

Ivan Bugarski, Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáská
Vujadin Ivanišević, Daniel Syrbe (Hrsg.)

Grenzübergänge

Spätromisch, frühchristlich, frühbyzantinisch als Kategorien der historisch-archäologischen Forschung an der mittleren Donau

Late Roman, Early Christian, Early Byzantine as categories in historical-archaeological research on the Middle Danube

Grenzübergänge

Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter

herausgegeben von
Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska,
Niklot Krohn und Sebastian Ristow

Band 4

GrenzÜbergänge

Spätromisch, frühchristlich, frühbyzantinisch als Kategorien der
historisch-archäologischen Forschung an der mittleren Donau

Late Roman, Early Christian, Early Byzantine as categories in
historical-archaeological research on the middle Danube

Akten des 27. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme
der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donaauraum,
Ruma, 4.–7.11.2015

herausgegeben von
Ivan Bugarski, Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska,
Vujadin Ivanišević und Daniel Syrbe

2016
Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner
Remshalden

Unterstützung

des Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrums Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e. V.
an der Universität Leipzig

Das dieser Publikation zugrunde liegende Vorhaben wurde mit Mitteln des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung unter dem Förderschwerpunkt „Geisteswissenschaftliche Zentren“ (Förderkennzeichen 01UG1410) gefördert. Die Verantwortung für den Inhalt dieser Veröffentlichung liegt bei den Autoren.

Die Beiträge wurden einem Peer Review-Verfahren unterzogen. Für die Unterstützung danken wir den Kollegen: Prof. Dr. Sebastian Brather (Albert-Ludwigs-Univ. Freiburg, Inst. für Arch. Wiss.), Dr. Slavko Ciglenc̆ki (Arch. Inst. der Slowenischen Akad. d. Wiss.), Dr. Hrvoje Gračanin (Univ. Zagreb, Phil. Fak.), Prof. Dr. Matthias Hardt (GWZO, Leipzig), Prof. Dr. Michael Schmauder (LVR-LandesMuseum, Bonn), PD Dr. Sebastian Ristow (LVR-Landschaftsverband Rheinland), PD Dr. Roland Steinacher (Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald), Prof. Dr. Tivadar Vida (Loránd Eötvös Univ., Arch. Inst., Budapest).

GrenzÜbergänge

Spätromisch, frühchristlich, frühbyzantinisch als Kategorien
der historisch-archäologischen Forschung an der mittleren Donau /
Late Roman, Early Christian, Early Byzantine as categories in
historical-archaeological research on the middle Danube /
Akten des 27. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme
der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donaauraum, Ruma, 4.–7.11.2015
herausgeben von Ivan Bugarski, Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáška, Vujadin Ivanišević und Daniel Syrbe /
Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter 4 /
herausgegeben von Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáška, Niklot Krohn und Sebastian Ristow /
Remshalden : Greiner 2016 /
ISBN 978-3-86705-079-1

Bibliographische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie;
detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

1. Auflage 2016

© 2016

Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner, 73630 Remshalden; www.bag-verlag.de

Umschlagbild: Mosaik aus *Sirmium*/Sremska Mitrovica, Kaiserpalast, Raum 23 (site 1a, 4. Jh. n. Chr.), Ausgrabung des Denkmalschutzamtes Sremska Mitrovica, 2006 (Photo: J. Vuletić and I. Filipović); Halbmondförmiger Ohrring: Bóly, Grab 21/a (1. Hälfte 7. Jh. n. Chr.), Janus Pannonius Múzeum Pécs, Inv.-Nr. 61.3.1 (Photo: A. Blay); Tremis von Aelia Pulcheria (450–453), Narodni Muz. Zaječar (Photo: S. Pop-Lazić, Inst. of Arch., Belgrade).

Umschlaggestaltung und Satz: Anita Mezei (Zalaegerszeg)

Redaktion: Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáška, Daniel Syrbe (GWZO, www.uni-leipzig.de/gwzo)

Herstellung: Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner, 73630 Remshalden; www.bag-verlag.de

Das Werk ist in allen seinen Teilen urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig. Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

ISBN 978-3-86705-079-1

ISSN 2195-2221

Vorwort / Preface

The fourth volume in the series ‘Research on Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages’ contains the papers presented at the 27th international symposium dedicated to ‘Major Issues in the Early History of the Middle Danube’ which took place on 4–7 November 2015 in Ruma, in the province of Vojvodina, Serbia, and is now published under the title of the present book.

The conference was organised by the editors of this volume and their institutions, the Leipzig Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe (since 1 January 2017 Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe [GWZO]) and the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade, in collaboration with the institutes of the academies and universities of the ‘Major issues’ circle in Brno, Nitra, Vienna and Krakow.

The region of Sarmia forms the focus of current and future research programmes of the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade and for this reason it is not hard to explain the choice of venue for the conference. The Institute has been involved for decades in research on this key region, located on the northern fringes of the Balkan Peninsula in the Roman province of *Pannonia Secunda*, first and foremost through the excavations in *Sirmium*. But another Pannonian Roman town, *Bassianae*, was also investigated in recent years by geophysical and photogrammetric surveys (conducted by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute, Vienna) and it offers great opportunities for future excavation projects.

For the GWZO, the research project ‘Continuity and discontinuity of Christianity on the middle and lower Danube between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages’ was instrumental in shaping the theme of the conference. Christianity represented innovation, continuity, tradition, identity and power at various times in the period under examination, and it left behind a multiplicity of traces. In the Danube provinces, the Christian religion played a crucial role as a pillar of continuity in the timespan from the fifth to the ninth century AD, forming part of Roman identity. Changes also took place under its influence in the lower Danube region and its hinterland, where the imperial presence endured until the seventh century.

The title of this volume (*GrenzÜbergänge*/BorderCrossings) is a play on words in German intended to render the theme of the conference. The meeting sought to address questions of interdisciplinarity and periodization, using the Middle Danube region between AD 300 and 800 as a case study, to lay the foundations for a discussion concerning aspects of ‘borders’ and ‘crossings’ that separate and connect different periods, spaces and scientific approaches. The terms employed in research on this period, such as ‘Late Roman’, ‘Early Christian’, ‘Early Byzantine’ or ‘Late Antique’, are frequently applied indiscriminately, and are either used as equivalents or, conversely, taken to represent a chronological sequence. These stances often reflect different research traditions and regionally circumscribed research domains.

The conference was organised in four sessions, entitled ‘Crossing Borders between Rome and Barbaricum’, ‘Early Christianity’, ‘Transformations of Roman Structures’ and ‘On the Edges of Byzantium’. The papers made clear that many frontiers become less distinct the closer one gets to them. What is taken to represent a break from the perspective of current research often turns out to be a political event, whose impact appears to be rather limited at a regional or local level. Moreover, the results of archaeological research are significantly changing our view of the historical trajectory of the Balkan provinces in Late Antiquity, which followed a dynamic evolution well into the sixth century AD. The fact that the seventh century marked a real break in the Middle Danube region appears, on the other hand, to be a common denominator. It can be documented in many different ways in the archaeological evidence available.

As the conference was held in Serbia, a significant number of contributions drew on research concerning the northern and central Balkans' heritage, enlarging the 'Major issues' research group's usual area of expertise, i.e. Eastern Middle European Barbaricum. In addition to the conference papers, a poster session was organised in the Municipal Museum in Ruma, where current archaeological research projects dedicated to the protection and restoration of the imperial palace mosaics at *Sirmium*, settlement patterns in the environs of *Sirmium*, and results of new excavations at Keszthely-Fenékpuszta and in a *villa rustica* in the vicinity of Ruma, our conference host town, were presented. The conference excursion took us to Sremska Mitrovica, ancient *Sirmium*. Stefan Pop-Lazić from the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade, and Biljana Lučić from the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Sremska Mitrovica guided us around the archaeological sites and the imperial palace and explained the recent research and heritage issues related to this important town. The participants also had the chance to visit the permanent exhibition at the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica and at the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad.

Three further contributions complement this volume, as their topics are closely related to our theme: they were originally presented at a session coordinated by the GWZO at the 2013 International Medieval Congress in Leeds entitled 'Central Places in the Middle Ages, I: Eastern Central Europe'. There, historians and archaeologists discussed the role of central places in terms of their political, economic, social and/or religious functions. The session focused on the bilateral development in Eastern Central Europe, where, to the south of the Danube, it was often the Late Antique, Roman towns that accommodated the early medieval centres, whereas to the north of the Danube new central places developed from other cultural backgrounds.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank the Austrian Archaeological Institute, the Institute of Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology and the Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies of the University of Vienna, as well as our own institutions in Belgrade and Leipzig for their generous financial and organisational support of the conference.

We also thank our colleagues for their painstaking editorial work, especially Eva-Maria Tepest for her review of the contributions in German to this volume and Madeleine Hummler for her revision of the articles in English.

Last but not least we are most grateful to all our colleagues for presenting their results at the conference and for submitting them to scrutiny in this volume. Research is alive and well on both sides of the Danube and is bound to offer new perspectives and openings for wide-ranging international exchange.

Leipzig, Belgrade, December 2016

The editors

Inhalt / Contents

Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska und Daniel Syrbe „Grenzübergänge“ zwischen 300 und 800 n. Chr. Einführende Betrachtungen zu den globalen und lokalen Verflechtungen des Mitteldonauraumes	11
Alexander Sarantis Eastern Roman management of barbarian states in the Lower-Middle Danube frontier zones, AD 332–610	41
Anne Hähnel Militärverwaltung im mittleren Donauraum: Das <i>Illyricum</i> zwischen Rom, Byzanz und dem Barbaricum	67
Alois Stuppner „Spättrömisch“, „spätantik“ oder „spätkaiserzeitlich“? Epochenbezeichnungen am Beispiel des ostösterreichischen Donauraumes.....	83
Jaroslav Tejral Spätantik – merowingisch – frühmittelalterlich. Strittige Übergänge im mittleren Donauraum aus der Sicht der Archäologie	103
Levente Nagy Interpretationen frühchristlicher Kunst am Beispiel pannonischer Kästchenbeschläge: Methodische Probleme und unscharfe Terminologie	121
Hrvoje Vulić Eine frühchristliche Anlage in Kamenica bei <i>Cibalae/Vinkovci</i> : Vorbericht zu den archäologischen Untersuchungen in den Jahren 2012 bis 2015	133
Anita Rapan Papeša and Danijela Rokсандić <i>Cibalae/Vinkovci</i> during Late Antiquity (fifth to sixth century AD) – new insights about old assumptions	145
Marina Šimek Lonja – eine frühchristliche Kirche auf einer spätantiken Höhengsiedlung in Pannonien (heute Nordwestkroatien)	161
Ivana Popović Survey of Early Christianity in <i>Sirmium/Sremska Mitrovica</i> (fourth to fifth c. AD).....	179

Efthymos Rizos	
Martyrs from the north-western Balkans in the Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition: patterns and mechanisms of cult transfer	195
Ádám Bollók	
The “phylactery of the cross” and Late Antique/early medieval mortuary practices in the Eastern Mediterranean and on its fringes	215
Stefan Pop-Lazić	
<i>Felix Romuliana</i> /Gamzigrad in the fifth century – results of recent research	231
Sofija Petković, Ivan Bugarski and Nataša Miladinović-Radmilović	
A non-wandering soldier’s grave? The seventh-century burial in Davidovac (southern Serbia)	247
Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska	
Byzantine goldsmithing in Avaria? Exchange and transfer at the edge of the Empire during the seventh century AD	273
Adrien Blay und Levente Samu	
Über die mediterranen Kontakte des frühawarenzeitlichen Karpatenbeckens am Beispiel ausgewählter Fundgruppen	291
Stefan Eichert	
Byzantinische Vorbilder für karantanischen Schmuck? Zur Rezeption des Greifen- und Vogelmotivs im frühmittelalterlichen Ostalpenraum.....	311
Daniel Syrbe	
Regensburg und die Grenzen und Übergänge zwischen Antike und Mittelalter im raetischen Donaauraum.....	327
Przemysław Urbańczyk	
Central places as foundations of the early Piast state	343
Stefan Albrecht	
Cherson als Zentralort auf der südwestlichen Krim (6.–10. Jahrhundert)	355
Bildnachweis	385
Autoren.....	389



TeilnehmerInnen der Tagung auf der Exkursion in Sremska Mitrovica/*Sirmium* am 6. November 2015.
Conference delegates in Sremska Mitrovica/*Sirmium* during their excursion of 6 November 2015.

A non-wandering soldier's grave? The seventh-century burial in Davidovac (southern Serbia)

Introduction

In the course of large-scale rescue excavations prior to the construction of the E75 motorway on Corridor X in the southern part of present-day Serbia, the Davidovac–Gradište site was explored². The locality is situated in the centre of the Vranje–Bujanovac valley by the South Morava, south-west of the village of Davidovac.

The explored area was 1,025 m long and 35–50 m wide (Fig. 1). It consisted of five units. The surface of 2,540 m² was excavated by 60 trenches and soundings. Some 1.5 meters thick cultural layer dated to the Roman and Late Roman periods was recorded. Between the Vranje–Bujanovac regional road and the south-western part of Davidovac, part of a Roman cemetery with cremation burials was explored, dated to the second and third centuries, as well as two large Late Roman buildings. A further 700 m² were excavated on the hill in the north-western part of the site, where 67 Late Roman brick-built gra-

ves were discovered, dated to the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century. At the bottom of the south-western slope of this hill the remains of a Roman settlement from the second and third centuries were investigated³.

The discovery of a 7.70 m wide Roman road (*Via publica*), excavated over a length of about 130 m, was among the most important results of the 2011 campaign. The road runs in a northeast-southwest direction, almost parallel to both the present regional road and the new E75 motorway (Fig. 1). This communication route was of the utmost importance, connecting *Naissus* and *Scupi*, two major cities in the central part of the province of *Moesia Superior*, which was later divided into several provinces, including *Dacia Mediterranea* and *Dardania*.

There are not enough historical data about the *Naissus-Scupi* Roman road. In a medieval copy of the Roman itinerary, in the section between these two important cities, there are no indications of stations, forts or settlements⁴. On the

¹ The text stems from the projects 'Romanization, urbanization and transformation of urban centres of civil, military and residential character in Roman provinces in the territory of Serbia' (No. 177007) and 'Urbanization processes and development of medieval society' (No. 177021), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. Special gratitude is owed to William Bowden, Philipp Niewoehner and Raffaele D'Amatto for providing us with the indispensable literature, to Željka Temerinski, Milica Marić-Stojanović and Milan Čolović, conservators of the National Museum, Belgrade, to Igor Gavritukhin and Ádám Bollók for discussion, and to Miro Radmilović and Bojan Popović for the post-production of the illustrations.

² The excavations by a twenty-member interdisciplinary team of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, led by Sofija Petković, lasted from 22 August to 15 December 2011.

³ S. PETKOVIĆ, Archaeological Rescue Excavations at the Site of Davidovac-Gradište. Preliminary Results. In: S. Perić/A. Bulatović (eds), *Archaeological Investigations along the Highway Route E75 (2011–2014)* (Belgrade 2016) 301–349; N. MILADINOVIĆ-RADMILOVIĆ/S. VUKOVIĆ-BOGDANOVIĆ/N. MARKOVIĆ, Davidovac - Gradište: Results of the Preliminary Bioarchaeological Analyses of the Osteological Material. In: *Ibid.*, 351–382.

⁴ P. PETROVIĆ, *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure IV. Naissus – Remesiana – Horreum Margi* (Beograd 1979) 27–29.



Fig. 1 Location of the *Via publica*, Gradište fortress and Grave XXIII in Davidovac.

other hand, archaeological research so far, even if not very intensive, points to their existence⁵. Although there is no consensus on this issue among historians⁶, rescue excavations at the Davidovac-Gradište site have provided evidence of a large Roman settlement, probably a *mansio* on the *Naissus-Scupi* road, the route of the *Via publica* once connecting *Viminacium* on the Danube limes, the capital of *Moesia Superior*, with the towns in the interior of the province and, further to the south, with the Vardar (*Axios*) valley, the neighbouring province of *Macedonia* and the town of *Stobi*.

Due to lacunae in the Roman itineraries, it is not possible to identify the station in Davidovac

(*Mansio...*). However, it can be assumed that from this position vicinal roads also led to the west, to *Ulpiana* (now Gračanica), and eastwards to *Pautalia* (present-day Kyustendil). The archaeological finds from the water channels alongside the road suggest that this part of the *Via publica* was used from the second to the fourth centuries, and was flooded afterwards.

The Davidovac grave

In a layer of river deposit accumulated above the Roman cremation cemetery and the road a solitary soldier's grave was discovered. The grave,

⁵ S. A. PETKOVIĆ, Римски пут *Via militaris* у Давидовцу код Врања (Roman Road *Via Militaris* in Davidovac by Vranje). *Vesnik Vojnog muzeja* 39, 2012, 21–28.

⁶ K. MILLER, *Itineraria Romana: Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana* (Stuttgart 1916, Roma 1964); N. VULIĆ, Територија римског Скопља (*Le Territoire de Scupi*). *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 1, 1925, 1–4; M. MIKROVIĆ, Римски пут Naissus - Scupi и станица Ad Fines (The Roman Road Naissus-Scupi and the Stages Ad Fines). *Živa Ant.* 10, 1960, 249–257; A. MÓCSY, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior* (Budapest 1970).

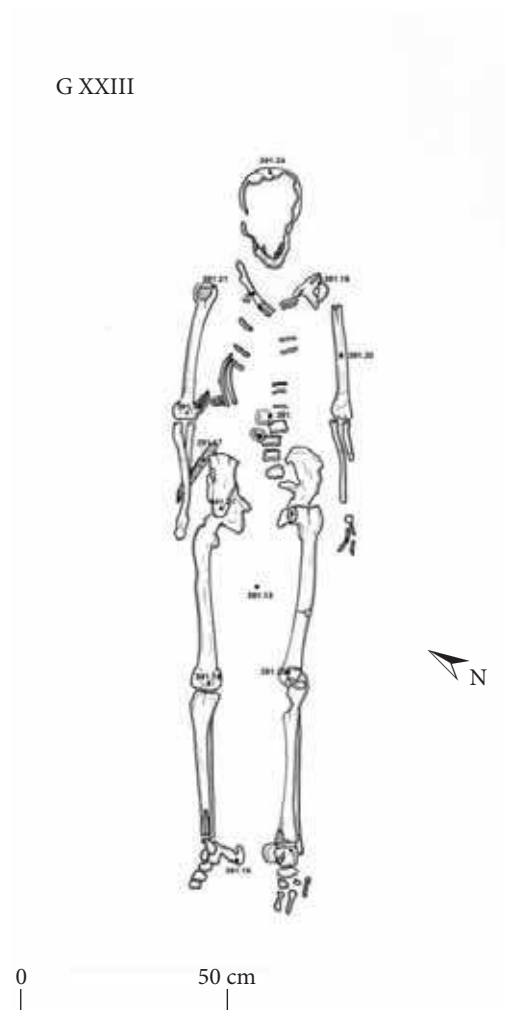


Fig. 2 Davidovac- Gradište, Grave XXIII.

labelled G XXIII, was unearthed in Trench 45, located in the area of the cremation necropolis. The 25 m long and 5 m wide trench was oriented northwest-southeast. As the presence of a 1.20 to 1.50 m thick layer of river deposit (Layer A) had already been ascertained in this part of the site, it was excavated by machine – under continuous monitoring by an archaeologist – to reach the Roman cultural layer (layer B). Therefore, as soon as an iron object was detected in front of the machine's bucket, the work was stopped. This battle axe was, by all appearances, originally placed beside the head of the deceased; after this initial discovery regular archaeological excavations took place.

In a simple grave, a shallow cut into the sandy river deposit, oriented northeast-southwest and measuring c. 1.90 m by 0.60 m, an adult male was buried. The deceased was laid on his back, with the arms stretched along the body. The sides of this oval grave-pit were difficult to define. The skeleton was poorly preserved, especially the skull, which was crushed under the weight of soil (Fig. 2).

The area where the grave was located has been successively flooded by the South Morava river, so both the human and archaeological remains were seasonally under water. During the Late Roman period the situation was similar – this area was being flooded probably from the

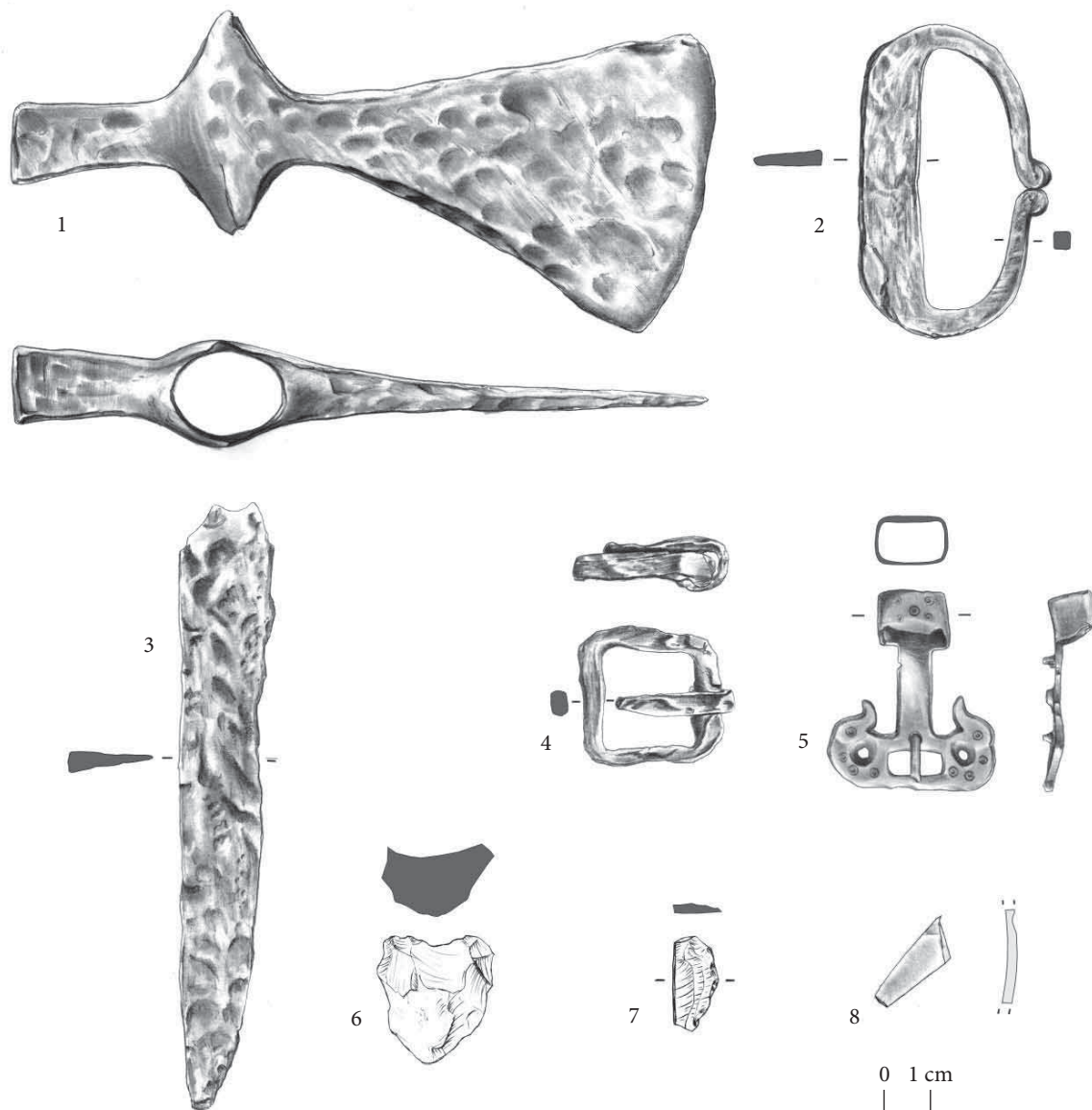


Fig. 3 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII: 1 Battle axe (Cat. no. 1); 2 Strike-a-light (Cat. no. 14); 3 Knife (Cat. no. 2); 4 Buckle (Cat. no. 4); 5 Purse buckle (Cat. no. 13); 6–7 Flints (Cat. no. 15); 8 Fragment of glass vessel (Cat. no. 16).

second half of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth, as the settlement and *Via publica* had ceased to exist under the deposit of river mud and sand. The grave is virtually the only archaeological finding post-dating the flooding of the excavated area in the Antiquity; it was a solitary burial. In what follows we present the archaeological and anthropological analyses of the finds from the Davidovac grave.

Archaeological analysis

This person was buried with a battle axe near the head and a belt around the waist. A knife and a leather purse were suspended from another belt with an iron buckle. Once containing a strike-a-light and flints, the purse with its typical bronze buckle was discovered behind the back of the deceased (Fig. 2–4).

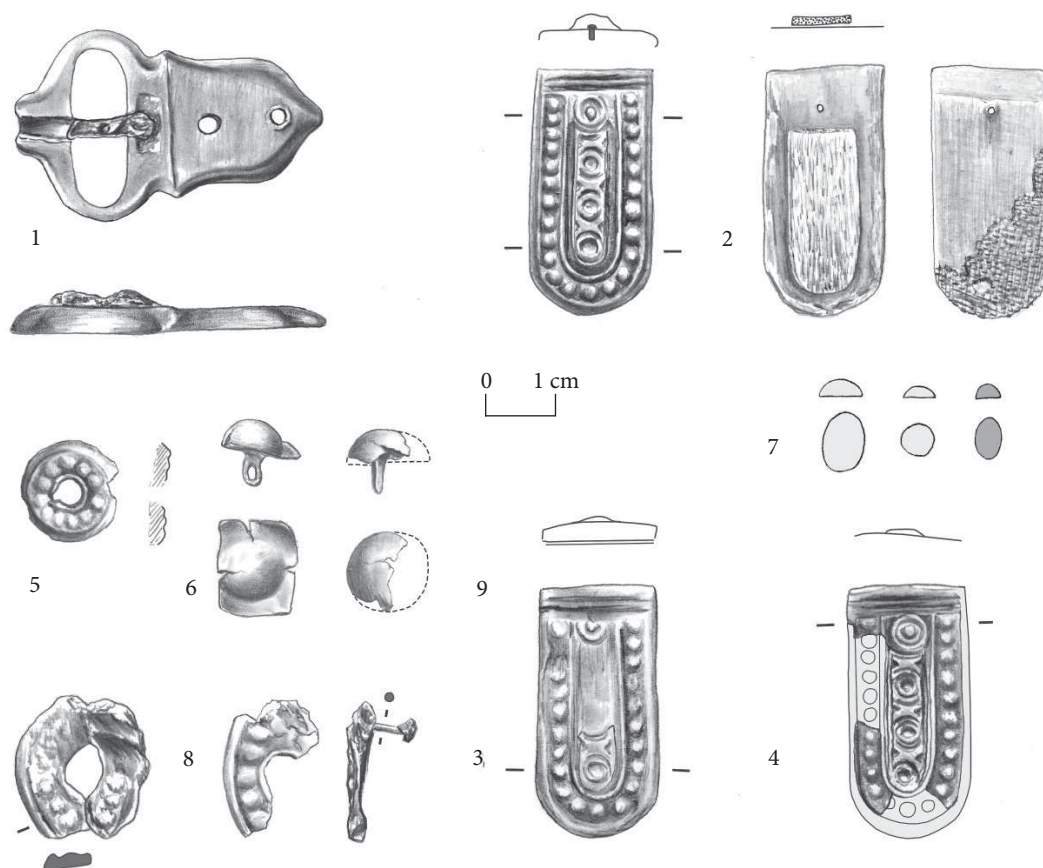


Fig. 4 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII: 1 Buckle (Cat. no. 4); 2–4 Strap-ends (Cat. no. 5–7); 5 Belt fitting (Cat. no. 9); 6 Buttons (Cat. no. 12); 7 Glass inlays (Cat. no. 10); 8 Belt fittings (Cat. no. 8).

Finds catalogue

1. Battle axe (C 369/11) found to the right of the skull. Forged in iron, it has a trapezoidal blade, a rhomboid socket and a prismatic butt. Length: 15.5 cm, blade width: 6.5 cm (Fig. 3,1).
2. Knife (C 736/11) found in the right pelvic bone area. Forged in iron, single-bladed, fragmented. Length: 14.5 cm, blade width: 2.2–0.8 cm (Fig. 3,3).
3. Buckle (C 737c/11) found in the waist area. Forged in iron, its frame is trapezoidal with rounded corners and slightly concave sides. It is square in cross-section; the pin is fragmented. Dimensions: 2.9 cm × 3 cm (Fig. 3,4).
4. Buckle (C 738c/11) found in the waist area, beneath the iron buckle (Cat. no. 3). Cast in bronze in a single piece; its loop is elliptical and its plate is pierced twice (originally once) for rivets. Dimensions: 4.4 cm × 2.7 cm (Fig. 4,1).
5. Strap-end (C 738a/11) found in the right elbow area. It is made in three parts. The front is a pressed bronze sheet, decorated with pseudo-granulation along the edges. In the middle of it an elongated silver strip is inlaid, with three hammered recesses, and secured with a small silver rivet with a globular head. The back plate is a flat bronze sheet. On its outside cloth is preserved by the patina. The two plates were held together by the same rivet. Between them there was a smaller tongue-shaped wooden plate. Dimensions: 3.7 cm × 1.7 cm; 2.4 cm × 1.1 cm (wooden plate); 2.4 cm × 0.6 cm (silver inlay). Originally identical to Cat. nos. 6 and 7 (Fig. 4,2).
6. Strap-end (C 738b/11) found between the chest and the right elbow. Originally identical to Cat. nos. 5 and 7, but damaged by patina. Dimensions: 3.6 cm × 1.8 cm (Fig. 4,3).



Fig. 5 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII: Small strap-end (Cat. no. 5).

7. Strap-end (C 738e/11) found in the pelvic area beneath the bronze buckle (Cat. no. 4). Originally identical to Cat. nos. 5 and 6 but damaged by patina. The back plate is missing. Dimensions: 3.6 cm × 1.8 cm (Fig. 4,4).
8. Belt fittings (C 737d/11) found in the waist area. Two fragmented bronze sheet fittings, elliptic in shape, decorated with pseudo-granulation around their central perforations. In one case a rivet was preserved. Diameter: 2 cm (Fig. 4,8).
9. Decorative belt fitting (C 737e/11) found in the waist area. Made out of silver sheet and filled with lead, it is round in shape and decorated with pseudo-granulation along the edge. Diameter: 1.4 cm (Fig. 4,5).
10. Three glass inlays (C 738g/11) for the metallic parts of the belt set, found in the waist area, close to the bronze buckle and the strap-end (Cat. nos. 4 and 7). All three inlays are oval in shape, with flat bases and concave upper sides. Two inlays are colourless, and one is dark blue. Dimensions: 0.4–0.8 cm (Fig. 4,7).
11. Nine decorative rivets (C 738f /11) found in the waist area. The heads are hammered from bronze sheet and filled with lead, attaching them to small wire rivets. Length: 0.7 cm; diameter: 0.8 cm (Fig. 4,9).
12. Three decorative buttons (C 738f/11) found in the waist area. The buttons are rectangular in shape, each domed in the middle. Hammered from bronze sheet, they were filled with lead to hold bronze wire loops for sewing to the garment. Length: 1.2 cm; diameter: 0.9 cm (Fig. 4,6).
13. Purse buckle (C 738d /11) found under the left ilium. A T-shaped cast bronze buckle, decorated with a pair of duck (or dolphin?) heads facing one another and flanking the frame with the pin. The opposite end is finished with a rectangular belt loop. The buckle is decorated with carved lines and ring-and-dot ornaments. Dimensions: 1.6 cm × 4.2 cm × 3.6 cm (Fig. 3,5).
14. Strike-a-light (C 737a/11) found left of the pelvic area, where there used to be a leather purse. D-shaped and forged in iron, it has spirally twisted ends. Dimensions: 7 cm × 4.2 cm (Fig. 3,2).
15. Three flints (C 737b/11) found left of the pelvic area, where there used to be a leather

purse, together with the strike-a-light (Cat. no. 14). On one of them there was a lump of organic material (wood?) and corroded iron. Dimensions: 2.8 cm × 2.6 cm; 2 cm × 1 cm; 2.2 cm × 2 cm (Fig. 3,6–7).

16. Glass vessel (C 735/11) found in the waist area. Fragment of a light green glass vessel. Dimensions: 2 cm × 2.1 cm (Fig. 3,8).

Discussion of the grave goods

Thanks to the existing pictorial evidence, we know that the Byzantines used multi-part belt sets throughout the sixth and seventh centuries⁷, which had an influence on the increase in number of metallic decorative elements on belts worn by the Lombards, Bavarians and Alamanni⁸. All in all, the Early Byzantine belts derived from an international style; we also know of Sasanian multi-part belt sets of that time. In Eu-

rope the largest group comprises Avar belts⁹; in this article we shall not use the very large corpus of related Avar finds, but only some illustrative examples.

In comparison to Avar examples, Byzantine belt sets are rarely found; therefore it is not easy to list finds analogous to the small sheet strap-ends from Davidovac (Cat. nos. 5–7; Fig. 5). This is because in the sixth century the *Rhomaioi* practised burials without such pieces of costume or any equipment, including weapons¹⁰, and it is unlikely that many such items would be found on Balkan hillforts¹¹. At least in Serbia, Early Byzantine graves have not been sufficiently investigated or published¹², and this is especially the case of the seventh-century burials. Only recent breakthroughs in the study of belt elements of that time, more often than not from non-Byzantine contexts¹³, have made it possible to study the seventh-century Central Balkan finds¹⁴.

⁷ Cs. BÁLINT, Byzantinisches zur Herkunftsfrage des vierteiligen Gürtel. In: Idem (ed.), Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe im 6.–7. Jahrhundert. *Varia Arch. Hungarica* 10 (Budapest, Napoli, Roma 2000) 99–162.

⁸ F. DAIM, Byzantine Belts and Avar Birds. Diplomacy, Trade and Cultural transfer in the Eighth Century. In: W. Pohl/I. Wood/H. Reimitz (eds), *The Transformation of Frontiers: From Late Antiquity to the Carolingians. The Transformation of the Roman World* 10 (Leiden, Boston, Köln 2001) 143–188 here 144 f. – On Merovingian belts see M. MARTIN, Die absolute Datierung der Männergürtel im merowingischen Westen und im Awarenreich. *Antaeus* 29–30, 2008, 143–174.

⁹ See Cs. BÁLINT, Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe. Das Grab von Üç Tepe (sowj. Azerbajdžan) und der beschlagverzierte Gürtel im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert. In: F. Daim (ed.), *Awarenforschungen* 1. *Stud. zur Arch. der Awaren* 4. *Arch. Austriaca Monogr.* 1 (Wien 1992) 309–496.

¹⁰ See J. HALDON, Some Aspects of Early Byzantine Arms and Armour. In: D. Nicolle (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour* (Woodbridge 2002) 65–79 here 65.

¹¹ I. BUGARSKI, On the Jánoshida Type Earrings and the Seventh-Century Byzantine Finds from the Western Balkans, with a Retrospective View of the Vajska (Vajska) Cemetery. In: T. Vida (ed.), *Thesaurus avarorum. Régészeti tanulmányok Garam Éva tiszteletére – Archaeological Studies in Honour of Éva Garam* (Budapest 2012) 233–254 here 236.

¹² See M. MILINKOVIĆ, Градина на Јелици, Рановизантијски град и средњовековно насеље (Die Gradina auf der Jelica. Frühbyzantinische Stadt und mittelalterliche Siedlung) (Beograd 2010) 200 f.

¹³ É. GARAM, Funde byzantinischer Herkunft in der Awarenzeit vom Ende des 6. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts. *Mon. Avarorum Arch.* 5 (Budapest 2001); M. SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum 1. Die Schnallen ohne Beschlag, mit Laschenbeschlag und mit festem Beschlag des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts. *Kat. RGZM* 30,1 (Mainz 2002); EADEM, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum 2. Die Schnallen mit Scharnierbeschlag und die Schnallen mit angegossenem Riemendurchzug des 7. bis 10. Jahrhunderts. *Kat. RGZM* 30,2 (Mainz 2009).

¹⁴ BUGARSKI 2012 (note 11).



Fig. 6 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII: Glass inlays (Cat. no. 10).



Fig. 7 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII: Small round fitting (Cat. no. 9).

Before such syntheses were available, it could occur that Byzantine finds were used as evidence for an Avar invasion of a town in Greece¹⁵, or that their finds from the seventh century were dated earlier, to conform to the traditional view that in the Balkans the Byzantine rule ended at the turn of the sixth to the seventh century¹⁶. In addition, there is also the perennial question of whether certain belts in foreign (Avar) use were only made according to Byzantine fashion, or were authentic Byzantine products¹⁷.

In terms of decorative composition, the strap-ends from Davidovac are similar in one detail – the elongated central ornament – to certain gold pieces from the famous Byzantine belt set from Divoš (?) near *Sirmium*/Sremska Mitrovica¹⁸, which we believe to have been presented to the Avars before their 626 Constantinople disa-

ster¹⁹, or to the earliest finds from the Brestovac ‘hoard’. These very small gold sheet strap-ends also had elongated central cabochon sockets, but the inlays are not preserved²⁰. Similar is also the central position of the array of glass inlays on the small strap-end of a belt set uncovered in the area of the Baksan and Chegem rivers in the region between the Black and Caspian Seas²¹; such inlays from Davidovac (Cat. no. 10; Fig. 6) seem to speak in favour of the Byzantine origin of the belt.

One can also observe general similarities in the rims and central parts of the belt pieces with the fittings from the clan-leader’s grave at Petőfiszállás, dated to the second quarter of the seventh century. The small, round fitting (Cat. no. 9; Fig. 7) resembles the Petőfiszállás pieces too²², and similar combinations of finds occur in

¹⁵ G. DAVIDSON, The Avar invasion of Corinth. *Hesperia* 6, 1937, 227–240. – See G. DAVIDSON WEINBERG, A Wandering Soldier’s Grave in Corinth. *Hesperia* 43,4, 1974, 512–521 here n. 3; E. A. IVISON, Burial and Urbanism at Late Antique and Early Byzantine Corinth (c. AD 400–700). In: N. Christie/S. T. Loseby (eds), *Towns in Transition, Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot 1996) 99–125 here 114–117.

¹⁶ E.g. Z. VINSKI, Kasnoantički starosjedioci u salonitanskoj regiji prema arheološkoj ostavštini predslavenskog supstrata. *Vjesnik arh. i hist. Dalmatinsku* 59, 1974, 5–86.

¹⁷ See GARAM 2001 (note 13); DAIM 2001 (note 8); Zs. Rácz, *Die Goldschmiedegräber der Awarenzeit*. Monogr. RGZM 116 (Mainz 2014).

¹⁸ I. ПОРОВИЋ, Златни аварски појас из околине Сирмијума – Golden Avarian Belt from the Vicinity of Sirmium. *Nat. Mus. Belgrade Monogr.* 10, Arch. Inst. Belgrade Monogr. 32 (Belgrade 1997).

¹⁹ See also A. KISS, The treasure of the Byzantine gold belt from the Sirmium region. *Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae* 50, 1998, 251–258.

²⁰ B. BÜHLER, Der ‘Schatz’ von Brestovac, Kroatien: Seine kulturellen Beziehungen und technologischen Aspekte. Monogr. RGZM 85 (Mainz 2014) 22 f., 96 f., pl. 6.

²¹ BÁLINT 1992 (note 9) pl. 36,6.

²² Cs. BALOGH/E. WICKER, Avar nemzetségfő sírja Petőfiszállás határából. In: VIDA 2012 (see note 11) 551–582 here 581 f., fig. 12.



Fig. 8 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII: Bronze buckle (Cat. no. 4).

graves at Bócsa, dated to the second third or the middle of the seventh century²³, and Homokbánya²⁴. Before conservation, the strap-ends from Davidovac showed a distinct typological feature: like many Early Avar finds, they had ribbed reinforcements on top. Such finds, assigned by Jozef Zábajník to seriation type 559, are dated to his FS phase, i.e. before 650²⁵. They are usually flat and unornamented. On the other hand, small Byzantine (?) sheet silver strap-ends with such reinforcements formed part of spectacular Ukrainian finds such as the Martynovka treasure²⁶, and a similar find is also known from the Kelegej burial assemblage²⁷.

The bronze cast buckle (Cat. no. 4: Fig. 8) belongs to a common type. Numerous similar pieces come from Crimea²⁸ and South Russia²⁹, with analogous finds also present in both Early Byzantine hillforts in the Central Balkans³⁰ and in Avar contexts. In the latter ones these single-piece *Schnalle mit U-Beschlag* are chiefly dated to the first half of the seventh century, with some finds of a later seventh-century date. It is important to note that these buckles cluster in Transdanubia³¹, where strong pre-Avar traditions persisted in and around Keszthely-Fenekpuszta³². In the Petőfiszállás grave as many as five similar buckles were part of a sword

²³ É. GARAM, *Katalog der awarenzeitlichen Goldgegenstände und der Fundstücke aus den Fürstengräbern im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum*. Cat. Mus. Nat. Hungarici, Ser. Arch. I (Budapest 1993) 25, 53–57, pl. 4,7–8.

²⁴ Cs. BALOGH, *Koraavar kori ún. propeller alakú övveret a kunpeszéri 3. sírból*. A Móra Ferenc Múz. Évk. – Stud. Arch. XII, 2011, 257–276 here 267 f., fig. 1, 4–5.

²⁵ J. ZÁBOJNÍK, *Seriation von Gürtelbeschlagarnituren aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei und Österreichs (Beitrag zur Chronologie der Zeit des Awarischen Kaganats)*. In: Z. Čilinská (ed.), *K problematike osídlenia Stredodunajskej oblasti vo včasnóm stredoveku* (Nitra 1991) 233, 248, pl. 20,1–4.

²⁶ Lj. V. PEKARSKAJA/D. KIDD, *Der Silberschatz von Martynovka (Ukraine) aus dem 6. und 7. Jahrhundert*. Monogr. zur Frühgesch. und Mittelalterarch. 1 (Innsbruck 1994) Cat. no. 11, 36, pls. 32,5; 34,2.

²⁷ O. M. PRICHODNJUK/V. M. CHARDAEV, *Ein Edelmetallfund des 6.–7. Jahrhunderts aus Kelegej, Ukraine*. *Eurasia Ant.* 7, 2001, 587, Cat. no. 17, fig. 1,1.

²⁸ See A. I. АИВАВИН, *Хронология могильников Крыма позднеантичного и раннесредневекового времени (La chronologie des nécropoles de Crimée de l'époque romaine tardive et de Haut Moyen Age)*. *Mat. Arch. Istor. Etnogr. Tavrii I*, 1990, 3–86, 175–241 here 39 f.

²⁹ BÁLINT 1992 (note 9) pl. 60,3.

³⁰ M. ПОРОВИЋ/V. BIKIĆ, *Vrsenice. Kasnoantičko i srpsko ranosrednjovekovno utvrđenje*. Arch. Inst. Belgrade Monogr. (Beograd 2009) 80, fig. 55,7; MILINKOVIĆ 2010 (note 12) 136 f., fig. 168.

³¹ GARAM 2001 (note 13) 93 f., pls. 56,1–2, 4; 57,1–2.

³² L. BARKÓCZI, *A 6th-Century Cemetery from Keszthely-Fenekpuszta*. *Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae* 20, 1968, 275–311 here 299, T. LXIII,17.



Fig. 9 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII; Bronze purse buckle (Cat. no. 13).

set³³, and those found in the Homokbánya grave might have performed the same function³⁴. The other metallic parts of the Davidovac belt set are not relevant for our analysis.

The purse contained an iron strike-a-light and flints (Cat. nos. 14, 15). A unique purse buckle (Cat. no. 13; Fig. 9), decorated with a pair of duck (?) heads facing one another, may be attributed to the Gáter type, stemming from the Salona-Histria type. These – not very numerous – Byzantine products are known from various regions, from Ukraine to Greece and Italy. The majority of such buckles were dated to the first half of the seventh century by Syna Uenze, and their later derivatives to the second half of that century³⁵. In a more recent review, such finds

from Avar contexts are dated to the middle of the seventh century, or to its second and third quarters. In fact, most buckles of this type come from Avar graves. Éva Garam has collected ten such finds³⁶, and the buckle from Svilojevo (Szilágyi) should have been added to the list³⁷, while the recently studied similar finds from Greece are of a more elaborate type³⁸.

As for the axe (Cat. no. 1; Fig. 3,1), its length of 15.5 cm suggests that it was a battle axe. Early Byzantine axes of the same design were usually larger, up to around 25 cm long³⁹, and therefore likely to have been used as tools. The size of an object is directly related to its weight: a group of 19–24 cm long Late Roman iron axes have been shown to be five to six times heavier than those

³³ BALOGH/WICKER 2012 (note 22) 556, 559, fig. 8,4–8.

³⁴ BALOGH 2011 (note 24) pls. 1,2; 4,1; 5,3–4.

³⁵ S. UENZE, Die Schnalle mit Riemenschlaufe aus dem 6. und 7. Jahrhundert. Bayer. Vorgeschbl. 31,1–2, 1966, 152–154.

³⁶ GARAM 2001 (note 13) 111–113, tab. 1.

³⁷ D. DIMITRIJEVIĆ/J. KOVAČEVIĆ/Z. VINSKI, Seoba naroda. Arheološki nalazi jugoslovenskog Podunavlja (Zemun 1962) 62, pl. XV,3.

³⁸ N. TSIVIKIS, Considerations on Some Bronze Buckles from Byzantine Messene. In: B. Böhlendorf-Arslan/A. Ricci (eds), Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts. BYZAS. Veröff. d. Deutschen Arch. Inst. Istanbul 15 (Istanbul 2012) 62–68.

³⁹ B. BAVANT, Les petits objets. In: Idem/V. Kondić/J.-M. Spieser (eds), Caričin Grad II. Collection de l'École française de Rome 75 (Belgrade, Rome 1990) 225, Cat. no. 218, pl. XXXVIII,218; P. ŠPEHAR, Materijalna kultura iz ranovizantijskih utvrđenja u Djerdapu. Cahiers des Portes de fer Monogr. 7 (Beograd 2010) 100, Cat. no. 420, T. XXIV,420.

11–12 cm long⁴⁰. The two classes of axes must have been manipulated in different ways and used for different purposes. The majority of Avar battle axes are between 11 and 13 cm long, but the 15–16 cm long specimens are also viewed as belonging to this group⁴¹.

Anthropological analysis

Methodological framework

The bone remains recovered are those of a semi-preserved skeleton⁴²; the limitations of the anthropological analyses conducted were determined precisely by the preservation of the bone material (Tab. 1)⁴³.

To determine the sex of this adult individual a combination of morphological and metrical methods was employed. Special attention was paid to the morphological features of the cranium (processus mastoideus, planum nuchale, tubera frontale et parietale, protuberantia occipitalis externa (Broca)) and the mandible (general appearance: corpus mandibulae, ramus mandibu-

lae and angulus mandibulae, mentum, angulus mandibulae and margo inferior), using the method established by a group of European anthropologists⁴⁴ and by Jane E. Buikstra and Douglas H. Ubelaker⁴⁵. Metric elements of the mandible were also analysed, relevant for sex determination⁴⁶. The indices, calculated on the basis of the metric elements, are shown in Table 2.

The mesiodistal and vestibulo-lingual diameters were measured for teeth, using a method approved by Hillson (Tab. 3)⁴⁷. Differences in tooth size were observed mostly on canines, but also on molars, premolars and incisors⁴⁸.

Morphological and metrical elements were also observed in the analysis of other postcranial bones, particularly the development stages of tuberositas deltoideae, tuberositas radii and margo interosseus (radius), tuberositas ulnae and margo interosseus (ulna) and linea aspera. Metrical elements played a more significant role in the sex determination of postcranial remains, and the indices calculated on their basis are shown in Table 4, separately for the right and left sides of the skeleton.

⁴⁰ L. RUPNIK, *Secures, asciae und dolabrae* aus Keszthely-Fenékpuszta. In: O. Heinrich-Tamáska/P. Straub (eds), *Mensch, Siedlung und Landschaft im Wechsel der Jahrtausende am Balaton*. Castellum Pannonicum Pelsonense 4 (Budapest et al. 2014) 181–204 here 185, fig. 3.

⁴¹ I. BUGARSKI, *Axe, Battle Axes and Battle Knives from Avar-Time Graves in Vojvodina*. In: C. Cosma (ed.), *Warriors, weapons, and harness from the 5th–10th centuries in the Carpathian Basin*. Ethnic and Cultural Interferences in the 1st Millennium B.C. to the 1st Millennium A.D. XXII (Cluj-Napoca 2015) 129–146 here 139 f.

⁴² Partial preservation refers to the situation where an entire skeleton is present inside the grave, but the bones are brittle and break during excavation. Vertebrae and long bones were highly decomposed. Some bones (pelvic bones, rib fragments, sacrum fragment, lower end of the right humerus, upper ends of the right radius and right ulna, lower end of the left ulna) show traces of green colour due to oxidation of the metallic objects.

⁴³ Together with human bones, seven fragmented animal bones, 1–4.5 cm in length, were recovered.

⁴⁴ D. FEREMBACH/I. SCHWIDETZKY/M. STLOUKAL, *Recommendations for age and sex diagnosis of skeletons*. *Journal of Human Evolution* 7, 1980, 517–549 here 523 f.

⁴⁵ J. E. BUIKSTRA/D. H. UBELAKER, *Standards for data collection from human skeletal remains*. *Arkansas Arch. Survey Research Ser.* 44 (Fayetteville 1994) 19–21.

⁴⁶ FEREMBACH/SCHWIDETZKY/STLOUKAL 1980 (note 44) 523–525; W. M. BASS, *Human Osteology, A Laboratory and Field Manual* (Columbia 1995) 84 f.

⁴⁷ S. HILLSON, *Teeth* (Cambridge 1990) 240–242; IDEM, *Dental Anthropology* (Cambridge 1996) 80–82.

⁴⁸ S. GARN/A. LEWIS/R. KERESKY, *X-linked inheritance of teeth size*. *Journal of Dental Research* 44, 1965, 439–441.

Cranial skeleton					
frontal bone	25 %				
right and left parietal bone	both 75–100 %				
occipital bone	75–100 %				
right temporal bone	50–75 %				
right processus mastoideus	75–100 %				
three fragments of maxillae	2.5–3 cm in length				
mandible	75–100 %				
56 fragments of skull	0.1–5.5 cm in length				
Postcranial skeleton					
right humerus	P.E.	P1/3	M1/3	D1/3	D.E.
left humerus	-	1/2P1/3	M1/3	D1/3	-
right radius	-	P1/3	M1/3	1/2D1/3	-
left radius	P.E.	1/2P1/3	-	-	-
right ulna	P.E.	P1/3	M1/3	1/2D1/3	-
left ulna	1/2 P.E.	P1/3	M1/3	1/2D1/3	-
right femur	-	P1/3	M1/3	1/2D1/3	1/2D. E.
left femur	P.E.	P1/3	M1/3	D1/3	-
right tibia	-	1/2P1/3	M1/3	1/2D1/3	2/3D.E.
left tibia	-	P1/3	M1/3	D1/3	1/2D.E.
right fibula	-	P1/3	M1/3	D1/3	D.E.
left fibula	-	1/2P1/3	M1/3	1/2D1/3	-
about 500 bone fragm. of postcr. skeleton	0.1–5.0 cm in length				
right clavicle	50 %				
right scapula	50–75 %				
promontorium	<25%				
eight pelvic bone fragments	1.0–13.5 cm in length				
2/3 C1, dens of C2, six fragments of cervical vertebrae					
eight fragments of thoracic vertebrae (?)					
two lumbal vertebrae and six more fragments of lumbal vertebrae					
17 rib fragments					
hand phalanx					
right and left talus	both 75–100 %				
right and left calcaneus	both <25 %				
right and left os naviculare	both 50 %				

Tab. 1 List of preserved bones.

Primal cranial measurements	(cm)
Maximum cranial breadth (eu-eu)	14.60
Mandible	
Mandibular length	10.50
Bicondylar breadth (cdl-cdl)	12.40
Bigonial breadth (go-go)	10.30
Height of ascending ramus	7.00
Minimum breadth of ascending ramus	2.90
Thickness of mandibular body	0.75
Height of mandibular body	3.40
Mandibular Index	84.67
Mandibular Body Robusticity Index	22.05
Mandibular Ramus Index	41.42

Tab. 2 Cranial measurements and indices.

Given to the degree of bone preservation, individual age was estimated using only Vallois's scheme, i.e. the obliteration of skull sutures⁴⁹. Changes in dental material were compared with Brothwell's⁵⁰ numerical classification of the occlusal surface attrition of the molars in relation to age, and changes in the occlusal surface of all teeth were studied in relation to age using the results obtained by Lovejoy⁵¹. Morphological changes in sternal rib ends – metamorphoses of depth, joint cavities, shape, edges and ridge configuration – were examined, together with the general state of the bones, based on nine (0–8) phases of progression covering ages from 18 to over 70 years⁵².

Epigenetic variations on the cranium and the postcranial skeleton were observed⁵³, and stature was calculated using Trotter and Gleser's formula for the maximum length of the humerus⁵⁴.

Results of the analysis

The Davidovac grave contained the skeletal remains of a male aged 30–40 and 175 ± 5 cm tall (Tab. 1–5; Fig. 10–12). The only palaeopathological changes observed were osteoarthritis (at the lower end of the right humerus, the upper ends of right and left ulnae, and the right and left tali) and osteochondritis dissecans in a squatting facet on the right tibia, 1.4 cm in diameter. Poirier's facet was noted on the left femur.

The dental analysis showed the presence of the following teeth: 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 25, 26, 28, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 47 and 48. Tooth 46 (?) was lost antemortem, and teeth 31, 32, 34, 41, 42, 43 and 44 postmortem. First-degree abrasion (in enamel) was observed on teeth 12, 14, 15, 33, 35, 38, 47 and 48, second-degree abrasion (exposed dentine) on teeth 16, 24, 25, 28, 37 and 45, third-degree abrasion (to the bottom of the fissure) on tooth 36 ($\rightarrow 4^{\text{th}}$), and fourth-degree abrasion (open pulp cavity) on tooth 26. Periodontal disease and calculus were highly prominent. Caries was present on teeth 25, 28 (both distal, between crown and root, 0.6 cm in diameters), 46 (the so-called gross-gross caries (?)) and 47 (gross-gross caries). Occlusion could not be determined (Fig. 10,3–5).

The epigenetic characteristics noticeable on norma occipitalis were os sutura lambdoideae (on the right side, 1.0×0.5 cm in size, and one on the left side, damaged post-mortem) and prominent linea nuchae suprema (Fig. 10,2). On the postcranial part of the skeleton, facies articularis superior atlantis bipartita were detected on the

⁴⁹ H. W. VALLOIS, La durée de la vie chez l'homme fossile. *Anthropologie* (Paris) 47, 1937, 499–532.

⁵⁰ D. R. BROTHWELL, Digging up bones (London, Oxford 1981) 72.

⁵¹ C. O. LOVEJOY, Dental Wear in the Libben Population: Its Functional Patterns and Role in the Determination of Adult Skeletal Age at Death. *Am. Journal of Physical Anthr.* 68, 1985, 47–56.

⁵² M. Y. IŞCAN/S. R. LOTH/R. K. WRIGHT, Metamorphosis at the sternal rib end: A new method to estimate age at death in males. *Am. Journal of Physical Anthr.* 65, 1984, 147–156; EADEM, Age estimation from the rib by phase analysis: White males. *Journal of Forensic Scien.* 29, 1984, 1094–1104; EADEM, Age estimation from the rib by phase analysis: White females. *Journal of Forensic Scien.* 30, 1985, 853–863.

⁵³ G. HAUSER/G. F. DE STEFANO, Epigenetic Variants of the Human Skull (Stuttgart 1989); M. ĐURIĆ-SREJIĆ, Увод у физичку антропологију древних популација (Introduction to the Physical Anthropology of Ancient Populations) (Beograd 1995) 238–260.

⁵⁴ M. TROTTER/G. C. GLESER, Estimation of stature from long bones of American Whites and Negroes. *Am. Journal of Physical Anthr.* 10, 1952, 463–514.

Odontometric data (cm)					
Maxilla	MD Ø	BL Ø	Mandible	MD Ø	BL Ø
11	-	-	31	-	-
12	0.65	0.55	32	-	-
13	-	-	33	0.75	0.80
14	0.65	0.85	34	-	-
15	0.60	p.m.d.	35	0.70	0.80
16	p. m. dec.	p. m. dec.	36	1.10	1.10
17	0.95	calculus	37	1.00	1.00
18	0.95	1.15	38	1.10	1.00
21	-	-	41	-	-
22	-	-	42	-	-
23	-	-	43	-	-
24	0.60	0.85	44	-	-
25	p.m.dec.	0.75	45	p. m. decom.	calculus
26	0.95	1.25	46	-	-
27	-	-	47	gross-gross caries	
28	0.85	1.15	48	1.15	1.10

Tab. 3 Odontometric examination of the teeth.

right side, and trochanter tertius on both femora. Entheses were very prominent on muscle and ligament attachment points of the right clavicle, right scapula (the left ones are not preserved), right and left humeri, right and left radii, right ulna (even the olecranon was slightly separated), left ulna, and right and left femora (Tab. 5, Fig. 11–12). Two squatting facets were noticed on the right tibia (facies articularis calcanea media and facies articularis calcanea anterior were clearly separated on both tali), which was much better preserved than the left one, followed by osteochondritis dissecans in one of them.

It should be added that the tuberculum conoideum of the right clavicle was very prominent too; the bodies of both femora were pronouncedly flattened throughout their entire length in the anterior-posterior direction.

To sum up, the deceased was a 30–40 year-old male, 175 ± 5 cm tall. The cause of death could not be determined. Periodontal disease and

calculus were very prominent, while caries was observed on four teeth. The only noticeable palaeopathological changes were osteoarthritis on several bones and osteochondritis dissecans in a squatting facet on the right tibia. Entheses occurred at almost the same attachment points on both arms and were most expressed in the muscles controlling shoulder movements (forward, backward and circular movements), elbows (flexion and extension movements), and wrists (gripping and circular movements), followed by osteoarthritis. It is unlikely that this well-trained person was an archer; he may have been trained with sword and shield instead. Squatting facets have proved to be common in the bones of members of groups known habitually to spend a lot of time in the squatting posture⁵⁵. In this case their occurrence may perhaps be associated with a lengthy life in military tents without appropriate furniture, and the reason for the occurrence of osteochondritis dissecans could be trauma

⁵⁵ BROTHWELL 1981 (note 50) 90; S. MAYS, *The Archaeology of Human Bones* (London, New York 1998) 119.

Postcranial skeleton (cm)			
Clavicle		Femur	
Circumference at the middle of the bone	4.50 -	Subtrochanteric anterior-posterior diameter	2.90 3.10
Humerus		Subtrochanteric mediolateral diameter	3.65 4.00
Maximum length	33.50 -	Anterior-posterior diameter of the midshaft	2.70 2.75
Maximum diameter midshaft	2.40 2.30	Mediolateral diameter of the midshaft	3.20 3.35
Minimum diameter midshaft	1.95 1.95	Maximum diameter of the head	- 5.00
Maximum diameter of the head	4.75 -	Circumference of the midshaft	9.00 9.30
Least circumference of the shaft	6.80 6.50	Collo-diaphyseal angle	130° 130°
Biepicondylar width	7.00 -	Condylo-diaphyseal angle	80° -
Articular width	4.80 -	Pilastric Index	84.37 82.08
Robusticity Index	20.29 -	Platymeric Index	79.45 77.50
Cross section Index	81.25 84.78	Tibia	
Radius		Anterior-posterior diameter at nutrient foramen	3.55 3.60
Anterior-posterior diameter of the midshaft	1.25 -	Mediolateral diameter at nutrient foramen	- 2.50
Mediolateral diameter of the midshaft	1.65 -	Circumference at nutrient foramen	9.70 9.70
Least circumference of the shaft	4.60 4.50	Distal breadth	5.40 -
Fibula		Least circumference of the shaft	- 8.00
Least circumference of the shaft	3.70 -	Platycnemic Index	- 69.44

Tab. 4 Measurements and indices of the postcranial skeleton.

(especially recurring, chronic low-level trauma or microtrauma)⁵⁶.

Discussion and conclusion

According to the dating elements listed above the Davidovac burial belongs to the first half of the seventh century. A more precise date would be its second quarter, but we should bear in mind that the majority of parallels are from Avar

contexts, and perhaps of a slightly later date than the Byzantine finds which may have influenced their production. On the other hand, we should note that the bronze buckle was re-perforated (Cat. no. 4: Fig. 8). But who could have been buried in such an untypical way? The results of the anthropological analysis indicate that it was an adult and well-trained man. With his battle-axe and even a belt, both Byzantine products, this man was (buried like) a soldier.

⁵⁶ A. C. AUFDERHEIDE/C. RODRÍGUEZ-MARTÍN/O. LANGSJOEN, *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Human Paleopathology* (Cambridge 1998) 81.

Right clavicle		
m. deltoideus	m. trapezius	lig. conoideum
Right scapula		
m. triceps brachii – Caput longum	m. supraspinatus	m. subscapularis
m. teres minor	m. deltoideus	
Right humerus		
m. deltoideus	m. coracobrachialis	m. brachialis
m. brachioradialis	m. extensor carpi radialis longus	m. extensor carpi radialis brevis
m. extensor digitorum	m. extensor digiti minimi	m. extensor carpi ulnaris
m. supinator	m. pronator teres	m. flexor carpi radialis
m. palmaris longus	m. flexor carpi ulnaris	m. flexor digitorum superficialis
m. pectoralis major	m. latissimus dorsi	m. teres major
m. supraspinatus	m. infraspinatus	m. teres minor
m. triceps brachii – Caput longum		
Left humerus		
m. deltoideus	m. coracobrachialis	m. brachialis
Right radius		
m. biceps brachii	m. flexor digitorum superficialis	m. supinator
Left radius		
m. biceps brachii	m. flexor digitorum superficialis	m. supinator
Right ulna		
m. flexor digitorum superficialis	m. pronator teres	m. brachialis
m. supinator (!)	m. digitorum profundus	m. pronator quadratus
m. triceps brachii	m. anconeus	m. flexor carpi ulnaris
m. extensor carpi ulnaris	m. abductor pollicis longus	m. extensor pollicis brevis
m. extensor pollicis longus	m. extensor indicis	
Left ulna		
m. flexor digitorum superficialis	m. pronator teres	m. brachialis
m. supinator (!)	m. digitorum profundus	m. pronator quadratus
m. anconeus	m. flexor carpi ulnaris	m. abductor pollicis longus
m. extensor pollicis brevis	m. extensor pollicis longus	m. extensor indicis
Right femur		
m. gluteus maximus	m. vastus lateralis	m. adductor magnus
m. pectineus	m. adductor brevis	m. vastus medialis
m. vastus intermedius	m. adductor longus	m. gastrocnemius – Caput mediale
m. plantaris	m. gastrocnemius – Caput laterale	lig. cruciatum posterius
lig. cruciatum anterius		
Left femur		
m. gluteus maximus	m. vastus lateralis	m. adductor magnus
m. pectineus	m. adductor brevis	m. vastus medialis
m. vastus intermedius	m. adductor longus	m. gastrocnemius – Caput mediale
m. plantaris	m. gastrocnemius – Caput laterale	capsula articularis
lig. capitis femoris		

Tab. 5 Enteses on the postcranial skeleton.

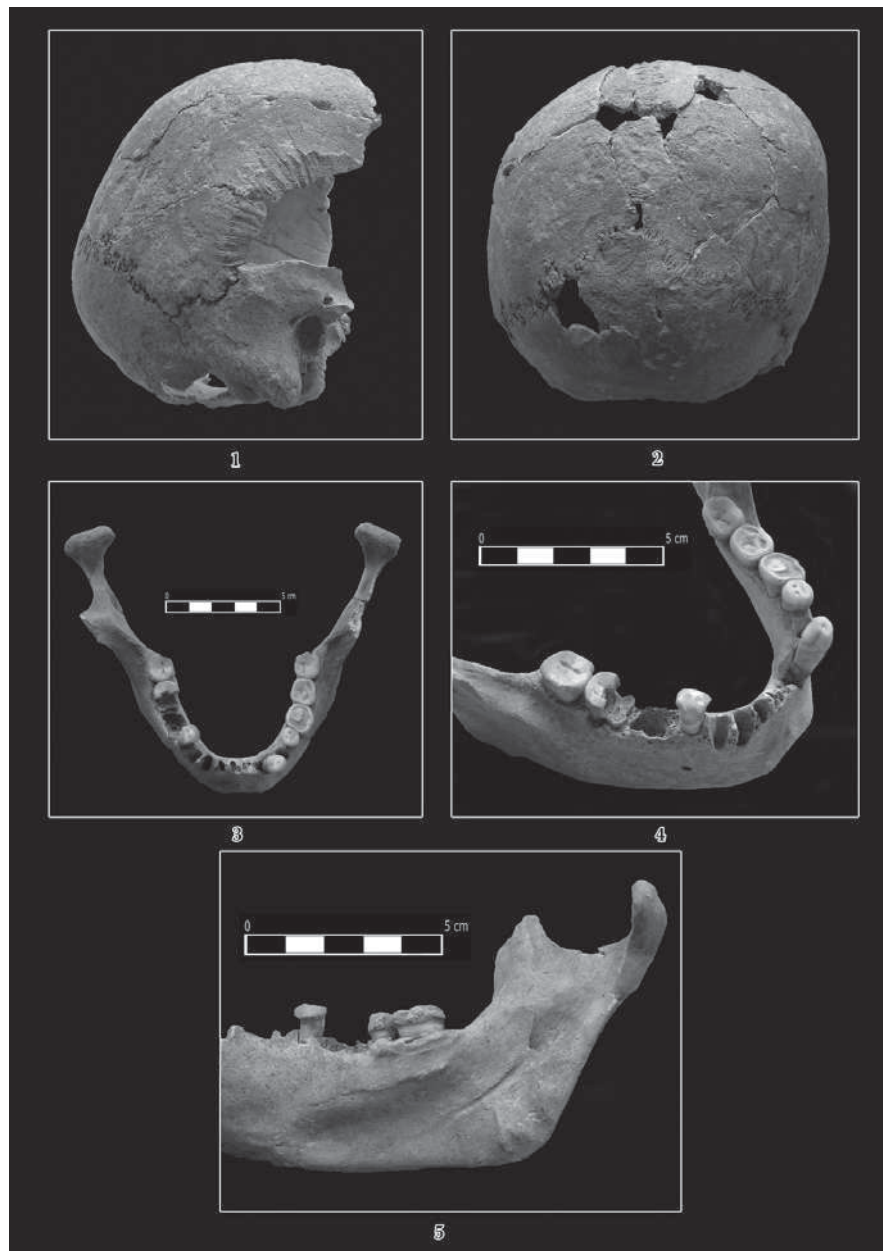


Fig. 10 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII: 1 norma lateralis, 2 norma occipitalis, 3–5 mandible (antemortem and postmortem lost teeth, abrasion, caries, periodontal disease, and calculus).

Very little is known about the Byzantine presence in the Central Balkans after the collapse of the Danube limes in c. 615⁵⁷. From the written sources we are informed that the Avars plunde-

red these territories and captured and re-settled large numbers of local inhabitants shortly afterwards⁵⁸. Almost all the existing evidence suggests that the Byzantines may have persisted in

⁵⁷ See F. BARIŠIĆ, Цар Фока (602–610) и подунавски Авари-Словени (De Avaro-Slavis in Phocae imperatoris aetate). Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Inst. 4, 1956, 73–88.

⁵⁸ *Miracula s. Demetrii II* (excerpta, transl. by F. Barišić). In: G. Ostrogorsky (ed.), *Fontes byzantini historiam populorum Jugoslaviae spectantes I*. SAN Posebna izdanja CCXLI - Vizantološki Inst. 3 (Beograd 1955) II 5, PG 116, 1361 № 195.



Fig. 11 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII. Prominent entheses on: 1 right humerus; 2 right humerus (detail); 3 right humerus (lower end, anterior view); 4 right humerus (lower end, posterior view); 5 left radius; 6 right ulna; 7 slightly separated olecranon on the right ulna.



Fig. 12 Davidovac-Gradište, Grave XXIII: Prominent enthesis on: 1–2 right femur; 3 left femur; 4 clearly separated *facies articularis calcanea media* and *facies articularis calcanea anterior* on the right and left tali.

this region until around the year 615⁵⁹, when the Empire could still have controlled some of its Central Balkan possessions, roughly between *Naissus*, *Justiniana Prima* and *Serdica*⁶⁰. Yet, apart from sporadic finds of coins and metallic

objects – most of them accidental and, in the case of the small finds, likewise datable to the end of the sixth century – there were virtually no clearly defined seventh-century Byzantine contexts in this region. On the other hand, two clusters of

⁵⁹ V. POPOVIĆ, *La descente des Koutrigours, des Slaves et des Avars vers la mer Égée: le témoignage de l'archéologie*. *Comptes Rendus Séances Acad. Inscript.* 3, 1978, 597–648 here 626–634.

⁶⁰ B. BAVANT/V. IVANIŠEVIĆ, *Iustiniana Prima – Caričin Grad* (Beograd 2003) 50.

such finds have been observed. The first comprises Byzantine finds from sites along the Danube, dated to the end of the sixth and the first third of the seventh century, and the second brings together mid- and even late seventh-century Byzantine finds from the South Morava valley⁶¹.

The Davidovac burial comes precisely from this area. Even though there is little doubt about its (early) seventh-century date and Byzantine provenance, it is not easy to assess the wider context of this burial, because in this area the sixth-century fortresses are not well researched. We know of the Sučidava-type belt buckles and of a so-called masque-type belt fitting from Davidovac-Gradište, and about some other finds, including coins, from the surrounding forts⁶². These finds are a clear indication of the sixth-century use of the sites, and the belt fitting from Davidovac can be dated to the second half of that century⁶³. The same is true of the so-called Dalmatian-type fibula (Fig. 13), found in the course of the 2011 excavations at the foot of the hill on which the Davidovac-Gradište fort is located; despite their

'Dalmatian' label, the number of these fibulae is growing not only in the Western, but also in the Central Balkans⁶⁴. The unexcavated Roman fortification of Davidovac-Gradište, however, was not included in the latest list of Early Byzantine sites in present-day Serbia⁶⁵.

It was roughly at this time that Christian funerary practices of the Roman population in Avar lands changed to some extent, probably in order to emphasise their distinct identity in a multicultural environment⁶⁶. Yet, one can observe similar processes in the territories of the Empire as well. It was not a strict rule, but from around the year 600 some individuals were being buried with some of their dress accessories and/or grave gifts. This was not against Christian faith and morals⁶⁷: for example, we know of Thomas the Presbyter, buried in Corinth with a mug bearing his name, and parallel to this process there was the increasing wish to be buried *ad sanctos*, which led to the successive re-use of the same tombs. Members of civilian and military elites were buried with their belts⁶⁸; a brief mention of

⁶¹ BUGARSKI 2012 (note 11) 236–246.

⁶² G. MITROVIĆ, Каталог метала I. Народни музеј Врање (Catalogue of Metal Finds I). Nat. Mus. Vranje 93 (Vranje 2010) Cat. nos. 241–246, 250–254.

⁶³ See SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 2009 (note 13) 263–268.

⁶⁴ See D. RADIČEVIĆ, Прилог проучавању рановизантијских фибула на тлу Србије са посебним освртом на налаз са Лишке ћаве код Гуче (Contribution to the Investigation of the Early Byzantine Fibulae in the Territory of Serbia Considering Particularly the Find from Liška Čava near Guča). Zbornik Narod. Muz. Arh. (Beograd) 19–1, 2009, 403–420; D. RAŠKOVIĆ, Рановизантијске фибуле из Археолошке збирке Народног музеја Крушевац (Early Byzantine Fibulae in the Archaeological Collection of the National Museum Kruševac). Zbornik Narod. Muz. Arh. (Beograd) 22,1, 2015, 319–330 here 323 f., pl. II,1–5; M. RADIŠIĆ, Касноантички и рановизантијски случајни налази са локалитета Градац - Грбавче у околини Сврљига (Late Antique and Early Byzantine Chance Finds from the Site of Gradac-Grbavče in the Vicinity of Svrlijig). Glasnik Srpskog arh. društva 31, 2015, 285–302 here 289–292, pl. I,2–4.

⁶⁵ See D. BULIĆ, The Fortifications of the Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine Period on the Later Territory of the South-Slavic Principalities, and their Re-occupation. In: S. Rudić (ed.), The World of the Slavs - Studies on the East, West and South Slavs: Civitas, Oppidas, Villas and Archaeological Evidence (7th to 11th Centuries AD). The Instit. of Hist., Monogr. 64 (Belgrade 2013) 191–208.

⁶⁶ T. VIDA, Germanic Peoples and Romans in the Avar Kingdom. In: J.-J. Aillagon (ed.), Rome and the Barbarians. The Birth of a New World (Venice 2008) 421–423; IDEM, Local or Foreign Romans? The Problem of the Late Antique Population of the 6th-7th Centuries AD in Pannonia. In: D. Quast (ed.), Foreigners in Early Medieval Europe: Thirteen International Studies on Early Medieval Mobility. Monogr. RGZM 78 (Mainz 2009) 233–259; BUGARSKI 2012 (note 11) 246–252.

⁶⁷ See W. BOWDEN, Social Anxiety and the Re-emergence of furnished Burial in Post Roman Albania. In: J. Rasmus Brant/H. Ingvaldsen/M. Prusac (eds), Death and Changing Rituals, Function and Meaning in Ancient Funerary Practices. Stud. in Funerary Arch. 7 (Oxford 2015) 343–357 here 349, 355.

⁶⁸ N. POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU/E. TZAVELLA/J. OTT, Burial practices in Byzantine Greece: archaeological evidence and methodological problems for its interpretation. In: M. Salamon et al. (eds), Rome,

a find of a Syracuse-type buckle from the Jagodin Mala cemetery in *Naissus*⁶⁹, commonly dated from the end of the sixth to the middle of the seventh century⁷⁰, hints at such practices in the Central Balkans too.

Weapons were among the other grave goods. The early seventh-century weapon graves are not numerous (Fig. 14). Uncommon as they are, they have been interpreted differently. Perhaps the most famous is the so-called Wandering Soldier's Grave in Corinth⁷¹ – hence the title of our article. It was rectangular in shape, oriented east-west, with its cover and walls of neatly arranged reused marble slabs. The grave was dated to the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. Thanks to the presence of an Early Byzantine belt buckle of Olympia type, the date of the burial could be set at the very beginning of the seventh century⁷², or the first half of that century, a matter to be discussed below. Besides the hand-made vessel, the majority of the finds from this grave belong to Byzantine material culture. The sword, with a characteristic cast labrys-shaped cross-guard, is of such origin, as well as similar cross-guards from Pergamon⁷³ and Nin

in Dalmatia⁷⁴, the latter erroneously described as Late Avar. The additional nine finds come from the Carpathian Basin⁷⁵. A rather peculiar find from this Corinth grave is 'the silver and bronze trinket' found in the deceased's right hand.

In contrast to the above-mentioned 1937 article, in her 1974 paper Gladys Davidson Weinberg restrained herself from attributing any ethnic identity to the deceased. It is just assumed that "he had come from elsewhere, since his equipment is foreign to Corinth". The author stated that this was a carefully performed burial of an infantryman, carried out with honour by his companions⁷⁶. This was not the only grave from late sixth- and seventh-century Corinth carefully constructed with *spolia*. The most intriguing finds from some burials of this kind are weapons. There were four such burials in collective tombs. On top or at the feet of the deceased individuals there were pikes or spears; arrowheads were also found, and Byzantine belt buckles from the first half and the middle of the seventh century may serve to date the burials. The graves also produced knives, strike-a-lights, finger rings and bronze chains⁷⁷.

Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence I. U źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej – Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 1 (Kraków et al. 2012) 377–428 here 384, 388 f.

⁶⁹ A. JOVANOVIĆ, *Nakit u rimskoj Dardaniji*. Savez arh. društava Jugoslavije. Diss. et Monogr. XXI (Beograd 1978) 71 f.

⁷⁰ GARAM 2001 (note 13) 95; SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 2002 (note 13) 171–179.

⁷¹ DAVIDSON WEINBERG 1974 (note 15).

⁷² See T. OTTEN et al., *Ein frühbyzantinisches Waffengrab aus Pergamon*. Interpretationsmöglichkeiten aus archäologischer und naturwissenschaftlicher Sicht. *Istanbuler Mitt.* 61, 2011, 347–422 here 359–365.

⁷³ A. KISS, *Frühmittelalterliche byzantinische Schwerter im Karpatenbecken*. *Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae* 39, 1987, 194, 204; GARAM 2001 (note 13) 195–212 here 158 f., pl. 116,1–3.

⁷⁴ T. ARALICA/M. ILKIĆ, *Križnica sablje ili paloša Drugog avarskog kaganata iz Nina*. *Prilozi* 29, 2012–2013, 167–184.

⁷⁵ É. GARAM, *A Tiszakécske-óbögi avarkori sírok*. *Commun. Arch. Hungariae* 1991, 129–166 here 142–145, fig. 10.

⁷⁶ DAVIDSON 1937 (note 15); DAVIDSON WEINBERG 1974 (note 15) 521.

⁷⁷ DAVIDSON 1937 (note 15); T. VIDA/T. VÖLLING, *Das slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia*. *Arch. in Eurasien* 9 (Rahden/Westf. 2000) 32, pl. 3; F. CURTA, *Coins and burials in Dark-Age Greece*, *Archaeological remarks on the Byzantine 'Reconquista'*. In: R. Kostova (ed.), *Средневековният човек и неговият свят*. Сборник в чест на 70-та годишнина на проф. д.и.н. Казимир Попконстантинов (Medieval Man and His World. Studies in honor of the 70th anniversary of Professor Kazimir Popkonstantinov) (Veliko Tŕrnovo 2014) 55–101 here 65.

Together with the ‘Wandering Soldier’s Grave’, these graves were believed to have belonged to Slavic *foederati* garrison members⁷⁸, an idea refuted by Florin Curta⁷⁹, or that their origin was nomadic⁸⁰. A more acceptable and somewhat broader explanation would be that these graves belonged to “Byzantine soldiers of migratory backgrounds. [...] While no specific cultural affiliations may be derived from the material evidence, the mortuary assemblages present some diversity and raise the possibility of multiple cultural origins [...] and] the occurrence of these graves in two pre-existing cemeteries suggests integration within the local community and [...] a conversion to Christianity”⁸¹. Other seventh-century burials from Greece did not yield any weapons⁸², and the striking absence of such finds is also characteristic of non-funerary contexts in Dark-Ages Greece⁸³.

On the other hand, some similar burials do not seem to prove the ‘migratory backgrounds’ of the deceased. One such grave comes from Pergamon, an ancient city near the Turkish Aegean coast. Another solitary grave, it was found in 2006 in an abandoned street drainage canal. The deceased was laid in the canal in a northwest-southeast direction, with three spearheads carefully placed under his right arm. Apart from two iron nails, two bronze buckles and a finger ring were also found in this grave. Due to these characteristic Byzantine objects, the grave was dated to the early seventh century⁸⁴.

To assess the date of this burial, the buckles first need to be taken into account. Just as in the ‘Wandering Soldier’s Grave’, one of them was of Olympia type, but the smaller buckle⁸⁵ belongs to type D20 of Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm’s classification, dated to the first three quarters of the seventh century⁸⁶. It is likely that the two weapon-graves can be dated not only to the very beginning of the seventh century, but to its first few decades.

Be that as it may, the anthropological analysis has revealed that in Pergamon an 18–22 year old male was buried, and it has been suggested that he suffered a violent death. Especially important is that, in this case, strontium and oxygen isotope analyses point to his eastern or south-eastern Mediterranean origin, perhaps from the Greek islands, Western Turkey, North Africa, or the Near East. After having analysed all aspects of this burial, the authors of the Pergamon study proposed that this young man died in the course of conflicts with the Arabs⁸⁷.

So the Pergamon ‘warrior’ was apparently not a distant foreigner; this burial has already been described as Early Byzantine⁸⁸. With some caution, the same can be suggested for the people buried with weapons in the provinces of Albania in the Dark Ages. Bearing in minds the variable factors within the cemeteries of the so-called Komani culture⁸⁹, we agree with the definition of Vladislav Popović that this culture, spanning the Dalmatian and Montenegrin coast and present-day Albania and Macedonia, was “urban, post-

⁷⁸ IVison 1996 (note 15) 116 f.

⁷⁹ F. CURTA, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region c. 500–700* (Cambridge 2001) 234, n. 15.

⁸⁰ VIDA/VÖLLING 2000 (note 77) 38.

⁸¹ POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU/TZAVELLA/OTT 2012 (note 68) 391.

⁸² See POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU/TZAVELLA/OTT 2012 (note 68) 388–396.

⁸³ CURTA 2014 (note 77) 71 f., n. 45.

⁸⁴ OTTEN et al. 2011 (note 72).

⁸⁵ OTTEN et al. 2011 (note 72) 354–356, 359–365.

⁸⁶ SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 2002 (note 13) 189–192.

⁸⁷ OTTEN et al. 2011 (note 72) 405.

⁸⁸ A. PIRSON, *Byzantinischer Schmuck und Trachtbestandteile aus Pergamon*. In: BÖHLENDORF-ARSLAN/RICCI 2012 (note 38) 181.

⁸⁹ BOWDEN 2015 (note 67) 351–355.

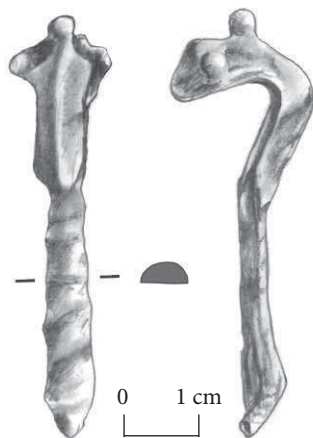


Fig. 13 Davidovac-Gradište, the so-called Dalmatian type fibula, found in the course of the 2011 excavations.

antique, retarded Roman-Byzantine and, most of all, Christian⁹⁰. Together with a significant number of unfurnished graves, the Komani culture cemeteries contain graves displaying a variety of grave-gifts. The belt pieces and the jewellery suggest that this culture may be dated from the seventh century onwards. Weapons also figure among the grave goods: battle axes, swords, spearheads and arrowheads – though not in all cemeteries⁹¹. These were commonly

published as a whole, i.e. without references to particular graves⁹²; yet there can be little doubt that a number of graves of the Komani culture contained weapons, and that the majority of the people buried did not have a migratory background.

Seventh- to eighth-century weapon burials come from both single and collective graves in Sardinia too. Throughout the island, there are at least fifteen burials showing evidence of an Early Byzantine military presence⁹³. For example, a spearhead comes from a single grave in Nuoro⁹⁴, and four spearheads and a scramasax were found in a tomb at Borutta, together with a bronze pitcher and a Byzantine bronze buckle⁹⁵. Apart from the weapons, these men were buried with their clothes, and buckles of Corinth, Balgota, and Syracuse types are recorded. All these are believed to have represented parts of the uniforms of members of the Byzantine militia⁹⁶.

To conclude, it seems that in the seventh century, at the time of the great crisis in Byzantium and significant territorial losses, a particular social layer of infantrymen started to be buried in a different fashion than before. It is likely that at

⁹⁰ V. ПОПОВИЋ, Албанија у касној антици (L' Albanie pendant la basse antiquité). In: M. Garašanin (ed.), *Les Illyriens et les Albaniens. Série de conférences tenues du 21. mai au 4. juin 1986. SANU Naučni skupovi XXXIX - Odjeljenje istorijskih nauka 10* (Beograd 1988) 201–252 here 230.

⁹¹ V. ПОПОВИЋ, Byzantins, Slaves et autochtones dans les provinces de Prévalitane et Nouvelle Épire. Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin. *Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome* (Rome, 12–14 mai 1982). *Coll. de l'École française de Rome 77* (Rome 1984) 181–243 here 221 f.; BOWDEN 2015 (note 67).

⁹² E.g. S. ANAMALI, Një varrezë e mesjetës së hershme në Bukël të Mirditës. *Iliria 1*, 1971, 209–225; IDEM/H. SPAHIU, Varreza arbërore e Krujës. *Iliria 9–10*, 1979–1980, 47–103; H. SPAHIU, Gjetje të vjetra nga varreza mesjetare e kalasë së Dalmaces. *Iliria 1*, 1971, 227–262; IDEM, Varreza arbërore e kalasë së Dalmaces (Gërmime të vitit 1961). *Iliria 9–10*, 1979–1980, 23–46; D. KOMATA, Varreza arbërore e Shurdhahut (Rrethi i Shkodrës). *Iliria 9–10*, 1979–1980, 105–121.

⁹³ See P. B. SERRA, Corredi tombali: oggetti dell'abbigliamento; equipaggiamento dei guerrieri. In: D. Salvi/P. B. Serra, *Corredi tombali e oreficerie nella Sardegna altomedievale. Quaderni didattici della Soprintendenza Archeologica per le province di Cagliari e Oristano 3* (Cagliari 1990); G. LILLIU, Milizie in Sardegna durante l'età bizantina. In: L. D'Arienzo (ed.), *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed età moderna. Studi storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo II* (Roma 1993) 105–135.

⁹⁴ P. B. SERRA, Tomba a poliandro altomedievale di via Ballero, Nuoro. In: *Sardegna centro-orientale, dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico. Mostra in occasione dell'XXII riunione scientifica dell'Istituto di Preistoria e Protostoria* (Sassari, Dessi 1978) 217–221.

⁹⁵ G. MAETZKE, Borutta (Sassari). – Tomba bizantina presso San Pietro di Sorres. *Atti Accad. Naz. Lincei 20*, 1966, 368–375.

⁹⁶ LILLIU 1993 (note 93).



Fig. 14 Distribution of seventh-century Byzantine weapon graves.

this time, when the central authority was weak or completely absent, local military/militia officers and headmen appropriated some of its functions, displaying themselves with the attributes of power. Thus, we are inclined to interpret these graves in the context of social changes, and not in ethnic terms: “In the space of perhaps two generations, an urbanized or semi-urbanized society with recognisable affinities with the Roman past was transformed into one that was essentially rural, the leadership structures of which had also dramatically altered [...]. Power became individualized [...] rather than being focussed on town or state”⁹⁷.

As for the Davidovac grave, it cannot be estab-

lished with certainty whether it had belonged to a member of a local garrison, or to some unit passing through the Central Balkans after the Empire had lost these territories. That this was a solitary grave does not speak in favour of the first option. Moreover, *De administrando imperio* refers to some movements of the Byzantine army after the collapse; namely, there is information that the Byzantine *strategos* was in *Singidunum* as late as around 630⁹⁸. The town was by no means ruled by the Empire at that time, and the *Singidunum strategos* must have been no more than a military commander⁹⁹, perhaps not of a local garrison but of the troops observing the border. The same source informs us that the Roman troops

⁹⁷ BOWDEN 2015 (note 67) 349.

⁹⁸ *De administrando imperio* 32 (excerpta, transl. by and comments B. Ferjančić). In: G. Ostrogorsky (ed.), *Fontes byzantini historiam populorum Jugoslaviae spectantes II*. SAN Posebna izdanja CCCXXIII - Vizantološki inst. 7 (Beograd 1959); F. BARIŠIĆ, Византиски Сингидунум (De Singiduno sub Byzantinis). Zbornik radova Vizantološkog inst. 3, 1955, 12 f.

⁹⁹ *De administrando imperio* (note 98) n. 151.

from Dalmatia were annually sent on such missions¹⁰⁰. A well-known grave from Čadavica in the northern part of present-day Croatia was already commented on in connection with those events – though with due caution¹⁰¹.

On the other hand, the written sources and scant archaeological finds point to the absence of any rule over the Balkans in the seventh century, either Byzantine or Slavic¹⁰². During this interregnum there were probably sporadic movements of Byzantine soldiers throughout the Empire's sparse former possessions. It may well be that at this time, in addition to finds which tend to indicate some low-level Byzantine persistence in the Central Balkans, some other finds and his-

torical records speak of a temporary presence of their troops there, observing the communication routes, the frontier and the (potential) enemies, and making contact with what was left of the Roman population. Although the Roman road mentioned earlier had long been flooded, this route must have kept its strategic importance. Thus the Davidovac burial may testify to these processes; we also know that the Byzantine troops trained for different 'special ops' – both infantry and cavalry – were active in no-man's lands and even behind enemy lines during the sixth century and at the beginning of the seventh¹⁰³.

¹⁰⁰ *De administrando imperio* 30 (note 98).

¹⁰¹ BUGARSKI 2012 (note 11) 250; see Z. VINSKI, O nalazima 6. i 7. stoljeća u Jugoslaviji s posebnim osvrtom na arheološku ostavštinu iz vremena prvog avarskog kaganata. *Opuscula Arch.* 3, 1958, 13–67 here 17, 22 f., T. XIV; XV. Contra: Ž. DEMO, *Zlato & srebro srednjeg vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu* (Zagreb 2014) 58 f.

¹⁰² See G. OSTROGORSKY, *The Byzantine Empire in the World of the Seventh Century*. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13, 1959, 1–21; I. BUGARSKI/M. RADIŠIĆ, *The Central Balkans in the Early Middle Ages: Archaeological Testimonies to Change*. In: V. Bikić (ed.), *Processes of Byzantinisation and Serbian Archaeology. Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art I* (Belgrade 2016) 91–99 here 98 f.

¹⁰³ See F. CURTA, *Avar Blitzkrieg, Slavic and Bulgar Raiders, and Roman Special Ops: Mobile Warriors in the 6th-Century Balkans*. In: I. Zimonyi/O. Karatay (eds), *Eurasia in the Middle Ages, Studies in Honour of Peter B. Golden*. *Turcologica Ser.* 104 (Wiesbaden 2015) 69–89 here 86 f.

Summary

In the course of rescue excavations in 2011 a grave was found at the Davidovac-Gradište site. The locality is situated in the southernmost part of present-day Serbia, in the South Morava valley, on the route of the Roman *Via publica*. In the grave, a 30–40 year old male was buried with his belt and a battle axe. The belt consists of pressed bronze sheet strap-ends and a cast bronze buckle. Alongside them there was a purse buckle, also a characteristic early seventh-century Byzantine product. The anthropological analysis indicates that the deceased had military training. Such graves are rarely found throughout the Byzantine Empire. Being very different from the sixth-century Roman burials, they were commonly attributed to migratory mercenaries of the Empire. Having surveyed similar burials of that date from Corinth, Pergamon, present-day Albania and Sardinia, we are in favour of interpreting them in the context of social changes which occurred at a time of crisis in the Empire, and not in ethnic terms.

Zusammenfassung

Das Grab eines nicht umherziehenden Soldaten?
Eine Bestattung des 7. Jahrhunderts in Davidovac (Südserbien)

Bei Rettungsgrabungen im Sommer 2011 in Davidovac-Gradište wurde ein Grab entdeckt. Der Fundort liegt im südlichsten Teil des heutigen Serbien, im Morava-Tal an der Route der römischen *via publica*. In diesem Grab war ein 30–40 Jahre alter Mann mit Gürtel und Streitaxt bestattet. Der Gürtel besteht aus bronzenen, gepressten Riemenzungen und einer gegossenen Bronzeschnalle. Hinzu kommt eine Taschenschnalle, ebenfalls ein charakteristisches byzantinisches Erzeugnis des frühen 7. Jahrhunderts. Anthropologische Untersuchungen zeigen, dass der Verstorbene ein militärisches Training durchlaufen hatte. Solche Gräber wurden nur selten im Byzantinischen Reich gefunden. Weil sie sich stark von römischen Bestattungen des 6. Jahrhunderts unterscheiden, wurden sie für gewöhnlich umherziehenden Söldnern im Dienst des Reiches zugeschrieben. Der Vergleich mit ähnlichen Gräbern aus Korinth, Pergamon, dem heutigen Albanien und Sardinien legt aber nahe, sie im Kontext sozialen Wandels in Zeiten der Krise des Byzantinischen Reiches zu interpretieren und nicht anhand ethnischer Kategorien.

Abbildungsnachweis / Figure credits

Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska und Daniel Syrbe

11–40

Abb. 1; 2; 5 Verändert nach der Vorlage: Großer Historischer Weltatlas, hrsg. vom Bayerischen Schulbuch-Verlag. Erster Teil: Vorgeschichte und Altertum (München 1978) 52 (Ausschnitt der Karte „Das Römerreich im Jahre 395 n. Chr.“), 53 (Ausschnitt der Karte „Das Römerreich im Jahre 454 n. Chr.“), 55 (Ausschnitt der Karte „Europa beim Tode Kaiser Justinians [565 n. Chr.]“). – Abb. 3 Konzept: O. Heinrich-Tamáska, Graphik: K. Kolozsvári. – Abb. 4 Verändert nach der Vorlage: Großer Historischer Weltatlas, hrsg. vom Bayerischen Schulbuch-Verlag. Zweiter Teil: Mittelalter (München 1979) 1 (Ausschnitt der Karte „Die christliche Welt um 600“). – Abb. 6 Nach POHL 1988 (Anm. 58) Karte 2 (Ausschnitt).

Anne Hähnel

67–82

Tab. 1–3 A. Hähnel.

Alois Stuppner

83–102

Abb. 1 Nach R. PLOYER, Der norische Limes in Österreich. Fundber. Österreich – Mat. B 3 (Wien 2013) 90 Abb. 61. – Abb. 2 Nach DONEUS 2014 (Anm. 30) 46 Abb. 51. – Abb. 3 Fotoarchiv d. Inst. f. Urgesch. u. Hist. Arch. der Univ. Wien. – Abb. 4 Nach HEGEWISCH 2008 (Anm. 65) 120 Abb. 19. – Abb. 5 Nach VARSIK/KOLNÍK 2013 (Anm. 52) 76 Abb. 4. – Abb. 6 Grafik: B. List, Czernin Verlag Wien, und Th. Pertlwieser, Inst. f. Urgesch. u. Hist. Arch. der Univ. Wien.

Jaroslav Tejral

103–120

Abb. 1 Nach BÖHME 1987 (Anm. 9) Abb. 40–41. – Abb. 2a nach I. BÓNA/J. Gy. SZABÓ, Tarnamé-urak dűlője. In: I. Bóna/M. Nagy, Gepidische Gräberfelder am Theißgebiet I. Mon. Germanorum Arch. Hungariae 1 (Budapest 2022) 20–242 hier Taf. 57,1–5, 7; 58,1, 3; b nach TEJRAL 2011 (Anm. 25) Abb. 292–293; c nach V. IVANIŠEVIĆ/M. KAZANSKI, Nouvelle nécropoles des Grandes Migrations de Singidunum. Starinar 57, 2007, 113–135 hier Abb. 5–7. – Abb. 3a nach TEJRAL 2006 (Anm. 24) Abb. 92; b nach G. OLIVÉR, 5. századi sírok Kővágószőlős határában A János Pannonius Múz. Évk. 43, 1998, 131–140 hier Taf. III,4-5; c nach KISS 1995 (Anm. 38); d nach STRAUB 2011 (Anm. 39) Taf. 1,7; 2,1; 3,7; e nach J. G. ÓDOR, The 5th century cemetery and settlement at Mőzs (Tolna Country, Hungary) – some issues concerning the „East-Germanic“ period in Transdanubia. In: HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2011 (Anm. 39) 347–359 hier Abb. 5–6, 8; f nach K. MESTERHÁZY, A Gepidák kereskedelme és nemi kapcsolatai. In: P. Havassy (Hrsg.), A Gepidák. Kora középkori germán királyság az Alföldön. Gyulai Katalógusok 7 (Gyula 1999) 79–89 hier Abb. 2; g nach G. BÁCSMEGI/S. GUBA, Letűnt korok emlékezete. Szurdokpüspöki régműltja a legújabb régészeti kutatások tükrében. Szurdokpüspöki Helytörténeti Füzetek 4 (Szurdokpüspöki 2007) S. 16–17. – Abb. 4a nach TEJRAL 1982 (Anm. 41) Abb. 104; b unpubl. Archiv J. Tejral; c nach J. MACHÁČEK, Zpráva o archeologickém výzkumu Břeclav-Líbivá 1995–1998 (Ein Bericht über die archäologische Erforschung der Lokalität Břeclav-Líbivá 1995–1998). In: Z. Měřínský (Hrsg.), Konference Pohansko 1999: 40 let od zahájení výzkumu slovanského hradiska Břeclav-Pohansko : Břeclav-Pohansko 3.-4.VI.1999. Arch. mediaevalis Moraviae et Silesiana 1 (Brno 2000) 40–61 hier Abb. 13; d nach A. HEINRICH, Ein völkerwanderungszeitliches Gräberfeld bei Mitterhof, G. B. Laa an der Thaya, Niederösterreich. Arch. Austriaca 74, 1990, 85–104 hier Tab. 2; e–g TEJRAL 1982 (Anm. 41) Abb. 94, 96, 99,2; h nach RUTTKAY 2007 (Anm. 41). – Abb. 5 J. Tejral.

Levente Nagy 121–132
Abb. 1 © Ungarisches Nationalmuseum, Budapest, Inv.-Nr. 68.8.1, Photo: András Dabasi. – Abb. 2. Nach RISTOW 2007 (Anm. 38) Taf. 67d.

Hrvoje Vulić 133–144
Abb. 1 ŠAŠEL/SCHERRER 2004 (Anm. 1) 9. – Abb. 2 Gradski muzej Vinkovci, Photo: D. Bota. – Abb. 3 Geoarheo Ltd. – Abb. 4, 6 Gearh GmbH, Bearbeitung: K. Kolozsvári. – Abb. 5 Photo: D. Puharić. – Abb. 7–10 Photo/Graphik: Hrvoje Vulić.

Anita Rapan Papeša and Danijela Roksandić 145–160
Fig. 1; 5; 8–9 Photos/graphics: D. Roksandić. – Fig. 2 Photo: B. Kratofil, Gradski Muzej Vinkovci. – Fig. 3 Photo: A. Rapan Papeša. – Fig. 4a–b Photo archive, Gradski Muzej Vinkovci. – Fig. 6–7 Photo: D. Puharić. – Fig. 10a–b Photo: L. Palinkaš.

Marina Šimek 161–178
Abb. 1 Verändert nach LELEKOVIĆ/RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 2012 (Anm. 12) fig. 1. – Abb. 2 M. Šimek, Grundlage: Topographische Karte 1: 25 000 Blatt Varaždin 4 (271-4). – Abb. 3: Foto und Ergänzung: M. Šimek. – Abb. 4–5; 16 Foto und digitale Bearbeitung: B. Šimek. – Abb. 6; 17 Foto: M. Vuković. – Abb. 7; 10; 12 Foto und Ergänzung: M. Šimek. – Abb. 8 Zeichnung und digitale Bearbeitung: M. Šimek. – Abb. 9 3D SCAN Modell Vektra d.o.o. Varaždin, digitale Bearbeitung: M. Šimek. – Abb. 11 Foto: M. Vuković, ergänzt durch M. Šimek. – Abb. 13–14 Fotos: A. Švoger, Gradski muz. Varaždin. – Abb. 15 Foto und digitale Bearbeitung: M. Šimek.

Ivana Popović 179–194
Fig. 1 After JEREMIĆ 2005 (note 51) fig. 4. – Fig. 2–3, 10, 12–13 Documentation, Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica. – Fig. 4, 6–8, 15 Documentation, Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade. – Fig. 5 After JEREMIĆ 2005 (note 51) fig. 1, with church added. – Fig. 9 Documentation, Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica and Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. – Fig. 11 Drawing after MILOŠEVIĆ 1973 (note 44), colour plate. – Fig. 14 After JEREMIĆ 2005 (note 51) 128, fig. 12.

Efthymios Rizos 195–214
Fig. 1 LAZAREV 1976 (note 56) pl. 64. – Fig. 2 TUDOR 1969 (note 58) no. 37.

Ádám Bollók 215–230
Fig. 1 Drawing: M. Éber after HARRISON 1947 (note 57) 271, pl. 111,44–45. – Fig. 2 Drawing: M. Éber after BRUNTON 1930 (note 58) 27, pl. XLVII,1–10. – Fig. 3 Courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum, photo: Á. Bollók. – Fig. 4 Drawing: M. Éber after SÎRJAN 1970 (note 60) fig. 1–3.

Stefan Pop-Lazić 231–246
Fig. 1 Institute of Archaeology, Belgrad. – Fig. 2 Institute of Archaeology, Belgrad, Drawing: S. Pop-Lazić. – Fig. 3–4 Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, Photos: S. Pop-Lazić. – Fig. 5–6; 12a–c National Museum Zaječar, photos: S. Pop-Lazić. – Fig. 7; 13 Concept/drawing: S. Pop-Lazić. – Fig. 11 Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, Photo/drawing: S. Pop-Lazić.

Sofija Petković, Ivan Bugarski and Nataša Miladinović-Radmilović 247–272
Tab. 1–5 compiled by N. Miladinović-Radmilović. – Fig. 1 Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, overlaid onto Google Earth relief data, prepared by S. Petković. – Fig. 2 Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, S. Petković and I. Bugarski. – Fig. 3–4 and 13 drawings by S. Živanović. – Fig. 5–9 photos: N. Borić. – Fig. 10–12 photos: N. Miladinović-Radmilović. – Fig. 14 prepared by I. Bugarski.

Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska**273–290**

Fig. 1 GARAM 2001 (note 1) pl. 3,1–6. – Fig. 2 O. Heinrich-Tamáska, graphics: K. Kolozsvári. – Fig. 3–4 photos: A. Blay/Zs. Bendő/O. Heinrich-Tamáska. – Fig. 5 After HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA/VOSS in press (note 54) fig. 1, graphics of the belt elements after GARAM 1993 (note 56) pl. 1–6. – Fig. 6a–c After HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA/VOSS in press (note 54) fig. 12b, 15 and 14c. – Fig. 7 Photos: O. Heinrich-Tamáska (a–b HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA/VOSS in press [note 54] pl. 12,3, 5; c–d Ibid. pl. 13,1, 6; e–f Ibid. pl. 22,5–6; g–h Ibid. pl. 34,2, 4).

Adrienn Blay und Levente Samu**291–310**

Abb. 1–4, 6–9, 11, 13 Graphik: A. Blay und L. Samu nach den zitierten Fundlisten teilweise mit Ergänzungen. – Abb. 5,1 nach VIDA 2011 (Anm. 33) 404; 2 nach GORNY/MOSCH 2010 (Anm. 30) 78, Kat. Nr. 108.; 3 nach BÁRDOS/GARAM 2009 (Anm. 35) 322, Taf. 119,11; 7 nach MÜLLER 2010 (Anm. 33) Taf. 2,IV.79. – Abb. 10,1 nach KAZANSKI/MASTIKOVA 2007 (Anm. 70) Pl. 24,6; 2 nach MARIN/BULJEVIĆ/IVANIŠEVIĆ 1994 (Anm. 68) Kat. Nr. IV, 14.; 3 KOENIG 1981 (Anm. 69) 304, Abb. 1c; 4–5 nach É. GARAM, Katalog der awarenzeitlichen Goldgegenstände und der Fundstücke aus den Fürstengräbern. Cat. Mus. Nat. Hungarici. Ser. Arch.a I. (Budapest 1993) 51, Taf. 1,5 und 68, Taf. 32,1–2.; 6 nach I. S. UVAROVA, Die Sammlungen des Kaukasischen Museums (Tiflis 1902) Taf. 5; 7 nach G. E. AFANASEV/A. P. RUNIC, Мокрая Балка (Mokraja Balka) (Moskau 2001) 74, Abb. 37,5; 8 nach Cs. BÁLINT, Die Archäologie der Steppe. Steppenvölker zwischen Volga und Donau vom 6. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert (Wien, Köln 1989) 41, Abb. 16. – Abb.12, 1 nach Ross 1965 (Anm. 79) Pl. XLVII,86; 2 nach V. H. ELBERN, Neubewerbungen spätantiker und byzantinischer Goldschmiedekunst für die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung II. Berliner Museen 16,2, 1966, 6–13 hier 12, Abb. 9; 3 Nach K. R. BROWN/D. KIDD/Ch.T. LITTLE (Hrsg.), From Attila to Charlemagne (New York 2000) 108; 4 nach PERONI 1967 (Anm. 82) 106, Taf. I,XI; 5 nach FROSCHUEVER/HARRAUER 2004 (Anm. 84) 93–95; 6 RADIMSKÝ 1893 (Anm. 85) 307–315. – Abb. 14 Foto: L. Samu; Balatoni Múzeum Keszthely, Inv. Nr.: 65.4.2.

Stefan Eichert**311–326**

Abb. 1 Links: PÖLL 2003 (Anm. 3) 52, Abb. 66. Rechts: Foto: S. Eichert (ausgestellt im Rahmen der Sonderausstellung „News from the Past“, MAMUZ-Museum Asparn an der Zaya). – Abb. 2 Foto: . Eichert (ausgestellt im Museum der Stadt Villach). – Abb. 3–4, 8, 12: Foto: . Eichert. – Abb. 5 DAIM 2000 (Anm. 2) 113, Abb. 30b. – Abb. 6 BÜHLER 2010 (Anm. 21) 214, Fig. 01. – Abb. 7 SCHRETTNER 1991 (Anm. 22) 113 Abb. 2. – Abb. 9 HASELOFF 1990 (Anm. 30) 64, Abb. 40. – Abb. 10 BOSSELMANN-RUICKBIE 2011 (Anm. 31) 369, Abb. 7. – Abb. 11 HASELOFF 1990 (Anm. 30) 60, Abb. 37h. – Abb. 13: Foto: Wolfgang Sauber (CC BY-SA 2.5). – Abb. 14 Foto: www.pmrmaeyaert.com (CC BY-SA 2.5). – Abb. 15 EICHERT 2010 (Anm. 42) 152, Abb. 1.

Daniel Syrbe**327–342**

Abb. 1 Nach A. Rettner und B. Seidl in: FEHR 2010 (Anm. 22) Abb. 1. – Abb. 2 Nach FEHR/HEITMEIER 2014 (Anm. 4) hinterer Innenumschlag.

Przemysław Urbanczyk**343–354**

Fig. 1 After Z. KURNATOWSKA, Początki i rozwój państwa. In: M. Kobusiewicz (ed.), Pradzieje Wielkopolski. Od epoki kamienia do średniowiecza. Muz. Arch. i Etnologii PAN, Oddział w Poznaniu (Poznań 2008) 297–395 here 326. – Fig. 2 After KÓČKA-KRENTZ 2011 (note 36) fig. 32. – Fig. 3 Drawn: K. Skrzyńska-Jankowska.

Stefan Albrecht**355–384**

Abb. 1 Graphik: R. Schreg (RGZM Mainz).

Autorenverzeichnis / Authors

Dr. Stefan Albrecht

Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz
Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie
Ernst-Ludwig-Platz 2
D-55116 Mainz
albrecht@rgzm.de

Adrienn Blay, M.A.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem
 Régészettudományi Intézet
Múzeum krt. 4/b.
H-1088 Budapest
blayadri@gmail.com

Dr. Ádám Bollók

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia
Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont
 Régészeti Intézet
Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
H-1097 Budapest
bollokadam@yahoo.de

Dr. Ivan Bugarski

Arheološki Institut
Kneza Mihaila 35/IV
SRB-11000 Beograd
ivan.bugarski@gmail.com

Dr. Stefan Eichert

Universität Wien
Institut für Urgeschichte und
Historische Archäologie
Franz Klein Gasse 1
A-1190 Wien
stefan.eichert@univie.ac.at

Anne Hähnel, M.A.

Haselweg 4
D-72076 Tübingen
anne.poguntke@web.de

Dr. Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska

Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte
und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas
Ab dem 1.1.2017:
Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur
des östlichen Europa (GWZO)
Reichstr. 2-4
04109 Leipzig
orsolya.heinrich-tamaska@leibniz-gwzo.de

Dr. Vujadin Ivanišević

Arheološki Institut
Kneza Mihaila 35/IV
SRB-11000 Beograd
vujadin.ivanisevic@gmail.com

Dr. Nataša Miladinović-Radmilović

Arheološki Institut
Kneza Mihaila 35/IV
SRB-11000 Beograd
miladinovic.radmilovic@gmail.com

Dr. Levente Nagy

Pécsi Tudományegyetem
 Régészeti Tanszék
Rókus u. 2
H-7624 Pécs
nagy.levente@pte.hu

Dr. Sofija Petković

Arheološki Institut
Kneza Mihaila 35/IV
SRB-11000 Beograd
sofka960@gmail.com

Dr. Stefan Pop-Lazić

Arheološki Institut
Kneza Mihaila 35/IV
SRB-11000 Beograd
stefanpo@gmail.com

Dr. Ivana Popović

Arheološki Institut
Kneza Mihaila 35/IV
SRB-11000 Beograd
ivpop@eunet.rs

Anita Rapan Papeša. M. A.

Gradski Muzej Vinkovci
Trgbana Josipa Šokčevića 16
HR-32100 Vinkovci
anita@muzejvk.hr

Dr. Efthymios Rizos

Linacre College
Oxford
UK-OX1 3JA
efthymios.rizos@history.ox.ac.uk

Dr. Danijela Roksandić

Sveučilište u Zagrebu
Filozofski fakultet
Odsjek za arheologiju
Ivana Lučića 3
HR-10000 Zagreb
daroksan@ffzg.hr

Levente Samu, M. A.

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia
Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont
 Régészeti Intézet
Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
H-1097 Budapest
samulevente@gmail.com

Dr. Alexander Sarantis

Department of History & Welsh History
Hugh Owen Building
Aberystwyth University
Ceredigion SY23 3FL
UK-Aberystwyth
acs18@aber.ac.uk

Marina Šimek, Mag. Archeol.

R. Horvata 36
42000 Varaždin
HR-Kroatien
marina.simek@optinet.hr

Dr. Alois Stuppner

Universität Wien
Institut für Urgeschichte und
Historische Archäologie
Franz-Klein-Gasse 1
A-1190 Wien
alois.stuppner@univie.ac.at

Dr. des. Daniel Syrbe

Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte
und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas
Ab dem 1.1.2017:
FernUniversität in Hagen
Historisches Institut
Lehrgebiet Geschichte und Gegenwart Alteuropas
Universitätsstr. 33B
58084 Hagen
daniel.syrbe@fernuni-hagen.de

Dr. Jaroslav Tejral

Archeologický ústav AV ČR Brno
Čechyňská 19
CZE-60200 Brno
dagmajeli@seznam.cz

Dr. Przemysław Urbanczyk

Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii
Polska Akademia Nauk
al. Solidarnosci 105
Pl 00-140 Warsaw
uprzemek@iaepan.edu.pl

Hrvoje Vulić, M. A.

Gradski muzej Vinkovci
Trg bana J. Sokčevića 16
32100 Vinkovci
hrvoje@muzejvk.hr

Die Zeit zwischen 300 und 800 n. Chr. wird als Übergang zwischen Antike und Mittelalter verstanden und in der Archäologie und in den Geschichtswissenschaften zunehmend als eigenständige Epoche unter dem Label „Spätantike“ wahrgenommen. Begriffe wie „spätromisch“, „frühchristlich“ oder „frühbyzantinisch“ treten in diesem Kontext als konkurrierende Kategorien auf, die zeitlich und räumlich überlappende Phänomene beschreiben. Sie sind primär als *termini technici* der Forschung und damit als Ausdruck wissenschaftlicher Denk- und Interpretationsmuster zu bewerten, die stets kritisch hinterfragt werden sollten. Im vorliegenden Band werden die Ergebnisse der 27. Jahrestagung zu den Grundproblemen der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum vorgelegt. Im Fokus des Interesses stehen die Region von Norikum über Pannonien bis Mösien. In methodischen Beiträgen werden Fragen der Interdisziplinarität und Periodisierung sowie anhand von Fallbeispielen aus der Untersuchungsregion Verwendung, Bedeutung und Interpretation zentraler Begriffe und Quellen beleuchtet. Sie liefern damit die Grundlage für eine Diskussion über trennende und verbindende Elemente von „Grenz(en) – und – Übergängen“ zwischen Epochen, Räumen und wissenschaftlichen Betrachtungsweisen diesseits und jenseits der Donau.

The time between AD 300 and 800 is seen as a period of transition between Antiquity and the Middle Ages; archaeologists and historians increasingly acknowledge its existence under the term 'Late Antiquity' as a period in its own right. Categories such as 'Late Roman', 'Early Christian' or 'Early Byzantine' appear in this context as competing concepts that describe chronologically and geographically overlapping phenomena. They are primarily *termini technici* used in historical research and hence expressions of thought patterns and interpretative models which must be subjected to critical scrutiny.

This volume contains the proceedings of the 27th annual conference dedicated to major Issues in the Protohistory of the Middle Danube. Its focus is on a region covering Noricum, Pannonia and Moesia. It addresses questions of interdisciplinarity and periodisation within the region, in contributions on methods as well as in case studies examining the use, meaning and interpretation of concepts and sources. This forms the basis of a discussion about the elements that separate and connect the 'boundaries' and 'crossings' between periods, spaces and approaches to studying the past on both sides of the Danube.