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Tombs with Jewels in the Byzantine Tradition Discovered on the Present-Day Territory of Romania, North of the Danube (End of the 11th Century–the 14th Century)*

Silviu Oța

Abstract: Through the present study I aimed at selecting tombs with jewelry items of Byzantine influence dated to the 11th–14th centuries, found on the present-day territory of Romania, except Dobrudja, since the latter was included in the Empire during several periods. Overall, such jewels were discovered in 116 complexes published to a larger or lesser extent. As for the number of discovery sites, to the present state of research one knows of 54 possible necropolises (see Pl. 1).

I also wanted to see if such finds are concentrated in certain regions and if they are connected to certain peculiarities of funerary rite and ritual. I thus analyzed the funerary rite, the location of the necropolises, the presence or absence of religious monuments and the main aspects of the funerary rituals (single burials, orientation of funerary complexes, position of the bodies and members inside the tombs and the location of inventory items).

From the perspective of the items' chronology and spread, one can note that the earliest items of jewelry and dress accessories are mainly located in the mountain area of Banat and in Oltenia, thus in the close proximity of the Byzantine-Hungarian border, in an area that neither of the two states clearly controlled. In Walachia and Moldavia the earliest items are concentrated on certain sites, but they are few in numbers and often later than those in Oltenia and Banat. As an exception one can note the items concentrated in the area of Dridu-Fierbinți and some of those in the northern half of Moldavia. Considering the presence of Turkic populations there, I suspect that the absence of such items is due to the domination of these populations. In support of this statement one can mention the existence of tombs belonging to nomad populations mainly concentrated in southern Moldavia and Walachia. The situation was preserved until around the first third of the 13th century.

After this period, the number of jewels of Byzantine influence drops significantly in Banat. This does not indicate a decreased influence of art in the Byzantine tradition, but possibly some new legislation in the Kingdom of Hungary that forbade placing such valuable objects in tombs. The phenomenon can be noted in eastern Banat at the time the Banat of Severin was founded. Isolated cases and the typology of the items prove that the production of Balkan items of jewelry continued and even became more diverse during the 13th and 14th centuries. Outside the Carpathians, the number of such objects nevertheless increased significantly, including those areas where they were scarce during the previous chronological interval. This statement is supported by the discovery of jewelry items in settlements and the discovery of treasures and casting molds (in *Coconi* for example).

Another aspect worth mentioning is that in most of the necropolises that included jewelry items of Byzantine tradition, the bodies were placed with arms in position E or its sub-variants. This might indicate that there was a strong connection between population groups wearing Balkan clothes and possibly heretical beliefs.

Keywords: tomb, earring, ring, bracelet, diadem, necropolis.

I will henceforth discuss funerary complexes that contained jewelry items following the Balkan tradition. The study of such items nevertheless represents only a small part of the Byzantine influence in the north-Danubian territory, but it reveals certain elements of costume and funerary practices. A strict analysis of such objects can also face drawbacks; one of them is the fact that one does not have a complete image of the distribution of the jewelry items and dress accessories under discussion, since a large part of them were discovered in treasures, settlements, or as stray finds, in uncertain locations.

Studies of gold and silver work, especially those published over the last 40 years in South-Eastern Europe, play an important part in the identification of such items. They are mainly the result

* English translation: Ana M. Gruia.

of archaeological research and of systematizing of available data, but also of synthesis analyses of jewelry and dress accessories. In this sense, one must emphasize the activity of researchers from former Yugoslavia (Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković, Slavenka Ercegović-Pavlović Gordana Marjanović-Vujović, Dušica Minić, Neboisa Stanojev, Dejan Radičević, Vesna Bikić, Dušan Jelovina, Maja Petrinc, Zdenko Vinski), Hungary (Károly Mesterházy) and Bulgaria (Peio Gatev, Valeri Grigorov). Archaeologists from Romania have also published excavation results and some studies analyzing jewelry items¹.

The Byzantine influence manifested both officially and indirectly in the north Danubian area, since this was a territory outside of the empire. In the first case, in our field of interest, the Byzantine influence is indicated by the presence of jewelry and dress accessories in the area under discussion. They were most probably the result of commercial activities, either bought from tradesmen arriving in the north-Danubian territories, or from those traveling to the Empire, to large production centers, where they acquired jewelry items. Another element of interest here is the official influence of the Church.

Among indirect manifestations, one distinguishes the reproduction of certain jewels after Byzantine models produced in the large centers. These are nevertheless rather difficult to identify, since both official workshops, from large cities and petty itinerant or village craftsmen were active in the Balkans. One must also not ignore the production of certain jewelry items in the north-Danubian area as imitations of Byzantine prototypes. In such conditions, it is almost impossible to differentiate between the jewelry production of petty craftsmen north and south of the Danube. The only differentiating criteria, even if relative, consist in identifying moulds or workshops on the territory of present-day Romania (in our case), but even this is only a partial solution since such molds might have also belonged to craftsmen settled for longer or shorter periods. Another possibility, also encompassing certain interpretative limits, would be the discovery here of models lacking analogies in the south-Danubian territory, that circulated over smaller areas and shorter periods. Another way in which Balkan items might have reached areas north of the Danube would be the settlement of population groups from the south, bringing their own jewels with them.

Among indirect, unofficial manifestations, one must also take into consideration heresies. These complete the topic under discussion. Though part of unofficial influences, they are a significant element of Balkan influence in the north-Danubian territory. By identifying them in necropolises, one can see where they settled or where they were active.

As for the funerary practices, I will now analyze in detail just a few relevant aspects, namely dress accessories and jewelry items and the position of the bodies. For the analysis of this subject, I selected the north-Danubian territory since Dobruja is known to have been included in the Byzantine Empire during certain periods and thus cannot be included in the present discussion.

Overall, such items were discovered in 116 complexes, published to a larger or lesser degree. As to the number of discovery sites, 55 possible necropolises are known so far (see Pl. 1)². Among them, some were discovered by chance, while others even through systematic excavations. The items found in these necropolises were often published without any mentioning of the exact funerary complex³. In the case of necropolises in *Broșteni*, *Moldova Veche-Rât*, *Caraș-Severin* County, *Dubova* – Mehedinți County not all items have been published, just the chronological limits of their use were specified.

¹ I shall not list them here, since most can be found in the annexed bibliography.

² *Șopotu Vechi-Mârtilă* (M. 2, 8, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 33, 37, 46), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (M. 5, 12, 40, 44, 48, 59, 65), *Cladova-Dealul Cetății* (M. 2), *Cuptoare-Sfocea* (M. 8, 15, 17, 19, 30, 41, 92, 101, 106, 107, 110, 113, 150, 162, 173, 189, 209, 214, 225, 228, 232, 241, 252, 278, 291, 300, 303, 316, 327, 331, 332, 342, 344, 346), *Pescari* (M. 1), *Reșița-Ogășele* (M. 15-?), *Caransebeș-Măhala* (M. 3) and Center (M. 6), *Ostrovu Mare* (M. 3), *Drobeta Turnu-Severin-Roman Thermae* (M. 6, 32, 60, 92, 104, 114), *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă* (M. 4), *Svinița* – fkm 1004 (M. 10), *Trifești* (M. 12, 35), *Hudum-Necropolis 1* (M. 11, 15, 20, 63, 80, 84, 86, 90, 144), *Necropolis 2* (M. 112, 150, 169), *Craiova-Făcăi* (M. 1), *Cetățeni-Poiana Târgului* (M. 32, 35), *Sub Cetățuie-Church 1* (M. 7), *Coconi-Necropolis 1* (M. 3), *Portărești* (M. 4, 9, 13, 27), *Ilidia-Oblița* (M. 34 and indeterminate tombs), *Cetate* (M. 3), *Ciclova Română-Morminți* (M. 4), *Mehadia-Ulici* (M. 12), *Moldova Veche-Ogașul cu Spini* (M. 1) and *Danube's Shore* (M. 1), *Doina-Girov* (M. 33 A), *Dărmănești* (M. 2, 5, 6, 7), *Gura Văii* (M. 1), *Hinova* (M. 1), *Izvoare* (M. 3, 12), *Netezi-M. 58*, *Zăbala* (M. 8, 15, 31, 37, 59a, 165), *Săvinești* etc. For the territory of Banat, see also Oța 2005, 171–215 and Oța 2006c, 229–272.

³ *Drobeta Turnu-Severin-city territory* and the *Istrati-Capșa Collection*, *Frumoasa*, *Craiova-Făcăi*, *Craiova-Fântâna Obedeanu*, *Dridu-Metereze* and possibly another site, *Orlea*, *Runcu*, *Svinița-fkm 1004* (items recovered from inside the necropolis) and an indeterminate spot inside the settlement, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*, *Fierbinți-Malul Roșu*.

There are also sites where significant numbers of jewelry items were recovered and this might suggest that they were destroyed cemeteries, while in other cases one does know that the necropolises were disturbed. Such are the discovered necropolises or jewelry items in: *Fierbinți-Malul Roșu*⁴, *Moldova Veche-Danube's Shore*⁵, *Svinița*⁶, *Piatra Ilișovei*⁷, *Dridu*⁸, *Broșteni*⁹, *Hinova*¹⁰, *Izvoarele*¹¹, *Vărădia*¹², *Forotic*¹³, *Orlea*¹⁴ and *Bucșani*¹⁵.

The **funerary rite** is in all cases inhumation.

The **location of necropolises** does not follow any certain rule. They were mainly positioned as to avoid flooding. Some of them are inside prehistoric fortifications¹⁶ and *Cladova-Dealul Carierei*, the latter also used during the Middle Ages, others on hills. One can note that others are located close to lay medieval buildings (*Ilidia-Oblița*)¹⁷ and *Cetate*¹⁸, *Caransebeș-Centru*¹⁹, *Reșița-Ogășele*²⁰, *Pescari-Danube's Shore*²¹, *Coconi-Cemetery 1*²², *Cetățeni-Poiana Târgului*²³ and *Sub Cetățuia*²⁴. In two cases, the necropolises were placed inside antique constructions, such as in *Caransebeș-Măhala*²⁵ and *Drobeta Turnu-Severin-Roman Thermae*. In *Ostrovul Mare*, the cemetery was located in a sand dune and in *Gura Văii* in mounds²⁶.

Necropolises are with and without church. Among those that included a church one can mention *Ilidia-Oblița* and *Cetate*, *Reșița-Ogășele*, *Svinița*- fkm 1004-?²⁷, *Cladova-Dealul Cetății*²⁸, *Obreja-Sat Bătrân*²⁹, *Caransebeș-Centru*, *Mehadia-Ulici*³⁰, while those without church are located in *Șopotu Vechi-Mărvilă*, *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*³¹, *Cuptoare-Sfogeia*³², *Pescari-Malul Dunării*, *Caransebeș-Măhala*,

⁴ Unpublished item from the research of Bogdan Filipescu, taken over for publication by Silviu Oța.

⁵ Feher *et al.* 1962, 54; Gohl 1914, 17; Sabău 1958, 290.

⁶ Dumitriu 2001, 136, Taf. 50/1-2, Taf. 112/1-2; Oța 2006c, 232, 242, 244, 270, 2/B/5; Oța 2007b, 373; Oța 2008, 282-283, pl. 100/7-8.

⁷ Țeicu 2009, 70, pl. 20/5, 178.

⁸ Unpublished item provided by Eugenia Zaharia.

⁹ Velter 2002, 379; Oța 2007 b, 364, 374, 375; Oța 2008, 222.

¹⁰ Ioniță 2005, 133-134, 198, fig. 26/7-10.

¹¹ Ioniță 2005, 134.

¹² Țeicu 2009, 70, pl. 20/2, 3, 182.

¹³ Țeicu 2009, 75, pl. 25/3.

¹⁴ Ioniță 2005, 137, 220, fig. 48/3-4, 23, 24.

¹⁵ I hereby thank my colleague Cătălin Bem for the information provided.

¹⁶ *Șopotu Vechi-Mărvilă* - Oța 1998, 116, 117, 118, 123; Țeicu 1991, 307-310; Țeicu 1993, 240-241, 242, 243-244, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 258-259, 263-264, 267, 269; Țeicu 1996d, 10, 13, 19, 24, 25; Țeicu 2003a, 23-60; Oța 2008, 287-292; Oța 2009b, 182-184.

¹⁷ Oța 1998, 116; Mărghitan 1985, 74-76; Țeicu 1982, 264-269, 271, 273, 274, 276; Țeicu 1987, 320, 327; Țeicu 1993, 237, 238, 247, 252, 258, 272; Țeicu 1998, 132, 140, 141, 144, 147, 171, 172, 175, 187; Uzum 1979, 387-389; Uzum, Lazarovici 1971, 157-162; Uzum 1989, 39-44.

¹⁸ Matei, Uzum 1972, 555-559; Mărghitan 1985, 73-74; Oța 1998, 115, 116; Țeicu 1982, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 273, 276; Țeicu 1987, 320, 327; Țeicu 1993, 229, 237, 243, 248, 258, 272; Țeicu 1998, 131, 134, 140, 144, 147, 171, 175, 185, 186; Uzum, Lazarovici 1971, 160.

¹⁹ Bona 1993, (for the tomb with bracelet see Bona, 93, Țeicu 1993, 233, 2003 b and Oța 2006, 253).

²⁰ Uzum, Țeicu 1983, 397-310; Țeicu 1989, 57-72; 1996a, 5-20; Oța 2008, 277 and 279 with connected bibliography.

²¹ Țeicu 1993, 239; Țeicu 1996d, 19; Țeicu 1998, 147.

²² Constantinescu 1972, 100, 247, pl. XIII/3.

²³ Chițescu 1976, 178-181; Păunescu, Cristocea 1984, 137-141.

²⁴ Chițescu, Păunescu 1992, 52-56+pl. 1.

²⁵ Iaroslavschi 1975, 355-363; Țeicu 1998, 125.

²⁶ Ioniță 2005, 133.

²⁷ Boroneanț 1985, 111-118; Oța 1998, 113, 115, 116, 123; Țeicu 1998, 128.

²⁸ Boroneanț, Hurezan 1987, 67, 69, pl. 2/5.

²⁹ Țeicu, Rancu 2003, 455-467.

³⁰ Țeicu 1993, 238; Țeicu 1998, 131; Țeicu 2003c, 95-105.

³¹ Lazarovici *et al.* 1993, 295-319; Oța 1998, 80-91, 116, 117, 118, 122, fig. 2; Țeicu 1981, 495, 496, 500; Țeicu 1982, 266-269, 273-274, 276; Țeicu 1993, 235-236, 243, 245, 246, 258, 266, 269; Țeicu 1998, 124, 126, 127, 134, 137, 138, 140, 147-149, 154, 155, 160, 165, 168, 170, 173; Țeicu, Lazarovici 1996, fig. 47, 48, pl. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; Uzum 1980, 125-139; Uzum 1981, 181-210; Oța 2009 b, 182.

³² Țeicu 1981, 497, fig. 5; Țeicu 1982, 267, 273; Țeicu 1993, 231-235, 242-248, 260-261, 264, 266, 268, 269, 270; Țeicu 1998, 125, 151, 157, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170; Uzum 1977, 220-221; Uzum 1987, 281-312; Oța 2009b, 181-182.

*Izâmșa*³³, *Ostrovu Mare*³⁴, *Drobeta Turnu-Severin-Roman Thermae*, *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*³⁵, *Trifești*³⁶, *Hudum*³⁷, *Dridu-Metereze*³⁸, *Craiova-Făcăi*³⁹ and *Fântâna Obedeanu*⁴⁰, *Cetățeni-Sub Cetățuie* and *Poiana Târgului*⁴¹, *Coconi*⁴², *Izvoare*⁴³, *Zăbala*⁴⁴, *Portărești*⁴⁵, *Ciclova Română-Morminți*⁴⁶, *Moldova Veche-Ogașul cu Spini*⁴⁷. The absence of a church in such necropolises is nevertheless uncertain, since most were not fully but only partially researched. One must also add that in many cases the churches were built later than the first burials, such as in *Cladova*, *Obreja*, *Ilidia-Cetate*, *Reșița* etc.

The funerary rituals are rather little known, due to the partial publication of data. A closer analysis of such rituals according to gender is hindered by the lack of anthropological analyses. The necropolis in *Zăbala* is an exception.

One can mainly induce that these were tombs for women, female adolescents and female children. Up to the present state of research, no tombs for male individuals were discovered with specific inventory, except for some of those that contained funerary inventories restricted to finger rings.

Most are **individual burials**. A double burial was identified in *Dărmănești*.

The **orientation of tombs** does not raise special problems. Most of known tombs were oriented V-E with deviations determined by the season when the burial was performed.

The position of the dead inside the grave. In this case, since most of the bodies were placed leaning on their back, I chose to discuss only the position of the arms, since this is probably the most relevant aspect of the issue.

Position of the arms – I established five main variants, labeled from A to E. They also include some sub-variants. In these cases (i.e. the sub-variants), one may note that very few skeletons were noted inside each necropolis and this might suggest these were accidents during burial or due to other causes, difficult to identified at this point.

Position A (arms extended along the body). Was recorded in the case of four tombs, three in Banat (M. 5 in *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* and M. 12 and 16 in *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță*) and one in Moldova (M. 33 A in *Doina-Girov*).

Position B (arms extended along the body, palms placed on the pelvis). One sub-variant is that with one arm along the body, probably due to the palm slipping from the pelvis. For now, it was only recorded among tombs discovered in Banat (seven in total), in the necropolises in *Cuptoare-Sfogea* (M. 232, 241, 291, 332), *Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță* (M. 30, 37) and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* (M. 65).

Position C (arms bent at the elbow and placed on the abdomen). Were discovered in Moldavia (*Hudum-Necropolis* no. 2, M. 169) and in Banat (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*, M. 342 and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*-M. 48), but only in three tombs. Sub-variant CB is more frequent, noted in the case of six bodies (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*-M. 92, 106, 316, 327, 331 and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*-M. 59).

Position D (arms bent at the elbow and placed on the chest). Was identified in necropolises from Banat (*Cuptoare-Sfogea*-M. 8, 150) and Moldavia (*Hudum-Necropolis* 2, M. 150, *Izvoare*, M. 12). Sub-variants DB (*Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, M. 12) and DC (*Caransebeș-Măhala*, M. 3, *Cuptoare-Sfogea*-M. 278, 300, 303, *Izvoare*, M. 58) are almost equally frequent.

There are also other tombs, either benefiting from uncertain descriptions or disturbed, in which the bodies had at least one arm in position C or D (*Cetățeni*-M. 32, *Izvoare*, M. 3, *Svinița*- fkm 1004, M. 10).

³³ Dumitriu 2001, 126–127, Taf. 49/5–6, Taf. 92/1–3.

³⁴ Dumitriu 2001, 132, Taf. 37/27–33; Oța 2007, 122, fig. 2/IV.1.c.

³⁵ Radu, Țeicu 2003, 212–213.

³⁶ Spinei 1994, 464, fig. 30/12–29, 31–33; Oța 2007, 126 and note 36.

³⁷ Spinei 1994, 464, fig. 30/9–11, 24–30, 34; Oța 2007, 125.

³⁸ Ioniță 2005, 127–128, 220, fig. 48/1–2, 7–13, 16, 19, 20.

³⁹ Dumitriu 2001, 118, Taf. 49/1–3, Taf. 50/3.

⁴⁰ Dumitriu 2001, 118–119, Taf. 89/1–20.

⁴¹ Dumitriu 2001, 115–116, Taf. 86/2, 5–8, 10.

⁴² Dumitriu 2001, 116–117, Taf. 87/3, 6, 7, 8.

⁴³ Vulpe 1957, 50–54, 321, fig. 338, 324, fig. 341/2–4.

⁴⁴ Székely 1993–1994 (1994), 277, 278, 279, 280, 283, 293, 6. ábra/1, 2, 3, 4, 294, 7. ábra/2, 9.

⁴⁵ Dumitriu 2001, 132–133, Taf. 94/1, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24.

⁴⁶ Țeicu 1993, 231; Țeicu 1998, 129; Uzum, Țeicu 1983, 211–216.

⁴⁷ Mărghită 1985, 92; Țeicu, Bozu 1982, 393–395.

Position E (arms bent at the elbow and palms placed on the clavicles or by the neck). In this case, only one tomb is known, discovered in *Cuptoare-Sfoge*a (M. 209). Sub-variants EB (*Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*, M. 8), EC (*Ciclova Română-Morminți*, M. 4, *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, M. 40, *Nicolinț-Râpa Galbenă*, M. 4, *Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*, M. 2, *Trifești*, M. 12), ED (*Cuptoare-Sfoge*a, M. 15, *Portărești-M.* 9) and EX (*Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă*, M. 23) are slightly more frequent. This position is considered in Romanian specialized literature as typical to Bogumil heretics or population elements arrived from areas south of the Danube⁴⁸.

Inventory items recovered from cemeteries or groups of tombs consisted of jewels for the head (earrings and diadems), neck (beads, pectoral crosses) and arms (bracelets made of twisted wire, bars with or without flattened ends, flat bars, glass paste and finger rings).

There is also a group of earrings with very limited spread, both chronologically and geographically. After analyzing them, I believe they are of Central-European tradition, but most probably produced west of the Lower and Middle Danube⁴⁹.

In necropolises where religious buildings were also discovered, the presence of items in the Byzantine tradition represents, in general, the final manifestation of tomb deposition of Balkan gold and silver work items (*Ilidia-Oblița*, *Reșița-Ogășele*, *Svinița-fkm 1004 (?)* and one uncertain site) at least for the inner-Carpathian area.

Head jewels consist of diadems, temple rings and earrings.

Diadems consist of plaques of various shapes (Pl. 4, 9). In funerary complexes they can be dated to the interval between the 11th and the 14th century⁵⁰. One can also add buttons with similar use, probably sewn on headbands made of textile or leather. Such were recorded in tombs from Banat, Oltenia and Moldavia, during the entire chronological interval under analysis⁵¹.

Temple and ear rings. Are known in multiple variants and were almost all worked in the techniques of granulation, filigree and twisted wire (Pl. 2, 3, 7 and 8). Still, some items also include cast elements or metal leafs on which granules and filigree decorations were applied. Even when they were imitations, fully or partially cast, they still reproduce ornaments created in the same techniques. Their maximum spread is in the outer-Carpathian area and in Banat⁵².

Neck jewels consist of glass paste beads. Unfortunately, they are little known and little researched in Romania. Their description is also often faulty and one cannot include them in the present discussion. Such items were probably more frequently used in funerary practices, but their brief publication prevents all systematic mapping attempts.

There are also enkolpion crosses, but very few were discovered in tombs, such as, for example, those in Moldova Veche-Ogașul cu Spini. The distribution area of various crosses is extremely wide, but very few were found in funerary complexes⁵³.

Arm jewels consisted of metal bracelets produced according to various techniques (casting, hammering, torsion, filigree and granulation)⁵⁴ but there were also bracelets made of glass paste. Most such items were found along the Middle Danube and west of the Lower Danube (Pl. 5/10).

Rings (Pl. 6/11) were made out of metal (through casting, hammering, engraving, filigree and granulation) and glass paste (modeling).

The production techniques and decorative motifs differentiate these jewels from those typical to parallel funerary horizons.

⁴⁸ Oța 1998, 113–123; Oța 2006a, 309–321.

⁴⁹ Article under print (*Observații asupra cerceilor cu pandantive elipsoidale descoperiți pe teritoriul actual al României (sec. XIV–XV)*). In the north-Danubian territory they were discovered in the necropolis in Drobeta Turnu-Severin-Roman Thermae and another site in Vărădia. About the latter, one does not know for certain if the item was found in a necropolis, a treasure, or is a stray find. All other jewels were discovered in treasures (Orșova, Olteni, Jiana Mare, Jidosița).

⁵⁰ Those dated to the 15th century are outside the scope of the present paper and were thus excluded. See also Oța 2007a, 117–156.

⁵¹ See Oța 2007, 117–156.

⁵² For items in the Byzantine tradition on the territory of Romania see also Oța 2007a, 117–156, Oța 2009a, 75–97, Oța et al. 2009, 65–82, Oța 2010a, 117–138, Oța 2010b, 403–433, Oța et al. 2010, 155–171.

⁵³ Spinei 1975, 227–242.

⁵⁴ For twisted wire bracelets see Oța 2006b, 251–274 and Oța et al. 2010, 155–171.

The presence of the funerary coin offerings is little documented, i.e. in the case of just five tombs. The coins were minted during the reign of kings Bela II (1131–1141) and Bela III (1172–1196), Stephen III (1162–1172), Ladislav I (1077–1095) and Koloman (1095–1116) and prince Petru Mușat (1375–1391). These coins are also good indicators for the absolute chronology of associated items.

Conclusions

Concerning the chronology of these items and their territorial distribution, one can note that the earliest jewels are mainly concentrated in the mountain regions of Banat and Oltenia, thus in close proximity to the Byzantine-Hungarian border, in a territory that neither state clearly controlled. In Walachia and Moldavia, the earliest items seem concentrated in certain spots, but they are few in numbers and often slightly later than those in Oltenia and Banat. One exception consists of items clustered in the area of Dridu-Fierbinți and some of those from the northern half of Moldavia. Considering the presence of Tukic populations there, I suspect that the absence of such items can be due to their local dominion. In support of this statement one may mention the presence of tombs belonging to nomad populations, mainly grouped in southern Moldavia and Walachia⁵⁵. The situation was preserved until around the first third of the 13th century.

After this date, the number of jewels in the Byzantine tradition decreases in Banat. This does not indicate a lesser Byzantine artistic influence, but a possible legislative measure in the Hungarian Kingdom stating that such valuable jewels should not be placed in tombs. The phenomenon can be noted in eastern Banat by the time the Banate of Severin was founded. Isolated cases and the typology of the items prove the fact that the production of Balkan jewels continued and even became more diverse during the 13th and 14th centuries. Outside the Carpathians, they considerably increase in numbers, including in such areas where they were rarely attested during the previous chronological interval. This statement is supported by the discovery of jewels inside settlements and also by discovered treasures and jewelry molds (in *Coconi* for example).

Another aspect that must be noted is the fact that most of the necropolises featuring jewels in the Byzantine tradition include the E arms position or its sub-variants. This might prove that there was a strong connection between groups of population wearing Balkan costumes and possibly heretical beliefs.

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⁵⁵ Spinei 1985; 2009, Map. 4.

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ANNEXES

Items

- Pl. 7. Earrings discovered in tombs.
 A. 1–2. Dridu-La Metereze (taken from Ioniță 2005); 3, 5. Portărești (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 4. Hinova (taken from Ioniță 2005).
 B.1–3. Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă (taken from Oța 2008).
 C. 1–2. Trifești (taken from Spinei 1994); 3. Craiova (taken from Dumitriu 2001).
 D.1, 4, 7. Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă (taken from Oța 2008); 2. Frumoasa (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 3. Izâmșa (taken from Ioniță 2005); 5. Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă (taken from Țeicu 1993); 6. Cuptoare-Sfogea (adapted from Țeicu 2009).
 E. 1. Drobeta-Turnu Severin (taken from Ioniță 2005); 2. Orlea (taken from Ioniță 2005); 3, 8. Dridu-La Metereze (taken from Ioniță 2005); 4. Cetățeni (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 5–6. Trifești (taken from Spinei 1994); 7. Hinova (taken from Ioniță 2005); 9. Portărești (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 10. Hudum (taken from Spinei 1994).
 F. 1. Frumoasa (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 2. Cuptoare-Sfogea (taken from Țeicu 1998).
 G. 1. Cuptoare-Sfogea (taken from Țeicu 1998). Illustration without scale.
- Pl. 8. Earrings discovered in tombs.
 A. 1. Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă (taken from Oța 2008); 2, 4. Craiova-Făcăi (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 3. Cuptoare-Sfogea (taken from Țeicu 1998); 5–6. Portărești (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 7. Svinița (taken from Dumitriu 2001).
 B. 1–2. Drobeta-Turnu Severin-Termele Romane (taken from Dumitriu 2001).
 C. Drobeta-Turnu Severin (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 2. Coconi (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 3. Reșița-Ogășele (taken from Oța 2008); 4. Cetățeni (taken from Ioniță 2005); 5. Drobeta-Turnu Severin-The Istrati-Capșa Collection (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 6. Hudum (taken from Spinei 1994); 7. Cuptoare-Sfogea (taken from Țeicu 1998); 8. Drobeta-Turnu Severin-city territory (taken from Dumitriu 2001).
 D. 1, 5. Dridu-La Metereze (taken from Ioniță 2005); 2–3, 6. Craiova-Fântina Obedeanu (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 4. Cetățeni (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 7. Ilidia-Oblița (adapted from Țeicu 2009); 8. Drobeta-Turnu Severin-Termele Romane (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 9–10. Trifești (taken from Spinei 1994); 11. Potlogi (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 12. Izvoare (taken from Vulpe 1957).
 Illustration without scale.
- Pl. 9. Diadem plaques discovered in tombs (taken from Oța 2007a). Illustration without scale.
- Pl. 10. Bracelets discovered in tombs.
 1. Orlea (taken from Ioniță 2005); 2, 5. Izâmșa (taken from Ioniță 2005); 3, 7. Cuptoare-Sfogea (adapted from Țeicu 2009); 4. Ilidia (adapted from Țeicu 2009); 6. Hinova (taken from Ioniță 2005); 8. Gornea-Căunița de Sus (taken from Țeicu, Lazarovici 1996); 9. Obreja-Sat Bătrân (adapted from Țeicu 2009); 10. Cuptoare-Sfogea (taken from Țeicu 1998); 11. Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004 (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 12. Cuptoare-Sfogea (taken from Țeicu 1998); 13. Runcu (taken from Ioniță 2005); 14. Cuptoare-Sfogea (taken from Țeicu 1998). Illustration without scale.
- Pl. 11. Rings discovered in tombs or probably from destroyed funerary complexes.
 1, 4, 8, 11. Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă (taken from Țeicu 2003a); 2, 5. Svinița-Km. Fluvial 1004 (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 3. Ilidia-Oblița (taken from Țeicu 1998); 6–7, 10. Gornea-Căunița de Sus (taken from Țeicu 1998); 9. Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă (taken from Oța 2008); 12. Mehadia-Ulici (taken from Țeicu 2003c); 13, 16, 18, 19, 20. Cuptoare-Sfogea (taken from Țeicu 1998); 14, 22. Cetățeni (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 15. Ilidia-Cetate (taken from Țeicu 1998); 17, 21. Hudum-Necropola 1 (taken from Spinei 1994); 23–25, 27. Craiova-Fântâna Obedeanu (taken from Dumitriu 2001); 26. Drobeta-Turnu Severin-Termele Romane (taken from Dumitriu 2001).
 Illustration without scale.

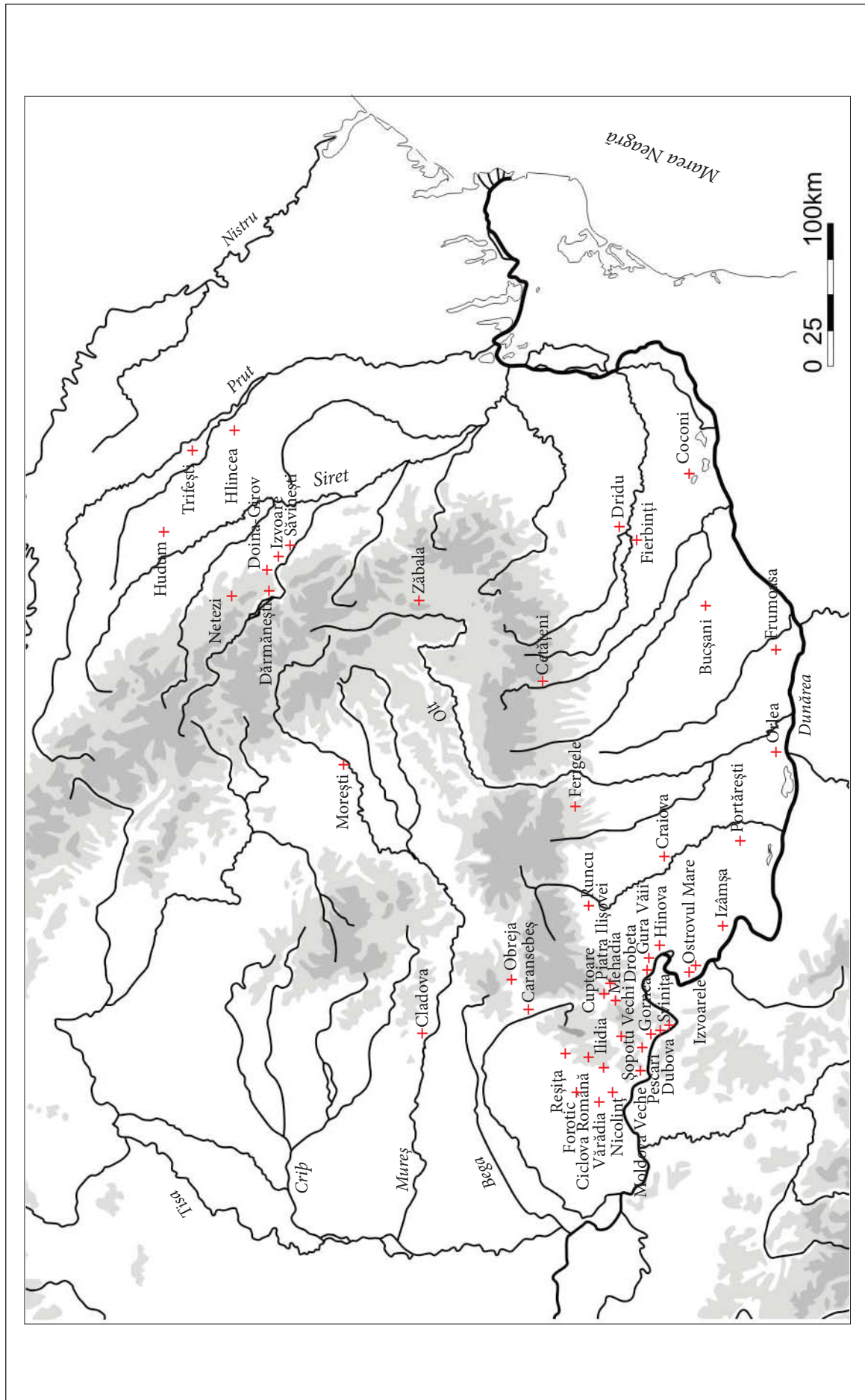


Plate 1. Jewels of Byzantine tradition from necropolises dated from the second half of the 11th century until the end of the 14th century.

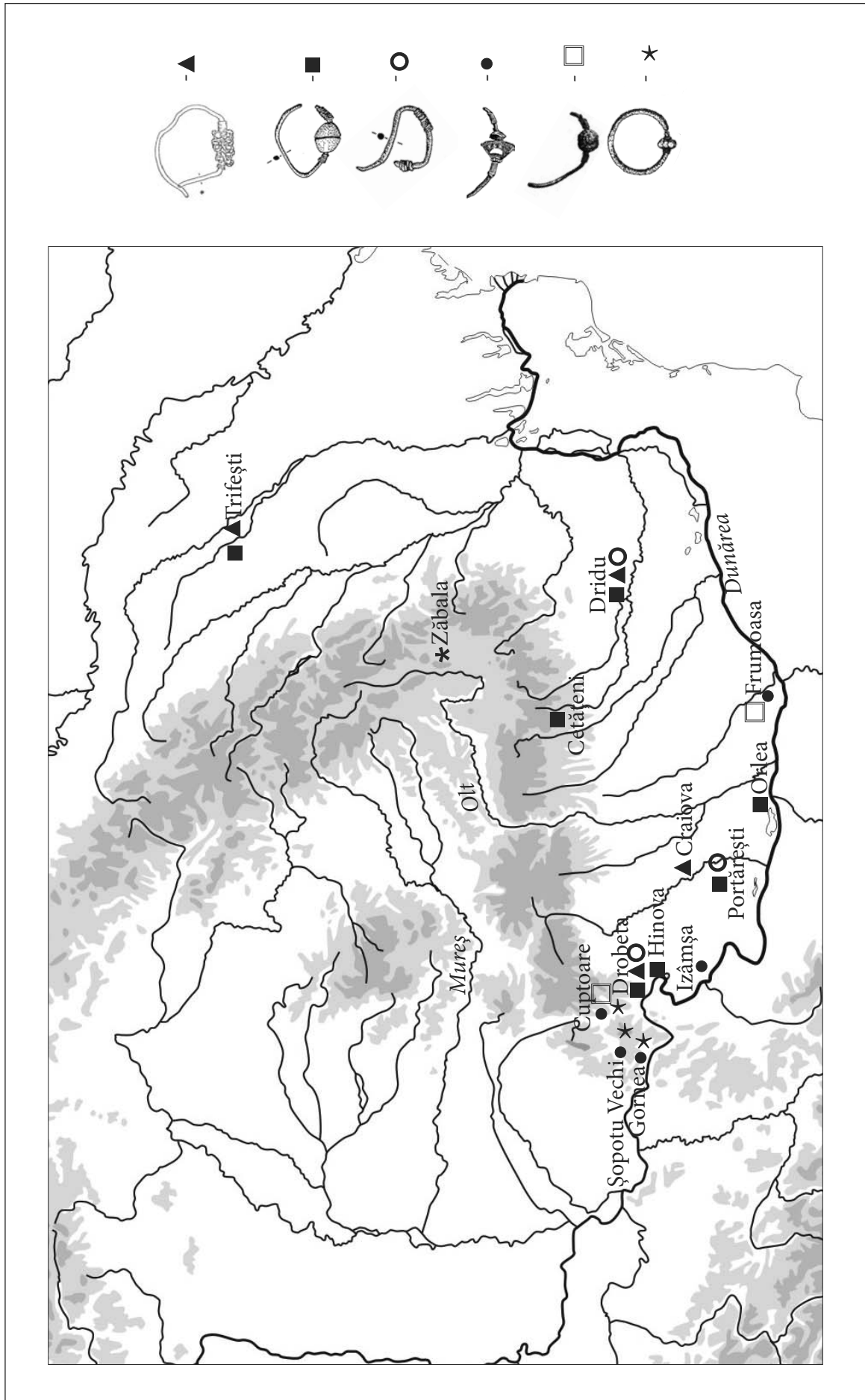


Plate 2. Earrings of Byzantine tradition in funerary complexes from the north-Danubian area.

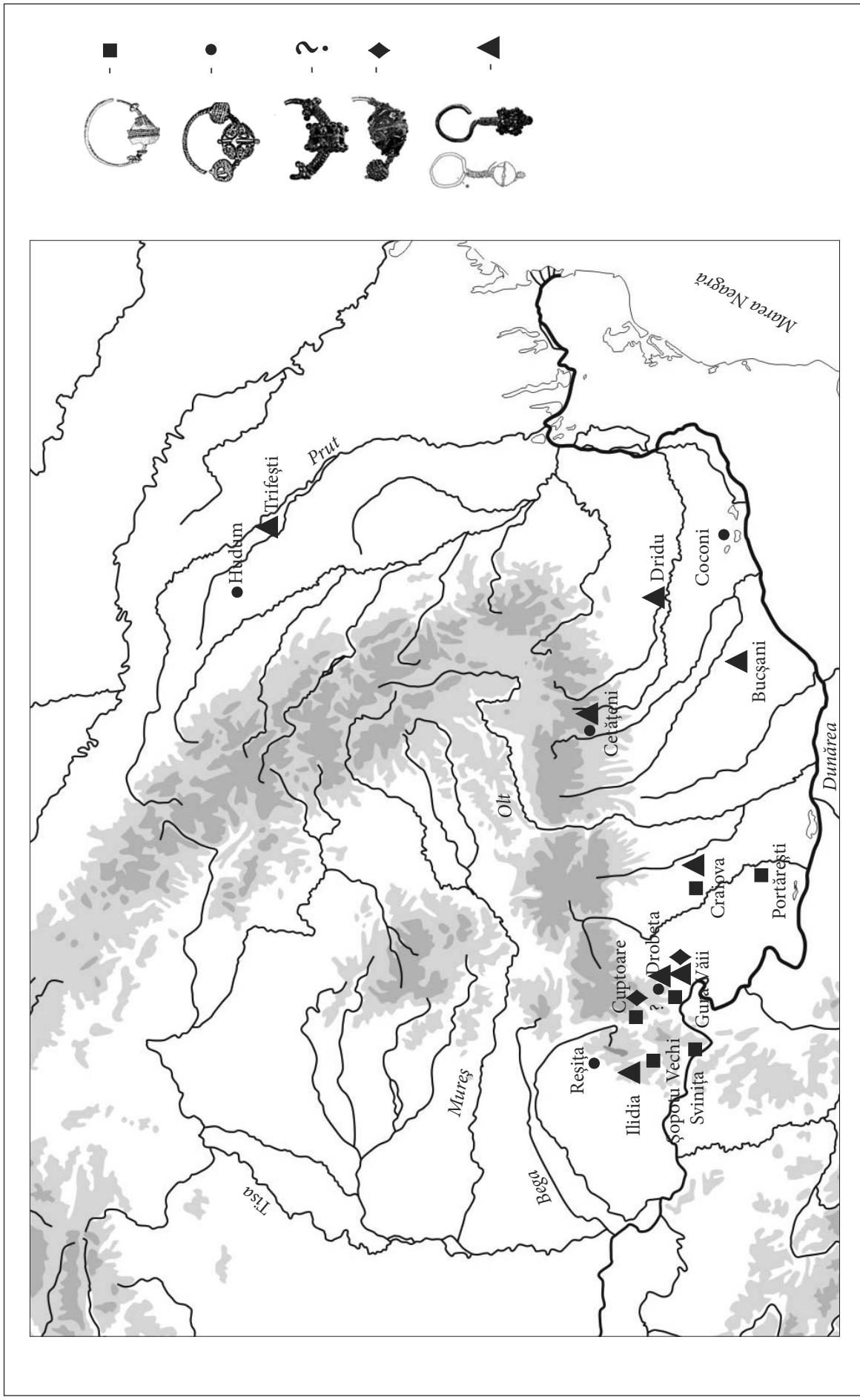


Plate 3. Earrings of Byzantine tradition in funerary complexes from the north-Danubian area.

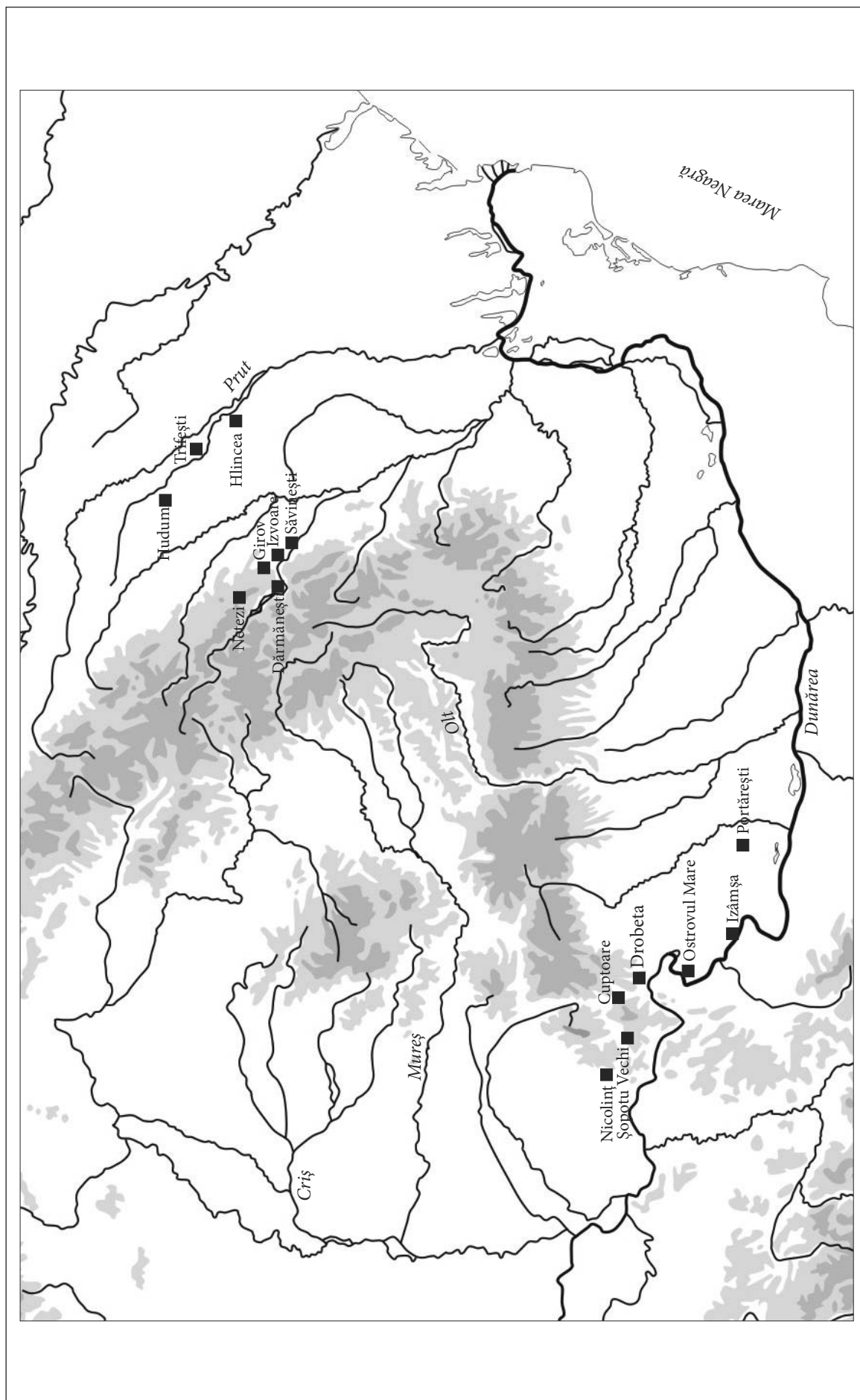


Plate 4. Diadem plaques in funerary complexes from the north-Danubian area.

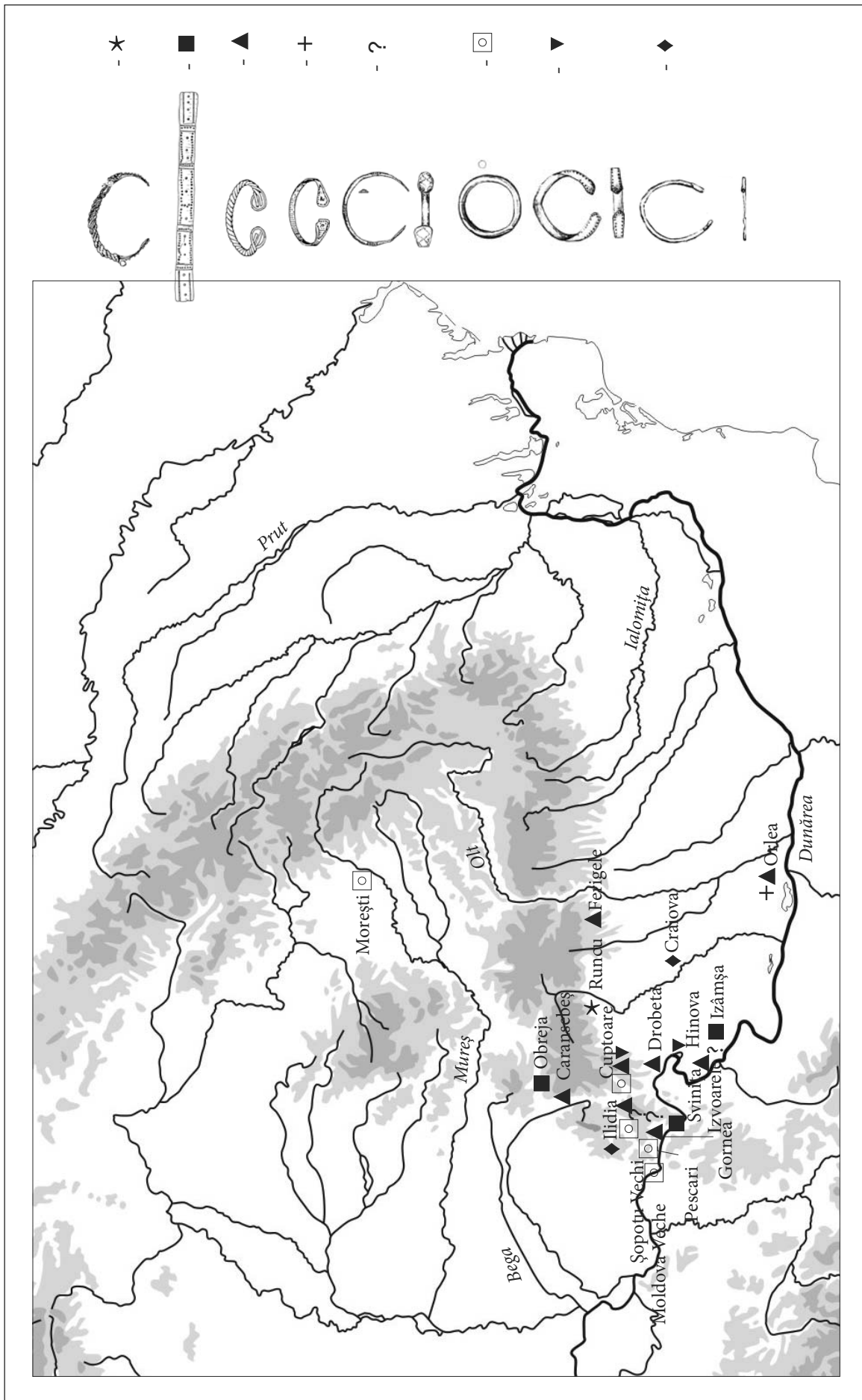


Plate 5. Bracelets of Byzantine tradition in funerary complexes from the north-Danubian area.

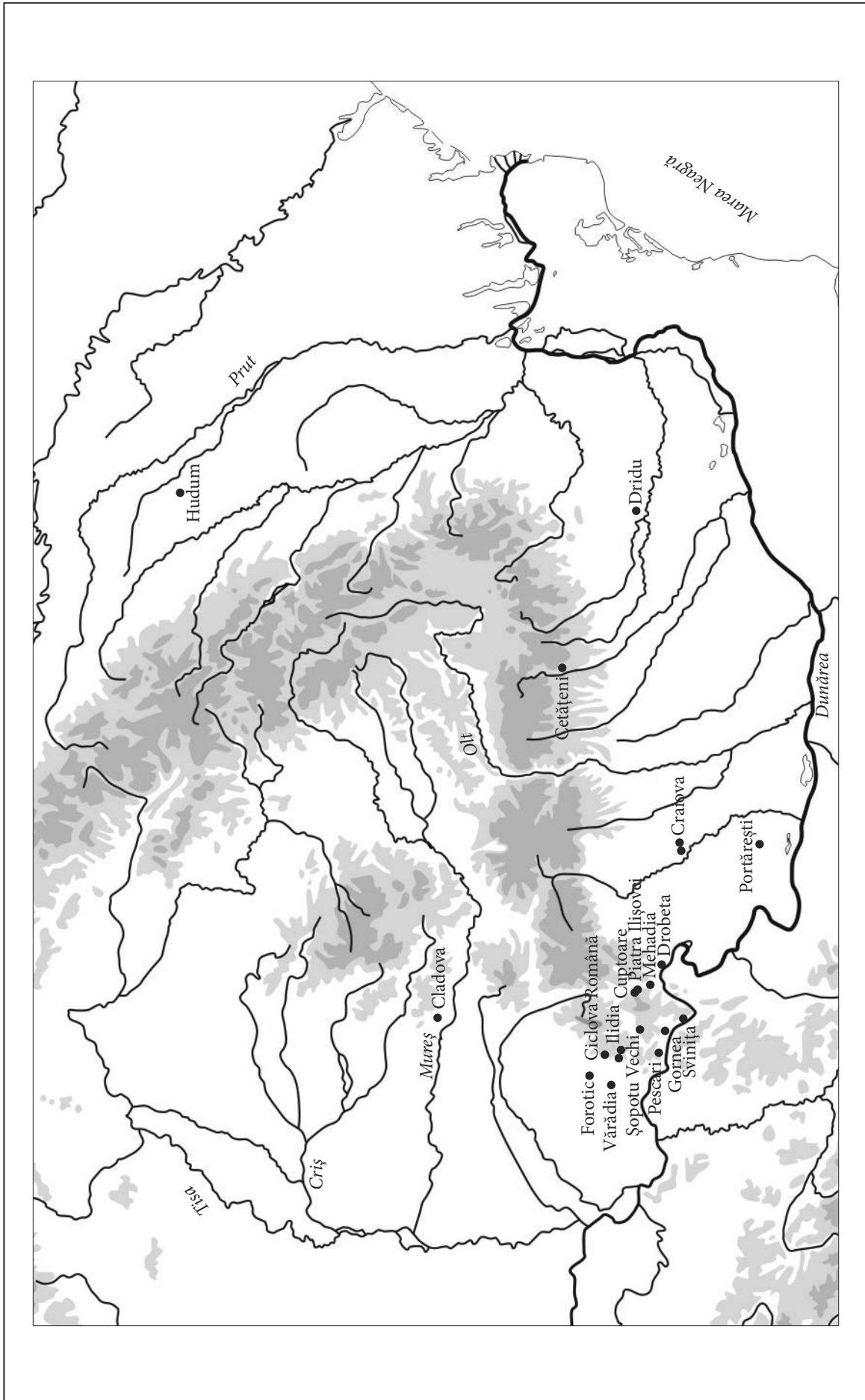


Plate 6. Rings of Byzantine tradition in funerary complexes from the north-Danubian area.

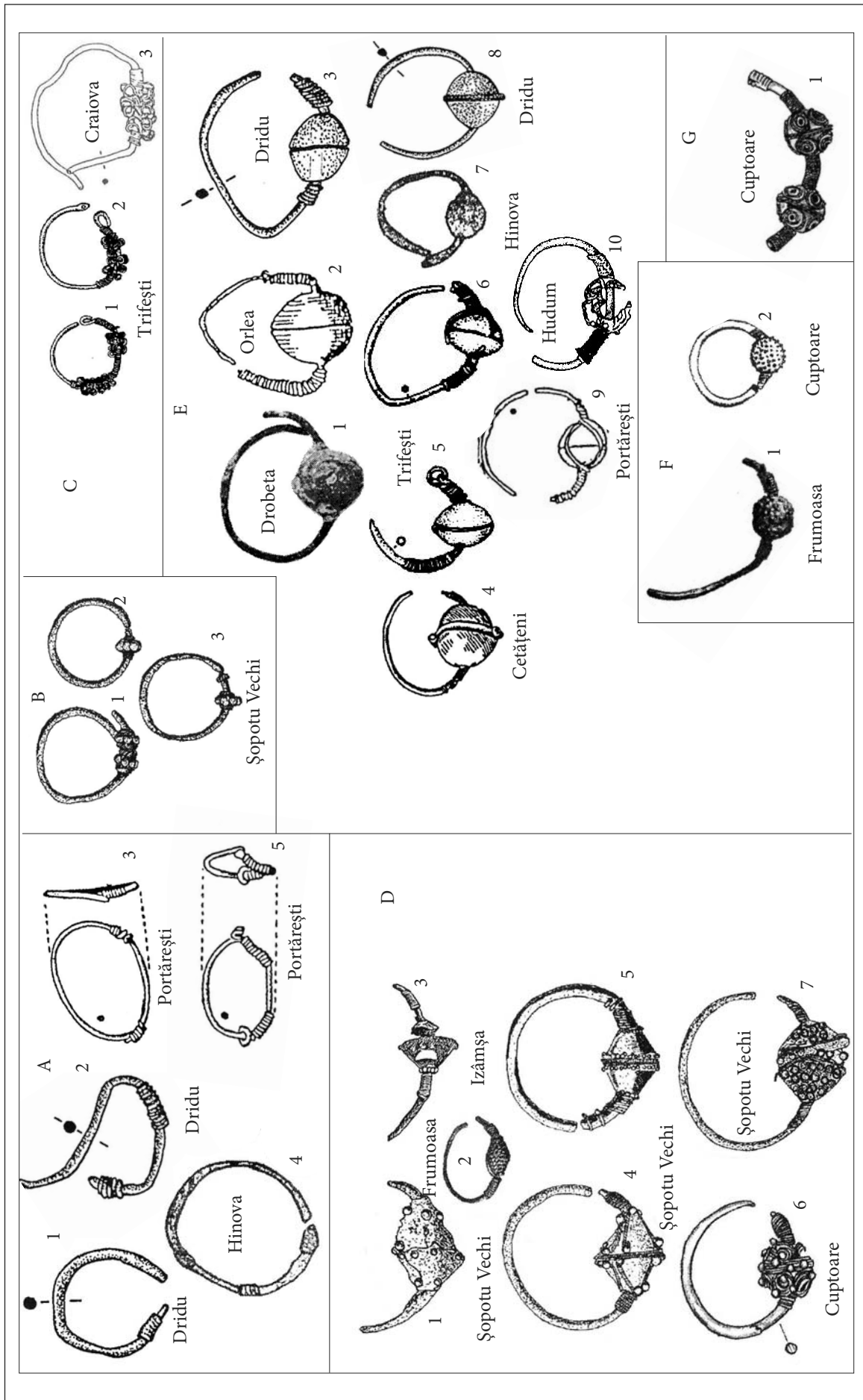


Plate 7. Earrings discovered in tombs.

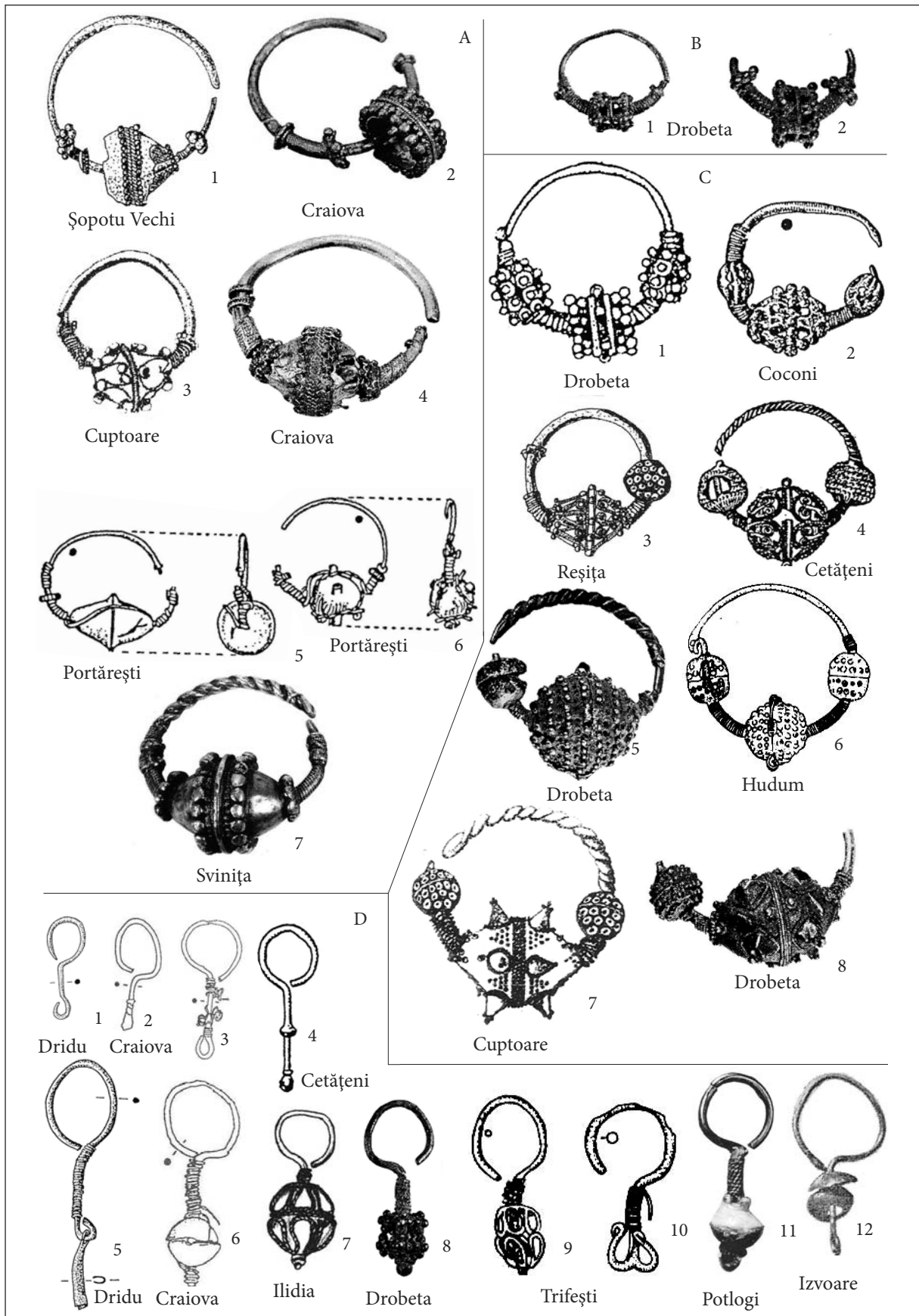


Plate 8. Earrings discovered in tombs.

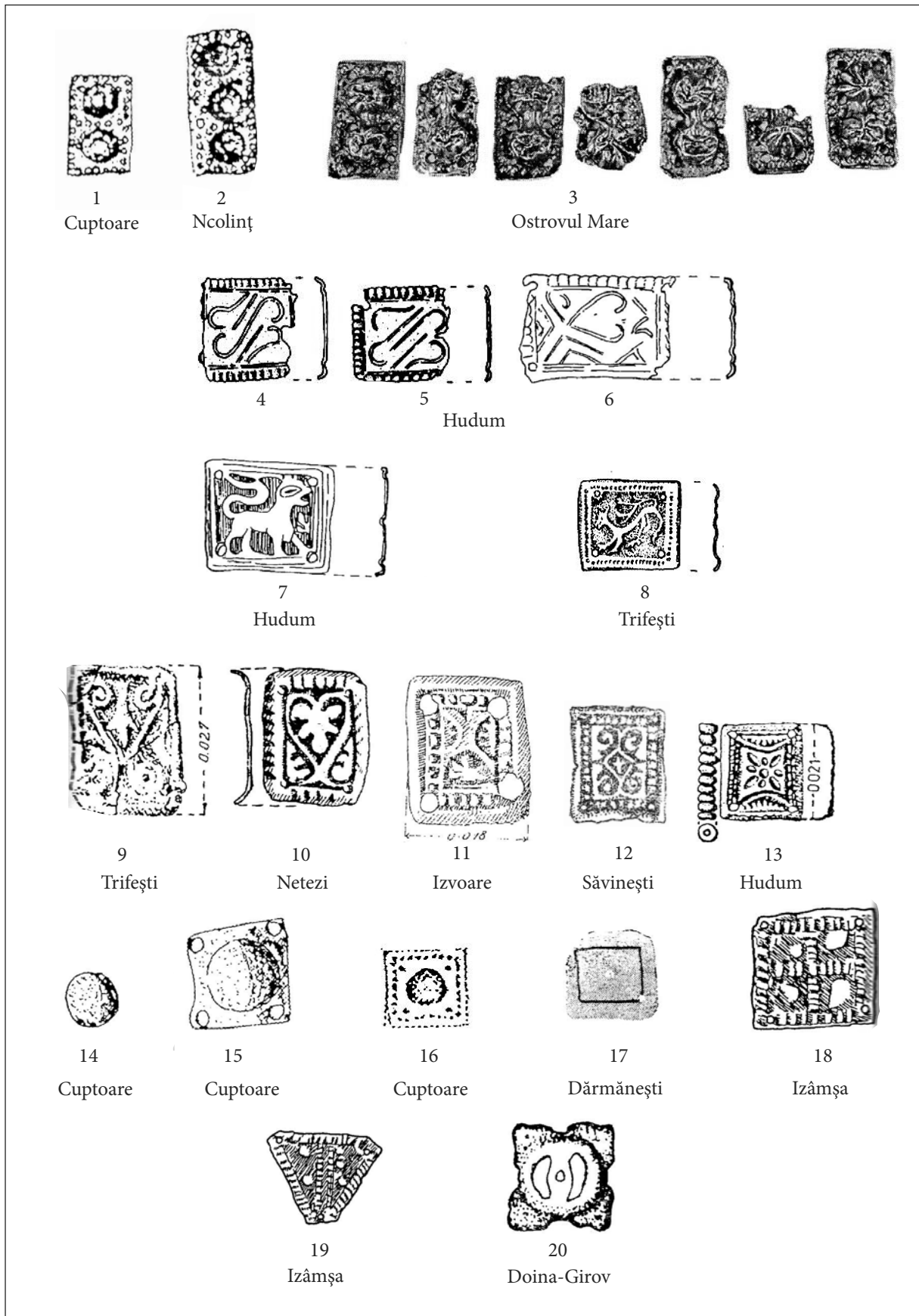


Plate 9. Diadem plaques discovered in tombs (taken from Oța 2007a). Illustration without scale.

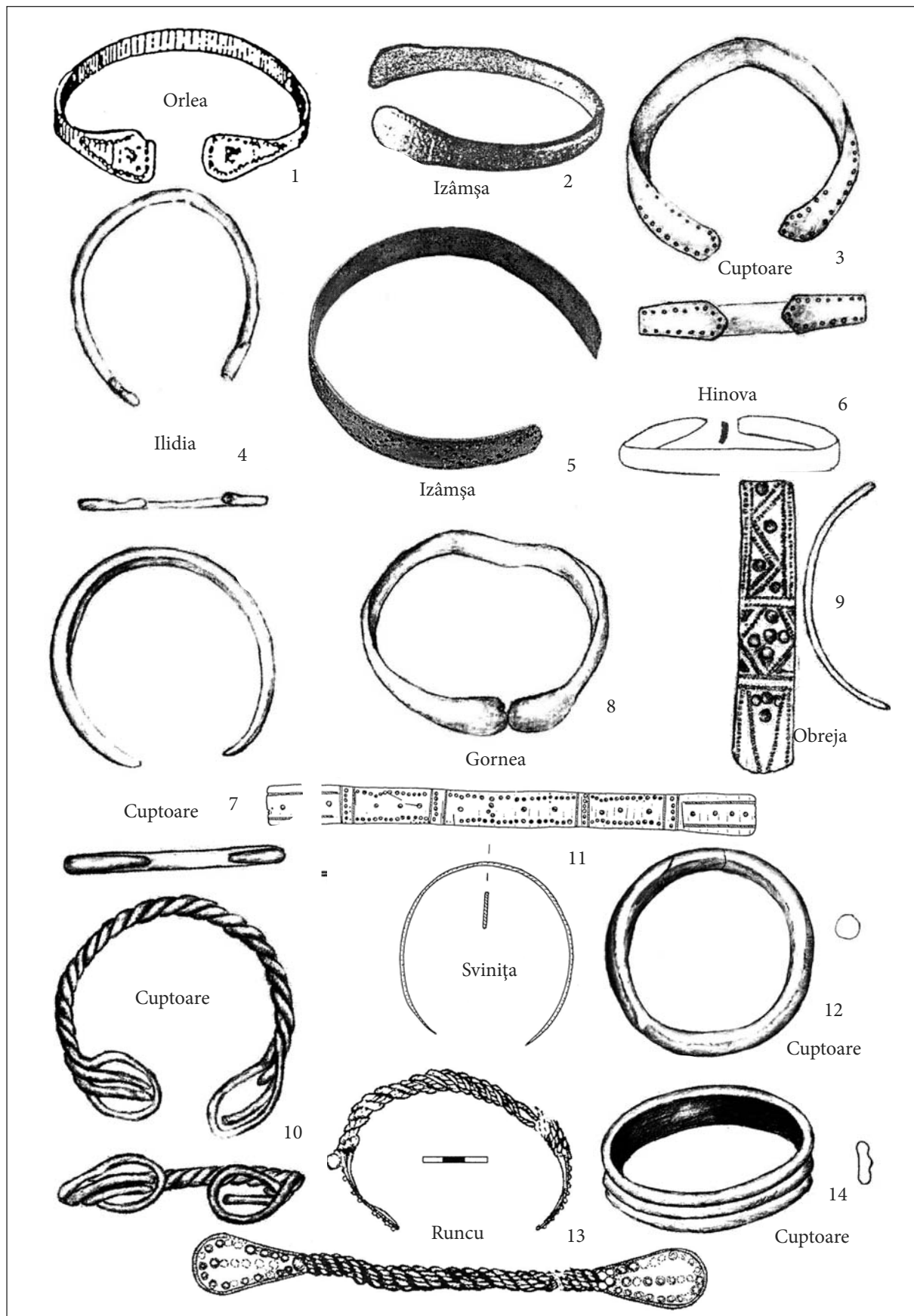


Plate 10. Braclets discovered in tombs.

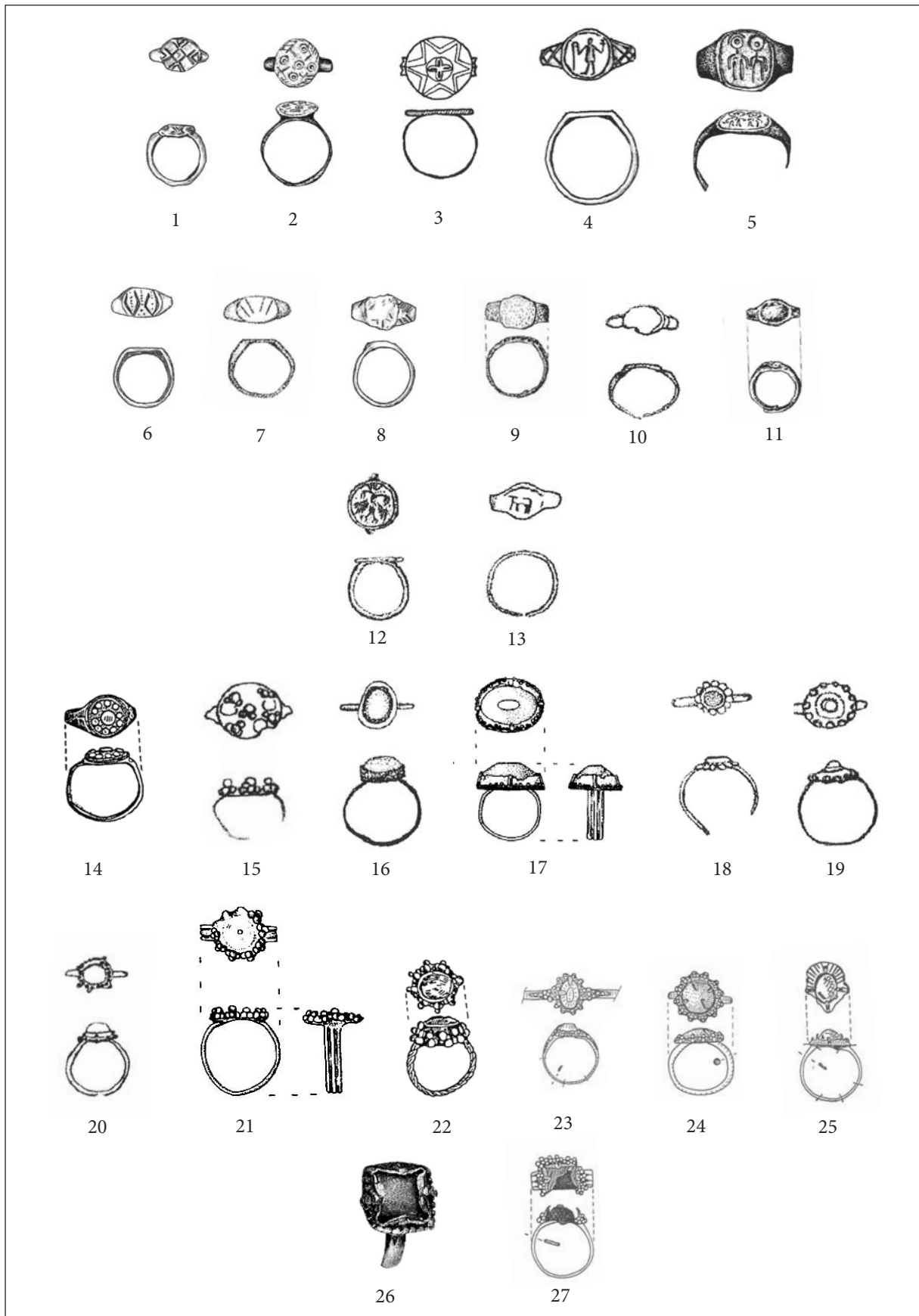


Plate 11. Rings discovered in tombs or probably from destroyed funerary complexes.