

Max Martin

20. Early Merovingian Women's Brooches

INTRODUCTION

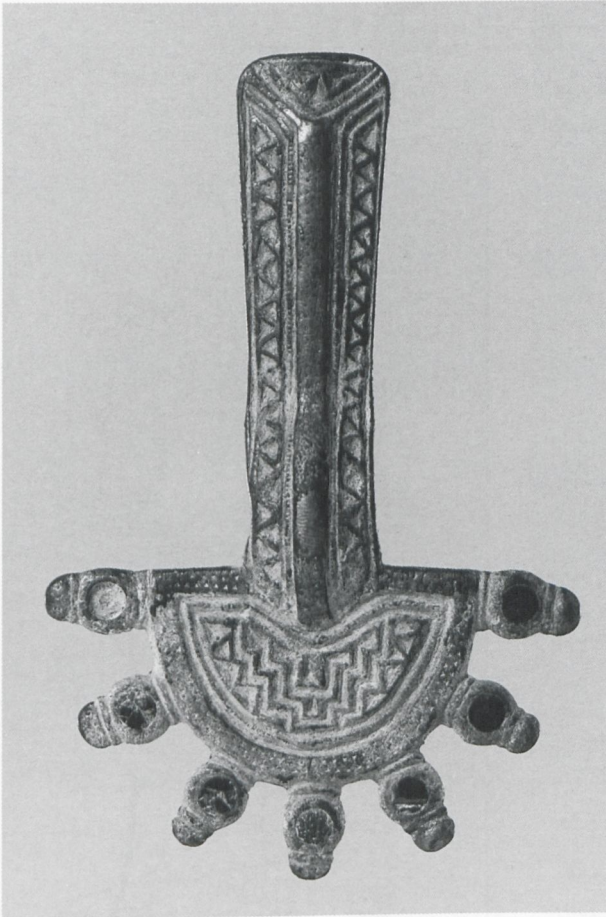
Thanks to the gift of J. Pierpont Morgan and some later acquisitions, The Metropolitan Museum of Art is in possession of a splendid collection of brooches that once embellished Germanic female costume of the early Merovingian period, that is, between about A.D. 450 and 600.¹ These brooches, the most 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.

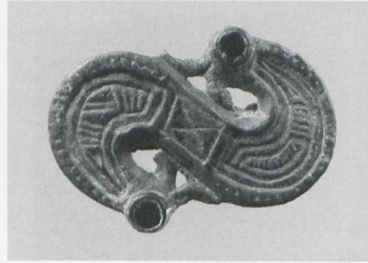
During the Roman period the *peplos* was still worn outside the empire, in large regions of Germania Magna. In late Roman times, when the western Germans, such as the Franks, Alemanni, and Thuringians, came into contact with the population of the



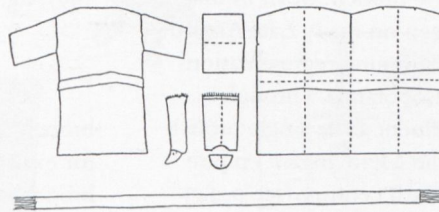
20.1 Radiate-headed bow brooch, one of a pair. Gilt silver, niello, garnet, glass. Frankish, first half 6th century. Height 10.8 cm. (49.56.6)



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)

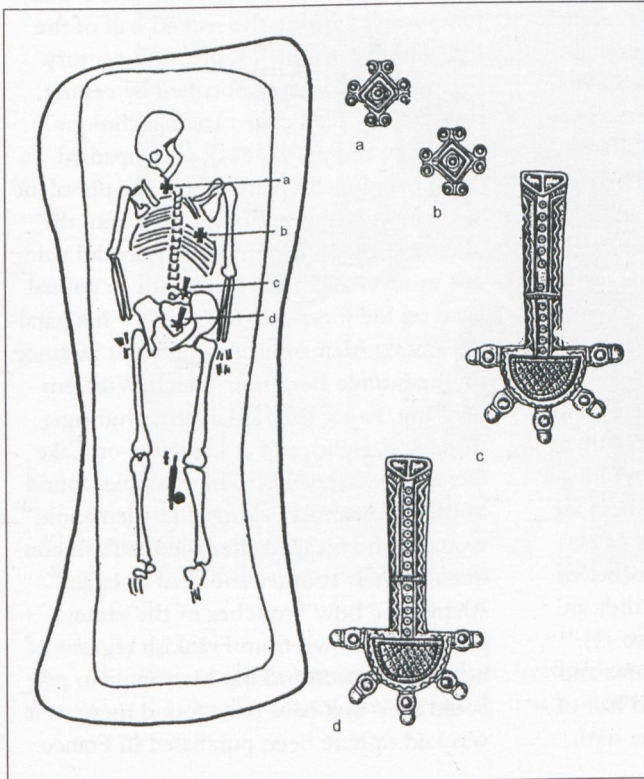
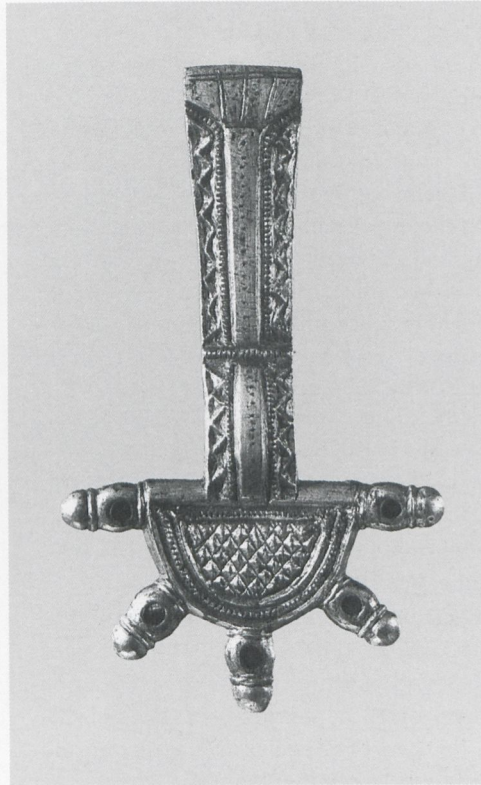
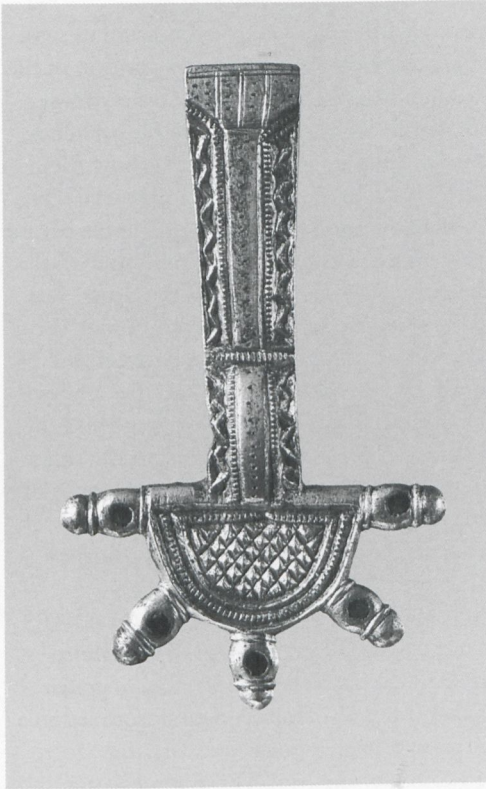
northwestern Roman provinces, there were many varieties of tunica to be seen, but nowhere the archaic peplos, which, to the eyes of the provincial population, was old-fashioned. The peplos was worn only by the women of the Germanic soldiers stationed with their families within the frontier areas of the 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 Altenberding, Bavaria, Germany (after Martin 1997, fig. 390)

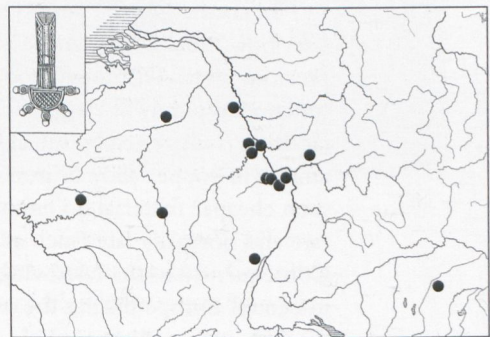
brooch. Langobardic women in Pannonia, for example, still used the two pairs of brooches, the bow brooches and the small brooches. Both were indispensable to an upper-class woman of the western Germanic peoples during the early Merovingian period, but after their immigration into Italy in 568, the Langobards 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 Rügenach 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.

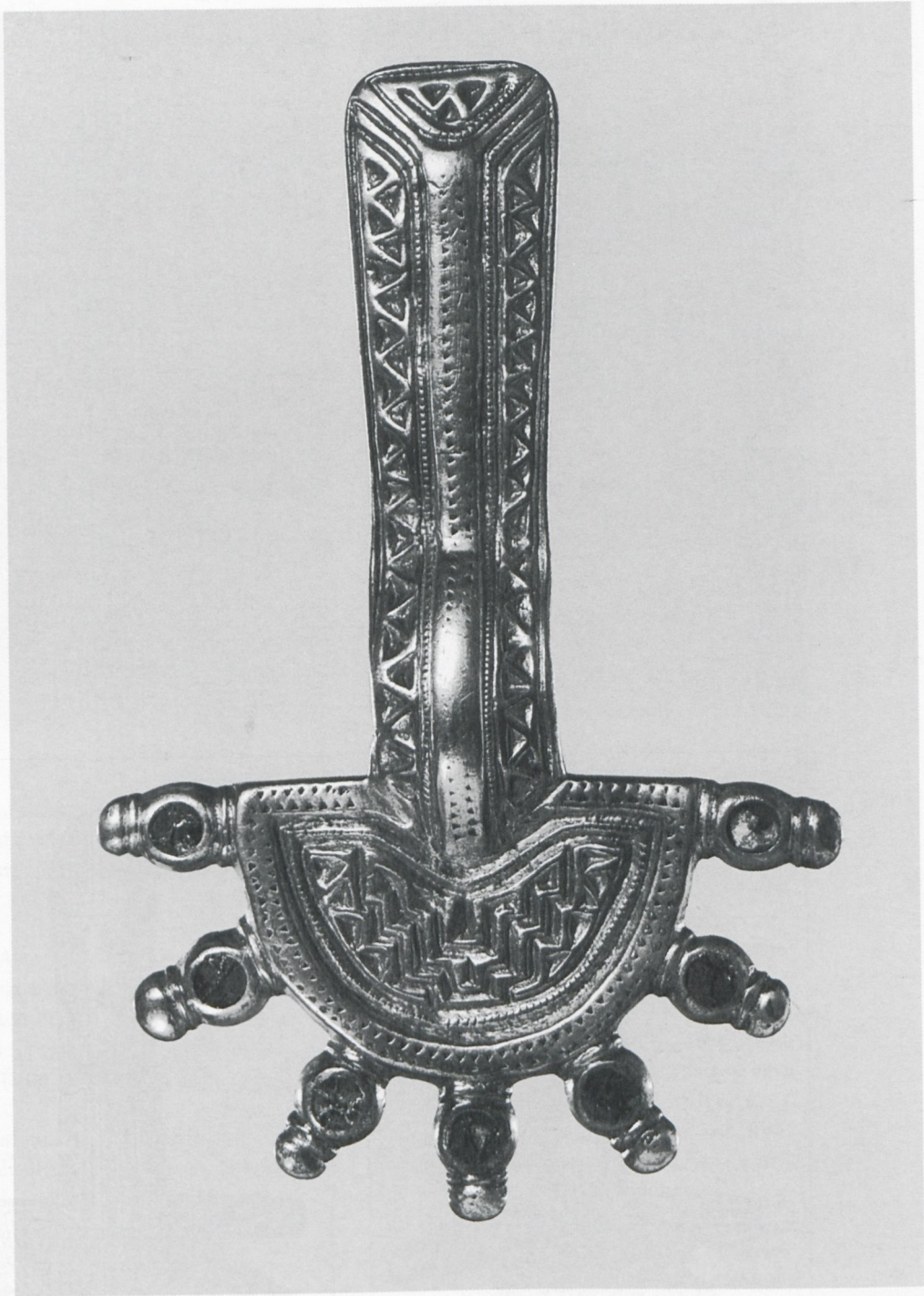
Looked at in detail, the different positions of the bow brooches are clearly not individual or arbitrary, but more or less adhere to a distinct system. The early bow brooches are usually found just below the chest and, at times, in a horizontal position. Later, a vertical position became usual, first 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

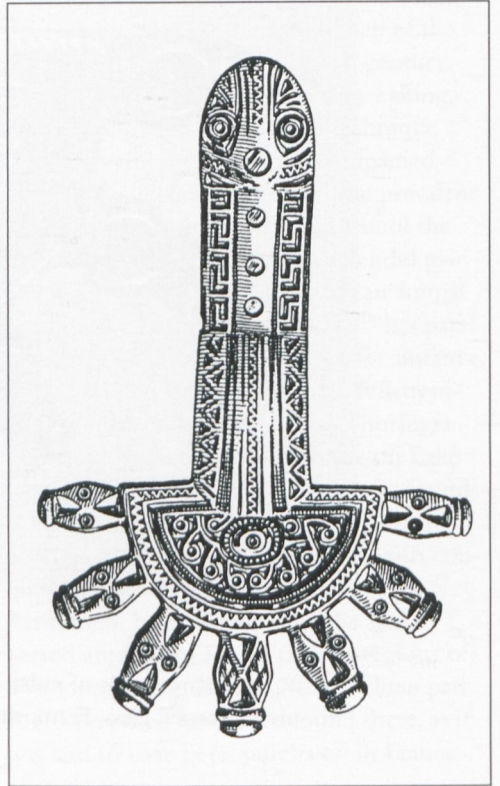
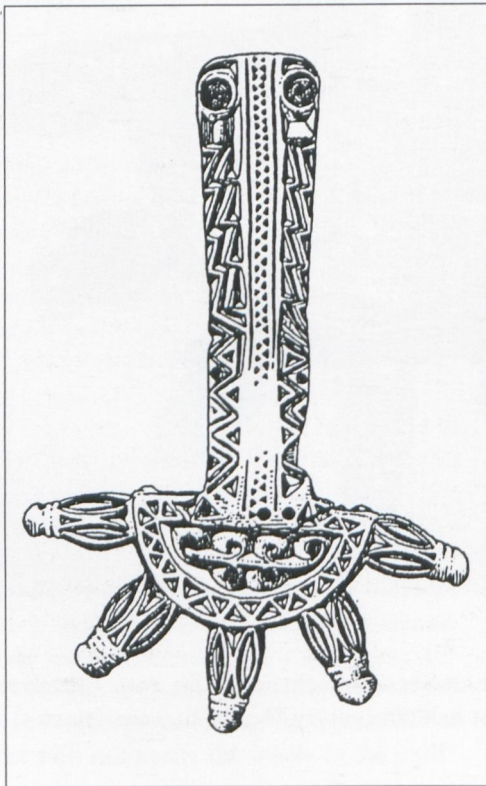
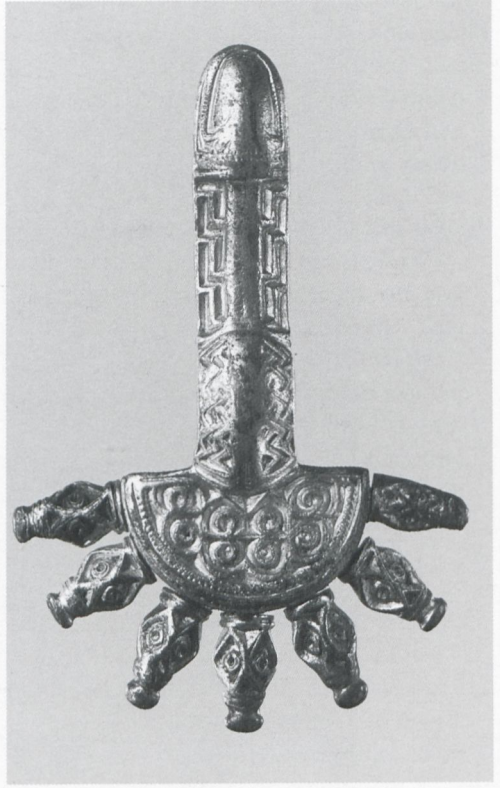
century, brooches were always symbols signifying the high rank and social position of the women wearing them. While other women also wore the tunic, they had no brooches. Moreover, they had no right to show themselves with brooches in precious metal. This sumptuary rule, valid during the whole period 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.

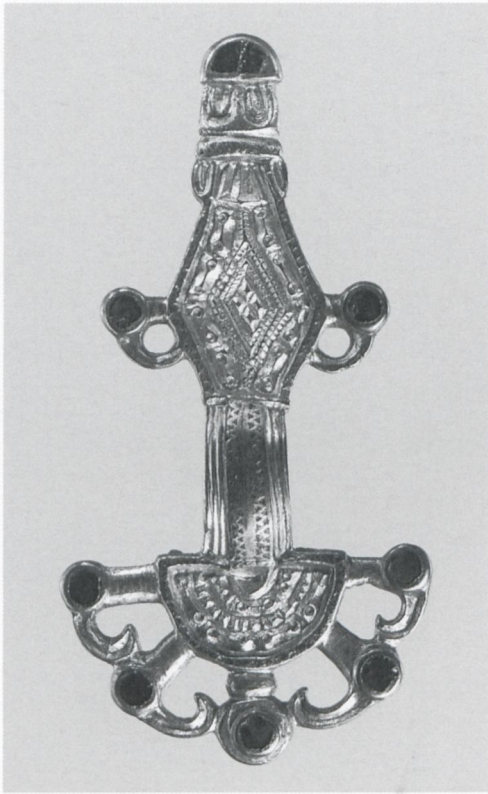
SOME TYPES OF BOW BROOCHES

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)

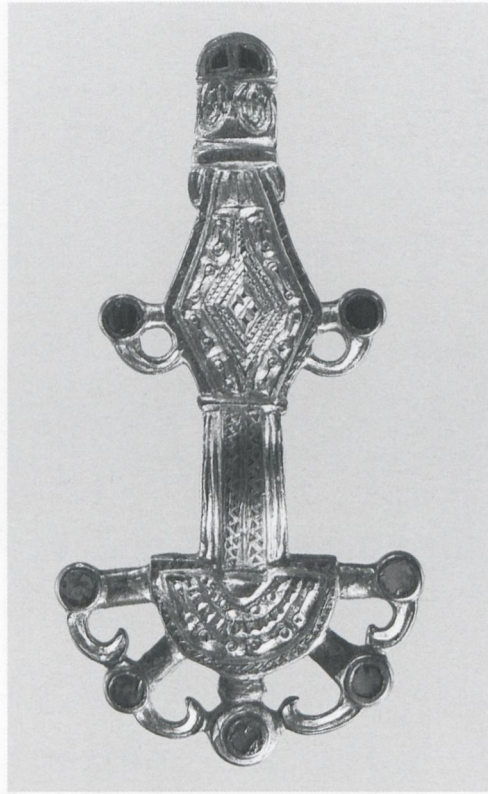




20.11 Pair of radiate-headed bow brooches (opposite above). Gilt silver. Alemannic, late 5th–early 6th century. Maximum height 8.8 cm. (48.154.3, .4)

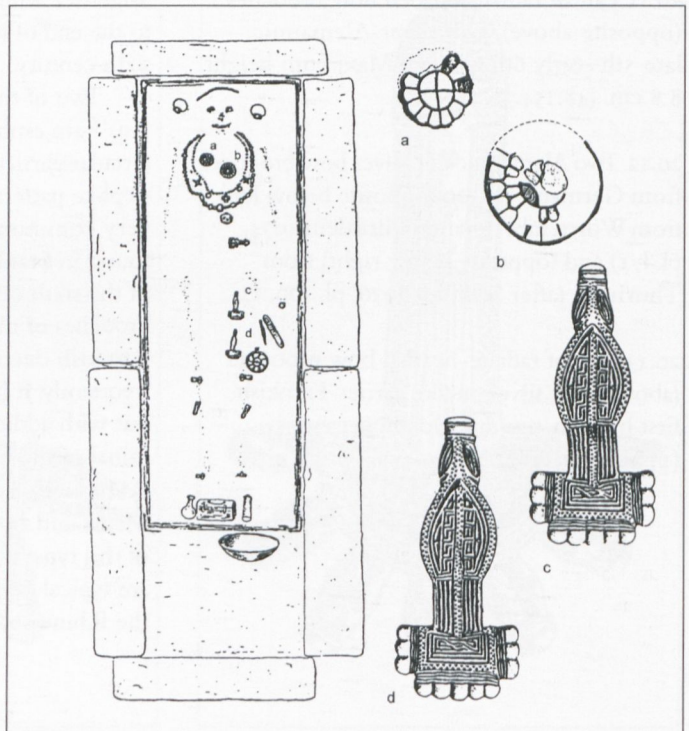
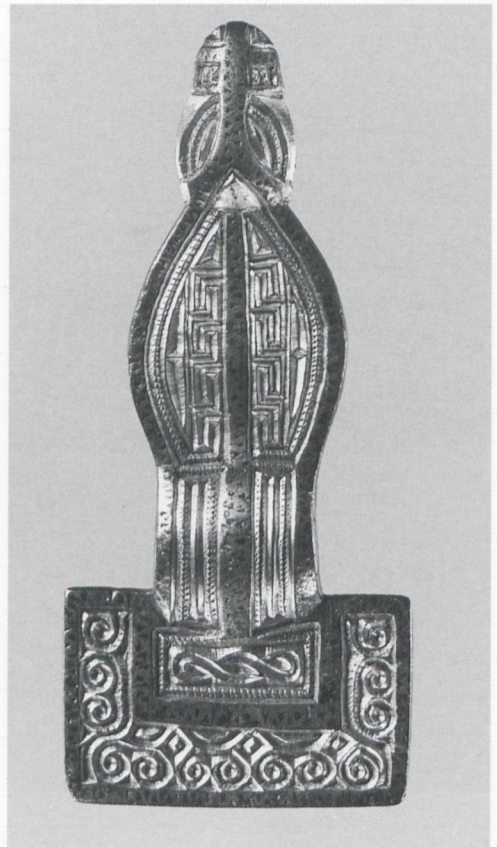
20.12 Two Alemannic gilt-silver bow brooches from Germany, ca. 500 (opposite below left), from Württemberg (after Christlein 1974, pl. I, 1) and (opposite below right) from Thuringia (after Schmidt 1976, pl. 100, 1)

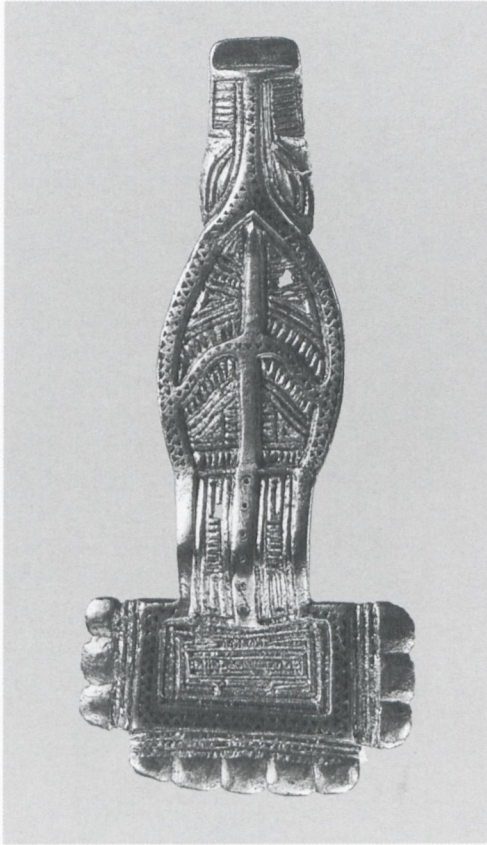
20.13 Pair of radiate-headed bow brooches (above). Gilt silver, niello, garnet. Frankish, first half 6th century. Height 9.5 cm. (17.191.172, .173)



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 terminal of the footplate, from the cemetery of Rügenach, 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

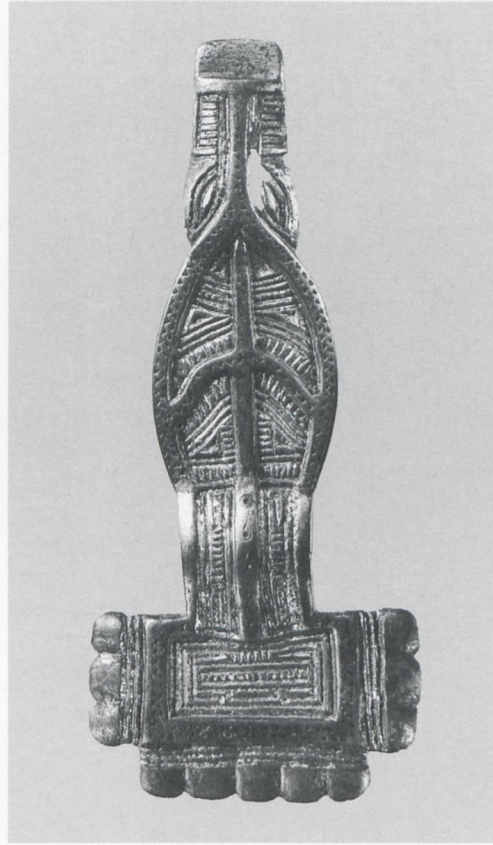




20.14 Pair of square-headed bow brooches (opposite above). Gilt silver, niello. Frankish, second half 6th century. From Niederbreisig, Germany. Maximum height 10.1 cm. (17.193.72, .73)

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 semi-circular 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 *répoussé* 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).

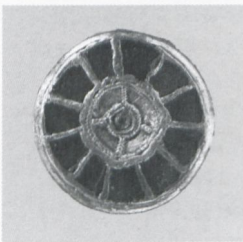
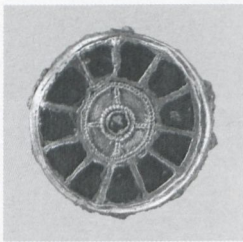
The Metropolitan has numerous elegant bird brooches belonging to the sixth century.

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.

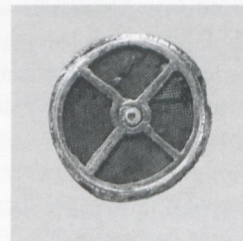
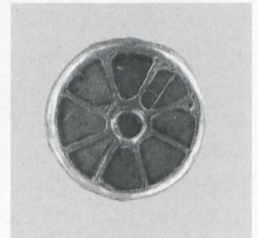
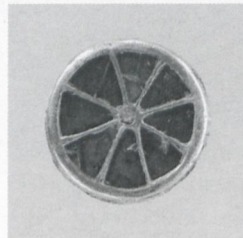
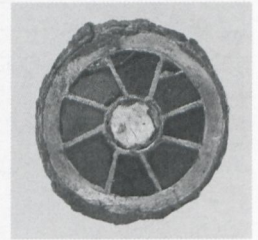
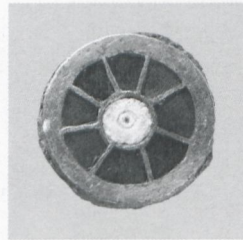
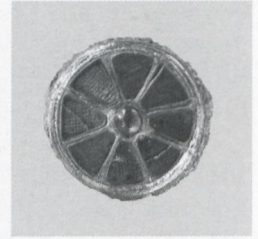
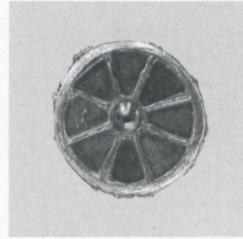
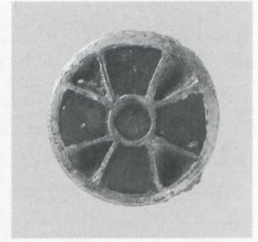
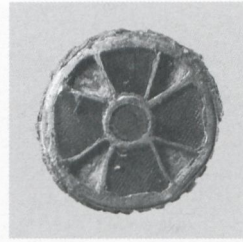
A final remark on the bird brooches, which today, by convention and without reflection, are viewed and illustrated with the little birds in a vertical, upright position.³⁸ If we are to discover how women were accustomed to wearing these little ornaments on their cloaks, we must look to other zoomorphic 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,



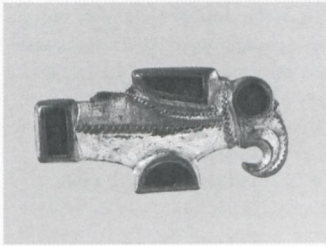
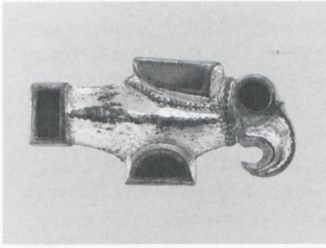
20.18 Horse brooch. Gilt silver, garnet.
6th century. Length 3.1 cm. (17.192.186)



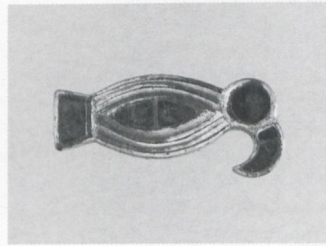
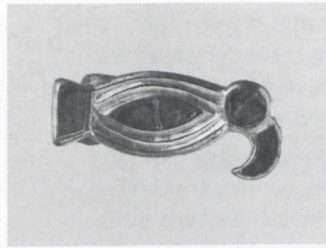
20.19 Pair of cloisonné disk brooches. Gilt silver, garnet, glass, silver-inlaid iron.
Frankish, first half 6th century. Maximum diameter 2.4 cm. (17.192.32, .33)



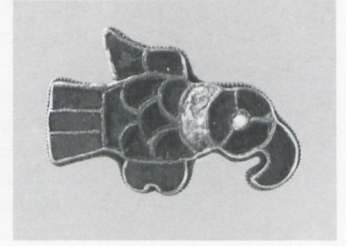
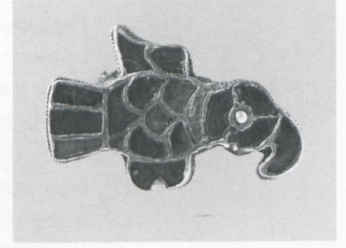
20.20 Group of cloisonné disk brooches showing variety of forms and their serial production. Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish, first half 6th century. Maximum diameter 2.4 cm. (17.191.11, .12; 17.191.15, .16; 17.191.34, .35; 17.191.20, .152, .153)



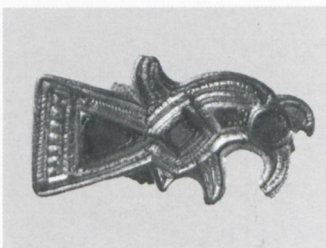
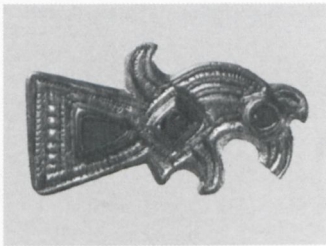
20.21 Pair of bird brooches.
Gilt silver, garnet. Frankish,
late 5th–early 6th century.
Length 3.1 cm. (17.191.166,
.167)



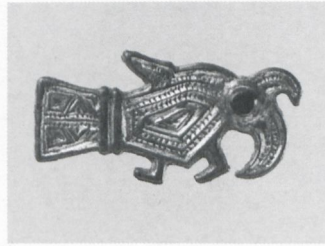
20.22 Pair of bird brooches.
Gilt silver, garnet. First half
6th century. Length 3 cm.
(17.191.168, .169)



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 Paffgen 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).
- See Kühn 1934, p. 117 ("vielleicht aus Niederbreisig"), and Kühn 1937b, p. 139.
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.