

## CHARACTERISTICS OF BALKAN-DANUBIAN TREASURES FROM THE END OF THE 1<sup>st</sup> TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 3<sup>rd</sup> CENTURY\*

IVANA POPOVIĆ

On the territory of Middle Danube and its wider hinterland are registered few **hoards** which contain **silver** and, more rarely, **golden jewelry, coins** and, sometimes, **silver vessels** and *emblemata* made of silver. **Monetary parts** of these hoards enable relatively precise determination of time of their deposition, while the analysis of their composition can point to the possible directions of cultural streamings in the smaller chronological and geographical entities. Therefore, we think that it is useful to register the composition of these hoards considering the characteristics of each group of objects.

The monetary part of these hoards consists of the Roman silver coins, whose last minting in each hoard enables us to determine the time of their deposition. In this way are determined the horizons of the origin of the hoards, which correspond with certain historical events – the cause of hiding the valuable objects. According to the structure of the hoards, these horizons could be divided in two entities. The first of them (fig. 1/1) is connected with the conflicts between the Romans and Dacians in the last decades of the 1st century, and the second one (fig. 1/2) with the incursions of the barbarian tribes into the territory of the Empire at the end of the 2nd and in the first half of the 3rd century.

I. The hoards deposited in 81/82 are on the right bank of Danube (fig. 1/1), next to the military camps *Transdierna* (the Tekija hoard)<sup>1</sup> and *Viminacium* (the Bare hoard).<sup>2</sup> The latest coins in both hoards are *denarii* of Domitianus from the end of 81.<sup>3</sup> This fact points to the incursions of the Dacians across the Danube in winter of 81/82, which are not explicitly mentioned in the sources. But, to the serious clash between Romans and Dacians at this time points the hoard of *denarii* from the camp Boljetin (*Smorna*) on the Đerdap limes, whose latest mint is, also, *denarius* of Domitian, from

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<sup>1</sup> D. Mano-Zisi, *Nalaz iz Tekije / Les trouvailles de Tekiya*, Beograd, 1957.

<sup>2</sup> I. Popović, B. Borić-Brešković, *Ostava iz Bara / The Bare Hoard*, Beograd, 1994.

<sup>3</sup> P. Popović, ZNMB 8, 1975, p. 97-107 (Tekija); Popović, Borić-Brešković, *op. cit.*, p. 107-198 (Bare).

the end of 81.<sup>4</sup> Beside the coins, the composition of the hoards from Tekija<sup>5</sup> and Bare<sup>6</sup> is characterized by the presence of massive silver jewelry, analogous to the specimens from the southern group of the Dacian finds, located between Danube, Târnava and Mureş. While in the Tekija hoard are registered only the bracelets with overlapped and coiled ends, with or without pendants in the form of miniature axes, in Bare, beside these forms, appear the twisted torques, the shield-form pendants, the spiral ring and other forms of Dacian ornaments. Beside the jewelry of Dacian style, in both hoards appear the specimens inspired by Hellenistic motifs and techniques, the objects of Roman provenance and silver emblemata of cultic contents. On this occasion we will observe those objects from these hoards which illustrate in the best way the interweaving of the traditions of Dacian, Hellenistic and Roman toreutic.

a) The golden ring from Tekija<sup>7</sup> (fig. 2/1), and also the massive silver bracelets with overlapped and spirally wrapped up ends<sup>8</sup> (fig. 2/2) form in this find the group of jewelry decorated with the miniature axes. According to the finds from Saes,<sup>9</sup> Poiana Gorj<sup>10</sup> and Recaş,<sup>11</sup> the pendants in the form of miniature axes appear in the late phase

<sup>4</sup> P. Popović, *Numizmatičar* 10, 1987, p. 5-23.

<sup>5</sup> The hoard from Tekija contains: jewelry of Dacian style of execution (massive silver bracelets with the spirally twisted overlapped ends and with, or without, pendants in the form of miniature axes, other tools and a human hand), golden ring executed by filigree and granulation, with overlapped and spirally twisted ends, between which there is a miniature axe, jewelry from the Roman artistic circle (golden earrings in the form of a joined semi-calotte, golden rings with the head in the form of a plate with an engraved palmette), silver parade-belt of Roman provenance, silver buttons, silver lunate pendant, silver vessels from Campanian workshops (*simpulum* and two *paterae* on which there are later added rings, with a miniature axe hanging on one of them), silver spoons and a pin of Roman provenance, emblemata made of silver, with the cultic contents and of Eastern Mediterranean origin, 111 Roman republican and imperial *denarii*, cf. Mano-Zisi, *op. cit.*; Popović, *ZNMB* 8, 1975, p. 97-107.

<sup>6</sup> The hoard from Bare contains: silver jewelry of Dacian style of execution (twisted torques with different endings, massive bracelets with overlapped and spirally wrapped up ends with, or without, pendants in the form of the miniature axe, rings with overlapped and spirally wrapped up ends, rings which between spiral coils have a Hercules' knot, rhomboidal and square pendants decorated by engraving and punching, spirally twisted ring with widened ends, decorated by engraving and punching in the form of a stylized palmette, twisted bracelets whose endings are executed in the form of the head and the tail of a snake, cylindrical plate with the composite punched ornament), silver bracelet with the widened front part, on which there is an oval bed for a stone or paste, silver bracelet whose hoop ends with the snake-heads holding the hinge connected to the gold-plated central medallion with the representations of the deities from the Eastern Mediterranean cultural circle, circular bronze plates, covered with silver, with punched ornament on the front side, two early Roman fibulae with a profile and the button-like thickenings on the bow, deformed silver emblemata, of which one has a hammered barbarized representation of a female deity, 279 republican and imperial *denarii*, cf., Popović, Borić-Brešković, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Mano-Zisi, *op. cit.*, nr. 7, T. III, 7; Popović, *Rimski nakit u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu. I Prstenje / Les bijoux romains du Musée national de Beograd. I Les bagues*, Beograd, 1992, cat. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Mano-Zisi, *op. cit.*, nr. 10, 12, T. VI, VII, IX, 12.

<sup>9</sup> I. Miclea, R. Florescu, *Strămoşii românilor. Geto-Dacii*, Bucureşti, 1980, fig. 430.

<sup>10</sup> D. Popescu, *Inventaria Archaeologica* 5, 1968, R 23a, 5.

<sup>11</sup> K. Horedt, *Die dakischen Silberfunde*, Dacia N.S. 18, 1973, p. 137.

of the southern group of Dacian finds. But, although the ring from Tekija repeats the shape of massive silver bracelets, in its execution can be noticed some specific qualities. In the first place, it is made of gold, and on its shoulders and around two spiral coils on the head the golden wire is wrapped up, executed in the form of astragalus. In the centre of both coils there is a granule, and one of the spiral coils has a miniature axe, fixed with the wire executed in the form of astragalus. This motif, with the strong apotropaic meaning, appears in the second half of the 1st century among the Dacian finds south from the Carpatian Mountains. Hanged on the rings with the overlapped and spirally wrapped up ends, which hang on the massive silver bracelets from Tekija and Bare, these miniature axes are analogous to the pendants from the group F3 of Dacian jewelry.<sup>12</sup> But, the miniature axe on the ring from Tekija is not executed in the form of the pendant, but is fixed to the head of the ring, which is decorated by granules and wire which imitates the filigree wire. The use of gold and techniques characteristic for the Hellenistic goldsmithing in the execution of the ring decorated by the symbol which had an important apotropaic role among the southern Dacians, bears witness to the strong influences of Hellenistic toreutic on forming of the local production of jewelry.

b) Silver paterae from Tekija represent the specimens of Roman toreutic of the Flavian period, and were made, probably, in the Campanian workshops. Their handles are decorated by floral motifs; on the top of one of them is represented the mask of a Silenus, and on the top of the other, the mask of a Menad.<sup>13</sup> Next to the Dionysiac masks on their top, paterae are perforated and each of them has one ring with overlapped and spirally twisted ends. On the ring next to the mask of the Menad there is a pendant in the form of a miniature axe (fig. 2/3). The presence of the rings and of the miniature axe on the silver vessels from the Italian workshops leads to the conclusion that these luxurious vessels came into the hands of Dacians, who pierced them and decorated them with their characteristic pendants. It is hard to answer if by this act these vessels acquired an exceptional, cultic meaning for the local population, but, surely, they bear witness to the changes which the Roman products underwent in the autochthonous environments. This question is connected to the problem of the character of the hoards from Tekija and Bare, having in mind that the first one contains the silver emblemata of cultic character with the representations of the Hellenistic-Oriental deities,<sup>14</sup> while on one of the deformed silver emblemata from the second hoard can be noticed the barbarized representation of some female deity, possibly of Bendis.<sup>15</sup>

c) The silver rings from Bare with interweaving in the form of Hercules' knot on the head<sup>16</sup> represent the specific form in the group of 19 silver circlets with the

<sup>12</sup> Idem, p. 143, Abb. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Mano-Zisi, *op. cit.*, nr. 12-13, T. XX-XXII; *Antičko srebro u Srbiji* (priređila I. Popović) / *Antique Silver from Serbia* (ed. I. Popović), Beograd, 1994, mai departe *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, cat. 162, 163.

<sup>14</sup> Mano-Zisi, *op. cit.*, nr. 34-39, T. XXIII-XXVII; *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, cat. 40-45.

<sup>15</sup> Popović, Borić-Brešković, *op. cit.*, cat. 32-35, T. XIV; *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, cat. 72.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem.*, cat. 4, fig. 8. 3, 4; T. VIII, 2, 3; Popović, *Starinar* 49, 1999, p. 78, 82-84, fig. 1. a-b, 6.

overlapped or twisted and spirally coiled ends, drawn on the smooth silver torques from this find. Interweaving on the frontage (fig. 3/1) of these two rings is executed in the form of the very important apotropaic symbol (*nodus Hercules* or *Herculaneus*), which appears on the Greek soil already in the Mycenaean period, and which has reached its greatest popularity on the jewelry from the 4th century B.C. The presence of such interweaving on the rings from Bare bears witness to the influences from the goldsmith centres, most probably from those on the Black Sea coast, which had the great influence on accepting the new forms and techniques of goldsmithing by the local artisans in the workshops on Middle Danube. The bronze ring with the same frontal interweaving is registered in one grave from the last phase of the necropolis of the Iapodes in Ribić (10/20-110)<sup>17</sup> in the Una valley in Bosnia, which can be the consequence of the Roman cultural influences on the material culture of the subjugated Iapodes, because the motif of Hercules knot kept the important role also in the Roman goldsmithing.

d) The silver bracelet from Bare, whose ring ends with the heads of the snakes who hold the hinge in their mouths. This hinge connects the gold-plated central medallion with the representations of the deities from the East Mediterranean cultural circle,<sup>18</sup> and it represents the most interesting find in this hoard. Because the ring of the bracelet is in the National Museum in Belgrade (fig. 3/2a) and the central medallion is in the National Museum in Požarevac (fig. 3/2b), only later it has been concluded that these two objects are parts of a single object<sup>19</sup> (fig. 4/1), i.e. of a bracelet with the hinge, which represents a form of these decorations in the first centuries A.D. The earliest bracelets of this type come from the site *Petascia* in Sabina. They are dated into the 1st century, and on the central medallions they have the representations of Apollo or of Jupiter<sup>20</sup>.

The later specimen from the 3rd century, that one from the site Llandoverly in England, today in the Museum in Bonn,<sup>21</sup> on the central medallion, connected by the hinge with the snake-heads on the ends of the bracelet, has a relief-bust of a young man, executed in a semi-precious stone. On few specimens from Egypt,<sup>22</sup> as on one from the Benaki Museum in Athens,<sup>23</sup> the central medallion is solved in the form of the conically shaped, but non carved semi-precious stone. On the specimen from Bare the snake's body is stressed by the use of the deeply carved cell-shaped

<sup>17</sup> Z. Marić, *Glasnik Sarajevo* 23, 1968, pl. XXII, 9.

<sup>18</sup> Popović, Borić-Brešković, *op. cit.*, cat. 15, 36, fig. 111.5, XI, 3, XV; *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, cat. 47, 71; I. Popović, *Starinar* 48, 1997, p. 73-79, fig. 1-3.

<sup>19</sup> D. Jacanović, *GSAD* 12, 1996, p. 163-170; Popović, *op. cit.*, p. 73-79.

<sup>20</sup> A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall I*, Berlin, 1970, p. 77-78, T. 57. 11-2.

<sup>21</sup> A. Böhme, *Schmuck der römischen Frau*, Stuttgart, 1974, p. 15-16, Abb. 29.

<sup>22</sup> F.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, London, 1911 (1969), Pl. 61 D; P. Davidson, A. Oliver, *Ancient Greek and Roman Jewellery in the Brooklyn Museum*, New York, 1984, p. 151-153, cat. 207, 208.

<sup>23</sup> B. Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmuckmiede Arbeiten*, Museum Benaki Athens, Athens, 1938, p. 128-129, t. 41, 190, 192.

ornament, while on the bracelet from the site Llandoverly it was done by the use of the shallow cuts, and on those from Egypt by the use of the thicker twisted wire. On the central medallion of the bracelet from Bare there are four busts of deities as a hypostasis of Sun-God, i.e. of four seasons,<sup>24</sup> as also the typical Roman military symbols, *signa* and torques. The presence of the Hellenistic-Oriental deities and Roman military signs on a bracelet of East Mediterranean origin, i.e. having in mind the iconographic contents of the medallion and a great number of later typologically related specimens, in all probability of Roman-Egyptian origin, poses new questions about the origins of the decorative forms in the Bare hoard, and places this jewelry among the early specimens of bracelets with the hinge. Realistically represented bodies and heads of the snakes on the ring of the bracelet, as also the gold-plated central medallion consisting of more segments, in the form of a shallow recipient on whose bottom there is a round plate with the complex iconographic contents, point to the conclusion that the bracelet is the work of a craftsman based on the traditions of toreutic coming from Alexandria.

II. The hoards (fig. 1/2) deposited in 182 (Bela Reka), 242 (Ațel and Vâtrop), 254 (Janja and Dvorska) and in 258 (Szalacska I and III) are characterized by the presence of closely related forms of silver jewelry, in the first place by the anchor-like fibulae and chains twisted in the technique «loop in loop» (fig. 4/1). The use of filigree and granulation on some segments of decoration bears witness to the steadiness of the older traditions, coming from the influences from the Greek soil. But, some specific qualities in conceiving these decorations enable grouping of these hoards not only chronologically, but also geographically. We will pick out, on this occasion, the specimens which illustrate in the best way these specific qualities, and also the general character of the hoards from this horizon.

1) The Bela Reka hoard, on the right bank of Sava in ager of the *Sirmium* colony, contains silver and golden jewelry, silver vessels and golden ring of Roman provenance, as also Roman *denarii*, of which the latest one is that of Commodus, from 182. This coin points to the time of its deposition, which can be brought into connection with the end of the war with Marcommani in 180, i.e. with some private reason of the owner of the treasure, connected with the long wars on this territory.<sup>25</sup> The silver anchor-like fibulae and the chain, decorated on the ends by filigree and granulation, connect this find with the hoards deposited in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup>

<sup>24</sup> A. Jovanović, ZFF 18, 1994, p. 53-59.

<sup>25</sup> The Bela Reka hoard contains: two silver anchor-like fibulae, silver twisted chain, ended by tubuli decorated by filigree and granulation, silver twisted bracelet with the button-like clasp, richly decorated by filigree and granulation, golden twisted bracelet, whose damaged clasp is decorated by filigree and granulation, massive silver necklace with „garlic“-shaped beads and clasp consisting of two parts, richly decorated by filigree and granulation, oval silver money-box, silver patera with the gold inlaid dedication to Juno, two smaller rotund shaped cups, two *denarii* of Marcus Antonius and 320 Roman imperial *denarii*. Cf. I. Popović, B. Borić-Brešković, *Ostava iz Bele Reke / The Bela Reka Hoard*, Beograd, 1994.

century, while the other jewelry from this find bears witness to the reproduction of the models which were in more waves coming from the Greek cultural circle.

a) The massive necklace consisting of 29 silver „garlic“-shaped beads (*Melonenperlen*), decorated by filigree wire, connected on one end by silver twisted chain, and on the other by clasp consisting of two segments, luxuriously decorated by filigree, granulation and inserts made of black glass-paste (fig. 4/3a-b),<sup>26</sup> is the most impressive object in the hoard. On its constructive elements can be noticed the different and multi-leveled cultural influences, whose starting-point is in the Greek-Hellenistic cultural circle. Namely, the garlic-shaped beads made of silver appear in the Balkans already at the end of the Archaic Period,<sup>27</sup> probably as the imitation of the big glass beads of the same shape, which stay in use also in the Roman Period. On the other hand, rich decoration of the clasp consisting of two segments on the necklace bears witness to the Hellenistic models and traditions. The hook on one of its segments, which was pulled through the ring on the other, was executed in the shape of a swan's head. This, on one hand, reminds of the ends of Dacian torques from the group C 1b,<sup>28</sup> and on the other, of the upper corners and changeovers of the handles to the rims on the silver vessels, in the first place of paterae from the 1st – 3rd century.<sup>29</sup> The origin of this motif lies in the works of Hellenistic toreutic, and its use on the clasp of the necklace can be the consequence of long-lasting Hellenistic goldsmith's traditions, but also of their indirect influence through the cultural streamings from the Dacian, or Italic cultural circle.

b) Golden and silver bracelets made of thicker plaited wire, wrapped in grooves by thinner wire, are characteristic because of their system of closing, damaged on the golden specimen.<sup>30</sup> Namely, on the ends of the rings of these bracelets there are tubuli decorated by filigree and granulation. One of them ends with a hook, and the other, saved on the silver bracelet, with the button-like protrusion which on the lower side has a circular depression into which the hook is inserted. The upper side of the button-like part is decorated by stylized floral motifs, executed by filigree wire, in whose centre there is a big granule, set with the smaller ones (fig. 5/1). The decorative systems on the ends of the ring and the clasp of the bracelet, executed by fine goldsmith's techniques, is a testimony to the long-lasting Hellenistic traditions on this soil. The simplified forms of the closing mechanism with hook and loop, but without the filigree decorations, appear in many finds from the Balkan-Danubian region.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, cat. 8, T. III; *Antičko srebro u Srbij*, cat. 84.

<sup>27</sup> D. Srejović, O. Vukadin, *Raška baština* 3, 1988, 8, T. IV, 4, 5, 6; *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, cat. 11/5, 6 (find from Kruševica, first half of the 5th century BC).

<sup>28</sup> Horedt, *op. cit.*, p. 12, Abb. 5.

<sup>29</sup> F. Baratte, *La vaisselle d'argent en Gaule dans l'antiquité tardive*, Paris, 1993, p. 151-153.

<sup>30</sup> Popović, Borić-Brešković, *op. cit.*, cat. 9, 10, T. IV, 2, 3; *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, cat. 85.

<sup>31</sup> Popović, Borić-Brešković, *op. cit.*, p. 24, 53.

2) The hoards from the site Ațel<sup>32</sup> in Transilvania and Vârtop<sup>33</sup> in Oltenia contain silver anchor-like fibulae, plaited silver chains, jewelry of Roman provenance and Roman *denarii*, of which the latest one is that of Gordian III, from 242. Their deposition is connected with the incursion of Carpi during the same year. We pick out the decoration which shows the most specific characteristics in execution and used goldsmith's techniques.

a) The necklace from the Ațel treasure consists of the triple plaited silver chain, on whose end there is a clasp made of two segments, with a loop and a hook on its ends. On the chains is hanged a circular pendant, set with two rows of small granules and with the diagonally placed reduced peltae, executed by filigree wire, in its centre<sup>34</sup> (fig. 5/2). The clasp on the necklace represents the simplified form of the embossed clasps, consisting of two parts and with the pendants on the chains, from the finds from Juhor,<sup>35</sup> while the motif of radially arranged peltae made of filigree wire appears on the central golden medallion of the silver diadem from the same find.<sup>36</sup> The origin of this motif with the solar symbolics lies in the products of the Hellenistic toreutics, although it stays, more or less, in use also in the Roman-Early Byzantine goldsmithing.

3) The hoards from Janja<sup>37</sup> and Dvorska<sup>38</sup> in the upper part of Drina valley contain the silver anchor-like fibulae, the plaited chains with the small rosettes and tubuli, decorated by filigree and granulation, and with the pendants in the form of the ivy-leaf, as also the Roman *denarii* and *antoniniani*, from which the latest one is that of Galienus, from 254. The deposition of these hoards can be brought in connection with the incursions of Quadi, Iazigi and Marcommani into Pannonia in the same year. The testimony of this are also the monetary hoards from Smederevo, Jablanica and Supska, hidden in the same year.<sup>39</sup> We will pick out the partly saved

<sup>32</sup> The hoard from the site Ațel contains: three anchor-like fibulae, silver plaited chain with the round pendant decorated by filigree and granulation, silver cross-shaped fibula, two silver bracelets with open and thickened ends, two rings with gemmas of Roman provenance, 376 Roman *denarii*. Cf. I. H. Crișan, *Dacia N.S.* 3, 1959, p. 354-356.

<sup>33</sup> The hoard from the site Vârtop contains: seven anchor-like fibulae, silver plaited chain with the pendant in the form of ivy-leaf, twisted silver torques, two silver bracelets made of plaited wire, 53 Roman imperial *denarii*. Cf. Crișan, *op. cit.*, p. 359-363; G. Popilian, *AO* 13, 1988, p. 43-54.

<sup>34</sup> Crișan, *op. cit.*, p. 356-358, fig. 2. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Popović, *Nakit sa Juhora. Ostava ili sakralni tezaurus / Jewelry from Juhor. Hoard or Sacred Treasure*, Beograd, 2002, cat. 20, 21.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, cat. 23.

<sup>37</sup> The hoard from Janja contains: silver anchor-like fibula on which, with the help of the rosette decorated by filigree, is hanged a two-armed plaited chain, silver pendant in the form of the ivy-leaf, parts of another silver fibula, silver tubulus decorated by filigree and granulation, head of a hairpin in the form of a bird made of silver, 26 *antoniniani*. Cf. Popović, *Starinar* 47, 1996, p. 142, fig. 9-11.

<sup>38</sup> The hoard from Dvorska contains: silver plaited chain with the rosettes decorated by filigree and granulation and with the pendants in the form of the ivy-leaf, silver tubuli and head of a hairpin, decorated by filigree and granulation, fragment of a bracelet made of the bronze plaited wire, 472 imperial *denarii* and *antoniniani*. Cf. Popović, *op. cit.*, p. 142-144, fig. 12-15.

<sup>39</sup> M. Vasić, *ArhVestnik* 23, 1972, p. 57-66.

chain with pendants in the find from Dvorska, and the fragmented one in the find from Janja, as decorations which, together with the anchor-like fibulae, are characteristic for the silver jewelry from Drina valley.

a) The silver triple plaited chain from Dvorska has more segments; on two ends are tubuli with the small rosettes, decorated by filigree and granulation, and on the rings on each end of tubuli is hanged a pendant made of silver, in the form of the ivy-leaf. From one tubulus starts a two-armed plaited chain, ending, also, by a tubulus with a small rosette, decorated by filigree and granulation<sup>40</sup> (fig. 5/3). This chain was, probably, connecting the anchor-like fibulae, placed on the shoulders and hanged next to the pendants in the form of the ivy-leaf. Such pendants were maybe also hanged on the two-armed part of the chain which was winding a little lower, making on the chests the specific decoration of chains and pendants. The parts of similar pectoral ornaments are registered in the finds from the sites Vâdrop<sup>41</sup> Szalacska III,<sup>42</sup> but silver pectoral jewelry from Dvorska and Janja is specific because of the small rosettes, decorated by filigree and granulation, on the ends of chains. Few silver chains with the same solution, probably from the sites in Drina valley, are in the National Museum in Belgrade.<sup>43</sup>

4) The hoards Szalacska I<sup>44</sup> and III<sup>45</sup> in Pannonia, south from Balaton lake, contain a silver anchor-like fibula and more silver plaited chains with tubuli decorated by filigree and granulation, the jewelry of Roman provenance and Roman coins, of which, in both cases, the latest minting is that of Galienus, from 258. The deposition of these hoards is a consequence of tumultuous events in Pannonia because of the usurpations in 258/59, when first Ingenuus and then Regalianus in Sirmium proclaimed themselves emperors. At this time was hidden, probably, also the hoard Szalacska II, which, beside the characteristic silver jewelry, also contains the Roman coins from the 3rd century.<sup>46</sup> On this occasion we will pick out the specimens of jewelry from the hoard Szalacska I, as an example of decoration with the specific ornamental details.

<sup>40</sup> Popović, *op. cit.* (Starinar 47, 1996), *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, cat. 136; p. 142-143, fig. 12.

<sup>41</sup> Crișan, *op. cit.*, 1. 4; Popilian, *op. cit.*, fig. 4.15.

<sup>42</sup> S. Járdányi-Paulovics, ArchErt 80, 1953, p. T. XXVII, 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, cat. 130-135.

<sup>44</sup> The hoard Szalacska I contains: four silver plaited chains whose ends are executed in the form of miniature vases decorated by filigree, eight fragmented silver plaited chains – two of them having tubuli on the ends, silver anchor-like fibula, silver bracelet made of twisted wire with a tubulus on one end, necklace, earrings and glass beads of Roman provenance, Roman imperial coins. Cf. K. Darnay, ArchErt 31, 1911, p. 311-328, T. I-III.

<sup>45</sup> The Szalacska III hoard contains: two silver plaited chains, on one of which a lunula is hanged, four fragmented chains with tubuli decorated by filigree, bracelet made of silver plaited wire, closed by a hook and a loop on its ends, beads made of golden tin, some of which are in form of miniature vases, earrings and cross-shaped fibulae of Roman provenance, Roman imperial coins. Cf. Járdányi-Paulovics, *op. cit.*, p. 115-129, T. XXVII-XXIX.

<sup>46</sup> The hoard Szalacska II contains: the silver anchor-like fibula, silver chain, material of Roman provenance and Roman coins from the 3rd century. *Ibidem*, p. 115-117, T. XXVIII A, XXX.



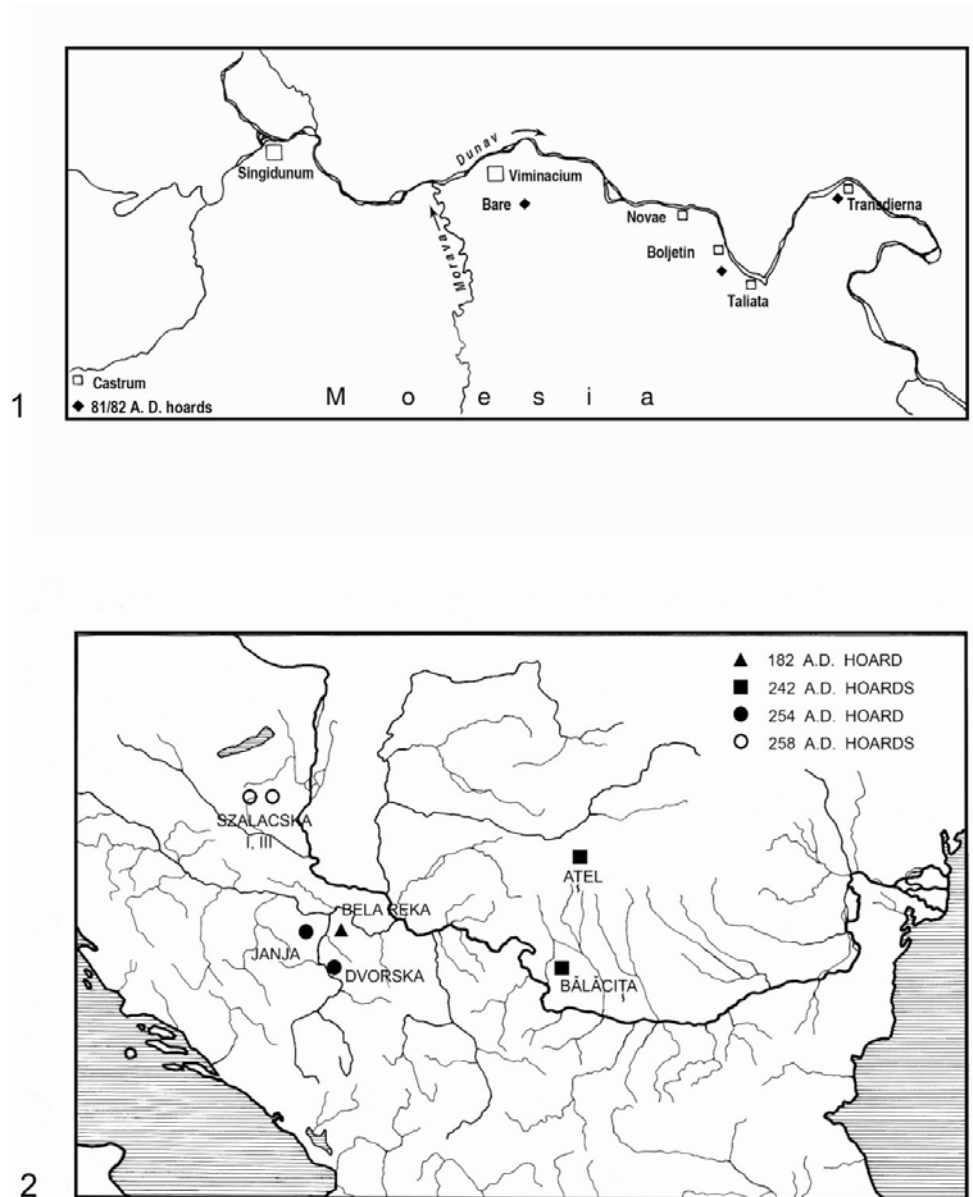


Fig. 1. Hoards of the 1<sup>st</sup> horizon, deposited in 81/82 A.D.;  
 2. Hoards of the 2<sup>nd</sup> horizon, deposited in 182, 242, 254 and 258 A. D.



Fig. 2. Hoard of Tekija: 1. Ring; 2. Bracelet; 3. Patera.



Fig. 3. Hoard of Bare: 1. Ring; 2. Parts of the bracelet  
a) ring of the bracelet b) central medallion.



Fig. 4. 1. Reconstruction of the bracelet from Bare; 2. Fibula with two-armed chain, Janja; 3. Necklace, Bela Reka: a) general view; b) detail of the clasp.

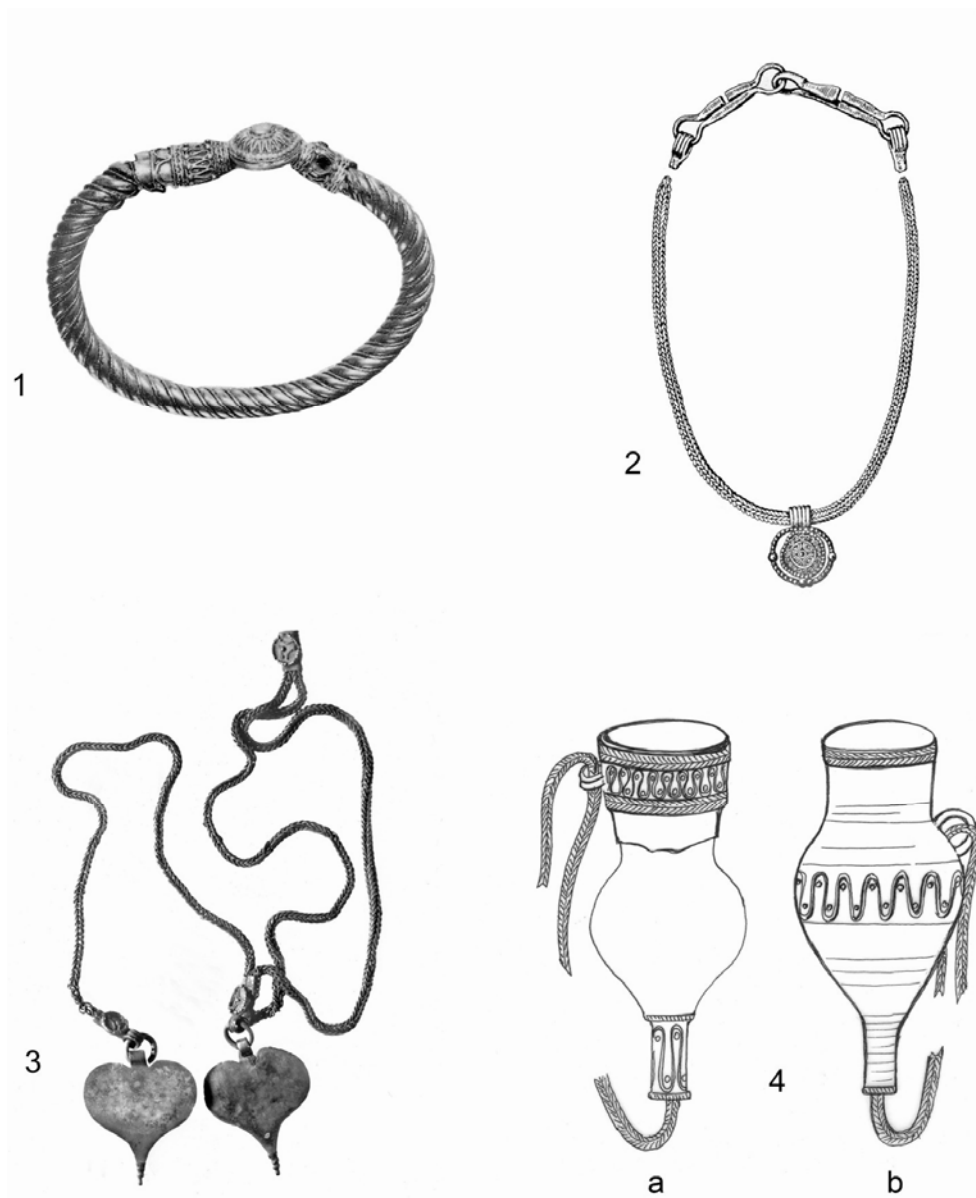


Fig. 5. 1. Bracelet, Bela Reka; 2. Necklace, Ațel; 3. Chain, Dvorska.  
4. Miniature vases on the ends of the chains: a) Dvorska; b) Szalacska.



Fig. 6. 1. Fragment of the miniature vase, Dvorska; 2. Relief, Seča Reka.

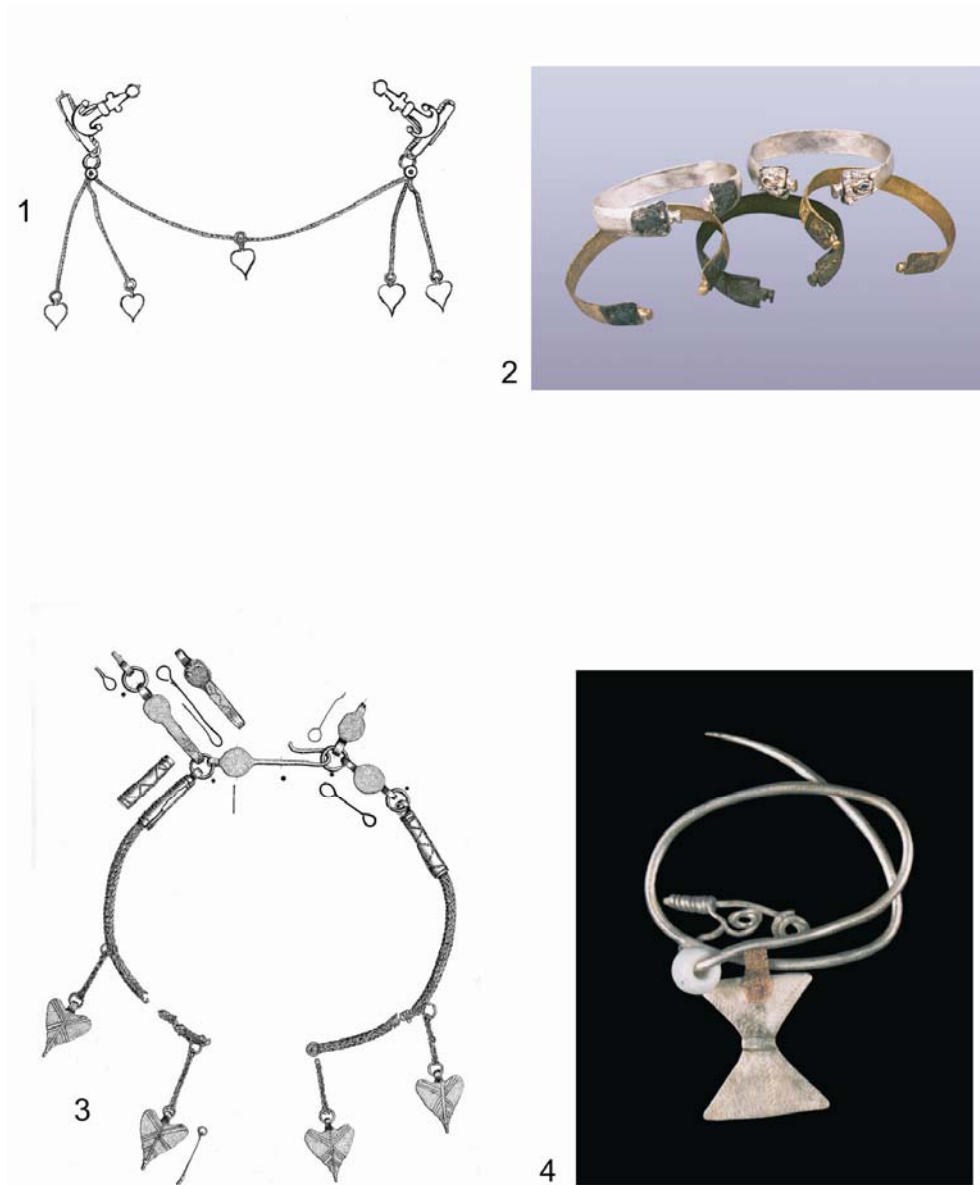


Fig. 7. 1. Silver anchor-like fibulae and chains with pendants, Brigetio; 2. Bracelets, Juhor; 3. Silver chain with pendants, Juhor; 4. Torques, Juhor.

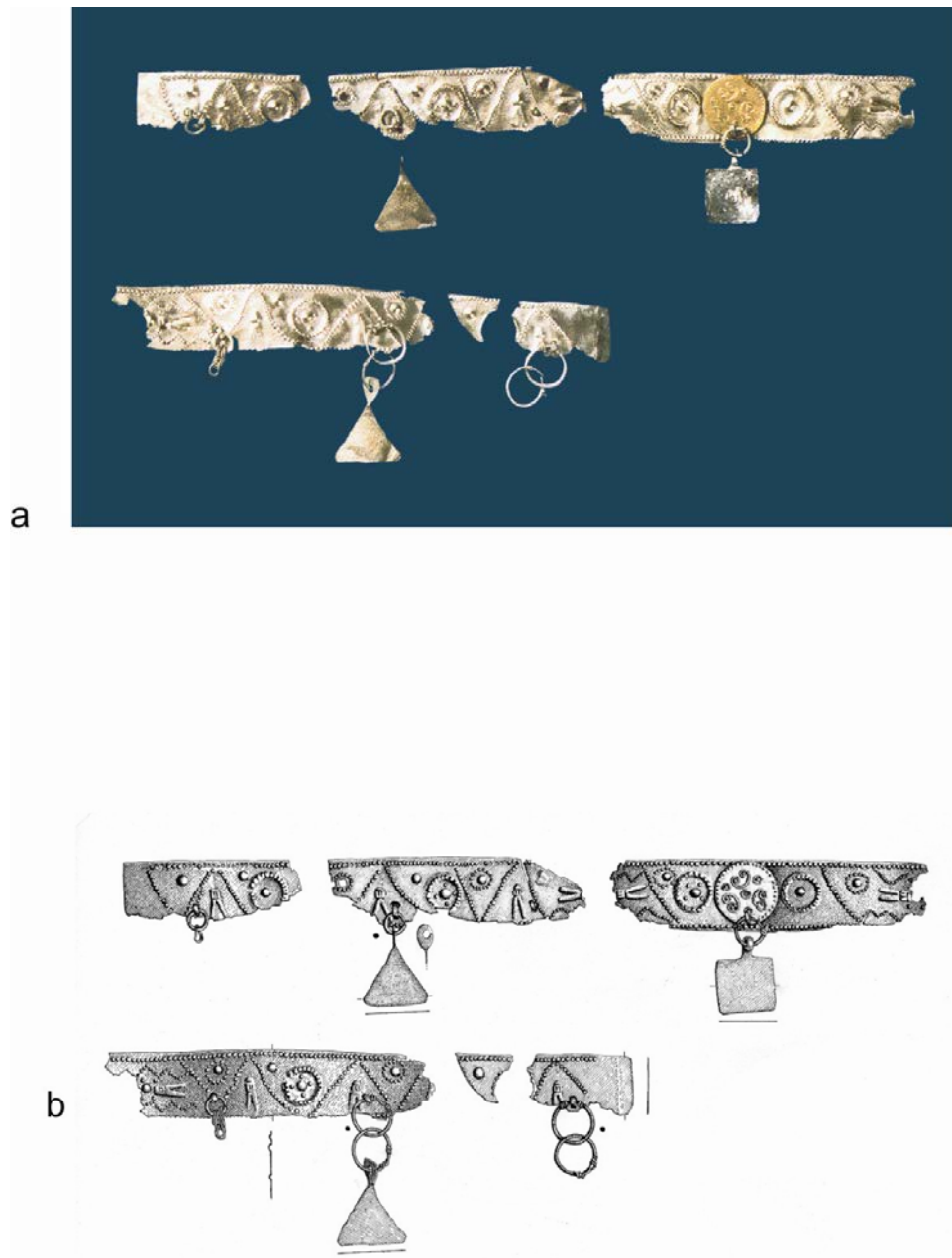


Fig. 8. a-b Diadem, Juhor.



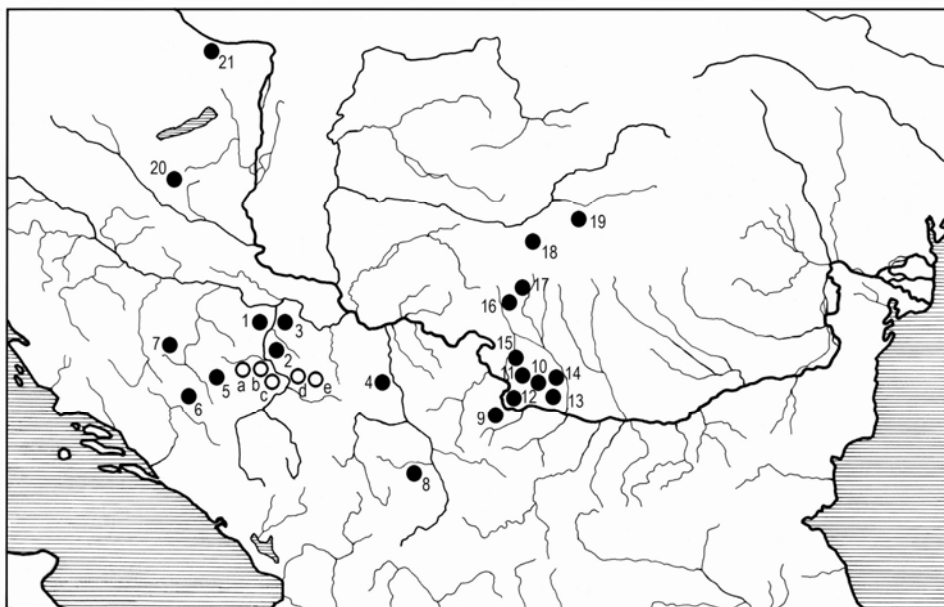


Fig. 9. Balkan-Danubian hoards of silver jewelry from the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century and reliefs with representations of decorations: ● – hoards of silver jewelry; ○ – tombstones: 1. Janja; 2. Dvorska; 3. Bela Reka; 4. Juhor; 5. Gornji Vakuf; 6. Bukovica; 7. Bare-Tribovo; 8. Nova Božurna; 9. Arčar; 10. Vârtop; 11. Urdinița; 12. Moțăței; 13. Drănic; 14. Craiova; 15. Bălăcița; 16. Bumbești; 17. Gorj; 18. Ațel; 19. Beia; 20. Szalacska; 21. *Brigetio*; a. Voljevica; b. Crvica; c. Skelani; d. Bajina Bašta; e. Seča Reka.

a) On four plaited silver chains one end is not pulled into the *tubulus* as usual, but into the hollow funnel-shaped bottom of a miniature vase made of silver, decorated by filigree wire and granules. These vases have on the neck a ribbonlike handle, through which is pulled the other end of the chain<sup>47</sup> (fig. 5/4b). A fragment of the analogous decoration was discovered, together with a part of the silver plaited chain, on the site Dvorska in the Drina valley (fig. 5/4a, 6/1), independently from the hoard which was mentioned above. It is decorated by the running spiral made of filigree wire, with the granules in its bends. On one side of the brim of this vessel there is a ribbonlike handle.<sup>48</sup> The miniature vases, decorated by filigree and granulation, on the ends of the chains from these finds, by their shape and ornament represent the continuation of the traditions which came from the Greek soil into Balkan hinterland already in the Archaic Period. In the Hellenistic Period they became widespread. To the long existence of Hellenistic traditions in Pannonia and on the Balkans bear witness the silver beads in the form of miniature vases, registered in the hoard Szalacska III,<sup>49</sup> and also the similar specimens made

<sup>47</sup> Darnay, *op. cit.*, p. 313-314, T. I; Popović, *op. cit.*, p. 143, fig. 17. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 143, fig. 16, 17. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Járdányi-Paulovics, *op. cit.*, T. XXIX.

of golden tin, discovered in the necropoles in the mining region on Kosmaj near Belgrade and in Viminacium.<sup>50</sup>

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The short survey of the Balkan-Danubian hoards shows the connection between the finds from the I and II horizon. But, as the chemical analyses of the coins and jewelry have not been done until now, at this moment we can not draw any conclusions on the possible use of coins for the production of jewelry, first of all among the finds from the I horizon. As both hoards from this horizon, from Tekija and Bare, contain the objects of cultic function, it is possible that these were the valuable objects from the shrines, hidden in the moment of danger during the war. The existence of emblemata with the representations of Hellenistic-Oriental deities in Tekija, i.e. the local adaptations of these objects in Bare, the composite bracelets of East Mediterranean origin in the Bare hoard and the copies of Hellenistic goldsmith's techniques and motifs in both finds point to the existence of strong cultural streamings, which came to the Middle Danubian region through the valley of this river from the centres of goldsmithing on the Black Sea coast. On the other hand, it is characteristic that the hoards of the II horizon are grouped in the regions where the exploitation of silver ore is confirmed (*Domavia* in Drina valley,<sup>51</sup> region *Alburnus Maior* in Dacia<sup>52</sup>). The dependence of the upper part of Drina valley on Pannonia can explain the appearance of these finds in that region. The representations on the great part of tombstones in Drina valley (Bajina Bašta, Voljevica, Crvica, Skelani, Seča Reka)<sup>53</sup> (fig. 6/2) show the specific way of wearing these silver decorations. Archaeologically, this is most clearly confirmed by the find of the set of silver jewelry of this type from Brigetio (fig. 7/1), today in British Museum in London.<sup>54</sup> While the hoards from Janja and Dvorska, which contain only silver jewelry and coins, were discovered on the sites on which were not registered the architectural remains, the Bela Reka hoard, in which there are also the silver vessels of Roman provenance, was found near the ruins of some

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<sup>50</sup> Popović, *Rimski nakit u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu. II Zlatan nakit /Les bijoux romains du Musée national de Belgrade. II Les bijoux d'or*, Beograd, 1996, cat. 119, 122-124.

<sup>51</sup> The settlement *Domavia* on Gradina near Srebrenica was an important mining and administrative centre, maybe common for Dalmatia and Pannonia, and the mines in the upper part of Drina valley, *argentariae Pannonicae*, were under its jurisdiction. Cf. S. Dušanić, *Aspects of Roman Mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Upper Moesia*, ANRW 2, 1977, p. 66-67; Idem, *Istorijski glasnik* 1-2, 1980, p. 19-22.

<sup>52</sup> On the similarity of grave constructions from the vicinity of *Domavia* with those in this Dacian region as a consequence of moving of the inhabitants from Drina valley to Dacia for the purpose of working in the mines, cf. Jovanović, *Rimske nekropole na teritoriji Jugoslavije* (Summary: *Forms of Burial in the Territory of Yugoslavia in the Time of the Roman Empire*), Beograd, 1984, p. 101-110, with cited bibliography.

<sup>53</sup> Popović, *op. cit.*, p. 141-142, fig. 3-7 (with cited literature).

<sup>54</sup> Idem, *Starinar* 48, 1997, p. 79-80, fig. 7.

Roman object, probably of *villa rustica*.<sup>55</sup> Three hoards from the site Szalacska, south from the Balaton lake, contain also the numerous bronze Roman provincial objects, so it is possible that in this place there was a bigger centre where the metal objects were produced.<sup>56</sup> Beside the hoards which contain coins, in the Balkan-Danubian region appear also the closed finds of silver jewelry of characteristic forms (anchor-like fibulae, plaited chains, bracelets made of twisted wire), deposited, most probably, around the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Interesting is the find of silver and bronze jewelry from Juhor in Morava valley, which contains the forms that connect it with the jewelry from the hoard Bălăcița in Oltenia (the ribbonlike bracelets with widened ends in the form of a fan, on which there are grooved axes for connecting the central part which is missing today (fig. 7/2),<sup>57</sup> but also with the find from Gornji Vakuf in central Bosnia (necklaces in the form of a chain with the pendants in the form of the ivy-leaf, closed by an embossed clasp consisting of two parts, around which different pendants are hanged (fig. 7/3).<sup>58</sup> The presence of Hellenistic forms and motifs on the jewelry from this find (double axe as a pendant on the silver torques (Pl.7/4), a ribbonlike silver diadem with the central medallion made of golden tin, decorated by filigree executed by reduced peltae (fig. 8/a-b)<sup>59</sup> on one hand, and imitation of filigree and granulation by grooving and embossing (tubuli on the ends of silver chains) on the other, opens the questions about the possible directions of the cultural influences under which the local production of jewelry on the Balkan Peninsula was formed. The results so far of the analysis of silver decorations show that the analogous forms and combinations of single jewelry appear in the finds from Drina valley, Pannonia and Oltenia, where were registered more collective finds containing the silver anchor-like fibulae, but not the coins (Gorj, Bălăcița, Urdinița, Bumbesti).<sup>60</sup> Filigree and granulation are mostly in use on the silver jewelry from Drina valley and Pannonia, which could be considered as a consequence of the early cultural influences from the Greek world through Drina valley, while the imitations of these techniques and some local adaptations of usual forms appear in the finds from central Bosnia and Morava valley. But, all these finds contain certain forms of decorations in same or similar combinations, which places them into the single horizon of the Balkan-Danubian hoards from the 2nd-3rd century (fig. 9).

<sup>55</sup> Popović, Borić-Brešković, *op. cit.*, p. 44, 70-71, 91, 145.

<sup>56</sup> Járdányi-Paulovics, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>57</sup> Popović, *Nakit sa Juhora. Ostava ili sakralni tezaurus / Jewelry from Juhor. Hoard or Sacred Treasure*, Beograd, 2002, cat. 7-11; I. Stîngă, *Viața economică la Drobeta în secolele II-VI p. Ch.*, București, 1998, p. 137-139, pl. CIII; Popilian, *op. cit.*, fig. 8-6.

<sup>58</sup> Popović, *op. cit.*, cat. 19-21, fig. 11.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, cat. 3, 23.

<sup>60</sup> Popilian, *op. cit.*, p. 50-61, fig. 4-7.

