

BRONZE FIBULAE OF THE 2nd AND 3rd CENTURIES FROM DIANA

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Among small bronze finds from Diana, studied up till 1994(1) 82 fibulae were typologically and chronologically determined. According to established stratigraphy of Diana (Rankov 1980; 1984; 1987; Kondić 1989-1990; 1996) and morphological analyses as well, 41 of them belong to the period of the 2nd and 3rd centuries(2). They could be classified into 10 types with precisely distinguished variants.

Stylistic diversity and abundance of types present at Diana as well as frequency within types or variants ask for more comprehensive study. Thus, we will present here a sort of summarized typology with brief discussion about basic morphological features of types and their development together with chronological determination. Ratio of their occurrence at Diana and shortly their distribution with possible origin and workshops will also be presented.

The group of sharply profiled fibulae or 'Kräftig Profiliert' fibulae (type 1), which represents one of the earliest types at Diana, occur in three variants represent in two cases only by a single specimen. These two variants could be connected with the production of fibulae in the Western Roman provinces. Fibula on (fig. 1/1) is a variant of hinged fibulae typical for Rateia, where so-called Norico-Pannonian fibulae appear in new form, with hinge. According to examples from Augusta Rauricorum, they are dated to the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century (Riha 1979 Type 6.1, 164, 1422-1423). Specimen from Diana was found in the layer attributed to the 2nd century. Other fibula belongs to the group with head-plate, that is to its variation appearing in forts of the German and Raetian limes, with most alike parallel found in fortress Straubing from the 2nd century (Walke 1965, 50 T. 93/5, 6).

Two fibulae of the third variant (fig. 1/2,3) belong to largely distributed group of the sharply profiled fibulae without head-plate (3). In particular, fibulae from Diana could be connected with the specimens characteristic for Dacia Porolissensis, found in Cluj-Napoca, Porolissum, Ilisua, Apulum, Buciumi and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Bajusz, Cociş 1997 cat. 7-9; Cociş 1994 Pl. 1/3, 2/9, 14, 15; Moga, Ciugudean, Cociş, Rodeanu 1997, 11-14; Chirilă, Gudea, Lucăcel, Pop 1972 T. XCI/2-4; Alicu, Cociş, Ilieş, Soroceanu 1994 Pl. 27/619). They have triangular ridge at the beginning of a bow and flattened head that follows spring made of eight coils in difference to the original examples with triangular extensions resembling yet not fully developed anchor fibulae. Local production in Dacia Porolissensis confirms discovery of a workshop in Cluj-Napoca where besides this sort of sharply profiled fibulae another variant not yet documented at Diana, was also made (Bajusz, Cociş 1997, 552 n. 10; Moga, Ciugudean, Cociş, Rodeanu 1997, 538 n.22) While the earliest prime examples as well as Noricum and Lauriacum specimens are attributed to the last third of the 1st century (Jobst 1975, 41; Riha 1979, 80) this group is dated to the first half of the 2nd century. Finding context of Diana examples is the second half of the 2nd century.

Predominantly feature of the 2nd and 3rd centuries fibulae at Diana represents hinge fibulae (9 items) and hinge fibulae with ribbed bow (10 items) (Grbić 1996, 87-91). Their limited distribution area, restricted to the Lower Danubian provinces, Upper and Lower Moesia and Dacia, with particular differences in their appearance, characterizes both types.

Hinged fibulae (type 2, fig. 2/1-8) have derived from schematized and reduced later forms of Aucissa fibulae. Those from Diana could be classified in two basic varieties. The first one (fig. 2/1-5) is characterized by trapezoidal head-plate and bow of rectangular cross section,

which is narrowing towards the catch-plate. Bow is decorated with hollow incisions. The second variant, (fig. 2/6-8) besides its mass and size, is also different by ornament performed on rectangular head-plate in a form of concentrated circles resembling "eyes" (Augen) of Aucissa fibulae and by simplified zoomorphic presentation at the lower end of bow. The presentation is of a snakehead; it is in autochthonous practice, that we meet not only bracelets with snake-like endings but also fibulae. Namely, similar ornamental pattern have Dacian Late La Tène fibulae with zoomorphic decoration (Bistrița, Coldău, Cehetela: Rustoiu 1990, 135-145 fig. 2, 3, 10). It is to be emphasized that snake endings are typical for a jewelry of so-called Balkanian-Danubian hoards of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. (Popović, Borić-Bresković 1994 T. XI/1, 2; Popović 1994, 89-94; Popović 1994 T. 1/2, 3).

The chronological determination of these fibulae still represents a problem. According to finding context of specimens from Diana it could be concluded that this type appears in the 2nd century and is in use till the middle of the 3rd century(4).

Hinged fibulae with ribbed bow (type 3, fig. 3/1-5) are also local feature, but their distribution is of higher frequency on the territory of the Lower Moesia(5). They were developed as synthesis of fibulae types that were slowly falling out of use (sharply profiled fibulae) and those coming into fashion (knee fibulae) (6) Three variants could be recognized within this type with certain morphological modifications representing chronological development as well. A head-plate is changing: while it is wider than a bow and semi-circular on a both sides on specimens of variety 1 (fig. 3/1-2) and represents integral part of a bow, on variety 2 (fig. 3/3-4) which is the transition phase is clearly differentiated. Moreover, variety 1 has triple protrusion similar to ridge and catch-plate formed as on sharply profiled fibulae, while on variety 2 catch-plate is formed as on a knee fibulae. Fibulae classified in variety 3 (fig. 3/5, 6) are a simplified variation of previous two groups.

Specimens of variety 1 were found at Diana in layers attributed to the period from the middle of the 2nd to the beginning of 3rd century, fibulae of variety 2 were found in the 2nd and 3rd century layers, while those of variety 3 were found in the layers dated to the 3rd century and to the turn of the 3rd century (coin of Diocletianus). According to these data this type of hinged fibulae could appear in the middle of the 2nd century and be in use till the end of 3rd century (7).

Knee fibulae (type 4), highly appreciated type of fibulae among soldiers, are represented at Diana with three whole specimens and with a fragment of catch-plate. All examples are of different features and origin. Fibula with semi-circular head-plate (fig.4/1), found in the layer of the 2nd and the 3rd centuries, has all morphological and stylistic attributes of Norico-Pannonian group (decoration of rows of rouletting, spring mechanism with on the outside rolled wire) (Bohme 1972, 51). This variety is also common for Upper Moesia (Bojović 1983, 54 type 20.1)

Example of knee fibula with characteristic head - knee fibulae with springcase (Fig. 4/2) - represents form which extensive distribution in Dacia indicates its origin there, probably from Dacia Porolissensis (8). Even though there are some similarities with examples from other regions (9) fibula found at Diana is probably from the same center as Transylvanian ones. They are not common in Upper Moesia, save for example from Singidunum (Bojović 1983, 164; Ivanisević, Nikolić-Đorđević 1997, 133) Specimen from Diana is dated to the middle of the 2nd century.

Next example is of a knee fibulae with hinge, widely distributed in Upper Moesia and other Danubian provinces (Bojović 1983, 58; Ivanisević, Nikolić-Đorđević 1997, 133 T. 55/5, 6). They are attributed to the 2nd-3rd centuries, as is the finding context of our specimen.

Fibulae with folded leg (type 5, fig. 5/1-7) represent another common group. Characteristics of their form allow connection with numerous finds of this type in Dacia, attributed to the 2nd and 3rd centuries (10). They were produced in workshops in this part of Danubian region and are quite common in Upper Moesia. Fibulae of this group from Diana could be classified in three varieties. Diaconu ascribes two of them to Romans, and the third

one is of Dacian origin, rarely present outside Romania (Diaconu 1971, 239-267 T. VII/1-5; T. VII; Popescu 1945, 262 T. 10/9, 10; Horedt 1978, Abb. 7). At Diana, they were found in layers of the 3rd century.

T fibulae with hinge (type 6) are represented at Diana with two different specimens. The first one (fig. 6/1)(11) comprises features of several groups, mainly T fibulae with hinge common for Upper Moesia (Singidunum: Bojović 1983 type 35, 2 cat. 353-354) Dacia (Porolissum, Buciumi: Bajusz, Cociş 1997 Pl. VI/49-52; Chirilă, Gudea, Lucăcel, Pop 1972 T. XCIII/3) Pannonia and for the Rhine region (Jobst 1975, 219) are fibulae from Augusta Rauricorum Fibel mit kammförmigem Bügel (Riha 1979 type 6, 3, 1425-1427). This one is with knob at the beginning of bow and pin mechanism inside the short crossbow. At the transition section between bow and catch-plate is a decoration resembling coiled wire, which is a reminiscence of fibulae with folded leg. It is dated into the first half of the 3rd century.

To the second variety belongs fibula with crossbow of sexton cross section with small knobs at endings. At the end of bow is wired-like protrusion. Absent triangular plate in the beginning of bow is indicating its Western origin and there is similarity with finds from Saalburg and Zugmantel (Bohme 1972, 26, 27 gruppe 28 cat. 808-812). Soldiers used this type of fibulae during whole 3rd century, when they were replaced with crossbow fibulae. It is not known to us are there any other examples from Upper Moesia.

Arc fibulae with springcase (type 7) are represented at Diana with two specimens, one being typical example of this type (fig. 6/2-3). Other is with button-like protrusion on the springcase and with disc at the end of bow. It is a derivation of fibulae with springcase and fork-like or forked branch like bow and certain varieties of T fibulae with hinge (Bohme 1972, 24-25 cat. 614-654). Generally, this type is not common for Middle and Lower Danubian provinces, but for Upper Germanic and Raetian limes (12). They are attributed to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century.

Arc fibulae with trifold head-plate and spring mechanism (type 8) are represented at Diana with two specimens, different only by certain decorative elements in ornamentation of catch-plate and bow ending (fig. 7/1-2)(Osjek, Sapaja, Sofronievo, Matasar: Patek 1942 T. XXIV/13; Kovacevic 1960 T. XVII/76; Mašov 1976 sl.6; Bichir 1984 T. XXXIX/11). Their main features are square head-plate spread in three branches (trifold head-plate) with reduced knobs at endings and bow of triangular cross section, which is narrowing towards the catch-plate. It is one of types attributed to the local production and it is another evidence of necessity to create local forms inspired by widespread types of Roman provincial fibulae (13). They were developed under the influence of certain variants of appreciated T fibulae with hinge, common for Lower Danubian provinces and especially for Dacia (Horedt 1978, Abb. 8/4; Cociş, Rusu 1986-1987 pl. III/8. 9; Alicu, Cociş, Ilieş, Soroceanu 1994, pl. 28/ 628; Bajusz, Cociş 1997, pl. VI/50). Still, open question remains about the prototype of head-plate and precise time of appearance and use of this type of fibulae. We suggest that the time of their appearance should be in the second half of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century, even though specimens from Diana were found in the layers of the 4th century.

Considering that these fibulae (14) are large sized and were probably not worn everyday as well as that they are often discovered in the vicinity of harbors (15) and that possible interpretation of trifold head-plate could be as simplified form of the trident of Neptune, their association with the members of the Danubian fleet seems as one of credible suggestions (16)

Plate fibulae with openwork in a form of wheel (fig. 8/1) are also one of the 2nd and 3rd centuries types (type 9). These fibulae are widespread (Britannia, Rhineland, Gallia, Raetia; Ettliger 1973, Typ 40.1; Bohme 1973, T. 29/1138; Riha 1979, 59/1554 -1561) but specimen from Diana differentiates from those having usually four spokes. Diana one with eight spokes resembles a wheel of beginning (*genesis*, i.e. *ciclus geneseos*) representing a symbol of world's events. The finest parallel for fibula from Diana is the 2nd century silver-plated fibula from

Novac, in Lower Moesia (Parnicki 1966 ris 9/a). Similar is one example from Singidunum, but it is of reduced, more primitive style(17). A type 9 fibula from Diana was found in the layer attributed to the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century.

The last type dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries is a specific Omega type fibula (type 10) represented with only one example (fig. 8/2). Omega fibulae appear in various shapes, but for specimen from Diana, with one ending in a shape of stylized snakehead and another in a form of snake-tail, we were not able to find direct analogy. The closest are examples from Augusta Rauricorum with endings in a shape of snakeheads (Riha 1979, 205, 207; Type 8.1.3; T. 69/1801-1811). Example from Diana is dated to the 3rd century according to finding context. It was probably manufactured in one of Danubian workshops.

To summarize, sharply profiled fibulae are characteristic for the end of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century. Time of appearance of hinge fibulae is not certain for now, but it is a safe estimate that these two types were coexistent, with dominance of the later. During the second half of the 2nd century, but also in the first half of the 3rd century, hinge fibulae and hinge fibulae with ribbed bow had absolute dominance above other types. They were used simultaneously with knee fibulae, which are not prevailing at Diana even though they are one of the most popular and widespread among military fibulae of that period. Fibulae with folded leg appear about the middle of the 3rd century, with principal variety being one ascribed to Romans and probably produced in local Danubian or Dacian workshops.

Fibulae of the Western provenience appear at Diana already at the end of the 1st century, and then during the 2nd century and till the middle of the 3rd. They represent a small proportion of the whole assemblage of fibulae attributed to the 2nd and 3rd centuries. These are two examples of sharply profiled fibulae, two examples of T fibulae with hinge and two fibulae of a rare type in Danubian provinces of arc fibulae with springcase. A specimen of knee fibula with semi-circle head-plate probably belongs to Pannonian workshops.

On the other hand, highly apparent is predominance of local Upper Moesian and Dacian products among bronze fibulae of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. We pointed out already that a number of fibulae are products of Dacian workshops and some of examples we related directly to workshops in Dacia Porolissensis (variety of sharply profiled fibulae without head-plate and knee fibulae with springcase). Correspondence between fibulae found at Diana and those distributed in Dacia is clearly recognizable. With regard to this correlation we would like to draw attention to the presence, confirmed by an inscription (Kondić 1994, 74), of cohorts V Gallorum or one of its units at Diana either between 179 and 211 or 180-192, during the reign of Commodus, or 193 - 211, during the rule of Septimius Severus. Without noting down precise movement of that auxiliary troop, we are stressing again that cohorts V Gallorum was transferred several times from Upper Moesia to Dacia and in reverse, as documented on military diplomas from Dacian sites (Petolescu 1997, 99, 100).

It could be argued that movements of troops, and in this case especially cohorts V Gallorum, could be recognized by distribution of fibulae which production is attributed to the Dacian workshops. Reverse process may perhaps be observed: transfer of certain types of fibulae manufactured in the Iron Gates workshops (possibly Diana)(Grbić mss 87 - 91) to workshops at forts in Dacia, as fortifications in Dacia Porolissensis (fibula of type 1) or in Drobeta (fibulae of type 2)(Iovanović 1978, 54).

Constant movements certainly resulted in a forming of a uniform taste among soldiers, particular for this region of Balkans, at least in a case of fibulae, with more frequent occurrence of certain types in a vicinity of workshops. During the 2nd and 3rd centuries several fibulae workshops were positively active in this Danubian region, meaning not just the Iron Gates part of limes, but whole Upper Moesian limes starting from Singidunum. Those workshops are hard to locate due to lack of solid evidence, but some scholars suppose for certain fibulae types production centers exactly in this region (Singidunum, Viminacium, Lederata, Pontes) (Iovanović 1978,52; Bojović 1983, 40-41).

We already indicated predomination of types 2 and 3 at Diana during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Comparative chemical analyses of these fibulae have shown that they are products of a high technological quality and of unvarying composition. This could indicate their common origin or a uniform recipe for their production (Grbić mss 90-91). Diana represents, save for Singidunum, the only site in Upper Moesia where those specimens occur. Regarding this, we could look for another production centers besides Drobeta and Dierna (Bodor, Winkler 1979, 141-155 fig. 7/3,4) and suggest in addition to Diana also Singidunum as a workshop for those two types. Viminacium is not excluded as well.

We would like to introduce several more indicative but not conclusive data in favor of assumption about the existence of workshop at Diana. Find of a semifinished fibula (fig. 9/1) probably of a T fibulae type with springcase is one of those. In addition, important strategic position of Diana and its commercial significance (including harbor), could indicate a workshop active either at fortification or in a nearby settlement. Vicinity of mines in the hinterland of Danube and Diana itself, like mines in the Pek and the Timok valley (Kondić 1973, 42-53; Dušanić 1980, 25, 26, 34, 35) as well as close by metallurgical centre at Kraku-lui-Jordan are supporting. However, this question still remains open.

Presented data and assumptions are not to be final.. They should be treated as initial stage of the investigation. Further research, above all mapping of all fibulae finds both from Diana and neighboring region and their comparison will be of great importance. In this context it is interesting to point out that several types of fibulae typical for this region during the 2nd and even in the first half of the 3rd century are absent at Diana. A variant of sharply profiled fibulae with two discs on bow, widespread in Dacia, at Upper Moesian limes and even in Lower Moesia, which production is presumed either at Drobeta and Pontes or Lederata, is one. Anchor fibulae represent another example.

NOTES

1. Grbić, D., *Predmeti od bronzе iz vojnog utvrđenja*, M.A. thesis (manuscript).
2. Courtesy of Jelena Kondić. I am also very grateful to her for discussing various points of this paper with me. My particular gratitude goes to T. Cvjetičanin for translation of this paper.
3. They are widespread in Free Germania, Raetia, Noricum, Moesia Superior, Dacia and one variant in Pannonia. (Peskar, 1972, 80; Riha 1979, 80; Jobst 1975, 50, Typ 5; Bojović 1983, 40, type 10/6; Popescu 1945, Abb. 4/43; Kovrig 1937, type VIII).
4. Fibulae of type 2 were found in the layers attributed to the 2nd century, the end of 2nd and the beginning of 3rd century and, generally, layers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.
5. Novae, Svištov, and to the South Hotnica and Veliko Trnovo. Pisarev 1981, obr. 3; Gencheva 1987, 35-36, fig. 3/g, d.
6. It is important to point out the form of specific type of fibulae from Kaiseraugst: Scharnierfibeln mit dachformige Bügel. It is dated into the second half of the 2nd century and the early 3rd century. Connecting elements are bow of triangular cross section and three discs (ribbed bow in the case of type 3). cf. Riha 1979, 79: Typ 5.13, 1154-1204.
7. Attribution of the fibula from Matasar, found with the coin of Marcus Aurelius, and the fibula from Răcari, Dolj, found in the context of the end of 2nd and the beginning of 3rd century, are in the same chronological frame. cf. Bichir 1984, 46; Toropu, Ciucă, Voicu 1976, fig. 2/10.
8. Porolissum, Buciumi, Apulum, Ilisua, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. Those represents local variety produced under the influence of prime source from Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia. cf. Cociș, Rusu 1984-1985, Pl. I/5-7, II/1-2; Cociș, 1986, Pl. 2/2-4, 6-9; Cociș, Rusu, 1987, Pl. II/2, 4, 5; Bajusz, Cociș 1997 Pl. III/27; Moga, Ciugudean, Cociș, Rodeanu 1997 Pl. VII/52, 53; Cociș 1994 Pl. 4/41.
9. This form of head appears also on fibulae from Upper Germanic and Raetian limes, but difference is visible in whole structure. Those fibulae have bow of triangular or trapezoidal cross section with overall geometrical form. One variety of this form is represented also among Norico-Pannonian

fibulae, but it could not be treated as direct parallel for our form. Böhme 1972, 21, T. 8/418-441, 9/446-470, 10/473-474; I. Kovrig 1937 T. X/96-101.

10. The best parallels are from Ilişua, Veşel, Alba Iulia, and Potaissa.

11. Fibulae from Rataria Dolj similar to this one is of the T fibulae with hinge type by classification of Popescu. cf. Popescu 1945 cat 63.

12. Similar are fibulae from Saalburg and Zugmantel. cf. Bohme 1972, 23-24, cat. 583-613.

13. Related are the Rhineland and Pannonian variants derived also from T fibulae. Also, bow peltate fibulae are similar by bow form and head-plate. cf. Jobst 1975, 185, 186; Böhme 1972, 558-580; In addition, fibulae with similar head-plate that are considered to be a variety of knee fibulae were found in Osijek and at unknown sites in Pannonia. Böhme 1972, Abb. 6, 9, 10.

14. The problem of this form was discussed also by Jovanović 1995, 158-165, map. 1, fig. 1, 2) and I am very grateful for the opportunity to use some of his suggestions.

15. Finds from vicinity of Taurunum and on Upper Moesian limes: Viminacium, Sapaja, Diana, Aquae (Petrović 1990, 207-216).

16. It should be emphasized that Diana certainly had large harbor and pier as remains of perimetral rampart with tower indicate. cf. J. Rankov.

There is also a possibility that a votive monument dedicated to god Tot, found at Diana, was an offering of a person in charge of administration of the Classis Flavia Moesica (Kondić 1987, 43-46, fig. 1). The presence of members of the Upper Moesian fleet is possible; Petrović 1990, 293-297.

17. Another one from Singidunum is with six spokes as well as Rgotina, near Zaječar. cf. Ivanisević, Nikolić-Đjordjević 1997 fig. 55/7; Lalović, Jovanović Rgotina 1981, 81 T. IV/3.

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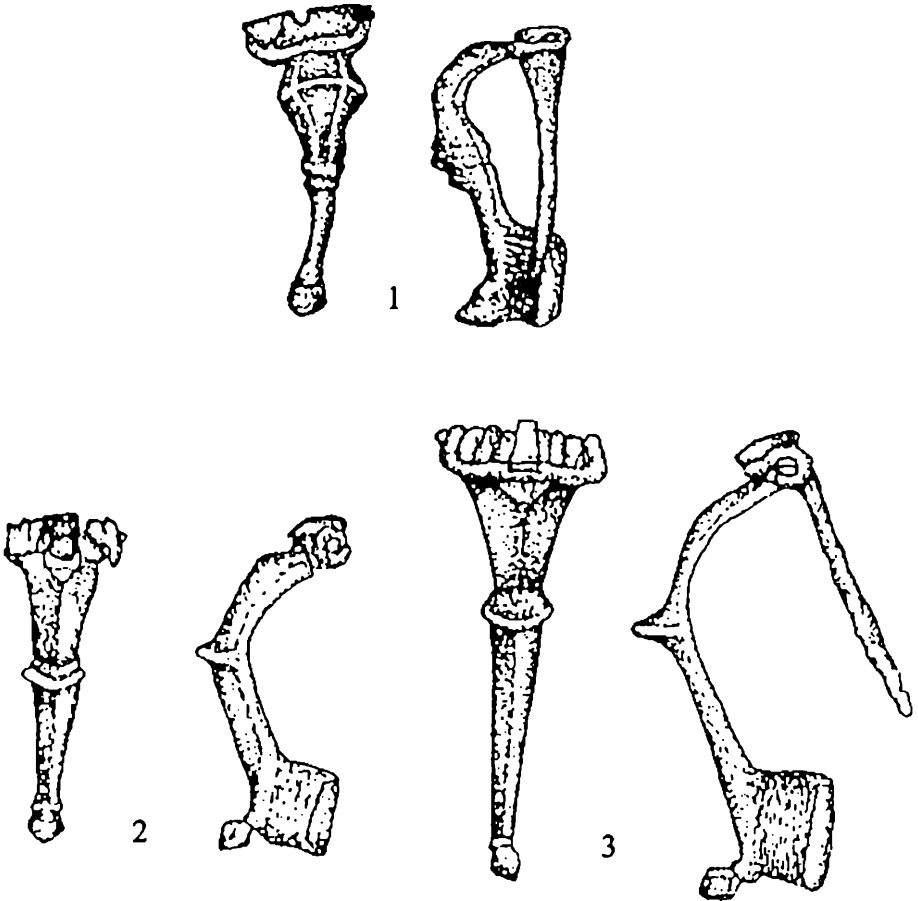


Fig. 1

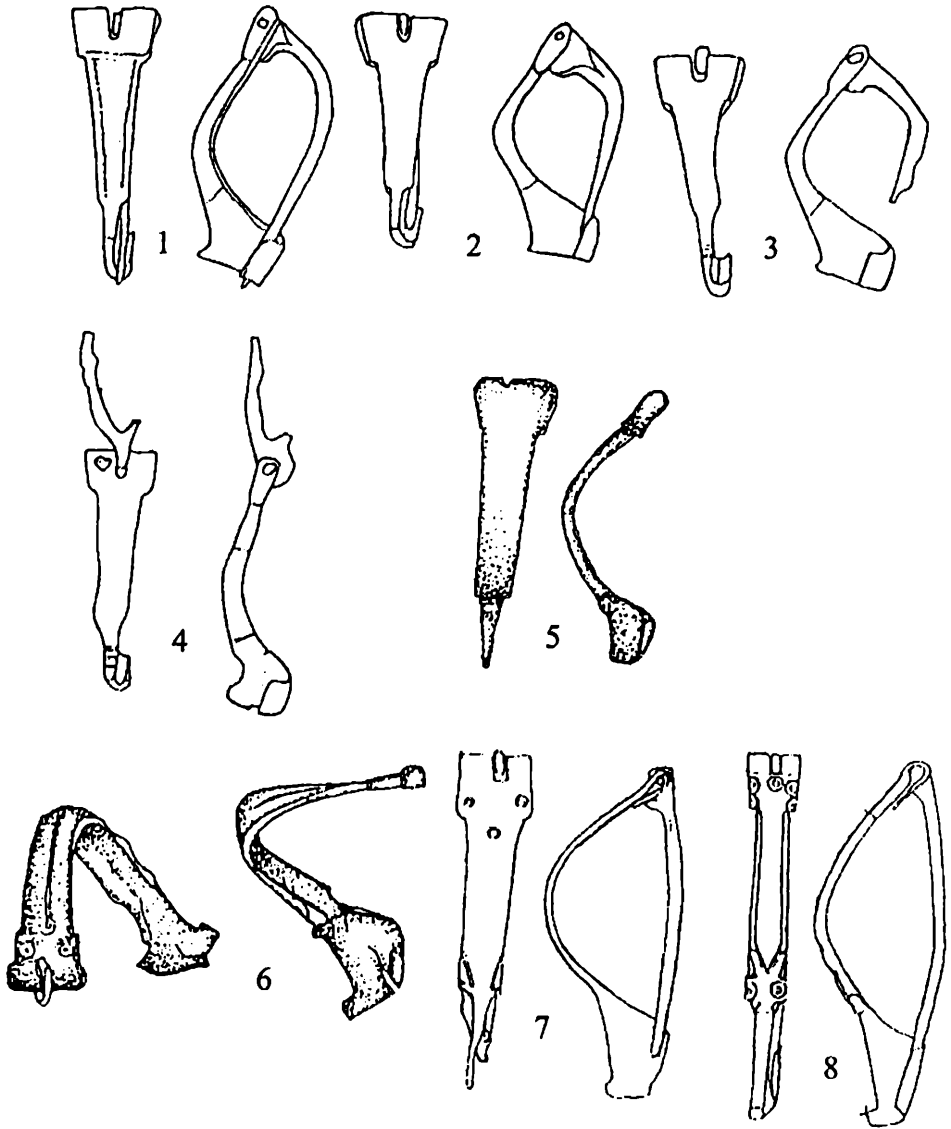


Fig. 2

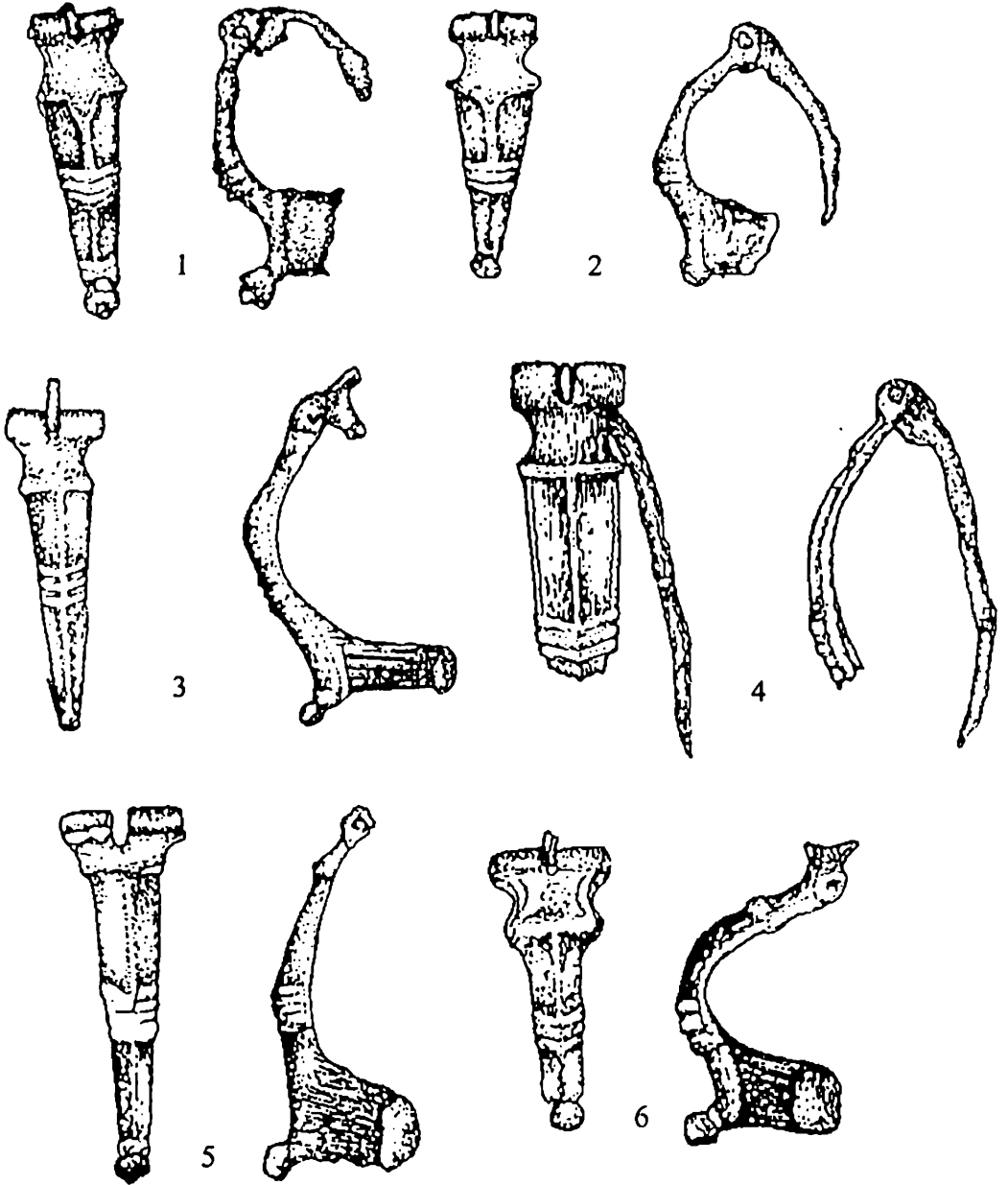
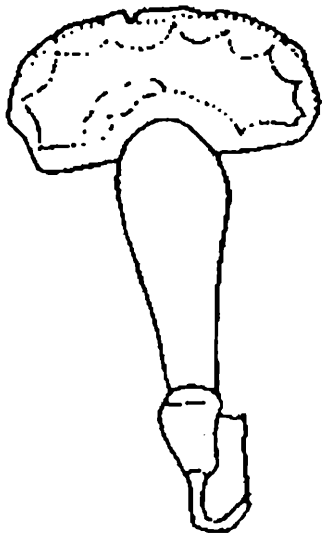
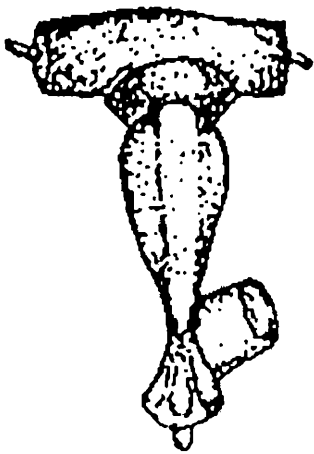
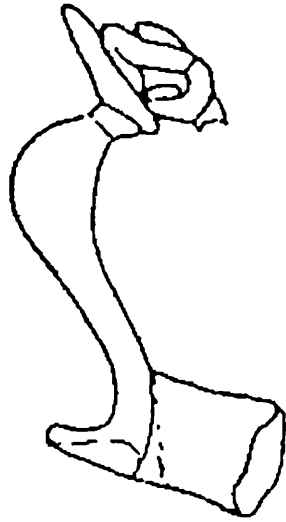


Fig. 3



1



2

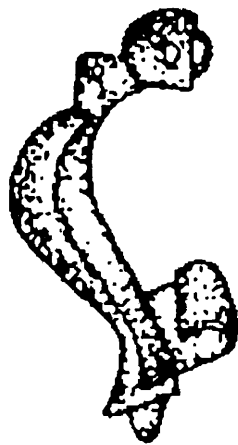
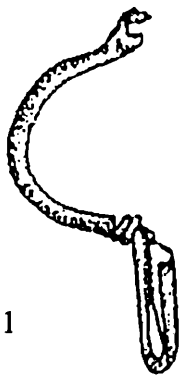


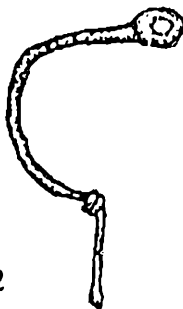
Fig. 4



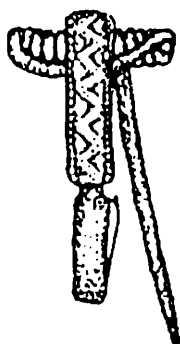
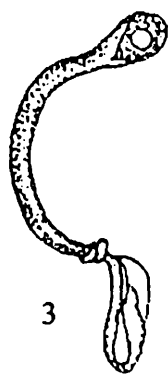
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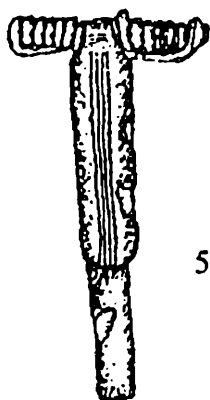
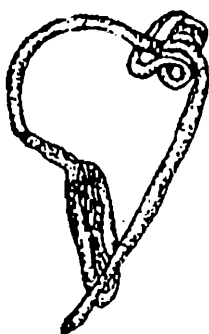
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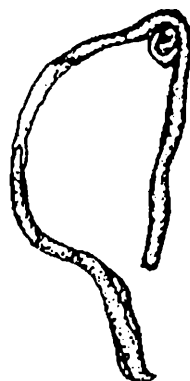
3



4



5



6



Fig. 5

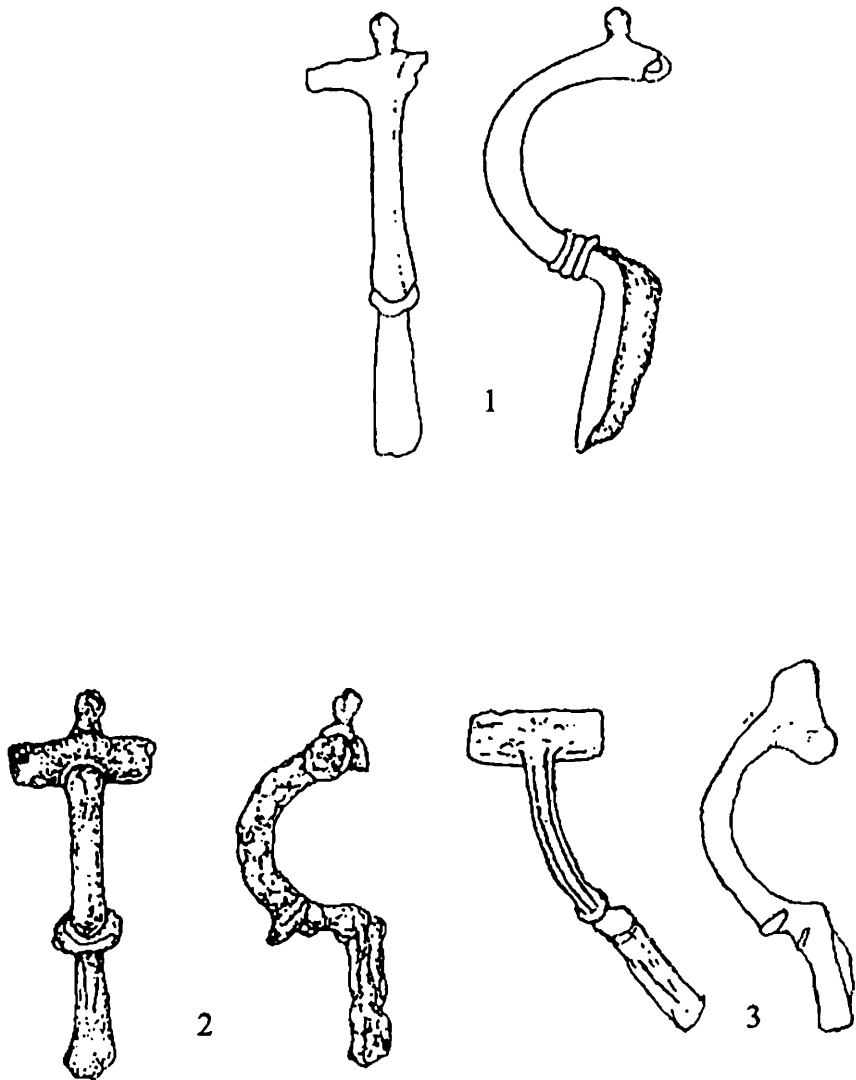
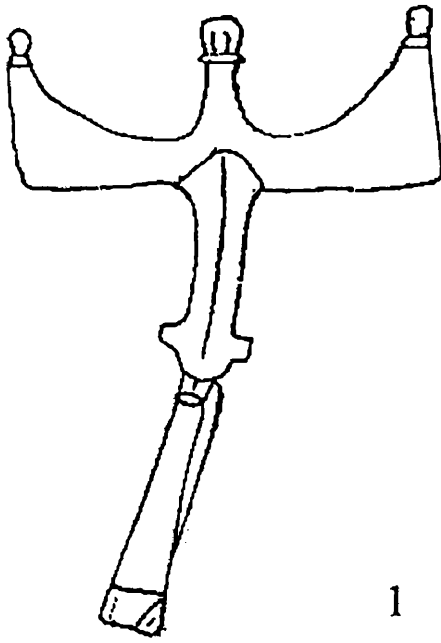
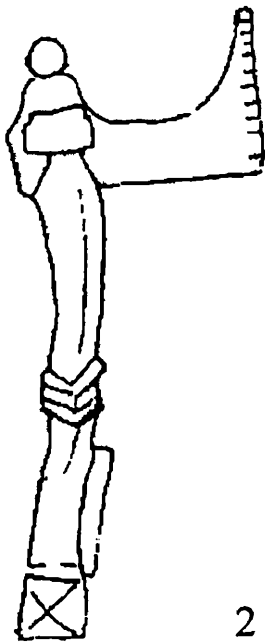
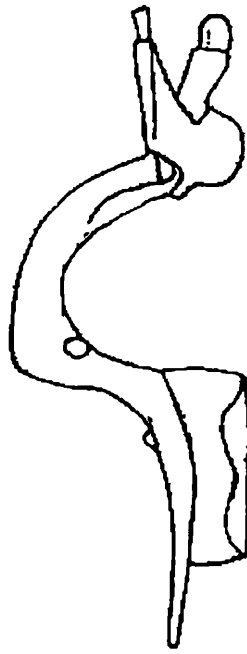


Fig. 6



1



2

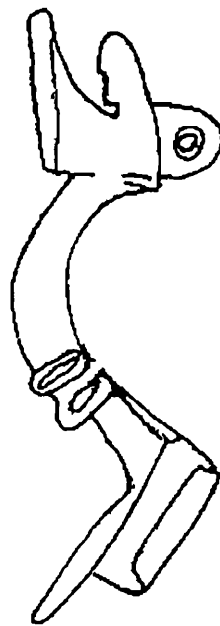
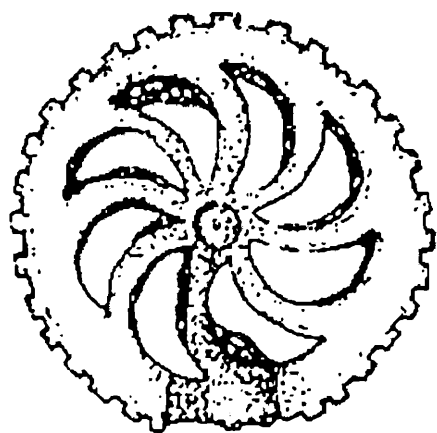
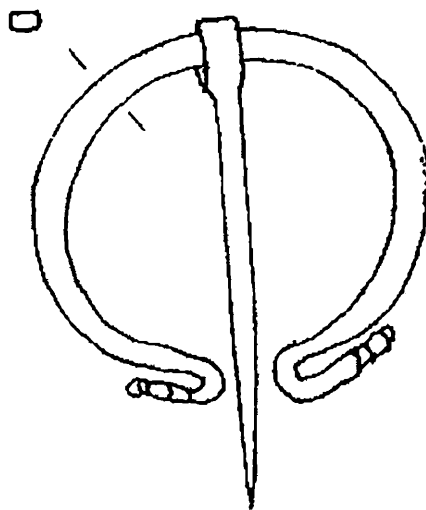


Fig. 7

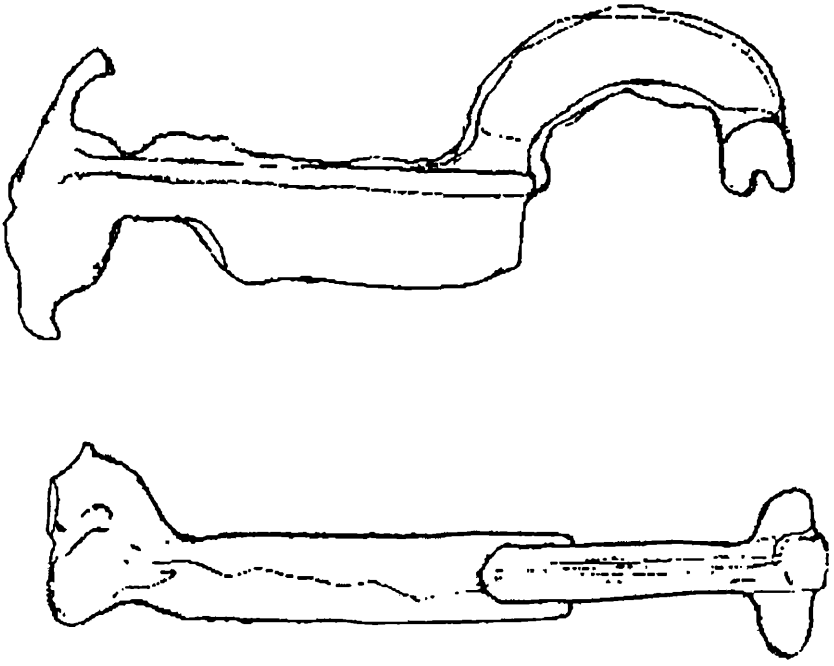


1



2

Fig. 8



9.

Fig. 9