

## Crossbow fibulae of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries in the southeastern Alps

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### Izveček

V članku so predstavljene samostrelne fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle in z gumbom na loku 5. in 6. stoletja, ki so bile najdene v Sloveniji. Dopolnili smo tudi sliko njihove razprostranjenosti v jugovzhodnih Alpah in poskušali dokazati njihovo še vedno sporno pripadnost staroselskemu prebivalstvu. Poleg tega obravnavamo tudi v Sloveniji redke najdbe balkanskih samostrelnih fibul z nazaj zavito nogo, ki kažejo na slabo poznano bizantinsko prisotnost v 6. stoletju.

**Ključne besede:** jugovzhodne Alpe, Slovenija, pozna antika, samostrelne fibule, fibule z gumbom na loku, balkanske fibule z nazaj zavito nogo, višinske naselbine, staroselci, Germani

### Abstract

In this article crossbow fibulae with a firm catch plate and with a knob bow of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries found in Slovenia are presented. We have also added new finds to their distribution in the southeastern Alps and tried to show that they were used by the Romanized population. Also, we discuss the rare finds of Balkan crossbow fibulae with an inverted foot in Slovenia, which reflect the less well-known Byzantine presence in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** southeastern Alps, Slovenia, Late Antiquity, crossbow fibulae, knob bow fibulae, fibulae with an inverted foot, hilltop settlements, Romanized population, Germanic peoples

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The expression “crossbow fibula” stands for fibulae with an iron spring which coils round the spring-axle from the bow outwards, forms a semi-circular chord under (rarely above) the bow, coils round the axle again on the other side of the bow and continues into the needle of the fibula. Thus the fibula looks like a crossbow from above.

According to the shape of the foot, crossbow fibulae are divided into those with firm catch plate and those with inverted foot. Both shapes can be made of one or of two pieces (the body and the spring with the axle are made separately).

Their beginnings go as far back as the first centuries A.D. in Central and Eastern Europe. Fibulae with inverted foot developed in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. to the north of the Black Sea, and the

fibulae with firm catch plate at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century in the middle Danube and in the Przevorska culture regions. In the following centuries both forms developed and changed and were spread widely in *Germania* and *Barbaricum*.<sup>1</sup>

Individual examples of crossbow fibulae of both forms appeared also on the Roman side of the borders of the Empire at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. They are explained by the presence of Germanic *foederati* in the Late Roman army.<sup>2</sup>

In the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and in the 6<sup>th</sup> century we find crossbow fibulae with firm catch plate in the former western part of the Empire, in *Germania* and *Barbaricum*, and fibulae with

<sup>1</sup> Ioniță 1998, 232–233; Schulze 1977, 167–168.

<sup>2</sup> Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 387.



Fig. 1: Distribution of type Viminacium. Source: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, fig. 12.  
Sl. 1: Karta razprostranjenosti tipa Viminacium. Vir: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 12.

inverted foot in the lower Danube region and in the Balkans.<sup>3</sup>

In this paper we are concerned above all with crossbow fibulae with firm catch plate of the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century in the western part of the Empire and more closely in the southeastern Alpine region. A crossbow spring is characteristic also of the knob bow fibulae which were produced mainly in *Germania* and *Barbaricum* in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. Around the year 500 they appeared in the southeastern Alps in a form almost entirely similar to that of the fibulae with firm catch plate. The only difference is that they retained the typical knobs on the bow, spring-axle and foot.<sup>4</sup>

Both fibula types, crossbow and knob bow, had raised discussions about the ethnicity of their owners, which have not yet been satisfactorily concluded. Some researchers, above all J. Werner and V. Bierbrauer, believed they belonged to the Romanized population of the southeastern Alps.<sup>5</sup> In an attempt to contradict these theories, M. Schulze-Dörrlamm discussed the crossbow fibulae with firm catch plate and those with knob bow of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe. She established

that all of them were still worn by Germanic peoples just as they were in the first four centuries A.D.<sup>6</sup>

In this article we wish to present crossbow and knob bow fibulae found in Slovenia and to add to the state of research in the southeastern Alps. We shall try to prove they were mostly used by the Romanized population and not by the Germanic people. Beside that we wish to point out the rare finds of Balkan crossbow fibulae with inverted foot of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, which reflect the otherwise poorly documented Byzantine presence in Slovenia.

## 2. CROSSBOW FIBULAE WITH FIRM CATCH PLATE AND KNOB BOW FIBULAE

### 2.1 Development

*Crossbow fibulae of the early scheme* (long bow, short foot) with firm catch plate or knob bow fibulae of the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century in Slovenia have already been discussed. Various types and regions of origin, above all the Suebic middle Danube region (Slovakia, Moravia) and the regions of the Černjahovo and Sintana de Mureș cultures (Romania, Moldova, Ukraine), have been recognized. These finds are explained with the

<sup>3</sup> Janković 1981, 168–172; Teodor 1988; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986; Uenze 1992, 141–159.

<sup>4</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 657–669; Voss 1998, 276.

<sup>5</sup> Werner 1958, Bierbrauer 1985.

<sup>6</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986.

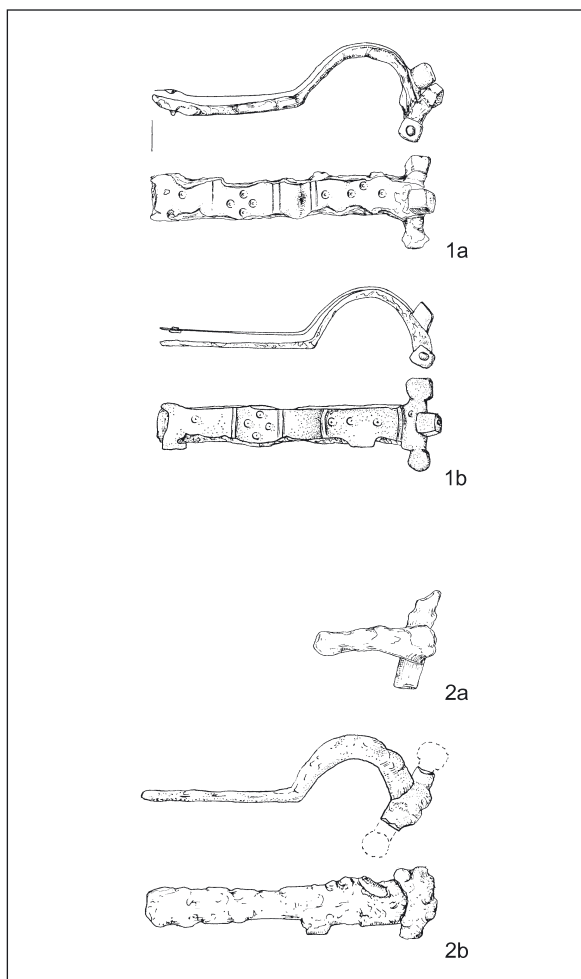


Fig. 2: Kranj, V Lajhu: 1 – grave 112 (after Stare 1980 [a], after Vinski 1967 [b]); 2 – grave 324 (after Stare 1980 [a], after Vinski 1967 [b]). Scale = 1:2.

Sl. 2: Kranj, V Lajhu: 1 – grob 112 (po Stare 1980 [a], po Vinski 1967 [b]); 2 – grob 324 (po Stare 1980 [a], po Vinski 1967 [b]). M. = 1:2.

presence of the Germanic *foederati* and do not raise questions of interpretation.<sup>7</sup>

Between the fibulae of the early and the late scheme we can place an example of the type *Viminacium* after M. Schulze-Dörrlamm which was found as the westernmost find on Limberk near Velika Račna (*pl. 1: 1*).<sup>8</sup> Typical of this type are the short foot with an equally long catch plate and a rolled, bent or globular foot end. It is spread mostly in the Balkans, along the Danube *limes* and

<sup>7</sup> Žižek 1995; Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996; Pflaum 2000, 115–124.

<sup>8</sup> For permission to publish this fibula I would like to thank T. Knific from the National museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana.

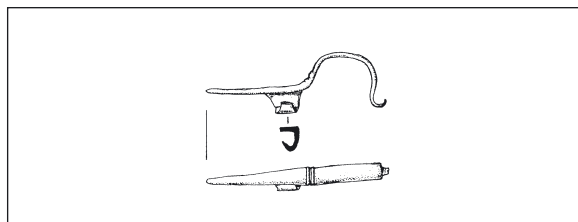


Fig. 3: Kranj, V Lajhu, grave 160 (after Stare 1980). Scale = 1:2.

Sl. 3: Kranj, V Lajhu, grob 160 (po Stare 1980). M. = 1:2.

in the hinterland (*fig. 1*) and dated to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> also the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. According to Schulze-Dörrlamm the owners of these fibulae were the Eastern Germanic *foederati* of the Eastern Roman army,<sup>9</sup> and according to S. Uenze and some other authors the owners were Eastern Germanic women, as the fibulae are supposed to be found in women's graves in pairs on the shoulders.<sup>10</sup> This type of crossbow fibulae still possesses the long bow-short foot proportion that is typical of the early fibulae. With the exception of some north European types, this changes from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century on to short bow-long foot proportion.<sup>11</sup>

*Crossbow fibulae of the late scheme* (long foot, short bow) found in Slovenia are two-piece fibulae of the late 5<sup>th</sup> and the early 6<sup>th</sup> century with a firm catch plate or knob bow which were mostly found in hilltop settlements. These fibulae are mostly made of iron (especially those with firm catch plate) and are for that reason often badly preserved. Beside that, they appear to have been less attractive for the researchers, and in Slovenia they have not been discussed in detail so far. Two fibulae from the necropolis V Lajhu in Kranj (graves 112 and 324, *fig. 2*) were included in the synthesis of material of the Romanized settlers by Z. Vinski<sup>12</sup> and one (grave 160, *fig. 3*) also in the systematic research of M. Schulze-Dörrlamm.<sup>13</sup> The authoress gathered crossbow fibulae with firm catch plate and knob bow fibulae, divided them into types, mapped their distribution and established that they can be ascribed to the Germanic population. Within the borders of the Roman Empire she determined two groups of fibulae. The first group is represented by

<sup>9</sup> Pflaum 2000, 117, cat. 96; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 608.

<sup>10</sup> Uenze 1992, 141.

<sup>11</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 669–674.

<sup>12</sup> Vinski 1967, 14–15, 37–41.

<sup>13</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986.

the Spanish and southeastern French types (types Estagel and Duratón) which are ascribed to the Western Goths.<sup>14</sup> The second group is represented by the southeastern Alpine types Invillino, Siscia, Lauriacum, Passau (with firm catch plate) and types Gurina, Desana, Altenerding and Grepault (knob bow).<sup>15</sup>

Both groups are supposed to be used by some of the Germanic peoples (Vandals, Scirii ...), which is in stark contrast to the opinions of some other authors who believed that the above listed fibula types are characteristic for the Romanized population of the southeastern Alps.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.2 Two-piece crossbow fibulae with firm catch plate of the late scheme

### 2.2.1 Type *Invillino*

For the type *Invillino* a narrow spring, short semicircular bow and a long foot with firm catch plate are characteristic. Beside the already mentioned piece from grave 160 of the necropolis V Lajhu in Kranj,<sup>17</sup> we can add to this type three fibulae from the fortified hilltop settlement of Tonovcov grad above Kobarid (*pl. 1: 2,3,4*). They were found in the destruction layers of a large dwelling structure which was destroyed in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. One (*pl. 1: 2*) fibula has an uncommonly longer catch plate, bent to the other side, than in most examples. Fibula (*pl. 1: 3*) probably belongs to the same type, but the end of the foot is slightly bent, so it could also belong to the type *Lauriacum* for which a rolled or bent end of foot or an end-knob is characteristic.

The only silver fibula of this type was found in grave 358 on the necropolis of Pristava near Bled,<sup>18</sup> dated between years 570–600 (*fig. 6: 3*).<sup>19</sup> In Slovenia another iron fibula of type *Invillino* was found on the fortified hilltop settlement of Ajdna above Potoki inside a building on a low terrace near the entrance to the settlement which was destroyed in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century (*fig. 5*).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 692–694, fig. 108.

<sup>15</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, figs. 110, 111.

<sup>16</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 593, fns. 2 and 5; 694, figs. 110, 111.

<sup>17</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, fig. 56: 10,58.

<sup>18</sup> Knific 1983, pl. 25: 6; Knific 2001.

<sup>19</sup> Knific 1983, 162.

<sup>20</sup> Sagadin 2000–2004, 155–156; Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, fig. 7.

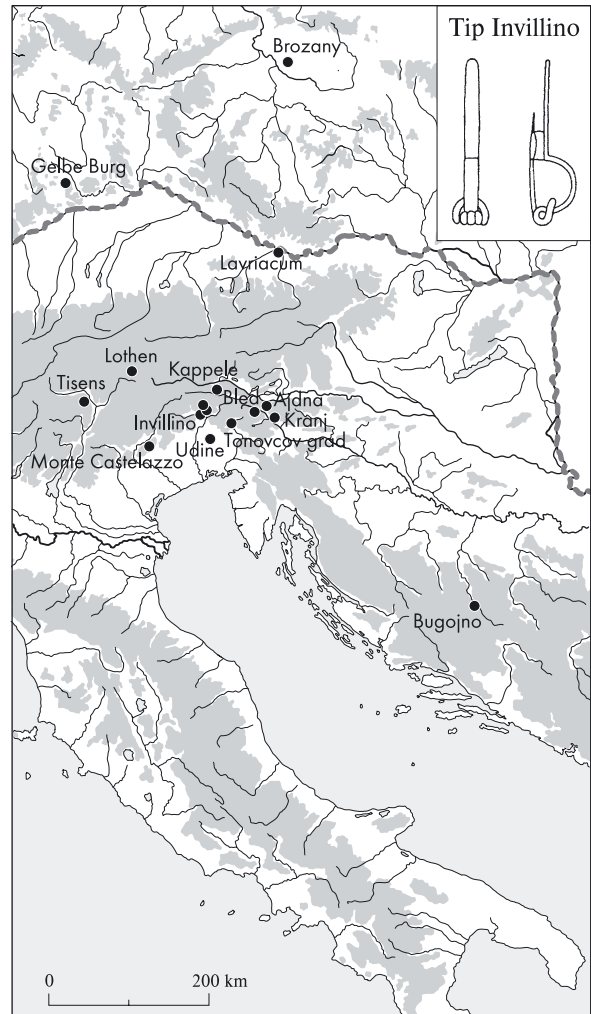


Fig. 4: Distribution of type *Invillino*. Source: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, fig. 57.

Sl. 4: Karta razprostranjenosti tipa *Invillino*. Vir: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 57.



Fig. 5: Ajdna above Potoki (after Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004). Not in scale.

Sl. 5: Ajdna nad Potoki (po Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004). Ni v merilu.

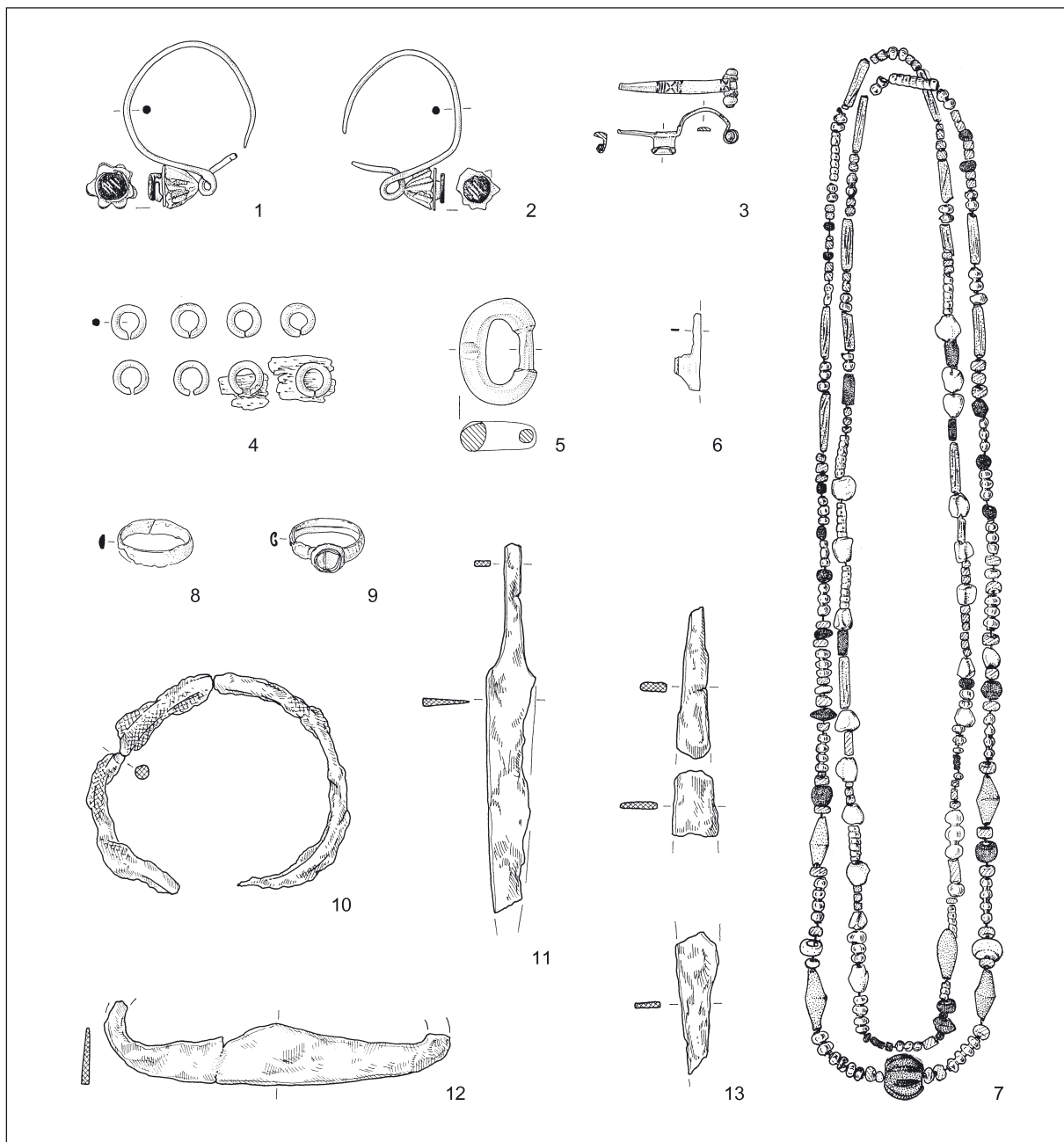


Fig. 6: Bled, Pristava, grave 358 (after Knific 2004). Scale = 1:2.

Sl. 6: Bled, Pristava, grob 358 (po Knific 2004). M. = 1:2.

Three more fibulae of this type were found on the fortified hilltop settlement of Kappele near Jadersdorf in Carinthia (room 2 of the southeastern complex, not stratified). One fibula is made of bronze and two are of iron.<sup>21</sup> An iron fibula was found (surface find) on the hilltop settlement of Monte Castellazo in Valmarena in northern Italy.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 1993, 35–36, pl. 36: 5,7,8.

<sup>22</sup> Gruppo 1997, pl. 1: 3.

One crossbow fibula was found in the area of Roman house A on the Udine castle hill, in layers of the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the early 6<sup>th</sup> century. It is not very well preserved, but according to the basic characteristics it belongs to type Invillino.<sup>23</sup>

The map (fig. 4) points out the southeastern Alpine character of the discussed fibula type.

<sup>23</sup> Buora, Fasano 1994, 178, pl. 1: 21.

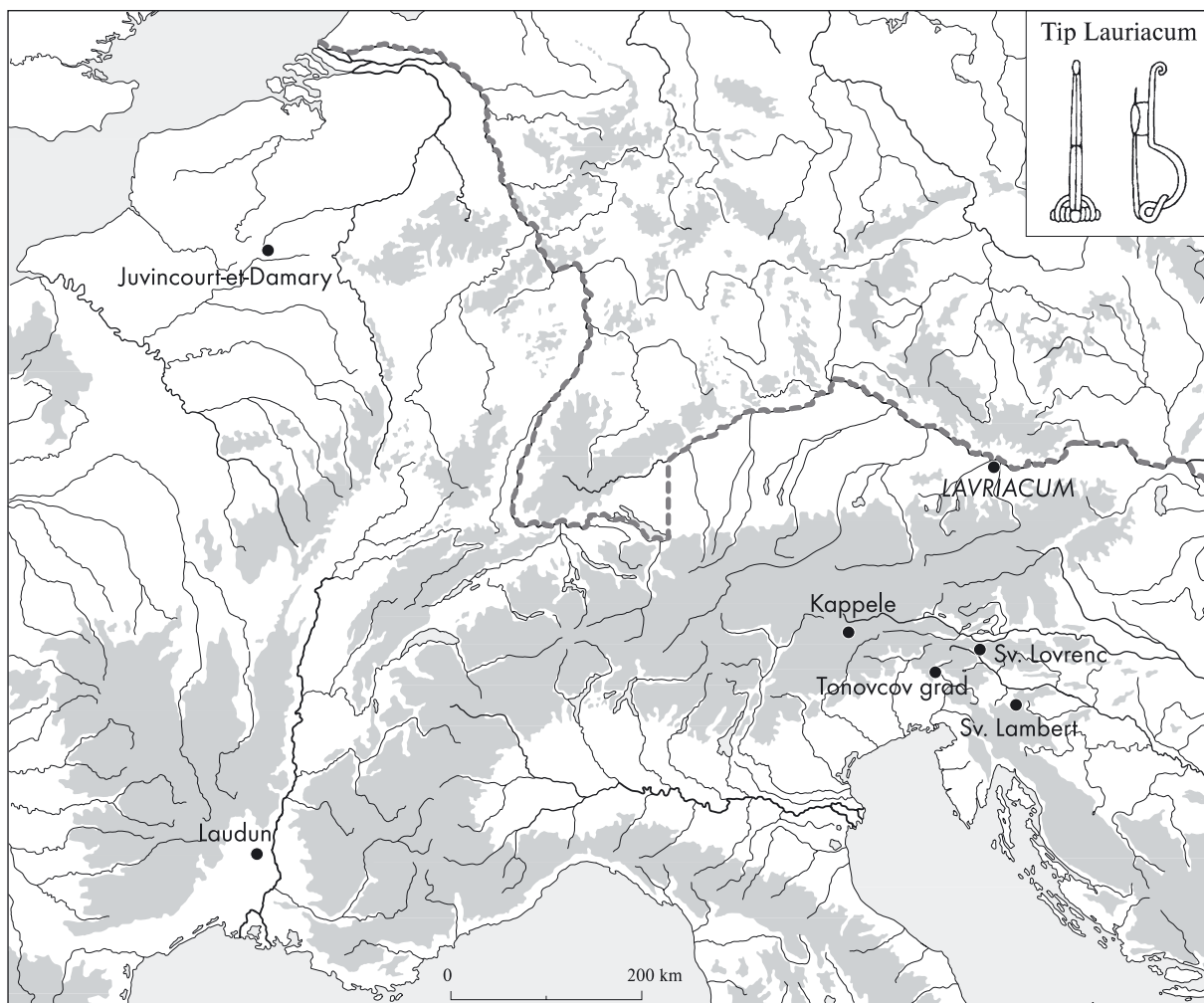


Fig. 7: Distribution of type Lauriacum. Source: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, fig. 60.

Sl. 7: Karta razprostranjenosti tipa Lauriacum. Vir: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 60.

### 2.2.2 Type Lauriacum

To type Lauriacum we can add one fibula (*pl. 1: 5*) from Tonovcov grad (found in humus), which confirms the opinion of M. Schulze-Dörrlamm that this type, according to the shape of the spring-axle loop, is characteristic of the southeastern Alps (*fig. 7*). Beside the find of Lauriacum only two fibulae were found in France at the time of her publication.<sup>24</sup>

Two fibulae of this type were found on Kappele near Jadersdorf (room 2 of the southeastern complex, not stratified)<sup>25</sup> and two more on the hilltop settlements of Sv. Lambert above Pristava near Stična (bronze, *pl. 1: 7*) and Sv. Lovrenc above

Zabreznica (iron, *pl. 1: 6*), both found with metal detectors.<sup>26</sup>

### 2.2.3 Type Siscia

A narrow spring, short bow and a long cone-shaped foot are the characteristics of type Siscia.<sup>27</sup> Two fibulae (*pl. 1: 9,10*) were found in the destruction layers from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century on Tonovcov grad. The foot of the second fibula is poorly preserved but enough to recognize the type.

Iron fibulae of type Siscia were also found on Grobišča above Mihovo<sup>28</sup> (*pl. 1: 8*; isolated find)

<sup>24</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 642–643.

<sup>25</sup> Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 1993, 35–36, pl. 36: 4,6.

<sup>26</sup> Fibulae are unpublished; for permission to publish them I would like to thank T. Knific.

<sup>27</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 635.

<sup>28</sup> Dular 2008, 130, pl. 6: 19.

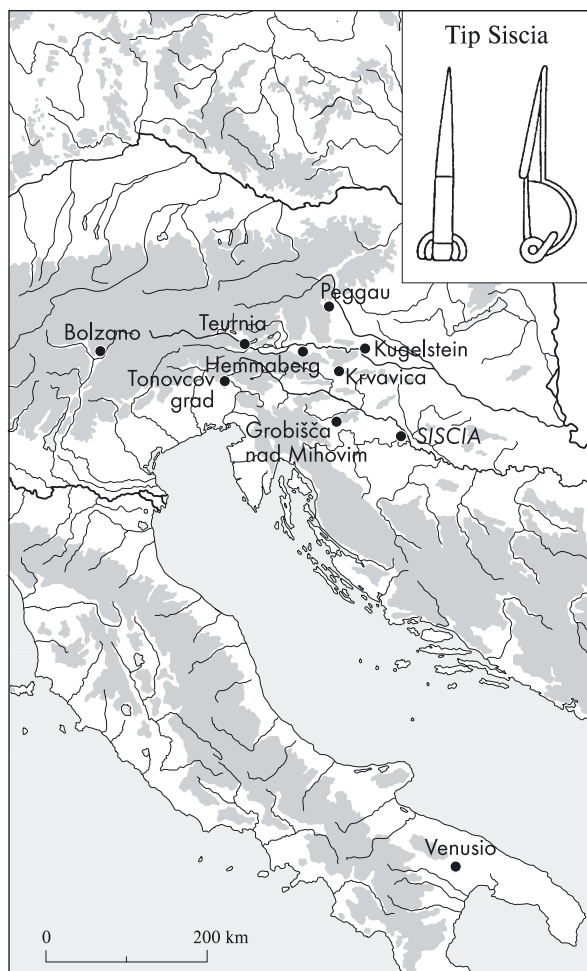


Fig. 8: Distribution of type Siscia. Source: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, fig. 50.

Sl. 8: Karta razprostranjenosti tipa Siscia. Vir: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 50.

and on Kugelstein.<sup>29</sup> Two fibulae were found on the settlement of Hemmaberg in Carinthia; according to the stratigraphic position (layers of ground levelling under the 4<sup>th</sup> church) they are dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup>

This type also proved to be centred in the southeastern Alps (fig. 8).

An iron crossbow fibula was found on the settlement of Krvavica near Vransko (found with a metal detector on the terraces of the settlement, fig. 9).<sup>31</sup> In the publication it is interpreted as an analogy to an Early Migration Period fibula of the early scheme from grave 171 of the Emona necropolis.<sup>32</sup> We believe it belongs to type Siscia as it shows the

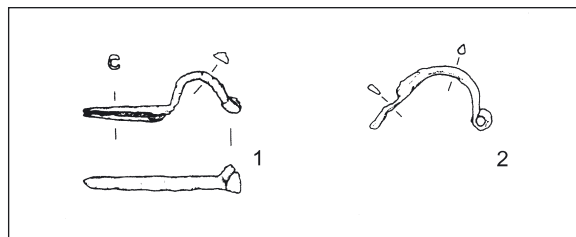


Fig. 9: Krvavica near Vransko (after Krempuš 2000). Scale = 1:3.

Sl. 9: Krvavica pri Vranskem (po Krempuš 2000). M. = 1:3.

typically late short bow and long (cone-shaped) foot. Early Migration Period fibulae, such as the one from Emona, usually show a reversed proportion.

#### 2.2.4 Type Passau

According to the spring construction we can also add type Passau to the southeastern Alpine types of M. Schulze-Dörrlamm. It consists of two fibulae found in Strážnice in Moravia and Passau in Bavaria.<sup>33</sup> The shape of this type is very similar to type Siscia, only the cone-shaped end of foot is turned upwards. Bow and foot of this type are very narrow, similar to type Lauriacum. It has not yet been found in the southeastern Alps.

#### 2.2.5 Germanic types of crossbow fibulae with firm catch plate in the southeastern Alps

Beside two Siscia type fibulae two others were found on the settlement of Hemmaberg. One could not be classified<sup>34</sup> and the other represents type Miltenberg, which appears mainly in the Alamannic area. M. Schulze-Dörrlamm suggests Burgundians or Alamanni as users of this type.<sup>35</sup> Both fibulae are dated according to stratigraphy to the 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century.

A crossbow fibula probably of type Rathewitz was found on Invillino.<sup>36</sup> This type appears in Alamannic and Thuringian regions and is dated between the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the first third

<sup>33</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 637–638.

<sup>34</sup> Ladstätter 2000, pl. 23: 9.

<sup>35</sup> Ladstätter 2000, pl. 23: 8; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 692.

<sup>36</sup> Bierbrauer 1987, pl. 47: 2.

<sup>29</sup> Pichler 1887, pl. on page 108: 6.

<sup>30</sup> Ladstätter 2000, pl. 23: 7; 30: 12.

<sup>31</sup> Krempuš 2000, fig. 4: 25.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, fig. 4: 3.

of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. M. Schulze-Dörrlamm believes it was worn by Thuringians.<sup>37</sup>

In Bressanone/Brixen in south Tyrol a bronze fibula of type Sližany was found. This type appears in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and according to M. Schulze-Dörrlamm belongs to thuringo-alamannic types.<sup>38</sup>

## 2.3 Crossbow knob bow fibulae

### 2.3.1 Type Gurina

A narrow spring, short semicircular bow with a loop for the spring-axle and a long foot with firm catch plate and an end knob are the characteristics of type Gurina. The knobs can be variously shaped; all fibulae are made of bronze. The type appears mainly in the southeastern Alps, but four examples were found in Spain. Type Gurina is dated to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>39</sup> Four examples of this type (*pl. 2: 5–8*) were found on Tonovcov grad. One (*pl. 4: 10*) was

<sup>37</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 615–617, 691–692.

<sup>38</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, fig. 13: 3; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 624–625.

<sup>39</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 663–668.



Fig. 10: Klek on Pokljuka plateau (after Ogrin 2006). Not in scale.

Sl. 10: Planina Klek na Pokljuki (po Ogrin 2006). Ni v merilu.

found on the surface of building no. 1, the rest in the destruction layers.

In Slovenia a fibula of this type was also found near a Late Antique structure on the Klek site, a high mountain pasture on Pokljuka plateau (*fig. 10*).<sup>40</sup> Two fibulae were found in double grave no. 1 of a woman and probably a child on the north Italian necropolis of S. Cristina di Lozio (one fibula is lost). Other grave goods were one bird fibula, glass paste beads and two pairs of polyhedron

<sup>40</sup> Ogrin 2006, 103–104, fig. 7.



Fig. 11: Distribution of type Gurina. Source: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, fig. 89.

Sl. 11: Karta razprostranjenosti tipa Gurina. Vir: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 89.



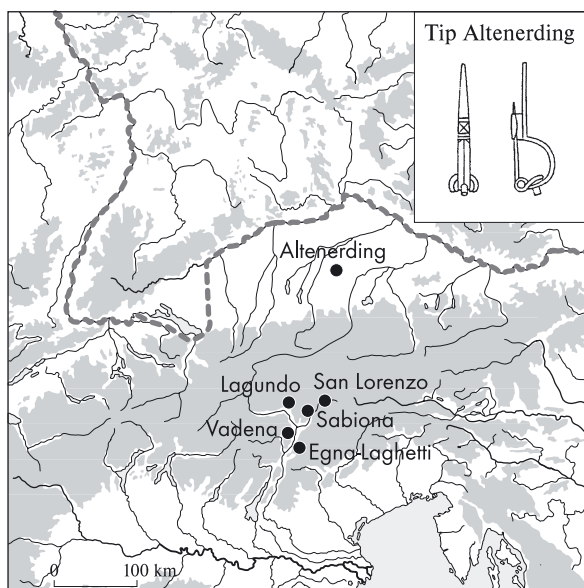


Fig. 12: Distribution of type Altenerding. Source: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, fig. 85.

Sl. 12: Karta razprostranjenosti tipa Altenerding. Vir: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 85.

earrings.<sup>41</sup> Another fibula of type Gurina was found in Val Pusteria/Pustertal (precise location unknown) in south Tyrol.<sup>42</sup>

To the two Spanish sites, Cerro de San Juan and Valdíos de Portezuelo, mentioned by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm,<sup>43</sup> we can add two fibulae from Pazo de Antas de Ulla (individual find) and La Cruz del Negra (no location data).<sup>44</sup> Instead of an end-knob, the example from La Cruz del Negra possesses only a slightly widened foot, so the classification as type Gurina is perhaps uncertain.

Like the former types, type Gurina shows a distinctive concentration in the southeastern Alps (fig. 11), but it also appears on the Iberian Peninsula.

### 2.3.2 Type Altenerding

Characteristic for fibulae of type Altenerding are a short semicircular bow and a long pointed foot. They were found in south Tyrol in Egna-Laghetti/Neumarkt-Laag, on Sabiona/Säben and in San Lorenzo under Burgkofel.<sup>45</sup>

This type appears especially along the river Adige (fig. 12) and has not yet been found in Slovenia.

### 2.3.3 Type Desana

Fibulae of type Desana have a short massive bow and a very long catch plate. One was found in the supposedly East Gothic grave no. 11 with a set of belt fittings on the necropolis of Globasnitz in Austria, dated between years 493–536.<sup>46</sup> Another two fibulae of this type, one silver and one iron and damascened, were found on the settlement of Castelvecchio (Altenburg) near Caldaro.<sup>47</sup> An iron fibula with a bronze knob on the bow was found as a surface find on the settlement of Monte Castelazzo in Valmarena.<sup>48</sup>

Two fibulae were found on the Iberian peninsula, in Cerro de San Juan (isolated find) and in Falperra in Portugal (no location data).<sup>49</sup>

Type Desana is spread over a wider area (fig. 13), also in Spain and Portugal, similar to type Gurina. It has not yet been found in Slovenia.

### 2.3.4 Type Grepault

According to the spring construction, we can also add type Grepault to the southeastern Alpine types of M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, even though only one fibula was found in the discussed territory, in Val Pusteria, and two in Grepault and Martigny in France.<sup>50</sup> The shape of this type is entirely similar to type Gurina, only the end of the foot is turned upwards. It has not yet been found in Slovenia.

## 2.4 Unclassified fibulae

More fragments of crossbow and bow knob fibulae were found, but they are too fragmentary to be classified, especially as some types differ in only a few particulars.

Four fragments were found on Tonovcov grad (pl. 2: 1–4). They were found in destruction layers from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>41</sup> Riemer 2000, 329, pl. 40: 1.

<sup>42</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, fig. 14: 4.

<sup>43</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, fig. 88: 4,5.

<sup>44</sup> Gonzáles 1989, cat. 40, 43.

<sup>45</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, fig. 14: 2,6,7.

<sup>46</sup> Glaser 2002, pl. 4.

<sup>47</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, fig. 15.

<sup>48</sup> Gruppo 1997, pl. 1: 4.

<sup>49</sup> Gonzáles 1989, cat. 35, 44.

<sup>50</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 667–668.

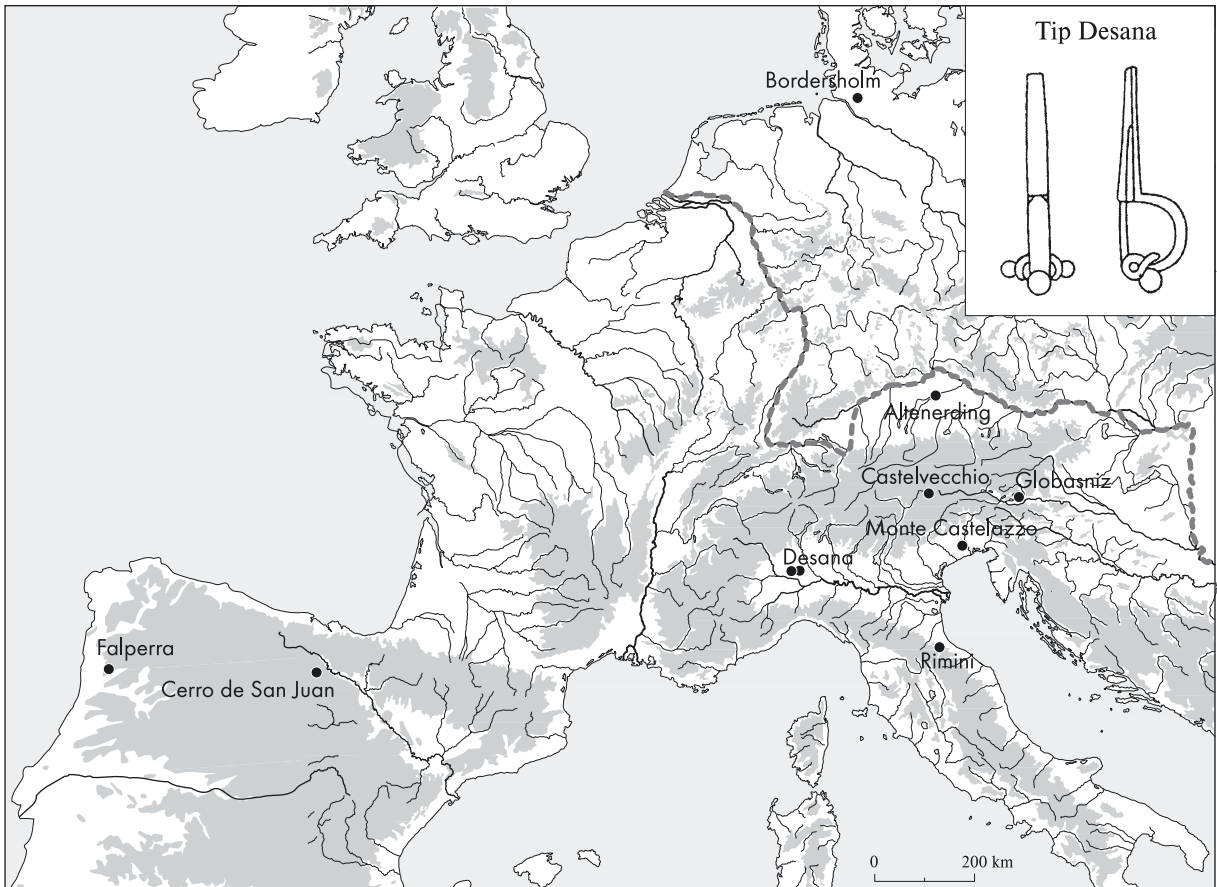


Fig. 13: Distribution of type Desana. Source: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, fig. 80.

Sl. 13: Karta razprostranjenosti tipa Desana. Vir: Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 80.

A part of an iron spring and bow of a fibula from Tonovcov grad (found in humus) belongs to a knob bow fibula (*pl. 2: 9*). It differs from other knob bow fibulae, which always have a cast loop for the axle of the spring. The loop of the fibula from Tonovcov grad is a part of the bow which reaches around the axle from below and up, as is characteristic of the crossbow fibulae of types Siscia, Passau, Invillino and of some examples of types Prague and Viminacium, and appears on fibulae in *Moesia I and II, Dacia, Dalmatia* and *Noricum*.<sup>51</sup> This fragment could not be classified.

In Hrušica near Podkraj (*fig. 14*) a fragmented iron crossbow fibula with a firm catch plate was found. V. Pflaum believes it could belong to type Invillino.<sup>52</sup>

On Monte Castelazzo in Valmarena a part of the bow of a knob bow fibula and a fibula foot were found.<sup>53</sup> On Castelfelder a fibula foot with

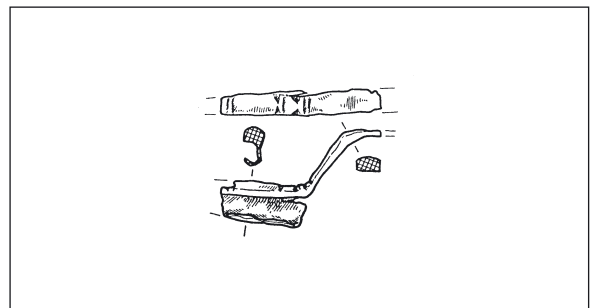


Fig. 14: Hrušica near Podkraj (after Pflaum 2000). Scale = 1:2.

Sl. 14: Hrušica pri Podkraju (po Pflaum 2000). M. = 1:2.

part of the bow was found and on Sabiona/Säben a whole fibula with an unusually long catch plate – which looks similar to the fibulae of the early scheme – was found.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 675.

<sup>52</sup> Pflaum 2000, 118, cat. 80.

<sup>53</sup> Gruppo 1997, pl. 1: 5,6.

<sup>54</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, fig. 13: 6,4.

## 2.5 Conclusion

The group of crossbow fibulae types Invillino, Lauriacum, Siscia and Passau and knob bow fibulae types Gurina, Desana, Altenerding and Grepault (types Passau and Grepault have not yet been found in Slovenia) belonged to some of the Germanic peoples in the southeastern Alpine region (Vandals, Skiri ...), according to Schulze-Dörrlamm. She opposes the opinions of Werner and Bierbrauer that they belonged to the Romanized population, but she also refuses the possibility that they were used by the Eastern Goths.<sup>55</sup>

Considering the concentration of the discussed fibulae in the settlements of the Romanized population – and not in contexts which could be linked to Germanic people – these statements can be seriously questioned. Arguments in favour of the Roman theory are above all related to the area where they appear (*figs. 4,7,8, 11–13*), which is the same as with the typical fibulae of the Romanized population<sup>56</sup> and the fact that the majority of crossbow fibulae were found in settlements and not in necropolises, which is also typical for the Romanized fibula types. If they do appear in graves, it is usually one fibula per grave (male and female graves from Venusio,<sup>57</sup> Pristava<sup>58</sup> and Globasnitz<sup>59</sup>), which is also characteristic of the costume of the Romanized inhabitants.

Crossbow fibulae do not appear on sites where Germanic presence is confirmed, such as the hill-top settlements in southeastern Slovenia where a concentration of finds we associate with Eastern Goths was found,<sup>60</sup> or the settlement of Rifnik near Šentjur and Kranj (one exception is grave 160 with Lombard characteristics). Also they do not appear in contexts together with Germanic material.

A possible interpretation is also that they were worn by the Eastern Goths, the same as types Estagel and Duratón were worn by Western Goths in Spain and in France.<sup>61</sup> It is perfectly possible that both groups of Goths also wore certain types of crossbow fibulae beside the bow fibulae typical of their costume. We find a very similar situation in the cultures of Čerňahovo-Sîntana de Mureş

where bow and crossbow fibulae also co-existed.<sup>62</sup> Type Gurina could support this theory, as it is the only southeastern Alpine type which is sometimes found in graves worn on both shoulders, which is not typical for the Roman costume<sup>63</sup> (graves from Pula and Somma Prada). Similar can be said for some examples of type Desana, one found in the male grave 11 from Globasnitz with (according to certain authors) an Eastern Gothic belt set and two from the Desana hoard.<sup>64</sup> Fibulae of this type are often damascened, which is a technique more often ascribed to the Germanic than Romanized population (examples from Falperra, Altenerding<sup>65</sup> and Calstelvecchio).

Some examples of types Gurina and Desana were found in Spain and Portugal (but not in France)<sup>66</sup> and are supposed to belong to the Western Goths, the same as types Estagel and Duratón. Authors dealing with the Western Goths agree with M. Schulze-Dörrlamm in that the crossbow fibulae were worn by them and not by the Romanized population.<sup>67</sup> This is an additional argument for the theory that these two types were more often used by the Germanic people than by the Romans. N. Gonzáles recognized one of the fibulae from Conimbriga, Portugal, as type Siscia, probably because of the shape of the foot and catch plate. But the fibula's spring-axle loop is cast attached to the bow, as appears on all Spanish crossbow fibula types.<sup>68</sup> One of the characteristics of type Siscia and other southeastern Alpine types is that the spring-axle is held by the bow which is rolled around it and not by cast loop. So the Conimbriga fibula cannot belong to the southeastern Alpine type, but the mistake is not surprising. Crossbow and knob bow fibulae show several variations within individual types. It could be said that they show no signs of serial manufacture, quite the contrary, so careful observation of the details is important.

It is obvious that these objects were worn by both men and women. Perhaps it can also be proved that both crossbow and knob bow fibulae were used by Germanic and Roman populations alike. It does

<sup>55</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 694–697.

<sup>56</sup> Bierbrauer 2000, *figs. 11, 12*.

<sup>57</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, *fig. 51*.

<sup>58</sup> Knific 1983, *pl. 25: 6*; Knific 2001.

<sup>59</sup> Glaser 2002, *pl. 4*.

<sup>60</sup> Ciglencečki 2006.

<sup>61</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 692–694.

<sup>62</sup> Bierbrauer 1994, *figs. 22, 26a*.

<sup>63</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 665–666; Von Rummel 2007, 404–405.

<sup>64</sup> Bierbrauer 1975, *pl. 8: 1,2*.

<sup>65</sup> Sage 1984, *pl. 204: 8*.

<sup>66</sup> Bierbrauer 1997, *pl. 7, 8*.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. Gonzáles 1989; Bierbrauer 1997, 167; Sasse 1997, 38–39; Flörchinger 1998, 30.

<sup>68</sup> Gonzáles 1989, *cat. 52*.

not often happen that fibulae, as a part of costume, would be hard to determine in that particular point, but the assemblage of the southeastern Alpine types shows precisely that. Similar difficulties with recognizing the users also appeared when dealing with the Balkan types of fibulae with inverted foot of the 6<sup>th</sup> century (see below).

### 3. BALKAN CROSSBOW FIBULAE WITH INVERTED FOOT OF THE LATE SCHEME

Some Balkan crossbow fibulae with inverted foot of the late scheme (short bow, long foot) have been found in Slovenia. For these artefacts the best analogies can be found in numerous finds from the Lower Danubian forts of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, but the typology of those fibulae is incomplete. Fibulae with inverted foot were dealt with by Đ. Janković,<sup>69</sup> D. Teodor<sup>70</sup> and S. Uenze. We shall be using the typology of S. Uenze which is based on the work of C. Ambroz.<sup>71</sup> The main criterion for type determination she used was the decoration of either foot or bow of the fibula. Her groups are large and the objects within them vary greatly in details. The common characteristic is the spring construction. This seems for now to be the single deciding criterion, and a more precise typological scheme remains a *desideratum*.

#### 3.1 Small bronze fibulae with a double loop

Four Slovenian fibulae belong to the large group of small (3.5–5cm) bronze fibulae with a double loop on the bow (*Kleine Bronzefibeln mit Bügelschlaufe*).<sup>72</sup> The first one was most probably found during the early excavations of the necropolis V Lajhu in Kranj between the years 1897–1900 and was later sold to Vienna (*fig. 15*). In the publication it is listed among the “*Objects from the Vienna museum for which we have no information on where they were found. They could belong to the Szombathy graves but that can no longer be determined.*”<sup>73</sup>

The second fibula was found in the vicinity of Ljubljana (*pl. 2: 11*).<sup>74</sup> The third one was found with



*Fig. 15:* Kranj, V Lajhu, isolated find. Photo: Tomaž Lauko © NHM Wien. Not in scale.

*Sl. 15:* Kranj, V Lajhu, posamična najdba. Foto: Tomaž Lauko © NHM Wien. Ni v merilu.

a metal detector near tower no. 4 on Korinjski hrib above Veliki Korinj (*pl. 2: 12*),<sup>75</sup> and the fourth one is only a badly preserved fragment of a bow found outside building no. 1 on Tonovcov grad (*pl. 2: 10*).<sup>76</sup> The last two fibulae of which only fragments of bows remain could also belong to another Danubian type, *Bronzefibeln mit Spiralhaken*,<sup>77</sup> bronze fibulae with a hook on the bow. We can no longer determine that, but it is of little consequence as both types appear simultaneously and in almost the same area.

The main difference between them is that the bow of the first type is lengthened to form the spring-axle loop which is then rolled into an additional loop, while on the spring-axle loop of the second type a small hook is attached separately.

This fibula type appears along the Danube and Sava rivers and is dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>78</sup>

S. Uenze suggests fibulae with a decorated bow may be younger than those with a decorated foot.

#### 3.2 Western Balkan or Dalmatian fibulae

Three fibulae from Slovenian sites belong to the so called *western Balkan or Dalmatian* type.

Their characteristic is a cast spring-axle loop with a knob and they are often plated with a thin

<sup>69</sup> Janković 1981, 168–17.

<sup>70</sup> Teodor 1988.

<sup>71</sup> Ambroz 1966.

<sup>72</sup> Uenze 1992, 146–149.

<sup>73</sup> Stare 1980, 83, pl. 135: 7; Vinski 1967, pl. 32: 14.

<sup>74</sup> Karo 2001.

<sup>75</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>76</sup> Since only a fragment is preserved the classification of this fibula is uncertain. It could also belong to type *Jezerine*.

<sup>77</sup> Uenze 1992, 150–151.

<sup>78</sup> Uenze 1992, 148.

sheet of silver or gold foil.<sup>79</sup> Two such fibulae were found in the Kranj necropolis V Lajhu (*fig. 2*) and one as an isolated find on Korinjski hrib (*pl. 2: 13*).<sup>80</sup>

First fibula was found in grave 324 (grave I according to original excavation documentation by J. Žmavc, *fig. 2: 2*) on the necropolis V Lajhu in Kranj.<sup>81</sup> In the monograph it is shown as already badly preserved, but a better drawing can be seen in the earlier publications by Žmavc and Vinski.<sup>82</sup> It represents one of the iron crossbow fibulae with a short bow and a long inverted foot, but no details can be determined. It lay in the grave together with some amber and glass beads and the remains of a comb.<sup>83</sup>

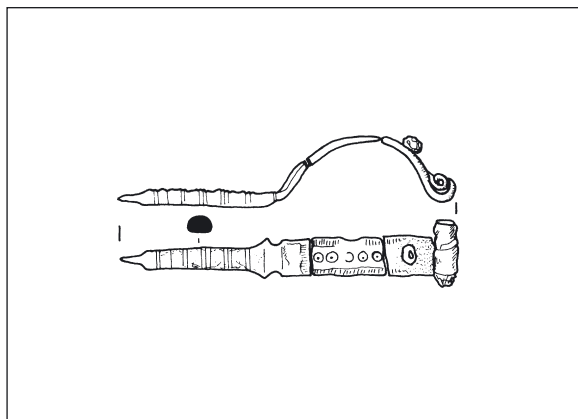
The second fibula was found in grave 112 of the same necropolis (*fig. 2: 1*).<sup>84</sup> It is made of iron and plated with bronze foil, decorated with small circles. It lay in the grave together with beads, two S-fibulae (one missing now), weaving knife?, knife, small silver plates of leather bands, belt buckle, silver buckle and remains of iron objects.

The Kranj fibulae with inverted foot were classified by Uenze as type Viminacium.<sup>85</sup> We have to be careful not to mistake this type for the one of the same name by Schulze-Dörrlamm, which is a type of fibulae with firm catch plate.

The third fibula from Korinjski hrib is made of bronze and decorated with circles and dots; some coils of the inverted foot are preserved (*pl. 2: 13*).

These fibulae appear in the western Balkans and are dated to the whole of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>86</sup>

On the fortified hilltop settlement of Rifnik above Šentjur (*fig. 16*) a bronze fibula with inverted foot and knob bow was found.<sup>87</sup> This fibula represents a problem, as it does not seem to belong to any known type. The spring-axle of the fibula is held by the bow which reaches from below and up. S. Uenze lists fibulae with a similar construction, but all of them also possess a small hook on the loop (*Spiralhaken*). The Rifnik fibula has no hook and can thus not be ascribed to any group by Uenze.



*Fig. 16:* Rifnik above Šentjur (after Bolta 1981). Scale 1:2.  
*Sl. 16:* Rifnik nad Šentjurjem (po Bolta 1981). M. = 1:2.

The closest analogies can be found in Voltago in Northern Italy, mentioned by Vinski.<sup>88</sup> Some of them have a similar ribbed foot, circle-decorated bow and a knob bow. They differ from the Rifnik fibula in the spring-axle loop construction which is cast attached to the bow. We could presume that the Rifnik fibula is a local imitation of a fibula with inverted foot.

A fibula with the same spring construction as the one from Rifnik was found on Kappele near Jadersdorf.<sup>89</sup> The bow and foot of this fibula are different but they both have a knob on the bow. The fibula from Kappele is dated to the Early Migration period in the publication, but considering the lengths of the bow and foot, we believe it belongs to the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

### 3.3 Conclusion

Since the Danubian types of fibulae with inverted foot of the late scheme appear during the whole 6<sup>th</sup> century, a more precise dating is not possible at the moment. Also the explanation of who used them seems impossible.<sup>90</sup> Apparently their use was associated with the *limes*, but more we cannot say. It is interesting that late examples of these types persisted in the centres of the Romanized population within the Voltago (Northern Italy) and Koman (Albania)<sup>91</sup> areas, even in Northern Italy where these types never reached in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Also

<sup>79</sup> Uenze 1992, 151.

<sup>80</sup> Karo 1999, 24, pl. 1: 2.

<sup>81</sup> Žmavc 1904, 270, fig. 235; Stare 1980, pl. 94: 5.

<sup>82</sup> Vinski 1967, pl. 8: 5a,b.

<sup>83</sup> Žmavc 1904, 270.

<sup>84</sup> Šmid 1907, 68: grave 112; Stare 1980, pl. 41: 7; Knific 2005, fig. 8: grave 112: 3.

<sup>85</sup> Uenze 1992, 151–152.

<sup>86</sup> Uenze 1992, 152, fig. 6.

<sup>87</sup> Bolta 1981, pl. 27: 55; Bitenc 2001b.

<sup>88</sup> Vinski 1967, pl. 35: 3–5.

<sup>89</sup> Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 1993, pl. 37: 1.

<sup>90</sup> Uenze 1992, 159.

<sup>91</sup> Uenze 1992, fig. 5: 14,15.

the comparative likeness of fibulae from Ljubljana (and Korinjski hrib, tower no. 4) and from Koman culture, and the ones from Rifnik and Voltago, is very interesting. Perhaps the Slovene examples represent the objects of the Romanized population in the late 6<sup>th</sup> and even early 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The type with a fake inverted foot (*Scheinumwicklung*)<sup>92</sup> has not yet been found in Slovenia. This type is more closely connected to the Danube Byzantine forts and thus to the Byzantine army.

#### 4. ADDENDUM

As far as the distribution of the discussed fibula types is concerned, the area between the southeastern Alps and the Lower Danube is less well researched. Some crossbow fibulae have been found above all on Bosnian and Serbian necropolises, but we would like to point out that there is a lot of confusion in the publications.

Remains of iron crossbow fibulae have been found in graves in Rakovčani, Mihajlevići and Korita, but the interpretations of them differ from publication to publication. It is a fact that the fibulae are strongly corroded and the drawings are not very precise.

In Korita, one Western Balkan or Dalmatian fibula with inverted foot was found in grave 10, and three iron crossbow fibulae with no signs of catch plates were found in graves 49, 60 and 68.<sup>93</sup> This can be due to the bad state of preservation, but it could also mean that the fibulae are of the type with inverted foot. The statement of the author, that these are fibulae with hinge construction,<sup>94</sup> is surely wrong, but the type cannot be determined.

M. Schulze-Dörrlamm mentions one fibula on each shoulder of the skeleton in female grave 48,<sup>95</sup> and two fibulae in the same position were also found in male grave 7.<sup>96</sup> The skull from grave 7 is artificially deformed and, considering the number and position of the fibulae, the grave could be female. Anthropological analyses were not done. Fibula type can not be determined due to the bad state of preservation. Only the fibulae from grave 48 can be recognized as crossbow fibulae with firm catch plate. The author N. Miletić compares the

fibulae with type Invillino,<sup>97</sup> but we believe they are too corroded for comparison. S. Uenze lists at least one fibula from grave 48 to her type with firm catch plate;<sup>98</sup> that is the type which Schulze-Dörrlamm names type Viminacium.<sup>99</sup> According to the author, three more fragments of crossbow fibulae were found in male graves 4, 53 and 56 in Rakovčani, but the types cannot be defined.<sup>100</sup>

N. Miletić also mentions finds of crossbow fibulae from other sites, Mogorjelo, Čipuljići and Mihajlevići in Bosnia, one of type Viminacium (after Schulze-Dörrlamm) from Jakovo-Kormadin in Serbia and some examples from Gepidic sites in Hungary.<sup>101</sup>

In the publication of Mihajlevići, Miletić wrote that the iron crossbow fibula from grave 29 has an inverted foot (*sa povijenom nogom*).<sup>102</sup> We must take her word for it as the photograph is not clear.<sup>103</sup> In the later publication of the Rakovčani necropolis she compared the same fibula to type Invillino, which is a type with a firm catch plate (see above). S. Uenze mentions this same fibula as belonging to her group with inverted foot and without loop on the bow (*Eisenfibel ohne Bügelschlaufe*).<sup>104</sup>

On several of the necropolises in *Viminacium* (Kostolac, Serbia), fibulae of type Viminacium (both types, after Schulze-Dörrlamm and Uenze), types Prague and Ramersdorf after Schulze-Dörrlamm, type Salona after Uenze and other Balkan types were found.<sup>105</sup>

Regarding the state of publication it is impossible to say even whether they have a firm catch plate or inverted foot, but we wished to stress the fact that crossbow fibulae do appear also in the area between the southeastern Alps and the Lower Danube in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 5. CONCLUSION

After adding to the known diffusion of the southeastern Alpine crossbow fibulae we can conclude that the majority of the discussed types represent

<sup>92</sup> Uenze 1992, 154–158.

<sup>93</sup> Miletić 1979, pl. I: 10; III: 49; 68; IV: 60.

<sup>94</sup> Miletić 1979, 160.

<sup>95</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 706.

<sup>96</sup> Miletić 1970, 121, pl. 2: 7.

<sup>97</sup> Miletić 1970, 141.

<sup>98</sup> Uenze 1992, 141.

<sup>99</sup> Uenze 1992, 141.

<sup>100</sup> Miletić 1970, 120, 126.

<sup>101</sup> Miletić 1970, 140–141.

<sup>102</sup> Miletić 1956, 30.

<sup>103</sup> Miletić 1956, pl. 8: fig. 3.

<sup>104</sup> Uenze 1992, 149–150.

<sup>105</sup> Zotović 1980; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 17–20.

a part of costume of the Romanized population of the southeastern Alps. We confirmed the fact that the discussed types distinctly appear in settlements of the Romanized population and not on sites with more apparent Germanic presence. This can be confirmed for types Invillino, Lauriacum, Siscia and Altenerding. It is less certain for types Gurina and especially Desana. These two types are sometimes found in potentially Germanic contexts. It seems important to allow for the possibility that the wide spectrum of these objects was used by both populations.

The discussed fibula types appear in the late 5<sup>th</sup> and the early 6<sup>th</sup> century and are perhaps mutually exclusive with the second group of fibulae, the Balkan fibulae with inverted foot. The first group of crossbow fibulae with firm catch plate or knob bow are of simple make and were probably locally produced. The second Balkan group are of higher quality and were probably made in Byzantine workshops. They represent the rather scarce signs of Byzantine presence in Slovenia, which we associate with the renewal of Byzantine power after the Gothic wars. The main analogies are found in Byzantine forts along the Danube, but who exactly used them in the 6<sup>th</sup> century remains unknown. Of special interest are the fibulae that we can compare with the Romanized enclaves in Albania and Northern Italy. It seems that some pieces were made locally and even as late as the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

It seems that the crossbow fibulae in the southeastern Alps passed over to the use of the Romanized population in the Late Antiquity, and we can probably say the same for the Balkan fibulae with

inverted foot. The only other group of crossbow fibulae within the Empire belonged to the Western Goths and appears in well defined contexts, mostly in graves.

It is difficult to say why the Romanized population started using this fibula type in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, even more difficult to say from whom the idea came. Imitating Germanic fibulae was not new to them, as we can see in numerous imitations of bow fibulae in the settlements in the southeastern Alps.<sup>106</sup> Perhaps imitating crossbow fibulae was a part of the same phenomenon. Crossbow fibulae are distinctly useful, not aesthetic, objects which were used by men and women alike. It appears this trend changed in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when perhaps other types became fashionable. In any case, at least most of the crossbow fibulae with firm catch plate represented one of the typical Romanized fibulae types in the area discussed. They are joined by equal-arm fibulae,<sup>107</sup> Romanized bow fibulae (types Trient, Voltago, Lenzumo ...) <sup>108</sup> and fibulae in the shape of the Greek cross,<sup>109</sup> all of which appear precisely in the southeastern Alps.

<sup>106</sup> Bierbrauer 1992; Knific 2004, fig. 7.

<sup>107</sup> Hübener 1972, 418; Thörle 2001, 93–96, Gruppe III A, B in Gruppe V B – Type Voltago; in Slovenia also Tonovcov grad (Milavec 2008, pl. 40: 2), Gradec near Logje (Osmuk 2001), Sv. Lovrenc above Bašelj (Josipovič 1982, 181, fig. 48: 1), western Slovenia (Bitenc 2001a).

<sup>108</sup> Bierbrauer 1992a.

<sup>109</sup> Bierbrauer 1992, 2; id. 2000, fig. 12; Cipot 2003, fig. 13.

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## Samostrelne fibule 5. in 6. stoletja na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru

### 1. UVOD

Izraz samostrelna fibula označuje fibule, ki so v tlorisu podobne samostrelu. Njihova skupna značilnost je železna peresovina, ki ustvarja ovoje okrog osi peresovine od loka fibule navzven, preide v polkrožno tetivo pod (redko nad) lokom, se na drugi strani loka ponovno ovija okrog osi ter nato podaljša v iglo fibule.

Glede na obliko noge se delijo na tiste s trdnim (čvrstim) nosilcem igle in na tiste z nazaj zavito nogo, obe obliki pa sta lahko enodelni (izdelani iz enega kosa) ali dvodelni (telo fibule in peresovina z iglo sta izdelana posebej).

Njihovi začetki segajo v prva stoletja našega štetja v srednji in vzhodni Evropi. Fibule z nazaj zavito nogo so se razvile v 1. stoletju severno od Črnega morja, fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle pa konec 2. in začetek 3. stoletja v srednjem Podonavju in na območju kulture Przeworsk. Obe obliki sta se v sledečih stoletjih razvijali in spreminjali ter bili široko razprostranjeni v Germaniji in Barbariku.<sup>1</sup>

Posamezni primerki samostrelnih fibul obeh oblik so konec 4. stoletja prestopili tudi meje rimskega cesarstva, kjer jih povezujemo s prisotnostjo germanskih najemnikov v poznorimski vojski.<sup>2</sup>

V drugi polovici 5. in v 6. stoletju najdemo samostrelne fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle na prostoru bivšega zahodnega

dela cesarstva, v Germaniji in Barbariku, fibule z nazaj zavito nogo pa v spodnjem Podonavju in na Balkanu.<sup>3</sup>

V pričujočem članku nas zanimajo predvsem dvodelne oblike s trdnim nosilcem igle, ki se v drugi polovici 5. in prvi polovici 6. stoletja pojavljajo v zahodnem delu imperija oz. ožje na prostoru jugovzhodnih Alp.

Samostrelno peresovino imajo tudi fibule z gumbom na loku, ki so v 4. in 5. stoletju značilne predvsem za Germanijo in Barbarik. Okrog leta 500 se na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru pojavijo fibule, oblikovno povsem podobne tistim s trdnim nosilcem igle, le da ohranijo značilne gumbe na loku, osi peresovine in nogi.<sup>4</sup>

Obe vrsti fibul, z gumbom in brez, sta v preteklem obdobju sprožili diskusije o etnični pripadnosti nosilcev, ki se še niso povsem zaključile. Nekateri raziskovalci, predvsem J. Werner in V. Bierbrauer, so zagovarjali njuno pripadnost staroselskemu prebivalstvu jugovzhodnih Alp.<sup>5</sup> M. Schulze-Dörrlamm je v odgovor tej tezi zbrala dvodelne fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle in fibule z gumbom na loku 5. in 6. stoletja v celi Evropi ter ugotovila, da vse lahko pripisujemo Germanom, enako kot v prvih štirih stoletjih.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Janković 1981, 168–172; Teodor 1988; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986; Uenze 1992, 141–159.

<sup>4</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 657–669; Voss 1998, 276.

<sup>5</sup> Werner 1958, Bierbrauer 1985.

<sup>6</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986.

<sup>1</sup> Ioniță 1998, 232–233; Schulze 1977, 167–168.

<sup>2</sup> Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 387.

Na tem mestu bomo predstavili samostrelne fibule s trdnim nosilcem noge in z gumbom na loku v Sloveniji, dopolnili sliko stanja na prostoru jugovzhodnih Alp ter skušali s argumenti dokazati staroselsko pripadnost večine teh predmetov. Poleg tega želimo opozoriti na redke najdbe balkanskih samostrelnih fibul z nazaj zavito nogo 6. stoletja, ki odsevajo sicer slabše opazno bizantinsko prisotnost na naših tleh.

## 2. SAMOSTRELNE FIBULE S TRDNIM NOSILCEM IGLE IN SAMOSTRELNE FIBULE Z GUMBOM NA LOKU

### 2.1 Razvoj

*Samostrelne fibule zgodnje sheme* (dolg lok, kratka noga) s trdnim nosilcem igle ali z gumbom na loku s konca 4. in začetka 5. stoletja v Sloveniji so že bile deležne obravnave. Prepoznani so bili različni tipi in različna izvorna območja, predvsem svebsko srednje Podonavje (Slovaška, Moravska) in prostor kultur Černjahovo in Sîntana de Mureș (Romunija, Moldavija, Ukrajina). Tovrstne najdbe povezuje s prisotnostjo germanskih najemnikov in ne sprožajo interpretacijskih dilem.<sup>7</sup>

V vmesno obdobje med samostrelnimi fibulami zgodnje in pozne sheme spada dvodelna fibula tipa Viminacium po M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, ki je bila kot najzahodnejša najdba najdena na Limberku pri Veliki Račni (*t. I: 1*).<sup>8</sup> Za ta tip je značilna kratka noga z nosilcem igle enako dolgim kot noga in zavihan, zvit ali kroglast zaključek noge. Razprostranjen je predvsem na Balkanu, ob donavskem limesu in v zaledju (*sl. I*), datiran pa bolj v drugo polovico 5., tudi v začetek 6. stoletja. Po mnenju M. Schulze-Dörrlamm so bili nosilci teh fibul vzhodnogermanski najemniki v vzhodnorimski vojski,<sup>9</sup> po mnenju S. Uenze in še nekaterih avtorjev pa vzhodnogermanske ženske. Fibule naj bi bile namreč najdene v ženskih grobovih po dve na ramenih.<sup>10</sup> Ta tip samostrelnih fibul še kaže razmerje dolg lok – kratka noga, ki je značilno za fibule zgodnje sheme. Razen pri nekaterih severnoevropskih tipih se to pri samostrelnih fibulah pozne sheme od druge polovice 5. stoletja dalje spremeni v razmerje kratak lok – dolga noga.<sup>11</sup>

*Samostrelne fibule pozne sheme* (dolga noga, kratak lok), najdene v Sloveniji, so dvodelne fibule s konca 5. in začetka 6. stoletja s trdnim nosilcem igle ali z gumbom na loku, ki so bile večinoma najdene v višinskih naselbinah. Te fibule so pogosto železne (predvsem tiste s trdnim nosilcem igle) in so zato slabo ohranjene, poleg tega so bile za raziskovalce očitno manj privlačne. V Sloveniji se z njimi zaenkrat nihče ni podrobneje ukvarjal. Do sedaj so bile objavljene le tri, dve fibuli s kranjskega grobišča

v Lajhu (grobova 112 in 324, *sl. 2*) je v svoji sintezi staroselskega gradiva obravnaval Z. Vinski,<sup>12</sup> ena (iz groba 160, *sl. 3*) pa je bila deležna pozornosti skupaj z drugimi tovrstnimi fibulami v sistematični obravnavi M. Schulze-Dörrlamm.<sup>13</sup> Avtorica je zbrala samostrelne fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle in samostrelne fibule z gumbom na loku, jih razdelila v tipe, kartirala in ugotovila, da vse tipe lahko še vedno pripisujemo Germanom. Znotraj meja imperija je ugotovila dve skupini omenjenih fibul. V prvo sodita španska in jugozahodnofrancoska tipa (tipa Estagel in Duratón), ki jih pripisuje Zahodnim Gotom,<sup>14</sup> v drugo pa za jugovzhodnoalpsko območje značilni tipi Invillino, Siscia, Lauriacum in Passau od fibul s trdnim nosilcem igle ter Gurina, Desana, Altenerding in Grepault od fibul z gumbom na nogi.<sup>15</sup> Obe skupini je M. Schulze-Dörrlamm pripisala natančneje nedoločenim germanskim plemenom (Vandali, Skiri, ...) v nasprotju z nekaterimi drugimi avtorji (predvsem J. Wernerjem in V. Bierbrauerjem), ki so bili mnenja, da te fibule predstavljajo značilne predmete romaniziranih staroselcev.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.2 Samostrelne fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle pozne sheme

#### 2.2.1 Tip *Invillino*

Zanj je značilna kratka peresovina, polkrožen kratak lok in dolga noga s trdnim nosilcem igle. K temu tipu lahko (poleg že pri M. Schulze-Dörrlamm omenjenega primerka iz groba 160 s kranjskega grobišča v Lajhu<sup>17</sup>) prištejemo tri fibule s Tonovcovega gradu nad Kobaridom (*t. I: 2,3,4*), ki so bile najdene v ruševinskih plasteh velikega bivalnega objekta 1, ki je propadel konec 6. stoletja, in na hodni površini zunaj objekta. En primerek (*t. I: 2*) ima nenavadno dolg nosilec igle, obrnjen na drugo stran noge kot pri večini fibul. Fibula (*t. I: 3*) glede na proporce in obliko noge verjetno pripada temu tipu, vendar ima rahlo privihan zaključek noge, tako da bi lahko spadala tudi k tipu Lauriacum, za katerega je značilen uvit, zapognjjen ali gumbast zaključek noge.

Edina srebrna fibula tipa Invillino je bila najdena v grobu 358 na blejskem staroselskem grobišču na Pristavi,<sup>18</sup> ki je datiran med leta 570–600 (*sl. 6: 3*).<sup>19</sup> V Sloveniji je bila železna fibula tipa Invillino najdena tudi na Ajdni nad Potoki v objektu na spodnji terasi tik ob vhodu v naselbino, ki je bil uničen v drugi polovici 6. stoletja (*sl. 5*).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Žižek 1995; Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996; Pflaum 2000, 115–124.

<sup>8</sup> Objavo fibule je prijazno dovolil T. Knific iz Narodnega muzeja Slovenije.

<sup>9</sup> Pflaum 2000, 117, kat. 96; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 608.

<sup>10</sup> Uenze 1992, 141.

<sup>11</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 669–674.

<sup>12</sup> Vinski 1967, 14–15, 37–41, t. 8: 3,5.

<sup>13</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 56: 10,58.

<sup>14</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 692–694, sl. 108.

<sup>15</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 110, 111.

<sup>16</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 593 op. 2 in 5; 694, sl. 110, 111.

<sup>17</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 56: 10, sl. 58.

<sup>18</sup> Knific 1983, t. 25: 6; Knific 2001.

<sup>19</sup> Knific 1983, 162.

<sup>20</sup> Sagadin 2000–2004, 155–156; Vidrih Perko, Sagadin 2004, sl. 7.

Še dve, oziroma najverjetneje tri fibule tega tipa so bile najdene v naselbini Kappele pri Jadersdorfu (prostor 2 jugovzhodnega stavbnega kompleksa, nestratificirano), od teh je en primerek bronast, dva pa sta železna.<sup>21</sup>

Železni primerki je bil najden (površinska najdba) v naselbini Monte Castellazzo v Valmareni v severni Italiji.<sup>22</sup>

Ena samostrelna fibula je bila najdena na prostoru rimskodobne stavbe A na gradu v Vidmu/Udine, v plasteh iz časa druge polovice 5. in začetka 6. stoletja. Sicer je slabo ohranjena, vendar glede na osnovne značilnosti najverjetneje pripada tipu Invillino.<sup>23</sup>

Dopolnjena karta razprostranjenosti (sl. 4) še poudarja jugovzhodnoalpski značaj tega tipa samostrelnih fibul.

### 2.2.2 Tip *Lauriacum*

Zanj je značilen uvit, zapognjen ali gumbast zaključek noge. K temu tipu lahko zagotovo štejemo eno fibulo (*t. I: 5*) s Tonovcovega gradu (najdena v humusu). Slovenske najdbe fibul tega tipa (Sv. Lambert nad Pristavo pri Stični, brez konteksta, bronasta, *t. I: 7*) in Sv. Lovrenc nad Zabreznico (brez konteksta, železna, *t. I: 6*)<sup>24</sup> potrjujejo mnenje M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, da je tudi ta tip, glede na obliko zanke za os peresovine (os peresovine drži lok, ki jo ovija od spodaj navzven in navzgor), značilen za jugovzhodnoalpski prostor (sl. 7). Razen v Lavriaku sta bili do njene objave namreč najdeni le še dve fibuli v Franciji.<sup>25</sup>

Poleg teh sta bili najdeni dve železni fibuli tega tipa na naselbini Kappele pri Jadersdorfu (prostor 2 jugovzhodnega stavbnega kompleksa, nestratificirano).<sup>26</sup>

### 2.2.3 Tip *Siscia*

Zanj so značilni kratka peresovina, kratek lok in dolga stožčasta noga.<sup>27</sup>

Dve železni fibuli (*t. I: 9,10*) sta bili najdeni v ruševinskih plasteh s konca 6. stoletja na Tonovcovem gradu. Pri prvi fibuli je noga sicer slabo ohranjena, vendar dovolj, da jo uvrstimo v ta tip.

Železni fibuli tipa *Siscia* sta bili najdeni tudi na Grobiščih nad Mihovim<sup>28</sup> (*t. I: 8*; detektorska najdba) in na Kugelsteinu.<sup>29</sup> H karti razprostranjenosti tega tipa lahko dodamo še dve fibuli s Sv. Heme/Hemmaberg na avstrijskem Koroškem, glede na stratigrafsko pozicijo (plasti planiranja pred gradnjo 4. cerkve in pod njo) datirani v konec 5. ali najkasneje v zgodnje 6. stoletje.<sup>30</sup>

Tudi pri tem tipu fibul se je izkazalo, da je središče njegove razprostranjenosti dejansko v jugovzhodnih Alpah (sl. 8).

Železna fibula s Krvavice pri Vranskem (detektorska najdba z naselbinskih teras, sl. 9)<sup>31</sup> je opredeljena kot analogija fibuli zgodnje sheme iz časa zgodnjega preseljevanja ljudstev iz emonskega groba 171.<sup>32</sup> Po našem mnenju spada v tip *Siscia*, saj ima za pozne samostrelne fibule značilen kratek lok in dolgo (stožčasto) nogo. Pri starejših samostrelnih fibulah je to razmerje ponavadi obrnjeno, tako kot pri emonski fibuli.

### 2.2.4 Tip *Passau*

K jugovzhodnoalpskim tipom M. Schulze-Dörrlamm glede na obliko konstrukcije za peresovino prišteva tudi tip *Passau*. Zastopan je z dvema primerkoma, najdenima v Strážnicah na Moravskem in v Passauu na Bavarskem.<sup>33</sup> Oblika tega tipa je povsem podobna tipu *Siscia*, le zaključek stožčaste noge je zapognjen navzgor. Lok in noga fibule sta zelo ozka, podobno kot pri tipu *Lavriacum*. Na prostoru jugovzhodnih Alp primerki tega tipa zaenkrat niso bili najdeni.

### 2.2.5 Germanski tipi samostrelnih fibul s trdnim nosilcem igle v jugovzhodnih Alpah

Poleg dveh fibul tipa *Siscia* sta bili na Sv. Hemi najdeni še dve samostrelni fibuli: ena, ki se je ni dalo natančneje uvrstiti,<sup>34</sup> druga pa sodi v tip Miltenberg, katerega glavna razprostranjenost je na alamanskem območju. M. Schulze-Dörrlamm predlaga kot njune nosilce morda Burgunde ali Alamane.<sup>35</sup> Obe sta glede na lego datirani v 5. in začetek 6. stoletja.

Na Invillinu je bila najdena samostrelna fibula verjetno tipa Rathewitz,<sup>36</sup> ki je razširjen na alamanskem in tiriškem območju ter datiran med sredino 5. in prvo tretjino 6. stoletja, M. Schulze-Dörrlamm ga pripisuje Tirižanom.<sup>37</sup>

V Bressanonu/Brixnu na južnem Tirolskem je bila najdena bronasta fibula tipa Slišany, ki je značilen za 2. polovico 5. stoletja in po mnenju M. Schulze-Dörrlamm spada med tiriško-alamanske tipe.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 1993, 35–36, t. 36: 5,7,8.

<sup>22</sup> Gruppo 1997, t. 1: 3.

<sup>23</sup> Buora, Fasano 1994, 178, t. 1: 21.

<sup>24</sup> Fibuli sta še neobjavljeni, za dovoljenje se najlepše zahvaljujem T. Knificu.

<sup>25</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 642–643.

<sup>26</sup> Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 1993, 35–36, t. 36: 4,6.

<sup>27</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 635.

<sup>28</sup> Dular 2008, 130, t. 6: 19.

<sup>29</sup> Pichler 1887, t. k strani 108: 6.

<sup>30</sup> Ladstätter 2000, t. 23: 7; 30: 12.

<sup>31</sup> Krempeš 2000, sl. 4: 25.

<sup>32</sup> Prim. Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, sl. 4: 3.

<sup>33</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 637–638.

<sup>34</sup> Ladstätter 2000, t. 23: 9.

<sup>35</sup> Ladstätter 2000, t. 23: 8; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 692.

<sup>36</sup> Bierbrauer 1987, t. 47: 2.

<sup>37</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 615–617, 691–692.

<sup>38</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, sl. 13: 3; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 624–625.

### 2.3 Samostrelne fibule z gumbom na loku

#### 2.3.1 Tip Gurina

Za ta tip so značilni kratka peresovina, kratek polkrožen lok z zanko za os peresovine in dolga noga z gumbom in trdnim nosilcem igle. Gumbi na nogi, na osi peresovine in na loku so lahko zelo različno oblikovani. Vse fibule so bronaste z železno peresovino. Razširjene so večinoma na jugovzhodnoalpskem območju, štirje primerki pa so bili najdeni v Španiji. Datirane so v drugo polovico 5. in v začetek 6. stoletja.<sup>39</sup>

V ta tip spadajo štirje primerki (*t. 2: 5–8*) s Tonovcovega gradu. Ena fibula (*t. 2: 8*) je bila najdena na hodni površini znotraj bivalnega objekta 1, ostale v ruševinskih plasteh.

V Sloveniji je bila fibula tipa Gurina najdena še v bližini poznoantične stavbe na planini Klek na Pokljuki (*sl. 10*).<sup>40</sup> Dve fibuli tega tipa sta bili najdeni tudi v dvojnem grobu (ženska in verjetno otrok) na severnoitalijanskem grobišču S. Cristina di Lozio,<sup>41</sup> ena je izgubljena. Poleg fibul tipa Gurina so bili najdeni še ptičja fibula, steklene jagode in dvojni uhani s poliedrom. Še ena fibula, najverjetneje tipa Gurina, je bila najdena v Val Pusterii/Pustertal (natančna lokacija ni znana) na južnem Tirolskem.<sup>42</sup>

K fibulama iz najdišč Valdíos de Portezuelo in Cerro de San Juan, ki ju omenja že M. Schulze-Dörrlamm,<sup>43</sup> lahko dodamo še dve fibuli iz Pazo de Antas de Ulla (posamična najdba) in La Cruz del Negra (brez podatkov o najdišču).<sup>44</sup> Zadnja fibula ima namesto gumba na koncu noge le razširitev, zato je njena uvrstitvev v tip Gurina nekoliko dvomljiva.

Kot prejšnji tipi tudi tip Gurina kaže izrazito koncentracijo na jugovzhodnoalpskem območju (*sl. 11*), pojavlja pa se tudi na Pirenejskem polotoku.

#### 2.3.2 Tip Altenerding

Tri fibule tipa Altenerding, za katerega sta značilna kratek polkrožen lok in dolga koničasta noga, so bile najdene na južnem Tirolskem v Egna-Laghetti/Neumarkt-Laag, na Sabioni/Säben in v San Lorenzu pod Burgkoflom.<sup>45</sup>

Tip Altenerding kaže razprostranjenost ob Adiži (*sl. 12*). V Sloveniji fibule tega tipa še niso bile najdene.

#### 2.3.3 Tip Desana

Samostrelna fibula z gumbom na loku tipa Desana, za katerega sta značilna kratek masiven lok in zelo dolg nosilec za iglo, je bila najdena v domnevno ostrogotskem moškem grobu 11 s pasno garnituro na grobišču v Glo-

basnici/Globasnitz, datiranjem med leta 493–536.<sup>46</sup> Še dve fibuli tipa Desana sta bili najdeni v naselbini Castelvecchio (Altenburg) pri Calderu, ena srebrna in ena železna tavširana.<sup>47</sup> Železna fibula tega tipa (z bronastim gumbom na loku) je bila najdena kot površinska najdba na naselbini Monte Castellazzo v Valmareni.<sup>48</sup>

K primerkom, ki jih je zbrala M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, je potrebno dodati še dve fibuli, najdeni na Pirenejskem polotoku. Ena je bila najdena v Cerro de San Juan (posamična najdba), ena pa v Falperri na Portugalskem (brez podatka o najdišču).<sup>49</sup>

Tip Desana je razprostranjen na širšem prostoru (*sl. 13*), tudi v Španiji in na Portugalskem, podobno kot tip Gurina. V Sloveniji tega tipa nismo zasledili.

#### 2.3.4 Tip Grepault

Glede na obliko konstrukcije za peresovino M. Schulze-Dörrlamm k jugovzhodnoalpskim tipom prišteva tudi tip Grepault, čeprav je bila le ena fibula tega tipa najdena na obravnavanem prostoru, v Val Pusterii, dve pa v Grepaultu in v Martignyju v Franciji.<sup>50</sup> Oblika je povsem podobna tipu Gurina, le zaključek noge je upognjen navzgor. V Sloveniji ta tip ni bil najden.

### 2.4 Neopredeljene fibule

Najdenih je bilo še več fragmentov fibul s trdnim nosilcem igle in fibul z gumbom na loku, vendar so preslabo ohranjeni, da bi jih lahko razvrstili v tipe, še posebej zato, ker se nekateri tipi med seboj tako malo razlikujejo.

Štirje fragmenti železnih fibul s Tonovcovega gradu (*t. 2: 1–4*) so bili najdeni v ruševinskih plasteh s konca 6. stoletja.

Del železne peresovine in loka fibule s Tonovcovega gradu (najdena v humusu) pripada samostrelni fibuli z gumbom na loku (*t. 2: 9*), ki pa se loči od ostalih tovrstnih fibul, ki imajo na loku zanko za os peresovine. Pri tonovski fibuli os peresovine drži lok, ki sega okrog osi od spodaj navzven in navzgor, kar je sicer značilnost samostrelnih fibul tipov Siscia, Passau, Invillino in nekaterih primerkov tipov Praga in Viminacium ter se pojavlja v Meziji I in II, Daciji, Dalmaciji in Noriku.<sup>51</sup> Glede na ohranjeni fragment fibule ne znamo uvrstiti.

Na Hrušici pri Podkraju (*sl. 14*) je bila najdena fragmentirana železna fibula s trdnim nosilcem igle, za katero V. Pflaum glede na obliko predvideva, da bi lahko pripadala tipu Invillino.<sup>52</sup> Na Monte Castellazzo v Valmareni sta bila najdena del loka fibule z gumbom na loku in noga fibule.<sup>53</sup> Na Castelfelderju je bila najdena noga fibule z delom loka, na Sabioni/Säben

<sup>39</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 663–668.

<sup>40</sup> Ogrin 2006, 103–104, sl. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Riemer 2000, 329, t. 40: 1.

<sup>42</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, sl. 14: 4.

<sup>43</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 88: 4,5.

<sup>44</sup> Gonzáles 1989, kat. 40, 43.

<sup>45</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, sl. 14: 2,6,7.

<sup>46</sup> Glaser 2002, t. 4.

<sup>47</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, sl. 15.

<sup>48</sup> Gruppo 1997, t. 1: 4.

<sup>49</sup> Gonzáles 1989, kat. 35, 44.

<sup>50</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 667–668.

<sup>51</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 675.

<sup>52</sup> Pflaum 2000, 118, kat. 80.

<sup>53</sup> Gruppo 1997, t. 1: 5,6.

pa cela fibula z nenavadno dolgim nosilcem igle, ki po obliki spominja na fibule zgodnje sheme.<sup>54</sup>

## 2.5 Sklep

Skupino fibul s trdnim nosilcem igle tipov Invillino, Lauriacum, Siscia in Passau in fibul z gumbom na loku Gurina, Desana, Altenerding in Grepault M. Schulze-Dörrlamm pripisuje ne natančneje določenim Germanom (Vandalom, Skirrom, ...) na jugovzhodnoalpskem področju. Nasprotuje tezam o pripadnosti teh tipov Romanom, prav tako pa meni, da niso pripadale Vzhodnim Gotom.<sup>55</sup>

Glede na koncentrirano pojavljanje fibul obravnavanih tipov v naselbinah staroselcev v jugovzhodnoalpskem krogu in le zelo redko pojavljanje v kontekstih, ki bi jih lahko povezovali z Germani, bi to njeno trditev dokončno lahko postavili pod vprašaj. V prid tezi o njihovi pripadnosti staroselskemu prebivalstvu vsekakor govorita območje njihove razprostranjenosti (sl. 4,7,8, 11–13), ki povsem sovpadata z območjem razprostranjenosti značilnih staroselskih fibul,<sup>56</sup> in dejstvo, da je bila večina teh fibul najdena v naselbinah, le malo pa na grobiščih, kar je na obravnavanem prostoru običajno pri staroselskih fibulah. Kjer pa so bile najdene v grobovih, se fibule pojavljajo samo po ena v moških in tudi ženskih grobovih (grobovi iz Venusia,<sup>57</sup> Pristave,<sup>58</sup> Globasnice<sup>59</sup>), kar prav tako govori za romansko nošo.

Obravnavane fibule se ne pojavljajo na najdiščih, ki bi jih lažje povezovali z germansko prisotnostjo, na primer na višinskih naselbinah jugovzhodne Slovenije, kjer se kaže zgoščevanje predmetov, ki jih povezujemo z Vzhodnimi Goti,<sup>60</sup> ali na Rifniku ter v Kranju (ena izjema v grobu 160 s tremi S-fibulami). Prav tako se ne pojavljajo v kontekstih skupaj z germanskim gradivom.

Možna interpretacija bi bila tudi ta, da so bile del noše Vzhodnih Gotov, podobno kot naj bi bile samostrelne fibule tipov Estagel in Duratón del noše Zahodnih Gotov v Španiji in Franciji.<sup>61</sup> Možnost, da sta imeli obe veji Gotov poleg ločnih fibul tudi svoje variante samostrelnih fibul je povsem sprejemljiva, podobno situacijo najdemo v kulturah Černjahovo-Sintana de Mureș, v katerih so prav tako soobstajale ločne in samostrelne fibule.<sup>62</sup> To tezo bi lahko podpirale predvsem fibule tipa Gurina, ki predstavljajo edini jugovzhodnoalpski tip, ki se v nekaterih grobovih pojavlja v tipični neromanski noši dveh fibul na rame-nih<sup>63</sup> (grobova iz Pule in Somma Prade), in primerki tipa Desana, ki so bili najdeni eden v moškem grobu 11 z (po mnenju avtorja objave) vzhodnogotsko pasno garnituro v

Globalasnici in dva v zakladni najdbi iz Desane.<sup>64</sup> Fibule tega tipa so občasno tavširane, kar je tehnika, ki jo pripisujemo bolj Germanom kot Romanom (že omenjeni primerki iz Falperre, Altenerdinga<sup>65</sup> in Castelvecchia).

Poseben problem predstavljajo primerki tipov Gurina in Desana, ki so bili najdeni v Španiji in na Portugalskem<sup>66</sup> (vendar ne v Franciji) in so pripisani Zahodnim Gotom, tako kot tipa Estagel in Duratón. Avtorji, ki se ukvarjajo z vizigotsko tematiko, se strinjajo z M. Schulze-Dörrlamm v tem, da samostrelne fibule pripisujejo le-tem in ne romanskemu prebivalstvu.<sup>67</sup> To je dodaten argument za to, da so prav ta dva tipa večkrat uporabljali Germani kot Romani.

N. Gonzáles je eno od fibul z najdišča Conimbriga na Portugalskem pripisal tudi tipu Siscia, najverjetneje zaradi enako oblikovane noge in držala za iglo, vendar ima fibula zanko za os peresovine ulito skupaj z lokom, kar je sicer značilnost španskih tipov samostrelnih fibul.<sup>68</sup> Ena od značilnosti fibul tipa Siscia in drugih jugovzhodnoalpskih samostrelnih fibule je ta, da os peresovine drži lok, ki jo ovija, in ne ulita zanka. Tako fibule ne moremo pripisati jugovzhodnoalpskemu tipu fibul, zmota pa ne preseneča. Fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle in fibule z gumbom na loku so si namreč znotraj tipov zelo različne. Lahko rečemo, da nikakor ne kažejo serijske izdelave, ravno nasprotno, zato je potrebna previdnost pri detajlih.

Očitno je, da so te fibule nosili oboji, moški in ženske, morda pa se bo pokazalo tudi, da so se fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle in fibule z gumbom na loku uporabljale ne glede na razlikovanje Germani-Romani. Ni pogosto, da bi bile fibule, kot del noše, v tem smislu neopredeljive, vendar nabor jugovzhodnoalpskih tipov samostrelnih fibul zaenkrat kaže prav na to. Podobno neopredeljenost nosilcev kažejo tudi balkanski tipi fibul z nazaj zavito nogo 6. stoletja (glej spodaj).

## 3. BALKANSKE SAMOSTRELNE FIBULE Z NAZAJ ZAVITO NOGO POZNE SHEME

V Sloveniji je bilo najdenih tudi nekaj samostrelnih fibul z nazaj zavito nogo pozne sheme (kratek lok in dolga noga, za razliko od zgodnjegermanskih fibul z obratnim razmerjem predvsem iz 4. in z začetka 5. stoletja). Ti posamezni primerki imajo najboljše primerjave v številnih najdbah iz obdonavskih kastelov 6. stoletja, njihova tipologija pa je precej pomanjkljiva. Razvrstiti so jih poskušali Đ. Janković,<sup>69</sup> D. Teodor<sup>70</sup> in S. Uenze. Tu bo uporabljena tipologija S. Uenze, ki sloni na razvrstitvi A. K. Ambroza.<sup>71</sup> S. Uenze je kot glavni kriterij pri razvrščanju znotraj večjih skupin uporabljala okras, razliko med tem, ali je okrašena

<sup>54</sup> Dal Ri, Rizzi 1995, sl. 13: 6,4.

<sup>55</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 694–697.

<sup>56</sup> Bierbrauer 2000, sl. 11, 12.

<sup>57</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, sl. 51.

<sup>58</sup> Knific 1983, t. 25: 6; Knific 2001.

<sup>59</sup> Glaser 2002, t. 4.

<sup>60</sup> Ciglencečki 2006.

<sup>61</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 692–694.

<sup>62</sup> Bierbrauer 1994, sl. 22, 26a.

<sup>63</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 665–666; Von Rummel 2007, 404–405.

<sup>64</sup> Bierbrauer 1975, t. 8: 1,2.

<sup>65</sup> Sage 1984, t. 204: 8.

<sup>66</sup> Bierbrauer 1997, t. 7,8.

<sup>67</sup> Npr. Gonzáles 1989; Bierbrauer 1997, 167; Sasse 1997, 38–39; Flörchinger 1998, 30.

<sup>68</sup> Gonzáles 1989, kat. 52.

<sup>69</sup> Janković 1981, 168–17.

<sup>70</sup> Teodor 1988.

<sup>71</sup> Ambroz 1966.

noga ali lok. Njene skupine so velike in predmeti se med seboj zelo razlikujejo v podrobnostih, družijo jih večinoma tip konstrukcije za peresovino. Ta kriterij se zdi trenutno edini odločilni, na podrobnejšo in bolj izpovedno tipološko razdelitev pa še čakamo.

### 3.1 Majhne bronaste fibule z dvojno zanko

V veliko skupino majhnih (3,5–5,0 cm) bronastih fibul z dvojno zanko (*Kleine Bronzefibeln mit Bügelschlaufe*)<sup>72</sup> spadajo štiri slovenske fibule. Prva je bila najdena najverjetneje med zgodnjimi izkopavanji na kranjskem grobišču v Lajhu med leti 1897–1900 in bila prodana na Dunaj (*sl. 15*), v objavi je navedena med »Predmeti iz dunajskega muzeja, za katere nimamo najdiščnih podatkov. Lahko pa bi pripadali Szombathyjevim grobovom, kar pa ni določljivo.«<sup>73</sup> Druga fibula je bila najdena v okolici Ljubljane (*t. 2: 11*),<sup>74</sup> tretja kot detektorska najdba blizu stolpa 4 na Korinjskem hribu (*t. 2: 12*),<sup>75</sup> četrto pa predstavlja le slabo ohranjen lok fibule, najden na Tonovcovem gradu v zunanji hodni površini bivalnega objekta 1 (*t. 2: 10*).<sup>76</sup> Ti zadnji fibuli, od katerih sta ohranjena samo odlomka loka, bi lahko pripadali tudi drugemu tipu podonavskih fibul, *Bronzefibeln mit Spiralhaken*<sup>77</sup> (bronaste fibule s kaveljčkom), česar pa ne moremo več ugotoviti. V vsakem primeru na nivoju, ki nas zanima, to ne bi predstavljalo razlike v interpretaciji, saj sta oba tipa sočasna ter imata skoraj enako razprostranjenost. Glavna razlika med njima je, da imajo prve sam lok podaljšan v zanko za os peresovine, ki se nato zavije v dodatno zanko, fibule s kaveljčkom pa imajo na zanki za peresovino kaveljček dodan posebej.

Za majhne bronaste fibule z dvojno zanko je značilna razprostranjenost ob Donavi in Savi in datacija v 6. stoletje.<sup>78</sup> S. Uenze predpostavlja možnost, da so fibule z okrašenim lokom mlajše od tistih z okrašeno nogo.

### 3.2 Zahodnobalkanske oziroma dalmatinske fibule

Tri slovenske fibule spadajo v skupino tako imenovanih *zahodnobalkanskih oz. dalmatinskih* fibul. Zanje je značilno, da imajo zanko za peresovino ulito skupaj z lokom, na njej gumb, večkrat so obdane s srebrno ali zlato pločevino.<sup>79</sup> Dve taki fibuli sta bili najdeni na kranjskem grobišču v Lajhu (*sl. 2*), ena pa kot detektorska najdba brez natančnejših najdiščnih podatkov na Korinjskem hribu (*t. 2: 13*).<sup>80</sup>

Prva je bila najdena v grobu 324 (grob I po J. Žmavcu, *sl. 2: 2*) v Lajhu v Kranju.<sup>81</sup> V objavi grobišča je prikazana že zelo slabo ohranjena, lažje določljiva je v prvi objavi Žmavca in objavi Vinskega,<sup>82</sup> kjer je očitno, da gre za eno izmed železnih samostrelnih fibul s kratkim lokom in dolgo nazaj zavito nogo, natančneje pa je ni mogoče določiti. V grobu je ležala skupaj z nekaj steklenimi in jantarnimi jagodami in ostankom glavnika.<sup>83</sup>

Druga je bila najdena v grobu 112 v Lajhu v Kranju (*sl. 2: 1*).<sup>84</sup> Ta fibula je železna, obdana z bronasto pločevino, okrašena s krožci s piko. Poleg te fibule so bili v grobu najdeni še jagode, dve S-fibuli (ena zdaj pogrešana), tkalski nož, nož, majhni srebrni okovi usnjenih trakov, pasna spona, srebrna spona in ostanki zarjavelih železnih predmetov.

Kranjski fibuli z nazaj zavito nogo je S. Uenze uvrstila v svoj tip *Viminacium*,<sup>85</sup> ki pa ga ne smemo zamešati z enako poimenovanim tipom samostrelnih fibul s trdnim nosilcem za iglo M. Schulze-Dörrlamm.

Fibula s Korinjskega hriba je bronasta, okrašena z motivom polkrožcev in pik, ohranjeni so ostanki navojev noge (*t. 2: 13*).

Zahodnobalkanske fibule so, kot pove ime, razprostranjene na zahodnem Balkanu in datirane široko v 6. stoletje.<sup>86</sup>

Problematična je bronasta fibula z nazaj zavito nogo in gumbom na loku, ki je bila najdena kot slučajna najdba na naselbini na Rifniku nad Šentjurjem (*sl. 16*).<sup>87</sup> Pri tej fibuli os peresovine drži lok, ki sega okrog osi od spodaj navzven in navzgor. S. Uenze našteva fibule s podobno konstrukcijo za peresovino, vendar imajo te na zanki še kaveljček (*Spiralhaken*), ta fibula pa ga nima. Po tem kriteriju se ne uvršča v nobeno od skupin S. Uenze. Najbližje primerjave tej fibuli so trije primerki iz italijanskega Voltaga, ki jih omenja Vinski,<sup>88</sup> od katerih ima ena povsem podobno oblikovano narebreno nogo, lok okrašen s krožci s piko in gumb na loku. Razlikujejo se zopet v zanki za peresovino, katero imajo, enako kot *zahodnobalkanske* fibule, ulito skupaj z nogo. Lahko bi trdili, da gre pri rifniški fibuli za lokalni posnetek fibul z nazaj zavito nogo.

Fibula z enako konstrukcijo za peresovino kot rifniška je bila najdena na Kappel pri Jadersdorfu.<sup>89</sup> Lok in noga sta sicer oblikovana drugače, z rifniško pa imata skupen tudi gumb na loku, pri fibuli s Kappel morda samo nastavek za gumb (fibula je tam sicer datirana v čas zgodnjega preseljevanja ljudstev, kar po mojem mnenju glede na razmerje dolžin loka in noge ne drži).

<sup>72</sup> Uenze 1992, 146–149.

<sup>73</sup> Stare 1980, 83, t. 135: 7; Vinski 1967, t. 32: 14.

<sup>74</sup> Karo 2001.

<sup>75</sup> Fibula je še neobjavljena, začasno jo hrani Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU.

<sup>76</sup> Ker je ohranjen le odlomek, je opredelitev fibule delno negotova. Lahko bi pripadala tudi tipu Jezerine.

<sup>77</sup> Uenze 1992, 150–151.

<sup>78</sup> Uenze 1992, 148.

<sup>79</sup> Uenze 1992, 151.

<sup>80</sup> Karo 1999, 24, t. 1: 2.

<sup>81</sup> Žmavc 1904, 270, sl. 235; Stare 1980, t. 94: 5.

<sup>82</sup> Vinski 1967, t. 8: 5a,b.

<sup>83</sup> Žmavc 1904, 270.

<sup>84</sup> Šmid 1907, 68: grob 112; Stare 1980, t. 41: 7; Knific 2005, sl. 8: grob 112: 3.

<sup>85</sup> Uenze 1992, 151–152.

<sup>86</sup> Uenze 1992, 152, sl. 6.

<sup>87</sup> Bolta 1981, t. 27: 55; Bitenc 2001b.

<sup>88</sup> Vinski 1967, t. 35: 3–5.

<sup>89</sup> Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 1993, t. 37: 1.

### 3.3 Sklep

Obdonavski tipi samostrelnih fibul z nazaj zavito nogo pozne sheme se pojavljajo v celem 6. stoletju, natančnejša časovna določitev ni mogoča. Prav tako je za te fibule značilno, da ne omogočajo opredelitve nosilcev.<sup>90</sup> Očitno je bila njihova uporaba povezana z dogajanjem ob limesu, več pa ni mogoče zaključiti. Zanimivo je, da so se pozni primerki tega tipa znotraj krogov na območju Voltaga v severni Italiji in kulture Komana v Albaniji<sup>91</sup> ohranili prav v osrčju staroselskega prebivalstva, celo v severni Italiji, kamor v zgodnjem 6. stoletju fibule z nazaj zavito nogo niso segle.

Zanimiva je tudi primerljivost fibul iz Ljubljane (*t. 2: 11*) in Korinjskega hriba (*stolp 4, t. 2: 12*) s poznimi fibulami kulture Komana in primerjave rifniške fibule s primerki iz Voltaga. Morda predstavljajo te fibule tudi v Sloveniji pozne predmete romanskih staroselcev na koncu 6. ali še v delu 7. stoletja.

Na naših tleh še ni bilo najdenih samostrelnih fibul z navidezno zavito nogo (*Scheinumwicklung*),<sup>92</sup> ki naj bi bile tesno povezane prav z obdonavskimi bizantinskimi kasteli, te so morda bolj verjetno povezane z vojsko kot najdeni primerki.

Obraavnani balkanski tipi dopolnjujejo sliko samostrelnih fibul, ki jo je predstavila M. Schulze-Dörrlamm za prostor spodnjega Podonavja.

## 4. ADDENDUM

Kar se tiče pojavljanja obravnavanih tipov fibul, je prostor med jugovzhodnimi Alpami in spodnjim Podonavjem slabše raziskan. Nekaj samostrelnih fibul je sicer bilo najdenih predvsem na grobiščih v Bosni in Srbiji, vendar moramo opozoriti na precejšnjo zmedo v objavah.

Ostanki železnih samostrelnih fibul so bili najdeni v nekaterih grobovih na poznoantičnih grobiščih v Rakovčanih pri Prijedoru, Mihaljevičih pri Rajlovcu in Koritih pri Duvnu v Bosni, vendar so v različnih objavah različno interpretirani. Dejstvo je, da so železne fibule zelo slabo ohranjene, močno korodirane, pa tudi risbe niso zelo izpovedne.

V Koritih so bile najdene ena zahodnobalkanska fibula z nazaj zavito nogo v grobu 10 in tri železne samostrelne fibule v grobovih 49, 60 in 68,<sup>93</sup> pri nobeni od njih na nogi ni viden ostanek nosilca za iglo. To je lahko posledica slabe ohranjenosti, lahko pa je znak, da gre za fibule z nazaj zavito nogo. Gotovo je napačna navedba avtorice, da so to fibule na šarnir,<sup>94</sup> ne moremo pa z gotovostjo trditi, kateri vrsti pripadajo.

Za grobišče Rakovčani M. Schulze-Dörrlamm omenja po eno fibulo na vsakem ramenu skeleta iz ženskega groba 48,<sup>95</sup> dve v enaki legi pa sta se nahajali tudi v sicer moškem

grobu 7.<sup>96</sup> Skelet iz tega groba ima deformirano lobanjo in je po največji verjetnosti, glede na lego in število fibul, ženski, antropološka analiza ni bila narejena. Tip fibule ni določljiv zaradi slabe ohranjenosti. Oblika je natančnejše določljiva samo za fibulo iz groba 48, kjer vidimo, da gre za samostrelni fibulo s trdnim nosilcem igle. Avtorica N. Miletić fibule primerja s primerki tipa Invillino,<sup>97</sup> vendar so za določitev tipa preslabo ohranjene. S. Uenze najmanj eno fibulo iz groba 48 prišteva k fibulam s trdnim nosilcem igle,<sup>98</sup> to je isti tip, ki ga M. Schulze-Dörrlamm imenuje tip Viminacium.<sup>99</sup> Na Rakovčanih so po mnenju Miletićeve najdeni še trije slabo ohranjeni ostanki po ene železne samostrelne fibule tudi v moških grobovih 4, 53 in 56, tipi niso določljivi.<sup>100</sup>

Miletićeva omenja tudi najdbe samostrelnih fibul iz drugih najdišč, iz Mogorjela, Čipuljića in Mihaljevičev v Bosni, eno tipa Viminacium (po M. Schulze-Dörrlamm) z grobišča Jakovo-Kormadin v Srbiji in nekaj primerkov z nekaterih gepidskih najdišč na Madžarskem.<sup>101</sup>

V objavi grobišča iz Mihaljevičev je Miletićeva sicer zapisala, da je železna samostrelna fibula iz groba 29 *sa povijenom nogom*.<sup>102</sup> Pri tem ji moramo verjeti na besedo, saj je fotografija nerazločna.<sup>103</sup> V kasnejši objavi grobišča Rakovčani je isto fibulo primerjala s tipom Invillino, torej s tipom s trdnim nosilcem igle (glej zgoraj). S. Uenze šteje isto fibulo v svojo skupino železnih fibul z nazaj zavito nogo brez zanke (*Eisenfibel ohne Bügelschlaufe*).<sup>104</sup>

Na več grobiščih v Viminaciju so bile najdene fibule tipov Viminacium (po M. Schulze-Dörrlamm in S. Uenze), tipov Praga in Ramersdorf po M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, tip Salona po S. Uenze in drugi balkanski tipi.<sup>105</sup>

Glede na stanje objav fibul ne moremo z gotovostjo opredeliti niti glede na to, ali spadajo med tiste s trdnim nosilcem igle ali z nazaj zavito nogo, vendar smo želeli opozoriti, da se samostrelne fibule v 6. stoletju vendarle pojavljajo tudi na prostoru med jugovzhodnimi Alpami in spodnjim Podonavjem.

## 5. ZAKLJUČEK

Po tem, ko smo dopolnili znano sliko razprostranjenosti jugovzhodnoalpskih samostrelnih fibul, lahko zaključimo, da večina obravnavanih tipov fibul predstavlja del noše romanskih staroselcev na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru. Potrdili smo dejstvo, da se obravnavani tipi fibul izrazito pojavljajo na naselbinah staroselcev in ne na najdiščih, za katera je značilna opaznejša prisotnost Germanov. To lahko trdimo predvsem za tipe Invillino, Lauriacum, Siscia

<sup>90</sup> Uenze 1992, 159.

<sup>91</sup> Uenze 1992, sl. 5: 14,15.

<sup>92</sup> Uenze 1992, 154–158.

<sup>93</sup> Miletić 1979, t. I: 10; III: 49,68; IV: 60.

<sup>94</sup> Miletić 1979, 160.

<sup>95</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 706.

<sup>96</sup> Miletić 1970, 121, t. 2: 7.

<sup>97</sup> Miletić 1970, 141.

<sup>98</sup> Uenze 1992, 141.

<sup>99</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 605–608.

<sup>100</sup> Miletić 1970, 120, 126.

<sup>101</sup> Miletić 1970, 140–141.

<sup>102</sup> Miletić 1956, 30.

<sup>103</sup> Miletić 1956, t. 8: sl. 3.

<sup>104</sup> Uenze 1992, 149–150.

<sup>105</sup> Zotović 1980; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 17–20.

in Altenerding. Manj gotovo to velja za primerke tipov Gurina in predvsem Desana, ki se v nekaterih primerih pojavljajo v kontekstih, ki bi jih lažje pripisali Germanom. Pomembno se zdi tudi dopustiti možnost, da so resnično širok spekter teh predmetov uporabljali oboji.

Časovno te fibule spadajo v konec 5. in v začetek 6. stoletja ter se morda v določeni meri izključujejo z drugo obravnavano skupino fibul, torej z balkanskimi fibulami z nazaj zavito nogo, katerim pripisujemo bizantinski oz. vzhodnorimski izvor. Fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle in gumbom na loku delujejo po izdelavi dokaj preprosto in so jih verjetno izdelovali lokalno. Fibule z nazaj zavito nogo pa kažejo kvalitetnejšo izdelavo, ki jo lažje pripišemo vzhodnorimskim delavnicam. Predstavljajo primerke ne tako pogostih znakov bizantinske prisotnosti na naših tleh, ki jo povezujemo z obnovo bizantinske oblasti po gotških vojnah. Glavne primerjave za ta tip fibul najdemo v bizantinskih kastelih ob Donavi, vendar v 6. stoletju tudi zanje ni več jasno, ali so jih uporabljali Romani ali Germani. Posebno zanimivi so tisti primerki, ki jih lahko primerjamo s staroselskimi enklavami v Albaniji in v severni Italiji. Videti je, da so nekatere primerke lahko izdelovali tudi lokalno in se časovno lahko uvrščajo v čas po letu 600.

Zdi se, da so samostrelne fibule v pozni antiki vsaj na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru prešle v uporabo romaniziranih staroselcev, najverjetneje lahko to trdimo tudi za balkanske fibule z nazaj zavito nogo. Edini drugi sklop samostrelnih fibul znotraj meja cesarstva v obravnavanem obdobju so tipi, ki so pripisani Zahodnim Gotom, in se redno pojavljajo v opredeljivih kontekstih, predvsem na grobiščih.

Težko je najti razloge, zakaj so staroselci prevzeli samostrelne fibule konec 5. stoletja, še težje pa je ugotoviti od koga. Posnemanje germanskih fibul jim ni bilo novo,

kar lahko vidimo v številčnih posnetkih ločnih fibul na staroselskih naselbinah jugovzhodnih Alp.<sup>106</sup> Morda je bil prevzem samostrelnih fibul del istega pojava. Samostrelne fibule so izrazito uporabni, ne estetski, predmeti, ki so jih uporabljali tako moški kot ženske. Videti je, da je ta moda sredi 6. stoletja tonila v pozabo, morda so se tedaj razcveteli drugi tipi fibul. V vsakem primeru je vsaj večina tipov samostrelnih fibul s trdnim nosilcem noge predstavljala eno od značilnih oblik nakita staroselcev na obravnavanem območju. Tako se pridružujejo dvoramnim fibulam,<sup>107</sup> romanskim ločnim fibulam (tipi Trient, Voltago, Lenzumo, ...) <sup>108</sup> in fibulam v obliki grškega križa,<sup>109</sup> ki se vse pojavljajo prav na območju jugovzhodnih Alp.

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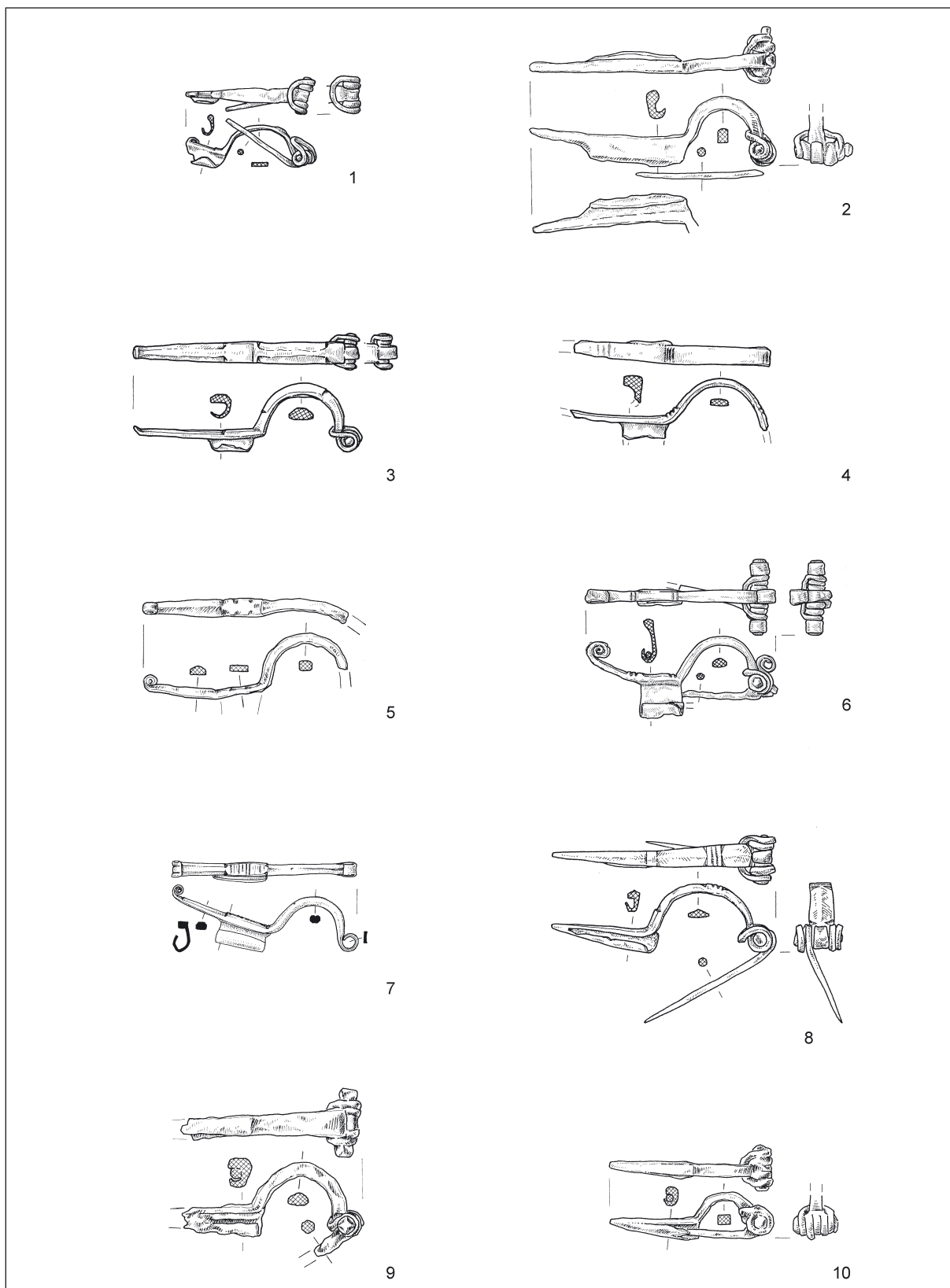
<sup>106</sup> Bierbrauer 1992a; Knific 2004, sl. 7.

<sup>107</sup> Hübener 1972, 418; Thörle 2001, 93–96, Gruppe III A, B in Gruppe V B – Tip Voltago; na obravnavanem prostoru še Tonovcov grad (Milavec 2008, t. 40: 2), Gradec pri Logjeh (Osmuk 2001), Sv. Lovrenc nad Bašljem (Josipovič 1982, 181, sl. 48: 1), zahodna Slovenija (Bitenc 2001a).

<sup>108</sup> Bierbrauer 1992a.

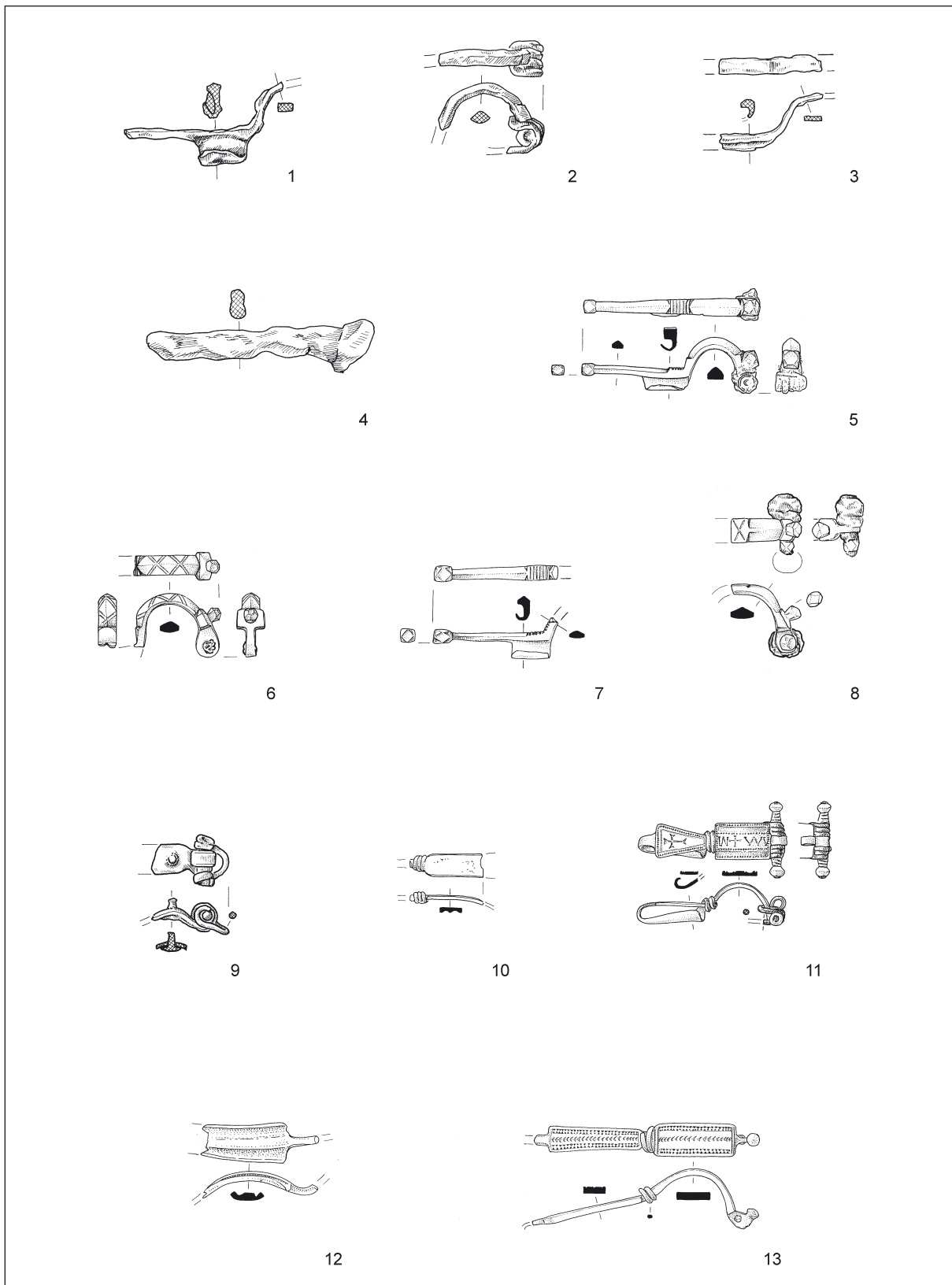
<sup>109</sup> Bierbrauer 1992b, 2; id. 2000, sl. 12; Cipot 2003, sl. 13.





*Pl. 1:* 1 Limberk near Velika Račna; 2-5,9,10 Tonovcov grad above Kobarid; 6 Sv. Lovrenc above Zabreznica; 7 Sv. Lambert above Pristava near Stična; 8 Grobišča above Mihovo. 1-6,8-10 iron; 7 bronze. Scale = 1:2.

*T. 1:* 1 Limberk pri Veliki Račni; 2-5,9,10 Tonovcov grad nad Kobaridom; 6 Sv. Lovrenc nad Zabreznico; 7 Sv. Lambert nad Pristavo pri Stični; 8 Grobišča nad Mihovim. 1-6,8-10 železo; 7 bron. M. = 1:2.



Pl. 2: 1–10 Tonovcov grad above Kobarid; 11 vicinity of Ljubljana; 12,13 Korinjski hrib above Veliki Korinj. 1–4 iron, 9 iron and bronze, 5–8,10–13 bronze. Scale = 1:2.

T. 2: 1–10 Tonovcov grad nad Kobaridom; 11 okolica Ljubljane; 12,13 Korinjski hrib nad Velikim Korinjem. 1–4 železo, 9 železo in bron, 5–8,10–13 bron. M. = 1:2.