

Migration period finds from Margum: a possible interpretation

Ivan Bugarski – Vujadin Ivanišević

The Roman town of Margum was founded in the 1st century AD at the place of an Iron Age settlement, at the confluence of the Morava and the Danube Rivers, on the Orašje site in the present-day Dubravica village. With the Roman conquest of Dacia the town lost some of its importance, as legio IV Flavia moved to Singidunum. From the times of Emperor Marcus Aurelius it was known as Municipium Aurelium Augustum Margum (cf. MIRKOVIĆ 1968. 50–51).

After abandoning province Dacia in 272, Roman strategy on the Danube frontier became defensive. In the times of the crisis of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine state, the strategic importance of the Margum stronghold was on the rise again. The function of the old Roman fort, of which we know almost nothing, was replaced with a system of at least two fortifications on both banks of the Danube – Margum and Contra Margum. The fortification Contra Margum is known by several names. In *Notitia Dignitatum* it was labelled as *castra Augustoflaviensia* and, most probably, *Flaviana* (NOTITIA DIGNITATUM 78.23, 77.b–78.3) Then it was mentioned under the name of *Constantia* by Priscus (PRISCUS frag. 1, p. 276,32–277,5) in the 5th century, and as *Constantiola* by Theophylact Simocatta in the 6th century (THEOPHYLACT *Hist.* VII 10.1). The idea that the Contra Margum fortification was at the Kulič site on the opposite bank of the Morava (DEROKO 1950., MIRKOVIĆ 1968. 51, note 12, 13) has been discarded (MILINKOVIĆ 1998. 208), while some traces of the Roman fort in question were documented in present-day Kovin, on the dominating Grad site on which a Medieval fort was built as well (cf. ĐORĐEVIĆ 2007. 100) (Fig. 1).

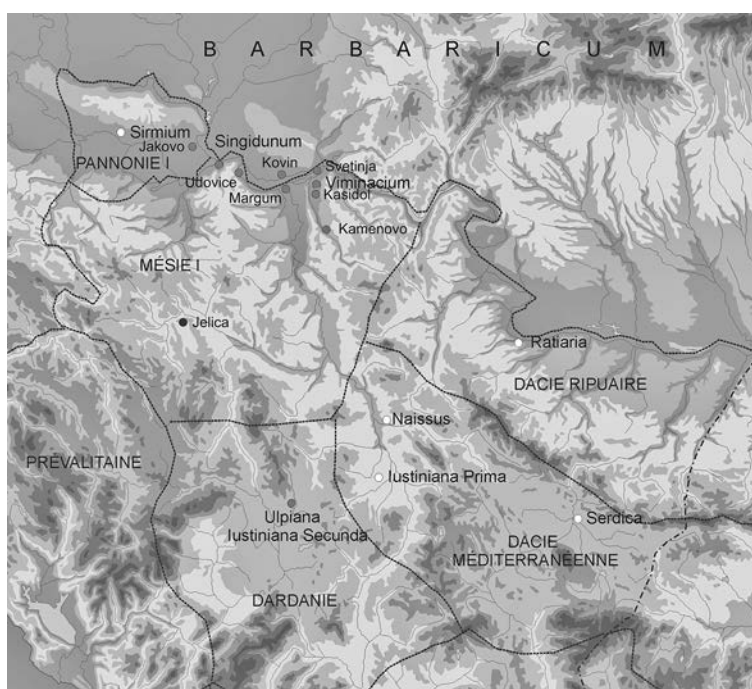


Fig. 1

Map of Northern Illyricum

1. kép

Illyricum északi részének térképe

The historical data on Margum are not numerous, the epigraphic ones having been compiled in a monograph by Miroslava MIRKOVIĆ (1986.). The first descriptions of the topography of Margum came from Count Marsigli, and Felix Kanitz visited the site in the late-19th century. The first excavations were conducted by Miloje Vasić, who researched a Late Bronze Age cemetery in 1909. Three campaigns were organised by Đorđe Mano-Zisi and Rastislav Marić in the late-1940s, when pre-Roman, Roman and Medieval settlements were recorded. Systematic research lasted until 1954, but its results were not published fully (MANO-ZISI ET AL. 1950., MARIĆ 1951.). Then in 1989 and 1990 rescue excavations were organised in the course of hydro-regulatory works. The results were published in several instances, related to the Roman and Migration Periods (JOVANOVIĆ–CUNJAK 1994., CUNJAK 1992., CUNJAK 1996.). The excavations were also conducted in 2005, but only the Medieval cultural layers were examined. Apart from the large scale excavations, in 2011 series of aerial photographs were taken and LiDAR scanning of the terrain was conducted within the scope of the *ArchaeoLandscapes Europe* Project (IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2012.). In the same year a geomagnetic survey of Margum was performed too (RUMMEL ET AL. 2012.).

The most important find from the 1940s campaigns is a large Roman building with a hypocaust system, wall-frescoes and mosaic floors, dated to the first half of the 3rd century and described as *thermae* in a more recent article (JOVANOVIĆ–CUNJAK 1994. 107). The building was seemingly abandoned in the course of the 4th century. In a superposed layer, objects from the 4th and 5th century have been found, among them crossbow and cicada brooches together with a bronze appliqué with a cross-like ending dated to the 5th century. Burnished grey pottery came from the same layer and also from the pits dug into the floor of a Late Roman building, where it was found together with fragments of glazed pottery (MANO-ZISI ET AL. 1950. 144–153, 155–156, Fig. 5, Fig. 16, Fig. 29: 11–12).

Some 40 years later, about 100 m to the east of the mentioned building, also near the old Morava river-bed, another spacious *thermae* building was explored. It has been suggested that the *thermae* ended in fire, which was linked to the Hunnic raid. After the mid-5th century, the *thermae* building was not put to use again (CUNJAK 1996.). For our topic, excavations of the Margum cemeteries from the same campaigns are far more important. In an area of ca. 100 m² large surface, a total of 58 graves were explored. They come from four horizons, the oldest one representing a prehistoric cemetery of cremated burials. The graves of the Mala Kopašnica–Sase type were dated to the 2nd century AD, and after a certain period of time, there were two simple graves belonging to the mid-3rd century. By all appearances, from the same horizon comes an isolated brick-built tomb with painted walls dated to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century (JOVANOVIĆ–CUNJAK 1994. 107–119).

In the same publication of Aleksandar Jovanović and Mladjan Cunjak, graves 1, 23, 28, 41 and 42 were dated to the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century, while the possibility was left open that some of the neighbouring simple graves with no grave-goods belong to the same period. The graves in question were built of bricks, oriented west-east, with very modest grave-goods or without them at all (JOVANOVIĆ–CUNJAK 1994. 119–120). One may notice that the dating of those graves was not sufficiently explained, but in the same work a late date for some graves unearthed by the *thermae* during the first excavations was challenged (MANO-ZISI ET AL. 1950. 159–163, cf. DIMITRIJEVIĆ ET AL. 1962. 119). It is notable that they came from the same Late Roman horizon.

When it comes to the small finds from those graves, Mihailo MILINKOVIĆ (1998. 209) rightfully refrained from the ethnic interpretation of the earring cast in bronze with a polyhedric ending (Fig. 2: 2). Matching examples have been well studied, coming from wide areas stretching from Dalmatia and the Danube region up to the Crimea and the Don region. They were used for long periods (cf. IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006. 29, Fig. 14: 10–16). From one of the Margum graves we have a pair of

simple armrings cast in bronze, of the type which is commonly dated to the 5th and 6th centuries and attributed to Germanic population (DIMITRIJEVIĆ ET AL. 1962. 119, Fig. 1) (Fig. 2: 1). However, Milinković was right again when he expressed certain reservations in connection with such attribution (MILINKOVIĆ 1998. 209).

Two more finds from earlier excavations have been attributed to 5th century Germans: an undecorated bone comb and a cicada fibula cast in silver (DIMITRIJEVIĆ ET AL. 1962. 119, Fig. 2) (Fig. 2: 3).

It was noted that this brooch was an example of fine craftsmanship and that it probably belonged to the Ostrogoths, who may have represented the earlier Germanic foederati in Margum (MILINKOVIĆ 1998. 210). According to more recent literature, such brooches are dated mainly from the middle of the 5th to the beginning of the 6th century (cf. IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006. 17, TEJRAL 2008. 258–261, Fig. 9).

Especially interesting is the already mentioned appliqué with a cross-like ending. It was long ago dated to the 5th century. In the more recent, thorough analysis it was concluded that the appliqué resembles the Anglo-Saxon cross-like brooches, the Borgstedt-Rothwell type in particular, dated to the middle and the second half of the 5th century. As the object was cast in bronze, with unfinished back and both ends perforated for rivets, it is obvious that this appliqué was a decoration of a wooden box or of some similar object (MILINKOVIĆ 1998. 210–211, Pl. 43: 2).

Four graves excavated in the 1989–1990 campaigns are of particular interest to us. Grave pits 7, 15, 16 and 17 were dug in west-east direction. The skulls of the deceased were not deformed. In the article of Aleksandar Jovanović and Mladjan Cunjak, the graves were attributed to the Gepids who settled at this strategic point, probably in the status of Byzantine foederati. It is believed, then, that they had settled there even before 568, and the fact that their graves were positioned in the same area as the Byzantine ones was taken as a supporting argument. So, the authors discussed the possibility that the series of brick-built graves with no grave-goods may have belonged to the 6th century burial horizon (JOVANOVIĆ–CUNJAK 1994. 120, 122).

We may add that a few graves disregarded in previous analyses, oriented in the same way as the four determined as Gepid ones, most probably belonged to the same horizon. This cemetery is only partly explored, so the chances for forthcoming revision excavations look promising. Apart from the graves, two fragments of characteristic stamped pots found in Margum also testify to the presence of a 6th century Germanic population at the site (ZOTOVIĆ 1994. 190).

From grave 15 there are an iron spearhead and a wheel-made pot decorated with rhombic stamps arranged in the form of descending triangles (Figs. 3: 1, 3). From grave 16 comes a wheel-made, burnished ceramic bottle, made from well-prepared and dark grey kiln-fired clay (Fig. 3: 2). In grave 17 there was a spatha, unusually pointed to the head of the deceased (Fig. 3: 4). This hammered double-edged sword, with its point missing and a grip ending in a pommel cast in bronze, is preserved to 71 cm length (CUNJAK 1992.). To the same group of burials belongs grave 7 with modest inventory, consisting of a knife, an arrowhead and a simple buckle. Those finds were made

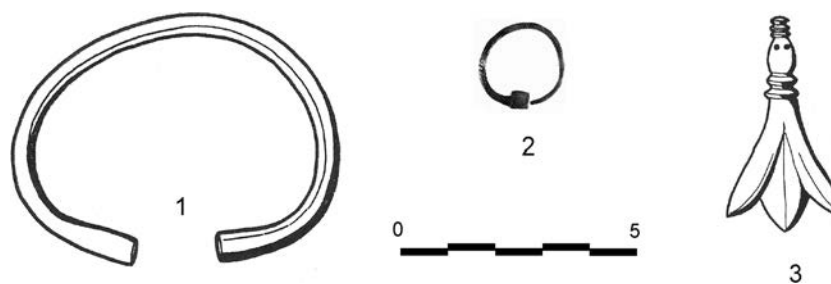


Fig. 2
Margum: finds from the cemetery and a stray find
(after DIMITRIJEVIĆ ET AL. 1962., TRBUHOVIĆ 1988.)

2. kép

Margum: sírleletek és szórványok
(DIMITRIJEVIĆ ET AL. 1962., TRBUHOVIĆ 1988. alapján)

of iron and unearthed in rather poor condition. Although they are not particularly characteristic, it has been noted that this combination of grave-finds was relatively common in Gepid cemeteries (JOVANOVIĆ–CUNJAK 1994. 120, Fig. 7). It is important to add that such objects have parallels in both Gepid and Lombard milieu.

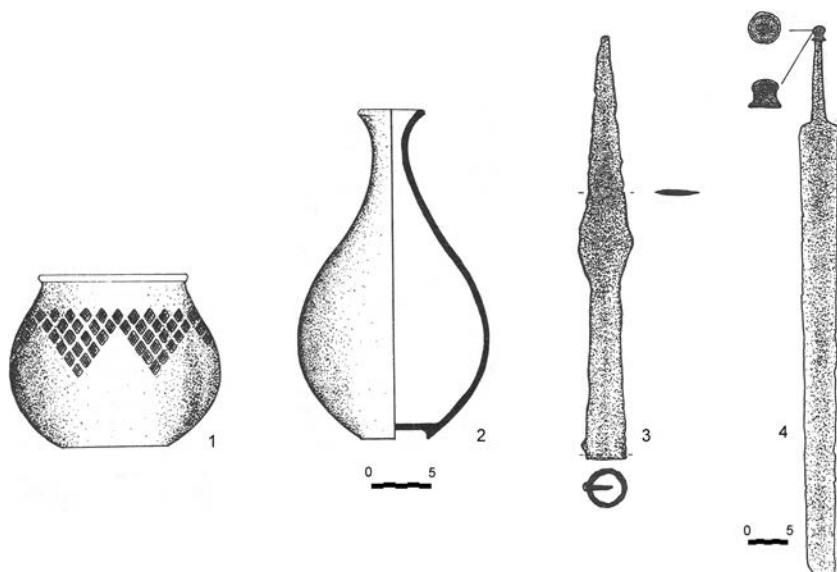


Fig. 3

Margum: finds from the cemetery (after CUNJAK 1992.)

3. kép

Margum: sírleletek (CUNJAK 1992. alapján)

1), Rácalmás–Újtelep, grave 4 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 33: 2), Szentendre–Pannoniatelep, graves 14, 81 and 83 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 38: 3, 54; 55: 3, 158: 4, 6) and Tamási–Csikólegelő, grave 28 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 68: 5). Such swords also come from Holubice, Vyškov (HEGEWISCH 2008. 247–248, cat. no. 56: 2), and the closest analogous weapons are known from the vicinity of Viminacium, from graves 121, 145 and 1876 at the Više Grobalja cemetery (IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006. 36–38, Pl. 18: 7, 28: 3, 39: 2, Fig. 21: 2, 4–5).

The spearhead (Fig. 3: 3), then, has parallels from the Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok Gepid cemetery, grave 1 (BÓNA–NAGY 2002. Pl. 6: 21), but also from the Lombard cemetery at the site of Hegykő–Mező street, grave 26 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 9: 1, 131: 3).

The pots stamped with a characteristic ornament in the form of rhombuses filled with a web-like motif (Fig. 3: 1) have parallels in Gepid material. We can mention the finds from Gepid settlements of Eperjes and Szarvas in the Tisza region (TÓTH 2006. 80, Pl. 3: 1, 5; Pl. 4: 2, 4, 6, Pl. 29: 4–5). Such pots were also found in Gepid cemeteries, e.g. Szolnok–Szanda, graves 73, 84 and 93 (BÓNA–NAGY 2002. 211–214, Pl. 38: 1, Pl. 9: 1, Pl. 41: 1, Pl. 99: 2, Pl. 100: 4, Pl. 101: 2). Analogies also come from Lombard context, good examples being the fragmented pots from the settlement in Rifnik (BOLTA 1981. 16–17, Pl. 23: 1–5) and the finds from cemeteries at Gyöng–Vásártér Street, grave 2 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 2: 1, Pl. 113: 2), Kajdacs–Homokbánya, graves 1, 5 and 43 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 20: 1, Pl. 21: 2, Pl. 28: 1, Pl. 100: 4), Rácalmás–Újtelep, grave 1 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 32: 2, Pl. 145: 1) and Tamási–Csikólegelő, grave 1 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 59: 1). Similar wares have also been found in Italy, e.g. in Testona (BIERBRAUER 2008. 116, Fig. 7: 3).

Parallels for the Margum sword (Fig. 3: 4) can be found in Gepid cemeteries of Szolnok–Szanda, graves 6, 88, 128, 156, 168 and 195 (BÓNA–NAGY 2002. Pl. 31: 1, 40: 3, 45: 4, 49: 1, 53: 3, 105: 1–2, 108: 6), Hajdúszoboszló–Bajcsy–Zsilinszky Street (ISTVÁNOVITS–NEPPER 2005. Pl. 17: 1), Magyarcsanak–Bökény, graves 8 and 17 (NAGY 2005A. Pl. 21: 1, 23: 1, 58: 4) and Szőreg–Téglagyár, grave 69 (NAGY 2005B. Pl. 58: 4). From Lombard context come analogous finds the Hegykő–Mező street cemetery, graves 1, 26, 64, 70 and 73 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 4: 1, 9: 2, 14: 1, 16: 1, 17: 4, 130: 1–2, 4, 6), from Kajdacs–Homokbánya, grave 40 (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009. Pl. 27:

More interesting for us are the analogous finds from the vicinity of Margum. The finds from the nearby foederati settlement at Svetinja by Viminacium, narrowly dated by Byzantine coins to the third quarter of the 6th century, are of the same character (POPOVIĆ 1988. Fig. 17: 1, 4, 6–7). Pots of this type have also been found in the cemetery of Kamenovo, grave 2; in the Veliki Gradac settlement and other sites along the Danube border (SIMONI 1978. 209–233, Pl. III: 1–2).

The burnished ceramic bottle (Fig. 3: 2) resembles the finds from Gepidian cemeteries at Szolnok–Szanda, grave 170 (BÓNA–NAGY 2002. 225, Pl. 50: 2, Pl. 106: 2) and Szőreg–Téglagyár, grave 113 (NAGY 2005B. 191, Pl. 62: 3, Pl. 100: 4).

Although not numerous, Migration Period finds from Margum are very important. Together with the data from the written sources, they allow us to suggest an ethnic interpretation of the traces of foederati defending that section of the Danube limes in the turbulent times of the 6th century. The traditional view is that the relatively numerous finds of Germanic provenance in the Balkans, both from the Danube frontier and from the inside of the Peninsula, belonged to the Gepids (SIMONI 1978. 214, MILINKOVIĆ 1998. 253, QUAST 2001. 441, Abb. 1), even though in the recent monograph of Mihailo Milinković such arguments

were put forward in a more restrained manner (MILINKOVIĆ 2010. 241). That attribution has been offered even in the titles of articles by Ljubica ZOTOVIĆ (1994.) and Mladjan CUNJAK (1992), while the above-mentioned finds from Svetinja were also attributed to the Gepids (POPOVIĆ 1988.). In the case of Margum, however, Milinković accepts this attribution only with reservations. The same is true of the possibility that the finds should be dated after 567 (MILINKOVIĆ 2005. 213–214).

In the light of the above mentioned interpretation of the appliqué from Margum, which we seriously doubt, the question is whether the finds from Margum attest to a Northern Germanic presence? The most thoroughly studied find from that context coming from the Balkans is the well-known grave from Ulpiana. It has been dated to the middle of the 6th century and attributed, with caution, to a deceased woman of Herulic origin (MILINKOVIĆ 2003.). It is hard to compare the values of the contexts of the finds from Ulpiana and from Margum situated on the frontier and populated with foederati. If they were recruited from the Gepids, as commonly believed, then we should bear in mind that the findings of the objects of Northern Germanic origin, especially brooches, are not that rare in their territories.

While the Ulpiana grave was connected to the North Germanic newcomers to the Empire, findings of objects of such origin from Byzantine forts on the Danube may be, in respect of the traditional views, interpreted by the links that Gepids had with Northern Germanic populations before they became Byzantine mercenaries. If this was so, the Ulpiana find could represent a testimony to

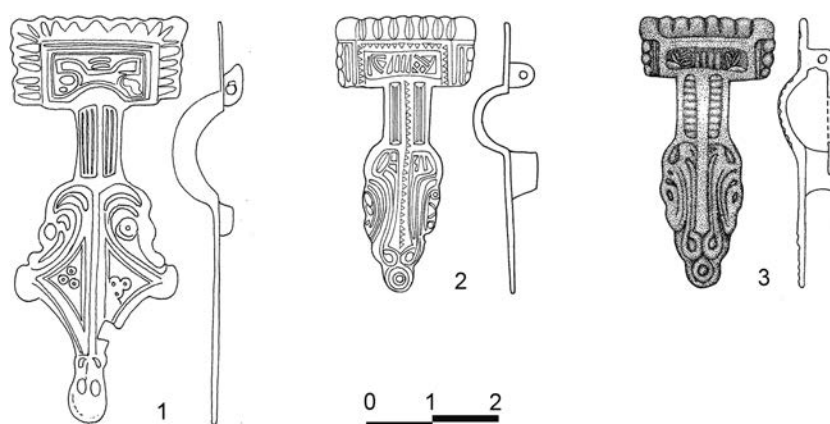


Fig. 4

1: Kasidol: a stray find, 2–3: Viminacium: finds from the cemetery (after IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006.)

4. kép

1: Kasidol: szórvány, 2–3: Viminacium, sírletek (IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006. alapján)

the direct presence of the Northern Germans in the Balkans, while the rest of the mentioned objects, in a group of which there are also some imitations, would rather represent their indirect cultural influence.



Fig. 5

1–2: The Udovice hoard, 3: Viminacium, a find from the cemetery (after POPOVIĆ 2008., IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006.)

5. kép

1–2: Udovice, kincslelet, 3: Viminacium, sírlelet (POPOVIĆ 2008., IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006. alapján)

ttery (BÓNA–NAGY 2002. Pl. 38: 3, Pl. 99: 1) and Augusta (HARALAMBIEVA 1984. Fig. 6), represent the prototype for two fibulae from the cemetery of the foederati at Viminacium, the Više Grobalja site (IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006. 15, Fig. 8: 4–6) (Fig. 4: 2–3). A golden amulet found in grave 2083 at the same site – flat, thin, single-sided medal decorated with a simple incised ornament disposed in two circles (Fig. 5: 3) – resembles parts of some well-known golden bracteates (PEDERSEN 2009. 287–289, Fig 1).

Here we should mention another important find: golden necklace pendants of apparent South Scandinavian origin, coming from a hoard from the present-day Udovice village, situated on the bank of the Danube, between Singidunum and Viminacium (Fig. 5: 1–2). The pendants are composed of golden Roman coins minted in the 5th century and mounted in a Scandinavian tradition of gold filigree work (FISCHER 2008. 81–82, cf. IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2010. 154–155). While Svante Fischer associated them with South Scandinavian mercenaries and particularly Heruls (FISCHER 2008. 86–88), Ivana Popović mistakenly believed the pendants came from the Gothic cultural circle (POPOVIĆ 2008. 73–80).

According to the most recent analysis of pottery from the Singidunum cemeteries, accomplished by Jaroslav Tejral, pots from a few graves of the Singidunum III necropolis (IVANIŠEVIĆ–

A find very important for our analysis comes from Kasidol, some 20 km south-east of Margum. The fibula with a rectangular head, found by chance, is of Scandinavian origin (Fig. 4: 1). It derives from continental brooches of the Nordic type – the Langweid Group A, which has been modelled, according to Karen Høilund Nielsen, after Southeastern Scandinavian brooches. They may be dated to Stage B (510/525–565). As for the distribution pattern of the Langweid Group A finds, it shows concentration in the Middle Rhine region, at that time populated by Thuringian and Saxon settlers. These brooches were manufactured in local workshops (HØILUND NIELSEN 2009. 69–73, 81–95, Fig. 16.b). A somewhat different view is that such brooches derived from Scandinavian finds of the Sjøvold A1b type, dated from the middle of the 5th to the first quarter of the 6th century (IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2010. 152–153). Be this as it may, the brooch from Kasidol, together with the specimens from the Szolnok–Szanda ceme-

KAZANSKI 2002.) are connected to the South Moravian pre-Lombard material culture, apparently to the Heruli (TEJRAL 2005. 135, Fig. 8: A–C).

The story behind the finds from Kamenovo by Petrovac, upon the Mlava River, may be a somewhat different one. In 1960, two Germanic graves were found there by chance. In these graves a woman and a warrior have been buried and, apparently, on the same site some non-Germanic (Roman?) graves were found too. Judging by the finds of Germanic and Early Byzantine brooches, a spearhead, a battle knife and a stamped pot, the graves were dated to the second half of the 6th century. Although the Northern Balkan area of present-day Serbia was not part of Gepidic lands, the graves were attributed to the Gepids and interpreted in the light of the movement of part of the Gepids after the 567 disaster (SIMONI 1978. 209–214, Pl. I, Pl. II, Pl. III: 1). This line of thinking was followed by Mihailo MILINKOVIĆ (1998. 253), but on the other hand there is a more restrained remark of Attila Kiss according to which the graves in question cannot be dated so precisely, i.e. these persons could have been buried before 550 and after 568 likewise (KISS 1984. 136).

Some numismatic evidence may also testify to the turbulent times in this section of the Danube limes. The circulation of gold coins in Northern Illyricum shows an important distribution of light-weight solidi in comparison with other parts of the Byzantine Empire. We would like to point to a hoard from Medjulužje, consisting of three light-weight solidi of 20 carats struck for Emperor Justinian I (MORRISSON ET AL 2006. 342, no. 263) and numerous stray finds distributed mainly along the Danube border. They can be associated with payment of the army and especially of the foederati in the service of the Empire (IVANIŠEVIĆ 2010.). Finally, it is important for our theme to undertake a separate analysis of Germanic finds from Kovin. As it has been already mentioned, in this position Contra Margum, the Late Roman fortification Constantia (or Constantiola) was built. Archaeological excavations of the multi-layered site Grad, situated at the lifted terrain of the river terrace above the old Danube riverbed, were conducted on several occasions. The Medieval fortification was best preserved, while traces of more recent and older epochs have been recorded too. In the course of the 1967 and 1986 excavations, a “disturbed” Late Roman stratum was explored in the southeastern part of the plateau. No buildings were found, but only scattered architectural debris, consisting of tegulae with legio VII Claudia stamps too (BRUKNER–MEDOVIĆ 1968., ĐORĐEVIĆ 2007. 100–101).

It is no wonder that Roman and Medieval fortifications were built in this very position, accessible only from the north and defending one of the most convenient crossings of the river

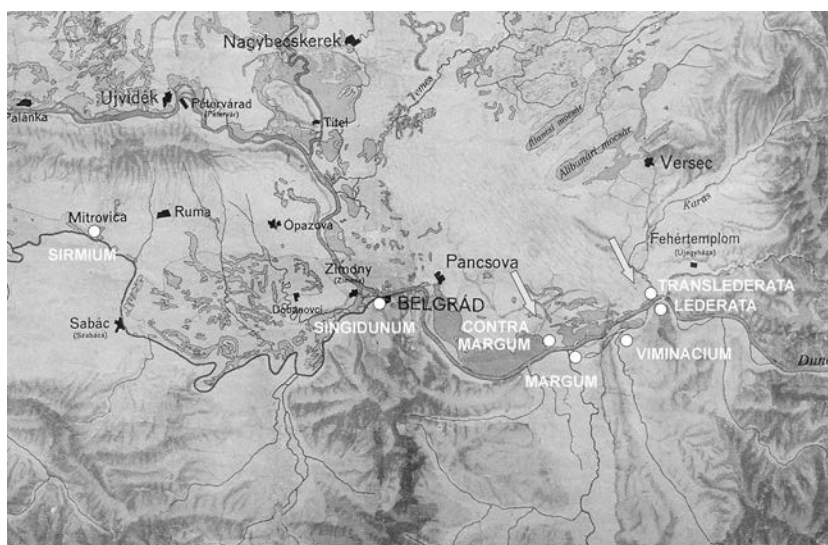


Fig. 6

Detail of the map of the Carpathian Basin before the hydro-regulatory works (after KIR 1938.)

6. kép

A Kárpát-medence folyószabályozás előtti térképének részlete (KIR 1938. alapján)

(VUKSAN 1989. 117, 122, n. 7). The key position of Margum and Kovin is perhaps best shown on a map depicting the state of the Carpathian Basin before the massive hydro-regulatory works. The map was made in 1938 in Budapest, on the basis of the available cartographic sources. For that reason it is not completely reliable, but it is certainly very illustrative. The map shows the Carpathian Basin considerably different from what it is at present, with lots of water and wide areas of river flooding (KIR 1938.) (Fig. 6). Yet contra Margum, on the opposite bank of the Danube, one may notice a narrow zone of dry land – a natural corridor to the innerlands of the Balkans, via the Morava valley (cf. BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012). One may suppose, for instance, that this was the reason why the Hunnic leader Uldin set his camp precisely at that spot (cf. GRANIĆ 1939. 92); or why, according to JORDANES (*Get.* LVIII, 300), in 505 in the vicinity of the Margus River and the Danube the Gepidic general Mundo met and defeated the army commanded by Sabinianus, magister militum per Illyricum; or, finally, why the Byzantine general Priscus met Avar khagan there around 596 (THEOPHYLACT *Hist.* VII, 10). Another important crossing of the river was to the east, defended accordingly by a system of two forts – Lederata and Translederata on the opposite riverbank (JOVANOVIĆ 1996. 69–72).

Intrigued by an older, accidental find of a buckle ending in the shape of an eagle's head, Jovan Kovačević and Dušan Pribaković had organised the 1963 excavations in the part of the Kovin park from which, most probably, the buckle came. Apart from the layers from later and more distant epochs, five graves of “a Germanic (Gepid) 6th century cemetery ... in rows” were explored (PRIBAKOVIĆ 1963. 129, 130, n. 3). The graves were oriented west-east and the most interesting were the ones of a warrior and a woman. From the collected small finds, the most characteristic are the buckles, fragmented brooches, a bronze torque and two biconical burnished pots (MILINKOVIĆ 2005. 208–212, PEKOVIĆ 2006. 41–43, PEKOVIĆ 2007. 45–48). It has already been noticed that these finds resemble to a great extent the ones from the C phase graves at the Više Grobalja cemetery (IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008. 45, Fig. 8, cf. IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006.). Precisely from that burial phase we have a considerable number of Western and Northern Germanic finds. Most of those Viminacium graves come from the C2 phase, i.e. from the second third of the 6th century. As for the buckle ending in the shape of an eagle's head from Kovin, it was noted that it resembled the Crimean ones and it has been dated to the first half of the 6th century (cf. AIBABIN 1990. 35, AIBABIN 1999. 100, Fig. 36: 1, Pl. XXVII: 173) (Fig. 7). One may believe that during Justinian's era the Romans controlled Constantiola for strategic reasons, at least to some extent. If this was so, local Germanic graves dated to the same period could in fact have belonged to the Heruli, situated there in their capacity as Byzantine foederati.

In respect of data from the sources, from which we can learn that at that time and later on the Gepids were enemies of the Empire (cf. THEOPHYLACT *Hist.* VIII, 3), Vujadin Ivanišević and Michel Kazanski rightfully doubted the possibility that they were engaged in defending the Danubian limes (IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006. 133–136). For instance, Procopius wrote that during the rule of Emperor Justinian, the Romans defended themselves against the barbarians by engaging foederati from the rival tribes (PROCOPIUS *Hist. arc.* 11). In a recently published article, Ivanišević and Kazanski develop this concept and connect Northern Germanic finds from the Serbian Danube region with the Heruli, an idea previously advocated by Attila KISS (1984.). The authors explain the appearance of the Western Germanic finds by the contacts the Heruli once had with Germanic tribes in the South Moravian region, which implies that the Balkanian Heruli of Justinian's era represented a military-political unit rather than a strictly defined ethnic group (IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2010. 156).

The Heruli played an important role in defending the Danube limes. According to the written sources, around 512 Emperor Anastasius allowed them to cross the Danube and settle in the

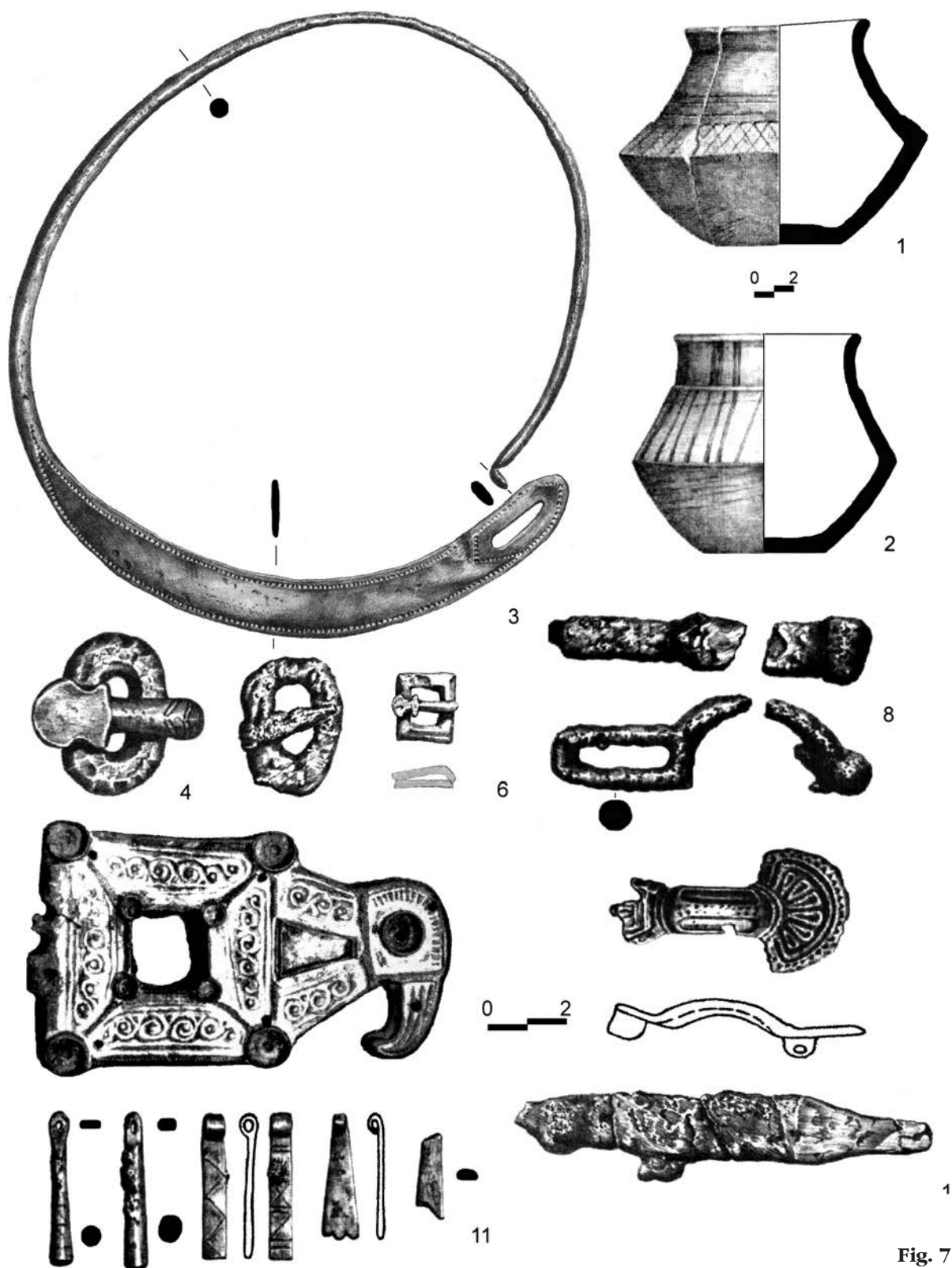


Fig. 7

Kovin: finds from the cemetery (after IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008.)

7. kép

Kovin: sírleletek (IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008. alapján)

Srem region near Singidunum (PROCOPIUS *De bellis* II.15.30, III.33.13), an area bordered by the Ostrogoths and the Romans. To this horizon some authors ascribe the Jakovo–Kormadin cemetery (BÓNA 1987. 122, cf. MILINKOVIĆ 2005. 213), at first attributed to the Gepids (DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960.).

As a consequence of their massive looting, Emperor Anastasius had to punish the Heruli. The Byzantine expedition was successful and, judging by an account that Emperor Justinian made them allies, the Heruli were pacified. They got gifts and lands, and afterwards had been joining Byzantine expeditions, as foederati, in return. It is well known that the Heruli fought on the Vandal, Gothic and Persian fronts, and that they were also sent to suppress the Nika riot in Constantinople (PROCOPIUS *De bellis* II.14.33–36). Around 545, the Byzantine general Narses engaged some 4,500 mercenaries from the Singidunum area, so it could be calculated that the Heruli with their families numbered some 20,000–25,000. It seems that this significant population must have settled in the Singidunum area as *xymmaxoi* (PROCOPIUS *De bellis* VI.14.14), but also in the neighbouring lands along the Danube frontier. Alexander Sarantis has recently pointed to the importance of the engagement of the Barbarians in the defence of the Empire, and especially to the foederati agreement with the Heruli (SARANTIS 2010., SARANTIS 2011.).

So, if Germanic finds with Scandinavian parallels from the Serbian Danube region were to be dated to the opening two thirds of the 6th century, if not even a little later, then it would be reasonable to follow the option offered and to attribute them to the Heruli. The same could also be true for Kovin. According to Attila Kiss (1984. 136), stamped ceramic wares from Northern Serbia, as listed by Katica Simoni (1978. 214–215), also testify to the presence of the Heruli. However, this cannot be accepted without any reservations. If these or other finds – like the graves from Kamenovo, for which both possibilities are still open – were to be dated after 567, the second solution is more probable, i.e. in that case they could have belonged to other German mercenaries (cf. IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006. 133–136). The fact that with the arrival of the Avars the Heruli disappeared from the written sources (SCHWARCZ 2005. 512) may testify to that effect on the one hand, and support the above estimation of the nature of their social composition on the other.

Judging by the numerous 6th century Germanic cemeteries and finds of their material culture from the Srem region to Singidunum, Margum, Contra Margum and Viminacium, it may easily be concluded that the Barbarians played a significant role in the defence of the northern areas of the Empire. Beyond any doubt, the Heruli were one of the tribes that settled the sparse northern fringes of Byzantium.

* * *

We believe that this kind of ethnic interpretation could be best tested by exploring the Margum fortification system. The insufficient level of research is caused, first of all, by objective limitations. The remains of the town positioned at the confluence of two big rivers must have suffered a lot from two millennia of flooding and riverbed displacements. Furthermore, in such a moist environment vegetation grows rapidly, so what is left of Roman Margum lies beneath a dense wood at present. For that reason the airborne laser scanning (LiDAR) of the terrain has been conducted (IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2012.), in order to gain a more precise picture of the so far hidden Margum, i.e. valid documents for planning the forthcoming excavations there.

Sources

JORDANES

Walter Goffart: *The Narrators of Barbarian History (a.d. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1988.

NOTITIA DIGNITATUM

Notitia dignitatum: accedunt Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi provinciarum. Ed. Otto Seeck. Weidmann, Berolini 1876.

PRISCUS frag.

Prisci fragmenta. Ed. L. Drindorf. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1870.

PROCOPIUS *De bellis*

Procopii Caesarensis De Bellis. Ed. Jacob Haury. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1905.

PROCOPIUS *Hist. arc.*

Procopii Caesarensis Historia Arcana. Ed. Jacob Haury. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1906.

THEOPHYLACT *Hist.*

The History of Theophylact Simocatta. Translators: Michael and Mary Whitby. University Press, Oxford 1986.

References

AIBABIN 1990.

Александр Ильич Айбабин: *Хронология могильников Крыма позднеантичного и ранне-средневекового времени*. МАИЭТ 1. 1990. 3–86.

AIBABIN 1999.

Александр Ильич Айбабин: *Этническая история ранневизантийского Крыма*. [Ethische Geschichte der frühbyzantinischen Krim.] „Дар“, Симферополь 1999.

BIERBRAUER 2008.

Volker Bierbrauer: *Die Langobarden in Italien aus archäologischer Sicht*. In: *Die Langobarden – Das Ende der Völkerwanderung*. Hrsg. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Landschaftsverband Rheinland. Primus Verlag, Bonn 2008. 109–152.

BOLTA 1981.

Lojze Bolta: *Rifnik pri Šentjurju, poznoantična naselbina in grobišče*. [Rifnik – Spätantike Siedlung und Gräberfeld.] Narodni muzej v Ljubljani, Ljubljana 1981.

BÓNA 1987.

István Bóna: *Ungarns Völker im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert. Eine historisch-archäologische Zusammenschau*. In: *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren*. Hrsg. Wilfried Menghin – Tobias Springer – Egon Wamers. Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, Nürnberg 1987. 116–129.

BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009.

István Bóna – Jolán B. Horváth: *Langobardische Gräberfelder in West-Ungarn*. *Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae* Vol. 6. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest 2009.

BÓNA–NAGY 2002.

István Bóna – Margit Nagy: *Gepidische Gräberfelder am Theissgebiet I*. *Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae* Vol. 1. *Monumenta Gepidica*. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest 2002.

- BRUKNER–MEDOVIĆ 1968.
Olga Brukner – Predrag Medović: Kovin, Grad – višeslojno naselje. *Arheološki pregled* 10. 1968. 184–188.
- BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012.
Иван Бугарски – Вујадин Иванишевич: Пограничье Римской империи и варваров: Система обороны Империи от Куция до Ледераты. In: Лесная и лесостепная зоны Восточной Европы в эпохи римских влияний и Великого переселения народов. Конференция 3. ред. А.М. Воронцов – И.О. Гавригун. „Астра” Тула 2012. 482–511.
- CUNJAK 1992.
Mladjan Cunjak: **Prilog proučavanju prisustva Gepida u Podunavlju. [Gepid Graves at Margum.]** *Glasnik Srpskog arheološkog društva* 8. 1992. 34–40.
- CUNJAK 1996.
Mladjan Cunjak: Terme na Orašju – Dubravici kod Požarevca. [Les thermes d’Orašje-Dubravica près de Požarevac.] *Viminacium* 10. 1996. 105–120.
- DEROKO 1950.
Aleksandar Deroko: Kulič i Ram kastrumi na rimskom Dunavskom limesu. [Les castels du “limes“ Romain pres de Kulič et de Ram.] *Starinar* I. 1950. 169–173.
- DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960.
Danica Dimitrijević: Gepidska nekropola „Kormadin” kod Jakova. [Die gepidische Nekropole “Kormadin” bei. Jakovo.] *Rad vojvodanskih muzeja* 9. 1960. 5–50.
- DIMITRIJEVIĆ ET AL. 1962.
Danica Dimitrijević – Jovan Kovačević – Zdenko Vinski: Seoba naroda – Arheološki nalazi jugoslovenskog Podunavlja. Narodni muzej, Zemun 1962.
- ĐORĐEVIĆ 2007.
Maja Đorđević: Arheološka nalazišta rimskog perioda u Vojvodini. [Archaeological Sites from the Roman Period in Vojvodina.] Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Beograd 2007.
- FISCHER 2008.
Svante Fischer: The Udovice Solidus Pendants. Late-5th Century Evidence of South Scandinavian Mercenaries in the Balkans. *Fornvännen* 103. 2008. 81–90.
- GRANIĆ 1939.
Filaret Granić: Vojvodina u vizantisko doba. *Vojvodina* I. 1939. 91–107.
- HARALAMBEVA 1984.
Анна Хараламбиева: Дъговидни фибули от епохата на Великото преселение на народите. *Археология* 1984: 1. 45–52.
- HEGEWISCH 2008.
Morten Hegewisch: Holubice, Bez. Vyškov. In: Die Langobarden – Das Ende der Völkerwanderung. Hrsg. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Landschaftsverband Rheinland. Primus Verlag, Bonn 2008. 247–248.
- HØILUND NIELSEN 2009.
Karen Høilund Nielsen: The Real Thing or Just Wannabes? Scandinavian-Style Brooches in the fifth and sixth Centuries. In: *Foreigners in Early Medieval Europe: Thirteen International Studies on Early Medieval Mobility*. Ed. Dieter Quast. Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz 2009. 51–111.

ISTVÁNOVITS–NEPPER 2005.

Eszter Istvánovits – Ibolya M. Nepper: Hajdúszoboszló-Bajcsy-Zsilinszky u. 60. In: Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet II. Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae Vol. 2. Monumenta Gepidica. Red. István Bóna – Éva Garam – Tivadar Vida. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest 2005. 46–49.

IVANIŠEVIĆ 2010.

Vujadin Ivanišević: La monnaie paléobyzantine dans l'Illyricum du nord. In: Mélanges Cécil Morrisson. Travaux et Mémoires 16. Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance. Paris 2010. 441–454.

IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008.

Vujadin Ivanišević – Ivan Bugarski: Western Banat during the Great Migration Period. In: The Turbulent Epoch II. New materials from the Late Roman Period and the Migration Period. Eds. Barbara Niezabitowska-Wisniewska – Marcin Juściński – Piotr Łuczkiwicz – Sylwester Sadowski. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2008. 39–61.

IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2012.

Vujadin Ivanišević – Ivan Bugarski: Primena LiDAR tehnologije u analizi topografije Marguma/Morave i Kuliča. [Application of LiDAR technology in Analyses of the Topography of Margum/Morava and Kulič.] *Starinar* LXII. 239–255.

IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006.

Vujadin Ivanišević – Michel Kazanski – Anna Mastykova: Les nécropoles de Viminacium à l'époque des Grandes Migrations. Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Paris 2006.

IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2002.

Vujadin Ivanišević – Michel Kazanski: La nécropole de l'époque des Grandes Migrations à Singidunum. [Nekropola seobe naroda iz Singidunuma.] *Singidunum* 3. 2002. 101–157.

IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2010.

Вуядин Иванишевич – Михаил Казанский: Герулы Юстиниана в Северном Иллирикуме и их археологические следы. [Justinian's Heruli in Northern Illyricum and Their Archaeological Evidence.] *Stratum plus* 2010: 5. 147–157.

JOVANOVIĆ 1996.

Aleksandar Jovanović: The problem of the location of Lederata. In: Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube. Ed. Petar Petrović. Archaeological Institute, Beograd 1996. 69–72.

JOVANOVIĆ–CUNJAK 1994.

Aleksandar Jovanović – Mladjan Cunjak: Arheološka istraživanja u Dubravici (antičkom Margumu) tokom 1989. i 1990. godine. [Fouilles archéologiques à Dubravica au cours des années 1989 et 1990.] *Saopštenja* 26. 1994. 107–122.

KIR 1938.

Magyarország vízborította és árvízjárta területei az ármentesítő és lecsapoló munkálatok megkezdése előtt. (1:600.000 méretarány) Magyar Királyi Földművelésügyi Minisztérium Vízrajzi Intézete, Budapest 1938.

(Territories of Hungary covered with water and vulnerable to flooding before the start of flood-prevention and drainage works (scale 1:600.000) Hydrographic Institute of the Hungarian Royal Ministry of Agriculture, Budapest 1938)

KISS 1984.

Attila Kiss: Heruler in Nordserbien. In: Interaktionen der mitteleuropäischen Slawen und anderen Ethnika im 6.-10. Jahrhundert. Symposium Nové Vozokany 3.–7. Oktober 1983. Hrsg. Bohuslav Chropovský. Archäologisches Institut der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Nitra 1984. 133–137.

MANO-ZISI ET AL. 1950.

Đorđe Mano-Zisi – Rastislav Marić – Milutin Garašanin: Iskopavanje na Orašju. Prethodni izveštaj o radovima u 1947 godini. [Les fouilles d'Orašje.]. *Starinar* I. 1950. 143–165.

MARIĆ 1951.

Rastislav Marić: Iskopavanja na Orašju. Prethodni izveštaj o radovima u 1948 i 1949 godini. [Les fouilles d'Orašje. Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux de 1948 et 1949.] *Starinar* II. 1951. 113–132.

MILINKOVIĆ 1998.

Mihailo Milinković: Germanska plemena na Balkanu. Arheološki nalazi iz vremena seobe naroda. Unpublished dissertation. University of Belgrade, Beograd 1998.

MILINKOVIĆ 2003.

Mihailo Milinković: O tzv. Ženskom germanskom grobu iz Ulpijane. [Über den sgn. Germanische Frauengrab aus Ulpiana.] In: Spomenica Jovana Kovačevića. Red. Radovan Bunardžić – Jovan Kovačević – Živko Mikić. Srpsko arheološko društvo – Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Beograd 2003. 143–178.

MILINKOVIĆ 2005.

Mihailo Milinković: Serbien. In: Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 28. De Gruyter, Berlin–New York 2005. 197–218.

MILINKOVIĆ 2010.

Mihailo Milinković: Gradina na Jelici. Ranovizantijski grad i srednjovekovno naselje. [Die Gradina auf der Jelica: Frühbyzantinische Stadt und mittelalterliche Siedlung.] Zavod za udžbenike, Beograd 2010.

MIRKOVIĆ 1968.

Miroslava Mirković: Rimski gradovi na Dunavu u Gornjoj Meziji. [Römische Städte an der Donau in Obermösien.] Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije, Beograd 1968.

MIRKOVIĆ 1986.

Miroslava Mirković: Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure II: Viminacium et Margum. RO "Avala", Beograd 1986.

MORRISSON ET AL 2006.

Cécile Morriison – Vladislav Popović – Vujadin Ivanišević: Les trésors monétaires byzantins des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure (491–713). Réalités byzantines 13. Éditions Lethielleux, Paris 2006.

NAGY 2005A.

Margit Nagy: Magyarcsanád–Bökény. In: Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet II. Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae Vol. 2. Monumenta Gepidica. Red. István Bóna – Éva Garam – Tivadar Vida. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest 2005. 97–116.

NAGY 2005B.

Margit Nagy: Szőreg–Téglagyár. In: Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet II. Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae Vol. 2. Monumenta Gepidica. Red. István Bóna – Éva Garam – Tivadar Vida. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest 2005. 120–202.

PEDERSEN 2009.

Anne Pedersen: Amulette und Amulettsitte der jüngeren Eisen- und Wikingerzeit in Südskandinavien. In: Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft. Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. Hrsg. Uta von Freeden – Herwig Friesinger – Egon Wamers. Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn 2009. 287–302.

PEKOVIĆ 2006.

Mirko Peković: Arheološka zbirka Vojnog muzeja u Beogradu. [Archaeological Collection of the Military Museum in Belgrade.] Srpsko arheološko društvo – Vojni muzej, Beograd 2006.

PEKOVIĆ 2007.

Mirko Peković: Vojni muzej, pet decenija arheoloških istraživanja: 1954–2004. Srpsko arheološko društvo – Vojni muzej, Beograd 2007.

POPOVIĆ 1988.

Marko Popović: Svetinja, novi podaci o ranovizantijskom Viminacijumu. [Svetinja – Contribution to the study of the Early Byzantine Viminacium.] *Starinar* XXXVIII. 1988. 1–37.

POPOVIĆ 2008.

Ivana Popović: Solidi with Filigreed Tubular Suspension Loops from Udovice in Serbia. *Fornvännen* 103. 2008. 73–80.

PRIBAKOVIĆ 1963.

Dušan Pribaković: Gradski park, Kovin – germanska nekropola i sarmatsko naselje. *Arheološki pregled* 5. 1963. 129–130.

RUMMEL ET AL. 2012.

Christoph Rummel – Daniel Peters – Georg Schafferer: Report on the Geomagnetic Survey at Margum in October 2011. *Starinar* LXII. 2012. 229–238.

QUAST 2001.

Dieter Quast: Byzantinisch-gepidische Kontakte nach 454 im Spiegel der Kleinfunde. In: International Connections of the Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin in the 1st–5th Centuries A.D. Proceedings of the international conference held in 1999 in Aszód and Nyíregyháza. Eds. Eszter Istvánovits – Valéria Kulcsár. Jóna András Museum – Osváth Gedeon Museum Foundation, Aszód – Nyíregyháza 2001. 431–452.

SARANTIS 2010.

Alexander Sarantis: War and Diplomacy in Pannonia and the North-West Balkans during the reign of Justinian: the Gepid threat and imperial responses. *DOP* 63. 2009. 15–40.

SARANTIS 2011.

Alexander Sarantis: The Justinianic Heruli: From Allied Barbarians to Roman Provincials. In: Neglected Barbarians. Ed. Florin Curta. Brepols Publishers, Turnhout 2011.

SCHWARCZ 2005.

Andreas Schwarcz: Die Heruler an der Donau. In: Die Sprache als System und Prozess. Festschrift für Günter Lipold zum 60. Geburtstag. Ed. Christiane von M. Pabst. Praesens Verlag, Wien 2005. 504–512.

SIMONI 1978.

Katica Simoni: Dva priloga istraživanju germanskih nalaza seobe naroda u Jugoslaviji. [Beitrag zur Untersuchung germanische Funde der Völkerwanderungszeit in Jugoslawien.] *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* X–XI. 1978. 209–233.

TEJRAL 2005.

Jaroslav Tejral: Zur Unterscheidung des vorlangobardischen und elbgermanisch-langobardischen Nachlasses. In: Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität. Hrsg. Walter Pohl – Peter Erhart. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 2005. 103–200.

TEJRAL 2008.

Jaroslav Tejral: Ein Abriss der frühmerowingerzeitlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum. In: Kulturwandel in Mitteleuropa, Langobarden – Awaren – Slawen. Hrsg. Jan Bemmann – Michael Schmauder. Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn 2008. 249–283.

TÓTH 2006.

Ágnes B. Tóth: Gepidische Siedlungen im Theissgebiet. Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae Vol. 4. Monumenta Gepidica. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest 2006.

TRBUHOVIĆ 1988

Leposava Trbuhović: Neki nalazi iz Podunavlja u Kasnoantičkoj zbirci Narodnog muzeja. [Un certain nombre de trouvailles du Podunavlje dans la collection du Musée national de Belgrade.] *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja (arheologija)* XIII: 1. 1988. 155–163.

VUKSAN 1989.

Marko Vuksan: Kovin, lokalitet Grad – sondažno istraživanje 1986. godine. [Kovin, “Grad” Locality (Trench Exploration in 1986).] *Glasnik Srpskog arheološkog društva* 5. 1989. 117–123.

ZOTOVIĆ 1994.

Ljubica Zotović: Die Gepidische Nekropole bei Viminacium. *Starinar* XLIII–XLIV. 1994. 183–190.

Ivan BUGARSKI – Vujadin IVANIŠEVIĆ

Institute of Archaeology
Knez Mihailova 35/IV
11000 Belgrade
Serbia

e-mail: ivan.bugarski@gmail.com – vivanise@eunet.rs

Népvándorlás kori leletek Margumból – egy lehetséges értelmezés

A római Margum városa a Morava és a Duna összefolyásánál épült. A késő római és kora bizánci korban új funkciót kapott: a Duna két partján legalább két erőd épült, Margum és Contra Margum. A Margumban végzett régészeti feltárások során IV. és V. századi leletek kerültek elő, köztük számszerij és cikáda fibulák, valamint kereszt alakú végződéssel ellátott bronzveret, amelyet az V. századra kelteztek. Mindezek a tárgyak besimított díszű szürke kerámiával együtt fordultak elő. Két helyen ugyanebből a korszakból származó sírokat találtak. Különösen fontosak a VI. századi temetkezések, amelyeket a gepidákhoz köthetünk, akik talán bizánci foederati státusban telepedtek meg ezen a stratégiai ponton. A sírokon kívül két jellegzetes pecsételt edénytöredék tanúskodik germán lakosság jelenlétéről a lelőhelyen.

A margumi népvándorlás kori leletek kis számuk ellenére jelentősek. Az írott források adataival összevetve lehetőséget adnak arra, hogy megkérdőjelezzük azt a hagyományos etnikai értelmezést, amely a dunai limesnek ezt a szakaszát a VI. században védő foederati leletekkel kapcsolatban született. E szerint a viszonylag nagy számú germán leletet gepidának kellene tartanunk. Ebben az időben és később a gepidák a birodalom ellenségei voltak, ezért joggal vonható kétségbe az az elképzelés, hogy felhasználták őket a dunai limes védelmezésében. A jelen cikkben tárgyalt leletek egy része északi germán eredetű. A Kasidolból, Viminaciumból, Udovicéből és talán Kovinból (Contra Margum) származó tárgyakat a herulokhoz kapcsolhatjuk, akik 512-től fontos szerepet játszottak a dunai limes védelmében. Engedélyezték számukra, hogy Singidunum tág körzetében telepedjenek le a Szerémségben, és 545 körül 4500 zsoldost béreltek fel Singidunum környékéről. Számítások szerint családjaikkal együtt a herulok mintegy 20.000–25.000 főt számláltak.

Ha tehát a szerbiai Duna-vidékről származó, skandináv párhuzamokkal rendelkező germán leleteket a VI. század első két harmadára (esetleg valamivel későbbre) keltezzük, akkor a tárgyak a herulokkal azonosíthatók. Ha ezeket vagy más leleteket 567 utánra datáljuk, más germán zsoldosokhoz kapcsolhatók. A fenti etnikai interpretáció helyességét a margumi erődtényrendszer kutatása fogja eldönteni.

Ivan BUGARSKI – Vujadin IVANIŠEVIĆ

Arheološki Institut
Knez Mihailova 35/IV
11000 Beograd
Srbija

e-mail: ivan.bugarski@gmail.com – vivanise@eunet.rs

