

HOARDS AND ISOLATED JEWELLERY DISCOVERED OUTSIDE THE CARPATHIAN ARCH

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In the territory to the south and east of the Carpathian Mountains, including Dobruđja, on the territory of present-day Romania, some hoards and ornaments were discovered by chance. I focused on those from the second half of the 13th c. and the beginning of the 14th c. From the point of view of the history of the population from this area, the zone selected for the study was, in the chosen chronological interval, controlled by the Tatars, obviously with some interruptions. In article were analysed the status of the research, the issue of the discoveries, models of items from hoards and isolated discoveries and their chronology. The hoards, although with many similar artefacts, are quite diverse in terms of composition. The very heterogeneous structure of the artefacts from the treasures, as well as the presence of Tatar coins or of a bracelet with the same origins indicate quite clearly that we are dealing with elites who participated in various campaigns in several areas across eastern and south-eastern Europe. The small hoards containing Balkan pieces, pose another problem. They contain neither artefacts from the environment of the Golden Horde, nor coins, nor ornaments or other pieces of clothing from the Russian space. The small hoards are may rather be connected to the local elites, who have tried to bury their reduced accumulations of pieces due to conflicts. Also, the discovery of some of the pieces in the territory of medieval settlements, in the space between housing complexes, can lead us to the idea of losses, either as a result of external attacks, or various violent disputes between members of a community. It is certain that we are dealing with pieces that were fashionable in the 13th c. and at the beginning of the next one, that circulated including in areas controlled by the Tatars.

Keywords: Romania, Golden Horde, 13th–14th c., hoards, tiara, earring, bracelet, coin.

In the territory to the south and east of the Carpathian Mountains, including Dobruđja, on the territory of present-day Romania, some hoards and ornaments were discovered by chance. Most of them are in the possession of the National Museum of Romanian History, as a result of purchases or transfer of goods from one cultural institution to another.

Of all of these artefacts, I focused on those from the second half of the 13th c. and the beginning of the 14th c. From the point of view of the history of the population from this area, according to the Romanian historiography, the zone selected for the study was, in the chosen chronological interval, controlled by the Tatars, obviously with some interruptions. In the period before the creation of the feudal states Moldavia and Țara Românească or Wallachia, the territory was largely controlled by Tatars. According to known sources, their rule under Nogai extended to the Iron Gates (*Uzelac 2018*, 273). Previously, the west of the region, namely Oltenia (the space between Drobeta-Turnu Severin and the Olt River) was offered by the Hungarian king Bela IV to the Joannite Knights in 1247. The situation was perpetuated, even if only formally, during the reign of Nogai's son, namely Ceaka.

However, at least to the south of the Carpathian Mountains, there were some local political formations, namely the kenezates of Ioan and Farcaș, as well as the voivodeships of Seneslau and Litovoi. They were mentioned in the Diploma of the Joannite Knights, from 1247 (*DIR 1951*, doc. 285, 329–333). A great number of the artefacts discovered in these territories, mainly in Oltenia (*Oța 2020a*), were either of Byzantine origin or tradition, as evidenced in particular by the funerary archaeological finds. For the end of the 13th c. and the beginning of the next, these adornments and clothing accessories appeared and in the northern half of Muntenia, as for example at Cetățeni-Poiana Târgului (*Dumitriu 2001*, 116, pl. 86: 5–8, 10) and Dridu-La Metereze (*Dumitriu 2001*, 122, pl. 90). The existence of cemeteries in which Balkan adornments are found, quite clearly indicate that we are dealing mainly with a local population. We can sparsely see some influences from the foreign populations in the art of the jewellers. We are referring especially to the appearance of question mark shaped earrings, whose origin was considered to be an eastern one, very probably having arrived here from the North-Pontic steppes and Asia (see *Vladimirov 2019*). Another part are items of oriental tradition, arrived here by trade or probably together

with their owners (bracelets decorated with stylized lion heads or the Sassanid knot).

The territorial distribution of the finds is quite diverse (three hoards in Central Moldavia: Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (*Teodor 1961*), Oțeleni (*Teodor 1964*) and Cotnari (*Dumitriu 2009*, 56, 57), two in Muntenia Pantelimon-Cernica Forest (*Oța/Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2018*), one in Prahova County (*Oța/Mirea 2021*) and one in Dobrudja in Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill (*Dumitriu 2001*, 110, 111, pl. 16: 12–15a; *Iliescu/Simion 1964*; *Oța/Dragotă/Rustoiu 2010*, 157, 168, pl. 2: 1; *Reabțeva 2014*, 103, 327, fig. 65: 7; *Teodorescu 1976*, 170). One can add to this some isolated pieces from Dobrudja (Isaccea; *Oța/Georgescu 2016b*), Păcuiul lui Soare (*Diaconu/Baraschi 1977*, 117, 120, fig. 93: 11), Dinogetia-Garvăn (*Diaconu/Baraschi 1977*, 120; *Ștefan et al. 1967*, 291–293, fig. 172: 17, 18), a bracelet from Oltenia (Runcu; *Ioniță 2005*, 141, 220, fig. 48: 25) and a diadem discovered by chance in Goranu village in Vâlcea County (*Dumitriu 2001*, 125, pl. 106; *2009*, 56, 57) which can be attributed to the same chronological interval. Of course, the number of treasures is much higher, but this time we took into consideration only those that contained jewellery and clothing accessories.

THE STATE OF THE RESEARCH

Currently, in Romania, all the discovered treasures were published in specialized articles or synthesis volumes dedicated to certain topics (see *Burda 1979*, 40; *Custurea/Talmațchi 2011*, 271, 272; *Dumitriu 2001*, 110, 111, pl. 16: 12–15a; *Teodorescu 1968*, 308, 311; *1976*, 170).

As a rule, most authors focused on offering analogies for the discovered ornaments, clothing accessories and containers, discussed the origin of the pieces and possibly the context in which they were hidden. Unfortunately, two of them, the one from Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill and Cotnari, are published only quite summarily, without an adequate description.

The proposed chronology for these hoards or isolated pieces is diverse, depending on the state of research at the time of their publication. Thus, the treasure from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard was originally considered as belonging to the period of the great Tatar invasion of 1241–1242 (*Teodor 1961*, 262), and a few years later, it was placed somewhere at the end of the mentioned century or the beginning of the next (*Oța/Georgescu 2016a*, 316). In the case of the Oțeleni treasure, the chronology of the burial was better analysed as coins were also

discovered here. Thus, it was dated based on the newest coin in 1299. Another hoard, namely the one from Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill was also dated based on coins. Although not exhaustively published, it has been proposed as the time of his burial either the years 1300–1301 or the beginning of the 14th c. The treasure discovered at Cotnari has been dated with some approximation during the 13th c., most likely in the second half.¹ In the case of the other finds, they were attributed based on their typology at the end of the 13th c. and the beginning of the next.

The issue of the discoveries is quite complex, given that after the great Tatar invasion of 1241–1242 the area outside the Carpathians and the Danube mouths region experienced quite rapid and diverse transformations. First of all, we must consider the shock that the Hungarian Kingdom had experienced in the first place (*Holban 1981*, 67–89; *Pál 2006*, 124–129; *Papacostea 1993*, 138–144) as well as its attempt to defend itself against the newcomers, namely the Tatars. One of the first measures taken by the Hungarian royalty was the cession in 1247 of the Banat of Severin to the Joannite Knights. Basically, the territory in question is mainly the territory of today's Oltenia and part of the Eastern Banat. The situation was only partially resolved after this date, as the Tatars controlled the area towards the end of the 13th c., until Severin (*Ciocâltan 2012*, 256).

The Balkan states, which were often subjected to incursions by newcomers (see *Uzelac 2015*) faced a relatively similar situation. To this, one can add the attempts of the local populations to establish local political formations, even if they functioned under the tutelage of the Mongols.

What binds these hoards together is the chronology of certain artefacts that compose them, as well as their area of discovery, from a political point of view. To this, one adds the presence in some of the treasure of adornment pieces made in the workshops of the Golden Horde, such as the Oțeleni bracelets, but also of coins minted by workshops from their territory (Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill, Oțeleni). One adds to the above discoveries a part of the isolated pieces discovered in Dobrudja such as the bracelets from Dinogetia and the fragment from Păcuiul lui Soare. Initially, the artefacts from the first point mentioned (Dinogetia-Garvăn) were dated in the 11th–12th c.; and then, over ten years, they should be returned to the dating and considered as belonging to the 13th–14th c. (*Diaconu/Baraschi 1977*, 120).

Another aspect that must be taken into account is related to the adornments and clothing accessories

¹ Unfortunately, it did not benefit from a complete, proper scientific publication.

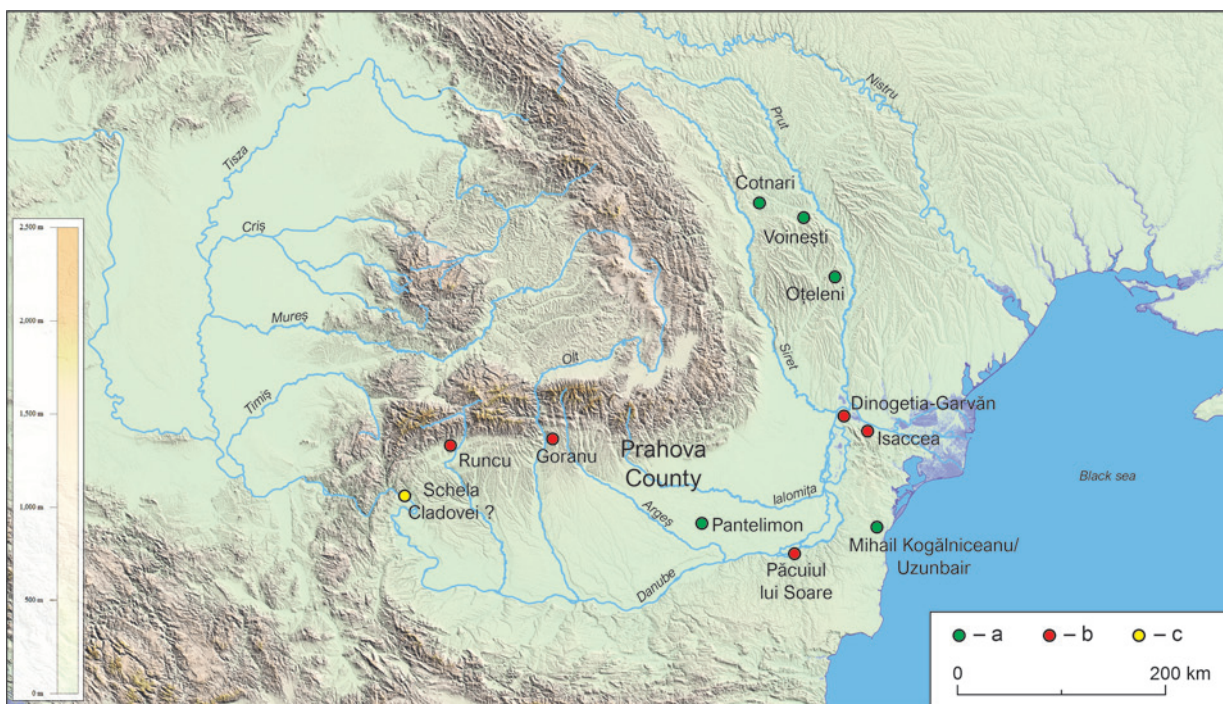


Fig. 1. Treasures and isolated discoveries of jewellery in the territory under the Tatars control. Legend: a – treasures; b – isolated discoveries; c – treasure from 15th c. with gold bracelets from Golden Horde period (Map M. Florea, S. Oța).

that were dated earlier than the last third of the 13th c. in these territories and that not infrequently appeared in the hoards studied, for example earrings discovered in Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (Fig. 3: 1, 2), Prahova County treasure (Fig. 9: 1).

THE HOARDS

At this point of the research, with regards to the area south of the Carpathian Mountains, they are concentrated especially in the eastern part of the region, namely in Muntenia, so in the space between the Olt River in the West and the Danube in the East (Pantelimon-Cernica Forest and a hoard whose place of discovery is unknown, but we know that it comes from Prahova County). In Moldavia, all three treasures are grouped in a relatively small area, in the present-day Iași County (Cotnari and Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard) as well as a third, not very far away, in Oțeleni (Vaslui County). At this stage of the research only one treasure is known in Dobrudja, namely Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill (Fig. 1).

The description of the hoards

Considering that almost all of them have already been published, except for the Prahova County

treasure (*Oțal/Mirea 2021*, 159–177), I will settle for their brief description.

Dobrudja

Only one hoard from the period analysed in this article was discovered in this region, namely on the territory of Constanța County.

1. Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill (year of discovery: 1962–1963; locality: Mihail Kogălniceanu; place of discovery: Constanța County). The treasure (*Custurea/Talmațchi 2011*, 271, 272), deposited in three copper and three ceramic containers, included coins (195 Byzantine *hyperperi* as well as Latin imitations, 92 ingots and 11 silver cakes, two simple hair links, made of gold (Fig. 2: 1, 2), three bracelets, one of which was made of silver (Fig. 2: 3), one of gold (Fig. 2: 4) and a fragment of common metal, but gilded. The coins discovered were issued by John III Dukas Vatatzes (1222–1254), Theodor II Lascaris (1254–1258), Andronic II Paleologus (1282–1295) and Michael IX (1294–1320), Michael IX (1295–1320). To them one we can add 23,439 silver Tatar coins from the period 1280–1312. Unfortunately, it was not published exhaustively, but with rather brief descriptions.

Moldavia

Here too the number of treasures is limited, namely only three (Cotnari, Oțeleni, Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard).

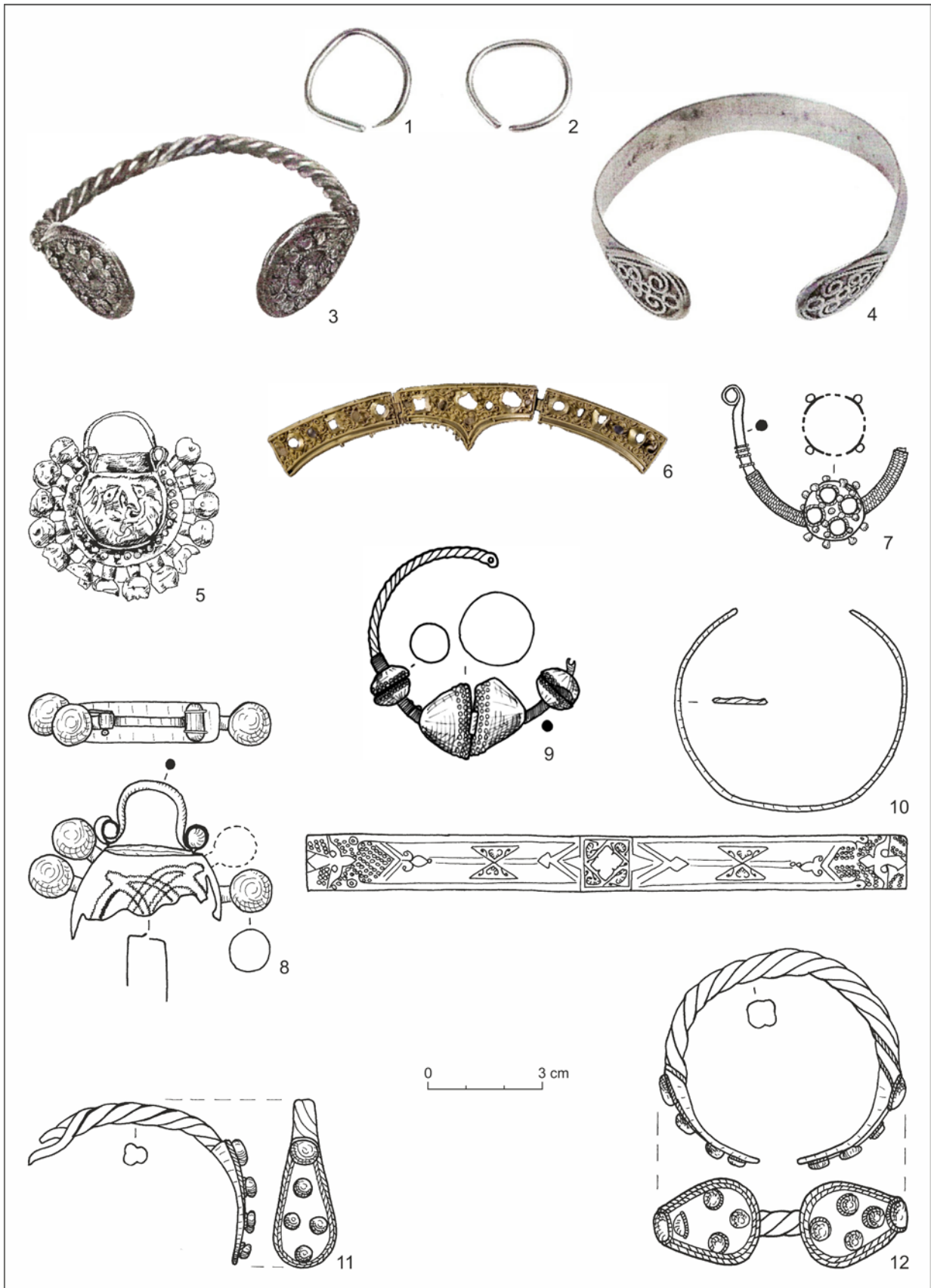


Fig. 2. 1-4 – Mihail Kogălniceanu/Uzunbaiîr (after Dumitriu 2001); 5, 6 – Cotnari (5 – after Reabtseva 2014; 6 – photo M. Amarie); 7-12 – Oțeleni (drawings G. Ducman).

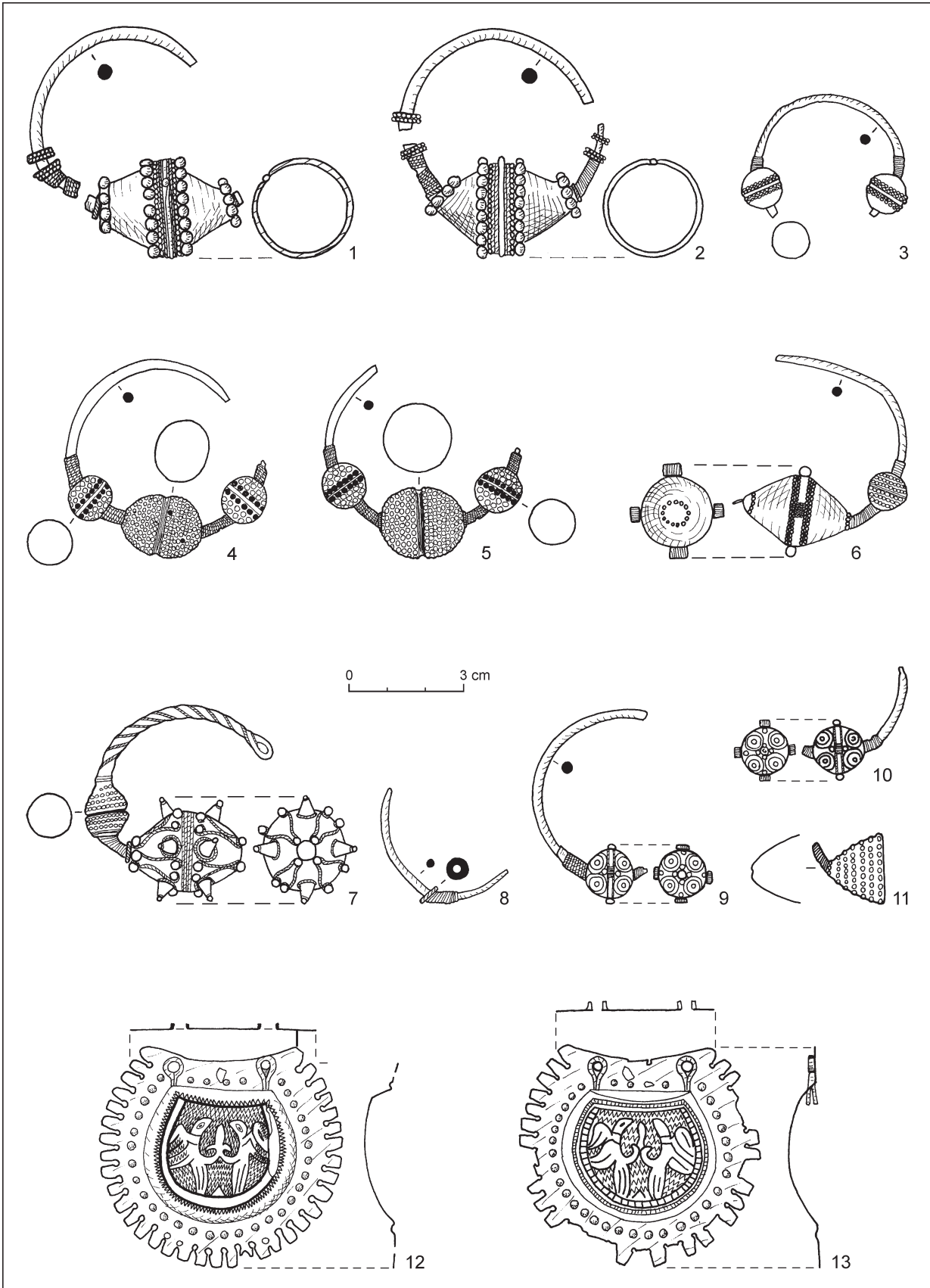


Fig. 3. Voinești. Earrings (drawings by G. Ducman).

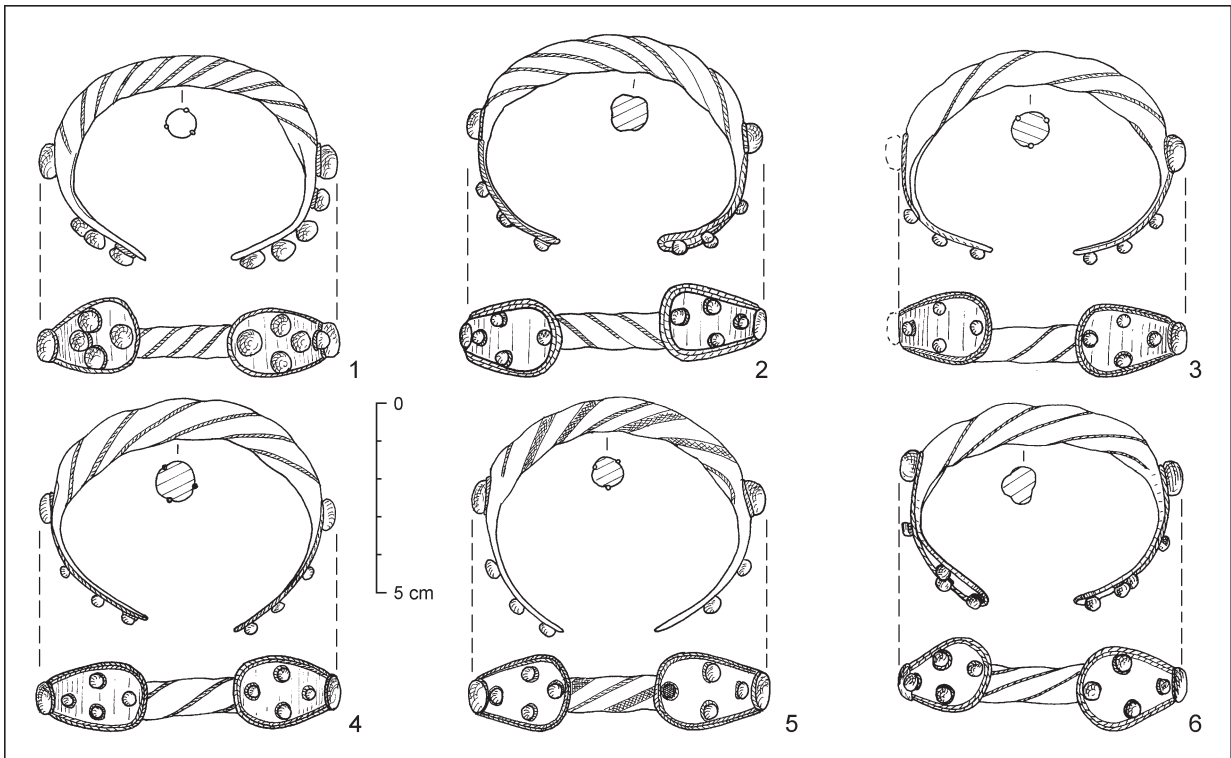


Fig. 4. Voinești. Bracelets (drawings by G. Ducman).

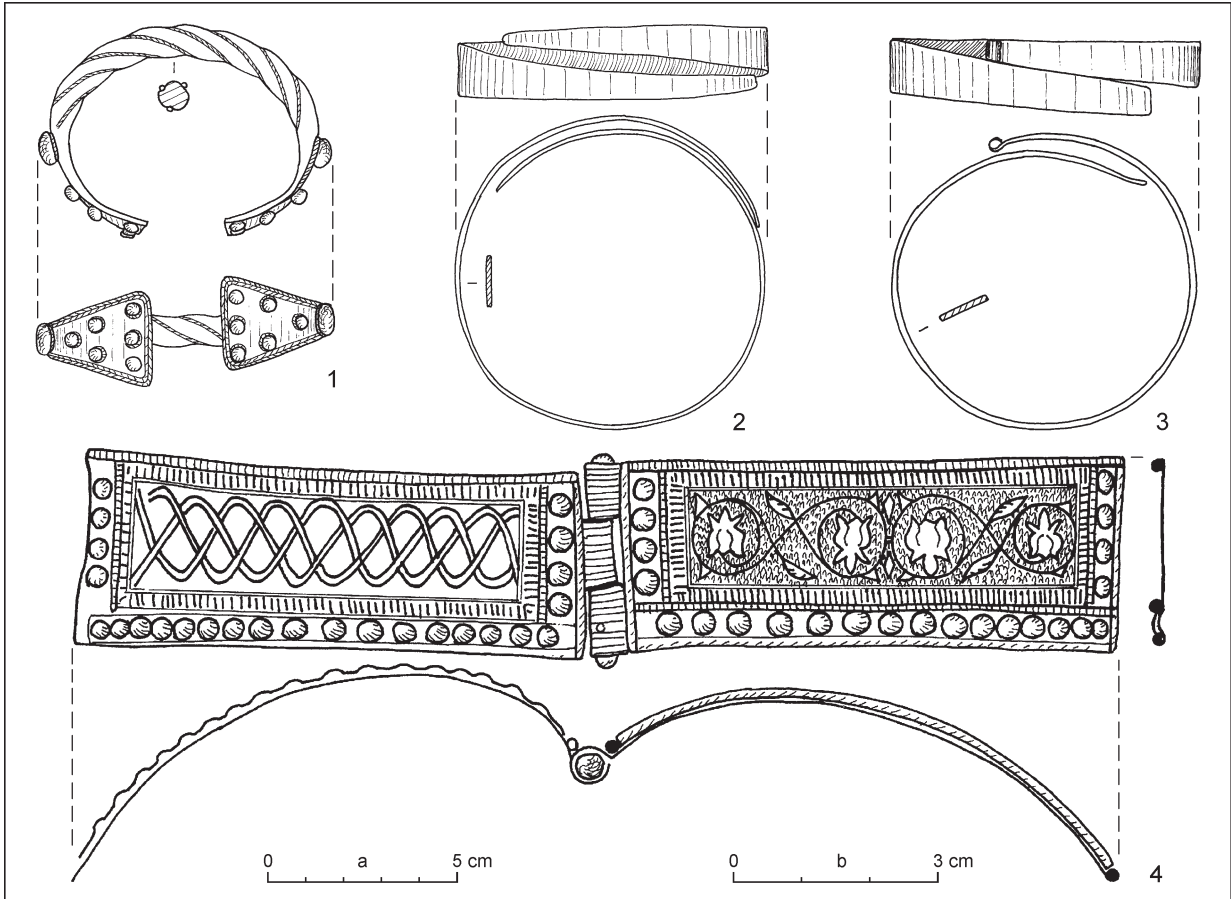


Fig. 5. Voinești. Bracelets (drawings by G. Ducman). Scale: a - 1-3; b - 4.

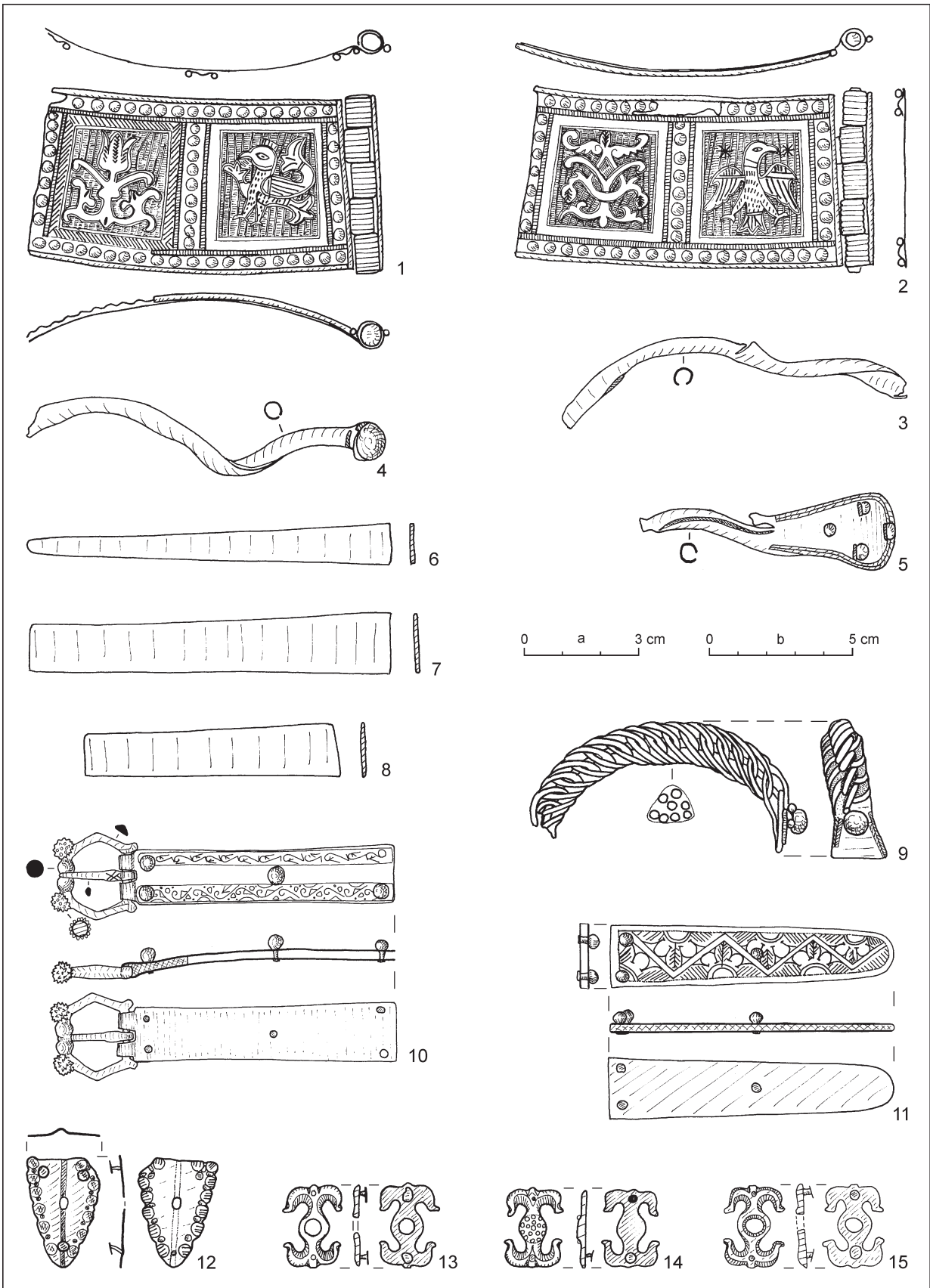


Fig. 6. Voinești. Bracelets and belt accessories (drawings by G. Ducman). Scale: a - 1-9, 12-15; b - 10, 11.

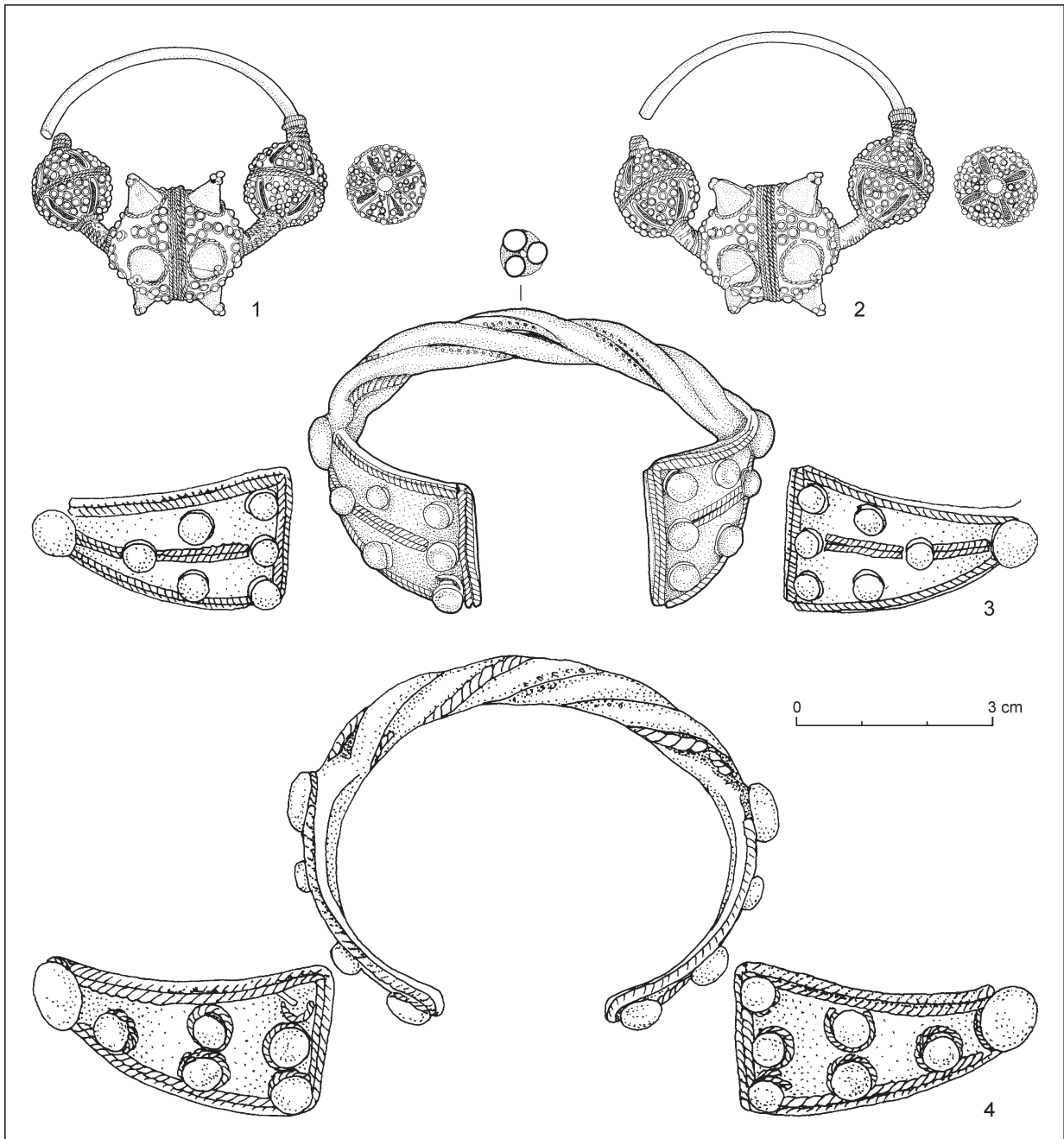


Fig. 7. Pantelimon-Cernica Forest. Earrings and bracelets (drawings by S. Mateescu).

1. Cotnari (year of discovery: (?); locality: Cotnari; place of discovery: Iași County). The hoard (*Burda* 1979, 40; *Teodorescu* 1976, 163, 164, 169, fig. 174; 176) contains several items of adornment, namely a few earrings (Fig. 2: 5) and a tiara (Fig. 2: 6).
2. Oțeleni (year of discovery: 1921; settlement: Oțeleni; village Deleni; place of discovery: in the village; Vaslui County). The items were discovered in a ceramic pot (*Iliescu* 1964; *Teodor* 1964). Of all the pieces discovered,² today only three earrings (Fig. 2: 7–9) of which only one almost complete (Fig. 2: 9), two entire bracelets (Fig. 2: 10,
- 12) and one half (Fig. 2: 11) are still preserved. To these are added two Byzantine gold coins (*Teodor* 1964, 343) issued by Ioan Vatatzes (1222–1254), as well as 80 Tatar coins issued by the Khans Tuda-Mangu (1280–1287), Tula Buga (1287–1290) and Toctai (1290–1311). According to Octavian Iliescu we are dealing with 79 Tatar coins and 11 of their imitations (*Iliescu* 1964, 363).
3. Voinești (year of discovery: 1926; settlement: Voinești; place of discovery: Alexandru Baisan's vineyard; Iași County). The hoard was buried in a ceramic container and was composed of 31 items of adornment and clothing

² 300–400 coins, two pairs of earrings, a tiara made of gilded silver.

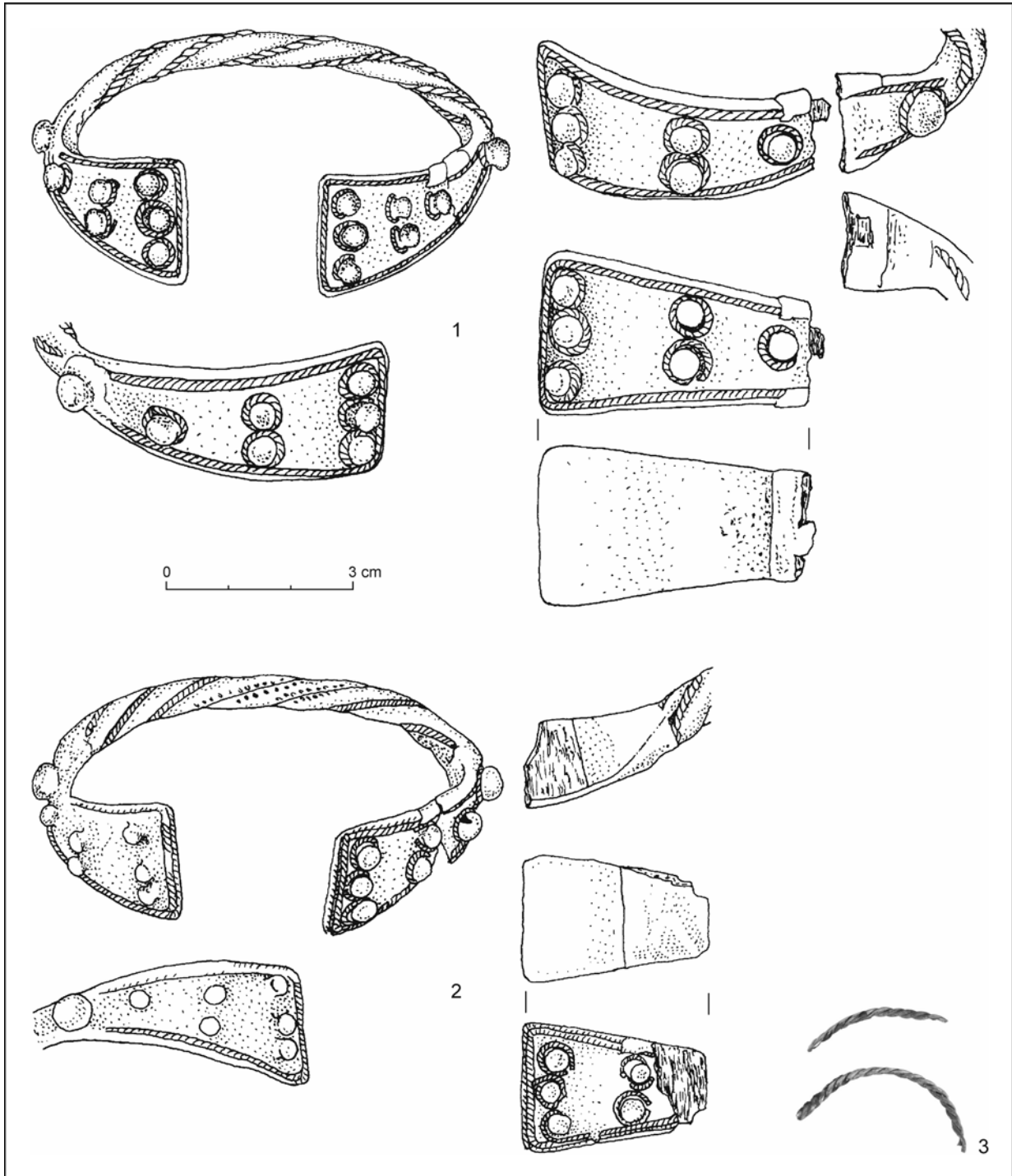


Fig. 8. Pantelimon-Cernica Forest. Bracelets (drawings by S. Mateescu, photo M. Amarie).

accessories (OŃal/Georgescu 2016a; Teodor 1961). These are nine complete and fragmentary temple earrings (Fig. 3), ten complete bracelets (Fig. 4; 5) and four fragmented ones (Fig. 6: 1–9), a complete pendant (part of a Kolt type earring and a fragment (Fig. 3: 11), a belt buckle with a plaque (Fig. 6: 10) and a belt flaps (Fig. 6: 11), as well as four appliques (Fig. 6: 12–15). Part of them were lost, namely an applique, a ring as well as the fragments of the vessel in which they were deposited.

Wallachia

The presence of the treasures is numerically reduced and is limited to only two such discoveries (Pantelimon-Cernica Forest and one from Prahova County).

1. Pantelimon (year of discovery: 2016; settlement: Pantelimon, Cernica Forest; place of discovery: Ilfov County). The hoard contained (OŃal/Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2018)

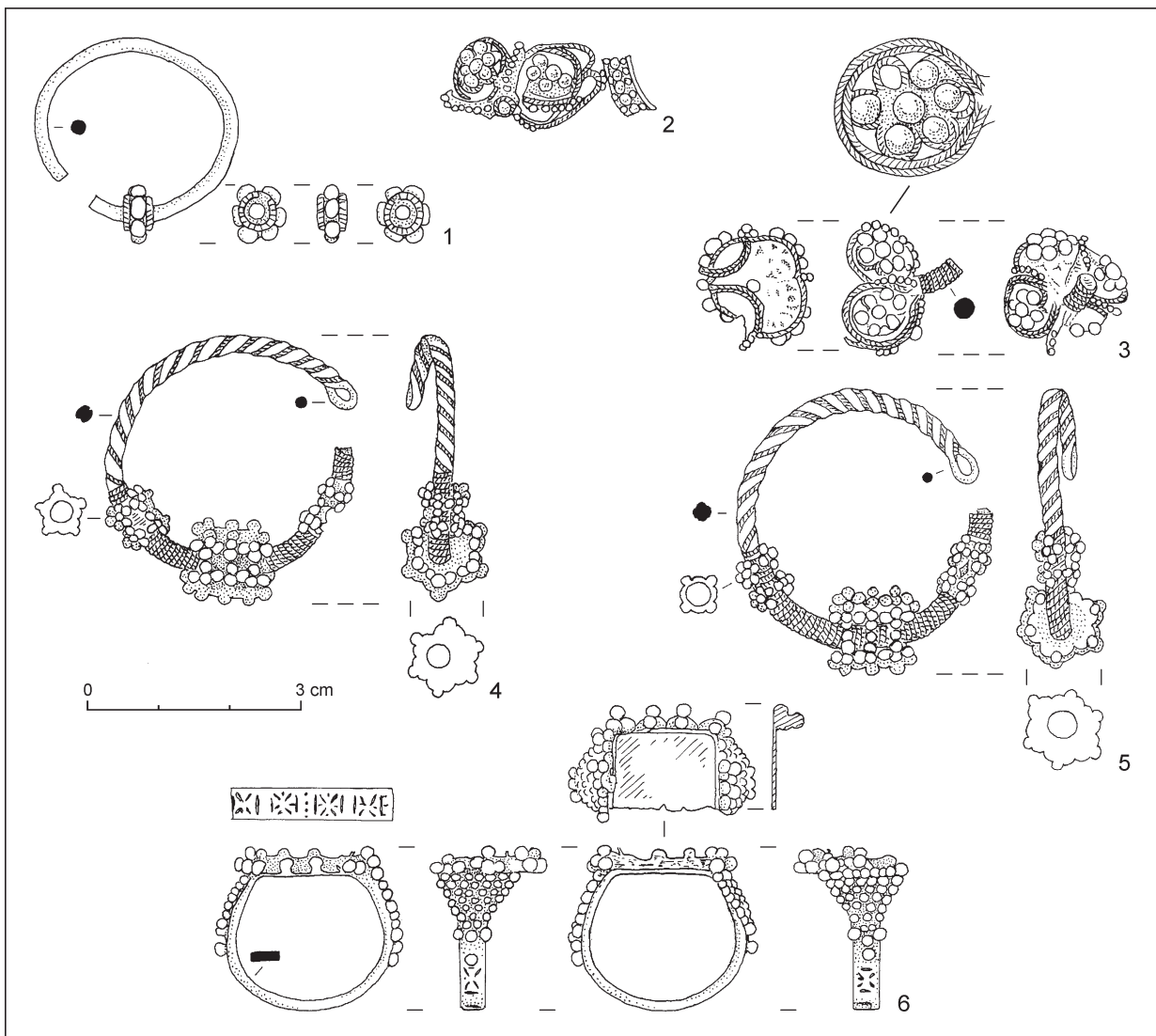


Fig. 9. Prahova County. Earrings, fragments of earrings and finger ring (drawings by S. Mateescu).

two gold earrings (Fig. 7: 1, 2) and four silver bracelets (Fig. 7: 3, 4; 8). All items were decorated in the granulation and filigree technique. Two of the bracelets were broken in the past, and afterwards repaired.

2. Prahova hoard (year of discovery: unknown, probably interwar period; place of discovery: Prahova County; *OȚa/Mirea 2021*, 159–177). The treasure includes three complete earrings and two fragments (Fig. 9: 1–5) and a ring (Fig. 9: 6). All jewellerys were manufactured from silver in the granulation and filigree technique. It does not contain coins.

It can be easily noticed from the inventory of the hoards that these are extremely diverse items, both in terms of typology and in their origin (Fig. 12).

Tiaras

No tiaras were found in the analysed treasures from this chronological timeframe. The exception is the Cotnari specimen (Fig. 2: 6), with good analo-

gies in the Ukrainian space, such as in Kamenny Brod, in the region of Zhytomyr (*Reabteva 2014*, 24, 268, fig. 6: 2). The latter was dated to the end of the 12th c. and the beginning of the 13th c.

To this one can add a fragment from a tiara, originally thought to be a fragment of a perforated pendant earring. Newer and older research has proved that such pieces are not earrings, but parts of tiaras, particular to the Russian space. They were discovered for example at Staraia Riazan (*Riabtseva 2011*, 86, fig. 7: 2, 3), and their variants were found in many other points to the north of the Black Sea (see *Riabtseva 2011*). Most often, they were probably used to a support made of leather or textile band. This detail can be seen at the sets of such tiaras (*Riabtseva 2011*, 86, fig. 7: 1–5, 9). They were dated mainly during the 12th–13th c. Very likely the specimen from Oțeleni had three such pendants of equal size, but only one is preserved (Fig. 2: 7).

Hair links

Hair links are present only in one treasure, the one from Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiır Hill and were fashioned from gold (Fig. 2: 1, 2). Being very simple, they have been in use since the 10th c. and were in use at least until the 13th c. Such gold pieces have been found in tombs attributed to Turanic nomads, as for example at Fridensfeld/Mirnopole (*Spinei 1985*, 112), Plavni (*Spinei 1985*, 115), Sărata (?) (*Spinei 1985*, 116), Tuzla (*Spinei 1985*, 118) in Odessa region. Because they are made of gold, they were considered valuable pieces that could be hoarded.

Earrings

Earrings are quite diverse in terms of typology, but also chronologically. Some of them were most likely fashioned as early as the 12th c. or the first half of the next, and some specimens very likely belong to the end of the 13th c. and the beginning of the 14th c.

The Kolt type earrings

They were discovered in the hoards from Moldavia and come in four different models. The simplest earrings (Kolt type) are those from the Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard treasure (Fig. 3: 12, 13).³ They were made of pressed foil, cutting, hammering, incision and enamelling. They most likely represent a local variant in terms of manufacturing. The decoration, represented by two birds, also appears on the Cotnari artefacts. They have been dated during the 13th c.

The next earring comes from the Cotnari hoard (Fig. 2: 5). Although the central area is similarly decorated, 14 tin spheres have been mounted on tubes along the edges; some have been only partially preserved.

A piece preserved fragmentarily, decorated in the central area with a different motif, difficult to specify which one, is part of the treasure from Oțeleni (Fig. 2: 8). On the edges it was similarly decorated, with tin spheres fixed on tubes.

One last pair of earrings belongs to the treasure from Cotnari (*Teodorescu 1976*, 164, 169, fig. 176). These are ornamented along the edges with cassettes in which pieces of blue and green glass have been mounted. The specimens here have analogies in North Macedonia, at Prilep-Markovi Kuli (*Bikić 2010*, 52, 53, fig. 25; *Maneva 1992*, 194, pl. 27: 58/44a) or Kočani-Orizari (*Maneva 1992*, 137, pl. 27: 24/21a, 21b). There, they have been dated to around the middle

of the 14th c., but very likely these models have also circulated earlier.

Earring with granule mouldings

Only one specimen is known, namely in the hoard from Prahova County (Fig. 9: 1). Such ornaments have been in use for a long time, namely from the 11th to the 13th c. The area of maximum spread is in the former Yugoslav space and in the east of the Romanian Banat in Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă, Cuptoare-Sfogea (*Oța 2008*, 93; *2014a*, 391–393, 397–399, 406, pl. 1). These specimens are quite diverse, namely with a moulding, two or three, either single or double. Sometimes the link in the space between them was decorated with granules or tubes fashioned from spiralled wire. Unfortunately, these ornaments have hardly been found in association with coins. The lack of numismatic artefacts in the tombs containing ornaments is a characteristic of most funerary complexes from the Lower Danube area in the 11th–13th c., especially in the South-Danube space and in Eastern Banat and Oltenia, in the necropolises from South-Danubian 2.⁴

The earrings displaying three unequal mounts on the link

Such earrings are the most diverse found in these hoards. They were discovered at Oțeleni, Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard, Pantelimon-Cernica Forest and in the treasure from Prahova County. Depending on the link, they are divided into:

1. Earrings with a simple link (Fig. 3: 4–6). Depending on the material they were fashioned of they are from gold or gilded silver.
 - 1.1. Gold earrings were discovered in the hoard from the Pantelimon-Cernica Forest (Fig. 7: 1, 2).
 - 1.2. Gilded silver earrings come from the same treasure from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (Fig. 3: 4–6). At present this hoard contains two models:
 - 1.2.1. Earrings with the central sphere decorated with granules, and the side ones with circles of filigree wire. In the median area the spheres are perforated (Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard; Fig. 3: 4, 5).
 - 1.2.2. Gilded silver earring. The preserved lateral sphere (one is missing) is decorated with pseudo-granules. The central, biconical pendant is similarly decorated towards its ends and in the central area. Tubes from spiralled wire were glued on the middle (Fig. 3: 6).

³ To them, an identical but partially destroyed half earring, not illustrated here, can be added.

⁴ These necropolises are similar in inventory and funerary practices to those south of the Danube from the XI–XIII c., from the time of the Byzantine Reconquista of the Balkans until the end of the Second Vlach-Bulgarian Empire. They are concentrated in the eastern Banat, Dobrogea and Oltenia and less often in western Banat and Vojvodina (Serbia; for example, see *Oța 2010*, 403–433; *2014b*, 188–193; *2015*; *2020a*).

1.3. Silver earrings with biconical pendant, flanked by four double mouldings of granules (Fig. 3: 1, 2). A pair of such earrings was discovered in the treasure from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard. Because of the two lateral ornaments, they represent a variant of those with biconical pendant, flanked by moulding of granules. North of the Danube they are known in the necropolises from Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță (Oța 2008, 290, pl. 106: 14), the so-called Tokaj hoard (*Mesterházy 1994, 196, 198, 199, fig. 1: 1, 2; 2*) and Craiova-Făcăi (*Dumitriu 2001, 118, pl. 50: 3*). Having a simple link, their date of manufacture usually does not exceed the beginning of the last third of the 13th c. The greatest area where they spread was in the central part of the Balkans, near the Danube, being rarer towards North Macedonia.⁵

A few more fragmentary earrings can be added to these artefacts (Fig. 3: 3, 9, 10). They were discovered at Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard. They are made of silver, then gilded. All pieces have a simple link and appear to belong to specimens with three unequal pendants on the link. The first earring (Fig. 3: 3) has lateral spheres decorated in the median area with two rows of pseudo-granules. The central pendant is missing. Earring pendants decorated in a similar fashion, only in the middle part, are quite rare, especially in the case of artefacts with three such unequal mounts on the link.

Two fragments from another earring were decorated with concentric circles of filigree wire, and in the middle area with tubes of simple, spiralled wire (Fig. 3: 9, 10). This decorative model has analogies in the Bulgarian space at Kaliakra and three pieces from the collection of the Varna Museum. In the first case, namely in the Kaliakra necropolis, it is about of different models of earrings. The first one, is shaped as a question mark, while the second one with a link made of simple wire. In the case of the latter, the decoration was applied to a central pendant, flanked by side mouldings made of thicker wire. In the case of the Varna collection, we have three earrings; the first two artefacts have a simple pendant, fixed on the link, while the third one is similar to the last-mentioned piece from the Kaliakra necropolis. The pieces have been dated differently, either in the 13th–14th c. or in the 12th–13th c. Most likely, they belong to the 13th c., given the link model, but also the dating of the Kaliakra necropolis, namely in the 13th–14th c.

A fragment from a central pendant, decorated with pseudo-granules (Fig. 3: 11) belonged to

another earring, if we consider the thickness of the preserved link fragment, compared to those of the fragmentary artefacts from the hoard. Unfortunately, the pendant halves, entirely decorated with pseudo-granules, makes it almost impossible to assign it to any particular earring model.

2. Earrings with a double wire link, partially twisted, ornamented with filigree (Fig. 3: 7, 8; 9: 4, 5). There are only three partially preserved artefacts in this lot of hoards (one in Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard) and two complete ones (the treasure from Prahova County; Fig. 9: 4, 5). This type of link most likely appeared in the last third of the 13th c., and was used until the beginning of the 15th c., but less often. The artefacts are two models with totally different decorations. All the pieces were made from silver, but only the earring from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard shows traces of gilding.

2.1. As far as the piece from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard is concerned, the lateral sphere which is preserved, is decorated with pseudo-granules and the central one in the technique of granulation and filigree, with cones fashioned from silver leaf. Such earrings are best dated in the last third of the 13th c. and the beginning of the 14th c.

2.2. The earrings from Prahova County have their sides decorated with double mouldings, and the central decoration consists of triple mouldings of silver granules. These ornaments can be dated similarly to the previous one. Some other earring fragments, probably from the treasure discovered in Prahova County, are likely to be part of these models of earrings, namely with the link made of twisted silver wire (Fig. 9: 2, 3).

3. Earrings with a simple wire link, twisted and perforated at the ends (Oțeleni; Fig. 2: 9). This feature of the link appears to be rather unusual at this stage of research. The link fashioned from rectangular, twisted wire are specific to the end of the 13th c. and the beginning of the next. To the south of the Carpathian Mountains, such earrings was discovered in the necropolis from the Cetățeni-Poiana Târgului (*Dumitriu 2001, 116, pl. 86: 7, 8*) and it was gilded.

Neck adornments are completely missing from these hoards. In fact, it is a period when beads predominated and they were not hoarded, as they were fashioned mostly from glass, stone or clay.

Arm adornments consist of bracelets and fingerings.

⁵ See Oța 2013. For example, see Vinča (Serbia), Skopje (North Macedonia) and a variant at Svinița (Romania).

Bracelets

At the current research stage, several models of bracelets are known, namely:

1. From a simple silver band (Fig. 5: 3) and gilded silver (Fig. 5: 2) two complete artefacts and three fragments were discovered (Fig. 6: 6–8) in the treasure from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard. They can have both ends sharp or a sharp end while the opposite one is bended as a tube towards the outside. They have analogies in the Polish area (Chervensky) and in Ukraine in Kiev-Deseatina Church and the Miropol hoard (*Oța/Georgescu 2016, 306, 307, fig. 3: 1, 2; 4: 1–3*). Their chronology differs from one region to another, starting from the second half of the 12th c., in the case of the Ukrainian space, and up to the 13th–14th c. for the treasure from Poland.
2. Gold band bracelet with flattened, rounded heads, decorated with filigree wire representing vegetal motifs (Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill; Fig. 2: 4). The artefact can be dated during the 13th and early 14th c.
3. Bracelet made of common metal, gilded, partially preserved (Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill). Unfortunately, the specimen was not described, drawn or photographed in order to appreciate whether it was decorated or not and to make a typological or chronological categorisation.
4. Cast bracelets, decorated with enamel (Oțeleni; Fig. 2: 10). These specimens have as decoration stylized lion heads, vegetal motifs and the Sassanid knot. They were thought to be adornments specific to the Golden Horde (*Nicolae/Costin 1998–2003, 181–183; Reabțeva 2014, 99, 100*). On the present territory of Romania, besides the hoards from Oțeleni, they were also discovered at Dinogetia-Garvăn (*Reabțeva 2014, 99, 326, fig. 64: 7, 8; Ștefan et al. 1967, 291, fig. 172: 17, 18*) and Păcuiul lui Soare (*Diaconu/Baraschi 1977, 117, 120, fig. 93: 11*). The area where they are found, as well as their chronology, indicate quite clearly that they are pieces that in the Lower Danube region are dated towards the end of the 13th c. and the beginning of the next. Due to the decorative motifs, it is believed that they had an apotropaic role.
5. Charnier bracelets (Voinești-Via Alexandru Baisan; Fig. 5: 4; 6: 1, 2), considered to be pieces of Byzantine tradition (see *Bosselman-Ruickbie 2011, 400, 402, fig. 150a, b; 161; 162*), have been discovered in various archaeological contexts. Their chronology is diverse, from one region to another, starting in the 10th c. (Hungary, Greece) and they were discovered in south-eastern and eastern Europe. As far as the extra-Carpathian area from Romania is concerned, they are known to have been discovered only in the treasure from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard. These artefacts were manufactured from silver with gold leaf applied on certain parts. Their decoration is a complex one (vegetal and animal motifs and winding lines), made by pressing and hammering, but also with enamel. The chronology for these artefacts has its upper limit in the 12th–13th c., and in places even in the 14th c. (*Oța/Georgescu 2016, 310, 311, fig. 8; Riabțeva 2005, 256–260*). These artefacts, especially the second one, have good analogies in terms of decoration with an artefact preserved in the Thessaloniki Museum (*Bosselman-Ruickbie 2011, 274–279*). The present bracelet (from Greece), decorated with enamel, has been dated during the course of the 10th c.
6. Bracelets made of twisted wire (Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill; Fig. 2: 3; Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard; Fig. 4: 5; Oțeleni; Fig. 2: 11; Pantelimon-Cernica Forest; Fig. 7: 4; 8: 1, 2). Several models are known for them.
 - 6.1. A first batch, which is represented by artefacts that have pear-shaped heads. Depending on the manner in which the body of the bracelet was manufactured, two models are distinguished.
 - 6.1.1. The first one was manufactured from two simple, twisted wires. An artefact comes from Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill (Fig. 2: 3). Currently, another bracelet with similar decorations of the flattened heads has also been discovered in Bulgaria (*Pavlova 2007, 76, Cat. no. 15.5*) and it very likely comes from Varna. This bracelet was manufactured from thin gold wires, largely twisted several times. The ends are decorated in a fashion similar to those of the bracelet from Dobrudja. The way of manufacturing the body, very likely indicates a Balkan workshop, located south of the Danube. Considering that the hoard from Tulcea County is dated with the help of coins, we can appreciate that the artefact can be dated most likely in the second half of the 13th c., or the beginning of the next.
 - 6.1.2. The second model was identified in the treasure from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (Fig. 4: 5) and Oțeleni (twisted silver wires; Fig. 2: 11), and have pear-shaped heads. So far this type of adornments has been discovered only north of the Danube, in the hoards from Moldavia. They can be dated starting with the second half of the 13th c. and the beginning of the next. So far, they have no analogies either east of the Prut River or south of the Danube.
 - 6.2. Bracelets with trapezoid-shaped endings. They come from the Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (Fig. 5: 1) and the Pantelimon-Cernica Forest (Fig. 7: 3, 4; 8: 1, 2) hoards.

A similar specimen comes from a treasure discovered at Păcuiul lui Soare, which was dated in the middle of the 14th c. (*Diaconu/Baraschi 1977*, 125, fig. 98: 3). Another artefact was discovered at Amnaș, in southern Transylvania. Unfortunately, the numismatic material was not published in this last case, but very likely it was buried at the beginning of the 14th c., according to the coins it contained. Such adornments have not been discovered in present-day Bulgaria and the former Yugoslavia.

7. Bracelet made of thin wires twisted several times, of which only a fragment has been preserved, comes from the treasure from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (Fig. 6: 9). This has its end broken, but probably it was trapezoid in shape based on analogies. Such pieces were most likely manufactured in the territories south of the Danube. To the north of the river, they occur only relatively rarely and are usually later specimens, if we consider the decorations on the endings (*Mesterházy 1994*, 206; *Oța 2020a*, 269; *2021*, 105, 110, pl. 6: 5; *Oța/ Dragotă/Rustoiu 2010*, 159, 170, pl. 4: 4; *Weisskircher 1935*, 232, 236, fig. 2). Most of the known specimens were discovered south of the Danube, and their chronology is varied, from the 13th and 14th c., but they can also be found in the 15th c. (*Oța 2020b*, 271, 274, pl. 1 and the corresponding bibliography).
8. Two models made from twisted tubes are known, namely with pear-shaped and trapezoid-shaped endings.
 - 8.1. Bracelets with pear-shaped endings were discovered in the treasures from Oțeleni (Fig. 2: 12) and Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (Fig. 4: 1–4, 6; 6: 3–5). At this stage in the research, they have no analogies in south-eastern Europe. The artefacts from both hoards have identical decorations on their endings.
 - 8.2. Bracelets with trapezoid-shaped endings were discovered in the treasure from the Pantelimon-Cernica Forest (Fig. 7: 3). The decoration of the endings, unlike the other artefacts in the hoard, has a double additional midline, made of filigree wire.

It should be noted that the bracelets which have the body made from twisted silver wires or tubes, but which have the ends in the shape of a trapezoid, were found only north of the Danube in Amnaș (*Weisskircher 1935*, 232, fig. 2), Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (*Teodor 1961*, 246, 247, fig. 2: 3), Pantelimon-Cernica Forest (*Oța/Oberlander-Târnoaveanu 2018*, 225, 248, 249, pl. 8; 9: 2) with one exception (Păcuiul lui Soare). Other similar artefacts are found only to the

east of the Prut River, but also in Syria (*Reabțeva 2014*, 102, 238, fig. 66: 1). With the exception of the bracelet from the hoard from Păcuiul lui Soare, dated in the middle of the 14th c., all the others can be dated in the second half of the 13th c. and the beginning of the 14th c. (*Oța/Oberlander-Târnoaveanu 2018*, 230–233).

Ring

Only one artefact was discovered, decorated in the granulation technique, with a cassette with coloured glass or semiprecious stone (Fig. 9: 6). As far as the manufacturing method is concerned, the artefact has analogies in the south-eastern European space. We will stop in this case at the manner in which the cassette was manufactured, namely rectangular, with groups of granules on the edges. From this point of view, the ring has analogies with artefacts from Craiova-Fântâna Obedeanu (*Dumitriu 2001*, 119, pl. 89: 9), Kardoskút, the medieval village Fecskés,⁶ from the Macoviște treasure (*Uzum 1984*, 513, fig. 3: a). Regarding the placement of the granules on the shoulders of the link we can see that it is known from artefacts discovered at Beograd, Trnjane (Serbia) and Romula (Romania; *Oța/Mirea 2021*, 162, fig. 5: a, b). For these two elements, analogies lead to a dating in the 11th–13th c.

Belt with appliques

Belt with appliques (Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard) it was quite often used in south-eastern Europe in the 13th–14th c. (Fig. 6: 4–15). The chronology of these artefacts is generally the same, with slight variations from region to region depending on the context of the discovery. The belt from this treasure indicates a possible robbery done by the one who buried these artefacts, due to the small number of appliques found, as compared to other contemporary specimens. Very likely it is a spoil, like the whole lot of pieces with very diverse origins.

Buckle with plate, from the point of view of the model it shares similarities with an artefact discovered in Bulgaria, at Doliște (*Pavlova 2004*, 167, 175, tab. 1). The appliques on the belt (Fig. 6: 13, 15) are also similar in form. Another applique (Fig. 6: 14) is very similar to those from another belt from the same settlement (*Pavlova 2004*, 167, 175, tab. 2). A third belt, also from Doliște, has a combination of the two types of appliques, like the one from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (*Pavlova 2004*, 167, 168, 176, tab. 3).

The same artefacts also had heart-shaped appliques. Given these analogies, the belt with

⁶ We offer our thanks for the information to our colleague Zoltán Rózsa from MNM Budapest.

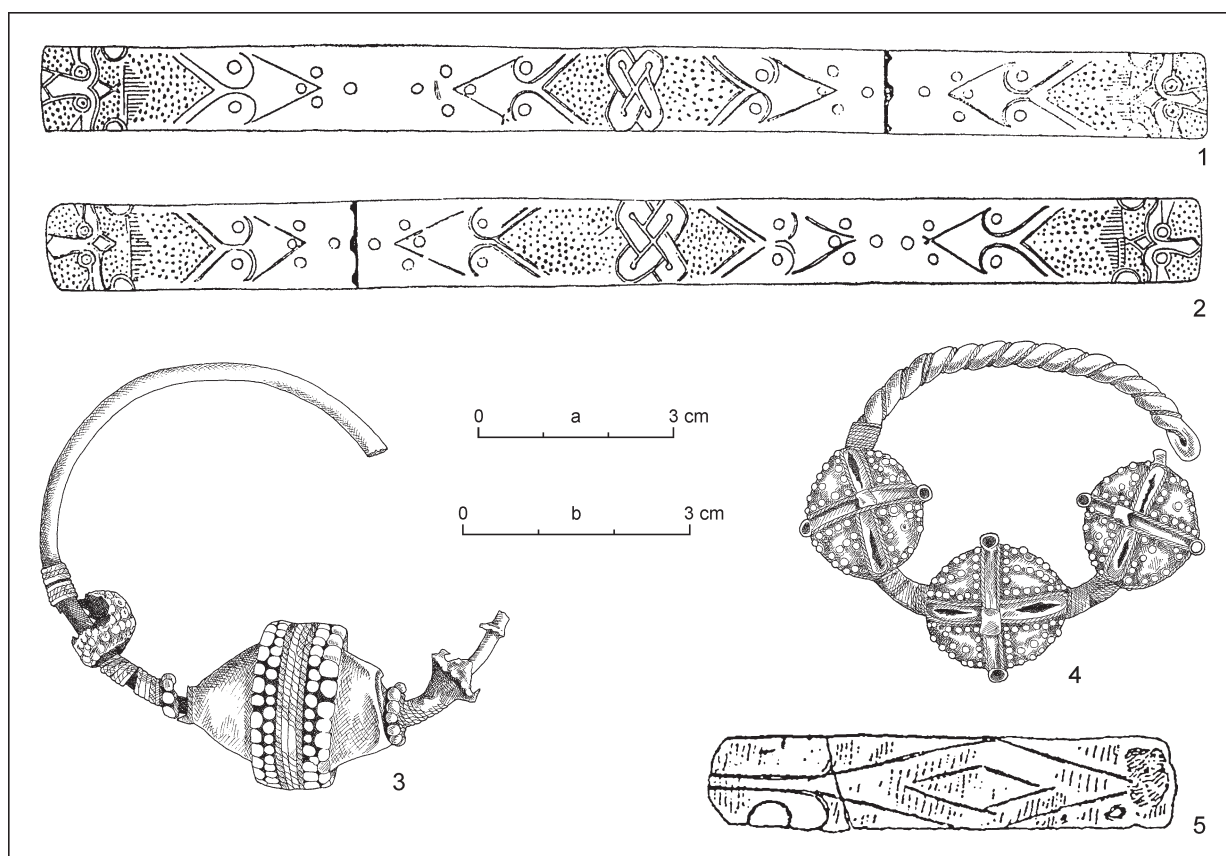


Fig. 10. 1, 2 – Dinogetia-Garvăn, bracelets (after Dumitriu 2001); 3, 4 – Isaccea, earrings (drawing by S. Mateescu); 5 – Păcuiul lui Soare, bracelet fragment (after Dumitriu 2001; without scale). Scale: a – 1, 2; b – 3, 4.

appliques discovered at Voinești must be dated similarly, namely to the end of the 13th c. and the beginning of the 14th c.

The discoveries from Silistra (Atanasov 2011, 93, fig. 4) and the Varna area (Radišić 2014, 114, 115, pl. 3: 5; dated in the second half of the 13th c. and the first half of the following), of some other artefacts with the same utility, but also of some belt appliques at Păcuiul lui Soare (Diaconu/Baraschi 1977, 116, 118, fig. 94: 1, 2), dated in the second half of the 13th c., complement the number of belts from the Golden Horde period in the Lower Danube basin.

ORNAMENTS DISCOVERED ISOLATED

There are quite a few isolated pieces, but almost all the specimens discovered are made from precious metals. They come from chance discoveries or sys-

tematic archaeological research, but do not necessarily come from closed archaeological complexes.⁷ The exception is the bracelet fragment from Păcuiul lui Soare, made of brass and the belt appliques from the same settlement. In such situations, it was considered that their significance is mainly related to losses⁸ or that they are 'emergency hoards' (Custurea/Talmațchi 2011, 43)⁹. Geographically speaking, they were discovered in Dobrudja (Dinogetia-Garvăn, Isaccea, Păcuiul lui Soare), Muntenia (Goranu) and Oltenia (Runcu). Of these, three pieces come from archaeological excavations (Dinogetia-Garvăn and Păcuiul lui Soare). The other two pieces were discovered by chance.

Two bracelets (Fig. 10: 1, 2), attributable to the Golden Horde were discovered at Dinogetia-Garvăn among other habitation complexes. The artefacts were again rediscussed in 1977 and correctly attributed to the Golden Horde.

⁷ Here we have also selected some pieces that belong to belts with appliques (Păcuiul lui Soare) or bracelets (Păcuiul lui Soare and Dinogetia-Garvăn) that can be safely attributed to the Golden Horde period and which have analogies in the analysed hoards.

⁸ The bracelets from Dinogetia-Garvăn, the bracelet fragment and the belt appliques from Păcuiul lui Soare must be considered as lost pieces.

⁹ Very likely here we are dealing with the earrings from Isaccea and the bracelet from Runcu.

Two earrings discovered in the settlement of Isaccea (Tulcea County) also come from Dobrudja. The first artefact (Fig. 10: 3), was manufactured from silver (OȚa/Georgescu 2016, 448, 449, 454, pl. 1; 4: 1). The link was manufactured from a simple silver bar and on it, were inserted two spherical pendants of equal size, decorated with pseudo-granules. They flank a biconical pendant decorated in the median area with granules and filigree wire. Both of its endings have a moulding of granules. Analogies for the link and the central pendant from the artefact are in the south at Craiova-Făcăi, Grave 1 (Dumitriu 2001, 118, pl. 49: 2, 3), south-western Romania at Șopotu Vechi-Mârviță, Grave 8 (Țeicu 2003, 26, 55, fig. 14: 2, 3), Grave 25 (OȚa 2008, 290, pl. 106: 14), in Moldavia, in the treasure from Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard, in North Macedonia at Skopje (Maneva 1992, 222, pl. 21: C/3a, 3b; OȚa 2013, 418, 432, pl. 4: 1, 2), in Bulgaria (OȚa 2013, 419, 432, pl. 4: 3), but also in Serbia at Vinča (OȚa 2013, 417, 429, pl. 1: 6, 8), Kladovo (Gubița 1908, 264, 265, fig. 1; 2) and Prahovo (Janković 1979, 271, 272, 278, fig. 1). Very similar pieces are also found in the so-called Tokaj hoard (Mesterházy 1994, 196, 198, 199, fig. 1: 1, 2; 2). The use of pendants ornamented with pseudo-granules for earrings with uneven mounts is rather specific to the extra-Carpathian space in Cernăuți, Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard, Hudum-Cemetery 1, Oțeleni in Moldavia and Bucovina (north Moldavia), Frumoasa, Cetățeni-Poiana Târgului, Dridu in Muntenia (OȚa/Georgescu 2015). On the territory of Bulgaria, such adornments with three pendants on the link, of which the two smaller ones are decorated with pseudo-granules, are quite common in Beden (Giorgieva 1961, 16, fig. 8), Skravena-Mogila 1, Grave 42 (Agre 1990, 23, 24, fig. 17), Panagyurište (Grigorov 2010, 122, 128, 258, fig. 63, grave no. 56), Dolište (Pavlova 2007, 35, 36, 51, Cat. no. 4.1; 8.3, 4), Baniska (Pavlova 2007, 65, Cat. no. 13.1.1). Such earrings are rare in the Serbian space. A single such artefact was discovered here at Vinča, Grave 458 (Marjanović-Vujović 1984, 94, fig. 70). Their chronology is particularly related to the 13th–14th c. to the north of the Danube, in the area outside the Carpathian arch. For the time being, the earliest specimens were usually manufactured from silver in Cernăuți (Spinei 2014, 204, 210, 216, 221, 222, fig. 2: 1, 2, 11, 12; 7: 7, 8; 8: 1, 2) or gilded silver in Cetățeni-Poiana Târgului (Păunescu 1976, 257, 260–263, fig. 4). Only one such artefact, namely the one from Dridu, is manufactured from copper gilded with tin.¹⁰ The earring fragment from Frumoasa (Dumitriu 2001,

123, pl. 48: 1) was considered to be of bronze gilded with silver, but in this case, analyses were not conducted on the piece.¹¹

The second earring originating from the same settlement, is manufactured from gilded silver (Fig. 10: 4). For the moment, such pieces represent rare discoveries throughout the entire Balkan area. The type of the link, namely a double wire, partially twisted, then ornamented with a thinner one with filigree, obviously indicates that it was manufactured as early as the last third of the 13th c., but possibly also in the 14th c. The pendants are uneven, decorated in the granulation and filigree techniques to which tubes of spiralled wire were added. These are a variant from the lateral ones, mounted on the earrings from the treasure from Pantelimon-Cernica Forest, Kaliakra (Kaliakra Fortress Bulgaria Treasure Found – Bing images) or those from Cetina-St. Spas (Jurić 1986, 278, 280, 281, pl. 9: 6).

A fragment from a bracelet (Fig. 10: 5) specific to the Golden Horde comes from Păcuil lui Soare (Diaconu/Baraschi 1977, 117, 120, fig. 93: 11).

The most spectacular item comes from Goranu (Fig. 11: 1–3) settlement (Anton-Manea 1987; Dumitriu 1996–1998; Ioniță 2005, 83, 132, 133, 221, fig. 49), from Vâlcea County and is a double tiara, composed from several parts. The first, is made of gold plates connected together with hinges. Their number is not exactly known, but five such artefacts were recovered, decorated with little crosses. They were fixed both on the gold rod passing through the connecting tubes, and on the tip of the *fleurons*. The edges have half-circles obtained by cutting. Their role is to fix the cast parts of the second tiara. Unfortunately, the archaeological context has been destroyed, and it is hard to believe whether it can be established if they originated from funerary complexes or were hidden.

Three parts decorated with semiprecious stones, most of them lost, remained from the frontal part. The ornaments are vegetal and animal (probably lions or griffins). The centrepiece features six cabochons, two rampant Lions, and probably an anthropomorphic figure (a knight who shoots with a bow). The other two, which flanked it, are smaller in size, and besides the vegetal motifs, are each decorated with a lion.

Presently, it is a unique piece on the territory of Romania. Given the manner in which it was fashioned, it most likely originated in the central European space.

Also among the isolated finds is a bracelet made of groups of twisted wires, with the flattened ends,

¹⁰ Chemical and physical analysis were conducted on this artefact.

¹¹ Although assigned to the 15th c., the fragment is rather suspect for such chronological framing. Presently, it would be the only artefact so dated from the Romanian space. Very likely it was manufactured in a manner similar to the specimen from Dridu, that is, from copper and tin.

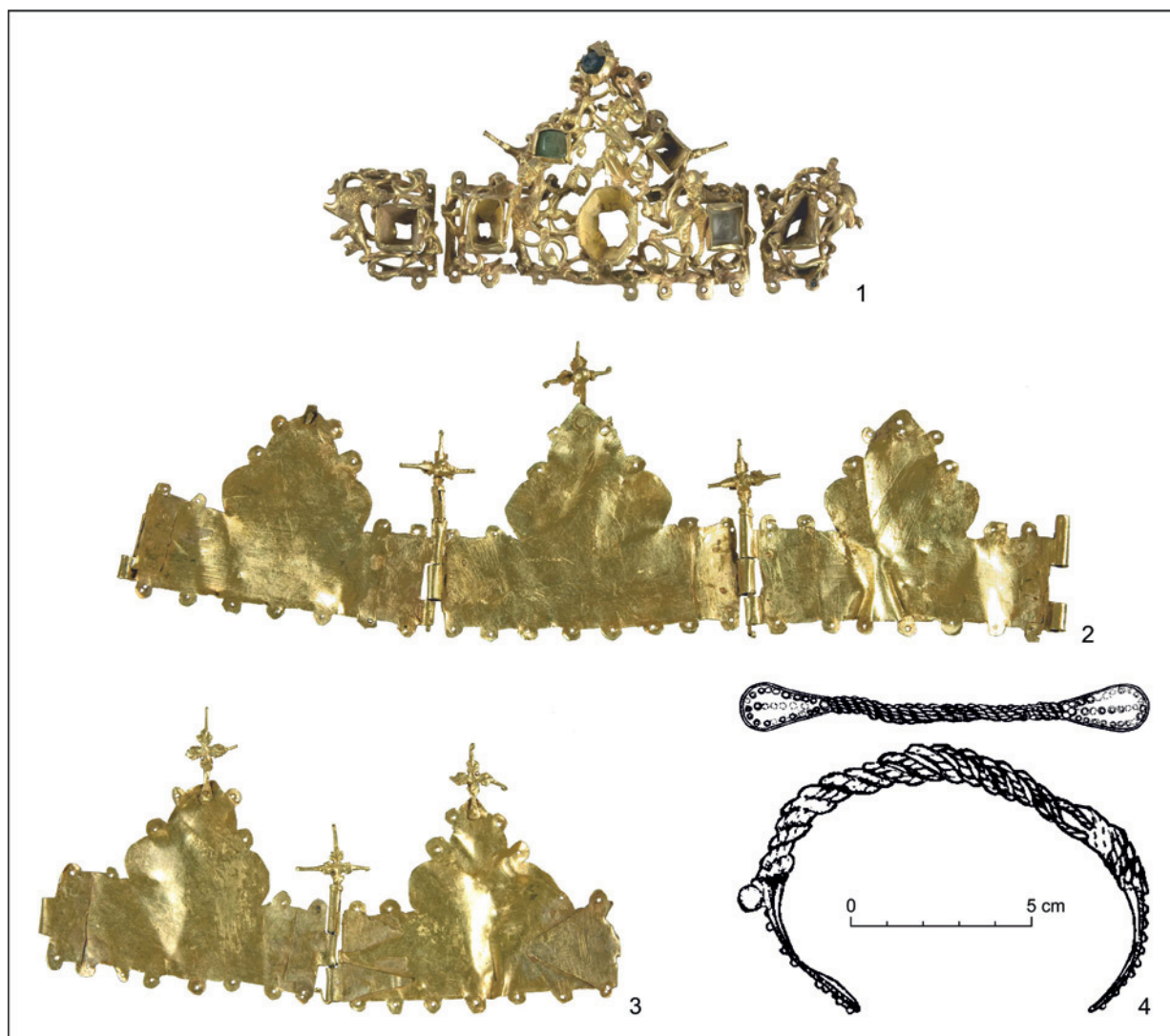


Fig. 11. 1–3 – Goranu, Vâlcea County, fragments from tiara (1 – after Dumitriu 2001; 2, 3 – after Dumitriu 2009; photos M. Amarie); 4 – Runcu, bracelet (after Ioniță 2005). Without scale: 1–3.

decorated in the granulation and filigree techniques. It was discovered in Runcu settlement (Fig. 11: 4). For the time being the only analogy is another specimen discovered at Preslav (*Bosselman-Ruickbie 2011, 399, fig. 147*). Its heads indicate a possible variation on those from the hoards from Oțeleni and Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard. The manner of manufacturing and the decorations suggest that we are dealing with an object made in a south-eastern European workshop, of Byzantine tradition. Its chronology, very likely, indicates a dating from the second half of the 13th c. or the beginning of the next.

Even the somewhat considered later specimens, manufactured from gold and decorated with enamel, which have pear-shaped heads, also come from south of the Carpathians, from Oltenia (*Dumitriu 2001, 134, 135, pl. 112: 4, 4a*). It is noticeable on the preserved specimen from the Schela Cladovei

treasure (buried most probably in the first half of the 15th c., although it also had coins issued in the first quarter of the 14th c.) that its ends had decorations similar to those on the cast and enamelled bracelet from the Oțeleni hoard, namely the Sassanid knot. These adornments can also be considered as having been made during the time of the Golden Horde, probably at the command of some Tatar elite, but in Balkan workshops.

CONCLUSIONS

A first observation that concerns the territorial distribution of the hoards containing ornaments and clothing accessories is that they are missing to the west of the Olt River, in the second half of the 13th c. and the beginning of the next. Only isolated pieces

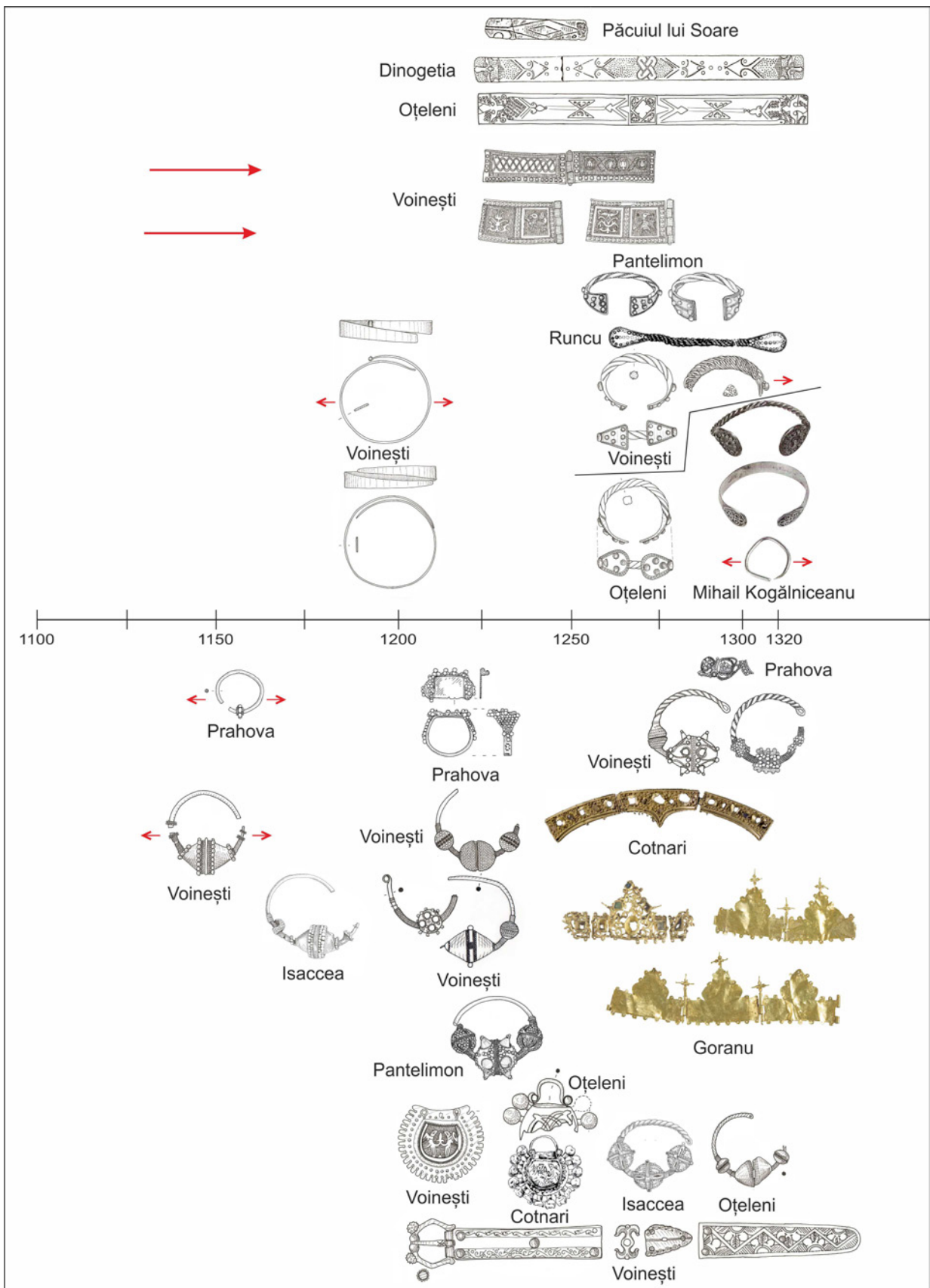


Fig. 12. The items chronology from treasures and isolated discoveries (author S. Oța).

were found here, which could mean that, on the one hand, at that time, the territory of the region was less affected by the Tatar incursions, and on the other hand that there was not a very well-defined elite among the local or Turkic populations. Although the necropolises from the south-Danubian type 2 funerary horizon lasted a longer period than those from (present-day) eastern Banat, here the pieces are, as a rule, in smaller numbers after the first third of the 13th c. (Oța 2020a). To the west of the Olt River, however, another phenomenon is observed, namely the beginning of the hoarding of jewellery in the second half of the 13th c.; however, their burial took place towards the end of the 14th c. and the beginning of the next one, such as the treasure from Schela Cladovei, which had in its composition artefacts decorated with the Sasanian knot.

The hoards, although with many similar artefacts (Fig. 12), are quite diverse in terms of composition. With the exception of the Mihail Kogălniceanu-Dealul Uzun Baiîr, Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard and Oțeleni, the rest did not have an extremely high value, but rather are relatively modest accumulations of precious metal goods.

Some treasures seem to contain whole artefacts (remaining intact, uncut for reprocessing or making payments), such as the one from Pantelimon-Cernica Forest, Cotnari or the one from Prahova County, while others have jewellery or clothing accessories mostly fragmentary (Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard¹² and partially Oțeleni¹³).

The hoard from Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill can be very likely closely connected with the Golden Horde. The massive presence of coins and ingots, but also of silver bars, indicates a possible hoarding on the part of the Tatar authorities, the treasure being hidden there for reasons that at the moment elude us. We can suspect that it was either a shipment intended for payment, or a source of raw material for a workshop that processed precious metal, or a booty of war that had to be hidden. He could also represent, at least in part, the taxes collected by the Tatars from a certain territory, partly melted into cakes and ingots. The diversity and chronology of the artefacts most likely indicate a treasure gathered in different conditions and that had to be hidden in the face of imminent danger. We can assume that the presence of silver ingots and bars suggests that different pieces or coins had been melted; they had either gone out of use or were intended to be removed from the circuit, or

were damaged or no longer used, and it was more advantageous to be converted into raw material for other objects or coins to be manufactured from.

Another problem posed by the hoards from the extra-Carpathian space, from this period is that, on both sides of the Danube, the pieces of adornment and clothing were similar. The phenomenon can be noticed especially west of the Olt River and less so in Muntenia, where most of the ornaments and clothing accessories are found in the necropolises from the north of the region and are dated only from the end of the 13th c. and the beginning of the next.¹⁴ This aspect is proved by the inventory from the tombs, but also from the settlements where mostly Balkan artefacts are discovered. Under these conditions, it is rather difficult to say where the artefacts present in the hoards were collected from. Most likely, they come, at least partially from the populations from the Danube basin, who used them frequently.

We can see that a good part of the ornaments was also gathered from the Russian space, as evidenced by certain artefacts, which have no clear analogies to the south of the Danube. We are referring first of all, to the Kolt type earrings from Cotnari (Fig. 2: 5), Oțeleni (Fig. 2: 8), Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard (Fig. 3: 12, 13), the tiara from Cotnari (Fig. 2: 6), but also the ornament from the Oțeleni hoard, which most likely belonged to a tiara from the eastern Slavic space (Fig. 2: 7).

Interestingly, however, in addition to Balkan and Russian adornments, other artefacts typical of the Golden Horde appear in the treasures (Fig. 13). We are referring, first of all, to the bracelet from Oțeleni (Fig. 2: 10) and possibly another one from the treasure from Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiîr Hill (Fig. 2: 4). The presence of these pieces could indicate that their owners were either Tatars or belonged to populations that accompanied them on various expeditions to southern and eastern Europe. The confusing situation at the end of the 13th c., as well as that at the beginning of the next, makes it practically impossible to assign them precisely to someone; the various leaders also often switched from one camp to another.

One of the most difficult issues is establishing who exactly owned and buried the hoards. The very heterogeneous structure of the artefacts from the treasures of Oțeleni, Voinești-Alexandru Baisan's vineyard and Cotnari, as well as the presence of Tatar coins (Oțeleni) or of a bracelet with the same origins indicate quite clearly that we are dealing

¹² Seven artefacts from this hoard are missing different parts. The belt also very likely has some appliques missing, if we consider similar specimens discovered in Bulgaria or Hungary.

¹³ Of the total number of artefacts, three are partially preserved.

¹⁴ In Muntenia, until the Tatar invasion of 1241–1242, most of the tombs from Muntenia were attributed to groups of Pechenegs and Cumans.












No.	Locality	Region	Items	Coins
HOARDS				
1	Mihail Kogălniceanu	Dobroudja	 Ingots and silver cakes	John III Dukas Vatatzes (1222–1254), Theodor II Lascaris (1254–1258), Andronic II Paleologus (1282–1295) and Michael IX (1294–1320), Michael IX (1295–1320) and 23 439 silver Tatar coins from the period 1280–1312
2	Oțeleni	Moldavia		Ioan Vatatzes (1222–1254), 80 Tatar coins issued by the Khans Tuda-Mangu (1280–1287), Tula Buga (1287–1290) and Toctai (1290–1311)
3	Voinești	Moldavia		
4	Contari	Moldavia		
5	Prahova County	Muntenia		
6	Pantelimon-Pădurea Cernica	Muntenia		
ISOLATED ITEMS				
7	Isaccea	Dobroudja		
8	Dinogetia-Garvăn	Dobroudja		
9	Păcuil lui Soare	Dobroudja		
10	Goranu	Oltenia		
11	Runcu	Oltenia		

Fig. 13. The composition of the treasures (author S. Oța).

with elites who participated in various campaigns in several areas across eastern and south-eastern Europe. In such cases, those who hid the treasures could either be Tatars or belong to other populations.

The causes for the burial of the hoards can only be speculated upon. In the cases discussed above, we can assume that the reason for partially hiding them were the social tensions from the territory controlled by the Tatars and the fighting between the latter and the populations that supported one faction or another. The fact that the treasures appear especially in certain regions (Moldavia and Dobrudja) represents an additional argument in favour of this hypothesis.

The small hoards containing Balkan pieces, such as those from Prahova County or Pantelimon-Cernica Forest, pose another problem. They contain neither artefacts from the environment of the Golden Horde, nor coins, nor ornaments or other pieces of clothing from the Russian space. Because they are relatively small hoards containing a limited number of artefacts, they may rather be connected to the local elites, who have tried to bury their reduced accumulations of pieces due to conflicts. The fact that they are dated the same as those from Dobrudja or Moldavia makes it difficult for their burial to be connected with one event or another, although the causes could be similar. In addition to them being buried by the local elites, they can also be attributed to some merchants, but also to the migration of small groups of population from the south of the Danube to the north, for various reasons and which can only be speculated.

Unfortunately, isolated artefacts are not necessarily an indicator of hoarding over a longer period of time, nor can they necessarily be linked to any particular event. They can demonstrate, mainly, only what adornments were in use in a given territory and where they might come from, if they are concentrated in some regions. The causes of their burial cannot be identified precisely, they can be either the result of looting or hidden pieces to be capitalized at a certain time. Also, the discovery of some of the pieces in the territory of medieval settlements, in the space between housing complexes, can lead us to the idea of losses, either as a result of external attacks, or various violent disputes between members of a community. Such is the case for the bracelets from Dinogetia-Garvăn and Păcuilui lui Soare, but also of the earrings from

Isaccea.¹⁵ However, we must not rule out the possibility that the artefacts arrived there as a result of trading of goods between the locals and the merchants, and were subsequently lost under various circumstances. It is certain that we are dealing with pieces that were fashionable in the 13th c. and at the beginning of the next one, that circulated including in areas controlled by the Tatars. Some of the clothing accessories and adornments come either from Central Europe or are reproductions of this type of goods, which most likely arrived here through Italian merchants or even craftsmen who came from Genoa or Venice.

Some isolated pieces from the east of the Olt River suggest relations between the aristocracy and Central Europe, as, for example, the tiara from Goranu (Fig. 11: 1–3). However, this represents an isolated case and must very likely be attributed to local elites who were wealthy enough. In fact, the documents issued at that time, more precisely in the 13th c., indicated the existence of rather strong leaders south of the Carpathian Mountains.

The Balkan or local pieces discovered in necropolises and settlements also indicate ties with the south-Danubian environment, but also a possible local production of ornaments, also of Byzantine influence, by jewellers from the Bulgarian, Vlach or Serbian environment. These artefacts may come from trade, robbery, population movements, migration of craftsmen to the north of the Danube, alliances of families from different regions. The transition of these territories from Hungarian to Tatar rulership, combined with the attempts to establish some pre-statal formations, afterwards local states, the presence of Turkic elites and population groups indicate the existence of an ethnically intermixed local aristocracy which was influenced in time by the various states already constituted, but which perpetuated their previous cultural legacies.

The presence of isolated pieces including at Isaccea, where there existed a Tatar mint, suggests the existence of mixed populations, but also the possibility that they had been looted, in order to make exchanges or payments. It should be noted that in the tombs attributed to the Tatars from the territory of Moldavia, Dobrudja or south of the Carpathians, no Balkan jewellery was discovered. In these circumstances, it is quite obvious that we are dealing with a local population who used such artefacts, but also that some pieces constituted exchange goods for payments.

¹⁵ In the case of these artefacts, we do not know the place of discovery, except the settlement. For these reasons, they could either be buried intentionally or were lost. Their presence there, at an important Golden Horde trading point and centre, could have had very different causes.

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Depoty a ojedinelé nálezy šperkov objavené mimo Karpatského oblúka

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SÚHRN

V priestore južne a východne od Karpát, na území dnešného Rumunska vrátane Dobrudže, boli náhodne objavené depoty a ojedinelé ozdoby. Príspevok sa zaoberá tými nálezmi, ktoré sú datované do druhej polovice 13. storočia a začiatku 14. storočia. V období pred vytvorením feudálnych štátov Moldavsko a Țara Românească alebo Valaško toto územie z veľkej časti ovládali Tatári. Podľa známych zdrojov sa ich vláda pod Nogajom rozšírila až po Železné vráta.

Prinajmenšom na juh od Karpát však existovali niektoré miestne politické formácie, konkrétne kniežatstvá Ioana a Farcașa, ako aj vojvodstvá Seneslava a Litovoia. Existencia cintorínov, na ktorých sa nachádzajú balkánske ozdoby, celkom jasne svedčí o tom, že máme do činenia najmä s miestnym obyvateľstvom. V šperkárskom umení však môžeme zriedka vidieť aj vplyvy cudzích populácií (náušnice v tvare otáznika). Ďalšou súčasťou sú predmety orientálnej tradície, ktoré sa sem dostali obchodom, alebo možno spolu s ich majiteľmi (náramky zdobené štylizovanými hlavami levov alebo sasánovským uzlom).

Územné rozmiestnenie nálezov (pokladov) je pomerne rôznorodé (stredné Moldavsko, Munténia a Dobrudža). K tomu možno pridať niekoľko náhodných/ojedinelých nálezov z Dobrudže, Oltenie a Muntenie, ktoré sa dajú pripísať rovnakému chronologickému intervalu. Všetky doteraz objavené poklady v Rumunsku boli publikované v odborných článkoch alebo syntetických prácach venovaných určitým témam.

Prvým zistením, ktoré sa týka územného rozmiestnenia pokladov, obsahujúcich ozdoby a odevné doplnky z druhej polovice 13. storočia a začiatku nasledujúceho storočia je, že chýbajú na západ od rieky Olt. Našli sa tu len ojedinelé kusy, čo na jednej strane mohlo znamenať, že územie daného regiónu bolo v tom čase menej zasiahnuté tatárskymi vpádmi, a na druhej strane, že medzi nimi nebola príliš vyhranená elita miestneho alebo turkického obyvateľstva.

Zdá sa, že niektoré depoty obsahujú celé artefakty (intaktné, nie sú rozlámané na prepracovanie alebo platbu), ako napríklad poklad z Pantelimon-Cernica Forest, Cotnari alebo poklad z Prahovy, zatiaľ čo v iných sú šperky alebo odevné doplnky väčšinou fragmentárne.

Poklad z kopca Mihail Kogălniceanu-Uzun Baiir môže byť veľmi pravdepodobne úzko spojený so Zlatou hordou. Ďalším problémom pokladov z mimokarpatského priestoru z tohto obdobia je, že na oboch stranách Dunaja boli ozdoby a odevy podobné. Tento jav si môžeme všimnúť najmä na západ od rieky Olt a menej v Muntenii. Za týchto podmienok je dosť ťažké povedať, odkiaľ boli artefakty prítomné v depotoch zozbierané. S najväčšou pravdepodobnosťou

však aspoň čiastočne pochádzajú od populácií z povodia Dunaja, ktoré ich často používali.

Vidíme, že značná časť ozdôb bola zozbieraná aj z priestoru Rusi, o čom svedčia určité artefakty, ktoré nemajú jasnú obdobu na juh od Dunaja. Zaujímavé však je, že okrem balkánskych a ruských ozdôb sa v pokladoch objavujú aj ďalšie artefakty typické pre Zlatú hordu. Prítomnosť týchto kusov by mohla naznačovať, že ich majiteľmi boli buď Tatári, alebo patrili k populáciám, ktoré ich sprevádzali na rôznych výpravách do južnej a východnej Európy.

O príčinách uloženia depotov do zeme možno len špekulovať. Vo vyššie diskutovaných prípadoch predpokladáme, že dôvodom ich dočasného ukrytia bolo sociálne napätie na území ovládanom Tatármi a boje medzi nimi a obyvateľstvom, ktoré podporovalo tú či onú frakciu.

Malé poklady obsahujúce balkánske predmety však neobsahujú ani artefakty z prostredia Zlatej hordy, ani mince, ani ozdoby či iné časti oblečenia z priestoru Rusi. Keďže ide o relatívne malé poklady, môžu byť skôr prepojené s miestnymi elitami, ktoré sa kvôli konfliktom pokúšali zachrániť svoje cennosti.

Náhodné/ojedinelé artefakty však nie sú jednoznačným indikátorom deponovania počas dlhšieho časového obdobia, ani nemusia byť nevyhnutne spojené s nejakou konkrétnou udalosťou. Aj nález niekoľkých kusov na území stredovekých sídlisk, v priestore medzi sídliskovými objektami, nás môže priviesť k myšlienke ich straty, či už v dôsledku útoku zvonku, alebo rôznych násilných sporov medzi členmi komunity.

Časť odevných doplnkov a ozdôb pochádza buď zo strednej Európy, alebo ide o napodobeniny tohto druhu tovaru, ktorý sa sem s najväčšou pravdepodobnosťou dostal prostredníctvom talianskych obchodníkov alebo dokonca remeselníkov, ktorí prišli z Janova či Benátok. Niektoré náhodné nálezy z oblasti východne od rieky Olt naznačujú vzťahy medzi miestnou aristokraciou a strednou Európou, ako napríklad diadém z Goranu. Balkánske či lokálne nálezy objavené na nekropolách a sídliskách poukazujú aj na väzby s juhodunajským prostredím, ale aj na možnú lokálnu výrobu ozdôb, alebo aj na byzantský vplyv, azda sprostredkovaný šperkármi z bulharského, valašského či srbského prostredia.

Treba poznamenať, že v hrobách pripisovaných Tatárom z územia Moldavska, Dobrudže či južne od Karpát neboli objavené žiadne balkánske šperky. Za týchto okolností je celkom zrejmé, že máme dočinenia s miestnym obyvateľstvom, ktoré takéto artefakty používalo, ale aj to, že niektoré kusy predstavovali platidlo.

- Obr. 1. Depoty a ojedinelé nálezy šperkov z územia kontrolovaného Tatármi. Legenda: a – depoty; b – ojedinelé nálezy; c – depot z 15. stor. so zlatými náramkami z obdobia Zlatej Hordy (mapa M. Florea, S. Oța).
- Obr. 2. Nálezy depotov. 1–4 – Mihail Kogălniceanu/Uzunbaîr (podľa *Dumitriu 2001*); 5, 6 – Cotnari (5 – podľa *Reabtseva 2014*; 6 – foto M. Amarie); 7–12 – Oțeleni (kresba G. Ducman).
- Obr. 3. Voinești. Náušnice (kresba G. Ducman).
- Obr. 4. Voinești. Náramky (kresba G. Ducman).
- Obr. 5. Voinești. Náramky (kresba G. Ducman). Mierka: a – 1–3; b – 4.
- Obr. 6. Voinești. Náramky a súčasti opaska (kresba G. Ducman). Mierka: a – 1–9, 12–15; b – 10, 11.
- Obr. 7. Pantelimon-Cernica Forest. Náušnice a náramky (kresba S. Mateescu).
- Obr. 8. Pantelimon-Cernica Forest. Náramky (kresba S. Mateescu, foto M. Amarie).
- Obr. 9. Prahova County. Náušnice, fragmenty náušnic a prsteň (kresba S. Mateescu).
- Obr. 10. 1, 2 – Dinogetia-Garvăn, náramky (podľa *Dumitriu 2001*); 3, 4 – Isaccea, náušnice (kresba S. Mateescu); 5 – Păcuiul lui Soare, fragment náramku (podľa *Dumitriu 2001*; bez mierky). Mierka: a – 1, 2; b – 3, 4.
- Obr. 11. 1–3 – Goranu, Vâlcea County, fragmenty tiary (1 – podľa *Dumitriu 2001*; 2, 3 – podľa *Dumitriu 2009*; foto M. Amarie); 4 – Runcu, náramok (podľa *Ionîță 2005*). Bez mierky: 1–3.
- Obr. 12. Chronológia predmetov z depotov a ojedinelých nálezov (autor S. Oța).
- Obr. 13. Zloženie depotov (autor S. Oța).

