In 2014, a group of silver objects was sold with the accompanying data “from Serbia, from the area of Mačvanska Mitrovica”, which, based on their composition, belonged to a hoard of the Early Roman period. The hoard of silver objects contains a total of 21 pieces that can be divided into 10 different types: emblemata, belt plates, tubuli, torques, wire jewellery – a bracelet and rings, necklaces of the chain type, rings, pendants of lunula, rhomboidal and omega shape, bracelet and rings with pendants in the form of miniature axes.

The composition of the silver objects in the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard show surprising similarities with the rich hoards of silver jewellery of Bare, Tekija and the find from Radenković–Crkvine and also with the distant hoard from Oltenia in the site of Rovinari (once Poiana, county Gorj). Therefore, we have named this group the Tekija – Bare hoards horizon, after two well-known most representative hoard-contents and their position in the middle of this geographical region.

The last denarii from the Tekija and Bare hoards where minted at the end of AD 81, which allows the conclusion that these hoards, found near the military camps of Transderna and Viminacium, were probably deposited in the years after AD 81, during the restless period of Roman-Dacian conflicts. In the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard and the Radenković–Crkvine find the monetary part did not exist, so the time of their depositing remains open.

Key words – Early Roman period, Tekija – Bare hoards horizon, silver jewellery, cultural koiné.
Assuming that the hoard was discovered in the territory of the village of Mačvanska Mitrovica, which belongs to the wider area of Sremska Mitrovica (antique Sirmium), it is also important to notice another hoard deposit with almost identical silver jewellery, probably from the same period. Not so far away, 10 km south-west of Mačvanska Mitrovica, in the village Radenković, at the site of Crkvine, a group of silver jewellery finds were discovered containing preserved fragments of an earring with a Hercules knot on the top, a lunula shaped pendant, a ring made of twisted silver wire with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils, and a silver wire ring with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils with an attached miniature axe-pendant.\(^1\)

The existence of this type of jewellery in the area is also confirmed by a silver wire ring of the same type with an attached axe-pendant, found in Batajnica, at the site of Klisine,\(^2\) in a suburb of Belgrade (Singidunum) on the border of the Lower Pannonia and Upper Moesia, about 60 km east of Mačvanska Mitrovica.

Character of the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard and the historical events contributing to the reason for their depositing

On the territory of the Lower Danube and its wider hinterland chronologically different groups of exceptionally rich hoards which contain silver and, rarely, gold jewellery are known in the Roman period. The older group of Roman period hoards are those from Tekija, Bare, Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) and Radenković–Crkvine, found on the right bank of Danube River and also those from Rovinari (once Poiana, in the county of Gorj) in Oltenia (Fig. 1).\(^3\) We named this group the Tekija – Bare hoards horizon, after two of the most well-known and representative hoard-contents, as well as their position in the middle of this geographical region.

In the Tekija hoard only bracelets with overlapping and coiled ends, with or without pendants in the form of miniature axes, are registered. In Bare, besides these forms, there are also twisted torques, rhomboidal pendants, spiral rings and other forms of jewellery. As well as the jewellery in these hoards there also appears silver emblemata of cultic/symbolic design, with the exception of the hoard from Rovinari. Sometimes silver

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2. Крупич, Извештание 2016, 81, кат. 117.
3. The next, younger group in the same area (like the hoards from Juhor, Janja, Bela Reka near Šabac, Dvorska, Nova Božurna, etc.) may be connected with the incursions of the northern barbarian tribes into the territory of the Roman Empire at the end of the 2nd and in the first half of the 3rd century (Popović 2010, 33–51).
vessels were also added into the hoards, along with emblemata made of thin silver plates and, as a rule, the hoard inventories were accompanied by numerous Roman silver coins.

Besides the coins, the composition of these hoards is characterised by the presence of large silver jewellery with many similarities to the “Dacian silver era”, significant for the latest pre-Roman period in the area between the rivers Danube (Danubius), Morava (Margus), Târnava and Mureș (Marisus).

Based on the very characteristic types of jewellery, the finds from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) are an evident part of this Tekija – Bare hoards horizon of hoards, found next to the military camps of Transdierna and Viminacium (Fig. 1). Most of these hoards also contained Roman coins, with the latest specimens being Domitian denarii from the end of AD 81.4

This tumultuous period, during which the Roman-Dacian conflicts of the last decades of the 1st century AD occurred in the wider area also confirms the monetary hoard of denarii from the camp Boljetin (Smorna) on the Đerdap limes, whose latest mint is a denarius of Domitian, also from the end of AD 815, and coins with a last mint from the same period found further north in Oltenia, in the Rovinari hoard.6

The phenomenon of this group of hoards with quite identical contents is a very important discovery and it is a significant archaeological source for the detection of probable military events in the winter of 81/82, or in a later period. It suggests the existence of a group of Dacian warriors who were crossing the Danube and the Roman border of Upper Moesia in this period, which may have led to the burying of these extraordinary silver hoards. It remains surprising that there are no other archaeological traces of these events as of yet and that these incursions have not been mentioned in ancient written sources.

The composition and stylistic-typological analysis of the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard

The hoard of silver objects contents, today totaling 21 pieces, can be divided into 10 different types,
containing, in the case of the rings, based on their dimensions, various subdivisions. As can be seen from the catalogue list, it contains various jewellery and decorative, cultic symbols. The following catalogue presents the stylistic-typological and chronological analysis of the individual objects.

**Emblemata**

Two rectangular silver *emblemata* made of thin silver sheet (3.4 x 4.7 cm) were hanging on a small bronze loop, which suggests they were a part of a necklace or collier. The plates were decorated with hammered, embossed lines and points, and have a representation of a schematised figure of a female barbarian deity, her hair in two plaits (Fig. 3, 1–2).

The four damaged *emblemata* in the Bare hoard have similar motifs; most probably, the female figure hammered on one of these silver icons represents the Thraco-Dacian goddess Bendis.⁷ On the other hand, on the silver *emblemata* from the Tekija hoard we can clearly recognise the Oriental interpretation of Hellenistic-Roman deities.⁸

The representations of the female deity with the same hairstyle on the silver *phalerae* from a hoard found at Lupu, not far from Alba Iulia, and the figures on the belt from Sâlătea, confirms the existence of the traditional pre-Roman female deities, later probably transformed into the official Roman goddesses.⁹

**Belt-plates**

Three silver belt-plates made from thin silver plates, folded on the shorter ends (4.8 x 3.2 cm). They are decorated with hammered embossed lines, circles and dots as composite solar ornaments and, in one case, supplemented by a *lunula* motif (Fig. 3, 3–5).

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⁷ Popovic, Boric-Breskovic 1994, 33, 70, cat. no. 32–35.
The decorations of the belt plates are very characteristic; their embossed ornamentation can be stylistically traced back to the Late Iron Age of the 1st century BC, as for example on the bronze or silver thin sheet of the belt-buckles of the Laminci type (Fig. 9). These belt-buckles were very popular in the Dacian area (the east Carpathian buckles to the Bastarnian attire, the southern Carpathian to the Geto-Dacian attire), but also in the western Balkans from the Sava and Danube areas (Illyrian and Celtic-Scordisci attire).

The main decorative elements, e.g. garlands along the top and bottom edge of the buckle-plates, are surprisingly similar and appear across the area. Another frequent decorative element are hammered circles of various sizes, some more pronounced, arranged individually or in a blooming pattern. The third recognisable decorative element is the metope, separated by narrow or wide vertical bands. They appear in approximately half of the examples, again with no connection to any specific form or region. Sometimes the lines are missing, but garlands have a similar visual effect.

Alongside the belt-buckles and fibulae from grave contexts, we find a surprising number of examples from settlement layers – often as typical female attire. This demonstrates the existence of a spiritually and materially coherent koiné from south-west Pannonia to the hinterland of the Black Sea in the last phase of the Late Iron Age (Fig. 9).

A broad classification of units with belt-buckles demonstrates two typologically linked chronological groups. The older, classical Late La Tène, group belongs to the second half of the 1st century BC and is attested f.e. in relevant graves and settlement layers from Beograd–Karaburma and Beograd–Rospi–uprija, Hrtkovci–Gomolava, Craiva, Sighişoara, and Popești in Transylvania. The younger group is attested f.e. by grave 180 from Novo Mesto, graves from Ćurug–Detelina and one from Slatinska Reka, which already partly coincide with the developed Romanised environment of the first half of 1st century AD.10

The wide distribution area is a consequence of intense cultural and economic contacts between Dacian and eastern Celtic communities, and even with far distant Illyrian-Pannonian tribes. The belt buckle, as the most obvious detail of female attire, shows particularly strong ties between one or two generations of developed Late Iron Age inhabitants of the Danube Plain, Transylvania, the Wallachian Plain, as well as Moldavia. We can assume that the workshops who decorated the belt plates from the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard were descendants of the masters who produced the traditional decoration on the latest belt-buckles of the Laminci type.

Similar decoration to that on the belt plates from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) can also be observed on a small sized applique (2.3 x 2.3 cm), decorated with circles and dots supplemented by a lunula motif, in the century later hoard of Nova Božurna.11

**Tubuli**

Three cylindrical silver objects in the form of large tubuli (length 9.4 cm, diam. 1.2 cm), perforated to hang on one ring (link) each with pulled-over and spiral ends (diam. 2.7 cm) on which there was a pendant in the shape of a miniature axe (2.2 cm high). Two bodies are decorated with hammered lines; the third with small buckles, pointed lines and circles. Each of them has two bronze nails through the thin silver metal sheet to attach it to an organic (leather, wooden or bone) stick (Fig. 4).

Two objects of the same form with rings hung on both sides, but without the miniature axes, are known from the Bare hoard12. Because of the single hung ring, as evidenced by the Bare examples where the tubuli had rings on both ends, the stick had to be specially formed. We have no satisfactory explanation regarding the reconstruction and function of these objects at this time. It has to be mentioned, that we have, from the end of the Iron Age or the beginning of the early Roman period, in a corresponding grave from Donji Laminci, a small ring with pulled-over and spiral ends hanging on a fragmented bronze conical tubuli decorated with linear incisions13 that may have had a similar function as the cylindrical objects from Bare and Mačvanska Mitrovica (?)

**Torques**

Three fine torques made of thin silver wire with a square cross-section have ends in the form of small loops (Fig. 5). The inner surfaces of two of them possess smooth sides, while the middle of one of them is decorated with three small thin lines, incised interchangeably into bands, first to the left, then to the right (diam. 10 to 10.4 cm).

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10 Guštin 2011 (with typology, chronology, distribution map and relevant literature on the belt plates of the Laminci type).
12 Ibid., cat. no. 16–17; Popović 2011, 187, Fig. 16.
13 Truhelka 1901, 25, Sl. 25.
Silver torques, especially those made of twisted wire, were known from the wider area of the pre-Roman period. They remain an important part of attire in the Iberian Peninsula, in the hinterland of Caput Adriae and in Dacia; on a larger scale they were in use on the eastern edge of the Roman Empire until the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.

The custom of wearing torques, generally by the Celts, can be noted in the La Tène period. The classic example is the famous sculpture of the Dying Gaul from the temple of Pergamon (Asia Minor). In the Late Iron Age period they appear in women’s attire of the tribes on the edges of the Celtic World and in hoards, where they have a special value.

In the period of the Roman Empire, torques were often dedicated to heroes and god statuettes, a scan be observed f.e. in numerous bronze statuettes of Mercury and other gods, which were decorated with a small, valuable torque, even as late as the 2nd–3rd century AD, known primarily from Gaul and Britain – where they appear to represent an indigenous substrate within the Roman pantheon.14

Our specimens (Fig. 5) are, in their form and decoration, outstanding. They did not belong to the standard repertoire of the rich and various jewellery of the “Dacian silver era”, characterised by twisted torques. The Bare hoard contains one torque made of round silver undecorated wire, with its ends in the form of small loops. On this specimen were strung 23 rings of various diameter, thus it looks like a rich composite necklace.15

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14 Guštin 2009 (with relevant literature).
15 Popović, Borić-Brešković 1994, cat. no. 6, fig. 8. 1; T. VI.
In the early Roman times, the open-ended torque made of plain silver wire were still in use by the Romanised autochthonous population in upper Moesia, judging, for example, by those from grave nos. 476, 722 and 3572 at the Viminacium necropolis, dated to the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century, and on specimens from the Juhor hoard, with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils and enriched with different pendants, some of them in a triangular shape very similar to the axe-pendants.

**Wire ring jewellery with overlapped and spirally twisted ends with coils**

A large group in the women’s attire jewellery forms is comprised of different sizes of silver wire rings with overlapped ends attached to the main body by spiral coils (Figs. 5; 6). They were made by different forms of wire with a circular cross-section, sometimes very fragile, most simply round. A luxury variant was made from large wire with a square cross-section. They were produced mostly from silver, but also from bronze and rarely from gold. The overlapped ends were attached to the main body by twisted ends with differing numbers of coils. On bracelets, this system allowed for the sliding of the coils, to a certain extent, to adjust the diameter of the adornment.

Such rings of various sizes were in use as bracelets, rings, hoops, as finger rings and as earrings; they were, for centuries, also popularly grouped in sets as necklaces, as belt chains or as secondary decoration.

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16 Zotović 1956, 162.
The detail of the spiral twisted part could end on both sides in the form of only a few or up to ten coils, sometimes even more, covering a good part of the ring. Between both coils are usually two smooth wires, which are sometimes twisted. One of the well distributed variants of this type of bracelet has a Hercules node in the middle of the overlapped ends. On one of the specific earring form from Budanovci, the tops are made with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils, similar to all the rings and bracelets of this type.18

As jewellery they are well known in the Late Hellenistic period and especially in the last century BC, with continuity in early Roman imperial contexts. They were popular from the Black Sea coast in the territory of the Dacians, but also well distributed by tribes such as the Liburni (Nin/Asseria), and Japodi (Goric, Jezerine, Ribic). Additionally, they occur on the north coast of the Italic peninsula and in the hinterland of the Gulf de Lyon and further into Iberia. We also note their distribution north of the Alps and beyond.

The silver bracelets (together with different smaller rings or in combination with breast colliers and belt chains) with mostly simple wire with a round cross section and overlapped ends attached to the main body by coils are, in the west, well at tested in pre-Roman Iberia in graves and silver treasures from at least 180 BC, as in the hoard from Tivisa, and are mostly represented in the hoards from 105–90 BC from Salvacañete, Penhagarcia, Capsanes and a little later from Santisteban del Puerto19.

These types of bracelets and rings can be observed in the pre-Roman Dacian territory from the 80s BC and later, dated in this period with silver coins, from the hoards of Clapecesti (83 BC t.p.q.) and Bălănești (76 BC t.p.q.) and in the younger period with the hoards from Cerbăl (43 BC t.p.q.), Șteca Mică (28 BC t.p.q.) and Remeta Mare (15 BC t.p.q.).20

The distribution of bracelets and different smaller rings with overlapped ends attached to the main body by spiral coils can be seen on numerous sites south of the Danube Valley in today’s Bulgaria and on the other side towards Panonia and the middle Danubian region, and the western Balkan territory, mostly in early imperial contexts of the 1st half of the 1st century AD.21

Hoards such as those from Bare, Tekija, Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) and Radenković–Crkvine show the popularity of these rings during the transition to the 2nd century AD and later, with the rings with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils on small amulet-statuettes of Harpokrates from Trier and L’Escala (Ampurias).22

Necklaces (and belts) of a chain type

The necklace (Fig. 6, 1) was made using smaller rings with a round cross-section wire and with overlapping and spirally twisted ends. The rings are interlaced (loop-in-loop as a chain let) and, in two cases, there are composite clamps with four spirals well decorated with zig-zag lines, dotted lines and circles. Hinging from the rings are three pendants in the form of lunulae with a small ivy leaf in the middle (preserved length 17.7 cm, diam. of rings 3 cm).

The other necklace (Fig. 6, 2) was made with smaller rings possessing around cross-section wire and with overlapping and spirally coiled ends of a smaller size. The rings were connected to each other with simple undecorated clamps (preserved length 16 cm, diam. of rings 2.2 cm).

The simple chain (Fig. 6, 2) with simple, small, undecorated clamps correspond in construction to the

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18 Popović 1994, 217, 218, cat. 76–78. The grave from Budanovci contained a small (12 x 6 cm) iron jewellery box, decorated with silver and gold incissions, a silver bracelet decorated with filigree, granulation and email, three silver pendants on top with overlapped ends with spiral coils and part of a silver fibula. The inventory of this grave, dated to the 1st century AD, represents the burial of a woman who belonged to the local élite.

19 Raddatz 1969, 53, 170, Taf. 69, 3; 51, 10; 97, 4; 32, 4; 1, 4–6; 66, 1, 3.

20 Bracelets f. e. Aiud, Brad, Cerbăl, Coada Malului, Coldău, Hetiur, Petriu, Poiana (jud. Galați), Poiana/Rovinari, Popești, Râcătău, Săliște, Sârmășag, Senereuș, Șteca Mică, Șimleu Silvaniei (Rustoiu 1996, 124, 192, 193); Balanesti, Clapecesti, Colțești, Poșaga de Sus, Poiana-Movila Hârtop, Remeta Mare, Giganu de Jos, Șâlățea, Senereuș, Slimnic, Sârmășag (Spanu 2012, 57, 60, 61, 71, 143, Fig. 12, 2, 5; 20; 21; 23, 2, 1, 2, 2; Pl. 36, 3; 94; 97, 6; 100, 9b; 101, 3; 109, 2–5; 130, 2–4; 134, 2, 143, 2–3); Hunedoara–Grădina Castelului (Sirbu et al. 2007, Fig. 13, 21). Cf. Spanu 2012, 143, Fig. 48.

21 F. e. Bulgaria: Arčar, Baza, Ćomaković, Radomir, Svištov, Suhičnikol and Nikolaev; Middle Danube area: Beograd–Rospo Čuprija, Tata, Zalahoszdífalú, Szalasko (Popović 1994, 90; Tomkova 2011, 192, 193, 196–198) and on the southern border of Pannonia in the area near Pojuz and Celje (Budja 1979, T. 5, 9–19; Miho- vić 1979, 225, 226, T 1, 10–12; Isteni 2000, T. 26, 1; 73; 6; 152, 5; 174, 1; 175, 8); Western Balkans: Bugojno, Šipovo, Posusje, Bukovica, Gorica, Ribić, Šisak (Koščević 1991, 25, 26, sl. 88–92, T. III, 38–40) and in the hinterland of Caput Adriae – the cities of Tržišće pri Donjence vasi (Deschmann 1888, 115; NMS R 1804 note by D. Bosić, Donji Zemon and Volarije pri Žirje (Baudke 2005, T. 6; 7, 1).
fairly numerous belt-chains, where the rings are connected with large wide clamps or small twisted chains. Such belt-chains are known from the pre-Roman hoards of Clipicești and Făntânele and chains from the same period from Altimir, Tilișca and Transilvania. The long duration of this form is shown with a similar type of chain from the hoard from Recaș dated with coins to the middle of the 3rd century.

The necklace-chain from the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard seems to be unique in its size, decoration of the clamps and the form of pendants with lunulae in combination with the rhomboidal ivy leaves (Fig. 6, 1).

The combination of the lunula and ivy leaf pendants on the same piece (Fig. 6, 1; 8, 3) is rare on silver jewellery from the Balkan–Pannonian region, although both of these pendant types were frequently hung separately on different silver chains. On one silver chain from the National Museum in Belgrade and on the one torque from grave 722 of the Viminacium necropolis, both of which are dated to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century, pendants of a lunula and ivy leaf shape where hung on the same piece of jewellery, but as separate pendants (see also comments in cat. no. 7).

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23 Spanu 2012, 71, 72, Fig. 21, 1–3, Pl. 29, 2; 43; 155, 5–11.
24 Horedt 1973, 137.
Fig. 7. 1) Bracelet, 2–5) rings, M = 1 : 1

Сл. 7. 1) Наруквице, 2–5) аке, M = 1 : 1
Bracelet

One bracelet made of wire with a square cross-section and overlapping and spirally twisted ends, each with ten coils; diameter 8.6 cm (Fig. 7, 1).

The type of bracelet made from large silver wire with a square cross section presented in the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard are also known as silver bracelets or as smaller rings of various dimensions. They are represented in more examples in the hoard from Bare, in silver and gold from Tekija (one with numerous miniature tools on it), from Radenković–Crkvine and from Rovinari.

These very precisely made silver variants of bracelets with a square cross section and overlapping and spirally twisted ends can be seen in a wider area to the northwest, like f.e. in Sisak (Segestica/Siscia), and even much further to the west, at Volarje pri Žirjah on Carst in the hinterland of Caput Adriae. In the craftsman’s grave no. 15, a silver bracelet decorated with three small rings of the same type was found. The grave is dated from a coin of Claudius to the first half to the middle of 1st century AD. In female grave no. 14 from the same necropolis there is, besides a fibula, also a so-called Dacian cup and a thinner example of this type of ring.

Rings

The silver rings with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils in pairs of various diameters from 3.5 to 5 cm, are a significant part of the hoard (Fig. 7, 2–5). On the larger rings is hung a smaller one (diam. 2.2 cm). On the rings, as on the tubuli (cat. no. 3), a pendant in the form of miniature axe was hung (comments in cat. no. 8).

The numerous small rings of various sizes with overlapping and spirally coiled ends have the same construction, form and chronological period as the bracelets. We find them as different individual jewellery objects but also hung on bracelets, on tubuli or various types of adornments, as in the case of the example from Zadar, where a small ring is also attached on the head of a pin. This type of rings have a very long duration, they can even be seen in the migration period.

6 Pendants of miniature axe shape

Four silver pendants in the form of miniature axes (height 2 to 2.3 cm) were hung separately on rings and three of them were hung on tubuli (Fig. 8, 1). The strengthened haft of the axe is well represented, as is the form and blade of the axe. The pendants are decorated only on one side, which may be oriented to the left or the right, with circles in the middle and on all three corners, which are connected with a line in a motif of spruce twigs.

The small axe pendants were associated with the Celtic tribes, in the grave inventories of the Late Iron Age period and also in the Roman world. Later they had a strong apotropaic meaning and were added to various jewellery items, especially rings with overlapping and spirally wrapped ends (earrings, bracelets, chains) and even on tubuli. This type of amulet in silver, bronze, iron and even ceramic was popular in the second half of the 1st century BC on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains and were also widely spread in the 1st century AD (Fig. 10).

In the discussed group, the Tekija – Bare hoards horizons, the presence of axe amulets on bracelets and rings was obligatory. In this period, the axe pendants were present in settlements, in hoards and in grave inventories. We can trace them on both sides of the Carpathian arc in a wide area of the Lower Danubian Valley to the confluence with the Sava, but several other silver rings with axe pendants were also found far to west in the hinterland of the Gulf of Kvarner (Fig. 10). The long duration of this type of amulet is

27 Popović, Borić-Brestkov 1994, cat. no. 7–9, T. IV, V.
29 Hononiţ 2000, 12–13, Cat. 3–4.
30 Spanu 2012, Pl. 104: 1, 2; small rings of the same square cross-section: Pl. 104: 3–13.
33 Koščević 1991, Sl. 1: 11.
34 Dürrnberg, Bern-Engelhalbinsel, Bouy, Voie-de-Vadenay ( Artefacts AML-3003).
35 Martin-Kilcher 2008, 228, Abb. 10. 2.
36 Rustoiu 1996, 124, tipul 4b, fig. 90; Spanu 2012, 69; Tönkova 2011, 192–193, fig. 5, 1; Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 25, 131, cat. no. 7.
37 List of amulets in the form of axe pendants (Fig. 10) completed after Rustoiu 1996, 124, tipul 4b, fig. 90 and also after the new information obtained by A. Rustoiu: 1 Prijavanje, Donji Zemon, grave – 1 silver specimen (Gigante 1934–35, 170, information D. Božič); 2 Stari grad nad Uncem, settlement – 1 bronze specimen (NMS P 27982, information B. Laharnar), 3 Radenkovic–Crkvine hoard – 1 silver specimen (Popović, 2002, 12–13, sl. 4); 4 Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) – hoard – 7 silver specimens (fig. 1); 5 Batajnica–Klisina – 1 silver specimen (Krupić, Hupanović 2016, 153, cat. 117; 6 Bare, treasure – 2 silver specimens; 7 Tekija, treasure – 3 silver and 1 gold specimen, fixed on a gold ring; 8 Museum Timişoara
well documented in the hoard from Recaș,\(^{38}\) and the practice of using tool amulets (axes, wedge, pin, spade, bar, etc.).\(^{39}\) As with the rings with overlapping and spirally coiled ends, is also present in the migration period.

In the Tekija hoard, the richest one of this period, the axe pendant was attached, together with other miniature tools, to a large silver bracelet, made with rectangular cross section wire, with overlapping and spirally wrapped ends. Another similarly worked axe pendant was fixed on the gold ring in the space between the spiral coils, and was made from filigree wire. The exceptional use of gold and filigree techniques shows the strong tradition of Hellenistic Black Sea goldsmithing and the duration of the toreutic style of this period on the objects made in later workshops.

**Pendants of a lunula form**

The simple moon form of silver lunula has bronze clamps on the top, on the left and right of it are stamped half-moon motifs ending with circles, and on the ends of the crescent are small balls (Fig. 8, 2, wide 3.3 cm).

The second type of lunula is shaped in the form of a wide half-moon with a small rhomboidal ivy leaf pendant inside (Fig. 8, 3). The clamps are silver and, like all other parts of the pendant, ornamented with pointed lines. On the lunula is incised the motif of a wide zigzag line made with pointed lines, and in the middle of the ivy leaf is a circle. The ends of the crescent and the ivy leaf have small balls attached (wide 3.2 to 3.6 cm).

Bronze clamps in the hoard inventory are identifiable only on the simple lunula amulet (Fig. 8, 2) and on both emblematae (Fig. 3). This small detail brings us to the possibility that these three objects were made by the same workshop and could have hung on the same collier.

Pendants of the lunula type or crescent shape pendants are known since the Hellenistic period, when they were particularly widely distributed in southern Italy and on the Black Sea coast, from where they very quickly spread across the Danube Valley.\(^{40}\)

Simple pendants of lunulae types, like that from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) (Fig. 8, 2), are not known in pre-Roman jewellery in the Balkan-Pannonian region. The closest analogies from the Roman Period are known from Radenković–Crkvine\(^{41}\) and Guberevac, at the sites of Pruten and Gomilice\(^{42}\) (2nd century), but, concerning finds from the 4th and the first half of the 5th century, from the necropolises of Beška\(^{43}\) and Štrbci near Đakovo,\(^{44}\) pendants of the same shape were popular in these areas from the Late Roman period.

Different types of lunula pendant are the five silver gilded belt pendants from the Tekija hoard\(^{45}\) and the specimen from Hunedoare–Sânpetru.\(^{46}\) In the Balkan-Pannonian region the silver lunula shaped pendants hung on chains are sometimes evident with other specimens of jewellery of the autochthonous style, as with the specimens from Kutina near Niš and Szalacka, dated to the end of the 2nd or the first half – middle of the 3rd century.\(^{47}\) The gold lunula from Dubravica (Margum), hung on a gold chain, is dated in the 2nd century,\(^{48}\) but the long chronology of these pendants is confirmed by the specimen also hung on the gold chain, belonging to the find of a set of jewellery from the 2nd decade of the 4th century, found in the crypt of the mausoleum in Šarkamen.\(^{49}\) This lunula was decorated by granulation, like the much earlier silver specimen from Radenković–Crkvine.

(Pongratz collection with objects from Djerdap, Serbian banks of the Danube) – 2 silver specimens;\(^{9}\) Arčar (Rutiaris), isolated – 1 silver specimen;\(^{10}\) Radomir – 1 silver specimen (Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 131, cat. no. 7);\(^{11}\) Šumarca, hoard – 1 silver specimen (Tonkova 2011, 192–193, fig. 5.1);\(^{12}\) Bazaaurt, treasure – 5 silver specimens;\(^{13}\) Vetren (Agua Calidae) – 1 silver and 1 lead specimen (Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 209, 210, cat. no. 290, 292);\(^{14}\) Divici; jud. Caraș-Severin, settlement – 1 iron specimen;\(^{15}\) Recaș, jud. Timiș, treasure – 1 silver specimen;\(^{16}\) Moigrad, jud. Sâlaj, settlement – 1 bronze specimen;\(^{17}\) Șaș, jud. Mureș, treasure – 1 silver specimen;\(^{18}\) Poiaina, jud. Gorj (today incorporated into the town of Rovinari), treasure – 1 silver specimen;\(^{19}\) București–Tei, settlement – 1 bronze specimen;\(^{20}\) Crăsani, jud. Ialomița, settlement – 1 ceramic specimen;\(^{21}\) Poiana, jud. Galați, settlement – 6 bronze specimens;\(^{22}\) Râcățău, jud. Bacău, settlement – 10 silver, bronze and iron specimens;\(^{23}\) Brad, jud. Bacău, settlement – 5 bronze and 1 iron specimen. Based on the fact that the location of the silver axe pendant from Baranja is not precisely known (Kiss 1972, T. 1: 3), this specimen is not mapped.

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38 Horedt 1973, 137.
39 Поповић 1994, cat. no. 32; Kiss 1972, 120, 121, T. I, 3.
41 Поповић 2000, 12, Сн. 2.
42 Popovic 1996, cat. no. 130, 131.
43 Даута–Рушић-Ван ван 1995, 245, T. I, 13–16; Marijanski Manojlović 1987, 64, 36, 59/2, 60/4; 42, 77/1.
44 Megiović, Leleković 2013, 250, T. X, 3–4; XXVII, 4 with a series of analogies from a wider area.
45 Popovic 1994, 274, cat. no. 176.
46 Sirbu et al. 2007, Fig. 18, 1.
48 Popovic 1996, cat. no. 102.
49 Popovic 2005, 60–62, cat. no. 3.
Rhomboidal long pendant

One rhomboidal, i.e. shield-like, pendant with an expressed loop on the top (Fig. 8, 4, high 5.5 cm), ornamented with incised motifs: spruce twig, circles and points in a line.

There is no exact parallel to the slim pendant from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?). Four larger, rhomboidal wide belt pendants with incised ornaments resembling a spruce twig, circles and points are known from the hoards at Bare50 and eight from Rovinari;51 to this type of pendant may also belong one fragment from Sighetuara.52 The ornaments of the pendant from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) and those belt pendants of a large extended rhomboidal type are executed in a very similar manner to the ornaments of fibulae with large thin rhomboidal plate bows, as seen in the specimens from the Cadea and Șaș hoards, dated to the pre-Roman period.53

Connecting pendant in omega form

The slim, 5.3 cm wide, connecting pendant is made of twisted silver wire in a waving omega form, with narrowed and pointed ends representing a very simplified bird/snake (?) head (Fig. 8, 5).

A very similar form of connecting pendant is known from Kruševica, where three silver specimens, 3.7 cm long, were found in a grave from the first half of the 5th century BC.54 Regarding these omega shaped

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51 Spanu 2012, 68, fig. 18, 2, 5; Pl. 105.
52 The fragment from Sighetuara is more probably a part of a rhomboidal pendant and not an axe amulet as was proposed by Spanu 2012, 69, Pl. 132(7); cf. Horedt, Seraphin 1971, Fig. 64/8 (note obtained by A. Rustoiu).
53 Spanu 2012, Pl. 14, 1–3; 140, 3.
54 Cvjetičanin 1994, 158, cat. no. 13.
objects, we should point out the discussion of Daniela Agro, who has presented some silver examples from Čikovo, tumulus 1. Some bronze specimens from Jablanica, tumulus 1, found with two fibulae from the region of Etropole in Thrace and a mound from Histria on the Black Sea coast, and a detail from a Greek vase with women’s head attire, dated to the 6th century BC, with numerous parallels in the wider region.55

From a later context, we should mention two fragmented silver connecting pendants fashioned in an omega form with their ends formed into the head of a snake, from Krajičinovići, Slana Voda dated to the last centuries BC, and a grave published on the internet without details of the site to which it belongs, dated to Augustan’s period, with complete jewellery consisting of silver objects such as fibulae, bracelets and other rings. The fibulae were connected with the help of waved connecting pendants with small birds’ head son their ends.57 The presented omega pendants are surprisingly similar to both ends of a silver bracelet from Čeljusnica.58

**The roots of silver jewellery craft in the area of Upper Moesia**

In different periods of a large part of prehistory, the area along the left and right bank of the Lower Danube often showed a cultural unity – a specific well-recognised cultural _koine_. In the pre-Roman period, the large Danube (Στερνίτζα / Dănuvius / Donaris / Danubius) Rivers served as a link and communication route for the populations who lived in the wide Danube basin of ancient _Moesia_, such as the Celtic Scordisci, the Illyrian Tribali, Autariati, etc., and the tribes of Thracians and Dacians in the hinterland of the Black Sea (Euxine) coast and the Paeonians and Macedonians living in the Vardar (Axios) Valley. However, the effect of this cultural _koine_ was also felt further to the west and the north with strong contact with the river valleys of the Drina (Drinus), Sava (Savus) and Tisa (Pathissos) and the tribes living in Transdanubia.59

In the metalwork of the Panonian-Balkan area, silver, as a precious and popular metal in the Late Iron Age period of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, was widespread in the form of a variety of products. Already indicated, with the help of a series of different archaeological silver objects (torques, bracelets, rings, belt-buckles), by K. Horedt, M. Gustin and, finally, by B. Kul, is the long distance connections of similar silver goods from the western hinterland of the Black Sea to the Balkans, and further to Italy and the Iberian Peninsula and _vice versa_. In these connections it is possible to recognise the ethnic background and the existing trade, mining and cult and a clearly recognisable cultural _koine_ of forms and ornaments.60

For the _Scordisci_,61 on the banks of the confluence of the rivers Sava and Danube, the highlight of their developmental characteristics is the production of large, smooth silver jewellery formed mostly of Middle La Tène shapes (fibulae of the Jarak type).62

Conversely, in nearby pre-Roman Dacia, the silver products of knotted and shield fibulae formed in Middle La Tène shapes were made from large, thin sheet metal, decorated with punching and engraving. Also furnished with the same decoration were the large simply formed bows of fibulae in Late La Tène shapes. Forms such as torques and spiral bracelets with decorated end plates were produced from heavy silver wire.

In both areas of the Dacian and Scordisci territory, belt-buckles of the Laminici type were well distributed and confirm these strong connections.63 The embossed ornamentation and the defined spectrum of motifs, executed on numerous thin bronze or silver metal sheets which covered the iron base, shows its uniformity in all areas of distribution, even if they were the products of various workshops (Fig. 9). These objects of women’s attire were popular in the period of the


56 Zotovic 1985, T. XXXV, 4, 5

57 Artefacts BRC-3524.

58 Tonkova 2011, 189–192, Fig. 1b.

59 For the historical background see Papazoglu 1969.


62 Jevtic 2006, 94–104; for fibulae types in Dacia see Rustoiu 1997.

second half of the 1st century BC and at the beginning of the 1st century AD.

Three exceptional silver jewellery hoards discovered in the north of the Scordiscian territory were: Hrtkovci/Gomolava, Kvin and Židovar, close to the border with Dacia, buried in the 1st century BC. They are, judging by the variety of objects present, and most of the forms in their inventories, with the exception of the Jarak fibulae type, largely very different objects to the Dacian hoards inventories from the same period.

The small hoard from Kvin contained a pair of spiral bracelets terminating with snake heads, a bracelet with overlapping and spirally twisted ends with coils, a folding razor, tubuli, foil pendants and a pair of Jarak type fibulae.

The exceptionally rich hoard inventory from the settlement of Židovar, intensely analysed by M. Jevtić, contains foil pendants with a large variety of forms, finger rings, tubuli, small loops, silver foil and amber beads, an amulet made from a bear tooth, two folding razors, decorative tubules, chains of intertwined wire, two pixidae, a mirror and fibulae of the Jarak type.

It corresponds in some forms to the hoard, with jewellery such as fibulae of a middle La Tene shape, beads of a bird shape, anthropomorphic and amphorae shaped foil pendants, small loops and tubuli, from Hrtkovci, a village close to the Late Iron Age settlement of Gomolava.

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64 Jevtić 2006, 168 proposed the middle of the 1st century BC for the deposition of the Židovar hoard.
65 Rašajski 1961, 7–22.
66 Jevtić 2006.
These hoards, based on the types and decoration of the jewellery, should belong in the same period and are important for the historical interpretation as well as for the cultural interpretation of their content. With the fibulae of the Jarak type we can observe in the hoard of Židovar, as in the hoard of Kovin, a strong Scordiscian identity in the form of fibulae production; in contrast, the waved fingerings of the settled type have to be connected with identical forms well distributed in this period in the central Celtic World.

Extraordinary jewellery pieces such as tubuli and pixidae, and perhaps also the so-called composite pendants, with small granules, decorated with filigree and granulation, interlaced filigree threads and settings for glass paste or red stone, on the pixidae, are, by the execution of the ornaments, connected with traditional Late Classical workshops of the 4th century and trade with the west coast of the Black Sea or the southern Balkans.

Numerous and differently formed pendants and beads were made using double-pressed thin silver foil produced by hammering and pressing into a matrix is a world-wide craftsmen’s technique of the period. However, there are no appropriate analogies to determine the origin of these products. These numerous and exceptional parts of jewellery, and likely extraordinary looking necklaces, could have been produced by special order for the Celtic community in the area of Kovin–Gomolava–Židovar, in a prominent Scordiscian workshop, or by craftsmen in the western Balkan or pre-Roman Dacian workshops.

The famous treasure of Szárazd–Regöly with gold and silver jewellery buried in the heart of Transdanubia, offers the best parallels to the distant hoard inventories of southern Banat, 500 km to the south-east. The gold part, with tubuli decorated with interlaced filigree threads and various round beds with filigree and granulation seems to be at least two centuries older; the silver part with small human mask beads made using double-pressed thin silver sheets, longitudinal amber bead sand chains of intertwined wire cor-

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68 Jevtić 2006, Map 4. Also to be added, Tremnik by Negotino (Gustin-Kuzman 2016, 316–322 with preceding literature).
69 Rustoiu 2002.
70 Jevtić 2006, 102 with relevant literature.
responds to the Gomolava–Kovin–Židovar jewellery and could have the same craftsman’s metalworking provenience.

Simple products like the typical handmade rough ceramic forms with simple decoration and especially small so-called “dacic cups” (lamps)\(^{71}\), both well represented as local products in the second half of the 1st century BC and even later penetrated from the Dacian area into the society of the Scordisci and even to the broader neighboring tribes also. In this period, the ordinary ceramic tradition in particular offers the possibility for recognising the connections between the eastern Celtic and Illyrian tribes with Dacia’s communities, who may have lived for a period of time in the area between the Tisa and the Danube. Strabo clearly states that the Tribali, and later the Moesians, lived primarily here, in the area across the Morava River beyond the land of the Scordisci (The Celts who lived interminably here, in the area across the Morava River beyond the land of the Scordisci (The Celts who lived intermingled with Illyrians and Thracians)).\(^{72}\)

The last phase of the so-called horizon of Dacian silver object hoards ended in around 25 AD\(^{73}\) but some traditional jewellery shapes continued to be produced for a few more decades, when old/new workshops appeared as a normal consequence of the Roman conquests of the territories on the right bank of the Danube, in the region of Upper Moesia. Some adornments, such as the amulets in the form of miniature axes and bracelets with overlapping and spirally coiled ends, which were widely distributed in pre-Roman Dacia and Thracia, had a long lasting use into the middle of the 3rd century, or even the 4th century.\(^{74}\)

At the end of this chapter the presence of various types of Roman bronze ware – world-wide spread products often presented in the grave inventories and settlement layers of the 1st century BC has to be mentioned. These products, as well as other objects of Roman craftsmen or traders, well represented in the Tekija – Bare hoards horizon, had a significant influence on the resurgence of local traditional or imported Late Hellenistic silver jewellery in the 1st century AD.

The silver hoards of Domitian’s time (81–96)

To understand the contents of the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard, we would like to briefly again present the important hoards of the same period from the neighbouring areas.

The Tekija hoard contains: jewellery (large silver bracelets with spirally twisted overlapped ends and with, or without, pendants in the form of miniature axes, other tools and a human hand), a gold ring executed by filigree and granulation, with overlapping and spirally twisted ends, between which there is a miniature axe, jewellery from the Roman artistic circle (gold earrings in the form of a joined semi-calotte, gold rings with the head in the form of a plate with engraved palmettos), a silver parade-belt of Roman provenance, silver buttons, a silver lunula shaped pendant, silver vessels from Campanian workshops (a simpulum and two paterae on which there are later added rings, with a miniature axe hanging on one of them), silver spoons and a pin of Roman provenance, an emblemata made of silver tin, with cultic contents and of Eastern Mediterranean origin, and 111 Roman republican and imperial denarii, t.p.q. 81 AD.

The Bare hoard contains: silver jewellery (twisted torques with different endings, large bracelets with overlapping and spirally wrapped ends with, or without, pendants in the form of a miniature axe, rings with overlapped and spirally wrapped ends, rings which, between the spiral coils, have a Hercules knot, rhomboidal pendants decorated by engraving and punching, a spirally twisted ring with widened ends, decorated by engraving and punching in the form of a stylised palmetto, twisted bracelets whose endings are executed in the form of the head and tail of a snake, a cylindrical plate with composite punched ornament), a silver bracelet with a widened front section, on which there is an oval bed for a stone or piece of glass paste, a silver bracelet whose hoop ends with a snake-head holding the hinge connected to a gold-plated central medallion with representations of deities from the Eastern Mediterranean cultural circle, circular bronze plates covered with silver, with punched ornament on the front side, two early Roman fibulae (of kräftig profilierte Fibeln type) with a pronounced profile and button-like thickenings on the bow, deformed silver emblemata, of which one has a hammered barbarised representation of a female deity, and 279 republican and imperial denarii, t.p.q. 81 AD.

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\(^{71}\) Dizdar 2001, 47, 90, 91.
\(^{72}\) Strab. VII, 3, 8.
\(^{73}\) Horedt 1973, 191 (the last phase of the horizon of the Dacian hoards has been dated, in general, to the period of 25 BC – 25 AD).
\(^{74}\) Augst, Kaiseraugst (Martin-Kilcher 2008, Taf. 12, 217–222; 22, 587; 23, 600–610; 66, 2795; 74, 2926; 81, 210).
\(^{75}\) See the inventory of the rich Bazaraut silver hoard from the hinterland of the Black Sea, with Hadrian’s coins (117–138 AD) in which we have similar rings with overlapped and spirally twisted ends with coils and five axe pendants (Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, Pl. I).
The inventory of the Rovinari hoard in Oltenia had similar contents, consisting of silver: two twisted torques, two rings with triangular knob ends, two bracelets of a large square cross section and with overlapped and spirally coiled ends, twelve rings with overlapped and spirally coiled ends (one with a miniature axe, one with a small simple ring), eight rhomboidal belt pendants, one spear pendant, a small decorated metal sheet, fragments of a ceramic vessel, an amber pearl, a glass pearl, and 15 roman republican and 13 imperial denarii, t.p.q. 81 AD.

The composition of silver objects in the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard show close similarities with the above described hoards of silver jewellery and also with the Radenković–Crkvine hoard, described at the beginning of this article. The use of pendants of miniature axes in Upper Moesia seems to be as a result of influences from the Dacian cultural area of the 1st century BC together with other silver jewellery forms whose roots were in the goldsmiths’ knowledge and traditions from the Hellenistic centres on the Black Sea coast.

The jewellery from the above listed hoards, worn by the autochthonous élites in the 2nd half of the 1st century AD, together with the numerous finds of richly executed silver jewellery in the Balkan–Pannonian region from the period of the late 2nd century BC, confirms the presence in Upper Moesia of well-formed local goldsmith workshops where identical jewellery was manufactured. These were traditional pre-Roman centres of metal manufactures and demonstrate the cultural impulses in the past from the Dacian cultural area of the 1st century BC together with other silver jewellery forms whose roots were in the goldsmiths’ knowledge and traditions from the Hellenistic centres on the Black Sea coast.

The hoards near the military camps of Transdierna and Viminacium, and probably those around Sirmium and of Rovinari as well (Fig. 1), were deposited in the period after 81 AD. Could this have been as a result of the unsettled period in Upper Moesia and the conflicts between the Romans and Dacians, p. e. a note in the sources described Domitian’s wars with the Dacians in the 9th decade of the 1st century AD, or does some other explanation exist for their burial?

As in the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) and Radenković–Crkvine finds, the monetary part of the hoard does not exist, likewise the date of their depositing in the Tekija–Bare horizon is not certain. The similarity of the objects suggests the same period of burial, but the geographical location of both hoards in Srem permits us also to consider other possibilities. Later movements during Trajan’s wars with the Dacian’s (AD 101–106) or later should not to be exclude. The hoards of Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) and Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium) are situated on the banks of the river Sava, opposite one another, and the Roman army, travelling by the Sava river to the wars with the Dacians, must have passed by this region.

Translated by the authors
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РАНОРИМСКА ОСТАВА СРЕБΡНИХ ПРЕДМЕТА ИЗ МАЧВАНСКЕ МИТРОВИЦЕ (?)
Прилог проучавању културне кoiné кроз израду драгоцених сребрних предмета

Кључне речи. – раноримски период, хоризонт остава Текија–Баре, сребрни накит, културна кoiné.

Црквине откривен налаз сребрног накита који је садржавао једну алу са спирално намотаним крајевима, на коју је била нанизана минијатурна секира, као и један дунуласти привезак.

Поред овог накита, налаз о коме је реч своје најбоље аналогије налази у оставама сребрних предмета из места Баре, у близини логора Viminacium, и из Текије, код логора Transdignia. Монетарни делови ових остава датују њихово похрањивање у крај 81/почетак 82. године. Српован налаз из места Ровинари у Трансилванији могао је, такође, бити сакривен у то време, током турбулентних догађаја за време Домицијанових ратова са Даком. Како у налазу из Мачванске Митровице (?) новац није заступљен, време његовог похрањивања није понудано датовано у овај период, готово због чинилице да су се сукоби на обалама Дунава наставили и током Трајанових дачних ратова (101–106).

У сваком случају, може се закључити да налаз садржи украсе чији су облици у различitim периодима долазили из грчког културног кружка, било долином Дрине (омега привесци), било из црногорских радионици, посредством Дачана (алке и наруквице са спирално намотаним крајевима, привесци у форми минијатурних секира). Појасне плочице могу седвести у везу са онима које су коришћене у изради појаса, српован лихавца из долине Дунава, и аналогија нама у периоду Виндикара у Трансилванији, на крају III века (сл. 10).

Уколико налаз о коме је реч потиче из околне Мачванске Митровице, највише је направљено да је на око 10 km југозападно од тог места, у селу Раденковић, на локалитету