

SIXTH-CENTURY AD *FIBULAE* FROM ULMETUM - PROVINCE OF SCYTHIA

Radu PETCU*

Cuvinte-cheie: *Scythia, Ulmetum, fibule, secolul al VI-lea p. Chr.*

Keywords: *Scythia, Ulmetum, brooches, 6th century AD.*

Rezumat: În articolul de față ne propunem să prezentăm un număr de șapte fibule specifice secolului al VI-lea p. Chr. descoperite la Ulmetum. Fibulele se împart în două categorii: 1. Fibule lucrate manual, cu piciorul întors pe dedesubt, în forma literei "U" – cinci piese; 2. Fibule turnate, romano-bizantine – două piese. Ambele tipuri reprezintă o categorie de accesorii vestimentare foarte frecvent întâlnite în provinciile romano-bizantine din Peninsula Balcanică în decursul secolului amintit, ele fiind descoperite în așezări civile, fortificații și în necropole. Deși manufacturarea lor nu este una foarte complicată, nu este exclus cazul fabricării lor la o scară mai redusă și în barbaricum. Numărul considerabil de fibule descoperite în diverse contexte indică atât cererea cât și producția lor pe scară largă, fiind un fenomen al „modei vestimentare” a veacului al VI-lea p. Chr.

Abstract: In the present study we want to present a number of seven fibulae specific to the 6th century AD discovered at Ulmetum. The brooches are divided into two main categories: 1. Fibulae with bent stem - five objects; 2. Cast fibulae with bent stem - two objects. Both types represent a category of clothing accessories very common in the Byzantine provinces of the Balkan Peninsula during the mentioned century. They are found very frequently in civil settlements, fortifications, and necropolises. Although their manufacture is not very complicated, they were produced on a smaller scale in barbaricum also. The considerable number of fibulae discovered in various contexts indicates both their demand and their large-scale production, being a phenomenon of the "clothing fashion" of the 6th century AD.

Located in the center of the province of *Scythia* (Fig. 1), the fortification of *Ulmetum* is first mentioned in ancient sources by *Procopius* of *Caesarea* in *De aedificiis*. The name appears on the list of fortresses in the province renovated by

* Radu PETCU: Museum of National History and Archaeology, Constanța, Romania; e-mail: radupetcurarheo@gmail.com.

Emperor Justinian in the 6th century AD¹. Founded as a *vicus* in the 2nd century AD, the settlement has more or less an uninterrupted evolution until the end of the 6th century AD. Recent archaeological research carried out on the perimeter of the Late Roman fortification (**Fig. 2**), has highlighted two major periods of habitation: 1. The end of the 4th century AD (the moment when the construction of the defensive system begins) and the third quarter of the 5th century AD (c. 380/390 - 470/480). This period is characterized by three main phases of habitation; 2. The second half of the 6th century AD - the beginning of the 7th century AD (c. 540/550 - 596/600?), where two phases of habitation are identified².

In this contribution we want to present from the substantial amount of archaeological material discovered at Ulmetum, especially from the collection of the metal objects, a number of seven *fibulae* specific to the 6th century AD. The *fibulae* are divided into two categories, being very popular throughout the Balkan Peninsula³:

1. *Fibulae* with bent stem (Curta/Gândilă class 1-12.) - no. cat. 1-5

The *fibulae* with bent stem represent a category of clothing accessories very common in the Byzantine provinces of the Balkan Peninsula in the 6th century AD (**Fig. 3**). They are discovered in civilian settlements, military fortifications and necropolises⁴.

As a manufacturing process, the *fibulae* are made from a single thin metal strip from iron or bronze. The shape is rendered by forging and finishing, later modelled manually by bending the stem and tying it by wrapping the end around the body of the brooch at the junction between the spring and the body⁵. The spring and stem are usually decorated with various geometric patterns obtained by engraving and stamping⁶.

A specific type of this brooches are those with the inscribed stem (Curta/Gândilă class 2) and have often been interpreted as having Christian connotations and symbolism⁷. Although most *fibulae* of this kind have been discovered in Bulgaria, they are also found in the central Balkan regions and Macedonia⁸. On the territory of Dobrudja are known until now two such brooches: one coming from *Sucidava*/Izvoarele, without a context of discovery, bearing the inscription MAPIN(OC)⁹, and the second discovered at *Argamum* inside the city, in 1990, with the inscription IPINI¹⁰.

¹ Procopius *De aedificiis*, IV, 7, 16-18.

² BĂJENARU 2018, p. 501.

³ We would like to express our gratitude to Mr. George Mihailov and Mr. Daniel Schmidt for helping and supporting us in this research.

⁴ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 101.

⁵ IRIMIA 2005-2006, p. 252.

⁶ TEODOR 1988, p. 200.

⁷ HARALAMBIEVA 1998, p. 369-370; CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 107; NUȚU, TOPOLEANU & ANTON 2014, p. 288-289.

⁸ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 107-108; Fig. 2/ 7, 8, 10, 11; Fig. 3/ 1-7.

⁹ IRIMIA 2005-2006, p. 252 and Fig. 1; CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, Fig. 2/9.

¹⁰ NUȚU, TOPOLEANU & ANTON 2014, p. 289, Tafel 1/4.

The first attempt to classify the *fibulae* with bent stem from the typological and chronological point of view, was made by the German researcher Syna Uenze in 1992¹¹. She made her study analysing the finding from two late Roman fortified settlements from the territory of Bulgaria, researched in the 1930`s. Although the study was based on a small number of brooches and the researcher outlined the general characteristics of this type, since then and until now many more objects have been discovered and published. For their classification, the author made the distinction according to the decoration they had on the arch or on the stem, then dividing them into two other separate subcategories: those that have a hook at the junction between spring and stem (**Spiralhaken**) and those at which the spring extends with a loop before joining with the hook (**Bügel Schlaufe**)¹². Uenze considered that the *fibulae* with bent stem originated from the area of the Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture, from the 4th-5th centuries AD. Believing that their popularity in the 6th century AD is the result of the "barbarisation" of the Roman Balkan provinces along the Danube¹³. In her opinion, the large number of *fibulae* found in these areas, especially from fortifications, can be related to the reconstruction program initiated by Emperor Justinian¹⁴.

In the most recent study dedicated to this type, F. Curta and A. Gândilă admit and reinforce the supposition of the German researcher, namely their descent from the fibulae with the U-shaped stem from the 5th century AD¹⁵. This being a custom that has its origins in the barbarian world from the 2nd-4th centuries AD in the northern Danube and northern Pontic regions¹⁶.

This type of *fibulae* is spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula, as well in the regions north of the Danube and north of the Black Sea, such as the Crimean peninsula and the Middle Don Valley where they continued to be used in the first half of the 7th century AD¹⁷. This proves the very high popularity as well as the commercial and political relations between the northern Pontic steppes and the Empire. The high concentration of items found on the territory of Bulgaria as well as in the fortifications along the Danube indicates the presence of production centers in the respective areas. Although their manufacture is not complicated, they were made on a smaller scale in *barbaricum* also. The considerable number of brooches discovered in various contexts (fortifications, civilian settlements and tombs) indicates both their demand and their large-scale production, being a phenomenon of "clothing fashion" of the 6th century AD¹⁸.

Discovered in tombs, the *fibulae* with bent stem are often associated as feminine accessories¹⁹. The study of the funerary inventory, but especially the position in which it is found in the tomb, indicates that the brooches were used either for practical or decorative purposes: by fastening the clothes or shroud

¹¹ UENZE 1992, p. 146-154.

¹² CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 102.

¹³ UENZE 1992, p. 158-159.

¹⁴ UENZE 1992, p. 150-151.

¹⁵ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 103.

¹⁶ TEODOR 1988, p. 200; IRIMIA 2005-2006, p. 252.

¹⁷ GAVRITUKHIN & OBLOMSKY 1996, p. 39-40.

¹⁸ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 104.

¹⁹ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, Fig. 30.

with which the deceased was wrapped; or had a magical-religious role, probably as amulets²⁰.

Framed chronologically in the 6th century, their "fashion" disappears with the fall of the Roman border on the Lower Danube, remaining isolated in the area of Koman(i) culture, in the western regions of the Balkans²¹ and in the middle Dnieper area²². In fact, they are considered the forerunners of the *fibulae* with bent stem from the 7th century, which are found only in the cultural area mentioned above²³. It is considered one of the transition factors from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages²⁴.

On the territory of Romania, they are found in Moldova and Muntenia as well as in the late roman fortifications of *Scythia: Histria*²⁵, *Tomis*²⁶, *Tropaeum Traiani*²⁷, *Argamum*²⁸, *Ibida*²⁹, in the settlement of *Durostorum - Ostrov*³⁰ and in necropolises such as the one at Beroe³¹ etc. In conclusion, the hand-worked brooches with bent stem are indispensable from the habitation levels from the 6th century AD.

At *Ulmetum*, five brooches belonging to this type were discovered, four made of bronze and one of iron. Their classification was made according to the typology made by Curta and Gândilă from 2013, where all the published *fibulae* from the Balkan and northern Pontic area are studied.

1.1. *Fibulae* with trapeze-shaped stems and circle-and-dot decoration (Curta/Gândilă class 1) - cat. no. 1

From a morphological point of view, this subcategory is small, having between 4 and 8 centimetres in length. As its name implies, the stem is trapezoidal in shape and is wider than the bow. In most discoveries, the spring is extended with a hook, with the exception of the brooch discovered on the territory of Bulgaria at Gradnica, where there is a loop between the spring and the hook³². Hooks were used to fasten chains with decorative roles in clothing.

The decoration found on the stem is made by incision or engraving, being represented by circles and dots arranged in patterns. When the bow is not ornamented by dots and circles, a series of longitudinally arranged lines are found on it. Although after a closer analysis of the decor, it can be seen that no

²⁰ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 132.

²¹ PALIGA & TEODOR 2009, p. 295.

²² GAVRITUKHIN & OBLOMSKY 1996, p. 39-40.

²³ CURTA 2013, p. 49-70.

²⁴ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 133.

²⁵ CONDURACHI *et alii*. 1957. 21, Fig. 7/b.

²⁶ TEODOR 1988, p. 210, no.8.

²⁷ BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU & BARNEA 1979, Fig. 165/10.20, Fig. 174/10.3-10.4.

²⁸ NUȚU, TOPOLEANU & ANTON 2014, p. 289 ; Tafel 1/4.

²⁹ APARASCHIVEI 2019, Fig. 1/5-7.

³⁰ NUȚU & ELEFTERESCU 2018, Pl. 15/110-113

³¹ PETRE 1987, l. 146/240b.

³² CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, Fig. 1/10.

two objects are identical, they seem to have been made by different craftsmen, but who followed the same principles of manufacture and decoration³³.

The *fibulae* with trapezoid-shaped stem are specific to the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula, very common in north eastern Bulgaria. In Dobrudja, only one *fibula* is known so far, discovered in a child's tomb at *Beroe*.³⁴

The *fibula* from *Ulmelum* is a stray discovery from 2014. It was found *extra muros* near the T11 tower in the earth deposited(?) by Vasile Pârvan following the excavations carried out in the fortress between 1911-1914.

1.2 *Fibulae* with bows and stems of similar width (Curta/Gândilă class 3) - cat. no. 2-3

Made of both bronze and iron, this group includes a very large number of objects, being also one of the most heterogeneous sub-variants. From a morphological point of view, there are no big differences between the brooches included in this type and those in other classes. In section the bow can be both flat and hemispherical. On the spring you can find the hook for holding decorative chains or a button. The decoration is made of dots or lines arranged in rows, zigzags or "X", but most objects, especially the ones from iron are not ornamented³⁵.

After a very complete and detailed analysis of the discoveries, it was concluded that there is sufficient data to indicate a chronological classification throughout the 6th century AD, being found even in the first decades of the 7th century AD³⁶. As a distribution area, the highest concentration of objects is found in the north and northeast of the Balkan Peninsula. No less than 14 items were discovered in Gabrovo, Bulgaria, leading to the hypothesis of a local workshop³⁷.

Discoveries were also reported beyond the borders of the Empire, namely in Hungary and the Middle Dnieper area, which would show their production in the *barbaricum*. The *fibulae* of this type are also found in funeral complexes, especially in women's graves, single but also in pairs. When paired, they are always placed on the shoulders, which indicates the fastening of a *peplos*-type item of clothing³⁸.

At *Ulmelum* two brooches that typologically fall into this subcategory were discovered. Both were found inside the fortress in 2006 and 2011, respectively. One is made of iron and one is made of bronze. The iron one is fragmentary, while the bronze one is almost complete and in a very good state of preservation.

1.3 *Fibulae* with bows wider than the stems (Curta/Gândilă class 6) - cat. no. 4

This sub-category is the second largest in terms of the number of discoveries. The area of distribution has been archaeologically documented mainly in the north and northwest of the Balkan Peninsula. Most of the brooches are made of

³³ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 106.

³⁴ PETRE 1987, Pl. 146/240b; CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, Fig. 2/4.

³⁵ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 108-109.

³⁶ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 112.

³⁷ KOICHEVA & KHARALAMBIEVA 1993, p. 61.

³⁸ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 112.

iron and exceed 5 cm in length. From the decoration point of view, the iron ones are undecorated, instead the bronze ones have simple motifs made of incised parallel lines or a pattern of squares and circles. At the end of the spring there can be found the hook for holding decorative chains, a loop made by the arch and then the hook or a button³⁹.

At *Ulmetum* there is just one *fibula* of this type found in 2014. It was discovered in the level of destruction of the barracks, dated in the second half of the 6th century AD. It is made of bronze with a bilateral iron spring. It is preserved in good condition, almost complete – the iron needle is missing.

1.4 *Fibulae* with bows wider than the stems and decorated with zigzag ornament (Curta/Gândilă class 7) - cat. no. 5

From a morphological point of view, the brooches in this subcategory are similar to those presented earlier - respectively Curta / Gândilă class 6. So far there are no iron *fibula* discovered that would fall into this subdivision; the specimens are up to five centimetres long. On the stem there are incised a series of lines arranged in the shape of the letter X, arranged longitudinally, horizontally or in a zig-zag.⁴⁰

The discovery in Bucharest of a *fibula* in a hut from the second half of the 6th century AD, respectively the beginning of the 7th century suggests a very wide dating of the objects throughout the 6th century AD and the beginning of the next. The distribution area is very large, being found throughout the Balkan Peninsula, in Crimea, but also in the middle valley of the Tisza and on the Dnieper rivers.⁴¹

Only one *fibula* is discovered at *Ulmetum* in 2014. Kept in a relatively good state of preservation, it lacks the needle and the bilateral spring, both of which were made of iron.

As can be seen, the *fibulae* with bent stem are a phenomenon of the 6th century AD, which originated in the region of the Balkan Peninsula, later spreading to other provinces, with the politico-military events of the time. The most common variants of this type are those of class 3 and 6, which are also found at *Ulmetum*, being represented by three objects. Now it can be said that they are a fashion of the time, most being worn in the second half of the 6th century.

Discovered in various archaeological environments and contexts, such as military fortifications, civilian settlements and necropolises, the *fibulae* were not a strictly military accessory, they were also worn by the civilian population. After the analysis carried from the discoveries made in the tombs, it was found that they are part of the strict inventory of women, most of whom died young. Deposited as funeral offerings, the brooches could have a strictly functional, clothes-fastening, decorative or apotropaic role, being found among the personal belongings of the deceased⁴².

³⁹ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 117.

⁴⁰ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 121.

⁴¹ CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 123.

⁴² CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, p. 131-132.

Although the workshops where they were produced have not been identified so far, their distribution clearly indicates the Balkan origin as well as the possible presence of several centers in north and north-east of Bulgaria.

2. Cast fibulae with bent stem - cat. no. 6-7

Conventionally called in Romanian literature "Roman-Byzantine *fibulae*"⁴³, this type, together with those presented above, are a category of garments and ornaments very popular in the early Byzantine world south of the Danube. The brooches are made of bronze by casting in bivalve moulds, have a bent stem and are composed of a curved bow and a stem with a clasp in the shape of the letter "U". The end of the clasp is joined to the body of the brooch by a fixed bar at the meeting point between the bow and the stem. At the other end of the arch is a hole for fixing the spring. There can be also a bulb appears above⁴⁴.

This type of *fibulae* has been discovered in over 100 sites, mostly south of the Danube, in both civilian and military environments. They are very rarely found in graves.

Being always considered a product specific to Byzantine culture⁴⁵, the brooches represent one of the most characteristic ornaments of the second half of the 6th century AD. From the point of view of the chronological period, they are, similarly to the *fibulae* with bent stem, typical for the 6th century AD, ceasing to be worn at the end of it. However, the dating is valid only for the provinces of the Empire. For the regions in contact with the Empire, they can be found until the middle of the 7th century AD⁴⁶.

The discovery at Drobeta of several *fibulae* unfinished, indicates a workshop for their manufacture. As can be seen, the moulds were made to produce several pieces simultaneously⁴⁷.

The sporadic appearance in funerary contexts, both in the Empire and beyond its borders, suggests the idea that it could be an element of women fashion, but no definitive conclusion can be drawn on this. In the few tombs in which are found, they are associated with feminine elements, especially earrings and beads. However, they are discovered in a large number in military fortifications as well.⁴⁸ Therefore, in the face of the two hypotheses, they are attributes to both the early Byzantine military costume and the women's dress. F. Curta proposes a hypothesis which combines the two situations and suggests that they could have been worn by the wives of soldiers and officers⁴⁹.

Two *fibulae* have been discovered so far at Ulmetum (**cat. no. 6-7**). One is without context (**cat. no. 6**), *passim*, and the second comes from the N1 level of habitation, namely that of the second half of the 6th century AD (**cat. no. 7**). This coincides with the return of the Roman-Byzantine administration in the area and the restoration of the fortress. As can be seen from **Fig. 4**, the *fibulae* are

⁴³ TEODOR 1970, p. 109.

⁴⁴ MĂGUREANU 2008, p. 99.

⁴⁵ TEODOR 1988, p. 202.

⁴⁶ MĂGUREANU 2008, p. 120.

⁴⁷ BEJAN 1976, Fig. 1/a, b, c, d; Pl. 1/a, b.

⁴⁸ MĂGUREANU 2008, p. 119.

⁴⁹ CURTA 2001, p. 245.

characteristic for the Balkan *limes*. Analogies for the brooches discovered at Ulmetum we find at *Capidava*⁵⁰, *Sucidava*⁵¹, *Tropaeum Traiani*⁵², *Tomis*⁵³, *Ibida*⁵⁴ etc.

CATALOGUE

1. Ulmetum 2010, *passim*, extra muros, near the tower T11 (Pl. I/1)
MINAC, Inv. No. 49253.

Description: The brooch was made from a single bronze strip with an iron spring. The bow is flat in section and ornamented with two parallel lines arranged longitudinally. The stem is trapezoidal in shape and has incised circles. Each circle has eight rays. On its edge are parallel lines drawn transversely. The clip is fragmentary, it lacks the bar that connects it to the body of the brooch at the junction between the arch and the stem. The spring is bilateral, incomplete, and it has a hook.

Dimensions: L. 70 mm; W. 10 mm; H. 23 mm.

2. Ulmetum 2006, West Sector, section SII, square 2, depth -0,70 m (Pl. I/2)
MINAC, Inv. Nr. 45548.

Description: The brooch was made from a single bronze strip with an iron spring. The bow has a hemispherical shape in section and is decorated with two rows of parallel points arranged along the entire length of the brooch. The clipboard is complete. The spring is bilateral and has a hook. The needle is missing.

Dimensions: L. 70 mm; W. 31 mm; H. 22 mm.

3. Ulmetum 2011, square J 44/45, depth -0,40/-0,60 m (Pl. I/3)
MINAC, site inv. no. M195.

Description: The *fibula* is made from iron, with the arch that had a flat section. The spring is bilateral, fragmentary. The hook is also fragmentary.

Dimensions: L. 45 mm; W. 12 mm; H. 18 mm.

4. Ulmetum 2014, square F 51/52, inside the barracks (Pl. I/4)
MINAC, Inv. Nr. 49258.

Description: The *fibula* was made from a single bronze strip with an iron spring. The bow is flat in section, ornamented with two parallel lines arranged across the length of the brooch. The spring is bilateral and it has a hook. The needle is missing.

Dimensions: L. 45 mm; w. 12 mm; h. 18 mm.

⁵⁰ COVACEF 1995-1996, p. 98, no. I.1.9, Pl. II/8, IX/6.

⁵¹ TUDOR 1948, Fig. 41/13.

⁵² BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU & BARNEA 1979, Fig. 171/10.3.

⁵³ TEODOR 1988, p. 211, nr. 9.

⁵⁴ APARASCHIVEI 2019, Fig. 1/8-9.

5. Ulmetum 2006, SB section (Pl. I/5)

MINAC, Inv. Nr. 49259.

Description: The *fibula* was made from a single bronze strip with an iron spring. The bow has a flat section and is ornamented with two parallel lines arranged across the length of the fibula. The stem is decorated with zigzag lines. The clipboard is complete. The resort is bilateral and it has a hook.

Dimensions: L. 41 mm; W. 10 mm; H. 16 mm.

6. Ulmetum 2014, *passim*, extra muros, near the tower T11 (Pl. I/6)

MINAC, Inv. Nr. 49350.

Description: The *fibula* is made from bronze in a mould. It has an iron spring. The bow is rectangular in section and is decorated with two registers. The first register is represented by two parallel lines incised in a zig zag. Between them there are two rows of points arranged longitudinally on the arch. The second register consists of parallel lines drawn perpendicular to the length of the brooch. The stem is decorated with a zigzag line. The clipboard is complete. The spring is bilateral and there is a faceted button on it. The needle is missing.

Dimensions: L. 71 mm; W. 9 mm; H. 31 mm.

7. Ulmetum 2013, H 3-4 square, depth -1,00 m (Pl. I/7)

MINAC, Inv. Nr. 47718.

Description: The *fibula* is made from bronze in a mould. It has an iron spring. The bow is rectangular in section and is decorated with two registers. The stem is decorated with two rows of points. The spring is bilateral and there is a faceted button on it. The needle is missing.

Dimensions: L. 86 mm; W. 9 mm; H. 34 mm.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APARASCHIVEI 2019 – D. Aparaschivei, *Some Late Fibulae from Ibida (the Province of Scythia)*, in V. Cojocacu, L. Ruscu, T. Castelli, A. I. Pázsint (eds.), *Advances in Ancient Black Sea Studies: Historiography, Archaeology and Religion*, Cluj-Napoca, 2019, p. 473-500.

BĂJENARU 2010 – C. Băjenaru, *Minor Fortifications in the Balkan-Danubian Area from Diocletian to Justinian*, The Center for Roman Military Studies 8, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.

BĂJENARU 2018 – C. Băjenaru, *Fine Wares from the Excavations of the Late Roman Fort at Ulmetum (Province of Scythia). Chronology of the Late 4th and 5th Century Main Contexts*, *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta* 45 (2018), p. 501-510.

BEJAN 1976 – A. Bejan, *Un atelier metalurgic din sec. VI e. n. de la Drobeta-Turnu Severin*, *AMN* 13 (1976), p. 257-278.

BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU & BARNEA 1979 – I. Bogdan-Cătănicu, A. Barnea, *Ceramica și Descoperiri Mărunte*, in *Tropaeum Traiani I. Cetatea*, București, 1979.

CONDURACHI *et alii.* 1957 – E. Condurachi *et alii.*, *Șantierul arheologic Histria*, *MCA* 4 (1957), p. 9-88.

COVACEF 1995-1995 – Z. Covacef, *Accesorii vestimentare, de toaletă și podoabe descoperite în sectorul estic al cetății Capidava*, *Pontica* 28-29 (1995-1996), p. 95-120.

CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013 – F. Curta, A. Gândilă, *Sixth-Century Fibulae with Bent Stem*, *Peuce S.N.* 9 (2013), p. 101-176.

CURTA 2001 – F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700*, Cambridge, 2001.

CURTA 2013 – F. Curta, *Seventh-Century Fibulae with Bent Stem in the Balkans*, *Achaeologia Bulgarica* 17 (2013), 1, p. 49-70.

GAVRITUKHIN & OBLOMSKY 1996 – I. O. Gavritukhin, A. M. Oblomsky, *Gaponovskii klad i ego kul`turno-istoricheskii kontekst*, Moskva, 1996.

HARALAMBIEVA 1998 – A. Haralambieva, *Darstellung christlicher Symbole. Inscriften und Heiligen auf Trachtzubehör des 4.-7. Jhs. Aus dem heutigen Bulgarien*, in: *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae christianae, Split-Poreč (25.9-1.10.1994)*, Città del Vaticano / Split, 1998, p. 368-369.

IRIMIA 2005-2006 – M. Irimia, *Fibulă cu inscripție din zona Izvoarele (com. Lipnița, jud. Constanța)*, *Peuce S.N.* 3-4 (2005-2006), p. 251-258.

KOICHEVA & KHARALAMBIEVA 1993 – K. Koicheva, A. Kharalambieva, *Fibuli ot Istoricheskii Muzeia v Gabrovo (III-VII vek)*, *Godishnik na muzeite ot Severna Bălgaria* 19 (1993), p. 57-72.

MĂGUREANU 2008 – A. Măgureanu, *Fibule turnate romano-bizantine*, *MCA S.N.* 4 (2008), p. 99-155.

NUȚU & ELEFTERESCU 2018 – G. Nuțu, D. Elefterescu, *The Brooches from Durostorum – Ostrov, Iași*, 2018.

NUȚU, TOPOLEANU & ANTON 2014 – G. Nuțu, F. Topoleanu, D. Anton, *Römische und Frühbyzantinische Fibeln aus Argamum (Scythia Minor)*, *Pontica* 47 (2014), p. 285-293.

PALIGA & TEODOR 2009 – S. Paliga, E. S. Teodor, *Linguistica și arheologia slavilor timpurii. O altă vedere de la Dunărea de Jos, Târgoviște*, 2009.

PETRE 1987 – A. Petre, *La Romanité en Scythie Mineure (II^e-VII^e siècles avant notre ère)*. *Recherches archéologiques*, București, 1987.

Procopius, *De aedificiis* – G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor, Vol. XV, Procopius De aedificiis*, București, 1939; FHDR II, Procopius din Caesarea, *Despre zidiri*, p. 433-457.

TEODOR 1970 – D. Gh. Teodor, *Elemente și influențe bizantine în Moldova în secolele VI-XI*, *SCIV* 21 (1970), 1, p. 97-128.

TEODOR 1988 – D. Gh. Teodor, *Considerații privind fibulele romano-bizantine din secolele V-VII e.n. în spațiul Carpato-Dunăreano-Pontic*, *ArhMold* 12 (1988), p. 197-233.

TUDOR 1948 – D. Tudor, *Sucidava III*, *Dacia* 11-12 (1945-1947), p. 145-208.

UÉNZE 1992 – S. Uenze, *Die spätantiken Befestigungen von Sadovec (Bulgarien): Ergebnisse der deutsch-bulgarisch-österreichischen Ausgrabungen, 1934-1937*, München, 1992.

VASILESCU 2021 – D. Vasilescu, *Ulmetum în perioada romană târzie în lumina descoperirilor monetare*, PhD Thesis Manuscript, Institute of Archeology "Vasile Pârvan", Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2021.

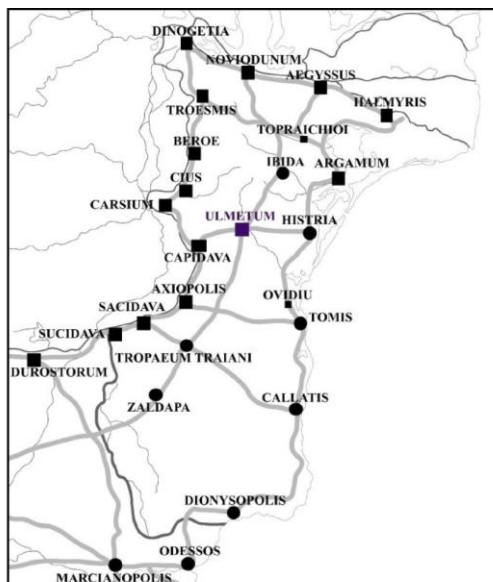


Fig. 1

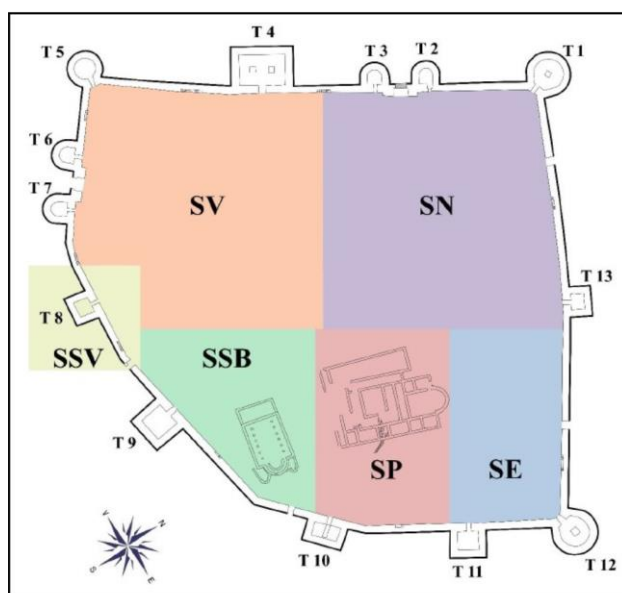


Fig. 2

Fig. 1. Location of Ulmetum fortification in the province of Scythia (after BĂJENARU 2010, p. 231).

Fig. 2. The plan of Ulmetum and the approximate division into sectors (after VASILESCU 2021, Pl. 3).

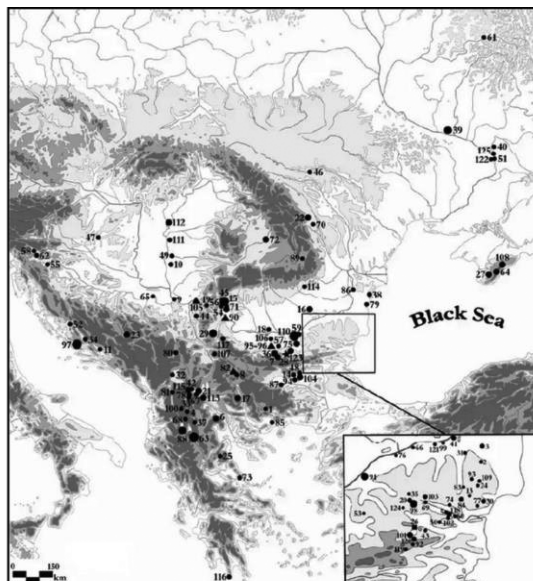


Fig. 3

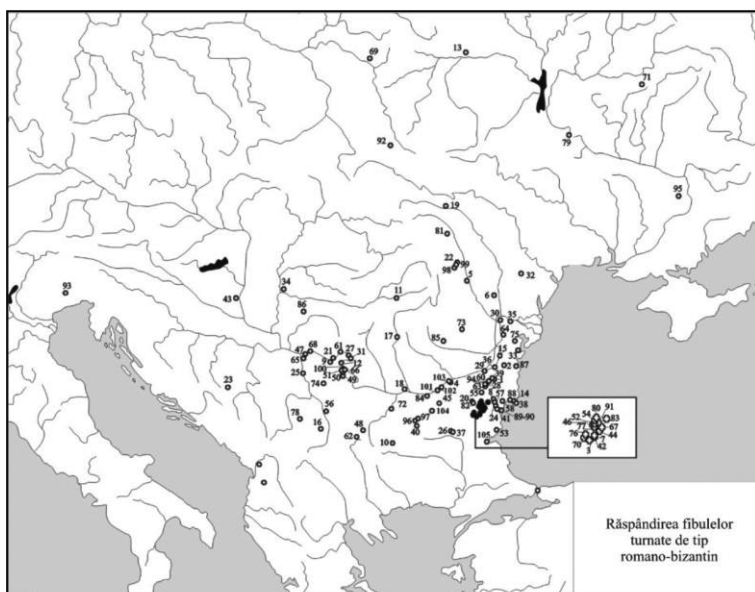


Fig. 4

Fig. 3. The distribution of *fibulae* with bent stem in Southeastern and Eastern Europe (after CURTA & GÂNDILĂ 2013, Fig. 31).

Fig. 4. Distribution of cast *fibulae* with bent stem (after MĂGUREANU 2008, fig. 1.)

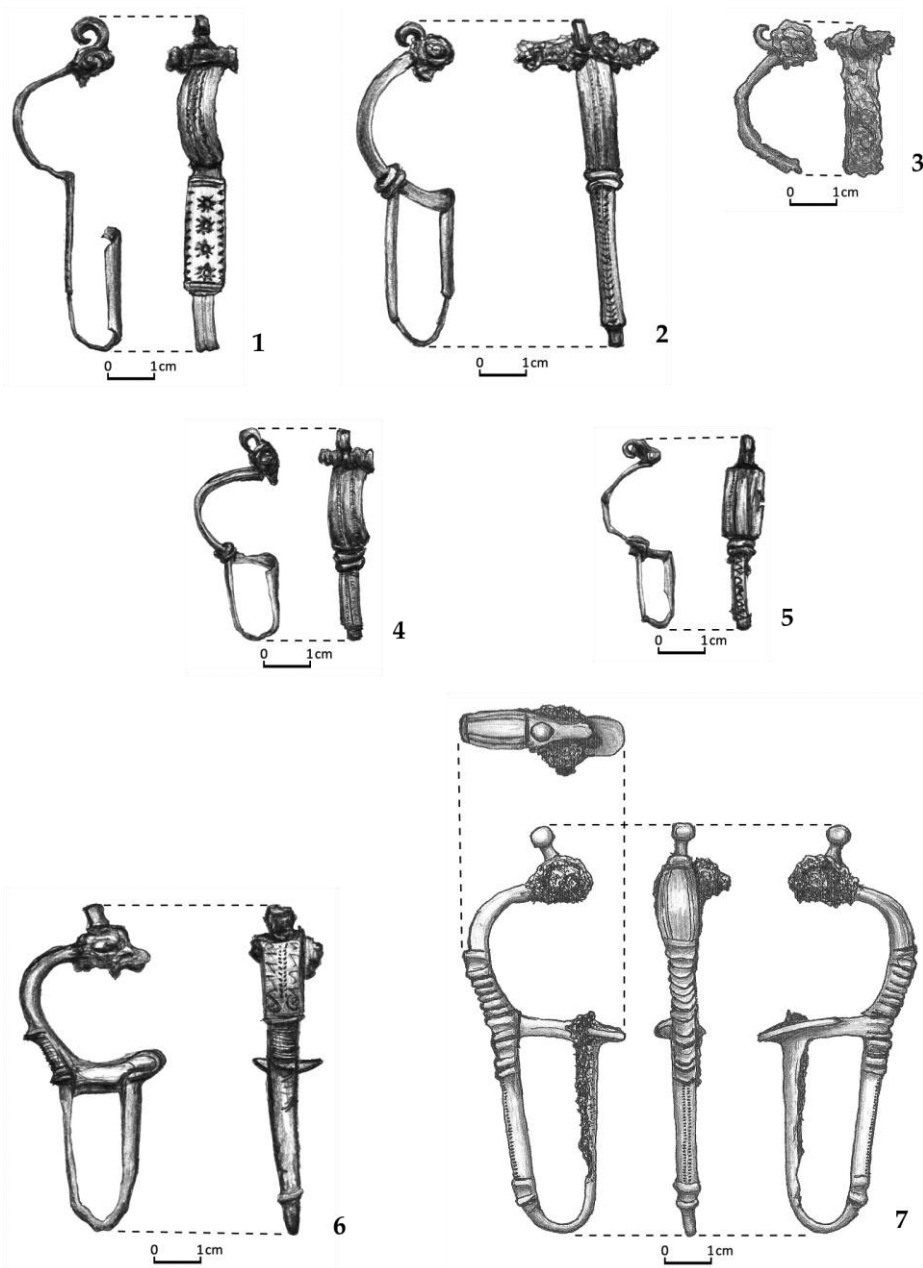


Plate I

Cat. no. 1 - 5 *Fibulae* with bent stem.Cat. no. 6 - 7 Cast *fibulae* with bent stem.