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Invited contribution

Inside fashion fusion: Fibulae from Crikvenica

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Abstract

During the archaeological excavations of the figlina at the Igralište site in Crikvenica, among other things, seven very well-preserved bronze fibulae were discovered, and are today accompanied by an older find of a fibula from the Kaštel site. According to their formal features, they belong to two groups - fibulae of the Middle and Late La Tène schemes are significant forms of the Late La Tène cultural traditions, while the cast fibulae of Aucissa type, strongly profiled fibulae and those with the multiply segmented bow are characteristic elements of Roman provincial culture. Their morphological and stylistic features, as well as the adequate context of their discovery, allow us a precise typological classification, chronological determination and cultural interpretation that is the basis of this discussion. Considered within the material culture of Kvarner and the wider northern Adriatic region, the second half of the 1st century BCE and the course of the 1st century AD, they represent valuable first finds in the archaeological record of the area, and some of them are presented here for the first time. Their presence is associated with cosmopolitan culture and various identities associated with the early establishment and greatest flourishing of this significant and first explored ceramic workshop in the province of Dalmatia belonging to *Sextus M(e/u)tillius Maximus* in *Ad Turres*.

Key words

Crikvenica – Igralište, *Ad Turres*, ceramic workshop of *Sextus M(e/u)tillius Maximus*, fibulae, gender, identity

Introduction

The Kvarner basin, stretching from Podvelebit to the eastern coast of Istria, and from the Kastav region to the entrance to Kvarnerić, is not a geographically homogeneous region.¹ On the contrary, a highly heterogeneous area that dissipates at its ends and merges with other, neighbouring ecological and cultural milieus (Figure 1).

Nevertheless, this territory acted and reacted coherently and cohesively, that is, as a semantically meaningful entity in all its natural and anthropogenic manifestations, especially during the Late Bronze and Iron Age. However, in the last centuries BCE fundamental changes took place which changed irreversibly the picture of the seemingly established and “idyllic” world of the Iron Age – the nearby Histrian wars, along the western extension of Kvarner, the conquest of Nesactium in 177 BCE and, at least formally, the end of long prehistory of the Istrian peninsula inaugurated the Roman Republic in that region (Starac 2000; Matijašić 2017). These key historical events were, due to their physical closeness, directly reflected in the socio-political circumstances on the entire Kvarner Basin. Consequently, we have to consider already the period of the 2nd century BCE as the century of great changes

and the beginning of “Romanization” on the wider stretch of North Adriatic. The term “Romanization” is certainly not presented here in an administrative or binary sense, but in the broadest perspective indicates dynamic processes of intertwined economic and, of course, military-political intentions on that territory (Miškec 2003; Horvat 2009; Matijašić 2009; 2017; cf. Versluys 2014).

Unlike the Histrian Nesactium, the “cities” of Kvarner were not militantly conquered, destroyed and demolished. Since the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, material culture actually supports the thesis of their political orientation and strategic involvement with the acquired status of *aleates* or *foederates* – as demonstrated by the archaeological remains discovered not only in Osor, but also in the to the north located Krk, Baška and Rijeka (*Tarsatica*) (Lipovac 1991: 37-46; Šašel 1992: 615; Starac 2000: 16, 22, 81; Blečić 2001: 74; Višnjic 2009a; Blečić Kavur 2015: 231-233). During the 1st century BCE, especially from its middle, Kvarner, like most of Liburnia, was peacefully integrated into the Empire (Starac 2000: 10-18; Konestra *et al.* 2020: 88-89). And the organization of a military alliance with local forces and the very arrangement of Caesar’s military troops is also indicated by the celebrated battle of Krk in the year 49 BCE (Bilić Dujmušić 2014; cf. Vitelli Casella 2018).

¹ The article is a supplemented and expanded paper presented at II. International Congress of the *Roman Ceramic and Glass Workshop* in Crikvenica in 2011 (Blečić Kavur 2011).





Figure 1. The position of the Kvarner Bay with the most significant sites mentioned in the text (made by M. Blečić Kavur).

This was a period of economic development and prosperity, and it is thought that many private entrepreneurs preceded the establishment of military offices and constituted production, together with the organization of their estates – most likely as early as in the middle of the 1st century BCE. In this context, the figlina explored at the site Igralište in Crikvenica – *Ad Turres*, established *saltus* as a suburban territory between the municipi of *Tarsatica* and *Senia* (Lipovac Vrkljan and Konestra 2018; Konestra *et al.* 2020: 89).

Many years of research at this site have provided exceptional results about the first systematically investigated Roman pottery workshop in the province, as evidenced by the already extensive literature as well as this volume.² Exceptionally are the discoveries of bronze fibulae, which are available for the first time in a well-known archaeological context. Namely, all fibulae originating from the Kvarner area are mostly of older date and almost as a rule without closer circumstances

² E.g. Lipovac Vrkljan 2011; Lipovac Vrkljan and Konestra 2018; Konestra *et al.* 2020 – with earlier literature.

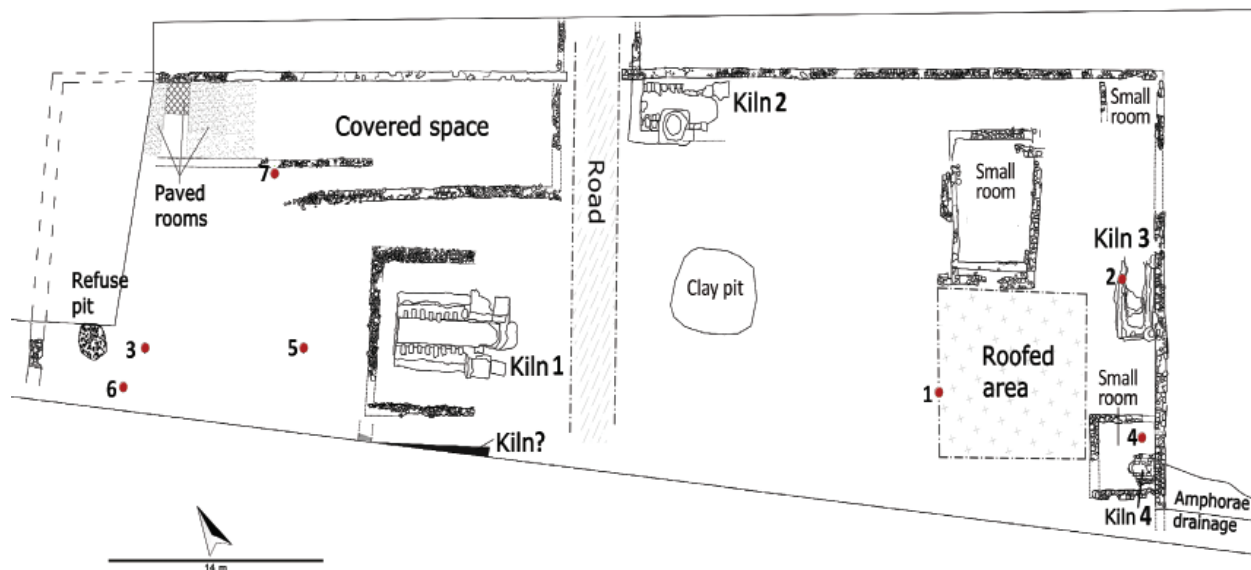


Figure 2. Site layout with of the Crikvenica-Igralište ceramic workshop complex with more important structures and marked positions of discovered fibulae (Archive of the Institute of Archaeology, elaboration: A. Konestra, M. Blečić Kavur).

of their discovery. Crikvenica fibulae show such an interesting spectrum both in a typological-stylistic and in a chronological sense, although not in a quantitative one (Figure 2). In total, only seven bronze fibulae were discovered, of which three belong to fibulae of Middle and Late La Tène schemes, and four to Roman provincial fibulae. Nevertheless, even this seemingly modest sample will enable us to know and understand them better in that coastal area, to set certain interpretations and evaluate them in the wider historical environment. In the discussion, all fibulae will be presented in a typological-chronological order, their basic characteristics and circumstances of discovery will be analysed for the purpose of more precise chronological dating and possible clarification of the cultural identity of their users.

On fibulae

Fibulae of the Picugi type

The oldest fibulae are of the so-called Middle La Tène schemes represented by the Picugi type – discovered were two variants of the later in two different contexts. Namely, the first example is an old find from the 19th century collected at the location of Kaštel (Figure 3: 1) (Konestra 2016: 135: 144), while the second fibula was found during excavations of the ceramic workshop on the Igralište site (Figure 3: 2) (Konestra 2016: 120: 99). It comes from a mixed layer of Roman-era rubble above the Roman architecture (SU 004) (Figure 2: 1). Both fibulae are smaller, damaged and partially preserved consisting of a bow, part of the foot and joint, and one half of the spiral on the head. Due to their typological definition, poor preservation and lack of the indicative

foot, they can be determined in general as fibulae of Picugi type according to the typology of M. Guštin (Guštin 1987: 51-53, fig. 12; 1991: 38-39). They are considered being, given the available closed contexts, more significant for the male costume of the end of Late Iron Age and the early Roman period.

They are quantitatively and qualitatively distributed in the wider area of *Caput Adriae* in a number of local variants. This applies in particular to, on one side, the area of Friuli and Veneto, and on the other to the area of Istria and Kvarner (Figure 4), even though their topographic distribution is much wider (cf. Spănu 2020: fig. 13). In the Kvarner basin, a large collection of fibulae originating from the old excavations of the Kavanela in Osor stands out, while on other sites they are represented mostly in small numbers or as individual finds. From the multitude of fragments of this type from Osor (Figure 3: 8-9), it is also possible to distinguish those belonging to the Picugi and Aquileia variants, while two almost preserved fibulae from nearby Bakar can be undoubtedly attributed to the Aquileia variant (Figure 3: 6-7). However, they also differ from each other – some are extremely massive and have a profiled button on the foot, i.e. strongly profiled joints, while some are smaller and have a dissected plate bow as well as their joints on the bow, such as the fibula from Crikvenica (Figure 3: 2). Certainly, this astonishing amount of over 20 fibulae, as well as the distinctiveness between them, elevates Osor above other sites in the region where such items were discovered. In this way, it may suggest a possible production and/or at least finishing in this important and significant northern Adriatic “city” (Blečić Kavur 2015: 217-219, fig. 77-78). The most closely

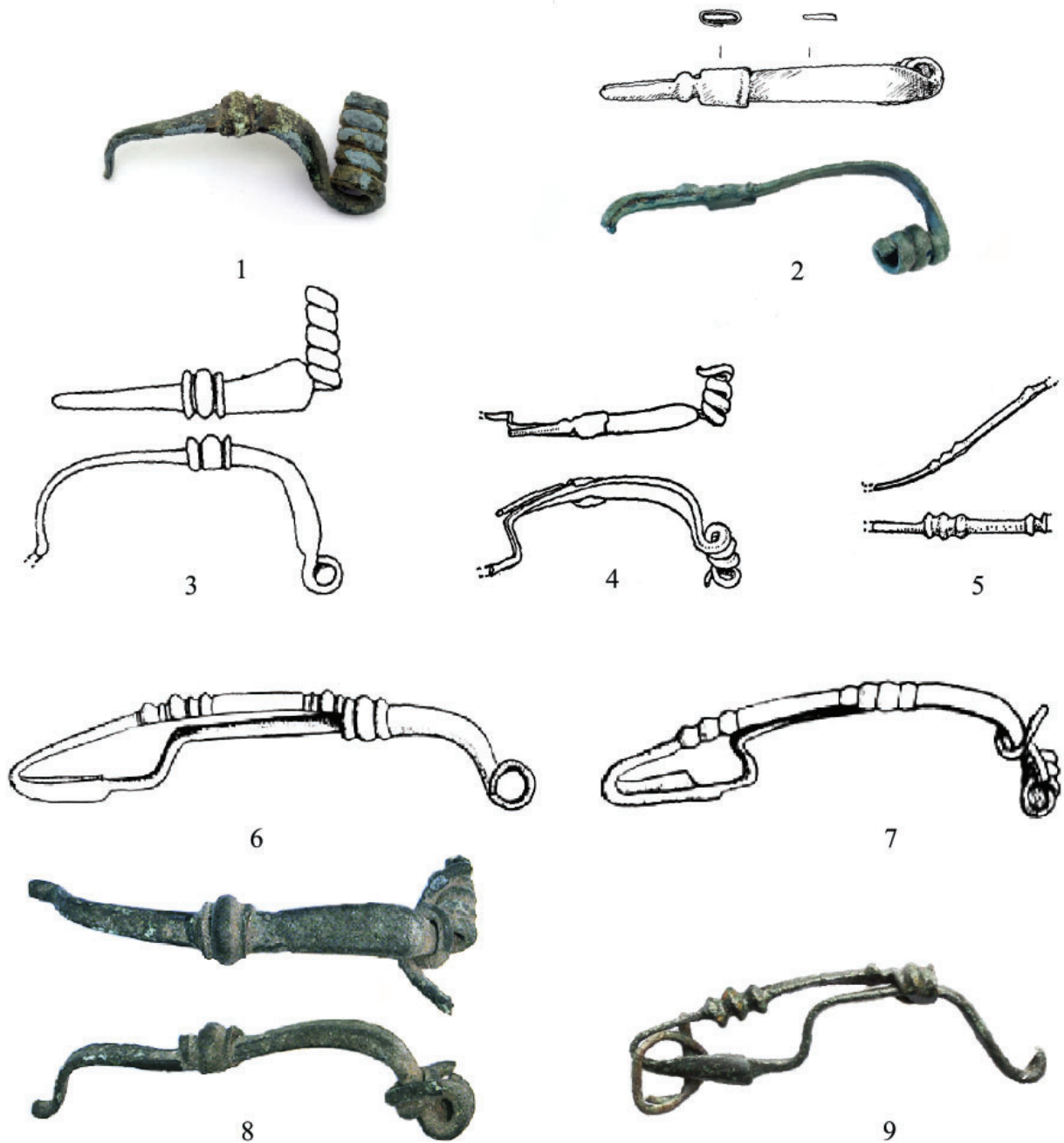


Figure 3. Fibulae of Picugi type from 1-2: Crikvenica, 3: Krk (according to Lo Schiavo 1970), 4-5: Baška (according to Glogović 1989), 6-7: Bakar, 8-9: Osor (according to Blečić Kavur 2015, M 1: 1).

related examples to Crikvenica fibulae, in addition to those from Osor and Bakar, should certainly be seen in the finds from Krk and Baška (Figure 3: 3-5), then Pula and Picugi (Orlić 2011: T. III: 3; Guštin 1987: Fig. 3: 2), all the way to Sermin and Socerb near Koper (Cunja and Mlinar 2010: 110: 103, 111: 108), as well as finds in the south-eastern Alpine hinterland (Figure 4).

Despite the morphological tradition of fibulae made according to the Middle La Tène scheme, in

chronological aspect they marked the last periods of the end of Late Iron Age in the area of the northern Adriatic and its hinterland. Based on graves from Posočje, they are chronologically determined to IVa and IVb phases of the Idrija group, thus indicating their use during the entire Late La Tène period (Guštin 1987: 52-53; 1991: 38). Certainly, such dating will be acceptable for our fibulae described here, with the difference that the phase VIb of the Histrian culture and the territory of Kvarner should be considered in terms of Romanization

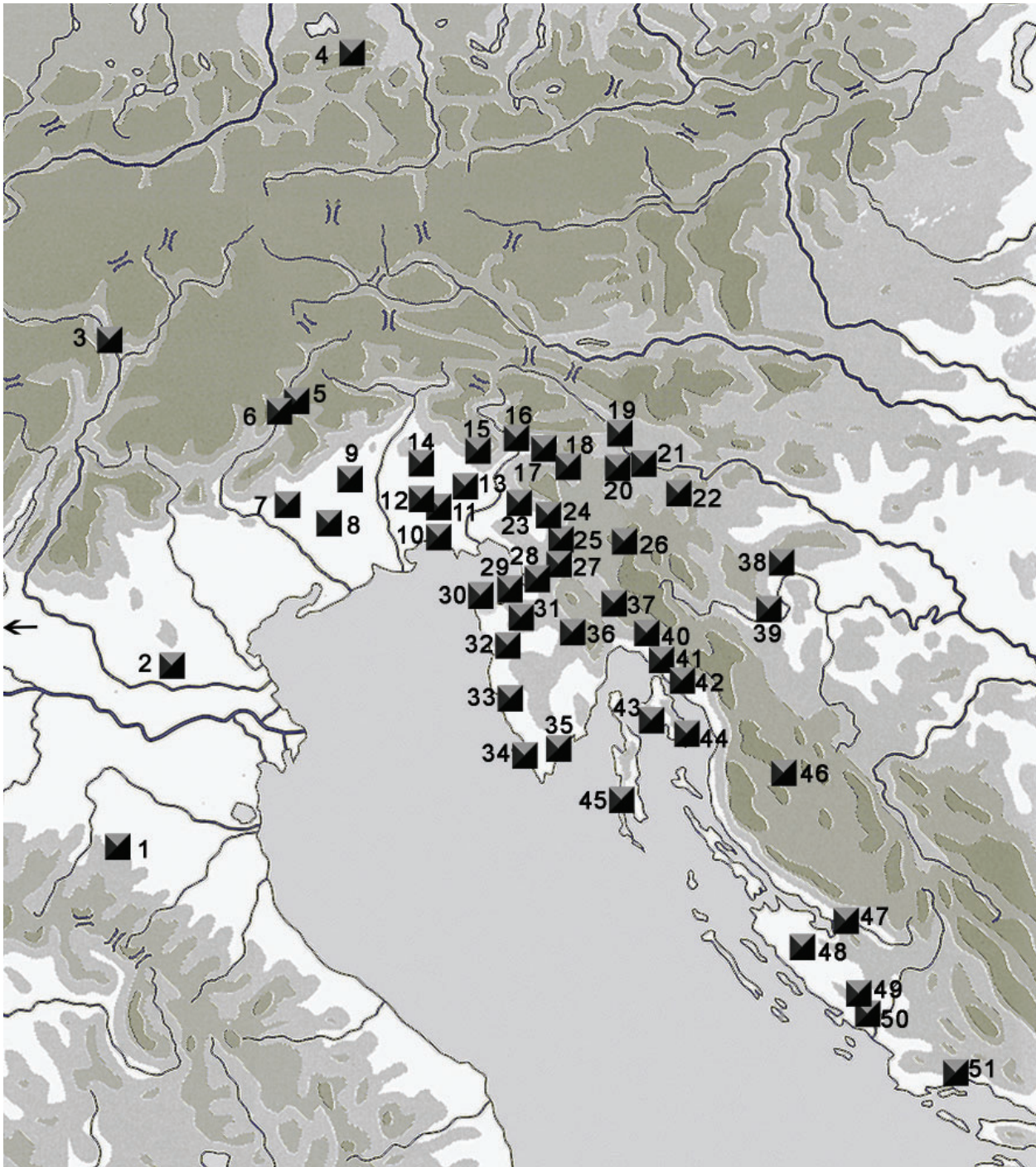


Figure 4. Distribution map of Picugi type fibulae, Aquileia and Picugi variants: 1: Bologna, 2: Este, 3: SiebeneichTerlano, 4: Reichenhall bei Karlstein, 5: Piave di Cadore, 6: S. Floriano di Polcenigo, 7: Lagole, Vittorio Veneto, 8: Porcia, 9: S. Martino di Campagna, 10: Aquileia, 11: Terzo d'Aquileia, 12: Strassoldo, 13: Medea, 14: Pozzuolo del Friuli, 15: Cividale, 16: Most na Soči, 17: Idrija pri Bači, 18: Reka, 19: Kranj, 20: Vrhnika, 21: Ljubljana-Bevke, 22: Magdalenska gora, 23: Šmihel, 24: Kovačevše, 25: Razdrto-Mandrga, 26: Stari grad nad Uncem, 27: Socerb, 28: Sermin, 29: Izola-Simonov zaliv, 30: Piran-Fornače, 31: Nova Vas-Kaštelir, 32: Picugi, 33: Limska Gradina, 34: Pula, 35: Nesactium, 36: Rim, 37: Sv. Katarina, 38: Metlika, 39: Vinica, 40: Bakar, 41: Crikvenica, 42: Krk, 43: Baška, 44: Osor, 45: Prozor, 46: Obrovac-Cvijina gradina, 47: Nadin, 48: Dragišić, 49: Velika Mrdakovica, 50: Solin (Salona), 51: (supplemented after Guštin 1991; Blečić Kavur 2015).

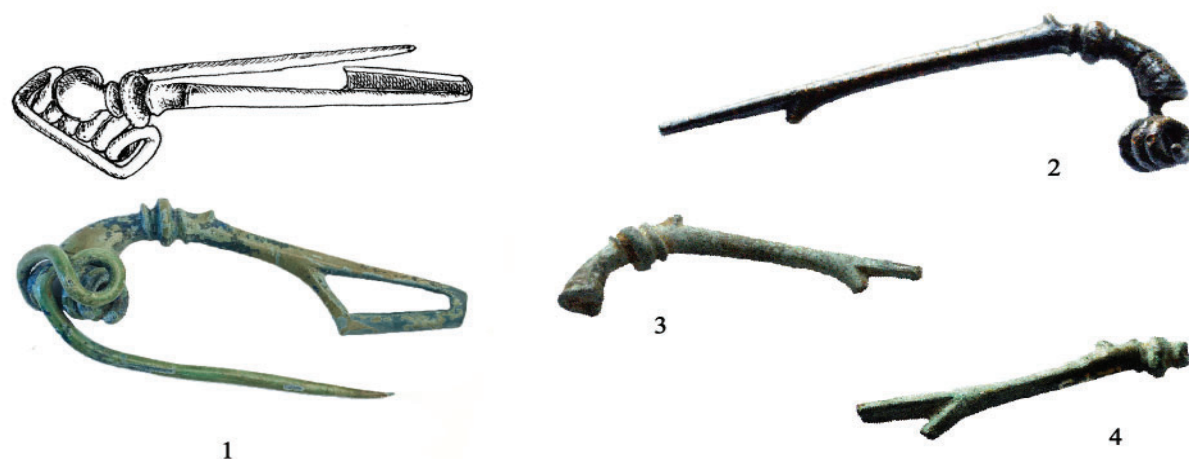


Figure 5. Fibulae of Almgren 65a type from 1: Crikvenica and 2-4: Osor (according to Blečić Kavur 2015, M 1: 1).

of these territories and not in the sense of Late La Tène cultural intertwining (Božič 2008: 84-85; Blečić Kavur 2015: 221, 224).

Fibulae of the Almgren 65 type

The most numerous group consists of four cast bronze fibulae (Figure 5, 7-9). Unlike the previous ones, all of them are extremely well preserved, lacking only the pin or a possible part of it. They can be divided in to two types – Almgren 65 and Almgren IV or strongly profiled

fibulae according to the typology of O. Almgren (Almgren 1923). Since there are significant differences between them regarding their morphology and style, chronology and culture, they are divided in to two separate categories.

The first fibula is determined as the Almgren 65a1 type (Figure 5: 1). It was discovered in the northern part of the so-called Kiln 3 (SU 025) used for the production of household and tableware (Figure 2: 2), of which only the lower part of the structure has been preserved (Lipovac Vrkljan 2007: 34; Lipovac Vrkljan and Šiljeg 2008: 91; Ožanić Roguljić 2012; Konestra *et al.* 2020: 78-79, Fig. 3). The bronze fibula, made in the style of Late La Tène fibulae, was preserved intact. It is 6 cm long and as such, it belongs to a somewhat rarer class of this type (Demetz 1999: 29-30). Its rounded massive head with a spiral construction is shaped with a profiled edge. The spiral is shorter and smaller with six coils and an external cord. The bow with oval cross-section ends with a trapezoidal shaped foot. A thickening of three transverse and profiled ribs with a nub further adorns the bow. They were equally represented in male and female costumes, not only as a functional but also as a decorative element of Late La Tène fashion of Lt D1b

in terms of the Central European chronology (Demetz 1999: 31; Božič 2008: 62-63, 86; Meller 2012: 66). More precise contexts of their discoveries define their use in the first half and middle of the 1st century BCE. The most impressive prevalence is in the period of Caesarean rule and the associated dynamic process of Romanization, although, especially outside the Italian area, it will remain in use until the Proto-Augustan period (Demetz 1999: 37; 2008: 28-29; Ivčević 2001: 333-334; 2003: 129-130; 2017: 254; Božič 2008: 86, 145, 130; Meller 2012: 70-71; Drnić and Tonc 2014: 191; cf. Istenič and Šmit 2007). The precise context of the Crikvenica fibula will also support the proposed dating. Namely, radiometric dating of the layer confirmed the erection of structures during the middle of the 1st century BCE, confirming again the already argued fact that the architectural constructions of the first workshop rooms and fence walls were built exclusively using stone building materials (Lipovac Vrkljan 2011: 7; Konestra *et al.* 2020: 77).

Given the quantity of finds, fibulae of Almgren 65 type would denote the topographic-cultural area of northern Italy, where they developed from fibulae of Middle La Tène schemes, but also of Central Europe, where they were worn singly or in pairs with other fibulae (Figure 6). They were discovered on the territory of the eastern Adriatic coast and in its hinterland, with a higher concentration in the area of Aquileia and Notranjska, Karst and all the way to Posočje (Demetz 1999: 32, Maps 1; 2008; Ivčević 2001: 327-334; Dizdar and Tonc 2013: 54; Drnić and Tonc 2014: 190-191, Map 2; Mlinar 2020: 73, 94). Most closely related examples, although usually without detailed information about their discoveries come from Osor (Figure 5: 2-4), which, besides Crikvenica, is the only site in Kvarner with three examples of this specific variant. The fragment

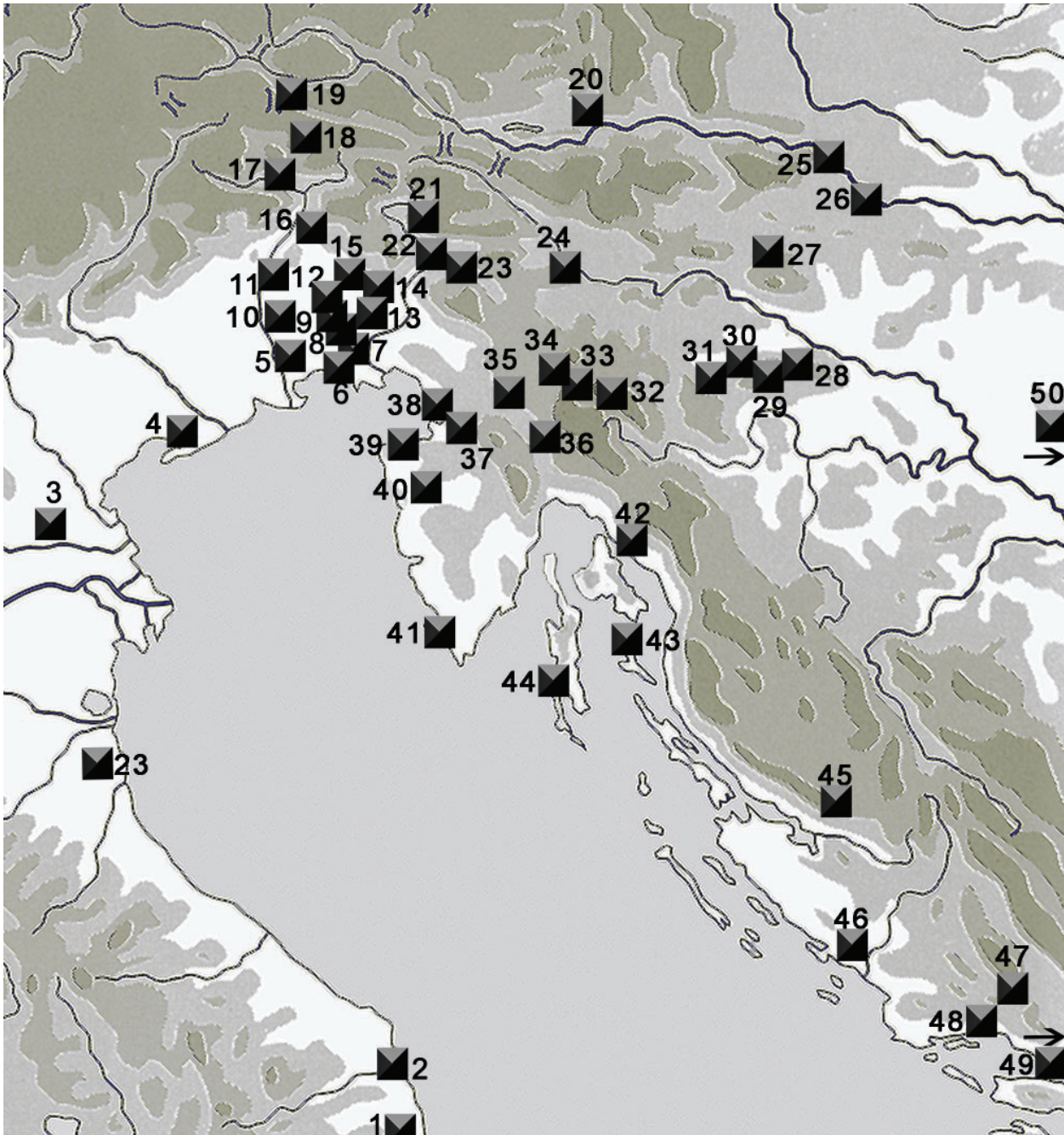


Figure 6. Distribution map of Almgren 65 type fibulae: 1: Ripatransone, 2: Portorecanti-Ancona, 3: Este, 4: Torcello, 5: San Giorgio di Nogaro, 6: Aquileia, 7: Starssoldo, 8: Sevegliano, 9: Tizzano, 10: Galleriano, 11: Tomba, 12: Sammardenchia, 13: Chiópris, 14: Pavia di Udine, 15: Udine, 16: Moruzzo, 17: Zugglio, 18: Misincinis-Paularo, 19: Gurina, 20: Magdalensberg. 21: Tonovcov grad-Kobarid, 22: Most na Soči, 23: Idrija pri Bači, 24: Ljubljana-Tribuna, 25: Maribor-Miklavž, 26: Ptuj-Vičava, 27: Celje-Savinja, 28: Kostanjevica, 29: Mihovo, 30: Novo mesto, 31: Šumenje pri Podturnu, 32: Žerovinšček, 33: Dolenja vas, 34: Stari Grad nad Uncem, 35: Ambroževo gradišče, 36: Čepna pri Knežaku, 37: Socerb, 38: Trieste, 39: Izola-Korte, 40: Nova-VasKaštelir, 41: Pula, 42: Crikvenica, 43: Lopar, 44: Osor, 45: Gračac, 46: Dragišić, 47: Gardun (Tilurium), 48: Solin (Salona), 49: Vid (Narona), 50: Blato-Vinkovci (supplemented after Demetz 1999; Drnić and Tonc 2014).

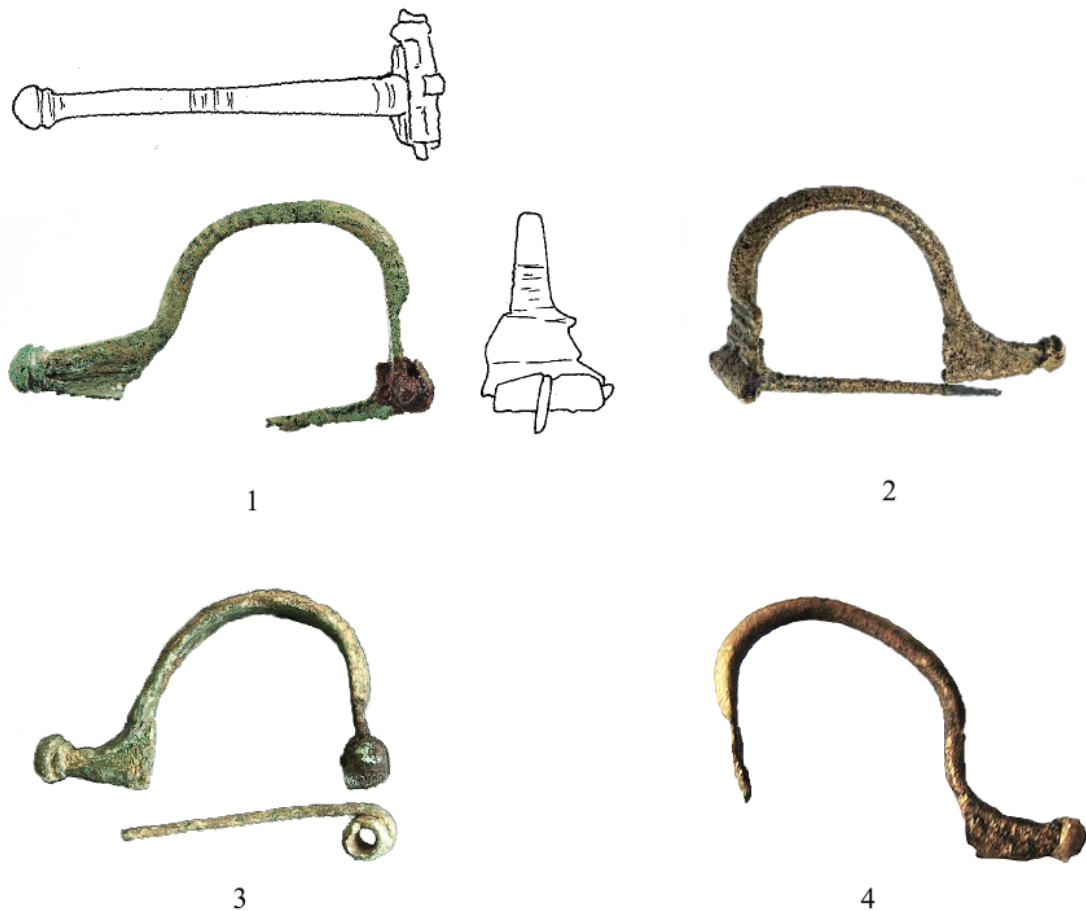


Figure 7. Aucissa type fibulae from 1: Crikvenica, 2: Grobnik-Grobišće, 3-4 *Fulfinum* (Mirine, Sepen) (M 1: 1).

from Lopar will most likely belong to variant 65b (Konestra *et al.* 2021: fig. 9: 1). Identical fibulae were discovered in graves from Socerb above Koper and further north in Idrija near Bača (Figure 6). Further south, we know their highest concentration from Dalmatia, but unfortunately, lacking any information about the contexts of their discoveries – the only exception is the fibula from Gardun (Tilurium) (Ivčević 2001: T. II; 2017: 254, 300, T. 15: 249). Apart from trade with northern Italy, especially Aquileia, their presence along the eastern Adriatic coast can be associated with the expansion of the Roman army and earlier business or economic activities during the Late Republic and the Early Empire (Ivčević 2001: 332-333; 2003: 130; 2017: 254-255; cf. Demetz 2008).

Fibula of the Aucissa type

Only one example of the most widespread and most numerous early Roman provincial fibulae of Aucissa type was discovered at the Crikvenica workshop complex (Figure 2: 3, 7: 1). It is a massive but damaged fibula, 5.7 cm long, of standardized construction. The semi-circular bow is of semi-circular cross-section

decorated with several short parallel-incised lines. It is characterized by a two-part construction with a hinged fastening mechanism. It ends with a square header that connects it to the head. The foot of the fibula is damaged, with a triangular pin holder ending with a decorative profiled button set straight. The short crossbar and header plate are made of iron and therefore extremely corroded – a state that damaged any possible decoration or inscription that may have been present on the fibula. These are standard features of younger variants of fibulae of the Aucissa type (type Feugere 22b) on which the imprinting of the stamp was significantly more prevalent than on the previous, older variants. We can follow them distributed throughout the geography of the Empire, although the accurately described example is closely associated with the large corpus of such finds from the province of Dalmatia. There they are mostly interpreted as parts of male costumes; this is of military units and activities of regional craft centres (Koščević 1980: 15-16; Feugere 1985: 319-323, fig. 46; Šeparović 1998: 185-186; Demetz 1999: 164-167; Ivčević 2002: 235; 2003: 131; 2007: 239-240; Marović 2006; Buora 2008: 30; Jadrić-Kučan and Zaninović 2015: 29-34). However, discoveries from graves as well as from other contexts

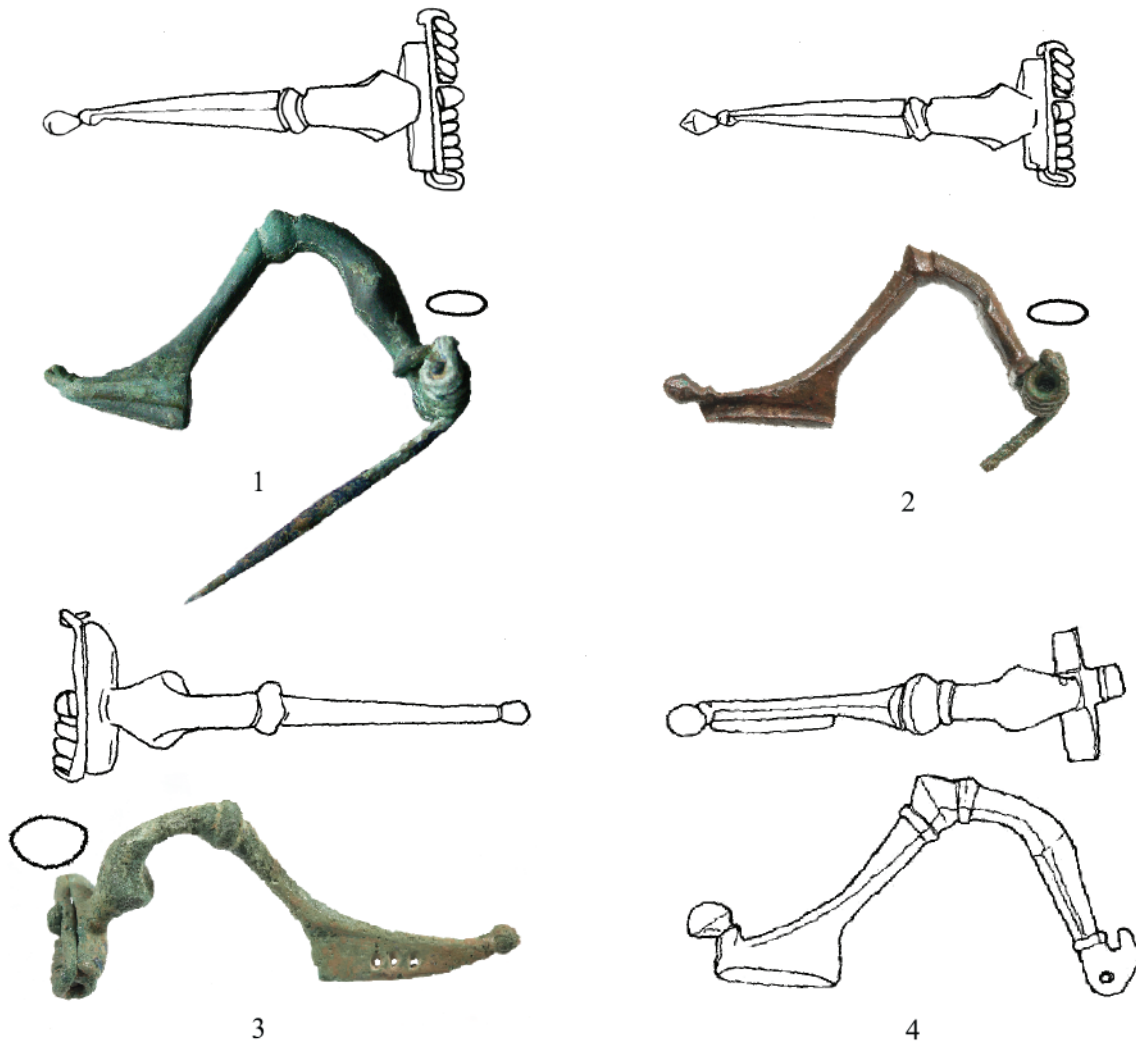


Figure 8. Southern Pannonian strongly profiled fibulae from 1-3: Crikvenica and 4: Stinica (according to Koščević 1999, M 1: 1)

indicate that such fibulae were also used in the so-called civil fashion in both male and female costumes – making their presence and distribution one of the keys to understand the variable processes of Romanization (Demetz 1999: 206; Buora 2008: 32; Ivčević 2007: 230; 2011: 169; Sedlmayer 2017: 131-134). Probably a reflection of this process is the long duration of their use throughout the century, from the Augustan period until the end of the 1st century AD (Riha 1994: 100-103; Šeparović 1998: 185-186; Marović 2006; Ivčević 2002: T. VII: 64-66; 2007: 239-240, 245-246; 2017: 257-258; Sedlmayer 2017: 135).

Although we can observe the closest comparisons in the area of northern Dalmatia, especially in Podgrađe (*Asseria*) and Nin (*Aenona*), then in Solin (*Salona*), Gardun (*Tilurium*), Ivoševci (*Burnum*) or Vid (*Narona*) (Ivčević 2002, T. VI: 51-T. VIII: 75; 2003: 134, 160, Fig. 9-10; 2007: 250-262; 2014: 164-165, T. 6: 59-65; 2017: 301, T. 15: 253-255; 2021: 266-267, T. 2: 20; Jadrić-Kučan and

Zaninović 2015: 36-37, cat.n. 60), Aucissa fibulae are also known from the Kvarner basin. Their largest number, where we can observe the closest parallels in as many as 17 examples, come from the Kavanela necropolis in Osor (*Apsorus*) (Klodič 1885: III, fig. 2; Težak-Gregl 1982: Pl. 3: 4-8). Similar examples were discovered in Fulfinum (Mirine, Sepen) on the island of Krk (PPMHP 117512: <https://digitalni.ppmhp.hr/?pr=i&id=33720>) (Figure 7: 3-4), and on the necropolis Grobišće near Grobnik (PPMHP 104314: <https://digitalni.ppmhp.hr/?pr=i&id=19344>) (Cetinić 1996: 196-197) (Figure 7: 2) but most of them, like the fragment from *Tarsatica* (Višnjić 2009b: 155-156, T. I: 1), do not belong to the form of fibulae adequate to the Crikvenica example.

South Pannonian strongly profiled fibulae

The next group of three fibulae belongs to an extremely large and spatially impressively distributed group of highly profiled fibulae from the Almgren IV group,

which are classified into a multitude of regional types with multiple developmental phases (Almgren 1923: 34-47; cf. Gugl 1995; 2008; Knauseder 2014). From the Crikvenica ceramic workshop comes a local variant (68) of South Pannonian highly profiled fibulae (Peškař 1972: 80; Koščević 1980: 22-23; 1997: 45). Their development is derived precisely from the older, already described, fibulae of Almgren 65 type. They feature a characteristic profiled and curved bow – the form of the most common Roman fibula during the 1st century AD, in the area of Noricum, the southern province of Pannonia and the surrounding area (Koščević 1980: 20-22; 1997: 45-46; Bojović 1983: 35; Gugl 1995: 11-12, appendix 1; 2008: 38; Gregl 1997: 68; Ivčević 2003: 130-131; 2009: 94-95; Vulčić 2012: 102-103).

Crikvenica fibulae were constructed from a single piece (Figure 8: 1-3). They have an elliptical and thickened cross-section of the head, elongated in the shape of a deltoid. On the head, there is a spiral spring, which is fastened to the head with a holder and additionally fastened with a long and narrow rectangular head plate and a front chord. Two fibulae have eight (Figure 8: 2-3) and one ten coils (Figure 8: 1). They are characterized by a massive curved, saddle-shaped and high bow with a horizontally placed decorative profiled button of polygonal or circular cross-section in the middle. The low and long foot ends with a round or slightly profiled knob – only one fibula has the foot perforated with three small and irregular circular perforations (Figure 8: 3). These elements classify them into a younger variant that represents the final phase of strongly profiled fibulae with a head plate (Koščević 1980: 22; Ivčević 2009: 95).

We know the largest collection of this variant of fibulae from Sisak (*Siscia*) – discovered were as many as 164 examples together with numerous semi-finished products. Based on the concentration of finds, as well as specific rough workmanship, sharp contours and inadequate finishing and simplified technical details, they were considered being a separate group designated as typical fibulae of ancient *Siscia*, i.e. its artistic craft (Koščević 1980: 22; 1997: 45; Ivčević 2003: 131; 2009: 95; Vulčić 2012: 101-102). We will therefore find very similar examples to those of Crikvenica in Sisak (Koščević 1980, Pl. XI-XV), in Velika Gorica at the Visoki brijeg necropolis (Gregl 1990, Pl. 1: 3; Pl. 3: 4; Pl. 4: 1-2), at the Osječenica hillfort near Dvor na Uni (Ožanić 1998: 36, fig. 3: 2) and at Cvijina gradina hillfort near Obrovac (Čondić 2014: 52), then in *Asseria*, *Salona* and *Narona* (Ivčević 2002, 256, T: XI : 97-98; 2003: 133, 159, fig. 3; 2009: 84, 103, 108: 11), and in the gravitating Iapodian necropolises of Pounje (Busuladžić 2010: 52-54). In addition to the province of Dalmatia, they were also found in the area of Dacia and in Noricum (Koščević 1995: 45; Ivčević 2002: 237; Gugl 2008: 38; Vulčić 2012:

102). Closed contexts, mostly burial inventories from rich Roman necropolises, where they are often found with other variants of strongly profiled Almgren-type fibulae, enabled their closer dating to the second half of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. They were attributed to male, as a rule, military costume of the Pannonian area (Koščević 1997: 45-46; Božič 2008: 111-112; Ivčević 2009: 95). This context is joined by the Crikvenica fibula (Figure 8: 1), discovered in a layer of a smaller room (SU 272), along the eastern fence wall and located in the immediate vicinity of Kiln 4 and drainage system with amphorae (Figure 2: 4). The filling of this smallest Crikvenica kiln was composed exclusively of pyramidal loom-weights and was associated with the greatest flourishing of the workshop complex *Ad Turres* during the 1st century AD (Ožanić Roguljić 2016: 63; Lipovac Vrkljan and Konestra 2018: 23; Konestra *et al.* 2020: 78-79). The remaining two fibulae (Figure 8: 2-3) were discovered at the bottom of the layer with burned clay (SU 088) covering the area from the western circumferential wall of Kiln 1, to the western boundary of the investigated space (Figure 2: 5-6). The layer is contemporary with the filling in the smaller room (SU 272), thus the context of discovery supports the dating of the remaining two fibulae in to the same time span. Based on the stratigraphy of their discovery as well as their typological and stylistic features, it will not be wrong to consider all the described fibulae being contemporary, not only in their production, but also during their use, i.e. disposal.

Strongly profiled fibulae are not a common find in Kvarner, but also not an isolated discovery which may be attributed to insufficient research or, more likely, partial publication. For now, they are known from the necropolis of nearby Bakar (Ljubić 1882: T. IV: 49), the principia of *Tarsatica* (Višnjić 2009b: 156, T. I: 2), from *Senia* (Ljubović 2000: 31) and from the necropolis of Osor (Težak-Gregl 1982: 106-107, fig. 1: 4-5), while the southern examples originate from Stinica near Jablanac (Figure 8: 4) and Karlobag (Brunšmid 1891: 169, fig. 73: 2; Koščević 1980: 21-22; 1999: 29, 32, T. I: 5-6). However, it is probable that none of the fibulae will represent closer typological-stylistic parallels to the Crikvenica ones, which thus remain the only known examples of the South Pannonian strongly profiled fibulae in the region.

Fibula with a multiply segmented bow

The last fibula from Crikvenica can be attributed to the typological group of fibulae with multiply segmented bow (Figure 9: 1). It was made of bronze, while the short wire in the tube, partially preserved on the head of the fibula, was made of iron, so it was corroded at that point. The slightly curved bow is divided into six differently shaped and irregularly distributed transverse ribs



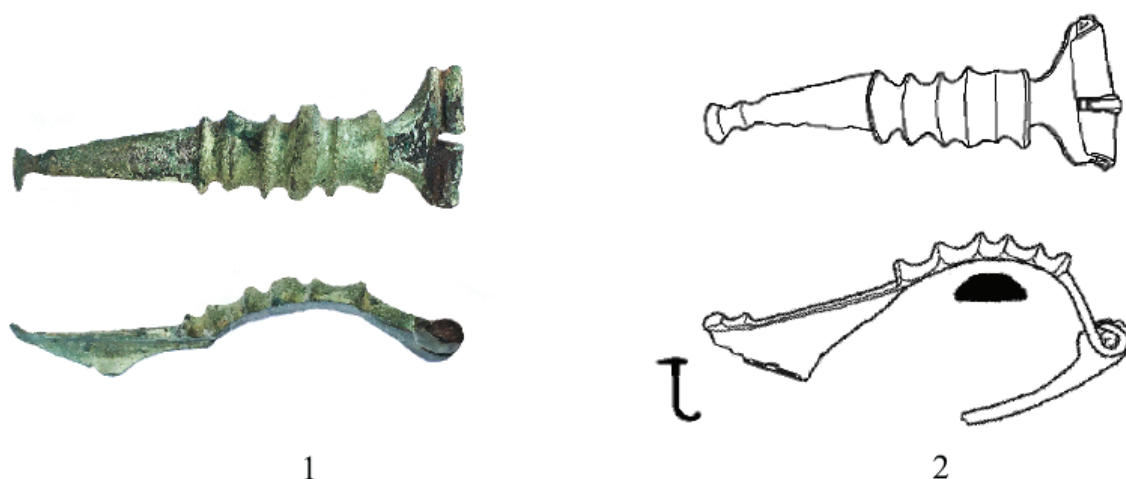


Figure 9. Fibulae of a multiply segmented bow from 1: Crikvenica and 2: Asseria (According to Ivčević 2009, M 1: 1).

along the length of the bow. The decoration decreases towards the foot, and the two sharper ribs are finished with incised short oblique lines. Traces of circular ornaments are visible on the foot of the fibula, as well as a part of a semi-circular, originally perforation at the end of the triangular foot.

It is a two-part type of fibula with an articulated mechanism that is significant for the area of the Roman province of Gaul, where they most likely developed. Although represented in the fashion of the whole Empire, they are more representative for the western European areas. Due to their prevalence, they are characterized by many local deviations, which divides them into many types and variants. Numerous authors have therefore paid great attention to their classification and interpretation, assuming, most likely, their origin in the tradition or fusion of constructive and decorative elements of fibulae of the Aucissa, Nertomarus or Langton Down type. Among others, they are classified as a variant of Feugere 23b, Riha 5.6 or Gaspar 30a (Feugere 1985: 331-333; Riha 1994: 110-112; Gaspar 2007: 57: 30a; Ivčević 2009: 90; Petković 2010: 64) and dated, according to finds from graves, in to the 2nd quarter of the 1st century, with a possible duration throughout the 2nd century AD. Unlike Aucissa fibulae, their use is more significant for the civil fashion of that time, which flourished precisely in the time of the Flavians (Feugere 1985: 333-334; Ivčević 2002: 238; 2003: 132; 2009: 89-90; 2011: 169).

The Crikvenica fibula can be attributed to the type C1, fibulae of small dimensions according to the typology of S. Rieckhoff-Pauli (Rieckhoff-Pauli 1977: 48-55, 63-64). They are quite modestly represented in the province of Dalmatia with one specimen in Asseria (Figure 9: 2), Salona and Narona (Ivčević 2002: 258, T. XIV: 128; 2003:

134, 160, fig. 11; 2009: 101, T. 1: 5), and present, although rarely, in the area of southern Pannonia, e.g. in Siscia (Koščević 1980: 29-30, T. XXVIII: 244) and in Sapaja near Vršac (Petković 2010: 67, T. IX: 4). They should be considered as imported objects that could adorn both male and female costumes. Since this fibula was also discovered in an alluvial layer, mixed with fragments of pottery (SU 056) (Figure 2: 7), its contextual determination as well as more precise chronological dating is not possible, although it can be narrowed to the second half of the 1st century AD, i.e. at the period of their greatest popularity.

Conclusion

Archaeological science has been arguing for decades that the connection between material culture, i.e. the goods and functional necessities of the social system is causal. The relationship of people and objects in the circle of reproduction restores both relations, between people and those between objects. The action of people on objects, that is, objects on people, as long as we create them, is in fact equivalent to the action between people (Sahlins 1999: 227-284; Gosden and Marshall 1999: 172-177; Tilley 1999: 76). All of these processes occur in a certain continuity of cultural circumstances that are less constant and more changeable, and are usually in a constant vortex of social change, which forces us to adapt infinitely. Material culture proves and teaches us about the intertwining of countless social relations, identities and economic processes within heterogeneous cultural communities that were geographically further or closer to each other and even in different hierarchical positions. The processes of Romanization, understood as globalization and cosmopolitanism, reflect this very plastically (Rothe 2012; 2013; Versluys 2014). However, it is precisely the inequality, peculiarity as well as certain

ideological-symbolic values, that enable individual objects to make the area in which they are special and unique in the complex circle of universal production, circulation, use, storage – living.

Understood from this perspective, the Crikvenica fibulae indeed originate from an exceptional site. In addition to their typological-stylistic and cultural-chronological value, as indeed, first such fibulae in Kvarner discovered in optimal conditions and known contexts of the archaeological record, they provide many more opportunities to understand their users, i.e. people within the *Ad Turres* ceramic complex and their economic activities.

With the exception of numismatic finds (Ilkić 2018), it is unusually interesting to note that fibulae represent the most numerous group of bronze objects on this site. Moreover, their primary purpose is clear – used as a practical and functional part of the costume adhered to by the upper layers of clothing, mostly cloaks. However, fibulae also had a decorative function, and, as always visible, they were a kind of cultural and status symbol, i.e. a code of representation and recognition of many identities, cultural as well as social (Rothe 2012: 60-62; cf. Ivleva 2017). In chronological terms, older examples from already the first half and possibly the middle of 1st century BCE are represented by fibulae of the Picugi and Almgren 65a1 types. Their centres of production are located in the area of Aquileia where, most likely, we have to look for their origin (Demetz 2008). How and in what way they arrived cannot be explained from this context of the workshop complex. However, they could certainly be direct imports from either the indigenous population or part of the costumes of various newcomers, or a means of cultural exchange, so they may silently testify to this adaptive procedural course of the early Romanization of the area. Picugi-type fibulae are numerous in the northern Adriatic and its hinterland (Figure 4), with the highest concentration of finds in Osor in Kvarner, which demonstrates their relatively great popularity in the costume of the local population in the late 2nd and first half of the 1st century BCE. The picture is quite different with italic fibulae of Almgren 65 type which are much rarer (Figure 6), but where mostly older bronze specimens are more common in the hinterland – especially Notranjska, Karst and all the way to Posočje and Dolenjska (Laharnar 2012: 151; cf. Istenič and Šmid 2007: 145; Mlinar 2020: 73). It will most likely not mark the fashion of domestic costumes, but will suggest recognizable imported elements or costumes of the newly arrived (Italic) population. In any case, their presence certainly tells us about the earlier economic engagement of that rural area and most likely, the first plants of the workshop complex between *Tarsatica* and *Senia*, which were still connected with the area of Friuli

and northern Italy. It is there, as in the western part of the south-eastern Alpine region, that graves with non-homogeneous material culture are often found – and Late La Tène costume elements, especially fibulae, are often documented with early Roman imports (Turk *et al.* 2009: 48-54; Istenič 2013: 24-25; Sagadin 2020: 206-207) and therefore, like the examples from Crikvenica, they should be understood in the concept of intertwining the diversity of material culture and people in a unique cultural framework (Versluys 2014: 14-19; Ivleva 2017).

All early imperial fibulae from Crikvenica also represent imported, but widespread and very significant elements of the Roman costume. The situation with these younger fibulae at the turn of the millennium is changing, though. Namely, the strongly profiled fibulae of the southern Pannonian variant should be associated with possible workshops in *Siscia*, while the Aucissa-type fibula is already classified as a connection with a workshop in the Dalmatian area. And although they are mostly correlated with the costumes of soldiers, they are also found in various civilian contexts, which Crikvenica examples once again support. Therefore, they are interpreted in a more regional orientation of trade along the Adriatic coast, especially with the area of northern Dalmatia and strong coastal centres with which the *Ad Turres* figlina had established business relations (Borzić *et al.* 2018). It cannot be ruled out that the strongly profiled fibulae may have arrived precisely through these southern areas of the province, where we find them more numerous. Direct contacts with the northern parts of the province of Pannonia are not excluded, if we understand them as a consequence of the development of interregional and/or interprovincial trade, in the context of which one should certainly understand the fibula of multiply segmented bow imported from the western part of the Empire.

The peak of its power *Sextus M(e)ullius Maximus* figlina fulfilled during the 1st century AD which, in addition to the typology and distribution of ceramics (Konestra *et al.* 2020), is confirmed by a set of numismatic finds with the highest concentration in the period from the Julian-Claudian to the Flavian dynasty (Ilkić 2018). The discoveries of the provincial fibulae presented here are in complete temporal agreement with this. Taken as a whole, and within the collection of finds from all over Kvarner, Crikvenica fibulae will certainly support the thesis of an early connection with Roman economic intentions, which was reflected monumentally, with the construction of “Roman style” structures along the region in both urban and rural contexts (Konestra *et al.* 2020: 89-90), and miniature – associated with material culture.



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Catalogue³

1. Fragment of a bronze fibula of the Picugi type, significantly damaged during burning. The bow of the fibula is of a thinned rectangular cross-section, ending with three-coil spring. A plate with one decorated rib and a spherical thickening was accepted on the bow with a joint. Foot and pin missing. L. 4.9 cm, H. 1.5 cm. MGC 2571 – Figure 3: 2.
2. The bronze fibula of the Almgren 65a1 type. The massive head with a spiral construction is shaped rounded with a profiled edge. The spiral is shorter with six coils and an external cord. The bow with oval cross-section ends with a trapezoidal shaped foot. A thickening of three transverse and profiled ribs with a tongue further adorns the bow. L. 6 cm, H. 3 cm. MGC 2569 – Figure 5: 1.
3. Bronze, massive and damaged Aucissa type fibula. The semi-circular bow is of semi-circular cross-section decorated with several short parallel-incised lines. It ends with a square header that connects it to the head. The foot of the fibula is damaged, with a triangular pin holder and decorative profiled knob set straight. The short crossbar and header plate are made of iron. Pin is partially preserved. L. 5.7 cm, H. 2.9 cm. MGC 4997 – Figure 7: 1.
4. Bronze strongly profiled fibula, with massive curved, saddle-shaped and high bow with a horizontally placed decorative profiled button of circular cross-section. The cross-section of the head is elliptical and thickened, with ten-coil spiral fastened to the head with a holder and additionally fastened with a long and narrow rectangular head plate and external cord. The low foot ends with a round knob. L. 5.6 cm, H. 2.9 cm. MGC 2570 – Figure 8: 1.
5. Bronze strongly profiled fibula, with massive curved, saddle-shaped and high bow with a horizontally placed decorative profiled button of biconical cross-section. The cross-section of the head is elliptical and thickened, with eight-coil spiral fastened to the head with a holder and fastened with a long and narrow rectangular head plate and external cord. The low foot ends with a profiled knob. The pin is partially preserved. L. 5.4 cm, H. 2.5 cm. MGC 4998 – Figure 8: 2.
6. Bronze strongly profiled fibula, with massive curved, saddle-shaped and high bow with a horizontally placed decorative profiled button of circular cross-section. The cross-section of the head is elliptical and thickened, with four-coil spiral fastened to the head with a holder and fastened with a long and narrow rectangular head plate and external cord. The low foot ends with a profiled knob. It has three perforations on the foot and the pin missing. L. 6.3 cm, H. 2.4 cm. MGC 4999 – Figure 8: 3.
7. Partially preserved bronze fibula of a multiply segmented bow. The short wire in the tube, made by an outward twist, was made of iron. The slightly curved bow is divided into six differently shaped and irregularly distributed transverse ribs along the length of the bow. The decoration decreases towards the foot, and the two sharper ribs are finished with incised short oblique lines. Traces of circular ornaments are visible on the foot of the fibula, as well as a part of a semi-circular, originally perforation at the end of the triangular foot. Pin is not preserved. L. 5 cm. MGC 4996 – Figure 9: 1.
8. Fibula of the Picugi type from the Kaštel site/Pavlinški samostan. The fragment of the bronze fibula was significantly damaged and corroded. The bow is knee-shaped, of flat cross-section, which is narrowed towards the foot and ends with five-coil spring. At the highest part of the bow is attached a joint of separated ends, with a central larger and two lateral smaller ribs. Foot and pin missing. L. 3.8 cm; D. of the bow 0.7 cm. AMZ A-9307 – Figure 3: 1.

Notes

³ The fibulae numbers in the catalogue correspond to the fibulae numbers on the workshop site layout (Figure 2). The fibulae are kept in the Crikvenica Town Museum (MGC) and in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (AMZ).

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