

I TRACI TRA GEOGRAFIA E STORIA

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In copertina: Il mare e il nome di Aristonothos.

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Questa serie vuole celebrare il mare Mediterraneo e contribuire a sviluppare temi, studi e immaginario che il cratere firmato dal greco Aristonothos ancora oggi evoca. Deposito nella tomba di un etrusco, racconta di storie e relazioni fra culture diverse che si svolgono in questo mare e sulle terre che unisce.

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I TRACI TRA GEOGRAFIA E STORIA

NOTES UPON THE DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTACLE *FIBULA*
BETWEEN CENTRAL EUROPE AND BALKAN PENINSULA IN THE
LATE BRONZE AND BEGINNINGS OF THE EARLY IRON AGE

Simone Romano e Martin Trefný

An overview of the phenomenon of spread and fortune of spectacle *fibulae* between Central Europe and Balkan Peninsula from Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age allows to follow the development of the shape and his use in a wide area, all along characterized by migrations and exchanges between south and north, west and east, during a long chronological range, which allows to evaluate the development of the social representation structures of involved societies.

This contribution wants to operate a review of the last studies about typology and contexts, trying at the same time to provide an overview on the historical connected themes, in particular the aspects of social and political connotations related to the deposition of funeral costumes containing spectacle *fibulae*. Special attention is given to the situation in Central Macedonia, where the rich attestations of the necropolis of Vergina, in the vicinity of first Macedonian capital Aigàì, has provided a good number of data for a survey about the use of *fibulae* for social differentiation and has offered several opportunities of comparison with long-distant areas.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE SHAPE

As spectacle *fibulae* (from the German *Brillenfibeln*) is meant a group of brooches whose bow is made of one piece of bronze wire coiled in two spiral-discs to form an S shape. The pin and the catch are often made of the same wire, which at the center of the spirals bends towards the back-side. In several types between the spiral discs the wire is twisted in two loops, making a figure-of-eight shape. Spectacle *fibulae* have been found in a large area of Central-Eastern Europe, from Switzerland to Black Sea, and from Baltic to the Aegean and Southern Italy. The cronological spread is also wide, going from the late Bronze Age to the fifth century B.C.

Different speculations were made about the origin and the spread of the shape. Sundwall in 1943 recognized different productions in Greece and Balkans, but suggested an origin of the shape between Bohemia, Silesia and Poland¹. Alexander, in his analysis of pieces found in Southern Europe, set a typology of shapes and studying distribution maps, suggested several lines of spread of the main types from Central Europe to south and pointed out the development of some local variants². Alexander grouped the specimens in five groups: 1. *fibulae* with the wire twisted between the spiral-discs, 2. *fibulae* lacking twists of wire between the spiral discs, 3. *fibulae* in two pieces obtained fixing with rivets a pair of decorative spirals on the structure of a flat-bowed *fibula*, 4. quatrefoil and some spiral *fibulae*, 5. *fibulae* with three or six spirals. These main types were further divided in several variants.

A different approach, more focused on the contexts of the findings, is that one pursued by the PBF series, which over the years led to a number of monographs about brooches findings on a regional scale³.

Betzler in 1974, in the monograph about brooches findings in Southern Germany, Austria and Switzerland, resumed typological differences already noted by Alexander and adapted them into a more simple scheme of the local situation. *Fibulae* with figure-of-eight loops between the spiral-discs were grouped in the Hasslau-Regelsbrunn type: *fibulae* without figure-of-eight loops were grouped in Santa Lucia type⁴. In 1983 Bader, in his monograph about brooches in Romania, identified the origin of the shape in the Carpathian basin, between Moravia and Transylvania, in the Bronze D – Hallstatt A1 period (in absolute chronology 14th-12th century B.C.), according to the occurrence of other jewelry with spiral decoration (so called *passamenterie fibulae*, in German *Posamenteriefibel*) in the late Bronze Age⁵.

Recently an overview of the phenomenon of spectacle *fibulae* has been undertaken by Sabine Pabst. In her doctoral thesis, later republished as mono-

¹ SUNDWALL 1943; for references about previous studies, see ALEXANDER 1965.

² ALEXANDER 1965, pp. 7-23.

³ For the PBF series see BETZLER 1974, pp. 91-133; KILIAN 1975, pp. 143-149; SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKIS 1978, pp. 110-112; BADER 1983, pp. 56-71; v. ELES MASI 1986, p. 73; GERGOVA 1987, pp. 52-53; ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1993, pp. 66-68; VASIĆ 1999, pp. 28-42; NOVOTNÁ 2001, pp. 51-57; GLOGOVIĆ 2003, pp. 23-33; GEDL 2004, pp. 61-70; LO SCHIAVO 2010.

⁴ BETZLER 1974.

⁵ BADER 1983.

graph, she collected all the types previously identified in a new classification and analyzed the regional situations by a diachronic point of view. Then she considered the contexts of findings, mostly hoards and graves, to recreate the local customs and investigate the development of relationships and connections between different areas⁶. The definition of types is based on morphological and manufacturing characteristics like the technique of winding of the loops, the dimensions of the loops and the cross-section of the wire, features that allow to recognize different areas of production.

The first distinction is that one between spectacle *fibulae* with figure-of-eight loops and spectacle *fibulae* without this feature. The two groups are further split in one-piece forms and forms made with more pieces assembled with rivets. The main one-piece forms with figure-of-eight loops are those with the loops linked on the on-sight side (Form A), and those with the loops linked on the back side (Form B)⁷. The forms are then divided in the local variants. Between the *fibulae* with 8 – figure loops made of more pieces the variants are grouped in forms riveted without under-construction, forms with inserted and riveted plates, and forms with violin-construction. The *fibulae* without loops are also split in one-piece and more-pieces groups: one-piece *fibulae* are declined in local variants without further subdivisions, while the more-pieces group is divided in the same categories used for more-pieces groups with loops.

Here is reported only the chronological and distributional placement of the forms useful for the investigation of the contacts in the Balkans Peninsula at the intersection between Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, that is especially the variants of form B and some one-piece shape without loops, whereas the form A is attested only to the north of the Sava-Danube line and the shapes composed by more mounted pieces appear in the advanced Iron Age.

Pabst resumed the Bader's assumption about the occurrence of the one-piece *fibulae* without loops linked on the back side of Suseni type in the Carpathian basin in the Bronze D – Hallstatt A1 period⁸, taking her opinion from the presence of a violin bow *fibulae* with spiral catch-plate (*Drahtbügelfibeln mit spiralfuß*)

⁶ PABST-DÖRRER 2006, republished PABST 2012; see also articles analyzing local specificities: *Eadem* 2009, *Eadem* 2011.

⁷ The difference had been already noticed by Alexander: ALEXANDER 1965, p. 8, fig. 2, types Ia and Ib.

⁸ For references about Br D – Ha A1 in Carpathian basin see PABST 2011, p. 200, nt. 11.

of Unter-Radl type, a shape originating from the same area, in a chamber tomb from Mycenae dated no later than Late Helladic III B period (1340/30-1200 B.C.). Assuming that the shape arrived at Mycenae some time after her first occurrence in the Carpathian basin, and according to the fact that violin bow *fibulae* are proved to be associated in the Carpathian basin hoards with spectacle *fibulae* mostly belonging to the Suseni type and passamenterie *fibulae*⁹, although in the associations the types may vary, it is likely that the three shapes were already present in the Carpathian basin at least in the 13th century B.C.

From the Carpathian basin spectacle *fibulae* of Suseni type spread westward to Moravia up to Bohemia already in the 13th/12th century B.C., branching out in local variants differing for the back-side. Another variant, characterized by the small size, appears in Macedonia in early Iron Age inhumation graves of 11th/10th century B.C. and in the Bz D – Ha A1 period appeared in a tumulus grave in Northern Pannonia (Northern Transdanubia)¹⁰ the shape with little figure-of-eight loops linked on the back side (Gyermely type), probably influenced by violin bow *fibulae* with multiple figure of eight loops of Čaka type. Close contacts with the Eastern Carpathian basin are witnessed from the association of spectacle *fibulae* and passamenterie *fibulae*, common in both areas¹¹. During the Ha A2/B1 period (11th-10th century B.C.) the shape occurs also in hoards and incineration graves in Southern Pannonia (Eastern Slavonia and Vojvodina), *Caput Adriae* and South-Eastern Alpine area (Slovenia and Northern Croatia). A similar shape differing only for the squared cross-section of the wire in the figure-of-eight loops (whereas the wire of the Gyermely type has always round cross-section), has been found in many early Iron Age necropolis of Southern Italy (Metaponto type)¹². It is noteworthy

⁹ See the hoard from Vršac-Majdan (south Banat, Serbia) with a spectacle *fibula* of Suseni type and a violin bow *fibula* with spiral catch-plate of Unter-Radl type: VASIĆ 1999 pp. 17, 29, 30; PABST 2011, pp. 200-202, nt. 12, 13; the hoard III from Zlatna (Transylvania, Romania) with fragments of 2 spectacle *fibulae* of Suseni type and one violin bow *fibula* with multiple figure-of-eight loops of Čaka type: *Ivi*, p. 202, nt. 20; the hoard Ib from Velem-Szentvid (Transdanubia, Hungary) with 2 passamenterie *fibulae*, 1 spectacle *fibula* with figure-of-eight loops of Gyermely type and 3 violin bow *fibulae* with 8 – figure loops of Velem type: *Ibidem*, nt. 20. See also *Eadem* 2014.

¹⁰ Zirc-Tündermajor II: *Eadem* 2011, p. 204, nt. 27.

¹¹ *Ivi*, pp. 204-205, ntt. 26, 31.

¹² The chronology of Early Iron Age in Italy has been for long time debated. For an overview of the debate see the acts of the meeting held in Rome in 2003 about this argument: *Acta Roma 2003*, inter alia DE MARINIS 2005, PACCIARELLI 2005, PER-

the coexistence of Gyermely and Metaponto type in Southern Italy, *Caput Adriae* and North-western Carpathian basin (Moravia, Lower Austria and Northern Transdanubia). On the other hand the difference between the types is minimal and the specimens with round cross-section in Southern Italy as also the specimens with squared cross-section in North-western Carpathian basin could be explained as local variants slightly different from the most common types in their areas.

Another type important for the reading of long-distance relationships is the one with big figure-of-eight loops, with the wire linking the loops in the back-side. The first appearance are two *fibulae* with round cross-section wire from incineration burials at Velika Gorika and Brinjeva Gora in South-Western Pannonia (Central Croatia and Eastern Slovenia). Three variants occur in the 11th/10th century B.C.: the Galaxidi type, similar to the Pannonian specimens but thicker, is spread mostly in Albania, Macedonia, and continental Greece, with few attestations in Thracia and single findings in lower Danubian plain (North-Western Bulgaria) and Rhodes¹³. The Kopolje variant is characterized by the separated eyelet-headed needle, hooked to the end of the wire passed through the end of the spiral, and by the cross section of the wire in the figure-of-eight loops, usually rhomboidal or rarely round¹⁴. The type is common in the so-called Japodian cultural area (Lika and North-Western Bosnia) and Liburnian cultural area (Dalmatia), while single examples come from Picenum and Southern Pannonia (see references in PABST 2011, pp. 222-223). The Vergina type has the wire in the figure-of-eight loops and in the external spiral winding with rhomboidal cross-section, and it's common especially in Macedonia and in the region of lakes between Southern Albania and Western Macedonia, with one find in lower Danubian plain (see references in PABST 2011, pp. 223-224).

A similarity between northern and southern types, appeared in the same time, is noticeable. The hypothesis of a spread from the north is preferred,

ONI, VANZETTI 2005; Pabst dating the Metaponto type refers to the raised chronology of Early Iron Age (10th century B.C.), according to the association of the type with a bow *fibula* with knots dated 11th/10th century B.C. in a grave in Škocjan-Brežec in *Caput Adriae* (PABST 2011, p. 206, note 33). For recent studies see JUNG 2006 and WENINGER – JUNG 2009.

¹³ See references in PABST 2011, pp. 224-225.

¹⁴ In the some Dalmatian exemplar the section of the figure-of-eight loops and of the external spiral-winding is rhomboidal: PABST 2011, p. 211.

because of the analogy with the spread direction of the other spectacle *fibulae* types, and because of the likely parentage with spectacle *fibulae* with small figure-of-eight loops of Gyermely type and with spiral *fibulae* of Maribor type, made of a one-piece wire coiled in 2 main spiral-discs, as spectacle *fibulae*, making two little spirals in between, instead of the simple loops, linked on the back side and shaping a figure-of-eight. Both shapes were present in Pannonia, and the Maribor type *fibula* was already spread also in Macedonia.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

From the analysis of the contexts Pabst outline the adhibition of the shape as an element of costume connoting the social status of women.

It's necessary to overcome the function of simple dress-fastener or decoration and to consider the object as an element of a code, interacting with the other elements of the set to pass a social message. In ethnology the study of dressing codes has brought to distinguish three kinds of dress: *clothing*, that is what people wear to cover their body or keep warm; *dress*, referring to singular moments of social life; *costume*, communicating group identity¹⁵, which can be social, age-group, religious or ethnical. The bearers are induced to correspond to the norms of their group, and they cannot change their costume arbitrarily¹⁶.

Although in a different context like Middle Bronze Age Tumulus culture in Southern Germany and Bohemia, Wiegel and Wels-Weyrauch noticed the importance of female ornament in the definition of local groups and in the demarcation of areas of influence of leading chiefly clans¹⁷. Besides political "message", Bronze Age feminine costumes are also rich of symbols referring to religion and cosmology¹⁸, and spiral themes in this field play a prominent role. In Late Bronze Age this role of women as bearers of political and religious messages is reflected by their rising social status in burial rituals and in the

¹⁵ ESPOSITO 2000, pp. 46-50, The author refers to the three group respectively as *vestito*, *abito*, *costume*.

¹⁶ Except if they want to pass a specific message.

¹⁷ WIEGEL 1992-1994, and WELS-WEYRAUCH 2011; see also KRISTIANSEN 2014, p. 89.

¹⁸ MÜLLER-KARPE 2004.

hoards¹⁹. Kristiansen remarks the fact that this phenomenon is connected to “social processes of consolidating political power through the exercise of control of women and their power of reproduction”. In these societies marriages were probably arranged mainly between endogamous clans, but “exogamous marriages outside the territory were used to establish and maintain political alliances to allow the flow of goods and people between polities, including warriors and traders”²⁰.

Observing the materials from the Necropolis of Incononata near Metaponto, Pabst has noted that spectacle and spiral *fibulae* characterize the most part of feminine inhumations, and compared to the other types of brooches assume the role of indicator of social status: three different combinations of spiral *fibulae* (spectacle *fibulae* and quatrefoil *fibulae*) reflect in fact three different costumes indicating different status. The origin of the association between spectacle *fibulae* and other spiral brooches seems to be to track down in Pannonian hoards of Gyermely and Velem-Szentvid, where Pabst has identified a feminine component of the inventories, in which the combination of spiral *fibulae* come up in the form of one spectacle *fibula* and two passamenterie *fibulae*.

Social connotations in the use of spectacle *fibulae* have been observed also analyzing the inhumation graves of Japodian and Macedonian area. In the Early Iron Age tumuli necropolis of Vergina (Greek Macedonia) the majority of feminine inhumations show the use of spectacle *fibulae* to fasten clothes. The association with other elements of jewelry allows to reconstruct different costumes, that may refer to different status, as seen at Incononata.

A first combination emerging in the attire sets of 11th/10th century B.C. is that one including spectacle *fibulae*, *torques* and spiral bracelet. This combination occurs in two costumes differing in the number of spectacle *fibulae* and way of wearing. The first costume is characterized by 2 big spectacle *fibulae* in the chest area associated in two variants with a *torque* and 2 spiral bracelets or two *torques* and a spiral bracelet. The second costume is composed by a little spectacle *fibula* in the right shoulder area (in one case in the chest area), a *torque* and a spiral bracelet (in two cases another bracelet is present). Both these costumes included a headdress with spiral rolls and lock-rings. The first costume was worn by adult women, the second by girls and maiden, so probably the distinction was in the fact of being married.

¹⁹ *Idem* 1985.

²⁰ KRISTIANSEN 2014, p. 89.

A similar combination is attested in North-Western Balkan area for the 11th/10th century in an inhumation grave from Ostrožac near Cazin (North-Western Bosnia), referred to a 30 years old woman, bearing a big spectacle *fibula* in the chest area, five *torques*, two spiral bracelets, ten ankle-rings and fifteen pendants, besides an headdress with spiral rolls and lock-rings. In an hoard from Matijevici (Banovina, Croatia) two spectacle *fibulae*, a *torque*, a spiral bracelet, a bracelet, a lock-pendant and a bronze knob have been found with a sword, a spear and three axes. Probably the first part was referred to a feminine component, while the weapons referred to a man's component²¹.

The use of this costume in Vergina ends in 9th century B.C., while in North-Western Balkans continues, as witnessed by the finding in an inhumation grave in Kompolje (Lika, Croatia) of a big spectacle *fibula* in the left shoulder area, two *torques* and a spiral bracelet. The headdress composed by two temple-rings and a "Japodian hat" with bronze knobs dates the grave at least at 8th century B.C.²²

In several graves in Vergina and North-Western Balkans the set occurs lacking of the spiral bracelet: in Vergina this set, consisting in a little spectacle *fibula* and a *torque*, refers to some maiden graves of 11th-9th century B.C.²³, while in the Lika region, in Kompolje and Gornji Kosinj has been used for adult women graves of 8th century B.C.²⁴.

A second combination consists of spectacle *fibulae* and spiral bracelet, without *torque*. In Vergina in the 11th/10th century B.C. this combination occurs in two costumes, differing in dimensions and way of wearing spectacle *fibulae*. A first one with a pair of big spectacle *fibulae* in the chest area was brought by adult women, and a second one with a single spectacle *fibula* in the

²¹ One of the spectacle *fibulae*, the one with the figure-of-eight loops linked in the in-sight side, is dated at the beginning of the 9th century B.C., while the other, with little figure loops linked in the back side, can be dated in the 11th/10th century, like the most of the inventory. See PABST 2009, p. 9, ntt. 16, 17, 18.

²² Grave 22 (1955/1956), Kompolje near Otočac, see references in *Ibidem*, ntt. 20, 21.

²³ In the grave LXV BA the spectacle *fibula* was demonstrably on the right shoulder, see *Ivi*, p. 10, nt. 24.

²⁴ Sometimes in association with Japodian hat. *Torques* were mostly singles, but in the grave 43 from Kompolje 4 *torques* occur. Spectacle *fibulae* were always singles and big, in grave 43 from Kompolje on the right shoulder area, in grave 7 from Gornji Kosinj in the left shoulder area. See *Ivi*, pp. 10-11, ntt. 25, 26.

right or left shoulder area was brought by maiden. Spiral bracelets are mostly brought singles on the left arm, sometimes in the right one. In few graves two spiral bracelet have been found.

In the North-Western Balkans the traces of this set seem to be identifiable in the hoard of Gajina pećina near Drežnik (Central Croatia), dated at the 11th/10th century B.C., where a spectacle *fibula* has been found with a spiral bracelet, a bow *fibula* with 2 knobs, a knob needle, two pendants, a *falera*, in addition to masculine elements as three axes and two sickles.²⁵ A spectacle *fibula* and a spiral bracelet are associated also in a probable grave from Tiškovac near Knin (Dalmatia), with a big bow *fibula* with two knobs, a bracelet and four spiral pendants²⁶. Both the findings, on the basis of the dimension of the bracelets, seems to refer to adult women.

Considering relevant a relationship to dressing customs, still some difference emerges between the two areas. In particular a more complex social characterization through the use of sets involving spectacle fibulae seems to emerge in Vergina. In North-Western Balkans all spectacle *fibulae-torques*-spiral bracelet and spectacle *fibulae*-spiral bracelet sets refer to adult woman, wearing clothes fastened on one shoulder (mainly on the left, sometimes on the right and in few cases on the chest area). In Vergina one-side fastened clothes (mostly in the right shoulder, sometimes on the right shoulder and on the chest area) are limited to girls and maiden (as unmarried woman), while adult women used to wear clothes fastened by pair of fibulae on both shoulders.

In Southern Adriatic area at the beginning of Iron Age feminine ornament sets assume the role of “distinctive attribute indissoluble from social identity of women of reproductive age, which was characterized as mother (potential or effective) and wife”²⁷. As an important manifestation of individual and collective identity the whole ornamental set could accompany the dead in the eternal life.

It remains to understand how to explain the role of jewelry in the bronze hoards of the North-Western Balkan and Pannonian area. It's impossible to present here all the hypothesis formulated about the function of bronze deposition in the Urn-fields societies²⁸, what appears to be more interesting is the inverse proportionality between the richness of the hoards and the graves.

²⁵ *Ivi*, pp. 11-12, ntt. 31, 32.

²⁶ *Ivi*, p. 12, nt. 33.

²⁷ IAlA 2007, p. 35.

²⁸ See for an overview: VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, *Acta Regensburg* 1993, HANSEN 1994, TERŽAN 1995, HÄNSEL – HÄNSEL 1997, MARASZEK 1998, METZNER-NEB-

This fact suggests that hoards and rich graves are the expressions of a different social structure, and that a change in the social order may have happened in the 10th-9th century B.C. In the first phases of Urn-field period in North-Western Balkans the “exhibition of power through wealth display was not made in occasion of death”²⁹. Elites could have felt the urge to increase their prestige defunctionalizing and devoting metal objects to the gods, presenting themselves as the last link of the chain of gift and counter-gift and in this way ranking themselves between gods and the community³⁰.

ABOUT MOBILITY

The suggestion of spiral *fibulae* appearing in the late bronze age in the Balkans and Aegean area, found associated with *torques*, or sometimes with iron weapons and harness of northern origin, has made it become one of the symbols of conjectured invasions or migrations that would have thrown off the order of the Mycenaean palaces within the course of upheavals at the end of the Bronze Age³¹.

As regards the interpretation of the spread of external elements in the Aegean area, an approach tends “to relate the style of the material culture to the ethnic or cultural identity of the users”³²; another approach sees the foreign shapes as “the evidences of exchange of goods or circulation of models shared on the basis of their symbolic potentiality in social and ideological field, that is to mediate, build and strengthen social ties and economic transactions”³³.

The first interpretation leads to suppose mobility of people, that can be massive or limited to small groups; concentrated or spread out in time³⁴. Often this

ELSICK 2003, HANSEN *et Alii* 2012, GORI 2014.

²⁹ GORI 2014, p. 283.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ See KOSSINNA 1902, CHILDE 1929, *Idem* 1950, MILOJČIĆ 1948-49, *Idem* 1952, FOLTINY 1961.

³² BORGNA 2013, p. 126.

³³ *Ibidem*; see also SHERRAT 2000, BORGNA – CASSOLA GUIDA 2004 (2006), p. 160.

³⁴ For rather sudden mass migrations see KIMMIG 1964, COURTOIS 1972, pp. 30-31; BOUZEK 1985, pp. 242-243, *Idem* 1994, DREWS 1993; for a long process of transfer of groups see CATLING 1961, p. 121; DESBOROUGH 1964, PERONI 1989, p. 249; *Idem*

theory make use of archaeological data to validate interpretations induced by the reading of written sources³⁵. The second interpretation does not confer a primary importance to the migratory factor, focusing on the circulation and exchange of objects or ideas³⁶.

Forms of relationship in specific attire items and in the way of dressing are suggested by the comparison of spectacle *fibulae* in long-distant areas as Macedonia and the Pannonian-Adriatic area. Morphologically the southern Galaxidi and Vergina types find their models in spectacle *fibulae* found in urn-fields graves at Velika Gorica (Northern Croatia) and Brinjeva Gora (Eastern Slovenia)³⁷, and more broadly in the Gyermely type (witnessed in Pannonia from the 13th/12th century B.C.) and in the spiral *fibula* of Maribor type, common in South-Western Pannonia in the 11th/10th century B.C. If the derivation of the types is certainly common, the areal circumscription of differing manufacturing specificity suggests different workshops.

Also the association of spectacle *fibulae* with *torques* and spiral bracelets in attire sets seems to originate from North-Western Balkans, in particular from Japodian and Dalmatian area³⁸. According to Pabst specific feminine attire set in both areas correspond in their phenotypic structure: *torques*, *fibulae* and bracelet jewelry “fit in with the emergence of standard sets in the different landscapes, each one declined in the local type repertoire”³⁹. There’s no evidence of import of these sets, rather it’s the emergence in form of phenotypic comparable set. Spectacle *fibulae* of Galaxidi and Vergina type are used in the spectacle *fibulae-torques*-spiral bracelets sets of Macedonian and Southern Albanian area,

1996 pp. 285-286; *Idem* 2004, POPHAM 1994, p. 283-295; DEGER-JALKOTZY 2002, pp. 55-57, nt. 67; BETTELLI 2002, p. 134-136; For an overview see JUNG 2009, p. 129, ntt. 1, 2.

³⁵ BORGNA 2013, p. 126.

³⁶ JUNG 2009, p. 129, nt. 3; see also STEUER 1992, SHERRAT 2000, pp. 84-87.

³⁷ For references see PABST 2009, p. 14, nt. 38.

³⁸ Even if the arise of the phenomenon seems to be contemporary in Vergina and Ostrožac near Cazin, and no direct models of this association seem to be observable both in North-Western Balkans and Macedonia, the three shapes have a long tradition in Pannonia and Carpathian Basin, in the case of torques and spiral bracelets going back to Middle Bronze Age. Several findings confirm the occurrence of bracelets and other spiral-decoration-jewelry of Carpathian origin in North-Western Balkan cave burials since Late Bronze Age, while in Macedonia Late Bronze Age models aren’t witnessed. For references *Ivi*, p. 15, ntt. 44-47.

³⁹ *Ivi*, p. 17.

while in the comparable sets in North-Western Balkans is used the Kopolje type. The two types differing in the cross-section of the wire and in the shape of the needle, belong to the same phenotype as spectacle *fibulae* with big figure-of-eight loops linked in the back-side⁴⁰. The same kind of relationship can be observed for other objects as bracelets and bow *fibulae* with two knobs⁴¹.

Comparable connections with North-Western Balkans involve also Western Macedonia and Southern Albania, where South-Western Pannonian spiral *fibulae* of Maribor type have been found in large numbers in graves dating 11th/10th-9th century B.C. – the different size suggesting a local manufacturing – and also spectacle *fibulae* of Vergina and Galaxidi type, developed from North-Western Balkan Kopolje type, are common. All spiral and spectacle *fibulae* are here worn by adult women, mostly at one side of the shoulder (sometimes in pairs on both shoulders), generally without other jewelry⁴². The costume is different, but a phenotypical correspondence in the use of spectacle *fibulae* with North-Western-Balkans seems manifest: adult woman wore clothes fastened on one side with spectacle *fibulae*⁴³.

The difference in the acceptance of North-Western elements at Vergina and Central Macedonia compared to Southern-Albanian/Western-Macedonian area is explained by Pabst as it would be a signal of the different integration of migrants in different situations⁴⁴. North-Western Balkan migrants would have been involved in Vergina in the formation of a new community, while in Southern Albania and Western Macedonia they would have been integrated in existent structures⁴⁵.

It must be said that also other influences from other areas emerge in the material culture in Vergina's graves⁴⁶ especially from Carpathian Basin, but

⁴⁰ *Ivi*, pp. 17-18.

⁴¹ See the bow *fibulae* with two knobs of the Kopolje-Vergina group, which can be distinguished in a Northern Adriatic and a Macedonian serie: *Ivi*, pp. 18, nt. 60. For spiral bracelets *Ivi*, pp. 18-19, ntt. 61, 62.

⁴² *Ivi*, pp. 28-29, ntt. 109, 110.

⁴³ *Ivi*, p. 30.

⁴⁴ Also the costume of tumuli burials, adopted in Southern Albania since 13th/12th century, and in Vergina in 11th/10th century, simultaneously with the acceptance of spectacle *fibulae*, is for Pabst signal of different processes of integration of migrants from North-Western Balkans.

⁴⁵ *Ivi*, p. 30.

⁴⁶ See for example a spiral *fibula* of Maribor type in the maiden's grave LXV Π at Vergina with spectacle *fibula-torque* set, which may refer to Pannonian or South-Western

North-Western Balkan elements seem predominant: also the inhumation practice in supine elongated position, covered with a tumulus, has a long tradition in North-Western Balkans since Middle Bronze Age⁴⁷.

For a general interpretation of the phenomenon Pabst refers to a migrationist interpretation, identifying the bearers of spectacle *fibulae* as an ethnic coming from the Japodian-Dalmatian area that would have moved across South-Albania and Western Macedonia to settle in Central Macedonia constituting the core of Macedonian nation, and producing the migration of the Dorians, previously settled in the same areas.

Evidences for the definition of movement of people – or groups of people, being a phenomenon concerning more than one individual – have been sought in material culture. Having analyzed feminine graves contexts from Vergina, Pabst has reviewed masculine graves, containing mostly iron weapons. Characteristic in Vergina's tumuli graves are flange-hilted swords of Naue II type, which can be compared by general characteristics to foreign models. The specifics of the local swords are the fish-tail shaped hilt and the low number of rivets. The same features occur on iron swords from Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Greece, the earliest findings dating around 1100 B.C. More broadly the same characteristics occur in bronze specimens from Pannonian and Dalmatian area, dated to Late Bronze Age (Ha A1, 12th century B.C.)⁴⁸ The Naue II type has a long tradition in Northern Italy and Carpathian Basin since the Middle Bronze Age, but recent studies state that the first bronze sword of Naue II type in the Aegean area is a specimen found in Tsountas hoard I at Mycenae, associated with 5 sword of Mycenaean type, dating in the Late Helladic B Middle period (13th century B.C.), still in the Palatial era⁴⁹. With the support of metal analysis, Jung suggests that sword of this type were brought at Mycenae by mercenaries from Italy, whose presence would be witnessed also by the local production of imitat-

Pannonian influence (for references *Ivi*, p. 25, nt. 95), 2 ring pendants of Gyermely type from grave Malamas Γ I and grave LXV Φ at Vergina, both with spectacle *fibula-torque*-spiral bracelet set, referring to Carpathian Basin (for references *Ibidem*, ntt. 96, 97), 3 little spectacle *fibulae* of Suseni type referring to Eastern Carpathians (*Ivi*, p. 26, nt. 98) and kantharoi with knob handle showing massive influence from Eastern Carpathian-Moldavian area (*Ibidem*, p. 26, ntt. 103, 104).

⁴⁷ *Ivi*, p. 27, nt. 106.

⁴⁸ For references see PABST 2009, p. 22, nt. 85.

⁴⁹ JUNG – MEHOFER 2013, pp. 176 ff.

ed Italian pottery and could be related to Mycenaean campaigns in Eastern Mediterranean⁵⁰. Although this sword has more rivets than the Vergina type, its early appearance entails that the spread of Naue II swords in the Aegean it's not necessarily to relate to a single event and it may have involved different actors.

Some doubts about an explanation of the spread of Naue II swords with migrations of people bearers of spectacle fibulae-torques-spiral bracelet set comes from the lack of these swords in Japodian area. Pabst relate this fact with a general scarceness of weapons in the Japodian graves of Early Iron Age⁵¹, that seems to be reconnected to ideological schemes. At the same time the partial mismatch in the areas of origin of northern-origin elements in Vergina's material culture of 11th-10th century B.C. is confirmed by the scarceness of spectacle fibulae-torques-spiral bracelets set in Central and Southern Dalmatian area, where flange-hilted swords of this type occur⁵².

The reception of north-western sword types seems having not necessarily anything to do with migrations, but it may be also due to other reasons, as changes in battle technique⁵³. Anyhow the stylistic features suggest that contacts of a certain consistency between members of North-western Balkan and Macedonian groups may have taken place.

It is necessary to consider that metallurgical productions in Late Bronze Age had something to do with an elitist or at least specialized circulation and this fact could distort the perspective of a general historical reconstruction. In consideration of this fact, data about the circulation of metallic models need to be complemented by other parameters, like the study of pottery.

The study of pottery of Macedonian settlements provides some interesting information. Several authors have emphasized the introduction of Danubian ceramic shapes in the local repertory in Late Bronze Age⁵⁴. This need not to be interpreted necessarily as the effect of a migration: in fact typical Macedonian shapes are spread northward in the Balkan peninsula along the rivers courses⁵⁵. On the other hand it should be stressed the import and the imitation of Mycenaean shapes in Macedonia, already common from the 14th century B.C.,

⁵⁰ *Ivi*, p. 184.

⁵¹ PABST 2009, pp. 23-24, nt. 89.

⁵² *Ivi*, p. 24, nt. 90.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, nt. 92.

⁵⁴ HEURTLEY 1939, HOCHSTÄTTER 1984, HÄNSEL 1989, BOUZEK 1994.

⁵⁵ HOREJS 2007, pp. 296-297.

becoming a stable component of the local spectrum from the 12th century B.C. and continuing throughout the 11th century B.C., in post-palatial age⁵⁶.

An approach involving long-distance migrations is suggested by Kristiansen, whose model however implies the interaction between different actors: the process of crisis and ensuing movement would develop in a regional system of interaction between center and periphery⁵⁷. The complete development of Mycenaean culture would have integrated directly a peripheral area as Northern Greece, Macedonia, Southern Italy and Asia Minor, in his economical system. From here “goods and people began to move along traditional lines of political alliances, that were strengthened in the process, creating a “second periphery” – localized in Northern Italy, Carpathian Basin and Black Sea western coast – where Mycenaean body armour and skills in metal craftships were adopted”⁵⁸. In these areas the reception of Mycenaean elements would have participate to a reorganization of settlement and economy, as well as to the arise of a new warrior hierarchy expressed by the rich graves, and new forms of religion and burial customs⁵⁹. The conclusion of the process would coincide with a movement of people. Kristiansen suggests to distinguish a first phase of movement in which Central European warriors would have been present in the Mycenaean palaces as mercenaries, and a second phase in which a proper migration of groups of farmers and breeders would have occurred after the fall of Palatial societies.

Another possible interaction between North-Western Balkans and the Aegean area is to be sought in the Adriatic passage, retracing the path of the amber route. Shards of Mycenaean pottery found in the north Adriatic coast and in the hinterland, as well as bronze weapons and amber beads witness Mycenaean activities in North-Western Balkan area, but the nature of these contacts is discussed⁶⁰. On the other hand Central European and Italian bronzes are present in Greece and in Eastern Mediterranean from the 13th century B.C.⁶¹. The studies about metal circulation seem to suggest the emergence of an im-

⁵⁶ *Ivi*, p. 300.

⁵⁷ HARDING 1984, p. 284 and ff.

⁵⁸ KRISTIANSEN 1998, pp. 388-389.

⁵⁹ *Ivi*, p. 385.

⁶⁰ PABST 2009, p. 20; see also HARDING 1984, v. HASE 1990, p. 1993-1997; CARANCINI – PERONI 1997.

⁶¹ See DESBOROUGH 1964, pp. 69 ff.; BIETTI SESTIERI 1973, SANDARS 1978, pp. 91 ff.; MATTHÄUS 1980, BOUZEK 1985, pp. 241-242; HARDING 1984, pp. 215-216.

portant axis for exchanges in the Adriatic from the 13th to the beginning of the first millennium B.C.⁶²: in a first phase the role of medium between East and Central Europe/Italy would have been played by late Mycenaean elites, while in a second phase (from late 12th century B.C.) this role would have passed to Cyprus agents. It should be pointed that the intensity of the trade is different from the archaic as long as from the Palatial connections, being described by Sherrat as decentralized low level trade⁶³.

Maybe in this contexts can be explained the strong similarities between spectacle fibulae of Gyermely type, originary of Pannonia, and Metaponto type, spread in Southern Italy. As seen in the paragraph about social implications, also the association of spectacle fibulae and quatrefoil fibulae could be interpreted as the development of a Pannonian pattern.

In the necropolis of Vergina and Metaponto similarities are witnessed also by the use of so-called *falerae*, big bronze buttons used for decorating belts in perishable materials. In particular the so-called “shield boss” shape associates the Italian Central-Southern Adriatic and Ionian coast with the findings from Central-Southern Dalmatia (mouth of Neretva), and from the area between Albania and Central Macedonia.

Although the hypothesis of a Balkan origin of the shape seems more convincing, if we assume an high chronology of Italian Early Iron Age the use of *falerae* in Southern-Italian feminine elite graves would arise shortly after the appearance in the Vergina's graves. From the 10th century B.C. the evidences from both sides of Adriatic suggest clearly parallel developments, in particular in feminine burial sets. Also elements from western shores are imported in the Balkans, such as the wheel-shaped pendants hanging from belts found in Bosnia, Albania and Epirus⁶⁴.

Also on the nature of these contacts between the shores of Adriatic much has been said⁶⁵. Gori notes a bilateral circulation of metallurgical models and products between the shores of Southern Adriatic, involving both weapons and object of personal jewelry, categories which suggests situations of strong social-economic differentiation⁶⁶.

⁶² BIETTI SESTIERI 2003, *Dall'Egeo all'Adriatico* 2009.

⁶³ See SHERRAT 2000, BORGNA 2013.

⁶⁴ KILIAN 1985.

⁶⁵ BIETTI SESTIERI – LO SCHIAVO 1976, CULTRARO 2006, GORI 2006, CAZZELLA 2009.

⁶⁶ GORI 2006, p. 211.

Teržan and Pare for these regularity in several areas in both shores of Adriatic from South-Eastern Alps to Northern Greece, wrote about a canonical ornamental set, so-called Balkan-Adriatic, which seems to have been accepted by many cultures of both sides of the sea⁶⁷. Peroni talked about a metallurgical *koiné* emerged in late bronze age between Central Europe, Italy and Balkans. It is worth noting that in this early period close relationships were limited to specific forms and only to certain groups, which seemed to be linked by preferential relationships. The data seemed to presume a certain mobility of little groups or individuals between periphery and center of Aegean world⁶⁸. The fact that the evidences of the contacts are mainly attested in feminine burial ornaments suggests that the nature of these contacts was more social than economical⁶⁹.

CONCLUSIONS

From this overview on the archaeological data and the historical interpretations related to the presence of spectacle fibulae in the Balkan Peninsula and in the neighboring regions, have emerged also the limits of the interpretation of historical situations through this kind of findings. In fact metal objects represented in Late Bronze Age luxury objects, whose circulation followed particular rules and concerned only parts of societies. The most interesting data that can be obtained concern the social structure of these societies, the importance of feminine costumes to pass political and religious messages and the possibility of tracing relationships between élites of different areas.

It appears clear that it's not possible to explain the evidence of similarities between jewelry shapes or cultural habits only as the result of migrations. Apparently many elements contributed, in different measures and with different roles, to the formation of new Iron Age societies and afterwards historical ethnics. A participation of North-Western Balkan groups seems to be accepted without a doubt, but it could be only a part of a more complex interaction of forces. It seems instead more founded to talk about a mobility of ideas, skills and of course people, meant as circulation and exchange of members of élites

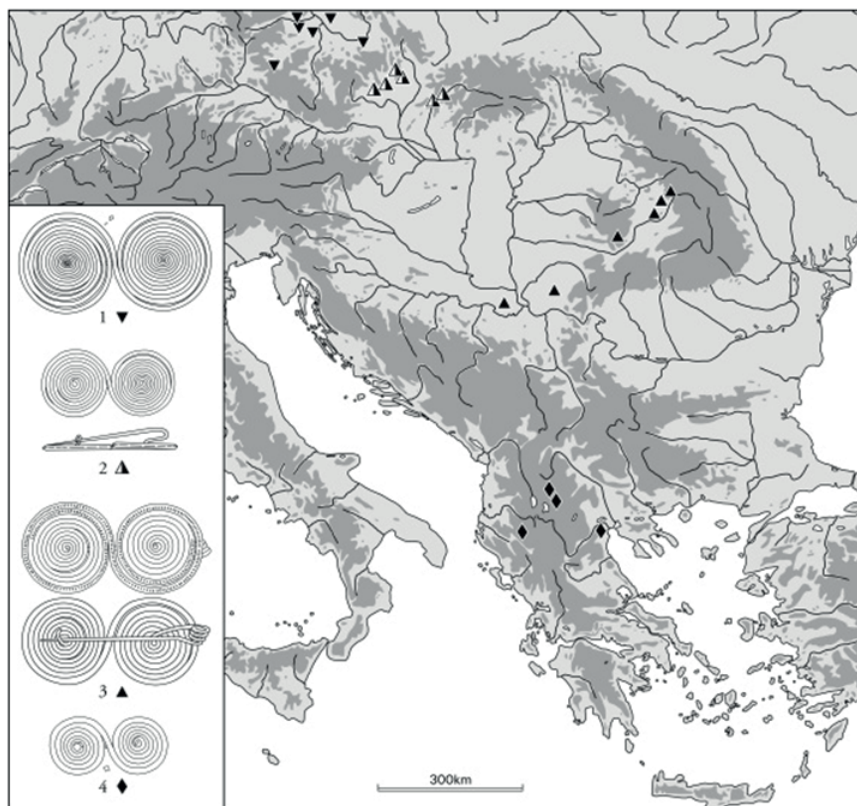
⁶⁷ TERŽAN 1987; PARE 1998.

⁶⁸ PERONI 1994, p. 853.

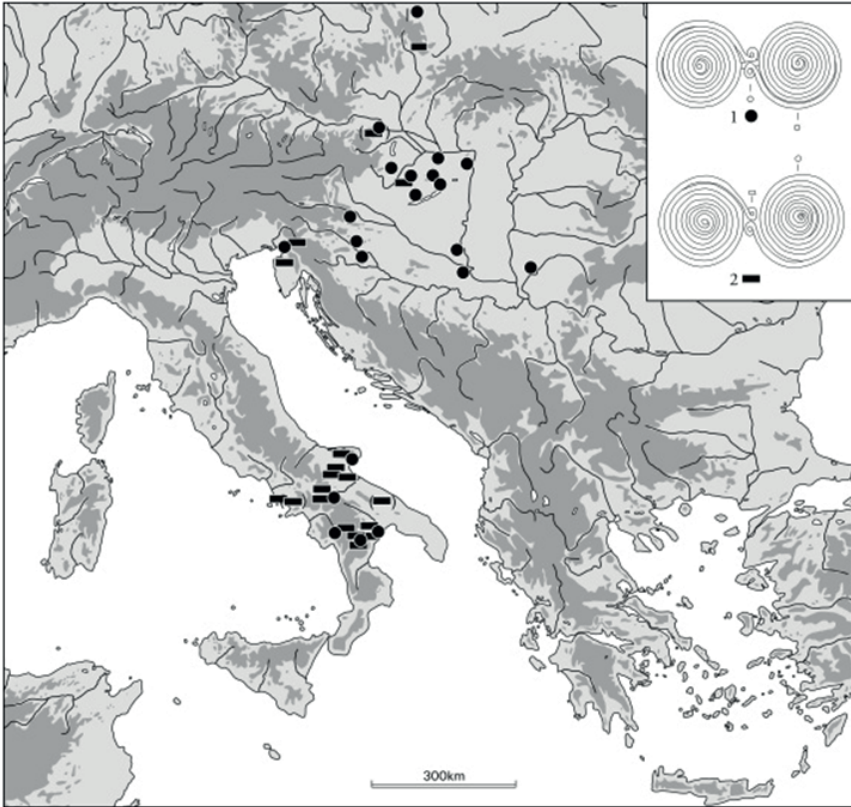
⁶⁹ IAlA 2007, p. 27.

(through marriages and alliances) and specialized forces as craftsmen or warriors.

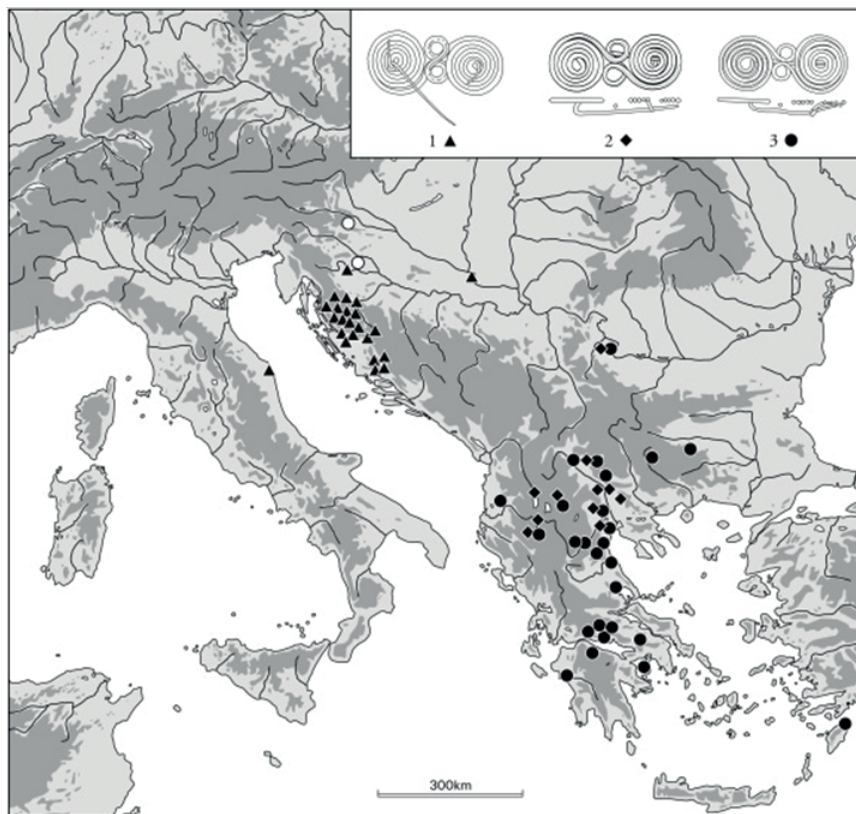
Beyond the hypothesis about the nature of the contacts, the spread of spectacle fibulae witnesses the sharing and comprehension of the same lexicon by the élites in a large part of Central and Eastern Europe. The use of items of these sets communicated the affinity to a super-regional system of values and at the same time each group developed a different syntax to fit in to their specific social requirement and to create its own identity.



*Distribution map of spectacle fibulae without figure-of-eight loops of Suseni type:
1) Bohemian group; 2) Moravian-Slovakian group; 3) Transylvanian-Serbian
group; 4) Macedonian group (Pabst 2011, fig. 2, p. 203).*



Distribution map of spectacle fibulae with little figure-of-eight loops linked on the back side: 1) Gyermely type; 2) Metaponto type (Pabst 2011, fig. 3, p. 205).



Distribution map of spectacle fibulae with big figure-of-eight loops linked on the back side: 1) Kompolje type; 2) Vergina type; 3) Galaxidi type (Pabst 2011, fig. 9, p. 212).

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