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THE MASTERS OF SILVER IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS – A BRIEF OUTLINE

Abstract: The chapter provides an overview of the use of silver, as one of the precious metals, for the production of prestigious items in the region of the Central Balkan peninsula. The earliest indications of silver mining and metallurgical activities are known from the 5th to the early 4th millennia BC (Vinča and Lasinja cultures). In the time of the Vučedol cultural complex (3rd millennium BC) large artefacts of silver or silver-alloys stand out, such as the axes from Mala Gruda/Boka Kotorska and Stari Jankovci. Silver objects in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages represent exceptional rarities. Only at the end of the 6th century BC did silver products, particularly silver jewellery, again become a true fashion. Three types of fibulae, as recognisable elements of attire, in the Central Balkan area are discussed in detail: the Novi Pazar type of fibulae (late 6th/5th centuries BC) and hinged fibulae of variants IIa and Vb, according to Rastko Vasić (late 5th and 4th centuries BC). They are indicators of the emergence of a new social elite – the “masters of silver” in the Central Balkans, which could be explained under the influence of Graeco-Macedonians, at first in the time of the Persian wars and later with the rise of the Macedonian state (Philip II and Alexander the Great). This thesis could also be supported by the circulation of Damastion coinage, as well as by the architecture, built in a Hellenistic manner, at the site of Kale-Krševica near Bujanovac in the South Morava river basin, excavated by the honouree and his team.

Keywords: Central Balkan region, Copper Age, Late Iron Age, silver items, axes, fibulae of the Novi Pazar type, hinged fibulae, Damastion coinage, Hellenistic architecture, Graeco-Macedonian influences.

Silver, as one of the precious metals, first attracted the attention of prospectors, miners and metallurgists from a very early period in ancient prehistory, as the thus-far oldest silver products are known from as early as the 5th and 4th millennia BC. These come primarily from the Near East, with individual examples also known from Central Europe.¹ Silver, which appears in its native form much less frequently than gold, whose use also extends back to at least the 5th millennium BC,² was acquired from lead-silver ores through a special process called cupellation. Lead is a by-product from this process and, hence, can represent an indirect indicator of silver production.³

Also, in the region of the Central Balkan peninsula, rich in lead-zinc silver ores, primarily in the so-called Serbian-Macedonian metallogenetic province (Fig. 1), where, for instance, the ore from Srebrenica (in eastern Bosnia) and Stari Trg near Kosovska Mitrovica contain up to 100 g/t of silver,⁴ mining began, and with it metallurgical activities, as shown by several indicators also as early as in the 5th and early 4th millennia BC, i.e. in the framework of the Vinča culture. It is probably not merely a coincidence that metallurgical activities, from which traces have been preserved of the processing of copper and also lead ores (galenite), have been discovered at Gornja Tuzla, in the immediate vicinity of the Srebrenica mining district. The settlement, or in fact its stratum III,

¹ Cf. Hansen, Helwig 2016: 43-51, Fig. 7; Pernicka 1995: 56-57.

² Pernicka 1995: 59-60.

³ Pernicka 1995: 58-59; Primas 1996a; Hansen, Helwig 2016: 43.

⁴ Cf. Janković 1967; Faninger 1975: 4, 7-9; Gržetić, Jelenković 1995: 17-21, Fig. 1-6; Ramović 1999: 15-17, Fig. 3.



Fig. 1. The ore-bearing region with mineralisation of silver in present-day Serbia and eastern Bosnia (from Gržetić, Jelenković 1995, Fig. 5-6; Ramović 1999, Fig.3).

from which the earliest copper objects also came, has been dated to the period of the Vinča culture.⁵ The most recent analyses of the remains of material from small pottery vessels from the Vinča and Lasinja cultures are particularly important, as they showed that the vessels contained an ingredient made from lead and beeswax, probably used as a colouring for body decoration or as a medical preparation.⁶

I.

If it is possible, on the basis of the mentioned traces of lead in the Vinča and Lasinja cultures, to at least presume that in addition to bronze and

lead they also extracted silver,⁷ the technological development and expansion of metallurgical activities in the period of the Vučedol culture, i.e., in the early 3rd millennium BC,⁸ would also have contributed to the production of silver objects. Among them, certainly stand out relatively large artefacts of silver or silver alloy, particularly prestigious weapons/tools, such as the famous silver collared axe from Mala Gruda in the Bay of Kotor/Boka Kotorska, the silver axes from a hoard find from an unfortunately unknown site in Bosnia, and the find of two silver axes from Stari Jankovci in eastern Slavonia. For the excellently manufactured collared axe with a faceted socketed extension for a handle from Mala Gruda, Margarita Primas convincingly showed that it belonged to a special variant of the Kozarac type, into which she also classified several bronze examples of axes, such as those from the hoard of Vranovići near Gračanica and Topolje near Knin, and such types were also found in the hoard from Griča near Mrkonjić

⁵ Čović 1961: 98-99, 102-103, 117-119, Sketch 1(hearth/oven), Fig. 16 (copper products); Durman 1983: 12; Pernicka 1995, 57, Pl. 12; Glumac, Todd 1987.

⁶ Kramberger, Berthold, Spiteri 2021. Similar small biconical vessels with traces of lead were also discovered and analyzed from the Romanian site of Pietrele in the lower Danube basin, which are also dated to the middle of the 5th millennium BC: see Hansen et al. 2019 (B. Kramberger drew my attention to this, for which I would like to thank him).

⁷ Cf. Durman 1983: 7 (Bezdan in Rudnik); Bogosavljević-Petrović 2005.

⁸ Cf. e.g., Durman 1983; Durman 2006.

Grad.⁹ Despite other valuable grave goods, mostly of gold and electrum, in the grave in the tumulus of Mala Gruda, as well as from the central grave of the tumulus of Velika Gruda, which would mostly consist of imports from Greece or, rather, the eastern Mediterranean region,¹⁰ she nonetheless stated that the silver collared axe from Mala Gruda would represent a local, or Western Balkan product, because of which a local source for the metal can also be suggested. Four silver axes from a hoard belong to the same type of collared axe, which originated together with another bronze collared axe and 23 flat axes of the Griča type from an unidentified site in Bosnia.¹¹ Svend Hansen drew particular attention to the unusual composition of these silver axes, which was an alloy of silver and copper, such as is known to him only from Uruk in Mesopotamia and Arslantepe in eastern Anatolia, potentially representing evidence of the transfer of knowledge or “know-how” and the mobility of metallurgists, rather than that the Bosnian axes had been imported objects.¹²

A third example of finds of silver axes is the alleged hoard from Stari Jankovci in eastern Slavonia. It was discovered at the end of the 19th century, and only recently published.¹³ It consisted of two silver axes of different types, one of which belonged to the collared axe type, the same type as the silver axes from the hoard from Bosnia and the tumulus from Mala Gruda, as well as the above-mentioned bronze collared axes from Bosnian hoards such as Vranovići near Gračanica and Griča near Mrkonjić Grad. In terms of the cited parallels, the axes from Stari Jankovci belong to the same cultural circle and chronological span, i.e., in the

framework of the Vučedol culture of the first half of the 3rd millennium BC,¹⁴ for which, at present, sufficient radiocarbon dates exist, and not, in fact, to the end of the 3rd millennium BC.¹⁵

Although archaeometric chemical and lead isotope analyses of the alloys did not provide clear answers regarding the type and source of the metals for the manufacture of the silver axes, the trace elements nonetheless indicate metals from raw material from polymetallic ores.¹⁶ Where to seek them remains an open question, of course, until further research is carried out. The discussed silver collared axes, as an exceptionally prestigious and high-status symbol, together with the numerous hoard finds of bronze collared axes of the Kozarac type and flat fan-shaped axes of the Griča type, indicate the richness of metallurgical production in the Western and Central Balkans, and permit the hypothesis that the masters of silver in the 3rd millennium BC should be sought in the framework of the Vučedol cultural complex. This refers to the area between the central Danube region, with Vučedol as one of the important metallurgical centres,¹⁷ across Bosnia¹⁸ to the Adriatic Sea, specifically to the Bay of Kotor/ Boka Kotorska, where the princely tumuli of Mala and Velika Gruda are no longer an isolated phenomenon. Contemporaneous tumuli with outstanding grave goods have also been discovered in the hinterland, in the vicinity of Podgorica and Nikšić in Montenegro, meaning also in the immediate vicinity of rich copper ore sources.¹⁹

⁹ Cf. Primas 1996b: 105-109, 152-155, Fig. 7, 10-12; 10.9; Parović-Pešikan, Trbuhović 1971: 134-135, Pl. 5, 11-12. For the hoard from Vranovići, cf. also Čović 1957: 244-245, Fig. 3-5; for the hoard from Topolje and the other axes of the Kozarac type, cf. Durman 1983: 60-61; Žeravica 1993: 22-32, Pl. 6-8; Kitanoski 1976: 119-120, 131-132, Fig. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. Primas 1996b: 75-112; Jovanović 1995; Hansen 2001: 23-36, Fig. 18.

¹¹ Hansen 2001: 13-36, Fig. 5-10, Pl. I-VI; Born 2001: 218, 180-182, Fig. 160-161.

¹² Hansen 2001: 22-23. Unfortunately, analysis of lead isotopes because of the lack of such analyses of archaeological objects in the region of the Western Balkans or Dalmatia and Bosnia did not produce results about the eventual source of raw materials for the silver axes, cf. Born 2001: 180-181; Pernicka, Adam 2001.

¹³ Balen, Mihelić 2003: 85-96, Fig. 1; Pl. 1, 1-2; Mihelić 2006: 108-109.

¹⁴ Primas 1996b: 141-169; Guštin, Preložnik 2015: 31-35, Fig. 14-16.

¹⁵ Cf. Balen, Mihelić 2003: 90-91. Even if the classification of both axes from Stari Jankovci to the Vinkovci Culture would be correct, the axes still have to be dated to the middle of the 3rd millennium BC, as the radiocarbon dates have shown for the Vinkovci Culture. See Črešnar, Teržan 2014: 661-666, Fig. 8-11.

¹⁶ Parović-Pešikan, Trbuhović 1971; Jovanović 1971: 143-144; Durman 1983: 46-58; Primas 1996b: 107; Riederer 2001: 269; Balen, Mihelić 2003: 86, Fig. 2.

¹⁷ Durman 1983; Durman 1988a; Durman 1988b; Durman 2006: 64-67, 132 (moulds Vučedol-Gradac, Vinkovci, hoards Borinci, Brekinjska), 70 (Griča hoard), 74 (Kozarac hoard), 76; Durman and Hutinec 2016.

¹⁸ Žeravica 1993: 22-32, 59-63, Pl. 6-8; Pl. 15, 170-177; 16; 17, 199-201; Hansen 2001: 13-35.

¹⁹ Cf. Durman 2006; Guštin 2006: 87-99, Fig. 1-4; Guštin, Preložnik 2015.

II.

After the decline of the Vučedol culture, many centuries passed when silver was not so sought after as a metal for the manufacture of prestigious goods, as silver objects in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages represent exceptional rarities. Only towards the end of the 6th century BC did silver products, particularly silver jewellery, become a true fashion “hit”, which applied especially to the region of the Central Balkan peninsula. A true advance can be traced in valuable artistic craft products made from both silver and gold. At that time, silver products appeared less often in the area of present-day Bosnia and Montenegro, and instead mainly in the region of present-day Serbia. This unusual and sudden phenomenon of silver presence was the subject of a special exhibition in the National Museum in Belgrade in 1990 titled “Gospodari srebra/ Masters of Silver”, which was further supplemented in 1994 with a scientific symposium on an expanded theme – in addition to the prehistoric period, it included the Roman and medieval periods – called “Radionice i kovnice srebra/ Silver Workshops and Mints”. The exhibition was also displayed abroad in a somewhat changed and supplemented form, for example in Hochdorf, Germany,²⁰ and Adria in Italy.²¹ Given that at the opening of the exhibition, I was a guest of my respected colleague – honouree, let me be allowed to look back and attempt to recapitulate our knowledge of the “Masters of Silver”.

The most characteristic new products of the late 6th and 5th centuries BC include bow fibulae with a rectangular foot with a button on the top, known in the literature as the Novi Pazar-Atenica type fibula. They were most often made of silver, less often from gold, and there are also bronze examples, some gilded. The fundamental studies on them come from the pen of Rastko Vasić,²² on which this article is also based. As was shown by Vasić, the Novi Pazar type fibulae were typologically related to the somewhat earlier bronze fibulae of the Marvinci-Gogošu type, which appeared as early as towards the end of the 7th century and were characteristic primarily for attire in the first half of the 6th century BC, from Chalkidiki through

Macedonia to the Danube basin. Both of them were created under the influence and models of Grecian-Macedonian jewellery.²³ Although it does not seem doubtful that the fibulae of the Novi Pazar type followed the tradition of the Marvinci-Gogošu type fibulae and that at the same time they were also related in design and decoration to several types of Macedonian fibulae, such as the Trebenište type fibula,²⁴ their clearly limited distribution throughout the central parts of the Balkans indicates that these were their own unique type of fibula used primarily as attire by the local social elite of this region (Fig. 2).

An interesting aspect is displayed by the spatial distribution of these fibulae in terms of the metal from which they were made. Silver fibulae are grouped primarily in two or three areas. The first extends between the West Morava river, along the valley of the Ibar river, or rather its western tributary the Raška, all the way to the Drim on the one side and Glasinac on the other side. This is, thus, a region near the rich mines of lead-silver ore at Kopaonik and Trebča, as well as Srebrenica (cf. Fig. 1 and 2).²⁵ The second area is represented by finds of fibulae in the lowland between the lower course of the Morava and its confluence with Danube and the confluence of the Drina and Sava, that means to the south of Belgrade, while the third extends further into Srem/Srijem/ Syrmia with individual examples all the way to Baranja/Baranya. It is thought that this distribution of fibulae can be understood as an indicator of the knowledge and exploitation of ore deposits in the region of Šumadija, for example at Avala or Kosmaj²⁶ (cf. Fig. 1 and 2). For the Srem group it cannot be excluded that the precious metals also came from the Bosnian Srebrenica district (cf. Fig. 1 and 2). Gold examples are so far only known from the central region of distribution of these fibulae, from the eponymous Novi Pazar, from a rich hoard,²⁷ located near the district with

²⁰ Silber 2004.

²¹ Balkani 2007.

²² Vasić 1987; Vasić 1999: 77-81, Pl. 41, 582-604; 42, 605-626.

²³ Vasić 1987: 43-46, Fig. 2-3, Add.1; Vasić 1999: 74-77, Pl. 40-41, 573-581; 67 A.

²⁴ Vasić 1987a: 47-49, Pl. 4, 1-4; Vasić 1999: 77-78, Pl. 42, 616-617; 81-82, Pl. 42, 628-632; 43, 633-643.

²⁵ Cf. Gržetić, Jelenković 1995: 20-21, Fig. 5-6.

²⁶ Cf. Gržetić, Jelenković 1995: 20, Fig. 5-6.

²⁷ Mano Zisi, Popović 1969a: 33-34, Pl. 27, 37; Mano Zisi 1969b: 196, Taf. 82. The provenience of one gold fibula should be Kostolac, but it is questionable, because Vasić listed it under unknown sites in Serbia: cf. Vasić 1999: 78 No. 614; Balkani 2007: 141 No. 98.

rich deposits of lead-silver ore. In contrast to this, bronze fibulae predominate in areas along the edges of the distribution of the Novi Pazar type fibula, among which appear gilded examples, such as an example from Sremska Mitrovića (Fig. 2).

These fibulae do not merely indicate where possible mines could be sought, but also indirectly the redistribution of economic potential and political power, as can be explicated particularly on the basis of the princely graves. If in the earlier period of the Early Iron Age, i.e. from ca. the 8th to the middle of the 6th centuries BC, the leading role/primacy, both in terms of the number of graves as well as their wealth, was played by the region of the Glasinac culture at Glasinac itself (Ilijak, Osovo, Arareva tumulus, etc.),²⁸ its gradual decline occurred at the end of the 6th century, at the same time as the rise of the above defined groups – on one side in the region of present-day western Serbia and Kosovo,²⁹

and on the other in the region of Srem and eastern Slavonia.³⁰ If we start from the image offered by the princely graves in addition to the fibulae, the area marked by the tumuli from Atenica³¹, Kruševica³², Novi Pazar³³ and Pečka Banja³⁴ represents a new nucleus. A special group in the lower Morava valley and/or the Belgrade Danube basin area seems to be only slightly later, where, in addition to the Novi Pazar type fibula, the silver belts

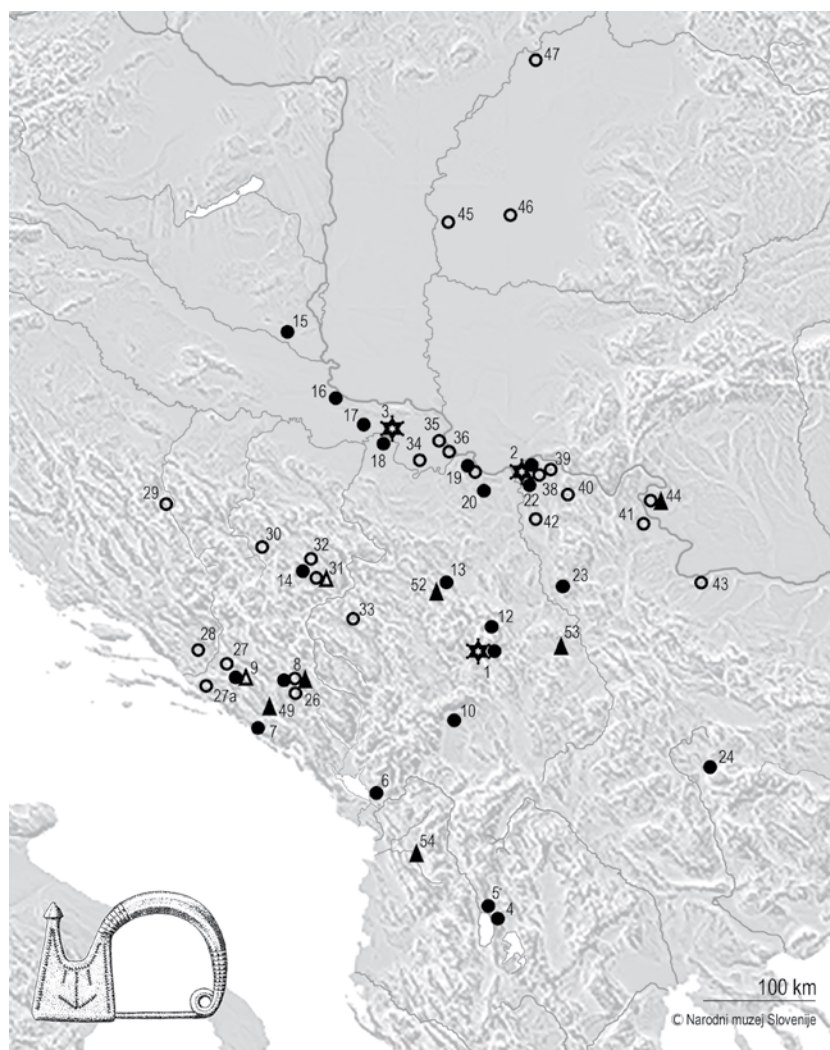


Fig. 2. Distribution map of bow fibulae of the Novi Pazar – Atenica type: see List 1: 1 /star- gold, 2/ black circle - silver, 3 /white circle - bronze (according to Vasić 1987; Vasić 1999).

²⁸ Benac, Čović 1957; Čović 1979; Čović 1987.

²⁹ Vasić 1987b; Vasić 1997.

³⁰ Vasić 1987c; Vasić 1988; Vasić 1989.

³¹ Djuknić, Jovanović 1965; Vasić 1987b.

³² Srejšević, Vukadin 1988.

³³ Mano Zisi, Popović 1969a; Mano Zisi, Popović 1969b; Vasić 1987b.

³⁴ *Gospodari srebra* 1990: 185-187, no. 137/1-14; Ljuci 1998: 212-228.

of the Mramorac type are particularly characteristic.³⁵ If we take into account the fact that so far the only example of a Mramorac type belt made from gold came from a hoard in Novi Pazar,³⁶ it could be suggested that the magnates with silver belts from the lower Morava valley³⁷ were in an interdependent relationship with the “lords of silver and gold” from Novi Pazar. More or less simultaneously to the “Mramorac” group,³⁸ the third group also arose from anonymity – the so-called Srem group, which

³⁵ Vasić 1986: 15-22, Fig. 1-10; Stojić 2007: 52-65, Fig. 1; Stojić 2008.

³⁶ Mano Zisi, Popović 1969a: 32-33, Tab. 25; Mano Zisi, Popović 1969b: 196, Taf. 68-71,2; Balkani 2007: 66-67, Fig. 7.

³⁷ It has to be mentioned that two silver belts from the Batinac site are gilded, cf. Stojić 2007: 53-55, Abb. 3.

³⁸ Stojić 2008 attributed this group ethnically to the Triballi.

does not merely attest to connections with the nearby Mačva and Šumadija districts, but also the central region of the Glasinac culture.³⁹

From the shown distribution of the Novi Pazar type fibulae, as is currently known on the basis of the archaeological finds, it can be concluded which ore-bearing districts/regions were dominated by the presented three mutually interdependent groups (cf. Fig. 1 and 2), which nonetheless differed in terms of certain specific cultural features. At the same time, it is possible to hypothesize their interior social differentiation, in which it is evident that an initial and central role was played at the start of extracting silver by the elite from the central section of the fibula distribution, where rich princely graves were located, ranging from Atenica, Kruševica, and Novi Pazar, to Pečka Banja, which obviously represented the very top of the hierarchical ladder of the “masters of silver”.

Certainly, the question arises as to why and how such an economic advance of these communities in the Central Balkans occurred, and from where the mining and metallurgical knowledge had been transmitted. Although a final answer cannot be given at the present time but will perhaps be offered in the future by archaeometrical chemical and metallographic analyses, it is possible, on the basis of several grave goods, to note what the interests were of the political forces at the end of the 6th and in the 5th centuries in the area under discussion.

As was already noted, the very appearance of the bow fibulae of the Novi Pazar type indicates close connections with the Grecian-Macedonian world. This picture is supplemented by relatively numerous imports such as pottery vessels (e.g. black-figured Attic pottery)⁴⁰ and metal vessels (bronze and silver), primarily those of a ritual or symposium repertoire, which came either from the artistic-craft workshops of Greece itself or from Magna Graecia,⁴¹ and also weapons such as Greco-Illyrian helmets (e.g. Pečka Banja, Ražana),

double edged and single edged swords, etc.⁴² However, the imports do not consist merely of objects of Grecian-Macedonian provenance, but also from other regions, both nearby and further away. Objects of Etruscan-Italic origin found in the central grave of tumulus II at Atenica attract attention, in addition to a partially preserved bone casket,⁴³ and objects in the hoard from Novi Pazar, such as a draining ladle (infundibulum)⁴⁴ and perhaps also a ribbed cista.⁴⁵ Italic artistic-craft workshops were probably the source for most of the amber valuables, such as various figurines, different pendants and appliquéés, and beads for necklaces from Novi Pazar and Atenica.⁴⁶

Both tumuli at Atenica also contained objects of Scythian provenance, such as three-lobed arrowheads, (which were also found in the princely grave at Pečka Banja,⁴⁷ and they are also known from several other Serbian sites⁴⁸), bone scale-handles of knives/daggers decorated in the Scythian animal style, as well as horse equipment and a wagon.⁴⁹ The horse equipment and the wagon in and of themselves do not indicate merely connections of the Atenica site to the Szentes Vekerzug group, rather the very manner of burial with a wagon is also significant, which has parallels not merely with Szentes Vekerzug, but also the broader region of the Hallstatt culture.⁵⁰ The close connec-

³⁹ Vasić 1987c; Vasić 1988; Vasić 1989.

⁴⁰ Cf. Mano Zisi, Popović 1969a: 13-14, Tab.1-2; Mano Zisi, Popović 1969b: 195-196, Taf. 65-66; Parović-Pešikan 1989; Parović-Pešikan 1989-1990.

⁴¹ Cf. Mano-Zisi, Popović 1969a: 13-16, 55-62, Pl. 1-6a; Mano Zisi, Popović 1969b: 195, Taf. 47-54, 61-64; Popović 1975: 41-44, 84-86; Vasić 1987b; Vasić 1992: 57-59, Fig. 7; Vasić 2003: 115-119, 122-130; Fig. 81-86, 88-97; Stübbe 2003: 89-110, Fig. 62.

⁴² Vasić 1982; Parović-Pešikan 1982; Teržan 1995: 87-88, 111-129, Fig. 5-12; Vasić 2010.

⁴³ Djuknić, Jovanović 1965: 19, Pl. 22, 1-3; Vasić 1992: 53-59, Fig. 1-6; Vasić 2003: 123, Fig. 80.

⁴⁴ Mano Zisi, Popović 1969a: 16-17, 80-81, Pl. 8, 39; Mano Zisi, Popović 1969b: 195, Taf. 56-60; Dehn 1970: 74-78, Fig. 2.

⁴⁵ Mano Zisi, Popović 1969a: 16-17, 80, Pl. 7; Mano Zisi, Popović 1969b: 195, Taf. 55. For a general orientation to the typological characteristics and distribution of bronze cists, cf. the still fundamental work by Stjernquist 1968. It is certainly also possible that the cista originated in the south-eastern Alpine cultural circle, most probably from the south-eastern Alpine cultural circle, most probably from the Dolenjska/Lower Carniola cultural group, see Jereb 2016: 77-92, Pl. 95-105.

⁴⁶ Cf. Mano Zisi, Popović 1969a: 18-25, 82-89, Pl. 9-13; 33-34; Mano Zisi, Popović 1969b: 197-201, Taf. 97-109; Djuknić, Jovanović 1965: Pl. 16, 20-21; Palavestra 1993: 144-152; Palavestra, Krstić 2006: 88-89, 94-285, 321-337.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ljuci 1998: 220. For the distribution of Scythian trilobed arrowheads, see Teržan 1998: 524-525, Fig. 8.

⁴⁸ Stojić 1998: 5-10, Map.

⁴⁹ Djuknić, Jovanović: 1965, 9-21, Pl. 18; 20, 19-20; 22, 7; 24, 1-5; 25; Cf. Vasić 1987b: 648-649; Vasić 2003: 122-124.

⁵⁰ Cf. Chochorowsky 1985: 108-123, Fig. 36, 40; Pare 1992: 195, Fig. 134; Kemenczei 2009: 51-57, Pl. 65-67.

tions with the Szentes Vekerzug group, last but not least, are also indicated by the bow fibulae of the Novi Pazar type, especially the bronze examples from Szentes Vekerzug, Békéscsaba-Fényes, and Tiszavasvári-Dózsa telep,⁵¹ which goes some way to supporting the above mentioned thesis about the peripheral position of bronze fibulae in the distribution of this type of fibula (Fig. 2).

Influences in the Central Balkan region also came from the region of the southeast Alpine Hallstatt culture, particularly from the Dolenjska/Lower Carniola cultural group, which can be seen both in the area of the Glasinac group⁵² and also the Srem group,⁵³ whose region also extended into eastern Slavonia all the way to Baranya⁵⁴ and southern Bačka⁵⁵. The most evident elements are examples of Certosa fibulae of type V, which are partly imported and partly local versions of these fibulae.⁵⁶ In the Srem group, in a somewhat later period, they also took over from the south-eastern Alpine region the crossbow Certosa fibula of type XIIIc, and transformed them into their own variant XIIIh,⁵⁷ which indicates that not merely brief cultural contacts existed between the two cultural groups, but rather they were evidently maintained over a longer period of time. This is also indicated by the find of the bronze situla from Sremska Mitrovica,⁵⁸ which belongs to type 3.B1b according to Mojca Jereb,⁵⁹ characteristic for the area of the Dolenjska/Lower Carniola cultural group. As was already shown by Vasić, the Srem group, which was formed into a recognisable community towards the end of the 6th century BC, in the period of the appearance of the Novi Pazar bow fibula

type, represented a symbiosis of Central Balkan, Glasinac, and south-eastern Alpine elements.⁶⁰

The described situation of diverse influences on the region of the Central Balkans shows that various cultural/political centres attempted to reach out and establish contacts with the “masters of silver”, the most pervasive among them being the Greeks and/or the Macedonians, as is shown by the numerous Greek imports. In terms of this, it must be remembered that the period around 500 BC represented the beginnings of the Persian attempt to conquer mainland Greece, after having previously conquered Ionian Greece and returned from an unsuccessful campaign against the Scythians,⁶¹ which took place through the eastern, Thracian Balkans and far away across the lower Danube.⁶² Despite the unsuccessful campaign and defeat of the Persians, Thrace became a Persian satrapy and Macedonia their vassal, while Persian allies supposedly also included the Cartaginians, and in addition even the Etruscans.⁶³ Perhaps it was the Persian threat that triggered an urge to seek new resources, on the one hand probably because of the increased extent of minting silver coinage for their own use, as in the 6th century the Greek world moved to a monetary payment system,⁶⁴ and on the other for paying tribute, which Macedonia probably had to do regularly as a vassal Persian province.⁶⁵ If, for example, we look at the grave goods in the rich princely graves from Trebenište, it can be established that in that period, in addition to various silver jewellery (fibulae, pins, bracelets, etc.), other prestigious goods also became contemporary, such as silver vessels for serving alcoholic beverages,⁶⁶ in the form of two-handled cups (kantharos), jugs, and drinking horns,⁶⁷ prob-

⁵¹ Kemenczei 2009: 74-75, Pl. 74, 5; 104, 5.

⁵² Čović 1987.

⁵³ Vasić 1987c.

⁵⁴ Dizdar 2019.

⁵⁵ For Bačka, cf. Medović 2006: 141-142, Fig. 127-128; Medović 2007: 10-19.

⁵⁶ Cf. Teržan 1976: 323-324, 353, 375-377, Fig. 18; 45-47; Teržan 1977: 14-16, 20-21, Fig. 4 (grave from Vučedol); Guštin, Teržan 1975: 192-195, Map 2, Fig. 2-3; Guštin, Teržan 1977: 80, Map 2, Fig. 1-2 (grave from Sremska Mitrovica); Čović 1987: 631, Pl. 64, 7; Vasić 1987c: 555-558; Medović 2006; Medović 2007: 10-19, Fig. 6, 2-4; 9, 7-10; 11, 6; Dizdar 2019: 323-333, Fig. 1, 3; 3,1; 4, 1-4.

⁵⁷ Teržan 1977: 339-340, 362, 377-380, Fig. 5h; 30; 48-50; Vasić 1989; Dizdar 2019: 327-330, Fig. 1,4-5; 2,1; 3,2; Soós 2019-2020: 117-123, Fig. 1-3.

⁵⁸ Medović 1989-1990: 159-162, Fig. 1, 1-3; *Gospodari srebra* 1990: 180, no. 122.

⁵⁹ Cf. Jereb 2016: 51-56, Pl. 40-41 etc.

⁶⁰ Vasić 1987c; Vasić 1988; Vasić 1989.

⁶¹ Also of interest here are the so-called Persian type of arrowheads and their distribution, see Hellmuth Kramberger 2015: 165-175, Abb. 8-11.

⁶² Herodotus, *Stories*, Book Four: 83-143.

⁶³ Cf. Vasić 1992: 59; Wittke et al. 2012: 76-77, 86-89, 104-105.

⁶⁴ Cf. Kos 1997: 126-133; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki, Vokotopoulou 1993: 197-198; Popov 2018: 205-207.

⁶⁵ Cf. for example, Weisser 2009: 114.

⁶⁶ Herodotus, *Stories*, Book Five: 17-20.

⁶⁷ Vasić 1987d: 724-727, Pl. 76, 2-3; 77; Balkani 2007: 115-117, cat. nos. 65-67; Trebenište 2018: 231 ff., cat. nos. 11, 12, 39, 58, 74, 93, 131-133, 393.

ably directly under Persian influence.⁶⁸ Evidently, local sources, such as those from Pangaion,⁶⁹ could no longer satisfy the increased need for silver and, hence, they set out to discover new ore deposits in the heart of the Balkans. With the participation of the local inhabitants and the transfer of knowledge, or “know-how”, the newcomers/specialists, together with locals, enabled the extraction of the valuable mineral wealth and the development of metallurgy and artistic crafts, which led to the emergence of a new social elite – the “masters of silver” in the Central Balkans.

III.

However, even the era marked by the bow fibulae of the Novi Pazar-Atenica type gradually came to an end (Fig. 2).⁷⁰ From the end of the 5th and in the 4th century, a new type of fibula was predominant in the area of the Central Balkans and the southern Adriatic, the so-called hinged fibula, also known in the literature as the Macedonian fibula. The fundamental study about them was also written by Rastko Vasić.⁷¹ In the framework of this type of fibula, for which it is thought that prototypes should be sought in the fibulae of Asia Minor or those of Phrygian origin,⁷² Vasić distinguished several variants, the most important for our theme being fibula variant IIa and variant Vb. These fibulae were made mostly from silver or also gold, and frequently also



Fig. 3. Distribution map of hinged fibulae of ..type IIa: see List 2: 1/ black circle - silver, 2/ white circle - bronze (according to Vasić 1985; Vasić 1999; Dmitrović 2019-2002).

from bronze. In terms of their distribution, it can be established that it partly overlaps or matches the distribution of the Novi Pazar type bow fibula (cf. Fig. 2 in 3-4). The distribution of the hinged fibula variant IIa with two globular discs on the bow is interesting, being most frequently found in Macedonia, while they are also present in the region of Central Serbia and the Drina river valley,⁷³ where they inherited, so to speak, the place of the Novi Pazar fibulae in attire (Fig. 3). Fibulae of variant Vb, which have four or more star-shaped or rosette-like decorative elements (*Windrad*, *Windmill*),⁷⁴ are also most frequent in the region of Macedonia, from where the only yet known gold examples come (Fig. 4). It also seems important to note that in areas south of the Olympus mountain range, in Greece, silver fibulae are rather rare, ex-

⁶⁸ Cf. e.g., Koch 1992: 176-188, 129-130; 135; Boardman 2000: 184-104, Fig. 5.66, 5.68, 5.71-5.72.

⁶⁹ Unger, Schütz 1982; Popov 2018: 203-206, Fig. 1.

⁷⁰ Only several fibulae of Novi Pazar-Atenica type are equipped with hinge, which shows they stay in use for a while: cf. Vasić 1999: 86-87, Taf. 43, 656; Vasić 2014: 208-211, Abb. 3, 5-6.

⁷¹ Vasić 1985; Vasić 1999: 102-118, Pl. 51-57.

⁷² Cf. Lisičar 1960-61; Vasić 1985: 123-124; Vasić 1999: 102.

⁷³ Cf. Vasić 1985: 128-129, Fig. 5; Vasić 1999: 103-106, Pl. 68 B; Dmitrović 2019-2020: 109-116, Map 1.

⁷⁴ See, for example, Braun 2010: 260, cat. no. 59.

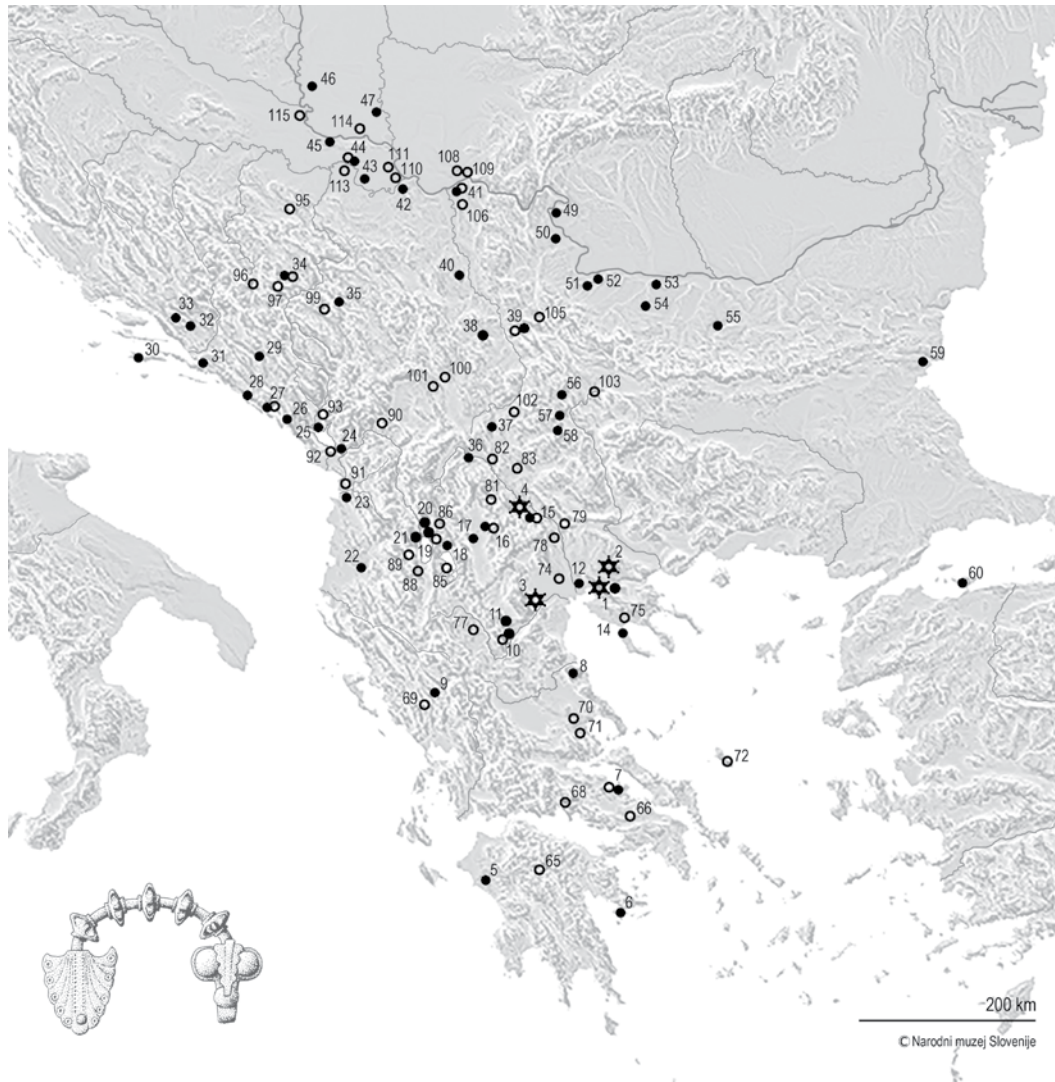


Fig. 4. Distribution map of hinged fibulae of type V b: see List 3: 1/star - gold, 2/black circle - silver, 3/ white circle - bronze (according to Vasić 1985; Vasić 1999; Mladenović 2019).

cept in the hoard from the Valley of Tempe, while in contrast bronze fibulae are more frequent and known especially from sanctuaries or their vicinity, as for example from Pherai, Dodona, Delphi, etc. (Fig. 4). More numerous are sites in the coastal belt of the southern Adriatic and its hinterland,⁷⁵ all the way to Glasinac and the Drina river valley, among which stands out the famous hoard of silver jewellery from Štrpci,⁷⁶ which lies halfway along the route between the silver ore bearing areas of Srebrenica and Trebča (cf. Fig. 1 in 4). It seems significant that their distribution to the north does not differ greatly from the Novi Pazar type fibula, as it extends to the Danube and only exception-

ally across it. Their finds are in fact concentrated at the mouth of the Morava all the way to Srem, and beyond the Danube into the lower Tisza river valley, with finds standing out from southern Bačka and the southern Banat regions (cf. Fig. 2 in 4).⁷⁷ In fact, as the exceptional quality of the products, particularly in terms of the number of star-shaped elements on the bow, distinguish these hinged fibulae from the “northern periphery” – namely from the hoard finds from Čurug and Sombor as well as Staliskaja mahala, they were therefore defined by Rastko Vasić as a special Čurug variant in the framework of the Vb type. On the basis of the hoard from Čurug, which, in addition to rich silver jewellery (fibulae, bracelets, etc.), also contained

⁷⁵ Cf. Lisičar 1960-61; Vasić 1985: 145, Fig. 6; Marijan 1987-1988: 42-44, Tab. 4; Batović 1988: 65-66, Sl. 9, 9-10.

⁷⁶ Hoernes 1901.

⁷⁷ Cf. Vasić 1985: 134-148, Fig. 6; Vasić 1999: 109-117, Pl. 69; Mladenović 2019: 355-366, Map 2, Fig. 1-3, Pl. 1-2.

fibulae of an Early La Tène type (Lt B), they were dated to the middle of the second half of the 4th century BC.⁷⁸

Particular attention is also drawn to several examples of hinged fibulae of variant Vb, which not only have a bow richly decorated with star-shaped knots, and at the foot and the so-called head also feature a rich decoration in the form of a palmette and/or animal heads or masks, but also feature further decoration in the form of miniature zoomorphic figurines. For instance, the figurines of lions on the silver fibulae from the wealthy hoard from Bosnian Štrpci (Fig. 5), which contained three pairs of large and one pair of smaller type Vb hinged fibulae as well as silver rosettes in three sizes, a silver appliqué in the form of a bust, and a bronze libation cup,⁷⁹ have their closest parallels in the silver fibulae from Ždanec near Skopje, which come from an even richer hoard/grave with silver jewellery.⁸⁰ The figurines of lions as symbols of royal power may perhaps indicate close connections between their owners – both those from Štrpci as well as those from Ždanec – with the ruling Macedonian house. The figurines on the gold fibula/fibulae from the hoard/grave (?) from Tremnik near Negotino in Macedonia are more enigmatic, might depict a frog, as a symbol of fertility, or more likely a reptile (crocodile?), and two horse protomes beneath it – perhaps an allegory of the sea god Poseidon.⁸¹ It is suggested that these tiny figurines on the fibulae represented additional status symbols and probably also genealogical markers on the already outstandingly valuable and extravagant fibulae of type Vb – as jewellery marking the social elite, who evidently wore attire “in the Macedonian style”.

The distribution of hinged fibulae of type Vb, in all probability, indicates a sphere of interest and

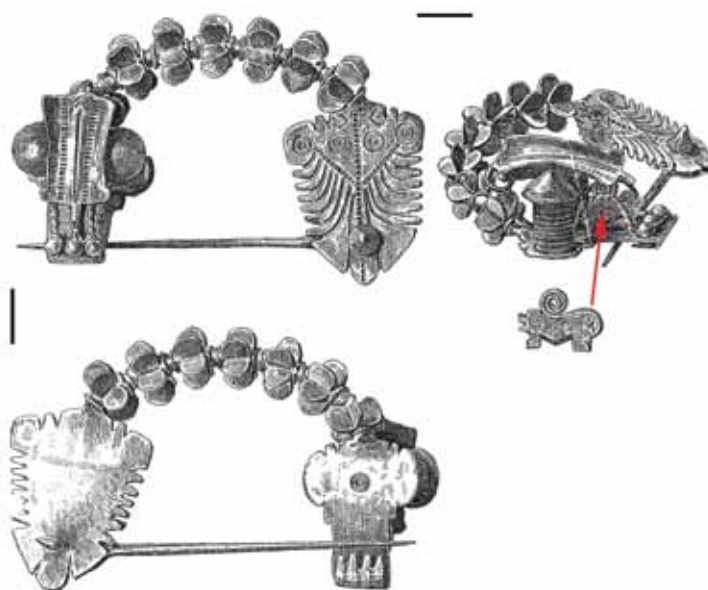


Fig. 5. Štrpci, a silver hinged fibula of type Vb with a lion figurine on the foot (from Hoernes 1901, Fig. 11-14).

influence of the rising Macedonian state at the end of the 5th and in the 4th century BC. An important role in this must also have been played by resources of precious metals such as gold and silver. As is shown by early examples of these fibulae, the influence over the Central Balkans began during the reign of King Perdiccas II and Archelaus I and subsequently intensified with the military campaigns of Philip II and Alexander III/the Great, when Macedonian domination supposedly extended all the way to the Danube.⁸² In this regard, the question is raised as to whether the rich hoard finds of silver jewellery along the northern edge of the distribution of hinged Vb fibulae or rather the Čurug variant (Sombor, Čurug, Stalijska mahala, Majur na Juhorju) in fact represent possible material remains of special sacrificial rites.⁸³ That this was a special ritualisation can be concluded on the basis of the composition of the jewellery in the hoards, particularly in terms of the number of fibulae, which are always represented by an even number (e.g. Čurug: 4 silver fibulae and 4 (=1+3) La Tène fibulae, Sombor: 4 silver fibulae, Majur:

⁷⁸ Vasić 1995: 85-87, Fig. 2; Vasić 1999: 116-117, Pl. 57; 69; for the complete composition of the hoard, see also Medović 1998: 84-89, Fig. 2, 22, Pl. 39, 8-10, 40-44.

⁷⁹ Hoernes 1901: 532-533, Fig. 13-14.

⁸⁰ Vasić 1985: 143, Fig. 10; Vasić 1999: 144, Pl. 56, 1065-1066; Mitrevski 2011: 200, Fig. 3.

⁸¹ Mitrevski 2011: 201-203, Fig. 5; David 2017a: 77-83, Fig. K 79.

⁸² See e.g., Errington 1986: 44-47, 58-59; Bratož 1997: 163-176.

⁸³ The on-going discussion about the functional significance of hoard finds in prehistory, which are interpreted in very different ways, is extremely extensive, hence in this place the entire literature need not be cited, rather attention can be drawn only to several fundamental works, such as Hänsel 1997; Tomedi 2012; Hansen et al. 2016.

4 silver fibulae, Stalijska Mahala: 4 silver fibulae, Štrpci: 4 pairs of silver fibulae = 3 pairs of large fibulae and one pair of smaller ones).

Perhaps these alleged ritual sacrifices could be explained in connection with special events, such as on the occasion of declaring a truce or alliance between the local magnates and the victorious Alexander.⁸⁴ The hoard from Čurug could even be connected to the Celtic mission to the young Alexander in 335 BC as mentioned in ancient written sources, on the occasion when he was in the Danube Basin and, among other things, had conquered the Triballi.⁸⁵ Perhaps in a similar sense – as indicators of direct Macedonian domination over the area along the upper course of the Vardar – it is also possible to understand the rich finds of silver and gold jewellery from Demir Kapija through Tremnik to Ždanec near Skopje, where there were also gold coins of Philip II and Alexander III in the hoard/grave (?) from Tremnik, which enables an undisputed dating of the hoard to 328-320 BC.⁸⁶ It is also significant that the hinged Vb fibulae fell out of fashion at the end of the 4th century BC.

It is also striking that the same is true for the coins from the mint of Damastion, which circulated primarily in the region of present-day southern Serbia, Kosovo, and North Macedonia. Although the location of the mint has not yet been precisely identified, it should be sought somewhere in the silver ore bearing and silver mine region mentioned in the introductory section, probably in present-day Kosovo. Their minting began at approximately the same time as the popularity of Vb hinged fibulae in the early 4th century BC and ceased in the period of 325-320,⁸⁷ which corresponds to the decline in wearing the Vb type fibula. This correspondence in the beginning and end of the fashion for hinged Vb fibula and the circulation of the Damastion coinage cannot be merely coincidental. It is evident that the cessation of minting and the crafting of silver jew-

ellery corresponded with the death of Alexander the Great, which was followed by the struggle of his successors – the Diadochi – for power.⁸⁸ For them, the Central Balkans, on the outskirts of Alexander's "world state"⁸⁹, despite the mineral wealth, was not interesting. The local lords, the masters of silver, evidently lost their political and economic power too, which is particularly shown by the end of the Damastion mint. This political void caused by the collapse of the Macedonian superpower and the sudden lack of power of the local elites was evidently exploited by the Celtic tribes, particularly the Scordisci, who first occupied the region along the Danube between Srem/Syrmia and Đerdap/Iron Gates,⁹⁰ and later with their looting raids also threatened the northern parts of Macedonia⁹¹ and Greece itself – up until their mysterious defeat in 279 BC at Delphi.

IV.

How strong the Grecian-Macedonian influences were on the Central Balkan region is shown not merely by the widespread distribution of the hinged fibulae of types IIa and Vb and the minting of silver coins of Damastion, but also by the newly unveiled and also ambitious excavations of the honoree at the archaeological site of Kale-Krševica near Bujanovac in the South Morava river basin. The settlement of Kale, whose beginnings extend back at least to the period of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages,⁹² experienced its rise and peak in the 4th century BC.⁹³ The finds include not merely hinged fibulae of types IIa and Vb,⁹⁴ but also a large quantity of Greek pottery,⁹⁵ which exhibits an exceptionally wide spectrum of forms that indicate that these were not only individual prestigious pieces as in the previously mentioned princely graves in the late 6th and in the 5th centuries BC, but

⁸⁴ For the sacrificial rituals of Alexander before crossing the Marmara-Sea on his military expedition to conquer Asia, see e.g., Gehrke 2010, 26-27. For his costumes, addressing the local fashion and status symbols, cf. Paetz gen. Schieck 2009: 105.

⁸⁵ Tomaschitz 2012.

⁸⁶ Mitrevski 2011: 201, Fig. 5; David 2017a: 83, Fig. K 83-84.

⁸⁷ Kos 1997: 73-74; Popović 2007: 416-417, Fig. 6; Ujes Morgan 2011: 492-495, Fig. 3-4; Schwarz 2012 (A. Šemrov drew my attention to the articles of Ujes Morgan and Schwarz, for which I would like to thank him).

⁸⁸ See e.g., Errington 1986: 108-121; Bratož 1997: 195-203.

⁸⁹ Bratož 1997: 186-188.

⁹⁰ Cf. Todorović 1968; Skordisci 1992; Jovanović 2018.

⁹¹ Cf. Errington 1986: 146; Guštin, Kuzman 2014; David 2017b.

⁹² Bulatović 2005.

⁹³ Popović 2005; Popović 2012.

⁹⁴ Popović 2012: 94, Fig. 113-14; Dmitrović 2019-2020: 114; Mladenović 2019: 359, Fig. 3.

⁹⁵ Krstić 2005; Popović 2012: 30-33; Krstić, Djordjević 2012: 58-73.

rather everyday tableware and drinking vessels, mostly from the 4th century BC. Special mention should also be made of silver coins of Philip II and Alexander III and a silver coin of Damastion from the vicinity.⁹⁶ The most important element is the discovery of architecture at the foot of the acropolis, in the suburbium (a vaulted cistern for water, buildings, walls, etc.), built in the Hellenistic manner.⁹⁷ The manner and quality of the construction indisputably indicates that the builders came to Kale-Krševica from the Grecian-Macedonian world, or they had at least been schooled there to attain the necessary knowledge and experience. The results of the archaeological investigations of the honouree and his team at Kale-Krševica, thus, open a new dimension in the knowledge of the epoch in question and offer hints of the civilisational, technological, and cultural advances experienced by parts of the Central Balkans in the 4th century BC, although they were only on the outskirts of the “world state” of Alexander the Great.

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List 1: Bow fibulae of the Novi Pazar-Atenica type (see Fig. 2).

(According to Vasić 1987a, Prilog/App. 1 = AV No...; Vasić 1999: 77-81, No. 582-626 = PBF No⁹⁸).

Abbreviations: AL – Albanija/Albania; BG – Bugarska/Bulgaria, BiH – Bosna i Hercegovina, H – Mađarska/Hungary, HR- Hrvatska/Croatia, KOS – Kosovo, MA – Makedonija/North Macedonia, RO – Romunska/Romunia, SRB – Srbija/Serbia.

Gold fibulae (star)

1. Novi Pazar, SRB, barrow (hoard/grave?), 4 x (AV No. 51; PBF No. 597-599, 603; Silber 2004: 96 No. 71; Balkani 2007: 76 No. 23).
2. Kostolac (?), SRB, 1 x (PBF No. 614; Balkani 2007: 141 No. 98).

Bronze gilded fibula (1/star)

3. Sremska Mitrovica, Srem, SRB, 1x (AV No. 66; PBF No. 615).

Silver fibulae (2/black circle ●)

4. Ohrid – Gorna Porta, MA, grave, 2x (David 2017b: 30-31, K 38; Kuzman 2018: 218, Pl. 2, 15-16).
5. Trebenište, MA, graves, 2x (AV No. 42; PBF No. 616-617; Silber 2004: 93 No. 47; Balkani 2007: 123 No. 73; Trebenište 2018: 299, Cat. No. 150).
6. Gajtan, AL, grave, 1x (AV No. 45; Shqipëria 1971, Fig. 49; Albanien 1988: 224 No. 85).
7. Cavtat, HR, 1x (AV No. 86; Batović 1988: 62-64, Sl. 9, 12; Marijan 2000: 173, Sl. 19, 5).
8. Kačanj, Bileća, BiH, graves, 2x (AV No. 88; Marić 1969: 92-93, T. 2, 2 and 4; Marijan 2000: 173, Sl. 19, 3).
9. Radimlja - Konštica, Stolac, BiH, 1x (Marijan 2000: 173, Sl. 19,4, T. 11, 2).
10. Pečka Banja, KOS, grave, 2x (AV No. 49; PBF No. 605-606; Silber 2004: 94 No. 51).
11. = 1 Novi Pazar, barrow (hoard/grave?), 5x (AV No. 51; PBF No. 596, 600-602, 604; Silber 2004: 97 No. 72; Balkani 2007: 100 No. 50-51).
12. Kruševica, Raška, SRB, hoard/grave?, 4x (AV No. 52; PBF No. 587-590; Silber 2004: 100 No. 97, 99).
13. Atenica, Čačak, SRB, barrow/ grave, 1x (AV No. 53; PBF No. 582).
14. Crvena Lokva, Glasinac, BiH, barrow/grave (Stratimirović von Kulpin 1893: 122, Fig. 22; Guštin, Teržan 1975: 192-193, Sl. 2, 2; Guštin, Teržan 1977: 79-80, Abb. 1, 2; AV No. 83).
15. Beremend, Baranja, H, grave, 2x ((AV No. 69).

⁹⁶ Popović 2007: 414-417, Fig. 5; Krstić, Djordjević 2012: 92, Fig. 104-105, 107.

⁹⁷ Popović 2012: 20-29, 44, 52; Popović, Vukadinović 2011; Jeremić 2005.

⁹⁸ Vasić 2014: 208 gives for the new finds of the fibulae Novi Pazar type (Nikinci, Velika Krsna, Miroč) no information about their metal – bronze, silver or gold, and they are not mapped on Fig. 2.

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16. Sotin, Slavonija, HR, grave, 1x (AV No. 68; PBF Taf. 59 D).
 17. Kuzmin, Šid, Srem, SRB, grave, 1x (AV No. 65; PBF No. 592).
 18. Salaš Nočajski, Sremska Mitrovica, SRB, grave, 2x (AV No. 67; PBF No. 608-609).
 19. Vinča, Beograd, SRB, 1x (AV No. 61, Taf. 3, 1; PBF No. 619).
 20. Umčari, Grocka, SRB, grave, 1x (AV No. 60; PBF No. 618; Silber 2004: 101 No. 108).
 21. = 2 Kostolac (?), SRB, 4x (PBF No. 610-613; Silber 2004: 102 No. 114-115; Balkani 2007: 140 No. 96-97).
 22. Požarevac, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 607).
 23. Vitoševac, Ražanj, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 622).
 24. Červenbreg, Kjustendil, BG, 3x (AV No. 14, Taf. 2, 6, 8-9; Gergova 1987, No. 92-94).
 25. Madžarska/Hungary, H (PBF Taf. 59, E).
- Bronze fibulae (3/white circle ○)
26. = 8 Kačanj, Bileća, BiH, graves, 1x (Marić 1969: 89, T. 3,2; AV No. 88) and 26/1: Plana, Bileća, grave, 2x (Truhelka 1901: 7, Sl. 5-7).
 27. Prenj, Stolac, BiH (Marijan 1987-1988b: 65, T. 2, 1-2; PBF, 81).
 28. Humac, Ljubuški, BiH, vicinity (Čović 1985: 55, T. 4, 4; AV No. 92; PBF, 81).
 29. Jajce - Bočačka klisura, BiH, 1x (Nadbath 2004: 66, Taf. 13, 4; AV No. 73; PBF, 81).
 30. Vratnica, Visoko, BiH, 5x (Čović 1984: 43-44, Fig. 8, 1-2; PBF, 81).
 31. Glasinac - Gosinja planina, Ilijak, Rusanovići, Taline, BiH, graves, 4x (AV No. 76; Truhelka 1893: 87-88, Fig. 85; Fiala 1897: 25, Fig. 45; Benac, Čović 1957: 17, T. 34, 1-2).
 32. Šarenčeve vrtoče, Glasinac, BiH, grave, 1x (Truhelka 1893: 87, Fig. 84; AV No. 80).
 33. Zabrnjica - Oborište, Priboj, SRB, barrows/graves, 3x (PBF No. 623-625).
 34. Kupinovo, Ruma, Srem, SRB, 1x (AV No. 64; Taf. 3, 3; PBF No. 591).
 35. Novi Banovci, Srem, SRB, 2x (AV No. 63; PBF No. 594-595).
 36. Zemun, Srem, SRB, 4x (AV No. 62; PBF No. 626; Vasić 2014, 208, Abb. 3, 4).
 37. = 19 Vinča, Beograd, SRB, 1x (AV No. 61, Taf. 3, 2; PBF No. 620).
 38. Drmno, Požarevac, SRB, grave, 2x (AV No. 58, Taf. 2, 7; PBF No. 583-584).
 39. Kličevac, Požarevac, SRB, 1x (AV No. 59; PBF No. 585).
 40. Kožice, Kučevo, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 586).
 41. Negotin, SRB, 1x (AV No. 57; PBF No. 593).
 42. Viteževo, Žabari, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 621).
 43. Orsoja, Mihajlovgrad/Montana, BG, grave (Gergova 1987, No. 95).
 44. Ostrovu Mare, RO, 1x (AV No. 24; Bader 1983, No. 289A).
 45. Szentcsaba-Fényes, H, grave, 1x (AV No. 70).
 46. Bekéscsaba-Fényes, H, grave, 1x (AV No. 71).
 47. Tiszavasvári-Dózsa telep, H, grave, 1x (Kemenczei 2009, Taf. 104, 5).
- Fibulae Novi Pazar-Atenica type with hinge (Ag – black triangle ▲, Bz – white triangle)
48. = 8 Kačanj, Bileća, BiH, grave, 1x Ag (Marić 1975-1976, 107, T. 2, 3a-b; AV No. 88, T. 5, 5).
 49. Ljubomir- Ukšići/Grebnice, BiH, grave, 1x Ag (Marijan 2000: 173, 176, Sl. 19, 6, T. 6, 1; AV No. 87).
 50. = 9 Radimlja, Stolac, BiH, 3x bronze (AV No. 90, T. 5, 2-4).
 51. = 31 Gosinja planina, Glasinac, BiH, 1x bronze (Fiala 1897, 26, Fig. 50; Benac, Čović 1957: 9, T. 9, 10).
 52. Guča – Grotnica, Lučani, SRB, 1x Ag (PBF No. 656; Vasić 2014: 208, Abb. 3, 6; Silber 2004: 103 No. 125).
 53. Hisar, Leskovac, SRB, 1x Ag (Vasić 2014: 208, Abb. 3, 5).
 54. Mati, AL (PBF, 86, Footnote 438).
 55. Ostrovu Mare, Gogoşu, RO, 1x Ag (Bader 1983: 118 No. 373).
 56. Banat, RO, 1x Ag (Bader 1983: 118 No. 373).
 57. Romunska/Romunia, 1x Ag (Bader 1983: 118, No. 372).
- List 2:** Hinged fibulae of type IIa with two globular discs on the bow (see Fig. 3)
(According to Vasić 1985: 128-129, Sl. 5; Vasić 1999: 103-106, Taf. 68 B = PBF No.; Dmitrović 2019-2020: 113-114, Karta 1).
- Abbreviations: AL – Albanija/Albania; BG – Bugarska/Bulgaria, BiH – Bosna i Hercegovina, ČG – Crna gora/Montenegro, GR – Grčija/Greece, HR – Hrvatska/Croatia, KOS – Kosovo, MA – Makedonija/North Macedonia, SRB – Srbija/Serbia.
- Silver fibulae (1/black circle)
1. Prilep – pod Kuli Varoš (1x), Zagrad (1x), MA (Vasić 1985, 128-129; PBF No. 903, 906).
 2. Ohrid, MA, 3x (PBF No. 887-889).
 3. Gostilj, Donja Zeta, ČG, 6x (Vasić 1985: 128; Basler 1969: 28, 36, T. 6, 2-3; 17, 1-2, 4-5; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 9).
- Bronze fibulae (2/white circle)
4. Olint, Halkidika, GR, 2x (Vasić 1985: 128).
 5. Čaušica, GR, 4x (Vasić 1985: 128).
 6. Pontoirakleia, Kilkis, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 128).
 7. Philiria, Kilkis, GR (PBF, 105, Footnote 183).

8. Dojran, Stari, MA, 1x (Vasić 1985: 128; PBF No. 916).
9. Demir Kapija, Negotino, Ma, 2x (Vasić 1985: 128; PBF No. 877-881).
10. Čepigovo, Prilep, MA, 1x (Vasić 1985: 128; PBF No. 872).
11. = 1 Prilep – Kaldrma (13x), pod Kuli-Varoš (2), Zagrad (3), Volkovo (1x), Pelagonija, 4x, MA (Vasić 1985: 128-129; PBF No. 890-902, 904-905, 907-909, 918; 910-913).
12. Golem Grad, Resen, MA, 1x (PBF No. 882).
13. Delagožda, Struga, MA, 4x (PBF No. 873-876).
14. Podgradec, AL, 2x + (Vasić 1985: 128).
15. Lešnje/Leshnje, AL, 1x (Vasić 1985: 128)
16. Irmaj, AL, 1x (Vasić 1985, 128; PBF, 105, Footnote 581).
17. Vrrin, AL, 1x (PBF, 105, Footnote 581).
18. Činamak, AL (PBF, 105, Footnote 581).
19. Katlanovo, Veles, MA, 1x (PBF No. 884).
20. Skopje – Kale, MA, 2x (Vasić 1985: 129; PBF No. 914-915).
21. Filipovci – Dolno gradište, Kratovo, MA, 1x (PBF No. 883).
22. Pernik, BG, 2x (Vasić 1985: 128; PBF 105, Footnote 586).
23. Krševica – Kale, Vranje, SRB, 2x (Vasić 1985: 128; PBF No. 886; Popović 2012: 94 No. 113; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 11).
24. Veletino, Lipljan, KOS, 1x (PBF No. 917; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 10).
25. Momišići, Podgorica, ČG, 5x (Vasić 1985: 128; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 8).
26. Zabrnjica – Oborište, Priboj, SRB, 3x (PBF No. 920-922; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 4).
27. Krajčinovići - Rudine, Priboj, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 885; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 5).
28. Rudine-Rusanovići, Glasinac, BiH, 2x (Vasić 1985: 128; Benac, Čović 1957: 24, T. 49, 1-2; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 3).
29. Čačak, SRB (Dmitrović 2019-2020: 111-114, Sl. 1-2, Karta 1, 6).
30. Beočić, Juhor, Jagodina, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 871; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 7).
31. Zemun, Srem, SRB, 1x (Vasić 2014: 211, Abb. 3, 9; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 2).
32. Dalj, Slavonija, HR, 1x (Vasić 1985, 128; Dmitrović 2019-2020, Karta 1, 1)

List 3: Hinged fibulae of type V b with four or more star shaped or rosette-like decorative elements on the bow (see Fig. 4)
(According to Vasić 1985: 135-148, Sl. 6; Vasić 1999: 109-117, Taf. 69 = PBF No.).

Abbreviations: AL – Albania; BiH – Bosna i Hercegovina, ČG – Črna gora/ Montenegro, GR – Grčka/Greece, HR- Hrvatska/ Croatia, KOS – Kosovo, MA – Makedonija/North Macedonia, SRB – Srbija/ Serbia.

Gold fibulae (1/star)

1. Solun/Thessalonike, Macedonia, GR, 6x and more (Vasić 1985: 135; PBF, 114-115; Braun 2010: 260, Kat.Nr. 59).
2. Derveni, Solun/Thessalonike, Macedonia, GR, 6x (Vasić 1985: 135).
3. Veria, Macedonia, GR, 2x (Vasić 1985: 136).
4. Tremnik, Negotino, MA, 4 x (Mitrevski 2011: 201-203, Fig. 5; David 2017a: 78-81, K. 77-80).

Silver fibulae (2/black circle)

5. Elis, Pelopones, GR, 4x (Vasić 1985: 136; Blinkenberg 1926: 229 XII 17 c).
6. Halieis – Porto Cheli, Pelopones, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 136).
7. Halai, Phokis, GR, 13x (Vasić 1985: 136).
8. Tempe, Tesalija/Thessaly, GR, 4x (PBF, 114, Footnote 634; Blinkenberg 1926: 229 XII 17 b; Jacobstahl 1956: 207, Abb. 648; Kilian 1975: 156 No. 1748-1751).
9. Ioanina/ Janina, Epiros, GR, 2x (Vasić 1985: 136; Blinkenberg 1926: 229, XII 17 a).
10. Aiani, Kozani, Macedonia, GR, many (PBF, 115, Footnote 644),
11. Kozani-Mavropigi, Macedonia, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 136).
12. Sindos, Macedonia, GR, many (Vasić 1985: 136; Sindos 1985, No. 61-62, 132-133).
13. = 1 Solun/ Thessalonike, GR, 20x and more (Vasić 1985: 136).
14. Potidaia, Halkidike, GR, many (Vasić 1985: 136).
15. Demir Kapija, Negotino, MA, 3x (Vasić 1985: 137; PBF No. 981-983).
16. Prilep – Zagrad (1x), Volkovo (1x), MA (Vasić 1985: 138-139; PBF No. 1013; 1053).
17. Beranci, Bitola, MA, 6x (Vasić 1985: 137; PBF No. 970-975).
18. Gimbabica, Resen, MA, 1x (Vasić 1985: 137; PBF No. 993).
19. Trebenište, Ohrid, MA, 7x (Vasić 1985: 139; PBF No. 1040-1047).
20. Delagožda, Struga, MA, 3x (PBF No. 978-980).
21. Radolište, Struga, MA, 1x (Vasić 1985: 138; PBF No. 1027).
22. Amantia/Ploça, AL, 2x (Vasić 1985: 136; Albanien 1988: 367 No. 278).
23. Belsch, AL, 15x (Vasić 1985: 136; Albanien 1988: 256 No. 125 a,b).

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24. Gajtan, AL, 5x (Vasić 1985: 136).
 25. Gostilj, Donja Zeta, ČG, 6x (Vasić 1985: 137; Basler 1969: 27, 36, T. 5, 7-11; 17, 3).
 26. Budva, ČG, 3x (Vasić 1985: 137-138, Sl.7).
 27. Glogovik, Herceg Novi, ČG, 1x (Vasić 1985: 137; Pušić 1962: 78, T. 11, 8).
 28. Cavtat, HR, 2x (Vasić 1985: 137; Lisičar 1960-61: 30, Sl. 3; Batović 1988: 63-65, Sl. 9, 9-10).
 29. Ljubomir – Ukšići/ Grebnice, BiH, 1x (Marijan 2000: 23, 123, 176, Fig. 29).
 30. Blato, Korčula, 2x (Vasić 1985: 137; Lisičar 1960-61: 30, Sl. 2).
 31. Neum – Gradac, BiH, 17x (Lisičar 1960-61: 26; Marijan 1987-1988: 42-44,47, T. 4; Marijan 1988: 325 (No. 25107); PBF, 115, Footnote 642).
 32. Gorica, Ljubuški, 1x (Vasić 1985: 137; Hoernes 1901: 529, Sl. 8; Truhelka 1901: 25, Fig. 40).
 33. Ružići - Gradac, Gorica, Ljubuški, BiH, 4x (Vasić 1985: 138; Lisičar 1960-61: 25-26; Nadbath 2004: 66, T. 13, 5-7).
 34. Rusanovići, Glasinac, BiH, 1x (Vasić 1985: 137; Hoernes 1901: 530, Sl. 9; Fiala 1896: 18, Fig. 38-39; Benac, Čović 1957: 23, T. 46, 11).
 35. Štrpci, Višegrad, BiH, 8x (Vasić 1985: 139; Hoernes 1901: 530-533, Sl. 11-15).
 36. Ždanec, Skopje, MA, 8x (Vasić 1985: 139-140, Sl. 9; PBF No. 1059-1066; Mitrevski 2011: 200, Fig. 3).
 37. Oraovica, Preševo, Vranje, SRB, 1x (Vasić 2014: 211).
 38. Donja Toponica, Prokuplje, SRB, 1x (Vasić 1985: 137; PBF No. 990).
 39. Niš, Velika Humska Čuka, SRB, 1x (Vasić 1985: 138; PBF No. 1004).
 40. Majur, Juhor, Jagodina, SRB, 4x (Vasić 1985: 137; PBF No. 1071-1074; Silber 2004: 103 No. 127).
 41. Kostolac, Požarevac, SRB, 4x (Vasić 1985: 137; PBF No. 996-998).
 42. Beograd – Čukarica, SRB, 2x (Vasić 1985: 137; PBF No. 968-969; Silber 2004: 102 No. 118).
 43. Nikinci, Srem, SRB, 3x (Vasić 2014: 211-212, Abb. 4; Vasić 2006: 121-122, Fig. 2-3).
 44. Sremska Mitrovica, SRB, 4x (Vasić 1985: 138; PBF No. 1034-1037).
 45. Susek, Beočin, Srem, SRB, 1x (Vasić 1985: 139; PBF No. 1039).
 46. Sombor, Bačka, SRB, 2x (Vasić 1985: 138-139, Sl. 8; PBF No. 1075-1078).
 47. Čurug, Bačka, SRB, 4x (Vasić 1985: 137; PBF No. 1067-1070; Silber 2004: 104 No. 129-130; Balkani 2007: 148 No. 106-109).
 48. Bačka (?), SRB, 3x (PBF, Taf. 59, G 1-3)
 49. Ostrovul Mare, Gogoșu, RO, 7x (Vasić 1985: 140; Bader 1983: 119 No. 375-381, Taf. 38).
 50. Negotin, SRB, 1x (Vasić 1985: 138; PBF No. 1003).
 51. Stalijska mahala, BG, 4x (Vasić 1985: 136; Vasić 1995: 85, Fig. 2).
 52. Lom, BG, 2x (Thraker 1975: 68, Abb. 25).
 53. Bukjovci, Orjahovo, BG, 6x (Vasić 1985: 136; Thraker 1975: 68-69, Abb. 229).
 54. Tarnava, BG, 1x (Vasić 1985: 136; PBF, 115, Footnote 649).
 55. Vladinja, Loveč, BG, (Vasić 1985: 136; Thraker 1975: 68, No. 228).
 56. Penkovci, Pernik, BG, 2x (Vasić 1985: 136).
 57. Garbino, BG, 2x (Vasić 1985: 136).
 58. Kjustendil, BG, 2x (Vasić 1985: 136).
 59. Mesembria, Nesebur, BG, 2x (Vasić 1985: 136).
 60. Kizik/ Cysikus, Marmara Sea, TR, 3x (Vasić 1985: 140, Sl. 11; Blinkenberg 1926: 229 XII 17d).
 61. Bugarska/Bulgaria, unknown sites, 1x (Vasić 1985: 136).
 62. Grčka/ Greece – Macedonia, Thessaly, unknown sites, ca 10 x (Vasić 1985: 137).
 63. Slavonija, HR, unknown sites, 3 x (Vasić 1985: 138).
 64. Srbija/Serbia, unknown sites, 2x (PBF No. 1028-1029, Silber 2004: 102-103 No. 117-121, 126).
- Bronze fibulae (3/white circle)
65. Lousoi, Pelopones, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146).
 66. Thebes, Beotia, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146).
 67. = 7. Halai, Phokis, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146; Mladenović 2019: 365 No. 28, Pl. 2, 28).
 68. Delphi – Suvala (2x), Medeon (1x), GR (Vasić 1985: 146).
 69. Dodona, Epiros, GR, 4 x (Vasić 1985: 146; Blinkenberg 1926: 224, Fig. 257; Hoernes 1901: 528, Sl. 2).
 70. Pherai, Tesalija/Thessaly, GR, 2-3x (Vasić 1985: 146; Kilian 1975: 156 No. 1744-1745, 1746).
 71. Almyros, Tesalija/Thessaly, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146; Kilian 1975: 156 No. 1747; Mladenović 2019: 365 No.27, Pl. 2, 27).
 72. Skiros, GR, 2x (Vasić 1985: 146).
 73. = 10. Aiani, Kozani, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146).
 74. Pella, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146).
 75. Olinth, GR, 15x (Vasić 1985: 146).
 76. Halkidike, GR, many (Vasić 1985: 146).
 77. Aksiokastro, GR, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146).
 78. Milci, Gevgelija, MA, 1x (Vasić 1985: 147; PBF No. 1002).
 79. Marvinci, Valandovo, MA, 1x (PBF No. 1001).
 80. = 15. Demir Kapija, MA, 6x (Vasić 1985: 147; PBF No. 984-989; Mladenović 2019: 365 No.14, Pl. 1, 14)).
 81. Stari grad – Babuna, Negotino, MA, 1x (Vasić 1985, 146; PBF No. 1038).
 82. Katlanovo, Veles, MA, 1x (PBF No. 995).

83. Gradište Knežje (Bylazora), Sveti Nikole, Veles, MA, 1x (Mitrevski 2019: 351, Fig. 9; Mladenović 2019: 365 No.16, Pl. 2,
84. = 16. Prilep – Kaldrma (4x), Zagrad (13x), Volkovo (4x), MA (Vasić 1985: 147; PBF No. 1009-1012, 1013-1026A, 1053-1057; Mladenović 2019: 365 No.17-26, Pl. 2, 17-26).
85. Golem Grad, Prespa, MA (PBF No. 994).
86. Ohrid – Velmej, Bučište, MA (PBF No. 1052; Mladenović 2019: 365 No.13, Pl. 1, 13).
87. = 19. Trebenište – Tri Čeljusti, MA, 1x (Vasić 1985: 147; PBF No. 1050; Mladenović 2019: 365 No. 15, Pl. 1, 15).
88. Podgradec, AL, many (Vasić 1985: 146; Mladenović 2019: 365 No. 31, Pl. 3, 31).
89. Selce Donje/ Selca e Poshtëme, AL, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146; Mladenović 2019: 365 No. 30, Pl. 2, 30).
90. Rosuje, Kukës, AL, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146).
91. Lješ/Lezha/ Lissos, AL, many (Vasić 1985: 146).
92. Skadar/Shkodra (vicinity), AL, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146).
93. Momišići, Podgorica, ČG, 1x (Vasić 1985: 147; Mladenović 2019: 365 No. 8, Pl. 1,8).
94. = 27. Glogovik, Herceg Novi, ČG, 1x (Vasić 1985: 147; Pušić 1962: 78, T. 11, 7).
95. Gradac – Hrasno Donje, BiH, 10x (Vasić 1985: 147).
96. Debelo Brdo, Sarajevo, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146; Fiala 1896: 27, Fig. 175; Hoernes 1901: 528, Sl. 6).
97. Gosinja planina, Glasinac, BiH, 2x (Vasić 1985: 147; Fiala 1897: 19, Fig. 31)
98. = 34. Rusanovići, Rudine, Glasinac, BiH, 5x (Vasić 1985: 147; Fiala 1896: 26, Fig. 57; Hoernes 1901: 528, Sl. 4; Benac, Čović 1957: 24, T. 49, 6-10; Mladenović 2019: 365, No. 9-12, Pl. 1, 9-12).
99. Zabrnjica – Oborište, Priboj, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 1058; Mladenović 2019: 365, No.7, Pl. 1.7).
100. Čečan, Vučitrn, KOS, 2x (Vasić 1985: 146, Sl. 1-3; PBF No. 976-977; Mladenović 2019: 364-365, No. 5-6, Pl. 1,5-6).
101. Dubovac, Priština, KOS, 1x (PBF No. 992).
102. Krševica-Kale, Vranje, SRB, 1x (Vasić 2014: 211; Popović 2012: 94 Fig. 114; Mladenović 2019: 359, Fig. 3).
103. Pernik, BG, 1x (Vasić 1985: 146; Mladenović 2019: 365 No.29, Pl. 2, 29).
104. = 39. Niš, SRB, 1x (Vasić 2014: 211; Vasić 2006: 121, Fig. 1).
105. Bogdanica – Svrlijig, SRB, 1x (Mladenović 2019: 356, Fig. 1, Pl. 1,1).
106. Požarevac (vicinity), SRB, 2x (PBF No. 1007-1008; Mladenović 2019: 364 No. 4, Pl. 1, 4).
107. = 41. Kostolac - Čair, Požarevac, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 999).
108. Dubovac, Bela Crkva, Banat, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 991; Mladenović 2019: 364 No. 2, Pl. 1,2).
109. Banatska Palanka, Bela Crkva, Banat, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 967; Mladenović 2019: 364 No. 2, Pl. 1,2).
110. Zemun, Srem, SRB, 1x (Vasić 2014: 211, Abb. 3, 8).
111. Novi Banovci, Srem, SRB, 2x (Vasić 1985: 147; Mladenović 2019: 364 No. 3, Pl. 1,3).
112. = 44. Sremska Mitrovica, Srem, SRB, 1x (Vasić 1985: 147).
113. Mala Mitrovica, Mačva, SRB, 1x (PBF No. 1000).
114. Novi Sad -Volarsko polje, SRB, 2x (Mladenović 2019: 359, Fig. 2).
115. Dalj, Slavonija, HR, 2x (Vasić 1985: 146).

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