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HINGED FIBULAE FROM HALAE
IN THE COLLECTION
OF THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
MUSEUM OF ATHENS

Abstract: The National Archaeological Museum of Athens possesses fourteen Greek fibulae of different sizes found during American excavations at Halae of Locris carried out between 1911 and 1914. They belong to the hinged fibula group, which is characterized by the distinctive decoration of its bows. Fibulae of this type have been found in the area of the Central Balkans, Romania, and northern and central Greece. Observable differences in the shapes of the decorative elements of these fibulae are of regional nature and allow several varieties to be identified within the type. The fibulae in question represent a local transformation of the northern models manifested mainly in the use of native Greek patterns particularly in the case of the palmettes decorating their hinge plates which are purely Greek in shape, and in the form of projections adorning their bows. The high artistic quality of the Halae fibulae reinforces the conviction of their Greek workmanship. They differ from each other in details, and this makes them very good examples of the development of the Greek variant of the hinged type fibula in the 5th century BC.

Keywords: the Halae fibulae; hinged fibulae; National Archaeological Museum of Athens

Introduction

In the collection of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens there are fourteen Greek fibulae of different sizes.¹ They were found during American excavations at Halae of Locris in central Greece, carried out during 1911–1914. Halae was a small ancient town situated in East Lokris. The excavations have shown that it had a fortified acropolis in Classical times which continued to be occupied until Late Roman times (Goldman 1940, 381ff). Two hundred and eighty tombs of Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman date were also excavated near the outer boundaries of the town, to the north and east of the acropolis (Walker and Goldman 1915, 424). According to information provided by A. L. Walker and H. Goldman, who led the excavations at Halae, the fibulae, like other jewellery from the site, were found in some of these tombs and they began to appear in graves of the latter part of the 5th century BC (Walker and Goldman 1915, 426). Unfortunately, the authors did not specify the tombs in which the fibulae were found. Neither did they mention the context of the fibulae, nor their exact placement in the burial. Moreover, since this discovery they have not yet received the attention they are due.

The fibulae forming the Halae set, as well as other known hinged fibulae sets, can be paired. Additionally, some examples of this kind have been found connected with a long plaited chain (cf. i.e. Marshall 1911, pl. LXVII, Nos. 2845-6). It all indicates that they were usually worn in pairs, attached to outerwear. Most of hinged fibulae that have come to light so far are made of precious metals, silver or gold. Their use was therefore rather of decorative than functional nature and they probably served as determinants of the wearer's status, just like other jewels.

The hinged fibulae from Halae

The fibulae from Halae belong to the large group of the safety pins known as hinged fibulae. Their key features are a hinge plate in the form of a palmette, more or less recognizable, and an oblong-shaped catch of the needle decorated with two hollow balls resembling a stylized snake's head. Their bows can be plain, although they usually contain decorative

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elements in the form of rings or ornamental wheels consisting of projections that can take different shapes. The objects from Halae represent a very specific kind of the hinged fibula type with a characteristic decoration of the bow adorned with a series of six to eight cylinder-like (Pl. 1: 1-4)² or conical projections in five groups, which create structures clearly reminiscent of a mill wheel.³

They are all made of silver and differ in sizes. Since the Halae fibulae are marked with the collective museum inv. no. Xp 981, a numbering system will be introduced to make their discussion clearer. The fibulae in question form seven sets of identical objects, thus they will be discussed in pairs.

The largest in the set are fibulae nos 1 and 2 (Pl. 1: 1-2) with a length of 4cm and a height at the highest point of the bow of 3.5cm. Their bows are decorated with five rings, each of which consists of six projections: short, wide and flattened at the tops. On both sides of each 'mill wheel', there are rings composed of small globules. The hinge plates take the form of doubled nine-petal palmettes rooted in double volutes. The catch of the needle is oblong-shaped and decorated with a median dotted line. Two hollow balls are placed on either side of it. The needle itself, which is not preserved, was wrought separately and revolves on a rivet piercing the hinge plate. Only its remains are visible inside the hole in the middle of the palmette, showing that it was made of iron.

Fibulae nos 3 and 4 (Pl. 1: 3-4) are somewhat smaller than objects nos 1 and 2, although more massive. Their length is 3.7cm and their heights at the highest point of their bows are 3.2cm. The bows decorate five rings consisting of eight cylindrical large projections rounded at the tops. On both sides of the 'mill wheels', rings with short parallel lines are incised. Hinge plates are formed as doubled five-petal palmettes growing out of double volutes. In the middle of the palmettes, there are round holes filled with remnants of needles. The needle-catches decorate engraved ornaments consisting of three long and narrow straps filled with short transverse parallel lines. An additional decoration in the form of hollow balls is placed on either side of the catches. In the case of fibula no. 4 one ball on the right side is missing. In the catch of fibula no. 3, a fragment of the iron needle is preserved.

Fibulae nos 5 and 6 (Pl. 1: 5-6) are 3.3cm long and their heights at the highest point of their bows are 3cm. They are less massive than

² Jacobsthal (1956, 207) describes the projections of Halae fibula no 1 (his fig. 645) as globes. In my opinion, however, they more resemble cylinders.

³ Jacobsthal (1956, 207) fig. 646 calls the structures consisted of conical projections 'cog wheels'.

the objects described above. Their bows are decorated with five groups of eight conical projections, rounded at the tops. The collars of each 'mill wheel' are incised with short parallel lines. Doubled five-petal palmettes emerging from double volutes form the hinge plates of these fibulae. Below the volutes, ornaments resembling an Ionian cymatium are engraved. The same ornaments embellish the upper parts of the catches, above large hollow balls. In the rear parts of the catches, lotus flowers are engraved. One ball on fibula no. 6 is missing. Inside the hinge plates of both fibulae, remains of the iron needles are still visible.

The lengths of fibulae nos 7 and 8 (Pl. 1: 7-8) slightly differ, being 2.3cm on object no. 7 and 2.5cm on pin no. 8. The height of both fibulae is 2.1cm. Five groups of seven narrow and pointed projections adorn the bows. Incised rings with short parallel lines flank each group of projections. The hinge plates take the form of doubled nine-petal palmettes emerging from double volutes. On fibula no. 8 scrolls of the volute are covered with small globules. The same globules were most probably attached to the scrolls of the volute on fibula no. 7. It is attested by the shallow pockets formed by the scrolls of the volute where some elements were clearly intended to be placed, and where there are still visible traces of fixing. Spaces between the volutes and bows' stalks are adorned with four engraved circles in two rows. In the upper parts of the middle petals of the palmettes, holes for fixing needles are observable. The pins' catches were adorned with pairs of hollow balls. One ball on each fibula is missing.

Fibulae nos 9 and 10 (Pl. 2: 1-2) are 2.3cm long and their height at the highest points of their bows is 2cm. The bows are embellished with a series of seven conical projections in five groups, the collars of which are beaded. Doubled palmettes forming hinge plates vary in size and in the number of petals. The palmette of fibula no. 9 is slightly higher and it consists of nine narrow petals. In turn, the palmette of the second object of the discussed pair is shorter and consists of seven broader petals. The volutes, from which the palmettes emerge, also vary in size, although on both fibulae they are adorned with globules. The space between the palmette and the bow's stalk of fibula no. 10 is covered with four engraved circles in two rows. The catch of fibula no. 9 is decorated with two hollow balls. Such balls also once decorated the pin's catch of fibula no. 10, but they are both missing now.

The last two pairs of fibulae (Nos 11 and 12 (Pl. 2: 3-4), and 13 and 14 (Pl. 2: 5-6)) are identically shaped, thus they will be discussed collectively. Moreover, all four objects show clear similarity to the fibulae from

the previous pair, particularly to that of no. 10. It manifests in the number and shape of projections forming 'stars', as well as, the form and decoration of the hinge plates and the pins' catches. Their height at the highest point of the bow is also 2cm, but they are slightly longer with a length of 2.5cm. What distinguishes these four fibulae from the brooches discussed above are the preserved needles, also made of iron, although they are highly corroded.

Find places of the hinged fibulae

The type of fibulae to which the Halae brooches belong was in use in a vast area of the Balkan Peninsula. This becomes clear from the list of proveniences. The hinged fibulae with bows adorned with structures consisted of differently shaped projections have been found in the area of the Central Balkans, mainly present-day Bulgaria (see Filow and Welkow 1930, Fig. 30; Venedikow and Gerasimow 1975, Figs. 210-212), Macedonia (see Popovič 1956, 104, Pl. XI), and Serbia (see i.e. Vasić 1999, 104, Nos 871 and 885-86, 105, Nos 920-22, 110, Nos 968-69 and 990), Romania (Bader 1983, Pl. 38), and in northern and central Greece (cf. Marshall 1911, 335, Pl. LXVII, Nos 2841-44; Robinson 1941, 109, Pl. XXI 391-2, Pl. XXIII, Amandry 1953, 55, Fig. 29.5, 57, Fig. 30; Amandry 1963, 203, Fig. 109 left; Kilian 1975, 155f, Pl. 59.1732-1747).

It is worth stating that the site of Halae, where the abovementioned fibulae were found, is the only one known so far of this specific kind of fibulae found in central Greece. The only reliable information concerning hinged fibulae found beyond the area outlined above is given by F. Maier in his article concerning Bosnian-Herzegovinian bronzes in Greece (1956, 63-75). One of the hinged fibulae of the so-called Štrbci type listed by him has been found in Olympia (Maier 1956, 73). Two other specimens of the type, now in the British Museum, are said to have been found in a tomb at Elis in the Peloponnese and were acquired by the museum in 1904 (Marshall 1911, 335, Pl. LXVII, Nos. 2845-6). It does not have to mean that there was a production centre of fibulae of this type in western Greece. F. Maier (1956, 72) ascribes the presence of hinged fibulae of Štrbci type in Greek sites to the relations of the Balkans with the south of the peninsula, locating the production centre of the fibulae of this type in the Macedonian – Thracian area. Also in P. Jacobstahl's opinion (1956, 207), the Elis fibulae should rather be considered as northern imports. They actually most resemble fibulae from ancient Macedonia, especially those found at Trebenishte in graves dated to the late 6th century BC (cf. Jacobsthal 1956, Figs. 639-40; Higgins 1980,

133). Clear similarities with a bronze fibula found at Halae in the temple of Athena may also be observed (Goldman 1940, Fig. 7). The possibility that the bronze Halae fibula is also a northern import cannot be ruled out. Additionally, the unusual length of the fibulae from Elis (7.5cm, while the length of most hinged fibulae found in the territory of ancient Greece varies from 2cm to 5cm), as well as the different quantity of 'mill wheels' decorating their bows (four instead of typical five ones) seem to confirm their northern origin. The length of four silver fibulae of the same type found in the Valley of Tempe in Thessaly, now in the British Museum (Marshall 1911, 335 Nos 2841-44) and also considered by P. Jacobstahl (1956, 207) to be northern imports, is almost identical, varying from 7.2cm to 7.7cm. Numerous silver and bronze fibulae of the class discussed above which were found in the territory of former Yugoslavia, most probably products of native craftsmen, are large. A very good example of this is the fibula from Štrbci (modern Bosnia and Herzegovina), whose length is 10.6cm (Jacobsthal 1956, 207).

There are also hinged fibulae of unknown provenance. As an example, one object from the Wrocław Archaeological Museum may be cited (cf. Kubala 2015, Pl. 2), which demonstrates its obvious similarity to the Halae fibulae (see below).

Observable differences in the shapes of the decorative elements of the hinged fibulae mainly concern the shape of projections forming the structures that decorate the bow. They are of a regional nature and allow several varieties to be identified within the type. Projections of fibulae produced in ancient Greece may take the form of globes,⁴ or they are cylindrically or conically shaped, as one can see on the above-mentioned objects. Projections of rings adorning fibulae made in the territory of ancient Macedonia vary in shape. On some objects said to have been found in the given area their shapes resemble that of the conically shaped protrusions of fibulae found in the territory of ancient Greece (Amandry 1953, 57, Fig. 30; Lund and Rasmussen 1995, 76, Fig. at the bottom of the page). Projections of other fibulae found in ancient Macedonia territory are shorter and rounded at the top (see Despoint 2016, 183, Nos 325-28, 184, Nos 333-34, 185, Nos 335-37, 601, Figs Nos 325-26, 602, Figs Nos 327-28, 603, Figs Nos 335-37). Sometimes the protrusions are strongly flattened, and they more closely resemble the petals of a flower (see Richter 1931, Fig. 2; Jacobsthal 1956, Fig. 639; Popović 1956, Pl. XI). The bows of the fibulae

⁴ They occur on fibulae found in Thessaly, see Kilian 1975, Pl. 59, Nos. 1737-38, 1742, 1745.

found in the Central Balkan area are adorned with annular collars as well as collars consisting of spherical, biconical and conical projections. Based on the shapes of the projections, R. Vasić (1999, 102ff) has subdivided several types and variants. Finally, protrusions of some hinged fibulae found in the territory of modern Bulgaria are short, pointed and strongly flattened, whereas their hinge plates are triangle-shaped with rounded corners, beaded edges, and palmettes engraved on their surfaces (Filow and Welkow 1930, 309, Fig. 30).

The fibulae in question were found at Halae of Locris and, as it will be shown below, they may represent the Greek variant of the hinged fibulae found mainly in the territories of northern and central Greece. The small number of finds of fibulae of this type in the given area may indicate that they were not of great popularity in this region, although some scholars identify the type of hinged fibulae with bows decorated with structures reminiscent of a mill wheel as typically northern Greek (Bothmer and Mertens 1983, 18).

Chronology and stylistic analysis of the Halae fibulae

The report published in 1915 states that jewellery, among it silver fibulae, began to appear in graves dated to the second half of the 5th century BC and remained long in favour, at least until the Hellenistic period (Walker and Goldman 1915, 426). However, it should be remembered that valuable objects, such as silver pins, may have been in use for a long time before being buried as grave goods. P. Jacobsthal (1956, 207) informs that fibulae marked here with nos 1 and 6, were found in tomb 79. However, they do not seem to have been made at the same time. Fibula no. 1 resembles the hinged pins of the archaic type as the comparisons with the above-mentioned bronze fibula found in the temple of Athena at the same site shows (see Goldman 1940, 420, Fig. 71.4). Its bow is embellished with five rings consisting of very low, flattened, rectangular projections. As mentioned above, the bronze Halae fibula may be a northern import because of its similarity to objects of the same type and created most probably at approximately the same time as those found at Trebenishte (cf. above) and to silver hinged fibulae found on the necropolis at Sindos, in graves 48, 20 and 22 dated from about 530 BC to the end of the 6th century BC (Despoini 2016, 183, No. 328, 184, Nos 329-32, 452, Figs 153-55).

Our object no. 1 represents a more advanced stage of the development of the hinged fibulae with more pronounced projections and beaded collars of rings. It should therefore be dated to the later period, most probably not

earlier than the first half of the 5th century BC. Some similarities may also be observed between fibula no. 1 and two silver hinged fibulae in the National Museum of Copenhagen, found in the Thessaloniki area in northern Greece (ancient Macedonia), and acquired by the museum in 1932 (Amandry 1953, 56f, footnote 7, Fig. 30; Lund and Rasmussen 1995, 76, Fig. at the bottom of the page). The similarities manifest themselves in the shape of the palmettes, the thickness of the bows, and the sizes of protrusions, although those of Copenhagen fibulae are rounded at the top, while on the Halae fibula no. 1 they are flattened. The Copenhagen fibulae are broadly dated to the 5th century BC (Lund and Rasmussen 1995, 76), but their dating can be clarified thanks to the findings from the necropolis at Sindos, and therefore in the same region. From grave no. 21, dated most probably to the first decades of the 5th century BC (Despoini 2016, 185, No. 335), and grave no 99, made between 470 and 450 BC (Despoini 2016, 185, No. 336), come four silver fibulae that show a close affinity with the objects from Copenhagen. The referenced specimens from Sindos found in a well-dated context may therefore also serve as a starting point for placing fibula no. 1 from Halae in time. The same common elements also connect the Halae fibula previously discussed and the silver fibulae of mill-wheel type from the collection of Hélène Stathatos (Amandry 1953, 56, Pl. XXV, Nos 148-49). A very good analogy for the object in question is a bronze fibula found during the American excavations at Olynthus in House B vi 4, room c (Robinson 1940, 111, No. 393, Pl. XXIII.393). Clearly observable similarities include the shape of the protrusions, the palmettes forming hinge plates and the catches for the needles. Type XI of fibulae found at Olynthus, to which the given fibula has been assigned by D. M. Robinson (1940, 109, 111) was linked by him to the so-called North Hill period of the city, covering the years from 450(?) to 348 BC. However, it should be emphasized that pins counted by him among the type XI containing hinged fibulae whose bows are adorned with rings⁵ differ significantly from each other, mainly concerning the shape and size of the protrusions forming the rings but also with the shape of the hinge plates (cf. Robinson 1940, Pl. XXI, Nos 378-91, Pl. XXIII, Nos 381-93). It is therefore very possible that at least some of fibulae of Robinson's type XI may be of an earlier date than the time-frame given by him for this type. This time-frame refers to the discovery point of the findings, and in the case of valuable objects it does not have to be identical with the time of the production of such findings.

⁵ Robinson (1940, 95) defines them as knob fibulae.

D. Robinson (1940, 95) considers fibulae of type XI from Olynthus to be local products because of their abundance on the site. They were all made of bronze, a material quite atypical for this type of fibulae, and this common element in fact allows local production to be presumed. Easily noticeable differences in the appearance and number of 'mill wheels' and the shape of the hinge plates of the pins included by Robinson in the type and implying its development, may indicate that the production of the fibulae of type XI could have started earlier than the beginning of the North Hill period, to which they have been assigned (cf. above) and therefore, some fibulae could be of an earlier date, although different patterns and sources of inspiration for local craftsmen may not have been excluded either. The first hinged fibulae that appeared at Olynthus may have been imports as well. Interstate trade is well-attested in Olynthus through the presence of imports and foreign coins (Cahill 2002, 224). These imported pins could have then served as models for local producers of such jewellery. Sources of inspiration for these artisans may be sought north of Olynthus, in ancient Macedonia. This direction of borrowing is very likely particularly in the case of fibulae with hinge plates in the form of palmettes. The earliest examples of such a form of a hinge dated to the mid-6th century BC have been found at Sindos, and A. Despoini (2016, 183, 187, Nos 325-27) attributes the creation of this form of a hinge to local workshops. The same source of inspiration may then be suggested for Halae itself, as the similarities between the fibulae compared above seem to suggest.

The same analogies and conclusions as proposed above for fibula no. 1 also apply to fibula no. 2, for these two pins are identical in shape.

The pair of fibulae from Halae consisting of objects nos 3 and 4 has an analogy in a silver fibula of the same type in the Archaeological Museum at Wrocław (Pl. 2: 7). A stylistic analysis of the Wrocław pin demonstrates its obvious similarity to the cited Halae fibulae. This is particularly visible in the case of the projections forming the 'mill wheels', which are almost identically shaped and take the form of cylinders rounded at the top. Strong similarities may also be pointed out in the shape of the hinge plates formed by the five-petal palmettes emerging from the double volutes. Another similarity between the Halae fibulae nos 3 and 4 and the Wrocław object of the same type is the shape of the catch decorated with two large hollow balls. However, it should be emphasized that both the shape of the catch and its ornamentation are typical for all known fibulae of the mill-wheel type regardless of their findspots. The Wrocław pin is made of silver. Therefore, it does not differ from the Halae fibulae in terms of the material used to make

it either. Silver was, however, a metal frequently used for the production of this type fibulae (Olivier Jr 1966, 280).

Unfortunately, the Wrocław hinged fibula cited above as an analogy for the Halae fibulae nos 3 and 4 does not come from a datable context. It was not found during regular excavations. The fibula was donated to the museum by Wilhelm Grempler, a 19th century Wrocław doctor and researcher of antiquity (cf. Kubala 2015, 53). There is no precise information provided concerning either the place where the fibula was acquired or the circumstances surrounding its acquisition. Only some speculation may be made based on the museum's management reports from the 1895–1898 period (see Seger 1899a-c). They mention two donations of Greek antiquities (Seger 1899a, 33; Seger 1899b, 110), although without specifying the place and circumstances of the finding. Additionally, the museum's report for 1898 states Grempler's donation of his collection of findings from Larissa (Seger 1899c, 476). It makes this town, in ancient times a very important metropolis in northern Greece, a plausible place for the acquisition of the Wrocław fibula, although the abovementioned report does not specify whether the set from Larissa included any fibulae.

At present it is impossible to determine which of these two of Grempler's donations mentioned above was the source of the Wrocław fibula, nor how it came into the hands of its donor. Unfortunately, being in the opinion of the author, the closest analogy for the Halae fibulae nos 3 and 4, the Wrocław fibula, cannot simultaneously be helpful in determining the period to which they should be dated. The strong similarity between the discussed Halae brooches and the Wrocław pin only allow us to assume that they were made at approximately the same time and very probably in the same, or a closely related, workshop. Some remarks regarding the time of production of fibulae nos 3 and 4 may, however, be made. It is easily noticeable that they and artefacts nos 1 and 2 are of a very similar type; the former are only more massive, and the protrusions adorning their bows, the same in shape, are not flattened, but rounded at the top. This indicates that all four fibulae must have been made in the same period, and fibulae nos 3 and 4 may just represent another slightly modified variant of the same Macedonian prototype as indicated for objects nos 1 and 2 (see above).

Fibula no. 6 was found in the same tomb as artefact no. 1. However, both these objects clearly differ in appearance. Fibula no. 6 has a more massive bow and conically-shaped projections forming the 'mill wheels', and it should therefore be considered as an example of further development within the type during the 5th century BC. The different shape of the palmette and

volute of the hinge plate of fibula no. 6 as well as their accurate design uphold this view. Some similarities, particularly in the shape of the projections, may be observable between it and a bronze fibula from Olynthus belonging to D. Robinson's type XI (Robinson 1940, 111, Pl. XXI.391). It may attest to the flow of artistic trends between Halae and Olynthus or the same source of inspiration of craftsmen from these two sites. In the latter case one should again turn to ancient Macedonia, and, to be more precise, to the necropolis at Sindos, which has brought spectacular fibulae findings. In grave 113, dated to the half of the 5th century BC, two silver hinged fibulae have been found (Despoini 2016, 184, Nos 333-34). Projections forming rings decorating a bow of one of them are in the shape of a cone, although somewhat flattened on the sides (Despoini 2016, 184, No. 334 (the second one), 453, Fig. 157 (the upper drawing)). Unfortunately, a double palmette of the hinge plate of the cited fibula is too damaged to make further comparisons. Conically shaped protrusions in five groups adorn bows of hinged fibulae found at Belgrad, Čukarica and Negotin in Serbia (Vasić 1999, 110, No. 968 and 111, No. 1003 respectively). However, hinged fibulae appeared in Serbia not earlier than the 4th century BC, and R. Vasić imputes their appearance in this area to intense influences from the south (Vasić 1999, 113). It seems therefore very probable that a Macedonian-originated model inspired Greek craftsmen from Halae, who created a Greek variant of the Macedonian prototype, with more pronounced and round-sided cones, as well as their northern counterparts.

The Halae fibulae nos 6 and 5 have been paired (cf. above) because of their obvious affinity. Thus, the above comments on fibula no. 6 may be applied to object no. 5 as well.

Eight fibulae marked here with nos 7 to 14 are of the same type as objects nos 5 and 6, although noticeably smaller. They were found in tomb 87, which also contained vases dated to about 400 BC (Jacobsthal 1956, 207). H. Goldman, one of those conducting the field research at Halae, mentions that silver fibulae were found in a grave with a Meidias-style vase (Goldman 1940, 462, footnote 145). However, the author does not specify which of the fibulae uncovered by her at Halae she has in mind. It is very likely that these may be the same ones that P. Jacobsthal lists as found together with pottery coming from the end of the 5th century BC (see above). The shape of the petals of the palmettes forming the hinge plates of fibulae nos 7 to 14, which are long and slender, indicates their most recent date within the discussed set. It also makes their dating to the end of the 5th century or even the beginning of the 4th century BC acceptable.

Conclusions

Stylistic analysis of the Halae fibulae based mainly on observable changes in the shape of the palmettes decorating their hinge plates and of the projections forming 'mill wheels' ornamenting their bows allows us to make some assumptions. The individual pairs of these objects discussed above differ from each other in details, and this makes them very good examples of the development of the central Greek variant of the hinged type fibula. The oldest in the set seem to be fibulae nos 1 and 2, which stand not far from the archaic pattern represented by the bronze fibula found at the same site (see above). The same stage of the development of the type would be represented by the objects nos 3 and 4, which, however, would illustrate another slightly different variant with their more massive bows, higher protrusions of the 'mill wheels', which are rounded at the top, and differently-shaped palmettes, consisting of five wide petals. The hinge plates of fibulae nos 5 and 6 bear very well drawn palmettes, also consisting of five petals; however, they are more slender and longer than those adorning the hinge plates of objects nos 3 and 4. The volutes from which palmettes emerge are more carefully drawn, and the projections ornamenting bows take the form of a cone with a slightly flattened top. Therefore, it seems obvious that fibulae nos 5 and 6 illustrate the further changes in the appearance of the fibulae which occurred during the 5th century BC, probably already in its second half. The latest and the smallest among the Halae fibulae are objects nos 7 to 14, and the approximate time of their production is attested by the ceramics found in the same grave. Not only the appearance but also the sizes of the aforementioned Halae fibulae seem to vary according to the time of their production, and this change is revealed by the reduction in the lengths and heights of their bows. Fibulae nos 1 and 2, the oldest in the set, are also the largest ones, with a length of 4cm and a height of 3.5cm. The latest and the smallest objects are already only about 2.5cm long and about 2-2.5cm high (cf. above). Obviously, the observable development during the 5th century BC included not only changes in the appearance of the separate parts of the fibulae but also a decrease in their sizes. In both cases, the reason could be the abandonment of the northern models, where large objects were predominant (cf. above) and the turn towards local production. The smaller sizes of the Halae fibulae may also have been caused by the price of the precious metal they were made of or by the difficulty in accessing it.

The earliest and largest objects in the set, fibulae nos 1 and 2, as well as the bronze fibula from the temple of Athena might have been northern imports made by more skilled local craftsmen and with the use of fine Greek patterns known from imported Greek objects. However, it seems to be more convincing to see them as local products strongly influenced by these northern models where large fibulae were predominant (cf. above). Fibulae nos 3 to 14 appear to already be products of a local workshop. They would represent a locally created Greek variant of the northern mill-wheel type production which seems to have started at least around the middle of the 5th century BC, however, most probably earlier. Fibulae nos 3 and 4, whose cylindrical, strongly protruding projections do not resemble any known northern, non-Greek fibulae of this type are undoubtedly local products. The closest (and the only one known to the author so far) analogy for them is the Wrocław fibula, which should also be considered a Greek product, and one of the possible locations of it being Larissa, which is situated not far from Halae.

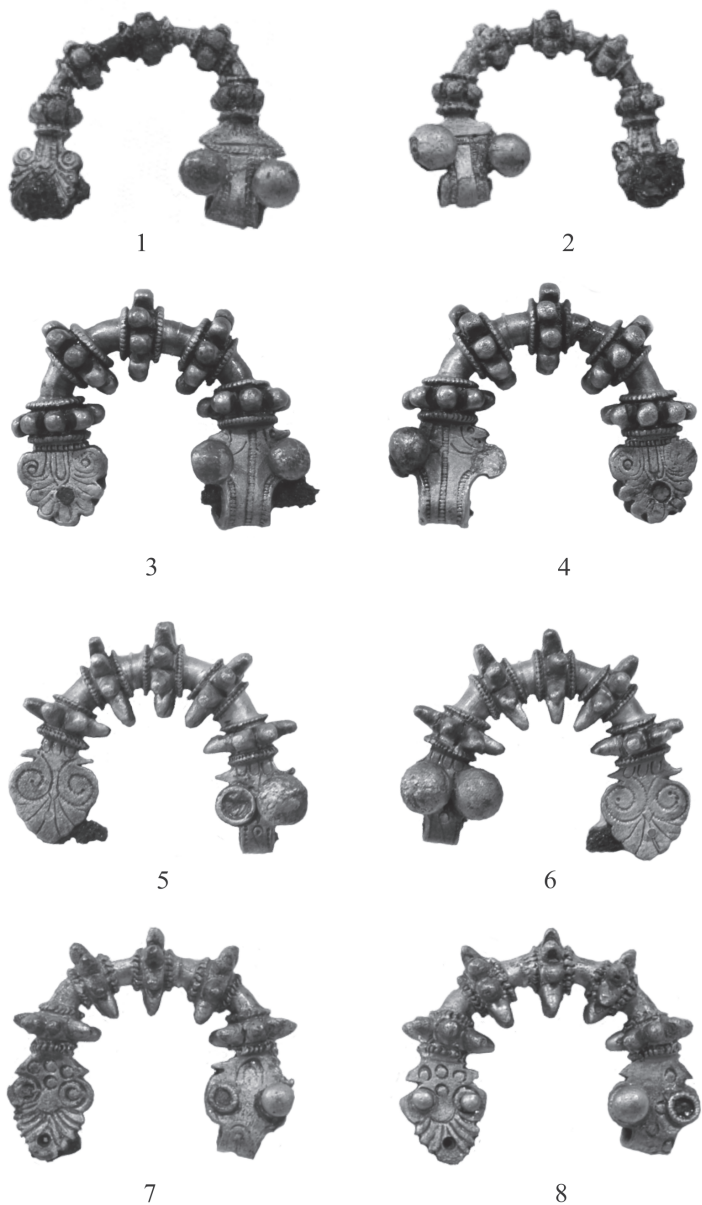
The aforementioned Halae fibulae should therefore be considered a central Greek version of the hinged fibulae with the characteristic decoration of their bows, which seems to have originated in the area of ancient Macedonia where the oldest known fibulae of this type have been found so far (cf. above). They represent a local transformation of the northern models, manifested mainly in the use of native Greek patterns, particularly in the case of the palmettes decorating their hinge plates, which are purely Greek in shape and find their close analogies in Greek pottery and the architectural decoration of the 5th century BC. The high artistic quality of the Halae fibulae, comparable only with that of the Wrocław fibula, which should also be regarded as a product of a Greek workshop, reinforces the conviction of their Greek workmanship. Hopefully, future archaeological excavations in central and northern Greece will bring further finds of hinged fibulae which could help to confirm their production in this area in the 5th century BC or even longer.

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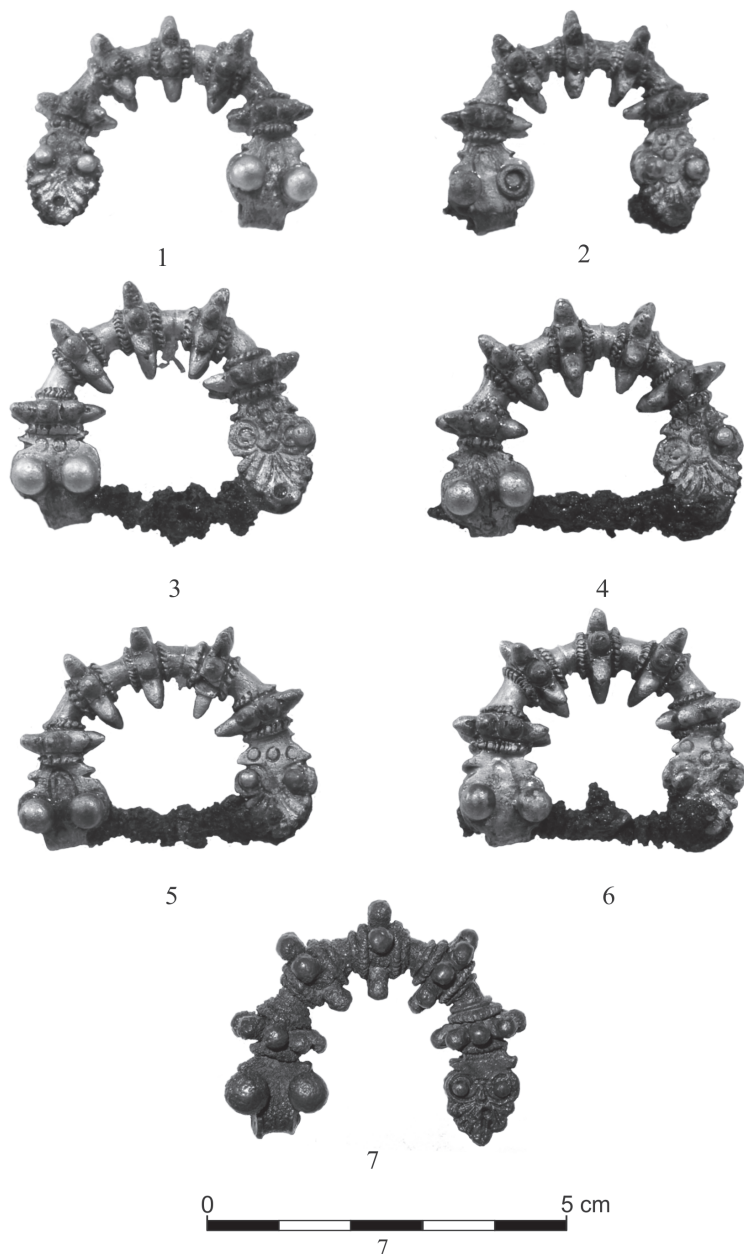


Pl. 1: 1-2. Fibulae nos 1 (left) and 2 (right), silver, inv. no. Xp 981. Photo by author. Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens

Pl. 1: 3-4. Fibulae nos 3 (left) and 4 (right), silver, inv. no. Xp 981. Photo by author. Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens

Pl. 1: 5-6. Fibulae nos 5 (left) and 6 (right), silver, inv. no. Xp 981. Photo by author. Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens

Pl. 1: 7-8. Fibulae nos 7 (left) and 8 (right), silver, inv. no. Xp 981. Photo by author. Courtesy of the National Archaeological museum of Athens



- Pl. 2: 1-2. Fibulae nos 9 (left) and 10 (right), silver, inv. no. Xp 981. Photo by author.
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- Pl. 2: 3-4. Fibulae nos 11 (left) and 12 (right), silver, inv. no. Xp 981. Photo by author.
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- Pl. 2: 5-6. Fibulae nos 13 (left) and 14 (right), silver, inv. no. Xp 981. Photo by author.
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- Pl. 2: 7. Wrocław hinged fibula, silver, length 3.3cm, inv. no. MNW/A/III/2601. Photo
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