

Ranokršćanske pticolike fibule u svjetlu neobjavljenih nalaza iz Danila i Podumaca*

*Early Christian Bird-shaped Fibulae in the Light of Unpublished Finds from Danilo and Podumci**

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Autor analizira dvije neobjavljene pticolike fibule koje je pronašao Dane Maretić na širem području šibenskog zaleđa, točnije na položajima Danilo – Gradina i Podumci – Maretića umac. Fibula iz Danila čuva se u muzejskoj zbirci samostana na Visovcu, dok je ona iz Podumaca u posjedu nalaznika. Fibule su izrađene od bronce u punoj plastici te prikazuju ptice sklopljenih krila. U radu su ukratko opisane i plošne fibule jer autor smatra da pripadaju istom kulturnom i vremenskom horizontu. Donosi se mišljenje da plastično rađene fibule predstavljaju goluba ili grlicu, što se povezuje s kršćanskom simbolikom. S obzirom na činjenicu da su analizirane fibule pronađene zajedno s germanskim nalazima, te na temelju usporednih primjeraka sa šireg prostora Europe, autor fibule iz Podumaca i Danila datira u razdoblje 5. ili 6. st.

Cljučne riječi: pticolike fibule, fibule u obliku goluba, Danilo, Podumci, Visovac

The author analyzes two unpublished bird-shaped fibulae found by Dane Maretić in the wider area of the Šibenik hinterland, more precisely on the sites of Danilo – Gradina (Hillfort) and Podumci – Maretića umac. The fibula from Danilo is kept in the Museum Collection of the Monastery on Visovac, while the one from Podumci is in the possession of the finder. The fibulae are made of bronze in full sculpture and they depict birds with folded wings. The plate fibulae are also briefly described in the work as the author believes that they belong to the same cultural and chronological horizon. The opinion is put forward that the plastically rendered fibulae depict a pigeon or a turtle-dove, which is connected with Christian symbolism. Considering the fact that the analyzed fibulae were found together with Germanic finds, and based on comparative pieces from the wider territory of Europe, the author dates the fibulae from Podumci and Danilo to the period of the 5th or 6th cent. A.D.

Key words: bird-shaped fibulae, fibulae in the shape of a pigeon, Danilo, Podumci, Visovac

Pticolike ranokršćanske fibule prvorazredan su arheološki materijal. One, osim nesumnjive uporabne i dekorativne funkcije, imaju izraženu simboličku komponentu koja izvrsno oslikava duh vremena u kojemu su nastale. Iako se na prvi pogled čini da su takve fibule dobro poznate, a usto su raširene na velikim područjima Europe, pomnija analiza pokazuje kako su one u biti relativno rijetke, a posebice su rijetki primjerci koji potječu iz zatvorenih grobnih cjelina, istraženih prilikom stručno provedenih arheoloških iskapanja. Ta činjenica može otežati njihovo kronološko i etničko opredjeljivanje, što je vidljivo u znanstvenoj literaturi gdje se ove fibule datiraju u širok vremenski raspon, od 4. do 7. st., pa čak i u ranija razdoblja. Nesuglasje postoji i prilikom opisa pticolikih fibula, jer se isti arte-

Early Christian bird-shaped fibulae are first class archaeological material. In addition to their indubitable utilitarian and decorative function, they have a pronounced symbolic component that excellently depicts the spirit of the period in which they were made. Even though at first glance it appears that such fibulae are well known, and at the same time distributed over wide areas of Europe, a more detailed analysis shows that they are in fact relatively rare, and that pieces belonging to closed grave assemblages, investigated in the course of professionally conducted archaeological excavations, are particularly rare. This fact can render their chronological and ethnic attribution more difficult, as can be seen in the scholarly literature where these fibulae are dated to a wide chronological span, from the 4th to 7th cent., and even to earlier periods. There are also disagree-

* Članak je posvećen uvaženom prof. dr. sc. Željku Tomičiću koji je svojim radovima uvelike pridonio boljem poznavanju razdoblja iz kojega potječu nalazi obrađeni u ovome radu.

* The paper is dedicated to esteemed Prof. Željko Tomičić whose works greatly contributed to the better understanding of the period from which come the finds analyzed in this work.



Karta 1 Šibensko zaleđe s označenim mjestima nalaza fibula (Danilo i Podumci)

Map 1 Hinterland of Šibenik with marked spots of discovery of the fibulae (Danilo and Podumci)

fakti smatraju ponekad prikazima goluba, ponekad pauna, pa čak i pijetla. Stoga smatramo shodnim objaviti dvije nepoznate ranokršćanske pticolike fibule iz šibenskog zaleđa. Unatoč tome što je riječ o slučajnim nalazima, mišljenja smo da njihova objava može upotpuniti sliku o ovom tipu fibula, ali i dodatno osvijetliti složene povijesne okolnosti na izmaku antike na prostorima sjeverne Dalmacije.

Fibule potječu s lokaliteta Danilo – Gradina i Podumci – Maretića umac (Karta 1). Kao što je već rečeno, riječ je o slučajnim nalazima za čiji je pronalazak zaslužan D. Maretić¹. Nalaznik je fibulu iz Danila poklonio muzejskoj zbirci franjevačkog samostana na Visovcu² zajedno s jednom germanskom aplikom koja, sudeći po njegovim riječima, potječe s istog lokaliteta. Druga pticolika fibula, ona iz Podumaca, nalazi se u posjedu nalazni-

ments regarding the description of bird-shaped fibulae, as the same artefacts are sometimes considered representations of pigeons, sometimes peacocks or even roosters. We therefore believe it necessary to publish two unknown early Christian bird-shaped fibulae from the hinterland of Šibenik. In spite of the fact that these are chance finds, we believe that their publication can complement the picture about this type of fibulae, but also shed additional light on complex historical circumstances at the close of antiquity in the areas of northern Dalmatia.

The fibulae come from the site of Danilo – Gradina and Podumci – Maretića umac (Map 1). As has already been said, these are chance finds, and the credit for their discovery goes to D. Maretić¹. The finder presented the fibula from Danilo to the Museum Collection of the Franciscan Monastery on Visovac² together with an Germanic applique, which, judging by his words,

1. Zahvaljujemo D. Maretiću što nam je pružio na uvid ovaj zanimljiv arheološki materijal. Zahvalnost dugujemo i kolegama J. Zaninoviću i D. Gaurini iz Gradskog muzeja u Drnišu.

2. Franjevački samostan na Visovcu posjeduje omanju, ali vrijednu muzejsku zbirku prikupljanu tijekom više stotina godina franjevačke prisutnosti na tom mjestu. U dostojno uređenoj zbirci nalaze se primjerci liturgijskog posuda i pribora, liturgijsko ruho, povijesni dokumenti, ikone, razni zavjetni darovi, fosilni materijal te raznoliki arheološki materijal. Arheološke nalaze podrobno je opisao M. Mengušić (Mengušić 1997). Zbog toga ne ćemo se upuštati u detaljniji prikaz arheološkog dijela visovačke zbirke, međutim, spomenimo samo da su u zbirci zastupljeni nalazi od neolitika, preko rimskog razdoblja i ranokršćanskog vremena do ranog srednjeg vijeka. Ističemo izvrsno očuvanu brončanu fibulu u obliku konja, datiranu u 6. st., kojoj mjesto nalaza nije poznato. Treba reći da je najveći dio arheoloških nalaza u visovačku zbirku dospio zalaganjem fra M. Ujevića.

1. We thank D. Maretić for allowing us insight into this interesting archaeological material. We owe our thanks also to colleagues J. Zaninović and D. Gaurina from the Drniš Municipal Museum.

2. The Franciscan Monastery on Visovac has a small but valuable Museum Collection, collected in the course of several centuries of the Franciscan presence in that place. The respectably arranged Collection contains pieces of liturgical vessels and accessory, liturgical attire, historical documents, icons, various votive gifts, fossil material and diverse archaeological material. The archaeological finds were thoroughly described by M. Mengušić (Mengušić 1997). We shall therefore not undertake a more detailed review of the archaeological part of the Visovac Collection. Nevertheless, let us mention that the Collection contains finds from the Neolithic, the Roman period and the early Christian period up until the early Middle Ages. We single out an excellently preserved bronze fibula in the shape of a horse, dated to the 6th cent., whose site of discovery is unknown. It should be mentioned that the greatest part of the archaeological finds reached the Visovac Collection through the effort of brother M. Ujević



Sl. 1 Fibula s položaja Danilo – Gradina
Fig. 1 The fibula from the site of Danilo – Gradina

ka, a izuzetno je zanimljiva činjenica da je na istom položaju D. Maretić pronašao još jedan germanski artefakt, tzv. rotirajuću fibulu.³

Fibula s položaja Danilo – Gradina izrađena je od bronce (sl. 1). Izvrsno je očuvana, međutim, nedostaje joj igla koja je, sudeći po ostacima korozije s donje strane fibule, bila načinjena od željeza. Fibula je plastično rađena. Glava ptice je relativno pravilnog okruglog, tj. kuglastog oblika s istaknutim kljunom svijenim prema dolje. Oči su prikazane kružnim udubljenjima. Tijelo je trokutastog poprečnog presjeka, a prema repu se sužava. Na vratu ptice je prstenasto zadebljanje. Tri prstenasta rebra razdvajaju tijelo i rep koji je lepezasto proširen. Rep je ukrašen s četiri kružna udubljenja, te s dvije urezane paralelne linije (sl. 2). S donje strane fibule nalazi se petlja koja je imala funkciju noge fibule, te nosač mehanizma igle. Fibula je duga 4 cm.

Druga fibula, pronađena na položaju Podumci – Maretića umac, poput prethodne izrađena je od bronce te je plastično oblikovana (sl. 3). Dužina joj iznosi 4,2 cm. Glava ima okrugle konture, međutim, za razliku od fibule iz Danila, nije kuglasta nego je sa strana spljoštena. Oči su naznačene kružnim ispupčenjima. Kljun, svijen prema dolje, širok je gotovo koliko i glava. Na kratkom vratu nalazi se prstenasto zadebljanje. Tijelo ptice, koje je trokutastog presjeka, lagano se sužava prema repu. Ukrašeno je dvjema urezanim paralelnim linijama koje tvore trokutasti uzorak, a najvjerojatnije predstavljaju sklopljena krila. Četiri rebrasta ispupčenja dijele rep od tijela. Rep ima lepezasti oblik. Ukrašen je urezanim linijom, paralelnom s lagano nazubljenim rubom. S donje strane fibule nalazi se očuvano ležište igle tj. noga. Sama igla nije očuvana, ipak, sudeći po ostacima korodiranog, najvjerojatnije spiralnog mehanizma, pretpostavljamo da je bila od željeza.

Opisane fibule pripadaju tipu kod kojega je oblik ptice dan u punoj plastici. Međutim, postoje i plošne pticolike fibule. S obzirom na to da smatramo kako obje navedene vrste pripadaju istom vremenskom i etničkom horizontu, valja se ukratko

3. Germanske nalaze analizirao je A. Uglešić u ovoj publikaciji.



Sl. 2 Rep fibule s položaja Danilo – Gradina
Fig. 2 The tail of the fibula from the site of Danilo – Gradina

comes from the same site. The second bird-shaped fibula, the one from Podumci, is in the possession of the finder. Very interesting is also the fact that D. Maretić found yet another Germanic artefact on the same position, a so-called rotating fibula.³

The fibula from the site of Danilo – Gradina is made of bronze (Fig. 1) and it is excellently preserved. However, it is missing a pin, which, judging by the remains of corrosion on the lower part of the fibula, was made of iron. The fibula is plastically rendered. The bird's head has a relatively regular round, i.e. spherical shape with a prominent beak curved downwards. The eyes are depicted by means of circular depressions. The body has a triangular cross-section and it tapers towards the tail. There is an annular thickening on the neck. Three annular ribs separate the body from the tail, widened in the shape of a fan. The tail is decorated with four circular depressions and two incised parallel lines (Fig. 2). On the lower side of the fibula were the loop serving as the bed for the pin and the frame for the mechanism of the pin. The fibula is 4 cm long.

The second fibula, found on the site of Podumci – Maretića umac, like the previous one, is made of bronze and plastically rendered (Fig. 3). Its length is 4,2 cm. The head has round contours but in contrast to the fibula from Danilo it is not spherical but flattened on the sides. The eyes are indicated by circular projections. The beak, curved downwards, is of the almost same width as the head. There is an annular thickening on the short neck. The bird's body, of triangular cross-section, gently tapers towards the tail. It is decorated with two incised parallel lines that make up a triangular pattern and in all likelihood represent folded wings. Four rib-like projections separate the tail from the body. The tail is fan-shaped. It is decorated with an incised line, parallel with the gently serrated edge. The bed for the pin is preserved on the lower part of the fibula. The pin itself is not preserved, but judging by the remains of the corroded, most probably spiral mechanism, we assume that it was made of iron.

The described fibulae belong to the type in which the form of the bird was rendered in full sculpture. However, plate bird-shaped fibulae also exist. Considering that we believe that both mentioned types belong to the same chronological and ethnic horizon, we should briefly review the plate fibulae, particularly due to the fact that the symbolic significance of both types is the same. Such fibulae are known, e.g. from grave 349 of the

3. The Germanic finds are analyzed by A. Uglešić in this publication.



Sl. 3 Fibula s položaja Podumci – Maretića umac
Fig. 3 The fibula from the site of Podumci – Maretića umac

osvrnuti i na plošne fibule, posebice stoga što je i simboličko značenje oba tipa isto. Takve fibule poznate su, npr. iz groba 349 nekropole Kranj – Lajh, gdje je oštećena pticolika fibula pronađena zajedno s langobardskom S-fibulom (Stare 1980, T. 105,9), te s nekropole Knin – Greblje, gdje su ovakve fibule pronađene u dva groba i to u grobu 83 (Vinski 1991, 28, T. XIII,14) i u grobu 105 (Vinski 1991, 28, T. XVII,4). U oba kninska groba pticolike fibule su jedini grobni nalazi. Oba spomenuta groblja, na kojima je pokopano kasnoantičko autohtono stanovništvo uz pojedinačne ukope Germana, pripisuju se 6. st. Poznat je i jedan nasebinski nalaz i to iz Ljubljane (Petru 1976). Prema našem mišljenju, ovim nalazima bi se mogao pripisati i slučajni nalaz s položaja Gradac – Bošac u Makarskom primorju, koji je u literaturi ocijenjen kao dio pojasne garniture (Božek, Kunac 1998, 77, kat. br. 38). Međutim, smatramo da je riječ o oštećenoj brončanoj pticolikoj fibuli.⁴ Ovakve se fi-

4. Mjesto Gradac na Makarskom primorju vrlo je bogato antičkim nalazima (grobovi, nakit, novac, ostatci arhitekture) koji potječu s nekoliko lokaliteta, danas, na žalost, uništenih izgradnjom hotelskih objekata. S lokaliteta Bošac potječe skupina nalaza koja se sastoji od željezne predice bubrežasta oblika, amforastog jezičca, brončane fibule pticolikog oblika i ulomka brončane T-fibule. Nalazi se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, a mogu se datirati u razdoblje od 2. do 6. st. U cit. radu navodi se da je riječ o dijelovima pojasne garniture 4.-5. st., što nije u potpunosti točno jer predmeti po svemu sudeći nisu zajedno pronađeni. Usto T-fibula i fibula zoomorfnog oblika ne mogu biti dijelovi pojasa. Nije ispravno ni datiranje jer T-fibulu možemo pripisati 2. st. U Inventarnoj knjizi Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu navodi se da je predmete u muzej donio Ž. Rapanić pri obilasku terena godine 1962. Nalazi su prikupljeni na širem prostoru lokaliteta Bošac (na informaciji zahvaljujem kolegi B. Čargu).

neropolis of Kranj – Lajh, where a damaged bird-shaped fibula was found together with a Langobard S-fibula (Stare 1980, Pl. 105,9) and from the necropolis of Knin – Greblje, where such fibulae were found in two graves: grave 83 (Vinski 1991, 28, Pl. XIII,14) and grave 105 (Vinski 1991, 28, Pl. XVII,4). In both of these graves from Knin the bird-shaped fibulae are the only finds. Both mentioned cemeteries, on which the autochthonous population of late antiquity had been buried, alongside individual burials of the Germans, are attributed to the 6th cent. A settlement find from Ljubljana is also known (Petru 1976). In our opinion, we may also add to these finds a chance find from the site of Gradac – Bošac on the Makarska Riviera, assessed in the literature as part of a belt set (Božek, Kunac 1998, 77, Cat. Nr. 38). However, we believe that this is a damaged bronze bird-shaped fibula.⁴ Such fibulae are considered in scholarly literature as representations of peacocks, which symbolize immortality in Christian art. We share that opinion, primarily due to their shape, but also due to

4. The village of Gradac on the Makarska Riviera is very rich in sites from antiquity (graves, jewellery, coins, architectural remains), which come from several sites, nowadays unfortunately destroyed by the building of hotel resorts. A group of finds consisting of a kidney-shaped buckle pin, an amphora-like strap end, a bird-shaped bronze fibula and a fragment of a bronze T-fibula, comes from the site of Bošac. The finds are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split, and can be dated to the period from the 2nd to 6th cent. It is mentioned in the quoted literature that they form part of a belt set from the 4th-5th cent., which is not entirely correct, as the objects were in all likelihood not found together. Further, the T-fibula and the zoomorphic fibula cannot form part of a belt set. The dating is likewise not correct, because the T-fibula can be attributed to the 2nd cent. The entry in the Inventory Book of the Archaeological Museum in Split says that the objects were brought to the Museum by Ž. Rapanić from a field survey in 1962. The finds were collected in the wider area of the site of Bošac (I am grateful to my colleague B. Čargo for this information).

bule u znanstvenoj literaturi smatraju prikazima pauna koji u kršćanskoj umjetnosti simbolizira besmrtnost. To mišljenje i mi dijelimo, poglavito poradi njihova oblika, ali i činjenice da na glavi imaju krestu, upravo poput pauna. Što se tiče datiranja i etničke pripadnosti ovih nalaza, vrijedi ponoviti često citirano mišljenje Z. Vinskog. On smatra da su ove fibule svojstvene ženskoj nošnji, te da je riječ o kasnoantičko-provincijalnim proizvodima mediteransko-romanskog obilježja s kršćanskom simbolikom, koji se mogu datirati u 6. st. (Vinski 1991, 28). To potvrđuju nalazi iz zatvorenih grobnih cjelina grobalja na redove u Kninu i Kranju. Z. Vinski ovakve fibule uspoređuje s nalazom iz Invilina u sjeveroistočnoj Italiji. Na tom važnom lokalitetu, koji je smješten na putu iz Akvileje prema sjeveru, pronađene su dvije pticolike fibule na položaju Colle Santino na kojemu se, po mišljenju istraživača, nalazio kasnoantički i langobardski castrum Ibligo (Bierbrauer 1990, 143). Fibula koja se svojim tehnološkim odlikama može usporediti s kninskim i kranjskim primjercima osobita je po vrlo izduženom repu, pa iako nema krestu, ipak najvjerojatnije prikazuje pauna (Fingerlin et al. 1968, Fig. 5,7). Druga fibula iz Invilina zanimljiva je po konveksnoj prednjoj strani i vrlo karakterističnom prikazu ptičjih nogu, koje su predočene pomoću trokuta izvedenog na proboj. Zanimljivo je da s prialpskog područja potječe nekoliko sličnih primjeraka, kao što su fibula iz groba 252 nekropole Bled – Pristava (Kastelic 1960, T. 12,1), fibula iz Celja (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 77), te fibula iz Terza kod Trevisa (von Hessen 1968, T. 26,3). U literaturi se navode i primjerci sa sjevernotalijanskih lokaliteta Villa Lagarina (Bierbrauer 1990, 123, Il.23), Mezzocorona i Vittorio Veneto (Ibler 1991, 179). Mjesta nalaza ovih fibula mogla bi ukazivati na njihovo radioničko podrijetlo koje bi se moglo tražiti upravo u južnoj prialpskoj regiji, što je u stručnoj literaturi već primijećeno (Ibler 1991, 20). Glede datacije, fibula iz Bleda datirana je u drugu polovicu 6. st., ona iz Celja u 6. st. (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 77), a fibule iz Invilina u širi vremenski raspon, od 5. do 7. st., tj. u III. fazu tamošnjeg naselja (Bierbrauer 1990, 147). I ova se inačica pticolikih fibula smatra svojinom kasnoantičkoga autohtonog stanovništva, a nepodijeljeno je mišljenje kako je riječ o prikazima pauna.⁵

Pticolike ranokršćanske fibule izrađene u punoj plastici postoje u dvije inačice: s raširenim i sklopljenim krilima. Primjerci iz Danila i Podumaca pripadaju inačici sa sklopljenim krilima, međutim, spomenimo i nekoliko primjeraka ranokršćanskih fibula s raširenim krilima. Takve su fibula iz mjesta Pisignano kod Ravenne (Cavalari 2005, 168), te fibula iz groba 25 nekropole seobe naroda u mjestu St. Peter in Holz u Austriji, tj. antičkoj Teurniji (Piccottini 1978, 417, Abb. 4,5). Fibulu iz Teurnije se može datirati u drugu polovicu 6. st. (Piccottini 1978, 421), što dokazuju ostali nalazi s nekropole, npr. langobardske S-fibule. Raširena krila imaju i fibule iz Masluma u BiH (Miletić 1984, 387, sl. 123), te fibula s nepoznatog lokaliteta iz Muzeja Castelvecchio u Veroni (von Hessen 1968, T. 26,1).

Pticolike fibule sa sklopljenim krilima duge su oko 3,5-5 cm. Čest ukras ovakvih fibula je tipičan kasnoantički motiv

5. V. Bierbrauer smatra fibulu iz Invilina prikazom pijetla (Bierbrauer 1990, 147). Isti autor u svojim prijašnjim radovima tu istu fibulu smatra prikazom pauna (Bierbrauer 1973, 86).

the fact that they have a crest on the head, precisely like a peacock. As regards the dating and ethnic affiliation of these finds, it is worth repeating the often quoted opinion of Z. Vinski, who thinks that these fibulae are a feature of female dress and that they are late ancient provincial products of Mediterranean-Roman character with Christian symbolism, which can be dated to the 6th cent. (Vinski 1991, 28), as corroborated by the finds from closed grave assemblages of the row-grave cemeteries in Knin and Kranj. Z. Vinski compares such fibulae with the find from Invillino in northeastern Italy. On this important site, situated on the road from Aquileia towards the north, two bird-shaped fibulae were found on the position of Colle Santino, where, in the opinion of the excavator, lay the late ancient and Langobard castrum of Ibligo (Bierbrauer 1990, 143). The fibula, whose technological features make it comparable to the pieces from Knin and Kranj, is distinctive for its very elongated tail, so even though it lacks a crest it still in all probability depicts a peacock (Fingerlin et al. 1968, Fig. 5,7). The second fibula from Invillino is interesting because of its convex front and a very characteristic depiction of bird's legs, which are rendered by means of an openwork triangle. It is interesting that several similar pieces come from the pre-Alpine area, such as the fibula from grave 252 from the Bled – Pristava necropolis (Kastelic 1960, Pl. 12,1), the fibula from Celje (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 77), and the fibula from Terso near Treviso (von Hessen 1968, Pl. 26,3). The pieces from the northern Italian sites of Villa Lagarina (Bierbrauer 1990, 123, Il.23), Mezzocorona and Vittorio Veneto (Ibler 1991, 179) are likewise mentioned in the literature. The findspots of these fibulae might point to their workshop origin, which might be looked for precisely in the southern pre-Alpine region, which was already noted in the scholarly literature (Ibler 1991, 20). As regards the dating, the fibula from Bled is dated to the second half of the 6th cent., the one from Celje to the 6th cent. (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 77), while the fibulae from Invillino are dated with a wider chronological span, from the 5th to 7th cent., i.e. to phase III of the local settlement (Bierbrauer 1990, 147). This variant of bird-shaped fibulae is likewise considered as belonging to the late ancient autochthonous population, and there is a unanimous opinion that they represent peacocks.⁵

There are two variants of early Christian bird-shaped fibulae made in full sculpture: with outspread and folded wings. The pieces from Danilo and Podumci belong to the variant with folded wings. Nevertheless, let us mention a few pieces of early Christian fibulae with outspread wings. For instance, one such fibula comes from the site of Pisignano near Ravenna (Cavalari 2005, 168), and another one from grave 25 of the necropolis of the Migration Period in St. Peter in Holz in Austria, i.e. the ancient Teurnia (Piccottini 1978, 417, Fig. 4,5). The fibula from Teurnia can be dated to the second half of the 6th cent. (Piccottini 1978, 421), which is proved by the remaining finds from the necropolis, e.g. the Langobard S-fibulae. The outspread wings are also found on the fibulae from Maslum in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Miletić 1984, 387, Fig. 123) and from an unknown site from the Castelvecchio Museum in Verona (von Hessen 1968, Pl. 26,1).

The bird-shaped fibulae with folded wings are around 3,5-5 cm long. A frequent decoration of these fibulae is the typical late ancient motif of concentric circles, or dots within a circle, which appears not only on the tail but also elsewhere

5. V. Bierbrauer believes that the fibula from Invillino represents a rooster (Bierbrauer 1990, 147). In previous works by the same author this fibula was described as a representation of a peacock (Bierbrauer 1973, 86).

koncentričnih kružnica, ili točke u kružnici, koji se osim na repu može pojaviti i drugdje na tijelu ptice. Često su ukrašene i paralelnim urezima kojima se najvjerojatnije dočaravaju sklopljena krila. Veći broj primjeraka ima prstenasto odebljanje na vratu, te rebrasta ispupčenja između tijela i lepezastog repa, čiji završetak može biti nazubljen. Iako su igle vrlo često izgubljene, one očuvane nam ukazuju na to da su imale spiralni mehanizam.

Ovakve fibule potječu s vrlo širokih prostora Europe. Pronađene su na vizigotskim nekropolama Carpio del Tajo, Duraton i Madrona u Španjolskoj (Ibler 1991, 183). Jedan par potječe sa sjevera Francuske, točnije iz groblja seobe naroda u mjestu Vron (Seillier 1992, 625-626, Fig. 19). Zastupljene su i u srednjoj Europi, npr. na groblju u mjestu Nový Šaldorf u Češkoj (Werner 1962, T. 57), dok iz Slovenije potječe slučajan nalaz iz mjesta Trnje pri Škofji Loki (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 75). Iz Mađarske ističemo fibulu s lokaliteta Keszthely-Fenekpuszta na čijem je repu urezan križ (Garam 2003, 107), a datira se u vrijeme avarske vladavine. Iz Italije je posebno zanimljiv nalaz s nekropole Castel Trosino, gdje je ovakva fibula pronađena u ženskom grobu 13 zajedno s dvije ukosnice i jednom keramičkom posudom (Mengarelli 1902, 226, Fig. 76). Osim nalaza iz Castel Trosina, čije su okolnosti pronalaska i arheološki kontekst dokumentirani, spominjemo još nekoliko talijanskih primjeraka koji su bez ikakvih podataka o mjestu i okolnostima nalaza. Radi se o pet primjeraka koji se čuvaju u muzeju u Ascoli Picenu (Profumo 1995, Fig. 97-101), tri primjerka iz Muzeja Castelvecchio u Veroni (von Hessen 1968, T. 26,1-2,4-5), te o dva primjerka sa Sicilije (Manganaro 2002, Fig. 10,5,8). Iz Bosne i Hercegovine poznati su nalazi iz Mogorjela (Miletić 1984, 387, sl. 122-122a) i Rotimlje kod Stolca (Miletić 1984, 387). U Srbiji je pronađeno nekoliko ovakvih fibula, a zanimljivi su primjerci iz zatvorenih grobnih cjelina s nekropole na Doničkom brdu kod Kragujevca (Petrović 1965, sl. 40,1), te iz groba 63 nekropole seobe naroda u Beogradu (Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 114, Pl. VI).

U Hrvatskoj je pronađeno svega nekoliko plastično izrađenih pticolikih fibula. Četiri ovakve fibule, datirane u 5. st., potječu iz Siska, ali su bez preciznijih podataka o mjestu nalaza (Simoni 1989, 109-110, 120-121, T. 2,6-8,10; Migotti 1994, 84, kat. br. 43-46). Na području Salone pronađena je jedna pticolika fibula (Ivčević 2002, sv. II, T. XXIV,232).⁶ Svi primjerci iz Hrvatske spadaju u kategoriju artefakata s nepoznatim okolnostima nalaza, što uvelike otežava njihovu kulturnu i vremensku atribuciju. Stoga je neobično važan neobjavljeni nalaz izvrsno očuvane srebrne pticolike fibule s lokaliteta Privlaka – Škornica u sjevernoj Dalmaciji. Naime, na tom su lokalitetu, pod vodstvom B. Marijanovića⁷ godine 2006. provedena istraživanja prapovijesnog humka na kojemu i uz kojega se nalazila nekropola kasnoantičkog autohtonog stanovništva.⁸ U grobu 1 ove nekropole pronađena je navedena fibula, dok je u grobu 3

on the bird's body. They are often decorated also with parallel incisions which are in all likelihood meant to represent folded wings. A large number of pieces have an annular thickening on the neck and rib-like projections between the body and the fan-shaped tail, whose end is sometimes serrated. Even though the pins are very often lost, the preserved ones indicate that they had a spiral mechanism.

Such fibulae come from very wide areas of Europe. They were found at the Visigothic necropolises of Carpio del Tajo, Duratón and Madrona in Spain (Ibler 1991, 183). One pair comes from the north of France, more precisely from a cemetery from the Migration Period in the village of Vron (Seillier 1992, 625-626, Fig. 19). They are also present in Central Europe, e.g. at the cemetery in Nový Šaldorf in the Czech Republic (Werner 1962, Pl. 57), while Slovenia is the origin of a chance find from the site of Trnje near Škofja Loka (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 75). From Hungary we single out a fibula from the site of Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, which has an incised cross on the tail (Garam 2003, 107) and is dated to the period of Avar rule. From Italy, a particularly interesting find comes from the necropolis of Castel Torino, where such a fibula was found in female grave 13 together with two hairpins and a ceramic vessel (Mengarelli 1902, 226, Fig. 76). In addition to the finds from Castel Torino, whose circumstances of discovery and the archaeological context were documented, we mention a couple of other Italian pieces which lack any information about the spot and circumstances of discovery. These are five pieces kept in the Museum in Ascoli Piceno (Profumo 1995, Fig. 97-101), three pieces from the Castelvecchio Museum in Verona (von Hessen 1968, Pl. 26,1-2,4-5), and two pieces from Sicily (Manganaro 2002, Fig. 10,5,8). From Bosnia and Herzegovina we know of the finds from Mogorjelo (Miletić 1984, 387, Fig. 122-122a) and from Rotimlja near Stolac (Miletić 1984, 387). Several fibulae of this type were found in Serbia, and interesting are the pieces from closed grave assemblages from the necropolis at Doničko Brdo near Kragujevac (Petrović 1965, Fig. 40,1) and from grave 63 of the necropolis of the Migration Period from Belgrade (Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 114, Pl. VI).

Only a couple of plastically rendered bird-shaped fibulae were found in Croatia. Four fibulae of this kind, dated to the 5th cent., come from Sisak, but precise information about the site of discovery is missing (Simoni 1989, 109-110, 120-121, Pl. 2,6-8,10; Migotti 1994, 84, Cat. Nr. 43-46). One bird-shaped fibula was found in the area of Salona (Ivčević 2002, vol. II, Pl. XXIV, 232).⁶ All the pieces from Croatia belong to the category of artefacts with unknown circumstances of discovery, which makes their cultural and chronological attribution considerably more difficult. The unpublished find of an excellently preserved silver bird-shaped fibula from the site of Privlaka – Škornica in northern Dalmatia is therefore of great importance. In 2006 B. Marijanović⁷ directed at that site the excavation of a prehistoric tumulus, on and next to which stretched a necropolis of the autochthonous population from late antiquity.⁸ The mentioned fibula was found in grave 1 of this necropolis, while grave

6. U citiranom djelu ova se fibula datira u 2. st. (Ivčević 2002, 245).

7. Najsrdačnije zahvaljujemo B. Marijanoviću na dopuštenju za objavu ovog podatka.

8. Istraživanja su provedena u sklopu terenske nastave Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru. Istraženo je 13 grobova koji su se nalazili u perimetru humka, a po svemu sudeći, riječ je samo o dijelu veće nekropole koja se širi i uokolo humka.

6. In the quoted work this fibula is dated to the 2nd cent. (Ivčević 2002, 245).

7. I most cordially thank B. Marijanović for his permission to publish this piece of information.

8. The excavations were carried out in the frame of fieldwork teaching of the Department of Archaeology of the Zadar University. A total of 13 graves were excavated, situated in the perimeter of the tumulus. In all likelihood, this is only a part of a larger necropolis that stretches around the tumulus.

pronađena predica s ravno odsječenom bazom trna koja se može datirati u 5. ili prvu polovicu 6. st. (Vinski 1991, 12).

Među svim spomenutim fibulama gotovo je nemoguće pronaći dva identična primjerka, osim u slučaju para fibula iz Vrona u Francuskoj. Međutim, smatramo da male, ponekad vrlo minuciozne, razlike među njima ipak ne predstavljaju kronološke i etničke odrednice. Usporedba fibula potiče i pitanje njihove datacije. Naravno, pri tom treba uzimati u obzir samo one primjerke čije su okolnosti nalaza poznate za što su osobito pogodni primjerci iz zatvorenih grobnih cjelina. U tome kontekstu već smo spomenuli fibulu iz Privlake koju možemo datirati u 5. ili prvu polovicu 6. st.⁹ Fibula iz Novog Šaldorfa datira se u 5. ili početak 6. st., a u sredinu 5. st. datira se i usporedna fibula iz Beograda. Fibula iz Castel Trosina se s obzirom na kontekst nalaza može datirati u drugu polovicu 6. ili na početak 7. st., a one s vizigotskih nekropola u Španjolskoj datirane su u 6. st., kada se mogu datirati i primjerci s nekropole Vron u Francuskoj. Sve to ukazuje na smještanje ovih nalaza u vremenski okvir 5. i 6. st., uz mogućnost datacije nekih primjeraka i u rano 7. st., a spomenimo i to da iako fibule iz Podumaca i Danila predstavljaju slučajne nalaze ipak treba zabilježiti da su, prema kazivanju nalaznika, pronađene zajedno s germanskim artefaktima. Važna je pojava istočnogotskih nalaza i na prostorno bliskom položaju Unešić – Veliki Bogočin, te činjenica da je obližnji Burnum bio zadnje uporište tog germanskog naroda na tlu Dalmacije (Uglešić 1992, 72-76).¹⁰ Međutim, navodimo i mišljenje S. Ivčević o dataciji pticolike fibule iz Salone u 2. st. (Ivčević 2002, sv. I, 245). Smatramo da takvo mišljenje treba respektirati, posebno stoga što je antička proizvodnja zoomorfih fibula obilna i dobro poznata, te je zasigurno utjecala na kronološki mlađe tipove fibula. Pri tom posebno ističemo emajlirane fibule, česte na područjima Rimskoga Carstva, posebno njegova zapadnog dijela. One vrhunac proizvodnje dostižu upravo u 2. st. (Ivčević 2002, sv. I, 240-245). U to vrijeme, prema našem mišljenju, moglo bi se datirati i neke nalaze iz Slovenije, karakteristične po raširenim krilima srcolikog oblika ukrašenima emajlom, u literaturi inače datirane u 5.-6. st. To su fibule s položaja Ajdna nad Potoki (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 74, kat. br. 69) i Ptuj – Zgodnja Hajdina (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 75, kat. br. 71). Gotovo identična je slučajno pronađena fibula iz Resnika, koja je već datirana u 2. st. (Arheologija u Kaštelima 1994). Glede fibula iz Danila i Podumaca, s obzirom na mjesta pronalaska, simboliku i povezanost s germanskim nalazima, smatramo da pripadaju razdoblju 5. ili 6. st., a tom bi vremenu bili skloni pripisati i fibulu iz Salone. U tom je kontekstu važna pojava analizirane pticolike fibule upravo na danilskoj Gradini koja dobiva na značaju upravo u nemirnom razdoblju kraja antike i početka srednjeg vijeka.

9. Precizniji podatci će biti poznati nakon znanstvene objave istraženog dijela groblja.

10. U literaturi postoje dva mišljenja o prestanku istočnogotske vlasti u Dalmaciji. U citiranom djelu iscrpno se argumentira mišljenje o kraju istočnogotske vlasti u čitavoj Dalmaciji godine 537., čemu se i mi priklanjamo. Neki su autori smatrali da je Liburnija ostala u gotskoj vlasti sve do godine 552.

3 yielded a buckle pin with a straightly cut base of the pin, datable to the 5th or the first half of the 6th cent. (Vinski 1991, 12).

Among all the mentioned fibulae it is almost impossible to find two identical pieces, except in the case of the pair of fibulae from Vron in France. Nevertheless, we believe that small, sometimes minute differences between them do not represent chronological and ethnic determinants. The comparison of the fibulae prompts also the question of their dating. Naturally, one can in this take into consideration only those pieces whose circumstances of discovery are known, for which pieces from closed grave assemblages are particularly suitable. We have already mentioned in this context the fibula from Privlaka, which we can date to the 5th or the beginning of the 6th cent.⁹ The fibula from Nový Šaldorf is dated to the 5th or the beginning of the 6th cent., and a comparable fibula from Belgrade is also dated to the mid-5th cent. The fibula from Castel Trosino can, considering the context of the find, be dated to the second half of the 6th or to the beginning of the 7th cent., while those from the Visigothic necropolises in Spain are dated to the 6th cent., which is also the date of the pieces from the Vron necropolis in France. All this points to the positioning of these finds into the chronological frame of the 5th and 6th cent., with the possibility of dating certain pieces to the early 7th cent. Let us also mention that even though the fibulae from Podumci and Danilo are chance finds, it should still be registered that, in the words of the finders, they were discovered together with Germanic artefacts. The appearance of Eastern Gothic finds on the site of Unešić – Veliki Bogočin is also important, as well as the fact that the nearby Burnum was the last stronghold of that German people in the territory of Dalmatia (Uglešić 1992, 72-76).¹⁰ However, we quote also S. Ivčević's opinion about the dating of the bird-shaped fibula from Salona to the 2nd cent. (Ivčević 2002, vol. I, 245). We think that this opinion deserves respect, particularly because ancient production of zoomorphic fibulae was abundant and well known, and therefore certainly influenced the chronologically younger types of fibulae. Here we single out enameled fibulae, frequent in the areas of the Roman Empire, particularly its western part, whose production reached its climax precisely in the 2nd cent. (Ivčević 2002, vol. I, 240-245). In our opinion, this is also the date for certain finds from Slovenia, characteristic for outspread cordate wings decorated with enamel, which are otherwise dated in the literature to the 5th-6th cent. These are fibulae from the positions of Ajdna nad Potoki (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 74, Cat. Nr. 69) and Ptuj – Zgodnja Hajdina (Knific, Sagadin 1991, 75, Cat. Nr. 71). A chance find of a fibula from Resnik, already dated to the 2nd cent. is almost identical (Arheologija u Kaštelima 1994). Regarding the fibulae from Danilo and Podumci, considering the spot of their discovery, the symbolism and the connection with the Germanic finds, we believe that they belong to the period of the 5th or 6th cent., which is also the time to which we are inclined to date the fibula from Salona. In that context it is important to note the presence of the analyzed bird-shaped fibula on Gradina in Danilo. It is a hillfort that gains in importance precisely in that turbulent period, when the ancient way of life in these areas comes to an end.

9. More precise data will be available following the scholarly publication of the excavated part of the cemetery.

10. There are two opinions about the end of the Eastern Gothic rule in Dalmatia. The quoted work offers a thorough body of arguments for the end of the Eastern Gothic rule in all of Dalmatia in 537, to which we also subscribe. Some authors thought that Liburnia remained under Gothic authority up until 552.

Zanimljivo je pitanje koju životinjsku vrstu ove fibule prikazuju. U literaturi su mišljenja podijeljena između pauza i goluba, dok pojedini autori ovakve fibule jednostavno nazivaju fibulama u obliku ptice. Kao fibule u obliku pauza definirane su, npr. dvije fibule iz muzeja u Ascoli Picenu, po svemu sudeći na temelju manje ili više istaknutog lepezastog repa i ukrasa koncentričnih kružnica, što je svojstven ukras paunova repa, ali *nota bene* i uobičajen kasnoantički ukrasni motiv koji se javlja na čitavom mnoštvu nakitnih i uporabnih predmeta, pa, tako i na zoomornim fibulama u obliku konja, gdje ga je nemoguće povezati sa stvarnom životinjom. Golubice su prepoznate u fibulama iz Teurnije, Salone, Trnja pri Škofjoj Loki, Mogorjela itd. Smatramo da fibule iz Podumaca, Danila i Privlake također prikazuju goluba. Kao jedan od argumenta u prilog tome navodimo nepostojanje kreste na tim fibulama jer je ona važan razlikovni element jer je paun u stvarnosti ima, a golub ne. Ta se distinkcija izvrsno vidi na primjeru fibula iz Siska od kojih dvije prikazuju goluba, a dvije pauza (Simoni 1989, 109-110, 120-121, T. 2,6-8,10; Migotti 1994, 84, kat. br. 43-46). Uzgred rečeno, u obzir bi se mogla uzeti još jedna ptica koja je toliko slična golubu da se često s njime poistovjećuje, iako predstavlja zasebnu životinjsku vrstu. Riječ je o grlici koja je dosad prepoznata samo u slučaju fibule iz Resnika. Međutim, traženje distinkcija između grlice i goluba na analiziranim fibulama lako bi nas odvelo u slijepu ulicu, posebno stoga što im je simbolika identična ili vrlo slična, što potvrđuje navod iz Lukina evanđelja: „Kad se zatim po Mojsijevu zakonu navršite dani njihova čišćenja, poniješe ga u Jeruzalem da ga prikažu Gospodinu ... i da prinesu žrtvu kako je rečeno u Zakonu Gospodnjemu: dvije grlice ili dva golubića“ (Lk 2, 22-24). Citirani tekst pokazuje važnost simbolike goluba i u „Mojsijevu zakonu“, tj. još u starozavjetno vrijeme, što u kontekstu ove analize pokazuje duboku ukorijenjenost simbolike, motiva goluba još u pretkršćansko doba kada je osim za Židove¹¹, golub bio važan simbol i za „pogane“ kojima je ona sveta Afroditina (Venerina) ptica. Inače prethodni citat opisuje Isusovo prikazanje u Hramu, ali je najvažnija primjena motiva goluba, u kršćanskoj umjetnosti inače simbola čistoće i mira, vezana uz prikazivanje Duha Svetog, npr. u izvještajima o Isusovu krštenju: „Promatrao sam Duha gdje s neba silazi kao golub i ostaje na njemu“ (Iv, 1, 32), te kod prikazivanja svetog Trojstva (Leksikon 1990, 241-242). O značaju toga motiva svjedoče i prikazi goluba na ranokršćanskoj kamenoj plastici. U kontekstu ovoga članka zanimljiva je pojava golubica na hastama križolikih fibula, od kojih ističemo onu s položaja Privlaka – Busje (Vrtlac), slučajno pronađenu prilikom oranja (Jurić 1993).¹² Riječ je o lokalitetu koji se nalazi u blizini već spomenutog položaja Privlaka – Škornica, s kojega potječe srebrna pticolika fibula. Izuzetan primjerak fibule u obliku goluba koji izravno dokazuje kršćansku simboliku

The question of which animal species is represented by these fibulae is very interesting. The opinions in the literature diverge between peacock and pigeon, while some authors call such fibulae simply “bird-shaped fibulae”. For example, two fibulae from the museum in Ascoli Piceno were defined as fibula in the shape of a peacock, in all probability based on the more or less prominent fan-shaped tail and the decoration of concentric circles, which is a characteristic ornament of a peacock’s tail, but *nota bene* also a usual late ancient motif appearing on a multitude of ornamental and utilitarian objects, for instance on zoomorphic fibulae in the shape of a horse, where it is impossible to link it with the real animal. Doves were seen in the fibulae from Teurnia, Salona, Trnje near Škofja Loka, Mogorjelo etc. In our opinion the fibulae from Podumci, Danilo and Privlaka likewise represent a pigeon. As one of the arguments in favour of this we mention the lack of a crest on these fibulae, as it is an important distinguishing element because in reality the peacock has it whereas the pigeon does not. This distinction is evident on the example of the fibulae from Sisak, two of which depict a pigeon and two a peacock (Simoni 1989, 109-110, 120-121, Pl. 2, 6-8,10; Migotti 1994, 84, Cat. Nr. 43-46). Incidentally, there is another bird that might be taken into consideration, so similar to the pigeon that it is often identified with it, even though it represents a separate animal species. This is the turtle dove, which has until now been recognized only in the case of the fibula from Resnik. However, the search for the distinctions between the turtle dove and the pigeon on the analyzed fibulae might easily lead us to a blind alley, particularly due to the fact that their symbolism is identical or very similar, as corroborated by a quote from the Gospel of Luke: “When the time of their purification according to the Law of Moses had been completed, they took him to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord ... and to offer a sacrifice in keeping with what is said in the Law of the Lord: “a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons”. The quoted text demonstrates the importance of the symbolism of the dove in the “Law of Moses”, i.e. already in the time of the Old Testament, which in the context of this analysis shows how deeply rooted was the symbolism, for which the motif of the pigeon was the main agent already during the pre-Christian era, when it was an important symbol not only to the Jews¹¹ but also to the “pagans”, for whom it was a holy bird of Aphrodite (Venus). Incidentally, the previous quote describes Jesus’ presentation in the Temple, but what is most important is the application of the motif of a dove, which in Christian art represents a symbol of purity and peace, connected with the depiction of the Holy Spirit, e.g. in the reports about the baptism of Jesus: “I watched the Spirit, like a dove flying down from the sky, making himself at home in him” (John, 1, 32) and in the representation of the Holy Trinity (Leksikon 1990, 241-242). The importance of that motif is corroborated also by the depictions of pigeons on early Christian stone sculpture. In the context of this paper we are interested in the presence of doves on the bars of cross-fibulae, among which we single out the one from the site of Privlaka – Busje (Vrtlac), accidentally found during ploughing (Jurić 1993).¹² This is a site situated near the already mentioned position of Privlaka – Škornica, which yielded a silver bird-shaped fibula. An exceptional specimen of a fibula in the shape of a pi-

11. Spomenimo samo dobro poznatu starozavjetnu epizodu o Noi kojemu upravo golub donosi maslinovu grančicu kao znak blizine povlačenja vode nakon općeg potopa.

12. U citiranom radu donose se i ostali primjerci križolikih fibula na čijim se hastama nalaze golubice kao što su fibule iz Salone, Podgrađa, Korita itd.

11. Let us mention only the well-known Old Testament episode about Noah to whom precisely a dove brings an olive branch as a sign that shortly the water would recede after the deluge.

12. The quoted work mentions also the other specimens of cross-fibulae with doves on their bars, such as those from Salona, Podgrađa, Korita etc.

ovih artefakata je fibula s položaja Keszthely-Fenekpuszta u Mađarskoj koja na lepezastom repu ima ugraviran motiv latinskog križa (Garam 2003, 107, Abb. 10,6).

Slijedom iznesenog, smatramo da fibule iz Podumaca i Danila prikazuju golubice, te da imaju kršćansku simboliku, a datiramo ih, na temelju usporednih primjeraka, mjesta nalaza i povezanosti s germanskim artefaktima, u razdoblje 5. ili 6. st. Zaključno možemo reći da fibule iz Podumaca i Danila predstavljaju vrijedno svjedočanstvo nemirnih vremena na prostoru koji, ne samo da nije ostao izvan tijekom najvažnijih povijesnih događanja, već je bio pozornicom ključnih zbivanja na razmeđu kasne antike i ranoga srednjeg vijeka.

geon, which directly proves the Christian symbolism of these artefacts is the fibula from the site of Keszthely-Fenekpuszta in Hungary, which has an engraved motif of the Latin cross on its fan-shaped tail (Garam 2003, 107, Fig. 10,6).

In our opinion, it follows from what has been said here that the fibulae from Podumci and Danilo represent doves and that their symbolism is Christian, and we date them, based on comparative pieces, the place of discovery and connection with the Germanic artefacts, to the period of the 5th or 6th century. To conclude, we can say that the fibulae from Podumci and Danilo are valuable testimony of the turbulent times at the close of antiquity and the onset of the Middle Ages in a territory that not only stayed within the currents of the most important historical events, but also represented the stage for the key events of that time.

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