

# *Heiligenfibeln* in the Netherlands: a Provisional Check-List

## Abstract

In the Carolingian period, a specific type of disc brooch emerged in what is now Germany and the Netherlands. Its material is copper alloy with enamel, although recent research has included disc fibulas without enamel in the discussion of these *Heiligenfibeln*. This latter designation was derived from the alleged nimbuses above the heads of the human figures depicted on the brooches. At the beginning of the twenty-first century about 100 *Heiligenfibeln* were known. Their number has increased considerably in the last decades, and this calls for a new inventory to provide a basis for revising the picture of their distribution and evaluating the received opinions on this unique phenomenon of early medieval personal decoration.

## Keywords

The Netherlands / Early Middle Ages / disc brooches / enamel / Christian iconography

In the course of researching the earliest iconography of Jesus Christ in the Netherlands, the unique category of early medieval »saints' brooches«, generally known by the German name *Heiligenfibeln* (Dutch: *heiligenfibula's*), emerged. Some of these disc brooches would perhaps depict the figure of Christ, and could therefore be relevant to the study of this specific iconography. This publication is therefore the result of a preliminary investigation for a more comprehensive project<sup>1</sup>.

From the specialist literature it emerged that although these brooches have been described and listed several times, there is no complete inventory available, mainly due to the fast increase in the number of archaeological finds in recent years. The aim of this contribution is to provide an actual survey of the *Heiligenfibeln* in Dutch possession, not only in museums and other public repositories, but also in private collections<sup>2</sup>. This ambition was aided in no small way by the existence of PAN – Portable

<sup>1</sup> The first result from this research, which will comprise four publications altogether, is: Veelenturf 2020.

<sup>2</sup> The generous provision of information by colleagues and collectors from various quarters during the compiling of this check-list is very much appreciated. Many thanks to: Ute Bartelt (Archäologische Denkmalpflege, Hannover), Fredo van Berkel, Klaas Boneschansker, Mirjam Bos (trainee Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot, Nuis), Wouter van den Brandhof (Nijmegen), Anke Dallinga (Provinciaal Archeologisch Depot de Vondst, Heerlen), Krijn Dijkema, Danique van Dun (Valkhof Museum, Nijmegen), Joanneke van den Engel (Provinciaal depot voor archeologie Noord-Holland, Castricum),

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Antiquities of the Netherlands. This project collects data on archaeological objects found in the country, often by metal detectorists, and subsequently kept in private possession. The finders-collectors retain their privacy thanks to their anonymous listing in the PAN database, which is accessible to everyone in a splendid »repository« on the digital World Wide Web, illustrated, annotated and searchable<sup>3</sup>. Listed in PAN, finds by individuals to a great extent remain part of the national archaeological record.

## Material, Size, Design

The metal in these brooches is copper alloy. Sometimes the items are described as being made of bronze, but as we usually can be certain that the metal has not been determined by metallurgical probing, only the term »copper alloy« is used in the check-list below. A number of brooches are executed in cloisonné enamel (*Zellenschmelz*), usually *Senkschmelz*. Items in this technique consist of a metal base plate on which an enamelled image plate is mounted. However, the majority of the fibulas were produced in champlevé enamel (*Grubenschmelz*)<sup>7</sup>.

*Heiligenfibeln* are small. Diameters of cloisonné brooches measured by E. Wamers vary between 24 and 30 mm, which is not different in the check-list below (24–31 mm). The diameters of champlevé

The *Heiligenfibel*, as it is distinguished for more than a century now<sup>4</sup>, is a small disc brooch category with an iconographic design in enamel, displaying human figures (**fig. 1a-b**)<sup>5</sup>. With their remarkable figurative decoration the *Heiligenfibeln* stand out as a distinct brooch category. Their relatively short period of manufacture, and their apparent origin in areas where no early medieval artistic tradition existed in the representation of human figures make these *Heiligenfibeln* an even more idiosyncratic phenomenon in the minor arts of the Early Middle Ages<sup>6</sup>.

items measured by the same author were between 24 and 31 mm, 25.1 mm on average<sup>8</sup>. In our check-list the smallest diameter of champlevé finds is 16 mm, and the largest is 30 mm, with most diameters between 20 and 26 mm. The »new additional« types discussed and listed below, which are not enamelled, appear to be smaller.

The term *Heiligenfibeln* is used for these brooches since, until recently, it was generally believed that almost all of these brooches display stylized human figures with a nimbus, designating them as saints (**fig. 1a-b**). It is no wonder, then, that their Christian nature has always been assumed. Most of the brooches display a single figure, but there are also brooches with pairs of figures. The stylized person

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<sup>3</sup> See <https://portable-antiquities.nl/>.

<sup>4</sup> The *Heiligenfibeln* emerged in art-historical literature in: Rosenberg 1918, 4-6; 1922, 58-59.

<sup>5</sup> In Heeren/van der Feijst 2017, 230-233, *Heiligenfibeln* make up the subcategory 89c of Type 89 (Early medieval enamelled or glass inlaid plate brooches).

<sup>6</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 449.

<sup>7</sup> Enamel has been used to decorate metalwork for many centuries and is applied as a glass paste to the metal surface and subsequently fired in a kiln. To obtain coloured glass, oxides or metalloids are mixed with the glass paste. Champlevé and cloisonné make up the main techniques. The term champlevé (»raised field«) enamel refers to a glass paste, in different colours, that is applied in depressions hollowed out in the metal plate while the metal background protrudes above the enamel. - In cloisonné (»partitioned«) enamel, raised metal strips or wires are soldered to the metal substrate, so creating a cell which can be filled with a glass paste. The upright rims, which form cloisons (compartments or cells), give a representative or decorative design and allow for the separate application of colours, which is the main feature of this technique. - In the literature on the

*Heiligenfibeln*, two sub-techniques of cloisonné enamel are distinguished. The first is the so-called *Vollschmelz* (»full enamel«), in which the whole available surface is used for enamelling. The second technique is that of the *Senkschmelz* (»sunk enamel«), in which only a part of the surface carries the design in enamel, making it contrast with the surrounding metal surface. It should be noted that today there are different perceptions of these terms, but they do not apply to the brooches' technique. In current enamelling practice, *Vollschmelz* is defined as a technique in which the enamel and cloison strips, after buffing, are of the same height, and form a single surface. In *Senkschmelz*, however, the enamel is resting slightly lower against the cloisons, in a kind of bowl-shape, and the cloison strips protrude above it. With thanks to the goldsmith and enameller Christine van der Ree (Amsterdam) for the information on modern terminology. - A technical observation by Rosenberg has been obscured in the later literature on the *Heiligenfibeln*. He considered them in fact as »hybrids«, taking »eine Mittelstellung«. The few brooches known to him appeared to be champlevé items that nevertheless seemed to form a preliminary phase of the cloisonné fibulas. (Cloisonné enamel was not yet known in northern Europe during the Merovingian period.) Rosenberg described the pedigree of these champlevé brooches as reaching back to Roman champlevé. In champlevé, several adjacent fields can be scooped out, leaving a small raised strip of the substrate between them. This, of course, may produce an aspect quite similar to cloison rims. In the literature this effect is never mentioned, as far as this author is aware. See: Rosenberg 1922, 59; cf. 1918, 3. - Techniques described in: Rosenberg 1921, 1-4. 63ff.; Haseloff et al. 1989, 198-199; Haseloff 1990, 12; Krüger 1999, 136-138. For enamel colours of the *Heiligenfibeln*, see: Rosenberg 1921, 60-62 (in general); Haseloff et al. 1989, 197-199; Haseloff 1990, 11-13; Frick 1992-1993, 288-289.

<sup>8</sup> Wamers 1994, 72-74.



**Fig. 1a** Schematized drawings of the *Heiligenfibeln*. – (Drawings J. Veelenturf).



Fig. 1b Schematized drawings of the *Heiligenfibeln*. – (Drawings J. Veelenturf).

is usually half-length or a bust. Extra characteristics, for instance attributes, are rare. Sometimes we see wings, crosses or other details.

The figure – also the winged one and each figure in a pair – is composed of simplified forms<sup>9</sup>. Beneath the crescent of the alleged nimbus, the champlevé brooches seem to have a Y- or U-shaped enamel face, sometimes consisting of disconnected elements, sometimes of connected details, and in the latter case resembling a rabbit's head<sup>10</sup>. Be-

neath the apparent chin or mouth is what may be a Y-shaped body, flanked by two »lumps«, easily to be taken for arms<sup>11</sup>. The cloisonné fibulas, however, display a far greater variety with respect to the design of the figures<sup>12</sup>. The less numerous cloisonné brooches are considered to be of higher artistic quality than those in champlevé, as the latter apparently emulate the former in their more linear aspect, for which the champlevé technique is less suitable<sup>13</sup>.

## Number, Dating, Distribution

The number of the known *Heiligenfibeln* has increased significantly in recent decades. In 1990, G. Haseloff knew 40 samples: 15 cloisonné and 25 champlevé brooches<sup>14</sup>. Shortly after him H.-J. Frick listed 59 items (19 cloisonné and 40 champlevé)<sup>15</sup>, and E. Wamers 65 (21 cloisonné and 44 champlevé)<sup>16</sup>. Five years later K. Krüger catalogued 82 *Heiligenfibeln* (23 cloisonné and 59 champlevé)<sup>17</sup>, whereas S. Spiong counted 71 items (22 cloisonné and 49 champlevé)<sup>18</sup>. In 2004, M. Schulze-Dörrlamm mentioned the number of c. 100 *Heiligenfibeln* altogether<sup>19</sup>. Below, 343 objects from the Netherlands alone are listed, including doubtful and rejected items, as well as »additional new« types. About 230 items are accepted here as »regular« enamelled *Heiligenfibeln*<sup>20</sup>.

The dating of the *Heiligenfibeln* is a difficult matter, as they are rarely found in a datable archaeologi-

cal context<sup>21</sup>. When the brooches were first noted in the specialist literature by M. Rosenberg, he assigned the few German samples known to him on technical and stylistic grounds to the eighth century<sup>22</sup>. Many decades later G. Haseloff maintained that they were the products of the last phase of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century<sup>23</sup>. Apart from the stylistic argumentation, an important factor in this more specific time range was the find of a cloisonné *Heiligenfibeln* during an excavation in 1958 near Maschen (Lkr. Harburg/DE)<sup>24</sup>. It came from grave 54 which was originally believed to date to the second half of the eighth century, but the date has been revised and placed in the first third of the ninth century<sup>25</sup>. H.-J. Frick added two finds to the argumentation which could be dated roughly because of the settlement chronology: cloisonné brooches from

**9** The most detailed description and interpretation of the formal elements of the *Heiligenfibeln* is offered in: Krüger 1999, 138-144. Cf. Bunte 2013, 107-110. 294-298.

**10** Krüger 1999, 139-141, distinguished two face types in the champlevé brooches: variant 1 has three shallow scoops for containing enamel, two long oval scoops at an angle and a round shape in the middle, which can merge into a Y-shape; variant 2 has a semicircular scoop which is open at the top. Krüger assigns only one face type to the cloisonné brooches: a rounded space, with a more or less pointed chin, in which a rim resembling spectacles has been placed to denote eyes and nose.

**11** Krüger 1999, 143-144, defined two champlevé body types: variant 1 consisting of a Y- or V-shaped scoop with two rounded scoops under the limbs of Y or V, and variant 2 displaying a »baseline« (an elongated cell that rises to a point in its centre) above which there are two rounded and above them two often slightly slanted scoops or cells that usually do not quite connect to form a V-shape.

**12** Krüger 1999, 143 (with a substantial paragraph on deviating specimens), divides the cloisonné body into two subcategories: variant 1 is characterized by two rims with spiral ends curling up from the bottom line of the half-figure, while variant 2 displays a rim between two spiral ends that arches up to the neckline, or two spiral formed rims are placed at a certain distance from each other at the neckline.

**13** See, for instance: Müller-Karpe 1949, 68. 70; Krüger 1999, 141. 147. 159-160; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 450.

**14** Haseloff 1990, 91-92. 95-97.

**15** Frick 1992-1993, 287. 383-387.

**16** Wamers 1994, 72. 216-220 (Liste 11).

**17** Krüger 1999, 170-199 (no. 66 on p. 196 has no indication of enamel type).

**18** Spiong 2000, 46 fig. 3; 47-48; 194-195 (including the first item from »Escharen«, our 232 from Velp). Krüger and Spiong do not refer to each other's publications, which were published about the same time.

**19** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 449; 2005.

**20** The check-list proper records 323 items, and there are 20 items in Appendix 1. There are 17 »regular« *Heiligenfibeln* in Appendix 1, while their number in the check-list is not really fixed. The consultation of the check-list will show why no exact number can be provided.

**21** For a very detailed and nuanced review of early dating efforts is referred to: Krüger 1999, 150-160. Cf. Bunte 2013, 110-113; Heeren/van der Feijst 2017, 230.

**22** Rosenberg 1922, 58-59 (»vorkarolingische und karolingische Zeit«); 60 (eighth century). Rosenberg's dating is sometimes rendered by others as »second half of the eighth century«; cf. Haseloff et al. 1989, 225; Haseloff 1990, 94; Krüger 1999, 150.

**23** Haseloff et al. 1989, 225; Haseloff 1990, 94.

**24** Hamburg, Archäologisches Museum, inv. no. HM V 1958:269: Haseloff 1990, 142 fig. 70a-b; Frick 1992-1993, 384 no. 11; Wamers 1994, 217 no. 8; Krüger 1999, 145 fig. 9, 4a-b; 190-191. Adduced first in specialist enamel literature by Haseloff in: Haseloff et al. 1989, 225; Haseloff 1990, 94 no. 49.

**25** Haseloff et al. 1989, 225 (dating of Maschen grave 54 not yet revised); Haseloff 1990, 94.

Büraburg<sup>26</sup> (*terminus ante quem* 850; Schwalm-Eder-Kreis/DE) and from the Heineberg near Heinebach<sup>27</sup> (last third of the eighth century to the beginning of the tenth century; Lkr. Hersfeld-Rotenburg/DE)<sup>28</sup>. He extended Haseloff's time range somewhat: from the second half of the eighth to the middle of the ninth century<sup>29</sup>.

Subsequently, E. Wamers reviewed the available dating evidence<sup>30</sup>. He deduced a date for Maschen grave 54 shortly before the middle of the ninth century, while adducing another burial find, a champlévé brooch from grave 720 in Wulfsen (Lkr. Harburg/DE)<sup>31</sup>, which would date to the late ninth century<sup>32</sup>. The chronological significance of morphological aspects of the brooches was included in Wamers' considerations, and he proposed a later date for the *Heiligenfibeln*: from the middle of the ninth into the early tenth century<sup>33</sup>. From then onward, authors would all opt for the later dating, usually beginning in the first half or the middle of the ninth century. The end of the period in which the *Heiligenfibeln* was in vogue varies in specialists' views: at the start of the tenth century, within its first decades, or in the middle of that century<sup>34</sup>. It should be added that this

summary of the dating history of the *Heiligenfibeln*, apart from conclusions, mentions only some main issues<sup>35</sup>.

In the Netherlands, no original dating for the *Heiligenfibeln* as a category has been proposed, apparently because there exists no study focusing on this brooch type only<sup>36</sup>.

Apart from stray finds in Switzerland<sup>37</sup>, Belgium<sup>38</sup>, Italy<sup>39</sup>, and Great Britain<sup>40</sup>, the majority of the *Heiligenfibeln* have been found in Germany and the Netherlands. The *Großraum* between the Rhine and the Lower Elbe, the mouth of the Main and the Frisian North Sea coast is seen as the home of the *Heiligenfibeln*<sup>41</sup>. The concentration of brooches in present-day Friesland is indeed striking. In the check-list below, a great number of brooches have been added to the known corpus from Friesland, but the same has happened in other regions of the Netherlands. This is reason enough to suspect that a revision of the general distribution picture may be necessary for Germany as well, due to the increase in finds. At present, such an evaluation would only be feasible for the Netherlands.

**26** After World War II no longer present in the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Kassel: Müller-Karpe 1949, fig. 31; Haseloff 1990, 142 fig. 69; Frick 1992-1993, 383 no. 4; Wamers 1994, 216 no. 2; Krüger 1999, 140 fig. 7, 4; 178 no. 19.

**27** Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 1984-59c: Haseloff 1990, 142 fig. 76; Frick 1992-1993, 383-384 no. 8; 453 pl. 9, 8; Wamers 1994, 217 no. 6; Krüger 1999, 142 fig. 8, 1; 184 no. 35.

**28** Frick 1992-1993, 292; cf. 296, where it is also remarked that some archaeological sites received their dating because of the find of a *Heiligenfibeln*!

**29** Frick 1992-1993, 292, 296.

**30** Wamers 1994, 75-77.

**31** Hamburg, Archäologisches Museum, inv. no. HMA 8/720: Schulze-Dörrlamm 2014, 270 fig. 3; Frick 1992-1993, 385 no. 34; Wamers 1994, 219 no. 46; Krüger 1999, 195 fig. 25, 6; 198-199 no. 82.

**32** Wamers 1994, 75-76 (Maschen); 76 (Wulfsen).

**33** Wamers 1994, 76. Cf. the critical remarks on the morphological argument in: Krüger 1999, 156-157.

**34** Krüger 1999, 158-159: from before the middle of the ninth century until, perhaps into, the early tenth century; Spiong 2000, 47-48: first half of the ninth century only; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 450, 462; 2005: middle of the ninth century until the early tenth century; Bunte 2013, 113, 300, follows Krüger.

**35** For example, the place of the golden Enger Luna brooch (Enger, Widukind-Museum; Haseloff 1990, 145 fig. 94) within the argumentation is not discussed, and neither are the chronological implications of the interpretations by Schulze-Dörrlamm, for which see below.

**36** In the general information on the *Heiligenfibeln* in the relevant entries, PAN refers to the publications by Haseloff, Frick, Wamers and Zijlstra.

Dating in Bos 2007-2008, 767 (reference to Frick and Wamers); 768 (not very specific dating of his no. 1047 from Wijncaldum [284]). Kars 2022, 107, dated the brooches to »the Carolingian period«. Individual cases of dating are known, for instance: Eindhoven/Blixembosch (48-49) dated by late ninth- or tenth-century shards: Arts 1993, 113; and Tiel (213), from a complex dating to the first half of the tenth century: Dijkstra 1998, 43; cf. Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 462.

**37** Krüger 1999, 174 no. 13 (Basel); 178-179 nos 22-23 (Chur); Motschi 2013, 196 fig. 6.

**38** On the website <https://metaaldetectievlaanderen.com> at least three *Heiligenfibeln* from Belgium can be found: message 1 October 2018, Type 2 variant 1, ø (?) mm, found by Pascal Smeets; message 11 May 2020, Type 2 variant 1 with a figure apparently holding two crosiers, ø (?) mm, found by Andre van Erkom; message 12 January 2021, Type 1, ø 30 mm, found by Adrie Cindy van den Bos. Three more brooches appear to have been found in Belgium, cf. »Kuringenaren vinden Karolingische speld«, in: Het belang van Limburg, 28 December 2007 (<https://m.hbvl.be>). Last consultation of websites: 21 November 2023.

**39** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 449 (Milan).

**40** Four finds were listed in: Krüger 1999, 174 no. 12; 176 no. 16; 196 nos 68-69, but the number of *Heiligenfibeln* found in Britain has also increased, witness alone the nine samples in Appendix C: Anglo-Saxon and Continental Brooches from Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincolnshire, in: Kershaw 2013, 263-280: [273]. [279].

**41** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 449, referring to the distribution maps in: Krüger 1999, 161, 164, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185 figs 11, 13-22, and noting that in these maps brooches from Mainz, on the left side of the Rhine, have been transposed to Wiesbaden, across the river Rhine, where no *Heiligenfibeln* have ever been discovered. See also: Haseloff 1990, 94; Krüger 1999, 160; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2005.



## Typology, Interpretation

The typology of the *Heiligenfibeln* is not very complex, but has a number of peculiarities. Firstly, the common or »true« types are distinguished concurrently on the heterogeneous grounds of technique, cloisonné and champlevé enamel, and iconography. For the cloisonné items even no subcategorization exists, although these brooches display a variety of single-figure designs. Secondly, within the subcategories of the champlevé brooches there are considerable deviations, minor ones admittedly, but still diversions from the more or less defined »standard« that can be observed in the categorization practice. Divergences so usually remain within the same limited range of types, but do not help researchers to apply the same typological categories consistently. The relatively limited number of brooches as known to specialists may have restrained the urge to subcategorize more extensively. Thirdly, the material condition of numerous items often makes it difficult to categorize them.

In this contribution the classification of the common *Heiligenfibeln* follows H.-J. Frick<sup>42</sup>, while adding the proposals for extending the corpus of brooches by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, albeit with different designations. A new inventory of all *Heiligenfibeln* from north-western Europe will be necessary in a few years' time. A publication offering such a listing will be the proper opportunity for typological »fine-tuning«.

**Type 1** brooches are executed in cloisonné enamel and bear the design of a single figure with no further attributes (fig. 1a)<sup>43</sup>. The drawings of the figures vary considerably, a variety which, as noted above, is not yet reflected in a typological categorization<sup>44</sup>. Sometimes, these brooches have an artistic feel which the champlevé samples usually lack.

**Type 2**, champlevé brooches, is subdivided into four variants (fig. 1a-b)<sup>45</sup>:

Variant 1 has the depiction of a single half-length figure. Certainly not in general, additional features can be observed, such as flanking Greek crosses, or one or two crosiers held by the figure. For the time being, the infrequent occurrence of such attributes does not make any further subdivision of this type necessary.

Variant 2 displays a half-length figure with an elongated cell underneath, a so-called baseline, which rises to a point in its centre. This variant was considered by J. M. Bos to be the »Simple ›Frisian« type« to which he added two variants<sup>46</sup>.

Variant 3 depicts a half-length figure with wings, which sometimes appear to have been added in a secondary instance. The execution of the wings varies.

Variant 4 has the depiction of two half-length figures next to each other, with »baselines« under both<sup>47</sup>.

The interpretation of the figures on the brooches by scholars has been quite homogeneous, but in recent decades the over-all picture has become more chequered, predominantly thanks to the publications by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm. Initially, it was thought that the single-figure brooches depict Christ, although a cross nimbus, the distinguishing mark of his divinity, is usually lacking<sup>48</sup>. The crescent above the heads has generally be taken to represent a nimbus, making the figures as yet anonymous saints. Quite recently it was proposed by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm to interpret the crescent as the depicted (male) person's head of hair or the (female) person's cloak or veil or hood<sup>49</sup>. In a multi-faceted exposition, she identified the figure on the cloisonné brooches, through a comparative analysis, as the Virgin Mary, inspired by

42 Frick 1992-1993, 287 ff.

43 Type 1 in PAN: »early medieval disc brooch enamelled/sunken fields group C2« (code 01-01-14-01-03-02).

44 Krüger 1999, 143-144, distinguishes two varieties within Type 1 on the basis of cloison rims spiralling in two different ways, taken to represent hands, which are the basis of two varieties of champlevé brooches. Cf. Bunte 2013, 294. This, of course, is no elaborated typological subdivision.

45 All Type 2 variants received the same denominator in PAN: »early medieval disc brooch enamelled/sunken fields group C1« (code 01-01-14-01-03-01).

46 Bos 2007-2008, 768-769 (2.7.1.4. in his classification, with two additional variants: 2.7.1.5. »The same type, with a pallium dot«, and 2.7.1.6. »Same type as 2.7.1.4., but without a torso/pallium«).

47 Haseloff 1990, 91-99, was the first to distinguish types: brooches in *Senkschmelz* (with a first attempt to subdivide them on formal grounds!) (= Type 1), brooches in *Grubenschmelz* (= Type 2), brooches with two figures (= Type 2 variant 4), brooches with a single figure (= Type 2 variant 1),

brooches with a figure between alpha and cross or two crosses (= variant of Type 2 variant 1), brooches with a figure with a »baseline« (= Type 2 variant 2), brooches with a winged figure (= Type 2 variant 3), Sonderformen (= Stylized Christ fibula); Wamers 1994, 216-220, arranges his Liste 11 *Heiligenfibeln* in almost the same fashion: A. Cloisonné brooches, B. Champlevé brooches, b1 »Standardtyp« (= Type 2 variant 1), b2 with crosses or alpha and omega flanking the head (variant of b1 = Type 2 variant 1), b3 with »baseline« below the bust (= Type 2 variant 2), b4 with two figures (= Type 2 variant 4), b5 with wings (= Type 2 variant 3), other champlevé specimens. Bunte replaced this typology by one which is based on the grounds of formal and interpretative observations, for which see especially: Bunte 2013, 298-299 (with fig. 147: »Vorschlag eines Schemas zur Deutung von Heiligenfibeln«). In this contribution his system is not adopted because of the interpretative aspect.

48 Rosenberg 1918, 4. 5; 1922, 60; Müller-Karpe 1949, 69 (with alternative possibility that a depiction of Christ was at the basis of the figures on the *Heiligenfibeln*). Cf. Haseloff 1990, 97.

49 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 450-451; 2005.

Byzantine enamel brooches<sup>50</sup>. Her samples from the Netherlands are the »Maria Orans« fibula from Ried (198), and the brooches with alleged »Virgin Mary busts« from Kinkhoven (120) and Tiel (213)<sup>51</sup>.

Moreover, M. Schulze-Dörrlamm suggested that the design of single-figure *champlevé Heiligenfibeln* with a so-called baseline, i. e. Type 2 variant 2 brooches, was a transformation of the Byzantine depiction of the enthroned Virgin Mary with the child Christ, having a nimbus, in her lap. These brooches display a rounded body of the human figure indicated by two »standing arches«, which encompass »a round medallion« or an empty space. In the alleged Byzantine exemplars the head of the child Jesus is seen in front of the Virgin's body which would explain the »medallion« on the fibulas<sup>52</sup>. Type 2 variant 2 brooches from the Netherlands adduced in this reasoning, come from Berlikum (12), Dongjum (31), Eenrum (43)<sup>53</sup>, and a number of five all from Wijnaldum (280, 281, 283, 285, 293)<sup>54</sup>.

Convincing art-historical findings concerning Type 2 variant 1 fibulas were advanced by the same author. Although the crescent above the head on these brooches must be the hair of the depicted male, he would nevertheless be a saint. He cannot be Christ, because in that case he would be dressed in ancient garments and would have a cross nimbus. The Y-form of the »body« makes apparent that we deal with the bell-shaped chasuble of an archbishop, while the Y-form at the same time represents the pallium, also belonging to an archbishop's attire. In their genesis, the *Heiligenfibeln* may formally have been influenced by Byzantine medallions on engolpia which show the busts of saints. Because these *Heiligenfibeln* are predominantly found in Friesland, Saxony and Westphalia<sup>55</sup>, which were mission regions in the eighth and early ninth centuries, the depicted clerics could be missionary bishops. Possible candidates would be Lebuin of Deventer († c. 773),

Willehad of Bremen († 789), and Ludger of Werden († 809). No certainty in this matter can as yet be obtained, and therefore the designation »holy bishop« should do<sup>56</sup>.

In her exposition, M. Schulze-Dörrlamm nevertheless managed to give a name to one of the still anonymous figures of Type 2 variant 1. Figures holding a crosier in their right hand, as a sign of their martyrdom, can be seen on a small number of Type 2 fibulas. Some of these martyrs also have an  $\Lambda$  on their left hand side, which has been interpreted as the first character of Greek  $\text{Άγιος}$  ( $\text{Άγιος}$ ), »holy«. Against the backdrop of the cults of the missionary saints within the »homelands« of the *Heiligenfibeln*, the identification of this particular Type 2 variant 1 figure as the martyred missionary and archbishop Boniface († 754) seems to have been almost inevitable<sup>57</sup>. Even the »bishop's busts« flanked by two Greek crosses among the samples of Type 2 variant 1 were seen by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm to be derived from »Boniface brooches«<sup>58</sup>. Evidence for this assertion includes the »Boniface brooch« with unknown find spot in the Fries Museum (58) and the item from Pietersbierum (185), which would show a hybrid pair of attributes, as it were: a Greek cross and an  $\Lambda$ <sup>59</sup>. In the check-list below, however, we also find brooches with saint figures who hold two crosiers<sup>60</sup> or may perhaps do so<sup>61</sup>. The origin and meaning of this particular configuration have not yet been given attention by specialists.

Type 2 variant 3<sup>62</sup>, which displays a winged figure, is usually considered to represent the archangel Michael<sup>63</sup>. Saint Boniface had been a strong promoter of the veneration of Michael, the victorious leader of the angels against Satan, and already in 813, at the Council of Mainz, the archangel was allotted his own liturgical feast day, 29 September, which must have been a huge boost to the immediate success of his cult<sup>64</sup>. The initial upsurge in Michael's

50 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 451-462; 481 fig. 30; 486-487 (Fundliste 5); 2005.

51 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 486-487 (Fundliste 5: Maria Orans:14; Fundliste 5: Marienbusten:5 and 8).

52 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 462-463.

53 In the check-list below 43 is seen as Type 2 variant 1.

54 However, 280 may also be Type 2 variant 1, while 293 probably is not a *Heiligenfibel*.

55 Of course, this distribution picture may now need to be revised.

56 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 464-469. 483-484 (Fundliste 1; »holy bishop«); 2005.

57 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 469-471; 472 fig. 22; 484-485 (Fundliste 2; »Boniface« and »holy bishop with [Greek] crosses«); 2005. Noppert 2019 identified the figure on his find from Losdorp (132), which lacks attributes, also as Boniface.

58 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 471, observed that such Greek crosses were not used exclusively for one particular saint. She referred to By-

zantine art in which these crosses accompany depictions of, for instance, saints Simeon Stylites and Menas.

59 Although this is true for 58, it is not so for 185, which clearly displays a crosier and an  $\Lambda$ .

60 15 (Beuningen), Appendix 1 *sub* Type 2 variant 1: message of 21 May 2008 by far beyond driven.

61 30 (Dodewaard), 65 (unknown find spot Gelderland), 304 (Zetten).

62 Although this variant belongs to the *champlevé* Type 2, Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 471, begins her discussion of it with the *Senkschmelzfibel* with an angel figure from Rappershausen (Lkr. Rhön-Grabfeld/DE; Haseloff 1990, 92 no. 15; 142 fig. 76 [with erroneous caption »Heineberg«]; Krüger 1999, 194 no. 61; 195 fig. 25, 1). Apparently, the angel brooches from the Netherlands have all been executed in *champlevé* enamel.

63 Haseloff 1990, 97; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 472; 2005.

64 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 471-473. Cf. Heinz 2007, 41-42. 52, who maintained that Charlemagne must have had a special veneration for St Michael, but he did not establish his feast as a national day at the



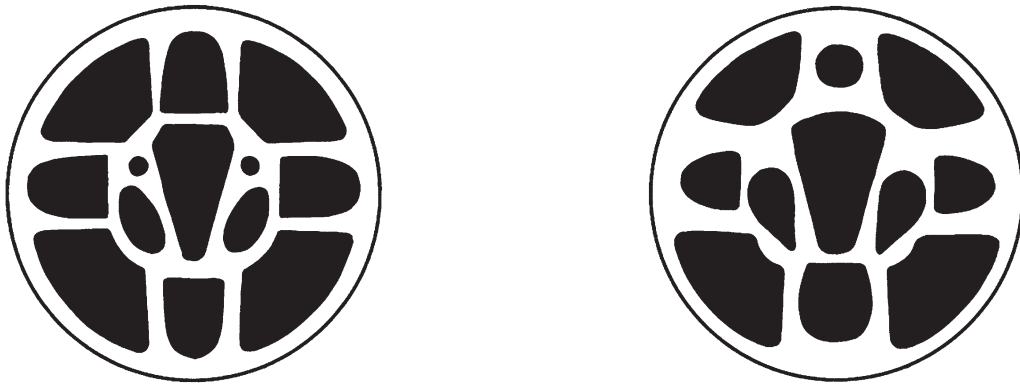


Fig. 2 Varieties of Stylized Christ fibulas. – (Drawings J. Veelenturf).

popularity is therefore concurrent with the heyday of the *Heiligenfibeln*. M. Schulze-Dörrlamm did not yet know any samples from Westphalia or Friesland, and surmised that the reason for this may have been that the newly converted Frisians and Saxons were not yet familiar with heavenly spirits. She already announced that new finds of this type of *Heiligenfibeln* would perhaps be able to confirm or to correct this assumption<sup>65</sup>.

It will be no great surprise that Type 2 variant 4 brooches, which have two figures next to each other, are taken to display the apostles Peter and Paul<sup>66</sup>. This identification was given a solid comparative basis by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, who also observed that some figures of Type 2 variant 2 betray great similarity to the apostles of Type 2 variant 4. They would also wear a specific ancient cloak or dress, and have circular arms or hands suspended above a »baseline«. She suggested that these figures would represent another important early Christian saint who, however, cannot be given a name because identifying attributes are lacking<sup>67</sup>.

Particularly stylized is a category of brooches that in recent decades have been labelled as »Christ

fibulas« (fig. 2)<sup>68</sup>. They call for a more detailed discussion. Like the »true« *Heiligenfibeln* these fibulas are made of copper alloy and champlevé enamel, having diameters between 16 and 22 mm. The depictions on these brooches form an idiosyncratic group and, through their simplification of the forms, appear to be a kind of bridge between the non-figurative decoration of early medieval fibulas and the fibulas with alleged saintly figures and other brooches decorated with a recognizable living creature, such as a human or animal.

A fine example from Germany is a disc fibula from the Balhorne Feld in the southwestern part of Paderborn (Kr. Paderborn/DE; fig. 3a)<sup>69</sup>. The central oval shape contains a rudimentary design of nose and eyes, while almost horseshoe-shaped cells around it point in four directions, thus forming a complete cross nimbus. Because of this latter element, usually reserved for Christ, and the parallelism with undoubted representations of Christ with a cross nimbus on other fibulas (see below), the term Stylized Christ fibula seems justified. It appears to be more descriptive and accurate than just »Christ fibula«.

Council of 813, nor did he choose him as the patron saint of the empire. Nevertheless, the emperor's adviser Alcuin, his compatriot Boniface and other Insular clerics working on the Continent were the first promoters of the archangel's cult.

65 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 473.

66 Rosenberg 1918, 4; Haseloff 1990, 97; Wamers 1994, 74 (»Apostelfürsten«); Krüger 1999, 160; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 473-477; 2005.

67 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 477.

68 Bergmann 1999a, 442; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 477-478. 485-486 (Fundliste 4 »Christ fibulas«). In a number of listings this brooch type has been labelled differently. From Best 1985, 81, emerges that he would consider it to be Variante 4 of his Westphalian »Emailscheibenfibeln mit Kreuzdarstellung«. In Wamers 1994, 215, five of these brooches are listed as nos 27-31 in Liste 8, Sonderform: »Kreuz mit sich verjüngenden Armen, ohne Kreise in den Winkeln, mit birnenförmiger Zentralgrube«. Bos 2007-2008, 742, described these fibulas as »Type with complex double cross with central circle« (2.5.1.14). In PAN this brooch type is categorized as:

»early medieval enamelled disc brooch variant A21« (code 01-01-14-01-01-21). PAN has a completely different opinion of this type. While turning the design upside down, as compared to our way of viewing, PAN discerns: »the champlevé cells form a central human or angel-like figure (head, body, arms/wings, feet); additional cells forming a diagonal cross are placed around the central figure«. Spiong 2000, 554-555; 265 pl. 5, 2, called this type »corpus dei« and alleged it shows a crucifixion scene in the cross centre, indicated by three enamel fields.

69 Non-ferrous metal alloy, champlevé, ø 21,5-22 mm; Herne, LWL-Museum für Archäologie und Kultur. Found at the Hellweg in the deserted medieval village Balhorn, now part of Paderborn (Balhorne Feld): Först 1999, 247 fig. 1, 2 (slightly tilted); 248; 258 no. 2; Bergmann 1999a, 442; 1999b; Krüger 1999, 174 no. 9; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 486 (Fundliste 4: Christusfibeln:7); Bunte 2008, 221 pl. 62.17 (below, centre [23]); 222 no. 23; 2013, 456 no. 23; 492 pl. 5, 10. Another brooch from Balhorn was also included among the Christ brooches by Bunte, but this seems to be a very dubious item; cf. Bunte 2013, 456 no. 25; 492 pl. 5, 12.



**Fig. 3** a disc fibula from the Balhorne Feld, Paderborn. – b disc fibula from the Abdinghof, Paderborn. – c disc fibula from the church St Laurentius, Rauwerd. – (a after Bunte 2008, 221 pl. 62.17, 23; b after Haseloff 1990, 144 fig. 92a; c photo K. Veelenturf). – Not to scale.

Other specimens from Germany were found in Borgholzhausen (Kr. Gütersloh/DE)<sup>70</sup> and Diderikshusen near Büren (Kr. Paderborn/DE)<sup>71</sup>, in Hildesheim (DE)<sup>72</sup> and Düna (Lkr. Göttingen/DE)<sup>73</sup>, in Helfta (Lkr. Mansfeld-Südharz/DE)<sup>74</sup>, and in Karlburg (Lkr. Main-Spessart/DE)<sup>75</sup>. A further sample with unknown find spot is kept in Cologne<sup>76</sup>.

The interpretation as a representation of Christ, only his head, has an iconographic-comparative basis and is therefore not taken out of thin air. From Germany at least two early medieval fibulas appear to be »posh« relatives of our Stylized Christ fibulas, thus making up the necessary comparanda. A fibula from the Abdinghof in Paderborn<sup>77</sup> is executed in *champlevé* enamel (fig. 3b), whereas the now lost brooch from Benzingerode (Lkr. Harz/DE)<sup>78</sup> was a *cloisonné* piece<sup>79</sup>. In the Netherlands only one specimen like the one from Abdinghof-Paderborn

was found, in Sint Nicolaasga (203; fig. 8). Also from Friesland in the northern Netherlands comes the comparandum of a singular tiny disc from the church St Laurentius in Rauwerd (prov. Friesland/NL; fig. 3c), which clearly was never enamelled<sup>80</sup>.

Some Stylized Christ fibulas from the Netherlands are metal detector finds that have not been officially recorded, and these lead a vegetative life in private collections, like the find spots of these brooches remaining unknown to researchers. The ones that were noted on the website [www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl](http://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl) are listed separately in Appendix 1.

The fact that the material condition of early medieval brooches is very often not superb adds to the identification of Stylized Christ fibulas not being a matter of course. In fact, fibula designs in their present guise, oscillating between figurative and non-figurative, can easily be categorized erroneously

**70** Bronze, *champlevé*, ø 20 mm; Herne, LWL-Museum für Archäologie und Kultur. Found on the north-eastern slope of the Ravensberg: Best 1992; Wamers 1994, 215 (Liste 8; Sonderform no. 27); Först 1999, 248; Spiong 2000, 201 (Variante »corpus dei«: no. 2); Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 486 (Fundliste 4: Christusfibeln:5).

**71** Först 1999, 248; Spiong 2000, 201 (Variante »corpus dei«: no. 6); Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 486 (Fundliste 4: Christusfibeln:8). No further data can be provided since the relevant literature mentioned in these publications was not accessible to the author.

**72** The metal is at least partly brass, *champlevé*, ø 23 mm; Hannover, Landesmuseum Hannover/Das WeltenMuseum. Found during archaeological soil examination on the site of the present shopping centre Arneken Galerie in 2008: Bartelt/Ludowici 2009; Blaich 2015, 24–26 (illustration on p. 25).

**73** Först 1999, 248; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 486 (Fundliste 4: Christusfibeln:9). No further data can be provided since the relevant literature mentioned in these publications was not accessible to the author, and the listing of two of these fibulas from Düna in Spiong 2000, 201 (Variante »corpus dei«: nos 4–5) cannot be assessed.

**74** Bronze, *champlevé*, ø 20.5 mm; Regionalgeschichtliche Sammlungen der Lutherstadt Eisleben (*olim* »Museum Eisleben«, inv. no. 2753): Schulz 1960, pl. 65:h (photograph turned 90° to the left); Donat 1988, 253 no. 4; 255 fig. 44, 4 (drawing upside down); Spiong 2000, 201 (Variante »corpus dei«: no. 3); Wamers 1994, 215 (Liste 8; Sonderform no. 28); Först 1999, 248; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 486 (Fundliste 4: Christusfibeln:10).

**75** Bronze, *champlevé*, ø 22 mm; private collection. Found in the *villa* excavation in Karlburg: Wamers 1994, 215 (Liste 8; Sonderform no. 29); Först 1999, 248; Spiong 2000, 201 (Variante »corpus dei«: no. 1); Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 486 (Fundliste 4: Christusfibeln:11); Obst 2008.

**76** Bronze, *champlevé*, ø 20.5 mm; Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, inv. no. N 3462: Wamers 1994, 215 (Liste 8; Sonderform no. 31); Först 1999, 248.

**77** Copper alloy, *champlevé*, ø 21.5 mm; Paderborn, LWL-Museum in der Kaiserpfalz. This fibula was found at the Abdinghof (monastery) church in Paderborn: Winkelmann 1971, 111 no. 2; Best 1985, 84 no. 10; 85 fig. 3, 11; Haseloff 1990, 97 no. 23; 144 fig. 92a-b; Wamers 1994, 220 no. 55; Krüger 1999, 139; 140 fig. 7, 2; 193 no. 56; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 486 (Fundliste 4: Christusfibeln:12).

**78** Silver, *cloisonné*, ø 25 mm. This brooch was found in 1881 near the Hellbach below the Struvenberg, the site of a now disappeared castle called Struvenburg, east of the village Benzingerode in Saxony-Anhalt. After World War II, the fibula could no longer be found in the Städtisches Heimatmuseum Wernigerode (presently Harzmuseum Wernigerode): Dinklage 1955, 4; Haseloff 1990, 97 no. 24; 144 fig. 93; Wamers 1994, 217 no. 13; Krüger 1999, 174–176 no. 14; 140 fig. 7, 1; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 486 (Fundliste 4: Christusfibeln:5).

**79** Krüger 1999, 144.

**80** Copper alloy, ø 21 mm; Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot, F 2012-V-19. Found during restoration works in the church of St Laurentius in 2010: Lenting/van Malssen 2012, 27–31; Hüser 2013.

ly in a different but similar type group. This especially applies to these Stylized Christ fibulas which

are akin to disc brooches with all kinds of cross designs<sup>81</sup>.

## Function

Brooches are meant to be worn on cloaks or other garments, but their decoration makes clear that they fulfilled more than just a practical role. Quite innovatively, because of the unprecedented depiction of humans in the region of manufacture in the early medieval period, it is clear that they were meant to express the identity of the person wearing a *Heiligenfibeln* as a Christian<sup>82</sup>. When an early date for the brooches was not yet discarded, it was thought that they were a product of the implementation of the Christian religion in the Carolingian era. This view does not hold any longer<sup>83</sup>.

As we have seen, M. Schulze-Dörrlamm proposed that we deal i. a. with depictions of missionary bishops, identifying the person carrying a crosier on a number of fibulas as Saint Boniface. In a corroborative way, her proposition would fit nicely in the

picture of the rise of saints' cults in the course of the ninth century, when the conversion period was already becoming history<sup>84</sup>.

In this context it fails to surprise that specific functions of the *Heiligenfibeln* have been advanced. They have been taken to be pilgrim's badges or other devotional souvenirs<sup>85</sup>, and they would perhaps depict personal patron saints or even church patrons<sup>86</sup>.

In areas in which *Heiligenfibeln* are at home, Viking raids caused a lot of violence and other trouble in the second half of the ninth century<sup>87</sup>. This is approximately the first half of the very period in which the brooches must have been produced. They can therefore be seen as apotropaic objects, as expressions of the need for help and protection, which saints could offer Christian believers in times of insecurity and danger<sup>88</sup>.

## Additional »New« Types without Enamel

Apart from the *Heiligenfibeln* executed in copper alloy and enamel, additional »types« without enamel have been discussed in the specialist literature in the context of the former brooches. These have been included in the check-list without a type number, but with the following designations: Orans fibula and Presumable orans brooch. A deviant category of brooches with enamel will be also discussed, since these have been associated with the disc brooches under scrutiny, but most likely belong to a different complex of decorative fibulas. This Questionable equestrian St Martin's brooch is described after the two other additions below.

A category of brooches made of copper alloy with a diameter of 20–22 mm, which we propose to call Orans fibula<sup>89</sup>, is defined by the depiction of a standing half-figure with its hands raised in prayer. There appear to be two variants. The straightforward design of a praying half-figure has been listed as variant A (fig. 4a). There are also brooches with a rendition of the orans figure with a relatively detailed face, hair and garment folds. These designs all have a lozenge-like shape in the garment of the figure in the middle of the waist or the belly, indicating the abdomen. This variant has been labelled as B (fig. 4b)<sup>90</sup>. In an integral approach of these fibulas,

**81** See, for instance: Frick 1992–1993, 445–449 pls 1–5, for an array of cross designs on early medieval brooches; Spiong 2000, 55, who deemed that the Christ fibulas »gehören aber aufgrund ihrer Ähnlichkeit zu den Fibeln mit Doppelfadenkreuz ebenfalls der 2. Hälfte des 9. und evtl. noch der 1. Hälfte des 10. Jhs. an«; 200–201 (»Kreuzemailscheibenfibeln mit Doppelfadenkreuz«); 265 pl. 5, 1; Kars 2022, 104. 106 (many examples of cross designs).

**82** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 480–482.

**83** Bunte 2013, 291; cf. Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 480.

**84** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 482; 2005.

**85** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 482; 2005; Bunte 2013, 291–292.

**86** Bunte 2013, 299. The observation concerning church patrons in Spiong 2000, 167, was not accepted in: Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 482.

**87** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 482: »im Großraum zwischen Rhein-, Main- und Elbemündung«, »Diese Angriffe hatten 834 mit Plünderungsfahrten der Dänen nach Friesland begonnen«. This statement may inadvertently suggest a connection with the numerous finds of *Heiligenfibeln* in present-day Friesland. For viking attacks in early medieval Frisia, see the brief overview in: de Langen/Mol 2019, 32–33.

**88** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 482–483; 2005; Bunte 2013, 291–292.

**89** Bos 2007–2008, 770, described this brooch design as »2.7.2.3 Type with half-length [figure] in attitude of benediction«. Bergmann 2010, 128, deemed it possible to interpret this figure as a blessing Christ.

**90** In PAN our two variants have been listed under »early medieval disc brooch enamelled/sunken fields group C1« (code 01-01-14-01-03-01) and »early medieval disc brooch enamelled/sunken fields group C3« (code 01-01-14-01-03-03). Two other types are also included under this code in PAN; cf. note 98 below.



**Fig. 4** a schematized drawing of Orans fibula variant A. – b Orans fibula variant B. – c bone disc with Christ in majesty from the Martinikerhof in Groningen city. – (Drawings J. Veelenturf). – Not to scale.

M. Schulze-Dörrlamm concluded that we see the Virgin Mary raising her hands in prayer. The brooches were dated by her from the end of the ninth to the beginning of the tenth century, and would therefore be later than the enamelled Virgin Mary brooches among the »regular« *Heiligenfibeln*<sup>91</sup>.

An alleged comparandum for the Orans fibula variant B was found in 1987 during the excavation of the Martinikerhof in Groningen city (NL). It is a disc made of bone, a unique feature, with a design not unsimilar to the depiction on the enamel brooches, partly cut in openwork (**fig. 4c**)<sup>92</sup>. This object was published and discussed by the excavation director several times<sup>93</sup>. He interpreted the depicted figure as a »Maiestas Domini«, so Christ, and suggested that the disc, together with now lost other discs depicting the additional figures belonging to this iconographic type, the symbols for the four gospels or their authors, formed part of the decoration of a book cover, presumably a gospel book. He dated the object to the late eleventh century, since it was found in the twelfth-century setting of a refuse pit, and advanced art-historical comparanda in support of this date<sup>94</sup>.

This singular item was adduced by J. Zijlstra in a comparison with the Orans fibula variant B found in Arum (6)<sup>95</sup>. The similarity of the figure's pose and the treatment of its garment, including the shape of

its abdomen, on the bone piece to those of the copper alloy brooches is indeed remarkable. The Groningen find might in this respect perhaps be influenced by an Orans fibula variant B sample. However, the bone disc clearly shows Christ with a cross nimbus, raising his right hand in blessing, and holding a book in his left hand. We therefore see no orans figure and certainly not the Virgin Mary.

Not very numerous are disc brooches depicting a full human figure standing with legs next to each other or wider apart, and with arms outstretched<sup>96</sup>. We label these as Presumable orans brooch (**fig. 5a**). This basic, almost heraldic design may also represent a person in prayer, an orans. These brooches have no other decoration<sup>97</sup>, and since the figures are not explicitly Christian, the relevant objects have been added to the check-list with a »presumable« restriction<sup>98</sup>.

A final type of disc brooch, which has been interpreted in recent years as representing a saint, is not a straightforward example of a *Heiligenfibeln* category. It is a copper alloy brooch, apparently with traces of (corroded) enamel, diameter 22–25 mm, dated by E. Wamers to the ninth century. The type displays a completely different design than the »regular« specimens. A quadruped is depicted in profile, having a rider with thrown up arms on its back. The design is highly stylized (**fig. 5b**). Only four copies of this

<sup>91</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 2015, 579–582. 586–587 (Fundliste A).

<sup>92</sup> Bone, ø 30 mm; this object should be present in Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot, but could not be traced.

<sup>93</sup> Schoneveld 1988a, 29; 1988b; 1988c; 1990, 248–249.

<sup>94</sup> The most detailed discussion in: Schoneveld 1988b.

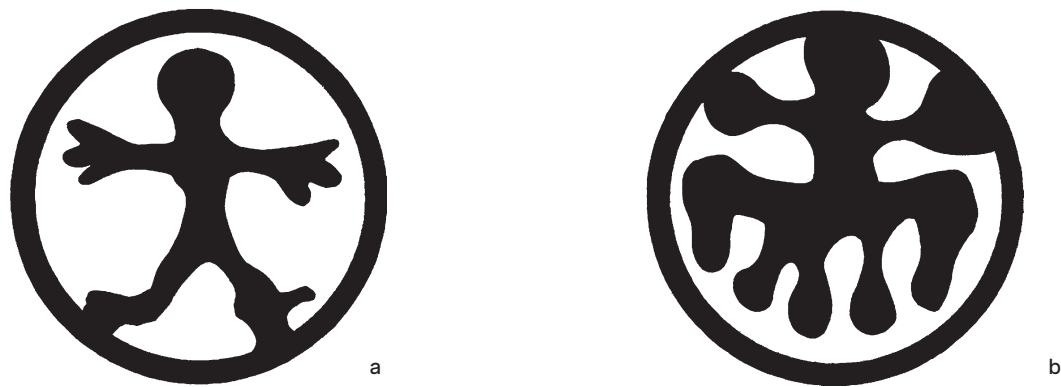
<sup>95</sup> Zijlstra 2000, in which the last two captions to the illustrations have been swapped. Two small Frisian »pennies« found together with 6 were also considered tentatively by Zijlstra to point to a date for this Orans fibula in the eleventh or twelfth century.

<sup>96</sup> Diameters of these brooches range from 16 to 22 mm.

<sup>97</sup> The extraordinary sample from Grouw (77) seems to have some details.

<sup>98</sup> The Presumable orans brooch is found in PAN as 01-01-14-01-03-03 (early medieval disc brooch enamelled/sunken fields group C3), together with the Orans fibula. PAN notes that these brooches hardly ever have been enamelled. No examples with enamel are known to the author. – In the same category PAN lists fibulas with a standing figure with outstretched hands who wears a tunic or skirt. This design is entirely different, and it is hard to believe that these brooches belong to the *Heiligenfibeln* in a broad sense. It is important to note that PAN code 01-01-14-01-03-03 refers to at least three different brooch types, which are all dated by PAN to the period 700–1000.





**Fig. 5** a schematized drawing of a Presumable orans brooch. – b schematized drawing of a Questionable equestrian St Martin's brooch. – (Drawings J. Veelenturf). – Not to scale.

type appear to have been found. In the Netherlands this category is represented by two Frisian samples (145 and 195 [fig. 8])<sup>99</sup>. M. Schulze-Dörrlamm interpreted the rider as the fourth-century St Martin of Tours. The brooch type was found hard to date, but would be Carolingian. The foundations of this interpretation are sophisticated, but also highly speculative<sup>100</sup>.

This brooch category would have been produced earlier than the »regular« *Heiligenfibeln*, and was perhaps manufactured in Mainz, where the existence of a *Friesenviertel* (Frisian quarter) has been attested in the ninth century<sup>101</sup>, which, as an indication of trade contacts with Friesland, might account for the connection with the two Frisian samples<sup>102</sup>. The problem with this hypothesis is that it is not clear where the Frisians settled in Mainz originated. It is well possible that they came from Frankish governed places such as Dorestad (prov. Utrecht/NL), formerly part of »Great Frisia«, which at its largest stretched along the North Sea coast from the Western Scheldt in Zeeland to the Weser in Germany. Trade and social contacts between Frisians in Mainz and their home country and archaeological finds in present-day Friesland cannot easily be connected<sup>103</sup>.

Moreover, it is not likely that St Martin was venerated generally among the early medieval Frisians. At least, there are no indications for that, and we should not forget that the saint was the patron of the Franks, who were not exactly friends with them<sup>104</sup>.

Perhaps we should be satisfied with a not yet fully explainable association of these brooches with Merovingian openwork discs. The depiction of a person with raised arms on horseback, usually interpreted as an orans or saint, is found on a number of them<sup>105</sup>. One sample has even come to light near Ferwerd (prov. Friesland/NL), and once was supposed to have been manufactured locally<sup>106</sup>. It seems that the discs and brooches with the orans on horseback should not be seen as having a Frisian connection, except for the fact that a few relevant objects were found in Friesland. Considering the foregoing, this type has been included in the check-list as Questionable equestrian St Martin's brooch.

Against this backdrop the check-list below was compiled. Completeness cannot be guaranteed, of course, but it is hoped that at least a number of uncertainties and errors in the literature have been erased. It is evident, also because of the existence of PAN, that the traceability of *Heiligenfibeln* in the

**99** The other two brooches were found in Mainz: one specimen that has long since disappeared from the Landesmuseum Mainz, and one in private possession. See: Wamers 1994, 71 (5.1.1.9) with fig. 45; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2015, 582-583 with fig. 6; 587 (Fundliste B).

**100** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2015, 583-585. 587 (Fundliste B).

**101** The Frisian settlement burned down in 886, as is reported in the *Annales Fuldenses* (quoted from: Lebecq 1983, vol. 2, 324 no. 21; cf. vol. 1, 28): *Optima pars Mogontiae civitatis, ubi Frisiones habitabant, post mediam quadagesimam mense Martio conflagravit incendio.* – Apparently not yet decided is whether the quarter was on the river bank outside the Roman wall of Mainz or within the *civitas* proper close to the wall along the Rhine. See: Falck 1972, 48-49. 52; Lebecq 1983, vol. 1, 240-241.

**102** Schulze-Dörrlamm 2015, 583. 586.

**103** Cf. Lebecq 1983, vol. 1, 16. For a clear picture of the varying geopolitical situations of Frisia in the Early Middle Ages, with a map c. 800, see: de Langen/Mol 2019, 24-27.

**104** Mostert 2019, 108.

**105** Renner 1970, 190-191 (Type XII A-1 »Reiter ohne Lanze, beide Arme erhoben, Kopf in Vorderansicht«: nos 613-619 pl. 30); 191-193 (Type XII A-2 »Reiter ohne Lanze, beide Arme erhoben, Kopf in Profil«: nos 620-629 pls 30-31). Of course these discs were adduced in Schulze-Dörrlamm 2015, 585. 589 (notes 59-64), and also taken tentatively to depict St Martin. Cf. Quast 2009, 336-337.

**106** In fact, the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden has two of these discs in its collection under the single inv. no. 101-571. Only the item from which a fragment is missing is listed in: Renner 1970, 40; 191 no. 620 pl. 30; Boeles 1951, 333-334; 540 (XLVI, 1); pl. XLVI, 1 (in this second edition of his book Boeles did not mention a supposed production in Friesland).

Netherlands has now increased considerably. The check-list comprises not only all *Heiligenfibeln* the author was able to find in repositories, databases, and publications, but also the items that previously have been identified as this brooch type, but may be no or are certainly no *Heiligenfibeln*.

An unfortunate circumstance is that the existence of unpublished *Heiligenfibeln* found by metal detectorists in the Netherlands can often be gathered from internet fora and the like, but in many

cases the supplied information is incomplete. The author has tried to contact a great number of finders-collectors, but often did not receive any reaction. The finders who friendly did provide the requested data did not all remember precisely where their brooches were found. These latter finds have been incorporated in the check-list. Data assembled from the website [www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl](http://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl)<sup>107</sup> and not expanded or confirmed by finders-collectors are listed in Appendix I to the actual check-list.

<sup>107</sup> Final consultation in March 2024.



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## The Check-List

The list is arranged alphabetically on the place names of the find spots. Between parentheses the name of the province is given. If the place name is that of a municipality (which may comprise a number of towns, villages, etc.), this is indicated before the province name. The PAN website does not list the place names of the find spots, only the name of the municipality concerned. When the province is known in which a brooch has been found, and no specific location, only the province name is listed.

All geographical names from the Netherlands are in Dutch. Nowadays, official place names in Friesland (*Fryslân*) usually are in the Frisian language (*Frysk*). In Appendix 2 is a concordance of Frisian toponyms, which may be of use when researchers of these brooches would consult (repository) databases from Friesland.

When more than one specimen was found in the same place or municipality, the entries are arranged according to type number and diameter.

The second line mentions the location of the repository, followed by the institute's name, followed by an inventory number, if applicable. A great number of specimens is in private possession, often in the collections of metal detectorists. The data of their finds should be submitted to PAN, but unfortunately this is not an airtight practice. For PAN-items the following format has been used: »Private collection; PAN-item 000II2I7«. On the PAN website photographs of the objects can be viewed. Where PAN mentions an inventory number in an anonymous private collection, this number has been included.

The third line gives the enamel technique, limited to »cloisonné« and »champlevé«. In general, no mention is made of the metal of enamel brooches, which usually is copper alloy. After the designation of the enamel the diameter is listed.

Diameters given for specific brooches sometimes vary in the literature. The diameter of an object given by its repository administration is usually considered to be correct. Diameters of the objects in the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden and in the Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot in Nuis which differ from diameters mentioned in the literature were measured by the author.

Subsequently, the type of the brooch is listed.

Where available and applicable, specialist literature on the object is mentioned. Reference is made to the pages and catalogue, list and object numbers of the relevant publications, using simple sigla: Krüger 1999, 168–199 (**K**); Spiong 2000, 194–195 (**S**)<sup>108</sup>; Wamers 1994, 218–220 (**W**); Frick 1992–1993, 383–387 (**F**); Haseloff 1990, 91–99 (**H**); Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003, 483–487 (**SD 2003**)<sup>109</sup>; Bos 2007–2008, 742. 767–772. 782 (**B**)<sup>110</sup>; Zijlstra 1990–2013 (**Z xxxx**); Schulze-Dörrlamm 2015, 586–587 (**SD 2015**)<sup>111</sup>. The lists comprising the largest number of specimens are mentioned first, followed by less extensive, but indispensable listings.

Entries sometimes include additional information that may be useful for identification, especially in the case of items in private possession. This information is contingent and therefore variable.

Occasionally, (additional) literature is referred to when such a publication offers an image or information useful for identification or better understanding. The full description of a publication can be found in the bibliography under the name of the author and the year of publication.

**108** In his categorization, S does not number the items consecutively, which makes reference long-winded. This is generally obviated here by referring to the number of the drawing in his plates 3 and 5 on pages 263 and 265 that illustrates a particular category.

**109** Reference is to the Fundliste (FI), find list.

**110** From Bos 2007–2008 nos 648–658, 1030–1067, 1070–1078, 1082–1083, 1096 and 1206 have all been incorporated, including the doubtful ones.

**111** Reference is to the Fundliste (FI), find list.



- 1** Aa en Hunze (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00038469  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 2** Achlum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 74c-117  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**K:** 170 no. 2  
**S:** 195 no. 3 pl. 3, 10  
**W:** 219 no. 39  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 294; 386 no. 39  
**H:** 95 no. 18  
**SD 2003:** 485 Fl 3:1  
**B:** 769 no. 1051 [type 2.7.1.4]  
From knoll (*terp*) Groot-Ludum.
- 3** Achlum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 74c-308  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**K:** 170 no. 1  
**S:** 195 no. 4 pl. 3, 10  
**W:** 219 no. 40  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 294; 386 no. 40  
**H:** 95 no. 17  
**SD 2003:** 485 Fl 3:1  
**B:** 769 no. 1060 [type 2.7.1.6]  
From knoll (*terp*) Groot-Ludum.
- 4** Anjum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-367  
Champlevé, ø 22–23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 5** Anjum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-361  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 6** Arum (Friesland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Copper alloy, ø 22 mm  
Orans fibula variant B  
**Z 2000**  
Found in 2000 by Anne de Boer.
- 7** Barchem (Gelderland)  
Lochem, private collection Edwin Rechterschot  
Champlevé, ø 28 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
Design is hard to distinguish.
- 8** Bergen (municipality, Noord-Holland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00020404  
Champlevé, ø 25.7 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
Found in 2016.
- 9** Bergen (Noord-Holland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 1, perhaps with attribute(s), like a crosier  
Found on the verge of the Sluislaan in Bergen. Reported by C. G. J. Pannekeet, Alkmaar.  
Woltering 1992, 333 fig. 8, right (photograph upside down).
- 10** Berlikum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-166  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm
- Type 2 variant 1  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 11** Berlikum (Friesland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø 19 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 769 no. 1053 [type 2.7.1.4]
- 12** Berlikum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-XII-2.229  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 769 no. 1058 [type 2.7.1.5]  
**Z 1993:** no. 124; XVI:124  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 22  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 305).
- 13** Berlikum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-XII-2.403  
Champlevé, ø 19 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**B:** 742 no. 654 [type 2.5.1.14]  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 447).
- 14** Beuningen (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.28  
Champlevé, ø 26.3 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Pierced twice.
- 15** Beuningen (Gelderland; **fig. 6**)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.27  
Champlevé, ø 25.2 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding two crosiers
- 16** Beuningen (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00033083  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in 1980.
- 17** Beverwijk (Noord-Holland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**K:** 176 no. 15; 187 fig. 23, 3  
**S:** 195 no. 13 pl. 3, 8  
**W:** 218 no. 21  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 294; 386 no. 41  
**SD 2003:** 483 Fl 1:5  
Found by L. 't Hart, IJmuiden.  
Woltering 1985, 340 figs 18–19; 341.
- 18** Bladel (municipality, Noord-Brabant; **fig. 6**)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00011217  
Cloisonné, ø 25 mm  
Type 1
- 19** Borger-Odoorn (municipality, Drenthe; **fig. 6**)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00055512  
Champlevé, ø c. 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 20** Borsele (municipality, Zeeland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00028027  
Champlevé, ø 27 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 or 3





15. Beuningen



18. Bladel



19. Borger-Odoorn



25. Buren



36. Eemsdelta



59. Friesland



71. Groningen city



76. Groningen province



77. Grouw



86. 's-Heerenberg



95. Het Hogeland



98. Het Hogeland

**Fig. 6** Illustrations to check-list entries. – (Photos 15 Collectie Valkhof Museum; 18, 19, 25, 36, 86, 95, 98 Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands [PAN nos in the check-list]; 59 K. Veelenturf; 71 Groninger Museum; 76 K. Boneschansker; 77 V. de Jong). – Not to scale.

- 21** Brummen (Gelderland)  
Erfgoedcentrum Zutphen (accommodated private collection)  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
About half of the brooch is broken off and missing.
- 22** Brummen (Gelderland)  
Erfgoedcentrum Zutphen (accommodated private collection); PAN-item 00098715  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2015 by Sicco Siegers.  
Siegers 2018, 12; 13 fig. 9A.
- 23** Brummen (Gelderland)  
Erfgoedcentrum Zutphen (accommodated private collection); PAN-item 00096323  
Copper alloy, ø 15 mm  
PAN: »Identified as a champlevé Saint's brooch because of the probable nimbus. Perforated.«  
Found in 2015. Because of the diameter, the position of the alleged nimbus, and the perhaps functional perforation this item is certainly not a *Heiligenfibel*.
- 24** Buren (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; inv. no. K87; PAN-item 00018659  
Champlevé, ø 24.7 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2000.
- 25** Buren (municipality, Gelderland; fig. 6)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00042941  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2017.
- 26** Buren (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00063600  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 27** Cuijk (Noord-Brabant)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00104017  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2014 by Mariska Luursema.  
Berendes/van der Zanden 2015, 7 fig. 15.
- 28** Deventer (Overijssel)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in the Polstraat by H. Krijgsman.  
Van Doesburg 2000, 162–163 fig. 10, right.
- 29** Deventer (Overijssel)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø 29 mm  
Type 2 variant 4  
Found in the Polstraat by H. Krijgsman.  
Van Doesburg 2000, 162–163 fig. 10, left.
- 30** Dodewaard (Gelderland)  
Dodewaard, private collection Piet Verweij; PAN-item 00031385  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding two crosiers, apparently
- Domburg (Zeeland)  
See 202
- 31** Dongjum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-192  
Champlevé, ø 20–22 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**K:** 180 no. 26  
**S:** 195 no. 5 pl. 3, 10  
**W:** 219 no. 41  
**F:** 386 no. 44  
**B:** 769 no. 1052 [type 2.7.1.4]  
**Z 1993:** no. 125; XVI:125  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 21  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 32** Dongjum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Sneek, private collection W. de Jonge  
Champlevé, ø 18 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**B:** 742 no. 651 [type 2.5.1.14]
- 33** Dronrijp (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-124  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 or 3  
**B:** 768 no. 1039 [type 2.7.1.2]  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 616), but acquired from »Douma c. s.«.
- 34** Dronrijp (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-167  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 35** Echteld (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.154  
Champlevé, ø 25.7 mm  
Pieces broken off. Hardly any design visible. The item may not be a *Heiligenfibel*.
- 36** Eemsdelta (municipality, Groningen; fig. 6)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00131680  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 1  
Found in 2000.  
PAN: »Decoration plate that was placed in the brooch.«
- 37** Eemsdelta (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00072965  
Champlevé, ø 22–23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
Found in 2017.
- 38** Eemsdelta (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00074803  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
Found in 2019.
- 39** Eemsdelta (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00031874  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 40** Eemsdelta (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00007433  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2, presumably
- 41** Eemsdelta (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00061659  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in 2017.

- 42** Eemsdelta (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00007452  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Type (?)  
PAN is not sure this is a *Heiligenfibel*. Doubtful specimen indeed.
- 43** Eenrum (Groningen)  
In 1989; Eenrum, private collection J. Wegter<sup>112</sup>  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**K:** 182 no. 29  
**S:** 195 no. 6 pl. 3, 10  
**F:** 386 no. 45  
F, S and K describe this brooch as Type 2 variant 2.
- 44** Eenum (Groningen)  
Private collection Krijn Dijkema; PAN-item 00026906  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in the knoll (*wierde*) Eenumerhoogte in 2015.
- 45** Eenum (Groningen)  
Private collection Krijn Dijkema; PAN-item 00027030  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in the knoll (*wierde*) Eenumerhoogte in 2015.
- 46** Eenum (Groningen)  
Private collection Krijn Dijkema; PAN-item 00027131  
Copper alloy, ø 16 mm  
Presumable orans brooch  
Found in the knoll (*wierde*) Eenumerhoogte in 2013.
- 47** Egmond (Noord-Holland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 3  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 17
- 48** Eindhoven/Blixembosch (Noord-Brabant)  
Present location unknown  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**S:** 195 no. 23 pl. 3, 8  
**SD 2003:** 483 Fl 1:6  
Arts 1993, 113; 114 fig. 7, left.
- 49** Eindhoven/Blixembosch (Noord-Brabant)  
Present location unknown  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**S:** 195 no. 10 pl. 3, 10  
**SD 2003:** 485 Fl 3:2  
Arts 1993, 113; 114 fig. 7, right.
- 50** Elst (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.114  
Champlevé, ø 25.7 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 51** Erichem (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.125  
Champlevé, ø 25.8 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 52** Ermelo (Gelderland)  
Private collection Milan de Ridder  
Champlevé, ø 21–24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- Escharen (Noord-Brabant)  
See **232**
- 53** Ewijk (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. 2005.165.136  
Champlevé, ø 24.7 mm  
Not a *Heiligenfibel*.
- 54** Franeker/Salverd (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-194  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**K:** 182 no. 31  
**S:** 195 no. 16 pl. 3, 8  
**W:** 218 no. 23  
**F:** 386 no. 46  
**SD 2003:** 484 Fl 1:10  
**B:** 768 no. 1034 [type 2.7.1.2]  
**Z 1993:** no. 123; XVI:123  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 16  
Pierced twice, also causing the loss of a small part of the rim.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 55** De Friese Meren (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00057675  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 3, probably  
Almost half of this item is broken off and missing.
- 56** De Friese Meren (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00065998  
Champlevé, ø 16 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 57** Friesland (unknown find spot)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-XII-2.228  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**B:** 768 no. 1044 [type 2.7.1.2]  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 58** Friesland (unknown find spot)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. M01423A  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with Greek cross and Λ, apparently, flanking the head  
**K:** 182 no. 32  
**S:** 195 no. 4 pl. 3, 9  
**W:** 219 no. 36  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 295; 387 no. 58  
**H:** 95 no. 13  
**SD 2003:** 485 Fl 2:6  
**B:** 768 no. 1046 [type 2.7.1.3]  
This item is arranged in B under »Westergo« (region in north-western Friesland).  
Boeles 1951, 458 fig. 81, 5 (photograph upside down); 549 (caption to fig. 81); Roes 1955, 81 fig. 5 (drawing upside down); Stein 1967, 95 note 454.

**112** F, S and K list this item erroneously as: Groningen, Groninger Museum: inv. no. A 92767/5. This number refers to a photograph of the brooch by the Centrale Foto Dienst of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. The

item was in the possession of its finder J. Wegter who later emigrated from the Netherlands. Many thanks to Egge Knol (Groninger Museum) for this information.



- 59** Friesland (unknown find spot; **fig. 6**)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-286  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 60** Friesland (unknown find spot)  
Bergum, Observeum: inv. no. ST 1990-X-08-07  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm (?)  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 769 no. 1057 [type 2.7.1.4]  
Found in knoll (*terp*) soil redeposited in the Bergum area.
- 61** Friesland (unknown find spot)  
Drachtstercompagnie, private collection Wietse Hoekstra  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 4
- 62** Friesland (unknown find spot)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1990-II-2  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**B:** 742 no. 657 [type 2.5.1.14]  
B: item from »Northwestern Friesland«. Donated by W. Leistra from Firdgum, but found by K. Dijkhuis from Tzum.
- 63** Friesland (unknown find spot)  
In 2007–2008: Zwolle, private collection H. Hasselt:  
inv. no. 9263  
Champlevé (?), ø 20.5 mm  
**B:** 770 no. 1067 [type 2.7.1.9]  
B: »abraded« item from »Northwestern Friesland« which may not be a *Heiligenfibel*.
- 64** Gelderland (unknown find spot)  
Doesburg, private collection Eric Rutten  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2016.
- 65** Gelderland (unknown find spot)  
Doesburg, private collection Eric Rutten  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding a crosier in the right hand, while on his left there may be another crosier or an  $\Lambda$   
Found in 2017.
- 66** Gooise Meren (municipality, Noord-Holland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00036349  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Incomplete object, probably by decay in the soil.
- 67** Gooise Meren (municipality, Noord-Holland)  
Private collection: inv. no. ON-020; PAN-item 00034165  
Champlevé, ø 28.8 mm  
Type 2 variant 4, presumably  
Incomplete and decayed object, but likely with two figures.
- 68** Gooise Meren (municipality, Noord-Holland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00086549  
Copper alloy, ø 18.23 mm  
Presumable orans brooch (?)  
Design very hard to distinguish. Found in 2020.
- 69** Gooise Meren (municipality, Noord-Holland)  
Private collection, inv. no. ON-031; PAN-item 00036385  
Copper alloy, ø 22.3 mm  
Item with depiction of a standing figure with out-
- stretched hands, wearing a tunic or skirt. Apparently not a Presumable orans brooch.
- 70** Goutum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Joure, private collection G. Suierveld  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**B:** 742 no. 658 [type 2.5.1.14]  
From the knoll (*terp*) Goutum-Noord.
- 71** Groningen city (Groningen; **fig. 6**)  
Groningen, Groninger Museum: inv. no. 1992-01-0001  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 3  
Presumably from city canal Zuiderdiep or Kattendiep.  
Found by J. Tillema, Zeerijp.
- 72** Groningen (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00124534  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
Pierced. Found in 2022.
- 73** Groningen province (?) (unknown find spot)  
Private collection Jan Pieter Visser  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 3  
Lugthart 2010, 24 no. 5; 25 fig. 5.
- 74** »Groningen« (unknown find spot)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. G 2008-II-29 (comprises 15 items)  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
From the private collection Regtop.
- 75** »Groningen« (unknown find spot)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. G 2008-II-29 (comprises 15 items)  
Champlevé, ø 21.6 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
From the private collection Regtop.
- 76** Groningen province (unknown find spot; **fig. 6**)  
Private collection Klaas Boneschansker  
Copper alloy, ø (?) mm  
Orans fibula variant B
- 77** Grouw (Friesland; **fig. 6**)  
Private collection Vincent de Jong  
Copper alloy, ø 22 mm  
Presumable orans brooch  
The figure has his feet not very wide apart. The right hand has three large fingers. It seems that in the spaces between the rim and the figure details have been depicted. Singular item.
- 78** Haaksbergen (municipality, Overijssel)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00101382  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
Found in 2021.
- 79** Harlingen (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00066623  
Champlevé, ø 21.8 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 80** Harlingen (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00037964  
Copper alloy, ø 23 mm  
Item with beaded edge and depiction of a standing figure with outstretched hands, wearing a tunic or skirt. Apparently not a Presumable orans brooch.

- 81** Harlingen (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00012542  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Half of this item is missing; probably no *Heiligenfibel*.
- 82** Hatsum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Herbaijum, private collection O. Harmsma  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**B:** 768 no. 1036 [type 2.7.1.2]
- 83** Hatsum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Herbaijum, private collection O. Harmsma  
Champlevé, ø 24.5 mm  
**B:** 768 no. 1035 [type 2.7.1.2]  
This item may not be a *Heiligenfibel*.
- 84** Heerde (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00043092  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 85** Heerde (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00043094  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure flanked, apparently, by characters such as  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$   
This singular item has a fine scallop-edge.
- 86** 's-Heerenberg (municipality Montferland, Gelderland; fig. 6)  
Private collection: inv. no. HSFIBULA0111; PAN-item 00081417  
Cloisonné, ø 24 mm  
Type 1  
Found in 's-Heerenberg in October 2010 by members of the Werkgroep Archeologie Bergh.  
Lukkassen et al. 2011; Angenent et al. 2011.
- 87** Hemmen (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, private collection Wouter van den Brandhof  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 88** Hemmen (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, private collection Wouter van den Brandhof  
Champlevé, ø 27 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
About one third of this object is broken off and missing.
- 89** Hengelo (Overijssel)  
AWN-Nederlandse Archeologievereniging; DS I 3<sup>113</sup>  
Champlevé, ø 28 mm  
Among *Heiligenfibeln* a singular depiction of presumably a full-length figure, perhaps an orans  
**K:** 184 no. 36; 149 fig. 10, 6  
**S:** 194 (Heiligenfibel mit Grubenemail:1)  
**W:** 220 no. 57  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 294; 296; 386 no. 47; 454 pl. 10, 47  
Fuldauer/Kempers 1991, 46; 50 fig. 9.
- 90** Heusden (Noord-Brabant)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 3  
**K:** 184–185 no. 37  
**S:** 195 no. 5 pl. 3, 9  
**W:** 218 no. 24  
**F:** 290; 295; 386 no. 48
- 91** Hijlaard (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-317  
Champlevé, ø 20.5 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**SD 2003:** 483 Fl 1:7  
**B:** 768 no. 1038 [type 2.7.1.2]  
**Z 1993:** no. 122; XVI:122  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 14  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 688).
- 92** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00133389  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Pierced. Found in 2022.
- 93** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection: inv. no. A2; PAN-item 00081691  
Champlevé, ø 24.5 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 94** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00059634  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably
- 95** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen; fig. 6)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00099814  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding a crosier in the right hand and flanked on his left by an  $\Delta$ , apparently  
Found in 2020.
- 96** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00057623  
Champlevé, ø 17–20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2, presumably
- 97** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00038670  
Champlevé, ø 19 mm  
Type 2 variant 2, presumably
- 98** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen; fig. 6)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00059635  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 99** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00059633  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 100** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00059632  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 101** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen; fig. 7)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00028962  
Champlevé, ø 30 mm  
Type 2 variant 4
- 113** Repository not known. No information on the whereabouts of this object and its inventory number as given in the literature could be obtained from AWN officials or members.



101. Het Hogeland



119. Kerk-Avezaath



120. Kinkhoven



128. Leeuwarden



131. Lochem



139. Menaldum



166. Noordoost-Friesland



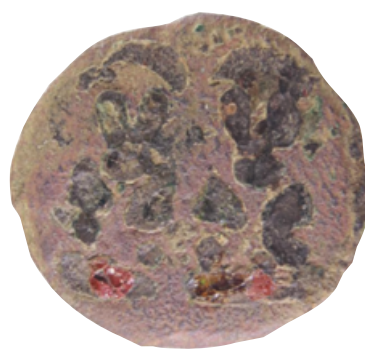
167. Noordoost-Friesland



171. Oldehove



172. Oldörp



173. Ommen



181. Overbetuwe

**Fig. 7** Illustrations to check-list entries. – (Photos 101, 128, 139, 166, 167, 173, 181 Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands [PAN nos in the check-list]; 119 Collectie Valkhof Museum; 120 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden; 131 B. de Graaf; 171 K. Hoekstra; 172 Groninger Museum). – Not to scale.



- 102** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection Bart Feenstra  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 103** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00034752  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula, apparently
- 104** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00059297  
Copper alloy, ø 21 mm  
Orans fibula variant B  
Probably restored.
- 105** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection: inv. no. A9; PAN-item 00081706  
Copper alloy, ø 16 mm  
Presumable orans brooch
- 106** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection: inv. no. 8; PAN-item 00028038  
Copper alloy, ø 16 mm  
Presumable orans brooch
- 107** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00073518  
Copper alloy, ø 17 mm  
Presumable orans brooch
- 108** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00057131  
Copper alloy, ø 23 mm  
Item with a beaded edge and a depiction of a standing figure with outstretched hands, wearing a tunic or skirt. There seems to be a peculiar mixture of raised and sunk parts in the figure. Apparently not a Presumable orans brooch.
- 109** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00043482  
Copper alloy, ø 17 mm  
Depiction seems to be of a human or animal (quadruped). Apparently not a Presumable orans brooch.
- 110** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection: inv. no. A24; PAN-item 00081755  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type (?)
- 111** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00082453  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Type (?)  
Bent item.
- 112** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00059683  
Champlevé, ø c. 22 mm  
Type (?)
- 113** Het Hogeland (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00067745  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type (?)
- 114** Hollands Kroon (municipality, Noord-Holland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00114054  
Champlevé, ø 26.5 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2022.
- 115** Hollands Kroon (municipality, Noord-Holland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 026; PAN-item 00080197  
Cloisonné on gold, almost square object 15 mm × 15 mm  
Found in 2019 by Do van Dijk. This singular high-quality item is no *Heiligenfibel* in the usual sense, and may not depict a saint anyway. It has become a popular item for reproduction, as for instance in: Kars et al. 2022, 32 (left corner above); Willemsen 2023, 54 (left bottom corner).
- 116** Horst aan de Maas (municipality, Limburg)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00008684  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 117** Kerk-Avezaath (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Archeologisch Depot Gelderland:  
inv. no. PDB.2001.23.5158  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure perhaps holding a crosier in the right hand  
Nooijen 2000, 164.
- 118** Kerk-Avezaath (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Archeologisch Depot Gelderland:  
inv. no. PDB.2001.23.2220  
Champlevé, ø 23.2 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**SD 2003:** 483–484 Fl 1:8  
Nooijen 2000, 163 fig. 8, 12; 164.
- 119** Kerk-Avezaath (Gelderland; fig. 7)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.81  
Champlevé, ø 24.7 mm  
Type 2 variant 3
- 120** Kinkhoven (Limburg; fig. 7)  
Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. I 1970/7.1  
Cloisonné, ø 26 mm  
Type 1  
**K:** 186 no. 39; 189 fig. 24, 2  
**S:** 194 no. 20 pl. 3, 6  
**W:** 217 no. 7  
**F:** 287; 289; 384 no. 17  
**H:** 91 no. 12; 93; 143 fig. 79  
**SD 2003:** 487 Fl 5: Marienbüsten:5  
Heeren/Willemsen 2017, 69.
- 121** Kootwijkerzand (nature reserve, Gelderland)  
Barneveld, Museum Nairac: inv. no. N-1983-18  
Champlevé, ø 29 mm  
Type 2 variant 4  
**K:** 186–188 no. 42; 145 fig. 9, 2  
**S:** 194 no. 4 pl. 3, 7  
**W:** 219 no. 47  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 294; 295; 386 no. 49  
**H:** 95 no. 4  
Metz 1975, 35 fig. 31; Heidinga 1987, 181 fig.
- 122** Leermens (Groningen)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. G 2008-IL.30h  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found west of Leermens.  
From the private collection Regtop.
- 123** Leeuwarden (Friesland)  
Item should be present in Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot  
Copper alloy, ø 22 mm  
Orans fibula variant A  
Spitzers 2016, 54 fig. 6.35.

- 124** Leeuwarden (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00039422  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 125** Leeuwarden (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00019329  
Champlevé, ø 18 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula (?)  
Doubtful specimen.
- 126** Leeuwarden (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00019740  
Champlevé, ø 18–19 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula (?)  
Doubtful specimen.
- 127** Leeuwarden (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00039791  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 128** Leeuwarden (municipality, Friesland; **fig. 7**)  
Private collection Mark Tromp; PAN-item 00091449  
Copper alloy, ø 25–26 mm  
Exceptional item which seems to depict a standing winged figure. Not a common Type 2 variant 3 item, and apparently not a Presumable orans brooch. There seem to be characters in the metal on the rear.
- See also: Techum/Leeuwarden (**210**)
- 129** Leuth (Gelderland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 1, apparently  
Verrijt 1987.
- 130** Limmen/de Krocht (Noord-Holland)  
Castricum, Huis van Hilde-Provinciaal depot voor archeologie van Noord-Holland: inv. no. 5061-05  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Dijkstra et al. 2006, 113 fig. 8.2:V 5077.
- 131** Lochem (Gelderland; **fig. 7**)  
Lochem, private collection Ben de Graaf: inv. no. L51-04  
Champlevé, ø 30 mm  
Type 2 variant 4  
Found 24 September 2004.
- 132** Losdorp (Groningen)  
Private collection Tjibbe Noppert  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2018.  
Noppert 2019.
- 133** Maarhuizen (Groningen)  
Groningen, Groninger Museum: inv. no. 1997-11-0001  
Cloisonné, ø 29 mm  
Type 1
- 134** Maasdriel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00039251  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 135** Maasdriel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00039244  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 136** Maasdriel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00039241  
Champlevé, ø 19 mm  
Design hard to distinguish. Probably not a Stylized Christ fibula.
- 137** Maasgouw (municipality, Limburg)  
Private collection Luuk Steeghs  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in 2019.
- 138** Marssum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-XII-2.240  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure perhaps holding a crosier in the right hand  
**B:** 768 no. 1040 [type 2.7.1.2]  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 240).
- 139** Menaldum (Friesland; **fig. 7**)  
Twijzelerheide, private collection Koos Hoekstra; PAN-item 00017049  
Copper alloy, ø 17 mm  
Presumable orans brooch
- 140** Metslawier (Friesland)  
Private collection Wijnzen Faber  
Copper alloy, ø 21 mm  
Presumable orans brooch, apparently  
Found in 2020.
- 141** Midden-Groningen (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00103920  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2020.
- 142** Midlum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1998-IV-6.10  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found by J. Glazema in the Midlum area. From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 143** Midlum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Buitenpost, private collection J. Henstra  
Copper alloy, ø 16 mm  
Presumable orans brooch  
**B:** 771 no. 1077 [type 2.7.2.4 »with spread-eagled figure«]
- 144** Midlum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Herbaijum, private collection O. Harmsma  
Copper alloy, ø 17,5 mm  
Presumable orans brooch  
**B:** 771 no. 1076 [type 2.7.2.4 »with spread-eagled figure«]
- 145** Midlum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Herbaijum, private collection O. Harmsma  
Copper alloy, ø 22.5 mm  
Questionable equestrian St Martin's brooch  
**B:** 771 no. 1082 [type 2.7.2.6]  
**SD 2015:** 587 Fl B:3  
B: »identification uncertain; incomplete«.
- 146** Minnertsga (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-197  
Champlevé, ø c. 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably

- B:** 767 no. 1033 [type 2.7.1.2]  
Lower part of depiction is broken off and missing.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 147** Minnertsga (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Den Helder, private collection C. L. T. Okel  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**B:** 742 no. 650 [type 2.5.1.14]
- 148** Naaldwijk (Zuid-Holland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø 25–26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Goossens 2012, 303 V.2423.1 fig. 7.25.
- 149** Naarden (Noord-Holland)  
Naarden, private collection Olaf & Casper Langendorff  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Incomplete: two large parts remaining.  
Langendorff/Schaftenaar 2010, 69 no. 7; 70.
- 150** Naarden (Noord-Holland)  
Naarden, private collection Olaf & Casper Langendorff  
Champlevé, ø 28.8 mm  
Type 2 variant 4  
Part of the right-hand figure is broken off.  
Langendorff/Schaftenaar 2010, 69 no. 8; 71.
- 151** »Nijmegen« (unknown find spot)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.204  
Champlevé, ø 24.5 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 152** »Nijmegen« (unknown find spot)<sup>114</sup>  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. E III 21; item is no longer traceable  
Champlevé, ø 26.2 or 27 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**K:** 192 no. 52; 149 fig. 10, 4  
**S:** 195 no. 17 pl. 3, 8; erroneously also listed: 195 no. 6 (»Prov. Gelderland«) pl. 3, 9  
**W:** 219 no. 38  
**F:** 294; 295; 386 no. 50; 454 pl. 10, 50  
**H:** 95 no. 14  
**SD 2003:** 484 Fl 1:9  
H and W mention cross and A flanking the head, but the only existing drawing of the brooch in the literature does not show these details.  
Van Buchem 1941, 122 no. 1417; pl. XIX, 8.
- 153** »Nijmegen« (unknown find spot)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.185  
Champlevé, ø 34.8 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 154** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00016599  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Pierced.
- 155** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection Wijnzen Faber; PAN-item 00062240  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 156** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00053020  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 (?)  
Found in 2018.
- 157** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00037395  
Champlevé, ø c. 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 (?)  
About half of the object is broken off and missing.
- 158** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00055579  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Pierced.
- 159** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 11; PAN-item 00010746  
Champlevé, ø 35 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 160** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00037394  
Champlevé, ø 19 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 161** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00013056  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 162** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00095044  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 163** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00095088  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2 (?)
- 164** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00094172  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in 2020.
- 165** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 161; PAN-item 00151800  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 3  
Found in 2021. According to PAN this item is gilded.
- 166** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland; fig. 7)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00019758  
Champlevé, ø 17 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 167** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland; fig. 7)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00097313  
Copper alloy, ø 20 mm  
Orans fibula variant A  
Found in 2020.

**114** This brooch may have been found somewhere between Xanten and Nijmegen, but the provenance is very uncertain. See: van Buchem 1941, 16–18 (on the Guyot collection containing this brooch, donated to the

municipality of Nijmegen in 1850). The item remains mentioned here as »Nijmegen«, since it is known as such in the literature.

- 168** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00050338  
Copper alloy, ø 18–21 mm  
Orans fibula variant B, apparently
- 169** Noordoost-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 99; PAN-item 00010689  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
PAN: »Seems to be a brooch with a Saint; remains of the red nimbus?«
- 170** Oirschot (municipality, Noord-Brabant)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00141245  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in 1993. According to PAN this item is gilded.
- 171** Oldehove (Groningen; fig. 7)  
Twijzelerheide, private collection Koos Hoekstra  
Copper alloy, ø 22 mm  
Orans fibula variant B
- 172** Oldörp (knoll [*wierde*] near Uithuizen, Groningen; fig. 7)  
Groningen, Groninger Museum: inv. no. 1999-03-0004  
Champlevé, ø c. 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 3  
Found 19 January 1999 by K. Dijkhuis, Usquert.
- 173** Ommen (municipality, Overijssel; fig. 7)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00027549  
Champlevé, ø 27–29 mm  
Type 2 variant 4  
Found in 2013.
- 174** Oosterbierum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-XII-2.397  
Champlevé, ø 19 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula, apparently  
**S:** 201 no. 9 pl. 5, 2  
**W:** 215 [Liste 8; Sonderform] no. 30  
**SD 2003:** 485 Fl 4:2  
**B:** 742 no. 652 [type 2.5.1.14]  
**Z 1993:** no. 95; XIV:95.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 175** Ophemert (Gelderland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé (?), ø (?) mm  
Type (?)  
Found by S. Nooren in 2015.  
Schorn 2017, 12 tab. 1.
- 176** Oss (municipality, Noord-Brabant)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00047254  
Champlevé, ø c. 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2015.
- 177** Overbetuwe (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00131423  
Champlevé, ø 23.5–25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 178** Overbetuwe (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00014884  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 (?)
- 179** Overbetuwe (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 8a; PAN-item 00016083  
Champlevé, ø 26.8 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 180** Overbetuwe (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00093654  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Type 2 variant 2, apparently  
Found in 2021.
- 181** Overbetuwe (municipality, Gelderland; fig. 7)  
Private collection: inv. no. v. 20; PAN-item 00011573  
Champlevé, ø 28–30 mm  
Type 2 variant 4
- 182** Overbetuwe (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00014338  
Champlevé, ø 22.3 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 183** Overbetuwe (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 5; PAN-item 00013734  
Champlevé, ø 17.8 mm  
Not a Stylized Christ fibula
- 184** Peins-Slappeterp (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-XII-2.230  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**B:** 768 no. 1037 [type 2.7.1.2]  
Pierced.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 911).
- See also: Ried-Slappeterp (199) and Slappeterp (204–205)
- 185** Pietersbierum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2021-IV-187  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding a crosier in the right hand and flanked on his left by an  $\Lambda$ , apparently  
**SD 2003:** 484 Fl 2:1  
**B:** 768 no. 1045 [type 2.7.1.3]  
**Z 1992:** XIII-XIV:36  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 15  
**Z 2013:** 39 no. 158  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 682). The description in the NAD database mentions that this item was in the private collection Haitsma, which was »transferred by the Fries Museum in 2021«.
- 186** Pingjum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-123  
Champlevé, ø 21–23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**B:** 768 no. 1043 [type 2.7.1.2]  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 518). Before in private collection G. van Dijk, Sint Annaparochie.
- 187** Pingjum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-402  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**K:** 193 no. 59  
**S:** 195 no. 21 pl. 3, 8  
**W:** 218 no. 29  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 188** Pingjum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Franeker, private collection I. Boonstra  
Not champlevé according to B, ø 18 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 769 no. 1054 [type 2.7.1.4]

- 189** Pingjum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-118  
Champlevé, ø 18 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 769 no. 1056 [type 2.7.1.4]  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 183).
- 190** Pingjum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Franeker, private collection I. Boonstra  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 769 no. 1055 [type 2.7.1.4]
- 191** Pingjum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Franeker, private collection I. Boonstra  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 769 no. 1062 [type 2.7.1.6]  
Fragment.
- 192** Pingjum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-  
XII-2.73  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**B:** 742 no. 656 [type 2.5.1.14]  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 551).
- 193** Pingjum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2021-IV-  
190  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**SD 2003:** 486 Fl 4:3  
**B:** 742 no. 655 [type 2.5.1.14]  
**Z 1993:** no. 94; XIV:94  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 194** Pingjum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2021-IV-185  
Copper alloy, ø 16 mm  
Presumable orans brooch  
**B:** 771 no. 1078 [type 2.7.2.4 »with spread-eagled figure«]  
**Z 1993:** no. 132; XVI:132  
**Z 2003:** 12 no. 66  
Not clear whether this item comes from the private collection Haitsma or, as asserted in B, from the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 195** Pingjum (Friesland; **fig. 8**)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2021-066  
Copper alloy, ø 23 mm  
Questionable equestrian St Martin's brooch  
**B:** 771 no. 1083 [type 2.7.2.6]  
**Z 1993:** no. 127; XVI:127  
**Z 2003:** 12 no. 70  
**SD 2015:** 587 Fl B:4  
**B:** »Riegeterp«. From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 475).
- 196** Pingjum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-117  
Champlevé, ø 18 mm  
**K:** 193 no. 60  
**S:** 195 no. 22 pl. 3, 8  
**W:** 218 no. 30
- B:** 782 no. 1206; 792 fig. 1206 [type 2.12.2]  
**Z 1993:** no. 98; XIV:98  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 24, erroneously mentioning Menaldum as the find spot (»Appendix« on p. 15). Design obscured; six dots and U-curve remain. Probably no *Heiligenfibel*.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 63). Before in private collection J. Glazema.
- 197** Pingjum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-  
XII-2.231  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
**B:** 770 no. 1064; 792 [type 2.7.1.8]  
**Z 1993:** no. 87; XIV:87  
**B:** »Riegeterpen« and »Type with a three-armed cross«. Most likely not a *Heiligenfibel*. From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 61).
- 198** Ried (Friesland; **fig. 8**)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-316  
Cloisonné, ø 24–25 mm  
Type 1  
**K:** 194 no. 62  
**S:** 194 no. 21 pl. 3, 6  
**W:** 217 no. 12  
**F:** 287; 289; 384 no. 18  
**SD 2003:** 487 Fl 5: Maria Orans:14  
**B:** 767 no. 1030 [type 2.7.1.1]  
**Z 1993:** no. 121; XVI:121  
**Z 2003:** 12 no. 48; 13 II:D no. 48  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 199** Ried-Slappeterp (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Leeuwarden, collection Stichting RAAP:  
inv. no. FB 5 G 71 W AKM 1  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**B:** 742 no. 653 [type 2.5.1.14]  
According to B the find spot name or the administrative code for this item, referring to Wijaldum, is erroneous.  
See also: Peins-Slappeterp (**184**) and Slappeterp (**204–205**)
- 200** Roermond (municipality, Limburg)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00057878  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
Straight crack following the head contour on the left.
- 201** Schalsum (Friesland; **fig. 8**)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-312  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding a crosier in the right hand and flanked on his left by an  $\Delta$   
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 910).
- 202** Schouwen[-Duiveland] (island and municipality, Zeeland)<sup>115</sup>  
Middelburg, Zeeuws Museum: inv. no. A-167  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**K:** 196 no. 67  
**S:** 195 no. 15 pl. 3, 8  
**W:** 218 no. 32  
**F:** 386 no. 43  
**H:** 95 no. 10

**115** As noted by Krüger 1999, 196 no. 67, the find spot of this specimen has been wrongly indicated by several authors as »Domburg«. Several inaccuracies in Capelle 1976 and 1978 have added to this problem, for which see: Ypey 1979, 183. Capelle 1976, vol. 1, 15 no. 82, states that

this brooch could not be found in the depository, while referring to a similar brooch, our 152, in Nijmegen (which by then probably had already disappeared).





195. Pingjum



198. Ried



201. Schalsum



203. Sint Nicolaasga



234. Vorchten



254. Waadhoeke



255. Waadhoeke



256. Waadhoeke



258. Waadhoeke



267. De Weer



276. Wierum/Koterhuizen



285. Wijnaldum

Fig. 8 Illustrations to check-list entries. – (Photos 195, 198, 201, 285 K. Veelenturf; 203, 254, 255, 256, 258, 276 Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands [PAN nos in the check-list]; 234 V. Rams; 267 Groninger Museum). – Not to scale.



- SD 2003:** 484 Fl 1:11  
From the private collection Hubregtse.  
Roes 1955, 81 pl. XI, 12 (photograph upside down; caption to plate refers to »Dombourg«); Stein 1967, 95 note 454; Capelle 1976, vol. 1, 15 no. 82; vol. 2, pl. 7, 82; Ypey 1979, 183.
- 203** Sint Nicolaasga (Friesland; fig. 8)  
Private collection Sjoerd Hoogenkamp; PAN-item 00046684  
Champlevé, ø 17 mm  
Fibula with rare depiction of Christ (only known sample from the Netherlands)  
Found 25 November 2012 in redeposited knoll (*terp*) soil from the Wommels area.
- 204** Slappeterp (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Zwolle, private collection H. Hasselt:  
inv. no. 9319  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
**B:** 768 no. 1041 [type 2.7.1.2]
- 205** Slappeterp (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-119  
Champlevé, ø 19 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 769 no. 1061 [type 2.7.1.6]  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 266).
- See also: Peins-Slappeterp (184) and Ried-Slappeterp (199)
- 206** Someren (municipality, Noord-Brabant)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00139866  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 207** Someren (municipality, Noord-Brabant)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00008532  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type (?)  
Design is hard to distinguish.
- 208** Someren (municipality, Noord-Brabant)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00008542  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type (?)  
PAN: »Saints' bust not well recognisable«
- 209** Son en Breugel (Noord-Brabant)  
Son en Breugel, private collection Frank Raaijmakers  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 210** Techum/Leeuwarden (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, private collection Thomas Menting  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2014.
- 211** Texel (island and municipality, Noord-Holland)  
Castricum, Huis van Hilde-Provinciaal depot voor archeologie van Noord-Holland (accommodated private collection: inv. no. 1061 vondsten A1-1a); PAN-item 00051953  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 212** Texel (island and municipality, Noord-Holland)  
Castricum, Huis van Hilde-Provinciaal depot voor archeologie van Noord-Holland (accommodated private collection: inv. no. 185 vondsten K1-23a); PAN-item 00051874  
Copper alloy, ø 21.5 mm  
Item may be no *Heiligenfibel*.
- 213** Tiel (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Archeologisch Depot Gelderland: inv. no. PDB. 2008.0275.4.0.13  
Cloisonné, ø 28 mm  
Type 1  
**SD 2003:** 487 Fl 5: Marienbüsten:8  
Found at Koornmarkt, Tiel.  
Previous repository: Amersfoort, ROB-depot Vanadiumweg: inv. no. TLKM96 4-0-13.  
Dijkstra 1998, 43; 44 fig. 31, 1.
- 214** Tiel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 146; PAN-item 00053591  
Champlevé, ø c. 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 (?)
- 215** Tiel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00016579  
Champlevé, ø 18–19 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 216** Tiel (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Archeologisch Depot Gelderland: inv. no. PDB. 2008.238.4.3.61  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**SD 2003:** 485 Fl 3:3  
Found at Tol Zuid, Tiel.  
Previous repository: Amersfoort, ROB-depot Vanadiumweg: inv. no. TLTZ96 4-3-61.  
Dijkstra 1998, 43; 44 fig. 31, 2.
- 217** Tiel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 42; PAN-item 00051744  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 2 (?)
- 218** Tiel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 184; PAN-item 00053625  
Champlevé, ø c. 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 219** Tiel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 22; PAN-item 00051731  
Champlevé, ø 20.5 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 220** Tiel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 374; PAN-item 00060939  
Champlevé, ø c. 18 mm  
Type (?)
- 221** Tiel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 326; PAN-item 00060448  
Champlevé, ø 24.5 mm  
Type (?)
- 222** Tiel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00064429  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type (?)
- 223** Tiel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 127; PAN-item 00053662  
Champlevé, ø c. 35 mm  
Type (?)
- 224** Tietjerksteradeel (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00014629  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 2

- 225** Tietjerksteradeel (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00066288  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 226** Tietjerksteradeel (municipality, Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Drachten, private collection L. Haak  
Copper alloy, ø 21 mm  
Orans fibula variant (?)  
**B:** 771 no. 1074 [type 2.7.2.3]  
**SD 2015:** 587 Fl A:3  
**B:** »From redeposited terp [= knoll] soil in the Oostermeer area«.
- 227** Tzummarum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-330  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 492).
- 228** Tzummarum (Friesland)<sup>116</sup>  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-XII-2.118  
Copper alloy, ø 21 mm  
Orans fibula variant A, apparently  
**B:** 771 no. 1073 [type 2.7.2.3]  
**Z 1991a:** 10 at no. 50  
**Z 2000**  
**SD 2015:** 587 Fl A:4  
The database of the repository describes the design as an animal.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 229** Uden (Noord-Brabant)  
Uden, Heemkundekring  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in 2020 by Paul van Hees, Uden.
- 230** Unknown find spot  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-170  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 231** Veere (municipality, Zeeland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00050429  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
Design is very hard to distinguish.
- 232** Velp (Noord-Brabant)<sup>117</sup>  
Private collection  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
**K:** 197 no. 73  
**S:** 195 no. 18 pl. 3, 8<sup>118</sup>  
**W:** 220 no. 56  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 294; 386 no. 51  
**SD 2003:** 484 Fl 1:12  
Found in a field in Velp, 2 km west of Grave by J. de Wit, Grave.  
Verwers 1988, 37–38 fig. 31, 2.
- 233** Voerendaal (Limburg)  
Private collection Hylke Roorda
- Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 1, presumably  
Design is hard to distinguish.
- 234** Vorchten (Gelderland; fig. 8)  
Private collection Vincent Rams  
Champlevé, ø 30 mm  
Type 2 variant 4  
Found in 2015. Find spot no longer exists, due to a new River IJssel bypass.
- 235** Vorstenbosch (Noord-Brabant)  
Present location unknown  
Champlevé, ø (?)  
Stylized Christ fibula  
Found in 2013 (?) by M. Janssen, Nistelrode.  
De Boer et al. 2019, 134 (photograph upside down).
- 236** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00008834  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Pierced three times.
- 237** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00036111  
Champlevé, ø 23–24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 238** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection: inv. no. V. 4/3; PAN-item 00004895  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 1994.
- 239** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 5; PAN-item 00091254  
Champlevé, ø 25.3 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2021.
- 240** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00067770  
Champlevé, ø 25.5 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 241** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00066928  
Champlevé, ø 26.3 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 242** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00036114  
Champlevé, ø 26–27 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding a crosier in the right hand and flanked on his left by an  $\Lambda$
- 243** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection: inv. no. V. 15/2; PAN-item 00004309  
Champlevé, ø 18 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in 2003.
- 244** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00036122  
Champlevé, ø 19 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 116** Since Z 1991a, 10, does not provide the find spot of his no. 50, which is Wijnaldum (see 290), there is confusion in the literature with this item from Tzummarum.
- 117** Sometimes listed as »Escharen, Grave«. Confusion apparently caused by the caption to fig. 32 next to fig. 31 in Verwers 1988, 38.
- 118** Erroneously listed twice, also as a separate category: S 194 (Heiligenfibeln:1).

- 245** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00064767  
Champlevé, ø 19.6 mm  
Type 2 variant 2, presumably
- 246** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00077412  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 247** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00043005  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 248** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00028035  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 249** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00036115  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 2 (?)
- 250** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00063897  
Champlevé, ø 23.4 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 251** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00148196  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in 2023.
- 252** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00052557  
Champlevé, ø 26 mm  
Type 2 variant 2
- 253** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00035983  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 3
- 254** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland; **fig. 8**)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00017405  
Champlevé, ø 28–29 mm  
Type 2 variant 4
- 255** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland; **fig. 8**)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00061056  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 256** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland; **fig. 8**)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00035957  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 257** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00067692  
Champlevé, ø 21.1 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 258** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland; **fig. 8**)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00036222  
Copper alloy, ø 20 mm  
Orans fibula variant A
- 259** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00107661  
Copper alloy, ø 28 mm
- Orans fibula (?)  
Singular item with a beaded edge and five perforations.  
Design resembles Orans fibula variant B but differs.  
Found in 2021.
- 260** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00053884  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Apparently not a Stylized Christ fibula.
- 261** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00081854  
Copper alloy, ø 22 mm  
Item with a beaded edge and a depiction of a standing figure with outstretched hands, wearing a tunic or skirt.  
Apparently not a Presumable orans brooch.
- 262** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00108891  
Champlevé, ø 38 mm  
PAN: »Possibly an enamelled (champlevé) saint's brooch.«  
Found in 2022.
- 263** Waadhoeke (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection: inv. no. V. 4/9; PAN-item 00004897  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Found in 1998. Apparently not a *Heiligenfibel*.
- 264** Warffum (Groningen)  
Groningen, Groninger Museum: inv. no. 1997-11-0002  
Champlevé, ø 28 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 265** Warffum (Groningen)  
Present location unknown  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 4  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 23
- 266** Warffum (Groningen)  
Groningen, Groninger Museum: inv. no. 1997-11-0003  
Copper alloy, ø 22 mm  
Orans fibula variant A  
From the monastic knoll (*kloosterterp*) in Warffum.  
**Z 2000** (the captions to the reproductions of the Warffum and Groningen items should swap places)
- 267** De Weer (knoll [*wierde*] near Stedum, Groningen; **fig. 8**)  
Groningen, Groninger Museum: inv. no. 1987-08-0032  
Champlevé, ø 21.2 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding a crosier in the right hand  
**K:** 180 no. 25  
**S:** 195 no. 14 pl. 3, 8  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 294; 386 no. 42  
**SD 2003:** 484 Fl 1:13  
Miedema 1999–2000, 314; 394 fig. 100, 2.
- 268** Westerkwartier (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00051990  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 (?)
- 269** Westerkwartier (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00038939  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 270** Westerkwartier (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00038940  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1

- 271** Westerkwartier (municipality, Groningen)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00034946  
Champlevé, ø 16 mm  
PAN: »Type identification uncertain.« Depiction seems to be of a human or animal (quadruped). Apparently not a Presumable orans brooch.
- 272** Westerland (Noord-Holland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé (?), ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found by Arle and Erwin Landman, Anna Paulowna.  
This item was most likely reported twice: Hagers 1995; van Duinen 1996.
- 273** Westervoort (Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00058024  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 274** Westervoort (Gelderland)  
Present location unknown; probably private collection  
Champlevé, ø 30 mm  
Type 2 variant 4  
**K:** 197 no. 74  
**S:** 194 no. 5 pl. 3, 7  
**W:** 219 no. 50  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 294; 295; 386 no. 52  
Found in 1989.  
Hulst 1990, 201.
- 275** Wierden (municipality, Overijssel)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00017939  
Champlevé, ø 23–24 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Found in 2017.
- 276** Wierum/Koterhuizen (Friesland; fig. 8)  
Private collection: inv. no. 39; PAN-item 00010672  
Cloisonné, ø 31 mm  
Type 1  
**Z 2005**  
Found by Douwe Greydanus.
- 277** Wijchen (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. 2005.165.63  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 278** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-284  
Champlevé, ø 27–30 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 279** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2005-XII-101  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 1 (?)  
**B:** 767 no. 1031 [type 2.7.1.2]  
Fragment, about one quarter of the original size. Excavation find W '91-2722 from pit (*werkput*) WP XVIII. Found 4 July 1991.
- 280** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-191  
Champlevé, ø 23–25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 or 2 (?)  
**K:** 198 no. 80  
**S:** 195 no. 19 pl. 3, 8  
**W:** 219 no. 34  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 387 no. 56
- SD 2003:** 484 Fl 1:14  
**B:** 767 no. 1032 [type 2.7.1.2]  
**Z 1991a:** no. 49; V:49  
Fragment.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 281** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2007-IV-121  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**K:** 198 no. 77  
**S:** 195 no. 7 pl. 3, 10  
**W:** 219 no. 45  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 294; 386 no. 53  
**B:** 769 no. 1059 [type 2.7.1.6]  
**Z 1991a:** no. 46; V:46  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 19  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 368).
- 282** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Sint Annaparochie, private collection  
G. van Dijk  
Champlevé, ø 20.5 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 768 no. 1049 [type 2.7.1.4]
- 283** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2021-IV-186  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**K:** 198 no. 78  
**S:** 195 no. 8 pl. 3, 10  
**W:** 219 no. 44  
**F:** 293 tab. 2; 386 no. 54  
**B:** 768 no. 1048 [type 2.7.1.4]  
**Z 1991a:** no. 47; V:47  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 20  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 284** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2005-XII-94  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 768 no. 1047 [type 2.7.1.4]  
Excavation find W '91-2022 from pit (*werkput*) WP X.  
Found 25 June 1991.
- 285** Wijnaldum (Friesland; fig. 8)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2021-IV-188  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**K:** 198 no. 79  
**S:** 195 no. 9 pl. 3, 10  
**W:** 219 no. 43  
**F:** 294; 386 no. 55  
**B:** 769 no. 1050 [type 2.7.1.4]  
**Z 1991a:** no. 48; V:48  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 18  
With fine scalloped rim. From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 201).
- 286** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2005-XII-76  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
**B:** 769–770 no. 1063 [type 2.7.1.7. = »Unique type with a base line«]  
Excavation find W '92-7467 from pit (*werkput*) WP XXX.  
Found 6 August 1992.

- 287** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-XII-2.407  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**B:** 742 no. 649 [type 2.5.1.14]  
**SD 2003:** 486 Fl 4:4  
**Z 1990:** 11 no. 14; VI:14i  
Small part broken off.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 67).
- 288** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Present location unknown  
Champlevé, ø 21 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
**S:** 201 no. 8 pl. 5, 2  
**B:** 742 no. 648 [type 2.5.1.14]  
**Z 1991b:** fig. 4, 14i  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 289** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Present location unknown; formerly in the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.  
Copper alloy, ø (?) mm<sup>119</sup>  
Orans fibula variant A  
**B:** 770 no. 1071 [type 2.7.2.3]  
**Z 1993:** no. 133; XVI:133<sup>120</sup>  
**Z 2000**  
**Z 2003:** 12 no. 63; 13 III:D:63  
**SD 2015:** 587 Fl A:6
- 290** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: inv. no. 2016-350  
Copper alloy, ø 20 mm  
Orans fibula variant A  
**B:** 771 no. 1072 [type 2.7.2.3]  
**Z 1991a:** 10 no. 50; V:50<sup>121</sup>  
**Z 2000**  
**Z 2003:** 12 no. 62; 13 III:D:62  
**SD 2015:** 587 Fl A:7  
The database of the repository describes the design as an animal.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 202).
- 291** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. F 2005-XII-84  
Copper alloy, ø 21 or 22 mm  
Orans fibula variant A  
**B:** 770 no. 1070 [type 2.7.2.3]  
**SD 2015:** 587 Fl A:5  
Excavation find W '91-2106 from pit (*werkput*) WP XIII.  
Found 25 June 1991.
- 292** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
In 2007–2008: Leeuwarden, collection Stichting RAAP: inv. no. FB 5 G 69 W AKM 2, no. 1  
Copper alloy, ø 16 mm  
Presumable orans brooch  
**B:** 771 no. 1075 [type 2.7.2.4 »with spread-eagled figure«]
- 293** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Nuis, Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot: inv. no. FM 1995-XII-2.232  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
**K:** 198 no. 81; 195 fig. 25, 5
- S:** 195 no. 20 pl. 3, 8  
**F:** 387 no. 57  
**B:** 772 no. 1096; 789 [type 2.7.3.2]  
**Z 1990:** 11 no. 14; VI:14b  
**Z 1991b:** 58 fig. 14b  
**Z 2003:** 10 I:C nos 14–25; 11 no. 25  
**Z 2012:** 70–71 fig. 13b  
Design is not typical at all, but resembles an octopus.  
Brooch probably is not a *Heiligenfibel*.  
From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden (inv. no. 114).
- 294** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Item may be present in Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, or Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot, Nuis.  
Champlevé (?), ø 29.5 mm  
**B:** 770 no. 1066 [type 2.7.1.9]  
Fragment which may not be a *Heiligenfibel*. From the private collection Jan Zijlstra, Leeuwarden.
- 295** Wijnaldum (Friesland)  
Item may be present in Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, or Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot, Nuis.  
**B:** 770 no. 1065 [type 2.7.1.9]  
Excavation find W '92-5491 from pit (*werkput*) WP XXI.  
Fragment which may not be a *Heiligenfibel*.
- 296** Winssen (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.150  
Champlevé, ø 25.7 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 297** Wirdum (Friesland)  
Leeuwarden, private collection Thomas Menting  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2012.
- 298** Wommels (Friesland)  
Private collection  
Champlevé, ø (?) mm  
Type 2 variant 3  
Found in December 1998 by G. Terpstra, Wommels.  
Terpstra 1999.
- 299** Zaltbommel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00025543  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 300** Zaltbommel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection Fredo van Berkel; PAN-item 00095697  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2021.
- 301** Zaltbommel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection Fredo van Berkel; PAN-item 00004614  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 302** Zaltbommel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00031295  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Type 2 variant 2

**119** SD 2015, 587 Fl A:6 is the only author who mentions a diameter: 21 mm.

**120** The reference to Z 1991a, 54 no. 50, is an error.

**121** Since Z 1991a, 10 does not provide the find spot of this item, it sometimes is equated in the literature with 228.



- 303** Zaltbommel (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection Fredo van Berkel; PAN-item 00013218  
Champlevé, ø 30 mm  
Type 2 variant 4  
Found in 2010. Enamel is supposed to have been supplemented.
- 304** Zetten (Gelderland)  
Nijmegen, Valkhof Museum: inv. no. PMK.1997.6.69  
Champlevé, ø 25.2 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding two crosiers, apparently
- 305** Zevenaar (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00047426  
Champlevé, ø 19 mm  
Type (?)  
In PAN categorized as Type 1. Found in 2017.
- 306** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00104331  
Champlevé, ø 22 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 307** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00041718  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 308** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00041710  
Champlevé, ø 23 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 309** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00148676  
Champlevé, ø 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure perhaps holding a crosier in the right hand  
Found in 2023.
- 310** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00041709  
Champlevé, ø c. 24 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 (?)  
Substantial part chipped off.
- 311** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00010776  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1
- 312** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00108897  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1  
Found in 2022. Pierced.
- 313** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00108896  
Champlevé, ø 25 mm  
Type 2 variant 1 with a figure holding a crosier in the right hand and flanked on his left by an  $\Lambda$   
Found in 2022.
- 314** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00012607  
Champlevé, ø 20–21 mm  
Type 2 variant 2  
Rim partly crumbled away.
- 315** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00043184  
Champlevé, ø c. 31 mm  
Type 2 variant 4
- 316** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00053882  
Champlevé, ø 18–20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula
- 317** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00004831  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula, apparently
- 318** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00111471  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula, apparently  
Found in 2020.
- 319** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00041711  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula (?)  
PAN: »Type identification not 100 % certain.«
- 320** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00083007  
Copper alloy, ø 21 mm  
Orans fibula variant A
- 321** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00027869  
Copper alloy, ø 22 mm  
Orans fibula variant B  
According to PAN this item is gilded.
- 322** Zuidwest-Friesland (municipality, Friesland)  
Private collection; PAN-item 00041708  
Champlevé, ø c. 21 mm  
PAN: »Type identification difficult; it might be a Saint brooch.« Probably no *Heiligenfibel*.  
Substantial part chipped off.
- 323** Zutphen (municipality, Gelderland)  
Private collection: inv. no. 230; PAN-item 00102401  
Champlevé, ø 20 mm  
Stylized Christ fibula  
Found in 1988.

## Appendix 1: Finds of *Heiligenfibeln* Reported and Illustrated only on [www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl](http://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl) (Unknown Find Spots)

The names of the finders-reporters are partial names and pseudonyms.

### Type 2 Variant 1

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=92&t=1751> of 21 May 2008 by far beyond driven; brooch found 20 May 2008  
With a figure holding two crosiers

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=40018> of 4 August 2012 by Vince100; brooch ø 23–26 mm

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=44984> of 21 January 2013 by John W; brooch ø 24 mm; found in 2012  
With a figure flanked by Greek crosses

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=65368> of 4 March 2015 by far beyond driven; brooch ø c. 30 mm

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=723&t=73979> of 11 February 2016 by Vonhuppelrath; brooch ø c. 20 mm

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=74102> of 16 February 2016 by dannyR; brooch ø 24 mm; found 16 February 2016

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=87419> of 19 December 2017 by wup; no further information

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=98580> of 24 August 2019 by wichard; brooch ø 25 mm

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=103043> of 3 April 2020 by Henri; no further information

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=110081> of 24 February 2021 by Redbad; brooch ø 30 mm; found 24 February 2021

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=112213> of 5 June 2021 by Douwe; brooch ø 25 mm; found in a knoll (*terp*) 4 June 2021

### Type 2 Variant 2

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=54655> of 2 January 2014 by niekniek; brooch found in 2013 or 2014

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=96714> of 31 March 2019 by Kiwy; brooch ø 24 mm

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=107157> of 22 October 2020 by westergozer1; brooch ø 26 mm

### Stylized Christ Fibula

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=704&t=13781> of 3 November 2009 by keltje71; no further information

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=69343> of 30 August 2015 by sjonboy; brooch ø 20 mm; found in August 2015

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=714&t=73165> of 10 January 2016 by Vonhuppelrath; brooch ø 21 mm

### Orans Fibula

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=723&t=68963> of 15 August 2015 by zoeker 19; brooch ø 20 mm; Orans fibula variant A

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=723&t=98834> of 9 September 2019 by timmes; brooch ø 22 mm; Orans fibula variant A

See: message <https://www.bodemvondstenwereld.nl/viewtopic.php?f=723&t=118255> of 1 October 2022 by westergozer1; no further information; Orans fibula variant B

## Appendix 2: Dutch Names of Frisian Toponyms not Used in the Check-List

Dutch	Frisian	Frisian	Dutch
Achlum	Achlum	Achlum	Achlum
Anjum	Eanjum	Arum	Arum
Arum	Arum	Berltsum	Berlikum
Bergum	Burgum	Burgum	Bergum
Berlikum	Berltsum	Bûtenpost	Buitenpost
Buitenpost	Bûtenpost	Doanjum	Dongjum
Dongjum	Doanjum	Drachten	Drachten
Drachten	Drachten	Drachtster Kompenije	Drachtstercompagnie
Drachtstercompagnie	Drachtster Kompenije	Dronryp	Dronrijp
Dronrijp	Dronryp	Eanjum	Anjum
Firdgum	Furdgum	Easterbierrum	Oosterbierum
Franeker	Frjentsjer	Eastermar	Oostermeer
Friese Meren, De	Fryske Marren, De	Furdgum	Firdgum
Friesland	Fryslân	Frjentsjer	Franeker
Goutum	Goutum	Fryske Marren, De	Friese Meren, De
Grouw	Grou	Fryslân	Friesland
Harlingen	Harns	Goutum	Goutum
Hatsum or Hatzum	Hatsum or Hatzum	Grou	Grouw
Herbaijum	Hjerbeam	Harns	Harlingen
Hijlaard	Hilaard	Hatsum or Hatzum	Hatsum or Hatzum
Joure	Jouwer, De	Hilaard	Hijlaard
Koterhuizen	Koaterhuzen	Hjerbeam	Herbaijum
Leeuwarden	Ljouwert	Jouwer, De	Joure
Marssum	Marsum	Koaterhuzen	Koterhuizen
Menaldum	Menaam	Ljouwert	Leeuwarden
Metslawier	Mitselwier	Marsum	Marssum
Midlum	Mullum	Menaam	Menaldum
Minnertsgea	Minnertsgea	Minnertsgea	Minnertsgea
Noordoost-Friesland	Noardeast-Fryslân	Mitselwier	Metslawier
Oosterbierum	Easterbierrum	Mullum	Midlum
Oostermeer	Eastermar	Noardeast-Fryslân	Noordoost-Friesland
Peins	Peins	Peins	Peins
Pietersbierum	Pitersbierrum	Penjum	Pingjum
Pingjum	Penjum	Pitersbierrum	Pietersbierum
Rauwerd	Raerd	Raerd	Rauwerd
Ried	Rie	Rie	Ried
Salverd	Salvert	Salvert	Salverd
Schalsum	Skalsum	Sint Anne	Sint Annaparochie
Sint Annaparochie	Sint Anne	Sint Nyk	Sint Nicolaasga
Sint Nicolaasga	Sint Nyk	Skalsum	Schalsum
Slappeterp	Slappeterp	Slappeterp	Slappeterp
Sneek	Snits	Snits	Sneek
Techum	Techum	Súdwest-Fryslân	Zuidwest-Friesland
Tietjerksteradeel	Tytsjerksteradiel	Techum	Techum
Twizelerheide	Twizelerheide	Tsjom	Tzum
Tzum	Tsjom	Tsjummearum	Tzummarum
Tzummarum	Tsjummearum	Twizelerheide	Twizelerheide
Waadhoeke	Waadhoeke, De	Tytsjerksteradiel	Tietjerksteradeel
Wierum	Wierum	Waadhoeke, De	Waadhoeke
Wijnaldum	Winaam	Wierum	Wierum
Wirdum	Wurdum	Winaam	Wijnaldum
Wommels	Wommels	Wommels	Wommels
Zuidwest-Friesland	Súdwest-Fryslân	Wurdum	Wirdum

# Zusammenfassung

## Résumé

### **Heiligenfibeln in den Niederlanden: eine vorläufige Checkliste**

In der Karolingerzeit tauchte im heutigen Deutschland und in den Niederlanden eine besondere Art von Scheibenfibeln auf. Ihr Material ist eine Kupferlegierung mit Email, obwohl neuere Forschungen auch Scheibenfibeln ohne Email in die Diskussion um diese Heiligenfibeln einbezogen haben. Letztere Bezeichnung wurde von den angeblichen Nimbussen über den Köpfen der auf den Fibeln abgebildeten menschlichen Figuren abgeleitet. Zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts waren etwa 100 Heiligenfibeln bekannt. Ihre Zahl hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten beträchtlich zugenommen, was eine neue Bestandsaufnahme erforderlich macht, um eine Grundlage für die Revision des Bildes von ihrer Verbreitung zu schaffen und die überlieferten Meinungen über dieses einzigartige Phänomen des frühmittelalterlichen Personenschmucks zu bewerten.

### ***Heiligenfibeln aux Pays-Bas: une liste de contrôle provisoire***

À l'époque carolingienne, un type particulier de broche à disque est apparu dans ce qui est aujourd'hui l'Allemagne et les Pays-Bas. Le matériau utilisé était un alliage de cuivre émaillé, bien que des recherches récentes aient inclus des fibules à disque non émaillées dans la discussion sur ces *Heiligenfibeln*. Cette dernière désignation provient du nimbe supposé au-dessus de la tête des figures humaines représentées sur les broches. Au début du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, on dénombrait une centaine de *Heiligenfibeln*. Leur nombre a considérablement augmenté au cours des dernières décennies, ce qui a rendu nécessaire un nouvel inventaire afin de réviser l'image de leur distribution et d'évaluer les opinions reçues sur ce phénomène unique de décoration personnelle du haut Moyen Âge.

## Schlüsselwörter

### Mots-clés

Niederlande / Frühmittelalter / Scheibenfibeln / Email / christliche Ikonografie  
Pays-Bas / Haut Moyen Âge / broches à disque / émail / iconographie chrétienne