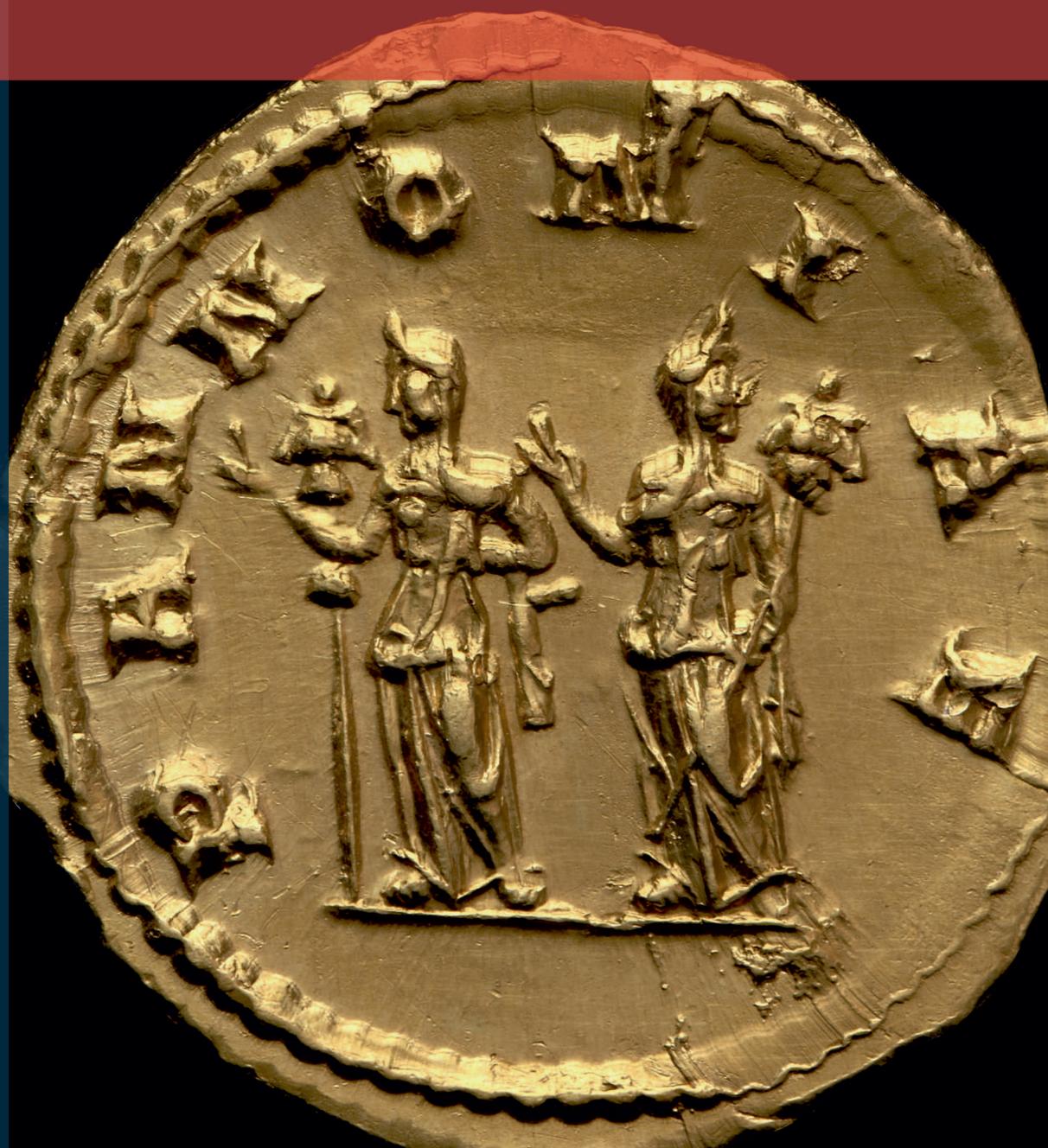


# ACTA NUMISMATICA HUNGARICA

2024



JOURNAL OF THE HUNGARIAN  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY



ACTA NUMISMATICA  
HUNGARICA

II

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BUDAPEST 2024

# ACTA NUMISMATICA HUNGARICA

## II

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## Abbreviations of Journals and Periodicals

ActaNumHung	Acta Numismatica Hungarica. Budapest.
AECO	Archivum Europae Centro Orientalis. Budapest.
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő. Budapest.
ArsDec	Ars Decorativa. Az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Hopp Ferenc Keletázsiai Művészeti Múzeum Évkönyve. Budapest.
AT	Antik Tanulmányok. Studia Antiqua. Budapest.
BIMf	Blätter für Münzfreunde. Leipzig-Dresden-Halle-Heidelberg.
BolNum	Bollettino di Numismatica. Roma.
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Budapest.
DissArch	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae. Budapest.
Érem	Az Érem. Budapest.
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica. Budapest.
FolHist	Folia Historica. Budapest.
HaRég	Határtalan Régészet. Szeged.
HtMÉ	A Hadtörténeti Múzeum Értesítője. Budapest.
MEFRA	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome. Rome.
MFME MonArch	Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Monumentum Archaeologica. Szeged.
MK	Múzeumi Közlemények. Budapest.
MM	Magyar Múzeumok. Budapest.
MÖNG	Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Wien.
Művészet	Művészet. Budapest.
Numizmatičar	Numizmatičar, Beograd.
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny. Budapest.
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift. Wien.
Pontica	Pontica. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie. Constanta.
RégFüz	Régészeti Füzetek, Budapest.
RIN	Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Milano.
Stratpl	Stratum plus. Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology. Kishinev.
TÜBA-KED	Kültür Envanteri Dergisi – Journal of Cultural Inventory, Online Journal.
ZiStA	Ziridava Studia Archaeologica. Arad.



# Seals from the Árpád era?

Judit SZIGETI – Zoltán RÓZSA

## Introduction

In 2019 our first paper was published on rings from the Árpád era displaying animal figures regardant, that is with their heads turned back.<sup>1</sup> The summary and the paper itself had a big impact particularly among those in metal detecting circles. This allowed many already found items to be identified and added to our database. The database continues to grow and recent finds have included not only rings but seals, pendants and ornamental seals depicting the same animals as well as humans.

One of these objects can be considered a seal stamp based on its shape which is reminiscent of a shank button (Szentkirály, Bács-Kiskun County; *Fig. 10/2*). In the case of seven others the depiction can be found on round, flat, tabbed disks. These pendants / seals are such sporadically found pieces it is not always possible to identify the settlement of origin (Tolna County; *Fig. 8/3*) or it is only possible to connect them to a wider settlement (Komárom County: Környe; *Fig. 8/2*). In addition to these, we currently know of similar objects, which were found by metal detection, from Pest County (Mikebuda; *Fig. 10/1*), Veszprém (Pápa; *Fig. 8/4*) and Békés counties (Csorvás; *Fig. 8/1*), which can be connected to an exact site.<sup>2</sup> Among the round, flat pieces there is the piece from Ceglédbercel (Pest county; *Fig. 10/3*) which is also round and flat but with a trapezoidal long handle-like tab attached to its body with a round hole at the end. The objects are usually cast in bronze, but examples made of lead are also known.<sup>3</sup>

The seal and two pendants (Ceglédbercel, Mikebuda) display the figure of a regardant four-legged animal, possibly a lion, and on four items depictions of humans can be seen. In the case of the already known and reported upon pendant from Kiskundorozsma (*Fig. 8/5*) the figure of a four-legged animal regardant can be seen on one side, and a human figure on the other side.<sup>4</sup>

The pendant from Kiskundorozsma, found in a closed site, is especially important for us. It clearly connects the figure of the regardant animal with the human depiction and can be dated to the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries with considerable certainty based on ceramic fragments found at the same time. However, we do not have a definite point of reference as to how long the form of the pendant from Kiskundorozsma and the depictions appearing on it may have been in use or whether similar items can be dated to another era or not.<sup>5</sup> The same is also true

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1 RÓZSA–SZIGETI 2019.

2 We would like to thank the following museum colleagues and private colleagues working closely with the museum for the data on the sites and the opportunity of publishing: Gaál Attila, Greman István, János Ádám, Kosztolányi Gyula, Pánya István, Péterváry Tamás, Rácz Tibor Ákos, Rosta Szabolcs, Vida István, Weigel Harri.

3 The descriptions of the objects are provided in the catalogue section.

4 BENEDEK–PÓPITY 2010, 239–240, 15. Fig. 1–2.

5 Here we would like to draw attention to a ring from the Kursk region, on the head of which there is a depiction that is very similar to the human figures seen on the pendants discussed. Its publisher lists it among Christian symbols of Byzantine origin, and – although conditionally – dates it to the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries (SHPILEV 2014, 293). All this is also very thought-provoking in terms of the dating of sporadic metal objects.

of the seal from Szentkirály, since the international (mainly Bulgarian) literature discusses such items over a wider period of time, usually between the 10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, we place the seals / pendants that are the subject of this paper as being from one era – the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>7</sup> The main reason for this is, that in most cases, the items were all found in areas rich in only 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century artefacts. In the case of Szentkirály, Ceglédbercel, Mikebuda, and Kiskundorozsma, there are no later finds and to the best of our knowledge only at the village of Csorvás was there a later prosperous settlement in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Even more importantly, in the case of the silver rings that can be dated to the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries which feature regardant lions and human figures (anthropomorphic/‘lily’) we find excellent parallels to these motifs,<sup>8</sup> in treasures from the Mongol invasion which have similar figures.<sup>9</sup> (In items found in the Carpathian Basin, these depictions had been in decline since the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century after which they disappeared. Later, the design and material of the rings – both in Hungary and in the Balkans – changed, and from the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries rings cast in bronze became dominant.<sup>10</sup>)

The connection between the regardant animal figures and the stylized human figures forming a lily is also shown on a bronze plate from Kunbaracs. The object was also found during metal detecting activity, and it is very important for our topic (*Fig. 1*).<sup>11</sup>



*Fig. 1 Bronze plate found at Kunbaracs–Kút-lapos II. (88619) site (Photo of the authors)*

### Interpretation of motifs

As we have seen, all but one of the seals / pendants have no reported and analysed parallels in Hungary. Their form is almost unknown in the Árpád era and no scientific analysis of the motifs has been made for forty years. Even their function sticks out as unusual in a 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century environment. The joint analysis of the depictions found on the objects on a broader basis and their comparison with the rings seem to be the most certain points of reference for placing them in a historical context. We hope to find a nomenclature through which we can understand both the rings and the seals as well as the already well documented objects bearing similar depictions which are of South Slavic origin.

6 DONCHEVA 2011, 115–116; ÇAKMAKÇI 2017, 55.

7 Cf.: SZIGETI–RÓZSA i.p.

8 RÓZSA–SZIGETI 2019. In addition, the punching technique is very common on these rings, which can also be observed in the framing of the motif, as it can also be observed in the case of pendants / seals.

9 PARÁDI 1975; LOVAG 1980; LITAUSZKI 2012; ROSTA 2018; RÓZSA–SZIGETI 2019.

10 Cf.: TÜRK 2001; MILOŠEVIĆ 1990, Fig. 78, 74; Fig. 86, 88.

11 We thank István Pányi for drawing our attention to the piece, and Szabolcs Rosta, the museum director of Kecskemét, for the opportunity to publish it.

*Motif of human / anthropomorphic representation*

In respect of Hungarian research, Mária Hlatky was the first to study rings depicting human figures which she described as a symbolic tree of life (Christ's cross, Tree of Knowledge, etc.). She saw halos around their heads, and considered them Christian symbols, which in her view were created following the Byzantine tradition. The bodies of the figures consist mostly of a pair of triangles connected at their tips, the folds of the dress are represented by three vertical lines and they hold a long cross with the figures appearing to be walking. She dated the rings to the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>12</sup>

When describing rings with human figures, one cannot avoid speaking briefly about studies dealing with the analysis of anthropomorphic representations. In the South Slavic literature rings with human depictions are uniformly described as anthropomorphic. In our Hungarian literature, the few mentions there are confusingly divide this representation into either human OR anthropomorphic. Zsuzsa Lovag in her still greatly influential and fundamental study discussed the Árpád era rings separately and variously as lily rings, bearing a lily, human, and as bearing anthropomorphic features.<sup>13</sup> Hungarian researchers have felt the need to place into the same category the human figure, the stylized human figure (anthropomorphic) and the lily, but this interpretation is often unclear and sometimes misleading (cf. Fig. 3)<sup>14</sup>. Zsuzsa Lovag classified (Fig. 2) the rings with human figures into single-figured and double-figured types. She described them as figures wearing a tunic, holding an apostolic cross and a lily, and / or standing next to a tree of life. She did not elaborate on the interpretation of the motif, but noted that there are only two known pieces of single-figured rings and dated them to the



Fig. 2 Lovag 1980, Fig. 2.

12 HLATKY 1938, 22, 25–30, Tab. II, 13–17.

13 LOVAG 1980, 222. When analyzing the pendant found in the Kiskundorozsma – Daruhalom dűlő, Benedek – Pópitly also refer to Lovag Zsuzsa's "anthropomorphic remark", i.e. the interpretation of the early "lilies" as a simplified human form (BENEDEK – PÓPITLY 2010, 239).

14 When describing a 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century ring, Türk Attila highlights the anthropomorphic features of a stylized figure (TÜRK 2001, 383), while the earliest "lily" ring he refers to actually depicts well-interpreted (ĐUROVIĆ 2012, 95–96) and known back-to-back bird figures.



Fig. 3 Anthropomorphic silver and bronze rings with “lilies” from Mezőhegyes (92601)  
Photo of the authors

first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. She conditionally tied their origin to earlier and contemporary coin images, listing a few examples to illustrate that she does not exclude this possibility completely.<sup>15</sup>

In his 2012 university dissertation, Zoltán Litauszki discussed rings with human depictions providing a summary of the research into their history.<sup>16</sup> We would like to add to his research by presenting only two rings at this time from our collection, both of which were discovered by a metal detector at a site in Mezőhegyes (92601). Considering the other items found there such as coins and clothing there may have been a thriving settlement there in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The anthropomorphic depiction on the rings had already been so simplified that we can see the process of their becoming “lilies” (Fig. 3).

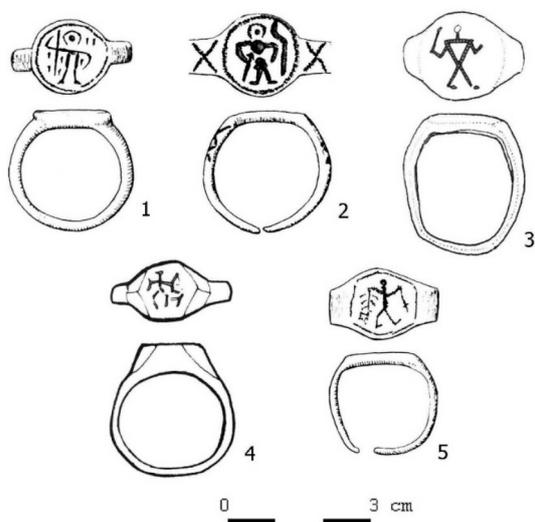


Fig. 4 Manojlović Nikolić 2016, Fig. 1.

Nikolić, she identifies four types of anthropomorphic representations in the cemeteries of Serbian areas “used” between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. On each of the rings, as she puts it, there are “human figures”, in other words, human depictions. The rings are mostly open and made of bronze, but occasionally of silver. She first analyses the rings on which a human figure can be seen (Fig. 4).

The figures are “saints” or simple warriors, the former depicted with a halo and with a spear, mace, or sword in their hands. The warriors were sometimes depicted in a very simple setting such as when cutting a branch from a tree; they were dated between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries by the researcher.<sup>18</sup>

The next type of ring is decorated with two human figures. She was able to divide

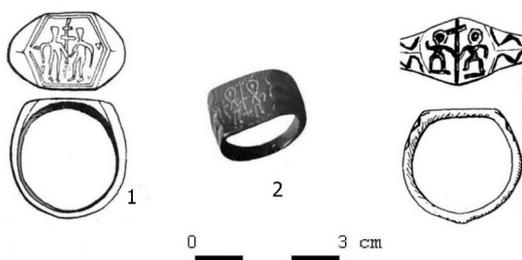


Fig. 5 Manojlović Nikolić 2016, Fig. 2.

The schematic and then complete transformation of the human figure can especially be seen in the former Byzantine areas south of the Danube, and the body of literature discussing them is also rich. It was Vesna Bikić who, in a completely new approach, traces the figures back to the depiction of saints in Byzantine iconography. In her view, the motif is a scene that appears in Christian depictions in and around Byzantium. The pictures show saints, in tunic-like contemporary clothing similar to the attire appearing on the rings, holding a spear and an apostolic double cross in their hands.<sup>17</sup>

In the study by Vesna Manojlović

15 LOVAG 1980, 226, 234, Fig. 2, 6–12.

16 LITAUSZKI 2012, 22–24, Tab. VII. / 7.

17 BIKIĆ 2010, 120–123, Sl. 92–94.

18 MANOJLOVIĆ NIKOLIĆ 2016, 48–50.

such depictions into further groups. In her view, the two human figures holding the cross (based on Byzantine examples from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries) would be Helena and Emperor Constantine, and their figures can be observed on 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century rings (Fig. 5).<sup>19</sup>

The next type of ring with two human figures is decorated with a blessing or depicting the baptism of Christ (Fig. 6). One of the figures (St. John) reaches with raised hands for the other, often shorter figure, bowing his head (Jesus).<sup>20</sup>

The final form of ring decoration depicting two human figures is the “holding hands” composition. The two figures show an engagement scene drawn from the theme of Byzantine saints (Fig. 7).<sup>21</sup>

All five of the seal / pendant ornaments with human figures found in Hungary were decorated with one human figure (Fig. 8). Based on Manojlović Nikolić’s analysis above, the figures are warriors. There is no halo around the heads of any of the figures, so they can be classified as ordinary warriors, with the possible exception of the figure from Kiskundorozsma, whose hands are empty. Four of the pendants have framed shapes, two are punched, two have engraved line frames, and all of the figures’ arms are bent at the elbow to some extent. With the exception of one, the figures hold weapons in both hands, their feet are splayed, and they face forward.

Two of the figures are meticulously worked out, even the tailoring and style of the dress can be examined. On the pendant from Csorvás we can recognize the classic V neck tunic with a hem. On the pendant from Környe, the garment is also divided at the waist, the lower part with multiple rows of folds with tassels. On the other two pendants (Pápa, Tolna County) the dress is also divided at the waist, perhaps with a belt, but the decoration is not amenable to proper analysis. The figure from Kiskundorozsma wears a one-piece “bag-like” garment. Looking through the weapons held by the figures, we can certainly see swords, spears, axes / hatchets, daggers, depicted at a resting position, mostly lowered, not in a combat-ready state.

At this point, a parallel to the anthropomorphic pendant / seal is known only from the 6<sup>th</sup> century, although it is from the Byzantine environment (north-eastern Bulgaria). According to Stela Doncheva, the medallion depicts the Virgin Mary.<sup>22</sup>

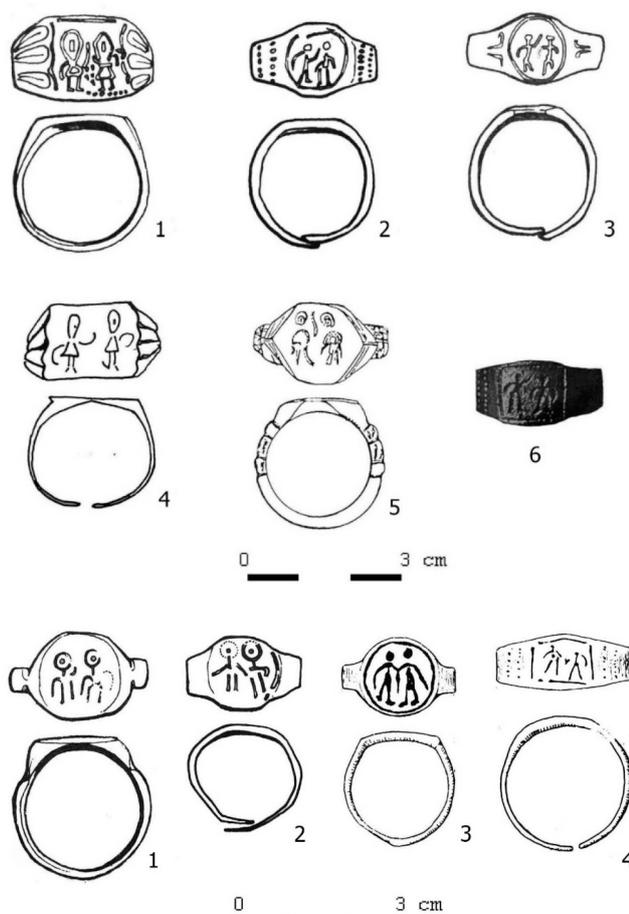


Fig. 6–7 Manojlović Nikolić 2016, Fig. 3–4.

19 MANOJLOVIĆ NIKOLIĆ 2016, 50–51.

20 MANOJLOVIĆ NIKOLIĆ 2016, 51–53.

21 MANOJLOVIĆ NIKOLIĆ 2016, 53.

22 DONCHEVA 2011, 81, Fig 6.



Fig. 8 1: Csorvás, 2: Környe; 3: Tolna county; 4: Pápa; 5: Kiskundorozsma  
(Photos of the authors)

*Motif of the regarding animal*

Mária Hlatky was the first to study the rings with animal figures. She accounted for the appearance of mythical creatures as a Persian-Sassanid influence on Hungarian art, and described them as stylized animals with deer or horse heads.<sup>23</sup> In 1980, Zsuzsa Lovag examined one of the animal figure motifs, the representation of the Agnus Dei, in more detail, but only on rings from the Árpád era. She considered the depiction appearing on the coins of Andrew II, which later became more common during the reign of Andrew III, to be the antecedent of the

23 HLATKY 1938, 21, 30–32, Tab. II / 19–20.

motif.<sup>24</sup> In 2012, Zoltán Litauszki catalogued the medieval rings of the Southern Great Plain and also discussed the interpretation of the four-legged animal motif. He discussed separately the rings depicting the Agnus Dei, an ox head, a four-legged regardant animal, a dragon, and a bird. According to his examination, the rings show a creature depicted with its head looking back, strong claws and a mouth open as if to bite, a pointed ear, and a flared, winding tail, based on which it is not possible to decide what kind of monster the figure is such as a griffin or a dragon.<sup>25</sup>

In 2019, we summarized the Árpád era rings from the Carpathian Basin depicting regardant animals that had been catalogued up to that point in the form of a popularizing article, where we tried to interpret the motif and outlined the area to which they had spread. Our interest in the rings was inspired by the appearance of a ring decorated with this motif, which was found as the only grave good during the excavation of a cemetery in Orosháza, which can be dated to the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries (cf. Fig. 9/5).<sup>26</sup> The mentioned ring comes from one of the “padmaly” (sidewall niche) graves of a presumably Muslim community (currency exchangers), the type of which was completely unknown at the time.

No matter how obvious the connection between the ring and the foreign ethnic and religious populations might seem, this cannot be proved in the context of the Carpathian Basin.

In interpreting the motif, we considered the study published in 2017 by Stela Doncheva and Ivaljo Bunzelov to be fundamental.<sup>27</sup> The Bulgarian authors were also preoccupied with the origins of this mythical creature, which appeared on historical works of art as well as on rings in the territory of 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century Bulgaria. A creature seen on a ring from Shumen, which is in motion with its head bowed and its tail whipped up, was identified as Chimera, a mythological creature with the body of a goat, the head of a lion and the tail of a snake. By the Middle Ages, the depiction of Chimera had somewhat faded into obscurity, but it appears sporadically as an allegorical depiction of sin. The symbol can be reinforced by a frame of stars (punched engravings), which is the embodiment of abundance and creativity. The authors believe that the rings can clearly be associated with a protective function.<sup>28</sup>

The four-legged animal depicted on rings, seals / pendants from Hungary might also be susceptible to this line of thought. The scratch growing out of the animal figure on the seal / pendant from Ceglédbercel may even be the vestigial goat's head, but this comes across as the same kind of speculation as was necessary to identify a motif as the Agnus Dei. Determining



Fig. 9 Rings from villages around Orosháza  
(Photos of the authors)

24 LOVAG 1980, 233.

25 LITAUSZKI 2012, 30–31.

26 RÓZSA–SZIGETI 2019.

27 DONCHEVA–BUNZELOV 2017.

28 DONCHEVA–BUNZELOV 2017, 356. In many cases, we can see stars on rings from Hungary with similar motifs. Cf. RÓZSA–SZIGETI 2019.



Fig. 10 1: Mikebuda; 2: Szentkirály; 3: Ceglédbercel.  
(Photos of the authors)

this question is one of the most important tasks for future research in this field.<sup>29</sup>

The motif of the four-legged regardant animal is widespread in Eurasian culture, the continuous transformation of the depiction can already be traced in the Balkan material. The schematic stick-like depiction had parallels as early as the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>30</sup> and can be found in Russian areas through to the late Middle Ages / early modern times.<sup>31</sup> In the period under discussion, the motif – studied together with the anthropomorphic figures analysed above – can certainly be considered to have a Byzantine root and its appearance in Hungary can be attributed to the strengthening Hungarian-Byzantine relations.<sup>32</sup>

### The question of function

The common origin of the motifs seems to be certain in our opinion. But what were these objects used for, or were they used for anything at all?

The eight pendants / seals we know of are made in one of three shapes. The first, of which there is a single example, is the classic seal-stamp shape, the tab design and shape of this small object are associated with seals which remained very common for many years to come. The second, again of which there is a single example, was cast with a flat elongated handle with a hole at the end which could have been used for its suspension from a hook or similar. Finally, the group of six pendants. On these pendants, the tab was formed - in the same plane as the round plate - in such a way that the object could be worn around the neck suspended from a string displaying the motif of a standing figure.

We found only one example of the “classical” seal shape in Hungarian archaeological material which was found in the 2<sup>nd</sup> grave of the 10<sup>th</sup> century cemetery in Piliny-Leshegy, in 1871.<sup>33</sup> Éva Révész carried out the processing of the inscribed seal (seal stamp) found in the tomb and examined it in light of similar objects; her study is fundamental when analysing this type of object.<sup>34</sup> The object dates from before the 10<sup>th</sup> century and its original function was that of a seal having regard to its inscribed side. In her study, Éva Révész analyses at length the Byzantine parallels of the Pinyin hanging, which reached Bulgarian territories between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries with the spread of Christianity. The wearing of them is associated with their role of warding off trouble; wearing them around the neck was thought to give protection

29 Cf.: DONCHEVA–BUNZELOV 2017, 359–360, Fig. 3–4.

30 MARJANOVIĆ–VUJOVIĆ 1984, 90, Fig. 197; ОҒА 2012, Plate 11, 13.

31 As it was kindly shared in person by Vladimir Belov.

32 The depiction of a lion can be observed in a central place on the wall of the Castle chapel of Béla III in Esztergom (PROKOPP 2012). Among others, the engraved depiction of an animal turning back can also be observed on the side fragment of a polished pot from Szekszárd, among other things: <https://wmmm.hu/2019-aprilis-korso-bekarcolt-allatabrazolással/> Both the bottle and its surface treatment described here fit well into pottery’s 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century horizon of Balkan origin (cf. SZIGETI–RÓZSA i.p.).

33 For history of research see RÉVÉSZ 2011, Fn. 3.

34 RÉVÉSZ 2011.

against disease and evil spirits.<sup>35</sup> The piece from Piliny cannot be connected to the piece from Szentkirály discussed by us here, neither on the basis of its depiction or form: identifying it as a seal is far from obvious.

Based on the shape and motifs of the other pieces documented in this paper, the best parallel is the piece found at the Kiskundorozsma-Daruhalom dúlő site.<sup>36</sup> The round, flat, punched-engraved piece with a small tab was considered in previous publications to be a pendant, with which we can agree in the light of the above, with the caveat that the pieces discussed here may have had a protective function as we have also seen it in the case of the seal form. Although the seal and pendant forms are connected by the motifs on them, we cannot yet decide whether there was / could be a functional difference between the two.

Once again, we draw attention to the different tab design of the piece from Szentkirály. It is not a small round tab that is attached to the round, flat object, but a long, trapezoidal handle with a hole at the end. Unlike the other pieces, it is designed in a perpendicular plane, which - just like the position of the motif - calls into question whether it was intended to be worn around the neck, as by wearing it around the neck the motif would appear upside down. For that reason, while this piece may well have had a protective function, its original purpose may have been as a seal.

### Conclusion

To understand the pendant or seal ornaments we can use South Slavic, mainly Bulgarian, literature. Based on this the seals dating from the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries found in Pliska and Preslav were worn as amulets (around the neck as a charm or protector). The roots of the objects lead to Byzantium where these small objects, which could be made of stone or ceramics, were used as seals. They were mostly inscribed but we can also find instances of decoration with figures.<sup>37</sup> These latter include the motif of the four-legged animal, as well as the simplest anthropomorphic figures, later known as the lily motif, which appear on many rings and other works of art history.

Based on the motifs of the pendants, we can trace the decorative origin of the late Arpad-era Hungarian rings back to Byzantine seals, so we may have found the period and the origin of the engravings.

For the time being, we cannot answer the question of how these objects arrived in Hungarian territory. This can be imagined by means of a trade route, a Bulgarian presence or a Byzantine sphere of influence. It is possible to create romantic theories that they were worn or used by representatives of the royal authority, but all this would be premature. Since the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the influence of Byzantium in the field of material culture in the Carpathian Basin has – to varying degrees, but certainly – revealed itself.<sup>38</sup> Trade routes crossed the Carpathian Basin, so the population settled here would be exposed to Byzantine influences in some form or other such as through Bulgarian connections. They wore the copied, simplified jewellery produced in large numbers in the workshops of the lower Danube, and as it seems, even smaller objects preserved in their original form. It is now clear to researchers that the material culture of the Balkans and Carpathian Basin between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries can only be examined or understood in its entirety, regardless of ethnicity.

35 RÉVÉSZ 2011, 112–113.

36 BENEDEK–PÓPITY 2010, 229–230.

37 BIKIĆ 2010, 81, Fig. 52

38 MESTERHÁZY 1990; MESTERHÁZY 1991.

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