

SIXTH-CENTURY FIBULAE WITH BENT STEM

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Abstract: *Fibulae with bent stem are among the commonest dress accessories found on sixth-century sites in the Balkans—hilltop forts or cemeteries. Syna Uenze, the first archaeologist who dealt systematically with this category of artifacts, has advanced the idea that those dress accessories derived from fourth-century specimens most typical for the Sântana de Mureș-Chernyakhov culture. According to her, the fibulae with bent stem were a symptom of the barbarization of the Balkan provinces of the Empire. In this article, we propose a new classification of sixth-century fibulae with bent stem, which are distinguished from their fourth-century counterparts by the U-shaped stem. We have thus identified 12 classes of fibulae with bent stem, only two of which (3 and 6) appear in the entire Balkan region. Classes 1 and 8 are restricted to the northern Balkans, while the only classes that appear in Macedonia and the surrounding regions are 2, 9, and 11. The careful examination of the archaeological context in which some of those fibulae have been found contradicts Syna Uenze's idea of an evolutionary development from the fourth- to the sixth-century fibula with bent stem. No fibula is known to have been found in an archaeological assemblage securely dated to the fifth century. This can only mean that the fibula with bent stem in the shape of the letter U is an essentially sixth-century fashion phenomenon. In fact, the majority of the specimens found in datable contexts appear to be from the second half of that century. Fibulae with bent stem have been found both singly and in pairs in houses, towers, cisterns, and churches built inside early Byzantine forts. However, as demonstrated by specimens found in Histria and Nea Anchialos, such fibulae were not restricted to the military population, but were also known in cities. Burial assemblages with fibulae with bent stem indicate that those were female dress accessories. Where the skeletal material has been properly sexed, it reveals that women buried with such fibulae had died in their prime age. Only occasionally were those fibulae deposited in graves of children, presumably of little girls. Fibulae with bent stem were most likely produced in the Balkans, and all fibulae found outside the Balkans have analogies in the region. A very interesting cluster of finds on the territory or in the hinterland of the modern city of Dnipropetrovs'ke, on the Lower Dnieper, raises new questions concerning the relations between the Balkan provinces of the Empire, the Crimea, and the steppe lands during the sixth and early seventh century.*

Rezumat: *Fibulele cu picior întors pe dedesubt reprezintă o categorie de podoabe frecvent întâlnită în Peninsula Balcanică în sec. VI, atât în așezări fortificate, cât și în necropole. Syna Uenze, primul arheolog care a studiat în mod sistematic această categorie de obiecte, a avansat ideea potrivit căreia la originea acestor podoabe s-ar afla exemplare datate în sec. IV și întâlnite în aria culturii Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov. Potrivit cercetărilor germane, fibulele cu picior întors pe dedesubt ar fi deci un simptom al barbarizării provinciilor balcanice ale Imperiului. În articolul de față, autorii propun o nouă clasificare a fibulelor cu picior întors pe dedesubt din sec. VI, ce se deosebesc în mod clar de cele din sec. IV prin piciorul îndoit în*

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forma literei U. Au fost stabilite astfel 12 tipuri de fibule, dintre care numai două (3 și 6) apar în întreaga regiunea balcanică. Tipurile 1 și 8 nu apar în afara zonei nord-balcanice, în timp ce singurele tipuri care apar în Macedonia și în regiunile învecinate sunt 2, 9 și 11. Studiul atent al contextului arheologic în care unele din aceste fibule au fost descoperite demonstrează faptul că Syna Uenze greșea atunci când susținea ideea unei evoluții liniare de la fibulele de sec. IV la cele de sec. VI. Nu există de fapt nici o fibulă care să fi fost găsită într-un context arheologic datat în mod clar în sec. V, ceea ce înseamnă că fibulele cu picior întors pe dedesubt în forma literei U au fost la modă cu precădere în sec. VI. Cea mai mare parte a exemplarelor găsite în contexte arheologice bine databile sunt de fapt din cea de-a doua jumătate a acestui secol. Fibulele cu picior întors pe dedesubt au fost găsite atât în câte un exemplar, cât și în perechi în locuințe, turnuri, cisterne și biserici construite în interiorul fortificațiilor romano-bizantine din Peninsula Balcanică. Cu toate acestea, așa cum demonstrează exemplarele de la Histria și Nea Anchialos, ele nu erau purtate numai în interiorul acestor fortificații, ci și de către populația urbană. Atunci când își fac apariția în morminte, fibulele cu picior întors pe dedesubt sunt îndeobște găsite în morminte de femei. În cele câteva cazuri în care sexul scheletului a fost stabilit pe baza unei analize antropologice (și nu pe baza inventarului funerar), s-a dovedit că femeile în cauză muriseră în puterea vârstei. Numai rareori astfel de fibule apar și în morminte de copii, probabil de fetițe. Fibulele cu picior întors pe dedesubt au fost produse în regiunea balcanică și toate cele găsite în afara ei au analogii balcanice. O anume concentrare de descoperiri a fost semnalată în regiunea actualului oraș Dnypropetrovske din Ucraina, pe Niprul de Jos, ceea ce ridică noi întrebări cu privire la relațiile dintre provinciile romane din Balcani, Crimeea și lumea stepelor nord-pontice în decursul sec. VI și la începutul sec. VII.

Key words: *fibulae with bent stem, early Byzantine hillforts, female burials, Balkan region, Christianity, Roman army*

Cuvinte cheie: *fibule cu picior întors pe dedesubt, fortificații romano-bizantine, morminte de femei, regiunea balcanică, creștinism, armata romană*

Twenty years ago, on the basis of specimens found in two early Byzantine fortifications excavated in the 1930s in Sadovec (Bulgaria), the German archaeologist Syna Uenze first attempted to put some order in the bewildering variety of fibulae with bent stem known from the Balkans¹. Their number increases every day, and between four and five times more fibulae have now been published than there were known at the time of Uenze's publication. Time is ripe therefore for a re-evaluation of Uenze's classification in the light of new discoveries. However, the purpose of this paper is to go beyond just that, and to propose a new classification and chronology for this type of fibulae.

Uenze's classification was based on the decoration of either foot or bow. While distinguishing between fibulae with bow loop (*Bügel Schlaufe*) and spiral hook or peg (*Spiralhaken*), Uenze noticed that relatively short specimens with bows much wider than their stems, and richly decorated, are very similar to each other. She therefore

¹ Uenze 1992, 146-154.

believed that fibulae from Heraclea (Perinthus), Korbovo, Pernik and Bucharest-Militari were all produced in a single workshop possibly located in Prahovo. Although it was not possible for her to narrow down the chronology of this group within the sixth century, Uenze believed it to have been at the origin of the later fibulae found on sites of the so-called Koman(i) culture². By contrast, on the basis of the specimen from the female burial in Kiszombor, she dated fibulae with narrow bow with a longitudinal rib to the first half of the sixth century³. According to Uenze, fibulae with spiral hook (*Spiralhaken*) appear mostly in the northern Balkans, along the Danube frontier of the Empire, and must be regarded as a material correlate of the massive building program of Emperor Justinian. Because some specimens display a triangular cross-section of the bow—much like fifth-century fibulae—and because of their association with Justinianic forts, Uenze advanced a date within the first half of the sixth century for the fibulae with spiral hook⁴. She sought their origin in fibulae with bent stem found in the fourth-century in assemblages of the Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture excavated in the lands north of the river Danube. The Gothic invasion of the Balkans brought the fashion with fibulae with bent stem to the Balkans. According to Uenze, the widespread popularity of this type of fibulae in the sixth-century Balkans may be a symptom of the barbarization of the imperial provinces⁵. As soon as the Danube frontier collapsed, the fashion with fibulae with bent stem disappeared as well, except the isolated survivals in the area of the Koman(i) culture and in the Middle Dnieper region⁶.

Because of its incomplete character, Uenze's typology cannot be effectively used for the classification of newly discovered fibulae⁷. While she was indeed right about the connection between fibulae with a triangular section of the bow dated to the fifth and sixth century, respectively, the U-shaped stem has by now been recognized as a fundamental trait on the basis of which sixth-century fibulae could be easily distinguished from those most typical for Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov, fourth-century assemblages⁸. Uenze's historical interpretation is also open to criticism from various angles. The settlement of the Goths in the Balkans did not coincide with a

² Uenze 1992, 147-149.

³ Uenze 1992, 149. The Kiszombor assemblage served also as the basis for Uenze's conclusion, according to which fibulae with bent stem made of iron were worn singly (Uenze 1992, 149-150).

⁴ Uenze 1992, 150 and 151.

⁵ Uenze 1992, 158-159.

⁶ For the link between the sixth-century fibulae in the Balkans and the seventh-century fibulae in the Middle Dnieper region, see Gavritukhin, Oblomskii 1996, 39-40.

⁷ Milavec 2009, 234.

⁸ Almgren 1923, 77; Pescheck 1949-1950, 264; Gavritukhin 2003, 201.

widespread adoption of Sântana de Mureș-Chernyakhov cultural traits. On the contrary, the impact of the *Hunnensturm* of the first half of the fifth century drastically curtailed both the chances of Roman survival (especially in the northern Balkans) and the contacts with the lands to the north of the river Danube⁹. If it is true that the popularity of the fibulae with bent stem reached its peak in the sixth century, then this was during a period of restoration of Roman power, not of “barbarization.” Syna Uenze’s methodological mistake was to equate the military and political role of separation played by the Danube frontier with its cultural role of allowing, or even facilitating, cultural contact between the Empire and *barbaricum*. That sixth-century fibulae with bent stem must have been produced in fortresses defending the frontier provinces in the Balkans results from a mere comparison between the larger number of finds in the Empire and the comparatively smaller number of finds in *barbaricum*. However, given the relatively low level of technology required for their production, there is no reason for which such dress accessories could not have been imitated in the lands north of the Danube frontier. While the fourth-century fibula with bent stem may have been a creation of the Sântana de Mureș-Chernyakhov environment, and may have later become fashionable in the Balkans, its sixth-century counterpart was by now a thoroughly Roman product which communities north of the river were anxious to acquire as Roman imports. The increasing demand for this type of fibula in the fortresses of the Balkans as well as in *barbaricum* is evidenced by the mass production of cast fibulae during the second half of the sixth century, in itself a local (“Roman”) imitation of fibulae with bent stem¹⁰. On the other hand, if fibulae with bent stem were especially fashionable in the central and northern regions of the Balkans, and if the Roman frontier collapsed in the early seventh century, it remains unclear why and how could the fashion of such fibulae have survived at all in Albania and the surrounding areas.

Our analysis focuses on fibulae made of copper-alloy or iron, the basic feature of which is that in order to create a catch plate, the metal band of the stem is bent over and backwards, then wound a number of times around the point of separation between bow and stem. This was the fundamental criterion for compiling the corpus of data for our analysis. Thus we excluded crossbow fibulae or cast fibulae with bent stem, which are morphologically different in that the catch plate is cast together with the body of the fibula. However, in doing so, we also had to abandon further morphological criteria, such as those Syna Uenze used to distinguish between fibulae with bow loop (*Bügelschlaufe*) and those with spiral hook (*Spiralhaken*) or bow knob (*Bügelknopf*). Such features are too randomly distributed to allow for clear-cut

⁹ Heather 2007.

¹⁰ For cast fibulae with bent stem, see Măgureanu 2008; Curta, Gândilă 2011.

distinctions between types and variants—the main reason for which Uenze's typology cannot be used for the classification of the newly discovered specimens. Various technological solutions for the construction of the spring have neither chronological, nor stylistical relevance (because they do not appear to have been used in one area more than in another).

The new typology we propose is meant to put order in a large body of data, according to the principles set out almost 70 years ago by Alex D. Krieger: "each type should approximate as closely as possible that combination of mechanical and aesthetic executions which formed a definite structural pattern in the minds of a number of workers, who attained this pattern with various degrees of success and interpretation."¹¹ In order to build our types, we looked for specific combinations of features and not for individual features¹². This is true even for classes named after just one feature (e.g., Class 2—"Fibulae with inscriptions on the stem"), as indicated in the description of each class. The limitations of this approach are quite obvious, as it all depends upon the degree of preservation of the artifact, and of course upon the quality of its publication. To be sure, it is impossible to assign a large number of specimens to any of the existing classes¹³. In several cases, the absence of more detailed information is to be regretted, given that the fibulae in question have been found in well dated assemblages¹⁴.

¹¹ Krieger 1944, 278. See also Spaulding 1982 and Minta-Tworzowska 1993.

¹² In this respect, we understand type to be a "collection of characteristics" in the sense of Cowgill 1977, 127.

¹³ Arangel (Lilčić 1996, 69 fig.); Bočar (Girić, Dimitrijević 1971, 191); Borki (Spicyh 1901, 84-85); Gamzigrad (Janković 1983, 136; 135 fig. 109/4); Kamenovo (Simoni 1977-1978, 209-210 and pl. I/2); Karataš (Špehar 2010, 60); Kiszombor (Csallány 1961, 180 and pl. CXXXV/2); Longa (3 specimens: Moutsopoulos 1995, 137; 147 fig. 10); Nova Cherna (Milchev, Angelova 1970, 37; 35 fig. 10); Pogradec (Anamali 1979-1980, 229; 247 pl. VIII/1-4); Rupkite (Herrmann 1992, 175); Svishtov (3 specimens: Pawlak 1995, 46); Szentcsanak (Csallány 1961, 81-82 and pl. LXXV/1); Szentcsanak (Csallány 1961, 103-104 and pl. CX/4); Szolnok (Bóna, Nagy 2002, 217; 318 pl. 44.118.4); and Tigani (Drandakis, Gkiol 1980, 256).

¹⁴ E.g., the fibula in grave 4 in Bočar, which is said to have been found together with a bow fibula with rectangular head-plate, an amber bead, two currycombs, and a gold coin struck for Emperor Justinian (Girić, Dimitrijević 1971, 191).

*Class 1: Fibulae with trapeze-shaped stems and circle-and-dot decoration*¹⁵

Fibulae of Class 1 are either covered with that ornament on both bow and stem (Fig. 1/1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11; Fig. 2/4) or have ornament only on the stem (Fig. 1/2, 6, 7, 9; Fig. 2/1-3, 5, 6). Those are not very large fibulae, ranging in length between 4 and 8 cm. Their bows have flat cross-sections and are slightly larger than their stems, which are in the shape of a trapeze. Most specimens have spiral hooks, although the smallest fibula in this class (Gradnica, Fig. 1/10) clearly displays a bow loop (*Bügel Schlaufe*). When the bow is not decorated with the circle-and-dot ornament, it typically takes a simple decoration with a series of longitudinal lines (Fig. 1/2; Fig. 2/1-3, 5). With a few exceptions (Fig. 1/3, 8), the circle-and-dot ornament is arranged in a meander-like pattern of running spirals (a motif known in German as "laufender Hund"). The pattern is clearly visible on the bows of the fibulae from Abrit, Karataš, and Piatra Frecăței, as well as on the stems of two fibulae from Dragoevo and Pernik. The visual contrast between the long bow and the trapeze-shaped stem is reinforced by the disposition on the latter of circles and dots in a triangular pattern (Fig. 1/3, 10, 11; Fig. 2/3, 4). Fibulae with circle-and-dot ornament have been found only in the northern Balkans (the three specimens from Pernik and Bela Voda are the only ones found south of the Stara Planina range). There is a clear cluster of finds in northeastern Bulgaria, with only one specimen found outside the region, in Crimea (Eski Kermen, Fig. 1/7). Despite similarities, no two fibulae are identical, and each seems to have been manufactured separately by artisans following only general principles of construction and decoration. In both Eski Kermen and Piatra Frecăței, fibulae of this class have been found in burial assemblages, but without any other datable grave goods¹⁶. While the fibula from Piatra Frecăței was found with the skeleton of a child, nothing is known about the archaeological context in the burial chamber 337 in Eski Kermen which produced a fibula with circle-and-dot ornament. The exact stratigraphical position for the fibulae found in Bela Voda, Gamzigrad, Karataš, and Pernik is also unknown. There is therefore no basis for establishing a precise date for this class of fibulae, although a sixth-century date seems quite probable.

¹⁵ Abrit (Kharalambieva 1989, 32 and pl. II/9); Bălskovo (Kharalambieva 1989, 34 and pl. III/10); Bela Voda (Liubenova 1995, 12 fig. 116); Dragoevo (3 specimens; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 101 pl. V/4 and 103 pl. VI/1, 13); Eski Kermen (Aibabin 2007, 133 and 146 fig. 6/3); Gamzigrad (1983, 136 and 135 fig. 109/3); Gradnica (Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 71 and pl. VI/5); Karataš (2 specimens; Špehar 2010, 63 and pl. III/69, 76); Ovidiu (Teodor 1988, 211 and 213 fig. 2/5); Pernik (2 specimens; Liubenova 1981, 130 and 171 fig. 110/9, 16); Piatra Frecăței (Petre 1987, 79 and pl. 146 fig. 240b); Riakhovo (Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, 10 and pl. II/17); and an unknown location in Bulgaria (Kharalambieva 1989, 33-34 and pl. II/5).

¹⁶ The fibula from grave D21 in Piatra Frecăței was found on the right upper arm bone of the child skeleton. There was also an iron belt buckle on the coxal bone, stuck to a vertebra (Petre 1987, 79).

*Class 2: Fibulae with inscriptions on stems*¹⁷

Anna Kharalambieva believed that the inscriptions on the stems of those fibulae betray their Christian symbolism. Indeed, while most inscriptions read MINNA, probably in reference to St. Menas, there are also specimens with the names of the archangels Gabriel and Michael¹⁸. MAPIA on the Shumen fibula (Fig. 3/5) may be a reference to the Holy Virgin¹⁹. Two more fibulae (Philippoi and Veselinovo, Fig. 3/1, 7) have the word AMIN (AMN+N) instead of MINNA. All those fibulae are between 5.4 and 7.1 cm long, most likely in order to allow for letters sufficiently large to be identified from a distance. They all have spiral hooks. Every whole specimen presents a longitudinal ornament on the bow which consists of two rows of finely engraved punches. Despite that, the bow may have a flat (as in the case of the Stan fibula; Fig. 3.4) or oval cross-section (as in the case of the fibulae from Kirilovo and an unknown location in Bulgaria; Fig. 2/10; Fig. 3/6). The distribution of fibulae with inscriptions is in sharp contrast to that of Class 1. Although several specimens have been found in northeastern Bulgaria, most other fibulae are from the central region of the Balkans, including Macedonia²⁰. Unfortunately, much like in the case of Class 1, there are no archaeological assemblages with fibulae with inscriptions, which could provide some indication of precise dates²¹. However, because the fibulae from Batoshevo and

¹⁷ Batoshevo (Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 70 and pl. I/1); Dragoevo (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103, pl. VI/2); Izvoarele (Irimia 2005-2006, 251 and 258 fig. 1a); Kirilovo (Gencheva 1989, 33 fig. 2A); Philippoi (Sève 1981, 919-920 and 919 fig. 3); Plovdiv (KKharalambieva 1998, 373 fig. 5/7); Riakhovo (Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, 10 and 12-13; pl. III/18); Shumen (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 102 pl. V.1); Stan (Kharalambieva 1989, 32 and pl. II/1); Taor (Mikulčić 2002, 188-189 and 189 fig. 81/1); Veselinovo (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 115 and 103 pl. VI/12); and unknown location in Bulgaria (Kharalambieva 1989, 33 and pl. II/2).

¹⁸ Kharalambieva 1998, 369-370. MINNA appears on the fibulae from Batoshevo, Dragoevo, Kirilovo, Stan, Taor, and an unknown location in Bulgaria. For Gabriel, see the inscription on the fibula from Plovdiv. For Michael, see the inscription on the fibula from an unknown location in Bulgaria.

¹⁹ This may also be true for the Izvoarele fibula, the inscription of which is said to read MAPIN. Kharalambieva 1998, 370 mentions another fibula now in the Gabrovo Museum, with the inscription LANA and a star.

²⁰ There is very little basis for Evgeniia Gencheva's idea that all fibulae with the inscription MINNA have been produced in a workshop in northern Bulgaria (Gencheva 1989, 34).

²¹ The absence of the archaeological context also makes it difficult to accept Anna Kharalambieva's suggestion, according to which fibulae with inscriptions were worn by members of the military elite in the Balkans (Kharalambieva 1998, 370).

Philippoi have been found inside early Byzantine sites (in Batoshevo, in a basilica), a sixth-century date may be hypothetically advanced for the entire class.

Class 3: Fibulae with bows and stems of similar width²²

One of the most numerous classes of fibulae with bent stem, this is a quite heterogeneous one as well. Several specimens are made of iron, not bronze (Cherencha – Fig. 4/1; Debelo Brdo – Fig. 4/3, 5; Gabrovo - Fig. 6/2, 5-7; Gradishte – Fig. 7/3; Kălnovo – Fig. 7/5; Koprivec – Fig. 8/1; Mogila – Fig. 8/7; Morești – Fig. 8/9; Nikiup – Fig. 8/10; Petrov dol – Fig. 9/4, 5; Salona – Fig. 9/10, 12; Šipkovică – Fig. 10/4). Some are very small (the fibula from house 18 in Gabrovo is only 3.1 cm long – Fig. 7/2), others are more than twice as large (one of the fibulae from Dragoevo is 8 cm long, followed by the specimen from Gradishte, which is 7.9 cm long – Figs. 5/3 and 7/3). Some

²² Barovo (2 specimens; Mikulčić 2002, 146-147,148, fig. 39/1, 3); Batoshevo (Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 68 and pl. I/2); Budinarci (Mikulčić 2002, 199-200; 200 fig. 95/2); Cherencha (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 59 and 48 pl. IV/7); Čučer (Mikulčić 2002, 155, 157-158; 156 fig. 47/1); Davideni (Mitrea 2001, 121-122; 326 fig. 66/6); Debelo brdo (3 specimens; Vinski 1967, pl. XXXIII/9-11); Dragoevo (6 specimens; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 100 pl. III/4; 101 pl. IV/2); Gabrovo (14 specimens; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 58, 68-71; pls. I/4-6; II/1, 6, 8; III/4, 11; IV/1-3, 5, 6, 7-10); Gradishte (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 113; 101 pl. IV/10); Hradyz'ke (Rutkiv'ska 1979, 358; 341 fig. 22/9); Kălnovo (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 58, 60; 48 pl. IV/1); Karataš (2 specimens; Špehar 2010, 60 and pl. III/70, 75); Keszthely (Müller 1999, 158 and 173 fig. 4/23.1); Koprivec (Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, 12 and pl. II.16); Korbovo (Janković 1981, 249 pl. XV/16); Kramolin (Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 70; pl. VI/4); Kranj (Stare 1980, 120-121; pl. 135/7); Krivnia (Kharalambieva 1996-1997, 113; 128 pl. XII/103); Luchistoe, burial chamber 38, skeleton 17 (2 specimens; Khairidinova 2000, 127 fig. 13/1-2); Mogila (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 61; 51 pl. VI/8); Moldoveni (Mitrea 1973, 663 and 665; 664 fig. 1/1); Morești (2 specimens; Horedt 1979, 145-146; 108 fig. 51/4; pl. 41/4, 8); Nikiup (2 specimens; Poulter 1988, 79; 83 fig. 10/11-12); Pernik (Liubenova 1981, 171 fig. 110/5, 7, 11); Petrov dol (Kharalambieva 1996-1997, 113; 128 pl. XII/105, 110); Riakhovo (Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, 12-13 and pl. III/19); Rish (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 113; 102 pl. V/3); Sadovec-Golemannovo kale (Uenze 1992, pl. 2/9, 14); Salona (7 specimens; Vinski 1967, pl. XXXIII/1-5, 7-8); Šipkovică (Lilčić 1996, 70; 69 fig); Stan (Kharalambieva 1989, 32; pl/ II.3); Stara Zagora (Nikolov, Kalchev 1986, 61; 57 fig. 18/1); Stari Kostolac, grave 100 (Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 160 and 161 pl. 10/T100.1), Stari Kostolac, grave 154 (2 specimens; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 200 and 201 pl. 32/T154.1, 2); Strazhata (Tabakova-Canova 1981, 110; 141 fig. 7b); Suuk Su, grave 153 (Repnikov 1907, 116-117; 146 fig. 111); Târgșor (Teodorescu 1971, 108-109; 126 fig. 2/2); Tetovo (Mikulčić 2002, 470 and fig. 388/2); Zdravkovec (Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 70; pl. VII/2); and unknown locations in Bulgaria and Romania (Kharalambieva 1992, 133; 135 pl. IV/4; Popescu 1941-1944, 505; 503 fig. 10/116).

have a simple spring, with the cord running underneath the bow (Barovo and Čučer – Fig. 3/9, 12; Gabrovo – Figs. 4/6 and 6/1; Moldoveni – Fig. 8/8; Salona – Fig. 9/12; Tetovo – Fig. 10/13)²³. Others show a bow loop (Gabrovo – Figs. 5/4, 6; 6/3, 6; and 7/2; Korbovo – Fig. 7/9; Koprivec – Fig. 8/1; Kranj – Fig. 8/3; Petrov dol – Fig. 9/4; unknown location in Romania – Fig. 11/1). Several specimens have either a spiral hook (Dragoevo – Fig. 4/9; Gabrovo – Figs. 5/1 and 6/7; Kálnovo – Fig. 7/5; Karataš – Fig. 7/6; Krivnia – Fig. 8/4; Stara Zagora – Fig. 10/6; Suuk Su – Fig. 10/11) or a bow knob (Budinarci – Fig. 3 Drandakis, N. V., Gkirole 10; Dragoevo – Fig. 4/10; Keszthely – Fig. 7/8; Salona – Fig. 9/10, 11). The latter is most pronounced in the case of three fibulae from Salona (Fig. 10/1-3), which Syna Uenze classified as “West Balkan” because of the cast spring-axle loop²⁴. In all other respects, however, those fibulae are very similar to others from the same class. Moreover, the presence of the knob on fibulae without a cast spring-axle loop (e.g., Budinarci) raises doubts about Uenze’s classification, specifically her criteria for distinguishing a separate, so-called “West Balkan” group. Fibulae of the third class have bows with oval (Gabrovo – Fig. 4/6, 8; Nikiup – Fig. 8/10; Sadovec-Golemannovo kale – Fig. 9/8; Stara Zagora – Fig. 10/6) or flat cross-section (Barovo – Fig. 3/8; Batoshevo – Fig. 3/11; Gabrovo – Figs. 4/9 and 6/7; Kálnovo – Fig. 7/5; Mogila – Fig. 8/7; Sadovec-Golemannovo kale – Fig. 9/9²⁵; Stan – Fig. 10/5). Only the fibula from Tetovo has a slightly raised rib in the middle (Fig. 10/13). Otherwise the bow may be decorated with two longitudinal, engraved lines (Batoshevo – Fig. 3/11; Keszthely – Fig. 7/8; Korbovo – Fig. 7/9; Sadovec-Golemannovo Kale – Fig. 9/8; Salona – Fig. 9/11; Stan – Fig. 10/5; Stara Zagora – Fig. 10/6; Stari Kostolac – Fig. 10/7-, 8; Suuk Su – Fig. 10/11; unknown location in Bulgaria – Fig. 11/2). The only exceptions are the fibulae from Hradyz’ke and Kranj, the bows of which are covered with a zigzag ornament. Much more variation exists in the decoration of the stem: tessellation (Batoshevo – Fig. 3/11), groups of horizontal lines (Gabrovo – Fig.

²³ This spring system is most typical for fourth-century fibulae with bent stem, but the wide, U-shaped stem of the specimens from Barovo, Čučer, Gabrovo, Moldoveni, Salona, and Tetovo suggests a later date within the sixth century.

²⁴ This group is also known as the “Dalmatian type” (Milavec 2009, 234-235).

²⁵ According to Uenze 1992, 149, the iron fibula from Golemannovo kale has a good analogy in grave 88 in Kiszombor, in which it was presumably deposited together with three glass beads in a purse attached at the waist of the woman buried there. However, the assemblage in grave 88 produced two fragmentary brooches, one of iron, the other of bronze—both found above the waist line, together with a belt buckle (Török 1936, 10; Csallány 1961, 177). There were no glass beads in that area of the skeleton, only 38 glass and amber beads around the neck, an isolated amber bead without any indication of location, and two chalk spindle whorls. Moreover, the fragmentary state of preservation of both brooches found in grave 88 makes it impossible to compare them with the iron fibula from Golemannovo kale.

5/1; Salona – Fig. 9/13); X-motif (Gabrovo – Fig. 6/3; Moldoveni – Fig. 8/8, Pernik – Fig. 9/2, 3), longitudinal or zigzagging engraved lines (Karataš – Fig. 7/6; Kranj – Fig. 8/3; Salona – Figs. 9/11 and 10/1; Stara Zagora – Fig. 10/6; Stari Kostolac – Fig. 10/8; Strazhata – Fig. 10/10), or more elaborate patterns (Hradyz'ke – Fig. 7/4; Keszthely – Fig. 7/8; Korbovo – Fig. 7/9; Pernik – Fig. 9/1; Sadovec – Golemannovo kale – Fig. 9/8; Stan – Fig. 10/5)²⁶. Most other fibulae, especially those made of iron, not bronze, have no decoration whatsoever (Figs. 4; 5/2-5; 6/1, 2, 4-7; 7/1-3, 5, 7; 8/1, 4-7, 9, 10; 9/4, 5, 12; 10/2-4, 12, 14; 11/1)²⁷. Despite the great number of either stray or metal detector finds (especially in northeastern Bulgaria), several specimens have been found in well dated (or datable) archaeological assemblages²⁸. In grave 100 of the large cemetery in Stari Kostolac (Više Grobalja), a fibula of the third class was found on the skeleton of a woman who died at 23 years of age. The associated assemblage also included a second fibula with bent stem and a bronze buckle. The excavators describe the latter as a “vaguely shield-on-tongue” specimen in reference to the slightly enlarged base of the buckle tongue²⁹. In Central Europe, shield-on-tongue buckles are most typical for assemblages dated to first half of the sixth century, such as those in Slovenia or Hungary³⁰. The Stara Zagora fibula is said to have been found in a hoard of iron implements and weapons³¹. The assemblage included two scythes, two sickles, a billknife, a double-tined drag-hoe, a mattock, a pickaxe, and a spade. None of those tools may be dated with any degree of certainty, but the fact that there are more harvesting than tilling tools is a feature most typical for sixth-century hoards in the Balkans³². If indeed the fibula was part of that assemblage, it is important to note that

²⁶ Uenze 1992, 148 believes that the decoration with opposing triangles on the stem of the Golemannovo kale fibula (Fig. 9/8) is a symbolic representation of the cross with an apotropaic function.

²⁷ Pace Uenze 1992, 149, there are many more undecorated than decorated fibulae with bow and stem of almost equal width.

²⁸ Unfortunately, neither the bell pendants, nor the glass beads in grave 53 in Strazhata (Bulgaria)—all found together with a single fibula with bent stem—are chronologically sensitive artifacts (Tabakova-Canova 1981, 110; 157 fig. 12/5; 163 fig. 15/4). The burial chamber 153 in Suuk Su (Crimea) contained three skeletons, two females and one male. The fibula with bent stem was found on the right collar bone of one of the female skeletons and was associated with 37 amber beads and 7 glass beads, a bronze bracelet, as well as a silver buckle of an unknown type. In the absence of any published illustration of the latter artifacts, it is impossible to assess more exactly the age of that burial (Repnikov 1907, 116-117).

²⁹ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 160: “ardillon à base vaguement scutiforme.”

³⁰ Martin 2000, 166; Cseh *et alii* 2005, 154. See also Nieveler, Siegmund 1999, 6 and 10.

³¹ Nikolov, Kalchev 1986, 61.

³² Curta 2013a.

the hoard was found in a house of the early Byzantine city and it may well have been buried before its abandonment in the early seventh century. Similarly, one of the two fibulae from Morești was found in a sunken-featured building (no. 20) of the sixth-century settlement³³. In addition to the iron fibula, the assemblage associated with that building also included fragments of Grey Ware. Some of them display a typically burnished ornament, while another was from a handled pot with a spout, a ceramic category often found on sixth- and early seventh-century sites in the Carpathian Basin³⁴. The fibula from Davideni was found in house 75 together with wheel- and handmade pottery (including fragments of an amphora and of clay pans) and a ladle³⁵. Most amphora finds in the lands north of the river Danube are of a sixth- or early seventh-century date. The same is true for the earliest clay pans and ladles found in the region³⁶. One of the fragments of handmade pottery found in house 75 in Davideni had an applied clay knob. Such pottery has also been found in a kiln in Dulceanca together with a fragment of a handmade pot with an incised cross, a type of decoration which appears on sites excavated in Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine and dated to the second half of the sixth or the early seventh century³⁷. To the same period may also be dated the many fibulae from Gabrovo, several of which have been found in houses inside the early Byzantine fort. Unfortunately, the excavations in Gabrovo have not yet been properly published, and nothing is known about other datable artifacts from those houses³⁸. A date within the first half of the seventh century may also be advanced for the fibula from grave 28 discovered in 1963 in the cemetery outside the southern rampart of the Roman fort in Keszthely³⁹. There were two iron bracelets on the hands of the female skeleton, but also a bronze earring with a bead-pendant of the Tószeg type, which is characteristic for the Early Avar period (*ca.* 570 to *ca.* 630)⁴⁰. Two fibulae were found with a (presumably) female skeleton (no. 17) in the burial chamber 38 in Luchistoe (Crimea). They were linked with a double bronze chain running across the chest in parallel to a necklace of glass and amber beads.

³³ Horedt 1979, 96, 125, 128, 145, and 213; 91 fig. 40/20; 108 fig. 51/1-16; pls. 36/3, 6, 8; 41/4; 63/5.

³⁴ Vida 1999, 62.

³⁵ Mitrea 2001, 121-122; 310 fig. 50/4; 335 fig. 74/5; 389 fig. 128/7-8, 11, 13-14; 391 fig. 130/2-5, 8, 14; 392 fig. 131/6, 8-10, 16; 393 fig. 132/8; 395 fig. 134/6, 8, 13.

³⁶ For amphora finds and clay pans, respectively, see Curta 2001, 242-243 and 296-297. For ladles, see Curta 2006, 450 and 447 fig. 20.

³⁷ Teodor 2005, 239 and 241; Teodor, Stanciu 2009.

³⁸ For the early Byzantine fort in Gabrovo, see Milchev, Koicheva 1978; Koicheva 1992. It is important to note that many houses in Gabrovo produced pairs of fibulae with bent stem (e.g., houses 12, 14, and 28).

³⁹ Müller 2010, 53 and 284, pl. 37/28.

⁴⁰ Ormányi 1995, 159-161.

Hanging from one of the chains were two bell pendants⁴¹. Pairs of fibulae linked with chains or necklaces was a specifically late sixth- and early seventh-century fashion well documented archaeologically in Crimea and the Middle Dnieper region⁴². The irregularly shaped amber beads—all roughly cut, but with polished edges—point to the same date⁴³. Both amber beads and bell pendants appear in hoards of bronze in the Middle Dnieper region, which include artifacts (e.g., belt mounts with open-work ornament—so-called “Martynovka mounts”) dated to the late sixth and early seventh century⁴⁴. There is therefore enough evidence to support the idea that fibulae of the third class were in use throughout the entire sixth century, but mostly during its second half and perhaps also during the first few decades of the seventh century. Such fibulae appear especially in the northern and northeastern Balkans, with no less than 14 specimens from Gabrovo alone⁴⁵. However, sites in the western Balkans (Salona and Debelo Brdo) have also produced large numbers of specimens. Moreover, fibulae of the third class have been found beyond the Danube frontier of the early Byzantine Empire, as far west as Keszthely in western Hungary and as far east as Hradyz’ke on the Middle Dnieper in Ukraine. Despite the apparent similarity between the iron fibulae from Morești, Gabrovo, and Nikiup, one cannot exclude the possibility that fibulae with bent stem of the third class were also produced in *barbaricum*⁴⁶. That much results from the close examination of the decoration of the Keszthely and Hradyz’ke fibulae, with no exact analogies on any site in the Balkans. Besides Keszthely, no other fibula from the lands north (or west) of the river Danube has been found in a burial assemblage. However, it is important to note that fibulae of the third class appear in female graves both singly (Strazhata, Suuk Su) and in pairs (Stari Kostolac, Luchistoe). While the Keszthely fibula was found under the chin, in Suuk Su it has been found on the right collar bone. In both cases, the brooch may have fastened a dress or a shroud. When in pairs, the fibulae were commonly found on the shoulders or on the upper chest, perhaps fastening a *peplos*-like dress.

⁴¹ Khairedinova 2000, 127, fig. 13.

⁴² Curta 2009, 62-63.

⁴³ Khairedinova 2007, 24. For irregularly shaped amber beads with polished edges, see Bliujienė 2011, 223-224.

⁴⁴ Curta 2011b, 165, 167, and 170.

⁴⁵ Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 61 even advanced the idea of a local workshop for the production of such fibulae.

⁴⁶ *Contra*: Curta 1992, 87.

*Class 4: Fibulae with knobs on both bows and stems*⁴⁷

Only three fibulae are known from this class, two of which have been found in central Greece. The Nea Anchialos fibula (Fig. 11/4) came from a *villa urbana* at the foot of the acropolis of ancient Thebes. The house discovered through salvage excavations carried out in 1964 produced a great number of coins, two which—a Vandal coin of unknown denomination attributed to Hilderic, and a five-nummia piece struck in Thessalonica for Emperor Justin II—were found next to the eastern wall of the *villa*, in the same general area in which the fibula was also found⁴⁸. Another coin from the building is a *follis* struck for Emperor Justinian in Constantinople in 549/50, which came out of the room between the walls K2, K4, and K6⁴⁹. Even though the numismatic evidence strongly suggests a date within the second half of the sixth-century date for the occupation of the *villa*, the coins are of no use for establishing the age of the fibula. The lack of any contextual information makes it impossible to assess the chronological relation between brooch and coin. Theoretically, however, the possibility cannot be excluded that the fibula coincided in time with the five-nummia piece from Thessalonica, and may thus be placed chronologically after Justinian's death⁵⁰. The fibula from Dolichis (Fig. 11/3) is somewhat different from that discovered in Nea Anchialos in that it has an additional pair of knobs on the stem, while the Shumen fibula (Fig. 11/5) has neither the stem knobs, nor the single knob on the upper bow.

⁴⁷ Dolichis: Deriziotis, Kougioumtzioglou 2009, 481; 487 fig. 17. Nea Anchialos: Lazaridis 1965, 327-334; pl. 394 β. Shumen: Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103 pl. VI/6.

⁴⁸ For Vandal copper coins, see now Berndt, Steinacher 2008, 263-267. To be sure, Paulos Lazaridis attributed the five-nummia piece to Emperor Justinian, not Justin II. In doing so, he was most likely misled by the numismatic literature available to him at that time. In 1965, when he published his note about the excavations in Nea Anchialos, he had no access to the reference catalogues from Dumbarton Oaks (Bellinger 1966) and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Morrisson 1970), or to Wolfgang Hahn's corpus (Hahn 1973). He must have used the catalogue of the collection of Byzantine coins in the British Museum, which was published by W. Wroth in 1908. One of the many mistakes in that early catalogue is the attribution of five-nummia pieces with monogram to Justinian (Wroth 1908, 72 with n. 2). However, there are no such coins struck for Justinian in Thessalonica, not even after 562 when the Macedonian mint abandoned its idiosyncratic system of denominations and adopted the eastern system. In reality, the coin found in Thebes is most likely an issue of Justin II, dated between 565 and 578, as clearly demonstrated by Bury 1924.

⁴⁹ Lazaridis 1965, 327-334.

⁵⁰ For Thebes during the second half of the sixth century, see Karagiorgou 2001, 189.

*Class 5: Fibulae with crosses on stems*⁵¹

Much like with other types of fibulae with bent stem, members of class 5 have either a bow loop (Figs. 11/6, 9, 10 and 12/1, 2) or a spiral hook (Fig. 12/4)⁵². The main characteristic of this class is the decoration of the stem in the form of a cross with four ends of triangular shape⁵³. In order to accommodate that decoration, the stems of those fibulae are invariably in the form of a trapeze. On the fibulae from Ljubljana, Prahovo, Stari Kostolac, and an unknown location in northern Bulgaria (Fig. 11/9, 10) the margins of the trapeze-shaped stem are also decorated with a punched ornament. By contrast, the bows may take a variety of ornamental patterns. Both fibulae from grave 112 in Stari Kostolac are decorated with the same tessellation that appears on one of the three fibulae from Dragoevo (Figs. 11/7 and 12/1, 2). Similarly, the fibulae from Ablanica and an unknown location in northern Bulgaria have the same engraved ornament of two bands running longitudinally along the bow (Figs. 11/6 and 12/3). This may well be a simplified imitation of the zigzag pattern on both sides of the Prahovo fibula bow (Fig. 11.10). Finally, the bows of the fibulae from Botevo, Karataš, and Venchan (Figs. 11/8, 11 and 12/4) are simply decorated with engraved, longitudinal lines. In that respect, the most interesting specimen of this class is the fibula from Ljubljana, the bow of which has an engraved inscription reading VMM. The Ljubljana fibula is morphologically different from those in Class 2, all of which have an inscription on the stem, not the bow. Moreover, VMM is most likely an abbreviated Latin, not Greek inscription. As the first word is probably “vivas” or “vivat,” this may well be a good-luck inscription, such as found in the sixth century on other accessories of personal use⁵⁴. The fibulae of the fourth class are of moderate length. The shortest is one of the two fibulae from Stari Kostolac—3.8 cm long—while the longest are the fibulae from Ablanica and Karataš—both 6.5 cm long. The two fibulae from grave 112 in Stari Kostolac were found with a female skeleton, in the

⁵¹ Ablanica (Văzharova 1976, 287, 286 fig. 178/1); Botevo (Kharalambieva 1998, 371, fig. 1/1); Dragoevo (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103, pl. VI/9); Karataš (2010, 60 and fig. 32; and pl. III/77); Ljubljana (Bitenc, Knific 2001, 58, no. 169); Prahovo (Janković 1981, 213-214; pl. XVI/5); Stari Kostolac (2 specimens: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 162 and 163 pl. 11/T112.4, 5); Venchan (Kharalambieva 1989, 33 and pl. II/7); and unknown location in northern Bulgaria (Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, 12 and pl. III/21).

⁵² For the Ljubljana fibula, see Milavec 2009, 234.

⁵³ Four triangles arranged in a cross-like pattern also appear on the stem of the fibula from Sadovec-Golemannovo kale (Fig. 9/8), which is included in Class 3.

⁵⁴ See, for example, the finger-ring from Stan (Bulgaria), published in Vladimirova-Aladzhova 2005.

region of the chest and abdomen, respectively⁵⁵. On the right side of the skull, there was a wheel-made pot, the shape of which is remarkably similar to finds from sixth-century cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin⁵⁶. Among the 14 beads found around the neck of the skeleton in grave 112, there were three elongated, barrel-shaped beads made of amber⁵⁷. Such beads also appear in burial assemblages of the northwestern region of the Balkans. In grave 358 of the large cemetery in Pristava near Bled (Slovenia), a necklace with five such beads and other specimens of glass was associated with a crossbow fibula of the Invillino class dated between 570 and 600⁵⁸. This suggests that the assemblage in grave 112 in Stari Kostolac could be equally dated to the last quarter of the sixth century. The suggestion is further substantiated by the presence in that grave of the remains of a wooden bucket with iron handle and hoops⁵⁹. The deposition of buckets in graves is unknown in the Carpathian Basin before the onset of the Avar age (*ca.* 570). In fact, the earliest buckets appear in burial assemblages dated to the Early Avar period (*ca.* 570 to *ca.* 630) on the basis of such artifacts as sword scabbard, pyramid-shaped strap loops⁶⁰, silver bracelets with club-shaped ends⁶¹, stirrups with elongated attachment loop⁶², or trapeze-shaped bronze pendants⁶³. If the date for the burial assemblage in grave 112 proves to be correct, then the same may be true for grave 55 in Ablanica. This was a double burial, with the skeleton a woman and, next to it, that of a child⁶⁴. A fibula with bent stem was found on the right collar bone of the female skeleton, a position reminding one of that in grave 153 in Suuk Su, with a fibula of class 3. There were no other grave goods. However, this is most likely one of the oldest among the 94 burial assemblages excavated in Ablanica, along with graves 40 and 57 which produced earrings with

⁵⁵ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 162. According to the excavators, the middle part of the skeleton had been disturbed prior to the excavation (“le squelette est disloqué au niveau de la poitrine et des hanches”).

⁵⁶ E.g., grave 49 in Bistrița (Gaiu 1992, 119 and fig. 4/4); grave 327 in Kiszombor (Csallány 1961, 189 and pl. CCXLV.9); grave 23 in Egerlövö (Lovász 1986-1987, 139 and 134, fig. 8).

⁵⁷ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 163 pl. 11.112.3.

⁵⁸ Knific 2004, 100 pl. 8.7; Milavec 2009, 226. Another necklace with barrel-shaped amber beads is known from the small cemetery outside the early Byzantine fort in Gradishte (Koicheva 2002, 183 fig. 5a). Unfortunately, nothing is known about the archaeological context and, therefore, about the date of the grave in which it was found.

⁵⁹ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 163 pl. 11/112.7.

⁶⁰ Unirea-Vereșmort, grave 13 (Roska 1934, 128, 127 fig. 4 A. 16; see also Vida 2000, 169-170).

⁶¹ Pécs, grave 59 (Kiss 1977, 98; pl. L.59.5; Müller 2008, 280 with n. 8).

⁶² Bácsújfalu (Csallány 1953, 133-134; pl. XXXI.12; Curta 2008, 304-307).

⁶³ Oroszlány, grave 11 (Sós 1958, 109; 110 fig. 21; Gavritukhin 1997).

⁶⁴ Vážharova 1976, 287.

chain pendants of the so-called Buzet class which appeared in the last decades of the sixth century⁶⁵. If grave 55 truly belongs to the earliest phase of the cemetery, then it could just as well be dated shortly before and after AD 600. With the exception of the specimens from Ablanica and Ljubljana, fibulae of class 5 have been found only in two areas of the northern Balkans—the Iron Gates segment of the Danube frontier and the Ludogorie Plateau of northeastern Bulgaria.

*Class 6: Fibulae with bows wider than the stems*⁶⁶

The second largest type of fibulae with bent stem (49 specimens), Class 6 is documented archaeologically more in the northern and northwestern than in the northeastern Balkans. The class consists of fibulae larger than those of other classes. Most specimens are longer than 5 cm, with the largest from Biogranci being 11.5 cm long (Fig. 12/5). A relatively large number of specimens (21, or 42.86 percent of all specimens in the class) are made of iron, not copper alloy. This suggests that the reason for the typical feature of the class—the bow wider than the stem—is that in order to be able to wind the iron band around the stem, one needed to make the latter much narrower than the bow. Very little room was thus left for ornament, which is why stems of iron fibulae are never decorated. With copper-alloy fibulae, stems may however be decorated with simple, horizontal lines (Pernik – Fig. 14/8-10; Prahovo – Fig. 15/2), a zigzag (Izvoarele – Fig. 18/10), or a repetitive pattern of squares or small circles (Pernik – Fig. 14/7; Stari Kostolac – Fig. 16/9). Particularly interesting in this

⁶⁵ Angelova, Marvakov 2001, 15-16; Angelova, Koleva 2001, 265. For the Buzet class, see Bierbrauer 1987, 157 and Manière-Lévêque 1997, 100.

⁶⁶ Biogranci (Čremošnik 1987-1988, pl. IV/6); Čezava (Vasić 1982-1983, 113 and 119; 112 fig. 17/14); Čučer (Mikulčić 2002, 155, 157-158; 156 fig. 47/2); Dragoevo (3 specimens: Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 48 pl. IV/4; 51 pl. VI/7; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103 pl. VI/11); Gabrovo (6 specimens: Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. I/7a, 9; II/5, 7; V.9, 10); Izvoarele (Curta 1992, 43 and 46; 45 fig. 7/58); Karataš (3 specimens: Špehar 2010, 60-62; 62 fig. 33; pl. III/71, 85, 88); Korinjski hrib (Ciglencečki 2008, 511 and 510 fig. 15/4); Kostol (Špehar 2010, 61; pl. III/86); Mačvanska Mitrovica (Ercegović-Pavlović 1982, 20; pls. II/1; III/4); Malāk Preslavec (Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, 10-11; pl. II/15); Mora Vagei (Špehar 2010, 60 and pl. III/72); Pernik (4 specimens: Liubenova 1981, 171 fig. 110/3, 10, 13, 15); Prahovo (7 specimens: Janković 1981, 213-214; pls. XV/11, 15, 17; XVI/7-10); Rogachevo (Kharalambieva 1989, 35 and pl. III/12); Sadovec-Golemannovo kale (5 specimens: Uenze 1992, pl. 2/13; pl. 3/1-4); Shumen (4 specimens: Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 51; 102, pl. V/4, 10; 103 pl. VI/4, 9); Smiadovo (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 58, 61-62; pl. VI/2, 4, 5); Stari Kostolac (3 specimens: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 180 and 190; 181 pl. 21.T133; 191 pl. 26.T143.6); Suuk Su (Repnikov 1907, 117-118, 146, fig. 112); Svishtov (Press *et alii* 1973, 130 and 132 pl. II/1); and an unknown location (Popescu 1941-1944, 505; 503 fig. 10/115).

respect is the V-shaped engraved ornament on the fibulae from Korinjski hrib (Fig. 17/1) and an unknown location (Fig. 17/2). The visual effect of this ornament was meant to make the stem appear even thinner in relation to the bow⁶⁷. One of the two copper-alloy fibulae from Karataš (Fig. 14.3) displays a small square area at the end of the stem, which has an engraved X. This detail is strikingly reminiscent of the decoration of fourth-century, so-called “Gothic” fibulae with bent stem⁶⁸. Fibulae of class 6 have springs built with bow loops (Stari Kostolac – Fig. 13/7; Karataš – Fig. 14/2), spiral hooks (Dragoevo – Fig. 12/8, 9; Karataš – Fig. 14/3; Pernik – Fig. 14/8; Sadovec – Golemannovo kale – Fig. 16/3; Shumen – Fig. 22/8; Stari Kostolac – Fig. 16/9; and unknown location – Fig. 17/2) or knobs (Biograci – Fig. 12.5; Stari Kostolac – Fig. 13/8; Prahovo – Figs. 14/13 and 15/2; Korinjski hrib – Fig. 17/1⁶⁹). In most cases, the bow has a flat cross-section and no decoration whatsoever (Figs. 12/6, 7, 9; 13/1-6; 14/1, 4-6, 12; 15/3, 6, 8; 16/4-8). The X-shaped decoration of the bow appears on both copper-alloy (Biograci – Fig. 12.1; Sadovec-Golemannovo kale – Fig. 16/1) and iron specimens (Sadovec-Golemannovo kale – Fig. 16.3). The bows of the fibulae from Dragoevo (Fig. 12/8), Stari Kostolac (Fig. 13/7), Karataš (Fig. 14/2, 3), Pernik (Fig. 14/7-10), Prahovo (Fig. 14.13), Sadovec-Golemannovo kale (Figs. 15/7 and 16/2), Shumen (Fig. 22/8), and an unknown location (Fig. 17.2) display a simple longitudinal line ornament. The same ornament appears in a much more elaborate form on the bows of the fibulae from Prahovo (Fig. 15/4), Shumen (Fig. 22/9,10), Stari Kostolac (Figs. 16/9 and 17/1), and Suuk Su (Fig. 19/12), while the visual effect of the longitudinal line is somewhat mitigated by the tessellation on the bow of another fibula from Stari Kostolac (Fig. 13/8). One of the earliest assemblages with fibulae of Class 6 is that found in grave 155 in Suuk Su (Crimea). This was a multiple grave with three skeletons (a man, a woman, and a child) laid side by side. The fibula was found on the collar bone of the child skeleton⁷⁰. The woman had two bow fibulae of Zaseckaia’s class IV62 dated to the first half of the sixth century⁷¹. Since this was an inhumation, not a burial chamber, it is

⁶⁷ This is particularly true for the fibula from an unknown location. Because the bow of the Korinjski hrib fibula is not considerably wider than the stem and, in addition, it is decorated with the same ornament, the visual effect is not as impressive.

⁶⁸ Curta 1992, 85.

⁶⁹ According to Milavec 2009, 235, the Korinjski hrib fibula is a specimen of the “West Balkan” or “Dalmatian” type similar to that from grave 112 in Kranj (Stare 1980, pl. 41/7). No morphological differences exist, however, between the Biograci, Stari Kostolac (Fig. 13/8), Prahovo, and Korinjski hrib fibulae—all of which have a bow wider than the stem, and are thus very different from the Kranj fibula.

⁷⁰ Repnikov 1907, 117-118. The associated necklace included 25 amber beads. There was also a silver finger-ring on the left hand.

⁷¹ Zaseckaia 1997, 450.

likely that all three bodies were laid to rest at the same time. This would suggest that the fibula with bent stem on the child skeleton coincided in time with the pair of bow fibulae which were attached to the dress of the woman. If so, then the latter may be used to date the entire assemblage. However, that all those artifacts were buried together at the same time is no indication of the moment of burial. The possibility cannot be excluded that the most recent artifact in the assemblage is the fibula with bent stem, which could post-date the bow fibulae, if only by a few decades. In that case, the assemblage in grave 155 in Suuk Su should be dated to the middle or the beginning of the second half of the sixth century. Fibulae of Class 6 were most certainly in use at that time on early Byzantine fortified sites in the northern Balkans. At Čezava, the fibula was found in one of the towers⁷². Four specimens were found in four different houses in Gabrovo (nos. 23-25 and 28)⁷³. A fibula of Class 6 was found near a house in the Sadovec-Golemannovo kale fort (the so-called "Nestor house"). The excavation of the house produced a hoard of gold coins, the latest of which is a solidus struck for Emperor Maurice in Constantinople between 584 and 602⁷⁴. This suggests that the last phase of occupation ended into the second half of the sixth century or even the first decades of the seventh century. Could the fibula found outside the house be dated to the same period? In the absence of a clear archaeological context, it is not possible to answer that question. However, a date in the middle or second half of the sixth century may be advanced for the iron fibula from Mačvanska Mitrovica, which was found in a brick- and tile-lined grave of a female. The fibula was on the left side of the chest, while a second, copper-alloy sheet fibula with rectangular plate was found above the waist⁷⁵. Next to the latter was a buckle with a diamond-shaped plate decorated with an intricate scrollwork ornament, which Attila Kiss has dated to the late fifth or early sixth century on the basis of its association with the fibula with rectangular plate⁷⁶. However, most analogies for the latter are of a later date⁷⁷. In Szentes-Berekhat, a pair of such fibulae was found in grave 202 together

⁷² Vasić 1982-1983, 113 and 119. The fibula was found in the stratigraphical layer A, which is dated to the sixth century (Vasić 1990, 907).

⁷³ Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 68-71.

⁷⁴ Uenze 1992, 116, 118-119, 302, 332-333, 403, 477-478. For the hoard, see Morrisson, Popović, Ivanišević 2006, 325. Several coins have been found next to the house, in the same general area as the fibula. The latest are two half-folles struck in Thessalonica for Emperor Justin II between 565 and 578 and another struck in Constantinople in 573/4.

⁷⁵ Ercegović-Pavlović 1982, 20; pls. II/4 and III/2.

⁷⁶ Ercegović-Pavlović 1982, pls. II/4 and III/2; Kiss 1984, 64, 66, 72, and 74; Hilberg 2009, 141 and 144.

⁷⁷ None of the direct analogies for the Mačvanska Mitrovica buckle was found in a well dated archaeological context. Such buckles were still in use during the second half of the sixth

with a bronze buckle with animal heads dated to the first half of the sixth century⁷⁸. In Pecica, a fragmentary fibula of the same kind was found together with a fragment of a belt buckle of the Sucidava-Beroe I B class, which cannot be dated earlier than the mid-500s⁷⁹. A date within the second half of the sixth century may also be advanced for the assemblage in grave 133 in Stari Kostolac, which produced a fibula with bent stem of Class 6. Unlike the situation in Mačvanska Mitrovica, the fibula in question was found on the left hip, while another cruciform fibula made of gilded silver was on the left shoulder⁸⁰. Another cruciform fibula, very similar to the one in grave 133, has been found in grave 138 on the neck of a female skeleton⁸¹. The fibula in grave 138 was associated with a one-sided comb, the analogy of which was found in grave 141 with a belt buckle with rectangular plate of the so-called "Pleidelsheim Y20" class⁸². A similar buckle is known from a rich female grave in Gračanica (Kosovo), which also produced a solidus freshly minted in Constantinople at some point between 538 and 545⁸³. Moreover, the shield-on-tongue belt buckle from grave 128 is a specimen of a group that may be dated to the middle or to the third quarter of the sixth century⁸⁴. A third cruciform fibula is a stray find from Kasidol, a site in the immediate vicinity of the cemetery in Stari Kostolac⁸⁵. Another was found in the tower of the early Byzantine fort in Khårlec (Bulgaria), while a fifth one is known from a female grave of the sixth-century cemetery in Szolnok-Szanda⁸⁶. All those fibulae belong to a group of Jutlandic brooches with Animal Style I decoration, which appear especially in Sjaelland and

century, as demonstrated by the specimen found in grave 121 in Noşlac (Harhoiu 2004-2005, 292-293). Gavritukhin, Kazanskii 2006, 319 and 322 were the first to note that the chronology of belt buckles with diamond-shaped plate and scrollwork ornament (Kiss's "Mačvanska Mitrovica-Noşlac" group) may be extended to the mid-sixth century.

⁷⁸ Csallány 1961, 88-89 and pl. LXXXIII/1, 2. For the dating of the buckle, see Hilberg 2009, 112. For bow fibulae with rectangular plate and circle-and-dot ornament, see Cseh *et alii* 2005, 112-13.

⁷⁹ Csallány 1961, 143-144 and pl. 213.15; Curta 2011a, 422-424.

⁸⁰ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 181 pl. 21/133

⁸¹ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 184 and 187 pl. 24/138. Although a little larger than the brooch in grave 133, the fibula in grave 138 appears to be its simplified copy.

⁸² Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 188 and 189 pl. 25/8.

⁸³ Milinković 2002, 343-344; 347 pl. II; 349 pl. III/11. For the analogy between the Stari Kostolac and Gračanica fibulae, see Bóna, Nagy 2002, 125.

⁸⁴ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 184 and 187 pl. 24/138.2; Martin 2000, 172.

⁸⁵ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 232 and 233 pl. 46.

⁸⁶ Mashov 1976, 35-36 with fig. 1; Bóna, Nagy 2002, 211-212 and 373, pl. 99/1. The parallel between the Szolnok-Szanda and the Khårlec fibulae is drawn by Nagy 2007, 87 and 189 pl. 55. A sixth fibula of the same group is known from a stray find in Solany (Czech Republic), for which see Svoboda 1965, 274 and pl. LXXX/7.

western Sweden. The Khårlec and Szolnok-Szanda specimens may well be Scandinavian products, but the two fibulae from Stari Kostolac and that from Kasidol are without doubt local imitations. The Scandinavian members of this group have been dated to the late fifth and early sixth century, but their imitations have been found in Mazurian cemeteries together with artifacts most typical for the second half of the sixth century⁸⁷. Judging from the assemblage in grave 138 in Stari Kostolac, this may also be true for the imitations produced in the Danube region.

Class 7: Fibulae with bows wider than the stems, and decorated with zigzag ornament⁸⁸

Much like members of Class 6, fibulae of Class 7 may have a bow loop (Bratia Kunchevi – Fig. 17.3; Bucharest-Militari – Fig. 17/4; Karataš – Fig. 19/1; Nevsha – Fig. 18/12, Prahovo – Fig. 18/15, 16; Snezhina – Fig. 19/6; Stari Kostolac – Fig. 19/8, 10, 11, 14), a spiral hook (Gabrovo – Fig. 17/5; Celei – Fig. 18/2; Izvoarele – Fig. 18/10; Novakovo – Fig. 19/2; Pazarište – Fig. 18/11; Sadovec-Golemannovo kale – Fig. 19/4; Salona – Fig. 19/5; Stari Kostolac – Fig. 19/9; Suuk Su – Fig. 19/13; Sv. Nikola – Fig. 19/15; Svishtov – Fig. 19/16; Venchan – Fig. 20/3; Vezenkovo – Fig. 20/4; and unknown location in northeastern Bulgaria – Fig. 20/1), or a bow knob (Gamzigrad –

⁸⁷ Hilberg 2009, 182-185. See, for example, grave 15a in Tumiany, in which an imitation of a Scandinavian fibula was found with a typically late sixth-century, lance head-shaped strap end (Jakobson 2009, 106 pl. 5 a, d).

⁸⁸ Bratia Kunchevi (Gencheva 1989, 33 fig. 23); Bucharest (Zirra, Cazimir 1963, 56, 60, 63; 69 fig. 17/3); Celei (Tudor 1945-1947, 197; 196 fig. 41/14); Dragoevo (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103 pl. VI/11); Gabrovo (4 specimens; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. I/8; II/9; III/3, 7); Gamzigrad (2 specimens: Janković 1983, 140 cat. 194; Petković 2011, 274 fig. 8b); Gradina (Miletić 1978, 144; pl. I/10); Karataš (Špehar 2010, 61 and pl. III/82); Korbovo (Janković 1981, 215 and 126 fig. 70); Nevsha (Kharalambieva 1989, 32 and 37; pl. II/8); Novakovo (Kharalambieva 1989, 34 and 39; pl. III.3); Pazarište (Popović 1999, 73; 101 fig. 58/2); Pernik (2 specimens: Liubenova 1981, 168-170; 171 fig. 110/1, 7); Prahovo (4 specimens: Janković 1981, 213-214 and pl. XVI/1, 3, 6; Špehar 2010, 61 and pl. III/81); Riakhovo (Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, 10 and 12-13; pl. III/22); Sadovec-Golemannovo kale (Uenze 1992, pls. 3/5 and 121/5); Salona (Vinski 1967, pl. XXXIII/6); Snezhina (Kharalambieva 1989, 35 and pl. III/9); Stari Kostolac (6 specimens: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 160, 180, and 190; 161 pl. 10.T100.2; 179 pl. 20.T132/2, 3, 7, 8; 191 pl. 27/T144.3); Suuk Su (Repnikov 1907, 117-118; 145 fig. 93; 146 fig. 113); Sv. Nikola (Kharalambieva 1989, 34 and 39; pl. III/5); Svishtov (Pawlak 1995, 46 and 42 fig. 1/7); Szolnok-Szanda (Bóna, Nagy 2002, 220; 376 pl. 102/8); Venchan (Kharalambieva 1989, 33, 34, 37 and 39; pl. III/6); Vezenkovo (Kharalambieva 1989, 34-35; pl. III/8); Zdravkovec (Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 70; pl. VII/9); Zvonets'ke (Bodjanskij 1960, 274 and 275; 273 fig. 1/7); and an unknown location in northeastern Bulgaria (Kharalambieva 1992, 133; 135 pl. IV/6).

Fig. 18/4; Gradina – Fig. 18/8). In fact, from a morphological point of view, Class 7 is not very different from Class 6: the same bow with flat or mildly rounded cross-section (Figs. 17/3; 18/7, 10, 12; 19/2, 4, 6, 15; 20/3, 4) and the same stem narrower than the bow. The only major difference is that of all specimens of Class 7 known so far, none is made of iron. They are also of smaller size, with many specimens under 5 cm⁸⁹. This may also explain why fibulae of Class 7 received a much more elaborate decoration than those of Class 6⁹⁰. The stem is often decorated with a series of stars (Figs. 17/4, 18/15, 19/12, 15), sometimes replaced with X motifs (Fig. 18/9, 14; 20/5, 6), horizontal (Fig. 18/12, 13; 19/5, 9, 10, 14) or longitudinal lines (Fig. 19/6, 7, 11), and a zigzag ornament (Fig. 18/2, 16; 19/3, 16; 20/3⁹¹). Two fibulae present an ornamental pattern engraved on the stem, in the form of two concentric circles (or ovals) with a smaller circle in the middle (Karataš – Fig. 19/1; Stari Kostolac - Fig. 19/8). This motif is vaguely reminiscent of that on the stem of the fibula from Silistra (a member of Class 12) and may well represent an attempt to render schematically a circular motif (in itself, the simplification of the eagle with spread wings and a star between them) onto a much smaller surface with a rectangular framework. Even more interesting from the point of view of relations between different classes of fibulae with bent stem are the specimens from Sadovec-Golemannovo kale and Szolnok. Their stems are decorated with a V-shaped ornamental pattern, the reversed version of that decorating the stem of the fibula from an unknown location, which has been assigned to Class 6 (Figs. 17/2, 18.4, and 20/2). Similarly, the fibula from Dragoevo (Fig. 18.3) has a small square at the end of the stem, with an engraved X-motif, much like the fibula from Karataš, which belongs to Class 6 (Fig. 14/3). The bow of the fibulae of Class 6 has an elaborate ornamental pattern, more often than not divided by a median rib, sometimes visible in the cross-section (Figs. 19/15 and 20/4). The pattern consists of two bands on either side of the rib, each decorated with a zigzag-and-dot ornament (Figs. 17/4; 18/1, 2, 4-7, 9, 14-16; 19/1, 3, 6, 7, 13-15); 20/1, 4-6). This ornament is sometimes replaced by X motifs (Figs. 17/5 and 19/16) or by the V-shaped ornament (Fig. 19/4). A few fibulae have instead a band of the zigzag-and-dot ornament running longitudinally as the median rib (Figs. 18/3, 11, 13; 19/5, 8-11; 20/2, 3). That band is replaced either by X motifs (Fig. 19/2) or by an ornamental

⁸⁹ Large specimens of between 8 and 9 cm have been found only in northern Bulgaria (Gabrovo – Figs. 17/5 and 18/1; Nevsha – Fig. 18/12).

⁹⁰ Only a few fibulae have no decoration on either the stem (Gabrovo – Fig. 17/5; Gradina – Fig. 18/8) or bow (Izvoarele – Fig. 18/10).

⁹¹ On the basis of its decoration, the fibula from Venchan may just as well be assigned to Class 8. However, judging from the published line drawing, the bow of the fibula is wider than its stem, which is why we included this specimen in Class 7.

pattern based on partially overlapping semi-circles (Fig. 18/12). On the fibula from Gradina, the X motif is barely visible, although it may have been running in two parallel bands along the bow (Fig. 18/8)⁹². Like fibulae of Class 6, specimens of Class 7 have been found in houses of the early Byzantine fort in Gabrovo⁹³. The Bucharest fibula was found inside a sunken-featured building (no. 6) of the settlement excavated in the Militari residential area⁹⁴. The ceramic assemblage from that building including fragments of handmade pottery with finger impressions and notches on the lip, which strongly suggests a date within the second half of the sixth or the early seventh century⁹⁵. As it was the only artifact found in there, not much can be said about the fibula from grave 10 in Gradina⁹⁶. Similarly, none of the artifacts found together with a fibula with bent stem in grave 145 of the Szolnok-Szanda cemetery is chronologically sensitive enough for a more precise dating⁹⁷. However, the fibula from grave 155 in Suuk Su was associated with another of Class 6⁹⁸. As we have seen, the assemblage may be dated to the first half of the sixth century, if not a little later. This conclusion may be substantiated by the fibula from grave 100 in Stari Kostolac⁹⁹. Like that in Suuk Su, this one was also associated with another fibula with bent stem of Class 3. Because of the associated shield-on-tongue buckle, the assemblage in grave 100 may be dated to the first half of the sixth century¹⁰⁰. To the same direction points the analysis of the assemblage in grave 132 in Stari Kostolac. The 45-year old woman was buried in that grave together with four (instead of just two) fibulae with bent stem—two found on the left shoulder, and the other two above the waist¹⁰¹. Next to the skull was a ceramic beaker with the largest diameter in the lower part of the vessel (*Knickwandbecher*) and burnished

⁹² The special character of the Gradina fibula has also been noted by Milavec 2009, 236, who believes it to be a specimen of the “West Balkan” or Dalmatian type of fibulae.

⁹³ Houses 12, 24, and 25 (Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 68-71).

⁹⁴ Zirra, Cazimir 1963, 60 and 63; Sgîbea 1963, 373 and 378-380; 379 pl. II/1; Teodorescu 1972, 93 and 78 fig. 2/3. There were two clay ovens in the northeastern corner of the building, one of which had partially overlapped and destroyed the other, an indication of two distinct occupation and building phases.

⁹⁵ Curta 2001, 291 and 294. According to Janković 1980, 179 the Bucharest and Korbovo fibulae must be dated to the seventh century, after the “fall of the limes.”

⁹⁶ Marić 1969, 241; Miletić 1978, 144.

⁹⁷ Bóna, Nagy 2002, 220 and 321 pl. 47/145. The fibula was found by the right hip of the female skeleton.

⁹⁸ Repnikov 1907, 117-118.

⁹⁹ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 160.

¹⁰⁰ See n. 30.

¹⁰¹ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 180

ornament. Within István Bóna and Margit Nagy's classification of the wheel-made pottery from sixth-century burial assemblages in Hungary, this is without any doubt a member of class III B2 dated to the first half and middle of the sixth century¹⁰². A similar dating may be advanced for the assemblage in grave 144 in Stari Kostolac. The fibula with bent stem of Class 7 was found above the waist next to a shield-on-tongue belt buckle, which may be dated shortly before or after the middle of the sixth century¹⁰³. The six fibulae from Stari Kostolac represent the largest number of specimens of Class 7 on any site in the Balkans. Although the majority of the known specimens have been found in the northern part of the region (including on sites north of the river Danube, such as Celei and Bucharest), fibulae of Class 7 also appear occasionally in the central and western Balkans, the Crimea, and in *barbaricum*, as far away from the Danube frontier of the early Byzantine Empire as the valleys of the Middle Tisza and Lower Dnieper rivers.

*Class 8: Fibulae with stems wider than the bows, and with zigzag ornament*¹⁰⁴

Class 8 stands out among all other classes of fibulae with bent stem in that all its members have a spiral hook. There are no known fibulae of this class with either a bow loop or a bow knob. There are also no large fibulae, the longest of all being that from Izvoarele (Fig. 21/1) with 7.4 cm. There are also very small fibulae, such as that from Nikiup, which is only 3.5 cm long. From the viewpoint of decoration, this is one of the most homogenous classes. The bows have all a flat cross section and are decorated with a longitudinal indentation, sometimes decorated with engraved horizontal lines (Figs. 20/9 and 21/4) or a zigzag ornament (Fig. 21/1). On the fibulae from Histria and General Kantardzhievo (Fig. 20/10, 12), the indentation is replaced with a simple, engraved line, while the small fibula from Nikiup has two longitudinal indentations (Fig. 21/2). Very little variation exists for the decoration of the stem. Most fibulae have a zigzag ornament between two rows of engraved lines (Figs. 20/8, 9, 11-13; 21/2, 4, 5). Only the fibula from Histria has two zigzag lines running in parallel (Fig. 20/10), while on the Izvoarele fibula, the two lines cross

¹⁰² Bóna, Nagy 2002, 138 and 131 fig. 66.

¹⁰³ Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 190 and 192 pl. 27.144.5; Martin 2000, 174.

¹⁰⁴ Adamclisi (2 specimens: Barnea *et alii* 1979, 223 fig. 174.10.3; 224 fig. 175.10.3); Bucharest (Sgîbea 1963, 373, 378-380; 379 pl. II); General Kantardzhievo (Kharalambieva 1989, 34 and 37; pl. III/2); Golesh (Atanasov 1997, 127-129; 138 fig. 5/4); Histria (Condurachi *et alii* 1957, 16-21; 20 fig. 7b); Igren' (Prykhodniuk 1998, 140 fig. 71.2); Izvoarele (Curta 1992, 46 and 47 fig. 9/67); Nikiup (Poulter 2007, 19 and 22 fig. 2.1.10); Stari Kostolac (Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 190 and 191 pl. 26.T144.2); Svishtov (Pawlak 1995, 46 and 42 fig. 1/6); Vetren (Atanasov, Jordanov 1994, 107 pl. XI/101).

each other at equal intervals (Fig. 21/1). Finally, the stem of the Stari Kostolac fibula display a zigzag-and-dot ornamental pattern (Fig. 21/3). The Stari Kostolac fibula was found together with a specimen of Class 7 in grave 144. We have seen that, on the basis of the associated shield-on-tongue buckle, the assemblage in that grave may be dated to the middle or the beginning of the second half of the sixth century. The Bucharest fibula was found inside an abandoned clay oven (perhaps part of a sunken-featured building) of the sixth- and early seventh-century settlement excavated in the Militari residential area¹⁰⁵. A good analogy for the Bucharest fibula has been found in grave 475 of the Diurso cemetery on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, together with belt mounts with open work ornament—so-called “Martynovka mounts”—the chronology of which is also restricted to the late sixth and early seventh century¹⁰⁶. Similarly, the Histria fibula was found on the western side of room E in the house excavated in 1955 next to the city rampart III¹⁰⁷. No other artifacts are known from that room, but several coins have been found in the adjacent rooms, the latest of which was struck for Emperor Justin II¹⁰⁸. A date within the third quarter of the sixth century is further confirmed by the cast fibula with bent stem found in room C¹⁰⁹. Such fibulae have been recently dated to the last two or three decades of the sixth century on the basis of the evidence of coin hoards that include also dress accessories¹¹⁰. With the exception of the Stari Kostolac and Igren’ fibulae, all specimens of Class 8 are from the Lower Danube region (including sites north of the river, such as Bucharest).

¹⁰⁵ Sgîbea 1963, 373. The oven was found during the first campaign (1958). As the subsequent excavations moved to the north and to the east, it remains unclear whether the area was completely excavated to reveal the possible sunken-floored house to which the oven may have belonged (Zirra, Cazimir 1963, 49).

¹⁰⁶ Dmitrev 1982, 78; 76 fig. 3.21; 96 fig. 11

¹⁰⁷ Condurachi *et alii* 1957, 16-21

¹⁰⁸ The coin is said to have been found on top of the western wall of room B. The catalogue of coins found in excavations at Histria between 1914 and 1970 does not include details about the exact location of the finds. There are no less than eight coins struck for Justin II and found in 1955 in the general area of the city rampart III. The earliest is a follis from 569/70, the latest—a half-follis dated 574/5 (Preda, Nubar 1973, 209-216). There is no way to tell which one of those coins is that found room B. For Histria in the late sixth century, see Condurachi 1957, 259-260; Suceveanu, Angelescu 1994, 205 and 208.

¹⁰⁹ Condurachi *et alii* 1957, 20 fig. 7b.

¹¹⁰ Curta, Gândilă 2011, 67.

*Class 9: Fibulae with bows wider than the stems, with striations*¹¹¹

Although most specimens known so far have been found in northeastern Bulgaria, Class 9 is different from all others (except class 11) because of its presence on sites in Macedonia. There are no such fibulae either in the Iron Gates region of the Danube valley or in the western Balkans. The Davideni fibula is the only member of the group found in *barbaricum*. The fact that it is also the only fibula from this class to be made of iron suggests a locally produced imitation. The stems of fibulae of Class 9 are typically decorated with horizontal striations, some of them quite deep (Figs. 21/7, 9; 22/1, 3, 12), others less so (Figs. 21/10; 22/2, 11). The three fibulae from Pernik (Fig. 22/5-7) are different from specimens of Class 6 found on the same site (Fig. 14/8-10) in that the horizontal lines on their stems also have indentations, most likely an attempt to imitate regular striations. To enhance the visual effect of the striations, some fibulae have bows decorated with longitudinal striations (Figs. 21/7; 22/2, 3, 12), while others have one or two engraved lines running along the bow (Figs. 21/9, 10; 22/5). Those are large fibulae, none of which is less than 5 cm long (the shortest, from Kiten, is 5.8 cm long). Some have spiral hooks (Kiten – Fig. 21/9; Gradnica – Fig. 21/10; Pet Mogili – Fig. 22/2; Veselinovo – Fig. 22/4) or bow knobs (Longa – Fig. 22/1; Tetovo – Fig. 22/3). There is no fibula with bow loop. No fibula has been found in a datable archaeological context and it is therefore impossible to say anything about the chronology of this class.

*Class 10: Fibulae with bows of triangular cross-section*¹¹²

The triangular cross-section of the bow appears with fibulae from fourth-century assemblages in the Upper Bug region of present-day Ukraine¹¹³. It may therefore be seen as an "archaic" feature¹¹⁴. Because of the triangular cross-section, the

¹¹¹ Cherencha (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 114 and 102 pl. V.12); Davideni (Mitrea 2001, 138-139; 329 fig. 68/1); Gorno Čalje (Mikulčić 2002, 453 and fig. 369/2); Gradnica (Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, 69 and 71; pl. VI/8); Kiten (Kharalambieva 1989, 34 and 37; pl. II/6); Longa (Moutsopoulos 1992, 10 and 9 fig. 8); Pernik (3 specimens: Liubenova 1981, 168-170; 171 fig. 110.2, 4, 14); Pet Mogili (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 100 pl. III.5); Riakhovo (Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, 10 and 12-13; pl. III/23); Shumen (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103 pl. VI/7); Tetovo (Mikulčić 2002, 470 and fig. 388/3); Veselinovo (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 57 and 59; 55 pl. VII/5).

¹¹² Brza Palanka (Janković 1981, 248 pl. XVI.11); Kavetchina (Vakulenko, Prykhodniuk 1984, 82 and 57 fig. 32.9); Riakhovo (Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, 10 and 12-13; pl. III/20); Sadovec-Golemannovo kale (2 specimens: Uenze 1992, pls. 2/12 and 3/6); Stara Zagora (Gencheva 1989, 33 fig. 2e); and unknown location in the Stara Zagora region of Bulgaria (1989, 33, fig. 2ж).

¹¹³ E.g., Kosanovo and Petrykivtsi (Magomedov 2001, 269 fig. 68/4, 6).

¹¹⁴ Uenze 1992, 151.

bows of fibulae of Class 10 are never decorated. The only decoration appears on the stem, in the form of the V-shaped motif on the fibula from an unknown location in the Stara Zagora region (Fig. 23.6) or a series of indentations reminiscent of the striations so typical for Class 9 (Brza Palanka – Fig. 23/1). Fibulae of Class 10 have bow loops (Fig. 23/5, 6) or spiral hooks (Fig. 23/1, 3). Besides the large, U-shaped opening between stem and catch plate, the other feature that distinguishes them from fourth-century specimens is the large size. The longest is the iron fibula found among the stones of a ruined oven in a sunken-featured building (no. 27) of the settlement excavated between 1974 and 1977 on the left bank of the Dniester river, in Kavetchina¹¹⁵. No other artifacts are known to have been found next to the fibula or on the house floor, but the filling of the pit produced handmade pottery and a battle axe¹¹⁶. On the basis of the battle axe, the excavators proposed a late fifth-century date for the fibula and, by default, for the entire assemblage¹¹⁷. However, the axe was found in the filling of the house pit, which means that it was deposited there long time after the abandonment of the house, i.e., after the deposition of the fibula among the stones of the dismantled oven. Both the axe and the pottery are much later than the fibula, but cannot be dated by themselves with any degree of certainty. Moreover, in a recent paper entirely dedicated to a discussion of the Kavetchina fibula and the implications of its dating for the chronology of the earliest assemblages of the so-called “Prague” culture attributed to the Slavs, Igor Gavritukhin has advanced the idea of a Balkan origin of the artifact. According to him, the Kavetchina fibula must therefore be dated to the last decades of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century¹¹⁸. However, none of the analogies cited by Gavritukhin may be dated with any degree of certainty, for none comes from a well dated assemblage. The Golemannovo kale fibulae (Fig. 23/3, 4) are similar in some respects to the Kavetchina brooch, but different in others. None of the Balkan fibulae with a triangular cross-section of the bow presents like the Kavetchina brooch a small square at the end of the stem, which is decorated with the X motif. This detail may be found on fibulae of

¹¹⁵ Vakulenko, Prykhodniuk 1984, 82; Vakulenko, Prykhodniuk 1985, 126 fig. 81 (house plan and associated artifacts).

¹¹⁶ Vakulenko, Prykhodniuk 1984, 57 fig. 32/2-8, 11; 68 fig. 39/9.

¹¹⁷ Vakulenko, Prykhodniuk 1985, 97-99. In addition, “archaeo-magnetic measurements” are said to have yielded a late fifth-century date for the assemblage. It remains unclear what exactly was measured and by what means. Nor is the methodology explained, by which the date has been obtained with such a degree of accuracy. In the absence of any published data regarding those measurements, their results must be treated with suspicion.

¹¹⁸ Gavritukhin 2003, 201. See also Gavritukhin 2005, 406. For a critique of the concept of “Prague culture,” see Curta 2001.

other classes, such as Dragoevo (Fig. 18/3), Gamzigrad (Fig. 18/4), and Karataš (Fig. 14/3). If the relevance of this particular detail is accepted and if the general chronology advanced in this paper for the classes to which those fibulae belong is correct, then the Kavetchina fibula may be dated to the sixth, rather than the fifth century. There are in fact no fibulae securely dated before 500 with which the Kavetchina fibula may be compared. Nonetheless, in the absence of any well dated analogies, its chronology remains unclear.

*Class 11: Fibulae with trapeze-shaped stems*¹¹⁹

In several cases, the trapeze-shaped stem is not decorated at all, especially when the fibula is made of iron, not copper alloy (Figs. 24/2, 3; 25/1, 4, 5, 7; 26/1; 27/1, 4). On the Štrbovac and Trgovište fibulae (Figs. 27/10, 28/2), as well as the fibulae from an unknown location in northeastern Bulgaria (Fig. 28/3, 4), an engraved contour is meant most likely to accentuate the trapeze shape of the stem. The same effect may be at work with the reversed V-shaped decoration on the fibulae from Dragoevo and Gabrovo (Fig. 25/3, 7), which also appears, albeit in a much more elaborate form, on one of the fibulae from Hradyz'ke (Fig. 26/5). The hourglass-shaped motif on the stem of

¹¹⁹ Adamclisi (Barnea *et alii* 1979, 223 fig. 174.10.4; 224 fig. 175.10.4); Barovo (Mikulčič 2002, 146-147; 148 fig. 39.2, 4); Belgrade (Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 137 and 155 pl. VII.82.1); Budinarci (Mikulčič 2002, 199-200; 200 fig. 95/3); Cherencha (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 48 pl. IV/9); Davideni (Mitrea 2001, 138-139; 326 fig. 66/2); Dobrich (Kharalambieva 1992, 133 and 135 pl. IV/3); Dragoevo (4 specimens; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 51 pl. VI/6; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 101 pl. IV/3, 7; 103 pl. VI/13); Gabrovo (12 specimens: Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. I/3; II/4; III/9, 10, 12; V/5); General Kantardzhievo (Kharalambieva 1989, 34 and 37; pl. II/4); Gornji Streoc (Ivanišević, Špehar 2005, 138 and 139 fig. 3.2); Graište (Mikulčič 2002, 300; 301 fig. 199/2); Hradyz'ke (3 specimens: Rutkivs'ka 1979, 358 and 341 fig. 22/1-3); Jegunovce (Mikulčič 2002, 461 and fig. 378/2); Knin (Simoni 1989, 83; Vinski 1989, 60 pl. XI/4); Krivina (Gomolka-Fuchs 1982, pl. 55/263); Longa (Moutsopoulos 1992, 10 and 9 fig. 7); Markovi Kuli (2 specimens: Mikulčič, Nikuljska 1978, 147 and 148 fig. 17; Mikulčič, Lilčić 1995, 257 and 256 pl. I.5); Miokazi (Mikulčič 2002, 474 and fig. 392/2); Orašje (Mikulčič 2002, 463 and fig. 383/2); Pece (Pērzhita 1990, pl. X/5); Poian (Székely 1992, 263 and 269 fig. 17); Sadovec-Sadovsko kale (Uenze 1992, pl. 2/8); Shumen (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103 pl. VI.8); Smiadovo (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 100 pl. III/6); Stara Zagora (Gencheva 1989, 33 fig. 21); Štrbovac (Janković 1980, 174 fig. 2/5); Svishtov (Press *et alii* 1973, 130 and 132 pl. II/4); Taor (Mikulčič 2002, 188-189 and 189 fig. 81/2); Trgovište (Pescheck 1949-1950, 262 and 263 fig. 4.4); Volos'ke (Prykhodniuk 1998, 156 and 142, fig. 74/4); Zheläg (Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 114 and 102 pl. V/11); unknown locations in northeastern Bulgaria (3 specimens: Kharalambieva 1992, 133; 134 pl. III/12; 135 pl. IV/6; Kharalambieva 1996-1997, 113 and 128 pl. XII/107) and in the region of L'viv (Gavritukhin, Oblomskij 1996, 231 fig. 52/16).

another fibula from Hradyz'ke may have derived from that ornamental pattern (Fig. 26/7). By contrast, the V-shaped ornament on the stems of the fibulae from Adamclisi and General Kantardzhievo (Figs. 24/1 and 26/2) was meant to accentuate the elongated form of the stem. The same may be true for the row of X-motifs on the stems of the fibulae from Gornji Streoc and Krivina (Fig. 26/3, 9) and for the zigzag ornament on the stems of the Belgrade and Smiadovo fibulae (Figs. 24/4 and 27/8). The same effect was obtained with one or many engraved lines running along the stem (Graište – Fig. 26/4; Longa – Fig. 24/10; Sadovsko kale – Fig. 27/6; Zheläg – Fig. 28/7). When, on the contrary, the trapeze-shaped stem is wider, approaching, as it were, the shape of a rectangle, there is room for a more elaborate decoration, in the form of concentric circles, such as on the fibulae from Markovi Kuli and Pece (Fig. 27/2, 3). The spring system of class 11 may take various forms: bow loop (Fig. 25/2, 5, 6, 8), as well as spiral hook (Figs. 24/4, 6; 25/1, 3, 7; 26/2, 6, 9; 27/7, 9, 10, 11; 28/1, 2, 4; 28/6, 7) or bow knob (Figs. 20/7; 24/2, 5; 26/ 8; 27/3)¹²⁰. It is important to note that in at least three cases (Barovo and Longa – Fig. 24/3, 10; Markovi Kuli – Fig. 27/1), the spring cord runs underneath the bow, much like with specimens of Class 3. There are several other parallels with fibulae from other classes. For example, the bow of the Belgrade fibulae (Fig. 24/4) has a central, longitudinal rib with zigzag-and-dot ornament on either side, much like fibulae of Class 7. A simplified variant of that ornamental pattern appears also on the bows of the fibulae from General Kantardzhievo, Gornji Streoc, and Hradyz'ke (Fig. 26/1, 3, 5). By contrast, the engraved, longitudinal band in the middle of the bow of the Trgovište and Graište fibulae (Figs. 26/4 and 28/2) reminds one of fibulae with inscriptions on the stem (Class 2) and those of Class 8. The longitudinal striations on the bows of the fibulae from Knin (Fig. 20/7), Krivina (Fig. 26/9), Markovi Kuli (Fig. 27/2), Miokazi (Fig. 27/4), Sadovsko kale (Fig. 27/6), Smiadovo (Fig. 27/8), Stara Zagora (Fig. 27/9), Taor (Fig. 27/12), and Zheläg (Fig. 28/7) may also be found in other classes as well (e.g., Figs. 1/2; 2/2, 3, 9; 3/10; 7/8; 8/2; 10/5, 10, 11; 11/8, 11; 19/12; 21/7; 22/2). Unique are only the tessellation at the end of the bow of the Adamclisi fibula (Fig. 24/1) and the hourglass motifs on the Hradyz'ke fibula (Fig. 26/7). Class 11 includes the only golden fibula with bent stem so far known¹²¹. It was part of a small hoard discovered in 1980 in the main cistern of the early Byzantine fort at Vodno, near Markovi Kuli, on the southeastern outskirts of Skopje¹²². The hoard also included a golden pendant with a polyhaedral attachment, a golden earring with pendants, and a fragmentary buckle with open-work ornament in the form of a human face (Schulze-Dörrlamm's class D2), which is dated to the second third of the sixth

¹²⁰ All specimens with bow knob are from Macedonia and the surrounding region.

¹²¹ However, according to Mikulčić 2002, 194, the fibula is simply gilded, not really made of gold.

¹²² Mikulčić, Bilbija 1981-1982, 212 and 213 fig. 7.

century¹²³. A late sixth-century date may be advanced for the Knin fibula, which was found next to the left elbow of a male skeleton in grave 61. Associated with the fibula was a buckle with triangular plate with open-work ornament¹²⁴. Its loop had been cast together with the plate, a detail which enables us to attribute this artifact to a relatively large number of similar buckles known as the "Krainburg type," which are primarily found on sites in the western Balkans and are dated to the last third of the sixth century¹²⁵. That date is further confirmed by the analysis of the assemblage found in grave 82 of the cemetery excavated between the Tadeuš Koščuška, Gospodar Ivanova, and Rige od Fere streets in Belgrade. The assemblage included a fibula with bent stem, which was found next to the right elbow of the child skeleton. On the right side of the skull, there was a bronze earring with three chains. Attached to one of the chains was a glass bead¹²⁶. Two such earrings have been found in Bracigovo (Bulgaria) in a hoard of early Byzantine coins, the latest of which had been struck for Emperor Justin II between 565 and 573¹²⁷. A late sixth- or early seventh-century date may also be advanced for the assemblage in a sunken-featured building (no. 20) in Poian, which produced a fibula with bent stem. Only handmade pottery was found in that building, including fragments of clay pans¹²⁸. In the lands north of the river Danube, the earliest assemblages with clay pans may be dated to the late sixth century¹²⁹. Like most other fibulae with bent stem, those of class 11 appear in the northern Balkans, with the largest number of specimens (14) from Gabrovo. Unlike most other classes, it is however well documented on many sites in Macedonia.

*Class 12: Fibulae with circular or oval stems*¹³⁰

The most remarkable member of this very small class is the fibula from Eski Kermen (Fig. 28/9). Its bow is decorated with a row of small engravings running in the middle and with another cutting across, at the very end of the bow. The latter detail is reminiscent of the Adamclisi fibula in Class 11 (Fig. 24/1). The stem has a decoration of intersecting zigzagging lines with X-motifs in the middle, again bringing to mind the

¹²³ Uenze 1992, 186; Varsik 1992, 80; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2002, 152-155. For a slightly later date within the second half of the sixth century, see Fiedler 1992, 73.

¹²⁴ Simoni 1989, 83; Vinski 1989, 60 pl. XI/5.

¹²⁵ Ibler 1991, 136-138.

¹²⁶ Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 137 and 155 pl. VII.82.2.

¹²⁷ Mušmov 1928-1929, 328-329; 329 fig. 191. For the identification of the latest coins, see Iurukova 1969, 262.

¹²⁸ Székely 1992, 263.

¹²⁹ Curta 2001, 296.

¹³⁰ Eski Kermen (Ajbabin 2007, 133; 146 fig. 6.1); Liubivka (Gavritukhin 2004, 208-209 and 217 fig. 2/23); Silistra (Angelova 2003, 247-248 and 251 pl. II/4).

decoration of the Izvoarele (Fig. 21/1), Korbovo (Fig. 15/9), Krivina (Fig. 26/9), Moldoveni (Fig. 8/8), and Pernik (Fig. 14/7) fibulae. Unlike all of them, the stem of the Eski Kermen specimen ends with a circular appendix decorated with an eagle with spread wings, and a six-pointed star between them. Aleksandr Aibabin, who first published the fibula, believes it belonged to a high-ranking officer, for the eagle with spread wings was a symbol of imperial authority¹³¹. Given that the artifact was found in a trench excavated in 1937 by Nikolai Replikov on the eastern side of the early Byzantine fort, without any archaeological context, it is difficult to assess Aibabin's interpretation¹³². However, it is perhaps not an accident that the fibula from Silistra, the stem of which is completely circular, was found next to one of the city's main towers¹³³. The bow of the Silistra fibula is also decorated with X-motifs in the middle and with striations on the bow margins, an ornamental pattern which reminds one of the Stari Kostolac fibula of class 6 (Fig. 16/9). Similarly, the bow of the Stari Kostolac specimen of Class 6 (Fig. 13/8) is the only parallel for the tessellation on the bow of the Liubivka fibula (Fig. 28/8). That fibula was found in a female burial together with another fibula and two bracelets, the ends of which were also decorated with tessellation¹³⁴. Igor Gavritukhin advanced a date within the second half of the fifth or the first decades of the sixth century on the basis of the other fibula, but the few analogies for the two bracelets point rather to a late sixth or early seventh century¹³⁵. Unlike the Eski Kermen and Silistra fibulae—both with spiral hooks—the spring system of the Liubivka fibula consists of a cord running underneath the bow. The fact that two out of three members of class 12 have been found outside the Balkans strongly suggests that those fibulae were rare or, in any case, neither produced nor worn in the region.

The only classes that appear in the entire Balkan region are 3 and 6, with specimens of the class 3 found also in the Crimea and in *barbaricum*. Absent from the central region of the Balkans (Macedonia and the surrounding areas) are the classes 5, 7, and 10, even though the latter two are present in *barbaricum* and in the Crimea, respectively. By contrast, the only classes that appear in Macedonia and the surrounding areas are 2, 9, and 11. Classes 1 and 8 are restricted to sites in the northern Balkans, even though they also appear sporadically in Crimea and in *barbaricum*. Tabulating the results of the analysis of datable assemblages with fibulae with bent stem it becomes clear that the geographical contrasts are also linked to chronological issues (Fig. 29). To be sure, the tabulation shows that in Southeastern and Eastern Europe, the fibula with bent stem is an essentially sixth-century phenomenon. No assemblages exist which could be securely dated to the fifth

¹³¹ Aibabin 2007, 134.

¹³² For the early Byzantine fort in Eski Kermen, see Haritonov 2004; Herdick, Schreg 2009.

¹³³ Angelova 2003, 247.

¹³⁴ Gavritukhin 2004, 208 and 217 fig. 2.25-26.

¹³⁵ Rodinkova, Sedin 2004, 240 and 241 fig. 4/3.

century, a conclusion which casts doubts on Syna Uenze's idea of an evolutionary development from the fourth- to the sixth-century fibula with bent stem. Furthermore, it appears that the majority of well dated specimens are from assemblages of the second half of the sixth century, thus invalidating Uenze's other claim that no possibility exists of narrowing down the dating of fibulae with bow wider than the stem¹³⁶. In fact, chronology may explain the contrasts of the geographical distribution. Only members of the classes 3 and 6 appear in both earlier and later assemblages¹³⁷. Fibulae from Class 11, which appears in Macedonia and the surrounding areas, are all dated to the second half of the sixth century. Many specimens are known from fortified, hilltop sites which must have been occupied at that time, but only rarely from archaeological contexts that could shed some light on the use of those dress accessories. Fibulae with bent stem have been found both singly and in pairs in houses built inside the early Byzantine forts at Gabrovo, Golemannovo kale near Sadovec, and Stara Zagora. They also appear in towers (Čezava), cisterns (Markovi Kuli), and churches (Batoshevo). As demonstrated by the specimens found in Histria and Nea Anchialos, such fibulae were not restricted to the military population, but were also known in cities. Burial assemblages with fibulae with bent stem indicate that those were female dress accessories (Fig. 30)¹³⁸. Where the skeletal material has been properly sexed, it reveals that women buried with such fibulae had died in their prime age. Only occasionally were those fibulae deposited in graves of children, presumably of little girls. In such cases (Piatra Frecăței, Belgrade, Suuk Su), fibulae appear either singly or in pairs on the upper body, in a position that suggests they were used as fasteners. This is true only for some of the graves of mature women. In the Balkans, pairs of fibulae appear only in the cemetery of the ancient city of Viminacium excavated in Stari Kostolac. Only in grave 100 were both fibulae found on the upper part of the body, presumably as dress fasteners. In grave 144, one fibula was found on the right shoulder, the other just above the waist line. Similarly, one of the fibulae in grave 112 was found on the chest, the other on the abdomen. The mirror image of such a configuration, but with four, instead of two fibulae, appears in grave 132. In grave 143, one of the fibulae was found on the right hip, the other by the right knee. Single fibulae were also found in the hip region in grave 133 in Stari Kostolac and grave 145 in Szolnok-Szanda. The presence of

¹³⁶ Uenze 1992, 148.

¹³⁷ This also contradicts Uenze 1992, 149, who believed that specimens of her type 2 (like the fibula from Korbovo, which we included into our class 3) may be dated only to the first half of the sixth century.

¹³⁸ The only burial assemblage associated with a male skeleton is that from grave 61 in Knin. It remains unclear, however, whether the sexing of the skeletons from that cemetery is the result of the anthropological analysis or merely "derived" from the nature of the grave goods.

fibulae in the waist line area of the body suggests that in such cases they were not used as dress fasteners. Instead they may have fastened the shroud—of which there are however no remains—or were attached to the belt. In fact, in four out of seven cases in which fibulae appear in the waist area, they were found there in association with buckles. The fibula found by the right knee of the skeleton in grave 143 may have been attached to a strap hanging from the belt, a fashion which appeared in Transdanubia (i.e., the region west of the Middle Danube) during the second half of the fifth century¹³⁹. If so, they definitely did not have any functional role, but were merely used as ornaments. However, in two cases (graves 112 and 133 in Stari Kostolac), fibulae with bent stem were found in the waist area together with other objects of personal care, such as combs and tweezers. They may have been deposited in purses attached to the belt (but no buckle was found in grave 112), in which case they had neither functional, nor decorative role. Instead, they may have been treated as amulets.

Although no manufacturing remains have so far been found, a quick glimpse at the distribution map (Fig. 31) strongly suggests a local, Balkan origin of the fibulae with bent stem. All fibulae found outside the Balkans have analogies in the region¹⁴⁰. Moreover, there seems to be a cluster of finds in northern and northeastern Bulgaria. In spite of the widely spread use of metal detectors in the area, that density of finds is unlikely to be a mere accident of research¹⁴¹. Whether or not fibulae with bent stem were produced only in Bulgaria, they certainly were imitated there in cheaper materials. In those classes which have specimens made of iron, instead of copper alloy, finds from Bulgaria are by far the most numerous¹⁴². The only iron specimens in the classes 9 and 10 are also from Bulgaria. If the chronology we proposed for the various classes is correct, then their geographical distribution may be interpreted as an indication that a fashion created in the first half or the middle of the sixth century in the northern Balkans spread to the central region of the peninsula during the second half of that century. Given the consistent association between fibulae with bent stem and fortified, military sites, a possible explanation for this phenomenon may be the transfer of troops from the northern and northeastern to the

¹³⁹ Bóna 1976, 41; Zeman 1987, 521; Freeden, Vida 2005, 373-375.

¹⁴⁰ This is true also for the four fibulae from Diurso not taken into consideration in our analysis (Dimitriev 1982, 78 and 76 fig. 3/18-21).

¹⁴¹ That fibulae with bent stem may have been produced in northern Bulgaria has first been noted by Gencheva 1989, 34.

¹⁴² There are 18 specimens each for the classes 3 and 6, in which no more than three iron fibulae are known from Macedonia, Serbia, or Bosnia-Herzegovina. That iron imitations were produced in Bulgaria has first been suggested by Uenze 1992, 149-150.

central region of the Balkans¹⁴³. It is worth mentioning in this respect that among coins hoards found within the territory of present-day Macedonia, twice as many are dated to the second than to the first half of the sixth century¹⁴⁴. We have elsewhere argued that coin hoards reflect the presence of the military in a given region, and as such they appear to reflect the same phenomenon as that highlighted by the distribution of fibulae with bent stem¹⁴⁵.

Most likely as an imitation of the Balkan fashions, fibulae with bent stem also appear on settlement sites in the lands north of the Danube River. In Bucharest and Kavetchina, such dress accessories were found in ovens. This may signal a ritual associated with the abandonment of the house, which has otherwise been noted in relation to the archaeological context in which bow fibulae were also found on late sixth- and early seventh-century sites in Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine¹⁴⁶. A very interesting cluster of finds on the territory or in the hinterland of the modern city of Dnipropetrovs'ke, on the Lower Dnieper, raises new questions concerning the relations between the Balkan provinces of the Empire, the Crimea, and the steppe lands during the sixth and early seventh century. While various authors have noted striking parallels to the Balkans in the archaeological record of the Middle Dnieper region, particularly of the hillfort in Pastyrs'ke, there is yet no systematic study of those parallels¹⁴⁷. Particularly important is to clarify the role of Crimea—whether mediating the Balkan influence or the region from which artifacts with Balkan analogies may have originated. To judge from the existing evidence, the role played by Crimea in the diffusion of Balkan fashions to the steppe lands is similar to the one played by the Iron Gates region in relation to the Carpathian Basin, particularly to sites along the Tisza River. In fact, the parallel may be extended even further. After military, fortified sites in the Balkans were abandoned in the early seventh century, the use of fibulae with bent stem survived in only two regions at a great distance from each other—Albania and Left-Bank Ukraine¹⁴⁸. This coincidence may well be the result of the popularity which late antique Balkan fashions still enjoyed in the seventh century. In that respect, fibulae with bent stem may indeed be regarded as part of the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

¹⁴³ Although other authors have noted it (Dunn 2002, Snively 2006), the phenomenon has not yet received a satisfactory explanation.

¹⁴⁴ Out of ten hoards of the first half of the sixth century, four are dated to the reign of Emperor Justinian (527-565) and could therefore have been of the second half of the century.

¹⁴⁵ Curta, Gândilă 2011-2012.

¹⁴⁶ Curta 2004, 72. For the archaeology of house abandonment, see Cameron 1991.

¹⁴⁷ See, however, Ambroz 1968 and Prykhodniuk 1994.

¹⁴⁸ Curta 2013b. For seventh-century fibulae with bent stem in Ukraine and southwestern Russia, see Goriunov, Kazanskii 1978, 25-26; Gavritukhin, Oblomskii 1996, 39-40.

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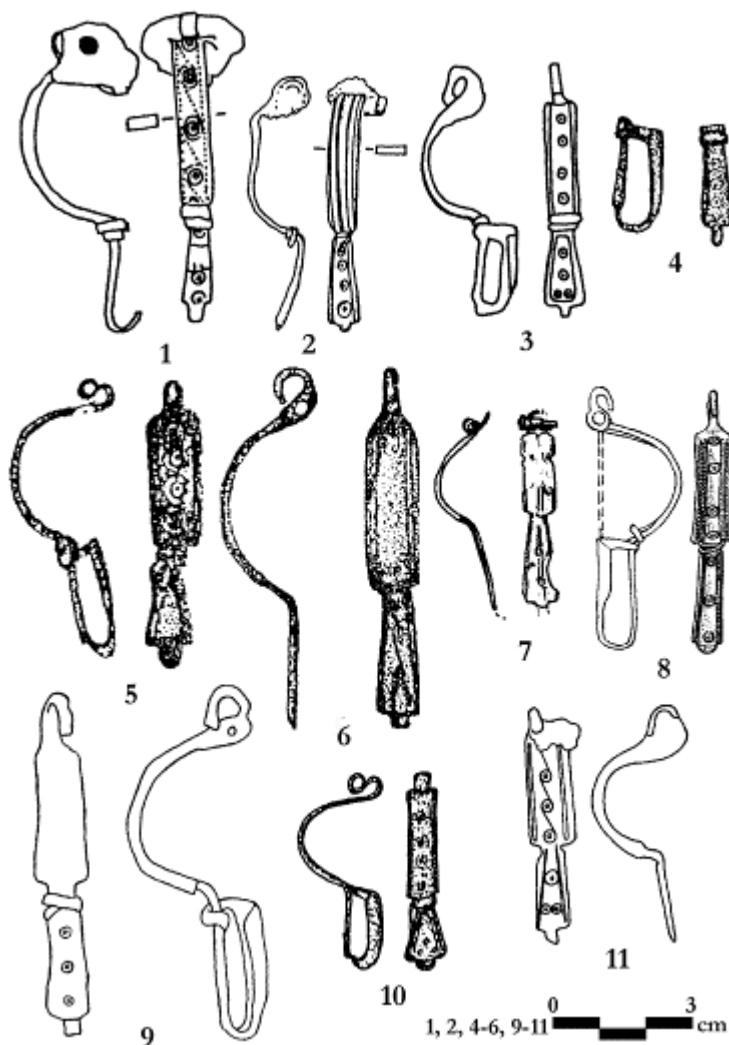


Fig. 1. Fibulae with trapeze-shaped stem with circle-and-dot decoration: 1 – Abrit; 2 – Bălskovo 3 – Bela Voda; 4-6 – Dragoevo; 7 – Eski Kermen, burial chamber 337; 8 – Gamzigrad; 9, 11 – Karataš; 10 - Gradnica. After Kharalambieva 1989, pls. II/9 and III/10; Liubenova 1995, 12 fig. 116; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 101 pl. IV/4 and 103 pl. VI/1,13; Aibabin 2007, 146 fig. 6/3; Janković 1983, 135 fig. 109/3; Špehar 2010, pl. III/69, 76; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pl. VI/5.

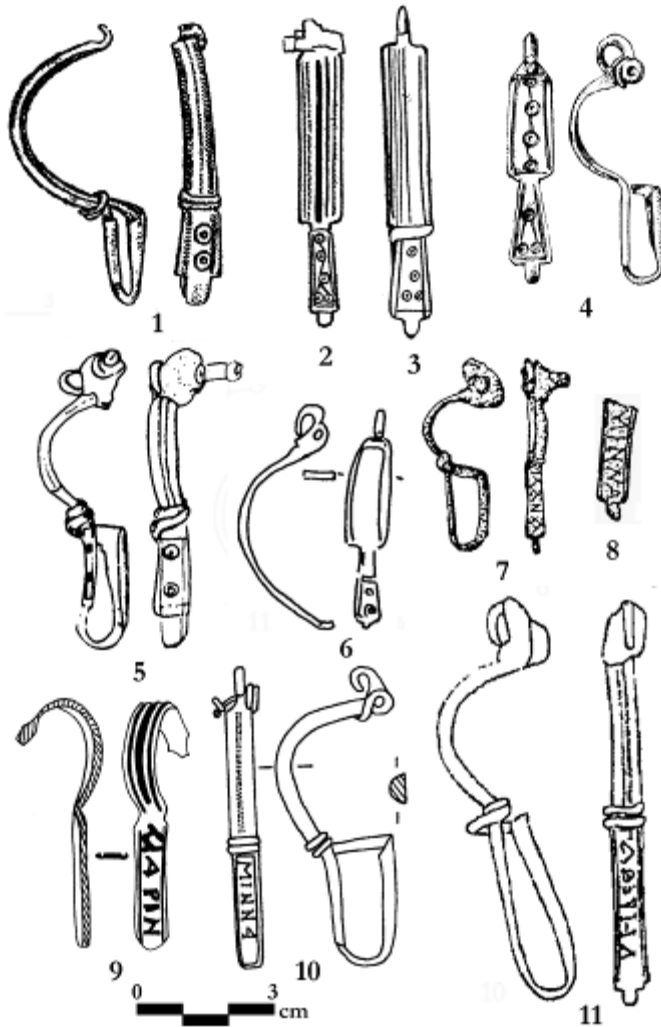


Fig. 2. Fibulae with trapeze-shaped stem with circle-and-dot decoration (1-6) and fibulae with inscription on the stem (7-11): 1 – Ovidiu, 2, 3 – Pernik; 4 – Piatra Frecăței; 5 – Riakhovo; 6 – unknown location in Bulgaria; 7 – Batoshevo; 8 – Dragoevo; 9 – Izvoarele; 10 - Kirilovo; 11 – Plovdiv. After Teodor 1988, 213 fig. 2/5; Liubanova 1981, 171 fig. 110/9, 16; Petre 1987, pl. 146 fig. 240b; Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, pl. II.17; Kharalambieva 1989, pl. II. 15; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pl. I/1; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103 pl. VI/2; Irimia 2005-2006, 258 fig. 1a; Gencheva 1989, 33 fig. 2A; Kharalambieva 1998, 373 fig. 5/7.

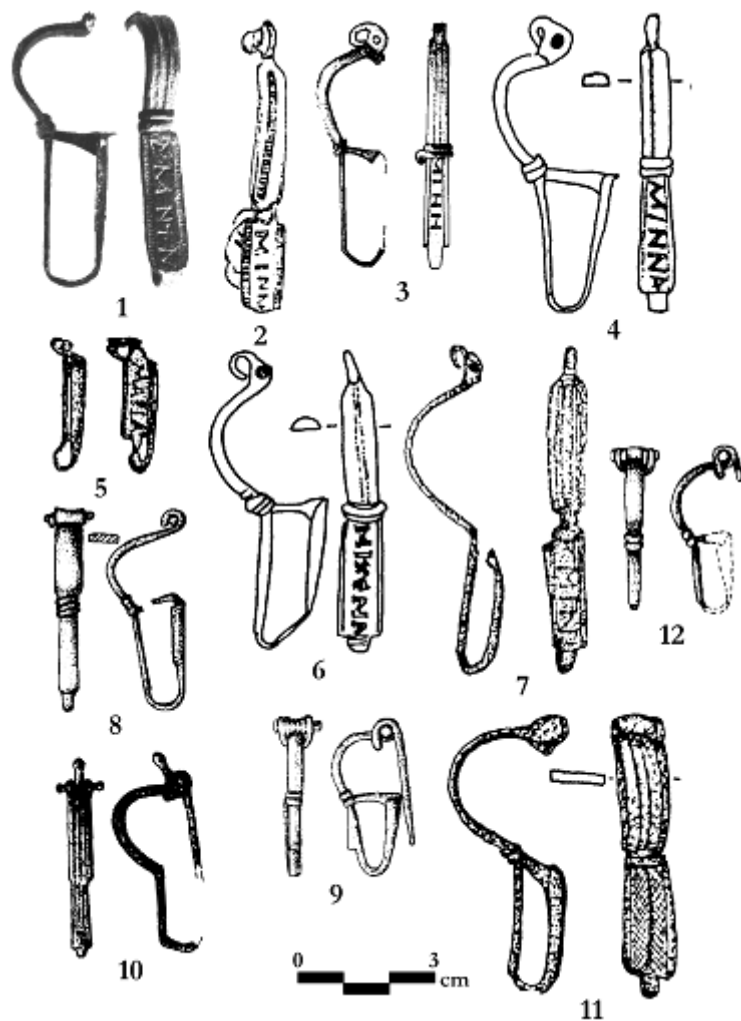


Fig. 3. Fibulae with inscription on the stem (1-7) and fibulae with bow and stem of similar width (8-12): 1 – Philippoi; 2 – Riakhovo; 3 – Taor; 4 – Stan; 5 – Shumen; 6 – unknown location (Bulgaria); 7 – Veselinovo; 8-9 – Barovo; 10 – Batoshevo; 11 – Budinarci; 12 – Čučer. After Sève 1981, 919 fig. 3; Mikulčić 2002, 148 fig. 39/1, 3; 156 fig. 47/1; 189 fig. 81; 200 fig. 95/2; Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, pl. III/18; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 102 pl. V.1 and 103 pl. VI/12; Kharalambieva 1989, pl. II/1, 2; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pl. I/2.

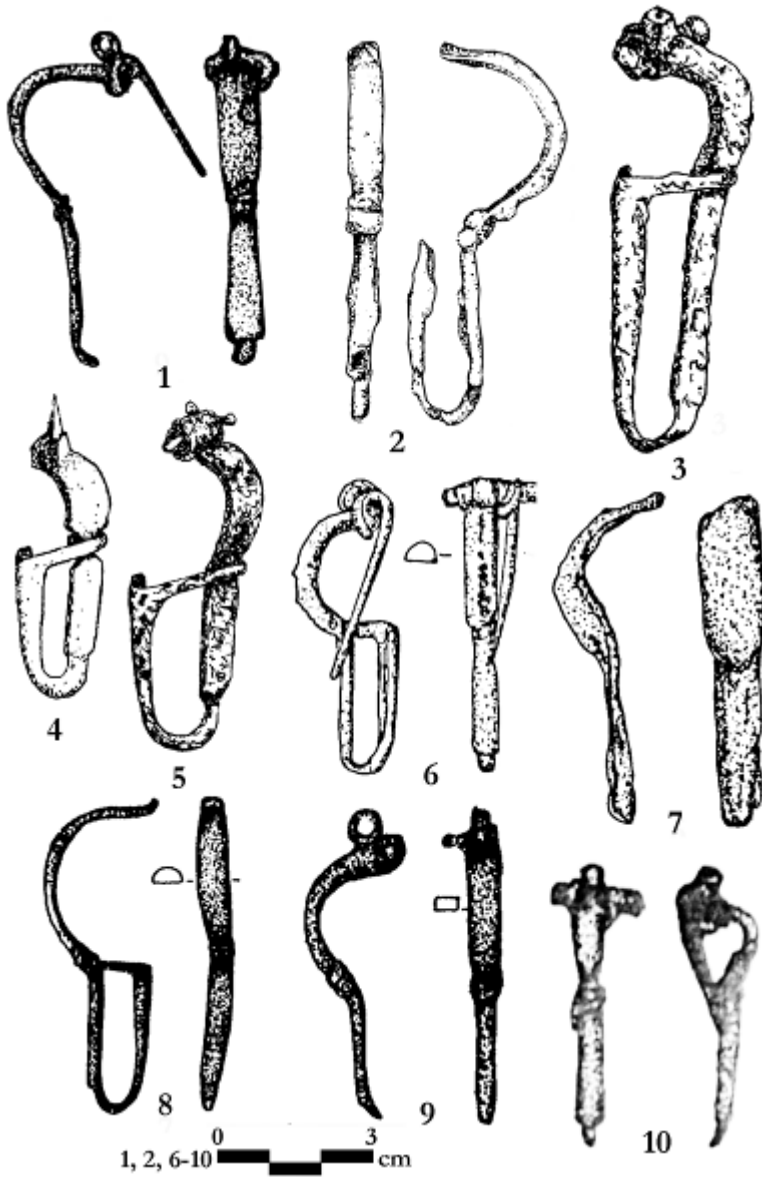


Fig. 4. Fibulae with bow and stem of similar width: 1 – Cherencha; 2 - Davideni; 3-5 – Debelo Brdo; 6-7 – Gabrovo; 8-10 – Dragoevo. After Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 48 pl. IV. 5-7; Mitrea 2001, 326 fig. 66/6; Vinski 1967, pl. XXXIII/9-11; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pl. IV/1, 6, 7.

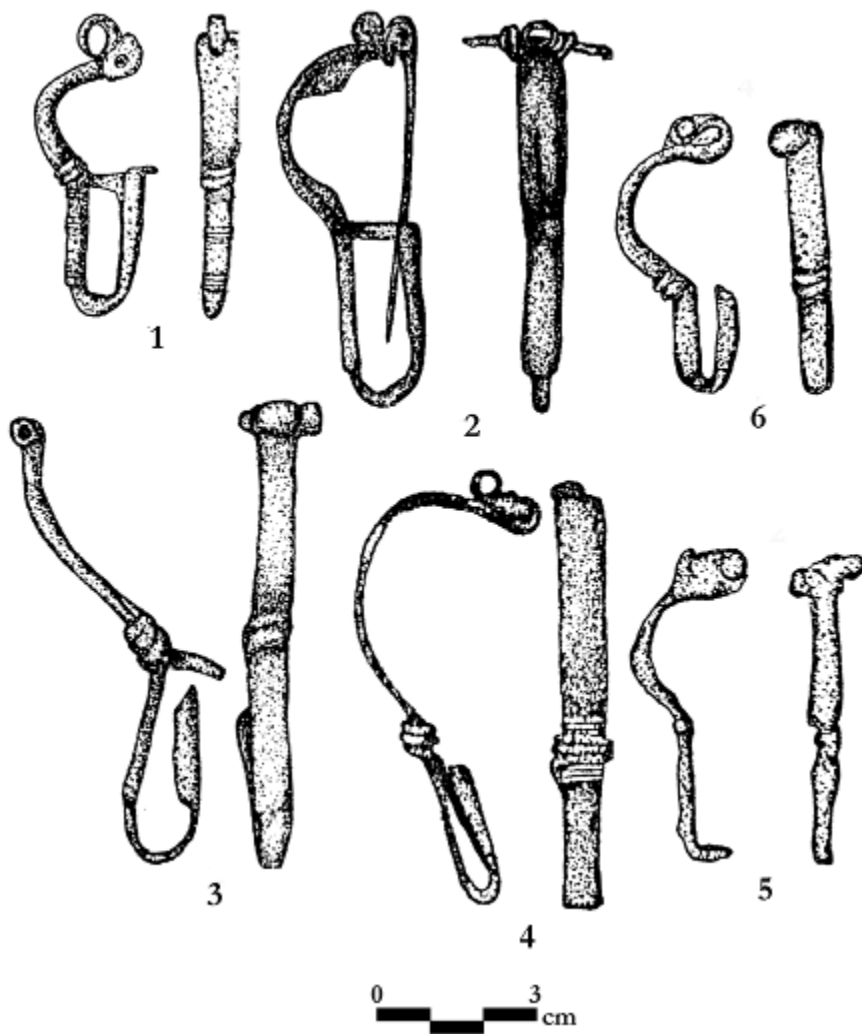


Fig. 5. Fibulae with bow and stem of similar width: 1, 5, 6 – Gabrovo (1 – house 10; 5, 6 – house 12); 2- 4 – Dragoevo. After Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 49 pl. V.3 and 55 pl. VII/6; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. I/5 and II/1; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 100 pl. III/4 and 101 pl. IV/2.

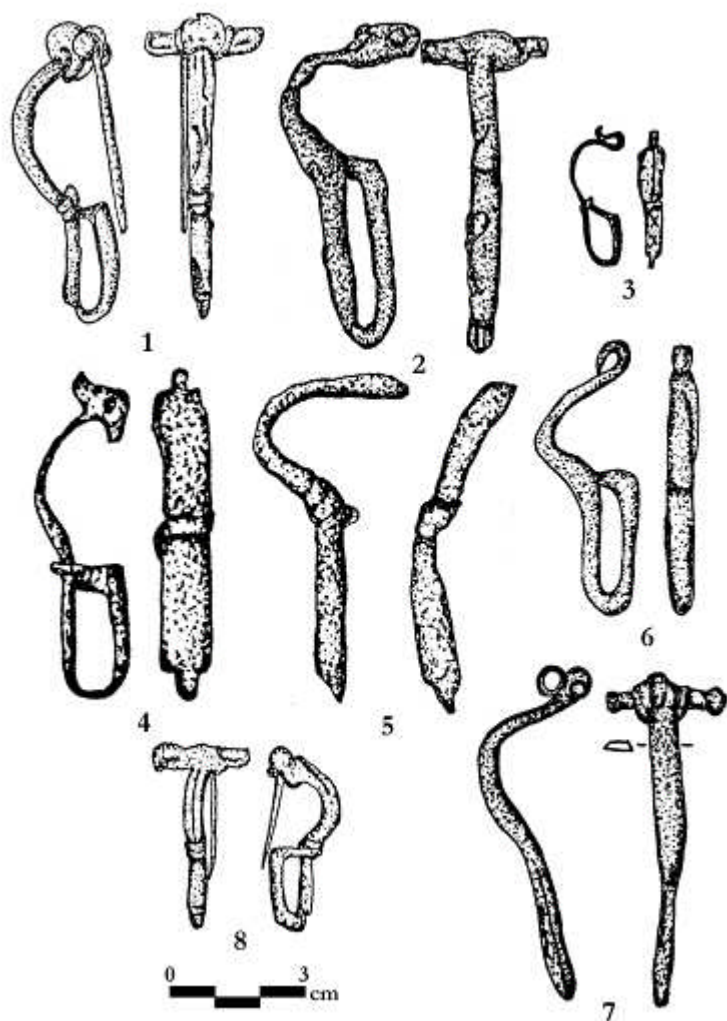


Fig. 6. Fibulae with bow and stem of similar width: 1-8 – Gabrovo (1-2 - house 14; 3 – house 18; 4 – house 23; 5 – house 24; 6-7 – Gabrovo, house 25; 8 – Gabrovo, house 27). Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. I/4, 6; II/5; III/4; IV/3, 5, 8.

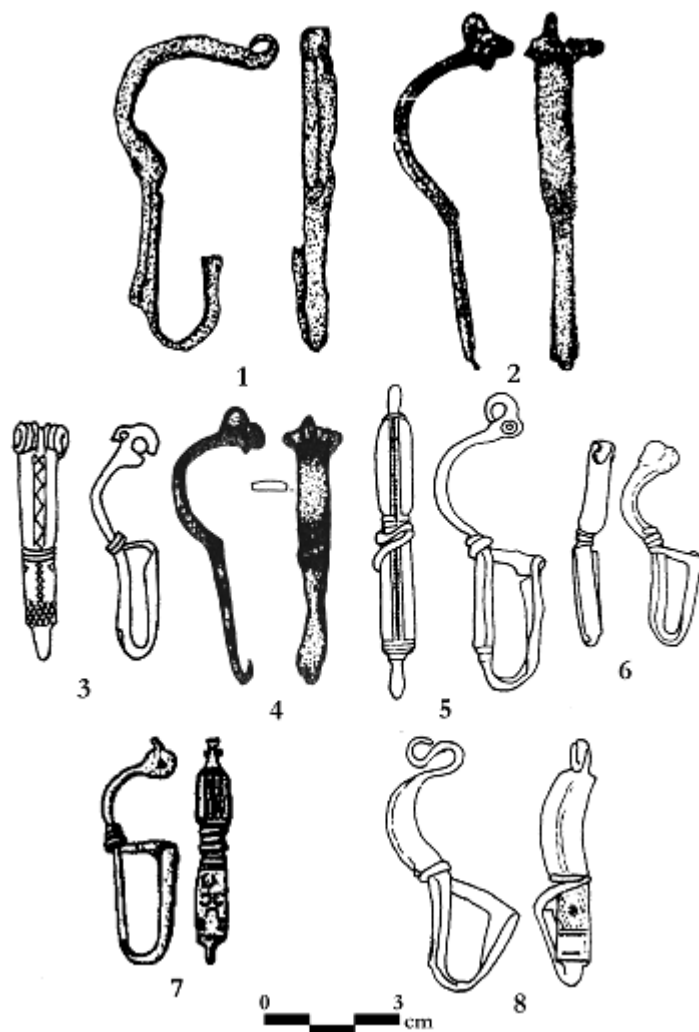


Fig. 7. Fibulae with bow and stem of similar width: 1 – Gabrovo – house 28; 2 – Gradishte; 3 – Hradyz'ke; 4 - Kálnovo; 5, 6 – Karataš; 7 – Keszthely; 8 – Korbovo. After Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. I/7, 11 and VI/4; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 101 pl. IV/10; Rukovskaia 1979, 341 fig. 22/9; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 48 pls. IV/1; Špehar 2010, pl. III/70, 75; Müller 1999, 173 fig. 4.23.1; Bodienskii 1960, 277 fig. 4/2; Janković 1981, 249 pl. XV/16.



Fig. 8. Fibulae with bow and stem of similar width: 1 – Koprivec; 2 - Kramolin; 3 – Kranj; 4 - Krivnia; 5, 6 – Luchistoe; 7 – Mogila; 8 – Moldoveni; 9 - Morești, house 20; 10- Nikiup. After Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, pl. II.16; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pl. VI/4; Stare 1980, pl. 135/7; Kharalambieva 1996-1997, 128 pl. XII/103; Khairedinova 2000, 127 fig. 13/1-2; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 51, VI/8; Poulter 1988, 83 fig. 10/11; Mitrea 1973, 664 fig. 1/1; Horedt 1979, pl. 41/4.

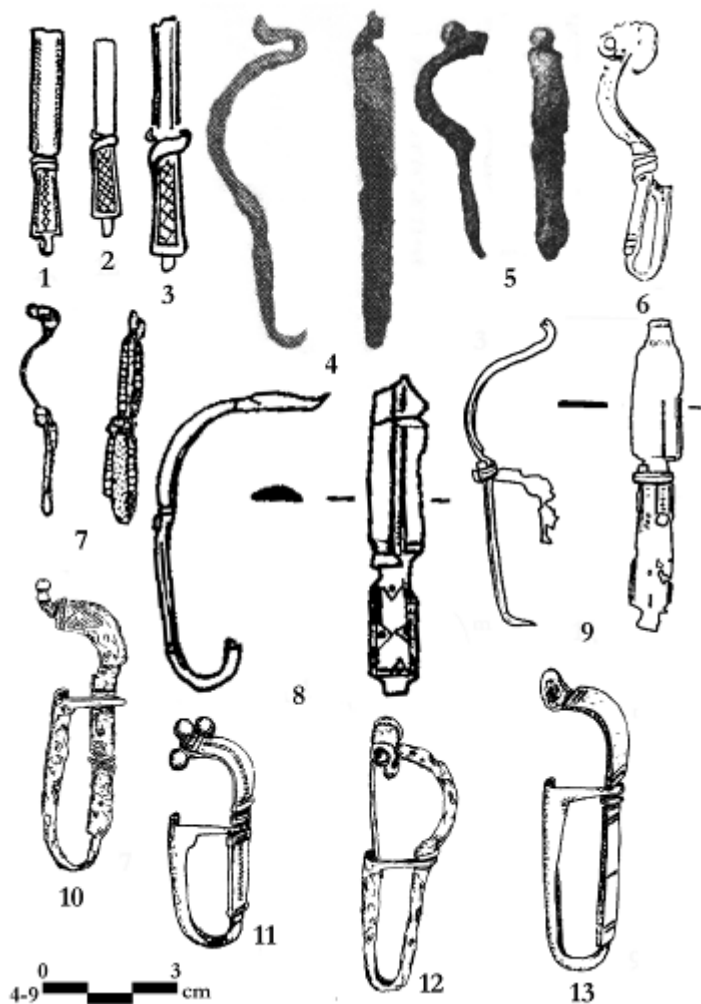


Fig. 9. Fibulae with bow and stem of similar width: 1-3 – Pernik; 4-5 – Petrov dol; 6 – Riakhovo; 7 – Rish; 8, 9 – Golemannovo kale; 10-13 – Salona. After Liubenova 1981, 171 fig. 110/5, 7, 11; Kharalambieva 1996-1997, 128 pl. XII/105, 110; Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, pl. III/19; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 102 pl. V.3; Uenze 1992, pl. 2/9 and 14; Vinski 1967, pl. XXXIII/1- 4.

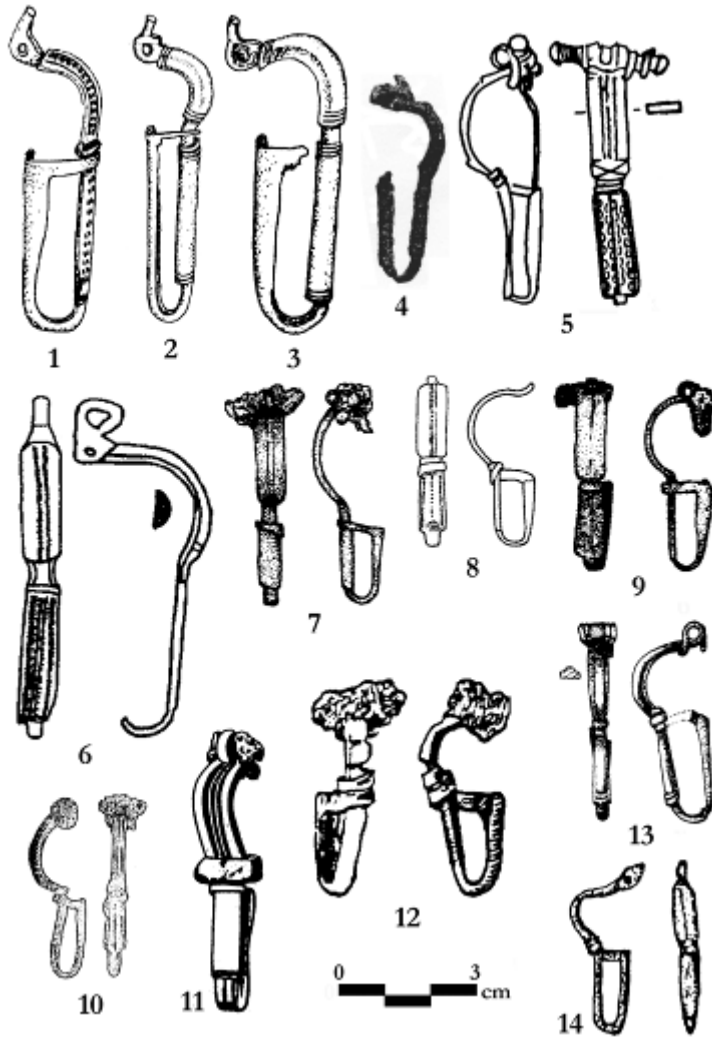


Fig. 10. Fibulae with bow and stem of similar width: 1-3 – Salona; 4 – Šipkovića ; 5 – Stan; 6 – Stara Zagora; 7-9 – Stari Kostolac (7 - grave 100; 8-9 - grave 154); 10 – Strazhata; 11 – Suuk Su, burial chamber 153; 12 – Târșor; 13 – Tetovo; 14 – Zdravkovec. After Vinski 1967, pl. XXXIII.5, 7-8; Lilčić 1996, 69 fig.; Kharalambieva 1989, pl. II.3; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 161 pl. 10.T100.1 and 201 pl. 32.T154.1, 2; Tabakova-Canova 1981, 141 fig. 7b; Repnikov 1907, 146 fig. 111; Teodorescu 1971, 126 fig. 2/2; Mikulčić 2002, 470 fig. 388/2; Kharalambieva 1992, 135 pl. IV/6.

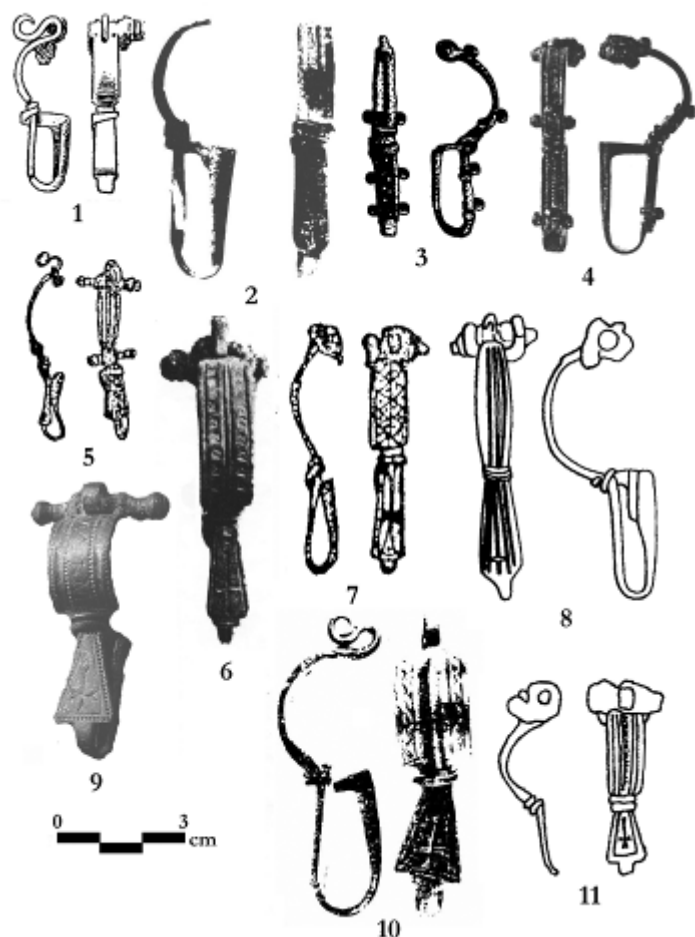


Fig. 11. Fibulae with bow and stem of similar width (1-2), fibulae with knobs on bow and stem (3-5), and fibulae with cross on the stem (6-11): 1 – unknown location (Romania); 2 – unknown location (northeastern Bulgaria); 3 – Dolichis; 4 – Nea Anchialos; 5 – Shumen; 6 – Ablanica; 7 – Dragoevo; 8 – Karataš; 9 – Ljubljana; 10 – Prahovo; 11 – Botevo. After Popescu 1941-1944, 503 fig. 10/116; Kharalambieva 1992, 135 pl. IV/4; Deriziotis, Kougioumzioglou 2009, 487 fig. 17; Lazaridis 1965, pl. 394β; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103 pl. VI/6, 9; Văzharova 1976, 286 fig. 178/1; Špehar 2010, pl. III/77; Bitenc and Knific 2001, 58 no. 169; Janković 1980, 174 fig. 2.3; Kharalambieva 1998, 371 fig. 1/1.

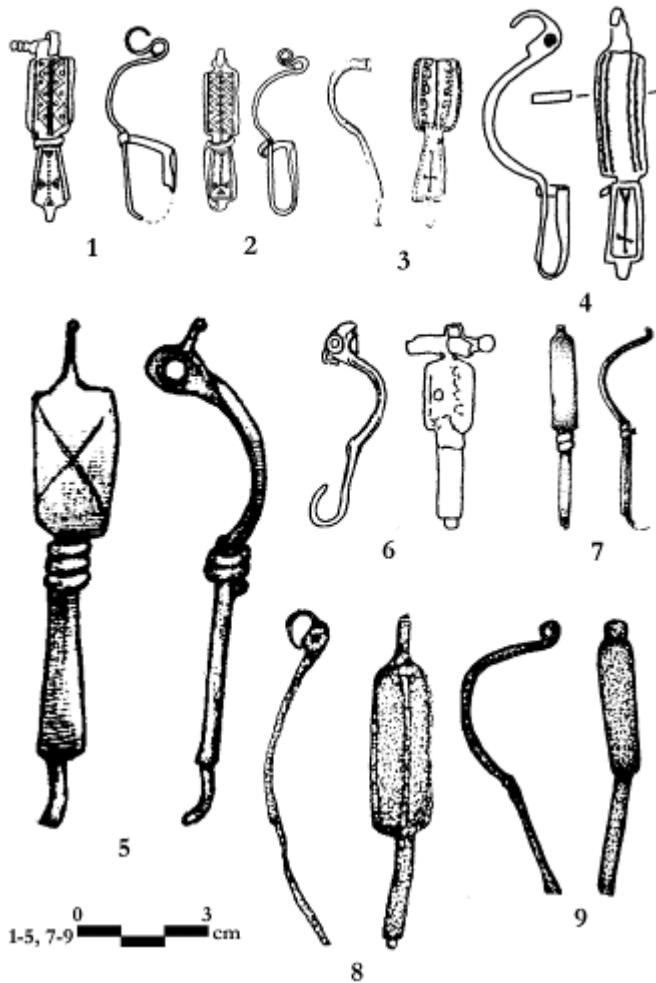


Fig. 12. Fibulae with cross on the stem (1-4) and fibulae with bow wider than the stem (5-9): 1, 2 – Stari Kostolac, grave 112; 3 – unknown location (northeastern Bulgaria); 4 – Venchan; 5 – Biogranci; 6 – Čezava; 7 – Čučer; 8, 9 – Dragoevo. After Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 163 pl. 11.T112.4, 5; Kharalambieva 1992, 135 pl. IV/6; Kharalambieva 1989, pl. II.7; Čremošnik 1987-1988, pl. IV/6; Vasić 1982-1983, 112 fig. 17/14; Mikulčić 2002, 156 fig. 47/2; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103 pl. VI/13; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 48 pl. IV/4.

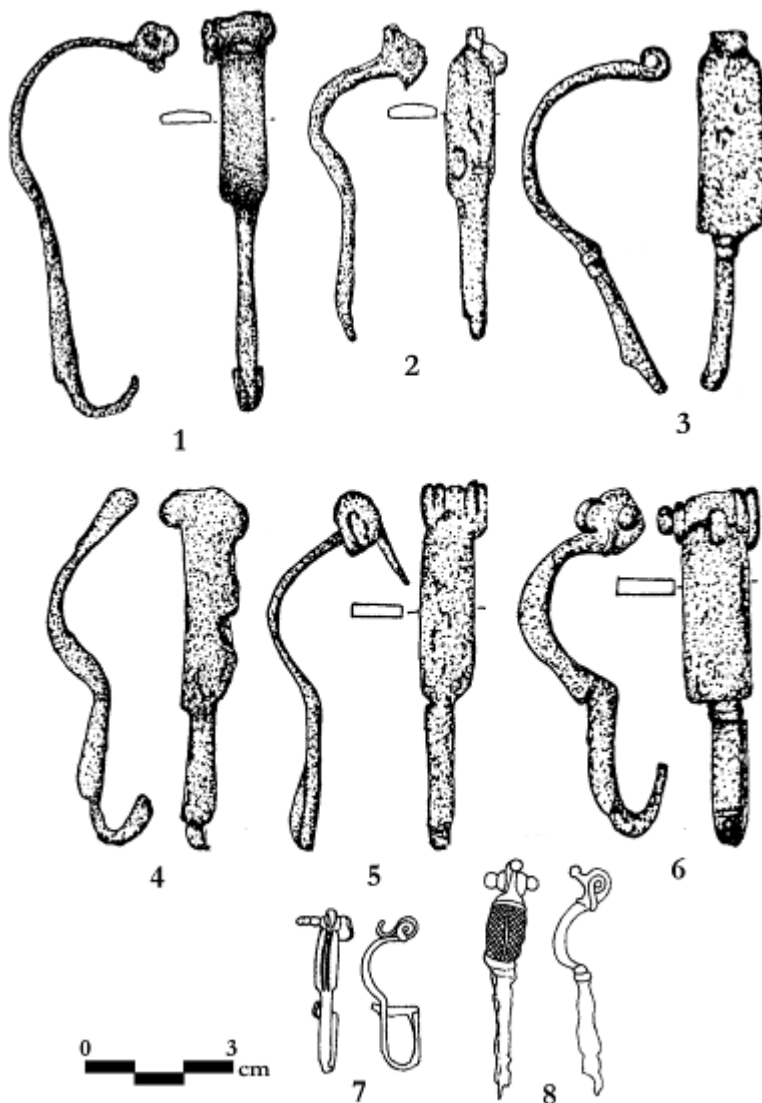


Fig. 13. Fibulae with bow wider than the stem: 1 – Dragoevo; 2-6 – Gabrovo (3 – house 23; 4 – house 24; 5 – house 25; 6 – house 28); 7-8 – Stari Kostolac, grave 143. After Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 51 pl. VI/7; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. I/7a, 9; II/5, 7; and V/9, 10; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 191 pl. 26.T143.6.

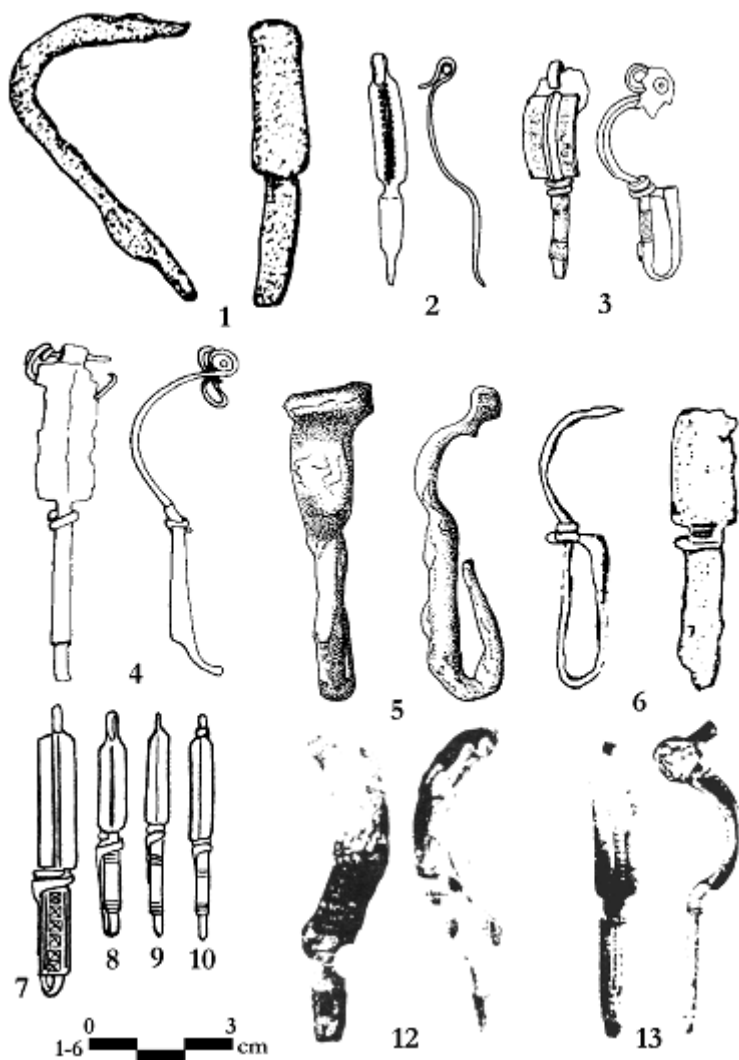


Fig. 14. Fibulae with bow wider than the stem: 1 – Gabrovo; 2-4 – Karataš; 5 – Mačvanska Mitrovica; 6 – Malāk Preslavec; 7-10 – Pernik; 12-13 – Prahovo. After Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pl. I/7a; Špehar 2010, pl. III/71, 85, 88; Ercegović-Pavlović 1982, pl. II/1; Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, pl. II/15; Liubenova 1981, 171, fig. 110/3, 10, 13, 15; Janković 1981, pls. XV/11, 15

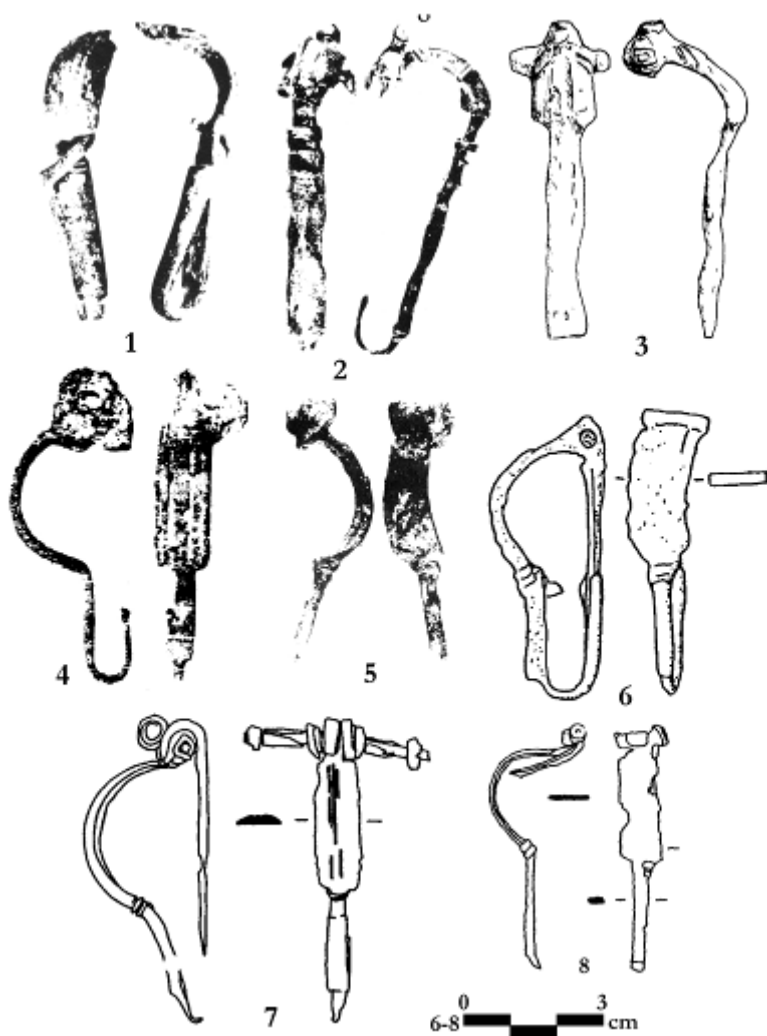


Fig. 15. Fibulae with bow wider than the stem: 1-5 – Prahovo; 6 – Rogachevo; 7-8 – Sadovec. After Janković 1981, pls. XV/17, XVI/7-10; Kharalambieva 1989, pl. III/12; Uenze 1992, pls. 2/13 and 3/2.

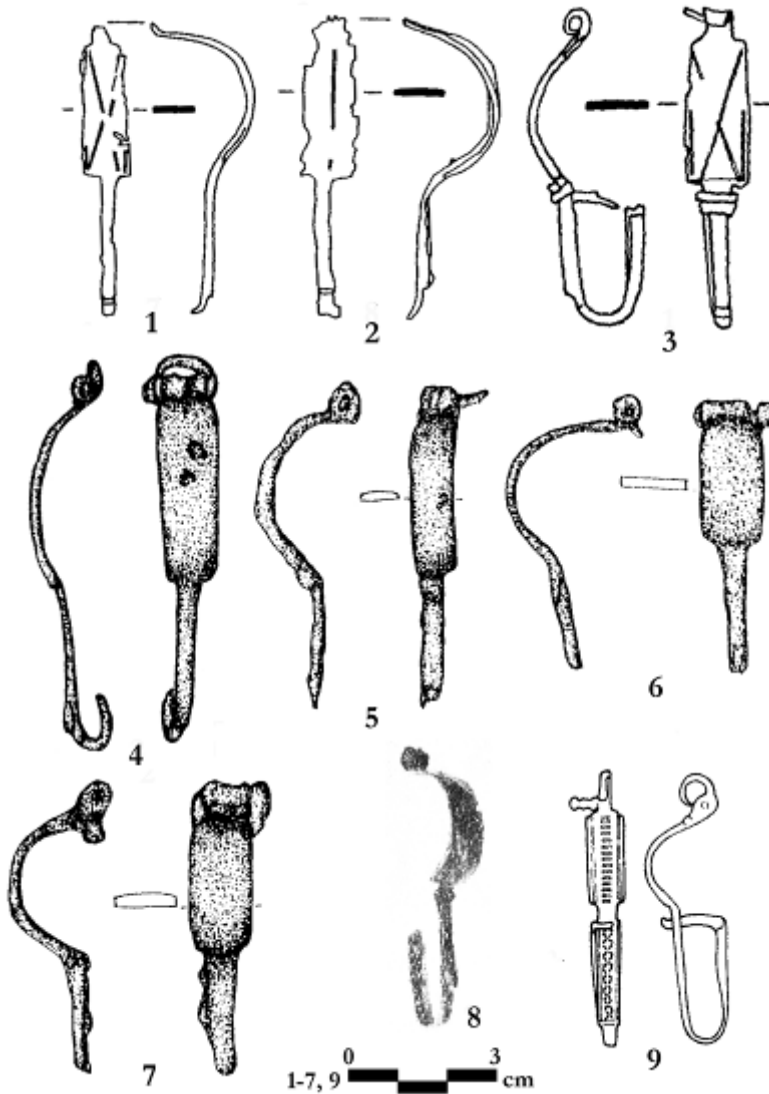


Fig. 16. Fibulae with bow wider than the stem: 1-2 – Sadovec; 3 - Golemannovo kale, "Nestor house"; 4 – Shumen region; 5-7 – Smiadovo; 8 – Svishtov; 9 – Stari Kostolac, grave 133. After Uenze 1992, pl. 3.1, 3, 4; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 51 pl. VI/2, 4, 5, 9; Press *et al.* 1973, 132 pl. II/1; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 181 pl. 21.T133.4.

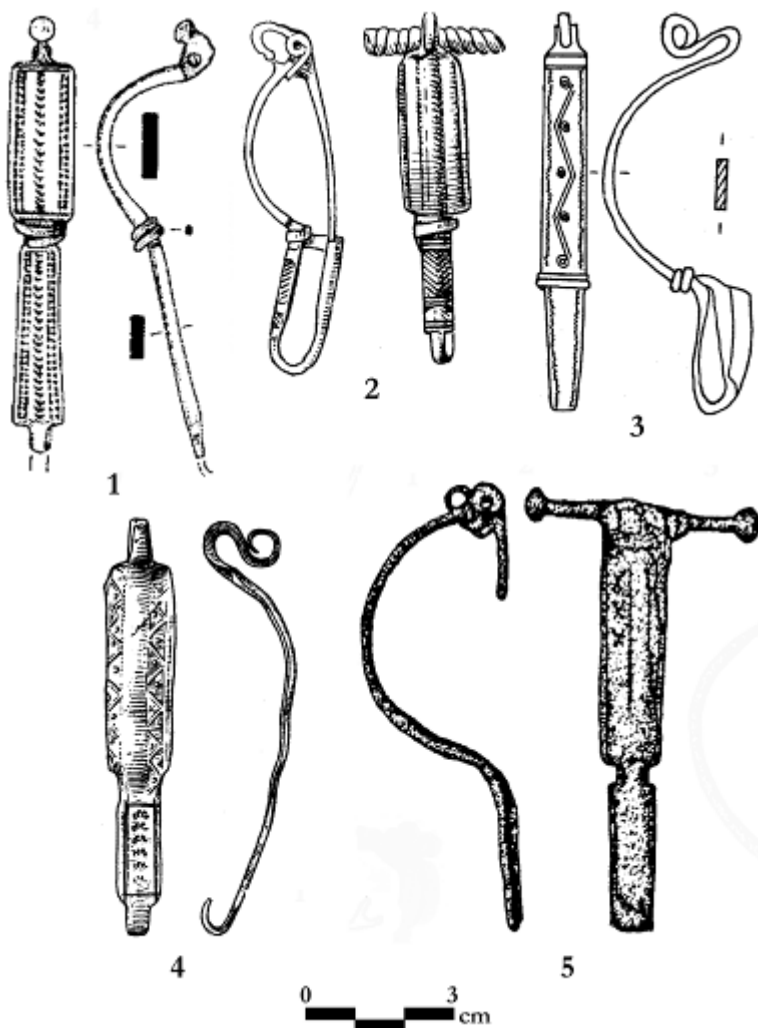


Fig. 17. Fibulae with bow wider than the stem (1, 2) and fibulae with bow wider than the stem, with zigzag ornament (3-5): 1 – Korinjski hrib; 2 – unknown location (Romania); 3 – Bratia Kunchevi; 4 – Bucharest; 5 – Gabrovo, house 12. After Milavec 2009, 248 pl. 2/13; Popescu 1941-1944, 503 fig. 10/115; Gencheva 1989, 33 fig. 13; Zirra and Cazimir 1963, 69 fig. 17.3; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pl. I/8.

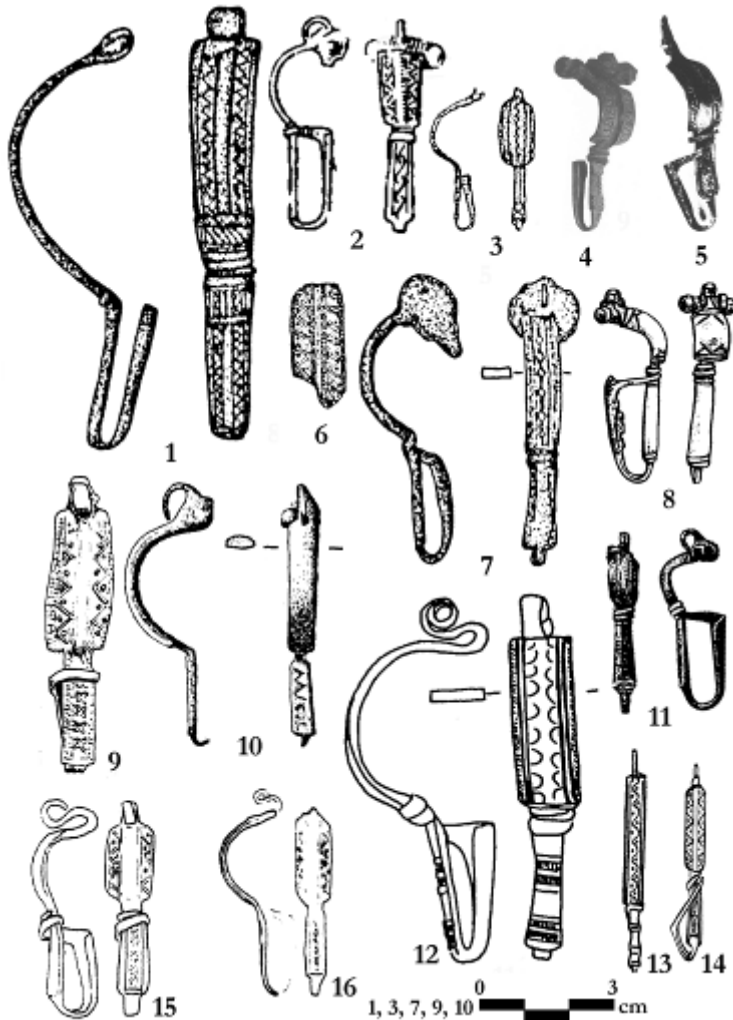


Fig. 18. Fibulae with bow wider than the stem (10) and fibulae with bow wider than the stem, with zigzag ornament (1-9, 11-16): 1, 6, 7 – Gabrovo (1 - house 24; 7 – house 25); 2 – Celei; 3 – Dragoevo; 4-5 – Gamzigrad; 8 – Gradina; 9 – Korbovo; 10 – Izvoarele; 11 - Pazarište; 12 – Nevsha; 13-14 – Pernik; 15-16 - Prahovo. After Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. II/9 and III/3, 7; Tudor 1945-1947, 196 fig. 41/14; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 103 pl. VI.5; Petković 2011, 274 fig. 8b; Janković 1983, 140; Miletić 1978, pl. I/10; Janković 1981, 126 fig. 70 and pl. XVI.1, 6; Curta 1992, 45 fig. 7/58; Popović 1999, 101 fig. 58/2; Liubenova 1981, 171 fig. 110/1 and 7.

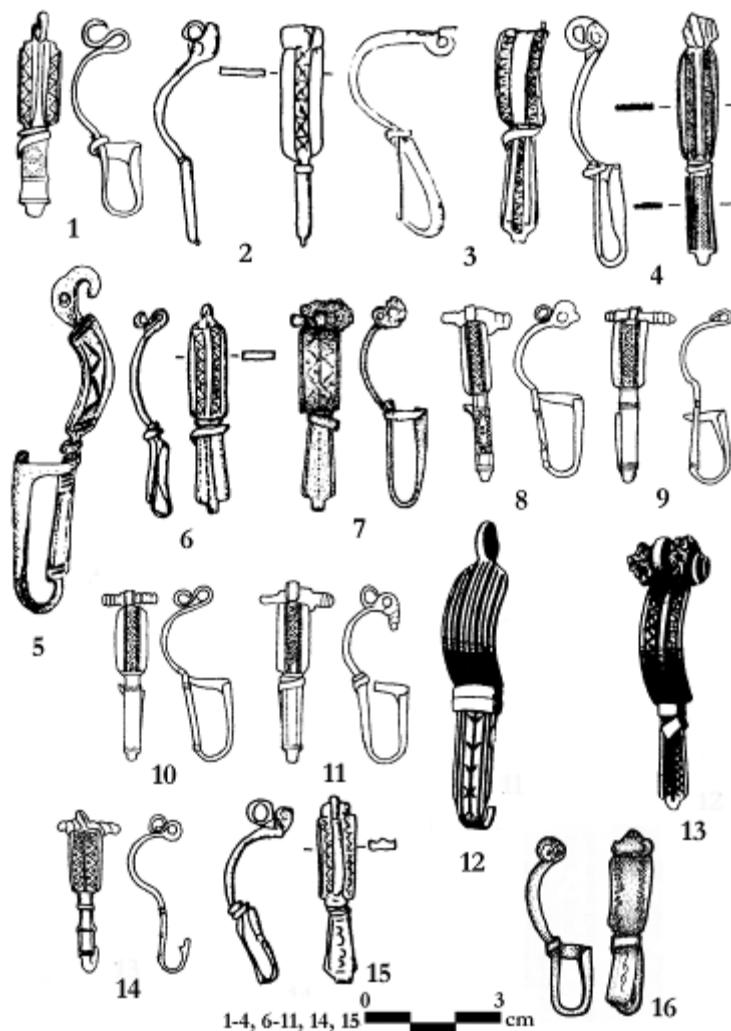


Fig. 19. Fibulae with bow wider than the stem (12) and fibulae with bow wider than the stem, with zigzag ornament (1-11, 13-16): 1 – Karataš; 2 – Novakovo; 3 – Riakhovo; 4 – Golemannovo kale; 5 – Salona; 6 – Snezhina; 7-11, 14 – Stari Kostolac (7 – grave 100; 8-11 – grave 132; 14 – grave 144); 12-13 – Suuk Su, grave 155; 15 – Sv. Nikola; 16 – Svishtov. After Špehar 2010, pl. III/82; Kharalambieva 1989, pl. III/3, 5, 9; Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, pl. III.22; Uenze 1992, pl. 3/5; Vinski 1967, pl. XXXIII/6; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 161 pl. 10.T100.2, 179 pl. 20.T132/2, 3, 7, 7, and 191 pl. 27.T144.3; Repnikov 1907, 146 figs. 112-113; Pawlak 1995, 42 fig. 1/7.

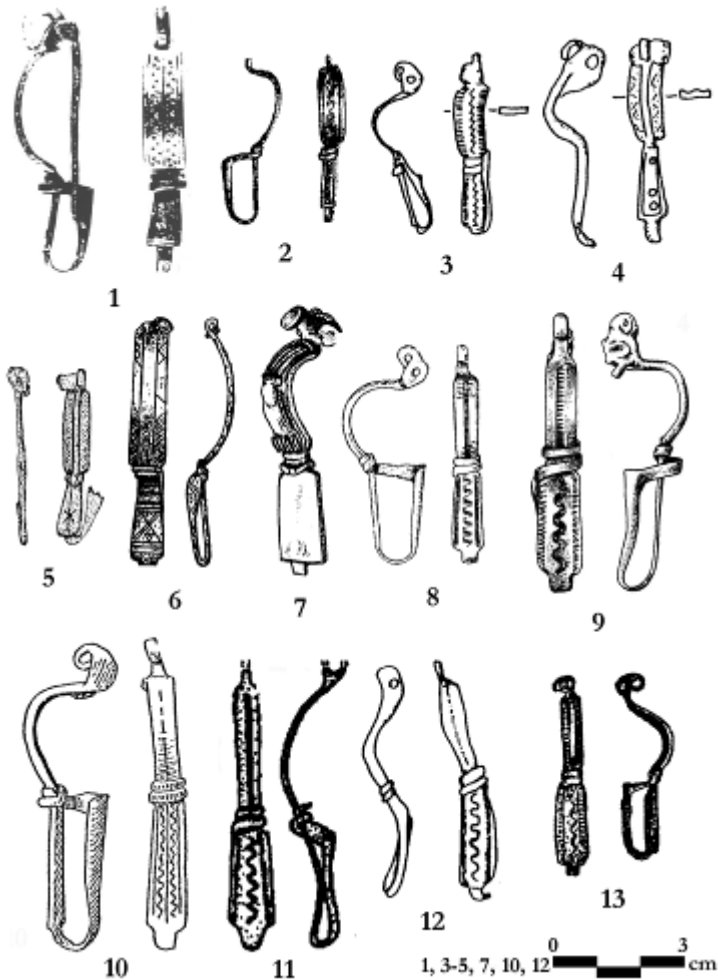


Fig. 20. Fibulae with bow wider than the stem, with zigzag ornament (1-6), with trapeze-shaped stem (7), and with stem wider than the bow, with zigzag ornament (8-13): 1 – unknown location (northeastern Bulgaria); 2 – Szolnok; 3 – Venchan; 4 – Vezenkovo; 5 – Zdravkovec; 6 – Zvonets'ke; 7 – Knin; 8 – Adamclisi; 9 – Bucharest; 10 – Histria; 11 – Igren'; 12 - General Kantardzhievo; 13 – Golesh. After Kharalambieva 1992, 135 pl. IV/6; Bóna and Nagy 2002, 376 pl. 102/8; Kharalambieva 1989, pl. III/2, 6, 8; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pl. VII/9; Bodianski 1960, 273 fig. 1/7; Vinski 1989, 60 pl. XI/4; Barnea *et alii* 1979, 223 fig. 174.10.3; Sgîbea 1963, 379 pl. II; Condurachi *et al.* 1957, 20 fig. 7b; Prykhodniuk 1998, 140 fig. 71/2; Atanasov 1997, 138 fig. 5/4.

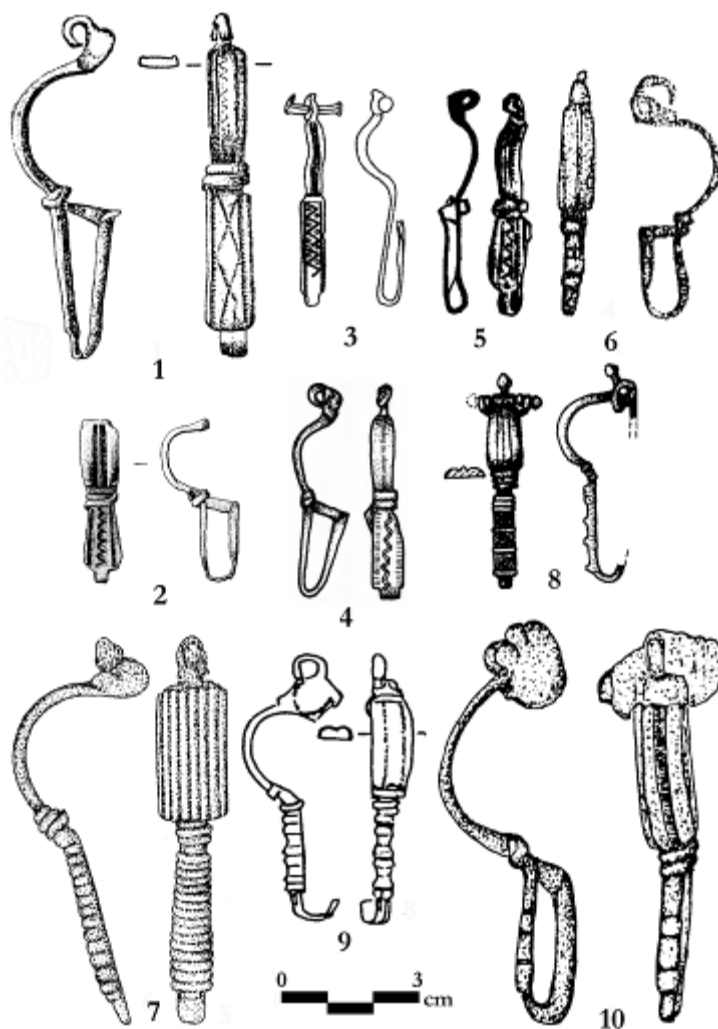


Fig. 21. Fibulae with stem wider than the bow, with zigzag ornament (1-5) and fibulae with bow wider than the stem, with striations (6-10): 1 – Izvoarele; 2 – Nikiup; 3 – Stari Kostolac, grave 144; 4 – Svishtov; 5 – Vetren; 6 – Cherencha; 7 – Davideni; 8 – Gorno Čalje; 9 – Kiten; 10 – Gradnica. After Curta 1992, 47 fig. 9.67; Poulter 2007, 22 fig. 2.1.10; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 191 pl. 26.T144.2; Pawlak 1995, 42 fig. 1/6; Atanasov, Iordanov 1994, 107 pl. XI/101; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 102 pl. V/12; Mitrea 2001, 329 fig. 68/1; Mikulčić 2002, 453 fig. 369/2; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pl. VI/8; Kharalambieva 1989, pl. II/6.

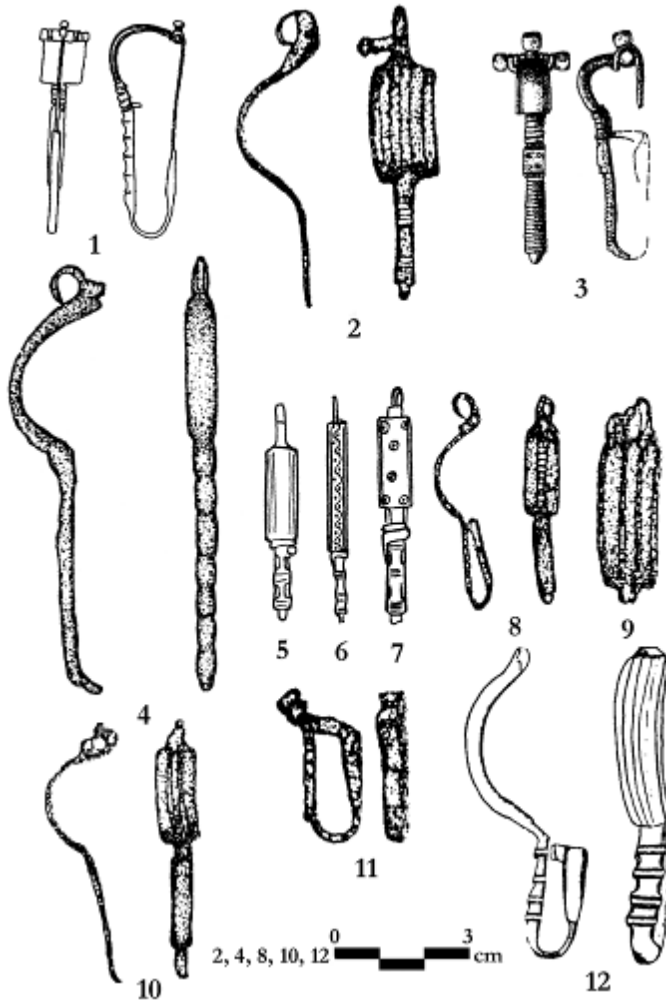


Fig. 22. Fibulae with bow wider than the stem (8-10) and fibulae with bow wider than the stem, with striations (1-7, 11, 12): 1 – Longa; 2 – Pet Mogili; 3 – Tetovo; 4 – Veselinovo; 5-7 – Pernik; 8-11 – Shumen region; 12 – Riakhovo. After Moutsopoulos 1992, 9, fig. 8; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 100, pl. III/5, 102 pl. V.4, 10, and 103 pl. VI/4, 7; Mikulčić 2002, 470 fig. 388/3; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 55, pl. VII/5; Liubenova 1981, 171, fig. 110/2, 4, 14; Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, pl. III/23.

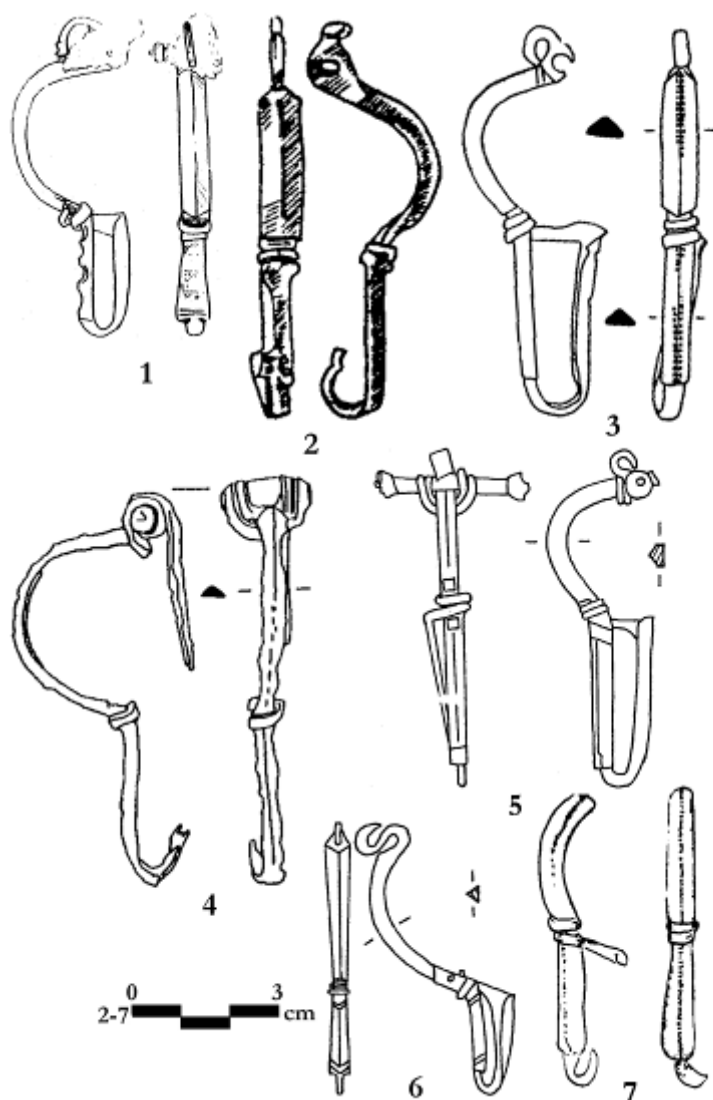


Fig. 23. Fibulae with triangular bow section: 1 – Brza Palanka; 2 – Kavetchina; 3-4 – Golemannovo kale; 5 – Stara Zagora; 6 – unknown location in the Stara Zagora region; 7 – Riakhovo. After Janković 1981, 248 pl. XVI.11; Vakulenko, Prykhodniuk 1984, 57 fig. 32/9; Uenze 1992, pls. 2/12 and 3/6; Gencheva 1989, 33 fig. 2e, ж; Kharalambieva, Ivanov 1986, pl. III/20.

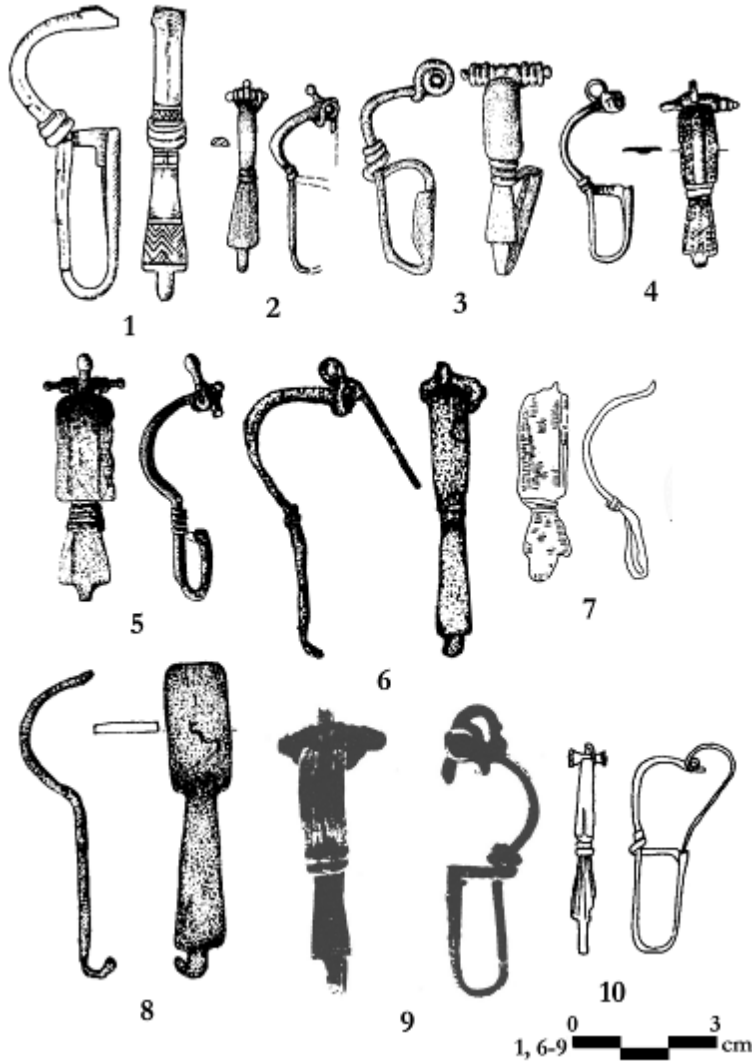


Fig. 24. Fibulae with trapeze-shaped stem: 1 – Adamclisi; 2-3 – Barovo; 4 – Belgrade; 5 – Budinarci; 6 – Cherencha; 7 – Davideni; 8 – Dobrich; 9 – Dragoevo; 10 - Longa. After Barnea *et al.* 1979, 224 fig. 175.10.4; Mikulčić 2002, 148 fig. 39/2, 4 and 200 fig. 95/3; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, pl. VII.82.1; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1991, 48 pl. IV/9 and 50 VI.6 Mitrea 2001, 326 fig. 66/2; Kharalambieva 1989, 135 pl. IV/3; Moutsopoulos 1992, 9 fig. 7.

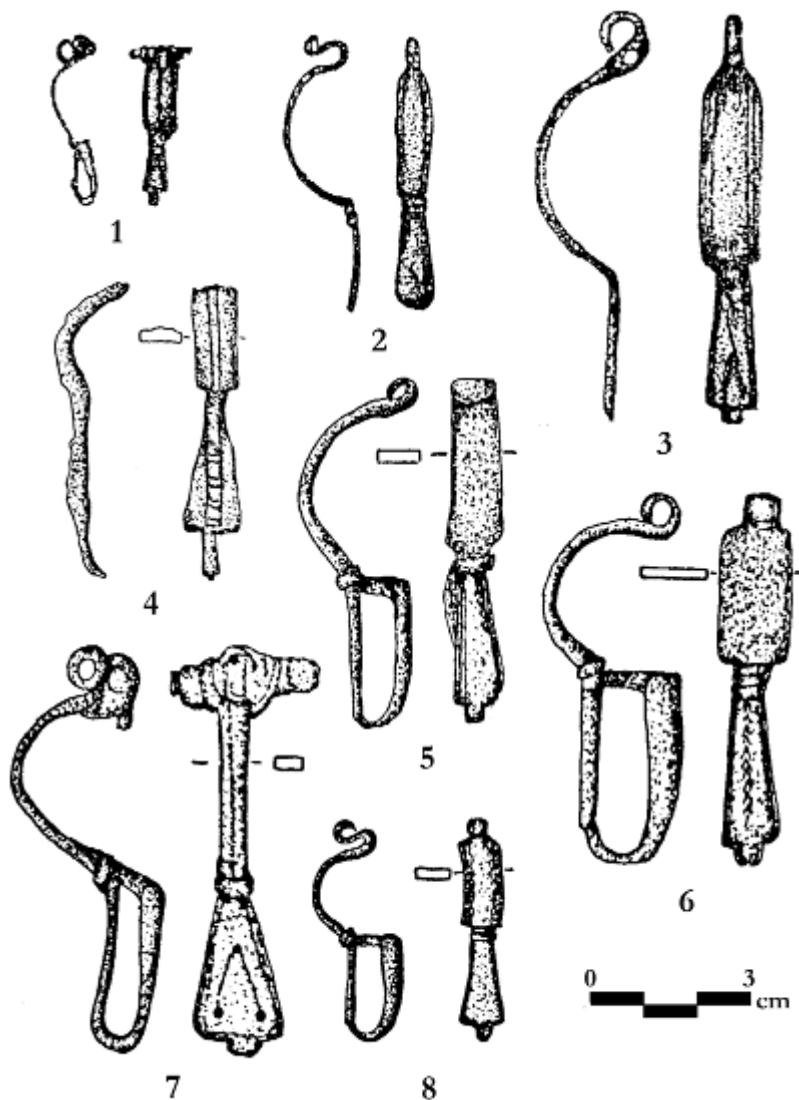


Fig. 25. Fibulae with trapeze-shaped stem: 1-3 – Dragoevo; 4-8 – Gabrovo (5-6 – house 4, 7 – house 23; 8 – house 26). After Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 101 pl. IV/3, 7, and 103, pl. VI/13; Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. I/3, II/4, III/9, 12, and V/5.

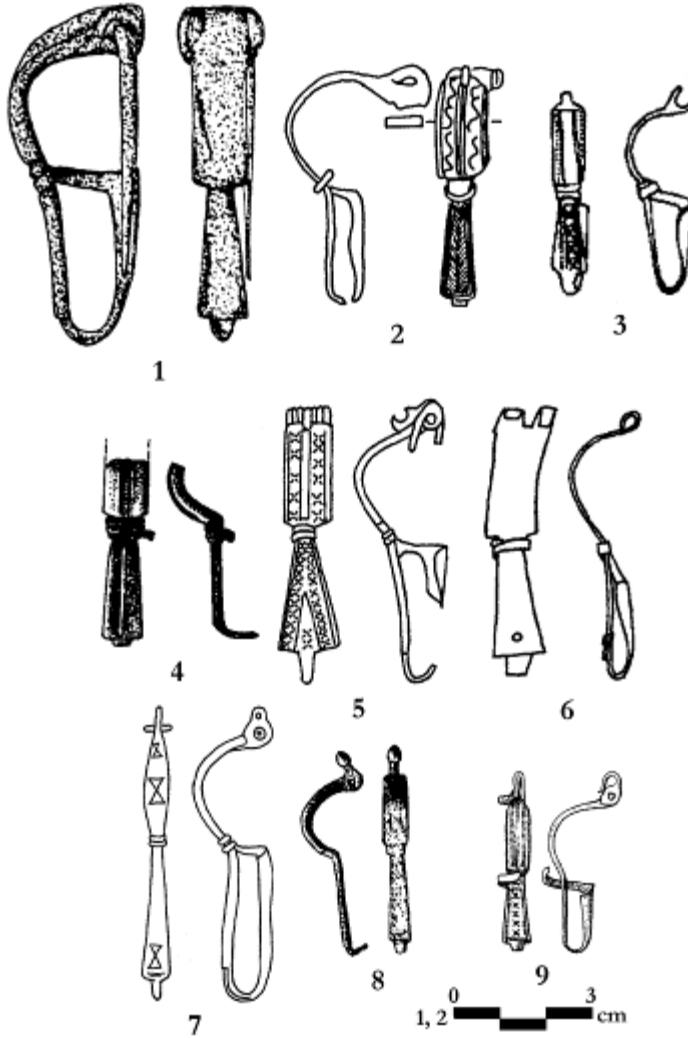


Fig. 26. Fibulae with trapeze-shaped stem: 1 – Gabrovo, house 27; 2 – General Kantardzhievo; 3 – Gornji Streoc; 4 – Graište; 5-7 – Hradyz'ke; 8 – Jegunovce; 9 – Krivina. After Koicheva, Kharalambieva 1993, pls. III/10; Kharalambieva 1989, pl. II/4; Ivanišević, Špehar 2005, 139 fig. 3/2; Mikulčić 2002, 301 fig. 199/2 and 461 fig. 378/2; Rutkivs'ka 1979, 341 fig. 22/1-3; Gomolka-Fuchs 1982, pl. 55/263.

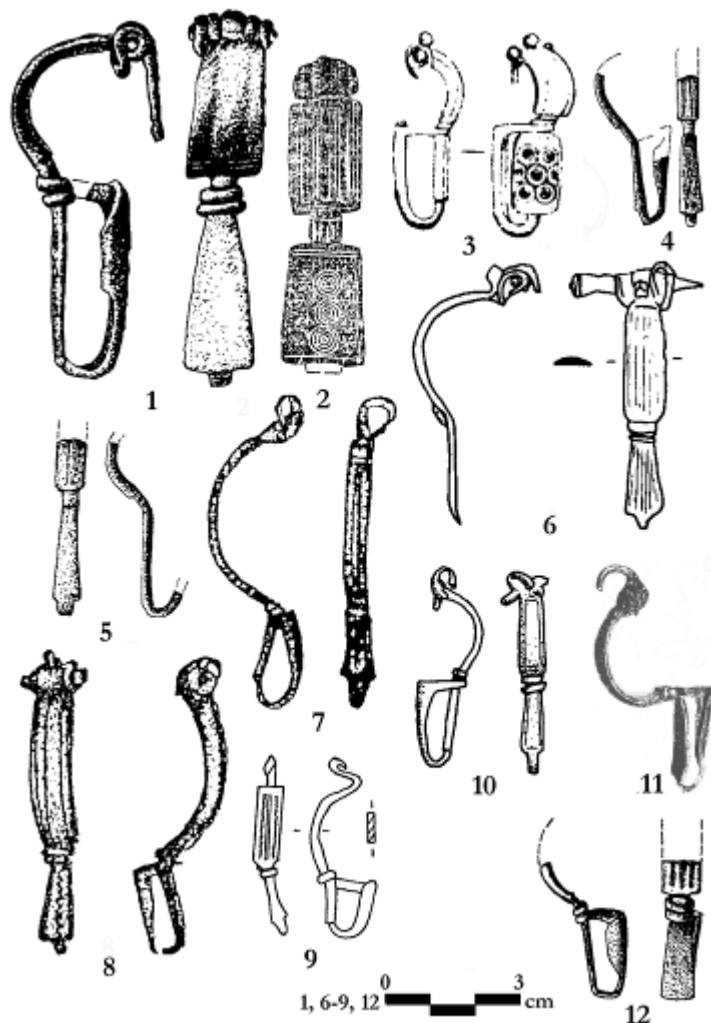


Fig. 27. Fibulae with trapeze-shaped stem: 1-2 – Markovi Kuli; 3 – Pece; 4 – Miokazi; 5 – Oraše; 6 – Sadovsko kale; 7 – (region of) Shumen; 8 – Smiadovo; 9 – Stara Zagora; 10; Štrbovac; 11 – Svishtov; 12 – Taor. After Mikulčić, Nikuljska 1978, 148 fig. 17; Mikulčić, Lilčić 1995, 256 pl. I/5; Përzhita 1990, pl. X.5; Mikulčić 2002, 463 fig. 383/2 and 474 fig. 393/2; Uenze 1992, pl. 2/8; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 100 pl. III/6 and 103 pl. VI/8; Gencheva 1989, 33 fig. 2, i; Gencheva 1980, 174 fig. 2/5; Press *et alii* 1973, 132 pl. II/4; Mikulčić 2002, 189 fig. 81/2.

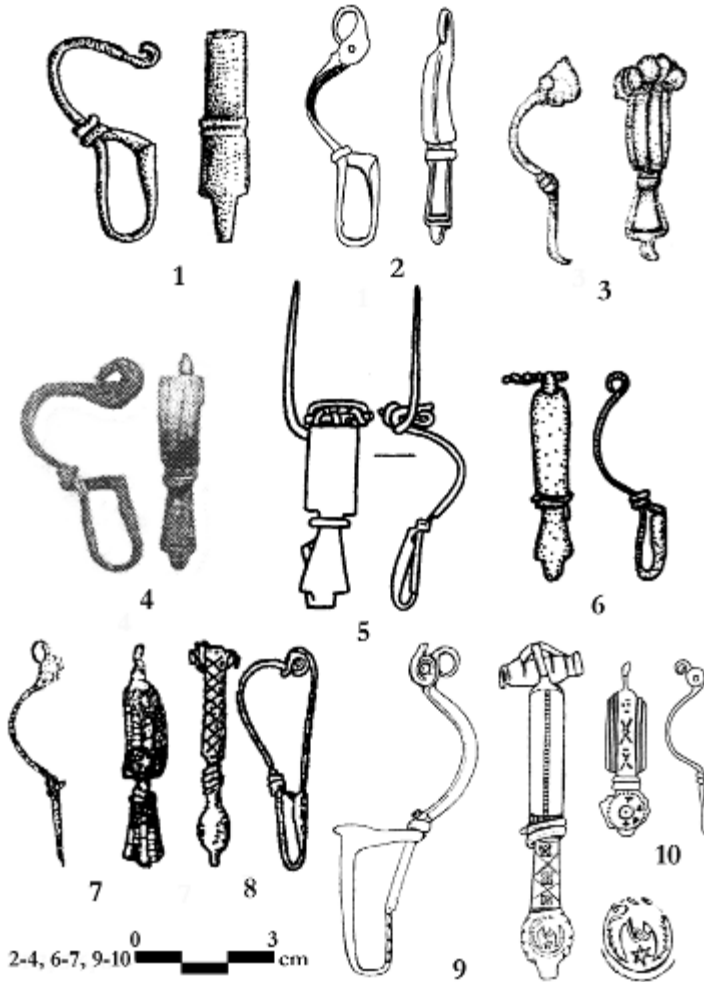


Fig. 28. Fibulae with trapeze-shaped stem: 1 – Poian; 2 - Trgovište; 3-4 – unknown locations in northeastern Bulgaria; 5 – unknown location in the region of L’viv; 6 - Volos’ke; 7 – Zheläg; 8 – Liubivka; 9 - Eski Kermen; 10 - Silistra. After Teodor 1988, 213 fig. 2.9; Pescheck 1949-1950; Kharalambieva 1992, 135 pl. III/12; Kharalambieva 1996-1997, 128 pl. XII/107; Gavritukhin, Oblomskii 1996, 231 fig. 52/16; Prykhodniuk 1998, 142 fig. 74/4; Kharalambieva, Atanasov 1992, 102 pl. V/11; Gavritukhin 2004, 217 fig. 2/23; Aibabin 2007, 146 fig. 6/1; Angelova 2003, 251 pl. II/4.

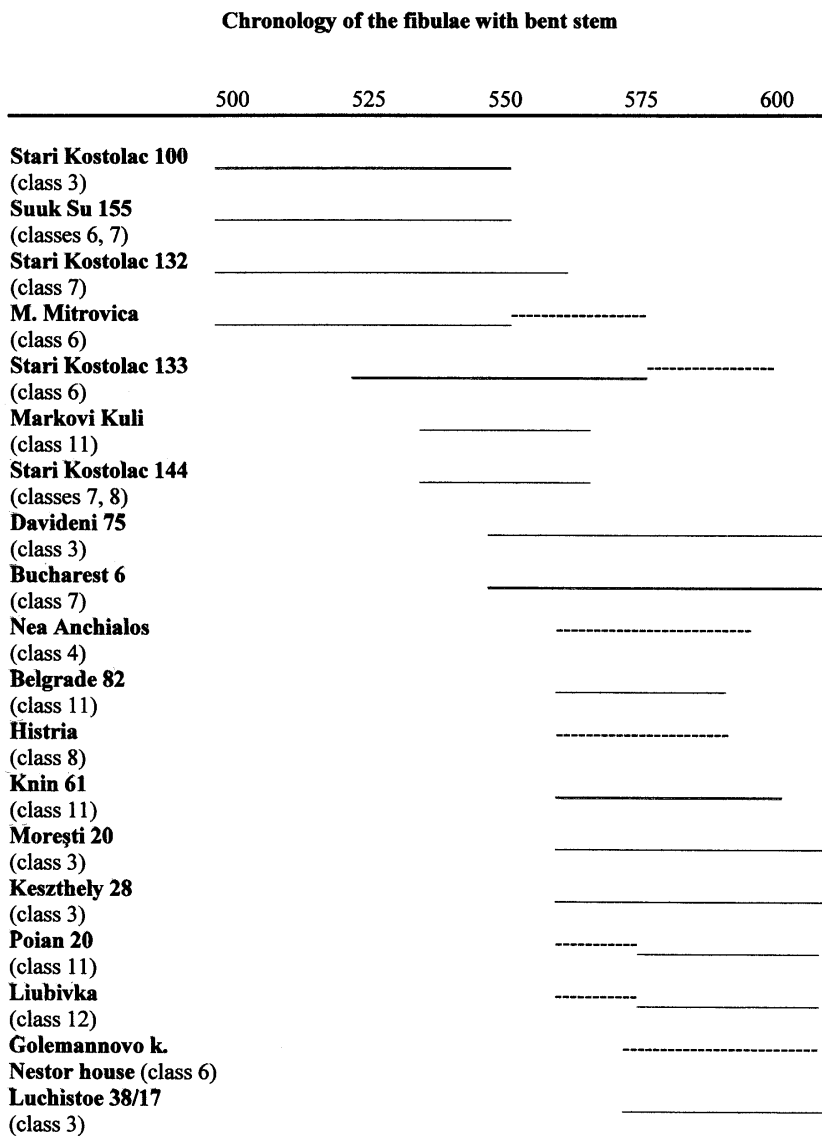


Fig. 29. The chronology of the fibulae with bent stem: continuous line – firm date range; dashed line – date range possible but uncertain.

The deposition of fibulae with bent stem in graves

Number of fibulae	Site and grave	Sex and age	Position on the body
1	P. Frecăței D21	child	r. upper arm bone
1	Belgrade 82	child	r. elbow
1	Knin 61	male (?)	l. elbow
1	Strazhata	female (?)	
1	Gradina 10	female (?)	on the skull
1	Suuk Su 153	female (?)	r. collar bone
1	Ablanica 55	female	r. collar bone
1	M. Mitrovica	female	l. chest area
1	Szolnok-Szanda 145	female	r. hip
1	Stari Kostolac 133	female	l. hip
2	Liubivka	female (?)	
2	Suuk Su 155	child	l. and r. collar bone
2	Luchistoe 38/17	female (?)	l. and r. shoulders
2	Stari Kostolac 144	female	r. shoulder, above waist line
2	Stari Kostolac 100	female (23 years)	l. chest area
2	Stari Kostolac 112	female	chest, abdomen
2	Stari Kostolac 154	female (>45 years)	l. and r. waist line
2	Stari Kostolac 143	female (30 years)	r. hip, knee
4	Stari Kostolac 132	female (45 years)	l. shoulder, above waist line

Fig. 30. Graves with fibulae with bent stem in graves: sex, age, and position on the body.

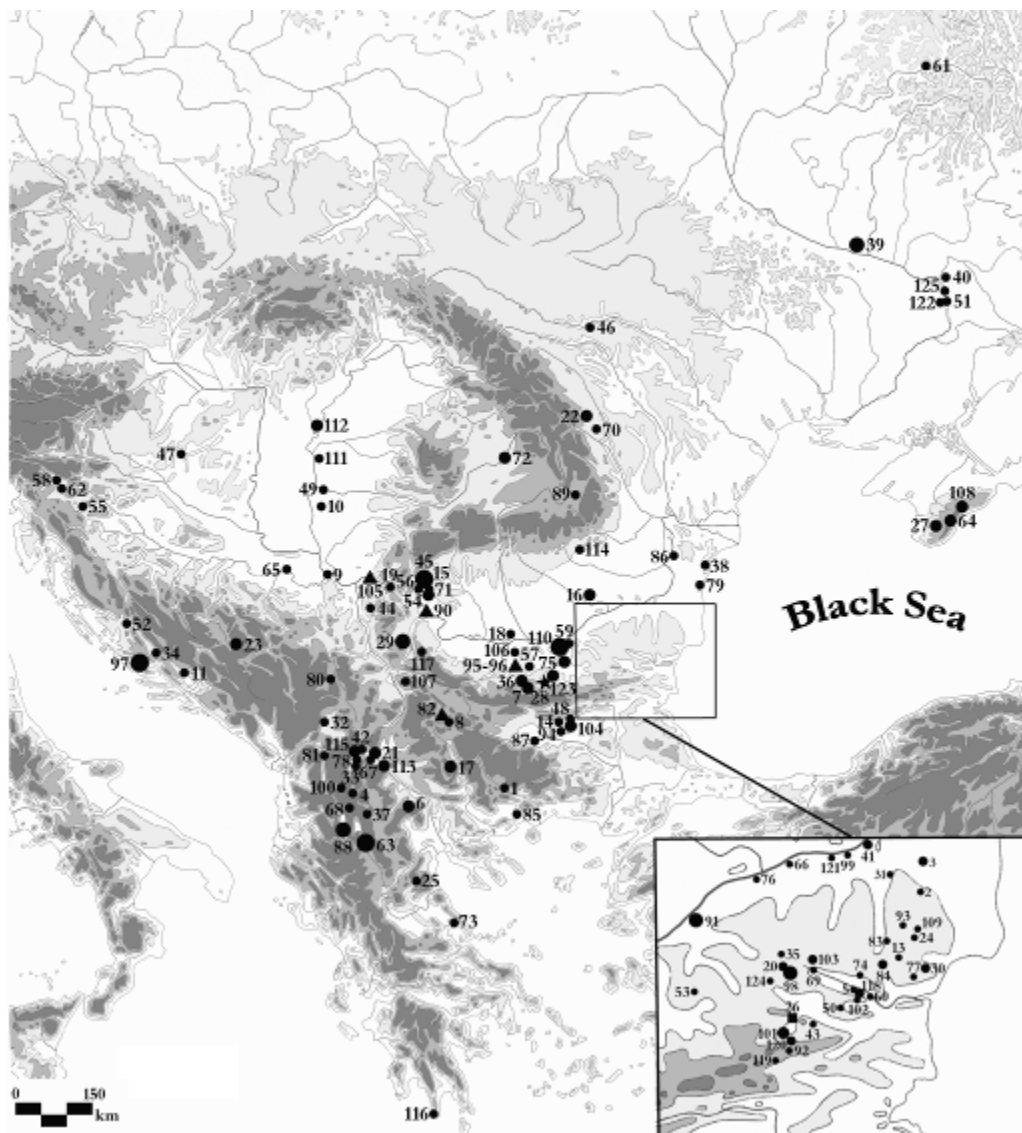


Fig. 31. The distribution of fibulae with bent stem in Southeastern and Eastern Europe:

- 1 – Ablanica; 2 – Abrit; 3 – Adamclisi; 4 – Arangel; 5 – Bălskovo; 6 – Barovo; 7 – Batoshevo; 8 - Bela Voda; 9 – Belgrad; 10 – Berekhát; 11 – Biograci; 12 – Bočar; 13 – Botevo; 14 - Bratia Kunchevi; 15 - Brza Palanka; 16 – Bucharest; 17 – Budinarci; 18 – Celei; 19 – Čezava; 20 – Cherencha; 21 – Čučer; 22 – Davideni; 23 – Debelo brdo; 24 – Dobrich; 25 – Dolichis; 26 – Dragoevo; 27 - Eski Kermen; 28 – Gabrovo; 29 – Gamzigrad; 30 - General Kantardzhievo; 31 – Golesh; 32 - Gornji

Streoc; 33 - Gorno Čalje; 34 - Gradina; 35 - Gradishte; 36 - Gradnica; 37 - Graište; 38 - Histria; 39 - Hradyz'ke; 40 - Igren'; 41 - Izvoarele; 42 - Jegunovce; 43 - Kálnovo; 44 - Kamenovo; 45 - Karataš; 46 - Kavetchina; 47 - Keszthely; 48 - Kirilovo; 49 - Kiszombor; 50 - Kiten; 51 - Kizlevo; 52 - Knin; 53 - Koprivec; 54 - Korbovo; 55 - Korinjski hrib; 56 - Kostol; 57 - Kramolin; 58 - Kranj; 59 - Krivina; 60 - Krivnia; 61 - Liubivka; 62 - Ljubljana; 63 - Longa; 64 - Luchistoe; 65 - Mačvanska Mitrovica; 66 - Malák Preslavec; 67 - Markovi Kuli; 68 - Miokazi; 69 - Mogila; 70 - Moldoveni; 71 - Mora Vagei; 72 - Morești; 73 - Nea Anchialos; 74 - Nevsha; 75 - Nikiup; 76 - Nova Cherna; 77 - Novakovo; 78 - Oraše; 79 - Ovidiu; 80 - Pazarište; 81 - Pece; 82 - Pernik; 83 - Pet Mogili; 84 - Petrov dol; 85 - Philippoi; 86 - Piatra Frecăței; 87 - Plovdiv; 88 - Pogradec; 89 - Poian; 90 - Prahovo; 91 - Riakhovo; 92 - Rish; 93 - Rogachevo; 94 - Rupkite; 95 - Sadovec-Golemannovo kale; 96 - Sadovec-Sadovsko kale; 97 - Salona; 98 - Shumen; 99 - Silistra; 100 - Šipkovică; 101 - Smiadovo; 102 - Snezhina; 103 - Stan; 104 - Stara Zagora; 105 - Stari Kostolac; 106 - Strazhata; 107 - Štrbovac; 108 - Suuk Su; 109 - Sv. Nikola; 110 - Svishtov; 111 - Szentes; 112 - Szolnok; 113 - Taor; 114 - Târșor; 115 - Tetovo; 116 - Tigani; 117 - Trgovište; 118 - Venchan; 119 - Vezenkovo; 120 - Veselinovo; 121 - Vetren; 122 - Volos'ke; 123 - Zdravkovec; 124 - Zhelăg; 125 - Zvonets'ke. Smallest circles indicate one specimen each, larger ones two to three, four to five, and between six and 10, respectively. Triangles indicate between 10 and 20 specimens, squares between 20 and 30 specimens, and stars over 30 specimens.