



Gerald Grabherr / Barbara Kainrath / Thomas Schierl (Eds.)

Relations Abroad

Brooches and other elements of dress as sources for reconstructing interregional movement and group boundaries from the Punic Wars to the decline of the Western Roman Empire

**Proceedings of the International Conference
from 27th–29th April 2011 in Innsbruck**

Innsbruck 2013

IKARUS

INNSBRUCKER
KLASSISCH-
ARCHÄOLOGISCHE
UNIVERSITÄTS-
SCHRIFTEN



Band 8

Gerald Grabherr / Barbara Kainrath / Thomas Schierl (Hrsg.)

Verwandte in der Fremde

**Fibeln und Bestandteile der Bekleidung
als Mittel zur Rekonstruktion
von interregionalem Austausch
und zur Abgrenzung von Gruppen
vom Ausgreifen Roms während des
1. Punischen Krieges bis zum Ende des
Weströmischen Reiches**

Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums

Innsbruck 27. bis 29. April 2011

Innsbruck 2013



Gerald Grabherr

Barbara Kainrath

Institut für Archäologien, Universität Innsbruck

Thomas Schierl

Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Fördermittel des Vizerektorats für Forschung sowie der Philosophisch-Historischen Fakultät der Universität Innsbruck, der Kulturabteilung des Landes Tirol und der Anton Rauch GmbH&CoKG.

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Universität Innsbruck

1. Auflage

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Redaktion: Gerald Grabherr, Barbara Kainrath, Thomas Schierl

Layout: Gerald Grabherr, Barbara Kainrath

Herstellung: Athesia-Tyrolidruck GmbH, A-6020 Innsbruck, Exlgasse 20

www.uibk.ac.at/iup

ISBN: 978-3-902811-99-8

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Programm des internationalen Kolloquiums „Verwandte in der Fremde? – Relations Abroad“
International Conference on Fibulas In the Roman Empire [FIRE 1^{conference}]
27. bis 29. April 2011

Zentrum für Alte Kulturen
Universität Innsbruck, Langer Weg 11

Mittwoch/Wednesday 27. April 2011

- 09.00 Begrüßung durch den Dekan der phil.-hist. Fakultät Prof. Dr. Klaus Eisterer
- 09.15 Einführung: Gerald Grabherr und Thomas Schierl
- 09.30 Ursula Rothe (Edinburgh/GB), Veiling in Pannonia – a foreign dress element?
- 10.00 Gerald Grabherr (Innsbruck/A), Identität oder Technologie – Scharnierfibeln im zentralen Alpenraum
- 11.00 Bernhard A. Greiner (Weinstadt/D), Auf Besuch im Imperium Romanum
- 11.30 Thomas Schierl (Frankfurt/D), Celtici in Iberia – Der Südwesten der Iberischen Halbinsel zwischen „Keltisierung“, römischer Okkupation und Etablierung einer neuen Infrastruktur (2. Jh. v. Chr. – 1. Jh. n. Chr.): eine Ereignisgeschichte im Spiegelbild der Fibelfunde
- 14.00 Marko Dizdar, Asja Tonc (Zagreb/HR), Finds of fibulae from the 1st cent. BC in Croatia: Trade and exchange between the Eastern Alps, Danube and the North Adriatic region before and during Roman conquest
- 14.30 Peter Gamper (Dellach/A), Die Idrija-Gruppe. Neuinterpretation einer „spätlatènezeitlichen“ Kulturgruppe aufgrund der Forschungsergebnisse zum FWF-Projekt „Die Romanisierung des Alpe-Adria-Raumes“ (Projekt-Nr. P20598-G03)
- 15.30 Bernd Steidl (München/D), Die Augenfibeln Almgren 45-47 in Raetien und den Nordwestprovinzen – Eine Sachform als Spiegel historischer Vorgänge?
- 16.00 Gabriele Rasbach (Frankfurt/D), Zuhause in der Fremde – der augusteische Fundplatz Waldgirmes
- 16.30 Anna Haralambieva (Varna/BG), Aucissafibeln mit Inschriften aus den Provinzen Moesia Inferior und Thracia

Donnerstag/Thursday 28. April 2011

- 09.00 Eckhard Deschler-Erb (Zürich/CH), Fibeln aus Augsburg-Oberhausen
- 09.30 Stefan Demetz (Bozen/I), Das Frauengrab von Avenches-Chaplix. Zur Westverbreitung früher norisch-pannonischer Fibelformen
- 10.00 Salvatore Ortisi (Köln/D), Fibeln des mittleren Donauraums in Raetien
- Posterpräsentationen/poster session
- 11.00 Stephan Leitner (Bozen/I), Zur Formenvielfalt des Fibeltyps Jobst 4F
- 11.30 Präsentation der Datenbank FIRE/presentation of the database FIRE (Fibulas In the Roman Empire)

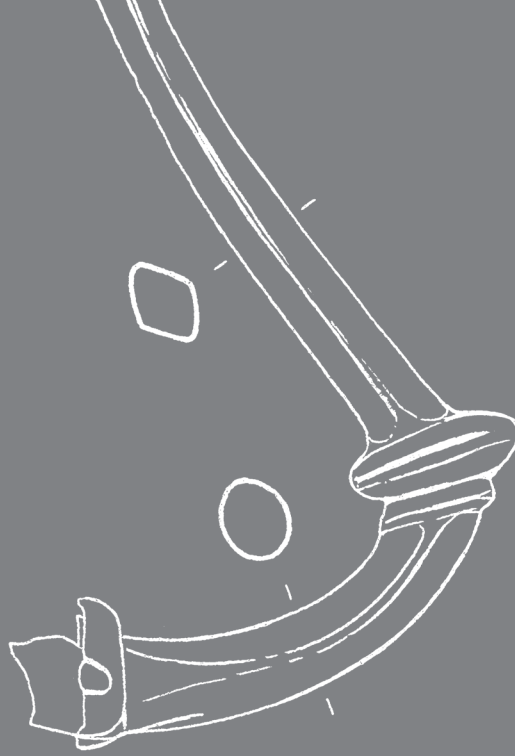
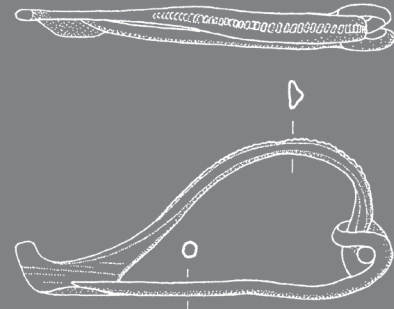
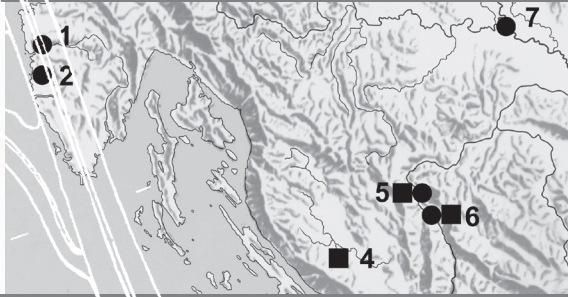
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- 14.00 Mónika Merczi (Esztergom/H), Kniefibeln mit Kopfplatte im nordöstlichen Pannonien
14.30 Anton Höck (Innsbruck/A), Zur Ringfibel mit seitlich aufgerollten Enden
15.30 Führung durch die archäologische Schausammlung des Tiroler Landesmuseums Ferdinandeum durch Kustos Mag. Wolfgang Söldner
Guided tour through the archaeological collection of the Tirolean State Museum Ferdinandeum by custos Mag. Wolfgang Söldner
19.00 Empfang in der Abgusssammlung/Reception in the plaster cast collection of the archaeological Institute

Freitag/Friday 29. April 2011

- 09.00 Fraser Hunter (Edinburgh/GB), The development and distribution of brooches in and beyond the frontier zone of Roman Britain
09.30 Frances McIntosh (Newcastle upon Tyne/GB), The Wirral Brooch: a regional and rural brooch type
10.00 Lindsay Allason-Jones (Newcastle upon Tyne/GB), Missing Brooches, Missing People
11.00 Felix Lang, Jan Cemper-Kiesslich, Doris Knauseder (Salzburg/A), Fremde Fibeln – wandernde Menschen. Überlegungen zu Korrelationen kulturhistorischer, molekulargenetischer und physikalisch-chemischer Typologien
11.30 Daniel Peters (Frankfurt/D), Anne-France Maurer und Corina Knipper (Mainz/D), Fremde Fibeln = fremde Frauen? Fallbeispiele archäologischer Verbreitungen und naturwissenschaftlicher Herkunftsbestimmungen des frühen Mittelalters
14.00 Romana Erice Lacabe (Zaragoza/E), Drei Fibeln als Fremdstücke im mittleren Ebrotal (Aragon, Spanien)
14.30 Kristian Elschek (Nitra/SK), Ausgewählte römische Fibeltypen vom slowakischen Marchgebiet im Limesvorfeld von Carnuntum und ein neues germanisches Fürstengrab der „Lübsow-Gruppe“ von Zohor
16.00 Martina Paul (München/D), Überlegungen zur Herkunft und Verbreitung von zwei spätrömischen Fibel- und Gürtelformen aus Augusta Vindelicum/Augsburg
16.30 Maurizio Buora (Udine/I), Zwiebelknopffibeln des Typs Keller 6: Verbreitung und status questionis
17.00 Abschlussdiskussion/final discussion

Samstag/Saturday 30. April 2011

Exkursion zum Brandopferplatz am Piller Sattel und Besuch des Museums in Fließ/Excursion to the burnt offering site at the Piller Sattel and a visit to the Fließ Museum



Marko Dizdar, Asja Tonc

Finds of fibulae from 1st century BC in Croatia: Trade and exchange between Eastern Alps, the Danube and the northern Adriatic area before and during Roman conquest

Finds of fibulae from 1st century BC in Croatia: Trade and exchange between Eastern Alps, the Danube and the northern Adriatic area before and during Roman conquest

Marko Dizdar/Asja Tonc, Zagreb

During the last centuries BC the area between the eastern Alps, the eastern coast of the northern Adriatic and the Danube was inhabited by various communities of different origin, whose names are known to us thanks to works of ancient historiographers. In the southeastern part of the Pannonian Plain the most significant position was occupied by the Scordisci, who controlled the area from the eastern slopes of the Slavonian hills and the lower part of the Drava valley to the lower Morava valley, with Sarmia as centre of political and economic power. Maybe the most precise definition of the Scordiscan identity is the one that considers it a symbiosis of immigrant Celtic and various other autochthonous populations united by a warrior aristocracy, with the local elites taking over the formal markings of the society they were entering¹. A similar situation can be seen in the SW Pannonian and SE Alpine region, where the Celts together with the local populations formed the Taurisci tribe². Results of excavations in Novo Mesto (Slovenia) proved the continuity of the autochthonous population that transferred part of its heritage to the new identity, as shown by the position of the cemetery or the ceramic finds, whilst embracing the more advanced and useful objects of the La Tène culture such as weaponry³. Ancient sources also mention other identities among the autochthonous Pannonian population in the area between the rivers Sava, Drava and Danube, such as Iasi in north-east Croatia, Andizetes in the lower Drava valley, Colapians in the Kupa valley and Breuci in the central part of the Sava valley (Fig. 1). Due to lack of research their material culture is not well known and it can be only assumed that they were under military, political and economic domination of the Scordisci and Taurisci tribes, whose spheres of influence met at *Mons Claudius*⁴. This can be observed in numerous items of La Tène culture that appear in these areas, especially weapons, jewellery and tools, while in the ceramic shapes two classes can be identified: forms made on a pottery wheel in the La Tène tradition and forms made by hand, decorated in autochthonous fashion.

South of these existed other populations, especially important for our topic being the Iapodes and Liburni, whose cultural development can be followed in continuity from the Late Bronze Age, i.e. from the end of the 2nd millennium BC. The northern part of the east Adriatic coast including the islands was inhabited by the Liburni, whose culture shows strong Hellenistic influences from the 4th century BC and then increasing northern Italic influences from the 2nd century BC, especially after the establishment of Aquileia. The Iapodes inhabited their hinterland, more precisely the present-day regions of Gorski kotar and Lika, as well as part of the Una valley, an intermediary area between the east Adriatic coast, the SE Alpine region and south Pannonia, which is why items of different provenience appear on Iapodian sites. The last phase of cultural development of these two communities is unfortunately the least well known. A key role in the interaction between these two larger groups of communities – the Pannonian and Celtic tribes on one, and the autochthonous communities of the Adriatic region on the other hand – was held by *Segest(ica)*, the pre-roman *Siscia*, whose inhabitants are known as Segestani. Developed at the confluence of the rivers Kupa and Sava, the city was a crucial point on the trade route mentioned by Strabo, that connected Aquileia and Nauportus to the Danubian regions.

¹ RUSTOIU 2008, 142–152.

² GUŠTIN 1984; BOŽIĆ 1987; BOŽIĆ 1999.

³ KRIŽ 2001; KRIŽ 2005.

⁴ ŠAŠEL-KOS 1986, 185; ŠAŠEL-KOS 2005, 142 f.; 416; DIZDAR/POTREBICA 2002, 118 f.



Fig. 1. Location of protohistoric communities in the area of present-day Croatia

All the communities were under influences from neighbouring areas, particularly important being those from northern Italy, point of origin of the ideas, technological know-how and prestige goods arriving along trade routes that preceded the military conquests which by the end of the 1st century BC finally led to the end of independence of all the protohistoric communities. The study of these complex relations is made possible by analysis of characteristic forms of brooches of that period, for now the best witnesses of the contacts and connecting routes. Considering the state of research, the largest group is represented by brooches from eastern Slavonia inhabited by the Scordisci and from Sisak as an important crossroad of communications, while the rest of the area is mainly represented by single finds that nevertheless demonstrate that we only have a vague picture of the material culture of all these identities in the second and first centuries BC.

The Late La Tène phase in eastern Slavonia is mainly known through excavations of settlements, while the contemporary cemeteries are hardly known even though their existence is made evident by numerous chance finds of weapons, items of dress and jewellery (Dalj, Vinkovci, Vukovar, Sotin, Osijek). The material culture shows some characteristics that clearly separate the Scordiscan material heritage from other contemporary central European

La Tène cultures. Certain ceramic shapes such as kantharoi and jugs made by hand or on potters wheels, decorated with polishing and grooves, represent influences and traditions of the autochthonous population. Also typical for the Scordisci are some metal objects unknown in Central Europe, with analogies pointing to the East, like brooches of type Jarak, different variants of spiral bronze or iron bracelets or belt buckles of Laminci type⁵. The largest part of these items, similar to the ceramic forms and decorations, owe their development to the strong autochthonous heritage that played an important role in the formation of Scordiscan culture. Except with weapons, the warrior elite of the Scordisci demonstrated its position with prestige goods, mostly bronze vessels imported from north Italic workshops, found in grave assemblages as part of symposial service, along local shapes such as *kantharoi*. The finds from rich graves prove the link between social system and circulation of goods, i.e. their ownership as prestige goods being used for social needs and demonstration of status and role in society. Imports of bronze ware are mostly documented in the rich Scordiscan graves on Karaburma⁶, but they also occur on some settlement sites, like Gomolava⁷. On Scordiscan sites in east Croatia bronze vessels are found in graves in Sotin and Mali Bilač, in Dalj and on the fortified settlements in Vinkovci and Orolik⁸. The bronze vessels came to Scordiscan territory from north Italy along the caravan trade route that led from Aquileia to *Nauportus* (Vrhnika), where the merchandise was transported on ships and then along the Ljubljana and Sava rivers reached *Segestica* and further on the Danube area. The route is described by Strabo (4.6.10), who also mentions that wine and olive oil were exchanged for slaves, cattle and leather (5.1.8). The trade was probably in hands of rich families from Aquileia whose presence in south Pannonia is testified by Vellei Patercul, who mentions them among the first victims of the Great Pannonian Revolt in AD 6–9 (II.110.4–5). The Sava valley route gained on importance after Augustus' Illyrian wars in 35–33 BC when he conquered *Segestica*, an important strategic point in making his way to the Danube area along the same path of the trade predecessors, followed later also in other military campaigns. This natural communication route between north Italy, the south-east Alps and the Danube is confirmed by finds of coins of the Greek cities Appolonia and Dyrrachion, reaching the area during the second quarter of the 1st century BC as testified by the Dalj and Vukovar hoards, while from the middle of the last century BC Roman Republican coins start appearing in larger numbers⁹. There are, on the other hand, numerous finds showing a link with the western slopes of the Carpathians and the lower Danube, like imported prestige goods such as a Daco-Getic bowl from the Late La Tène settlement in Vukovar¹⁰ or the silver fibulae from Osijek¹¹, so this is also a route we must keep in mind when observing the material culture of the Pannonian communities.

When looking at the brooches from Scordiscan and neighbouring sites in the Late La Tène period, one can observe a characteristic lack of the brooch of Nauheim type with open foot, that on the other hand appears on the territory of the Mokronog group¹². A similar form is represented by the Scordiscan brooches of low triangular or leaf-shaped bow with various decoration, which can be classified as the Vinkovci type, found on sites in the wider Vinkovci area (Blato, Pjeskana, Damića gradina) and further in the Scordiscan area in Sotin, on the Danube bank in Zemun or Gomolava¹³. Differences in comparison to the Nauheim II

⁵ Božić 1981; JOVANOVIĆ 1987.

⁶ TODOROVIĆ 1972; Božić 1981, 320; GUŠTIN 1984, 327; 338.

⁷ POPOVIĆ 1992.

⁸ DIZDAR/RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004.

⁹ BRUNŠMID 1912; DUKAT/MIRNIK 1978; MIRNIK 1981; POPOVIĆ 1987.

¹⁰ MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 2008, Fig. 2.

¹¹ ŠIMIĆ/FILIPOVIĆ 1997.

¹² Božić 2008, 50–65.

¹³ DIZDAR 1999; DIZDAR 2001, Pl. 4,7. 9–11; DIZDAR 2003, Pl. 1, 1–10; TODOROVIĆ 1971, Pl. LXVII, 4,7; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, Fig. 5,3 Pl. XXII, 2.

type are in the leaf-shaped bow, often decorated with concentric circles, and in the foot without perforation. It can be concluded that this is a variant characteristic for the Scordiscan community in Eastern Slavonia, an equivalent to the contemporary Nauheim fibulae of the Western La Tène area¹⁴. However, it is probably matter of time before „real“ Nauheim brooches are found on Scordiscan sites, especially in eastern Slavonia, since we must envisage the presence of real models for this local form, not just an idea. Besides the number, the local origin of the type with concentric circles is proven by distribution limited to the Vinkovci area, so they can be seen as products of local workshops situated in the fortified settlements that represented craft and trade centres that spread the achievements of the La Tène culture¹⁵. One such centre was on the site Blato in Vinkovci, where numerous finds of brooches, some yet unknown in this area, as well as other items of dress, jewellery, weaponry, horse gear and parts of bronze vessels were gathered, dating to the LT C2-D period¹⁶. The trial excavations in 2010 showed that it is a very important Scordiscan settlement, probably with a workshop. Although there are no finds of the leaf-shaped brooches in certain contexts, considering that it is probably a local variant of the Nauheim II type the type can be dated to the early phase of the Late La Tène period (LT D1b)¹⁷. During the last phase of Late La Tène in the local Scordiscan workshops appear imitations of the widely distributed Jezerine type which is often found on Croatian sites¹⁸. These are bronze fibulae of smaller dimensions with similar construction characteristics, i.e. ring on the end of bow and perforated foot. Similar smaller examples are known also from Nissan¹⁹, but the Scordiscan fibulae often have transversal incisions on the bow, spring of four coils with inside chord and trapezoid foot without perforation, with distribution limited to regional sites such as Blato in Vinkovci, Sotin, Gomolava or Zemun²⁰. Like the previously mentioned leaf-shaped fibulae, the small Jezerine type brooches are probably also products of local workshops situated in the settlements in eastern Slavonia and Sarmia. These two types demonstrate the ability of local workshops to satisfy the needs of the market and its desire to wear a „modern“ type by developing a original form based on a well-known model. Although this can be used as a indirect proof of contacts and/or exchange of ideas, the imported brooches are still the best evidence of contact between communities, and thus are the subject of this paper. The existence of exchange and trade between north Italy and the south-eastern Alps, as well as between central Europe and south Pannonia is proved, besides prestige goods for the elites (bronze vessels, horse gear), by items that belong to the dress or jewellery, i.e. by the objects of everyday use that are used by wider layers of society.

The number of finds from Scordiscan territory belonging to the later phase of Late La Tène period (LT D2) that ends with the Roman conquest is much smaller, with lack of previously appearing prestige goods. However, the finds of brooches of north Italic and middle European provenance demonstrate the continuity of the previously established connections, with an ever more prominent role of the settlement known as *Segestica*, situated at the confluence of Kupa and Sava rivers, a multiregional center of convergence of goods, ideas and people, even from remote areas. In recent years there is a increasing number of finds of LT D2 brooches in the eastern part of the area between Sava, Drava and the Danube. The same goes for finds that have origin in the region between the Carpathians and the Black Sea. Therefore, the material culture of the south Panonian populations, particularly the Scordisci,

¹⁴ TODOROVIĆ 1968, 37; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 21; 73; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1972–73, 64.

¹⁵ MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1984; DIZDAR 2001a, 93–96; DIZDAR 2003, 342.

¹⁶ DIZDAR 1998; DIZDAR 1999, 47 f.; DIZDAR 2001, 106 Pl. 4–6.

¹⁷ DIZDAR 2003, 343.

¹⁸ DEMETZ 1999, 247–252 List XVI.

¹⁹ ADAM/FEUGÈRE 1982, Fig. 6, 4–5.

²⁰ DIZDAR 2003, Pl. 1, 11; ILKIĆ 1999, 40 f. Pl. XXIII, 8.9; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJAN/BRUKNER 1992, Pl. 11, 47.48; Pl. 12, 51; JOVANOVIĆ 1971, 133 f. Pl. VI, 9; TODOROVIĆ 1971, Pl. LXVII, 7.

shows no signs of weakening in the 1st century BC. It is, on the contrary, the time of their force, which doesn't agree with the supposed loss of territory that the Scordisci are thought to have suffered after their defeat from consul Lucio Cornelio Scipio Asiagen in 84 BC.

Almgren 65

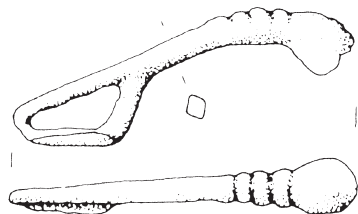


Fig. 2. Fibula of type A65 from Blato in Vinkovci

From the site Blato in Vinkovci comes a brooch with massive round bow of rhomboid cross-section, with ribbed decoration after the oval head and a trapezoid open foot. The spring and needle are not preserved (Fig. 2). It can be classified as the variant A65a1a by Demetz and by its dimensions it goes in the group of small brooches. Considering the green-greyish patina, it may be of lead bronze²¹.

In the northern Adriatic to this type belong fibulae from Nova Vas in Istria²². From the Liburnian area comes a fibula from Osor, with a damaged open foot and tripartite ribbed decoration on the bow, with a protuberance²³. One small fibula of the variant A65a1 was found during the excavations of the Roman pottery kiln in Crikvenica²⁴. Brooches of the same type are found in Salona and Naron, and more examples from different unknown sites in Dalmatia are held in the Split museum²⁵. Also worth mentioning is a brooch from Vir near Posušje, according to Demetz of variant 65c2b²⁶.

S. Demetz has extensively studied the brooches of the type, with division into four main groups (A65a–d) with subtypes²⁷. All of the mentioned finds from Croatian sites come from the wider distribution area of the type in general, with the coastal area being particularly well represented²⁸. On the sites in northern Italy the type appears in the second quarter of the 1st century BC and is mostly used during Caesar, i.e. in the decades around the middle of the last century BC, while their appearance in the early Augustan time is only an isolated phenomenon²⁹. On the sites of the Mokronog group the brooches of type Almgren 65 are dated to the Mokronog IIIa phase, more precisely in its later part or phase LT D1b³⁰. Our examples can be thus dated in the same period, since there are no certain contexts dating them to the Augustan age.

Feugère 11

The group of brooches with rectangular perforated foot like the one of the Jezerine type, a short spring (although variants with hinge exist) and a convex round or oval bow are defined as the Feugère 11 type.

One brooch with a large convex bow, decorated with a pair of incised lines in the middle as well along the edges, comes from Kupina near Slavonski Brod. The fibula is 6,8 cm long, with slightly oval shaped bow measuring 3 x 2,8 cm, it has a spring of four coils with

²¹ Božić 2008, 74–77.

²² Guštin 1987, Fig. 3, 21; Sakara Sučević 2004, No. 88–92.

²³ Težak-Gregl 1982, Fig. 1, 3.

²⁴ The brooch was presented in the lecture by M. Blečić at the II. International archaeological colloquium „Roman Ceramic and Glass Manufactures“, held in Crikvenica 28–29. 10. 2011. The colloquium proceedings will be published.

²⁵ Lokošek 1990, Pl. I; II; Ivčević 2001, Pl. I, 4–6; Pl. II, 7–12.

²⁶ Marić 1962, Pl. II, 3; Demetz 1999, 223 List I: 4.2.2.4.

²⁷ Demetz 1999, 27–30.

²⁸ Ibid. 32; Demetz 2008, 28.

²⁹ Demetz 1999, 37; Demetz 2008, 29.

³⁰ Božić 2008, 145.

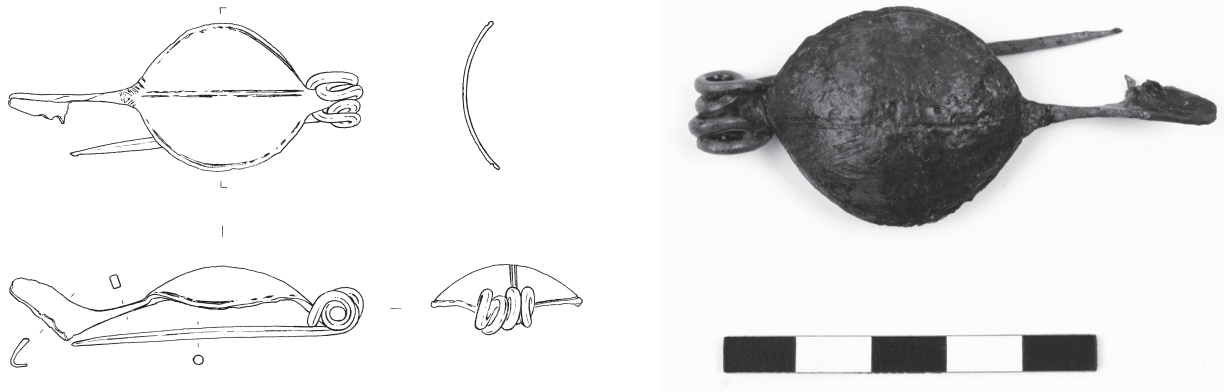


Fig. 3, 3a. Brooch of type Feugère 11 from Kupina – Selište near Slavonski Brod M 2:3

inside chord and a trapezoid unperforated foot (Fig. 3, 3a). The rescue excavations of the settlement Selište-Kučišta near Kupina undertaken in 1991 unearthed the remains of a La Tène and Roman settlement which considering the predominantly autochthonous features of the material culture can be ascribed to a local partially latinized Pannonian population, possibly the Breuci³¹.

The brooch from Donji Laminci has a short spring also of four coils with inside chord and a round convex bow with three pairs of parallel incised lines in the middle³². The foot is of elongated trapezoid shape, with perforation.

Both brooches can be ascribed to the variant 11a, characterized by a four-coiled spring with inside chord. The type in general is divided in four variants depending on the spiral construction and dated to the second half of the 1st century BC, i.e. from LT D2 to the early Augustan period³³. The type is most often found in South Gaul, however it appears throughout Europe, across south-west and southern Germany, Poland, north Italy to the Black sea³⁴. On Dacian sites the brooches type 15a with hollow convex bow of smaller or larger size, decorated with incised lines along the edge and in the middle, are dated to the 2nd half of the 1st century BC and beginning of 1st century AD. The fibulae have an elongated trapezoid foot without perforation and a spring of 4 coils with inside chord³⁵. The dating of the two mentioned brooches falls in the same period as that of their analogies in other areas, but most importantly the two sites point once again to the Sava valley route, that allowed communication along the West-East axis, reaching Pannonian as well as Dacian sites (Fig. 4).

Gorica

Brooches named type Gorica have been divided by S. Demetz into two main groups, with variants based on bow cross-section and presence of decoration. The first group has a lower arched bow of different cross-sections, while the different brooches with high arched bow belong to the much more frequent second group³⁶.

From the Trnovača settlement near Slatina comes a 6,5 cm long bronze brooch of type Gorica with a high arched bow of rhomboid cross-section and a 4-coil spring with inside chord, typical for all other here mentioned brooches. The bow ends in an unperforated

³¹ MIŠKIV 1994, 89 f.

³² TRUHELKA 1901, Fig. 21.

³³ FEUGÈRE 1985, 247–251.

³⁴ *IBID.* 252 f. Fig. 24; MARGOS 2000, 125 Fig. 2; ŁUCZKIEWICZ 2009, 345 Fig. 3.

³⁵ RUSTOIU 1997, 47 f. Fig. 49, 1–3.

³⁶ DEMETZ 1999, 106–109.

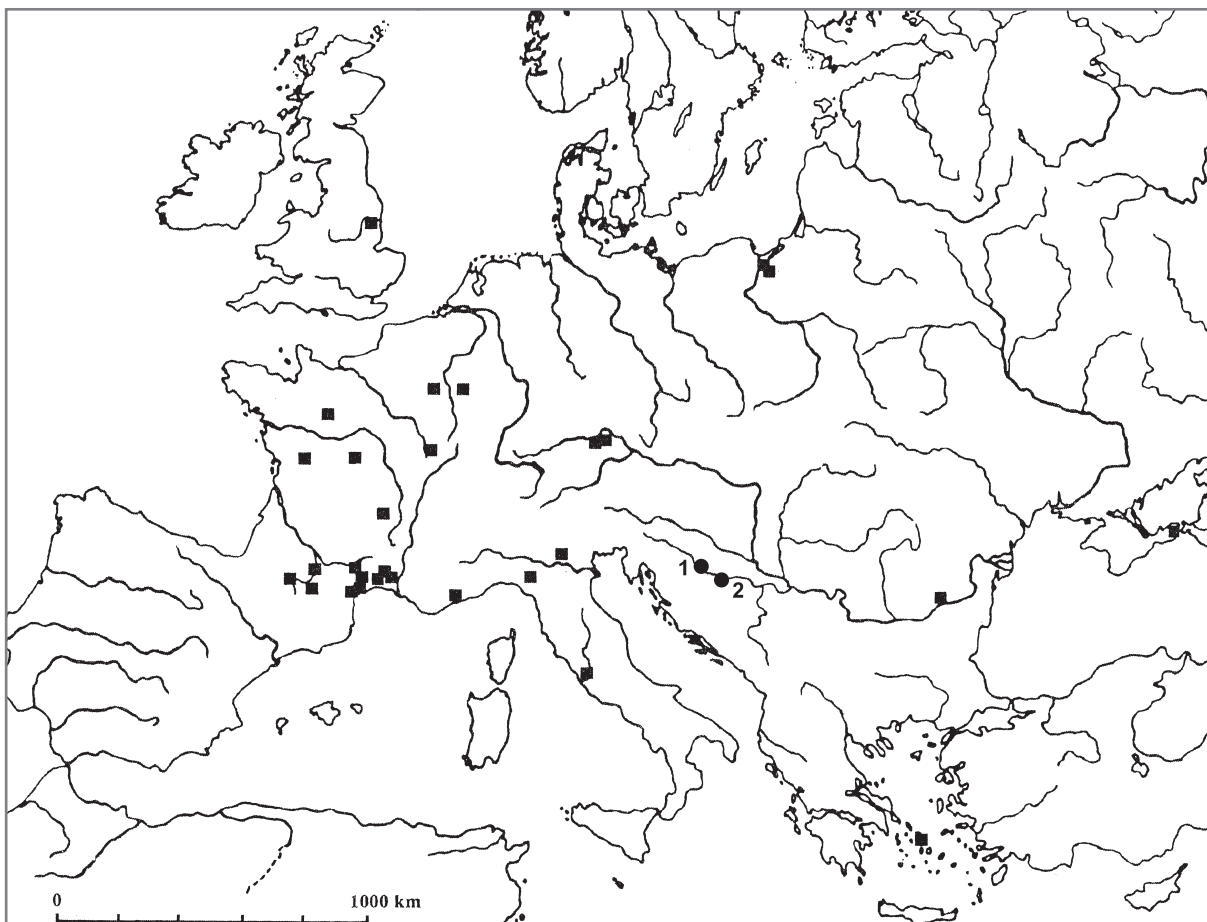


Fig. 4. Distribution of fibulae type Feugère 11: 1 – Donji Laminci, 2 – Kupina-Selište

trapezoid foot with a transverse bar on the end (Fig. 5). The Late La Tène settlement on Trnovača shows continuity into the early Roman period, keeping the same types of infrastructure that show a family organized settlement that maintained its agricultural character. Most of the ceramic types also show continuity of production, with only a lesser part consisting of imports of thin-walled pottery and fine tableware. Considering the collected finds, this settlement was probably an important centre of the Andizetes community from 2nd century BC until into the 2nd century AD.

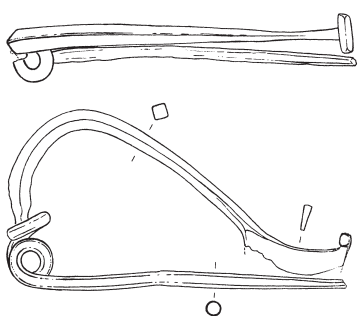


Fig. 5. Brooch of Gorica type from Slatina-Trnovača M 2:3

Another recent find is that of a 5,5 cm long bronze brooch from Podgajac-Glogovica, situated north of Slavonski Brod. The arched bow with triangular cross-section is decorated with small transversal incisions, which corresponds to the usual decoration of the Gorica IIa1 type according to Demetz's typology. The spring has four coils and an inside chord, while the trapezoid foot is unperforated (Fig. 6).

Similar brooches belonging to different variants of the Gorica type are already known from various sites. From Sotin come fibulae with semicircular or rectangular cross-section of the bow, which is sometimes decorated with transversal incisions, while the foot is of trapezoid shape, sometimes perforated and slightly raised on the end³⁷. A similar brooch

³⁷ Ilić 1999, Pl. XXIII; 7, 10–13.

with bow of rhomboid cross-section and an unperforated trapezoid foot with knobbed ending comes from Štrbinci near Đakovo. It was published as a brooch of so-called legionary type and dated widely from the end of the 1st to the beginning of 3rd century AD³⁸, but the bow, foot and spring characteristics correspond to those of similar Gorica type brooches, so it could belong to this type, although this attribution remains uncertain without having a proper drawing of the brooch. According to the description, the bow is decorated with two parallel lines of incised dots, with remains of a knobbed thickening. Bronze Gorica brooches also decorated with transversal short incisions on the bow were found on Gomolava³⁹ and similar bronze fibulae with round cross-section and a trapezoid unperforated foot come from the Danube bank near Zemun⁴⁰.

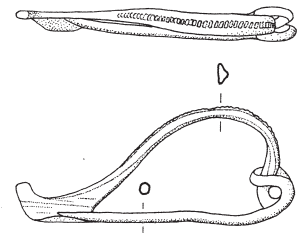


Fig. 6. Brooch of Gorica type from Podgajac-Glogovica M 2:3

Bronze brooches with round or rhomboid bow cross-section and unperforated foot come from Sisak⁴¹. The spring has 4 coils with inside chord, and listed are three examples with rhomboid and five brooches of round bow cross-section. The bow is not arched like on classic Gorica type brooches, so they could be ascribed to Demetz group I. Two brooches of the same group, but with perforated foot, are known from Kaštelir near Nova Vas in Istria and one fibula with oval cross-section probably from Picugi⁴². The Sisak brooch has an arched bow of triangular cross-section decorated with incisions and trapezoid perforated foot with raised ending and another such brooch is quoted by the author, although without illustration⁴³. S. Demetz ascribed this fibula to his type IIb with remark that it has a decoration like the IIa1 type, but considering that in the publication there is mention of triangular cross-section (no cross-sections are illustrated), this example can be ascribed to group Gorica IIa1⁴⁴. The same variant is found in grave 1 in Nadin, in northern Dalmatia. In his analysis Demetz lists the brooch as variant IIc with round or oval bow cross-section, quoting the publication that presents it only sideways, however another, much better illustration of the same brooch clearly shows the decoration and triangular bow cross-section⁴⁵.

Only one certain Gorica brooch is found in the Una valley, more precisely in grave 237 on Jezerine⁴⁶. The large, around 8,5 cm long brooch has a trapezoid perforated foot ending with a knob and spring of four coils with inside chord. A. Busuladžić classified the brooch as type II of Late La Tène fibulae (type I being the Jezerine brooches), with characteristic thin, triangular bow, according to what the brooch would be variant Demetz IIa2, i.e. brooch with triangular undecorated bow and not IIc with round or oval bow cross-section⁴⁷. Two other brooches are listed by Busuladžić as type II, one from Grudina near Bugojno belonging to the same variant as the Jezerine fibula and a brooch from Mušići near Dobož, probably of variant IIc as listed already by S. Demetz⁴⁸. Along with these brooches and the ones listed by Demetz (Putovići near Zenica, Debelo Brdo near Sarajevo) also from a Bosnian site are two brooches with rhomboid and triangular cross-section, found on the Kamenjača-Breza cemetery near Sarajevo. The first has a unperforated foot and bow similar

³⁸ MIGOTTI ET AL. 1998, 40 cat. no. 108.

³⁹ DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJAN/BRUKNER 1992, Pl. 11, 50; Pl. 12, 52. 54.

⁴⁰ TODORVIĆ 1971, Pl. LXVII, 11–13.

⁴¹ KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, 26 Pl. XXV, 202. 203.

⁴² SAKARA SUČEVIĆ 2004, 26–162 cat. no. 74. 77; GUŠTIN 1987, Fig. 3, 6.

⁴³ KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, 12 Pl. 1, 5.

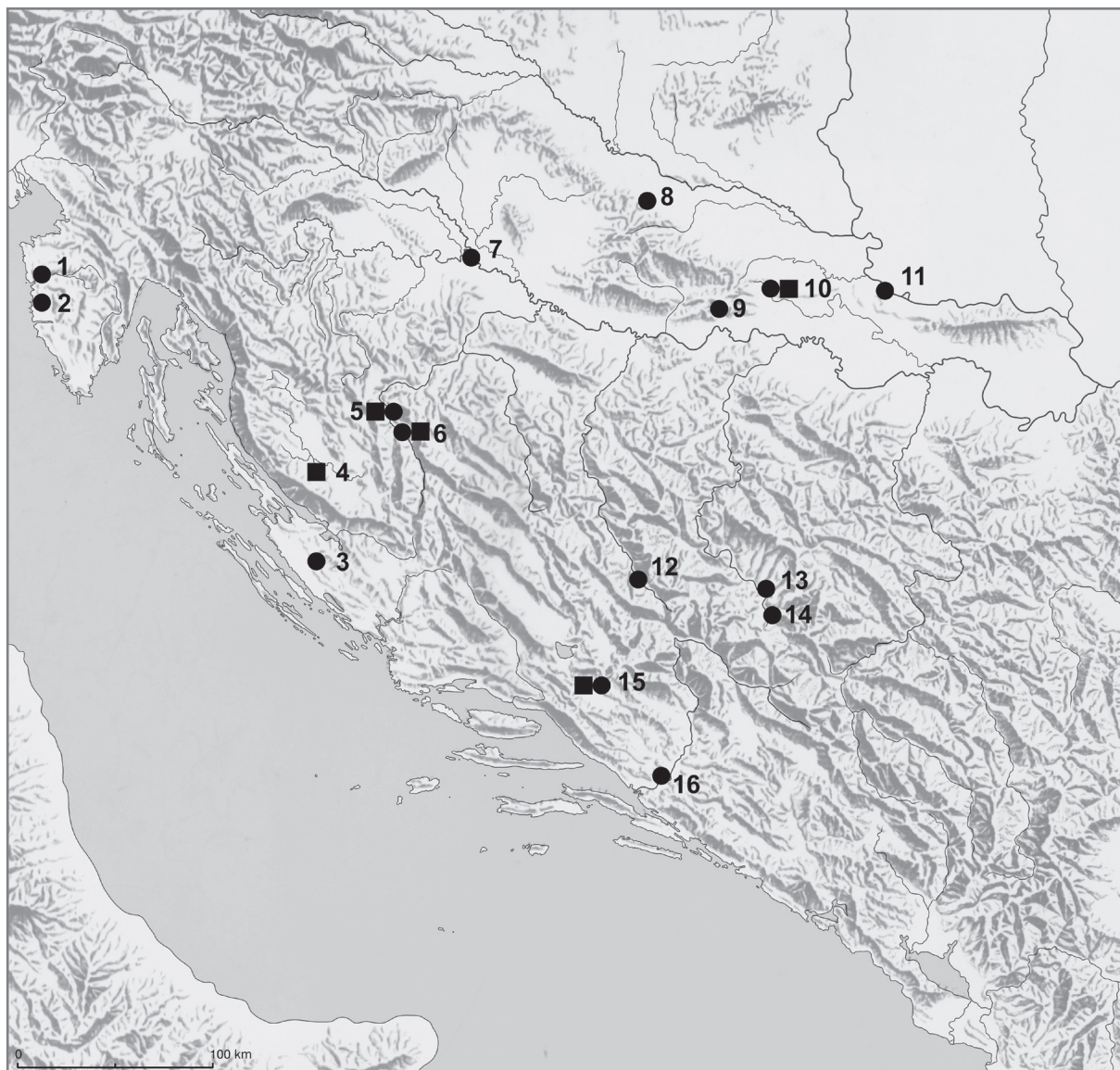
⁴⁴ DEMETZ 1999, 253 List XVII: 2.2.8.

⁴⁵ Cfr. IBID. 253 List XVII: 2.3.15; BATOVIĆ 1974, Fig. 9, 6 and BATOVIĆ 2004, 799 Sl. 32, 3 = BATOVIĆ 1990.

⁴⁶ RADIMSKY 1895, Fig. 275.

⁴⁷ BUSULADŽIĆ 2010, 21; DEMETZ 1999, 253 List XVII: 2.3.13.

⁴⁸ BUSULADŽIĆ 2010, 132; DEMETZ 1999, 253.



Map 1. Distribution of fibulae type Gorica (circle) and Almgren 18 (square) in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (see List 1).

Type Gorica I: 1, 2, 7; Type Gorica IIa1: 3, 7, 9, 14, 15; Type Gorica IIa2: 1, 5, 12, 13;
 Type Gorica IIb: 1, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16; Type A18a2: 4, 6, 10; Type A18b: 5, 15

to *geschweifte* forms, while the other has a perforated foot with raised ending⁴⁹. Situated on the south-east border of our area of interest are the eponymous site and Vid near Metković (ancient *Narona*), both already listed by Demetz⁵⁰.

The distribution map of currently known Croatian examples shows that both groups are present in the area (Map 1). To group I belong the Sisak brooches and the Istrian examples from Nova Vas and Picugi, while much more frequent are examples of the second

⁴⁹ PAŠKVALIN 2008, Pl. 15, 6. 7.

⁵⁰ DEMETZ 1999, 252. – We can also mention brooches from Jezerine grave 385 and Ribić graves 56 and 87a, with band-shaped bow, spring of four coils with inside chord and a trapezoid unperforated foot ending with a knob (RADIMSKY 1895, Fig. 446; MARIĆ 1968, Pl. XVI, 25; Pl. XXIII, 5). S. Rieckhoff included them in her list of the Gorica type brooches, while M. Guštin considers them only similar to the type (RIECKHOFF 1975, 97; GUŠTIN 1991, 42). The brooch from grave 87a is more probably a variant of the Nauheim type, close to the brooch from Damića gradina (DIZDAR 2003, 340 f.), and the other two brooches are also most probably of a different, not Gorica type, so S. Demetz was right not to include them in the type's distribution list.

type, including the new finds from Podgajac-Glogovica and Slatina-Trnovača. The latter has analogies in the group 9b from Dacian sites, with highest point of the bow moved towards the spring and a trapezoid unperforated foot ending with a raised knob⁵¹ and the Breza-Kamenjača example can also be associated to this group of somewhat untypical Gorica brooches.

S. Demetz dated both groups primarily in the Augustan age, considering as earliest those in grave assemblages Arquà Petrarca 5 and Valeggio 104, dated to the first decades of the second half of the last century BC, while the prolonged use remains a possibility for some examples, maybe even as far as into Tiberius' reign, as stated by Guštin⁵². Also, the morphological details of foot, spring or bow make very likely their contemporary dating to that of type Jezerine, i.e. in phase Mokronog IIIb⁵³.

Almgren 18

The bronze brooch from Štrbinci near Đakovo has a button-shaped decoration on the wire bow and a damaged foot that preserves traces of the perforation's crossbar. The bow has an oval cross-section near the head, and after the button the cross-section is rhomboid. A massive spring cover that imitates the spring coils is placed above the now missing spring. The total preserved length is around 7,3 cm (Fig. 7).

Two brooches from the Lički Ribnik hoard show similar characteristics, but they are made of silver. The bow is of rhomboid cross-section in the part that continues into the elongated triangular foot with openwork decoration in the shape of two rectangular and one key-shaped hole, has a button on the bow and an incised line on the head, ending in a spring cover with 6 coils⁵⁴. The other fibula is larger, the foot is damaged but traces of three perforations are visible⁵⁵. From the stone urn grave in Ribić comes a deformed brooch with a bent pin, bow of round cross-section in the upper part, with a small button on the highest point and oval cross-section of the rest of the bow. The foot is elongated and only traces of the open-work decoration remain, the length is around 9 cm⁵⁶. A. Busuladžić ascribed it to the group of strongly profiled fibulae and published in the same group a brooch from Gorica with damaged foot with stepped open-work decoration, incisions on the bow between the button and the spring cover and a spring of 8 coils⁵⁷. From grave 57 in Jezerine there is only a fragment of a brooch with part of bow with knob and spring cover, as well as a chord attachment⁵⁸.

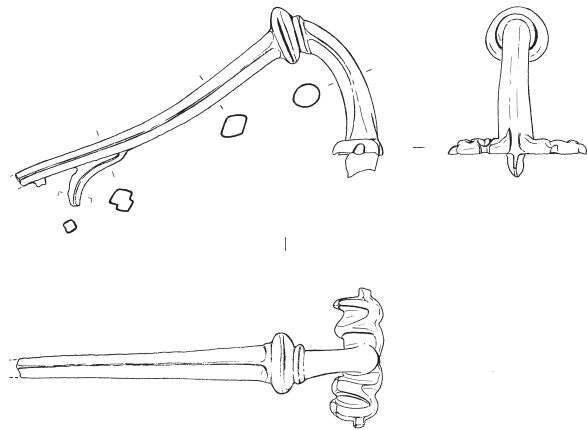


Fig. 7. Almgren 18a2 brooch from Štrbinci near Đakovo M 2:3

All the mentioned fibulae can be ascribed to the Almgren 18 type. P. Glüsing's division in variant 18a without the chord attachment and variant 18b with hook has been adopted by Th. Völling (1995) and the same basic division is followed by S. Demetz (1999).

⁵¹ RUSTOIU 1997, Fig. 37, 12–14.

⁵² DEMETZ 1999, 109; GUŠTIN 1991, 42.

⁵³ BOŽIĆ 2008, 147 Pl. 5.

⁵⁴ KLEMENC 1935, Pl. I, 6.

⁵⁵ IBID. Pl. I, 7.

⁵⁶ MARIĆ 1968, Pl. XIX, 20.

⁵⁷ TRUHELKA 1899, Fig. 33; BUSULADŽIĆ 2010, 156 no. 113.

⁵⁸ MARIĆ 1968, Fig. 6, 2.

The brooch from Štrbinci corresponds to the variant Altenburg according to Völling or 18a2 by Demetz, with a characteristic spring cover and numerous analogies⁵⁹. To the Altenburg variant also belongs the brooch from the stone urn grave in Ribić, as well as the brooches from Lički Ribnik, although Demetz considers one as a variant with flat bow or Almgren 23, while Völling finds both brooches to be of Altenburg variant⁶⁰. The brooches from Gorica and Jezerine grave 57 are in the lists of the variant 18b1, with a hook for attachment of the spring chord. Although their main distribution area lies in the Alpine region, the brooches of type Almgren 18 appear in the Adriatic hinterland i.e. in the Lika region and the Una valley, as well as further east in Đakovo (Map 1). At the moment no such brooches are known in the coastal area, thus pointing directly to the continental paths of trade or movement of people, like from the *Noricum* where such brooches are well represented⁶¹.

The appearance of the Almgren 18a type dates after the middle of the 1st century BC. The brooches were most probably worn in the early Augustan age, while their production until the late Augustan era is less probable, especially so for the Altenburg (A18a2) variant⁶². Z. Marić dated the mentioned Una valley graves to phase Vb, between 35 BC and AD 10/20, which corresponds to the general dating of the type. In the Soča valley this type is dated in the phase IVb, and in Mokronog IIIb phase for the Taurisci area⁶³. The variant 18b is basically contemporary to the forementioned variant 18a, but possibly of slightly later dating, although remaining in the time-frame of the Augustan era⁶⁴.

Other types: Alesia, Idrija and fibulae with spring casing (Hülsenspiralfibeln)

To complete the picture of distribution of imported fibulae types present in the last century BC we will summarize some already published examples that point to specific areas of interest.

The first group is represented by the Alesia type fibulae, considered the earliest brooches with hinge and often associated with Roman military use. The workshops that produced them have been sought in the wider area of Aquileia and metal analysis of Slovenian examples proved that most of the variants are made of brass, thus in Roman workshops, while production in local, minor workshops is very probable for some variants⁶⁵. From Sisak are known three brooches of triangular flat bow with a hinge. E. Patek published a fibula decorated with triangle motifs, another Sisak brooch has a perforation on the bow that divides it into two parts of roof-shaped cross-section and from the same site comes a brooch with smooth, undecorated bow⁶⁶. In the Una valley there is a fibula from grave Jezerine 242 with triangular bow, with incised lines that form triangles in the upper part and the central line forms a rhomboid motif before joining the outer lines⁶⁷. From grave 279 on the same cemetery comes an Alesia brooch with a rectangular perforated foot ending in a knob and triangular bow with punched decoration⁶⁸. The first brooch from Ribić comes from grave 156 and it is decorated with triangles in an irregular composition⁶⁹. In grave 152 on the same site there was a brooch of triangular shape decorated with two parallel incised lines along the edges

⁵⁹ DEMETZ 1999, 117, List XXI: 1.2.

⁶⁰ *IBID.* 258, List XXI: 2.2.3.; VÖLLING 1995, List 5 cat. no. 55.

⁶¹ SEDLMAYER 2009, 23; 131 Fig. 84.

⁶² VÖLLING 1995, 187 f.; DEMETZ 1999, 122; SCHIERL 2008, 26; SEDLMAYER 2009, 128.

⁶³ GUŠTIN 1991, 43; BOŽIĆ 2008, 123.

⁶⁴ VÖLLING 1995, 191 f.; DEMETZ 1999, 122.

⁶⁵ ISTENIČ 2005, 199 f.

⁶⁶ PATEK 1942, Pl. V, 9; KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, Pl. II, 9. 11.

⁶⁷ MARIĆ 1968, Fig. 6, 3.

⁶⁸ *IBID.* Pl. VI, 4.

⁶⁹ *IBID.* Pl. XVIII, 41.

of the bow, while the fibula from grave 10 has a similar ornament, but with incised lines making a V-shaped motif in the middle of the bow⁷⁰. The only brooch of more elaborate shape is the damaged one from grave 21, the bow is made of oval perforated plates with punched lines⁷¹. The Lički Ribnik hoard contained a small silver brooch of Alesia type. The bow is decorated with three parallel deep grooved lines, separated by transversal incised lines from the undecorated part and the hinge has a silver axis ending with globes⁷². Alesia type fibulae are more frequent in the coastal area, including examples from Liburnian territory. The Nin brooch has a triangular bow with lanceolate perforation in the middle, surrounded by longitudinal incision and transversal lines before the foot, while the head is decorated with three double circles⁷³. Two more brooches with lanceolate opening on the bow come from the Osor collection, of probable provenance from the town itself⁷⁴. The first brooch has on the end of the rectangular foot a backward leaning prolongation touching the bow, which on the basis of analogies in Orvieto can be considered as depiction of a bird's head⁷⁵. Another brooch, but with smooth undecorated bow with knob on the end of the supposedly trapezoid foot can be classified as type Alesia, variant Ljubljana⁷⁶. More to the south, we can list the fibula from the incineration grave 13 in stone mound 14 on the cemetery at the source of river Cetina, which has two perforations on the bow and a rectangular foot with knob⁷⁷. In the fill layers of the same mound there was another brooch with grooved circles and incised lines along the edges of the bow⁷⁸. The Salona fibulae have been published by S. Ivčević, including an example of more elaborate shape as well as a silver brooch with lanceolate perforation on the bow⁷⁹. In the Split museum is kept a brooch from *Asseria*, decorated with a net-like ornament, and another brooch from the museum, but from unknown location, has a similar decoration covering the entire surface of the bow⁸⁰. The most southern finds are the one from Narona⁸¹. North of the Liburnian area we find a silver brooch with lanceolate perforation on the triangular bow from the Archaeological Museum in Pula (*S fibulo v fabulo* 2010, cat. no. 138), very similar to the silver brooch from Salona, then a fragment of the bow of an Alesia type fibula from Kaštelir near Nova vas⁸², and a bronze brooch of variant Demetz Ia3 from Nesactium⁸³.

The typology of these brooches has been subject of more authors. M. Feugère published the brooches in his monography as type 21, with variants⁸⁴. M. Buora distinguished six decorative groups on the brooches with triangular bow⁸⁵, while S. Demetz divided the brooches in two main groups. In each group more variants were established according to decoration and morphological characteristics of the bow⁸⁶. In the Una valley appear the types Buora I (Ribić graves 10, 152) and Buora III with triangle motif, i.e. variant Demetz Ia3 with motif of net-ornamented triangles, present besides in graves Ribić 156 and Jezerine 242 also

⁷⁰ *IBID.* Pl. XVIII, 7. 31.

⁷¹ *IBID.* Pl. XVI, 35.

⁷² KLEMENC 1935, 108 Pl. II, 8.

⁷³ NEDVED 1981, Fig. 5, 215.

⁷⁴ TEŽAK-GREGL 1982, cat. no. 11.12; Fig. 2, 2. 3.

⁷⁵ BOŽIĆ 2008, Fig. 55, 6.

⁷⁶ TEŽAK-GREGL 1981, 100 cat. no. 10 with Fig. 2, 1; Vičić 1994, 28 f.

⁷⁷ MAROVIĆ 1959, Fig. 30, 1.

⁷⁸ *IBID.* Fig. 40, 3.

⁷⁹ IVČEVIĆ 2007, Fig. 6b; 7b; Ivčević 2002, Pl. I, 6.

⁸⁰ BUORA 1999, Pl. III, 6; IV, 1.

⁸¹ PATEK 1942, 108 footnote 26; Ivčević 2004, 240 No. 3.

⁸² SAKARA SUČEVIĆ 2004, cat. no. 99.

⁸³ MIHOVIĆ 2009, 212 Fig. 2, 23.

⁸⁴ FEUGÈRE 1985, 299–311.

⁸⁵ BUORA 1999, 108–111.

⁸⁶ DEMETZ 1999, 157–161.

in Sisak and Nesactium. The variant with undecorated bow, Demetz Ic, is found in Sisak and in the Osor collection, while the other Sisak brooch is a combination of the plastic modelled bow and perforation, corresponding to both Demetz variants Ib and Id. However, the roof-shaped cross-section of the ribs on each side of the larger, central rib (similar to the classic cross-section of the Jezerine type) is substituted here with a perforation with lateral ribs, so the brooch can be considered as variant Id. Sisak would thus belong to the group of sites of Demetz's „illyric-pannonian area“ in which this variant, although with two perforations, is quite frequent⁸⁷. To variant Id belongs also the Nin brooch, as well as those from the Osor and Pula collections with lanceolate perforation. M. Guštin analyzed the typology of Alesia type brooches with particular consideration of the variants of more complex shape, dividing them into three groups with variants⁸⁸. A fourth group was added by M. Buora on the basis of the fibula from Strassoldo⁸⁹. The Ribić fibula belongs to group Guštin II, 8, also present in Dangstetten.

Marić dated the mentioned graves in phase Vb (35 BC–AD 10/20) of the Una valley cemeteries⁹⁰, which corresponds to Guštin's opinion that this type appears in the regions on the East Adriatic with its hinterland as part of movement of the Roman army, more precisely during Augustus' campaigns 35–33 BC⁹¹. In general the brooches of Alesia type are dated from the second quarter of the 1st cent. BC or 75/74 BC on the basis of the Numantia finds⁹², certainly existing at the time of the famous Ceasar's siege of Alesia in 52 BC⁹³. The time of greatest use seems to be the 2nd half of the 1st cent. BC, before they are substituted by the Aucissa type around 15 BC⁹⁴. On the basis of Dangstetten finds Demetz assumed that the variant Id and group II brooches are younger, but it is possible that the type Alesia Id dates already around the middle of the 1st cent. BC⁹⁵. Considering the possible earlier dating of the Nin fibula, we can assume that at least some of the brooches – for instance the silver Salona brooch with similar decoration as the Nin fibula, the brooch from Osor with a bird's head like the one from Camarat or the similar fibula from the Pula museum – arrived in the East Adriatic area already during Ceasar's proconsulship⁹⁶, so they are not necessarily connected to the 35–33 BC campaign.

Brooches with band-shaped arched bow without knob are defined as type Idrija, and they are rarely found on sites in the observed area. However, in the bed of the river Kupa near Sisak three brooches of the type have been found. Two fibulae are almost identical, with spring of 6 coils, band-shaped bow with central rib that turns into a wire bow of round (oval) cross-section and an elongated triangular foot with stepped open-work perforation, ending with a knob⁹⁷. The third fibula has a larger spring with 8 coils, with chord attachment (Sehnenhaken), the bow has three ribs and the foot is shortened, triangular, with two rectangular and a round perforation, also ending with a knob⁹⁸. From grave 96 in Ribić comes a brooch with band-shaped bow with one rib and elongated triangular foot with no remains of the decoration, while in the stone urn grave on the same cemetery there was a similar brooch, but with three ribs on a band-shaped bow and a rhomboid bow cross-section before the elongated foot

⁸⁷ *IBID.* 159.

⁸⁸ GUŠTIN 1986; GUŠTIN 1991a; GUŠTIN 1992.

⁸⁹ BUORA 2005, 87.

⁹⁰ MARIĆ 1968, 23.

⁹¹ GUŠTIN 1991a, 428.

⁹² LUIK 1997, 471.

⁹³ DUVAL 1974.

⁹⁴ DEMETZ 1999, 164.

⁹⁵ BOŽIĆ 2008, 107 f.

⁹⁶ BUORA 2007, 243.

⁹⁷ KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, Pl. I, 2. 4.

⁹⁸ *IBID.* Pl. I, 6.

with knobbed ending, preserving traces of perforated decoration⁹⁹. From Nin comes a brooch with ribbed band-shaped bow, spring chord attachment, triangular cross-section of wire bow and elongated perforated foot with knobbed ending, decorated with circular perforations¹⁰⁰. In the wider area, perhaps to this group belongs the Donji Laminci brooch¹⁰¹.

Brooches of type Idrija have been recently analysed in detail by D. Božič, in reference to the typology by Demetz. Božič analysed the group of brooches type Demetz Idrija Ia, i.e. fibulae without chord attachment, dividing them into two variants. Variant Ia1 is characteristic for Lower Carniola, has one central rib on the bow, spring of six coils and foot with open-work decoration. To this variant belong the two fibulae from Sisak and the one from grave Ribić 96. The second group is made by fibulae of less homogenic characteristics but with enough differences to divide them from group Ia1, and to this group belongs the brooch from stone urn grave in Ribić¹⁰². The brooches of type Idrija Ia are dated to phase Mokronog IIIb, i.e. before the Middle Augustan period¹⁰³. The Nin brooch has no analogies and represents a shape between variants Ia according to the bow decoration and the variant Ib with spring attachment¹⁰⁴. To the latter group belongs the brooch from Sisak, which would be thus younger than variant Ia and dated to the Augustan era, from 10 BC to AD 20¹⁰⁵.

Among the youngest types of brooches discussed here are the fibulae with spring casing or Hülsenspiralfibeln, a large group comprehending different types, some of which occur on sites belonging to mentioned protohistoric communities (Map 2).

Part of the group of fibulae with spring „hidden“ inside a cylindrical or rectangular casing is a type of arched brooch with lenticular cross-section, a round or rhomboid, slightly conical disk decorated with concentric ribs placed between bow and foot that is most often of trapezoid shape, which is named *Distelfibel* due to the decorated disk that reminds of the thistle flower, or brooch in the shape of a peacock's tail („à queue de paon“). On the brooches from graves Jezerine 279 and Ribić 10 the foot is attached to the disk on the lower side, directly under the bow attachment, after which both fibulae correspond to variant Feugère 16a1¹⁰⁶. Almost identical decoration can be seen on the Salona brooch, but unlike on the lapodic examples the foot continues directly from the disk, which is typical for variant 16a2¹⁰⁷. *Distelfibeln* are common in the western provinces, i.e. in territory of France, Switzerland and the Rhine valley, and the workshops are located in Gaul¹⁰⁸. They were mostly worn in pair as a part of the Gallic women dress of so-called Menimane type, although it cannot be always excluded that it was part of the male dress¹⁰⁹. The forms that appear in our area, i.e. variants Feugère 16a1 in the Una valley and a somewhat later variant 16a2 in Salona (equal to Ettliger 25 or Riha 4.5.5.) are dated to the Augustan age, with possible use until Tiberius or Claudius¹¹⁰. According to Z. Marić both Una valley graves date to phase Vb, between 35 BC–AD 10/20¹¹¹. The type seems to be the youngest form present in the grave associations, so the burial of the graves can be placed in the last decades BC or beginning of AD at latest, which doesn't oppose Marić's datation in phase Vb.

⁹⁹ MARIĆ 1968, PL. XIX, 10. 21.

¹⁰⁰ NEDVED 1981, Fig. 5, 203; BOŽIČ 2008, Fig. 49.

¹⁰¹ TRUHELKA 1901, Fig. 23.

¹⁰² BOŽIČ 2008, 99 f. List 7.2.

¹⁰³ IBID. 109.

¹⁰⁴ IBID. 101.

¹⁰⁵ DEMETZ 1999, 123; 126.

¹⁰⁶ MARIĆ 1968, PL. VI, 3; XVIII, 22; FEUGÈRE 1985, 270.

¹⁰⁷ IVČEVIĆ 2005, 75 Fig. 1; FEUGÈRE 1985, 270.

¹⁰⁸ BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER/SCHILP 2006, 75.

¹⁰⁹ BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2002, 217–220.

¹¹⁰ RIECKHOFF 1975, 80; RIHA 1979, 104; RIHA 1994, 91; FEUGÈRE 1985, 273; METZLER 1995, 213.

¹¹¹ MARIĆ 1968, 33.

Close to the previous are brooches with spring in casing and a trapezoid flat foot, with bow shaped as a stylized lion figure, known as type Feugère 18. From Sisak there is a brooch with cylindrical casing and trapezoid foot, above which in place of the bow there is a stylized lion with tremolired lines representing the hair¹¹², typologically belonging to variant Feugère 18b1, like the partially preserved brooch from Salona and the two brooches from the Savinja river bed in Celje¹¹³. A similar brooch allegedly comes from Novi Banovci, but with a bull head on the foot¹¹⁴. Since it is not illustrated it's hard to say with certainty whether it belongs to this type, but it could be of variant 18b2¹¹⁵. From grave 215 on Ribič comes a brooch of the same type, but with two antithetical lion heads on the bow¹¹⁶. Z. Marić interpreted the motive on the bow as frogs, while Busuladžić described it as two „horns“¹¹⁷, however good analogies are found within the variant 18b3¹¹⁸. Like the *Distelfibel*, the type is mostly found in the Western provinces, with the geographically closest examples being those from the Rihemberk settlement near Branik in slovenian Karst region and the already quoted two brooches from Celje (*S fibulo v fabulo* 2010, cat. nr. 145). The brooches of type Feugère 18 are related to the *Distelfibel* 16 as well to the more developed *Distelfibel* 19 types of the variant with zoomorphic bow. Like for the similar types, the origin of the brooches is sought in Gaul. Chronologically the type with lion-shaped bow precedes the types Feugère 19 and 20, with variant 18b1 dated to the Augustan age, while the other variants are slightly younger and the type 18b3 can be dated to Tiberius' reign¹¹⁹.

The brooches of type Langton Down also belong to the group with spring casing. They are characterized by a long band-shaped bow, sometimes slightly concave, i.e. widest in the part near the cylindrical casing for the spring, or straight. Typical decoration is made of longitudinal grooved lines on the bow which form a ribbed cross-section, while the casing can be undecorated or with decoration of radial or transversal lines; the foot is of open, trapezoid or triangular shape, sometimes with a crossbar. On the bow there are sometimes preserved remains of enamel or gilt, silver or bronze of other color, which filled the lines on the bow creating a multicolor effect¹²⁰. Close to this is the Nertomarus type, that has volutes or circles on the casing made in the pseudo-filigree technique, named after the stamp found on some examples¹²¹. E. Ettliger listed the Swiss brooches, with references to the examples in other areas, as type 22 or Nertomarus and type 23 or Langton Down brooches¹²², while Feugère designated the brooches as type 14, with variant 14b representing the Langton Down and 14b2 the Nertomarus type¹²³. They are distributed mainly in Gaul, Switzerland and the Rhine valley, but appear all the way to Czech Republic in the north¹²⁴. I. Kovrig listed examples kept in the Zagreb museum, provenient from Sisak, Dalj and Novi Banovci, but without illustrations¹²⁵. E. Patek published only the brooch from Novi Banovci, while the brooch from Dalj is not presented on the plates, although listed along with the filigree-

¹¹² PATEK 1942, Pl. XII, 6; KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, Pl. XIX, 143.

¹¹³ IVČEVIĆ 2005, Fig. 3; FEUGÈRE 1985, 278; 285 f.; LAZAR 1996, 284 Pl. 1, 19.20.

¹¹⁴ KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, 31.

¹¹⁵ FEUGÈRE 1985, 278 Fig. 31.

¹¹⁶ MARIĆ 1968, Pl. XX, 33.

¹¹⁷ BUSULADŽIĆ 2010, 151 cat. no. 98.

¹¹⁸ FEUGÈRE 1985, 285–287.

¹¹⁹ *IBID.* 285.

¹²⁰ ETTLINGER 1973, 78.

¹²¹ *IBID.* 76; RIHA 1979, 97.

¹²² ETTLINGER 1973, 76–79.

¹²³ FEUGÈRE 1985, 262–265.

¹²⁴ DROBERJAR 1997, Fig. 4, 6. 7.

¹²⁵ KOVRIG 1937, 40.

decorated type Nertomarus¹²⁶. Two brooches from Sisak have decoration of longitudinal lines along the straight bow, thus belong to the Langton Down type¹²⁷, while the Nertomarus brooch also from Sisak has a slightly concave bow with ribs and the decoration of round filigree grooves on the spring casing¹²⁸. Analogies for the decoration are found for example in Augst among the group Riha 4.3.1. and on two pieces from Maribor¹²⁹. In grave 58 on Jezerine there was a brooch with foot missing, straight ribbed bow and cylindrical undecorated casing¹³⁰. Another brooch was found in grave 49 on the same site and it has a straight bow of triangular cross-section with one central rib along which there are oblique lines that form the fish-bone motif, originally with preserved remains of silver decoration¹³¹. Both brooches are of the Langton Down type, as is the one from Salona¹³². M. Buora listed this latter type in the SE Alpine and Pannonian area and the Po valley¹³³. By placing correctly Jezerine on Buora's map the importance of the Una valley communication route becomes obvious, since it is the most probable way the brooch reached this area from the north-west, passing Sisak and the Una valley to Salona, considering that the type appears only exceptionally in northern Italy and the northern Adriatic area. It appears however fairly often in the Noricum, with examples from Flavia Solva and Virunum, Maribor, Magdalensberg etc.¹³⁴. The fragmented Langton Down brooches found in Ljubljana and the Čatež legionary camp¹³⁵ are a very likely evidence of the military mediation of the type on its way to the East along the Sava valley. Z. Marić dated both grave assemblages from Jezerine to phase VI of the Una valley cemeteries, i.e. the 1st cent. AD (10/20–110 AD). The earliest known examples are those found in Dangstetten and they remain in use until Tiberius and Nero¹³⁶, so the Una valley examples can also be dated to the first half of the first century AD.

Conclusive Remarks

The communication route that connected the northern Italian and SE Alpine region with the Danubian area along the Sava valley, mentioned by Strabo, finds its confirmation in the distribution of specific objects of foreign origin. In the second half of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st century BC bronze vessels from the Italian workshops reach Scordiscan territory, but also present in the area are eastern influences that show a two-way functioning of the routes. In the second half of the last century BC the most evident proof of contacts between East and West are the fibulae types, that as part of dress can be seen as a better sign of adoption of new costumes and influences then prestige goods that reached only the elite.

The products of Aquileian workshops reached present-day Croatia by land, probably with Sisak as a distribution centre, but also by sea, as suggested by the distribution of Jezerine brooches¹³⁷, as well as the distribution of fibulae of Alesia type with lanceolate perforation along the coast, from Istria, Osor to Nin and Salona. The appearance of the Jezerine type on more sites in East Slavonia and further east in the Danube valley and Dacian area,

¹²⁶ PATEK 1942, 201 Pl. XII, 3. 4.

¹²⁷ KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, Pl. VII, 49; PATEK 1942, Pl. XII, 9 and KOVRIG 1937, Pl. XXIV, 1. – The first brooch has been wrongly published as type Nertomarus, as already noted by M. Buora (BUORA 2004, 17).

¹²⁸ KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, Pl. VII, 48.

¹²⁹ RIHA 1979, Pl. 18; KOVRIG 1937, Pl. XXXIX, 8; PATEK 1942, Pl. XII, 1. 4.

¹³⁰ RADIMSKY 1895, Fig. 116; BUSULADŽIĆ 2010, 150 cat. no. 94.

¹³¹ RADIMSKY 1895, 77 Fig. 108; BUSULADŽIĆ 2010, 150 cat. no. 95; MARIĆ 1968, Pl. VI, 22.

¹³² IVČEVIĆ 2005, Fig. 4.

¹³³ BUORA 2004.

¹³⁴ SEDLMAYER 2009, 20; KROPF/NOWAK 2000, 43.

¹³⁵ GASPARI 2010, 101.

¹³⁶ RIHA 1979, 98; FEUGÈRE 1985, 266; GASPARI 2007, 31.

¹³⁷ BUORA 1999, 135 f.

as well as the brooches A65 in Blato in Vinkovci, show the spread of northern Italic material towards East. The lack of brooches A65 or Schüsselfibel in the Sisak area, when we know that same types appear in Ljubljana and Novo Mesto as well as further east along the Sava, is most likely due to state of publication, so with new works we can expect the filling of voids on the distribution maps. The finds of variant Idrija Ia1 outside its area of origin, Lower Carniola¹³⁸, also show a distribution along the mentioned routes, as does the distribution of type A18a2, also mainly present in the Eastern Alpine area¹³⁹. The Štrbinci find is for now the only example of the A18 type in Slavonia and, as do new finds from the Vinkovci area, suggests the presence of yet unknown types in the material of Scordiscan and neighbouring communities, for sure not excluded from the network of trade and exchange in the second half of the 1st century BC. Besides finished products, there are imitations of new forms made in the local workshops, as shown by the Vinkovci variant of the Nauheim type with a limited distribution, with the lack of the „original“ Nauheim II brooches probably due to the state of research and publication. A similar situation can be presumed for the local Jezerine variant, i.e. the existence of a model that is then imitated for the needs of the local market, sometimes maybe effecting changes according to domestic fashion. Although western influences dominate in the time of Roman expansion, executed first by trade and then military ways, there is also material coming from the opposite direction, from the East, like the Dacian ware from Vukovar or silver jewellery of Dacian type from Psarjevo near Zelina, as well as some common forms like the Laminci type belt buckles with variants or the Jarak type brooches that are reaching Sisak via the Sava valley, but also coming further south in Bosnia¹⁴⁰. Another indication of Dacian influence is the recent find of a (yet unpublished) *Schüsselfibel* from Cerić-Plandište near Vinkovci, that has its best analogies in the Dacian form of the crescentic fibulae type 16c, dated between the end of the 1st century BC and the first half of the 1st century AD¹⁴¹.

The distribution of brooches with spring inside a casing shows concentration on some sites: Sisak, the Una valley (Jezerine and Ribić) and Salona. While Siscia and Salona are without doubt key centres of the Roman military and civilian administration, as well as strategic points in the expansion of power, rare types found in the Una valley show a probable bigger significance of the area at the time of conquest than what we can suppose on the basis of literal sources. Indeed during the second half of the first century BC very rich graves appear, with jewellery of glass, amber and silver, and to the mentioned types of brooches of western (Italic) provenience we can add the find of an *Aco*-beaker in Jezerine grave X, silver jewellery like loop-in-loop chains, the appearance of finger rings and stone urns, that show changes in the burial rite. The continuity of use of cemeteries and long-lasting forms show on the other side that we can talk of a slow Romanization and acceptance of new parts of dress and customs, with no destruction of the local community. A *Distelfibel* worn as a pendant from grave 279 in Jezerine illustrates the taking over of new forms that become part of the local dress. The role of the settlements or better said communities in the Una valley (since we only have good data for the cemeteries) must have been an intermediary one, developed on an important crossroad of routes that linked the continental area with the east Adriatic and its hinterland. There is no mention of the exact time of conquests of the Una valley in ancient sources, but it seems that the Augustus' campaign stopped in the central Iapodic area¹⁴². It is thus possible that the Iapodes of the Una valley came under Roman rule by a pacific way, and we can also speculate about the need to maintain the communication

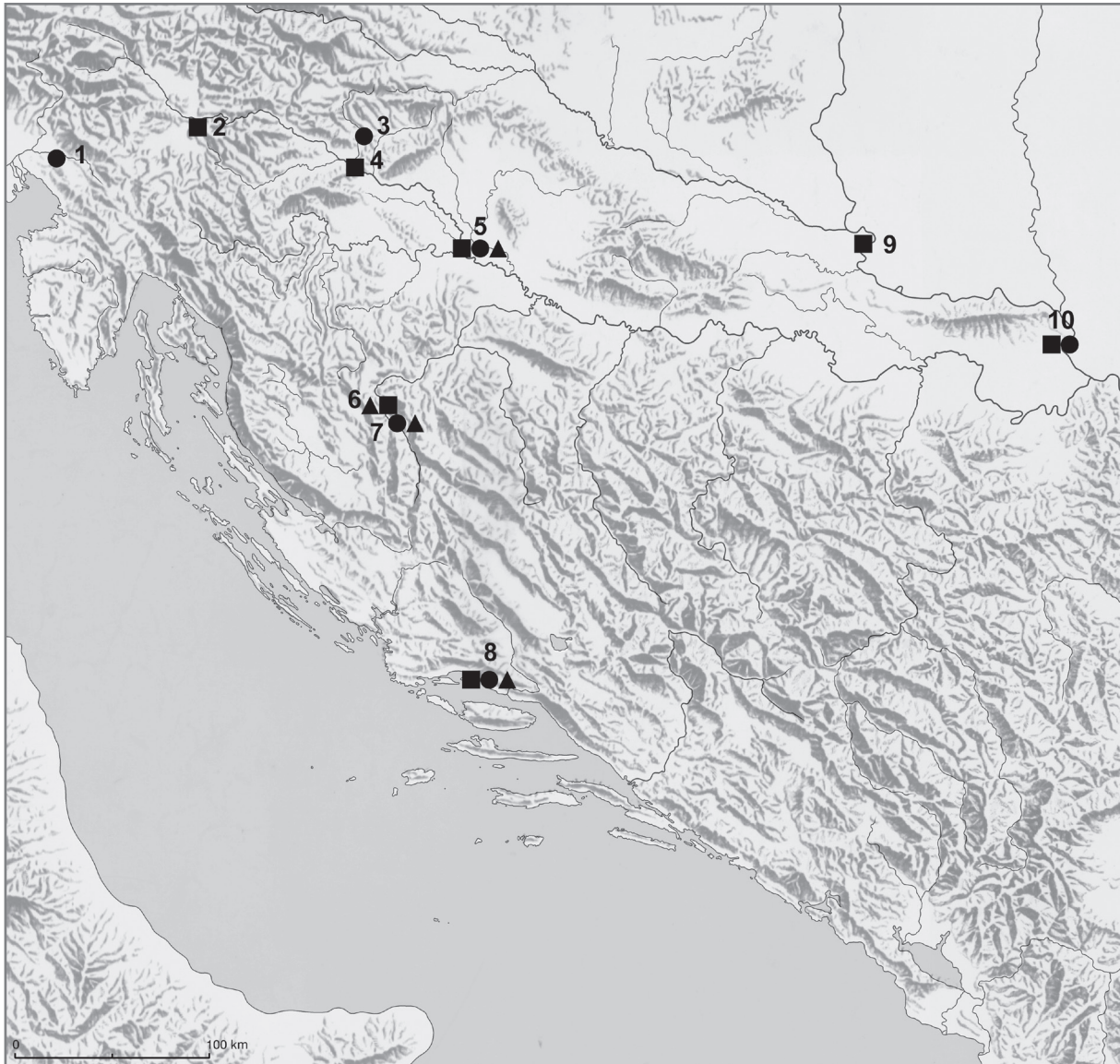
¹³⁸ Božič 2008, 104.

¹³⁹ DEMETZ 1999, 121; SEDLMAYER 2009, 131 Fig. 84.

¹⁴⁰ MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1990; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 2008.

¹⁴¹ RUSTOIU 1997, 48–50 Fig. 51–55.

¹⁴² ŠAŠEL Kos 2005, 437.



Map 2. Distribution of brooches with spring casing (see List 2).

Square – Langton Down, Nertomarus: 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10; Circle – Feugère 18: 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10;
Triangle – Distelfibel: 5, 6, 7, 8

routes established by the autochthonous communities. It is interesting to note the appearance of the Alesia brooch, usually associated with the Roman army, in female burials in the Una valley, once again demonstrating that we cannot automatically link a specific form with the Roman army movements, especially for finds without context. The burial from Sion with three different variants of the Alesia type¹⁴³ can be mentioned as another example of the brooch as part of female dress, even so if the male usage remains the most common.

The brooches from Novi Banovci and Dalj are another confirmation of the importance of the river valley routes, especially the Sava route mentioned by Strabo, along which the bronze vessels of Italic workshops came to the East Slavonian and Danubian area in the earlier phase of Late La Tène. The same routes were in use when the Gorica, A18 or

¹⁴³ MORET ET AL. 2000.

the Fèugere 11 brooches reached this areas, as demonstrated by finds along the river or in its immediate vicinity, such as for sites Glogovica or Kupina near Slavonski Brod, and in the same network we can add Štrbinci near Đakovo, as well as the Vinkovci area, connected via the Bosut river to other important waterways. The Slatina-Trnovača find on the other hand can be seen as a possible indication of another important communication route, that along the Drava river valley. Without doubt Sisak kept its position of key distribution centre of imported objects, but alongside its role as a trade centre we must keep in mind the movement of people, like the arrival of legions for sure immediately after Octavian's conquests, most likely followed by civilians. People migration is a possible explanation of finds of rare brooches of Gallic origin like the type Feugère 18 or *Distelfibel*, and the presence of such types on the Adriatic coast is to be connected to the land routes, whether reaching the area by common trade or as part of dress of individuals in migration, with the logical intermediaries being the Sisak and Una valley communities.

The distribution maps of fibulae of non-local origin have been somewhat changed by recent finds, showing sometimes that our present thoughts regarding the material culture of the Late Iron age autochthonous populations can be biased by state of research. However, the conclusions drawn already from previously known material remain basically the same: the importance of the Sava valley route is once again emphasized by the new data, as are the diverse long-distance connections of the local communities like the Scordisci or the Iapodes. On the other hand, by revising the older publications, like those of the Una valley material, new light is shed on the last phase of autonomy of the local communities, especially interesting being the rare imported brooches. We hope that new finds and publications will improve our understanding and knowledge of this interesting period and its changes.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the following colleagues for allowing us to publish material from their museum depots or excavations: Slavica Filipović, Museum of Slavonia (Osijek); Lidija Miklik-Lozruk, Museum of Brodsko Posavlje (Slavonski Brod); Goran Skelac, Geoarheo d.o.o. (Zagreb); Branka Migotti and Tino Leleković, Department of Archaeology, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Zagreb). The drawings were made by Martina Rončević and Anita Ivanković, while the photographs are by Hrvoje Jambrek, to all of whom we also give our sincere thanks.

List 1. Sites with finds of Gorica or Almgren 18 fibulae

1. Kaštelir-Nova Vas
2. Picugi
3. Nadin, grave 1
4. Lički Ribnik, hoard
5. Jezerine (graves 237 – Gorica IIa2; 57 – A18b)
6. Ribić, stone urn grave
7. Sisak (*Siscia*)
8. Slatina-Trnovača
9. Glogovica-Podgajac
10. Štrbinci near Đakovo
11. Sotin (*Cornacum*)
12. Grudin-Bugojno
13. Breza-Kamenjača
14. Debelo Brdo
15. Gorica
16. Vid near Metković (*Narona*)

List 2. Sites with finds of fibulae with spring casing

1. Rihemberk-Branik
2. Ljubljana – NUK II
3. Celje – Savinja river bed
4. Obrežje
5. Sisak
6. Jezerine (graves 49, 58, 279)
7. Ribić (graves 10, 215)
8. Salona
9. Dalj
10. Novi Banovci

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Reference of figures

Fig. 1, Map 1 and 2: Authors

Fig. 2: from DIZDAR 2001a, Pl. 4, 12

Fig. 3, 5 and 7: drawing by M. Rončević

Fig. 3a: photograph by H. Jambrek

Fig. 4: modified after MARGOS 2000

Fig. 6: drawing by A. Ivanković

