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FIBULAE AND THE ROMAN ARMY ON THE DANUBE IN MOESIA SUPERIOR*

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ABSTRACT

During the Roman period, fibulae, beside their primary function of fastening clothes, also functioned as jewellery and status symbols and, hence, were richly and diversely decorated. For this reason, the fibula exposed on the right shoulder, fastening a military cape sagum, pallium or paludamentum, could denote the military unit, rank or a kind of a decoration in the Roman army. The military fibulae from the Danube Limes of Upper Moesia (later Limes of the provinces of Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis) also have traits related to this region, specifically: the military character of this border province is reflected in the number and variety of types of military fibulae, most of these types were produced locally, while some also originated from the Danube Limes of Moesia Superior. The local production, intended for the army, began as early as the 2nd century and continued until the end of Antiquity, that is, until the first quarter/middle of the 7th century. Consequently, half a millennium of production of military fibulae in the lower Danube basin left a rich archaeological heritage in the area of present-day Serbia.

KEYWORDS: ROMAN FIBULAE, ROMAN ARMY, DANUBE LIMES, MOESIA SUPERIOR, MOESIA PRIMA, DACIA RIPENSIS.

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During the Roman period, fibulae, beside their primary function of fastening clothes, also functioned as jewellery and status symbols and, hence, were richly and diversely decorated. This status and military aspect of fibulae can be traced back to prehistory.¹

It is assumed that certain types of Roman fibulae were worn exclusively by men, whereas others were worn only by women, which is, to a degree, confirmed by grave finds. Nevertheless, the largest portion of simple, functional types was worn by both sexes. Due to the differences between male and female clothing, women most often wore one or more pairs of brooches on their shoulders, while men used to fasten their clothes, a tunic, toga or cape, with one brooch, most often on the right shoulder. In each case the fibulae were worn with the foot upward, fastened by the pin over a fold on the fabric, so that the ornamented area of the head, bow and foot was visible. For this reason, the fibula exposed on the right shoulder, fastening a military cape *sagum*, *pallium* or *paludamentum*, could denote the military unit, rank or a kind of decoration in the Roman army.

Fibulae are indicators of economic and social fluctuations in the Roman state, and also of the status of certain populations or territories within the Empire. They were produced in large craft centres and imperial workshops, as well as in small, local ones. Being in demand goods of merchandise, widely traded, which is obvious by the distribution of certain types in relation to craft centres, they testify to the movement of the Roman army and its units as well as to Romanisation, following that move. Studied from an historical aspect, they can contribute to the knowledge of Roman military and political history. Moreover, considering the mass production of fibulae across the entire territory of the Empire, they were a suitable medium of imperial propaganda, so there also exist specimens with inscriptions celebrating the Emperor or with imperial portraits.²

The early imperial types of Roman fibulae on the Limes of *Moesia Superior* testify to the presence of the first garrisons, comprised of legionaries from Italy and western provinces of Gaul, Noricum and Raetia, and the beginnings of the Romanisation of the Moesian part of the Danube basin.

¹ Dickinson 1997, 188; Vasić 1999, 13.

² Behrens 1950; Laur-Belart 1959; Иванов 1972; Јовановић 1976; Мирковић 1989; Роровић 2002; Васић 2002.

In the fortification at the site of Hajdučka Vodenica, in the horizon from the second half of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century, an “eye” fibula (Augenfibel) was discovered (Augenfibel, Petković type 6 C).³ (Pl. 1, 1) Interestingly, two specimens of the same type from *Moesia Superior* come from the Morava Valley, indicating the early onset of the Roman army from the south, via the Vardar and Velika Morava valleys. The specimen from the Limes comes from the horizon of the fortification construction on the Limes of *Moesia Superior* in the period of Domitian’s and Trajan’s Dacian wars.

The original provenance of type Petković 6 is the Rhine Limes and *Germania Magna*, the area bordered by the Rhine to the west, the Baltic Sea to the north and Vistula to the east, the territory of the free Germanic tribes. However, “eye” fibulae have been discovered across the Empire, in the border provinces along the Rhine and Danube, and also in the Roman provinces in the Balkans,⁴ on the Baltic coast and in Scandinavia, on the north and the northern coast of the Black Sea and in the south.⁵

Created under the influence of the *Aucissa* type fibulae, this form was manufactured along the Rhine and Danube Limes, in Gaul, as well as in the Barbaricum region⁶ during the 1st century. The fibulae of Petković⁶ type were made of copper alloys, in rare cases silver or iron, and worn by both men and women.⁷

Interestingly, this type has not been registered in Roman Dacia, while among the brooches from the Roman provinces in Bulgaria, primarily from *Moesia Inferior*, it is very frequent.⁸ Ana Haralambieva presumes the local manufacture of the variant Petković 6 C, which she dates to the second half of the 1st - the beginning of the 2nd century, in the vicinity of the fort of *Appiaria* on the lower Danube.⁹ This leads to an interesting conclusion that “eye” fibulae were present in the border provinces of the

3 Petković 2010, 47-49, Cat. no.74, Pl. IV, 5.

4 Almgren 1923, Map 1; Kunow 1998, 112-117, Find lists, Figs. 6-7; Kovrig 1937, 112-113, Pl. III, 17-21; von Patek 1942, 195-196; Böhme 1972, 11, Pl. 1, 8-14; Bechert 1973, 17, Pl. 12, 117-119, Pl. 13 - 15; Ettlinger 1973, 68-69, Pl. 6, 4-6; Riha 1979, 68-70, Pl. 7, 193-209; Koščević 1980, 17-18, Pl. VII, 43-47; Хараламбиева 1997, 31-42, Pl. I - II; Genčeva 2004, Pl. XXIX, 4 - 5.

5 Almgren 1923, Map 1; Peškar 1972, 70-74, Pl. 3, 4-9; Амброз 1966, 35- 36, Pl. 6, 15, 20-21.

6 Kunow 1998, 106-110.

7 Kunow 1998, 111.

8 Genčeva 2004, 80.

9 Хараламбиева 1997, 35-36.

Balkans until Trajan's conquest of Dacia, meaning that they could be linked to the Roman army of the 1st century on the Danubian Limes. It should be noted that, for the time being, fibulae of this type have not been registered among the finds from *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*, the legionary camps of *Moesia Superior*. This leads to the conclusion that Petković 6 type fibulae were worn by the soldiers of the units which comprised the garrisons at the forts on the Danubian Limes in the first half of the 1st century, before the arrival of *Legio VII Claudia* and *Legio IV Flavia Felix*.

Aucissa type fibulae in Upper Moesia (Petković type 8) generally come from the earliest horizons of Roman forts on the Danubian Limes: *Taurunum*, *Castra Tricornia*, *Viminacium*, *Translederata*, *Pincum*, Hajdučka Vodenica, *Diana* and Kurvingrad.

It is considered that the *Aucissa* type of brooches emerged at the passage from the old to the new era (the end of the 1st century BC – the beginning of the 1st century AD) in northern Italy, but it also appears in Dalmatia, on the Rhine Limes and in the Alpine Region¹⁰ in the same period. During the 1st century AD, it spread across the entire territory of the Roman Empire, from Britain in the west to Syria and Mesopotamia in the east and Africa in the south.¹¹ This type of fibulae is also frequent outside of the Empire, in Barbaricum.¹²

Recent research defines the *Aucissa* fibulae as an Early Roman, Mediterranean type of the second half of the 1st century BC, which spread to the west, north and east in the course of Roman conquests during the reign of Augustus.¹³ It has been confirmed that Roman soldiers used to wear these brooches, sometimes manufactured in the small workshops within the forts, but they were also worn by women, as confirmed by grave finds.¹⁴

Regardless of the multitude of known signatures of the craftsmen on the *Aucissa* fibulae, it is extraordinarily difficult to locate the respective workshops, i.e. their

10Almgren 1923, 109; von Patek 1942, 106; Behrens 1950, 8; Marović 1961, 112; Ettliger 1973, 21, 93–94, Karte 18; Feugere 1985, 323.

11 Behrens 1950, 6–7; Noll 1952, 396; Marović 1961, 106;

12 Амброз 1966, 26–27, T. 4, 9–23 – in the Caucasus in North Ossetia, in the Dnieper valley, in Azerbaijan, Dagestan, even in Siberia, classical specimens and local variants from the 2nd – 3rd centuries; Peškar 1972, 66 – 67, T. 1, 4 – in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, including the findings from the Celtic oppidum at Stare Hradisko.

13 Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 358 – 359.

14 Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 354 – 355.

affiliates. According to the concentration of the finds and the appearance of the distinct variants and sub variants, we could assume the existence of workshops which produced this type of fibulae in Pannonia and Dalmatia, in cities such as *Siscia* and *Salona*.¹⁵

Considering all the information mentioned so far, the provenance of the *Aucissa* fibulae cannot be ascertained; Gaul, the Alpine Region, northern Italy and the coastal region of Dalmatia should be taken into account as potential locations. In any case, the brooches of this type trace the routes of Romanisation and are very precise chronological indicators.

Although *Aucissa* fibulae, together with Italic *terra sigillata* and early ceramic oil lamps (Loeschke Types I, IV, Iványi Types I – II)¹⁶, are considered to be an Italic import, the possibility of their local production as early as from the middle of the 1st century AD should not be ruled out. Interestingly, not a single specimen of type Petković 8 from the Limes of *Moesia Superior* has a workshop signature. Hence, there is a possibility that these brooches were manufactured locally, in smaller workshops or the affiliates of larger Pannonian and Dalmatian centres, along the border of *Moesia Superior* on the Danube, by the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century.

The finds of fibulae from Bulgaria, from the *Ratiaria*, *Almus*, *Augusta Traiana* and *Novae* forts, of which only two have a workshop signature,¹⁷ suggest the possibility of local production of the Petković 8 type.

Aucissa fibulae (Petković type 8) from the Limes in *Moesia Superior* can be dated to the second half of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century according to the finds with an ascertained archaeological context:¹⁸

variant A (Pl. 1, 2) has been discovered in *Viminacium*, in the layer of the first half of the 2nd century, in the fort at Hajdučka Vodenica, in the layer from the end of the 1st- beginning of the 2nd century, and in Kurvingrad, in the layer from the first half of the 2nd century;

15 Marović 1961, 106 et seq; Košćević 1975, 51.

16 Iványi 1937, 10–11.

17 Genčeva 2004, 38–39, Pl. IX, 6 – 10, Pl. X, 1 – 4 – The author assumes that these brooches of the later variant, from the second half of 1st - 2nd century, were imported from Pannonia and Dalmatia. The specimens with the signature AVCISSA or AVCSSA could have also been produced in a local branch of these workshops.

18 Petković 2010, 53–54.

Variant B (Pl. 1, 3) has been discovered in *Viminacium* in the layer of the first half of the 2nd century, and in *Diana*, in the layer from the second half of the 1st - beginning of the 2nd century.

Variant C (Pl. 1, 4) has been discovered among the grave goods on the tibia of the inhumated child in tomb G – 1677, in the necropolis of “Više grobalja” in *Viminacium*. Unfortunately, there were no other finds in this grave, nor in that of the inhumated deceased, G – 1676, which was located above G- 1677. The grave G – 1676 can be, most likely, dated to the 2nd century, and the *Aucissa* fibula is undoubtedly the product of a local workshop.¹⁹

Plain brooches with a hinge and a smooth, strip-like bow (Petković type 9) are very frequent in the horizons of the 2nd - 3rd centuries in *Moesia Superior*, where the highest concentration of finds is along the Danube Limes of this province (68%), predominantly at two sites: *Viminacium* (44%) and *Diana* (15%).²⁰

The finds from the archaeological units, dated according to coins and other movable artefacts, comprise slightly less than a half (48%) of all discovered brooches of type 9 from *Moesia Superior*. According to these finds, the simple, hinge brooches from *Moesia Superior* are dated to the 2nd - 3rd centuries. It can be noted that type Petković 9 was produced during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, with the earliest variant A (Pl. 1, 5) produced from the end of the 1st to the middle of the 3rd century, variant B (Pl. 1, 6) during the entire 2nd and 3rd century, and the latest variant C (Pl. 1, 7) from the middle of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century.

Scientific literature supports the opinion of our authors that this type of fibulae developed from the *Aucissa* type by simplifying the basic form.²¹ Also, the Danubian provinces of *Moesia Superior* and *Inferior* and *Dacia* were the original provenance of the production of this type of brooches. The possible craft centres for their production are the Danubian forts of *Diana* and *Drobeta*.²² According to the large number of finds of this type of fibulae, *Viminacium* was also, likely, a centre for their production.

19 Two brooches from Bulgaria (Nicopolis ad Istrum, Pavlikeni) are very similar to the specimen from grave G – 1677 at the necropolis “Više grobalja” – *Viminacium*. – Genčeva 2004, Pl. XI, 10, Pl. XII, 2; Also, direct analogies have been found in the already mentioned fibulae from Romania (Augusta Traiana, Copaceni) - Cociş 2004, Pl. XLVI, 667, Pl. XLVII, 670.

20 Petković 2010, 56-58.

21 Jovanović 1978, 53; Bojović 1983, 22 – 23; Grbić 1996, 88 – 89; Cociş 2004, 79 – 83.

22 Popescu 1945, 487; Jovanović 1978, 54; Grbić 1996, 87 et seq.

Most of the type Petković 9 fibulae found in the necropolises of *Viminacium* belong to variant C (27%), which would point to their local production. From the middle of the 2nd century, besides being a legionary camp and the administrative centre of the province, *Viminacium* became a large city centre with well-developed industry and trade. Besides the already confirmed ceramic workshops,²³ other crafts must have flourished too, as demonstrated by the variety of finds from the necropolises.²⁴ Moreover, the period from the second half of the 2nd – the first half of the 3rd century, when the production of type Petković 9 C fibulae was most intense, coincides with the period of a flourishing economy in *Viminacium* and the operation of workshops producing the local *terra sigillata*.

Although they have been found in large numbers on the Limes of *Moesia Superior*, the plain hinge brooches resembling the *Aucissa* type cannot be directly linked to the Roman army. Based on grave finds, it could be concluded that they were worn by both sexes, and by both adults and children. This is a plain, functional type of brooch, predominant in the Roman army on the Limes as well and is related to Severus' renewal of the Danubian border.²⁵

Hinge fibulae with a plate head and short, large, slightly arched, cast bow, profiled with a longitudinal rib (Pl. 1, 8; Fig. 1) (Petković type 11) are only characteristic of the provinces on the Lower Danube: *Moesia Superior*, *Dacia* and *Moesia Inferior*, and appear only sporadically in *Pannonia*.²⁶ This type emerged through the development of plain hinge brooches (Petković type 9), with the addition of new elements typical of Gaulic hinge brooches, such as the segmented cast bow, and the elements of *Noricum-Pannonian* strongly profiled brooches (Petković type 13), like the longitudinal rib and the plastic thickenings on the bow, as well as an elongated catch plate. Deana Grbić considers this type the latest derivate of the *Aucissa* fibulae, which was produced during the second half of the 2nd and during the 3rd century.²⁷ This opinion is accepted in the scientific literature, except that Petković type 11 is dated to the second half of the 2nd - the beginning of the 3rd

23 Bjelajac 1990, 147; Redžić 2007, 78-79; Raičković 2007, 48-50.

24 Зотовић, Јордовић 1990; Korać, Golubović 2009.

25 Petković 2010, 58-62, Tabela 1.

26 Bojović 1983, 46-47; Grbić 1996, 88-89; Genčeva 2004, 44-45, Pl. XIII, 4-9, type 15 v; Cocić 2004, 81-83, Pl. L - LIII, type 14 d; Kovrig 1937, Pl. XIV, 141, 143.

27 Grbić 1996, 89.

Figure 1: Type Petković 11,
Karataš – Diana.



century.²⁸ In *Moesia Superior*, these brooches are characteristic of the 3rd century; they appear during the second half of the 2nd century and continue to the first decades of the 4th century. If this dating is compared to the chronology of this type in *Dacia* and *Moesia Inferior*, it seems that our specimens are somewhat later, i.e. that they were used over a longer period. In that context, it can be assumed that new workshops for the production of Petković type 11 opened during the second half of the 3rd century in *Moesia Superior*, taking over the production from *Dacia* due to the instability and, eventually, the abandonment of this province.²⁹

Regardless of the abundance of Petković type 11 fibulae on the Danubian Limes of *Moesia Superior*, it is difficult to directly link them to the Roman army, as in the case of the plain hinge type of brooches (Petković type 9). Beside the fact that they have also been discovered in the mid-lands of the province, in mining and metallurgical centres (*Kosmaj*, *Ulpiana* and *Romuliana*) and rural settlements (*Grocka*), these fibulae were used by both men and women.³⁰ The long usage of this type of brooch indicates that they were ordinary, functional items, widely used by the population of the Lower Danube and, thus, probably used by the military population too.

28 Genčeva 2004, 45; Cociş 2004, 82–83; Petković 2010,

29 Petković 2010, 68–69, Table 2.

30 Petković 2010, 69, Cat. nos. 221, 231, 243–247, 253–254, Map 3.

Two variants of *Noricum-Pannonian* strongly profiled brooches are characteristic of the Danubian Limes in *Moesia Superior*. These are strongly profiled brooches with a spring on the head with a transverse bar, astragaloid raised work on the bow and a triangular foot with a knob-shaped ending (Almgren group IV, types 68–70; Jobst type 4 b–c; Petković group IV, type 13 B) (Pl. 2, 1), and strongly profiled brooches with a spring on the head without the bar, with a longitudinal rib and astragaloid or semicircular raised work on the bow and a triangular foot with a knob-shaped end (Almgren group IV, types 83–84; Jobst Typ 5 c–d; Cociş type 8 b 1–3; Petković group IV, type 13 D). (Pl. 2, 2)

Most of the type Petković 13 B fibulae from Upper Moesia have been found on the Danubian Limes (69, 12%):³¹ in the vicinity of *Singidunum*, in Ritopek - *Castra Tricornia*, in Grocka, in the necropolises in *Viminacium*, in Sapaja - *Translederata* fort, on Čezava - *Castrum Novae*, in the fort at Hajdučka Vodenica, in Tekija - *Transdierna*, Karataš - *Diana* and in the fort at the site of Kurvingrad. They belong to the horizon from the second half of the 1st - first half of the 2nd century, that is, from the reign of Emperor Claudius until the Age of the Antonines. Nevertheless, most of the type 13 B fibulae belong to the horizon of the earthen forts from Domitian's period and to the horizon of Trajan's renewal of the Limes, when the first stone fortifications were erected, which would narrow their dating on the Danube frontier of *Moesia Superior* to the end of the 1st - beginning of the 2nd centuries (i.e. from year 84 to 106). This dating is also supported by the finds of type 13 B fibulae from the necropolises in *Viminacium*.³²

Type 13 D fibulae are concentrated along the Danube Limes of *Moesia Superior*. They have been found in *Singidunum* in the layers from the 2nd - beginning of the 3rd century, in the forts of Ritopek - *Castra Tricornia*, Sapaja - *Translederata* and Čezava - *Castrum Novae*, in the horizon from the end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century, at Karataš - *Diana* in the layers of the 2nd - 3rd centuries and in the *Pontes* fort- Trajan's bridge in the layer from the second half of the 2nd - first half of the 3rd century. They have also been discovered in the necropolises of *Viminacium*, in tombs and layers from the 2nd - 3rd centuries.³³ Coinciding with the hinge fibulae belonging to Petković types 9 and 11, type 13 D fibulae are typical

31 Bojović 1983, 31 et seq; Petković 2010, 82-84.

32 Petković 2010, Cat. nos.358-366.

33 Petković 2010, 84-85.

finds of the Severan phase of the Limes renewal. Nevertheless, this still cannot directly link them to the Roman frontier army.

Considering the similarities in form between Petković types 11 and 13 D, these brooches were most likely produced at the same time and in the same craft centres on the Limes, like *Singidunum*, *Viminacium* and *Diana*. However, there remains a dilemma whether Petković type 11 fibulae, which are a derivative of the *Aucissa* fibulae, had influence on the creation of type 13 D, or both types emerged as a synthesis of the forms of the hinge and strongly profiled brooches of the 1st - 2nd centuries. The second option seems to be more likely. The development of hinge and strongly profiled fibulae of the 1st - 2nd centuries could have led to the development of similar forms, with the same aesthetic criteria, which differed only in the type of mechanism for fastening the pin - the first ones had a hinge mechanism, the others a mechanism with a spiral spring. Considering the abovementioned information, it could be concluded that Petković types 9 and 11 of hinge fibulae and types of strongly profiled fibulae 13 B and 13 D are not military brooches in a real sense, although they are frequently found in the forts along the Danube Limes.³⁴

The type of arched fibulae with a spring mechanism on the head, known as the “Black Sea strongly profiled fibulae” (Almgren group IV, type 82; Petković group IV, type 14) can be studied only conditionally within strongly profiled fibulae, since it includes the variants and specimens without a strongly profiled bow, but its classification in this group is customary, according to the accepted typologies.³⁵

Oscar Almgren limited the origin and production of this type of fibulae to the area of the Danube basin and southern Russia.³⁶ With further analysis, the original provenance of Petković type 14 was narrowed down to the Lower Danube and Pontus.³⁷ The opinion that this type emerged around the end of the 1st - beginning

34 It should be noted that the exploration of Roman sites, mainly fortifications, on the Danube Limes is more extensive than the exploration of fortifications and settlements in the interior of Upper Moesia, which is the result of protective excavations during the construction of the hydroelectric power plants Đerdap I (1965-1970) and Đerdap II (1979-1993). This should be kept in mind when analyzing the distribution of certain types of fibulae on the Limes, especially when these fibulae are objects of hyper-production.

35 Almgren 1923, 44, Group IV, Typ 82, Pl. IV, 82; Kovrig 1937, 119, VIII Group, Pl. III, 22 – 24; Амброз 1966, 40 – 43, Group 11, Series I – II, Pl. 7, 10, Pl. 8.

36 Almgren 1923, 44, Pl. IV, 82, 87.

37 Амброз 1966, 40 – 41; Jovanović 1978, 52; Košćević 1980, 24, type 12; Bojović 1983, 40 – 41, type 11.

of the 2nd century on the Danube Limes of *Moesia Superior* (which was also the location of the first workshops for its production), based on the large number of registered specimens, is predominant in the latest publications on Roman fibulae.³⁸ According to Aleksandar Jovanović and Dragoslav Bojović, the supposed workshops operated in *Singidunum*, *Viminacium*, *Lederata*, *Drobeta* and *Pontes*.³⁹ Nevertheless, archaeological excavations at these sites have not yielded any proof of this thesis so far, such as the finds of semi-products, moulds or workshops. Spreading along the Danube during the first half of the 2nd century, mostly through the Roman army, Petković type 14 fibulae reached *Pannonia*, *Dacia*, *Moesia Inferior* and the cities on the coast of the Black Sea.⁴⁰ They appear only very sporadically on the Rhine Limes.⁴¹ From the Danube Limes and Pontus, they were exported to *Barbaricum*, where they became popular among the Sarmatians and Carpi.⁴² They were produced in the barbarian territory and in *Dacia*, where they are called the “Carpian” type of fibulae (Pl. 2, 3), as a modified form with a short bow and a long spiral head.⁴³ Although there are certain opinions that these fibulae emerged in Dacian territory, in the Seret Valley, as early as around the end of the 1st century, and that they should be dated to the middle of the 2nd century in *Dacia*, type 14 C₂ fibulae appear until the middle/second half of the 3rd century at Sarmatian and Carpi sites.⁴⁴ Most likely, some of the variants of T-shaped fibulae with a spiral head developed from this variant.⁴⁵

38 Cociş 2004, 42 – 44, Type 6; Genčeva 2004, 36 – 37.

39 Jovanović 1978, 52 – The author placed the centers for production in the fortifications on Limes: *Lederata*, *Drobeta* and *Pontes*; D. Bojović has supposed that the workshops functioned in the towns risen around the legionary camps of legions IV Flavia and legio VII Claudia, *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*.

40 Kovrig 1937, 119, Pl. III, 22 – 24; von Patek 1942, 112, Pl. VI, 11; Košćević 1980, 24, Pl. XIX, 138 – 140; Cociş 2004, 44, Pl. II, 19 – 24, Pl. III, 25 – 39; Genčeva 2004, 36, Pl. VIII, 1 – 6; Ambroz 1966, 40, Variant I – 1, Pl. 8, 1 – 5.

41 Böhme 1972, 13, Pl. 2, 46.

42 Bichir 1973, 102, Pl. CXII, 2; Vaday 1989, 77, Fig. 12, 8.

43 Cociş 2004, 44 – 45, Type 7, Pl. III, 40 – 41, Pl. IV, 42 – 59, Pl. V, 60 – 61. These brooches belong to the sub-variants Petković 14/A 2 i 14/C 2.

44 Cociş 2004, 45; Vaday 1989, 79, Fig. 12, 18 – 19, Pl. 135, 9, Pl. 140, 2; Bichir 1973, 46, Pl. XXXVII, 5, Pl. XLII, 5, Pl. XLVII, 2 a - b, 5 a - b.

45 Bojović 1983, 74 – 75.

In Upper Moesia, type 14 fibulae predominantly come from the Danube Limes (94, 5%). They were made of copper alloys (bronze, brass), or, in rare cases, silver.⁴⁶ Variant 14 A (Pl. 2, 4) is most frequent in the legionary camps, *Viminacium* and *Singidunum*, in the forts and villas in the vicinity of the last one (Ritopek – *Castra Tricornia*, Grocka and Brestovik), and in the mining area of Kosmaj (*Metalla Tricornensis*). In the necropolises in *Viminacium*, this variant was dated to the period from the end of the 1st to the middle of the 3rd century, according to coins and ceramic finds.⁴⁷

Certainly, the earliest finds of Petković type 14 are the silver fibulae from the Bare hoard of silver objects, which were most likely produced during the 1st century, and deposited in the hoard of silver jewellery and coins by the end of that same century, i.e. in the period of Domitian's Dacian Wars. The prominent autochthonous Dacian-Moesian component in the types of silver jewellery from the hoard leads to the conclusion that the Petković 14 a₁ variant of fibulae was created in the local tradition, which is also suggested by the fact that they are made of silver.⁴⁸

There are no lines of argumentation to establish the link between the “Black Sea type” of strongly profiled fibulae and the Roman army on the Limes in Moesia Superior. On one hand, recent research locates the area of their origin in the Danube basin of Upper Moesia, whilst on the other hand, a large number of finds from the necropolises in *Viminacium* was discovered in the graves of women and girls, frequently in pairs. Also, a pair of silver fibulae of this type from the Bare hoard indicates that they were originally a part of women's clothing. It is possible that the hyper production of type 14 during the 2nd - 3rd centuries is linked to its usage by the Roman army, but that still does not classify them as military fibulae. However, if we observe the distribution of this type to the Lower Danube, Black Sea and *Barbaricum*, it is undeniable that the army played a major role in their spread across the borders of their original provenance. The historical event which can be linked to the spread of type 14 to the Southeast is Septimius Severus' conquest of Syria, Armenia and Partia, in 197.

⁴⁶ Petković 2010, 97, Cat.nos. 492, 512-513. – One brooch of type Petković 14 from *Viminacium* and a pair of fibulae of the same type from the Bare hoard of silver items were made of silver.

⁴⁷ Petković 2010, 99. – Finds from the cremation graves in the “Pećine” necropolis at *Viminacium* (G1 – 1004 and G1 – 2178), as well as inhumation graves from the same cemetery (G – 864 and G – 5317), are important for the late dating of the Petković type 14 into the 3rd century.

⁴⁸ Поповић 1994, 26 – 28; Popović, Borić-Brešković 1996, 46 – 50.

Elbow fibulae with a spiral head (Böhme Types 19-21; Petković Group V, Type 18 A-G) appear in several variants on the Limes of *Moesia Superior* and are dated to the period from the end of the 1st to the end of the 3rd century.⁴⁹ The variants which can be hypothetically linked to the border army are the elbow fibulae with a rectangular or semicircular spring buttress above the head (Petković Type 18 A-B) (Pl. 2, 5-6).

The opinions about the origin of the elbow fibulae with a spiral head and semicircular buttress differ, but they all agree that these fibulae appeared around the end of the 1st - beginning of the 2nd century in the area of the border provinces of the Empire in central Europe. Beside the assumption that these fibulae were created in the area of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*,⁵⁰ there is a thesis about the German-Raetian origin of elbow fibulae.⁵¹ The frequency of Petković type 18 along the Rhine and Danube Limes led Astrid Böhme - Schönberger to believe that they were military fibulae.⁵² In the western regions of the Empire, apart from the Limes, type 18 fibulae are rare: this type is unknown in Gaul, only several specimens have been discovered in Britain, they seldom appear in the territory of the free Germanic tribes and they are also rare in Switzerland. On the other hand, type 18 fibulae are frequent finds in the border provinces of *Pannonia*, *Dacia*, *Moesia Superior* and *Inferior*; this is also the case among the Sarmatians in *Barbaricum*, on the left bank of the Danube, and they are fairly frequent in Thrace and in the cities in the Pontus region (*Hersones* and *Olbia*).⁵³

The finds of elbow fibulae with a rectangular buttress above a spiral head (Petković Type 18 A) from Upper Moesia do not offer enough arguments to attribute this variant to the army. This type of fibulae has been discovered in the mining regions, the forts on the Limes and in the mid-lands, as well as in civilian settlements. Two indicative finds are those of a bronze fibula of this variant, discovered in a pair with a specimen of Petković type 18 B in the rich grave G - 1396, in the necropolis of "Više grobalja", *Viminacium*, and a silver one from tomb G 1 - 313 in Kolovrat, near Prijepolje in Western Serbia, which were undoubtedly worn by women.⁵⁴

49 Petković 2010, 130/135.

50 Kovrig 1937, 120 - 121; von Patek 1942, 130 - 137, 298.

51 Böhme 1972, 19; Böhme - Schönberger 1998, 362 - 363.

52 Böhme 1972, 52 - 53; Böhme - Schönberger 1998, 363, Abb. 9.

53 Petković 2010, 131.

54 Petković 2010, 132-133.

In contrast with the previous variant, the finds of fibulae belonging to Petković type 18 B from *Moesia Superior* are concentrated around the legionary camps in *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*. A spring with an external chord, a chord-holder and an elongated, rectangular catch plate⁵⁵ is the distinctive feature of this variant in *Moesia Superior*. This supports the thesis that they were produced on the Limes of *Moesia Superior*. Fibulae of this type have also been discovered in large numbers in *Dacia*.⁵⁶ In the context of the finds from the forts on the Danube and Rhine frontier, the specimens of type 18 B can be regarded as military fibulae.

Elbow fibulae with a hinge mechanism on the head (Petković Group V, Type 19) are very similar to the previous type; this type retains the non-functional semicircular buttress above the cylindrical capsule for the hinge axle on the head. (Pl. 2, 7) The variants differ in the treatment of the cast bow, which can be smooth (type 19 A), with a longitudinal rib (type 19 B) or fluted (type 19 C). (Pl. 3, 1-3)⁵⁷

One fibula from *Viminacium* might testify to the military character of the type 19 A; it has two pins and, accordingly, a rectangular foot with two catch plates.⁵⁸ It must have been used to fasten a heavy woollen cloak, so it could have been a piece of military equipment. (Pl. 3, 4)

Elbow hinge fibulae with a fluted bow, polygonal in cross-section (Kovrig X Group, Typ 97; Petković Group V, Type 19 C), are the most numerous variant of type 19 in *Moesia Superior* and on the Danube Limes of this province. Another feature of these fibulae is an elongated, rectangular catch plate, which usually has jagged sides or incised ornament. (Pl. 3, 5) This variant of brooches was produced locally in *Moesia Superior*, and almost two thirds of these fibulae discovered in the territory of today's Serbia come from the Danube Limes, also including the legionary camps and cities of *Singidunum* and *Viminacium* (63, 24%). It can be assumed that the workshops for their production existed in these cities. They are also very frequent on Kosmaj, which links them, on one hand, to the frontier army, and on the other hand, to the mining-metallurgical regions of *Argentaria Pannonica* in the lower Drina basin and *Metalla Tricornensis* on Kosmaj mountain. According to the finds from archaeological units, they can be dated to the second half of the 2nd and

55 Petković 2010, 133.

56 Cociş 2004, 98 – 99, Type 19 b 1, Pl. LXXVII, 1179 – 1190, Pl. LXXIX, 1191 – 1199.

57 Petković 2010, 143-145.

58 Petković 2010, 144, kat. 777, Pl. XXV, 4.

to the 3rd century. Fibulae belonging to type 19 C from two graves from the necropolis of “Više grobalja” in *Viminacium* outline the chronological span of the production of this variant on the Limes in Upper Moesia: in the cremation burial G₁ – 258 such a fibula is dated to the last third of the 2nd century according to Lucilla’s coins, a silver belt set and an oil lamp in the shape of Silenus’s head, while the specimen from the inhumation burial G – 374 is dated to the second half of the 3rd century.⁵⁹

There is no reliable proof that type 19 fibulae were linked to the Roman army, since, according to the grave finds, they were worn by both men and women. The silver specimens were parts of sets of female silver jewellery, worn in pairs and linked by woven silver chains with pendants in the shape of an ivy leaf.⁶⁰ A large number of these fibulae, especially of variant 19 C, in the forts along the Limes testify to the hyper production of a favourite, popular type in *Moesia Superior*.

Among the plate fibulae made in the cast openwork technique, several variants can be linked to the Roman army. (Böhme Type 46; Ettliger Type 49; Jobst Type 31 A-B, D; Riha Type 3.18; Petković Group VI, Type 22 A-D). Their original provenance extends along the border provinces on the Rhine and Danube, where they developed the Celtic tradition of manufacture of decorative items in the technique of cast openwork.⁶¹ This is also confirmed by the distribution of the finds of Petković type 22, concentrated in the forts along the Rhine, Danube and Dacian Limes.⁶² In scientific literature, this type is dated from the middle of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century, while on the Limes of Upper Moesia it lasted until the middle of the 4th century.⁶³

Discoid plate fibulae (Petković tip 22 A) are decorated in the cast openwork technique so that they have a wheel shape, with the pin attached by a hinge mechanism. They can appear in the form of a realistic cartwheel, with six spokes, or with six to eight semicircular or peltate perforations, a jagged rim and an em-

59 Petković 2010, 144, 146-147, Table 5.

60 Petković 2010, 147-148.

61 Böhme 1972, 44; Jobst 1975, 116 – 117.

62 von Patek 1942, 127 - 128, Pl. XVIII, 7; Böhme 1972, 43 – 44, Type 46, Pl. 29, 1136 – 1149, Pl. 30, 1150; Ettliger 1973, 129, Type 49, Pl. 15, 2 – 5; Jobst 1975, 116 – 120, Type 31, Pl. 47, T. 48, 338 – 344; Riha 1979, 88, Pl. 13, 310 – 311; Bojović 1983, 64 – 65, Type 25, Pl. XXIX, 276 – 288; Cociş 2004, 125 – 129, Types 25 – 26, Pl. CIX – CX; Genčeva 2004, 70, 74 – 75, Types 28 and 31 b, Pl. XXVI, 1 – 8, Pl. XXVII, 12 – 14.

63 Böhme 1972, 44; Jobst 1975, 117 i dalje; Bojović 1983, 65 – 66; Petković 2010, 180-182, Table 6.

bossed “eyelet” in the centre, so that they represent the celestial wheel – the sun disc. (Pl. 3, 6-7). Wheel-shaped fibulae have been found on the Danube Limes in the legionary camps of *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*, and in the *Diana* fort. According to the finds from archaeological units, in *Moesia Superior* they can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century and the 3rd century, with a possibility that they might have lasted until the first half of the 4th century.⁶⁴

One of the variants of plate fibulae decorated with openwork, which can be linked to the Roman army, is decorated in such a way that it assumes the shape of two, three or more military trumpets (Petković type 22 D), musical wind instruments shaped in a coil between the mouthpiece and the wide, trumpet-like bell. (Pl. 3, 8-10) Only four such specimens have been found on the Limes, at three sites: Ritopek - *Castra Tricornia*, *Viminacium* (2 specimens) and Muoara Vagei. According to the archaeological context, they can be dated from the middle of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd/beginning of the 4th century.⁶⁵

Some of the variants of plate fibulae decorated with openwork can be linked to the Roman army, primarily those of variant 22 A, wheel-shaped, with pronounced solar symbolism,⁶⁶ and variant 22 D – in the shape of linked military trumpets. Such fibulae could have been the denotation of certain military branches, ranks or units. Also, they could have been awarded in the army as decoration for the meritorious achievements in war or during service. This is also suggested by the fact that some wheel-shaped fibulae with an “eyelet” in the centre were silver plated, while the fibulae with three military horns were also made of silver, besides copper alloys. The fibulae in the shape of military horns, i.e. trumpets, were the denotation of the *cornicines*, which had a significant role in the Roman legions. The silver fibula from Tricornium, the eponymous settlement of the tribe of Tricornians (*Tricornium*) and a fort (*Castra Tricornia*) on the Danube Limes of *Moesia Superior* should also be regarded within the same context. (Fig. 2) This fibula is composed of three military horns with clearly distinguishable mouthpieces and wide flaring openings,

⁶⁴ Petković 2010, 180.

⁶⁵ Petković 2010, 180-181.

⁶⁶ A wheel with four or six spokes is a symbol of the supreme deity of the Celtic pantheon, the Celestial Thunderbolt, the God of the Sun and Fire, Taranis, or Jupiter in interpretatio romana – Eliade 1991, vol. II, 117.



Figure 2: Type Petković 22 D, Ritopek – *Tricornium*.

not three horns of plenty (*cornucopia*), as Aleksandar Jovanović suggests.⁶⁷ On the other hand, fibulae from *Carnuntum* and the museum in Galați, as well as the specimen from the fort in Bologa, Romania, really are representations of the horn of plenty.⁶⁸ One fibula of the same type was discovered in a cremation burial in the necropolis of “Peține” in Viminacium.⁶⁹ The closest analogy to the fibula from Ritopek, however, with a representation of one horn, is the bronze specimen from Porolissum.⁷⁰ Also, elements of military belt sets can be decorated with openwork so that they assume the shape of several military trumpets.⁷¹

67 Jovanović 2007, 61 *et seq.*

68 Jovanović 2007, 62, Notes. 5 i 6; Cociș 2004, 206, Pl. CIII, 1465. – the author unjustifiably defines this brooch as a type of fibulae in the form of trumpet.

69 Petković 2010, 220, Pl. XXXIX, 7.

70 Cociș 2004, 120, Type 23 b, Pl. CIII, 1464.

71 Redžić 2014, 37, Pl. IV, 12 a-f.

The types of fibulae which can undoubtedly be linked to the Roman army are the swastika-shaped plate fibulae. On the Danube Limes of Moesia Superior two variants of this type appear: plate fibulae, whose bow is cast in the swastika shape, and can be decorated with engraving, with a free hinge mechanism on the lower side and a transverse catch plate with a hook at the end (Petković type 23 A) (Pl. 4, 1) and plate fibulae with a bow in the form of a swastika with the endings in the shape of horses' heads, and the "eyelet" motif or concentric circles with a dot in the centre in the middle of the bow and on the proteomes, where they represent horses' eyes (Petković type 23 D) (Fig. 3). In the second variant, the pin can be attached to the bow with a spring mechanism or an open hinge. Also, the fibulae of the second variant are sometimes silver plated.⁷²

The classic swastika-shaped fibulae belong to the production of Roman border provinces along the Rhine and Danube, where the specimens with a spring mechanism with an internal chord are typical of the western provinces, and those with an external chord or hinge mechanism are typical of *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, *Dacia*, *Moesia Superior* and *Inferior*.⁷³ Such fibulae also sporadically appear in Britain.⁷⁴ Swastika-shaped plate fibulae are dated from the second third of the 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century.⁷⁵ In *Moesia Superior* they have been discovered in *Singidunum*, at the site of Knez Mihailova str. no. 44, in the horizon from the end of the 3rd - first half of the 4th century, and in Viminacium's necropolis of "Pećine", in a sacrificial pit from the second half of the 2nd - first half of the 3rd century.

Swastika-shaped fibulae with horses' proteomes (Petković type 23 D) were created based on the Roman tradition under the "barbarian" influence of Sarmatian tribes.⁷⁶ The centre of their production was located in the province of *Pannonia Secunda*,⁷⁷ according to the multitude of discovered specimens, most likely in Novi Banovci (*Burgenae*). This type of fibulae spread across the northern border of the

72 Petković 2010, 187-189.

73 Böhme 1972, 45; Jobst 1975, 123; Cociş 2004, 135 – 136, Type 33 a, Pl. CXXV, 1626 – 1628; Genčeva 2004, 75, Type 32 a, Pl. XXVIII, 1 – 2.

74 Böhme 1972, 45, Find – list 45.

75 Böhme 1972, 46. – The end of the 2nd – the beginning of the 3rd century; Jobst 1975, 123. – the last quarter of the 2nd - the first half of the 3rd century; Cociş 2004, 136 – the second third of the 2nd – the first third of the 3rd century.

76 Vinski 1968, 133; Petković 1999, 225 – 226.

77 Buora 1992, 106.



Figure 3: Type Petković 23 D, Boljetin – Smorna.

province of *Dacia*, where they are frequently discovered within forts, during the 3rd century, and later, in the 4th century, also in *Pannonia Secunda*, *Moesia Prima* and *Dacia Ripensis*, while they appear individually in *Pannonia Prima*, northern Italy and Bulgaria.⁷⁸

Swastika-shaped fibulae with horses' proteomes on the endings can be linked to the recruitment of the "barbarians", mostly Sarmatians, namely, the Alans, to the auxiliary cavalry troops of the Roman army by the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century. Together with the antler unilateral combs with a triangular handle ornamented with horses' proteomes, they were the denotations of the members of *equites pseudocomitatenses* in Illyricum in the period from year 380 to 408.⁷⁹

78 Buora 1992, 105 – 107, Fig. 1; Petković 1999, 217, Map 2; Gudea 2002, 101 – 104; Cociş 2004, 135 – 136, Type 33 b, Pl. XCV, 1631 – 1638; Genčeva 2004, 75, Type 32 b, Pl. XXVIII, 3.

79 Petković 1999, 226 – 228.

All specimens of the second variant from the Danube Limes of Moesia Superior were discovered within reliably dated archaeological units: two fibulae from *Singidunum* were found in the horizon from the second half of the 4th - first half of the 5th century, fibulae from the necropolis of “Više grobalja” in *Viminacium* can be dated from the middle of the 3rd to the end of the 4th/beginning of the 5th century, the specimen from “Pećine” to the second half of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th century, while the fibula from the fort in Boljetin (*Smorna*) is dated to the 4th century. In general, swastika-shaped fibulae with horses’ proteomes on the Limes of *Moesia Superior* are dated from the middle of the 3rd to the middle of the 5th century.⁸⁰

Both variants of swastika-shaped fibulae appear on the Upper Moesian Limes, primarily in the legionary camps of *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*, which indicates the existence of cavalry cohorts and/or auxiliary cavalry troops within the IV Flavia Felix and VII Claudia legions from the end of the 2nd century, the time of Septimius Severus, until the first decade of the 5th century, ending with the reign of Arcadius. This is, at the same time, the period of intense presence of the Roman army in the forts along the Danube Limes and the major communications in *Moesia Superior*, which corresponds to the frequency of swastika fibulae.⁸¹

Taking into account the above mentioned data and the symbolism of the swastika motif, a military attribution of these fibulae seems to be reasonably argued. The fibula with horses’ proteomes from child burial G – 2059, from *Viminacium*’s necropolis of “Više grobalja”,⁸² does not contradict this thesis, since it used to belong to the buried boy who inherited this insignia from his father, most likely a veteran in the Roman army, which is known from the case of bulbous crossbow fibulae from a later period.

It should be noted that silver plating, which appears on some specimens of type Petković 23 D, is also identified on the plate fibulae in the form of several military trumpets, belonging to type Petković 22 D. The material from which the fibula was made: copper alloy (bronze), silver or gold,⁸³ might have been used to

80 Petković 2010, 189.

81 Petković 2010, Map 16.

82 Petković 2010, Cat. 1011, Pl. XXXIV, 3.

83 Petković 2010, Cat.No. 976, Pl. XXXII, 2, Cat.No. 978. - A fibula in the form of three war horns, Petković Type 22 D 2, from Castra Tricornia was made of silver and another brooch of the same variant from an unknown site, now in the National Museum in Belgrade, of gold.

denote the rank as a military insignia, or even a decoration.

The fibulae with a cast, annular bow, whose ends are bent so the fibula assumes the shape of the Greek letter Ω , with thickenings at the ends, which can be knob-shaped or in the form of snake proteome, cone or pinecone, with the pin fixed to the bow (Petković, Group VIII, Type 28), were used to fasten the cloak on the right shoulder and can be linked to the army. They are characteristic of the Rhine and Danube Limes, Alpine provinces, Britain and Hispania, incidentally, the region considered to be the original provenance of this type.⁸⁴ In the Rhine basin, they were used since the Late La Tène (La Tène III) until the end of the Imperial period, and the variant with the ends shaped as pinecones is typical of the Limes in Germania and Raetia in the 2nd – first half of the 3rd century.⁸⁵

On the Limes of Moesia Superior, this type of fibulae has been discovered in Ritopek – *Castra Tricornia*, in Viminacium, and the *Diana* and *Pontes* forts. According to the context of finds, these fibulae are dated to the 3rd - 4th centuries, with the possibility of a wider chronological span, from the 2nd to the middle of the 5th century. A find from the grave G – 5227 in the necropolis of “Pećine” in *Viminacium* is especially significant for dating; here, a fibula of this type was discovered together with Hostilian’s coins minted in 251 together with grave goods dated in the second half of the 3rd century. (Pl. 4, 2)⁸⁶

A similar type of fibula, only with spirally twisted ends, made of copper alloys and iron and of considerably smaller dimensions (Petković Group VIII, Type 29), has also been found on the Limes of *Moesia Superior*: in *Singidunum*, in *Viminacium*, and in the forts of Čezava – *Castrum Novae* and *Diana*. (Pl. 4, 3) According to the reliably dated archaeological units, it could be claimed that this type was in use on the Limes of Upper Moesia from the middle of the 3rd to the end of the 4th/beginning of the 5th century.⁸⁷

The ring-shaped fibulae with spiral ends, made of copper alloys or iron, present in the border provinces of the Empire and dated to the second half of the 3rd - 4th

84 Ettlinger 1973, 131 – 132; Rieckhoff 1973, 74; Riha 1979, 205. - These brooches were discovered in a large number in Spain, particularly in the military fort of Numantia. Also, similar brooches were ascertained among the Iberian finds from the Middle and Late La Tène (LT II – III).

85 Böhme 1972, 46, Type 50 b, Pl. 31, 1216 – 1219; Rieckhoff 1973, 74, Omegafibeln Types 1 – 2, Pl. 10, 161 – 166; Jobst 1975, 124, Typ 35, T. 49, 356 – 357.

86 Petković 2010, 223, Cat.No. 1106, Pl.XL, 3.

87 Petković 2010, 224-225, Table 7.

century, were worn by men, most likely Roman soldiers, on the right shoulder.⁸⁸

In *Dacia*, fibulae of this type were used from the middle of the 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century, and have been registered in forts (*Porolissum*, *Feldioara*) and cities (*Apulum*, *Potaissa*).⁸⁹ In *Moesia Inferior*, such fibulae have been found in the forts in *Archar* (*Ratiaria*) and *Tutrakan* (*Transmarisca*).⁹⁰

Another type of ring fibulae can be linked to the frontier army of *Moesia Superior* -with a cast, closed annular bow, ending in a cast foot in the form of a frame shaped like the Latin letter U or V (Petković type 30 A), in a rectangular shape, with a rectangular plate at the end (Petković type 30 B) and in a rectangular form or U- or V- shaped, with raised volutes or bird proteomes (Petković type 30 C). At the transition of the bow to foot, there are symmetrical protuberances which serve as pin-rests. The fibulae of this type can be made of silver or of copper alloys (bronze, brass). Interestingly, the specimens made of copper alloys often have a massive iron pin. Also, the larger diameter of these fibulae (4-7 cm) indicates that they were used to fasten thick and long woollen garments (*sagum*), possibly even fur cloaks. The hypotheses that these fibulae are girdle fasteners or the belt buckles of military equipment are, for the time being, not backed by sufficient material evidence and they remain at the level of speculation.⁹¹

A type of closed annular fibula with a cast foot in the form of a frame appears from the end of the 3rd century on the Rhine Limes, in *Raetia* and *Noricum*, but they are characteristic of *Pannonia*.⁹² The fibulae from this region are dated to the second half of the 3rd - the first half of the 4th century by Ilona Sellye, according to the analysis of grave finds.⁹³ However, the statement of the same author that these fibulae do not exist in *Dacia* and are very rare in *Moesia Superior* is not accurate.⁹⁴

In *Dacia*, such fibulae have been discovered in the layers formed after the Mar-

88 Keller 1971, 55 - 56; Böhme 1972, 46, Type 51 b - c, Pl. 31, 1226 - 1231; Jobst 1975, 125, Type 36 A, Pl. 49, 358 - 359, Pl. 50, Pl. 51, 367; Riha 1979, 209, Type 8. 2. 4, Pl. 69, 1834, 1836; Feugere 1985, 421, Type 30 g 1 - 2.

89 Cociş 2004, 130 - 131, Types 28 a 4, 28 b 2, Pl. CXII, 1579 - 1580, 1582, 1586.

90 Genčeva 2004, 77, Type 35, Pl. XXVIII, 6.

91 Petković 2010, 226-227.

92 Böhme 1972, 46, Note 369, Type 51 d, T. 31, 1232 - 1233; Jobst 1975, 125 - 126, Note 548, Type 36 B, Pl. 51, 368 - 372, Pl. 52, 373 - 374; Sellye 1990, 18 - 26.

93 Sellye 1990, 26 - 27.

94 Sellye 1990, 18 - 19.

comannic Wars, and were used until the middle of the 3rd century.⁹⁵ A large bronze fibula from the Feldioara fort, with the foot decorated with a realistically represented pair of horse's proteomes⁹⁶ is an exceptionally interesting find. Similarly to swastika fibulae with horses' proteomes, this one could also have been the denotation of cavalry troops, *equites*.

On the Limes of *Moesia Superior*, seven fibulae of this type have been discovered: one in *Singidunum* (Petković type 30 B) (Pl. 4, 4), five in *Viminacium* (one belonging to type Petković 30A, three belonging to 30 B and one to 30 C type) (Pl. 4, 5-8) and one fragmented specimen at Pontes. According to the archaeological context, on the Limes of *Moesia Superior* they are dated to the 3rd - 4th centuries. A fibula of 30 B type was found in the necropolis of "Više grobalja" in *Viminacium*, in the layer from the first half of the 3rd century and at the site of the "Thermae" in *Viminacium*, a specimen of the same variant was found in the layer dated to the end of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th century by the coins of Probus, Aurelian and Maximian. At *Pontes*, a fibula belonging to type 30 was found in the layer from the first half of the 4th century.⁹⁷

The foot of the silver specimen from *Viminacium* can be interpreted as a symmetrical pair of dolphins, touching tails, whose proteomes are located at the beginning of the bow. If the assumption that this fibula from *Viminacium* contains a representation of dolphins is true, it could have been the official denotation of the members of Moesian navy on the Danube, *classis Flavia Moesiaca*.⁹⁸

The foot of a fibula from the "Pirivoj" necropolis in *Viminacium* consists of a pair of birds of prey (eagles?) or gryphons, which could also denote a certain military unit (Pl. 4, 8).⁹⁹

Several types of military fibulae can be identified within the group of the arched fibulae (Petković Group IX), which emerged in the 3rd century and is characterised by a high semicircular arched bow and a horizontal foot, most often shorter than the bow and rectangular, trapezoidal or rhomboid in shape, with a flat, rectangular catch plate, or one cylindrically, bent in relation to the foot.

95 Cociş 2004, 129 – 130, Type 27 b, Pl. CXI, 1568 – 1572.

96 Cociş 2004, Pl. CXI, 1572.

97 Petković 2010, 227.

98 Petković 2010, Cat.No. 1135, Pl. XLII, 6; Петровић 1991, 207 *et seq.*

99 Petković 2010, Cat.No. 1137, Pl. XLIII, 2.

The types of fibulae which were institutionalised in the Roman army or the administrative system of the late Empire are primarily the arched crossbow bulbous fibulae (Petković Type 34), most likely the hinge T – fibulae (Petković Type 32), which are their predecessors, then arched fibulae with one knob above the spring (Petković Type 31 D), as well as arched fibulae with a spring and support buttress in the form of a trident (Petković type 31E) and fibulae with the bow in the form of a “fork”, i.e. Neptune’s trident (Petković Type 33), the last two being related to the Danubian fleet (*classis Flavia Pannonica*, *classis Flavia Moesiaca*).

Nevertheless, only in the case of arched crossbow bulbous fibulae are there sufficient archaeological and visual art confirmations that they were an official element of military uniform,¹⁰⁰ while military attribution of other types remains at the level of a hypothesis.

The type known as T- shaped fibulae (Petković Type 31) consists of arched fibulae with a spiral head, whose form resembles the letter T, also known in the scientific literature as the crossbow fibulae (Armbrustfibeln). This type of fibulae of simple form, with a spiral head and highly arched cast bow, developed from the early Roman fibulae of the middle and late La Tène scheme. Seemingly homogenous, the type of T-shaped fibulae actually includes a variety of shapes and ornaments of the bow foot and catch plate.

T-shaped fibulae with one knob (Petković Type 31 D) are mainly made of copper alloys, rarely silver, and have larger dimensions (6-8.5 cm). The fibulae of this variant have a head formed by a transversally hammered beginning of the bow, with perforation for the spring axis and a spring with eight to eighteen coils, which can have an internal or external chord. The ends of the axis can have knobs, while the knob at the beginning of the bow above the spring is most often found in a variety of forms of a pinecone, sphere or a double sphere, or a semicircular shape, in the form of an axe blade. The cast, highly arched bow has a trapezoidal or, in rare cases, triangular cross section; it is sometimes decorated by faceting or an incised X- letter motif, while the foot is rectangular, with a hollow-channel catch, most often decorated by faceting. (Pl.5, 1-4).¹⁰¹

100 Petković 2011, 121-125.

101 Petković 2010, 232.

D. Bojović named such fibulae “arched fibulae with a single bulb”, which is accepted in the local scientific literature,¹⁰² while foreign authors of works on fibulae use Oscar Almgren’s term “arched fibulae with a knob”, that is, Bügelknopffibeln.¹⁰³ The accepted opinion is that this type represents a Germanic form of fibulae created during the 4th - 5th centuries under the influence of the Early Imperial “legionary” brooches (Petković group I, Type 1A – B), Roman T-shaped hinge fibulae (Petković Group IX, Type 32) and the Late Roman arched crossbow bulbous fibulae (Petković group IX, type 34).¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, it is evident that T-shaped fibulae diverged into a series of separate types, typical of Germanic tribes,¹⁰⁵ during the Migration Period, in the 5th - 6th centuries.

It is evident that the barbarians, primarily the eastern Germanic tribes, recruited into the Roman army of the border provinces, wore Petković type 31D fibulae, which is supported by a large number of finds from the forts on the Roman Limes on the Rhine and Danube.

On the Upper Moesian Limes, this type has been found in *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*, and the forts in Ritopek – *Castra Tricornia*, on Čezava – *Castrum Novae*, in Tekija – *Transdierna*, on Karataš – *Diana*, Trajan’s bridge – *Pontes*, in Rtkovo and in Velesnica. Taking into consideration the number of specimens discovered in the fort of *Diana*, they could have been produced there, locally. The analysis of the archaeological context of the finds of Petković type 31D fibulae from the Limes of *Moesia Superior* determined the chronological span of their dating, from the end of the 3rd to the middle of the 5th century.¹⁰⁶

102 Bojović 1983, 76.

103 Almgren 1923, 75, 185 – 186, Pl. VIII.

104 Bojović 1983, 74 – 77, Types 33 and 34; Voß 1998, 271 – 276.

105 Schulze - Dörrlamm 1986, 689 – 697.

106 The majority of this type of fibulae from Upper Moesia has been discovered in the horizon from the last quarter of 4th – the first half of 5th century, in the fortification of Romuliana at Gamzigrad, i.e. 10 specimens. This testifies to the presence of a military unit in the Late Roman Romuliana, an imperial domain of that time. Archaeological research revealed several craftsmen’s workshops as well as economical objects, like granaries and storehouses in this horizon of Romuliana, which indicates the existence of a strategic centre for the supply of the Roman army on the Limes. At the end of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century, the population of Romuliana was composed of barbarians and local inhabitants from surrounding villages, who, besides agriculture and artisan production, also had certain military obligations. It is reasonable to suppose that fibulae of Petković type 31 D were locally produced. – Petković 2010, 234.

The grave finds from the necropolises of *Viminacium* are of special significance in defining the chronology of Petković type 31D: in the necropolis of “Više grobalja”, in the grave G – 424, a fibula of this variant was found on the left shoulder of the decedent, while in the area around the pelvis there were severely damaged coins from the second third of the 4th century; specimens of this variant were also registered in the necropolis of “Pećine” – in the grave G – 4816, with several inhumated individuals, dated according to the coins and other grave goods to the second half of the 4th century, and in the grave G – 431, dated to the second half of the 3rd century.¹⁰⁷

The finds of arched fibulae with one knob from *Moesia Superior* could be linked to the standing frontier army on the Danube Limes (*limitanei*), so their chronological span would be defined by two historical events: the renewal of the Limes in the period of the first Roman Tetrarchy and the destruction of the Danube frontier by the Huns, from year 441 to 443. In any case, this type was worn by men, on the right or left shoulder, where they fastened a military cloak (*paludamentum, sagum*).¹⁰⁸

Arched fibulae with a spring mechanism and a flat transverse buttress with three lugs, so that their shape resembles Neptune’s trident (Petković Type 31E), have a triangular cross-section of the bow, three protuberances or triangle-shaped thickenings where the bow merges into a rectangular or trapezoidal foot, and a rectangular catch plate, which is shorter than the foot. The wide spring, which has not been preserved on any of the discovered specimens, was placed under the flat transverse with three lugs, which on some specimens ended in knob shapes, the “bulbs”. These fibulae have larger dimensions (6.5 – 7.5 cm) and are made of copper alloys (Pl. 6, 1-3)

This variant is typical of the Danube Limes of *Pannonia Secunda*, *Moesia Prima* and *Dacia Ripensis*, and dated from the middle of the 3rd to the middle of the 5th century. On the Limes of *Moesia Superior*, they have been discovered in the forts of Sapaja – *Translederata*, *Diana*, *Pontes* and Prahovo – *Aquae*.¹⁰⁹ A. Jovanović maintains that these fibulae are typical of the period of Tetrarchy, the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century, and that they could have been the denotation of members of the Danubian navy.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, J. Kovačević dates the fibula

107 Petković 2010, 233.

108 The grave finds from *Viminacium*, mentioned above, testify to this.

109 Petković 2010, 234-235.

110 Jovanović 1995, 158 – 165, Figs. 1 – 2, Map 1.

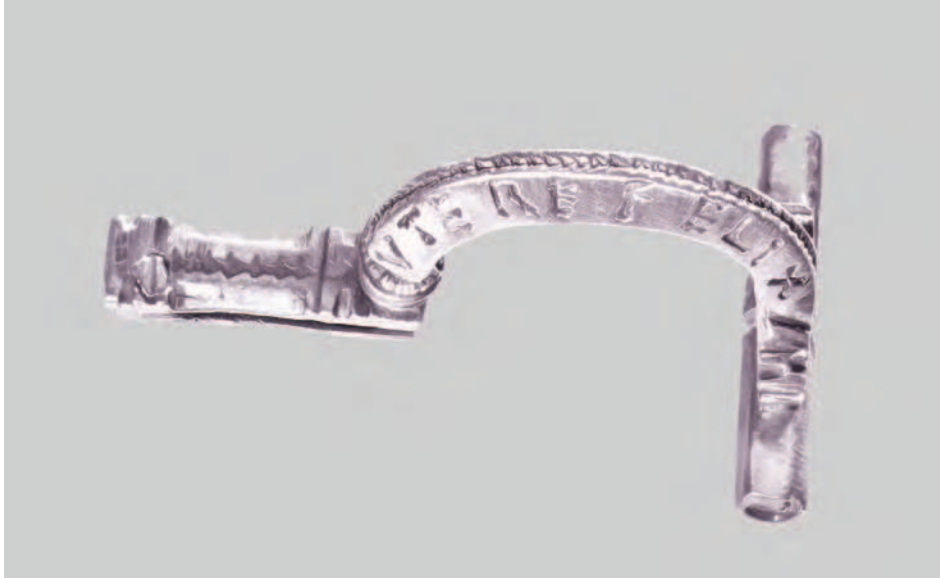


Figure 4: Type Petković 32, National Museum in Belgrade.

from Sapaja to the 5th century, the Migration Period.¹¹¹ However, the dating of Petković Type 31D brooches spans exactly across the chronological period given by both authors, from the end of the 3rd/beginning of the 4th century until the middle of the 5th century. Also, the hypothesis that such fibulae were the denotation of the navy on the middle Danube seems to be plausible. Most likely, they were produced locally, possibly in *Diana*, where two specimens have been discovered.¹¹²

Arched hinge T- fibulae (Petković Type 32) are typical of the provincial production of the 3rd century in the frontier regions throughout the Empire (Fig. 4).¹¹³ It is considered that these are military fibulae, which appeared on the Rhine and Danube Limes during the reign of Septimius Severus, around the end of the 2nd century. They were produced until the period of the first Tetrarchy, i.e. Diocletian's time, when, during the final decades of the 3rd century, they were replaced by

111 Ковачевић 1966, 37, Fig. 76.

112 Petković 2010, 235.

113 Kovrig 1937, 125, XII Group, Pl. XVII, 171 – 173, 175 – 176, XIII Group, Pl. XVIII, 182, 184 – 186; Böhme 1972, 26 – 28, Type 28, Pl. 16, 698 – 706, Pls. 17 – 20, Find-lists 25 – 28; Jobst 1975, 87 – 91, Type 25, Pl. 28, 209 – 214, Pl. 29, Pl. 30, 222 – 224; Riha 1979, 166 – 168, Type 6. 4, Pl. 49, 1430 – 1432, Pl. 50, Pl. 51, 1445 – 1446; Cociş 2004, 148 – 154, Type 39, Pl. CXLVI, 2003 – 2007, Pl. CXLVII – CLXVI; Genčeva 2004, Type 23 a – b, Pl. XIX, 2 – 9.

arched crossbow bulbous fibulae.¹¹⁴ It is also considered that the arched crossbow bulbous fibulae developed directly from the arched T-shaped hinge fibulae.¹¹⁵

On the Limes of *Moesia Superior*, they have been discovered in *Singidunum*, *Viminacium*, Ritopek – *Castra Tricornia*, Čezava – *Castrum Novae*, Ravna – *Campsae*, Tekija – *Transdierna*, *Diana*, *Pontes* and Rtkovo. A high concentration of this type of fibulae is registered in the necropolises in *Viminacium* and the forts of *Castra Tricornia* and *Diana*, which are most likely the locations of their production.¹¹⁶

An equally significant number of silver fibulae of Petković Type 32 are the feature of these kinds of finds from *Moesia Superior* and *Pannonia Inferior*. Almost one fifth of these fibulae are made of silver.¹¹⁷

It could be assumed that T-shaped hinge fibulae were worn by the soldiers on the Danube Limes in Upper Moesia, which is testified to by a large number of their finds in the forts, but also by women, which is indicated by the finds from *Viminacium*. Besides, a high concentration of these fibulae in the necropolises of the province's capital points to their civilian character. Thus, the possibility of their official use in the Roman army still remains questionable.

Three arched “fork-shaped” fibulae with a hinge mechanism (Petković Type 33C) come from *Viminacium* (Pl. 6, 4). One was discovered in a cremation burial G 1 – 329 in the necropolis of “Više grobalja”, together with fragments of a silver mirror and an iron object (handle of a chest?), dated to the end of the 2nd - first half of the 3rd century, while two others were discovered at the site of “Pećine”, where one of them comes from the waste pit of a ceramic workshop, in operation during the 3rd century.

The analogous specimens for these fibulae come from *Pannonia* and *Dacia*.¹¹⁸ The specimens from *Viminacium* correspond to the accepted chronological framework of this variant, the end of the 2nd - first half of the 3rd century.¹¹⁹

114 von Patek 1942, 145; Jobst 1975, 87 – 88.

115 Kovrig 1937, 125 – 126; Keller 1971, 27; Pröttel 1988, 352, Abb. 1, 1 – 2.

116 Petković 2010, 246-247.

117 Cociş 2004, 226 – 227, Cat.Nos. 2136 – 2138, 2154, 2167. – There is a relatively small number of silver hinge T – brooches deriving from *Dacia*: 3 from Potaissa, one from Porolissum and one from the hoard of silver items in Aţel.

118 Kovrig 1939, 77, Pl. XVII, 180; Cociş 2004, 137, Type 34a2a, Pl. CXVI, 1640 – 1651.

119 Cociş 2004, 137.

In *Dacia*, Petković type 33C fibulae have been discovered only within the forts, which points to their military attribution.¹²⁰ Under the assumption that they represent a stylised Neptune's trident (*tridentum*), they could be the navy denotation, *classis*. In that case, the specimens from *Viminacium* would have been worn by the members of *classis Flavia Moesiaca*.¹²¹

Arched crossbow bulbous fibulae (Petković type 34), also named bulbous knob-shaped (Zwiebelknopffibeln) or crossbow-shaped fibulae (crossbow fibulae), after the characteristic form of their head,¹²² have a hinge mechanism on the head, comprised of a long bar, transversely positioned in relation to the bow at a right angle, and three knobs - one at the beginning of the bow and two at the ends of the bar. The bow has the form of a high arch, triangular or trapezoidal in cross-section, while the foot is rectangular or trapezoidal. The hollow-channel type catch can have different forms of pin holder.¹²³

The bow, and especially the foot of this type, is often richly decorated by faceting, incision, stamping or goldsmithing techniques, such as *niello* or insertion of silver or gold foil ribbons along the bow and/or foot, decorated by toreutic vegetal motifs or engraving and *niello*. Also, the fibulae of this type can be decorated by granulation, filigree or pseudo-filigree. Very rarely, the decorative pierced openwork technique on gold or silver sheets, *opus interrasile*,¹²⁴ appears on the crossbow fibulae.

Arched crossbow fibulae were produced in three different ways: by casting in a mould, shaping fibula parts by hammering metal sheets and soldering them together, and by the combined method of casting the bow with the upper part of the foot and adding other parts made of hammered metal sheets. This type of fibula was predominantly made of copper alloys, but gold and silver specimens also appear fairly frequently. Also, fibulae made of copper alloys are often gilded or silver-plated.¹²⁵

The very materials crossbow fibulae are made of, their relative uniformity, as well as their respective frequency in the forts on the Limes indicate their official use

120 Cociş 2004, 212 - 213, Type 34a2a. – in the fortifications of Porolissum, Potaissa, Işua, Buciumi, Razboieni, Comalau, Vraţiţa and Apahida.

121 Petrović 1991, 207 *et seq.*

122 Vojović 1983, 82, type 37; Јовановић 1975, 235 *et seq.*

123 Petković 2010, 259.

124 Petković 2010, 259-260.

125 Petković 2010, 260-261.

in the Late Roman army and administration. This is also confirmed by the portraits of Roman Emperors, military commanders and dignitaries, with a cape fastened by a crossbow fibula, with foot facing up, on the right shoulder: the representation of Emperor Galerius on the triumphal arch in Thessaloniki,¹²⁶ marble statue of the Tetrarch in the National Museum in Belgrade,¹²⁷ the representation of a dignitary (*togati*) on the pedestal of the Obelisk of Theodosius in Istanbul,¹²⁸ the representation of Stilicho in the consular diptych from Monza¹²⁹ and of Constantius III in the consular diptych from Halberstadt, the representations of the escorts of Emperor Justinian I and Empress Theodora in the mosaic in the apse of the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna,¹³⁰ and the representations of commanders in the Roman army or state administration officers in tomb frescoes and tombstones of the 4th century.¹³¹

It has been ascertained that the Emperor gave this type of fibulae personally to military commanders and administration dignitaries on the occasion of public holidays (*dies imperii*) and the anniversary of his reign (*vota*).¹³² It is assumed that they were produced in the Imperial workshops, which travelled across the Empire together with the Emperor.¹³³

Crossbow fibulae can be divided into seven variants according to their form, decoration and the technology of their production, which correspond to rather precisely dated historical periods of the Late Roman Empire, as confirmed by the archaeological context of certain finds and their statistical, typological and stratigraphic-chronological analysis.¹³⁴

The oldest variant of bulbous crossbow fibulae (Keller Type, Pröttel Type, Petković type 34A) are the arched fibulae with plastic, pinecone-shaped bulbs on the head, a cylindrical bar of round or polygonal cross section, a bow which is trian-

126 Theune-Grosskopf 1995, 86, Fig.58; Janes 1998, 388, Note. 9.

127 Томовић 1997, 420 – 421, Figs. 1 – 2, Figs. 5 – 6.

128 Pröttel 1988, 371, Fig. 9, 1.

129 Volbach 1958, 57.

130 Volbach 1958, 166.

131 Zabehlicky 1980, 1101 – 1103, ; Theune – Grosskopf 1995, 83 – 87; Figs. 55 and 59; Ivčević 2001, 165, Fig. 1; Јовановић 2007, 112 – 113, Fig. 15, 6; Pop – Lazić 2009, 166 – 168, Fig. 7.

132 Theune-Grosskopf 1995, 84 – 89; Janes 1998, 388 – 390; Diaconescu 1999, 205 – 217, Pl. 1, 1 – 2, Pl. 2, 1, Pl. 4, 3.

133 Васић 2001, 195 – 197.

134 Petković 2010, 263-275.

gular or trapezoidal in cross section and a rectangular foot, or a foot which tapers towards the end, decorated with facets or incisions. Among the brooches of this variant, there are also some luxurious specimens, made of precious metals, gold and silver, such as the gold fibula from Romuliana, found in the tomb of Galerius' dignitary.¹³⁵ According to the specimens found within reliably dated archaeological units, it can be assumed that Petković type 34A fibulae were used from the period of the First Tetrarchy until the end of the joint rule of Constantine I and Licinius, i.e. in the period from 293 to 324 AD.¹³⁶

On the Limes of *Moesia Superior*, this type is most frequent in *Viminacium*, specifically, in the necropolis of "Pećine" (8 specimens), (Pl. 6, 5-6) two fibulae of this type have been discovered in *Singidunum*, one in Ritopek – *Castra Tricornia*, while three specimens have been discovered in *Čezava-Castrum Novae*. Nevertheless, compared to the other variants of bulbous crossbow fibulae, Petković type 34A is relatively rare on the Upper Moesian Limes (comprising 10% of the total number of crossbow fibula finds). This could be explained by the fact that Roman military officers were not awarded this variant very often, that is, it was meant to be a decoration or insignia for the commanders in the army or high-ranking officers. This is illustrated by the find of a gold fibula from the tomb of a dignitary of Galerius' palace *Felix Romuliana*, most likely *Aurelianus domesticus*, whose tombstone was also discovered in Gamzigrad.¹³⁷ This hypothesis is also supported by the specimens made of gold, silver and copper alloy, which most likely, depending on the metal they were made of, denoted the rank of their owners.¹³⁸

The crossbow fibulae of the next variant (Keller Type 2, Pröttel Type 2, Petković Type 34B) have on head bulbs in the form of fluted pinecones, a cylindrical bar of round or polygonal cross-section, symmetrically profiled with volutes or bird proteomes. The bow is triangular or trapezoidal in cross-section and, in some cases, it has a triangular, leaf-shaped thickening on the transition into the foot. The foot is rectangular, or tapers towards the end, and it can be decorated with

135 Petković 2009, 253-261, Figs. 8-9; Petković 2011, 126-127, Pl. I, 2, Cat.9, Fig.8

136 Petković 2010, 261, Table 10; Petković 2011, 120-123, Table 2.

137 Mirković 1997, 431-433, Figs. 3, 7; Petković 2009, 261-262, Fig. 27.

138 Petković 2010, 278, Cat. Nos. 1368 and 1369, Fig. 84. – In the National Museum in Belgrade, there are one silver and another golden fibula of Petković type 34 A 2, both decorated in *niello* technique.

facets - sub variant 1, by incisions and circular impressions, “eyelets” - sub variant 2 or impressed peltae - sub variant 3. They were made by casting, sometimes with added parts made of hammered metal sheet, such as the bulbs on the head, the leaf-shaped raised work on the joint of the bow and foot, or the pin catch plate in the foot. The fibulae of this variant, as well as of the previous one, can also be luxurious, gilded and decorated in the *niello* technique, especially the last sub variant, in which the foot is decorated with two or three pairs of peltae.¹³⁹ (Figs. 5-6)

These luxurious fibulae have been registered in the cities of *Moesia Prima*, *Singidunum*, *Viminacium* and *Horreum Margi*, the first two of which were also legionary camps on the Danube Limes. Besides these locations, they have also been found in the forts on the Limes of *Moesia Prima* and *Dacia Ripensis*: Ritopek – *Castra Tricornia*, Sapaja – *Translederata*, Kladovo – Donje Butorke, Rtkovo – Glamija, Mihajlovac – “Blato” – *Clevora*. According to the grave finds, the brooches of Petković type 34B can be dated to the time of the rule of Constantine I and his dynasty, from 311 to 361/363 AD.¹⁴⁰

The variant of bulbous crossbow fibulae Petković type 34B was also intended for the high-ranking military and administration officers of the Empire. The specimens made of precious metals and the inscriptions on this type of fibulae, both testify to this kind of usage. Namely, some of the specimens of Petković type 34 B contain inscriptions in which Caesar, Augustus or *vota* are mentioned; they are associated with imperial propaganda during the reign of Licinius and Constantine I, at the beginning of the 4th century.¹⁴¹ The fibulae with inscriptions were awarded on the occasions of imperial anniversaries or important events, such as victory in the battle against barbarians or political enemies.

One fibula of variant Petković 34 B 3 made of copper alloy and gilded, was found in the Viminacium necropolis of “Pećine” in the grave G – 786 with a fragmented buckle from a military belt made of copper alloy.¹⁴² (Pl. 7; Fig. 5) The buckle belongs to the type with rectangular metal fittings and a round frame, with a prong which extends over the frame and has raised work in the form of a snake’s head at the end,

139 Petković 2010, 263-264, Cat.Nos. 1409–1410, 1412–1415, Pl. LVII, 1–2, Pl. LVIII, 1–2.

140 Petković 2010, 264.

141 Ivanovski 1987, 81 *et seq*; Мирковић 1989, 39 *et seq*; Васић 2002, 93 *et seq*.

142 Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 411-413, Fig. 5; Petković 2010, Cat.No. 1414.



Figure 5: Type Petković 34 B 3, "Pećine" – *Viminacium*.



Figure 6: Type Petković 34 B 3, "Kod Bresta" – *Viminacium*.

dated to the last quarter of the 4th - first half of the 5th century.¹⁴³ This find indicates the military character of Petković type 34 B fibulae. The gilded fibula most likely belonged to the commander of an auxiliary regiment recruited among the “barbarians” from the left bank of the Danube, considering the find of the buckle, typical of the finds of the Chernyakhov – Sintana de Mureş culture. This commander of an *auxillia* could have been awarded the fibula for the military success of his regiment.

Fibulae of Petković type 34 B are very frequent on the Danube Limes in *Moesia Prima* and *Dacia Ripensis* (comprising 16% of all crossbow fibulae) and, in all likelihood, they reflect the renewal of the Limes during the time of Constantine I and the Constantinian dynasty.¹⁴⁴

The “imperial fibulae” represent an outstandingly luxurious variant of bulbous crossbow fibulae, and they appear in a small number (Keller Type 5, Pröttel Type 5, Petković Type 34C). They were produced using the combined technique of casting the corpus (part of the head, bow and part of the foot) and the application of the other parts made of hammered metal sheets. The head features three massive bulbs (knobs) and a profiled, short bar. The wide, short bow with a trapezoidal cross-section is decorated with a longitudinal ribbon with an engraved “fir twig” motif - sub variant 1, geometric and vegetal motifs – sub variant 2, or the previously listed motifs combined with portrait medallions in the *niello* technique and a rectangular foot decorated in the same way as the bow, with stamped peltae or rims profiled with a series of peltae - sub variant 3. (Pl. 8, 1, Pl. 9, 1, Fig. 7)

On the Danube, only the variants 1 and 2 of this type of brooches have been registered, at the sites of *Singidunum*, *Viminacium*, *Ravna – Campsa* and *Prahovo – Aquae*.¹⁴⁵ The largest number of Petković type 34C fibulae comes from the burials at the necropolises of *Viminacium* (4 specimens). Among them, the most interesting is the bronze, gilded fibula from *Aquae*, kept in the National Museum in Belgrade, with an encircled Christogram at the end of the foot, rendered in the silver damascene technique.¹⁴⁶ (Pl. 7, 5, Fig. 8) The circumstances of this find are, unfortunately, unknown; yet, it could be assumed that it comes from a tomb from the Late Roman necropolis of *Aquae*, where burials of officers of the Roman army

143 Petković et al. 2005, 89-90, buckle type III A, Fig. 18 d.

144 Petrović, Vasić 1996, 21-22.

145 Petković 2010, 264.

146 Petković 2010, Cat.No. 1423, Fig. 87.



Figure 7: Type Petković 34 C 2 b, “Pećine” – Viminacium.



Figure 8: Type Petković 34 C 1 b, Prahovo – Aquae.

have been registered.¹⁴⁷

In the Viminacium – “Pećine” necropolis, fibulae of variant Petković 34 C 2b, made of copper alloy and gilded, have been discovered in two graves.¹⁴⁸ In both of

¹⁴⁷ Jovanović Đ. 1996.

¹⁴⁸ Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 413-419, Figs. 6-7; Petković 2010, 265, Cat.Nos. 1431-1432. - These fibulae were discovered in the “Pećine” necropolis at Viminacium, in graves G – 5382 and G – 5594.

them, parts of military belt sets, which can generally be dated to the second half of the 4th century, have also been discovered.¹⁴⁹ (Pls. 8-9)

According to the analysis of the archaeological context of Petković type 34 C fibulae from the Danube Limes, they can be dated from the second third to the end of the 4th century, i.e. in the historical context from the last years of the rule of Constantine I until the end of the reign of Theodosius I, 330-395 AD.

On the Limes of *Moesia Prima* and *Dacia Ripensis*, the most frequent variant of fibulae is Petković 34 D (Keller Type 3, Pröttel Type 3 / 4), with prominent plastic bulb endings on the head, a triangular profiled bar on both sides of the bow, which is triangular or trapezoidal in cross-section, with incised decoration lengthwise. The foot is long, rectangular or trapezoidal, decorated with facets - sub variant 1, stamped “eyelet” motifs - sub variant 2, stamped peltae - sub variant 3, or triangular, rectangular or oval indentations along the sides - sub variant 4. Ornamentation in the form of stamped “eyelet” motifs can be symmetrically distributed along the rims of the foot or grouped into pairs at the beginning and at the end of the foot, but it is impossible to determine any sort of regularity by its analysis.¹⁵⁰ These fibulae were made of cast copper alloys, exceptionally rarely, only on two specimens from Viminacium’s “Pećine” necropolis, there is gilt and on one of them even a *niello* decoration.¹⁵¹ (Fig. 9) It has already been mentioned that variant Petković 34 D represents the most frequent fibulae on the Limes; specifically, they comprise almost a half of these finds, 44%. From the analysis of the specimens with a reliable archaeological context, primarily from the necropolises of Viminacium, they can be dated to the period from the reign of Valentinian I and Valens until the downfall of the Roman army after the defeat in the Battle of Adrianople, i.e. the beginning of the reign of Theodosius I, 364 – 380 AD.¹⁵²

A somewhat younger variant of bulbous crossbow fibulae, Petković type 34 E (Keller Type 4, Pröttel Type 3/4) is also rather frequent on the Danube Limes of *Moesia Prima* and *Dacia Ripensis* (comprising one fifth, i.e. 20.5% of all crossbow fibulae). The brooches of this variant are similar to the specimens of variant Pet-

149 Petković et al. 2005, 89, 93, buckle type II, Figs. 18 b-c, belt-end type I, Fig. 19 a.

150 Petković 2011, 123, Pl. II, Table 2.

151 Petković 2010, kat. 1447, 1573, T. XLV, 2, sl. 95. – These fibulae were discovered in the “Pećine” necropolis at Viminacium, in graves G – 1178 and G – 3791.

152 Petković 2010, 267-268.



Figure 9: Type Petković 34 D 3, “Pećine” – *Viminacium*.

ković 34 D,¹⁵³ but they have a bigger and shorter bow, while their foot is wider and longer. They have large, plastic bulb-shaped ends on the head, and a profiled triangular bar. The wide bow, trapezoidal in cross section, has a longitudinally incised decoration, while the long rectangular foot is also decorated in the same way with the addition of stamped “eyelet” motifs - sub variant 1, stamped peltae - sub variant 2, triangular, rectangular or oval indentations along the sides - sub variant 3, or a silver sheet ribbon, extending along the bow and the foot, with an incised vine motif, occasionally filled with *niello*, and a series of “eyelet” motifs or stamped circles along the rims - sub variant 4. The ornament in the form of longitudinal ribbons on the bow and foot, filled with a variety of incised and stamped motifs - transverse or oblique lines, triangles, circles, chevrons or curved lines, braid, vine or their combination is characteristic of this variant. This gives a decorative aspect and, in a way, a “baroque” abundance of ornament to the entire fibula.¹⁵⁴ (Figs. 10-12)

The fibulae of this variant have been registered in *Singidunum*, *Castra Tricornia*, *Viminacium*, on Čezava – *Castrum Novae*, Karataš – *Diana*, and in Kladovo.¹⁵⁵

One find from *Viminacium* stands out among the fibulae of variant Petković 34 E 2. This bronze, gilded fibula has a wide bow, trapezoidal in cross-section and decorated in the *niello* technique with a longitudinal ribbon with a “fir twig” motif, while in the middle there are two rhombuses with a dot in the centres and volutes

153 Keller 1971, Type 4, a, c, Figs. 11, 9, 11; Pröttel 1988, 357 – 364, Type 3 / 4, Figs. 4a - b.

154 Petković 2010, 268-269. –In the decoration of this type of crossbow fibulae the phenomenon of horror vacui could be observed.

155 Petković 2010, 271.

Figure 10: Type Petković 34 E 2, “Pećine” – *Viminacium*.



between them, representing a pair of eyes with apotropaic symbolism (Egyptian Wadjet eye, i.e. the Eye of Horus). The long rectangular foot is decorated lengthwise in the *niello* technique, with a ribbon containing an engraved representation of a chimerical creature, a demon with a snake-like body and a head with lop ears or loop earrings and a pair of horns (or two long rays on the scalp and two shorter ones on each side). This creature is wearing a torc with a solar, ray-shaped symbol around its neck, and is surrounded by lush vegetation. The foot is faceted and decorated with three pairs of peltae and volutes at its end. (Fig. 13) The fibula was discovered in the necropolis of “Pećine”, in the grave G – 3123, together with a ceramic jug and a glass goblet from the second half of the 4th - first half of the 5th century. (Pl. 10)

The imaginary creature represented on the fibula could be Silvanus, schematically rendered after the model of the iconography of this deity in the province of *Dalmatia*.¹⁵⁶ A fragment of a ceramic icon with a similarly represented forest deity is kept in the Museum of Mining and Metallurgy in Bor.¹⁵⁷

Nevertheless, taking into account the representation of the Eye of Horus, i.e. Wadjet eye, it can be assumed that the figural motif represents a Gnostic demon Chnoubis (Χνουβις), represented as a chimerical animal with the lion's or human head with a nimbus/diadem of light rays and serpent body.¹⁵⁸ Created within

¹⁵⁶ Zotović R. 1994, 178 – 179, Fig. 1.

¹⁵⁷ I express my gratitude to the custodian of the Museum of Mining and Metallurgy in Bor, Marija Jovičić, for this information.

¹⁵⁸ Bonner 1951, 325 –326, 340, Pl. 96, 20, Pl. 97, 21-23, 28, Pl. 99, 65-67, Pl. 100, 68; Desen, Nagy



Figure 12: Type Petković 34 E 2, “Pećine” – *Viminacium*.

the elaborate Gnostic ideology, this solar demon, associated with Abraxas, had a strong apotropaic power against poison and heart and stomach diseases.¹⁵⁹

In synergy with Wadjet eye, Chnoubis provided good health, protection from black magic and poison, and power. This could be a desirable magical protective combination for a local dignitary of the army or administration in *Viminacium*.

The third possibility is that this fibula is a falsification of the “imperial fibulae” type with portraits of rulers or saints, in which the craftsman copied the representations seen on Petković type 34 C 3 fibulae, which he did not understand. On the other hand, the exceptional workmanship of the fibula, its gilt and the elaborate *niello* drawing make this presumption barely tenable.

There remains a likelihood that the specimen from *Viminacium* was a parody of the official imperial cult, or the response of the Gnostic “opposition” to the imperial propaganda. In that case, the fibula would have been commissioned and worn by a very influential and daring individual, ready to oppose the official imperial ideology of the 4th century, inclined to Christianity. In that sense, this fibula might perhaps be associated with the reign of Julian the Apostate, i.e. the brief period of pagan restoration.

According to the aforesaid, it could be claimed that the hermetical or Gnostic concept of the ornament of the *Viminacium* fibula is, in a way, a synthesis of all mystical “learnings” of the Roman Empire of that day- Egyptian, Judaic, Oriental,

2012, 293 –294, Figs. 1 –3.

159 Bakowska- Czerner 2015, 30 –31, Fig. 4; 303 –307.

Figure 11: Type Petković 34 E 2, Kladovo.



Dionysian and Neo-Pythagorean.¹⁶⁰ In any case, in the time of religious-ideological turbulence of the 4th century, Gnostic symbols are to be expected in iconography, besides the Dionysian and Christian ones.

The find from the grave G-3122 from the “Pećine” necropolis in *Viminacium*, discovered together with a buckle of a military belt with oval plating and a frame with the prong exceeding the length of the frame, typical of the last quarter of the 4th and first half of the 5th century, testifies to the military character of type Petković 34 E fibulae. (Pl. 11)¹⁶¹

The latest variant of bulbous crossbow fibulae is Petković type 34 F (Keller Type 6, Pröttel Type 6), which appeared around the end of the 4th century. According to the technology of production, the copper alloy cast body of the fibula with applied remaining parts made of metal sheets, bulbs, the foot and the catch plate; it can be assumed that it developed out of Petković type 34 C. It differs from the earlier type of “imperial fibulae” by its large, fluted bulbs and a very long foot, with sides profiled with peltae. (Fig. 14) This variant of fibulae has been found only on three sites along the Limes of *Moesia Prima*, in *Singidunum*, *Viminacium*, and in the fort of Ravna - *Campsia*, and only as few as 4 specimens.¹⁶²

The dating of Petković type 34 F can, according to the scarce finds with an established archaeological context on the Danubian Limes, be placed within the span from the end of the 4th to the first half of the 5th century, the historical framework corresponding to the period from the beginning of Arcadius’ reign until the end of the reign of Theodosius II, 395–450 AD.¹⁶³

This type of fibulae is typical of the Eastern Roman Empire (*Pars Orientalis*), that is, all provinces under the rule of East Roman emperors. In the context of the military reforms from this period, Petković type 34F fibulae were most likely worn by the commanders of cavalry troops, *pseudocomitatenses*.

The gilded fibula from the grave G – 1033 in *Viminacium* – the “Pećine” necropolis has the bow and foot decorated with a “fir branch” motif and round me-

160 Eliade 1991, II, 233 – 236, 291 – 294.

161 Petković et al. 2005, 88-89, buckle type I, Fig. 18 a.

162 Petković 2010, 272-274.

163 Petković 2010, 274; Pröttel 1988, 370, Fig. 8, 2; Buora 1997, 254 –257. – The dating of Pröttel Type 6 /Petković type 34 F from the end of the 4th to the end of the 6th century is based on pictorial representation of these fibulae on a mosaic in San Vitale in Ravenna and a fresco in San Genaro in Neapolis, but for the late dating (in the first half of 6th century) there is no archaeological data.



Figure 13: Type Petković 34 E 2, "Pećine" – *Viminacium*.



Figure 14: Type Petković 34 F, "Pećine" – *Viminacium*.

dallions with a Christogram rendered in the *niello* technique, while on the trapezoidal end of the foot, i.e. the catch plate, there is a round medallion with a male portrait in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile to the left.¹⁶⁴ This luxurious fibula was found on the decedent's right shoulder, while in the pelvic area parts of a silver military belt set were found, a buckle with a rectangular plate and a B-shaped frame and rectangular fitting with rims decorated with a row of hammered astragals. Fragments of a conical glass goblet were discovered next to the decedent's head. All of the grave finds can be dated to the end of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century.¹⁶⁵ (Pl. 12, Fig. 14)

¹⁶⁴ Спасић-Ђурић 2008, 406-409, Fig. 3; Petković 2010, 272, Cat. 1676, T. LXXI, 1, Fig. 107.

¹⁶⁵ See the Note No.149.

The second specimen of Petković type 34 F from Viminacium also comes from a military grave, G – 851, from the “Pećine” necropolis, in which parts of a belt set were also discovered - a buckle with a B-shaped frame, dated to the end of the 4th and first half of the 5th century, as in the previous burial.

Finally, we should mention the bulbous crossbow fibulae which cannot be classified to any of the listed variants of Petković type 34. These are the early hybrid forms, based on the type of arched T-shaped fibulae with a hinge.¹⁶⁶ Two specimens have been registered on the Limes, one from the fort of *Diana*, now in the archaeological collection of the Museum of Krajina in Negotin, (Fig. 15) and one from an unknown site on the Danube, now kept in the National Museum in Belgrade (Fig. 16). Interestingly, both fibulae are made of gold.

Figure 15: Type Petković 34 G, Karataš – *Diana*.



The first one, found at the site of *Diana*, is made of gold sheet, has a stripe-like bow and polyhedral knobs at the ends of the bar. Instead of a central knob, there is a gold sheet palmetto. The foot widens in the form of a trapezoid, has incised decoration and a hollow-channel type catch plate. Unfortunately, the archaeological context of the find is unknown.

The second one, from an unknown site in the Danube Basin, by all its features belongs to the early variant Petković 34A 2, the only difference being in a flat, pelta-shaped thickening in place of the central knob, decorated with filigree wire. The ends of the bar, octagonal in cross-section, are also decorated with filigree wire. The foot is decorated with faceting.

Both specimens represent creative, experimental forms of crossbow fibulae, which appear at the beginning of their production.¹⁶⁷

One fibula from the “Pećine” necropolis in Viminacium can also be classified as variant Petković 34 G, according to the specific shape of its foot. This specimen strongly resembles type Petković 34 B fibulae – it has a head with the bulbs shaped as poppy pods, a profiled bar and its bow is trapezoidal in cross-section, decorated with stamped triangles and punching. The foot of this fibula is rectangular, composed of five convex segments. (Pl. 6, 7)¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Popović 2004, 225 et.sequ.

¹⁶⁷ To the same heterogeneous variant (Petković tip 34 G) also belongs a silver fibula from the grave of a cremated individual from the necropolis Ropinski potok - *Timacum Minus*, which has a bow decorated with the *opus interrasile* technique. – Petković *et al.* 2005, 81-82, Pl. XIII, 4; Petković 2010, 272-273, Figs. 108-109.

¹⁶⁸ Petković 2010, 275, Cat.No. 1680, Pl. LXXI, 3.



Figure 16: Type Petković 34 G, The Danube Basin, National Museum in Belgrade.

Besides their general characteristics, the military fibulae from the Danube Limes of Upper Moesia (later the Limes of the provinces *Moesia Prima* and *Dacia Ripensis*) also have traits related to this region specifically. Primarily, the military character of this border province is reflected in the number and variety of types of military fibulae. Most of these types were produced locally, while some also originate from the Danube Limes of *Moesia Superior*.

In the time of the Roman conquest during the 1st century AD, on the area which was to become the province of *Moesia Superior*, besides the imported Roman types, such as *Aucissa*, *Nertomaris* and “eye” fibulae (*Augenfibel*), there also appear the fibulae of the Late La Tène scheme, as well as the local variant of *Aucissa* fibulae with two pins.¹⁶⁹ Somewhat later, around the end of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century, the imported variants of strongly profiled fibulae, produced in Pannonia (Petković Group IV, Type 13, var. B and D),¹⁷⁰ become very frequent on the Limes, while the local type of the so-called “Black Sea” strongly profiled fibulae (Petković Group IV, Type 14) emerged on the Limes of *Moesia Superior* and spread across the Lower Danube and the coast of the Black Sea.¹⁷¹

169 Marović 1961, 106-120; Petković 2010, 41-43.

170 Petković 2010, 77-85.

171 Petković 2010, 92-100.

Hinge fibulae with a raised ridge on the bow, produced on the Danube Limes of Upper Moesia, in the Iron Gate region, from the middle of the 2nd until the end of the 3rd century, and also appearing in *Dacia* and *Moesia Inferior* (Petković Group III, Type 11) belong to the local types of the Early Imperial period, too.¹⁷²

During the 3rd and 4th centuries, local production of fibulae is predominant in *Moesia Superior* – local variants of Roman types of elbow, plate and arched fibulae appear. An interesting type of brooches is those in the form of a swastika with horse proteomes (Petković Group VI, Type 24), associated with the auxiliary cavalry troops of the Roman army (*equites pseudocomitatenses*) and produced on the Danube Limes during the second half of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century.¹⁷³ Also, certain variants of bulbous crossbow fibulae were produced in some of Constantine's imperial workshops (*Naissus*, *Sirmium*) during the first third of the 4th century.¹⁷⁴

The immigration of the Romanised population of *Dacia* after the abandonment of this province by the Roman army and administration in 272, and the invasions and settlement of barbarians from the left bank of the Danube after the Battle of Adrianople in 378 are the two key historical events which can be traced in the finds of the Late Roman fibulae, since the types with the reversed foot (Petković Group IX, Types 35–36) and *Viminacium* – *Novae* type fibulae (Petković Group IX, Type 37) appear on the Limes at that time.¹⁷⁵ They testify to the recruitment of the Roman frontier army (*limitanei*) and auxiliary troops (*auxilia*) among the newly settled foederati and free barbarians from the left bank of the Danube well into the middle of the 5th century, that is, the collapse of the Limes in the invasion of Attila's Huns from 441 to 443 AD.

Interestingly, during the reconstruction of the Limes by the Early Byzantine emperors Anastasius, Justin I and, finally, Justinian I, new types of fibulae with a reversed foot emerged, typical of the Lower Danube basin.¹⁷⁶ The head of these brooches is very peculiar, with three knobs, “bulbs”, one at the beginning of the

172 Grbić 1996, 88–91.

173 Petković, 1999, 226; Petković 2010, 188–189.

174 Јовановић 1976; Поповић 1997; Васић 2001.

175 Petković 2010, 307–326, Figs. 112–118, Pl.LXXII–LXXXVII.

176 Јанковић 1981, 172–174, Fig. 69, Д–Е, Fig. 70, Pl.XV, 14–21, Pl. XVI, 3–6, 9–11; Јанковић 1983, 135–136, 140, Cat.No.193–196; Uenze 1992, 148–149, Figs. 5,1–3, 5–9; 595 (List 1).

bow, above the spring, and two at the ends of the axis, resembling the head of the Late Roman bulbous crossbow fibulae. In a way, these fibulae represent the symbiosis of the types with the reversed foot, worn by barbarian warriors, and the Roman official military crossbow fibulae. Their concentration in the reconstructed and newly built fortifications on the Danube might indicate the use of these fibulae in the Early Byzantine frontier troops, *limitanei*. The Christian symbols and inscriptions on the bow and foot of these fibulae could point to the imperial ideological propaganda among the army recruited from the barbarian tribes on the left bank of the Danube, Germanic peoples and Slavs.¹⁷⁷

Finally, from the analysis of the types of Roman fibulae on the Limes, it can be concluded that their local production, intended for the army, began as early as in the 2nd century. Also, the production of military fibulae on the Danube frontier of the provinces of *Moesia Prima*, *Dacia Ripensis* and *Moesia Secunda* continued until the end of the Period of Antiquity, that is, until the first quarter/middle of the 7th century. What is certain is that half a millennium of production of military fibulae in the lower Danube basin left behind a rich archaeological heritage on the area of present-day Serbia.

Translated by Jelena Mitić

177 Haralambiaeva 1998, 360-360, Fig. 1, Fig. 5.

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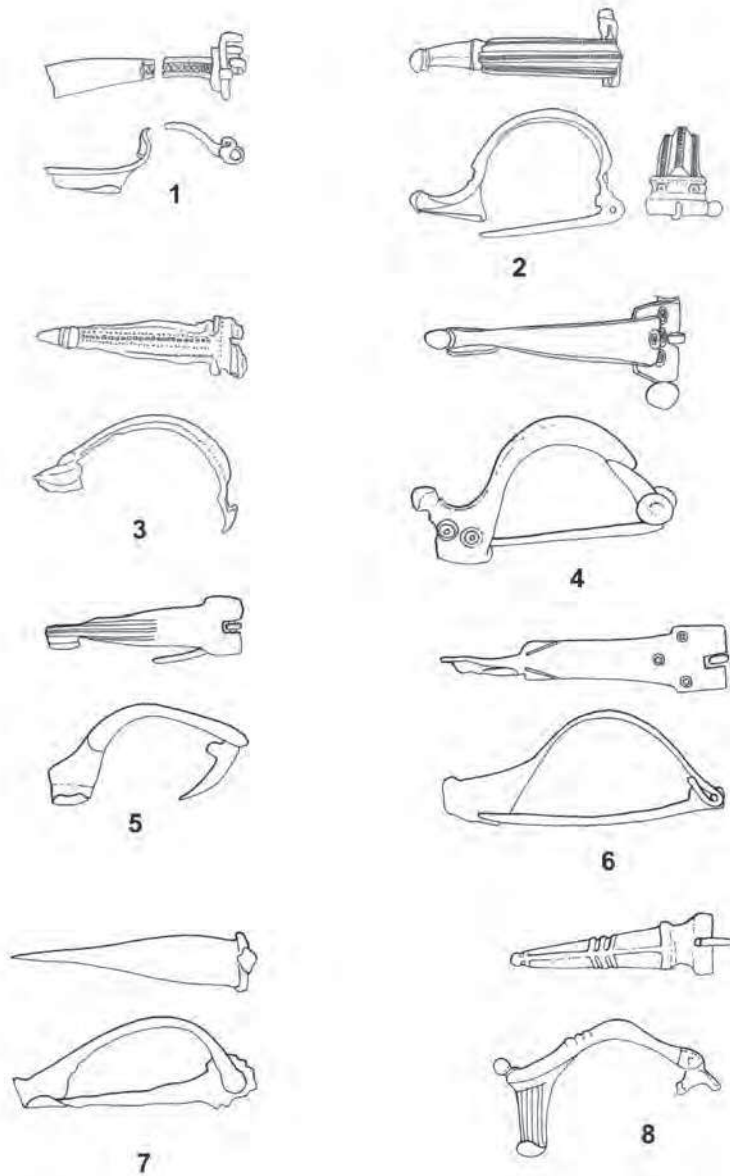
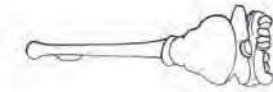
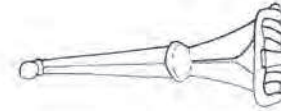


Plate 1: 1 - Type Petković 6 C, Hajdučka Vodenica; 2 - Type Petković 8 A, *Castra Tricornia*; 3 - Type Petković 8 B, *Diana*; 4 - Type Petković 8 C, "Više grobalja" - *Viminacium*; 5 - Type Petković 9 A, *Pincum*; 6 - Type Petković 9 B, *Diana*; 7 - Type Petković 9 C, *Viminacium*; 8 - Type Petković 11 B, *Diana*.

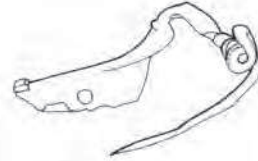
Plate 2: 1 - Type Petković
13 B, *Castra Tricornia*;
2 - Type Petković 13 D,
Diana; 3 - Type Petković
14 D, *Viminacium*; 4 -
Type Petković 14 A 1,
Singidunum; 5 - Type
Petković 18 A, *Viminacium*;
6 - Type Petković 18 B,
Singidunum; 7 - Type
Petković 19 A, *Singidunum*.



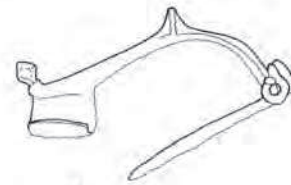
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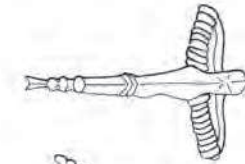
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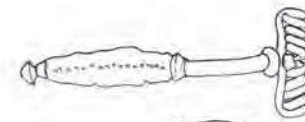
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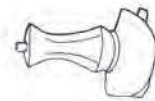
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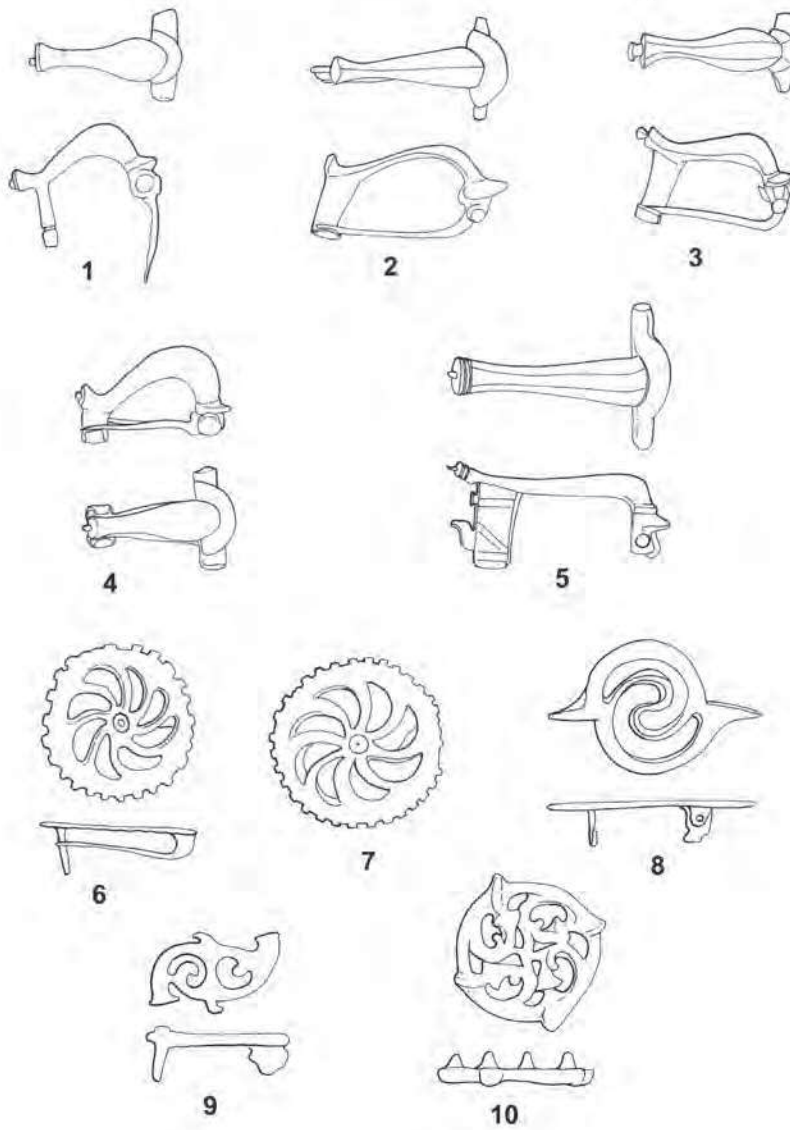


Plate 3: 1 - Type Petković 19 A, *Viminacium*; 2 - Type Petković 19 B, *Viminacium*; 3 - Type Petković 19 C, *Singidunum*; 4 - Type Petković 19 A, *Viminacium*; 5 - Type Petković 19 C, *Viminacium*; 6 - Type Petković 22 A, *Viminacium*; 7 - Type Petković 22 A, *Diana*; 8 - Type Petković 22 D 1, *Castra Tricornia*; 9 - Type Petković 22 D 1, *Viminacium*; 10 - Petković 22 D 3, *Mihajlovac - Mora Vagei*.

Plate 4: 1 – Type Petković 23A, *Viminacium*; 2 – Type Petković 28, *Viminacium*; 3 – Type Petković 29, *Viminacium*; 4 – Type Petković 30 B, *Singidunum*; 5 – Type Petković 30 A, *Viminacium*; 6 – Type Petković 30 B, *Viminacium*; 7 – Type Petković 30 B, *Viminacium*; 8 – Type Petković 30 C, *Viminacium*.

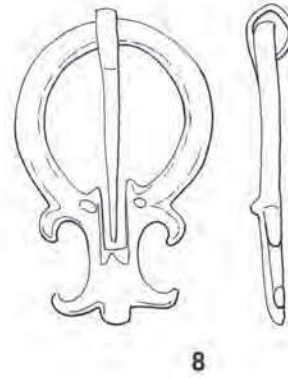
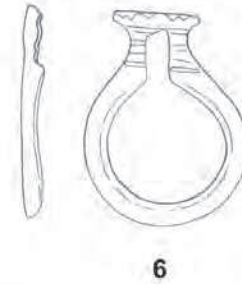
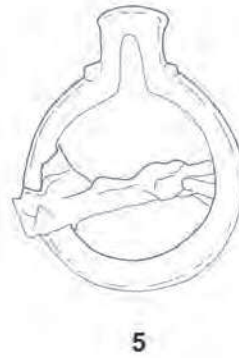
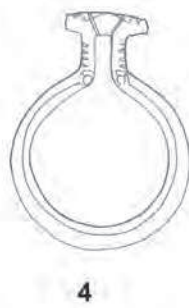
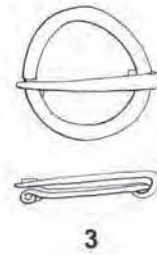
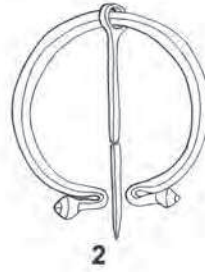
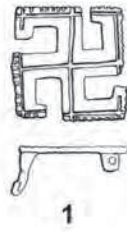


Plate 5: 1 – Type Petković 31 D, *Viminacium*; 2 – Type Petković 31 D, *Viminacium*; 3 – Type Petković 31 D, *Castrum Novae*, 4 – Type petković 31 D, *Pontes*.

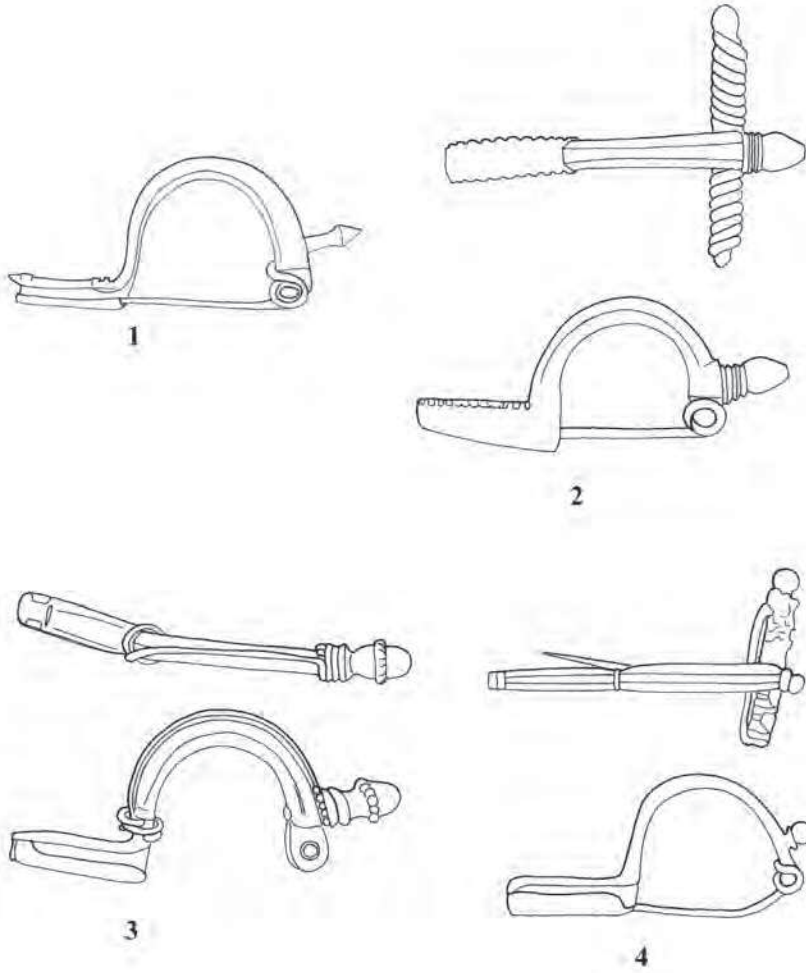


Plate 6: 1 - Type Petković 33 E, *Translederata*; 2 - Type Petković 33 E, *Diana*; 3 - Type Petković 33 E, *Diana*; 4 - Type Petković 33 C, *Viminacium*; 5 - Type Petković 34 A 1, *Viminacium*; 6 - Type Petković 34 A, *Viminacium*; 7 - Type Petković 34 G, *Viminacium*.

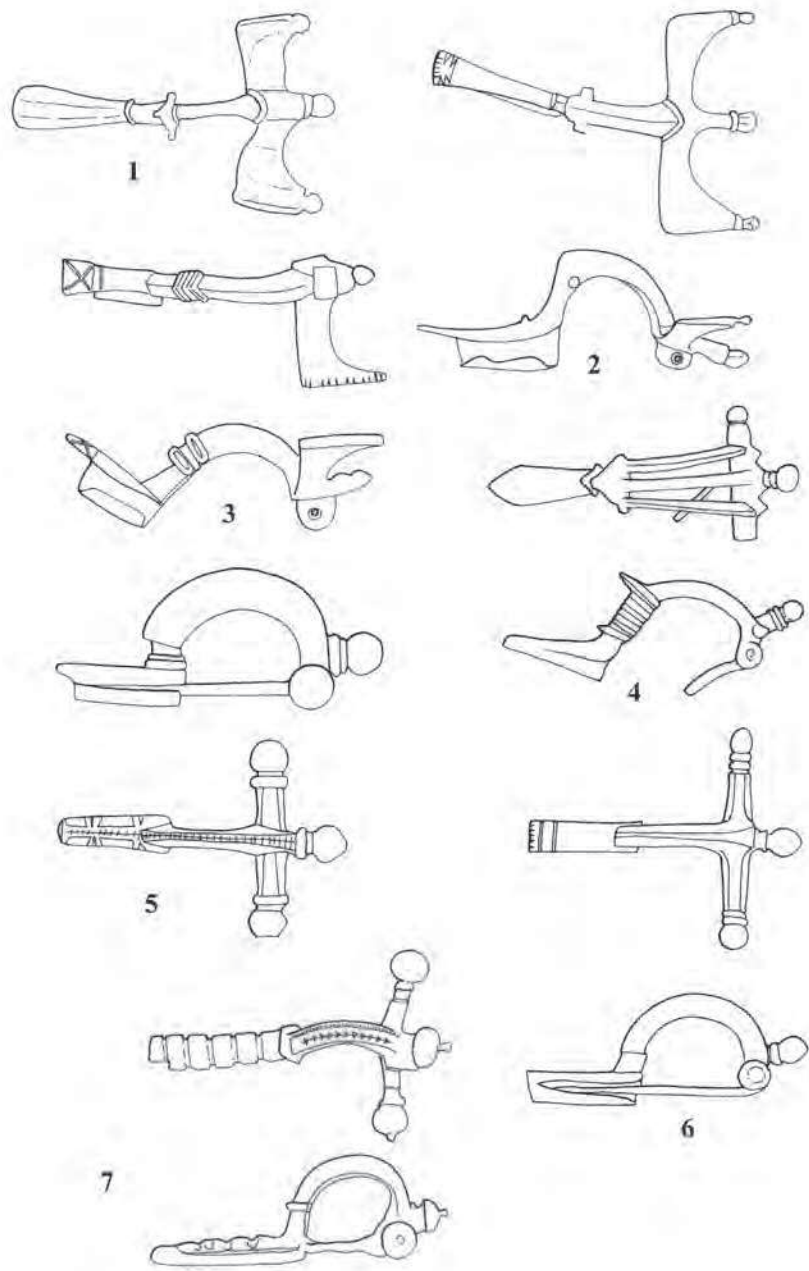


Plate 7: G - 786, "Pećine" -
Viminacium.

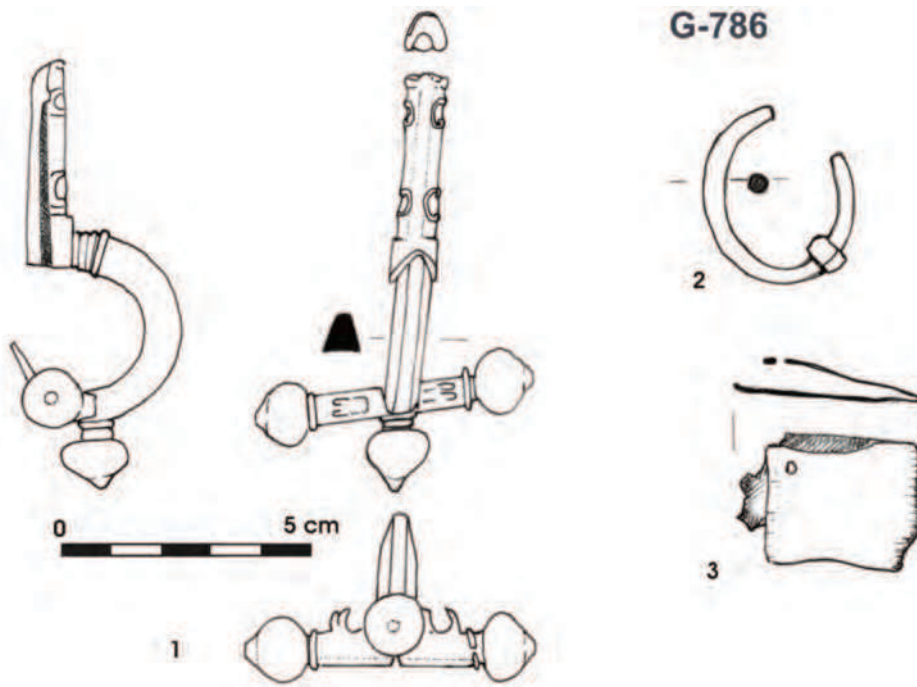
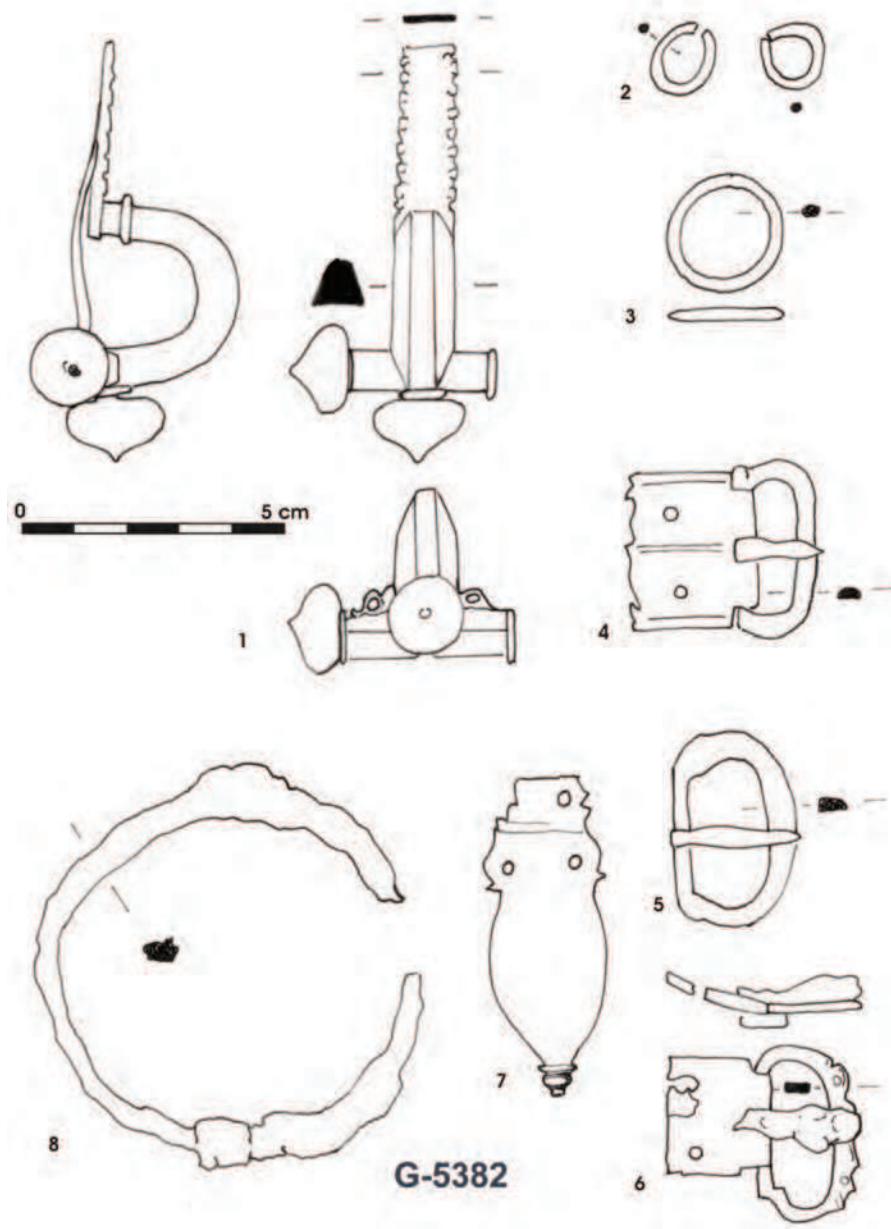


Plate 8: G - 5382,
"Pećine" - *Viminacium*.



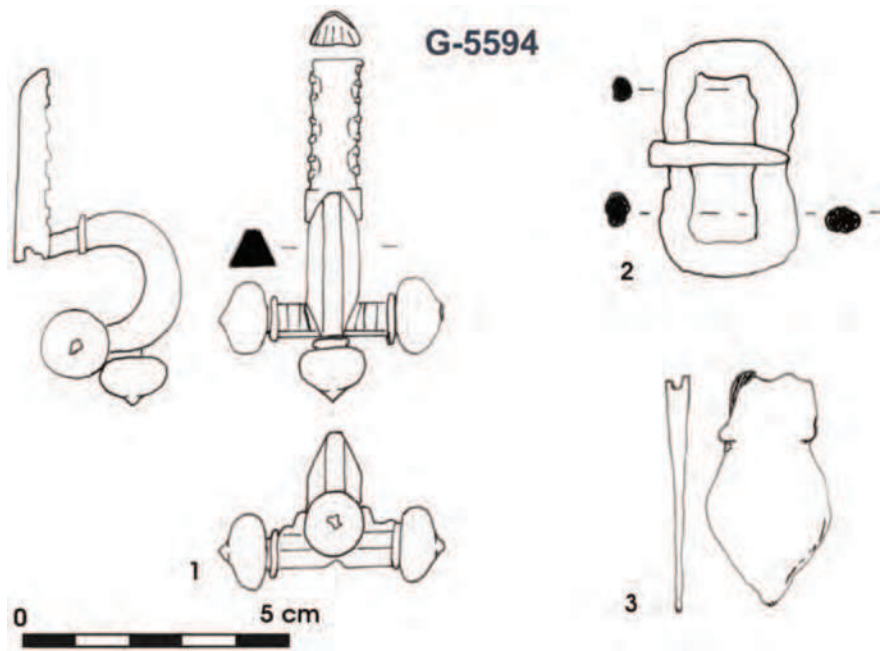


Plate 10: G – 3123,
“Pećine” – *Viminacium*.

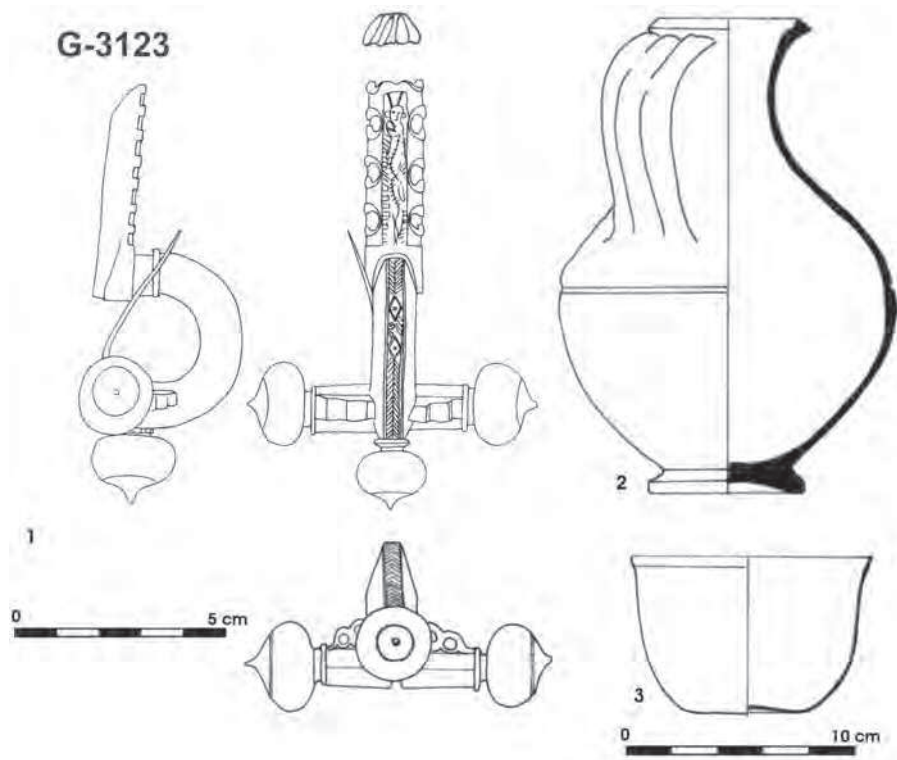


Plate 11: G - 3122,
"Pećine" - *Viminacium*.

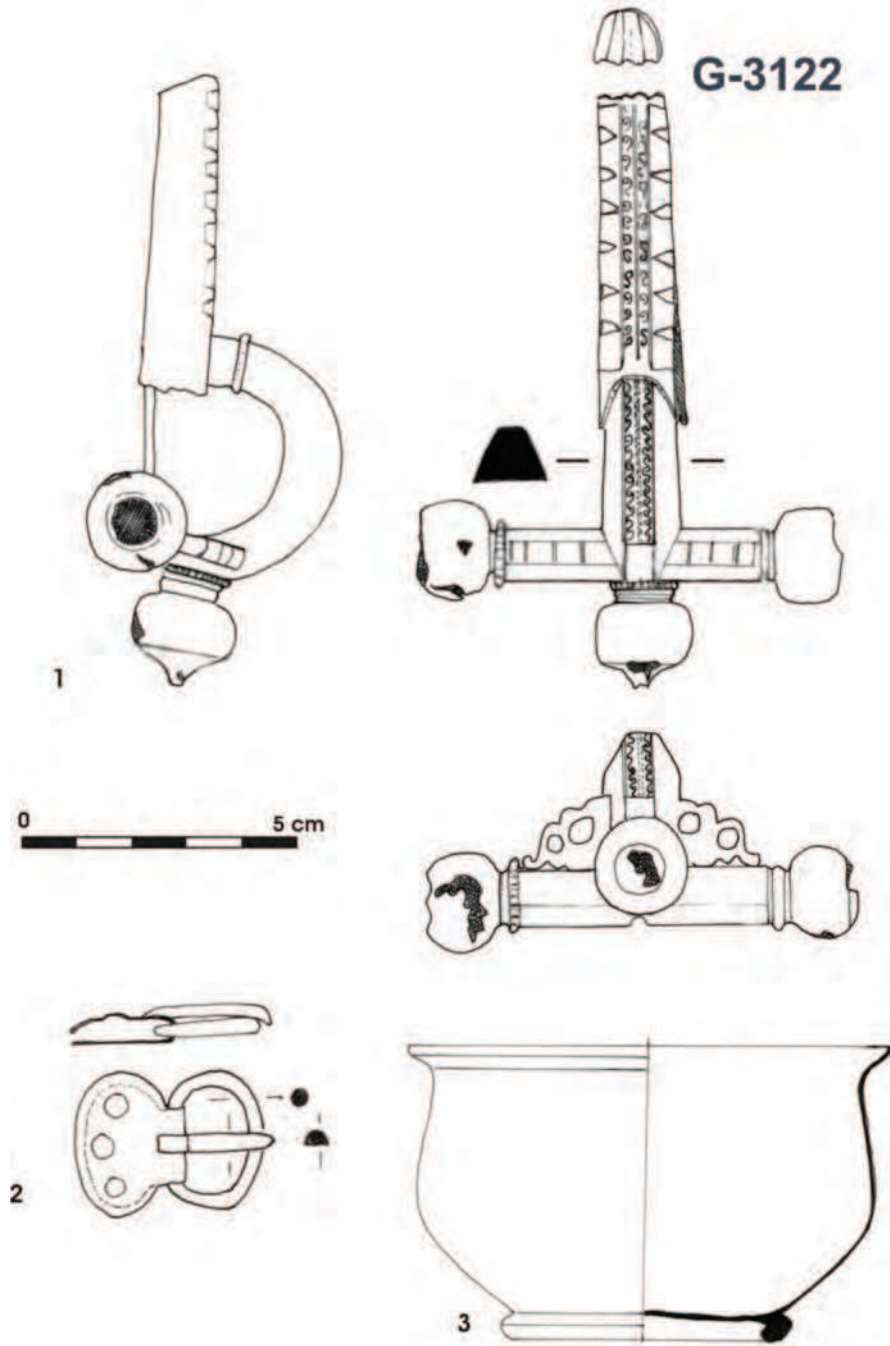


Plate 12: G - 1033,
"Pećine" - *Viminacium*.

