normally found near the knees. They had obviously been suspended or hung on bands, straps, or strings of textile or leather, or fixed to the bow brooches or on the ends of a belt adorned by them.

Looked at in detail, the different positions of the bow brooches are clearly not individual or arbitrary, but more or less adhere to a distinct system. The early bow brooches are usually found just below the chest and, at times, in a horizontal position. Later, a vertical position became usual, first at the level of the pelvis (fig. 20.8) and, ultimately, between the thighs (fig. 20.15). This gradual displacement, over the course of three or four generations, can be observed from the English Channel to Hungary and the Germanic Langobards living there. Many archaeologists, since Boulanger at the beginning of this century,[11] have believed that the bow brooches fastened a shroud, but it seems more likely that they are associated with a girdle or belt (cingulum) to which they were attached, originally with a preference for the horizontal position. Later the brooches were fastened on bands or strings supporting an amulet at the level of the knees.[12]

In contrast to the period before 450, the later bow brooches are made almost only of precious metal. That these brooches no longer functioned purely as clasps and fasteners for clothing is suggested by the absence of examples in copper alloy or iron. Brooches of such cheaper material do exist, but they are rare and normally late (such as fig. 20.17).[13] Consequently, in the Merovingian area and in central Europe during the second half of the fifth and nearly the whole of the sixth

century, brooches were always symbols signifying the high rank and social position of the women wearing them. While other women also wore the tunica, they had no brooches. Moreover, they had no right to show themselves with brooches in precious metal. This sumptuary rule, valid during the whole period in which the costume with two pairs of brooches (Vierfibeltracht) was the norm, was the expression of a precise social order. Very significant is the connection between the girdle or belt with its bow brooches as a symbol of social status on the one hand and the amulets as protective elements on the other. The latter were suspended from the ends of straps or strings, which were sometimes adorned with beads and pierced coins.

SOME TYPES OF BOW BROOCHES

Four pairs of bow brooches in the Metropolitan are characterized by a semicircular headplate with knobs radiating from it and a narrow subrectangular footplate (figs. 20.1, 20.7, 20.10, and 3.9). These represent a basic form typical of Alemannic and Frankish examples during the second half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century. The main decoration, obtained by casting, is in the so-called chip-carved technique (fig. 20.10 and pp. 78, 205), accompanied by an inlaid niello pattern. It is the prevalent decoration of this period, at least until the middle of the sixth century. A splendid pair, cast in silver and gilded and with an animal head on the footplate (fig. 20.11),[14] has parallels among Alemannic examples, for instance, on the Runde Berg near Urach, Württemberg (fig. 20.12, left), at Laucha, Thuringia (fig. 20.12, right), and at Lausanne on Lake Geneva, Switzerland.[15] The examples found outside Alemannia belonged to Alemannic women who escaped after the Frankish conquest of their country and died in exile.[16] Alemannic bow brooches of the same period are known from Frankish regions of northern France, and the Metropolitan pair could very well have been found there, as it was said to have been purchased in France.
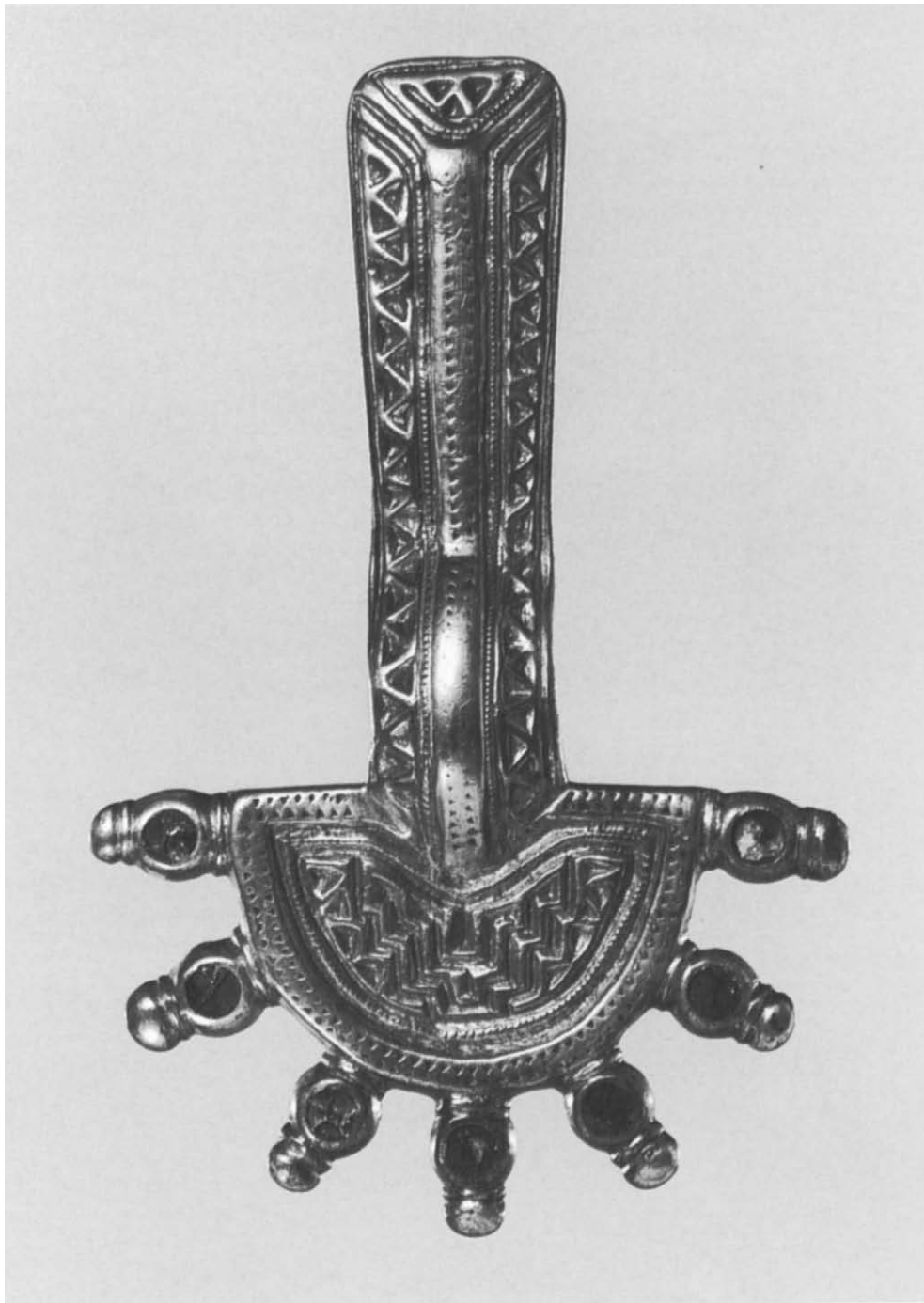
20.10 Enlargement of radiate-headed bow brooch, pair to fig. 20.1. Gilt silver, niello, garnet, glass. Frankish, first half 6th century. Height 10.7 cm. (49.56.5)

From Attila to Charlemagne
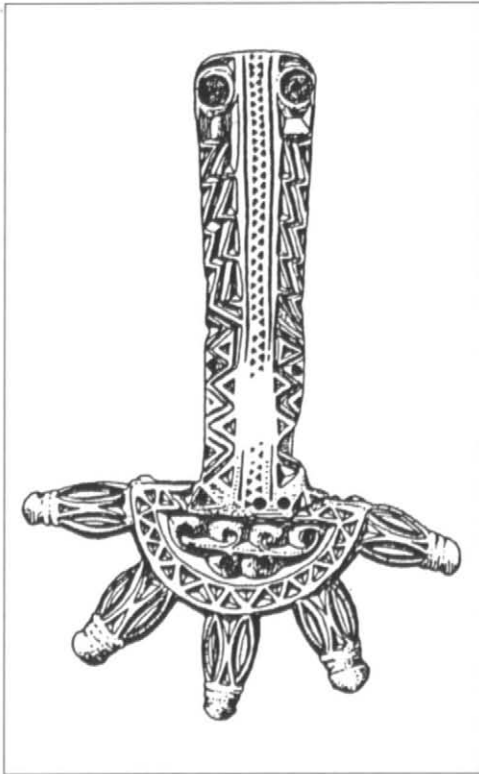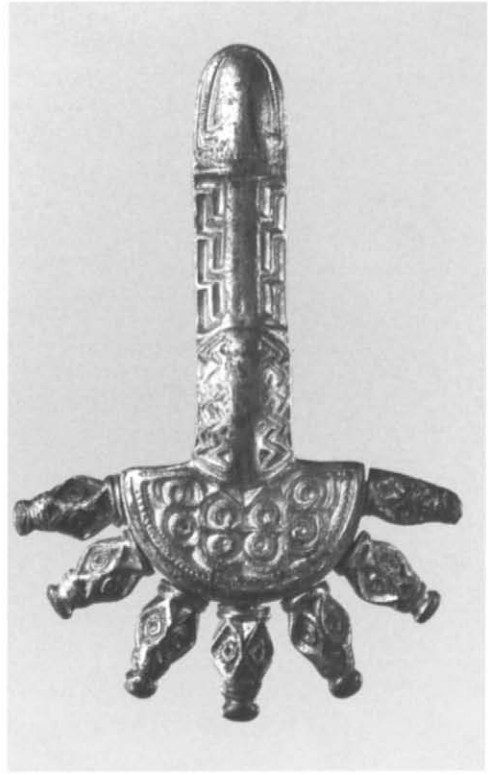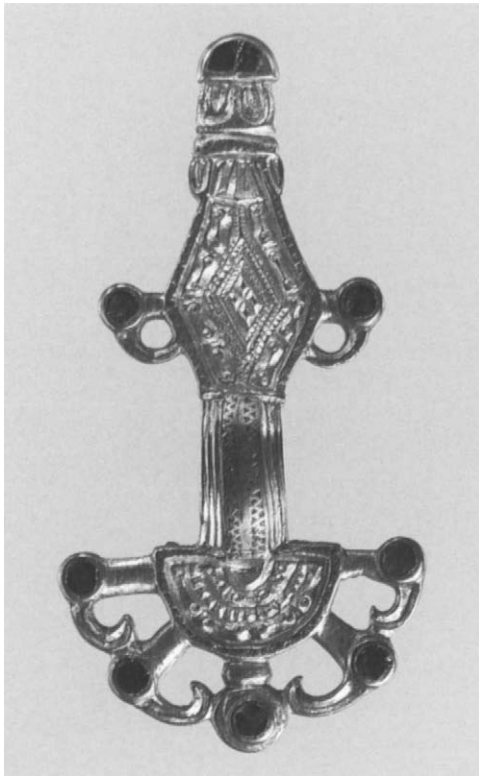
20.11 Pair of radiate-headed bow brooches
(opposite above). Gilt silver. Alemannic,
late 5th–early 6th century. Maximum height
8.8 cm. (48.154.3, .4)

20.12 Two Alemannic gilt-silver bow brooches
from Germany, ca. 500 (opposite below left),
from Württemberg (after Christlein 1974,
pl. I, 1) and (opposite below right) from
Thuringia (after Schmidt 1976, pl. 100, 1)

20.13 Pair of radiate-headed bow brooches
(above). Gilt silver, niello, garnet. Frankish,
first half 6th century. Height 9.5 cm.
(17.191.172, .173)
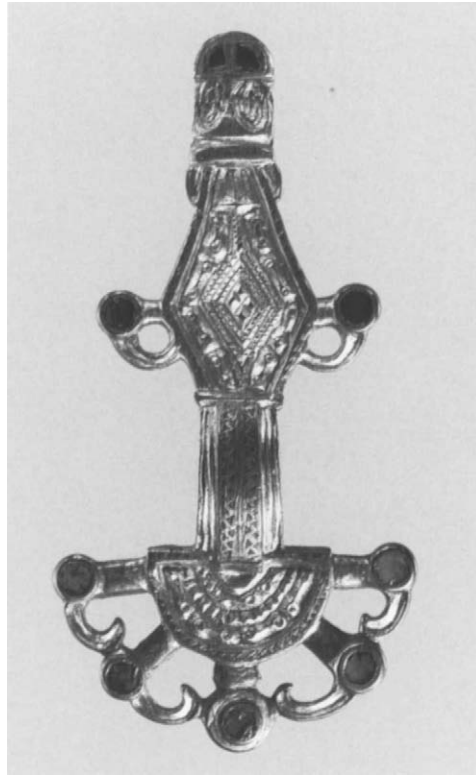
Together with its parallels this type belongs
to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the
sixth century.

Two of the pairs (figs. 20.1, 20.10, and
3.9)[17] are embellished with a number of
circular garnets and show a characteristic
steplike pattern on the headplate, which is
very common on brooches of this type
found in Frankish graves of the first decades
of the sixth century.[18] Another pair of bow
brooches of the same period, with typical
Frankish decoration (fig. 20.7),[19] occurs
frequently. It has some parallels, for example,
but with additional garnet inlays at the ter-
minal of the footplate, from the cemetery of
Rübenach, on the middle Rhine between
Mainz and Bonn (fig. 20.8).[20] Bow brooches
of this type, with the same garnet decoration,
are typical for the Frankish regions between
the Rhine and the Seine (fig. 20.9).[21]

From Attila to Charlemagne
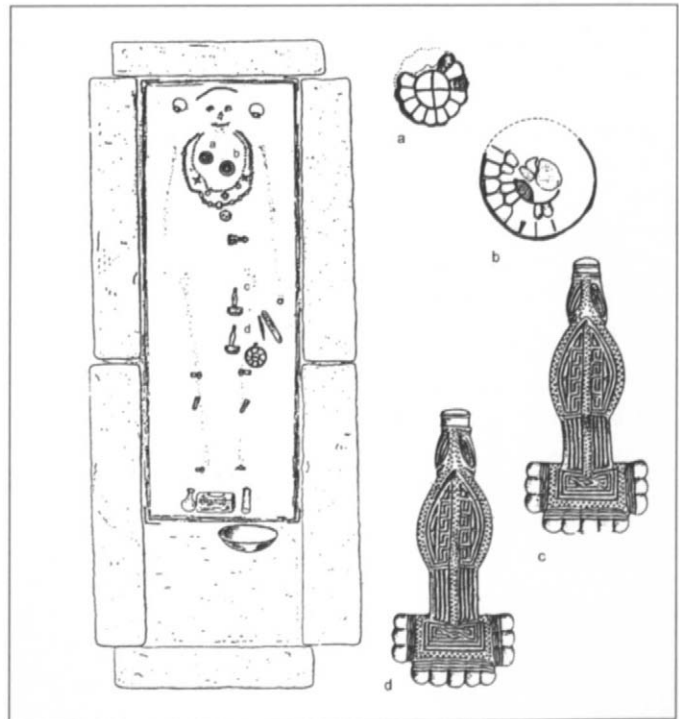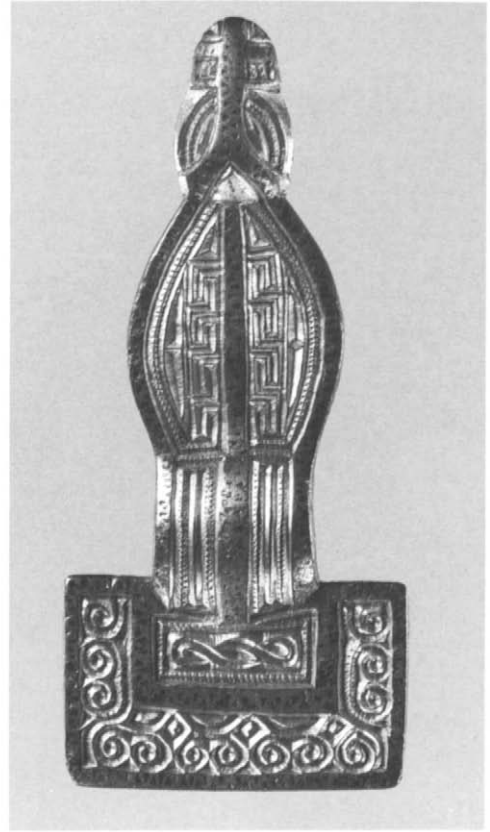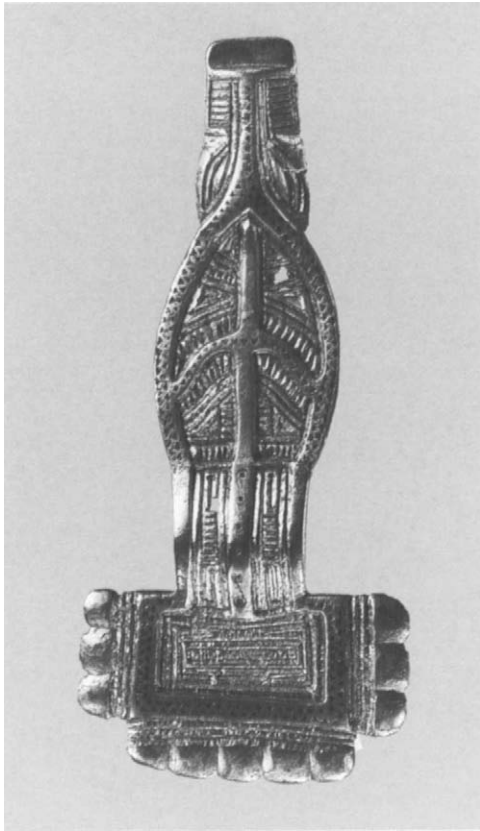
20.14 Pair of square-headed bow brooches (opposite above). Gilt silver, niello. Frankish, second half 6th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Maximum height 10.1 cm. (17.193.72, .73)

20.15 Plan of grave III 73 at Saint Severin, Cologne, Germany, ca. 570–80, showing position of brooches on body (after Päffgen 1992, pl. 53)

20.16 Pair of square-headed bow brooches (above). Gilt silver, niello. Frankish, second half 6th century. Maximum height 9.6 cm. (17.192.152, .153)
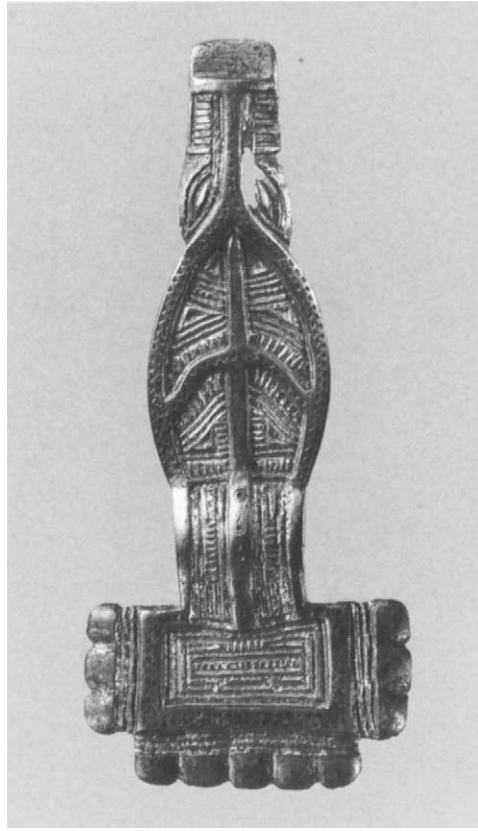
In addition to the basic form of these pairs of bow brooches are many other types that can in some cases be assigned to distinct peoples or regions. A fashionable pair of bow brooches (figs. 20.13 and 19.7) in the Morgan collection has a rhomboidal footplate decorated with two bird heads and a semicircular headplate with four bird heads. Again, this is a Frankish type of the second quarter or middle of the sixth century, but which has developed from a basic form that is primarily Ostrogothic.[22]

Two pairs of a different form with their origin recorded were found at Niederbreisig in the Rhineland (figs. 20.14 and 20.17). They date to around the third quarter of the sixth century or perhaps a little later, and their rectangular headplate and oval footplate terminating in an animal's head represent the latest series of bow brooches in the Frankish regions. The late chip-carved decoration on

20.17 Pair of square-headed bow brooches. Copper alloy. Frankish, late 6th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Maximum height 11.8 cm. (17.193.92, .93)

one pair (fig. 20.17) is very flat and degenerate. Here, the rectangular headplate has its roots in earlier bow brooches from the Scandinavian area (compare fig. 23.14) or in non-Frankish zones east of the Rhine (e.g., fig. 18.2). The form as well as the decoration of the footplates on one (fig. 20.14) are closely paralleled on the bow brooches of a rich female burial at Saint

Severin in Cologne (fig. 20.15).[23] The latter, however, are furnished with knobs decorating the headplates, as can be seen on a pair in the Metropolitan said to have come from northern France (fig. 20.16).[24] Other rectangular headplates lacking these typical elements of the bow brooches are known from other Frankish sites on the Rhine, for example, on pieces included in Kühn's heterogeneous "Rittersdorf" type.[25]

The examples belonging to the latest series of bow brooches (fig. 20.17) can be found especially on the Rhine, where the Germanic tradition among the female upper classes of demonstrating social status by means of bow brooches and their appended

amulets was current up to the end of the sixth century. As with many other late bow brooches, this pair and its parallels are in copper alloy. They are concentrated in the Rhine valley between Bonn and Mainz,[26] and consequently the find spot of Niederbreisig claimed for this pair seems to be correct.[27] It is altogether probable that the bow brooches in the Metropolitan come from the Rhineland and other Frankish areas between the Rhine and the Seine River basin, that is, from northern France.

THE SMALL BROOCHES

The small brooches that are typical of the early Merovingian period came into fashion in the middle of the fifth century and were worn until the end of the sixth century. They are normally found in pairs at the neck or on the upper part of the chest, where they must have fixed a wrap or light cloak (fig. 20.6 and pl. 7). As the earliest types clearly demonstrate, especially in the forms of sea monsters, horses (fig. 20.18), and eagles, this category of small brooch had its origin in Late Antiquity. They may be denoted as a Romano-Frankish creation.[28]

A category of small brooches richly represented in the Morgan collection is decorated in the cloisonné technique (pl. 7).[29] A pair with eleven garnets (fig. 20.19) belongs to the series of numerous disk brooches of the sixth century that was popular in Frankish regions as well as in Alemannic and other areas east of the Rhine. Disk brooches of about the same size, 1.9 to 2.6 cm, and decorated with from nine to twelve radiating garnets often have an inner zone containing four segments of garnet,[30] but other pieces exist with a central disk of silver sheet with repoussé or filigree decoration (pp. 218–21).[31] Again some examples come from the Rhineland. A whole range of decorative variations on the basic form is represented in the Metropolitan collections (fig. 20.20 and pl. 7).

The Metropolitan has numerous elegant bird brooches belonging to the sixth century.

This category of small brooch is almost innumerable and became very common from the second half of the fifth century, especially in the Frankish region and, a little later, in Alemannic and Thuringian territory.[32] A very striking pair has the eye, wing, claw, and tail each emphasized by a setting with a single garnet (fig. 20.21 and pl. 7B). One pair (fig. 20.22), of very simple form, with marked beak and tail but without wings and legs or claws,[33] is very similar to pairs of bird brooches in the great cemetery at Altenerding in Bavaria.[34] Another pair excels in its higher quality (fig. 20.23 and pl. 7C).[35] Its surface is completely inlaid with garnets in gold cloisons (see pp. 221–22). Approximate parallels, dating to all appearance from the second half of the sixth century, are known from northern France, in the cemeteries of Doingt-Flamicourt (Somme) and Férebrianges (Marne).[36] Of a rather degenerate shape are a third pair (fig. 20.24 and pl. 7A)[37] and three other comparable examples (fig. 20.25). This late form of bird brooch with wings and shapeless claws, often made of gilt copper alloy, is known only from northern France. Obviously, the brooches in the Morgan collection have their parallels normally in the Rhineland and in northern France, confirming the origin of the brooches discussed above and many others in the collection.

A final remark on the bird brooches, which today, by convention and without reflection, are viewed and illustrated with the little birds in a vertical, upright position.[38] If we are to discover how women were accustomed to wearing these little ornaments on their cloaks, we must look to other zoomorphic brooches. Horses, sea monsters, and other animals are portrayed facing to the right, while the point of the pin on the back of the brooches is always directed to the head of the animal to suit right-handed owners fixing them in a horizontal position on the garment. The birds on the brooches discussed here also have a pin the point of which is below the head. More important,

20.18 Horse brooch. Gilt silver, garnet.
6th century. Length 3.1 cm. (17.192.186)
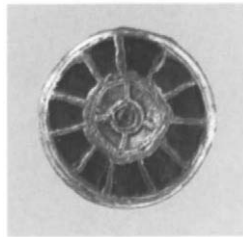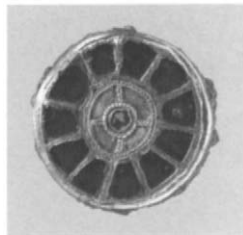
20.19 Pair of cloisonné disk brooches. Gilt
silver, garnet, glass, silver-inlaid iron.
Frankish, first half 6th century. Maximum
diameter 2.4 cm. (17.192.32, .33)
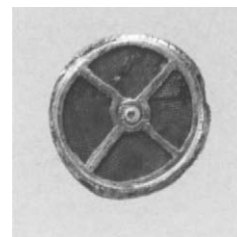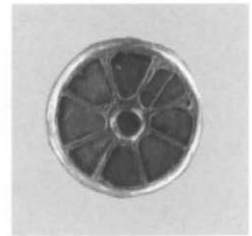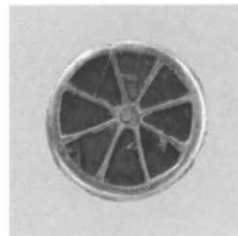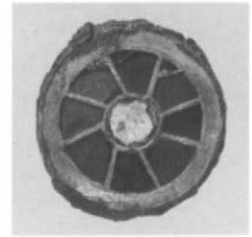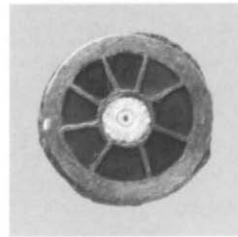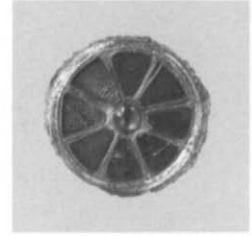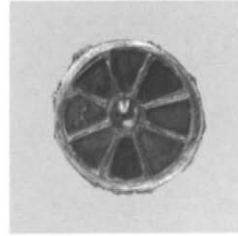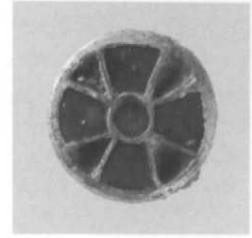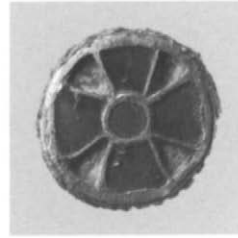
20.20 Group of cloisonné disk brooches
showing variety of forms and their serial
production. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, first
half 6th century. Maximum diameter 2.4 cm.
(17.191.11, .12; 17.191.15, .16; 17.191.34, .35;
17.191.20, .152, .153)
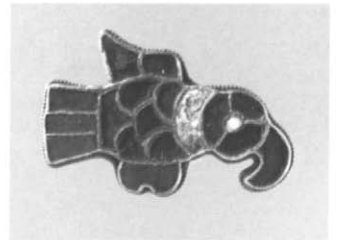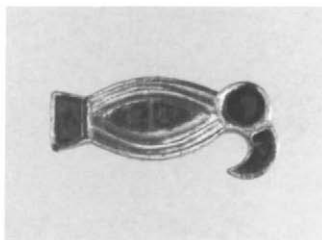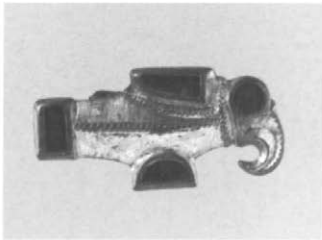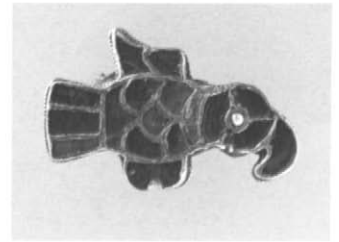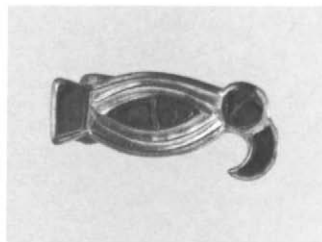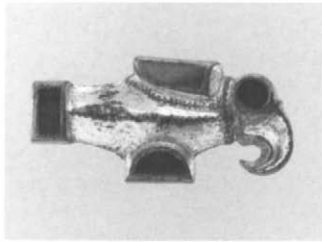
20.21 Pair of bird brooches. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, late 5th–early 6th century. Length 3.1 cm. (17.191.166, .167)

20.22 Pair of bird brooches. Gilt silver, garnet. First half 6th century. Length 3 cm. (17.191.168, .169)

20.23 Pair of cloisonné bird brooches. Gold, garnet, glass, pearl. Frankish, 6th century. Maximum length 3.3 cm. (17.191.164, .165)
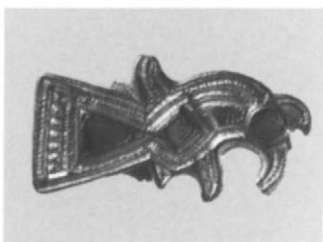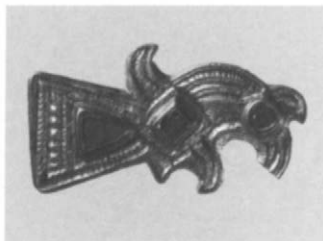
20.24 Pair of bird brooches. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, second half 6th century. Maximum length 3.7 cm. (17.192.181, .182)

20.25 Three bird brooches. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, second half 6th century. Maximum length 3.5 cm. (17.192.178, .179; 17.191.127)

the head and the beak of nearly all bird brooches are seen from the same side as are the leg and the claws. Consequently, the whole bird displays only one wing and one leg (with claws), and is surely meant to be seen from one side only. A vertical position makes no sense and was not intended. In the case of the Merovingian bird brooches, these are birds portrayed flying to the right and thus were worn horizontally.[39]

1. The brooches discussed here and others from The Metropolitan Museum of Art appeared in de Ricci's three initial publications on the Pierpont Morgan collection, in 1910 and 1911, in limited editions, and then more fully in Kühn 1934, pls. 21(1–5), 22(1–4).
2. Fig. 20.1: Kühn 1974, p. 482, no. 459 and pl. 146, 459; 286, 24, 5.
3. See *RgA,* vol. 8 (1994), p. 413, fig. 68.
4. Martin 1995a.
5. For antique representations, see, e.g., Jacobsthal 1956, fig. 331.
6. Fig. 20.5 after Martin 1995a, fig. 21, and Fournier 1956.
7. Cf. many examples in Böhme 1974a, pp. 158–60 and fig. 53 (without conclusions about the costume), and in Martin 1995a.
8. For the continuity of the peplos during the Early Medieval period in England and in Scandinavia until Viking times, see Vierck 1974; for eastern Germanic peoples (especially Ostrogoths and Visigoths), see Martin 1994, pp. 543–49 and pl. 25, 3.
9. Fig. 20.6 after Martin 1997, p. 354, fig. 390.
10. For the following, see Martin 1995b, pp. 633–52.
11. Boulanger 1902–5, p. 121. The same idea in Heierli 1900, p. 180, and Werner 1961, p. 5.
12. For the arguments in favor of a *cingulum,* see Martin 1995b, pp. 652–61.
13. This situation is in strong contrast to Roman times, when brooches of a cheaper material, chiefly copper alloy, represent the great majority: see Martin 1994, p. 575 and fig. 171.
14. Kühn 1974, p. 698, no. 40 and pl. 258, 11, 40.
15. Fig 20.12, left after Christlein 1974, pl. 1,1 (L. 8.5 cm); fig. 20.12, right after Schmidt 1976, pl. 100.1 (L. 10.1 cm).
16. See U. Koch 1997a.
17. See note 2 above, and Kühn 1974, pp. 481–82, no. 458 and pl. 146, 458, 458a; 286, 23,7.
18. See U. Koch 1968, p. 25.245–6. and pl. 92,4 (distribution map).
19. Fig 20.7: Kühn 1974, p. 910, no. 90 and pl. 280,21, 90.
20. Fig. 20.8 after Neuffer-Müller and Ament 1973, fig. 7,30 and pl. 2,14.15.
21. Fig. 20.9 after Ament 1970, p. 125, fig. 10, with additions; Kühn 1940, pls. 84, 21, 32.33 and 85, 21,49 (Achenheim, dép. Bas-Rhin; Fère-en-Tardenois, "Sablonnières," dép. Aisne; Fallais, prov. Liège); and

Guillaume 1975, figs. 31,2.3, 52 (Dieue-sur-Meuse, dép. Meuse).

22. For the Ostrogothic models, see Bierbrauer 1975; for the Frankish series of "Champlieu" type, and as second copies of lesser quality "Bréban" type, see A. Koch 1998, pp. 207–21 and distribution map 17. A pair of the Champlieu type (L. 9.1 cm), very similar to the pair in New York, found in a rich female burial at Mackenheim in Alsace, is dated by a quarter-siliqua of Athalaric (r. 526–34): Vallet 1976, p. 78 and fig. 3.4.

23. Fig. 20.15 after Päffgen 1992, pl. 53 (length of bow brooches is 10.4 cm) and pl. 125. See two other examples found at Kärlich in the Rhineland, only eleven miles from Niederbreisig, and at Molains in northern France, both with very similar footplates, brought together by Kühn with the pair quoted from Saint Severin, Cologne (Kühn 1974, pl. 296, 28,12) into his heterogeneous type 28, the so-called Rommersheim type (pls. 296, 28, 11 and 297, 28, 15).

24. Kühn 1974, pl. 299, 30,9, p. 1038, no. 9.

25. Ibid., pls. 311, 44, 7.10; 312, 44,15 (examples from Vendersheim, Mainz, and Cologne-Junkersdorf).

26. See now Göldner 1987, pp. 212–14 ("Andernach/ Rengsdorf" type) and pl. 36 (distribution map), and, in part, Kühn 1974, pp. 1135–40 and pl. 310. A new find from Saffig, near Koblenz: Melzer 1993, p. 45.193–4 and pl. 46,2; 75,1.2.

27. It seems that the find spot "Niederbreisig" is based upon de Ricci's 1910 catalogue, a very probable conclusion indeed, but not completely sure (see pp. 28–41).

28. Martin 1995b, pp. 647–52.

29. See Arrhenius 1985.

30. Some examples: Fremersdorf 1955, pl. 17,2; 90,6 (Cologne-Müngersdorf, grave 95); Kühn 1940, pl. 114,1 (Dattenberg, a few miles from Niederbreisig); Neuffer-Müller and Ament 1973, pl. 31, 21.22 (Rübenach grave 452); Ament 1976, pl. 98,7 (Mayen—"Auf der alten Eich"—grave 39).

31. See, e.g., Behrens 1947, fig. 98 (Abenheim, near Worms).

32. See Haimerl 1996.

33. Ibid., no. 768 ("Férebrianges" type).

34. See Sage 1984, pls. 196, 10.11 (grave 447) and 196, 16.17 (grave 607; see my reconstruction, fig. 20.6).

35. Haimerl 1996, no. 766 ("Flamicourt" type).

36. Eck 1895, pl. 17.6 (from Doingt-Flamicourt, dép. Somme), and Thiry 1939.

37. Haimerl 1996, no. 975 ("Hordain" type).

38. On this aspect, see Martin 1995a, pp. 47–48.

39. In contrast to the Merovingian bird brooches, some pairs of a Kentish type have always been seen, quite rightly I think, as hopping birds. Examples of these are represented in the Morgan collection (see p. 283). Another pair of Kentish bird brooches comes from the well-known rich grave D 3 at Finglesham, Kent (Chadwick Hawkes and Pollard 1981, pp. 331–34, 356f. [with literature] and pl. 7,12.13), dated to about 520.

See Kühn 1934, p. 117 ("vielleicht aus Niederbreisig"), and Kühn 1937b, p. 139.

21. Aspects of Late Merovingian Costume in the Morgan Collection

INTRODUCTION

The famous Merovingian collection of J. Pierpont Morgan is large and extremely important, but it would be wrong to regard it as without parallel. Similar collections were assembled by private individuals from the mid-nineteenth century, when Merovingian objects were first properly identified, until the middle of the twentieth century, when archaeological laws in France, for example, prohibited the trade in antiquities from recent excavations. Most are now in museums, including prestigious and well-known collections, such as that of the Baron von Diergardt,[1] as are many more modest ones.

All the Merovingian objects in the Morgan collection probably came from ancient cemeteries (pp. 8–11). Between the rivers Seine and Rhine "furnished" burial was widely practised from the second half of the fifth century to the beginning of the eighth century. That is, the deceased was carefully buried with accessories and every-day objects, usually men with weapons and women with jewelry.[2] A few early archaeologists, aware that these objects ought not to be separated from their context, drew plans of the cemeteries and noted the location of each object found in the grave. But most collectors were interested only in the objects. Depending on their clients' tastes, dealers were selective, generally giving preference to the most precious, beautiful, or curious objects,[3] and neglecting the more modest ones. Thus, in the Morgan collection, which was formed by uniting at least four pre-existing ones (p. 2), glass vessels are a significant component (pp. 268–81), iron weapons are underrepresented, and vessels of metal and pottery are absent.[4] Remarkably, many inlaid iron belt fittings are included (pp. 292–307), objects which collectors most neglected because they were obscured by rust and difficult to restore. Older collections rarely contain the complete contents of a grave, and the assemblages Morgan acquired from Niederbreisig, which were later published in de Ricci's catalogue, are no exception (pp. 30–31).

Intact grave assemblages are of course much easier to date accurately than are separate objects, and now only modern analyses, based on the scientific excavation of large cemeteries, can date material that has lost its context. Statistical study of the combinations of objects makes it possible to define the chronological position of objects in relation to one another. Absolute dates come from the terminus post quem provided by coins buried with the dead or from the dendrochronological study of a coffin or wooden goods that have survived in particular graves.[5] Such chronological systems enable us to date many unprovenanced objects with an accuracy of a quarter or a third of a century, but some unusual or rare pieces in the collection remain difficult to fit in chronologically. In addition, certain types of objects are characteristic of both sexes—such as some finger rings, belt buckles, and combs in the collection—but, without a context, it is difficult to attribute them to a specific sex with certainty.

The Morgan collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is broadly representative of Merovingian material as it is known today, particularly of female costume. Papers

in this volume have discussed such topics as the female fashion for wearing pairs of bow brooches and small brooches in the early Merovingian period (pp. 226–41) and the seventh-century development of animal style on silver-inlaid iron belt fittings (pp. 297–307). However, other jewelry in the collection prompts us to consider further cultural and artistic developments. This paper will therefore review material from the Frankish parts of Gaul and its protectorates in Germania, particularly of the late Merovingian period, from the early seventh to the mid-eighth century.

THE LATE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD

French archaeologists since the nineteenth century have pointed out,[6] and recent research has confirmed,[7] that the years around 600 were decisive in the Merovingian world for the evolution of both techniques in decorating jewelry and female costume fashions (compare fig. 20.6 with fig. 21.1). Earlier female traditions of dress (p. 228) became obsolete,[8] and a single brooch began to be worn at the neck or breast and, at the end of the period, a pair of equal-armed brooches at the shoulders or breast.[9] Cloisonné garnet inlay gradually disappeared,[10] and sheet gold decorated with filigree and inlays set in individual collars began to appear.[11] The technique of inlaying iron with silver and brass also re-emerged, having disappeared in the early sixth century (p. 302).[12] Intricate belt fittings appeared, consisting of a buckle with an attachment plate and counterplate, the latter often at the back of the belt, and perhaps several additional mounts. These same forms appear in miniature for fastening shoes and garters. Craftsmen exploited such surfaces for geometric and zoomorphic designs, particularly the "Germanic Style II," "Aquitainian," and "Burgundian" animal styles.[13] The female belt supported an increasingly elaborate group of personal belongings

21.1 Reconstruction of a 7th-century Frankish female costume (after Steuer 1982)

by means of an openwork copper-alloy disk, or "chatelaine" (p. 258).

These changes in fashion may be explained by various factors. It has been suggested that difficulties in acquiring garnets and almandines, many from India and Ceylon, led to the disappearance of cloisonné goldwork. In Gaul, the last documented manifestations of these gems are the masterpieces attributed to Saint Éloi (588–660), goldsmith and chief councilor to King Dagobert. They include a cross for the royal abbey at Saint-Denis and a chalice for the abbey at Chelles.[14] It appears, however, that increased diplomatic and commercial relations with the Mediterranean world, especially Byzantium,[15] played a decisive role. The Merovingian royal court rapidly established new female fashions, for example, based upon imperial models.[16]

21.2 Earring, one of a pair. Gold, garnet, silver. Frankish, second half 6th century. Diameter 4.5 cm. (17.191.1)
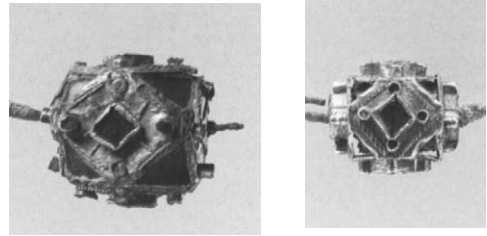
21.3–21.4 Beads from two earrings. Gold, chrysoprase, glass, pearls. Frankish, second half 6th century. Maximum length 2.1 cm. (17.192.118, .121)

Earrings

The collection preserves an interesting variety of earrings from the whole Merovingian period, despite the delicate construction of these objects. A modern typological and chronological analysis has classified them into five principal types, according to the shape of the bead on the hoop.[17] Those with a polyhedral bead on the hoop are best represented in the Metropolitan.

In the first half of the sixth century, in the early part of the Merovingian period, earrings with a hollow polyhedral bead were popular.[18] Some consisted of a metal frame with flat faces containing diamond-shaped or triangular garnet inlays, such as an example from Rosay (fig. 3.9). Others, with a bead of gold or silver sheet supported by a paste core, predominated in the second half of the sixth century (figs. 21.2–21.4). Individual collars[19] that were diamond-shaped, quadrilobate, cruciform, and cylindrical in form might contain inlays of red garnet or glass and also inlays of other colors. Though limited by the scale of the fields to be covered, the inlays still show the delicacy of the plastic effects achieved. This polychrome style may be compared to Late Antique manifestations seen, for example, on an early-

fifth-century brooch in the Metropolitan (fig. 9.1). In the seventh century, polyhedral beads of solid metal predominated, and in the late seventh and the early eighth century[20] earrings had large hoops[21] with a small, unadorned bead, sometimes with a wire coiled around the hoop on either side (fig. 21.5).[22] Other forms from the first half of the seventh century have a spherical bead of copper alloy[23] or gold sheet highlighted with filigree.[24]

Filigree Brooches

Polychrome effects similar to those seen on some sixth-century earrings appeared later on a larger scale on sheet-gold disk brooches that are decorated with inlays in individual settings and with wire filigree. These brooches, among the most characteristic female adornments of the late Merovingian period, were worn singly at the neck by upper-class women to fasten a cloak, mantle, or veil.[25] They are the most outstanding examples of the seventh-century jewelers' art, and the Metropolitan collection, with forty examples, is a representative group of particular importance.

These brooches have a base plate, usually of copper alloy and rarely of silver, with
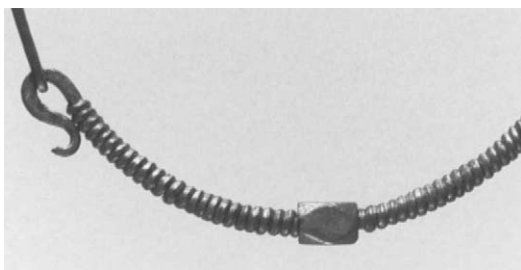
21.5 Detail of earring, one of a pair. Silver. Frankish, late 7th–early 8th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter 8.5 cm. (17.193.105)


21.6–21.7 Two filigree disk brooches decorated with a cross pattee. Gold, silver, garnet, glass. Frankish, early 7th century. Diameter 2.6 cm. (17.191.157); 2.7 cm. (17.192.41)

pin-fittings on the back. On the front of the backplate is a sheet of precious metal—gold, electrum (pl. 9), or, more rarely, silver, usually gilded. The sheet is sometimes applied directly to the base plate, which is flat or has a central boss. Other brooches are more box-shaped, sometimes having a considerable space between the base plate and the sheet of precious metal, with plaster often used to support the raised surface. They are most frequently decorated with triangular, square, or circular settings, arranged in geometric patterns, particularly the cross pattee (figs. 21.6, 21.7). These contain inlays, such as thin, flat pieces of blue, amber, or green glass; cabochons of blue or green glass; and a range of exotic material when available, such as mother-of-pearl and amber. The most costly examples display inlays of garnet, which had become quite rare by this time.[26] Filigree work attached by solder decorates the edges and covers the fields between the settings.[27] The wire can be plaited or twisted, with a rich repertoire of coils, scrolls, volutes, or, most simply, small circles and semi-circles. In some cases, the precious metal sheet was stamped to give the illusion of filigree work, an effect known as pseudo-filigree (figs. 21.9, 21.11). The inlay of silver strips to the iron border of the latter adds to the polychrome effect.

A publication by Thieme has assembled the Merovingian disk brooches with filigree that were found in modern Germany,

21.8–21.9 Two filigree disk brooches. Gilt silver, gold, glass, copper alloy. Frankish, early 7th century. Diameter 2.9 cm. (17.191.144); 2.7 cm. (17.191.33)
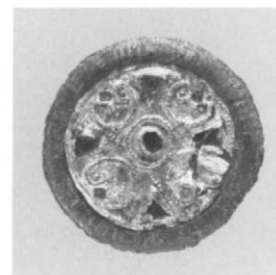
21.10–21.11 Two filigree disk brooches with iron border. Gilt silver, gold, silver, garnet, iron. Frankish, early 7th century. Diameter 2.6 cm. (17.191.22); 3 cm. (17.191.139)
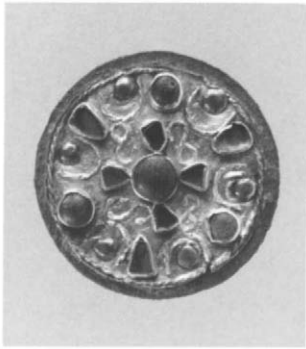
21.12–21.14 Three filigree disk brooches. Gold, garnet, glass, tinned copper alloy, silver, chalcedony, mother-of-pearl. Frankish, 7th century. Diameter 3.1 cm (17.191.140); 4.1 cm. (17.193.127); 6.1 cm. (17.193.118)

21.15–21.17 Three filigree bossed disk brooches. Gold, glass, mother-of-pearl. Frankish, 7th century. Diameter 3 cm. (17.191.138); from Niederbreisig, Germany, 3.9 cm. (17.193.97); from Niederbreisig, Germany, 4.5 cm. (17.193.70)

including those from Niederbreisig. From her discussion the examples in the Morgan collection, which also include brooches from graves in northern France, can be classified.[28] Circular forms, Thieme's Type I, constitute the majority. They are divided by typological variation into numerous sub-types,[29] such as type I.1 with a flat field (figs. 21.12–21.14, pl. 9A, B)[30] and the closely related type I.2 with a boss in the center (figs. 21.15–21.17, pls. 9D and 10B).[31] However, a major part of the Morgan collection comes from western

Merovingian territory and includes disk brooches that should probably be regarded as an additional sub-type.[32] They were not isolated previously, but were rather distributed within Thieme's existing sub-types, probably because they are poorly represented in Germany. They are mostly small, with a base plate of copper alloy, and with a border that is a flat band decorated either with small punched triangles (fig. 21.18) or with a heavily notched rib. A few have a silver base plate, and these are imitated by tinning the

21.18–21.19 Two filigree disk brooches. Gold, garnet, silver, iron, glass, tinned copper alloy. Frankish, first half 7th century. Diameter 2.8 cm. (17.192.64) and 3.5 cm. (17.191.141)
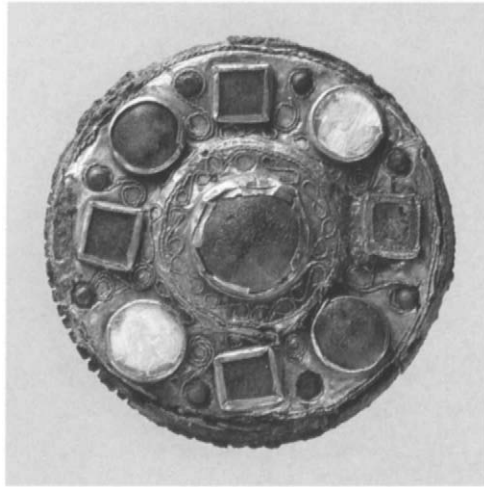
21.20–21.21 Two filigree disk brooches with raised central circular field. Frankish, mid 7th century. From Férebrianges or Petit-Troussy, France. Gold, glass, mother-of-pearl, silver, garnet. Diameter 5.4 cm. (17.191.133); 4.1 cm. (17.191.130)
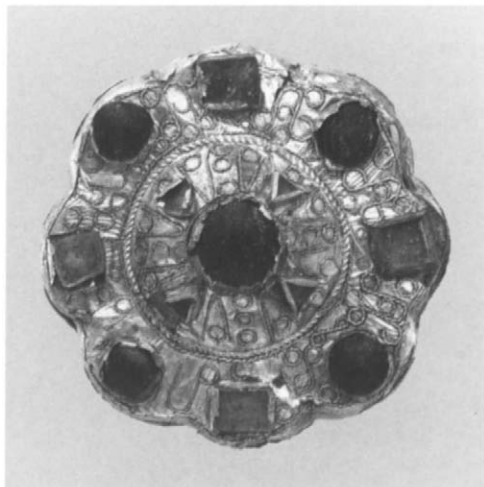
21.22 Filigree lobed disk brooch with central boss. Silver/gold alloy, glass. Frankish, second half 7th century. Diameter 5.4 cm. (17.191.29)

copper alloy (fig. 21.19). Due to their relatively small size, these brooches have fewer individual settings and display simple compositions, primarily stars and crosses, enhanced by coarse filigree. Other variants of the circular form provide a rich repertoire of ornament, including those with a raised circular field at the center (figs. 21.20–21.21)[33] or with a central repoussé cross (pl. 10A).[34] The most outstanding piece of this type has its center dominated by two superimposed squares in relief, enriched by two double strands of braided filigree (pl. 9A).[35]

Other brooches in the Metropolitan demonstrate formal diversity within their respective group. Type II is lobed all around the edge,[36] one variant being flat (pl. 9C), another having a central boss (fig. 21.22). Type V has the form of a square with four
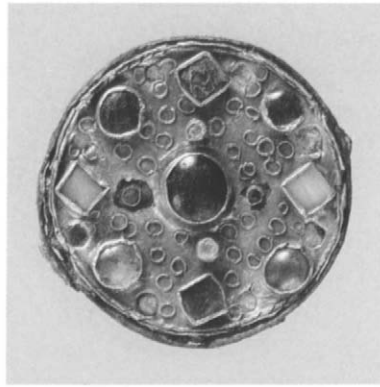
21.23 Filigree quatrefoil brooch. Gold, glass. Frankish, first half 7th century. Length 3.5 cm. (17.191.192)

21.24 Filigree disk brooch. Gold, glass. Frankish, first half 7th century. From Férebrianges or Petit-Troussy, France. Diameter 4.2 cm. (17.191.135)

21.25–21.26 Two filigree bossed disk brooches with the same decoration. Gilt silver, glass, iron. Frankish, first half 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany, diameter 4.1 cm. (17.193.107); from Férebrianges or Petit-Troussy, France, 4 cm. (17.191.136)

prominent lobes, one projecting from the center of each side.[37] One variant (fig. 21.23) has a flat surface,[38] another (pl. 10C) has a raised circular field in the center,[39] and a third (pl. 10D) is dominated by a repoussé cross with expanded split ends.[40] A visual inspection of all these brooches reveals that the quality of their execution varies immensely, most notably in the filigree. Among the same type one piece may employ skillfully twisted and coiled wire in elegantly designed motifs, an example of first-rate craftsmanship,[41] while another displays a coarse composition of mediocre filigree with only plain wire (figs. 21.23, 21.24).[42]

Filigree disk brooches generally belong to the late Merovingian period and lend themselves to a relatively precise chronology according to their type.[43] It was at the end of the sixth century that small, simple examples appeared. Their diameter increased until about 630–40 (figs. 21.12–21.17). These were succeeded about 680 by the most magnificent examples of types 1.1 and 1.2 (pls. 9A and D, 10A). As shown in Germany,[44] there are significant variations in the geographical distribution of filigree disk brooches, doubtless corresponding to the distribution of goldsmiths' workshops and the styles they produced. Certain types, not represented in the Metropolitan, are found primarily in southwestern Germany and reflect the nature of the Frankish protectorates there.[45] Other types come from the lower Rhine; these are the most numerous,[46] having connections with the finds from northern Gaul, notably Austrasia. Some, found at different sites, are remarkably similar in details of their design and technique (figs. 21.25, 21.26). Based on their geographical concentration, they illustrate goldsmiths' work that may properly be called Frankish.

21.27–21.29. Three repoussé disk brooches. Gold, electrum copper alloy. Frankish, 7th century. From Niederbreisig, diameter 3.5 cm. (17.193.46); 2.7 cm. (17.192.23 and .86)

Repoussé Brooches

Other decorative techniques were also employed on brooches during the course of the late Merovingian period. Some had decoration executed in repoussé (figs. 21.9, 21.11), which copied the filigree applied to the more elaborate brooches. With matrices, often of metal but also of bone or antler, for example, it was possible to impress sheets of gold, silver, and copper alloy, thereby easily reproducing identical motifs.[47] The technique, which appears on a range of disk brooches with geometrical or Christian decoration, might include colored glass inlays. Roman and Byzantine coins were regularly incorporated in jewelry (pp. 73–75), and there is a small group of seventh-century examples in the Metropolitan that demonstrate the progressive stylization of coin-like components, executed in repoussé. One (fig. 21.27), carrying a direct impression from a genuine Roman copper-alloy coin of the emperor Domitian (r. 81–96), was made in the seventh century or later,[48] while another (fig. 21.28) is coin-like but with a barbarized version of the imperial bust facing right. This still recognizable but stylized bust retains only a part of the inscription opposite it, with symbols elsewhere. It may have been inspired by a coin of the Merovingian king Clovis II (r. 639–57).[49] On one with the most schematic depiction (fig 21.29) the hair, a band or garland around the forehead, and elements of the face are recognizable from prototypes.[50]

Equal-armed Brooches

Another set of brooches, characterized by their form, with an identical terminal at each end of the bow, are known in French as "fibules ansées symétriques." They contrast with the asymmetry of bow brooches, characteristic of the first part of the Merovingian period, which have head- and footplates of different shape (p. 236). Hybrid examples suggest the symmetrical ones may have evolved from the asymmetrical forms,[51] the latest examples of which date to the beginning of the seventh century.[52] Equal-armed brooches are among the most significant objects of feminine adornment at the end of the Merovingian period, found particularly west of the Rhine as well as throughout the rest of Gaul. They were worn at the chest or breast or at the neck in identical or, occasionally, nonmatching pairs; in some cases they were also linked with a slender chain.[53] Cast in copper alloy, more rarely in silver and exceptionally in gold, they regularly display a strong, simple cast decoration. Others, not represented in the Metropolitan, are more elaborately decorated, sometimes with zoomorphic patterns.[54] Numerous studies of equal-armed brooches have proposed diverse classifications based on the form of the terminals and of the bows.[55]

The seventeen examples in the Morgan collection are, for the most part, among the most common classifications. These have variously formed terminals: circular (fig. 21.30),[56] shield-shaped (fig. 21.31),[57]
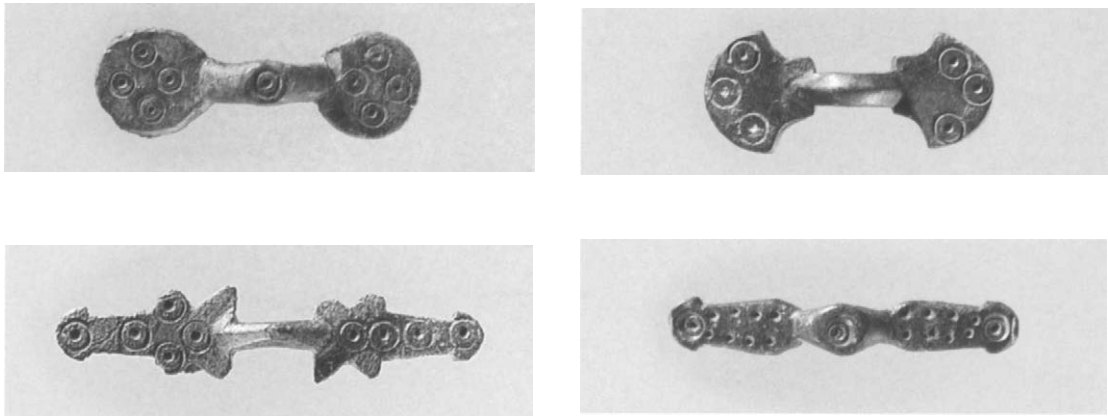
21.30–21.33 Four equal-armed brooches with different terminals. Copper alloy. Frankish, mid 7th–8th century. Maximum length 5.7 cm. (17.191.219, .292, .236, .298)

lozenge-shaped with a knob at each corner (figs. 21.32, 21.33),[58] triangular with shaped ends (figs. 21.30–33).[59] Also included in the collection are those with equally proportioned bow and terminals as well as some known from their shape as "caterpillar" brooches (fig. 21.36, 21.37).[60] The decoration of equal-armed brooches—ring and dot, crosses, and patterns in relief (figs. 21.34–21.35)—shows strong, Late Antique influences.

Based on the context of some finds, and in particular on the coincidence in distribution of equal-armed brooches with that of well-dated iron objects inlaid with both silver and brass (bichrome) (fig. 24.1),[61] it may be concluded that the equal-armed brooch established itself a little before the middle of the seventh century. The examples with shield-shaped or circular terminals appear to be the earliest,[62] but generally the variations appear to have existed contemporaneously,[63] and a more precise chronology is not possible in the current state of research. These brooches seem to have disappeared from burials, along with other grave goods, during the first decades of the eighth century. Some variants, however, with rounded (figs. 21.38) or quadrilobate terminals or of "caterpillar"

type, continued in use at least into the ninth century, and are found in increasing numbers of excavations on early medieval settlement sites[64] and in hoards.[65]

Casting Techniques

During the Merovingian period, two casting techniques were used to produce equal-armed brooches, buckles, and many other ornaments in relatively large numbers.[66] At first, as attested by increasing numbers of archaeological finds,[67] craftsmen usually employed a two-piece mold made of clay. Taking an existing object or a specially made die of hard wood, lead, or copper alloy, called "a primary positive," each face was impressed into one block of clay, and the two were carefully fitted together. A funnel and vent holes were added to let the burning gases escape as the molten metal was poured in, and the mold was dried before being buried to prevent it from exploding during casting. When the casting was completed, the mold had to be broken and the new cast removed, which was then trimmed and polished before being finished (see figs. 15.18–15.20). Such direct casting practically excluded retouching the design in the mold, since to produce
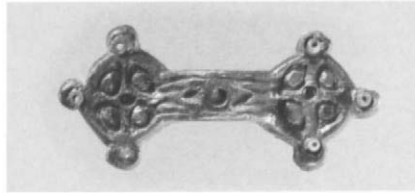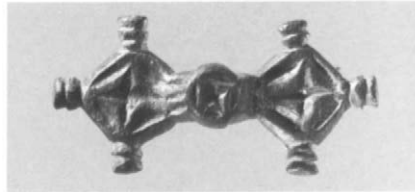
"negative," that is, sunken, details, material had to be added. Consequently another technique was preferred.

This second technique is called "lost wax casting from a secondary positive." Employing a reusable, two-piece mold made of stone, wood, or baked clay that had the general form to be produced, and often the principal outlines of its decoration, the craftsman would produce a series of forms in wax called "secondary positives." Each wax form was then finished with details of decoration and utilized in the normal "cire perdue" (lost wax) process. In this process, clay is built up around the wax form to create a mold. The wax is then evacuated by heating, and molten metal poured into the mold. Pairs of objects produced in this technique, such as bow brooches or belt buckles, may have identical dimensions and even share the same morphological defects. For example, in a number of buckles (fig. 21.19) the frieze below the base of the tongue is sometimes systematically off-center to the left. But, since the details were executed by hand in the wax of each individual "secondary positive," significant differences are visible in the decoration of the friezes.

Copper-Alloy Belt Buckles

Though it is not always possible to attribute the various types of belt fittings to one sex or the other,[68] one of the most significant features of late Merovingian costume is the prominence given to buckles, which became a medium of choice for decorative art. Copper-alloy buckles and those of inlaid iron shared the same typological and stylistic development. Though there are fewer copper-alloy examples in the collection, some of the principal styles are nevertheless included.[69]

21.34–21.35 Two equal-armed brooches with relief decoration. Copper alloy, glass. Frankish, mid 7th–8th century. Maximum 4.3cm (17.192.12, .13)

21.36–21.38 Three equal-armed brooches. Tinned copper alloy, iron. Frankish, mid 7th–early 9th century. Maximum length 6.2 cm. (17.191.299, .291, 17.192.134)
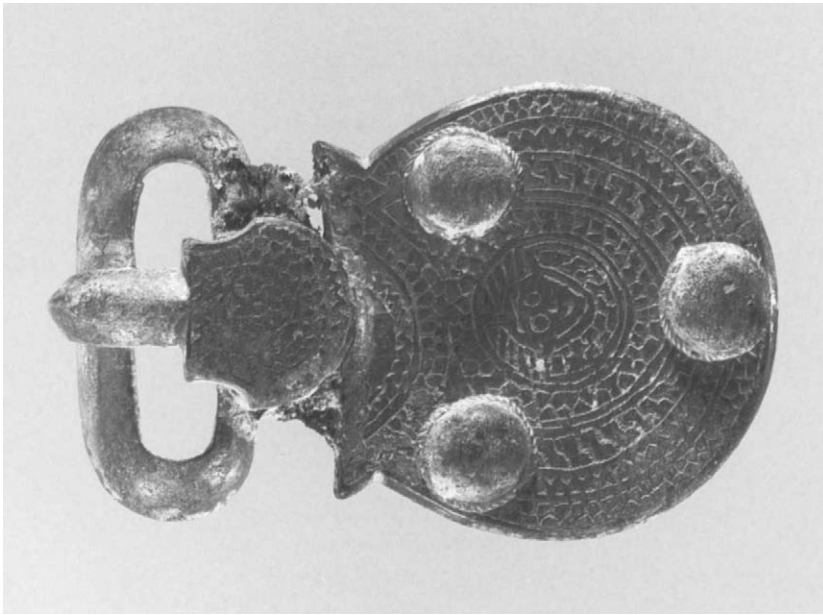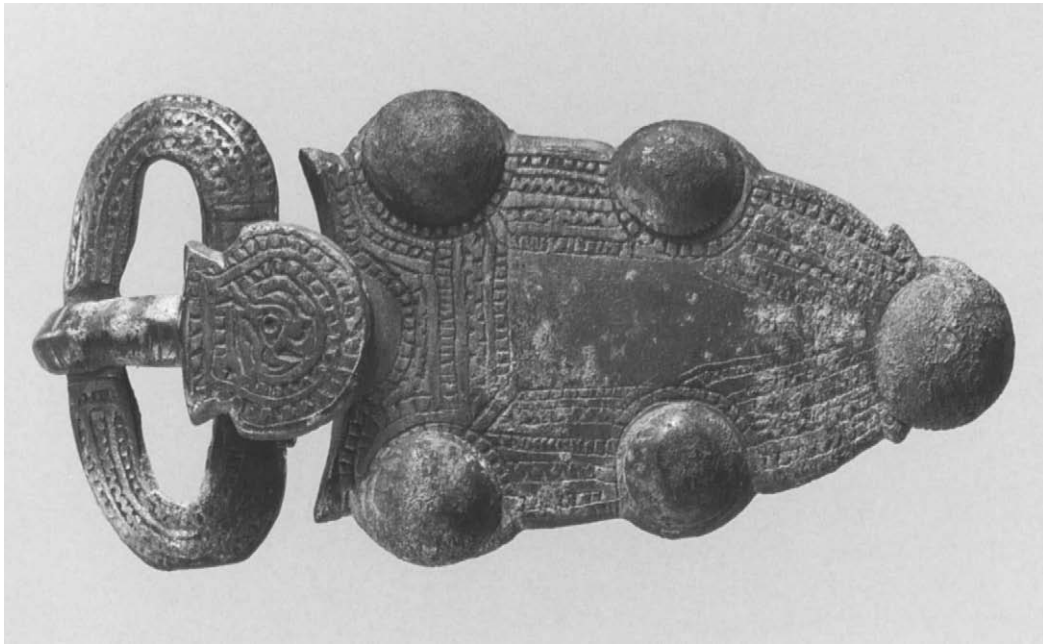
21.39 Buckle. Tinned copper alloy. Frankish, late 6th–early 7th century. Length 9.6 cm. (17.191.223)

21.40 Buckle. Tinned copper alloy. Frankish, first half 7th century. Length 13 cm. (17.192.236)

The "Neustrian" Belt Buckles

Two belt buckles from the Morgan collection can be called "Neustrian," so named because of their significant distribution between Paris and the English Channel.[70] The first has a circular attachment plate with three ornamental bosses (fig. 21.39). These imitate the heads of attachment rivets found on earlier buckles. Here, attachment rivets are replaced by three perforated projections cast on the back. This buckle has cast decoration of friezes containing concentric lines of beehive motifs, stepped patterns, and zigzags. At the center is a medallion containing an anthropomorphic mask superimposed on a cross. It is possible to identify this face as representing Christ because a similar image is associated with the inscription IMMANVEL.[71] This buckle, belonging to the common Neustrian type,[72] can be dated to about 600, contemporary with inlaid iron buckles having circular attachment plates (fig. 24.2).[73] Buckles like these are concentrated primarily between the Île-de-France and the English Channel at the end of the sixth century but mainly at the beginning of the seventh. A few stray examples toward the river Saône and in southwestern Germany can be interpreted as the result of trade or individual travel.[74] The considerable number of finds from Paris and its immediate surroundings led to the suggestion, some twenty years ago, that the buckles were actually produced in the general region of Paris, and the hypothesis has been supported by the recent discovery in the vicinity of the abbey of Saint-Denis of mold fragments that may correspond to this type.[75]

The second belt buckle has the same form of loop and tongue as the preceding example, but its attachment plate is triangular with five ornamental bosses. It has an undecorated central field bordered by a cast frieze of cross-hatching and zigzags (fig. 21.40). This is a well-known variant of the type with five bosses and "plaited" or "basketwork" decoration[76] that replaced the circular attachment plate, and dates to the first half of the seventh century.[77]

A study of this type turns out to be inseparable from that of the preceding one. Not only is the geographical distribution of the two identical, but their technique of production is obviously similar, as indicated by the flow marks left in the molten metal, the fastening attachments on the back, and the hinge fittings.

In most cases the loops, tongues, and bosses of both types were actually produced from the same models. Triangular attachment plates appeared at the beginning of the seventh century, but circular ones did not disappear immediately, and it has been suggested that the buckles were produced continuously, their shape evolving in response to changes in fashions.[78] For convenience, or in the interests of economy, craftsmen continued to use the same models for the loops and tongues, even though they were slightly smaller relative to the size of the new plate. Each of the components of these belt buckles was in some sense "standardized." In principle, they might have been mass-produced, then individually assembled at the request of clients,[79] though metallurgical analyses by means of a proton accelerator do not seem to confirm such a hypothesis.[80] The metal composition of the components of each complete buckle (that is the loop, tongue, and attachment plate) is homogeneous, and differs from that of other buckles. This proves that the components of each buckle were cast at the same time, as an individual operation, with each buckle produced on demand rather than from pre-cast elements that were kept in stock and assembled to order. Such a conclusion rules out "mass production" in the modern sense of the term, and is more in keeping with production techniques known from what is, at most, a few dozen examples.

Related to these two is an undecorated, but extremely elegant, copper-alloy belt buckle. It has a triangular attachment plate and a counterplate, each with semi-circular protuberances to accommodate three decorative bosses, and an oval loop with a broad
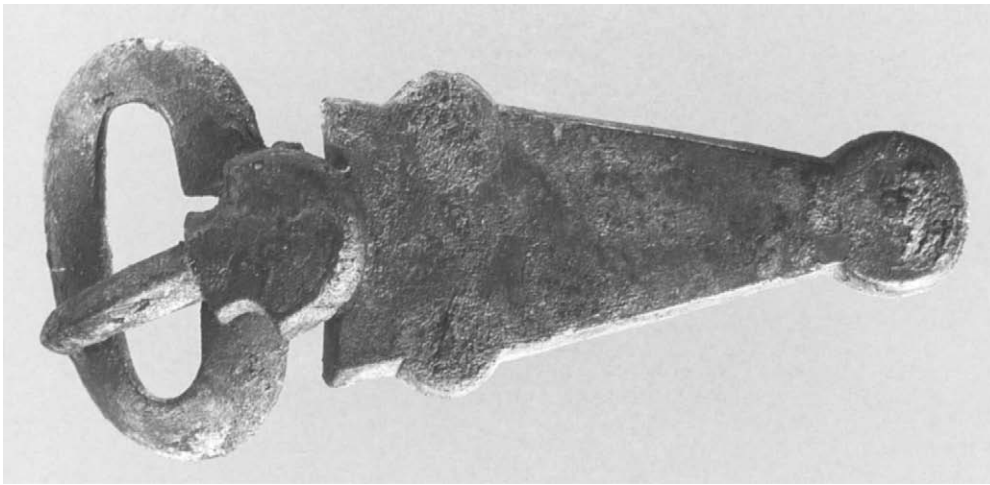
21.41 Buckle. Copper alloy.
Frankish, early 7th century.
From Niederbreisig,
Germany. Length 12.4 cm.
(17.193.234 a)
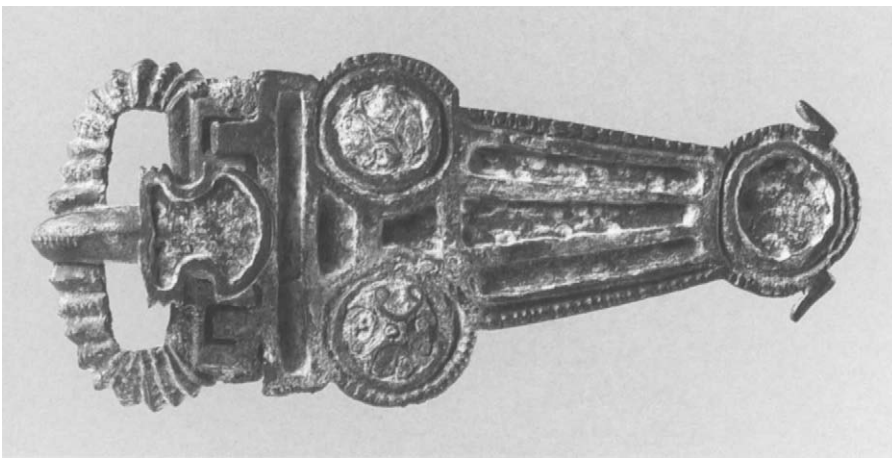
21.42 Buckle. Copper alloy,
red enamel, silver wire.
Frankish, 7th century.
Length 11 cm. (17.192.53)

shield-shaped plate at the base of the tongue
(fig. 21.41). Found at Niederbreisig in the
Rhineland, it must also be linked to produc-
tion in northern Gaul, in the first decades of
the seventh century.[81]

The "Aquitainian" Belt Buckle
Another copper-alloy belt buckle in the col-
lection represents fashions characteristic of
Aquitaine, a region in the southwest of the
Merovingian kingdom, extending from the
Loire Valley to the Pyrenees. This region was
conquered by the Franks in 507, but gradu-
ally recovered a certain degree of autonomy
because of its distance from the centers of
political power located in northern Gaul.[82]

In the seventh century, a growing regional
awareness was accompanied by an altogether
original form of art, the most characteristic
expression of which appears on magnificent
belt buckles.[83] One type, not included in the
collection, displays elegant geometric or
zoomorphic designs, set on a stippled
ground. The design seems to have been
inspired by Late Roman mosaics, many of
which must have been still extant.

The collection possesses another type
characteristic of Aquitaine in the seventh
century (fig. 21.42). This type usually has a
ribbed oval loop, a tongue with shield-
shaped base, and a triangular attachment
plate often with projections at either end.[84]

21.43 Buckle. Tinned copper alloy. Burgundian, mid 6th–7th century. Length 10 cm. (17.191.226)
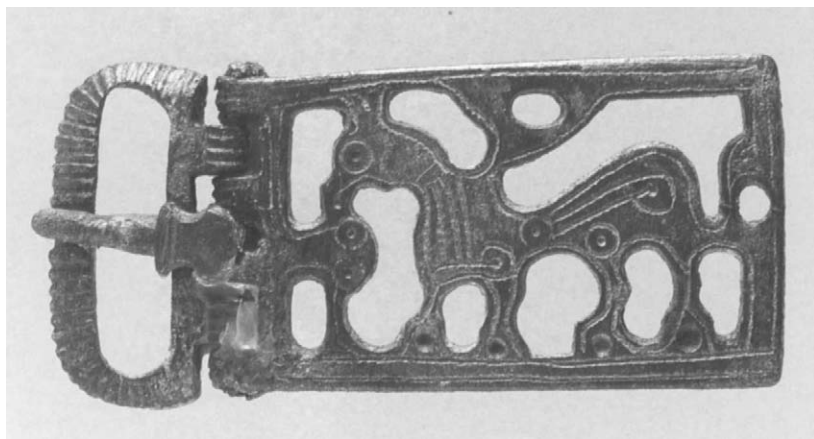
These projections are reminiscent of the birds' heads with hooked beaks found on buckles of "Mediterranean" type, from which this type might have been derived.[85] The Morgan buckle, held together by an elaborate hinge, is unusual because of its cast cells, rectangular in the center of the attachment plate, circular at the corners, and shield-shaped at the base of the tongue. These were originally filled with "enamel," a misnomer for an amalgam, usually off-white, with a lead, tin, or silver base. Inlaid in this are silver wires forming geometric motifs, of silver in the present example.[86] (It was interfered with before acquisition, and gold sheet now fills several cells.) The distribution map of this type of buckle clearly attests to production in the Garonne valley, where the largest number of finds are located.[87] Nonetheless, a few examples are to be found in northern Gaul, the result of trade or individual travel.[88]

An attachment plate from another buckle obviously imitates the same type (fig. 3.11d). The plaque is divided into compartments of shallow cells, which are not inlaid with "enamel," and such imitations of imported Aquitainian or Visigothic objects are not uncommon in northern Gaul.[89] Originally from the Delamain collection, the buckle was perhaps found at Herpes, Charente (pp. 22–24), but the ribbed, rectangular loop, the tongue with shield-shaped

base, and the engraved Christogram suggest a northern Gaul production.[90]

The "Burgundian" Belt Buckles
The Germanic kingdom of Burgundy extended from the Langres Plateau to the Durance River, from French-speaking Switzerland to modern-day Burgundy. Conquered by the Franks in 534, after slightly less than a century of existence, it underwent a process similar to that in Aquitaine. A flourishing regional awareness was expressed particularly from the end of the sixth century in the emergence of a specific art, particularly on belt buckles.[91] In addition to massive forms of inlaid iron (figs. 24.15–24.17), there were copper-alloy buckles with a rectangular attachment plate decorated with figural scenes from the Old and New Testaments and symbolic representations, obviously of Christian inspiration.[92]

The first of these (fig. 21.43) depicts in openwork a griffin, a mythical animal with the body of a winged horse or lion, talons, and the head of a bird of prey, drinking from a stylized jar.[93] Although the context in which such belt buckles were found is rarely known, the types of hinge and tongue make it possible to date their development with certainty from the mid-sixth century into the seventh.[94] Despite variants, a result of repeated copying,[95] the buckles in this group

21.45 Pair of strap ends. Copper alloy. Frankish, first half 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Maximum length 5.1 cm. (17.193.68b, .69b)

21.44 Buckle and detail of decoration. Tinned copper alloy. Frankish, mid 6th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Length 8.6 cm. (17.193.129)

appear typologically very homogeneous, and their distribution indicates production in old Burgundy. Peripheral finds, especially in northwestern France, attest to their popularity in the rest of the Merovingian kingdom.[96] Although "Burgundian" in the geographical sense,[97] these buckles are post-Burgundian from a historical point of view, since the territory in which they were made had been Frankish since 534.[98]

The griffin, originally a motif from the Middle East, was adopted by the Greco-Roman world, where it was well known, and later Christianized. The mythical animal was commonly represented drinking from a can-

tharus, symbolizing the wellspring of life, a scene that alluded to the bliss of Paradise and eternal life.[99] The motif was common throughout the Byzantine world and spread widely in the West during the sixth century, as relations between Merovingian Gaul and the eastern Mediterranean intensified.[100]

Another "Burgundian" belt buckle in the collection comes from Niederbreisig, demonstrating the wide diffusion of this type, in this case to the Rhineland (fig. 21.44).[101] Its straight tongue with a cube at the base dates it to the mid-sixth century.[102] The cast rectangular attachment plate has three fields of partly openwork decoration, two of which would not easily be read when the buckle was in use and viewed horizontally. There are three crudely executed anthropomorphic heads, a kneeling griffin, and a Latin cross with its transverse arms ending in double crooks. The heads can be interpreted with the help of an identical buckle from Fondremand (Haute-Saône):[103] it is inscribed EMMANVHIT (for *Emmanuel*), between CACTUS DAULUS (for *sanctus Paulus*) and SANCTUS PETRUC (for *sanctus Petrus*), indicating that the three busts represent Christ flanked by the apostles Peter and

21.46 Buckle and detail of decoration. Copper alloy. Frankish, first half 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Length 4.4 cm. (17.193.34)
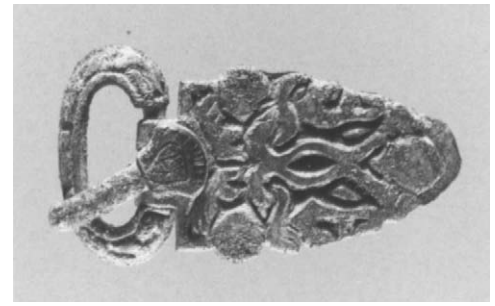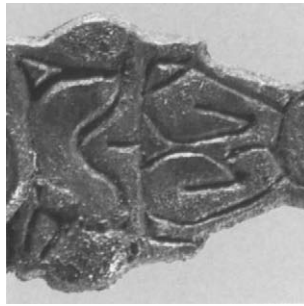
21.47 Buckle. Copper alloy. Frankish, first half 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Maximum length 5.5 cm. (17.193.68a)

Paul. The Christian interpretation of the griffin and the form of the cross, which is reminiscent of "monogrammatic" examples,[104] are not in doubt, since the inscriptions PROUS VIVA(T)DO (for *pro-no-us vivat in deo*) and SANCTUS DEI appear beneath them. The foregoing indicates how difficult it can be, without epigraphic evidence, to identify the scenes and motifs in Merovingian popular art, which are usually very stylized.[105] The preference in Burgundy for buckles with Christian iconography has rightly been associated with the early conversion of the region. It remained profoundly Romanized in the Merovingian period, and monasticism subsequently flourished there.[106]

Fittings from Shoes and Garters

On a smaller scale are pairs of buckles, sometimes with a counterplate and strap ends that belong to the fastenings of shoes and garters.[107] In careful scientific excavations such fittings have been identified from their location in the grave as ornaments for shoes when found near the foot or for garters when at knee level. Without such a context it is not possible to attribute with certainty all the small buckles[108] and strap ends[109] in the Morgan collection. Women of high rank wore garters in the sixth century, but it was only in the first decade of the seventh that this accessory became common, particularly in the northeast of the Merovingian king-

dom, that is, in Austrasia. These garters consisted of a leather or fabric strap with a small buckle at one end and tab at the other end, to hold up a stocking around the knee. Since the buckles were invisible under the dress, their metal fittings were not always decorated. Sometimes, however, a square plate, which had a purely ornamental function, hung below the bottom of the dress, and, because it was visible, it often had carefully executed zoomorphic decoration,[110] such as the interlaced animal limbs on a pair of small strap ends in the collection (fig. 21.45).

Such fittings share the same general development in form and decoration as those for the belt, which they reproduce in miniature. Around 600, the buckle attachment plates and counterplates still included circular forms, but in the first decades of the seventh century these became triangular, acquiring a lively shape from the 630s and 640s to emphasize the zoomorphic motifs that covered them.[111] Several pairs in the Metropolitan are decorated with early Style II animal ornament, crudely and rather carelessly executed, but nonetheless clearly discernible. On one example (fig. 21.46) two profiled heads are conjoined on an arching neck. Each has the traditional representation of the beak of a bird of prey, and behind each oval eye is a rectangular frame upon which are head and ear (fig. 18.13). The profiled heads in another example (fig 21.47) represent
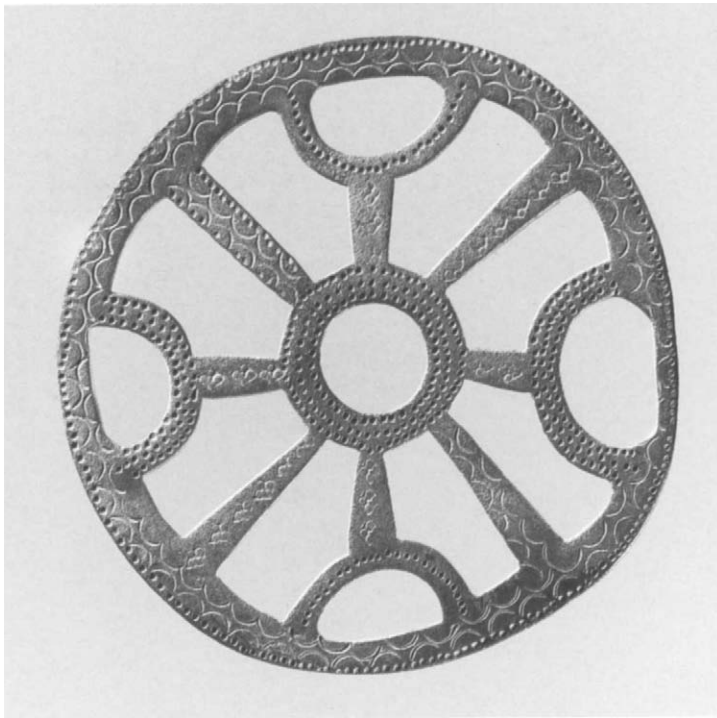
21.48–50 Three forms of openwork belt fitting (chatelaine). Frankish, 7th century. Tinned copper alloy. Diameter 8.3 cm. (17.191.251); length 8.9 cm (17.192.162); 3.8 cm. (17.191.274)

boars, each with a prominent tusk (fig. 18.14). Their ribbonlike anatomical parts are quite distinct, and details, such as the paws, are depicted at the extremities.

Circular Openwork Plaques

In the late Merovingian period women typically wore a copper-alloy fitting called a "chatelaine," attached to the belt by one or more straps. It has sometimes been considered a kind of fastener for a leather purse,[112] but its usual function has been deduced from its location in the grave and what has been found next to it. It served as an intermediate element between the belt and objects suspended from it, such as a comb, keys, or amulets, for example, which would be attached to it by strings of organic matter or thin iron or copper-alloy chains.[113]

The most common form is a "wheel," that is, a disk containing an openwork geometric design or zoomorphic or anthropomorphic motifs (fig. 2.1). Many have carefully executed punched and geometric decoration on the surface (figs. 21.48, 21.49, 21.50),

which was often tinned to imitate silver. The wheels frequently become progressively thicker, indicating the use of molds prepared directly from other examples.[114] A very complete typology and chronology of these wheels, based on their decoration, has been established.[115] There is little major variation in their shape, which is almost always flat and circular, but a few examples are surmounted by an integral rectangular fastening attachment that allowed them to be moved up or down the straps (fig. 21.49).[116] Other openwork fittings of an architectural form, sometimes decorated with arcades with snake-headed ends (fig. 21.50), are independently associated with the suspension system.

Eight of the fourteen wheels in the collection contain a cruciform or radiating pattern of greater or lesser complexity.[117] Two others contain a triskele with dragonlike or serpent terminals (fig. 2.1).[118] Four depict a stylized human figure with arms raised in the attitude of prayer, riding an equally stylized quadruped (figs. 3.6, 3.7, and 21.49).[119] From the known contexts, most finds date to the seventh century, although certain types existed during the sixth.[120] While generally agreeing that the motifs within these wheels had an apotropaic meaning, many authors have speculated about their individual significance.[121]

It has been proposed, often wrongly, to attribute to pagan Germanic tradition motifs with radiating patterns representing sun cults, triskeles composed of snakelike monsters representing solar and chthonic symbolism, and horsemen representing the god Odin. Others have suggested that the craftsmen Christianized these motifs by transforming the horseman, for example, to the triumphant Christ as depicted in Mediterranean tradition, or by simply adding a cross. The wheels may have been Christian from the outset because of their cruciform design and other motifs they contained, not represented in the collection, such as a Christogram or birds drinking from a cantharus. It should be noted that such interpretations reflect the
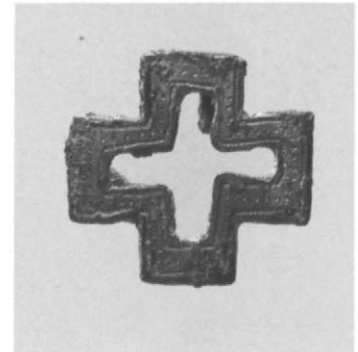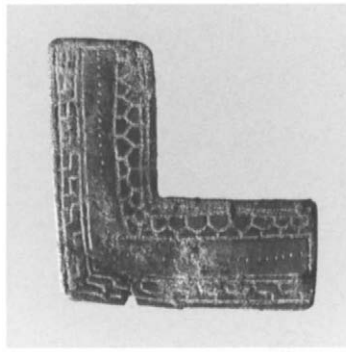
21.51–21.52 Two purse mounts. Tinned copper alloy. Frankish, 7th century. Maximum length 3.6 cm. (17.191.234, .265)

geographical distribution of the motifs, with Christian influence supported by examples from Gaul, which was largely Christianized, and pagan influence from territories beyond the Rhine, which were still pagan but undergoing conversion through missions that began during the seventh century.[122]

Purse Mounts

A classic study, confirmed by scientific excavations, has identified a number of copper-alloy appliqués as fittings from a woman's leather purse.[123] Worn suspended on a strap, purses took a variety of forms but were usually rectangular. In the seventh century particularly, some presented a relatively large, flat surface,[124] which presented an opportunity for artistic expression: some appliqués used in decoration, besides being elaborately formed and worked, were tinned on the surface to imitate silver. The corners (figs. 21.51) had L-shaped mounts for protection,[125] and the edges of the flap might be reinforced by sharply angled strips.[126] In the most elaborate purses, appliqués seem to have created

a composition that made a statement about the religious beliefs of the wearer. The Morgan collection contains a number in the shape of a cross (fig. 21.52), a wheeled cross, or birds in profile (figs. 21.53 and 21.54), but without their associated goods it is unknown which may have belonged to a particular set.[127] Individual motifs, such as the wheeled cross, have a clear Christian significance at this period. So do the birds, although, as in the case of the chatelaines discussed above, alternative interpretations based upon a pagan origin have been advanced.[128]

Pins

The collection has a number of large, elaborately cast copper-alloy pins belonging to female costume. With a length extending to some 20 cms, they served to fasten a veil onto the chest or to hold the hairstyle in place. This fashion flourished during the sixth century and persisted into the seventh in Frankish and Alemannic territories.[129] Many of the pins in the Metropolitan belonging to the late Merovingian period terminate in a flat spatulate head set at an angle to a shaft with cast relief decoration.[130] On some (e.g., fig. 21.55), the shaft has cast multiple facets and ribs in a restrained fashion. On others (such as fig. 21.56), the heavy multiple ribs are regularly notched to resemble applied filigree wire. The skill of the craftsman in casting is demonstrated by further relief decoration, including a cast knob some two-thirds the way up the shaft.[131] Some of the knobs are in openwork of almost architectural form (fig. 21.57), while others are solid polyhedrons with their faces incised in geometric patterns. Most pins were of copper alloy, sometimes tinned or gilded.[132] The richest piece in the collection has a silver shaft, its polyhedral knob inlaid with niello, and is cased in a cylindrical sleeve of gold sheet decorated with filigree (fig. 21.58).

21.53–21.54 Two pairs of purse mounts and enlargement to show details of decoration. Tinned copper alloy. Frankish, 7th century. Maximum length 4.3 cm. (17.191.202, .203, 17.192.188, .189)
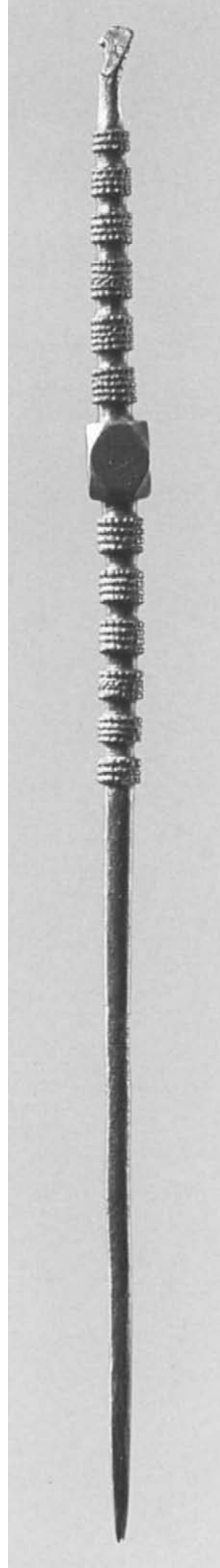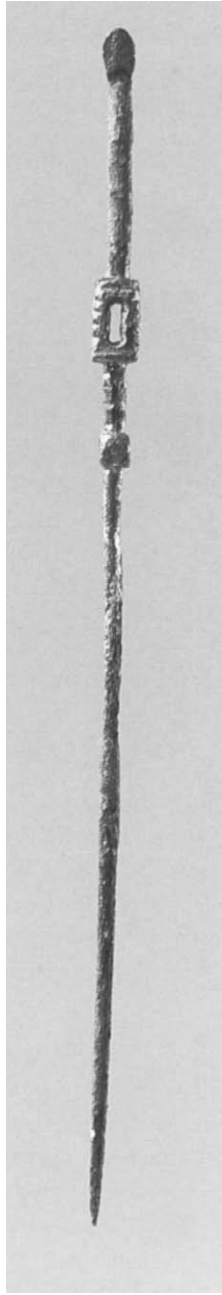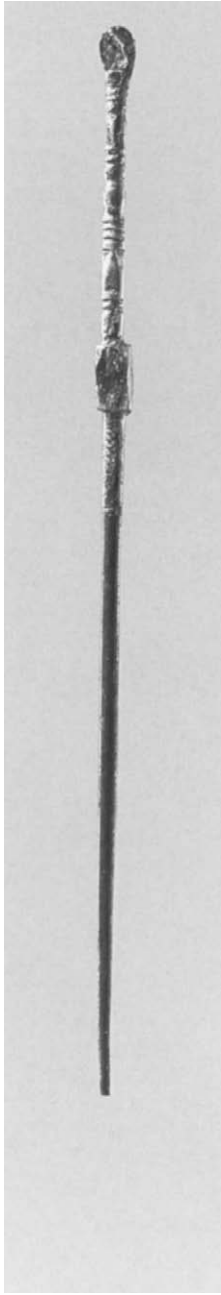
21.55–21.57 Three pins. Tinned copper alloy.
Frankish, 7th century. From Niederbreisig,
Germany, length 17.7 cm. (17.193.87); maxi-
mum length 20.4 cm. (17.192.245, .243)

21.58 Pin, decoration of the shaft.
Silver, niello, gold. Frankish,
7th century. Length 15 cm.
(17.192.244)

21.59 Signet ring with monogram. Silver/gold alloy. Frankish, late 6th–early 7th century. Diameter of bezel 2 cm. (17.191.93)

21.60 Finger ring with imitation monogram. Silver. Frankish, 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter of bezel 1.7 cm. (17.193.71a)

21.61 Finger ring with inscription. Electrum. Frankish, late 6th–early 7th century. Diameter 2.1 cm. (17.191.104)

21.62 Signet ring bezel. Gilt silver. Frankish, late 6th–early 7th century. Diameter 1.4 cm. (17.191.288)

21.63 Finger ring. Silver. Frankish, late 6th–early 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Diameter of bezel 2.2 cm. (17.193.51)

21.64 Finger ring. Copper alloy. Frankish, end of 6th–7th century. Length of bezel 1.2 cm. (17.191.295)

Bracelets and Finger Rings

Because they are often modest objects, the collection includes only a few penannular bracelets. These are often with expanded ends, a long-lived form. The majority are of copper alloy and come from the Niederbreisig cemetery.[133] One unprovenanced example is made of silver.[134] All are certainly Merovingian, but since they are largely devoid of decoration they cannot be dated more precisely.[135]

The contemporary finger rings in the collection stand in contrast to the modest Merovingian bracelets. The bezels in particular furnished a field for considerable artistic expression and, because of the personal connection of rings with the wearer, the bezels are often highly symbolic. With one exception,[136] Merovingian finger rings have not yet been the subject of a detailed study.[137] Many have been found in context,[138] and it is generally easy to identify and date examples when they belong to the most characteristic types, but these are relatively few in the collection.[139] Those that certainly belong to the second half of the Merovingian period are of

21.65–21.67 Enlargements of figures 21.59, 21.62, and 21.63

copper alloy, silver, or gold, and are often cast in one piece with a flat rectangular, oval, or circular bezel.[140] Other, more elaborate, examples in precious metal have a separate bezel that has been soldered onto the hoop, the ends of which are flattened or have outward curving spirals to provide firmer attachment. In such cases, groups of three separately applied globules often emphasize the junction of hoop and bezel.[141]

The bezel on important rings is often engraved, sometimes with a monogram copying Byzantine models, seen as on an electrum example with an elegant signet monogram (fig. 21.59). Monograms cannot always be deciphered to produce an intelligible name. Though in some cases this may have been understood, in others the craftsman may not have been a master of the alphabet (fig. 21.60).[142] Examples with a rectangular bezel are sometimes inscribed,[143] as seen in a ring in the collection (fig. 21.61) inscribed with the name CARTHERIA. The exterior of the hoop formed a polyhedral shape, and four anthropomorphic masks are schematically depicted upon it. Other

rings bear a stylized zoomorphic or, less commonly, anthropomorphic image.[144]

Christian iconography can be seen on the applied circular bezel from a silver signet ring on which a cross and a bird are deeply incised (fig. 21.62). A motif with a history stretching back into the Roman period is that of a backward glancing, or backward biting, animal filling the circular field (fig. 21.63). Here, it has gaping jaws, a prominent tongue, and well-defined paws.[145] Another style of representation appears on a copper-alloy ring with an integral rectangular bezel (fig. 21.64). Its hoop is deeply decorated with the zigzag

bodies of two double-headed serpents whose two pairs of gaping jaws occupy each shoulder. The bezel itself contains two lengths of the body, which flank two paws conjoined in an S, in a typically Germanic Style II composition.

Combs
Of less sophisticated craftsmanship but still representing an integral part of female costume is the comb, made of bone and usually decorated with engraved designs, sometimes found in a case made of the same material. It frequently hung from the belt along with the purse. With one exception,[146] all eighteen combs in the collection come from excavations at Niederbreisig (fig. 4.15). As a grave good, the number of combs found in burials increases toward the eastern borders of Merovingian Gaul.[147] These combs belong to two classic types: one has an arched back and a single row of teeth; the other is straight, with two rows of teeth,[148] one finely cut, the other more coarse.[149] Such toiletry items were common to both sexes throughout the period, but are more frequent in women's graves. In the current state of research, it is not possible to propose a typo-chronological subdivision, although the maximum concentration of the two types in graves dates to the second half of the sixth century.[150]

This brief survey has explored some issues of fashion related to the late Merovingian period, stimulated by contemporary jewelry in the Metropolitan. As Seymour de Ricci so justly wrote in 1910, in the introduction to his *Catalogue of a Collection of Merovingian Antiquities Belonging to J. Pierpont Morgan:* "Few museums and fewer private collections can boast of such an extensive and comprehensive series of fine Merovingian antiquities."[151]

1. Werner 1961.
2. Salin 1949–59; Young 1977; Effros 1994; Halsall 1995.
3. Périn 1980, pp. 14f.
4. For general survey, see the illustrations in Seymour de Ricci's catalogues.

5. Périn 1980; Roth and Theune 1988; Legoux and Périn 1993; Delestre and Périn 1998.
6. For instance, Jules Pilloy. See Périn 1980, pp. 32f.
7. Böhner 1958a and 1971; Périn 1980; Legoux and Périn 1993; Delestre and Périn 1998.
8. Zeller 1974; Schulze 1976; Clauss 1989, pp. 495f.; Martin 1995b.
9. Schulze 1976; Clauss 1989, pp. 495f.; Martin 1994 and 1995b; Wamers 1994b.
10. H. Roth 1980; Arrhenius 1985.
11. Thieme 1978; Urlacher et al. 1998, pp. 105f.
12. Périn 1985, pp. 765f.; Plumier-Torfs 1986; Manfredi 1993; Menghin 1994.
13. B. Salin 1904; H. Roth 1973, 1986a, and 1989; Martin 1995b and 1991; Périn 1993a, pp. 238–39; Aufleger 1997.
14. Vierck 1985.
15. Gasquet 1888.
16. Schulze 1976; Vierck 1981.
17. De Pirey 1988. There are numerous subtypes based on typological variations. Two of de Pirey's types, no. 4 with flat bead and no. 5 with basket-shaped bead, are not represented in the collection.
18. De Ricci 1910a: pl. VIII, 107, 114–115 (de Pirey type 1212), 118–119 (type 124), 110–111 (type 13), 108–109, 112–113 (type 14); de Ricci 1911: pl. I, 1–2 (type 124); pl. VI, 82–83, 84–85 (type 13); 86–87 (type 1211).
19. "Collar" refers to the small containers of sheet soldered to the upper sheet, into which the glass and stone inlays were inserted.
20. The collection from the cemetery of Niederbreisig does not seem to have any early forms of type 2, characterized by their small diameter and solid aspect: de Pirey 1988, types 21, 221, 2221, 261, 262.
21. De Ricci 1910b describes pl. XIX, 249–250, as silver, and it is possible that other examples described as bronze may be of base silver covered with green corrosion products derived from copper.
22. De Ricci 1910b: type 23 (pl. II, 43–44; pl. III, 57–58; pl. VI, 88–89); type 231 (pl. XXI, 270–271); type 234 (pl. IX, 117); type 25 (pl. I, 2–3; pl. VII, 96; pl. VIII, 105–106; pl. X, 125–126; pl. XIII, 174–175; pl. XVIII, 241; pl. XIX, 249–250; pl. XXV, 318–320).
23. Ibid.: pl. XX, 257–258 (type 31).
24. De Ricci 1910a: pl. VIII, 122–123 and 124–125 (type 32).
25. Martin 1994; Wamers 1994b.
26. The question of the sources of the garnet used in the Merovingian period remains a controversial one. It may very well be that much of it came from India or Sri Lanka, and that political unrest in southern Arabia from the end of the sixth century prevented its transport to the Mediterranean, thereby resulting in an exhaustion of the stock of garnets available for use from the first decades of the seventh century. See H. Roth 1980; Arrhenius 1985.

27. The filigree wire is held in place on the surface of the ornament by tallow and by tin solder. The necessary heat is obtained from the burning point of a blow pipe kept hot by a charcoal stick. Périn and Forni 1987, p. 43.
28. Thieme 1978. The Niederbreisig brocches in the Metropolitan had been published by Kühn 1937b.
29. Thieme 1978, pp. 412f.
30. For Type I.1, see ibid., pp. 412f.; de Ricci 1910b: pl. IX, 118; pl. X, 127; de Ricci 1911: pl. VII, 116 and 125; pl. VIII, 135.
31. For Type i.2, see Thieme 1978, pp. 412–16; de Ricci 1910b: pl. IV, 70; pl. VII, 97; pl. VIII, 107; de Ricci 1911: pl. III, 27; pl. VIII, 136.
32. De Ricci 1910a: pl. II, 41; pl. VI, 64; de Ricci 1911: pl. II, 22; pl. III, 32, 33; pl. VII, 124; pl. VIII, 130, 131, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 157, 160.
33. Type i.3; see Thieme 1978, pp. 418f.; de Ricci 1911, pl. VIII, 133.
34. Type i.4; see Thieme 1978, pp. 420f.; de Ricci 1910b, pl. III, 59.
35. Type i.6; see Thieme 1978, pp. 426f.; de Ricci 1910b, pl. V, 83.
36. Thieme 1978, p. 428; de Ricci 1910a, pl. VII, 92, and de Ricci 1911, pl. III, 29.
37. Thieme 1978, p. 429.
38. Type v.1; see ibid., pp. 430f.; de Ricci 1911, pl. X, 192.
39. Type v.3; see Thieme 1978, pp. 431f.; de Ricci 1911, pl. VIII, 134.
40. Type v.4; see Thieme 1978, pp. 432f.; de Ricci 1910b, pl. VI, 90. Not represented in the Metropolitan are forms with an eight-lobed outline (Type III), with an octagonal outline (Type IV), Type VI, a variation of Type V, and those in the shape of a purse (Type VII).
41. See, e.g., de Ricci 1910b: pl. V, 83; de Ricci 1910a: pl. VII, 92; de Ricci 1911: pl. III, 27.
42. For example, de Ricci 1910b: pl. VIII, 107; de Ricci 1911: pl. VIII, 134 and 135; XI, 192.
43. Böhner 1958a; Périn 1980; Roth and Theune 1988.
44. Thieme 1978 and, additionally, maps 1–19.
45. Particularly Thieme's types 1.5, III, and VI. According to Cassiodorus, in 506 Clovis achieved an overwhelming victory over the Alemanni when the Franks installed protectorates over Alemannic territory.
46. Particularly Thieme's types 1.1, 2 and 4, II, III, IV, V, and VII.
47. H. Roth 1986a, pp. 52f.; most recently, Klein-Pfeuffer 1993.
48. Klein-Pfeuffer 1993, pl. 67,1; p. l.51,239; pp. 420–21, no. 239.
49. Ibid.; see fig. 68 for parallels.
50. Ibid.; for parallels, see pl. 68, 316; fig. 63, 7–8; pl. 50,234.
51. Lorren 1976, pl. IV,6–8.
52. Kühn 1940, 1974, and 1981; A. Koch 1998.
53. Hübener 1972, figs. 4, 12; 7, 10; 25, 3.

54. Ibid., fig. 18, 2.
55. In particular ibid.; most recently, Truc 1997 and Thörle 1998.
56. De Ricci 1910b: pl. XIII, 176; pl. XXI, 276; pl. XXIII, 292; pl. XXIV, 305, 307; de Ricci 1911: pl. XI, 219.
57. De Ricci 1910b: pl. XXI, 277, pl. XXIII, 294; de Ricci 1911: pl. XV, 292.
58. De Ricci 1910a: pl. I, 12, 13; de Ricci 1911: pl. XV, 293, 294.
59. De Ricci 1911, pl. XV, 298.
60. Ibid., pl. XV, 291, 299.
61. Plumier-Torfs 1986, p. 113.
62. Truc 1997, pp. 32f.; Thörle 1998, pp. 107f.
63. Truc 1997, fig. p. 33; Thörle 1998, fig. 2, p. 109.
64. A number of examples can be found in Lorren and Périn 1995.
65. See Périn and Feffer 1985, pp. 419f. and pl. 383, for the hoard from Camon (Somme) and other equal-armed brooches of the Carolingian period.
66. Périn 1985, pp. 766f.; H. Roth 1986a, pp. 40f.; Périn 1993b; Plumier and Plumier-Torfs 1997, pp. 422–24.
67. Périn 1985, pp. 766f.; H. Roth 1986a, pp. 48f.
68. Werner 1976; Martin 1995b and 1991, with general remarks that require verification.
69. A rapid computation from the plates in de Ricci's catalogues reveals approximately ten copper-alloy belt buckles, in contrast with roughly one hundred inlaid iron belt fittings.
70. On the region of Neustria, which served to denominate the northwest of Gaul during the seventh century, see Périn and Feffer 1985.
71. Salin, 1949–59, pp. 270f.
72. Following up the work of Kühn 1973 and R. Koch 1966, I have classified Neustrian buckles into two main types, A and B, the first of these divided into three subtypes A.1–A.3. Based on the details of its design, the Metropolitan example (fig. 21.18) belongs to type A.1. See Périn 1975, fig. 5. There are forty-four examples made from the same model, as opposed to eight examples of type B. The Morgan buckle is to be classified as sub-type Al, by far the most numerous, of which there are thirty-two examples.
73. Böhner 1958a; Périn 1980 and 1998.
74. Werner 1970.
75. Périn 1993b.
76. This observation assumes that the attachment plate, tongue, and loop were not put together later by dealers but were originally associated. Simon 1974.
77. Böhner 1958a; Simon 1974; Périn 1980 and 1998.
78. Périn 1985, pp. 767–68.
79. Ibid., pp. 772f.
80. This analysis of a representative sample of these objects, using the variable-energy cyclotron at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Orléans, was carried out at my request by Véronique Langlet-Marzloff under the scientific oversight of J.-N. Barrandon. See Langlet-Marzloff 1985.

81. Böhner 1958a, pl. 40, 1 (type Cl).

82. Périn 1991.

83. James 1977, and especially Lerenter 1989, who has doubled the corpus; see also Lerenter 1991b. In the absence of a sufficient number of buckles with known find circumstances, the dating of the Aquitainian buckles is relatively imprecise; on the basis of comparison with forms found in northern Gaul, however, their general attribution to the seventh century is certain.

84. Lerenter 1989, pp. 62–63: her type H 11 corresponds to group 111 (catalogue D) of enameled buckles in James 1977, pp. 393f.

85. See Christlein 1968.

86. Haseloff 1990, fig. 48a.

87. Lerenter 1989, pl. 111, fig. 15.

88. Werner 1970.

89. Good examples in Lorren 1976.

90. De Baye 1892b, pl. VI.24. de Ricci 1911. p. 12, suggests that this is a monogram for Karolvs, but it is rather an incomplete Chi-Rho symbol, a normal representation on buckle tongues.

91. Gaillard de Sémainville 1995.

92. The most recent survey is in Werner 1977.

93. Similar objects, belonging to type D of Moosbrugger-Leu's classification (1967), have been studied by Kühn 1935 and, more recently, by Werner 1977, pp. 282ff. See also Kühn 1934.

94. For a tongue having a shield-shaped base, see Martin 1971 (type B), p. 36 and fig. 6. See also Gaillard de Sémainville 1980a, pp. 86f.

95. For the technique, see above pp. 251f.

96. Werner 1977, p. 286.

97. The absence of such objects in the southern half of the former kingdom of Burgundy can be explained by the absence of furnished burials in these regions, which remained heavily Romanized. Werner 1976.

98. Périn 1995.

99. Salin 1949–59, vol. 4, pp. 157f.; Cabrol and Leclercq 1925, pp. 1814f.

100. Gasquet 1888; Schulze 1976.

101. Distribution map in Werner 1977, p. 300.

102. Martin 1971, fig. 6, p. 37, type A.

103. Werner 1977, pp. 299f.

104. Whether sculpted, such as on grave slabs or a sarcophagus, or on coins with the "anchor cross," the Christogram (the Greek letters chi and rho) developed in the paleo-Christian and particularly Merovingian period into the monogrammatic cross. Here, a Latin cross takes the place of the chi, and the top of the vertical arm supports the loop of the rho. This last element, doubled to become symmetrical, becomes part of the cross itself. It is in this sense that the cross on buckles of the Fondremand type is derived from the monogrammatic cross.

105. The normal practice of making casts from casts explains the progressive thickening of the decoration, to the point that it becomes unidentifiable, particularly on openwork plaques.

106. Werner 1977, pp. 321f., and the map, fig. 26.

107. The most complete study is that of Clauss 1989.

108. De Ricci 1910b: pl. I, 34 and 40; pl. III, 68–69 (pair of strap ends); pl. X, 136–137 (strap ends); pl. XVII, 227; de Ricci 1911: pl. IX, 170, 171, and 181.

109. De Ricci 1910b: pl. XVIII, 236–237; pl. XIX, 247–248; pl. XXII, 283–284; pl. XXIII, 301–303; pl. XXIV, 313–314 (but these could equally be strap ends from a sword harness); de Ricci 1911: pl. IX, 176, 182, and 183.

110. De Ricci 1910b: pl. XVII, 225–227 and 232; pl. XVIII, 246; pl. XXV, 327–328; de Ricci 1911: pl. XII, 227 and 229 (possibly related to strap ends nos. 228 and 230); pl. XIV, 269 and 271 (possibly related to strap ends nos. 270 and 272). Compare types II and III (Clauss 1989, pp. 63f. and 67f.).

111. Particularly Böhner 1958a, pl. 43–44; Périn 1980, p. 217, fig. 51, 67–69; Roth and Theune 1988.

112. See, for example, the reconstructions in Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, vol. 1, part 2 (1973), pl. 7 (after Moosbrugger-Leu 1967).

113. Renner-Volbach 1970, pp. 55f.

114. See above pp. 251f. for the technique of casting.

115. Renner-Volbach 1970, pp. 2f. and 62f.

116. This fitting sometimes has two or three tongues of iron or copper alloy, which facilitate the attachment of the disk to the belt and the adjustment of the length of the strap: de Ricci 1910a, pl. XIX, 162–163. Some separate fittings in the collection are part of the suspension: de Ricci 1910a, pl. XIII, 154 and 161; de Ricci 1911: pl. XIV, 257, 259, 274, and 276.

117. These are variants of Renner's types I, III, and IV. Renner-Volbach 1970, pp. 2, 9, 12f. De Ricci 1911: pl. XIII, 251 (Renner's type III) and 254 (type I); de Ricci 1910b: pl. IV, 80; de Ricci 1910a: pl. XIII, 155, 156, 157, 158, and 160 (type IV).

118. They belong to Renner type VI, pp. 22f.; see de Ricci 1910b: pl. III, 62; de Ricci 1910a, pl. XIII, 159. It may be asked whether these snakelike motifs, which were popular throughout Merovingian art, particularly the symmetrical motif of two "serpents" heads, confronted, with gaping jaws, are not in fact a version of the dolphin heads so frequently depicted in Late Antique art and that are to be seen without a break in continuity into the Merovingian period.

119. A motif Renner has classified as type XI (see Renner-Volbach 1970, pp. 37f.); de Ricci 1910a, pl. XIV, 162–165 (148); see Renner-Volbach 1970, pp. 62f.

120. Such as Renner's VI and XII.

121. See Renner-Volbach 1970, pp. 71f. for a clear outline of the question.

122. The question of paganism needs to be approached with some subtlety in connection with such topics

as funerary attire or iconography: Catholicism was
the state religion in the Merovingian kingdom
after the Edict of Theodosius in 391 for Roman
subjects and since Clovis (d. 511) for the Franks
in Gaul. Various treatments of the subject by
Dierkens (1984, 1985, and 1991) can be studied
with advantage.

123. Werner 1950a, pp. 52f.
124. Ibid., pp. 55–56; *Die Franken* 1996, pp. 1006–7, for
the forms of purse, particularly fig. 553 and p. 675
for a sixth-century reconstruction.
125. De Ricci 1911, pl. XII, 231–234.
126. De Ricci 1910b, pl. , 130–31.
127. De Ricci 1910a: pl. XV, 188 and 189; de Ricci 1911:
pl. XI, 202–203 (zoomorphic appliqués); pl. XII,
231–234 (corner mounts) and, probably because of
material and corrosion products, pl. XIII, 249 (disk
with openwork cross); pl. XVI, 220 (rectangular
openwork plaque perhaps associated with a buckle
and matching strap ends nos. 219 and 221); pl. XIX,
265–266 (openwork crosses), 273 (disk).
128. E.g., Böhner 1989, pp. 473–88.
129. Möller 1982.
130. De Ricci 1910b: pl. I, 1; pl. II, 42; and certainly
no. 10 (incomplete examples); pl. XIII, 173; and
pl. XVI, 216.
131. Ibid.: pl. VI, 87; pl. IX, 116; pl. X, 124; de Ricci
1910a: pl. XIX, 241, 243, 244, 245, and 247.
132. De Ricci 1910a: gilt copper alloy (pl. XIX, 241, 245,
and 247); "silvered" copper alloy (pl. XIX, 243).
133. De Ricci 1910b: pl. I, 13; pl. II, 50; pl. III, 61; pl. V, 84.
134. De Ricci 1911: pl. VI, 105.
135. The examples from the second part of the Mero-
vingian period are generally much heavier and
often decorated with guilloches: see Roth and
Theune 1988, types 47, 73, 82–83. See also Böhner
1958a, types A1, A2, B, and C, pl. 20–21.
136. Deloche's 1900 survey of the signet rings deserves
to be updated.
137. Despite a good bibliography, Ristow and Roth
1995, pp. 56–65, do not provide a satisfactory

typochronology. Even though the Trier region does
not provide complete coverage of all known types
still see Böhner 1958a.
138. See Ristow and Roth 1994, n. 136, for an important
series of cemetery reports with finger rings found
in context.
139. For the collection's earlier rings as a whole, see
Brown 1979a. Not considered here are the earlier
Merovingian rings: de Ricci 1910a, pl. XVI, 226 to
230; de Ricci 1911, pl. VI, 96, 98, and 101. There are
numerous examples for which, in the absence of
context, it is impossible to determine whether they
are Late Antique or belong to the beginning of the
Early Medieval period: de Ricci 1910a, pl. XVI (all
the rings with intaglios or cabochons); de Ricci
1911, pl. VI, 95, 100, 102–103; and pl. XV, 297.
140. Such is the case with the finger rings from Nieder-
breisig, which fits the general chronology of the
site: de Ricci 1910b: pl. I, 14; pl. II, 51; pl. III, 63;
pl. IV, 71; pl. VI, 91; pl. VIII, 109; pl. IX, 119; pl. XVI,
218; de Ricci 1911: pl. VI, 93 and 94; pl. XV, 284,
288, and 290.
141. De Ricci 1910b: pl. II, 51; pl. III, 63.
142. For example, de Ricci 1910b: pl. IV, 71; pl. XVI, 218;
de Ricci 1911: pl. XV, 284 and 288.
143. De Ricci 1911: pl. VI, 97 and 104; pl. XV, 295.
144. De Ricci 1910b: pl. VI, 91; de Ricci 1911: pl. XV,
284, 288, and 290.
145. See, for example, Aufleger 1997, pp. 44–54,
pls. 58–60.
146. De Ricci 1911: pl. XIV, 258.
147. Petitjean 1995.
148. De Ricci 1910b: pl. VIII, 115; pl. IX, 123; and pl. XI.
149. De Ricci 1910b: pl. I, 37 (with remains of bone
comb case); pl. II, 53; pl. V, 86; pl. VI, 95; pl. XIII, 185;
pl. XV, 215; pl. XVI, 223; pl. XVII, 226; pl. XVIII, 238;
pl. XIX, 255; pl. XX, 267; pl. XXI, 275; pl. XXII, 288;
pl. XXIV, 306; pl. XXV, 322 (with remains of bone
comb case).
150. Petitjean 1995, p. 170.
151. De Ricci 1910a, pp. IV–V.

22. The Frankish Glass Vessels

INTRODUCTION

Up to the end of the fourth century there was a plentiful supply of glass vessels in northwestern Europe, from everyday utilitarian items like bottles to fine tableware. After the Germanic invasions production continued, but many forms and colors were lost. The costliness of such items is suggested by the small percentage of Merovingian graves containing glass vessels. The graves rarely contain more than one such vessel, and almost all are drinking vessels of an unstable shape, with a rounded or pointed base, so that they could not be set down until empty. It is probable that this shape indicates the ritual of drinking: formal drinks were taken standing, as they are even now when a toast is drunk.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is fortunate to possess a collection of forty-eight glass vessels. They are mainly representative of northern France and the Rhineland, with eleven of the Roman to Frankish period (late fourth to early fifth century), and thirty-six of the Merovingian period (fifth to eighth century). A final item, dating to about 600, comes from Italy. Among them are some rare and important specimens. Most are from the Morgan collection and in a complete state, although their colors are sometimes clouded by iridescence. Some,

formerly in the Queckenberg collection, come from the cemetery of Niederbreisig in the Rhine valley (see pp. 28–41). Others, although not precisely provenanced, are known to have come from various cemeteries in the valleys of the Marne and Aube in northern France (see p. 26n.3 and map fig. 3.8).

THE LATE ROMAN VESSELS

Among types that were in use during the late fourth century, continuing into the early fifth century, are four footed beakers (17.191.352, .354, and .362, and 17.193.330), four bowls (17.191.353 and .359, and 17.193.402 and .404), one globular jar (17.191.358), and two conical beakers (17.193.329 and .331). All were illustrated in de Ricci's catalogues of 1910 and 1911.

One bowl of this early type is particularly attractive and is important as a precedent for many later developments (fig. 22.1 and pl. 12A). It was discovered in a cemetery at Steinfort in Luxembourg in 1849. Its very prompt publication recorded that three other vessels with similar decoration were also found in that cemetery, namely, a bowl and two footed conical beakers.[1] It was once in the Charvet collection in France, and the catalogue published in 1879 contains a very fine and accurate watercolor rendering.[2] It is a light olive-green bowl with ring foot and unsmoothed rim, and the glass is glossy and of good quality. The decoration consists of dividing the surface into square fields by the application of two horizontal borders of light brown, zigzag trails with bordering straight trails, and vertical connections between a row of blue blobs with a trail on top. In each of these fields is a hollow-blown claw with a vertical brown indented trail, and there are single blue blobs near the base. These colored blobs on glass vessels were copied from the

decoration on gold and silver vessels that were sometimes ornamented with cabochon jewels of various colors.

These decorative elements—the division into fields, a zigzag trail between borders, colored blobs, and blobs hollow blown and drawn into claws—were widespread in the late fourth century and can be seen in different combinations on a variety of forms: bowls, handled chalices, footed conical beakers, and drinking horns. Later, the decoration of hollow-blown claws particularly appealed to the Anglo-Saxons and Merovingians and enjoyed a period of popularity from the fifth century on into the eighth century and beyond.

A number of Late Roman vessels correspond in some aspects to the Steinfort bowl, such as a footed cup with zigzag trail and drawn blobs from Furfooz, Belgium, found in a well-furnished woman's grave from the end of the fourth century.[3] Three other bowls, however, are very close indeed to the Steinfort bowl. Two are from France, one from Couvrot, Entre-Deux-Voies, Marne, and the second from a man's grave at Marteville, Aisne, which also contained a coin of Gratian (r. 367–83).[4] The third, with no provenance, is in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn.[5] The rim of each is left unsmoothed, and the bowl is set on a ring foot. On these four closely corresponding bowls, three have the division into panels with horizontal zigzag trails between line borders and vertical trails between. A blob in each panel has been manipulated by pincers, and probably is also hollow blown: on the Couvrot bowl it is pulled up, down, and sideways into a diamond shape; on the Marteville bowl it is pulled up and down to give the impression of a bird's head and tail; but on the Steinfort and Bonn bowls it is pulled up and down only. On the Steinfort

22.1 Bowl with ring foot. Glass. Gallo-Roman, late 4th–early 5th century. From Steinfort, Luxembourg. Height 9.2 cm. (81.10.163)

bowl the blob is further decorated with a vertical brown indented trail. The vertical panel trails differ: on the Marteville bowl it is an indented trail; on the Bonn bowl an indented trail returns straight on top of itself; and on the Steinfort bowl are four small blue blobs with a straight trail over the top of them.

The find spots of these well-preserved bowls suggest a production center in northern France. The information available is too sparse for certainty, however, as several monochrome fragments of such bowls have been found in England, at the Roman fort of Richborough in Kent, for example.[6]

22.2 Bell beaker. Glass. Frankish, 5th–6th century. Height 10 cm. (91.1.1388)

22.3 Bell beaker. Glass. Frankish, late 5th–early 6th century. Height 11.8 cm. (17.191.350)

22.4 Bell beaker. Glass. Frankish, late 5th–early 6th century. Height 7.4 cm. (17.191.356)

Two claw fragments were also found in Gloucestershire, at Witcombe Roman villa and Frocester Court,[7] another from the fill of a Roman bathhouse at Billingsgate, London,[8] and one from Spring Hill, Michaelgate, Lincoln.[9]

THE MEROVINGIAN VESSELS

The Early Bell Beakers

After a period of popularity in the late fourth century, the motif of a zigzag between borders disappeared during the fifth and sixth centuries, reappearing only a few times toward the beginning of the seventh century on claw beakers. However, an interesting glass vessel from the Edward C. Moore collection in the Metropolitan is an exception (fig. 22.2). It belongs to the bell-beaker type, so called because of its shape with incurved wall and curved base, with or without an

external knob in the center of the base. The beginning of this type is thought to belong to the early sixth century,[10] but this vessel possesses Late Roman characteristics suggesting a date in the fifth century. Not only does it carry on the Late Roman tradition of the zigzag trail, but the pattern is less efficiently carried out, the trail color is blue, and there are applied blue blobs on the carination of the base similar to those of the Steinfort bowl, all characteristics that did not generally survive the turn of the fifth century. A corresponding rare persistence of the zigzag border into the fifth century is to be seen on a cone beaker found in Anglo-Saxon grave 32 at High Down, Sussex.[11] It has a rounded tip, but the rim is cupped and unsmoothed, like that on the Steinfort bowl, and the decoration is one of horizontal trails, including two bands of zigzag trails.

The exact provenance of the Moore collection bell beaker is not known, but vessels of this shape occur mostly in northern France and Belgium, with some in Germany.[12] Another bell beaker of this shape with knobbed base in the Morgan collection comes from one of the French cemeteries, but it is decorated only with vertical ribbing achieved by blowing in a mold (17.191.357). A comparable beaker comes from Hollogne-aux-Pierres, grave V, Liège, Belgium.[13] Such ribbed bell beakers with a knob on the base occur mostly in the Meuse valley.[14]

Belonging to the late fifth or the early sixth century are two bell beakers of another type, with a straight instead of an incurved profile, both from France (figs. 22.3 and 22.4). These are decorated with two sets of white horizontal trails on the body, with a third set of trails near the tip that is hooked down at intervals to create an arched design. On the latter beaker the hooking has resulted in the trails bunching together into knobs at the foot of the arcades. The shape of this beaker is nearly cylindrical, while the wall of the former spreads outward at the rim. The shape and design are mostly confined to northern France,[15] but a few have been found in Germany.[16]

The Claw Beaker

A later stage in the development of the claw beaker in the Merovingian period[17] is represented by the vessel from Bellenberg-Vöhringen in Bavaria (fig. 22.5 and pl. 12B). It is very light green to colorless, is 18.5 cm tall, and has a small, folded foot. Most of the body, apart from a narrow plain zone in the middle, is decorated with translucent brown horizontal trails, and two rows, each of four brown claws, are attached to the lower half of the body. The form is common in the Rhineland and southern Germany.[18] Among Anglo-Saxon types it most nearly relates to types 3a and b, which are of similar height but slightly narrower.[19] On Anglo-Saxon beakers, the claws were almost always applied in the plain zone, but in Germany they were often applied on top of the hori-
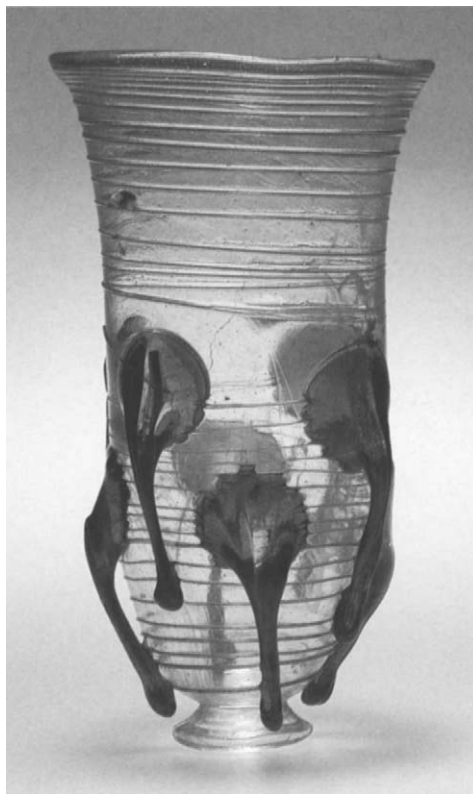
22.5 Claw beaker. Glass. Merovingian, 6th century. From Bellenberg-Vöhringen (Bavaria), Germany. Height 18.5 cm. (81.10.189)

zontal trails, causing distortion to the trails and a jagged edge to the claws as here. The nearly colorless shade of the basic vessel only occurs twice in England, but more frequently in Germany.[20]

The Bellenberg beaker is unique in its period because the claws are in a contrasting color. As may be seen from the Steinfort bowl (fig. 22.5 and pl. 12A), colored blobs could be applied on the same vessel with self-colored blown blobs; it is surprising that the colored blobs were not as frequently blown into claws. Of the few beakers with colored claws, a late-fourth- or early-fifth-century bowl from Couvrot is light green, as

22.6 Bell beaker. Glass. Frankish, late 6th–
early 7th century. Height 13.5 cm. (17.191.351)

22.7 Bell beaker. Glass. Frankish, late 6th–
early 7th century. Height 10.6 cm. (17.194.129)

22.8 Bell beaker. Glass. Frankish, late 6th–
early 7th century. Height 12.5 cm. (17.191.355)

are the claws, but there are vivid blue streaks
in each of the claws and in the applied ring
foot.[21] A pair of recently discovered beakers,
probably from the Balkans, are of colorless
glass and cone-shaped with a foot.[22] Their
ornamentation consists of a blue zigzag, yel-
low indented trails, and two rows of four
fully blown claws, each in blue. These fea-
tures indicate an early-fifth-century date. No
other beakers with colored claws are known
from the sixth century, but one Anglo-Saxon
claw beaker of the seventh century, from
Ashford, Kent, has claws of a slightly
different color—light olive-green claws and
trails on a light green body—although the
difference is hardly noticeable.[23]

THE LATER BEAKERS
The remaining Merovingian glass vessels in
the Metropolitan are from the late sixth and
the seventh century and include several
examples of later developments of the bell
beaker with incurved wall. These become
taller, with a less concave profile. The white
knob on the base tends to disappear by the
end of the sixth century, to be replaced by a
pointed base or by a convex shaping of the
vessel without a point.[24] There are three ver-
sions from France. One of these retains the
pointed base, but its rim is rolled inward,
and there are two zones of white horizontal
trails (fig. 22.6).[25] Two others with convex
bases are decorated with molded vertical
ribbing (figs. 22.7 and 22.8),[26] the shape of
the latter being nearly cylindrical and retain-
ing substantial remains of the punty on the
base.[27] From Niederbreisig come nine bell
beakers with a knobless, convex base. Two of
these are without decoration (17.193.344
and fig. 22.9); another (fig. 22.10), although
without a base knob, retains the early dec-
oration of white trails in arcades. Five ves-
sels (17.193.340, .342, .343, .354, and .346)
have molded vertical ribbing,[28] while one
(17.193.341) has faint traces of diagonal

22.9 Bell beaker. Glass. Frankish, late 6th–early 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 11 cm. (17.193.347)

22.10 Bell beaker. Glass. Frankish, late 6th–early 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 9.2 cm. (17.193.410)

ribbing and a nearly flat base. On one of these (17.193.342), the rim is folded inward. The colors of all nine are mostly light shades of green and brown. Knobless bell beakers with ribbed decoration are mainly distributed in the Rhineland,[29] and the two of this type found in France (figs. 22.7 and 22.8) were probably imported from there. Conversely, the Niederbreisig arcade-decorated vessel probably came from northern France.

The Globular Beakers
The globular beaker, with a rounded profile with constricted neck, everted rim, and a pushed-in stable base, is a form that occurred frequently in Anglo-Saxon England from the late sixth to the seventh century. From the continent, two in the Metropolitan are from Niederbreisig: one is light olive green and tall, with an incurved neck (fig. 22.11 and pl. 13B),[30] the other is brown and squat with a short neck (fig. 22.13 and pl. 13C).[31]

22.11 Globular beaker. Glass. Frankish, late 6th–7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 9.5 cm. (17.193.333)

22.12 Globular beaker. Glass. Frankish, 6th–7th century. Height 8.5 cm. (17.191.361)

22.13 Globular beaker. Glass. Frankish, 6th–7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 7 cm. (17.193.335)

22.14 Bottle. Glass. Frankish, 5th–7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 10.3 cm. (17.193.332)

22.15 Palm cup. Glass. Frankish, 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 6.5 cm. (17.193.334)

Resembling the former in shape and color is one from France (fig. 22.12). The globular form can be decorated in a number of different ways, but it happens that these three all have the same pattern: horizontal trailing at the top and vertical looped trails below, although the vertical looped trails of the French example are positioned so low on the body that they are hardly visible when the vessel is set on its base. The pattern has many parallels among Anglo-Saxon globular beakers.[32] The rims of the three vary: one (fig. 22.11) is smoothed and simple, another (fig. 22.12) is folded inward. The third (fig. 22.13), already unusual for its dark brown color and squat shape, has its rim folded outward.

One Niederbreisig bottle (fig. 22.14), is light olive green with carelessly applied white trails and blobs. It is small (10.3 cm high) and has a simple everted rim and a tubular neck that merges with sloping shoulders into a globular body with pushed-in base. This is a later development of a fourth-century bottle form on which the angle between neck and body was more sharp and the workmanship more precise. This form occurs in France also,[33] and the general form

was in use during the entire Merovingian period and later.[34] A much smaller, very light green bottle without provenance (27.185.219) is similar to small bottles from Germany,[35] Belgium,[36] and France.[37]

The Palm Cups
A considerable proportion of the glass vessels from Niederbreisig, twelve in number, is of the type known in English as a palm cup (*Tummler* in German) as it has a rounded base suitable for holding in the palm of the hand. One example (fig. 22.15), mold-blown with thickened rim, has vertical ribbing radiating from a slight knob at the center of the base instead of the more usual cruciform pattern of knobs, a type known in Germany, France, and Belgium.[38] The other eleven palm cups have a plain body, and the rim is folded, usually outward, sometimes leaving a hollow space, varying from a narrow fold (17.193.406) to a very deep fold (fig. 22.17). One cup is colorless (17.193.405), three are light blue-green (17.193.336, .406, and .409), and five are light green-blue (17.193.337, .339, .401, .403, and .407; figs. 22.16 [pl. 13a] and 22.17). A different glass blower and a later period are indicated by two vessels of

22.16 Palm cup. Glass. Frankish, 7th–early 8th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 7 cm. (17.193.403)

22.17 Palm cup. Glass. Frankish, 7th–early 8th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Height 7 cm. (17.193.407)

different colors: one (17.193.338) is a streaky brown, and the other (17.193.408) is light green with a brown streak. Both have a rim that is folded inward. The form, found mostly in Germany during the seventh century, continues to the beginning of the eighth century.[39]

The Inscribed Palm Cup

There is only one example of the palm cup from northern France in the Morgan collection, representing an interesting development known only from five other examples from a limited area in the north of the Aube region (fig. 22.8). Each of these vessels varies in design and inscription. Associated objects are recorded for only one of these glasses, but all the contents of that grave are lost, although the descriptions appear to indicate the sixth century.[40] The Morgan glass is also mold-blown, as in the first example mentioned above (fig. 22.15), but the shape has grown taller, the rim is thickened and rolled inward, and the base is convex. It is immediately apparent that the quality of the glass has improved over the general Merovingian series: it is glossy and free of impurities, and the color is a light but definite green-blue.

This tall form of bell beaker developed by the end of the seventh century, and fragments have been found in northwestern Europe and Scandinavia. The vessel was blown into a two-piece mold. The pattern begins about 2.2 cm below the rim and is divided into two halves, separated by a ridge from the base, which has a separate design. Half of the wall decoration is a simple type of rustication, while on the other side is an inscription of four symbols with a line of interlacing zigzags below. Such interlacing zigzag patterns occur on Merovingian pottery.[41] The pattern on the base is a triple-line cross with triangular spaces between arms extending in a line to the ridge (fig. 22.19), and there is a ring punty scar.

The beginnings of this type of decorative plan can be seen as early as the late fourth century, on a bowl from Mont Hermes (Oise) with unsmoothed rim and a molded inscription.[42] Following this is a series of shallow bowls with smoothed rim that appear mostly in the second half of the fifth century in the Meuse valley and northern France; two found in England also had an inscription.[43] The design on the base was a cross, a *chi rho,* or a star, so that Christian
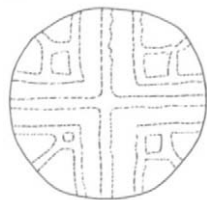
22.18 Palm cup with relief inscription (see
fig. 22.20, top). Glass. Frankish, late 7th century.
Height 8.8 cm. (17.191.360)

22.19 Relief pattern on base of palm cup
(fig. 22.18) (drawing by James Farrant)

22.20 Comparative examples of relief
inscription on palm cup (fig. 22.18) (drawing
by James Farrant after Cabart 1993)

connections are evident. Another more or
less contemporary, but separate, group has
now been detected in the south of France,
and a summary of the evidence so far has
been provided by Foy.[44] Halfway between
the two main groups in the north and the
south, near Autun, has been found a stone
mold used for making this type of bowl and
this mold also has an inscription.

That the custom of impressing cruci-
form patterns may have been more or less
continuous from the fourth to the seventh
or eighth century is suggested by seventh-
century vessels of other mold-blown shapes,
such as squat palm cups[45] and bowls with a

cruciform design on the base. A recently
excavated grave, no. 187 at Saint Peter's Tip,
Broadstairs, Kent, contained a bowl with
vertical molding and cruciform design on
the base.[46] The associated objects, which
included a silver pendant with cross design,
denote the seventh century and Christian
influence. A similar bowl found at Toulon
in the south of France in the fill of a late-
sixth-century ditch must also have a seventh-
century date.[47] Although it was included
in the study of fifth- and sixth-century
bowls, Foy emphasized that this bowl must
belong to a later date.

Inscribed vessels are very rare, and some
of the group just discussed have attracted
the attention of various scholars. De Ricci
regarded the inscription on the Morgan col-
lection cup as a barbarian imitation of the in-
scription of the name of the maker, FROTI
or FRONTI, found on glass barrel jugs of
the Constantinian period.[48] As early as 1929
Behrens discussed a vessel of this group from

France in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz and noted its similarity to the diatreta glasses of the late fourth century,[49] which indeed also had a network design on the body and an inscription under the rim, but were produced in a completely different, and more skillful, cutting technique. In 1967 Ament compared the Mainz vessel with the Morgan cup, viewing it from the inside of the glass, and noted that the inscription was the same as half of that on the Mainz glass.[50] In 1993 Cabart assembled the five inscriptions, viewing all from the outside of the vessel and beginning at the join in the mold (fig. 22.20).[51] In establishing that the early readings were unacceptable, he clarified the situation, but no new interpretation was suggested.

It seems unlikely that the inscriptions can be interpreted exactly, but they appear to conform to a known formula. It is clear that the first symbol is not an *F* as earlier interpreters supposed. Christian inscriptions from the fourth century onward usually begin with the sign of the cross, a *chi rho,* or a star symbol, and this seems to be the case here. These are the symbols impressed on the fifth-century bowls mentioned above. An inscription had obviously been given to the glass craftsman to copy, and, as he was illiterate, he saw the letters only as patterns, and his symbols are only approximations.

The first letter of each inscription can be recognized not as a letter, but as one of the current versions of a cross. This is followed in each case by an *O,* in five cases then by a reversed *R,* with an indeterminate symbol in the sixth. In four and possibly five of the inscriptions the next letter can be recognized as an *E.* The Morgan inscription finishes there, but the Rheims inscription follows with an *R,* while the four others have an incomprehensible symbol. *O* and *A* follow in three others, *O* with an upside-down *A* in the last, and *A O* in reverse order in the fifth. The symbols that follow then vary. The one symbol that presented no difficulty to the mold maker was *O:* the craftsman would

have been familiar with this shape and has no doubt accurately copied it in its correct position. It seems likely, therefore, that the inscription was meant to be the common one of a cross followed by ORA PRO or a shortened version of ORATE PRO (pray for)[52] followed by the name of the maker or owner of the glass, which could have differed for each vessel.

ITALY

The last vessel to be considered is a copy of a natural form. Julius Caesar recorded the use by Germanic people of the horns of the aurochs, a large animal now extinct, as a drinking vessel. Such horns, decorated with precious metal, are also known from the seventh-century royal grave at Sutton Hoo in England.[53] The shape was copied in glass as early as the third century A.D. and continued to be produced intermittently up to the sixteenth century.[54] The vessels were usually blown in various shades of light green glass, sometimes ornamented with applied trails in different colors. Most common in the Merovingian period are natural colors of light green and brown glass, which were often murky because of impurities.

Bright colors in glass were almost completely absent throughout the Germanic world in the Merovingian period, but a group of multicolored vessels, found in Langobardic graves in northern and central Italy, has been dated to the late sixth and the seventh century. In the Edward C. Moore collection in the Metropolitan is an attractive glass drinking horn, with no known provenance (fig. 22.21 and pl. 11).[55] Its colors and decoration are distinctive from and similar to vessels, both horns and cups, found in late-sixth- and seventh-century Langobardic graves. The basic color is a very light green, covered with horizontal trails of white and red. These were combed alternately in two opposite directions and then marvered to produce a complicated feathered pattern that was interrupted at the rim when the vessel was detached from the blow pipe. Above
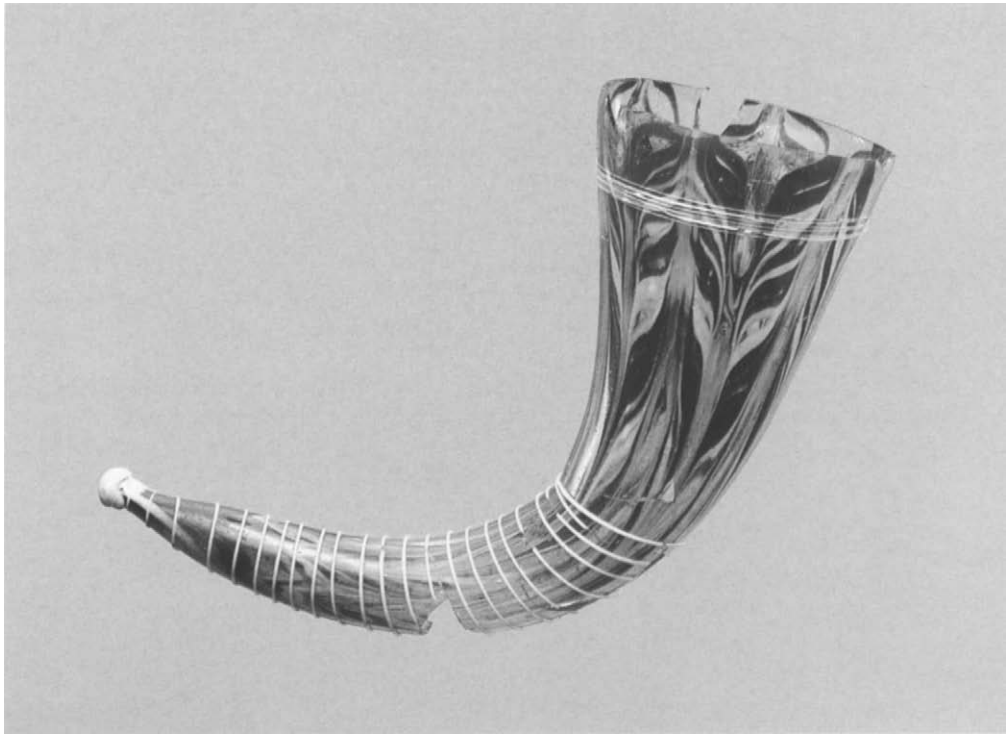
22.21 Drinking horn. Glass. Langobardic, 6th–7th century. Length 21 cm. (91.1.1407)

this, near the rim, a fine white horizontal trail was applied. Finally, a white trail winds from a white knob on the point around the lower half of the vessel. A similar horn, said to be from Italy, in the Amattler collection in Barcelona, is also decorated with white trails and red marvered trails. Another horn, with white trails and red marvered trails, comes from a well-furnished grave, no. 20, at Nocera Umbra in central Italy.[56] A horn from Lena (Brescia), also in a furnished grave, appears to belong to the same group.[57]

These horns with a feathered pattern form one group of the type IV horns found in Italy. The other group is deep blue or green with thick trails hooked in a trellis pattern near the rim and thin horizontal trails on the lower part of the body. The two varieties, grouped together as type IV,[58] are regarded as Italian products. In their thick trail decoration and their shape with pointed tip they are similar to examples produced at about the same time north of the Alps,[59] but type IV horns are smaller, the body is not twisted, and the colors are more distinctive. More recent finds indicate a third group within type IV, decorated with horizontal and vertical trails.[60] Finds associated with the horns at Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino establish a date in the late sixth to early seventh century, and grave 20 at Nocera Umbra, which contained the feathered-pattern horn, is dated to 620–40.[61]

These Italian glasses mark the beginning of an improvement in the quality of glass and the reintroduction of bright colors in Europe, with colored glass produced for church windows and vessels, as well as for general trading, in the late seventh and the eighth century. Some of these glossy, colored glasses are found in later contexts, but it is not yet clear how long their production continued.

From Attila to Charlemagne

A change in the chemical composition of glass by the ninth century resulted in products that did not survive well and become seriously affected by decomposition.

CHECKLIST OF THE LATE ROMAN AND MEROVINGIAN GLASS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MEDIEVAL ART

Abbreviations:
R10   de Ricci 1910b
R11   de Ricci 1911
E&K   Eisen and Kouchakji 1927

From Niederbreisig, Kr. Ahrweiler, Rheinland Pfalz, Germany (the Queckenberg collection):

17.193.329   Cone beaker. R10, pl. XXVI.

17.193.330   Footed beaker, light green, ht. 16.2 cm, diam. 7.9 cm. R10, pl. XXVI; E&K, pl. 158, bottom left.

17.193.331   Cone beaker, very light green, decomposed trails, ht. 10 cm, diam. 9.4 cm. R10, pl. XXVI; E&K, pl. 162, top.

17.193.332   Bottle, light olive green, white trails, ht. 10.3 cm. R10, pl. XXVII; E&K, pl. 162, middle right. Here, fig. 22.14.

17.193.333   Globular beaker, light olive green, ht. 9–9.5 cm, diam. 6.8 cm. R10, pl. XXVII; E&K, pl. 162, middle left. Here, fig. 22.11 and pl. 13B.

17.193.334   Palm cup, light green-brown, ht. 6.5 cm, diam. 8.6 cm. R10, pl. XXVII; E&K, pl. 161, middle left. Here, fig. 22.15.

17.193.335   Globular beaker, dark brown, ht. 7 cm, diam. 5.8 cm. R10, pl. XXVII; E&K, pl. 162, bottom left. Here, fig. 22.13 and pl. 13C.

17.193.336   Palm cup, blue-green, ht. 10.8 cm, diam. 11.8 cm. R10, pl. XXVII; E&K, pl. 161, middle right.

17.193.337   Palm cup, light green-blue, ht. 6.5 cm, diam. 10.2–10.5 cm. R10, pl. XXVII; E&K, pl. 161, bottom.

17.193.338   Palm cup, streaky brown, ht. 6.5 cm, diam. 9.6–10 cm. R10, pl. XXVII.

17.193.339   Palm cup, light green blue, ht. 5.3 cm, diam. 10.2 cm. R10, pl. XXVII.

17.193.340   Bell beaker, light olive green, ht. 9.2 cm, diam. 5.5 cm. R10, pl. XXVII; E&K, pl. 158, top middle.

17.193.341   Bell beaker, light green-blue, ht. 12.2 cm, diam. 8.2 cm. R10, pl. XXVIII.

17.193.342   Bell beaker, light olive green, ht. 12.3 cm, diam. 6.6 cm. R10, pl. XXVIII.

17.193.343   Bell beaker, colorless, ht. 9.8 cm, diam. 6 cm. R10, pl. XXVIII.

17.193.344   Bell beaker (fragments), yellowish/colorless, ht. ca. 10.5 cm, diam. ca. 6.5 cm. R10, pl. XXVIII.

17.193.345   Bell beaker, light green-brown, ht. 9.8 cm, diam. 7.1 cm. R10, pl. XXVIII.

17.193.346   Bell beaker, light olive green, ht. 10.7 cm, diam. 6.8 cm. R10, pl. XXVIII.

17.193.347   Bell beaker, light olive green, ht. 11 cm, diam. 6 cm. R10, pl. XXVIII. Here, fig. 22.9.

17.193.401   Palm cup, light green-blue, ht. 6.8 cm, diam. 10.5 cm.

17.193.402   Bowl, light olive green, ht. 6.5 cm, diam. 8.5 cm. E&K, pl. 162, bottom right.

17.193.403   Palm cup, light green-blue, ht. 7 cm, diam. 11.5 cm. Here, fig. 22.16 and pl. 13A.

17.193.404   Bowl. Ostoia 1970, no. 29a.

17.193.405 Palm cup, colorless, ht. 5.5 cm, diam. 10.2 cm.

17.193.406 Palm cup, light blue-green, ht. 5.8 cm, diam. 10–10.5 cm. Ostoia 1970, no. 29b.

17.193.407 Palm cup, light green-blue, ht. 7 cm, diam. 9.8 cm. E&K, pl. 161, top. Here, fig. 22.17.

17.193.408 Palm cup, light green, ht. 4.5 cm, diam. 7.2 cm.

17.193.409 Palm cup, light blue-green, ht. 6.8 cm, diam. 10.5 cm.

17.193.410 Bell beaker, light green, white trails, ht. 9.2 cm, diam. 5.3 cm. E&K, pl. 158, top left. Here, fig. 22.10.

From the Marne and Aube regions:

17.191.350 Bell beaker, very light olive green, ?white trails, ht. 11.8 cm, diam. 8 cm. R11, pl. XXIV; E&K, pl. 159, bottom right; Cabart and Feyeux 1995, p. 81, no. 218. Here, fig. 22.3.

17.191.351 Bell beaker, light olive green, white trails, ht. 13.5 cm, diam. 6.2 cm. R11, pl. XXIV. Here, fig. 22.6.

17.191.352 Footed beaker. R11, pl. XXIV.

17.191.353 Footed bowl. R11, pl. XXIV; E&K, pl. 160, top right.

17.191.354 Footed beaker. R11, pl. XXV.

17.191.355 Bell beaker, light olive green, ht. 12.5 cm, diam. 5.8 cm. R11, pl. XXV. Here, fig. 22.8.

17.191.356 Bell beaker, light olive green, white trails, ht. 7.4 cm, diam. 4.2 cm. R11, pl. XXV; E&K, pl. 159, bottom left; Cabart and Feyeux 1995, p. 81, no. 219. Here, fig. 22.4.

17.191.357 Bell beaker, yellowish/colorless, decomposed trails, ht. 10.7 cm, diam. 7.2 cm. R11, pl. XXV; E&K, pl. 158, top right.

17.191.358 Globular beaker, light green, ht. 10.3 cm, diam. 6.2 cm. R11, pl. XXVI; E&K, pl. 159, bottom right.

17.191.359 Bowl. R11, pl. XXVI; E&K, pl. 159, top left.

17.191.360 Tall palm cup, light green-blue, ht. 8.8 cm, diam. 9–9.6 cm. R11, pl. XXVI; E&K, pl. 159, top; Cabart 1993, p. 228, fig. 3; Cabart and Feyeux 1995, p. 103, no. 281. Here, fig. 22.18.

17.191.361 Globular beaker, light olive green, ht. 8.5 cm, diam 6.8 cm. R11, pl. XXVI; E&K, pl. 159, bottom left; Cabart and Feyeux 1995, pp. 56–57, no. 121. Here, fig. 22.12.

17.191.362 Footed beaker. E&K, pl. 158, bottom right.

Provenance various or unknown

17.194.129 Tall bell beaker, light green, ht. 10.6 cm, diam. 5.8 cm. From the collections of Julien Gréau, then J. Pierpont Morgan. Froehner 1903, p. 229, no. 1761. Here, fig. 22.7.

27.185.219 Small bottle, very light green, ht. 5 cm, diam. base 3.2 cm. Munsey Fund 1927.

81.10.163 Footed bowl with claws, light olive green, light brown and blue trails and blobs, ht. 9.2 cm, diam. 11.8 cm. Steinfort, Luxembourg. Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1881, from the Charvet Collection. Froehner 1879, pl. XIII,73; Fremersdorf 1962, p. 44, pl. 77; Follman-Schulz 1995, fig. 3; Brown 1995, fig. 29. Here, fig. 22.1 and pl. 12A.

81.10.189 Claw beaker, very light green/colorless, brown trails and claws, ht. 18.5 cm,

diam. 10.2–10.5 cm. Bellenberg Vöhringen, Lkr. Ulm, Bavaria, Germany. Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1881, from the Charvet Collection. Froehner 1879, pl. XXXII. Here, fig. 22.5 and pl. 12B.

91.1.1388 Bell beaker, very light brown, blue trails and blobs, ht. 10 cm, diam. 6.5 cm. Edward C. Moore collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891. Here, fig. 22.2.

91.1.1407 Drinking horn, very light green, red and white trails, maximum length 21 cm, diam. 6.9 cm. Edward C. Moore collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891. E&K, p. 312, pl. 113; Evison 1975, pp. 80, 87, fig. 17. Here, fig. 22.21 and pl. 11.

1. Namur 1850.
2. Froehner 1879, pl. XIII,73.
3. Nenquin 1953, p. 46, B 11, 88, tomb II, fig. 11, pl. III.
4. *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, p. 186, no. 262d; Cabart and Ravaux 1987, pp. 43–44, no. 33, fig. 7, pl. XII, 1.
5. Follman-Schulz 1995, figs. 5, 4, 2, respectively.
6. Bushe-Fox 1928, p. 52, no. 76, pl. XXV,76; Bushe-Fox 1949, p. 133, no. 153, pl. XL,153.
7. Information courtesy of J. Price.
8. Museum of London BIL75 MA73.
9. Evison n.d.(a), forthcoming.
10. Périn 1995a, fig. 4, T.52.
11. Harden 1951, p. 261, fig. 2.
12. Feyeux 1995, pl. 10, T.521a; Rademacher 1942, p. 308, pl. 60,1–3; U. Koch 1996, p. 617, fig. 470.
13. Alénus-Lecerf in *Trésors de Wallonie* 1993, p. 125, no. 38; Feyeux 1995, pl. 11, T.52.3ka.
14. U. Koch 1996, p. 617, fig. 470.
15. Feyeux 1995, pl. 12, T.56.50ac and T.56.50ace.
16. Zeller 1973, fig. 6.
17. Fremersdorf 1933–34; Rademacher 1942, pp. 287–93, pl. 43–7; Evison 1982a.
18. Rademacher 1942, p. 289, pl. 43; U. Koch 1987, pp. 165–78, fig. 70.
19. Evison 1982a, p. 63, pl. IXb,c, fig. 9c.
20. Ibid., p. 74, table 1.
21. Cabart and Ravaux 1987, pp. 43–45, fig. 7, pl. XII,1.
22. Sheppard and Cooper Ltd. 1995, pp. 8, 14, no. 10, front cover.
23. Evison 1982a, p. 70, no. 49, pl. XIIIa.
24. Périn 1995a, fig. 4, T53.
25. See Alénus-Lecerf in *Trésors de Wallonie* 1993, p. 152, no. 79; and U. Koch 1996, fig. 470, 4.
26. See Feyeux 1995, pl. 11, T.53.3k; and U. Koch 1996, fig. 469, 2, 5, 6.
27. See Kruft, Mayen, Rademacher 1942, pl. 62, 1.
28. See Feyeux 1995, pl. 11, T.53.3k; and U. Koch 1996, fig. 469.
29. U. Koch 1996, fig. 469.
30. Rademacher 1942, pp. 312–13, pl. 64.1, 2; Harden 1956, fig. 25 VIII a iii 1; Feyeux 1995, pl. 15, T.90.2hi.
31. See Rademacher 1942, p. 313, pl. 65, 1; see also Evison n.d.(b), forthcoming, Type figure II/16.
32. See Evison n.d.(b), forthcoming, group 63, Type figure 3 II /13, pl. IVc.
33. Feyeux 1995, pl. 7, T.20.1a.
34. Rademacher 1942, p. 319, pl. 70.4; Périn 1995a, fig. 7, XX3.K.
35. Rademacher 1942, pl.71.2.
36. Vanderhoeven 1958, p. 32, no. 31, pl. VII; Alénus-Lecerf 1995, p. 61, fig. 8.1.
37. Cabart and Ravaux 1987, p. 53, no. 47, fig. 8; Cabart and Feyeux 1995, p. 17, fig. 6,12,13,18, p. 19, fig. 7,25.
38. See Rademacher 1942, pp. 302–3, pl. 55, 1–3; Feyeux 1995, pl. 12, T.55.3k; and Alénus-Lecerf 1995, p. 68, fig. 17.3.
39. Rademacher 1942, p. 304, pl. 57; Feyeux 1995, p. 117, pl. 13, T.60; Périn 1995a, fig. 5, T.60; Alénus-Lecerf 1995, p. 68, fig. 17,8.
40. Werner 1956b, p. 310.
41. Evison 1979, p. 23, figs. 7a,b, 15g, 23g,h, 30e, 35k.
42. Werner 1956b, fig. 22.
43. Jessup 1946, fig. 2, pl. III.29; Webster, Harden, and Hassall 1980.
44. Foy 1993, pp. 208–9, distribution map fig. 1.
45. Rademacher 1942, pl. 56.3.
46. Information courtesy of C. Haith.
47. Foy 1993, fig. 10.22.
48. De Ricci 1911.
49. Behrens 1929.
50. Ament 1967.
51. Cabart 1993 (here fig. 22.20).
52. Le Blant 1892, pp. 365–66, no. 317; Okasha 1971, p. 8.
53. Bruce-Mitford 1983, pp. 380–81.
54. Evison 1955; Evison 1975.
55. Evison 1975, pp. 80, 87, no. 57, fig. 17.
56. Evison 1955, pp. 174, 188, 190, no. 20; Harden 1975, p. 24; Stiaffini 1985, p. 678; Sternini 1995, pp. 261–62, fig. 19, 48–50.
57. Evison 1982b, p. 12, n. 32.
58. Evison 1955, pp. 174, 187–90, no. 24, pls. LXVIIId,e, LXIXc,f; Evison 1975, pp. 80–82, fig. 17.
59. Evison 1955, Type III, pp. 187–90, pls. LXIII, LXVIIIa–c,f; Evison 1975, pp. 79–80.
60. Evison 1982b, p. 13, figs. 3a, b, 4b.
61. Jørgensen 1992, p. 58.

# 23. Eclectic Art of the Early Anglo-Saxon Jewelry

INTRODUCTION

The art of the early Anglo-Saxon period, that dating from the fifth, sixth, and early seventh centuries, has been the Cinderella of Anglo-Saxon art history. Even book-length studies, ostensibly devoted to Anglo-Saxon art, consistently neglect or even ignore any material before the seventh century.[1] The only significant exception is found in two volumes of George Baldwin Brown's six-volume work, *The Arts in Early England: Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period*, which argued for particular qualities of design and craftsmanship in this early Anglo-Saxon art.[2] The persistent scholarly neglect of this material cannot be attributed simply to its being beneath critical notice, and there is certainly enough of it. A more plausible explanation may lie in its diversity and complexity. Early Anglo-Saxon art encompasses a variety of styles, some of them deceptively simple, others difficult to understand in terms of both the principles of composition and of the symbolism inherent in the motifs and designs. The small collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, while not a representative cross-section of such art, is nevertheless a coherent group that illustrates the character and scope of this early art most effectively.

The eclecticism and variety of early Anglo-Saxon art derive partly from a cross-fertilization of the cultural traditions of the Germanic settlers who created England with those of the inhabitants of the former Roman provinces of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. The overseas relationships maintained by the early Anglo-Saxon peoples also play a role in this diversity. Art developed differently from region to region in England as a relatively stable series of kingdoms emerged by the end of the sixth century. Archaeology and art history are the major sources of evidence for what was happening in this highly obscure period of history. A major question is the extent to which cultural and artistic differences, visible from as early as the second half of the fifth century, symbolize the identity and self-definition of the peoples and territories from which the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms arose.

THE COLLECTION

The artifacts discussed here number fourteen items, all female dress accessories. All but one of them are familiar forms and styles that have often been labeled "Kentish": with justification, for the overwhelming majority of parallels is found in the old kingdom of Kent. It is known, however, that Kentish material circulated and may, indeed, have been produced over a broader area. It is just as characteristic, for instance, of the Isle of Wight, the earliest Germanic settlers of which are identified by Anglo-Saxon historical tradition with those of Kent;[3] and, remarkably, of a cemetery at Herpes, Charente, in Aquitaine (see below). We can also be very confident that one item, the large square-headed brooch (fig. 23.14, discussed below), is from the southwestern Midlands.

A proper evaluation of this art has to take account of both the forms of the objects and
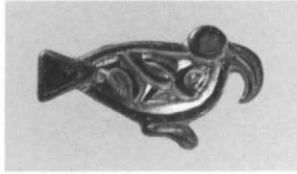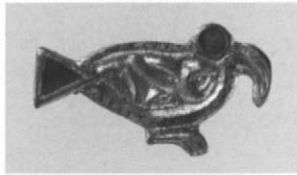
23.1 Two bird brooches. Gilt silver. Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th century. Upper brooch from Herpes, France. Length of both brooches 3.1 cm. (17.191.19, .74)

23.2 Bird brooch (fig. 23.1, lower), enlarged, with detail of decoration

the style of decoration applied to them. Five different forms of artifact are included in the Metropolitan collection. Nine of the items are known as square-headed brooches, actually brooches with an oblong quadrangular, rather than square, headplate (the plate behind which the pin is attached to the brooch). Of these, eight are of the small Kentish class (figs. 23.3–23.9), and one is the larger type that predominates elsewhere in early Anglo-Saxon England (fig. 23.14). There are two specimens of the relatively rare bird brooch (figs. 23.1 and 23.2), one composite disk brooch (fig. 23.15), and two composite shield-shaped, or "scutiform," pendants (figs. 23.16 and 23.17). The range of styles represented is dominated by the zoomorphic Style I.[4] This style breaks up animal bodies into a set of characteristic elements that can then be recomposed in a wide range of distorted patterns, usually so as to cover a surface or fill an area with ornament. More naturalistic portrayals of animals, rare in early Anglo-Saxon art, are represented by the form of the two Metropolitan bird brooches, although it would also be possible to assign these birds, with their cast, segmented bodies, to Style I. This mostly sixth-century style is found on the square-headed brooches and the bird brooches.

The Bird Brooches

A survey of bird brooches, published over thirty years ago, could list only seven specimens comparable to those in the Metropolitan. Two are from Kent, two from the Isle of Wight, and three from France, the last represented by a pair from Arras, Artois, and a single item from Herpes.[5] The bird brooch illustrated in the publication of the Herpes cemetery is indistinguishable from one of the brooches in the Metropolitan (fig. 23.1, upper) and very probably is one of these two (figs. 3.10, 3.11b).[6] All the finds from France were identified as Kentish exports. However, the horned beak of the Metropolitan birds hints strongly at an ancestry among the more numerous range of aquiline bird brooches and appliqués encountered in contemporary continental metalwork.[7] The birds' bodies are filled with a clearly executed Style I animal, a crouching quadruped seen in profile (fig. 23.2). Its head is below the bird's inset eye and consists of a C-shaped cheek and brow, with a dotted eye and curving nose. Behind the head a long neck curves away to meet another long curve, forming the back and shoulder section. Below and behind these segments can be seen two profile limbs. The forelimb

23.3 Gilt silver, niello. Length 4.6 cm. (17.191.49)

23.4 Gilt silver, niello. From Herpes, France. Length 4 cm. (17.191.42)

23.5 Pair. Gilt copper alloy, garnet. Maximum length 4.2 cm. (17.191.44, .45)

23.6 Gilt copper alloy. Length 4.2 cm. (17.191.48)

23.7 Gilt copper alloy. Length 3.9 cm. (17.191.47)

23.8 Gilt copper alloy. From Herpes, France. Length 3.8 cm. (17.191.43)

23.9 Gilt copper alloy. From Herpes, France. Length 4.5 cm. (17.191.46)

is a simple L-shape. The hind limb has two sharply angled elements and a type of foot with frondlike toes familiar in this style. Of special art-historical interest are the glass or garnet inlays that comprise the round eye and the triangular fanned tail, the two segments of the body of each bird that are suitable for such treatment, because they are of relatively small size and of a regular shape.

The Small Square-Headed Brooches

Probably the most intriguing group is that formed by the eight small Kentish square-headed brooches (figs. 23.3–23.9). No fewer than seven of these are of a single distinctive subtype, defined primarily by the footplate, with prominent cruciform ridges and profile Style I masks in the two upper quadrants. Two of these brooches (figs. 23.3 and 23.4) represent what are virtually prototypes for

23.10 Enlargement of miniature square-headed brooch (fig. 23.3), with details of decoration

23.11 Enlargement of miniature square-headed brooch (fig. 23.4), with details of decoration

the entire series, all the details of which can be explained by reference to the design of these two. The former (figs. 23.3, 23.10) still retains the rectangular settings in the headplate and at the end of the foot, from which the inlays have now been lost. Among other distinctive features of this brooch is the nielloed zigzag decoration on the ridges. The outer panel on the headplate is decorated with a molded linear pattern the origins of which lie in the classical astragalus motif, widely used in late Roman art and equally widely adopted in post-Roman Germanic art.[8]

All four quadrants of the footplate of this brooch contain Style I decoration in a form that may be described as either degenerate or highly stylized. The overall composition is not as comprehensible as is the animal in the bodies of the bird brooches. In the upper quadrants a profile brow, eye, and cheek, not dissimilar to those within the bird brooches, are visible, although the lines below, representing a mouth, are considerably less clear (fig. 23.10b). Probably not coincidentally, the bundles of lines in the lower border are rather reminiscent of the linear molding of the headplate outer panel (fig. 23.10c). The pattern is best interpreted as a highly stylized, and perhaps rather careless, representation of a crouched beast, with its body in the lower three elements and the
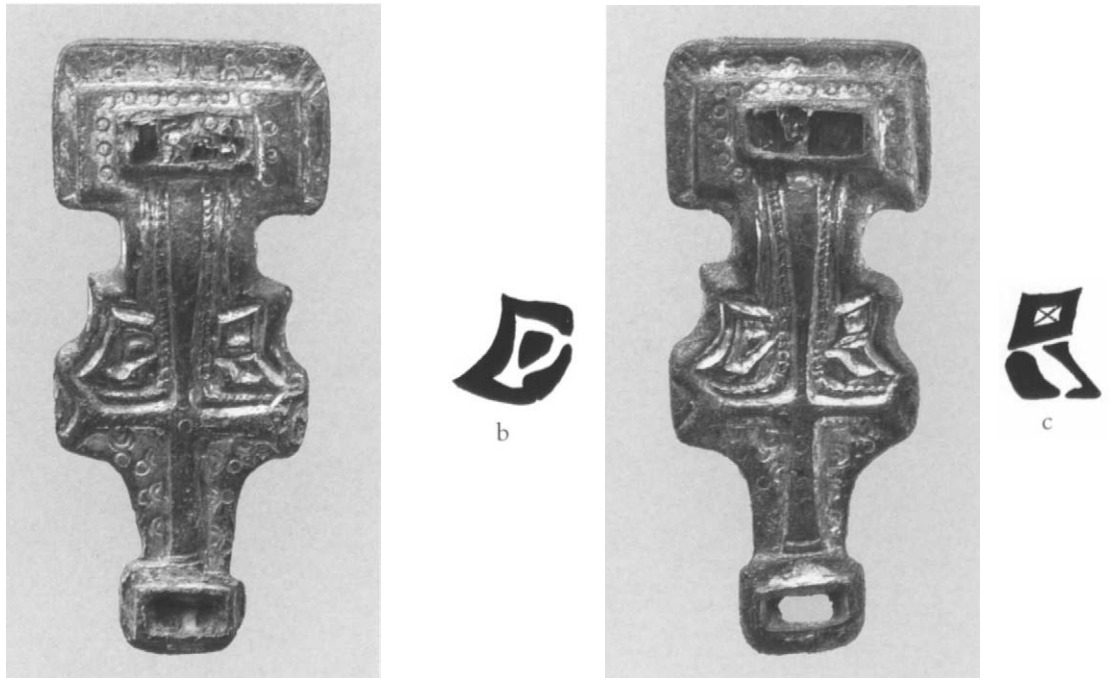
23.12 Enlargement of pair of miniature square-headed brooches (fig. 23.5), with details of decoration

elongated U-shaped motif above these representing either or both of a pair of jaws or a folded limb.

The other brooch (figs. 23.4, 23.11) is of special interest as it contains a much more meaningful version of the profile heads in the upper quadrants of the footplate. These can actually be read in several different ways concurrently, but perhaps present themselves most clearly as inward-facing, confronted masks with a clearly modeled brow, eye, cheek and nose, and menacing down-turned lips (fig. 23.11b and c). The L-shaped motif in the lower outer corner of each may then appear as a neck or body element. The ambiguity of this type of Kentish Style I has been thoroughly discussed.[9] There is not the space here to explore all the possible interpretations of this example in detail, but the teasing or riddling nature of this art can be illustrated by pointing out that the profile masks in the two quadrants, when put together, form a full-face mask of a kind familiar in Anglo-Saxon metalwork. It may be compared with the masks in the headplate frame of the great square-headed brooch (fig. 23.14). In this respect, the brooch shown in Figure 23.4 seems to preserve a compositional detail representing a stage of development earlier than the corresponding feature on the brooch seen in Figure 23.3.

Figure 23.4 also illustrates further aspects of the exploitation of line and relief in early Anglo-Saxon art. The headplate frame and footplate lower quadrants are smooth, low, plane areas, carefully framed with punchmarks. The lower quadrants of the footplate are also embellished with

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23.13 Enlargement of miniature square-headed brooch (fig. 23.8)

gilding, while the grooves in the footplate ridges, like the punched triangles in the headplate inner panel frame, are enhanced with niello inlay. The original glass or garnet inset of the headplate in Figure 23.3 seems to have been superseded here by a simpler composition of linear reliefwork. Finally, the distinctive outline of the footplate terminal presents in the simplest but most efficient stylized form an animal head viewed from above, as found on other square-headed brooches all over England, Scandinavia, and the continent.

Five other small square-headed brooches (see figs. 23.5–23.8) offer coarser versions of the principal design elements of the two examples just described. A pair (figs. 23.5, 23.12) retains the settings on the headplate and footplate and the semicircular side lobes

on the footplate, though further degeneracy of design in the upper quadrants of the footplate is manifest (fig. 23.12b and c), while the plain areas to be seen on the lower quadrant of Figure 23.4 recur here. Likewise with the brooch illustrated in Figure 23.6, which follows the details in Figure 23.4 very closely except in the headplate frame, where the pairs of transverse lines hint at a form of astragalus molding as found on Figure 23.3. The same headplate inner panel can then be found on a badly preserved brooch (fig. 23.7), together with a diagonal groove to mark the top corners of the headplate (cf. figs. 23.5 and 23.8). An unusual feature of this brooch is the emphatic ring where the arms of the cross on the footplate meet, clearly a motif derived from the more elegant ring found on Figure 23.4. The remaining brooch of this subtype (fig. 23.8) has a new linear scheme in the headplate inner panel, repeated, like the inlays on Figure 23.3, in the footplate terminal; it also has the familiar diagonal lines in the headplate upper corners and a restrained ring in the center of the cross on the footplate. Whereas Figure 23.3 had stylized animal ornament in the footplate lower borders, this brooch has a simple ridge.

This set of seven brooches provides an excellent illustration of the series of relationships that are characteristic of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork. No two are exactly the same, and even the pair illustrated in Figure 23.12 is not mold-identical.[10] Individual design elements recur, in different combinations, from brooch to brooch. Modifications can, on the whole, be regarded as showing simplification and degeneracy rather than increasing stylization, also bearing in mind the general quality of workmanship. Color ranges in richness from a silvered copper-alloy brooch body plus niello and glass or garnet inlays to gilt copper alloy. Punchmarks, which caused the surface to scintillate, occur only on the finer examples in this set.

As with the bird brooches discussed above, illustrations of brooches virtually

indistinguishable from items in this set can be found either in de Baye's publication of the Herpes finds in the Philippe Delamain collection (see pp. 22–24) or in other records of this collection. Regrettably there are many serious problems with such sources, including whether all the material illustrated was actually found at Herpes.[11] One individualistic brooch (fig. 23.9) is identical to the illustration of a brooch published as a Herpes find (fig. 3.11a).[12] Most significantly, two of the brooches within the series just described (figs. 23.4 and 23.8) are also included in photographic records of the Delamain collection, the date of which would be consistent with the objects being Herpes finds. However, the brooch series also has some very close parallels in southeastern England. One particularly fine brooch (fig. 23.3) is very similar to a pair of brooches from Chessell Down on the Isle of Wight and to one without known provenance,[13] while another close parallel to the specimen shown in Figure 23.8 comes from grave 51 at Bifrons, Kent.[14]

The Great Square-Headed Brooch

As a type, the square-headed brooch originated in Scandinavia and was adopted over a remarkably wide area of western Europe during the late fifth and the early sixth century. In this period Scandinavia seems to have been accorded a highly respected place among several Germanic communities.[15] The earliest square-headed brooches of Kent undoubtedly relate to Kent's early Jutish associations, though most surviving Kentish square-headed brooches belong to a distinctive, locally developed form, usually worn in a manner similar to contemporary dress fashions on the continent.[16] It is important to note that such brooches were intended to be part of a costume, thus a part of a considerably more complex artistic composition, and were not items to be looked at in pure isolation.

A difference in both craft and costume traditions explains the contrasts between the small Kentish square-headed brooches and a larger, slightly damaged specimen (fig. 23.14). This brooch became available for scholarly study in the mid-1980s and confirmed the relationship among a group of three other brooches that had hitherto appeared to be similar but could not be definitively correlated.[17] Although this brooch has no known find place, there is little doubt that it originates from the confined area of the English southwestern Midlands in which the other three were found.

These great square-headed brooches, apparently worn by women as cloak- or shawl-fasteners, are normally found singly in grave assemblages. There are many artistic features on the Metropolitan specimen that show it belongs to a tradition planted in the Saxon south of England that spread northward into the Anglian Midlands. Particularly striking is the dense tangle of Style I decoration filling the large panels on the head- and footplates. Although individual elements, such as profile heads and eyes, "figure 2"–shaped limbs, frondlike fingers or toes, and curved body sections can be seen here, this decoration defies attempts to reconstruct whole coherent animals within it. A distinctive feature of this artistic tradition is the appearance of free-standing animal elements around the edge of the object, such as the separate full-face masks around the headplate, the profile openwork "biting beasts" at the upper borders of the footplate, and the smaller profile bird heads with curved beaks in the corners of the headplate that can be compared with those of the bird brooches (figs. 23.1 and 23.2; see also figs. 18.11 and 13.21). This extension of the boundaries of the object leads to a three-dimensionality of design, as the side lobes of the footplate are decorated with upstanding molded rivets. Yet despite this exuberance, an artistic richness that has caused the expressive German term *"Fibel mit barockem Fuß"* to be applied to such brooches, the strong frame of this example still imposes a neat and firm outline. Profusion does not become excess.

23.14 Square-headed bow brooch, with enlargement of decoration on headplate and footplate. Gilt copper alloy, niello. Anglo-Saxon, 6th century. Length 13.6 cm. (1985.209)
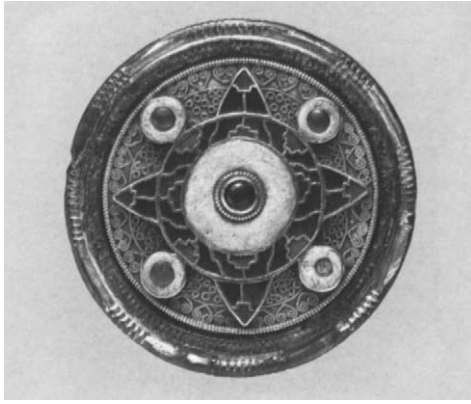
23.15 Disk brooch. Gold, gilt silver, niello, garnet, glass, gypsum paste. Anglo-Saxon (Kentish), early 7th century. From Teynham, Kent, England. Diameter 4.7 cm. (1987.90.1)

23.16 Pendant. Gold, garnet. Anglo-Saxon (Kentish), early 7th century. From Teynham, Kent, England. Diameter 2.8 cm. (1987.90.2)

23.17 Pendant. Gold, garnet. Anglo-Saxon (Kentish), early 7th century. Diameter 2.8 cm. (1987.90.3)

The Polychrome Style

Of the remaining three items (pl. 6A–C), the composite disk brooch (fig. 23.15) and the composite shield-shaped pendant (fig. 23.16) were found together at Teynham in Kent in the early 1890s. A second pendant (fig. 23.17) appears not to have been associated with them originally.[18] All three items are none-theless types that could have been found together as part of an expensive and conspic-uous female dress set of the early to middle seventh century.[19] If the great square-headed brooch of the sixth century expressed artistic profusion by overflowing the outlines of the object itself, these small, flat, and neatly shaped artifacts express opulence in more refined ways. The use of glass, garnets, and other fillings or inlays, usually in a cabochon setting or in cloisonné cells, is a technique that produces a style sometimes called poly-chrome style: the settings, bright in color, contrast with each other and stand out against a splendid background of gold or silver. This style is represented here in its fully developed state in these three items. An earlier, more limited use of garnet inlay is represented in the Metropolitan collec-tion on the bird brooches and on some

of the small square-headed brooches (e.g., fig. 23.5), although several such inlays have apparently been lost.

Relief is created by the superimposition of elements made of different materials and employing different techniques on a plain gold backplate. Cabochon stones, cut blue glass, and red garnets are set in single or cloi-sonné cells. At the base of these cells are usu-ally pieces of hatched gold foil designed to reflect light in a variegated manner back through the translucent colored inlay. On the

composite disk brooch the cabochons are surrounded by a white-gypsum paste inset. Beaded gold wire also decorates the applied gold plates in the manner of filigree, used as border rims, frames and surface-covering ring- and pelta-shaped motifs. The outer frame of the brooch includes a niclloed zig-zag band and an astragalus-decorated band of the kinds found on earlier Kentish square-headed brooches (see fig. 23.3).

The most prominent feature in the design of all three pieces, however, is the cross motif. It is rather subtly formed by the quartering of the designs, in two different ways on the composite brooch (fig. 23.11) and one of the pendants (fig. 23.13). All three have the same pointed, starlike cross as their central motif. The Teynham pendant (fig. 23.12) has clear cross-arm extensions to this motif formed of twisted wire. On the composite brooch and the other pendant the cross is distinctly enclosed by the four separate cabochon settings in the quadrants of the main cross, while a second, Saint Andrew's, cross is formed by this set of cabochon settings together with the central cabochon. The cross predates Christianity as a motif in Germanic art, but it was in vogue on seventh-century items such as these, in which it is impossible not to see as direct Christian symbolism (see also pls. 9, 10).

CONCLUSION

Small though the collection of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork in the Metropolitan is, it affords substantial insight into the range, complexity, and quality of the art that was applied in the execution of that craft. Quantitatively, this collection probably brings the modern viewer face to face with as much fine metalwork as many of those living in early Anglo-Saxon England would ever have seen in their lives, while in terms of variety there is more here than any one of them could be expected to have encountered. For the art historian and archaeologist, the sequence of Kentish square-headed brooches provides an exceptionally clear example of the scope for stylization and simplification

in the transmission of a set of motifs and design among closely related brooches. It is to be hoped that in any future critical appraisal of this material we will move beyond a focus on the degeneracy of such art to an appreciation of both the quality of the finest specimens and the cultural importance and meaning of the decorative work produced in such quantities in early Anglo-Saxon England.

1. Kendrick 1938; D. Wilson 1984; Webster and Backhouse 1991.
2. Brown 1903–37, vols. 3 and 4.
3. Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum,* 1.15.
4. Defined in Salin 1904, pp. 214–45.
5. Chadwick 1958, p. 42.
6. De Baye 1892b, pl. XV:96.
7. See, for instance, Zeller 1992, pl. 41,10–23.
8. Haseloff 1981, pp. 54–60.
9. Leigh 1984. I would prefer, however, to use the term *polysemity* to distinguish artwork with more than one concurrent meaning from *ambiguous* artwork, which has alternative possible meanings, only one of which is assumed to have been intended.
10. Compare the curve in the frame line of the left-hand footplate lower quadrant of the one (fig. 23.12, left) with the angle of the other (fig. 23.12, right).
11. Haith 1988; but see also Ager 1997.
12. De Baye 1892b, pl. XIV:87.
13. Chessell Down: Arnold 1982, p. 40 and pl. 7c. Brooch of unknown provenance (Hamburg Museum 1919.305): Erä-Esko 1965, fig. 37. The best reference work on Kentish square-headed brooches is Leigh 1980.
14. Brown 1903–37, vol. 3, pl. XXXIV,1.
15. Hedeager 1993.
16. See Owen-Crocker 1986.
17. Hines 1997, group XXIV; see also Hines 1984, pp. 168–69; Brown 1999, p. 46, no. 57.
18. For Figures 23.15 and 23.16, see Payne 1895; Avent 1975, vol. 2, pp. 39–40. The set of three items looks like that of a brooch and two pendants described at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London by George Payne on May 10, 1894. But the pendant here (fig. 23.17) is clearly not the openwork cross-in-circle pendant associated with the other two items of which Payne gives a quite unambiguous description. When and how that item was detached from the set, and another pendant apparently put in its place, remains to be discovered. The dispersal of the original group is regrettable. Payne also notes that two "porphyritic pebble" beads on silver wire loops were part of the set. Brown 1999, p. 45, no. 56.
19. Avent 1975 dates the Teynham brooch ca. 610–30.

24. The Silver-Inlaid Iron Belt Fittings in the Morgan Collection

In using such terms as "Frankish," "Alemannic," or "Burgundian" to describe silver-inlaid iron belt fittings of the Merovingian period, the archaeologist and art historian should be aware that, to date, not a single silversmith's workshop of the Early Medieval or Late Antique period has been discovered. Such designations are based essentially on the maps of published and well-classified finds from graves and the spatial distribution of clearly defined types; and the coincidence of both with areas of historical settlement has led to such tribal attributions. "Frankish," for instance, does not necessarily mean that belt fittings with that designation are of Frankish manufacture, but rather that they were used in these areas by the local population.

TECHNIQUES OF MANUFACTURE

The techniques of Merovingian silver inlay have been the subject of a comprehensive survey published recently.[1] This is the catalogue of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin, and shows many pieces that have close parallels in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. These groups come from the same areas of modern France and Germany and are directly comparable in their techniques of manufacture. This detailed scientific examination has produced evidence that manufacture was not at all limited to the simple hammering of silver wires or plates into the engraved surface of iron objects, but was rather a very complicated, subtle, and skillful process requiring highly trained specialists. Among the most interesting observations has been the identification of a division of labor involving the use of prefabricated elements for the belt fittings as well as pattern books for the decoration of these elements. Silver and brass (described as bichrome when used together) were inlaid in the iron, but so far no gold as previously claimed. The colors of the finished and highly polished plates sometimes included silver inlay on the domed heads of the iron attachment rivets or the copper alloy of their applied, domed heads (pl. 15, figs. 24.2, 24.3, 24.7, etc.).[2] These elements could also be decorated around the edge with notching or fine lines skillfully incised to resemble a twisted wire applied around the edge (fig. 24.7), as seen on the richest examples in gold (cf. figs. 13.14–13.15). The leather belt itself could have been colored for effect, in accordance with prevailing taste.

The structures of the silver or brass inlays themselves have been elucidated by means of x-ray and microscopic investigations. Surprisingly, the wire was found to be neither a genuine round-section wire nor a thread, but was in reality a narrow twisted strip. A series of practical tests using both wires and twisted strips resulted in the observation that only the structure of the latter could ensure the filling of the patterns cut into the iron surface. The flexibility needed to execute curvilinear animal ornament or interlace patterns is best achieved by using such twisted strips, which were not to be hammered but rather squeezed into the engraved lines. Areas of solid silver, an effect often called "encrustation," were sometimes built up from a tight lattice of individual
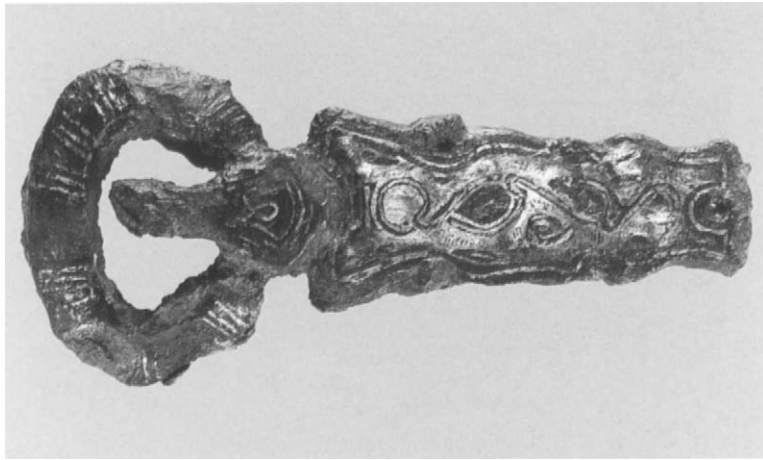
24.1 Buckle and enlargement to show technical details of bichrome decoration (copper-alloy lines and silver fields). Iron, silver, copper alloy. Merovingian, 7th century. Length 9.5 cm. (17.191.333)

wires among other techniques, and the underlying structure can be seen where the surface has been worn away. A belt buckle in the Metropolitan, inlaid with brass linear decoration and encrusted with silver, decorated in late-seventh-century style and of a type known after the site of Solothurn in Switzerland,[3] shows this technique very clearly (fig. 24.1). The general techniques of silver inlay show very obvious Roman traditions, while the decoration itself points partly to Germanic taste and style and partly to surviving Late Antique inspiration. Both could have been most easily achieved in workshops where the workmen were generally trained in Late Antique skills and expertise.

THE SILVER-INLAID IRON JEWELRY
In the collection is a large group of silver-inlaid iron belt fittings dating mainly to the seventh century that originate from France and Germany. Langobardic examples from Italy are not represented in the Metropolitan. The purpose of many belts, as seen from the evidence of rich Frankish, Alemannic, Bavarian, and Langobardic graves during the period, was to carry the heavy bladed weapons of warriors. Oversized silver-inlaid iron buckles from Burgundy (fig. 24.15–17) were worn without additional fittings on both male and female fashion belts. They are the only grave goods regularly found in Burgundia at this time, besides the cast copper-alloy belt buckles.

Only a few belt sets in the collection (figs. 24.2, 24.18–24.20, and pl. 15) are relatively complete. They consist of several parts: a rectangular or oval buckle loop with its variously shaped attachment plate; a matching
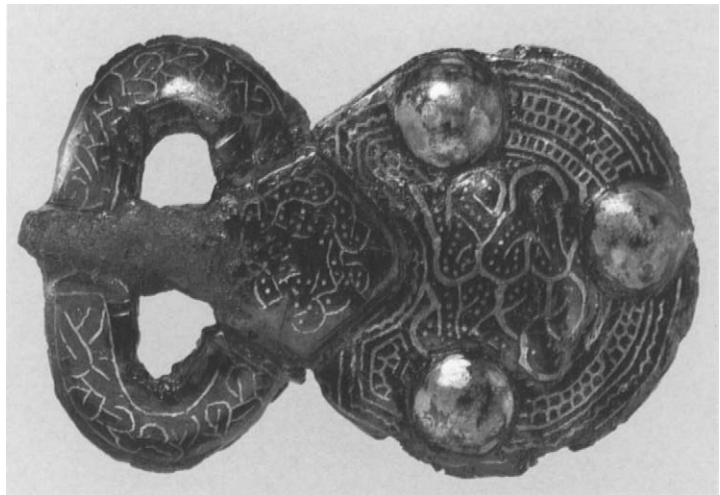
24.2 Belt set: counter plate, buckle, and backplate. Iron, silver, copper-alloy rivet heads. Merovingian, late 6th–early 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Maximum length 8.9 cm. (17.193.98, .99, and .100)

counter plate, which is placed opposite the buckle so that the loop and tongue occupy a central position; and sometimes a rectangular plate in the middle of the belt at the back for decoration (known as the "backplate"). However, both Metropolitan sets lack the long, tongue-shaped belt end, an item that is very rarely found.

The most technically elegant set (fig. 24.2) has its best parallels in finds datable to about 600, from southeastern Germany at Bad Reichenhall (Bavaria), grave no. 348,[4] and from southwestern Germany at Kirchheim/Teck (Baden-Württemberg).[5] The main central motif consists of dotted interlace in the form

24.3–24.6 Four backplates showing a variety of decorative effects. Iron, silver, copper-alloy rivet heads. Merovingian, 7th century. Maximum length 6 cm. (17.191.309, .344, .321, and .319)
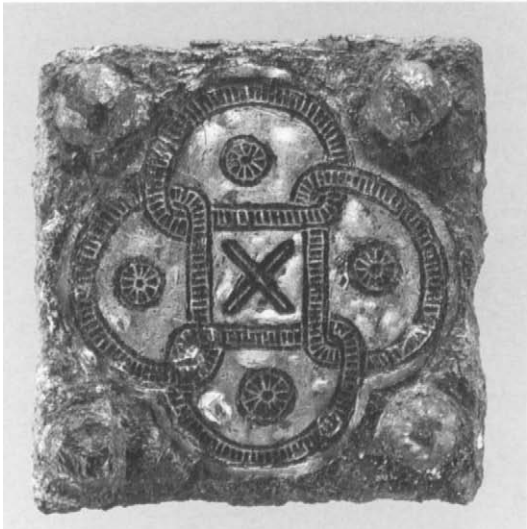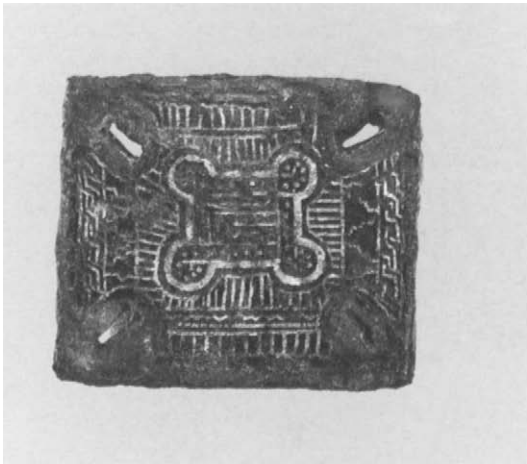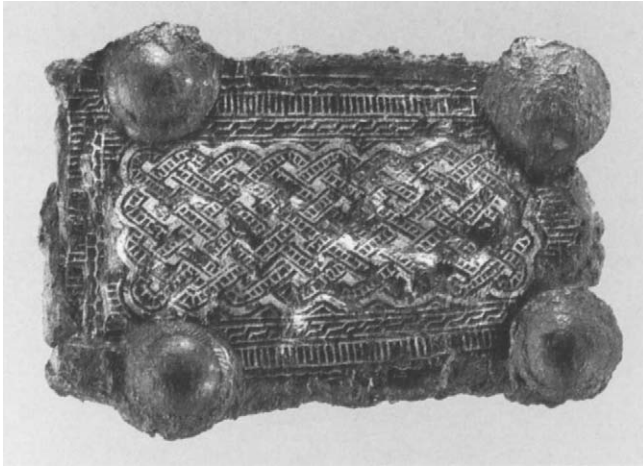
24.7–24.8 Two buckle counter plates with geometric interlace decoration. Iron, silver, copper-alloy rivet heads. Merovingian, late 6th–early 7th century. Maximum length 8 cm. (X.209.3; from Niederbreisig, 17.193.120b)
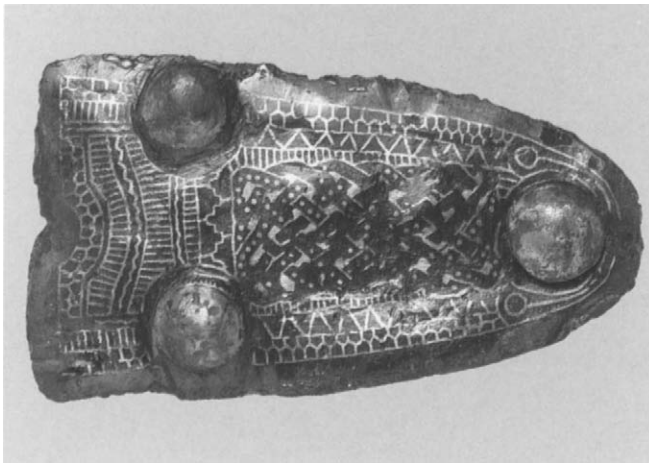
giving the impression of an open flower, has a more pronounced silver-encrusted ground (fig. 24.5). It has a square center containing a cross and four D-shaped loops, each with a star-shaped center and alternately linked to the corners. One of the most characteristic motifs represented in Early Medieval art, the so-called *Wirbel* (fig. 24.6), is composed of four highly schematized animal heads in profile, conjoined at the neck and arched around in a clockwise direction to create a dynamic motif.

THE BÜLACH-TYPE BELT

Among the inlaid iron belt fittings in the collection at the Metropolitan, the type named after the site of Bülach in Switzerland[6] is well represented by a series of belt buckles and counter plates. A survey of the type shows a distribution over the northern part of Switzerland, southwestern Germany, northern France, and Belgium, originating from the graves of well-equipped Alemannic and Frankish warriors. These belts are characterized by their skillful decoration: a dense and regularly composed geometric interlace that covers almost the whole surface. The interlace appears as a negative ribbon set against encrusted areas and either filled with a ladder-work pattern (fig. 24.7) or with dots (fig. 24.8). The interlace is surrounded by a geometric border that sometimes ends in a bird or animal head (fig 24.8). In this latter piece a relatively small central panel contains a closely knit basket-interlace pattern with its silver ground reduced to a minimum. A broad border dominates, decorated with zigzags, honeycomb cells, stepped triangles, and a ladder pattern.

of a running figure-of-eight, tightly constrained by a border of geometric decoration. This decoration consists of a multiple band of cells in the form of a ladder, honeycomb, and zigzags. The visual weight between the central field and frame is balanced. The subtle workmanship using dots and fine lines is a sign of exceptional quality.

A number of backplates show great quality of execution in subtle geometric patterns. The central rectangle of one example (fig. 24.3) consists of a continuous band looped at each corner. One of the most accomplished has the design of a cross with four pelta-shaped ends forming a geometric interlace knot (fig. 24.4). A similar motif,
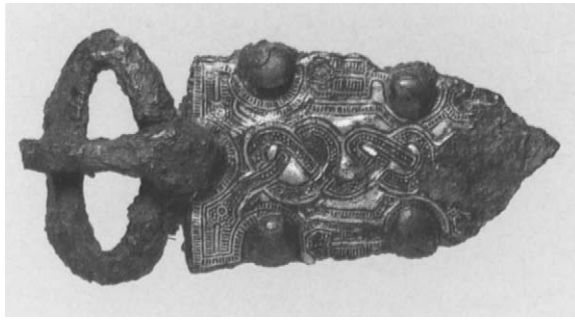
24.9 Buckle and detail of decoration (reorientated). Iron, silver, copper-alloy rivet heads. Merovingian, 7th century. Length 14 cm. (17.192.235)
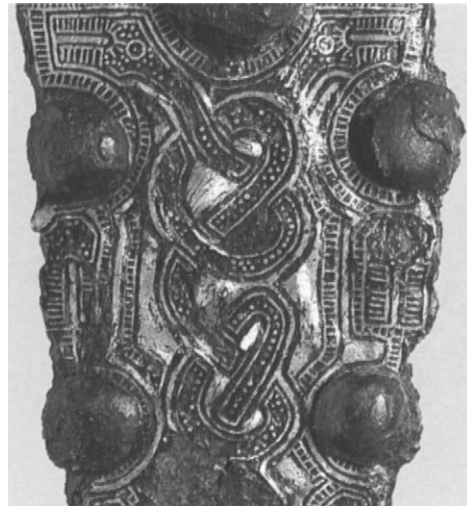
Such classical interlace designs, which arose in the Merovingian empire during the first quarter of the seventh century, originated in Late Antique stonecarvers' workshops, mainly in Italy. There, these designs decorated altars and choir slabs furnishing early Christian churches of the Mediterranean world. The pattern also appears as a dominant element in the art of manuscript illumination carried out in the famous contemporary scriptoria of Ireland and England as well as on the continent and in Italy. Its appearance on metalwork during the seventh century should be seen as a part of this wider cultural context.

ANIMAL STYLE II DECORATION

Another group of silver-inlaid iron belts, which also has its closest parallels in the same areas as the Bülach type, can be classified and arranged by its decoration in Animal Style II. The Morgan collection has a splendid example of the artistic stage that lies developmentally between Animal Styles I and II (see fig. 24.9 and p. 309), but that is partly contemporary with the latter (p. 158).[7] This stage is often characterized by an asymmetric interlace pattern mostly created from a snake's body represented as a ribbon,

interlaced and looped (*Schlaufenornamentik*). In contrast, Animal Style II decoration is generally composed of strictly symmetrical interlace with fully integrated animals or their anatomical details.

The decoration of one example (fig. 24.10) is in fully developed Animal Style II, with each plate containing two complete animals side by side in a closely knit interlace on a plain iron background. The first impression is of a good Style II composition overall, with each body a broad ribbon in several strands. But details, such as the head, are not of a high standard. Another piece (fig. 24.11), with decoration also in Animal Style II, is datable to the second third of the seventh century. Along the center panel are two snakelike animals, reduced to an interlace body without appendages, such as legs, and having heads with gaping jaws. The silver ground dominates the visual effect. Each edge is heavily profiled in a fashion corresponding to the forehead and upper jaw of the two stylized animal heads with vestigial bodies inlaid along the border. Although now markedly reduced, the animals were nonetheless clearly comprehensible to a contemporary viewer. A comparable central panel contains a complete composition of
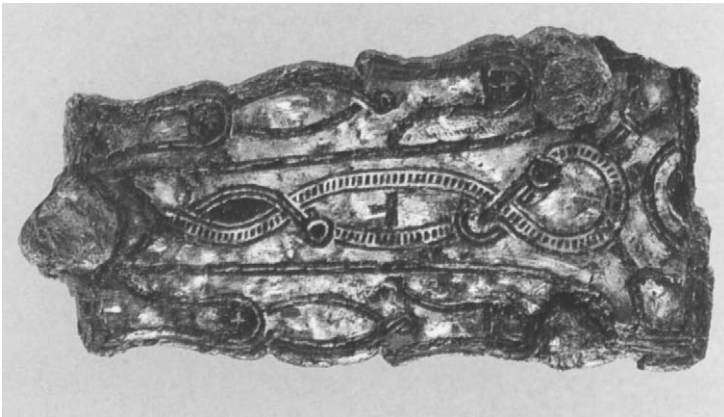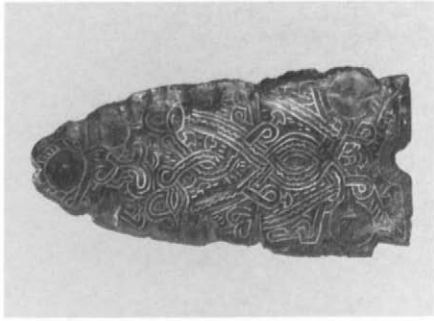
24.10 Buckle and counter plate (top), with counter plate enlarged to actual size. Iron, silver. Merovingian, 6th–7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Maximum length 14.7 cm. (17.193.143, .145)

24.11 Buckle counter plate. Iron, silver, copper alloy. Merovingian, late 7th century. Length 9.1 cm. (17.191.324)

24.12 Buckle, with detail of decoration. Iron, silver, copper alloy. Merovingian, 7th century. Length 11.7 cm. (17.191.332 a–c)
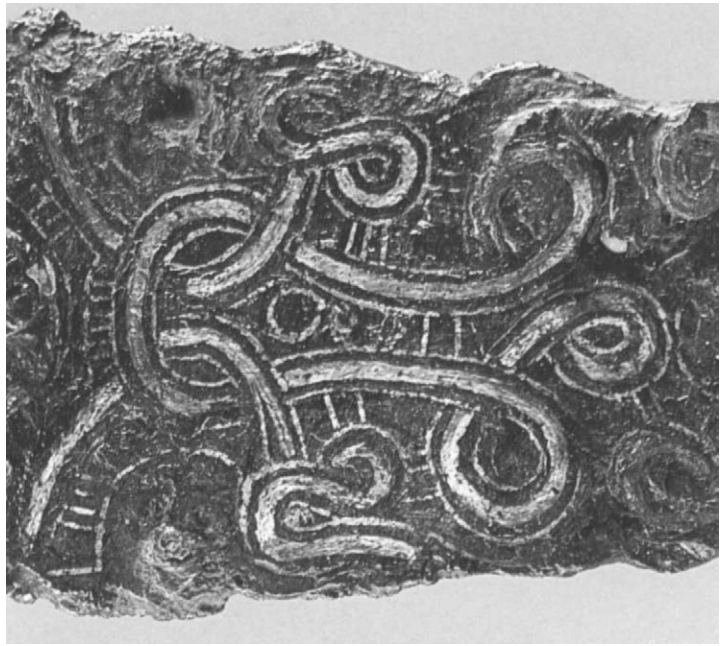
24.13 Buckle, with detail of decoration. Iron, silver, copper-alloy rivet heads. Merovingian, 7th century. Length 12.6 cm. (17.191.318 a–c)

alternating heads in similar style, clearly interlacing along the body (fig. 18.16).

Another group has a rather more southwesterly distribution in Germany, and dates to a period shortly after the middle of the seventh century. This material is characterized by its design of open loops, sometimes in bichrome, in an elegant symmetrical interlace, and sometimes upon an encrusted silver ground that is visually

dominant. There is no border frame. One belt has a loosely knotted zoomorphic pattern composed with a strong rhythm on a plain iron ground (fig. 24.12). Another (fig. 24.13) displays a similar motif in a different rendering, and of higher quality, terminating in two animal heads with gaping jaws. On this buckle, the shiny silver ground dominates. Developments of this motif can be seen (figs. 24.14 and 24.15), the
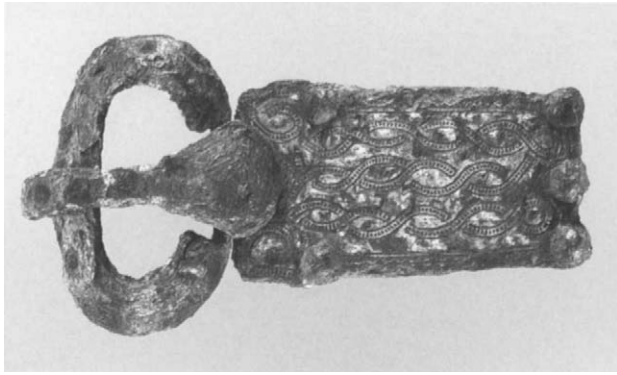
24.14 Buckle, with detail of decoration. Iron, silver, copper-alloy rivet heads. Merovingian, 7th century. Length 14.9 cm. (17.191.338)
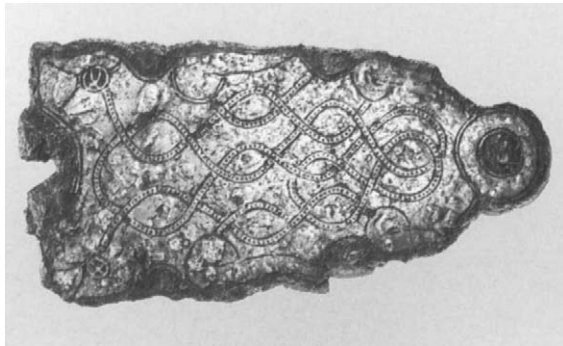
24.15 Buckle attachment plate, with detail of decoration. Iron, silver. Merovingian, 7th century. Length 14 cm. (17.191.331)
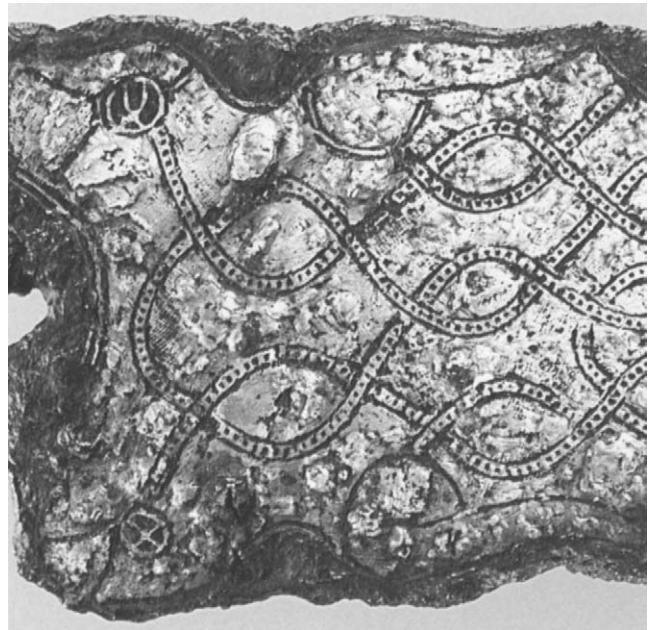
major difference being that the design is more regularly carpet-like and allover on a dominant, encrusted silver ground without a border.

Toward the end of the seventh century a decline in the quality of design is evident.

Wirelike thin loops, which are reminiscent of their origins in Animal Style II, now dominate the design. On one (fig. 24.16) the encrusted silver ground continues to dominate, while the animal ornament is reduced to thin, subtle lines that provide
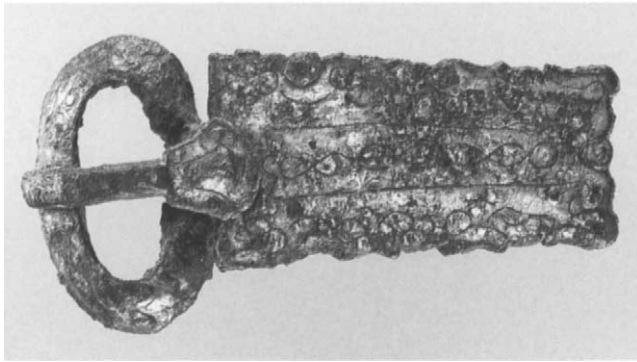
24.16 Buckle, with detail of decoration. Iron, silver, copper alloy. Merovingian, 7th century. Length 15.5 cm. (17.191.336)
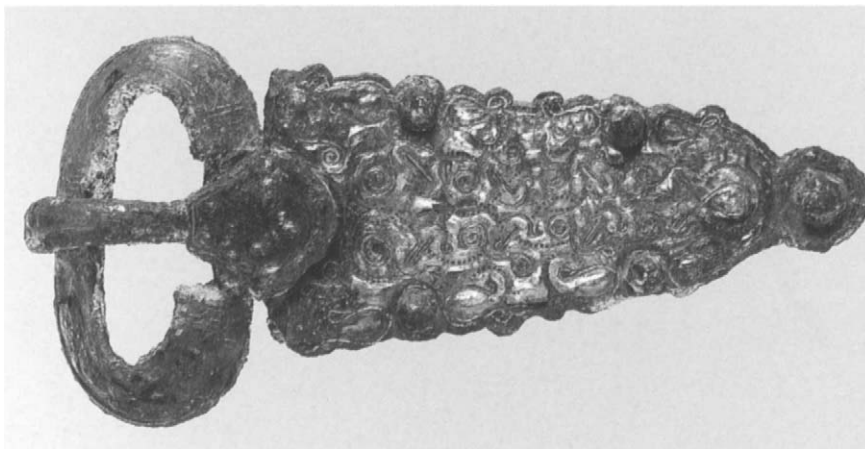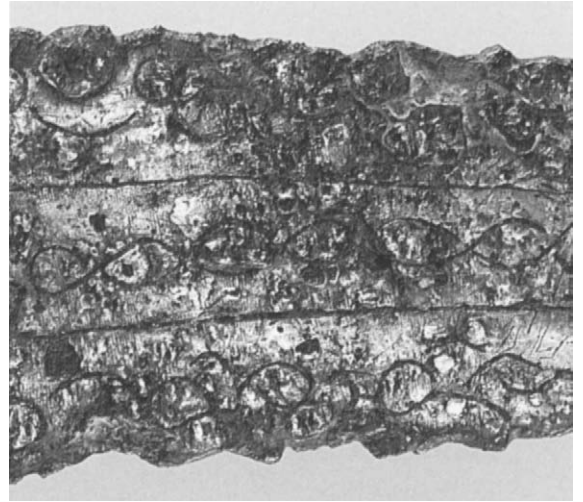
24.17 Buckle, with detail of decoration. Iron, silver, copper alloy. Merovingian, 7th century. Length 21.4 cm. (17.191.323)

only an impression of the now-vanishing animal style. The effect was reinforced, however, by using copper-alloy wires to fill what now appears empty space within the encrusted silver field.[8] Both edges retain their profile, representing animal foreheads and snouts, but these are now reduced to a simple outline, divorced from the internal features. In relation to the background, the design has taken on a negative quality. This is also the case with an oversized piece (fig. 24.17), on which details of Animal Style II ornament appear, also with brass wire originally filling the design in the encrusted silver field. These details appear as separated and largely unconnected anatomical elements *pars pro toto*. The quality of the buckle is emphasized by an applied copper wire around the edge of the loop, creating a border punched to resemble beaded wire.[9]

THE BURGUNDIAN BUCKLES

A group (figs. 24.15–24.17) of particular interest is linked by its style of decoration and the large size of many pieces to Burgundia. In this region during the seventh century there developed the largest and most impressive silver-inlaid belt fittings of the entire Early Medieval period.[10] A length of 20 cm for the buckles was not unusual. The sheer weight of such pieces, combined with their position on a broad leather belt, ensured their notice by onlookers and demonstrated the social position and economic status of the wearer. That these belts were of major significance for a particular social group in the period is well known.

The kingdom of Burgundia in the Rhône valley had been destroyed by a Frankish invasion at the beginning of the sixth century, so these belt fittings cannot be called Burgundian in the strictest sense. Although the descendants of the military settlers who had occupied this area of the upper Rhône and Lake Geneva may be recognized as the wearers of these display belts, there is a gap of at least a century between the mention of the silversmith in the Burgundian legal code, which dates to the early sixth century, and the appearance in the seventh century of the large silver-inlaid belt fittings. This discrepancy serves to highlight the problem of "Burgundian" silver inlay, and that of Merovingian inlaid iron generally, namely, the disappearance of the technique during much of the sixth century (see below).

Only in the Burgundian legal code is the *faber argentarius,* the silversmith, mentioned:[11] in no other area during the Early Medieval period is this specialized craftsman so singled out. However, it is not clear whether the reference is to the maker of silver-inlaid belt fittings or to the silversmith in his traditional role of making vessels, as is the case in the will of Bishop Desiderius of Auxerre.[12] It is clear that Burgundia became one of the largest craft centers, which does not mean that the Burgundians simply cre-

ated these products while occupying the role of an insignificant minority in the Roman milieu of the Sapaudia (the former province occupying present-day eastern France and northwestern Switzerland). Rather it should be recognized that Roman craftsmen retained their old traditions and worked for new masters, namely, the Burgundians, with their "barbaric" taste for exaggerated jewelry with exotic color contrasts.

THE MEROVINGIAN REVIVAL OF SILVER-INLAID IRON— A HYPOTHESIS

A survey of the range of silver-inlaid iron belt fittings found north of the Alps shows that, in England, northern Gaul, Burgundia, Switzerland, and southern Germany, the occurrence of high-quality silver inlay starts in the fifth century according to the associated grave goods.[13] The decoration is dominated by silver strips and concentric circles, and is sometimes associated with stars and tendrils showing Late Antique form and taste. Such simple motifs occur, for example, on iron knives in Late Roman contexts. More significant is a silver-inlaid strike-a-light from an Alemannic grave at Tiengen (Baden-Württemberg), dating to the mid-fifth century, bears a Latin inscription: *ferro splendeo opus argento* (produced of iron, yet I boast the luster of silver).[14] It is very likely that such products could be from Late Antique Roman workshops, located presumably in Gaul.

Silver inlays in uncomplicated parallel strips and bars are well represented on plain iron belt buckles from graves in northern Gaul and southern Germany, dating to the second half of the fifth century and into the sixth.[15] Their patterns are similar to that in brass on a contemporary buckle from Niederbreisig (fig. 4.4). It is well documented that products with silver inlay subsequently disappeared from Germanic grave goods for nearly the whole of the sixth century. The renewed use of silver inlay on belt buckles reappears in northern Gaul, the

Rhineland, and southern Germany during the 570s and 580s.[16] Consequently, an active role in the reestablishment of silver inlay by Late Antique Italian (Langobardic) workshops must theoretically be considered. From between the second half of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century to the end of the sixth century there is an obvious archaeological hiatus in silver-inlaid finds that still lacks an explanation. The sudden revival of high-quality silver inlay requires a historically based explanation, and circumstantial evidence must help to resolve the dilemma.

One of the most common designs of this revival phase, represented in the Metropolitan's collections, is curvilinear and geometric cloisonné cellwork transformed into silver inlay (figs. 24.18–24.20 and pl. 15. It is exemplified by the shield-shaped cells on the base of the buckle tongue, the arc and stepped line within a triangle on the loop, and the mushroom shapes at the end of the rectangular plate. This last motif is of unknown significance and emerged without any pre-design stage. The appearance of such cell-like forms reinforces the relationship with garnet cloisonné seen in the border strips of stepped pattern and interlocking honeycomb cells on the buckle. There is no doubt that cloisonné garnet gold jewelry with these particular details is linked with the silver-inlaid iron that begins contemporaneously in the last third of the sixth century, based on the coin dating of a grave from Morken (Nordrhein-Westfalen), giving a terminus post quem of 578.[17]

Belts of this type occur neither in England nor in Scandinavia or Langobardic Italy, presumably indicating that they are products originating from mainland continental workshops north of the Alps. Evidence that they are characteristic of this region is confirmed by the occurrence of similar patterns inlaid on iron disk brooches[18] worn by women in the Frankish, Alemannic, and Bavarian spheres of fashion between the end of the sixth and the second third of the seventh century.

The Metropolitan belt set (figs. 24.18–24.20) shows all the details of a transition period, combining concentric circles, mushrooms, and curvilinear and geometric patterns alongside a complicated interlace composition that incorporates inconspicuous animal heads. This latter parameter then became the essential and dominant characteristic of Animal Style II.

At the beginning of the first third of the seventh century some new types of silver-inlaid iron fittings appear. These are from composite belts, mounted with multiple fittings numbering from three up to a dozen. They can be classified according to their decoration: those with animal ornament, sometimes accompanied by Latin inscriptions; those with vine-scroll decoration; and those decorated with Late Antique tendrils, spiral hooks, and peltas in different combinations. The mapping of finds of this last type shows a clear concentration among Bavarian grave goods in southern Germany,[19] giving rise to an attribution to Bavarian workshops by equating the concentrations of finds with the place of manufacture. From the methodological point of view this conclusion seems dubious, as argued above. Since the decoration of such composite belt components includes motifs in Late Antique style, such as scrolls, peltas, and palmettes, the belts can hardly be of Bavarian manufacture since there are no preconditions in that period for an independent evolution of such a design in southern Germany.

Grave goods of copper alloy, silver, or gold, such as belts and horse harnesses with multiple fittings, have the same form and decoration seen on these silver-inlaid iron belt fittings, sometimes the so-called point and comma ornament (see p. 122), which originates in plant decoration, being a reduction to the inner parts of the leaves (see fig. 11.6). These goods in other metals are distributed all over the Byzantine Empire and around its border lands and spheres of influence beyond, including Iran and central Asia, and it must be emphasized that they

24.18 Buckle, part of belt set (see figs. 24.19 and 24.20, opposite page), with three details of decoration. Iron, silver, copper-alloy rivet heads. Merovingian, late 6th–early 7th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Length 15.3 cm. (17.193.161)

24.19 Counter plate of belt set, with enlarged detail of decoration (below). Length 11.2 cm. (17.193.162)

24.20 Backplate of belt set. Length 7.3 cm. (17.193.163)

appear somewhat earlier in the archaeological record than the silver-inlaid iron examples. The latter are a phenomenon of the West, appearing in Italy after the Langobard invasion in the year 568. Since they do not appear among their grave goods when the Langobards still occupied Pannonia, one of the sources of silver-inlaid iron products should consequently be sought in Italy itself. The economic background to this survival of Late Antique workshops in Italy and the flourishing of these workshops under Langobardic rule are indicated by the appearance of such terms as "corporations," "craftsmen" (*fabricienses*), and "master builders" (*magistricommacini*), all mentioned in the *Edictum Rothari*, the corpus of Langobardic law dating from 643. This would account for the iron belt fittings with decorations that combine Animal Style II and Latin inscriptions, as well as for those with naturalistic vine-scroll decoration.

To support this hypothesis of the continuity of production in silver-inlaid iron, examples of Byzantine, that is to say eastern Roman, origin must be produced. There are indeed some objects that seem to fit this attribution, such as the iron folding stool in Langobardic grave 17 at Nocera Umbra, Italy, buried in the last third of the sixth century, and the hunting spear from Frankish grave 7 at Bargen in southern Germany.[20] Both are closely connected through their identical silver inlay in Late Antique style, employing spiral hooks, tendrils, and scrolls as well as interlace-like decoration. Other folding stools, such as one found in the Ticino River at Pavia in Italy, another in the Annecy museum, and one from a sixth-century grave at Brény (Aisne), also seem to be of Late Antique manufacture according to their ornamentation, as does a small group of stools found in the Carpathian basin.[21] The Nocera Umbra and the Bargen pieces are comparable in finesse and style to a silver-inlaid iron buckle of the fifth century found at Howletts in Kent, England, to a fitting in the Diergardt collection in Cologne,[22] and

to the iron strike-a-light with Latin inscription from Tiengen in southern Germany.[23]

These finds among others suggest several centers of fifth-century production of silver inlay north of the Alps: one located in northern Gaul, and a second one undoubtedly in Roman Burgundy. Byzantine evidence, represented for instance by the folding stools, is lacking, largely due to the disappearance of grave goods from the Late Antique, Christian burials of the Mediterranean world. With the invasion of Germanic groups and the establishment of the Langobards in Italy, silver-inlaid objects re-emerge there archaeologically among the goods in Germanic graves. In this connection should be mentioned an outstanding horse bridle bit (pl. 14) in the Metropolitan that is decorated with silver, gold, and brass inlay with human heads, scrolls, and a monogram.[24] Said to have been found in Spain, its motifs seem to be in Late Antique taste and character, leading to the conclusion that it too belongs among this rare class of objects under discussion. It is a product of a Late Antique, circum-Mediterranean workshop, material that only rarely comes to light, mainly when preserved among Germanic grave goods. In this case it may have been a Visigothic grave from the seventh century.

CONCLUSION

Silver-inlaid iron fittings decorated with Late Antique motifs that are related to those on earlier pieces appear in Bavarian contexts north of the Alps at the same time as military expeditions from the Merovingian empire against Langobardic Italy in the last decades of the sixth century. These expeditions involved the participation of Alemannic and Bavarian warriors, whose military leaders might have acquired Italian belts, horse fittings, and other imposing status symbols originating in Byzantine workshops. Having returned home from the wars, these warriors later died and were buried in the 620s and 630s with their signs of rank and military status. The significance of such items in the

present context is to reinforce the hypothesis that the techniques of silver inlay never disappeared in the Mediterranean world. The survival in the archaeological record is fragmentary, largely restricted to goods from graves from beyond the frontiers of the empire. When the Langobards and their tradition of grave goods appeared in Italy from 568, silver-inlaid iron work comes to light there again. Some pieces express the Germanic taste for Animal Style II ornament along with inscriptions in Latin, a phenomenon that shows the fusion of both worlds in this area.

North of the Alps there is archaeological evidence for silver-inlaid work based on Roman workshops dating to the later fifth century, as shown by the Tiengen strike-a-light, and into the first decades of the sixth. The continuity presented by such material is not clearly apparent in the archaeological record. In the last third of the sixth century a fully developed repertory of cloisonné patterns appeared north of the Alps in silver-inlaid iron, as well as in gold and garnet. The mechanism for this emergence cannot be seen in its entirety. But the Metropolitan buckle (pl. 15) shows the stylistic links of this initial group with later ones in which animal style and interlace decoration predominate.

1. Menghin 1994.
2. Scientific analysis by Pete Dandridge, Conservator, Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, to whom I am most indebted.
3. See Werner 1953a, pp. 34–38.
4. Menghin 1994, p. 177, no. 12.
5. Urbon 1997, pl. 23, no. 7.
6. Werner 1953a, pp. 31–34.
7. Åberg 1947, p. 114, fig. 61,4.
8. See note 2 above.
9. Ibid.
10. Zeiss 1938.
11. *Leges Burgundionum,* x.9.
12. Knögel 1936, no. 142.
13. Holmqvist 1951.
14. *Gallien in der Spätantike* 1980, p. 210, no. 341.
15. Holmqvist 1951, p. 41, fig. 16, p. 56, figs. 23–25.
16. Plumier-Torfs 1986; Urbon 1997.
17. Böhner 1958b, p. 436, fig. 4. For comparable examples, see Paulsen 1967, p. 35, fig. 10.
18. For example, Menghin 1994, colorpl. 8. For a survey, see Schellhas 1992.
19. Dannheimer 1960, p. 202, fig. 10.
20. For Nocera Umbra, see *Arti del fuoco* 1994, pp. 7–10. For Bargen, see U. Koch 1982, pls. 6.7 and 51.
21. Wilson 1957, p. 48, pl. viib. The date of the British Museum stool tentatively proposed by Wilson should be reconsidered in respect of the stool's four iron terminals each in the different form of "philosophers' heads," which seem to be of Renaissance date. On the similarly decorated iron stools from the Carpathian basin, see A. Kiss 1996, pp. 270–75.
22. Holmqvist 1951, p. 56, fig. 23.1 (Kent), p. 60, fig. 25.2 (Cologne).
23. See note 14 above.
24. *Art of Medieval Spain* 1993, p. 68, no. 28, with bibliography.

25. Some Scandinavian Art Styles

INTRODUCTION

Migration-period art in Europe contains a substantial component of Scandinavian origin. The Scandinavian branch of such art itself reflects a significant interaction with Mediterranean, Continental, and Insular models, resulting in successive waves of inspiration and contributing to the development of a pan-Germanic animal-style decoration. For archaeologists these sequences in animal ornament provide a key to the development of artistic fashions over succeeding subperiods and are a good indicator of the dates of objects. The attention to animals seems to indicate a specific ideology that has persisted through the ages among Germanic peoples, especially Scandinavians, and has made them feel a much closer relationship with their fellow creatures of the animal world than their Latin, Slav, and Celtic contemporaries.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

In Scandinavia domestic animals, such as dogs, cats, and horses, are always given individual names, even today. This is also the case with cows and bulls. To southerners, the Scandinavian tradition of giving children first names like Björn (Bear) or Ulf and Ylva (Wolf and She-Wolf) may sound strange, but it is a custom that persists despite a thousand years of Christianity. The Anglo-Saxon princes Hengest (stallion) and Horsa (horse), who invaded the former Roman province of Britain around 450–55, were early bearers of this type of name.[1] Scandinavians generally have a relationship to the animal world that suggests a preference for symbiosis rather than domination.

Such intellectual obsession and identification is also evident in Old Norse mythology, totemism, and royal genealogy. The Scandinavian gods of the Viking period, the Æsir, had the same close relationship with the animal world as did their worshipers. Thus we know not only the names of Thor's goats, Tandgnjost and Tandgrisner, who drew his chariot in his battles with the giants, but also the names of the animals ridden by many of the other gods. These included not just horses. Freyr, the fertility god, rode on the boar Gullinbursti, while his sister Freya had a chariot drawn by a pair of cats; Odin, in his manifestation as the god of wisdom, rode the eight-legged stallion Sleipnir accompanied by his wolves Gere and Freke, and on his shoulders sat his spies, the ravens Hugin and Munin. According to mythology, Bure, the ancestor of the gods, had himself been conceived by the first creature, the primeval cow Audhumbla. She apparently licked a salt stone of hoarfrost, from which Bure emerged. A genealogical parallel is provided by the Merovingian kings who, according to Gregory's *History of the Franks,* considered themselves descendants of a bull.[2] The boar obviously had a similar symbolic value for the most important Swedish tribe, the Svear, whose kings, the Ynglingar, counted themselves descendants of the god Freyr. The eagle, boar, and wolf formed a "distinct trinity" of motifs.[3] The first Gothic king whose name has come down to us was Berig (Little Bear), which is cognate with Beowulf (Bee-Wolf) and Bjark, the name of the eponymous hero of the Danish lay.[4]

THE ART

Germanic animal ornament began its complicated development at the time of the transition to the Migration period (ca. 400–550). Northern Germanic artisans derived their inspiration from provincial Roman workshops, and it was from them that they adopted the technique of chip carving, which was to become the most important medium of the new artistic fashion (see p. 78). It was in the early fifth century in Denmark and the southernmost parts of Sweden and Norway that we witness the first evidence of animal ornament in Scandinavia. The pioneer investigator of this development was the Swedish archaeologist Bernhard Salin, who in 1904 published his famous thesis on Germanic animal ornament of the fifth to the eighth centuries, dividing it into successive styles designated as Animal Styles I, II, and III. In 1942 his Styles II and III were subdivided into Vendel Styles A–E by his compatriot Greta Arwidsson, on the basis of finds made at Vendel, an outstandingly important cemetery in Uppland, Sweden. The Vendel period, ca. 550–750/800, lies between the Migration and Viking periods in Swedish classification. An army of scholars has continued to confront the problem of disentangling the development of animal ornament, which eventually resulted in a terminological confusion so great that more than a hundred styles, overlapping or running parallel to each other, have been proposed for the seven centuries of the Migration, Vendel, and Viking periods.

The time is ripe for a reexamination of the fundamental principles of classification, style criteria, and the nomenclature of Nordic animal ornament.[5] In doing so, we find ourselves introduced to patterns so intricate and complex that they are often very difficult to distinguish. To the makers and wearers of these ornaments, iconographic ambiguity and intricacy obviously had their own particular value. To them the patterns presented challenging picture puzzles, stimulating to their minds but not indecipherable, as they were well acquainted with the formulas behind them. The more entangled were the patterns and difficult of access, the greater was the pleasure in them. Many were on a very small and intricate scale in order to fit the size of field available on jewelry.

On a grander scale is the great number of Viking-period animal-ornamented stones with runic inscriptions to be found in the counties around Lake Mälaren in Sweden. Characteristic and unforgettable features in the landscape, most of them are still standing on their original sites. While presenting a great variety in the execution of the animal ornament, they have many stylistic traits in common that are repeated over and over again. They represent a late stage in the very long development of indigenous animal ornament and have no parallels outside the Scandinavian sphere of influence. As monumental art they have counterparts carved in wood such as architectural components, and in textiles such as tapestries. Nowadays, beside the stone monuments, most remaining Scandinavian animal ornament is to be seen on small archaeological finds such as mounts and brooches in resistant materials like bronze, silver, and gold.

THE METROPOLITAN COLLECTION

The collection of Scandinavian objects with animal ornament in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is the only one of its kind in the United States. It is limited to Salin's styles II and III of the Vendel period and to the subsequent styles of the Viking period, all on pieces of female jewelry, the earliest being a brooch of probably late-sixth-century date, and the latest from the eleventh century.

25.1 Brooch in shape of a bird. Silvered copper alloy. Vendel period, late 6th century. Length 5.4 cm. (1991.308)

Animal Style II

The most striking and powerful expression of animal art in the collection is a copper-alloy brooch in the form of a crouching bird of prey (fig. 25.1).[6] It probably represents an eagle and is closely related to a group of brooches and emblems on shields and other objects that were widely distributed in Scandinavia in the sixth and seventh centuries. Such a motif is also known from saddle mounts found on Gotland, from cloisonné mounts on the purse from Sutton Hoo, and from openwork disks and belt mounts found in Germany.[7] On all of these the head and leg of the bird are seen in profile, while the body, or at least the flaring tail, is presented frontally. The Metropolitan brooch seems to be an early product within the group. Compared to related birds it looks rather naturalistic. For instance, the curved beak still retains the shape of a real one and not that of a spiral seen on later pieces. The surface of the body is also convex, as on a real bird, and not flat as on the comparative pieces. The bird's left wing is elegantly swept over the body and the punched beading is restricted to the tail and to the border lines that emphasize its shape. The tail exhibits a restrained use of Y-shaped stamps. On comparative brooches, the birds are often so covered with stamps as to suggest *horror vacui*.
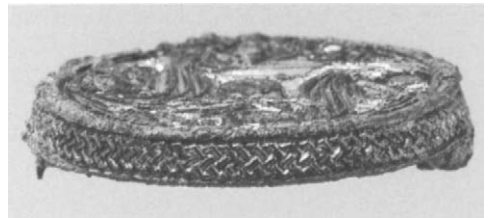
25.2 Disk brooch, with enlarged view of side and analysis of animal ornament. Gilt copper alloy. Vendel period, first half 7th century. Diameter 4.1 cm. (53.48.6)

The anatomical traits then required the emphasis of furrows to create order.

It has recently been proposed that this type of bird, a much-loved motif in Nordic art at the turn of the sixth to the seventh century, should be interpreted as a cock in the position of copulation,[8] a symbol of the highest degree of energy.[9] Most scholars, however, have tended to identify the bird as

From Attila to Charlemagne

a symbol of Odin, the supreme god of war and battle. Odin sometimes took the shape of an eagle, as when he stole the giant Suttung's mead and brought the art of skaldic poetry to Asgard.[10] Odin was also called "eagle" or "the eagle-headed."[11] This interpretation of the double nature of the eagle—as the symbol as well as an incarnation of the god—seems to be borne out by an eagle-shaped brooch from Skorping in Denmark on which there is a face staring out from the bird's thigh.[12] In the same place the Metropolitan bird has a feature resembling a Style I eye, which, *pars pro toto*, might indicate the presence of the god. The eagle also belonged among the birds of prey that gathered on the battlefield over the fallen warriors dedicated to Odin. The god appears in this role on another Danish brooch, from Lisbjerg, on which is depicted the corpse of a man being torn by an eagle.[13]

A Style II Disk Brooch

A more complex but clearly decipherable expression of animal art is seen on a disk brooch (fig. 25.2). The circular field is filled with a chip-carved decoration composed of four Style II animal heads that move clockwise around a central knob. It has an elegant geometric chip-carved motif around the edge. Brooches of this type are common on Gotland. Nerman placed them in a subphase of the Vendel period, about 600–50,[14] corresponding to the first part of the late-Merovingian period in mainland Europe during which similar motifs are widespread (figs. 18.2 and 24.6).

A Style II Bracteate Pendant

In 1984 the Metropolitan purchased a beautiful bracteate pendant of copper-alloy sheet (fig. 25.3).[15] The center of the medallion contains a stereotypical whirl motif composed of a stylized human head placed above a triskele composed of three animal heads on arched necks and with gaping jaws (see fig. 25.4). The open-mouthed animal heads are executed in late Style II. The human

25.3 Bracteate pendant. Copper alloy. Vendel period, 8th century. Diameter 5.6 cm. (1984.300)

head is usually regarded as an ornamentalized version of the human profile seen on Migration-period gold bracteates. It is as a rule positioned under the loop or, in a few cases, opposite to it. The borders of the pendant consist of concentric stamped circles.

Bracteates generally have a filigree ornament directly under the loop. In the early Vendel period this ornament is quite simple, formed like a U with the ends rolled outward; later it is supplemented or replaced with additional filigree elements that often form a triangular tongue. With its outermost garland-like border zone of semicircles the Metropolitan bracteate has a very close parallel,[16] and several specimens are adorned under the loop with the same rich ring filigree containing a central granule as on the Metropolitan bracteate. What appear to be individual granules on the Metropolitan bracteate, however, forming a grape-like

25.4 Enlarged detail of bracteate pendant
(fig. 25.3)

cluster, are globular-shaped rivet heads, seventeen in number, which fill holes drilled through the pendant. Some clearly serve to secure the filigree, while others are decorative and imitate the granulation of more accomplished pieces. As for the central motif, the Metropolitan's brass bracteate is probably die-identical with a gold example from Nasume in Tofta.[17] According to Nerman's typology the Metropolitan piece can probably be dated to about 700–750.

The earliest bracteates, named from the Latin *bractea,* "thin metal plate," were single-sided, stamped imitations of Roman coins and medallions. In Scandinavia they soon developed into several specific types, classified by Oscar Montelius.[18] They became the most popular kind of jewelry, mainly in gold, to judge from the 900 known specimens. They each have a suspension loop, for use as pendants. In the center they bear an impressed mythological scene derived or adapted from Late Roman medallions, and this is generally surrounded by a concentric, stamped border. Vendel-period bracteates are a development from bracteates of the Migration period.[19] Whether or not full continuity can be proved, bracteates obviously became irreplaceable among the conservative Gotlanders, who developed a uniquely Gotlandic type of bracteate pendant.[20] It is designated as the E-type, and it continued to be used throughout the Vendel and into the early Viking period, that is, the seventh to ninth centuries.[21] The Gotlandic bracteates differ very much from the others: they can be of gold as pure as those from the preceding Migration period, but they can also be alloyed with silver or copper. Many are made of gilt silver, bronze, or copper alloy. Such bracteates are known both from hoards and from graves, but those of precious metal were never deposited in burials.

Animal Style III
The most accomplished example of animal interlace ornament in the Metropolitan is represented by a disk-on-bow brooch, a remarkable piece of art now sadly in a poor

state of preservation (fig. 25.5).[22] The piece was originally very elegant. It has a body of copper alloy, with a box-shaped foot and headplate, and was originally set with cloisonné red garnets backed with patterned gold foil to reflect light through the inlays. The disk applied originally to the center of the bow also contained a cloisonné mosaic of such stones. The metal has been partly gilded and is decorated with elaborately cast chip-carved patterns in Style III (pl. 16). Similar patterns are also used on the underside of the brooch (fig. 25.6) and on that of the disk (fig. 25.7),[23] which suggests how elaborate the piece was, with ornamentation that could be seen only by the wearer. The head of the attachment pin on the back is sometimes ornamented (fig. 25.6), and its base is formed like an animal head.

In the Late Roman period ornamental disks attached to the top of the bow appear on certain Scandinavian brooches, and in the Migration period they are occasionally used on the most prestigious brooches.[24] Closely related to these are the later disk-on-bow brooches, the most characteristic high status jewelry of Vendel-period Scandinavia. Early disk-on-bow brooches resemble square-headed relief brooches, not only in the form of the headplate but also in the animal heads that project from the footplate, which are now, however, transformed into hook-beaked birds, probably eagles. On late brooches the birds have been incorporated into the margin of the footplate where they form part of the cloisonné mosaic pattern. They range in length from about 5 to 30 cm. They were extremely popular in Scandinavia, especially on the island of Gotland. Since it has more than one roundel on the footplate, the Metropolitan brooch was probably made outside Gotland. On it these extra roundels are reduced to a slight curving in the contour of the footplate. Another characteristic that may indicate that the brooch is not Gotlandic is the height of the bow. Since on non-Gotlandic brooches the bow is normally much lower,[25] the low curve of the Metropolitan brooch indicates a manufacture outside Gotland.

A few examples are known outside Scandinavia, for instance, in Frisia and England.[26]

So far, the type has not been the subject of a monograph. In his work on the Vendel period on Gotland, Birger Nerman reproduced 105 pieces, but the real number is much higher. These were brooches of great value and high status. Some of them were used over several generations, as they show obvious signs of wear. During its life span of more than 400 years, from the sixth to the ninth centuries, the type developed from small, chip-carved Style II specimens to monstrously large objects with rich Style III and "gripping-beast" ornament. In the latest phase the size moderated, the jewelers apparently deriving inspiration from what were then already "antique" brooches. Obviously local workshop traditions developed with different technical characteristics and stylistic traditions. Thus, a special trait of the Gotland brooches is that they have only one knob on the footplate, whereas mainland Swedish and other Scandinavian brooches may have one, three, or even five.[27]

The Metropolitan brooch, like most others in the disk-on-bow group, has ornament in Vendel Style D. This style variant, also known from the shield boss from a grave at Nabberör in Böda on the island of Öland,[28] is especially clear in the ornament on the bow flanking the disk (fig. 25.5d and pl. 16) and on the ornamentation on the underside of the disk (fig. 25.7). A similar disk known from Trøndelag in Norway[29] and on a series of Norwegian luxury brooches make it likely that the Metropolitan brooch was in fact made in Norway.[30] A magnificent example of a similar brooch from Othem parish, Gotland (fig. 25.8), has the disk and the cloisonné still intact,[31] and another splendid example survives from the remarkable boat graves at Tuna in Badelunda in mideastern Sweden.[32] There, wealthy women, probably with cultic and dynastic importance, female counterparts to the lords buried in the cemeteries of Vendel and Valsgärde,[33] were interred generation after generation in well-equipped boats.

b

e

a

d

c

f

25.5 Disk-on-bow brooch (opposite page). Gilt copper alloy, garnet. Vendel period, first half 8th century. Length 20.5 cm. (47.100.25). (a) the remains of the brooch (overall view at reduced scale); (b) detail of decorative knob and side panel of footplate; (c) detail of end of footplate; (d) view of bow (length 8.1 cm), after removal of the central disk; (e) analysis of the animal interlace decoration on the upper part of the bow, flattened out; and (f) analysis of the animal interlace decoration on the lower part of the bow, flattened out.

25.7 Back of disk from disk-on-bow brooch (fig. 25.5), diameter 6.8 cm, with side view (below), enlarged, of one panel

25.6 Back of disk-on-bow brooch (fig. 25.5), showing headplate (above) and footplate (below)

25.8 Re-creation of brooch from ca. 800, similar to type pictured in fig. 25.5 (engraving as reproduced in Thunmark-Nylén 1998, pl. 31)

25.9 Contemporary representations of a figure wearing a brooch similar to that pictured in fig. 25.5: (left) silver pendant, from Hägebyhöga, Östergotland, Sweden (after Arrhenius 1962, fig. 2); and (right) gold-sheet plaque from Helgö, Sweden (drawing by Bengt Händel)

The disk-on-bow brooches belong to the very few identifiable pieces of jewelry depicted by contemporary artists. Thus the pregnant woman on a silver pendant from a female cremation grave in Östergötland (fig. 25.9, left) wears a big brooch of this type. She has been interpreted as Freya, goddess of fertility wearing the Brisinga jewel referred to in the Edda poem. Similarly, figures sometimes appear on small golden foils; one from Helgö on Lake Mälaren wears a disk-on-bow brooch (fig. 25.9, right). The figures can probably be identified as Freyr, god of fertility, and his spouse, Gerd, daughter of giants. The foils were probably used as ritual tokens in pagan shrines. In recent years thousands of them have been found in Scandinavian excavations of wooden structures, probably the remains of halls used for sacred purposes.[34]
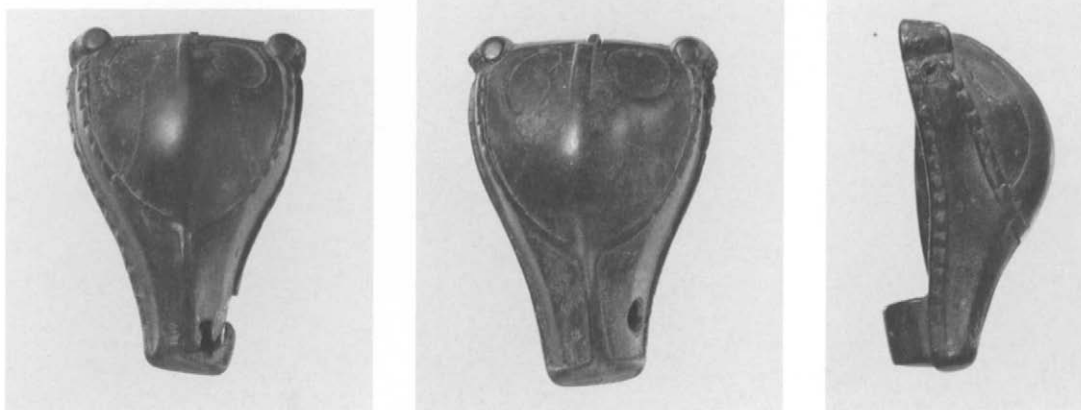
25.10 Pair of animal-head brooches and side view of one. Copper alloy, iron. Vendel period, late 8th century. Maximum length 4.6 cm. (1992.59.2, .3)
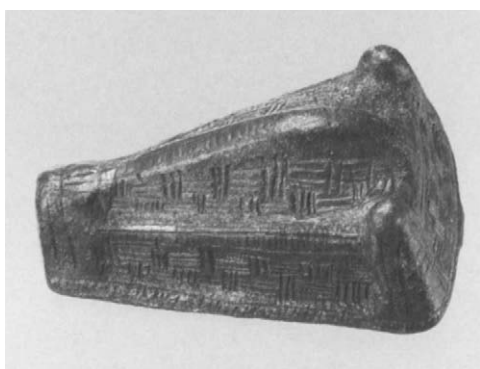
25.11 Animal-head brooch. Copper alloy. Late Viking, 11th century. Length 5.7 cm. (1982.323.3)

Gotlandic Brooches

From an archaeological point of view the Baltic island of Gotland is the richest province in Sweden. It was different from, while related to, Scandinavia not only in its art styles but also, as seen in the disk brooch and bracteate above, in its fashions of costume jewelry. A small series of pieces in the Metropolitan illustrate the major differences in the subsequent Viking period.

Animal-Head Brooches

Animal-head brooches, which for centuries remained the most common female jewelry on Gotland, were worn in pairs to secure the female dress at the shoulders in the same way as the oval brooches on mainland Scandinavia (see below). They were fastened on either side of a third brooch that could be a box-shaped or a disk-on-bow brooch. Their name derives from the apparent resemblance of the more developed Viking-period types to an animal head. Friedrich Kruse, probably the first scholar to comment on them, found them rather similar to horse heads.[35] In 1983 Anders Carlsson catalogued 1,551 such brooches from the late Vendel and Viking periods on Gotland, where the type was in continuous use from the eighth century until about 1150.[36] The earliest example in the Metropolitan is a pair from the early Viking period (fig. 25.10),[37] datable to the late eighth century. A much later development of the type is seen in one of a pair of animal-head brooches (fig. 25.11).[38] It belongs to Carlsson's type 4,[39] more precisely to a rare subtype on which the original surface covering of gripping-beast animal ornament has been replaced by cast crosshatching. The type is datable to the eleventh century.

25.12 Box brooch, top view with four details and two side views. Copper alloy. Early Viking, 8th–9th century. Diameter 5.2 cm. (1992.59.1)

Box Brooches

Box-shaped brooches make up a long-lived, but exclusively Gotlandic, type of female jewelry. They were worn just under the chin between a pair of animal-head brooches. Being hollow, and with a large circular opening at the back, the box-shaped brooches could also be used as a container for small objects. Already in fashion during the late Vendel period, they remained popular throughout the Viking period and were still used at the beginning of the medieval period. Like the disk-on-bow brooches, they are often so worn that they are likely to have been in use over more than one generation.

An example in the Metropolitan of cast copper alloy has four medallions with patterns in late Style III and four side panels in the same style, separated by posts decorated with a geometric pattern (fig. 25.12).[40] It can be dated to the transition from the Vendel to the Viking period, about 800 A.D. Similar examples with four medallions are illustrated by Nerman.[41]

In the tenth century the technically most complex and aesthetically most refined box-shaped brooches were probably produced by one single, very specialized workshop.[42] Techniques like silver-plating, niello inlays, and gold-foil appliqués with filigree ornament were applied to luxury specimens.[43] At a simpler level, the Metropolitan example (fig. 25.13) is a variant within a group of brooches called G6,[44] the craftsman of which seems to have been inspired by the luxury type with its golden appliqués. The brooch has a domed top, divided into four quadrants separated by beetle-like figures.

25.13 Box brooch, top and side views. Copper alloy, silver, niello. Viking, 11th century. Diameter 6 cm. (1982.323.2)

The triangular quadrants are filled with a symmetrical anthropomorphic entrelac pattern, seen frontally. These are the main characteristics of the variant. The side consists of four rectangular fields, each with an almost identical ribbon pattern. The fields are separated from each other by silver-plated side posts with scroll ornament and some niello inlays. Around the edge of the top are holes to which a silver wire, now missing, could be attached. The base plate, often decorated with cast decoration, is also missing.

A Viking-Age Oval Brooch

A classic form of Viking-period Scandinavian jewelry is represented by a double-shelled oval brooch sometimes called a "tortoise brooch" after its shape (fig. 25.14). It was worn in pairs, with the practical function of supporting the woman's dress, one brooch for each shoulder strap. This form is the most characteristic of all Viking-period copper-alloy jewelry. It is also the most common and widespread within the whole European realm settled by Scandinavians, excepting Gotland, which, as described above, had its own types of brooch. The oval brooches are a typical example of the highly

standardized mass products of this period. An estimated 4,000 pieces of Viking date are known in museum collections, with a few hundred from the preceding Vendel period. The most important individual find site is Birka, the Viking town and cemetery on Lake Mälaren in Sweden, with 316 brooches. It is followed by Hedeby/Haithabu in Schleswig-Holstein and Kaupang near Oslo, each with about 50 examples. Ingmar Jansson has described the oval brooches as typical exponents of Scandinavian culture.[45] Their distribution pattern does not seem a good indicator of their production site.

The Metropolitan example belongs to the most common type of oval brooch, known as P51 after its numbering in Jan Petersen's 1928 treatise on Viking-period jewelry. According to a later classification by Jansson, the pair belongs to the P51 variant, C1, which can be dated to the tenth century. P51 is known from Iceland and Ireland in the west, to the Dnieper and the Volga in the east. It is a good example of the baroque style that was developed in Scandinavian animal art and that is best known through some of the wood carvings of the Oseberg ship-burial in Norway.[46] The brooch is

From Attila to Charlemagne

25.14 Oval brooch, top and side views, with two details of animal ornament. Gilt copper alloy. Viking, 10th century. Length 11.4 cm. (1982.323.1)

double-shelled, with an openwork upper shell riveted onto a solid lower one. The former is heavily decorated in relief and openwork. It has a face mask on each of the two rhombic top panels (see detail, fig. 25.14), two elongated quadrupeds with crossing necks on the two large side panels, and a small running quadruped on each of the four small panels at the ends. Between the upper shell and the flange of the brooch is a paneled border strip with, in all, four elongated quadrupeds (see detail, fig. 25.14). On the flange itself there are four symmetrical and two asymmetrical animal heads. The brooch was originally gilded, with its details coated in silver, for example, the masks on the flange. Originally there was also a twisted silver wire decorating the channel around the rhombic panels of the upper shell. Silver-capped pewter bosses were probably set on what are now four flat roundels at the side corners of the rhombic panels. Thus, the baroque style was an amalgam of several materials and techniques and several kinds of relief, combined with an intricate animal pattern.

CONCLUSION

For those wishing to study the development of Germanic animal ornament on the basis of authentic Scandinavian art objects, the collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art has no rival in the United States. The value of this important collection of a vigorous branch of European art has grown considerably in recent years with the acquisition of crucial, supplementary material. It is hoped that this laudable trend will continue to stimulate investigation of such an original contribution to the history of European art.

1. Rouche 1996, p. 44.
2. Hauck 1955, p. 198; Rouche 1996, p. 184.

3. Ambrosiani 1983b, p. 26.
4. Hauck 1982.
5. Karlsson 1983, p. 188.
6. Brown 1995, pp. 43–44, cover ill.
7. Atterman 1934; Böhner 1989; Corsten 1995, pp. 122–24, pls. 85, 86; Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, pp. 87–89.
8. Böhner 1989, p. 464.
9. Ibid., p. 462.
10. Ambrosiani 1996, p. 56.
11. Böhner 1989, p. 482.
12. Vang Petersen 1990, pp. 162–63.
13. Ibid.
14. See Nerman 1969–75, fig. 878.
15. Brown 1995, p. 46, fig. 65.
16. Nerman 1969–75, fig. 1885.
17. Statens Historiska Museum inv. no. 3324; personal communication from Märit Gaimster.
18. Montelius 1869, p. 32.
19. Nerman 1969–75, p. 18.
20. For the E-bracteates, see Gaimster 1998.
21. Stenberger 1958, p. 185.
22. According to the Museum's acquisition files, the Metropolitan brooch (Brown 1995, fig. 66) once belonged to the collection of "H. R. Martin," a name probably to be read as F. R. Martin, the famous Swedish orientalist and art dealer Fredrik Robert Martin (1868–1933). Beside his scientific work, Martin is best known for his extensive travels before the First World War in Central Asia and the Near East, during which he collected great quantities of antiquities for rich customers from Europe and probably also the U.S.
23. Arwidsson 1942, fig. 20.
24. Gjessing 1934, pp. 137–38; Sjøvold 1993, pls. 11–13.
25. Personal communication from Lena Thunmark-Nylén.
26. Hawkes 1979; Kramer 1994.
27. Gjessing 1934, p. 135.
28. Arwidsson 1942, fig. 20.
29. Ibid., fig. 69.
30. Gjessing 1934, pp. 134–36.
31. Arrhenius 1962, fig. 4.
32. Nylén and Schönbäck 1994, pp. 38–41.
33. Ibid., pp. 150–56; Ambrosiani 1983a, pp. 17f.
34. See Watt 1999.
35. Kruse 1842, p. 10.
36. Carlsson 1983, p. 7.
37. Brown 1995, fig. 68; Thunmark-Nylén 1998, pl. 1b.
38. Brown 1995, fig. 71.
39. Carlsson 1983, p. 10.
40. Brown 1995, fig. 67.
41. Nerman 1969–75, pl. 270. See also Gerdin 1987, p. 217.
42. Thunmark-Nylén 1983, p. 137.
43. Ibid., pp. 69–80, fig. 53.
44. Ibid., pp. 59–65.
45. Jansson 1985, p. 221.
46. Petersen 1931, p. 129.

26. The "Earlier" Lindau Book Cover: An Integrated Analysis

Almost a century ago, J. Pierpont Morgan acquired a Carolingian Gospel book with its precious covers. Coming from the monastery of Lindau on Lake Constance, which had been dissolved in 1803, it represents one of the most outstanding possessions of the library that now bears Morgan's name. The manuscript itself, which has been attributed to the scribe and illuminator of the Folchard Psalter, Cod. 23, from the monastery of Saint Gall and dated to the third quarter of the ninth century,[1] will not be discussed here, nor will the gold front cover, which corresponds exactly to the size of the manuscript and is a masterpiece of late Carolingian art.[2] The subject of this short paper is the earlier back cover (fig. 26.1), which, though often mentioned in discussions of Early Medieval metalwork, usually receives only brief mention in connection with specific problems, mainly ornamental. Marc Rosenberg, who discussed its cloisonné enamels in 1922, alluded to this very special-ized treatment, but an integrated analysis of the earlier Lindau cover is still lacking.[3]

A description may suffice to convey the complexity of the workmanship. The cover, rectangular in shape, measures 34 by 26.4 cm and is covered with gilt silver. It is domi-nated by a *crux ansata,* the richly decorated arms of which emanate from a square center.

The quadrants between the arms of the cross are filled with interlaced animal motifs, and each quadrant contains a stone setting in the center. In the four corners are small gilded reliefs of the figures of the four Evangelists. These were apparently added at a later date, perhaps in connection with a rebinding of the manuscript in 1594. The left and upper borders of the frame are decorated with a series of small enamel plaques containing animals that alternate with panels, executed in *verrôterie cloisonnée.* The other two borders, filled with spiral motifs that correspond to the style of the Folchard Psalter, are also later additions.[4] Finally, the cross is outlined with a finely beaded silver wire that further under-lines the importance of the cross and the subordination of the animal quadrants.

Existing studies of the back cover have concentrated on three areas. First, on the animal ornament in its various manifesta-tions, particularly the difference between zoomorphic motifs of insular, or Hiberno-Saxon, style and those of continental charac-ter, and the distinction between these motifs and the rarer anthropomorphic elements.[5] Second, on such technical aspects as the champlevé and the cloisonné enamels.[6] Third, on the art-historical definition and provenance of motifs and techniques, for the purpose of attributing the cover to a particu-lar artistic center and determining its relation to other works of art.[7] Here, a fourth area of consideration will be introduced, an iconographic one, which will examine the structure and the significance of the cover as

26.1 The Earlier Lindau Book Cover. Height 34 cm, width 26.4 cm. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Ms M. 1.
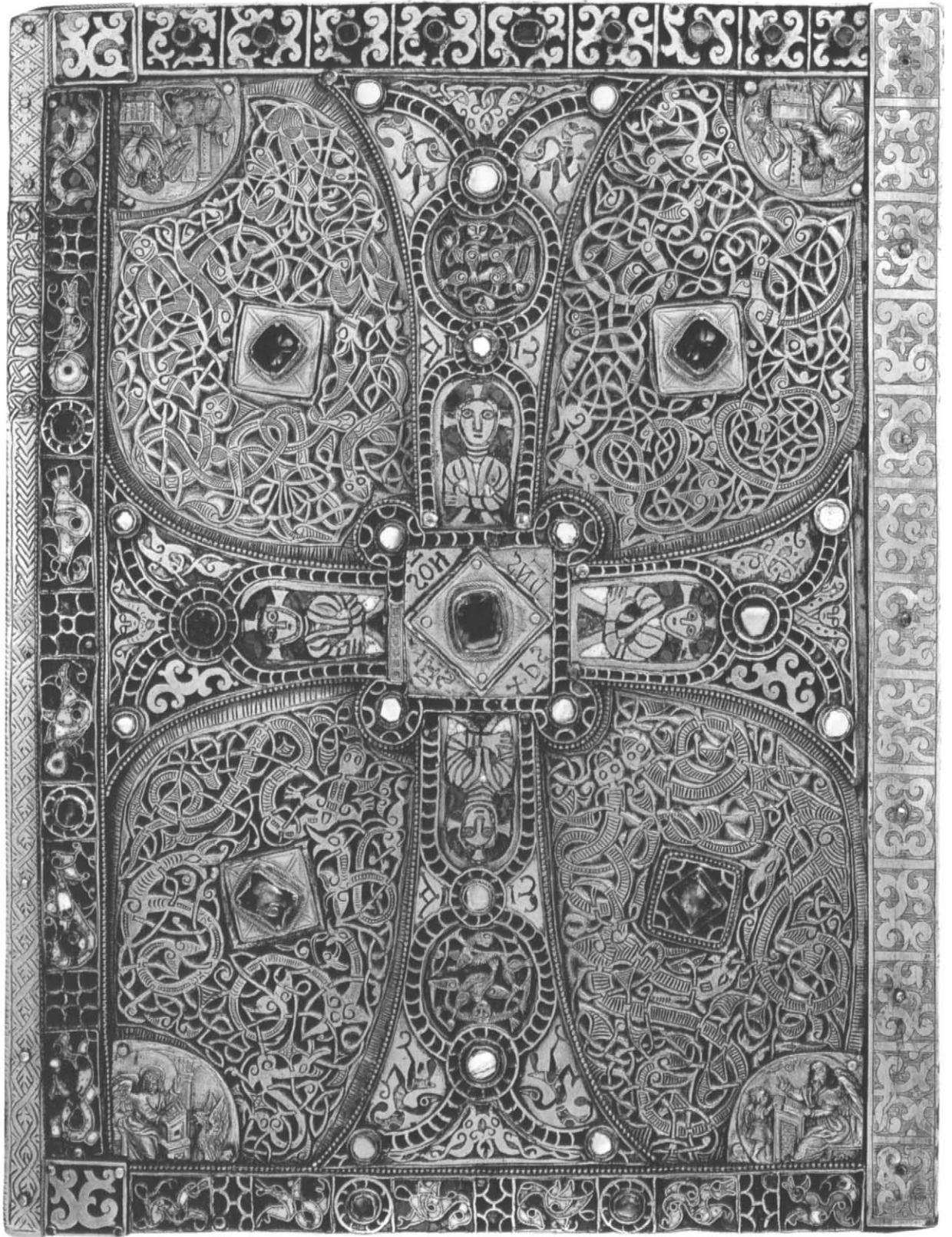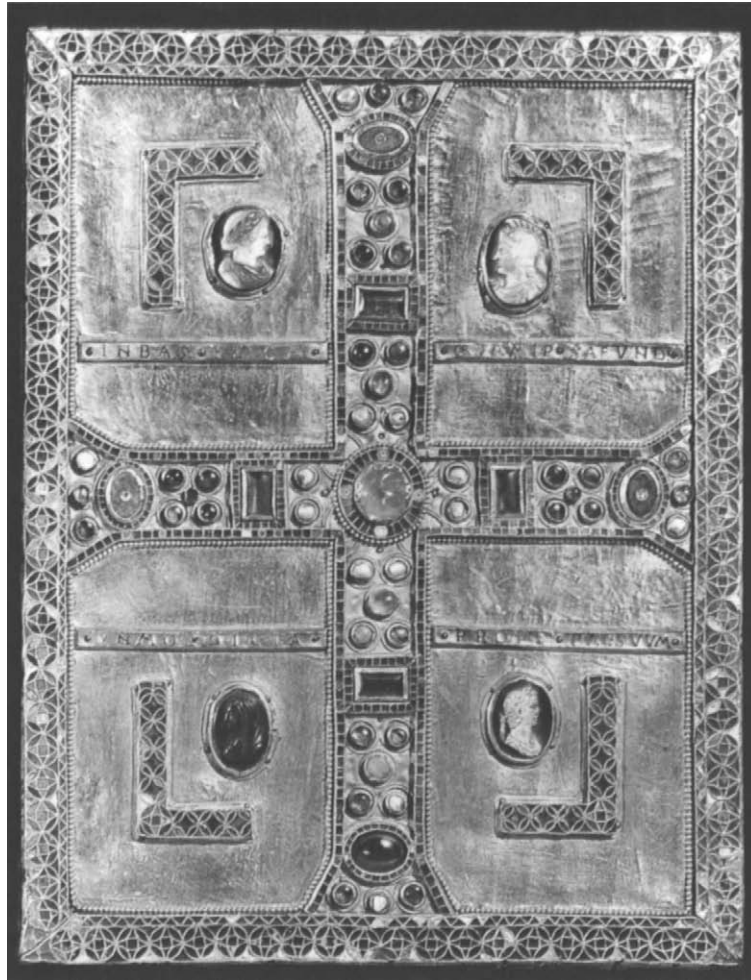
26.2 The Book Cover of Queen
Theodelinda. Monza, Cathedral Treasury
(after Cathedral Treasury photo)

a whole rather than one or the other of its
specific features.[8] In conjunction with a
well-founded historical analysis, the chrono-
logical and artistic position of the cover and
its iconographic or symbolic meaning might
thus be better determined.

In distinguishing the original parts of
the cover from later, secondary alterations, an
important comparison for the dominant *crux*

ansata among other early cruciform medieval
book covers is the celebrated gold covers
of Queen Theodelinda at Monza, northeast
of modern-day Milan. These covers are
firmly rooted in the context of Langobardic
art around the year 600 (fig. 26.2).[9] More-
over, the borders of the Monza covers and
their crosses are designed in the same *verrô-
terie* technique as those of the Lindau cover.
However, the outline of the Lindau book
cover is enriched and completed by its inner
cross emanating from a square central por-
tion that is surrounded by four half-figures.
On the two vertical cross arms these figures
are succeeded by oval medallions containing

animal motifs that end in two stems tipped with pearls. At the terminals, in the narrow spaces between the inner and outer cross form, are also areas filled with animals, two of which are now lost. The upper and lower vertical shafts of the cross are twice inscribed in the middle with the letters *alpha* and *omega*. The center of the cross also bears a sacred inscription: the abbreviation DN̄S NŌS IH̄C X̄PC, with the letters filled in colored enamel, indicates its Christological significance, which is reinforced by the half-figures that, as their crossed nimbi indicate, represent Christ four times. Unfortunately, the center of the cross, with the precious stone setting, is not preserved in its original state; it seems possible that an even more important gem has been replaced by a smaller one, probably at the same time as three of the four stone settings in the quadrants between the cross arms.

Useful comparisons for the shape of the *crux ansata* include the sheet-gold cross from Stabio (Ticino), a small cross from Sontheim in southern Germany, and the two crosses on the portable altar from Adelhausen (fig. 26.3).[10] In these examples the ends of the cross arms also divide into stems topped with roundels—a cross type that lived on in Carolingian times, such as in the now-lost gemmed cross from the Sancta Sanctorum treasure in Rome, the Ardennes cross in Nuremberg, and also the *crux regni* of King Berengar in Monza.

The four half-figures surrounding the Lindau cross center, in champlevé enamel of dark blue and turquoise with red accents (fig. 26.4), are frontally and concentrically disposed, with crossed nimbi, with Christ holding his right arm before his breast. One of the figures wears a crossed *stola,* a motif not unusual in Early Medieval art. The figures and their disposition are often rightly compared to those on pre-Carolingian, mainly Langobardic, sheet-gold crosses from northern Italy.[11] They have also been interpreted in relation to Late Antique cosmological structures, well known from illustrations in
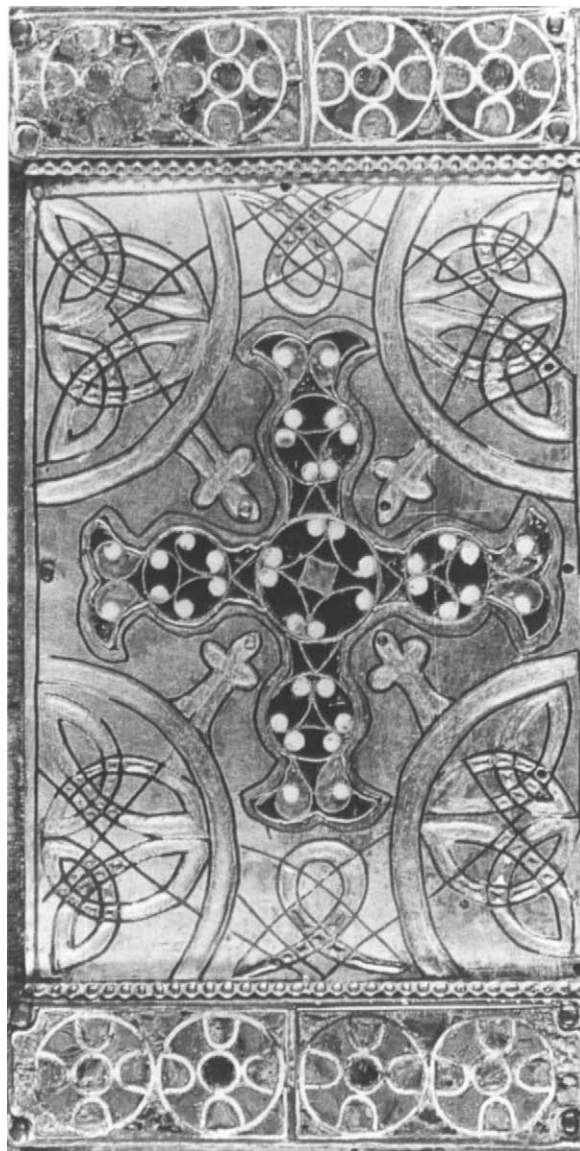
26.3 The Adelhausen Portable Altar (detail). Freiburg, Augustiner-Museum (museum photo)

26.4 The Earlier Lindau Book Cover (detail of fig. 1)

26.5 The Wind Rose from Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum*. Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale Cod. 422, fol. 5 v (Bibliothèque photo)

Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum* (fig. 26.5). As Werckmeister has shown, such cosmological designs are to be found on the continent as well as in insular art, often combined with a configuration of zoomorphic motifs, as is found on the Lindau cover.[12]

Another technical feature to be taken into account, the *pierrerie cloisonnée* frame of both the square center of the cross as well as the motifs within the arms, is quite common in Merovingian and early Carolingian art. It can be seen on the Theodelinda covers, but also in works stemming from Burgundian artistic centers, such as the reliquaries at Utrecht and Beromünster. A particularly striking parallel appears on the late-seventh-century disk brooch from Wittislingen, where double-headed snakes form a cross-shaped rosette of apotropaic symbolic significance. Also, corresponding bands in this technique outline the two cross forms on the

26.6 The Enger Reliquary (front view).
Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche
Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (museum
photo)

front of the Enger reliquary (fig. 26.6), draw-
ing double spirals protecting the edges, a motif
similar to that on the Dorestad brooch.[13]

Finally to be noted are the different ani-
mals in *champlevé* enamel technique within
the arms of the cross. The birds on the verti-
cal arms as well as the creatures with mask-
like heads at the horizontal ends have been
assigned to the "Tassilo chalice style" (see
below, fig. 26.12) not only by Haseloff, who
has recently characterized these figures in
detail,[14] but also by Bierbrauer, Guilmain,
and Wamers.[15] Taken together these motifs
are thought to be insular in character, but

continental in provenance. The two-fold
twisted animals in pierced relief on the two
medallions on the vertical arms are in the
so-called gripping-beast style (fig. 26.7).
They differ from the other animals to such
an extent that they might be foreign bodies,
were it not for the correspondence in their
mask-like heads to the creatures on the
cross terminals.

The two original marginal borders of
the cover are composed of twelve animals,
depicting birds, reptiles, and rudimentary
quadrupeds (fig. 26.8). Rosenberg has already
compared them to the animals on the front
of the Enger reliquary, executed in the same
enamel technique (fig. 26.9).[16] Despite the
uncertain provenance of the Enger reliquary,
Rosenberg even ventured a common origin
for both. Another object of comparison, the
"Placa Franca" from the top of the Caja de
las Agatas in the Cámara Santa in Oviedo, is

26.7 "Gripping beasts" (right) from the Earlier Lindau Book Cover (after Guilmain 1971)

26.8-26.9 Animal motifs in cloisonné from the Lindau Book Cover and from the Enger Reliquary (drawings by James Farrant after Haseloff 1990)

From Attila to Charlemagne
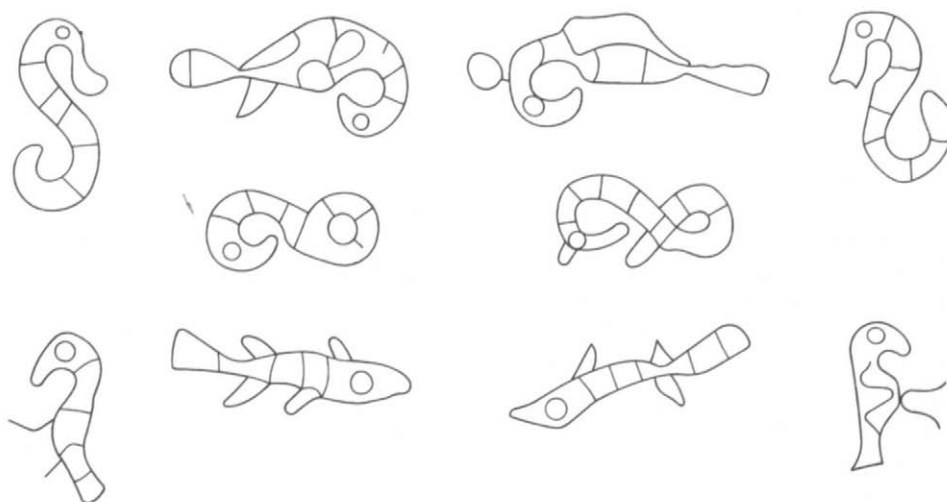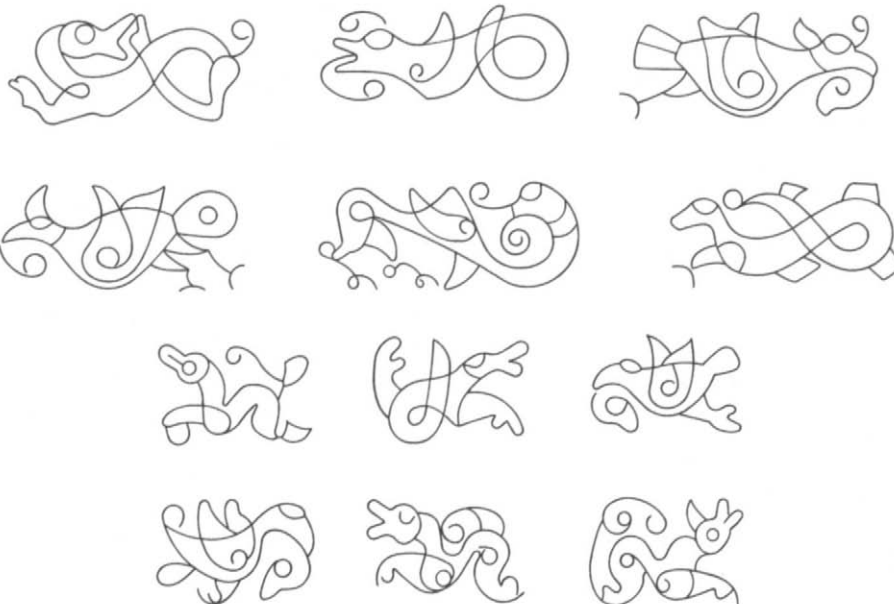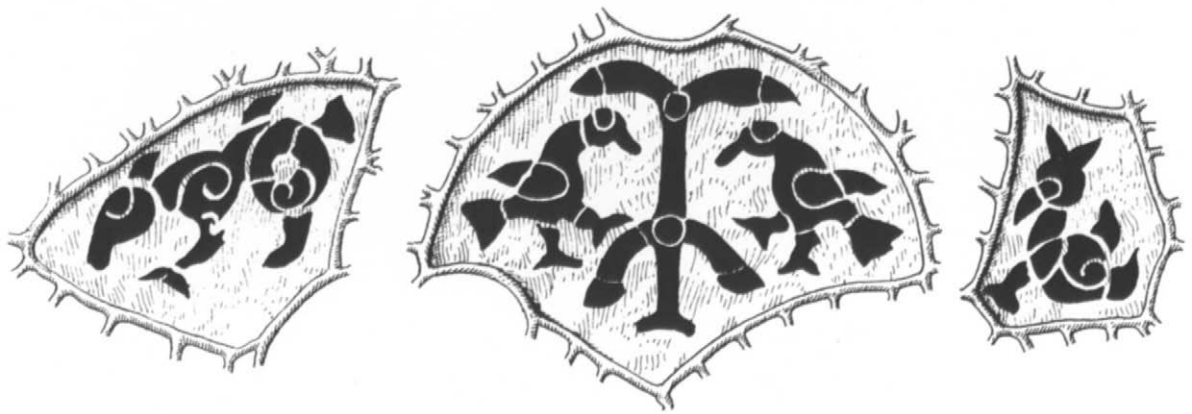
26.10 Animal motifs in enamel from the
"Placa Franca." Oviedo, Cámara Santa

both technically and iconographically related
(fig. 26.10).[17] Such connections provide con-
vincing arguments for the continental char-
acter of these three works. Nevertheless, such
parallels must be drawn with caution, in
view of differences in type, manufacture, and
style of the animal motifs. Generally, the crea-
tures on the Lindau cover seem most akin to
those on the Placa Franca while those latter
animals may be regarded as the earliest in the
group, to which might be added a few other
objects, for instance, a small cross in the
Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, and
the recently discovered Wechloy brooch in
Oldenburg. All date to the second half of the
eighth century.[18]

The other creatures on the Lindau cover
to be examined are the enameled animals
within the corners of the cross arms, with
their ribbonlike bodies, heads twisted back,
and long reptilian tails. While Brøndsted sup-
posed them to be of English manufacture,
Haseloff, referring to the Tassilo chalice style,
assumed an Anglo-Carolingian workshop in
southeastern Germany. Guilmain suggested a
lineage that included the Lindau cover, the

Tassilo chalice, the Fejø cup, the Enger reli-
quary, and the Pettstadt cup at Nuremberg.[19]
This lineage is reinforced with a compari-
son provided by a remarkable brooch in The
Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 25.5).
Apparently of Scandinavian provenance, it
is datable to the eighth century and shows
close analogies to the animals in the quad-
rants of the Lindau book cover. Conversely,
the twisted creatures with their characteris-
tic ringlets, within the shorter vertical arms
of the cross, are comparable to the animals
on a small Gotlandic box brooch in the
Metropolitan (figs. 25.12 and 26.11). Both
examples convincingly confirm the wide-
reaching Anglo-Scandinavian influence on
continental crafts of the period.

The pairs of twisted animals seen in the
medallions in pierced relief have been rec-
ognized as among the earliest specimens of
the gripping-beast style on the continent
(fig. 26.7). The best comparisons are to be
found in Scandinavia: on box brooches, in
the Oseberg find from Norway, and on
related Viking objects, datable mainly toward
the middle of the ninth century and later.
The chronological problem arising from
such a comparison has been noted, and both
Guilmain and Wamers have tended toward
postdating the cover, at least the two medal-
lions, to the early ninth century.[20] On the
other hand, they agree that the cover was

26.11 Box brooch. Copper alloy. Viking, late 8th–9th century. Diameter 5.2 cm. (1992.59.1)

"clearly conceived of a piece . . . and in a single workshop," as Guilmain writes.[21] In seeking to explain this apparent contradiction, Guilmain went back to an earlier view, that of Wright, who spoke of the "eclectic vitality" of the Lindau cover.[22] Indeed, in this single precious object one has to take account of Franco-Merovingian as well as Langobardic-Mediterranean, Anglo-Insular, and Germanic-Scandinavian features and sources. Its chronological proximity to Carolingian art induced Guilmain to state, with regard to the subsequent development of the "Carolingian revival," that the art on the cover moved "in the wrong direction," maintaining traditions that were no longer up to date.[23] Even if one agrees with this assessment, is not the label "eclectic" too

negative a characterization of such an outstanding work as the cover?

An "insular artistic province," located in eighth-century southern Germany, has often been named as a possible source for the Lindau cover. A central determinant of this so-called province was a late-eighth-century "conflict of two spiritual cultures" embodied in the persons of Saint Boniface, apostle to the Germans, who died in 754, and Saint Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, who died in 784.[24] Within this province are grouped a number of manuscripts, along with a few works in precious metal. Their common character is a combination or penetration of continental and insular elements, as seen in the chalice of Tassilo, the third duke of Bavaria, one of the most important objects of this entire period (fig. 26.12). Dated to about 780, it can be reasonably localized to Salzburg, residence of the duke, to Mondsee, or perhaps to the monastery at Kremsmünster, founded by Tassilo in 777, where it is still kept today.[25] Its dedicatory inscription is of an official nature, mentioning the duke and recording his wife, Liutpirc, as the daughter of a king, namely, Desiderius, king of the Langobards. Other important works in metal from this insular province are the Enger reliquary and the apparently earlier Lindau cover.[26]

Nevertheless, controversy remains concerning the specific connections between these various objects. Holter attributed them to a singular artist who was widely traveled; the catalogue of the 1965 Charlemagne exhibition in Aachen spoke of a strong "power of synthesis"; as mentioned, Wright and Guilmain have used the term "eclecticism."[27] Such judgments are complicated by the presence of some genuinely insular works in the region, for instance, the cross in the parish church at Bischofshofen or the Irish manuscripts in the monastery of Saint Gall, which did not exert any recognizable local influence.[28]

In judging the insular art province and its products, it is essential to attach appropri-

ate weight to relevant factors. The first of these is the geographical extension of this insular province. Haseloff, seeing a connection with the traffic route along the Rhine, placed it in western and southwestern Germany.[29] Holter interpreted the insular influence in these areas as an ephemeral element within an artistic development that was otherwise strongly imbued with native Alemannic and Frankish factors.[30] A second relevant factor, which goes beyond this paper, is the issue of related manuscripts, such as the Cuthbert Gospels, the Codex Millenarius, the Montpellier Psalter, and perhaps also the ivory diptych from Saint Martin's Church, Genoels Elderen, Belgium, recently attributed to the province.[31] The Altheus reliquary in Saint Maurice, Sion, recently studied by Thurre,[32] concerns a third factor, namely, technical problems, particularly of contemporary enamel.

None of these considerations, however, fully clarifies the provenance and localization of the earlier Lindau cover itself, though opinions on these subjects remain likewise divergent. Rosenberg placed it in St. Gall; Steenbock argued for an Alemannic-Burgundian center; Volbach vaguely accepted Rosenberg's ideas; Braunfels named no particular place or region; Lasko linked the cover to the Tassilo chalice and thus, more or less, to Salzburg; Haseloff, too, ultimately tended in this direction; Guilmain did not dare "to pinpoint its location"; and Wamers vacillated between Salzburg and St. Gall.[33] This enumeration, with its cautionary variety, nevertheless centers, more or less, on Salzburg.

In all these reflections concerning the Lindau cover, none has brought together for consideration all the factors that contribute to its complexity, while, until recently, only Steenbock and Guilmain have considered its iconography.[34] An integrated analysis of the pictorial elements on the cover must start with the basic motif, the *crux ansata* within its rectangular frame, which is iconographically to be understood as an ideal square.

The cross, generally recognized as a symbol of salvation, indicates the sacral content of the texts of the codex contained between the covers. This general significance is particularized by the center of the cross, with its now missing precious stone referring to the *lapis nimirum pretiosus* (truly precious stone) (1 Peter 2) and thus conveying a Christological interpretation.[35] An especially apt comparative illustration can be seen in the cross miniature in the frontispiece of Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchon,* a Frankish manuscript from the middle of the eighth century (Paris BN lat. 12168).[36] The square center of the cross, reflecting the *forma quadrata mundi,* is furthermore amplified by the fourfold half-figures of Christ, in an antipodal and concentric arrangement (fig. 26.4). Drawing again on Isidore of Seville, the cross represents the scaffold supporting the axes of the world, while the circular form of the arcade-like bows surrounding the figures of Christ-Creator suggests the idea of the cosmic circle, thus completing the diagram represented by the *mundus tetragonus* of the central square.[37]

Regarding the various creatures on the cover, it is hardly sufficient to speak of the artist simply as an "animal man," as does Guilmain.[38] Pairs of birds, for instance, were associated with the cross from early Christian times; less easy to interpret are the other creatures. Animals surrounding the cross, interpreted as the "tree of life," served an apotropaic as well as a delimiting function. There can often be discerned in Early Medieval pictorial compositions a meaningful tension between a sacred symbol and its margins, the latter representing a zone of insecurity and even menace. This zone of uncertainty contrasts with the unambiguous iconographic interpretation of the center portion of the cross, site of redemption.

The cloisonné enamels from two of the four borders contribute importantly to an integrated interpretation of the cover. These twelve small plaques showing birds, quadrupeds, and fishlike reptiles, grouped in

fours, find correspondences on the Placa Franca and the Enger reliquary (fig. 26.9).[39] An understanding of these, as the basic *genera animantium,* the species of creatures of the earth, air, and water, is derived from the first chapter of Genesis and is reflected in a number of works of Early Medieval decorative book art, both continental and insular. Even Guilmain has recently accepted this interpretation, advanced by Werckmeister and myself for the Lindau cover.[40]

Though only two of the four borders of the original frame are preserved, the series of animals, whether twelve or twenty-four, along with other figural and abstract elements, form an enclosure within which appears the *Heilsbild,* an image of salvation, from whose sacred center all strength emanates.[41] Thus, Isidore of Seville writes of Christ's creative power: *". . . ut in circumscripta magnitudinis suae immensitate omnia concludat. Per id ergo quod exterior est, ostenditur esse creator"* (that he includes everything in the immensity of his greatness, because he is shown to be the creator from what appears outside).[42] Works like the Placa Franca, the Enger reliquary (fig. 26.6), and the Dorestad brooch seek to engender similar significance by their formal composition as well as pictorial testimony. We should also note that comparative pieces, such as the Adelhausen portable altar (fig. 26.3), the Dorestad brooch, and the Enger reliquary, likewise gather these many elements into groups of three, four, even up to twelve elements. Number symbolism pervades Early Medieval art, confirming its iconographic importance.

The twisted animals seen in the quadrants between the arms of the cross, forming the background of the *figura crucis,* are individually not easy to interpret. Early Medieval works of art, however, often incorporate a sacred sign surrounded by secondary iconographic elements, which serve to protect or to emphasize it. Thus, in the Book of Durrow, three tiny circles symbolizing the Holy Trinity are situated amid interlaced patterns and, on the outer borders, by animals.[43] The Lindau cover attempts a more sophisticated application of this concept, namely a renewal, in visual form, of the Creation, with its representation of the different creatures mentioned in the first book of Genesis (*"producant aquae reptile animae viventis . . .",* alongside the symbol of the cross, emerging from the chaotic beginnings of creation). Werckmeister has demonstrated the significance of this visual re-Creation on the example of the so-called Chi-Rho page in the Book of Kells.[44] This particular representation appears in more than twenty works of Early Medieval art from the sixth to the tenth century, clearly demonstrating its iconographic importance. A number of these come from southern Germany, which may be presumed to be the home of the earlier Lindau cover.[45]

When assessing the insular influence of this important work of art, we must decide which of those insular elements are primary and which are secondary. In this context, Holter found a preponderance of continental factors over insular features in the stylistically related Cuthbert manuscript.[46] The same can be said of the chalice of Tassilo (fig. 26.12), where the dominant figural elements are continental in character, while the auxiliary ornamental elements are mainly insular. In the case of Lindau, too, its more important anthropomorphic elements are of Mediterranean, or continental, origin, while the ornamental animal elements, mainly insular or Nordic in motif and style, can be considered subordinate and secondary.

At this point, we again raise the issue of the localization of the "insular art province," and thus the earlier Lindau cover, for which it is appropriate to consider cultural and political factors. The Tassilo chalice, one of the few relatively well dated objects of this period, from about 780, possesses a quasi-official status. Its inscription reads: TASSILO DUX FORTIS (Tassilo valiant duke)— LIVTPIRCVIRGA REGALIS (Liutpric

royal offspring).[47] A similar ceremonial
dedication can be seen on the Theodelinda
covers from Monza (fig. 26.2). It may be
asked whether something comparable could
not also be assumed for the Lindau cover,
namely, a dedication on a presumed match-
ing, and now missing, front cover.

Holter interpreted the works of the
insular art province as diametrically opposed
to the court art of Charlemagne, although
insular elements are to be found in early
works of the Carolingian revival, such as the
Godescalc Gospels dated 782/83.[48] As men-
tioned, other scholars, in their consideration
of the historical situation, have spoken of a
"conflict of two spiritual cultures," the one
represented by the Anglo-Saxon archbishop
Boniface, residing at Mainz, the other by the
bishop of Salzburg, the Irishman Virgil. The
differences between the two Churchmen—
Boniface showing loyalty to Rome and the
pope, Virgil being more cautious in this
regard—are evident in the areas of liturgy,
ritual, and monastic discipline. Virgil also
sought to maintain the independence of his
bishopric in the face of Boniface's claims of
pontifical primacy in Germany.[49]

Alongside such ecclesiastical discord,
there were vital political issues at stake in
this part of the Carolingian kingdom,[50] for
instance, strained political relations between
the Bavarian duke Tassilo and the Frankish
king, his cousin Charlemagne, who was later
to become emperor. Until the death of
Charlemagne's brother, Carloman, in 771,
Bavaria undoubtedly occupied a key position
between the *Regnum Francorum* and the
Langobardic kingdom of northern and cen-
tral Italy. Both Tassilo and Charlemagne were
married, certainly for political reasons, to
daughters of the Langobardic king Desider-
ius. After Carloman's death, Charlemagne
promptly dismissed his wife and sent her
back to her father. Even her name remains
unknown, a remarkable *damnatio memoriae*.[51]
Two years after her dismissal, the king fought
the Langobards and took possession of their
kingdom, while Duke Tassilo continued his

26.12 The Chalice of Duke Tassilo of
Bavaria. Kremsmünster, Stiftssammlung
(photo Stift Kremsmünster)

own political initiatives, but now directed
against Carinthia and the Avars in Pannonia/
Hungary. When Pope Hadrian I, despite hav-
ing a relationship with the duke established
through his personally baptizing Tassilo's
son in 772, ranged himself politically with
Charlemagne in 781, the duke's position was
shattered. Compelled to resign, after the
Council of Frankfurt in 794 he became a
monk and, together with his family and the
claims of Bavaria, disappeared forever from

the historical record. No one knows even where he was buried.[52]

These contemporary political and ecclesiastical factors and the personalities involved shed light on this south German "insular art province" and the position within it of the Lindau cover. Such a work was obviously made for a mighty and wealthy patron. No other work of art corresponds so completely to the Lindau cover as does the chalice of Duke Tassilo (fig. 26.12) in motifs and stylistic features, in its mixture of continental and insular factors, and not least in its spiritual content. Thus, consideration of the Lindau cover should extend to the great personality of Duke Tassilo and to the historical situation associated with him. A convincing locale for the manufacture of major works like the chalice and the cover would be an important monastic or episcopal center within the Bavarian duke's power, such as the abbeys of Mondsee and Kremsmünster or the seat of the bishop, the city of Salzburg, which was also a residence of the duke.

A recently proposed dating of the cover to the ninth century, based on the gripping-beast style (fig. 26.7),[53] has been argued. But can the Lindau cover, with all its technical, stylistic, and iconographic complexity, reasonably be dated so late as the year 800? Virgil's successor in Salzburg, Arn, appointed in 785 by Charlemagne himself, was on the best of terms with the Frankish king's closest advisor, the Anglo-Saxon priest Alcuin. Manuscript production under the new archbishop shows a clear turn in the direction of the Carolingian revival. In terms of the art-historical development in the region and the necessity of a wealthy and mighty patron, a date after 800 for the production of the precious cover, that is, long after the art-loving

Bavarian duke had disappeared from the scene, does not seem correct. It is more plausible to assume a date before the duke's deposition in 788 and moreover to suggest a site of manufacture for the Lindau cover in or near Salzburg. The duke and his bishop had built a new cathedral there and had made the city a center of education, ecclesiastical culture, and the arts.

A remark should be added, which can only be speculative, concerning the original front half of the cover. May it have borne a dedication like the inscription on the Tassilo chalice at Kremsmünster, or even a figural representation of the duke, who, we may imagine, commissioned the cover? If so, the elimination of the front cover would have been, after Tassilo's deposition and banishment from Bavaria, further evidence of the duke's *damnatio memoriae*.[54] The remaining back cover, however, was unobjectionable enough to serve almost a century later, after a slight correction in its size, for a new manuscript. At this point it was paired with an equally precious and artistically skillful late Carolingian counterpart representing the crucifixion of Christ in the style of the imperial court school of Charles the Bald. There remains, however, the question of whether this "younger" Lindau cover, with its extremely rich appearance, did not originally contain an equally rich, imperial manuscript. If so, how did the earlier back cover and the lavish front cover, made one hundred years later, become united with a codex which, artistically, has little to do with either of them? And, last, how did these come to the convent at Lindau, with which neither the covers nor the codex had any connection? All these questions deserve further reflection and discussion.

1. Harrsen 1958, pp. 6ff., no. 4; Steenbock 1965, pp. 92ff., no. 21 (with earlier literature). See Landsberger 1912, on the Folchard Psalter.
2. Lasko 1972, p. 66; Elbern 1988, pp. 88ff.
3. Rosenberg 1922, p. 69.
4. Rosenberg 1918, p. 22; Steenbock 1965, pp. 92ff.
5. Steenbock 1965, nn. 3–4; Micheli 1936, pp. 70ff.; Haseloff 1951; Haseloff 1990; H. Roth 1986a, p. 265, no. 12; Guilmain 1971, pp. 3ff.; Wilson 1991, no. 132; Wamers 1994a, pp. 120ff., no. V/4.
6. See Rosenberg 1922, p. 69; and Haseloff 1990, pp. 86ff.
7. Holter 1985, pp. 258ff.; Bierbrauer 1988, pp. 337ff.; Elbern 1990, p. 104.
8. Haseloff 1990, pp. 86ff.
9. For the Theodelinda cover, see Frazer 1976, pp. 24f., and Elbern 1989–90, p. 13.
10. Elbern 1954, H. 6–8, pp. 5ff.; Elbern 1971a, esp. pp. 85ff.; Elbern 1989–90, pp. 21f.
11. For the Langobardic gold-foil crosses, see Fuchs 1938 and Haseloff 1956, figs. 5–6; see also Peroni 1967, figs. 89–92, 96; Menghin 1985, table 32; Die Bajuwaren 1988, fig. 58.
12. Werckmeister 1964, vol. 2, esp. pp. 690ff.; Werckmeister 1967, esp. pp. 147ff.
13. Elbern 1988, figs. 2, 4, 7, 10, 14.
14. Haseloff 1990, p. 86
15. Bierbrauer 1988, p. 337; Wamers 1994a, no. V/4. See also Wamers 1999, VII, pp. 24f.
16. Rosenberg 1918, p. 28.
17. Elbern 1961, p. 188. The animal motifs on the "Cruz de la Victoria" in Oviedo referred to in Haseloff 1990, pp. 89f., are only partially comparable because of their significantly later date.
18. Elbern 1961, pp. 190f. Thurre 1993, p. 144, places Enger at the beginning of the series (third quarter of eighth century), the "Placa Franca" in the middle (end of eighth century), and the enamels of the Lindau cover to about 825.
19. Brøndsted 1924, pp. 154ff.; Micheli 1936, pp. 71, 73; Guilmain 1971, p. 3; Wamers 1994a, no. V/4: "eine späte Phase dieses [Tassilo-] Stils und eine Variante . . ."
20. Guilmain 1971, pp. 5f. and corresponding notes; Wamers 1994a, no. V/4.
21. Guilmain 1971, p. 12; also Bierbrauer 1988, p. 337.
22. Wright 1964, pp. 37ff.; Guilmain 1971, p. 15.
23. Guilmain 1971, p. 15.
24. O'Néill 1985, pp. 77ff.
25. Haseloff 1951, v. a. pp. 64ff.; more distantly, Bierbrauer 1988, pp. 328ff.
26. Finally Elbern 1990, pp. 96ff., and Wamers 1994a, no. V/4.
27. Holter 1962, pp. 321ff.; Wright 1964, pp. 37ff.; Karl der Große 1965, no. 452; Guilmain 1971, p. 7.
28. On the Bischofshofen cross, see Topic-Mersmann 1984, pp. 125ff.; Bierbrauer 1978, pp. 223ff.;

Bierbrauer 1985, pp. 229ff.; Fillitz and Pippal 1987, no. 1. On the question of the St. Gall Irish manuscripts, see Duft 1956, pp. 241ff.
29. Haseloff 1951, pp. 67ff.
30. Holter 1965, p. 74.
31. As in the frequent citations of Haseloff, Holter, Bierbrauer, and others. For the latest determinations on the Genoels Elderen diptych, see Neuman de Vegvar 1990, pp. 8ff.
32. Thurre 1993, pp. 126ff.
33. Rosenberg 1922, p. 69; Elbern 1962–64, no. 283; Steenbock 1965, no. 21; Braunfels 1968, pp. 88ff.; Lasko 1972, pp. 8f.; Fillitz and Pippal 1987, no. 2; Wamers 1994a, no. V/4.
34. Steenbock 1965, no. 21; Guilmain 1971, pp. 12f.
35. Elbern 1954, pp. 10ff.; Werckmeister 1964, pp. 691ff.; Werckmeister 1974, pp. 153ff.; Elbern 1971b, pp. 13, 49, and Elbern 1974, pp. 43, 63, 77.
36. Hubert, Porcher, and Volbach 1969, p. 167 and fig. 188.
37. See Werckmeister 1967, on the terms "Himmelsbilder" and "Himmelskreis."
38. Guilmain 1971, p. 15.
39. For early-medieval examples, see Elbern 1974, pp. 78ff.
40. Elbern 1961, pp. 196ff; Guilmain 1971, p. 12; finally also Wamers 1994a, no. V/4.
41. Meyer 1950, p. 63.
42. Isidore of Seville, Sentent. 1, 2, 1–3 (P.L. 83, 541), as cited in Werckmeister 1967, p. 123.
43. Elbern 1971b, esp. pp. 350ff.
44. Werckmeister 1964, esp. 702ff.
45. See the conclusions drawn in Elbern 1983, esp. p. 28. See also recently Elbern 1999.
46. Holter 1962, p. 324; Holter 1965, p. 110.
47. Haseloff 1951, pp. 64ff.; Fillitz and Pippal 1987, no. 2; Elbern 1990, pp. 99ff.
48. Holter 1985, p. 261. On the Godescalc Gospels, see the illustration in Mütherich and Gaehde 1976, tables 1–3.
49. O'Néill 1985, pp. 76ff.
50. Schmidinger 1985, pp. 92ff.
51. Wolf 1996, pp. 403f.
52. Wolfram 1988, pp. 160ff.; Fried 1994, pp. 114f.
53. Guilmain 1971, p. 13: "The dating of the cover seems to lock around 800"; Wamers 1994a, no. V/4: "vielleicht sogar in das frühe 9. Jahrhundert." The late dating in D. Wilson 1991, "Anglo Carolinum, c. 825," thus almost a half century after the Tassilo chalice, seems extreme and would only make sense if the derivative and corrupted animal motifs on the Enger reliquary could also be placed later.
54. On the relationship between the Bavarian duke Tassilo and his cousin Charlemagne, including his political checkmate with the king, compare Fried 1994, p. 114, and Wolf 1992, pp. 353ff. See also Elbern 1997, v.a. p. 9.

Pete Dandridge

Materials and Techniques in the Early Medieval Collection: A Checklist of the Illustrated Objects

The creation of a database cataloguing the holdings of The Metropolitan Museum of Art has prompted a reexamination of their history and of the materials and techniques represented in the collections. All the objects discussed in the preceding essays have been examined in the Museum's Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, and the checklist published here incorporates the results of the examination of the pieces illustrated in this volume. A checklist of the Merovingian-period glass in the Metropolitan is to be found at the end of the essay by Vera Evison (see pp. 279–81).

Organized by year of accession, the checklist includes all the illustrated works which are catalogued for the Department of Medieval Art and also some that are catalogued for the Department of Arms and Armor and for the Department of Greek and Roman Art. The bulk of the material discussed in this volume comes from the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan (d. 1913) and was given to the Museum in 1917 by his son, J. Pierpont Morgan Jr. The 1917 material was registered in five groups. Those prefixed 17.190... and 17.194... contain miscellaneous archeological pieces and important groups, but primarily the nonarcheological part of this collection.

The 17.191... group consists largely of two French archeological collections from the Marne and Aube valleys. They were published in de Ricci 1911, and the Museum numbers follow those of that catalogue. The 17.192... group contains the archeological collection of Stanislas Baron, published in de Ricci 1910a and the Museum numbers follow that of the catalogue. The 17.193... group contains the Queckenberg collection from the Merovingian cemetery at Niederbreisig, published in de Ricci 1910b, and the Museum numbers follow the catalogue.

The examination of provenance and previous collection history has long been part of the Museum's ongoing research. This information is being included in a computerized catalogue of the collections, The Museum System (TMS). Ultimately, this will also be available on the Museum's website (www.metmuseum.org). Thus the information provided here is provisional and not necessarily complete. The names of previous collectors are included. Dealers, where known, are indicated by square brackets. For the geographic location of the known or probable find spots of objects referred to in the checklist, see the maps on pages xi, 14, and 19. Where possible, all items have been ascribed a date,

however broad, and a culture, except for the belt fittings from the Vrap treasure and for objects too widely used or of uncertain origin. In general, the cultural attribution refers to that of the users rather than the culture of origin when the two are different. The culture of origin, when identified, is used in those papers in which the background is made a part of the discussion.

In the technical section of the checklist, objects are identified in the following manner: (1) an object's principal material (copper alloy, gold, etc.); (2) its primary technique (cast, wrought sheet, rod, etc.); (3) its secondary techniques (engraving, chasing, punching, repoussé, etc.); and (4) any applied decoration (wire, granulation, cells, settings, strips, gilding, etc.). Where analytic or microscopic methods have allowed for further specificity, generic descriptions (such as copper alloy) have been refined (e.g., bronze). A technical element may also be further qualified, for instance, wire (strip twisted, beaded); or cells—cloisons (silver), garnet, glass (red cabochon). No descriptions have been provided if an object's materials or techniques were unclear on examination.

Many of the objects are composite, and in these instances the name of each successive element is highlighted in italics,

followed by specific materials and techniques, with the topmost element listed first. For instance, an earring might be described as follows: *Hoop*: silver—rod. *Pendant*: silver—wrought sheet; settings—glass (red); granulation; gilt. *Suspension Loop*: silver—wrought rod.

Rivets, where extant, have been identified, but their description is difficult. In some instances, a purely decorative cap was placed over the rivet, while in others the cap is functional, joined to the shank. Delineating which technique was used is complicated by the lack of visual access to the underside of many of the caps, as well as the poor state of preservation. Given these constraints, the term "cap" is used to describe the top of the rivet, whether integral to the shaft, attached, or purely decorative. Similarly, "tinning" is used regardless of whether it refers to the application of a thin layer of tin or an alloy of tin and lead to a copper alloy substrate.

In the case of items that form a pair, both are included in the checklist, even though only one may be illustrated. A number in brackets { } after a plate number refers to the essay in which that item is discussed; otherwise the figure number is a guide to the paper concerned.

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95.15.4
Finger Ring with Etruscan
Intaglio
Band: gold—wrought sheet, rod.
Bezel: gold—wrought sheet;
applied; setting—banded agate;
granulation.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
D. 2.4 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.16

95.15.79–.83
Five Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 3.3, 4.6, 3.4, 3.2 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.17

95.15.84 (paired with 95.15.85)
Earring
Hoop: gold—wrought; wire—
beaded (strip twisted), spooled
(strip twisted); granulation.
Pendant: gold—wrought sheet;
settings; wire—plain (strip twist-
ed), beaded (strip twisted); gran-
ulation. *Suspension loops*: gold—
wrought.
Italian, 6th–7th c.
H. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.11

95.15.85 (paired with 95.15.84)
Earring
Hoop: gold—wrought; wire—
beaded (strip twisted); granula-
tion. *Pendant*: gold—wrought
sheet; settings; wire—plain (strip
twisted), beaded (strip twisted);
granulation. *Suspension loops*:
gold.
Italian, 6th–7th c.
H. 4.1 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.11

95.15.86
Earring
Hoop: gold—wrought; wire—
spirally beaded, beaded, spooled.
Pendant: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—glass (clear); wire—spi-
rally beaded, beaded; granula-
tion. *Suspension loops*: gold—

block twisted.
Italian, 6th–7th c.
H. 4.2 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.12

95.15.87
Earring
Hoop: gold—wrought; wire—
plain; granulation. *Pendant*:
gold—wrought sheet; settings—
glass (blue); wire—rope; granula-
tion. *Suspension loops*: gold—spi-
rally beaded.
Italian, 6th–7th c.
H. 4.4 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.13

95.15.88 (belongs with 95.15.91, .92)
Dagger Remains with
Suspension Mounts
Gold—wrought sheet; engraved;
wire—beaded. *Rivets*: gold.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 13.3 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.4

95.15.89, .90
Ornaments from a Sword
Grip
Gold—wrought sheet; wire—
plain (strip twisted), beaded.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 2.5, 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.2

95.15.91 (belongs with 95.15.88, .92)
Chape from a Dagger
Scabbard
Gold—wrought sheet; engraved;
wire—beaded. *Rivets*: gold.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 4.8 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.6

95.15.92 (belongs with 95.15.88, .91)
Terminal from a Dagger
Grip

Gold—wrought sheet; engraved;
wire—beaded. *Rivets*: gold.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 4.6 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.5

95.15.93
Buckle Tongue
Gold—wrought sheet; cells—
garnets (patterned foil), glass
(red). Restoration.
Ostrogothic, second half 5th c.
L. 3.2 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Pl. 5d

95.15.94
Stud
Gold; wire—beaded.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
D. 1.9 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.13

95.15.96a (belongs with
95.15.96a–c; paired with
95.15.97a–c)
Shoe Buckle
Attachment plate: gold—cast;
punched. *Rivets*: shank—silver,
cap—gold; wire—gold (beaded).
Tongue, loop: gold—cast.
Byzantine-Langobardic, last
third of 6th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 5.4 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.14

95.15.96b (belongs with
95.15.96a–c, paired with
95.15.97a–c)
Strap End
Gold—cast; punched. *Rivets*:
shank—silver, cap—gold;
wire—gold (beaded).
Byzantine-Langobardic, last
third of 6th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 3 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.14

95.15.96c (belongs with
95.15.96a–c, paired with
95.15.97a–c)
Backplate
Top plate: gold—cast; punched.
Base plate: silver—wrought
sheet. *Rivets*: shank—silver,
cap—gold; wire—gold
(beaded).
Byzantine-Langobardic, last
third of 6th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 2 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.14

95.15.97a (belongs with
95.15.97a–c, paired with
95.15.96a–c)
Shoe Buckle
Attachment plate: gold—cast;
punched. *Rivets*: shank—silver,
cap—gold; wire—gold (beaded).
Tongue, loop: gold—cast.
Byzantine-Langobardic, last
third of 6th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 5.6 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.15

95.15.97b (belongs with
95.15.97a–c, paired with
95.15.96a–c)
Strap End
Gold—cast; punched. *Rivets*:
shank—silver, cap—gold;
wire—beaded.
Byzantine-Langobardic, last
third of 6th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 2.9 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.15

95.15.97c (belongs with
95.15.97a–c, paired with
95.15.96a–c)
Backplate
Top plate: gold—cast; punched;
wire—beaded. *Base plate*: sil-
ver—wrought sheet. *Rivets*:
shank—silver, cap—gold.
Byzantine-Langobardic, last
third of 6th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 1.9 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.15

95.15.98a (belongs with
95.15.98b)
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
gold—cast; chased.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 5.3 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.10

95.15.98b (belongs with
95.15.98a)
Strap End
Top plate: gold—cast; chased.
Base plate: gold—wrought sheet.
Rivet: gold.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 3.4 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.11

95.15.99
Buckle
Attachment plate: gold—wrought
sheet; wire—beaded. *Tongue,
loop*: gold—cast; chased.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
From Castel Trosino, Ascoli
Piceno, Marches, Italy
L. 5.9 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.12

95.15.100a,c, 95.15.104b
Belt Buckle
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased; garnets.
Gothic, 6th c.
L. 12.4 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 10.11

95.15.100a
Buckle Attachment Plate
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased; garnets.
Gothic, 6th–7th c.
L. 8.7 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 10.11

95.15.100b
Buckle Loop
Silver—cast relief and settings;

chased; garnets.
Gothic, 6th c.
L. 5.5 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 10.12

95.15.100c
Buckle Tongue
Silver—cast; chased.
Gothic, 6th–7th c.
L. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 10.11

95.15.101
Disk Brooch
Gold—wrought sheet; settings—
onyx cameo, glass (red and
green cabochons); wire—spirally
beaded (strip twisted), rope
(strip twisted); wavy ribbon.
Byzantine-Langobardic, 7th c.
with a 2nd- or 3rd- c. cameo
D. 6.1 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 13.19, Pl. 6d {13}

95.15.102
Buckle Attachment Plate
Top, side and base plate: gold—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets.
Backplate: silver—wrought sheet
(riveted to hinge strap). *Rivets*.
Restoration.
Frankish(?), second half 5th c.
L. 3 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 19.1, Pl. 5d {19}

95.15.103ab
Buckle
Attachment plate: silver—cast
relief and settings; chased; gar-
nets; gilt. *Rivets*: silver. *Backplate*:
silver—wrought sheet. *Loop*: sil-
ver, cast relief and settings;
chased; garnets; gilt. *Tongue*: sil-
ver—cast; chased; partial gilt.
Ostrogothic, second half
5th–early 6th c.
L. 16.4 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 12.1, Pl. 4 {12}

95.15.104a (similar to
95.15.100a)
Buckle Attachment Plate
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased; garnets (cabochons);
gilt.
Gothic, 6th–beginning of 7th c.

L. 8.8 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
{10}

95.15.104b (attached to
95.15.100a,c)
Buckle Loop
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased; garnets (cabochons);
gilt.
Gothic, 6th–7th c.
L. 4.1 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 10.11

95.15.104c
Buckle Tongue
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased; gilt.
Gothic, 6th–beginning of 7th c.
L. 4.8 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
{10}

95.15.118 (paired with
95.15.119)
Earring
Hoop: gold. *Pendant*: gold—
wrought sheet; setting; wire—
plain (strip twisted), beaded;
granulation. *Suspension loop*:
gold.
Italian, 6th–7th c.
H. 4.6 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.1

95.15.119 (paired with
95.15.118)
Earring
Hoop: gold. *Pendant*: gold—
wrought sheet; settings; wire—
block twisted, beaded; granula-
tion. *Suspension loop*: gold.
Italian, 6th–7th c.
H. 4.6 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.1

95.15.120
Earring
Hoop: gold. *Pendant*: gold—
wrought sheet; settings; wire—
block twisted, beaded; granula-
tion. *Suspension loop*: gold.
Italian, 6th–7th c.
H. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.5

95.15.121
Earring
Hoop: gold; settings; wire—
block twisted, beaded. *Pendant*:
gold—wrought sheet; settings—
garnets (patterned foil); wire—
beaded; wavy ribbon; granula-
tion. *Suspension loop*: gold.
Italian, 7th c.
H. 5 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.8

95.15.124 (paired with
95.15.125)
Earring
Hoop: gold; wire—plain (strip
twisted), beaded; attachment
loop—strip (half round).
Pendant: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—glass (turquoise), pearl;
wire—plain (strip twisted),
beaded; wavy ribbon; granula-
tion. *Suspension loop*: gold.
Italian, 7th c.
H. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.6

95.15.125 (paired with
95.15.124)
Earring
Hoop: gold; wire—plain (strip
twisted), beaded; attachment
loop—strip (half round).
Pendant: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—glass (blue, turquoise),
pearl; wire—plain (strip twist-
ed), beaded; wavy ribbon; gran-
ulation. *Suspension loop*: gold.
Italian, 7th c.
H. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.6

95.15.126
Earring
Hoop: gold; settings—garnets
(patterned foil); wire—block
twisted, beaded; granulation.
Pendant: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—garnets (patterned
foil); wire—beaded; granulation.
Italian, 6th–7th c.
H. 5 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter,
Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.7

95.15.127
Earring
Hoop: gold; wire—beaded; gran-
ulation. *Pendant*: gold—wrought
sheet; wire—block twisted,

beaded; granulation. *Suspension loop*: gold—block twisted.
Italian, end of 6th–7th c.
H. 4.1 cm
Ex coll.: Samuel T. Baxter, Florence
Purchase, 1895
Fig. 14.2

98.11.67
Diadem
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic, early 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 12.6 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.3

98.11.69 (approx. 36 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
D. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.2q

98.11.70 (3 variations—117 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
D. 0.5–1.3 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Figs. 10.2b, d, e

98.11.71 (2 variations—approx. 36 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 1.1, 1.3 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Figs. 10.2a, j

98.11.72 (2 variations—36 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 0.7 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.2c

98.11.73 (4 variations—56 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 0.7–1.1 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Figs. 10.2h, i, m

98.11.74 (approx. 26 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 1.6 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.2p

98.11.75 (5 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 1.1 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.2f

98.11.77
Appliqué
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 1.1 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.2n

98.11.81 (2 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 1.5 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.2k

98.11.87
Appliqué
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 2 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.2o

98.11.89 (2 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 1.1 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.2g

98.11.90 (4 appliqués)
Appliqués
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Ostrogothic or nomadic (?), first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.2l

98.11.94 (paired with 98.11.95)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rope. *Polyhedral bead*: gold—wrought sheet; granulation.
Ostrogothic, 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.6

98.11.95 (paired with 98.11.94)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rope. *Polyhedral bead*: gold—wrought sheet; granulation.
Ostrogothic, 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 2.5 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.6

98.11.105 (paired with 98.11.106)
Earring
Hoop: silver—wrought rod.
Polyhedral bead: silver—cast.
Ostrogothic, 5th–6th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
D. 2.70 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.5

98.11.106 (paired with 98.11.105)
Earring
Hoop: silver—wrought rod.
Polyhedral bead: silver—cast.
Ostrogothic, 5th–6th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
D. 2.90 cm

Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.5

98.11.107 (paired with 98.11.108)
Bow Brooch
Silver—cast. *Pin*: copper alloy.
Ostrogothic, first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 7.2 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.8

98.11.108 (paired with 98.11.107)
Bow Brooch
Silver—cast. *Pin*: copper alloy.
Ostrogothic, first half 5th c.
From Kerch, Ukraine
L. 7.3 cm
Ex coll.: [Tiffany & Company, New York]
Purchase, 1898
Fig. 10.8

17.190.147
Ceremonial Belt
Settings: gold—wrought sheet; wire—beaded. *Coins*: gold—stamped.
Byzantine, late 6th c.
From Karavás, Cyprus in 1902 (known as the Second Cyprus Treasure)
L. 67.5 cm
Ex coll.: [Amedeo Canessa, Paris]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 11.1

17.190.148 (paired with 17.190.149)
Bracelet
Face, band: gold—wrought sheet, rod; engraved; wire—plain, beaded; granulation; strip—triangular sectioned.
Byzantine, 6th–7th c.
From Karavás, Cyprus in 1902 (known as the Second Cyprus Treasure)
D. 6 cm
Ex coll.: [Amedeo Canessa, Paris]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 7.17

17.190.149 (paired with 17.190.148)
Bracelet
Face, band: gold—wrought sheet, rod; engraved; wire—plain, beaded; granulation; strip—triangular sectioned.
Byzantine, 6th–7th c.

From Karavás, Cyprus in 1902
(known as the Second Cyprus
Treasure)
D. 5.9 cm
Ex coll.: [Amedeo Canessa,
Paris]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New
York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 7.16

17.190.697
Shoe Buckle
Attachment plate (side, base plate):
gold—wrought sheet; cells—
cloisons (gold), garnets.
Backplate: gold—wrought sheet
(extension of hinge straps).
Tongue, loop: gold—cast.
Hunnic (?), first half 5th c.
L. 4.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 10.4, 19.3, Pl. 5c {10, 19}

17.190.698
Collar Pendant
Gold—wrought sheet; cells—
garnets (patterned foil), glass
(green); wire—beaded.
Suspension loops: gold—rod.
Ostrogothic, late 5th–early 6th c.
From Domagnano, Republic of
San Marino
H. 4.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 12.3, Pl. 5b {12}

17.190.1644
Strip
Gold—wrought strip (molding)
Second half 7th–first half 8th c.
(?)
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 64.8 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria, J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1645
Strip
Gold—wrought strip (molding)
Second half 7th–first half 8th c.
(?)
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 59.6 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria, J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1646
Strip
Gold—wrought strip (molding)

Second half 7th–first half 8th c.
(?)
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 63.3 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria, J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1656
Pendant Necklace
Pendants: gold—wrought sheet;
scribed, engraved, chased,
punched; wire—beaded; granu-
lation.
Byzantine, 6th–7th c.
L. 55 cm
Ex coll.: [Amadeo Canessa,
Paris]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New
York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 11.6

17.190.1662
Buckle
Attachment plate: gold—wrought
sheet; wire—beaded; granula-
tion. *Tongue*: gold—wrought
sheet; setting. *Loop*: gold.
Byzantine or Byzantine-
Langobardic, 6th–7th c.
L. 5.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 11.5

17.190.1664
Pectoral
Pectoral: gold—wrought sheet;
wire—plain, beaded; strip—
zigzag; granulation, flattened
granules. *Central medallions*:
gold—cast disk; repoussé,
punched. *Coins*: gold—stamped.
Circular inserts: gold; inlaid—
niello.
Byzantine, mid 6th c.
Said to have been found near
Assiût or Antinoë (Upper
Egypt)
D. 24 cm
Ex coll.: [Maurice Nahman,
Cairo]; J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 7.18, 7.19

17.190.1665 (paired with
17.190.1666)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; granulation.
Suspension elements: gold—
wrought sheet, rod; wire—plain
(strip twisted), rope (strip twist-
ed); pearls.
Byzantine, 6th c.
Said to have been found near
Assiût or Antinoë (Upper

Egypt)
H. 8.3 cm
Ex coll.: [Maurice Nahman,
Cairo]; J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 7.4

17.190.1666 (paired with
17.190.1665)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; granulation.
Suspension elements: gold—
wrought sheet, rod; wire—plain
(strip twisted), rope (strip twist-
ed); pearls.
Byzantine, 6th c.
Said to have been found near
Assiût or Antinoë (Upper
Egypt)
H. 8.3 cm
Ex coll.: [Maurice Nahman,
Cairo]; J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 7.4

17.190.1667
Necklace
Gold—wrought sheet, rod;
wire—block twisted, beaded;
strip—rectangular sectioned;
granulation; pearl, quartz, sap-
phire, smokey quartz.
Byzantine, 6th–7th c.
Said to have been found near
Assiût or Antinoë (Upper
Egypt)
L. 45.2 cm
Ex coll.: [Maurice Nahman,
Cairo]; J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 7.1

17.190.1668 (paired with
17.190.1669)
Bracelet
Face, band: gold—wrought sheet;
scribed, punched, engraved;
granulation. *Screw mechanism*:
gold—wrought sheet, rod;
repoussé.
Late Roman, 5th c.
Said to have been found near
Assiût or Antinoë (Upper
Egypt)
D. 6.8 cm
Ex coll.: [Maurice Nahman,
Cairo]; J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 7.8, Pl. 1 {7}

17.190.1669 (paired with
17.190.1668)
Bracelet
Face, band: gold—wrought sheet;
scribed, punched, engraved;
granulation. *Screw mechanism*:
gold—wrought sheet, rod;

repoussé.
Late Roman, 5th c.
Said to have been found near
Assiût or Antinoë (Upper
Egypt)
D. 7 cm
Ex coll.: [Maurice Nahman,
Cairo]; J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 7.7, 7.9, Pl. 1 {7}

17.190.1670 (paired with
17.190.1671)
Bracelet
Face: top plate—gold—wrought
sheet, rod; settings—pearl, sap-
phire; backplate—gold—
wrought sheet; scribed,
punched, engraved. *Band*: top
plate—gold—wrought sheet,
rod; settings—amethyst, emerald
plasma, glass, quartz, pearl, sap-
phire (silver liners in settings);
wire—bead and spindle.
Backplates: gold—wrought sheet;
scribed, engraved.
Byzantine, 6th–7th c.
Said to have been found near
Assiût or Antinoë (Upper
Egypt)
D. 8.2 cm
Ex coll.: [Maurice Nahman,
Cairo]; J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 7.15, Pl. 2 {7}

17.190.1671 (paired with
17.190.1670)
Bracelet
Face: top plate—gold—wrought
sheet, rod; settings—pearl, sap-
phire: *Backplate*: gold—wrought
sheet; scribed, punched,
engraved. *Band*: top plate—
gold—wrought sheet, rod; set-
tings—amethyst, emerald plas-
ma, glass, quartz, pearl, sapphire
(silver liners in settings); wire—
bead and spindle; backplates:
gold—wrought sheet; scribed,
engraved.
Byzantine, 6th–7th c.
Said to have been found near
Assiût or Antinoë (Upper
Egypt)
D. 8.2 cm
Ex coll.: [Maurice Nahman,
Cairo]; J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 7.14, Pl. 2 {7}

17.190.1673
Belt End
Gold—cast; chased. *Rivets*: gold.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 12.7 cm

Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.17

17.190.1674
Strap End
Gold—wrought sheet; strip—
molding (triangular sectioned)
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.6 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1675
Strap End
Gold—wrought sheet; strip—
molding (triangular sectioned)
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1676
Belt Mount
Gold—cast.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.4 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.19

17.190.1677
Strap End
Gold—wrought sheet; strip—
molding (triangular sectioned)
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.6 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1678
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
gold—cast; chased.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 8.8 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,

J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.9

17.190.1679
Belt Hole Guard
Gold—cast.
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 2.5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1680
Ingot Fragment
Gold—cast.
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 6.9 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1681
Belt Mount
Attachment plate, loop: gold—
cast; chased.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.7 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.10

17.190.1682
Belt Mount
Attachment plate and backplate:
gold—single cast element; ham-
mered, chased. *Rivets:* gold. *Loop:*
gold.
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 4.8 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1683
Belt Slide
Top plate: gold—cast; chased.
Backplate: gold—wrought sheet;
punched.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 3.3 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,

J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.15

17.190.1684
Belt Mount
Attachment plate, loop: gold—
cast; chased.
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1685a–d
Belt Mount
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé;
engraved. *Rivets:* shank—gold
(rod), cap—gold (wrought
sheet).
Second half 7th–first half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 3.8 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.2

17.190.1686
Belt Mount
Gold—cast; chased.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 4.2 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria, J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.8

17.190.1687
Strap End
Gold—wrought sheet; strip—
molding (triangular sectioned)
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.7 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1688
Belt Hole Guard
Gold—cast; chased.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 2.5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.13

17.190.1689
Belt Mount
Attachment plate, loop: gold—
cast.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.4 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.12

17.190.1690
Belt Mount
Attachment plate and backplate:
gold—single cast element; ham-
mered, chased. *Rivet:* gold. *Loop:*
gold.
Second half 7th–first half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.6

17.190.1691
Buckle Attachment Plate
Gold—cast.
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 3 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1692
Strap End
Gold—wrought sheet; strip—
molding (triangular sectioned)
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.7 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1693
Belt Mount
Attachment plate, loop: gold—
cast; chased.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.11

17.190.1694a
Belt Mount
Gold—wrought sheet.
Second half 7th–first half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 2.6 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.4

17.190.1694b
Belt Mount
Gold—wrought sheet. *Rivet*:
shank—gold (rod); cap and
washer—gold (wrought sheet).
Second half 7th–first half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 1.9 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.5

17.190.1695
Belt Mount
Gold—wrought sheet. *Rivet*:
shank—gold (rod); cap and
washer—gold (wrought sheet).
Second half 7th–first half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 3.9 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.3

17.190.1696
Belt Mount
Gold—cast.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 3.9 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.20

17.190.1697
Belt Retainer
Top plate: gold—cast; chased.
Backplate: gold—wrought sheet;
punched.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 3.3 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.16

17.190.1698
Belt Hole Guard
Gold—cast; chased.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 2.6 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.14

17.190.1699
Strap End
Gold—wrought sheet; strip—
triangular sectioned.
Second half 7th–first half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.6 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.7

17.190.1700
Strap End
Gold—wrought sheet; strip—
molding (triangular sectioned)
7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.6 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{15}

17.190.1701
Belt Mount
Gold—cast.
First half 8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
L. 5.5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 15.18

17.190.1704
Ewer with Inscription
Silver—wrought sheet;
repoussé; partial gilt.
Byzantine, 7th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
H. 23.2 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan,
1917
Figs. 16.8, 16.9, Pl. 18 {16}

17.190.1705
Bowl
Bowl: silver—wrought sheet;
repoussé. *Handle*: silver—
wrought sheet; strip—molding.
Byzantine, 7th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
H. 6.5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 18 {16}

17.190.1707
Bucket
Silver—wrought sheet;
repoussé.
Byzantine, 7th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
H. 18.5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 16.7, Pl. 18 {16}

17.190.1708
Bowl
Bowl: gold—wrought sheet.
Handle: gold—wrought sheet.
Avar (?), 7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
H. 4.7 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 16.3, Pl. 18 {16}

17.190.1709
Bowl
Bowl: gold—wrought sheet.
Handle: gold—wrought sheet.
Avar (?), 7th–8th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
H. 5 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 16.4, Pl. 18 {16}

17.190.1710
Chalice with
Personifications of Rome,
Constantinople, Alexandria,
and Cyprus (?)
Bowl: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; punched, chased;
strip—molding.
Byzantine, 7th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
H. 17 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,

J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 18 {16}

17.190.1711a
Chalice
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé;
strip—molding.
Byzantine, 7th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
H. 16.8 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 18 {16}

17.190.1711b
Cover or Candelabrum
Component
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Byzantine, 7th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
D. 13.2 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{16}

17.190.1712a
Chalice
Gold—wrought sheet; repoussé;
strip—molding.
Byzantine, 7th c.
Found near Vrap, district of
Pekinje, Albania in 1902
H. 17 cm
Ex coll.: Rémy von
Kwiatkowski, Austria,
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 18 {16}

17.190.2053
Bracelet
Face: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; wire—beaded. *Band*:
gold—wrought sheet, rope;
wire—beaded.
Late Roman, early 5th c.
From Piazza della
Consolazione, Rome, Italy in
1908
D. 6.9 cm
Ex coll.: [Arthur Sambon,
Paris]; J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 7.5, 7.6

17.191.1 (paired with 17.191.2)
Earring
Hoop: gold—block twisted.
Polyhedral bead: gold—wrought
sheet; settings—garnets (pat-
terned foil), silver beads, sulfur
backing; wire—beaded (strip
twisted).

Frankish, second half 6th c.
D. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.2

17.191.2 (paired with 17.191.1)
Earring
Hoop: gold—block twisted.
Polyhedral bead: gold—wrought
sheet; settings—garnets (pat-
terned foil), silver beads, sulfur
backing; wire—beaded (strip
twisted).
Frankish, second half 6th c.
D. 4.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{21}

17.191.4 (paired with 17.191.5)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; strip—
repoussé. *Pendant*: gold—
wrought sheet; cells; granula-
tion.
Avar, 6th–7th c.
H. 5.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 11.16

17.191.5 (paired with 17.191.4)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; strip—
repoussé. *Pendant*: gold—
wrought sheet; cells; granula-
tion.
Avar, 6th–7th c.
H. 5.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 11.16

17.191.6
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; wire—spirally
beaded; granulation; attachment
loops. *Pendant*: gold—wrought
sheet; wire—plain, beaded, spi-
rally beaded; granulation;
appliques—chased, punched.
Suspension loop: gold—strip.
Byzantine, 6th–7th c.
H. 5.8 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 11.7

17.191.8
Pendant from a Necklace
Loop: gold—wire—plain (strip
twisted). *Pendant*: gold—
wrought sheet; wire—plain,
beaded; granulation.
Byzantine-Langobardic (?), 6th c.

L. 2.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.9

17.191.9
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; wire—beaded;
strip—triangular sectioned;
granulation. *Pendant*: gold—
wrought sheet; setting; wire—
beaded; strip—triangular sec-
tioned. *Suspension loop*: gold—
strip.
Italian, 6th–7th c.
H. 4.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 14.9

17.191.10
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; wire—beaded.
Pendant: gold—wrought sheet;
setting—glass (green; blue cabo-
chon), stone (red cabochon);
wire—beaded. *Suspension loop*:
gold; wire—beaded.
Restoration.
Italian, 7th c.
H. 4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 14.10

17.191.11 (paired with
17.191.12)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(patterned foil); gilt. *Side*: iron;
inlaid—copper alloy strips. *Base
plate*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 2.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.20

17.191.12 (paired with
17.191.11)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(patterned foil); gilt. *Side*: iron;
inlaid—copper alloy strips. *Base
plate*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 2.3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.20

17.191.13 (paired with
17.191.14)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch

Inset circular disk: copper alloy—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(patterned foil—silver-gilt), glass
(green, patterned foil), mother-
of-pearl. *Side*: iron. *Base plate*: iron.
Frankish, late 5th–early 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com.
Courbillac, dép. Charente)
D. 2.3 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain,
Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont
Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 3.11f, 19.6

17.191.15 (paired with
17.191.16)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(flat and cabochon, patterned
foil); gilt. *Side*: iron; repoussé
ribbing. *Base plate*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 1.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.20

17.191.16 (paired with
17.191.15)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(flat and cabochon, patterned
foil); gilt. *Side*: iron; repoussé
ribbing. *Base plate*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.20

17.191.17
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: copper alloy—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(foil—silver), beryl (foil—silver),
mother-of-pearl; gilt. *Side*: cop-
per alloy—wrought sheet; gilt.
Backplate: copper alloy—cast.
Rivets: copper alloy.
Frankish, 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com.
Courbillac, dép. Charente)
D. 2.6 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain,
Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont
Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.12

17.191.18
**Decorative Rivet Head on
Composite Disk Brooch
Base**
Top plate: copper alloy—
wrought sheet; pierced,
punched; gilt. *Base plate*: copper

alloy—cast; border—punched,
tinned. *Pin*: iron.
Rivet head: Provincial Roman,
late 4th–early 5th c.; *base plate*:
7th c.
D. 3.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.6

17.191.19 (similar to 17.191.74)
Bird Brooch
Silver: cast relief and settings;
chased, punched; garnets; gilt.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type,
First half 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com.
Courbillac, dép. Charente)
L. 3.1 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain,
Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont
Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 3.11b, 23.1

17.191.20
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(patterned foil). *Side*: silver—
wrought sheet; repoussé rib-
bing. *Base plate*: copper alloy—
wrought sheet. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 2.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.20

17.191.21
Filigree Bossed Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; settings—glass (clear—
red glazing on underside);
wire—beaded; granulation.
Backplate: copper alloy. *Rivets*:
silver.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
From Hermes, France (com.
Noailles, dép. Oise) in 1897
D. 2.6 cm
Ex coll.: Abbé Hamard, Hermes
(?); Albert Jumel, Amiens(?);
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.4

17.191.22
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet;
settings—garnets; wire—bead-
ed; granulation; gilt. *Backplate*:
iron.
Frankish, early 7th c.
D. 2.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.10

17.191.23
Disk Brooch
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet; settings—garnets (patterned foil); wire—beaded; gilt.
Frankish, 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
D. 1.8 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain, Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.11h

17.191.24
Repoussé Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé. *Base plate*: copper alloy. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Marchélepot, France (com. Nésle, dép. Somme)
D. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: Albert Jumel, Amiens (?); J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.2

17.191.25 (paired with 17.191.78)
Rosette Brooch
Silver—cast relief and setting; chased; garnet; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
D. 2.2 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain, Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.11g

17.191.27
Filigree Bossed Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé; settings—glass (green, red; blue and yellow cabochon); wire—plain (strip twisted), block twisted; granulation. *Side*: gold—wrought sheet; wire—block twisted. *Base plate*: silver. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, second half 7th c.
D. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Baron Jérôme Pichon, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 9d {3, 21}

17.191.29
Filigree Bossed Disk Brooch
Top plate, side: silver/gold alloy—wrought sheet; repoussé; settings—glass (clear, turquoise, yellow; blue and green cabochons); wire—plain (strip twisted),

block twisted; wavy ribbon. *Base plate*: copper alloy—wrought sheet. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, second half 7th c.
D. 5.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.22

17.191.32 (paired with 17.191.33)
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé; settings—glass (green, white, foil—gold; blue cabochon). *Base plate*: copper alloy; border—stamped, tinned. *Pin*: iron. *Rivets*: silver. Restoration.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
D. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

17.191.33 (paired with 17.191.32)
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé; settings—glass (yellow; blue cabochon). *Base plate*: copper alloy; border—stamped, tinned. *Pin*: iron. *Rivets*: silver.
Frankish, early 7th c.
D. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.9

17.191.34 (paired with 17.191.35)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—wrought sheet; cells— garnets (patterned foil), mother-of-pearl; gilt. *Side*: iron; inlaid—copper alloy strips, gilt. *Base plate*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
D. 2.4 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain, Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.20

17.191.35 (paired with 17.191.34)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—wrought sheet; cells— garnets (patterned foil), mother-of-pearl; gilt. *Side*: iron; inlaid—copper alloy strips, gilt. *Base plate*: iron.
Frankish, late 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)

D. 2.2 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain, Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 3.11e, 20.20

17.191.37a (paired with 17.191.37b)
Disk Terminal from a Tutulus Brooch
Silver: inlaid—niello; gilt.
Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th c.
D. 2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.7

17.191.37b (paired with 17.191.37a)
Disk Terminal from a Tutulus Brooch
Silver: inlaid—niello; gilt.
Provincial Roman, late 4th–early 5th c.
D. 2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.7

17.191.38
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—wrought sheet; wire—beaded; garnets (patterned foil—silver-gilt); gilt. *Base plate*: silver—wrought sheet.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
D. 3.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 7k {19}

17.191.40
Buckle
Attachment plate: copper alloy—cast; punched, engraved, tinned. *Tongue*: copper alloy—cast; punched, engraved. *Loop*: copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, late 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
L. 11.1 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain, Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.11d

17.191.41
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and setting;

punched; garnet (cabochon); gilt.
Frankish, late 5th–early 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
L. 2.9 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain, Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.11c

17.191.42
Miniature Square-Headed Brooch
Silver—cast; chased, punched; inlaid—niello; gilt.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th c.
From Herpes (?), France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain (?), Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 23.4, 23.11

17.191.43
Miniature Square-Headed Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th c.
From Herpes (?), France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
L. 3.8 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain (?), Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 23.8, 23.13

17.191.44 (paired with 17.191.45)
Miniature Square-Headed Brooch
Copper alloy—cast relief and setting; chased, punched; garnet; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th c.
L. 4.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 23.5, 23.12

17.191.45 (paired with 17.191.44)
Miniature Square-Headed Brooch
Copper alloy—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; garnet; gilt.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th c.
L. 4.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 23.5, 23.12

17.191.46
Miniature Square-Headed Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased, punched; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
L. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain, Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 3.11a, 23.9

17.191.47
Miniature Square-Headed Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased, punched; gilt.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th c.
L. 3.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 23.7

17.191.48
Miniature Square-Headed Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased; gilt.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th c.
L. 4.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 23.6

17.191.49
Miniature Square-Headed Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased; inlaid—niello; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th c.
L. 4.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 23.3, 23.10

17.191.74 (similar to 17.191.19)
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; garnet, glass (red); gilt. Restoration.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish) type, first half 6th c.
L. 3.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 23.1, 23.2

17.191.77
Belt Mount
Copper alloy (high tin bronze)—cast.
Frankish, 6th–7th c.
H. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.3

17.191.78 (paired with 17.191.25)
Rosette Brooch
Silver—cast relief and setting; chased; garnet; gilt. *Pin*: copper alloy.
Frankish, 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
D. 2.2 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain, Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{3}

17.191.79
Belt Mount
Copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, 6th c.
From Herpes, France (com. Courbillac, dép. Charente)
L. 4.3 cm
Ex coll.: Philippe Delamain, Jarnac, France; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.13

17.191.80
"S" Brooch
Copper alloy—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; inlaid—niello; garnets.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 3.8 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.3

17.191.86 (paired with 17.191.87)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; wire—beaded.
Polyhedral bead: gold—wrought sheet; cells—garnets (patterned foil), stone (green); wire—beaded; strip—rectangular sectioned.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
From Rosay, France (com. Val-de-Vière, dép. Marne) in 1903
L. 3.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.9

17.191.87 (paired with

17.191.86)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; wire—beaded.
Polyhedral bead: gold—wrought sheet; cells—garnets (patterned foil), stone (green); wire—beaded; strip—rectangular sectioned.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
From Rosay, France (com. Val-de-Vière, dép. Marne) in 1903
L. 3.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.9

17.191.92
Mount from a Knife Handle
Gold—wrought sheet; granulation; wire—beaded; wavy ribbon.
Frankish, 6th c.
From Ramerupt (dép Aube), France
L. 3.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.10

17.191.93
Signet Ring with Monogram
Band: silver/gold alloy—rod; granulation. *Bezel*: silver/gold alloy—wrought sheet; applied; engraved; wire—beaded.
Frankish, late 6th–7th c.
D. 2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.59

17.191.96
Finger Ring
Band: gold—rod. *Bezel*: gold—wrought sheet; applied; cells—garnets (patterned foil), glass (blue, patterned foil).
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 2.3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 11.12

17.191.104
Finger Ring with Inscription
Electrum—wrought sheet; engraved, punched.
Frankish, late 6th–7th c.
D. 2.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.61

17.191.125
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top, side, base plates: gold—

wrought sheet; setting—pearl; wire—beaded; granulation. *Pin*: silver. Restoration.
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 1.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.8

17.191.127
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and setting; chased, punched; garnet (foil); gilt. Restoration (?).
Frankish, second half 6th c.
D. 3.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.25

17.191.130
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; settings—garnet, glass (blue, flat and cabochon), mother-of-pearl; wire—plain (strip twisted), open (strip twisted). *Base plate*: silver—wrought sheet; border—punched. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, second half 7th c.
From Férebrianges or Petit-Troussy (Marne), France
D. 4.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.21

17.191.133
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé; settings—glass (blue, flat and cabochon), mother-of-pearl; wire—plain (strip twisted), block twisted. *Side, base plate*: copper alloy—wrought sheet. *Rivets*: silver. Restoration.
Frankish, second half 7th c.
From Férebrianges or Petit-Troussy (Marne), France
D. 5.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.20

17.191.134
Filigree Bossed Quatrefoil Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé; settings—garnets (patterned foil), stone (green), glass (clear), pearl; wire—plain (strip twisted), spirally beaded (strip twisted). *Side, base plate*: copper alloy—wrought sheet. Restoration.
Frankish, second half 7th c.
From Férebrianges or Petit-

Troussy (Marne), France
D. 5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl.10c {21}

17.191.135
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—glass (clear, blue cabo-
chon), mother-of-pearl; wire—
plain (strip twisted), spirally
beaded (strip twisted). *Side, base
plate*. *Rivets*: silver. Restoration.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
From Férebrianges or Petit-
Troussy (Marne), France
D. 4.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New
York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.24

17.191.136
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet;
repoussé; settings—glass (yellow,
blue cabochon, white bead);
wire—plain (strip twisted),
block twisted; gilt. *Base plate*:
copper alloy—wrought sheet.
Rivets: silver.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
From Férebrianges or Petit-
Troussy (Marne), France
D. 4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.26

17.191.137 (paired with
17.191.150)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(flat and faceted, patterned foil),
emeralds; gilt. *Side*: silver—
wrought sheet; wire—beaded;
gilt. *Base plate*: silver—wrought
sheet.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
From Rosay, France (com. Val-
de-Vière, dép. Marne) in 1903
D. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.9

17.191.138
Filigree Bossed Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; settings—glass (yellow,
blue cabochon): wire—plain
(strip twisted). *Base plate*: copper
alloy; border—punched, tinned.
Pin: iron.
Frankish, 7th c.

D. 3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.15

17.191.139
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé settings and design;
garnets. *Border strip*: iron;
inlaid—silver strips. *Base plate*:
iron.
Frankish, early 7th c.
D. 3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.11

17.191.140
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—garnet, glass (blue
cabochon); wire—block twist-
ed. *Base plate*: copper alloy—
wrought sheet. *Rivets*: silver. *Pin*:
iron.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
D. 3.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.12, Pl. 9b {21}

17.191.141 (paired with
17.191.143)
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—glass (yellow, blue
cabochon); wire—spirally bead-
ed (strip twisted). *Base plate*:
copper alloy—wrought sheet;
border—beaded, tinned. *Pin*:
iron.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
D. 3.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.19

17.191.142
Cloisonné Rosette Brooch
Top, side, base plate: silver—
wrought sheet; garnets (pat-
terned foil); wire—beaded; gilt.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
D. 3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 7l {20}

17.191.143 (paired with
17.191.141)
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—glass (yellow, blue
cabochon); wire—spirally beaded
(strip twisted). *Base plate*: copper

alloy—wrought sheet; border—
beaded, tinned. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Férebrianges or Petit-
Troussy (Marne), France
D. 3.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{21}

17.191.144
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet;
settings—glass (yellow, blue
cabochon); wire; gilt. *Base plate*:
copper alloy—cast; border—
punched, tinned. *Rivets*.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
D. 2.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.8

17.191.147 (paired with
17.191.156)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—wrought
sheet; cells—garnets (patterned
foil), mother-of-pearl; gilt. *Side*:
iron; inlaid—silver strips. *Base
plate*: iron. *Rivets*: silver.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
D. 2.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 7i {20}

17.191.149
Cloisonné Rosette Brooch
Inset lobed disk: silver—wrought
sheet; cells—garnet (patterned
foil); wire—beaded; gilt. *Base
plate*: silver—wrought sheet.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 2.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 7g {20}

17.191.150 (paired with
17.191.137)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnet
(flat and faceted, patterned foil),
emerald; wire—beaded; gilt.
Base plate: silver—wrought
sheet.
Frankish, end of 5th–beginning
of 6th c.
From Rosay, France (com. Val-
de-Vière, dép. Marne) in 1903
D. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.9

17.191.152
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnet
(flat and faceted, patterned foil);
gilt. *Side*: iron. *Base plate*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 2.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.20

17.191.153
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnet
(patterned foil), pearl; gilt. *Side*:
silver—wrought sheet; wire—
beaded; gilt. *Base plate*: silver—
wrought sheet.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
D. 2.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.20

17.191.154
**Cloisonné Star-Shaped
Brooch**
Inset lobed disk: silver—wrought
sheet; cells—garnets (patterned
foil), glass (green), pearl; wire—
beaded; gilt. *Base plate*: silver—
wrought sheet. *Pin*: copper alloy.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 2.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 19.10, Pl.7f {19}

17.191.157
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—garnet (cabochon),
glass (clear); wire—beaded.
Backplate: copper alloy—cast;
border—stamped. *Rivets*: copper
alloy.
Frankish, early 7th c.
D. 2.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan,
1917
Fig. 21.6

17.191.158
Rosette Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased, punched; garnet;
inlaid—niello; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 2.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan,
1917
Pl. 7d {20}

17.191.162
Purse Mount with Animal-Head Terminals
Attachment plate: silver—wrought sheet; cells—garnets (flat with patterned foil, cabochon), glass (green, patterned foil), cuttlefish bone. *Tongue, loop*: iron. Restoration.
Frankish, late 5th–early 6th c.
L. 10.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 19.4, 19.5

17.191.164 (paired with 17.191.165)
Cloisonné Bird Brooch
Gold—wrought sheet; cells—garnets (patterned foil), glass, pearl; wire—beaded (swaged). *Pin*: silver. Restoration.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 3.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 19.12, 20.23, Pl. 7c {19, 20}

17.191.165 (paired with 17.191.164)
Cloisonné Bird Brooch
Gold—wrought sheet; cells—garnets (patterned foil), glass, pearl; wire—beaded (swaged). Restoration.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 3.3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 19.12, 20.23, Pl. 7c {19, 20}

17.191.166 (paired with 17.191.167)
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; garnets; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 3.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.21

17.191.167 (paired with 17.191.166)
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; garnets; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 3.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.21, Pl. 7b {20}

17.191.168 (paired with 17.191.169)
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased; cells—cloisons (silver), garnets (patterned foil—gold); gilt. *Pin*: copper alloy.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.22

17.191.169 (paired with 17.191.168)
Bird Brooch
Silver—wrought sheet, cast relief and settings; chased; cells—garnets (patterned foil—gold); gilt. *Pin*: copper alloy.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.22

17.191.171
Shoe Buckle
Attachment plate, loop, tongue: silver—wrought sheet, rod. *Rivets*: silver.
Frankish, late 7th c.
L. 6.3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.4

17.191.172 (paired with 17.191.173)
Radiate-Headed Bow Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; inlaid—niello; garnets (patterned foil only at end of foot); gilt.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
L. 9.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 19.7, 20.13

17.191.173 (paired with 17.191.172)
Radiate-Headed Bow Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; inlaid—niello; garnets (patterned foil only at end of foot); gilt. Restoration.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
L. 9.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 19.7, 20.13

17.191.174 (paired with 17.191.175)
Radiate-Headed Bow Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased; garnets, bone; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
From Rosay, France (com. Val-de-Vière, dép. Marne) in 1903
L. 8.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.9

17.191.175 (paired with 17.191.174)
Radiate-Headed Bow Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased; garnets, bone; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
From Rosay, France (com. Val-de-Vière, dép. Marne) in 1903
L. 8.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.9

17.191.177 (paired with 17.191.178)
Shoe Buckle
Attachment plate, loop, and tongue: silver—cast.
Byzantine, 7th c.
L. 2.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 10.17

17.191.178 (paired with 17.191.177)
Shoe Buckle
Attachment plate, loop, and tongue: silver—cast.
Byzantine, 7th c.
L. 2.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 10.17

17.191.184 (paired with 17.191.185)
Shoe Buckle
Attachment plate, loop, and tongue: silver—cast.
Byzantine, 7th c.
L. 2.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 10.16

17.191.185 (paired with 17.191.184)
Shoe Buckle
Attachment plate, loop, and tongue:
silver—cast.
Byzantine, 7th c.
L. 2.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 10.16

17.191.192
Filigree Quatrefoil Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; settings—glass (green, blue cabochon); wire—open (strip twisted). *Side*: silver—wrought sheet. *Base plate*: copper alloy—cast. *Pin*: iron. *Rivets*: silver.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
L. 3.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.23

17.191.199
"S" Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased; gilt; cells—cloisons (copper alloy), garnets (patterned foil). *Pin*: iron.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late 6th c.
L. 3.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 13.20

17.191.201
Cloisonné Rosette Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—wrought sheet; cells—garnets (patterned foil—silver-gilt); wire—beaded; gilt. *Base plate*: silver—wrought sheet.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 3.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 19.9

17.191.202 (paired with 17.191.203)
Purse Mount
Copper alloy—cast; punched, chased; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 4.2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.53

17.191.203 (paired with 17.191.202)
Purse Mount
Copper alloy—cast; punched, chased; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,

New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.53

17.191.219
Equal-Arm Brooch
Copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, mid 7th– 8th c.
L. 3.3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.30

17.191.223
Buckle
Attachment plate: copper alloy—
cast relief; tinned. Rivets: copper
alloy. Tongue: copper alloy—cast
relief; tinned. Loop: copper
alloy—cast; tinned.
Frankish, late 6th–early 7th c.
L. 9.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.39

17.191.226
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, and loop:
copper alloy—cast; tinned.
Frankish, mid 6th–7th c.
L. 10 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.43

17.191.231 (belongs with
17.191.232-234)
Purse Mount
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 3.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{21}

17.191.232 (belongs with
17.191.232-234)
Purse Mount
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 3.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{21}

17.191.233 (belongs with
17.191.232-234)
Purse Mount
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,

New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{21}

17.191.234 (belongs with
17.191.232-234)
Purse Mount
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 3.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.51

17.191.236
Equal-Arm Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; tinned.
Frankish, mid 7th–8th c.
L. 5.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.32

17.191.251
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy—cast; punched.
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 8.3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.48

17.191.265
Purse Mount
Copper alloy—cast; punched,
chased; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 2.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.52

17.191.274
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy—cast; chased;
tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 3.8 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.50

17.191.288
Signet Ring Bezel
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet;
engraved. Side: silver—wrought
sheet; wire—beaded. Base plate:
silver—wrought sheet.
Frankish, end of 6th–7th c.
D. 1.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan,
1917
Fig. 21.62

17.191.291
Equal-Arm Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased.
Frankish, mid 7th–early 9th c.
L. 4.3 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.37

17.191.292
Equal-Arm Brooch
Copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, mid 7th–8th c.
L. 3.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.31

17.191.295
Finger Ring
Copper alloy—wrought sheet;
engraved, punched.
Frankish, end of 6th–7th c.
D. 2 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.64

17.191.298
Equal-Arm Brooch
Copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, mid 7th–8th c.
L. 4.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.33

17.191.299
Equal-Arm Brooch
Copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, mid 7th–early 9th c.
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.36

17.191.309
Backplate
Iron; inlaid—silver.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 4.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.3

17.191.318 a–c
Buckle
Attachment plate: iron; inlaid—
silver. Rivets: iron; inlaid—silver.
Tongue and loop: iron; inlaid—sil-
ver, copper alloy.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 12.6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.13

17.191.319
Backplate
Iron; inlaid—silver, copper alloy.
Rivets: shank—iron; cap—cop-
per alloy.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 5.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.6

17.191.321
Backplate
Iron; inlaid—silver. Rivets:
shank—iron; cap—copper alloy,
inlaid—silver.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 6 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.5

17.191.322 (belongs with
17.191.331)
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, and loop:
iron; inlaid—silver.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 19.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{24}

17.191.323
Buckle
Attachment plate: iron; inlaid—
silver, copper alloy. Rivets: iron.
Tongue: iron; inlaid—silver. Loop:
iron; inlaid—silver, copper alloy.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 21.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.17
{24}

17.191.324
Buckle Counter Plate
Iron; inlaid—silver, copper alloy.
Rivets: iron.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 9.1 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,
New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.11

17.191.331 (belongs with
17.191.322)
Buckle Counter Plate
Iron; inlaid—silver: rivets—iron.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 14 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan,

New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.15

17.191.332 a–c
Buckle
Attachment plate: iron; inlaid—silver, copper alloy. *Tongue, loop*: iron; inlaid—silver, copper alloy.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 11.7 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.12

17.191.333
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, and loop: iron; inlaid—silver, copper alloy. *Rivets*: iron.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 9.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.1

17.191.336
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, and loop: iron; inlaid—silver, copper alloy. *Rivet*: iron.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 15.5 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.16

17.191.338
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, and loop: iron; inlaid—silver. *Rivets*: iron; inlaid—copper alloy.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 14.9 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.14

17.191.344
Backplate
Iron; inlaid—silver. *Rivets*: copper alloy.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 5.4 cm
Ex coll.: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.4

17.192.1 (paired with 17.192.4)
"S" Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; garnets; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;

J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.4

17.192.4 (paired with 17.192.1)
"S" Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; inlaid—niello; garnets; gilt.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{20}

17.192.12
Equal-Arm Brooch
Copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, mid 7th–8th c.
L. 3.9 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.34

17.192.13
Equal-Arm Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; glass (green beads). Restoration.
Frankish, mid 7th–8th c.
L. 4.3 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.35

17.192.23
Repoussé Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé. *Base plate*: copper alloy—cast; border—punched, tinned. *Pin*: iron. Restoration.
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.28

17.192.29
Cloisonné Quatrefoil Brooch
Inset lobed disk: silver—wrought sheet; cells—garnets, glass (blue), mother-of-pearl; wire—beaded. *Base plate*: silver—wrought sheet. Restoration.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
D. 3.2 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 19.13

17.192.32 (paired with 17.192.33)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—wrought sheet; cells—garnet (patterned foil—silver), glass

(blue cabochon); wire—beaded; gilt. *Side*: iron; inlaid—silver strip. *Base plate*: iron.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
D. 2.4 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.19

17.192.33 (paired with 17.192.32)
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—wrought sheet; cells—garnet (patterned foil—silver), glass (blue cabochon); wire—beaded; gilt. *Side*: iron; inlaid—silver strip. *Base plate*: iron.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
D. 2.3 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.19

17.192.34
Cloisonné Rosette Brooch
Inset lobed disk: silver—wrought sheet; cells—garnets (patterned foil), glass (blue cabochon); wire—beaded. *Base plate*: silver—wrought sheet.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
D. 2 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 19.8

17.192.38
Lobed Disk Brooch
Copper alloy—cast relief and settings; chased; inlaid—niello; garnets; gilt.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 3.3 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 7h {18}

17.192.39
"S" Brooch
Silver—cast relief; chased, punched; inlaid—niello; gilt.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
L. 2.6 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.2

17.192.41
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet; settings—glass (yellow, blue cabochon); wire—beaded. *Base plate*: copper alloy—cast; border—punched, tinned. *Pin*: iron. *Rivets*: silver: gilt.

Frankish, early 7th c.
D. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.7

17.192.53
Buckle
Attachment plate: copper alloy—cast; cells—enamel (red) with impressed silver strip—rectangular sectioned. *Tongue, loop*: copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 11 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.42

17.192.64
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; settings—garnets; wire—beaded (strip twisted), block twisted. *Base plate*: silver: border—punched. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
D. 2.8 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.18

17.192.86
Repoussé Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé. *Side*: gold—wrought sheet. *Base plate*: copper alloy—wrought sheet.
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 2.7 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.29

17.192.92
Filigree Lobed Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; settings—glass (clear, green), mother of pearl; wire—spirally beaded (strip twisted), beaded. *Base plate*: copper alloy—cast. *Pin*: iron. *Rivets*: copper alloy.
Frankish, second half 7th c.
D. 3 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 9c {21}

17.192.118 (paired with 17.192.119)
Earring
Hoop: copper alloy. *Polyhedral bead*: gold—wrought sheet; settings—chrysoprase, glass, pearl; wire—open (strip twisted).
Frankish, second half 6th c.

D. 6.7 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.3

17.192.119 (paired with
17.192.118)
Earring
Hoop: copper alloy. *Polyhedral
bead*: gold—wrought sheet; set-
tings—chrysoprase, glass; wire—
plain (strip twisted), block twist-
ed.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
D. 6.5 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

17.192.120 (paired with
17.192.121)
Earring
Hoop: copper alloy. *Polyhedral
bead*: gold—wrought sheet; set-
tings—glass (clear, green), pearl;
wavy ribbon.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
L. 6.7 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

17.192.121 (paired with
17.192.120)
Earring
Hoop: copper alloy. *Polyhedral
bead*: gold—wrought sheet; set-
tings—glass (clear, green), pearl;
wavy ribbon.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
L. 6.6 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.4

17.192.134
Equal-Arm Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; tinned. *Pin*:
iron.
Frankish, mid 7th–early 9th c.
L. 6.2 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.38

17.192.138 (paired with
17.192.139)
**Square-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Copper alloy—cast; chased; gilt
(front), tinned (back). *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
L. 6.4 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan,
1917
Fig. 18.2

17.192.139 (paired with
17.192.138)
**Square-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Copper alloy—cast; chased; gilt
(front), tinned (back). *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
L. 6.4 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.2

17.192.140 (paired with
17.192.151)
**Radiate Headed Bow
Brooch**
Silver—cast relief and settings;
engraved, chased, punched; gar-
nets; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
L. 8.2 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.7

17.192.141
Shield Boss
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet;
repoussé settings—glass; gilt.
Backplate: iron. *Rivets*: silver.
Provincial Roman, late 4th–
early 5th c.
From Vermand, France (dép.
Aisne)
D. 20 cm
Ex coll.: Albert Jumel, Amiens;
Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 8.1

17.192.142
Shield Grip
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet.
Backplate: iron. *Rivets*: shank—
silver; cap—silver, silver-gilt.
Provincial Roman, late 4th–
early 5th c.
From Vermand, France (dép.
Aisne)
L. 36.4 cm
Ex coll.: Albert Jumel, Amiens;
Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 8.13

17.192.143
Spear-Shaft Mount
Silver—cast; chased, punched;
inlaid—niello; gilt.
Provincial Roman, late 4th–
early 5th c.
From Vermand, France (dép.
Aisne)
L. 3 cm
Ex coll.: Albert Jumel, Amiens;
Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 8.2, Pl. 3c {8}

17.192.144
Rectangular Mount
Silver—cast; chased, punched;
inlaid—niello; gilt.
Provincial Roman, late 4th–
early 5th c.
From Vermand, France (dép.
Aisne)
L. 9.4 cm
Ex coll.: Albert Jumel, Amiens;
Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 8.3, Pl. 3a {8}

17.192.145
Spear-Shaft Mount
Silver—cast; chased, punched;
inlaid—niello; gilt.
Provincial Roman, late
4th–early 5th c.
From Vermand, France (dép.
Aisne)
L. 12.2 cm
Ex coll.: Albert Jumel, Amiens;
Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 8.4, Pl. 3b {8}

17.192.146
Buckle
Plaque: silver—cast; chased,
punched; inlaid—niello; gilt.
Backplate: extension of front
plate. *Tongue*: silver—cast;
chased, punched; gilt. *Loop*:
silver—cast; chased, punched;
inlaid—niello; gilt.
Provincial Roman, late
4th–early 5th c.
From Vermand, France (dép.
Aisne)
L. 6 cm
Ex coll.: Albert Jumel, Amiens;
Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 8.1, Pl. 3d {8}

17.192.149 (paired with
17.192.150)
**Radiate-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased; garnets (cabochons);
gilt.
Ostrogothic, second half 6th c.
L. 10.6 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 10.9

17.192.150 (paired with
17.192.149)
**Radiate-Headed Bow
Brooch**

Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased; garnets (cabochons);
gilt. *Pin*: copper alloy.
Ostrogothic, second half 6th c.
L. 10.7 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 10.9

17.192.151 (paired with
17.192.140)
**Radiate-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Silver—cast relief and settings;
engraved, chased, punched; gar-
nets; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
L. 8.4 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.7

17.192.152 (paired with
17.192.153)
**Square-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Silver—cast; chased; inlaid—
niello; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
L. 9.3, 9.6 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.16

17.192.154
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy (leaded bronze)—
cast; engraved; tinned.
Frankish, 7th–8th c.
L. 7.3 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 2.1

17.192.155
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy (leaded bronze)—
cast; punched; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 7.3 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 2.1

17.192.156
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 5.9 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 2.1

17.192.157
Openwork Belt Fitting

Copper alloy—cast.
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 5.7 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 2.1

17.192.158
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy—cast; punched.
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 6.1 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 2.1

17.192.159
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy (leaded bronze)—
cast; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 5.9 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 2.1

17.192.160
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy
Frankish, 7th c.
D. 6.2 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 2.1

17.192.161
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy—cast; chased;
tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 7.7 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 2.1

17.192.162
Openwork Belt Fitting
Fitting: copper alloy—cast;
tinned. *Tongue*: copper alloy.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 8.9 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.49

17.192.163
Openwork Belt Fitting
Fitting: copper alloy—cast;
tinned. *Tongue*: iron.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Wanquetin, France (com.
Beaumetz-les-loques, dép. Pas
de Calais) in 1894
H. 10.5 cm
Ex coll.: Léandre Cottel;

Oswald Dimpre, Abbeville;
Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont
Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.6

17.192.164
Openwork Belt Fitting
Copper alloy—cast; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Irles, France (dép.
Somme)
D. 6.8 cm
Ex coll.: Léandre Cottel;
Oswald Dimpre, Abbeville;
Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont
Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.7

17.192.166
Buckle Attachment Plate
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet;
repoussé. *Base plate*: iron. *Rivets*:
copper alloy.
Frankish, late 5th c.
From Hermes, France (com.
Noailles, dép. Oise)
L. 6.2 cm
Ex coll.: Abbé Hamard, Hermes
(?); Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New
York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.5

17.192.175 (paired with
17.192.176)
Bird Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; settings—garnet;
wire—beaded; wavy ribbon;
granulation. *Base plate*: silver—
cast. Restoration.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
From Marchélepot, France
(com. Nésle, dép. Somme)
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: Albert Jumel, Amiens (?);
Stanislas Baron, Paris; J. Pierpont
Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 3.3

17.192.176 (paired with
17.192.175)
Bird Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; settings—garnet;
wire—beaded; wavy ribbon;
granulation. *Base plate*: silver—
cast. Restoration.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
From Marchélepot, France
(com. Nésle, dép. Somme)
L. 3.8 cm
Ex coll.: Albert Jumel, Amiens
(?); Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New
York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

17.192.178
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and setting;
chased, punched; garnet; gilt.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
L. 3.2 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.25,

17.192.179
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and setting;
chased, punched; glass (clear—
red underglaze); gilt.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
L. 3.5 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.25

17.192.181 (paired with
17.192.182)
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased, punched; garnets; gilt.
Pin: iron.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
L. 3.7 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.24, Pl. 7a {20}

17.192.182 (paired with
17.192.181)
Bird Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased, punched; garnets; gilt.
Pin: iron.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
L. 3.6 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.24

17.192.184
"S" Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased; garnets; gilt. Pin: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 3 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 7e {20}

17.192.186
Horse Brooch
Silver—cast relief and setting;
chased, punched; garnet; gilt.
Pin: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
L. 3.1 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.18

17.192.188 (paired with
17.192.189)
Purse Mount
Copper alloy—cast; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.54

17.192.189 (paired with
17.192.188)
Purse Mount
Copper alloy—cast; tinned.
Rivets: copper alloy; washer—
copper alloy (wrought sheet).
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 4.3 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.54

17.192.190
Rectangular Mount
Copper alloy; cells—garnets,
malachite. *Rivets*: copper alloy.
Frankish, end of 6th c.
L. 3.8 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 19.16

17.192.229
Finger Ring
Band: gold—wrought sheet;
wire—rope; granulation. *Bezel*:
gold—wrought sheet; applied;
cells—garnet, mother-of-pearl.
Frankish, 6th c.
D. 2.1 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 19.11

17.192.235
Buckle
Attachment plate: iron; inlaid—
silver. *Rivet*: shank—iron, cap—
copper alloy. *Tongue, loop*: iron.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 14 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.9

17.192.236
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
copper alloy—cast; tinned.
Rivets: copper alloy.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
L. 13 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.40

17.192.243
Pin
Copper alloy—cast, rod;
engraved, chased, punched;
tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 20.4 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.56

17.192.244
Pin
Overlay: gold—wrought sheet;
wire—spiral beaded; wavy rib-
bon. *Shaft*: silver: inlaid—niello.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 15 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.58

17.192.245
Pin
Copper alloy—cast; hammered.
Frankish, 7th c.
L. 15.8 cm
Ex coll.: Stanislas Baron, Paris;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.57

17.193.6
Beads from a Necklace
Glass, copper alloy.
Frankish, 5th–7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 0.2–2 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 4.6, 4.11

17.193.7
Cloisonné Disk Brooch
Inset circular disk: silver—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(patterned foil—silver); wire—
beaded; gilt. *Base plate*: silver—
wrought sheet.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 2.4 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 7j {20}

17.193.14
Finger Ring
Copper alloy—cast; engraved,
chased.

Frankish, 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 2.2 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 11.11

17.193.34 (similar to 17.193.40)
Shoe or Garter Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
copper alloy—cast; chased.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 4.4 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.46

17.193.40 (similar to 17.193.34)
Shoe or Garter Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
copper alloy—cast; chased.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 4.3 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
{21}

17.193.45
Beads from a Necklace
Amber, amethyst, glass, copper
alloy.
Frankish, late 6th–7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 0.5–2.1 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 4.7–4.10

17.193.46
Repoussé Disk Brooch
Top plate: electrum—wrought
sheet; repoussé. *Base plate*: cop-
per alloy; border—silver (half-
round, beaded). *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 3.5 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,

Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.27

17.193.49
Buckle
Attachment plate, top plate: copper
alloy—wrought sheet; *Base plate*:
iron. *Rivets*: copper alloy. *Loop*:
iron; inlaid—copper alloy.
Restoration.
Frankish, second half 5th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 4.7 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 4.4

17.193.51
Finger Ring
Band: silver—rod; granulation.
Bezel: silver—wrought sheet;
applied; engraved; wire—bead-
ed.
Frankish, late 6th–7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 2.4 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.63

17.193.59
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate and side: gold—single
wrought sheet; repoussé; set-
tings—garnets, glass (green, blue
cabochon), calcite (cabochons);
wire—rope (strip twisted),
beaded rope (strip twisted). *Base
plate*: copper alloy. *Rivets*: silver.
Frankish, second half 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 5.7 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 10a {21}

17.193.64a (paired with
17.193.64b)
**Square-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Silver—cast; chased, punched;
inlaid—niello; gilt. *Pin*: iron
Frankish, mid 6th c.

From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 10 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

17.193.64b (paired with
17.193.64a)
**Square-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Silver—cast; chased, punched;
inlaid—niello; gilt. *Pin*: iron.
Restoration (ancient).
Frankish, second third 6th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 10.3 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 4.16, 18.11

17.193.68a (paired with
17.193.69a)
Shoe or Garter Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
copper alloy—cast; chased.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 5.5 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.47

17.193.68b (paired with
17.193.69b,)
Strap End
Copper alloy—cast. *Rivets*: cop-
per alloy.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 5.1 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.45

17.193.69a (paired with
17.193.68a)
Shoe or Garter Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
copper alloy—cast; chased.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)

L. 5.3 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

17.193.69b (paired with
17.193.68b,)
Strap End
Copper alloy—cast. *Rivets*: cop-
per alloy.
Frankish, first half 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 5 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.45

17.193.70
Filigree Bossed Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; settings—garnets, glass
(blue and green cabochons),
mother of pearl; wire—spirally
beaded, beaded rope. *Base plate*:
copper alloy. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, second half 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.17, Pl. 10b {21}

17.193.71a
**Signet Ring with Imitation
Monogram**
Silver—punched, engraved.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 2.2 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.60

17.193.72 (paired with
17.193.73)
**Square-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Silver—cast relief; chased,
punched; inlaid—niello; gilt.
Pin: iron.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)

L. 10.1 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.14

17.193.73 (paired with
17.193.72)
Square-Headed Bow Brooch
Silver—cast relief; chased,
punched; inlaid—niello; gilt.
Pin: iron.
Frankish, second half 6th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 10 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.14

17.193.83
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate, side: gold—single
wrought sheet; repoussé; set-
tings—garnet, glass (red, green,
beads), mother of pearl; wire—
spirally beaded, beaded rope.
Base plate: copper alloy. *Rivets*:
silver. Restoration.
Frankish, mid 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 4.4 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 9a {21}

17.193.87
Pin
Copper alloy—cast; hammered,
engraved; tinned.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 17.7 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.55

17.193.90
Filigree Quatrefoil Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; settings—garnet, glass
(green, blue cabochon, beads),
mother of pearl, moonstone;
wire—spirally beaded (strip

twisted), block twisted. *Side*:
gold—wrought sheet; wire—
block twisted. *Base plate*: copper
alloy—cast.
Frankish, second half 7th–early
8th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 5.8 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Pl. 10d {21}

17.193.92 (paired with
17.193.93)
**Square-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Copper alloy—cast; chased. *Pin*:
iron.
Frankish, late 6th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 11.7 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.17

17.193.93 (paired with
17.193.92)
**Square-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Copper alloy—cast; chased. *Pin*:
iron.
Frankish, late 6th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 11.8 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 20.17

17.193.97
Filigree Bossed Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; settings—garnets, glass
(green), mother of pearl; wire—
plain (strip twisted), spirally bead-
ed (strip twisted). *Rivets*: silver.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 3.9 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.16

17.193.98 (belongs with
17.193.98–.100)
Buckle
Attachment plate: iron; inlaid—
silver. *Rivets*: shank—iron, cap—
copper alloy. *Tongue, loop*: iron;
inlaid—silver.
Frankish, late 6th–early 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 8.9 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.2

17.193.99 (belongs with
17.193.98–.100)
Backplate
Iron: inlaid—silver.
Merovingian, late 6th–early 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 4.7 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.2

17.193.100 (belongs with
17.193.98–.100)
Buckle Counter Plate
Iron: inlaid—silver. *Rivets*: cap—
copper alloy.
Merovingian, late 6th–early 7th
c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 5.6 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.2

17.193.105 (paired with
17.193.106)
Earring
Hoop: silver—wrought rod;
strip—half round. *Polyhedral
bead*: silver—cast..
Frankish, late 7th–early 8th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
Hoop: D. 8.3 cm; polyhedral
bead: 0.5 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.5

17.193.106 (paired with
17.193.105)
Earring
Hoop: silver—wrought rod;
strip—half round. *Polyhedral
bead*: silver—cast.
Frankish, late 7th–early 8th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
Hoop: D. 8.5 cm; polyhedral
bead: 0.6 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

17.193.107
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: silver—wrought sheet;
repoussé; settings—glass (clear,
blue cabochon, white beads);
wire—plain (strip twisted),
block twisted; gilt. *Base plate*:
copper alloy—cast. *Pin*: iron.
Frankish, first half c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 4.1 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.25

17.193.112
Beads from a Necklace
Glass, amethyst, quartz.
Frankish, 6th–7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 0.2-1.6 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 4.13

17.193.118
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—glass (clear, turquoise;
blue and clear cabochon),
mother-of-pearl; wire—rope
(spirally beaded); wavy ribbon.
Side: copper alloy—wrought
sheet. *Base plate*: copper alloy.
Rivets. Restoration.
Frankish, second half 7th c. (?)
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 6.1 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.

Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.14

17.193.120a (belongs with
17.193.120b)
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
iron; inlaid—silver.
Merovingian, late 6th–7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 11.1 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

17.193.120b (belongs with
17.193.120a)
Buckle Counter Plate
Iron; inlaid—silver. *Rivets*: cap—
copper alloy.
Frankish, late 6th–early 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 8 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.8

17.193.123
Comb
Bone. *Rivets*: iron.
Frankish, 6th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 16.5 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 4.15

17.193.127
Filigree Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—chalcedony, garnets,
glass (amber and blue cabo-
chons); wire—spirally beaded
(strip twisted). *Base plate*: copper
alloy—cast. *Rivets*: silver.
Frankish, 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 4.1 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.13

17.193.128
Pendants from a Necklace
Pendants: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; wire—beaded, spirally
beaded (strip twisted). *Beads*:
glass, earthenware (glazed).
Frankish, second half 6th–first
half 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 12.5 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Figs. 4.14, 18.15

17.193.129
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched; tinned.
Frankish, mid 6th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 8.6 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.44

17.193.143 (belongs with
17.193.143–.145)
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
iron; inlaid—silver.
Frankish, 6th–7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 14.7 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan,
1917
Fig. 24.10

17.193.144 (belongs with
17.193.143–.145)
Backplate
Iron; inlaid—silver. *Rivets*:
shank—iron, cap—copper alloy
(tinned).
Merovingian, 6th–7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 18 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan,
1917

17.193.145 (belongs with
17.193.143–.145)
Buckle Counter Plate
Iron; inlaid—silver.
Merovingian, 6th–7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 11.5 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.10

17.193.149
Touchstone
Quartz
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
D. 3.4 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 18.1

17.193.161 (belongs with
17.193.161–.163)
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
iron; inlaid—silver. *Rivets*: cop-
per alloy.
Merovingian, late 6th–early 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 15.3 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.18, Pl. 15b {24}

17.193.162 (belongs with
17.193.161–.163)
Backplate
Iron; inlaid—silver. *Rivets*: cop-
per alloy.
Merovingian, late 6th–early 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 7.2 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.18, Pl. 15a {24}

17.193.163 (belongs with
17.193.161–.163)
Buckle Counter Plate
Iron; inlaid—silver. *Rivets*: cop-
per alloy.
Merovingian, late 6th–early 7th c.

From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 11.2 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 24.18, Pl. 15c {24}

17.193.181
Beads from a Necklace
Amber, glass, shell.
Frankish, 6th–7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 0.2–1.7 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 4.12

17.193.234a (belongs with
17.193.234b)
Buckle
Copper alloy—cast. *Rivets*:
shanks—iron.
Frankish, early 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 12.4 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
Fig. 21.41

17.193.234b (belongs with
17.193.234a)
Buckle Counter Plate
Copper alloy: cast. *Rivets*:
shanks—iron, cap—copper
alloy.
Frankish, early 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 9 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,
Niederbreisig, Germany; J.
Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

17.193.353
**Scramasax with Sheath
Studs**
Studs: copper alloy—cast
Frankish, 7th c.
From Niederbreisig (Rheinland
Pfalz, Germany)
L. 26.9 cm
Ex coll.: Friedrich
Queckenberg, Niederbreisig,
Germany; Joseph Queckenberg,

Niederbreisig, Germany;
J. Pierpont Morgan, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan,
1917
Fig. 18.18

17.230.128
Signet Ring
Band: gold—rod; granulation.
Bezel: gold—wrought sheet;
applied; cells—chalcedony
(intaglio), garnets (patterned
foil—gold); wire—beaded
(swaged).
Byzantine or Byzantine-
Langobardic, 7th c., with 3rd-c.
intaglio
From the region of Benevento,
Italy
D. 2.3 cm
Ex coll.: M. Miccio [through
John Marshall]
Rogers Fund, 1917
Fig. 11.13

20.118.1
Buckle
Copper alloy—cast.
Byzantine, 6th–7th c.
L. 5 cm
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 10.14

20.118.2
Buckle
Copper alloy—cast.
Byzantine, 5th–6th c.
L. 3.4 cm
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 10.15

20.152.1
Buckle Attachment Plate
Copper alloy—cast; tinned.
Hispano-Visigothic, late 6th–
7th c.
L. 5.2 cm
Ex coll.: Louis Bachereau, Paris
Gift of Bashford Dean, 1920
Fig. 17.8

20.152.14
Buckle Attachment Plate
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched.
Hispano-Visigothic, 7th c.
L. 11.7 cm
Ex coll.: Louis Bachereau, Paris
Gift of Bashford Dean, 1920
Fig. 17.12

20.152.39a
Buckle
Copper alloy—cast. *Tongue*:
iron.
Hispano-Visigothic, late 6th–
7th c.
L. 12.6 cm
Ex coll.: Louis Bachereau, Paris
Gift of Bashford Dean, 1920
Fig. 17.7

20.153.5
Buckle Attachment Plate
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched.
Hispano-Visigothic, 7th c.
L. 6.5 cm
Ex coll.: Jose Florit, Madrid
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 17.15

20.153.6
Buckle Attachment Plate
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched.
Hispano-Visigothic, 7th c.
L. 10.5 cm
Ex coll.: Jose Florit, Madrid
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 17.11,

20.153.7
Buckle Attachment Plate
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched.
Hispano-Visigothic, 7th c.
Bought at Naples
L. 8.4 cm
Ex coll.: Jose Florit, Madrid
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 17.16

20.153.8
Buckle Attachment Plate
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched.
Hispano-Visigothic, 7th c.
L. 8.7 cm
Ex coll.: Jose Florit, Madrid
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 17.14,

20.153.10
Buckle Attachment Plate
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched.
Hispano-Visigothic, 7th c.
L. 8.2 cm
Ex coll.: Jose Florit, Madrid
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 17.10

20.153.17
Buckle Attachment Plate
Copper alloy—cast; chased,
punched.
Hispano-Visigothic, 7th c.
L. 8.9 cm
Ex coll.: Jose Florit, Madrid
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 17.17

20.153.19
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop:
copper alloy—cast; chased.
Visigothic, first half 6th c.
L. 11.1 cm
Ex coll.: Jose Florit, Madrid
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 17.5

22.50.5 (paired with 22.50.6)
Earring
Hoop: gold—wire. *Pendant*:
gold—wrought sheet; settings—
sardonyx; wire—rope (strip
twisted); granulation. *Suspension
loops and chain*: gold; wire—plain
(strip twisted).
Sarmatian, mid 1st c.
Said to be from Olbia
(Ochakov, Ukraine)
L. 5.8 cm
Ex coll.: Joseph Chmielowski,
Olbia (Ochakov, Ukraine [?])
(Sold, American Art Association,
New York, 1922)
Rogers Fund, 1922
Fig. 6.1

22.50.6 (paired with 22.50.5)
Earring
Hoop: gold—wire. *Pendant*:
gold—wrought sheet; settings—
sardonyx; wire—rope (strip
twisted); granulation. *Suspension
loops and chain*: gold; wire—plain
(strip twisted).
Sarmatian, mid 1st c.
Said to be from Olbia
(Ochakov, Ukraine)
L. 5.7 cm
Ex coll.: Joseph Chmielowski,
Olbia (Ochakov, Ukraine [?])
(Sold, American Art Association,
New York, 1922)
Rogers Fund, 1922
Fig. 6.1

22.50.7 (paired with 22.50.8)
Earring
Hoop: gold—wire. *Pendant*:
gold—wrought sheet; settings—
garnet, glass (green); wire—rope
(strip twisted); granulation.
Suspension loops and chain: gold;
wire—plain (strip twisted).
Sarmatian, mid 1st c.
Said to be from Olbia
(Ochakov, Ukraine)
L. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Joseph Chmielowski,
Olbia (Ochakov, Ukraine [?])
(Sold, American Art Association,
New York, 1922)
Rogers Fund, 1922
Fig. 6.2

22.50.8 (paired with 22.50.7)
Earring
Hoop: gold—wire. *Pendant*:
gold—wrought sheet; settings—
garnet, glass (green); wire—rope
(strip twisted); granulation.
Suspension loops and chain: gold;
wire—plain (strip twisted).
Sarmatian, mid 1st c.
Said to be from Olbia
(Ochakov, Ukraine)
L. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Joseph Chmielowski,
Olbia (Ochakov, Ukraine [?])

(Sold, American Art Association, New York, 1922)
Rogers Fund, 1922
Fig. 6.2

22.50.9 (paired with 22.50.10)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; wire.
Polyhedral bead: gold—wrought sheet; cells—garnet.
Ostrogothic, 5th–6th c.
Said to be from Olbia
(Ochakov, Ukraine)
L. 4 cm
Ex coll.: Joseph Chmielowski, Olbia (Ochakov, Ukraine [?])
(Sold, American Art Association, New York, 1922)
Rogers Fund, 1922
Fig. 10.7

22.50.10 (paired with 22.50.9)
Earring
Hoop: gold—rod; wire.
Polyhedral bead: gold—wrought sheet; cells—garnet.
Ostrogothic, 5th–6th c.
Said to be from Olbia
(Ochakov, Ukraine)
L. 3.9 cm
Ex coll.: Joseph Chmielowski, Olbia (Ochakov, Ukraine [?])
(Sold, American Art Association, New York, 1922)
Rogers Fund, 1920
Fig. 10.7

27.122.16
Neck Ring
Gold—wrought.
Eastern Germanic or nomadic (?), 5th c.
D. 14.7 cm
Ex coll.: [C. A. Lembessis, Paris; through John Marshall]
Fletcher Fund, 1927
Fig. 10.1

42.50.1
Helmet
Framework: copper alloy—cast and wrought sheet; repoussé; punched, gilt. *Brow band*: copper alloy—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Plates: iron—wrought sheet.
Rivets.
Ostrogothic or Byzantine, first half 6th c.
Found at St. Bernard-sur-Saône (dép. Aisne), or from the River Saône at Montmerle, ca. 1925
H. 21.8 cm
Ex coll.: [Dealer, Châlons-sur-Saône] Georges Pauilhac, Paris; [Sumner Healey]; Clarence H. Mackay, Roslyn, Long Island, New York; Stephen V. Grancsay, New York
Bequest of Stephen V. Grancsay, 1942
Fig. 11.8

47.100.19
Bow Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; settings—garnets (flat and cabochon, plain foil—gold); wire—plain (strip twisted), beaded; wavy ribbon; granulation.
Backplate: silver—cast. *Pin*: silver.
Eastern Germanic, first half 5th c.
Said to be from Şimleul-Silvanei, Salaj district, Transylvania, Romania (formerly Szilagy-Sómlyó, Transylvania, Hungary)
L. 16.7 cm
Ex coll.: R. Martins Reay, Brooklyn, New York (sold, Sotheby's, 1936); [Joseph Brummer, New York (in 1936)]
Fletcher Fund, 1947
Fig. 9.1, Pl. 5a {6, 9}

47.100.20 (paired with 47.100.21)
Bow Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased, punched; tinned. *Pin*: iron.
Visigothic, first half 6th c.
Said to be from Castiltierra, Segovia, Spain
L. 15.2 cm
Ex coll.: [Spanish Dealer (until 1945)]; [Joseph Brummer, New York]
Fletcher Fund, 1947
Fig. 17.2

47.100.21 (paired with 47.100.20)
Bow Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased, punched; tinned. *Pin*: iron.
Visigothic, first half 6th c.
Said to be from Castiltierra, Segovia, Spain
L. 15.3 cm
Ex coll.: [Spanish Dealer (until 1945)]; [Joseph Brummer, New York]
Fletcher Fund, 1947
Fig. 17.2

47.100.22
Buckle
Attachment plate, tongue, loop: copper alloy—cast; cells—cloisons (copper alloy), glass. *Base plate*: copper alloy—wrought sheet. *Rivets*: iron. Restoration.
Visigothic, first half 6th c.
Said to be from Castiltierra, Segovia, Spain
L. 13 cm
Ex coll.: [Spanish Dealer (until 1945)]; [Joseph Brummer, New York]
Fletcher Fund, 1947
Fig. 17.4

47.100.24
Horse Bit

Iron; inlaid—copper alloy (brass), gold, silver.
Byzantine or Hispano-Visigothic, 7th–early 8th c.
From Andalucia, Spain
L. 27 cm
Ex coll.: Raphael Garcia Palencia, Madrid, Spain (in 1919); Joseph Guggenheim (?); [Gluckselig (sold 1940)]; [Joseph Brummer, New York (in 1940)]
Fletcher Fund, 1947
Pl. 14 {11}

47.100.25a–b
Disk-on-Bow Brooch
Appliqués: copper alloy—cast, chased; gilt. *Base plate*: copper alloy—wrought sheet; garnet (patterned foil); tinned.
Backplate: copper alloy (leaded bronze)—cast; chased, punched, engraved; gilt.
Vendel period, early 8th c.
L. 20.5 cm
Ex coll.: F. R. Martin, Sweden (?); Colbat-Ready, Paris (sold 1919); Rivère, Paris (?); [Lucien Marcel Bing, Paris (sold 1920)]; Haas, Paris (?) (sold 1934); [Ernest Brummer, Paris (in 1934); [Joseph Brummer, New York]
Fletcher Fund, 1947
Figs. 25.5–25.7, Pl. 16 {25, 26}

48.154.3 (paired with 48.154.4)
Radiate-Headed Bow Brooch
Silver—cast; chased, punched; gilt. *Rivets for digits*: copper alloy—wrought sheet.
Alemannic, late 5th–early 6th c.
Said to have been found in France
L. 8.7 cm
Ex coll.: [Joseph Brummer, New York]; Alastair B. Martin, Guennol, Glen Head, Long Island, New York
Gift of Alastair B. Martin, 1948
Fig. 20.11

48.154.4 (paired with 48.154.3)
Radiate-Headed Bow Brooch
Silver—cast; chased, punched; gilt. *Rivets for digits*: copper alloy—wrought sheet.
Alemannic, late 5th–early 6th c.
Said to have been found in France
L. 8.8 cm
Ex coll.: [Joseph Brummer, New York]; Alastair B. Martin, Guennol, Glen Head, Long Island, New York
Gift of Alastair B. Martin, 1948
Fig. 20.11

49.56.5 (paired with 49.56.6)
Radiate-Headed Bow Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; inlaid—niello; garnets (patterned foil), glass (green, patterned foil); gilt.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
L. 10.7 cm
Ex coll.: [Joseph Brummer, New York]
Rogers Fund, 1949
Fig. 20.10

49.56.6 (paired with 49.56.5)
Radiate-Headed Bow Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings; chased, punched; inlaid—niello; garnets (patterned foil), glass (green, patterned foil); gilt.
Frankish, first half 6th c.
L. 10.8 cm
Ex coll.: [Joseph Brummer, New York]
Rogers Fund, 1949
Fig. 20.1

51.125.5
Cloisonné Strap Mount
Inset circular disk: gold—wrought sheet; cells—garnets (patterned foil). *Top plate*: copper—wrought sheet; punched; gilt.
Base plate: copper alloy. *Rivets*: copper alloy.
Frankish, first quarter 6th c.
Said to have been found in Italy
L. 6.2 cm
Ex coll.: [Charles Ratton, Paris; Alastair B. Martin, Guennol, Glen Head, Long Island, New York (in 1950)
Gift of Alastair Bradley Martin, 1951
Fig. 19.14

52.30
Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé; applied central boss; wire—beaded, rope (strip twisted); wavy ribbon. *Side*: gold—wrought sheet; wire—beaded rope.
Byzantine-Langobardic, 7th c.
D. 7.7 cm
Ex coll.: [Hanns M. Calmann, London (in 1950?)]
Dick Fund, 1952
Fig. 13.18, Pl. 6e {13}

52.51.2
Belt Mount
Copper alloy—cast; chased, punched; gilt. *Rivets*: copper alloy.
Avar, early 8th c.
L. 4.7 cm
Ex coll.: [Patrick O'Connor, New York]
Rogers Fund, 1952
Fig. 11.17

53.48.5
Penannular Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; enamel
(red). *Pin*: copper alloy—ham-
mered.
Irish, 7th c.
L. 6.2 cm
Ex coll.: Alastair B. Martin,
Guennol, Glen Head, Long
Island, New York
Gift of Alastair Bradley Martin,
1953
Fig. 5.3

53.48.6
Disk Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased; gilt.
Vendel period, 7th c.
Said to be from Gotland
D. 4.1 cm
Ex coll.: Alastair B. Martin,
Guennol, Glen Head, Long
Island, New York
Gift of Alastair Bradley Martin,
1953
Fig. 25.2

55.56
**Radiate-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Silver—cast and wrought sheet;
chased, punched; inlaid—niello;
wire—beaded; partial gilt. *Pin*:
silver. *Rivets for digits*: iron.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
L. 15.7 cm
Ex coll.: [Livio Bruschi &
Amedeo Riccardi, Florence (in
1955)]
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer
Bequest, 1955
Figs. 13.21, 13.23, Pl. 8 {13}

57.161.1
Belt Mount
Mount: copper alloy—cast;
chased, punched; tinned.
Suspension loop: copper alloy—
hammered. *Rivets*: copper
alloy.
Provincial Roman, late
4th–early 5th c.
L. 7.2 cm
Ex coll.: [Blumka Gallery, New
York]
Rogers Fund, 1957
Fig. 18.5

57.161.2
Belt Mount
Mount: copper alloy—cast;
chased, punched; tinned. *Rivets*:
copper alloy.
Provincial Roman, late
4th–early 5th c.
L. 7.4 cm
Ex coll.: [Blumka Gallery, New
York]
Rogers Fund, 1957
Fig. 11.3

58.12
Breast Chain
Medallion: gold—wrought sheet;
repoussé; wire—beaded.
Pendant: gold—wrought sheet;
wire—beaded; hematite. *Chain*:
gold; wire—block twisted.
Late Roman, early 5th c. with
2nd-c. amulet
From Piazza della Consolazione,
Rome, Italy in 1908 (or 1910)
L. 79 cm
Ex coll.: [Hagob and Garbis
Kalebdjian, Paris (by 1913)];
Jacob Hirsch, Lucerne (by 1945
or 1947); [Adolph Hess, Lucerne]
Rogers Fund, 1958
Figs. 7.2, 7.3

1981.413
Penannular Brooch
Silver—cast relief and settings;
chased, punched; amber (cabo-
chons); partial gilt. *Pin*: silver,
hammered.
Pictish, early 9th c.
From near Galway, Republic of
Ireland
L. 9.3 cm
Ex coll.: Lt. General Augustus
Pitt-Rivers, Farnham, Dorset,
England; Carruthers, London;
[K.J. Hewett, London, 1981];
[Michael Ward, Inc.,
New York]
Purchase, Rogers Fund, and
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by
exchange, 1981
Fig. 5.4

1982.323.1
Oval Brooch
Top plate: copper alloy—cast;
gilt. *Base plate*: copper alloy—
cast; gilt. *Rivets*: copper alloy.
Viking, 10th c.
L. 11.4 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection; [sale,
Christie, Manson & Woods,
London, 1980]; [Rainer Zietz
Limited, London]
Fletcher Fund, 1982
Fig. 25.14

1982.323.2
Box Brooch
Top and side: copper alloy—cast;
overlaid—silver foil inlaid with
inlay. *Appliqués*: copper alloy—
cast; overlaid—silver foil.
Viking, 10th c.
D. 6 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection; [sale,
Christie, Manson & Woods,
London, 1980]; [Rainer Zietz
Limited, London]
Fletcher Fund, 1982
Fig. 25.13

1982.323.3
Animal Head Brooch

Top plate, base plate: copper
alloy—cast.
Viking, 11th c.
L. 5.7 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection; [sale,
Christie, Manson & Woods,
London, 1980]; [Rainer Zietz
Limited, London]
Fletcher Fund, 1982
Fig. 25.11

1984.184.1
Shield Boss
Mount: copper alloy; punched,
engraved; gilt. *Rivet*: copper
alloy; punched; gilt. *Boss*: iron.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–early 7th c.
D. 19.1 cm
Ex coll.: Count Wilczek, Castle
Kreuzestein, Austria; [Ruth
Blumka, New York]; Eric Váule
Purchase, Gift of Stephen V.
Grancsay, by exchange, and
Rogers Fund, 1984
Fig. 18.12

1984.184.2
Shield Boss
Mount: copper alloy—wrought
sheet; punched; gilt. *Rivet*: cop-
per alloy; gilt. *Boss*: iron.
Byzantine-Langobardic, late
6th–7th c.
D. 17.8 cm
Ex coll.: Count Wilczek, Castle
Kreuzestein, Austria; [Ruth
Blumka, New York]; Eric Váule
Purchase, Gift of Stephen V.
Grancsay, by exchange, and
Rogers Fund, 1984
Fig. 11.9

1984.300
Bracteate Pendant
Copper alloy—wrought sheet;
repoussé; punched; wire—bead-
ed; decorative rivets; gilt.
Vendel period, 8th c.
D. 5.6 cm; with loop—D. 5.9 cm
Ex coll.: [K. J. Hewett, London,
1982]; [Michael Ward, Inc., New
York]
Rogers Fund, 1984
Figs. 25.3, 25.4

1985.209
**Square-Headed Bow
Brooch**
Copper alloy—cast; chased;
inlaid—niello; gilt; appliqués.
Anglo-Saxon, 6th c.
L. 13.6 cm
Ex coll.: [Michael Ward, Inc.,
New York]
Purchase, Rogers Fund, and
Alastair B. Martin, Levy
Hermanos Foundation, Inc., and
J. William Middendorf II, Gifts,
1985
Fig. 23.14

1986.341
Buckle
Attachment plate and loop: gold—
wrought sheet; cells—garnets
(patterned foil). *Backplate*:
gold—wrought; applied to
hinge strap. *Tongue*: gold—
wrought.
Byzantine, second half 5th–early
6th c.
From Komárom-Szöny,
Hungary
L. 3.4 cm
Ex coll.: David Egger, Budapest;
Samuel Egger, Vienna; [sale
Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge,
London 1891]; Lt. General
Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Farnham,
Dorset, England; [Alistair
McAlpine, London, 1986];
[Michael Ward, Inc., New York]
Purchase, Rogers Fund, Alastair
B. Martin, Norbert Schimmel
Foundation, Inc., and Levey
Hermanos Foundation, Inc.,
Gifts and Funds from various
donors, 1986
Fig. 11.10, Pl. 5e {11}

1987.90.1
Disk Brooch
Top plate: gold—wrought sheet;
settings—garnets (cabochon,
patterned foil), gypsum backing;
cells—garnets (patterned foil,
gold), glass (blue); wire—bead-
ed. *Base plate*: silver; border—
inlaid (niello), gilt.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish), early
7th c.
From Teynham, Kent, England,
1894
D. 4.7 cm
Ex coll.: D.F. Kennard (sale
Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge,
London 1895)]; Lt. General
Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Farnham,
Dorset, England; [K.J. Hewett,
London]; [P.& D. Colnaghi &
Co. Ltd., London]; [Artemis
Fine Arts., Ltd., London];
[Michael Ward, Inc., New
York]
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer
Bequest, 1987
Fig. 23.15, Pl. 6a {23}

1987.90.2
Pendant
Gold—wrought sheet; set-
tings—garnets (patterned foil—
gold); wire—beaded, rope (strip
twisted).
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish), early
7th c.
From Teynham, Kent, England,
1894
D. 2.8 cm
Ex coll.: D.F. Kennard (sale
Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge,
London 1895); Lt. General

Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Farnham, Dorset, England;[K.J. Hewett, London]; [P.& D. Colnaghi & Co. Ltd., London]; [Artemis Fine Arts., Ltd., London]; [Michael Ward, Inc., New York]
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1987
Fig. 23.16, Pl. 6b {23}

1987.90.3
Pendant
Gold—wrought sheet; settings—garnets (flat and cabochon, patterned foil—gold); wire—beaded.
Anglo-Saxon (Kentish), early 7th c.
D. 2.8 cm
Ex coll.: D. F. Kennard (sale Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London 1895); Lt. General Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Farnham, Dorset, England,;[K.J. Hewett, London]; [P.& D. Colnaghi & Co. Ltd., London]; [Artemis Fine Arts., Ltd., London]; [Michael Ward, Inc., New York]
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1987
Fig. 23.17, Pl. 6c {23}

1988.305a–b
Buckle
Attachment plate, base plate: copper alloy—wrought sheet; cells—garnet (foil), glass (green, red cabochon), lapis lazuli, cuttlefish bone; gilt. *Tongue*: copper alloy—cast; cells—garnet (foil); gilt. *Loop*: copper alloy—cast; gilt.
Visigothic, second half 6th c.
L. 13.6 cm
Ex coll.: [Robert Haber & Associates, Inc., Ancient Art, New York]
Rogers Fund, 1988
Fig. 17.6

1990.77
Horse Harness Pendant
Copper alloy (leaded bronze)—cast; chased.
Visigothic, 6th c.
D. 8.5 cm
Ex coll.: [Robin Symes Limited, London].
Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1990
Fig. 11.2

1990.184a–c
Buckle
Attachment plate: silver—cast; chased; inlaid—niello; gilt. *Rivets*: iron. *Tongue*: silver—cast;

engraved, chased. *Loop*: silver—cast; chased, punched; gilt.
Gepidic, mid 5th c.
L. 12.5 cm
Ex coll.: Edward Ochsenschlager, New York; Harry Bober, New York; [sale, Sotheby's, New York, 1989] [Ariadne Galleries, Inc., New York]
Anonymous gift in honor of Harry Bober, 1990
Fig. 11.4

1990.193.1 (paired with 1990.193.2)
Bow Brooch
Copper alloy (quaternary alloy)—cast; drilled, punched.
Visigothic, second half 6th c.
L. 12.7 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection, Gibraltar; [Ariadne Gallery, New York]
Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Ronald S. Lauder Gift, 1990
Fig. 17.3

1990.193.2 (paired with 1990.193.1)
Bow Brooch
Copper alloy (quaternary alloy)—cast; drilled, punched.
Visigothic, second half 6th c.
L. 12.7 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection, Gibraltar; [Ariadne Gallery, New York]
Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Ronald S. Lauder Gift, 1990
Fig. 17.3

1990.193.3ab
Buckle
Attachment Plate: copper alloy—cast; engraved, chased, punched. *Tongue, loop*: copper alloy—cast.
Hispano-Visigothic, 7th c.
L. 14.8 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection, Gibraltar; [Ariadne Gallery, New York]
Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Ronald S. Lauder Gift, 1990
Fig. 17.13

1991.173
Buckle
Attachment plate: copper alloy; gilt; cells—garnet, glass, malachite. *Base plate*: copper alloy. *Tongue, loop*: copper alloy—cast; gilt.
Byzantine, second half 5th–6th c.
L. 6 cm

Ex coll.: [Blumka Gallery, New York]; Max Falk, New York
Gift of Mr. Max Falk, 1991
Fig. 11.14

1991.308
Brooch in Shape of a Bird
Copper alloy (leaded brass)—cast; chased, punched; silvered (?).
Pin: copper alloy.
Vendel period, 7th c.
L. 5.4 cm
Ex coll.: [Robert Haber & Associates, Inc., Ancient Art, New York]
Leon Levy and Shelby White Gift, Rogers Fund and Funds From Various Donors, 1991
Fig. 25.1

1992.59.1
Box Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased.
Viking, late 8th–9th c.
D. 5.2 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection, Germany; [Robert Haber & Associates, Inc., Ancient Art, New York]
Pfeiffer Fund, 1992
Figs. 25.12, 26.11

1992.59.2 (paired with 1992.59.3)
Animal-Head Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased. *Pin*: copper alloy—wrought.
Vendel period, late 8th c.
L. 4.6 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection, Germany; [Robert Haber & Associates, Inc., Ancient Art, New York]
Pfeiffer Fund, 1992
Fig. 25.10

1992.59.3 (paired with 1992.59.2)
Animal-Head Brooch
Copper alloy—cast; chased. *Pin*: copper alloy—wrought.
Vendel period, late 8th c.
L. 4.4 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection, Germany; [Robert Haber & Associates, Inc., Ancient Art, New York]
Pfeiffer Fund, 1992
Fig. 25.10

1993.109
Strap End
Copper alloy—engraved, chased, punched; tinned.
Frankish, second half 7th c.
L. 12.7 cm
Ex coll.: [Dr. Leopold

Seligmann, Cologne (in 1930)]; Simon Meller; Miss Meller; [Albrecht Neuhaus, Wurzburg (ca. 1970)]; Max Falk, New York
Gift of Max Falk, 1993
Fig. 18.19

1993.263
Brooch in Form of a Winged Insect
Copper alloy—cast; chased. *Pin*: copper alloy—wrought.
Eastern Germanic, 4th c.
L. 3 cm
Ex coll.: [Bastiaan Blok, Noordwijk, Netherlands]
William Kelly Simpson Gift, 1993
Fig. 18.20

1995.54
Buckle
Tongue: gold—cast. *Hinge*: gold—wrought sheet; repoussé.
Loop: quartz.
Byzantine (?), 6th–7th c.
L. 4.5 cm
Ex coll.: Private collection, Germany; [Robert Haber & Associates, Inc., Ancient Art, New York (sold 1995)]
Purchase, Rogers Fund; Alastair B. Martin, William Kelly Simpson, Scher Chemicals Inc., and Max Falk Gifts; and gifts From various donors, 1995
Fig. 11.15

1995.97
Crossbow Brooch
Foot: gold—wrought sheet; scribed, punched, engraved.
Bow: gold—wrought sheet; wire—beaded, rope; granulation. *Cap*: gold—wrought sheet; wire—beaded. *Screw mechanism*: gold—wrought sheet, rod. *Pin*: gold—strip twisted.
Late Roman/Early Byzantine, first half 5th c.
L. 11.9 cm
Ex coll.: Simon Bendel, London 1964–75; [Michael Ward, Inc., New York, 1995]
Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1995
Figs. 7.11, 7.12, 7.13

X.209.3
Buckle Counter Plate
Iron: inlaid—silver. *Rivets*: copper alloy.
Merovingian, 7th c.
L. 7.3 cm
Ex coll.:
Source Unknown
Fig. 24.7

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